The Early Norman Castles of the North of England

By

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DECLARATION

I declare that no material contained in the thesis has been used in any other submission for an academic award and is solely my own work.

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Date : 22/11/2013

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ABSTRACT: This thesis studies the distribution of Norman castles of the 11th-12th centuries across the north of England. A methodology is presented for assessing the reliability of identification of castle sites, and applied to the whole region in order to produce a substantial body of data. This data is then considered in two principal ways: the siting of castles in relation to other geographic features such as the topography, navigable rivers, Roman roads and forts; and the differing distribution patterns of the varied physical remains of castles. This study revealed a particularly significant difference in the distribution of stone-rebuilding of castles, as against the general distribution of earthwork sites as a whole. It is argued that this reveals the changing role of castles over the course of the Norman period, as different economic, military and social factors influenced their use by the landowning classes, both Norman and English. The archaeological evidence for stone-rebuilding of castles provides a chronological scheme for studying Norman castles that can be applied despite the lack of historical dating evidence for the majority of sites.

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1. Introduction

The Norman Conquest is one of the key episodes in English history; it continues to attract both popular and academic interest, being the subject of frequent publication of new written works (Holland 2008; Thomas 2008; Rex 2011; Morris 2012) and television documentaries (most recently the BBC's 'Norman Season'). That the Conquest was historically significant is unquestionable – William of Normandy's invasion was followed by the replacement of most of the Anglo-Saxon aristocracy by a new French-speaking landowning class. For many years England would be ruled by kings whose chief interests were in France (Strong 1996, 50-54). In the shorter term, the Conquest would have a significant and highly visible archaeological impact, particularly in the appearance of new architectural features; in both urban and rural locations, the English landscape would be transformed by the addition of churches, monasteries, cathedrals and, of course, castles.

The castle would remain emblematic of lordship throughout the middle ages, and to modern Britons and foreign tourists alike the surviving stone castles remain among the most characteristic and popularly visited physical manifestations of the medieval period. However, few of these stone castle structures actually date to the years following the initial Norman Conquest; the majority of earlier castle sites, built in the 11th and early 12th centuries, were constructed from earth and timber rather than in masonry, and unless rebuilt in stone (and many were not) survive only as earthworks – often much damaged and overgrown.

The often limited physical remains of these former castles do not reflect their contemporary importance to the Normans. Estimates of their number vary, but measure in the many hundreds (500 is given by Eales 1990, 59; this work assesses a data sample of over 300 possible sites for the north alone). Furthermore, their value was noted by contemporaries of the period. One Anglo-Norman chronicler of the early 12th century ascribes the success of the Conquest chiefly to the castle:

> 'The King rode to all the remote parts of his kingdom and fortified strategic sites against enemy attacks. For the fortifications called castles by the

> Norman were scarcely known in the English provinces, and so the English – in spite of their courage and love of fighting – could put up only a weak resistance to their enemies.' – Orderic Vitalis (from Brown 1995, 101).

Yet here we are faced with a question to which the chroniclers do not provide a detailed answer: why were castles so important and how were they used? It is in an attempt to answer this question that a number of historians, architects and archaeologists (see Chapter 2) have devoted much energy in the last century and a half. Scholars of castle studies have put forward theories favouring the role of military architecture in defence, or the expression of noble status; castles might serve as centres of economic management, or political and strategic control – and no consensus of opinion has yet been reached. It appears likely that any of these factors would, perhaps at different sites and at differing times, have been among the important functions of castles. The Norman Conquest and the subsequent transformation of English society is a major part of our past, yet this key element of the process – the castle – remains only partially understood.

In this study, an attempt is made to expand upon current knowledge of the castle and to explore its role in the Norman Conquest and settlement of England. The area investigated is large; it covers the whole of the northern counties of England – Cumbria, Northumberland, Lancashire, Cheshire, Durham and Yorkshire – and consists of two main parts.

The first part of work involves the compilation of a new data sample of castle sites. While previous gazetteers and distribution maps of castle sites do exist, continuing fieldwork, survey and interpretation mean that such can never be considered complete. The formation of a new sample from currently available records allows this study to be conducted with data that is as up-to-date as is possible. The method by which the data sample was compiled is described in Chapter 4, and the results are listed in the Appendices.

With a data sample ready there then follows the complex task of interpretation. This study is focussed upon the broad view provided by a large data sample; in Chapter 5 the makeup of the data sample (in terms primarily of physical

evidence) is statistically analysed, and a number of maps are presented contrasting the distribution of castle sites with other features whose frequent association with castle sites has been noted: topography, Roman roads, navigable rivers. In Chapter 6 these results are discussed in order to explain the pattern of castle building, and how it relates to the political, economic and social structure of England during and after the Norman Conquest.

2. Background: Castle Studies from the 19th Century to the Present

Over the last decade a number of works have been published that focus upon the study of castles in their context; that is, in terms of how they functioned in relation to the surrounding topographical, political, economic and social landscape (for example, see Creighton 2002 for a general survey of castle landscapes; Liddiard 2005 for the social and ideological context; Prior 2006 for a military tactical approach to landscapes). This approach has gained such wide acceptance only relatively recently, however; for most of the 20th century the prevailing trends in castle studies have tended to focus upon a narrower view centred upon military architecture and the available documentary records. In a lecture given in 1984, David Austin noted that for too long the castle had been studied in isolation, divorced from 'its context, from its society, its economy and fundamentally from its landscape', leading to 'narrow and ultimately sterile perspective' (Austin 1984, 72-3).

In order to assess this claim it is necessary to review the principal developments in castle studies since the origins of the discipline in the 19th century. Generally credited as the founder of modern castle studies as a distinct field of investigation is George T. Clark (1809-1898), an engineer and antiquarian, who published numerous articles on castles and other fortifications over the course of 60 years (James 2004). Clark's collection *Medieval Military Architecture of England* (1884) attempted to establish a typological system of classification similar to that already established for the more intensively studied ecclesiastical architecture. However, while the early typologies of monastic and church architecture considered a variety of aesthetic and symbolic associations (e.g. Rickman 1819, still in use today; Gerrard 2003, 38-9), Clark's account concentrated upon military technology as the determining factor in the development of castles (Wheatley 2004, 5-6).

This military focus would dominate castle studies well into the 20th century. The approach can generally be described as evolutionary; castles were seen to have developed as a response to increasing sophistication in siege techniques in a continuing technological competition (Liddiard 2003, 5; Wheatley 2004, 7-8; Creighton & Higham 2003, 25). Discussions of the subject would revolve upon the strength of walls, the coverage of angles of approach by towers and arrow

slits, and the effectiveness of battering rams, catapults and cannon (for examples see Thompson 1912; Toy 1955).

Not all castle scholars focussed exclusively upon military architecture - Ella Armitage, another pioneer of castle studies (and a critic of some of Clark's theories) included analyses of social and political factors in castle construction in her work (Armitage 1912; Gerrard 2003, 65; Wheatley 2004, 6-7; Liddiard 2005, 6). Amongst her observations was included an early assessment of the landscape context of castles:

> 'The position of these motte castles is wholly different from that of prehistoric fortresses. They are almost invariably placed in the arable country, and as a rule not in isolated situations, but in the immediate neighbourhood of towns or villages... The great majority of mottes in England are planted either on or near Roman or other ancient roads, or on navigable rivers.' (Armitage 1912, 83-4).

However, despite Armitage's influence and prestige amongst later generations of castle studies scholars, this particular avenue of study would remain for a long time largely unexplored (Creighton & Higham 2004, 7). The military aspects of castles would continue to dominate the field. R. Allen Brown's *English Medieval Castles,* first published in 1954, became one of the most popular and influential post-war texts on the subject and would be revised and republished several times over the next three decades (Brown 1954; 1962; 1976; 2004). While this work includes a chapter on 'the castle at peace', castles here were still viewed as primarily military structures evolving to a point of 'apogee' before declining; Brown states that 'The military role of the castle is the most obvious, the most romantic, and basically the most important' (Brown 2004, 123).

It is likely that this military focus was influenced by the prevailing contemporary political conditions; the height of British imperial power in the 19th century was followed by a period dominated by two major global conflicts (Liddiard 2005, 3-5). Given the recent experience of war it is perhaps no surprise that military approaches continued to dominate the mainstream of castle studies in the post-war decades – many archaeologists then practicing would have had not only

military training but also experience of actual combat. Even so, post-war research continued to produce a great deal of new information gleaned from both historical and archaeological sources (Liddard 2005, 5). A number of thorough and extensively researched gazetteers of castles – including many vanished castles known only from historical records, and undocumented sites known only from their physical remains – are a testament to this period (see for example King 1983, Renn 1973). Nonetheless it was the military approach that dominated archaeological studies of castles, and it was this central preoccupation that (according to Austin; 1984, 72-3) led to architecture predominating in the evidence. Classification of the physical structures of castles would consequently prevail amongst archaeological studies, with interest centred upon the castle itself with little reference to its surroundings (Creighton 2002, 6).

The military approach began to be seriously challenged from the late 1970s; the historian Charles Coulson is generally regarded to have led the way in this criticism (Coulson 1979; Coulson 1982; Coulson 1991; Coulson 1992; see Liddiard 2005, 6-7; Platt 2007, 85). In particular, Coulson's argument that the architectural features of Bodiam Castle, Sussex, were in many respects militarily impractical (e.g. the ease with which the moat could be emptied; Coulson 1992, 55) and were instead intended to symbolise aristocratic status sparked a fierce debate between 'revisionists' and those who still accepted a military explanation for castle architecture (see Liddard 2005, 7-10; Platt 2007).

It has been argued that while the 'Battle of Bodiam' certainly brought new energy to the study of castles, a perpetual argument over whether 'war' or 'status' was the primary motivation for castle building is in itself limiting the development of new ideas (Creighton & Liddiard 2008; Platt 2007, 163-4). Nevertheless, the debate over Bodiam triggered an increase in interest in castle studies and invited many new approaches that often broadly supported the revisionist view (Liddiard 2005, 10-11; Wheatley 2004, 11).

Historical sources have been used in interpretive studies of castles; for example, Pounds (1990) offers a substantial historical study of the administrative and socio-political role of castles in medieval society. Pounds

generally supports the revisionist line, in that he focuses primarily on the castle in times of peace, but both sides of the 'war vs. status' debate have drawn upon documentary records as well as architectural details to support their arguments (Coulson 1979 & 1982 both offer re-interpretations of licences to crenellate; Platt 2007 draws upon historical sources to emphasise the lawlessness and danger of 14th century England to support the defensive interpretation of castles). Within archaeology, new ideas would also make their impact upon castle studies (for example; Gilchrist 1999b, Ch.6 for a post-processual and gender focussed approach to the arrangement of domestic space within castles; O'Keeffe 2001, 75-77 for a phenomenological interpretation of castle architecture as being intended to communicate power, religious symbolism and ethnic identity).

As the focus of interpretation moved away from the castle's military role, there was also a shift in emphasis on the use of evidence. Although castle architecture would continue to provide the base for many new studies of castles (e.g. O'Keefe 2001; Hicks 2009), the context of castles within their landscape began to also come under serious examination. To a degree this would follow Coulson in studying the use of the castle to demonstrate status, but not only through a structure's architectural design, but through its location as part of a landscape containing fishponds, rabbit warrens, hunting parks and other overt symbols of wealth and lordship (e.g. Marten-Holden 2001; Creighton 2002, 65-88; Creighton 2009). Furthermore, a castle's prominent position overlooking the surrounding country would also come to be interpreted as a demonstration of authority rather than a defensive, military measure (Higham & Barker 2000, 178). Alongside status, study of the local context of a castle could also highlight its significance to rural settlement patterns (Creighton 2002, 207-10) or urban development (*ibid,* 133-74).

Beyond the role played by the castle within its local surroundings, there is also the question of castle placement. By studying the distribution of sites the rationale behind the decision to build castles can potentially be understood. This possibility has not been ignored in the past; but as with architecture, the siting of castles was studied in primarily military terms; most notably by Beeler (1966) who interpreted castles as being placed according to a centrally-controlled

strategic rationale. Beeler's attribution of castle siting to an organised system of castle building has been much criticised as implausible given the detailed geographical knowledge that would be required (see Pounds 1990, 54-5). However, a centralised system of castle building need not be accepted for the study of castle distribution to be a valuable exercise; castles would not have been placed randomly. As McNeil & Pringle acknowledge in their own study of motte distribution (1997, 222), while every castle would depend upon a lordship, not every lordship has a castle – the distribution across England is not even.

The most readily identified distribution pattern, when the subject is considered upon a large scale, is the dense band of castles along the Welsh Marches – typically ascribed to insecurity (Pounds 1990, 70; McNeil & Pringle 1997, 222). Pounds (1990, 56-7) states that the primary factor influencing castle distribution, however, was population density; Hughes (1989, 55) ascribes higher castle density to both population and wealth. More recently Prior (2006) has returned to a military explanation for castle siting, one not based on central control (as with Beeler), but upon general strategic principles as were likely understood by the Norman soldiery. In his survey of castle siting and distribution, Creighton (2002, 35) states that control of territory is the key factor, but goes on to consider many other possible influences upon the choice of a castles' site – roads, rivers and the coast (*ibid* 39-45), land-use (*ibid,* 52-2), other castles (*ibid,* 54-64) and sites of previous importance – Anglo-Saxon, Roman and prehistoric (*ibid,* 69-72).

It is obvious from the diverse (and sometimes conflicting) explanations given for castle distribution by various scholars that this is a subject in which much remains to be understood; Creighton concludes that distribution studies are hampered by a lack of documentary and dating evidence, making any system of castle sites dependent upon assumptions rather than facts (*ibid, 64;* Creighton & Higham 2004, 9*).* It may be this that has dissuaded further research into the subject; landscape based studies of castles still tend to focus upon the local setting of an individual site.

2.1 Summary

The academic study of castles over the last century has moved from a predominantly military approach to include a greater consideration of social and economic factors; and more recently, has shifted in focus from architecture and documentary records to the study of castles in their context within the landscape. This work will broaden upon contextual approaches to castles in order to produce a distribution based study of castle sites across a large area – the north of England. This may not only increase our understanding of the decision-making behind the initial siting of a castle, but also reveal the long-term use of sites over the Norman period.

3. The Historical Background of Norman Expansion into the North

While this work is based upon primarily archaeological sources of evidence – the physical remains of castle sites – the documentary evidence for the Norman period can still provide a useful source of additional information. Castles have, after all, been described in the Norman sources as key instruments in the successful conquest of England (Brown 1995, 101); the historically derived pattern of Norman expansion into the north of England is therefore worth considering when studying the distribution of castle sites in the region.

The narrative of Norman expansion is derived primarily from the writings of varied English, Norman and Anglo-Norman chroniclers (e.g. Orderic Vitalis, Florence of Worcester, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle). These were not written to provide a detailed view of historical processes, and tend to focus primarily on the affairs of the church; as such, they typically detail only political events at the highest level – the actions and movements of kings and other high ranking nobles, and major wars and battles (Dalton 1994, 14; Brown 1995, 98). Consequently, while the broad historical narrative of the Norman Conquest is known, the involvement of the bulk of the population is not historically recorded, and even at the highest levels of society the actual motivations that lay behind their decisions are often a matter of supposition rather than fact.

Nonetheless, it is possible from the historical narrative to discern the pattern of Norman expansion. There is not sufficient space in this work to provide a complete history of the north during the Norman period (but for example see Kapelle 1979); a summary of the main events is provided for reference in Appendix C. Instead, the intention here is to geographically chart the principal stages by which the Normans gradually extended their control into the north of England during the 11th century.

The Norman expansion into the north can be divided into several principal stages. Originally, William I attempted to control the north through the local aristocracy, but after a revolt in Yorkshire in 1069 and the consequent ravaging of the countryside by William's forces (the 'Harrying of the North') this policy appears to have been abandoned in Yorkshire and Cheshire which were from

this point largely ruled by men from the continent (Brown 1995, 103; Rex 2009, 104-6; Bennett 2001, 53-55; Husain 1973, 3, 14-19; Dalton 1994, 19).

Northumberland and Durham would remain outside direct Norman control until 1080, when another native revolt provoked a counter-campaign by William and the installation of a Norman Earl (Kapelle 1979, 121-141). Finally, it would be in 1092 when William II established the castle at Carlisle and brought Cumbria under the rule of the Norman kingdom (Garmonsway 1972, 227; Sharpe 2006, 34-5)

So in summary, the extension of Norman power into the north appears to have taken place in three main stages. First, Yorkshire and Cheshire were conquered in 1069-1070, followed by Northumberland and Durham in 1080; finally in 1092 Cumberland was brought under Norman control by William II.

It is difficult, however, to assess the actual degree of control exerted in these territories by the Normans at any particular point in time. The chief source of information on Norman tenurial arrangements is Domesday, but this source is particularly lacking in its coverage of the north of England. From the defined study area, only Cheshire and Yorkshire (then including parts of historic Lancashire) are included in Domesday (Williams & Martin 1992; Darby 1962, 419); moreover, the Domesday coverage of Yorkshire is relatively disorganised and less thorough than that of other counties (Roffe 1990, 323; Palliser 1993, 14-19).

It is not surprising that the Domesday survey only covers small parts of Cumberland and Westmorland (as part of the Yorkshire folio), given that Cumbria had yet to be brought under actual Norman control; however, the complete lack of information for Durham and Northumberland is notable given that these regions were by this time under the control of a Norman Earl. Lancashire is also problematic; it is covered under Domesday, but only the southern half (as an appendix to Cheshire) is described in any detail, and that much less than Cheshire proper; Lancashire north of the Ribble falls under the Yorkshire folio and provides little beyond a list of its vills (Terrett 1977, 392-3).

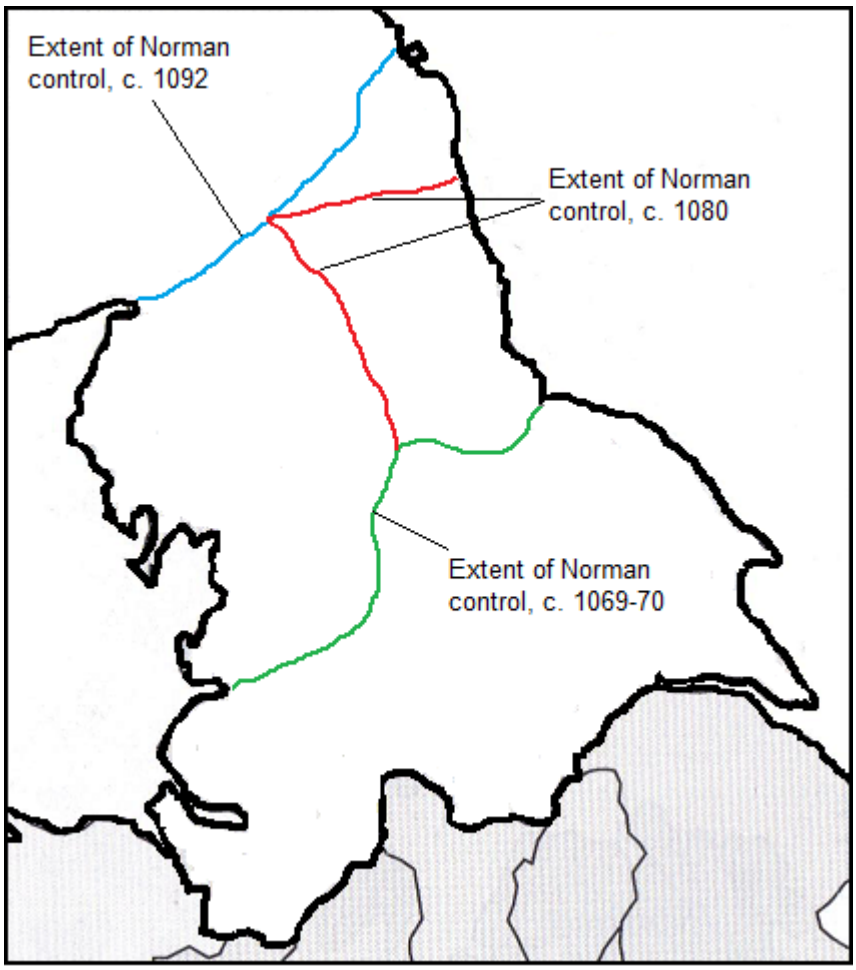

Fig 3:1. The three principal stages of Norman expansion into the North.

Fig 3:1 displays a map of the basic stages by which the Norman expansion, judging from historical accounts, appears to have taken place. However, this must be considered with a degree of caution. Exact political boundaries at this time are largely unknown and may not have even existed, and so those displayed here are estimates only; much of the Pennines, for example, would have constituted a 'Free Zone' uncontrolled by any real political authority beyond the strictly local (Kapelle 1979, 131-3). How Lancashire fits into the pattern of Norman expansion is unclear; the inclusion of the area in Domesday is the only indication that the Normans had established their control by 1086. Beeler (1966, 48-9) posited that the Winter march of William I in 1070 from York to Chester would have passed through the Manchester area, and if so then southern Lancashire (modern-day Greater Manchester) was included in the first phase of Norman expansion into the north, which would also explain the south Ribble regions appearance as an appendage to Cheshire in the Domesday records. The inclusion of northern Lancashire into Norman control likely belongs

to a later period, but there is little evidence to support this happening at any particular point between 1070 and 1086. It is also unclear how far Norman control extended beyond the Tyne after 1080; Newcastle may have marked the effective northern limit of their authority at this time (Kapelle 1979, 142).

3.1 Summary

The historical sources provide only a very broad view of the expansion of Norman rule into northern England. Nonetheless, the general pattern of the Norman Conquest and settlement of the north can be discerned, moving in three principal stages over the course of the late 11th century. The historical sources must be approached with caution, however, due to their limited quantity and narrow scope of interest; this study will depend primarily upon the physical remains of castles for its evidence.

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4.0 Methodology

4.1 Defining a Study Period

This work is a study of archaeological features broadly described in their English context as 'Norman' castles; however, simply using a 'Norman' date-range as a period to define the limits of the study is problematical. The start of the Norman period in England is usually given as 1066 AD, when William the Conqueror landed his forces in England, but this historically famous date only pinpoints a single (albeit important) event in a longer-term process of Norman conquest and colonisation that lasted many years. There was a Norman presence in England before 1066, and several castles are believed to have been established by these Norman favourites of Edward the Confessor during his reign (Brown 1969, 9; Davison 1969, 38; Pounds 1990, 6). Moreover, the Normans only began to extend their control into the north of England – the study area for this work – in 1068 AD (Bennett 2001, 50-1), and only extended their control to the Scottish borders during the 1090s (Kapelle 1979, 148-57; Hay 1975, 79). An ending for the 'Norman' period is even more problematical; the gradual assimilation of Norman and English society does not provide a convenient end-date. Consequently, surveys of Norman castles tend to vary significantly in the date-range they cover; Ella Armitage's work (1912) covered those built in the reigns of William I and William II (i.e. 1066-1100), while others (e.g. Renn 1973) specify a period from 1066-1216.

The most prevalent Norman castle type is the motte and bailey, although ringworks present an alternative form of contemporary earthwork castle. Where these sites have been successfully dated, they belong predominantly to a period that might be characterised as 'Norman': that is from around 1066 to the Anarchy of 1135-54 AD (Gilchrist 1999a, 235; King 1988, 42). However, exceptions to this are known (e.g. Basing ringwork, Hampshire, dated to the 13th century; King & Alcock 1969, 96), and since so many sites remain undated either archaeologically or through documentary sources, a straightforward date-range cannot be readily assumed.

Any given specific date-range for the 'Norman' period can therefore be considered essentially arbitrary. Due to the difficulty inherent in attempting to establish a fixed date-range for the Norman period, instead the extent of the

survey will be defined primarily by monument type; it will include the characteristic earthwork forms attributed to the Normans - Mottes, motte and bailey, and ringwork type castles – whether dated or not. However, there are a number of castles known to have been constructed within the 'Norman' period characterised above that cannot be described as mottes or ringworks. For example, Richmond Castle was built from stone prior to 1089 (Renn 1973, 295). Where identified, these too will be included into the data sample.

4.2 Definition of Study Area

This is a study of castles in the north of England, defined in this case as the historical counties of Northumberland, Durham, Yorkshire, Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire and Cheshire (see Fig.4:1).

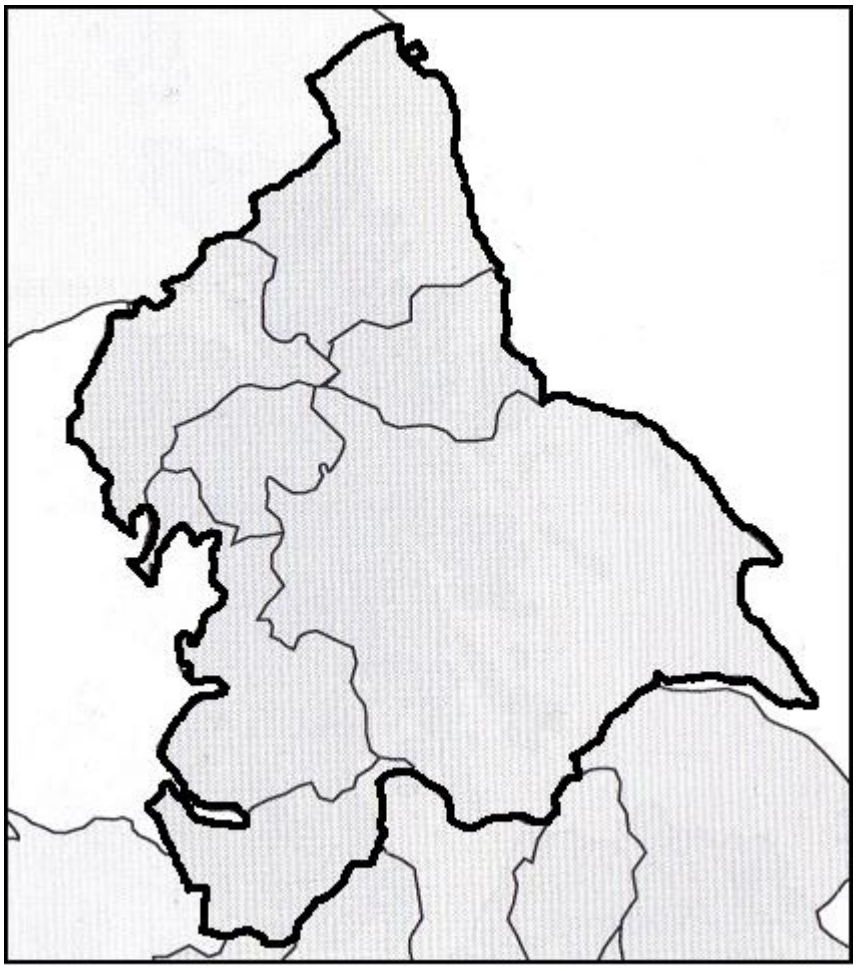


Fig 4:1. Area covered by this study.

The aim of this work is to investigate the distribution patterns of Norman castles and the reasoning that underlay the choice of their locations. The northern counties of England present a number of particularly interesting factors to

consider in such a study. Firstly, the topography of the north is highly varied, with extensive upland areas separated by long lowland valleys, coastal plains and a number of significant (and traversable) rivers. Physical geography can potentially affect the distribution of castles in various ways; population density has been argued as the significant factor in castle placement (Pounds 1990, 55-7), and upland areas tend to be more lightly populated than lowlands (population studies based on Domesday support this; e.g. Darby 1977). Strategic concerns may also be significant factors in the placement of castles, and these can include key terrain features such as rivers (and their crossings) or valleys cutting through upland areas (Prior 2006, 39-67).

The particular historical circumstances of the north during and after the Norman Conquest are also worth considering. Establishment of Norman control, followed by the colonisation of the north by Franco-Norman lords, was a slow process taking many decades. These were violent times of rebellion and reprisal, and threatened invasion from Scotland and Denmark (see Kapelle 1979) – the need for security could have provided a strong motive for castle building. Concentrations of castles may represent short-lived border regions at the edge of Norman controlled areas (e.g. along the River Lune; see Higham 1991).

4.3 Data Collection and Sampling

There have been previous attempts to collect known motte sites into a single survey (e.g. Renn 1959; McNeill & Pringle 1997), but no distribution map or listing of such sites can ever be considered final; on-going archaeological fieldwork discovers new castle sites and previously accepted motte sites are reinterpreted or disproven. Consequently, a substantial part of this project involved the compilation of data for motte and ringwork type castles that is as up-to-date and reliable as possible. To achieve this, the assembly of this data sample was a two-step process: firstly, it was necessary to compile a list of all known sites of motte or ringwork castles within the study area; secondly, each site must be assessed to determine the reliability of its interpretation as a castle.

4.3.1 Sources for Castles

The first task in creating the data sample was to assemble as complete a list of sites as is possible; while there are numerous sources available listing known castles, the most comprehensive are those maintained by various record offices. These include the public archive of English Heritage (the National Monuments Record or NMR), and those maintained by local authorities, the SMR (Sites and Monuments Records) and HER (Human Environment Records). Although the exact arrangement varies from database to database, these records can be searched for all sites within the study area that fit the required types, i.e. motte and ringwork castles.

These records are compiled from a variety of sources, including 19th/early 20th century texts (such as the Victorian County Histories), modern gazetteers and histories (in particular, King's gazetteer of English castles *Castellarium Anglicanum*; 1983), aerial photographs and excavation reports. Frequently cited are the Ordnance Survey's field investigators, who provide physical descriptions and interpretations for many sites, including comments upon older identifications (e.g. for Easby Castle Motte, the investigator of 1962 questions previous interpretations as an 'enclosure', instead stating that it is more likely a collapsed motte). The amount of information recorded for each site, however, is highly variable; some sites are better known and more thoroughly investigated than others, particularly if they remained in use into the later medieval period and beyond. Consequently, where available other sources were also used in compiling the data to gain further descriptions, details of historical background, and interpretations:

- Apart from the NMRs, English Heritage also maintain a database of Scheduled Monuments; many castles are scheduled, and for each of these a List Entry Summary is available containing a physical description of the site and the reasons for its inclusion – significant in this study, since a castles scheduled status was used in assessing the reliability of its identification (see 4.3.2 below).
- A number of published gazetteers of castle sites were used; such works are highly variable in their content, however - many are produced for layman enthusiasts and as such are not referenced in the manner of

academic texts (e.g. Salter 2001; Dodds 1999). The most substantial single academic reference work produced for the castles of England is D.J.C. King's *Castellarium Anglicanum* (1983), and this was the most frequently referenced in this study. It contains a county by county gazetteer of castle sites, vanished castles and 'possible' castle sites, and was particularly useful for its information on the historical dating of castles. However, the description of each site is necessarily very short, many motte castles being summarised in no more than a few words. Derek Renn's *Norman Castles in Britain* (first published 1968) gives more thorough descriptions of many sites, but these are primarily architectural descriptions of stone castles; motte castles often receive no more than a sentence. Jackson's regional gazetteers (1990), however, contain substantial descriptions of earthworks alongside a description of the history of each site (where known).

- Certain historical studies compiling lists of castles known from specific types of documentary sources, such as the Domesday Book (Harfield 1991), or referenced in sources dating to a particular period, such as the Angevin (Brown 1959) were employed.
- General studies of a region's history during the medieval period (e.g. Dalton 1994; Husain 1973) also contained relevant information to this work, offering conjectural interpretations of a castles' purpose and dating based on the known historical context (e.g. Husain 1973, 100-105).
- Individual papers, published books and excavation reports were used in certain cases, for sites that have attracted individual attention from historians and archaeologists.

4.3.2 Data Selection

Castle sites comprise of a variety of types of surviving evidence: distinctive earthworks, remaining stone architecture, archaeological excavation, aerial photography, historical accounts of now destroyed sites, references in contemporary historical documents and place-names. It is from these forms of evidence that the various record offices and gazetteers have compiled their lists of castle sites; but this evidence is often ambiguous, and so the identification of a site as a castle can often be a matter of interpretation rather than fact.

For Norman timber castles, the surviving earthworks of mottes, ditches and ramparts are the primary, and often the only, evidence for their existence. But in many cases the earthworks have been damaged by erosion or later development, making positive identification difficult. Mottes can be easily confused with other monuments, particularly Bronze Age round barrows (or natural features), and in some cases have been completely destroyed, now being known only from 19th or early 20th century descriptions. The Ordnance Survey field investigator's description of a site (upon which the identification of many castle sites in the English Heritage and County records are based) as a 'motte' is no more than a possible interpretation when dealing with some of the more ambiguous remains. Indeed, a site's record may include different interpretations by different investigators; for example, a mound at Eccleston (NMR 69378) has been variably described in investigations over 50 years as a barrow of Bronze Age, Roman or post-Roman date, a motte or a civil war earthwork.

The identification of castles through historical documents is also problematical, particularly for the 11th century: while Brown (1959) was able to identify 327 English castles from documents of the Angevin period (1154-1216), a study of castles mentioned in the Domesday Book found only 48, with 21 others from other contemporary sources (Harfield 1991, 383-4, 388-9). There are simply less documentary sources available for the late 11th than the late 12th century, and – as previously stated in Ch. 3 - the most important source available for the first decades of Norman rule, the Domesday record, provides only a partial and rather patchy account of the north of England. Historically-based assumptions made for the dating of the earlier Norman castles are often based on analysis of Domesday's tenurial records rather than due to any direct reference (Pounds 1990, 10-11).

Due to the highly variable quantity and quality of information available on each site, the creation of a useful data sample requires careful judgement. Each site must be assessed to judge the reliability of its identification as a Norman castle site, in order to exclude the doubtful cases for which there is insufficient evidence. To assemble the data for this work, every site identified as a possible castle was considered, and also the known sites of now vanished castles of

unknown form that have been dated (even if only conjecturally) to the 11th or 12th centuries.

Here, each site has been categorised for reliability into four groups: high, reasonable, doubtful and rejected, with only the first two categories being accepted as sufficiently reliable data. The available evidence for each castle site provides the criteria by which it is assigned to a particular group, as follows:

High Reliability

- Exceptionally well-preserved remains, clearly showing features of a motte and bailey or ringwork castle (See Fig 4:2)
- Surface remains survive in condition sufficient to identify typical features of a motte or ringwork castle, and its identification as such is corroborated by excavation (e.g. Aldford, Cheshire).
- Surface remains survive in condition sufficient to identify typical features of a motte or ringwork castle, and its identification as such is supported by documentary sources (e.g. Chester Castle).

Reasonable Reliability

- Site has been scheduled as a motte or ringwork, based on surviving earthworks (e.g. Castle Cob, Cheshire; Malpas Castle Hill, Cheshire; Dodleston, Cheshire; Buckton, Lancs.).
- Although damaged, the earthworks survive in sufficient condition to identify typical features of a motte and bailey or ringwork castle (e.g. Ingleby Barwick, County Durham). The interpretation may be supported by structural evidence provided by excavation (e.g. Huddersfield Hill House, W. Yorkshire).
- Earthworks' condition is too poor to justify identification as castle in itself; however, other corroborating references exist such as place-names, references in old pre-20th century records or contemporary documentary sources (e.g. Ellenthorpe, Lancs.)

Fig 4:2. Well preserved earthwork remains of castles.
Top, Burton in Lonsdale (NMR 44056). Baileys are visible to both the west and south of the motte, upon which a breastwork is also discernible.
Bottom, Topcliffe Maiden Bower (NMR 55347). A large bailey is clearly visible to the west of the motte.
(Google Maps 2013)

- Castle is known from historical sources; while no earthworks remain, excavation has uncovered the likely location of the site (e.g. Nantwich, Cheshire; Manchester Castle; Sheffield Castle).
- Identifiable earthworks of motte or ringwork type castle do not survive, due to the later development of the site as a stone castle. However, known history of castle predates the earliest stone structures, indicating likely earthwork and timber predecessor on same site (e.g. Lancaster Castle; Skipton Castle).
- Physical remains of the castle have been destroyed; however, records exist providing sufficient descriptive detail (e.g. old maps, or descriptions of the earthworks in county histories) to identify the site as a motte and bailey or ringwork type castle (e.g. Warrington Mount, Cheshire; Rochdale Castle; Stockport Castle).

Doubtful Reliability

- Surviving earthworks have been interpreted as a motte, but are too damaged to provide a positive identification. No other evidence known to exist (e.g. Ashton Hayes, Cheshire; Kirkby Lonsdale Cockpit Hill).
- Surviving earthworks have been interpreted as a possible motte, but alternative identifications (e.g. as a barrow or a natural feature) are also accepted (e.g. Kinderton Castle, Cheshire; Northwich, Cheshire; Thorp Arch, W. Yorks).
- Surviving earthworks have been interpreted as a possible motte, but only from a single source which does not adequately describe the site or give the reasons for this interpretation (e.g. Bowland Forest Low, Lancs.)
- Site may be interpreted as a castle primarily due to its defensibility, despite lack of any distinguishing physical remains or other evidence (e.g. Ashton Hall).
- Site may be interpreted as a castle site due to historical references to this location; however, the physical remains (if any exist) have been identified as another possible feature, and the named castle in documentary sources has other possible locations (e.g. Dunham Massey).
- No known surviving physical evidence; the site is only known from 19th century or earlier sources, whose description of the site is briefly and

ambiguously described, and so the interpretation of site as a castle appears to be conjectural (e.g. Macclesfield Castle Field, Cheshire; Frodsham, Cheshire; Castle Cary, W. Yorks).

- No known surviving physical evidence; the site is only known from a place name (e.g. Milton castle Hill, Cheshire; Shipbrook Castle, Cheshire; Micklefield Castle Plains, W. Yorks; Scaleby, The Keep).
- Although sometimes described as a 'motte' or 'ringwork', the remains of the site consist of an earthwork enclosure that cannot be dated to any particular period with any certainty (e.g. Lowick Low Steads, Northumberland).

Rejected

- No physical remains or historical evidence exists; the existence of the castle at this location appears to be entirely conjectural (e.g. Alvanley, Cheshire).

Alongside an assessment of the reliability of a site's identification as a castle, a basic description of each castle site has been provided, using the following terms:

Motte: The artificial mound most typical of a Norman earthwork castle, and the most likely earthwork to survive in recognisable form (See Fig 4:3). In some cases a motte was formed by levelling an upstanding natural feature. Note that where a castles' identification is classed as doubtful, 'motte' is a questionable interpretation.

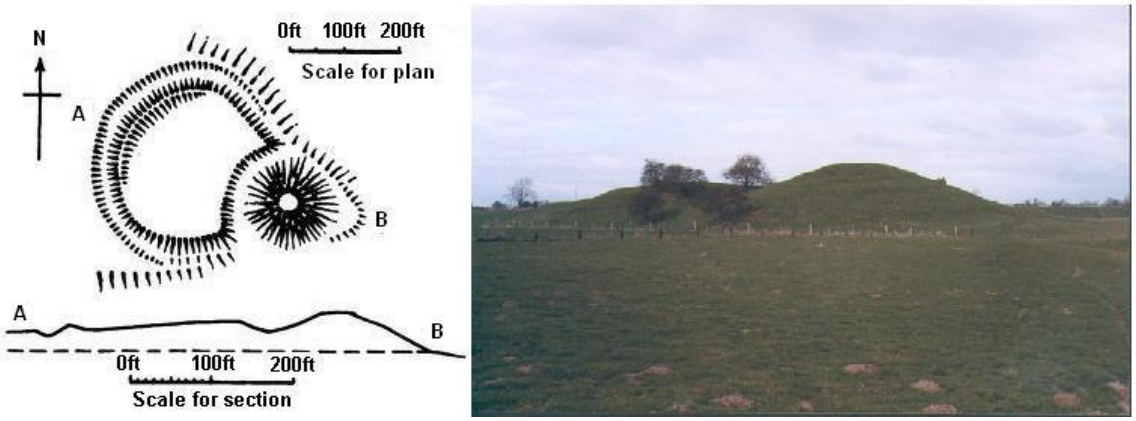


Fig 4:3. Topcliffe Maiden Bower (see also Fig 4:2, bottom photograph). A typical earthwork castle, consisting of a conical motte with a single bailey (plan from Armitage 1912, 5; photo Matthew Hatton 2007).

Ringwork: King and Alcock (1969) identified this as an alternative form of motte, consisting of a substantial circular or partially circular earthwork bank, sometimes raised above the surrounding level of the ground (See Fig 4:4).

Fig 4:4. Surviving Ringworks.a) Akeld Green Castle, Northumberland. b) Newsholme Castle Haugh, Lancashire. c) Pickering Beacon Hill, N. Yorkshire. d) Pennington Castle Hill, Cumbria (Google Maps 2013)

Bailey: The enclosure attached to a motte or ringwork, bound by earthwork banks and ditches (See Fig 4:3). Baileys often do not survive well, being frequently built over even while the motte remains recognisable, and so the identification of a bailey is often conjectured rather than known. In these cases the feature has been described as a 'possible bailey'.

Stone : Although the majority of Norman castles originated as timber and earthwork constructions (although many were rebuilt in stone later), a small number (e.g. Richmond, N. Yorkshire; Clitheroe, Lancashire) appear to have been constructed with stone from the outset.

Unknown: A destroyed site may still be known from place-names, historical references, or excavation. Without any real evidence for the structure of a castle and its earthworks, these sites have been marked as unknown in form.

Additionally, some sources provide possible dating of a site; it is important, however, to differentiate between actual known dates and conjectured dates. Known dates might be expressed in a number of different ways:

First Mentioned: The first date at which a castle is referred to in a documentary source.
In Existence By: A documentary source refers to a castle in a known historical context, such as the reign of a particular King.
Recorded Built: The documentary sources actually refer to the construction of a castle. Note that this should be used cautiously; a castle might be 'built' on the site of an existing castle, as was often the case when many were rebuilt in stone from the mid-12th century.
Archaeological: Excavation of the site has provided material evidence dated to a particular period.

Many dates are posited for castles that are conjectural; that is, no actual archaeological or documentary evidence exists to directly support the claim – instead the dates are induced from circumstantial evidence. Frequently, the known history of the area (and the lords who held its land) provides the basis for assumptions made about the castles founding. For example, Husain (1973, 99-105) posits that many of the Cheshire castles were built by Hugh Lupus in the 11th century to protect from Welsh raids; many of the castles listed (e.g. Dodleston, Malpas, Shotwick) lack any definite evidence dating them to this period however.

4.4 Analysis of Data

Once an acceptably reliable data sample had been produced, the distribution of the sites was analysed through the use of a number of maps and tables. Even the most basic map – showing the castle sites and nothing else – can reveal observable patterns of distribution; McNeill & Pringle's map (1997), for example, highlights the particular concentration of mottes along the Welsh Borders. In this

study, however, the distribution of castle sites has been matched against other features. There are a potentially huge number of features that might have influenced (or been influenced by) castle building; just about anything that existed in the landscape of the Norman period – including the archaeological remains of previous societies – could be contrasted against castle distribution.

This study focusses upon a number of features with a similarly large-scale distribution, and whose association with castles is often noted: Roman roads, navigable rivers and topography. The north also presents an ideal area within which to investigate the coincidence of castles with the sites of Roman forts – a frequently noted (e.g. in Creighton 2002, 40) but little examined phenomenon. Under Roman rule the north of England was a militarised zone permanently occupied by the Roman army (Hill & Ireland 1996, 35), and so contains a great many Roman forts sites (including two major legionary fortresses) whose distribution can be compared with that of castles.

The analysis of data presented in the following chapter uses a number of tables and maps. The tables are used to tally and compare the number of particular features within the study area, or within convenient divisions of it (modern counties, from whose known area site densities can be calculated). The maps are used to present data visually, the GIS software used to produce them (Idrisi Taiga) principally serving as an effective means of assembling distribution maps through the combination of different layers, each presenting a specific type of data. However, GIS also allows more complex analysis to be conducted. In the case of this study, the BUFFER function was used to create several layers highlighting the area within specific distances of a particular feature (navigable rivers). These allowed the castle sites to be categorised by their distance from rivers, as presented in Fig. 5:11.

4.5 Summary

The first major task in this project was to compile a data sample of castles; a specific set of criteria were used to categorise the data into degrees of reliability of identification. The sites are further described by physical remains, and (where possible) by any available dating evidence. This data then formed the basis for a series of analyses in which the distribution of accepted castle sites was

contrasted with other features, using a number of methods including tables, maps and (in the case of rivers) GIS Buffering.

5. Results: Castle Distribution in the North of England

5.1. The Data Sample

A total of 302 Norman castle sites were identified and categorised using the methodology outlined in Chapter 3. Of the motte and ringwork sites, 42 were classed as having a 'high' certainty of identification, and 111 were classed as 'reasonable'. Included amongst these are six masonry castles lacking any evidence for timber and earthwork predecessors, but with a known or likely Norman date of foundation. This final data sample of 153 castles is listed in Appendix A; the remainder of the sites – those classed as 'doubtful' or 'rejected' – are not included in the data sample (see Appendix B for a listing of these). Only a small number of sites (eight in total) were rejected outright due to lacking any real evidence whatsoever; the majority of sites not included in the final data were 'doubtful'. Typically the remains were too damaged to allow for a firm identification. It is quite possible that with further investigation many of these 'doubtful' sites would merit inclusion in a revised data sample.

There is a considerable diversity within the sites, both in the physical structure of the earthworks and in the continued use of the site over time. Most earthworks can be broken down into the two general classifications of motte or ringwork, but for some sites the earthworks are ambiguous or do not survive in sufficient condition to identify the original form (See 5.2.2 below). Also, not all sites show evidence of a bailey; one may never have existed, or this may be because the typically less substantial bailey earthworks have not survived.

Figure 5:1 below breaks down the data sample sites by their basic features of construction. It also includes the known cases where there is evidence for later medieval use of an earthwork castle site in a different form (or after apparent abandonment or destruction). Many castles that began as timber constructions were rebuilt as stone castles, while on some sites surviving principally as earthworks evidence for stonework has been discovered (this is listed simply as 'some stonework' below; while in many cases it likely represents the remains of a stone keep or tower, the evidence is not sufficient to make any definite statement). Furthermore, in some cases there is evidence for further occupation of a site as a medieval manorial complex or palace rather than as a castle;

religious use can also continue after the apparent abandonment of a castle, with the bailey being overbuilt by a churchyard (See 5.2.4 below).

	Mottes	Ringworks	Ambiguous Earthworks
With Bailey	82	6	11
No Bailey	18	11	19
Total Sites	100	17	30
Precedes Masonry Castle	20	3	12
Some stonework	16	5	4
Manorial/Palatial site	9	1	2
Church/Churchyard	10	1	-

Fig 5:1 Sites of the data sample and their main physical features. Note that a further six sites built in stone with no known evidence for a earthwork and timber predecessor are included in the data sample, but are not listed in this table.

The proportion of known mottes to ringworks is 100:17 (about 6:1); the ratio across England and Wales has been calculated as being roughly 4:1 (Kenyon 1990, 5; King 1988, 42; Gilchrist 1999a, 235) although with local concentrations apparent in some areas such as Glamorgan, where ringworks outnumber mottes (Kenyon 1990, 23). This earthwork type appears therefore to have been less common in the north than in the south of England and Wales. However, it has been observed that in Scotland the ratio of ringworks to mottes is much lower (about 17:1; Kenyon 1990, 5); the ratio for the north of the English kingdom is therefore nearer to that in the south than to that of Scotland.

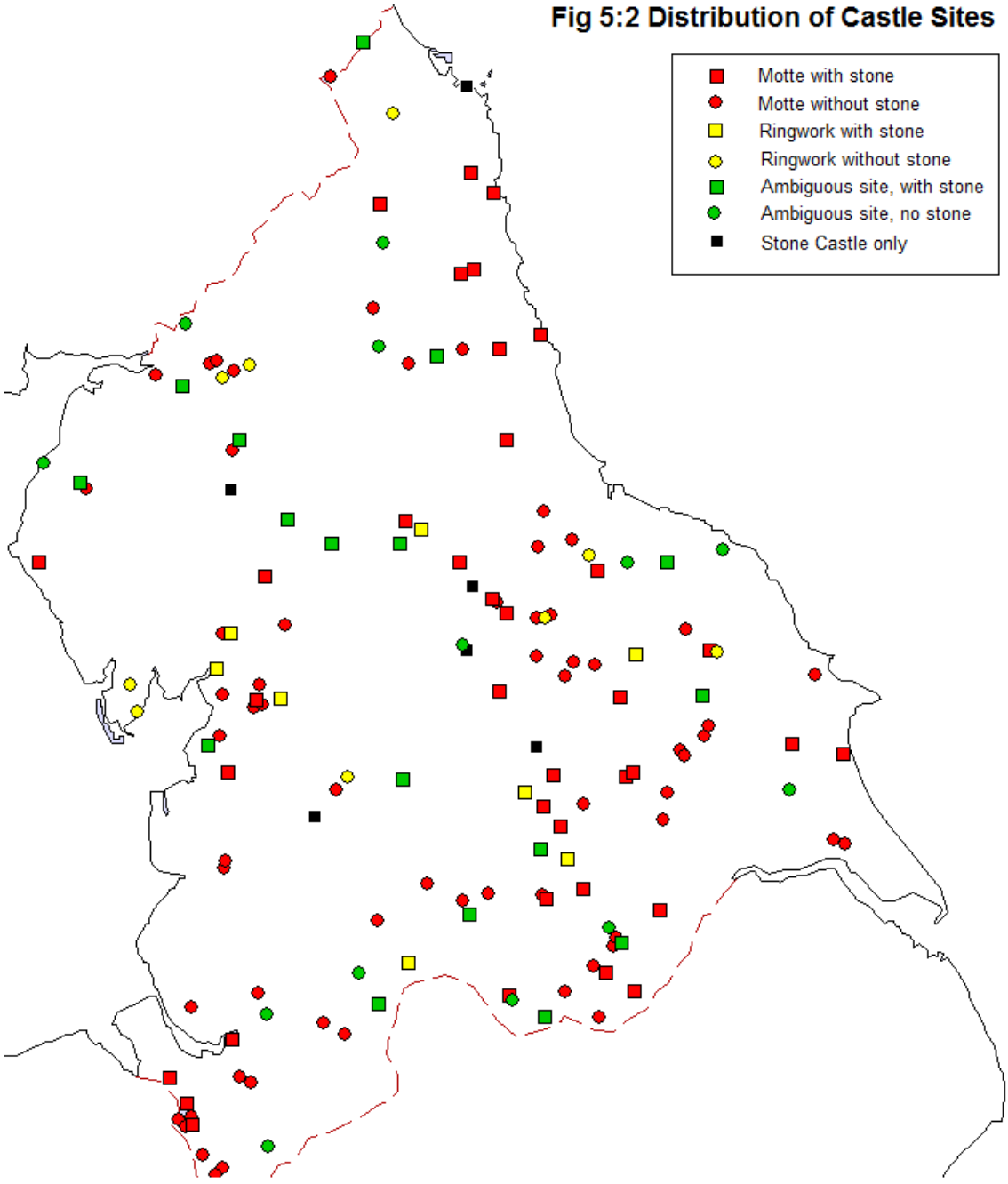
The total number of sites rebuilt as stone castles is 35, with a further 25 showing evidence of some stonework on the earthworks; therefore 60 sites out of 147 (over a third) appear to have been rebuilt in stone to some degree. It can also be discerned that the greater majority of sites that continued in use as manorial or church sites were formerly mottes; however, this may be a consequence of differently surviving evidence; often all that remains of a castle rebuilt as a church is the motte (usually occupying a corner of the churchyard;

e.g. Penwortham, Catterick Palet Hill, Aldford, Arkholme-with-Cawood) – the less prominent earthworks of a ringwork would be more likely to be overbuilt and destroyed by the gradual expansion of a churchyard.

5.2. The Geographic Distribution of Castles within the Study Area

On Figure 5:2 the data sample sites are displayed upon a distribution map; it can be immediately seen that they are distributed more densely in the south of the study area than in the north.

Fig 5:2 Distribution of Castle Sites



To more precisely identify the differential density of castle sites in different parts of the north - and to identify any other local trends in the distribution of castles

that may exist - Figure 5:3 breaks down the data sample into fixed areas (in this case, modern Counties). The density of sites in each county is given as the number of square kilometres per each castle.

	Mottes	Ringworks	Ambiguous	Stone	Density (castle per)
Cheshire	12	0	2	0	167 km²
Cumbria	10	6	7	1	282 km²
Durham	5	1	1	0	382 km²
Gt. Manch.	3	1	2	0	212 km²
Lancashire	10	1	1	1	237 km²
Merseyside	2	0	0	0	322 km²
Northumb.	10	1	4	1	334 km²
N. Yorks	24	6	6	3	221 km²
S. Yorks	9	0	4	0	119 km²
W. Yorks	8	1	2	0	184 km²
E. Yorks	7	0	1	0	310 km²

Figure 5:3. Number of castles of each basic type by county, together with the overall density of castles in each area.

The distribution density varies considerably with one castle per 119 km² in South Yorkshire, to as few as one per 382 km² in County Durham. Generally the density decreases as one travels northwards, but there is also an observable absence of castles in East Yorkshire (only one per 310 km²). Furthermore, an examination of the distribution map (Fig 5:2) demonstrates that within some counties the local distribution is concentrated heavily in particular areas: of Cumbria's 24 castles sites 12 are found in the northeast of the county following roughly along the line of the Eden Valley. Likewise, of Lancashire's 13 sites more than half (eight sites) are found along the line of the Lune valley, with the broad coastal plain on either side of the Ribble largely devoid of known sites (with the exception of the pair of castles at Penwortham and Tulketh on opposing sides of the river).

Also of note is the proportion of ringworks to mottes; this is generally low throughout the north, particularly in the southernmost parts of the study area –

Lancashire, Cheshire and the southern counties of Yorkshire. However, an exception is visible in Cumbria, where the ratio of ringworks to mottes is 6 to 10 (over 1 in 3 sites) – considerably higher than the 1 in 6 ratio for the whole of the study area. There appears, therefore, to have been a particular trend for ringwork building in Cumbria. This observation broadly conforms to King & Alcock's summary of observed ringwork sites (1969, 104), although they do not choose to mark out Cumberland (or any other region in the north) as an especially dense 'concentration of ringworks', unlike numerous areas in the south of England and Wales.

5.2.1 Reasons for the Ambiguous Identification of Castles

Many of the sites cannot be clearly identified as motte or ringwork castles, and have been listed as 'ambiguous'. Their distribution by county is noted above in Fig 5:3. As with ringworks, there appears to be a significantly larger proportion of ambiguous sites in Cumbria than elsewhere; indeed, the ten identified motte sites are outnumbered by ringworks and ambiguous sites.

It is worth, therefore, examining the reasons behind the difficulty in clearly identifying castle earthworks. Three principal reasons for the 'ambiguous' description are given below; their distribution is tabulated on Fig 5:4.

- The castle has been completely destroyed and is overbuilt by modern development; the site is only known from historical records and excavation.
- The castle was rebuilt in stone, the process of which involved the destruction of the original earthworks.
- There is disagreement in interpretation of existing earthworks over whether they represent a motte or ringwork.

	Castle Destroyed	**Rebuilt in Stone**	**Motte/Ringwork**
Cheshire	2	-	-
Cumbria	-	4	3
Durham	-	1	-
Gt. Manchester	2	-	-

Lancashire	-	1	-
Merseyside	-	-	-
Northumberland	-	2	2
N. Yorks	1	1	4
S. Yorks	2	-	2
W. Yorks	-	1	1
E. Yorks	-	-	1

Fig 5:4. Reasons for the ambiguous interpretation of earthwork castle sites, by county.

It is unsurprising that the castles that have been completely destroyed tend to lie in heavily urbanised areas (these are Manchester, Stockport, Nantwich, Doncaster, Sheffield and Warrington Mount). Cases of earthworks destroyed by the rebuilding of a castle in stone appear to be more prevalent in the north, with four sites in Cumbria and a further three in Northumberland and County Durham. Furthermore, in Cumbria three sites have attracted different interpretations of the earthworks – Cockermouth (which may have had a ringwork phase preceding the bailey; King & Alcock 1969, 112), Kirkandrews Liddel Strength (likewise possibly originally a ringwork; Jackson 1990, 70) and Maryport Castle Hill (interpreted as a ringwork by Jackson 1990, 73 and King & Alcock 1969, 112, yet scheduled as a motte). If these sites were originally ringwork castles, this would further reinforce the appearance (noted above) of a particular trend towards ringwork construction in Cumbria.

5.2.2 Geographic Distribution of Castle Reconstruction or Reoccupation

As seen in Fig 5:1, some castles were rebuilt with stone structures (41% of earthwork and timber castles show evidence of at least some stonework), while others appear to have been replaced by other types of occupation. Figure 5:5 tabulates these cases by county.

	Rebuilt as Stone Castle	Some Stone work	% Rebuilt	Manorial Occupation	Church-yard	Density Of Stone Re-building
Cheshire	3	1	31%	1	1	586 km²
Cumbria	7	2	41%	2	2	677 km²
Durham	3	1	57%	1	1	669 km²
G.Manchester	-	2	33%	-	-	638 km²
Lancashire	1	2	25%	-	3	770 km²
Merseyside	-	-	0%	-	-	None
Northumber-land	8	1	60%	-	-	555 km²
N. Yorks	8	9	47%	5	2	433 km²
S. Yorks	4	2	46%	1	-	259 km²
W. Yorks	3	4	64%	-	2	290 km²
E. Yorks	-	2	25%	2	-	1240 km²

Fig 5:5. The Further occupation of castle sites in the medieval period, by county. The middle column shows the percentage of earthwork and timber castle sites in that county that were rebuilt in stone or show some signs of stonework. The rightmost column shows the density of stone-rebuilt castles (in km² per castle) for each county.

The proportion of timber castles that show evidence of stone work is not evenly distributed across the north; in particular it seems to have been more prevalent to the east of the Pennines - in Yorkshire (with the notable exception of the East Riding), Durham and Northumberland. Reoccupation of castle sites by manor houses also appears more commonplace in Yorkshire, while the reuse of castle baileys as churchyards appears somewhat more prevalent in the west (Lancashire in particular); however, the proportion of sites reused as manors or churchyards is generally low in so far as the surviving evidence reveals.

5.2.3 Surviving Physical and Historical Evidence

The rebuilding of a timber castle in stone (where archaeologically dated a phenomenon primarily belonging to the late 12th century onwards; Rowley 1997, 67-72) reflects the continuing use of a site into the later Norman period and possibly beyond into the later middle ages. It cannot however be simply stated

that the castles that were never rebuilt in stone were short lived – extensive excavations at Hen Domen have revealed that the timber castle there existed for some 200 years without ever being rebuilt in stone (Higham & Barker 1992, 326). An examination of the contemporary literary references to castles may however allow the known dates at which they existed to be compared with the different kinds of physical evidence (see Fig 5:6, below).

Earthworks Only	No Records (% of total)	11th century records	12th century records	Later medieval records
Motte	39 (61%)	4	13	8
Ringwork	8 (89%)	-	1	0
Ambiguous	8 (62%)	-	4	1
Evidence for Stonework				
Motte	11 (31%)	7	11	7
Ringwork	5 (63%)	1	1	1
Ambiguous	1 (6%)	1	11	4
Masonry only Castles	-	2	3	1

Fig 5:6. Castles with or without stonework: the number of sites that have contemporary historical references by the earliest period in which they appear in the literary sources.

From the above table a number of trends can be discerned. Firstly, that timber castles rebuilt in stone are more likely to have some form of surviving contemporary historical reference (twice as likely for motte castles, the most common data type in the sample). Secondly, that when castles do have historical references for the Norman period, the first mention is more likely to belong to the 12th century than the 11th. Thirdly, ringwork castles are far less likely than mottes to be referenced in historical sources.

Timber castles, never rebuilt in masonry, would still appear in the historical sources of the 12th century (21% do so), but are much less likely to do so than stone-rebuilt sites (52%). This could be due to a number of factors – stone

castles may have been more important (or had wealthier and more important owners) than timber sites and therefore were more likely to be recorded in chronicles and legal documents. However, it may also reflect the possibility that many timber-only sites went out of use during the 11th or early 12th century, before documentary recording became more commonplace. Furthermore, the very limited recording of ringworks – particularly those that were never further rebuilt – may well be indicative that these were short-lived temporary sites, built hastily and abandoned when the immediate need was gone. Siege castles, where known, are usually ringworks (e.g. Pickering Beacon Hill, N. Yorkshire; King & Alcock 1969, 100).

5.2.4 Castles and Churchyards

In a number of cases (11 sites) the castle site is associated with a church, with the churchyard occupying the former bailey. Figure 5:7 tabulates these sites by County.

Site	County	Type	Stonework?
Aldford Castle	Cheshire	Motte	Some remains
Arkholme-with-Cawood	Lancashire	Motte	Some remains
Catterick Palet Hill	N. Yorks	Motte	Some remains
Cropton Hall Garth	N. Yorks	Motte	None
Lazonby	Cumbria	Motte	None
Manor Garth Hill, Leeds	W. Yorks	Ringwork	Some remains
Mirfield Castle Hill	W. Yorks	Motte	None
Penwortham Castle Hill	Lancashire	Motte	None
Ryton Church, Gateshead	County Durham	Motte	None
St. Mary's Church	Cumbria	Motte	None
Whittington	Lancashire	Motte	None

Fig 5:7. Castle sites occupied by a churchyard.

Of the four sites that show signs of stone rebuilding, the evidence is relatively slight: at Aldford and Manor Garth Hall masonry walling has been discovered buried under the earthworks, while at Catterick Palet Hill a buried possible foundation has been found; at Arkholme-with-Cawood buried pebbling has been uncovered but no evidence of walling. The other seven sites show no evidence

of any stonework. In no case do the sites show evidence of substantial rebuilding as masonry castles.

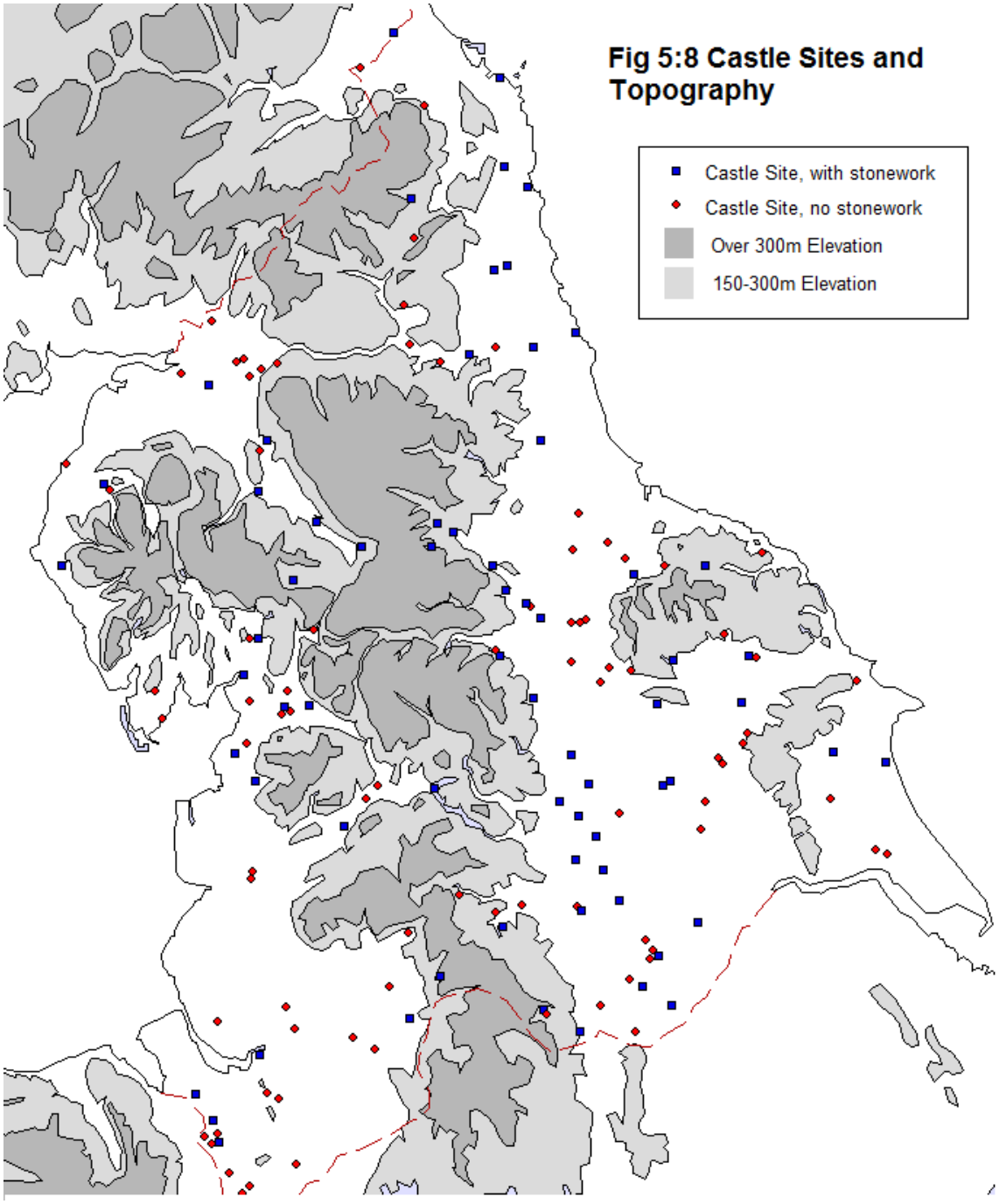
Some of the churches in the above examples are modern (yet may have older predecessors; a medieval cross is incorporated in the churchyard of Aldford's 19th century church); some however – Mirfield, Penwortham, Ryton and St. Marys are of known 12th century date and one – St. Mary's Church, Kippax, which overlies Manor Garth Hill's former bailey is of 11th century date. The number of examples available is rather small given the size of the overall data sample, and any interpretation made from them must be made cautiously; nonetheless, this would appear to support the interpretation given in 5.2.3 that timber castles (in some cases with perhaps limited stone structures on them) are generally of earlier date and were no longer in use by the later Norman period. Five of the above examples (almost half) have known Norman-period churches occupying former castle sites.

5.3 Castle Sites and Physical Geography

5.3.1 Castle Sites and Topography

Figure 5:8 superimposes the castle sites upon a map of the topography of the north of England. The great majority of sites are located at elevations of less than 150m above sea level; of the 153 sites only 17 are above 140m, 6 of which are above 200m. The highest are Bowes Castles, Durham and Bradfield Castle, both at just under 300m elevation.

The locations chosen for the siting of castles, then, show a marked preference towards lowland areas; however, this is not a simple relationship – the castles are not evenly spread across these. Substantial areas of lowland – in Lancashire, north western Cumbria, County Durham, Northumberland and the East Riding of Yorkshire – have only a small number of castle sites compared to the thick distribution in the Vale of York. On the other hand, valleys penetrating deep into upland terrain – such as those carrying the Lune, Eden, Tees and Ribble – contain numerous sites; and in Northumberland between the Tweed and Tyne there are almost as many castles in the upland west as on the eastern coastal plain. Only in central Yorkshire, Cheshire and southern Lancashire can castle distribution be said to heavily favour open lowlands.



5.3.2 Castles and Navigable Rivers

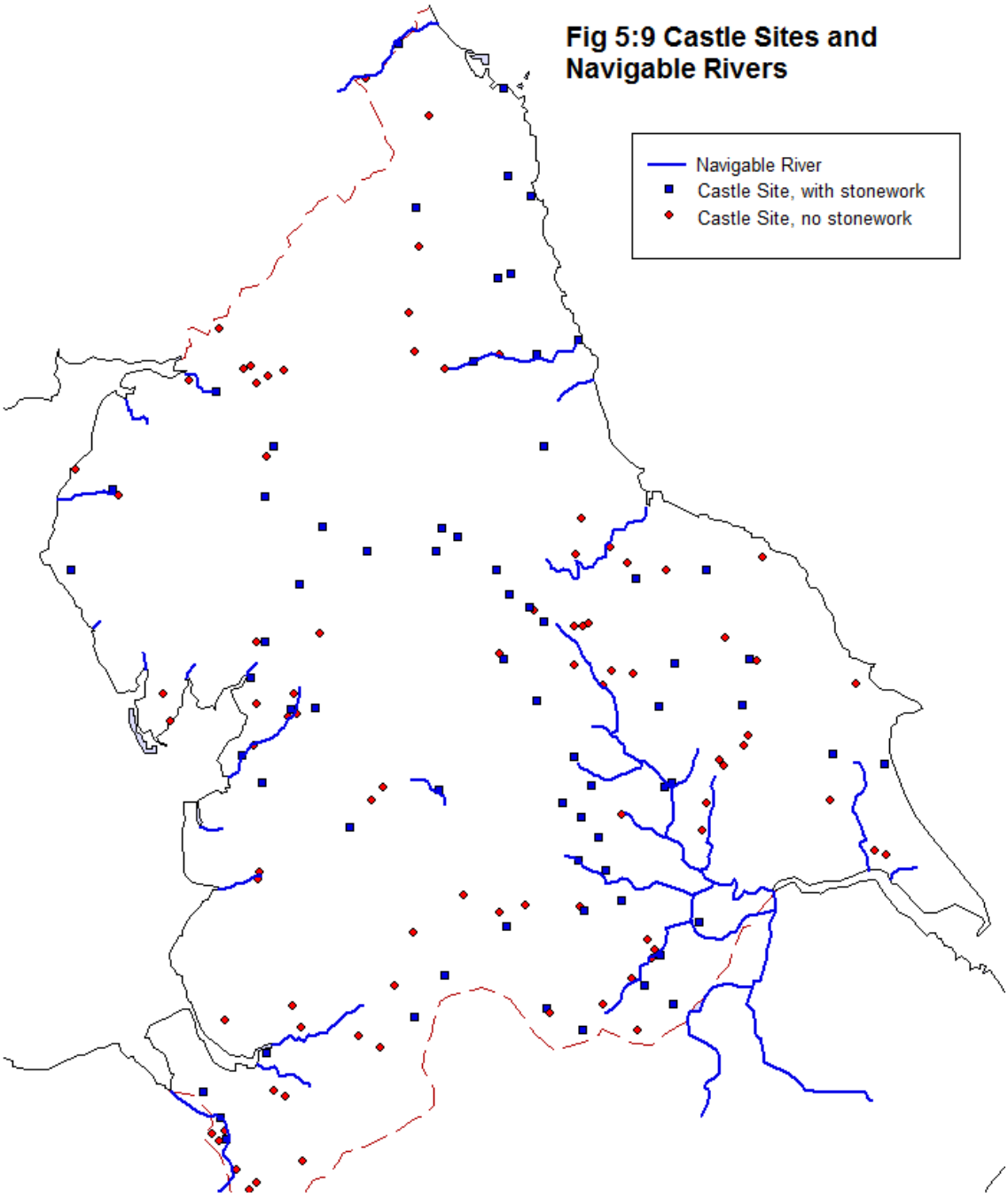
The frequent proximity of castles to navigable rivers has often been noted (e.g. Armitage 1912, 83-4; Creighton 2002, 41-3; Prior 2006, 84). There is a significant problem, however, facing any attempt to study this relationship; the navigability of medieval rivers is not easily assessed and has consequently attracted significant debate in the last 20 years. There are a number of difficulties: the changes in the watercourses over time (both natural and due to human action), a paucity of documentary evidence and a limited understanding

of medieval river craft (Edwards & Hindle 1991, 124-5). In spite of these difficulties, Edwards & Hindle produced a map of England's navigable rivers primarily drawn from references to water navigation in medieval documents (*ibid,* 130).

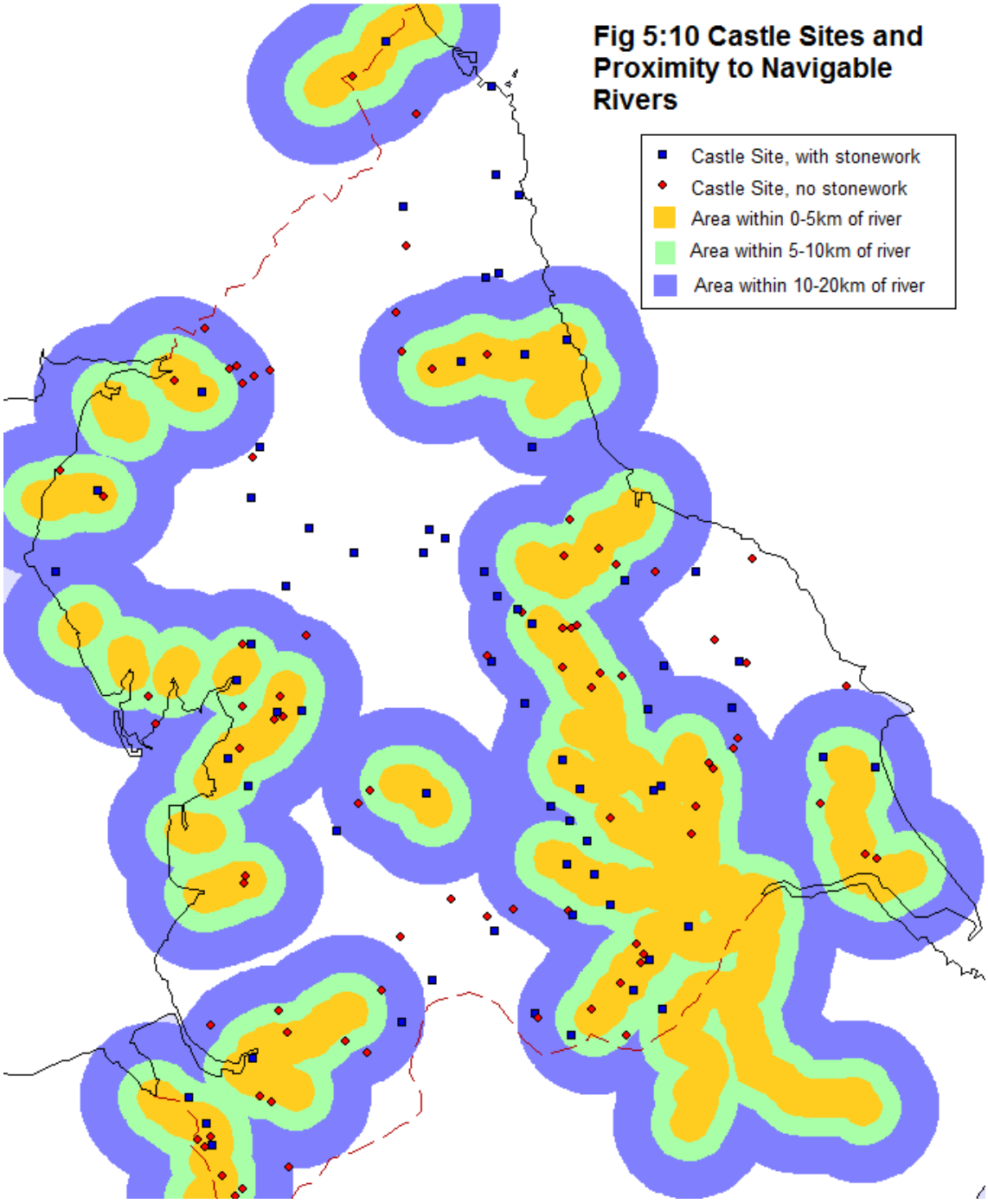
This has been criticised for its overly optimistic assessment of the navigability of medieval waterways, with attention drawn to the seasonality of water transport, the difficulty of upstream navigation, and the negative effect of silting, milling and fishing weirs upon river navigability (Langdon 1993; Jones 2000). However, these criticisms focus upon the later middle ages; Langdon's evidence is drawn from Purveyance reports dating from 1294 (Langdon 1993, 3). The increasing use in the 14th century of rivers by fishing weirs and milling, together with the effect of silting would have made rivers less easily navigable, with some dropping out of use altogether (Langdon 1993, 6).

However, for the earlier medieval period - the 11th and 12th centuries – these increasing demands on the water system would not yet have seriously impacted upon navigability; studies of pottery distribution have indicated that rivers were the prime means of longer distance transportation between regions, while roads mainly served smaller scale local networks (Blair 2007, 15). Consequently, the 'optimistic' view of navigability taken by Edwards & Hindle (1991) would appear to be more applicable to the Norman period than the later medieval, and therefore appropriate for this study. Other work on navigable waterways has tended to focus upon regions of southern England, outside this work's study area (e.g. Gardiner 2007, 96), so Edwards and Hindle's map remains the best available source for Norman-period navigable rivers in the north. This would appear to be confirmed by Blair (2007, 18) whose general map of water transport in early Medieval England closely follows the routes laid down by Edwards & Hindle (1991) for this work's study area.

When the castle sites from the data sample are placed upon a map alongside navigable waterways (Fig. 5:9), it is evident that no absolute relationship exists; many castles are positioned remotely from any known navigable river.



The use of the Idrisi Taiga's BUFFER function allows the area within a specified distance of a particular geographical feature to be highlighted; this was employed to create a map displaying zones of proximity to navigable rivers of 0-5km, 5-10km and 10-20km in width (Fig 5:10).



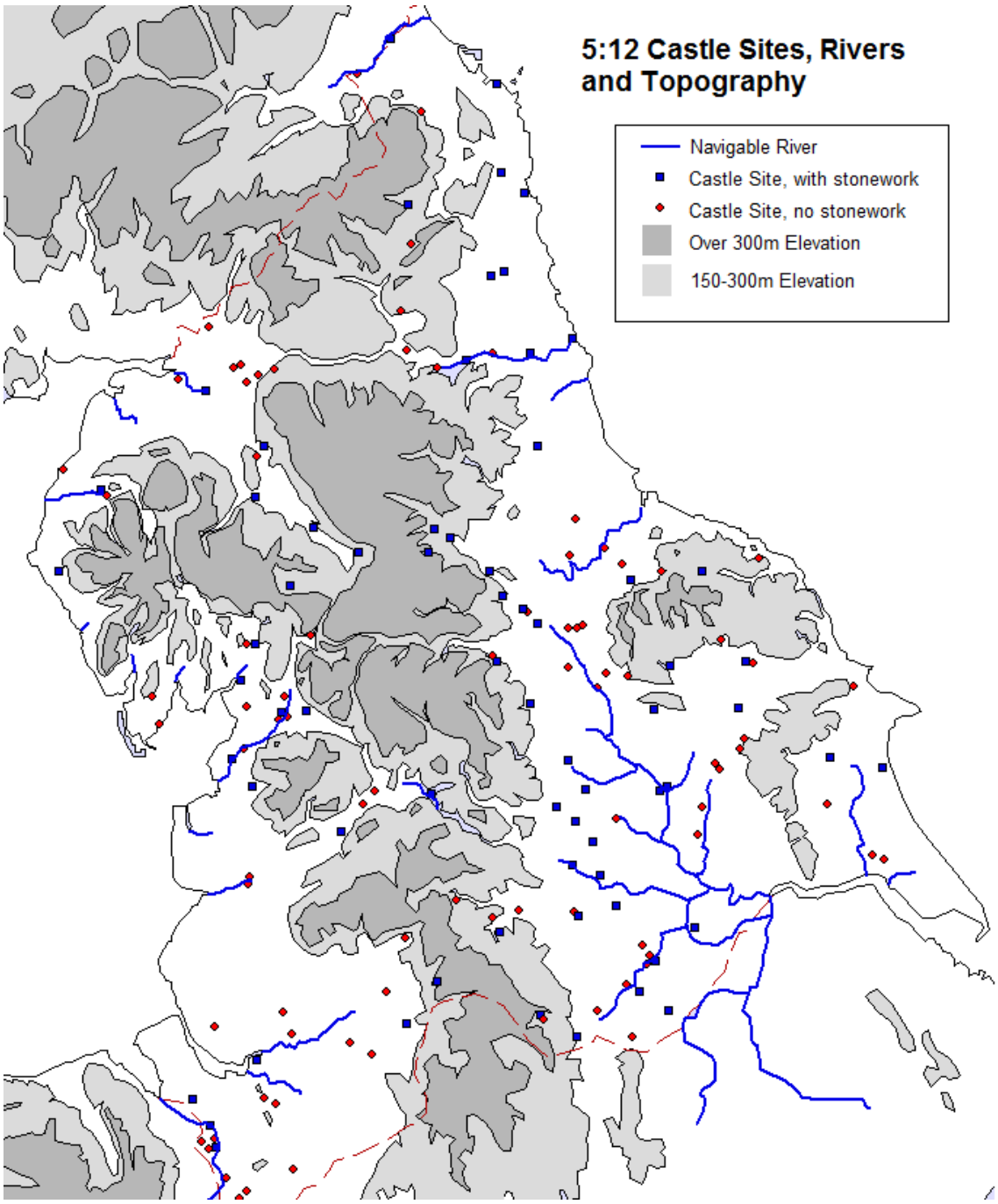
The distribution of castles in these zones are tabulated below (Fig 5:11).

Distance from River	Earthwork Only	Rebuilt in Stone	Total Sites
Under 5 km	34	25	59
5-10 km	23	10	33
10-20 km	19	15	34
Over 20 km	9	18	27

Fig 5:11. The proximity of castle sites to navigable rivers.

Over half the data sample (92 sites) lie within 10km of a river, and of these sites the majority (64%) are less than 5km distant – proximity to a navigable river appears to have been preferred for a castle site, but was not strictly necessary. However, the overall tendency towards reasonable proximity – 20km, perhaps a day's journey – may be a consequence of the overall preference towards lowland areas established in Chapter 5.3.1. Fig 5:12 (overleaf) shows both topography and navigable rivers together, and it is clear that these rivers pass through lowland areas under 150m above sea level.

On the whole the relationship between navigable rivers and castles appears to be highly variable; but two main trends can be noted. In only one case is a castle found at the mouth of a navigable river (Tynemouth), but on some rivers on the west coast castles are found exclusively at the highest navigable point – Carlisle on the Eden, Cockermouth on the Derwent, Penwortham and Tulketh on the Ribble. Some navigable rivers, on the other hand, have a particularly large number of castles along their length – 5 on the Tyne and the Dee and 6 on the Lune and Don.



5.4 Castles and Roman Roads

There is a significant problem with contrasting the Roman road network against castle sites: the two phenomena originate in different periods separated by some six to seven hundred years. It cannot be assumed that all Roman roads known to modern archaeologists would necessarily have been in use in the 11th and 12th centuries. The continued use of Roman roads in the medieval period, however, can be revealed by their appearance in medieval documentary sources. It must be noted, however, that the historical evidence for the use of roads – such as the Royal Itineraries of John, Edward I and Edward II, and

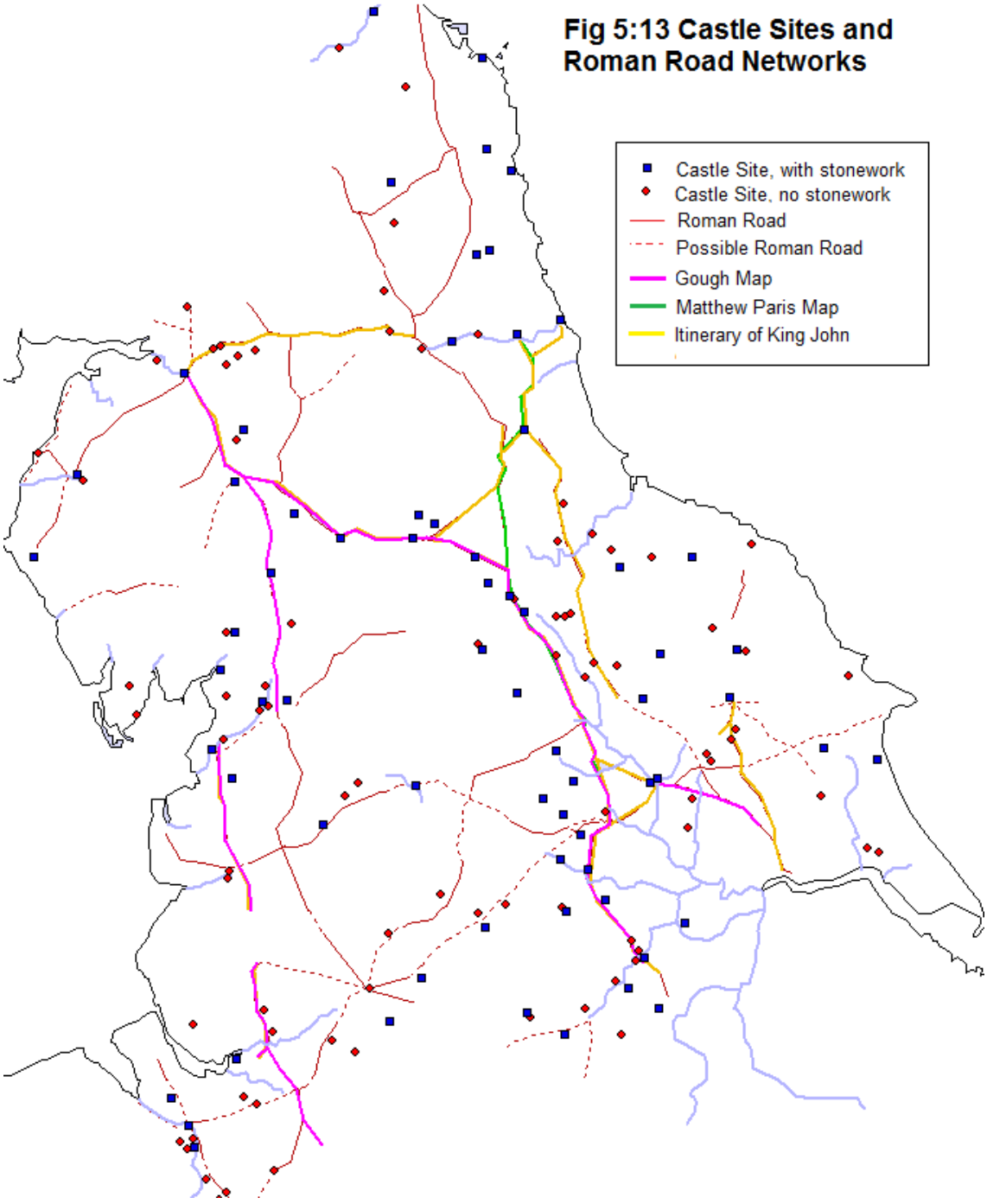
medieval maps – date mainly from the 13th century (Hindle 1998, 20-35). Such routes may have come into use as a consequence of the general increase in trade and urban development over the course of the medieval period; it cannot be assumed that they were all in use under the Normans. On the other hand, if the relationship between castle sites and Roman roads identified in other areas (e.g. in Hampshire, where 80% of the castle sites are in close proximity to Roman roads; Hughes 1989, 34) also existed in the north, then the appearance of any substantial number of Norman castles along a Roman road route may indicate that it was still in use during this period.

The Roman remains of Britain have been extensively studied; the data used here has been compiled from the Ordnance Survey map of Roman Britain, which is based upon the NMR records maintained by English Heritage. Fig 5:13 (overleaf) displays the distribution of castle sites together with the Roman roads in the study area; Roman routes mentioned in medieval documentary sources are highlighted.

An examination of Fig 5:13 does not reveal any simple or obvious relationship between castles and Roman roads. In Northumberland in particular, there is little coincidence between the Roman roads and castle sites. This is perhaps unsurprising, since these roads are also unreferenced on the medieval sources; King John's itinerary (see Hindle 1998, 22) followed a coastal route rather than the inland Roman roads. However, the castles in western Cumbria – Maryport, Cockermouth and Egremont - do appear to be situated along the Roman roads connecting them with Carlisle, which are also unmarked on the medieval sources; it is possible that these Roman roads were in continuing use in the 11th and 12th centuries despite the lack of historical references, which may be a result of their relative remoteness. Likewise, the routes across the southern Pennines also have a number of castles upon them (from Manchester towards Leeds, seven castles; and along the Aire Gap four castles). The Aire gap forms one of the main passes through the Pennines, and so the route may well have remained an important one regardless of the presence of a Roman road.

The Roman roads that are referenced in the medieval sources do coincide with a number of castles. Of the two principal Roman routes present on the Gough

map (see Fig 5:13), 18 castle sites are found along the length of the road from Carlisle to Doncaster; where the southern route through Lancashire to Cheshire separates from Brougham (along three separate lengths of known Roman road) a further 14 castles are found.



As with navigable rivers, the relationship between Roman roads and castles is complex and highly variable; it appears to have been significant in some routes (such as Carlisle-Doncaster) but not others (such as those running through Northumberland). In north-eastern Yorkshire, the absence of any known

remaining Roman road network (or navigable river) appears not to have deterred castle building, with nine sites present in the Vale of Pickering. One further factor is apparent, however: although the overall proportion of castle sites showing evidence of stonework is 41%, along the Carlisle-Doncaster road the proportion is 66%. Furthermore, along the northern stretch of this route (from Carlisle to north of Richmond) all the castle sites (Carlisle, Brougham, Appleby, Brough, Bowes, and Ravensworth) have evidence for substantial rebuilding in stone and long term occupation beyond the Norman period.

Perhaps this was a key route; but it is also possible that earthwork castles originally built for reasons unrelated to the Roman road network may have prospered in the long term due to their proximity to this important route.

5.5 The Roman Forts

Castles were sometimes built upon sites which show some evidence of previous significance: a number of examples can be seen in this sample; Almondbury and Barwick-on-Elmet are built upon Iron Age hillforts; Bamburgh, Driffield Moot Hill and Laughton-en-le-Morthon upon Anglo-Saxon royal sites; Wakefield Lowe Hill and York Castle appear to have incorporated burial mounds into their mottes. These are relatively isolated cases; however, the substantial number of Roman forts established in the north of England (see Fig 5:14, overleaf) presents a particular opportunity to study the reuse of these sites by Norman castle builders. Comparison of the Roman fort sites to castle sites shows a number of cases in which their locations coincide (see Fig 5:15, on the following page).

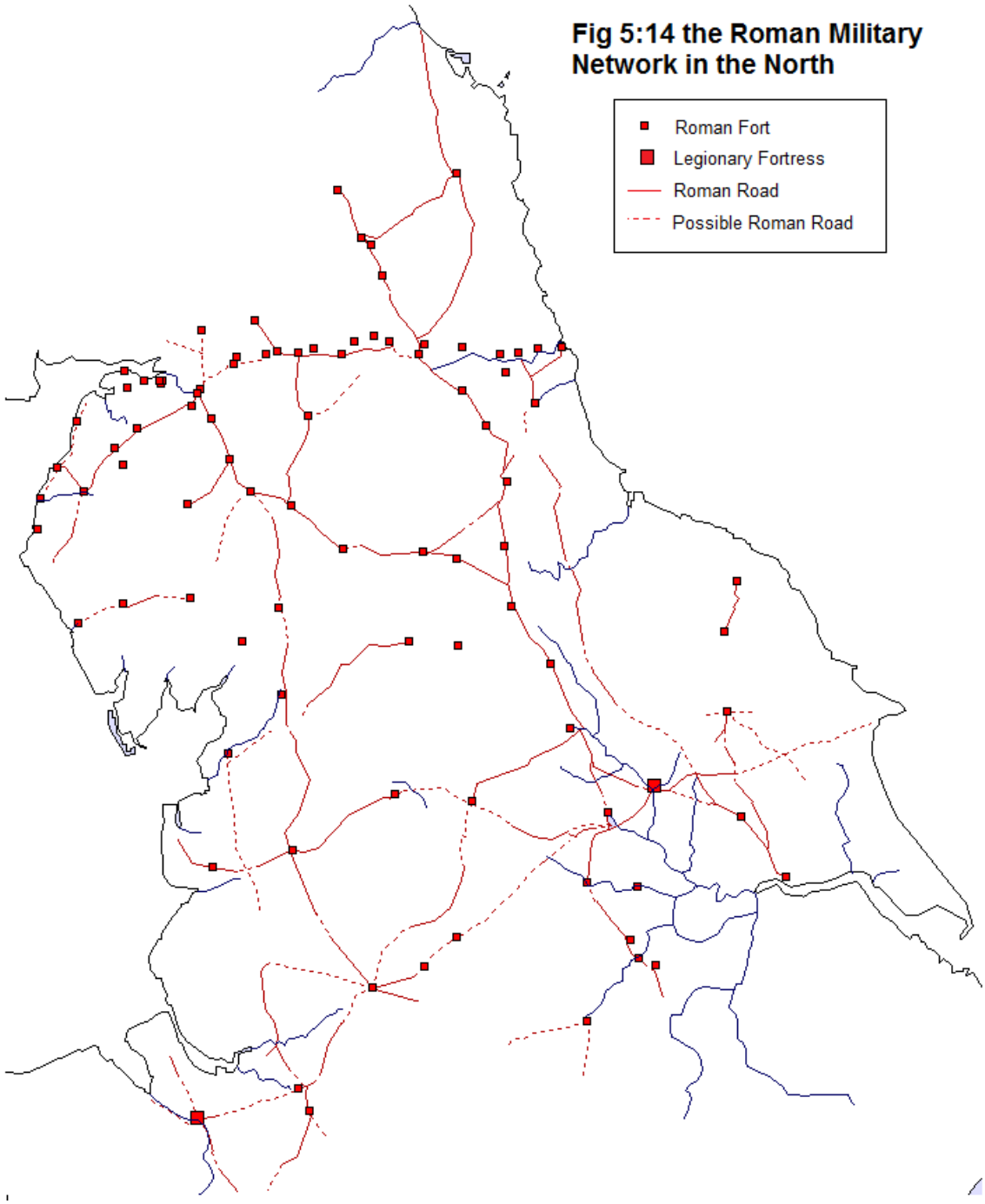


Fig 5:14 the Roman Military Network in the North

Castle	Fort	Fort NMR	Distance Apart
Bowes Castle	Lavatrae	17561	Upon Fort
Brampton, The Mote	Brampton	12784	2.3 km
Brough Castle	Veteris	1060730	Upon Fort
Brougham Castle	Brocavum	11988	Directly Adjacent
Carlisle Castle	Luguvalium	10672	Upon Fort
Catterick Palet Hill	Cataractinium	52316	1.7 km
Chester Castle	Deva	69027	Upon Fort
Cockermouth Castle	Derventio A	6491	1.4 km
Cromwell's Batteries	Burghwallis	56125	1.9 km
Doncaster Castle	Danum	55889	Upon Fort
Irthington A	Brampton	12784	1 km
Irthington B	Brampton	12784	.9 km
Kendal Castle	Alauna A	43203	1.9 km
Kendal Castle Howe	Alauna A	43203	1.7 km
Kimberworth,Rotherham	Templeborough	316617	2 km
Kirkandrews Liddel Strength	Castra Exploratrum	10855	2.6 km
Lancaster Castle	Lancaster	41221	Upon Fort
Malton Castle	Derventio B	59794	Upon Fort
Manchester Castle	Mamucium	76731	1.5 km
Maryport Castle Hill	Alauna B	9001	1 km
Newcastle Upon Tyne	Pons Aelius	24920	Upon Fort
Pickhill with Roxby	Healam Bridge	53888	2.2 km
Tadcaster Castle	Newton Kyme	54732	3.4 km
Tynemouth Castle	S.Shields/Arbeia	26402	1.7 km
Warden	Cilurnum	19110	3.5 km
Whittington	Galacum	43935	1.6 km
York Castle	Eburacum	58143	Under .5 km
York Old Baile	Eburacum	58143	c. 800m

Fig 5:15. Castle sites in proximity to Roman forts.

There are 25 instances of one or more castles being in close proximity (under 4km) to a Roman Fort or Legionary Fortress. In eight of these the castle is built directly upon the fort, in two other cases built very closely adjacent (York Castle lies just to the south of the walls of Eburacum, while Brougham castle appears to have been built directly adjacent to Brocavum with their outer walls overlying. Given that there are 90 fort and fortress sites in the study area the proportion of forts occupied directly by castles is small (9%), and there are more cases where a castle was built within 4km of a fort without using the same site (19%). However, a difference between the physical castle remains is evident: of the castles built near a fort, five show evidence for stone rebuilding while 13 are only earthworks; of the castles build directly upon (or closely adjacent to) a Roman fort, every single one was rebuilt in stone. This may of course reflect the availability of ready-cut stone at any such site, although only one of these castles (Brougham) appears to have been constructed in stone from the outset.

5.6 Summary

A large body of data is presented here, but a number of key points can be discerned. Firstly, the lesser availability of historical records for earthwork castle sites possibly indicates that castles without stonework were relatively short lived; this is reinforced by the number of such sites found within churchyards, some of Norman date. Many earthworks are ambiguous and difficult to identify; nonetheless, overall there are considerably less ringworks than mottes (about 1 in 6 sites), a lower proportion than in England as a whole. Cumbria is an exception to this, with about 1 in 3 sites being ringworks.

The relationship between castle sites and other features is highly variable; on the whole, proximity to a navigable river appears to be strongly favoured in the overall distribution of sites. Furthermore, the major Roman road running from Carlisle to Doncaster (and known in the Gough Map) shows a large number of castle sites along its length; a great many of these (two-thirds) were rebuilt in stone, indicating their longer-term use. Upland castles are relatively few, but not unknown – particularly in the north east. Roman fort sites were sometimes reused by castle builders, but this occurs only in a minority of cases.

In the following chapter, these observations will form the basis for a discussion of the use of castles in the Norman period with reference to several main themes: population, security, economics, ethnicity and communications.

6. Discussion

6.1 The Significance of Stonework to the Understanding of Early Castles

As revealed in the previous chapter, the distribution of castle sites in northern England is complex, uneven and was influenced by a number of different factors. The difficulties inherent in interpreting the pattern of castle distribution have been ascribed (Creighton 2002, 64) to the problems with dating – a consequence of the frequent lack of any historical documentation for castle sites – which excavation has only occasionally been able to address (see Welfare *et al* 1999). As a result, Creighton (2002, 64) argues, there are so many unknowns in any body of castle data that any scheme is necessarily dependent upon assumptions made by the scholar.

This basic concern is understandable, but perhaps should be qualified by consideration within the broader context of archaeological studies. Prehistorians have long used distribution schemes in the study of their subject; this can involve huge time frames of many centuries, for which any historically based dating evidence is completely unavailable (e.g. Topping 1999; Pinhasi *et al* 2000). Norman castles fit into a time-frame of around one and a half centuries – perhaps 6 generations; a relatively short period in prehistoric terms. Moreover, by studying the distribution of castles on a large scale – such as the whole north of England – a broad view can be gained that is not dependent upon the need to fit the data into known historical narratives, which are themselves derived from limited sources (see Chapter 3).

In order to make sense of complex data, however, it is useful to develop some form of typological or chronological scheme into which sites can be divided. For castle sites, one possible distinction would be that between mottes and ringworks; these are the basic categories into which general surveys of early earthworks tend to divide their data (King & Alcock 1969; Kenyon 1990, 5; Gilchrist 1999a, 235; King 1988, 42; see Chapter 5.1 for the breakdown of this work's data). The significance of ringworks has, however, never been satisfactorily explained. A number of explanatory theories have been posited, ranging from a lack of sufficient topsoil for motte construction (Spurgeon 1987) to simply the personal preference of their builders (King & Alcock 1969, 103). In particular cases ringworks may have been specifically short-term structures

built, for example, as siege castles (as at Pickering Beacon Hill in N. Yorkshire). In any case, the two categories of castle earthworks cannot be clearly separated in many cases; excavation has uncovered a number of examples (e.g. Castle Neroche, Somerset; Higham & Barker 1992, 60; Aldingham, Lancashire; Kenyon 1990, 29; Burton-in-Lonsdale, N. Yorkshire; Moorhouse 1971) of sites where a ringwork was later adapted into a motte, suggesting that at least in some cases both these types of features form part of the biography of castles.

In this work, however, the data reveals an alternate division of the castle data to the form of earthworks: the difference between sites with stone working, and those without. Of the 147 earthwork and (originally) timber sites in this survey, 60 show signs of stone working, and in 45 cases this is for substantial structures. Higham and Barker (1992, 21) suggest that the Norman attitude did not distinguish between a timber castle and a stone castle; a castle was a castle regardless of the material from which it was constructed. While in broadly ideological terms this may be acceptable, the choice between a timber and a stone structure would have involved a considerable difference in the use of resources, and in the nature of the final product. Any castle would require a significant investment of time and labour to construct; estimations of this for earthwork and timber castles tend to be measured in terms of thousands of man-days (e.g. Davison 1972, 56-7; Barton & Holden 1977, 69-70). However, there is a qualitative difference between the labour needed for the construction of a timber and a stone castle. The earthworks, timber palisades and basic wooden structures that would comprise – at the most basic level - a timber castle would require only relatively unskilled labour, which could if necessary be conscripted from the local peasantry (that this was practised is indicated in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; Garmonsway 1972, 264). A stone castle, on the other hand, would require skilled labour that could not simply be demanded, but would have to be paid for (Brown 1955, 368-374); moreover the time needed to construct even a small stone keep could be very great (Pounds 1990, 20). Whatever the Norman ideological attitude to castles, they could not have been unaware of the significantly greater cost in time and money required to build in stone; the decision to build (or rebuild) a castle with masonry would not have been undertaken lightly.

Since not all early timber castles were rebuilt in stone (a majority in the north – 59% - were not) this division in the data provides the basis for a chronological scheme: not one based upon specific dates that are largely unavailable, but upon the commitment to the long-term use of castle indicated by the greater investment in resources and time required to build in stone. Although some timber castles may have experienced long-term use (e.g. Hen Domen; Higham & Barker 1992, 326) this is more likely an exception rather than the rule; the lesser likelihood of a timber-only castle being referenced in contemporary documentary sources (as covered in Ch. 5.2.3) indicates that many such sites would have gone out of use by the late 12th century.

The value of studying this division in the data is demonstrated by the evidence presented in Chapter 5, in which the overall distribution pattern of castles differs from that of those with stonework. While the overall density of castle sites is greater in the south of the study area (Fig 5:3), the distribution of stone-rebuilt castles shows a particularly high density in western and central Yorkshire (but not the east), with a fairly even spread over the rest of the north (Fig 5:5). The actual proportion of sites rebuilt in stone, however, is roughly as high in Northumbria and Durham as in Yorkshire, and significantly lower in the western counties (only 25% of Lancashire castles, 31% in Cheshire and 41% in Cumbria were rebuilt in stone, as against 50% in Durham and North Yorkshire, 56% in Northumberland and 64% in West Yorkshire). A significant east/west bias in stone rebuilding is therefore visible, with a particularly low rate of rebuilding in the south west.

This differing distribution between stone-rebuilt and timber-only caste sites may illuminate an important point. This is that the factors that influenced the decision to originally found an earthwork and timber castle on a particular site differ from those factors that contributed to the long-term viability of a castle; and not all these long-term factors would necessarily have been apparent to the original builders. Thus the two separate categories of data form an effective basis upon which to examine the use of castles in the Norman period.

6.2 The General Distribution of Castle Sites: Population, Warfare and Security

There are those who dismiss the value of distribution based studies of castles; Pounds (1990, 56-7), for example, states that the proximity to roads and rivers was irrelevant to the pattern of castle distribution, and that the only important factor was population density. He associates low population with upland areas such as the Wealds and Pennines. However, while this study (see Chapter 5.3.1 comparing topography to castle distribution) demonstrates a marked preference for lowland sites for castles, this cannot simply be equated with high population. Studies of 11th Century populations are derived primarily from Domesday, which in itself does not give a census and provides only a basis for calculating estimates of population. Where Domesday actually covers the north (see Chapter 3), the overall population density appears to be very low and is rarely more than 2.5 people per square mile, with densities of around 5 per square mile unusual (Darby 1977, 431); this contrasts to typical densities in the south and midlands of 5-15 (*ibid,* 429-430). Overall, Darby's analysis demonstrates only slight differences in population between lowland and upland areas in the north.

Pounds also (1990, 57) asserts that – with the exception of the upland areas, and also the insecure Welsh Marches – the distribution of castles is remarkably even; this statement is not borne out in the data sample, where it can be seen (in Fig 5:8) that sizeable areas of lowlands (such as Lancashire south of the Lune, the coastal plains of Durham and Northumberland, and north-western Cumbria) contain only a relatively few sites. Furthermore, in Northumberland north of the Tyne upland sites appear to have been as readily selected for castle building as lowland ones. Castle distribution in the north presents a more complex picture than can be explained simply through population density or topography alone.

One possible motivation behind the construction of castles was the Conquest itself; Anglo-Norman sources (e.g. Orderic Vitalis; see Chibnall 2003, 123) speak of the important role played by the castle in supporting offensive action – which would be to serve as a secure base from which cavalry could operate (Prior 2006, 230; Pounds 1990, 7-8). And as demonstrated in Fig 5:3 the

density of castle distribution is particularly high in the southernmost counties of the study area – Cheshire, Yorkshire and Greater Manchester (containing 94 out of 153 sites) – which coincides with the first stage of Norman expansion into the North (see Fig. 3:1). Unfortunately, apart from a few largely urban sites (e.g. Chester and York) mentioned in the documentary sources, it is difficult to directly ascribe most castles specifically to the campaign of 1069-70. Castles built under the contingencies of warfare would have needed to be constructed quickly, and this suggests the use of ringworks as even the smallest mottes would have taken over a month to construct (Holden 1967, 116-7); yet the evidence (in Chapter 5.2) shows only a few ringwork sites in Yorkshire (1 in 10) and none in Cheshire. This does not necessarily mean that they never existed, but that many of these early ringworks were later rebuilt into mottes (as with Castle Neroche, Somerset; Prior 2006, 76; Higham & Barker 1992, 60); in any case, the preponderance of motte castles in Yorkshire and Cheshire requires an explanation that cannot be ascribed simply to a brief period of military campaigning.

Pounds (1990, 70) raises the issue of insecurity as a motive for castle building in the case of the Welsh Marches – it is possible that this too may have encouraged their construction in Cheshire and Yorkshire. The proximity of the largely ungovernable Pennines may have always been a source of potential danger from raiding, while the economic damage, population upheaval and disruption inflicted upon the northern counties by the Harrying would have undermined the safety of their inhabitants; contemporary sources speak of widespread banditry (Kapelle 1979, 131-2).

The issue of security as a motivation for castle construction in the wake of the Harrying is one that may be examined through the practice of stone rebuilding; the Harrying, for all its severity, was a single event – and while the actual extent and impact of the devastation has been subject to much academic discussion (Darby 1977, 444-454; Wightman 1975; Palliser 1993; Dalton 1994, 24-5) when considered within the whole span of the Norman period its effects must be regarded as essentially short-term. Therefore, if the Harrying lay behind the denser distribution of castles in Yorkshire and Cheshire then this should not be reflected in the distribution of stone rebuilding, a longer-term phenomenon that

would not be maintained as the need for security declined. This, however, is only partially reflected in the data presented in Fig 5.3. The density of stone-rebuilt sites falls significantly on the eastern side of the county, with a shift towards less defensively orientated manorial organisation (e.g. at Cropton Hall Garth, Ellerton Aughton Hall, Thirsk Castle) but remains high in the west (64% of castle sites show evidence for stone rebuilding in West Yorkshire, compared to only 25% in East Yorkshire).

It is possible that the greater incidence of refortification in the west reflects a continued danger from the Pennines, while the need for security declined elsewhere in Yorkshire as the region recovered from the effects of the Harrying. However, there is no corresponding high rate of castle rebuilding on the other side of the Pennines (only 25% and 33% of sites in Greater Manchester and Lancashire respectively). It seems unlikely that if the Pennines was a source of lawlessness sufficient to encourage fortification, only the landowners on one side of the range would be affected. Other explanations must be sought for the longer-term investment in fortification in western Yorkshire indicated by the higher number of stone rebuilt sites.

When one looks beyond Yorkshire and Cheshire farther to the north, further problems in ascribing castle building to security present themselves. The Norman reprisals in Northumberland and Durham following the uprising of 1080 are relatively historically obscure (Florence of Worcester 182-3; see Kapelle 1979, 141), but there is no reason to assume they were any less severe than those of 1069; furthermore, Northumberland was subject to repeated Scottish incursion in the late 11th century, while Cumbria appears to have frequently changed hands between English and Scottish rulers in the Norman period. It would be difficult to claim that the need for security was any less significant in the north of the study area than in the south. And yet the overall density of castle sites is low, particularly in the northeast. The evidence of site distribution for the north of England does not indicate that either the need for security – or population density – can serve as adequate explanations for castle building over the Norman period as a whole.

6.3 Castle Distribution and Wheat Producing Lands

Another possible approach towards explaining the regionally varying density of castle sites is economic; for the Normans, after all, land was the chief reward they sought for participation in the Conquest – and some lands would be more valuable than others.

Kapelle (1979, 214-225) suggests that wheat producing lands were particularly favoured by Normans; wheat bread was preferred not merely for its quality but as a symbol of their elite status. However, across much of the north the principle staple cereals were 'Spring' grains such as oats and barley, largely due to the climate (Stamp & Beaver 1971, 179). This 'Oat Bread Line' (as Kapelle calls it; 1979, 214) cannot be determined exactly due to the changes in climate since the Norman period (Mann 2002, 515; Oglivie & Farmer 1997, 130); in any case, it represents a general shift in conditions towards those favourable to oats rather than an absolute barrier beyond which wheat cannot be grown. According to Kapelle (1979, 214) it would run roughly between Yorkshire and Durham, southwards through Yorkshire along the east of the Pennines then across through Cheshire to the west. Kapelle derives this primarily through the use of 18th century literary sources (Young 1770); he argues that studies of long term agricultural land-use patterns (e.g. Singleton 1963) show continuity in practice from the medieval through to the early modern period.

This oat line, as described by Kapelle, roughly encloses the areas of high castle density in Yorkshire and Cheshire; the preference for wheat-bearing lands may have encouraged greater settlement by Norman landowners, resulting in a higher incidence of castle building. Moreover, even if one discounts Kapelle's theory on the specific importance of wheat (or the location of the oat line) then it is still not difficult to accept that much of the land in the north, with its sparser population and colder, damper climate would have been less appealing to the new Norman landholding class than lands farther south (Thomas 2003b, 116).

The equation of cereal production with castle building, however, cannot be accepted so straightforwardly when the long-term is considered. The distribution of stone rebuilding does not reflect the oat bread line; higher numbers of castles

were rebuilt well to the north of this (41% in Cumbria and 56% in Northumberland) than in more southerly lands such as Cheshire (31%). If the importance of wheat to Norman aristocratic identity (see Duby 1968, 90) was sufficient to affect the initial patterns of settlement, then the longer term pattern of stone castle distribution indicates that this did not remain the case. This does not necessarily mean that the aristocratic classes lost their taste for wheat bread, but that the possession of wheat growing lands became less of an imperative. Only in the shorter term – during the establishment of timber castles in the initial phase of Norman colonisation – does the evidence suggest a link between wheat cultivation and castle distribution.

6.4 The Ethnicity of Castle Builders

Directly attributing the density of castle distribution to Norman colonisation depends upon one particular assumption: that castles were constructed exclusively by the Normans. Given the large number of sites that are historically obscure (61% of earthwork mottes and 89% of ringworks lack any contemporary documentary evidence; see Fig 5:6), this assumption is difficult to verify. On the other hand, studies of later medieval records (see Thomas 2003a, 112-15) show large numbers of native names amongst the landholding families of regions with low densities of castles: the Pennines, Lancashire and Cumbria. The Norman preference for wheat may well have contributed to the survival of native landowners in areas north of the oat line; and the lack of castles here indicates that they were of Norman and not native construction, at least initially.

This does, however, require some explanation. Castles may not have been a characteristic feature of the English landscape before the Conquest, but after the Norman success (attributed by contemporaries in part to their use of castles) they could well have been built in emulation. The basic structural form of a timber and earth castle is after all fairly simple and requires no specialist knowledge: only labour. Reasons can be conjectured as to why the English landowners initially resisted adapting the castle: conservatism, an inability to conscript the necessary labour, or perhaps they were actively deterred from castle building by the Normans. If castles were intended as protection from brigandage, it is possible that the natives felt less threatened by this (and may indeed have been partly responsible for it; Thomas 2003a, 117). Given the

general lack of evidence, the possibility of native castle-builders in the 11th century remains uncertain. However, native landholding patterns do not reflect the distribution of stone-rebuilt castles; as with the oat line, this further suggests that in the longer term castle distribution does not represent the pattern of Norman colonisation.

The symbolic role of the castle has been increasingly popular focus of study amongst castleologists since the late 1970s (see Chapter 2); many (e.g. Johnson, Coulson, Liddiard) have stressed that the 'military' architecture of castles was intended to emphasise the aristocratic identity of the owner. And as explained above, wheat, another aspect of aristocratic status (to the Normans at least) may have been important enough to determine their pattern of settlement in England, at least initially. However, the apparent lack of castle-building amongst the natives would indicate that in the early post-Conquest period the castle was less a sign of a general aristocratic identity, but also a statement of ethnic identity – a visible symbol of the separation between the Norman and English landowning classes. The more even spread of stone-rebuilt castles across the north, however, would demonstrate the short-lived nature of this distinction. Over several generations, as the ethnic distinction between these two elite groups receded through a process of intermarriage and social emulation, and the general assimilation of the smaller English aristocracy into Norman society, the castle would have ceased to be a symbol of Norman identity, but instead a mark of the forming Anglo-Norman aristocratic class.

6.5 Topography and Communications

Although fewer in number, there are still castles spread across the north of the study area, indicating at least some degree of Norman settlement. Moreover, in Durham and Northumberland a large proportion of the sites are situated in the central uplands rather than on the eastern coastal plain (see Chapter 5.3.1). One of these upland castle sites, Barnard Castle in County Durham, has been investigated by David Austin (1980); the unusually large quantities of deer bone recovered indicates commercial exploitation of venison rather than simply being the residue of local hunting (Austin 1984, 75). Barnard Castle was established in preference to the pre-Norman centre at Gainford in the lower Tees Valley – to

the Normans venison may have presented a more appealing economic prospect than arable agriculture in an area unsuited to growing wheat (*ibid,* 74).

It is possible, then, that other upland castles were being established in the north in order to exploit alternative sources of wealth to cereal production. It has been observed (in Creighton 2002, 51; Winchester 1987, 19-22) that other castles in the north (e.g. Cockermouth, Pickering and Richmond) lie upon the edges of uplands, allowing access to two different sources of income – arable lowlands and pastoral hill country. In uplands the principal source of wealth would have been sheep, reared for both food and wool; a viable alternative to cereal agriculture (Power 1941, 7-8).

When one considers the longer-term use of castle sites, as indicated by the presence of stone working, this pattern of upland occupation in Northumberland is not maintained. North of the Tees only one of the western upland castles (Harbottle) was rebuilt in stone; the other upland sites (Wark on Tweed, Akeld, Elsdon Mote Hills, Cholerton, Warden) show no signs of stone working – whereas all of the lowland castles do have evidence of stone work. In other areas bordering upland zones stone-rebuilding appears to have been practiced in a roughly average proportion for the county as a whole (e.g. the North York Moors, 4 out of 9 castles around the edge of this upland area were rebuild in stone, slightly below the 50% rebuilding rate for North Yorkshire). In the long-term, then, proximity to upland resources does not appear to have been a deciding factor in encouraging the rebuilding of castles.

In the Vale of Eden (an area with access to both lowlands and uplands), almost all of the timber castles were built in stone; however, here there is another notable feature: the presence of a major Roman road running from Carlisle down to Doncaster (see Fig 5:12). This road is known from contemporary documentary sources to have been in use during the medieval period (see Chapter 5.4). On the other hand, in Northumberland and the Vale of Pickering the few known Roman roads show little evidence of medieval use in the historical sources, and do not coincide with the distribution of castle sites. It is possible that for castles situated by upland areas to have a good chance of prospering, access to good communications by road was more necessary than

in lowland areas, where navigable rivers (see Fig 5:11) provided an alternative means of transportation.

Access to communications – by road or river – would provide many potential benefits to a castle's owner: the ability to move more easily between widely dispersed estates (Creighton 2002, 39-40), to strategically control these routes for military advantage (Prior 2006, 56-60) or to expedite the passage of goods. The overall castle distribution, however, does not appear to depend upon the presence of major roads (so far as the available evidence presented in Chapter 5:4 indicates); however, of the whole data sample only 27 (out of 153) sites lie further than 20km from a navigable river. The seasonal nature of river transportation, with some rivers only running deeply enough to be navigable in winter, would not necessarily be problematical for a Norman lord whose chief economic need was to move bulk amounts of grain for sale – itself a seasonal activity. Likewise, even a site 20km from a river – perhaps a day's travel – would only be especially inconvenient if constant or at least frequent access was considered necessary.

In the longer term, however, the castle evidence suggests a reduced importance of river transportation; a majority (two-thirds) of the 27 sites further than 20km from a river show evidence of stone rebuilding. This reflects the general shift in the use of communications over time; rivers appear to have been economically more significant in the earlier medieval period than after the 12th century (Blair 2007, 15).

6.6 The Reuse of Roman Fort Sites by Castles

In Chapter 5.5 a number of cases are identified in which castles occupy the sites of Roman forts. Where examples of 'monumental reuse' by castles have been observed in the past, they have been interpreted in a number of ways: as a practical adaptation of already existing fortifications (particularly in the case of ready fortified sites such as Iron Age hillforts), or because such sites may have already high-status or religious associations. Reuse of high-status sites could represent an act of appropriation to demonstrate the authority of the new rulers, or possibly have been intended to symbolise continuity by retaining a pre-Conquest centre of power (Creighton 2002, 69-72). The subject of monumental

reuse is a complex one that deserves fuller treatment than it is possible to give here; in this case, Roman forts have been specifically contrasted to castle sites due to the large number of both within the study area.

From the data a few observations can be made - the proportion of fort sites occupied directly by castles is small (only 8 out of 90); in some of these (Chester, York, Doncaster) the fort site lies within a medieval town which in itself provides an obvious motivation for the construction of a castle regardless of any Roman remains. Moreover, there are more (twenty) cases of castles established less than 4km from a fort site which was not reused. This indicates that the remains of Roman forts do not appear to have been particularly favoured for castle building in the majority of cases, even when such a site lay close to the actual chosen site.

However, one pattern suggests a possible significance to the reuse of Roman forts; even outside urban centres, a number of major castles of long-term importance appear to have been initially established upon forts: Lancaster, Carlisle and Newcastle. The latter two sites were initially built by sons of William I (Robert in 1080 and William II in 1092), in both cases during campaigns against the Scots. Lancaster's origins are less well known, but later (in the 12th century) it served as the principal castle of the Honour of Lancaster, and may have been of similar importance to Carlisle and Newcastle in its earlier history.

Here we have two (and possibly three) cases where a single castle was established for political control by those at the highest level of political power. It cannot be discounted that the reuse of Roman forts here was merely a matter of coincidence, but it is possible that this was deliberate: a new, politically prominent castle built upon an older site that still retained high-status connotations (as the castle upon the former Temple of Claudius at Colchester was regarded as occupying the site of the 'palace of Coel, formerly King'; Drury 1982, 383). Alternatively, it is possible that the reuse of Roman forts reflected a similarity in strategic and tactical thinking on the part of Norman lords and Roman military leaders – all three sites are well placed for defence, have access to navigable rivers, and the major Roman roads that connected these sites all appear to have remained in use in the medieval period.

The relationship between Roman forts and castle sites is difficult to assess with such a broad territorial survey; this would appear to be a subject requiring dedicated examination of specific sites and their local contexts for any real understanding to be gained. However, from the general comparison of sites presented in Ch. 5.5 it can be argued that for the smaller scale, relatively minor castles, Roman forts appear to have been unimportant to the choice of site; many more such castles chose other sites even when in close proximity to the remains of a fort. If there is a relationship – whether consciously or unconsciously chosen – between castles and Roman forts, this seems to have principally existed in the case of major castles established by those of the highest status in Norman society.

6.7 Summary

In the above discussion a number of the observed trends within the data have been considered; while the complexity of the data requires that any explanation of castle distribution must be posited cautiously, it is nonetheless possible to put forward a general explanation of the visible pattern of castle placement.

The pattern of castle distribution initially indicates larger scale Norman settlement in the south of the study area – castles most likely being built specifically by Norman landowners, as signs of both aristocratic and ethnic identity. The preference for the south by the Normans may be due to the greater prevalence of wheat-bearing lands in the region. Navigable rivers would have provided the principal means of transportation, needed for the seasonal movement of bulk produce. For those few castles maintained beyond the ‘oat bread line’, alternative upland resources to cereal agriculture appear to have been more actively exploited. The need for security is a doubtful explanation for castle distribution, however: the impact of the Harrying would have been relatively short term, and the frequently threatened northernmost counties show relatively few castle sites compared to the south. Key castles – important centres of Royal power – may have been constructed as local centres of political and military control, often occupying the sites of former Roman forts (unlike the majority of castles which only occasionally use such sites).

Over the longer term, some castles were abandoned or destroyed, while others underwent reconstruction in stone; the pattern of longer-term use of castles changes from the initial distribution. As the native landowners, particularly prevalent in the northernmost counties, became assimilated to Norman social norms the castle ceased to be a specifically Norman ethnic identifier and consequently the distribution of stone-rebuilt castles is more evenly spread across the north than is the case for the initial pattern. However, major roads appear to encourage the long-term use of castles along their lengths, while the importance of proximity to a navigable river appears to have declined.

7. Conclusions

The most immediate impression that the distribution of castles in the north gives to an examiner is one of great complexity. That the pattern of castle sites might be the consequence of a single, overriding factor would appear to be highly unlikely given the high variability represented in the data. The difficulty, of course, lies in making sense of these patterns. The mass of sites presented on a large-scale distribution map is unlikely to reveal to the viewer anything other than the most general trends – as McNeil & Pringle's map of mottes (1997) reveals the concentration of castles along the Welsh Borders. To gain more understanding, it is necessary to refine the data to provide a higher level of detail.

In this study the data sample has been broken down first according to the reliability of identification; that more than half of the initial sample of castle sites were rejected at this stage demonstrates one of the main obstacles in castle studies: the highly varying degree of knowledge of individual sites. It can be hoped that this situation is one that will be gradually improved as further fieldwork (and the publication of its results) increases the level of information available for the many currently obscure potential castle sites.

With a data sample selected, a number of ways of dividing the sites into distinct groups that could be contrasted against one another were examined. Some of these are long familiar to scholars of Norman castles – namely the ringwork and motte forms of earthworks. However, here the most illuminating division within the data was found to be that between the sites that underwent rebuilding in stone, and those showing no evidence for this.

The argument that stone rebuilding indicates the continuing use of a site over a longer period (and hence its longer-term success) than the lack thereof can obviously be challenged in specific cases – such as Hen Domen – but as a general principle it is supported by one of the main findings of this work: that the overall distribution pattern of stone-rebuilt castles differs from those that existed only as timber and earth structures. This difference manifests itself in a number of ways. While the general pattern of distribution favours the south, stone rebuilding shows more of an east to west bias. Whereas proximity to a river

appears to have been a favoured factor in the siting of a earthwork castle, this seems to have had less influence on whether that castle would later undergo stone rebuilding – which favours instead proximity to a major road (such as the Carlisle to Doncaster route). It is further supported by the paucity of historical documentation for timber-only castles, indicative that many sites were likely to be out of use by the later 12th century.

The relationship between castles and other features, such as roads, rivers and topography have been frequently noted by others, but the principal conclusion derived from the evidence presented here is that these associations differ in importance over time; essentially, that in years immediately following the Norman Conquest the general distribution favours wheat-growing lands in the south of the study area, and the proximity to rivers. Castles further north appear to have been placed to more effectively exploit upland resources. The pattern of stone-rebuilding shifts; rivers are less significant, but major roads more so. The more even spread of stone castles over the whole survey area indicates a reduction in the importance of wheat-bearing lands, and most likely that the distinction between the initially non-castle building native landowners and the Norman incomers had, at least in this respect, largely dissolved. Put simply, this difference in distribution between stone and timber building reveals that the circumstances that would favour the initial decision to construct a castle differ from those that would result in its reconstruction – probably decades later – in stone.

On the other hand, some explanations for castle placement do not appear to be generally supported by the evidence given here. Population density does not appear to have been critical; indeed, populations generally would have been relatively low in the north in contrast to the south of England. The military rationale behind castle construction also appears weak when the distribution is considered; the most threatened and unstable areas of the north – those along the Scottish borders – have relatively few castles compared to the more southerly areas. The possibility that castles were built for protection from raids and banditry in the aftermath of the Harrying is also not borne out in the data, except possibly in the East Riding where the early spread of timber sites shows little evidence of stone rebuilding, but instead a shift towards a less defensive

manorial organisation. The rebuilding of castles in stone tends to take place along major road routes; the ‘evolution’ of castles from timber to stone would appear to reflect the increasing wealth and resources of the landowning classes than a specifically military imperative intended to deal with technological advances in the art of warfare.

The reuse of Roman fortifications for the building of a castle is a phenomenon that has been observed in individual cases; however, from the data presented here it can be seen that there are far more cases of castles being built that ignored the close (within a few km) proximity of a Roman fort. It is difficult in the light of this to maintain that Roman remains had any particular appeal to the majority of castle builders, with the possible exception of some Royal castles.

It must be readily acknowledged that use of such a large body of data has its disadvantages; a broad view can lack in specific detail; however, the general trends identified in such an approach can highlight potentially productive areas of research that could be investigated in more depth. In particular, the reasons why English landowners did not adopt the castle in the immediate aftermath of the Conquest can be readily imagined (see Chapter 6.4), but there is no real evidence to support any particular theory. This is a question worthy of further study.

The methodology presented here could be applied further in a number of ways; firstly to a greater study area: the conclusions reached here may be specific to the north of England, and in other parts of the British Isles (and indeed in continental Europe) different factors may well be discovered to have influenced the siting of castles. Also, this study examines a number of features in contrast to castle sites: navigable rivers, Roman roads, forts and topography. There are many other features of the landscape that may also have impacted on the distribution of castles: a more detailed assessment of agricultural land-use, the political and economic organisation of lordships, trade networks in particular goods, and other forms of reuse – particularly the remains of immediately pre-Norman Anglo-Saxon England, such as Royal sites, moots, tenurial patterns of organisation and urban centres.

It is hoped that this work demonstrates that a lack of historical dating evidence need not be a bar to studying the distribution of Norman castles sites; in this case a relatively straightforward scheme for dividing the data into patterns of long-term and short-term usage derived from physical archaeological evidence, combined with a large study area and data sample, can illuminate the changing role of the castle over time. There remain many avenues of investigation that could be profitably explored using these methods.

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Appendix A – Data

Acklam NMR : 59734 Grid Ref. SE 7836 6135 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey. No evidence of stone structures.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown. Conjectured to be contemporary to Mount Ferrant due to similiarity in construction, although Acklam is smaller.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1008209; N.Yorks HER MNY2102; King 1983, 531

Akeld Green Castle NMR : 2676 Grid Ref. NT 9819 2785 Northumberland
Type : Ringwork. No evidence of stone structures.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown, although 2 silver pennies of Edward I found on site.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1019926; King 1983, 336; King & Alcock 1969, 119

Aldby Park, Buttercrambe NMR : 1148991 Grid Ref. SE 7335 5841 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte. Site was heavily landscaped in C17, destroying any trace of a possible bailey. No evidence for stone structures.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Licensied in 1201. Conjectured to have been built by Robert de Stuteville, late C11.
References : N. Yorks HER MNY24411; King 1983, 514; Renn 1973, 126; Salter 2001, 27

Aldford Castle NMR : 68791 Grid Ref. SJ 4188 5953 Cheshire
Type : Motte, with possible bailey. Excavation has uncovered masonry wall atop motte. Churchyard built over part of bailey.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : First mentioned 1276, excavation has uncovered C13 pottery.Conjectured to have been built C11-C12.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1007605; King 1983, 66; Renn 1973, 88; Husain 1973, 102; Shaw & Clark 2003a, 4

Aldingham Moat Hill NMR : 37622 Grid Ref. SD 2778 8986 Cumbria
Type : Ringwork and bailey, with ringwork rebuilt as a motte. No evidence of stone building.
Identification : High Certainty.
Dating : Excavation dated occupation to C12 – early C13.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1013819; Cumbria SMR 2613; Wilson & Hurst 1969, 258; King 1983, 244; Jackson 1990, 27; Higham 1991, 84

Almondbury Castle Hill NMR : 1032947 Grid Ref. SE 1519 1400 West Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey, also interpreted as a ringwork. Built on site of Iron Age hillfort. Rebuilt in stone C12, under licence from King Stephen.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : First mentioned 1142-1154.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1009846; Constable 2007, 5; King 1983, 512; Renn 1973, 89; Brown 1959, 261

Alnwick Castle NMR : 7152 Grid Ref. NU 1871 1357 Northumberland
Type : Motte and bailey. Rebuilt with shell keep in place of motte.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : First mentioned 1136.
References : Renn 1973, 89; King 1983, 325

Appleby Castle NMR : 13288 Grid Ref. NY 685 199 Cumbria
Type : Stone castle, with possible motte or ringwork and bailey predecessor.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : First mentioned 1129-30.

References : Scheduled List Entry 1003276; Cumbria SMR 1709; Jackson 1990, 27-8; King 1983, 489; Renn 1973, 92; Brown 1959, 261

Arkholme-with-Cawood Chapel Hill NMR : 43036 Grid Ref. SD 5893 7183 Lancashire
Type : Motte, with possible bailey. Excavation in 1904 uncovered cobbled surface beneath turf on surface of motte, with a further pavement 9ft down. Churchyard now in bailey area.
Identification : High certainity.
Dating : Excavation has uncovered finds of likely C13 date.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1012695; Lancs. SMR PRN629-MLA629; Clark 1889, 206; King 1983, 244; Higham 1991, 83; Moorhouse 1971, 89, 98.

Bamburgh Castle NMR : 7536 Grid Ref. NU 1832 3508 Northumberland
Type : Large stone castle, built on site of Northumbrian *Burh*.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : First mentioned 1095; stonework (including keep) dates to C12.
References : Listed Building 1280155; King 1983, 326; Renn 1973, 98

Bardsey Cum Rigton Castle Hill NMR : 53111 Grid Ref. SE 3660 4333 West Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey. Motte is of unusual design, consisting of two rectangular platforms connected by causeway. C19 excavations uncovered stone foundations.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Excavations uncovered late C12/early C13 pottery.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1012774; King 1983, 513; Renn 1973, 353

Barnard Castle NMR : 19875 Grid Ref. NZ 0491 1641 County Durham
Type : Ringwork. Rebuilt in stone in mid C12.
Identification : High certainty
Dating : First mentioned c.1133. Excavation has found finds dated to early C12 at ealiest stage of occupation. Conjectured to have been built c. 1095.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1007505; King & Alcock 1969, 113; Wilson & Hurst 1964, 252; Renn 1973, 102; King 1983, 134; Brown 1959, 262

Barwick in Elmet Castle NMR : 52862 Grid Ref. SE 3990 3762 West Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey. Adapted Iron Age hill fort. Drystone walling excavated on motte.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : First mentioned 1142-54.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1010924; King 1983, 513; Renn 1973, 102

Bilton Swan Hill NMR : 80625 Grid Ref. TA 1567 3256 East Yorkshire
Type : Motte. No evidence for stone structures.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1007849; King 1983, 513

Bishop Rufus' Palace NMR : 53968 Grid Ref. SE 3644 9387 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey. Replaced by end of C12 by fortified palace. Site is now a modern cemetery.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : First mentioned 1130, destroyed by 1176.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1020719; N.Yorks HER MNY12838; Renn 1973, 258; King 1983, 522

Bowes Castle NMR : 981380 Grid Ref. NY9923 1348 County Durham
Type :Norman keep with moat, possibly preceded by a timber castle.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.

Dating : Baronial castle of the Honour of Richmond from 1154; Royal castle from 1171. Possible earlier timber castle conjectured to have been built by Alan of Brittany in 1130s.
References : Brown 1959, 263; Renn 1973, 263; King 1983, 514

Bradfield Bailey Hill NMR : 312726 Grid Ref. SK 2662 9268 South Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey. Some stonework found in 1720, possibly the foundations of a tower.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown. Conjectured to be C12 castle of the de Furnivals.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1013217; King 1983, 514

Bradfield Castle Hill NMR : 312710 Grid Ref. SK 2710 9233 South Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey, also interpreted as a ringwork. Site is much damaged by quarrying, but a keep was apparently visible in 1819. No surviving traces of any structures.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown. Conjectured to be siege castle to Bradfield Bailey Hill (above).
References : Scheduled List Entry 1017612; King 1983, 514

Brampton, The Mote NMR : 12735 Grid Ref. NY 5332 6127 Cumbria
Type : Oval motte, with possible bailey. Later used as a beacon in C15.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : English Heritage/SMR records state motte is C12/13, although no evidence is cited for this.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1013967; Cumbria SMR 282; King 1983, 83; Jackson 1990, 33-4

Brampton Tower Tye NMR : 12671 Grid Ref. NY 5650 6206 Cumbria
Type : Ringwork. Unusual type, with both inner and outer bank. No evidence for stone structures.
Identification : Reasonable certainty (Scheduled as ringwork, but possibly wrongly?)
Dating : Unkown. Conjectured to be C14, although this is questionable given lack of any clearly dateable characteristics.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1013969; Cumbria SMR 307; Curwen 1913, 213

Brough Castle NMR : 14926 Grid Ref. NY 7915 1410 Cumbria
Type : Stone castle (medieval courtyard castle); earthwork predecessor is unclear, although includes adaptation of Roman fort.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : In existence 1154, but originated in post-conquest period.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1007148; Cumbria SMR 1767; Jackson 1990, 34; Brown 1959, 263, Gaskell 2007,6

Brougham Castle NMR : 11985 Grid Ref. NY 5371 2900 Cumbria
Type : Stone castle, with Norman keep. No known timber predecessor.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : First mentioned in 1228. Keep described as late C12. Conjectured to have been built post-1157 by Hugh de Morville, although not mentioned in record of 1173 when manor was forfeited.
References : Cumbria SMR 2887; King 1983, 491; Jackson 1990, 36

Buckton Castle NMR : 45924 Grid Ref. SD 9890 0163 Greater Manchester
Type : Ringwork, with possible bailey. Enclosed by a collapsed stone wall. Excavation of 1996 found attached bailey to be of modern origin. Used as a beacon in C16-17.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown; described as a ruined castle in 1360.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1015131; King 1983, 244-5; King & Alcock 1969, 117

Burton in Lonsdale Castle NMR : 44056 Grid Ref. SD 6498 7212 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey, but originally a ringwork. Some stonework visible upon motte.

Identification : High certainty.
Dating : In existence by 1095. Excavation has uncovered some C12 artifacts.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1009319; N.Yorks HER : MNY20682; Moorhouse 1971; King & Alcock 1969, 123; King 1983, 514-5; Renn 1973, 124; Dalton 1994, 83

Carlisle Castle NMR : 10679 Grid Ref. NY 3969 5622 Cumbria
Type : Original form unknown, possibly a ringwork and bailey. In continuous use and repeatedly reconstructed into modern times.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Built 1092 by William II. Probably rebuilt in stone under Henry I, early C12.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1014579; Cumbria SMR 5636; Brown 1959, 264; Renn 1973, 134; King 1983, 98; Jackson 1990, 38;Garmonsway 1972, 227

Castlelevington Castle Hill NMR : 26929 Grid Ref. NZ 461 103 North Yorkshire
Type : Ringwork. No evidence of stone structures.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1003267; King 1983, 515; King & Alcock 1969, 123; Page 1923, 20-1.

Catterick Castle Hills NMR : 52302 Grid Ref. SE 2545 9707 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey. No evidence for stone structures.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : Conjectured to have been built in C11 or c. 1120-25.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1020991; N. Yorks HER: MNY13085; Dalton 1994, 47; King 1983, 519

Catterick Palet Hill NMR : 52333 Grid Ref. SE 2395 9804 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte, with possible bailey. Some exposed stonework indicates possible stone footings or wall remains beneath turf. Bailey now occupied by churchyard.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown. Conjectured to be built during reign of Stephen (1135-54) by then Earl of Richmond, Alan the Black.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1021136; N.Yorks HER MNY 13086; King 1983, 515

Chester Castle NMR : 69135 Grid Ref. SJ 4048 6573 Cheshire
Type : Motte and bailey. Multiple phases of stone building from mid C12 onwards.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : Built 1070.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1006773; King 1983, 67; Renn 1973, 142; Brown 1959, 104; Brown 1995, 104

Chollerton Money Hill NMR : 18894 Grid Ref. NY 9078 7575 Northumberland
Type : Motte and bailey. No evidence for stone structures.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown. Conjectured to be built after 1093 by Ralph de Gunnerton.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1011418; Dodds 1999, 347-9; King 1983, 334

Clitheroe Castle NMR : 44689 Grid Ref. SD 7422 4165 Lancashire
Type : Medieval enclosure castle, including stone keep and bailey with surrounding curtain wall.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : In existence mid-C12, first mentioned by name 1186-7 although there is a possible reference in 1102.
References: Scheduled List Entry 1016196; Lancs SMR PRN1101-MLA1101; Armitage 1912, 225; Hartley *et al* 2006a, 14; Renn 1973, 146; King 1983, 250; Brown 1959, 265

Cockermouth Castle NMR : 9485 Grid Ref. NY 1223 3085 Cumbria
Motte and bailey, with possible earlier ringwork phase. Rebuilt in stone.

Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : First mentioned 1221. Conjectured to be built earlier; C11 or mid. C12.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1013333; Cumbria SMR 3035; King 1983, 84; Jackson 1990, 46; King & Alcock 1969, 112

Conisbrough Castle NMR : 318744 Grid Ref. SK 5149 9881 South Yorkshire
Type : Motte, with stone shell keep constructed upon it.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown, but conjectured to be built late C12 by Hamelin Plantagenet due to similarity to his castle at Mortemer in Normandy. Earthworks likely predate this, conjectured to belong to Conquest period.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1010828; S.Yorks SMR 00123/01; Dalton 1994, 34; Page 1923, 28-30; Brown 1959, 266; Renn 1973, 157; King 1983, 515

Cotherstone Castle NMR : 19889 Grid Ref. NZ 0133 1997 County Durham
Type : Motte. A single 9m long piece of masonry footing was found here in C19. Possible bailey likely (if it existed) destroyed by later landscaping associated with later (probably early modern) hall.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Licensed in 1201, and conjectured to have been built C11.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1005583; King 1983, 516; Renn 1973, 160; Whellan 1857, 513

Crayke Castle NMR : 56925 Grid Ref. SE 5590 7068 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey. Rebuilt in stone,and remained in use into early modern period. Incorporates part of a Anglo-Saxon monastic cemetery.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : First mentioned 1217. Pottery found during 1983 excavation dated to late C13 at earliest.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1016530; N.Yorks HER MNY1823; King 1983, 516

Cromwell's Batteries, Adwick Le Street NMR : 56113 Grid Ref. SE 5298 1040 South Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey, also interpreted as a ringwork. Possible modification during civil war, traditionally believed to be gun emplacements.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1012588; S.Yorks SMR 00298/01; King 1983, 532

Cropton Hall Garth NMR : 59958 Grid Ref. SE 7545 8930 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey. Later rebuilt as a manor house in former bailey. Church probably overlays former castle chapel.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : First mentioned 1334. Conjectured to have been built by Robert de Stuteville in C11.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1011624; N.Yorks HER MNY24412; King 1983, 516

Cusworth Park NMR : 55989 Grid Ref. SE 5418 0334 South Yorkshire
Type : Motte. No evidence for a bailey or stone structures. Note that although scheduled as a motte, it has also been considered to be a landscaping feature.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1010767; S.Yorks SMR 00120/01; Hey 1979, 45; King 1983, 526

Dallam Park Castle Hill NMR : 41636 Grid Ref. SD 4936 8081 Cumbria
Type : Ringwork, much damaged. Ringwork is edged with 'earth and stone bank' – possibly a ruined tower or keep upon a motte rather than a ringwork?

Identification : Reasonable certainty (scheduled as ringwork, but possibly misidentified)
Dating : Unknown.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1021248; Cumbria SMR 2492

Danby Castle Hill NMR : 27885 Grid Ref. NZ 6883 0816 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte, also interpreted as ringwork. Excavation of 1988 uncovered cobbled yard and post holes but no stone walling. A 'ruined peel' was apparently visible in 1242.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : First mentioned 1242.
References : King 1983, 515

Dodleston NMR : 67014 Grid Ref. SJ 3614 6087 Cheshire
Type : Motte and bailey. Reportedly site of a hall in C17, but no surviving evidence. Site part of a church glebe in C19.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown; conjectured to have been built in C11.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1012419; Cheshire HER 1978/2; King 1983, 67; Clark 1889, 201; Husain 1973, 102

Doncaster Castle NMR : 55892 Grid Ref. SE 5743 0353 South Yorkshire
Type : Only known from excavation; either two baileys or a ringwork and bailey (motte not found). Leland describes the earthwork remains of castle and stone walling.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown; conjectured to have been built c. 1068.
References : S.Yorks SMR 00456/01; King 1983, 530; Smith 1910, 34

Doncaster Castle Hills NMR : 55786 Grid Ref. SE 5513 0670 South Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey. No evidence for stone structures.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : In existence by 1086.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1013654; S. Yorks SMR : 00392/01; King 1983, 512

Driffield Moot Hill NMR : 79299 Grid Ref. TA 0236 5827 East Yorkshire
Type : Motte with possible bailey.C19 excavations uncovered stone structural remains. Overlies an C8 Northumbrian royal site, with preceding Roman remains.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : First mentioned during reign of Stephen (1135-1154). Conjectured to have been built as an C11 Royal castle.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1015612; King 1983, 517; Dalton 1994, 157

Durham Castle NMR : 24467 Grid Ref. NZ 273 423 County Durham
Type : Motte and bailey. Early chronology obscure, but remained in use into modern times (now part of University of Durham).
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : Founded in 1072.
References : Renn 1973, 179; King 1983, 135

Easby Castle Motte NMR : 27345 Grid Ref. NZ 5898 0848 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte, also interpreted as a ringwork. No evidence for stone structures or a bailey.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1008208; N.Yorks HER MNY24414; King 1983, 517

Eccleston NMR : 69378 Grid Ref. SJ 4143 6279 Cheshire
Type : Motte. No evidence for stone structures. Site is much damaged and was formerly identified as a barrow. Located in church glebe fields, with church dated back as far as 1304 from records.

Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1011118; Cheshire HER 1965/4

Egremont Castle NMR : 8824 Grid Ref. NY 0097 1046 Cumbria
Type : Motte and bailey, rebuilt as stone enclosure castle.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Mentioned throughout C13. Conjectured to have been built early C12 by William de Meschines.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1020455; Cumbria SMR 3051; King 1983, 86; Brown 1959, 267; Jackson 1990, 55

Ellel Castle Hill NMR : 887103 Grid Ref. SD 5204 5361 Lancashire
Type : Motte. Stone foundations exist on summit.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1010794; Lancs SMR PRN11191-MLA11189; Higham 1991, 90

Ellenthorpe Castle Banks NMR : 887168 Grid Ref. SD 8239 4979 Lancashire
Type : Motte. No known evidence for stone structures.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Lancs SMR PRN33410-MLA30; Higham 1991, 90

Ellerton Aughton Hall NMR : 59430 Grid Ref. SE 7017 3869 East Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey, with associated complex including fishponds, church and moated site. No evidence for stone structures on motte, and bailey much damaged by landscaping.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1007973; King 1983, 513

Elsdon Mote Hills NMR : 19720 Grid Ref. NY 9375 9350 Northumberland
Type : Motte and bailey, also interpreted as a ringwork. No evidence for stone structures, although a piece of Roman stonework was found within the motte. Sited upon Moot of Redesdale.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown, but conjectured to have been built in C11.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1007524; King 1983, 332; King & Alcock 1969, 119; Dodds 1999, 325-30

Foss Castle NMR : 29496 Grid Ref. NZ 8317 1175 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey, but possibly a ringwork. Abandoned c.1200 for new stone castle at Old Mulgrave.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : First mentioned in 1133. Conjectured to have been built c. 1072.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1008286; Renn 1973, 250; King 1983, 521; King & Alcock 1969, 123; Salter 2001, 65

Giants Hill, Sutton upon Derwent NMR : 59495 Grid Ref. SE 7104 4862 East Yorkshire
Type : Motte. No evidence for stone structures.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1008041; King 1983, 532

Halifax Castle Hill NMR : 47823 Grid Ref. SE 0400 2332 West Yorkshire
Type : Motte. No evidence for stone structures.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown; described as ‘Castle Hill’ since 1309.

References : Scheduled List Entry 1016946

Halton Castle NMR : 71756 Grid Ref. SJ 5376 8202 Cheshire
Type : Motte and bailey. Later rebuilt as shell keep. Nearby is Norton Priory.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating: 1st dated occupation layer is late C12. Conjectured to be built 1070-1 by Hugh Lupus.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1015606; Cheshire HER 104/1/0; Youngs et al 1988, 234-5; Renn 1973, 199; Husain 1973, 18; Brown 1959, 269; King 1983, 57

Halton-with-Aughton Castle Hill NMR : 41172 Grid Ref. SD 4996 6481 Lancashire
Type : Motte and bailey. No evidence for stone structures, although some undressed stones have been found in earth banks.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown. Described as the 'seat of Earl Tosti' by Clark, although Clark misidentified mottes as pre-Norman monuments.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1012440; Lancs SMR PRN435-MLA435; King 1983, 245; Clark 1889, 207

Harbottle Castle NMR : 1855 Grid Ref. NT 9322 0482 Northumberland
Type : Motte and Bailey. Shell keep added to motte in late C12, and in use into C16.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : Henry II ordered castle built c.1157; this could refer to refortification in stone.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1020386; Renn 1973, 200; King 1983, 334; Dodds 1999, 180-3

Hayton Castle Hill NMR : 12526 Grid Ref. NY 5068 5783 Cumbria
Type : Ringwork. No evidence for stone structures.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown. Conjectured to have been constructed by de Vaux family during reign of Henry II.
References : Cumbria SMR 3025; Jackson 1990, 60; King 1983, 86; King & Alcock 1969, 112

Helmsley Castle NMR : 58805 Grid Ref. SE 6107 8368 North Yorkshire
Type : Ringwork. Stone castle raised late C12/Early C13.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : Conjectured to be built early 12th by Walter l'Espec.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1009963; N.Yorks HER : MNY24416; Dalton 1994, 100; Renn 1973, 204; King 1983, 518

Hill House, Huddersfield NMR : 1433553 Grid Ref. SE 1424 1801 West Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey. No evidence of stone structures. Now in an urban area; Methodist church at apparent edge of bailey; but no medieval church (check)
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : King 1983, 532; Clark 1889, 215; Constable 2007, 6

Horby-with-Farleton Castle NMR : 42931 Grid Ref. SD 5828 6975 Lancashire
Type : Motte and bailey. Built on suggested site of an Iron Age hillfort. No evidence for stone structures.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : First mentioned in 1229. Conjectured to have been built after 1086.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1017689; Lancs SMR PRN575-MLA575; Hartley et al 2006b; Renn 1973, 206; Brown 1959, 269

Hunmanby Castle NMR : 1024351 Grid Ref. TA 0944 7750 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey. No evidence for stone structures. An C11 church lies 100m to the west.
Identification : High certainty.

Dating : First mentioned 1302. Conjectured to by built C11 by Gilbert de Gant, who held the manor in Domesday.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1011375; N.Yorks HER : MNY7579; Dalton 1994, 65; King 1983, 519

Ingleby Barwick Round Hill NMR : 26950 Grid Ref. NZ 4317 1293 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte, with possible bailey. No evidence for stone structures.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1006760; King 1983, 519

Irthington A (The Nook) NMR : 11589 Grid Ref. NY 4993 6151 Cumbria
Type : Motte. A bailey is reported as being once discernible. No evidence of stone strucures, although a medieval manor house possibly lay adjacent to the motte. Mound lies SE of parish church.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown; conjectured to have been built in late C12.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1007151; Cumbria SMR 217; Jackson 1990, 63; King 1983, 87; Mackenzie 1896, 318; Curwen 1913, 181-3

Irthington B NMR : 12769 Grid Ref. NY 5077 6237 Cumbria
Type : Motte. No evidence of stone structures.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Cumbria SMR 245; Jackson 1990, 63-4

Kendal Castle NMR : 43198 Grid Ref. SD 5220 9241 Cumbria
Type : Ringwork with possible bailey. Rebuilt as stone enclosure castle in C13.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : First mentioned in 1216; pottery excavated from ringwork dated to C13. There is some confusion over references to this site, which may refer to nearby Castle Howe. Ringwork is attributed to late C12.
References : Scheduled List Entry Wilson & Hurst 1969, 260; Brown 1959, 270; Jackson 1990, 64; Cumbria SMR 6420; King & Alcock 1969, 122

Kendal Castle Howe NMR : 43209 Grid Ref. SD 5129 9239 Cumbria
Type : Motte and bailey. No evidence of stone structures.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Stated as built in C11, occupied by ‘Ketel, son of Eldred in 1092’.. Possibly a predecessor to Kendal Castle.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1008900; Cumbria SMR 2077; King 1983, 492; Brown 1959, 270; Jackson 1990, 97

Kilburn Hood Hill NMR : 57312 Grid Ref. SE 5038 8141 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey. No evidence for stone structures, although Licence to Crenellate was granted in 1264.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown; possibly adulterine castle of 1215-18. Conjectured to be originally constructed by Robert de Stuteville (1086-1106).
References : Scheduled List Entry 1008230; N.Yorks HER MNY1907; Renn 1973, 355; King 1983, 518-9; Brown 1959, 269

Kimberworth, Rotherham NMR : 316600 Grid Ref. SK 4054 9351 South Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey. No evidence of stone structures. Nearby moated manor house possibly replaced this site. Mound ‘stepped’ on one side, giving unconventional appearance.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1013469; S.Yorks SMR 00121/01

Kirkandrews Liddel Strength NMR : 11686 Grid Ref. NY 4018 7416 Cumbria
Type : Motte and bailey, likely originally a ringwork. Replaced by stone tower house, C14.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : First mentioned in 1174.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1007152; Brown 1959, 271; King 1983, 88; Jackson 1990, 70-1.

Kirkby Fleetham NMR : 52355 Grid Ref. SE 2847 9428 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey. Traces of stone building remain on motte.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Licensed 1314.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1021103; N.Yorks HER MNY21748; King 1983, 519

Kirkoswald Castle NMR : 12421 Grid Ref. NY 5595 4100 Cumbria
Type : Enclosure castle, with possible timber predecessor.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : First mentioned 1201 (license to crenellate), but conjectured to have been built in mid C12.
References : Cumbria SMR 2821; Jackson 1990, 67; Renn 1973, 218; King 1983, 87-8

Knaresborough Castle NMR : 53332 Grid Ref. SE 3490 5688 North Yorkshire
Type : Stone castle; visible ruins are C14 with little remaining of original castle, although some C12 pillar fragments have been found.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : First mentioned 1130.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1020586; N.Yorks HER MNY19028; Renn 1973, 219; King 1983, 520

Lancaster Castle NMR : 41218 Grid Ref. SD 4736 6185 Lancashire
Type : Stone castle in use up to modern times; earliest castle presumed to be a motte and bailey.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Origins of castle unknown, surviving structures date to c.1150. Conjectured to have been built c. 1080-90 by Roger de Poitou.
References : Scheduled List Entry 11949105; Lancs SMR PRN448-MLA448; Renn 1973, 220; King 1983, 250; Brown 1959, 270; Mackenzie 1896, 194-6

Laughton-en-le-Morthen Castle Hill NMR : 318539 Grid Ref. SK 5162 8821 South Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey. No evidence for stone structures. Site of pre-Conquest Saxon hall belonging to Edwin of Mercia.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown. Conjectured to have been founded in C11.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1012199; S.Yorks SMR 00118/01; Dalton 1994, 49; King 1983, 520

Lazonby NMR : None Grid Ref. NY 549 398 Cumbria
Type : Motte, with possible bailey. No evidence for stone structures. Bailey occupied by churchyard.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown, but original church in churchyard (occupying castle bailey) was built c. 1157.
References : Jackson 1990, 70

Lockington Coney Hill NMR : 64212 Grid Ref. SE 9982 4651 East Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey, also interpreted as a ringwork. Bailey occupied by later (C13-14) manorial complex. No evidence for stone structures on motte/ringwork.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown. Conjectured to be built in 1120 by Fossard family or during Conquest.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1021289; Dalton 1994, 53; King 1983, 521; King & Alcock 1969, 123

Malpas Castle Hill NMR : 68683 Grid Ref. SJ 4863 4722 Cheshire
Type : Motte, with possibly bailey. No evidence of a stone structure. Clark gives site as 'shell keep' of the Barons fitz Hugh, but no evidence for this appears to exist.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown. Conjectured to belong to C11.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1012105; Cheshire HER 1689/2; King 1983, 68; Husain 1973, 102

Malton Castle NMR : 59875 Grid Ref. SE 790 716 North Yorkshire
Type : Now largely destroyed castle; motte presumed to be dismantled to build stone structures, of which only one fragment of wall now remain. Later built over by Jacobean mansion.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : First mentioned 1138.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1004051; N.Yorks HER MNY2525; King 1983, 521; Brown 1959, 272; Renn 1973, 239

Manchester Castle NMR : 1386094 Grid Ref. SJ 839 989 Greater Manchester
Type : No longer extant castle; three concentric ditches have been identified.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : First mentioned in 1184, and described as a baronial castle of 1154-1216.
References : King 1983, 249; Renn 1973, 239; Brown 1959, 272

Manley Castle Cob NMR : 71622 Grid Ref. SJ 5338 7341 Cheshire
Type : Motte. No evidence for stone structures.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1011122; Cheshire HER 898; King 1983, 68

Manor Garth Hill, Leeds NMR : 54694 Grid Ref. SE 4165 3039 West Yorkshire
Type : Ringwork, with possible bailey. There is a wall under the breastwork – possibly a motte with buried wall rather than ringwork? Bailey probably lay under churchyard.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown. Conjectured to have been founded by William I c. 1072.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1009357; King 1983, 519; King & Alcock1969, 123; Dalton 1994, 67

Maryport Castle Hill NMR : 8996 Grid Ref. NY 0339 3626 Cumbria
Type : Motte, with possible bailey. Also interpreted as a partial ringwork castle. No evidence for stone structures (except WWII gun emplacement).
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Jackson 1990, 73; King 1983, 88; King & Alcock 1969, 112

Maurholme, Warton NMR : 43067 Grid Ref. SD 5150 7240 Lancashire
Type : Motte and bailey, now destroyed but described in C19 account.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : First mentioned 1216 as 'Merhull'.
References : Lancs SMR PRN616-MLA616; King 1983, 249; Brown 1959, 273; Renn 1973, 199

Melling-with-Wrayton Castle Mound NMR : 43042 Grid Ref. SD 5986 7117 Lancashire
Type : Motte and bailey. Partially landscaped with added stone wall and steps, but no evidence for medieval stone structures.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown; Clark describes as 'saxon seat' but habitually ascribed earthwork castles to Anglo-Saxons.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1012456; Lancs SMR PRN632-MLA632; King 1983, 246; Clark 1889, 207

Mexborough Castle Hill NMR : 316463 Grid Ref. SK 4847 9990 South Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey. No evidence for stone structures.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1013650; S.Yorks SMR 00122/01; King 1983, 521

Middleham Castle NMR : 50873 Grid Ref. SE 1267 8762 North Yorkshire
Type : C12 tower keep, and later C14 concentric castle. Reference in HER to motte and bailey castle possibly refers to nearby William's Hill.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Built in late C12, presumed to be a successor to William's Hill ringwork castle.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1010629; N.Yorks HER MNY20476; King 1983, 521; King & Alcock 1969, 123

Middleton St.George Tower Hill NMR : 25684 Grid Ref. NZ 3460 1232 County Durham
Type : Motte, with possible bailey. No evidence for stone structures.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1011072

Mirfield Castle Hill NMR : 51224 Grid Ref. SE 2111 2045 West Yorkshire
Type : Motte and possible bailey. No evidence for stone structures, superceded by Henry VIII with timber manor house on site of present hall. Probably bailey now occupied by church.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Believed to be in existence by 1216; conjectured to have been built between 1086-1159 by Svein son of Alric or his son (Adam fitz Swain).
References : Schedueld List Entry 1009929; Dalton 1994, 190, 216-7; Renn 1973, 356; King 1983, 522

Mitford Castle NMR : 23178 Grid Ref. NZ 1704 8547 Northumberland
Type : Motte and bailey. Rebuilt with stone curtain wall and shell keep. Excavations have uncovered a chapel (mid C12) over earlier burial ground.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : First mentioned in 1138 (as an *Oppidum* of William Bertrand).
References : Scheduled List Entry 1017318; Renn 1973, 247; King 1983, 337

Morpeth Haw Hill NMR : 23183 Grid Ref. NZ 1998 8564 Northumberland
Type : Motte and bailey. Excavation of 1830 uncovered some stonework on motte summit.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : First mentioned in 1138. Conjectured to be a fortress taken by William II in 1095.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1017376; King 1983, 338; Renn 1973, 249

Mount Ferrant NMR : 59719 Grid Ref. SE 7954 6390 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey. No evidence for stone structures.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : Destroyed c. 1173 by Henry II, timber remains given to Meaux Abbey possibly at earlier date of c. 1150.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1011603; N.Yorks HER : MNY2031; King 1983, 513; Renn 1973, 250

Mowbray Castle NMR : 52175 Grid Ref. SE 2373 7456 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey. Some stone defences revealed by excavation on the motte.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : First mentioned in 1130, although conjectured to have been in existence in 1095.

References : Scheduled List Entry 1012994; N.Yorks HER MNY20683; King 1983, 520; Renn 1973, 218

Nantwich Castle Street NMR : 72713 Grid Ref. SJ 6506 5229 Cheshire
Type : Castle now built over. Excavations have uncovered at least two medieval ditches interpreted as defensive works of a castle.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : First mentioned 1288, but in existence 1160-70.
References : Cheshire HER 179/2; King 1983, 69; Clark 1889, 201; Shaw & Clarke 2003b, 5

Newcastle Upon Tyne NMR : 1007169 Grid Ref. NZ 2504 6387 Northumberland
Type : Former motte and bailey; motte replaced by stone keep in late C12.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Founded 1080, rebuilt in stone likely 1168-78.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1020126; King 1983, 338; Renn 1973, 254

Newsholme Castle Haugh NMR : 45548 Grid Ref. SD 8299 5077 Lancashire
Type : Ringwork. No evidence for stone structures.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1012521; Lancs SMR PRN332-MLA332; King 1983, 516, 29; King & Alcock 1969, 123

Norham Castle NMR : 4006 Grid Ref. NT 9067 4756 Northumberland
Type : A stone tower keep, but records mentioned a timber keep and pallisade predecessor.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Stone keep is late C12; timber strucutre mentioned in 1121.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1009659; King 1983, 339; Renn 1973, 257-8

North Deighton Howe Hill NMR : 53388 Grid Ref. SE 3939 5168 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey; some stonework on summit of motte.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1015541; King 1983, 531

Northallerton Castle Hills NMR : 53958 Grid Ref. SE 3612 9414 North Yorkshire
Type : Ringwork and bailey, now mostly destroyed by C19 railway development.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown; William I camped at Northallerton in 1068 and this may also mark original foundation. Recorded as constructed in 1142, but this may refer to Bishop Rufus' palace nearby.
References : N.Yorks HER MNY12843; Renn 1973, 258; King 1983, 522; Page 1914, 418-33

Oakmere NMR : 71605 Grid Ref. SJ 5669 7185 Cheshire
Type : Motte and bailey. No evidence for stone structures.
Identification : Reasonable certainty (Scheduled; but possibly wrongly?)
Dating : Unknown.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1011792; Cheshire HER 928

Oldcastle Castle Hill NMR : 68721 Grid Ref. SJ 4678 4414 Cheshire
Type : Motte, layer of stone and hearth found by excavation.
Identifcation : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1012124; Cheshire HER 1667/1; King 1983, 68; Clarke 1889, 202

Pennington Castle Hill NMR : 37766 Grid Ref. SD 2577 7774 Cumbria
Type : Ringwork. No evidence for stone structures.

Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown, but traditionally regerded as seat of de Pennington family until abandoned c.1242 in favour of Muncaster.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1007127; Cumbria SMR 2215; King 1983, 246; King & Alcock 1969, 117; Jackson 1990, 79

Penwortham Castle Hill NMR : 42566 Grid Ref. SD 5244 2907 Lancashire
Type : Motte, with possible bailey. No evidence for stone structures. Bailey occupied by churchyard.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : First mentioned in Domesday, 1086.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1011868; Lancs SMR PRN284-MLA284; Renn 1973, 276; Armitage 1912, 183-5; King 1983, 247; Clark 1889, 207; Harfield 1991, 379

Pickering Beacon Hill NMR : 60320 Grid Ref. SE 7928 8443 North Yorkshire
Type : Ringwork, interpreted as a siege castle. No evidence for stone structures.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown, but probably built during Anarchy or 1216-17 (First Baron's War).
References : Scheduled List Entry 1019091; King 1983, 523; King & Alcock 1969, 123

Pickering Castle NMR : 60349 Grid Ref. SE 7987 8452 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey. Later rebuilt with stone shell keep.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : First mentioned c1180 when reconstruction took place. Conjectured to have been built c. 1069-70 during Harrying of the North. Probable mention in reign of Henry I; C11 foundation is likely.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1009884; N.Yorks HER MNY3338; King 1983, 522; Renn 1973,
280; Salter 2001, 68

Pickhill with Roxby Money Hill NMR : 53913 Grid Ref. SE 345 837 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte now incorporated into railway bank, former bailey now destroyed. No evidence for stone structures.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown. Conjectured to be built by Roald 1135-53.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1021138; N.Yorks HER MNY21918

Pontefract Castle NMR : 54370 Grid Ref. SE 4606 2236 West Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey. Rebuilt as stone enclosure castle.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : First mentioned in Domesday as 'castle of Ilbert', 1086.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1010127; King 1983, 523; Harfield 1991, 383

Prudhoe Castle NMR : 20529 Grid Ref. NZ 0915 6340 Northumberland
Type : Norman tower keep castle, replacing earlier timber castle (presumed to be of motte and bailey type).
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : First mentioned 1173-4; earliest stonework is early C12. Timber castle is likely C11.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1011647; King 1983, 340; Renn 1973, 288

Pulford Castle NMR : 66937 Grid Ref. SJ 3753 5870 Cheshire
Type : Motte and bailey. No evidence for stone structures.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : First mentioned 1190-1220. Conjectured late C12 date of foundation. In existence for long period, mentioned as late as 1403.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1012078; Cheshire HER 1830/1/0; Brown 1959, 275; King 1983, 68; Renn 1973, 288

Ravensworth Castle NMR : 21560 Grid Ref. NZ 142 076 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey, rebuilt in stone.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Quadrangular castle is C14; original castle conjectured to have been built by Fitzhugh family in C11.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1013087; N.Yorks HER MNY20685; King 1983, 523

Richmond Castle NMR : 21618 Grid Ref. NZ 1713 0072 North Yorkshire
Type : Stone castle of late C11.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : Obliquely referred to in Domesday, likely founded c. 1080.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1010627; N.Yorks HER MNY15617; King 1983, 524; Dalton 1994, 39-47

Rochdale Castle NMR : 45159 Grid Ref. SD 8912 1286 Greater Manchester
Type : Motte and bailey, now destroyed.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : First mentioned C12; according to Renn disused by end of that century; abandoned for 'some time' when mentioned in 1322.
References : King 1983, 247; Renn 1973, 299; Fishwick 1901, 46; Farrer & Brownbill 1908, 537-9

Rothwell NMR : 52655 Grid Ref. SE 3422 2827 West Yorkshire
Type : Some masonry remains attributed to castle or manor house noted in historical accounts.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Manor house existed in 1341, but C13 kings known to have spent time here. Conjectured to have existed in C11.
References : King 1983, 531; Wheldrake 2003.

Rougemont Castle NMR : 51436 Grid Ref. SE 2969 4624 North Yorkshire
Type : Ringwork. Traces of a stone wall crowning ringwork survive. Associated outwork forms possible bailey. Possibly replaced by C13-14 manor house.
Identification : Reasonable certainty (scheduled – but possibly fortified manor house).
Dating : Unknown. Conjectured to be earlier residence of lords of Harewood.
References : Scheduled List Entry 51436; N.Yorks HER MNY20484; King 1983, 518

Ryton Church, Gateshead NMR : 22888 Grid Ref. NZ 1511 6488 County Durham
Type : Motte, somewhat damaged on top. No trace of stone structures or bailey, although bailey likely existed in land now covered by churchyard.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1018677; King 1983, 139

Sandal Castle NMR : 52533 Grid Ref. SE 3372 1816 West Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey. Rebuilt as stone shell keep castle.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : First mentioned c. 1240; in existence 1157.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1012075; King 1983, 524; Renn 1973, 306; Brown 1959, 277

Sedbergh Castlehaw Tower NMR : 44165 Grid Ref. SD 6623 9229 Cumbria
Type : Motte and bailey. No evidence for stone structures (excepting concrete shelter built in 1960s).
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown. Conjectured to have been built by Robert de Mowbray in C11.

References : Scheduled List Entry 1007128; King 1983, 525; Jackson 1990, 42

Sheffield Castle NMR : 314461 Grid Ref. SK 3579 8768 South Yorkshire
Type : Castle now destroyed, although some stonework survives in present structures. Excavations have uncovered Anglo-Saxon hall, timber castle and later stone castle remains.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : First mentioned in 1184. Excavation has uncovered C11 pottery, with the timber castle dated to C.1100.
References : S.Yorks SMR 00242/01; Wilson & Hurst 1959, 308; Brown 1959, 277; King 1983, 330

Shocklach Castle NMR : 68887 Grid Ref. SJ 434 508 Cheshire
Type : Motte, with associated enclosure with fortified manor house (possibly a former bailey). No evidence of stone structures on motte.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : First mentioned 1290. Conjectured to have been built 1100 or earlier.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1012620; Cheshire HER 1794/1; King 1983, 68; Husain 1973, 101; Mackenzie 1896, 179-80

Shotwick Castle NMR : 67153 Grid Ref. SJ 3496 7045 Cheshire
Type : Motte and bailey. C19 excavations uncovered foundations of stone keep, which was still visible in C18.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : First mentioned 1240, but conjecured to have been built by Hugh Lupus before 1093.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1016616; Cheshire HER 2025/1/1; King 1983, 68; Husain 1973, 102; Mackenzie 1896, 180

Skipsea Castle NMR : 80781 Grid Ref. TA 1621 5507 East Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey. Part of wall fragment is visible on motte slope made of rough cobble.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : Believed to be founded by Drogo de Beaufriere, 1071-86, although first recorded references are later (1102;1160-1175). Appears to have been abandoned sometime in C13, since C14 records show bailey being used as a livestock enclosure.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1011212; King 1983, 526; Renn 1973, 312; Dalton 1994, 48

Skipton Castle NMR : 46508 Grid Ref. SD 9913 5200 North Yorkshire
Type : Stone castle, now mostly of C16-17 date, although some earthworks survive, and excavations have uncovered several stages of use including early C12 wooden pallisade.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : First mentioned 1131-40. Timber remains dated to early C12.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1316962; N.Yorks HER NMY15637; King 1983, 526

Skirpenbeck NMR : 59543 Grid Ref. SE 7366 5804 East Yorkshire
Type : Motte. No trace of a bailey or any stone structures.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : King 1983, 526

St.Helens Castle Hill NMR : 71826 Grid Ref. SJ 5961 9617 Merseyside
Type : Motte; bailey destroyed by building of M6. No evidence of stone structures. Excavations of 1843 uncovered burial chamber, indicating motte was built over barrow.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown; place name 'Castle Hill Field' known as early as 1453.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1009867; King 1983, 246; Youngs *et al* 1988, 261-2

St. Mary's Church, Beamont NMR : 10752 Grid Ref. NY 3480 5929 Cumbria
Type : Motte, built over part of Hadrian's Wall and Milecastle 70A. Former bailey, now built over. Church and churchyard now cover the site.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.

Dating : Unknown, but conjectured to have been built in C12 by le Bruns. Church includes C12 stone work indicating an early date of foundation for castle.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1013510; Cumbria SMR 427; Jackson 1990, 31; King 1983, 82

Stockport Castle NMR : 1085399 Grid Ref. SJ 897 905 Greater Manchester
Type : Now destroyed, but plan of 1775 shows bailey and surviving walls.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : In existence 1173, but earlier history of Stockport is obscure, it being unmentioned in Domesday and possibly wasted.
References : King 1983, 69; Renn 1973, 316; Brown 1959, 278; Ormerod 1819, 83

Stoney Flatt Castle Hill NMR : 25795 Grid Ref. NZ 3666 2089 County Durham
Type : Motte and bailey. No evidence of stone structures.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : First mentioned 1143.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1008668; King 1983, 134; Renn 1973, 111

Styford, Bywell NMR : 20603 Grid Ref. NZ 0155 6249 Northumberland
Type : Motte, damaged by quarrying. No evidence for stone strucutres.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown. Conjectured to be C12 home of Bolbec family.
References : Dodds 1999, 452-3

Tadcaster Castle NMR : 54923 Grid Ref. SE 4854 4354 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey. No evidence of stone structures, although used as a gun emplacement during the Civil War.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown, but conjectured to exist at time of Domesday and likely abandoned in C12 when Percy family left Tadcaster.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1017407; N.Yorks HER MNY20688; Dalton 1994, 39; Butler 1992, 101; King 1983, 527

Tebay Castle Howe A NMR : 13204 Grid Ref. NY 6135 0509 Cumbria
Type : Motte and bailey, in poor condition. Some exposed stone structures in east of bailey.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown, conjectured to be built in C12 by Tybai family.
References : Cumbria SMR 1946; Jackson 1990, 89; King 1983, 494

Thirsk Castle NMR : 55598 Grid Ref. SE 4276 8200 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey, much damaged. Later site of a manor house, until 1322. Stone cobbling found beneath one of bailey banks in excavation of 1973.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : First mentioned 1130, and in existence 1095. Conjectured to be pre-Normen (in C19) but no corrobarating evidence for this.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1008761; N.Yorks HER MNY317; Whellan 1857, 149; King 1983, 527

Thorne Peel Hill NMR : 57891 Grid Ref. SE 6895 1334 South Yorkshire
Type : Motte, with possible bailey. Remains of stone keep survive on motte. Site remained in use up to early modern times.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown, but Thorne was held by de Warenne family and castle may be theirs.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1013451; S.Yorks SMR 00119/01; King 1983, 527; Smith 1910, 36

Tickhill Castle NMR : 318964 Grid Ref. SK 5932 9287 South Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey. Rebuilt in stone.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : In existence by 1102. Conjectured to be in existence by time of Domesday, although not mentioned in it.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1004828; S.Yorks SMR 00117/01; Dalton 1994, 48; King 1983, 527; Renn 1973, 322-3

Topcliffe Maiden Bower NMR : 55347 Grid Ref. SE 410 750 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey. No stone structures are described in records, although site was apparently refortified in 1174. Later manorial complex appears to have been established on the site.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : Conjectured to be built 1071, and held as a baronial castle of the Percys from Domesday to late C12.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1011612; N.Yorks HER MNY11; Dalton 1994, 38-9; King 1983, 527; Renn 1973, 324; Brown 1959, 279

Trafford Watch Hill NMR : 74893 Grid Ref. SJ 7485 8597 Greater Manchester
Type : Motte and bailey. No evidence for stone structures.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : Excavations uncovered no dateable evidence. A possible site of the Duhham Massey castle referred to in late C12.
References : National Trust 51111*0; Scheduled List Entry 1014377; Brown & Johnson 1985, 35-6

Tulketh, Preston NMR : 42722 Grid Ref. SD 5230 3009 Lancashire
Type : Motte and possible bailey, now destroyed.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown, but but manor was granted to monks of Furness in 1123, when castle presumably went out of use (although may have been used by King David c. 1140).
References : Lancs SMR PRN108-MLA108; Renn 1973, 285, 288; King 1983, 249; Page 1923, 537

Tute Hill NMR : 9488 Grid Ref. NY 1245 3077 Cumbria
Type : Motte, now damaged. No evidence for stone structures.
Identification : Reasonable certainty (scheduled, but may be windmill mound).
Dating : Unknown, but if a castle was likely superceded by Cockermouth Castle.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1013388

Tynemouth Castle NMR : 1162269 Grid Ref. NZ 3725 6940 Northumberland
Type : Motte, now incorporated into C16 artillery fort. Part of archaeologically complex set of features that have occupied this site from Iron Age (including later medieval stone enclosure castle).
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Besieged in 1095 by William II.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1015519; King 1983, 342

Ullersford NMR : 76615 Grid Ref. SJ 80 83 Greater Manchester
Type : Motte.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : In existence 1173.
References : King 1983, 69; Brown 1959, 275; Renn 1973, 336; Clark 1889, 202

Wakefield Lowe Hill NMR : 52514 Grid Ref. SE 3265 1968 West Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey, possibly adapted from burial mound. No evidence for stone structures.

Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : First mentioned 1175-8. Excavations have uncovered C12 pottery. Conjectured to be an unfinished adulterine castle; alternatively, as subsidiary to Sandal Castle.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1010054; Renn 1973, 337; King 1983, 527; Creighton 2002, 32

Warden NMR : 18341 Grid Ref. NY 9119 6652 Northumberland
Type : Motte, also interpreted as a ringwork. No evidence for stone structures.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1011417; King 1983, 342; King & Alcock 1969, 119; Dodds 1999, 366

Wark on Tweed Castle NMR : 1143 Grid Ref. NY 8236 3869 Northumberland
Type : Motte and bailey, much rebuilt, with C16 artillery platform likely enveloping the original motte.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : In existence 1136.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1013100; Brown 1959, 279; King 1983, 343; Renn 1973, 339

Warkworth Castle NMR : 7873 Grid Ref. NT 2471 0576 Northumberland
Type : Motte and bailey. Refortified in stone c. mid-C12. Includes C15 church.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : First mentioned 1154-64.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1011649; King 1983, 343

Warrington Mount NMR : 73208 Grid Ref. SJ 6162 8851 Cheshire
Type : Now destroyed, but described as a motte (or ringwork) and bailey castle. Nearby St. Elpphin's church.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : First mentioned 1228.
References : Cheshire HER 438/1/0; Farrer & Brownbill 1908, 539; Renn 1973, 340; King 1983, 249

Wawne Castle Hill NMR : 80633 Grid Ref. TA 1255 3435 East Yorkshire
Type : Motte, with possible bailey. Elizabethan brickwork found on site (C17 hall recorded here). No evidence of medieval stone structures.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Mentioned during C14, traditionally said to have been founded pre-1200.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1008042; King 1983, 527

West Derby Castle NMR : 67427 Grid Ref. SJ 3970 9348 Merseyside
Type : Now levelled, but traces of motte and bailey still discernible in C19. Excavation has recovered evidence of timber pallisade and bailey.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : First mentioned 1197. Believed to be built by Roger de Poitou c. 1100.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1009862; King 1983, 247-8; Renn 1973, 342; Brown 1959, 279

Whittington NMR : 42997 Grid Ref. SD 5994 7627 Lancashire
Type : Motte, with former bailey now occupied by church. No evidence for stone strucutres on motte.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1010796; Lancs SMR PRN601-MLA601; King 1983, 248

Whorlton Castle NMR : 26817 Grid Ref. NZ 4810 0245 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey, rebuilt in stone.

Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Mentioned 1214-16; conjectured to be a Mortain castle of Conquest perido in C11.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1007641; N.Yorks HER MNY24420; Dalton 1994, 53; King 1983, 528

William's Hill, Middleham NMR : 50888 Grid Ref. SE 1250 8725 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte, also interpreted as a ringwork. No evidence for stone structures.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Unknown, but possibly a predecessor to Middleham Castle.
References : N.Yorks HER MNY21562; King 1983, 521; King & Alcock 1969, 123

Yafforth Howe Hill NMR : 53945 Grid Ref. SE 3466 9501 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte. No evidence of stone structures.
Identification : Reasonable certainty.
Dating : Mentioned in 1197-8 as then no longer existing; presumed to be Stephanic.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1016266; N.Yorks HER MNY12821; King 1983, 528

York Castle NMR : 58151 Grid Ref. SE 6047 5158 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey. Rebuilt as C13 stone keep. Motte appears to have been raised upon a barrow.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : Built 1068-9 by William I.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1011799; King 1983, 528; Renn 1973, 351-2; Brown 1995, 102-4; Harfield 1991, 383

York Old Baile NMR : 58154 Grid Ref. SE 6026 5126 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte and bailey. Incorporated into city wall c. 1322.
Identification : High certainty.
Dating : Built 1068-9 by William I.
References : King 1983, 528-9; Renn 1973, 351-2; Brown 1995, 102-4; Harfield 1991, 383

Appendix B – Sites not Included in Data

Abbey Flats NMR : N/A Grid Ref. NY 052 075 Cumbria
Type : Motte, with possible bailey.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Jackson 1990, 27

Aikton Castle NMR : 12253 Grid Ref. NY 5480 3804 Cumbria
Type : Possible castle, consisting of buried wall foundations. No earthworks.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown; recorded in 1794 as an 'Ancient Castle'
References : Jackson 1990, 95; King 1983, 94; Hutchinson 1974, 283

Aikton, The Castles NMR : 10068 Grid Ref. NY 2830 5254 Cumbria
Type : Two enclosures, now damaged.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Jackson 1990, 53; King 1983, 85

Alvanley NMR : 69611 Grid Ref. SJ 49 73 Cheshire
Type : Presumed site of castle.
Identification : Rejected.
Dating : Unknown.

Ashton Hall NMR : N/A Grid Ref. SD 5115 3025 Lancashire
Type : Motte.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Lancs SMR PRN15204-MLA15167

Ashton Hayes NMR : 71320 Grid Ref. SJ 5055 6904 Cheshire
Type : Motte, much damaged.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Cheshire HER 1852/1

Aspatria Castlesteads NMR : 9587 Grid Ref. NY 1346 4154 Cumbria
Type : Enclosure visible as cropmark.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Jackson 1990, 31; Cumbria SMR 616

Bailey's Bridge, Woodplumpton NMR : N/A Grid Ref. SD 5171 3468 Lancashire
Type : Motte.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Lancs SMR PRN15224-MLA15187

Bampton Castle Crag NMR : 11056 Grid Ref. NY 469 128 Cumbria
Type : Ringwork and bailey. Scheduled as a univallate hillfort.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Lake District HER 1523; Jackson 1990, 41

Bedale NMR : 52188 Grid Ref. SE 2652 8842 North Yorkshire
Type : Presumed site of castle.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : N.Yorks HER MNY15611; King 1983, 533

Belford Westhall NMR : 7690 Grid Ref. NU 1025 3397
Northumberland
Type : Motte and bailey, presumed to lie beneath later medieval tower.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Dodds 1999, 62-3; King 1983, 327

Bellingham Castle NMR : 17123 Grid Ref. NY 8408 8328
Northumberland
Type : Motte.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : King 1983, 327

Bentham NMR : 1037823 Grid Ref. SD 6660 7157 North Yorkshire
Type : Enclosure.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.

Berwick Castle NMR : 4154 Grid Ref. NT 993 534
Northumberland
Type : Enclosure castle, earlier motte and bailey is conjectured.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Structures all dated to 13th century or later.
References : Dodds 1999, 22-27; King 1983, 327; Renn 1973, 109

Bew Castle NMR : 12974 Grid Ref. NY 5656 7468 Cumbria
Type : Shell keep castle, on site of Roman Fort. Conjectured Norman foundation.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : First mentioned 1378. Conjectured to be founded c. 1092.
References : Jackson 1990, 32; King 1983, 82; Cumbra SMR 2811

Bewerley Castlestead NMR : 50662 Grid Ref. SE 1658 6458 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte or ringwork, no longer extant.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Speight 1894, 435; King 1983, 529; N.Yorks HER MNY7191

Birtley Castle NMR : 16531 Grid Ref. NY 8774 7787
Northumberland
Type : Later medieval castle, possible Norman predecessor.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : First mentioned 1307; possible site of late 12th century castle of Umfravilles.
References : Tomlinson 1902, 231

Blackrod Castle Croft NMR : 43478 Grid Ref. SD 6192 1067 Greater Manchester
Type : Motte, now destroyed by housing development.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Excavation has uncovered late medieval coins.
References : King 1983, 244

Blaxton, Pond o' the Hill NMR : 57778 Grid Ref. SE 6693 0066 South Yorkshire
Type : Motte, no longer extant.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : King 1983, 531; S.Yorks SMR 00436/01

Borwick NMR : N/A Grid Ref. SD 52 73 Lancashire

Type : Motte.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : King 1983, 249

Bothal Castle NMR : 25356 Grid Ref. NZ 2399 8649 Northumberland
Type : Remains of later medieval date, with presumed Norman predecessor.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : First referenced C14. C12 dating appears conjectural.
References : King 1983, 328; Mackenzie 1896, 369.

Bowland Forest Low NMR : 887124 Grid Ref. Sd 6629 4680 Lancashire
Type : Motte.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Lancs SMR PRN11190-MLA11; Higham 1991, 90

Brampton A NMR : 1449282 Grid Ref. NY 5389 6103 Cumbria
Type : Enclosure, damaged by C19 railway construction.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.

Brampton B NMR : 1389760 Grid Ref. NY 553 632 Cumbria
Type : Motte.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.

Brancepeth Castle NMR : 24134 Grid Ref. NZ 2233 3773 County Durham
Type : Later medieval castle, with possible Norman predecessor.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : First mentioned 1216. Conjectural C12 date.
References : King 1983, 135; Renn 1973, 115; Brown 1959, 263

Braystones, Lowside Quarter NMR : N/A Grid Ref. NY 009 058 Cumbria
Type : Motte, site of C19 tower.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Cumbra SMR 5644; Jackson 1990, 38

Breckenbrough Castle Farm NMR : 53880 Grid Ref. SE 3763 8423 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte, with possible bailey.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : N.Yorks HER NMY20034; Whellan 1857, 539

Bridlington NMR : 1509637 Grid Ref. TA 1825 6675 East Yorkshire
Type : Motte; site now built over.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown, although local Bridlington Quay was known as ‘Castleburn’ as early as C13.

Brompton Castle Hill NMR : 65496 Grid Ref. SE 9454 8214 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte, with remains of two stonework buildings. Scheduled as fortified house.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1021268; N.Yorks HER MNY5369; King 1983, 514

Burton on Yore NMR : 52101 Grid Ref. SE 2340 7891 North Yorkshire

Type : Presumed site of castle.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Described as site of C12 castle by Whellan.
References : N.Yorks HER MNY24679; Whellan 1857, 369

Bury Castle Hill NMR : 45198 Grid Ref. SD 8277 1247 Greater Manchester
Type : Presumed site of castle; no physical remains known.
Identification : Rejected.
Dating : Unknown.

Caernarvon Castle NMR : 8684 Grid Ref. NY 0217 0732 Cumbria
Type : Possible site of castle, excavation has revealed traces of cobbling and rubbled walls.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Possible site of castle mentioned as property of Richard le Fleming (died c. 1207).
References : King 1983, 96; Jackson 1990, 38

Caldwell NMR : 1390937 Grid Ref. NZ 16 13 North Yorkshire
Type : Presumed site of castle, described as ruins by Leland.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Smith 1910, 27; King 1983, 532

Castle Cary, Aberford NMR : 54561 Grid Ref. SE 4336 3716 West Yorkshire
Type : Presumed site of castle.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.

Castle Eden NMR : 27112 Grid Ref. NZ 426 387 County Durham
Type : Excavated ditch, presumed to be part of castle. Scheduled as a moated site.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Pottery found in ditch of C12-13; chapel mentioned in charter of 1143-1152.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1015842; King 1983, 138; Renn 1973, 354

Castle Sowerby NMR : 10457 Grid Ref. NY 3605 3840 Cumbria
Type : Motte and bailey.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Castle of *Sourebi* mentioned in 1186-7; held by Scots 1154-7
References : Renn 1973, 315; Brown 1959, 278; King 1983, 83; Jackson 1990, 45

Castle Sowerby, Howgill NMR : 10543 Grid Ref. NY 3605 4016 Cumbria
Type : Enclosure.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Jackson 1990, 45

Castlearmelay, Leeds NMR : 1390739 Grid Ref. SE 281 338 West Yorkshire
Type : Presumed site of castle destroyed in 1776.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : In existence 1300.
References : King 1983, 529

Chapel of St. Edmund, Barmston NMR : 81275 Grid Ref. TA 1540 6167 East Yorkshire
Type : Motte.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.

Cliffe Howe Hill NMR : 23736 Grid Ref. NZ 2088 1515 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte, scheduled as round barrow.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1016264; N.Yorks HER MNY12765

Clifton Church of St. Cuthbert NMR : 12088 Grid Ref. NY 5319 2705 Cumbria
Type : Motte and bailey, covered by churchyard.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Jackson 1990, 45-6

Coanwood Castle Hill NMR : 13771 Grid Ref. NY 6767 5858 Northumberland
Type : Motte, also interpreted as a ringwork.Site is much damaged by railway construction.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : King 1983, 356; King & Alcock 1969, 119

Cornhill Castle NMR : 1346 Grid Ref. NT 8543 4049 Northumberland
Type : Ditches on natural promontory.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : King 1983, 347

Croston NMR : 40234 Grid Ref. SD 4878 1853 Lancashire
Type : Presumed site of castle, identified from place-names.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Lancs SMR PRN949-MLA949

Culgaith NMR : N/A Grid Ref. NY 6029 Cumbria
Type : Suggested site of castle.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Castle mentioned in Scottish royal charter of c.1141-3.
References : Jackson 1990, 51

Dalston Rose Castle NMR : 10509 Grid Ref. NY 371 462 Cumbria
Type : Later medieval castle, with possible Norman predecessor.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Conjectured to be in existence by 1186.
References : Cumbria SMR 697; Jackson 1990, 83; Nenk *et al* 1995, 193-4

Darlington Castle Hill NMR : 23831 Grid Ref. NZ 2738 1303 County Durham
Type : Motte.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.

Dunham Massey NMR : 74896 Grid Ref. SJ 7342 8742 Greater Manchester
Type : Motte, possibly a landscaping feature rather than a castle.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : In existence 1154-1216; actual site of 'Dunham Massey' castle possibly Watch Hill, Trafford.
References : National Trust 50809*0; Mackenzie 1896, 171; Brown 1959, 267; King 1983, 67; Renn 1973, 178

Dunham New Park, Trafford NMR : 74865 Grid Ref. SJ 7507 8778 Greater Manchester

Type : Motte, now descheduled : a natural feature.
Identification : Rejected.

East Folifoot NMR : 54753 Grid Ref. SE 4565 4621 West Yorkshire
Type : Moated site.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.

Embleton Hall Bank NMR : 9385 Grid Ref. NY 1620 2959 Cumbria
Type : Motte; no physical feature is observable.
Identification : Rejected.

Fairies Hill, Wakefield NMR : 52725 Grid Ref. SE 3986 2489 West Yorkshire
Type : Motte.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Constable 2006, 5; Constable 2007,6

Felixkirk Howe Hill NMR : 55557 Grid Ref. SE 4673 8463 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte, much damaged; scheduled as a bowl barrow.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1008736; N.Yorks HER MNY438; King 1983, 517

Flamborough Castle NMR : 81854 Grid Ref. TA 2260 7034 East Yorkshire
Type : Fortified manor house, with possible Norman predecessor.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : In existence by 1351 (when licensed).
References : Scheduled List Entry 1014896; King 1983, 517; Dalton 1994, 277

Fozy Moss, Simonburn NMR : 16862 Grid Ref. NY 8178 7071 Northumberland
Type : Motte or Ringwork; scheduled as a moated site.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1011080

Frodsham NMR : 71545 Grid Ref. SJ 5138 7754 Cheshire
Type : Presumed site of castle.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Still extant stone ruins in existence 1727; conjectured to be contemporary with Chester (c. 1070) and/or Beeston (C13).
References : Cheshire HER 984/1/0; King 1983, 68; Mackenzie 1896, 172

Fulwood Hall Lane A NMR : N/A Grid Ref. SD 5440 3200 Lancashire
Type : Ringwork.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Lancs SMR PRN15259-MLA15222

Fulwood Hall Lane B NMR : N/A Grid Ref. SD 5490 3210 Lancashire
Type : Motte, much disturbed on edge of former quarries. Also interpreted as barrow or motte.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.

Dating : Unknown.
References : Lancs SMR PRN15265-MLA15228

Gilling Castle NMR : 21647 Grid Ref. NZ 1639 0425 North Yorkshire
Type : Possible motte, no longer extant.
Identfication : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Conjectured to be seat of Earl Edwin of Mercia (C11).
References : N.Yorks HER MNY15653; Speight 1897, 174; Clark 1889, 215

Gleaston Castle NMR : 21647 Grid Ref. SD 2615 7145 Cumbria
Type : Later medieval enclosure castle, with possible motte predecessor.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : C13 castle, with conjectured earlier phase.
References : Cumbria SMR 2330; Kendall 1906, 185; Clark 1889, 207

Great Ormside NMR : 14861 Grid Ref. NY 701 176 Cumbria
Type : Motte; recorded by EH as a Viking burial barrow & Bronze Age cyst.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown; site covered by C11 church.
References : Cumbria SMR 1825; Jackson 1990, 77

Haltwhistle Castle Hill NMR : 15481 Grid Ref. NY 7112 6416 Northumberland
Type : Motte, much damaged. Also interpreted as a ringwork.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : King 1983, 334; King & Alcock 1969, 119

Hampole Castle Hill NMR : 56153 Grid Ref. SE 5117 1040 South Yorkshire
Type : Motte, with possible bailey; much reduced by cultivation. Rectangular moat visible on aerial photographs indicates moated site rather than motte.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : S.Yorks SMR 00304/01; King 1983, 531

Harpham Turtle Hill NMR : 1390966 Grid Ref. TA 114 604 East Yorkshire
Type : Motte, now destroyed.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : King 1983, 532

Hayton How Hill NMR : 12506 Grid Ref. NY 506 563 Cumbria
Type : Motte.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.

Hesket Castle Hewen NMR : 11326 Grid Ref. NY 4854 4627 Cumbria
Type : Presumed site of castle; stone ruins described in C18.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Possible reference to site as *Castlelewyn* in 1272.
References : Smith 1910, 56; Jackson 1990, 96; Hutchinson 1794, 492; King 1983, 92

Hesket Monkcastle NMR : N/A Grid Ref. NY 428 461 Cumbria
Type : Presumed site of castle.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Cumbria SMR 12482; Jackson 1990, 100

Hornsea NMR : 1390900 Grid Ref. TA 187 473 East Yorkshire
Type : Motte.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : King 1983, 531

Hunsingore Hall NMR : 55147 Grid Ref. SE 4285 5317 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte; scheduled as a medieval hall.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Mentioned c. 1190, conjectured to have earlier motte predecessor.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1018133; N.Yorks HER MNY18175; Renn 1973, 207; King 1983, 532

Hurley Knowes, Rothbury NMR : 4525 Grid Ref. NU 0609 0168 Northumberland
Type : Motte.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.

Ingolhead Farm NMR : N/A Grid Ref. SD 5190 3230 Lancashire
Type : Motte.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Lancs SMR PRN15243-MLA15206

Kelk Nunnery Hill NMR :79613 Grid Ref. TA 095 601 East Yorkshire
Type : Motte, surviving primarily as cropmark. Stone plinth, and some deeper ditches survive.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Wilson & Moorhouse 1971, 70

Kendal Castle Park NMR : 875616 Grid Ref. SD 5320 9290 Cumbria
Type : Motte.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Higham 1991, 90

Kilton Castle NMR : 29029 Grid Ref. NZ 702 176 North Yorkshire
Type : Later medieval tower keep; possible timber predecessor.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Stone castle believed built c. 1200.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1018946; King 1983, 519

Kinderton Castle NMR : 932114 Grid Ref. SJ 708 570 Cheshire
Type : Motte; interepreted however as moat and prospect mound in post-medieval formal garden.

Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1012358; Cheshire HER 753/1/1; Ormerod 1819, 108; Mackenzie 1983, 69

Kingwater West Hall NMR : 1389813 Grid Ref. NY 568 677 Cumbria
Type : Motte.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.

Kirkby Lonsdale Cockpit Hill NMR : 43975 Grid Ref. SD 6108 7897 Cumbria
Type : Motte.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : King 1983, 492; Jackson 1990, 66

Kirkambeck NMR : N/A Grid Ref. NY 533 689 Cumbria
Type : Ringwork or truncated motte, triangular in shape, with possible bailey.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Cumbria SMR 252 (as church); Jackson 1990, 66

Kirkoswald and Renwick Castlehills NMR : N/A Grid Ref. NY54SE Cumbria
Type : Presumed site of castle, identified from place-name.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Cumbria SMR 10699

Langton NMR : 59634 Grid Ref. SE 7943 6701 North Yorkshire
Type : Irregular platform with low surrounding bank; interepreted as a castle or prehistoric enclosure.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : N.Yorks HER MNY2398; King 1983, 531

Little Angel Public House NMR : 898388 Grid Ref. NZ 8972 1100 North Yorkshire
Type : Presumed site of castle, scheduled as a public house.
Identification : Rejected.
Dating : Pub is C18/19, reputed to incorporate C12 castle masonry.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1281253

Loftus NMR : 1390978 Grid Ref. NZ 72 18 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte or ringwork, no longer extant.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown; destroyed before 1892.
References: King 1983, 532

Lower Allithwaite Castle Meadow NMR : 39623 Grid Ref. SD 380 791 Cumbria
Type : Presumed site of castle; no evidence provided.
Identification : Rejected.
Dating : Unknown.

References : Cumbria SMR 2399

Lowick Low Steads NMR : 6095 Grid Ref. NU 0331 3956 Northumberland
Type : Ringwork, with adjacent earthwork.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.

Lowther Castlesteads NMR : 12131 Grid Ref. NY 5189 2412 Cumbria
Type : Enclosure, identified as a possible ringwork.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Reference to a *Castellum de Laudre* in 1174, but possibly refers to another site.
References : Lake District SMR 3832; Jackson 1990, 72-3

Macclesfield Castle Field NMR : 78275 Grid Ref. SJ 90 72 Cheshire
Type : Motte; identified primarily from place-name.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Possible site of Macclesfield castle licensed in 1398.
References : King 1983, 68; Ormerod 1819, 366

Mason's Wood, Fulwood NMR : N/A Grid Ref. SD 5420 3280 Lancashire
Type : Ditch and terrace identified as possible castle site.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Lancs SMR PRN15235-MLA15198

Micklefield Castle Plains NMR : 54614 Grid Ref. SE 4518 3212 West Yorkshire
Type : Presumed site of castle identified from place-name.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.

Milburn Greencastle NMR : 1390159 Grid Ref. NY 715 313 Cumbria
Type : Ringwork.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : King 1983, 495; Jackson 1990, 98

Millom Castle NMR : 37299 Grid Ref. SD 1711 8133 Cumbria
Type : Later medieval fortified manor house, with possible motte castle predecessor.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Conjectured to be an early C12 castle.
References : Cumbria SMR 2703; King 1983, 89; Jackson 1990, 74

Milton Castle Hill NMR : N/A Grid Ref. Not Given Cheshire
Type : Presumed site of castle, identified from place-name.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Cheshire HER 716

Muker NMR : 15897 Grid Ref. NY 8931 0116 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte, overbuilt by modern enclosure.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.

Dating : Unknown.
References : HEIRNET MYD2449

Murton NMR : 14890 Grid Ref. NY 7097 1898 Cumbria
Type : Motte, also interpreted as a ringwork.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Cumbria SMR 1816; Jackson 1990, 50

Natland Hawes Bridge NMR : 875606 Grid Ref. SD 5130 8922 Cumbria
Type : Motte.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Higham 1991, 90

Newsholme Old Hall NMR : 45543 Grid Ref. SD 8357 5137 Lancashire
Type : Medieval hall and moat; possibly a damaged motte and bailey castle.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Lancs SMR PRN334-MLA334

Newton NMR : N/A Grid Ref. SD 7130 5050 Lancashire
Type : Possible motte and bailey identified from unspecified photographs.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Lancs SMR PRN9113-MLA911

Northwich NMR : 72993 Grid Ref. SJ 6552 7370 Cheshire
Type : Presumed site of castle mentioned in historical records; apparent earthworks identified as natural features and terraced gardens.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Motte castle first mentioned under Richard I; but apparently derelict by 1199.
References : Cheshire HER 722/1; King 1983, 69; Clarke 1889, 201-2; King 1973, 356; Mackenzie 1896, 177

Orton Castle Howe NMR : N/A Grid Ref. NY60NW Cumbria
Type : Presumed site of castle, identified from scarp by river Lune in 1936.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Cumbria SMR 1945

Papcastle NMR : 9491 Grid Ref. NY 1096 3149 Cumbria
Type : Presumed site of castle, sited within Roman Fort of Derventio.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Reputedly built c.1163-1191.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1007760 (for Fort); Cumbria SMR 5652; Jackson 1990, 48

Patterdale Old Castle NMR : 10373 Grid Ref. NY 3838 1610 Cumbria
Type : Possible site of castle, identified from traces of earthworks.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Jackson 1990, 100

Paul Holme Tower NMR : 545075 Grid Ref. TA 18 24 East Yorkshire

Type : Motte.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : King 1983, 532

Pendragon Castle NMR : 14759 Grid Ref. NY 7817 0264 Cumbria
Type : Tower house, identified as possible site of castle with bailey; perhaps a partial ringwork.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Possible location of site recorded built by Hugh de Morville (d. 1202).
References : Cumbria SMR 2003; Jackson 1990, 77-8

Penrith Maiden Hill NMR : N/A Grid Ref. NY53SW Cumbria
Type : Presumed site of castle; no actual evidence known.
Identification : Rejected.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Cumbria SMR 937

Piel Castle NMR : 37706 Grid Ref. SD 2329 6360 Cumbria
Type : Masonry castle; possible Norman predecessor.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Licensed in 1327; but reputed to have been built in reign of Stephen (1135-54). Physical remains are all C14 or later.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1009097; Cumbria SMR 2618; Jackson 1990, 81; King 1983, 251

Poulton Hall, Bebington NMR : 67354 Grid Ref. SJ 3363 8159 Merseyside
Type : Presumed site of castle; no outstanding remains, save two pieces of stonework incorporated into other buildings.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : King 1983, 69

Raby Castle, Shap Rural NMR : 11940 Grid Ref. NY 53 14 Cumbria
Type : Presumed site of castle; no physical remains known to exist.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.

Rastrick Castle Hill NMR : 49334 Grid Ref. SE 1393 2176 West Yorkshire
Type : Presumed site of castle; area now built over.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Reference to ‘castle hill’ from 1669; Roman finds reported found here c. 1820.
References : King 1983, 532

Rise Mote Hill NMR : 80743 Grid Ref. TA 1460 4170 East Yorkshire
Type : Motte; part of scheduled manorial complex. Also interpreted as a moot rather than motte.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1015919

Robin Hood’s Butt NMR : 589953 Grid Ref. SD 7062 6885 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.

Dating : Unknown.
References : Clark 1889, 207

Rose Farm, Coddington NMR : 68732 Grid Ref. SJ 4527 5526 Cheshire
Type : Motte; scheduled as a barrow.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1007389; King 1983, 69

Rose Hill, Thirlwall NMR : 14051 Grid Ref. NY 635 663
Northumberland
Type : Motte; now destroyed by modern development.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.

Rothbury Castle NMR : 4478 Grid Ref. NU 0574 0159
Northumberland
Type : Motte; destroyed by construction of churchyard.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : King 1983, 352; Dodds 1999, 164-5

Runcorn Castle Rock NMR : 923224 Grid Ref. SJ 5082 8333 Cheshire
Type : Presumed site of castle, or Mercian Burh; destroyed by railway construction in 1862.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Cheshire HER 109; Beaumont 1873, 3-4; King 1983, 69

Scaleby, The Keep NMR : N/A Grid Ref. --- Cumbria
Type : Presumed site of castle identified from place-name.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Cumbria SMR 10155

Seed Park, Samlesbury NMR : N/A Grid Ref. SD 5950 3070 Lancashire
Type : Motte and bailey, much damaged; nearby is a C12 church. Motte is rectangular.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Lancs SMR PRN15231-MLA15194

Sherburn in Elmet Castle Hill NMR : 56340 Grid Ref. SE 5307 3332 North Yorkshire
Type : Rectilinear arthworks, interpreted as possible castle site; now completely ploughed out.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown, although a ‘burnt mound or embankment’ is mentioned in 1283 and 1304.
References : N.Yorks HER MNY10315; King 1983, 532

Shipbrook Castle NMR : 73008 Grid Ref. SJ 6735 7110 Cheshire
Type : Presumed site of castle; no remains known to exist.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Cheshire HER 724/1; King 1983, 69; Mackenzie 1896, 202

Skelton Castle NMR : 28285 Grid Ref. NZ 6518 1933 North Yorkshire
Type : C18 county house; possible Norman predecessor.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Mentioned 1216; early Norman date is conjectural, possibly a Mortain castle of C11.
References : King 1983, 526; Renn 1973, 357; Dalton 1994, 53

Skelwith Pull Beck NMR : 10320 Grid Ref. NY 3490 0189 Cumbria
Type : Motte.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.

St. Bees Cop Spur NMR : 1389355 Grid Ref. NX 982 094 Cumbria
Type : Motte.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.

St. John's Castlerigg NMR : 1389025 Grid Ref. NY 282 225 Cumbria
Type : Presumed site of castle known from historical references; no physical remains known to exist.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : First mentioned in 1225.
References : Collingwood 1904, 256; Jackson 1990, 53

St. John's Church, Low Crosby NMR : 11413 Grid Ref. NY 4480 5959 Cumbria
Type : Motte, on site scheduled as a church.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown; church is C19.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1119613; Cumbria SMR 3806; Jackson 1990, 50

Stainborough Low NMR : 52458 Grid Ref. SE 3153 0305 South Yorkshire
Type : Motte; possibly a product of C18 landscaping – Iron age date for mound is also posited.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : S.Yorks SMR 00587/02

Stanhope (Mound) NMR : 16075 Grid Ref. NY 8712 3849 County Durham
Type : Motte; also interpreted as a barrow or natural feature.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.

Stanhope Castle NMR : 17909 Grid Ref. NY 9960 3916 County Durham
Type : C18 building, possibly preceded by medieval castle. No surviving traces of this known to exist.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1231718; King 1983, 139

Stockton-on-the-Forest NMR : 1390999 Grid Ref. SE 656 584 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte; now ploughed out.

Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : King 1983, 532

Studforth Hill NMR : 55199 Grid Ref. SE 4065 6596 North Yorkshire
Type : Enclosure, interepreted as a possible motte or ringwork.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Possibly mention as *Vetus Burgus* in 1205-6, or 1115. Ruined buildings described at Aldborough by John Leland.
References : N.Yorks HER MNY18585; Smith 1910, 27; Renn 1973, 88; King 1983, 512

Tebay Castle Howe B NMR : 13207 Grid Ref. NY 6006 0532 Cumbria
Type : Presumed site of castle bailey.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Jackson 1990, 90; King 1983, 495

Thorganby Giant Hill NMR : 57998 Grid Ref. SE 6928 3962 North Yorkshire
Type : Ringwork; also interpreted as a Viking encampment.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : N.Yorks HER MNY17571; King 1983, 532; Bray 1998

Thornley NMR : 1390467 Grid Ref. NZ 36 39 County Durham
Type : Presumed site of castle known from historical reference.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Recorded built in 1143.
References : King 1983, 139

Thorp Arch NMR : 54850 Grid Ref. SE 4317 4600 West Yorkshire
Type : Motte; also described as site of manor house or natural feature.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Speight 1902, 424

Titlington Hall NMR : 4900 Grid Ref. NU 0987 1509 Northumberland
Type : Pele tower; possible site of earlier motte.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : King 1983, 342

Ulpha Castle How NMR : 9776 Grid Ref. NY 2375 0043 Cumbria
Type : Presumed site of castle; no identifiable remains except possible building.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Jackson 1990. 97 (note Jackson's give co-ordinates differ from those of EH records)

Violet Grange, Middleton Tyas NMR : 23559 Grid Ref. NZ 2128 0576 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte; recorded as a barrow in HER.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : N.Yorks HER MNY12587

Waitby Smardale NMR : 14738 Grid Ref. NY 739 082 Cumbria
Type : Sub-rectangular enclosure with possible motte identified from aerial photographs.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Possible predecessor to nearby Smardale Hall (C16); conjectured to have been built c. 1202.
References : Jackson 1990, 89

Walwick NMR : 19224 Grid Ref. NY 907 692 Northumberland
Type : Presumed site of castle.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Possible site of *Consideranle Castle* described by William Camden (C16).
References : N/D HER N9306; King 1983, 362

Warcop Castle Walls NMR : 14832 Grid Ref. NY 7499 1539 Cumbria
Type : Presumed site of castle; no physical evidence known to exist.
Identification : Rejected.
Dating : C17 reference to stone remains.
References : Cumbria SMR 1807; Jackson 1990, 42

Warcop Castleber NMR : 14910 Grid Ref. NY 746 169 Cumbria
Type : Presumed site of castle identified from place-name; site is ploughed-out and featureless.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Cumbria SMR 4327

Warcop Coupland Bridge NMR : 14887 Grid Ref. NY 7117 1888 Cumbria
Type : Ringwork.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : King 1983, 495

Wardle Castle Field NMR : N/A Grid Ref. SJ 5997 5785 Cheshire
Type : Presumed site of castle known from placename; now site of disused airfield.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Cheshire HER 307

Wark in Tynedale NMR : 16444 Grid Ref. NY 8612 7680 Northumberland
Type : Motte and bailey castle.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : First mentioned 1399-1400.
References : King 1983, 343

Wetherby Castle Garth NMR : 54835 Grid Ref. SE 4023 4811 West Yorkshire

Type : Presumed site of castle; no physical remains known to exist.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Speight 1902, 430

Wheldrake Castle NMR : 1390868 Grid Ref. SE 68 45 North Yorkshire
Type : Presumed site of castle scheduled as a moated site.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Possible site of castle destroyed in 1149.
References : Scheduled List Entry 1007974; City of York HER MY061; King 1983, 531; Renn 1973, 344

Whelp Castle NMR : 13570 Grid Ref. NY 6373 2558 Cumbria
Type : Presumed site of castle; C18 references to remains possibly described Roman fort.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Mentioned in charter of 1199-1225.
References : Cumbria SMR 6848; Jackson 1990, 91

Wodowbank Cop NMR : 8679 Grid Ref. NY 0104 0819 Cumbria
Type : Motte, with possible bailey; partially destroyed by railway construction.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : Cumbria SMR 1299; Curwen 1913, 38; Jackson 1990, 38; King 1983, 94

Wooler Tower NMR : 2688 Grid Ref. NT 9928 2809 Northumberland
Type : C16 tower on prominent mound; presumed site of Norman timber castle.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : An abandoned motte was first mentioned in 1255.
References : King 1983, 344

Wressle Ringwork NMR : 1074938 Grid Ref. SE 7257 2916 East Yorkshire
Type : Ringwork, with possible bailey; identified from cropmarks.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.

Yarlsber, Ingleton NMR : 590484 Grid Ref. Sd 705 723 North Yorkshire
Type : Motte.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : King 1983, 532

Yarm NMR : 1390869 Grid Ref. NZ 419 126 North Yorkshire
Type : Presumed site of castle.
Identification : Doubtful certainty.
Dating : Unknown.
References : King 1983, 531

Appendix C – Historical Timeline of the Norman Conquest of the North

January 1066 – Death of King Edward; Harold is crowned King of England.
September 1066 – Norwegian invasion in Yorkshire defeated by Harold.
October 1066 – William of Normandy defeats Harold in Battle of Hastings.
December 1066 – William crowned King of England in London on Christmas Day.

March 1067 – Northumbrians murder Earl Copsig.
December 1067 – Cospatric becomes Earl of Northumbria.
c. December 1067 – William levies a new tax in the north.

Spring 1068 – North revolts against William, joined by Mercians. Revolt quickly collapses when William marches north; York surrenders by Midsummer.
Winter 1068 – new Norman Earl in the north, Robert Commines, is murdered.

1069 – Rebels in the north take York; city is swiftly retaken by William.
Autumn 1069 – King Swein of Denmark sails up the Humber in support of the rebellion; York is burnt.
Winter 1069-70 – the Harrying of the North: William ravages Yorkshire and Cheshire.

1070 – Famine in Yorkshire.
Summer 1070 – Scots invade through Teesdale and ravage Cleveland.

1072 – Scots submit to William.

1075 – York sacked by Danish fleet.

1079 – King Malcolm I breaks treaty with William to raid Northumbria.

1080 – Rebellion in Northumbria violently suppressed by William's brother Odo. William's son Robert launches expedition against the Scots, who came to terms.

1086 – Compilation of the Domesday Book.

1087 – Death of William I. William II 'Rufus' becomes King of England.

1091 – Failed Scottish invasion of the north.

1092 – Cumberland conquered by William II; castle and Norman colony established at Carlisle.

1093 – Malcolm of Scotland killed along with his army by the Normans. End of serious conflict with Scotland for some 30 years.