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Reframing 'the Anarchy': Castles, Landscapes and Society in Twelfth-Century Lincolnshire and Yorkshire

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Dedication

For Leonard and Barbara Huntingford

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Abstract

The reign of King Stephen, *c*. 1135-54, was condemned by nineteenth-century historians as a period of anarchy and castles have often been seen as a cause or symptom of its instabilities. Although many aspects of Stephen's reign have been reappraised in more recent years, an archaeological perspective of these castles is still lacking. Benefiting from advances in archaeological research, newly-funded projects, and the use of a Geographical Information System (GIS), this regional study provides an overview into how the civil war between Stephen and Matilda impacted Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. Disproving the assumptions of contemporary chroniclers that unlicenced castles were hastily built in large numbers in disregard for the Crown, took short-lived, rudimentary forms, and were located solely in militarily advantageous locations; the interplay between these structures and their landscapes shows that castle-building by the time of the mid-twelfth century was more complex and like the post-Conquest era, was moulded by an infusion of tradition and innovation. As very few sites were seemingly damaged or destroyed during 'the Anarchy' from the physical evidence available to us at the present time, the social, economic, and political qualities across many of these monuments highlights that local magnates were conscious of the long-term benefits of this landscape; typically siting their castles regardless of the struggle for the throne. This desk-based assessment argues that the reign of King Stephen did therefore not represent such radical departure from the preceding and subsequent reigns, and should be characterised as a period of societal change and continuity.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 The Reign of King Stephen, 1135 - 1154

One of the most intensely debated subjects in medieval historiography is the reign of King Stephen, 1135-54. After the death of Henry I, England faced a political crisis. As his only remaining heir, Henry had ensured that England's lords swore an oath to accept his daughter, Matilda, as Queen, and it seemed that there would be no issues with the transfer of power upon his death. History took a different course. Stephen disregarded his uncle's earlier arrangement and when Henry died, sailed across from France and had himself crowned king on 22nd December 1135. Now with two rival claimants for the throne, the country was pushed into civil war. The succession crisis was widely recorded by the chroniclers of the time and the most enduring legacy of their assessment can be found in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Whitelock et al., 1961:200):

> 'They said openly that Christ and his saints were asleep. Such things,
> too much for us to describe, we suffered nineteen years for our sins.'

During these 19 years, medieval writers such as William of Malmesbury and Orderic Vitalis were especially keen to disparage Stephen's rule and frequently wrote how the protracted war between both factions, and especially Stephen's failings as king, led to England's magnates disregarding the power of the Crown. Displays of greed, damaging property, and oppression were just some of the products of the conflict between King Stephen and the Empress Matilda, and were all frequently detailed in their accounts. Castles have always been at the forefront of this alleged turmoil, and they have gone hand in hand with the assumption that the country became afflicted with widespread and unlicenced castle-building, created in response to military necessity and power-grabs of aristocrats cut free from Henry I's previous grip on political society. The nineteenth-century work of John Horace Round (1892) popularised the term 'the Anarchy', and this particular designation has been closely intertwined with all aspects of King Stephen's reign ever since.

1.2 Lincolnshire and Yorkshire during the Twelfth-Century Civil War

The assessments of the civil war between Stephen of Blois and the Empress Matilda by historians are firmly rooted within the political context of the nineteenth century. Much like castle studies in general, it was not until the 1990s and 2000s that this outlook began to change more profoundly. The castles, churches and siege-castles of the period have become linked to the spirit of 'the Anarchy,' meaning that they have not typically been examined on their own merits. A new Leverhulme-funded project completed in 2016 brought an archaeological approach to the subject for the first time. *The Anarchy: War and Status in 12th-Century Landscapes of Conflict* (2016) and *Castles, Siegeworks and Settlements* (2016a) by Oliver Creighton and Duncan Wright represent the culmination of this newly-funded work, and this direction brings potential to challenge the assumptions of the period by looking at the archaeological evidence in new ways. Lincolnshire and Yorkshire were home to many notable lay and ecclesiastical magnates who held substantial swathes of lands and built castles during the High Middle Ages. This will be the focus for the study area of this thesis, and it provides an opportunity to assess this topic in an important contested region of the war, which has primarily been studied from historical sources and methods.

Historical research had already begun to acknowledge that 'just as no war is total, no anarchy is absolute' (Hollister, 1974:237). In fact, there were very few pitched battles during the Middle Ages and even within the context of the mid-twelfth century, there were only two instances of when opposing forces clashed in a major battle (Figure 1:1). Both occurred within the study area. The Battle of the Standard, 1138 was a success for Stephen as the Scots were repelled at Northallerton, but three years later the king suffered a grave defeat and was subsequently captured by the Angevins during the Battle of Lincoln, 1141. The civil war was characterised by the local actions of Stephen and Matilda's supporters who were born into the military culture of the period which influenced all aspects of their behaviour. This was expressed in a variety of forms though it was a delicate balance because the 'possibility of recognition and honour [was] entirely tied up with military success' (Crouch, 2011:123). As a result, other traces of the conflict must be considered to build up a bigger picture of its alleged impact. As 'the militarisation of warfare and militarised societies can comprise fortifications and other

sites as well as artefacts and other forms of material culture and human remains' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:1), castles and their environs form a logical place in which to frame this discussion.

This thesis will therefore examine this struggle through a detailed analysis of the people who built the structures that developed throughout the contested landscapes, and who participated in the society that provided its context. While the disciplines of history and archaeology can often work in tandem, the adoption of new technologies can take place at a much slower pace. Studies of the twelfth century have relied on the writings of medieval chroniclers, and while other documentary sources such as government records have been used by both traditional and modern historians, this can only take the debate so far. Different methodologies, advances in research and the technological innovations of other disciplines must be used to drive the discussion forward. This can be achieved in a visual and analytical way; and using a Geographical Information System (GIS), it is possible to create detailed maps which can simultaneously display and evaluate a range of complex information. The interpretation of these results within this framework can also bring a new perspective to any study of the past, not least the mid-twelfth century where many preconceptions remain about the archaeology.

As the reign of King Stephen can be interpreted through a variety of sources, and because 'most of the sources used in historical research have a geographical dimension', they 'possess the potential to be treated using GIS' (Jordanova, 2019:239). GIS has become a useful analytical tool for archaeologists in the last three decades and has been used to map landscapes from across the globe and interpret large amounts of historical and geospatial information. Indeed, 'Geographical information systems are a powerful technology that offer a host of analytical possibilities for investigating the spatial organisation of culture and human-environment relationships' (Conolly & Lake, 2006:31). Its adoption by the wider archaeological academic community has been extensive, but its use by historians has yet to catch up. This is pertinent for the reign of King Stephen which has largely been examined through the use of historical sources. GIS will thus be used in this study to drive the debate forward and expand our understanding of how the construction of castles and their environs developed during the geo-political environment of the twelfth-century civil war. It reveals how the relationships between castles and their communities were expressed at this time through a combined historical,

geographical and archaeological approach. There is much more potential GIS can bring to the subject and this thesis marks the starting point of this new frontier of research.

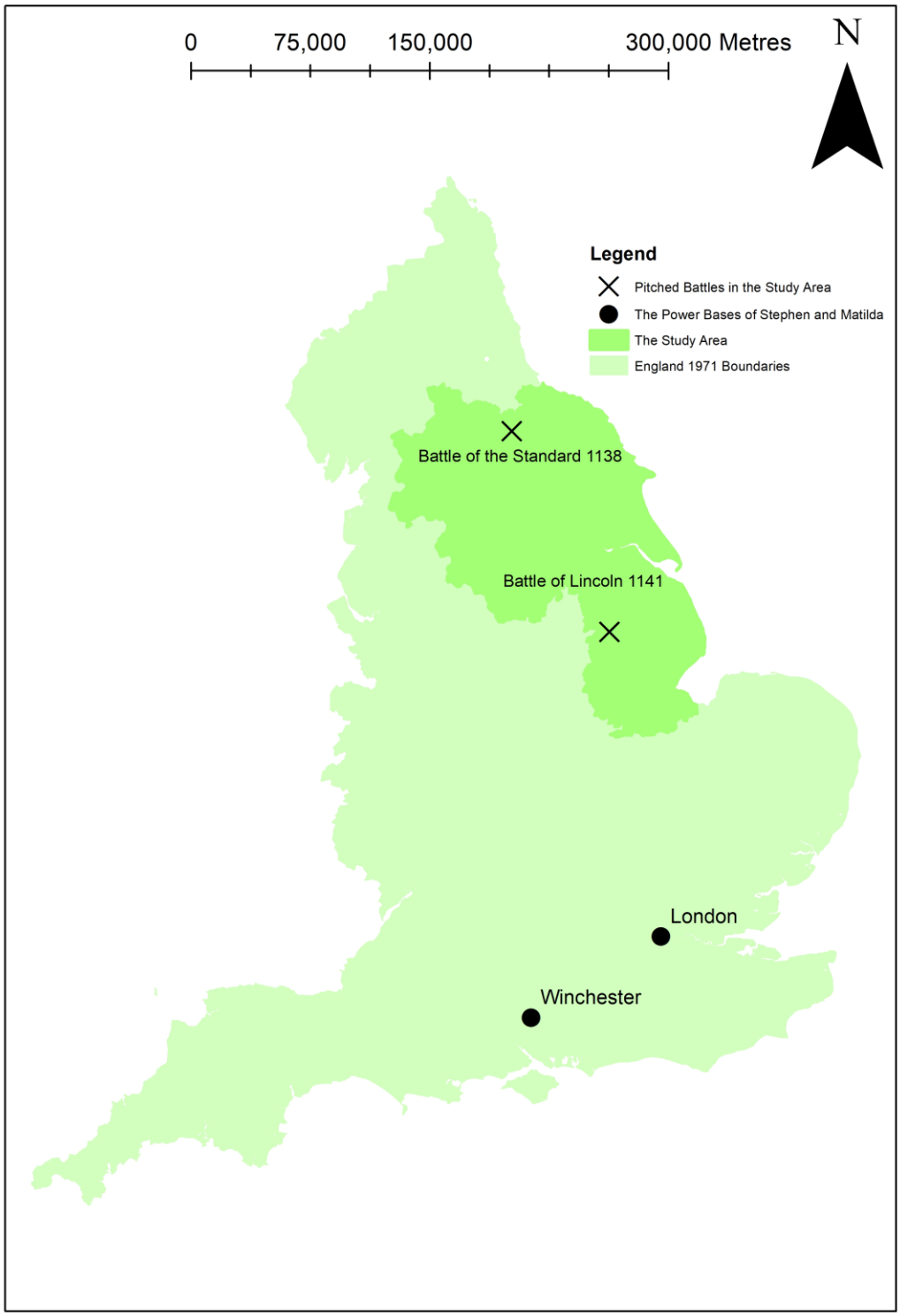

Figure 1:1 The study area in relation to the power bases of King Stephen and the Empress Matilda. Created with ArcMap 10.8.2. [shapefile].

1.3 Reframing 'the Anarchy'

The historiography of the reign of King Stephen has not been short of critical assessments of its impact on the social and cultural norms of medieval society. This extends to its influence on the development of castle-building and what this suggests about the period at large. Research is an ever-changing landscape and while attitudes to the study of castles from across the Middle Ages have evolved since the nineteenth century, this has not typically extended to those from King Stephen's reign, which often remain viewed as products of political instability. The following chapter provides a summary of the research produced on the subject and how this study fits within this existing framework. It further outlines the overall trends of castle studies and how the castles of the twelfth century have been seen within this broader corpus of work. After summarising the key debates within the historiography, Chapter 3 outlines the research aims of this thesis and how it builds on the work of previous academics to make an original contribution to the debate. To narrow and define the geographical and temporal parameters of this thesis, a database of castles deriving from Lincolnshire and Yorkshire was created (Appendix A). The methodology discusses how these sites have been defined and dated and how the challenges of investigating these twelfth-century remains through a region-wide, landscape approach, have been overcome as much as possible.

The political landscape of the twelfth century which drove the construction of castles was dynamic and this can equally be said for the geography in which England's magnates chose to build these structures. As 'the factors governing distribution are numerous, and vary in importance from one part of the country to another' (King, 1983a:xxviii), Chapter 4 investigates the urban and rural landscapes in which elite society sited their monuments. It looks at the geographical features of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire and how its topography, coastline and rivers influenced the nature of these structures and their hinterlands. A study of the overall relationship of these monuments to each other, including the practice of linking sites to settlements and monasteries in centres of lordship, as well as the wider landscape in which they were sited, shows how these considerations influenced their development. In this respect, the use of GIS effectively demonstrates how strategic concerns relating to the conflict were not as pervasive as

previous scholarship has proposed, and how other topographical factors were seemingly more important to the medieval builder during the High Middle Ages. As 'we as individuals all look at landscapes differently' (Thirsk, 2000:9), this chapter provides an alternative way of presenting, synthesising, and evaluating the trends within this historical and geospatial data, which studies so far have not been able to achieve as coherently.

Chapter 5 assesses the range of castles that appeared across Lincolnshire and Yorkshire from the period *c*. 1066-1200. Taking into account the number and the variety of these structures, this chapter provides an overview of castle-construction throughout the region. Based on the most up-to-date archaeological research, this chapter considers the specific forms, styles and features that were adopted. The architectural context behind these structures and how they were shaped by a range of influences provides a different view of the castles of Stephen's reign. By assessing the origin of these structures across the High Middle Ages within the framework of Anglo-Norman lordship, this chapter challenges the preconceptions which are still often projected towards these constructions. It argues that they were not always hastily erected and rudimentary structures which frequently reused existing sites solely in response to the transient needs of conflict. Archaeological research from the region demonstrates that these castles assumed more diverse forms and must have been intended for a number of purposes by their owners, and were not necessarily influenced by the overall struggle between Stephen and Matilda.

Building on the geographical and archaeological contexts created in Chapters 4 and 5, Chapter 6 provides a closer insight into the members of elite society who commissioned these structures. This chapter examines the overall demography of the ruling elite and the tenurial arrangements of these various landowners, helping to reveal more about the social structure and the motivations of those who lived within the region under consideration. Establishing the nature of the hierarchy of this social group against the backdrop of the conflict and how it may have influenced castle-building is vital to assess its impact since the time of William I which saw 'the replacement of the old aristocracy with a new one [which] brought important changes' (Thomas, 2008a:87). Creighton and Wright's recent archaeological research emphasised that the changes which occurred to elite society during the mid-twelfth century 'provide the socio-political context for

understanding some of the significant changes in architecture and material culture that we see during the period' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:31-2). This chapter argues that the period certainly did provide more relaxed circumstances for England's magnates, as historical research had already shown, with the increasing number of earldoms and other titles and honours granted to Stephen's supporters. The archaeology illustrates that these resultant structures were however not markers of instability, but signifiers of these individuals' larger political concerns. These displays of wealth, power and status certainly did not represent such a radical departure from social norms and conventions of medieval society, or indeed the Anglo-Saxon elite.

Considering the geographical, cultural and socio-political themes explored throughout this thesis, Chapter 7 investigates one of the most enduring legacies of the supposed 'Anarchy' period and assesses how many of its military installations were caught up by acts of violence, conflict and damage. As a large number of castles were reportedly slighted, it further evaluates how many of these sites were deliberately destroyed due to political tensions of the war and its aftermath. As is the case with the construction of castles, preservation is influenced by a range of factors, and this makes their interpretation more challenging. If medieval writers were correct in their assessment, it is logical to expect the castles and the other elite secular and ecclesiastical structures located near to them would have been the natural casualty of it. Recent research on magnate cores has shown that our understanding of their origins needs to recognise that the 'creation of new aristocratic centres not only represented a localisation of power in the landscape, but was also part of a much deeper-rooted and significant social transformation' (Wright et al., 2023:1-2). A closer analysis of the other roles these castles played in their local communities emphasises how this reign should be seen for being one of continuity and not simply one of incomprehensible upheaval, as they evidently assumed a variety of long-term social, economic, and political roles within these seigneurial centres of power.

The concluding chapter combines the overall research findings of this thesis. It contextualises these findings in relation to the original research aims and reveals in turn how each of the previous chapters has attempted to challenge the overarching presumptions which continue to affect our understanding of twelfth-century castles. As with any study of this kind, there are inevitably limitations and potential shortcomings.

This thesis was researched and written during the coronavirus pandemic (2019-2023) which meant that fieldwork was not undertaken. Instead, it developed into a desk-based assessment of the region's archaeology to highlight general trends about the period. The following discussion outlines how any other constraints within this study may be overcome in the future and how additional work can build on the findings discussed throughout. Historical studies have been more kind towards the twelfth-century civil war in recent years, but the conversation has stalled, and there is a danger that this is where the story may end if the same evidence and methods continue to be used to interpret the period. Much research has been done to reappraise the extent which 'something went wrong early in Stephen's reign' (Crouch, 2000:50) and other avenues of study must now be explored if our understanding of twelfth-century castles is to be transformed too.

Chapter 2 The Castles of King Stephen's Reign in Context

In order to gain a broader understanding of previous research in the field of castle studies, it is vital to trace their origins within the context of medieval historiography. In the words of Robert Liddiard, 'there are many fruitful avenues for future research in castle studies, but all are required to take account of the formidable scholarship that has gone before' (Liddiard, 2016:17). This chapter, therefore, provides a combined thematic and a loose chronological overview of previous studies and suggests the benefit of further analysis and re-interpretation through the summarisation of these key themes and trends. The reign of King Stephen *c*. 1135-54 has been the subject of historical debate since the nineteenth century, with recent academic study by Creighton and Wright providing a reappraisal through interdisciplinary study. Despite this, castles dating to the twelfth century remain an outlier to the general development of medieval castles. This chapter examines the development of interpretations surrounding the reign of King Stephen, and how the castles which have been seen as central to the protracted struggle between Stephen and Matilda, have been viewed so far.

2.1 Traditional and Military Interpretations

The motivations for the construction of castles have created a divisive debate within research, as every aspect of their origins remains open to interpretation. Despite this, academic interest only meaningfully began in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries after an extended period of romanticism where various antiquarians, authors, and travellers had idealised castle ruins in the previous centuries. One example comes from the drawings of Viollet le Duc, who had attempted to study castles through an artistic medium. Ecclesiastical buildings, which maintained their primary function as a place of worship, overshadowed interest in castles which had fallen into decline. Despite the evolution of conflict since the Middle Ages, war was becoming recurrent and was reflected in civilian life. This naturally influenced the study of castles through their

martial characteristics which led to the prevailing classifications and rigid terms for the following hundred years of scholarship.

One of the first major studies on the subject of castles was *Mediaeval Military Architecture in England* (1884a; 1884b) by G. T. Clark. In two volumes, Clark provided a detailed survey of a range of sites from across the United Kingdom and concluded that these structures should be classified as militaristic in both form and function. Charting their post-Roman and pre-Norman development, Clark remarked that the focus of William I would have been to 'regard it from a military point of view, and to order the construction of such strong places' (Clark, 1884a:39). As the medieval period progressed, he theorised that the developing elaboration and complexity was the result of a need for greater defences. Despite acknowledging the potential of the castle as a residential dwelling, he argued that 'the domestic are always subordinate to the military arrangements' (Clark, 1884a:170). Further work on the pre-Norman origins of the motte was heavily criticised by John Horace Round who suggested that 'Clark disposed of unwelcome evidence; he either ignored it, or waived it aside' (Round, 1902:324). In his view, Clark had come to conclusions that were misguided or were simply inaccurate which somewhat overshadowed his contribution to the field. Alongside Clark, Round is often cited as one of the fathers of modern castle studies. His work examined the nature of feudalism during the tenth and eleventh centuries and the importance of castles to those who lived and ruled at this time. Having challenged the work of Clark, Round then investigated the origin of Anglo-Saxon *burhs* in relation to the development of Norman castles. He maintained that 'these moated mounds can be proved in many cases to have been thrown up by the Normans, none of them is earlier in date', although, 'in the meanwhile I suggest that we deal with each example on its merits' (Round, 1902:333). Not without merit, his acknowledgement that additional investigations were necessary was significant for ensuring that castle studies did not stall.

The work of Sir William St John Hope significantly contributed to the early study of castles as he attempted to bring a level of focus that rivalled that of ecclesiastical buildings. His research was centred on a number of castles including Ludlow (1909) and most prominently, Windsor (1913). Alongside Round, Hope critiqued the theory of the origin of the motte and bailey of Clark which remained the dominant view at the time. Referencing the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Hope charted the appearance of the word *castel*

which had been used as early as 1048, emphasising a somewhat novel phenomenon in the English landscape. The chronicle detailed how following the return of William I to Normandy, his magnates 'built castles far and wide throughout this country, and distressed the wretched folk, and always after that it grew much worse' (Whitelock et al., 1961:145). Hope hypothesised that the construction of these castles was the strategy of William to control the English, the urgency stressed by 'the universal prevalence of the use of timber for their first defences' (Hope, 1903:88). As with the work of Clark, this viewpoint, however, can still be seen as an oversimplification that is reliant on the martial characteristics of castles, especially those linked to the Norman Conquest and 'the Anarchy' period. His research, nevertheless, brought wider focus to the study of the medieval castle.

Around the late nineteenth century, academic interest in Stephen of Blois and the Empress Matilda began with William Stubbs and his *Constitutional History of England* (1873). Victorian writers were heavily influenced by the political context in which they wrote and considered the development of England through a social, economic and political lens, similar to that of the interrelated analysis of castles. The reign of King Stephen and the contemporary period of castle-building was defined as 'a period of unprecedented general misery, and a most potent lesson for later times and foreign countries' (Stubbs, 1873:363). Stubbs proposed that Stephen was ultimately responsible for the war, and that 'the king was alternatively a prisoner and a conqueror; but was never able to restore the administrative machinery' and his rival, Matilda, 'had her turns of good and evil fortune, but was never able to make good her title to the Crown' (Stubbs, 1873:353). Subsequent generations of scholars have become familiar with Stubbs' views on the damaging impacts of feudalism through his own political agenda. His work has become an anvil for those who wish to offer an alternative perspective of Stephen's reign and was further developed by his student, John Horace Round, who was another product of the Oxford Constitutionalist School of Thought. As well as being one of the early pioneers of castle studies, Round is credited for using the word 'anarchy' to describe this period which has now become synonymous with it, irrespective of whether or not the scholar believes that the period was anarchic. Supporting the work of Stubbs, the evaluation of the reign of King Stephen by Round was negative in that it created a barrier for advancement. *Geoffrey de Mandeville* (1892) by Round formed one of the

first scientific studies of the period. In this study of the charters granted to him, Geoffrey de Mandeville was depicted 'as the most perfect and typical presentment of the feudal and anarchic spirit that stamps the reign of Stephen' (Round, 1892:v). In the view of Round, his actions were representative of the wider corruption and immorality of England's magnates, manifested through the building of castles. This analysis could suggest that 'the Anarchy' was inevitable regardless of the reign of Stephen and reflected wider society. The negative assessment of the reign of Stephen by Stubbs and Round still resonates in recent studies despite their acknowledgment that King Stephen faced immense challenges, many of which were beyond his control.

At the start of the twentieth century, Ella Armitage emerged as one of the main figures in the field of castle studies. Published in 1912, *The Early Norman Castles of the British Isles* entered the debate by focussing on the origins of the motte. Not the first to challenge the work of G. T. Clark, Armitage is well-known for her critique of the lack of detail in Clark's study, stating that 'when he found a motte on a site which had once been Saxon, he did not stop to inquire what any subsequent builders might have done there, but at once assumed that the motte was Saxon' (Armitage, 1912:26). As well as investigating the relationship between these sites and their relative distributions across Britain, Armitage similarly examined Anglo-Saxon sources with a similar methodology to Hope. She saw that the motte 'only appears after the establishment of the feudal system' and that, 'these castles, in the British Islands are in every case of Norman origin' (Armitage, 1912:viii). Like all monuments, castles do not exist in isolation. This ideology is evident in *Military Architecture in England during the Middle Ages* (1912) by Alexander Hamilton Thompson. This study assessed the ways castles had evolved over time by analysing evidence of architectural strengthening. With a methodology similar in form to that of Clark and Armitage, Thompson assessed Roman fortifications and charted their development to the end of the medieval period, culminating with the emergence of the country house. From this work, Thompson provided a key definition for any castellologist: 'a castle is a private fortress, built by an individual lord as a military stronghold, and also as an occasional residence' (Thompson, 1912:35). Thompson recognised that castles could provide a suitable residence for their owners, yet this was subordinate to their defensive qualities and that 'any improvement in defence is the consequence of improved methods of attack' (Thompson, 1912:58). This would provide

the basis of subsequent attitudes towards castles for years to come and had an immense impact on the analysis of castle use throughout the period of conflict during Stephen's reign.

The eminent R. H. C. Davis would go on to publish a critical and influential biography of King Stephen (1990), although it was his father, H. W. C. Davis, who had first propagated the negative image of the king which dominated scholarship at the turn of the twentieth century. In a similar fashion to prior research on the subject, H. W. C. Davis criticised the kingship of Stephen. *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign* (1903) critically examined the early Pipe Rolls of Henry II to investigate the appearance of the term '*waste'*. This work assessed the proportion of shires and boroughs that did not pay taxes during the reign of Stephen. Davis suggested that the presence of the term *waste* would be indicative of the wider effects of the de-stabilisation of government, as argued by his contemporaries. This analysis seemingly revealed *waste* in the Midlands and North of England comparable to the situation in the power bases of Stephen and Matilda in South England, where castles had also been fixtures of the contested landscape. His findings appear to have supported the quote from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* pertaining to the reign of Stephen when, 'Christ and his saints were asleep. Such things, too much for us to describe, we suffered nineteen years' (Whitelock et al., 1961:200). In some cases, the results of Davis surpassed previous critical assessments as parts of Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Leicestershire were shown to have been some of the worst affected.

As with previous studies conducted during periods of war, research contemporary to the First and Second World Wars similarly reinforced the martial view of the medieval castle. This was certainly the case for scholars such as Oman (1926), Braun (1936) and Toy (Toy, 1953; 1955), whose work provided supplementary evidence to support the pervasive, militaristic view of the time. These characteristics influenced D. J. Cathcart King who wrote *Castellarium Anglicanum (King, 1983a; 1983b)* decades later. Considering new findings from fieldwork and documentary research, King examined the castles of England, Wales, and the Islands. His study involved assessing the characteristics and distribution of monuments that he considered to be fortified. His research began with monuments dating to the Norman Conquest and 'the Anarchy' and ended with the introduction of the coastal artillery forts of Henry VIII; his research, however, excluded fortified towns and ecclesiastical sites. King's gazetteer provided a

crucial reference point for this thesis which also considered the characteristics of some sites which were excluded on this basis. Having observed a range of functions, he stressed that, 'it was not its use as a dwellinghouse or as a centre of administration that determined its form, but the fact that it was a castle, a fortification' (King, 1983a:xvi). His interpretations drawn from the martial character and the distribution of sites aligned his work with previous tenets of castle studies.

Despite the general martial assessment of castles and their hinterlands, it is noteworthy that some scholars such as King acknowledged flaws and shortcomings in their work. King, for example, did not believe that there was a planned and cohesive strategy towards the building of castles at the time of the Norman Conquest. He remarked that 'such a plan was only available to the Conqueror, and that even he can only have carried it out in outline' (King, 1983a:xxv). This, therefore, undermined the validity of previous arguments, such as those of G. T. Clark that castles were strategically planned, and that a coordinated building programme followed the Norman Conquest. Furthermore, King acknowledged that castles could have played several roles in medieval society and that these functions could differ across various sites. King equally identified weaknesses in the rationale behind castles as a defensive tool. Despite the fact that many castles existed in relatively sustained periods of peace, when faced with the prospect of a siege, he observed that a castle 'afforded little opportunity for hindering the movements of an enemy in sufficient force to overcome its garrison in the field' (King, 1983a:xxvi). King acknowledged that the defensive nature of the castle was fundamentally flawed if this was indeed its primary purpose. This period of research certainly cast a negative light on the reign of Stephen and reinforced the martial hypothesis of castles from the High Middle Ages. Through the work of King, however, the cracks in the military orthodoxy were truly beginning to show.

2.2 Beyond the Military Orthodoxy

During the 1950s and 1960s, academics began to realise that the martial narrative surrounding castles may not have been entirely accurate. Following the post-war period, Paul Faulkner emerged from this new school of thought and was influenced by the belief

that ‘inevitably, in the planning of any building, the features associated with it or any part of it arise out of the function it was designed to perform’ (Faulkner, 1958:150). Through two influential papers, Faulkner used spatial analysis to examine the internal arrangements and layout of castles to determine how this evolved from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. Faulkner selected the three case studies, including Goodrich, Bolton and Bodiam, and compared them to Chepstow, Caerphilly, and Beaumaris which had been built in the preceding century. From these examples, he saw that ‘the satisfaction of the military and domestic demands were treated as separate problems, which were, nevertheless, beginning to interact’ (Faulkner, 1963:221). However, it was not until the fourteenth century when the amalgamation of military and domestic considerations was fully realised. His novel use of planning diagrams highlighted the various uses of space within the castle, which was shown to vary according to factors such as the importance and social rank of the individual who experienced their complexities. This was a significant development from the military orthodox hypotheses of scholars such as Clark and Thompson which had dominated previous studies.

In spite of the reappraisal of the use of space within castles, there were some apparent limitations in Faulkner’s work that were often omitted. In spite of this, Faulkner did acknowledge that while the sequence and number of rooms can highlight how and by whom space was used, he explained that ‘of the furnishing and manner of decoration of the rooms, nothing, of course, survives’ and ‘all that is left are the permanent architectural features; the doors, windows and fireplaces’ (Faulkner, 1963:223). Historic monuments do not exist in static isolation and are inherently subject to tremendous change over time, or complete destruction, leaving them in a state of ruin; it is essential to consider this when drawing any conclusions about how a structure may have functioned throughout different phases of its history. Despite this limitation, his studies effectively laid the foundation for future research and the interpretation of a wide range of medieval buildings. By analysing the interior of a building, it is possible to gain a deeper understanding of its function, especially when paired with studies of its exterior. This novel approach to the interrelationship between interior and exterior space bridged the gap in the study of secular and ecclesiastical structures. This avenue of research has been expanded by scholars such as Hillier and Hanson who developed theories relating to access analysis. While Faulkner had focused on planning diagrams to demonstrate

relationships between form and function, Hillier and Hanson examined how society can affect the use of a building, stating that 'spatial organisation in society is a function of differentiation' (Hillier & Hanson, 1984:142-43). *Meaningful Constructions: Spatial and Functional Analysis of Medieval Buildings* (Fairclough, 2016) was undoubtedly inspired by the work of Faulkner too. Acknowledging the similarities and the differences in these approaches, Graham Fairclough called for the wider application of spatial and access analyses to all periods of history and to several types of monuments. However, he recognised the limitations of the methodology adopted by Faulkner and commented that, 'it is capable of some extension and elaboration to embrace notions of function, symbolism and meaning' (Fairclough, 2016:352). Despite these limitations, he highlighted the potential for understanding more about notions of privacy, authority, and gender, as well as how these interpretations can challenge pre-existing attitudes. This approach can inform a comprehensive assessment of how buildings were used and, by extension, inferences about wider society; this thesis has benefitted significantly from this methodology by examining the interrelationships between people and place.

R. Allen Brown had similarly realised that the role of the castle was not perhaps as straightforward as previously thought. *English Castles* (1954) was published at a time when the dominant view of castles suggested a martial character and that they were used primarily as a means of conquest and control, as seen in the works of Clark, Thompson and Hope. His efforts were not entirely dissimilar to the martial orthodoxy and castle studies have been shaped by his work partly for that reason. However, through an investigation of the English and Welsh castles that were built throughout the medieval period, Brown found relatively few examples of when castles had been attacked and on the occasions that they had been, they were seldom prepared. He commented that 'it is significant in this respect that some of our greatest castles have no military history' (Brown, 1954:195). In his view, the attempt to fuse together notions of fortification and domestic comfort had fostered this peculiarity which was a major departure from the military orthodoxy. He saw that once castles had fulfilled their purpose, their role shifted entirely to providing domestic comfort which eventually led to a period of decline. This was especially pertinent for the castles of the twelfth-century civil war which were largely seen as transient in their landscapes for this reason. The work of B. K. Davison also brought alternative interpretations to the study of medieval

fortifications by developing the work of Brown. When considering the origin of the motte and bailey on the continent and in England, he saw an apparent lack of evidence for these structures across Normandy prior to 1066, arguing that they must have developed at a similar time to the Conquest. Using evidence from contemporary field surveys, Davison saw that both private and communal fortifications were not introduced to England by the Normans and, in fact, predated the Conquest as they had existed in the form of ringworks and *burhs*. He argued that 'native chiefs in the western parts of the British Isles had been fortifying their residences for many years before the coming of the Normans' (Davison, 1967:205). If castles were defined as the fortified residence of a lord, private fortifications were, therefore, not a new concept. In order for the new Norman ruling elite to gain compliance and respect, it was essential that castles played an instrumental role in ensuring a period of continuity. Despite this theory, his contribution to the debate around castles was not well-received by his contemporaries who saw fallacy in revisiting a subject that had been engaged with decades earlier by scholars such as Armitage.

The reappraisal offered to castles was equally applied to the suggested chaotic reign of Stephen and the so-called Anarchy as scholarship in the twentieth century progressed. Using *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (Knowles & Hadcock, 1953), historians such as Thomas Callahan (1974) saw no evidence of anarchy. Others, such as C. Warren Hollister believed that the influence of the Pipe Rolls may have been overstated and that certain terms within these sources may have distorted our views. Although Hollister observed that anarchy had been inflicted upon Church property, he conceded that 'just as no war is total, no anarchy is absolute' (Hollister, 1974:237). It is important to note that the events that characterised the reign of Stephen affected several regions at different times and to varying degrees, as is the case with any conflict. The Pipe Rolls encapsulate this argument as they have been used as a proxy to estimate how much *waste* was caused by the conflict. However, they are unreliable and do not necessarily offer a direct reflection of the levels of damage and it is, therefore, vital to consider other explanations. Wightman, for example, perceived that the *waste* entries for Yorkshire in Domesday could have been a way in which to categorise land which had not been reviewed for taxation (1975). Emilie Amt additionally viewed the term in similar parameters as 'land unable to produce its accustomed revenue because of

economic damage' (Amt, 1991:240). The appearance of the term *waste* within The Pipe Rolls clearly has no straightforward explanation and thus requires more detailed and systematic analysis.

Alongside reanalysis of historical sources such as The Pipe Rolls to examine the reign of Stephen, the 1970s also witnessed the use of other documentary sources to study castles. Charles Coulson published *Structural Symbolism in Medieval Castle Architecture* (1979) which was followed by many further publications, including *Specimens of Freedom to Crenellate by Licence* (2016). Using documentary evidence and comparing the development of castles in Britain to those on the continent, Coulson sought to readdress how castles were perceived by the academic community. He examined the context and language used to describe fortifications and acknowledged that medieval houses, religious buildings, and castles had received much admiration, yet were troubled by the ambiguity they had caused for those who studied them in conjunction with each other. In Coulson's view, 'exactitude is essential if we are to know what is functional and what symbolical' and 'close collation of documentary with archaeological material is necessary' (Coulson, 1979:76). A more encompassing approach would be required to move the discussion forward and develop historical context, and in doing so, reveal detailed evidence behind the architectural façade of each castle construction.

Coulson drew attention to the documentary evidence of licences to crenellate. The inclusion of these licences in studies of the medieval period was not new, although earlier studies had perpetuated the view that private fortifications posed a threat to the security of the kingdom. Licences to crenellate were therefore a tool in which the king was able to regulate and maintain control. Coulson used these sources to closely examine the context behind each monument. He saw that the circumstances in which licences were obtained did not necessarily reflect a military motive. His work considered the period from 1200-1578, and comprised 15 case studies which reflected the range of licences that were received by castles, ecclesiastical sites, towns, and town houses. The Patent, Close, Fine and Charter Rolls appeared to show a pattern, with the vast majority being applied for by individuals with lower social standing, rather than higher ranking lords. Consequently, Coulson argued that authorisation to crenellate 'was in most cases just honorific to the recipient. It was a courtesy of feudal convention on the part of the vassal to seek permission' (Coulson, 1979:78). Coulson identified that the content of

these licences was often formulaic and prescriptive, supporting his view that they could simply represent a formality. This was evidenced by the licence to crenellate of 1264 at Hood Castle, which allowed John de Eyvill (Lyte, 1910:342):

> 'and his heirs to enclose a place of his called la Hode, co. York, with a dyke and a wall of stone and lime and to crenellate it, and to hold it so fortified and crenellated for ever.'

The language and use of syntax are characteristic and licences do not tend to deviate from this formula, often overlooking specific defensive features and individual details. This suggests that other factors influenced why licences were obtained and were so frequently granted. Coulson, therefore, called for a more individualised approach when attempting to explain why these monuments were constructed. The significance of this work emphasised that castles did not necessarily have to have been built solely for utilitarian purposes. While he acknowledged that castles were undeniably architecturally militaristic in appearance, they could also be aristocratic markers of status and wealth, intentionally nostalgic and utilised as a means of social emulation. Though ground-breaking in its approach, the wider academic community was still not ready to fully accept an alternative approach to the discussion of the castle; this was finally realised with Bodiam Castle.

2.3 'The Battle for Bodiam': A Turning Point in the Debate

Traditional attitudes towards castles finally shifted in the 1990s with the examination of Bodiam Castle, Sussex, and deserves special focus here. Bodiam had long been regarded as the archetypal image of the medieval castle and remains the case today. The castle had been considered as one of the finest examples of its kind to be built in the fourteenth century, a period when castles were generally understood to be in a state of decline (Simpson, 1931). Historians such as G. T. Clark and Harold Sands popularised the view that Bodiam Castle was built by Edward Dallingridge to defend the nearby countryside and coastline from a perceived threat from French raiders. Clark identified that the moat was one of the strongest features of the castle and if drained, 'the mud,

however, until dry, would be an even better protector than the water' (Clark, 1884a:241). Sands added that the nearby river and its proximity to the South Coast afforded the castle considerable strategic qualities. Additionally, his drawings of the landscape setting of Bodiam seemed to suggest a highly defensible position that was not 'within range of the offensive weapons in use at the time of its foundation' (Sands, 1903:115). Alongside the other defensive features the site possessed, the defensive integrity of Bodiam, was seemingly assured.

Following the interpretation of Clark and Sands, a revised view of Bodiam Castle was presented by the likes of Charles Coulson and Christopher Hohler. Initially considered as a fortified residence built with the greatest military engineering available at the time, it became apparent that the castle may not have been able to withstand a meaningful and coordinated attack. After investigations from feature analysis and documentary sources, several shortcomings in the defensive capabilities of Bodiam Castle were found. Hohler claimed that Bodiam was 'really an old soldier's dream house and could never have played a significant part in a late fourteenth-century war' (Hohler, 1966:140). As discussed in section 2.2, Coulson was keen to utilise his theories surrounding licences to crenellate and Bodiam became the ideal subject to test whether there was indeed a state of decline in castles in the fourteenth century. Coulson closely examined the internal and external features of the castle including its doors, loops, windows, and parapets and believing there to be defensive limitations, concluded that supported the ideas of Hohler. Despite these findings, Coulson urged caution and conceded that the middle ground must be taken, regarding that 'the wisest course is to resist the temptation to write off any feature as sham or to take any element as purely functional' (Coulson, 1992:66).

The discourse continued with new studies, some of which focused on the landscape setting of Bodiam such as that of Paul Everson, who in agreement with Coulson, saw that this aspect was equally ambiguous. Although Harold Sands had previously argued that the topography and manipulation of water around the castle afforded Edward Dallingridge the necessary protection to resist any form of attack, Everson highlighted that this may not have been the primary intention when it was first designed. The findings of then-newly commissioned survey carried out by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England revealed much about the earthworks around the

site and it became clear that access to the castle was contrived for maximum impact. The moat was deemed to be the focal point, accessed over a drawbridge and barbican. Alongside this were a string of ponds extending up the hillside that forced visitors to adopt a preconceived route. Furthermore, there is also possible evidence of a viewing platform on the hill above which may have been used to enhance visual appeal. Everson argued that this view is 'given enhanced credibility by the complementary review and assessment of Bodiam Castle prepared by Dr Charles Coulson' (Everson, 1996:82). Bodiam was therefore potentially built as a martial style residence with manipulated landscapes and nostalgic embellishments; this was a radical change of interpretation compared to the ideas suggested in the nineteenth century. In Taylor's view, 'it perhaps adds more conclusive weight than anything else to Hohler's assessment as an old soldier's dream house' (Taylor et al., 1990:157).

During this period of renewed interest in Bodiam, D. J. Turner challenged the assessments of Hohler and Coulson, disagreeing with their classification of the castle as a piece of theatre. Although he acknowledged that the castle did play a notable role in the social aspirations of Dallingridge, Turner disagreed with Hohler and Coulson by stating that 'a social symbol did not reduce a castle to the level of dream house' (Turner, 1986:275). Turner believed that the military role of Bodiam had been understated and that contemporary studies had missed the point entirely. His study focused on the ability of the castle to withstand a siege by drawing attention to the premise that 'what *was* important was whether Sir Edward or his potential attackers *saw* the castle as sufficiently defensible' (Turner, 1986:277). Moreover, by examining the wider context of fourteenth century castle-construction, he saw no reason to view Bodiam Castle as any more contrived than other sites. Turner remarked that it assumed a dual role; it was a marker of his social elevation, yet it was a real castle at the same time.

Misjudgements on Bodiam Castle had arisen primarily due to a lack of understanding of both the social and historical context of its constructor, Edward Dallingridge. As 'the Battle for Bodiam' showed, a much closer assessment had only been made possible by considering Dallingridge's own position within medieval society. This was achieved through a study of contemporary literature, the historical context in which the castle was built, and an analysis of the landscape setting of Bodiam. The rise in social status of Dallingridge was relatively recent and therefore, building a castle was an effective means

to affirm his power and legitimacy to his contemporaries. Despite the fact that it was not always necessary for other individuals of higher social standing to seek a licence to crenellate, it was a crucial marker for Dallingridge to exemplify his newfound status. On the other hand, Turner demonstrated that it is not possible to dismiss other roles that castles such as Bodiam would have possessed. Despite this conjecture around the study of Bodiam, and by extension, its owner, Dallingridge, it is notable that much of this research reflects traditional attitudes towards medieval castles more broadly.

While castles have typically been analysed solely in terms of their utilitarian and defensive features, this thesis suggests that they could have been constructed for both practical and symbolic reasons, depending on their individual requirements and the historical context. Furthermore, an interdisciplinary approach provides a more comprehensive view of the past by critically examining a range of evidence types. This methodology offers a more nuanced insight into the function of these structures to rectify what has traditionally been a disparity within this field. As this thesis examines similar forms of evidence in combination and not in isolation, revisionism in castle studies has formed a suitable foundation upon which to build. Oliver Creighton acknowledged in the aftermath of 'the Battle for Bodiam' that while 'recent work has shown glimpses of what can be achieved by examining castles in a more holistic way, much still remains to be done' (Creighton, 2002:223). These castles can polarise academic debate, yet they also foster advances in understanding. In this respect, Bodiam deserves this accolade more than any other.

2.4 The Revisionist School

Castle studies now occupy a vastly different place than they did in the nineteenth century. Since then, much work has been done to highlight the distribution, origin and function of castles, yet there is still room for further study. Bodiam Castle has become a turning point and has represented a beacon of change for attitudes towards castles and their importance to elite society. Bodiam helped to create a renewed academic interest though several different themes which had received little focus beyond the limited ideas of the military orthodoxy. One of these newly emerged avenues considered the weak

personality of King Stephen which was seen as having led to anarchy throughout the England through the medium of castles. This stood in contrast to the depictions of Matilda as 'a remarkable woman, and her achievements were lasting' (Chibnall, 1991:3).

Challenging the established and well-regarded *waste* argument of H. W. C. Davis, Edmund King argued that the historical evidence 'shows a failure of central control, at a point where the English government was at its most centralised'. He noted that previous historians had missed the point that 'a failure of central control does not preclude the existence of effective control within the regions' (King, 1984:152). King closely examined the personal traits of Stephen and his convictions to provide an alternative explanation as to why events unfolded as they did. Due to the personality of Stephen, he saw that lay and ecclesiastical magnates were forced to assert their own autonomy across England. Even though his overall thesis of the reign of Stephen subtly aligned his research with previous tenets of the period, King's approach differed somewhat. Stephen's reign was still regarded as an overall failure, yet the apparent evils of feudalism were no longer seen as the principal driving force behind their destructive actions; this point is essential to consider in this thesis as the construction of castles and the militarisation of Church property have both become synonymous with 'the Anarchy'.

Since this reassessment of the reign of Stephen which had long been dominated by the likes of Stubbs and Round, King published an influential biography of his reign, simply called *King Stephen* (2012). Modern historians have tended to use quotation marks or capital letters to label 'the Anarchy' in order to distance themselves from this characterisation. At first glance, the title of the work of King also appeared to reflect this disassociation although he acknowledged that, 'in the face of rebellion, Stephen kept going. This was a facet of his character which both friend and foe acknowledged' (King, 2012:307). Indeed, contemporary sources highlighted the skill of Stephen as a military commander and suggested that he was a kind and pious man. On the other hand, King thought that these various qualities could not redeem Stephen of Blois. He insisted that his greatest fault was that 'Stephen never appears as his own man. He was the creation of others, used to further their ambitions' (King, 2012:338-39). His personal character was not strong enough and his reliance and subservience to the queen and his magnates, ultimately led to the events which we have come to recognise as one of anarchy. Despite a similar character study to that of King, David Crouch offered a more forgiving

assessment of the period. While he acknowledged that there had been several substantial problems that Stephen failed to overcome, he saw that the impact of these troubles throughout the country was not perhaps as great as previously thought. Unlicenced castles have often been seen as an indicator of societal breakdown and the king's inability to control it. Crouch maintained that contemporaries would typically regard these structures as symbols of oppression and as a result, 'the so-called adulterine castle – does not deserve quite the attention it has had so far in the historiography' and that their appearance across the landscape 'was a dangerous symptom of disorder, not its cause' (Crouch, 2000:151). While there is some validity in this statement, King would argue that it was the weakness of Stephen himself that had caused the disorder rather than emerging as a symptom of it; future research cannot ignore the origin and function of castles during this period as they form a microcosm in which to examine societal and cultural norms.

The more positive view of King Stephen held by Crouch was likewise championed by Keith Stringer. Stringer examined a variety of aspects relating to the period including the role of government, the Church, war and the magnates of Stephen within the context of those who ruled before and those after him. As previously noted, R. H. C. Davis was critical of the reign of Stephen and saw his shortcomings as an extension of his own personality. This echoed the sentiment of other traditional historians, some of whom have seen the creation of many earldoms and the decentralisation of government as a sign of political instability. However, Stringer noted that while Stephen did create far more earldoms than his predecessor, Henry I, this was not a sign of weakness. In fact, Stringer saw this as an effective method to strategically place supporters of Stephen around the country to uphold his authority. Moreover, he maintained that 'had a different policy been adopted, it seems very likely that the early part of the reign would have been far more unstable than it actually was' (Stringer, 1993:55). As central government did not collapse entirely, a re-evaluation of this period of history has long been overdue. Further studies can continue to challenge the established view that the ruling elite largely acted out of self-interest, or that they instead upheld security throughout the kingdom on behalf of Stephen through the use of castles.

Coulson's *The Castles of the Anarchy* (2003) heralded a change of direction within the field, considering the construction and adaptation of castles across England from the

mid-twelfth century. Coulson examined the nature of castle-building during the reign of King Stephen and like Crouch, found fallacy in the argument that unlicenced castles were a symbol of its instability. He noted that too much emphasis had been placed upon their role as a damaging force which threatened the power of the Crown. Again, similar to Crouch, he agreed that 'castles were the result, not the cause, of local disturbances' (Coulson, 2003:67). Within the context of war, Coulson examined several examples including the alterations made by Bishop Alexander to Lincoln Cathedral, and those by Earl Ranulf of Chester at Lincoln Castle. Interestingly, he saw that these adaptations were representative of lordly rivalries and regional hostilities, suggesting that 'the probability is that aristocratic construction continued almost normally, and that the reign possessed a certain style of its own' (Coulson, 2003:85). It is clear that episcopal and lay magnates were able to exert their own power with relative freedom, although to what extent this was manifested through local stylistic differences remained unclear.

John Kenyon has written much on the subject of medieval fortifications and the development of both English and Welsh castles from the time of the Conquest to the end of the fifteenth century. This work has been of particular value for this thesis when considering a wider variety of castle forms and features and how they changed over time. Benefitting from the findings of archaeological excavations, *Medieval Fortifications* (1990) highlighted the juxtaposition between private and communal fortifications, including towns and urban defences. Despite the martialised suggestion in the title of his work, Kenyon focussed on the domestic qualities of the former which he found was lacking in the historiography. He cited then-recent advances in scholarship at sites including Caernarfon and Okehampton where water was stored and channelled across their domestic buildings. Kenyon argued that 'some of the less obvious domestic arrangements show that considerable planning went into the layout of various buildings, whether keep or kitchen' (Kenyon, 1990:161); the image of daily life at these sites has been found to be more nuanced than originally thought. Functionality was also explored more closely by N. J. G. Pounds in *The Medieval Castle in England and Wales* (1990) through the lens of its administrative role. Even though he reinforced earlier views of the military and social functions of castles across England, Pounds placed greater significance on their political attributes. Drawing attention to the clerical role of the sheriff, he asserted that 'the castle was at its greatest use in peace. It was an instrument

of local power plated to enforce authority and government' (Pounds, 1990:75). However, this did not dismiss the military qualities of the castle, as much of his work focused on the relationship between royal and baronial castles, including their development after the Conquest and into 'the Anarchy'. Pounds thus concluded that castles assumed an authoritative, yet static focus in the landscape, largely during peacetime. The work of Kenyon and Pounds began to profile the social and political functions of castles that had not been fully acknowledged by previous studies and came at the same time that 'the Battle for Bodiam' was reassessing castles from a similar angle.

In contrast to the work of Thompson, Kenyon and Pounds, David Stocker assessed the position of castles within the wider research framework and suggested that the dominant military orthodox interpretation was not entirely correct. He stressed that 'we know it is a simplistic view of the past through both historical and archaeological sources – so why do we allow it to continue distorting the study of castles?' (Stocker, 1992:415). Upon reviewing the supposed weaknesses in the work of his contemporaries, Stocker found flaws in the work of Michael Thompson who was a great advocate of the military school of thought. According to Stocker, Kenyon was equally limited for his lack of depth in the context of contemporary debates. Stocker also found their work on Bodiam Castle equally problematic, despite its central position within the discourse. He commented that 'it is not surprising that, unlike Thompson (who gives the impression that he has not quite made up his mind), Kenyon is quite sure that Bodiam is nothing other than a military machine' (Stocker, 1992:417). Following this rebuttal, Stocker shifted his attention back to the work of Pounds which he found to be a much more compelling and positive contribution to the field of castle studies. Stocker believed that these findings offered alternative explanations that were much more attuned to the changeable climate of academic study. Pounds had identified that castles could be built for a variety of reasons, including political purposes and the influence of landholding arrangements. Stocker echoed this view in that 'castles are integrated into the whole panoply of medieval lordship and cannot be divorced from the rest of medieval society' (Stocker, 1992:418). Although he acknowledged that there were limitations in the work of Pounds, including his outdated and military driven interpretation of Bodiam Castle, Stocker believed that the direction offered by Pounds was the only way that the field could move forward. Stocker was nonetheless optimistic about the future direction of the discipline

and concluded that, 'in the shadow cast by the General's armchair, Kenyon casts little light, Thompson is a torch which swings about in the gloom lighting up the odd feature here and there, but Pounds' book is a searchlight pointing the way to the future' (Stocker, 1992:420).

In response to the work of Stocker, Michael Thompson contested his arguments in *Military Interpretation of Castles* (1994). Thompson began his study by synthesising and evaluating the key contributions made by G. T. Clark, Ella Armitage, Horace Round, Sir William St John Hope and Alexander Hamilton Thompson. It was in this framework that Thompson reasserted the traditional military interpretation which once again threatened to compromise the study of castles, not least those of the twelfth century. While he conceded that 'every other line of enquiry by documents, architecture or excavation is of course perfectly valid', Thompson remained unyielding in his view that in respect of castles, 'the prime consideration of the builder was to make the site defendable' (Thompson, 1994:444). In his view, if we do not examine these structures and their respective surroundings in terms of their military capabilities, then, 'we lose sight of the reason for the castle's existence' (Thompson, 1994:444). His argument was founded on the remains of these structures which naturally influences our understanding. Although this can be an inevitable trap for future studies to fall into, military aspects cannot be ignored entirely, yet scholarship must equally move beyond the divisive rhetoric it has created where possible. Sholars must embrace a broader approach and innovative archaeological methods, exemplified by the re-interpretation of Bodiam Castle. This is vital when examining the impact of castle-building through the lens of anarchy and lordship during Stephen's reign.

Paul Dalton's *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship: Yorkshire, 1066 – 1154* (1994) was one of the first studies to recognise this scholarly need. Dalton explored some of the major themes influencing the debate since Stenton had first detailed them in *The First Century of English Feudalism* (1932). Like Stringer before him, Dalton challenged the view that, 'Stephen's creation of earls was a deliberate attempt to impose an alternative conception of government' and that, 'greater magnates profited from, and in some cases sought to promote a failure control' (Dalton, 1994:i). Despite the neglect of archaeological evidence in his work, this publication took a broader approach to the subject by examining the interrelated themes of conquest, anarchy, and lordship from

the period 1066-1154. Through the case study of Yorkshire and its magnates, Dalton helped overturn some of the prevailing notions that still influenced historians when examining the twelfth-century social structure of elite society. Furthermore, his work signalled the way for this thesis to expand on the reassessment and also adopt a political, tenurial and temporal approach to the subject by investigating the interplay between these themes.

Building on his earlier contribution to the field of castle studies, Coulson re-entered the debate with *Cultural Realities and Reappraisals in English Castle-Study* (1996), in which he called for the end of military determinism, which had plagued twelfth-century castles in particular, once and for all. Developing the findings of *Structural Symbolism in Medieval Castle Architecture* (1979) and his work on Bodiam Castle (1992), this article formed a comprehensive review of the debate and recognised then-stalling academic growth within the field. His research focused on several aspects of the debate, including the origin of Anglo-Saxon *burhs* and walled towns, believing that previous research had fostered no credible advances. Coulson thought that Round, Armitage and Brown had been too simplistic and that in all aspects of prior research, 'motivational building-analysis has been the central theme, not confronting but disregarding monocausal' (Coulson, 1996:179). In his view, taking such an unyielding stance had established an equally distorted view of the archaeology that would persist if not altered. Coulson sign-posted the way to overcome this providing future studies with a suitable foundation on which to stimulate progress. Despite their interpretations, Coulson viewed the work of Pounds and Stocker only as a continuation of the traditional and military orthodoxy. He remarked that 'to suppose castles were uniquely insulated from aesthetic ambition is nonsense' (Coulson, 1996:176). In contrast to their methods he focused on the adoption of a cultural and iconographical driven methodology and highlighted several new directions of study, building on the work of Paul Faulkner. This also included the findings of Philip Dixon and his investigation at Knaresborough keep (1990) which showed that its function was less utilitarian than previously given credit for. Coulson found this sentiment similarly echoed by Crouch in *The Image of Aristocracy* (1992) who saw the interior of Castle Rising as being designed 'to allow the sorts of procession which might be marshalled by ushers with their wands' (Crouch, 1992:262). The apparent contradiction between the needs of military strength and social status demonstrated

the merit of Coulson's argument and how these interpretations cannot easily be divorced from each other.

Coulson showed the value of developing a more encompassing architectural and cultural approach to castles. For example, he emphasised the significance of using contemporary sources as a method to advance the discipline. He drew attention to the fact that this subject had received limited focus, although the work of Michael Thompson had at least benefitted from a study of the fourteenth century *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (1997). Coulson highlighted that the use of literature as an interpretive source gave Thompson a larger view of the context in which castles were built, used, and experienced; a notable advancement from the traditional and military approach. Coulson welcomed the development in that 'the sort of rounded cultural purview, integrating a close architectural study with the social, political and iconographic context, which we advocate, has begun' (Coulson, 1996:192). These monuments reflected a variety of preoccupations and ideals of those who built them which highlights their importance within society. Following the example of Coulson, *The Idea of the Castle* by Abigail Wheatley (2004) addressed the often neglected cultural aspects of castles. Wheatley maintained that 'the castle had a dominant presence in medieval society, both physically and ideologically' (Wheatley, 2004:1). Citing early studies for the impediment of this avenue of research, Wheatley drew attention to the fact that castles were not necessarily tools of oppression or tyranny. Considering a range of architectural, documentary, and visual sources, the interdisciplinary approach of Wheatley's work placed the castle within a firmer cultural setting. One of the most compelling examples of this being the sermon of Aelred of Rievaulx, who commented to his brothers, 'let us make ready a certain castle spiritually, so that our Lord might come to us' (Aelred of Rievaulx, 1844-46:303-4). The relationships between secular and ecclesiastical sites which often shared craftsmen and also appeared in religious texts together, highlights that these sites cannot always be viewed as separate entities. An architectural study, coupled with an acute awareness of historical sources provides a solid interpretative framework in which to examine them; this forms a crucial component of this thesis.

Taking into account the approaches of Coulson and Wheatley, Philip Dixon and Pamela Marshall (1993) examined how the interior of the medieval castle may have been accessed and experienced by contemporary audiences. In the preceding decade, T. A.

Markus (1982) had identified three ways of categorising space which included form, function and aformal space. He found that this in turn, can underline the social complexities of those who lived and experienced the structures. Dixon and Marshall sought to expand upon this with their case study on the tower at Hedingham Castle which Michael Thompson (1912) believed would have functioned as a series of private bedrooms; this had long been the dominant interpretation until Dixon and Marshall highlighted the flaws in the argument. Intriguingly, they noted that the fourth story of the tower did not appear to be contemporary to the rest of the building and may have in fact been a later addition. They affirmed that 'we must therefore discount this upper floor from any consideration of the original arrangement of the accommodation in the great tower of Hedingham' (Dixon & Marshall, 1993:19). With this hypothesis in mind, they concluded that the tower must have been built for ceremonial purposes, perhaps by the de Vere family, who had gained power through their support of the Empress Matilda during the struggle with Stephen for the throne. This discovery is even more notable when placed within the context of what has typically been described as a turbulent period in history, where the function of a castle was traditionally assumed to have been largely for protection.

Dixon and Marshall's work at Hedingham demonstrated the value of looking closer at the interior of a structure from the High Middle Ages in order to challenge the preconceived perceptions of form and function. In their view, 'though classification and typologies are crucial, it is first necessary to be sure of the exact nature of the structures that are so classified' (Dixon & Marshall, 1993:22). This approach is of even greater significance when applied to later and more complex monuments, or to those which have extant remains and interior plans; while those that have subsequently been modified beyond their original form can be extremely difficult to interpret. As this can be said of many of the structures discussed within this thesis, it is nonetheless an invaluable tool which has been used as a point of comparison to draw parallels with other sites. This pioneering method had origins in Jane Grenville's survey of a range of domestic structures, which culminated in *Medieval Buildings* (1997). Collectively, the work of Grenville, Dixon and Marshall remains a foundation for considering the occupation and development of a greater range of constructions from the Middle Ages in their spatial contexts. This avenue is one which continues to gain further traction,

most recently in Katherine Weikert's *Authority, Gender and Space in the Anglo-Norman World, 900-1200* which firmly maintains the agenda that 'seeing a place, and people within it, across a period of time allows us to see the society that created these places and the forces that shaped and changed the societies themselves' (Weikert, 2020:1).

Since 'the Battle for Bodiam', the re-interpretation of archaeological sites has become more commonplace. Like the study of Hedingham, the work on Orford Castle by T. A. Heslop (1991) demonstrated that new conclusions can be drawn from existing material simply by changing the method of investigation. Heslop commented that the route to bring this to fruition was no easy task, and, 'there has been no strong tradition among architectural historians for discussing the planning, iconography and aesthetics of eleventh and twelfth-century secular structures' (Heslop, 1991:36). Instead, studies had focused on ecclesiastical buildings, much to the detriment of their secular counterparts. Initially viewed through a military orthodoxy, Heslop noted many features at Orford which suggested to him that these earlier views were inaccurate. The access, layout and features of the site transcended military and social functions and were shown to possess other qualities. He observed that the conical roof and circular halls were symbolic of the dome of Heaven, the window arches reminiscent of eastern tradition, and found the recurrence of the numbers seven and thirteen to be spiritually relevant. In the words of Heslop, 'each building needs to be treated on its own merits as well as finding a place within a wider context' (Heslop, 1991:54). Although it is useful to place sites within a larger framework of research, it is important to acknowledge that they are as individual as those for whom they were built. We must equally recognise the challenges and limitations that this approach presents. Heslop questioned the extent to which contemporary designers were not only aware of historical and religious iconography, but how far these individuals went to actively articulate these ideas into their constructions. While we can never truly know if this was intentional, Orford underlines the value of a synthesis of evidence types and methodologies. This can mitigate such problems and when used together, can allow for a more comprehensive understanding of the origin and role of secular and ecclesiastical structures to be made. Furthermore, it is possible that other comparative examples will be found in the future, and this study will in part address this need.

Another vital aspect of research this thesis has been influenced by has been the reframing of timber castles, which during the Middle Ages, 'were firmly rooted in the culture of the northern world' (Higham, 2003:60). In a similar way to the work conducted at Hedingham and Orford, the manorial centre of Goltho demonstrates the validity of re-examining such sites. Early historians perpetuated the simplistic view of timber castles which were often seen as inferior to masonry castles. However, G. Beresford found Goltho to be much more complex. Excavations carried out in the 1970s showed several phases of development including in 'around 1080, [when] a small motte and bailey castle was built within the existing late Saxon fortifications' (Beresford, 1987:213). The site was subsequently re-worked in the twelfth century, but did 'not appear to have been occupied for any substantial length of time' (Beresford, 1987:13). Beresford's established chronology for the site has been a contentious topic ever since and has been challenged by the likes of Stocker (1989), Everson (1990) and Creighton (2002) who have all proposed a later sequencing. Goltho has been brought to the fore again by Naomi Sykes whose forthcoming research has implications on its chronologies which can perhaps again be re-dated on the basis of radiocarbon dating (Sykes, pers comm).

An awareness of the methodological constraints of studying timber castles must be acknowledged too. Unlike those built in stone, many timber castles from the eleventh and twelfth centuries remain unknown to history and are not represented through extant remains. In the case of Goltho, excavation arguably exacerbated its destruction and the quality of its remains. When archaeological remains do exist, varying states of preservation and the location of these sites can make identification and interpretation problematic. Where excavation is not possible or is not in the best interests of the monument, Robert Higham noted that, 'it is only by detailed survey, on the ground and from air photographs, that the precise character of a site can be demonstrated' (Higham, 2003:56); this methodology has been used to great effect within this thesis and as a result, has profited from aerial photography, sketches and archaeological reports. In doing so, this thesis has been able to challenge pre-existing conceptions of several twelfth-century sites which currently lack an archaeological overview.

In addition to studying historical, political and cultural contexts in more detail, one of the most significant avenues of modern scholarship has been placing castles in their geographical settings. Tom McNeill provided a broad overview of the development of

the castles across England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, the latter of which had been largely neglected by previous studies. His primary argument was that 'one of the things that makes castles interesting is that they are all different' (McNeill, 1992:15). Progressing beyond the outdated views of the traditional orthodoxy, McNeill (2006) identified the variety of roles that the castle played for the king or its lord, including its residential and cultural attributes. In Ireland in particular, his work found that castles can often transcend the dominant image of the region being torn by war and instability. His study highlighted the need to critically examining the function of castles, especially those which were built during a sustained period of conflict. Although the primary focus of his work has been the provincial castles of the British Isles, it is necessary for any future work to establish the wider context in which castles developed. This approach allows wider comparisons to be drawn and an assessment to be made regarding the prevalence of regional specificities in contrast to wider patterns surrounding form and function on a regional, national and international scale.

To further identify the manifestations of seigneurial power across the many provinces of England, John Hunt (1997) highlighted the importance of embracing a regional, as well as a temporal approach to the subject. While broad studies are useful in establishing what was happening across the country, they can overlook certain specific and local occurrences. Hunt examined the Honour of Dudley, how the aristocracy functioned within it, and the relationship between this social class and the landscape. He achieved this by placing castles, moated sites and manor houses, elite landscapes, towns and villages and religious buildings within the context of lordship and evaluated the motivations behind their construction. Considering whether sites were the product of these individuals and their ambitions, or if other factors were responsible, he argued that, 'the role and function of lordship cannot be divorced from other factors, be they environmental or trends and pressures present in contemporary society' (Hunt, 1997:12); the regional analysis by Hunt mirrored the complexities inherent in medieval society. With the use of documentary sources and archaeological evidence, Hunt underlined the value of an interdisciplinary approach. This thesis has utilised a similar approach to examine trends and patterns concerning the reign of King Stephen which is enhanced by placing them within the context of previous research. Hunt asserted that this methodology 'not only permits the exploration of a less frequently examined

perspective…it offers a potential line of enquiry for other lordships' (Hunt, 1997:12). However, he identified the limitations of his work too, including the difficulties that can arise when faced with fragmentary sources. As documentary evidence has similarly been used in this thesis, it is essential to acknowledge the issues that others such as Hunt have faced to identify and mitigate them as much as possible. Although his study area was based upon the notion of Honours rather than overall counties as explored in this thesis, it is nonetheless comparative in its geographical outlook.

Archaeological work undertaken across diverse and marginal environments has similarly formed a suitable foundation in which to build this new landscape study. One of the most important studies that this thesis considered was the *Wetland Heritage Of The Vale Of York: An Archaeological Survey* (1999) which was only the fourth large scale investigation of its kind. As a part of a larger framework of research across Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, the Humber Wetlands Project focussed on: the Lincolnshire Marsh, the Trent and Ancholme Valleys, the Humberhead Levels, the Vale of York, the Hull Valley and the Holderness. The project provided a comprehensive survey of the features of these landscapes, the sites distributed throughout it, as well as their levels of preservation. Considering a range of evidence types such as photographic data, this comprehensive study assessed the level of human interaction across the landscape. Following the defining work of Le Patourel on moated sites (1973), Helen Fenwick provided a deeper insight into the development of several archaeological sites and their relationship to their environments throughout the region. From extant knowledge and the findings from this work, it was observed that 'over 110 possible moated sites have been identified within this region' and 'some of these are not proven but aerial photographs suggest that they have the potential to be moated sites' (Fenwick, 1999:255). Fenwick also drew attention to the human and environmental risks faced by these sites, highlighting the benefits of earthwork survey and aerial photography. In this respect she advised that 'if additional sites can be investigated using non-destructive methods such as GPS, we may gain increased knowledge without causing further damage' (Fenwick, 1999:267).

Building on the work undertaken by the Humber Wetlands Project, Fenwick's work emphasised 'that monocausal explanations are unsatisfactory tools for understanding moat construction' (Fenwick, 2012:283). This causation tended to be viewed as such

because of the military or social considerations which had long dominated the discipline; the study of Bodiam Castle fostered a change in thinking in the ways in which monuments were viewed. Fenwick contextualised their development against the backdrop of social change and thus highlighted that earlier explanations were indeed overly simplistic. The significance of this publication was its recognition that the development of these sites was not uniform and regional differences are present within the archaeology. Furthermore, it brought focus to the position of future landscape studies when examined in novel ways such as the work of Andrew Lowerre who utilised geographical information systems (GIS). Though not the first to introduce this to the field of archaeology, his approach is one of the most relevant to this thesis which has investigated parallel themes through a similar framework. His study concentrated on the castles built following the Norman Conquest in the counties of Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and Northamptonshire. Attempting to trace their development during the initial period of conquest and consolidation, Lowerre investigated where castles were situated. From his assimilation of Domesday and landholding figures, he created a series of detailed maps to synthesise, visualise and analyse these geospatial patterns. The use of GIS allowed him to closely examine who built monuments within the region, as much as those who did not. From this, he argued that, 'the strongest patterns detectable in the siting of castles in the south-eastern Midlands were tenurially, economically or resource-oriented rather than overtly military' (Lowerre, 2005:195). Although he acknowledged the limitations of dating and fiscal values attributed by the Domesday records, Lowerre presented a useful method in which to examine the development of castles.

The work of Lisa Karen McManama-Kearin equally sign-posted the way for this thesis to make a meaningful contribution to the debate. She noted that despite considerable advances having been made beyond the narrative of early scholars, GIS had been largely underused by medievalists and only a small number of individuals, such as Andrew Lowerre (2005) have taken advantage of this tool. Building on Lowerre's foundation, McManama-Kearin used a sample of twenty castles built entirely afresh in the Irish landscape in order to examine why the builders chose some locations and not others. The premise of her work was based upon the notion of how visibility played a role in their setting and found that 'builders were concerned with both projective and reflective

visibility, especially within an effective radius of 1km' and though other factors such as topography influenced their decisions, 'these castles were designed for a formal way of *life*, not for war' (McManama-Kearin, 2013:ix). These findings were made possible by synthesising and visualising landscape data which evidenced the powerful capabilities of GIS; this thesis has also followed a similar methodology, outlined in more detail in section 3.3.

However, the approach of McManama-Kearin was not without its limitations. Finding fault in the use of anecdotal approaches, her methodology was based on 'a corpus of castles which had enough above-ground fabric left with which to build a story' and these case studies 'needed to be the best examples of such castles' (McManama-Kearin, 2013:7). By her own admission, this can result in the selective use of sources to prove theories when there are many other examples she could have used which may not have supported her argument; this is also a wider issue in any study of castles. Physical remains can often be fragmentary, and it can be difficult to overcome these challenges and choose sources more objectively. On the other hand, the use of GIS by McManama-Kearin provides the ideal basis for similar studies to follow. This tool has exciting potential, yet as with any approach, must be balanced with valid sources and methods. The adoption of a regional approach within this thesis has helped to mitigate this to some extent, as the study area and use of a database has helped to define the sites that have become its focus. Though it does not consider castle-building in an Irish context, an understanding of the results of McManama-Kearin has been of tremendous value when looking at castle siting during the High Middle Ages more generally.

The revisionist school of thought has now become widely accepted by the academic community with its new direction forming the basis for other scholars to advance the discussion. Considering this historiographical shift, Colin Platt offered a warning to all those concerned with future studies on the subject. Following the turning point of 'the Battle for Bodiam,' he believed that 'try as they might to widen the research agenda, today's castellologists have usually settled for less' and inevitably return to what he saw as 'that hoary old debate: was the castle primarily a noble dwelling or a fort?' (Platt, 2007:83). His article formed a response to Coulson and followers of his view that castles assumed social roles at the expense of any military capabilities they might have possessed. Having gained momentum during the last two decades, Platt warned that

there was a danger in applying this revisionist school of thought to all previous work that has been carried out in the field; he stressed that future studies might risk becoming something of a cliché. He added that 'Coulson's unwarranted emphasis on social emulation has enjoyed such a long run in castle studies. Time to step back a pace, and think again' (Platt, 2007:102). While there is merit in his caution, it is recognised that the re-examination of military and social factors in archaeological sites and historical sources can greatly benefit the discipline. This approach has long been overdue for the castles contemporary to the war between Stephen and Matilda which have been defined by the parameters of conflict.

In response to the warning of Colin Platt, Oliver Creighton and Robert Liddiard formed a rejoinder to the debate in an attempt to advance the discussion on castles beyond the circular war and status narrative. They strongly believed that, 'simply rehearsing the 'war or status' argument at whatever length or in whatever form can only take castle studies so far' (Creighton & Liddiard, 2008:164). Creighton and Liddiard suggested that it was vital to examine a greater number of sites when diversifying our understanding of the origins and functions of castles. Moreover, they called for the investigation of these monuments to be more inclusive of their wider surroundings through the use of appropriate methods. Scholars such as Lowerre had already demonstrated the value of reconstructing archaeological sites and their landscapes with GIS, which Creighton and Liddiard agreed was one of the most profitable ways to advance the discipline. In response to the article by Platt, they stressed that, 'Platt urges caution in castle studies but perhaps archaeologists have been too cautious by far. Time for a new agenda.' (Creighton & Liddiard, 2008:167).

This new agenda has led to the creation of an interdisciplinary framework in which to study these monuments. 'The Battle for Bodiam' revolutionised the way that we understand the historical and environmental contexts in which castles developed and this continues to inform our understanding of secular and ecclesiastical sites alike. While David Austin (1984) called for the widening of the discipline to include the landscape contexts of those sites studied, this did not become a meaningful aspect of enquiry until highlighted by Robert Liddiard's thesis (2000a). Taking inspiration from then-recent findings of the RHCME at Stow Bishop's Palace in the Lindsey district of Lincolnshire, Liddiard's work concentrated on finding further examples of manipulated landscapes

and pleasure grounds in Norfolk during the period 1066-1200. Synthesising a range of documentary, archaeological and topographical sources, he traced this phenomenon across 28 sites to examine their association with roads, rivers, forests, fishponds, dove cotes, parkland and other structures. Often at the expense of their military capabilities, Liddiard found that the vast majority of these sites incorporated such features, and that 'the most important castles in rural Norfolk stood at the heart of landscapes that had been elaborately contrived for the purposes of social display' (Liddiard, 2000a:i). The practice of conveying a sense of power, authority, and status to those who saw and experienced these monuments can offer a deeper insight into the minds of England's magnates, which otherwise would not have been possible to the same extent.

The analysis of landscape settings has additionally flourished in recent years to become one of the most exciting avenues of archaeological research. As an inherently interdisciplinary field, it developed from two distinct methodologies. Firstly, the study of landscape history, spearheaded by William George Hoskins (1953; 1955) and Maurice Warwick Beresford (1957) and secondly, the exploration of urban settlements, headed by Robert Gunter Conzen (1960). This research underlined how both rural and urban landscapes developed alongside the built environment, although this aspect of the debate is not without its challenges. Indeed, the established view remains that 'the majority of ornamental landscapes fall into the second half of the fourteenth century' (Taylor, 2016:46). While this statement is certainly representative of larger trends, re-interpretation has shown that some of these ideas did in fact originate earlier than previously thought. As identified by the subsequent work of Liddiard in *Castles In Context: Power, Symbolism and Landscape, 1066 to 1500*, 'enough information has been gathered to completely overturn the traditional – and often repeated – idea that landscape design originated during the Renaissance' (Liddiard, 2005:98). Medieval structures are deeply complex and future studies must continue to be as diverse as those who built them. This is pertinent for those which date to the eleventh and twelfth centuries which have often been regarded as less sophisticated than their later medieval counterparts.

As with any study of the past, presentism is an obstacle that must be acknowledged. For this reason, Creighton noted that 'we should be careful not to crudely back-project ideas and concepts of the modern age on to much earlier landscapes, where societies had

quite different value systems and people experienced space, place and visuality in different ways' (Creighton, 2009:1); it is unclear how far the landscapes of monuments were adapted to the same degree and for the same purpose as early modern examples. Liddiard stated that, 'in referring to elite landscapes of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the term landscape of lordship has been used, but this too implies a single, simple explanation for very complex structures' (Liddiard, 2005:121). Liddiard and Creighton have subsequently used terms such as 'landscapes of lordship,' or 'elite landscapes.' Following their example, this idea has been adhered to during the body of this thesis to avoid such problems and for the purposes of consistency. As this literature review has explored, reassessment of archaeological sites is vital in order to advance our understanding of castles and an awareness of the challenges when reappraising the archaeology of the twelfth century must also be central to the debate moving forward.

One of the most exciting and influential directions of research that this thesis has benefitted from has been the first archaeological study of 'the Anarchy'. This Leverhulme-funded project culminated with two major publications: the first, titled *The Anarchy: Conflict and Landscape in 12th-Century England* (2016) by Oliver Creighton and Duncan Wright, investigated the ways in which 'the Anarchy' affected medieval society at large. This included an analysis of towns and the countryside, monastic buildings, siegeworks, castles and the aristocracy. By reviewing a range of historical and archaeological sources, this work assessed the development of landscapes of conflict; this has been of major significance for this thesis when investigating how far the period can be seen as one of continuity, as well as one of change. It measured the physical traces on the landscape and material culture, and assessed whether the period was truly in a state of disorder. This work highlighted other neglected aspects of study too, including the impact of castle destruction and slighting. Creighton and Wright identified that there are some instances of change such as the intensification of castle-building and the foundation of religious buildings, some of which were fortified. This study concluded that 'the mid-twelfth century is best regarded *not* as an age of anarchy but as an age of transition' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:289). The accompanying *Castles, Siegeworks and Settlements: Surveying the Archaeology of the Twelfth Century* (Wright & Creighton, 2016a) examined 12 case studies in more detail. For example, work conducted at Castle Carlton in Lindsey, demonstrated that 'the castle and town were

located at distinct and separate sites' and more importantly, 'the two centres did not emerge contemporaneously as has been previously been suggested' (Wright et al., 2016a:39). These results evidence the need for a re-analysis of medieval castles, especially of those which were contemporary to the reign of King Stephen; it has been emphasised that, 'there are many other locations which would benefit from further research' (Wright & Creighton, 2016b:159).

Archaeological work carried out at other sites such as Castle Carlton, Lincolnshire (Wright et al., 2016a), Burwell, Cambridgeshire (Wright et al., 2016b) and Cam's Hill, Wiltshire (Wright et al., 2015) have provided new insights into the development of castles as local power centres during this much debated period of history. However, much more work is required. Until very recently, studies regarding the twelfth-century civil war have relied entirely upon documentary sources relating to chronicles, charters, and other primary accounts. The value of integrating an archaeological perspective into the body of research is evident, and this opens up other avenues of interpretation. While contemporary literature provides a fascinating insight, there is a danger that the conversation could stagnate if it remains the only method of investigation. Indeed, 'while serious historical scholarship on the twelfth-century civil war is long-established, medieval archaeology is a far younger discipline' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:8). In order to overcome this, other areas of research must be explored. This thesis will thus advance the discussion by comparing and contrasting written accounts from the period to the wealth of new archaeological data to offer novel insights into the fiercely debated field of castle studies.

Castles and their many forms have been studied in a variety of ways throughout the last two centuries and have been fought over as symbols of defence, domesticity, and status. This present study has greatly benefitted from the revisionist agenda, as well as advancements made in archaeological research from newly-funded projects concerning the reign of King Stephen. To enhance our understanding, this thesis adopts a wide range of complimentary sources, methodologies and approaches that previous academics have profited from. This approach offers the best chance to provide a greater insight into how the landscapes of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire developed within the context of Stephen's troubled, but certainly not anarchic, reign. While there are a number of challenges to overcome, 'an interdisciplinary methodology which places

archaeology at the centre of our understanding represents the most productive means to best understand the lived experience of the [‘Anarchy’ period]’ (Wright & Creighton, 2016a:2). The following chapter therefore outlines the research aims of this thesis which have guided this new landscape study and how the methodology adopted sheds light on a region which has received surprisingly little focus in respect of its archaeology.

Chapter 3 Research Aims and Methodology

This chapter provides an overview of the aims of this thesis and how they fit within the existing framework of research. There have been significant advances in relation to new methodologies, funded projects, and the broadening in approach of the academic community to castle studies in the last three decades. Influenced by these developments, the following discussion outlines how the aims and hypotheses of this thesis have been fulfilled with an appropriate methodology. It highlights the issues that can arise with dating the evidence, and how this thesis has been able to overcome these challenges by an integrated approach to the study of the geographies and chronologies of these castles.

3.1 Aims and Hypotheses

The body of research on the reign of King Stephen, and the castles which have become synonymous with its events, is both large and until very recently, has remained restricted in its outlook. The mid-twelfth century has typically been viewed through a historical lens and while this has shed light on the subject, it has arguably stalled new growth as well. Following the recent work undertaken by Creighton and Wright, the value that archaeology can have in driving the debate forward has been brought to the fore. Their work on 'the Anarchy' stressed that 'our appreciation of the material evidence of the conflict that dominated his reign and its impact on life and landscape remain woefully underdeveloped' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:3). With this in mind, one of the principal aims of this thesis has been to build on the foundation they have created, and investigate whether further developments on the castles, siegeworks and settlements of Stephen's reign support the view of contemporary writers that 'there had never been till then greater misery in the country' (Whitelock et al., 1961:199). Archaeology has shown a new perspective which can be used to more effectively assess how far anarchy was felt by comparing the physical remains with the wealth of written evidence from the period.

Greatly influenced by their martial features, earlier historians believed that castles must have been built primarily with military considerations in mind. This is pertinent for the reign of King Stephen and the roles castles played throughout 'the Anarchy'. The view of castle-construction during the twelfth century has been greatly shaped by the military school of thought and historians have regarded the apparent number of adulterine and unlicenced castles as having gone hand in hand with its instability and apparent lawlessness. However, in the words of Charles Coulson, 'individualism stimulated by the relaxing of social constraints, unaccustomed – as the chroniclers in 1153-4 suggest – but scarcely unlawful, must have affected castle-building; but exactly how remains uncertain' (Coulson, 2003:86). This study seeks to address this uncertainty and determine whether considerations other than military necessity resulted in the adaptation of existing, as well as the construction of new castles. This includes an assessment of the socio-economic, political, and geographical factors which led to their development and subsequent use. It has already been highlighted by previous research that the functions of these castles were often as diverse as those who commissioned their construction. It is reasonable to assume that this was also the case with those that were built against the backdrop of the protracted war between Stephen and Matilda.

A key aim of this thesis was to look more closely at the nature of the people who erected these monuments and how this affected the development of castles. There was a broad spectrum in power, influence, and wealth across elite society. This meant that castles were built in varying degrees of size and complexity, particularly in the regions in which lands were held by the aristocracy. As Hunt found in the Honour of Dudley, 'families could project their view of their position in local society' but we should always take into account that 'such motives should be tempered by an appreciation of the environmental and social frameworks within which lordship operated' (Hunt, 1997:175). It was only natural for existing lords, or those who had just gained power and influence, to solidify their status with the building of an appropriate structure. Social emulation may have played a part in this too, as highlighted by Coulson when lordly competition and rivalry may have stimulated the activities of Bishop Alexander and Earl Ranulf of Chester in the city of Lincoln during the mid-twelfth century (Coulson, 2003:88-9). Looking at the social stratification of elite society can shed more light on how the ideals and preoccupations of lords influenced castles. It is anticipated that assessing ownership of these sites may

show that certain forms and styles were used, depending to which part of the demographic they belonged.

Taking this into account, no study of the archaeology of 'the Anarchy' can overlook the position of high-ranking clergymen within the demography of castle-construction. Ecclesiastical writers of the period wrote that churches and monasteries were devastated by the effects of the conflict between Stephen and Matilda and their accounts have affected our understanding of the period. The term *castellum* has been used widely to describe all fortified buildings of this period, including palaces, churches, and monasteries. Nevertheless, its use may be erroneous. This thesis seeks to analyse the extent that ecclesiastical buildings, like their lay counterparts, were adapted and fortified in response to war and became castles too. Creighton and Wright's study of the period drew attention to the fact that 'of a total number of a little over 500 monasteries and secular colleges, no more than 1-2% were occupied or fortified during the entire civil war, something in the region of 10-20% damaged, and of these up to 45% may have received reparations' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:213). Their work suggested that the impact of the war was felt in this respect, but has been overstated. This thesis is able to build on this platform further and challenge notions about the impact of the conflict between Stephen and Matilda on society's cultural and societal norms.

This thesis concentrates on the twelfth century and the impact of the reign of King Stephen. Although attempting to narrow the study of the monuments that were adapted or built between the period 1135-54 is an almost impossible task, a broader approach has been taken to the period and its source material. Resultantly, this thesis examines 'the Anarchy' within the wider context of the High Middle Ages (dating is discussed in more detail in section 3.3). Creighton and Wright highlighted that given the civil war's position between the Norman Conquest and the later medieval period, the twelfth century has received relatively little focus and 'in terms of the archaeological record, it is no overstatement to style the twelfth century as a forgotten century' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:8). The position of 'the Anarchy' within the wider context of the Middle Ages offers incredible potential to trace the development of castle-building, as well as changes in social structure, and the political concerns of episcopal and lay magnates, following the Norman Conquest. In doing so, it can assess how far the period facilitated a large amount of upheaval as previously stressed by traditional historians

like Stubbs and Round, or whether there was a much greater sense of continuity in relation to the governance, authority and rule of the kingdom.

In contrast to the reign of King Henry I, it has been stressed that Stephen 'created no fewer than twelve new earldoms between 1138 and 1140, and a number of earls had their authority reinforced by special grants of official powers' (Stringer, 1993:53). Stringer perceived that this burgeoning power structure actually benefitted Stephen, and in turn, ensured that his authority was upheld across its many regions by those loyal to his claim to the throne. This is more significant when we take into account that of the 'fourteen earldoms in being at the end of 1138…half of them were held by the Beaumonts and their allies' (Crouch, 1986:41). Changes in social structure gave rise to a range of monuments and underpinned the growing affirmation of aristocratic wealth, power and status. Castles and settlements were often linked, and this practice also extended to ecclesiastical sites. Linking monasteries and nearby castles in elite centres was a defining feature of medieval lordship and 'nearly half the 170 documented examples in England can in fact be dated to the twelfth century' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:201). The transformation of elite society which occurred within the context of Stephen's reign appears to have had a large impact on the construction of castles and their relationships to monastic foundations. It is therefore essential to assess the nature of lordship within a geo-political framework.

One of the most significant objectives of this thesis is to assess the impact of what has been commonly described as 'the Anarchy' across the districts of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the study of the reign of King Stephen has been conducted chiefly through historical sources, but recent work has started to address this disparity. Creighton and Wright stressed that despite developments within the field, 'the archaeology is fragmented and dispersed, and a framework within which to interpret this body of material has been totally lacking' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:8). Their fieldwork predominantly focussed on the southern regions of England, where Stephen and Matilda's power bases existed and, in their view, where the most visible traces of its effects would be. This means that large gaps in knowledge remain, especially in the North of England where it could be expected that the conflict would have been felt if the decentralisation of government was truly in a state of disorder. The adoption of a regional focus allows for a much closer assessment

to be made of the local customs and traditions of these areas which were removed from Stephen and Matilda's power bases, but by no means less important to the overall struggle for the throne. It also has the potential to show whether certain castle forms or features were specific to this locality, or if this was only typical of what was happening across the rest of the country. The findings of this research aim to show if the period had a detrimental effect on this particular landscape, or if similar to the nation-wide findings of Creighton and Wright, that this classification as one of anarchy has not always been used to accurately reflect what was happening on a local level.

The study area possesses a range of distinct and varied landscape features which could impede, or indeed facilitate castle-building. Its topography and terrain are dominated by a network of river systems, coastline and feature a mix of high and low-lying areas of land 'which has an obvious geographical integrity' (Osbourne, 2010:11). Although not unique, these sub-zones add another significant dimension to the outlook of this region-wide study. For example, Maurice Turner noted that castle 'sites were chosen on account of their location between the uplands and lowlands [of Yorkshire]' (Turner, 2004:110). Topographical studies are an avenue of research which have not been typically extended to Stephen's reign and examinations of the political landscape have otherwise taken precedence. It is well-known that the study area hosted the two major pitched battles of the twelfth-century civil war: the Battle of the Standard, 1138 and the Battle of Lincoln, 1141. The aim of this thesis is not to investigate the specific causes, or political impact of how these battles shaped the outcome of the conflict, but an awareness of the overall nature of the skirmishes, and how they effected society cannot be ignored. It was anticipated that the conduct of these battles would be reflective of the aristocracy's motivations. The various aspects discussed here must have influenced the siting, form, and use of these castles in the landscape to a large extent. The geo-politics of the struggle for the throne are well-understood from historical research, however it is anticipated that an evaluation of the siting of these structures in relation to the region's physical properties can build on this part of the debate further and reveal which factors were more influential.

The region also contained a number of urban settlements which could equally shape, or be influenced by the building of castles. London and Winchester, the respective centres of Stephen and Matilda's power, played pivotal roles throughout the war than any other

urban centre, as expected (Creighton & Wright, 2016). Lincoln and York were however important settlements in their own right. As a result, it would be logical to assume that their importance in the north of the country and to high and lay society as a whole, would have influenced the course of events to a large degree. Although the Battle of Lincoln predominantly took place outside of the city, it was documented in its aftermath that 'those that remained were slaughtered and the city was sacked' (Vince, 2003:165). The impact of the civil war on urban and rural life is not widely known and it has been the purpose of this thesis to shed more light on the centrality of castles within the built environment of medieval society. As markers of lordship and as centres of their respective communities, castles have the possibility to reveal the traces left behind by all aspects of the conflict and in turn, provide a scale in which to accurately assess its impact across different parts of medieval life.

Another objective of this thesis is to look more closely at the nature of urban settlements and similar to castles, whether they took on new guises during the supposed 'Anarchy' period. Following the Norman Conquest, William I needed to solidify his control of his newfound territory. While the idea that William the Conqueror had a strategic plan in relation to castle-building had been challenged earlier in the historiography by some such as D. J. Cathcart King (1983a), castles did nonetheless play varied roles in smoothing the transition of power. Much like the eleventh century, royal castles were not a widespread feature of the landscape of the twelfth century. As murage grants did not occur until the thirteenth century, settlements would typically have been supported and defended through the use of baronial castles and other fortifications and ecclesiastical sites would often be linked. Creighton and Wright identified that 'not all new towns of the period were castle-dependent foundations' such as Hedon, which 'was a port established *c*. 1138-48 by the Earl of Aumale' and Thirsk, which was 'established by the Mowbray family *c*. 1135-45' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:231-32). There is evidently scope for more discovery and this region-wide study has taken advantage of this by examining how far existing urban centres were fortified, if settlements were protected in other ways, or if other long-term social, economic and political factors transcended the needs of the conflict within these local centres.

This study has further sought to examine how rural settlements and their hinterlands were impacted by the castles of Stephen's troubled reign. Similar to the urban settings

of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, rural areas were in a state of flux, and these too must be considered if a more comprehensive view of the twelfth-century civil war period is to be established. The medieval period saw the reclamation and settlement of a variety of marginal landscapes throughout the region, and this continued into the twelfth century. Helen Fenwick's research on the Lincolnshire Marsh (2007) drew attention to the cultivation of the saltmarshes in Lincolnshire, which remains one of the most compelling examples of the interactions between people and place in the later Middle Ages. Previous landscape studies have shown that the adaptation of the environment could influence the form, siting and use of castles and it is therefore necessary to extend this approach to villages and settlements too. Within the context of what has become known as 'the Anarchy', we could expect to see the appearance of defended settlements. Although 'defended villages were rare in medieval England' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:236), additional analysis has the potential to reveal more examples in relation to castle sites. An appreciation of the relative infancy in which these developments were taking place in context of castle-building must be considered. The lack of evidence in some cases may simply reflect advances in design and technology which did not take place in castle design until the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and this thesis seeks to reframe our understanding of the castles of the twelfth century.

Due to the absence of an archaeological approach until very recently, the accounts of medieval chroniclers have been relied upon in order to gain an insight into the actions of England's magnates during the reign of King Stephen. Antonia Gransden's *Historical Writing in England c. 550* to *c. 1307* provides an overview of the chroniclers of Stephen's reign and a detailed biography of each of these writers (Gransden, 1974:186-218). This has been a critical point of reference for this thesis which aims to compare the documentary evidence from the twelfth century to its archaeological remains. An awareness of the allegiances and circumstances of these writers must not be overlooked either. This is certainly the case when referring to the *Gesta Stephani* which is pro-Stephen in its outlook. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* the *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis* and William of Malmesbury's *Historia Novella* on the other hand are more critical of Stephen. Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* is another important source and Henry's fondness for his home at Lincoln is apparent when he describes the cathedral (Chapters 5 and 6). The writings of Roger of Howden and Richard of Hexham again

provide us with a local perspective. The *Hexham Chronicle* reveals a fascinating insight into the events which led up to the Battle of the Standard and how it played out across the landscape of Northallerton, in addition to the castles located in the study area.

Lincolnshire and Yorkshire were similarly home to a number of secular and episcopal magnates and their actions often determined the nature, as well as outcome of the war between Stephen and Matilda. Archbishop Thurstan, Walter Espec and William of Aumale, who were local to the study area, were detailed in the *Historia Anglorum* as the leaders of the Battle of the Standard, and their decisive action led them to victory over David of Scotland (Greenway, 1996:719). However, greater attention has been drawn to the broader actions of England's magnates. Gaining land and influence across the region due to his support, 'Stephen created William of Aumale earl of Yorkshire' (English, 1979:18). Also known as le Gros, William subsequently founded many castles and monastic sites across his lands, Scarborough Castle is one of the most impressive. Pearson suggested that at the same time, 'it is possible that William le Gros fostered the growth of a settlement…as at his foundation at Skipsea' (Pearson, 2001:86). Within the region, there were a number of lesser ranking families and individuals, as well as more established dynasties, allowing for a more nuanced picture to be established of the ruling elite. This is partly why Paul Dalton (1994) had seen the value of exploring lordship in Yorkshire in more detail. The foundation of settlements and monastic sites similarly allowed an individual to make a proclamation of their status. A regional approach has the capacity to reveal whether this social group continued this tradition in their respective zones of power, or if the context of the war intensified this practice. Indeed, 'the relationships of castles to topography is a fascinating topic and detailed work on more sites in the future will help uncover the strategies of individual lords' (Liddiard, 2005:127). As the actions of England's magnates have come to define our understanding of the twelfth century, this is an important aspect of the debate.

To build up a greater picture of the motives of these baronial lords, this thesis has been keen to analyse how far existing sites, fortifications and other historic structures were reused in castle-construction. At the time of the rivalry between Stephen of Blois and the Empress Matilda, the cultural and political exchange between the Anglo-Saxons and Normans had been well-established in England and 'ethnic distinctions had broken down to the point that one could not know who was English and who was Norman'

(Thomas, 2003:4). Following 1066, it was long-thought that that castles were functioned primarily as military installations to subjugate and oppress the English population. However, it is now recognised that even castles of conquest could possess symbolic roles. The *donjon* at Colchester Castle for example, was built on the site of a Roman temple and has been viewed as 'more than simply a labour-saving device, for the deliberate exploitation of Roman connotations in both architecture and place for propaganda purposes has been noted', allowing William I to invoke the power and authority of his imperial predecessors (Drury, 1982:179). Features from pre-existing sites could be incorporated within new monuments for symbolic reasons and this practice can be seen to have continued into the twelfth century as aristocratic identities were transformed. An example can be seen with the foundation of Meaux Abbey in the East Riding of Yorkshire, which used 'timber provided by the count from the castle of William Fossard at Mount Ferrant, in Birdsall, which [had been] levelled following Fossard's flight on discovery that he had seduced the count's daughter' (Fergusson, 1984:133). This would have made construction at Meaux more practical, but it is clear that such acts could be representative of other significant aspects of lordship, including status, honour and reputation. Although it is difficult to determine how influential symbolic considerations were, further studies would benefit from this avenue of study.

A notable feature of the English Civil War of the seventeenth century, the deliberate destruction of castles was similarly a feature of 'the Anarchy'. Despite this, it has been highlighted that 'written sources are almost totally silent on the actual nature of slighting in the twelfth century' and as a result, 'archaeology has an important contribution to make' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:114). The only comparable study is *The Anarchy of Stephen's Reign* by H.W.C Davis (1903). Later discredited, Davis fuelled the idea that Stephen's reign was marked by anarchy, with large parts of land written off in government records as *waste*. While the primary focus of this thesis has not been to investigate the impact of slighting, it has nevertheless been considered when establishing the importance that castles played in the final stages of the conflict. Slighting is a poorly understood area of research, but no study of twelfth-century castles can overlook this aspect of their history. Establishing the chronology and geography of this destruction from the archaeology, as well as building an understanding of why these castles were attacked, destroyed, or taken over by the Crown, can offer a greater insight

into the psyche of the period as a whole. If castle sites were not damaged in considerable numbers, it would otherwise suggest that castles must have been built with a variety of long-term considerations in mind. In turn, this would indicate that the period did not represent such a radical upheaval to medieval society, and that there must have been a greater sense of continuity between the eleventh and twelfth centuries than scholarship has previously accepted.

3.2 Methodology and Rationale

As established throughout the historiography outlined in the previous chapter, early scholars were limited in their approach to the study of castles. Although much has been done in the past three decades to address this, the castles of the mid-twelfth century are still often overlooked from the revisionist agenda. Monuments form tangible markers of medieval life. As manifestations of the ideals of those who commissioned and experienced them, we cannot appreciate their complexities if this is not reflected in the disciplines used to interpret these sites. Indeed, 'castle studies can be best served through long-term interdisciplinary research projects' (Creighton, 1998:326). Our understanding of castles has derived from the perspectives of architecture, history, and archaeology; however, these parallel disciplines have not always been used in conjunction with each other. An interdisciplinary approach allows for a much more comprehensive view of the past to be created and as these methods of enquiry naturally support each other, it is sensible to expect that they can do much to mitigate any respective flaws within their respective methodologies.

Chapter 2 stressed the need to reassess archaeological sites and the value that following this example can bring to the discipline of castle studies more generally. At Hedingham it was shown by Dixon and Marshall (1993) that even twelfth-century castles present at the time of conflict could possess ceremonial functions, while at Orford, Heslop (1991) had drawn attention to the degree of planning involved within contemporary monuments and the use of architecture, iconography and space. Studies on both of these sites emphasised that our understanding needs to be placed within a wider framework of research. This has been demonstrated by recent investigations at the

magnate core of Laughton en le Morthen in the West Riding of Yorkshire, which has provided 'fresh insight into the character and chronology of aristocratic life across the Conquest' (Wright et al., 2023:23). By focussing on a range of additional examples, this thesis will be able to re-evaluate the nature of castle-building and reveal whether the traditional views of contemporary and modern-day historians alike, have been largely unfair in its treatment of the impact of the reign of King Stephen.

To ensure that an original and meaningful contribution is made to the discipline of castle studies, any new study also needs to take into account findings from the most recent projects. Research is an ever-changing landscape that has gained increasing momentum in recent years, but older bodies of evidence, used in different ways, can be just as effective. Much reference has been made so far to the importance of recent work carried out by Creighton and Wright on 'the Anarchy'. This project has set the benchmark for other studies and has highlighted a number of possible avenues for further research. As demonstrated by 'the Battle for Bodiam', it is crucial to simply not rehearse old arguments and use the same sources and methods to debate these points of view. Building on previous research and adopting an interdisciplinary approach is the best way to move the debate forward. As stated by Coulson, 'the cultural method of architectural and art history, and of archaeology, has rarely extended to castles' (Coulson, 1996:171). A more encompassing research agenda can help address what still remains an imbalance for the archaeology of the twelfth century, and particularly for the castles contemporary to the war between Stephen and Matilda.

Drawing upon the parallel disciplines of history, archaeology and geography, the monuments that form the basis of this thesis have been studied in a variety of ways. Inevitably, one of the primary methods that fortified sites have been examined is through their architectural remains. Unlike their ecclesiastical counterparts, which have been appreciated far beyond their physical characteristics, castles had lagged behind for a long time. This resulted in a preconception that they could only have been used for military strategies. The archetypal example of this being William the Conqueror's conquest and consolidation of England when 'almost the first thing that William did after London submitted to him in 1066 was to begin the construction of three castles there' (Hagger, 2012:88). The castles built during 'the Anarchy' have similarly been cited as evidence of vital tools of conflict and subjugation. However, this thesis takes a more

nuanced stance of what these castles represented, and challenges the established view that military architecture was indicative of their only intended purpose during the course of the High Middle Ages.

It was said by Giambattista Vico that 'geography and chronology are the two eyes of history' (Vico, 1744:17). This statement cannot be more pertinent for a thesis which is both region and time-focussed. In an effort to narrow and define this geographical and temporal range, a database of castles from Lincolnshire and Yorkshire was created. This complete list can be found in Appendix A. This site data was compiled using a series of parameters and starting points provided by existing collections supplemented by more independent research, including from Historic Environments Records, the Castle Studies Group, the Gatehouse website, the Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland, as well as the gazetteers created by King (King, 1983a; 1983b) and Creighton (Creighton, 1998). In any study it is important to justify why sites have been excluded as much as why they have been included. As many castles have since disappeared across the medieval landscapes they once dominated, they are not so easily identified. This has led previous survey work to be doubtful of the existence of some sites, despite documentary sources sometimes suggesting otherwise. Only monuments which have certain, or highly probable remains, as listed in Gatehouse's gazetteer, were considered.

Latin terms such as *castrum, castel or castellum* can be found as early as 1048 in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and chroniclers such as Orderic Vitalis tended to use this language to define and describe a range of construction types from across the period. This could include castles, urban defences and even a number of fortified ecclesiastical sites. This ambiguity has fuelled recent debates and scholars have used different parameters in their studies to define what a castle was, meaning that some have been grouped together, while others have been omitted entirely. King's work reflected his own belief that 'the term does not extend to fortified towns or monasteries' (King, 1983a:xv). In regards to the 'Anarchy', Coulson warned that 'the study of castles in the reign and wars of King Stephen has been bedevilled by a tendency to treat all fortifications of the period as a single category' (Coulson, 2003:67). While there are many contradictory ways in which to define what a castle was, within this thesis, 'sites have been defined as a castle if they have been named as such in the literature' (Constable, 2003:18). Other secular and ecclesiastical buildings are discussed to better

examine the interactions between these castles and their communities but are not reflected in Appendix A as a result.

Using the corpus of existing scheduling records, gazetteers and archaeological data, the predominant names in which we have come to describe these castles was ascertained and used consistently throughout. There have been a number of other names in which they have been described. For instance, Mulgrave Castle has been referred to as Mowgreue; Meaulx; Mont-Grace and Multgrese. This thesis has assessed what primary type of castle each structure was, as well as a secondary classification, where appropriate, to reflect the uncertainty which exists when attempting to classify of some of these sites. Many castles in the dataset were built, remodelled, or demolished entirely before another structure was built in its place. The primary type of site has been used to define the monument in which academics have predominantly come to interpret the nature of construction from the time of 'the Anarchy'. In some cases, 'unfinished castles of the Anarchy bear a close resemblance to moated sites' (Pounds, 1990:106) and it may be that the site is now better known for being a fortified manor house, yet may have originally been a timber, or masonry castle. This is the case at Kirkbymoorside Stutevilles Castle where it is unclear whether it was first built a castle and developed into a moated site, or *vice versa*. Creighton argued that 'this scenario is well-represented in Yorkshire' (Creighton, 2002:181), although Lincolnshire possessed comparable sites like Goltho which transformed over a longer period of time. This has been considered when looking at the individualities of these castles and determining which to include.

As well as exploring their exteriors, feature analysis has been extended to the interiors of these monuments. Where the evidence has permitted, the stylistic qualities of these castles have been explored in more detail. Spatial and access analysis is a powerful tool which has been successfully applied to secular and ecclesiastical buildings, revealing a much greater insight into how they were experienced. Indeed, 'the form and content of any building is the expression of its designer's brief and that brief will, almost inevitably, contain conflicting elements' (Faulkner, 1963:215). One of the most difficult challenges with any study of historic structures, not least those deriving from the twelfth century, is the conditions of their remains. All constructions alter with time, owing to successive phases of adaptation, reuse, or even natural weathering processes. If we also take into consideration the context of Stephen's relatively short reign, we must consider how

some changes may no longer be visible within the archaeological record. Faulkner's work highlighted that although spatial analysis is more effective when used at castles of the later Middle Ages, it is nonetheless a means of developing a broader overview of the role of individual structures when this approach is possible. A closer architectural appreciation of the archaeology of the mid-twelfth century can draw attention to general trends and as stressed by T. A. Heslop, 'it does no harm to an historical perspective if the objects within it are clearly seen as individual' (Heslop, 1991:54). It is fair to say that this approach brings significant benefits to the discipline of castle studies.

The Society for Medieval Archaeology recommended even in the 1980s that 'all such sites need to be studied within their contemporary setting, and the most useful will be those that reveal a place's interaction with its hinterland' (Hinton, 1987:6). Firmly placing the scope of this research within the revisionist camp, this thesis acknowledges the value of this approach and subsequently examines the wider setting of all castles featured within its scope. The work of landscape archaeologists such as Liddiard and Creighton in particular has demonstrated the value of examining a castle's siting in relation to its setting. This in turn has shown that medieval castles could be accompanied with parkland, gardens and other ornamental features, offering 'some insight into lordly attitudes to demesne and the constitution of aristocratic status' (Liddiard, 2007a:1). Bodiam Castle is a perfect example of the fusion of utilitarian and allegorical considerations and the difficulties that can arise not only for the builders who attempted to blend these needs together, but likewise for those who attempt to study them. If we are to gain better understanding into other sites, a more holistic assessment must be made of these qualities. This will, in turn, enable further studies, such as this thesis, to move beyond some of this ambiguity and assess which factors drove the castle-building during the twelfth-century civil war period.

This thesis is primarily concerned with the castles which were built and used during the reign of King Stephen. Castles were not a new phenomenon by this time, which is why this study must also take into account the structures which were in use by Stephen's succession to the throne, those which were adapted during the civil war, as well as the development of castles following the end of the conflict. As highlighted by Creighton and Wright (2016), the rivalry between Stephen and Matilda offers a very narrow window of opportunity to conduct a meaningful study, made more difficult by a

challenging dataset. A wider cross-section of the twelfth century has been considered, representing the period leading up to and immediately following the reign of Stephen, *c*. 1066-1200 (dating and chronology is discussed in more detail in section 3.3). William Stubbs had in fact claimed that 'the moral and social results of [Stephen's reign] are indeed more distinctly traceable under Henry II' (Stubbs, 1873:363). Although it differs in outlook, this thesis nonetheless profits from taking a broader temporal approach to the evidence when attempting to view these trends.

The research compiled by the Medieval Settlement Research Group, and its predecessors; the Medieval Village Research Group and the Moated Sites Research Group have also provided a significant wealth of material and a source of inspiration for this thesis. The University of Hull and the Hull History Centre contain a wide range of source material pertaining to these groups that has been accessed to support the study of these monuments. This collection includes unpublished findings from early survey work, gazetteers and aerial photographs across England relating to deserted villages, landscape features and monuments. Archaeological sites are not always easy to identify, their remains are naturally at risk and the earthworks of castles may no longer be visible within the landscapes they once dominated. There is a danger that what archaeological remains are visible may even influence our interpretations of these sites. As some of the work produced as part of the initiative was completed decades before these structures may have been degraded by additional human activity or natural processes, it has been a key point of reference. A multidisciplinary approach that juxtaposes documentary evidence with extant physical remains, past and present, can do much to mitigate these shortcomings and provide support where the archaeological record has since further deteriorated, or where no meaningful interpretation can be made from these castle sites alone.

A range of sources have been used to add greater context to how the period has been perceived by both medieval and modern writers, including charters, contemporary accounts which refer to castles, as well as possible examples of earlier licences to crenellate, which together, 'offer valuable insight into the interests and concerns of builders' (Goodall, 2011:10). Providing a window into the development of the Middle Ages more generally, in the wake of change and disruption during Stephen's reign, the bias of monastic authors is particularly felt. Typically writing how 'people were very

much astonished and terrified' (Whitelock et al., 1961), these chroniclers often attribute the rivalry between Stephen and Matilda as the cause of their own adversity and certain aspects of their narratives are embellished as a result. It is from these accounts that early historians equally derived their own views of the period and the centrality of magnates and their castles to 'the traditional picture of spoliation and chaos' (Callahan, 1974:225-26). Each discussion chapter includes a series of contemporary accounts written by medieval ecclesiastics in order to help frame the debate.

Lincolnshire and Yorkshire provide a considerable scope, but not so large a scale that it was unfeasible to investigate the research aims of this thesis. A regional focus allows a closer assessment to be made from the archaeology and the findings can be compared with the rest of the country to see whether the development of castles was typical, or atypical within the context of twelfth-century England. 'In the reign of Stephen Yorkshire resumed its early eleventh-century position as a frontier county' (Dalton, 1994:196) and an awareness of these political borders must be considered. Equally, the region possesses a series of geographical boundaries, including large expanses of coastline which stretch from the Tees Estuary to the Wash. This likely would have resulted in a process of cultural exchange through the Humber estuary, as 'many [Yorkshire lords] also held lands on the south side of the Humber' (English, 1979:156). This was additionally the case between England and Normandy, likely 'causing assimilation in some areas and evolution and innovation in others' (Hagger, 2012:84). Taking this into account, it is vital to acknowledge its possible influence on lay and ecclesiastical magnates, who would have shared dynastic lands and titles in multiple areas. In the words of B. K. Davison, when attempting to determine the origins of a castle 'our eyes must constantly be turned back across the channel' (Davison, 1967:203).This rationale must be extended to a study of the castles of the mid-twelfth century, where these considerations would still have been present in the mindsets of those responsible for their construction.

As the study area is in possession of a wealth of archaeological evidence, by extension, this has meant that a substantial number of individuals, groups and families have featured prominently within the body of this thesis. This has included the likes of William of Aumale, groups such as the military orders, and families such as the de Lacys who all held land across the region. As Roberts rightly affirms, 'individual local studies are, and

will remain, the foundation of historical landscape enquiry' (Roberts, 2007:74). At the same time, examining a small number of lords and their castles would arguably impede our understanding and would not be representative of wider trends. Only by investigating a larger number of examples can a greater picture be established of how elite society functioned and interacted with each other during the course of the events that ran up to, during and after the reign of King Stephen. 'The Anarchy' has typically been regarded from a historical perspective and as archaeology has provided an exciting alternative in the past half-decade, even then it remains myopic in its approach. The south-eastern and south-western regions of England have received focus from newly-funded projects and survey work, but this does not address the quality of physical material within equally important areas such as Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. Recognised gaps in knowledge present some of the most fruitful opportunities for archaeologists and the outlook of this thesis has certainly begun to illuminate what so far, does not represent a cohesive body of work.

3.3 Geography and Chronology: Defining and Dating Twelfth-Century Castles

Fundamental to any archaeological investigation is confidence relating to dating. It has been observed that 'the application of scientific dating methods to the study of castles has been limited to say the least' (Constable, 2003:44). This is especially the case for the earthwork and standing remains of the High Middle Ages, but architecture provides a means in which to better understand this chronology. The period of origin for each castle was identified according to the century in which the primary form of the structure was established. The date range for the early phase of research was initially set between the eleventh and the fifteenth centuries, and there were some records that fell out of this bracket which were kept to gain a broader understanding of castle-construction. While the study period for this thesis was set to 1066-1200, some of the dating of the castles could be narrowed to a phase such as the post-Conquest. A number of castles can be grouped and loosely dated by association within an area of lordship or estate. Conisbrough Castle's earliest form was known to have been built by the de Warennes following their accession to the Honour of Conisbrough. Dalton believed that 'the manor

may well have been alienated to William of Warenne when the king went to Yorkshire in 1068 to deal with major rebellion' (Dalton, 1994:64-5). Together with Conisbrough Castle nearby, in the absence of other supporting evidence, it is possible that Cusworth Castle Hill was constructed at a similar time by the increasingly powerful de Warennes.

As well as linking castles by association within an administrative centre, a small number of examples can be dated by their pre-Conquest antecedents and links to other monuments and settlements. As acknowledged by Constable, 'to date stone castles we are largely dependent upon the identification of architectural features for which a date can be provided from the sequence of ecclesiastical buildings' (Constable, 2003:44). Looking at the evidence of pre-existing lordship within an area can reveal the chronologies of castle-building and possible relationships with ecclesiastical sites. Pre-Conquest origins are evident in Barton upon Humber, particularly at St Peter's Church. The castle which was later built during the twelfth century may have used the earlier Anglo-Saxon site. Barton upon Humber Castle is no longer visible within its original context, but some clarity was brought in the 1980s when 'a twelfth-century defensive ditch [was] excavated on the edge of St Peter's churchyard' and has been 'seen as a continuation of the castle defences, cutting off the unoccupied eastern part of the town enclosure' (Rodwell & Atkins, 2011:xxii). The archaeological work suggested that the twelfth-century castle could have developed within this centre of lordship and helps fill in the gaps when profiling this site. This method can prove difficult for castles where such evidence can be lacking, though is indicative into how castles could be influenced by earlier constructions. 'It is usually only by examining the respective topographical settings of these castles, in addition to morphological study and analogy with other sites, that we may gain some insight into their origins and relationship' (Creighton, 2002:55).

An awareness of the built environment contemporary to the period 1066-1200 is similarly important when establishing the sequencing of these castles. At Torksey in Lindsey, the existing monastic foundation and its port status of 1121 likely gave rise to the castle at this time of growing prosperity. It was written by Roger of Howden 'in the same year, that King Henry, having, by digging, made a long trench from Torksey as far as Lincoln, and by causing the River Trent to flow into it, he made it navigable for vessels' (De Hoveden, 1853:216). With that said, an ecclesiastical site may not have existed near to a castle when first constructed, and links made erroneously would affect the

conclusions of this thesis. For example, Mirfield Castle Hall Hill in the West Riding of Yorkshire is located near to St Mary's Church but 'the present church was a new consecration on the site of the medieval castle hall and was consecrated in 1871' (The Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland, 2023). Where possible, the Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland has helped establish contemporaneity between secular and ecclesiastical monuments. In this respect, it is also essential to acknowledge that some settlements where urban castles were built may not have become flourishing boroughs until after 1200. Creighton highlighted that 'the distinction between medieval boroughs with recognised legal status and other market-based settlements is a notoriously grey area' (Creighton, 2002:154). To overcome this, this thesis has used the boroughs which were granted markets or fairs up to 1200, as listed in *Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516* (Letters & Fernandes, 2003a; 2003b). Sites such as Temple Bruer, which received the rights to hold a market, were not included due to the localised nature of the grant received, but will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

Despite the inherent challenges when dating castles from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, some of these sites can be assigned a more specific range, or precise date of construction. In some cases, the building of a castle can be connected directly to the Conquest, or an event pertaining to the 'the Anarchy'. In 1068 it was written that in Lincoln, '166 [dwellings] were destroyed because of the castle' (Harfield, 1991:379). While this Domesday entry can be interpreted in different ways, it provides an invaluable insight into the castle's development within the upper part of the former Roman city. However, it is characteristically via the accounts of twelfth-century chroniclers, or from charters in which the emergence of castles within the landscape has been relied upon. For some other sites such as Caistor, where in 1143, Stephen referred to his 'recently fortified castle' (Cronne & Davis, 1968:243), contemporary sources remain one of the only ways in which to establish a working timeline as to when some castles came into or fell out of use. At the same time, these sources must be used with caution. Constable noted how 'historical data is useful, but is limited in its uses to the archaeologist for the simple task of dating castle sites' (Constable, 2003:43). Bridbury (1990) too recognised the limitations of using landholdings and population data from Domesday when attempting to reconstruct tenurial geography. In order to mitigate these challenges, a wider range of published works including *Domesday Book: A Guide*

(Finn, 1986) and local sources such as *The Lincolnshire Domesday* (Roffe, 1991) and the Phillimore editions of the Lincolnshire Domesday (Morgan & Thorn, 1986b; 1986a) and Yorkshire Domesday (Faull & Stinson, 1986b; 1986a) have been consulted to provide a deeper understanding of these tenurial arrangements.

There are a greater number of castles which can be confidently dated using established archaeological and architectural investigation work. The database in Appendix A highlights how documentary and archaeological sources relating to each castle's origins were collated and systematically examined to profile these sites. As is the case with some castles within this dataset, architectural features have been able to provide an insight into their construction. While small finds can provide an understanding of the occupation of castles, some sites profit from even stronger evidence. This can be said for Conisbrough Castle which 'has been dated to approximately 1170-80 on stylistic grounds' (Brindle, 2012:62). This has been supported by a comparison recently made with stonework from the eastern arm of York Minster which was rebuilt in around *c.* 1170-80 by Archbishop Roger of Pont l'Eveque (Harrison, 2010). The physical evidence forms a solid platform upon which to form a more reliable dating range for these sites. Unfortunately, this is not always an exact science, and this method of dating is more effective when applied to stone castles with standing remains. This of course is somewhat lacking for 'the Anarchy' where so many of its castles were made from earth and timber. An interdisciplinary approach to the subject thus represents the most effective way to construct the chronologies of the castles which were built in the years leading up to, during, and following Stephen's reign.

Although documentary and archaeological research can help date some of these castles, this does not always bring absolute clarity and there are some sites in this study which could not be accurately dated. It is likely that 'there are hundreds of such castles, undocumented and unexcavated. It has become almost the custom to dismiss them as castles of the Anarchy' (Pounds, 1990:10). While Pounds believes that 'many were just that', Pounds affirms how 'it is at least likely that a great many of these small and simple castles were the work of the first decades of the Conquest' (Pounds, 1990:10-11). As appreciated by Constable, there are 'are a number of buildings in the North of England that can unambiguously be dated to the eleventh to early twelfth century' (Constable, 2003:48). This was apparent in Creighton's work, where a range of sites from the period

1066-1216 were referred to as 'early castle foundations' (Creighton, 1998). A small number of comparable sites are reflected in this dataset and have been classified as suggested sites, as seen in Appendix A. While there is a lack of certainty relating to dating in this part of the data, possible castles such as Carlton in Coverdale Round Hill (discussed in Chapter 5.3) could not be entirely dismissed and warranted inclusion due to their presence within historic monuments records.

Each castle within this thesis has been linked to its Scheduled Monument Number, or Legacy Scheduled Monument Number where appropriate, using the National Heritage List for England. This has allowed each site to be grounded within its known historical and archaeological context. This could not be completed at the site of Newhouse Castle, due to the fact that the castle has not been properly identified or studied, resulting in the absence of listed status. In some cases, the listing information that does exist for these castles is inaccurate. This was found to be the case at Easby Castle Hill in the North Riding of Yorkshire (discussed in Chapter 5.3) in which the scheduling information, which has not been amended since 1994, simply states how 'the construction of the motte is attributed to Bernhard Balliol, Lord of the manor of Easby during the civil wars of the 12th century' and how 'its remote location suggests that it served as a watch-tower or temporary refuge in time of strife' (Historic England, 2023a). The frequency of such claims in these records demonstrates how the scheduling information for castles from the eleventh and twelfth centuries cannot solely be relied upon to construct a firmer understanding of these sites, but nevertheless form useful sources of information.

The presence or absence of castle forms and features have been seen in the past as indicative of anarchy and have often been reflected within the scheduling reports of castles. Features relating to 'the Anarchy' period have consisted of the reuse of earlier sites, enmotted towers, as well as the introduction of *donjons* and shell keeps (Creighton & Wright, 2016:80-118). Taking these architectural styles into account, it was essential to embrace multicausal explanations to explain how there was a greater variety of castle sub-forms beyond the motte and bailey and ringwork designs typical of the High Middle Ages. Using previous academic scholarship and scheduling records in conjunction with each other, the corresponding traits of each site was determined. As is the case with the archaeological remains of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, a range of physical features may have been added to a site later throughout its history, often making it

difficult to link features to a particular period, which is why further work is required when establishing a reliable sequence of events.

As some castles were formed on the site of earlier Prehistoric, Roman, or Anglo-Saxon sites, it is crucial to see how far earlier traditions influenced the designs of castles too. The existing infrastructure afforded to these individuals by existing materials, surviving walls, or ringworks could be of greater value than building an entirely new motte and bailey or ringwork structure. While William the Conqueror's assimilation of the Roman Temple of Claudius at Colchester Castle 'represented continuity between the ancient past and the medieval present' (Wheatley, 2004:41), this could equally present a number of topographical challenges which would have influenced why certain features were used and others omitted when castles had been built. As 'the motivations behind choosing to build a castle at an existing lordly centre, when a site could equally be perpetuated as a manor house or abandoned altogether, largely remains unexplained' (Wright et al., 2023), it is essential to look more closely at the influence that earlier sites may have had throughout the process of siting castles. This allows for a better understanding to be ascertained as to why medieval builders adapted existing structures already available, or positioned their castles in new locations with more freedom and crucially, where the needs of constructors could be met.

Castles built during the Middle Ages could sometimes be accompanied with a range of other attributes such as gardens, orchards, ponds, and deer parks. It has been thought that 'these structures must have been imbued with particular social or symbolic meanings that would have been highly apparent to people at the time, but which are not necessarily so obvious to us today' (Liddiard, 2005:97). Some features may not have been intended to visually enhance the site and were used rather for other reasons, such as deer hunting, as evidenced by David Austin's (1984) landscape work in County Durham. Conversely, features may have functioned as symbols of social status. If these elements could be shown to have been present at a number of twelfth century sites, it demonstrates that other concerns could take precedence for their occupants. It can be difficult to determine if these features were contemporary to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, not lest to a certain period like 'the Anarchy'. Nonetheless, Chapter 7 discusses how the origins for these ideas were not exclusive to the later Middle Ages at more overtly sophisticated castles such as Bodiam, Bolton or Harewood.

As with any similar study on the subject of castles, it was crucial to record information pertaining to the individuals, patrons or any notable groups associated with each of these castles. In addition to referring to data relating to the landholders listed in 1086 from works such as *The Lincolnshire Domesday* (Roffe, 1991), the Phillimore editions of the Lincolnshire Domesday (Morgan & Thorn, 1986b; 1986a) and the Yorkshire Domesday (Faull & Stinson, 1986b; 1986a), research into the known owners of these castles at the time of the reign of King Stephen was conducted. In some cases, it is possible to determine the founder or subsequent owner of a site from contemporary accounts. However, these monuments have often been remodelled by their descendants or became the property of other families, and these owners have expanded or may have repurposed some aspects beyond their earlier forms. To anticipate the nature of this complex phasing, the dataset reflects key individuals for each site during period *c*. 1066-1200 using sources such as charters and chronicler evidence, as well as modern scholarship where references have been made to the ownership of these sites. Some records in Appendix A may include more than one person or group, due to the fact that ownership changed over time, or conversely, these records may show that the castle remained in possession of the same family or group for an extended period. Regardless, the database cannot reflect every individual or group associated with each site. As 'the vast bulk of rural earth and timber castles have no conventional ownership history' (Creighton, 2002:46) there are a number of gaps in the dataset where no individual or group could be confidently linked with these castles.

These castles within this thesis have been classified as either royal, secular, or ecclesiastical for the period *c*. 1066-1154. R. A Brown's *A List of Castles 1154-1216* was useful to ascertain the ownership of some sites from the study area. Not without its challenges, Brown recognised that 'the great majority at least of private castles held in chief would come at some time into the king's hand (and thus into the Public Records), by the normal processes of minority, vacancy and succession, quite apart from the vicissitudes of political fortune' (Brown, 1959:259). As a result, Appendix A acknowledges Henry II's links to a site if he is known for assuming control of it during his reign but this has not influenced the classification of these sites which were broadly baronial before he assumed the throne. For the most part, this approach has helped to establish the range of groups and individuals who possessed these castles in the post-Conquest era through to 'the Anarchy'. Moreover, the work of Coulson (Coulson, 2003;

2016) reframed the significance of being given permission by the Crown to fortify a site through his research on both adulterine castles and licences to crenellate. It was deemed necessary that ascertaining whether each castle could be seen as having been granted a possible licence, and when this occurred, would add even greater value to the overall characterisation of twelfth-century castles. Licences to crenellate have the potential to show if magnates acted out of self-interest, or were in fact more aligned to Stephen's authority, and that there was a much higher degree of continuity between reigns. A castle may have been granted a licence or was accompanied by a licence later in the Middle Ages and this information has been included for contextual purposes within Appendix A.

Underpinning all aspects of this thesis was the use of a Geographical Information System. Developing in the latter half of the twentieth century, it has become an unparalleled facet of landscape archaeology. With the ability to manage and visualise range of sources including documentary, historical and geospatial data, such as maps, photographs and survey findings, some have regarded GIS as 'the most powerful technological tool to be applied to archaeology since the invention of radiocarbon dating' (Westcott & Brandon, 2000:Backcover). The historiography of castle studies has shown that despite this accolade, its use has surprisingly not been consistently adopted by the academic community. This has started to be addressed in the past three decades, most notably by Liddiard (2000a), Lowerre (2005) and McManama-Kearin (2013). Building on the example they have set, the use of GIS within this thesis has helped to objectively highlight trends across the landscape in a way which has been absent for the reign of King Stephen. Using the information collected from the database, a series of maps were created to establish the geospatial trends of the region. The software programme used was ArcMap 10.8.2, as well as the wider range of applications from the ArcGIS suite to create other outputs including intervisibility analysis. Datasets from the Archaeology Data Service, Edina and OS OpenData have been invaluable resources and have been credited throughout.

Despite its increasing adoption by medievalists, 'the growth in availability of GIS software has not always been accompanied by a corresponding increase in the knowledge and technical capabilities of archaeologists' (Wheatley & Gillings, 2002:1). There are a number of limitations when attempting to use GIS to synthesise, evaluate

and interpret archaeological remains which Liddiard, Lowerre and McManama-Kearin's work had all emphasised. The ability to analyse human interactions with the environment through GIS can highlight patterns across a large number of sites, however, if no trends are immediately identified then there may be an inclination to discount the findings entirely and view them as indicative of a lack of occupation. A further issue which can be arise from this methodological approach is the influence of both natural and human processes. Weathering and human activity such as farming and climate change can adversely impact the archaeological record and as a result, attempting to recreate these landscapes and the sites located within them is unfeasible in some parts of the study area. This was a theme stressed by the non-intrusive survey work of the Humber Wetlands Project (Fenwick, 1999).

The scope of any historic landscape is difficult to determine when its original boundaries and place-names have altered over time. This was typical of areas on frontier zones and on the peripheries of the study area. Domesday cannot be used to establish settlement geography, as it 'omits a very large number of settlements that certainly existed when it was compiled' (Sawyer, 1978:7). Moreover, it may be the case that a settlement was not founded, or became a borough until after the survey was complete. Until Scarborough flourished in the twelfth century, 'the manor was known as Falsgrave' (Farmer, 1988:124). As parish boundaries may have shifted or may now be known by a different name, the data collection, display and interpretation has been sensitive to these linguistic variations. Similarly, as county borders have changed over time, the historic, medieval, and modern authorities of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire have been cross referenced. Bowes Castle for instance is now under the modern authority of Durham, yet in the Middle Ages would have been located within the historic county of the North Riding of Yorkshire. Ordnance Survey Grid references were an essential component of this catalogue of data and meant that these sites could be assigned a more precise geographical location. 1971 county boundaries have been used and for Lincolnshire, which 'by 1086… had substantially assumed the form that it retained until the reorganisation of local government in 1974' (Roffe, 1991:33), shows an accurate picture of the chosen study area. Figure 3:1 reflects the Domesday shire boundaries of the region and how Lancashire was previously integrated within the borders of Yorkshire, and if used, would not lead to an accurate depiction of the castles built in the study area.

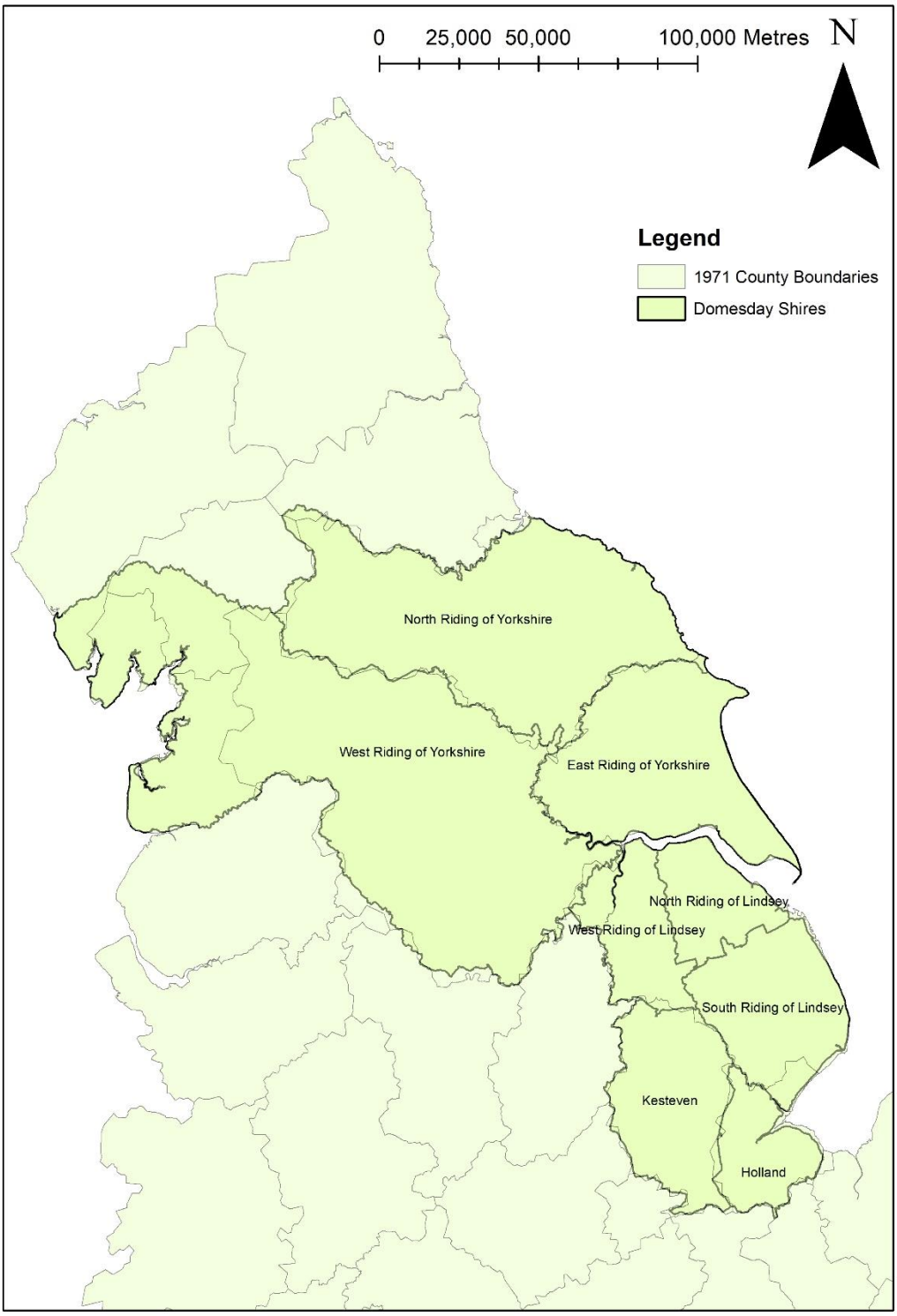

Figure 3:1 The Domesday shire boundaries of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire layered with the pre-1971 county boundaries of England. Created with ArcMap 10.8.2. Data from Stuart Brookes (2020) [shapefile]. Data from Ordnance Survey (2021) [shapefile].

In addition to the use of the ceremonial and administrative boundaries of the region from the Domesday Book, this thesis sought to recreate the geographical characteristics of the medieval landscape. As well as using datasets from Ordnance Survey and Edina, this thesis has used a number of existing datasets in innovative ways. Lowerre drew attention to the benefit of integrating data from *Region and Place: A Study of English Rural Settlement* (Roberts & Wrathmell, 2002) within a GIS. Lowerre emphasised that until this digitisation work was carried out in the last decade, 'the potential use and value of the Atlas's maps [had] been significantly restricted' (Lowerre, 2010:22). By digitising the work of Roberts and Wrathmell in a GIS-compatible format, it is now 'possible to examine, query and re-interpret Roberts and Wrathmell's results in new ways' (Lowerre, 2010:42). Their research on the presence of woodland and tree cover using Domesday evidence, which had not been digitised by Lowerre, but has been layered within this thesis, allowed this complex data to be incorporated into the GIS alongside the distribution of castles. The adoption of this spatially sensitive data brings a particular strength to this study which allows for a number of new datasets on the landscape to be combined, analysed and interpreted.

Landscape siting can expose much about the way in which a medieval structure or building was intended to be used. Interestingly, revisionist work on castles started to show that while castles could occupy positions on important roads and river crossings, this was not always the case. Some sites could be relatively isolated, or could occupy strategically compromised locations within the landscape. Again, if this were the case with the majority of castles built during the twelfth century, it would indicate that the effects of the civil war period were not as damaging as previously thought. Using GIS, the range of castles studied were examined as to whether they occupied a site on a nearby river, coastline, or a transport network. This infrastructure has taken the form of major Roman roads, river networks and bridges. To integrate them within the GIS, datasets from Helen Fenwick (2007) were used to recreate the major Roman road networks, and these were combined with the *Inland Navigation in England and Wales before 1348: GIS Database* (Oksanen, 2019*)* and *Bridges from Medieval England to c. 1250* (Brookes et al., 2019). The location of a site within its overall geographical context can help to reveal more about the social, economic, and political roles these constructions played within their respective localities, and in turn, show that the lands held by local lords were not profoundly affected by the ongoing conflict between

Stephen and Matilda's forces, and were able to conduct their normal activities and obligations relatively unhindered.

The castles which have been included within this thesis have been examined as local seigneurial centres. At Hough-on-the-Hill, Michael G. Shapland saw that 'continuity of an aristocratic presence at this strategic place is indicated by an undated motte-and-bailey castle here, within whose earthworks the church lies' (Shapland, 2019:141). Linking sites together brought mutual benefits and when 'paired together these residential and ecclesiastical constructions formed magnate cores, fixing elite authority within particular locations in the rural landscape' (Wright et al., 2023:2). Shapland's work on the links between Anglo-Saxon tower nave churches and Norman castles is an intriguing avenue of research and emphasises that these structures can be viewed in the broader context of 'material expressions of the burgeoning local aristocracy' (Shapland, 2019:212). This is more significant when it is widely recognised that the power structure altered to some extent during Stephen's reign. Building up a picture of how many of these castles grew within these earlier centres of power and were supported by the growing infrastructure of the region, helps reveal these societal changes and continuities. This highlights what was valued by local magnates, especially those who had recently assumed this power.

Contemporary chroniclers perpetuated the idea that England's magnates and their castles embodied 'the evils of an enfeebled administration and feudalism run mad' (Round, 1892:35). If this were the case, it could be expected that castles, as well as the embattled churches and monastic houses that were occupied near to these castle sites would reflect this impact. While later additions and later remodelling may have affected their visible fabric, the concurrent use of documentary and archaeological evidence can help mitigate this. The same can be said for the practice of castle destruction which can be difficult to identity. Following the peace settlement with Stephen at Winchester, Henry II sought to solidify his position, and 'one means by which Henry was determined to gather power into his own hand was the custody of castles' (Amt, 1993:24). In some cases, castles were slighted or became royal possessions to ensure that they could not be used against the Crown in the future. This policy of Henry II can reveal much about the circumstances and attitudes towards castles during the High Middle Ages. Using Brown's *A List of Castles, 1154-1216* (Brown, 1959) as a point of reference for

establishing royal castles after 1154, this thesis has identified the castles used in conflict using both historical and archaeological sources, as well as Richard Nevell's framework and typology on castle slighting (2011; 2020) to better understand these aspects.

The level of preservation of these castles was determined in the database in accordance with four conditions: excellent, good, poor, and unclear. Those classified as excellent have large standing remains and can be studied in great detail. This included sites such as Middleham Castle which is now managed by English Heritage. Those which possess a number of earthworks and foundations which allows a clear overview to be made as to the nature of the site have been classified as good. This can be seen at sites such as Barrow upon Humber Castle. Poor remains have typically been impacted by modern building, agricultural activity or have simply suffered from the effects of weathering and erosion. This is the case at Bishop Rufus Palace where little of the site remains intact. The remains of monuments which have been designated as unclear may have been built upon, or may be covered in high levels of vegetation which makes interpretation particularly challenging. Or, as is the case with the castle at Leeds, modern buildings have made it impossible to determine its state of preservation (Figure 3:2). This assessment has of course been subjective but does not largely deviate from the classification made by earlier academics on these monuments as reflected on the Gatehouse website. It is essential to stress that the condition of these remains will be subject to decline as climate change and human activity continues to affect the landscapes in which they are located. The swathes of lowland areas throughout the region are particularly susceptible to the risk of rising sea levels and 'the Environment Agency has warned that, with the changing climate, water levels in the Humber Estuary could rise by over 1m in the next century' (Walsh, 2022). This poses an ongoing threat to the future condition of the archaeology.

To further supplement the historical and geospatial data underpinning this thesis, a number of site visits were carried out where it was deemed possible and would add greater value. Historic maps, earlier sketches and site plans remain invaluable sources of information, but these visits are helpful as a much greater overview of a location can be ascertained when attempting to visualise and interpret these castles. These visits also form an opportunity to conduct observations and take photographs. The access to historic sites can be a challenging issue to overcome and this was no exception when

conducting these site visits and taking some of the photographs featured within this thesis. Larger and better preserved sites typically remain under the authority of charitable organisations such as English Heritage or the National Trust which means access is certainly possible. However, smaller, and lesser-known sites tend to be privately owned and are often in rural areas which are not easy to gain access to.

Figure 3:2 The alleged location of Leeds Castle Hill, obscured by modern developments. Photograph taken by the author.

To overcome these challenges, relevant landowners were identified and the permission to access their land was sought. This was the case when the author was able to visit the site of Newhouse Castle in the Lindsey district of Lincolnshire to ascertain the presence and indeed scope of the potential site (Figure 3:3). However, if access was not granted to the site for any reason, existing photos and the most recent archaeological reports were used where possible. While this study was initially going to benefit from the inclusion of fieldwork, due to the coronavirus pandemic, it transformed into a desk-based landscape study of the archaeology. Nonetheless, this thesis has been able to identify a series of broader correlations which offer a new perspective into the nature of castle-building during the period of the High Middle Ages.

Figure 3:3 An earthwork on the possible site of Newhouse Castle on the Brocklesby Estate. Photograph taken by the author.

The historical and geographical information compiled throughout the initial research process helped to provide the context needed to drive this thesis forward. The overview it provided highlighted some general trends and has added a much greater insight into the developments which influenced castle-building during the eleventh and twelfth

centuries. Using a number of tables to summarise this information, these historical and geospatial trends were made more apparent and could be compared with the periods which came before and those which followed Stephen's reign. Tables 3:1 and 3:2, as well as Figure 3:4 represent the findings from the earlier phases of research. This includes the total number of fortified structures which were built within Lincolnshire and Yorkshire between the eleventh century and the eighteenth century, as listed in the Gatehouse website. This data denotes a number of trends from the study area which occurred throughout the course of the Middle Ages which were largely expected.

Table 3:1 The types of fortified structures built in the study area from the eleventh century to the eighteenth century as sourced from Gatehouse.

Type of Site (Primary)	**Total**
Fortified Manor House	143
Timber Castle	142
Town Defence	30
Palace	29
Pele Tower	26
Masonry Castle	22
Tower House	13
Fortified Ecclesiastical Site	12
Fortified Town House	5
Siegework	2
Unclear	2
Ecclesiastical Site	1
Linear Defence	1
Grand Total	**428**

There was a distinct trend for building fortifications between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, followed by a notable decline thereafter (Table 3:2). It has long been assumed that timber castles were used during the mid-twelfth century primarily because of the haste and relative ease with which they could be constructed. They were thought to have been nothing more than simple structures, built in large numbers and in strategic locations in response to a prolonged period of turmoil. Due to this 'it is commonly assumed that timber castles were only significant at an early date' (Higham, 2003:52). Looking at a larger number of examples and building up their respective chronological and geographical profiles was crucial to identify their construction throughout the region. As shown at sites such as the manorial centre at Goltho, only when medieval monuments are acknowledged for being individual can we fully comprehend their complexities. Most of the castle-building in Lincolnshire can be seen to have taken place following the Norman Conquest and during the so-called 'Anarchy' period. These structures were predominantly fashioned from earth and timber, forming the most common structure built across both counties at this time. In contrast to Lincolnshire, Yorkshire has a larger number of masonry castles and a considerable number of fortified manor houses, originating mainly from the fourteenth century. Furthermore, Yorkshire differs as it contains Pele Towers, some of which were built into the sixteenth century. The relative size of both counties must be taken into account and while Lincolnshire and Yorkshire are England's largest counties, Yorkshire is larger still, and will in part account for this difference.

However, the scope of the landscape was not the only factor, which is why a more encompassing research agenda must be taken to the subject. Castles have enormous potential to reveal more about medieval society at large. Indeed, a more detailed study of castles and their settings 'can also reveal much about the circumstances of their building and the society that built them' (Lowerre, 2005:1). As it has been highlighted earlier in this chapter, the remains of these monuments are inherently difficult sources to identify and study. There could be limited remains of the site, it may have been repurposed into another structure, or it could have simply fallen out of use and has subsequently become a ruin. In many cases, the remains of castles have been used for local building projects and as is often the case, when manor houses or farms are constructed on the same land, they tend to disappear almost entirely from the archaeological record. Historic monuments and their wider settings are not static and

with multiple occupants since they were first built, this must always be taken into account. It cannot be expected that the archaeological record will be easy to navigate, and in some cases, nothing can be done but work with the material that is available. Much to its detriment, 'the Anarchy' period has been viewed narrowly through the lens of the military school of thought which has lingered long after many aspects of castle studies and the reign of King Stephen have both been reappraised. This in part has been due to the continued reliance on using historical sources. In turn, this has furthered the derogatory view of the period and has meant that notions of diversity and multifunctionality have not been extended to these castles. Archaeology forms an exciting and alternative approach to Stephen's reign and can be used to take the mid-twelfth century into new realms of discovery.

Table 3:2 The number of fortified structures built in the study area from the eleventh century to the eighteenth century divided by century as sourced from Gatehouse

Construction	**Total**
11th Century	75
11th / 12th Century	5
12th Century	78
13th Century	61
14th Century	68
15th Century	39
16th Century	24
17th Century	11
18th Century	1
Unclear	66
Grand Total	**428**

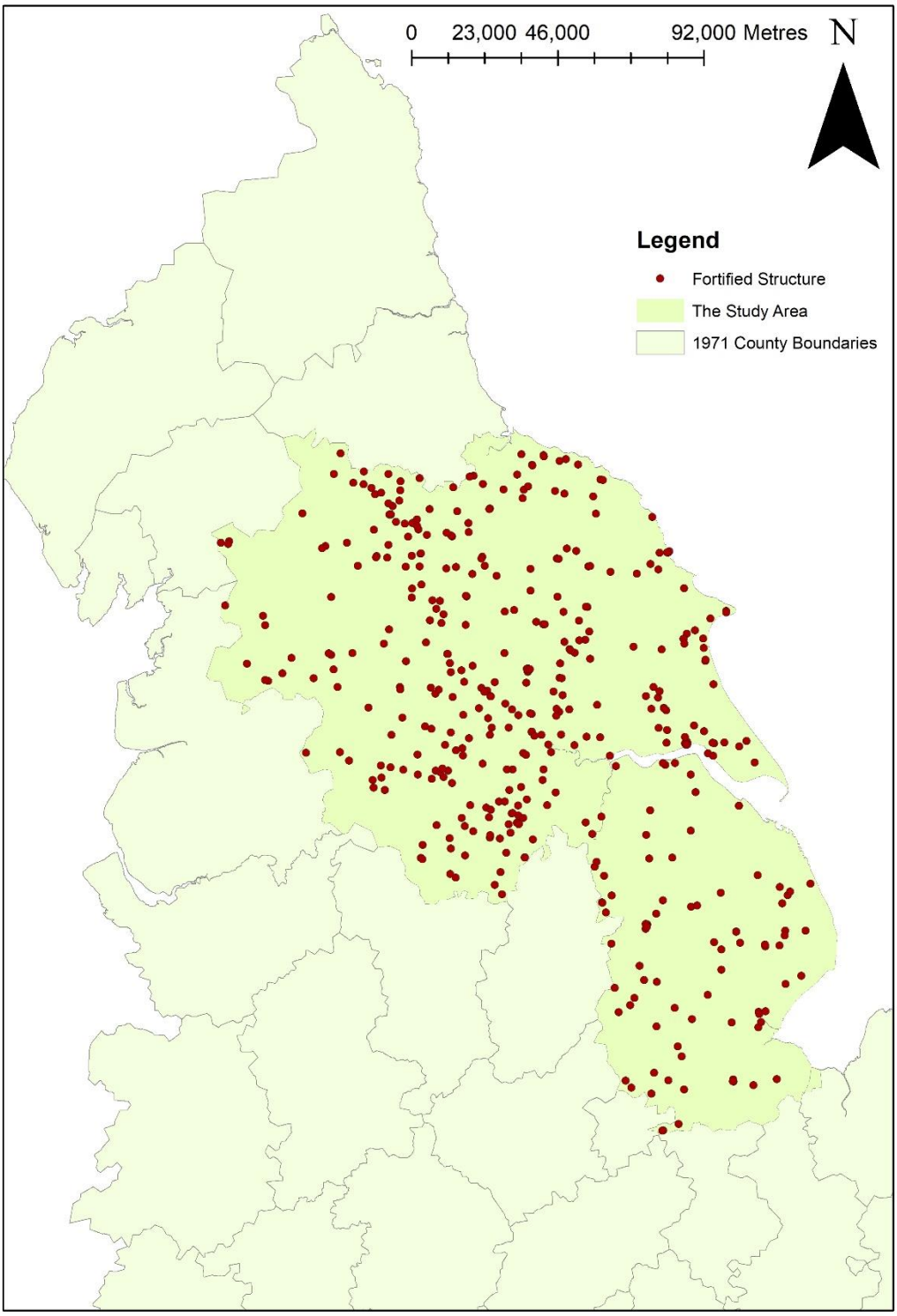

Figure 3:4 The various structures classified as fortified built in the study area from the eleventh century to the eighteenth century as sourced from Gatehouse. Created with ArcMap 10.8.2. [shapefile].

Using an integrated historical, archaeological and geographical framework, a much closer assessment can be made as to the development of twelfth-century castles and in doing so, help move beyond the rigidity which has dominated our understanding of Stephen's reign. The following chapter investigates the physical landscape in which these individuals sited their castles. It looks at the geographical properties of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire and the distribution of castles across this landscape to reflect how these aspects affected castle-building. A more granular study of the relationship between these monuments between each other, as well as the geographical settings in which they were built, helps overturn many of the assumptions which typically remain for those contemporary to the twelfth-century civil war.

Chapter 4 The Landscape Setting

4.1 Introduction

'It is a central tenet of landscape history that landscapes reflect the societies that created them' (Creighton, 2009:8). Many contemporary writers have defined the conflict between King Stephen and the Empress Matilda as having impacted all parts of daily life, with a particular emphasis on how 'the landscape came to be dominated by castles' (King, 1984:135). This belief was not exclusive to the power bases of Stephen and Matilda in South England. Lincolnshire and Yorkshire provide the ideal microcosm in which to assess the supposed effects of 'the Anarchy' and reveal how far geo-politics affected the locations in which magnates chose to site their castles. Despite being physically removed from its epicentre, as chroniclers and historians alike have both made clear in their writings, Stephen and Matilda's claims to the throne relied and depended upon what their supporters brought to their respective campaigns. As Lincolnshire and Yorkshire were home to many powerful secular and ecclesiastical magnates, as had been the case since the time of the Norman Conquest, their actions could typically shape the outcome of any conflict. Despite this, this chapter argues that the region's magnates were more influenced by the local geographies of their territories and the various qualities that this brought them, rather than the broader struggle for the throne of England.

Lincolnshire and Yorkshire are the largest counties in England. In addition to their size, they are characterised by a diverse variety of geographical features. The topography and terrain ranges from tall cliffs and hills across deep valleys, to low-lying marshland in coastal areas. As well as the influence of the North Sea, both counties contain a number of important river networks which dominated the medieval landscape, much as they do today. These dynamic features would have had a tremendous impact on the development of castles, as pockets of land were reclaimed, and settlements continued to grow in relation to these castle sites. While the landscape may have well-suited itself for these purposes in some areas, this may have made it more challenging in others. Partly for this reason, 'there remain huge areas [in Yorkshire] without a hint of a castle'

(Turner, 2004:91). With this in mind, the various landscape settings must first be considered if a greater picture of castle-building during King Stephen's reign is to be contextualised in both time and place. The geography of these counties, the natural resources they contained, and the transportation networks which connected them, would have brought huge potential to their medieval occupants and must be examined in more detail.

4.2 Castle Siting

Landscape studies rose after the growth in study of medieval settlements during the 1970s. Coupled with the renewed interest of Bodiam Castle in the 1980s and 1990s, a more holistic approach has since been taken to castles and their landscapes. However, as Chapters 2 and 3 have shown, more research on twelfth-century sites is still required. The work undertaken by Creighton and Wright on 'the Anarchy' has addressed this historiographical need in some areas of England, but significant gaps still remain. Due to the nature of the evidence of the conflict, this material 'has by far the greatest potential for archaeological and landscape study' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:2). Lincolnshire and Yorkshire benefit from a wealth of documentary evidence and the *Gesta Stephani*, the *Hexham Chronicle* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* all form important accounts of the events which occurred locally. Despite the region similarly containing a wealth of archaeological remains from this period, this evidence has not been used to the same effect. The geographical focus of this chapter explores the combined historical and archaeological evidence through a landscape driven approach.

It is often recited that when the Normans arrived in England, 'they found so much value that they preserved a great deal whilst introducing some change' (Chibnall, 1993:105). In compiling the Domesday Book in 1086, it is apparent that 'the whole of England south of the Tees was governed through a network of shires' and while there were inevitably regional variations, 'as instruments of royal power in the localities, they shared common characteristics' and through the presence of hundreds and wapentakes, the Normans 'administered an integrated system of local government' (Roffe, 1991:32). Although the system of governance these lords ruled England through was not such a radical

departure from the administrative arrangements familiar to Anglo-Saxon England, it has been argued that 'the geography of power and how that geography changed over the twenty years between Hastings and the Domesday Inquest played a significant role in the siting of castles in the region' (Lowerre, 2005:47). It is likely that these geographical influences continued to be of great importance into the twelfth century when magnates had become more established throughout their demesnes and continued to construct castles to uphold their various territories.

D. J. Cathcart King's *Castellarium Anglicanum* (King, 1983a; 1983b) had already stressed the close associations between Norman castles and their siting, albeit from a narrow perspective. A key aspect of King's findings was linked to the distribution of these structures across the landscape. Despite suggesting that Stephen's grandfather, William I, must have had an overarching plan when it came to the construction of England's earlier castles, King went on to explain how royal and baronial castles only 'perhaps indirectly supported each other and there was no overall defensive strategy' (King, 1983a:xxvi). From a practical perspective, manipulating the physical landscape upon which a previous Iron Age hill fort, Roman defence, or even earlier structure had sat, may have presented a more difficult prospect for the medieval designer. The opportunities that a new location brought, coupled with the lands they possessed in a region with great material value, must have been an attractive proposition for England's ruling elite who wished to expand this power. This is a theme which will be explored in more detail in Chapters 5 and 6, though what is clear is that an entirely new structure for some magnates would have conveyed a message of strength and may have legitimised ownership over the land further.

Lincolnshire and Yorkshire provided considerable scope for its Norman landholders to position their castles. Figure 4:1 shows the distribution of the castles across the districts of Lindsey, Kesteven, and Holland in Lincolnshire, as well as the Ridings of Yorkshire. In respect of Domesday, 'it is clear that the surveys of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire were the product of the same circuit, and were closely connected' (Roffe, 1991:vii). Despite the overall region being comparable in this respect, from a study of the political and ceremonial boundaries depicted here, it can be seen that these sites were dispersed in a more random manner throughout both counties. As Lowerre's work on the development of castles after the Conquest had shown, even into the twelfth century, it

can be said that 'the Normans did not restrict themselves to castle sites taken from a pattern book' (Lowerre, 2005:196). Although they provide a useful starting point, the administrative boundaries of the various districts of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire alone cannot provide a clear enough view of how the region's castles developed. Therefore, it is essential to look to its various geographical features to see which factors influenced the choice of location for the castles built.

The established and traditional narrative has often emphasised how topographical considerations went hand in hand with the strength and defensibility of castles and how the landscape of England could be used for this purpose. During 'the Anarchy', chroniclers wrote how the physical landscape around castles could be fortified. The author of the *Gesta Stephani* wrote how the meres and fens on the Isle of Ely, as well as the castle positioned on its causeway, 'makes one impregnable castle of the whole island' (Potter & Davis, 1976:99). William of Malmesbury similarly noted during the period how the Isle of Portland had been 'turned into a castle' (King, 1998:78). Despite these supporting contemporary accounts, Liddiard's work on the castles built between 1066-1200 in Norfolk had shown how 'the desire to create such landscapes often compromised any defensive considerations on the part of the builder', demonstrated by the fact that 'the majority of the Norman castles…are overlooked by high ground' (Liddiard, 2000a:1). The distribution of Norman castles in East Anglia demonstrates that these structures were not always purely expressions of military strength and indicates that the landscape setting in which they were placed was much more varied than the reasons given by medieval writers.

Like Norfolk, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire are characterised by a distinct range of physical characteristics and properties. This topography of the region ranges from lowland areas across much of Lincolnshire, to the undulating hills of the Wolds, the North York Moors, and the Pennines. Beginning with a discussion of a region-wide digital terrain model, Figure 4:2 demonstrates the preference for siting castles at lower elevation and not principally on the general high spots within the landscape. Similar to Liddiard's work on the subject, the most elevated parts of the region were not always chosen by the medieval builder. Lockington Coney Hill was constructed in a lowland area of the East Riding of Yorkshire where much of the land remains flat and Malton Castle in the North Riding of Yorkshire similarly occupied a lower-lying site, despite there being other higher

aspects nearby on the North York Moors. Similarly, Carlton in Coverdale Round Hill was built on an area of raised ground towards the Pennines but was not located on the most elevated part of this regional landscape. The Lincolnshire Wolds would have provided some of the tallest aspects of land for magnates to build their castles with the 'highest point being about 550 feet above sea level', whereas 'the Yorkshire Wolds rise to 800 feet' (Jennings, 2000:62). In spite of this, Welbourn Castle Hill was established to the west of these hills and was overlooked further to the east, and Partney Castle was sited at lower elevation to the east of the Lincolnshire Wolds. The general topography of both Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, which could lend itself to these means, was not typically used to this effect by secular and episcopal magnates. As these highest areas of the landscape could equally be devoid of people, this trend stresses that castles were sited where they needed to be seen in order for them function. Due to more localised variations within the geography of the study area, 'it is possible that in the flatter areas of Lincolnshire it was necessary to build high, since any slight elevation afforded panoramic visibility' (Osbourne, 2010:28). This ensured that castles could have been seen by the population that they depended upon and meant that the highest locations were not always critical when conveying seigneurial power.

As chroniclers observed how 'castles drew their strength from their physical positioning in the landscape as much as from their defences' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:85), it would be logical to assume that sites contemporary to the war between Stephen and Matilda would have taken advantage of the landscape suited to better meet these needs. Large parts of the region's topography would have provided a castle with a greater vantage point from which to anticipate an attacking force, which again chronicles had often detailed in their writings was a necessity during Stephen's reign. Equally, 'the fundamental requirements and practical essentials of fortress, or castle, construction are all, to a greater or lesser extent, constrained by local and/or regional geological factors and topographical features' (Halsall, 2000b:5). In the case of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, it appears that these local aspects were of greater importance than military rationale alone. However, it would be wrong to assume that castle-construction was constrained by such features, as Halsall indicates. It is likely that the properties of the local geography brought greater prospects to its magnates and fostered the overall process of positioning castles throughout the landscape.

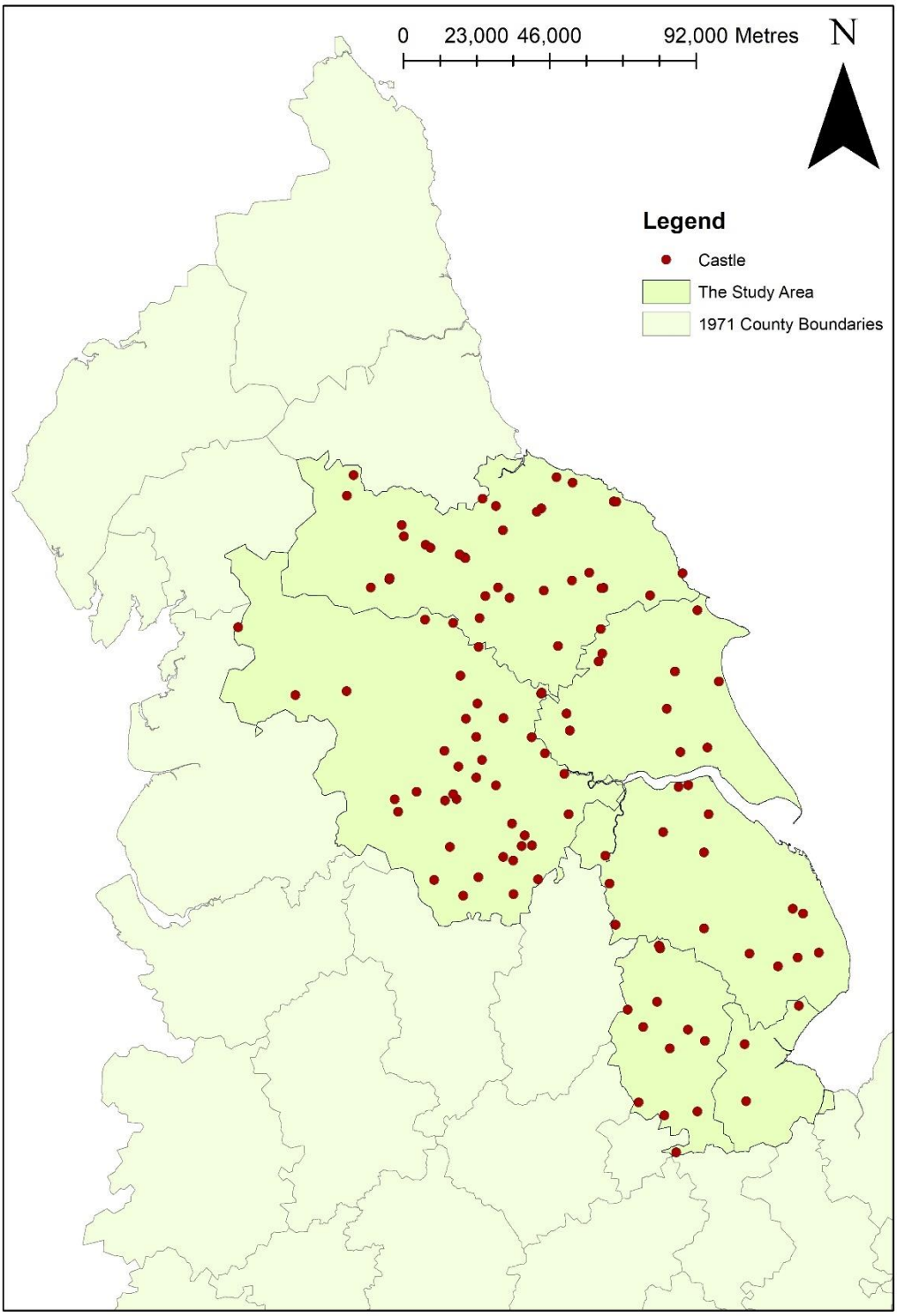

Figure 4:1 The castles built in the study area between 1066-1200. Created with ArcMap 10.8.2. [shapefile].

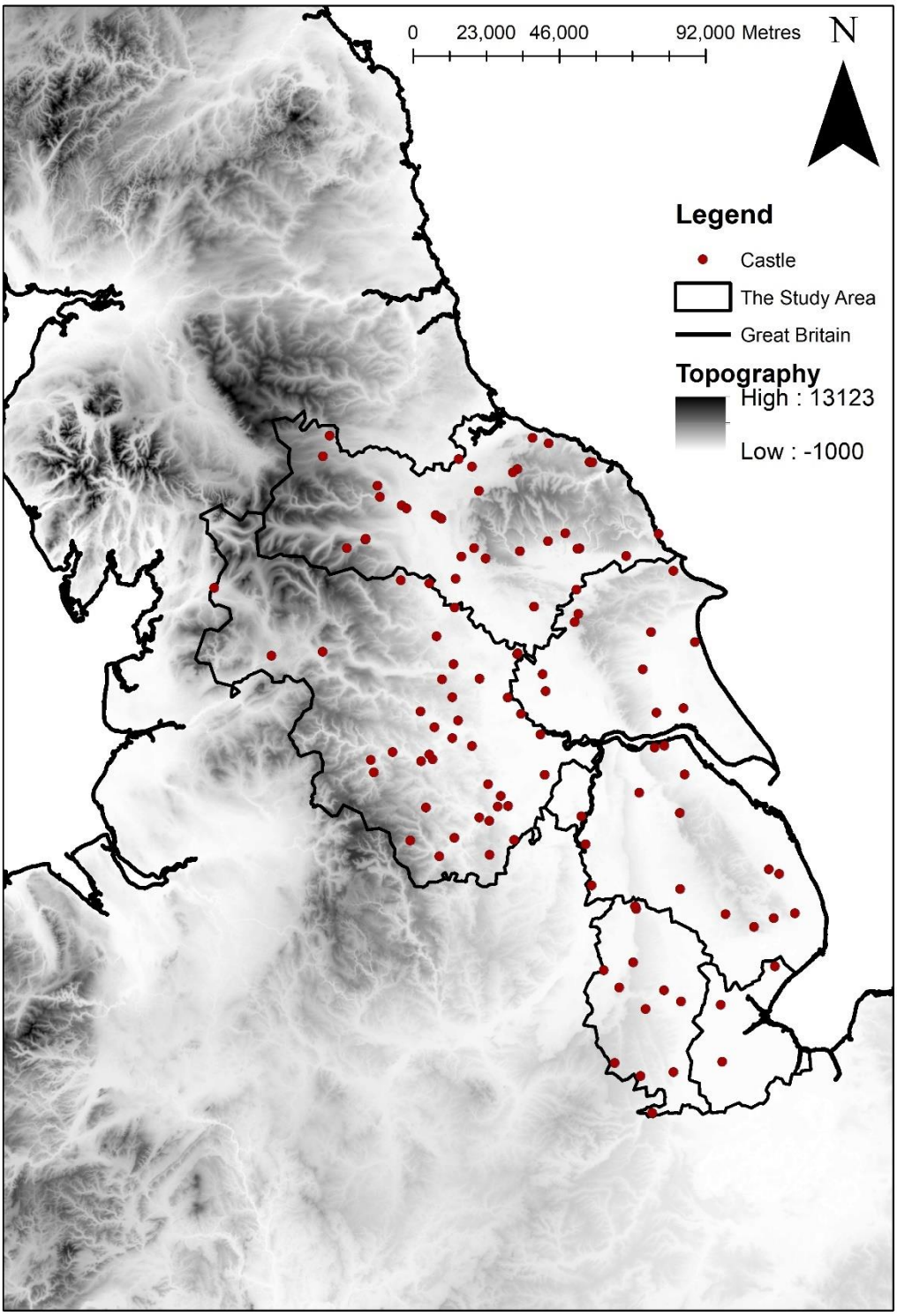

Figure 4:2 The topography of Great Britain and the siting of castles in the study area built between 1066-1200. Created with ArcMap 10.8.2. Data from Stuart Brookes (2020) [shapefile]. Data from Ordnance Survey (2021) [shapefile].

In addition to the overall elevation of these castles, it is essential to look more closely at the more localised terrain upon which these structures sat. In addition to being defined by large areas of uplands, the region benefitted from vast swathes of lowland areas found across much of Lincolnshire and the Vale of York. The topography of the region highlights the opportunities, as well as the challenges faced by castle builders of the period. The landscape was key to their efforts and the uplands must have represented a more difficult prospect and was not always where communities, which castles relied upon, could be found. Although Austin's work in Country Durham did show how intermediate areas could bring advantages too (Austin, 1984). These considerations would not only have had bearing when it came the initial construction of the site, but its subsequent occupation. As these castles were clearly intended to be used for an extended period, it is reasonable to assume that much thought went into choosing a suitable location, based on a multitude of social and political factors. In his work on the Norman castles of Norfolk, Robert Liddiard stressed that when this decision had been made, 'some individuals in Norman England went to considerable effort to manipulate the environment around their residences' (Liddiard, 2000a:2). The findings of this chapter give no reason to suggest it would be any different for the landowners living at the time of Stephen's reign in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, with all manner of castles built.

Figure 4:3 shows the terrain upon which the castles were positioned throughout the period 1066-1200. There was a strong trend for siting in lowland areas. The castles at Barton and Barrow upon Humber have typically been described as 'lying low in the marshes' (Rodwell & Atkins, 2011:7). This allowed these sites to make changes to these environments on the banks of the Humber Estuary which were 'more tamed and settled landscapes' (Reeves & Williamson, 2000:150). To the south, a comparable lowland site can be seen at Swineshead in the Holland district of Lincolnshire (Figure 4:4). In the East Riding of Yorkshire, Swine Castle Hill was also located in a lowland area, using aspects of higher ground and to the north, Whorlton Castle occupied a similar location. To the west, Burton in Lonsdale Castle Hill and Mowbray Castle can be found in such areas. It is important to note that while these sites are classified as having been situated on lowland areas, many of these fortifications would have been slightly raised in order to enclose the site and in some cases like at Barrow, could help avert possible flooding, or this simply have been the most suitable place to build. It has been said that 'regional study

perhaps has meant examining individual sites within the confines of a given geographical area' (Creighton & Higham, 2004:15). As this thesis provides a regional perspective, Figure 4:3 does not clearly reflect local variations, but the findings are encouraging nonetheless and reveal the general trend towards siting castles at lower elevation.

There are a smaller number of sites positioned on intermediate lands between these uplands and lowland areas. Due to the nature of the geography of Yorkshire, more sites can be found in these intermediate areas as depicted in *Region and Place: A Study of English Rural Settlement* (Roberts & Wrathmell, 2002). Acklam Motte and Mount Ferrant can be found on the edge of the Yorkshire Wolds, the latter which was 'ideally located to oversee and accumulate whatever local resources were present' (Turner, 2004:102) (Figure 4:5). Pickering Castle and Pickering Beacon Hill were located on the North York Moors. Skipton Castle was located further west of the Pennines. Although the highest parts of the region's terrain were largely avoided, Mulgrave, Foss and Kilton in the North York Moors, as well as Bradfield Bailey Hill in the Pennines are some of the examples which deviated from this trend. The fact that 'the growth of the national population during the reign of the Norman kings brought renewed pressure on the moors' (Hey, 2000:194) may account for this pattern to some extent. For other sites which were positioned near, but not directly on upland areas, these structures could often be found at their bases. This was the case at Caistor Castle Hill in Lindsey (Figure 4:6) located 'at the foot of the Lincolnshire escarpment' (Jennings, 2000:64).

A greater sense of appreciation for the diversity of the landscape emerged following the 1960s and 1970s (Everitt, 1977; Fox, 1989). Through the concept of *pays*, it was thought that the academic community should start to 'think of local and regional variation in landscape character as producing a series of unique districts' (Rippon, 2008:7). So far in this chapter, the Wolds have been discussed only in the sense of their elevation and as much as there were topographical differences between the Lincolnshire and Yorkshire Wolds, these two areas would have also differed on both a local and cultural level too. However, there is a notable absence of castles having been placed directly on the Wolds. Instead, it appears that this part of the landscape was used for other purposes such as agriculture rather than the establishment of settlements and the construction of castles. By the thirteenth century, 'the saint Olaf is said to have landed at a Yorkshire harbour off the Wold' (Fox, 2000:50). The landscape here must have continued to become

significant for it to be recognised internationally, likely developing its own distinct culture, which may not be so obvious to us when looking at the evidence today.

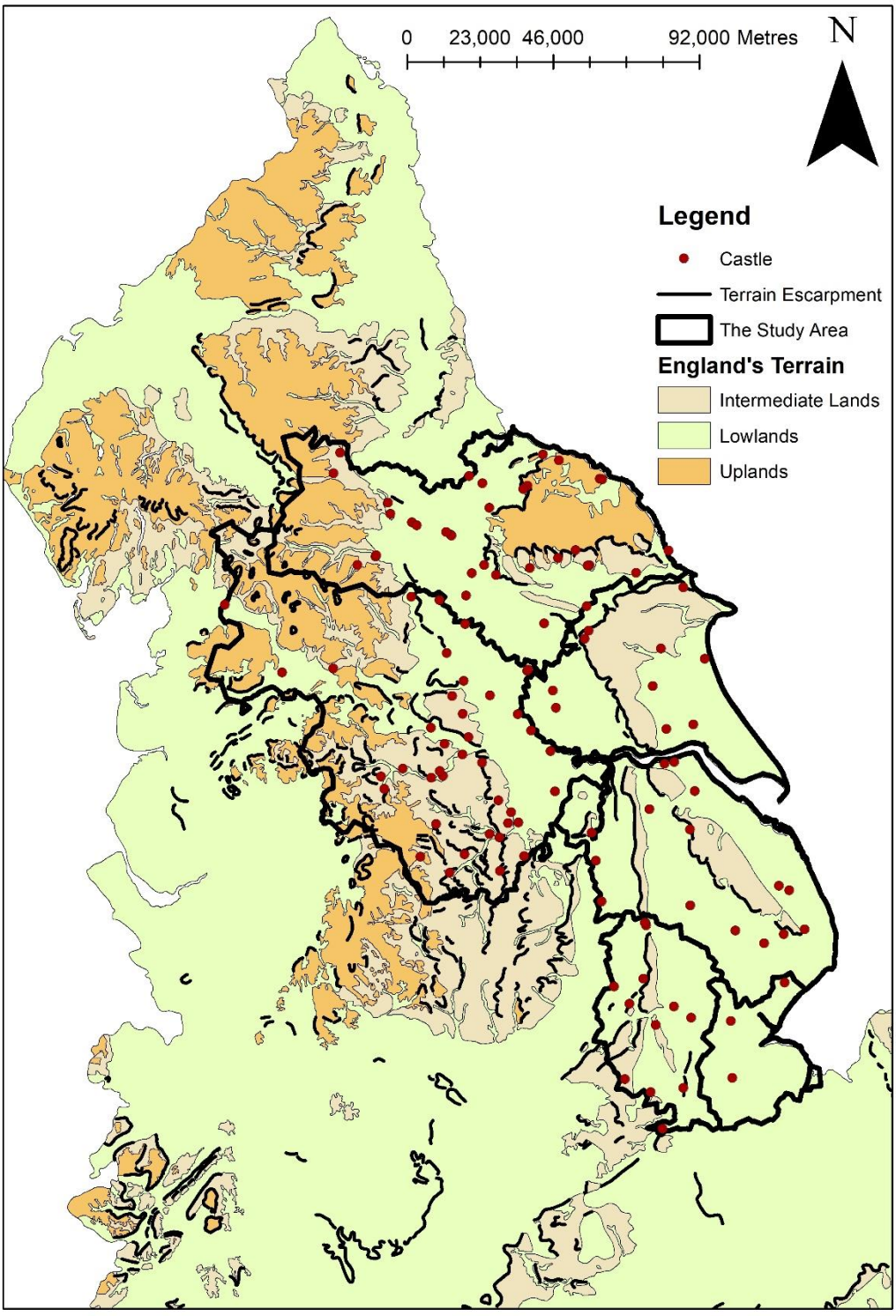

Figure 4:3 A terrain map of North England and the siting of castles in the study area built between 1066-1200. Created with ArcMap 10.8.2. Data from Stuart Brookes (2020) [shapefile]. Data from Brian K. Roberts and Stuart Wrathmell (2002) [shapefile].

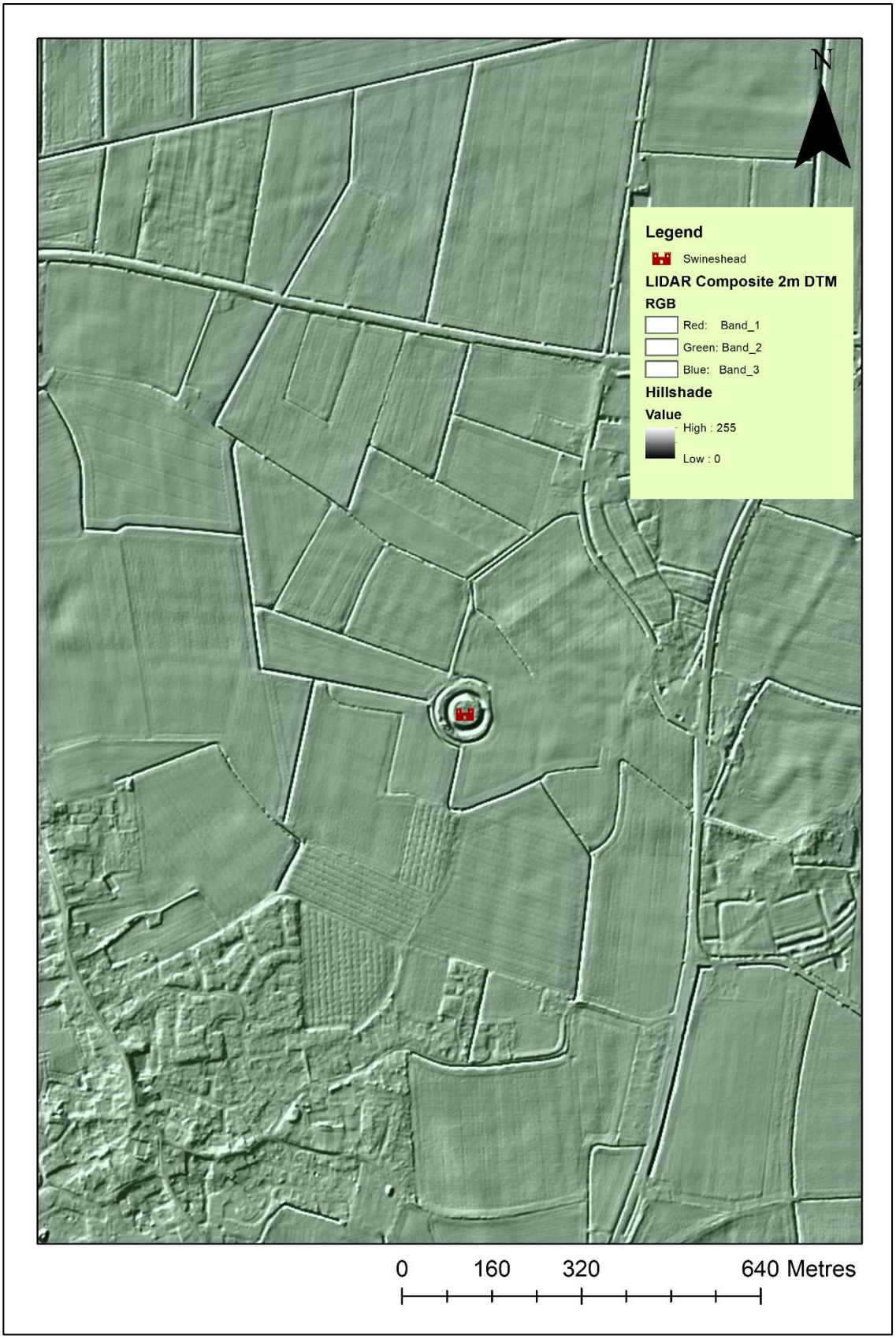

Figure 4:4 Swineshead occupying a low-lying area in the Holland district of Lincolnshire. Created with ArcMap 10.8.2. Data from Ordnance Survey (2021) [shapefile].

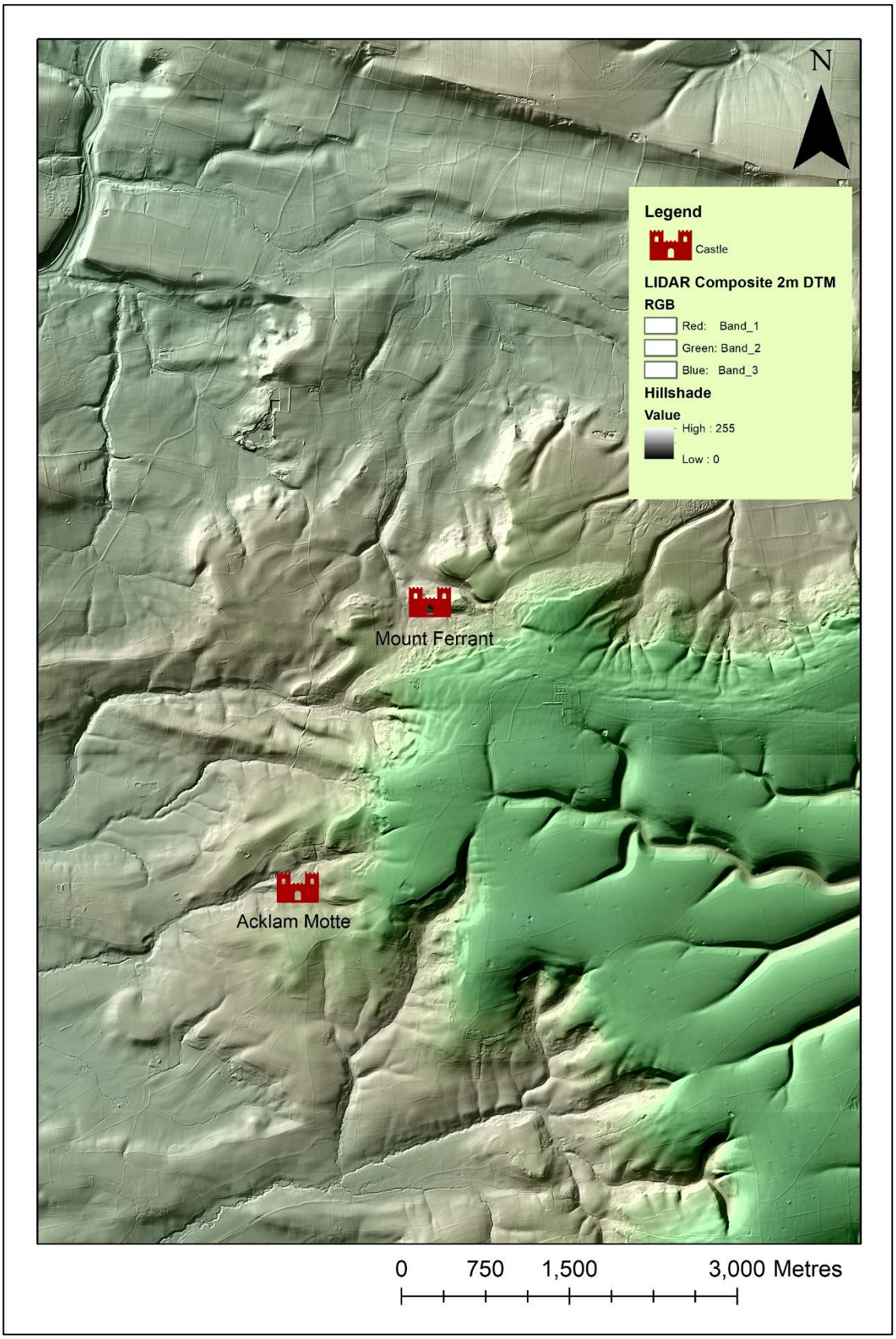

Figure 4:5 Mount Ferrant and Acklam Motte positioned on an intermediate zone on the edge of the Yorkshire Wolds. Created with ArcMap 10.8.2. Data from Ordnance Survey (2021) [shapefile].

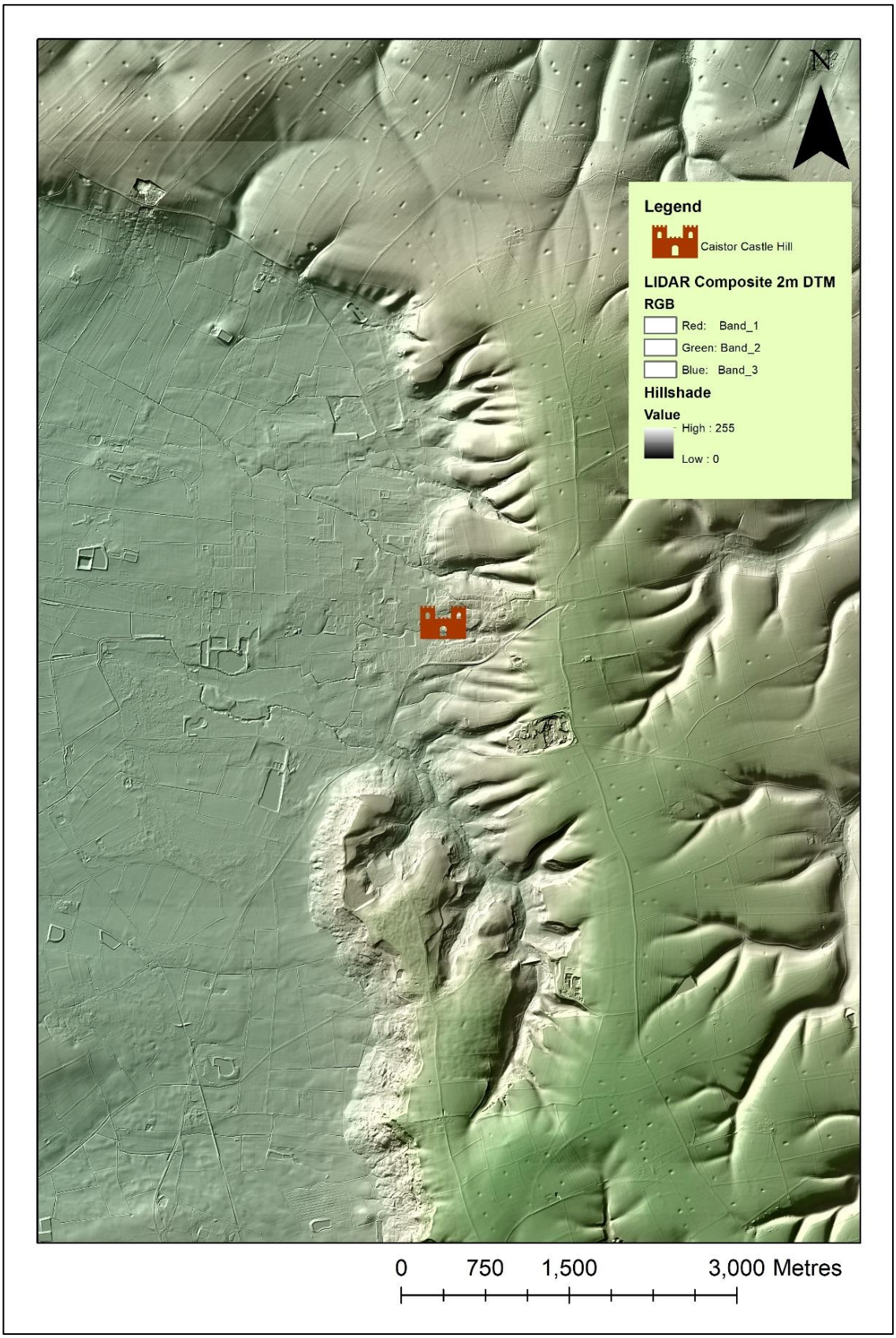

Figure 4:6 Caistor Castle Hill at the foot of the Lincolnshire escarpment. Created with ArcMap 10.8.2. Data from Ordnance Survey (2021) [shapefile].

Areas of forestry form another example of *pays* and similar to areas like the Wolds, are deserving of more focus. The traditional narrative in relation to castle siting is that 'large impenetrable forests and marshes should be avoided' because 'they tend to interfere with the fortresses sphere of influence' (Howard & Paret, 1984:403). After 'the Battle for Bodiam', the landscape dimensions of castles have been increasingly looked at in different ways and land cover is certainly no exception. The Domesday Book has been used by medieval historians to construct the political environment of eleventh-century England as it provided an 'ordered description of a national economy' (Stenton, 1971:656). This view was upheld for many who have studied it and it has been used by historians to get an insight into the nature of England's environment after the Normans had conquered England. For this study, Domesday can help account for the nature of how the land may have appeared and was used. It can be used to further examine how this may have affected the development of castles, as the environment may have helped or hindered the building activity of the Middle Ages. As there are very few comparable sources of its kind, Domesday is the main way to gain an understanding of the distribution of ancient woodland and forestry and 'without [the] Domesday Book our knowledge would be slight and patchy' (Hull Domesday Project, n.d.).

Figures 4:7 and 4:8 highlight the wooded areas which existed across England at the time of Domesday. These figures were created using *Region and Place: a study of English rural settlement* (Roberts & Wrathmell, 2002:19-22). Roberts and Wrathmell produced two different maps on the nature of England's forestry, the first based on Domesday data, and the second on place-names which indicated the presence of woodland. Since its digitisation in a GIS, 'different elements can be viewed in new combinations and can be examined in greater depth than was previously possible' (Lowerre, 2010:25). Unfortunately, the woodland datasets were not part of this digitisation project and had to be imported into the GIS of this thesis in a way in which these trends could still be viewed. The nature of tree cover would not have drastically altered from 1086 when it stood 'at about 15 per cent', to the time of the war between Stephen and Matilda, subsequently then 'falling to perhaps 10 per cent by 1350' (Short, 2000:133). While both of these figures offer slightly different interpretations on the nature of woodland, they do indicate that the land was incredibly open. Indeed, it is estimated that the survey 'covers 27 million acres of land; of these 4.1 million, that is 15%, were woodland

(including wood-pasture)' (Rackham, 1990:50). There would of course have been regional variations, but Oliver Rackham's assessment is representative of the picture in the West Riding of Yorkshire and the North Riding of Yorkshire. His work suggested that there was significantly less tree cover in the East Riding of Yorkshire, with a woodland percentage cover of less than 5% and the existence of only 2 woods in Lincolnshire (Rackham, 1990:50). The designers of castles sited them here regardless. While it may not have been an active choice on their part, the lack of tree cover did not deter their efforts. It may have been the case that the large expanses of open land, coupled with the fact that most of the region was characterised by low-lying terrain, would have been the more suitable location. The relative blank canvas that this landscape provided was able to foster the building ambitions of the ruling elite devoid of notable obstacles.

The reliability of using these records to construct an accurate view of medieval England can be questioned. This revised view has been championed by Bridbury, who argued that the 'belief that the Domesday survey can provide us with a view of English society which combines some of the elements of a census of production with those of a study of the social structure, is not as well-founded as it is generally thought to be' (Bridbury, 1990:284). Domesday cannot provide a true reflection of the nature of forestry, but it nonetheless can be used as a starting point. In this case, it has shown an insight into the likely relationship between castles and the natural features in the landscape. There are many issues, ambiguities and contradictions when relying on contemporary sources, not least of all the Domesday Book. Though what is clear is that during the early stages of Norman rule, the English countryside was well-settled, 'with as large an area as 7 or 8 million acres under the plough' (Dyer, 1989:46). Combining Domesday records, with the siting of castles within this GIS, this thesis has offered a new perspective into the development of castles during the High Middle Ages. Areas of woodland were thus relatively scarce in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. With that said, castles of all types of construction still depended on the same resources and 'there was never a so-called stone castle that did not make some use of timber' (Higham & Barker, 1992:171). Layering comparable datasets within a GIS may better reveal how the land cover, and by extension, access to regional resources, may have affected the decisions of Norman lords in this part of the country.

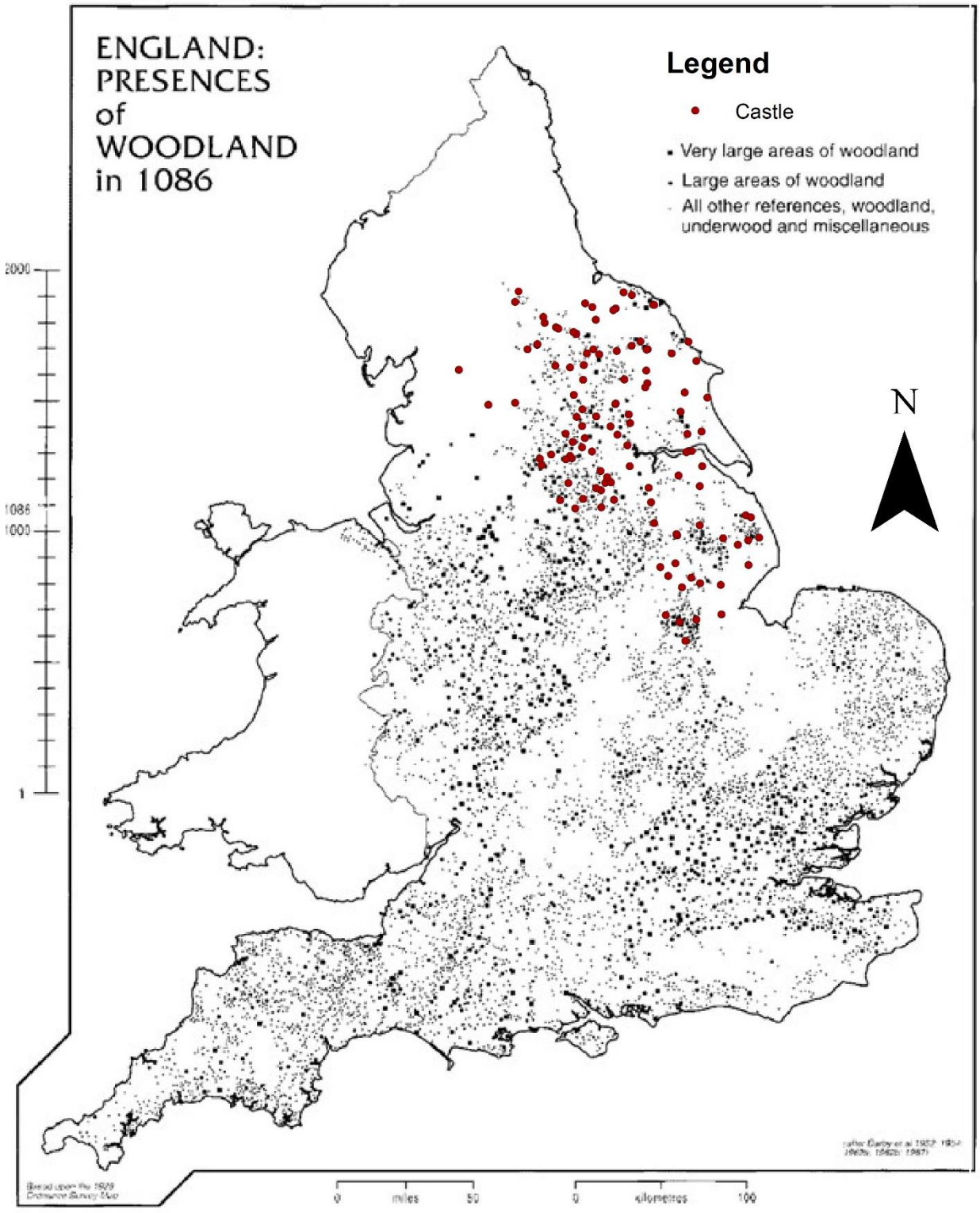

Figure 4:7 The distribution of woodland based on evidence from the Domesday Book, 1086 layered with castle sites. Map by Brian K. Roberts and Stuart Wrathmell (2002:19).

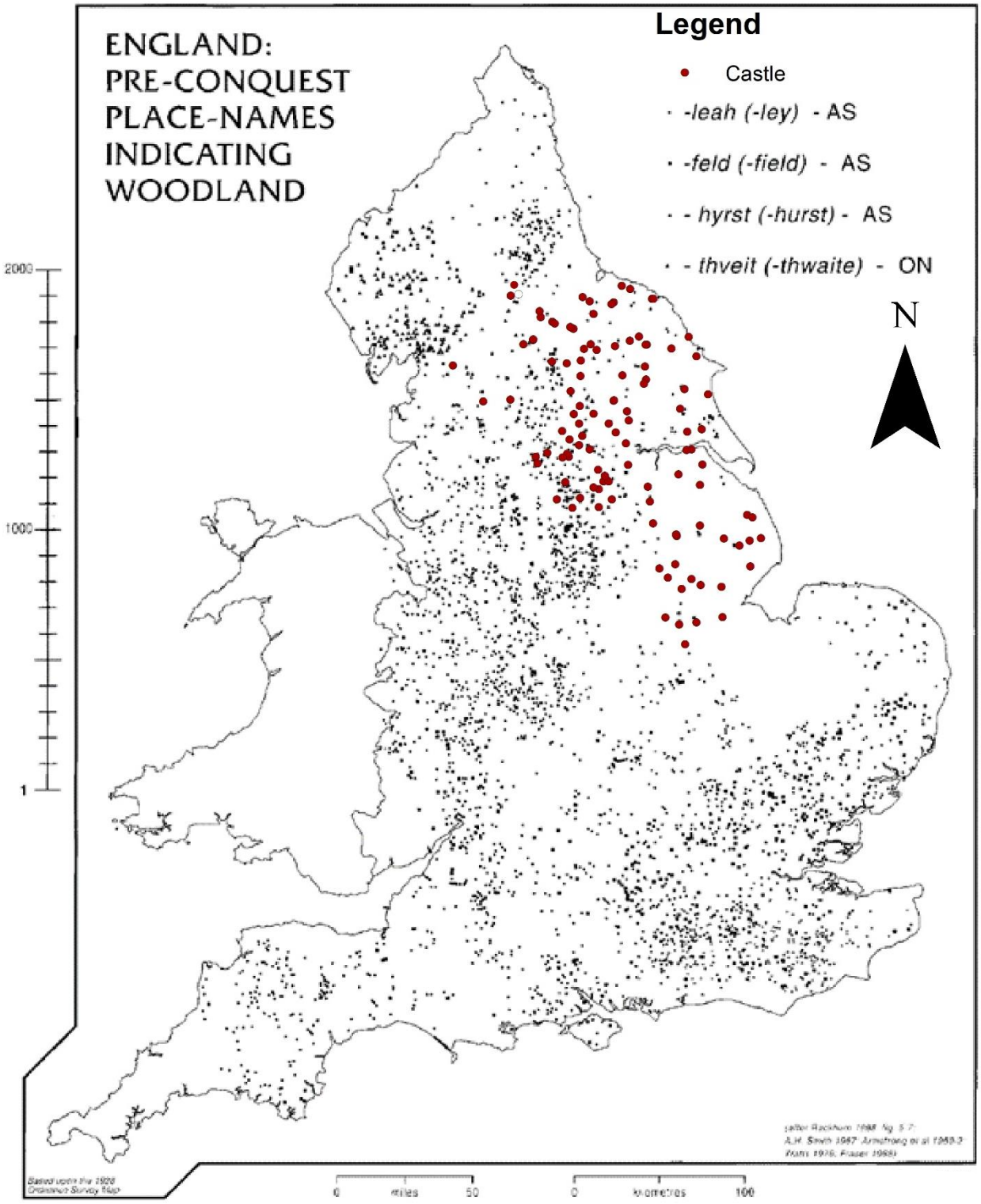

Figure 4:8 The distribution of woodland based on place-name evidence layered with castle sites. Map by Brian K. Roberts and Stuart Wrathmell (2002:22).

4.3 Regional Resources and Major Transportation Networks

The bedrock geology of the study area is dominated by sedimentary rocks, formed during the Carboniferous period around 340 million years ago (Figure 4:9). These rocks are predominantly of marine origin and were laid down when it was a warm shallow sea, which is why most of the region is low-lying, with many of the rivers and streams running across limestone and sandstone bedrock. In upland areas, particularly towards the Peak District, coal measures of Carboniferous origin are visible within the geology. The oldest rocks are found in the limestone hills to the east of present-day Leeds, dating back over 400 million years. Further north, in the Cleveland Hills, Permian and Triassic strata can be observed, including limestones and sandstones. To the east, there are Cretaceous Chalk outcrops in the North Riding of Yorkshire forming a band of white cliffs along the coast. To the south, an area of Jurassic limestone can be seen, including the Wolds present in both Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. The youngest rocks are found with the sandstones and clays of Lincolnshire. Laid down during the late Cretaceous period, these rocks form the hills of the Lincolnshire Wolds. Figure 4:10 shows that the movement of glacial and alluvial material is a defining characteristic of the superficial geology and there are large areas of till overlain on the region's bedrock due to glaciation. This can be viewed on the Lincolnshire coast and in the areas next to the River Humber and its connecting river channels. Geological factors had a significant impact on the geomorphology of the landscape, which is why 'a thorough terrain analysis ultimately involves an evaluation of the interplay of geology and topography' (Halsall, 2000a:33).

As owners of castle sites needed to manipulate, adapt, and reclaim their surroundings, it is only logical that they would have been more prevalent in the rural areas which could nurture this process. The reclamation and adaptation of liminal landscapes did occur during the twelfth century, as was the case at Sunk Island and Cherry Cobb where the deposition and accumulation of silt drifts 'led to a phase of land reclamation along the shoreline during the 10th to 12th centuries' (Wastling & George, 2017:135-6). As this landscape characterisation by Historic England made clear, the use of reclaimed land was not always long-lived or uniform and could be further dictated by historic land-use. The work of Owen in the Lindsey Marsh for example showed that 'salt-making, in short, preceded settlement as well as following it: sea banks only followed' and how 'the

existence of such banks is well-evidenced between the Humber and the Wash from the third quarter of the 12th century onwards' (Owen, 1984:46). The Lincolnshire Marsh was a dynamic landscape that was utilised in different ways throughout the medieval period along its entire length. Although there is evidence of attempts at embanking the coastline in the south of the region close to Skegness, the northern areas were not intentionally reclaimed into the post-medieval period (Fenwick, 2007). Declining activity of salt production is illustrated in the 1595 Haiwarde's map of the Parishes of Fulstow and Marshchapel with no sea embankment (Fenwick, 2007). Evidence from excavations at Marshchapel, and references in the Domesday Book show active salt-working during the period under consideration in this thesis (Fenwick et al., 2001). This was therefore a landscape in flux, but also a landscape of opportunity for those who sought to develop the economic resources it provided.

Parts of the region were drained, reclaimed and settled. However, other areas remained as they were to facilitate dynamic practices such as salt making, which was a defining characteristic on the Lincolnshire coastline. While some areas would have drawn landscape colonisers, others would have been less desirable. There are significant areas of clay in the North and West Ridings of Yorkshire, again largely due to fluvial processes, and swathes of peatlands in the west, with smaller pockets to the north of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, and in the south-east beyond the Wash. Although 'the views of modern scientists and farmers may not help us to decide the quality of a soil under medieval conditions' (Dyer, 1989:48), the lack of occupation in sparser areas including the Pennines, must account for the absence of sites in these areas to some extent, as it would not have been practical to have placed a castle in such an isolated area with a lack of local population. Indeed, Ella Armitage had noticed that castles 'are almost invariably placed in the arable country' (Armitage, 1912:83).

While geographic fault lines were present in both counties, these can be found in greater abundance north towards Durham and the Scottish borders. The areas depicted in white in Figure 4:10 reflect an absence of geological material, including the chalk Wolds of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. Placing the geology of the region within context illustrates how fluvio-glacial activity from the last ice age created ideal conditions for magnates when it came to the siting of castles during Anglo-Norman England. As 'Iron Age and Romano-British saltworks are found on both parts of the Lindsey coast and around the

former margins of the Wash' (Owen, 1984:46), the region's heritage was one of the most suitable locations for the creation of settlements, industry and the built landscape.

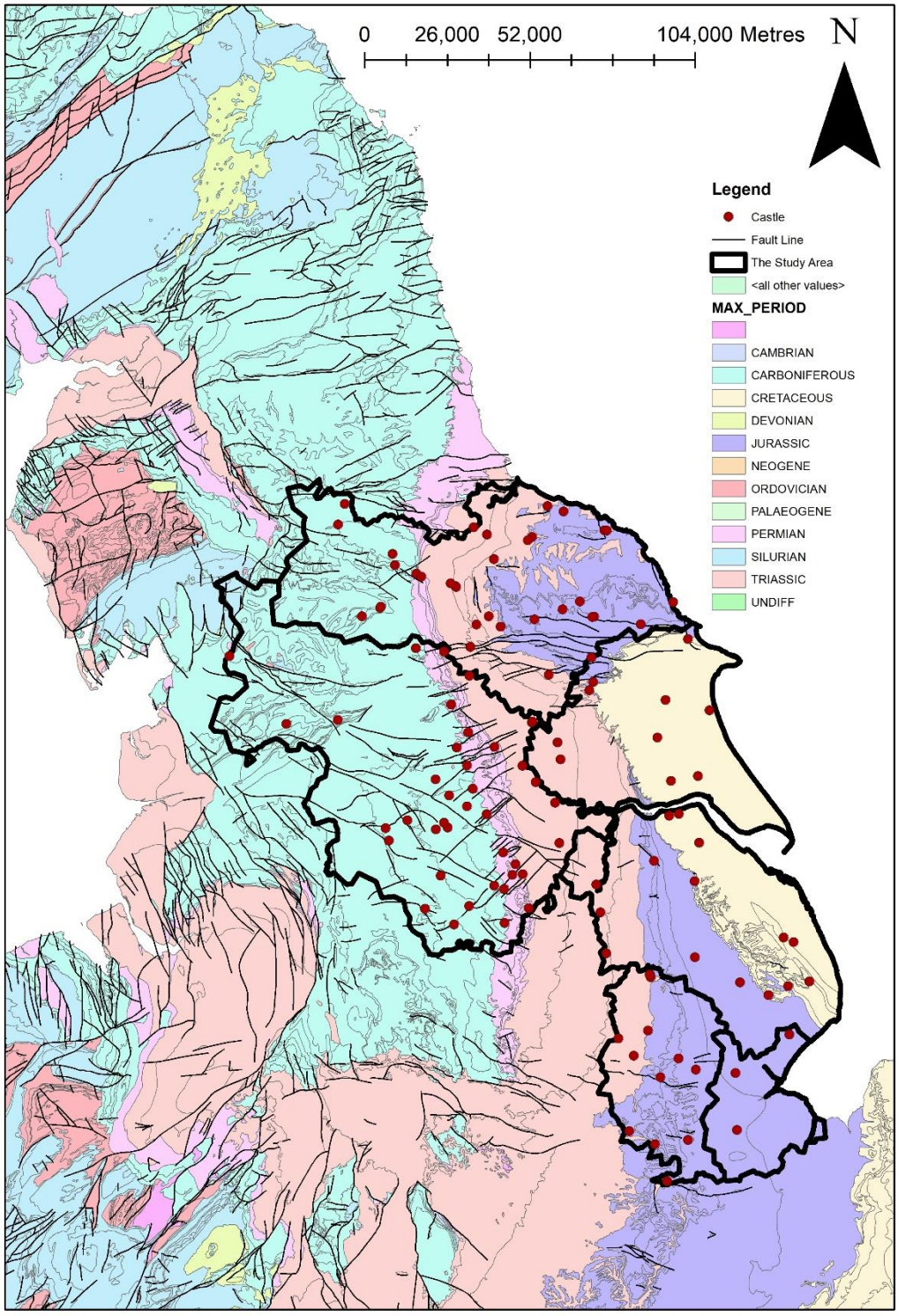

Figure 4:9 The bedrock geology of Great Britain and the distribution of castles built in the study area between 1066-1200. Created with ArcMap 10.8.2. [shapefile]. Data from Ordnance Survey (2021) [shapefile].

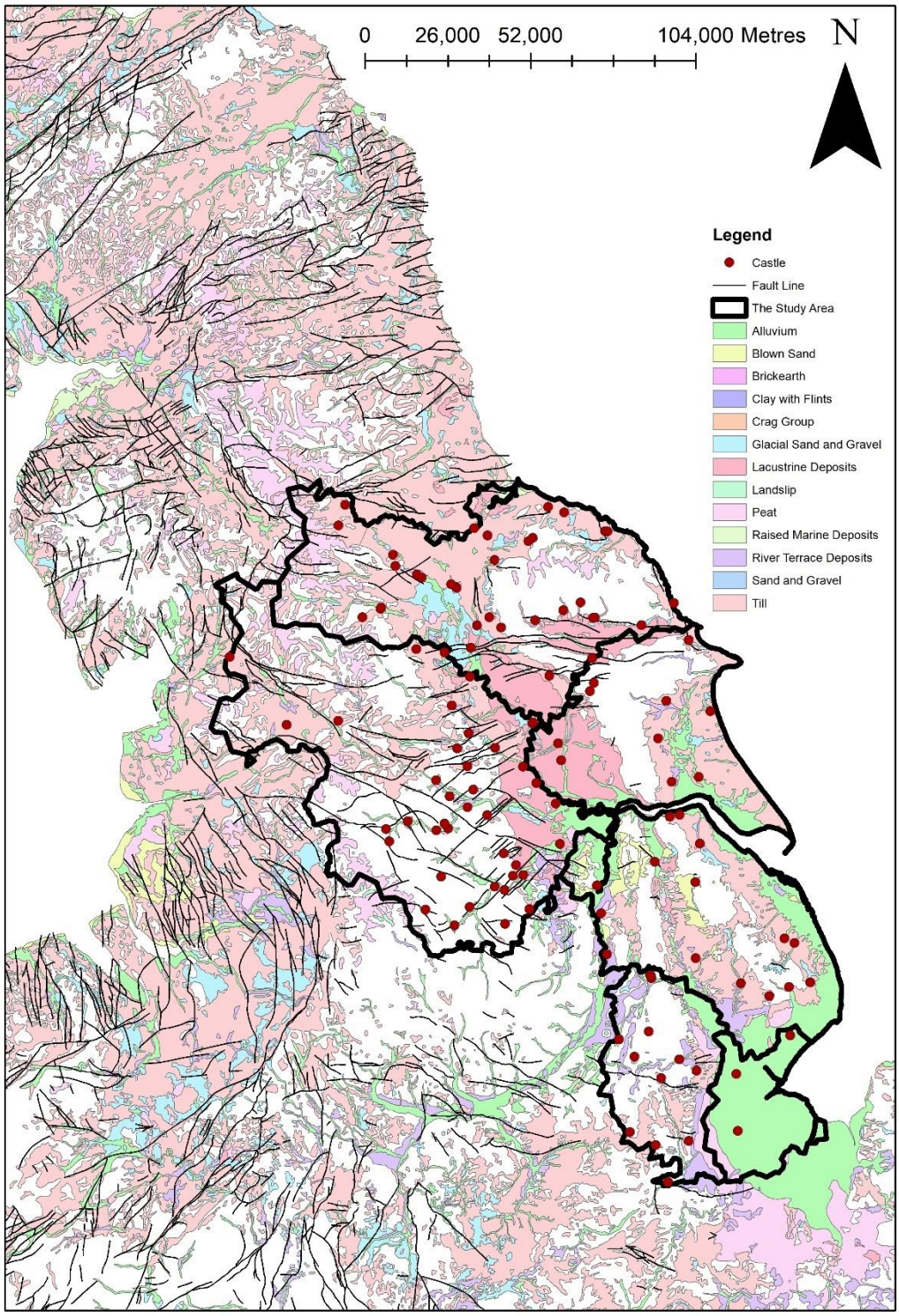

Figure 4:10 The superficial geology of Great Britain and the distribution of castles built in the study area between 1066-1200. Created with ArcMap 10.8.2. [shapefile]. Data from Ordnance Survey (2021) [shapefile].

Lincolnshire's coastline stretches from the Wash in the south to the Humber Estuary in the north, and the Yorkshire coast begins at the Humber Estuary and ends at the Tees Estuary. This 100-mile stretch of coastline would have been an important feature of the landscape. Figure 4:11 shows the nature of the region's coastline and its relationship with the castles of the High Middle Ages. Only Scarborough Castle can be seen to have been positioned directly on the coast, although this coastline has of course altered since and many castles located in the Holderness, like Aldbrough, have been lost over time. A small number of other castles were situated within a 5km radius, while the majority tended to be placed further inland. When Bodiam castle was studied in greater detail in the 1980s and 1990s, its proximity to the coast was brought into question. Its location around ten miles inland had initially been viewed by military historians like Sands as having brought 'considerable strategical advantages' (Sands, 1903:115). However, Coulson argued that 'we find here a military rationale of the most undiluted variety' (Coulson, 1992:59). The situation at Bodiam is comparable with many sites across this region. This is not to say that these sites could not have tapped into the coastline for such reasons if required, but as the civil war between Stephen and Matilda largely took place inland, it is not clear how far the coastline in particular would have actively factored into the military consciousness of Stephen and Matilda's camps.

It is more likely instead that the region's expansive coastline played a passive role in the cultural development of castles. Regardless of how close its castles were to the coast; the North Sea must have influenced their siting to some extent. When the Normans came to England, they did so by sea and Hunt's work in the Honour of Dudley showed that despite not having immediate access to the coastline, its landowners took inspiration from Normandy and formed 'a new shape to meet new needs and circumstances' (Hunt, 1997:28). It is only logical that some of the ideas would have been brought to England from the continent as the ruling elite typically held land in both. Having an equally significant impact on castle-building in England from the end of the eleventh century, 'from the moment that the First Crusade arrived in the Middle East, the Crusaders started building castles' (Haag, 2009:127). In Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, the North Sea would have arguably facilitated this process of cultural transmission and exchange throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries, more so than landlocked parts of the country. With this in mind, a larger appreciation of the landscape settings of

Normandy, as well as the influences of the Holy Land must be considered when establishing a more comprehensive view of the archaeology of the twelfth century.

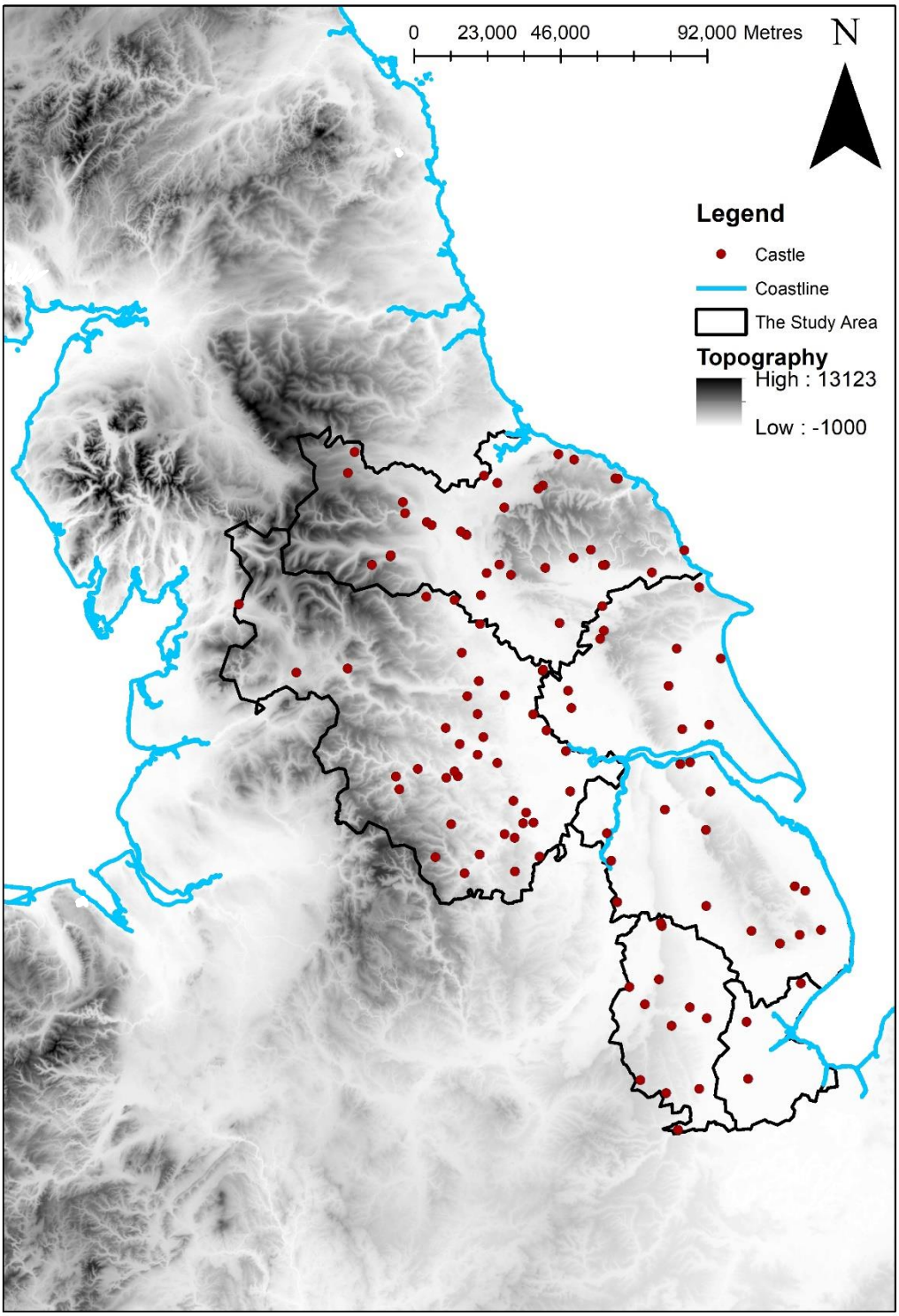

Figure 4:11 The proximity of castles to the North Sea in the study area built between 1066-1200. Created with ArcMap 10.8.2. Data from Stuart Brookes (2020) [shapefile]. Data from Ordnance Survey (2021) [shapefile].

In addition to the role that the North Sea would have played in the development of castles during the High Middle Ages, the river networks of the region must be studied in more detail. Lincolnshire and Yorkshire contain a number of important rivers which would have played an instrumental role in the development of the landscape and have been further shaped by human activity since prehistoric times. As they would have been subject to change in the past few hundred years to the present day due to these geological and human processes, it can be more difficult to reconstruct the true nature of river systems from the medieval period. Despite this, together with the open, lowland areas of the region, Figure 4:12 displays a strong bias towards siting castles near to known river channels and flood plains. Characterised by alluvium and riverine deposits, Figure 4:10 strengthens the validity of these findings. Michael Beeler had argued that the control of river crossings was a fundamental part of a castle's presence in the landscape and siting in this respect was a deliberate choice, stating that 'wherever a road crosses a navigable river, a castle is usually to be found' (Beeler, 1956:591). This remained the prevailing view when these landscapes were first studied by castellologists, and certainly for castles contemporary to the conflict between Stephen and Matilda.

It is now generally accepted that the relationship between castles, rivers and crossings was however more varied and cannot simply be explained by military factors alone. Documentary sources, archaeological survey and place-name evidence have been used to great effect by the *Inland Navigation in England and Wales before 1348* (Oksanen, 2019) and *Bridges of Medieval England to c. 1250* (Brookes et al., 2019) projects. When used together, the findings of both projects can place the development of the relationship between people and place in context. Figures 4:12 and 4:13 reflect the findings of their research, including the direct and indirect evidence of inland water navigation, as well as the development of bridges and ferry crossings which would have supported the use of these river networks. These structures were more commonly built into the High Middle Ages, but there are number of examples from Anglo-Saxon period, in the post-Conquest period, and the reign of King Stephen, showing that the construction and use of these crossings did not only occur in the later medieval period.

The bridges and crossings present in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire would have aided the use of castles within the landscape, and in some cases may have been used to aid military efforts. For example, Stamford Bridge on the River Derwent is present on

Figures 4:12 and 4:13 and had been instrumental for when King Harold Godwinson defeated King Harald Hardrada in 1066. By the time of the time of the Battle of Lincoln in 1141, Orderic Vitalis recorded that forces opposing Stephen crossed the Fossdyke in an attempt to secure the city (Chibnall, 1969:539-47). As Lowerre's research concluded, 'Conquest-era castles in the south-eastern Midlands neither uniformly sat athwart vital crossings or strategic routes' (Lowerre, 2005:180). Indeed, the same can be said for the twelfth century, and these maps show that only a few sites from the High Middle Ages were closely linked to bridges and crossings and could not have been coherently used for such strategic efforts. Many of the bridges and crossings constructed in Lincolnshire were located near to the River Humber or the River Witham at Lincoln, with two isolated examples at Stamford and Holland Causeway. Yorkshire contains more river networks and partly accounts for the increased number of bridges located here, but they also appear to have been created earlier than in Lincolnshire. For example, the River Hull contained a bridge at Brigham which was built by 850 and was later joined by Hull Bridge in around 1120. The same can be said for the River Ure, which was accompanied by the Pontem de Burgo crossing, completed by 1155 near to Aldborough Studforth Hill. The River Ure becomes the River Ouse at York, and York had possessed a bridge by 999.

Some of the bridges and crossings present in Figure 4:13 are not accompanied by a river system. In some cases, these seemingly isolated bridges could represent smaller crossings between a church and manorial centre, such as Iuxta Pontem, or lesser crossings over channels and becks, like at Waithe Beck, Lindsey. Conversely, an absence of a crossing in Figure 4:13 does not mean that a river was not actively used. Castle Levington in the North Riding of Yorkshire was built on the banks of the River Leven and must have used the river to some extent. Thonock Castle Hills in Lindsey was accompanied by a bridge, and there was a ferry crossing at Barrow upon Humber though neither are reflected in this dataset (Brookes et al., 2019). For the Counts of Aumale, the crossing at Barrow 'connected their estates in Holderness and Lincolnshire' and has been argued to have been 'built to protect the southern landfall of this ferry' (Atkins, 1983:91-3). While this is a somewhat simplified view, it shows how much value could be attributed to these transport networks. It is rather more likely that the growing interdependent relationship which did exist between these crossings and the castles

located nearby was not based on hostility, but rather a positive association between local communities.

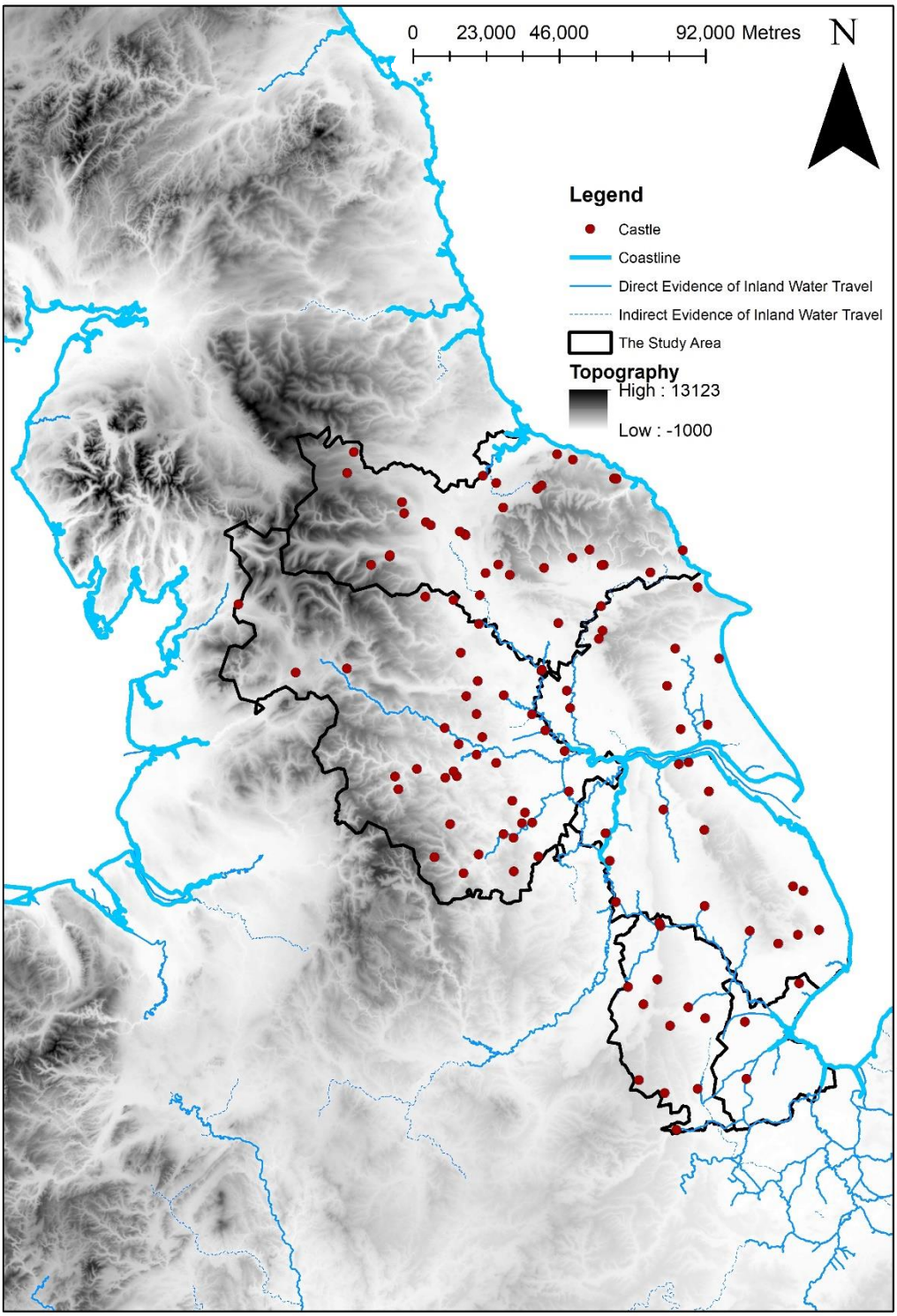

Figure 4:12 Inland water travel in the High Middle Ages and the relationship between these transport networks and the castles built in the study area between 1066-1200. Created with ArcMap 10.8.2. Data from Stuart Brookes (2020) [shapefile]. Data from Eljas Oksanen (2019). Data from Ordnance Survey (2021) [shapefile].

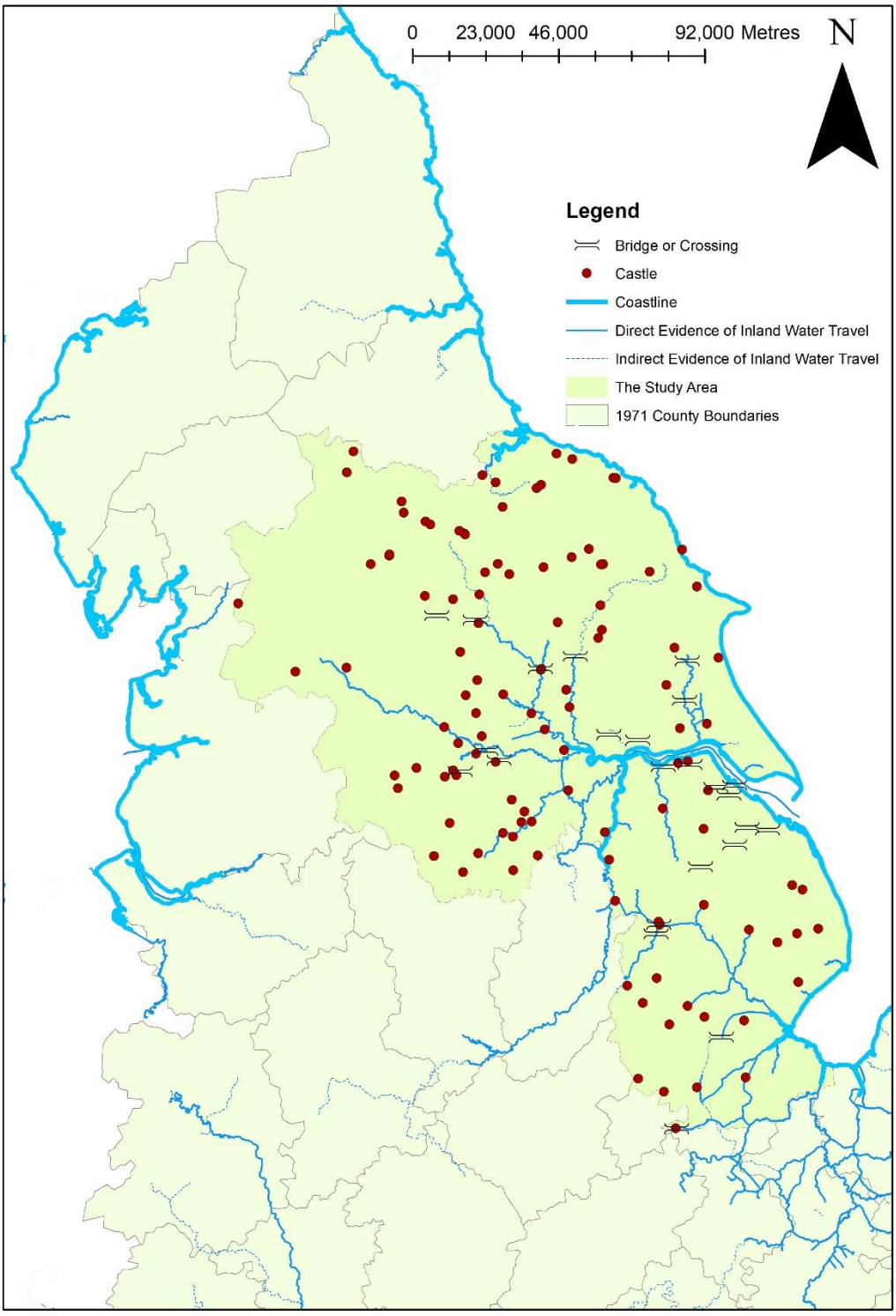

Figure 4:13 The bridges in use by 1200 and the relationship between these crossings and the castles built in the study area between 1066-1200. Created with ArcMap 10.8.2. Data from Stuart Brookes (2020) [shapefile]. Data from Stuart Brookes, Eleanor Rye and Eljas Oksanen (2019) [csv]. Data from Eljas Oksanen (2019) [shapefile]. Data from Ordnance Survey (2021) [shapefile].

Road networks can further be used to underline how broader geographic considerations, must have influenced the planned construction of these castles. Much like the nature of forestry and tree cover, the roads that the medieval population inherited from their predecessors could shape the way in which their major constructions appeared. The legacy left behind by the Roman occupation of Britain would have still been apparent to those living in England by the time of the Norman Conquest to varying degrees. In fact, it is thought that 'there was already a road system in existence, at least 16,000 km (10,000 miles) of Roman roads' and despite their condition, 'many of these roads remained in use, providing a basic network' (Hindle, 2008:6). Traditional scholarship put forward the idea that 'the great majority of mottes [were] planted on or near Roman or other ancient roads,' (Armitage, 1912:83-4). Similar to the links earlier historians made between rivers, bridges and crossings, the traditional view was that Roman roads would have been instrumental when it came to the siting of castles within the landscape.

Figure 4:14 illustrates the major Roman roads that are likely to have still been in use by the High Middle Ages across Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. These routeways clearly intersected most parts of the region. However, relatively few of the castles of the period like those at Lincoln and York sat directly on or near to this road network. Michael Hughes had believed that 80% of castles in Hampshire built before 1216 were on or near Roman roads' (Hughes, 1989:34). Of course, there would have been regional variations, depending on the nature of earlier Roman activity. Despite the infrastructure being available to magnates living in this region, demonstrated at Castle Carlton and its 'thoroughfare leading eastwards towards Great Carlton and the coast' used as 'one of the informal ways of reaching the areas of salt extraction which characterised the Outmarsh' (Wright et al., 2016a:33), this was not typical at all castle sites. The previous chapters emphasised that building upon the site on a historic site was not always the preferred decision and for the medieval designer, it seems that pre-existing roads and routeways were not consistently adhered to either. In England, the main methods of transportation were by road or by water and Paul Hindle debated that 'most parts of England and Wales did not have this option, as they had no navigable rivers or had rivers that were obstructed by low bridges, weirs or fish traps' (Hindle, 2008:5). When we consider the evidence that we have for the increase in navigable waterways in the region, this may explain why the major Roman roads and castles were not as closely linked.

These Roman road systems were indeed the main routes, but travel was realised more at local scale in the regional network in which castles were based.

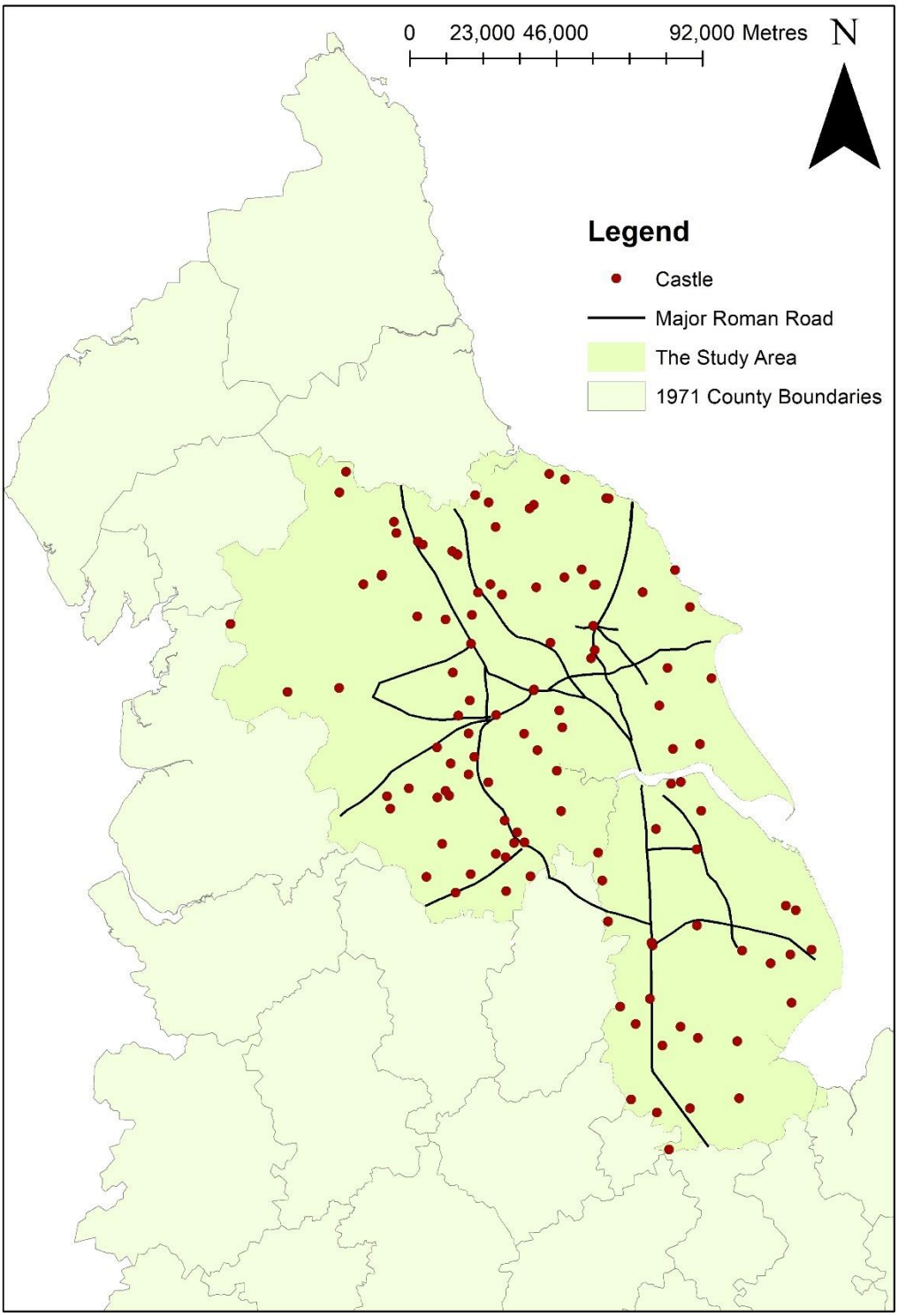

Figure 4:14 The major Roman roads in the study area and the relationship between these routes and the castles built between 1066-1200. Created with ArcMap 10.8.2. Data from Stuart Brookes (2020) [shapefile]. Data from Helen Fenwick [shapefile].

4.4 Centres of Lordship

As explored throughout this chapter, early scholarship believed that the siting of early castles was predominantly 'from a military point of view, and to order the construction of such strong places' (Clark, 1884a:39). This dominant school of thought accounts for how the castles at Lincoln and York were seemingly used to solidify the efforts of the Conquest, much akin to the strategy of the Romans where 'the continued presence of the army, and military pay, [had been] essential for the continued existence of those northern settlements' (De La Bédoyère, 2010:59). Referring to the earlier distribution maps of this chapter, the castles of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire were largely scattered across the region's low-lying and open terrain. When considering the potential relationship between these castles and their urban or rural settings, it is only logical that owners would have preferred the latter, possessing these qualities more readily, with the necessary scope in which to realise them. Much like the structures left behind by earlier societies, the infrastructure in some towns and larger settlements left behind by the Romans may have been viewed as a hindrance by others.

The building of castles, settlements and other structures became more frequent throughout the course of the Middle Ages, physical space throughout the region would have become less available, and successive builders may not have had as much choice as their predecessors. This could be seen earlier in Figure 3:4 which highlighted all manner of fortified sites established from the Roman period to the eighteenth century. It illustrates how sites became increasingly positioned more closely to each other, and how more areas that had not been built on in the initial period, had been by the fifteenth century. This density confirms that the initial locations that had been chosen in the earlier period continued to be of importance and that deliberate and well-considered siting was no mistake. While sites such as the castle at Leeds could not be attributed as being present within a major urban settlement, as it was not recognised as a medieval town until 'at least 1207' (Perring, 1997:238), in some cases, it is unclear how far these were conscious decisions. Caution must therefore be taken when archaeological remains are taken at face value in their present-day contexts. Conversely, castles required the natural environment to function and may explain in part why castles were not located directly in or near to major urban settlements as often as they were in the

rural landscape. The morphology and tenurial arrangements presented by towns posed more challenges. As castle-construction ultimately depended on the ability to build where these lords had power, this typically presented itself in the countryside.

As much as siting could be affected by the presence of urban and rural areas, castles could be influenced, or indeed influence tenurial geography. Looking at the eleventh-century lordships of Yorkshire in more detail, Dalton saw that Richmond, Pontefract, Holderness and Tickhill, belonging to Alan of Brittany, Ilbert de Lacy, Drogo de la Beuvriere and Roger of Bully respectively, were deserving of more focus. His work showed the interdependence between manors, castles and settlements and how the Norman tenants 'were not slow to take advantage of the opportunities granted to them' (Dalton, 1994:45). 'Settlement activity at Tickhill in the immediate pre-Conquest period was concentrated around the nucleus of Dadesley' (Creighton, 1998:213) and Dalton argued that 'several castles may also have been constructed [there] by 1086' (Dalton, 1994:48). Creighton's work showed that 'once founded, the seigneurial presence could have a marked impact on tenurial geography' (Creighton, 2002:89) and in the honours discussed by Dalton, 'while in certain contexts lordships were administered without castles, most lords able to mobilise the resources necessary for castle-building appear to have raised fortified centres within their estates' (Creighton, 2002:109). In some cases, more than one castle was built (see Chapters 5 and 6), and some of England's most influential magnates such as the de Lacys possessed more than one castle to better oversee their extended territories. While an appreciation of these manors adds more context to the reasons why castles appeared in certain locations, it is likely that this had more bearing during the eleventh century when these tenurial arrangements were first established. By the mid-twelfth century, lords may have continued to enhance the territories they already possessed but the breakdown of these earlier arrangements may have fostered the creation of new castles as well.

Castles and other important administrative centres were needed to control the various regions of England following 1066. Similar again to the earlier Roman occupation of Britain, the post-Conquest has been referred to as a 'subjugation period' (Prior, 2006:28). In addition to the construction of castles, urban defences, ramparts and walls were another way in which effective control could have been realised in these areas. However, 'where the bounds of the castle stopped and the town started was no doubt blurred in

the mid-twelfth century' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:226). As recorded in the Meaux Chronicle, 'Drogo de la Beuvriere built Skipsea Castle' to better administer the Lordship of Holderness (English, 1979:7). When Skipsea developed in the twelfth century due to William of Aumale's growing power, Skipsea Brough to the south was accompanied with a series of defences and was 'probably sheltered within the actual castle-bailey' (Turner, 2004:247). At Hedon, 'although some of [John Leland's *c*.1540] interpretations, such as the existence of a castle, have subsequently been discounted' it is evident from its town plan that 'the settlement must have been almost surrounded by watercourses' (Hayfield & Slater, 1984:1-5). While it could be said that investment in town defences declined as a result of the instability of 'the Anarchy', 'the proportion of post-Conquest planted towns possessing primary defences is particularly low' (Creighton, 2007:44). As murage grants did not become common until the later medieval period, castles had always been the default way of maintaining a level of security and stability. Even though the formation of new larger settlements did stall during the twelfth century, security, albeit at a regional level, was still been upheld. The local network of castles and urban defences 'was a demonstration of local security contributing to national security and thus a gesture of allegiance' (Creighton & Higham, 2005:217).

The population of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire would undoubtedly have influenced castle siting too. It has been estimated that 'numbers of people in England grew rapidly between 1086 and 1300, perhaps from about 2 to 5 or 6 million' (Dyer, 1989:45). Recovering to its earlier levels at the time of the Roman occupation, the rising population provided the impetus for settlement change during the period of the High Middle Ages. Traditional scholarship believed that 'there was a close connection between the distribution of population – urban or agricultural – and that of the castles' (King, 1983a:xxviii). However, Liddiard argued against the notion that these structures were used to actively manage the rising population, stating that in East Anglia, 'what was more attractive were less populated areas where the space needed for large-scale building operations was more readily available' (Liddiard, 2000b:37). For the sites which were located near a substantial population, these circumstances would have created a mutually advantageous situation for both elite and lay society. Pounds expressed how practicalities influenced castle-building, including access to materials, resources and workers 'only because most of the medieval population was found near them' (Pounds,

1990:56). While this chapter has shown that this was certainly not the only factor, the inhabitants of the region were still vital to the development of castles and their lordly settings. As detailed by chroniclers and historians alike, the local population have been normally seen as casualties of the effects of Stephen's reign. The wider populous would have been more valued than these writings have asserted, and it is unlikely that lords would have wanted to intentionally sour these relations.

The same has not always been said for the interactions between England's magnates. The national, regional, and local politics of the conflict between Stephen and Matilda has been well-documented and there are many accounts of the activities of various lords competing across Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. While some groups continued to gain land, wealth and power since the Norman Conquest, other lords had emerged across the political spectrum. Crouch argued that 'dissident magnates went to war with their neighbours as much as with the king' (Crouch, 2000:151). This did not have to extend to full scale conflict and in many cases, tension could simply be manifested by lords rivalling their peers in relation to where these structures were sited. Despite the large expanses of uninterrupted land, the siting of Barton upon Humber Castle near to Barrow upon Humber Castle has been attributed to hostilities between Gilbert de Gant and William of Aumale who were both seemingly 'vying for control of the important Humber crossings' (Fenwick et al., 2001:71). Figure 4:15 emphasises that less than 3000 metres separated both castles and as Figures 4:7 and 4:8 had shown, the land cover was very sparse, therefore it is highly likely that Aumale would have seen the rival castle from Barrow, especially if the tower of St Peter's had been used to some extent by de Gant to convey his power. Looking across England, a similar picture emerges. Liddiard's work identified that when 'William D'Albini II began the construction of Castle Rising and moved his Norfolk *caput* to its new site at New Buckenham… it is perfectly plausible that this was the catalyst behind the building operation at Castle Acre' (Liddiard, 2000a:227). This led Liddiard to remark that 'the "Anarchy" of Stephen's reign does not seem to have affected Norfolk to any great extent' (Liddiard, 2000a:60). Comparing the findings of this thesis with the limited work that has been undertaken across other parts of the country underlines that for the most part, the overarching struggle for the throne was secondary to other geo-political factors and regardless of allegiance, magnates were more preoccupied by their own personal rivalries.

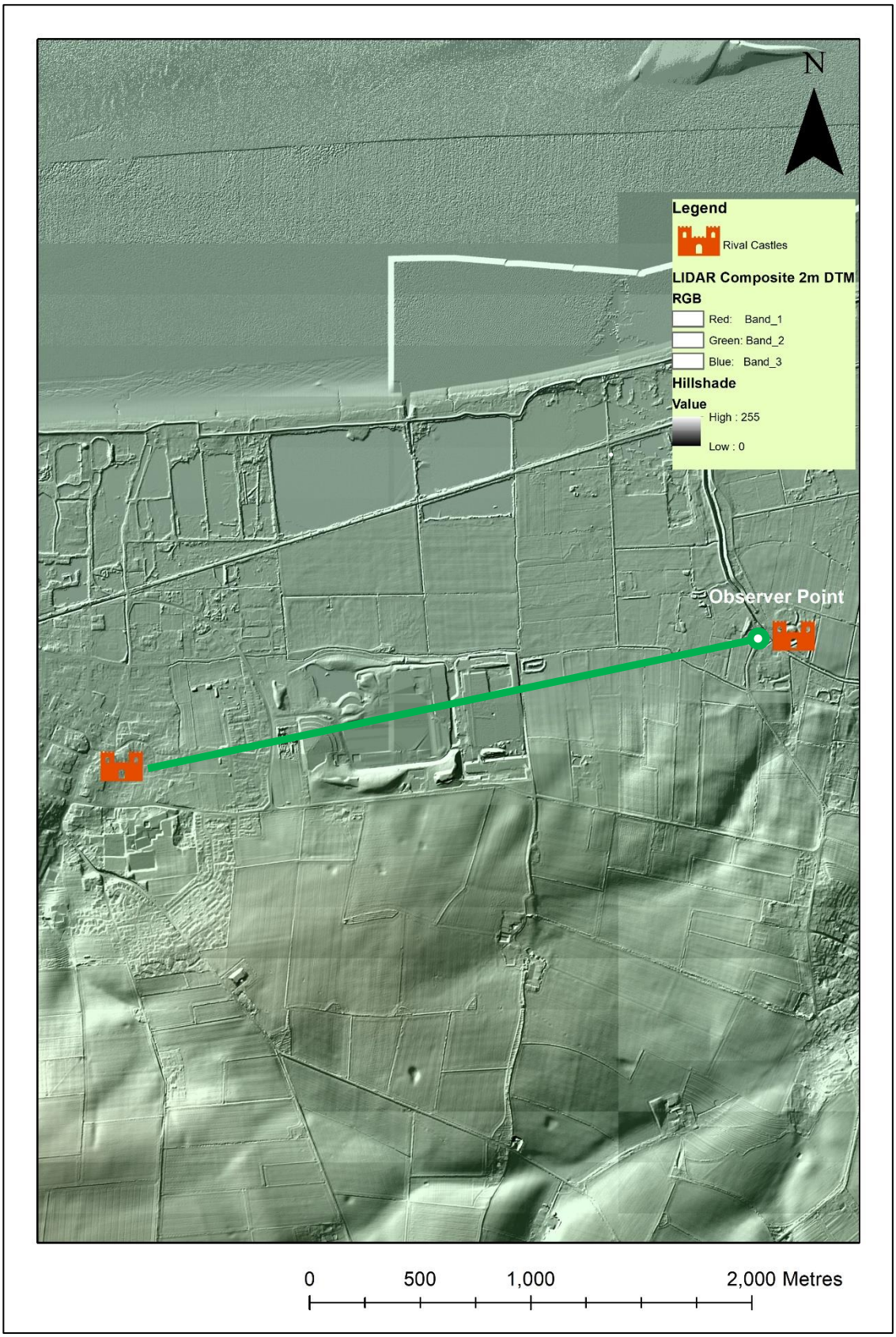

Figure 4:15 Visibility between the rival castles of Barrow upon Humber to the east and Barton upon Humber to the west. Created with ArcMap 10.8.2. Data from Ordnance Survey (2021) [shapefile].

Our understanding of the impact of the war between Stephen and Matilda has been closely shaped by the writings of twelfth-century chroniclers. The following description from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* has been used to form the basis of 'the Anarchy': 'I have neither the ability nor the power to tell all the horrors nor all the torments they inflicted upon the wretched people in this country' (Whitelock et al., 1961:199). Despite this, it can be difficult to construct a reliable view of the impact on ecclesiastical institutions when these authors were ecclesiastics themselves. While writers detailed that churches and monasteries were taken over due to waging war, paradoxically, the period witnessed a surge in ecclesiastical foundations. It had been claimed that 'royal weakness and political instability could also be of benefit to the Cistercians' (Jamroziak, 2013:53) and 'nearly half the 170 documented examples [of ecclesiastical foundations] in England can in fact be dated to the twelfth century' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:201). Throughout the medieval period, castles were linked to churches or monasteries for protection and other mutual benefits and 'most castles were imposed within, and often located in relation to, an extant pattern of parochial topography' (Creighton, 2002:110). When contemporary writers and historians have outlined the impact of the conflict on ecclesiastical buildings, this relationship has often been upturned, with castles becoming the cause of instability. Despite this, it has been suggested that the impact on religious buildings due to castle-building may have even been more widespread in the eleventh century and largely 'went undocumented or is referred to only obliquely in the sources' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:215).

Dispelling notions of anarchy further in respect of the landscape evidence, the reign of King Stephen saw a rapid increase in religious patronage and many monasteries and churches were founded at this time. Christopher Holdsworth's research showed that 'over 170 houses were founded in England and Wales in Stephen's reign, considerably more than the number of castles now believed to have been built in the same period' (Holdsworth, 1994:216-17). In many cases, those who had constructed castles were the same individuals who had founded or became patrons of these foundations. It is no surprise that castles and ecclesiastical foundations were often linked within local elite centres. For example, Walter Espec, who had risen to prominence during Henry I's reign, is credited for having built Helmsley Castle and founding the Cistercian Abbey of Rievaulx nearby by 1135. It has been said that 'the location of the monastery, just two miles from

Espec's castle in Helmsley, offered protection for the new foundation, and the patron could express his piety and status by this close association' (Jamroziak, 2005:32). 'The creators of these landscapes extend across a wide range of the upper ranks of medieval society' and as was the case with Walter Espec, 'a large proportion of those involved had recently risen or were about to rise in status when their landscapes were laid out' (Taylor, 2016:47). By Stephen's reign, Peter of Goxhill, who was of lesser social standing, founded Newhouse Priory in Lindsey, directly on the site 'with the chief court where his castle was' in 1143 (Warner & Ellis, 1903:24). By their support and continued patronage of ecclesiastical sites, lords from across the broader spectrum of the ruling elite were able to fulfil another expectation of their rank in a way most appropriate to their wealth and status within these magnate cores.

It has been said that 'much has been achieved since Hoskins raised our awareness of the history and complexity of the landscape' (Gardiner & Rippon, 2007:235). Despite advances in the field of landscape studies, it became clear by the millennium that the development of castles were still largely viewed in isolation, with single questions in mind. While more progress has undoubtedly taken place since 'the Battle for Bodiam', the twelfth-century landscape is still widely viewed as simplistic and is still often caught up by notions of anarchy. Despite this, castles and their lordly settings from this period were evidently more complex and went hand in hand with the growth and decline of medieval settlements and population growth. Indeed, 'explaining patterns of private Norman castle-building across the landscape in abstraction from their relating lordships is almost meaningless' (Creighton & Higham, 2004:10). A closer examination of the geospatial relationship between castles, settlements and ecclesiastical sites of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire underlines how such lordly considerations influenced castle siting. It demonstrates that more emphasis was placed on local geographical considerations rather than the Norman Conquest or 'the Anarchy'.

4.5 Conclusions

Traditional scholarship stressed that castle siting in the High Middle Ages went hand in hand simply with martial strategy. However, 'castle studies now frequently consider

such aspects of lordly display, peaceable power, aesthetics, iconography and symbolism; and castles are often studied in their wider administrative, social, economic and political contexts' (Prior, 2006:16). Castles did use the topography and terrain of the region to their advantage, but it was certainly not a military driven or anarchic decision. These structures instead profited from Lincolnshire and Yorkshire's low-lying topography and open terrain. The decision to position these structures was not diminished by the state of its forestry and woodland and this likely enhanced siting further and a lack of tree cover gave their owners even fewer restrictions when it came to carrying out their efforts. The evidence suggests that Norman landowners used the lowland and intermediate areas of the landscape due to the opportunities it provided them, and upland areas were largely avoided due to the difficulties potentially involved. Studies in other areas such as the Midlands showed that some of the strongest patterns were 'tenurially, economically or resource-oriented rather than overtly military' (Lowerre, 2005:195). This trend may not be surprising when placed in the greater context of castle studies, although when reappraising the mid-twelfth century, these findings take on greater meaning.

The practicalities of the landscape extended to the resources which could be found within the region. The Domesday Book makes it clear that England's landscape was well-settled by the end of the eleventh century and the arable land here must have made it one of the most attractive areas when the Normans established themselves throughout England (Darby, 1977:129-32). Geologically, the region particularly suited itself to the early pioneers of castle-construction, even if these builders were not aware of these precise conditions. This process continued into the twelfth century, and it is probable that the river networks of the region were held in great importance. When discussing the influences on the built environment, it is important to consider both the natural and human geography. While the former held much greater influence, the development of crossings and bridges went hand in hand with the formation of these structures and fostered transport and socio-economic activity throughout the lands of the region's magnates. Major roads played a significant, but a seemingly smaller role, and this was due to the particular strength of inland water travel in this part of the country and local routes. The evidence shows that similar to the East Midlands, 'the control of river

crossings could, arguably, be more desirable than the control of uninterrupted stretches of roads or rivers' (Lowerre, 2005:150).

With a rising population, and a ruling class which also grew in size, 'King Stephen's reign coincided with a slackening in the rate of town foundation' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:228). Despite this, more value was placed on local urbanisation. In this respect, religious patronage did notably surge, particularly for the likes of the Cistercians, whose 'local specialisation, taking advantage of pre-existing conditions (for example pastoralism, salt production and mining)' (Jamroziak, 2013:202) made them well-suited to the geography of the region. Moreover, local lords conducted their normal duties and continued to link these foundations to their castles, forming centres of lordship. Targeted work at examples such as Newhouse Castle, which was superseded by the foundation of a monastic priory soon after its initial construction, can build on this particular avenue of research. This can show how England's magnates were more preoccupied with their own local territories rather than by national politics, and driven by a blend of 'self-representation and prestige, besides spiritual considerations' (Jamroziak, 2001:17). This chapter has established how the builders of castles of the High Middle Ages did not follow a rigid pattern when castle siting was thought out and many of the traditional assumptions which have been applied to the castles of the mid-twelfth century can be disproved when their settings are taken into account.

The following chapter builds on the landscape context of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire and castle siting established here by challenging the established view that the castles of the region were rapidly built, were rudimentary in form and adapted earlier sites in response to fleeting notions of anarchy. It argues that a greater sense of appreciation should be had for the diversity in forms of castles, and that similar to the physical landscape, other cultural factors were present within the built landscape.

Chapter 5 Anglo-Norman Castles

5.1 Introduction

This chapter assesses the castles which were built across Lincolnshire and Yorkshire during the period which led up to, during and following the reign of King Stephen, *c*. 1135-1154. Taking into account the number and the variety of these structures, it provides a general overview of how the castles contemporary to the twelfth-century civil war fit within the wider narrative of castle-building during the High Middle Ages, *c*. 1066-1200. As much work has been undertaken on the development of castles, it is not the aim of this chapter to simply recount and describe the overall characteristics of these monuments. Instead, in light of new research, this chapter discusses the specific forms, styles and features present within the context of the struggle for the throne, and what this indicates about the period at large. The façade of any construction is rarely neutral and as acknowledged by Liddiard, 'stately architecture is not neutral or passive and certainly not a sign of fear or weakness it is almost always militant, but not always military' (Liddiard, 2016:14). This is why a more encompassing approach must be taken to the subject.

In order to build up a larger profile of these various monuments, this chapter takes a broader temporal approach to the source material. As these sites could often assume a variety of roles, this ambiguity can make their interpretation challenging. Nonetheless, as they form tangible reminders of societal norms and customs, the internal and external features of castles can reflect the context in which they were constructed. This can also be said for the practice of reusing former site and features of earlier fortifications, as it could be more practical to use the existing infrastructure that such constructions provided. In the context of Stephen's reign, this has taken on more significance. The apparent simplicity in their designs, the use of timber and relative haste in which monuments appeared and disappeared, has often been seen as evidence for the period's overall instability. To its detriment, both medieval and modern writers have been in the habit of 'underplaying the elements of continuity from the fortified home of the Anglo-Saxon nobleman or thegn to that of the incoming Norman lord' (White,

2012:188). In many respects, a re-evaluation of the nuances of the castles of Stephen's reign have long been overdue. This chapter shows that their designs could be shaped by other long-term considerations, their forms were more complex, and that their occupation was not always short-lived.

5.2 Castles of the High Middle Ages *c*. 1066-1200

Coulson believed that one of the most significant issues when studying the castles contemporary to the war between Stephen and Matilda had been 'a tendency to treat all fortifications of the period as a single category' but could be overcome 'with a threefold structural classification in mind' (Coulson, 2003:67). Stenton had already identified that many of the notable castles from the period had been refurbished and were 'known to have been in existence before the troubles began' (Stenton, 1932:201). Coulson expanded this framework by including 'the castles which were regularly founded, mostly soon after the Conquest, and which were active residentially and administratively', observing that others were 'created or modernised by the largely autonomous mechanisms of growth and seignorial ambition' (Coulson, 2003:67). While Coulson believed that firm distinctions should be made when defining castles from 'the Anarchy', this thesis understands that it is not always so simple to draw dividing lines between these sites, not least when it comes to dating the evidence. Moreover, as this study argues that the castles of Stephen's reign were not such a radical departure from the practice of castle-building between the period *c*. 1066-1200, it does not seem appropriate to treat them as outliers to the other castles of the High Middle Ages. This chapter outlines the various architectural developments on design and reveals how castles were shaped by a range of influences present in Anglo-Norman England.

As outlined by Creighton and Wright's recent work on 'the Anarchy', 'while overviews of the castles of the period have been published, an overall archaeological survey is lacking' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:11). In an effort to address this imbalance in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, this thesis identified a total of 115 castles built between *c*. 1066-1200. As seen in Table 5:1, 31 sites were erected in the historic county of Lincolnshire, but construction was higher in Yorkshire, with a total of 84 sites. 57 sites were built during the eleventh

century, with 16 in Lincolnshire and 41 from Yorkshire. Building was less frequent in the twelfth century; 11 monuments were established in Lincolnshire, and 32 in Yorkshire, providing a total of 43. There are five sites in the study area where it is unclear whether they were built at the end of the eleventh, or at the beginning of the twelfth century, and ten structures where the evidence is even less clear. Timber castles were by far the most common structure, accounting for 92% of the overall total. An example of a siegework was also found in both historic counties. In addition to access to available resources and other stylistic developments when it comes to building castles, 'we can point for example, to some evidence of regional fashion' (White, 2012:189). This can be said for masonry castles, with four contemporary examples in Yorkshire and only one in Lincolnshire from this period. While there were three broader types of castles within the landscape, these can be divided into 17 distinct forms (Tables 5:2 and 5:3). Yorkshire is a larger county overall and will account for these trends to some degree, though it is reflective that castle-building may have been more dynamic in some parts of the region than in others (see Appendix B for classifications of castle forms discussed).

Table 5:1 The types of castles built in the study area between 1066-1200.

County	**Construction**	**Timber Castle**	**Masonry Castle**	**Siegework**	**Unclear**	**Total**
Lincolnshire	11th Century	15	1	0	0	16
	11th Century / 12th Century	1	0	0	0	1
	12th Century	9	0	1	1	11
	Unclear	3	0	0	0	3
Total		**28**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**31**
Yorkshire	11th Century	40	1	0	0	41
	11th Century / 12th Century	4	0	0	0	4
	12th Century	27	3	1	1	32
	Unclear	7	0	0	0	7
Total		**78**	**4**	**1**	**1**	**84**
Grand Total		**106**	**5**	**2**	**2**	**115**

Table 5:2 The forms of castles built in the study area between 1066-1200 divided by century.

Castle Form	**11th Century**	**11th / 12th Century**	**12th Century**	**Unclear**	**Total**
Motte and Bailey	27	2	13	2	44
Enclosure Castle	1	0	5	2	8
Motte and Double Bailey	5	0	1	1	7
Motte Castle	2	0	3	2	7
Motte and Bailey and Ringwork	5	1	0	0	6
Ringwork	3	0	2	0	5
Ringwork and Motte	1	1	1	1	4
Motte and Three Baileys	2	0	0	1	3
Ringwork and Bailey	0	0	2	0	2
Tower Keep	0	0	1	0	1
Ringwork and Two Baileys	1	0	0	0	1
Ringwork with Stone Wall	1	0	0	0	1
Hall Keep	0	0	1	0	1
Motte and Bailey with Saxon Burgh	1	0	0	0	1
Double Motte and Bailey	1	0	0	0	1
Siege-Castle	0	0	1	0	1
Motte and Bailey with Shell Keep	1	0	0	0	1
Unclear	6	1	13	1	21
Grand Total	**57**	**5**	**43**	**10**	**115**

Table 5:3 The forms of castles built in the study area between 1066-1200 divided by historic county.

Castle Form	**Lincolnshire**	**Yorkshire**	**Total**
Motte and Bailey	7	37	44
Enclosure Castle	2	6	8
Motte and Double Bailey	3	4	7
Motte Castle	3	4	7
Motte and Bailey and Ringwork	0	6	6
Ringwork	1	4	5
Ringwork and Motte	0	4	4
Motte and Three Baileys	1	2	3
Ringwork and Bailey	1	1	2
Tower Keep	0	1	1
Ringwork and Two Baileys	1	0	1
Ringwork with Stone Wall	1	0	1
Hall Keep	0	1	1
Motte and Bailey with Saxon Burgh	1	0	1
Double Motte and Bailey	1	0	1
Siege-castle	1	0	1
Motte and Bailey with Shell Keep	1	0	1
Unclear	7	14	21
Grand Total	**31**	**84**	**115**

The most common form of castle was the motte and bailey castle, with a total count of 44 sites. Seven of these castles were located in the historic county of Lincolnshire and 37 in Yorkshire. The previous chapter acknowledged and assessed the idea that there was an overarching plan when it came to constructing castles throughout England. However, what is evident at least is following 1066, 'there was clearly a policy on the part of William the Conqueror to establish castles in each major town' (White, 2012:186).

At the prospect of a new regime, Orderic Vitalis wrote how 'the city of York was seething with discontent, and showed no respect for the holy office of its archbishop' (Chibnall, 1969:217). Moreover, as William 'was very doubtful of their loyalty he fortified a castle in the city and left trustworthy knights to guard it' (Chibnall, 1969:219). St Mary's Abbey, together with the two castles built on opposing sides of the River Ouse, must have formed part of William I's overall strategy to put an end to the rebellions that had started to plague the infancy of his reign, and importantly, form a tangible reminder of his temporal and spiritual power in the North of England. The destruction resulting from the Harrying of the North, 1069-70 is undoubtedly 'one of the most notorious incidents not only of William's' reign but of English history as a whole', though 'in recent years there have been attempts to downplay its severity' (Morris, 2013:230). In contrast, 'Lincolnshire, had, on the whole, been spared the depredations of the Conquest such as the Harrying of the North' although 'the county was to be the scene of considerable action during the reign of Stephen' (Osbourne, 2010:28). With that said, fewer castles were created in the region during the following century during Stephen's reign and they were more commonplace in the eleventh century. Over 60% of the motte and bailey castles identified in the study area originated during the post-Conquest era.

Similar to the castles and St Mary's Abbey at York, Lincoln Castle was one of the first of its kind established after the Conquest. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* acknowledged that following William I's return from building castles at important places such as York, he erected one 'in Lincoln and everywhere in that district' (Whitelock et al., 1961:148). In Lincoln, life 'seems to have continued on without much of a break until the middle of the 12th century and it is only at this time that the major break with the pre-Conquest period can be seen' (Vince, 2003:164). By the time of Stephen's reign, loyalty to a new king was again brought into question and in response to the alleged turmoil a new regime brought, King noted how 'the horrors of the anarchy, and their close connection with new castles, are clear enough' (King, 1983a:xxxi). A new castle was not built, but Lincoln Castle was modified beyond its earlier post-Conquest form. While it has long been studied by antiquarians and historians, more recent studies on the castle have begun to draw more focus to what is commonly known as the Lucy Tower (Figure 5:1). Forming a distinct part of the castle complex, new research confirms that the present stone structure developed in nine major phases atop the earthen motte of the castle

first raised in 1086, and is believed to be been contemporary to the twelfth-century civil war (Clark et al., 2021:49-64). The complex tenurial history associated with the castle from the time of the Conquest to 'the Anarchy' is reflected in its unusual form as a double motte and bailey castle. Marshall thought that Countess Lucy may have altered the motte due to 'the uncertain background of the civil war' (Marshall, 2004:63). With that said, as 'this was later named for the Countess Lucy who died in 1136' (Osbourne, 2010:37), this was too early for her actions to have been directed to the ensuing troubles of Stephen's reign, and the two mottes may have signified the longer standing dual lordship of the castle held between the constable and sheriff.

Figure 5:1 The Lucy Tower at Lincoln Castle. Photograph taken by the author.

At Lincoln, 'the Norman Conquest is visible only through the construction of new institutions such as the Cathedral and the Castle' (Vince, 2003:164). Much like the castle, the current form of the cathedral must look different to when it was first built during the latter half of the eleventh century, especially 'if we are to accept the idea that the entire Bail represented the first castle' (Osbourne, 2010:37). Henry of Huntingdon had claimed some years after its construction that the cathedral 'was to be agreeable to the servants of God and also, as suited the times, invincible to enemies' (Greenway, 1996:409). Building on Richard Gem's (1986) revaluation of the West Front of the

cathedral as being more akin to a castle-like, freestanding tower, David Taylor saw that it was marked by separate phases of construction which continued into the twelfth century (Figures 5:2 and 5:3). Possibly after the 'arrest of the bishops' in 1139, this second major phase resulted in the 'embellishment of the West Front with rich ornament and sculpture, to set out the vaults and perhaps to construct the nave from new' (Taylor, 2010:151). Taylor's work suggested that little fortification was present at this structure, despite Huntingdon's militant description. The ornamentation instead afforded the structure immense metaphoric strength, 'symbolising [Bishop Remigius's] lordship in the conventional Norman way, by constructing a massive, dominant, new great tower, a *donjon*' (Stocker & Vince, 1997:232). Confirming Remigius's earlier aspirations, the phasing of here is indicative of the circumstances in 1072 when the 'See was transferred from Dorchester-on-Thames to Lincoln' (Thompson, 2004:29), as well as the growing synergies, and distinctions between castle and cathedral which became more prominent during the mid-twelfth century.

Recent restoration work at the Lucy Tower carried out from 2010-15 has evidenced how its present structure was largely fabricated during the twelfth century. Indeed, the 'decoration on the hood-mould of the main doorway is consistent with a building date in the 1130-1150s range' and it has been observed that 'the mouldings in its main doorway are paralleled locally in Lincoln Cathedral's West Front and in the building known as St Mary's Guildhall' (Higham, 2015:80). St Mary's Guildhall in Lincoln (Figure 5:4) has been described by Stocker as 'a domestic complex on a palatial scale, indicating the highest social status' which 'may have been the *hospicium* or town house built for Henry II… and completed in 1157' (Stocker, 1991:92). While it is difficult to ascertain which monument influenced which, it does nonetheless establish a reliable range in which to date them together. The stylistic similarities and historical contexts between these monuments have brought into the question the changing nature of the castle's military façade further, especially during 'the Anarchy' when it was caught up in the 'stiff local competition [which] came from Bishop Alexander's aggrandisement of the complex of cathedral, palace and precinct close by' (Coulson, 2003:89). The castle subsequently saw a reduction in its original size when Alexander 'finally divorced himself from the castle in the 1130s…which was to result in a smaller, more conventional shire castle – albeit one which continued to have a divided lordship' (Stocker, 2004:19).

Figure 5:2 The West Front at Lincoln Cathedral which has been likened to a freestanding tower. Photograph taken by the author.

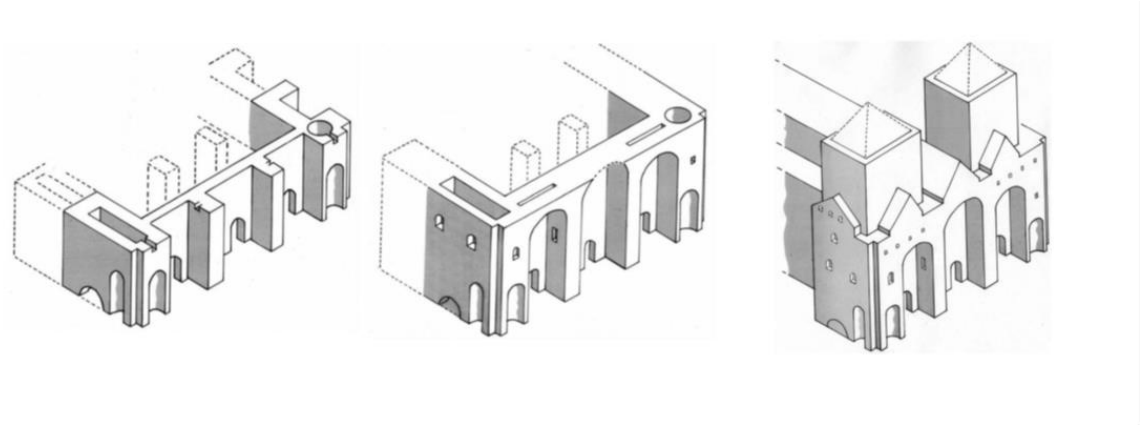

Figure 5:3 Phase 1, Phase 2 and Phase 3 developments at the West Front of Lincoln Cathedral during the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Taylor, 2010:138-49).

Figure 5:4 St Mary's Guildhall in Wigford, Lincoln. Photograph taken by the author.

In addition to the more imposing castles built by the Crown at places like York and Lincoln, 'motte and bailey castles of all shapes and sizes must have been raised during the century and a half following the Norman Conquest' (Rowley, 1983:44). A sub-form of the motte and bailey, three motte castles were identified in Lincolnshire and four in Yorkshire. This included Burton Pedwardine and Stainby Tower Hill in Kesteven, as well as Welton le Marsh Castle in Lindsey. Brompton Castle Hill, Carlton in Coverdale Round Hill and Yafforth Howe Hill in the North Riding of Yorkshire, and Cusworth Castle Hill in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The broad classification of the motte and bailey has been applied to a variety of castles which has arguably suppressed this greater sense of diversity. Brompton has typically been classified as a motte castle and L'Anson observed that 'here we have what would certainly appear to be a mutilated motte' but 'until the site is excavated it is impossible to say anything definite' (L'Anson, 1913:332). Recent work by the Brompton Local History Society has suggested it was more likely a fortified residence and radiocarbon dating 'established that the stratigraphic sequence recorded in 2021 probably starts in the early to middle 12th century' (Pearson et al., 2022:i). Due to the combination of its commanding position and detailing present within its motte, it is evident that its construction was not purely driven by conventional military needs and 'the occupants of Castle Hill attached importance to the conspicuous display of their wealth and status' (Pearson et al., 2022:25).

As well as the motte castle, the study area contains seven motte and double bailey castles. These included Bourne Castle in Kesteven, Castle Carlton and Kinaird Castle in Lindsey, Adwick le Street Castle Hills and Wakefield Lowe Hill in the West Riding of Yorkshire, Pickering Castle in the North Riding of Yorkshire and York Castle in the city of York. Motte and double bailey castles made from earth and timber were less common, and especially so in the twelfth century, with possibly Wakefield being newly built at this time, based on the assemblages of twelfth-century pottery from Hope-Taylor's excavations (Hope-Taylor, 1953). This has perpetuated the notion that Wakefield 'was an adulterine castle constructed by the third Earl Warenne during the war of 1138-49' (Historic England, 2023c). At Bourne Castle, Armitage found that 'the motte was placed at the southern apex of a roughly oval bailey' which was accessed 'at its N.W. end, joined the principal bailey, which, in its turn, was embraced on all sides but the S. by a second and concentric bailey, also defended by a wet ditch…the inner bailey covers 3 acres' (Armitage, 1912:108). In addition to the remains of the motte and double bean-shaped

bailey at Adwick le Street Castle Hills, archaeological work has shown how 'the north-western side was strengthened by a small annexe' (Hey, 2003:75). Though this castle was smaller than Bourne, it was still sophisticated in its construction. This suggests that many of these castles must have been important and built under relatively normal circumstances. A broader appreciation of styles, designs and influences 'serves to warn us of the dangers of classification, but the distinction is helpful nonetheless' (Osbourne, 2010:189). We must therefore take these nuances into account to move beyond the traditional discourse which still overshadows many of these sites.

The local environment was widely considered by the incoming Norman elite when it came to building castles across their lands. In some cases, a third bailey could be constructed within the circuits of a motte and bailey castle. This can be seen at Barrow upon Humber in Lindsey (Figures 5:5 and 5:6), as well as Mount Ferrant and Acklam Motte in the East Riding of Yorkshire. Due to its scale, Barrow upon Humber has often been described as *the castles,* notably following the work of Caroline Atkins (1983) on the site. There is some debate as to whether Barrow was built in the post-Conquest era or during 'the Anarchy'. Comparisons of its form have been made with Skipsea and Castle Bytham to trace its origins and 'it has been suggested that [Barrow upon Humber and Skipsea] were first fortified before 1095 but the similarity between the three sites may suggest contemporaneity and Castle Bytham is normally assigned a date between 1102 and 1135' (Ludlow, 2020:177). However, Barrow is more likely to have been established earlier in the post-Conquest period, following the accession of the Lords of Holderness, when 'Drogo held all the lands in Holderness not in the hands of the Church' with 'the three principal ones being Barrow on Humber, Castle Bytham… and Carlton le Moorland' (English, 1979:7). Owing to the centrality of its location, the castle may have continued to represent their seat of power at the intersection of their lands in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. Despite disturbances to the site, substantial finds recovered at Barrow during the 1960s by E. Varley indicate that it may have been occupied from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries (Historic England, 2021). The archaeology disproves the assumption that the castle was 'doubtless decommissioned and rendered unusable in the 1150s' when Stephen's reign ended and 'political stability was re-established in England' (Rodwell & Atkins, 2011:48). As its construction was well-considered, the castle was better suited to adapt to its estuarine setting on the banks of the Humber than had it been accompanied with one bailey.

Figure 5:5 Barrow upon Humber Castle looking south. Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 5:6 Barrow upon Humber Castle shown by LIDAR imagery (Historic England, 2021).

Not always constrained by their choice of location, Norman lords had their own beliefs when it came to deciding what form a castle should take and were 'not totally influenced by pre-existing defences' (Kenyon, 1990:6). However, as is often the case with any building or structure, construction may have been influenced directly, or indirectly, by the existence of earlier historic monuments, or manorial centres. Indeed, Barrow had been formed on the location of an earlier Anglo-Saxon manor, until 'the confiscation of Earl Morcar's lands in 1071 led to the creation of a single powerful block of land' (English, 1979:6). From a total of 115 site (Appendix A), around half reused the location of a previous fortification, site of importance or manorial centre. It could be expected that if the conflict relating to the supposed 'Anarchy' period was as detrimental as records highlighted, the vast proportion of castles would have been built using the practical advantages that a pre-existing site could have afforded it. Although the archaeology in its present context suggests there was no preference when choosing a site, it underlines that some did not feel compelled by convention, while others may have wished to observe this sense of tradition more closely.

Barton upon Humber Castle demonstrates the interplay between the creation of a contemporary castle and one which alluded to the past. The construction of the castle has been attributed to Gilbert de Gant as a rival to the castle which had existed at Barrow already, and was now occupied by his opponent, William of Aumale. Both castles have been said 'to have been erected at about the same time, in the later 1130s or 1140s' (Rodwell & Atkins, 2011:48). While it is more likely that the castle at Barrow was indeed extant by the time of Stephen's reign, Barton was a new construction in around 1139, following the exchange of land Earl Gilbert made with the monks of Bardney when he established the castle (Brown, 1906:63-5). Several areas of Barton have been seen as contenders for the site and 'the unexpected discovery of a massive ditch of Norman date on the eastern boundary of St Peter's Churchyard during excavation in 1983 reopened the question of the castle's location' (Rodwell & Atkins, 2011:48). This 'back-filled ditch of military proportions…upwards of 5m deep by 10m wide' and the tower was seen as having been enclosed within the circuit of the castle (Rodwell, 1983:4). Since the 1980s, it has been theorised that the castle may have existed towards the south of the town, but excavations in the Castledyke area 'failed to yield evidence for fortifications' (Drinkall & Foreman, 1998:17). Due to topographic considerations, it is now thought 'the

circumstantial evidence for the castle best favours the Baysgarth area of town' (Rodwell & Atkins, 2011:51). As there is no firm evidence to support the precise location of this castle, this remains a topic of debate.

Regardless of where it was built, 'Gilbert needed possession of certain properties near St Peter's Church in order to build his castle' (Rodwell & Atkins, 2011:47). If the tower at St Peter's (Figure 5:7) was not used within the construction, de Gant's castle was nonetheless influenced by pre-Conquest antecedents which would have shaped the morphology of Barton with which he was familiar. Barton upon Humber Castle was discussed in the previous chapter as an example sited in close proximity to the castle at Barrow upon Humber due to local rivalry, but its form may equally have reflected the 'middle years of the twelfth century, [when] Aumale and de Gant were bitter adversaries' (Rodwell & Atkins, 2011:47). Building on recent research on tower nave church architecture, we can view 'a wider tradition of aristocratic tower construction in late Anglo-Saxon England, driven by the increasing localisation of social power in the hands of the aristocracy during this period, and the ambition to manifest it in the landscape' (Shapland, 2019:173). It is likely that these preoccupations continued into the twelfth century. If we accept the proposition that the castle did indeed reference the Anglo-Saxon elite via the articulation of power at St Peters, it seems only logical that integrating a structure in some way into the circuit of the castle which was tall, visually striking and invoked memory would have allowed Gilbert to physically and psychologically compete with William of Aumale's more established hereditary castle at Barrow upon Humber.

The legacy of the Anglo-Saxon period can also be viewed at Hough-on-the-Hill in Kesteven, Lincolnshire which could be classified as a motte and bailey with Saxon *burh-geat* where 'the church stands within the castle bailey' (Osbourne, 2010:32). King described the site as a 'motte, rather mutilated, on strong foreland site' (King, 1983a:260). A subsequent watching brief carried out in 2000, showed 'a substantial cut feature, possibly part of the bailey ditch or a later alteration to it' (Archaeological Project Services, 2000:1). The incorporation of the tower within the castle complex shows perhaps 'a continuation of the idea of the Anglo-Saxon *burh-geat*… which was rooted in the notion of local leaders dispending justice within an established legal system' (Osbourne, 2010:28). Much like at Barton upon Humber, this example suggests that earlier studies of the High Middle Ages have had a tendency to downplay the continuity

of material expression from the Anglo-Saxon period. When referring to the development of churches throughout the medieval period, it is now recognised that 'labelling churches as either 'Anglo-Saxon' or 'Norman' is problematic, given known continuities of church architecture across the Norman Conquest' (Shapland, 2019:103). The similarities we now appreciate with church architecture can thus be extended to castles which often shared materials, craftsmen, and the communities in which they functioned.

Figure 5:7 The Anglo-Saxon tower at St Peter's Church in Barton upon Humber. Photograph taken by the author.

As well as there being continuities when it came to castle-building, Coulson (2003) drew attention to the fact that the circumstances of Stephen's reign fostered new styles of construction. In this respect, there is evidence of a motte and bailey with shell keep in the study area at Castle Bytham, Kesteven (Figure 5:8). Shell keeps have been seen as a characteristic style of the twelfth-century civil war (Creighton & Wright, 2016) and were typically 'renderings in stone of the timber palisades which had commonly protected the original buildings on top of a motte' (White, 2012:200). Castle Bytham was initially a timber castle and was built 'possibly around 1086, by modifying the natural contours of the land' and was later referred to in '1141 when it was in the possession of the Count of Aumale, who may have introduced masonry structures' (Osbourne, 2010:40-1). It has often been said that form of shell keeps were 'the apparatus of war and suppression and despite their apparent permanence in the landscape, this type of castle was relatively short-lived' (Rowley, 1983:46). The remaining structures of the present-day castle are certainly telling of its potential defensibility. As there was only one other contemporary example of this particular style of castle at the Lucy Tower at Lincoln Castle as discussed previously, it underlines that the struggle for the throne cannot have been the only consideration when castles were built, owing to the fact that other drivers such as emulation and fashion played key roles too.

Figure 5:8 Aerial photograph of the motte at Castle Bytham on which the shell keep once stood. Photograph taken by Richard Carter (CC BY-SA 2.0).

Similar to motte and bailey castles, ringworks were typical forms of castles during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It is has been said that 'a ringwork must have been quicker and cheaper to throw up than a motte and bailey, and this factor undoubtedly accounts for such defences being built when some castles were first constructed in England and Wales' (Kenyon, 1990:7). Partly for this reason, this form of castle has typically been cited as evidence for the rivalry between Stephen and Matilda and its alleged instability throughout England. However, at the same time 'the decision to build a ringwork rather than motte seems to have reflected nothing more than the personal preference of the local lord or his castle builders' (Rowley, 1983:45). Similar to the motte and bailey castles, a reassessment of the individual forms and features of these ringworks can offer a different perspective on the period and why a Norman lord chose one form over another. There were five ringworks identified within the region within the parameters of this study. Dewy Hill in Lindsey was the only firm example of this style. Alborough Studforth Hill and Stainborough Castle were located in the West Riding of Yorkshire, Sheriff Hutton Ringwork in the North Riding of Yorkshire, and Thorganby Giants Hill in the East Riding of Yorkshire. We must consider the fact that the development of castle form and style was still in its relative infancy in the twelfth century. Becoming more sophisticated, 'there is no neat progression through time here, but a series of local adaptations to what was readily available, affordable and met the requirements of the site' (White, 2012:192).

As was the case with the motte and bailey, ringworks could take a variety of different forms depending on a range of practical considerations. There were six motte and bailey and ringwork sites in the study area, fashioned from earth and timber. This is another sub-form of the motte and bailey castle, characterised by a fusion of the motte and bailey and ringwork styles featured in *Castellarium Anglicanum* (King, 1983a; 1983b). Burton in Lonsdale Castle Hill, Conisbrough Castle and Doncaster Castle were built in the West Riding of Yorkshire, whereas Foss Castle, Middleham Williams Hill and Northallerton Castle Hills were situated in the North Riding of Yorkshire. These castles appear to have largely been built in the post-Conquest period and the classification of all castles, has, and will continue to be a matter of debate. Thought to have been built in around 1068 (Buckland & Dolby, 1972), it has been questioned whether Doncaster Castle possessed a motte, yet the writings of W. M. Camden in the seventeenth century

made it clear that the structure visible to him was ‘large enough but having onely a single wall about it, and with an high mount whereon standeth a round Keepe’ (Sutton, 2004:4). As well as the intelligent use of other materials, excavations carried out at the beginning of the twentieth century at Burton in Lonsdale Castle (Figure 5:9) uncovered evidence ‘everywhere, at the depth of a little over 4 feet, of a pavement composed of rough pebbles varying in size up to that of an ostrich's egg’ (White, 1905:413). This site reflects broader academic understanding that ‘it would take 50 people…something in the order of 40 working days (of ten hours each) to pile up the earth’ for the most basic of castles (McNeill, 1992:40). This example further demonstrates that the long-standing notion of the castles of the eleventh and twelfth centuries as poor relations to other forms of castles is not always appropriate when care and attention went into all types of construction.

Figure 5:9 Burton in Lonsdale Castle (Castles and Fortifications in England & Wales, n.d.-a)

Within the study area two sites can be classified as ringwork and bailey castles. These were classified as such by King and have also been included here (King, 1983a; 1983b). Following the post-Conquest, ‘the tradition of constructing ringworks continued into the

twelfth century' (Rowley, 1983:45). Despite a lack of documentary and archaeological evidence to explain its origins, the circular ringwork and semi-circular bailey at Heydour Castle Hills in Kesteven can be identified from remaining earthworks, suggesting 'that it was eminently defensible' (Roffe, n.d.). The phasing of Helmsley Castle in the North Riding of Yorkshire (Figure 5:10) is much clearer. Beginning as a rectangular enclosure enclosed by ditches and ramparts, which, in the view of G. T. Clark, 'in resolute hands, and properly palisaded, [would] be a most formidable stronghold' (Clark, 1884b:102). However, it is probable that Helmsley was built 'as the *caput* of Walter Espec in the early twelfth century…rather than for any military strategic reason' (Creighton, 2002:36). In its later phases of development, Helmsley was remodelled with growing sophistication by the Especs, confirmed through stonework 'sealed below the later levels of the late twelfth-century tower at this site' as well as a 'surviving door head [which] can be paralleled to the church at Bowes that is assumed to be constructed at the same time' (Constable, 2003:71). The castle saw the addition of 'a curtain wall containing round corner towers' and 'two round towers were added to flank the original entrance, and a second gate, within a square tower' (Creighton, 1998:597). The ringworks of the period, like their motte and bailey counterparts, were therefore not always short-lived within the landscape. The evidence at Heydour Castle Hills is less clear, but in the case of Helmsley at least, occupation of these castles could transcend the immediate context in which they were built and were not always a sudden response to political change.

Closer analysis of the archaeology showed another variation on the broader ringwork form within the region; a ringwork with two baileys. Thonock Castle Hills was constructed in Lindsey and similar to the ringworks already discussed, took the form of a timber castle. It is unclear when the site was first established, though some elements were likely 'built by the Earl of Lincoln sometime just before 1142' (Osbourne, 2010:33). If the castle did not originate at this time, then it is likely that some of its features were at least contemporary to the royal confirmation it received during Stephen's reign, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. The monument is characterised by 'a substantial ringwork flanked on both the N and S by outer baileys of more than one period' (Everson et al., 1991:193). It is the southern bailey which is thought to mark the second phase of building and despite the damage to it, 'mounds at its NW and NE corners could represent the sites of former towers or turrets' (Everson et al.,

1991:194).The origin of this castle, like many others, has been adopted within the framework of the struggle between Stephen and Matilda, as it has so often been claimed that 'speed of construction was also a consideration as many ringworks were built during the Anarchy' (Rowley, 1983:45). While it can be regarded as a seemingly strong site, our understanding of it has been limited by the geo-politics of the war, when it is clear the longevity of the castle was a key component of William de Roumare's long-term ambitions within the region.

Figure 5:10 Aerial photograph of Helmsley Castle (English Heritage, 2015a).

Four ringwork and mottes, or known simply as ringmottes, were present in Yorkshire, all made from earth and timber. It could be assumed that the dominance of the motte, the most defensible feature of these early castle, is reflective of the circumstances in which they developed and it has been suggested that some mottes 'may have originated amid the prevailing insecurity of Stephen's reign' (White, 2012:189). These sites may have possessed more features which have been subsequently lost over time which

would continue to alter our understanding of many of their origins. At Castle Haugh, crop marks visible on aerial photography to the north of the motte may indicate the presence of a large bailey (Figure 5:11). The same could be said at the land to the east of Kippax Manor in the area now occupied by the churchyard of St Mary's, which may have originally functioned as the castle's bailey. As 'the importance of Kippax in pre-Conquest times led the de Lacys to establish the castle at Kippax to act as the administrative centre for that part of the honour', it seems only likely that more structures would have been present (West Yorkshire Archaeology Advisory Service, 2010). If substantiated with future excavation or survey work, this evidence would significantly alter our understanding of these range of sites. Considering the collective state of preservation and the remains of these monuments, this particular classification as ringmottes for this group of sites remains appropriate. The circumstances in which these castles were built demonstrates that ringworks could be just as prevalent in the eleventh century as they could be during the twelfth century, and similar to the motte and bailey castle, could have been more nuanced in their execution, depending on the needs of their Norman constructors.

Figure 5:11 Aerial photograph of Castle Haugh. Created with ArcMap 10.8.2. Data from Getmapping (2023) [shapefile] 1:2000, SD82995077.

The classification of a castle as simply being a ringwork omits the fact that this form of castle could often be accompanied by other features made from additional materials. In light of this, evidence of a ringwork with stone wall was identified at Welbourn Castle Hill, Kesteven. This castle was largely built from earth and timber. However, this has been one of the problems with previous studies of the castles of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as they have not always appreciated the qualities within their designs. As put forth by Higham, 'individuality is emphasised when the results of excavation are taken into account' (Higham, 2003:56). A charter in the Pipe Rolls of 1158 (Add. Chart. 6038) detailed that Welbourn Castle Hill was accompanied by stone features, predominantly 'one perch in the wall of the castle of Welbourne' (Stenton, 1932:159). A range of surveys and archaeological assessments conducted in 1999 confirmed the presence of features described in this document, primarily the unusual feature of the stone wall which was in place of a timber palisade. While it remains unclear if this defining feature was built afresh, or replaced an earlier structure, Lindsey Archaeological Services concluded that 'more precise identification of the parts of the site would only be possible by means of intrusive investigations' (Lindsey Archaeological Services, 1999:13). Welbourne is an interesting case of a private castle being fortified following the end of Stephen's reign when Henry II 'was determined to gather power into his own hands [through] the custody of castles' (Amt, 1993:24). Welbourn Castle Hill has been overlooked within the broader context of castle studies but is another which emphasises how the debate can move forward when the historical and archaeological evidence is contextualised and evaluated concurrently.

Mirroring contemporary advances in castle design, a small number of enclosure castles were also constructed across the study area. Sleaford Castle was located in Kesteven and Withern Castle Hill can be found in Lindsey. Whereas the castles at Cawood, Kilton, Kirkbymoorside Stutevilles, Mulgrave, Richmond, and Scarborough (Figure 5:12) were present in the North Riding of Yorkshire. All of these sites predominantly took the form of Norman timber and earth castles, with the exception of Richmond Castle, which had been fashioned from stone. In this respect, we must recognise that castle-construction 'was costly and required free movement of skilled craftsman and materials, both scarce in many regions' (Coulson, 2003:81). The development of Withern Castle Hill and Richmond Castle have both been attributed to the eleventh century, whereas the other

examples have been dated to the twelfth century when advances in castle design may have had greater bearing. For example, Scarborough was constructed from earth and timber during 'the Anarchy' before Henry II 'demonstrated his power in 1155 by taking Scarborough Castle from William of Aumale' and rebuilt the keep in stone soon after (Clanchy, 1998:88). Kennedy believed that it is probable that 'the architecture in the Crusader east would be reflected in western Europe' but equally acknowledged that 'the evidence for this is at best ambiguous' (Kennedy, 2001:186). While enclosure castles did exist from the time of the Conquest, this burgeoning influence from the Holy Land would partly explain why a greater number were present in the following century, as these cultural ideas were more readily imported into England, Indeed, 'we should not underestimate the importance of fashion as a motive for building both earthen and stone castles' (Rowley, 1983:45). The construction of enclosure castles in twelfth-century England is certainly not a new concept to the field of castle studies, though their presence within the context of King Stephen's reign has certainly received less attention.

Architectural developments within castle-building can be further demonstrated by the Tower Keep at Wetherby Castle in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and Hall Keep at Middleham Castle in the North Riding of Yorkshire. Similar to the aforementioned enclosure castles, the origins of these sites would again have partly due to the fact that 'masonry construction was phased over several years, with slow-setting lime-mortar wall masses' (Coulson, 2003:81). This would naturally have taken time for these types of castles to have appeared. Wetherby Castle has largely retained its original form which led some to suppose that it was short-lived, including the Wetherby Civic Society who list the site as having been built between 1140-55 in response to Scottish raiders and was demolished soon after by order of King Henry II (Figure 5:13). While only the foundations of the keep remain above ground, archaeological work at Wetherby has helped reveal extensive remains below the surface, as noted earlier by Speight's earlier work on the site (Speight, 1902:430). While little of the castle could be viewed above the surface as observed by Speight, recent work carried out confirmed that 'the castle keep was rectangular, 20m by 17.5m with walls typically 4.7m thick' (Northern Archaeological Associates, 2017). However, due to residential developments in the surrounding area, our understanding of the development of the castle will only continue to be limited in the future.

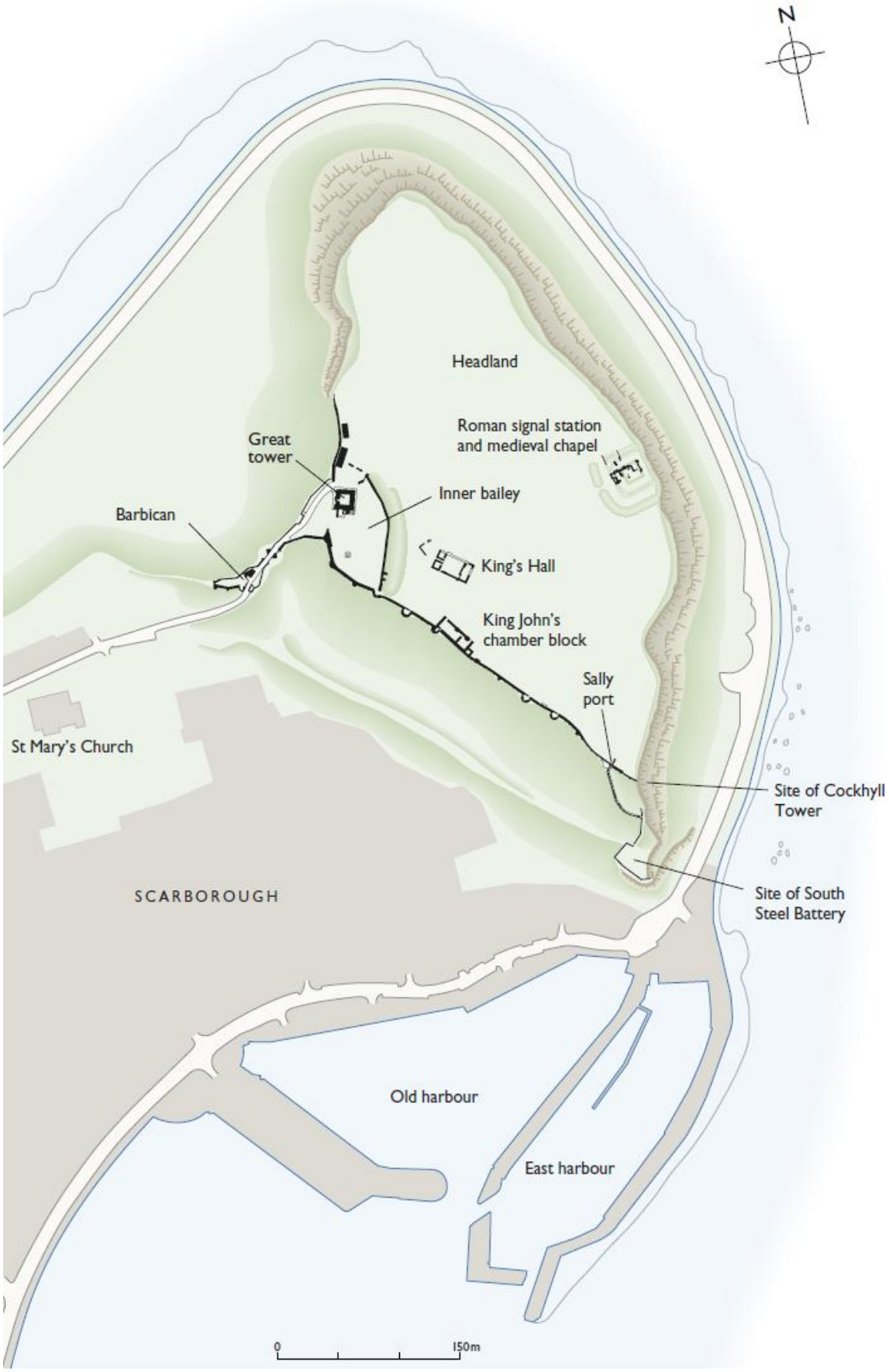

Figure 5:12 A plan of Scarborough Castle showing its relationship with the urban and rural geography of the area (English Heritage, 2015c).

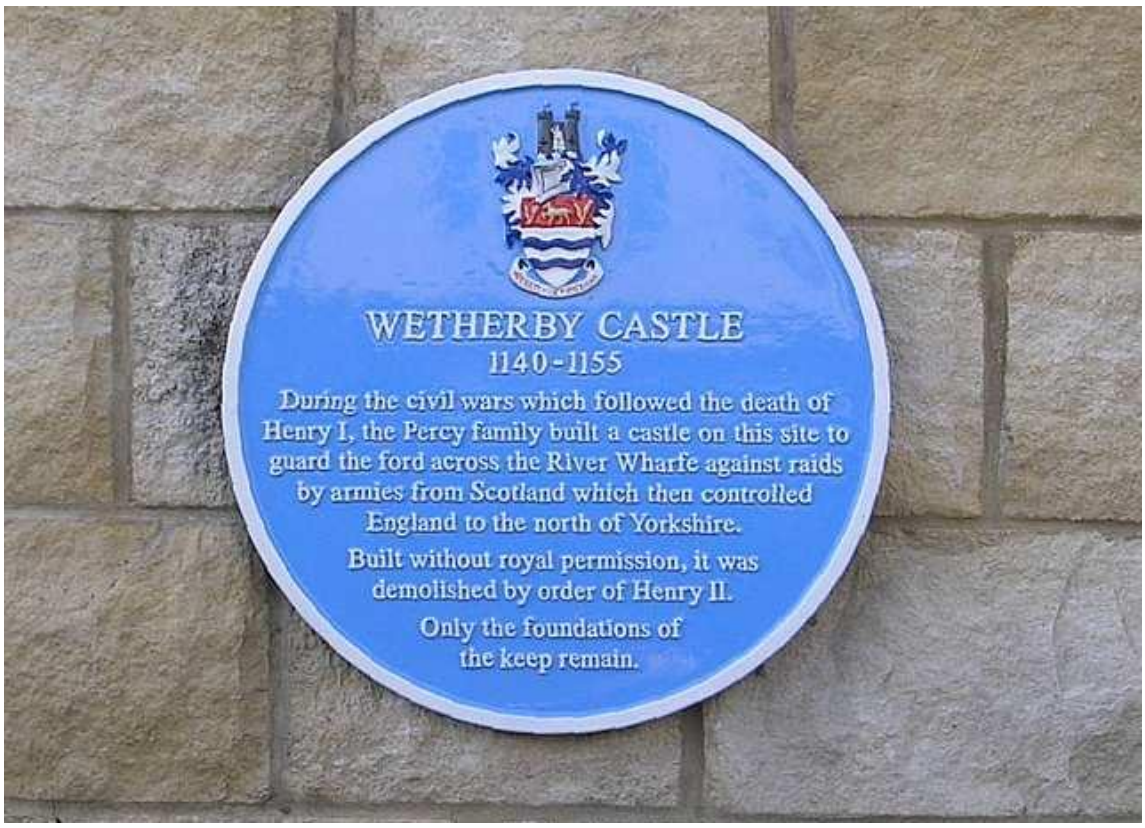

Figure 5:13 The Wetherby Civic Society plaque for Wetherby Castle (Wetherby Civic Society, 2023).

Documentary sources are somewhat lacking for the initial phase of occupation at Middleham's Hall Keep (Figure 5:14). However, the castle profits from a greater level of above surface remains. This led Constable to observe parallels between Middleham and Helmsley's later twelfth-century form and 'the waterleaf decoration would date this building to the 1170-1180' and due to the construction of 'a squat tower of a single storey over a basement built around a central spine wall…the plan of this tower is more similar to examples from Normandy dating from the 1120s onwards, for example [at] Arques' (Constable, 2003:100). The Hall Keep at Middleham, was a relatively uncommon structure in England during the High Middle Ages, which again took inspiration from developments on the continent. It is at the later twelfth-century remodelling and construction of new keeps, such as Helmsley and Middleham respectively, where 'the first real innovations within Romanesque aesthetic can be seen' (Constable, 2003:71).

Most of the castles in the region could be traced to the years following the Norman Conquest, though castles were similarly created, or modified throughout the following century too. The evidence relating to earth and timber castles suited the assumptions of earlier historians that Stephen's reign was characterised by hastily built and

rudimentary fortifications which were soon abandoned after their initial construction. It is evident from recent archaeological work that these castles should no longer viewed as the poor relation to their stone counterparts. Even masonry castles contained substantial amounts of timber and 'there continued to be a timber-building tradition within castles partly constructed in stone well into the fourteenth century' (White, 2012:192). As put forth by Higham, 'field survey also illustrates how varied in detail the sites are' (Higham, 2003:56). The findings from the study area show a greater sense of diversity within castle-building. While 'we cannot adhere too closely to a chronological approach' (White, 2012:192), this diversity became more advanced during the twelfth century. With new styles appearing on the continent, general advances in design, and ongoing social and political stimuli which took place, but were not exclusive, to the Conquest or 'the Anarchy', castle-building was moulded by an infusion of tradition and innovation.

Figure 5:14 Aerial photograph of Middleham Castle (English Heritage, 2015b).

5.3 Castles and 'the Anarchy'

This chapter has highlighted a number of key trends about how castles developed during the High Middle Ages. This section draws more focus to the castles which may be pinpointed to the 19 years of conflict between Stephen and Matilda, 1135-54 (Table 5:4). It investigates other aspects relating to the lesser-known castles which may have been built during the reign of King Stephen and how they have come to be viewed through a number of interrelated themes. Coulson's threefold framework for the castles of the period saw that 'there were the castles which in the ordinary course of any nineteen years of twelfth-century tenurial and economic development [which were built]' (Coulson, 2003:67). As was the case in the previous section, Coulson's definition has been further amended for the purposes of this thesis which recognises that castles of 'the Anarchy' has become a term to classify some poorly understood structures for lack of a better explanation. The monuments categorised as castles of 'the Anarchy' will be assessed within this framework to evaluate how far this epithet is used to improperly classify castles when few other interpretations have been offered.

The castles from 'the Anarchy' continue to be regarded hallmarks of the instabilities of Stephen's reign. Traditional and modern scholarship has often recounted how 'there are hundreds of such castles, undocumented and unexcavated' and 'it has become almost the custom to dismiss them as castles of the Anarchy' (Pounds, 1990:10). For instance, Osbourne suggested that 'Castle Carton, along with Tothill and Withern, may have been built by Earl Ranulf during the Anarchy' (Osbourne, 2010:35). However, he did not substantiate these claims and such sites are not represented in Table 5:4. In respect of academic custom to readily name such structures as castles of 'the Anarchy', Pounds maintained that 'many were just that, but it is at least likely that a great many of these small and simple castles were the work of the first decades of the Conquest. That, for many of the new landholders, was their time of greatest anxiety and fear, when their grip on the land was still insecure' (Pounds, 1990:10). This view is overly simplistic when the castles of the High Middle Ages developed from a range of influences. While the castles of 'the Anarchy' did originate from slightly different circumstances, they nonetheless represented the same ideals and preoccupations present in Anglo-Norman England and should not be seen as such radical departures from its societal norms.

Table 5:4 The new castles which may have been built between 1135-54 within the study area.

Castle	**Dating Evidence**
Lincolnshire	
Barton upon Humber Castle	1140s - following Gilbert de Gant's exchange of land near St Peter's Church with the monks at Bardney in 1139 (Brown, 1906:63-5). The castle was also close to William of Aumale's castle at Barrow upon Humber due to the rivalry between both lords which notably intensified during Stephen's reign.
Caistor Castle Hill	*C*. 1143 - King Stephen referred to a time 'when I was at my recently fortified castle at Caistor in Lindsey' (Cronne & Davis, 1968:243).
Lincoln Siegeworks	1141/44 - The first structure was contemporary to the Battle of Lincoln of 1141 and the second fortification originated in 1144 when Henry of Huntingdon wrote how Stephen 'was building an earthwork against [Lincoln Castle] which the Earl of Chester was holding by force' (Greenway, 1996:745).
Newhouse Castle	1130s-40s - Peter of Goxhill founded Newhouse Priory in 1143, directly on the site 'with the chief court where his castle was' (Warner & Ellis, 1903:24).
Partney Castle	1140-42 - The castle was referred to in a charter of '1141-42' (King, 1983a).
Thorngate	1135-54 - Foster (1931) attributed the castle to 'the Anarchy' due to infrequent references to the site in contemporary sources and was referenced in *c*. 1141 and 1151' (King, 1983a:265).
Yorkshire	
Almondbury Castle Hill	1135-54 - The castle was first mentioned in a charter of 1142-54 being granted to Henry de Lacy and was contemporary to Barwick in Elmet.
Barwick in Elmet	1135-54 - The castle was first mentioned in a charter of 1142-54 being granted to Henry de Lacy and was contemporary to Almondbury.
Baynard Castle	1100-1170 - Baynard was the *caput* of the Robert III of Stuteville, one of 'the Earl of York's political satellites' (Dalton, 1994:180).
Bowes Castle	1130s - Bowes had been built during the 1130s by Count Alan of Brittany (Brown, 1959:249-80).

Carlton in Coverdale Round Hill	1135-54 - Butler (1994) refers to Carlton in Coverdale as an outpost due to its location and castle of 'the Anarchy' while Middleham was being constructed.
Drax Castle Hill	1135-54 – Drax was reportedly destroyed by Stephen in 1154 following the Treaty of Winchester (Creighton, 1998:592).
Easby Castle Hill	1135-54 - The scheduling information for the site attributes its construction to Bernard de Balliol during 'the Anarchy'.
Hutton Conyers Castle	1135-54 - The castle was mentioned in a charter of 1136 as having been a possession of Count Alan of Brittany.
Pickering Beacon Hill	1100-54 - The site may have been used in an unrecorded siege due to its topographical location close to Pickering Castle.
Scarborough Castle	1135-54 - Built by William of Aumale as confirmation of his power during 'the Anarchy'.
Selby Castle	*C*. 1142 - William of Aumale is noted to have attacked the castle which had possibly been linked to Henry de Lacy's 'succession to the honour of Pontefract in around 1142' (Dalton, 1994:171). Other castles associated with the honour included Almdonbury Castle Hill and Barwick in Elmet.
Wakefield Lowe Hill	1138-49 - Twelfth-century pottery assemblages (Hope-Taylor, 1953) have led some to describe Wakefield as an adulterine castle belonging to William de Warenne (Historic England, 2023c).
Wetherby Castle	1140-55 - The Wetherby Civic Society (2023) attribute the castle's construction as a response to Scottish raids in the area.
Wheldrake	1100-49 - The castle was destroyed in 1149 nearer the end of the twelfth-century civil war which means it may have been one of the new castles built during the period.
Yafforth Howe Hill	1135-54 - Yafforth has been suggested as having been built during Stephen's reign due to its relatively isolated location and use of natural topography.
Yarm	1100-35 - the Hospital of St Nicholas in Yarm, founded in 1141, was sited *juxta castellarium* and the castle may have been a basis for this hospital.

The previous chapter introduced the commonly recounted narrative that castles were dominant features of both their medieval and modern settings. To such a degree that this statement has been used so frequently, it is now 'a truism that castles dominated their landscapes' (Creighton & Higham, 2004:5). The landscape setting was discussed in much detail and the focus must equally be directed to the built environment, though it is difficult to divorce the two when they are inextricably linked. Contemporary accounts such as the *Gesta Stephani* described how the struggle for the throne could inadvertently be influenced by such aspects, encapsulated by Stephen's attack on Bristol which was hindered by the positioning of the castle on a peninsula surrounded by two rivers (Potter & Davis, 1976:56-9). There are some sites within the study area which have similarly been linked to the troubles of the period due to the fusion of both architectural and geographical strength. For example, the scheduling information for Yafforth Howe Hill, located in the North Riding of Yorkshire, has been described as a castle 'probably built during the reign of King Stephen between 1135 and 1154' largely due to the fact its owner used a 'natural rounded knoll' to construct its motte (Historic England, 2023b). In the case of Yafforth, much like castles more generally, its form was probably influenced by the local topography of the site chosen by its builder. While some motte castles were undoubtedly used for a shorter period of time, generally speaking 'motte castles continued to be built and occupied from the 11th to the 13th centuries' (Historic England, 2023b). These structures were not always products of the instabilities of the twelfth-century civil war and could represent more practical facets of castle-building.

There are other castles which have been linked to 'the Anarchy' owing to the nature of the construction and positioning within the landscape. At Easby Castle Hill in the North Riding of Yorkshire, the scheduling listing for the site details that its seeming isolated and remote location on the edge of the North York Moors 'suggests that it served as a watch tower or temporary refuge in time of strife' (Historic England, 2023a). It is difficult to have confidence when affirming the precise circumstances when the castle was erected. The few sources which refer to the castle link its construction to Bernard de Balliol who was said to be 'lord of the manor of Easby, which formed part of his lordship of Stokesley' and was 'the commander-in-chief of the Anglo-Norman army at the Battle of the Standard' (L'Anson, 1913:345-46). If it did indeed belong to Bernard, this would place the origins of the castle directly within the timeframe of the twelfth-century civil

war. However, the archaeological work undertaken at the site has been sporadic and L'Anson in the early twentieth century found that the motte 'has been much mutilated' (L'Anson, 1913:346). Since 2018, the Hidden Valleys Community Project has sought to investigate the motte in more detail. As nothing so far has been found within the ditch, this has led the group to suppose that the site may have had much earlier origins (HVCP Archaeology, 2023). Easby underlines how the scheduling information for some sites from the High Middle Ages can often be quick to make conclusions not always supported by either historical or archaeological evidence. Bernard is believed to have 'succeeded to the estates of his uncle Guy by 1130-33' (Stell, 2004) and if the site did belong to Bernard de Balliol, it might well have been linked to the circumstances of the Battle of the Standard experienced by its owner. On the other hand, it could simply have been a castle which was constructed during the normal course of Stephen's reign. Without additional research, we cannot be certain whether Easby was a castle built during 'the Anarchy' period or was a product of the troubles of 'the Anarchy'. This is an important distinction to make.

The castles which were built against the backdrop of the rivalry between Stephen and Matilda have been further identified due to the presence, or absence of certain features. The typical characteristics within the castles from the eleventh and twelfth centuries include the motte and bailey and ringwork forms. However, many of the castles were much more complex than this, as the previous section showed. Multiple mottes and baileys present in their designs highlights 'the dichotomy between those which emphasised a single dominant feature – motte or great tower – and those which invested heavily in the surrounding enclosure' (White, 2012:189). While the physical fabric of these sites can lead to re-interpretation of a castle form, this can be extended to the context in which the structure originated. Similar to Yafforth and Easby, Butler believed that Carlton in Coverdale (Figure 5:15), located in the North Riding 'was probably an outpost of Middleham either thrown up during the anarchy of Stephen's reign or intended as an advance warning post while Middleham was under construction and the threat of Scottish raids was still high' (Butler, 1994:80). Butler claims that the motte castle likely belonged to 'the two main danger periods [which] were 1138 and 1174 when the Scots raised into Yorkshire and burnt some castles' (Butler, 1994:80). Others such as Nora Elaine Joynes have suggested that due to the smaller size and

rounded nature of the motte, 'it seems more likely to be a prehistoric burial mound' (Joynes, 2006:20). As little archaeological work has been undertaken at the site, this makes it difficult to substantiate either point of view. What is clear is that when attempting to understand the castles from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there has been a tendency to define a range of castles as anarchic due to a lack of understanding. In some cases, a castle may be re-classified and other sites may be re-dated entirely with further investigatory work.

Figure 5:15 Carlton in Coverdale Castle (Castles and Fortifications in England & Wales, n.d.-b).

Another important theme in relation to the castles of 'the Anarchy' is the way in which the remains of these monuments have influenced our understanding of these various sites. It is inevitable that 'any study of Stephen's reign is necessarily limited by the kind of source material that is available' (Cronne, 1970:xi). This has been a recurrent theme throughout this thesis and is why 21 sites have remained unclassified as to what form they took Tables 5:2 and 5:3). Due to an absence of an archaeological perspective on the twelfth century, we have come to rely on the historical evidence to build up a picture of how castles developed. In some cases, only contemporary sources have been used and these can typically propagate negative stereotypes about these sites. This can be

demonstrated at Leeds Castle Hill which can no longer be seen in its original context. Mackenzie believes that 'it seems likely that the castle was built shortly after the accession of William I, by one of the Paganel family' and 'is said to have been besieged and taken by Stephen on his march into Scotland in 1139' (Mackenzie, 1896:233). However, these claims have never been supported by the archaeology and this remains the case due to heavy urbanisation in the area. It is perhaps unsurprising that rural castles provide fewer hindrances when attempting to understand the period. At the same time, this does not mean that this is always met with a proportionate increase in knowledge. At Newhouse (Figure 5:16), the priory which had been 'the grant by Peter de Golsa to the Church of St Martial of Newhouse' had been first occupied by a castle constructed by Peter (Warner & Ellis, 1903:24). Roffe affirmed that castles such as 'Caistor, Grimsby, Newhouse, and Partney were short-lived structures thrown up in the crises of the Anarchy and the reign of John' (Roffe, 2013). While Newhouse cannot have been occupied for long, this does not mean its abandonment was a result of crisis. It is more likely that the castle formed a basis for the monastic foundation which soon followed. There are still challenges to overcome, but sites such as Newhouse Castle represent the best means to examine castle-building and assess which factors influenced the development and roles of these structures on a local level.

The preservation and condition of a range of sites from the High Middle Ages can equally foster a tendency to resign castles to the essence of 'the Anarchy'. When studying the development of these structures, 'the military approach to castles was initially dictated by the fact that only the fortifications usually survive and these are the main feature they all share' (Thompson, 1994:444). This is certainly the case for the castles which have been linked to the rivalry between Stephen and Matilda and have been viewed primarily as products of war. For instance, the remains of Castle Haugh in the West Riding of Yorkshire, are believed to have been the castle 'referred to as a *munituncula* [which] was destroyed by the Scots in 1151' (Creighton, 1998:576). Due to the problems relating to the physical evidence, not least establishing a firm basis of dating at such sites, in many cases, nothing can be done but work with the material that is available to form logical conclusions. Overall, the variety of monuments discussed in this chapter offers a glimpse into the range of castles constructed during Stephen's reign. From a survey of these various forms and features, it can be seen that uniformity was not the most crucial

factor for those who commissioned these monuments. This sense of diversity gathered momentum throughout the twelfth century and the style of construction chosen by England's magnates started to burgeon beyond the castles built in the earlier stages of Norman rule.

Figure 5:16 Evidence of a ditch at the possible site of Newhouse Castle on the Brocklesby Estate. Photograph taken by the author.

The war between Stephen and Matilda provided greater freedom in which to build a wider range of castles, bound by similar principles, though perhaps more overt in display. Coulson has already indicated that 'individualism' played a role when it came to the origins of castles (Coulson, 2003:86) and notions of fashion and social emulation arguably enhanced the process further. By the mid-twelfth century, 'chronological distinctions as expressed through architecture were not a great concern of the builders or patrons of these structures, whether churches or secular buildings' and 'what can be discerned from the architectural forms selected for different buildings are data concerned with social ideas and contacts' (Constable, 2003:81). While some have inevitably been incorrectly linked to 'the Anarchy', the castles from the period reveal that the influences on castle-building from the period 1066-1200 were not simply bound by the constraints of the war between Stephen and Matilda and are more complex than scholarship has typically recognised.

5.4 Fieldworks and 'Campaign Castles'

When discussing the castles contemporary to the conflict between Stephen and Matilda, fieldworks and 'campaign castles' typically occupy a marginal place within the debate. Due to their deliberately transient nature, these structures therefore do not fit within the typical framework of castles. This form of monument must be discussed independently, and, in this respect, this section outlines the various fieldworks and 'campaign castles' which may have been constructed throughout the course of the twelfth-century civil war. Moreover, Coulson stated that 'there were the notorious castles built in direct furtherance of usurpation; these, because new, must be grouped with the fieldworks and campaign works which were intentionally ephemeral' (Coulson, 2003:67). However, this thesis deviates from Coulson's classification of fieldworks from the period and as discussed in this chapter so far, does not take the same stance that the castles built during Stephen's reign can be generally likened to these 'campaign castles' and do form outliers to the development of castles more broadly. This established framework from Coulson's *Castles of the Anarchy* (2003) has been modified to incorporate the fortification of ecclesiastical property. Similar to fieldworks, these

structures were another way chroniclers detailed that these short-lived castles could be erected and will be given due focus here.

Often viewed as the causes or symptoms of the protracted war during the twelfth century, it has been estimated that '56% of castles known to have been constructed during Stephen's reign have now vanished' (Creighton, 2002:93). This statistic would have been higher for the more transient forms of sites such as these fieldworks which would have been used for a specific battle or skirmish. London and Winchester formed the epicentre of the rivalry between King Stephen and the Empress Matilda, and the frontier in North of England was no less significant to the struggle for the throne. The Battle of the Standard, 1138 and the Battle of Lincoln, 1141, were both defining moments of the period, first for Stephen's forces when King David I's Scottish forces were halted at Northallerton, and then for the Angevins when the king was captured at Lincoln. Despite the recognised importance of these battles, 'neither site has seen a detailed archaeological survey although the Battle of the Standard has by far the highest potential for future work' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:43). Beginning with the latter, the *Hexham Chronicle* describes the destruction to people and property resulting from the preliminary action of the battle, when Eustace Fitz John first 'marched with the king of Scotland to ravage Yorkshire' (Stevenson, 1853:46-7). Pickering Beacon Hill may have been converted from an earlier motte and bailey, or could have raised during the eleventh century as 'siege-castles were familiar to the Normans before the Conquest but none is recorded as having been built in England under the Conqueror' (King, 1983a:xxix). Due to its siting close to Pickering Castle, topographical study can draw firmer conclusions of contemporaneity and the scenario where 'one castle may have been raised in opposition to another' may help explain these chronologies (Creighton, 2002:55). Despite unclear origins, it is more likely that possible siege-castle at Pickering Beacon Hill was established during the mid-twelfth century and played an integral role during the course of the battle and its impact within the wider area (Figure 5:17).

In addition to the possible fieldwork at Pickering, there is evidence of further siege-castles in Lincoln. The first was supposedly built during events which led up to and culminated in the Battle of Lincoln, 1141 when William of Malmesbury detailed that to win God's favour, Stephen 'had turned into a castle the Church of the Blessed Mother of God at Lincoln' (King, 1998:83). However, it is unclear as to which monument this

account referred to. As part of his wider fortifications across the city, a further siegework is believed to have existed as part of his offensive circuit when he returned to reclaim Lincoln Castle in 1144. Henry of Huntingdon wrote that in this year, as Stephen 'was building an earthwork against the castle which the Earl of Chester was holding by force, nearly eighty of his workmen were buried alive by the enemy. So the king withdrew in confusion, leaving the business unfinished' (Greenway, 1996:745). It is traditionally thought that the structure 'survived in three sides of a square earthwork which are clearly marked on early nineteenth-century maps within the grounds of the Lawn Hospital' (Hill, 1948:180). A depiction of this can be viewed in Figure 5:18. The structure is no longer visible and 'documentary evidence shows that this was, in its latest phases at any rate, a bowling green and there were no features from the Lawn excavations that could be identified as 12th-century siegeworks' (Vince, 2003:165). Unlike Pickering, future investigations at this site are restricted by its setting which has changed drastically since the nineteenth century. Ongoing urbanisation makes it difficult to explore whether it is indeed the same structure referred to within these contemporary sources though it seems entirely plausible.

Figure 5:17 Aerial photograph of Pickering Beacon Hill to the west of Pickering Castle. Created with ArcMap 10.8.2. Data from Getmapping (2023) [shapefile] 1:4000, SE79288443.

Identifying the remains of siege-castles is inherently challenging. Creighton and Wright's recent work on 'the Anarchy' affirmed that 'at least 17 examples are recorded in documentary sources and others are suggested by field evidence' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:53). Apart from Pickering and Lincoln, our understanding of how both existing and new fortifications were utilised during the conflict is poor and only a small number of castles potentially dating to the period have been investigated archaeologically. As these structures can be difficult to identify, there may have been other examples which are no longer visible in the archaeological record, which may alter if more work is carried out. From the examples discussed, it would appear that this form of monument was not a defining feature of the landscape, though it is difficult to speculate with such a notable absence of evidence. What is clear is that these siege-castles are testament to the fluid state of the war and the actions of magnates who have come to define the rivalry between Stephen and Matilda and should remain classified in a way to reflect their intentionally short-lived nature.

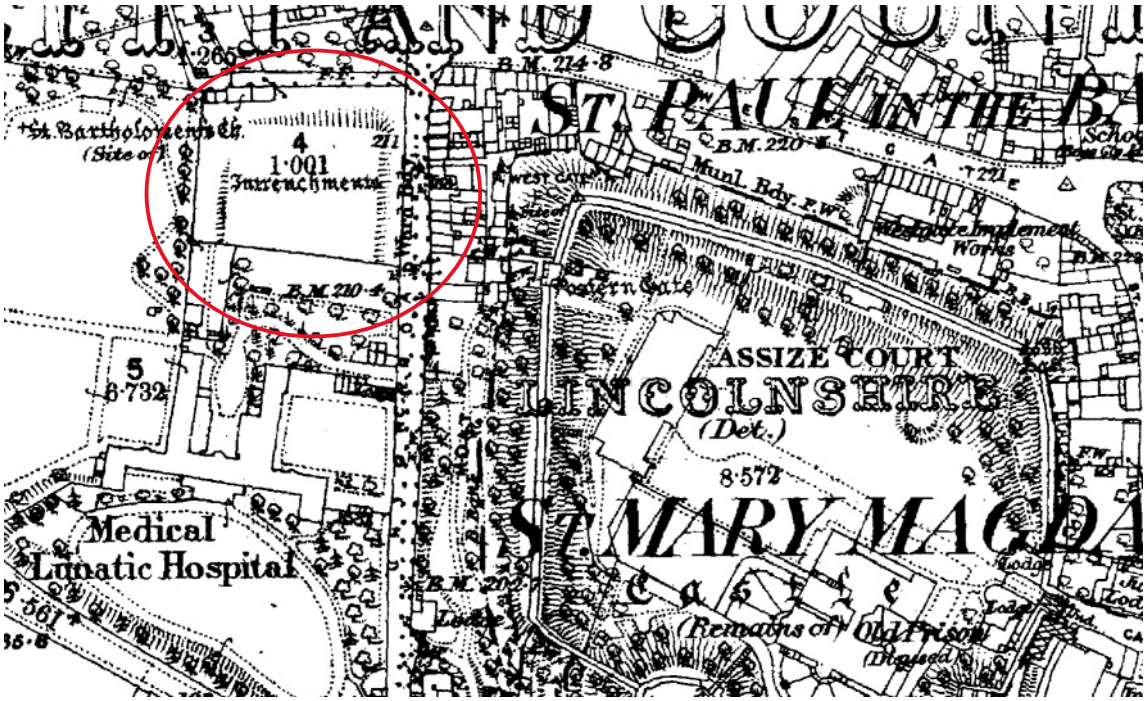

Figure 5:18 The siege-castle to the west of Lincoln Castle as depicted in the nineteenth century. Created with ArcMap 10.8.2. Data from Landmark Information Group (1880) [shapefile] 1:1,250, SK97317198.

The troubles of Stephen's reign have also been characterised by the militarisation of ecclesiastical sites. Creighton and Wright identified that this practice could typically include: 'fortifying the tower', 'encircling the building with an earthwork', 'adding

enclosing defences', or by building a castle 'within or by the edge of a cemetery' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:191-94). A potential example of the latter can of course be seen at Barton upon Humber, as suggested by Shapland's work discussed previously (2012; 2019). Due to the nature of the remains of these sites, it can be difficult to ascertain the original scope of their circuits. This is not to say that they did not exist, but subsequent development across the landscape has made it difficult to clearly determine the true nature of these monuments. This is why including the militarisation of Church property within the same framework of fieldworks and 'campaign castles' as equally transient forms of fortified structures seems appropriate, 'as temporary installations, most lacked the residential character that was an otherwise essential aspect of castle function, and do not display the same connections with the local economy and settlement pattern' (Creighton, 2002:56-7).

Similar to the castles of the period, our understanding of fortified ecclesiastical sites has been shaped by the writings of contemporary chroniclers who described how religious buildings were fortified or could be adapted for military purposes due to the ensuing conflict. Owing to the paucity of the physical evidence, much like with fieldworks and 'campaign castles', documentary sources form a useful starting point, albeit fragmentary too. Within these records, these structures were often described using the same parameters, including *castel* and *castellum*. Fortifications could be realised through the use of walls and buttresses, as well as moats and ditches and other features less apparent in the archaeological record. For example, the *Historia Regum* detailed how forces opposing the Empress 'converted the monastery of St Mary of Bridlington into a castle' (Arnold, 1885:315). Without further evidence, the nature of these alterations cannot be correlated to any part of the present-day church or its gate (Figure 5:19). Nothing beyond the realm of what would be typical for the defences of a religious house can be confidently linked to other monastic sites throughout the study area. Even the most seemingly facets of military architecture at 'Thornton Abbey's fortress-like, but ambivalent, great gatehouse' (Osbourne, 2010:57); were fourteenth century additions, possibly linked to the Peasant's Revolt and confirmed by a licence to crenellate granted just one year later (Lyte, 1897:166). If we place this within wider context, of 'over 500 monasteries and secular colleges, no more than 1-2% were occupied or fortified during

the entire civil war' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:213). This means that there were no more than a dozen sites and those like Bridlington were in a minority.

Figure 5:19 Bridlington Priory which was allegedly converted into a castle during the twelfth-century civil war (National Churches Trust, 2022).

Stephen's reign was uncertain, perhaps unstable at times, but this does not mean that it was a complete disaster. While a number of castles had been built, it is also accepted that 'Stephen's reign witnessed an explosion of new foundations: the total number of monastic houses in England and Wales increased by around 50% with around 180 new establishments split very unevenly between the various orders' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:196). The fact that religious foundation and patronage flourished at this time is an intriguing juxtaposition to the accounts of contemporary writers who wrote of the militarisation of Church property. The number of new foundations, together with the reality of how few sites were apparently fortified, dispels the notion of the twelfth century impacting the Church in a wholly negative way. This is not to say that there was no impact, as the militarisation of religious buildings did undoubtedly occur. However, for the most part, the Church was able to continue largely unaffected, and in some cases, was able to expand its influence at a faster pace. At a time when the Church was increasingly adopting a military front across Europe, chroniclers condemned the

apparent militarisation of religious buildings, though it is clear that this contradiction was influenced more the possibility of facing ongoing conflict nearer to home, rather than an idealistic war far removed places like the Holy Land.

5.5 Conclusions

Medieval and modern writers have both readily associated the constructions of castles with troubles of the mid-twelfth century. The development of castles was still in its relative infancy but was perhaps not as limited as these writings have suggested. Several forms of castles were constructed between the period *c*. 1066-1200 across Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, and the archaeology shows the 'individuality in twelfth-century timber castle design, which went far beyond the 'motte and bailey' or 'ringwork' labels' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:115). Multiple mottes, baileys, and even instances of symbolic architecture can be seen at some of these sites, such as Lincoln Castle. A small number of other distinct forms such as enclosure castles, which derived from a range of external influences existed too, stemming from the crusading movement, as well as continuing stylistic developments on the continent. Taking this into account, this study calls for a greater appreciation of these structures and for a more nuanced approach in how they are understood. Until recently, the framework in which castles contemporary to the twelfth-century civil war have been explored has been too narrow.

The complexities in castle-construction can equally be seen locally. The Anglo-Saxon period influenced the forms castles took in the immediate post-Conquest period, and during 'the Anarchy'. The reuse of historic sites has featured prominently in the traditional discourse of Stephen's reign. However, as the archaeology confirmed at sites such as Barton upon Humber and Barrow upon Humber, this was not always due to fleeting responses to war and other long-term considerations were evident. As the occupation of most of these structures continued beyond the twelfth century, the cracks in the writings of the medieval and modern historians run deeper. This decision by the medieval builder was not accidental, providing the perfect conditions in which to choose a form of castle influenced by 'a number of factors such as the availability of construction materials, landscape or fashion' (Osbourne, 2010:28). The looser circumstances of the

period, though not anarchic, likely nurtured this, demonstrated by the fact that 'the vast majority, products of the Norman settlement, differ radically from the crisis-only fortifications, mostly fieldworks serving the passing needs of a campaign' (Coulson, 2003:91-2). The conclusions of this chapter have of course been shaped by the visible remains of these monuments and what this suggests about their intended use. The state of preservation and site access can also hinder any interpretation made beyond what the apparent simplicity in their present condition represents. This has arguably fuelled the narrative and many early castles have been mistakenly linked to the troubles of the twelfth-century civil war for lack of a better explanation.

Chroniclers detailed in many cases how castles and religious buildings became one and the same in the wake of the alleged fortification of churches and monasteries. The terms *castel*, *castrum* and *castellum* frequently appear in the source material, promoting the image that a range of constructions were occupied at this time. Placing the nature of castle-building within Coulson's framework for the castles of 'the Anarchy' has shown that the use of these words is not always representative of the quantity or strength of these structures. Unsurprisingly, the ecclesiastics who wrote of the apparent evils of the twelfth century dramatised its impact through 'the natural exaggeration by which each writer attributed to the whole country the evils that he saw in his immediate neighbourhood' (Hollister, 1974:238). Despite the paucity of written records, it would appear that relatively few religious buildings were strengthened in this manner, and as demonstrated in the previous chapter, the Church benefited from a surge in patronage by the same individuals who had strived to build castles (Holdsworth, 1994).

Chapter 6 looks to the social structure of the ruling elite who commissioned this diverse range of castles. Through the intersections of both historical and archaeological study, the social context and tenurial arrangements of the aristocracy reveals more about the motivations of the secular and episcopal magnates who held various lands throughout Lincolnshire and Yorkshire.

Chapter 6 Power, Authority and Rule

6.1 Introduction

This chapter adds greater clarity to the practice of building castles in the High Middle Ages by examining those who commissioned them. The Norman Conquest is known to have brought about political, economic, and cultural transformations to England, not least to the social structure of its ruling elite. Although a structure of tenure had already been in place, the kingdom arguably belonged to William I 'in a way in which it had never been Edward's, and it was so because of, not despite, the elaborate show of seamless continuity with the Old English past' (Garnett, 2007:vii). The social changes brought about by his accession continued into the twelfth century, as lords became more established in their own demesnes which eventually saw the wholesale replacement of the English aristocracy. This stability was tested again when Stephen was crowned king in 1135, and the circumstances of his reign are believed to have intensified the process further when he created a larger number of earldoms and a series of other honours. As 'castles did not develop in isolation from their political context' (White, 2012:192), establishing the social context and the political nature of the hierarchy of the ruling elite, which was in place before his reign, and how it altered as a result, is vital to assess the influence of the twelfth-century civil war on castle-building over a longer period of time.

As well as looking into the changes which affected the social structure of the ruling elite, other avenues relating to the ownership of these constructions must be considered, including licences to crenellate, charters and other such references to the tenurial geography of the period. It has been often recited that 'the multiplication of unlicenced castles was a feature of the Anarchy' (Pounds, 1990:30). With the titles and lands they had been granted by Stephen, it was thought that England's magnates abused their power and frequently raised castles without permission from the Crown. For this reason, no study about castles within the context of this reign can overlook the socio-political circumstances in which a lord fortified one of their sites. By looking at those who chose to build these structures, we can attain a better understanding of their motivations and their concerns. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, several forms of castles existed

across the landscape, but they do not appear to have been intended to be an overarching response to the war between Stephen and Matilda. In Coulson's view, 'fortifications were not summoned out of the ground by military science activated by fear, nor were they materialised by pure symbolism' (Coulson, 1996:189). It is the aim of this chapter to build on this outlook and demonstrate that the immediate social environment of the region's lay and ecclesiastical magnates could have had more bearing on how their monuments developed at a local level, than the politics involving the broader conflict between King Stephen and the Empress Matilda. It further argues that the aspects of lordship which drove castle-construction in the twelfth century were not so different to the immediate post-Conquest era.

6.2 Symbols of Power

The accounts of contemporary chroniclers have bolstered the view that the twelfth century was characterised by unrest, lawlessness, and a widespread breakdown in society. These sources form the basis of the narrative developed by modern historians that equally regard Stephen's reign as a failure marked by a collapse in central authority. Castles have been viewed as one of the key sources of evidence for this. Accounts such as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* have become all too familiar for any castellologist who attempts to understand the period (Whitelock et al., 1961:199):

> 'For every powerful man built his castles and held them against him and they filled the country full of castles. They oppressed the wretched people of the country severely with castle-building. When the castles were built, they filled them with devils and wicked men.'

The notion of castles and other similar structures forming symbols of oppression and tyranny was a notable feature of King Stephen's reign when this entry in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was written in 1137. Latin words such as *castel*, *castrum* and *castellum*, have featured in many sources, including the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (1961b) and were often used to describe the castles built by the Normans as something new and foreign. The writings of Orderic Vitalis in particular have been associated with this use of terminology,

and he used words such as *praesidum*, *municipium*, *oppidum*, *castellum*, *castrum* and *castel* to define castles, residences, and urban defences which were formed at this time (Wheatley, 2004:26). It was their classification as something different in both the physical and political landscape of twelfth-century England which became common themes in these sources.

Unfavourable connotations with the appearance of castles, and those responsible for their construction, were however not exclusive to the twelfth century. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* had documented in 1051 how 'the foreigners then had built a castle' (Whitelock et al., 1961:119). With this longer pedigree, it was perhaps inevitable that this idea would come to be adopted in the early stages of castle studies, with the observation of Armitage that 'the thing as well as the term was new' (Armitage, 1912:24). Revisionist studies conducted by those such as Coulson (2003) have since helped shift the debate beyond the boundaries of these earlier views and his work was able to dispute the limitations and the accuracy of describing castles, embattled churches and even fortified towns from the High Middle Ages in such a collective manner. In an underappreciated field of research, Wheatley too questioned the limitations of this vocabulary and while more work needs to be done on the subject, she saw that 'the conventional definition of the castle needs to be rethought' (Wheatley, 2004:27). Similar to the way in which the fortifications of the post-Conquest period had been classified as simply instruments of war has been questioned by revisionist scholarship, it is likely that the castles contemporary to the twelfth-century civil war have similarly been treated in such a way that does not convey the reality either.

As terms such as *praesidum*, *municipium*, *oppidum*, in addition to *castellum*, *castrum* and *castel* have been relied on to build up a picture of a range of fortified sites from the High Middle Ages, it is likely that accounts that used other ways to describe these structures may have been omitted entirely. Despite the complexities when attempting to define them, 'contemporaries were more concerned with the realities of fortification than with what they were called' (White, 2012:184). Describing these sites in such a broad way does create ambiguity and, in many cases, may not be representative of their true number, their individualities, or their intended purpose. By extension, these classifications in turn may have dramatised the extent that England was fortified during the conflict between Stephen and Matilda through the medium of castles, fieldworks

and ‘campaign castles’, and fortified ecclesiastical property. The cultural connotations associated with this language is reflective of societal change and the subsequent attitudes of those who lived through this change. This is why it remains crucial to compare the vocabulary used to describe these castles, together with the archaeological evidence available, to move beyond the views of medieval and modern historians which arguably remain ‘no more than wisdom after the event’ (Clanchy, 1998:86). Although only a brief overview of this aspect of castle studies has been discussed here, this terminology forms a starting point in which to challenge the assumptions of the castles of Stephen’s reign and bring them more in line with our understanding of the castles which developed throughout the broader transformation of Anglo-Norman England. This takes on greater significance when we appreciate that ‘the concept of 1066 as a watershed moment for all aspects of Anglo-Saxon England has of late become much more nuanced’ (Weikert, 2020:1).

6.3 Change and Continuity

Following his victory at the Battle of Hastings, William the Conqueror realised that the conversion to Norman rule needed to be as receptive as much as possible to the local population. He could not rely on military might alone and was ‘still prepared to try to win English hearts and minds’ (Hagger, 2012:136). Fortifications in the form of *burhs* existed already, especially in the south of England. As well as being used to safeguard against the threat of Danish invasion, the entrance towers to these *burhs*, the *burh-geat*, became emblems of lordly display. In the wider trappings of medieval lordship, it was believed that a thegn required a bell-house, as well as a *burh-geat* (Williams, 1992) and ‘there is some evidence for functional similarities between Norman castles and Anglo-Saxon lordly residences’ (Shapland, 2017:105). The Norman gatehouse at Exeter Castle has been likened to such earlier Anglo-Saxon expressions of power through various architectural elements, including the use of quoins and triangular-headed windows (Figure 6:1). It was no coincidence that when the Normans built their castles, they referenced these earlier signifiers of power through a recognisable ‘mixture of pragmatism and symbolism’ (White, 2012:206-07).

Figure 6:1 The Gatehouse at Exeter Castle. Photograph taken by Juan J. Martinez (CC BY-SA 2.0).

Besides building castles based on familiar ideas to invoke Anglo-Saxon practices, 'the followers of Duke William took over the institutions they found on arrival, and governed through them' (Chibnall, 1993:105). Pre-existing aspects of lordship were used to enable a smoother transition to the Norman regime. This formed a powerful driving force when attempting to secure the throne and William I must have recognised that a degree of continuity would not only bring stability but would be essential to his position as king. For instance, if it had become the case where 'titles did not after all depend ultimately on the Conqueror, they might be shown to have a quite different foundation, independent of the king' and 'rebellious subjects might also look back to pre-Conquest England in order to justify themselves' (Garnett, 2007:356). To make the process appear more amenable, England was divided into a series of recognisable landholdings. While many were displaced, some Anglo-Saxon landowners managed to retain their manors as reward for helping William secure England's throne, and 'in some shires and in certain fees the organisation of pre-Conquest landholding and lordships did indeed survive the first twenty years of Norman rule' (Fleming, 1991:113). This was the case with Countess Lucy who remained a significant individual with lands throughout Lincolnshire, Yorkshire and Chester, and was 'one of the few aristocratic women of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries to achieve the role of independent lay founder' (Johns, 2003:60).

During the initial stages of Norman rule, several other individuals and groups rose to prominence and William had great swathes of land to grant them. It is without doubt that 'this redistribution of lands had important effects on royal power and aristocratic independence' and following this policy, 'a number of key families with relatively even resources kept one another in check, jealously guarding their lands, wealth and influence in the shires' (Fleming, 1991:230). At the time of Domesday in 1086, notable individuals in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire included the Archbishop of York and Bishop of Durham, who both had holdings across each county. Other notable landholders included Count Alan of Brittany, Drogo de la Beuvriere, Gilbert de Gant, Ilbert de Lacy, Robert of Mortain, William de Percy, Ivo Tallboys, William de Warenne and Hugh, son of Baldric. As confirmation of their positions and equally vital to the control of their own estates, 'William's rule depended on castles, especially on his construction and control of them' (Hagger, 2012:77). This ensured that the kingdom would be overseen by a powerful monarch and would be upheld by his loyal supporters on a regional basis (Figure 6:2).

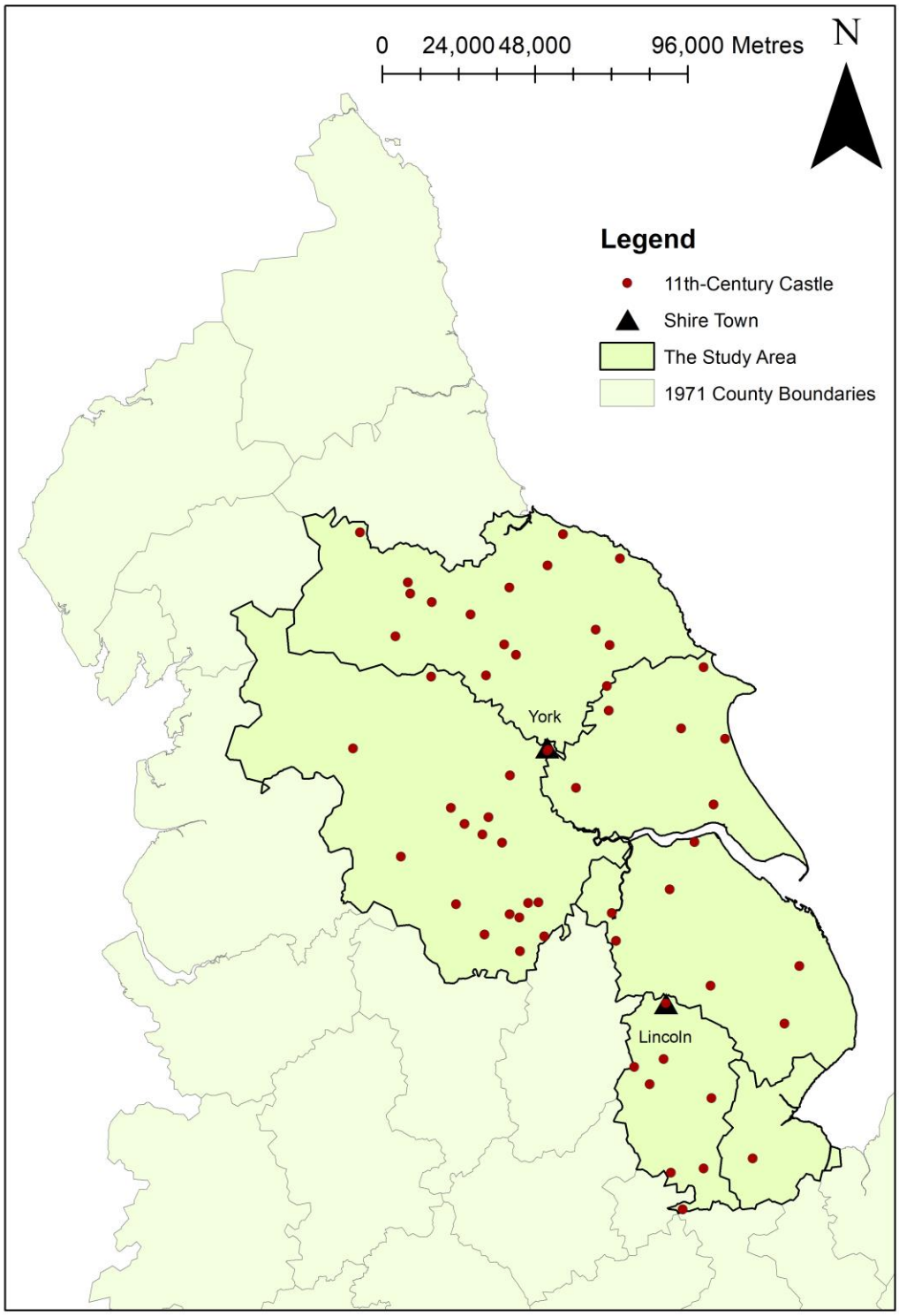

Figure 6:2 The castles built in the study area during the eleventh century following the Norman Conquest. Created with ArcMap 10.8.2. [shapefile].

What is clear is that 'England and Normandy *c*. 900 – *c*. 1200 were societies in transitions' (Weikert, 2020:1). The less simplified view which now been understood for William the Conqueror's reign as one of change and continuity, has however not been extended to that of his grandson's reign, Stephen of Blois. Instead, the reign of King Stephen has been described as having brought radical changes to the governance of England. Contemporary chroniclers detailed that stability of England was compromised with the decentralisation of government. Historians have similarly argued that the 'the political environment had changed' and England's magnates were the ones responsible for it (Dalton, 1994:195). The creation of a larger number of earldoms and the autonomy lords displayed have both become defining features in the historiography. A comparison of Stephen's policy with that of his predecessors has been used to measure its impact on elite society. In the preceding reign, Henry I 'had created hardly any new earldoms, and most (only seven existed in 1135) were treated as honorific dignities', while Stephen 'created no fewer than twelve new earldoms between 1138 and 1140, and a significant number of earls had their authority reinforced by special grants of official powers' (Stringer, 1993:53). Some of these titles, such as the Earldom of York and the Earldom of Lincoln were granted in the study area. This increase in number, together with the castles they built, has been seen as one of the most notable symptoms of 'the Anarchy'. William of Malmesbury captured this sentiment (King, 1998:41):

> '[Stephen] would win a pretence of peace from [magnates] for a time, by the gift of honours or castles. Thus he also established many as earls who had not been earls before, with endowments of landed estates and revenues that had belonged directly to the king.'

The traditional view has upheld the view that Stephen was vulnerable to the actions of his magnates who widely built castles. The work of historians such as Stubbs (1873) and Round (1892) gave rise to this idea. Like their medieval counterparts, they were influenced by the circumstances in which they wrote. As well as being teacher and student, Stubbs and Round were products of the Oxford Constitutionalist Schools of Thought. Looking upon feudalism as the obstacle to human progress, it is no surprise that their work looked unfavourably upon the period. More recent scholarship has reframed Stephen's policy and Crouch highlighted that 'the criticism that Stephen was at the mercy of events has some truth in it. But the idea that he was unable to form a

policy to deal with his problem of dispersed resources and many enemies is less easy to sustain' (Crouch, 2000:117). An examination of the reigns of the other monarchs offers a different perspective of 'the Anarchy' period. It is now generally appreciated that 'when Stephen became king he faced problems that might well have broken any ruler' (Stringer, 1993:13) and 'Stephen's misfortune was to be the successor of Henry I and the predecessor of Henry II' (Crouch, 2000:342). Even the words of William of Malmesbury implied that Stephen empowered those whom he trusted and not unlike the strategy of the Conqueror, it was his closest supporters who benefitted most.

Similar to William I, Stephen had been crowned at Christmas time and with every aspect of the ceremony which took place in 1135, 'all the emphasis was on continuity' (King, 2012:47). Although three generations had passed between the crowning of William of Normandy and Stephen of Blois, establishing the tenurial context through the lens of castle-building shows a more balanced insight into the seemingly changing power structure between the Crown and the baronage. Stenton had argued that the castles of the period were 'natural results of the feudal organisation of Anglo-Norman society' (Stenton, 1932:198). The debate has grown much more since *The First Century of English Feudalism* was first published and academics have recognised that many aspects of this traditional narrative can no longer be upheld. For example, Hagger asserted that 'it was only in Henry I's reign that the changes wrought by the Conquest became clear' (Hagger, 2012:84). Others such as Garnett have considered that Stephen's reign was 'framed in terms originally set by the Conqueror's claim; and it left untouched the tenurial system which had been shaped by the implications of the claim' (Garnett, 2007:viii). Similar to the monarchy, a closer examination of baronial castle-building can reflect the circumstances of the period, and show whether England's magnates were rebellious, or were simply within the confines of power afforded to them since the post-Conquest era.

Domesday forms a useful insight when attempting to gain an insight into the shifting nature of this tenurial landscape and 'portrays a society which was about to change rather than one that had already done so' (Roffe, 1991:29). At face value, a comparison between lordship which underpinned the practice of castle-building between the eleventh and twelfth centuries reflects how some of those who emerged in the years following 1066 continued to gain power, transforming the political as much as the geographical landscape. This can be said for the Percy, de Warenne and de Lacy families

who remained of great importance. This was also the case for the Archbishop of York and Bishop of Durham, as well as the Bishops of Lincoln who had succeeded the Mercian Bishops of Dorchester when Bishop Remigius 'transferred the episcopal seat to Lincoln in 1072 or 1073' (Thompson, 2004:24). After the capture of Jerusalem in the First Crusade in 1099, the Knights Templar and Knights Hospitaller became powerful landowners their own right. 'In the counties of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, where a large number of Templar properties lay, this is reflected in place-names, the personal names of the Templars' tenants and the landholding patterns' (Lord, 2004:91). To help colonise areas which remained uninhabited by England's aristocracy, and 'as latecomers to the landed scene in England, this was often marginal land that had to be won from the forest, moor or fen' and for Lincolnshire in particular, 'which had borne the brunt of much of the fighting between Stephen and Matilda…[the Templars] consolidated these into coherent estates' (Lord, 2004:91). Several other groups, families, and individuals thus ascended through the ranks of the aristocracy. Establishing castles at the heart of estates as confirmation of their positions, Norman rule became more firmly established during the twelfth century.

By the time of the mid-twelfth century, the tenurial landscape was more complex than it had been before, with many more groups, families and individuals associated with the various castles of the region. In the view of Dalton, 'the lesser aristocracy had their own agenda in Stephen's reign' and 'undermined lordship and exacerbated social and political instability' (Dalton, 1994:2). Though a rise in the number of magnates had the potential to alter the balance of power, especially across the largest and more distant parts of the kingdom like Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, it is arguable that if this were the case, it would have come at the expense of other lords and not the Crown. The conditions brought about by the events of the struggle for the throne between Stephen and Matilda may have facilitated an expansion of the social elite, but cannot be entirely attributed to them for having created anarchy. Taking into account the changes which had started to take place after the Norman Conquest, and as 'the king generally relied on local elites to actually administer the regions' (Crouch, 2017:198), it is arguable that the rationale behind Stephen's earldom policy was only an extension of the political system which had already been in place. As William I acted to solidify his position following his victory at Hastings, Stephen too sought to bring security to the kingdom

following when challenged by a rival claimant for the throne. The fact that William of Aumale was not granted the Earldom of Yorkshire until his success at Northallerton in 1138 is testament to Stephen's rationale which promoted those deserving of reward.

'A very broad distinction should be drawn between those castles which were built by the king and his greater barons, and those put up by lesser folk' (Pounds, 1990:11). Figure 6:3 and Table 6:1 attempt to bring some clarity to this matter by looking at their owners recorded. Whereas Figure 6:2 had shown the castles established after the Norman Conquest, Figure 6:4 shows how castle-building had grown into the twelfth century. Of the 115 castles built in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, only four were established solely by members of the royal family. Castles belonging to secular lords were by far the most common and amount to 88 sites. Those castles associated with religious groups and those belonging to the episcopy account for only two of the monuments constructed within the study area. There are 8 examples where ownership was divided between these various groups and transcended a single category. Some were jointly held by the Crown and the episcopy, between the Crown and the secular elite, or between the episcopy and the secular elite. Due to the nature of the evidence, it is not always possible to link the ownership to an individual. For this reason, the ownership of 13 sites could not be determined.

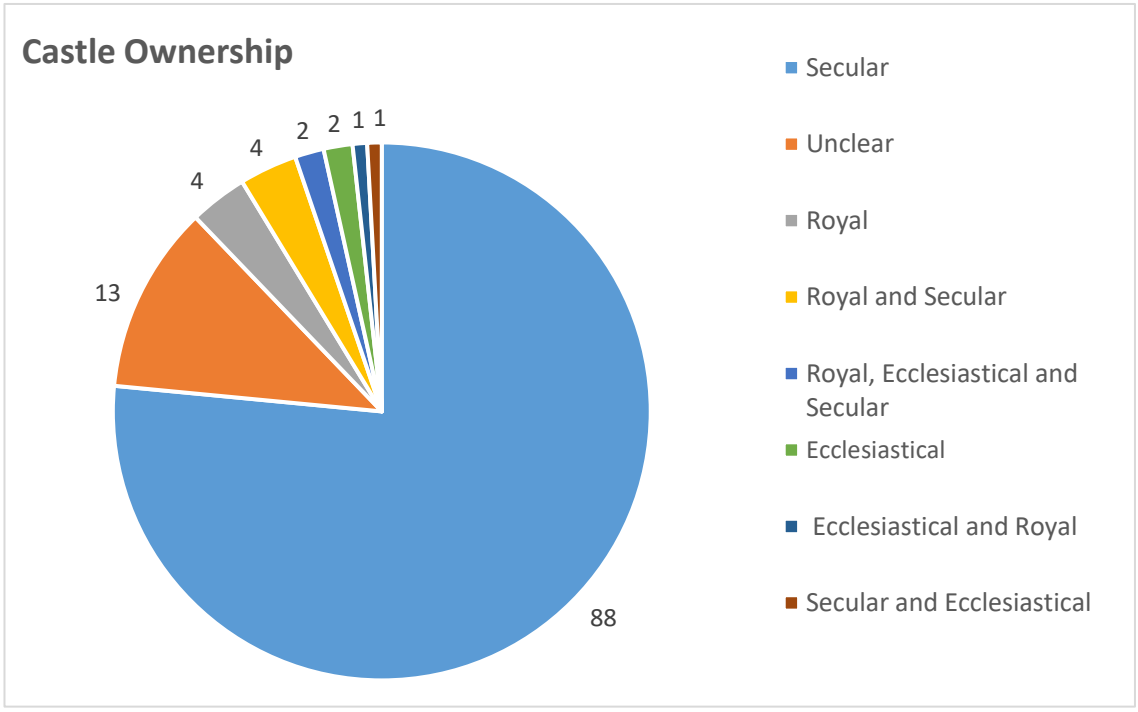

Figure 6:3 The owners of castles recorded in the study area during the period *c*. 1066-1154.

Table 6:1 The new castles which may have been built between 1135-54 within the study area and their owners during this period.

Castle	**Owner(s) *c*. 1135-54**
Lincolnshire	
Barton upon Humber Castle	Gilbert de Gant
Caistor Castle Hill	King Stephen
Lincoln Siegeworks	King Stephen
Newhouse Castle	Peter of Goxhill, a tenant of the Earl of Lincoln
Partney Castle	Gilbert de Gant and William de Roumare
Thorngate	Unclear
Yorkshire	
Almondbury Castle Hill	Henry de Lacy
Barwick in Elmet	Henry de Lacy
Baynard Castle	Robert III of Stuteville
Bowes Castle	Count Alan of Brittany
Carlton in Coverdale Round Hill	Unclear
Drax Castle Hill	Unclear
Easby Castle Hill	Bernard de Balliol
Hutton Conyers Castle	Count Alan of Brittany
Pickering Beacon Hill	Unclear
Scarborough Castle	William of Aumale
Selby Castle	Henry de Lacy
Wakefield Lowe Hill	William de Warenne
Wetherby Castle	The Percy family
Wheldrake	Unclear
Yafforth Howe Hill	Unclear
Yarm Castle	Unclear

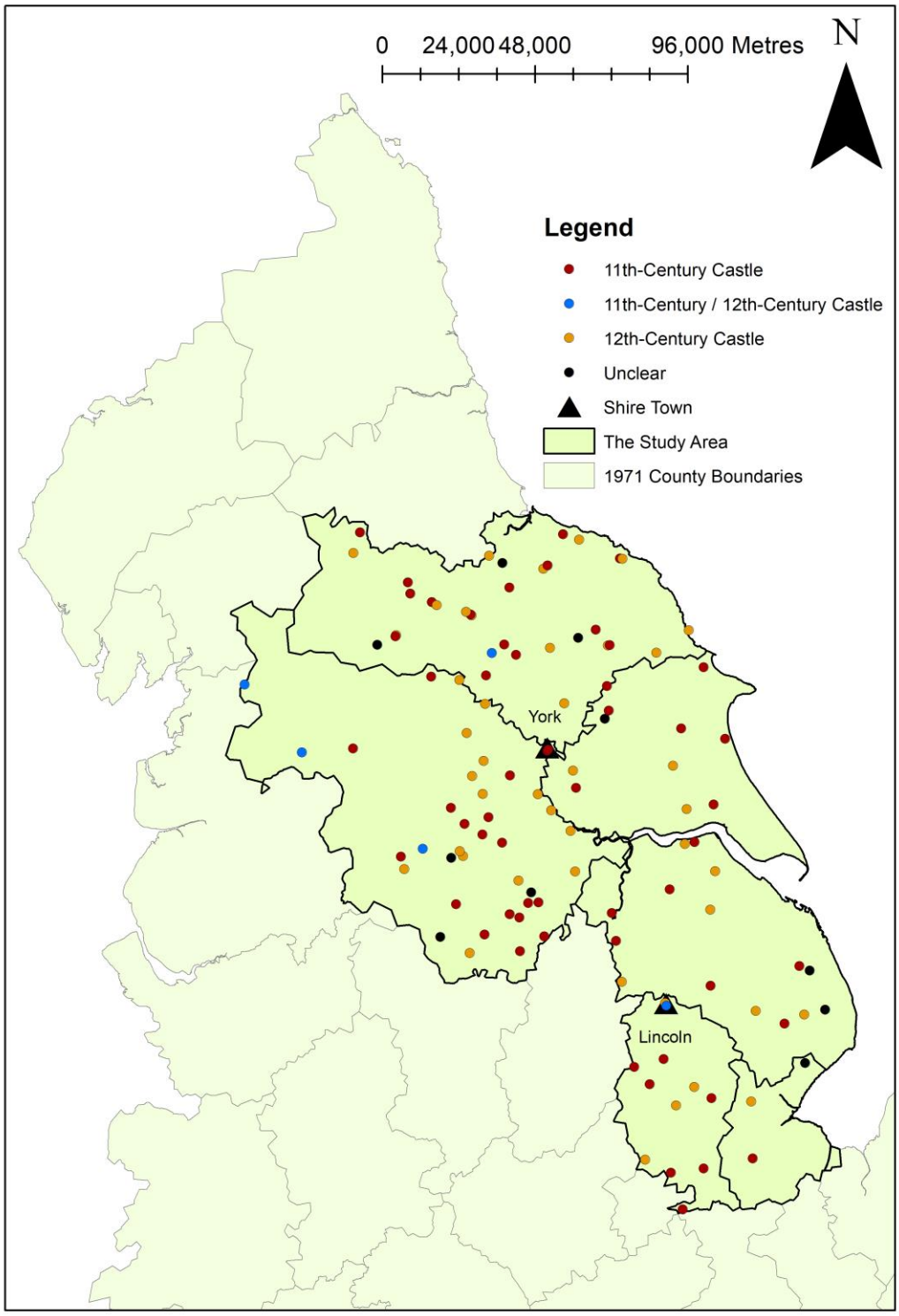

Figure 6:4 The distribution and relative dating of the castles built in the study area between 1066-1200. Created with ArcMap 10.8.2. [shapefile].

The castles owned by the Crown were the least common of their kind within the study area. As discussed in Chapter 5, William I established a series of castles at places like York and Lincoln through a blend of strategy and pacification. Meanwhile, Stephen was responsible for the fieldworks at Lincoln, as well as Caistor Castle Hill during 'the Anarchy', when attempting to secure the throne against the Empress Matilda. As he attempted to restore central authority, Henry II is better known for curbing castle-building and other displays of power. Although not a castle, Henry II was linked to St Mary's Guildhall at Wigford, on the outskirts of Lincoln, which Stocker argued was 'important enough for Henry II to stage a second crowning there in 1157' (Stocker, 1991:5). Henry of Huntingdon had written previously 'in the twelfth year, at Christmas [25 December 1146], King Stephen showed himself in the kingly regalia in the city of Lincoln, where no other king deterred by superstitious persons had dared to do so' (Greenway, 1996:749). While Stephen has been criticised for courting superstition at Lincoln, he could attribute spiritual importance to his actions as much as William I and Henry II. Sources detail that due to his later struggles in Yorkshire, Stephen planned to construct a castle in Beverley in 1149 but did not proceed due to 'a revelation by the blessed John' (Arnold, 1885:323). As this intended location was associated with St John of Beverley, Stephen may have wished to solidify his victory, and by extension his rule by channelling the spirituality of a local icon into his castle. Indeed, during the Battle of the Standard, forces had 'hung a silver pix containing the Host, and the banner of St Peter the Apostle, and John of Beverley and Wilfrid of Ripon' (Stevenson, 1853:49). While the castle was left unrealised, 'King Stephen recognised that the lands of St John were exempt from fyrd-service and knight-service' (Sharpe, 2017:278) and this may have impacted the legitimacy of his castle. By observing these local privileges and exemptions, Stephen demonstrated that he was aware of the significance of tradition, a conviction which influenced the castles built as much as those which were not.

If the number of castles that belonged to each part of the social elite is examined, we can further dispel the assumption that castles were deliberately built in disregard for the Crown. Pounds suggested that due to the tenurial arrangements of the High Middle Ages, 'baronial lands were fragmented' which 'necessitated building more than a single castle' (Pounds, 1990:21). While the same was often the case in peacetime, it is possible that within the context of war, or times of instability such as the Conquest or 'the

Anarchy', individuals would have constructed more than one castle. Despite this, the trends that have been identified do not correlate with how England's lords were perceived to have acted during Stephen's reign. The findings of this chapter have underlined that the Crown did indeed possess the fewest number of castles, though the kings which ruled between 1066-1200 were collectively responsible for owning more sites than any other group. While the episcopy possessed a range of palaces and other elite residence which are not represented within this dataset, this group was known for the construction of castles too, including Cawood Castle in the West Riding of Yorkshire, 'used from around 1180 until 1530' and Bishop Rufus Palace in the North Riding of Yorkshire, where 'a motte and bailey south-west of the church [which] was noted here in 1068' (Turner, 2004:237-44). Accounting for around 75% of the total, England's magnates did hold the greatest number of castles, but this does not mean that their actions by the time of Stephen's reign could be defined as anarchic. As the aristocracy formed the largest demographic, it is only logical that they would have been responsible for the vast majority of the castles built, as had been the case since the post-Conquest period when these lords had first settled throughout the kingdom.

Despite having been seen as fundamental to the security of the kingdom following 1066, lay magnates have been regarded as those who acted the most out of self-interest when it came to the origins of castles during the so-called 'Anarchy' period. However, this does not mean that these lords abused their power; only a smaller number of individuals owned more than one castle. In an effort to show how anarchic the reign was, William of Newburgh wrote that due to his power in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, William of Aumale 'had been the real king there under Stephen' (Douglas, 1953:324). Indeed, William held great swathes of land across England and France and 'was in possession of his inheritance in both England and Normandy by 1130' (English, 1979:17). Despite focusing on individuals like Aumale, Newburgh's appraisal cannot entirely be upheld, particularly when there were several others linked to more than one castle, such as William de Warenne, Nigel Fossard, Gilbert de Gant, and Alan Earl of Brittany, as well as other notable Norman dynasties, including the de Lacys, the Percys and the de Mowbrays who were prominent castle builders already who built castles in other parts of the country and continued to do so beyond the twelfth century. As 'the later Middle Ages saw the greater magnates become more concerned with the expression, exaltation

and differentiation of their dignity' (Crouch, 2017:206), the wealth, power and status of these various lords remained fundamental components of their rank. While this began to take on other guises, castles remained one of the most tangible ways in which this obligation continued to be fulfilled and as a result, 'we are presented with a social group that copied as much as it created' (Speight, 1993:23).

The ownership of 13 sites could not be ascertained. This included 11 castles made from earth and timber, as well as Yarm Castle whose form remains unclear and the siegework at Pickering Beacon Hill. The preservation and lack of documentary sources describing them makes it harder to determine their origins, though 'difficult as it may sometimes be to assign a particular castle to another category or the other, the contrast between them is an important one' (Pounds, 1990:11). Due to their size and apparent lack of present-day remains, it is likely that they belonged to lesser lords who did not possess the necessary social rank or means to build something grander and it is without doubt that 'the civil war of Stephen's reign must have taken castle-building below the ranks of the baronage' (White, 2012:191). The archaeology potentially highlights the presence of a substructure within this particular demographic and how there was a greater divide in wealth and access to available resources. This partly explains why the episcopy created a series of lavish palaces, whereas timber castles of varying proportions and complexities were more common across the lands of lay magnates. Even within the context of 'the Anarchy', the type of castles, and the numbers built, was influenced more by social constraints which became more fluid during the mid-twelfth century.

While it can be difficult to link the foundation of a castle to an individual or group, it is an even harder task to determine when it may have become the property of another. In some cases, there are direct references to castles changing hands during the period. One of the most well-known examples of this was at Lincoln when 'Ranulf, Earl of Chester, and William of Roumare, his uterine brother, rebelled against King Stephen and, by a trick, captured the castle which he held at Lincoln for the protection of the city' (Chibnall, 1969:539). Although chroniclers detailed examples of when this occurred at the expense of Stephen's strength, there are other occasions when magnates acted within the confines of the actions of the Crown. The competition between the secular and episcopal elite has been well-noted at Lincoln and after 'the bishop was moved out of the castle to the East Gate in the 1130s the way was clear for the creation of an earl;

Stephen appointed William de Roumare, a son by her third husband of the Countess Lucy, as earl of Lincoln in 1141' (Thompson, 2004:25). Orderic Vitalis and his contemporaries form invaluable insights into castle ownership, but these writers have also fuelled many preconceptions about the period when Lincoln Castle was clearly an example of local ambition and not representative of the broader struggle for the throne.

Another way in which we can glimpse the tenurial structure of the twelfth century is through geospatial study of the allegiances to Stephen or Matilda via the lands in which castles were sited. Figure 6:5 shows Britain divided into zones of control between the most powerful figureheads between the period 1135-54. As expected, this figure confirms that King David retained control of Scotland, and Wales continued to be in the hands of Welsh rulers, largely because 'the Marcher community (like border communities in general) was self-reliant and antagonistic to the centre of power' (Crouch, 2000:59). The picture was less clear-cut in England and Bradbury's base map reveals that by 1153, Matilda's influence was largely centred around the south-west region, while Ranulf of Chester, who was of course loyal to the Empress, held a greater amount of territory in the north-west of the country. King Stephen possessed the largest zone of control, including much of the south and the west of the country, as well as land in loyalist counties such as Lincolnshire and Yorkshire (Bradbury, 2009:160). Layering the distribution of castles of this thesis with Bradbury's base map indicates that the castles built by Lincolnshire and Yorkshire's magnates, for the most part, were sited within territories which were generally loyal to Stephen and did not exert their power by constructing castles in areas which lay outside their immediate spheres of influence.

These various zones of control show that Lincolnshire and Yorkshire's lords were not inclined towards anarchical behaviour and did not construct castles which challenged the sovereignty of the Crown within the region, nor advanced their own territories in lands that did not belong to them. Despite the value of presenting, analysing, and interpreting who was responsible for the construction of castles this way, the limitations of this approach must be recognised. Figure 6:5 highlights that there are a small number of sites which do not conform to this broader pattern shown here and require further discussion. For example, the map does show that some of these sites had already been built by the time of 'the Anarchy' and their locations were not influenced by these shifting territories. This was the case at sites such as the elite complex at Laughton en le

Morthen which had already existed many years before. In fact, 'the stripwork of All Saints' Church dates to the late tenth or early eleventh century' (Wright et al., 2023:17). The control of siege-castles was not met by control in the land as 'siegeworks and other impermanent castles of war must have been constructed in the absence of any tenurial rights to the site' (Creighton, 2002:90). This is why these types of structures were built more freely and did not need to adhere to these areas of control. Furthermore, this illustration does not show sub-divisions of control on a granular level. Lincoln Castle had a complex tenurial history and the bishop moving out of the castle in the 1130s 'must have had the effect of creating a purely secular barony in his place within the reduced castle enclosure' (Stocker, 2004:18). The creation of a new earldom was only logical. This does not reflect how dynamic the process was to get to this situation and it is difficult to establish these different pockets at regional level when borders would have been in a greater state of flux. With that said, when considered within the context of Stephen's reign, this visualisation provides a valuable perspective of the power structure of twelfth-century England. It signifies that castle-building was indeed dynamic but by no means out of control in respect of the lands in which castles were distributed.

A detailed examination of the archaeology of the social hierarchy which drove the construction of castles provides a greater insight into the period at large. The landscape of ownership was more nuanced, and it was not simply the king's magnates responsible for constructing castles. The Bishops of York, Lincoln and Durham had gained a significant level of power and influence and in addition to lavish palaces, built castles too. Other religious groups such as the Knights Templar and Knights Hospitaller were able to continue their activities unaffected and even prospered from the war. For example, 'the 1185 Inquest shows that the Templars received 37 grants during this period, of which 21 came from supporters of Stephen and 11 from Matilda' (Lord, 2004:204). Stephen was a personal supporter of the military orders and he had derived from a successful crusading family; at Eagle Preceptory, it was Stephen 'who presented the manor on which it was built to the Templars' (Page, 1906:211). The Church greatly prospered during the twelfth century, showing once again a paradox between what its members wrote about the impact of the conflict and its reality. It has been said that 'the clergy fought with their own weapons, with the pen, not the sword' (King, 1984:139). Ironically, they have left a more enduring impact on the period than the war itself.

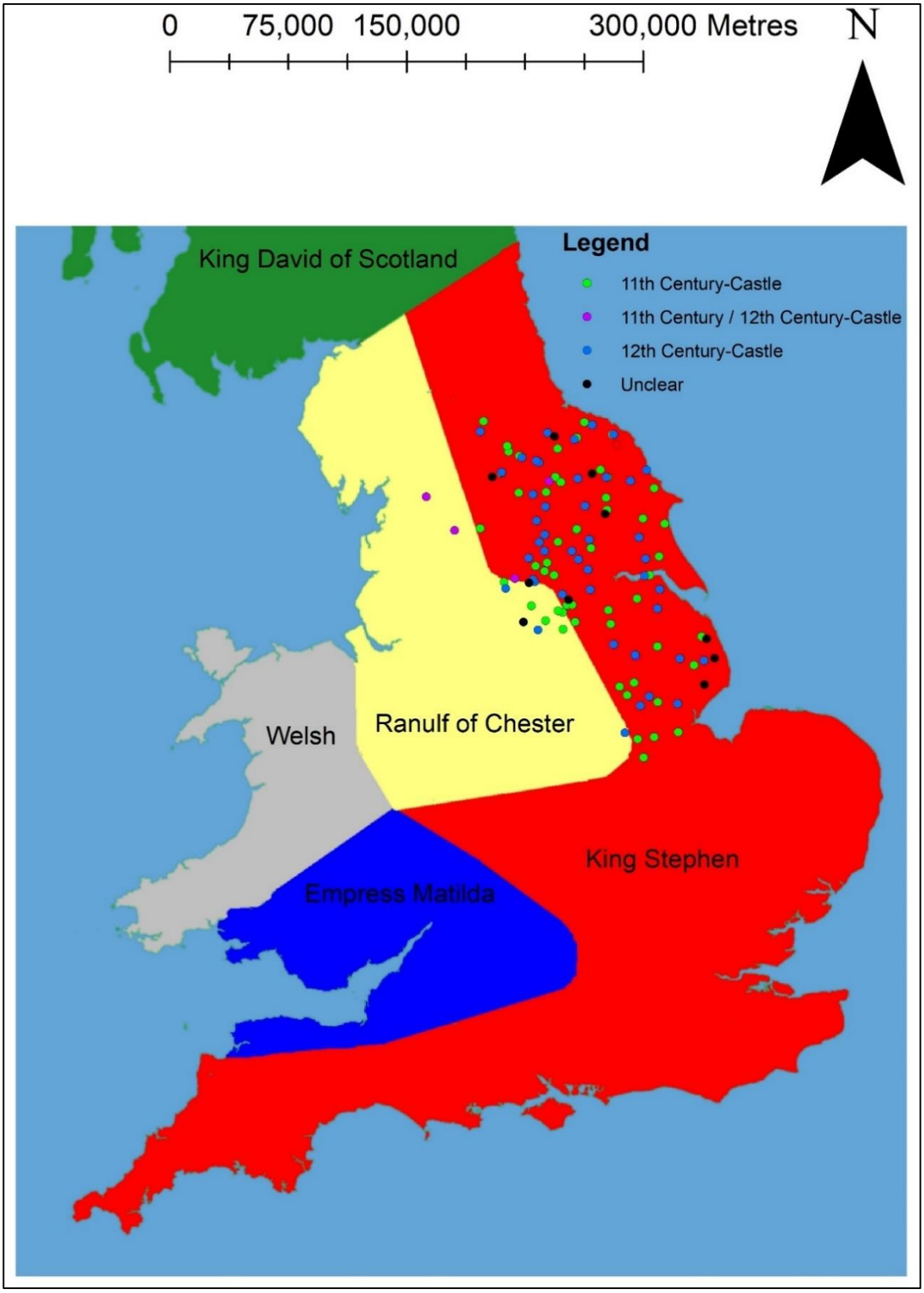

Figure 6:5 A political map of England, Scotland and Wales showing castles from the study area within the approximate zones of control by 1153 (Bradbury, 2009:160).

Stephen's earldom policy has long been seen as one of the principal driving forces behind the precariousness of his reign. Closer investigation signals that the king's actions

were only a continuation of the policy set forth by his grandfather, William I, promoting only those closest to him, including the likes of Roger de Montgomery to uphold the contested regions of England. The balance of power did not drastically alter during Stephen's reign, as he too attempted to consolidate his power across the country with what can only be described as 'his most reliable and capable supporters' (Stringer, 1993:54). Archaeological and historical research have indicated that 'the twelfth century saw the disintegration of much of the Domesday tenurial pattern' (Hunt, 1997:55). This would have brought more opportunities to families including the de Lacys and the de Warennes, individuals such as William of Aumale and religious groups such as the Templars. With that said, it cannot be upheld that that Stephen created the necessary conditions in which anarchy could thrive and instead, those who owned a castle, only exercised the power that had been afforded to them by the Crown. Had another policy been adopted, the period may truly have been anarchic.

6.4 The Adulterine Castle

It has been argued that 'in the anarchy of Stephen's reign, many adulterine, that is, unlicenced, castles like Barton upon Humber were built to protect estates and exert influence over their neighbourhoods' (Bennett et al., 1993:40). Angevin supporting Chroniclers such as Robert of Torigny suggested that during the reign of King Stephen, castle-building had gotten so out of control, that by 1154, 'the number had grown to a total of 1,115' (Howlett, 1889:177). This figure had of course been greatly exaggerated, and the boldness of this claim does not need to rely on the findings of the previous chapter to disprove it. However, it does help underline contemporary attitudes which were present, and which later became adopted by historians. Viewing their construction as one of the principal signs of the instability of the period, the number of castles which emerged has fed the notion that castles were founded based on the basis of negative control. Indeed, 'the requirement of a licence to crenellate enabled kings to control the building of new castles so well that, from the reign of Stephen onwards, it is impossible to think of more than one permanent castle built for a purpose hostile to the Crown' (King, 1983a:xxv). The findings of this chapter have affirmed that England's lay magnates

were responsible for building or adapting the largest number of castles. Though in reality, as royal permission was not an essential requirement for building castles, this did not necessarily mean that it led to a reduction in the king's power and does not necessarily represent the social elite surpassing the boundaries of their own power either.

Assumed to be unlicenced as no permission had been given for their construction, 'our view of the fortifications of Stephen's reign has long been coloured by the infamous adulterine castles' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:82). This designation has stood in contrast to the power and authority of the Crown and the traditional narrative has insisted 'that the evils of the Anarchy were due primarily to the unrestricted building of castles' (Pounds, 1990:30). Though unlicenced castles have become intricately linked to Stephen's reign, their origins have a longer pedigree which can be traced to the eleventh century. Adopted by ecclesiastics and chroniclers such as Abbot Sugar of Saint-Denis and Orderic Vitalis, terms such as *castrum, sceleratum* and *adulterine municipia* featured prominently in their accounts to describe the castles which appeared in their respective localities (Coulson, 2003:75). As seen with the language which has been used to collectively describe medieval fortifications in section 6.2, challenging these classifications can provide alternative perceptions of the parameters in which twelfth-century castles were built. In light of this, Creighton and Wright are of the opinion that 'it is wrong to think of adulterine and unlicenced as synonyms here' and 'more appropriate alternatives might be counterfeit, spurious, or misbegotten and improper. Bad castle is the simplest shorthand' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:84).

While certainly not short of chronicler and charter evidence detailing their construction, the same cannot be said for government records relating to castles from the period. Indeed, 'one problem is that there are no Pipe Rolls for Stephen's reign, so the recording of royal expenditure on castles is not known' (Bradbury, 2009:113). When looking to the exchequer, Amt argued that 'we must use evidence from Henry's reign to draw tentative conclusions about Stephen's government' (Amt, 1993:120). This has perpetuated the often-repeated arguments that the castles from the period broke royal protocol, however there was simply no central record keeping during Stephen's reign to draw meaningful comparisons. As the administration of England started to be officially and centrally recorded within the Patent and Close Rolls, licences to crenellate became more common in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Despite this, there are a small

number of cases of where we can potentially see the Crown granting owners the right to fortify their property earlier in the twelfth century in this manner. Coulson had already found evidence for a licence to crenellate during 'the Anarchy' at what he described in Angevin-held Gloucestershire as a 'pseudo-licence, for Berkeley in 1153' (Coulson, 2003:90). Table 6:2 shows five other possible licences for sites within the region granted by the Crown during the twelfth century. Four of these licences were contemporary to the reign of Stephen and one belonged to the reign of King John. As the latter 'was also notoriously wrought with internal and external difficulties' (Weikert, 2020:5), this example has been retained to provide broader context in another period equally viewed as being rebellious.

Table 6:2 Possible licences to crenellate linked to twelfth-century castles within the study area.

Site Name	**Owner(s)**	**Date of Possible Licence to Crenellate**
Almondbury Castle Hill	Henry de Lacy	1137
Thonock Castle Hills	William de Roumare	1142/46
Caistor Castle Hill	King Stephen	1143
Lincoln Castle	Ranulf of Chester and William de Roumare	1146
Wheldrake	Richard Malebisse	1199

With only two years having passed since Stephen was crowned king, Almondbury Castle Hill, in the West Rinding of Yorkshire, possibly received a licence to crenellate in 1137. The original source has since been lost, though it is understood that it read 'the timber palisade that surmounted the motte was replaced by a stone wall' (Heritage Gateway, 2012). While documentary evidence does not specify who this castle originally belonged to, it is possible that its earlier form was a possession of a lesser ranking lord. During Stephen's time, documentary evidence showed that it had been re-granted to the de

Lacy family and this is mentioned in a 'charter of King Stephen by which he granted to Henry de Lacy and his heirs the castle of Almondbury' (Farrer, 1916:146). While these specific alterations cannot be viewed at the site with confidence, 'the remains of timber buildings, and others of timber and stone, have been found on the motte' (Historic England, 1992). The West Yorkshire Archaeology Advisory Service noted that this licence may have been granted to Henry de Lacy in 1137, and as the de Lacys had held the manor since Domesday, the West Yorkshire Archaeology Advisory Service believed that 'it might suggest the castle was unlicenced construction built during the anarchy and that Stephen was merely accepting a fait accompli' (Weldrake, 2010:1). This assessment suits the assumption that England was gripped by turmoil, with England's magnates freely fortifying their possessions in disregard for the Crown. However, 'licences to crenellate were mainly symbolic representations of lordly status: castellation was the architectural expression of noble rank' (Coulson, 1982:72). Furthermore, it has been claimed that 'a licence was sought most usually by lesser men in order to enhance their own social status' (Coulson, 1979:78). At a time of increased competition between England's nobles on both sides of the conflict, 'the Anarchy' may have blurred these lines as magnates across elite society attempted to improve their social standing.

As an increased number of titles came in the years 1135-54, it is likely that a greater awareness within the ruling elite developed and receiving a licence, or simply engaging in a dialogue with the king, may have formed one of the ways in which their motivations could be realised. Thonock Castle Hills may have received a licence to crenellate in the 1140s, when King Stephen granted William de Roumare, the newly created Earl of Lincoln, the manor of Kirton in Lindsey, as well as the 'his castle of Gainsborough and his bridge beyond the Trent to be held freely, with all the customs of his children' (Cronne & Davis, 1968:184-85). The uncertainty surrounding this licence is based on the work of Round who dated it to 1142 (Round, 1892:159-60). Though 1146 is the more likely date, considering Stephen and William's activities in the area. This example has been regarded as a transfer of landholdings and not a licence to crenellate as we would typically expect, though 'earlier charters could convey their spirit' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:83). Similarly, Goodall did attempt to see a licence as early as 1127 at Rochester where 'the king also gave permission for the construction of a fortification or tower, as the archbishop pleased' (Goodall, 2011:8) but was rejected by Philip Davis (Davis, 2006-

2007:234). With that said, the possible licence for Thonock does not deviate from more recognised examples like Hood Castle (discussed in Chapter 2), where the phraseology of these documents was typically prescriptive in nature. While licences saw 'progressive elaboration, this formula remained standard in Britain until the end of the Middle Ages' (Coulson, 1979:85), the earlier framework in which these documents began to emerge at sites like Thonock cannot be ignored. This is pertinent when we consider the aspirations of lords like William de Roumare who had gained enhanced mobility to express this sense of newfound power.

In 1143 King Stephen constructed a castle known as Caistor Castle Hill. When making a grant to Peterborough Abbey, Stephen referred to a time 'when I was at my recently fortified castle at Caistor in Lindsey' (Cronne & Davis, 1968:243). Though this again does not form a licence in its traditional and more recognisable form, this source does at least indicate that Stephen was referring to a newly erected castle in Caistor. Owing to the lack of clarity surrounding its remains, D. J. Cathcart King dismissed the notion of a castle being present in the town entirely, noting in his index of castles and other fortifications that the comparable 'Roman sites at Ancaster, Castor, and Horncastle are sometimes given mistakenly as castles' (King, 1983a:265). The Latin origins of the name of the town *Castrum* certainly do not help determine how far the castle was an entirely new structure in the town, or largely relied on a re-working of the existing Roman enclosure. Paul Everson's investigations into the nature of the castle suggested that the alignment of Church Street shows that the castle may have occupied this pre-existing walled enclosure to some extent (Everson, 1982). More recent work by Shapland has observed that 'Caistor's continuing seigneurial importance is indicated by the presence there of a Norman castle, which used the tower nave's Roman walled enclosure as a bailey' (Shapland, 2019:169).

Irrespective of the precise relationship between the castle and the town, it is likely that Stephen attributed some value to the Roman heritage of Caistor when it came to its construction. Norman kings undoubtedly took 'inspiration from the Roman empire' (Prior, 2006:16). Architecture was one of the most tangible ways in which this be realised. It has been highlighted by Marshall that this was the case at Tadcaster where 'Roman building material was liberally used in the construction of the *donjon'*, but Marshall did note that 'it has to be borne in mind that the dearth of good building stone in the region,

combined with a copious source of recyclable Roman ruins, would naturally encourage such a course of action even without the added advantage of any symbolic connotations' (Marshall, 2010:179). William the Conqueror had chosen to establish a castle at Lincoln and 'the castle of 1086 bore no resemblance to the enclosure we know today; rather it was a much larger enclosure, bounded by the earthworks and walls which surrounded the Roman Upper City' (Stocker, 2004:11). This brought the necessary infrastructure to achieve the king's ambitions and aligned his authority to that of his Roman predecessors, who had equally sought to conqueror new territory. Perhaps emulating his grandfather, the theme of *Romanitas* seems to have been present at Caistor too. By choosing to intertwine the Roman ruins within his new twelfth-century castle, Stephen may have wished to make the transition of power appear less tumultuous to his contemporaries. Incorporating Roman remains firmly placed the lineage of the Norman Kings in greater continuity with the imperial past. This appropriation had a longer sense of tradition which 'seems to have been a trend prevalent in early eleventh-century France' (Marshall, 2010:179). A blend of practicality and allegory connected Norman power with that of the Romans and for Stephen in particular, would have been a powerful symbol which may have helped further legitimise his succession, especially when faced with the Matilda, a rival claimant for the throne who styled herself as the Empress.

Lincoln Castle has prominently featured within the historiography of King Stephen's reign. A potential licence to crenellate, dated to 1146, has been linked to the Lucy Tower which 'dominates the south side of the *enceinte*, standing half inside and half outside the castle precinct' (Marshall, 2004:61). Contemporary sources provide an account into the equally complex tenurial arrangement of the castle (Cronne & Davis, 1968:64-5):

> 'An agreement was made in the years after the conflict at Lincoln, between Stephen and Earl Ranulf. King Stephen of England granted the Earl the right to hold a tower at Lincoln, which had previously been fortified by his mother. The city would remain the possession of the king and this part of the castle would belong to the Earl.'

Lincoln played a key role during the twelfth-century civil war between Stephen and Matilda. Stephen had granted Ranulf Earl of Chester the right to hold what has become better known as the Lucy Tower. Named after Ranulf's mother, Countess Lucy, his

activities at this part of the castle in Phase 5 of its development saw 'the construction of the Observatory Tower motte and a rectangular, stone keep tower on its summit' (Clark et al., 2021:50). This tower clearly forms 'a reference which hints at the hereditary claims which had underlain his seizure of the castle' (White, 2007). The supposed licence for the building activities at the castle in 1146 had been listed as a 'reject' by Davis with no justification given (Davis, 2006-2007:234). However, the ownership of the castle during Stephen's reign 'should be viewed within the context of Ranulf and William's wider ambitions within Lincolnshire, the Midlands and the North' (Dalton, 2004:68). While some would view Stephen's concessions to Ranulf as indicative of how he lost control over the situation, it could equally be said that this was part of a reinstatement of longer-standing tenurial arrangement and for Stephen, the public transfer of ownership of the tower was a pragmatic move. The complicated lordship of the castle was upheld and as a result, both parties could claim victory. In the case of Lincoln, this example 'shows just how important control of castles was to those who sought to acquire and exercise power in the English countryside in the twelfth century, and how dangerous a loss of control could be to royal authority' (Dalton, 2004:75).

Similar notions can be seen at Wheldrake, which stood close to the city of York. Although at the latter end of the temporal focus of this thesis (1066-1200), a licence to crenellate has been linked to Wheldrake. The licence was granted in 1199 and was described by Roger of Howden (De Hoveden, 1853:482):

> '[King John] granted Richard Malebisse a licence to establish a castle at Wheldrake: when he had almost finished the work, the citizens of York, considering this to be a threat, influenced William de Stuteville, Sheriff of York, who forbade Richard Malebisse on behalf of the king, not to fortify the site, and thus it remained.'

The castle had been met with local hostility during 'the Anarchy' and was reportedly destroyed due to 'the citizens procurement' (Coulson, 2003:71), and Richard Malebisse's later licence during the reign of King John attracted a similar response. As Howden's writings detail, the residents of York demanded that the alterations to the castle were ceased and the licence was later withdrawn by the king. While the licence associated with this site was granted several years after the end of the conflict between

Stephen and Matilda, it builds up a broader profile of the castle's development over time, not least when we consider that 'the accusation that [Stephen] allowed unlicenced castles is a modern invention' (Coulson, 2003:72). The royal bureaucracy took a turning point 'from the accession of King John in 1199 [when] its output also came to be systematically enrolled or calendared, copied on long rolls of parchment that would last the passage of time' (Goodall, 2011:8). Despite not belonging to 'the Anarchy', interesting parallels can be drawn between the original building of this castle during this period, in addition to its re-fortification at the end of the century. Wheldrake emphasises how building could be met with continued resistance by the communities in which they sat, especially during times of strife. Societal change can feed into the negative views of the relationship between the Crown, the aristocracy and the communities in which castles functioned. The planned alterations at Wheldrake did not represent a meaningful threat but for contemporaries, the circumstances in which castles were built influenced how the legitimacy of their construction was perceived in local memory.

Like Stephen's earldom policy, adulterine castles have received much focus by medieval and modern writers and have been resigned to 'the Anarchy'. The debates surrounding adulterine and unlicenced castles, as well as licences to crenellate form valuable insights into the psyche of those responsible for their construction. As put forth by Coulson, 'castle symbolism, in fact, goes much further back than the fifteenth century. It blossomed in the fourteenth and it would be very unwise to suppose that it cannot be found before, say, the twelfth century or indeed earlier still' (Coulson, 1979:81). While only a handful of these types of documents exist from twelfth-century Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, the archaeology suggests that their origins can perhaps be traced to this earlier period. As Stephen attempted to secure his kingdom, his magnates too sought to consolidate their own positions in society. Receiving confirmation from the king was one way in which the ideals and preoccupations of this social group could be fulfilled. In the case of Lincoln Castle, it was a beneficial tool for the Crown as much as it was for the aristocracy and could be used to affirm relations and articulate power. To ascertain more about this relationship, 'the puzzle can only be resolved by considering the way licences were granted, as well as the reasons some propertied people had for choosing to get

one' due to the fact that 'individuals' motives varied as widely as the structures they sometimes proceeded to build' (Coulson, 2016:223).

The debates surrounding the permission to build or adapt existing castles within the context of Stephen's reign have perpetuated the idea that England's ruling elite were acting out of self-interest and had no respect for the Crown's authority. Together with the earldoms and titles they had been given by Stephen, it is clear that lords were only acting within the boundaries of power they had been granted. There is 'no evidence that the Anglo-Norman kings consistently gave their explicit authority in written form for the construction of private castles' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:83). As the more formal framework in which licences to crenellate developed did not become fully fledged until the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, this would naturally account for a lack of evidence in this period and plausibly why the reign is better known for its proliferation of charters. When returning to the debates surrounding the notion of unlicenced or adulterine castles, 'the contemporary indictment of Stephen for permitting new castle-building is a specious and propagandist circular argument' (Coulson, 2003:67). Subsequent studies must therefore not look upon the castles of the twelfth century as radical departures from the construction of castles but view them within the broader governance of England which was jointly upheld the Crown and the aristocracy.

6.5 Conclusions

King Stephen's earldom policy did not create the volatility that medieval and modern historians have previously detailed. Despite being traditionally viewed as bringing major societal upheaval, it is now accepted that 1066 'did not see the wholesale importation of Norman ideas and procedures into England' (Hagger, 2012:84). Writers have tended to describe Stephen's policies as unstable and comparisons between his reign and other Norman kings have meant that this period has not received the same level of reappraisal. Similar to his contemporaries, when Stephen was crowned king, he surrounded himself with those whom he trusted to uphold regional control throughout the kingdom. The period featured a complex mix of change and continuity and in this respect, 'Stephen's reign can be seen as significant in preserving governmental methods' as well as for

fostering ‘some creative dynamism’ (White, 1994:142). The prejudice against Stephen’s character has made his reign appear to be an outlier to the administration of England when it is clear that he had styled himself on his predecessors who were only too aware of the benefits of administrative continuity. An archaeological perspective disproves assertions that his reign was characterised by a drastic upheaval in the power structure; certainly, in this part of England, which was home to magnates who played a vital role during the struggle for the throne.

It has often been argued that decentralisation fostered the necessary conditions for England’s magnates to freely build castles. However, as established in the previous chapter, more castles were established during the eleventh century than the twelfth century which certainly softens the effects of ‘the Anarchy’. The adulterine castle has been used to debate this point about a breakdown in authority further and unlicenced castles been used to demonstrate that even the king’s own supporters had disregard for his regime. The period witnessed looser conditions, but it would be wrong to describe it as a wholesale collapse in authority. Crouch (2000) reasoned that the adulterine castle has received too much focus within the context of Stephen’s reign. To advance the debate, this thesis sought to investigate whether licences to crenellate can be seen to have developed before 1200 to discover more about the continuities and transformation of medieval society. While a small number of castles have been firmly linked to ‘the Anarchy’ in this thesis, and only 5 proto-licences to crenellate, these examples from the region show that these documents were more driven by the need to convey the power of those who sought them, as has been recognised with castles of the fourteenth century. These findings have built upon Coulson’s work (2003) which emphasised that it was not a requirement for castles to be licenced. In the interests of maintaining power, authority and rule, ‘this point, as the dispute over Lincoln Castle demonstrates, was realised by Stephen, who used a variety of methods to retain and recover castles’ (Dalton, 2004:75).

Notions of status, symbolism and emulation became more evident as the Normans became more established in England and ‘we see during the 12th century the dawning of an idea that there was a social rank lower than that of knight’ (Fenwick, 2012:284). The greater sense of power and independence, coupled with the monuments raised across their lands formed a statement of power. This was especially important for the

burgeoning substructure within elite society who possessed less wealth and resources than their peers but were still bound by the same ideals. The broader rivalry between Stephen and Matilda seems to have had little bearing on this demographic. This sense of autonomy has suited the beliefs of earlier historians that England's magnates were self-serving, though these actions were not deliberately rebellious against the Crown. Instead, it would be more appropriate to define them as opportunistic. As much can be said for both the episcopy and lay magnates who sought to improve their positions, much as they always had done. Coulson argued that 'regular castle-building by episcopal and lay magnates continued little affected, producing noble capital-seats, no more overtly military but as ostentatiously palatial and fortified as before and since' (Coulson, 2003:91). Castle-building did certainly continue in this manner, although it manifested at different scales.

Having considered the landscape setting, the forms and features of castles, as well as the people who were responsible for their construction, the following chapter explores how many of these castles within the study area were directly affected by the twelfth-century civil war. Comparing the written records of contemporary chroniclers with the archaeological evidence, it evaluates how far the development of these castles was impacted by the struggle for the throne between Stephen and Matilda and the range of other roles castles fulfilled at this time.

Chapter 7 From War to Peace

7.1 Introduction

Following an analysis of the geographical setting in which they were sited, the cultural and architectural influences on design, as well as the nature of the demography responsible for their construction, this chapter assesses the extent that castles were impacted by the war between Stephen and Matilda. The wider designation of this period as one of anarchy, is purported to have affected all parts of lay and elite society. For local writers such as Roger of Howden and Richard of Hexham, this was realised when the region played host to the Battle of the Standard, 1138 and the Battle of Lincoln, 1141. Taking into account 'how endemic war was to medieval society and that the impacts of conflict are felt more chiefly on social structures and human settlements in the short and long term' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:1), further analysis of aristocratic centres form a logical place in which to frame this final point of discussion. The need to study the traces left behind by the conflict between Stephen and Matilda in a more encompassing manner means that this chapter must examine castle slighting. While still in its historiographical infancy, recent work on the subject has shown that 'over 80% of documented cases [throughout the Middle Ages] occurred during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries' (Nevell, 2020:ii). The damage, destruction and demilitarisation of these castles can provide an insight into contemporary attitudes towards their development, and how integral these sites could also be when securing peace and for waging war. This chapter concludes by looking at the roles that can be attributed these castles during this period of conflict.

While modern scholarship has taken a kinder view towards the reign of King Stephen, research on its castles and their landscapes has lagged behind. A comparison between the physical and written evidence can assess how far the use of castles was largely dictated by the war, or if these structures traditionally seen as direct manifestations of anarchy by traditional scholars, did in fact serve more varied political, social, and economic roles. This is not such a radical concept to the field of castle studies, where later and more seemingly sophisticated sites have been viewed with other qualities, like

visual enhancements, meaning that by design, ‘these were landscapes meant to display but also to conceal and to exclude’ (Creighton, 2009:1). However, as established throughout this thesis, England’s magnates made much effort when choosing the ideal location and as long-term considerations were present when these sites were laid out, it is only reasonable to assume that this extended to the functions of these early castles too. With a multicausal framework as its core, it is the aim of this chapter to show that the influence of ‘the Anarchy’ in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire was not as damaging, nor was it as long-lasting as scholarship has previously argued. As the evidence indicates that few were caught up by the broader conflict between Stephen and Matilda, it is likely that Lincolnshire and Yorkshire’s lords wished to foster a sense of prosperity through the medium of castles. It was not in the interests of magnates to worsen relations within their own communities, or threaten the lordly values they strived to uphold.

7.2 Violence, Conflict and Damage

Throughout the Middle Ages ‘violence was always a possibility, and the root of the aristocrats’ power was their prowess in war’ (McNeill, 1992:16). The mid-twelfth century has been closely defined by these parameters and violence was not seen as a possibility, but an inevitability and it is understood that many societal and cultural norms were altered as a result. Following the loss of the Bishop of Lincoln’s Castle at Newark to Robert of Leicester, a Papal letter of 1140 expressed (Foster, 1931:xxvii):

> 'The magnates of land who should protect the churches and churchmen and their goods and defend them from the incursions of the wicked, led on their sins have been transformed into tyrants, and they oppress churchmen with unaccustomed exactions.'

As seen with the introduction of castles in Anglo-Saxon England, it was the perceived change to the status quo which prompted concern. In the view of the Church, England’s elite abused their power and caused tyranny throughout England. Neglecting their obligations, increasing taxes, and causing destruction to property, this oppression was thought to have been prevalent and enduring. Centres of lordship, consisting of castles,

settlements, and churches allegedly took the brunt. As ecclesiastics were the ones responsible for recording the events, it is sensible therefore to begin with a study of the damage caused to ecclesiastical property. When Stephen was crowned king, his early reign had a prosperous start, and it was his positive relationship with the Church which helped him secure the throne in 1135. He issued a charter in 1136 promising that (Douglas & Greenaway, 1968:403):

> 'authority over ecclesiastical persons and over all clerks and their property, together with the disposal of ecclesiastic estates, shall lie in the hands of the bishops.'

This charter was not upheld for long. The situation took a turn for the worse when Stephen fell out with his brother, Bishop Henry of Winchester. The 'arrest of the bishops' which occurred in 1139, brought tension between Church and State to a head; as titles, estates, and a number of important castles in the south-west were seized. The breakdown in relations between both parties has been seen as one of the most critical failings of Stephen's early reign. Historical research conducted in the twentieth century had varying estimates regarding its nature. Callahan indicated that 'fewer than ten per cent of all English religious houses are known to have received an damage' (Callahan, 1974:226). C. Warren Hollister assessed Callahan's findings using *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (Knowles & Hadcock, 1953) and found that 'of the ten wealthiest houses, seven are known to have suffered losses' (Hollister, 1974:236). While Callahan found no evidence of anarchy, Hollister argued that 'the percentage of religious houses actually suffering damage was much higher than ten percent specifically named, and probably was considerably higher than Callahan's outside figure of twenty percent' (Hollister, 1974:236). The continued use of statistics in this part of the debate led Hollister to believe that anarchy had been inflicted upon Church property.

Although destruction took place at sites near to the main pockets of activity throughout the war, the perceptions of writers may have led to an over-representation in the records. Historical research found a correlation between the wealth of a religious house and the likelihood of it having reported a loss. In Hollister's view, 'the wealthier and more famous houses are the more likely to have commanded attention' (Hollister, 1974:236). Callahan had been less forthcoming about this than Hollister. As we saw in

Chapter 5, chroniclers wrote that in addition to the construction of castles, various ecclesiastical sites were transformed into fortified sites. Lincolnshire and Yorkshire were no exception. Despite these claims, this thesis has shown that this practice only took place at a handful of monuments, including: Lincoln Cathedral, Lincoln Siegeworks, also known as St Mary's Church, Selby Abbey, and at Bridlington Priory. When we extend Callahan and Hollister's notions about ecclesiastical sites to this region, it could be expected that sites of wealth and importance, and those which had been reportedly occupied, would reflect key events from the period. St Mary's Abbey in York had become one of the wealthiest monastic houses by the mid-twelfth century. Some monks wished to return to a stricter Benedictine way of life and by 1132, Archbishop Thurstan arrived to settle the dispute after a group of monks barricaded themselves into the church, attempting to stop him from entering the chapter house. Bringing an end to the riot, 'thirteen of them left St Mary's amid a turbulent scene and found their way to the valley of the Skell, where the Cistercian Abbey of Fountains was established' (Page, 1913:108). While this received recognition as a problem that the previous administration needed to resolve, it was an ideological dispute, and resultantly, has left no trace upon the building's fabric. St Mary's was later 'injured in the great fire of 1137' (Page, 1913:108). However, this damage was unrelated to any aspect of the struggle for the throne between King Stephen and the Empress Matilda.

The archaeology at Bridlington Priory is equally ambiguous. Chapter 5 discussed how the priory had been founded in the High Middle Ages and early scholarship had wrongly stated that it 'was founded early in the reign of King Stephen, by Walter de Gant, for canons regular of the Augustine order' (Grainge, 1855:222). Completed in 1114, this would have been 21 years before Stephen became king. The ambiguity surrounding the building extends to its physical state, and the priory encapsulates some of the issues concerning occupation and the damage the war between Stephen and Matilda brought about. Symeon of Durham wrote that William of Aumale 'converted the monastery of St Mary of Bridlington into a castle' (Arnold, 1885:315). This is more significant when we take into account that his rival, Gilbert de Gant, was a patron of the priory and this militarisation must have been a blow to his honour. Despite these claims, 'the present remains exhibit no indication of former fortification, and the works remain obscure' (Creighton, 1998:543). Over two decades later, there is no tangible evidence to suggest

that the priory was besieged either. The only contemporary remains are the church and its gateway which may have been a product of this so-called fortification.

The rivalry between Stephen and Matilda has been characterised by widespread acts of violence which were thought to have affected all parts of society. Similar to the study of damage to Church property, earlier scholarship had detailed how a number of other urban environments, in which castles were located, were destroyed. This is understood to have affected London and Winchester more so than any other centre. Considering these were the power bases of Stephen and Matilda, this was to be expected. Other areas impacted through a series of sieges 'included Hereford, Lincoln, Malmesbury and Wallingford' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:224). However, it is difficult to establish the nature of the impact on these various locations. In the past, historians such as R.H.C. Davis (1903) and Emile Amt (1991) looked at the Pipe Rolls to assess how *waste* could be indicative of the physical damage to the landscape caused by the ensuing conflict. Continuing to inspire historians throughout the twentieth century, it was believed that just two years after the death of Stephen in 1156, '*waste* had virtually disappeared from the Pipe Rolls, a clear indication that Christ and his saints were up and about once again' (King, 1984:54). Other avenues of assessing this alleged damage must be explored in order to establish whether this was truly the case.

Castles had been central to the protracted war between Stephen and Matilda and form valuable insights when understanding how the struggle was felt throughout the kingdom. The rivalry for the throne was inherently focussed in South England where Stephen and Matilda's zones of power had been, but primary accounts detailed that conflict was rife throughout England. Despite this, historians like Stenton (1932) and Poole (1955) did acknowledge that the conflict 'was limited to specific periods and places and that the horror stories of contemporary writers are exaggerated or relevant only to particular local conditions' (Hollister, 1974:233). In part, this was due to the nature of the conflict and where it manifested. This notion has certainly been evident in the ecclesiastical examples discussed so far. This certainly does not paint a picture of widespread chaos and instability, rather one of smaller and local outbreaks across the elite's own territories. David Crouch had even suggested that 'the Battle of Lincoln was more to do with the baffled ambitions of a great northern earl than the struggle for the throne of England' (Crouch, 2000:140). While Ranulf of Chester was a supporter of Matilda, it is

likely that he allied himself to the Empress to further his own personal cause and reaffirm his hereditary rights to the Lucy Tower at Lincoln Castle, as discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

Although the capture of Lincoln Castle in 1141 by Ranulf of Chester and William de Roumare culminated in the Battle of Lincoln, contemporary sources made it clear that the conflict took place predominantly outside of the city (Figure 7:1), thus it is necessary to extend a study of its impact to the rest of its built environment. Chronicler evidence forms a valuable insight into its nature and the author of the *Gesta Stephani* described how (Potter & Davis, 1976:113):

> 'some pursued the townsmen as they retreated to the town and by slaughtering very many of them and likewise plundering and burning houses and churches on every side they created a piteous scene of devastation everywhere, others devoted their attention to the vast throng of prisoners they had captured, especially to the king.'

Regardless of allegiance, all written sources on the subject indicate that while much of the battle took place outside of the city, parts of Lincoln were sacked and many of its inhabitants were killed following the aftermath of the battle. Three years later in 1144, the city played host once more to the struggle for the throne. The *Gesta Stephani* again observed that (Potter & Davis, 1976:221):

> 'the Earl of Chester, with a huge army, had entered parts of Lincolnshire, overwhelmed all the inhabitants with grievous ravages, forcibly and tyrannically seized upon all that belonged to the king, almost subdued the city of Lincoln itself, and would have done so, but for the resistance of the citizens to his overbearing brutality.'

Standing adjacent to the castle in the former upper part of the Roman city, Lincoln Cathedral was believed to have been damaged as part of the Battle of Lincoln. Determining the nature of the West Front, David Taylor's survey helped reappraise its development from the eleventh century and how it was impacted by the Battle of Lincoln. It was previously thought that 'the first cathedral was damaged by fire in 1141', following Stephen's capture and the sacking of Lincoln (Zarnecki, 1970:1). Taylor's work

on the early form of Lincoln Cathedral (Figure 7:2) found that this theory 'fits poorly with the archaeological evidence, since most of the early West Front was constructed in Phase 2 (1094-1123), after the fire at the end of Phase 1' (1072-1093) (Taylor, 2010:150). Chapter 5 established how the architecture of the West Front was a validation of the continuing growth of Christianity, confirmed with 'the foundation of the Bishopric in 1072' (Stocker & Vince, 1997:227). The tower led Henry of Huntingdon to remark that 'its construction was not surpassed by any building in all England' (Greenway, 1996:749). What is more significant however is that Bishop Remigius's 'construction of a great tower within what we now recognise to be the Castle of Lincoln' shows that he was 'behaving not as a bishop, but primarily as a conventional great Norman lord' (Stocker & Vince, 1997:232). The importance of the castle and the cathedral to these lordly aspirations notably intensified by the time of the mid-twelfth century. It is no surprise that Lincoln played a key role in the war between Stephen and Matilda. With that said, looking at the archaeological context of the alleged damage more closely, much like the rest of the city, the cathedral was seemingly not physically impacted to the extent previously thought by medieval chroniclers and historians. Although, 'direct archaeological evidence for the civil war in Lincoln, is, of course, rare' (Vince, 2003:168).

Figure 7:1 The Battle of Lincoln, 1141, as depicted in the *Historia Anglorum.* Image by the British Library Board (CC BY 4.0).

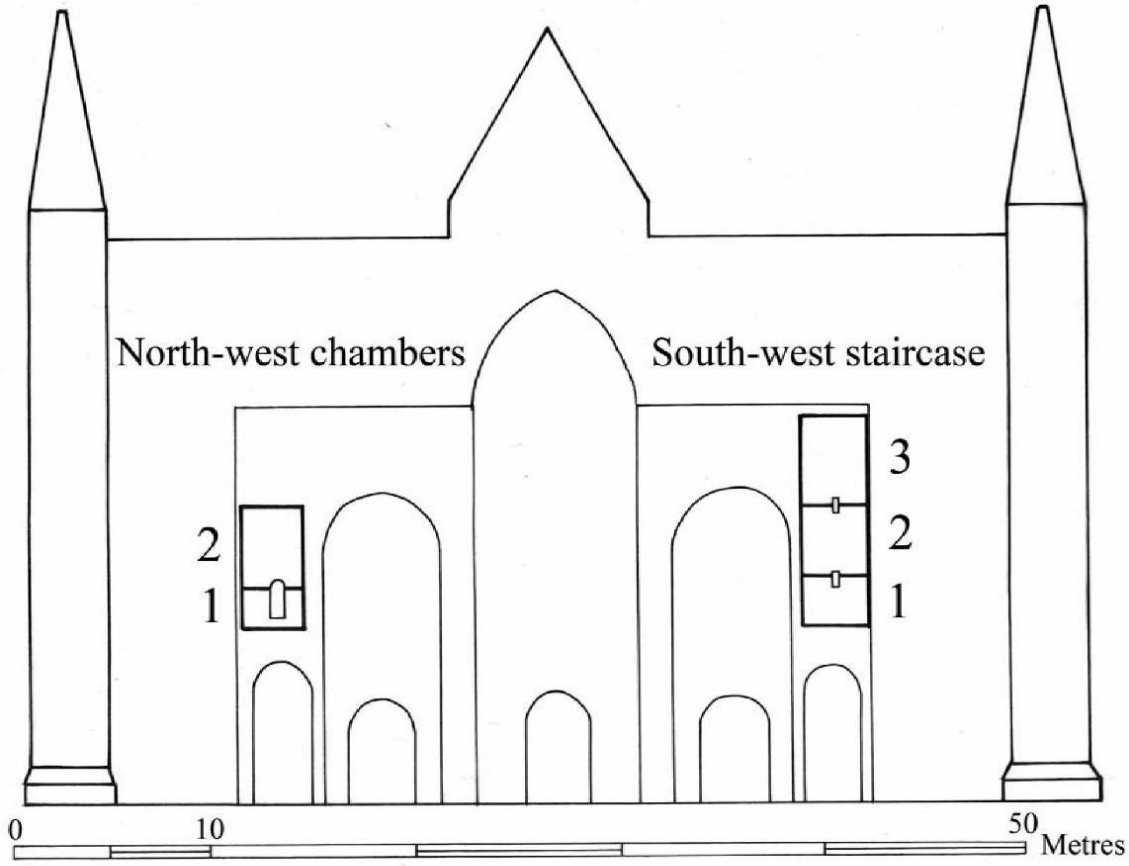

Figure 7:2 The West Front at Lincoln Cathedral. 1 fire horizon, Phase 1; 2, rebuild, Phase 2; 3, nineteenth-century restoration (Taylor, 2010:147).

The broader rivalry between King Stephen and the Empress Matilda was also claimed to have been felt in Stamford and its castle in 1153. The author of the *Gesta Stephani* further details (Potter & Davis, 1976:235-37):

> 'advancing without delay to the town of Stamford, [Henry Duke of Normandy] took the town itself at once and besieged the castle for a long time; as the king, hampered by Hugh Bigod, who was attacking him very heavily at that time, could not come to the aid of his men as they asked, the castle at last was surrendered and the duke got it by agreement.'

Although 'no reference to it occurs between 1086 and 1153', Stamford Castle and its town walls in the Kesteven district of Lincolnshire, if not built during the civil war, were both 'evidently held by Stephen for a time' (Roffe, 2002) and thus have the potential to reveal any traces left behind by the conflict. It is clear from written accounts that the

town felt its repercussions after two sieges were directed towards this castle. Similar to Lincoln, the extent of this alleged damage cannot be established. This is not to say that parts of the built environment were not impacted in Stamford, because they must have been to some extent. While archaeological work may shed light on this in the future, the evidence in its current form suggests that the damage inflicted upon the castle and the urban environment surrounding it was not as deeply felt on this locality either.

In addition to Church property, the urban environment and its population, no study can overlook the impact of the war on the rural landscape and communities located near to castles. Occurring three years before the Battle of Lincoln, the Battle of the Standard was one of the defining pitched battles of the period. The *Hexham Chronicle* provides an overview into the wider events of the battle and has been relied upon to establish the nature of its effects on the landscape (Stevenson, 1853:46-7):

> 'Eustace Fitz John, one of the barons of the king of England, who held a very strong fortress in Northumberland, called Alnwick, and had long secretly favoured the king of Scotland, now openly showing his treachery, threw off his allegiance to his lawful sovereign, the king of England, and with his whole strength gave his aid to the Scots against the realm of England. Leading with him no inconsiderable number of fighting men; he marched with the king of Scotland to ravage Yorkshire, and had made arrangements to give up to the king of Scotland and his party another strong castle of his called Malton.'

Resulting in a decisive victory for Stephen, the Scots were repelled at Northallerton by his loyal forces 'under the leadership of the elderly Archbishop Thurstan, William of Aumale, and Walter l'Espec' (English, 1979:18). Although the account outlines the destruction to people and property, we can gain a greater insight into the nature of the battle by the presence of a possible siege-castle at Pickering Beacon Hill, located opposite Pickering Castle, which may have been used as part of the preliminary action of the battle. Armitage understood that 'their purpose was not for actual attack, but to watch the besieged fort and prevent supplies from being carried in' (Armitage, 1912:85). Siege-castles were not a twelfth-century invention and had been used since the Norman Conquest, despite becoming synonymous with Stephen's reign. While they had been referred to by the same language as castles in contemporary accounts, through terms

such as *castellum*, these types of monuments are now defined more appropriately as 'fieldworks' (Coulson, 2003:72). These fieldworks are not so easily identified from the landscape evidence and while 'positive identifications are few' (Coulson, 2003:85), the examples at Pickering Beacon Hill and Lincoln, outlined earlier in Chapter 5, both form useful evidence about the nature of the period. In a society where conflict was largely avoided, these fieldworks at Lincoln and Northallerton are representative of key flashpoints of the war. The outcomes of both of these battles proved instrumental, however the siegeworks within Lincolnshire and Yorkshire are not representative of how the conflict manifested more generally, as 'both sides were naturally cautious of risking another battle after Lincoln and Winchester' (Bradbury, 2009:113).

Described as 'a castle war, a war of sieges, [and] attrition' (Bradbury, 2009:113), the castles of the mid-twelfth century went hand in hand with the politics of the struggle between Stephen and Matilda. The castles of the region reportedly damaged or besieged during this course of events totalled 13 sites (Table 7:1 and Figure 7:3). As this thesis has explored, the wider implications of the rivalry for the throne between Stephen and Matilda was secondary to what was happening on a local level. The civil war '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' (Speight, 1993:213). The local rivalries and neighbourly disputes between members of both camps encapsulate the opportunities the conflict brought to those who sought to extend their own territories. William of Aumale had fortified Bridlington Priory against Gilbert de Gant and Matilda's forces, whereas Gilbert de Gant built a castle at Barton upon Humber to compete with Aumale's pre-existing castle at Barrow upon Humber. William of Aumale had also taken the opportunity to similarly exert his power over other lords, even those who were similarly supporters of the king and thus on the same side in the war. For example, William attacked Henry de Lacy's castle at Selby in the West Riding of Yorkshire, possibly 'after Henry of Lacy's succession to the honour of Pontefract in *c*. 1142' (Dalton, 1994:171) and may have perceived this as a threat to his own power in the region. Regardless of political allegiance, 'it was a tit for tat situation' (Speight, 1993:213). England's lords could uphold the king's rule when required to do so, but were more concerned by local politics and their own power struggles than the broader rivalry for the throne.

Table 7:1 Possible evidence of conflict at castles in the study area during 'the Anarchy'.

Castle	**Owner(s) *c.* 1135-54**	**Evidence (Documentary/Archaeological)**
Lincolnshire		
Castle Bytham	William of Aumale	It is alleged that 'Gant captured [Castle] Bytham and killed Aumale's brother' (Speight, 1993:213).
Lincoln Castle	A divided lordship held between the Bishop of Lincoln, King Stephen, as well as William de Roumare and Ranulf of Chester	Lincoln Castle was well-documented in contemporary accounts as having been attacked in 1141 during the Battle of Lincoln and again in 1144 following William de Roumare and Ranulf of Chester's attempts to gain control of the castle.
Lincoln Siegeworks	King Stephen	The structure was involved in the Battle of Lincoln, 1141 and Ranulf of Chesters' and William de Roumare's power-grab.
Stamford Castle	King Stephen?	Stamord was recorded in the *Gesta Stephani* as being attacked by Henry of Anjou in 1153.
Yorkshire		
Castle Haugh	Unclear	Mentioned as having been destroyed by the Scots in 1151 in contemporary sources.
Hunmanby Castle Hill	Gilbert de Gant	It was recorded that William of Aumale 'burnt Hunmanby' in response to de Gant's actions at Castle Bytham (Speight, 1993:213).
Leeds Castle Hill	Unclear	Henry of Huntingdon wrote how 'Stephen took the castle of Leeds by siege after Christmas [1138]' (Greenway, 1996:719).
Malton Castle	Unclear	The *Hexham Chronicle* recorded that the castle was close by to the prelimary action of the Battle of the Standard, 1138.
Northallerton Castle Hills	Unclear	The site was referred to in 1141 when it was seized on behalf of David of Scotland.

Pickering Beacon Hill	Unclear	The monument may have been part of an unrecorded siege during 'the Anarchy' due to its close proximity to Pickering.
Pickering Castle	William of Aumale?	The castle may have been part of an unrecorded siege during 'the Anarchy' (Speight, 1993:213).
Selby Castle	Henry de Lacy	William of Aumale attacked the castle following Henry de Lacy's 'succession to the honour of Pontefract in around 1142' (Dalton, 1994:171).
Sheriff Hutton Ringwork	Count Alan of Brittany	During 'the Anarchy', Sheriff Hutton Ringwork 'had been besieged and taken by Alan of Richmond' (Speight, 1993:99).

There are a number of other castles where evidence of conflict is unclear. For example, Henry of Huntingdon had remarked how 'Stephen took the castle of Leeds by siege after Christmas [1138]' (Greenway, 1996:719). Due to the uncertainty surrounding the remains of this site in the modern city of Leeds, this cannot be substantiated from the archaeology (Figure 3:2). The political acts that these sites did however witness did appear to be more the culmination of local troubles as magnates such as Gilbert de Gant and William of Aumale sought to reaffirm and extend their territories at the expense of each other. Despite this, these deeds seem 'to have been entirely political rather than personal for, by 1147, we find Gilbert de Gant endowing Aumale's Cistercian foundation at Bytham' (Speight, 1993:213). Even earlier generations of historians believed that castles could often be the result of local troubles. Building on this point of view, Robert Patterson argued that medieval society 'rationalised its opposition to rivals and enemies when it chose' (Patterson, 1974:199). This meant that tension was the natural order of things, and peace would inevitably resume again thereafter. Despite Stephen's reign often being regarded as an outlier to the norms of society, it is clear that the principles of violence were still applicable during the mid-twelfth century. The rivalry between Stephen and Matilda merely represented a vehicle in which England's magnates could better realise their own ambitions when the war arrived at their castle gates.

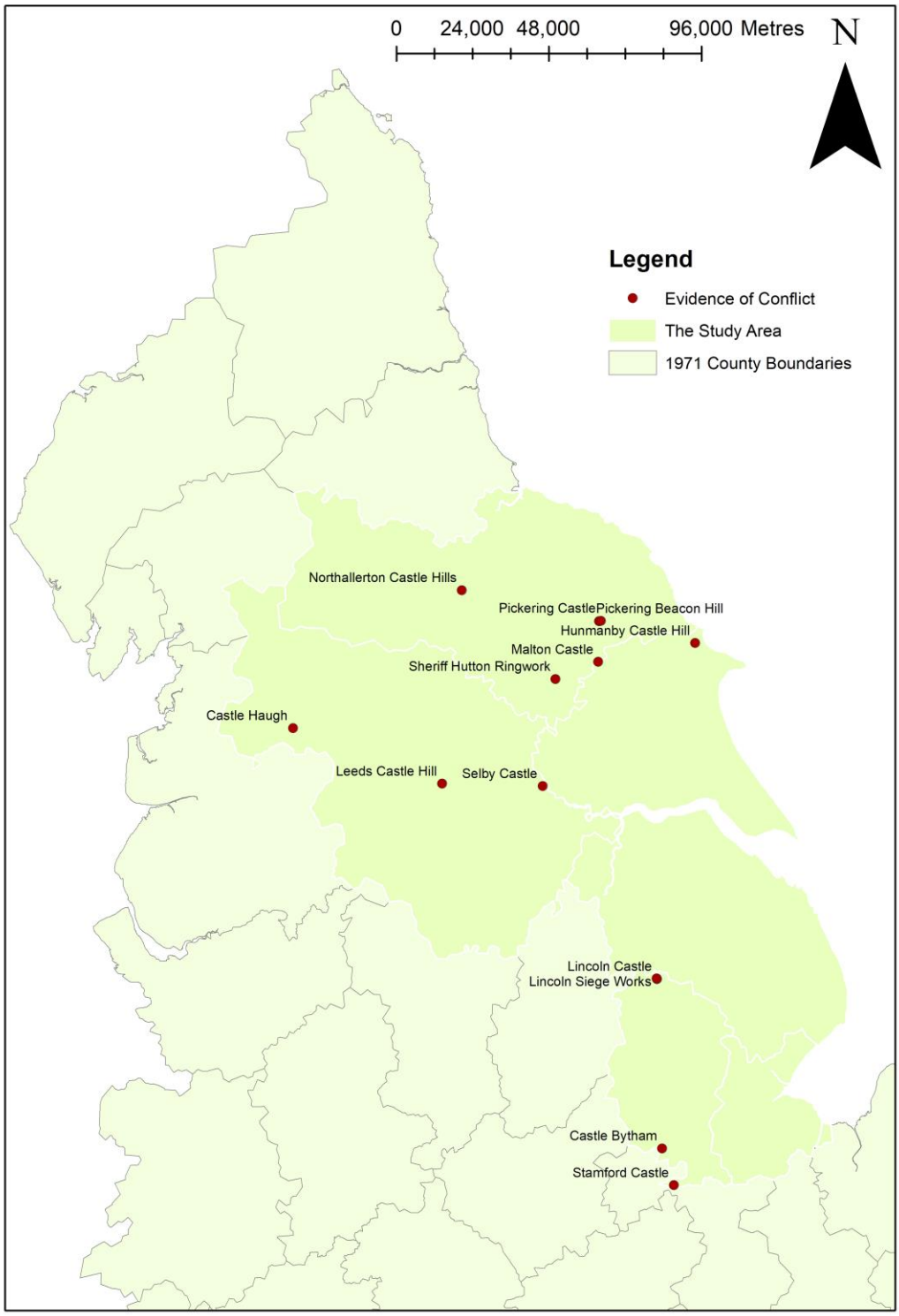

Figure 7:3 Possible evidence of conflict at castles in the study area during 'the Anarchy'. Created with ArcMap 10.8.2. [shapefile].

The mid-twelfth century is characterised by number of paradoxes. When Stephen became king, he undoubtedly had a good relationship with the Church which had strengthened his claim to the throne. Most historians agree that 'Stephen was a peace-loving man. It was part of the reputation with which he came and which he sustained' (King, 2012:306). At the same time, his reign is marked by an ongoing war which lasted for its entire 19-year duration. The Church saw itself caught up with the crusading movement and grew more powerful because of the martial front it began to adopt during the High Middle Ages. Despite this, the Church condemned violence throughout Stephen's reign. Perhaps because they felt the most aggrieved by it and because the relationship between the clergy and the monarchy had broken down, ecclesiastics wrote that the militarisation of churches and damage to property was widespread throughout the kingdom. Modern historical research has taken a softer view of many aspects of Stephen's reign in more recent years, and this has reframed how it impacted the various aspects of society. The combined historical and archaeological evidence confirms that the conflict throughout the study area was limited in time and place. Considering these various themes, it is evident that 'King Stephen's reign was therefore not one of genuine anarchy' (Stringer, 1993:88).

Damage to ecclesiastical and secular property has undoubtedly been exaggerated in the historiography of Stephen's reign. Even the effects of the notorious Battle of the Standard, 1138 and the Battle of Lincoln, 1141, were not as pervasive as they were detailed by chroniclers to have been. Violence was intrinsic to the upper echelons of medieval society and their prowess in this respect was a vital component of their social rank. At the same time, violence was deemed to carry great risk and was still avoided as much as possible, much as it had always been. While caught up in the broader events of the rivalry between Stephen and Matilda when it manifested in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, these sporadic outbreaks of conflict represented the local ambitions of those who had the most to gain from the war. When we build on the revisionist agenda of King Stephen's reign with an archaeological perspective, which compares both the written the physical evidence, it is fair to say that anarchy was not felt on castles and their environs. In the words of Coulson, 'that organized warfare and consequential disorder in parts of England, not castles, were the problem of the anarchy hardly requires demonstration' (Coulson, 2003:91).

7.3 Slighting, Destruction and Demilitarisation

Finally bringing an end to the protracted war for the throne of England, Stephen and Matilda came to a resolution and the Treaty of Winchester, 1153 was established to secure peace. Agreeing to disinherit his own son to bring an end to the conflict, Stephen would remain king if Matilda's son, Henry of Anjou, would become his successor. Detailing the terms of the resolution which formally ended the civil war, The author of the *Gesta Stephani* wrote (Potter & Davis, 1976:240-41):

> 'it was arranged and firmly settled that arms should be finally laid down and peace restored everywhere in the kingdom, the new castles demolished, the disinherited restored to their own, and laws and enactments made binding on all according to the ancient fashion.'

Chroniclers and historians alike have written that Henry tried to regain authority when he assumed the throne. Henry of Anjou's measures have often been used as evidence to show more about the nature of what had happened throughout Stephen's reign and assess how far it was anarchic in comparison. Describing the centrality of England's magnates to its troubles, J. C. Holt noted how Round had largely been silent on the Treaty of Winchester. Looking at charters, Holt saw that Stubbs offered more of an insight, yet overall, his work on 'the settlement has become something of a muddle' (Holt, 1994:291). The control of castles was paramount to Stephen's reign and its aftermath. It is thought that Henry II attempted to secure his position as king by regaining control over the castles which had been erected during the conflict between Stephen and Matilda and would help Henry address the issue of land tenure at the same time.

Robert of Torigny had stated that 1,115 castles had been constructed throughout Stephen's reign, but also provided a smaller figure in his accounts, writing that '375 [castles were to] be levelled' as part of the peace settlement (Bisson, 2020:117). There were varying estimates into the number of castles destroyed, and the reliability of those who wrote about how widespread this destruction was can be questioned. Regardless, traditional, and modern research has emphasised that slighting and the destruction of castles was a powerful tool employed by Henry II to solidify his new position as king. The

study of slighting is a relatively new frontier in the field of castle studies and while 'the symbolism of castle-building is now a well-researched theme; the symbolism of castle destruction has received far less attention' (Creighton and Wright 2016: 112). Slighting has not been understood because it has not been so well-defined. The term was not contemporary to the twelfth century and first appeared in '1613' (Simpson & Weiner, 1989:704) and became more common during the English Civil War of 1642-51 when it was 'regarded by both sides as a normal practice' (Thompson, 1987:141). As it has not been studied in detail, the military nature of slighting has largely been the focus of previous studies, suiting earlier generations of scholars who saw that slighting was needed to re-balance this supposed uncontrolled era of castle-building.

To advance the debate and better understand the subject from an overlooked but important perspective, Richard Nevell's recent study created an archaeological typology for castle slighting. Nevell identified that 'there were four main ways to slight a castle: burning it; undermining the walls; picking apart buildings; and breaking up earthworks and filling ditches' and found that 'each method leaves distinct traces in the archaeological record' (Nevell, 2020:104). Even so, it is difficult to disregard contemporary sources which detail the castles which were allegedly destroyed due to slighting during 'the Anarchy' and there are sites from Lincolnshire and Yorkshire not reflected in Nevell's work which are discussed here as a result. As it can be defined in several different ways and took a number of forms, there is no one-size-fits-all approach when attempting to interpret slighting. Horncastle Castle in Lindsey is testament to these complexities. A charter from 1146 detailed that Horncastle had been destroyed yet it is unclear whether this referred to the possible castle at Thorngate, or the Roman remains situated nearby, described as '*castellum de Tornegat*', built in 1141, and allegedly destroyed in 1151 (Foster, 1931:287).

Much attention previously has been directed towards Henry II's chancery and how the number of charters in comparison to his predecessor's administration is indicative of how Stephen's reign must have been unstable. A study of slighting and castle destruction can provide a different insight. Nevell saw that 'England has 1,528 castles, and there were around eighty-four slightings in the medieval period. This group is a minority, but is significant' (Nevell, 2011:ii). The deliberate destruction of castles throughout the mid-twelfth century is indeed noteworthy. The documentary and

archaeological evidence from the study area reveals a similar picture of slighting being important, but being small scale. Throughout the course of 'the Anarchy', 8 sites were seemingly slighted, destroyed, or deactivated (Table 7:2 and Figure 7:4).

Table 7:2 Possible evidence of slighting, destruction or deactivation of castles in the study area during 'the Anarchy'.

Castle	**Owner(s) *c.* 1135-54**	**Evidence (Documentary/Archaeological)**
Lincolnshire		
Horncastle Castle	The de Condet family	A charter noted that the castle was destroyed in 1146 (Dugdale, 1675:39) but King (King, 1983a:265) claims this could have been an error within the source material.
Thorngate	Unclear	Thorngate may have been demolished in '1151' (King, 1983a:265).
Yorkshire		
Drax Castle Hill	Unclear	The 'castle of Drax was destroyed by King Stephen in 1154' (Creighton, 1998:592) following the Treaty of Winchester.
Hutton Conyers Castle	Count Alan of Brittany	The castle was soon destroyed by Henry II after being 'an adulterine castle' raised during 'the Anarchy' (Turner, 2004:240).
Mount Ferrant Castle	William Fossard	Materials were dismantled and given to Meaux Abbey following 'Fossard's flight on discovery that he had seduced the count's daughter' (Fergusson, 1984:133).
Wetherby Castle	The Percy family	Wetherby Civic Society list the site as having been destroyed by Henry II following the end of 'the Anarchy' (Wetherby Civic Society, 2023).
Wheldrake	Unclear	Stephen gave permission for destruction 'in 1149 at Wheldrake near York by the citizens procurement' (Coulson, 2003:71).
Yafforth Howe Hill	Unclear	The scheduling report lists that this castle of 'the Anarchy' was presumably destroyed by Henry II following the end of the conflict.

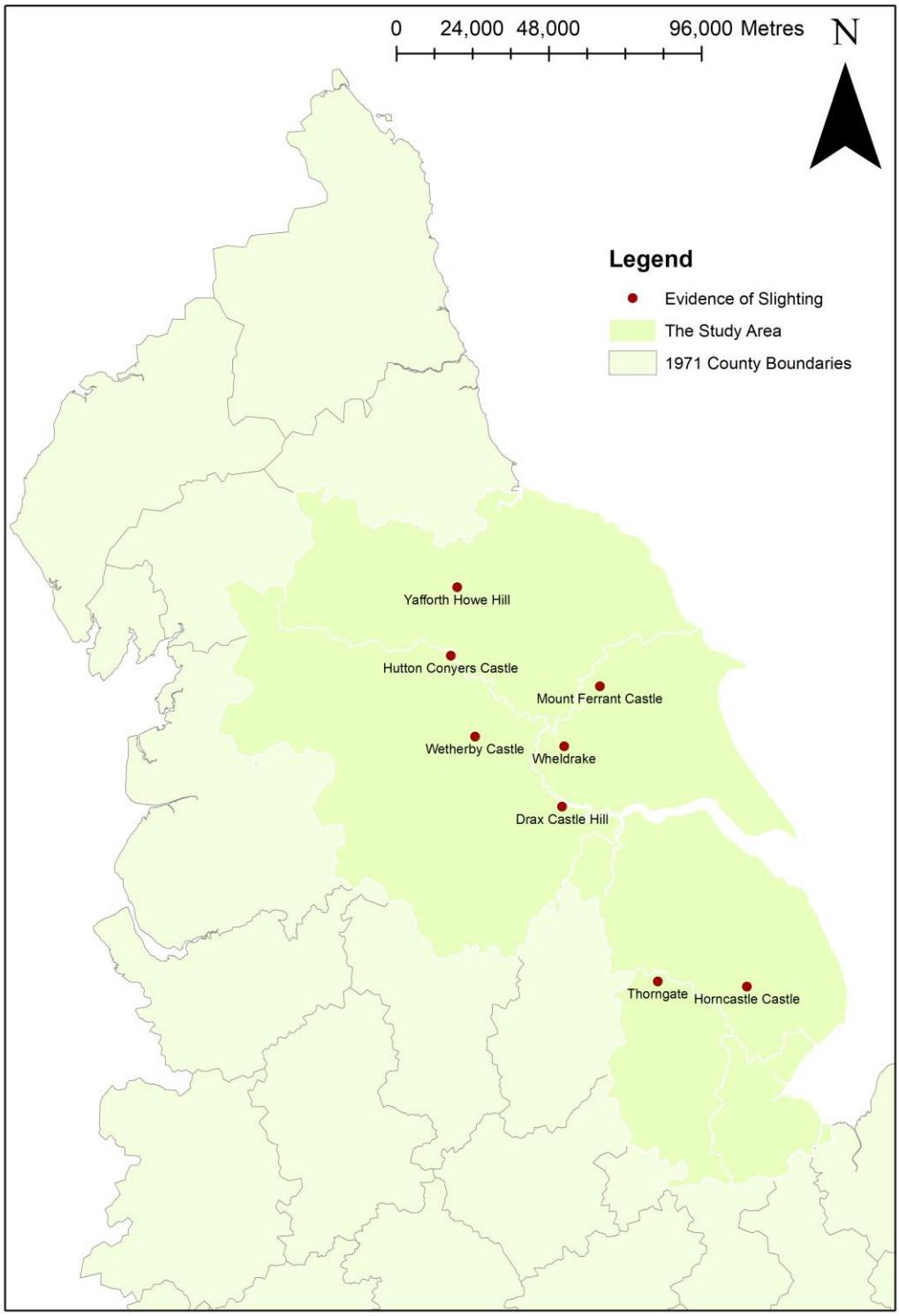

Figure 7:4 Possible evidence of slighting, destruction or deactivation of castles in the study area during 'the Anarchy'. Created with ArcMap 10.8.2. [shapefile].

Castle destruction was a way in which Henry attempted to reclaim authority over England's apparent unruly magnates. Despite advances in scholarship and the removal of some notions of 'the Anarchy' during the 1990s, scholars such as Pounds continued to maintain the view that (Pounds, 1990:30):

> 'the Crown struggled hard against the abdication of its right to control the building of castles, and that even when reduced to sore straits, both Stephen and the Empress made this privilege the subject of special and limited grant. Stephen succeeded at least in preserving intact the doctrine of royal control. It was for Stephen's successor, Henry of Anjou, son of the Empress Matilda, to use this prerogative to the full.'

Chapter 6 challenged the notion that Stephen's reign was marked by inconsistencies, change and at best, a large degree of upheaval. It had been thought that the decentralisation of government and the number of earldoms he created, planted the seeds for Stephen's own downfall. This thesis has confirmed that Stephen's actions were only a continuation of the power structure which had been in place since the time of William the Conqueror. Castles had always been used to uphold regional security on the king's behalf. The same can be said for the concept of castle destruction. This had been a component of the terms that Stephen had agreed to in the peace settlement only a year before his death. Before the Treaty of Winchester was agreed in 1153, it was written in the *Gesta Stephani* that (Potter & Davis, 1976:218-19):

> 'The king was much concerned with suppressing the hostilities that were on the increase round York; sometimes destroyed castles belonging to the enemy or his own adherents that were burdensome.'

Contemporary sources detail that Stephen did take back control over some castles throughout his reign and not simply when he had agreed to the terms of the Treaty of Winchester. Sleaford Castle which had been 'built by Bishop Alexander of Lincoln between 1124 and 1139' was briefly surrendered to Stephen before coming the property of the episcopy again soon after (Cope-Faulkner, 2000:1). The king had also given permission for destruction 'in 1149 at Wheldrake near York by the citizens procurement' (Coulson, 2003:71) and following the peace settlement, the 'castle of Drax

was destroyed by King Stephen in 1154' (Creighton, 1998:592). It is vital to stress again that control over castle-building had never been the reserve of the Crown, and nor had it ever been licenced as Coulson (1993) had shown. This similarly applied when it came to assuming control over an existing castle. Although the author of the *Gesta Stephani* is known to have been a supporter of Stephen, these sites outlined here do nonetheless suggest that the king did intervene when required and it was not just Henry who acted decisively when required to do so. In this respect, it be argued that 'Stephen, perhaps more than Henry II, was the great destroyer of illicit fortlets' (Coulson, 2003:71).

Reinforcing the military nature of slighting, Stephen Friar defined it as a way in which to 'inflict sufficient damage so as to render [a castle] unfit for use as a fortress' (Friar, 2003:271) and Malcolm Hislop saw that slighting was the 'deliberate destruction of fortifications in order to render them indefensible' (Hislop, 2013:248). Although some studies emphasised this need, others such as Matthew Johnson moved beyond the idea that slighting was not simply to render the castle indefensible and that it was rather the 'deliberate destruction of castle fabric' (Johnson, 2002:185). However, like Stephen, Henry did not just destroy castles, and took control over the likes of Scarborough Castle, Castle Bytham and Almondbury Castle Hill following the end of the twelfth-century civil war. Although not reflected in Table 7:2 or Figure 7:4, there was a range of other castles (see Appendix A) which were taken over by Henry throughout his reign, most notably during the insurrections of the 1170s which included the castles at Mowbray, Thirsk and Gilling Castle-Gilling West (Brown, 1959:249-80). Taking over possession of a site allowed Henry, or indeed Stephen, to strengthen royal power and assimilate ownership from those who had held it previously. The deactivation of Mount Ferrant Castle was noted earlier in this thesis and how 'the materials, but not the site, of the wooden castle of Mount Ferrant were given in Stephen's reign to Meaux Abbey' (Armitage, 1904:421). Therefore, it is not surprising to view the destruction, demilitarisation and ownership of castles in such symbolic terms.

Slighting may have been directed primarily towards castles, nevertheless the archaeology suggests that it presented itself in much broader terms. Building on the work of Johnson who understood that slighting was not just intended to target and compromise a site's defensive integrity, Lila Rakoczy's work on the English Civil War of the seventeenth century widened the definition of slighting and believed that it could

have included 'non-siege damage during times of conflict' and could be applied to other fortified high-status buildings and the wider landscape (Rakoczy, 2007:10). The site of Bishop Rufus Palace had been the property of the Bishop of Durham since the eleventh century, and records indicate that a motte and bailey castle had existed there, 'but this or another nearby was built (or rebuilt) by the bishop of Durham in 1174 and destroyed in 1176' when Henry II faced a series of rebellions (Turner, 2004:244). The poor survival of some parts of this site may be the result of this destruction and further work here using Nevell's typology of slighting may be able to shed more light on its complexities, as well as many other castles like this, in the future.

What is clear is that the implications of castle slighting, destruction and demilitarisation affected the individual and their property on a deeper, psychological level. We have already explored how the war between Stephen and Matilda played out across the secular and ecclesiastical environments in which castles formed important centres, and Liddiard noted that 'if towns were expected to generate revenue for the lord, then they also became a prime target during major political disturbance' and 'sacking an opponent's town demonstrated in the most dramatic way possible the inability of a lord to protect his tenants' (Liddiard, 2005:107). Military culture was fundamental to a lord's standing in society. Notions of honour, prestige and reputation were of immense importance and influenced all aspects of behaviour. Slighting a lord's castle was physically damaging as Nevell's typology affirms, but the knock-on effect of this damage on their lordship was more harmful still. This is an impact which cannot be gleamed from the archaeological evidence alone. If it were seen that they could no longer fulfil their lordly obligations, magnates may have appeared weak to their contemporaries. When this happened to Roger de Beaumont at Warwick for example, the author of the *Gesta Stephani* wrote how he was said to have been 'overcome by shame and worn out by grief [and] he suddenly met his end' (Potter & Davis, 1976:235). As neighbourly rivalry and local ambition were defining characteristics of the twelfth-century civil war, the psychological influence of slighting, as well as its physical impact, cannot easily be divorced from each other.

While destroying, or re-possessing a number of castles, 'the long-term Angevin trend toward more royal and fewer baronial castles [was] apparent already in Henry's earliest years' (Amt, 1993:24). Scarborough castle had been constructed by William of Aumale

following his accession to the title of the Earl of York, however following the end of Stephen's reign in 1154, it was seized by Henry II who had the wooden keep rebuilt in stone. Henry II is further credited for later having reconstructed Bowes Castle in 1173-74 which had originally been constructed by Alan of Brittany during the 1130s (Brown, 1959:249-80). Many other castles erected during the eleventh and twelfth centuries subsequently passed to other lords or were retained as property of the Crown. Slighting was clearly about the individual and if their legacy had been compromised, the act had been effective. Slighting has become linked with the reign of King Stephen and the destruction of castles has been seen as a lasting reminder of its impact across the landscape. With that said, the archaeology shows that many of these sites were later reused and became occupied again. As this thesis has identified that twelfth-century castles were more complex, not ephemeral and were intended to be used for a variety of purposes in the landscape in which they were sited, it is no surprise therefore that slighting was localised and many which had been destroyed were later re-occupied. The fact that '42% of castles slighted in the Middle Ages were reused as fortifications' (Nevell, 2020:127) emphasises how significant these structures continued to be within their communities and cannot be tied to fleeting notions of anarchy.

'The Treaty of Winchester was agreed on 6th November 1153. Nobody knew that Stephen would be dead within the year' (Holt, 1994:306). Regardless, this finally brought an end to the civil war. Despite the centrality of castle-building to Stephen's reign, the complexities of castle destruction have not been widely determined. Consequently, historians have largely examined the nature of Henry II's government and the chancery and compared them to argue that his need to restore central authority was primarily because of the problems that he had inherited. Nevell has particularly drawn attention to the role that an archaeological perspective can bring to study of the construction and indeed, destruction of castles. While the estimates of contemporary chroniclers are misleading and 'are almost totally silent on the actual nature of slighting in the twelfth century, archaeology has an important contribution to make' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:114). With that said, slighting was not simply bound by the physical destruction of castles and their military defences. As more recent definitions have suggested, slighting was caught up within the themes of lordship, honour, and reputation. This social, political, and economic process affected the owner on a deeper level than destroying

the physical fabric of a castle alone. It is clear from a regional study that slighting occurred throughout both Henry II and Stephen's reigns as both intervened against local lords. More work on this particular avenue of research in the future would build on how twelfth-century castles were used and experienced.

7.4 Castles of Anarchy?

Despite general advances in the debate, the castles contemporary to the war between Stephen and Matilda typically remain styled as 'symbols of tyranny, disorder and oppression' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:80). This chapter so far has offered a more balanced interpretation into the reasons why some of these castles from Lincolnshire and Yorkshire became the focus for military activity. This thesis has indicated that a small number of new castles were built, and even fewer were impacted by the struggle for the throne. This is because the twelfth-century civil war naturally went hand in hand with the politics of the time, and this castle war 'was in essence a static or at least slowly moving war' and as 'the boundaries were marked, moving beyond them was not easy' (Bradbury, 2009:113). Liddiard had highlighted that 'the future priorities for the study of the Anglo-Norman castles' role in war probably lie in reconstructing and analysing the precise political reasons why an individual castle at a particular time became the focus for military operations, an approach fruitfully adopted for the later medieval period' (Liddiard, 2003:8). The following discussion contextualises the various political, social and economic roles that these constructions fulfilled against the backdrop of the twelfth-century civil war in order to draw firmer divisions between these functions and their often-purported military roles during this period. It shows that instead of being rashly built solely for military endeavours, these castles were central to their respective communities.

Baronial castles typically formed the backdrop of the outbreaks of conflict and slighting during 'the Anarchy'. As most of the castles functioned as seats of political power, this helps to explain why the conflict was localised in both time and place, as lords attempted to affirm or expand their positions when the opportunity presented itself at these elite centres. Using Coulson's framework on *The Castles of the Anarchy* (Coulson, 2003) as a

starting point, we can examine how castles were designed to function. The fieldworks at Pickering and Lincoln were raised solely as military installations, but as explored in Chapter 5, it is debateable how far these can be classified as *real* castles. Castles such as Barton and Barrow upon Humber were possessions of powerful lords such as Gilbert de Gant and William of Aumale. These sites were manifestations of political rivalry and did not develop into open conflict due to the nature of this internalised and localised power struggle, for which 'the Anarchy' simply provided public motive. The legacy of 'the Anarchy' has been such that even revised histories often return to the view that 'it is time to restate and improve the case for viewing Stephen's reign as a deeply violent and disorderly period' (Thomas, 2008b:139). This argument has been extended to poorly understood castles such as Yafforth, Easby and Carlton in Coverdale, though it is likely that such castles were products of the lesser aristocracy's ambitions. The castles of the twelfth century were undoubtedly political instruments of elite society and as a result, their importance ultimately transcended the protracted struggle for the throne between Stephen and Matilda.

Many castles from across the Middle Ages have since been appreciated for their broader societal roles; however, this attention has not been extended to those contemporary to the mid-twelfth century. Pounds affirmed that the castle, 'whatever its size and status, served three purposes. It was home to its lord or his constable… secondly, [it was] was a protected place… [and] the third function which the castle fulfilled was administrative' (Pounds, 1990:184). Despite this, Pounds' discussion of twelfth-century castles was still influenced by notions of anarchy, and he did not extend these additional functions to these sites. The influence of the Anglo-Saxon past, as well as ongoing developments in castle architecture demonstrated in Chapter 5 show that the military aspects of castles were seldom the most important and other political, social and economic concerns must not be overlooked when taking into account the occupation of these sites. As demonstrated by this thesis, the castles contemporary to the war between Stephen and Matilda were not an overarching response to military needs, certainly for the evidence we have at examples such as Aumale's castle at Scarborough, it is apparent that many were intended to function as comfortable, long-term residences for lords and retainers.

Reflecting the multitude of functions they fulfilled, the siting of all types of castles during the High Middle Ages was well-considered by the region's magnates. It would therefore

be logical to assume that this rationale would be extended to the immediate surroundings of these sites. It has been argued that 'it is only possible to speculate about the scale of landscape design in medieval England' (Liddiard, 2007b:205) and as illustrative material is lacking for this period, documentary and archaeological sources can offer some explanation where the physical remains of the sites cannot. The licence to crenellate for Stow, for example, was initially credited as the beginning of its designed landscape and is listed as 1336 in Thompson's work (Thompson, 1998:167). Gerald of Wales's tale of St Hugh of Lincoln's pet swan depicted Stow as 'delightfully surrounded with woods and ponds' in 1186 (Dimcock, 1887; Douie & Farmer, 1962:104-09) which places the possibility of an earlier date for the designed landscape of this castle. Due to the focus on later examples such as Bodiam, Middleham and Harewood, there has been less of an inclination to view landscape design in 'the stereotypically less sophisticated, more violent, eleventh and twelfth centuries' (Liddiard, 2000a:7). The inclusion of parks, gardens, orchards, and ponds became more of a common feature as the Middle Ages progressed. Despite this, their origins can arguably be traced earlier and in addition to Stow, there are other examples from the study area. For example, as Sleaford was in the possession of Bishop Alexander of Lincoln during Stephen's reign, it is no surprise that Henry of Huntingdon remarked how due to its designed setting, it was 'not inferior in style or position to [his other castle at Newark]' (Greenway, 1996:721-3).

As statements of seigneurial power within the landscape, the castles of 'the Anarchy' were without doubt, designed to impress. Parks were another form of landscape design in which castle-builders could convey this particular message of strength. Crouch (1992) had already shown the prominence of lordly display within the interior of Castle Rising, Norfolk, during 'the Anarchy' and this could equally take place within the exteriors of these castles too. Defined as a space 'used to denote a private enclosure in which deer were kept' it is believed that 'at least 1900 parks were established in England during the course of the Middle Ages' (Neave, 1991:5). Parks could be used for both leisure and economic purposes and Liddiard acknowledged that as 'status can only go so far; the motives for park creation are best approached at a detailed local level' (Liddiard, 2007a:3). Austin supposed that castles helped coordinate the use of landscape resources, seen at Barnard's Castle siting between uplands and lowland areas which made it suited to venison hunting. This was further emphasised by the fact that

'approximately 21% of all animal bones recovered from medieval contexts at Barnard Castle are of red deer' (Austin, 1984:75). A similar example from the study area can be viewed at Helmsley Castle, positioned on the edge of the North York Moors. A prominent military commander, 'some of these new men [like Walter Espec] acquired extensive lordships bordering the land of the Scots, and were responsible for the security of the frontier region', however 'their smaller and more scattered holdings in Yorkshire, few if any of which incorporated a castle by 1135, suggest that the provision of security was not their primary duty in this county' (Dalton, 1994:100-101). Instead, the lordly setting of Helmsley and its deer park allowed Espec and his visitors to enjoy leisurely pursuits during the reigns of both Henry I and Stephen. For the most part, these castles thus remained stables centres during 'the Anarchy' and were emblems of power rather than functioning simply as military outposts.

As well as being representative of lordly strength, wealth and status, civic considerations were also present at a number of castles from the study area. Indeed, 'no castle ever stood in isolation' and 'was always part of a community' (Pounds, 1990:184). Referred to in a charter of 1141-42, Partney Castle in Lindsey was located near to a hospital (Clay, 1955:114-15). Also founded in 1141, 'the Hospital of St Nicholas in Yarm was documented as being '*juxta castellarium'* (Dugdale, 1846:637). Moreover, Ryther Castle in the West Riding of Yorkshire was located adjacent to a nunnery and 'the first mention of the family-name occurs in the foundation charter of the Nunnery at Appleton over the water…[in] 1150' (Speight, 1902:62). Evidence of a priory of Cistercian nuns was founded in around 1150 at Hampole Castle Hill in the West Riding of Yorkshire (Knowles & Hadcock, 1953:223) and the castle may have been built as a base for this foundation. Pounds proposed that the relationship between castles and their localities represented a double-edged sword. Despite claims to the contrary by medieval chroniclers, the prosperity that the Church had enjoyed since the eleventh century flourished during the twelfth century and 'the biggest wave of foundations in England occurred during 'the Anarchy' of King Stephen's reign' (Jamroziak, 2013:53). The military orders benefitted from Stephen's support and together with the king's patronage, 'the Templars were given grants of land early in their stay in England from some illustrious patrons who may have been anxious to imitate, or at least to be seen as being as pious as, King Stephen and his queen' (Lord, 2004:91). Much has been written about the twelfth century as a

time of animosity between the king, the aristocracy and the local population. While some of this patronage was self-serving, it is reasonable to assume that castle-builders and patrons of the Church alike would want to fulfil their lordly obligations and safeguard their own communities as much as possible.

It was inevitable that the competitiveness of castle-building in the upper ranks of society filtered down the social scale by the mid-twelfth century. Indeed, 'men like Ilbert de Lacy and Walter Espec attracted numerous satellites' (Speight, 1993:23). As the *caput* of Robert III of Stuteville, one of 'the Earl of York's political satellites' (Dalton, 1994:180), a moated enclosure was created at what is now known as Baynard Castle in the East Riding of Yorkshire. Excavations during the 1990s in its outercourt 'uncovered phases of occupation dated to the 12th to 14th centuries, including chalk floors, wall footings and industrial metal-working areas' (Historic England, 2012). As much as factors like emulation played a role during 'the Anarchy', Baynard underlines that the castles of the lesser aristocracy relied upon the same ancillary buildings, albeit on a smaller scale. To the south of the study area, evidence of Saxon-Norman quarrying was identified within the ditch at Stamford Castle from excavations (Mahany, 1977). Domestic and service buildings had always been necessary to support daily life in castles, but these qualities have been an aspect typically overlooked for the castles of 'the Anarchy'. While castles inevitably grew even more sophisticated into the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, twelfth-century castles of all manners of construction, belonging to a range of lords, were bound by these needs too.

Castles brought a range of other economic benefits to the medieval economy of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire and this was supported by the proportionately expanding infrastructure of the region. A new mint was set up at Hedon by William of Aumale which 'had the rare distinction of coining money for King Stephen' (English, 1979:215). Its position on the Humber Estuary and proximity to William's castles such as Barrow upon Humber and religious foundations like Thornton Abbey must have maximised its benefits. Some have argued that baronial independence and minting 'corroborates, with particular precision, that of the chronicles, charters, writs, and later Pipe Rolls as to the breakdown of royal government in certain regions' (Blackburn, 1994:145). However, recent coin finds have shown that 'the use of the York local coinage spread south from Yorkshire, but not apparently northwards into the areas of northern England under

Scottish control' (Allen, 2016:300). This would indicate that Yorkshire's magnates had certainly gained more independence, yet these lords were able to readily channel this growing economic prosperity into other areas within their spheres of influence and were not the only beneficiaries of these rewards.

Begun by the Romans centuries before, major roads had already started to connect parts of England together and inland water travel was increasingly made possible by the construction of bridges and crossings during the High Middle Ages near to these castle sites. These transportation networks continued to develop and more readily connected castles like Barrow upon Humber and their communities together. Indeed, 'the comparative ease of crossing the Humber and the number of inland waterways, made traveling in Lincolnshire, as far even as Boston where the monks of Meaux took their wool, much easier then journeys by road to the north and west' (English, 1979:156). Chapter 6 drew attention to Thonock Castle Hills and the purported licence to crenellate it received in the 1140s, whereby Stephen granted William de Roumare the manor of Kirton in Lindsey, and Thonock Castle Hills (Cronne & Davis, 1968:184-5). This also included the bridge over the River Trent which indicated that a level of importance was placed upon this crossing. Strategic considerations were present for the siting of castles throughout the region, though any proximity to nearby roads or rivers was not necessarily an active attempt to subjugate these routes. This is not to say that they could not be used for tactical objectives when needed, but the synergies between castles and these transportation networks shows that they were intended to bring long-term prosperity to the area.

As Lincolnshire and Yorkshire were coastal counties, ports and harbours played an integral role in facilitating trade and commerce throughout the region. For instance, 'in the Humber estuary these took the form of ports, and by *c*. 1200 every sizeable river entering the Humber from the Yorkshire or Lincolnshire Coast had its port' (English, 1979:214). Much was the case with other riverine fortifications, castles such as Torksey were linked to an important port, and 'by the twelfth century…had a market charter, three parish churches and two monasteries' (Hadley et al., 2023:3). This was equally apparent at some coastal sites such as Scarborough Castle which 'appears to have been founded in the vicinity of a community with renewed and growing potential' (Creighton, 1998:202). This budding trade activity was channelled into the creation of markets and

fairs. Although Bridlington Priory had been reportedly occupied against Matilda and was converted into a castle, Stephen granted 'the prior to hold the port of Bridlington in peace' (Cronne & Davis, 1968:46). William of Aumale's settlement at Skipsea and its harbour is also believed to have received a market borough linked to the castle in the 1160s, though this endeavour failed. At the expense of prosperity in other areas such as Hedon, 'Skipsea owes its decline rather to an inherently limited and specialised economic role as a child of the castle' (Creighton, 1998:314). Neither of these boroughs are recorded as having been granted a market or fairs as listed in *Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516* (Letters & Fernandes, 2003b). Regardless of their success, enclosed boroughs and castles were 'manifestations not of ambition of burgesses but of an extension of the social and economic influence of the lords of these castles' (Creighton & Higham, 2005:217). Economic prosperity was essential to all levels of medieval society and the evidence from the region suggests that Stephen had been keen to promote sustained growth through an interconnected network of settlements, religious foundations, and seigneurial castles.

Lordly ambitions had already existed by the twelfth century but intensified when the castle war arrived in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. 'The greatest families had the greatest castles and were the patrons of the greatest monasteries' (Speight, 1993:23) and all levels of the ruling elite were caught up by these considerations. This was also the case for the Knights Templar who became increasingly involved in intercontinental trade, as well as the Church which enjoyed a period of growth. In turn, markets and fairs began to prosper due to this growing economic activity, and were supported by the harbours, ports, and crossings of the Humber Estuary which better connected castles together within these centres of lordship. Despite the troubles of Stephen's reign, normal activities were able to largely continue, and new areas in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire close to castle sites began to prosper in the mid-twelfth century, albeit in a more localised fashion. Similar to the research undertaken at the earlier castles of Norman Ireland, 'these castles were designed for a formal way of life, not for war' (McManama-Kearin, 2013:ix). The castles of the Middle Ages are now generally appreciated by the academic community for their various social, economic, and political functions and those contemporary to the reign of King Stephen are equally deserving of this reappraisal.

7.5 Conclusions

When Stephen was crowned king on 22nd December 1135, his reign began with a promising start. One of the most positive aspects of this was his relationship with the Church and this had been instrumental for his bid for the throne against his cousin, Matilda. After losing support from his brother and the notorious 'arrest of the bishops' in 1139 when titles and castles had been taken, relations between both parties had broken down completely. Following this tension, Stephen began to face many other problems throughout the kingdom, as well as in Normandy. For this reason, Crouch believed that 'it is not in England that we find Stephen the failure, but in Wales and Normandy' (Crouch, 2000:342). For ecclesiastics however, 'the Anarchy' was felt much closer to home. Chroniclers described how churches were converted into castles or were destroyed because of the struggle for the throne and great levies were imposed upon them by England's magnates. While accounts detail the militarisation of churches and damage as being widespread, the archaeology indicates that the extent of this has been exaggerated. Although chroniclers accounted otherwise, it is a period which saw a drastic surge in religious foundations and patronage, the flourishing of the military orders, and the expansion of Christianity as a whole. The budding prosperity of the Church, and the fluid nature of the conflict, made these natural targets during 'the Anarchy' and Hollister noted that 'the wealthier the house, the more likely it is to have been mentioned by name as having sustained losses' (Hollister, 1974:236). As the war manifested itself in elite centres cores close to these religious houses, it was only natural that ecclesiastics were inclined to embellish these details.

As well as the focus on ecclesiastical property, earlier generations of historians used *waste* and its presence in contemporary records to define and determine how much land was destroyed during this period. This has also been overused in the narrative and has only taken the debate so far. Castles have often been at the centre of the debate too and have been used as a measure of the anarchic actions of England's magnates. Despite this, these sites have received little detailed analysis. This thesis has explored the origins of castles throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries, including where they were sited and those responsible for their construction. In the past, these themes have been used to prove the basis for 'the Anarchy' of Stephen's reign. It was only logical

therefore to conclude this discussion with a reflection on how these castles were used. It has been observed by Creighton and Wright that 'the pitched clashes at Northallerton and Lincoln occurred in very specific circumstances and… are not actually very representative of conflict in the civil war more generally' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:43). This chapter thus looked more holistically at the alleged damage on ecclesiastical and secular property, as well as the urban and rural environments in which castles were cores of local power.

While martial prowess was a fundamental aspect of ruling elite, acts of violence in the Middle Ages were condemned by the Church. Regarded as carrying immense societal risk, conflict was avoided as much as possible. This was no exception for Stephen's reign, which was shaped by a protracted war which lasted 19 years. Revisionist scholarship had begun to acknowledge that the rivalry between Stephen and Matilda's supporters was just that. Despite the region hosting the pitched battles of the war, it was characterised rather by smaller and more localised outbreaks between neighbouring lords. Even the likes of Stubbs (1873) and Round (1892) had understood that the conflict was limited in scope. This thesis, which compares the documentary sources with the physical evidence, has emphasised that while the conflict was felt at certain times in various places, its overall impact was not as damaging as it was thought to have been. In fact, the nature of conflict was not entirely dissimilar to the rest of the Middle Ages. As England's magnates had more to gain from the rivalry between Stephen and Matilda, the benefits seemingly outweighed the risks in some cases, and may account for why violence was not always avoided to the same extent.

The war formally ended in 1153 with the Treaty of Winchester and it has been said that with it, 'King Stephen seems to have won the war but lost the peace' (Bradbury, 2009:165). When Stephen died in 1154, the struggle for the throne finally ended, and Henry of Anjou became king. Twelfth-century castles have been either seen as the cause of anarchy, or its 'most noticed and durable symptom' (Coulson, 2003:68). Despite this, castles could also be used to remedy its troubles and were vital to its peace settlement. Following the treaty, the castles which had been built were ordered to be relinquished or destroyed. Slighting represented another form of damage resulting from the struggle for the throne. Castle destruction was indeed a powerful weapon. These centres of lordship affirmed one's place in society and the range of castles discussed throughout

this thesis highlight the concerns and ambitions relating to rank, status, and reputation. Slighting threatened a lord's standing, and this is what made it so damaging. Despite the dangers it represented, the evidence shows that slighting was not common across the region, even throughout the mid-twelfth century. The fact that many had continued to be used demonstrates that these castles were too important to be destroyed entirely.

As so few were used for military purposes, and even fewer still were slighted, our understanding of the development and use of twelfth-century castles must be reframed. Castles of the Norman Conquest and those of the later Middle Ages are now understood to be structures of political, social, and economic growth. As perceptions of anarchy largely remain in the consciousness of those who study them, those contemporary to Stephen's reign have only been seen as products of war. A regional investigation of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire has shown that these structures fulfilled a variety of roles and were instrumental to the transformation of society. Castles were local centres of economic development and mints, and were embedded within social and cultural landscapes of parks and hunting grounds. Embedded within their communities, castles took advantage of road and river networks and played a vital role in regional trade. Above all, castles were seats of power, played out on a national stage. The reign of King Stephen did have a significant impact on the development and use of castles throughout Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, but it was not an anarchic one. From a study of the archaeology, as well as the historical evidence in this contested region, it is 'contentious to label the twelfth-century civil war in England as anarchy' (Crouch, 2000:2).

Chapter 8 Conclusion

8.1 Research Findings

Since the nineteenth century, castles have been central to our understanding of the conflict between King Stephen and the Empress Matilda, and these twelfth-century structures have been closely shaped by notions of anarchy. Chroniclers made it clear that the strength of these castles often went hand in hand with their topographic settings. With this in mind, castles could therefore be expected to be located primarily on defensive positions with the understanding that 'it was not what was built, but where it was built that was the key to Norman success' (Prior, 2006:24). A vital aim of this thesis was to examine trends between these sites and a study of their relative distribution has provided a more balanced reflection of twelfth-century society. Just as it is now accepted that 'a Norman lord had his own ideas as to the form that his castle should take' (Kenyon, 1990:6), this thesis has demonstrated that this rationale equally extended to the landscape settings of these sites. Castle sites were chosen for a wide range of reasons and not always on the most defensible local positions. Opting to build instead on low-lying terrain, together with the open nature of the region's landscape, local magnates sited their castles with a greater degree of choice. This had a large influence on where castles were sited, as much as where they were not. If we are to believe that there was no guide when it came to how Norman lords should construct their castles in the eleventh century, it is likely that magnates continued to profit from this geographical freedom when it came to choosing a suitable site as they became more established during the mid-twelfth century.

The general trend from the region is that castle siting had been well-considered when their designs were first laid out. Lincolnshire and Yorkshire's coastline and its river systems, together with the development of crossings and bridges, went hand in hand with the creation of these castles and the movements of lords throughout their lands. For example, when Stephen granted the manor of Kirton in Lindsey and Thonock Castle Hills to William de Roumare, the bridge over the River Trent was significant enough to be mentioned in this charter (Cronne & Davis, 1968:184-85). Major road networks

played a role in fostering social-economic growth, but the distribution of these sites emphasises that the strength of inland water travel, and their relative proximity to the North Sea, had more bearing in this part of the country. Local lords performed their normal duties, aided by this growing infrastructure around castles which formed local centres of power. The construction of castles in the period up to, during, and following the reign of King Stephen was therefore shaped by practical and long-term considerations, including transportation networks and access to resources. Layering existing datasets from Roberts and Wrathmell's *Region and Place: A Study of English Rural Settlement* (2002) together with data from the *Inland Navigation in England and Wales before 1348: GIS Database Oksanen* (2019) and *Bridges from Medieval England to c. 1250* and (Brookes et al., 2019) has shown that lords were much more aware of the long-term benefits, and indeed drawbacks of the landscape. Positioning their castles to respond to these topographical variations and transportation networks, the landscape evidence does not paint a picture of anarchy.

Coulson argued that the debate regarding castles of 'the Anarchy' 'would require combining the narrative and other sources with the most exhaustive survey' (Coulson, 2003:68). This thesis sought to address this need in part through regional study in an area which played an instrumental role throughout its events. Due to technological advances in the field of medieval archaeology, castles are now appreciated for being more closely connected to their landscapes, both physically and symbolically. The literature had already hinted at the value of looking at castle siting in the High Middle Ages, but the use of viewshed analysis in other studies proved itself 'a means of forming a more objective assessment of the landscape surrounding castles' (McManama-Kearin, 2013:1). For the twelfth-century civil war, its importance cannot be stressed enough. The siting of castles contemporary to the struggle for the throne has equally shown that the motivation for choosing a site was influenced largely by the physical qualities of the region. Even the castles at Barrow and Barton upon Humber underline that local rivalries could depend on visibility across the Humber Estuary. By placing the geo-political environment of castles in regional context, the pressures of twelfth-century society can be viewed more clearly. Indeed, 'If we go back in time such local and regional variations in landscape character would have been even more striking' (Rippon, 2008:2).

As much as the generalities of the landscape can reveal the relationships between people and place, a study of castles can 'reveal much about the circumstances of their building and the society that built them' (Lowerre, 2005:1). Medieval and traditional scholars alike often return to the idea that castles were hastily erected in substantial numbers in response to the instabilities of the period. As they were quicker and cheaper to construct than their stone counterparts, the apparent simplistic forms of motte and bailey and ringwork castles have gone hand in hand with this assumption. Castles were in an early stage of development during the twelfth century, but they were not as rudimentary as chroniclers and earlier historians have detailed when multiple mottes or baileys existed within their circuits. Focusing on this rigid idea of these two forms of castles has not allowed for a greater appreciation to be had of their greater complexities, indicating that more care and attention was taken regarding all types of castles. The archaeology emphasises that these sites were not an outlier to the development of castle-building as a whole. It was observed even in the 1960s that 'the subject [of castle studies] demands the close co-operation of archaeologists and historians' (Davison, 1967:202). The findings of this thesis have stressed this need to study the castles from this period in a holistic way and determine whether castles were built during 'the Anarchy' period or were indeed products of its troubles. These are important distinctions which help reframe our understanding of the period.

It has been customary to resign a castle which has received little focus, to 'the Anarchy' and this has largely been due to the ways in which castles have been classified and underappreciated. Twelfth-century writers accounted how both castles and religious buildings were fortified in wake of the ensuing conflict between Stephen and Matilda. As a result, chroniclers tended to use the same parameters to describe castles, ecclesiastical buildings, town defences and a range of other sites. Focussing on rural castles, the archaeology from the region reveals that many other types and forms of castles were constructed or adapted between the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The framework in which castles have been explored has been too simplistic and the sites from this period must now be recognised for representing more complexity than what their present-day remains suggest. Only fieldworks such as those at Pickering and Lincoln were truly transient structures. The circumstances, of the period, though not anarchic, likely encouraged the variations present at these castles. Though it is clear that

some of these stylistic changes were happening regardless of the conflict. Wider trends on the continent brought in new construction methods and as well as new technological developments, 'there is also good evidence for spatial continuity between Anglo-Saxon lordly residences and Norman castles' (Shapland, 2017:105). This is evident at royal castles like Lincoln and Caistor, and seigneurial castles, like Barton upon Humber and Hough-on-the-Hill which referenced earlier signifiers of power through choice of location and their physical forms. As well as meeting the local needs of the site, castles depended on a range of socio-political factors, including emulation, fashion, and ambition. These concepts were not new by Stephen's reign but became more overtly expressed within society.

The castles of the twelfth century have long been thought to be representative of the broader shifts at elite level which happened at the time of Stephen's reign, standing in apparent contrast to the reigns of Henry I and Henry II. Although the mid-twelfth century provided fewer restrictions to magnates, it would be wrong to label it as a period of anarchy. Where the Norman Conquest is now seen as one of change and continuity, the same has not been said for Stephen's administration, when he made significant effort to ensure there was a degree of administrative continuity. The archaeology suggests that the decentralisation of government did not lead to a widespread breakdown in royal power. In fact, this strategy can be likened to that of his grandfather, William I, and it is apparent that Stephen 'modelled himself on Henry I and posed as the continuator of all that was best in the previous reign' (White, 1994:117). It has been traditionally thought that Stephen's earldom policy fostered the necessary conditions in which England's lords built castles directly at the expense of the Crown. However, it would appear that decentralisation was not such a radical departure from English customs when 'the late Anglo-Saxon phenomenon of a very large lesser aristocracy was effectively re-created over the long term' (Thomas, 2008a:69).

At a time when Domesday tenurial patterns had increasingly begun to break down, 'many noble families gave out the majority of the land they had received from the kings in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries' and 'their descendants continued to grant much more, a fact that has received insufficient attention from scholars' (Thomas, 2008a:69). It is only inevitable that a sub-division in wealth and status would appear by the time of Stephen's reign, and it would not be surprising to view its expression take

on new guises during this period of transition. Arguments centring on adulterine castles have been used to demonstrate the anarchic behaviour of Stephen and Matilda's supporters. Building on the views of Coulson (2003) and Crouch (2000), this thesis confirmed that royal permission to fortify any aspect of a castle had never been required. A small number of potential licences to crenellate linked to sites within the region did nonetheless show that the charters in which they developed may have functioned as an earlier administrative framework, before they became more formalised in the Patent and Close Rolls which did not exist until after Stephen's reign. The greater sense of independence, coupled with the castles built across their lands helped magnates fulfil the obligations expected of them in a manner most appropriate to their social rank.

Due to an absence of an archaeological approach to the subject, the accounts of contemporary chroniclers have been relied upon to understand the mid-twelfth century. These writers detailed that during 'the Anarchy', churches were militarised or destroyed, and taxes imposed upon them. The documented horrors of the conflict, in their view, drove Henry II to strengthen the power of the Crown and 'the relative weakness of the narrative sources for the middle of the twelfth century, along with the paucity of record evidence for Stephen's reign, encourages such approaches' (Amt, 1993:3). However, as the war manifested itself in the areas local to them at various times, it was only natural that ecclesiastics were inclined to exaggerate the events which occurred. In addition to the focus on ecclesiastical property, castles have similarly been at the centre of the debate and can be used as a measure of its impact. Despite the region hosting the defining pitched battles of the war, the conflict was characterised instead by smaller outbreaks between lords, and only when the reward was deemed to outweigh risk. The war simply made these long-standing ideals and lordly ambitions more apparent. Although the conflict inevitably was felt at certain times and places, its impact was not ubiquitous. The nature of the war was not entirely dissimilar to the rest of the medieval period and the same principles towards violence applied. Instead, 'there were developments in art, manuscript illumination, sculpture, architecture, the growth of towns and of the new monastic orders; a firm foundation for further achievements under Henry II' (Bradbury, 2009:195).

The war finally ended in 1153 with the Treaty of Winchester and when Stephen died a year later, Henry of Anjou became king. Following this treaty, the castles which had been

built were ordered to be surrendered to the Crown or were destroyed. Slighting endangered many of the ideals that magnates sought to uphold, as discussed throughout this thesis. For those castles which were known to have been damaged or destroyed, many continued to be occupied thereafter, affirming that they had been intended to be used for a prolonged period of time and were too important to be ruined entirely. Since the revisionist agenda firmly took hold in the 1990s, castles are now understood to have been used for a variety of political, social, and economic purposes. However, twelfth-century castles are still only viewed as causes and products of war. This is not to say that they could not be used for war, because some of them undoubtedly were, but this was not the main intention behind their development. Those who 'have sought to expand our understanding of the medieval castle have, in attempting to free themselves from the issue of 'war or status', paid too much attention to it in the first place' (Creighton & Liddiard, 2008:167). Such notions are difficult to overcome for a period which was characterised by conflict but the picture in twelfth-century England was far more complex than this. Stephen's reign can be regarded as 'as an age of transition' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:289), though this transformative period was shaped by a great deal of continuity too.

8.2 Limitations

As is the case with any study, there are limitations which must be addressed. Castles have been central to the historiography of the reign of King Stephen and have been caught up by notions of militarism, aggression, and of course anarchy. Military architecture is subjective and 'one of the difficulties in any treatment of castles is to arrive at an acceptable definition of the term' (White, 2012:184). By unpacking the terminology in which the castles of the High Middle Ages have been defined by chroniclers themselves, this thesis has shown that it is difficult to divorce castles from other aspects of fortifications when the language used to describe them, as well as the archaeological contexts between them, is often blurred. By solely examining castles, this study has not been able to reflect those structures that do not fall within this particular designation. This included urban defences, preceptories and other sites such as priories

and monasteries which were considered in relation to the construction of castles but were not studied in great detail. The archaeology of these castles has also been impacted by subsequent alterations and remodelling which would have altered the fabric of the twelfth-century construction. In turn, this means that some sites may have been functioned as castles at this time but the evidence available to us is simply not always available. The 'several hundreds of castles [which] can be ascribed on archaeological or documentary evidence to the years before 1154' (Pounds, 1990:70) is testament to the challenges inherent within the source material.

Much effort was made throughout this thesis to adopt a broader approach to the archaeology of the twelfth century. While Stephen's reign took place between 1135-54, 'it can be immensely difficult to date archaeological materials to a specific historical period as brief as a 19-year conflict' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:10). Even Stubbs (1873) had realised that the reign of Henry II could provide a means into assessing the long-term impact of the civil war. This thesis took a more general approach to the source material, and as a result, considered the castles which were created between 1066-1200 to allow all sites which existed during Stephen's reign to be considered and not just those built anew. This approach has not always allowed for a deep enough discussion to take place of some of the sites which can be attributed solely to reign of King Stephen. Recognised more now for its flaws, Round's case study of Geoffrey De Mandeville (1892) did at least demonstrate the value of a more detailed approach to the subject.

This thesis has not benefitted from the inclusion of fieldwork. Due to the nature of the coronavirus pandemic, this thesis has instead relied upon the most recent archaeological research and newly-funded projects to transform our understanding of twelfth-century castles. Taking the form of a desk-based assessment, this study has nonetheless been able to provide a general overview of the region's archaeology which in turn, has helped reappraise our understanding of the rivalry between King Stephen and the Empress Matilda. It is hoped however that this thesis, which has identified a series of regional trends, will in turn develop into a number of research projects at targeted sites throughout the study area.

The reign of King Stephen has primarily been studied in relation to how it impacted England, although historians have similarly examined the impact of the struggle

between Stephen and Matilda in Wales and Normandy. Indeed, David Crouch acknowledged that 'it is not in England that we find Stephen the failure, but in Wales and Normandy' (Crouch, 2000:342). London and Winchester were the respective power bases of both Stephen and Matilda and were inevitably central to the direction of the conflict. Lincolnshire and Yorkshire are the largest counties in England and played a key role during the period too. The defining pitched battles at Northallerton, 1138 and Lincoln, 1141 are testament to the significance of this region to the outcome of the conflict. Nevertheless, this landscape was just one part of the overall narrative, and can only provide a cross-section of twelfth-century society and the baronial castle war which has come to define it. A wider examination of other parts of the country may reveal a different picture into the impact of 'the Anarchy' as it must have been felt unequally across different parts of the kingdom.

Another essential component of the methodology of this thesis was the use of a Geographical Information System. As modern technologies and methods have increasingly become available in medieval studies, archaeologists have been able to look more comprehensively at the relationships between castles, landscapes, and society in greater detail than ever before. Despite this, 'a distribution map of castles, like a plot of any category of archaeological site, can be misleading as it is illuminating' (Creighton, 2002:46) and it has been noted by many who have used GIS that 'care should be taken in reading politics into maps' (Lowerre, 2005:227). This is significant for this study which is inextricably linked to the political exploits of England's magnates and how they were articulated within the landscape. While the geospatial data that has been used throughout this new study has revealed promising trends and patterns in relation to why castles were sited in some locations and not in others, it is not always clear how far such links were deliberate. As this thesis forms the starting point of using GIS to explore the castles of the study region, there is much more to be done in this respect.

Compounded by challenges within the modern landscapes in which these sites can now be found, it has been acknowledged for some time now that 'agricultural exploitation or geological weathering of the land may affect the results [of archaeological study]' (Greene & Moore, 2010:57). Some of the prior research this thesis was able to include was fortunate enough to occur during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by early academics, before further degradation to the archaeology had taken place. The use of

sketches, maps or antiquarian accounts have been able to offer some insight too. 43% of the sites within this thesis were categorised as having a good level of preservation. Around 24% of the total remains in a poor state of preservation and only 12% percent were deemed to be in an excellent condition. Due to modern building projects and other environmental factors, the quality of 23 sites could not be determined, accounting for approximately 20% of the total (Figure 8:1). The collective preservation of these castles is a cause for concern and without intervention, the archaeology will only continue to deteriorate. These challenges were noted by the Humber Wetlands Project which recognised that the archaeology of the region was threatened by factors including, but not limited to 'land drainage, changes in land use, a fluctuating water table, peat desiccation, mineral extraction, and urban, and industrial development' (Van de Noort, 1997:439). This is why it is important to conduct archaeological work before these landscapes are further altered beyond their medieval contexts.

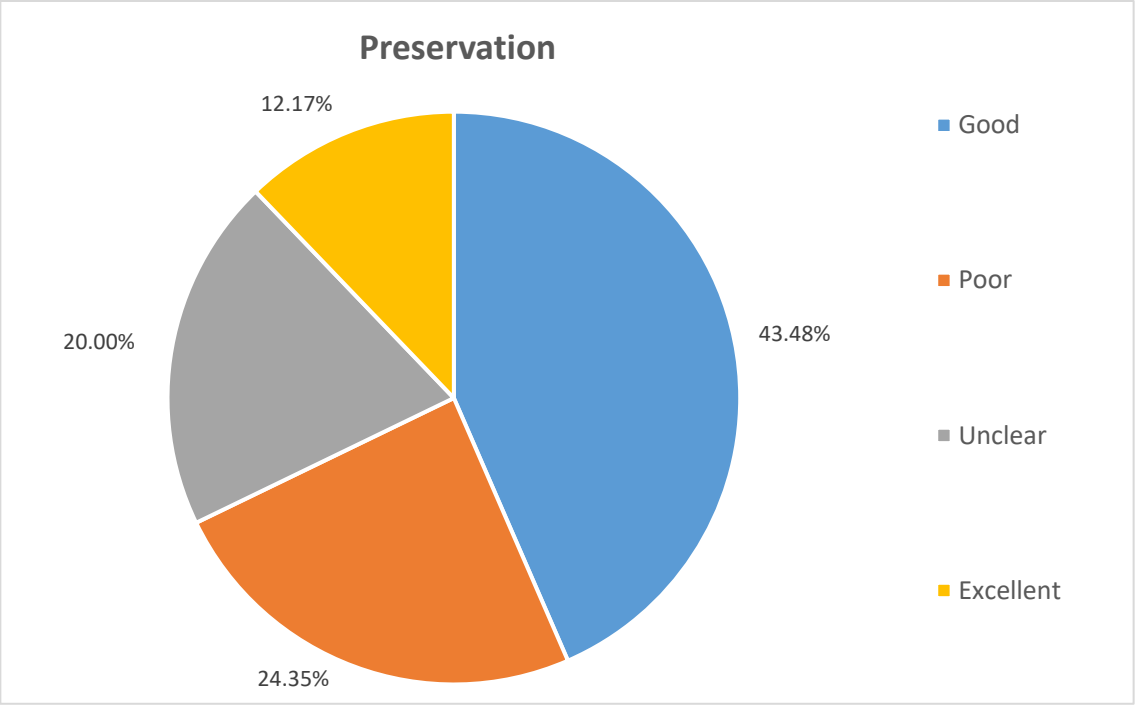

Figure 8:1 The preservation of castles in the study area built between 1066-1200.

8.3 Suggestions for Future Research

Coulson (2003) had urged caution when viewing castles from the period in the same collective manner. Influenced by *The Castles of the Anarchy's,* threefold framework,

acknowledging terms such as *castellum*, *castrum* and *castel* was vital when using the archaeology to challenge the assumptions of twelfth-century writers. In doing so, it has been able to show that regardless of how far a castle appeared to be fortified, there was much greater variety across these structures, reflecting the multitude of roles they fulfilled. Using Coulson's framework, albeit with some minor revisions, meant that ecclesiastical sites which had been described in similar terms as castles, like Bridlington Priory, were disregarded. In addition to exploring many more castles, future research would certainly benefit from studying a larger range of monuments in greater context, including priories, monasteries and preceptories which may have been built or adapted throughout the period. At Laughton en le Morthen, recent research has shown that 'the motte and bailey, though, is just one component of a complex tapestry of evidence from Laughton some of which, such as the church and its fabric, points towards a castle contrasting picture of continuity and sustained seigneurial patronage' (Wright et al., 2023:23). As ecclesiastical and other seigneurial residences may be more representative of the picture of what was happening during 'the Anarchy', a more encompassing research agenda, which considers all types of fortifications within other elite centres, like Laughton, would help drive this part of the debate forward.

Due to the geo-political nature of the protracted struggle for the throne of England, a landscape approach can help overturn many of the misconceptions which remain for 'the Anarchy' period. However, the potential of this approach has not been fully realised for this particular subject. This thesis has shown the benefit of taking a regional landscape approach to the evidence. Indeed, it has been argued that 'the material is much more valuable when understood and contextualised at a landscape-wide scale' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:282). A wider geographical approach would be beneficial than simply the scope offered by this study. Placing the archaeology in greater context would make it possible to challenge the assumptions of the period by looking at the archaeological material in a more systematic and detailed manner. This landscape study has shown that the nineteenth-century classification of the period as one of anarchy has been overused and is an inaccurate way to describe the period. While the war certainly did have an impact on the development of castles, this term does not accurately reflect the nuances of what was happening on a local level. The importance of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire as a frontier with Scotland to the North, and Ranulf of Chester's territories to

the west, provided an ideal microcosm in which to assess 'the Anarchy' but the picture of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire is far from complete and more investigatory work at a more localised scale, as well as the political framework in which castles operated, is needed. More focus should also be given to other well-chosen case studies throughout England, which so far, have not received the same level of attention and was not possible within the scope of this thesis.

As a landscape study, this thesis was suitably placed to benefit from the use of GIS and has produced valuable results and new layered datasets in relation to Domesday forestry (Figures 4:7 and 4:8), as well as zones of control during Stephen's reign (Figure 6:5). A geographic approach to the subject had largely been absent, though Chapter 4 identified that this avenue of research allows for a more objective view to be established of the relationships between castles and their environs. The work of Andrew Lowerre (2005) and Lisa McManama-Kearin (2013) demonstrated that the siting of medieval castles was caught up by a range of topographic, architectural and other social, political and economic needs. To build on the foundation created by this thesis, more analytical tools such as viewshed, visibility and cost-based analysis could be used in the future. In this respect, this thesis often drew attention to the well-known example of the rival castles at Barrow and Barton upon Humber, the latter which scholarship has readily cited as a 'a short-lived Norman castle erected by Gilbert de Gant during the period of the Anarchy' (Rodwell & Atkins, 2011:xxii). More detailed analysis which looks more closely into the nature of intervisibility between other recognised castles from the period would bring great value to the subject. Indeed, 'if we strive to see more features in the landscape in these social terms, we may well perceive fresh subtleties by matching buildings and landscape with more precise documents and dates' (Thirsk, 2000:19).

Lastly, more focus should be given in the future to other forms of physical evidence relating to twelfth-century magnates. Creighton and Wright drew attention to the wealth of material culture from the aristocracy during the mid-twelfth century. As well as building castles on their estates and partaking in acts such as religious patronage, armour, coins, and heraldry also 'expressed the corporate identity of their elite group' (Creighton & Wright, 2016:154). As this thesis has been able to draw closer links between the castles of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, the people who used and experienced them, together with the urban and rural environments in which they functioned, it is

only logical to extend this approach to the wider trappings of elite society. The discussion of archaeological sites throughout this thesis has been able to draw upon a wealth of written and physical evidence and when used more coherently, other forms of evidence could help when dating the evidence more firmly. The archaeology of the twelfth century has been hampered by the homogenous use of the source material and methods used to interpret it and 'the reign of Stephen invites and receives frequent attention from historians' (Chibnall, 2008:1). However, it is fair to say that it should now compel a new generation of archaeologists too. An interdisciplinary approach must now be at the centre of future studies which can continue to broaden the outlook of this period by reflecting its nuances beyond simple notions of anarchy.

Castle-building during Stephen's reign was reminiscent of the established practices employed by his grandfather, William the Conqueror. In a manner which echoed the post-Conquest era, the castles which were erected or modified in the mid-twelfth century undoubtedly still functioned as symbols of societal continuity and political change. Ensuring that his own reign did not represent such a radical departure to that of his predecessors, there is limited evidence to suggest that the circumstances in which castles developed were the outcome of Stephen's inability to control Lincolnshire and Yorkshire while he attempted to secure the throne. Together with the surrounding landscape evidence, the siting and physical characteristics of these constructions remained emblematic of the enduring traditions of Anglo-Norman England. It is therefore more appropriate to describe such castles as having been built during 'the Anarchy' rather than being products of wholesale anarchy.

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Appendix A - Site Data Extract

Site Name	Type of Site (Primary)	Type of Site (Secondary)	Form	Construction	Dating Range	Documentary Evidence	Archaeological Evidence	Reuse of Site (Predominant)	National Heritage List Scheduled Mon No. / HE Mon No.	Civil Parish	Medieval County	Historic County	Modern Authority	OS Grid Reference	Key Groups, Families, and Individuals *c.* 1066-1200	Ownership *c.* 1066-1154	Licence to Crenellate	Used in Conflict During 'the Anarchy'	Slighted During 'the Anarchy'	Current State of Preservation
Barrow upon Humber Castle	Timber Castle		Motte and Three Baileys	11th Century	1070s-80s	A charter dated 3 July 1189 lists 'Castellum de Barwe' amongst the possession of Thornton Abbey	Varley excavated the site in 1960s and recovered pottery and other small finds dated 11th-14th centuries underlining its long-term use	Anglo-Saxon	78991	Barrow upon Humber	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	TA06572252	Drogo de la Beuvriere and William of Aumale	Secular	No	No	No	Good
Barton upon Humber Castle	Timber Castle		Motte and Bailey	12th Century	1140s with possible pre-Conquest antecedents due to proximity to church	Gilbert de Gant's exchange of land near St Peter's Church was made with the monks at Bardney in 1139. The castle was also close to William of Aumale's castle at Barrow upon Humber due to the rivalry between both lords which notably intensified during Stephen's reign	Excavations at St Peter's Church in 1980s identified possible Norman ditches	Anglo-Saxon	79013	Barton upon Humber	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	TA03532193	Gilbert de Gant	Secular	No	No	No	Unclear
Bourne Castle	Timber Castle		Motte and Double Bailey	11th Century	Post-Conquest		A 2002 watching brief identified finds dated 10th-17th centuries including pottery, walls and building materials	Anglo-Saxon	348162	Bourne	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	TF09441990	Baldwin FitzGilbert and King Henry II	Secular	No	No	No	Poor
Broughton Castlethorpe	Timber Castle		Motte and Bailey	11th Century	Mid-11th century with possible pre-Conquest antecedents due to proximity to church	Abraham de la Pryme described the site remains in the 17th c	Fieldwalking in 1988 recovered pottery and tilework, animal bone and horseshoes dated 13th-15th centuries from a hall which likely replaced the castle. A 2015 excavation near to the church revealed structural remains to the east	Possibly Anglo-Saxon	63333	Broughton	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	SE987077	Unclear	Secular	No	No	No	Poor
Burton Pedwardine	Timber Castle	Fortified Manor House	Motte Castle	11th Century	Mid-11th century with possible pre-Conquest antecedents due to proximity to church			Possibly Anglo-Saxon	351134	Burton Pedwardine	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	TF11874205	Creons and Pedwardine families	Secular	No	No	No	Poor

Caistor Castle Hill	Timber Castle		Unclear	12th Century	*C.* 1143	In 1143, King Stephen referred to a time 'when I was at my recently fortified castle at Caistor in Lindsey' (Cronne & Davis, 1968:243)	Everson in 1982 investigated the site and found that the present alignment of the street suggested that part of the Roman remains were used in its construction has been expanded upon by Shapland (2019)	Roman	892573	Caistor	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	TA115013	King Stephen	Royal	1143	No	No	Unclear
Castle Bytham	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Motte and Bailey with Shell Keep	11th Century	Post-Conquest	Mentioned in source from 1141 as being then owned by William of Aumale but it is not clear if he built it or simply enlarged an earlier structure	19th c excavations revealed foundations but were poorly recorded at the time. Comparisons of its form have been made with Skipsea and Castle Bytham to trace its origins and 'it has been suggested that [Barrow upon Humber and Skipsea] were first fortified before 1095 but the similarity between the three sites may suggest contemporaneity and Castle Bytham has sometimes been assigned a date between 1102 and 1135' (Ludlow, 2020:177)	No	325283	Castle Bytham	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	SK99071859	Drogo de la Beuvriere and William of Aumale and King Henry II	Secular	No	Yes	No	Good
Castle Carlton	Timber Castle		Motte and Double Bailey	11th Century	Mid-11th century with possible pre-Conquest antecedents but the parish church not being in close proximity may account for the site having re-worked previous infrastructure nearby		The work of Wright et al (2015) indicted that the shape of the site could mean that it was sited on an earlier structure	Prehistoric	354618	Reston	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	TF39508357	Ansgot of Burwell and Ralph de la Haye or Hugh Bardolf and King Henry II	Secular	No	No	No	Good
Dewy Hill	Timber Castle	Fortified Manor House	Ringwork	11th Century	Mid-11th century		Excavations in the 1960s by Thompson identified the remains with pottery, tile and bone fragments suggesting 11th-12th century origins	Medieval	893222	Bolingbroke	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	TF348655	William de Roumare	Secular	No	No	No	Poor
Goltho Manor	Timber Castle		Motte and Bailey	11th Century	1080-1150 phase of motte and bailey construction, having re-worked antecedent structures		Phasing comprehensively understood from detailed excavation by Beresford which revealed the phasing of the site from the Roman period to the 12th century. Forthcoming work by Sykes has the potential to re-date this site again	Roman and Anglo-Saxon	351512	Goltho	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	TF11597739	Kyme Family	Secular	No	No	No	Good

Heydour Castle Hills	Timber Castle		Ringwork and Bailey	12th Century	Suggested Site-lord's hall not contemporary to 1086 but more likely from the 12th-c enfeoffment of the land - Roffe (n.d.)	Not described in documents as a castle, but rather a 'capital messuage'. Castle has been linked to Craon fee due to the common field system as identified in 13th-c sources - Roffe	1979 surveyor identified scope of the site but no firm archaeological dating evidence	Anglo-Saxon	348646	Haydor	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	TF00733970	Guy de Craon	Secular	No	No	No	Good
Holme Spinney	Timber Castle	Fortified Manor House	Motte and Bailey	11th Century	1066-1100	Site mentioned from 11th c in sources but unclear whether it was a manor house or castle at this time	Levelled in the 1970s and was investigated but the results were poorly recorded. Features still visible from aerial photography	No	324224	Beckingham	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	SK87535187	Elias de Foliot	Secular	No	No	No	Poor
Horncastle Castle	Unclear		Unclear	12th Century	1100-46	A charter noted that the castle was destroyed in 1146 (Dugdale, 1675:39) but King (King, 1983a:265) claims this could have been an error within the source material		Roman	1005034	Horncastle	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	TF258695	de Condet Family	Secular	No	No	Yes	Poor
Hough-on-the-Hill	Timber Castle		Motte and Bailey with Saxon Burgh	11th Century	Mid-11th century with possible pre-Conquest antecedents due to proximity to church and bailey incorporating it in its design	Church nearby mentioned in Domesday and founded early in 9th c		Anglo-Saxon	1003571	Hough-on-the-Hill	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	SK92404644	Earl Ralph and Count Alan of Brittany or Gilbert de Gant	Secular	No	No	No	Unclear
Kinaird Castle	Timber Castle		Motte and Double Bailey	11th Century	1080s	Records of 1090s suggest it was partly dismantled. Re-fortified in the 1170s when Roger de Mowbray revolted against King Henry II	Archaeological work in 1995 identified timber palisades, and indication that the external moat was infilled when the castle was slighted	No	1017556	Owston Ferry	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	North Lincolnshire	SE80510026	Geoffrey de la Guerche and Roger de Mowbray and King Henry II	Secular	No	No	No	Poor
Lincoln Castle	Masonry Castle		Double Motte and Bailey	11th Century	1068	The castle was mentioned in Domesday	The site has been recently comprehensively surveyed, excavated, and restored. This has given clarity into the complex tenurial history of the site and has been able to date features such as the Lucy Tower to 'the Anarchy' period through its similarity to Romanesque architecture at both Lincoln Cathedral and the Guildhall nearby	Roman	1005049	Lincoln	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	SK97477187	King William I, Bishop of Lincoln, and Ranulf Earl of Chester	Royal, Ecclesiastical and Secular	1146?	Yes	No	Excellent

Lincoln Siege Works	Siegework		Siege-Castle	12th Century	1141/44	The first structure was contemporary to the Battle of Lincoln of 1141 and the second fortification originated in 1144 when Henry of Huntingdon wrote how Stephen 'was building an earthwork against [Lincoln Castle] which the Earl of Chester was holding by force' (Greenway, 1996:745)	While sources outline that Stephen created a siege engine adjacent to Lincoln Cathedral which could be seen last on 19th c maps, it is unclear which St Mary's was referred to as having also been converted into a siegework	Medieval	326634	Lincoln	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	SK97317198	King Stephen	Royal	No	Yes	No	Unclear
Newhouse Castle	Timber Castle		Unclear	12th Century	1130s-40s before the priory foundation of 1143	Peter of Goxhill founded Newhouse Priory in 1143, directly on the site 'with the chief court where his castle was' (Warner & Ellis, 1903:24)	Linear features and earthworks identified by the author near to the known site of the monastic buildings on the site in 2022	No	N/A	Brocklesby	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	TA12981339	Peter of Goxhill	Secular	No	No	No	Poor
Partney Castle	Timber Castle		Unclear	12th Century	1140-42	The castle was referred to in a charter of '1141-42' (King, 1983a)	King, nor Renn could not determine the location, nor precise dating of the site from the archaeology	No	1391210	Partney	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	TF410683	Gilbert de Gant and William de Roumare	Secular	No	No	No	Unclear
Sleaford Castle	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Enclosure Castle	12th Century	Early 12th century	Contemporary accounts detail that the castle was raised 'after 1123' and was briefly surrendered to King Stephen 'in 1139' (Osbourne 2010:41)	The site has never been excavated but has substantial earthworks and buried features	Roman	1013527	Sleaford	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	TF06464555	Bishop of Lincoln and King Stephen	Ecclesiastical and Royal	No	No	No	Good
Spalding Castle	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Unclear	11th Century	Mid-11th century with possible pre-Conquest antecedents due to nearby Anglo-Saxon Hall		18th-century maps showed the presence of the site but there are no earthworks present today	Anglo-Saxon	352402	Spalding	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	TF24812306	Ivo Tallboys	Secular	No	No	No	Unclear
Stainby Tower Hill	Timber Castle		Motte Castle	12th Century	Suggested Site - based on land ownership		Enfeoffed during the 12th c and the castle may have been built after 1185. Site has been quarried in parts, but surveys showed the nature of the structure but no firm dating evidence (Bennett 1993:40-1)	No	1019527	Gunby and Stainby	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	SK90962268	Alfred of Lincoln	Secular	No	No	No	Good
Stamford Castle	Timber Castle		Motte and Bailey	11th Century	Post-Conquest	Castle referred to in Domesday when a number of dwellings were removed to make space for its construction	Excavations during the 1970s revealed 11th and 12th c features and distinct phases of development, as well as prior Saxon fortification	Anglo-Saxon	1005011	Stamford	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	TF028070	Lord of the Manor of Stamford, Ranulf Earl of Chester, King Stephen, and Richard Humet	Royal and Secular	No	Yes	No	Good
Swineshead	Timber Castle		Motte and Bailey	12th Century	Early 12th century due to construction of the abbey nearby in 1134 which may have been contemporary	Castle mentioned in a source from 1180s when a sum of money was left for its repair	Pottery finds from 13th-16th centuries	Possibly Viking	1018684	Swineshead	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	TF24334097	de Gresley Family and King Henry II	Secular	No	No	No	Good

Thonock Castle Hills	Timber Castle		Ringwork and Two Baileys	11th Century	Post-Conquest	Possible licence to crenellate linked to the site from the 1140s when the existing castle was granted to William de Roumare	Replanting of the early 18th century revealed a number of medieval finds	Viking	1016970	Thonock	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	SK81849151	Roger of Poitou, Count of Mortain and William de Roumare	Secular	1142/46?	No	No	Good
Thorngate	Timber Castle		Unclear	11th Century / 12th Century	1135-54	Foster (1931) attributed the castle to 'the Anarchy' due to infrequent references to the site in contemporary sources and was referenced in *c.* 1141 and 1151' (King, 1983a:265)	Location unclear and Hill, Vince and Johnson have speculated about its origins, but precise dating cannot be affirmed other than that it was in existence by 1141	Possibly Roman	1391209	Lincoln	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	SK977711	Unclear	Unclear	No	No	Yes	Unclear
Torksey Motte	Timber Castle		Unclear	12th Century	Early 12th century likely due to 1121 port status and existing monastic foundation nearby		Rejected by King and site now lost. Test pits by the University of Sheffield in 2012 revealed a number of high-status finds in addition to the building remains uncovered in the 1960s	No	54207	Torksey	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	SK837786	Unclear	Unclear	No	No	No	Unclear
Welbourn Castle Hill	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Ringwork with Stone Wall	11th Century	Mid-11th century with possible pre-Conquest antecedents due to proximity to church	A charter from 1158 records a grant of land to Robert Rabaz and the construction of a stone wall on the site	Limited excavation and trial trenching by Lindsey Archaeological services revealed pottery and foundations from 11th - 12th c confirming its origins	Possibly Anglo-Saxon	1020436	Welbourn	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	SK96805432	Robert Rabaz and King Henry II	Secular	No	No	No	Good
Welton le Marsh Castle	Timber Castle		Motte Castle	Unclear	Suggested Site - doubtful			No	1019173	Welton le Marsh	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	TF47666980	Gilbert de Gant	Secular	No	No	No	Good
Withern Castle Hill	Timber Castle		Enclosure Castle	Unclear	Suggested Site - Osbourne is one of the few who suggests it was a castle of 'the Anarchy' with no further evidence given		Recorded by King (1983a) as a motte	No	1019067	Withern with Stain	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	TF42728213	Earl Hugh of Chester	Secular	No	No	No	Good
Wrangle King's Hill	Timber Castle		Motte and Bailey	Unclear	Suggested Site	Alexander de Pointon's curia and chapel *c.*1200 may possibly refer to Wrangle King's Hill which means it may have existed at this time	No firm dating but Roffe confirms further work on this site may shed clarity on the matter and that it was indeed a motte and bailey castle and not an abbey	No	1018398	Wrangle	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	TF41355310	Unclear	Unclear	No	No	No	Good
Acklam Motte	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Motte and Three Baileys	Unclear	Suggested Site		Surveyed by Ramm showing evidence of stone remains but no firm dating evidence. Radley, J. 1968. Archaeological Register 1967, Yorkshire Archaeological Journal 42: 109-118 - Site visible but no dating evidence available	No	1008209	Acklam	Yorkshire East Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SE78366135	Fossard Family	Secular	No	No	No	Poor

Adwick le Street Castle Hills	Timber Castle		Motte and Double Bailey	Unclear	Suggested Site		Referred to by Birch (1980) as a motte and bailey castle, but no dating offered based on archaeological evidence	No	1013654	Doncaster	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	Doncaster	SE55130670	Nigel Fossard	Secular	No	No	No	Poor
Aldborough Studforth Hill	Timber Castle		Ringwork	12th Century	Early 12th century	Seems to be confused with Aldbrough Castle where a charter of 1115 seemingly mentions a grant made to the monks of St Martin (Dalton 1994:48) and Creighton (1998:541) refers to a charter King Stephen made in 1115 which of course is incorrect. Aldborough seems to have also been referred to in sources in 1115 (Creighton 1998:578) which may have caused some of the confusion between both sites. Appears to have been a royal castle in 1154 (Brown 1959:261)		Roman	1013654	Boroughbridge	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SE40656596	Unclear and King Henry II	Secular	No	No	No	Good
Almondbury Castle Hill	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Motte and Bailey	12th Century	1135-54	The castle was first mentioned in a charter of 1142-54 being granted to Henry de Lacy and was contemporary to Barwick in Elmet	Comprehensively excavated on several occasions throughout the twentieth century which has established its phasing beginning with prehistoric activity on the site with ended with fire destruction. Varley attributes the pottery finds to 1135-54 and contemporary to the castle construction. Further alterations were made later in the 12th century with corroborating pottery and deposits	Prehistoric	1009846	Huddersfield	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	Kirklees	SE15251407	Henry de Lacy and King Henry II	Secular	1137	No	No	Good
Bardsey Castle Hill	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Motte and Bailey	12th Century	Late 12th century		Partial excavations during the twentieth century revealed building foundations and human remains. Not consistently recorded or published, the site further contained pottery evidence dated only from the late 12th century. It must have been abandoned soon after	No	1012774	Bardsey Cum Rigton	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	Leeds	SE36604333	Adam de Brus	Secular	No	No	No	Good
Barwick in Elmet	Timber Castle		Motte and Bailey	12th Century	1135-54	The castle was first mentioned in a charter of 1142-54 being granted to Henry de Lacy and was contemporary to Almondbury	Excavations conducted throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were poorly recorded but found medieval features, ditches, a kiln, and pottery evidence	Iron Age	1012774	Barwick In Elmet And Scholes	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	Leeds	SE39893769	Henry de Lacy	Secular	No	No	No	Good

Baynard Castle	Timber Castle		Motte and Bailey	12th Century	1100-1170	Baynard was the *caput* of the Robert III of Stuteville, one of 'the Earl of York's political satellites' (Dalton, 1994:180)	Watching brief conducted in the 1990s uncovered evidence of 13th/14th c tiles. Trenches contained Anglo-Saxon pottery and later medieval pottery. 12th-century evidence was also found of furnaces and hearths dated to 1100-1250, as well as an area of levelling contemporary to the 12th century when it was believed that the castle was first built	Anglo-Saxon	1019823	Cottingham	Yorkshire East Riding	Yorkshire	East Riding of Yorkshire	TA04073290	William de Stuteville and Robert III de Stuteville	Secular	1201/1327	No	No	Good
Bishop Rufus Palace	Timber Castle	Palace	Motte and Bailey	12th Century	*C.* 1130	Records indicate that the castle was built in around 1130 by Bishop Rufus. It was re-built or enlarged in 1142, and further work was conducted in 1174, before it was slighted by King Henry II		No	1020719	Northallerton	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SE36449387	Bishop of Durham	Ecclesiastical	No	No	No	Poor
Bowes Castle	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Unclear	12th Century	1130s	Pipe Rolls showed that the castle was either built or adapted in the 1170s when King Henry II became its owner and began work on the site	Roman features have been excavated but the medieval aspects of the site have been overlooked	Roman	1002318	Bowes	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	Durham	NY99231348	Count Alan of Brittany and King Henry II	Secular	No	No	No	Good
Bradfield Bailey Hill	Timber Castle		Motte and Bailey	Unclear	Suggested Site - in the absence of other evidence, Birch (1980) attributes the castle to the de Furnival family during the 12th c		Eighteenth-century excavation supposedly revealed masonry, but this was not properly recorded. The site was partly excavated in 1990 in preparation for a burial ground, but no medieval artefacts were found	Possibly Anglo-Saxon	1013217	Bradfield	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	Sheffield	SK26629268	de Furnival Family	Secular	No	No	No	Poor
Brompton Castle Hill	Timber Castle	Fortified Manor House	Motte Castle	12th Century	Late 12th century		Excavations of 2021 offered clarity into the development of the site and that it was likely a fortified residence rather than a castle. Radiocarbon dating suggested a construction date of the late 12th c	No	1021268	Brompton	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SE94548214	Eustace Fitz-John	Secular	No	No	No	Good
Burton in Lonsdale Castle Hill	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Motte and Bailey and Ringwork	11th Century / 12th Century	1066-1130	Referred to in 1130 in documents as having been confiscated at the end of the 11th century. Supposedly abandoned by the 1170s when it is no longer mentioned as belonging to the Mowbray family such as those at Kirkby and Thirsk	Initial excavations conducted by White and Walker and later assessed by Moorhouse, who suggests the finds evidence and structures found shows the site developed from a ringwork and into a motte	Possibly Anglo-Saxon	1009319	Burton in Lonsdale	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SD65007213	de Mowbray Family	Secular	No	No	No	Excellent

Carlton in Coverdale Round Hill	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Motte Castle	Unclear	1135-54	Butler (1994) refers to Carlton in Coverdale as an outpost due to its location and castle of 'the Anarchy' while Middleham was being constructed.	Joynes (2006) suggests it more likely to be a burial mound due to its size and only excavation can reveal more information	No	48726	Carlton	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SE06768461	Unclear	Secular	No	No	No	Good
Castle Haugh	Timber Castle		Ringwork and Motte	11th Century / 12th Century	1066-1151	Mentioned as having been destroyed by the Scots in 1151 in contemporary sources		No	1012521	Newsholme	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	Lancashire	SD82995077	William de Percy	Secular	No	Yes	No	Good
Castle Levington	Timber Castle		Ringwork and Motte	Unclear	Suggested Site - put forward on Gatehouse based on land ownership when the manor was given to Robert de Brus, and the building of a castle may have followed soon after, if it had not existed previously		Poorly recorded pottery finds but not thought to be medieval in origin. No firm dating evidence is available	No	1003267	Castle Levington	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	Stockton on Tees	NZ461103	Robert de Brus and Adam de Brus	Secular	No	No	No	Good
Catterick Palet Hill	Timber Castle		Motte and Bailey	11th Century	Mid-11th century with links to church and village	Records suggest that the castle was partially dismantled and re-fortified during the 1170s when Count Alan of Brittany revolted against King Henry II	Archaeological work in 1983 highlighted considerable disturbance to the site	Possibly Prehistoric	1021136	Catterick	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SE23959804	Count Alan of Brittany	Secular	No	No	No	Unclear
Cawood Castle	Masonry Castle	Palace	Enclosure Castle	12th Century	Mid to late 12th century	Palace/castle first mentioned in 1181. Standing structures are contemporary to 1426-52 when it was written that the gatehouse was built by Archbishop Kempe	Areas levelled in the 1970s due to housing developments. Watching briefs from the 1980s showed evidence of gardens in addition to 14th-century brickwork	No	1011518	Cawood	Liberty of Cawood, Wistow and Otley	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SE573376	Archbishop of York	Ecclesiastical	1272	No	No	Excellent
Conisbrough Castle	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Motte and Bailey and Ringwork	11th Century	Post-Conquest when the Honour of Conisbrough was granted to William de Warenne	First mentioned during the 1170s	Stone keep later built around 1180s-90s and dated on stylistic grounds due to chapel decorations (Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture). This does not reflect the earlier timber structures which would have been present when the castle was first built	Anglo-Saxon	1010828	Conisbrough Ward of Doncaster	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	Doncaster	SK51499881	William de Warenne and Hamelin Plantagenet	Secular	No	No	No	Excellent
Cotherstone Castle	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Motte and Bailey	11th Century	1090s - Gatehouse	Licence to crenellate granted in 1201		No	1005583	Cotherstone	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	Durham	NZ01331997	Henry fitz Hervey	Secular	1201	No	No	Poor
Crazy Castle	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Motte and Bailey	11th Century	1070-75 with links to church and village - Gatehouse / Creighton (1998)	First mentioned in 1216		Prehistoric and Anglo-Saxon	1262832	Skelton And Brotton	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	Redcar and Cleveland	NZ65181933	Richard de Surdeval and the de Brus Family	Secular	No	No	No	Poor

Cropton T'Hall Garth	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Motte and Bailey	11th Century	Mid-11th century with links to church and village	Referred to in 1336 and again in 1349 when it was described as ruinous		No	1011624	Cropton	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SE75448930	Robert de Stuteville	Secular	No	No	No	Excellent
Cusworth Castle Hill	Timber Castle		Motte Castle	11th Century	Post-Conquest when the Honour of Conisbrough was granted to William de Warenne		Investigations during 1964 were able to measure the remains of the site but no firm dating could be established beyond its association with the Honour of Conisbrough	No	1010767	Sprotbrough and Cusworth	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	Doncaster	SE54180334	Roger de Busli and William de Warenne	Secular	No	No	No	Poor
Doncaster Castle	Timber Castle		Motte and Bailey and Ringwork	11th Century	Post-Conquest - Gatehouse		Excavations during the 1970s showed the nature of the castle construction and its links to Roman ditches and the fort's perimeter, but dating was difficult. St Georges Church known to have been built by 1200 so the castle was out of use by then which has led some to believe it was destroyed under Henry II's reign	Roman	1004797	Doncaster	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	Doncaster	SE57430353	Unclear	Unclear	No	No	No	Unclear
Drax Castle Hill	Timber Castle	Fortified Manor House	Unclear	12th Century	1135-54	Destroyed by Stephen in 1154 following the Treaty of Winchester (Creighton, 1998:592)	Possibly on site of earlier moated enclosure site. Confusion caused by uncertainty relating to the presence of a motte which led HER to claim it cannot have been a castle	No	1017455	Drax	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SE67602602	Unclear	Secular	No	No	Yes	Unclear
Easby Castle Hill	Timber Castle		Motte and Bailey	12th Century	1135-54	The scheduling information for the site attributes its construction to Bernard de Balliol during 'the Anarchy'	An excavation conducted in 1903 revealed a flint find but otherwise it was poorly recorded. Excavations and survey work by the Hidden Valleys Community Project from 2018 has yielded no medieval pottery. This has led them to suggest the site could be older	No	1008208	Easby	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	NZ58980848	Bernard de Balliol	Secular	No	No	No	Poor
Felixkirk Howe Hill	Timber Castle		Motte and Bailey	11th Century	Mid-11th century with possible pre-Conquest antecedents due to proximity to Felixkirk Church which The Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture dates to the pre-Conquest era, though there is no mention in Domesday		Listed as a Bronze Age bowl barrow by English Heritage which states that this former feature may have been incorporated into both church and castle for spiritual reasons	Bronze Age	1008736	Felixkirk	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SE46738463	Unclear	Unclear	No	No	No	Poor

Foss Castle	Timber Castle		Motte and Bailey and Ringwork	11th Century	Post-Conquest when Nigel Fossard is known to have constructed it - scheduling report	Mentioned in a source from 1133	Abandoned around 1200 when Mulgrave Castle was built in stone nearby (scheduling report)	Anglo-Saxon	1008286	Lythe	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	NZ831117	Nigel Fossard	Secular	No	No	No	Good
Gilling Castle–Gilling West	Timber Castle		Unclear	11th Century	Mid-11th century with possible pre-Conquest antecedents due to manor being under Edwin's control until 1071	Records suggest it was partly dismantled and re-fortified during the 1170s rebellions against King Henry II	Located on top of an Anglo-Saxon hall as listed by the VCH may be inaccurate due to the castle being 2km from the church. As there are no remains of the site and little archaeological work, dating cannot be firmly established	Possibly Anglo-Saxon	21647	Gilling With Hartforth And Sedbury	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	NZ16390425	Count Alan of Brittany	Secular	No	No	No	Unclear
Great Driffield Moat Hill	Timber Castle	Palace	Motte and Bailey	11th Century	Mid-11th century with possible pre-Conquest antecedents	Anglo-Saxon Chronicle details that a palace existed here in the 7th and 8th centuries	Excavations from the 1970s showed evidence of earlier Roman and Anglo-Saxon occupation, as well as a Norman castle with phases of bridge-building which was built atop these remains	Roman and Anglo-Saxon	1015612	Driffield	Yorkshire East Riding	Yorkshire	East Riding of Yorkshire	TA02365827	Unclear	Unclear	No	No	No	Poor
Hampole Castle Hill	Timber Castle	Fortified Manor House	Ringwork and Motte	12th Century	Mid to late 12th century		Recorded by King (1983b) as a motte but present conditions do not allow for a firm idea of the nature of the monument, or its dating, to be established	No	1004794	Hampole	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	Doncaster	SE51171040	William de Clairfait	Secular	No	No	No	Poor
Helmsley Castle	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Ringwork and Bailey	12th Century	Late 1120s-early 1130s	Referred to in the Chartulary of Rievaulx and formed an elite landscape by 1135 when Rievaulx had been founded nearby	Site is well understood from a series of investigations conducted during the 20th century. Though firm dating has not always been established, it is clear that it was built in distinct phases when adaptions were made, and it became increasingly complex when re-built in stone and other domestic and service buildings were added	No	1009963	Helmsley	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SE61108363	Walter Espec and the de Roos Family	Secular	No	No	No	Excellent
Hood Castle	Timber Castle	Fortified Manor House	Motte and Bailey	11th Century	Late 11th century	Known to have been built by Robert de Stuteville before passing to Henry I upon his downfall. Last mentioned in sources in 1322		No	1008230	Kilburn High And Low	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SE50388141	Robert de Stuteville and King Henry I	Royal and Secular	1264	No	No	Good
Horsbury Castle Hill	Timber Castle	Fortified Manor House	Unclear	Unclear	Suggested Site - Gatehouse refers to it as supposed early site		Site levelled in the early nineteenth century which makes it difficult to establish its nature and dating	No	52560	Wakefield	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	Wakefield	SE30051762	Unclear	Unclear	No	No	No	Poor

Huddersfield Hill House	Timber Castle		Motte and Bailey	11th Century	Post-Conquest		Destroyed partially by construction work but a watching brief conducted in 1987 confirmed the presence of a motte. A further inspection in 2004 confirmed this further and to Constable (2003), showed that its structure was comparable to the earlier motte and baileys as depicted on the Bayeux Tapestry	No	1433553	Huddersfield	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	Kirklees	SE14231801	Unclear	Unclear	No	No	No	Good
Hunmanby Castle Hill	Timber Castle		Motte and Bailey	11th Century	Post-Conquest with links to Norman church and village	Church mentioned in Domesday		No	1011375	Hunmanby	Yorkshire East Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	TA09447750	Gilbert de Gant	Secular	No	Yes	No	Good
Hutton Conyers Castle	Timber Castle		Unclear	12th Century	1135-54	The castle was mentioned in a charter of 1136 as having been a possession of Count Alan of Brittany	Damaged site has made it difficult to excavate but was classified by L'Anson (1913)	No	1004074	Hutton Conyers	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SE32627352	Count Alan of Brittany	Secular	No	No	Yes	Good
Kildale Hall Garth	Timber Castle	Fortified Manor House	Unclear	11th Century	Post-Conquest with links to Norman church and village		Partial excavations during the 1960s revealed stone remains, as well as timber features. Some evidence of later 13th c stonework found	Possibly Viking	1008397	Kildale	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	NZ60330954	Robert de Brus and the Percy Family	Secular	No	No	No	Poor
Killerby Castle Hills	Timber Castle		Motte and Bailey	12th Century	1120-25 - when Scholland is thought to have built the site (Gatehouse)		The site was cored in by the Round Mound Project in 2016/17 but the results are still pending	Possibly Medieval	1020991	Catterick	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SE25459707	Scholland	Secular	No	No	No	Good
Kilton Castle	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Enclosure Castle	12th Century	Suggested Site - Gatehouse notes that a timber castle was built during 'the Anarchy' before the stone castle which later replaced it, but this has not been substantiated	First mentioned in 1265 when a chantry was granted to the chapel at Kilton	Excavated in the 1960s and 1970s which showed evidence of 13th c structures known to be built by the Kilton family, as well as evidence of its phasing thereafter and how the site was abandoned by the 16th c with no subsequent traces of occupation. No firm evidence of 12th c structures has been substantiated so far	No	1018946	Lockwood	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	Redcar and Cleveland	NZ702176	Tenant of Count de Mortain	Secular	No	No	No	Good
Kimberworth Motte	Timber Castle		Motte and Bailey	11th Century	Late 11th century - Creighton's work (1998) on de Busli's estates makes it a possible candidate			Possibly Anglo-Saxon	1013469	Rotherham	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	Rotherham	SK40549351	Roger de Busli	Secular	No	No	No	Unclear

Kippax Manor Garth Hill	Timber Castle		Ringwork and Motte	11th Century	Post-Conquest with links to Norman church and village		Excavations from 1860s uncovered a Roman bottle but no medieval features which could be dated	Anglo-Saxon	1009357	Garforth	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	Leeds	SE417304	Ilbert de Lacy	Secular	No	No	No	Good
Kirkbymoorside, Stutevilles Castle	Timber Castle	Fortified Manor House	Enclosure Castle	Unclear	Suggested Site - Gatehouse refers to it as probable site from 12th c due to its association with the Neville family and disputes ending by 1200			No	1015811	Kirkbymoorside	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SE69968678	Robert de Stuteville and the Nevilles	Secular	No	No	No	Good
Knaresborough Castle	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Unclear	12th Century	*C.* 1100 - Creighton (1998)	First mentioned in 1129-30 when work was conducted on the castle	Few remains of the castle left, though it was excavated in the 1960s which showed its later features, including a 15th-c sally port - no 12th c remains visible (Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture)	Possibly Medieval	1020586	Knaresborough	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SE34905688	Eustace Fitz-John and King Henry I	Royal and Secular	No	No	No	Excellent
Laughton en le Morthen Castle Hill	Timber Castle		Motte and Bailey	11th Century	Post-Conquest with pre-Conquest antecedents		The site has been studied from surveys and excavation since 2018 (Wright et al 2023) in order to understand the relationship between motte and bailey and the earlier Anglo-Saxon manorial complex	Anglo-Saxon	1012199	Thurcroft	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	Rotherham	SK51628821	Roger de Busli	Secular	No	No	No	Good
Leeds Castle Hill	Timber Castle	Fortified Manor House	Unclear	11th Century	Post-Conquest - due to the importance of Leeds in the pre-Conquest era which may have warranted the construction of a castle (Gatehouse)	Castle is referred to as having been attacked by Stephen in 1138/39	The site has not been meaningfully studied as it has been greatly built upon, and therefore its precise location is unknown. A watching brief in 1991 was carried out near to the alleged site, but no evidence of the castle was found	No	51394	Leeds	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	Leeds	SE299333	Paganel Family	Secular	No	Yes	No	Unclear
Lockington Coney Hill	Timber Castle		Motte and Bailey	12th Century	Built by 1120 by the Fossards who had held the manor since 1071 - Gatehouse			No	1021289	Lockington	Yorkshire East Riding	Yorkshire	East Riding of Yorkshire	SE99824651	Fossard Family	Secular	No	No	No	Good
Malton Castle	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Motte and Bailey	11th Century	Early Castle - Creighton (1998)	Mentioned in 1138 when attacked in the wider events of the Battle of the Standard, 1138	The remains of the Roman fort were excavated between 1920-30s, and links were drawn between the Roman and medieval remains. There are no remains of the castle today which makes it hard to understand	Roman	1004051	Malton	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SE790716	William Tyson, Eustace Fitz-John and King Henry II	Secular	No	Yes	No	Unclear

Mexborough Castle Hill	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Motte and Bailey	11th Century	Post-Conquest - Creighton's work (1998) on de Busli's estates makes it a possible candidate built at this time		Some confusion has been centred on the place-name and possible links to an Anglo-Saxon site, but this has not been substantiated. Field investigations were conducted in the 1960s, but features are now mutilated	No	1013650	Mexborough	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	Doncaster	SK484999	Roger de Busli	Secular	No	No	No	Poor
Middleham Castle	Masonry Castle	Palace	Hall Keep	12th Century	1170-80s	Not mentioned in sources until 1216	Stone keep dated to the 1170s-80s based on stylistic grounds due to the use of the waterleaf decoration and stone carved capitals	No	1010629	Middleham	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SE12678762	Ralph FitzRanulph and King Henry II	Secular	No	No	No	Excellent
Middleham Williams Hill	Timber Castle		Motte and Bailey and Ringwork	11th Century	Late 11th century precursor to Middleham Castle built during the reign of William Rufus after the land had been granted to Alan Rufus following the Norman Conquest - Gatehouse			No	1004907	Middleham	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SE12508725	Ribald de Rufus	Secular	No	No	No	Good
Mirfield Castle Hall Hill	Timber Castle		Motte and Bailey	11th Century / 12th Century	Built between 1086-1159 within the Honour of Pontefract (Gatehouse)		The site has not been excavated or surveyed but it was cleared of trees in 2012 which better revealed its scope, and that the motte was constructed from stone rubble. An Anglo-Saxon hall was believed to have been nearby. Scheduling report details that the site continued to be used from the 12th c but with reduced importance	Anglo-Saxon	1009929	Mirfield	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	Kirklees	SE21102044	Svein, son of Alric or his son, Adam	Secular	No	No	No	Good
Mount Ferrant Castle	Timber Castle		Motte and Three Baileys	11th Century	Post-Conquest when Nigel Fossard is known to have constructed the site (scheduling report)	Slighted during the 1150s by Henry II and its materials used to construct Meaux Abbey		No	1011603	Birdsall	Yorkshire East Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SE79546390	Nigel Fossard	Secular	No	No	Yes	Poor
Mowbray Castle	Timber Castle		Motte and Bailey	11th Century	Post-Conquest	Castle mentioned in 1130, and also documented as a group of castles which had been seized in 1095 which means it had been in existence by that point	Known to have been destroyed following the rebellions of the 1170s. Local digging for stone supposedly showed the outlines of a number of structures	No	1012994	Kirkby Malzeard	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SE23737456	de Mowbray Family and King Henry II	Secular	No	No	No	Good

Mulgrave Castle	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Enclosure Castle	12th Century	Late 12th Century successor to an earlier motte on this location - Gatehouse		Excavated before 1923 but no records exist	Medieval	1015113	Lythe	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	NZ839116	Robert de Turnham	Secular	No	No	No	Good
Northallerton Castle Hills	Timber Castle	Palace	Motte and Bailey and Ringwork	11th Century	*C.* 1068 when William I was encamped in the area as part of the Harrying of the North - Gatehouse	Site mentioned in 1141 when it was seized on behalf of David of Scotland	Unrecorded excavations were carried out in 1938. King (1983b) believed it to have been built in 1140s, but this does not reflect its earlier origins that Gatehouse have listed for the site	No	53958	Northallerton	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SE36129414	King William I, William Cumin, Bishop Pudsey and David of Scotland	Royal, Ecclesiastical and Secular	No	Yes	No	Poor
Pickering Beacon Hill	Siegework	Timber Castle	Motte and Bailey	12th Century	1100-54	The site may have been used in an unrecorded siege due to its topographical location close to Pickering Castle	Site has been mapped but due to lack of investigation, there is a lack of clarity as to the precise dating of the site and it has been suggested that it may in fact have been contemporary to the 13th c	No	1019091	Pickering	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SE79288443	Unclear	Unclear	No	Yes	No	Poor
Pickering Castle	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Motte and Double Bailey	11th Century	*C.* 1068 when William I was encamped in the area as part of the Harrying of the North - Gatehouse	Recorded in the Pipe Rolls of 1179-80	Excavated in the 1960s focussing on the outer ditch and its medieval origins within the context of later developments on the site. Constructed in three phases: firstly, as a motte and two baileys, followed by the addition of a shell keep in the 13th c, and finally the construction of a curtain walls and adjoining towers. A series of other buildings and structures exist but have not been firmly dated	No	1009884	Pickering	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SE79878452	King William I and William of Aumale?	Royal and Secular	No	Yes	No	Excellent
Pontefract Castle	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Motte and Bailey	11th Century	Post-Conquest	Castle mentioned in Domesday	Excavations during the 1980s established the nature and phasing of the site. Evidence of an earlier timber structure was found, in addition to the Anglo-Saxon cemetery. The first iteration of the castle was a motte and bailey, before later becoming an enclosure castle from the 12th century. The stone keep was built from the 13th c	Anglo-Saxon	1010127	Pontefract	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	Wakefield	SE46062236	Ilbert de Lacy	Secular	No	No	No	Good
Richmond Castle	Masonry Castle		Enclosure Castle	11th Century	Post-Conquest	Castle mentioned in Domesday	Began as an unusually shaped enclosure castle. 11th and 12th c adaptations saw the construction of a barbican and a square keep added later in the 12th c	No	1010627	Richmond	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	NZ17130072	Count Alan of Brittany, Conan the Little and King Henry II	Secular	No	No	No	Excellent

Rothwell Castle	Timber Castle	Fortified Manor House	Unclear	11th Century	Late 11th Century built by Ilbert de Lacy - Gatehouse	Presence of a manor house recorded in 1341	State of preservation and lack of investigations makes it difficult to ascertain. 1874 excavations revealed building foundations. The Rothwell and District Historical Society state that a motte was present on the site, but no remains exist, though it is possible that it began as a motte and bailey and became a fortified manor house	Anglo-Saxon	1005792	Rothwell	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	Leeds	SE34222827	Ilbert de Lacy	Secular	No	No	No	Poor
Sandal Castle	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Motte and Bailey	12th Century	*C.* 1106	Sandal Castle mentioned in sources from 1240 and was held by the Warenne family	Excavated in the latter half of the 20th c which established its phasing. It was likely built from 1106 in timber, before its stone phase from around 1240	No	1012075	Wakefield	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	Wakefield	SE33721816	William de Warenne and King Henry II	Secular	No	No	No	Good
Scarborough Castle	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Enclosure Castle	12th Century	1135-54	Built by William of Aumale as confirmation of his power during 'the Anarchy'	First built from timber, it was rebuilt from stone when it became the property of the Crown. Excavations conducted in the 19th and 20th c revealed the nature of the site's buried deposits, earlier features and burials	Prehistoric, Roman, and Anglo-Saxon	1011374	Scarborough	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	TA04778912	William of Aumale and King Henry II	Secular	No	No	No	Excellent
Selby Castle	Timber Castle		Unclear	12th Century	*C.* 1142	William of Aumale is noted to have attacked the castle which had possibly been linked to Henry de Lacy's 'succession to the honour of Pontefract in around 1142' (Dalton, 1994:171). Other castles associated with the honour included Almdonbury Castle Hill and Barwick in Elmet	Precise location of the castle has not been established which means there is a shortage of archaeological evidence	No	58081	Selby	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SE615325	Henry de Lacy	Secular	No	Yes	No	Unclear
Sheffield Castle	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Unclear	12th Century	*C.* 1100	First mentioned in 1184 when it belonged to the de Lovetots	Excavations during the 1920s showed the castle's features from three periods, including an earlier Anglo-Saxon building. It is thought that the timber castle was constructed in around 1100, until a stone castle was built in around 1270	Anglo-Saxon	1254809	Sheffield	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	Sheffield	SK35798768	William de Lovetot and King Henry II	Secular	1270	No	No	Unclear
Sheriff Hutton Ringwork	Timber Castle		Ringwork	12th Century	Early 12th Century - nearby church also thought to originate from this time	Church documented from 1100-1115 and may have been a deliberate link to the castle		No	1017484	Sheriff Hutton	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SE65576622	Bertram de Bulman and Count Alan of Brittany	Secular	No	Yes	No	Unclear

Skipsea Castle Hill	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Motte and Bailey	11th Century	Late 11th Century - created by Drogo de la Beuvriere following the Norman Conquest (Dalton 1994)	Castle chapel recorded in existence by 1102	A small number of finds have been recovered from the site. The Rounds Mound Project of 2016 confirmed the motte was of Iron Age origin	Iron Age	1011212	Skipsea	Yorkshire East Riding	Yorkshire	East Riding of Yorkshire	TA16215507	Drogo de la Beuvriere, Odo Count of Troyes, William of Aumale and King Henry II	Secular	No	No	No	Good
Skipton Castle	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Motte and Bailey	11th Century	Late 11th Century - with links to church (Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture)	Mentioned first in sources from 1130	Earliest surviving work has been dated to 1190, though the earliest structures would have been made from timber, the plan for which is unknown- Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture	No	1131901	Skipton	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SD99135200	Robert de Romille and King Henry II	Secular	No	No	No	Excellent
Stainborough Castle	Timber Castle		Ringwork	11th Century	Post-Conquest - Gatehouse		Excavations from the 1960s highlighted stone features situated within an earlier ditch, but none of these features were dated. It has been argued that the castle could have been placed on an earlier Iron Age fort, but it is not clear whether this was simply a medieval ringwork. Surveys from 2006 also confirmed the presence of the castle	Possibly Iron Age	1151069	Stainborough	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	Barnsley	SE31580304	Unclear	Unclear	No	No	No	Good
Swine Castle Hill	Timber Castle	Fortified Manor House	Motte and Bailey	11th Century	Early Castle - Creighton (1998)	Hall mentioned in sources as having been in existence from 1668	Partially excavated in the early 19th which showed the presence of the Elizabethan building, as well as some 14th and 15th c pottery	No	1008042	Wawne	Yorkshire East Riding	Yorkshire	East Riding of Yorkshire	TA12553435	Sir John Saher	Secular	1352	No	No	Poor
Tadcaster Castle	Timber Castle		Motte and Bailey	11th Century	Late 11th century		Partly damaged by the English Civil War, excavations on the site in the 1960s showed the motte to contain Roman building debris. Pottery has also been recovered from the site, including 2nd and 3rd c as well as a shard of Norman pottery. Work showed the site had been split into two phases when the ditch was seemingly altered in the 16th c with no medieval finds present	Roman	1017407	Tadcaster	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SE48504354	William de Percy	Secular	No	No	No	Good

Thirsk Castle	Timber Castle		Motte and Bailey	11th Century / 12th Century	1095-1130	Castle mentioned in 1130, and also documented as a group of castles which had been seized in 1095 which means it had been in existence by then	Investigations during the 1980s and 1990s revealed the nature of the motte and its clay and sand contents, as well as the castle's outer defences. This did not meaningfully date the site. However, work by Finney (1994) indicated that the castle had pre-Conquest origins	Anglo-Saxon	1008761	Thirsk	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SE42768200	Roger de Mowbray and King Henry II	Secular	No	No	No	Unclear
Thorganby Giants Hill	Timber Castle		Ringwork	11th Century	Early Castle - Creighton (1998)		Surveyed as part of the Humber Wetlands Project but did not reveal conclusive data which they believed to be no later than 11th c	No	57998	Thorganby	Yorkshire East Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SE69283962	Unclear	Unclear	No	No	No	Good
Thorne Peel Hill	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Motte and Bailey	12th Century	Post-Conquest when the Honour of Conisbrough was granted to William de Warenne	Domesday did not refer to a church and St Nicholas was not built until the 12th c and may have been constructed to serve the castle - named as a chapel from 1147 (Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture)	Excavations carried out in the 19th c were unrecorded. Keep believed to have been a smaller example of the one at Conisbrough	No	1013451	Thorne	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	Doncaster	SE68951334	de Warenne Family	Secular	No	No	No	Good
Tickhill Castle	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Motte and Bailey	11th Century	Post-Conquest - town and church designed near to the castle (Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture)	The castle was first mentioned in sources from 1102	Excavations from 1961 uncovered the castle foundations which indicated that it did not have a shell keep as previously thought. Later excavations in 1987 on the motte showed the walls of the keep which were added in the 12th c when the castle was fashioned from stone. This dating of the tower has been confirmed due to the likeness of a door lintel identical to one at Conisbrough which has been dated to 1180. The gatehouse has also been seen to have Anglo-Saxon details considered to be 11th and 12th c in origin	Possibly Anglo-Saxon	1004828	Tickhill	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	Doncaster	SK59329287	Roger de Busli, Robert Belleme, John Count of Eu, Ranulf Earl of Chester, and King Henry II	Secular	No	No	No	Excellent
Topcliffe Maiden's Bower	Timber Castle		Motte and Bailey	11th Century	Post-Conquest - Gatehouse	Topcliffe Maiden's Bower first featured in contemporary sources from 1174 when it was re-fortified as part of the Mowbray rebellion		No	1011612	Topcliffe	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SE40947500	Percy Family, Bishop of Lincoln, the de Mowbrays and King Henry II	Secular and Ecclesiastical	No	No	No	Good

Wakefield Lowe Hill	Timber Castle		Motte and Double Bailey	12th Century	1138-49	First mentioned in 1174-78 when a constable is recorded in association with the castles at Tickhill and Conisbrough	Scheduling report lists it as an adulterine castle of 'the Anarchy' and archaeological work from 1953 indicates that the castle was not finished as few substantial finds were uncovered and only pottery and metal work of the 12th c was found. The castle was surveyed in 2015 but the results have not been published	No	1010054	Wakefield	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	Wakefield	SE32651968	William de Warenne	Secular	No	No	No	Good
Wetherby Castle	Masonry Castle		Tower Keep	12th Century	1135-54 - The Wetherby Civic Society (2023) attribute the castle's construction as a response to Scottish raids in the area		Excavated in the 1920s and classified by L'Anson as the foundations of a stone keep. Pottery finds have also been recovered from the site from a range of periods showing it was built on a well-established site. Wakefield Civil Society list the site as a castle of 'the Anarchy' built in response to Scottish raids but this is inaccurate. A watching brief of 2000 uncovered some medieval pottery	Prehistoric, Roman, and Anglo-Saxon	54835	Wetherby	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	Leeds	SE40234811	Percy Family	Secular	No	No	Yes	Unclear
Wheldrake	Timber Castle	Fortified Manor House	Unclear	12th Century	1100-49	The castle is referred in sources as having been destroyed in 1149, meaning it was in existence by then. It was also mentioned as being destroyed again between 1178-85		No	1007974	Wheldrake	Yorkshire Ainsty and York	Yorkshire	York	SE683450	Lord of Wheldrake and King Henry II	Secular	1199	No	Yes	Unclear
Whitwood Ferry Hill	Timber Castle		Unclear	11th Century	Post-Conquest		A fragment of 12th c pottery was found in 1977. Descheduling due to uncertainty surrounding the nature of the motte and whether it was natural rather than man made. Survey work in 2007 by Constable confirmed the site was built from differing layers of material and that it must have been contemporary to the castles of the 11th c such as Hastings	No	52725	Wakefield	Yorkshire West Riding	Yorkshire	Wakefield	SE39862489	Roger Peitevin	Secular	No	No	No	Unclear
Whorlton Castle	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Motte and Bailey	11th Century	Post-Conquest - Likely built following the rise of the Meynell family in the region	Not mentioned until 1216 and was described as a masonry castle at this time	Roman finds uncovered near to the church suggest the site may have had earlier origins. The motte and bailey was superseded by the stone castle during the 13th c and was altered as a result, making precise dating difficult other than relying on historical circumstances	Possibly Roman	1007641	Whorlton	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	NZ48100245	Robert de Meynell and King Henry II	Secular	No	No	No	Poor

Yafforth Howe Hill	Timber Castle		Motte Castle	12th Century	1135-54 - Yafforth has been suggested as having been built during Stephen's reign due to its relatively isolated location and use of natural topography		Scheduling report lists it as an adulterine castle of 'the Anarchy' and presumably destroyed by King Henry II, although this has not been evidenced	No	1016266	Yafforth	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	North Yorkshire	SE34669501	Unclear	Unclear	No	No	Yes	Good
Yarm Castle	Unclear		Unclear	12th Century	1100-35	The Hospital of St Nicholas in Yarm, founded in 1141, was sited *juxta castellarium* and the castle may have been a basis for this		No	1390869	Yarm	Yorkshire North Riding	Yorkshire	Stockton on Tees	NZ419126	Unclear	Unclear	No	No	No	Unclear
York Baile Hill	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Motte and Bailey	11th Century	1068-69	Documented to have been built by William I following the Norman Conquest alongside the better known, York Castle, or Clifford's Tower on the other side of the River Ouse	Excavations on the motte during the 1960s revealed 12th c remains of buildings, as well as earlier Roman and Anglo-Saxon evidence of occupation. The motte is not entirely contemporary to the medieval period, as it was enlarged during the English Civil War	Roman and Anglo-Saxon	1004910	York	Yorkshire Ainsty and York	Yorkshire	York	SE60265126	King William I	Royal	No	No	No	Good
York Castle	Timber Castle	Masonry Castle	Motte and Double Bailey	11th Century	1068-69	Documented to have been built by William I following the Norman Conquest alongside York Baile Hill on the other side of the River Ouse	Remains of the castle enclosed by 13th c mound, but excavations of 1902 uncovered its foundations and form of construction before it had been refashioned from stone. A number of finds including William I coins were discovered	No	1011799	York	Yorkshire Ainsty and York	Yorkshire	York	SE60475158	King William I	Royal	No	No	No	Excellent

Appendix B - Classifications of Castles

This appendix has been formed using the Gatehouse website, as well as *Castellarium Anglicanum* by D J. Cathcart King (King, 1983a; 1983b) which of course was a source of inspiration for Gatehouse's own gazetteer of sites, classifications and locations of castles built throughout England, Wales and the Islands.

Castle Form	**Definition**
Motte and Bailey	A castle characterised by a raised earth mound (motte) topped with a wooden or stone tower, surrounded by a defensive enclosure (bailey) typically made of timber, where domestic and auxiliary structures were located.
Motte and Double Bailey	A variation of the motte and bailey design with two concentric baileys, providing added layers of defence around the motte.
Motte and Three Baileys	An advanced variation of the motte and bailey design featuring three concentric baileys around a motte.
Motte Castle	A type of castle dominated by a single raised earth mound (motte) with a defensive structure on top, often without the addition of a bailey. Due to the preservation of some sites, a bailey may have originally been present which has since been lost.
Double Motte and Bailey	A more complex variation of the motte and bailey design, featuring two mottes, often interconnected for added security.
Motte and Bailey with Saxon Burgh	A combination of the motte and bailey design with elements of a Saxon burgh, reflecting influences from both Norman and Anglo-Saxon architectural styles.
Motte and Bailey with Shell Keep	A combination of the motte and bailey design with a shell keep, which is a stone wall encircling the motte's summit.
Motte and Bailey and Ringwork	A combination of a motte and bailey within a ring-shaped defensive wall (ringwork), often featuring additional concentric walls for added protection.
Ringwork	A castle consisting primarily of a circular or oval-shaped defensive earthwork or wall (ringwork) without a central motte.

Ringwork and Motte	A castle that incorporates both a central motte and a surrounding circular or oval-shaped ringwork for multiple layers of defence.
Ringwork with Stone Wall	A ringwork castle in which the defensive wall is constructed using stone rather than earth.
Ringwork and Bailey	A castle with a central ring-shaped defensive wall (ringwork) accompanied by a bailey for residential and support structures.
Ringwork and Two Baileys	A castle design with a central ringwork and two concentric baileys.
Tower Keep	A castle featuring a tall, standalone tower or keep as its primary structure, often surrounded by a curtain wall or bailey.
Hall Keep	A castle characterised by a central keep designed with a large hall or living space as its main feature, often with added defensive structures.
Enclosure Castle	A castle design focused on creating a fortified wall or curtain wall around a central courtyard or keep, with the primary emphasis on perimeter defence rather than a prominent motte.
Siege-Castle / Siegework / Fieldwork / 'Campaign Castle'	A fortified and transient structure specifically designed for offensive purposes during a siege.