LEABHARLANN CHOLÁISTE NA TRÍONÓIDE, BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH
Ollscoil Átha Cliath

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN
The University of Dublin

Terms and Conditions of Use of Digitised Theses from Trinity College Library Dublin

Copyright statement

All material supplied by Trinity College Library is protected by copyright (under the Copyright and Related Rights Act, 2000 as amended) and other relevant Intellectual Property Rights. By accessing and using a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library you acknowledge that all Intellectual Property Rights in any Works supplied are the sole and exclusive property of the copyright and/or other IPR holder. Specific copyright holders may not be explicitly identified. Use of materials from other sources within a thesis should not be construed as a claim over them.

A non-exclusive, non-transferable licence is hereby granted to those using or reproducing, in whole or in part, the material for valid purposes, providing the copyright owners are acknowledged using the normal conventions. Where specific permission to use material is required, this is identified and such permission must be sought from the copyright holder or agency cited.

Liability statement

By using a Digitised Thesis, I accept that Trinity College Dublin bears no legal responsibility for the accuracy, legality or comprehensiveness of materials contained within the thesis, and that Trinity College Dublin accepts no liability for indirect, consequential, or incidental, damages or losses arising from use of the thesis for whatever reason. Information located in a thesis may be subject to specific use constraints, details of which may not be explicitly described. It is the responsibility of potential and actual users to be aware of such constraints and to abide by them. By making use of material from a digitised thesis, you accept these copyright and disclaimer provisions. Where it is brought to the attention of Trinity College Library that there may be a breach of copyright or other restraint, it is the policy to withdraw or take down access to a thesis while the issue is being resolved.

Access Agreement

By using a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library you are bound by the following Terms & Conditions. Please read them carefully.

I have read and I understand the following statement: All material supplied via a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, and duplication or sale of all or part of any of a thesis is not permitted, except that material may be duplicated by you for your research use or for educational purposes in electronic or print form providing the copyright owners are acknowledged using the normal conventions. You must obtain permission for any other use. Electronic or print copies may not be offered, whether for sale or otherwise to anyone. This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

The Castle in the Social and Geographical Landscape of Cumbria, 1066-1250 A.D.

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
At Trinity College Dublin
2010

By

Hannah McCabe
School of Histories and Humanities

Declaration

I hereby certify that

This thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other University

This thesis is entirely my own work

I agree the Library may lend or copy the thesis upon request. This permission covers only single copies made for study purposes, subject to normal conditions of acknowledgement

Hannah Melake

Summary

The aim of this thesis, 'The Castle in the Social and Geographical Landscape of Cumbria, 1066-1250 A.D.', was to examine the medieval castle within the confines of the county of Cumbria, as defined in 1974. The areas of inquiry include the ecclesiastical, political, urban, rural, regional and geographical landscapes in which the castle interacts. An interdisciplinary methodology was adopted, using historical, archaeological, topographical and toponymic research. By using as broad a framework as possible, the most comprehensive picture of the medieval castle will emerge. The interaction of the castle with the various landscapes creates reactions and interrelationships within the defined area. By utilising diverse methods, a more holistic understanding of the castle can be formulated.

This thesis concluded that the geographical and topographical landscape of medieval Cumbria caused the medieval castles to be located on the fringes of the Lake District. The siting of the castles was highly dependent on defensive positions, to guard against attack from the north (Scotland). The castle and the church were two high status features of medieval life, which interacted on a regular basis, through patronage and piety. The church did not dictate military policy nor did the castle occupants dictate church policy. The clergy, however, were certainly willing to involve themselves in policy when it was to their advantage. Politically, the baronial lords of medieval Cumbria were much like their contemporaries to the south. The compact nature of their baronies distinguished their relationship with the castle. Settlement, both rural and urban played a large role in the function and form of the medieval castle.

In conclusion, it was a diverse environment, in a troubled area.

Acknowledgements

Thank you to Prof Terry Barry for his support and interest.
Grateful thanks to Muriosa, Ciaran, Emma, Paul, Rachel and Sharon for their unstinting support and enthusiasm.

To the staff of the HER, NMR and Record Offices of Cumbria, who were both enthusiastic and extremely knowledgeable.

But most of all, for all your support, patience and tea

For Mum and Atticus

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Plates

Chapter 1
Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to look at the introduction and development of the castle in a specific county of England, namely Cumbria.[1] The castle will be examined through the social and geographical landscape of this county. The timeframe chosen for this investigation ranges from the Norman Invasion in 1066 A.D. to circa 1250 A.D. A landscape history approach will be utilized in the inquiry to construct as comprehensive a picture of the castle in medieval Cumbria as possible.

The social landscape consists of those institutions of everyday life that affected the people of the area in question, specifically the ecclesiastical, political and administrative bodies for the castles, their occupants and their subjects. By looking at the interaction of these elements with the castle a clearer depiction of what a castle was intended to represent and what it actually was will emerge.

The ecclesiastical landscape will involve looking at churches, monasteries and abbeys in the baronies of Cumbria. The ecclesiastical partition of the county will also be examined, particularly within the secular divisions that emerged during this period. The church played a major role in everyday life during the Middle Ages and thus in the lives of those associated with the castles.

The political and administrative life of the castle will focus on the role of the castle as the centre of a specific community, the legal and governmental issues that linked the castle to the world outside its walls and the inhabitants of the castle as participants in that world.

---

[1] The term Cumbria will refer to the county created by the 1974 reorganization of counties, namely the pre-1974 counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, a rural district in the West Riding of Yorkshire known as Sedbergh Rural District and part of the county of Lancashire known as Lancashire north of Sands.

The geographical landscape encompasses the county of Cumbria, the castle sites themselves, their development, evolution and distribution and that of the settlements and institutions connected to the castles. Topography and geology will be considered as fundamental elements within the context of castle planning, as well as indicators of the intent of castle founders, for example, whether a more defensive position was eschewed in favour of an economically sound location.

The period circa 1066-1250 A.D. was chosen because it represents the initial introduction, consolidation and establishment of the castle in Britain.[2] The eleventh and twelfth centuries saw castles in their infancy whilst the thirteenth century began to see them in continuous use as an acknowledged, established tool of war and government. The majority of Henry III in 1227 A.D. marked a distinct turn in crown policy towards castles, specifically an attempt to control crown expenditure towards them. The effect was the return of many castles to baronial families and a general neglect of those that remained. A termination date of circa 1250 A.D. has been chosen, therefore, to reflect the impact of this royal policy. It also marks a watershed in Cumbrian castle history, with the concerted introduction of tower houses and pele towers in the period that follows.

Aims of the Thesis

Cumbria, in the far north of England represents a particular sphere of Norman activity, as distinct as the Welsh Border or the 'invasion ground' of the south, two areas where Norman influence is often measured. Cumbria, however, has largely been ignored, particularly by medieval scholarship. The Roman North is well researched, especially because of the presence of Hadrian's Wall and the

---

[2] M. Aston & T. Rowley, *Landscape Archaeology: An Introduction to Fieldwork Techniques on Post-Roman Landscapes* (Newton Abbot, 1974); R.A. Higham & P.Barker, *Timber Castles* (London, 1992)

innumerable milecastles and forts that grew up in its shadow. Likewise, much is known of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when reivers (bandits and cattle raiders along the border), pele towers and border disputes were a seemingly constant occurrence. Museum exhibitions, books, articles and even the monuments themselves illustrate a turbulent period in Cumbrian history. William Rufus' conquering of the North in the 1090s A.D. provides Cumbria with an oft cited footnote in history, but little in-depth research into the history of this region between then and the border troubles has been undertaken.[3] This dearth of secondary attention to Cumbria provides an interesting field of investigation.

Cumbria has a distinctive topography, the Lake District, occupying the centre of the county, the Pennines providing a natural border in the east with Northumberland, Durham and Yorkshire and the sea connecting the western strip with Ireland, the Isle of Man and the Vikings who passed this way. Life developed around the fringes of the lakes and fells. This particular landscape meant that continuity of settlement was a major factor in Cumbrian life, from prehistoric to modern times, providing an intriguing opportunity to view the influence of history on a single location.

The approach utilized in this work in order to consider the castle is that of landscape history. This field of study has developed steadily over the last fifty years, particularly in the last twenty. By adopting this interdisciplinary methodology a variety of disciplines are used to create as comprehensive an understanding of the castle as possible. The castle no longer stands alone as an isolated monument but is an element within a larger framework of landscapes, all coexisting, influencing and interacting with each other. The landscape history approach involving history, archaeology, historical geography, architecture, geology, environmental science and

---

[3] Some notable exceptions are S.J.P. Howarth, *King, government, and community in Cumberland and Westmorland c. 1200-c.1400* (Liverpool PhD, 1988); I. Hall, *The Lords and Lordships of the English West March : Cumberland and Westmorland from c.1250 to c. 1350* (Durham PhD, 1986)

local history, to name but a few, allows the castle and its role in its associated landscapes, to be viewed from a multitude of angles, each providing a new and complimentary way of seeing the castle.

In undertaking this thesis, the aim is to illuminate the castle in medieval Cumbria using modern research methodologies. The perspective is castle-centric. This is not, however, intended to imply the pre-eminence of the castle within the landscape but rather to view it within a societal context, as an element in that landscape, as connected to other features as they are to it. By looking at this ‘childhood’ period in castle use and examining it within the social and geographical landscape, it is hoped that the reason why, even here in the remote north, the castle became such an integral and accepted part of the English landscape will become clear. This period also sees the evolution of the political and administrative systems of England under the Normans, a fundamental change in society with long lasting effects. By looking at Cumbria at this time I seek to place the castles, society and county of Cumbria in a wider context by looking at the impact of national developments on a local level. It is hoped that this work will add to the growing corpus of work on medieval Cumbria, in particular in the field of landscape history.

Methodology

The origins of modern landscape history lie with William Hoskins and in particular with his work *The Making of the English Landscape*. Its arrival in 1955 is considered a seminal moment in the development of landscape history.[4] Hoskins, and then Maurice Beresford, promoted a broader approach to interpreting the past throughout the 1950s and 60s. They used aerial photography, looked at townscapes

---

[4] O.H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes* (London, 2002), p.5.

and found new ways of looking at the countryside.[5] Before them, the tradition of the topographers of the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, men like John Leland, William Camden and John Aubrey, had been continued by the *Victoria County History* and the *Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments* (begun in 1907 and 1908 respectively).[6] They sought to adhere to and develop the methods of enquiry adopted by these men, the cataloguing of monuments and features, on a county by county basis. There can be no doubting the importance of this approach, and it is one that continues to this day, however, Hoskins and Beresford went further, looking at these monuments as elements in a greater landscape. It is with them that a sustained attempt at going beyond the curtain wall of the castle or the edge of the cemetery was made.

The aim of landscape history in general is quite straightforward, the recreation of past landscapes. Although in the present landscape, features can appear solitary they are generally connected to something or someone else. A prime example is the occurrence of seemingly isolated churches in the middle of the countryside. A lone church, for instance, is often indicative of a deserted village or earlier settlement pattern. The creation of the Medieval Village Research Group (in 1952) and the Moated Sites Research Group (in 1971) which amalgamated in 1986 to become the Medieval Settlement Research Group, allowed research into such phenomenon to develop and gave landscape history a focus, and some would say a voice![7] The sustained investigation into Wharram Percy, a deserted medieval village in North

---

[5] W.G. Hoskins, *The Making of the English Landscape* (London, 1960); M.W. Beresford and J.K.S. St. Joseph, *Medieval England: An Aerial Survey* (Cambridge, 1958); W. G. Hoskins, *Local History in England* (London, 1959); W.G. Hoskins, *Fieldwork in Local History* (London, 1969); M. Beresford, *History on the Ground: six studies in maps and landscapes* (London, 1957); M.W. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages: town plantation in England, Wales and Gascony* (London, 1967)

[6] See also Chapter 2, p. 39.

[7] See also Chapter 2, p. 46.

Yorkshire is a key example of what can be achieved when a broader approach is used. A settlement history dating back to pre-historic times and proof of the changing patterns of village settlement were only two of the important discoveries made by Beresford and John Hurst during nearly forty years of investigation.[8]

The Shapwick Project in Somerset was another successful attempt to understand the origin and evolution of the English village. Mick Aston utilised a landscape approach. Using archaeology, history, architecture, botanical investigation and a number of other techniques, during a ten-year research project which involved over 2000 people, the Shapwick Project discovered a planned tenth-century village, established for economic gain under the auspices of the church.[9]

As these two projects prove, adopting a landscape approach or 'total archaeology' as Taylor referred to it, where a range of disciplines are integrated, creates a comprehensive history, one that takes account of both the natural and the artificial aspects of an environment.[10] The adoption of an interdisciplinary approach must, however, be qualified. Certainly, an unrestrictive methodology can only benefit any landscape approach, but not all techniques are appropriate and each must be judged individually, to gauge their reliability and suitability in terms of the overall aims of any undertaking. Boundaries must also be set, whether geographic, chronological or methodological, or a project may never end.

---

[8] M. Beresford & J. Hurst, *Wharram Percy: a deserted medieval village* (London, 1990); J. Hurst (gen ed.) et al., *Wharram: a study of settlement in the Yorkshire Wold,* Vols. 1-11 (London, 1979-2007)

[9] M. Aston, *The Shapwick Project: a topographical and historical study: 1988 Report* (Bristol, 1989); M. Aston, *The Shapwick Project: a topographical and historical study: 1989 Report* (Bristol, 1990); M. Aston & C. Gerrard (eds), *The Shapwick Project, Somerset: a Rural Landscape Explained*, Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph Series 25 (London, 2007)

[10] C. Taylor, 'Total Archaeology' in A. Rogers & T. Rowley, eds., *Landscapes and Documents* (London, 1974), pp. 15-26.

Landscape History Methodology

The interdisciplinary approach of landscape history is somewhat undefined. This is primarily because this is such a young field of research. Currently the approach can be used to investigate any era of the landscape, from pre-historic to modern. Any aspect of that landscape can also be observed. Titles in print over the last twenty years include *The Landscape of Towns, Monasteries in the Landscape, Castles and Landscapes, The Cornish Landscape, Landscapes of Lordship* and *Landscape, the Richest Historical Record.*[11] The sheer variety of features that can be viewed through the lens of landscape history can explain the diversity of the approach that has been taken by researchers. In short, the methodology of landscape history is keenly subjective.

The underlying thesis of this research technique is that one form of investigation alone does not provide a comprehensive enough picture of the past to recreate it. Using multiple methods and combining their findings presents a more comprehensive and balanced representation of the past. The primary tools of any investigation following this methodology must be history and archaeology. These create a firm framework that can supplemented and enhanced by the findings of, but not limited to, architecture, aerial photography, toponymy, numismatics, environmental investigation (pollen analysis, dendrochronology, carbon dating etc) and topographical analysis (using maps and surveys) as is warranted.

---

[11] M. Aston & J. Bond, *The Landscape of Towns* (London, 1976); M. Aston, *Monasteries in the Landscape* (Stroud, 2000); O.H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes* (London, 2002); W.G.V. Balchin, *The Cornish Landscape* (London, 1983); R. Liddiard, *Landscapes of Lordship: Norman Castles and the Countryside in Medieval Norfolk, 1066-1200* Bar British Series No. 309 (Oxford, 2000); D. Hooke (ed), *Landscape, the Richest Historical Record* Society for Landscape Studies Supplementary Series No. 1 (Amesbury, 2000)

Thesis Methodology

The methodology of this thesis is primarily a desk-based enquiry into the area which is known as the modern county of Cumbria, in the form of extant contemporary documentary sources and the findings of archaeological investigation and survey. Clearly defined geographical and chronological boundaries are in place to control this investigation. As can be seen in Chapter Two, the analysis of Cumbria's historic past embraces a vast range of documentary, literary and secondary sources, ranging from contemporary medieval to the extremely recent. Carlisle and Kendal have had the most intensive inquiry into their medieval past through archaeological excavation, however, other excavations have been undertaken, as well as a comprehensive programme of fieldwork and desk-based assessment. These methodological tools, of desk-based assessment and supporting fieldwork have been adopted for this thesis. Complimenting these two core fields of investigation are topographical analysis (through maps and surveys), place-name evidence, geology and architecture.

The content of each chapter can be identified as follows:

Chapter One serves as an introduction to the themes and methodology of this thesis, as well as taking a look at the origins of the castle in Cumbria. The social and geographical landscapes are defined and the areas for investigation within these spheres are clearly stated.

Chapter Two is a detailed look at the sources used during the research process and a brief analysis of the validity of their inclusion in this thesis is given. In particular the breadth of the historical resources available from the documentary and secondary to the literary will be noted. Cartographic material, architectural assessments, geological research and toponymic evidence are also cited as key sources.

Chapter Three deals with Cumbria itself. The area under discussion is closely defined. Geological and topographical analysis is used to further characterise what Cumbria is and how it was viewed during the Middle Ages. Historical events pertinent to the issues raised in this chapter, namely border definition, regional landscape and cultural identity, are also examined.

Chapter Four identifies the castle sites and explores the issues of distribution and dating. A brief look at castle studies and landscape history is also undertaken. Seigneurial land division is also discussed in light of the castle landscape. The physical landscape of the castles themselves are addressed, specifically the castle form and siting.

Chapter Five tackles the issue of the political landscape. The military and administrative aspects of the castle are dealt with both at a local and a national level, as are the roles of those who built and kept them. Castles, like settlements, are not merely their buildings but the people who occupy them and the events in which they are involved in.

Chapter Six investigates the ecclesiastical landscape of medieval Cumbria and the links between the church and the castle. Both the church and monastic aspects of the religious life are examined. Le Maho's theory of the link between castle and church histories as evidenced by the distance between the two, tested by Pounds in England in 1991, is assessed. Dickinson's idea that the Normans used the stability of the church, its parochial system and beliefs to consolidate their hold on the region is also briefly considered.

Chapter Seven considers the issue of castle boroughs and urban castles. Cumbrian urban settlement bears little in common with the national model, but its nucleated settlements do display proto-urban characteristics. Castles and settlements are inherently linked, as topographical and morphological analysis shows.

Chapter Eight looks at those castles, the majority, not associated with urban settlement, but rather located in the countryside. Questions of rural settlement and the associated features of castle estates, such as deer parks and forests are considered.

Chapter Nine is the concluding chapter of this thesis. It recaps the issues discussed and assesses the castle within the social and geographical landscape of medieval Cumbria. Areas for suggested future research are indicated, as are projects which are currently underway.

Appended to this work is a **Gazetteer** of the medieval castles of Cumbria, specifically those dealt with in this thesis. Photographic depictions are included, as well as a site plan, where possible.

As can be noted from the stated chapter outlines above, a thematic order has been followed, however, whilst this is the optimal form to facilitate this thesis topic, a chronological order has also been pursued. As a defined period of investigation is posited in the title, it is essential that it be considered within the thematic framework. Any analysis of the castle will include innumerable dates of importance, whether these are to do with the construction, development or context of that feature, this work is no exception.

Two theories, neither conceived by the author, are considered in this work. These theories, of Le Maho (1976) and Dickinson (1946), remain intriguing topics to the landscape historian and researcher of Cumbrian history respectively.[12] As such, this thesis provides an ideal opportunity to test these theories, so often repeated in recent secondary works, in the specific context of the castle landscape of medieval Cumbria. Both are explained and considered in Chapter Six.[13]

Origins of the Castle in Cumbria

In any discussion on castles, it is necessary to look at the origins of the sites in question and also at the broader issue, the origins of the castle in Cumbria, even England as a whole. The intention is not to resolve this question, if indeed it could ever be conclusively resolved, however, the nature of the topic under examination necessitates a familiarity with this important issue. One aim in looking at this is to establish the reason why the castle is being investigated in this thesis from c.1066 A.D.

Firstly, in order to look at the origins of the castle the term 'castle' must be defined. The Royal Archaeological Institute's Research Committee came up with the following definition of a castle: 'a fortified residence which might combine administrative and judicial functions but in which military considerations were paramount', and where the castle was 'a symbol and potent embodiment of feudal society'.[14] This clearly places feudal connotations on the castle, as the fortified residence of a lord, but it also suggests that the castle was at the centre of the feudal relationship and that it was a symbol of the lord's connection to his vassal. To consolidate their hold on England the Normans established castles across the

---

[12] J. Le Maho, 'L'apparition des seigneuries chatelaines dans le Grand Caux a l'epoque deucale', *Archeologie Medievale, 6* (1976), pp.5-217; J. C. Dickinson, 'The Origins of the Cathedral of Carlisle', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society,* (N.S) Vol. xlv (Kendal, 1946), pp. 134-43.

[13] See Chapter 6, p. 187-90.

[14] A.D. Saunders, 'Introduction to the Five Castles Excavations', *Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 134 (New Barnet, 1977), p.2.

landscape. The castle served not only a military function, but also administrative and judicial functions. According to Higham and Barker by equating the origins of the castle in England with feudalism, pre-Conquest fortifications cannot be identified as castles.[15]

The question of pre-conquest private defence in Cumbria is, however, one that will be addressed. Simply put no firm evidence of pre-conquest private defence has been found for Cumbria. Higham has noted, in regards to the early medieval Northwest, that 'the end of the artificial, Roman, economy has deprived the archaeologist of diagnostic, artefactual evidence on all but a small minority of sites, and has left us dangerously dependent on documentary sources'.[16] This certainly seems to be true of Cumbria. A factor, one which the North West Region Archaeological Research Framework has been keen to rectify, is that few investigations have taken place of earth and timber castles. Their report noted that 'without larger-scale and more widespread modern excavation of earth and timber castles it will be impossible to confirm dates of abandonment and possibly origins, or to answer speculation about purpose and nature'.[17]

The tentative evidence which may indicate pre-conquest aristocratic residences is focused around the ecclesiastical sites of early medieval Cumbria. Creighton has noted that the 'proliferation of churches in the pre-Conquest centuries' is as a result of 'the construction of private churches by early medieval power holders'.[18] The HER has identified seven churches with pre-Conquest origins or evidence of a previous church on the site of Saxon date. These are the church of St. Cuthbert in Kirkby Ireleth, the church of St. Lawrence in Morland, the priory of St. Mary and

---

[15] R.A. Higham & P. Barker, *Timber Castles* (London, 1992) p. 38-39.

[16] N.J. Higham, *The northern counties to AD 1000* (London, 1986) p. 242-3.

[17] C. Newman & R. Newman, 'The Medieval Period Research Agenda', *North West Region Archaeological Research Framework*, February 2005.

[18] O.H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes* (London, 2002), p. 117.

St. Bega at St. Bees, the church of St. Andrew at Crosby Garrett, the church of St. Cuthbert at Langwathby, St. Michael's Church in Bothel and Threapland and St. Kentigern's Church and St. Mungo's Well in Beaumont. A further twenty one churches were identified by the HER which had pre-Conquest crosses and cross fragments associated with the site. Of the seven antecedent churches with pre-Conquest origins five have possible defensive earthworks or pre-Conquest aristocratic connections. The parish of Kirkby Ireleth was in Earl Tostig's Hougun estate as recorded in Domesday Book. The only defended monument in the parish is Kirkby Hall of circa 1450 A.D. No earlier physical remains have been found.[19] In St. Bees, Perriam and Robinson noted Cop Spur, a natural mound possibly used as a motte. No firm dating has been assigned to the feature and its designation of motte is questionable.[20] At Crosby Garrett a chain unclassified rectilinear earthwork enclosures has been identified. Only an initial survey of the site has been undertaken and no firm date or purpose has yet been assigned to the site.[21] Finally, in the parish of Bothel and Threapland, a possible moated site has been identified by Perriam and Robinson. Unfortunately, it too has no documentary or archaeological evidence to date it or support a pre-Conquest connection with the church.[22]

The lack of evidence for pre-Conquest aristocratic residences of private fortifications means that the origins of the castle in Cumbria can be reasonably dated to the initial period of the introduction and consolidation of Norman rule to the kingdom of England from 1066 A.D. In fact castles cannot be dated in Cumbria, with certainty, to before 1092 A.D. This date saw William Rufus' 'annexation of

---

[19] H.S. Cowper, 'The Homes of the Kirkbys of Kirkby Ireleth', *TCWAAS*, Old Series, vol. xiii (Kendal, 1894), pp. 269-86.

[20] D.R. Perriam & J. Robinson, *The Medieval fortified buildings of Cumbria: an illustrated gazetteer and research guide*, CWAAS Extra Series Vol. 29 (Kendal, 1998), p. 99.

[21] J. Stone, *19-Mar-1993/RCHME/AP Primary Recording Project*, held Cumbria Record Office.

[22] D.R. Perriam & J. Robinson, *The Medieval fortified buildings of Cumbria: an illustrated gazetteer and research guide*, CWAAS Extra Series Vol. 29 (Kendal, 1998), p. 7.

Carlisle and its region…[and] imposed a new frontier between those subject to the king of the English and those subject to the king of the Scots'.[23] That castles were not built in 1066 A.D. can be ascribed to the fact that Cumbria, or more specifically Cumberland (the northern half of the county) and a large portion of northern Westmorland, fell under the influence of the Scots king at the time of the invasion. The baronies of Allerdale, Copeland, Kendal, Furness and Westmorland do, however, have pre-conquest origins.[24] The estate centres of these pre-conquest territories have not been ascertained. It would greatly enhance the understanding of the land tenure and indeed castle origins in the region, if these pre-Conquest territories were identified. Liddiard has noted that 'there was a great deal more continuity in centres of lordship from the pre-conquest to the post-conquest period than has heretofore been recognized'.[25]

The 'Harrying of the North' in the winter of 1069-70 A.D. affected Yorkshire, Durham and Northumberland, but not Cumbria. A southern section of Westmorland is included in the Domesday Book, as part of Yorkshire. This manor is called 'Hougun' and can be identified as Haume near Dalton in Furness, which in modern times is more associated with Lancashire.[26] A second entry in the Domesday Book notes lands belonging to the king at Kendal and those of Roger de Poitou at Beetham.[27] These entries indicate there was a Norman presence in Cumbria by 1086 A.D, but it was not until William II established his presence in the north of the kingdom of England in 1092 A.D. that a sustained and traceable involvement in

---

[23] W.M. Aird, 'Northern England or Southern Scotland? The Anglo-Scottish Border in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries and the Problem of Perspective', in J.C. Appleby and P. Dalton, *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England 1000-1700* (Stroud, 1997), p. 27.

[24] G.W.S. Barrow, 'The pattern of lordship and feudal settlement in Cumbria', *Medieval History*, vol. I no. 2, July 1975, p. 117.

[25] R. Liddiard, *Castles in Context. Power, Symbolism and Landscape, 1066-1500* (Bollington, 2005), p. 24-5.

[26] A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987), p. 18.

[27] A. Williams & G.H. Martin (eds), *Domesday Book: A Complete Translation* (London, 2002) p.796; J. Martin, *Cumberland and Westmorland Newsletter* Spring 1994 (Carlisle, 1994)

Cumbria as a whole can be noted. The castles (or the first phase of castles) of Liddel Strength, Bewcastle, Carlisle, Castle Howe (Kendal), Brough and Appleby all date to circa 1092-1100 A.D. In summary, they represented the Norman need to consolidate their hold on the region. So, whilst Cumbria was introduced slightly later than the rest of England to the castle, it took similar form (earthwork and timber) and was the result of comparable motivation (conquest and consolidation).

Chapter 2
Sources

In order to establish a comprehensive view of the medieval landscape in Cumbria between circa 1066 and 1250 A.D. it is important to assess all those factors that influenced society at that time, whether they are religious, political, economic, cultural or social and of local, national or international importance. No attempt has been made to name all the relevant published material here (see bibliography for full list of consulted works); instead an overview of the key sources, both primary and secondary, is given.

The era in question is notoriously sparse on documentary sources and Cumbria proves to be no exception, perhaps even more so because of its turbulent history during the Middle Ages. As a result, whilst analysis of documentary evidence is the dominant methodology of this work, it is also necessary to consider the history of this region from a variety of other sources. Archaeology, as a discipline, has tended to focus on the Roman remains of Cumbria, but does provide evidence for the medievalist. It is ably supported and enhanced, by topographical studies, in the form of cartographic evidence, county and estate surveys and toponymic evidence. As a whole these sources provide a comprehensive approach to medieval Cumbria. They serve to compliment each other and to confirm or refute the evidence provided in the written primary sources.

Primary and Documentary Sources

Primary and documentary sources can be diplomatic (legal and governmental), ecclesiastical (both church and monastic), manorial and literary. In Cumbria the situation is no different; however, certain factors must be borne in mind. Cumbria, as it is known today, fell under Scottish rather than English control for much of the period in question, and it lies at the very opposite end of the country to London. This suggests influences different to those detectable elsewhere in the country. There were also Norwegian and Irish populations in this area in the pre-conquest era. Place-name evidence and archaeological finds all attest to these earlier influences and the fact that some of these names remain in use to this day, serves to highlight the degree of impact these cultures had on the developing Cumbrian culture.

It should also be noted that documentary sources are not necessarily contemporary, they may be written several decades or even centuries after the events under discussion. Whilst this does diminish the validity of the source, the dearth of contemporary records in Cumbria for the Middle Ages makes consultation of all sources necessary. The researcher must be wary of the information given due to the impact of time and memory on any events recorded, but ought not to dismiss any data regardless of the source without careful consideration. Bias is also an issue that must considered with any form of evidence. Chronicles and surveys can be commissioned, often imbuing a sense of gratitude to the author, and elements can be exaggerated or underplayed to show a particular family or place in a certain light, be that for the better or the worse. Abbeys, priories and nunneries are generally founded by a specific individual. The cartularies and records of these establishments can then reflect a dependence on the gifts and works of the personage in question, and in particular a perceived notion of their virtuousness. Archaeology can also fall prey to bias, although its inherent methodology trains its experts to consider the evidence discovered rather than what is assumed will be found. The contextual setting of an artefact or feature can also influence interpretation of evidence.

By integrating the evidence found in all of the aforementioned disciplines it is hoped a concise and accurate understanding of the historic landscape can be more readily established.

Governmental and Legal Sources

Under this heading fall all those reports, accounts, grants and surveys undertaken by the crown and its offices. For the late eleventh century perhaps the greatest known source is the Domesday Book, a survey of all the lands in England commissioned by William the Conqueror. Cumbria did not actually feature in the Domesday Book. Technically at the time it was being compiled and written, Cumbria was under Scottish control. It was not until 1157 A.D. that Henry II 'compelled Malcolm IV to surrender Cumbria and Northumberland.[1] In spite of this, a number of small areas did fall under the Yorkshire section of 'Greater Domesday'. Areas such as 'Whicham', 'Bootle' and 'Kirksanton' were said to lie under the control of Earl Tosti's estate at 'Hougun'. This name, however, has not survived, making it difficult to identify the exact location of all the 'Cumbrian Domesday' entries. High Haulme in Dalton near Furness, it has been suggested, is the 'Hougun' of Domesday Book, although Millom has also been touted as a possible location.[2] There is division on the nature of the feature at High Haulme, with the Ordnance Survey having declared it to be a beacon site, although Cathcart King suggests it as a possible motte. The names that appear in these sections of Domesday Book

---

[1] M.O. Anderson, ed., 'Anglia Sacra', *A Scottish chronicle known as the Chronicle of Holyrood,* Vol. I (Edinburgh, 1938), p.161; P. Dalton, 'The Governmental Integration of the Far North, 1066-1199', in J.C. Appleby & P. Dalton, eds., *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England 1000-1700* (Stroud, 1997), p. 17.

[2] J. Martin, *Cumberland and Westmorland Newsletter*, Spring 1994 (Carlisle, 1994); D.J.C. King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, vol. I (London, 1983), p. 250; D. Perriam & J. Robinson, *The Medieval Fortified Buildings of Cumbria*, CWAAS Extra Series Vol. XXIX (Kendal, 1998), p. 386.

pertain to medieval Cumbria, and are Earl Tosti, Thorfinnr, Ketel and Roger, Dubhan, Earnwulf and Thorulf.[3]

For Cumbria there is the Testa de Nevill or as it is more commonly known the Book of Fees, a survey of the estates held by the tenants-in-chief of the king, including a number of entries on Cumberland and Westmorland. This source must be considered cautiously, in that it contains a large number of errors including glosses of a much later date, information on a particular county appearing under an alternative county, misspellings and errors transcribed from earlier source material. In the case of this text any information gleaned should always be corroborated by an alternate, independent source. Of interest in this work is the first section from 1212 A.D. in the reign of King John. It is useful because it also gives the origin of land title back to the reign of Henry I. For example, this source notes that Robert de Vallibus held his lands on the same terms as his ancestor, Hubert de Vallibus, who had received them from the king's grandfather, Henry I.[4]

Whilst the Book of Fees is of later composition than the events it is describing, dating towards the end of the reign of Edward I (circa 1302 A.D.), it provides an indication of earlier ownership. It was used to settle land disputes and inheritance claims. The original documents on which it was based fell out of common use. The original source material included returns of fees for a number of counties including Gloucestershire and Durham, returns of inquest, information from eyre rolls and various enquiries undertaken privately or for the crown on manor holdings.

---

[3] A. Williams & G.H. Martin, eds., *Domesday Book: A Complete Translation* (London, 2002), p. 796.

[4] "Robertus de Vallibus tenet terram suam de domino rege per servicium duorum militum quam Rex Henricus, pater domini regis, dedit Huberto de Vallibus antecessori suo, per predictum servicium", in *Liber Feodorum. The Book of Fees, commonly called Testa de Nevill, Part I, A.D. 1198-1242* (London, 1920) 1212 Cumberland entry, p.197-200.

The Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer appear to have evolved during the first half of the twelfth century, during the reign of Henry I, an innovative time in the development of bureaucracy. They are a source of information on the revenue of a particular county, compiled by the king's representative, the sheriff. The rolls record rents, dues and taxes, as well as fines and penalties imposed by itinerant justices. They also provide the names of officials, landholders, debtors and sometimes criminals. Towns, villages and castles are named as rent was owed, rights granted (at a cost) or repairs carried out. Industrial activity can be gleaned from the accounts of mines, mills, tanneries and other such enterprises. The data provides information about political and military events that affected a particular county. For instance, the tower and wall of Carlisle Castle were repaired in 1233-4 A.D. following a siege by Alexander II of Scotland.[5] Alms and the landholdings and acquisitions of ecclesiastical institutions are also mentioned throughout the Pipe Rolls. The Templars received a regular subscription of one mark recorded in the Pipe Roll of 1158-1159 A.D. and continuing on in the rolls after 1250 A.D.[6] There are a number of years in which sections of entries on the pipe rolls are missing, such as 1237-8 A.D. or 1249-50 A.D. The sections missing in these years include the entries regarding the alms.[7] The earliest surviving Pipe Roll is dated to 1130-1131 A.D. the 31st year of the reign of Henry I and refers to the accounts of the previous year

---

[5] F.H.M. Parker (ed), *The Pipe Rolls of Cumberland and Westmorland 1222-1260,* CWAAS Extra Series vol. XII (Kendal, 1905), 1233 A.D., 17 Henry III, p. 45: 'Et in reparatione cujusdem brecche que est in turellacastri Karleoli lj. S. et vij. d. per breve Regis. Et in reparatione muri ejusdem castri ubi minitores foderunt tempore que A. Rex Scottorum obsederat predictum castrum' / 'And in repair of a certain breach in the tower of Carlisle Castle 51s. 7d. And in repair of the wall of the same Castle, where the miners dug at the time when Alexander, King of the Scots, besieged the said Castle'.

[6] *The Great Roll of the Pipe*, Original Series Vols. 1, 2, 4-9, 11-13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 25-34, 36-38 (London, 1884-1925) & New series Vols. 1-14, 16, 17, London, 1925-1936); F.H.M. Parker (ed), *The Pipe Rolls of Cumberland and Westmorland 1222-1260,* CWAAS Extra Series Vol. XII (Kendal, 1905)

[7] F.H.M. Parker (ed), *The Pipe Rolls of Cumberland and Westmorland 1222-1260*, CWAAS Extra Series Vol. XII (Kendal, 1905)

from Michaelmas to Michaelmas.[8] Carlisle and Westmorland appear in the Pipe Roll for 31 Henry I, but it is not until 1177 A.D. and 1176 A.D. respectively that Cumberland and Westmorland appear as counties in the Pipe Rolls.[9] Both names had been used earlier, in the tenth century, but this was the first time they were seen as specifically defined regions in administrative documents. Both do appear in the pipe rolls in the intervening period between 1158 and 1176 A.D. but not as administrative regions.

In the Pipe Roll of 1130-31 A.D. the term 'de veteri firma de Chaerleolio' or 'the ancient farm of Carlisle' is used to indicate the lengthy possession of Carlisle by the English kingdom, from William Rufus' conquest of the North in 1092 A.D. Reference is also made in this earliest Pipe Roll to a wall that has been erected around the town of Carlisle.[10] 'De veteri firma Gardini Regis de Caerleolio' or 'of the old farm of the king's garden of Carlisle' is also mentioned in this Pipe Roll. What this refers to is as yet unknown, but it may have been a forest for hunting.[11] With regards to Westmorland, the account notes that the sheriff is rendering accounts for 'the new farm of Westmorland'.[12] Appleby Castle is also recorded, for customs on goods at the castle.

Other Exchequer Rolls are the Memoranda Rolls of the King's Remembrancer or the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer which began early in the reign of Henry III and

---

[8] The *Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I* is also ascribed by Prynne to 1117-8 A.D., the 18th year of the reign of Henry I, by Sir Simonds d'Evres to 1140-41 A.D. the 5th year of the reign of Stephen and finally to 1154-5 A.D. the 1st year of the reign of Henry II. See pgs. 137-8 in M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record* (Oxford, 1993) for the suspect case of the 'Winchester Writ' possibly indicating a Royal Roll Record of circa 1100 A.D.

[9] *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the twenty third year of the reign of King Henry II, A.D. 1176-77,* Pipe Roll Society vol. 26 (London, 1905), p. 120, 123.

[10] J. Wilson (ed), *Pipe Roll 31 Henry I,* 'In operibus Civitatis de Caerleolio videlicet in Muro circa Civatem faciendum' 'For the works of the city of Carlisle, namely for making the wall round the city', *Victoria County History. Cumberland,* vol. 1 (London, 1901), p. 338.

[11] J. Wilson (ed), *Pipe Roll 31 Henry I,* 'of the old farm of the King's garden of Carlisle', *Victoria County History Cumberland,* vol. I (London, 1901), p. 338.

[12] J. Hunter (ed.), *The Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I, Michaelmas 1130* Facsimile of Hunter edition of 1833 (London, 1929), 'de Nova firma de Westmarieland', p. 143.

recorded day-to-day activities in the English exchequer, including accounts of sheriffs, escheators and bailiffs. Taxation records in the form of Lay Subsidies and Poll Taxes also exist. An early assessment of circa 1200 A.D. exists and names Cumberland ward. A ward was the term used in Cumbria for in other counties a hundred or wapentake, an administrative division of land.[13] The assessment is a lay subsidy dated to the early years of the reign of John, either 1199-1200 A.D. or 1203-4 A.D. The vills of Ousby, Salkeld, Farmanby, Langwathby, Dalston and Gamblesby in Cumberland are all mentioned and assessed at a rate of three shillings per carucate (a measure of land comprising 8 bovates). This tax was levied to pay the 20,000 marks John had agreed to pay Philip II of France under the treaty of Le Goulet in 1200 A.D.[14]

The Chancery is a principal source of primary and documentary evidence for this period. Several types of information were recorded. A commonly consulted source is the Charter Rolls which recorded Royal Charters issued under the Great Seal as well as those that were reissued.[15] Close Rolls or a record of letters closed are also a good source of information. They are copies of sealed letters sent to officers of the crown under the Great Seal. Close Rolls also recorded private deeds.[16] Patent Rolls recorded copies of letters patent, or open letters. They dealt with a wide variety of topics including grants of land, licences for widows to marry, pardons, confirmations of charters and proclamations of newly elected officials.[17] Inquisitions post mortem recorded inquiries conducted after the death of a tenant-in-

---

[13] The National Archives E/179/242/77, Lay Taxation Assessment, c. 1200 A.D.

[14] S.K. Mitchell, *Taxation in Medieval England* (New Haven, 1951), p. 131.

[15] *Calendar of the Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office*, covering the period 1226-1516, 6 vols. (London, 1903-1927)

[16] *Calendar of the Close Rolls Edward I. Vol. III, A.D.1288-96, preserved in the Public Record Office* (London, 1904)

[17] *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Edward III, A.D. 1350-54, preserved in the Public Record Office*, Vol. 9 (London, 1891-1916); *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Henry III, 1225-32 A.D., preserved in the Public Record Office* (London, 1903)

chief of the crown as to the extent of their holdings.[18] Feet of Fines recorded agreements that resolved disputes and subsequently the conveyance of land.[19] Liberate Rolls registered writs of payments by the Exchequer.[20] Records of the crown and government such as these can be used to elucidate a clearer picture of the north and Cumbria. An additional type of record of interest to the researcher is the private charter. Private charters were not necessarily recorded in chancery rolls such as the Charter Rolls. They are often found in the cartularies of religious foundations, as are probate documents. Probate documents, however, do not bear relevance to the date range under consideration in this thesis. This is by no means an exhaustive list of governmental and legal sources, but an overview of some of the most common, the most utilised and the most freely available.

Manorial Sources

The manor was the seat of a land owner or a landed estate. The manor house was the focus of the administration of the estate. It was the heart of community administration and the judiciary. Manorial documents are extremely useful as they are a record of the activities of ordinary people and the day to day relationship between a lord and his vassals in medieval England.

English Heritage states that with the abolition of copyhold in 1922 the control of all manorial documents passed to the office of the Master of the Rolls. In 1924 legislation provided this office with the right to make rules regarding manorial documents. Two years later, in 1926, the Manorial Documents Rules were laid out

---

[18] *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and other Analogous Documents preserved in the Public Record Office*, vols. II & V (London, 1906, 1909)

[19] *Calendar of Feet of Fines for Cumberland, from their commencement to the accession of Henry VII, ed.* F. H. M. Parker, TCWAAS, vol. 7 (Kendal, 1907), pp. 215-61

[20] *Calendar of the Liberate Rolls ... Henry III* [1226-1272; appendices 1220-1267] 6 vols. (London, 1916-1964)

and documents such as 'court rolls (recording activities of the manorial court), surveys (records of tenants, holdings, obligations and extents or investigations into land holdings and value similar to Inquisitions post mortem), maps (establishing boundaries and property holdings), terriers (a written survey of a manorial estate, including valuation and extent of holdings) documents and books of every description relating to the boundaries, franchises (privileges or rights granted), wastes (uncultivated land owned by the lord of the manor often used for common purposes including grazing) and customs or courts of a manor' were defined as official manorial source material.[21] The Manorial Documents Register (MDR) is the official repository of all manorial documents (as defined above). Until 1959 this was held for the Master of the Rolls in the Public Record Office. That year the MDR was transferred to the Historical Manuscripts Commission. This Historical Manuscripts Commission falls under control of The National Archives. The MDR has been partially digitized (for Wales, the Isle of Wight, Hampshire, Norfolk, Surrey, Middlesex, the three Ridings of Yorkshire and Cumbria). The entire register, however, is available for consultation. Not only are the records for Cumbria available online, but researchers have the benefit of the Cumbrian Manorial Records Project, headed by Angus Winchester and Eleanor Straughton, in conjunction with Lancaster University, The National Archives and Cumbria Archive Service. A website elucidating some of their findings was set up in 2006.[22] Records from the Percy, Lonsdale and Inglewood family estates in Cumbria have survived, as have manorial records from the estates at Workington, Greystoke,

---

[21] The National Archives, 'Manorial Documents Register', http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/mdr/, accessed February 2007.

[22] A.J.L. Winchester & E. Straughton, 'Cumbrian Manorial Records Project'; http://www.lancs.ac.uk/fass/projects/manorialrecords/index.htm, accessed February 2007.

Muncaster and Rydal.[23] They give the researcher a picture of everyday life in these manors.

Urban Sources

Documentary information on urban settlement is relatively abundant. This stems in the main from a need to have the rights and dues of a settlement or populace legally recorded. The aforementioned governmental documents, in particular pipe, close and patent rolls, record details of the interaction between town and the royal or seigneurial authority. Taxations and murage grants are a source which can be used by those interested in urban history to estimate the population of a town or the size of a burgage plot. Charters provide facts on grants, dues, taxes and rights conferred on burgesses. Criminal activity can be monitored from court rolls and even pipe rolls where payment of amercements was often recorded. Of particular relevance to this work are the borough charters and grants of market rights assigned to the six urban settlements of medieval Cumbria.[24] Boroughs in Cumbria are dated generally to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The borough charters of Cumbria's urban settlements are found in the Calendar of Charter Rolls, the Inquisition post mortem rolls and the Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer. The earliest extant Pipe Roll, that of 1130-31 A.D, makes mention of the burgesses of Carlisle who accounted for 100 shillings for the rent of the silver mine.[25]

Further evidence is forthcoming in ecclesiastical and literary sources. Rentals and grants are frequently stated in the cartularies and registers of the monasteries, for example the three attempted borough foundations of the abbey of Holm Cultram are

---

[23] A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987), p.168.
[24] See Chapter 7, p. 237.
[25] J. Hunter (ed.), *The Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I, Michaelmas 1130* (Commissioners on the Public Records of the Kingdom, 1833) (HMSO, London, 1929), p. 142.

recorded in their Register as well as in the Charter Rolls. The city of Carlisle is mentioned in a number of sources including the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Chronicle of Melrose. [26]

Ecclesiastical Sources

The ecclesiastical sources for the church in Cumbria dating from the eleventh to the mid thirteenth centuries give particular consideration to the church in Carlisle. Carlisle was made a diocese in 1133 A.D. although it was very likely an earlier ecclesiastical centre of post Roman Britain.[27] Diocesan registers, visitations and accounts are all of relevance. The Life of St. Godric, a twelfth-century hermit who came to Carlisle to follow his religious life, is another useful source of information.[28]

In terms of monastic sources there are quite a number to look at. There were monastic centres across the north from which information on Cumbria can be drawn. Symeon of Durham provided the Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae and the Historia Regum (a history of the north beginning where Bede left off to the early twelfth century).[29] The priory of Hexham has its Charters, Endowments and Annals and its Liber Niger or rental book.[30] Both of these monastic communities were in

---

[26] G. N. Garmonsway, (trans & ed.), *The Anglo- Saxon Chronicle,* version 'E'. Entry 1092 (London, 1972), p.227; J. Stephenson (trans) *Medieval Chronicles of Scotland. The Chronicles of Melrose and Holyrood* (1988) Entries for years 1138, 1149, 1158, 1173, 1216 & 1217 A.D. in the Chronicle of Melrose, p.8, 10, 11, 18, 44-45, 52 respectively.

[27] A.T. Thomas, *The Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain* (London, 1971), pp.11-19.

[28] Reginald of Durham, "Life of St. Godric," in G. G. Coulton, (ed.) *Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation (*Cambridge, 1918); P. F. Gosling 'Carlisle-An Archaeological Survey of the historic Town', P. A. G. Clack & P. F. Gosling, *Archaeology in the North* (1976) p.168.

[29] *Symeon of Durham, Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*, ed. T. Arnold, vol. I (London, 1965); *Symeon of Durham, Historia Regum*, ed. T. Arnold, vol. II *(*London, 1885).

[30] *The Priory of Hexham, Vol. I: Its chroniclers, endowments, and annals*, ed. J. Raine (Surtees Society, 1864); *The Priory of Hexham, Vol II: Its title deeds, black book etc*, ed. J. Raine (Surtees Society, 1865).

Northumberland, but give the general history of the north as well as specific information regarding their own lands, possessions, dependents and rivals.

The registries and cartularies of monasteries across the north, in particular, Hexham, Furness, Holm Cultram, St. Bees and Wetheral are an excellent resource recording charters, grants and endowments.[31] Of course a number of these charters, grants and endowments are outright forgeries or later claims to prove a court case or right asserted by the monastery. The 'Distributio Cumberlandiae et Conquestum Angliae' in the Register of Wetheral, a similar document in the Register of St. Bees and one in the Tower Close Rolls, were in fact late thirteenth or early fourteenth-century legal memoranda rather than early grants by William the Conqueror.[32]

Scottish ecclesiastical sources also provide information on medieval Cumbria. It must be remembered that until 1092 A.D. and from circa 1135 A.D. to 1157 A.D. Cumbria was under Scottish control. During the period of David I's overlordship Carlisle was under the control of the diocese of Glasgow, specifically Bishop Michael and his successor John. The Chronicle of Melrose makes several mentions of Cumberland and of Carlisle. It records a visit by the papal legate Alberic, bishop of Ostia, to Carlisle to visit David I in 1138 A.D.[33]

---

[31] *The Priory of Hexham, Vol. I: its Chroniclers, Endowments, and Annals*, ed. J. Raine (Surtees Society, 1864); The *Priory of Hexham, Vol. II: Its title deeds, black book etc*, ed. J. Raine (Surtees Society, 1865); *The Coucher book of Furness Abbey*, eds. J.C. Atkinson, & J. Brownbill, Chetham Society 9, 11, 14, 74, 76 & 78 (1886-1919); *The Register and Records of Holm Cultram*, eds. F. Grainger & W.G. Collingwood, CWAAS Records Series Vol. 7 (Kendal, 1929): *The Register of the Priory of St. Bees*, ed. J. Wilson (Surtees Society, 1915): *The Register of the Priory of Wetheral*, ed. J.E. Prescott, CWAAS Record Series Vol. I (London, 1897).

[32] *Register of the Priory of Wetheral* ed., J.E. Prescott (London, 1887) no. 245 pp. 384-88; 'Chronicon Cumbrie', no. 498, *The Register of the Priory of St. Bees,* ed., J. Wilson, vol. 126 (Surtees Society, 1915) p. 491-496; *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati vol. I Ab Anno MCCIV ad Annum MCCXXIV* (1833), entry 459/3.

[33] *The Chronicle of Melrose (from 1136 to 1264) and The Chronicle of Holyrood (to 1163),* trans. J. Stephenson (reprint 1989), p. 8.

Literary/Narrative Sources

Literary works can be characterized by their narrative style. They present political, cultural and ecclesiastical history in an accessible format, generally a story or an account. Often they are presented in chronological order. These chronicles and works are often histories of England, a particular monarch or ecclesiastical foundation, a saint or even a chronological history of the known world. Of interest are those which mention Cumbria or somewhere in Cumbria. Most often these references are minor, such as a visit to or meeting held at Carlisle or an attack on a castle.[34] In the main these references are brief, frequently providing no other information other than the allusion to Cumbria. Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle of the War between the English and the Scots in 1173 and 1174 is an exception in that it gives numerous references to the castles of Cumbria, in particular Carlisle, Brough and Appleby.[35] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester, Chronica Gestis Scotorum and Henry of Huntingdon's Historia Anglorum are among the numerous works that record various aspects and periods of the history of medieval England, and where specific mentions of Cumbria can be found.[36]

Secondary Sources

Secondary sources are a valuable tool in any investigation. A brief look at the types of research carried out on medieval Cumbria will elucidate current trends in

---

[34] *Jordan Fantosme's, Chronicle of the War between the English and the Scots in 1173 and 1174*, trans. F. Michel, Surtees Society, vol. XI.(1840), pp. 108-11.

[35] *Jordan Fantosme's, Chronicle of the War between the English and the Scots in 1173 and 1174*, trans. F. Michel, Surtees Society, vol. XI.(1840), pp. 108-11.

[36] G. N. Garmonsway (trans & ed.), *The Anglo- Saxon Chronicle* (London, 1972); Florence of Worcester, *A History of the King's of England* (Lampeter, 1988); F.J.H. Skene (trans) & W.F. Skene (ed), *John of Fordun's Chronicle of the Scottish nation* (Dyfed, 1993); *Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, Historia anglorum,* ed. D.E. Greenway (Oxford, 1996).

research and also the place of this thesis within those fields. In general terms secondary sources are used by researchers firstly to familiarise themselves with the topic under investigation, and secondly as a testing ground for previous and ongoing theories. A secondary source is a work based on primary, original material. Pickard noted that 'secondary sources are used in historical research but only to complement primary sources or to help fill in any gaps left by a dearth of primary evidence' and that 'one of the most productive uses of secondary sources is as an aide to forming your hypothesis or defining your topic'.[37] Certainly, it can be stated that in the case of medieval Cumbria, there is a dearth of information, but a wealth of secondary material, largely in the form of the works of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society.

The Castle in Cumbria

Research into the castles of Cumbria has taken three main forms: the gazetteer, the architectural investigation and the guidebook. It is also largely confined to the twentieth century. Earlier references to the castles were largely restricted to noting them as features within a certain parish or township.[38] Thomas Denton's 'A Perambulation of Cumberland 1687-8' gives a list of castles in the region.[39] *Magna Britannia* (Volume 4 Cumberland), compiled by the Lysons brothers in 1816, also gives a list of castles under the heading 'Antiquities'. In addition, this account gives a short history of each of the thirteen castles it mentions (Egremont, Carlisle,

---

[37] A.J. Pickard, *Research Methods in Information* (London, 2007), p. 147.

[38] See Chapter 2 p. 36-9

[39] A.J.L. Winchester & M. Wane (ed), *Thomas Denton: A Perambulation of Cumberland, 1687-8, including descriptions of Westmorland, the Isle of Man and Ireland* Surtees Society Vol. 207 (2003)

Cockermouth, Bewcastle, Naworth, Kirkoswald, Millom, Rose Castle, Scaleby, Penrith, Highhead, Dacre and Askerton).[40]

Two comparatively thorough works are both in the gazetteer vein of scholarship, namely J.F. Curwen's *The Castles and Fortified Towers of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North of the Sands, together with a brief Historical Account of Border Warfare* of 1913, and Perriam and Robinson's self-proclaimed updated version, *The Medieval Fortified Buildings of Cumbria* of 1998.[41] Both were published in the 'Extra Series' of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, itself a font of knowledge on all things Cumbrian.

Curwen gave a detailed account of the castles in the region, classifying them according to type (for example: The Motte with Bailey, The Motte without Bailey, The Rectangular Keep, Pele Towers Fourteenth Century and The Fortified Churches). A brief description of the castle form was given followed by each of the relevant castles. Every castle was given a detailed historical account, with all major events given in chronological order and pertinent documentary references, followed by a physical description and building history. Plans of castle layouts were given where possible. The approach was comprehensive, to the degree that it is still in use today.

Perriam and Robinson aimed to update Curwen's work in 1998. The layout followed the baronies of medieval Cumbria and took the form of a gazetteer. This work noted over three times the number of sites that Curwen identified (Curwen had 157, Perriam & Robinson give 495). Each entry had a brief site description, a reference to Curwen's original entry where relevant, a list of references

---

[40] D. Lysons & S. Lysons, *Magna Britannia,* Vol. 4: Cumberland (1816)

[41] J. F. Curwen, *The Castles and Fortified Towers of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North of the Sands, together with a brief Historical Account of Border Warfare* (CWAAS Extra Series Vol. 13) (Kendal, 1913); D.R. Perriam & J. Robinson, *The Medieval fortified buildings of Cumbria : an illustrated gazetteer and research guide,* CWAAS Extra Series Vol. 29 (Kendal, 1998)

(documentary and secondary) and an account of the site from official records such as the Historic Environment Record (HER), National Monuments Record (NMR) or other recent examination. Plans and photographs were also given, providing a modern and well-rounded gazetteer of sites in Cumbria. The aim of updating Curwen's work was surpassed here and the gazetteer is an invaluable tool for any student of Cumbrian history.

Other works offering gazetteer like lists of castles include Mike Salter's *The Castles and Tower Houses of Cumbria,* Robert Hugill's *Castles and Peles of Cumberland and Westmorland*, Jean Cope's *Castles in Cumbria* and M. J. Jackson's *Castles of Cumbria.*[42] Salter wrote similar books for most of the counties of England and the rest of the British Isles and Ireland, as well as accounts of the parish churches of the same. His work draws on the HER entries for the county of Cumbria and provides a brief description of each site, a plan and/or photograph. Hugill's work, a guide to the strongholds of this north-westerly region, notes the development of some 93 sites but fails to give any references. He attempts to merge the development of the castle within the framework of history, however, the work is vague in places and provides little of academic value. The final two works fall under the general heading of guide books. Jackson's work is a gazetteer of the county sites in alphabetical order. He gives good references, illustrations and slightly more detail than Cope, whose work is essentially a brief guide book for tourists.

The final form of work on the castles of Cumbria takes the form of an architectural survey. It is perhaps unsurprising, therefore, that the book in question belongs to Nikolaus Pevsner's *Buildings of England* series. The Cumberland and Westmorland

---

[42] M. Salter, *The Castles and Tower Houses of Cumbria* (Malvern, 1998); R. Hugill, *Castles and Peles of Cumberland and Westmorland : a guide to the strongholds of the Western English borderland together with an account of their development and their place in border history* (Newcastle, 1977); J. Cope, *Castles in Cumbria* (Milnthorpe, 1991); M. J. Jackson, *Castles of Cumbria* (Carlisle, 1990)

edition was published in 1967 and like the rest of the series is characterized by a general introduction to the architectural styles of the region. Buildings are assessed on a town by town basis. Castles are not the only structures mentioned, but are comprehensively covered under their applicable town. No plans are given, though there are several excellent black and white photographs. A more specific work also exists, *Carlisle and Cumbria: Roman and Medieval Architecture, Art and Archaeology* by Mike McCarthy and David Weston. This is based on the British Archaeological Association Conference held at Carlisle in 2001. Whilst the main focus of this work is the cathedral, Carlisle Castle, Rose Castle and a number of monastic and church sites in Cumbria are also dealt with.

These seven titles are amongst the most well known works on castles in Cumbria, with the works by Curwen and that by Perriam and Robinson being the most purposeful and best informed. More general works on Cumbria exist, in particular those of the antiquarian age and the inventory style accounts that developed from them in the early twentieth century (*Victoria County History, Inventory of the Historic Monuments*).

Other discussions and examinations of castles in Cumbria do exist. In particular, Mary Higham's article 'The Mottes of North Lancashire, Lonsdale and South Cumbria' in Volume 91 of the *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*. This was based on her thesis The effects of the Norman Conquest on north west England with particular reference to the honors of Hornby and Burton-in-Lonsdale, undertaken at Lancaster University in 1992. Five additional motte sites and one possible burh site, to those named in the HER for this region, are named in the article, three of which lie in the county of Cumbria. All three (at Natland, Castle Park, Kendal and Round Hill, Kendal) are noted on the NMR as possible motte sites.[43] Unfortunately, the author seemingly undermines her own credibility from the start by stating 'it would appear to be quite in order to discuss the earthwork castles of the North-West *in toto* using the general term 'motte' to describe them' rather than distinguishing mottes from ringworks.[44] Such a generalisation, particularly considering the range of earthworks built during the Middle Ages and the differing roles, building techniques and histories assigned to them, is remiss. To fail to distinguish differing types of earthworks is dismissive of these classifications and the investigatory work undertaken by archaeologists and historians. Having stated this, the entries of the HER tend to take a broad view of earthwork castles in this manner as well and as these would have been a primary source of material for the work of Higham, such a simplification of the topic is reasonable. It appears this failure to distinguish between differing types of earthworks is being slowly corrected. A current search of the HER database identifies seven ringwork sites (four dating to the Middle Ages, three unknown in date) in Cumbria. Clearly, in England, the differentiation between ringworks and mottes (or motte and baileys) has yet to be wholly embraced. The NMR definition (adopted in 1998) of a ringwork - that is was 'a defensive bank and ditch, circular or oval in plan, surrounding one or more buildings' is extremely broad, with the result that those HER and SMR offices following their terms for site classification tend not to distinguish specifically between types of earthwork castle.[45]

There are not a large number of works on the castles of Cumbria. What there are tend to follow singular lines of enquiry, with the exception of Pevsner's

---

[43] Pastscape, NMR searchable database, http://www.pastscape.org/default.aspx , accessed June 2003. Natland identified as Monument No. 875606; Castle Park, Kendal identified as Monument No. 875616; Round Hill, Kendal identified as Monument No. 875615.

[44] M. C. Higham, 'The Mottes of North Lancashire, Lonsdale and South Cumbria', *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. 91 (Kendal, 1992), p. 79.

[45] English Heritage Online Thesaurus, http://thesaurus.english-heritage.org.uk/ ,accessed July 2006

architectural account, in which the castle was simply an element in a multi-phase examination of differing building styles. This is not to say that works on specific sites do not occur. Guidebooks and research works on Brougham and Brough Castles, Carlisle Castle, and Kendal Castle exist.[46] Local history works on specific sites can be found in most tourist offices and local bookshops.

Medieval History of Cumbria

Secondary works on the medieval history of Cumbria in general are not overly common. Cumbria is covered, to varying degrees, in Kapelle's *The Norman conquest of the North: the region and its transformation, 1000-1135* and Nick Higham's *The northern counties to A.D. 1000.*[47] Both works deal primarily with the other northern counties (Northumberland, Yorkshire and Lancashire), but Cumbria also features. Kapelle's work, in particular, is still an excellent basis for the political history of the entire region. *Land of the Cumbrians: a study in British provincial origins, A.D. 400-1120* by Charles Phythian-Adams is a meticulous analysis of the history of Cumbria.[48] The author is Professor Emeritus (former Head of Department) and University Research Fellow for Centre of Local History in the University of Leicester, an expert on the provincial history of England. Phythian Adams considers this work a revisionist approach to the history of Cumbria and

---

[46] C. Platt & M. McCarthy, *Carlisle Castle* (London, 1992); M.R. McCarthy, H.R.T. Summerson & R.G. Annis, *Carlisle Castle: a survey and documentary history* (London, 1990); J. Charlton, *Carlisle Castle* (London, 1985); G.P.H. Watson & G. Bradley, *Carlisle Castle: Cumbria,* London, 1937); H. Summerson, *Brougham and Brough castles, Cumbria* (London, 1999); J. Charlton, *Brougham Castle* (Edinburgh, 1931 & 1992); H. Summerson, M. Trueman & S. Harrison ; with contributions by K. Blood ... [et al.], *Brougham Castle, Cumbria : a survey and documentary history* (Kendal, 1998); C. Howard-Davis, *Kendal Castle* (Kendal, 2000)

[47] W.E. Kapelle, *The Norman conquest of the North: the region and its transformation, 1000-1135* (London, 1979); N. Higham, *The northern counties to AD 1000* (London, 1986)

[48] C. Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians: a study in British provincial origins, A.D. 400-1120* (Aldershot, 1996)

stresses the British origins of Cumbria.[49] He maintains that Cumbria retained much of its unique character, in particular the ethnic influences, when it was absorbed into the rest of the kingdom of England. Using the foundation charter of the priory of Wetheral and Gospatric's writ, Phythian Adams argues that there was a high degree of continuity in the administration of Cumbria before and after 1092 A.D.[50]

A more specific work is *Norman rule in Cumbria, 1092-1136* by Richard Sharpe, a recent volume in the CWAAS tract series.[51] This is a published lecture he delivered as President of the Surtees Society to the CWAAS in 2005. It is an excellent and detailed account of the Normans in Cumbria, illustrated extensively by primary material. A.J.L. Winchester's *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* is one of the most comprehensive explorations of medieval Cumbria and a touch stone for anyone looking at the history of the county.[52] *England's Landscape: The North West* by Winchester and Crosby is an account of the geology, archaeology and history of Cumbria, Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire.[53] This work is particularly rich in illustrative material (both photographic and cartographic).

Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society

A source of material, mentioned frequently throughout this brief look at sources for Cumbrian history is the work produced by the *Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* (CWAAS). The society was founded in 1866 and its aim is 'to promote, encourage, foster and co-ordinate the study of

---

[49] C. Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians: a study in British provincial origins, A.D. 400-1120* (Aldershot, 1996), p. xii, 21, 170.

[50] C. Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians: a study in British provincial origins, A.D. 400-1120* (Aldershot, 1996), p. 177-80 & Appendices.

[51] R. Sharpe, *Norman Rule in Cumbria 1092-1136. A lecture delivered to the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society on 9th April 2005 at Carlisle,* CWAAS Tract Series Vol. XXI (Kendal, 2006)

[52] A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987)

[53] A.J.L. Winchester (ed) & A.G. Crosby, *England's Landscape. The North West* Vol. 8 in English Heritage Series, England's Landscape (London, 2006)

archaeology, history, genealogy, customs and traditions of what is now the County of Cumbria'.[54] Annual transactions have been published every year since its foundation, as well as a series of records, historic maps, parish registers, tracts and research reports. Lectures, research grants and bursaries, field outings and newsletters are also used to promote and further Cumbrian research. The body of work produced by the society is remarkable and exhaustive. It is the first stop for any researcher or interested party when looking at any aspect of Cumbrian history, and one of the most respected local history societies in Britain.

Antiquarianism

Antiquarianism is the name now given to the branch of study begun in the sixteenth century. The value of the work produced by antiquarians is much debated amongst modern historians. Certainly there is an issue over the reliability of much of the work. It is, however, a valuable resource when looking at landscape history. The antiquarian approach to history generally involved a perambulation or survey of a district, often a county, by the relevant author. Such accounts were often topographical in nature, inspecting the antiquities remaining in the landscape. Amongst these works are several which touch upon Cumberland and Westmorland. There appears to have been quite an interest in this particular region during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. John Leland, William Camden, John Denton, Sir Daniel Fleming, Thomas Denton, Thomas Machell, William Gilpin, Joseph Nicolson and Richard Burn, William Hutchinson and the Lysons brothers, Daniel and Samuel, all wrote descriptions of Cumberland and/or Westmorland.[55] The

---

[54] Homepage of CWAAS, 'The Society', http://www.cwaas.org.uk/ , accessed 2nd February 2008

[55] John Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543*, L. Toulmin Smith (ed) (London, 1906-10); William Camden, *Britain, or A chorographicall description of the most flourishing kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the ilands adjoyning, out of the depth of*

emphasis amongst these works ranges from the topographical to the religious and includes work specific to the county in question and also those of a national scale. As noted, these men and their approach to history inspired the Victoria County History project and the Royal Inventories, which began in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and continue today.[56]

John Leland is an interesting character, known as the 'father of English local history'. A title that today is often given to Hoskins. It is somewhat ironic that Leland's aim was never to write a local history. His *Itinerary* is the result of research conducted throughout England over a six year period 1540-6 A.D. Leland's introduction of the term 'shire' is a lasting contribution from his work to the study of England and its landscape.[57]

William Camden is perhaps the most famous of the English antiquarians. His work *Britannia* was written in Latin and published in 1586.[58] It was a county by county history of Britain and Ireland, inspired by the work of John Leland. He adopted a chorographical methodology, more specifically an integrated study of the landscape, geography, antiquity and history of England.

---

antiquitie beautified vvith mappes of the severall shires of England (London, 1637); John Denton, 'History of Cumberland' in *An Accompt of the most considerable Estates and Families in the County of Cumberland* R.S. Ferguson ed., CWAAS Tract Series II (Kendal, 1887); Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal, *Description of the county of Cumberland*; Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal, *Description of the county of Westmoreland* (CWAAS Tract Series Vol. 1) Sir G. F. Duckett (ed) (London, 1882); A.J.L. Winchester & M. Wane (ed), *Thomas Denton: A Perambulation of Cumberland, 1687-8, including descriptions of Westmorland, the Isle of Man and Ireland* Surtees Society Vol. 207 (2003); Thomas Machell, *Antiquary on Horseback. The First Publication of The Collections of the Rev. Thomas Machell Chaplain to King Charles II Towards a History of the Barony of Kendal,* J.M. Ewbank (transcribed & ed) CWAAS Extra Series 19 (1963); William Gilpin, *Observations, relative chiefly to picturesque beauty, made in the year 1772 on several parts of England; particularly the mountains, and lakes of Cumberland, and Westmoreland,* 3rd Edition (London, 1792); J. Nicolson & R. Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland,* 2vols (1777); W. Hutchinson, The History of the County of Cumberland 2 vols (Reprint, 1974); D. & S. Lysons, *Magna Britannia,* Vol. 4: Cumberland (1816)

[56] See Chapter 2 p. 39

[57] John Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543*, L. Toulmin Smith ed. (London, 1906-10)

[58] William Camden, *Britain, or A chorographicall description of the most flourishing kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the ilands adjoyning, out of the depth of antiquitie beautified vvith mappes of the severall shires of England* (London, 1637)

John and then Thomas Denton dealt more specifically with Cumberland. They were distantly related, and their work was plundered greatly in later years by other writers, who often confused the two or attributed the work to only one of them. John Denton's manuscripts were extensive and were based on the misleading *Chronicon Cumbrie*, whose errors he perpetuated. Thomas Denton produced *A Perambulation of Cumberland 1687-8*, a work that was commissioned by and for Sir John Lowther.[59] Whilst this work is essentially a parochial history of the county it is introduced by lists of parishes, townships, forests, rivers, religious houses and even castles. This work has lately been reproduced and edited by Angus Winchester in 2003. A similar project is underway with regards to the work of John Denton, in particular a necessary examination of the information he gives against reliable sources. His 'Accompt' is considered the first attempt at a county history of Cumberland. Two accounts of even earlier perambulatory surveys in the region, at Inglewood Forest in 1219 and 1300 A.D. are also known of.[60]

William Hutchinson published a *History of Cumberland,* in two volumes in 1794, whilst twenty-two years later in 1816 the Lysons published volume four of their *Magna Britannia* series, on Cumberland.[61] Work on Westmorland appears by Nicolson and Burn in their 1777 two volume history of Cumberland and Westmorland.[62] They drew heavily on the unpublished research of Thomas Machell,

---

[59] John Denton, *History of Cumberland in* An Accompt of the most considerable Estates and Families in the County of Cumberland, R.S. Ferguson, (CWAAS Tract Series II), (Kendal, 1887); A.J.L. Winchester & M. Wane (ed), *Thomas Denton: A Perambulation of Cumberland, 1687-8, including descriptions of Westmorland, the Isle of Man and Ireland* Surtees Society Vol. 207 (2003); 'Chronicon Cumbrie', no. 498, J. Wilson (ed*), The Register of the Priory of St. Bees*, Surtees Society vol. 126 (Durham, 1915) p. 491-496.

[60] P.A.G. Clack & P.F. Gosling, 'The Later Medieval Period', *Archaeology in the North* (Northern Archaeological Survey, 1976), in particular p.55; F.H.M. Parker, 'Inglewood Forest', *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. 5 (1905) pp.34-51.

[61] W. Hutchinson, *The History of the County of Cumberland* 2 vols (Reprint, 1974); D. & S. Lysons, *Magna Britannia* Vol. 4: Cumberland (1816)

[62] J. Nicolson & R. Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland 2* vols (1777)

whose six volumes of work were deemed imperfect by William Nicolson, archdeacon of Carlisle, to whom they were entrusted in 1698 on the author's death.[63] Nicolson bound the research and placed them in the Chapter Library at Carlisle. As a resource they were pillaged greatly by later writers.

Research into these Cumbrian antiquarians and their source material has lately drawn attention to the commonality of their primary material and the extent to which they drew on each other and perpetuated inaccuracies. This cannot, however, diminish the value of their contribution to history. As long as modern historians do not propagate the mistakes of earlier work and assess them for what they are worth, works of antiquarianism can have a meaningful involvement in current scholarship.

Victoria County History & Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England

The *Victoria County History (VCH)* and the *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England (RCHME) Inventory* series were developed in light of the antiquarian works which preceded them. The *VCH* was a project undertaken in honour of Queen Victoria. It was intended to be a comprehensive account of the histories of all the counties in England. The first volume was published in 1901. The project is still underway today, with many of the original volumes being re-assessed and new volumes published either to replace or to continue the earlier work. There are two volumes on Cumberland, none on Westmorland and eight on Lancashire, in which part of Cumbria (the so-called Lancashire North of Sands) is considered. The content of the volumes is varied and the quality of the work is mixed, due mainly to

---

[63] Thomas Machell, *Antiquary on Horseback. The First Publication of The Collections of the Rev. Thomas Machell Chaplain to King Charles II Towards a History of the Barony of Kendal,* J.M. Ewbank (transcribed & ed) CWAAS Extra Series 19 (1963), Machell MSS, held by the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle Cathedral

responsibility for the original volumes being given to the relevant county with little central organisation on format or content. R.S. Ferguson, as editor of the Cumberland volumes, had planned to publish four tomes. His death before any volume was published saw Canon James Wilson take over as editor. Wilson decided to publish only two volumes in 1901 and 1905 respectively. There is not a great deal of medieval history in the two volumes. The first dealt mainly with the ecology and pre-historic periods, while the second was essentially an ecclesiastical description of the county and strangely an account of sport and forestry. Of interest, however, are entries from Domesday Book, Testa de Nevill and selected Pipe Rolls, dealing with Cumberland. The Testa de Nevill and the Pipe Roll entries which refer to Cumberland appear translated into English. There is also a lengthy entry on the political history of the county.[64]

Since 1999 the RCHME has been part of English Heritage. It began as the official organization for the recording of English Historical Monuments. It was an illustrated inventory of the historic sites of England, on a county by county basis. Each volume, of which one is devoted to Westmorland, consists of a parish by parish account, in alphabetical order. Each has a common content, namely pre-historic monuments and earthworks, Roman monuments and Roman earthworks, English ecclesiastical monuments, English secular monuments and Unclassified monuments. All sites are accompanied by photographs, plans and heraldic information where possible.[65] The work of the commission can now be viewed online as the National Monuments Record (NMR).[66]

---

[64] J. Wilson (ed), *Victoria County History: Cumberland* 2 vols (London, 1901, 1905)

[65] Royal Commission on Historical Monuments England, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Westmorland* (London, 1936)

[66] NMR Online, http://www.pastscape.org/, accessed October 2002.

Archaeological Sources

Excavation

There has been a general neglect of the archaeology of medieval Cumbria in favour of the Roman. There can be no doubt there is a large quantity of Roman material in Cumbria. Excellent reports into Carlisle and Maryport have been published.[67] A number of these excavations also uncovered valuable archaeology on medieval Cumbria, in particular with regards to Carlisle.[68] In 1981-2 an excavation in the Lanes in Carlisle resulted in much new information on the structure of medieval Carlisle being uncovered.[69] Further excavations to elucidate more of the history of medieval Carlisle were carried out by the Carlisle Archaeological Unit between 1991 and 2001. These include excavations at Castle Green and Castle Way under the Gateway City Millennium Project. These revealed features associated with both Roman forts and the medieval city defences.[70] Excavations have also been undertaken at a number of the important monastic sites in Cumbria, including Furness Abbey, Cartmel and Lanercost.[71] Archaeological surveys or small excavations have been undertaken of early medieval and medieval features at

---

[67] M.R. McCarthy with contributions by M.M. Archibald...[et al.], *A Roman, Anglian and medieval site at Blackfriars Street, Carlisle : excavations 1977-9,* CWAAS Research Series No. 4 (Stroud, 1990); M.R. McCarthy, *The Roman waterlogged remains and later features at Castle Street, Carlisle : excavations 1981-2* (Carlisle, 1991); M.R. McCarthy, *The structural sequence and environmental remains from Castle Street, Carlisle : excavations 1981-2* (Carlisle, 1991); T. G. Padley & S. Winterbottom, *The wooden, leather and bone objects from Castle Street, Carlisle : excavations 1981-2* (1991); M.R. McCarthy with contributions by E.P. Allison ... [et al.], *Roman and medieval Carlisle: the southern Lanes : excavations 1981-2* (Carlisle, 2000); M.G. Jarrett, *Maryport, Cumbria : a Roman fort and its garrison* (Kendal, 1976)

[68] P. A. G. Clack & P. F. Gosling, *Archaeology in the North* (1976)

[69] M. R. Mc Carthy, Carlisle Archaeology Ltd & Dept. of Archaeological Sciences, University of Bradford, *Roman and Medieval Carlisle: The Southern Lanes,* Research Report 1 (Kendal, 2000)

[70] J. Zant & F. Griecco, 'Recent work in Carlisle', *Current Archaeology,* Vol. 164, pp. 306-9; 'Carlisle', *Current Archaeology*, Vol.183, pp. 133-7; M. McCarthy, M. Bishop & T. Richardson, 'Roman armour and metalworking at Carlisle, Cumbria, England', *Antiquity* , Vol. 75 No. 289, pp. 507-8 (2001); M. McCarthy, *Roman Carlisle and the Lands of the Solway* (2002)

[71] J.C. Dickinson, 'Furness Abbey – An archaeological Reconsideration', *TCWAAS*, New Series Vol. 67 (1967), pp. 51-80; C. Wild & C. Howard-Davis, 'Excavations at Priory Gardens, Cartmel', *TCWAAS,* 3rd Series Vol. 100 (2000) pp. 161-180; A.M. Whitworth, 'Lanercost Priory Excavations in 1994', *TCWAAS*, New Series Vol. 98 (1998), pp. 133-43.

Caldbeck, Farlam, Ravenstonedale, Kirkby Thore and Church Brough.[72] Excavations and/or archaeological surveys have also occurred at the castles of Egremont, Brougham, Carlisle, Brough, Aldingham, and Aikton.[73] The Historic Environment Record (HER) for Cumbria and that for the Lake District record desk based assessments or visual assessments for nearly every site in their respective databases. In spite of this seemingly endless list of archaeological investigations into medieval Cumbria, the interpretation of the medieval landscape based on these inspections is not fully formed. Broad investigations like the Arthuret Project, undertaken by Carlisle Archaeological Unit in 1992 (a detailed survey of the parishes of Arthuret and Kirkandrews) or the Hadrian's Wall WHS Mapping Project (part of English Heritage's National Mapping Programme, 2002-2008 and designed to interpret all archaeological features visible on air photographs), go some way to look at the landscape at a larger level.[74]

Surveys (CWAAS)

The transactions published by the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society include numerable accounts of surveys and observations made over the last hundred and twenty years. These accounts form an impressive

---

[72] Church Brough: M.J. Jones, *Department of the Environment. Archaeological Excavations, 1972* (1972), p. 107-8; V. E. Turner, 'Results of Survey Work Carried out in the Caldbeck Fells, Cumbria', *TCWAAS,* New Series Vol. 87 (1987), pp. 18-25; I. Caruana, 'Excavations on the medieval Church of St. Thomas, Farlam', *TCWAAS,* New Series Vol. 92 (1992), pp. 123-134; N.J. Higham, 'An early medieval site at Coldbeck Ravenstonedale', *TCWAAS,* New Series Vol. 76 (1976), p.214; P. Turnball & D. Walsh, 'Monastic remains at Ravenstonedale', *TCWAAS,* New Series Vol. 92 (1992), pp. 67-76; D. Charlesworth, 'Recent Work at Kirkby Thore', *TCWAAS,* New Series Vol. 64 (1964) pp. 63-74; P. Gibbons, 'Excavations and Observations at Kirkby Thore', *TCWAAS,* New Series Vol. 89 (1989), pp. 93-130.

[73] P. Turnbull & D. Walsh, 'Recent Work at Egremont Castle', *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. 94 (1994) pp. 77-89; J. Zant, 'An excavation at Brougham castle', *TCWAAS* 3rd Series Vol. 1 (2001), pp.31-7; D. M Wilson & D. G. Hurst, 'Note on the excavation at Moat Hill, Aldingham, Cumbria', *Medieval Archaeology, Journal of,* vol. 13 (1969) p. 258; K. Blood, *18 Dec 1996, RCHME: Brough Castle Survey*; J. Bennett, A. Herne & A. Whitworth, 'The Castles, Downhall, Aikton', *TCWAAS,* New Series Vol. 87 (1987) pp. 67-82.

[74] English Heritage, 'Hadrian's Wall NMP', http://www.englishheritage.org.uk/server/show/nav-1162, accessed October 2004.

tradition of local history and a resource for historical investigation. Their contributors range from professional archaeologists and historians to amateurs. Among the research recorded is Mary Higham's survey of the mottes in 'The Mottes of North Lancashire, Lonsdale and South Cumbria', based on her PhD thesis: 'Archaeological Survey of Crosby Ravensworth Fell: Occupational Evidence' by Cherry, 'Field survey of Maulds Meaburn, Westmorland' by Brian K. Roberts and countless more on pre-historic, Roman, medieval and post medieval settlement, history, place-names and artefacts.[75] A glance at the content list of any volume will aptly illustrate the range of surveys and observations made by members of the society. It also contains written reports of official surveys carried out by the majority of the county archaeologists and university archaeology companies.

Online Data & Database Sources

Sources of archaeological information that were investigated include the Historical Environment Record (HER) formerly known as the Sites and Monuments Record (SMR), the National Monuments Record (Monarch), the Medieval Settlement Research Group (MSRG) archive and the Scheduled Ancient Monuments (SAM) of the Department of Culture, Media and Sport.

Online resources are increasingly common. The digitisation of materials is now a frequent occurrence. Certainly where possible the original should always be consulted (at least initially), but, as researchers the preservation of a document for future users should be as important to us as to archive personnel. Resources such as ECCO (Eighteenth Century Collection Online) and the British Library's ESTC

---

[75] M.C. Higham 'The Mottes of North Lancashire, Lonsdale and South Cumbria', *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. 91 (Kendal, 1992) p. 79-90; J. Cherry, P. J. Cherry, & C. A. Ellwood 'Archaeological Survey of Crosby Ravensworth Fell: Occupational Evidence', *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. 84 (1984) pp. 18-30; B. K. Roberts, 'Field survey of Maulds Meaburn, Westmorland', *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. 96 (1996) pp. 45-50.

(English Short Title Catalogue) now provide access to thousands of works, generally English language works and the majority published in the British Isles. The benefits of such online resources must be acknowledged. They allow materials to be accessed by multiple users, from nearly any location and in the main for as long as is necessary. There are many issues with digitisation. Its limitations and its impact on research and society have yet to be resolved. But, as a resource, they are currently both effective and practical.[76]

The HER for Cumbria records all monuments within the boundaries of the county of Cumbria but excludes those in the Lake District and Yorkshire Dales national parks (although in practice the majority of Lake District HER sites also appear on the Cumbria HER). It is a digital record of over 20,000 sites of historic and archaeological importance, giving a description of the site and relevant documentary sources. Each entry contains as up to date as possible a record of all archaeological work, surveys and building operations at the location. Cartographic links are also available for most sites. There is a paper record of the HER, the original record, which can, on request be consulted, however, the digitisation of these records into the HER database is complete, and no new or different information is forthcoming from the hardcopy files). The Lake District National Park Archaeology Service (LDNPA) is the official repository of the HER digital record for the Lake District. It contains some 6,500 entries on all aspects of the historic environment of the Lake District. Relevant archaeological reports and cartographic links are available where possible. The LDNPA is searchable online as part of the Archaeology Data Service. Both the HER and LDNPA databases are well maintained and updated relatively

---

[76] S. Ross, 'Changing trains at Wigan: digital preservation and the future of scholarship', *NPO Preservation Guidance,* Occasional Papers (2000)

often. The HER for Cumbria is available online in a limited and simplified form, searchable by site name, type, form, period and status. The results can be shown in map form, are listed with general information and a small number are available in full.[77] It should be noted that both the HER and LDNPA were consulted primarily on site, in Kendal County Council and the Lake District National Park Authority, also in Kendal. Both were consulted annually, and additional searches were done, where possible online.

The National Monuments Record (NMR) is the public archive for English Heritage. It contains over ten million items of relevance to the historic environment of England. Among its content are aerial photographs, plans, archaeological reports and architectural information. The NMR is a valuable tool, and the first stop in an inquiry into historic sites in England, however, the content must be evaluated in light of the local record office (known as the Sites and Monuments Record or the Historic Environment Record) for each county, which would be much more aware of local discoveries and ongoing work.

There are numerous online databases available for public and academic inquiry on the English Heritage website, including Pastscape (the online inventory of historic monuments in England, the NMR), Images of England (photographs relating to the historic monuments and buildings), the Manorial Documents Register (a register of manorial documents, classified by nature and location) and a link to the National Archives database (repository of the documentary and topographic sources for England).

---

[77] Cumbria County Council, 'Historic Environment Record Online', http://www.cumbria.gov.uk/planning-environment/countryside/historicenvironment/HERonline.asp, accessed Sept. 2007; Archaeology Data Service-Archsearch, 'LDNPA', http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/-catalogue/search/boolean.cfm, accessed January 2008.

The Medieval Settlement Research Group (MSRG) was founded in 1986 on the amalgamation of the Medieval Village Research Group (MVRG) and the Moated Sites Research Group. They are concerned with investigating medieval settlement through archaeology, history and a variety of other disciplines. They are the main organisation for those interested in this topic. The group has an extensive archive of their work into medieval settlement, which is on permanent loan to the NMR and can be readily accessed. A list of deserted medieval villages in Cumbria was compiled in 1968 and 1974 (10 and 120 respectively) by the Medieval Village Research Group (MVRG), now the Medieval Settlement Research Group (MSRG).

The Scheduled Ancient Monuments (SAM) of the Department of Culture, Media and Sport is a list of those monuments deemed nationally important and thus provided with protection by the English government. Any changes to these sites must be given permission by the relevant authority. There are over 200 classifications of monument under the Schedule.

Topographical Sources

Cartography

Maps are a valuable resource which can provide a wealth of information for the researcher. Delano-Smith and Kain call them 'children of their time'.[78] They are drawn up in response to a particular social, economic or political situation. Their content is subjective, reliant on the needs of their patron, cartographer or even the user. Nautical maps, estate maps, national boundary maps or maps of urban centres, represent merely the tip of cartographic work available to the research today.

---

[78] C. Delano-Smith & R.J.P. Kain, *English Maps: A History*, The British Library Studies in Map History Vol. II (London, 1999) p. 1.

For the purposes of this work maps are used as an historical source. They will be used to identify castle locations, nearby sites and relative distances between features. The main type of map that will be used is the Ordnance Survey map. In general surviving maps of estates and towns in Cumbria are not contemporary with the castles under investigation here. Where appropriate these cartographic resources will be used to illustrate points stressed in the text.

Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire were covered by the Ordnance survey Old Series One Inch maps. They were in the later group of one inch maps published which had surveys done at the six inch scale rather than two or three inches to the mile.[79] This group of maps were published between 1847 and 1874. Eight sheets cover the area of modern day Cumbria (Sheets 91, 97, 98, 99, 101, 102, 106 and 107). As a result of the increase in scale for the surveys of northern England and the Isle of Man they are much more accurate than the previous ninety sheets which cover the rest of England (published between 1805 and 1842).[80] Seven more editions, the 'New series' appeared from 1841 to 1973, when a change was made to the metric system.[81]

Of more interest are the six and twenty-five inch maps of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire. Lancashire and Yorkshire were the first six inch maps to be published, between 1841 and 1854 and were in fact developed from the six inch system used to map Ireland (1825-42).[82] By 1863 Cumberland and Westmorland were among the first four counties covered in the twenty-five inch to the mile scale. Three editions were published. The first editions of Cumberland and Westmorland were published as parish maps, whilst the Lancashire was originally

---

[79] B.P. Hindle, *Maps for Local History* (London, 1988) p.124.
[80] B.P. Hindle, *Maps for Local History* (London, 1988) p.124.
[81] B.P. Hindle, *Maps for Local History* (London, 1988) p.127.
[82] B.P. Hindle, *Maps for Local History* (London, 1988) p.128.

surveyed and published in the six inch scale. The second edition saw all three covered but the third edition saw only Westmorland fully completed with the other two counties only partially revised.[83] Of particular interest in the twenty-five inch maps are the ecclesiastical and civil boundaries which are clearly marked.

Ordnance survey maps, thus, provide a valuable resource of information. Whilst they are portraying a nineteenth- or twentieth-century landscape the provision of boundary lines, the identification of archaeological sites and ancient monuments and the depiction of natural features make them a useful tool in interpreting the landscape.

Other cartographic resources are the manorial or estate records generally held in the HER, which include tithe maps, enclosure maps and estate maps, as well as miscellaneous historical maps, undertaken for a variety of reasons (legal disputes, inquisitions post mortem). These generally date to the sixteenth or seventeenth century and in particular to the eighteenth century. They are of limited value to this work, and therefore will not be used as regularly as the aforementioned OS maps.

Tithe maps date from the early to the mid nineteenth century. They identify boundaries, geographic features and the location of buildings. A tithe map was used in conjunction with a tithe survey which identified the owner and/or tenant of each tithe area and used to collect the tithes (approximately one tenth of agricultural production). The importance of tithe maps lies in the fact that they map an England that is pre-industrial revolution.

Enclosure maps, likewise, date to a later period. Technically, enclosure maps could date from the Statute of Merton in 1235 A.D. (which granted Lords of the manor the right to enclose common land). In practice, however, they generally refer to maps of

---

[83] B.P. Hindle, *Maps for Local History* (London, 1988) p.130.

the parliamentary enclosure process between the mid eighteenth and the mid nineteenth century.[84] Enclosure is the process whereby open field farming (arable) was ended, the land fenced in (enclosed) and deeds drawn up for private ownership. Estate maps date from the sixteenth century. They are usually quite detailed, often colourful and were commissioned by the landowner. They recorded all features of the estate, woods, buildings and boundaries etc.

Some other interesting cartographic sources are the early manuscript maps. These are also of little direct relevance to this work, however, centres of importance (ecclesiastical, urban) are often noted. An interesting source is the ‘Gough Map’ of circa 1360 A.D. It may have been requisitioned by the government. It is the earliest extant road map of Great Britain. Amongst the names mentioned on the Cumbrian section of the map are Egremont, Appleby, Pendragon, Carlisle, Holm Cultram (Holme Cultram), Shap, Brough (Bur) and Naworth.[85] The Gough Map is well illustrated, with symbols for castles, churches, towns, lakes, woods and even Hadrian’s Wall. The names of the features are also written beside them.

Other early maps, on which Cumberland and or Westmorland were represented, are Christopher Saxton’s completed cartographic survey of the whole of England and Wales from 1578 A.D. He recorded castles throughout Cumberland and Westmorland, including Appleby, Brough, Pendragon, Brougham, Bewcastle, Scaleby, Corby and Naworth. There is also John Ogilby’s *Britannia Atlas* of 1675

---

[84] C. Delano-Smith & R.J.P. Kain, *English Maps: A History,* The British Library Studies in Map History Vol. II (London, 1999) pp. 124-5

[85] N. Millea, *The Gough map: the earliest road map of Great Britain?* (Oxford, 2007); E.J.S. Parsons, *The map of Great Britain circa A.D. 1360, known as the Gough map : an introduction to the facsimile* (Oxford, 1996)

A.D. There were one hundred plates in his collection and four of them (38, 62, 86, 96) contained routes in Cumberland and Westmorland.[86]

Urban Topographical Analysis

When looking at urban castles and castle boroughs it is beneficial to investigate the topography of the castle site in relation to the settlement. This will be achieved by looking at the site layout and the physical interaction of medieval features, in particular the castle, church and market place. Also of interest is the layout of a town, particularly if it was a planted town. The street plan can be a source of vital information in such cases. Where possible a suitable topographic map will be used to illustrate the text. Aston and Bond, and Platt identify town plans commonly used in England.[87] Palliser and Barley look at the plan types across England with an emphasis on the medieval town, of relevance to this work.[88]

Studies undertaken in Cumbria, of Cockermouth, Appleby and Carlisle, have reconstructed excellent town plans which will illustrate this issue in Chapter Seven. Linear, grid, composite and castle-gate forms will be looked at in particular.

Other Sources

Place-name evidence or toponymy is of extreme importance in this area. Obvious Scandinavian influences can be seen in the plethora of town names ending in '-by' or '-thwaite'. Other influences can be ascertained through a study of these place-

---

[86] Geography Department, University of Portsmouth, Online projects, 'Guide to the Lakes', http://www.geog.port.ac.uk/webmap/thelakes/html/lakemenu.htm , accessed January 2008

[87] C. Platt, *The English Medieval Town* (1976); M. Aston & J. Bond, The Landscape of Towns (1976)

[88] M. W. Barley & D. M. Palliser, *The Plans and Topography of Medieval Towns in England and Wales (*1976)

names.[89] The influences of Scottish, English, Viking and Irish settlers on the place-names of Cumbria can indicate the degree of impact they had on an area. The place-names can also indicate the type of work carried out by the settlers or the type settlement they founded. In some cases the place-name merely reflected the nature of the area. Place-name evidence will be looked at for individual castle sites, settlements and associated features, as well as for the territorial divisions and natural features of the county as a whole. An invaluable resource in this quest is the work undertaken by the Place-Name Society, nor just in Cumbria but across England. Three volumes were published on Cumberland (1950-52) and two for Westmorland (1967). The English Place-Name Society is currently associated with the Institute for Name Studies in the University of Nottingham. They provide an online *Key to English Place Names* database. It draws on the published work of the society as well as subsequent research.[90] *The Place Names of Cumbria* by Joan Lee was published in 1998 for the Cumbria Heritage Society. It takes the form of a dictionary, and whilst not as detailed as the English Place-Name Society is a competent addition to the genre.

As can be seen from this chapter, many sources of information exist for the history of Cumbria. The variety of sources consulted for this thesis is intended to provide comprehensive answers in looking at the medieval castle landscape. As a whole these sources will be integrated. Most will enable layers of landscape history to be constructed and others will merely fill a gap where evidence is meagre. More specific references and discussions of relative sources, in particular the primary,

---

[89] G. Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West* (Copenhagen, 1985)
[90] Institute of Name Studies, University of Nottingham, 'A Key to English Place Names', http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/english/ins/kepn/ , accessed October 2007

documentary and cartographic ones, can be seen in the seven subsequent chapters, and gazetteer.

Chapter 3
The Regional Landscape

Cumbria as a distinctive region has held its current form since 1974 when England underwent a county reorganization (after the Local Government Act of 1972). The modern county is made up of Cumberland, Westmorland, Sedbergh Rural District (part of the West Riding of Yorkshire) and Lancashire north of Sands (the Furness peninsula and region around Cartmel, geographically more a part of Cumbria than Lancashire) (Figure 3.1 & 3.2). This thesis looks at the social and geographical landscape of the medieval castle within the physical boundary of this modern construct.

This definition of Cumbria is perhaps the simplest and clearest. But for those living here or administering the region in medieval times, this was not the county known to them. It is these 'definitions' or characterizations of what Cumbria was that will be discussed in this chapter. The aim is to specify the framework in which the castles and their landscapes existed during the period 1066-1250 A.D. In so doing the central influences on the medieval Cumbrian landscape will be elucidated and thus the castles may be placed within a more exact context, one more relevant to them than that which modern bureaucracy has created.

Having stressed the importance of the medieval landscape, modern boundaries and divisions have been used in defining the region under discussion, as they provide clear limits on the area for investigation.[1] Medieval boundaries place the same limits but cannot be relied upon to be consistent or known to their full extent. Where possible both the modern and medieval designations will be clearly stated, placing the castle site or relevant feature within identifiable landscapes. Modern grid references are also cited for every feature in the gazetteer.

---

[1] This can be noted in the use of the term Cumbria, signifying the post 1974 county.

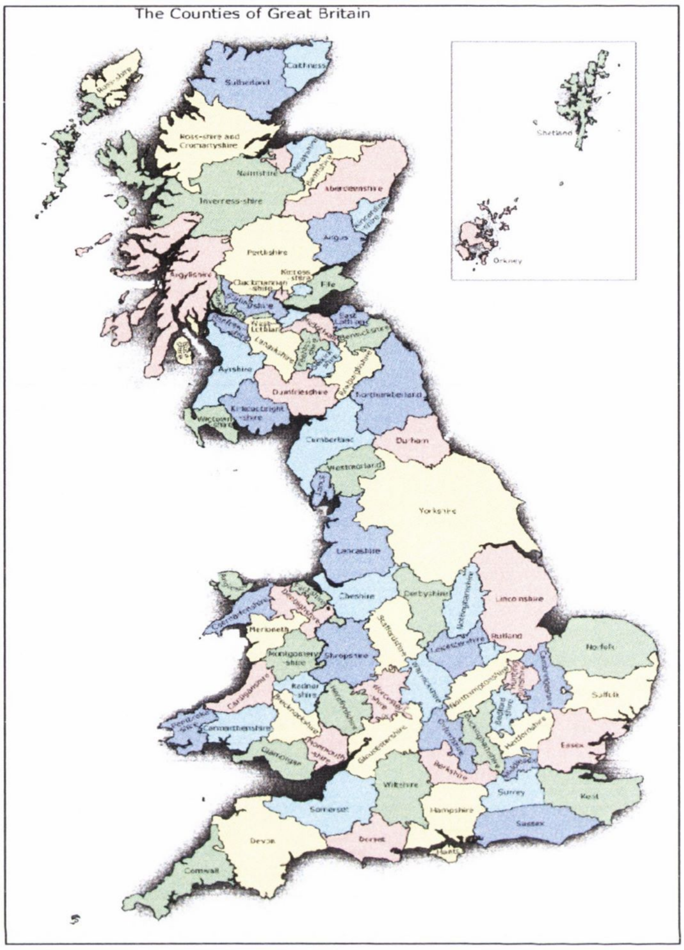


Figure 3.1 Map of the Counties of Britain pre 1974. Courtesy of the Association of British Counties, http://www.abcounties.co.uk/counties/map.htm

Figure 3.2 Map of the counties of England post 1974. Courtesy of the Association of British Counties, http://www.abcounties.co.uk/counties/map.htm

Geologically and topographically Cumbria is also distinct from its neighbours, and the other counties of England. This difference is important in establishing the position of Cumbria in medieval England. It was in the remote north, had a harsh climate and a landscape which was very different to the south. This internal geography, of high mountains, valleys and lakelands also affected the settlement pattern, the road routes and the building materials used in Cumbria. Defining it by these physical delimiters will, therefore, place the castle within the living landscape of the medieval region.

The topography of Cumbria creates a natural border that defines it from surrounding counties and clearly identifies the Cumbrian sphere of influence. The northern boundary of the county also delineates a section of the English/Scottish border. The emergence of this demarcation is an integral part of Cumbrian history and one that helps to explain the nature of the region both in the Middle Ages and thereafter. The politics of the north, and those between England and Scotland, determined both the northern border of Cumbria and the notion of Cumbria itself. Medieval Cumbria like all English counties had internal administrative divisions, feudal partitions and topographical boundaries. Physical barriers such as the sea and mountains often demarcated those artificial districts (wards, hundreds, wapentakes, counties, baronies and numerous other apportionments). Cumbria itself also incorporated the Lake District which was topographically unique as well as distinct in terms of its geology, settlement history and political history.

In ecclesiastical terms, diocese, parish and deanery divided Cumbria and allowed for another mode of control, from the church, within its confines. In 1133 A.D. Carlisle was made a diocese. Rural deaneries and parishes are first recorded in Cumbria from the late thirteenth century. The ecclesiastical structure of medieval

Cumbria is of particular interest when looking at Dickinson's suggestion that the Normans used the inherent stability of the diocesan system to further their own control of Cumbria during this period.[2] Le Maho also suggested a link between the development of castles and that of churches. His theory, tested in Normandy, is an intriguing one, and can also be tested within the bounds of the ecclesiastical landscape of medieval Cumbria.[3] Monastic communities also played an important role in the life of medieval Cumbria. Most of the large landowners established priories or abbeys (at, for example, Wetheral, St. Bees and Furness) and endowed them with land and rights. The wool trade of the Middle Ages thrived in centres such as Furness.

The people of Cumbria were also a distinctive group. This can be assessed linguistically and culturally, as the impact of contributions made by the diverse population (Viking, Irish and Scots) of Cumbria, before and during the Middle Ages, was enduring. Toponymy, the study of place-names, is a major source of information which can elucidate further the impact of particular ethnic groups on specific regions. By defining what constituted Cumbria under these headings and noting those events in its political history that impacted upon what Cumbria was, it is hoped to illuminate the distinctive nature of the region and its various landscapes.

Geographic Boundaries

Winchester has noted that Cumbria is 'one of the most natural regional subdivisions of England'.[4] Certainly, in physical terms, the very nature of the topography of

---

[2] J. C. Dickinson, 'The Origins of the Cathedral of Carlisle', *TCWAAS,* New Series Vol.45 (Kendal, 1946), pp. 134-43.

[3] J. Le Maho, 'L'apparition des seigneuries chatelaines dans le Grand Caux a l'epoque deucale', *Archeologie Medievale, 6* (1976), pp.5-217; Both these theories will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 6 pp. 184-7.

[4] A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987), p. 7.

Cumbria separated the terrain. The county itself is nearly cut off from the rest of England by the sea to the north (Solway Firth) and the south (Morecambe Bay) and the Pennines to the east. Nearly the entire centre of Cumbria, the Lake District, is mountainous, juxtaposed to the surrounding low lying lands and bounded by the Pennines to the east of the county (Figure 3.3). This topography makes the borders of Cumbria seem almost natural. It is a very different environment to the rest of England. Pastoral farming far outstripped arable in Cumbria, necessitated primarily by the topography. This is not to say that there was no arable farming in Cumbria in the Middle Ages, but as Miller has noted, 'farming in medieval Cumbria was typical of that of the North as a whole: arable cultivation was of only limited importance'.[5] A factor such as the impact of warfare on arable farming may have affected some areas, those on the routes into Yorkshire perhaps, but no conclusive evidence has been found to support such a theory in the case of medieval Cumbria. Topography, according to Glasscock, was one of the main factors in making Cumbria the poorest region of England by the fourteenth century. He based this assessment on the Lay Subsidies of 1334 and 1336 A.D.[6] The harsh landscape bred dispersed settlement and limited land use.[7] Kapelle noted that 'in few parts of Anglo-Saxon England did the shape of the land structure the opportunities for human endeavour, whether peaceful or warlike, with less subtlety. Northern landforms hindered internal communications, limited agricultural possibilities, and left what good land there was open to invasion'.[8] This can certainly be borne out in Cumbria.

---

[5] E. Miller, 'Farming in northern England during the 12th and 13th centuries', *Northern History,* vol. 11 (1976), 1-16.

[6] R.E. Glasscock in H.C. Darby (ed.), *A New Historical Geography of England before 1600* (Cambridge, 1976), p.138-141.

[7] A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987), p.2.

[8] W. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North. The Region and its Transformation, 1000-1135* (1979), p. 5.

Figure 3.3 Map of the physical boundaries of Cumbria. Taken from A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society of Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987), p. 8

It should be noted that boundary lines (parish and other) in Cumbria often follow natural demarcations in the form of becks (streams), mountains and other identifiable elements. The *Register of the Priory of St. Bees* records an example of such boundaries. An entry dated to circa 1210 A.D. identifies, 'Austhwaite, by these boundaries: by Birker Beck against the fellside as far as the stream which descends from the moss under 'Satgodard'; and thence to another stream which falls from the said moss into Devoke Water…'.[9] Indeed, the names of numerous districts are also based on natural features, such as Westmorland (west of the moor land), and the three valleys of the rivers Ellen, Kent and Lune are respectively Allerdale, Kendale and Lonsdale.[10]

Geology and Topography

Cumbria is traditionally divided into upland and lowland areas. The Lake District and the Pennine region can be broadly identified as upland areas. Their geology is characterised by four main bands of rock, namely Skiddaw slate, the Barrowdale Volcanic series, carboniferous limestone and Silurian mudstones. The Lake District massif itself is underlain by a granite 'batholith' (a mass of igneous rock). Atop this lies Skiddaw slate on the north and northwest of the region, Barrowdale Volcanic on the middle section and Silurian mudstone to the south. An area of carboniferous limestone lies to the east, overlapping with the lowland vale of Eden zone. The Pennines (specifically the North Pennines), which delineate the eastern border of Cumbria with Northumbria and Yorkshire, are themselves made up of Millstone Grit and carboniferous limestone. To the south of the Lakeland are located Howgill Fells, a small range of low-lying hills which lie between southeast Cumbria and the

---

[9] A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987) p.13; J. Wilson (ed), *The Register of the Priory of St. Bees,* Surtees Society Vol. 126 (Durham, 1915) p.541.

[10] A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987) p.16.

northwest corner of the Yorkshire Dales national park. They are formed from Ordovician and Silurian rocks. The lowland areas of Cumbria are located along the Irish Sea coast of western Cumbria, into the Solway plain in the northwest of the county, the Carlisle plain to the north and northeast, and southwards into the Eden valley. The dominant geology of these areas is red sandstone, although a carboniferous coal deposit is located between Maryport and Whitehaven on the western coast. Well known areas of sandstone quarrying lie around Penrith and St. Bees, in these low land areas.

The topography of Cumbria is a result of the underlying geology (formed during the various geological periods), the impact of glaciation (ice sheets, glacial and alluvial deposits, meltwater etc) and erosion. The Lake District is home to the highest mountain in England, Scafell Pike (978m). It, along with Scafell, Helvellyn, Coniston Old Man and the Langdale Pikes, lie on a base of Borrowdale Volcanic Group rocks. The ubiquitous lakes of the district were formed from glacial erosion, and filled with meltwater when the glacier melted. Windermere, Bassenthwaite Lake, Buttermere, Derwent Water, Ullswater and Thirlmere are but a few of the nineteen major lakes, and numerous smaller or minor lakes scattered across the region. The lowland areas of Cumbria are characterised by fertile valleys. High densities of settlement can be seen in such areas.[11]

The topography of Cumbria, therefore, is characterised by mountains and fells, lakes (known as meres, tarns and waters locally), valleys, plains and coastal regions. The interplay of geology, topography and climate distinguish it from its surrounding counties, both now and in the Middle Ages. Whilst the geological make-up of the

---

[11] Good general introductions to the geology of Cumbria can be found in A.J.L. Winchester (ed) & A.G. Crosby, *England's Landscape: The Northwest*, Vol. 8 English Heritage England's Landscape Series (London, 2006); Lake District National Park Authority, 'Education Service Geology Factsheet', http://www.lake-district.gov.uk/lake_district_docs95/factsheet_geology.pdf, accessed June 2008.

county makes its topography exceptional, it is also relevant in that it formed the building blocks of most of the buildings, especially in the Middle Ages. The Romans constructed Hadrian's Wall in circa 122 A.D, using locally quarried limestone, although the section from the river Irthing westwards turf and timber were used, although this was rebuilt in sandstone shortly thereafter.[12] Carlisle Castle is built of red sandstone, as is much of the town itself, including the town walls and the cathedral. Egremont, Penrith and Brougham castles were also made of sandstone, whilst Kendal is still known today as the 'auld grey town' due to the grey hue of its limestone buildings.

Border Politics

The northern border for the county of Cumbria lies at the midstream line of the river Esk, and 'leaves the main channel of the Esk at a point three miles east of Torduff and follows the tiny river Sark to the western end of the Scots Dyke, where it turns east to rejoin the Esk just south of Canonbie'.[13] This was the line agreed in 1552 A.D. to divide the Debateable lands. The French Ambassador (acting as mediator) suggested the delineation and shortly thereafter it was marked by the Scot's Dyke.[14] Politically the region of Cumbria has come under the jurisdiction of numerous authorities. In the centuries between the Roman departure from Britain (410 A.D.) and the Norman Conquest (1066 A.D.) the whole region or sections of it came under the control of the kingdom of Rheged, the kingdom of Strathclyde, Northumberland (by extension England), and Scotland, at one time or another.

---

[12] N. Fields, *Hadrian's Wall AD 122-410* (2003), p. 28.

[13] C. Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians. A Study in British Provincial Origins A.D. 400-1120* (1996), p. 117.

[14] D. R. Perriam & J. Robinson, *Medieval Fortified Buildings of Cumbria,* CWAAS Extra Series Vol. 29 (Kendal, 1998) p. 240; T.H.B. Graham, 'The Debateable Land. Part I', *TCWAAS,* New Series Vol. 12 (Kendal, 1911-12), pp. 33-58; T.H.B. Graham, 'The Debateable Lands. Part II', *TCWAAS,* New Series Vol. 19 (Kendal, 1920), pp. 132-139.

Geographically the exact borders of these kingdoms and the extent to which they encroached on Cumbria varied greatly. Whilst the political wrangling, disputes and hostilities of these kingdoms occurred well before 1066 A.D (and need not be gone into in any depth for the purposes of this thesis), their impact can be seen and measured by the linguistic legacy and cultural contributions that remain in the area.

Of the various kingdoms that held sway over areas of Cumbria, two in particular (Northumberland and Scotland) played a role in the demarcation of the border during the period 1066-1250 A.D., especially in the years between the Norman Conquest and William Rufus' conquest of Carlisle (1066 and 1092 A.D. respectively) and during the reigns of David I of Scotland (1124-1153 A.D.), and Henry I (1100-35 A.D.) and Stephen (1135-1154 A.D.) in England.

Political wrangling between the earl of Northumberland, the king of Scotland and the king of England was crucial to the status of Cumbria during the immediate pre and post Conquest years. The dearth of documentary evidence for this period is exemplified in the difficulty of establishing the allegiance of the Cumbrian region, particularly from 1070 A.D. until 1092 A.D, the year in which William Rufus conquered Carlisle. This can also said to be true from the establishment of the castle that same year until William Rufus' death in 1100 A.D, and Henry I's subsequent granting of the 'potestas' or lordship of Carlisle to Ranulf le Meschin circa 1106 A.D.[15] Little is known of Cumbrian history during the intervening years between these key events.

Only one pre-conquest document that can throw any light on the nature of the region before the Norman Conquest has been found, Gospatric's Writ. The extant

---

[15] J.E. Prescott (ed), *The Register of the Priory of Wetheral,* TCWAAS Record Series Vol. 1 (London, 1897) Charters 1 & 3, p.1-5 & 10-12 respectively.

manuscript is a thirteenth-century copy of an earlier document.[16] The dating of this writ is contentious (there are two Gospatrics active at the time and the issue of whether earl Siward, who died in 1055 A.D., was alive or dead when it was written). In spite of these difficulties, consultation of the writ is necessary in that it contains much important information on the political and territorial history of Cumberland. Phythian-Adams discussed the dating of the writ at length in 1996 and challenged the early date (of 1041-1055 A.D.) established by Davis in 1905 and accepted by Stenton, Harmer and most recently Winchester, in favour of a slightly later date of 1055-1069/70 A.D.[17]

This writ is of interest to the student of Cumbrian territorial history because it opens with the phrase of greeting from Gospatric to the men of 'all the lands that were Cumbrian'. It then grants and confirms rights to land to Thorfinn mac Thore namely those lands, 'as far as Chalk Beck as the Waver as the Wampool as Wiza beck and the weald at Caldbeck'.[18] Kapelle notes that the language of the greeting indicates that the land being granted is no longer a part of the kingdom of Strathclyde.[19] Wilson identifies the boundaries as those of Allerdale. The Chalk, Waver and Wampool streams were 'well known as boundaries of Allerdale' lying to the north

---

[16] Carlisle, Cumbria Record Office D/Lons/L Medieval Deeds C1, (Gospatric's Writ); C. Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians. A Study in British Provincial Origins A.D. 400-1120* (1996) Appendices 1 & 2 pp. 173-181.

[17] C. Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians. A Study in British Provincial Origins A.D. 400-1120* (1996) Appendices 1 & 2 pp. 173-181; H.W.C. Davis, 'Cumberland before the Norman Conquest', *English Historical Review,* Vol. XX (1905) pp. 61-5; F. M. Stenton, 'Pre-Conquest Westmorland', *English Place-Name Society, The Place-Names of Cumberland* Vol. III p. 217; F.E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (1952) p. 531; A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987) p. 14.

[18] C. Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians. A Study in British Provincial Origins A.D. 400-1120* (1996) Appendix 1, p. 173.

[19] W.E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North. The Region and its Transformation 1000-1135* (1979) p. 43.

and northeast of the region, Troutbeck is another stream and Caldbeck was a parish lying along the eastern edge of Allerdale.[20]

Hugh the Cantor and Symeon of Durham both record that 'Cumberland' was held by Malcolm III, king of Scots in 1070 A.D. It has been suggested that this followed his invasion of circa 1061 A.D.[21] Duncan, however, has noted that the basis for these claims 'is the false belief that Malcolm III was 'son of the king of Cumbrians'.[22] Duncan suggests that there is in fact 'no mention of English loss or recovery of Cumberland' at this time.[23] Cumberland and Westmorland were not alone in failing to appear in Domesday Book in 1086 A.D. Northumberland and Durham were not surveyed either, and areas of Lancashire and Yorkshire were also omitted.[24] The only entries relevant to modern day Cumbria fall under the Yorkshire entry, and lie in the extreme south of the county.[25]

No contemporary information on the status of Cumberland between 1070 and 1092 A.D. has actually been found. Kapelle has suggested that it is the identification of Dolfin, the lord who was driven from Carlisle by William Rufus in 1092 A.D. that would establish whether Cumberland fell under the influence of the king of Scots or the kingdom of the English at this point.[26] Dolfin's nationality and allegiance are unknown, due largely to the apparent commonality of his name during this period.

---

[20] J. Wilson (ed) *Victoria County History Cumberland*, Vol. 1 (1901) p. 233.

[21] Hugh the Cantor, *The History of the Church of York, 1066-1127,* p. 32; Symeon of Durham, *Historia Regum*, Vol. 2 of *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, T. Arnold (ed). Rolls Series, vol. 75 (London, 1885) p. 191, 221-22.

[22] A.A.M. Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots, 842-1292. Succession and Independence* (Edinburgh, 2002), p. 45.

[23] A.A.M. Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots, 842-1292. Succession and Independence* (Edinburgh, 2002), p. 45.

[24] J. Green, 'Anglo-Scottish Relations, 1066-1174', in M. Jones and M. Vale, eds., *England and her Neighbours, 1066-1453* (London, 1999), p. 56.

[25] A. Williams & G.H. Martin (eds) *Domesday Book: A Complete Translation* (London, 2002) p.796.

[26] W. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North. The Region and its Transformation 1000-1135* (1979), p. 151.

Likewise, of William Rufus's tenure of the area from 1092 A.D. until his death in 1100 A.D. little is unknown. A single writ from William II addressed to his sheriff in Carlisle, 'G', survives. It is unknown who 'G' was, but the writ is dated to May 1099 A.D.[27]

It is from the reign of Henry I that the details of Cumbrian overlordship become clearer and the physical form, recognised today, begins to emerge. Ranulf le Meschin was granted control over the 'potestas' or lordship of Carlisle in circa 1106 A.D. Under him new baronies appeared and Norman control was solidified in the region. The exact northern boundary of his lordship is unknown, however, a later source, the Memorandum regarding the Descendants of Waldeve lord of Allerdale, dating to circa 1275 A.D. states that his kingdom stretched from the Solway to the Rere Cross, '...all the land from the place called Rere Cross upon Staynmora, as far as the river towards Scotland called Sulewaht [Solway]'.[28]

With the death of Richard , earl of Chester (and cousin of le Meschin), on the White Ship in 1120 A.D. Ranulf le Meschin acceded to his uncle's position and Henry I took le Meschin's lands under his own direct control. A charter granted by David I of Scotland, shortly thereafter noted that le Meschin's lands were bordered to the north by the territory of Annandale, which this charter granted to Robert Brus.[29] Green has suggested that Henry I's only recorded visit to Carlisle, in 1122 A.D. was because he 'was afraid David might take advantage of the removal of Ranulf

---

[27] H.W.C. Davis (ed), *Regesta Willelmi Conquestoris et Willelmi Rufi, 1066-1100*, in Regesta Rerum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154 , Vol. I (1960) No. 478; R. Sharpe, 'Norman Rule in Cumbria 1092-1136', *CWAAS Tract Series,* Vol. XXI p. 27-28.

[28] J. Bain (ed), *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, Vol. II 1272-1307, no. 64, p. 15.

[29] G.W.S. Barrow (ed), *The Charters of King David I: the written acts of David I King of Scots, 1124-53 and of his son Henry Earl of Northumberland, 1139-52 (*Woodbridge, 1999), No. 16; *Victoria County History: Cumberland,* p. 237-8 'to the bounds of Ranulf Meschin' extended the bounds of Annandale and Robert Brus was granted 'all the customs which Ranulf Meschin ever had in Carlisle and in all his land of Cumberland'.

Meschin from Carlisle to invade'.[30] The Inquest of David was drawn up circa 1120-2 A.D. and identified 'those provinces of Cumbria which were under [David's] lordship and power (for he did not rule the whole region of Cumbria)' as lying among the lands of the bishopric of Glasgow.[31]In 1136 A.D. David I seized the castles of Carlisle, Wark, Alnwick, Norham and Newcastle. His actions in crossing the border and seizing these castles came in response to the death of Henry I and the takeover of Stephen of Blois. David I and Stephen meet at Durham and agreed that David would retain Carlisle.[32] Cumbria and Northumbria were under Scottish influence until 1157 A.D. when Malcolm IV, grandson of David I, was compelled to return them to Henry II: 'The king of Scotland surrendered Northumberland and Cumberland to the king of England, and the king of England gave him the earldom of Huntingdon'.[33]

William the Lion attempted to regain control of these lost possessions in 1174 A.D. Liddel, Appleby and Brough were taken by the Scots, and Carlisle was besieged.[34] Ultimately the attempt failed. Another attempt to reclaim the lost possessions was made by the Scots in 1194 A.D. This time they tried a diplomatic approach. This too failed. Roger of Howden records that Richard I suggested a marriage between

---

[30] J. Green, 'Anglo-Scottish Relations, 1066-1174', in M. Jones and M. Vale, eds., *England and her Neighbours, 1066-1453* (London, 1999), p. 60.

[31] A.C. Lawrie, ed., *Early Scottish Charters: prior to A.D. 1153* (Glasgow, 1905), no. 50; C. Innes (ed), *Registrum episcopatus Glasguensis: munimenta ecclesie metropolitane Glasguensis, a sede restaurata seculo ineunte XII, ad reformatam religionem,* Bannatyne Club vol. I (Edinburgh, 1843), p. 12.

[32] R. Howlett (ed), *Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I,* Rolls Series vol. III (London, 1884-90), p. 146

[33] J. Stephenson (trans), *Mediaeval Chronicles of Scotland: The Chronicle of Melrose (from 1136-1264) & The Chronicle of Holyrood (to 1163)* (1988) Entry in The Chronicle of Holyrood, 1157, p. 138.

[34] W. Stubbs (ed), *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benediciti Abbatis. The chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I, 1169-1192, known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough* (London, 1867) Vol. I, pp. 64-70; Walter of Coventry, *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria: the historical collections of Walter Coventry* W. Stubbs (ed) (London, 1872-1873) Vol. I, p. 225. Roger of Hovedon, *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene,* W. Stubbs (ed) (London, 1868-1871), Vol. II, p. 60; Jordan Fantosme's, *Chronicle of the War between the English and the Scots in 1173 and 1174* in The Publications of the Surtees Society, Vol. XI, Francisque Michel (trans)

Margaret, the daughter of William the Lion, and Otho, son of Henry duke of Saxony. Amongst their gifts and dowry, would be Northumberland and the county of Carlisle. William the Lion rejected the proposal.[35] As events thus far have shown, the issue of control of Carlisle (the county), also known as Cumberland at this time, was one the Scottish kings sought to pursue on a recurrent basis. The issue continued to play a major role in northern politics, and Anglo-Scottish relations until the sixteenth century.

In 1216 A.D. Alexander II took advantage of the unrest in England (the taxation policies of John had led to conflict) and took Carlisle, including the castle, in spite of the following account: 'In the same year, in the month of July, the king of Scotland marched towards Carlisle with the whole of his army…and having laid siege to this town, it surrendered to him upon the sixth of the ides of August (8th Aug). At this time, however, he did not obtain possession of the castle'.[36]

The treaty of York was agreed by Alexander II of Scotland and Henry III of England, after papal intervention, and saw an end to the issue. The Scottish king abandoned his claim to Northumbria and Cumbria, and was granted the manors of Langwathby, Salkeld, Scotby, Soureby, Carlatton and a portion of Penrith. The border delineation was set as lying between the Solway Firth and the mouth of the Tweed, a demarcation that was reiterated in 1552 A.D.[37] The Laws of the Marches

---

[35] Roger of Hovedon, *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene,* W. Stubbs (ed) (London, 1868-1871), Vol. III, p. 243, 250 & 308; Walter of Coventry, *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria: the historical collections of Walter Coventry* W. Stubbs (ed) (London, 1872-1873) Vol. II, pp. 95-6.

[36] J. Stephenson (trans), *Mediaeval Chronicles of Scotland. The Chronicle of Melrose (from 1136 to 1264) and the Chronicle of Holyrood (to 1163) (*1988) p. 45 Entry for 1216 A.D.; Cartulary of Lanercost repeats this, that they did not get the castle but, the Patent Roll of I Hen III. m 3 noted that Alexander III was ordered to restore the castle. Also, under 1217A.D. The Chronicle of Melrose notes that the archbishop of Durham absolved Alexander III of excommunication and went to Carlisle 'that he might receive the seisin of the castle by mandate of the king of Scotland, for the use of the king of England', p. 52.

[37] *Calendar of the Charter Rolls Henry III,* Vol. I AD1226-1257, 26 Henry III m5., p. 268; See also the Patent Rolls of 21 Henry III m.1 & 22 Henry III m.8; Pipe Roll 22 Henry III m 4.

were investigated in 1248 and 1249 A.D. at the behest of Henry III.[38] Representatives from the kingdoms on both sides of the March were in attendance, although Scott has noted that 'it was men from the most easterly part of the March who came together' in 1248 and 1249 A.D.[39] The laws themselves, as Scott has shown, contained many earlier elements and 'point to the existence of a body of March law and custom before 1066 and perhaps considerably earlier'.[40] Although the resultant laws continued to regulate relations between March inhabitants on both sides of the Border, the level of success in administering these laws remains debatable.[41]

Border politics, as has been seen in the above examples, was central to Cumbrian life in the period 1066-1250 A.D. Defining both where the border lay and on which side was Cumbria, is integral to understanding the political landscape of the time, and thus to placing the castle within the correct framework. Scottish and English influences are equally important in determining the nature of the region, and accordingly the experience of those that lived there, and those who held land there.

Administrative Divisions

Medieval Cumbria, like England, Scotland and Wales, had a number of distinct official divisions of territory. The names 'Charleolium and Westmarieland', describe the area when it was first recorded in the *Pipe Roll of 1130 A.D.*[42] The counties or shires of Westmorland and Cumberland appear for the first time in the

---

[38] W.W. Scott, 'The March Laws Reconsidered', in A. Grant and K.J. Stringer, eds., *Medieval Scotland, Crown, Lordship and Community* (Edinburgh, 1993), p. 114.

[39] W.W. Scott, 'The March Laws Reconsidered', in A. Grant and K.J. Stringer, eds., *Medieval Scotland, Crown, Lordship and Community* (Edinburgh, 1993), p. 120.

[40] W.W. Scott, 'The March Laws Reconsidered', in A. Grant and K.J. Stringer, eds., *Medieval Scotland, Crown, Lordship and Community* (Edinburgh, 1993), p. 130

[41] T. Thomson & C. Innes (eds), 'Leges Marchiarum' in *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland* (Record Commission, 1814-75), Vol. I, pp. 413-6.

[42] J. Hunter (ed), *Great Roll of the Pipe 31 Henry I, Michaelmas 1130* (London, 1929) p. 140 & 142.

Pipe Rolls of 1176 A.D. and 1177 A.D. respectively.[43] Both names had been used earlier, in tenth-century entries in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. In 945 A.D., 'King Edmund overran all Cumberland; and let it all to Malcolm king of the Scots, on the condition that he became his ally, both by sea and land', in 966 A.D., 'Thored, the son of Gunner, plundered Westmorland', and in 1000 A.D. 'the king went into Cumberland, and nearly laid waste the whole of it with his army'.[44] The Pipe Rolls, however, were the first time they were seen as specifically defined regions in administrative documents.

Whereas across England the administrative zones were known as hundreds or wapentakes, in Cumbria they were wards. The wards were recorded from 1278 A.D.[45] There were ten: Eskdale, Cumberland, Allerdale, Leath, Copeland, West (Westmorland), East (Westmorland), Kendal (Westmorland), Lonsdale (Westmorland) and Furness (Lancashire north of the Sands).[46] Each ward was, as with the hundreds or wapentakes of the rest of England, an area of local government. Each was under the control of a royal appointee (sheriff) and had its own local court. The ward was also a distinct region for the collection of taxes. Use of wards rather than hundreds or wapentakes as an administrative district can also be seen in Northumberland and Durham, as well as in certain shires in the south of Scotland, such as Lanarkshire. Winchester has noted that the use of the term ward

---

[43] *The great roll of the pipe for the twenty-third year of the reign of King Henry the Second : A.D. 1176-1177*, Publications of the Pipe Roll Society Vol. 26 (London, 1905) p. 77; *The great roll of the pipe for the twenty-second year of the reign of King Henry the Second : A.D. 1175-1176,* Publications of the Pipe Roll Society Vol 25 (London, 1904) p. 141.

[44] G.N. Garmonsway, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (London, 1953, 1972) Entries for 945 A.D., 966 A.D. and 1000A.D.

[45] A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987), p 34; London, The National Archives, JUST/1/132, m32 (Cumberland eyre, 1278-1279) Assize Rolls of 6 Edward I; London, The National Archives, JUST/1/135, m17 (Cumberland eyre, 1292-1293) Assize Rolls 20 Edward I.

[46] A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987), p. 34; London, The National Archives, JUST/1/132, m.32 (Cumberland eyre, 1278-1279) Assize Rolls of 6 Edward I.

'implies a defended or guarded unit but when and exactly why they were established is not known'.[47] It is likely that the wards in Cumberland, Westmorland and Northumberland may represent pre-Conquest territories. Copeland and Allerdale were wards in Cumberland, both of which probably had pre-Conquest origins. Winchester has suggested that Durham is different in that the boundaries of the wards in that county 'converge in the vicinity of Durham city', suggesting an element of deliberate planning.[48] The word 'ward' according to the English Place-Name Society is from the Old English word 'w(e)ard' referring to a 'district to which certain defensive duties are assigned'.[49]

Ecclesiastical Divisions

Ecclesiastical divisions were also instituted. The diocese of Carlisle was established in 1133 A.D. and as Figure 3.4 shows, it covered over half of Cumbria. Before the creation of the diocese, Carlisle was under the ecclesiastical control of Durham (from 1092 A.D. to 1101 A.D.). Shortly after Ranulf le Meschin succeded to the earldom of Chester in 1120 A.D. Henry II paid a visit to Carlisle. An argument had evolved between Thurstan, archbishop of York, and John, bishop of Glasgow. Thurstan sought primacy over the Scottish church. The Inquest of David noted that lands in Cumbria under the control of David I fell under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the bishopric of Glasgow. Summerson has suggested that the possibility of a Scottish bishop holding spiritual control in Cumbria may have pushed Henry I and Archbishop Thurstan of York into making Carlisle a

---

[47] A.J.L. Winchester, *Discovering parish boundaries* (Oxford, 2000), p. 73

[48] A.J.L. Winchester, *Discovering parish boundaries* (Oxford, 2000), p. 73.

[49] A.M. Armstrong, A. Mawer, F.M. Stenton & B. Dickins (eds) *English Place-Name Society Vol. XXII The Place-Names of Cumberland,* Part III (Cambridge University Press, 1952) p. xiv.

bishopric.[50] Meanwhile, rural deaneries were only recorded from the thirteenth century by when they corresponded with secular divisions within the county.[51] This is not distinctive to Cumbria, but can be seen across the North and East of England. Rural deaneries in turn were subdivided into parishes. The earliest extant records of Cumbrian parishes are a list entered in the Papal Taxation of 1291 A.D.[52] Four deaneries are recorded on the list (Carlisle, Allerdale, Westmorland and Cumberland) under the diocese of Carlisle. Amongst the priories mentioned are Wetheral, Carlisle, Armathwaite, Lanercost and Holm Cultram. Some ninety-three churches are also recorded in the Taxatio.

---

[50] H. Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle,* CWAAS, Extra series vol. XXV (Kendal, 1993) p.35

[51] A.H. Thompson, 'Diocesan Organisation in the Middle Ages', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 29 (1943) p.179-84.

[52] T. Astle, S. Ayscough & J. Caley (eds), *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate P. Nicholai IV, c.1291* (London, 1802) p. 318-320.

Figure 3.4: Map of Cumbrian Dioceses, taken from Richard Ferguson's *Diocesan Histories - Carlisle* (1889). The map shows the diocese of Cumbria pre 1856 and post 1856, the pre-1856 (orange) section equates the medieval diocese established in 1133 A.D.

The church had been established in Cumbria long before the Norman conquest of the area and we can thus say that the system or pattern of church administration that emerges in the thirteenth century had been evolving for some time.[53]

Feudal Divisions

According to Barrow, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Cumbria 'was divided into well-established districts defined by fairly obvious physical boundaries, especially by watersheds and the sea, but also here and there by rivers'.[54] This has been noted in the discussion of Gospatric's Writ and the identification of Allerdale. Along with the secular and ecclesiastical administrative divisions of Cumbria, came the feudal. The baronial acquisitions often corresponded to the secular and ecclesiastical forms already mentioned, in particular, Allerdale, Copeland, Kendale, Furness and Westmorland. What is distinctive about the baronies of Cumbria is that they tended to be large, well-divided stretches of land. As Barrow noted 'The pattern of feudal settlement in England, as revealed twenty years after the Norman Conquest by the Domesday survey (1086 A.D.), is characterized by extreme fragmentation and scattering of individual fiefs and holdings'.[55] Cumbrian land tenure, as in Cornwall and the Welsh border counties, reflected an earlier, pre-conquest system of secular land holding.[56] These feudal lands were granted predominantly under William Rufus and Henry I.[57] Baronies were naturally

---

[53] A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and society of Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987) pp.22-27; See also A.H. Thompson, , 'Diocesan Organisation in the Middle Ages', *Proceedings of the British Academy,* 29 (1943) p.179-84.

[54] G.W.S. Barrow, 'The pattern of lordship and feudal settlement in Cumbria', *Medieval History,* Vol. 1 No. 2, July 1975, p. 117.

[55] G.W.S. Barrow, 'The pattern of lordship and feudal settlement in Cumbria', *Medieval History,* Vol. 1 No. 2, July 1975, p. 117.

[56] G.W.S. Barrow, 'The pattern of lordship and feudal settlement in Cumbria', *Medieval History,* Vol. 1 No. 2, July 1975, p. 117.

[57] G.W.S. Barrow, 'The pattern of lordship and feudal settlement in Cumbria' in the *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. I (1975); W.E. Kapelle, The Norman Conquest of the North (London, 1979)

subdivided into manors and honours throughout the following centuries, as can be seen in Figure 3.5. The baronies of medieval Cumbria will be briefly discussed in line with those identified by Perriam and Robinson. Entries for the regions designated East of Eden and Inglewood Forest will be brief, as these were not actual baronies, but rather a collection of manors (in the case of East of Eden) and a royal forest (in the case of Inglewood). Perriam and Robinson are correct in distinguishing them, as they can be regarded as distinctive regions within medieval Cumbria. In a similar vein are the manors of Scaleby, Levington and Linstock. They will be addressed, but briefly. They are tied to the city of Carlisle, but will be distinguished in the course of this thesis when necessary. The seats of Scaleby and Linstock manors are the eponymously named Scaleby Castle and Linstock Castle, which will be mentioned in due course.

It should also be noted that unfortunately, the majority of grants and foundation charters for the baronies have not survived. Sources such as the Pipe Rolls, the Testa de Nevill, and other, later grants to monasteries and priories which recall previous land holders, are the foundation for what is known about the establishment of these baronies. The range of source material is, therefore, reflected in the information that is known or can be elucidated. In the main it is economic data (Pipe Rolls) and specific grants to ecclesiastical institutions, but much is unsubstantiated, or incomplete.

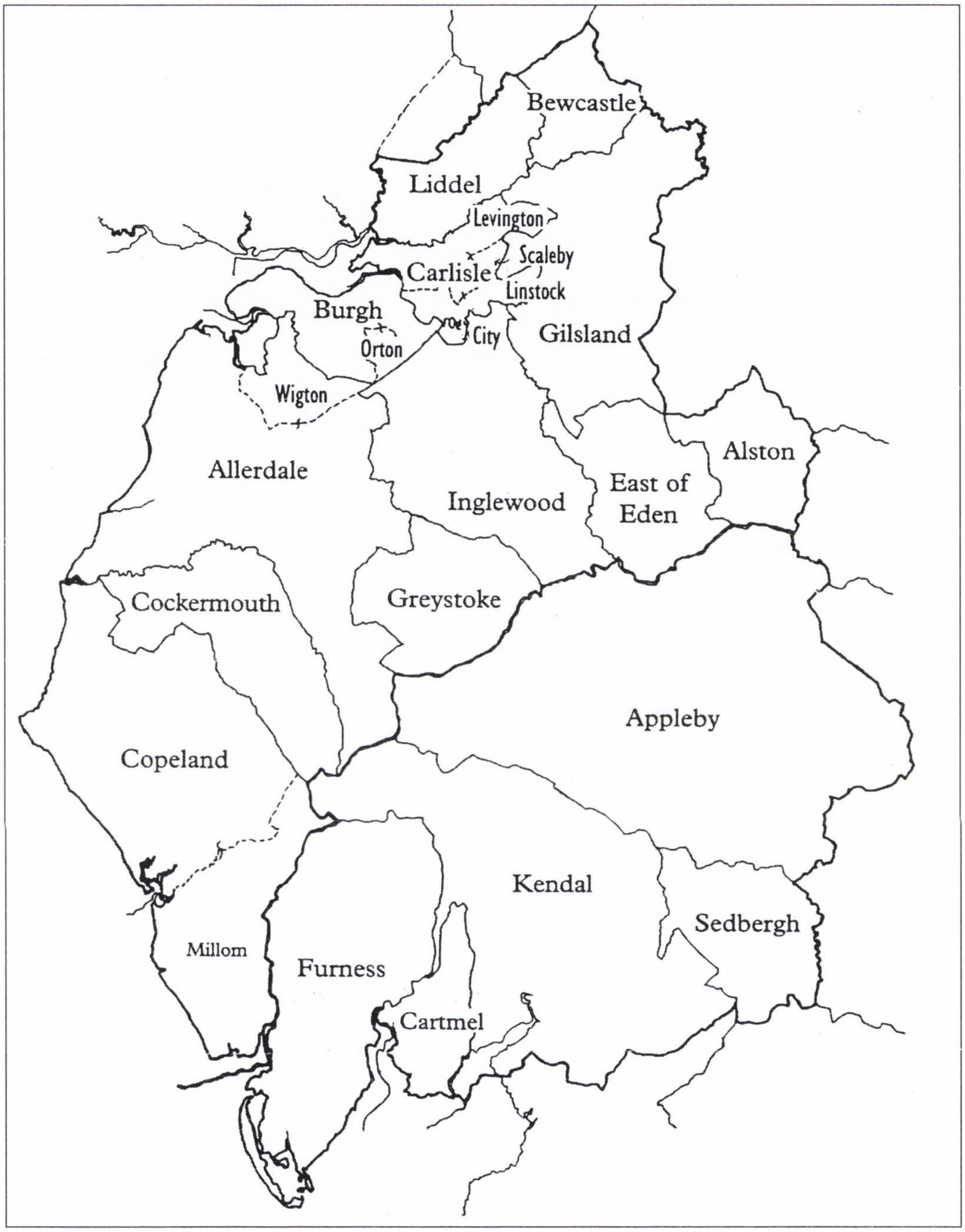


Figure 3.5: Baronies of Medieval Cumbria. Taken from D. R. Perriam & J. Robinson, <u>Medieval Fortified Buildings of Cumbria</u>, CWAAS Extra Series Vol. 29 (Kendal, 1998), p. 2.

Barony of Appleby/Westmorland

The Barony of Appleby or Westmorland as it was also known, is one of two baronies, the other being Kendal, that made up the honour of Westmorland. Appleby lies in the northern half of the honour or county, as it became. Appleby initially lay within Ranulf le Meschin's 'potestas' of Carlisle, established by William Rufus.[58] Ranulf le Meschin was thus the first to hold this barony, and then when he relinquished his lands to take the earldom of Chester circa 1120 A.D., Appleby returned to the crown. In 1136 A.D. David I of Scotland granted the barony to Hugh de Morville, who passed it to his son, Hugh de Morville (one of the four murders of Thomas Becket).[59] After the murder, Hugh de Morville forfeited his property including Appleby. The barony went to his sister Maud and from her to the Veteripont family into whom she married.[60] This merged the two baronies of Appleby and Kendal. On 28th October 1203 A.D. John granted Robert de Veteripont Appleby and Brough in fee.[61] Tenure of Appleby, in particular, was important as it oversaw the main communication route south, from Carlisle. The castles of Brough and Appleby were central to the secure keeping of the route from the north into Yorkshire, by way of the Stainmore Pass. The number of castles along the route was increases with the addition of Brougham and Pendragon.

---

[58] J.E. Prescott (ed), *The Register of the Priory of Wetheral*, TCWAAS Record Series Vol. I (London, 1897) p.2. Although Sharpe agrees it was under William Rufus, he asserts that Prescott has no basis for proving it. R. Sharpe, *Norman Rule in Cumbria 1092-1136. A lecture delivered to the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society on 9th April 2005 at Carlisle (*CWAAS Tract Series Vol. XXI) (Kendal, 2006), pp. 43-7.

[59] A.C. Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters: prior to A.D. 1153* (Glasgow, 1905), p. 273. G.W.S. Barrow, *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 72-3.

[60] J. Nicolson & R. Burn, The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland, 2 vols (London, 1777), p. 267-8.

[61] W. Farrer, 'On the Tenure of Westmorland temp. Henry II and the date of the creation of the Baronies of Appleby and Kendal' p.100-107, *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. VII (Kendal, 1907) p.107

Barony of Kendal

The barony of Kendal consisted of the southern half of the honour or county of Westmorland and marked the southern border of the entire region of medieval Cumbria. The manors of southern Cumbria named in the Yorkshire Domesday lie in and around Kendal and Furness to the west. The barony of Kendal, along with part of Lancashire, directly adjoining Westmorland, was granted initially to Ivo de Taillebois by William Rufus. It constituted a strip of land across the southern part of modern Cumbria and blocked the main routes from the northwest into Yorkshire. It was a frontier and distinguished those lands held to the north by native lords (Gilsland, Greystoke and Allerdale) from those under the influence of the Anglo-Normans.[62] Cumbria was not a unified territory at this time, circa 1089-92 A.D. His tenure of this land is confirmed by a charter he granted to St. Mary's York, which included half his demesne in Kirkby Stephen and the churches of Kirkby Kendal, Heversham and Kirkby Lonsdale.[63] The charter has been dated by Farrer to between 1090 and 1097 A.D. The death of Ivo de Taillebois circa 1097 A.D. marks a gap, or unsupported interlude, in the barony's history. Farrer suggests that de Taillebois' wife, Lucy who remarried may have brought the barony into her new family (the fitz-Gerolds) or more likely the barony reverted to the crown on de Taillebois' death and was subsequently regranted by Henry I to Nigel d'Aubigny, circa 1107-15 A.D.[64] On the death of d'Aubigny, his son, a minor, Roger de Mowbray inherited the estate. He did not take control for another ten years, because of his age. A grant

---

[62] W.M. Aird, 'Northern England or Southern Scotland? The Anglo-Scottish border in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and the problem of perspective', in J.C. Appleby and P. Dalton, eds., *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England, 1000-1700* (Stroud, 1997), p. 32; W.E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North. The Region and its Transformation, 1000-1135* (London, 1979), p. 148.

[63] W. Farrer, *Records Relating to the Barony of Kendale*, J.F. Curwen (ed), CWAAS Record Series Vols. 4-6 (Kendal, 1923-26) Vol. 6 p. 377 Illustrative Documents I

[64] W. Farrer, *Records Relating to the Barony of Kendale*, J.F. Curwen (ed), CWAAS Record Series Vols. 4-6 (Kendal, 1923-26) Vol. 4 p. x, 1

from Roger de Mowbray to William de Lancaster dating to between 1145 and 1155 A.D. survives. In it, the lands of Lonsdale, Kendal and Horton were granted to de Lancaster to hold by the service of four knights.[65] During Stephen's reign much of Cumbria was under the influence of King David of Scotland, who granted 'Westmarieland' (Westmorland) to Hugh de Morville, as noted above.[66] De Lancaster appears to have held his lands in Kendal, and indeed his daughter Avice, married Richard, son and heir of Hugh de Morville. The death of William de Lancaster II in 1184 A.D. meant that Kendal fell to his daughter, who was made a ward of William Marshall, who held the manor of Cartmel. She was married to Gilbert fitz-Reinfrid, who was granted the forests of 'Westmarieland, Kendal and Furness' by Richard I, and who was responsible for the ringwork castle at Kendal.[67] Their son, William de Lancaster III (he took his mother's maiden name) took possession after his father's death circa 1220 A.D, however, his heirs were his two sisters, who thus divided the barony of Kendal in two.[68]

Sedbergh

Sedbergh was a manor belonging to the West Riding of Yorkshire, specifically within the Wapentake of Staincliffe and Ewecross, and it appears in the Domesday Book entry for the West Riding of Yorkshire.[69] The Barony of Burton in Lonsdale in which this wapentake and manor fall, was part of the grant by Henry I to Nigel

---

[65] W. Farrer, *Records Relating to the Barony of Kendale*, ed. J.F. Curwen, CWAAS Record Series Vols. 4-6 (Kendal, 1923-26) Vol. 4, p. 377, Illustrative Document II.

[66] A.C. Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters: prior to A.D. 1153* (Glasgow, 1905), p. 273; G.W.S. Barrow, *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 72-3.

[67] W. Farrer, *Records Relating to the Barony of Kendale*, ed. J.F. Curwen, CWAAS Record Series Vols. 4-6 (Kendal, 1923-26) Vol. 4, p. 378-380 (Illustrative Documents III & V)

[68] Pipe Roll Society, *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the thirtieth year of the reign of Henry II, Michaelmas 1183 A.D.*, Publications of the Pipe Roll Society Vol. 33 (London, 1912), p. 37

[69] F. Youngs, *Local Administrative Units: Northern England* (London, 1991), p. 603, 772.

d'Aubigny, which was noted above in the barony of Kendal.[70] On his death it passed to his son, a minor, who on majority took his mother's maiden name, Mowbray. Its history then became enmeshed with that of its larger neighbour, Kendal.

Cartmel

In 1187 A.D. the manor of Cartmel was granted to William Marshall, who later became the earl of Pembroke.[71] He also gained the wardship of Helwise of Lancaster from Henry II, who has already been noted above in the treatment of the barony of Kendal.[72] Cartmel is most well known for its priory, founded by William Marshall in 1188/9 A.D. and home to Augustinian monks from Bradenstoke Priory in Wiltshire.[73] In the foundation charter for Cartmel, confirmed by John in 1199A.D, William Marshall granted them the entire 'compact fief of Cartmel'.[74] The priory also gained land in Ireland, after his marriage into the de Clare family, and acquisition of their lands in Leinster. Specifically, Cartmel Priory was granted the vill of Kilrush, the church of Ballysax and the chapel of Ballymaden in

---

[70] W. Farrer, *Records Relating to the Barony of Kendale*, ed. J.F. Curwen, CWAAS Record Series Vols. 4-6 (Kendal, 1923-26) Vol. 4, p. x, 1

[71] W. Farrer (ed), *The Lancashire Pipe rolls of 31 Henry I., A.D. 1130, and the reigns of Henry II., A.D. 1155-1189; Richard I., A.D. 1189-1199; and King John, A.D. 1199-1216 (*Liverpool, 1902), pp. 66, 70, 343.

[72] W. Farrer, *Records Relating to the Barony of Kendale*, ed. J.F. Curwen, CWAAS Record Series Vols. 4-6 (Kendal, 1923-26) Vol. 4, p. 378, Illustrative Document III, William Marshall is a witness of the grant from Henry II to Gilbert fitz-Reinfrid of the daughter of William de Lancaster, with all her lands.

[73] W. Farrer & J. Brownbill (eds), *Victoria County History Lancashire* Vol. II (1908), p. 143 ; R.B. Pugh & E. Crittall (eds), 'Houses of Augustinian canons: Priory of Bradenstoke', *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 3* (1956), pp. 275-288; W. Farrer (ed), *The Lancashire Pipe rolls of 31 Henry I., A.D. 1130, and the reigns of Henry II., A.D. 1155-1189; Richard I., A.D. 1189-1199; and King John, A.D. 1199-1216 (*Liverpool, 1902), p.341.

[74] *Calendar of the charter rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office,* Vol. 2 (6 vols; London, 1903-1927), p. 8.

Kildare.[75] The history of the manor thereafter became the history of the priory and parish of Cartmel. By modern times, specifically 1974 and the reorganization of the counties of England, Cartmel, along with Barrow and Furness made up the area known as Lancashire North of Sands. Even today, this region, primarily by its geography, bears more of a topographical resemblance to Lancashire than Cumbria.

Furness

The manor of Furness (the entire Furness peninsula stretching to the eastern shore of Lake Windermere) was in the hands of Tostig within his fee of Hougun at the time of the conquest. It was in crown hands by 1086 A.D. and the compilation of Domesday Book. The *Victoria County History of Lancashire* records that Furness was subsequently split in two.[76] In circa 1114 A.D. half was granted to Stephen of Blois as part of his honour of Lancaster.[77] Stephen founded Furness Abbey in 1127 A.D. and endowed it with his forests of Furness and Walney, his demesne in Furness, Ulverston and Dalton, with all its men and appurtenances, and everything in Furness 'except the land of Michael Fleming'.[78] The other half was granted to Michael le Fleming, however, Henry III granted it to the abbot of Furness, who now

---

[75] W. Farrer & J. Brownbill (eds), *Victoria County History Lancashire* Vol. II (1908), pp. 143-148; J.T. Gilbert (ed), *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin: with the register of its house at Dunbrody, and Annals of Ireland,* Rolls Series Vol. 80 (London, 1884), App. 401-3.

[76] W. Farrer & J. Brownbill (eds), *Victoria County History Lancashire* Vol. VIII (1914), pp. 285-6.

[77] W. Farrer (ed), *The Lancashire Pipe rolls of 31 Henry I., A.D. 1130, and the reigns of Henry II., A.D. 1155-1189; Richard I., A.D. 1189-1199; and King John, A.D. 1199-1216 (*Liverpool, 1902), p. 301-6 .

[78] W. Farrer (ed), *The Lancashire Pipe rolls of 31 Henry I., A.D. 1130, and the reigns of Henry II., A.D. 1155-1189; Richard I., A.D. 1189-1199; and King John, A.D. 1199-1216* (Liverpool, 1902), pp. 301, 307-8; W. Farrer & J. Brownbill (eds), *Victoria County History Lancashire* Vol. II (1908), pp.114-30.

held the whole of Furness.[79] This remained the case until the first half of the fourteenth century.

Barony of Copeland

The barony of Copeland, also known as Allerdale above Derwent or as Egremont, was one of five baronies officially created or adopted under Henry I (the others being Allerdale below Derwent (Allerdale), Wigton, Greystoke and Levington). Henry I granted the barony of Copeland to William le Meschin, and it was, in effect, a compensatory grant.[80] William le Meschin had received the barony of Gilsland from his brother Ranulf but it was in the hands of Gille Buethbarn, and William failed to establish control over the area. In addition to Copeland, William le Meschin held a number of other estates. His major holding was the honour of Skipton in Yorkshire, but he also held the estates of Saitby and Garthorpe in Leicestershire, Bingham in Nottinghamshire and the lands of Drog de Bevere in Chadstowe, Northamptonshire.[81]

An interesting aside when looking at the barony of Copeland is its role in the creation of the honour of Cockermouth, discussed below. Copeland encompassed all the land lying between the rivers Derwent and Duddon, bounded on the west by coast and on the east by mountains. William le Meschin established his caput at Egremont and founded the priory of St. Bees, whose chartulary is a major source for the history of Cumbria and in which the grant of Cockermouth, Derwentfells and

---

[79] *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Henry III, 1225-32 A.D. (*London, 1903) p. 147; J.C. Atkinson & J. Brownbill (eds), *The coucher book of Furness Abbey (*Chetham Society Vols. 9,11,14,74,76 & 78) Vol. II in Vol. 78 Chetham Society, p. 467.

[80] J.E. Prescott (ed), *The Register of the Priory of Wetheral,* CWAAS Record Series 1 (London, 1897) p. 301n. Notes that the source for this claim is Camden, who himself cites no actual source for his assertion.

[81] M.C. Fair, 'Notes on Early Copeland' *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. 37 (Kendal, 1937) p.73.

the Five Vills is to be found. Figure 3.5 above, illustrates how the honour of Cockermouth was carved out of the barony of Copeland.

Millom

The seigniory of Millom originally belonged to the barony of Copeland. It can be identified as all the land lying between the rivers Esk and Duddon. Godard de Boyvill/Boivill was granted the manor by William le Meschin circa 1100-25 A.D, during the reign of Henry I.[82] *Magna Britannia* records that de Boyvill's descendants, changing their name to 'de Millom' retained the manor until the reign of Henry III, when the male line died out, and the manor went with Joan, daughter of Adam de Millom to her husbands family the Huddleston's from Yorkshire.[83]

Barony of Allerdale

The barony of Allerdale was adopted by Henry I, along with its ruler the aforementioned native Waldeve, second son of Gospatric I, who himself had been earl of Northumberland. The barony was composed of all territory lying between the northern bank of the river Derwent and the boundary of the barony of Burgh by Sands in the north, and inland as far as the Lake District, what Perriam and Robinson call the 'central massif'.[84]

Allerdale was in all likelihood a pre-Norman district and like Copeland, lay under Scottish control until the coming of William Rufus in 1092 A.D. Malcolm III, king of Scots (1057-93 A.D.) had placed Waldeve in control of Allerdale, and it is this

---

[82] J. Wilson (ed), *The Register of the Priory of St Bees* (Durham, 1915) Publications of the Surtees Society Vol. 126, pp. 106-7n, 492, 531.

[83] D. & S. Lysons, *Magna Britannia*_Vol. 4: Cumberland (1816) pp. 135-6; *Calendar of Charter Rolls Vol. I Henry III AD 1226-1257*, 35 Henry III

[84] D.R. Perriam & J. Robinson, *The Medieval fortified buildings of Cumbria : an illustrated gazetteer and research guide (*CWAAS Extra Series Vol. 29) (Kendal, 1998), p. 5

overlordship which Henry I recognised by adopting both Waldeve and the territorial unit he oversaw. It is significant that Waldeve retained control of Allerdale, as his father and possibly his brother Dolfin had fallen heavily from favour. It is likely that the account in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle of the expulsion of Dolfin from Carlisle in the 1092 A.D. is in reference to his fall from favour.[85]

Papcastle, in Allerdale, was reputedly taken by Waldeve as his caput. It lies 1.6km to the northwest of the site of Cockermouth Castle. Waldeve thus held a vast swathe of land stretching from Burgh by Sands to the boundary of Copeland. Cockermouth remained, however, a distinct entity from Allerdale.

Honour of Cockermouth

The honour of Cockermouth was created in the early twelfth century. The exact date of its creation is unknown but was before the deaths of William le Meschin (circa 1130/1131 A.D.) and Waldeve (post 1106 A.D.) who are both named in the grant.[86] The grant to Waldeve has been dated to circa 1100 A.D.[87] Two possibilities for the origins of the honour of Cockermouth have been suggested by Winchester. Firstly, that the version of events recorded in the Chronicon Cumbrie, a thirteenth-century document, is correct: Waldeve did indeed receive his grant from William le Meschin and established his caput at Cockermouth replacing an earlier one at Papcastle, and that it was from Cockermouth that Waldeve administered his lands in Cumberland, namely Allerdale and Cockermouth. The alternative theory suggests

---

[85] G. N. Garmonsway (trans & ed.), *The Anglo- Saxon Chronicle*, version 'E', Entry 1092 (London, 1972) p.227

[86] J.E. Prescott (ed), *Register of the Priory of Wetheral* (London, 1887) 'Distributio Cumberlandiae et Conquestum Angliae' Entry 245 pp. 384-8 ; J. Wilson (ed), *The Register of the Priory of St. Bees,* Surtees Society vol. 126 (Durham, 1915) p. 491-496, 'Chronicon Cumbrie' Document 498; *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati vol. I Ab Anno MCCIV ad Annum MCCXXIV* (1833) Entry 459/3.

[87] A.J.L. Winchester, 'Medieval Cockermouth', *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. 86 (Kendal, 1986) p.123.

that the honour of Cockermouth (that is the township of Cockermouth, the Five Vills and the Derwent Fells) represents one or more pre-Conquest districts.[88]As supporting evidence for this theory Winchester notes that the boundaries of Brigham parish and the honour of Cockermouth were similar. The parish of Brigham appears to have had pre-conquest origins. It acted as a mother church to many pre-Norman centres based in the vicinity.[89] The theory therefore suggests, that the boundaries of the honour of Cockermouth, as granted by William le Meschin, echoed the existing boundary of the pre-Conquest parish of Brigham. This grant may have been a formal recognition of a pre-Conquest estate.

The documentary evidence for the origins of the honour of Cockermouth comes from the Distributio Cumberlandiae ad Conquestum Angliae, the Chronicon Cumbriae and the Memorandum concerning the descendants of Waldeve. The three documents appear to be a record of the descent of lordship in the honour of Cockermouth, dating to the thirteenth century. Apparently they are, or the original was, a piece of evidence in Thomas de Lucy's case to regain his rightful property, a fight which continued until 1323 A.D. when Edward II issued a royal charter to Anthony de Lucy, confirming the grant of the castle and honour of Cockermouth and manor of Papcastle to the de Lucy family.[90] The three documents are largely identical. The validity of the information they contain is, however, questionable, largely due to the inability to corroborate it with independent evidence.

---

[88] A.J.L. Winchester, 'Medieval Cockermouth', *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. 86 (Kendal, 1986) p.123.

[89] A.J.L. Winchester, 'Medieval Cockermouth', *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. 86 (Kendal, 1986) p.119.

[90] *Calendar of Charter Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, Vol. III* (London, 1908) 16 Edward II, 1322-23 A.D.

Greystoke

The barony of Greystoke was confirmed to Forne son of Sigulf/Liulf in 1120 A.D, by Henry I after Ranulf le Meschin acquired the earldom of Chester.[91] It lay at a key crossing point into western Cumbria across the upland area of the Lake District. The family name was changed to de Greystoke, and the barony remained in their hands for many centuries. In October 1353 A.D. permission was granted by Edward III to crenellate.[92] The family married into the Dacres of Gilsland and the Howards.

Inglewood

Whilst Perriam and Robinson have included the royal forest of Inglewood in their map of medieval baronies in Cumbria, as it had its own Warden and Verderer judicial officer for the forest, introduced under the Normans, it is not going to be included here as a barony. Further discussion of the royal forests can be seen in Chapter 8.[93]

Wigton

This was originally a part of the barony of Allerdale. It was granted to Odard de Logis as a separate barony.[94] Perriam and Robinson note that the family changed their name to de Wigton after 1208 A.D. Sharpe argues, convincingly, that the Odard, the sheriff, mentioned throughout the Pipe Rolls for Carlisle and Odard de Logis are not the same person. Indeed, he suggests Odard de Logis may be a figment, as there is no record of him in any of Ranulf le Meschin's surviving

---

[91] W. Farrer & C.T. Clay (eds), *Early Yorkshire Charters,* Vol. II, pp. 505; C. Johnson & H.A. Cronne (eds), *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154, Vol. 2 Regesta Henrici Primi* (Oxford, 1956), p. xvi.

[92] *Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office,* Vol. 9, A.D.1350-54, p.495.

[93] See Chapter 8 p. 273-8

[94] A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society of Medieval Cumbria (*Edinburgh, 1987) p. 16

documents.[95] The Lysons noted that the de Wigton family died out in the mid fourteenth century. The barony of Wigton was absorbed through marriage into the estates of the Lucy family of Copeland.

Gilsland

Three baronies were created or adopted by Ranulf le Meschin to act as a buffer zone along the Anglo-Scottish border, Gilsland, Liddel and Burgh by Sands. Gilsland did not actually run along the border (although if Bewcastle to the north is included it did) but it acted as a guard along the most direct route south, down the western fringe of the Pennines through the low land areas of eastern Cumbria. Camden, in his work *Britannia* of 1586, noted that Ranulf le Meschin then granted Gilsland to his brother, William, however, he 'was not able to get it out of the hands of the Scots: for Gill, son of Bueth, held the greater part of it by force of arms'.[96] William le Meschin was, in compensation, then awarded the barony of Copeland by Henry I.[97] Camden gives no explanation or evidence to confirm this situation in Gilsland, but, the charter granted by Henry II in 1157/8 A.D. to Hubert de Vaux (Vallibus) of the barony of Gilsland, notes that he is granting 'the whole of the land which was held by Gilbert [Gille or Gilles] son of Boet'.[98] Hubert de Vallibus was succeeded by his eldest son Robert de Vallibus, who founded Lanercost Priory in 1169 A.D. His brother Ranulph came next, then Robert II, followed by Hubert II, the last in the male line. His daughter, Maud brought the barony, on her marriage into the de

---

[95] R. Sharpe, *Norman Rule in Cumbria 1092-1136*, CWAAS Tract Series Vol. XXI (Kendal, 2006), p. 20

[96] William Camden, *Britain, or A chorographicall description of the most flourishing kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the ilands adjoyning, out of the depth of antiquitie beautified vvith mappes of the severall shires of England* (London, 1772) 4th Edition, p. 185.

[97] J.E. Prescott (ed), *The Register of the Priory of Wetheral*, CWAAS Record/Cartulary Series vol. 1 (London, 1897) p. 301n. Notes that the source for this claim is Camden, who himself cites no actual source for his assertion.

[98] J.E. Prescott (ed), *The Register of the Priory of Wetheral,* CWAAS Record Series Vol. I (London, 1897) Illustrative Document XXII

Multon family in the mid thirteenth century.[99] Subsequent marriages meant that possession of the barony then passed in to the Dacre, and ultimately the Howard, family of Naworth Castle.

East of Eden (Honour of Penrith)

This is comprised of a collection of manors which Perriam and Robinson consider distinctive enough to form a sub grouping or entry of their own under the bloc title, East of Eden.[100] The manors within this are Ainstable, Renwick, Melmerby, Kirkland and Kirkoswald, all granted by Henry I to Adam son of Swein. The final manor included within the East of Eden area was Langwathby which Henry I granted to Henry son of Swein.[101] Under Henry III this land was subsumed into Inglewood Royal Forest.[102] Sowerby, Langwathby and Carlatton were ceded to the Scots under the Treaty of York in 1237 A.D.[103] The East of Eden region made up all the land between the baronies of Gilsland to the north and Appleby to the south. Only Alston lay between it and Northumberland, although Alston itself was at times part of Northumberland.

Alston

The manor of Alston Moor is an interesting case. It was granted by William the Lion, king of Scots, to William Veteripont, and later confirmed by King John in

---

[99] R.S. Ferguson, 'The Barony of Gilsland and its Owners to the end of the Sixteenth Century', *TCWAAS,* Old Series Vol. IV (Kendal, 1880), pp. 446-485.

[100] D.R. Perriam & J. Robinson, *The Medieval fortified buildings of Cumbria : an illustrated gazetteer and research guide*, CWAAS Extra Series Vol. 29 (Kendal, 1998), p. 117

[101] D.R. Perriam & J. Robinson, *The Medieval fortified buildings of Cumbria : an illustrated gazetteer and research guide*, CWAAS Extra Series Vol. 29 (Kendal, 1998), p. 117

[102] A.J.L. Winchester & E. Straughton, 'Cumberland: Directory of Baronies and Superior Manors', *Cumbrian Manorial Records,* Lancaster University, http://www.lancs.ac.uk/fass/projects/manorial-records/cumbria/cumberlandlist.htm , accessed 12/09/08

[103] *Calendar of the Charter Rolls Henry III*, Vol. I AD1226-1257, 26 Henry III m5., p. 268; See also the Patent Rolls of Henry III, 21 Henry III m.1; Pipe Roll 22 Henry III m 4; the Patent Rolls 22 Henry III m8

England in 1209 A.D.[104] The issue of ownership of the land was the subject of a number of disputes. The Scottish kings maintained that Alston lay within the Franchise of Tynedale in Northumberland, which they held as a feudal tenant from the king of England. In the thirteenth century Ivo de Veteripont (also known as Vipont) granted to the prior and canons of Hexham in Northumberland all his demesne land in Alston, which was confirmed in 1232 A.D. by Henry III and again by Edward I in 1307 A.D.[105] In 1296 A.D. John Balliol, king of the Scots, had all his lands in England taken away, including Alston Moor. They reverted to the crown. In an inquest after the death of Nicholas de Veteripont in 1315 A.D. it was found that on his death 'the capital messuage of Alston, 14 acres of arable land, 100 acres of meadow, 16 tenants at Alston…with 22 shielings at 5s. 2d. yearly rent; also a water corn mill, a fulling mill, and 3000 acres of pasture in Alston Moor' were all in his possession.

Alston, however, is more commonly known to historians by its entries in the Pipe Rolls, under the Carlisle account.[106] The silver mines of Alston appear regularly from the first pipe roll relevant to Cumbria in 1130 A.D., until the Scottish control of the area was asserted during Stephen's reign. There are some references by David I to the mine during this period.[107] Alston was in fact one of the foremost

---

[104] Mannix & Whellan, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Cumberland MANNIX AND WHELLAN History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Cumberland; a General Survey of the County, and a History of the Diocese of Carlisle; with Separate Historical, Statistical, and Topigraphical Descriptions of All Boroughs, Towns, Parishes, Chapelries, Townships,&c. (*Beverley, 1847)

[105] *Calendar of the charter rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office,* Vol. 3, 1300-1326 (6 vols; London, 1903-1927) 33 Edward I, No. 20 & 34 Edward I, No. 13; J. Raine, ed., *The Priory of Hexham, its Chroniclers, Endowments, and Annals, Vol. I,* Publications of the Surtees Society Vol. XLIV (Durham, 1864), p. lxxxvi.

[106] Pipe Roll Society, *The Great Roll of the Pipe,* Original Series Vols. 1, 2, 4-9, 11-13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 25-34, 36-38 (London, 1884-1925) & New series Vols. 1-14, 16, 17; London, 1925-1936); F.H.M. Parker ed., *The Pipe Rolls of Cumberland and Westmorland 1222-1260,* CWAAS Extra Series Vol. XII (Kendal, 1905)

[107] G.W.S. Barrow, *The Acts of Malcolm IV, King of Scots, 1153-1165* (Edinburgh, 1960), pp. 111-12 and nos. 39-40.

silver mines in contemporary Europe.[108] The mines were probably discovered circa 1125 A.D. and reached the peak of their production between 1133 A.D. and 1157 A.D.[109] The silver mines of the north, at Alston and Durham, were extremely lucrative for the crown during the Middle Ages. Claughton estimates that the 'mine of Carlisle' (Alston) produced approximately 59,000 ounces of silver a year during the peak production years between the 1130s and 1140s.[110] Blanchard has remarked upon the coincidence of David I's interest in Carlisle and the discovery and development of the silver mine at Alston.[111] Carlisle itself benefitted greatly from the silver mines, 'a major raison d'être for the settlement at Carlisle. The significance of the silver deposits were not just the financial rewards it brought but the impact it had on the local economy. Carlisle flourished as merchants established themselves in the city. At a wider scale, trading routes stretching from Carlisle to Newcastle and north to Edinburgh did increasing business. The significance of the silver deposits will be considered in Chapter 8.

Carlisle

Carlisle could be equated with the 'potestas' of Carlisle awarded to Ranulf le Meschin by William Rufus, and also identified as Cumberland, the northern half of Cumbria. This was essentially the baronies of Appleby, Wigton, Allerdale, Gilsland, Bewcastle, Liddel and Burgh by Sands. These were held initially by Ranulf le Meschin and subsequently, as each of the previous and subsequent entries in this

---

[108] I. Blanchard, 'Lothian and beyond: the economy of the 'English empire of David I'', in R. Brinall & J. Hatcher, eds. *Progress and Problems in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 27.

[109] I. Blanchard, 'Lothian and beyond: the economy of the 'English empire of David I'', in R. Brinall & J. Hatcher, eds. *Progress and Problems in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 30.

[110] P. Claughton, 'Production and economic impact: Northern Pennine (English) silver in the 12th century', *Proceedings of the 6th International Mining History Congress* (Akabira, Japan, 2003), p. 148.

[111] I. Blanchard, 'Lothian and beyond: the economy of the 'English empire of David I'', in R. Brinall & J. Hatcher, eds. *Progress and Problems in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 23.

section show, by men either chosen by him or by Henry I. Perriam and Robinson, however, are referring in their map of the medieval baronies of Cumbria, to Carlisle city and the three small baronies which surrounded it, Linstock, Levington and Scaleby. On le Meschin's rise to the earldom of Chester his lands returned to the crown. Henry I reserved Carlisle (the city) and the Forest of Inglewood for the crown.[112] We know, from Symeon of Durham, that Henry I ordered the city to be fortified with a castle and towers.[113] It has proved difficult to identify exactly what work was undertaken for Henry I, possibly only work on the city walls. The earliest extant Pipe Roll, dating to 1130-31 A.D., the thirty-first year of the reign of Henry I, makes two mentions of payments for the city wall, but nothing regarding other building works, let alone a stone castle, to replace or reinforce the earthwork erected by William Rufus in 1092 A.D.[114] Carlisle was administered for the crown by successive sheriffs, as the Pipe Rolls attest. A writ of Henry III, dating to circa 1221 A.D, reinforced this position, that the citizens of Carlisle held the city from the sheriff of Cumberland and henceforth would hold by seisin (essentially possession by freehold).[115] It is known that by 1292 A.D. the citizens were in complete possession of the city. In this year Edward I issued a *Quo Warranto* against the 'Maiorem et Communitatem Karleoli'.[116] This was a requirement to produce evidence regarding how the land was held, and was an attempt by Edward I to regain some of the land lost to the crown, particularly during the reign of Henry III. Due to the variety of usages for 'Carlisle', for the purposes of this work, reference

---

[112] D.R. Perriam & J. Robinson, *The Medieval fortified buildings of Cumbria : an illustrated gazetteer and research guide*, CWAAS Extra Series Vol. 29 (Kendal, 1998), p. 68.

[113] *Symeon of Durham, Historia Regum*, T. Arnold, ed., vol. II (London, 1885), p. 267.

[114] J. Hunter (ed.), *The Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I, Michaelmas 1130* (Commissioners on the Public Records of the Kingdom, 1833) (HMSO, London, 1929)

[115] R.S. Ferguson (ed), *The Royal Charters of the City of Carlisle*, CWAAS Extra Series Vol. 10 (Carlisle, 1894) p. xvi, xvii, 1.

[116] R.S. Ferguson (ed), *The Royal Charters of the City of Carlisle*, CWAAS Extra Series Vol. 10 (Carlisle, 1894) p. 4.

to Carlisle will be clarified by addition of the label castle, cathedral, city or other relevant designation.

Linstock

The barony of Linstock was held initially by Walter the Chaplain, as a grant from Henry I. Walter the Chaplain joined the priory of Carlisle, and brought with him the tenure of this barony, thus transferring it to the priory, circa 1120-2 A.D. From 1219 A.D. the barony was held by the bishop of Carlisle.[117]

Scaleby

Scaleby and Kirklinton (Levington) were the two manors which made up the barony of Levington. Scaleby was granted by Henry I to Richard Tylliol, this grant confirmed by the entry in the 1212 A.D. Testa de Nevill, which notes that Henry I granted the land to 'Ricard Ridere', from whom it passed to his descendant Simon de Tillol, and by 1212 A.D. was in the hands of Galfridus de Lucy.[118] Perriam and Robinson note the caput of the manor was Scaleby Castle, which dates to the fourteenth century.

Levington

As noted above, the manors of Scaleby and Kirklinton initially made up the barony of Levington. Henry I granted the barony to Richard de Boyvill. The family subsequently took the surname de Levington. The Testa de Nevill also records the

---

[117] *Liber Feodorum. The Book of fees commonly called Testa de Nevill, Part I A.D. 1198-1242* (London, 1920), p. 199; D.R. Perriam & J. Robinson, *The Medieval fortified buildings of Cumbria : an illustrated gazetteer and research guide,* CWAAS Extra Series Vol. 29 (Kendal, 1998), p. 68.

[118] *Liber Feodorum. The Book of fees commonly called Testa de Nevill, Part I A.D. 1198-1242* (London, 1920), p. 199

descent of this barony from Richard de Boyvill in the time of Henry I to Richard de Levington in 1212 A.D. Both held it by cornage (originally a tax on cattle).[119]

Liddel

The barony of Liddel was one of the new buffer baronies established along the Anglo-Scottish border by Ranulf le Meschin, during the reign of Henry I.[120] It was granted to Turgis Brundis by le Meschin and it then passed into the de Stuteville family by the early thirteenth century.[121] The castle of Liddel Strength, which will be discussed more thoroughly in the following chapter, was probably the caput. Most of the barony lay in what became the Debatable Lands and suffered from intermittent raiding and warfare. In 1380 William, earl of Douglas, led an expedition into the Western March, which reached and desolated Penrith. Lands at Alstonby in northern Cumberland were 'totally destroyed by the Scots' during this raid. The barony of Liddel, on the Border, was found to be worthless in the aftermath of the expedition.[122]

Bewcastle

The barony of Bewcastle was thought to have been held by Gilles son of Bueth, along with that of Gilsland. Perriam and Robinson note that it remained in his successors hands after Hubert de Vallibus was granted Gilsland in 1158 A.D. The barony had the highlands of the Pennines, the so-called Middle March, as its east

---

[119] *Liber Feodorum. The Book of fees commonly called Testa de Nevill, Part I A.D. 1198-1242* (London, 1920), p. 198

[120] *Liber Feodorum. The Book of fees commonly called Testa de Nevill, Part I A.D. 1198-1242* (London, 1920), p. 198

[121] D.R. Perriam & J. Robinson, *The Medieval fortified buildings of Cumbria : an illustrated gazetteer and research guide,* CWAAS Extra Series Vol. 29 (Kendal, 1998), p. 225

[122] H. Summerson, 'Responses to War. Carlisle and the West March in the later fourteenth century', in A. Goodman and A. Tuck, eds., *War and Border Societies in the Middle Ages* (London, 1992), pp. 155-77; A.J. Macdonald, *Border Bloodshed: Scotland and England at War, 1369-1403* (East Linton, 2000), p. 66.

boundary and the border itself to the north. Little evidence survives of this barony and its tenure. Linguistically early historians enthusiastically accepted the theory that that the name of the barony derived from the Bueth or Buethbarn which held Gilsland, followed by his son, the aforementioned 'Gille'. Others, including the Place-Name Society, insist Bewcastle is a corruption of bothy (a temporary building) and caster (a Roman fort).[123] Certainly this appears the more logical interpretation of the name, but local legend has proved to be enduring, and it is the favoured tale told in the majority of guide books and general histories of the area.[124] The stone castle at Bewcastle is of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, although tradition has it that William Rufus built a motte castle on the site first. This does not tie in with the area being under the control of Bueth, a native lord, who would not let William le Meschin take ownership here. The barony passed to Buethbarn, son of Gilles, on his death, and was retained when Gilsland was granted to Hubert de Vallibus circa 1158 A.D. The Lanercost Cartulary records a charter from Buethbarn, granting the church of Nether Denton to the priory of Lanercost. It is followed by a confirmation of this grant by Robert, son of Buethbarn.

Burgh by Sands

Ranulf le Meschin created the barony of Burgh by Sands as a defensive measure to defend or bolster the border. It is located, as Figure 3.5 shows, along a stretch of the Solway coast and to the southwest of Carlisle, thus defending the sea approach from

---

[123] D.R. Perriam & J. Robinson, *The Medieval fortified buildings of Cumbria : an illustrated gazetteer and research guide,* CWAAS Extra Series Vol. 29 (Kendal, 1998), p. 43; Mannix & Whellan, 'Bewcastle Parish', *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Cumberland (*1847);A.M. Armstrong, A. Mawer, F.M. Stenton & B. Dickinson, *The Place-Names of Cumberland,* Part 1 (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 60-61.

[124] J. A. Nettleton, *Cumbria (*1996); J. Cope, *Castles in Cumbria (*Milnthorpe, 1991); M. Salter, *The Castles and Tower Houses of Cumbria (*Malvern, 1998); J. Wyatt, *Cumbria. The Lake District and its County (*2004)

Scottish attack. Le Meschin enfeoffed it to Robert de Trivers, who Sanders states subsequently married the sister of le Meschin.[125] The Register of the Priory of Wetheral records his heir, Ybira (Ibria/Ebria) married to Ranulph Engaine. The grant is a confirmation by their grandson, Simon de Morville, of half a carucate of land in Croglin to the monks of Wetheral.[126] The barony descended from the Engaine family, into the de Morville family by the marriage of Ada, daughter of Ibria and Ranulph Engaine, and sister to William who died circa 1158 A.D, to Simon de Morville.[127] On Simon de Morville's death, Ada remarried, this time to Robert de Vallibus of Gilsland, but the barony went to her son from her first marriage, Hugh, who had married Helewise, daughter of Robert de Stuteville, widow of William II de Lancaster of Kendal.[128] On Hugh's death circa 1202 A.D. his heiresses split the barony with half going to de Multon family, who by circa 1270 A.D. inherited the other half, thus reuniting the barony.[129] As these marriages show, the barony of Burgh by Sands became affiliated with Gilsland and Kendal. By the time of Thomas de Multon III circa 1272 A.D. Burgh by Sands was also connected with Irthington.

Orton

The map in Figure 3.5 also shows Orton, within the borders of the barony of Burgh by Sands, however, it actually belonged to the barony of Levington. Its descent

---

[125] I.J. Sanders, *English Baronies: A Study of their Origin and Descent 1086-1327 (*Oxford, 1960) p. 23; J.E. Prescott (ed), 'Distributio Cumberlandiae ad Conquestum Angliae', *The Register of the Priory of Wetheral,* CWAAS Record Series Vol. I (London, 1887) p. 385.

[126] J.E. Prescott (ed), *The Register of the Priory of Wetheral,* CWAAS Record Series Vol. I (London, 1897) Document 101, p. 186.

[127] I.J. Sanders, *English Baronies: A Study of their Origin and Descent 1086-1327 (*Oxford, 1960) p. 24; *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the fifth year of the reign of king Henry II, A.D. 1158-9,* Pipe Roll Society (London, 1884) p. 32.

[128] *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the thirteenth year of the reign of king Henry II, A.D. 1158-9,* Pipe Roll Society (London, 1884) p. 32.

[129] *Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem and other analogous documents preserved in the Public Record Office,* Vol. I Henry III (London, 1898), No. 106, 738, 753 & 811.

therefore can be equated to that of Levington. There is a mention circa 1301 A.D. in the Quo Warranto Roll of a John de Orton who had failed to prove his right of free warren in 1300 A.D, due to the loss of his charter when the town at Orton was burnt by the Scots.[130] Beyond this, little mention is made of Orton, other than its association with Levington.

Language: Place-Names and People

Cumbric is the name given to the distinctive form of Celtic spoken in the Brythonic held areas of Cumbria, parts of Northumbria and southern parts of the kingdom of Scotland, possibly even also in the Yorkshire Dales. This was the kingdom of Strathclyde.[131] Cumbric is believed to have developed from the Welsh language, probably after the northwest region (Cumbria, Lancashire and Cheshire) was severed from Welsh speaking areas circa 616 A.D. after the battle of Chester.[132] Broun has noted that irrespective of the demise of the independent kingdom of Strathclyde circa 1018 A.D. and the territory's subsequent conquest by the Scots, the Cumbric language may have survived into the twelfth century. Broun also notes there 'is not sufficient data to examine how far Cumbric, the regional version of the Brythonic language, was still being spoken c.1100 and c.1200'.[133]

It must be noted that there are great difficulties in identifying Cumbric and tracing its development. Place-names and personal names are the key sources of evidence in existence for the Cumbric language. It must also be remembered that Cumbria had

---

[130] *Placita de quo warranto temporibus Edw. I. II. & III: In curia receptæ scaccarij Westm. Asservata*, W. Illingworth, ed., No. 56 (London, 1818), 29 Edward I.

[131] D. Broun, 'The Welsh identity of the kingdom of Strathclyde, c.900-c.1200', *Innes Review*, 85 (2004), p. 112.

[132] K. Jackson, 'Angles and Britons in Northumbria and Cumbria', *Angles and Britons*, O'Donnell Lectures (Cardiff), p. 64.

[133] D. Broun, 'The Welsh identity of the kingdom of Strathclyde, c.900-c.1200', *Innes Review*, 85 (2004), p. 117.

strong Scottish, Irish and Scandinavian influences at this same time, the late tenth century. It is to be expected that Scottish, Irish and Scandinavian inhabitants of Cumbria would have intermingled. This would have impacted upon the respective languages, resulting in loan words being incorporated into the vernacular.[134] Some Cumbric words that can be recognised are *ystrad*, as in strath to be found in Strathclyde, or *pen* and *rydd* meaning hill and red respectively, as can be seen in Penrith. This can also be seen in Pendragon, the castle located in the Mallerstang Valley of Westmorland. Jackson has identified 'Cumwhinton' as possible placename evidence of the Cumbric language, in use, in the eleventh century. The Cumbric and Welsh word *cwm* meaning valley is clearly discernable within the placename, as is the Norman name Quintin.[135] Kendal, Cockermouth, Pendragon and Irthington are the only place-names in Cumbria, related to the castles of interest in this thesis which have words derived from Cumbric within their names.

The people of the area were also referred to by a distinctive term, a collective noun. The first reference to the 'Cumbri' as a race of people was possibly in 875 A.D. by Ethelwerd.[136] He used the term not to signify a geographical territory but rather a race of people, who the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and John of Worcester called those from the Strathclyde area.[137]

The importance of the topography can also clearly be seen in the place-names of Cumbria. Winchester notes "Westmorland, 'the district of those living west of the moors'; Allerdale, Kendal, Lonsdale, the valleys of the Ellen, Kent and Lune

---

[134] For full discussions of the Cumbric language see K. H. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain (*Edinburgh, 1953)

[135] K. Jackson, 'Angles and Britons in Northumbria and Cumbria', *Angles and Britons*, O'Donnell Lectures (Cardiff), p. 82.

[136] H. Petrie (ed), *Monumenta Historica Britannica* (1848) p. 515

[137] D. Whitelock (ed.), 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle' in *English Historical Documents, c.500-1042* (1955) Entry for 875A.D.; *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, vol. II The Annals from 450 to 1066, R.R. Darlington & P. McGurk, eds., (Oxford, 1995), p. 398-9, 'Magnificus rex Anglorum Eadmundus terram Cumbrorum depopulatus est..' / 'The glorious King Edmund laid waste the land of the Cumbrians..'.

respectively" as places with very obvious links to the surrounding terrain.[138] The river Kent is of British or Cumbric origin. In the place-names Cockermouth and Irthington, the 'cocker' and the 'irthing' the names given to the rivers are also of British origin, however the mouth or *mutha* of Cockermouth and the ton or *tun* of Irthington are Old English. The name Mallerstang, the parish in which Pendragon Castle is located, may also have derived from the Cumbric language. The 'Maller' portion of the name is similar to the Welsh and Cumbric moelfre meaning bare hill. The 'stang' is an Old Norse word meaning pole or boundary marker.[139] Place-names are integral to identifying the influences on a society and there can be no doubt that the environment played a large role in shaping medieval Cumbria. Whether divisions were man-made or natural they have stood the test of time and can help in recreating the Cumbrian landscape. They will be referred to in more detail as and when they are mentioned in the subsequent text.

The endurance of Norse and old English words and names can be seen, especially in towns and villages across Cumbria. Aikton refers to an 'oak tree farm or settlement' in Norse *eik* and Old English *tun*, whilst Seaton to a 'sea-side farm or settlement' in Old English *sae* and *tun*. The impact of the Vikings on Cumbria can be gauged from the impact their language had on the area. The often used word for a hill or mountain, fell, is derived from the Norse *fjall*. A stream is called a beck, possibly from the Norse *bekkr*, a dale is the word often used for a valley, from the Norse *dalr*, tarn is a lake from the Norse *tjǫrn*, and shieling from the Norse *sætr*.[140] Overall, the Norse, Old English and Celtic languages greatly impacted upon

---

[138] A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria (*Edinburgh, 1987) p.16.

[139] A.M. Armstrong, A. Mawer, F.M. Stenton, & B. Dickinson, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, 3 Vols (Cambridge, 1950-52); A.H. Smith, *English Place-Name Society Vol. XLII The Place-Names of Westmorland Part I* (Cambridge, 1967)

[140] A.M. Armstrong, A. Mawer, F.M. Stenton & B. Dickinson, *The Place-Names of Cumberland,* Part 1 (Cambridge, 1952), pp. xviii, xliv, 118-9, 319.

Cumbrian life, appearing in the names of rivers, mountains, valleys, towns, villages and regions.

Cumbria, in the Middle Ages, can be defined and identified by a number of different criteria. For the purposes of this thesis, the most dominant are the feudal divisions (the baronies) in which the castles were situated, and the border delineations, over which so much of the political and military wrangling of the period took place. Geographically, and in terms of its own internal topography, medieval Cumbria was distinct from most of the rest of England. This in turn played a role in the siting and building of castles and towns. Strategic building of castles at crossing points and trade routes reflected both the generic policies of Norman castle building, as well as the physical reality of the region they were based in. Internal divisions of the diocese of Carlisle, at the level of rural deanery and parish acted, as in the rest of the country, to extend ecclesiastical control to the lowest strata of society and to enable a truly bureaucratic administration of the people and the land under church control.

Linguistically and culturally medieval Cumbria bore the mark of the centuries which came before, particularly the Viking and Celtic influences, so visible in the toponymy of the area, and in the countless crosses and archaeological remains which to this day bear witness to their occupancy.

Whilst these occurred before the stage in history with which this thesis is directly concerned with, the overriding hypothesis, that landscapes interact with and overlie each other, can clearly be seen in this region, Cumbria.

The system of Norman land tenure, in a number of notable cases, for example Allerdale, was apparently inherited from the pre-conquest era. The remains of the Roman occupation served in many cases as the actual building blocks of the new Norman society in Cumbria. The topography certainly had not changed dramatically between 1066 A.D. and 1250 A.D, and the linguistic inheritance of the Vikings as well as those from Celtic influences, continued and mixed with the new Anglo-Norman contribution. The region, therefore, was distinct in many ways, and can be defined under any of these characterizations.

Chapter 4
Castles and the Physical Landscape

The physical landscape under discussion encompasses both the natural and the artificial (manmade) elements present in the castle and in medieval Cumbria during the period under consideration (1066-1250 A.D.). These two aspects are assessed from the point of view of their relationship with the castle. The impact the physical landscape had on the siting of the castle will be looked at. The changes brought about in the physical landscape are also of interest, in particular with regard to resources used in the building of the castle. Internally, the layout of the castles themselves is of interest, especially if the layout was dictated by the natural topography of the site.

During the Middle Ages, however, these elements combined to make Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North of Sands uninviting. The topography and geology forced settlement to the periphery of the area, the climate was considered inhospitable and its position on the border made it a dangerous place to live. It was, according to Winchester, 'poor and remote,' neither of which was going to attract a sizeable population.[1] Yet, despite these shortcomings there were new settlers in Cumbria in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Scandinavians settled widely during this period, whilst William Rufus ordered colonists to Carlisle in 1092 A.D: "In this year the king went north to Carlisle with great levies, and restored the town, and built the castle. He drove out Dolfin who had formerly ruled that district, and garrisoned the castle with his men. Thereafter he returned hither southwards, sending very many peasants thither with their

---

[1] A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987) p.2

wives and live-stock to settle there and till the soil".[2] In resettling Carlisle Rufus was not seeking solely to increase the population. The new settlers were southerners. Introducing them into Carlisle diluted the local population with whom Rufus had had a problem. Loyal southern peasants would hopefully not object to Anglo-Norman rule or be involved in local affairs, giving Rufus a solid basis from which to build his authority in the region.

Looking at the history of the area it becomes apparent that the natural landscape played a vital role in the development of the region, dictating where settlement could occur, and indeed placing constrictions on the artificial landscape. The artificial landscape embraces everything manmade. Castles, churches, settlements and roads all fall under this heading, as do those industries and activities which use the natural world as a resource (that can be exploited for use in the artificial). This interaction of the natural and artificial, the abuse of one for the creation and development of the other, is representative of man's dealings with nature throughout the world. Anything, therefore, that was not naturally created but required a role to be played by man is part of the artificial landscape, as is man himself.

The aspect of the natural landscape of most interest to this work is the method by which it was changed by the artificial world of the castle, of settlement and the church to suit the demands of medieval society in Cumbria. In this way the natural landscape was clay to be moulded by the eleventh-, twelfth- and thirteenth-century occupants of the region. Just as earlier settlers (pre-historic, Roman and Early Christian) had left their mark, visible still in the medieval era, and indeed even today, so too did medieval

---

[2] G. N. Garmonsway (trans & ed.), *The Anglo- Saxon Chronicle* (London, 1972) Version 'E', Entry 1092 p.227

development change the landscape, adapting it to their needs and developing their society within the constraints of the topography.

Issues of interest when looking at the role of the castle in the physical landscape include the siting of the castle, its layout and form, its role in the community (whether that was military, political, or economic) and its use of the natural resources. By looking at these topics the interaction of natural and artificial will become clear, as will their impact upon each other.

Before the castles are classified and identified, the methodology that is used to assess them in the landscape must also be considered. The respective fields of landscape history and castle studies have dominated inquiry into castles in the landscape over the last fifty years. Together these fields have identified many of the key questions and arguments associated with understanding the castle in the context of the landscape.

Landscape history

An introduction to the origins of landscape history has already been given in chapter one.[3] This introduction cited William Hoskins and Maurice Beresford as the forefathers of modern landscape history. Hoskins wrote *The Making of the English Landscape* because 'despite the multitude of books about English landscape and scenery, and the flood of topographical books in general, there is not one book which deals with the historical evolution of the landscape as we know it'.[4] His work and that of Beresford created a new approach to viewing the past, and placed it in the context of an ever

---

[3] See Chapter 1 p. 4-5

[4] W.G. Hoskins, *The Making of the English Landscape* (London, 1981), p. 11.

changing and ever developing landscape. In the past fifty years landscape history has progressed greatly.

From the beginnings of research into deserted medieval villages and moated sites in the 1950s and 70s, settlement history has embraced the landscape approach as the investigations at Wharram Percy and Shapwick have shown.[5] Creighton noted that Hoskins had a mere nine sentences on the castle in the landscape in 1955, yet today it is one of the fastest growing areas of landscape history and Creighton himself has managed a 270-page work on the topic.[6] Numerous historiographical surveys of landscape history have recently elucidated comprehensively the work of assorted landscape historians and archaeologists, to the point that there is little more that can or need be said.[7] Austin, Higham, Barker, Drage, Creighton and Liddiard have between them begun the work of examining the castle through landscape history.[8] Monasteries and ecclesiastical institutions have been addressed by Waites, Aston and Morris.[9]

The town has been investigated as a landscape feature by Aston and Bond, Beresford, Platt, Schofield and Vince, and Slater.[10] Cumbria itself has also been looked at by

---

[5] See Chapter 1 p. 6

[6] O.H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes* (London, 2004), p. 5.

[7] O.H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes* (London, 2004) p. 5 & O.H. Creighton & R.A. Higham, 'Castle Studies and the 'Landscape' Agenda', *Landscape History. Journal of the Society for Landscape Studies* Vol. 26 (2004), pp. 5-18.

[8] D. Austin, 'The castle and the landscape', *Landscape History* Vol. 6 (1984), pp.70-81; P.A. Barker & R.A. Higham, *Hen Domen Montgomery: A Timber Castle on the Welsh Border* (1982); C. Drage, 'Urban Castles' in J. Schofield and R. Leech, eds., *Urban Archaeology in Britain. CBA Research Report* (1987) p.117-32; O.H. Creighton, *Castles and landscapes* (London, 2004); R. Liddiard, *Castles in Context. Power, Symbolism and Landscape, 1066-1500* (2005)

[9] B. Waites, *Monasteries and Landscapes in North-East England* (1997); M. Aston, *Monasteries in the Landscape (*2002); R. Morris, *Churches in the Landscape* (1989)

[10] M. Aston & J. Bond, *The Landscape of Towns* (1976); M.W. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages* (London, 1967); C. Platt, *The English Medieval Town* (1976); J. Schofield & A. Vince, *Medieval towns : the archaeology of British towns in their European setting* (2003); T.R. Slater, 'Understanding the landscape of towns' in D. Hooke (ed) *Landscape, the Richest Historical Record* Society for Landscape Studies Supplementary Series No. 1, pp. 97-108.

Winchester and the county appears in Kapelle's study of the north.[11] As the works and approaches adopted by these authors implies, the scope of landscape history has developed significantly, particularly in the last twenty-five years. Individual features are widely assessed in their landscape context, but, instead of alienating the concept and practice of landscape history as a tool for surveying wider communities or environments, it can enhance such undertakings. Matthew Johnson, in his work *Ideas of Landscape*, has noted the disparate approaches utilised by those involved in the field of landscape studies. He points out English landscape study focuses on both empirical and practical approaches unlike the other more theoretical methodologies utilised by North American landscape historians and archaeologists. Johnson identified the approach of archaeologist Mick Aston as typical of this English, practical methodology, a so-called 'real world' or 'muddy boots' approach.[12] Johnson seeks not to criticise respective approaches but to understand why they follow a particular methodology. In discussing the historiography of landscape history, Johnson cites the formative influences of the Romantic Movement, New Archaeology and anthropology in the development of landscape studies. He also notes the important legacies of William Hoskins and even William Wordsworth to the field. Ultimately, Johnson suggests that theory and practice need to be mixed to achieve a truly comprehensive landscape study and without 'lapsing into a disabling relativism'.[13]

The theory of landscape history has developed from the time of Hoskins to the present day. Hoskins expounded fieldwork in towns and the countryside as the primary method

---

[11] A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987); W. Kapelle, *The Norman conquest of the North : the region and its transformation, 1000-1135* (London, 1979)

[12] M. Johnson, *Ideas of Landscape* (Oxford, 2007), p. 2.

[13] M. Johnson, *Ideas of Landscape* (Oxford, 2007), p. 202.

of understanding the landscape. He noted that the first step in any investigation was an examination of the documentary evidence, in particular those records which contained information of a topographical nature.[14] Inquisitions, extents and perambulations can be considered such sources. Rippon laid out a theory of landscape history, by utilising case studies. He set out the case for landscape history analysis, or what he termed historic landscape characterisation, in five steps. These steps also served as 'a means of integrating a wide range of source material in order to understand the processes of landscape change'.[15] Rippon notes that landscape history is 'past-oriented research into the origins and development of our countryside' and puts forth the case for using his steps to understand how 'the present countryside came into being'.[16] The five steps are to use the historic landscape as a source itself and as a means of integrating other evidence, inclusivity, period and focus, scale and finally, understanding process from form. An interdisciplinary approach to looking at the 'physical fabric of the historic landscape itself', according to Rippon, is key to the first step in any analysis of the landscape. Inclusivity means that analysis is applied 'evenly and systematically to every part of a pre-determined study area of whatever size'. The third step, period and focus, is where Rippon advocates beginning with the present landscape and working backwards. Utilising mapping technology to identify and overlay all historic characteristics of a landscape can help in assessing the scale of that landscape. Finally, Rippon notes that the morphology of a site can be useful in identifying its origins.[17]

---

[14] W.G. Hoskins, *Fieldwork in Local History* (London, 1969), p. 48.
[15] S. Rippon, *Historic Landscape Analysis: Deciphering the Countryside* (York, 2004), p. 3
[16] S. Rippon, *Historic Landscape Analysis: Deciphering the Countryside* (York, 2004), p. 4
[17] S. Rippon, *Historic Landscape Analysis: Deciphering the Countryside* (York, 2004), p. 3-4,

There are, however, many variations in approaches taken to landscape history. As Rippon has noted 'there is not, nor should there be, just one technique' for analysing the historic landscape, which itself 'varies so dramatically'.[18]

Castle studies

The study of castles, in the modern age, has been characterized by specific trends and never ending, interminable debates. One incessant argument is that of the origin of the castle in England. The work of Armitage and Round in disproving Thompson's earlier thesis of pre-conquest origins for motte castles can be seen as a turning point in castle studies. The eighty years that followed saw the military interpretation of castles and castle development hold sway. The works of Oman, Toy, Taylor, Brown and Cathcart King, to name but a few, all propagated and investigated this perspective of the castle.[19] This is not to say that castle studies were stagnant over this period. New insights and methodologies did appear and develop, but it was not until the 1990s that any serious diversion from the militaristic approach was to take hold. Challenging voices within the mainstream did appear. Coulson published 'Structural Symbolism in Medieval Castle Architecture' in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* in 1973. In the article Coulson proposed that there was symbolic meaning in castle architecture. This marked the emergence of alternative methods of interpreting the castle. Similarly, David Austin's article 'The Castle and the Landscape' in *Landscape History* in 1984 marked the commencement of a new trend in castle studies. Austin stressed the

---

[18] S. Rippon, *Historic Landscape Analysis: Deciphering the Countryside* (York, 2004), p. 5, 143.

[19] C. Oman, *Castles* (London, 1926); S. Toy, *The Castles of Great Britain* (London, 1953) & *A History of Fortification from 3000 BC to AD 1700* (London, 1955); H. Colvin, R.A. Brown, & A. Taylor, *A History*

importance of viewing the castle as contemporary people saw it. He noted that the castle was viewed differently by the peasant in the field than by the lord of the manor. Austin, therefore, advocated looking at 'the reality and the abstraction' of the castle.[20] He meant it had both symbolic and practical functions which needed to be considered to understand fully the castle in the landscape. Austin also noted the importance of looking at the castle as part of a greater landscape or community and not just as an isolated feature in the landscape.[21] Austin envisioned 'integrated research' involving 'scholars from across many disciplines' for the future of research into castles.[22] The theory and processes of landscape history were uniquely suitable when considering the castle, through a wider approach.

Works by Higham and Barker, Pounds, Kenyon and McNeill embraced the new 'revisionist' movement.[23] These studies and more adopted new ways of interpreting the castle. Social, political and cultural approaches to castles are now common, so that the 'revisionist' trend has become conventional. Creighton, Liddiard and Johnson are among the most recent advocates of castle research within a wider landscape.[24] The lessons of Armitage and Round have been well learned and, whilst they still have their

---

of the King's Works, 3 vols. (London, 1963); R.A. Brown, *English Castles* (London, 1976); D.J. Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum,* 2 vols. (London, 1983).

[20] D. Austin, 'The Castle and the Landscape: annual lecture to the Society for landscape Studies, May 1984', *Landscape History* Vol. 6 (1984), p. 71.

[21] D. Austin, 'The Castle and the Landscape: annual lecture to the Society for landscape Studies, May 1984', *Landscape History* Vol. 6 (1984), p. 72.

[22] D. Austin, 'The Castle and the Landscape: annual lecture to the Society for landscape Studies, May 1984', *Landscape History* Vol. 6 (1984), p. 77.

[23] C. Coulson, 'Structural Symbolism in Medieval Castle Architecture', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association,* 132 (1973) pp.73-90; D. Austin, 'The Castle and the Landscape' in *Landscape History,* 6, (1984) pp.69-81; R.A. Higham & P.A. Barker, *Timber Castles* (London, 1992); N.J.G. Pounds, *The Medieval Castle in England and Wales: A Social and Political History* (Cambridge, 1990); J.R. Kenyon, *Medieval Fortifications* (London, 1990); T. McNeill, *Castles* (London, 1990)

[24] O.H. Creighton, *Castles and landscapes* (London, 2004); R. Liddiard, *Castles in Context. Power , Symbolism and Landscape, 1066-1500* (2005); M. Johnson, *Behind the Castle Gate* (London, 2002) & *Ideas of Landscape* (Oxford, 2007)

adherents, the revisionists currently hold the sway. Platt, however, launched a scathing attack on the revisionist movement in 2007.[25] He accused 'the followers of Charles Coulson' of high jacking castle studies and over stating the symbolic interpretations of castle functions.[26] Platt questioned Coulson's revisionist article on Bodiam Castle from 1991. He dismissed the symbolic functions Coulson had identified at Bodiam and argued that militaristic thinking explained the construction of Cooling in Kent, and that the need for self-defence had resulted in the crenellation of Wardour in Wiltshire and Donnington in Berkshire in 1393 A.D. and 1386 A.D. respectively.[27] Liddiard and Creighton responded to Platt's attack in 2008.[28] They suggested that Platt was seeking to reopen 'yesterday's battle' of war or status.[29] Creighton and Liddiard noted that revisionists did not claim that castles lacked a military function. They noted that the military and symbolic functions of castles were not incompatible and that current castle studies should be focusing not on this argument, but on the development of critical theory and interdisciplinary research.[30] The caricature of revisionist thinking which Platt discussed does not, in the opinion of Creighton or Liddiard, reflect current trends in castle studies, but simply rehashes an old argument. They suggest a refocusing of archaeological excavation to less high status sites and a consideration of castles in contested landscapes.[31]

---

[25] C. Platt, 'Revisionism in Castle Studies: A Caution', *Medieval Archaeology*, 51, pp. 83-102.

[26] C. Platt, 'Revisionism in Castle Studies: A Caution', *Medieval Archaeology*, 51, p. 84.

[27] C. Platt, 'Revisionism in Castle Studies: A Caution', *Medieval Archaeology*, 51, pp. 94-5.

[28] O.H. Creighton & R. Liddiard, 'Fighting yesterday's battle: beyond war or status in castle studies', *Medieval Archaeology*, 52, pp. 161-9.

[29] O.H. Creighton & R. Liddiard, 'Fighting yesterday's battle: beyond war or status in castle studies', *Medieval Archaeology*, 52, pp. 161.

[30] O.H. Creighton & R. Liddiard, 'Fighting yesterday's battle: beyond war or status in castle studies', *Medieval Archaeology*, 52, pp. 161.

[31] O.H. Creighton & R. Liddiard, 'Fighting yesterday's battle: beyond war or status in castle studies', *Medieval Archaeology*, 52, pp. 165-7.

Classification of castle sites

In order to understand fully the castle and its landscape it is necessary to place the relevant sites within their contemporary landscape, not in the modern administrative divisions used by the National Monuments Record (NMR) and Historic Environment Record (HER). The sites they have recorded are placed within the modern framework of post-1974 Cumbria (as they are in this work), and subsequently within six council districts (Allerdale, Barrow, Carlisle, Copeland, Eden and South Lakeland). This is necessary for their approach, to identify all historic sites not just those of the Middle Ages, and to present them as an aspect of the modern world. Modern divisions reflect the current needs of administration and government but medieval ones reflect the same needs as experienced by the castles and their owners. In the case of this thesis, the sites under discussion will be considered within the contemporary landscapes of when they were built, specifically those described in Chapter 2. The castle is, therefore, placed within the correct contextual landscape to understand the role it played in medieval society and to view it's interactions with the institutions of the day.

The classifications of sites into specific site forms are in line with those used by the NMR and HER. The following castle site types are utilized for the purposes of classification: motte, motte and bailey, ringwork, keep, castle, pele tower, and tower house. These seven classifications represent the majority of site types extant in the period 1066-1250 A.D. Variations and overlapping details will be indicated in specific cases.

National Monument Record

Out of 285 defensive medieval sites recorded by the National Monument Record (henceforth, the NMR) for Cumbria only twenty-four can be securely placed within the period 1066-1250 AD.[32] A further thirty-six are categorised as medieval in date but no further information is given and little investigation has been undertaken (consultation of the HER, Curwen, Perriam and Robinson, Pevsner, and Salter reduces these to twenty-one possible medieval sites), twenty are ecclesiastical in nature (towers on churches, defensive rectories, and abbey gatehouses), ten of which date to the period 1066-1250 A.D.), nineteen are repeated entries or specific features of other entries and 186 are not relevant to this discussion as they date conclusively to a later medieval period.

Figure 4.1: Table One indicates the number of sites located in Cumbria whose foundation falls conclusively into the period 1066-1250 A.D. and those which are definitely medieval in date but need to be excavated and thoroughly investigated before a specific date can be assigned. They are included only to illustrate the depth of work yet to be undertaken. It should also be noted that in this table a number of sites fall under more than one category. For 1066-1250 A.D. these are specifically Caernarvon, under both motte and castle, Brough under motte and bailey, keep and castle, Egremont under both motte and bailey and castle, Appleby under motte and bailey, keep and castle,[33] Moat Hill Aldingham under both motte and bailey and ringwork, Burgh Manor House under both motte and bailey and pele tower, Cockermouth under both motte and bailey and castle, Liddel Strength under motte and bailey and ringwork, Kendal under ringwork, keep and castle. Finally, Carlisle is under keep and castle (the earthwork

---

[32] See Chapter 2 p. 45 for a discussion of the NMR.

phase has left no trace. A ringwork or motte and bailey, or both, are the likeliest forms). For the medieval section Hayton Castle Hill is under both motte and ringwork and Castle Hill Beetham is under both motte and ringwork. The reason for including these sites under multiple form classifications is two fold. Firstly, they echo both the NMR and HER entries whose taxonomy is exhaustive and secondly it illustrates the point that these sites did not just take one form, they changed with their environment over the course of their existence.

Historic Environment Record

The Historic Environment Record (HER) for Cumbria records sites by specific monument types. These monument types are those identified by English Heritage and the NMR. Although the NMR database also allows general searches (for example 'defence' can be a monument type to be searched for) the HER does not. Only specific types of defensive monuments, such as motte or ringwork, can be searched for. Several searches using the word 'medieval' as the designated time period, and each of the seven site forms previously identified (motte, motte and bailey, ringwork, keep, castle, pele tower and tower house) were undertaken. These searches were carried out on site in the HER headquarters at the Cumbria County Council office in Kendal, with additional searches occurring online. The Lake District National Park Authority (LDNPA) HER was also consulted for those sites falling within the boundaries of the Lake District. The LDNPA HER is searchable in exactly the same way as the Cumbria HER, as it uses the same format and classification system. Online, the LDNPA HER is searchable via

---

[33] Clare has suggested it may have been a ringwork, but this has not been taken up by the HER or NMR, so is not included here. T. Clare, *Archaeological Sites of the Lake District* (1981) p. 48.

Archsearch on the Archaeology Data Service website. Archsearch is a metadata search engine, for archaeological sites and monuments in Britain. There are currently twenty eight searchable databases available for perusal on the Archsearch site.[34]

Initial searches of the HER (both for Cumbria and for LDNPA) returned the following numbers of sites for each of the seven site type classifications: thirty-five mottes (really twenty-three as twelve of these are the motte and bailey sites which follow), twelve motte and baileys, four ringworks, four keeps, forty-three castles, sixty-five pele towers and twenty-eight tower houses. An eighth site form, fortified house, was also included here. It did not have any pertinent entries in the NMR, however, the HER did return a number of relevant sites. As with the NMR, some site entries are repeated and occur under multiple classifications. After those whose origins are conclusively known, and date to a post 1250 A.D. period, as well as those whose existence is characterised as weak (natural features, local tradition and wrong site) are removed, Figure 4.2: Table Two remains.

As in Figure 4.1: Table One the seven classifications of site type in addition to an extra one, fortified house, are used in Figure 4.2: Table Two, as is the distinction between those with definite origins in the period 1066-1250 A.D, and those of a more general medieval date. The following sites appear under multiple classifications (1066-1250 A.D. column). Moat Hill Aldingham is under motte and ringwork. Kirkoswald is under both motte and castle. Cockermouth is under motte and bailey, castle and fortified house. Egremont is under motte and bailey, castle and fortified house. Kendal is under ringwork, castle and fortified house. Carlisle is under keep, castle and fortified house.

---

[34] Archaeological Data Service, 'Archsearch', http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/search/keyRes.cfm accessed September 2008.

Pendragon is under tower house and fortified house and Brougham is under castle and fortified house. Irthington Motte (The Nook) is the only site classified as medieval, which occurs under more than one classification, motte, and castle. In total the HER records twenty-one sites dating to 1066-1250 A.D. and a further twenty-one of medieval date.

For the purposes of this thesis, focus will be placed on those sites where definite origins can be established, rather than those given the more general date of 'medieval'. Whilst, in time some of those sites classified as medieval may indeed fall into the period 1066-1250 A.D. currently there is insufficient evidence (either archaeological or documentary) to warrant their inclusion under a more specific timeframe.

Some conclusions can be reached from looking solely at the two tables. Overall the sum total of motte and also that of motte and bailey castles in both the NMR and the HER is relatively similar. Refinement of these numbers can be seen in the HER totals, where the specific dating of sites has been undertaken to a greater degree than on a national scale. This is unsurprising, as it is to be expected that the local record office would be more involved with its local sites, and be able to carry out more extensive desk and field based research on individual sites, than the NMR, which has an entire country to cover. Those dated to the medieval period, under the classifications of motte, and motte and bailey, in both tables, indicate the difficulties for many archaeologists and researchers in conclusively dating sites. Ringwork entries also suggest a divergence of opinion, with the NMR assigning several extra sites this classification.

The distinction between ringwork and motte is difficult, particularly if the researcher is working from the NMR definition, which states that a ringwork is 'a defensive bank and ditch, circular or oval in plan, surrounding one or more buildings'.[35] This definition, whilst correct, is vague, and neglects the central issue in distinguishing a ringwork from a motte, namely the height of the bank. Broadly speaking a ringwork has a bank that is half the height of its raised platform. A motte generally has a raised platform much higher than the surrounding bank.

Difficulties nonetheless do exist in distinguishing motte and bailey castles from ringworks, the solution often being that sites are classified as both (Studley Old Castle in Warwickshire, Quince Hill in Bedfordshire, Kingerby Manor in Lincolnshire), or wrongly identified as a motte and bailey until reassessed (Castle Hill in Brenchley, Kent). Moat Hill in Aldingham illustrates another common circumstance, where the first phase of construction was a ringwork, which was then altered into a motte and bailey. Castle Hill in Burton in Lonsdale, and More Castle in Shropshire, began as ringwork castles and developed into motte and bailey castles. One alternative option is the application of the site form ring motte. This is not a preferred option for this author, nor is it officially recognized by the NMR which does not include it in its monument thesaurus, but, it is a term which some SMRs and HERs appear to have utilized (perhaps reflecting the confusion that does exist in defining these sites). Ring motte has been applied to earthworks in Lowick in Northumberland, Roundbury in Linkinhorne, Cornwall, earthworks in Awre in Gloucestershire, and Taynton Castle in Gloucestershire.[36]

---

[35] English Heritage, 'NMR Monument Type Thesaurus', http://thesaurus.english-heritage.org.uk/thesaurus.asp?thes_no=1 , accessed 12 September 2008.

[36] See the National Monuments Record, entries for Gloucestershire, Cornwall, Northumberland, Lancashire, Shropshire and Kent.

Another area, which gives cause for concern is the classification site type fortified house. This seems to have been over used in the Cumbria HER, where 135 entries fall under this category. Included under this heading are Brough, Brougham, Cockermouth, Egremont, Kendal, Appleby and Carlisle. There appears to be some confusion between tower houses, fortified houses and keeps. Certainly Cockermouth and Brougham are enclosure and moated castles respectively. Carlisle, Brough and Appleby have keeps and those at Egremont and Kendal could also be considered to be keeps. The use of the term fortified house, defined by the NMR as 'a house which bears signs of fortification', could as easily apply to sites classified as tower houses, bastles or pele towers, as well as those already mentioned.[37] Clarification and a more exacting definition would perhaps negate the apparent ease with which this term is bandied about, at least in the case of Cumbria. The use of the classification term 'castle' covers a variety of types and dates. It is included due to the reliance upon the term which becomes apparent when searching the NMR and HER databases. Most of the sites are given additional classifications, but the generic usage of 'castle' in both common parlance and academic circles has guaranteed it a place in the classification system.

Looking at Figure 4.2: Table Two, three out of the twenty three motte (not motte and bailey) sites have origins in the period 1066-1250 A.D. That is approximately 13% of all medieval mottes in Cumbria. Of the motte and bailey castles, the origins of seven of the twelve (58%) recorded on the database have been dated to pre 1250 A.D. Another four may also possibly belong to this category, but a lack of evidence prevents them

---

[37] English Heritage, 'NMR Monument Type Thesaurus', http://thesaurus.english-heritage.org.uk/thesaurus.asp?thes_no=1 , accessed 12 September 2008

from conclusively being dated to pre 1250 A.D. Similarly 50% of ringworks, 25% of keeps, 21% of castles, no pele towers, a tiny 7% of tower houses and just under 7% of fortified houses which have all been designated medieval in the database have origins pre 1250 A.D. These figures are according to the HER database, but cannot be taken as a definitive picture of castle usage or distribution in the relevant period, due to multiple classifications and as discussed above the large number of sites which have not yet been thoroughly investigated.

CLASSIFICATION	1066-1250 A.D.	MEDIEVAL
Motte	5	10
Motte & Bailey	10	3
Ringwork	4	4
Keep	4	0
Castle	10	2
Pele Tower	1	1
Tower House	3	3

Figure 4.1: Table One NMR Classification of Medieval Cumbrian Defensive Sites compiled from the National Monument Record Database, http://pastscape.english-heritage.org.uk/default.aspx and on site in NMR Swindon

CLASSIFICATION	1066-1250 A.D.	MEDIEVAL
Motte	3	8
Motte and Bailey	7	4
Ringwork	2	0
Keep	1	0
Castle	9	7
Pele Tower	0	0
Tower House	2	1
Fortified House	9	2

Figure 4.2: Table Two HER classification of medieval Cumbrian defensive Sites compiled from the Historic Environment Record Online, http://www.cumbria.gov.uk/planning-environment/countryside/historic-environment/HER_online.asp and on site in the HER in Cumbria County Council in Kendal and the Lake District

The Castle Sites

Using the NMR and the HER (Cumbria and LDNPA) and supplementing findings by consulting Curwen, Perriam and Robinson and Cathcart King, the following twenty four sites have been identified as having definite origins within the period 1066-1250 A.D.[38]

Appleby Castle, Brough Castle, Brougham Castle, Burgh Manor House, Caernarvon Castle, Carlisle Castle, Castle Hill Motte in Maryport, Castle Howe Kendal, Castle How in Castle Sowerby, Catterlen Old Hall, Cockermouth Castle, Egremont, Irthington Motte (NMR Monument 12769, HER 245), Kendal Castle, Kirkoswald Castle, Liddel Strength, Tute Hill in Cockermouth, Linstock Castle, Moat Hill in Aldingham, Pendragon Castle, Piel Castle, Ravenstonedale Motte (NMR Monument 1390209), The Mote in Brampton, and Whelp Castle.

Of these twenty four sites, Piel Castle, Whelp Castle, Kirkoswald Castle, Ravenstonedale Motte, and Castle How in Castle Sowerby have only documentary evidence to link them to the pre-1250 A.D. era. Burgh Manor House is no longer extant. Evidence for its existence and its dating to the mid thirteenth century stem from an excavation undertaken by Hogg between 1948 and 1950 under the auspices of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society.[39] Caernarvon Castle, Castle Hill Motte Maryport, Catterlen Old Hall, Irthington Motte and The Mote in Brampton are also slight on detail, both archaeological and documentary. As such,

---

[38] J.F. Curwen, *The Castles and Fortified Towers of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North of the Sands, together with a brief Historical Account of Border Warfare,* CWAAS Extra Series Vol. 13 (Kendal, 1913); D.R. Perriam & J. Robinson, *The Medieval fortified buildings of Cumbria: an illustrated gazetteer and research guide,* CWAAS Extra Series Vol. 29 (Kendal, 1998); D.J. Cathcart-King, *Castellarium Anglicanum: An Index and Bibliography of the Castles of England, Wales and the Islands,* 2 vols. (London, 1983)

these eleven sites do not have sufficient information to warrant full explorations of their history and archaeology. They will be mentioned in the body of the main text but no specific case study has been undertaken of them as it would add little if anything to the study of the medieval castle landscapes of Cumbria. The central, anchoring sites for this thesis will be Appleby, Brough, Brougham, Carlisle, Castle Howe and Kendal, Cockermouth and Tute Hill, Egremont, Liddel Strength and to a lesser extent Linstock, Moat Hill Aldingham and Pendragon (of which little has been investigated or documented). Tute Hill and Cockermouth Castle, both in Cockermouth will be investigated together, as will Castle Howe in Kendal and Kendal Castle. Detail on each site may be found in the Gazetteer or the respective case studies at the end of chapters five to eight.

Siting & Distribution of Castles

Castle siting is a much debated area of castle research. Traditional theory has always emphasized the military reasoning (high ground, defensible situation) behind castle siting, but, this has gradually been challenged.[40] The most recent opinions on castle siting have recognised that castles were built for many different reasons, in differing locations, and by members of differing strata in society. As Creighton noted, these factors clearly indicate that, 'military considerations were only one of many variables that influenced the decision of where to build a castle'.[41] There were thus no general

---

[39] R. Hogg, 'Excavations at the fortified manor house of Burgh by Sands', *TCWAAS*, New Series Vol. 54 (Kendal, 1954), pp. 105-118.

[40] D.J.C. King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, Vol. 1 (London, 1983), p. xvii-xviii.

[41] O.H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes: Power, Community and Fortification in Medieval England* (London, 2002), p. 35; R. Liddiard, *Castles in Context. Power, Symbolism and Landscape, 1066 to 1500* (Bollington, 2005), pp. 23-26.

rules governing the choice of site. Each castle was established to meet individual needs, and reflected both the physical landscape available to the castle architect or builder and the availability of building materials.

The Scandinavian settlement of Cumbria has been gauged by pollen analysis. This is the study of the vegetation history of a region, through analysis of pollen grain and spores.[42] Oldfield found that by circa 800 A.D. very little woodland actually survived on the low lands of Cumbria. It was located instead on the hills and in the valleys. Oldfield also mentions a period of reforestation after the Scandinavian colonisation and before the population expansion of the twelfth century.[43] This research indicates sufficient wood resources for timber defences and castle building in the late eleventh and into the twelfth century. Cumbria had a number of quarries, an abundant source of sandstone and slate. The geology of Cumbria, as already discussed, was conducive to stone construction.[44]

It is perhaps the issue of landholding in medieval Cumbria that should, in particular, be mentioned. As has been noted Cumbria was characterised by its compact lordships, and the likely adaptation by the Normans of a pre-existing territorial pattern.[45] The relative stability of territorial divisions is exemplified by the castle construction of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. Castle distribution can be seen in Figure 4.3. The map shows the distribution of castle sites with origins in the period 1066-1250 A.D. in Cumbria. In spite of no geographical data being present on the map it clearly shows a

---

[42] F. Oldfield, 'Pollen Analysis and the history of land use', *Advancement of Science,* No. 25 (1969), p. 298-311.

[43] A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987) p.37-8; F. Oldfield, 'Pollen Analysis and the history of land use', *Advancement of Science,* No. 25 (1969) p. 298-311.

[44] See Chapter 3 pp. 59-61

large area in the centre which is conspicuously free of castle sites. This is the Lake District, an upland area. The castle distribution also reflects the core settlement zones around Carlisle, down the Eden Valley in the eastern part of the county, and along the western edge. Armitage has noted the link between the siting of Norman castles and the Roman road network.[46] In Cumbria, the main communication route from the north (Carlisle) made its way through Penrith, and down past Brougham, over Stainmore and the Pennines, into Yorkshire. The castles at Brougham, Kirkby Thore (Whelp), Appleby, and Brough all lay on or near this road. Hadrian's Wall ran past Carlisle, into Burgh by Sands, terminating in Bowness-on-Solway and a road continued along the coast to Maryport and Moresby just beyond it, then inland to Papcastle beside Cockermouth.

---

[45] G.W.S. Barrow, 'The pattern of lordship and feudal settlement in Cumbria', *Medieval History*, Vol. 1 No. 2, July 1975, p. 117.

[46] E.S. Armitage, *The Early Norman Castles of the British Isles* (London, 1912), p. 84.

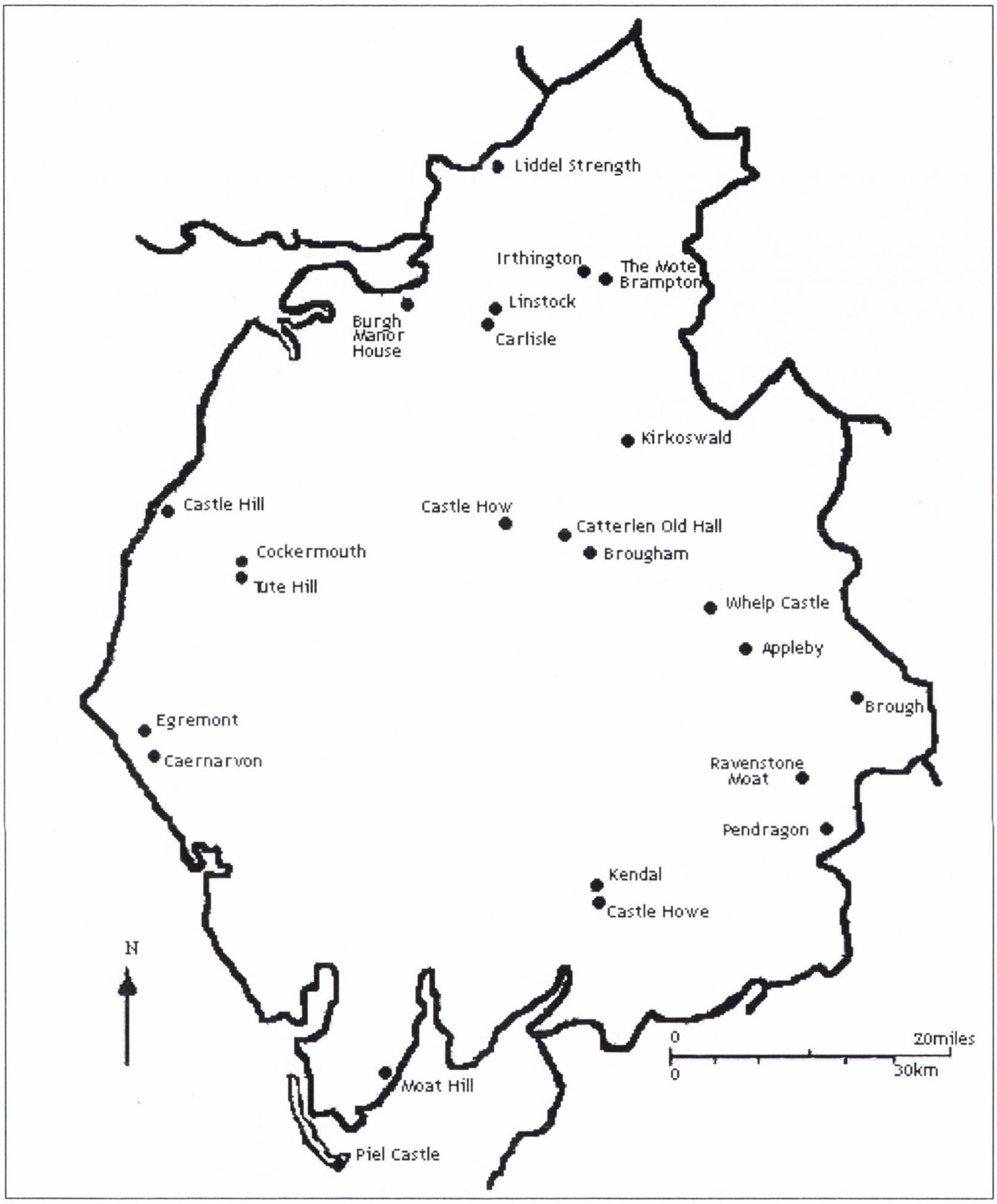


Figure 4.3: Distribution Map of Cumbrian Castles (1066-1250 A.D.). Compiled from information in the HER and NMR database.

Whilst the retention and use of these roads and communication routes during the Middle Ages was common, Creighton states the importance to lords of being able to travel between scattered estates.[47] This was not an issue in medieval Cumbria, with its compact estates, but certainly major landholders in this area held other estates across England, and even on the continent. Ivo de Taillebois, who held Kendal, had his main estates in Lincolnshire. William de Lancaster who held Kendal also held much of Lancashire. William le Meschin held Skipton-in-Craven in North Yorkshire by virtue of his wife Alice de Romilly in addition to Copeland. Ranulf le Meschin retained his lands in Normandy on his inheritance of the earldom of Chester. He did, however, have to give up the potestas of Carlisle. William Marshall, who was granted Cartmel in Cumbria, went on to be one of the most powerful landholders in the Angevin world. He held vast estates in Wales (Pembroke and Striguil), the whole of Leinster (in theory if not in practice) in Ireland, as well estates in France and England including the Forest of Dean and lands in Berkshire, Wiltshire and Sussex.[48]

A number of these castles made use of antecedent Roman fortifications or were situated in their direct vicinity. Brough was built within a Roman fort, as was Brougham and Castle Hill in Maryport. Maryport overlooks the Roman fort of Alavna and the point at which the Roman road crosses the River Ellen. Roman finds have also been uncovered in Kendal Castle (a coin) and at Cockermouth (an altar).[49] Papcastle near Cockermouth was an integral part of the Roman road system, lying on the route between Old Carlisle

---

[47] O.H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes: Power, Community and Fortification in Medieval England* (London, 2002), pp. 39-40.

[48] D. Crouch, *William Marshall: Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147-1219* (2002), pp. 82-83

[49] M.A. Hodgson, *Topographical and Historical Description of the County of Westmoreland* (London, 1820) p. 198; R.S. Ferguson, 'Kendal Castle', *TCWAAS* Old Series Vol.9 (Kendal, 1887), p. 178; J.C. Bruce, 'Notes', *Archaeologia Aeliana,* Vol. 7 (1866-76) p. 80.

(Olenacum), Moresby and Ravenglass, and also between Maryport and Old Penrith. The Roman fort of Derventio lay at Papcastle, exactly 1.6 km northwest of Cockermouth castle.

The siting of castles, the medieval barony or manor to which they were attached and the dates of the first medieval castle on the site are given in Figure 4.4: Table 3. The appearance of William Rufus in Cumbria and the subsequent building of a castle at Carlisle in 1092 A.D corresponded with the construction of castles at Appleby, Brough, and Castle Howe Kendal. This is considered the first wave of Norman castle construction in Cumbria. Tute Hill Cockermouth, Liddel Strength, Moat Hill Aldingham, Castle Hill Maryport, Ravenstone Moat and Egremont likely followed shortly thereafter. Then in the mid to late twelfth century Brougham, Caernarvon, Kirkoswald, Castle How in Castle Sowerby, Irthington Motte, Catterlen Old Hall, Cockermouth, Kendal, Piel, Pendragon and Linstock were built. The late twelfth and early thirteenth century saw The Mote at Brampton, Whelp Castle and finally Burgh Manor House (although their may have been a Norman motte and bailey castle on the site) established.

The first wave of castles was all motte or motte and bailey castles. A mixture of motte and baileys and ringworks followed in the early to mid twelfth century. This was followed in turn by a swift conversion of some sites to stone. Catterlen Old Hall, Pendragon, Linstock and Burgh Manor House represent the first tower houses or fortified houses to be built.

SITE NAME	SITE	MEDIEVAL BARONY	DATE OF FIRST MEDIEVAL CASTLE
Appleby	Bend of the River	Carlisle /Appleby	c.1100A.D.
Brough	Within a Roman fort, on Stainmore Road	Appleby	c.1100A.D.
Brougham	In a Roman fort, on a spur in floodplain of river Eamont	Appleby	c. 1170A.D.
Burgh Manor House	On site of turret 72b of Hadrian's Wall	Burgh by Sands	Mid 13th century
Caernarvon Castle	On edge of a hill	Copeland	12th century
Carlisle	Overlooking river Eden on steep bluff. Confluence of rivers Eden, Peveril & Caldew	Carlisle	1092A.D
Castle Hill Motte	On a steep bluff overlooking crossing point of River Ellen	Copeland	1120-60A.D
Castle How	Isolated site, 1.5km from settlement, no remains	Inglewood	Documentary evidence 1186/7A.D.
Castle Howe	On the eastern end of a ridge	Kendal	Late 11th century
Catterlen Old Hall	Sited on a bend in river Petterill	Inglewood	12th century
Cockermouth	On a ridge, overlooking confluence of rivers Derwent & Cocker	Cockermouth	Mid 12th century
Egremont	High natural mound overlooking town and convex bend of river Ehen	Copeland	1120-40A.D.
Irthington Motte	On the bank of river Irthing	Gilsland	12th century (1160s)
Kendal Castle	On a steep hill (drumlin) west of the town, overlooking Kendal and river Kent	Kendal	c.1184A.D.
Kirkoswald	Far side of Raven Beck to village of Kirkoswald	Kirkoswald Manor	Documentary evidence 1201A.D., probable timber tower mid 12th century
Liddel Strength	Steep cliff above Liddel Water	Liddel	11th/12th century
Linstock	Overlooking convex bend of river Eden	Linstock	12th/13th century
Moat Hill	High cliff overlooking sea	Furness	Early 12th century
Pendragon	On a ridge. Uses steep scarp to river as defensive perimeter to the west	Appleby	Late 12th century
Piel	South end of Piel Island, overlooking harbour mouth	Furness	Documentary evidence to 1135-54 A.D.
Ravenstone Moat	Foot of the Howgills, near confluence of three becks	Appleby	Pre 1154 A.D.
The Mote	On the summit of a hill	Gilsland	12/13th century
Tute Hill	On plateau, near confluence of rivers Derwent & Cocker	Cockermouth	Early-mid 12th century
Whelp Castle	In Roman fort Bravoniacum. Near river Eden & Troutbeck	Appleby	Documentary evidence 1199-1225A.D.

Figure 4.4: Table 3 Castle siting and distribution information. Compiled from NMR, HER, Perriam & Robinson and Curwen.

Density of castle sites

The question of multiple castles in a small area is one that is applicable to medieval Cumbria. Four potential circumstances exist, according to Creighton, to explain the presence of more than one castle in a particular location. 'First, one castle may have been raised in opposition to another during a time of hostility, usually as a royal response to baronial insurrection. Second, the sites may have quite distinct ownership histories and have lain in separate lordships. Third is the possibility that a new site has replaced an old one. The fourth scenario is that the castles coexisted under the same ownership and complemented one another within a unified strategy'.[50]

Applying these four scenarios to the sites in medieval Cumbria, results in some unanswered questions. Kendal town has both Castle Howe and Kendal castle. Castle Howe is a motte and bailey castle which both the NMR and HER have dated, through site visits, archaeological survey and documentary searches, to circa 1092 A.D. It lies near to the church. The HER (HER 2077) suggest that it was the seat of Ketel, son of Eldred who was living there at this time.[51] A ringwork was constructed circa 1184 A.D. (when Gilbert fitz-Reinfrid gained the barony by marriage) across the river Kent, on a drumlin. The thirteenth century saw the replacement of the ringwork with a stone castle.[52] In this case it is almost certain that the third of Creighton's possibilities, the replacement of one castle with another, took place. One small issue disrupts this straightforward answer, namely the existence of two further possible motte castles in

---

[50] O.H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes: Power, Community and Fortification in Medieval England* (London, 2002), p. 55

[51] HER Cumbria, '2077 Castle Howe Motte and Bailey, Kendal'; D.R. Perriam & J. Robinson, *The Medieval Fortified Buildings of Cumbria: an illustrated gazetteer and research guide* (Kendal, 1998), p. 335.

[52] J. Munby, 'Medieval Kendal: The First Borough Charter', *TCWAAS,* New Series Vol.85 pp. 95-114 (Kendal, 1985) p.107-9

the vicinity. The HER records Round Hill at Hallgarth in Kendal (HER 19121), and Kendal Mound on Vicarage Drive Kendal (2072), as possible motte sites. Both Winchester and the HER agree that a possible pre-Conquest administrative centre lay at Strickland, near Kendal.[53] Round Hill would lie directly in the middle of this area, thus lending legitimacy to the theory that this may be a pre-conquest possible 'burh-type site'.[54] Higham notes this site in her account of mottes in the region.[55] Kendal Mound is dismissed as likely to be a natural feature, some form of glacial deposit. The issue of Cockermouth will be discussed below in the case study of this castle.

Having identified the castle sites, their initial dates and siting issues, the landscape in which they existed will be illustrated in the chapters to follow. Two case studies will conclude this chapter, and explain two particular castles in more detail. Case studies will follow each subsequent chapter, save Chapter 9. Each will focus solely on the theme of that chapter, discussing specific castles in light of arguments, theories and evidence presented in that chapter.

---

[53] A.J.L. Winchester, *Draft Report. Cumbrian Historic Towns Survey, 1978-9. The Archaeological Potential of Four Cumbrian Market Towns,* Unpublished Report, Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle, DX/784/1, D/Phi/74; HER Entry Number 19121, 'Motte, Round Hill, Hallgarth, Kendal', accessed 20th July 2005

[54] HER Entry Number 19121, 'Motte, Round Hill, Hallgarth, Kendal', accessed 20th July 2005

[55] M.C. Higham, 'The Mottes of North Lancashire, Lonsdale and South Cumbria', *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. 91 (Kendal, 1991), pp. 79-90.

Case Study

Liddel Strength

Liddel Strength, 'the original caput' of the barony of Liddel, is an earthwork of great importance to Cumbria.[56] It lies approximately eight miles to the northeast of Carlisle, situated well beyond the Roman border with the north, Hadrian's Wall. When Liddel Strength was firstly identified it was thought to be a Roman site. General Roy (in 1793) identified it as a Roman fort, possibly Castra Exploratorum.[57] Within a century this suggestion was over ridden, the site clearly being a motte and bailey.[58] No archaeological excavation has been done at Liddel Strength, although the RCHME carried out a survey in 1992. Nevertheless, Curwen believed that the very position of the earthwork, a boundary between the 'hostilities of two nations' suggested multiple fortifications on the site, with only the Norman motte and bailey now visible.[59] Curwen also believed that a Roman road, the 2nd Iter of Antoninus, ran past the site to Netherby (a definite Roman site) and on to Carlisle.[60] Collingwood refuted both these Roman connections in 1926.[61] A comprehensive archaeological excavation of the site and its surroundings would give us a much better understanding of the area. The NMR has classified the site as having a ringwork castle erected during the first phase of castle construction and a motte and bailey in the second phase.[62]

---

[56] D.R. Perriam & J. Robinson, *The Medieval Fortified Buildings of Cumbria* (1998), CWAAS Extra Series Vol.29, p. 225.

[57] General Roy, *Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain* (1793) plate xxiii & pp 118-9.

[58] Chancellor Ferguson, 'Two Moated Mounds, Liddel and Aldingham', *TCWAAS,* Old Series Vol. ix (Kendal 1888) p.407.

[59] J.F. Curwen, 'Liddel Mote', *TCWAAS*, New Series Vol. 10 (Kendal, 1910), p.91.

[60] J.F. Curwen, 'Liddel Mote', *TCWAAS,* New Series Vol. 10 (Kendal, 1910), p.91.

[61] R.G. Collingwood, 'Liddel Mote Castle', *TCWAAS*, New Series Vol. 26 (Kendal, 1926), p.390-397.

[62] NMR Entry , 'Liddel Strength', accessed 20th August 2006.

Liddel Strength is sited in an extraordinary position, on the border between Scotland and England. It faces northwards, towards Scotland, but holds a clear view of the entire surrounding country. As all commentators of the site have noted it is naturally defensive and of considerable size.[63] Liddel Water (the river) is located some forty nine metres (160 feet) below the northern escarpment, an extremely sheer drop.

The entire earthwork is approximately four hectares in area. The motte and bailey is extremely defensive and Curwen even suggested it was a place 'of last retreat'.[64] The inner ward has a rampart of 10.6 metres in height surrounding it. The motte lies in the south-east corner of the inner bailey. A portion of the motte has disappeared because of a landslide, but Curwen suggests the diameter of the summit to have been circa 10.4 metres.[65] The height of the motte was approximately 6.6 metres above the inner bailey. Curwen, however, suggests that no tower could have stood on the small summit of such a motte, hence it was a place of last retreat. An outer ward lies to the west with both a ditch and a rampart to defend it. Entrance to the inner sanctum was carefully planned, so that at all times the visitor (welcome or not) was in full view of the defenders with nowhere to hide.[66] The NMR assertion that the site as a probable ringwork adapted into a motte and bailey castle is likely but needs to be confirmed by excavation.[67]

Documentary evidence first mentioned Liddel Strength in 1174 A.D, when 'Lidel', which was in the hands of Nicholas de Stuteville and was captured through arms by

---

[63] J.F. Curwen, *The Castles and Fortified Towers of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North of the Sands, together with a brief Historical Account of Border Warfare*, CWAAS Extra Series Vol. 13 (Kendal, 1913), p. 24; N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Cumberland and Westmorland* (London, 1967), p. 147.

[64] J.F. Curwen, 'Liddel Mote', *TCWAAS,* New Series Vol. 10, pp. 91-101, (Kendal, 1910), p.98.

[65] J.F. Curwen, 'Liddel Mote', *TCWAAS,* New Series Vol. 10, pp. 91-101, (Kendal, 1910), p. 97-98.

[66] J.F. Curwen, 'Liddel Mote', *TCWAAS,* New Series Vol. 10, pp. 91-101, (Kendal, 1910), p.98-99.

[67] NMR Entry , 'Liddel Strength', accessed 20th August 2006.

William the Lion.[68] It was clearly in existence by this point. Motte and bailey fortifications can be dated in general to the late eleventh and into the twelfth century. It is known that William Rufus took Carlisle and the surrounding area in 1092 A.D. He granted it to Ranulf le Meschin, who created two baronies along the northern frontier, in emulation of the Welsh Border. He granted to Robert de Trivers the barony of Burgh by Sands probably with an eye to defence from attack by sea and to Turgis Brundas the barony of Liddel. It is generally concluded that the motte of Liddel Strength was established at this point to serve as the caput of the barony.[69]

As Cumberland fell under the respective influences of the king of Scots or the English crown at various times during this period, this clearly would have affected the ownership of Liddel Strength. Nothing is known of the specific ownership of Liddel for the first half of the twelfth century. In 1174 A.D. Ranulph de Soulis, butler to William the Lion, was in possession of the castle. After the capture of the king of Scots at Alnwick in 1174 A.D., Cumberland and thus Liddel, passed to the lordship of the English crown.[70] Nicholas de Stuteville held the barony of Liddel from King John from this time on. The Calendar of Close Rolls for 1217-18 A.D. records Henry III's direction to the sheriff of Cumberland to take the 'castle and ville of Lidelle' into the royal control.[71] Despite the ownership of Liddel falling to the crown we learn nothing of the physical makeup of the site until 1281 A.D. In the Inquisitionum Post Mortem of Baldwin Wake it is recorded that the site held, 'a wooden hall, with two solars and

---

[68] W. Stubbs (ed.), *The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I (1169-92),* known more commonly as the 'Benedict of Peterborough'. Vol.1 (1867) p.65.

[69] D.R. Perriam & J. Robinson, *The Medieval Fortified Buildings of Cumbria* (1998) p.225.

[70] J. Stephenson (trans), *Mediaeval Chronicles of Scotland: The Chronicle of Melrose (from 1136-1264) & The Chronicle of Holyrood (to 1163)* (1988) Entry in The Chronicle of Holyrood, 1157, p.138.

[71] *Rotuli litterarum clausarum 1204-1227*, T. D. Hardy, ed., 2 vols (London, 1833, 1844), part 2, m. 13.

cellars, a chapel, a kitchen, a byre, a grange, and a wooden granary…'.[72] From this it can be gauged that Liddel was quite a self-contained fortification. There is no evidence of settlement (popular or ecclesiastical) in the surrounding area. If as Curwen suggested there was no tower on top of the motte then it could be said with some confidence that Liddel was a military outpost, what Curwen called a 'last retreat'.[73] The lack of contemporary references to Liddel Strength is, however, worrisome. This lack of evidence would support the theory that the castle was a military outpost and would indicate it was one that was rarely, if ever used. Liddel Strength was located on the edge of Liddel Water. It came to the fore of border disputes in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[74] During the period of interest to this thesis, however, little is known of Liddel Strength or the role it played in the political life of the north west.

While it has been already concluded that any Roman connection to Liddel is false, pre-historic, Briton or Anglo-Saxon use of the site cannot be ruled out. Without excavation Liddel Strength gives little information about itself or the area in which it is situated. Perriam and Robinson suggest that the outer bailey could be an earlier hill fort.[75] There are also rectangular remains of some form of building on the site, possibly a bastle built in the sixteenth century. For the period 1066-1250 A.D. Liddel Strength did not appear to have any masonry defences. Ferguson suggested that the crown, in whose possession Liddel seemed so regularly to fall, were in no need of a residential castle in this area,

---

[72] J. Bain (ed.), *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland,* Vol. II, A.D.1272-1307 (Edinburgh, 1884) Item no. 208, 18th March 1281, p.63.

[73] J.F. Curwen, 'Liddel Mote', *TCWAAS,* New Series Vol. 10, pp. 91-101, (Kendal, 1910), p.98.

[74] S. Ellis, 'Frontiers and power in the early Tudor state', *History Today*, April 1995, vol. 45 no. 4, p. 37

[75] D. R. Perriam & J. Robinson, *Medieval Fortified Buildings of Cumbria*, CWAAS Extra Series Vol. 29, (Kendal, 1998), p. 233.

and that 'for military purposes, the castles of Carlisle and Bewcastle sufficed'.[76] This would appear to fit with what physical evidence there is, an isolated site of military value, a small motte possibly without a tower, no masonry defences and no settlements in the immediate area. Liddel Strength, therefore, appears to have been a military outpost, possibly of Carlisle or Bewcastle. A pele tower was added at an unknown date, though probably after the destruction of the castle during the Anglo-Scottish Wars in the fourteenth century. The pele tower was kept in repair up to the late sixteenth century.[77] It never developed into a substantial military site but it was kept in use.

As with any Norman foundation the church must be assessed for evidence of its objectives for the location. Liddel was not part of an immediate community. The aforementioned 1281 A.D. Inquisition Post Mortem noted that there was a chapel on the site, but only two solars, a wooden hall and grange, suggesting again that there was never a large population in residence. Indeed the chapel may even only have been for the sporadic visits of whoever was in charge.

Liddel, therefore, appears never to have been intended as anything more than a military outpost. It is an impressive earthwork but one that never developed, although this was probably by design. The site is located on the very border between England and Scotland, perhaps not the most appropriate location for a community to evolve. Little evidence of the impact this medieval castle had on its surrounding landscape can be seen. It can be said that for a time it was the caput of the Barony of Liddel, it was

---

[76] Chancellor Ferguson, 'Two Moated Mounds, Liddel and Aldingham', *TCWAAS,* Old Series Vol. ix (Kendal 1888), p.408.

[77] D.J. Cathcart King, *Castellarium anglicanum : an index and bibliography of the castles in England, Wales and the islands. Volume I : Anglesey – Montgomery* (1983), p. 88; R. Hugill, *Borderland Castles and Peles* (1939) [1970 Reprint by Frank Graham] p147-9; K. Blood, *06-MAY-1992/RCHME: Liddel Strength Survey,* Oral information, correspondence (not archived) or staff comments pp 91-101.

established for a specific reason (the defence of England from the Scots) and that this continued to be its role until its neglect in the late sixteenth century.

Tute Hill & Cockermouth Castle

Cockermouth is a town in the west of Cumbria. It lies just outside the boundary of the Lake District yet shares many of the topographical and geological features of this area as well as serving as a gateway to the western fells. The area has an occupation history dating at least to the Roman period, even earlier if the stone circle on Elva Plain represents a pre-historic settlement.[78] Today the town officially lies within the administrative district of Allerdale, a much smaller district than its medieval predecessor. The baronies of Allerdale and Copeland played major roles in the evolution of the honour of Cockermouth and its castle.

The castle of Cockermouth lies directly at the confluence of the rivers Derwent and Cocker.[79] It is an imposing site upon a ridge of glacial gravel. Derventio, the Roman fort lying at nearby Papcastle, was an integral part of the Roman road system in Cumbria. It lay on the route between the major centres of Old Carlisle (Olenacum), Moresby and Ravenglass and also between Maryport and Old Penrith. Hadrian's Wall lies only forty kilometres (twenty five miles) away to the northeast.[80] Two other fortified sites have been documented close to Cockermouth castle, both laying claim to the title of the first medieval castle at the location. The first of these sites is at Papcastle, based at the Roman fort of Derventio and lying 1.6 km northwest of

---

[78] R. Millward & A. Robinson, *The Lake District* (London, 1970) p. 107-9.

[79] J.B. Bradbury, *A History of Cockermouth* (1981) p. 4 suggests that the course of the river Derwent was changed during the reign of Edward I to directly beneath the castle.

[80] J.B. Bradbury, *A History of Cockermouth* (1981) p.117-9.

Cockermouth castle, the second is Tute Hill, often identified as a natural feature or pre-historic tumulus. This second site, however, lies directly opposite the extant remains of Cockermouth Castle. Both sites need to be considered in any comprehensive review of Cockermouth Castle.

The town of Cockermouth sprang up to the south and southeast of the castle and achieved borough status in circa 1210 A.D.[81] and its layout suggests a planned foundation. The origins of the honour of Cockermouth, in which Tute Hill, Papcastle and Cockermouth lie, have already been stated, and thus will not be reiterated here. Figure 4.5: Table 4 The Descent of the Honour of Cockermouth, however, illustrates the descent as based on the three documentary sources already mentioned.[82] Establishing the descent is of course important in identifying the person who established the caput at the Cockermouth site and built first the earthwork and then the stone enclosure castle. Architectural and archaeological evidence identify the mid twelfth century as the date of origin for the motte and bailey castle and the mid thirteenth for the first stone enclosure castle. Adding documentary evidence identifies around the 1220s, probably post 1221 A.D. and the ordered destruction of the castle, as the period which saw the replacement of the earthwork with stone construction, the phases of which can be identified in the lower courses of the north and south curtain wall and the basement of the west tower. The lordship of Cockermouth was held by

---

[81] R. Hall, 'An Early Cockermouth Charter', *TCWAAS*, New Series vol. 77 (Kendal, 1977) p.76

[82] See Chapter 3 pp. 83-4; J.E. Prescott (ed), 'Distributio Cumberlandiae et Conquestum Angliae' *Register of the Priory of Wetheral* (London, 1887) Entry 245 pp. 384-8 ; J. Wilson (ed), 'Chronicon Cumbrie' *The Register of the Priory of St. Bees*, Surtees Society vol. 126 (Durham, 1915) p. 491-496, Document 498; *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati vol. I Ab Anno MCCIV ad Annum MCCXXIV* (1833) Entry 459/3.

William de Fortibus II in 1221 A.D. when Henry III ordered the sheriff of Cumberland to destroy Cockermouth Castle.[83]

---

[83] *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati Vol. I Ab Anno MCCIV ad Annum MCCXXIV* (1833) 1221 Membrane 16 p.474.

Dates of importance[84]	**Distributio**	**Chronicon**	**Miscellaneous**
c. 1125-1138A.D.	Waldeve, son of Gospatric	Waldeve, son of Cospatric	Waldeve
	Alan, son of Waldeve	Alan, son of Waldeve	Alan
Born 1095A.D, Died 1153/4A.D. Alice de Romilly died 1187A.D.	William fitz Duncan, count of Murray, cousin to Alan, nephew of Waldeve, son of Waldeve's sister Octreda	William fitz Duncan, count of Murray, cousin to Alan, nephew of Waldeve, son of Ethreda, sister of his father Waldeve. Married Alice, da. of Robert de Romeney, lord of Skepton in Craven	William fitz Duncan, formerly earl of Murreve [Moray] 'nephew' of said Alan, begotten of Etheldreda sister of his father Waldeve. He espoused Alicia de Rumeley daughter of Robert de Rumeley lord of Scyptona
Gilbert Pippard died 1192/3A.D. in Brindisi	Alice de Romely & her husband Gilbert Pippard	Alicia de Romilie & her husband Gilbert Pipard	Alicia de Rumeley, was married to Gilbert Pypard
Robert de Courteney died 1209A.D.; Alice de Romeley 1216A.D.	Alice de Romely & her 2nd husband Robert de Courtney	Alicia de Romilie & her husband Robert de Courteney	Alicia de Rumeley, m. to Robert de Curteney
William le Gros died c.1179A.D.	William le Gross, earl of Albemarlie (m. to Cecilia 1st da. Wm fitzDuncan. Cockermouth came to him by her right after the death of Alice, her sister.)	William Brossus, earl of Albemarlie m. (to 1st da. of Wm fitzDuncan Cicilia.)	William Gross, earl of Albemarlie m. to Cecilia, eldest da. of Wm fitzDuncan
William de Fortibus died 6th Richard I (c.1195A.D.)	Halewise was da. of William & Cecilia. She married William de Mandeville; William de Fortibus & then Baldwin le Betun	Hawisia, da. of Wm and Cicilia	Hawysia, da. of
Wm II granted Cockermouth in 1215A.D. by King John.[85] He died c.1241A.D.	William de Fortibus, earl of Albemarlie (m. Aveline, da. of Richard de Munfichet)	William de Fortibus	William de Fortibus
Died c. 1260A.D. Isabel died 1293A.D.	William de Fortibus (m. Christian da. Alan de Galway & Isabel da. of Baldwin, earl of Denbeigh)	William de Fortibus	William de Fortibus
Avelina died c.1274A.D. and was without issue.	Avelina, m. Lord Edmund, bro to Kg. Edward	Avelina, m. Edmund, bro. of K. Edward	Avelyna, m. to Edmund, bor. To K. Edward

---

[84] Date is approximate and based on a range of sources

[85] Entry 1215, *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati Vol. I Ab Anno MCCIV ad Annum MCCXXIV* p. 191.

Reginald de Lucy died c.1198/9	Reginald de Lucy m. to Amabilla (2nd da. Wm fitzDuncan)	Reginald de Lucy	Amabyllis (2nd da. Wm fitzDuncan) m. Reginald de Lucy
Died 1213	Richard de Lucy (m. Ada, da. of Hugh de Morville & Thomas de Multon)		Richard de Lucy
Lambert de Multon died c. 1246	Amabilla (da. of Richard de Lucy and Ada) & Lambert de Multon (son of Thomas de Multon & first wife)	Amabilla & Lambert de Multon	
Died c. 1271	Thomas de Multon (son of Amabilla & Lambert)	Thomas de Multon of Egremond	Thomas, son of Lambert de Multon
	Alice de Lucy (da. of Richard de Lucy & sister to Amabilla) m. Alan, (son of Thomas de Multon, brother of Lambert de Multon)	Alice & Thomas de Luce	Alice and Thomas de Lucy
Died 1305/1321/1334 /1343/1368	Thomas de Lucy (son of Alan de Multon & Alice de Lucy. M. Isabel, da. of Adam de Botteby)	Thomas de Luce, his son	Thomas
Died 1343		Anthony, his brother (de Luce)	Anthony

Figure: 4.5 Table Four The Descent of the Honour of Cockermouth compiled from the Distributio Cumberlandiae et Conquestum Angliae, Chronicon Cumbrie and the Memorandum concerning the descendants of Waldeve.

Papcastle

Whilst not one of the castles which definitively falls into the period 1066-1250A.D, for the purposes of a case study into Cockermouth it is necessary briefly to note the site at Papcastle. It lies 1.6 km northwest of Cockermouth Castle. The HER record it as the 'reputed site of early castle'.[86] A Roman site was located here at the northern side of the river Derwent. Millward and Robinson suggest that this site was in use in pre-Roman times, citing the meaning of the name Derwent, 'abounding in oaks' as a name in common usage by Roman times.[87] The location of the fort Derventio has been identified on the summit of the hill with a settlement lying on the southern slope leading down to the river Derwent.[88] Numerous finds suggest sustained occupation of the site until the fourth century, with Birley even suggesting that a military presence may not have been continuous or sustained, that a civil settlement could have remained after the garrison had left.[89] He also suggests that Roman Papcastle was not chosen for its strategic or defensive position but rather as a location from which a Roman garrison could strike out and as, a cog in the wheel, keeping communication lines open to the south, specifically to Ravenglass.[90]A change of caput in Norman times, therefore, represented a move to a more defensive site.[91] Certainly, looking at the topography, the site at the confluence of the rivers Derwent and Cocker is more defensive.

---

[86] HER Entry no. 5652, 'Papcastle'.
[87] R. Robinson & A. Millward, *The Lake District* (1970) p.119.
[88] E. Birley, 'Roman Papcastle', *TCWAAS* New Series, Vol. 63 (Kendal, 1963) p.96-125.
[89] E. Birley, 'Roman Papcastle', *TCWAAS* New Series, Vol. 63 (Kendal, 1963) p.122.
[90] E. Birley, 'Roman Papcastle', *TCWAAS* New Series, Vol. 63 (Kendal, 1963) p.120.
[91] E. Birley, 'Roman Papcastle', *TCWAAS* New Series, Vol. 63 (Kendal, 1963) p.123.

In the Middle Ages, Waldeve is said to have used Papcastle as his caput, presumably for both Allerdale and Cockermouth.[92] Allerdale's origins have already been noted, specifically as a pre-Norman district which was adopted into the English barony system complete with its own native lord.[93] Papcastle itself technically lies in Allerdale. Excavation has not found any medieval castle evidence and the HER note that the reference to the castle here probably refers to the Roman fort.[94] Documentary evidence does feature Papcastle during the medieval period. Reference is made in the Inquisition Post Mortem of 1286 A.D. to the court of 'Papcastle'.[95] The caput at Cockermouth is believed to have been established in the mid twelfth century. Alan, son of Waldeve appears to have been based here.[96]

There is little actual evidence for medieval Papcastle, which would be relevant to this work. Archaeologically the site does not thus far suggest a medieval element to it, and architecturally there are no extant remains to date. Primary documentary evidence sees the name appear in the second half of the thirteenth century in Assize Rolls and Minister Accounts.[97] The name itself, 'Papcastle' can be split into two parts 'castle' and 'pap', referring to the 'caester' or Roman fort and possibly the Old Norse 'papi' meaning hermit, hardly suggesting large scale occupancy at the site.[98]

---

[92] J. Nicolson & R. Burn, *History and Antiquities of the Counties of Cumberland & Westmorland* (1976 Reprint)

[93] See Chapter 3 p. 82

[94] HER no. 5652; D.R. Perriam & J. Robinson, *The Medieval Fortified Buildings of Cumbria,* CWAAS, Extra Series, Vol.xxix (1998) p.22.

[95] 'Entry no. 603', *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and other Analogous Documents preserved in the Public Record Office vol. II Edward I* (London, 1906) p. 360.

[96] J. Wilson (ed.), "Carta Alani Filii Walthevi de XIIIJ Salmonibus in Kokrmuth" no. 454, *Register of the Priory of St. Bees,* Surtees Society vol. 126 (Durham, 1915) p.451-452.

[97] A.M. Armitage, A. Mawer, F.M. Stenton & B. Dickins (eds), *The Place Names of Cumberland* Vol. II (Cambridge, 1950) p.308.

Tute Hill

The second site connected with Cockermouth is Tute Hill. It is also one of the primary sites with which this thesis is concerned. Clare surveyed the site for the HER and concluded that it 'from the northside…appears to be a small motte'.[99] Confusion over the nature of this site is exemplified by its identification as a natural feature or windmill mound.[100] If Clare is correct then Tute Hill is possibly the site of the first earthwork castle at Cockermouth. The HER record indicates an early-mid twelfth-century date for its construction. The motte is oval, with measurements of 18.7 m east-west, 16.6 m north-south and a maximum height of 3 m. This date coincides with the honour being in the hands of Alan son of Waldeve and then his heir William fitz Duncan (died 1152-4 A.D.) who was married to Alice, the sister of Ranulf and William le Meschin.

The building of a castle at Cockermouth would have usurped the authority of Tute Hill. Presumably, therefore, this was the intention and it was an evolution of the site rather than a usurpation of power. If Tute Hill is, as is now contended by Clare, a motte, 'it is of particular historical and archaeological importance because it is the only known example of this class of monument in the Derwent Valley'.[101] The site has not been excavated and this would certainly need to be considered in order to confirm or establish a sequence of construction. In terms of documentary evidence there appears to be none which refers specifically to Tute Hill. The traditional interpretation of the Close Roll of 1221 A.D. is that the castle at Cockermouth which is ordered destroyed is

---

[98] A.M. Armitage, A. Mawer, F.M. Stenton & B. Dickins (eds), *The Place Names of Cumberland* Vol. II (Cambridge, 1950) p.208.

[99] D.R. Perriam & J. Robinson, *The Medieval Fortified Buildings of Cumbria,* CWAAS Extra Series, Vol.29 (1998) p.95.

[100] NMR 'Tute Hill', Cumbria, http://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=9488&sort=4&search-all&criteria=tute hill&rational=q&recordsperpage=10, accessed 18th July 2005.

[101] HER Entry no. 849, 'Tute Hill'. Accessed 18th July 18th 2005.

not Tute Hill but an antecedent castle on the Cockermouth Castle site. In effect, Cockermouth Castle was built directly on top of an earlier castle.[102] Place-name evidence suggests a late (possible fourteenth to fifteenth century) naming of the Tute Hill site. 'Tute' probably comes from the Middle English 'tote' meaning a 'look out hill'.[103] As in the case of Papcastle, the evidence of medieval occupation at Tute Hill is slight. The claim that it was the first medieval castle at Cockermouth has, however, endured.

Cockermouth Castle

The extant remains of Cockermouth Castle have been dated by the HER to the mid twelfth century for the motte and bailey phase, the thirteenth century (specifically circa 1225 A.D.) for the first stone phase and the fourteenth century for the majority of improvements.[104]

The motte was approximately 2 m in height, although it is now significantly truncated. Documentary evidence plays a large part in the dating of the first stone phase, an enclosure castle. The Close Roll entry for 1221 A.D. is the first documentary reference to a castle at Cockermouth. More specifically it is an order to destroy it: "without any delay he should summon the earls, barons, knights and freeholders of his bailiwick and that they should hasten to Cockermouth and besiege the castle there and when they had taken the same should destroy it to its very foundations".[105]

---

[102] W. Hutchinson, *The History of the County of Cumberland vol. II* (Reprint 1974) p. 113 attributes earlier sections of the extant castle remains to Waldeof.

[103] A.M. Armitage, A. Mawer, F.M. Stenton & B. Dickins (eds), *The Place Names of Cumberland* Vol. III (Cambridge, 1952) p. 495

[104] HER Entry no. 3035, 'Cockermouth Castle', accessed 18th July 2005.

[105] *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati Vol. I Ab Anno MCCIV ad Annum MCCXXIV* (1833) 1221 Membrane 16 p.474.

This entry of 1221 A.D. is taken as the point at which the earthwork castle established by William de Fortibus was destroyed and the first stone castle built. Architecturally stone work in the basement of the west tower and in the north and south curtain walls date to the initial building, presumably shortly after this order. William de Fortibus II had fallen from the favour of Henry III only very briefly.[106]

Much has been made by scholars of the siting of Cockermouth Castle.[107] It lies at the confluence of the rivers Derwent and Cocker. Its strategic location gives a view of traffic both on the rivers and approaching the site. The height is provided by the ridge on which the castle sits and the motte which the stone fortification overlies. Birley, as has already been noted, suggested that movement from Papcastle to Cockermouth during the Norman period would have been undertaken in order to increase the defensibility of the site.[108] Whether or not Tute Hill or indeed Papcastle were occupied during the Middle Ages, an earthwork castle was certainly constructed at Cockermouth. In consequence, the assertion found in the HER entry, regarding the importance of the Tute Hill site as the only motte in the Derwent Valley is in need of revision or modification. This statement in the HER record fails to factor in the two other possible motte sites at Papcastle and at Cockermouth itself. Before this statement can be revised, however, the sequence of building needs to be established. If all three were found to be mottes of the Middle Ages this would lend importance to the location and lead to questions about the role of Cockermouth in the light of this new information.

---

[106] Entry c.1226, *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati Vol. I Ab Anno MCCIV ad Annum MCCXXIV*, p. 458b. The grant of a Saturday market to Cockermouth.

[107] HER no. 3035; W. Hutchinson, *The History of the County of Cumberland* vol. II (Reprint, 1974) p.112-3.

Parallels between the Tute Hill site and the Cockermouth site are abundant. This is due to their physical proximity. Cockermouth appears to have only one apparent advantage, in lying directly at the confluence of the rivers, the height provided by the ridge allowed a degree of natural defensibility. The site itself gave direct control of the waterway to the castle.

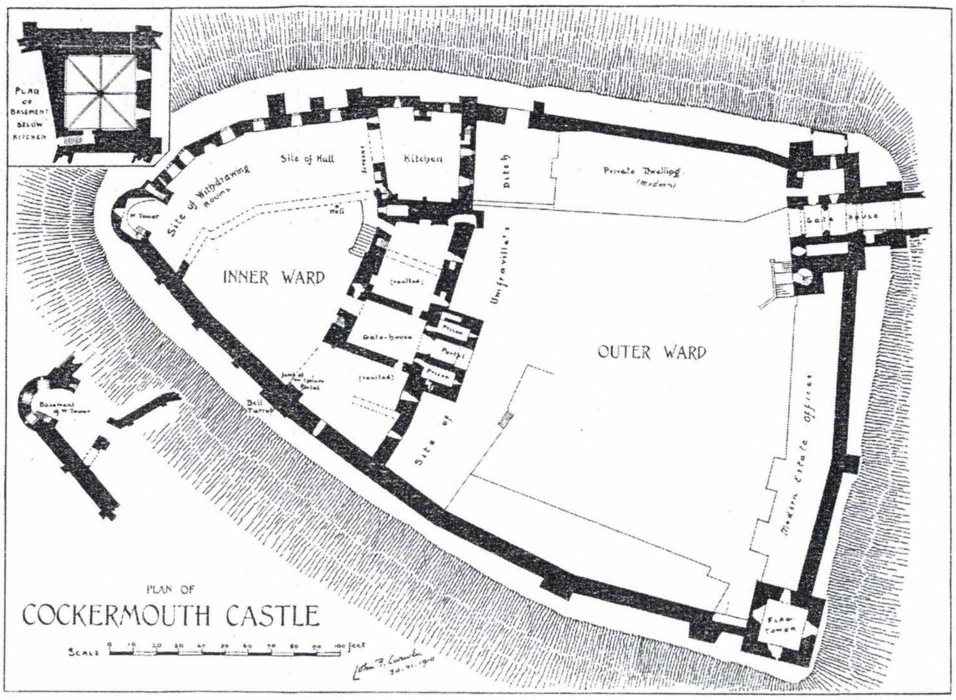
The extant stone castle is a triangular enclosure castle, as can be seen in Figure 4.6: Plan of Cockermouth Castle. Enclosure castles were built predominantly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Cockermouth displays many of the characteristic features of an enclosure castle, namely, it has towers, a gatehouse and a barbican, two wards and a linear layout. Enclosure castles generally are most identifiable by their curtain walls, followed by these other features. Ditches as another 'enclosing' line of defence were also common. Curwen approximated the height of the southern curtain wall to have been about 4 metres high (14 feet) with another 3 metres added on.[109] In terms of overall size he estimates the internal area of the site (both inner and outer wards) to have been 0.49 hectares (1 acre 34 perches).[110]

---

[108] E. Birley, 'Roman Papcastle', *TCWAAS* New Series, Vol. 63 (Kendal, 1963) p. 123

[109] J.F. Curwen, 'Cockermouth Castle', *TCWAAS,* New Series Vol. 11 (Kendal, 1911) p. 157

[110] A 10 perch allotment would be 5.5 yards wide by 55 yards long



TO FACE P. 135.

Figure 4.6: Plan of Cockermouth Castle as taken from J.F. Curwen, 'Cockermouth Castle', <u>TWAAS</u>, New Series, Vol. 11 (Kendal, 1911) facing p.135

Elements, as has been noted, of the first stone castle survive with the majority of the subsequent fourteenth-century work. The thirteenth-century castle remains only in those features mentioned earlier. During the fourteenth century successive lords of Cockermouth made improvements to, and thereby strengthened the castle. Thomas de Lucy was responsible for the upper parts of the west tower, the bell tower and the upper course of the north and south curtain wall, as well as building the Great Hall and domestic accommodation for himself and his wife, Margaret. The next phase of construction occurred under Maud de Lucy and her husband, Gilbert de Umfraville. The ditch which de Fortibus had established separating the inner and outer bailey was used as the basement level of a new accommodation block and kitchen tower. De Umfraville moved the ditch into the outer ward, directly in front of the new wing. His death in 1381 A.D. prevented him from completing this work, but Henry Percy, second husband of Maud, completed the new wing, the so-called 'Percy Wing'. The outer bailey was extended to its current size, a flag tower built along with an outer gatehouse and a barbican. De Umfraville and Percy strengthened the castle greatly but the main developments appear to have been to increase the comfort of the residential aspect of Cockermouth Castle.

Archaeological surveys of Cockermouth Castle have not proved particularly extensive and cannot, therefore, be said to have played any major role in the dating of the site. In terms of actual archaeological excavation, no major work has been carried out. Two test pits were excavated in 2001/2, but no medieval features were found in either.[111]

---

[111] HER no. 3035, 'Cockermouth Castle', accessed 18th July 2005

Cockermouth Castle has been visually surveyed innumerable times. From the sixteenth century onwards it has appeared in Crown surveys and later national works.[112]

More recent surveys have been conducted by Curwen, Pevsner, and Perriam and Robinson.[113] These surveys drew heavily on the documentary source evidence and applied it to give specific dates to the various construction phases.

In terms of documentary evidence, very little of use in reconstructing the phases of construction of Cockermouth castle exists. The first reference to Cockermouth is the charter granted by Alan son of Waldeve to the monks at St. Bees which has been dated to circa 1150 A.D.[114] By granting this charter from Cockermouth it suggests that Alan son of Waldeve had established some form of caput at this location, whether this was at Tute Hill or Cockermouth cannot be known. King John's grant of the 'manor of Cockermouth' to William, earl of Albemarle is documented in the Close Roll of 1215 A.D.[115] William le Gross was one of the twenty five barons to seal Magna Carta and as such this grant of land can be taken as an attempt to persuade le Gross to cease his activities with the barons. The first reference to the castle itself has already been noted. It is dated to 1221 A.D. and suggests a castle was established at Cockermouth by this

---

[112] Hombertson's 1570 Survey, by E. Hall & W. Hombertson, Exchequer/ Queen's Remembrancer/ Miscellaneous Books/ 37; modern reference E164/37; W. Hutchinson, *The History of the County of Cumberland* vol. II (Reprint, 1974); *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543,* L. Toulmin Smith, ed. (London, 1906-10); William Camden, *Britain, or A chorographicall description of the most flourishing kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the ilands adjoyning, out of the depth of antiquitie beautified vvith mappes of the severall shires of England* (London, 1637).

[113] J.F. Curwen, 'Cockermouth Castle', *TCWAAS,* New Series Vol. 11 (Kendal, 1911) pp. 129-158; J. F. Curwen, *The Castles and Fortified Towers of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North of the Sands, together with a brief Historical Account of Border Warfare,* CWAAS Extra Series Vol. 13 (Kendal, 1913); D. R. Perriam & J. Robinson, *Medieval Fortified Buildings of Cumbria,* CWAAS Extra Series Vol. 29, (Kendal, 1998); N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Cumberland and Westmorland* (1967).

[114] J. Wilson (ed), "Carta Alani Filii Walthevi de XIIIJ Salmonibus in Kokrmuth" no. 454 in the *Register of the Priory of St. Bees,* Surtees Society vol. 126 (Durham, 1915) p.451-452.

[115] Entry 1215, *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati Vol. I Ab Anno MCCIV ad Annum MCCXXIV* p. 191.

date. In 1293 A.D. the castle escheated to the crown on the death of Isabel de Fortibus.[116] Records of payments by Waldeve son of Gospatric, Gilbert Pipard, Robert de Curtenay, Alicia de Romeilli and Richard de Luci for their respective lands in Allerdale, Copeland and Cockermouth are recorded in the Pipe Rolls.[117] Documentary sources for Cockermouth are scarce, as they are for Cumbria generally and they fail to assign a particular role to the castle at Cockermouth for the various holders. It does not come across in any of the sources as an administrative or military centre for the area.

Cockermouth Castle was the caput of the honour of Cockermouth. It was firstly a seigniorial residence, and the development of the castle in the fourteenth century by the de Lucy and Percy families reflects this function. Stress was laid on the need for improved accommodation and kitchen facilities and suggests that Cockermouth acted as a residence for its owners. The large deer park that evolved to the northeast of the castle also bespoke a strong seigniorial presence.[118] There is some evidence for an administrative centre in the area by the fourteenth century when reference was made to a court at Papcastle.[119] The castle itself is eminently defensible. The position above the confluence of the rivers Derwent and Cocker give control of river traffic to the castle. The height given by the natural terrain and supplemented by building the stone enclosure castle atop the motte allowed all approaches to be observed. The move from Papcastle to Cockermouth (if it occurred) was a move to a more defensible site, whether this was Cockermouth or Tute Hill. The first phase of settlement was likely to

---

[116] J. B. Bradbury, *A History of Cockermouth* (1981) pp. 40-42, for discussion of the ramifications.

[117] F.H.M. Parker (ed), *The Pipe Rolls of Cumberland and Westmorland 1222-1260* CWAAS Extra Series Vol. XII (Kendal, 1905); Pipe Roll Society, *The Great Roll of the Pipe,* Original Series Vols. 1, 2, 4-9, 11-13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 25-34, 36-38, (London, 1884-1925) & New series Vols. 1-14, 16, 17; London, 1925-1936)

[118] A.J.L. Winchester, 'Medieval Cockermouth', *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. 86 (Kendal, 1987) p.120

have been under Alan, son of Waldeve. His grant to St. Bees in circa 1150 A.D, and his involvement in the foundation of Holm Cultram at the same time indicates firstly that he had a centre or caput at Cockermouth and secondly a desire perhaps to gain recognition as a patron, even prayers for his family and new caput.[120] Certainly a castle was established and was possibly construed as a threat, when in 1221 A.D. Henry III ordered it raised to the ground on the fall of William de Fortibus from favour. The architectural evidence suggests that this was the date when Cockermouth Castle was rebuilt in stone as an enclosure castle. The location of the castle, the site itself and the choice of making it an enclosure castle, suggests it was intended as a highly defensible fortification. The alterations and additions made in the fourteenth century echo this with the heightening of the curtain wall, the extension of the bailey and the building of mural towers, a gatehouse and a barbican.

The castle was clearly an estate centre as is evident from the development of a town around it. This was in all likelihood a planned foundation, but due to the lack of documentary and archaeological evidence a firm date cannot be ascribed.

The impact of the castle can be seen in the growth of the town, in particular the development of the market. In turn the growth of a mill industry, particularly a tanning industry, is traceable to the presence of a prosperous market (where manufactured goods could be easily sold) and the location of Cockermouth, at the confluence of two rivers (for the mills) and in an area with a tradition of pastoral farming. The

---

[119] 'Entry 603', *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and other Analogous Documents preserved in the Public Record Office vol. II Edward I* (London, 1906) p. 360.

[120] J. Wilson (ed), "Carta Alani Filii Walthevi de XIIIJ Salmonibus in Kokrmuth" no. 454 in the *Register of the Priory of St. Bees,* Surtees Society vol. 126 (Durham, 1915) p.451-452; F. Grainger & W.G. Collingwood (eds), 'Charter 260',*Register of Holm Cultram*_CWAAS Record Series Vol. VII_ (Kendal, 1929) p. 91.

ecclesiastical landscape certainly benefited from the lords and ladies of Cockermouth, gaining many churches and lands within the honour.

In terms of the course of history Cockermouth was certainly not central, however, some of those who held it were involved in some remarkable episodes in the history of England. William le Gross was one of the twenty-five barons who sealed Magna Carta whilst, for a very short time Piers Gaveston, favourite of Edward II held the castle. Robert the Bruce laid siege to Cockermouth and partially destroyed the castle whilst much later in 1568A.D. Mary, Queen of Scots, processed through the town.

Much remains to be learned about medieval Cockermouth in particular the phases of medieval castle construction need to be examined and the relationships between Papcastle, Tute Hill and Cockermouth established.

Chapter 5
The Political Landscape

The term ‘political landscape’ is used in this thesis to identify a subsection of what has been termed the ‘Social Landscape’, specifically the military and political institutions, policies and events in which the castles of medieval Cumbria, and their occupants participated. This is distinguished from the ecclesiastical elements within the social landscape, which are dealt with separately in Chapter Six.

Political history is the term used most frequently by historians when referring to the concerns and actions of those associated with authority and the assertion of that authority, whether through governance, military action or another form of interaction among the elite. For historical geographers, landscape historians and landscape archaeologists, the term ‘political landscape’ encompasses a wider format. It is used in conjunction with political history, but seeks to place it within a physical, defined framework (in this case the bounds of Cumbria during the period 1066 to 1250 A.D.) whilst focusing on the material remains in the landscape as the primary source of historical information. The political history, therefore, is given a tangible form, a physical structure in the historical landscape.

Broken down, the political landscape can be identified by centres of authority (castles, seigniorial capita, seats of governance), institutions involved in the administration of authority (law courts, exchequers), people who exercise this authority (kings, lords, sheriffs, judges) and those who are subject to governance. This political landscape was the stage on which the political and military events of the period were enacted upon, at both a national and local level. These events and their physical remains will thus provide a context from which the political landscape of medieval Cumbria can be viewed.

The introduction of the castle into England is generally attributed to the Normans, who employed it as a key component in their quest initially to conquer and subsequently consolidate their hold. The castle, therefore, was a central element in the political landscape of medieval England. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, William of Malmesbury's Gesta regum Anglorum, Orderic Vitalis and the Domesday Book are examples of common works which noted the use and construction of castles by the Normans, their use in the conquest of England, and subsequently to affirm their position.[1] The castle became the seat of the local lord, the centre of justice, commerce and community. Many retained their militaristic functions, but many more integrated the role with the day to day tasks of governing a manor, a barony, (or more than one), or even a country.

Whilst castles were introduced to England by William the Conqueror, it was those who came with him, his Norman lords, who were truly responsible for the proliferation of castles after the initial conquest. Brown noted that on his ascension to the throne Henry II was in possession of approximately fifty castles.[2] He also notes that by this point baronial castles outnumbered royal castles by five to one.[3] By the end of the reign of Henry II baronial castles outnumbered royal castles by less than two to one. Henry II had pursued a policy of control, aimed at bringing the nobility under control.[4] In the reign of Henry III (1216-72 A.D.) crown expenditure

---

[1] G. N. Garmonsway, (trans & ed.), *The Anglo- Saxon Chronicle* (London, 1972), p. 16, 223, 224; R.M. Thomson & M. Winterbottom (completed by), *Gesta regum Anglorum. Vol.1, History of the English kings, William of Malmesbury,* R.A.B. Mynors, ed & trans. (Oxford, 1998), pp. 199, 200, 202, 204, 211, 223, 227; E.M.C. van Houts (ed & trans), *The gesta Normannorum ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni.* Vol.1, Introduction and books 1-IV (1992/5), pp. 90-91, 180, 182-3; R.A. Brown, *The Norman Conquest of England : sources and documents* (1995); A. Williams & G.H. Martin (eds) *Domesday Book: A Complete Translation* (London, 2002), folios 189a (p. 519), 2a (p. 5), 162a (p. 445), 203a (p. 551), 336c (p. 883), 116b (p. 1058), 252a (p. 688).

[2] R.A. Brown, 'A List of Castles, 1154-1216', *English Historical Review,* Vol. 74 (1959), pp. 249-80

[3] R.A. Brown, 'A List of Castles, 1154-1216', *English Historical Review,* Vol. 74 (1959), pp. 249-80

[4] N.J.G. Pounds, *The Medieval Castle in England and Wales. A social and political history* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 75.

on castles was reduced. Colvin has estimated that a minimum of £85,000 was spent during this period on castles alone.[5] The neglect of Carlisle Castle during this period was attested to by the figures in the Pipe Rolls. Other castles of this period, in Cumbria and across England, fell into royal hands on occasion. Appleby Castle was under royal control when it was attacked by William the Lion in 1174 A.D. Hugh de Morvill had forfeit his lands and castles for his role in the killing of the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Becket. Castles which were forfeited or surrendered generally reverted to another baronial family, either one in royal favour or one that could pay relief (payable to the king for his generosity). Ranulf le Meschin surrendered the honour of Carlisle after becoming earl of Chester.

Using the Pipe Roll of 1130 A.D. Sharpe argues, convincingly, that the surrender of Carlisle, and his other Cumbrian lands, by Ranulf le Meschin, may have represented a form of payment for his new position, or implied his position in Cumbria was as more that of an official than an earl or lord.[6] In this Pipe Roll Ranulf le Meschin's son and heir, Ranulf Gernon is recorded as owing, £1000, 'from his father's debt for the land of Earl Hugh'.[7] Cumbria, thus occasionally entered onto a wider stage, and it this that will be discussed in the course of this chapter.

Using the political events of the period as a backdrop, the castles of Carlisle will be viewed through their participation in these events, and their relative impact on both Cumbria, and the situation in hand.

---

[5] H.M. Colvin, 'Henry III', *The History of the King's Works*, Vol. 1 (London, 1963), pp. 110-119.

[6] R. Sharpe, *Norman Rule in Cumbria 1092-1136. A lecture delivered to the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society on 9th April 2005 at Carlisle*, CWAAS Tract Series Vol. XXI (Kendal, 2006), p. 51-3.

[7] J. Hunter (ed), *Great Roll of the Pipe 31 Henry I, Michaelmas 1130* (London, 1929), p. 110.

Castles in Cumbria as Military Tools

Castles were introduced into Cumbria in much the same way as they were across the rest of England, although slightly later in this particular northern region. Carlisle Castle, established in 1092 A.D. by William Rufus, is considered the first to be built. Kapelle has noted that 'the castle, town, and peasants were, then, a unit. Carlisle was a self-supporting military colony that would significantly improve the configuration of the northern border'.[8] This refers specifically to the issue of where the border between Scotland and England lay, and which was discussed at in Chapter 3.[9] The previous year, 1091 A.D, had seen Malcolm III, king of Scots, invade Northumbria. This action saw the Scots infiltrate as far as Durham, and was probably a response to the escalation of Norman involvement and power in the North.[10] Whatever the impetus for the invasion, it was unsuccessful, and resulted in William Rufus coming north with an army, and attempting a counter invasion of Scotland. Both invasions were mistimed, occurring during the winter. The conquering of Cumberland the following year by Rufus was a direct response to these events, and the establishment of a military colony at Carlisle served to illustrate Rufus' direct policy against Scotland.

Castles in Cumbria with probable origins in and around this date, circa 1092-1100 A.D., are Carlisle, Appleby, Brough, and Castle Howe in Kendal. Appleby and Brough are located on the Roman Road which heads south, connecting Carlisle, which is somewhat isolated, with Yorkshire and hence the rest of England. In medieval times this continued to be the main communication route southwards. The establishment of earthwork castles at these locations would be considered a strategic

---

[8] W.E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North. The Region and its Transformation, 1000-1135* (London, 1979), p. 150.

[9] See Chapter 3 pp. 61-8

[10] W.E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North. The Region and its Transformation, 1000-1135* (London, 1979), p. 149.

tactic, the protection of communication lines. Appleby was either a motte and bailey castle or as Clare has suggested, a ringwork and bailey, dating to the late eleventh century.[11] Brough housed a motte and bailey castle according to both the NMR and HER, but Jackson has suggested it could as easily be a ringwork and bailey. Carlisle was an earthwork of unknown type, probably a ringwork or motte and bailey (no extant remains).[12] Castle Howe Kendal was a motte and bailey, possibly erected by Ivo de Taillebois, who was granted the region by William Rufus during this period. No definitive date, however, can be placed on the earthwork castle.

Another castle of particular military interest is Liddel Strength. It has been discussed in detail in Chapter 4.[13] The location on the border, the defensibility and size of the site all bear testimony to its military intent, but the dearth of documentary evidence for the site diminishes its status. A lack of documentary evidence may indicate an unimportant or more possibly infrequently used outpost. Liddel's classification by the NMR as a ringwork adapted into a motte and bailey, is not shared by the HER, but is strongly hinted at in the Liddel Strength Survey undertaken by the RCHME in 1992.[14] Extensive excavation is required at Liddel Strength to fully understand the site.

Military action, outside of Rufus' conquest of the north, was recorded during the period in question. According to Benedict of Peterborough William the Lion captured Liddel Strength in 1174 A.D. Similarly, Appleby and Brough are recorded as meeting a similar fate during the same event.[15] The military experience of

---

[11] T. Clare, *Archaeological Sites of the Lake District* (Derbyshire, 1981), p.48.

[12] M.J. Jackson, *Castles of Cumbria* (Carlisle, 1990), pp. 34-35, 38-40.

[13] See Chapter 4 Case Study Liddel Strength, pp. 128-33

[14] K. Blood, *06-May-1992, RCHME: Liddel Strength Survey*, held in NMR, accessed 20th August 2006.

[15] W. Stubbs (ed.), *The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I (1169-92),* known more commonly as the 'Benedict of Peterborough'. Vol.1 (1867) p.65; R.C. Johnston, (ed), *Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle* (Oxford, 1981) p.108-11; *Fantosme's, Chronicle of the War between the*

Brougham Castle occurred later, in the fourteenth century, when it was all but destroyed by the Scottish raids of the time. Brougham itself is a later addition to the Cumbrian castles of interest here, specifically to circa 1203 A.D. or possibly to 1157 A.D, when Hugh de Morville was granted the manor. Egremont also suffered at the hands of Scottish military action in 1315 A.D. and 1322 A.D.[16] Cockermouth suffered damage in the attack of 1315 A.D. from Robert Bruce's foray down the western coast of Cumbria, and on to Lancaster.

As military centres the castles of Cumbria served more as outposts (Liddel Strength) or guards (Appleby, Brough, Brougham) along the main communication route south. The majority of the twenty-four castles under discussion do not appear to have been involved in military action. This is not to say they were not. Incidents may not have been recorded (many of the sites are small, and only of local importance) or men may have been sent to support greater lords (at Carlisle, Appleby, Brough, Brougham, Cockermouth, Egremont). Warfare was not unknown to the people of this region, a borderland and disputed territory by Northumbria.[17]

The Castles of Cumbria as Administrative Centres

The castles of Cumbria, during this period also served as seats or caput for the major landholders. They acted as centres of administration for the baronies created under Ranulf le Meschin and Henry I, in particular, Carlisle, Egremont, Cockermouth, Kendal and Appleby Castles. As estate centres, these castles

---

English and the Scots in 1173 and 1174, F. Michel, ed., Surtees Society, xi. p.69 reference to Appleby and Brough Castles.

[16] A.J.L. Winchester & A. Crosby (eds), *England's Landscape: The North West,* Vol 8 English Heritage Series (2006), p. 158.

[17] *John of Fordun, Chronica Gentis Scotorum,* W.F. Skene (ed). The Historians of Scotland, vol 1, p. 187; F.E. Harmer (ed), *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (Manchester, 1952) p. 419-24, 531-36; H.W.C. Davis, 'Cumberland before the Norman Conquest', *English Historical Review,* Vol. XX (1905) pp. 61-5.

occupied a central position within a pattern of land ownership. The castle and its inhabitants were the focus of surrounding manors and their occupants oversaw the rendering of services to the crown for the whole area. The Pipe Rolls and the later Testa de Nevill were records at a national level of the work carried out in these capita and the counties in which the castles were situated.

In looking at castles in the landscape Creighton establishes five major links between castles and tenurial landscape, castles built by the Crown or whose ownership was assumed by the Crown (can be taken as centres of Norman authority and rule), castles built as capita (seat of seigneurial residences and local administration), castles belonging to feudal vassals and tenants (used to maintain a seigneurial presence, particularly relevant to scattered estate patterns), castles with specific tactical purposes (to guard passes, strategic routes, could be temporary positions) and finally short-term fortifications (siege works).[18] By categorising the relationship between the castle and the impetus for its creation, he is establishing the dominant themes which govern the actions of a castle, from which can be extrapolated the prevailing trend in administration or function, hence identifying the political landscape. The first three categories can be identified as the most likely to be concerned with ongoing administration, but all five represent the political administration and authority of the Norman and Angevin rule (applicable to the period 1066-1250 A.D.).

Carlisle, a royal castle, was an important seat, a centre of Norman authority and power for the entire region. Held initially by Ranulf le Meschin, it was then under the control of a series of sheriffs, although its intermittent ownership by Scotland, has made it difficult to establish a definite pattern in administrative offices. Carlisle

---

[18] O.H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes: Power, Community and Fortification in Medieval England* (London, 2002), pp. 91-2.

as the centre of authority for the region was bolstered by the creation of the bishopric of Carlisle in 1133 A.D. which saw temporal and ecclesiastical power emanating from one principal location. Its elevation to a bishopric was probably politically motivated, as directly prior to this it was part of the diocese of Glasgow. A Scottish bishop with influence over 'English Cumbria' was in all likelihood responsible for Henry I and Archbishop Thurstan of York taking action.[19] The creation of the bishopric of Carlisle provided 'a southward-looking ecclesiastical focus for English Cumbria'.[20]

Appleby too was at times a royal castle, for example during the years directly after Ranulf le Meschin acceded to the earldom of Chester (circa 1120 A.D.). It had acted as the caput of Ranulf le Meschin (for all his Cumbrian lands) up until this point. The de Morville years of control ceased temporarily in 1173 A.D. on the confiscation of the de Morville lands after the murder of Thomas Becket. Crown control was intermittent until 1203 A.D. when Hugh de Morville's nephew regained custody.[21] Brough castle was held alongside Appleby, and suffered a similar fate of intermittent lordship. Brougham and Pendragon also belong to this subsection of castles, but are of the later period, the late twelfth/early thirteenth century. Together these castles acted as sentinels (a specific tactical purpose) along the main route from Carlisle into England.

---

[19] P. Dalton, 'The Governmental Integration of the Far North, 1066-1199', in J.C. Appleby & P. Dalton (eds), *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England 1000-1700* (1997), p. 15; H.R.T. Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle,* CWAAS, Extra series vol. XXV (Kendal, 1993) p.35

[20] W. M. Aird, 'Northern England or Southern Scotland? The Anglo-Scottish border in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and the problem of perspective', in J.C. Appleby & P. Dalton (eds), *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England 1000-1700* (1997), p. 35; R.K. Rose, 'Cumbrian Society and the Anglo-Norman Church' in S. Mews (ed) *Religion and National Identity. Papers Read at the Nineteenth Summer Meeting and the Twentieth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Oxford, 1982), p. 124-5, note 30.

[21] W. Farrer, 'On the Tenure of Westmorland temp. Henry II and the date of the creation of the Baronies of Appleby and Kendal' p.100-107, *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. VII (Kendal, 1907) p.107

Egremont and Cockermouth were baronial capita, of William le Meschin and Waldeve respectively, although the precise date of the foundation of the honour of Cockermouth and thus its caput is uncertain. William de Fortibus II was in control in circa 1220-1221 A.D. when the castle was ordered destroyed.[22] Kendal was also a baronial caput but with strong pre-Conquest ties. Ivo de Taillebois may have erected Castle Howe.

The motte at Burgh by Sands (of which there is according to the HER only circumstantial evidence) was probably the seat of Robert de Trivers, who had been enfeoffed with the barony by Ranulf le Meschin. The subsequent castle on the site, of the mid thirteenth century, has two possible purposes, dependent on its classification. If it was a fortified manor house as asserted by the HER, then a definite residential aspect to the seigneurial tenure is indentified, however, if it is a pele tower, as the NMR claim, it would suggest a more defensive purpose (or at the very least an increased need for appropriate defence). The designation of a *fortified* manor house does reflect the location (near the border) and the military role associated with a castle in such a position. Further north, the castle at Liddel Strength was located on an extremely defensible site, directly on the border. Liddel Strength was probably a military outpost, linked to Bewcastle or Carlisle, or the caput of Turgis Brundis, who held the barony of Liddel.[23]

The Moat at Aldingham was in the manor of Michael le Fleming in the early twelfth century. It was therefore the castle of a feudal tenant or vassal, the third of Creighton's categories. Its remote location, on the Furness peninsula, would mark it as an outlying castle, but possibly the ringwork phase was a seat of Michael le Fleming. Next to nothing can be said of Caernarvon Castle, The Mote at Brampton,

---

[22] See Chapter 4, pp. 135

[23] D.R. Perriam & J. Robinson, *The Medieval Fortified Buildings of Cumbria* (1998) p.225; J.F. Curwen, 'Liddel Mote', *TCWAAS,* New Series Vol. 10, pp. 91-101 (Kendal, 1910), p.98.

Catterlen Old Hall, Irthington motte, Whelp Castle, Castle Howe Castle Sowerby, Ravenstone Moat, Kirkoswald, or Castle Hill Maryport. Little to no documentary references have survived. This suggests that they were seats of enfeoffed tenants or minor lords.

Piel castle, in spite of having only documentary evidence to its existence, was established as defensive measure by the monks of Furness Abbey, on the highly strategic location of Piel Island at the mouth of Barrow harbour. The tower house or fortified house at Linstock was also associated with the ecclesiastical landscape. Linstock was the residential seat of the bishops of Carlisle. Administration and policy, however, came directly from Carlisle, not Linstock.

Administration, therefore, in a Cumbrian context differed little from national trends or practices, perhaps save in one feature. Land tenure in Cumbria was compact, not dispersed, making the presence of a castle belonging to a feudal tenant less about asserting the authority of a distant overlord and more about the residential needs of the tenant. These major lords, however, generally held lands in other areas of England, even in Normandy or Ireland. The large number of isolated castles and those in a more rural setting, common in Cumbria, will be discussed in Chapter 8.

Lords of Cumbria at a national level

Implicit in any discussion of castles are those who built and maintained them, the lords. It is the wealthy and more powerful lords who generally had the most impressive castles (or even just the money for the upkeep of a simple one), across England, not just in Cumbria. By virtue of their wealth and power these lords were recorded more frequently in grants to monasteries and churches. In the writings of chroniclers it is those men who fit this mould in medieval Cumbria who were viewed on the national stage. Cumbria came to the attention of a wider audience during incidents which involving these powerful lords. Two in particular, Ranulf le Meschin and Hugh de Morville, made their mark outside of Cumbria. To cite every incident and person that featured on the national stage would not prove that Cumbria made any great impact on medieval England, but the involvement of these two men is noteworthy.

Perhaps most famous, and certainly the most referred to in this thesis, is Ranulf le Meschin. A loyal supporter of the crown, le Meschin's career in Cumbria began with his grant from William Rufus (probably) of the 'potestas' of Carlisle. The date of this grant or assumption of power was the contentious issue with which Sharpe recently engaged.[24] The conclusion reached was that a date of circa 1098 A.D. would fit most of the criteria which needed to be in place on his assumption of power. Central to the argument is the date at which Ranulf le Meschin married Lucy, daughter of Thorold of Lincoln.[25] Her previous husbands were Ivo de Taillebois (also well known in Cumbria and Lancashire in the post Conquest era) and Roger fitz Gerold de Roumare who maintained tenuous links to Westmorland. On her marriage to Ranulf le Meschin she brought with her substantial lands in Lincolnshire (as her father's heir), but it is not clear how much of Ivo de Taillebois' lands in Westmorland and Cumberland accompanied her. Sharpe asserts that Ranulf le Meschin 'certainly held a large jurisdiction in Cumberland and Westmorland'.[26] The relevance of what lands were held by Ranulf le Meschin lies in what he then

---

[24] R. Sharpe, *Norman Rule in Cumbria 1092-1136. A lecture delivered to the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society on 9th April 2005 at Carlisle,* CWAAS Tract Series Vol. XXI (Kendal, 2006), pp. 43-47.

[25] R. Sharpe, *Norman Rule in Cumbria 1092-1136. A lecture delivered to the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society on 9th April 2005 at Carlisle* CWAAS Tract Series Vol. XXI (Kendal, 2006), p. 36.

[26] R. Sharpe, *Norman Rule in Cumbria 1092-1136. A lecture delivered to the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society on 9th April 2005 at Carlisle* CWAAS Tract Series Vol. XXI (Kendal, 2006), p. 37.

had to forfeit or resign on becoming earl of Chester circa 1120 A.D. It is this political position, held by a central figure in the Norman history of Cumbria which is noteworthy. Appleby was his caput, from where he administered his honour of Carlisle, and it is asserted that he founded an earthwork castle at this location. With his inheritance of Chester, Appleby (both the barony and the castle) fell under crown control. Appleby came under royal control on a number of occasions. Events during his tenure in Cumbria also made a mark on the history of the region. In particular the creation of the two baronies of Liddel and Burgh by Sands which acted as a buffer zone along the Anglo-Scottish border.

A second Cumbrian figure of brief interest is Hugh de Morville, who was granted the barony of Appleby on its return to England in 1157 A.D. He is of interest because of his role in the death of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury in 1170 A.D. Hugh de Morville was one of the four knights, along with Reginald fitzUrse, William de Tracy and Richard le Bret, who carried out the infamous act in Canterbury Cathedral.[27] The four then escaped to Knaresborough Castle in West Yorkshire, which de Morville held from the crown. The subsequent reversion of their lands to the crown included Appleby and Brough castles.

Another well known figure is William Marshall, who though relatively unknown on his acquisition of Cartmel, became one of the wealthiest and most powerful magnates in England.[28] Ranulf le Meschin's younger brother William is recorded by Orderic Vitalis on the First Crusade at the siege of Nicaea in 1097A.D, before his acquisition of estates in England.[29] As these minor claims to fame for the castles and noble families of Cumbria can attest, Cumbria was indeed to the far north, and whilst not off the political map, it was certainly on the fringes.

---

[27] F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (London, 1986), p. 235

[28] D. Crouch, *William Marshall: Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147-1219* (London, 2002)

[29] M. Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis,* Vol. 3 (Oxford, 1972), Book 5, p. 59.

Political History in Cumbria

This section will place the history of Cumbria briefly against the general political history of the kingdom of England primarily from 1066 A.D. The major events will be considered and the reaction in Cumbria established, in particular with relation to the castles and their lords. A number of events have already been mentioned, particularly with regard to border warfare, and these will not be reiterated.

Pre-Conquest

Although the history of the region in the period leading up to 1066 A.D. does not fall under the remit of this thesis, a brief examination of the area from the absorption of the kingdom of Strathclyde into the kingdom of the Scots from 1018 A.D. follows. Duncan has noted that it was in the aftermath of the battle of Carham in 1018 A.D. that the absorption of the kingdom of Strathclyde into the Scottish kingdom began. The death of the last king of Strathclyde, Owen the Bald, at this battle is not assured; indeed he may have lived on for some years.[30] Much confusion has surrounded events in the aftermath of the battle of Carham, up indeed until c. 1054 A.D. John of Worcester and William of Malmesbury greatly confused the question of the relationship between Cumbria and the Scottish kingdom at this time by noting erroneously the assignment of the title of 'son of the king of the Cumbrians' to Malcolm (Malcolm III).[31] The kingdom of the Scots appears, however, to have been following a policy of pushing southwards, into Cumberland and Northumberland during this period. This may have been to control an area

---

[30] A.A.M. Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots, 842-1292. Succession and Independence* (Edinburgh, 2002), p. 29.

[31] A.A.M. Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots, 842-1292. Succession and Independence* (Edinburgh, 2002), p. 40.

previously considered to have fallen under the authority of the kingdom of Strathclyde or indeed to keep the pretensions of Earl Siward of Northumbria at bay. A key figure in the immediate pre-Conquest years was Malcolm III. In 1054 A.D. Siward, earl of Northumberland is recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as invading the kingdom of the Scots.[32] He appears to have assisted Malcolm III in regaining the kingship of the Scots. Malcolm, however, proceeded to pursue an antagonistic approach to relations with Northumberland. He invaded in 1061 A.D. and a further four times between 1066 A.D. and 1093 A.D. when he died.[33] Malcolm III continued this approach in his dealings with William the Conqueror.

The Norman Conquest and Beyond

Cumbria was on the whole under Scottish or Northumbrian influence during the Norman Conquest. The infamous 'harrying of the north' during William the Conqueror's reign 1069/70A.D., left vast areas of Yorkshire and Northumbria depopulated and uninhabitable. Cumbria does not appear to have suffered. In the spring of 1070 A.D. Malcolm III of Scotland invaded northern England from the west, through Cumberland. Duncan has suggested that Malcolm III's invasion of northern England may have been part of plan to support Edgar the Aetheling and Swein, king of Denmark, 'to expel William and the Normans from England'.[34] This was not the outcome of the invasion, as Malcolm III met with William at Abernathy and 'became William's man'.[35] Subsequent military action against William by Malcolm III and Edgar the Aetheling in 1074 A.D. also failed. A renewal of

---

[32] M. Swanton (trans), *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (1998), p. 185

[33] J. Green, 'Anglo-Scottish Relations, 1066-1174', in M. Jones and M. Vale, eds., *England and her Neighbours, 1066-1453* (London, 1989), p. 54.

[34] A.A.M. Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots, 842-1292. Succession and Independence* (Edinburgh, 2002), p. 45.

[35] A.A.M. Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots, 842-1292. Succession and Independence* (Edniburgh, 2002), p. 45.

hostilities in 1091 A.D. was the result of William Rufus' confiscation of the lands of Edgar the Aetheling. Edgar fled to the Scottish court and Malcolm III invaded Northumbria. His concern appears not to have been for the control or restoration of Cumberland.[36] It can be assumed that the downturn in the fortunes of the north as a whole which followed the harrying and the military operations of Rufus and Malcolm III would have had some impact on the economy of Cumbria. Little if anything can be gauged of Norman interaction in Cumbria before William Rufus in 1092 A.D.

Under William Rufus Cumbria was conquered and a royal castle built at Carlisle, and probably at Appleby and Brough shortly thereafter. Castle Howe at Kendal was also erected, possibly by Ivo de Taillebois who held Kendal, and whose tenure is noted in Chapter 3.[37] Under Rufus and his Norman appointees (Ranulf le Meschin, Ivo de Taillebois) castles began to appear in Cumbria. Rufus primary action in the north was in response to Malcolm III. The conquest of Cumbria and Carlisle were followed by forays in Northumbria and Scotland, which resulted in the death of Malcolm III.[38]

It is Holt's comment that 'the northern border which Rufus had won had been secured by Henry I' which sums up the English Crown's actions with regards to Cumbria.[39] Rufus may have conquered it and have installed Ranulf le Meschin, but it is under Henry I that the baronies were created and the feudal system spread in Cumbria. The reign of Henry I, therefore, saw the establishment of lords and feudal tenants and the building of castles in Cumbria. It is also during his reign that local

---

[36] A.A.M. Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots, 842-1292. Succession and Independence* (Edinburgh, 2002), p. 46.

[37] See Chapter 3, p. 77-8

[38] W.E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North: The Region and its Transformation, 1000-1135* (London, 1979), pp. 152-3.

[39] J.C. Holt, *The Northerners: A Study in the Reign of King John* (Oxford, 1961), p. 202.

men come to the fore of political and ecclesiastical life in Cumbria. The barony of Greystoke was held by Forne son Sigulf from 1120 A.D.[40], Athelwold, the king's own confessor, was made the first bishop of Carlisle in 1133 A.D.[41], Adam son of Swein and Henry son of Swein were granted manors in the region known as east of Eden[42] and Waldeve was granted the barony of Allerdale.[43]

Under Henry I strides 'towards an orderly bureaucratic administration' were made in England.[44] The organisation of baronies in Cumbria attests to this, as does the structured approach to crown finances. Sharpe remarks that during this period 'new arrangements were put in place for the oversight of the king's financial interests'.[45] The Pipe Roll of 1130 A.D. notes Hildret in Carlisle and Richard (fitz Gerard of Appleby) as royal officials tasked with this duty.[46]

The death of Henry I in 1135 A.D. sparked off the period known as the Anarchy. Matilda, the daughter of Henry I, and Stephen of Blois, grandson of William the Conqueror, fought for the right to rule England. Stephen of Blois was associated with Cumbria, where he had been granted half the manor of Furness as part of his honour of Lancaster in 1114 A.D.[47] Kapelle suggested that David (who would

---

[40] W. Farrer & C.T. Clay (eds), *Early Yorkshire Charters,* Vol. II, pp. 505; C. Johnson & H.A. Cronne (eds), *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154, Vol. 2 Regesta Henrici Primi* (Oxford, 1956), p. xvi.

[41] F. Grainger, & W.G. Collingwood, (eds) *The Register and Records of Holm Cultram,* CWAAS Records Series Vol. 7 (1929), p.119.

[42] D.R. Perriam & J. Robinson, *The Medieval fortified buildings of Cumbria : an illustrated gazetteer and research guide*, CWAAS Extra Series Vol. 29 (Kendal, 1998), p. 117.

[43] W.E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North: The Region and its Transformation, 1000-1135* (London, 1979), pp. 202-3.

[44] F. Barlow, *The Feudal Kingdom of England 1042-1216*, (Harlow, 1988), p. 170.

[45] R. Sharpe, *Norman Rule in Cumbria 1092-1136. A lecture delivered to the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society on 9th April 2005 at Carlisle*, CWAAS Tract Series, Vol. XXI (Kendal, 2006), p. 55.

[46] J. Hunter, (ed), *Great Roll of the Pipe 31 Henry I, Michaelmas 1130* (London, 1929), p. 143; J. Wilson (ed), *Pipe Roll 31 Henry I* 'of the old farm of the King's garden of Carlisle' in *Victoria County History Cumberland* Vol. I (1901), p. 338.

[47] W. Farrer (ed), *The Lancashire Pipe rolls of 31 Henry I., A.D. 1130, and the reigns of Henry II., A.D. 1155-1189; Richard I., A.D. 1189-1199; and King John, A.D. 1199-1216* (Liverpool, 1902), pp. 301, 307-8; W. Farrer & J. Brownbill (eds), *Victoria County History Lancashire* Vol. II (1908), pp.114-30

become David I in 1124 A.D.) worked with Robert Brus and Ranulf Meschin to organise and bring some order to the border area before.[48] This seems likely. Certainly Robert Brus held lands on both sides of the border. As has been noted in Chapter Three, the relative peace of the region was tested circa 1120 A.D. Ranulf le Meschin succeeded to the earldom of Chester and the argument regarding the primacy of York erupted. It had been simmering since 1117 A.D., but Thurstan, archbishop of York, actively pursued the primacy of York over the Scottish church from circa 1120 A.D. In 1133 A.D. a bishopric was established at Carlisle and in 1135 A.D. David I seized Carlisle, along with a number of other castles. Stringer has suggested that the recovery of the land annexed by William Rufus in 1092 A.D. had long been David I's goal.[49] In spite of losing at the battle of the Standard, David I managed to hold on to Carlisle. As has already been noted, the recent discovery of substantial amounts of silver in Alston would also have made the acquisition of Carlisle an attractive proposition.[50] Under the treaty reached at Durham David I gained control of Carlisle and Cumberland and his son Henry gained the earldom of Huntingdon.[51] David I was a staunch supporter of Matilda, and knighted her son, his grandnephew, Henry fitz-Empress, at Carlisle in May 1149 A.D.[52] Stringer has also argued that 'control of York was the logical next step' for David I.[53] The archbishop of York had jurisdiction over the bishoprics of Durham and Carlisle. York could

---

[48] W.E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North: The Region and its Transformation, 1000-1135* (London, 1979), pp. 206-7

[49] K.J. Stringer, 'State-Building in Twelfth Century Britain: David I, King of Scots, and Northern England', in J.C. Appleby & P. Dalton eds., *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England 1000-1700* (1997), pp. 42

[50] I. Blanchard, 'Lothian and beyond: the economy of the 'English empire of David I'', in R. Brinall & J. Hatcher, eds. *Progress and Problems in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 23; See Chapter Three, p. 87-9.

[51] R. Howlett (ed), *Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I,* Rolls Series, vol. III (London, 1884-90), p. 146.

[52] J. Raine (ed), *The Priory of Hexham, its Chroniclers, Endowments, and Annals,* Vol. I Surtees Society Vol. XLIV (1864), p. 159.

[53] K.J. Stringer, *The Reign of Stephen. Kingship, Warfare and Government in Twelfth-Century England* (London, 1993), p. 36

also claim control over the Scottish Church. Stringer noted that with control over the fortifications in the region and the archbishop of York as his man David I would have 'a new kingdom…within a politically unified and fully independent church province'.[54] The death of Earl Henry, David I's son, in 1152 A.D. followed the next year by that of David I has led Stringer to note that 'the balance of forces' in the north then moved 'back in England's favour'.[55] Henry II regained Cumbria after the death of David I, during the early years of the reign of Malcolm IV of Scotland.

During the reign of Henry II (1154-89 A.D.) the ringwork phase of Kendal Castle was begun. This occurred circa 1184 A.D, on the inheritance of Gilbert fitz-Reinfrid of the barony through marriage. The events surrounding the invasion of William the Lion of Scotland, and involving Liddel Strength, Appleby and Brough circa 1174 A.D. have been mentioned in Chapter 4 and in the case study of Appleby to follow in this chapter.

The reigns of Richard I and John are characterised generally for their taxation of the people to fund their military actions.[56] John, in particular, taxed the population heavily. Summerson noted that he imposed a tallage (land tenure tax) on Carlisle in 1202, 1203 and 1214 A.D.[57] John's reign is perhaps most commonly remembered for Magna Carta of 1215 A.D. Amongst the signatories was Robert de Ros, sheriff of Cumberland, who was to surrender the town and castle of Carlisle to King John in 1216 A.D. and William de Fortibus, earl of Aumal (Albemarle), who was in control of Cockermouth manor at the time he sealed, thus accounting for the king's

---

[54] K.J. Stringer, *The Reign of Stephen. Kingship, Warfare and Government in Twelfth-Century England* (London, 1993), p. 37

[55] K.J. Stringer, *The Reign of Stephen. Kingship, Warfare and Government in Twelfth-Century England* (London, 1993), p. 37

[56] H.R.T. Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle,* CWAAS, Extra Series 25 (Kendal, 1993); See also, A.M. Armstrong et al,, *The Place-names of Cumberland*, vol. XX (Cambridge, 1950-1), p. 90-91.

[57] H.R.T. Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle*, CWAAS, Extra Series 25 (Kendal, 1993); See also, A.M. Armstrong et al., *The Place-names of Cumberland,* vol. I (Cambridge, 1950-1), p. 90-91.

order that the castle be destroyed in 1221 A.D.[58] The impact of John's reign resonated through the early years of Henry III. His minority lasted until 1227 A.D. during which time William Marshall acted as regent. Under Henry III a royal policy to control crown spending on castles was introduced. An example of the effect this had can be seen on Carlisle, which had fallen into great disrepair by the mid thirteenth century, and the end of the period of interest for this thesis.

Three case studies will follow, with the aim of illustrating in practice what the political landscape of a castle entailed.

---

[58] J.C. Holt, *The Northerners: A Study in the Reign of King John* (Oxford, 1961), p.25

Case Studies

Appleby

Appleby gives its name to a castle, a town and also a barony, and it is these three aspects in combination that will be under discussion in this case study to illustrate the political landscape of the castle. In particular the development of Appleby will be traced, and with it the political events that touched its development. Whilst it is Carlisle that is known as the capital of Cumbria, the royal stronghold of the northwest, it is in fact from Appleby that Ranulf le Meschin governed his estates in the late eleventh and early twelfth century. Carlisle was the royal centre, occupied and fortified by William Rufus in 1092 A.D. It was, therefore, more practical (perhaps even preferable) for Ranulf le Meschin, loyal follower of the king that he was, to establish his own caput for his 'potestas' of Carlisle, away from royal authority.[59] Appleby was, indeed, to become the county town of Westmorland.

As the caput of Ranulf le Meschin, the town of Appleby was an important feature of the site, a centre for commerce and administration. The location of the castle was an excellent choice, giving protection to the rest of England (by guarding the main route south through Yorkshire) from any invasion or foray south by the Scots, as well as keeping Ranulf le Meschin in the centre of his own estate and near to the large estate of Kendal to the west, held originally by Ivo de Taillebois (his wife's first husband). The castle at Appleby (the keep), lying some 56 km (35 miles) south of Carlisle and 435km (270 miles) north-northwest of London, has been dated to the second half of the twelfth century. It is, however, unlikely that Ranulf le Meschin failed to establish some kind of military centre at his caput, which he possibly

---

[59] J.E. Prescott, (ed), *The Register of the Priory of Wetheral,* TCWAAS Record Series Vol. I (London, 1897), p.2.

gained circa 1098 A.D.[60] An earthwork castle of motte and bailey or ringwork type is likely.

The town of Appleby is a planned town (a plan of which can be seen in Figure 5.1), probably replacing an earlier one, destroyed, along with a castle, by William the Lion in 1174 A.D. There may perhaps even have been a pre-Conquest settlement in the area which became known as Bongate (the street of the bondmen), to the east of the present castle. Finally, the barony of Appleby must be mentioned. It is said to have officially been created in 1203 A.D. but, its origins lie in the twelfth century and developed from earlier divisions.[61] The barony of Appleby (sometimes called the barony of Westmorland) was made up of the valleys of the Eden, Lowther and Eamont rivers which ran through Cumberland up to the Solway Firth. Appleby was also separated from the barony of Kendal, which lay to the south and southwest, by the Cumbrian Hills.[62] Together, Appleby and Kendal baronies made up the county of Westmorland.

---

[60] R. Sharpe, *Norman Rule in Cumbria 1092-1136. A lecture delivered to the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society on 9th April 2005 at Carlisle,* CWAAS Tract Series, vol. XXI (Kendal, 2006), pp. 43-47.

[61] W. Farrer, 'On the Tenure of Westmorland temp. Henry II. and the date of Creation of the Baronies of Appleby and Kendal', *TCWAAS,* New Series Vol. VII (Kendal, 1907), p.107.

[62] A.H. Smith, *English Place-Name Society Vol. XLII The Place-Names of Westmorland Part I* (Cambridge, 1967) p. 1.

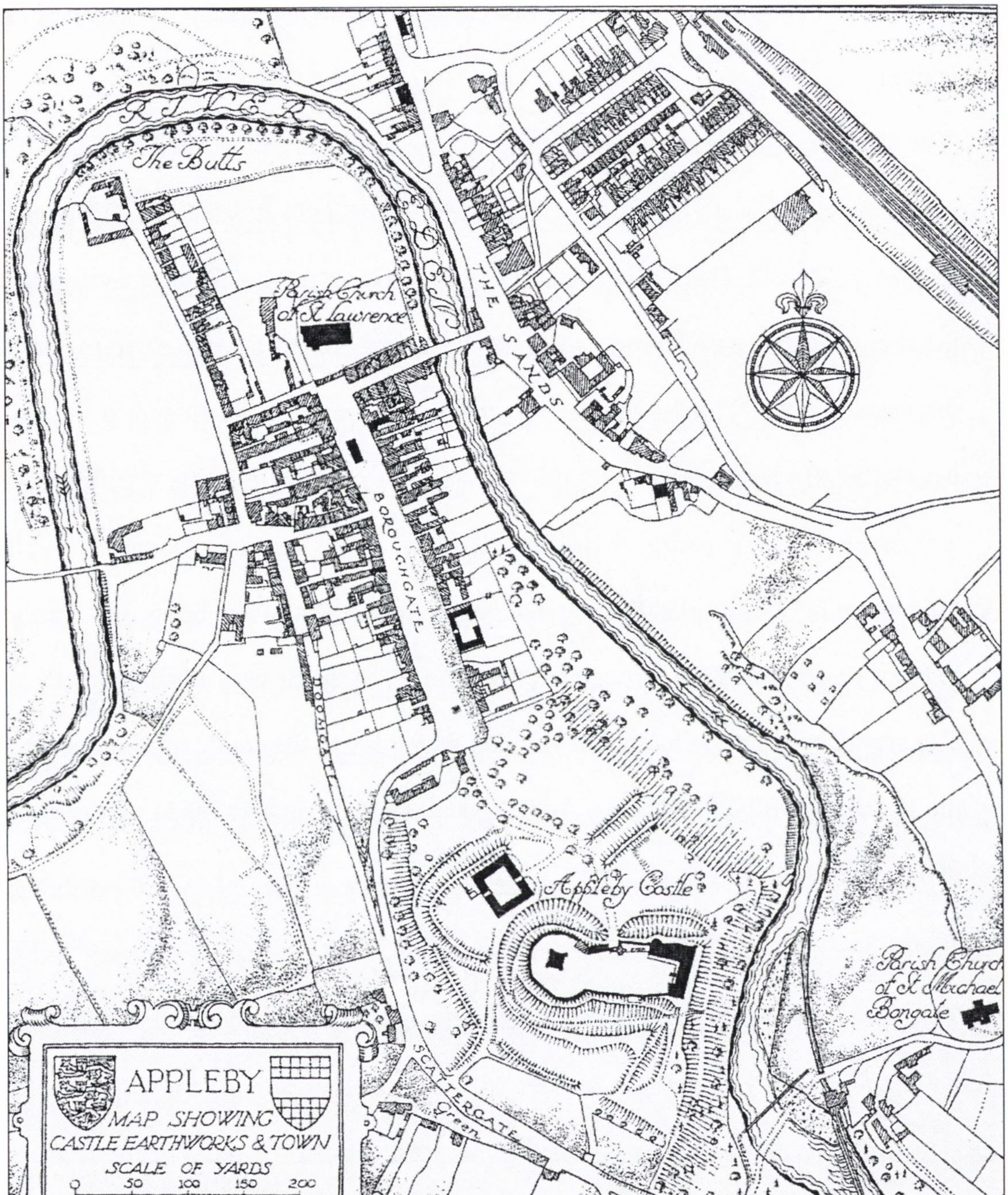


Figure 5.1: Appleby Town Plan (also used as Figure 7.9), from Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments of Westmorland* (London, 1936), p. 36.

The town of Appleby lies in a loop of the River Eden. The northern, western and eastern approaches to the town are thus defended by the river, which reaches 27-30metres (90-100ft) in width at certain points. The southern side is the highest ground and slopes down to the river. The castle of Appleby occupies this high ground and provides cover for the town, whilst in turn the town protects the castle, acting as a buffer zone. The site of town and castle, both medieval, is clearly a planned settlement. Whether it was replacing an earlier occupation or was a new development in the area is unclear.

Appleby Castle

The present keep visible at Appleby dates originally to circa 1170 A.D. It was burned in circa 1174 A.D. by William the Lion.[63] Pipe Rolls show repairs carried out to rebuild the castle in the decades after the attack.[64] Repair work, the addition of a new storey to the keep, a hall built and the extensive repairs carried out by Lady Anne Clifford in the seventeenth century are also noted.[65] Whilst these repairs and renovations are interesting (as is the 'career' of Lady Anne Clifford), it is only those buildings and features present or repaired before 1250 A.D. which are of importance to this work. The grant of the 'potestas' of Carlisle and indeed reference to the castle at Appleby are to be found in two charters in the *Register of the Priory of Wetheral.*[66] Prescott dates the first charter to between 1092 and 1112 A.D. He favours an early, pre-1100 A.D. date and William Rufus as the grantor.[67]

---

[63] R.C. Johnston, (ed) *Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle* (Oxford, 1981), p.109-10.

[64] D.M. Stenton (ed.), *The great roll of the pipe for 2 Richard I-3 John*, Pipe Roll Society, New Series Vols. 1-3, 5-10, 12, 14 (London, 1925-1936) Pipe Rolls 1198-1201A.D.

[65] D.R. Perriam, & J. Robinson, *The Medieval Fortified Buildings of Cumbria,* CWAAS Extra Series, Vol. XXIX (1998) p. 252 for a list of sources pertaining to the castle.

[66] J.E. Prescott, (ed), *The Register of the Priory of Wetheral,* TCWAAS Record Series Vol. I (London, 1897) Charters 1 & 3, p.1-5 & 10-12.

[67] J.E. Prescott, (ed), *The Register of the Priory of Wetheral,* TCWAAS Record Series Vol. I (London, 1897) Appendix A p.474-5

Prescott suggests that site was chosen for military reasons, to defend the road into Northumbria.[68] Simpson agrees that Ranulf le Meschin had a military advantage in mind when he established the first castle, a motte and bailey (possibly a ringwork) at Appleby.[69] The highly defensive position of the site, the castle on the high ground, must be considered in conjunction with the presence of the town. The nature of the site suggests they were built together. The town lies in the loop of the river, defended on three sides. On the fourth side the castle overlooks the town, the river and across to the Roman road a mile to the east, and a popular invasion route.[70] Also of interest is the similar town plan seen at Durham. The layout, within a river loop is almost identical, and Durham also had two churches.

For a comment on the nature of the site it is again necessary to turn to Simpson. He notes that if it was a town and a commercial centre which Ranulf le Meschin was establishing (a true caput with settlement, commerce, and administration) the location is completely inappropriate. It is too well defended, providing little access for traders and passers-by, in particular it lies slightly too far from the Roman road, a central artery through the Eden Valley.[71] The site is defensive. It was chosen for its defensibility but was intended to remain a centre. The establishment of a town on the site would have been an attempt to create a permanent settlement at this location. The survival of the town, inevitably, required commerce. A bridge was, thus, the answer to the inaccessibility of the site.[72] Unfortunately, the medieval

---

[68] J.E. Prescott, (ed), *The Register of the Priory of Wetheral,* TCWAAS Record Series Vol. I (London, 1897), Appendix A, p. 474-5.

[69] W.D. Simpson, 'The town and castle of Appleby: a morphological study', *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. 49 (Kendal, 1950), p.122.

[70] J.E. Prescott, (ed), *The Register of the Priory of Wetheral*, TCWAAS Record Series Vol. I (London, 1897), Appendix A, p. 474-5.

[71] W.D. Simpson, 'The town and castle of Appleby: a morphological study', *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. 49 (Kendal, 1950), p. 122.

[72] W.D. Simpson, 'The town and castle of Appleby: a morphological study', *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. 49 (Kendal, 1950), p. 122.

bridge was replaced in 1889 and nothing remains which indicates its original foundation date, nor does any documentary evidence refer to its construction.

The first castle was an earthwork castle, a motte and bailey or as Clare has suggested a ringwork and bailey, dating to the late eleventh century.[73] Ranulf le Meschin became earl of Chester in 1120 A.D. after the death of his cousin, Richard, earl of Chester, in the White Ship. On taking the post his lands in Cumbria fell to the crown, as perhaps did those held by his wife, Lucia, from her first husband Ivo de Taillebois, namely Kendal and those lands she had inherited from her father in Lincolnshire.[74]

As noted, in 1136 A.D. Cumbria was ceded to the Scots, not to be regained by England until 1157 A.D. David I granted Appleby, Brough and the barony of Appleby (Westmorland) to Hugh de Morville after 1136 A.D. and it is to his son that the foundation of the keep is owed.[75] The forfeiture by Hugh de Morville (II) of his barony and castles, made Appleby and Brough royal castles again. In the Revolt of 1174-5 A.D. William the Lion sided against Henry II. As royal castles, Appleby and Brough, were targets for William the Lion during the uprising. If Jordan Fantosme is taken literally, there was a tower at Appleby, which is described during the attack on the castle: "The king captured the castle of Appleby very speedily....its constable was an old white-haired Englishman, Gospatric Fitzhorm, and he gave in and begged for mercy at once".[76] Of the burning of the tower he

---

[73] T. Clare, *Archaeological Sites of the Lake District* (Derbyshire, 1981), p.48.

[74] J.E. Prescott, (ed), *The Register of the Priory of Wetheral,* TCWAAS Record Series Vol. I (London, 1897), Appendix A, p. 474-5.

[75] NMR, 'Appleby Castle', http://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=13288&sort=4&search-all&criteria=appleby&rational=q&recordsperpage=10, accessed August 2006.

[76] R.C. Johnston, (ed) *Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle* (Oxford, 1981) p.108-9.

writes, “They are now in the tower; they will not hold out for very long: the attackers set fire to it and they will burn them up inside it……The fire takes hold”.[77] The description clearly suggests a tower or keep, but whether this was a wooden or stone structure (perhaps even the one visible today) is unknown. The Pipe Rolls record a fine imposed on Gospatric for surrendering the castle and on numerous others for allowing it to happen.

The extant remains of Appleby Castle are still impressive and the scale of the earthworks suggests that the first earthwork castle was also a large and well defended site. At some point the motte was truncated and a tower built, which came to be known in the seventeenth century as Caesar’s tower, erroneously suggesting a Roman origin for the tower. The keep is now of four storeys, although originally it was only three. This can be seen in the ‘weatherings of the original roof before the later twelfth-century heightening’.[78] The fourth was added before the end of the twelfth century. Other work carried out at this time can be seen in the curtain walling, in particular the west end by the keep, and sections of the south wall. A round tower on the north wall, by the northwest wing of the fourteenth-century hall dates to the thirteenth century. Simpson suggested that the squared off eastern end of the bailey indicated that the hall was always there.[79]

Appleby Town

Pre-historic sites of interest are numerous in the area, particularly to the south and southwest of Appleby town, where a profusion of British settlements, Druidical circles and Tumuli, as they are called by the 1895 A.D. Ordnance Survey map, have

---

[77] R.C. Johnston, (ed) *Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle* (Oxford, 1981) p.110-11.

[78] Royal Commission on Historical Monuments England, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Westmorland* (London, 1936) p.9

[79] W.D. Simpson, ‘The town and castle of Appleby: a morphological study’, *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. 49 (Kendal, 1950) p.126

been identified.[80] Moving slightly later, Appleby town itself has no known Roman origins. No Roman artefacts have ever been found here, despite the fact that the Roman road, the so-called Stainmore Road, lies one mile to the east. A pre-Conquest settlement may have been identified by Simpson at the location.[81] He cites the hogbacked stone used as the tympanum in the Norman doorway of St. Michael's church as evidence of a settlement in the location before Ranulf le Meschin and the Normans arrived. Simpson also suggests that the origins of any such settlement derive from the crossing point at the ford of the River Eden, in the area that has come to be known as Bongate or Bondgate.[82] A reference to this area as 'Old Appleby where the villeins dwell' in 1265 A.D. may support the hypothesis, however, the hogbacked stone could simply have been reused in the building of the church, and does not have to have come from the locality.[83] The HER entry for Appleby, on the other hand, suggests the site of the castle was originally a pre-historic hillfort or Roman settlement. The Roman idea cannot be substantiated in any way and is, therefore, unlikely. Any pre-historic settlement on the castle site is likely to have been destroyed in the creation of an earthwork castle, the subsequent truncating of the motte, building of a tower and destruction of the site by fire.

Appleby town has already been mentioned with regards to it being associated with the foundation of the castle. Simpson classified Appleby as belonging to a category of planned towns, one that is dependent on a castle, what will be referred to in Chapter 7 as a castle borough. According to him it is a 'feudal motive' that gives the

---

[80] Ordnance Survey, *Old Ordnance Survey Maps. Shap, Ullwater & Appleby 1895: An Inch to a Mile* Sheet 30, The Godfrey Edition (2003)

[81] W.D. Simpson, 'The Town and Castle of Appleby: a morphological study', *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. 49 (Kendal, 1950), p.121.

[82] W.D. Simpson, 'The Town and Castle of Appleby: a morphological study', *TCWAAS*, New Series Vol. 49 (Kendal, 1950), p.121.

[83] A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987), p. 126.

initial impulse for the plan of this town.[84] The primary elements of church, market and castle are all present in Appleby and certainly Ranulf le Meschin, a new lord, had military considerations foremost in his mind when establishing a caput at Appleby. It must also, however, be noted that the nature of the site, the topography, lends itself to this type of planned settlement, ideal for a permanent, long term settlement, based around a seigneurial caput. The castle is in the obviously defensible position on the higher ground, the town on the lower, each providing protection for the other. By siting his centre at Appleby, away from royal control at Carlisle, le Meschin was asserting his own authority, and placing himself at the core of his lands.

Kendal

The town of Kendal lies in a valley at the gateway to the Lake District. The town itself is sited on the banks of the river Kent. The appellation 'the Auld Grey Town' refers to the preponderance of Victorian buildings, made with local limestone, although the use of this material was not confined to the Victorian period. Kendal castle certainly made use of the abundant building resource available in the area.

It has been noted that the medieval history of the town has not been comprehensively investigated, due primarily to the scarcity of documentary evidence.[85] Indeed Munby notes that 'the borough archives of Kendal do not survive from before the sixteenth century'.[86] What is known of medieval Kendal is that an earthwork castle was established in the post-Conquest period, at Castle

---

[84] W.D. Simpson, 'The Town and Castle of Appleby: a morphological study', *TCWAAS*, New Series Vol. 49 (Kendal, 1950), p.119-20.

[85] J. Munby, 'Medieval Kendal: the first Borough Charter and its connexions', *TCWAAS,* New Series, Vol. 85 pp. 95-114 (Kendal, 1985), p. 95.

[86] J. Munby, 'Medieval Kendal: the first Borough Charter and its connexions', *TCWAAS*, New Series, Vol. 85 pp. 95-114 (Kendal, 1985), p. 95.

Howe. Ivo de Taillebois was granted the barony of Kendal by William Rufus. Confirmation of this grant is found in the charter Ivo de Taillebois granted to St. Mary's, York, which included the church of Kirkby Kendal.[87] It is likely that Castle Howe was his caput in Kendal. Winchester notes that the appearance of the name 'Cherchebi' in the Yorkshire Domesday, refers to Kendal, and indicates the presence of a pre-existing settlement on the site. The likeliest candidates for the exact location of this settlement are Strickland (at the northern end of the town) or Cunswick (to the northwest of the town).[88] Certainly there is a Roman fort, Alauna (Watercrook), located directly south of the town.[89]

---

[87] W. Farrer, *Records Relating to the Barony of Kendale,* J.F. Curwen (ed), CWAAS Record Series vol. 6 (Kendal, 1923-26), p. 377, Illustrative Documents I.

[88] A.J.L. Winchester, *Draft Report: Cumbrian Historic Towns Survey, 1978-9. The Archaeological Potential of Four Cumbrian Market Towns,* Unpublished Report, Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle, DX/784/1, D/Phi/74, p. 4.

[89] NMR, Entry SD 59 SW 3, 'Alauna', http://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=43203&sort-4&search=all&criteria=alauna&rational=q&recordsperpage=10, accessed August 2006

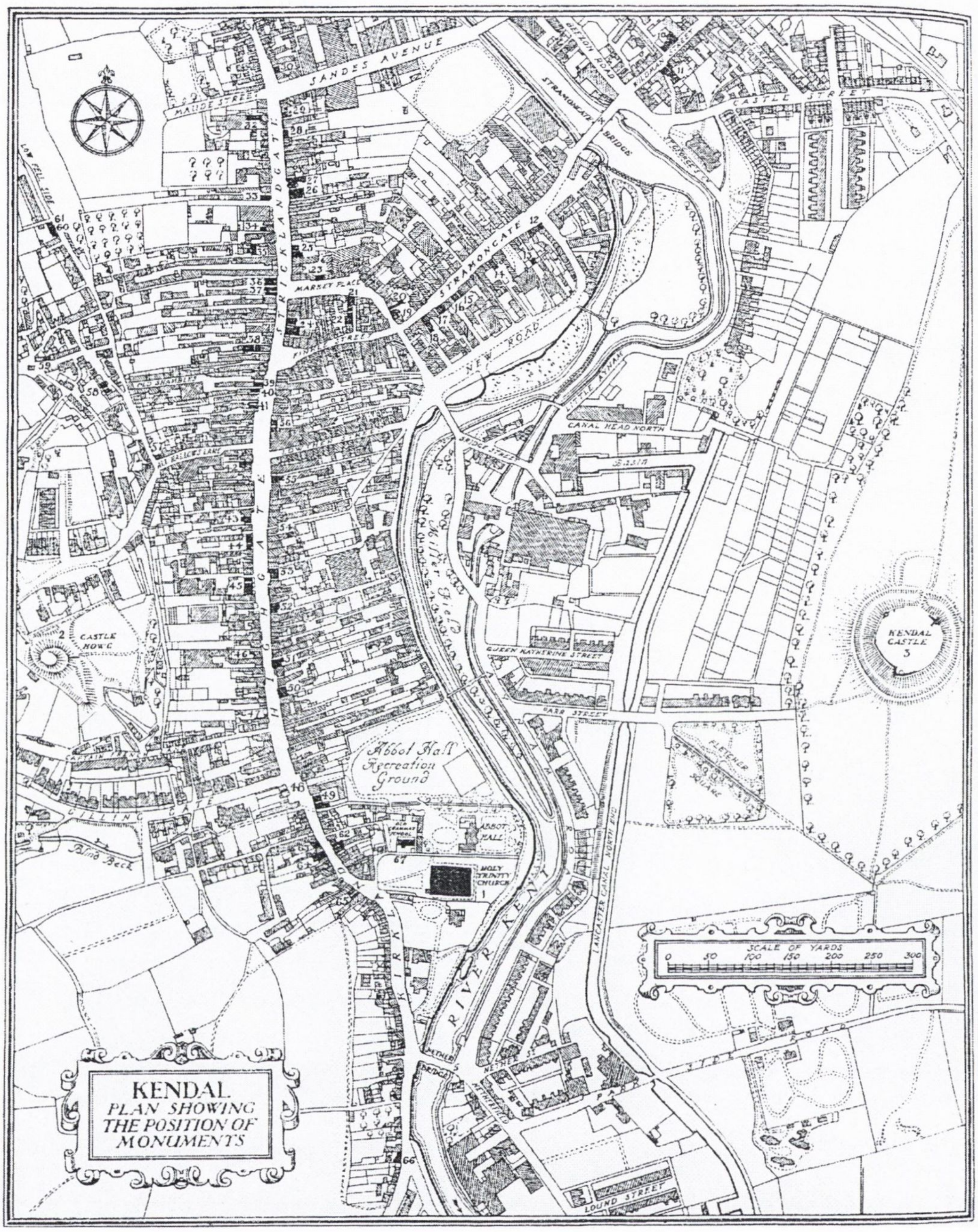


Figure 5.2: Kendal Town Plan, from Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments of Westmorland* (London, 1936) p. 126

Castle Howe, the motte and bailey castle located on a hill overlooking the town, to the west, is an impressive site. The motte was constructed on a natural glacial hill, adding the height of the earthwork. The motte is 11 metres high, and has a flat summit of approximately 18 metres diameter. The bailey has been greatly destroyed by the construction of a public car park, however, it can be established that it was triangular in shape. A ditch and bank surround the base of the motte, the earth from this ditch having been used to build the motte.[90]

Directly across the river from Castle Howe lies Kendal Castle. The first phase of castle on the site was a ringwork, established circa 1184 A.D. when Gilbert fitz-Reinfrid married into the de Lancaster family and gained the barony by right of his wife. Hawise, his wife, had been ward of William Marshall.[91] The castle is located on the summit of Castle Hill, a drumlin (glacially deposited hill) some 91 metres above sea level. The ditch surrounding the castle site is some 26m wide at points and 3m deep, whilst the outer bank also runs to 3m in height. These earthworks date to the first phase, the earthwork castle. The stone enclosure castle dates to the thirteenth century. The curtain wall (approximately 1.5-2 m thick), keep and gatehouse, have been dated to the thirteenth century by the HER and NMR. A hall is a later addition. Kendal Castle was briefly forfeit to the crown in 1215 A.D. when fitz-Reinfrid's son William was captured by John at the siege of Rochester. It had been restored by 1241 A.D.

The town of Kendal, as noted, has little documentary evidence. Richard I granted a market charter in 1189 A.D. in return for money for his crusade.[92] It has been suggested that this grant marked the actual laying out of the market place, and that

---

[90] M.J. Jackson, *Castles of Cumbria* (Carlisle, 1990)

[91] See Chapter 3 pp. 77-78 for descent of the barony

[92] R.H. Britnell, 'Boroughs, markets and trade in northern England, 1000–1216' in R.H. Britnell, R.H. Hatcher eds., *Progress and Problems in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 65.

the regularity of the burgage plots of Kendal suggest a deliberately planned seigneurial town.[93] In the Inquisition post mortem of William of Ros in 1310A.D, he is recorded as holding thirty six tofts at 6d. each, plus another two and a half tofts and three messuages, as his quarter of the vill of Kirkby Kendal.[94] As a quarter of the vill, this would make the entire vill approximately 144 tofts.

The borough charter dates to between 1222 and 1246 A.D. and was granted by William de Lancaster III. Munby notes the similarity between the clauses and liberties recorded in the Kendal borough charter and those of Warton in Lancashire.[95] Under the borough charter of Kendal, a mill, common pasture land for the burgesses, specific agreements with fullers and dyers, and woodland rights are all noted.[96] The single trade identified in the borough charter was that associated with the wool industry. Kendal was to become highly involved in the wool trade during the fourteenth century.

Politically, Kendal can be interpreted as the caput of the barony. The similarity of the borough charters of Kendal, Ulverston and Warton, illustrate the influence of Gilbert fitz-Reinfrid on the wider landscape of this particular region. Munby has suggested that the Ulverston charter's concern with 'regulating the relationship between the burgesses and their lord' was possibly as a result of 'existing customs of Kendal'. This is, however, conjecture on his part, with no firm evidence to back up such a claim.[97] Richard I was to grant Gilbert fitz-Reinfrid, 'full baronial status

---

[93] J. Munby, 'Medieval Kendal: the first Borough Charter and its connexions', *TCWAAS,* New Series Vol. 85 (Kendal, 1985), p. 107.

[94] *Calendar of Inquisitions post Mortem and other Analogous Documents preserved in the Public Record Office*, Vol. V, p.118, No. 218.

[95] J. Munby, 'Medieval Kendal: the first Borough Charter and its connexions', *TCWAAS*, New Series Vol. 85 (Kendal, 1985), p. 97.

[96] J. Munby, 'Medieval Kendal: the first Borough Charter and its connexions', *TCWAAS*, New Series (Kendal, 1985), pp. 98-105.

[97] J. Munby, 'Medieval Kendal: the first Borough Charter and its connexions', *TCWAAS*, New Series (Kendal, 1985), p. 97.

throughout Kentdale and the outlying members', reinforcing his authority in the area.[98]

Egremont

The barony of Copeland was granted to William le Meschin in circa 1120 A.D. He shortly thereafter built a motte and bailey castle, on a great height overlooking the river and the settlement, a planned seigneurial settlement which developed at the foot of the castle. Unfortunately, no detailed information on the history of the town survives before the seventeenth century. The stone phase of the castle site can be dated to the early twelfth century. The keep was a circular tower, a so-called Juliet Tower. Lancaster University Archaeological Unit, which carried out a watching report on the site on 1998 and 2004, has suggested a date of circa 1138 A.D. for the stone keep, during the lordship of William fitzDuncan, who was a supporter of David I. Egremont Castle and town were attacked in 1315 A.D. by Robert Bruce during his raid through Cumbria. As noted during the discussion of borough charters and market charters in Chapter 7, Egremont was granted a market charter in 1267 A.D. Winchester had concluded that the town actually dated to the end of the twelfth century. His evidence for this date was the grant of rights to the burgesses of the town circa 1200 A.D. by Richard de Lucy, lord of Copeland.[99] Two charters located among the Lonsdale Deeds in the Cumbrian Record Office agree that the town foundation was circa 1200 A.D.[100] They both grant rights to the burgesses of

---

[98] W. Farrer & J.F. Curwen, *Records Relating to the Barony of Kendale,* CWAAS Record Series, vol. I (Kendal, 1923-6), pp. xv, 378-80.

[99] Carlisle, Cumbria Record Office, DX/784/1, D/Phi/74 (A.J.L. Winchester, Draft Report. Cumbrian Historic Towns Survey, 1978-9. The Archaeological Potential of Four Cumbrian Market Towns, p. 3)

[100] Carlisle, Cumbria Record Office, D/Lons/Deeds/WH1a (Records of the Family of Lowther, Earls of Lonsdale; grant of Privileges to burgesses of Egremont by Richard de Luci, 1197x1202 A.D); Carlisle, Cumbria Record Office, D/Lons/Deeds/Wh1b (Records of the Family of Lowther, Earls of Lonsdale; grant of Brisco and Ulcotes to the burgesses of Egremont by Richard de Luci, c.1200 A.D.)

Egremont. The first is the foundation charter of Richard de Luci to the burgesses of Egremont, in which he grants them lands and privileges. It dates to between 1197 A.D. and 1202 A.D. The second charter is also from Richard de Luci. In it he grants the vills of 'Brisco' and 'Ulcotes' to the burgesses of Egremont. This charter dates to circa 1200 A.D. The castle at Egremont is first referred to in the Register of St. Bees circa 1160 A.D.[101]

The difficulty with Egremont, and an assessment of its political landscape, is that during the fourteenth century the barony was divided between the three co-heiresses of John de Multon.[102] The political landscape of the castle thereafter follows the descent of the barony, as described in Chapter 3.

---

[101] J. Wilson, (ed), *The Register of the Priory of St. Bees,* Surtees Society vol. 126 (Durham, 1915), p. 19.

[102] *Calendar of Close Rolls for the reign of Edward III* 1337-9 (London, 1904), pp.476-9, 486-8, 494-6.

Chapter 6
The Ecclesiastical Landscape of Cumbria

The ecclesiastical landscape encompasses all elements of religion affecting people, institutions and topography. For the period in question Cumbria was Christianized. Evidence of the evangelizing forces remains in the dedications of churches, the sculpture, design and architecture of gravestones, and even in the holy places of the early saints. Clearly the church was well established in Cumbria by the time of the Conquest. Other than the dedications, these elements are not particularly germane to the topic, dating largely to the Anglo-Saxon period. The main topics which will be dealt with in this chapter are the distribution of sites, the various aspects of religious life (administrative, popular and contemplative) and the role of the castle in the ecclesiastical landscape of Cumbria. In looking at these various topics the medieval ecclesiastical landscape will emerge as part of a larger landscape in Cumbria. Interaction between castles and the ecclesiastical landscape is unsurprising considering 'the manner in which religion permeated almost every aspect of medieval life'.[1] The church and the castle were important symbols of lordship, thus making them supremely pertinent to any investigation of the medieval landscape.

By the eleventh century, Cumbria, in the far north west of England, had an established ecclesiastical structure. Documentary evidence, however, dates from slightly later. Before the elevation of Carlisle to a bishopric in 1133 A.D., the city was under the ecclesiastical control of Durham (circa 1092-1101 A.D.) and indeed in the years when

---

[1] O.H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes: Power, Community and Fortification in Medieval England* (London, 2002), p. 110.

Cumberland fell to David I of Scotland, of Bishop Michael of Glasgow (who had been consecrated by Archbishop Thomas of York and had pledged obedience to York) and his successor.[2] Summerson suggests that it was this, a Scottish bishop with spiritual control of Cumberland, that may have pushed Henry I and Archbishop Thurstan of York to make Carlisle a bishopric.[3] In Carlisle, as elsewhere in medieval England, politics and religion were thus closely related. In 1122 A.D. Henry I had founded the Augustinian priory of St. Mary's. It has been suggested that from this foundation, the plan to create a bishopric at Carlisle was already in motion.[4] What is certain is that the elevation of Carlisle to a bishopric and the consecration of its first bishop, Adelulf (also referred to as Athelwold), prior of Nostell, and the king's confessor, occurred in 1133 A.D.[5]

A comprehensive list of the rural deaneries and parishes of Cumbria survives only in the Papal Taxation of 1291 A.D. Winchester notes that the civil and ecclesiastical administration of Cumbria corresponded to a striking degree. Whilst the rural deaneries were probably created in the twelfth century (as they were across England) the civil divisions to which they correspond in Cumbria are possibly pre-Conquest in origin.[6] Rural deaneries in turn were subdivided into parishes. The earliest extant and most comprehensive record of Cumbrian parishes is the complete list entered in the Papal

---

[2] J. C. Dickinson, 'The Origins of Carlisle Cathedral', *TCWAAS*, New Series Vol. 45 (Kendal, 1946), pp. 134-43.

[3] H.R.T. Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle*, CWAAS Extra series, vol. XXV (Kendal, 1993), vol. I p.35.

[4] J.E. Prescott, (ed), *The Register of the Priory of Wetheral*, CWAAS Record Series Vol. I (London, 1897), pp. 478-89; J. C. Dickinson, 'The Origins of Carlisle Cathedral', *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. 45 (Kendal, 1946), pp. 134-43.

[5] T. Arnold (ed), 'John of Hexham', *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia,* 2 vols. Rolls Series Vol. lxxv (1882-5), document 11, p. 285; C.W. Hollister, *Henry I* (New Haven, 2001), p. 464.

[6] A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987), p. 14-15; A.H. Thompson, 'Diocesan Organisation in the Middle Ages', *Proceedings of the British Academy,* no. 29 (1943), p.179-84.

Taxation of 1291 A.D.[7] The list identifies four deaneries in Cumbria: Carlisle, Allerdale, Cumberland and Westmorland, and names the parish churches located in them and their valuation. Carlisle is recorded as having thirty-two parish churches, including two priory churches (Lanercost, St. Mary's Carlisle). Allerdale records eighteen parish churches. Westmorland records twenty-five parish churches and Cumberland deanery records seventeen parish churches. The significance of the papal taxation also lies not just in identifying the deaneries and parishes of medieval Cumbria, but also in their valuation.

Carlisle Cathedral

In 1122 A.D. Henry I founded the priory of St. Mary's. It was the priory church that became the cathedral of Carlisle on its elevation to a bishopric in 1133 A.D. Local tradition has it, however, that St. Mary's was already long planned for and had been for some time, perhaps since 1092 A.D. or to the first years of the reign of Henry I. More likely its foundation actually does date to 1122 A.D. when the king visited Carlisle.[8] Henry I granted them several privileges, including a number of churches in Northumbria, alms and benefactions. The Pipe Roll of 1130-31 A.D. refers to a royal writ of £10 to the canons of Carlisle 'for the building of their church' and the remittance of nautgeld.[9] The original priory of St. Mary's is no longer visible, except for those parts now in the nave of the cathedral. The year 1133 A.D. saw the priory's

---

[7] T. Astle, S. Ayscough, & J. Caley, (eds), *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate P. Nicholae IV. Circa A.D. 1291* (London, 1802), pp. 318-320.

[8] J. C. Dickinson, 'The Origins of the Cathedral of Carlisle', *TCWAAS*, New Series Vol. 45 (Kendal, 1946), p. 136.

[9] J. Hunter (ed.), *The Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I, Michaelmas 1130* (Commissioners on the Public Records of the Kingdom, 1833) (HMSO, London, 1929). Nautgeld remitted was 37s. 4d.

elevation to a cathedral and Carlisle's to a bishopric, with Adelulf appointed the first bishop.

Carlisle had a long history of ecclesiastical traditions but no central organized church. By introducing this element, firstly by creating a bishopric and then implementing the usual facets of ecclesiastical administration (deaneries, dioceses, and parish churches), Dickinson has stated that Henry I was using ecclesiastical organization as a method of control, a stabilizing, static presence in a volatile region.[10] To consider it a concerted policy is too far. Certainly, Archbishop Thurstan of York appears to have been the instigator of the plan to create a diocese at Carlisle, in order to remove any influence or role the Scottish episcopate and by extension its king, could have in the north. The argument regarding the primacy of the archbishopric of York over the Scottish church had begun in 1117 A.D. when John became bishop of Glasgow.[11] The boundaries of the newly created diocese of Carlisle reflected those of the lands acquired in 1092 A.D. by William Rufus and granted to Ranulf le Meschin.[12] Holt noted that 'the northern border which Rufus had won had been secured by Henry I'.[13] In light of this comment there is some truth in acknowledging that the creation of a bishopric at Carlisle did indeed establish a stabilizing and permanent influence in the region. It was not, however, an active policy of Henry I. It should also be noted that the honour of Carlisle (the military held centre of Cumbria) and the diocese of Carlisle had comparable borders. Dickinson's theory may have had a grain of truth within it. The difficulty lies in

---

[10] J. C. Dickinson, 'The Origins of the Cathedral of Carlisle', *TCWAAS,* New Series Vol. 45 (Kendal, 1946), p.139.

[11] J. Green, 'Anglo-Scottish Relations, 1066-1174', in M. Jones and M. Vale, eds., *England and her Neighbours, 1066-1453* (London, 1989), pp. 62-3

[12] D.P. Kirby, 'Strathclyde and Cumbria', *TCWAAS*, New Series Vol. 62 (1962) p.77-94; D. Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1981); A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987), p.13.

[13] J.C. Holt, *The Northerners: A Study in the Reign of King John* (Oxford, 1961), p. 202.

proving a direct link between Henry I and the elements of the ecclesiastical landscape which swiftly and comprehensively developed in the course of the twelfth century. In 1136 A.D. Stephen of England ceded Carlisle to David I of Scotland. It was not recovered for some twenty years, until 1157A.D. when Henry II compelled Malcolm IV of Scotland to return the northern lands.

In the Inquest of David, lands in Cumbria which fell under the power of David (I) were recorded as falling under the control of the bishopric of Glasgow. During the early years of the argument David (I) remained on good terms with Henry I. After he became king, David I had been attempting to secure an archbishopric for St. Andrews, 'and this, if conceded, would mean an independent Scottish church'.[14] This was achieved and in consolation Thurstan was allowed to consecrate a bishop at Whithorn and more pertinent to this thesis at Carlisle. The new bishop of Carlisle, Adelulf, did not, however, gain entrance to his see until 1139 A.D., possibly on the actions of David I.[15]

Distribution of sites:

The second theory to be tested with regards to the ecclesiastical landscape of medieval Cumbria regards the relationship between earthwork castles and churches. The issue of the distribution of sites is an important one when dealing with any landscape. The structure of that landscape is directly linked to the position and interaction of its institutions. An administrative area, whether secular or ecclesiastical, is clearly defined with boundaries of both the physical and jurisdictional kind.[16] Identifying the

---

[14] J. Green, 'David I and Henry I', *Scottish Historical Review*, 75 (1996), p. 16.

[15] J. Green, 'Anglo-Scottish Relations, 1066-1174', in M. Jones and M. Vale, eds., *England and her Neighbours, 1066-1453* (London, 1989), pp. 63.

[16] See Chapter 3 for discussions regarding the boundaries of medieval Cumbria

distribution of the institutions (for example cathedrals, parish churches, and chapels of ease), and their relative distance from each other and the other significant elements (for example a castle or settlement) of the landscape, will establish the overlying pattern of interaction. The issue of distribution, in particular the proximity of churches and castles to each other during the Norman era, is one that has long been discussed.[17] Le Maho found that nearly fifty per cent of earthwork castles of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in the Grand Caux peninsula of Normandy, lay within 500 m of a church, whilst Pounds identified over forty examples lying within 50 m when he utilized the approach in ten English counties.[18] These results clearly intimate a close relationship during this period between the castle and the church. Creighton has stressed, and rightly so, that castles of this period in England, were sited on the landscape, where a pre-organised parish system was already quite well defined.[19]

Examining the churches of Cumbria in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in line with le Maho's theory and using the records of the NMR and the HER, twelve abbeys and priories, seventy churches (parish and chapel of ease) with either features or fabric of eleventh- or twelfth-century date, and one chapel of the definite twelfth-century date were indentified. Any site whose evidence for this period took the form of a feature (a font, a window, a doorjamb) was not included as these do not necessarily indicate

---

[17] S. O. Addy, *Castle and Manor: A Study in English Economic History* (London, 1913) p.104-37; J. Le Maho, ' L'apparition des seigneuries chatelaines dans le Grand Caux a l'epoque deucale' in *Archeologie Medievale 8* (1976), p.223-33; N.J.G. Pounds, 'The chapel in the castle', *Fortress,* 9 (1991) p.12; B.K. Roberts, *The Making of the English Village: A Study in Historical Geography_* (Harrow, 1987) p.73-5; & O.H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes: Power, Community and Fortification in Medieval England* (London, 2002), p.111-116.

[18] J. Le Maho, 'L'apparition des seigneuries chatelaines dans le Grand Caux a l'epoque deucale' in *Archeologie Medievale,* 8 (1976), p.223-33; N.J.G. Pounds, 'The chapel in the castle', *Fortress,* 9 (1991) p.12; B.K. Roberts, *The Making of the English Village: A Study in Historical Geography* (Harrow, 1987) p.73-5; & O.H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes: Power, Community and Fortification in Medieval England (*London, 2002), p.111-116.

[19] O.H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes: Power, Community and Fortification in Medieval England* (London, 2002), p. 110

original features. Likewise any church which has been substantially rebuilt in the post middle ages, with the result that there are insufficient physical remains to indicate the earlier church, have been omitted. Of the seventy churches, only eighteen (including Carlisle Cathedral) can be said to be parish churches, with the substantial remains or fabric of building indicating definite existence on site in the eleventh or twelfth century. For the purposes of this theory, only earthwork castle of the appropriate period are considered. This means Appleby Castle, Brough Castle, Burgh by Sands Manor House (early motte), Caernarvon Castle, Carlisle (earthwork), Castle Hill Maryport, Castle How Castle Sowerby, Castle Howe Kendal, Cockermouth Castle, Egremont, Irthington Motte, Kendal Castle ringwork, Kirkoswald, Liddel Strength, Moat Aldingham, Mote at Brampton, Ravenstone Moat and Tute Hill Cockermouth can all be included as earthwork castles dating to the eleventh or twelfth century. This allows for every possibility of an earthwork castle phase in the twenty four castle sites of relevance to this thesis.

The Figure 6.1: Table One indicates those parish churches which are of definite eleventh or twelfth-century date. They are identified by their dedication, parish and the medieval barony in which they were originally located. It is interesting to note that eight of the nineteen parish churches lie in the medieval barony of Appleby. Of these, three date to the eleventh century (also they are the only three of the eleventh century in the whole group).

Name of Parish Church	Parish	Barony	Date
Church of All Saints	Allhallows	Allerdale	12th century
Church of St. Lawrence	Appleby	Appleby	12th century
Church of St. Mungo	Bromfield	Allerdale	12th century
Church of St. Michael	Brough	Appleby	12th century
Cathedral Church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity	Carlisle	Carlisle	12th century
Church of St. Kentigern	Castle Sowerby	Inglewood	12th century
Church of St. John	Catterlen	Inglewood	12th century
Church of St. Cuthbert	Cliburn	Appleby	12th century
Church of St. Andrew	Dacre	Greystoke	12th century
Church of St. Mary	Gosforth	Copeland	12th century
Church of St. Cuthbert	Great Salkeld	Inglewood	12th century
Church of St. Peter	Heversham	Kendal	12th century
Church of St. Michael	Kirkby Thore	Appleby	12th century
Church of St. Margaret & St.James	Long Marton	Appleby	11th century
Church of St. Lawrence	Morland	Appleby	11th century
Church of St. James	Ormside	Appleby	11th century
Church of St. Cuthbert	Plumbland	Allerdale	12th century
Church of St. John	Waberthwaite	Millom	12th century

Figure 6.1: Table One: Parish Churches of the Eleventh & Twelfth Century compiled from the databases of the NMR and the HER.

Little can be learnt from looking at these churches in isolation. It is their relationship with the earthwork castles of the period which is of interest. There are coincidentally eighteen castles of relevance to this theory. In terms of the relationship between the church and the castle, it is interesting to note that castles or castle sites lie in only four of the parishes noted, Appleby, Brough, Carlisle, and Castle Sowerby. Of these four, Appleby is 89 m from the church of St. Lawrence, Brough is 400 m from the church of St. Michael, Carlisle Castle is also 400 m from the cathedral, and Castle Howe in Castle Sowerby is remote and isolated and 1.5 km from the nearest settlement and approximately 3000 m from the church of St. Kentigern. Le Maho's findings of 50% of earthwork castles lying within 500 m of a church do not fit with the pattern in Cumbria, where only three of the castle sites fit the pattern.

The premise that castles and churches are frequently sited near each other during the middle ages can also be noted in cases where no physical evidence of an earthwork castle remains. Catterlen Hall lies on a twelfth-century site and the parish Church of St. John is of the late twelfth/early thirteenth century. The first documentary evidence for Whelp Castle is in a charter which has been dated to between 1199A.D. and 1225 A.D. The Church of St. Michael in Kirkby Thore is twelfth century and lies nearby. Chapels of ease whose origins lie in the twelfth century are located at Aldingham, Brampton, Burgh by Sands, Irthington and Kirkoswald. These chapels of ease appear to have existed contemporaneously with the Moat Aldingham, the Mote at Brampton, possibly the motte castle or earthwork phase at Burgh by Sands Manor House, Irthington Motte and Kirkoswald Moat respectively.

SITE NAME	MEDIEVAL BARONY	PARISH	DATE
Appleby	Carlisle /Appleby	Appleby	c.1100 A.D.
Brough	Appleby	Brough	c.1100 A.D.
Burgh Manor House	Burgh by Sands	Burgh by Sands	12th century (possibly)
Caernarvon Castle	Copeland	St. John Beckermet	12th century
Carlisle	Carlisle	Carlisle	1092 A.D
Castle Hill Motte	Copeland	Maryport	1120-60 A.D
Castle How	Inglewood	Castle Sowerby	1186/7 A.D.
Castle Howe	Kendal	Kendal	Late 11th century
Cockermouth	Cockermouth	Cockermouth	Mid 12th century
Egremont	Copeland	Egremont	1120-40 A.D.
Irthington Motte	Gilsland	Irthington	12th century (1160s)
Kendal Castle	Kendal	Kendal	c.1184 A.D.
Kirkoswald	Kirkoswald Manor	Kirkoswald	mid 12th century (possibly)
Liddel Strength	Liddel	Kirkandrews	11th/12th century
Moat Hill	Furness	Aldingham	Early 12th century
Ravenstone Moat	Appleby	Ravenstonedale	Pre 1154 A.D.
The Mote	Gilsland	Brampton	12/13th century
Tute Hill	Cockermouth	Cockermouth	Early-mid 12th century

Figure 6.2: Table Two: Possible earthwork castles of the eleventh & twelfth century, compiled from the NMR and HER databases.

Fortified Churches

Looking at medieval Cumbria there are a number of fortified churches. Creighton notes that fortified churches could evolve in a couple of ways. Firstly, a parish church could be converted into a fortification to protect and store its portable wealth or secondly, during the Anarchy a number of churches were fortified as it was quicker than building a castle. In the case of Cumbria, nine churches were fortified. St. Mary's in Beaumont, St. Martin's in Brampton, the church of St. Michael in Burgh by Sands, St. Oswald's in Dean, and St. Mungo's in Dearham all have churches dating to the twelfth century. The latter four all had western fortified towers added in the fourteenth century. St. Mary's at Beaumont actually lies on a motte. The NMR and HER record the presence of a motte castle at this location, the seat of the le Brun or de la Ferte family. The family abandoned the motte and is known to have taken up residence in Drumburgh castle in 1307 A.D. It is unknown at what exact date the church was built on the motte, but twelfth-century windows and arcading indicate a twelfth-century date for the church. The church of St. Cuthbert at Great Salkeld and the church of St. James at Ormside are both eleventh-century churches. Their towers date to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth, and to the thirteenth, centuries respectively. The tower at Ormside, in particular, is clearly defensible. Churches at Penrith and Ravenstonedale are later, and both have thirteenth/fourteenth-century towers.

This period in Cumbrian history is particularly volatile, and the safety of those along the border was paramount. For this reason the fortification of churches, the addition of a tower, or the renovation of one already in place was particularly widespread along the border, and in areas which suffered from the Scottish raiding. The significance of fortified churches lies in the date of their fortification and the location of the church. In the examples given above for Cumbria five have been identified in which the fortification took place in the twelfth century. Burgh-by-sands, Beaumont and Brampton were located near Carlisle. Beaumont lies on a motte, the other two have fortified towers. The exact date of their fortification is unknown. The impetus to fortify the churches at Brampton, Beaumont and Burgh-by-Sands could have been as a result of the booming silver economy. This trade was based in Carlisle and Alston. David I was known for giving silver chalices to churches in Yorkshire which had suffered damage in the course of his campaign in 1151 A.D.[20] Brampton, Beaumont and Burgh-by-Sands may also have received gifts, from traders or those who prospered during the silver boom. A fortified tower or motte may thus have been a defensive move by the church to protect these acquisitions. All three of these sites also have medieval earthworks in their vicinity. These may have been abandoned for or usurped by another site. Beaumont is an interesting case, lying as it did on top of a motte. It also has two fortified towers. The towers, however, date to the fourteenth and fifteenth century respectively. A comparable example is the Norman motte at Great Somerford in Wiltshire, where a buried earlier building was found within the motte during an excavation.[21]

Fortified churches commonly do not fall within the outer defences of a nearby castle. The fortification of a church can be the result of a sudden need, and thus the period of the Anarchy has a number of examples, probably including the five which date to the

---

[20] I. Blanchard, 'Lothian and beyond: the economy of the 'English empire of David I'', in R. Brinall & J. Hatcher, eds. *Progress and Problems in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 39

[21] O.H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes; Power, Community and Fortification in Medieval England* (London, 2002)

twelfth century in Cumbria. The castle could either not meet that need or sought extra protection for the church.

Church Dedications

The dedication of a church to a particular saint in the Middle Ages reflected the feast day of the saint. The foundation or consecration of the church occurred on this feast day. There are two particularly common names which occur in the dedications of Cumbria's churches during the Middle Ages. These were St. Kentigern, also known as St. Mungo, and St. Cuthbert. During the entire Middle Ages ten churches were dedicated to Kentigern or Mungo and fourteen to Cuthbert. Both Kentigern and Cuthbert were active in this region in the sixth and seventh centuries respectively. The Church dedications can be seen as indicators of earlier ecclesiastical influence in an area, particularly if the church in question is on the site of or replaced an earlier foundation. Kentigern is of particular relevance to this thesis as he was the founder and patron saint of the see of Glasgow, noted for its dealings with the archbishopric of York in the primacy argument of the 1120s A.D.

The *Life of St. Kentigern* was written circa 1185 A.D. by Jocelin, a monk of Furness. He wrote it from an earlier version that was in existence. Kentigern was a sixth-century bishop. He was renowned for his missionary work, in the north of Scotland, sending many monks to Christianize the population. He left Strathclyde with the outbreak of Pelagian heresy and fled to Wales, to St. David. Kentigern returned to Strathclyde circa 560 A.D, and is believed to have met with St. Columba who was carrying out missionary work in the area. Kentigern died circa 603-12 A.D. His feast day is 13th January.[22]

St. Cuthbert was a seventh-century monk and bishop of Lindisfarne circa 685 A.D. He was also associated with the monastery of Melrose, where he became a monk and was a prior for a time. Cuthbert is also remembered for his asceticism, and indeed he died in his hermit cell on Farne Island off the coast of Northumberland. His feast day is 20th March.[23]

Religious Houses

In the post-Conquest consolidation years the patronage of Norman lords saw an increase in monastic foundations across England, particularly of non-English orders. Aston notes, however, that in the immediate post-conquest period few new monasteries were founded by the Normans. Exceptions include Battle Abbey, Chester, Belvoir, and Wallingford, but these were often built in urban centres and went hand in hand with the creation of a castle.[24] It is at the very end of the eleventh and in the twelfth century that an explosion in monastic foundations occurred, across all of England, including Cumbria.

Monastic patronage was a powerful tool. The foundation of a monastery involved the gift of land, thus enabling a patron essentially to choose the site of the monastery. Further grants and gifts by the patron, his family, and his feudal tenants established the monastery, and ensured prayers for the souls of founders and their ancestors. St. Bees Priory in Copeland was founded by William le Meschin circa 1120 A.D. It was a cell of

---

[22] E. Rees, *An essential guide to Celtic sites and their Saints* (London, 2003), p. 66.

[23] C. J. Stranks, *The Life and Death of St.Cuthbert* (London, 1964), p. 1.

[24] M. Aston, *Monasteries in the Landscape* (Stroud, 2002), p. 75.

St. Mary's in York. In his foundation charter, William le Meschin granted six carucates of land at Cherchebi (in this case Kirkbybeghog, now known as St. Bees). The charter was witnessed by Waldeve, Reiner, Godard, and Ketel, four tenants of William le Meschin. They would subsequently grant charters to the priory.[25]

Cumbria was to have twelve abbeys or priories by the end of the twelfth century and two friaries were established between 1200 and 1250 A.D. Figure 6.3 Abbeys & Priories of Cumbria identifies the foundation dates and orders to which they belonged.

---

[25] J. Wilson, (ed), *The Register of the Priory of St. Bees,* Surtees Society vol. 126 (Durham, 1915), pp. 27-28.

NAME	FOUNDATION DATE	FOUNDER	ORDER
Carlisle Priory	1092-1100 A.D.	Henry I	Augustinian
Lanercost Priory	1166 A.D.	Robert de Vaux of Gilsland	Augustinian
Holm Cultram Abbey	1150 A.D.	Prince Henry, son of David I of Scotland	Cistercian
St. Bees Priory	c.1120 A.D.	William le Meschin	Benedictine
Wetheral Priory	c.1106 A.D.	Ranulf le Meschin	Benedictine
Shap Abbey	c.1200 A.D.	Thomas de Workington	Premonstratensian
Calder Abbey	1134-1143 A.D.	Furness Abbey monks, land from Ranulf le Meschin	Savignac/Cistercian
Furness Abbey	1127 A.D.	Stephen of Blois	Savignac/Cistercian
Cartmel Priory	1190 A.D.	William Marshall	Augustinian
Conishead Priory	c.1167 A.D.	Gamel de Pennington (1167 A.D.) & William de Lancaster (1180 A.D.)	Augustinian
Seaton Priory	c.1190 A.D.	Cell of nuns from Nunburnholme Abbey, East Riding Yorkshire	Benedictine
Armathwaite Priory	1089-92 A.D.	William Rufus	Benedictine
Blackfriars Carlisle	1233 A.D.	/	Dominican
Greyfriars Carlisle	1233-37 A.D.	/	Franciscan

Figure 6.3 Abbeys & Priories of Cumbria, compiled from the HER and NMR databases.

As Figure 6.3 serves only to illustrate that the founders of the abbeys and priories of Cumbria consisted of the major landholders and wealthy men of the region. Three kings, William Rufus, Henry I and Stephen (although he was not yet king at the time of the foundation) established abbeys. Ranulf le Meschin, William le Meschin, Robert de Vaus, Thomas de Workington, William Marshall, Gamel de Pennington, and William de Lancaster were all major landholders in the region, they granted land, churches, and revenues to these foundations and ensured that Cumbria by the end of the Middle Ages had one of the wealthiest monasteries in England, Furness. By its dissolution on 9th April 1537, Furness owned most of the land on the Furness peninsula and had a great number of granges to handle its sheep farming. Two months after its dissolution the annual value of the abbey was estimated at £1051 2s 3¾d.[26] The founders of these monasteries named above have been discussed in their role as baronial lords and castle founders. Aston has pointed out that little can actually be known about the motivations of these founders in establishing a monastery, but notes that 'a patron may have acquired a certain status with a newly-founded monastery, as with a castle, deer park, fishpond and so on, and this status may well have varied with the cost of foundation and the particular order of monks or nuns settled on the land'.[27] The Cistercians, initially brought over from France by Stephen of Blois, had by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries revolutionized the economy of the north through the wool trade. Winchester notes that by the early fourteenth century Holm Cultram and Furness abbeys were on an Italian wool buyers list. He also notes, however, that the price

---

[26] W. Farrer & J. Brownbill (eds), *The Victoria History of the County of Lancaster,* vol. II (London, 1906-14), pp. 130; D. Knowles & R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses: England and Wales* (London, 1953), p. 109, 272.

[27] M. Aston, *Monasteries in the landscape* (Stroud, 2002), p. 22.

fetched for wool from these abbeys indicates that their wool was of a poorer quality than that being sold in other parts of England.[28]

Lanercost Priory - an example of a medieval Cumbrian priory

Lanercost Priory is located in Gilsland, a large lordship in the northwest of Cumberland. This is an important factor in its foundation and development. It was founded by Robert I de Vaux, son of Hubert de Vaux (who died circa 1164 A.D.), to whom Henry II had granted the lordship of Gilsland circa 1157 A.D. Summerson and Harrison have suggested a number of motives for the establishment of a religious foundation here. They dismiss any thought of remorse over the possible suspicious death of Gille son of Bueth being a factor, but subscribe to the idea of familial piety and consolidating his hold on the land.[29] The Lanercost Cartulary gives 1169 A.D. as the foundation date for the priory.[30] It was a settlement of Austin Canons, a relatively new order in England and flexible in their settlement locations (rural or urban). Austin canons could also serve as priests in the parish churches.[31]

The buildings of Lanercost include a church, vestry, two chapter houses, cloister garth, dormitory, refectory, Dacre Tower and Dacre Hall. The southern side of the nave, overlooking the cloister garth is largely twelfth century, as is the southern transept and a number of the internal pillars. Sections of what is known as Dacre Hall, the vestry and the dormitory building also date to the twelfth century. To the later twelfth and into the

---

[28] A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987), p. 117.

[29] H. Summerson & S. Harrison, *Lanercost Priory, Cumbria,* CWAAS Research Series vol. X (2000) p.4

[30] J. Todd (ed), *Lanercost Cartulary,* Surtees Society vol. 203 p.51, Document 1. "Anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo centesimo sexagesimo nono, dedicta fuitista ecclesia a domino Bernardo episcopo Karl' anno eiusdem duodecimo". This was, however, in a later hand, and bishopric of Carlisle was empty at this point.

[31] H. Summerson & S. Harrison, *Lanercost Priory, Cumbria,* CWAAS Research Series vol. X (2000) p. 5

thirteenth century belong the northern transept, the altar area, the Lady Chapel and St. Catherine's Chapel. The rest of the buildings range in date, from the thirteenth century to the Dacre period which lies in the sixteenth century. As Summerson and Harrison note, whilst the eastern side of the nave may date to the twelfth century, nothing can be firmly tied to the foundation date.[32]

In terms of excavation no extensive work has been undertaken. In 1992 a geophysical survey was done. The aim of the survey was to determine whether there was an earlier settlement pre-dating the monastery and identify which areas were worth excavating. The results were recorded as 'anomalous'. Enormous changes to the site over the last three hundred years made it impossible to determine what, if any, pre-priory settlement there had been.[33]

A survey of the stone used in building Lanercost established it was largely of sandstone (of two types, St. Bees sandstone and Penrith sandstone). A very small number of stones from Hadrian's Wall were also used in the building.[34] Todd noted that the only mention of a quarry in the Lanercost Cartulary came in 1292 A.D, and referred to a quarry in Gilsland.[35] St. Bees sandstone is, however, widely available across Cumbria, with large deposits in Brampton, Carlisle, Maryport and St. Bees.

The Lanercost Cartulary was compiled largely in the mid-thirteenth century. Todd has identified a number of different hands, but the majority is in one hand, the first hand. This person completed the first section and ends in approximately 1252 A.D. Todd has

---

[32] H. Summerson & S. Harrison, *Lanercost Priory, Cumbria,* CWAAS Research Series vol. X (2000) p.177

[33] A. Payne, 'Geophysical Survey', in H. Summerson & S. Harrison, *Lanercost Priory, Cumbria,* CWAAS Research Series vol. X (2000), p.87-94.

[34] B. Young, 'Geology of Lanercost Priory' in H. Summerson & S. Harrison, *Lanercost Priory, Cumbria,* CWAAS Research Series vol. X (2000), p.81-86.

[35] J. Todd (ed), *Lanercost Cartulary,* Surtees Society vol. 20 (1997), Document no. 242.

dated this compiling to between 1252 and 1256A.D, basing it on the inclusion of documents relating to the lawsuit between the canons of Lanercost and Thomas of Moulton.[36] The first hand began again, ending in 1268 A.D. Then a number of different hands have been discerned up to 1364 A.D. and possibly later. The majority of the documents in the cartulary are, however, of twelfth and thirteenth-century origin.[37] When the writing ended the drawing, heraldry and annotating seems to have begun. Again, Todd has dealt with this and dates corrections and drawings up to the sixteenth century. There are even annotations by Lord William Howard after the barony of Gilsland came to him through marriage in 1577 A.D.[38] The first document of the cartulary is the foundation charter of Robert I de Vaux. It records that land was endowed to the priory by Robert I de Vaux, the Engaine family, Bueth Barn and Robert son of Anketin. This land held potential for cultivation or as pasture. Five churches were also endowed to the canons and these provided the initial income for the new monastery in the form of tithes and dues.[39]

The ecclesiastical landscape, as investigated briefly in this chapter, dealt with the multitude of areas with which the church was associated. The ecclesiastical administration, in the form of a diocesan system, and the creation of a bishopric, churches, their foundation, patronage, dedication, relationship with the castle and settlement with which it was associated, the cathedral, the foundation of monasteries, the patronage, and physical form, were all areas from which the relationship between

---

[36] J. Todd (ed), *Lanercost Cartulary,* Surtees Society vol. 20 (1997), p.34-5.
[37] J. Todd (ed), *Lanercost Cartulary,* Surtees Society vol. 20 (1997), p.37.
[38] J. Todd (ed), *Lanercost Cartulary,* Surtees Society vol. 20 (1997), p. 44.
[39] H. Summerson & S. Harrison, *Lanercost Priory, Cumbria,* CWAAS Research Series vol. X (2000) p5

church and castle can be viewed. The following case studies identify some of the aspects touched upon in the course of this chapter.

Case Studies

Brough

Brough is the name of a parish and village located in Westmorland. There can be no doubt that the site of Brough Castle is an important one. The castle itself lies within the remains of the Roman fort, Verterae. It was named in the *Antonine Itinerary* and the *Notitia Dignitatum*, from which Camden identified it as the site at Brough. Pennant and Hutchinson, in the 1770s, were the first to note that Roman remains can be seen under the castle.[40] Brough also lies along the Stainmore Road, which ran from Carlisle to Scotch Corner and was a trading route of importance from pre-historic times. Simpson suggested it was 'a trading artery between Ireland, home of the so-precious copper, and the brilliant late Stone Age civilisations of northern Europe'.[41] As can clearly be seen at Brough, the Romans also recognised the importance of the area, building Verterae and indeed three other forts (at Bowes in Yorkshire, Brougham in Westmorland and Carlisle) along it. There is also evidence of Anglo-Saxon activity in the Brough area as can be witnessed by the sculptured stones at the church of St. Stephen in Kirkby Stephen diocese.[42] The Anglo-Saxon presence in the area is something that must be looked into, to establish if there was continuous occupation either at Brough or along

---

[40] E. Birley, 'Brough Castle: The Roman Fort of Brough under Stainmore' in 'The Summer Meeting at Carlisle', p207-253, *The Archaeological Journal,* vol. cxv (1958), p.237.

[41] W. D. Simpson, 'Brough-under-Stainmore: The Castle and the Church', *TCWAAS* vol. xlvi, New Series (1947)

[42] W. D. Simpson, 'Brough-under-Stainmore: The Castle and the Church', *TCWAAS* vol. xlvi, New Series (1947), p. 224.

this important trading route. The fact that the medieval Brough Castle was built on the remains of the Roman fort speaks of the military importance of the site, both in Roman times and later, and perhaps as Creighton has suggested marks a rejuvenation of the area and road in the late eleventh and into the twelfth century.[43] Continued occupation through the Anglo-Saxon period would also lend credence to the importance of the site. A brief excavation of the medieval castle was undertaken in 1925, which found Roman walling under the medieval keep. Numerous Roman finds have come from the river below the fort and castle.[44] This excavation also identified herring-bone walling under the west of the keep and under part of the northern curtain wall, thus giving a late eleventh-century date for the first Norman castle at Brough.[45] There is only historical evidence for William Rufus building a castle at Carlisle at this stage, and it is the architectural styles and buildings themselves that suggest Brough and Appleby Castle to be of a similar period.[46] In 1954 another short excavation confirmed that the Normans had reused the Roman ditch and ramparts to create an outer bailey for their castle, but whether this was of the earlier or later Norman phase of construction is unclear.[47] This is because all that remains of the first Norman castle on the site are some foundations under the north of the later keep and the herring-bone work in the curtain wall. The destruction of the earlier castle in 1174 A.D. would appear to have been quite thorough.

---

[43] O.H. Creighton, *Castles and landscapes: an archaeological survey of Yorkshire and the East Midlands* (PhD Leicester, 1998) p. 76.

[44] E. Birley, 'Brough Castle: The Roman Fort of Brough under Stainmore' in 'The Summer Meeting at Carlisle'p207-253, *The Archaeological Journal,* vol. cxv (1958) p.237.

[45] Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Westmorland'* (London, 1936) p.50.

[46] W. D. Simpson, 'Brough-under-Stainmore: The Castle and the Church' pp.223-283, *TCWAAS* vol. xlvi, New Series (Kendal, 1947) p.225.

[47] E. Birley, 'Brough Castle: The Roman Fort of Brough under Stainmore' in 'The Summer Meeting at Carlisle'p207-253, *The Archaeological Journal,* vol. cxv (1958) p.237.

Historical evidence gives the next phase of Norman building at Brough. Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle records the burning of and destruction of Brough Castle. We learn from this account that there was a bailey and a keep at Brough in 1174 A.D, and that they were burned and then demolished.[48] Simpson notes the castle was largely masonry at this time, as it was both burned and demolished. This is supported by the herring-bone work found in the castle wall.[49] Brough Castle was rebuilt at some stage after 1174 A.D. The Pipe Rolls record repairs to the castle in 1174-1179 A.D. and again from 1189 to 1203 A.D. The date of the second phase of Norman fortification, which consisted of a three storey rectangular keep, is the late twelfth century. The southeast tower, the gatehouse and parts of the curtain wall date to the early thirteenth century, as does the hall in the bailey.[50]

At Brough the church is that of St. Michael and it lies in Church Brough, to the immediate south-east of the castle. Beresford and Simpson argue that Church Brough is an attempt at a planned 'new town'. Simpson identified it as a market town with a central market place, four roads entering at the corners, a church lying to one side and a castle commanding the town.[51] It is, however, an incomplete attempt at establishing a new town. There was a borough in existence by 1197 A.D, when 18s. was paid to the Exchequer by the burgesses of Brough.[52] Simpson has noted that at St. Michael's

---

[48] F. Michel (trans), *Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle of the War between the English and the Scots in 1173 and 1174,* Surtees Society vol. xi (1840), p.69.

[49] W. D. Simpson, 'Brough-under-Stainmore: The Castle and the Church' pp.223-283, *TCWAAS* vol. xlvi, New Series (Kendal, 1947), p.234.

[50] Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Westmorland* (London, 1936) p.52.

[51] W. D. Simpson, 'Brough-under-Stainmore: The Castle and the Church' pp.223-283, *TCWAAS* vol. xlvi, New Series (Kendal, 1947), p.230.

[52] Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, *The Pipe Rolls, or, Sheriff's annual accounts of the revenues of the crown: for the Counties of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Durham during the reigns of Henry I. [i.e. II], Richard I., and John* (Newcastle, 1847) p.178.

Church two periods of Norman work are visible, the earlier possibly contemporary with the first Norman castle but most certainly in existence by 1174 A.D.[53] The entire south wall of the nave is of this earlier period. A window in the west bay is similar to the earliest work of the castle and could date to the end of the eleventh century.[54] The southern doorway, on the other hand, by its ornamentation and architecture is of the later twelfth century. This dating coincides with that of the two stages of castle development. Simpson proposes an interesting theory, that the church of St. Michael was damaged in 1174 A.D. when William the Lion destroyed the early Norman castle and was then in need of rebuilding.[55] The Pipe Rolls only record nine marks being spent on the church in 1199 A.D., over twenty years later and do not indicate exactly what the money was spent on. Simpson's suggestion, therefore, does not appear to be supported adequately. Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle records the burning of the church at Appleby at the same time. It was rebuilt in 1178 A.D. although the axis of the nave was slightly different. The church of St. Michael was also aligned differently, corrected on the same lines as that of St. Laurence in Appleby.[56] It is likely that the first church at Brough was built in tandem with the first Norman castle. Such a pairing was not uncommon in Norman construction.[57] It is also known that the church of St. Michael

---

[53] W.D. Simpson, 'Brough-under-Stainmore: The Castle and the Church' pp.223-283, *TCWAAS* vol. xlvi, New Series (Kendal, 1947), p.275.

[54] W.D. Simpson, 'Brough-under-Stainmore: The Castle and the Church' pp.223-283, *TCWAAS* vol. xlvi, New Series (Kendal, 1947), p.277.

[55] W.D. Simpson, 'Brough-under-Stainmore: The Castle and the Church' pp.223-283, *TCWAAS* vol. xlvi, New Series (Kendal, 1947), p. 277.

[56] W.D. Simpson, 'Brough-under-Stainmore: The Castle and the Church' pp.223-283, *TCWAAS* vol. xlvi, New Series (Kendal, 1947), p.278.

[57] W.D. Simpson, 'Brough-under-Stainmore: The Castle and the Church' pp.223-283, *TCWAAS* vol. xlvi, New Series (Kendal, 1947), p.228.

was in fact a chapel of Kirkby Stephen and that the town of Brough lay in this parish and was subordinate to it.[58]

Market Brough is another 'new town', but slightly later. It has emerged along the old trade route, where the market developed along the road and expanded laterally to accommodate traders and animal pens.[59] This was not then a planned town but one that generated at a focal point along the trade route, and can be dated to the circa 1190 A.D. The Pipe Roll for 1197 A.D. records the term 'Upper Brough' whilst, both Upper and Lesser Brough appear in 1199 A.D.[60] Simpson suggests that this new town of Market Brough was 'a trading rather than a political centre'.[61] Entries in the Pipe Rolls for the beginning of the thirteenth century indicate that Church Brough was beginning to decline, with Market Brough receiving the majority of the trade. Later that century Brough Castle itself began to decline when Appleby and Brougham were favoured when the castle fell to the care of guardians when the heirs were minors (John de Vipont and his heir).

The construction of a church (St. Michael's) and town (Church Brough) at the same time suggests that Brough was a planned Norman settlement along an important trade route and in a region of political importance in Anglo-Scottish relations.

---

[58] M.W. Beresford, 'Medieval Town Plantation in the Carlisle Area', *The Archaeological Journal,* vol. cxv (London, 1960) p.216.

[59] W. D. Simpson, 'Brough-under-Stainmore: The Castle and the Church' pp.223-283, *TCWAAS* vol. xlvi, New Series (Kendal, 1947), p.230.

[60] Stenton, D.M. (ed.), *The great roll of the pipe for* 2 Richard I-3 John, Pipe Roll Society, New Series Vols. 1-3, 5-10, 12, 14 (London, 1925-1936)

[61] W.D. Simpson, 'Brough-under-Stainmore: The Castle and the Church' pp.223-283, *TCWAAS* vol. xlvi, New Series (Kendal, 1947), p.231.

Linstock

The castle at Linstock has been dated by the NMR to the twelfth or thirteenth century. It is a bishop's residence or palace. The inclusion of Linstock in this chapter is solely because of this fact. Little is known of the site, for the early period. The case study will, therefore, be brief. The tower, the earliest part of the residence is constructed of red sandstone, believed to be from nearby Hadrian's Wall. The walls are 2 m thick and the tower has three storeys.[62] The rest of the building has additions dating from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. The castle was used until the mid fourteenth century when Rose Castle was built, and the bishops of Carlisle transferred their residence to that location.[63]

Piel Castle

Piel Castle lies on Piel Island in the mouth of Barrow-in-Furness harbour. The visible remains are those of the fourteenth-century castle with later additions and alterations. The original fortification on this site was built in the reign of King Stephen (1135-1154 A.D.) Very little is known of this twelfth-century incarnation. The fourteenth-century castle was built by the monks of Furness Abbey. The island had been granted to the monks in 1127 A.D. by King Stephen. The site is not, however, particularly defensive. It has been suggested that its low lying position would not have stopped aggressors disembarking on the island, 'yet its forbidding aspect may have acted as a deterrent'.[64]

---

[62] NMR, 'Entry NY 45 NW 9, Linstock Castle', http://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=11417&-sort=4&search=all&criteria=linstock&rational=q&recordsperpage=10, accessed 12th August 2006

[63] T.H.B. Graham, 'Extinct Cumberland Castles' *TCWAAS* Vol 12 (Kendal, 19912), p187-94

[64] R. Newman, 'Piel Castle: Excavation and Survey', *TCWAAS* New Series, Vol. 87 (Kendal, 1987) p.103

The two case studies which follow relate to castles which have case studies in other chapters. The ecclesiastical landscapes of Carlisle and Appleby lend themselves, however, to further investigation and thus have been included, partially, in this section.

Carlisle

A brief look at religion in Carlisle in the Anglo-Saxon age is necessary to establish the permanence of an ecclesiastical landscape. Bede recorded St. Cuthbert's visit to Carlisle in 685 A.D. when he visited a monastery in the city.[65] Mention is also made in this account of town walls and a fountain of Roman origin.[66] The exact location of the monastery cannot identified, but excavations at Castle St in the 1970s uncovered 'a long rectangular, timber building which lay at an angle to the Roman alignment and across a former road and buildings'.[67] This discovery was relatively close to St. Cuthbert's church and because of its alignment, was built when 'the Roman system had been forgotten in this area of Carlisle'.[68] During this visit the king of Northumbria granted jurisdiction over a fifteen mile radius around Carlisle to St. Cuthbert and his community at Lindisfarne.[69] He founded a nunnery here and the community at Lindisfarne could benefit financially from its ownership of the land. This may have been the beginning of St. Cuthbert's church and parish.

---

[65] Bede, *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert: A Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's Prose Life,* B. Colgrave, ed. (Cambridge, 1985) p.242-3.

[66] Bede, *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert: A Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's Prose Life,* B. Colgrave, ed. (Cambridge, 1985) p.242-3.

[67] M.R. Mc Carthy, *Roman Waterlogged Remains at Castle St*, CWAAS, Research Series no. 5 (Kendal, 1991) p.11

[68] M.R. Mc Carthy, *Roman Waterlogged Remains at Castle St*, CWAAS, Research Series no. 5 (Kendal, 1991) p.11

[69] C.R. Hart, *The Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands* (Leicester, 1975) p.133

A tenth-century cemetery was uncovered in excavations at the cathedral in the 1970s. This may possibly have belonged to the parish church of St. Mary's, also a pre-conquest foundation or to St. Cuthbert's Church.[70] The presence of two parish churches in Carlisle suggests origins preceding the move to regulate ecclesiastical boundaries and foundations in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[71]

During the reign of William Rufus Carlisle underwent a number of changes. Rufus established an earthwork castle, probably a motte and bailey, although a ringwork is also a possibility. He placed the spiritual welfare of Carlisle under the control of the diocese of Durham[72], but it was removed in 1101 A.D. by Henry I.[73] During the twelfth century St. Godric, a hermit, spent time in Carlisle. He is thought to have originated in Norfolk, but came north to pursue a solitary life. Whilst in Carlisle Godric was recognised by some of the inhabitants, relations of his. If true, these relations may have been among the colonists William Rufus brought to Carlisle Carlisle. The account of the Life of St. Godric also mentions a church in Carlisle to which St. Godric used to go, but this has not been identified.[74]

The next phase, the elevation of Carlisle to a bishopric has already been mentioned in this chapter. Clearly the ecclesiastical life of Carlisle became entangled, indeed central, to much of the politics of the north, particularly those between England and Scotland.

---

[70] H. Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle*, CWAAS, Extra series vol. XXV (Kendal, 1993) Vol. I, p.31 as taken from Dugdale, *Monasticon,* vol.vi, p. 144. Henry II's charter, probably on 1175 A.D., confirmed to the priory, among other properties, 'unam mensuram juxta ecclesiam S. Cuthberti in Karleol', granted by Waldeve son of Gospatric, who died in 1138 A.D. (see ESC pp.318, 327-8). The exact terms of Waldeve's grant cannot be recovered, but there is no obvious reason why they should have differed widely from those of their confirmation.

[71] H. Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle,* CWAAS, Extra series vol. XXV (Kendal, 1993) Vol. I p.31

[72] H.W.C. Davis & R.J. Whitwell (eds), *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1056-1154*, Vol. I (1960) no. 463 & no. 478

[73] T. Arnold (ed), *Symeon of Durham, Historia Regum* (London, 1885) vol. II, p.231-2

[74] Reginald, a monk of Durham, *Libellus De Vita Et Miraculis S. Godrici, Heremitae de Finchale* (London, 1845) Surtees Society, vol.20, p.41.

Appleby

The ecclesiastical landscape of Appleby town is based around the two parish churches. It is not unusual to find two parish churches in close proximity to each other. Each represents a separate parish but the concentration of population may have been congregated in one area, a settlement, trading post, main artery or well defended position, forcing the church to locate where its parishioners were.

The two parish churches of Appleby are dedicated to St. Lawrence and St. Michael respectively. There are three other churches in Cumbria at this time dedicated to St. Lawrence, two of which, those in Morland and Crosby Ravensworth respectively, also lie in the barony of Appleby. There are seventeen churches in total dedicated to St. Michael in Cumbria, six in Appleby barony alone.[75]

Creighton's statement that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries often "the castle was sited close to a pre-existing church, and its defences designed to embrace the church"[76] does not technically apply to Appleby, there being no certain pre-Conquest surviving church, however, it suggests that Ranulf le Meschin in establishing his own church in a planned town was intentionally separating the town settlers from the earlier settlers in Bongate, two churches catering for two sections of the population. Morphologically St. Lawrence's was one of the three main features of the settlement (along with the castle and the market). Yet, in spite of all this segregation, it is St. Michael's that has suggested pre-eminence, and is named first in the early charters of Wetheral.

The parish church of St. Lawrence has been dated architecturally (by Pevsner) and textually (by the HER) to the twelfth century. The ground floor of the three storey west

---

[75] M. Salter, *The Old Parish Churches of Cumbria* (Worcestershire, 1998)

[76] O.H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes: An Archaeological survey of Yorkshire and the East Midlands* (PhD Leicester, 1998) p.160

tower can be dated to the twelfth century, fitting with the documentary evidence of a rebuilding of the church in 1178 A.D. after William the Lion's burning of town, castle and church in 1174 A.D.[77] Looking at the church in architectural terms there is now little evidence of this phase of reconstruction and none of anything earlier. St. Lawrence's, therefore, cannot be dated to the establishment of the town, the rule of Ranulf le Meschin or indeed any pre-Conquest settlement. Archaeologically no work has been done here. What does exist establishes further periods of extensive rebuilding in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, after the Scottish raids of the fifteenth century and under Lady Anne Clifford in the seventeenth century. This said, however, the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments recorded that, 'The church is of no great architectural interest'.[78]

The second parish church in Appleby is that of St. Michael's. It lies in the Bongate area of the town, the area lying to the east of the castle on the opposite bank of the river Eden. This is the area where Simpson suggested a pre-Conquest settlement lay, basing this supposition on the reuse of a 'hogbacked' stone as a lintel in the north door of the nave of St. Michael's Church. This hogback stone dates to circa 1000 A.D. The church itself has twelfth-century architectural evidence in the form of the north doorway, the north and west walls of the nave and a window that has been reset in the tower. Late thirteenth-century work is also visible in the form of the south arcade and doorway, a reset lancet window in the west wall as well as the piscina. Fourteenth and seventeenth-century work is also apparent. Like St. Lawrence's, it too is built of sandstone rubble and ashlar, readily available in Cumbria.

---

[77] R.C. Johnston, (ed) *Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle* (Oxford, 1981)

[78] Royal Commission on Historical Monuments England, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Westmorland* (London, 1936) p.4.

Identification of the parishes of the barony of Appleby is based on the Papal Taxation of 1291 A.D. which provided the first comprehensive list of parishes. This is not to say that parishes were not already in existence, merely that no documentary evidence of an earlier date survives. The two parish churches in Appleby have already been noted, along with numerous other parish churches across Cumbria.

Looking at the parish churches of the Barony of Appleby, a number of interesting features arise. Firstly, as has been noted there were four churches dedicated to St. Lawrence in Cumbria, namely Appleby, Crosby Ravensworth, Kirkland and Morland. Kirkland lies on the western side of Cumbria in the barony of Copeland. The other three lie in Appleby, in close proximity to each other.

The parish church of Crosby Ravensworth dates to the late twelfth century. A crossing for a central tower that is no longer extant can be dated to 1190-1200 A.D. Most of the rest dates architecturally to the modern period, a nineteenth-century rebuilding of the transepts, outer walls and chancel. Some thirteenth to fifteenth-century work can also be identified. Morland is, of all these parish churches, the most interesting. It has a west tower of Saxon date, early in the eleventh century. This is the most substantial Saxon work within an existing church in Cumbria as a whole. [79]

The six churches dedicated to St. Michael and with features or building from the period under discussion are at Appleby, Barton, Brough, Kirkby Thore, Lowther and Shap. Barton parish church has four corners of the original Norman, twelfth-century nave remaining, with a north doorway that has been reset. The central tower has a Norman barrel-vaulted lower course, a small window on the south of the tower and original east and west towers. Salter has also noted that on the east side of the central tower a roof

---

[79] M. Salter, *The Old Parish Churches of Cumbria* (Malvern, 1998), p. 78.

mark of an earlier, Norman chancel can be seen.[80] The present chancel is of fourteenth-century date.

At Brough the church lies in Church Brough, to the immediate southeast of Brough castle. Simpson has noted that in the church two periods of Norman work can also be seen, as in the castle, the earlier possibly contemporary with the first Norman castle but most certainly in existence by 1174 A.D. [81] The entire south wall of the nave is of this earlier period. A window in the west bay is, according to Simpson, similar to the earliest work of the castle and could date to the end of the eleventh century.[82] The southern doorway, on the other hand, by its ornamentation and architecture is of the later twelfth century. This dating coincides with that of the two stages of castle development at Brough.

Kirkby Thore has a twelfth-century nave and chancel (but only one of the chancel windows) and west tower. The thirteenth century saw the chancel extended and as the plan shows there was fourteenth-century work in the form of windows placed in the earlier twelfth-century sections, and the porch and north aisle were added. The next phases of development all date to the seventeenth century.

Lowther was rebuilt in the seventeenth century and very little of the original work remains. The north arcade dates to circa 1165-75. It had four bays and decorated capitals with foliage or a scalloped effect.[83]

---

[80] M. Salter, *The Old Parish Churches of Cumbria* (Malvern, 1998), p.20.

[81] W. D. Simpson, 'Brough-under-Stainmore: The Castle and the Church', *TCWAAS,* Vol. xlvi, New Series (1947) p.275.

[82] W. D. Simpson, 'Brough-under-Stainmore: The Castle and the Church', *TCWAAS,* Vol. xlvi, New Series (1947), p.277.

[83] M. Salter, *The Old Parish Churches of Cumbria* (Malvern, 1998) p.72.

Shap also has little of Norman date, however, the four bay south arcade is of circa 1200 A.D. with 'double-chamfered round arches on circular piers with round abaci'.[84]

In all there are twenty churches with either substantial building or a feature dating to the twelfth century or before, extant in the barony.[85]

---

[84] M. Salter, *The Old Parish Churches of Cumbria* (Malvern, 1998) p. 89.

[85] M. Salter, *The Old Parish Churches of Cumbria* (Malvern, 1998) pp. 1-104.

Chapter 7
Castles and Urbanism

A constructive and comprehensive assessment of the castle in the landscape will consider the relationship between the castle and nearby settlement. In looking at this issue it is traditional to note that the majority of medieval English castles are not urban based but rural, and Cumbria is no exception. Of interest, however, is the notion of urban settlement in this county, sparsely populated as it was, topographically challenging and remote. Cumbria's largest urban settlement is Carlisle, the only true town in the sense of a larger English context. The majority of other urban centres of interest in the region do not conform to the model provided in large parts of England, when looking at the topic of castles in an urban setting. In particular the large boroughs of southern England, such as Dover or Winchester, bear only slight comparison to those found in medieval Cumbria, where the market town was the dominant form of urban settlement.

To look comprehensively at castles and settlement in medieval Cumbria, a number of definitions and principles, mainly in the area of urbanism need to be examined. In the context of this work, it is fundamental to define (as much as is possible) the variety of terms with which the medieval castle can be associated.

Urbanism

The term 'urban' is one that should not be bandied about lightly. Indeed an element of qualification when using the term is advisable. The appellation 'urban settlement' (which is the term this work is most concerned with) is applied to a variety of towns in

England, from London to that at Appleby in Cumbria, and all those that lie between. Urbanism covers all magnitude of settlement, embracing differences in size, population, function and origin. Urban centres of the middle ages can be identified in a number of ways. They can originate in the Roman, Anglo-Saxon or Middle Ages, they can have urban characteristics from the beginning or develop them over the years and their population can vary depending on the size, location and function of the town.

Firstly, however, it is necessary to state that urbanisation in medieval England was on a smaller scale to that of the continent, although towns were still distinct from rural settlement by the density of its population.

Debate rages among historians, historical geographers, archaeologists and economists, to name but a few fields, as to how to identify an urban settlement, for the purposes of this work a town. A customary method of defining a town is the 'Kriterienbündel' method. This, largely archaeological method, is seemingly logical. A simplistic explanation would note that a number of criteria, in the case of the town those features deemed necessary in forming an urban aspect, are laid out and a check system implemented. Those settlements with the correct number of checks are deemed urban. This method is, however, flawed and fails to cover the range of settlements that are categorised as towns. Whilst it is true that urban settlements often share numerous common features, such as market places, street plans, churches and even castles, it would be misleading to assume that standard features can be utilised to understand the nature of all towns. Towns, as noted above, differ in size, population, function and origin.

In order to reach a working definition, it is necessary to look at those provided by some of the experts in the field. Reynolds gives a very loose definition: 'a town is a permanent and concentrated human settlement in which a significant proportion of the population is engaged in non-agricultural occupations...A town therefore normally lives, at least in part, off food produced by people who live outside it....the inhabitants of towns usually regard themselves, and are regarded by the inhabitants of predominantly rural settlements, as a different sort of people'.[1] Palliser agrees with her in giving such a loose, broad definition and condemns the use of criteria.[2]

Aston and Bond eschewed defining what a town was. They opted instead to accept that a settlement is a town if it was so considered by contemporaries whether it is currently considered a town or not.[3] Platt also declined to define what a town was, going so far as to note that no two towns were the same.[4] Platt, like Aston and Bond, is more concerned with town layout. He noted street patterns, institutions and topography. Economic historians, such as Jacques Le Goff, focused more on the economic differences to identify urban from rural settlement, in particular that a town functioned as the economic hub of an area.[5]

A traditional approach to identifying a town was whether it achieved borough status. Many historians and archaeologists equate the presence of a borough charter with the formal recognition of urban status by the crown. A borough charter often merely legitimised a situation that may have been in place for many years, even decades. If

---

[1] S. Reynolds, 'The Writing of medieval urban history in England', *Theoretische Geschiedenis,* 19 (1992) p. 49-50.

[2] D.M. Palliser (ed), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, Vol. I 600-1540* (Cambridge, 2000) p. 5.

[3] M. Aston & J. Bond, *The Landscape of Towns* (London, 1976) pp.15-17.

[4] C. Platt, *The English Medieval Town* (London, 1976) p. 27.

[5] Jacques Le Goff, 'The Town as an Agent of Civilisation 1200-1500' in C.M. Cipolla (ed), *The Fontana Economic History of Europe, Vol. I: The Middle Ages* (Glasgow, 1972) p. 71-106.

Aston and Bond were to apply their parameter of a town being a town only if it was so recognised by contemporaries, then perhaps there is a degree of truth in achieving urban status solely with the attainment of categorization in the form of the award of 'borough status', in spite of the uneven application of the term in medieval England. The monks of Holm Cultram had borough status granted for three settlements, Wavermouth, Skinburness and Newton Arlosh, all of which failed almost immediately (in 1300, 1301 and 1305 A.D. respectively).[6]

If it is also a matter of population density, then whilst not meeting contemporary medieval European standards, and possibly not even those of southern England, the towns of Cumbria did differ from their rural neighbours by a concentration of population. The dispersed and sparsely populated rural settlements of the Middle Ages are distinct from their urban counterparts and the presence of central institutions, such as a castle, a church, a market and some form of industry (whether derived directly from the land and rural pursuits or secondarily such as an actual trade like a tannery or metalwork) did distinguish a settlement from its bucolic setting as was the case in Ireland and Scotland at the same time.

Castles and Urbanism

With the introduction of many castles into England during the reign of William the Conqueror, towns and castles have often been linked. The initial relationship saw Anglo-Saxon centres, in particular those of political and administrative importance, targeted by the Normans as a means of conquest. Drage notes that before 1100 A.D.

---

[6] F. Grainger & W.G. Collingwood, *Register and Records of Holm Cultram* (1929), p. 95 (267 b, 267 c, 267d)

approximately fifty percent of Norman castles were urban.[7] Towns such as Dover, London, Lincoln and Norwich saw great castles erected to subdue, control and then administer the population. Drage established that there were two basic forms of urban/castle relations in medieval England, the castle borough and the urban castle.[8]

The 'castle-borough' had the castle as the primary feature and the settlement as either a secondary feature, planted or developing somewhat naturally, or as an integrated part of the site construction (i.e. castle and town created together). The urban castle is defined as the introduction or intrusion of a castle onto an existing settlement, the castle therefore being an interloper or addition. The settlement is thus the primary feature (regardless of questions of age or continuity of settlement) and the castle the secondary, in this instance.

These two provide adequate scope to view the castles of medieval Cumbria and their associated urban settlements. Urban castles have been investigated thoroughly in the last twenty years. Drage's work highlighted the importance of urban castles as a castle type and provided a clear chronology for them. Urban castles were largely royal foundations and date to the immediate post-Conquest years, certainly before 1100 A.D. Carlisle Castle fits these criteria perfectly. It was the only truly urban settlement in Cumbria, and the castle was established by William Rufus in 1092 A.D, marking Carlisle as a royal centre with military, administrative and residential considerations to the fore. The ancient ecclesiastical centre of Kendal also falls under the category of urban castle. Under the heading of castle-boroughs in Cumbria fall Appleby, Brough,

---

[7] C. Drage, 'Urban Castles' p. 117-32 in J. Schofield & R. Leech (eds) *Urban Archaeology in Britain CBA Research Report* No. 61 (1987) p. 117.

[8] C. Drage, Urban Castles' p. 117-32 in J. Schofield & R. Leech (eds) *Urban Archaeology in Britain CBA Research Report* No. 61 (1987), p.117.

Egremont and Cockermouth. All are examples of seigneurial involvement and the creation of a symbiotic relationship between town and castle.

Looking at the relationship between urban settlement and castles, in particular at their interdependency, in general terms on a national scale, a number of factors appear that are of importance to both features, namely economic prosperity, effective administration and defence. The unifying factor between a successful, or more correctly long lasting, castle and town is economic prosperity.

Towns tend to be characterized in terms of their economic situation. The size, population and wealth of a town and by extension the castle, often depended on the success or failure of their economy. Towns were, by their very nature, distinguished from their rural neighbours by a reliance on non-agricultural activity, such as manufacturing or trading. At their heart, therefore, towns were economic centres. In looking at the role of the castle within that sphere, it is necessary to look at the role of the castle in the economic life of the town. The town provided the economic and social spheres for the castle to exist within. Food, water, manufactured products and trade all centre around the town. In time the town became the source of man power for castle garrisons and provided the goods required by the developing residential aspect of the castle. The town was also a source of taxation, rents, dues and other monetary obligations, essentially the source of revenue for the seigneurial tenant.

At a more basic level, that of topography, it is also worthwhile to look at the actual space shared by these two features. The topography can help identify which came first, the castle or the town. It is here that questions regarding the reasons for and the origins of the town and the castle must be addressed. Looking at the relationship between the castle and the town the issue of their respective origins must first be addressed. The issue is whether either the castle or the town was the primary feature in existence and developed a need for the other. To expand the matter the questions of deliberate seigneurial or royal plantation, economic factors and social developments must also be considered.

Castles were established as military centres, often developing into residential and administrative bases for royalty or the seigneurial classes. The Edwardian castles of Wales and their associated bastide towns provide excellent examples of deliberate plantations. Towns and castles built together, sharing defensive features such as walls or water defences, provided mutual support and defence. The castle provided a centre for military action and administration and a focal point for a population or social system.

Economic Relations

It can be tempting to relate all development of castles associated with urban settlement, from conception onwards, to the economy of the site. The impetus for town foundation can be economically driven, from the simple evolution of a street market into a permanent settlement, to the seigniorially planted town aimed at either capitalising on or establishing an economy based around the castle. The 'highway town' was a form of settlement whose primary function was economic, namely the exploitation of an available market through the establishment of a permanent focus for trade at an expedient location.

Among the so-called elements of a medieval town was the market. Towns served as manufacturing or trading centres. By definition, a town can be distinguished from its rural neighbours by its secondary use of the landscape. In effect, working the land was not the town dwellers' primary occupation but rather it was a source from which their livelihoods originated, namely the leather they tanned, produce they traded or metals they shaped. The development of Carlisle town can be linked to the increased number of merchants who established themselves there during the years of the silver mining boom.[9] Blanchard has noted that the merchants managed to gain privileges above those of the silver miners themselves, ensuring their position as 'middle men' in the silver trade. Carlisle merchants had the right to acquire silver directly from the miners, before it was minted. The merchants could then sell on the silver to foreign merchants.[10]

The sources of revenue, trade, rents, taxation and dues, provided an income for the lord in turn maintaining the castle and defensive elements of the town. David I's interest in Carlisle reasserted itself in the period after the silver mines were discovered.[11] The importation and exportation of goods supplied castle residents with luxury items. The status of a castle and its residents bestowed status on the associated town, its residents and economy (and vice-versa). A lucrative and buoyant economy provided a castle and its owner with an income and created a focal point for the administration of the area. David I, in his time in Carlisle, allowed administration, economy and military considerations to develop and share the landscape, to the benefit of the crown and those

---

[9] I. Blanchard, 'Lothian and beyond: the economy of the 'English empire of David I'', in R. Brinall & J. Hatcher, eds. *Progress and Problems in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 26, 33-34.

[10] I. Blanchard, 'Lothian and beyond: the economy of the 'English empire of David I'', in R. Brinall & J. Hatcher, eds. *Progress and Problems in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 33.

[11] I. Blanchard, 'Lothian and beyond: the economy of the 'English empire of David I'', in R. Brinall & J. Hatcher, eds. *Progress and Problems in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 23.

that lived and worked in the town. He also took advantage of the inflationary effects of the silver boom. David I 'dispensed with both liberality and political judgement', gifts of land which lay within the mining network to ecclesiastical establishments and potential allies.[12] In doing this he gained supporters across the kingdoms of Scotland and in northern England, with relatively little or no cost to his own royal demesne. These land grants could also be smaller in size, thus enabling more fees and baronies to be created.[13] Blanchard has suggested that in following this policy 'David showed his intent, surrounding his fortified royal residence with mercantile and ecclesiastical satellites and a ring of close friends'.[14]

Cumbria was known for a number of industries and trades during the Middle Ages. Perhaps the most profitable was the wool trade that developed under the Cistercians, which flourished during the fourteenth century. Licences to export wool were granted to Furness Abbey and Holm Cultram from the 1220s.[15] Fulling mills existed at Cockermouth, Carlisle and Kendal. According to Davies-Shiel there were in fact fifty-one fulling mills in Cumbria by 1328 A.D.[16] But, Winchester has noted that the quality of the wool from Furness that was sold on the continent was not as high as that from other locations in England.[17] Under the Cistercians the relatively inhospitable upland areas of Furness and even the Pennines became extensive livestock ranches. Granges were established to process the large numbers of sheep and wool from Furness was

---

[12] I. Blanchard et al., 'The Economy: Town and Country', in E.P. Dennison, D. Ditchburn & M. Lynch, eds., *Aberdeen before 1800: A new history* (East Linton, 2002), pp. 129.

[13] I. Blanchard et al, 'The Economy: Town and Country', in E.P. Dennison, D. Ditchburn & M. Lynch, eds., *Aberdeen before 1800: A new history* (East Linton, 2002), pp. 131.

[14] I. Blanchard, 'Lothian and beyond: the economy of the 'English empire of David I'', in R. Brinall & J. Hatcher, eds. *Progress and Problems in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 43.

[15] T.H. Lloyd, *English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1977) p. 17.

[16] M. Davies-Shiel, *Wool is my Bread or the Early Woollen Industry in Kendal from c.975-1575 A.D.* (1975) p. 24.

[17] A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987), p. 117.

exported to the continent, to Italy and Flanders.[18] Medieval Cumbria's topography lent itself to pastoral farming rather than arable, and sheep, in particular, could survive well in the rugged upland areas.

Mining of lead, iron and copper was also a primary industry. There was an iron mine at Egremont, granted to Holm Cultram Abbey in circa 1150 A.D.[19] Coal mining was recorded by the monks of St. Bees in the mid thirteenth century.[20] Quarrying of stone can also be attested. Limestone, sandstone, granite and slate were available in abundance, as the geological review of Cumbria showed.[21] The Romans used it to build their forts and Hadrian's Wall. The Normans built castles, churches and monasteries (the castles and churches of Apple and Brough and the abbeys of Furness and St. Bees). Stone was sent to London in later centuries for London Bridge and the Thames Embankment. The towns and indeed the monastic establishments of medieval Cumbria pursued a varied economic policy to the land they lived in, but one that recognised the potential of the natural resources they had in abundance. Cumbria is perhaps better known for its modern industries of farming and mining. These flourished in the post medieval period but their origins lie in the medieval, even the Roman or pre-historic ages.

The importance of the marketplace in a medieval settlement in Cumbria can be seen in Brough, where in addition to the presence of the castle, church and market place in Church Brough, a new settlement was established to capitalize on the economically

---

[18] A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987), p. 117.

[19] F. Grainger & WG. Collingwood (eds) *The Register and Records of Holm Cultram* (1929) p.21; *Calendar of the Close Rolls Edward I. Vol. III, A.D.1288-96* (London, 1904) p.400-2

[20] J. Wilson (ed), "Carta Nicholai de Langton Prioris de Terra in Hayringthwait" no. 179; "Carta Reginaldi Filii Mauricii de Ayryngthwait de Teris in Ayringthwait" no. 181 both dated to circa 1256 A.D. *Register of the Priory of St. Bees* Surtees Society vol. 126 (Durham, 1915) p. 207, 209-10 respectively

[21] See Chapter 3, p. 59-61.

superior site nearby, on the medieval road. Market Brough could take advantage of the trade that came with such a road, and focus the economic life of the town around this feature. Brough, however, is an interesting case, in spite of having the legal trappings of a town, it never developed much beyond a village, albeit one that managed to generate a second settlement.

Administrative Relations

As the administrative centre of a town, even a region, the castle became a component in a national system of government. The granting of a borough charter to a town, the growth of town based taxation, of rent and developments in the judicial system could be controlled centrally by the lord from his castle. Accounts were rendered, trials could be heard and even local legislation passed from the castle.

As an example, Appleby Castle served as the caput of Ranulf de Meschin in the twelfth century and became the county town of the barony of Westmorland. The 'potestas' of Carlisle and the barony of Westmorland were ruled by de Meschin from Appleby. Egremont Castle served as the caput of William de Meschin, brother to the aforementioned Ranulf, for his barony of Copeland. At Carlisle, the royal stronghold established by William Rufus, a mint was in existence in the twelfth century. It processed the silver from Alston and continued under both David I and Henry II.

Topographical Relations

Castle and town occupy a distinct position within the landscape, whether this is in sharing a common site or utilizing the topography to their advantage and thus unifying disparate elements within the landscape (such as an elevated position or river being incorporated, seemingly at odds with the rest of the site into a common plan of town and castle, often united by a common defensive feature, such as a town wall). It is necessary to look at the origins of both, which came first or was it a so-called 'deliberate plantation'? The topography itself, as noted by Bond and Aston plays a role in the plan of the site, namely that the castle builder, "in an area of political instability....will tend to look for a constricted site which is not too readily accessible", whereas: "a town whose basis for existence was commercial will tend to be readily accessible and well served by communications from without, and to contain ample market space within".[22] This statement reflects the initial impetus for town/castle creation under a deliberate plantation scheme.

The Edwardian castle at Caernarfon in Wales, whilst re-utilizing an earlier castle site in the creation of the planned castle and associated bastide town, clearly fell into the first category as an 'area of political instability'. The site lies defended on two/three sides by the river, united by a common defensive curtain wall, both town and castle provide an extra element of concentric defence. Similarly, at Appleby in Cumbria the castle lies within a defensive position in a river loop. The town was defended on three sides by the river and on the fourth by the castle. The castle overlooks the town, the river and across to the Roman road a mile to the east, a popular invasion route from the north.[23] Appleby town and castle form a simple linear plan, with the castle on high ground, the town sloping downwards from it to the church on the low ground, all within the constricted space of a loop in the river Eden. Appleby also guards the pass into

---

[22] M. Aston & J. Bond, *The Landscape of Towns* (London, 1976), p. 85.

[23] J.E. Prescott, (ed), *The Register of the Priory of Wetheral*, TCWAAS Record Series Vol. I (London, 1897) Appendix A p.474-5.

Yorkshire and another Roman road coming from Penrith. As the military aspect of this castle/town foundation diminished and the survival of the foundation relied more on economic success a bridge was built to facilitate easier access to the market, although no material or documentary evidence remains giving the date when the bridge was built.[24]

It must be noted that the above statement by Bond and Aston applies primarily to town foundation. It must be remembered that all towns do not necessarily have castles and vice-versa. Edward I created Kingston upon Hull in East Yorkshire and New Winchelsea in Kent, neither of which had castles. Brougham in Cumbria lies over 2 km from Penrith and Pendragon Castle is relatively isolated in the Mallerstang valley.[25]

It is also true to say that there are examples where the castle and town, whilst sharing space, do not necessarily appear as one single unit in the topography.[26] Kendal and Penrith are clear examples of towns with castles which are removed from the unity of the site. In the case of Kendal, both castles, the earthwork Castle Howe and the ringwork turned stone built Kendal Castle lie on hills either side of the town to the east and west respectively, overlooking it from quite a height. At Penrith the castle, with its fourteenth-century pele tower, followed by fifteenth-century additions and extensions turning it into a formidable royal castle, lies on the southern outskirts of the town. In this case, however, we can say that the castle was a later fourteenth-century addition, to a possibly ancient site.

---

[24] W.D. Simpson, 'The town and castle of Appleby: a morphological study' p. 118-133, *TCWAAS*, New Series Vol.49 (Kendal, 1950) p.122.

[25] O.H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes: Power, Community and Fortification in Medieval England* (London, 2002) p. 153.

[26] M. Aston & J. Bond, *The Landscape of Towns* (London, 1976), p. 85.

Military Relations

The military aspect of castle construction is largely self-evident. The eleventh and twelfth centuries were a turbulent period for the conquerors in Britain and the imposition of castles in urban centres, the creation of new castles as the foci of conquest and the widespread use of earthwork castles to dominate the landscape quickly, introduced the castle across England. Castles during this phase of conquest are primarily military foundations. With the attempt to consolidate the conquest, to settle and administer England, came the change of focus from the castle as a military tool to the castle as residence and administrative centre. The role of the town in this early phase is somewhat hazy. Domesday Book provides numerous examples of the destruction of houses to make way for the imposition of a castle on a town.[27] Lincoln had 166 houses destroyed, Shrewsbury had fifty one. Towns in these cases were seen as obstructions to conquest, centres of dissension.

Carlisle, the town already in existence when William Rufus established his castle there in 1092 A.D, saw, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the introduction of a Norman population along with the castle. A permanent settlement along with the castle served to subdue unrest and consolidate the military conquest. It has also been noted that Carlisle, or perhaps Bewcastle, may have been the settlement associated with Liddel Strength (if it was solely a military outpost) to the north.[28] The evidence for use of Liddel Strength during the period under discussion is negligible. The size and defensibility of the site at Liddel suggests it was an important castle, but this can hardly

---

[27] A. Williams & G.H. Martin (eds) *Domesday book : a complete translation* (1992); M. Aston & J. Bond, *The Landscape of Towns (*1976), p. 105

[28] See Chapter 4, p. 128-33.

be so if it was rarely occupied. The evidence for a relationship between Carlisle and Liddel Strength is speculative at best.

Towns provided the economic support necessary to maintain a garrison and castle, to carry out repairs and embark on military missions. Towns provided revenue, food, labour and services to the castle residents. As castles changed from being primarily military in nature to administrative centres, so the town reflected these changes through economic expansion, the growth of suburbs and a growth in population. Certainly not every town and castle survived the transition. Economic failure, the outbreak of disease or war could all contribute to the failure of a site to survive.

The Market Town

The market town is identifiable by the prominence of, and reliance upon, a market, generally held in a designated market place. A market town is often almost rural in appearance and function, perhaps acting and achieving its 'urban' status, by facilitating the trade of the local agriculture. The acquisition of a market charter bestowed the title of market town upon a settlement. Further official recognition was achieved when a borough charter was obtained. Miller and Hatcher note that by the early fourteenth century an estimated five hundred market towns were in existence in England.[29] Such a vast number of market towns make it, by far, the most dominant form of urban settlement of the period. They also note that they, '...are perhaps more properly viewed as natural extensions of the rural economy'.[30]

---

[29] E. Miller & J. Hatcher, *Towns, Commerce and Crafts 1086-1348* (London, 1995) p. 256

[30] E. Miller & J. Hatcher, *Towns, Commerce and Crafts 1086-1348* (London, 1995) p. 257

Many market towns often begin as nothing more than urban outposts of rural communities. Theoretically, the further a settlement advanced from these rural roots the more urban it became. The prosperity and development of that centre revolved around the market and its level of success. Association with a castle or religious establishment often boded well for a town's longevity. The success of the market, in turn, could add to the prestige of a local lord, secular or ecclesiastical. It could also be responsible for the development of the town into a more urbanized centre, as a market grew populations could expand leading to both a growth in the physical size of a town and the services required to keep it running.

The Market Town in medieval Cumbria

When looking at Cumbria it was the market town that constituted the dominant form of urbanisation during the Middle Ages, in particular before 1400 A.D. Cumbria experienced the same concerted increase in planted settlement and seigniorial interest as the rest of England, and even across the continent, in the post conquest century. The sparse population of Cumbria was dispersed across the county, which itself is the second largest in England at 676,780 hectares.[31] The dominance of rural activity allowed the development of the market town as a natural outlet for agricultural produce and thus the favoured form of urbanization to reach Cumbria. Whilst they may have borne little resemblance in terms of scale to the market towns of the south of England, such as Framlingham in Suffolk, their function and status did distinguish them from the rural hamlets and villages of medieval Cumbria.

---

[31] Figure quoted by Cumbria County Council. Census 2001

As stated earlier, historians have often used the presence of a borough charter as the defining feature of a town. For instance Beresford and Finberg produced *English Medieval Boroughs: a handlist*.[32] They identified fifteen boroughs (with official charters) in Cumbria, including the three unsuccessful foundations by Holm Cultram Abbey. The fifteen sites can be seen in Figure 7.1: Medieval Boroughs of Cumbria. Winchester has pointed out that Beresford and Finberg omitted two sites with borough charters from their list, namely Greystoke and Pooley Bridge. He also noted that five of these seventeen (Newton Arlosh, Kirkoswald, Greystoke, Pooley Bridge and Flookburgh) were in fact failed boroughs.[33] Winchester furthered the parameters for the definition of a town by adding Brampton, Alston, Wigton, Workington, Kirkby Stephen and Kirkby Lonsdale to the list of medieval boroughs and market towns in Cumbria, but, he reserved their status as 'market centres with urban characteristics', more specifically, urban settlements that did not have a borough charter.[34] By including these sites he was broadening the definition of what a town could be.

---

[32] M.W. Beresford & H.P.R. Finberg, *English Medieval Boroughs: a Handlist (*Newton Abbot, 1973)

[33] A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987) p. 122.

[34] A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987) p. 123.

Figure 7.1: Medieval Boroughs of Cumbria. Compiled from information in the NMR, HER and M.W. Beresford & H.P.R. Finberg, *English Medieval Boroughs: a Handlist* (Newton Abbot, 1973)

Carlisle – A City

Medieval Cumbria did have one urban settlement comparable to the national archetype, Carlisle. Technically, with the creation of the bishopric in 1133A.D, the priory church of St. Mary's became the Cathedral Church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity and a town with a cathedral was traditionally a city. Carlisle is still known today as the Border City, and in medieval times it was exactly this. It was the royal stronghold, a bastion of supremacy (not always English) on a troubled border. Carlisle fulfils the definition of an urban castle completely. The town was long in existence before the castle was imposed upon it. It was an ancient settlement site. Carlisle Archaeology Ltd has identified Neolithic, Bronze Age and possibly Iron Age settlements in and around the site.[35] The Roman fort of Lugavalium was sited here circa 72 A.D, with its associated vicus. A visit to the city (civitas) of Lugubalia (Carlisle) in 685 A.D. by St. Cuthbert was recorded by Bede, and also by an anonymous biographer.[36]

It is known that Carlisle was under the control of Dolfin, who was probably of Northumbrian origin, when William Rufus came north. He drove out Dolfin in 1092 A.D. and erected the castle. The imposition of an urban castle can be very destructive, as is evidenced by Domesday Book, which gives numerous examples of property destroyed to make way for the Norman castle, for example at Gloucester sixteen houses

---

[35] M. R. Mc McCarthy, Carlisle Archaeology Ltd & Dept. of Archaeological Sciences, University of Bradford, *Roman and Medieval Carlisle: The Southern Lanes,* Research Report 1 (Kendal, 2000) p.53.

[36] B. Colgrave (trans), *Two Lives of St. Cuthbert. A Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's Prose Life* (Cambridge, 1985) p.122-3 & p. 242-5.

were destroyed.[37] Cumbria does not feature in Domesday and there is no such evidence for Carlisle.

Castles & Towns in Cumbria 1066-1250 A.D.

Looking at the castles under discussion in this work, ten of the twenty-four are associated with an urban settlement. One is a failed borough (Kirkoswald), one is a city (Carlisle) and two have more than one castle (Cockermouth and Kendal). Brampton, despite having a borough charter never really elevated itself from the rural landscape. Brough could be cited as a similar case, but will, as an example of the rural tendencies of the towns of medieval Cumbria, be included in this chapter. Kirkoswald also retained its rural identity, becoming little more than a large village. These two sites of Brampton and Kirkoswald will, therefore, be looked at more carefully under the chapter on rural castles and settlements. This leaves six towns with eight castles (Carlisle, Cockermouth, Kendal, Appleby-in-Westmorland, Brough, and Egremont) to be examined. All of which can be dated to the period 1066-1250 A.D. Figure 7.2: Table 1 Castles and associated towns with earliest known borough references below illustrates these six examples and the dates when they were first granted borough charters and market charters.

---

[37] "In the city of York in the time of King Edward, besides the shire of the archbishop, there were 6 shires. One of these has been laid waste for the castles". A. Williams & G.H. Martin (eds) *Domesday book : a complete translation* (1992) folio 298a, p. 785; Gloucester folio 162a, p. 445 "Where the castle stands were 16 houses which are not there now, and in the fortified area of the city 14 houses have been destroyed".

Castle Site	**Town**	**Borough Charter Received**	**Market Charter Grant**
Carlisle Castle	Carlisle	By 1130 A.D.	1292 A.D.
Tute Hill & Cockermouth Castle	Cockermouth	1260 A.D.	1221 A.D.
Appleby Castle	Appleby	1179 A.D.	1174 A.D.
Brough Castle	Brough	By 1196 A.D.	1201 A.D.
Castle Howe & Kendal Castle	Kendal	1222-1246 A.D.	1189 A.D.
Egremont Castle	Egremont	1202 A.D.	1267 A.D.

Figure 7.2: Table 1 Castles and associated towns with earliest known borough references. Compiled from NMR and HER databases and M.W. Beresford & H.P.R. Finberg, *English Medieval Boroughs: a Handlist* (Newton Abbot, 1973)

These six towns all have borough status.[38] They can all also be categorised under the urban castle/castle borough labels discussed earlier. Carlisle, as noted, is an obvious urban castle. The town was in existence several centuries before the foundation of the castle. The castle lies on the edge of the town. The town walls surround both making one plan. Kendal can also be technically classified as an urban castle, although with more difficulty. The town is very likely the 'Chercebi' mentioned in Domesday Book. The area known as Kirkland, around the church, is an earlier settlement. Castle Howe, the earthwork castle, is of the late twelfth century. The remaining four towns, Cockermouth, Appleby, Brough and Egremont, are all castle boroughs. All four are planned towns, where the castle plays a central role in their design.

Town Locations

The six urban settlements under discussion are located in lowland areas. Figure 7.3: Locations of castles with associated towns indicates the distribution of these sites across medieval Cumbria. All lie outside the central Lake District area, with Cockermouth lying on the periphery of the limestone dome. Carlisle, Appleby and Brough are located in the Carlisle Plain and the Vale of Eden to the east of the county along the ancient road into Yorkshire from the North, as evidenced by the Roman remains along the route. The area is characterized by the reddish colour of its buildings, a result of the underlying sandstone, used as a building material for centuries. Kendal

---

[38] For Carlisle see *Great Roll of the Pipe 31 Henry I, Michaelmas 1130* (Commissioners on the Public Records of the Kingdom, 1833) J. Hunter (ed.), (London, 1929); for Cockermouth, London, The National Archives, SC 11/730 m.1 (Extents or surveys of the possessions of William de Fortibus, Earl of Albemarle), Cockermouth Borough Charter, 1259-1275; for Appleby see, A. Ballard & J. Tait (eds), *British borough charters, 1042-1660* Vol. I (1913), p.27; for Brough see , D.M. Stenton (ed), *The Chancellor's Roll for 8 Richard I, 1196* (London, 1930) p. 98; for Kendal see, A. Ballard & J. Tait (eds), *British borough charters, 1042-1660* Vol. I (1913), p.14; for Egremont see, A. Ballard & J. Tait (eds), *British borough charters, 1042-1660* Vol. I (1913), p. 21.

can be found to the south of the Lake District massif. The topography of the area is noted for its undulating hills or fells. The underlying geology is of slate and limestone, leading to the distinctive grey tone of the building landscape. Egremont and Cockermouth lie to the west of the central Lakeland. This coastal strip also lies upon large deposits of sandstone. St. Bees provides an excellent example for both the quarrying of the stone and the use of it in the abbey.

General Morphology of Towns

To state simply there are a certain number of designs that all planned medieval towns can fall under would be a serious underestimation of the range and size of town types to be found in England, not to mention an over categorization of the settlement form. A simple glimpse at the numerous books on urban settlement will immediately inundate the reader with possible plan types.[39] There are a number of quite common plan types, namely the linear, the grid, the composite and the so-called castle gate plan. Most of these titles refer to the primary planned settlement form, which can be adapted, expanded and even rebuilt over the centuries, creating composite plans.

---

[39] O.H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes Power, Community and Fortification in Medieval England (*London, 2002); C. Platt, *The English Medieval Town (*London, 1976); M. Aston & J. Bond, *The Landscape of Towns* (London, 1976); T.R. Slater, 'Urban Genesis and medieval town plans in Warwickshire and Worcestershire' in T.R. Slater & P.J. Jarvis (eds), *Field and Forest: An Historical Geography of Warwickshire and Worcestershire* (Norwich, 1982); T.R. Slater, 'Understanding the landscape of towns' in D. Hooke (ed) *Landscape, the Richest Historical Record* Society for Landscape Studies Supplementary Series No. 1, pp97-108; J. Schofield & A. Vince, *Medieval towns : the archaeology of British towns in their European setting* (London, 2003); D.M. Palliser (ed), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, Vol. I 600-1540* (Cambridge, 2000); M.W. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages* (London, 1967)

The linear plan, sometimes adapted into the highway town, is perhaps the simplest form. As suggested by the name it is usually a single main street that often widens to hold a market place. Often they are characterised by their narrow frontages onto this main street, evolving from the need to give as many traders access to the commerce passing along this central route. Trade is generally the impetus for this type of settlement and the dominant governing factor in its development.

Platt notes another form of town plan associated with an economic need, the town at the junction of the ways. He suggests such a plan indicates an earlier foundation, but that the impetus was religious or administrative and this continued to be the case. Hereford is cited as a clear example of this type.[40] Penrith in Cumbria has a similar history. An ancient ecclesiastical centre is believed to have been centred here. The town plan has four major routes intersecting and at the centre is a church. The castle at Penrith can be dated circa 1400 A.D. and is completely outside the town, lying to the south west.

The grid plan, as typified by Roman settlements such as Colchester, Bath or Chester, was also used in the Middle Ages. Aston and Bond suggest it was 'characteristic of more ambitious medieval new towns' citing Ludlow, Salisbury and New Winchelsea as examples.[41] Platt also notes the reuse or continuity of settlement often associated with such sites. The Roman grid plan had clear roads associated with it, and generally a market at the centre. Such features had an appeal in medieval England, where easy travel between lordships was valued.[42]

---

[40] C. Platt, *The English Medieval Town* (London, 1976) p. 30.
[41] M. Aston & J. Bond, *The Landscape of Towns* (London, 1976) p. 92.
[42] C. Platt, *The English Medieval Town* (London, 1976) p. 32.

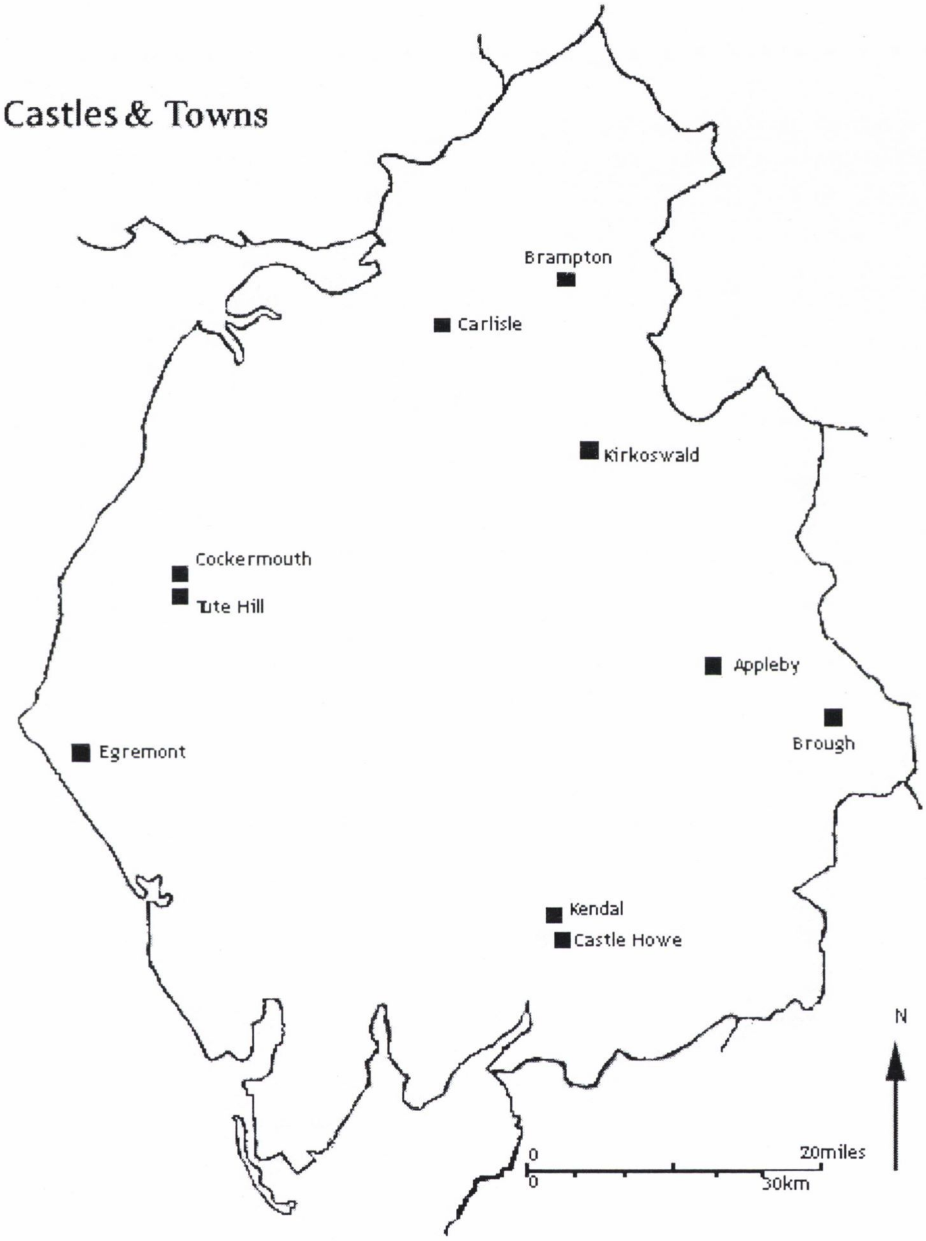


Figure 7.3: Location of castles with associated towns. Compiled from HER and NMR databases and M.W. Beresford & H.P.R. Finberg, *English Medieval Boroughs: a Handlist* (Newton Abbot, 1973)

A composite plan type is very common. It is characterised by a number of planned areas or phases within a single town. For example at Ashbourne, the original linear single street plan was added to in the thirteenth century with the foundation of an adjacent triangular marketplace.

A castle-gate or castle borough plan does not only apply to those sites with a castle as the core feature of the settlement but also those with monastic centres. Essentially the street plan is formed around, most often directly in front of, this central element. Cockermouth, Egremont, Appleby and Brough all fall under this category. All are seigniorial planned settlements that are castle centric. Appleby and Egremont in particular are very clear linear plans of single main streets leading away from the castle-gate. Topography played a major role in the siting of Appleby, located in the loop of the river Eden. The castle occupied the highest ground and the town is laid out on the slope leading down to the river bank. The site is defensive. At Egremont the castle also overlooks the town, a linear plan. It was built by William de Meschin, brother of Ranulph who founded Appleby. Cockermouth lay at the convergence of two rivers, the Derwent and the Cocker. The nearby Roman settlement at Papcastle lay on the route between the major centres of Old Carlisle (Olenacum), Moresby and Ravenglass and also between Maryport and Old Penrith. Hadrian's Wall itself lies only 40 kilometres (25 miles) away to the northeast.[43] Brough is slightly different in plan, composed as it was of two settlements, Church Brough and Market Brough. The Norman castle lies in Church Brough within the Roman fort of Verterae and on a Roman road. The town is a simple castle-gate settlement. Market Brough is on a

---

[43] J.B. Bradbury, *A History of Cockermouth* (1981) p.117-9.

medieval road and as its name would suggest was built to take economic advantage of the passing traffic.

Plan Elements

Within these medieval towns were a number of essential elements, namely the castle, church and market place. These elements could be found in nearly any settlement. Looking at the plans provided in Figures 7.4-7.9 these elements can be clearly seen in relation to each other within each town plan. All six have castles in dominant positions within the morphology of the site. The castles are indicated on each town plan by a red arrow. In the case of Kendal both castles are recorded on the plan, so two red arrows appear.

Brough, or Church Brough (Figure 7.4) as the settlement containing the castle is more properly called, was a small settlement. The unusual feature of a twin village, Market Brough, capitalized on the trade gained from traffic on the medieval road it was built on. The fact that the medieval Brough castle was built on the remains of the Roman fort speaks of the military importance of the site, both in Roman times and later, and perhaps as Creighton has suggested marks a rejuvenation of the area and road in the late eleventh and into the twelfth century.[44] The church lies to the immediate southeast of the castle. It is dedicated to St. Michael. Simpson identified a central market place and noted the four roads entering at the corners. [45]

---

[44] O.H. Creighton, *Castles and landscapes: an archaeological survey of Yorkshire and the East Midlands* (PhD Leicester, 1998) p. 76.

[45] W. D. Simpson, 'Brough-under-Stainmore: The Castle and the Church' pp.223-283, *TCWAAS,* New Series Vol. xlvi (1947) p.230

At the confluence of the Derwent and Cocker rivers lies Cockermouth Castle and town (Figure 7.5). The sites of Papcastle and Tute Hill appear to pre-date the stone castle. The town is concentrated at the foot of the castle, spreading east towards Tute Hill and south. On this eastern side of the river Cocker lie the castle, church and market. On the western bank, following the line of the river Derwent was the main street and associated tenements. The honour of Cockermouth did not have a monastic foundation within its boundaries. It was, as has been noted, linked to both Copeland and Allerdale, both of which had renowned monastic establishments (St. Bees, Calder and Seton in Copeland and Holme Cultram in Allerdale). Economically Cockermouth prospered from its mills, both corn and fulling that could make use of the resource provided by the two rivers, but the one within the borough was the most lucrative.[46] Documentary evidence can only really be helpful in recreating seventeenth-century Cockermouth town, using the earliest town map of circa 1600 A.D.[47] Records do, however, identify the presence of a fulling mill circa 1200 A.D.[48], corn mills (1259 A.D. & 1270 A.D.),[49] a chapel dedicated to St. Helen[50] and St. Leonard's Chapel of circa 1270A.D.[51] The HER records a possible leper hospital at Spital Ing Lane.[52] Two possible deserted medieval settlements are recorded at Blacklands and Ureby respectively, although no

---

[46] London, The National Archives, SC 11/730 m.1 (Extents or surveys of the possessions of William de Fortibus, Earl of Albemarle), Cockermouth Borough Charter, 1259-1275.

[47] MS pictorial map drawn circa 1600 A.D. Lord Egremont's possession. Apparently dating to Henry Percy 8th or 9th in A.J.L. Winchester, 'Medieval Cockermouth', *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. 86 (Kendal, 1986) p.126.

[48] J. Wilson (ed), 'Carta Roberti de Curtenei de Dimidia Marca de Molendino Fullonario in Korkirmwth cum I Mansura in Eadem', no. 453 in *Register of the Priory of St. Bees* p. 449 (Surtees Society vol. CXXVI, London, 1915)

[49] A.J.L. Winchester, 'Medieval Cockermouth', *TCWAAS*, New Series Vol. 86 (Kendal, 1986) p.121.

[50] In a field name.

[51] A.J.L. Winchester, 'Medieval Cockermouth', *TCWAAS*, New Series Vol. 86 (Kendal, 1986) p. 119

[52] HER, 'Hospital, Spital Ing Lane', no. 18914.

actual evidence exists for the Blacklands site.[53] Documentary evidence identifies a park at Cockermouth from 1260 A.D. onwards.[54] All of these features attest to an urban settlement of improving prosperity.

---

[53] HER, 'Deserted medieval settlement', no. 3096

[54] L. Cantor, *Medieval Parks of England* (Loughborough, 1983) p.20.

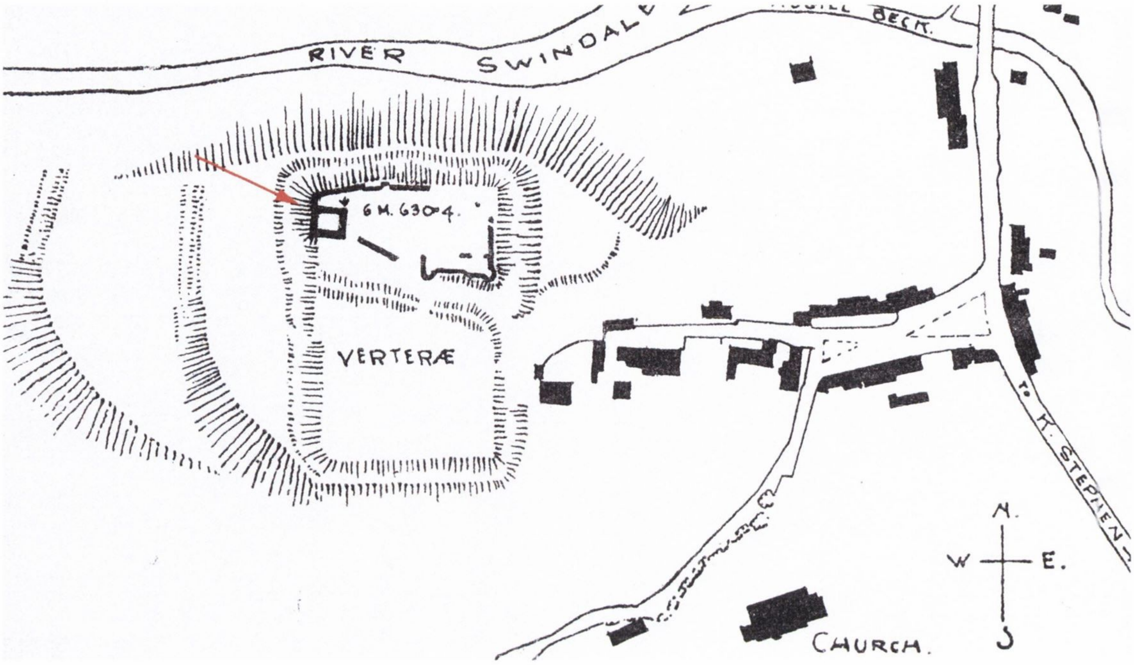


Figure 7.4: Church Brough Town Plan, from J.F. Curwen, *The Castles and Fortified Towers of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North of the Sands*, p. 81

Figure 7.5: Cockermouth Town Plan, from A.J.L. Winchester, 'Medieval Cockermouth', *TCWAAS*, Vol. 86, p. 115 (based on John Wood's *Plan of Cockermouth from actual survey)*

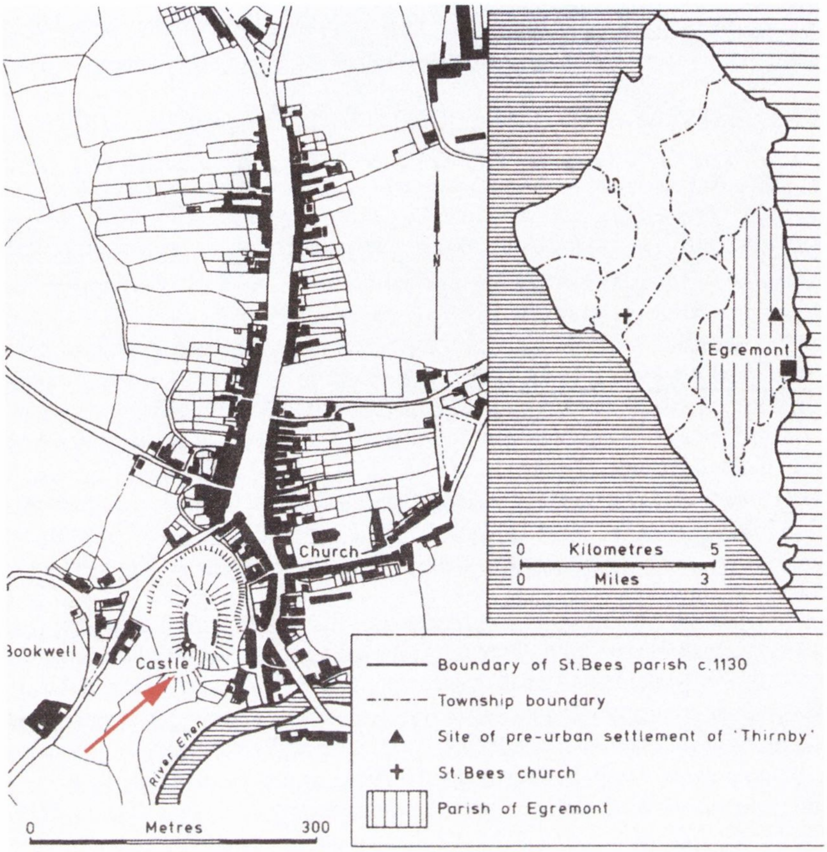


Figure 7.6: Egremont Town Plan, from A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987), p.126

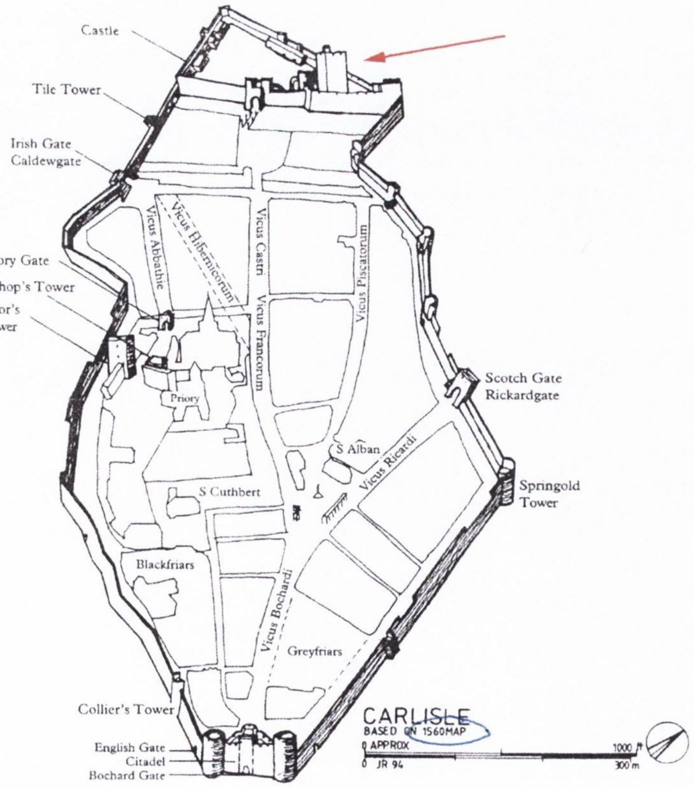


Figure 7.7: Carlisle Town Plan, from H.R.T. Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle* (1993), Vol. 2 p. 696

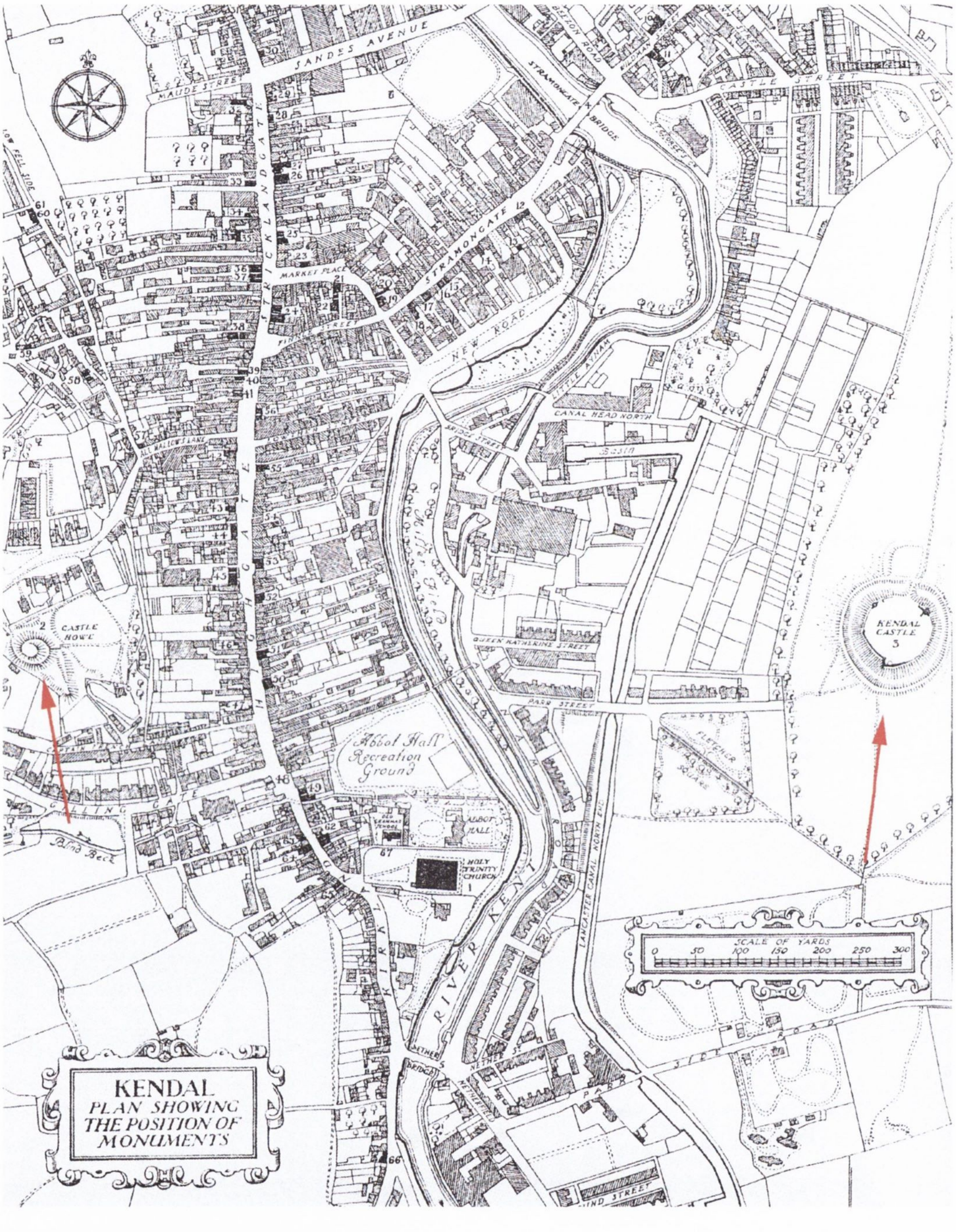


Figure 7.8: Kendal Town Plan, from Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments of Westmorland* (London, 1936) p. 126

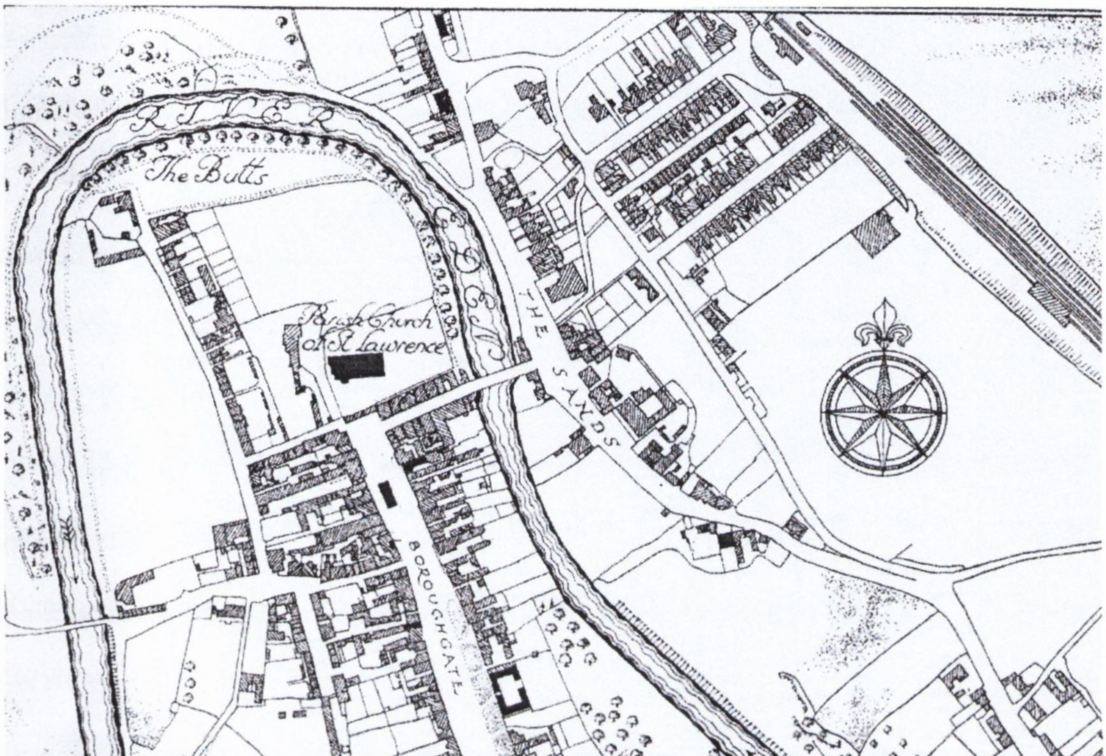


Figure 7.9: Appleby Town Plan, from Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments of Westmorland* (London, 1936) p. 36

Egremont (Figure 7.6) has a very wide main street. The castle dominates the town from above the river Ehen, and dates to circa 1130 A.D. The town is a planned settlement by Richard de Lucy, dating to circa 1200 A.D, with the main street widening further into the marketplace directly at the castle-gate. The church of St. Mary and St. Michael, although much restored, has material dating to 1220 A.D.

Medieval Carlisle (Figure 7.7) was surrounded by its city walls, which date to between 1122 and 1200 A.D. and which enclose approximately seventy acres. The position of Carlisle Castle was a possible pre-Roman settlement site. It occupied a strategic position upon a promontory. William Rufus' 'turris fortissima' of 1092 A.D, possibly a motte and bailey, presumably lay on this site.[55] The keep is believed to date to circa 1120-30 A.D. Within the town plan the cathedral can be seen as the other dominant feature. This housed the priory of St. Mary's and also acted as the parish church. Other features of the ecclesiastical landscape include the chapel of St. Albans (possibly replacing a pre-Norman establishment) and St. Cuthbert's Church, which was also a parish church. Both are identified on the plan. In the twelfth century the acquisition of a guild merchant, annual fair and two weekly markets reasserted the importance of trade in the city.

The plan of Kendal (Figure 7.8) portrays a linear settlement whose eastern edge largely followed the path of the river Kent. Two castle sites are clearly identified, one on either side of the town. Castle Howe, the motte and bailey lies on the west side and dates to the period directly around William Rufus' conquest of the area in 1092 A.D. Kendal Castle lies to the east, on the far bank of the river. It also occupies a lofty site

---

[55] G. N. Garmonsway, (trans & ed.), *The Anglo- Saxon Chronicle,* version 'E'. Entry 1092. (London, 1972) p.227

overlooking the town, but also the approaches to the town. The stone castle dates to the late twelfth century and into the thirteenth century. The church of the Holy Trinity at the south end of the town has no material remains before the thirteenth century. The rectangular market place lies to the north end of the main street, just off the section called Stricklandgate. Kirkland, the area surrounding the church is of possible pre-Conquest date.

Appleby (Figure 7.9) had a very distinctive though not unique layout: it is remarkably similar to Durham. As the plan shows, the entire site lay within a loop of the river Eden. The castle was located on the highest ground sloping down to the river bank and the church of St. Lawrence. In between lay the linear main street, Boroughgate. Symbolically, a clearer statement could not have been made, the castle overlooking all, the dominant feature, the church provided through seigniorial patronage. The anomaly in this planned site is the pre-Conquest settlement located around the church of St. Michael directly to the east of the castle, on the other side of the river. The fact that de Meschin chose to build a new church within the bounds of his planned settlement rather than continue using St. Michaels' reflects an attempt to restructure the social order and control the population. The HER also records the presence of the Hospital of St. Nicholas, for lepers, just outside the town from circa 1200 A.D.

Case Studies

Carlisle

The city of Carlisle is located on the plain of the Eden valley, guarding the main crossing point of the river Eden, on whose south bank the town is situated. A confluence of the river Eden with the Petteril and the Caldew created a natural moat. The site was a centre of communication and trade, guarding passes into England (or vice versa into Scotland) and to the northeast. West of the city lay the Solway Firth, which Shaw states was 'navigable at high tide for a considerable distance towards Carlisle'.[56] Its position was naturally defensive.

In 1092 A.D, as has been noted several times, William Rufus came north and conquered Carlisle. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records that 'In this year the king went north to Carlisle with great levies, and restored the town, and built the castle. He drove out Dolfin who had formerly ruled that district, and garrisoned the castle with his men. Thereafter he returned hither southwards, sending very many peasants thither with their wives and live-stock to settle there and till the soil'.[57]

This castle, therefore, was an urban castle, imposed upon a pre-existing settlement. The physical remains of Rufus' Norman castle are no longer visible. It is unclear what it actually looked like, possibly it was a motte and bailey castle as was common in England at the time, although it may equally as easily have been a ringwork and bailey castle.[58] The site of the castle is probably the same as that of the castle we can see today, which lies on a promontory site. This was, as previously mentioned, very

---

[56] R.C. Shaw, 'Romano-British Carlisle: its Structural Remains', *TCWAAS* New Series, Vol. xxiv, p.95.

[57] G. N. Garmonsway, (trans & ed.), *The Anglo- Saxon Chronicle*, version 'E'. Entry 1092. (London, 1972) p.227.

[58] M.J. Jackson, *Castles of Cumbria* (Carlisle, 1990) p. 38.

possibly a pre-Roman settlement. With relation to the new settlers sent north by William Rufus, information regarding them comes from the life of the twelfth-century hermit St. Godric.[59] He is thought to have been from Norfolk, gave up his work to become a hermit and came north. After spending some time in Carlisle in secret he was recognised by some of the inhabitants to whom he was closely related. It would generally be considered unusual for this period to be from Norfolk and yet to have relations in Carlisle, but can be explained by William Rufus' immigrants.

Dealing with the morphology of the site, it is to 1122 A.D. that the researcher must turn, for changes to Carlisle, when it was visited by Henry I. Border matters had, since 1092 A.D. been left to Ranulf Meschin, but with his move to the earldom of Chester in 1120 A.D., Henry I took matters into his own hands. It is known, from Symeon of Durham, that Henry I ordered the town to be fortified with a castle and towers.[60] It has proved difficult, however, to identify exactly what work was undertaken for Henry I. It was perhaps only work on the walls. The earliest extant Pipe Roll, generally accepted as dating to 1130-1131 A.D., the thirty-first year of the reign of Henry I, makes two mentions of payments for the city wall, but nothing regarding other building works, let alone a stone castle.[61] It is also known there was a mint at Carlisle from the reign of Henry I and that there was a developed economy and social organisation, as the inhabitants paid rent for the silver mines at Alston.[62] A full discussion of the

---

[59] P. F. Gosling 'Carlisle-An Archaeological Survey of the historic Town', P. A. G. Clack & P. F. Gosling, *Archaeology in the North (*1976) p.168.

[60] Symeon of Durham, *Historia Regum,*vol. ii (London, 1885) p. 267

[61] J. Hunter (ed.), *The Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I, Michaelmas 1130* (London, 1929).

[62] J. Hunter (ed.), *The Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I, Michaelmas 1130* (London, 1929).

significance of the silver mines can be seen earlier in this Chapter and in Chapter Three.[63]

Several chroniclers also record how 'the king made a new bishopric at Carlisle' in 1133 A.D.[64] The church of the priory of St. Mary became the seat of the bishopric and the cathedral. Mention is made in the Pipe Roll of 1130-31 A.D. With the death of Henry I in 1135 A.D, Carlisle came into Scottish hands, those of David I. It is to David that the canons of Huntingdon ascribe the building of the citadel of Carlisle and the heightening of the city walls.[65] It has been suggested by Curwen, based on his architectural survey of the site, that the building of the keep can be ascribed to David I.[66] It was probably not built by Henry II, since Jordan Fantosme refers to the 'castle and tower' in 1173 A.D.[67]

In 1157 A.D. Malcolm IV, the eldest grandson of David I, whilst still a minor, handed back all King Stephen had yielded to David I, including Carlisle. A further strengthening of Carlisle and the border took place under Henry II. The history of Carlisle has numerous attempts to control the city. Sieges occurred occasionally and are recorded in 1136, 1173, 1174, 1216, 1296, 1297, 1315, 1385, 1401 and 1536 A.D.[68] If nothing else it shows the importance of its position, from Roman fort (possibly pre-historic settlement) to walled city and castle. A tradition of settlement, trade and

---

[63] Chapter 3, p. 87-9 & Chapter Seven, pp. 224-5.

[64] Henry of Huntingdon, 253, s.a. 1133 in A. O. Anderson, *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers A.D. 500 to 1286 (*1991, corrections by M. Anderson) p.169

[65] P. F. Gosling 'Carlisle-An Archaeological Survey of the historic Town' in P. A. G. Clack & P. F. Gosling, *Archaeology in the North (*1976)p. 168

[66] J.F. Curwen, *The Castles and Fortified Towers of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North of the Sands, together with a brief Historical Account of Border Warfare*, CWAAS Extra Series Vol. 13 (Kendal, 1913), p. 54. See too D.E.R. Watt et al, (eds), *Scotichronicon*, Vol. III (Aberdeen, 1995), p. 131.

[67] F. Michel (trans), *Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle of the War between the English and the Scots in 1173 and 1174,* Surtees Society, vol. xi p.64-5.

[68] D.J. Cathcart-King, *Castellarium Anglicanum: An Index and Bibliography of the Castles of England, Wales and the Islands,* 2 vols. (London, 1983) Vol. I p.83.

defence seems to epitomise the experience of the location. Carlisle's strategic location, as crossing point, communications route and direct road from Scotland to England and vice versa was recognised from Roman to the Middle Ages and beyond. The Roman fort and Norman castles occupied the most strategic, defensible positions within the site, the natural environment (rivers, valleys and plains) coincided with the settlement needs of the man made world, together making Carlisle possible.

As for the town of Carlisle, little archaeological work has been done to date or excavate the medieval settlement. The continuous settlement of the site and its destruction by the Vikings in 875 A.D. must be noted. In 1104 A.D. St. Godric met people in Carlisle who recognised him, presumably immigrants from Lincolnshire who were sent north by William Rufus in 1092 A.D. The same entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle makes reference to William Rufus repairing the town walls. No evidence of these early walls exists. The present town walls date to between 1122 and 1200 A.D. and enclose approximately 28.3 hectares (70 acres). Within this lies the Norman castle on the promontory site as well as the Roman fort and town. When Henry I visited in 1122 A.D. Symeon of Durham tells how he ordered the fortification of the town in the form of a castle and towers.[69] These towers may well have been those along the wall, and perhaps were begun at the same time as the walls. The Pipe Roll of 1130-31 A.D. refers directly to the walls and their fortification.[70] Again, as with the need for a castle, Carlisle needed city walls to protect its population and to hinder besieging armies (Scottish or English!).

---

[69] *Symeon of Durham, Historia Regum*, vol. ii (London, 1885) p. 267, 'data pecunia castello et turribus praecepit muniri'.

[70] J. Hunter (ed.), *The Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I, Michaelmas 1130* (London, 1929).

Carlisle achieved borough status at some point before 1130 A.D. The reference to burgesses in the Pipe Roll for that year indicates that legal rights had been gained by the citizens of Carlisle. Economically speaking Carlisle had always been a centre for commerce. Its location, on the border, made it ideal, and it was essentially the only large town in Cumbria.[71] From Roman times it was a centre of trade. Excavations at Annetwell St, Blackfriars St and Castle St all revealed large quantities of Roman coins from the first to the fourth centuries.[72] Coinage went into a decline at the end off the fourth century, across Roman Britain, Carlisle being no exception. The later twelfth century also saw Carlisle acquire 'a guild merchant, annual fair and two weekly markets with a trading monopoly over the neighbouring countryside'.[73] A royal charter of 1157-8 A.D. (Carlisle's first) also granted the city permission to take wood from Inglewood Forest (the Royal Forest) for building.[74] The place-name evidence was also of interest, identifying different colonies within Carlisle, including Irish, French and Flemings.[75] Trade was bringing foreigners to Carlisle (instead of the usual invasions and conquests) and men from Carlisle were going abroad. A number are recorded as visiting Dublin in circa 1200 A.D.[76] This economic development of Carlisle was in no small measure due to the Roman roads, still being used and connecting the north and

---

[71] A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria (*Edinburgh, 1987), p.121.

[72] M.R. McCarthy, *A Roman, Anglian and medieval site at Blackfriars Street, Carlisle: excavations 1977-9*, CWAAS, Research Series no. 4 (Kendal, 1990); M. R. Mc Carthy, *Roman Waterlogged Remains at Castle St.,* CWAAS, Research Series no. 5 (Kendal, 1991); M.R. McCarthy, *Roman and Medieval Carlisle: the southern Lanes: excavations 1981-2* , Carlisle Archaeology Ltd (2000)

[73] J. Kermode, 'Regional Surveys: Northern Towns' in D. M Palliser (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, vol. I, 600-1540 A.D. (*Cambridge, 2000), p.662.

[74] P. F. Gosling 'Carlisle-An Archaeological Survey of the Historic Town' in P. A. G. Clack & P. F. Gosling, *Archaeology in the North (*1976), p. 168.

[75] H. Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle,* CWAAS, Extra Series, 25 (Kendal, 1993), passim. See also, English Placename Society, *Cumberland,* vol. I (1950-1), p.40-9.

[76] P. F. Gosling 'Carlisle-An Archaeological Survey of the Historic Town' in P. A. G. Clack & P. F. Gosling, *Archaeology in the North (*1976,) p. 168; P. Connolly & G. Martin (eds), *Dublin Guild Merchant Roll, c. 1190-1265* (Dublin, 1992), pp. 2, 6, 8, 10, 13, 16.

south, east and west. The timber lined pit and small objects dated to between the ninth and eleventh centuries which have been found, were near to the junction of the east-west road with present day Scotch Rd, itself on the line of a Roman road. In the Pipe Roll of 1130-31 A.D. special note should be taken of the silver mines, which the inhabitants of Carlisle leased.[77] This was the silver mine at Alston.[78] It shows both social and economic organisation, that the burgesses of Carlisle were involved in such an endeavour.[79]

In spite of all this economic activity, Carlisle remained a small settlement. The Poll Tax of 1377 A.D. recorded only 678 taxpayers in Carlisle (that is lay people over the age of fourteen, excluding the very poor). Dyer has, on this evidence, ranked the towns of England by their taxpaying population. Carlisle was sixty-first.[80]

In looking at medieval Carlisle it also necessary to view the people who shaped the town and society. The lords of Carlisle Castle played a major role in the history of the North. For the eleventh century there are essentially no major figures. Dolfin, whom William Rufus drove out, is an unknown quantity. The Red King himself, other than building the earth and timber castle, driving out Dolfin and recolonising Carlisle with southerners, had very little to do with the city. Freeman, however, made an interesting suggestion when he viewed William Rufus' actions as a form of northern policy, the settling of a known quantity in an unstable region.[81] William Rufus' death in 1100 A.D.

---

[77] J. Hunter (ed.), *The Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I, Michaelmas 1130 (*Commissioners on the Public Records of the Kingdom, 1833) (HMSO, London, 1929). Also mentioned in Pipe Rolls of Henry II.

[78] See Chapter 3, pp. 87-89.

[79] P. F. Gosling 'Carlisle-An Archaeological Survey of the Historic Town' in P. A. G. Clack & P. F. Gosling, *Archaeology in the North (*1976), p. 168

[80] A. Dyer, 'Appendix' in D. M Palliser, (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, vol. I, 600-1540 A.D.,*(Cambridge, 2000), p.747, based on J. C. Russell, *British Medieval Population* (Albuquerque, 1948), p.118-46.

[81] E. A. Freeman, 'The Place of Carlisle in English History', *TCWAAS* (Series 1), vol. vi, p.264

ended any further hopes or ambitions he may have had with regards to the north. Henry I delegated his responsibilities for the land of Carlisle to Ranulf Meschin. He governed from Appleby Castle, slightly to the south, and his uncle was Hugh, earl of Chester, and his cousin was Richard, earl of Chester.

One of his most lasting actions was the establishment of Wetheral Priory, from St. Mary's Abbey in York. It was never a large or independent house but had an important relationship with Carlisle.[82] Ranulf is also remembered for his role in developing the communications route from Carlisle, specifically, he secured a communications line south by having castles built in a line going south, Appleby, Brough, Bowes. This had a twofold purpose, the first being the communications line but the second was it gave him control from the Vale of Eden to Stainmore. He also created two new baronies on the border with Scotland, Burgh by Sands and Liddel.[83] Ranulf Meschin had effectively covered all routes into England through Cumbria.[84] Kapelle also noted that David I had a role in creating peace in the north, by creating three large lordships of his own. His suggestion is that David, Robert Brus and Ranulf Meschin, in their creation of baronies brought about an order and organisation in the region. [85]

Henry I took control of his northern possessions himself in 1120-22 A.D when Ranulf acceded to the earldom of Chester on the death of his brother. Henry I took a great interest in Carlisle. We have already noted that it was he who brought the Augustinian canons to the priory of St. Mary's, elevated Carlisle to a bishopric and the priory to a

---

[82] B. Dix, 'Cumbria: Report and Proceedings of the 144th Summer Meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute, 1998', *Archaeological Journal*, Vol.155 (1999), p.358

[83] See Chapter 3 pp. 92-4

[84] W. E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North. The Region and its Conquest, 1000-1135 A.D.* (London, 1979), p.206

[85] W. E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North. The Region and its Conquest, 1000-1135 A.D.* (London, 1979), p.206. David I created the lordships of Liddesdale, Eskdale and Annandale.

cathedral. It was under Henry I that coins began to be minted at Carlisle. The idea that Henry I had, like his brother William Rufus, a direct policy for the north is appealing. The introduction of an organised ecclesiastical system did provide the same measure of control over this volatile area that Rufus controlled. The death of Henry I in 1135 A.D, saw the weaker Stephen come to power, and David I seized Carlisle. It is known he re-strengthened the defences, attempted to bring peace to the north and perhaps built the stone keep on the site of Rufus' castle. Carlisle became a second, southern caput for David I. Glasgow was his caput in Scotland. At the Battle of the Standard in 1138 A.D. we are told specifically that the men of Carlisle were with the Scottish king, and it was to Carlisle that he retreated after his defeat.[86] David I was frequently at Carlisle and in fact, he also died there.[87] He retreated to Carlisle after his defeat at the battle of the Standard in 1138 A.D. He received papal legates in 1138 and 1151 A.D. in Carlisle and entertained Henry Murdac in the city in 1148 A.D.[88]

In 1157 A.D. Malcolm IV returned all that Stephen had given the Scots. Henry II was in control of the region. The first royal charter to Carlisle has already been noted (1157-1158 A.D.), which granted a guild, fairs and wood from the Royal Forest. The Scots, under William the Lion, besieged Carlisle in 1173-4 A.D. The siege is recorded in detail by Jordan Fantosme.[89] The impact of the war was great, as can be attested to by

---

[86] P. F. Gosling 'Carlisle-An Archaeological Survey of the Historic Town' in P. A. G. Clack & P. F. Gosling, *Archaeology in the North (*1976) p. 168

[87] P. F. Gosling 'Carlisle-An Archaeological Survey of the Historic Town' in P. A. G. Clack & P. F. Gosling, *Archaeology in the North (*1976) p. 168; H.R.T. Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle: the city and the border from the late eleventh to the mid-sixteenth centuries,* CWAAS, Extra series vol. XXV (Kendal, 1993), p. 41.

[88] 'Ailred of Rievaulx, Relatio de Standardo', in R. Howlett (ed.,), *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I* vol. III (London, 1884), p. 198; *The Priory of Hexham, Vol.I: its Chroniclers, Endowments, and Annals,* ed. J. Raine (Surtees Society, 1864), p. 158, 163

[89] F. Michel (trans), *Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle of the War between the English and the Scots in 1173 and 1174,* Publications of the Surtees Society, Vol. xi. p.69

the Pipe Roll entries for the subsequent two years 1174 A.D. and 1175 A.D. when successive sheriffs of Carlisle were not in a position to pay the exchequer, "Adam son of Robert Truite has not rendered account this year of the farm of the county or of the debts, because he has received nothing thence this year by reason of the wars, as he says", and, "Robert de Vaus has not rendered account this year for the farm of the county or of the King's debts in this county, nor has he come that he might render. Nor Adam son of Truite for the past year, because he had received nothing thence in that year by reason of the war, as he says".[90]

In spite of the war, the population of Carlisle town appears to have been increasing. Summerson noted that by the end of the twelfth century the settlement had extended out the Bothchergate gate, and also on the opposite bank of the river Caldew (the so-called *vicus Flandrensis*).[91]Alongside the growth came an increase in taxation across northern England. This is particularly evident under Richard I and John, who tallaged Carlisle twice in 1195 and in 1197 A.D. and three times in 1202, 1203 and 1214 A.D. respectively.[92]

Under Henry III it was the position of bishop of Carlisle which was to become a bone of contention. Indeed the king was to complain to the Pope Honorius III that the canons of St. Mary's had elected the bishop themselves. The reply of the papal legate, Guala, in 1218 A.D. was to exile the canons of Carlisle, and appoint Hugh, abbot of Beaulieu,

---

[90] Pipe Roll Society, *Great Roll of the Pipe 20 Henry II A.D. 1173-1174,* Pipe Roll Society vol. XXI (London, 1896), p. 107; Pipe Roll Society, *Great Roll of the Pipe 21 Henry II A.D. 1174-1175,* Pipe Roll Society vol. XXII (London, 1897), p. 185; *Victoria County History: Cumberland,* Vol. 1 (1901) p. 346

[91] H.R.T. Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle,* CWAAS, Extra Series, 25 (Kendal, 1993) See also, English Placename Society, *Cumberland,* vol. I (1950-1) p. 83

[92] H.R.T. Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle,* CWAAS, Extra Series, 25 (Kendal, 1993); See also, English Placename Society, *Cumberland,* vol. I (1950-1), p. 90-91

to the episcopate.[93] Up to the year 1227 A.D. William Marshall, originally the holder of Cartmel manor who had risen in such a stellar fashion, acted as regent for Henry III.[94]

The loyalties of town, church and castle were closely linked, for example in their reaction against John, in turning to Scotland during the early years of the thirteenth century. By 1250 A.D. Carlisle had been taken only once in nine sieges, by Alexander II of Scotland in 1216 A.D. (but quickly recovered by John, and lost again). Unfortunately in spite of the repairs Alexander II carried out on the castle, the reign of Henry III saw it fall into disrepair, by 1255 A.D. it was recommended to Henry III that it was in dire need of repair. The royal policy to address the exorbitant cost of maintaining royal castles meant Carlisle Castle was left sorely neglected.

---

[93] J. Stevenson (ed), *Chronicon de Lanercost,* 2 vols (Edinburgh, for the Maitland & Bannatyne Clubs, 1839), p.14, 30, 31; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Henry III, 1216-25 A.D.* (London, 1903), pp. 164, 210.

[94] See Chapter 3, p. 79-80

Chapter 8
Rural Castles

The focus of the previous chapter, on the urban landscape of medieval Cumbria is balanced by the content of this one, specifically, an assessment of the castle in the rural landscape. As noted the majority of castles built during the Middle Ages were of a rural nature rather than urban, and it is these which will now be focused upon. With the introduction of the castle to England in 1066 A.D. the period that followed is characterised by the construction of castles in urban centres across the country (with the exception of Corfe, Rockingham and Windsor which were in the rural landscape, but were highly defensible). In the consolidation phase which followed, the Normans began to build their estate centres, and it is from circa 1200-1500 A.D. that the development of the manor can be seen.[1]

Liddiard noted that, 'one of the most important messages conveyed by castle landscapes was that of manorial lordship'.[2] As portrayed in Chapter 5 amongst the five major links between castles and tenurial landscapes, were two points which bear repeating here, in the context of a discussion on the nature of the rural landscape of the medieval castle, namely, those castles that were built as capita, and those belonging to feudal vassals and tenants.[3] The relevance of these two points, along with the quote from Liddiard, is that in Cumbria, as in the rest of England, most castles were rural, and manor based, whose priorities were not the defence of the county or the guarding of communication line, but the administration of their estate, and the upkeep of their lands.

---

[1] M. Bailey, *The English Manor, c.1200-c.1500* (Manchester, 2002), p. 11

[2] R. Liddiard, *Castles in Context. Power, Symbolism and Landscape, 1066-1500* (Bollington, 2005), p. 106

[3] See Chapter 5 p. 157

This chapter, therefore, will deal with those castles of the period in question, based not in the market towns of Cumbria (with the exception of Brampton, which had a borough charter but never lost its rural character), but in the dispersed settlements, forests, and open plains which characterised the rest of Cumbria. The elements which made up a rural castle landscape include, the villages, hamlets, and farmsteads which littered the county and housed the rural population, the forests and deer parks which formed such a central part of rural and in some cases urban life, the roads and byways, the remains and imprints of which can still be seen today, and in some cases remain in use.

The lack of a Domesday Book entry for the majority of Cumbria affects greatly the way the rural landscape, in the form of the manors for the post Conquest period can be assessed. Winchester suggests that it is from 'place-names, pre-Conquest sculpture, and pollen preserved in lake-bed deposits' that the material to recreate the settlement history of Cumbria, for this period, comes.[4] Pollen analysis has already been noted in Chapter 4 for its use in establishing the extent of the Scandinavian settlement in Cumbria circa 800 A.D.[5] It also established that a phase of woodland regeneration preceded the twelfth- and thirteenth-century expansion. Place-name evidence has also been mentioned, particularly as way of identifying spheres of ethnic influence, through the adoption and use of native words for geographical features, town names, and personal names. In truth these methods do create something of an image of rural settlement in Cumbria in the post Conquest years, but it is far from complete, and as Winchester acknowledges, without documentary

---

[4] A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987), p. 37

[5] See Chapter 4 p. 120; F. Oldfield, 'Pollen Analysis and the history of land use', *Advancement of Science,* No. 25 (1969) p. 298-311

evidence 'it may be difficult to ascertain the scale of direct Norman influence on settlement in Cumbria'.[6]

Rural Castles in Cumbria

Of the twenty-four castles identified for this thesis, fifteen can be classified as being rural or isolated: Brougham Castle, Burgh Manor House, Caernarvon Castle, Castle How in Castle Sowerby, Catterlen Old Hall, Irthington Motte (NMR Monument 12769, HER 245), Kirkoswald Castle, Liddel Strength, Linstock Castle, Moat Hill in Aldingham, Pendragon Castle, Piel Castle, Ravenstonedale Motte (NMR Monument 1390209), The Mote in Brampton and Whelp Castle. Of these, five, Piel Castle, Whelp Castle, Kirkoswald Castle, Ravenstonedale Motte and Castle How in Castle Sowerby have only documentary evidence linking them to their location and/or date. Little can be said beyond this. Burgh Manor House is no longer extant and little documentary or archaeological evidence survives relating to Caernarvon Castle, Catterlen Old Hall, Irthington Motte and The Mote in Brampton. This leaves Brougham, Liddel Strength, Linstock, Moat Hill Aldingham, and Pendragon as the main rural or isolated castles of interest to this work.

The fifteen sites in this category, can be classified under the type headings: motte (Irthington, Brampton, Castle How Castle Sowerby, Ravenstone Moat), motte and bailey (Burgh by Sands, Caernarvon, Moat Hill Aldingham, Kirkoswald, Liddel Strength), ringwork (Moat Hill Aldingham, Liddel Strength, Castle How Castle Sowerby), castle (Piel, Brougham, Whelp), fortified house (Burgh by Sands), pele tower (Burgh by Sands), tower house (Pendragon, Linstock, Catterlen Old Hall) and moated site (Ravenstonedale Moat). Entries have been added under all of the

---

[6] A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987), p. 39

possible type classifications in order to note the range of possible rural castle types, to ensure a comprehensive look at rural castles is undertaken, and mainly because these sites have had relatively little work carried out on them, so the ultimate type classification has yet to be established, or in a number of cases, may never be.

Moated sites are often seen as the archetypal capital messuage, occasionally raised as a nod to defensibility (although perhaps more symbolic than functional). In Cumbria during the Middle Ages there were fifty three moated sites, according to the HER. Of those, four (Upper Denton Moated site, Wolsty Castle, St. Mungo's Castle Bromfield and Blencow Old Hall), are dated to 1154-1485 A.D. (Plantagenet). Wolsty Castle was established by the monks of Holm Cultram Abbey in order to defend the abbey in the case of attack.[7] Technically Brougham is also a moated site, in that the tower is completely surrounded. The castle is located on a spur which juts into the flood plain of the river Eamont. A steep cliff down to the river provides the defence works on the north and a section of the west side and a moat connects the cliffs on the other two sides. The fourteenth-century castle at Piel, which is the only extant fortification on the island, is an enclosure castle surrounded by an inner and an outer moat. A portion of moat can even be seen at Brough, in one of the Roman ditches. Linstock tower house is surrounded by a moat, but it is of medieval date, nothing more specific. At Kirkoswald, as at Piel, the later (circa 1320 A.D.) extant castle now visible on the site was also surrounded by a moat. The presence of a moat, however, was little more than a symbolic gesture to defence on the part of a lord. Creighton notes that research into moated sites has concluded that moats in practical terms helped greatly with drainage, but

---

[7] J.F. Curwen, *The Castles and Fortified Towers of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North of the Sands, together with a brief Historical Account of Border Warfare,* CWAAS Extra Series Vol. 13 (Kendal, 1913), p. 241-3; NMR, 'Wolsty Castle', http://www.pastscape.org/hob.aspx?hob_id-9669, accessed 14th August 2009.

the symbolic element, as an expression of status, particularly by the 'slightly lower ranking members of the medieval elite' was common.[8] The moated site emulated the castle moat, but at much less expense.

In general, rural castles have no set type classification. The more defensive rural castles, such as those built by the Conqueror in the immediate post 1066 A.D. period at Corfe (where an eleventh-century hall is the earliest extant remains, but an earthwork castle is likely), Rockingham (a motte and bailey) and Windsor (motte and bailey), were distinguished not by their form but by their strategic siting. The siting of the medieval castles of Cumbria has already been noted, but it bears examining the location of these fifteen rural sites, in light of the rural landscape.

The information contained in the Figure 4.4: Table 3 Castle siting and distribution information, noted that Brougham, Whelp Castle and Burgh by Sands were on the site of earlier Roman fortifications. Brougham lies in the corner of the Roman fort of Verterae, Whelp Castle is in the Roman fort of Bravoniacum, whilst Burgh Manor House is on the site of turret 72b of Hadrian's Wall. Caernarvon, Liddel Strength, Moat Hill Aldingham, Pendragon and the Mote at Brampton were all located on hills or ridges of varying heights and steepness. Catterlen Old Hall, Irthington Motte, Kirkoswald, Linstock, Pendragon, Ravenstone Moat and Whelp Castle are all on the banks of or near rivers. Both Piel and Castle How Castle Sowerby are relatively isolated, Piel Castle on Piel Island and Castle How in the forest, approximately 1.5km from the nearest medieval settlement, although the chance that the site was closely associated with a settlement which failed, and has since disappeared from the landscape should not be dismissed.

---

[8] O.H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes: Power, Community and Fortification in Medieval England,* (London, 2002), p. 195

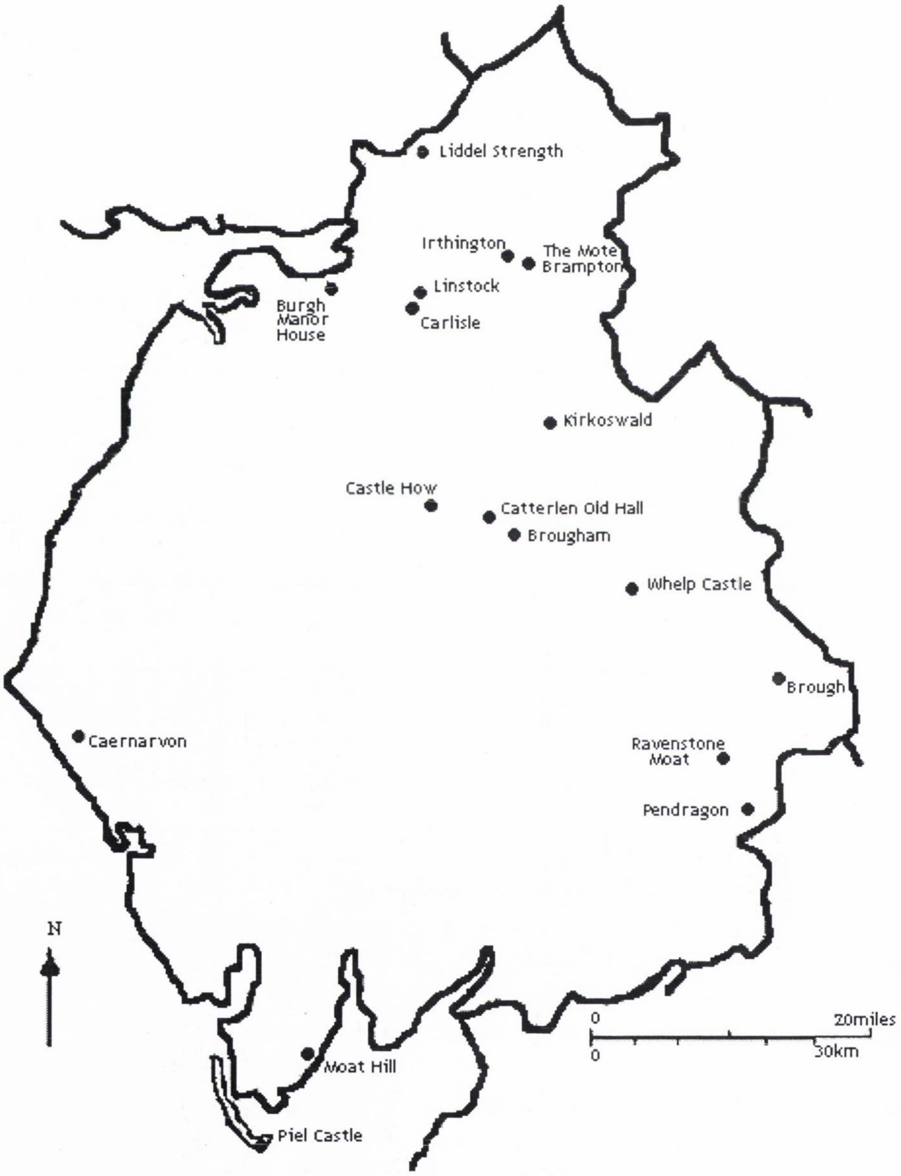


Figure 8.1: Rural Castles of Cumbria. Compiled from the NMR and HER databases.

Rural Settlement

Rural settlement is identified in England by villages, hamlets and farmsteads. Arguments abound in rural settlement history regarding definitions of settlement, much like those in urban history and the definition of a town. Essentially, the difference in settlement classification centres on size. Jones and Page have defined a farmstead as, 'a single dwelling house', a hamlet as 'a small group of farmsteads-of no more than a dozen', and are clustered together, and a village 'has more than a dozen farmsteads, which may be arranged in a cluster, or in a row (nucleated)'.[9] Cumbria lies within the 'Northern and Western Province' settlement zone, as defined by Roberts and Wrathnell.[10] This is characterised by a high level of dispersed settlement (hamlets and farmsteads). Winchester, as noted above, has emphasised the difficulty in identifying rural settlement of the Norman period in Cumbria, due to the lack of documentary source material, as well as the difficulty in establishing the date of villages in the region.[11]

Winchester cites Milburn in the Eden Valley as an example of a planned village of which absolutely nothing can be determined regarding its date. Dufton and Long Marton, also in the Eden Valley, are also planned, but the date of these villages is difficult to determine in light of the destruction caused by Scottish raiding and the village planning which went on in response.[12] The HER records seventy-five villages as a whole in Cumbria, sixty eight of which date to the general Middle Ages and only two of which (Little Asby in Asby, and Gleaston Medieval Village in Aldingham), based on documentary evidence are Norman in date. There are a further sixty-four shrunken villages (villages with unoccupied properties of

---

[9] R. Jones & M. Page, *Medieval Villages in an English Landscape: Beginnings and Ends* (Cheshire, 2006), p. 2

[10] See B.K. Roberts & S. Wrathnell, *An Atlas of Rural Settlement in England* (London, 2000)

[11] A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987), p. 38

[12] A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987), p. 38

medieval date, whose remains are indicated by earthworks, find or documentary evidence) recorded. Fifty nine of those shrunken villages date to the general Middle Ages, none can be dated more specifically. Finally, deserted medieval villages (DMV) have also been recorded by the HER, as well as the Medieval Settlement Research Group. The HER records sixty-six DMVs, of which one is post medieval (1540-1901 A.D.), sixty four are medieval and two are early medieval (410-1066 A.D.) in date. There are none dating to the Norman period (HER classification for dates between 1066 and 1154A.D.), unsurprisingly, but three were deserted during the Plantagenet era (HER classification for dates between 1154 and 1485 A.D.). These three were located at St. Bridget Beckermet, Brougham and Liddel Strength, respectively. Physical remains have only been uncovered at Brougham.

It should be noted that shrunken villages are defined as such if they have fewer than three abandoned houses. If there are more than three abandoned houses the site is classified as a DMV. The fourteenth and fifteenth century are credited with the majority of DMVs. Abandonment could occur because of natural disaster, disease such as the Black Death, animal murrain, soil exhaustion (as a result of the over growing of crops or poor farming techniques) or any manner of regional causes.[13] A common reason for the abandonment of a village, particularly in Cumbria, was related to the evolution of the wool trade. Land for arable farming was taken over in the fourteenth and fifteenth century for pasture for sheep. The villages and tenants, who had worked this land, had nowhere to grow crops, and make a living. Later, in the post medieval era enclosure was also the cause of a considerable amount of the village abandonment.

---

[13] B.F. Harvey, 'The Population Trend in England between 1300 and 1348', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (1966), Fifth Series, vol. 16, p. 23; R. Jones & M. Page, *Medieval Villages in an English Landscape* (Cheshire, 2006) p. 211-220

In terms of gauging the impact or even the relationship between the castle and these medieval rural settlements, little can be done without establishing the date of the various settlements, gaining archaeological proof of seigneurial involvement in village planning or building. A primary source for such interactions, are the manorial documents.

The relationship between castles and rural settlements often refers to nucleated settlements and an associated lordship, but the rural landscape, as it is in Cumbria, can often be characterised by dispersed settlement. Castles, as was the case in the urban landscape, could be imposed on established settlement or be integral to a planned village landscape. These settlements are known as the castle-borough or the planned village. Creighton makes the point, however, that Norman castles, in the initial stages were often sited 'at established central places within the landscape'.[14] Whilst the upper echelons of society had changed with the Norman Conquest, the lower ranks remained the same. The imposition of a new lord could be most effective if it utilised an earlier site. The siting of rural castles was therefore critical. The siting defined the relationship the castle would have with the surrounding landscape, and the dominance the nearby settlement, nucleated or dispersed, could be subject to. Castles could also be found in isolated locations. These were not as common, but they did occur. Liddel Strength is an example of a fairly isolated castle. It, however, appears not to have had any manorial functions, but rather to have been a military outpost.

Rural castles were generally manorial centres, where manorial courts were held and the rural economy managed.[15] The castle in the rural setting often played a

---

[14] O. H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes: Power, Community and Fortification in Medieval England,* (London, 2002), p. 176.

[15] O.H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes: Power, Community and Fortification in Medieval England,* (London, 2002), p. 177.

centralising and organising role, thus village, its inhabitants and the agriculture were focused on the estate centre, on the castle. This can also be seen in the variety of castle-village plan types which existed. As was the case for the urban castle, all shapes of settlement, all functions and sizes can be seen. Linear, clustered and rectangular village plans are some of the variety that can be seen. Creighton has noted, however, that occasionally castles were imposed on settlements. Alstoe Mount in Rutland is a good example of such a relationship.[16] The earthworks were placed upon a hollow-way, cutting off an established route.

Rural settlement and castles had, therefore, a symbiotic relationship in many cases. Each was part of a greater system, most often the manorial economy and had to play their role within it.

Manorial Documents

The Manorial Documents Register, discussed in Chapter 2 is the official repository of all manorial documents based currently in the National Archives. A project of particular relevance to the discussion of rural life in this chapter is the Cumbrian Manorial Records Project. This project is currently underway under the direction of Angus Winchester and Eleanor Straughton (under the auspices of Lancaster University, The National Archives and the Cumbria Archive Service). The project is an immense undertaking, to raise awareness and encourage use of an under utilised resource, the manorial documents of Cumbria. One of the aims is to make available online, in the form of a searchable database all manorial records of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North of Sands.[17] Classes of manorial record have

---

[16] O.H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes: Power, Community and Fortification in Medieval England,* (London, 2002), p. 200

[17] Cumbrian Manorial Records Project, http://www.lancs.ac.uk/fass/projects/manorialrecords/, accessed August 2008

already been identified and discussed in Chapter 2. Among the records, but dating to a later period, outside the sphere of influence for this thesis, are surveys, rentals, perambulations, and terriers of various manors in Cumbria. Many of these have been dated to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Unfortunately, this is too late to be of any certain value for the immediate post Conquest period. The changes wrought after the Scottish raids from the fourteenth century, as well the troubles in the Debatable land, meant changes in boundaries or villages, in manorial life generally cannot be clearly linked to earlier patterns.

The Cumbrian Record Office, at Carlisle, Kendal, Whitehaven and Barrow in Furness, possesses a number of manorial documents from the twelfth and thirteenth century. Whilst many are not particularly relevant, three deeds held in Kendal Record Office amongst the estate records of the Crakenthorpe family of Newbiggin in Westmorland make reference to Whelp Castle in Kirkoswald. Two date to circa 1180 A.D. and the third to circa 1200 A.D. The first deed is a grant from Waldeve son of Gamel son of Whelp of Kirkby Thore (next to Kirkoswald) to Gospatrick his nephew. Waldeve grants him a quarter of his lordship and appurtenances in Kirkby Thore. This deed is in the form of a fifteenth-century copy of the original. The second grant, also by Waldeve, is to Laurence son of the steward of Appleby, Robert. It is a grant of land between Troutbeck and Sowerby, and the King's highway of Carlisle and the Eden. It makes reference to the old castle, and to the vill of Kirkby Thore. The final deed is a confirmation of the second grant, by Alan son of Roland, Constable of Scotland, to John son of Laurence of Newbiggin. This time Whelp's Castle is mentioned specifically by name. This deed survives in the record office in a photocopy of a seventeenth-century document. The original has been lost or stolen from the record office.

Manorial records can serve, therefore to witness and link the seigneurial involvement in the medieval manor. The Cumbrian Manorial Records Project illustrates the difficulty in finding Cumbrian records for particular periods, and will hopefully allow greater ease of access to them.

Forests and Deer Parks

Creighton notes that the 'link between castle and forest was particularly pronounced in Hampshire, where well over 50% of the shire lay within the bounds of forests when they reached their maximum extent in the late twelfth century'.[18] This certainly also appears true for Cumbria during the medieval era, indeed, Stamper remarked that 'The chronology of imparking and disparking, the size and shape of Cumbrian parks and their multi-functional role in the manorial economy all mirror patterns found elsewhere'.[19] The large compact estates of medieval Cumbria must be borne in mind when assessing the forests and deer parks of the region. The effect of such a tenurial pattern was that vast areas of territory were kept by the crown or the barony for hunting. Parks in Cumbria, therefore belonged to either the major baronial lords (including the king) or lesser lords, and parks were established adjacent to a caput castle or in upland areas. Of all the baronies in Cumbria by the late thirteenth century only Wigton and Burgh by Sands did not have a park.[20]

---

[18] O.H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes: Power, Community and Fortification in Medieval England* (London, 2002), p. 186; M. Hughes, 'Hampshire castles and the landscape: 1066-1216', pp. 26-59 *Landscape History,* No. 2, p. 34.

[19] P. Stamper, 'Woods and Parks' in G. Astill & A. Grant (eds), *The Countryside of Medieval England* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 128-48; A.J.L. Winchester, 'Baronial and Manorial Parks in Medieval Cumbria' pp. 165-184 in R. Liddiard (ed), *The Medieval Park: New Perspectives* (Macclesfield, 2007), p. 165.

[20] A.J.L. Winchester, 'Baronial and Manorial Parks in Medieval Cumbria' pp. 165-184 in R. Liddiard (ed), *The Medieval Park: New Perspectives* (Macclesfield, 2007), p. 166.

The significance of parks in the castle landscape can be seen in their perception as a status symbol. The addition of a park to an estate implied wealth but it also suggested a deliberate planning of the estate. Creighton has noted that the creation of a deer park was 'one particularly important way in which a castle lord could restructure the immediate landscape setting of a castle'.[21] The restructuring of a forest or landscape implied the lord had sufficient resources to undertake such an act and the time to hunt game or deer within them. Creighton has identified a number of relationships between deer parks and castles. The most common form of deer park to be found in the Middle Ages was what he calls the 'lobe' or an appended park to the side of the castle. The park at Cockermouth was one such appendage. It spread out from the east of the castle, and was in existence from circa 1259 A.D. There were not just one but two deer parks at Kendal, which swept up along the east of the river and encompassed the castle. Winchester has noted that at least one of the parks at Kendal was in existence by 1279 A.D.[22] The park, however, could have a number of functions. Certainly it could act as a hunting ground for deer and game, as a source of fuel and timber for building, or indeed even as an ornamental setting in which a castle could stand.

The parks of Cumbria in the Middle Ages are largely to do with hunting and were located in upland regions. Winchester has noted that the 'remote valleys, deep in the hills, could be managed as deer forests without the need for enclosed parks to preserve the game'.[23] Winchester remarks that most of the baronial lords had hunting forests in upland areas of the county (Geltsdale, Wasdale, Ennerdale). Most

---

[21] O.H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes: Power, Community and Fortification in Medieval England* (London, 2002), p. 188

[22] A.J.L. Winchester, 'Baronial and Manorial Parks in Medieval Cumbria' pp. 165-184 in R. Liddiard (ed), *The Medieval Park: New Perspectives* (Macclesfield, 2007), p. 168

[23] A.J.L. Winchester, 'Baronial and Manorial Parks in Medieval Cumbria' pp. 165-184 in R. Liddiard (ed), *The Medieval Park: New Perspectives* (Macclesfield, 2007), p. 169

baronies had both upland and lowland territory within its boundaries, and the upland areas suited deer hunting perfectly, with no need for enclosure.[24] Whilst most of these parks and forests (with the exception of Inglewood) were first mentioned in the late thirteenth and fourteenth century, they were in existence earlier in the twelfth century.

---

[24] A.J.L. Winchester, 'Baronial and Manorial Parks in Medieval Cumbria' pp. 165-184 in R. Liddiard (ed), *The Medieval Park: New Perspectives* (Macclesfield, 2007), p. 165.

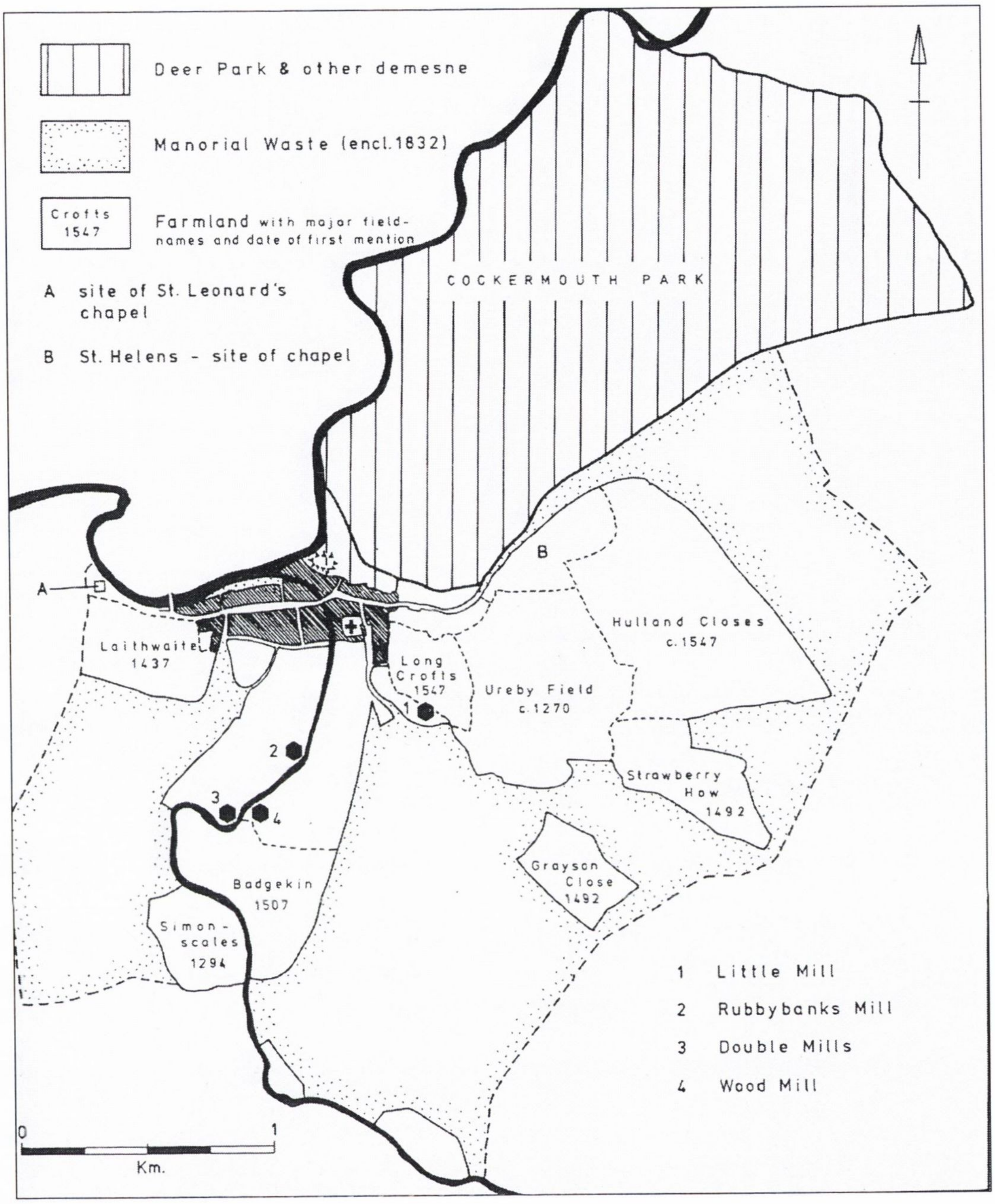


Figure 8.2: Townlands of Cockermouth, including the park, from A.J.L. Winchester, 'Medieval Cockermouth', *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. 86 (Kendal, 1987), p.120

In Cumbria, therefore, the topography of the region and the large size of the estates were conducive to deer parks. Winchester notes that there were parks at Egremont (by 1294 A.D.), Greystoke (by 1339 A.D.), Cockermouth (by 1259 A.D.), Millom (from 1337 A.D.), Kendal (two parks recorded 1274 & 1310 A.D.), Appleby (by 1314 A.D.), Gilsland (by 1383 A.D.) and Naworth (fourteenth century). In total medieval Cumbria boasted over fifty manorial parks.[25] It must also be noted that park could refer both to a deer park and a reserved woodland area.

The royal forest of Cumbria, Inglewood, held vast swathes of land from the south of Carlisle to the river Eden. Inglewood has been noted in the discussion of baronial divisions of land in Chapter 3. Areas of royal forest were subject to forest law and had royally appointed officials who enforced it. Whinfell, attached to Brougham Castle was another large forest in the lowlands of Cumbria.

It is also appropriate to make reference here to the royal charter of 1157-8 A.D. (Carlisle's first) which granted the city permission to take wood from Inglewood Forest (the Royal Forest) for building.[26] Under Forest Law it was an offence to fell a tree within a Royal Forest. It was considered an act against the habitat and sentences were severe. It has been argued that though the Forest Laws were harsh they in fact had the unintentional (probably) effect of slowing down the destruction of this resource.[27] Wood, however, was a primary source of fuel for medieval settlements. It was needed for heating, cooking and as the charter to Carlisle indicated, building. The practices of coppicing, cutting a tree but leaving a certain number of feet that would produce a sprouting stump, and pollarding, cutting the tree higher on trunk,

---

[25] A.J.L. Winchester, 'Baronial and Manorial Parks in Medieval Cumbria' pp. 165-184 in R. Liddiard (ed), *The Medieval Park: New Perspectives* (Macclesfield, 2007), p. 167-8, 170

[26] P. F. Gosling 'Carlisle-An Archaeological Survey of the Historic Town' in P. A. G. Clack & P. F. Gosling, *Archaeology in the North (*1976), p. 168.

[27] C. Young, 'Conservation Policies in the Royal Forests of Medieval England', *Albion,* 10 no. 2 (1978), p. 97

were ways used by foresters to collect wood for daily use.[28] A further source of fuel derived from the forest was charcoal. It was made from timber in the forest and used by monks in the monasteries of Calder, Shap and Furness as fuel for their ores (produced iron from the ores).[29] Winchester has recorded that a common source of fuel by the sixteenth century was peat. He notes, however, that evidence for peat diggings and peat huts is difficult to identify.[30] Fuel was, therefore, difficult to get during the Middle Ages and the granting of privileges and rights by the crown or a baronial lord, allowed fort the safe collection of timber for domestic or industrial needs.

Fishponds

Aston has noted that fishponds indicate consumption of high status fare (fish) at the site with which they are associated. In particular, therefore, they are commonly found near castles.[31]Archaeological remains of fishponds can be recognised in the landscape by 'single rectangular depressions', or 'multiple pond units featuring elaborate sluices, dams, feeder leats, islands and breeding tanks'.[32] Creighton also notes that moats could also act as fishponds.[33] Fishponds which acted as an economic resource were required, generally, only when there was a scarcity of rivers, lakes and ocean access. This can hardly be said to be true in Cumbria.

---

[28] D. Wilson, 'Multi-Use Management of the Medieval Anglo-Norman Forest', *Journal of the Oxford University History Society*, 2004, p. 3.

[29] A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria*, (Edinburgh, 1987), p. 120-1; A. Fell, *The Early Iron Industry of Furness and District* (Ulverston, 1908), p. 14-21.

[30] A.J.L. Winchester, 'Peat Storage Huts in Eskdale', *TCWAAS*, vol. 84 (Kendal, 1984), p. 103-115

[31] M. Aston, (ed), *Medieval Fish, Fisheries and Fishponds,* 2 vols. (Oxford, 1988) BAR Series No. 182

[32] O.H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes: Power, Community and Fortification in Medieval England* (London, 2002), p. 184

[33] O.H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes: Power, Community and Fortification in Medieval England* (London, 2002), p. 184

As a purely economic resource, a fishpond could produce a steady and continuous supply of fresh fish throughout the year. These could be consumed by the castle residents, or indeed sold. The provision of a fishpond for the sole purpose of providing this high status consumable can also be interpreted as a status symbol, an elite display of wealth and power.[34] Fishponds, as the inclusion of two at Shap Abbey testify, were found not just at castles but also at ecclesiastical foundations. The observance of non meat eating days meant a ready supply of fish was necessary in a medieval monastery.

Fishponds also served symbolic functions within the castle landscape. A freshwater pond was relatively easy to manage and acted as a pleasing aesthetic in the designed landscape. Johnson has suggested that 'watery landscapes are in part not so much about specific meanings, but how they come to be symbolic, who gets to 'read' them and why'.[35] Johnson is of course referring not just to fishponds but also larger swathes of water (lakes or rings of water). He notes that there was a symbolism to water and that larger tracts, in particular, act as barriers, keeping those beyond out of the deigned landscape.[36]

Four fishponds dating to between 1154 A.D. and 1485 A.D are recorded by the HER. The fishponds are located at Tarn Wadling in Lazonby/Hesket, Cowp Scar Fish Traps on the Cartmel Peninsula, and two are recorded at Shap Abbey (whether this refers to two sites is not clear). All four lie near religious foundations or granges, suggesting they were for ecclesiastical use. There is also documentary evidence for a fishpond at Burgh Manor House. No physical evidence has been found. Documentary evidence also indicates a fishpond was located at Conishead Priory, and the site of one has been uncovered in Ravenstonedale. Both of these

---

[34] L. Doran & J. Lyttleton, *Lordship in medieval Ireland: image and reality* (Dublin, 2007), p. 208.
[35] M. Johnson, *Behind the Castle Gate* (London, 2002), p. 19
[36] M. Johnson, *Behind the Castle Gate* (London, 2002), p. 19

have a generalised medieval date assigned to them, and description of field assessments makes the date no clearer. 'Amorphous earthworks' have been noted by the NMR at Furness Abbey and may be the site of fishponds. Substantial damage, however, caused by the construction of the railway in the valley, as well the presence of the diverted Mill Beck mean that it is possible that the earthworks are a waterlogged impression or possibly fishponds are located beneath them.

The use of fishponds as physical barriers has also been noted by Jones and Page. Unlike Johnson's watery landscapes, which keept the lower orders outside, the use of extensive fishponds possibly for 'preventing the expansion of settlement in this direction' has been noted at Silverstone, Northants.[37] The opposite end of the village a pottery kiln, located possibly for the same reason. Fishponds, therefore, can be both economic and status symbols, provide food or act as a barrier. In the case of the castles under review in this thesis, unfortunately known have evidence of a fishpond directly associated with the castle. Cockermouth, Carlisle, Kendal, Brough, Brougham, Liddel Strength and Appleby are all located on rivers. This may have been strategic, but it also allowed for travel and the transport of goods along the river. The castle could also oversee traffic on the route. Fishponds, in these cases, had they existed must surely have been status symbols, declarations of wealth and privilege.

Medieval roads and Tracks

Another aspect of the rural, and indeed the urban landscape, was roads and tracks. With the growth in population, the development of towns, and the economy, the need for a good road system and the ability to transport goods easily, was high

---

[37] R. Jones & M. Page, *Medieval Villages in an English Landscape: Beginnings and Ends* (Cheshire, 2006), p. 117

during the Middle Ages. As has been remarked the Roman routes through Cumbria were still in existence and use by the time of the Conquest. The creation of castles at Brough and Appleby, along the main Roman route south, was a tactical decision, to guard the route in times of Scottish or Northumbrian incursion. Whilst archaeology and documentary evidence provide much of the information for establishing which routes were of medieval date, medieval maps also provide a valuable source of information. Matthew Paris, a monk in St. Albans, is renowned for four maps he drew circa 1250 A.D. All four maps were based on an itinerary from Dover to Newcastle. Cumbria is illustrated on the map, version A, and the main artery identified by Matthew Paris, in Cumbria, is the route through the Eden Valley, the old Roman road. On the Gough Map of 1360 A.D. approximately 4730 km of roads are shown.[38] Two main arteries from Yorkshire are visible, as well routes from the coastal settlements in towards the centre, the Lake District. Clearly, the Roman routes were still in use, were well known, and indeed this main artery up to Carlisle is the one followed to this day, which speaks to the importance of the route. The HER has recorded seven roads for the Middle Ages for Cumbria, six of which have Roman origins. The seventh, a dispersed settlement with a roadway to the east, lies in the middle of the Lake District, between Ambleside and Coniston. It was not related to any of the castles under discussion.

---

[38] P. Hindle, *Medieval Roads and Tracks* (Oxford, 2008), p. 31

Figure 8.3 Map of the British Isles by Matthew Paris, c. 1250 A.D. Held in the held in the British Library (Cotton MS Claudius D. vi)

Of the castles under discussion in this thesis, two in particular, Brough and Appleby, have major roads pass nearby. As discussed, the siting of Appleby Castle within the loop of the river Eden meant it was off the main route, the Roman road a mile to the east, a popular invasion route from the north.[39] Appleby was sited in the loop of the river for defensive reasons. This is clear as the location of the town and castle actually suffered from being off the main thoroughfare, a central road through the Eden Valley. At Brough a similar story was told. In this case the castle and church are located in Church Brough and the separate town of Market Brough evolved by the main artery. The main route was the Stainmore Road, which ran from Carlisle to the Scotch corner and was a trading route of importance from pre-historic times. As Hindle has noted 'at the start of the medieval period, with the imposition of the feudal system, peasants were not free to leave their manor permanently'.[40] The roads, therefore, were for the merchants and lords, moving from one town or estate, even country, to another. An excellent example of the use of roads in the period under discussion in this thesis, are the trading routes which established in the twelfth century during the silver boom. The Alston silver mines were discovered circa 1125 A.D.[41] The thirty year boom period which followed their discovery has been noted for its impact on Carlisle. It brought new merchants to the city, who in turn developed Carlisle into an economic centre. In addition to the dealing done in Carlisle, silver was also sent out. The Roman road which ran from coast to coast saw trade routes established between Carlisle and Newcastle,

---

[39] J.E. Prescott, (ed), *The Register of the Priory of Wetheral,* TCWAAS Record Series Vol. I (London, 1897) Appendix A p.474-5.

[40] P. Hindle, *Medieval Roads and Tracks* (Oxford, 2008), p. 8.

[41] I. Blanchard, 'Lothian and beyond: the economy of the 'English empire of David I'', in R. Brinall & J. Hatcher, eds. *Progress and Problems in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 25.

Jedburgh, Roxburgh, Berwick and further north to Edinburgh and even Perth.[42] Blanchard has based his tracing of the trade routes on the coinage finds from the reign of David I which have been located all along the route. The Roman road from Burgh by Sands also saw 'Flemings, Gaels and Franks' bringing goods to Carlisle and beyond to sell. The silver boom was of great benefit to Carlisle and its hinterland, but also to its castle which stood at the centre of all the economic and administrative developments. The presence of the reuse of the Roman road was central to the success of the mining boom from Alston.

The castles located in this thesis have been located along the central arteries of Cumbria which remained from the Roman times. Settlement, including seigniorial settlement, was located around the edge of the Lake District and through the Eden Valley. The castles, as was noted above, were mainly built on or near rivers. These served as main arteries through Cumbria, as did the sea. The Roman roads encircled the Lake District and ran the length of the Eden Valley from Carlisle to the south. Certainly, the topography of Cumbria played a role in the location of the castle sites, as it had done in the Roman period when the roads were built. These roads continued through the Middle Ages as the most direct routes for all travellers, be they lords, tax collectors, invasion forces or merchants. The siting of Appleby, Egremont, Brough and even Liddel Strength allowed the lord of the castle to control the traffic be it on land or water.

---

[42] I. Blanchard, 'Lothian and beyond: the economy of the 'English empire of David I'', in R. Brinall & J. Hatcher, eds. *Progress and Problems in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 34-5.

Case Studies

Brougham

Brougham Castle is located in the barony of Westmorland. The castles of Brough and Appleby are nearby, and these three, with Pendragon Castle acted as watchtowers, or sentries along the Eden Valley route into the kingdom of England from the northwest. The history of the castle, dating from the end of the twelfth century, or the very beginning of the thirteenth, is tied to that of Brough and Appleby, and the baronial lords of Westmorland (Appleby). The creation of the castle is linked, depending on its date to either Hugh de Morville, murderer of Becket, or Robert de Veteripont. If it was Hugh de Morville, the keep would have been constructed circa 1170 A.D. before the murder and the subsequent forfeit of his lands. Robert de Veteripont was granted the barony of Appleby by King John circa 1203 A.D. and it is equally possible the keep belongs to him. The site of the castle was a Roman fort which guarded the crossing of the nearby river Eamont. The castle itself is a keep and courtyard castle. The curtain walls were built later in the thirteenth century. The keep itself is four storeys high, and measures approximately 13 m by 14 m, with walls of 3.3 m thickness. A gatehouse was added at the end of the thirteenth century, as was the fourth storey, circa 1300 A.D. The licence to crenellate was granted in 1309 A.D. to Robert Clifford.

Brougham Castle is in an isolated location. It is situated within the Roman fort and by the crossing point of the river, indicating a military function was dominant in the mind of the castle builder. In the seventeenth century Lady Anne Clifford transformed it into a country house. Few if any other medieval features have been noted by the NMR and HER in relation to the castle.

The Mote, Brampton

The earthwork at Brampton is a twelfth- or thirteenth-century motte castle. The motte itself is located on a ridge and is oval in shape. The NMR records a summit plateau of circa 36 m by 18 m, with an encircling ditch circa 5 m wide and a maximum of 3 m deep. The place-name of Brampton was first mentioned circa 1169 A.D. in the Lanercost Cartulary. The church at Brampton was given as a gift to the monks of Lanercost Priory in the dedication charter of the priory.[43] This has been identified by Robinson as 'Old Church Brampton', located by the remains of the Roman fort at Old Brampton.[44] This area around the fort was the centre of earlier human activity and possibly settlement. The HER records a deserted medieval village on the site of Old Church Bramtpon.[45] The HER also records several Romano-British farmsteads near Brampton itself and the Roman Road, the Stanegate, runs close by. Brampton's location, in Gilsland meant it suffered from Scottish raids in the later years. The lords of Gilsland located their caput at nearby Irthington, but as has been noted above, it was the church at Brampton which Robert de Vallibus granted to the monks of Lanercost when he founded the priory.

It should be noted that technically Brampton is an urban site, holding as it did a borough charter, however, the fabric of the town bears little indication that the market led to widespread prosperity or any long term growth of the town. For this reason it has been considered a rural site.

---

[43] J.M. Todd, (ed), *The Lanercost Cartulary (Cumbria County Record Office MS DZ/1),* CWAAS Record Series XI & Surtees Society 203 (Gateshead, 1997), p. 51, Document 1.

[44] J. Robinson, 'Notes on Old Brampton Church', *TCWAAS,* New Series, Vol. 82 (Kendal, 1982), pp. 73.

[45] HER, 'Brampton Old Church Deserted Medieval Village', No. 248, HER database, Cumbria County Council, Kendal Office.

Pendragon

The keep or tower house at Pendragon is ascribed to circa 1170-73 A.D. After 1171 A.D. the lands and castles of Westmorland barony were forfeit to the crown. Certainly the HER supports the twelfth-century date. As can be assumed, from the mention of the name Hugh de Morville, Pendragon Castle was one of the four sentry castles of Westmorland. Pendragon Castle lay in the Mallerstang Valley and guarded the pass across the Pennines. The tower house was enlarged circa 1300 A.D. but burnt by the Scots in 1341 A.D. It was rebuilt shortly thereafter, only to be burnt again in 1541 A.D. at which point it was left to decay.[46] The walls of the tower are substantial, at 2.5m thick and 8m high. It is 20m square in area. A ditch lies on the side opposite the river and the presence of a steep incline create the effect of a circular enclosure around the castle. No other medieval features have been reported in the area. The name of the castle, Pendragon, is drawn from a legend which claims that it is where Uther Pendragon, father of King Arthur, died.

Moat Hill Aldingham

A rescue excavation was undertake at Moat Hill, Aldingham 1968. It was discovered that the site had two castle phases. Firstly a ringwork phase dating to the twelfth century was noted and followed by a motte castle in the thirteenth century. It was never, however, finished. Little, therefore, beyond the physical site itself is known. The motte is 9 m high, and has a ditch at its base 3 m deep and 6 m wide. The summit of the motte is 31 m in diameter. The dating of the two phases would suggest that Michael le Fleming, who held half of the Furness peninsula, in the

---

[46] *Calendar of Chancery Warrants,* 1244-1326, H.C.M. Lyte, ed. (London, 1927), p291.

twelfth century, may have been responsible for transforming the ringwork, by infilling it.

Brief accounts of the other rural sites will follow, however, it should be noted there is very little information about them, entries will thus be brief, and should not be taken as case studies.

Burgh by Sands Manor House

As noted previously the manor house is located on the site of a Roman turret. No extant remains survive. An excavation in 1948-50 by Hogg, under the auspices of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, identified the fortified manor house on the site. The location would suggest a capital messuage for the lords of Burgh by Sands, but no substantial evidence exists.

Castle Hill, Maryport

Excavations on the castle site are recorded in the CWAAS for the early part of the twentieth century, but more extensive work needs to be done. The site is classified as a ringwork, lying on a natural ridge overlooking the crossing point of the river. No extant remains of what lay within the ringwork are visible, but HER staff believe they may lie under the surface.

Caernarvon Castle

This is believed to be the site of a castle of Michael le Fleming. Excavations in 1958 and 1963 have not had their findings published, so little is known. The HER link it with an earthwork at Coneygarth Cop and have classified it a motte and bailey.

Cathcart King rejects it entirely as a castle. It is believed to have been abandoned circa 1250 A.D. The site has been ploughed, leaving little to find.

Whelp Castle

The castle is located in the parish of Kirkby Thore in the barony of Appleby. It is known only through documentary sources dating to between 1199 and 1225 A.D. These sources have been cited in the main body of this chapter. Allegedly the castle was built in the site of the roman fort Bravoniacum, from stone on the site.

Kirkoswald Castle

The extant castle remains date to the fourteenth century. The original castle was a quadrangular castle, which was enlarged in the fifteenth century. The site is known to have housed an earlier castle, due in the main to a licence to crenellate, granted to Hugh de Morville, by King John in 1201 A.D.[47] The moat is still visible and dates from this phase of the site.

Irthington Motte

Earthwork remains on this site indicate a possible twelfth-century motte castle. There is no visible bailey. Two more mounds are located in the vicinity. Great confusion has meant that all three have at various points thought to have been the twelfth-century castle.

---

[47] T.D. Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati 1199-1216* (Record Commission, 1837), p89.

Castle How Castle Sowerby

This site is recorded by Perriam and Robinson as a natural feature.[48] The HER records that by the time of the reign of Edward I this site had no extant remains and it was known only as a name. They conclude it was not likely to have been a castle site. The 'castellum de Sourebi' appears in the Pipe Rolls for 1186 A.D. but it is not thereafter mentioned.

Catterlen Old Hall

The HER note earthworks on the site, which they interpret as a site which may pre-date the current hall. The earthworks, a building platform suggest a tower house. The site may be of the twelfth century.

Ravenstone Moat

No excavation report of the site has been located. The site is classified as a pre-1150 manor house.

---

[48] D.R. Perriam, & J. Robinson, *The Medieval fortified buildings of Cumbria: an illustrated gazetteer and research guide* (CWAAS Extra Series Vol. 29) (Kendal, 1998), p. 198.

Chapter 9
Conclusions

Introduction

The focus of this thesis has been to consider the castles within the context of the social and geographical landscape of Cumbria, during the period 1066-1250 A.D. A specific county was chosen in order to define clearly the region in question. This was particularly necessary in light of the political and military history of Cumbria. The region itself was chosen as it represents a distinct sphere of Norman activity, similar to the Welsh Marches or the Invasion Coast. As an entity Cumbria retained a patent sense of self, in spite of successive invasions, and ongoing border warfare. This would in turn affect the experience of the Normans in the region.

An interdisciplinary approach had been utilised, combining historical, archaeological and topographical data to create a more comprehensive and rounded perception of the role of the castle in the varying landscapes of the medieval world.

The concept behind this thesis is the landscape history approach developed by Hoskins and Beresford. The aim of the approach is to recognise that by integrating different approaches and disciplines a deeper understanding, and a new appreciation for a site can develop.

One major difficulty faces any student of Cumbrian history, the dearth of documentary evidence. By examining primary and secondary information concerning the history of Cumbria, and the wider period with which this thesis was concerned, a vast range of sources were investigated. This literature review clearly showed that resources do exist. A particularly useful resource was the publications of the Cumberland Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society. With extreme caution the work of antiquarians on the region was approached.

Antiquarian material proved to be a useful resource and one that is often undervalued. It must be noted, however, that all antiquarian information must be verified by independent sources.

Regional Landscape

This research has shown that the region of Cumbria is itself a varied landscape, both geographically and socially. The character of the topography has impacted every aspect of life in this region, including the castle landscape. Certainly it was in the twelfth century when castle building came to the fore in this region. The spectacle created by edifices such as Carlisle, Egremont, Cockermouth, Appleby, Brough, Brougham, and Kendal indicate the importance of the symbolic representation of Norman authority. These impressive castle sites were carefully situated and towered in the landscape, ensuring maximum visibility and dramatic impact. There can be no doubt that the castles of the Eden Valley in particular were sited and built with the defence of the region in mind. The valley was the most direct route for Scottish armies on route to Yorkshire. The variety of castle sites in Cumbria during this period reflects the trends in castle building that were occurring across England at the time. But, just as not all castles were military machines in the south, neither was the tenurial landscape represented here, in the form of moated sites and fortified houses. The life of the castle in the north represented the consolidation of Norman authority and the development of an Anglo-Norman society. With Cumbria, however, the distinct nature of the region itself impacted greatly upon Norman authority, with the result that native and Norman came to share the same space.

Political Landscape

Whilst political historians seem loathe to acknowledge the importance of archaeology in understanding the past, it is a necessity when dealing with medieval Cumbria. In utilising an interdisciplinary approach, the descent of baronies and hence of their castles and the chronology of their building work, can be established. From viewing the political landscape of Cumbria through the lens of the castle the shape of medieval Cumbrian society becomes clear. The importance of the compact lordships established under William Rufus and Henry I cannot be underestimated. They underpinned every facet of Cumbrian life, particularly the political. As seigneurial capita emerged in these lordships every aspect of Cumbrian life was drawn into them, from the church to the farmer tending his animals, a measure of control was evident.

What is also evident from the picture of political life in Cumbria which emerges through the experience of the castle dwellers is the remoteness of Cumbria. During the twelfth century and part of the thirteenth century baronial lords made a concerted effort to establish and base themselves in their estates in Cumbria. By the turn of the thirteenth century and on through the fourteenth century absentee lordism was on the increase. Perhaps, for Normans like Ranulf le Meschin the challenge of living and governing in the north after the years of conquest and consolidation was an exciting challenge which was vigorously pursued. But the ongoing and increasing threat of the Scots, the poverty of the region and even the prevailing political climate, saw many lords return to lands in the south, nearer to the centres of power. Intermarriage, and the acquisition of a baronial seat or manor through a spouse seems to have been an established and sought after method of furthering position in Cumbria at this time, as it was in the rest of the country, though perhaps not on as intimate a geographic basis.

Ecclesiastical Landscape

In viewing the castle in the medieval landscape, traditional relationships were to be expected. Patronage and the founding of monasteries were as common in the northwest as in the south of the country. The two theories considered in Chapter Six, however, were aimed at creating a new understanding of castle/church relations. It can be concluded that Dickinson's suggestion that Henry I had a specific policy of utilising the church as a political tool, a stabilising force in a conflict ridden area, was overstating the issue. The introduction of a bishopric at Carlisle and the associated ecclesiastical administration which followed were not ploys to secure the region. It could be said that they acted in some way to consolidate the area, managing to retain the ecclesiastical control of the English church over Cumbria during its annexation to Scotland. The brief assessment of le Maho's theory of church/castle site dependence in practice in Cumbria did not appear to support the findings of both le Maho and Pound.

The importance of assessing the relationship between church and castle is one which has in the last twenty years been increasingly advanced. Aston's *Monasteries in the Landscape* opened up new avenues of investigation, ones which have in the work of Creighton and Liddiard, in particular, been well established. Their works of course favour urban and rural landscapes respectively.

Urban Landscapes

The conclusions reached from this chapter include the need for a greater synthesis in the definition of the term urban. The example of Cumbria, its castles and towns, differs greatly to those in the rest of the country. Cumbria was not, in spite of the presence of borough charters in so many towns, urban. The so-called urban economy was rurally driven. The patterns of town foundation tended to favour heavily the castle borough, perhaps unsurprising in an unstable region.

Developments in landscape history are increasingly favouring the urban landscape. This does not, however meet the needs presented by Cumbria nor would a rural settlement approach. Recent research on town walls has not pushed the argument far enough. The experience of the market town needs to be discussed more widely.

Rural Settlement

The rural landscape of Cumbria, whilst seemingly obvious, is difficult to establish due to the lack of documentary evidence for the years before 1300 A.D. The rural castles of the region are in extreme need of archaeological survey and excavation. The dominance of unsubstantiated dating claims for the castles of the region is one that needs to be looked at seriously. Similarly to the rest of England, the trappings of rural lordship also made their way to Cumbria. Recent research in the landscapes of castles has focused on the deer parks and hunting forests of the rural landscape. This trend could meet no better resource than medieval Cumbria where hunting grounds and deer parks appear to proliferate.

Future Research

The survey and excavation of rural castles in Cumbria must be a priority. The ongoing reassessment of site type classification on the part of the NMR and HER must be given a physical basis from which to grow. Before this can happen, however, the generalised site definitions which are given by the NMR and adopted by the HER for their own record are woefully unacceptable and need to be revised. The confusion created by the use of pele tower, tower house, fortified house and needs to be rectified from the top down. Certainly the assignment of multiple and similar classification types to castle sites prevents a clear picture of castle landscapes from emerging.

Whilst a more interdisciplinary approach is currently in fashion, a distinct methodology has yet to emerge. The growth of landscape history as a research tool has been comprehensive, with the approach utilised on a variety of site types and monuments. But, the lack of an overall accepted methodological practice makes comparison of results and the development of the approach near impossible.

Appendix One

Gazetteer

Guide to Gazetteer

Castle sites mentioned in this thesis appear in this appendix. They are recorded under 11 headings. Those sites designated primary sites (for the purposes of this thesis) are those whose foundation dates conclusively to the period 1066-1250 A.D.

Name of Site: This is the common appellation applied to the site and found in the sources. Occasionally more than one name is given where the site is known under multiple titles. Some sites do not have specific appellations and so are referred to by typological titles (e.g. Motte, Chapel etc).

Parish: Refers to the modern parish in which the site lies.

Medieval Barony: This refers to the barony or seigniorial estate in which the site lay during the period 1066-1250 A.D.

HER/ Listed Building/ NMR Entry: The Historic Environment Record, the Listed Building Database and the National Monuments Record are registers of sites of historical note. The HER is a local, county specific record, whilst the Listed Building and National Monument Record are national catalogues. The HER entry number is given where available, as this generally provides more accurate, up to date information. When an HER entry is not available the Listing Building or NMR entry number is given.

Classification: All sites within the text are classified under a specific typological characterisation. These are Castle, Fortified Manor House, Keep, Motte, Motte and Bailey, Pele Tower, Ringwork, Tower House. The classification is based on the dominant form the site held during the period in question.

Site Description: Entries are described briefly under this section. Descriptions are based on the documentary and archaeological evidence available. Dating is given where feasible.

Location (Grid Reference): Ordnance Survey Landranger Grid References are given for all sites.

Sources: Sources given are those major sources used throughout the main body of the text. The bibliography will identify other sources that do not fall under this category.

Archaeological Sources: This section identifies the type, if any, of archaeological excavation or survey undertaken since 1900 A.D. Excavators, surveyors and dates are all given where possible, as are published works associated with these undertakings.

Plan of Site: Plans of the sites are given where possible. Original authors and sources are referenced where necessary.

Photos: Photos of the sites are given where possible for the key sites mentioned in the thesis. Photos will be located at the end of the Gazetteer as a series of plates. All photos were taken by the author unless stated otherwise.

The information in this appendix is compiled from the following sources:

- Cathcart-King, D.J., *Castellarium Anglicanum: An Index and Bibliography of the Castles of England, Wales and the Islands,* 2 vols. (London, 1983)
- Curwen, J.F., *The Castles and Fortified Towers of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North of the Sands, together with a brief Historical Account of Border Warfare* (Kendal, 1913) CWAAS Extra series, vol. xiii
- Historic Environment Record (HER) for both Cumbria and the Lake District National Park Authority, formerly Sites and Monuments record (SMR)
- National Monuments Record (NMR)
- Perriam, D.R., & Robinson, J., *The Medieval Fortified Buildings of Cumbria,* CWAAS Extra Series, Vol. xxix (1998)
- Pevsner, N., *The Buildings of England: Cumberland and Westmorland* (Penguin, Great Britain, 1967)

Name of Site: Caesar's Tower, Appleby Castle

Parish: Appleby-in- Westmorland

Medieval Barony: Appleby **HER Entry:** 1709

Classification: Stone Keep

Site Description: The first castle at this location was an earthwork castle, either a motte and bailey or a ringwork and bailey. A stone keep was constructed by Hugh de Morville c. 1136 A.D. The keep is currently four storeys high and surrounded by impressive outer earthworks. A curtain wall was also added. The castle at Appleby is linked with the foundation of the town itself. A deer park is mentioned from 1316 on.

Location (Grid Reference): NY 685199

Sources:
The Register of the Priory of Wetheral (1897) p. 474-5
Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle (1981) p.108-11
Cathcart King (1983) p. 489
Curwen (1913) pp. 75-80; 454
Perriam & Robinson (1998) pp. 252-254
Pevsner (1967) p. 33, 219

Archaeological Sources:
Archaeological /Assessment/National Trust/1994
Evaluation/Centre for Field Archaeology/Jan 1999 – 18 trenches excavated. None of the evidence suggested the presence of medieval occupation within the area although post medieval artefacts were recovered.
Register of Parks and Gardens no.1650

Plan of site: 1863 First Edition Ordnance Survey Map Westmorland

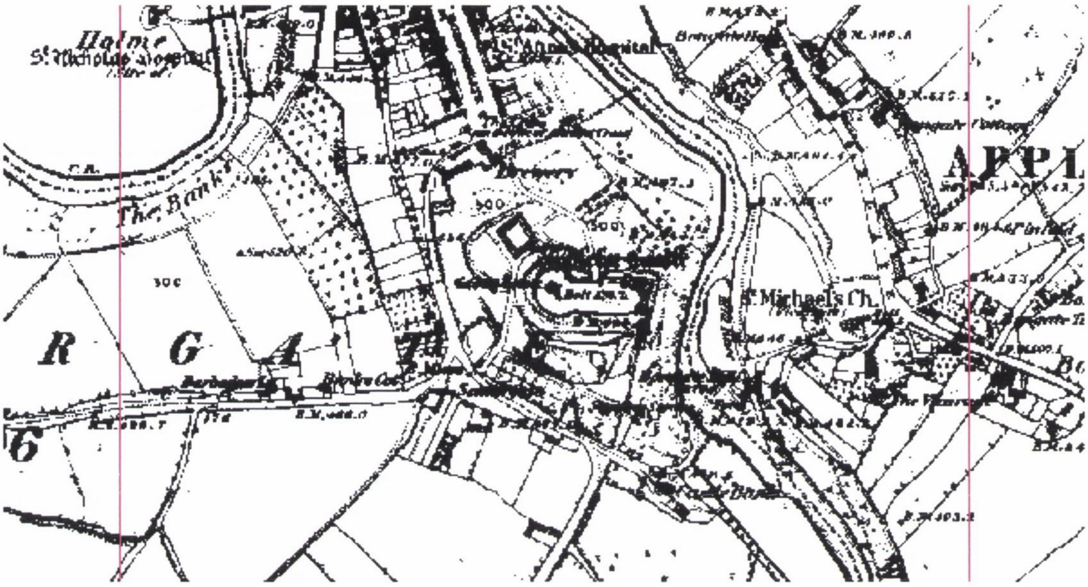


Photo: See Plate 1

Name of Site: Brough Castle **Parish:** Brough

Medieval Barony: Appleby **HER Entry:** 1767

Classification: Stone Castle, motte & bailey

Site Description: The medieval castle lies within the Roman fort of Verterae. Traditionally Brough is dated to circa 1100 A.D. with a rebuilding towards the end of the twelfth century due to the destruction of the castle by the Scots in 1174 A.D. Probable motte and bailey castle on the site, dating to William Rufus' circa 1095 A.D.

Location (Grid Reference): NY 791141

Sources:
Cathcart King (1983) p. 491
Curwen (1913) pp. 81-86
Perriam & Robinson (1998) pp. 262-263
Pevsner (1967) p. 33, 231-2

Archaeological Sources: Excavations occurred in 1923-4 and 1954 (Birley). A survey was undertaken in 1993 of the ditch, and watch briefs were placed on the castle in 1993 and 1997. Major entries can be found in TCWAAS vol. 58, Medieval Archaeology 1994 and in the full report of Northern Archaeological Associates.

Plan of site: none

Photo: See plates 2 & 3

Name of Site: Brougham Castle **Parish:** Brougham

Medieval Barony: Appleby **HER Entry:** 2887

Classification: Stone Castle

Site Description: This moated castle and keep is dated to circa 1203-28 A.D. It is sited on a flood plain of the River Eamont.

Location (Grid Reference): NY 537290

Sources:
Cathcart King (1983) p. 491
Curwen (1913) pp. 87-94, 455
Perriam & Robinson (1998) pp. 264-265
Pevsner (1967) pp. 33, 232-4

Archaeological Sources: Excavations were carried out in 1987 (Williams… see CWAAS 92) and 1997 by the Lancaster University Archaeological Unit and the Carlisle Archaeological Unit respectively. A survey was undertaken by the RCHME in 1990-1991 for English Heritage (Trueman).
Full survey/HBMC/1985
Field obs/RCHME/1995

Plan of site: None

Photo: Plate 4

Name of Site: Burgh Manor House **Parish:** Burgh by Sands

Medieval Barony: Burgh by Sands **HER Entry:** 412

Classification: Motte, Fortified Manor House, Pele Tower

Site Description: A mid thirteenth century manor house with hall, and possible pele tower. Traces of possible twelfth century curtain wall. This is the probable site of a Norman motte and bailey.

Location (Grid Reference): NY314592

Sources:
Curwen (1913) p. 20
King (1983) vol. I, p. 94
Perriam & Robinson (1998) p. 64
CWAAS (2), Vol. liv, pp.105-18

Archaeological Sources:
Excavation 1950 CWAAS
Geophysical Survey 1991 Geophysical Surveys of Bradford

Plan of site: none

Photo: none

Name of Site: Caernarvon Castle, Coneygarth Cop **Parish:** St. John Beckermet

Medieval Barony: Copeland **HER Entry:** 1249

Classification: Earthwork (Motte and Bailey)

Site Description: Recorded as either a motte and bailey or a moated mound. The HER refers to it as a rectangular earthwork circa 91 m × 77 m with a surrounding ditch of circa 11 m wide. The earthwork is located on a hill. Curwen records it as the seat of the le Fleming family. The site was apparently abandoned circa 1250 A.D.

Location (Grid Reference): NY 021073

Sources:
Cathcart King (1983) p. 96 (Rejects it as an artificial construct. Does not consider this site to be a motte and bailey)
Curwen (1913) p. 21-2 (Records it as a motte and bailey); 361 (citing the building of Coniston Hall as the abandoning of Caernarvon Castle).
Perriam & Robinson (1998) p. 99
Pevsner (1967) p. 66

Archaeological Sources: Ordnance Survey trenches, according to the HER, identified palisading and undressed stones.

Plan of site: None

Photo: None

Name of Site: Carlisle Castle **Parish:** Carlisle

Medieval Barony: Carlisle **HER Entry:** 5636

Classification: Stone Castle

Location (Grid Reference): NY 396562

Site Description: A castle at Carlisle dates originally to 1092 A.D. and the coming of William Rufus. This castle was possibly a motte and bailey, although no physical remains exist. Further construction was carried out in the twelfth century and the keep is thought to date to the c.1120s. Henry I ordered the fortification of Carlisle with a castle and towers and it is likely this marked the first phase of the stone castle. The castle is comprised of an inner (roughly triangular) and outer bailey, curtain walls and a substantial gatehouse. Carlisle Castle was besieged on a number of occasions throughout the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as well as in 1401 and 1536 A.D.

Sources:
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle version 'E', entry for 1092 A.D.
Symeon of Durham, Chronicle, ii, 267
Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle of the War between theEnglish and the Scots in 1173 and 1174
Cathcart King (1983) p.83
Curwen (1913) p. 95-110
Perriam and Robinson (1998) pp.69-71
Pevsner (1967) p.33, 98-99

Archaeological Sources:
In 1987 survey work was undertaken on Ireby Tower. A Roman altar stone was discovered. Carlisle Castle has been excavated a number of times, with major excavations occurring in 1988, 1989 and 1994 (in the Half Moon Battery, Outer Ditch and Gallipoli). Further watching briefs took place in 1979, 1993, 2001 and 2003. Published works looking at the excavations and surveys have been published by Carlisle Archaeology Ltd, Carlisle Archaeological Unit and English Heritage, respectively.
Reports of interest include:

- 1/04/1233 (Report Number) 2004, Tree-Ring analysis of timbers from Carlisle Castle, AJ Arnold, RE Howrd & CD Litton.
- Unpublished client report, contracted by English heritage and held by Cumbria County Council HER. This is English Heritage Archaeology Report no.18

Plan of site: None

Photo: Plate 5

Name of Site: Castle Hill Motte **Parish:** Maryport

Medieval Barony: Copeland **HER Entry:** 827

Classification: Motte

Location (Grid Reference): NY 033362

Site Description: Located south of Maryport overlooking the River Ellen. The site is a motte surrounded by a ditch on three sides and a steep incline down to the river on the third. It has been dated to the twelfth century. A World War II gun emplacement was placed on the summit of the motte.

Sources:
Cathcart King (1983) p. 88
Curwen (1913) p. 41
Perriam & Robinson (1998) p. 19

Plan of site:

1867 First Edition Ordnance Survey Map

Photo: None

Name of Site: Castle How Motte **Parish:** Castle Sowerby

Medieval Barony: Inglewood **HER Entry:** 896

Classification: Motte

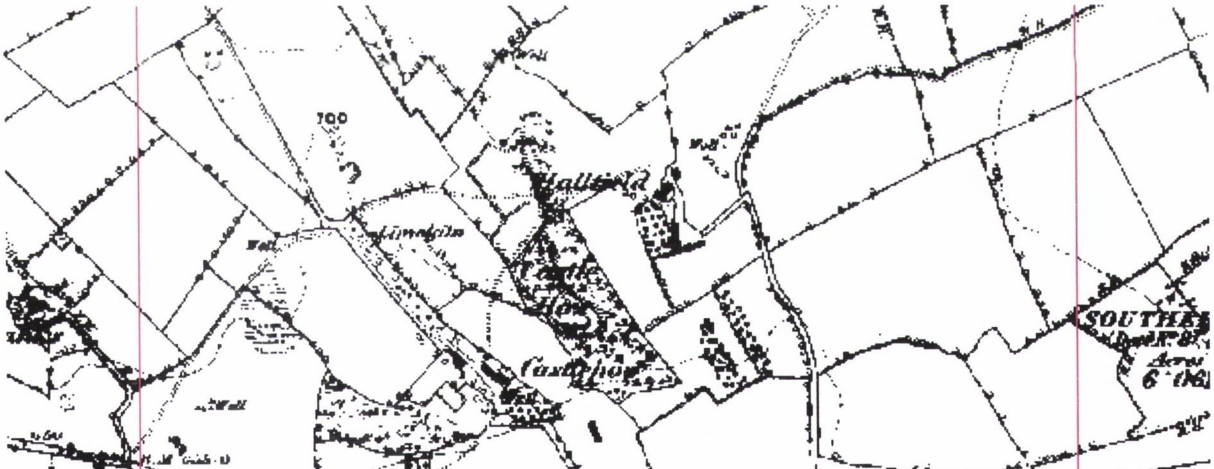
Site Description: The HER records this site as unlikely to have been a medieval castle. Cathcart King suggests it is the site of 'Castle Sowerby' mentioned in the Pipe Rolls of Henry II, but was possibly unfinished. All that remains is an earthwork.

Location (Grid Reference): NY 360384

Sources:
Cathcart King (1983) p. 83
Perriam & Robinson (1998) p. 198

Archaeological Sources:
Aerial Photograph: CCC 3008, 10

Plan of site:



1867-8 First Edition Ordnance Survey map

Photo: None

Name of Site: Castle Howe **Parish:** Kendal

Medieval Barony: Kendal **HER Entry:** 2077

Classification: Motte and Bailey

Site Description: A possible precursor to Kendal Castle (erected circa 1184 A.D.). It is located on a hillside overlooking the town of Kendal. It was possibly constructed later in the eleventh century and is a possible location for the caput of Ketel, son of Eldred in 1092 A.D. The position is strategic and aided by a ditch on the northern and southern sides.

Location (Grid Reference): SD 512923

Sources:
Cathcart King (1983) p. 492
Curwen (1913) pp. 30-1; 145 (named as predecessor to Kendal Castle)
Perriam & Robinson (1998) p. 335

Archaeological Sources: An excavation took place in 1951-2 under the direction of J.E. Spence. An account of this excavation can be seen in the TCWAAS vol. 51, p. 185-6

Plan of site: None

Photo: Plate 6

Name of Site: Catterlen Old Hall **Parish:** Catterlen

Medieval Barony: Inglewood **HER Entry:** 5862

Classification: Tower House

Site Description: Remains of a twelfth century tower house lie near a fortified tower built in circa 1460 A.D. Remains of a building platform are visible, though grass covered. Foundations of the tower can be identified at the northern end. The HER record the remains of a cross hall and southern wing. Documentary evidence suggests a construction date circa 1170 A.D. by John Vaux, Knight of Catterlen.

Location (Grid Reference): NY 477321

Sources:
Register of the Priory of Wetheral (1897) p.418
Curwen (1913) p.359 (Brief reference not a full entry)
Perriam & Robinson (1998) p. 198 (entry for Catterlen Hall
with reference to possible remains of previous site)

Archaeological Sources:
A site visit was undertaken for the HER by K. Robinson in 1995.
Aerial photograph: CCC 2466, 8

Plan of site: None

Photo: None

Name of Site: Cockermouth Castle **Parish:** Cockermouth

Medieval Barony: Cockermouth **HER Entry:** 3035

Classification: Stone Castle

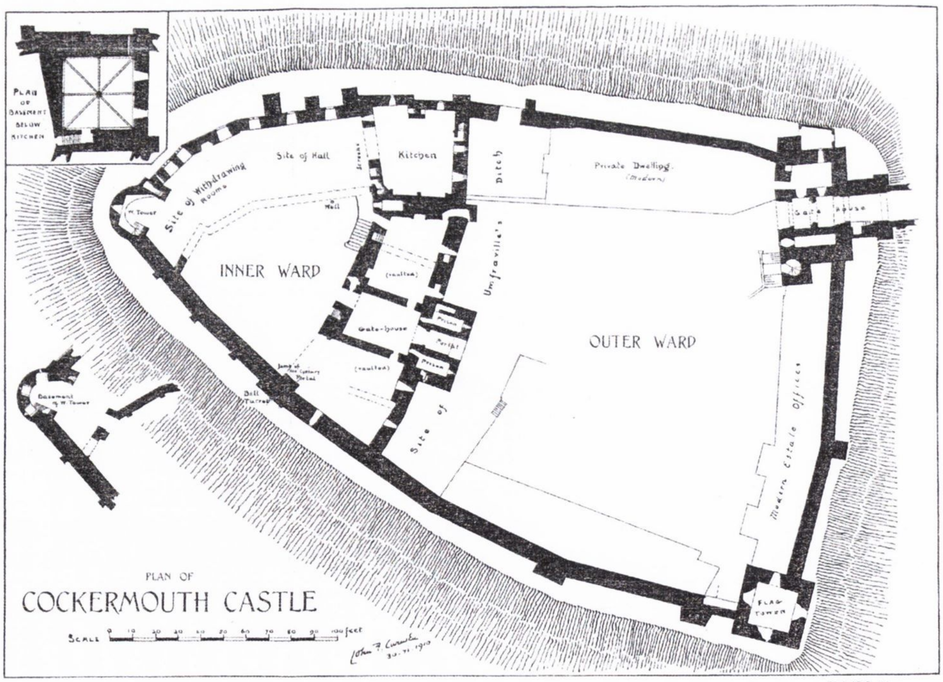
Site Description: Located on high ground overlooking the confluence of the Rivers Cocker and Derwent. The HER identifies three phases, the mid twelfth century for a motte and bailey, circa 1225 A.D. for the first stone phase and the fourteenth century for the majority of alterations. Cockermouth Castle began as a motte and bailey and developed into a stone triangular enclosure castle. The site is extremely strategic. Tue Hill and Papcastle are related sites.

Location (Grid Reference): NY 123308

Sources:
Close Roll 1221, vol. I p. 474
Cathcart King (1983) p. 84
Curwen (1913) pp. 127-133; 492-496.
Perriam & Robinson (1998) pp. 90-91
Pevsner (1967) p. 33, 107-8

Archaeological Sources:
No major excavations. Two test pits excavated in 2001/2. No finds reported.

Plan of site: A plan of the site as taken from J.F. Curwen (1913), p.135



TO FACE P. 135.

Name of Site: Egremont Castle **Parish:** Egremont

Medieval Barony: Copeland **HER Entry:** 3051

Classification: Motte and Bailey

Site Description: Originally a motte and bailey castle established circa 1120-40 A.D. by William le Meschin, lord of Copeland. It developed into a stone enclosure castle. There is a fine example of herringbone masonry in the west curtain wall. Extensive later additions and alterations were made to the castle.

Location (Grid Reference): NY 009104

Sources:
Calender of Inquisitions Post Mortem, viii & xi
Cathcart King (1983) p. 86
Curwen (1913) pp. 23; 134-7; 496
Perriam & Robinson (1998) p. 102
Pevsner (1967) p. 33, 124

Archaeological Sources:
Surveys of this site were undertaken by the Lancaster University Archaeological Unit, North Pennines archaeology Ltd and the Oxford Archaeology North. Reports were made by these bodies, with copies in the NMR.
Excav/Turnbull & Walsh/199
Excav/6-10 Main St/LUAU/Aug 1983

Plan of site: None

Photo: Plate 7 & 8

Name of Site: Motte **Parish:** Irthington

Medieval Barony: Gilsland **HER Entry**: 245

Classification: Motte, SW of Irthington mill

Site Description:
A twelfth century motte (one of three in the area).

Location (Grid Reference): NY 507623

Sources:
Cathcart King (1983) p. 87 (References another motte at Irthington) NY 499615)
Curwen (1913) p. 23
Perriam & Robinson (1998) p. 159 (claims HER have misidentified a natural feature for a motte)

Archaeological Sources: None

Plan of site: None

Photo: None

Name of Site: Kendal Castle **Parish:** Kendal

Medieval Barony: Kendal **HER Entry:**

Classification: Ringwork

Site Description: First phase was a ringwork castle circa 1184 A.D. Enclosed in stone thirteenth century. It is located on a high bluff overlooking the town of Kendal. Hall block and round tower also added in the thirteenth century. The castle has earthwork defences in the form of a nearly circular ditch.

Location (Grid Reference): SD 522924

Sources:
Perriam & Robinson (1998) p348-9
King (1983) Vol 2 p492
Curwen (1913) p145-9
Pevsner (1967) p256 [slight]

Archaeological Sources: None

Plan of site: None

Photo: Plate 9

Name of Site: Kirkoswald Castle **Parish:** Kirkoswald & Renwick

Medieval Barony: Kirkoswald Manor **HER Entry:** 2821

Classification: Motte and Bailey (earlier site)

Site Description: The site contains a quadrangular stone castle dating to circa 1320 A.D. Documentary evidence indicates the possibility of a timber tower at this location in the mid-twelfth century, belonging to Ranulph Engaine. A license to crenellate was issued to Hugh de Morville in 1201 A.D. The great hall, chapel and moat are considered by the HER to be later additions, probably fifteenth century. The site is an enclosure castle with moat

Location (Grid Reference): NY 559410

Sources:
Cathcart King (1983) p. 87-8
Curwen (1913) pp.150-3
Perriam & Robinson (1998) p. 124-5
Pevsner (1967) p. 33, 150

Archaeological Sources: None

Plan of site:
1867 First Edition Ordnance Survey Map Cumberland

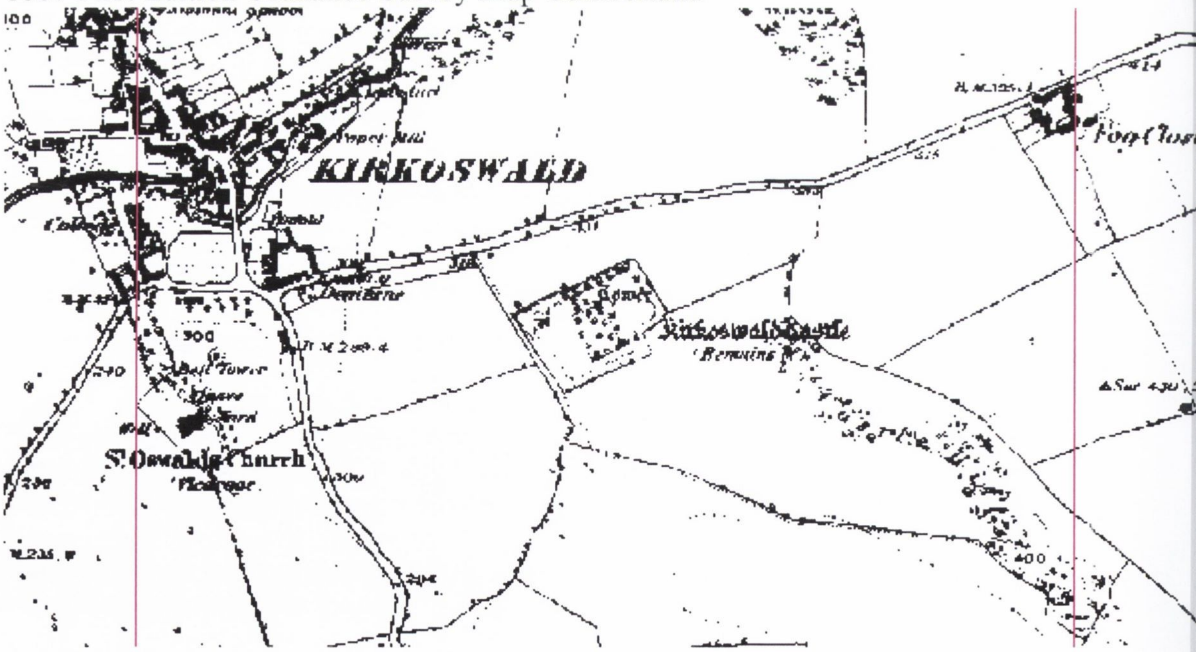


Photo: None

Name of Site: Liddel Strength **Parish:** Kirkandrews

Medieval Barony: Liddel **HER Entry:** 33

Classification: Motte and Bailey

Site Description: A motte and double bailey located 160 ft above Liddel Water. The motte is recorded as standing circa 6.6 m above the inner bailey. The site (motte, two baileys and ditches) covers an area of approximately 4 hectares. The site is very defensive, necessary due to its location on the Anglo-Scottish border.

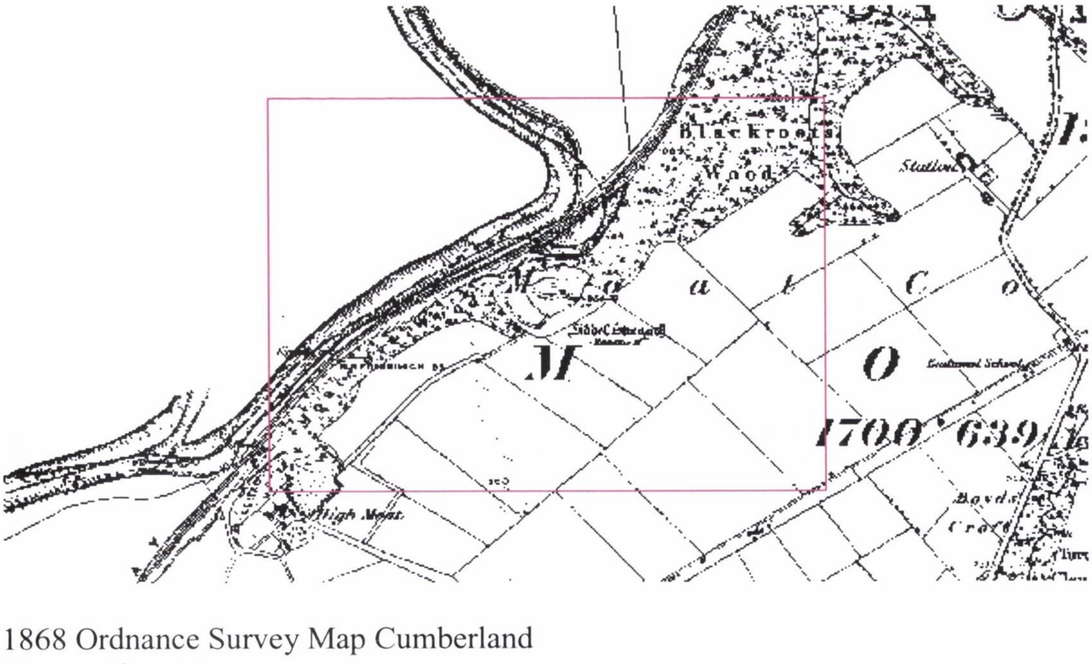
Location (Grid Reference): NY 401741

Sources:

Benedict of Peterborough, Vol.1 (1867) p.65
Cathcart King (1983) p. 88
Curwen (1913) pp. 24-28
Perriam & Robinson (1998) p.233

Archaeological Sources:
A survey was undertaken by the Carlisle Archaeological Unit in 1991 to record the archaeology of the parishes of Arthuret and Kirkandrews. The RCHME Newcastle undertook to construct a plan of Liddel Strength in 1992 for this survey. The field report is in the NMR archive.

Plan of site: None



1868 Ordnance Survey Map Cumberland
Photo: Plate 10

Name of Site: Linstock Castle **Parish:** Stanwix Rural

Medieval Barony: Linstock **HER Entry:** 3809

Classification: Tower House

Site Description: Originally this was a tower house in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century for the Bishops of Carlisle. Additions and alterations were made throughout the seventeenth to twentieth centuries. According to the NMR there is a medieval moat surrounding the site.

Location (Grid Reference): NY 428584

Sources:
Cathcart King (1983) p. 88
Curwen (1913) pp. 298-9
Perriam & Robinson (1998) p. 84
Pevsner (1967) p. 33, 139

Archaeological Sources: Archaeological Watching brief placed on the site in 2002. No archaeological remains or artefacts were uncovered.

Plan of site:

1868 First Edition Ordnance Survey Map Cumberland

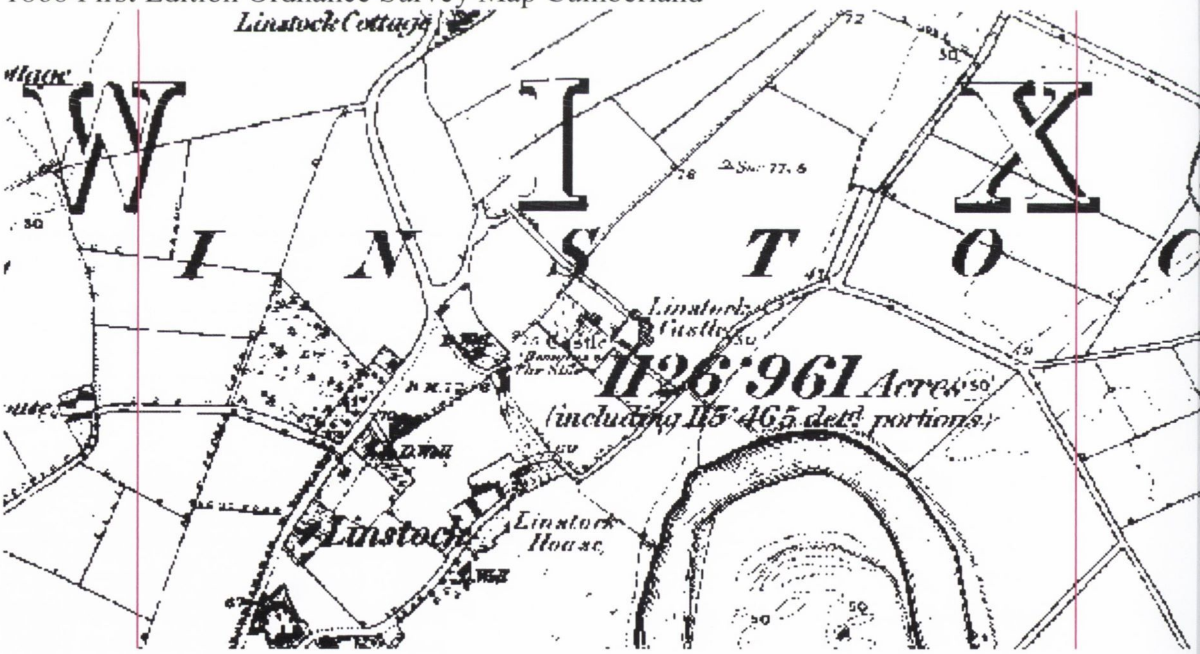


Photo: None

Name of Site: Moat Hill **Parish:** Aldingham

Medieval Barony: Furness **HER Entry:** 2613

Classification: Ringwork; Motte and Bailey

Site Description:
The earliest fortification at this site was a ringwork. This was determined by a rescue excavation in 1968. The rescue excavation identified the ringwork as 35 m in diameter. It was defined by a rampart 2.5 m high with timber buildings lying within. A possible date for this phase is the twelfth century based on a number of pottery sherds. The mid twelfth century saw a motte (approximately 30 m in diameter with a flat summit and 5 m high). A ditch surrounds the motte and is 7.5 m wide and up to 3 m deep. The motte was built over the ringwork. The bailey can be identified to 40 m to the north. It is 3.7 m wide and 3.5 m deep on NE side). An additional 2 m was added to the height of the motte during the thirteenth century. Aldingham motte and bailey appears to have been abandoned for Gleaston Castle.

Location (Grid Reference): SD 277698

Sources:
Cathcart King (1983) p. 244 (Recorded under Lancashire section)
Curwen (1913) pp.34-6
Perriam & Robinson (1998) p. 375

Archaeological Sources: Excavation in 1968 uncovered three phases of building (ringwork, motte and heightening of motte). This was undertaken by the Department of the Environment.

Plan of site:
1851 First Edition Ordnance Survey Map Lancashire and Furness

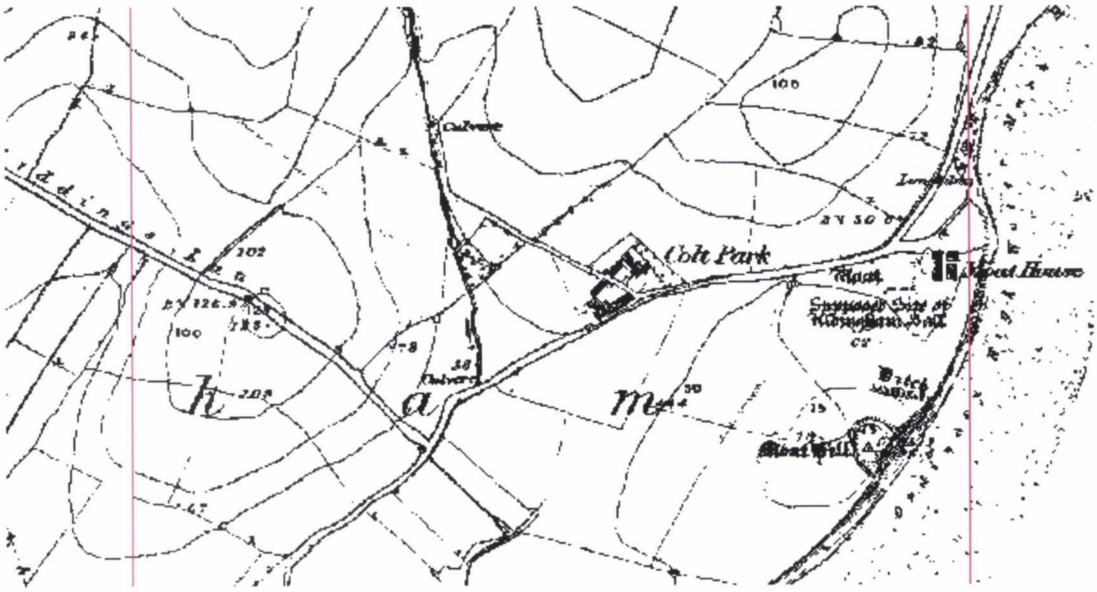


Photo: None

Name of Site: Pendragon Castle **Parish:** Mallerstang

Medieval Barony: Appleby **HER Entry:** 2003

Classification: Stone Castle / Fortified Tower House

Site Description: A late twelfth century fortified tower house. There were extensive alterations made under Lady Anne Clifford in 1660 A.D.

Location (Grid Reference): NY 781026

Sources:
Cathcart King (1983) p. 493
Curwen (1913) pp.120-124
Perriam & Robinson (1998) pp. 300-301
Pevsner (1967) p. 33, 275

Archaeological Sources: A survey in 1993-4 (Howgill Fells Project Phase 2) took in Pendragon as one of the sites. A field report and plan of Pendragon Castle were taken. A brief report on the project can be read in TCWAAS vol. 96 (1996).

Plan of site: None

Photo: Plate 11

Name of Site: Piel Castle **Parish:** Barrow in Furness

Medieval Barony: Furness **HER Entry:** 2618

Classification: Stone Castle

Site Description: A stone castle was licensed in 1327 A.D. and located on Piel island in the mouth of Barrow harbour. An earlier castle was built for the monks of Furness Abbey during the reign of King Stephen (1135-54A.D). This was besieged on a number of occasions by Robert Bruce. Current remains date to the fourteenth and fifteenth century.

Location (Grid Reference): SD 232636

Sources:
Cathcart King (1983) p. 247 (Recorded under Lancashire County section)
Curwen (1913) p.224-6
Perriam & Robinson (1998) pp. 390-1
Pevsner (1969) p.37, 189-90

Archaeological Sources: An excavation was carried out by Rachel Newman for the Cumbria and Lancashire Archaeological Unit in 1983. A full report was published in the TCWAAS vol. 87 (Kendal, 1987) p. 101-116.

Plan of site: None

Photo: None

Name of Site: Ravenstonedale Motte **Parish:** Ravenstonedale

Medieval Barony: Appleby **HER Entry:** NMR1390209

Classification: Motte and possible manor house

Site Description: Motte probably site of pre 1150 A.D. manor-house

Location (Grid Reference): NY719045

Sources:
Perriam & Dennis (1998) p304

Archaeological Sources: None

Plan of site: None

Photo: None

Name of Site: The Mote **Parish:** Brampton

Medieval Barony: Gilsland **HER Entry:** 282

Classification: Motte

Site Description: A twelfth or thirteenth century motte built on top of Castle Hill in Brampton. The motte is oval in shape. The HER has recorded dimensions of circa 36 m × 18 m for the summit of the motte. A ditch and outer bank encircle the site. It has an encircling ditch of approximately 12 m downslope, circa 5 m wide up to 3 m deep, flanked by an outer bank of circa 5 m wide and up to 2 m high

Location (Grid Reference): NY 533612

Sources:
Curwen (1913) p. 39 (Refers to it under the name Castle Hill)
Cathcart King (1983) p. 83
Perriam & Robinson (1998) p. 137
Pevsner (1967) p. 33, 76

Archaeological Sources: Surveyed by HER

Plan of site: None

Photo: Plate 12

Name of Site: Tute Hill **Parish:** Cockermouth

Medieval Barony: Cockermouth **HER:** 849

NMR Number: NY 13 SW 7

Classification: Motte

Site Description: A possible motte of early to mid twelfth century date also identified as a windmill mound or natural feature. This would indicate it is the first earthwork castle at Cockermouth. It is oval in shape (approximately 18.7 m East-West by 16.6 m North-South) and lies in a strategic location near the confluence of the Cocker and Derwent rivers. The motte is approximately 2.6 m high.

Location (Grid Reference): NY 124307

Sources:
Perriam & Robinson (1998) p. 95

Archaeological Sources: The site was surveyed for the HER by T. Clare who concluded it was a possible motte site. The site has not been excavated

Plan of site: OS 1st Edition 6″ map Cumberland Sheet LIV identifies both Cockermouth castle and Tute Hill.

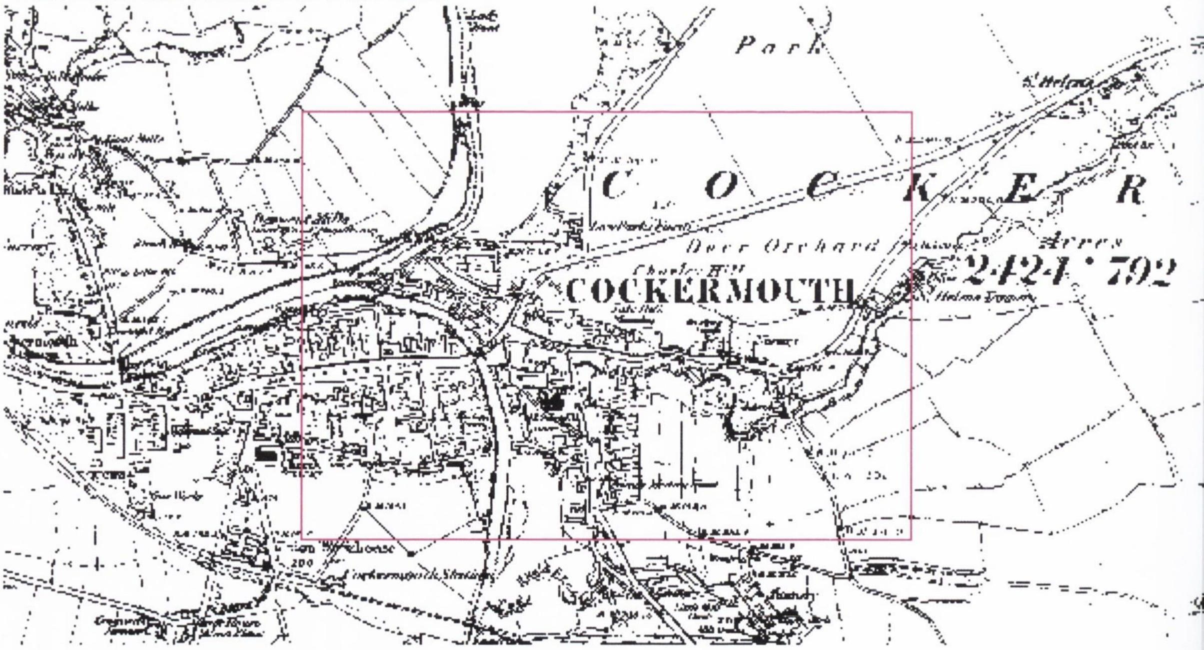


Photo: Plate 12

Name of Site: Whelp Castle **Parish:** Kirkby Thore

Medieval Barony: Appleby **HER Entry:** 6848

Classification: Stone Castle

Site Description: Documentary evidence dating to between 1199 and 1225 A.D. make reference to this castle, no physical evidence has been found. The site given for Whelp's castle is that of Kirkby Thore Roman Fort (HER 2800).

Location (Grid Reference): NY 637255

Sources:
Perriam & Robinson (1998) p. 318

Archaeological Sources: none

Plan of site:
1863 First Edition Ordnance Survey Map Westmorland

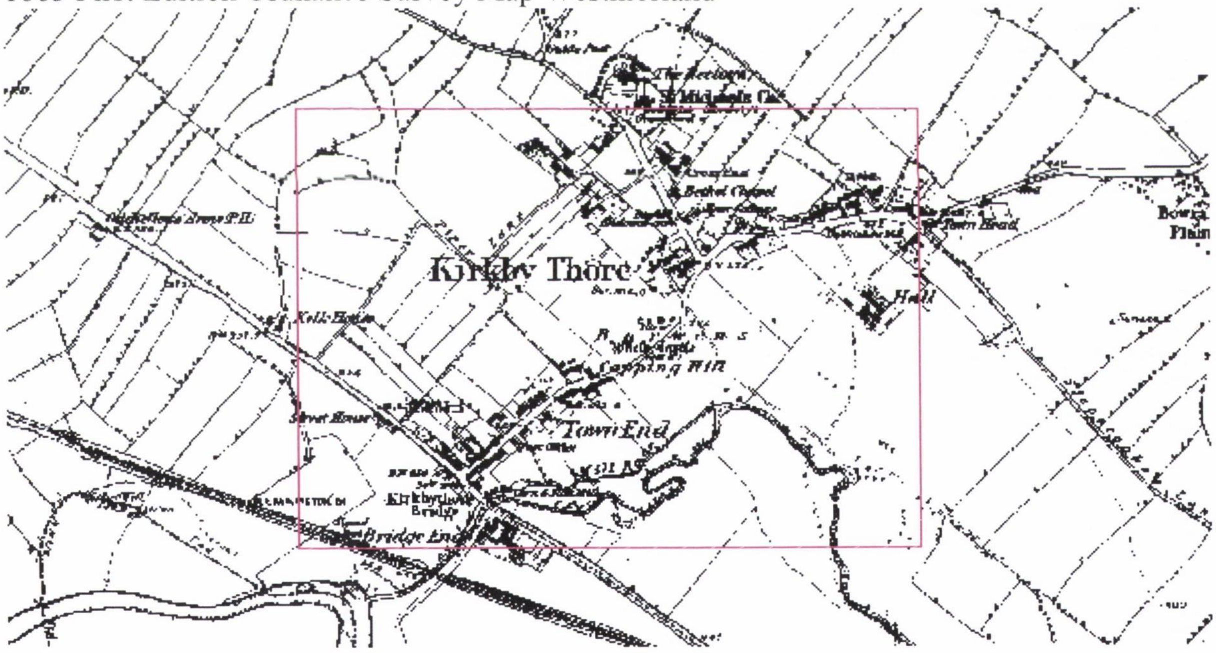


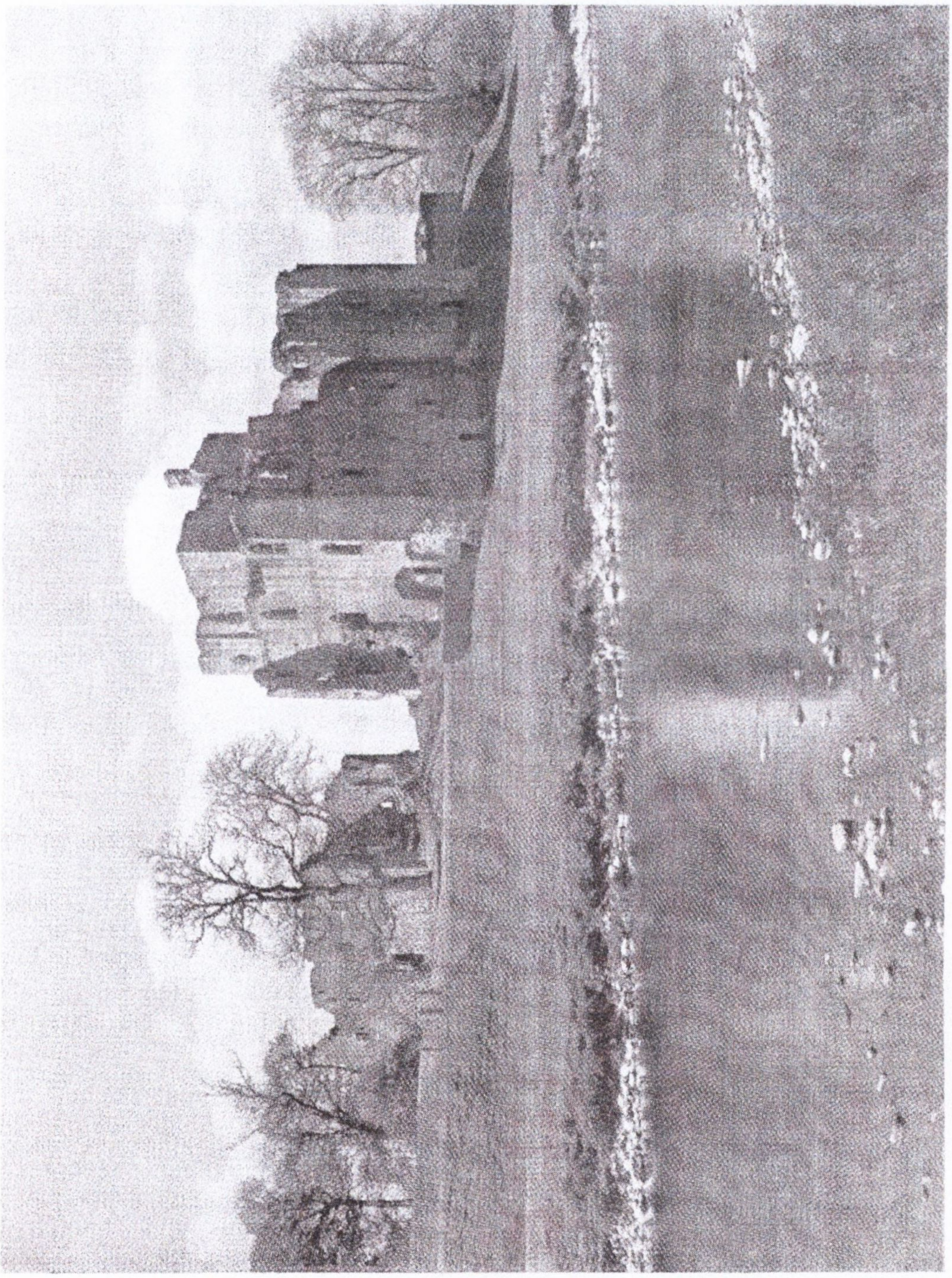
Photo No plate

Plate 1 Appleby (Earthworks). Photo taken by H. McCabe, 24th September 2004.

Plate 2 Brough Castle. Photo taken by H. McCabe, 24th June 2006.

Plate 3 Brough Castle at a distance. Photo taken by H. McCabe, 24th June 2006

Plate 4 Brougham Castle with River Eamont in the foreground, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Westmorland*, (London, 1936), facing p. 60



BROUGHAM. (4) Brougham Castle. From the N.E. 12th-century and later.

Plate 5 Carlisle Castle. Photo taken by H. McCabe 22nd September 2003.

Plate 6 Castle Howe Kendal. Photo taken by H. McCabe 26th September 2004

Plate 7 Egremont Castle. Photo taken by H. McCabe 18th June 2006

Plate 8 Egremont Castle Herring Bone detail. Photo taken by H. McCabe 18th June 2006

Plate 9 Kendal Castle. Photo taken by H. McCabe 26th September 2004.

Plate 10 Earthworks in the foreground and Liddel Strength in the background.

Plate 11 Pendragon Castle. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Westmorland,* (London, 1936), facing p. 163

From the E.

Plate 12 Tute Hill Motte. Photo taken by H. McCabe 18th June 2006.

Bibliography

Documentary Sources (Unpublished)

Carlisle, Cumbria Record Office D/Lons/Deeds/WH1a (Records of the Family of Lowther, Earls of Lonsdale), Grant of Privileges to burgesses of Egremont by Richard de Luci, 1197 X 1202 A.D.

Carlisle, Cumbria Record Office D/Lons/Deeds/WH1b (Records of the Family of Lowther, Earls of Lonsdale), Grant of Brisco and Ulcotes to the burgesses of Egremont by Richard de Luci, c.1200 A.D.

Carlisle, Cumbria Record Office D/Lons/L Medieval Deeds C1 (Records of the Family Lowther, Earls of Lonsdale), Gospatric's Writ, Thirteenth Century

London, The National Archives E164/37 (Exchequer/ King's Remembrancer/ Miscellaneous Books/37), Hombertson's 1570 Survey by E. Hall & W. Hombertson

London, The National Archives E179/242/77 (Exchequer/ King's Rembrancer/Lay and Clerical Subsidies and Taxation) Lay Taxation Assessment Cumberland Ward, c.1200 A.D.

London, The National Archives JUST/1/132 (Assize Rolls of 6-7 Edward I), Cumberland eyre of 1278-1279

London, The National Archives JUST/1/135 (Assize Rolls 20 Edward I), Cumberland eyre 1292-1293

London, The National Archives SC 11/730 m.1 (Extents or Surveys 44 Henry III- 3 Edward I), Rental and Survey of the Estate of William de Forz, earl of Aumale, 1259 X c.1270

Documentary Sources (Published)

Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, 'Leges Marchiarum', eds. T. Thomsen & C. Innes, vol. I (London, 1814-75), pp.413-6.

Adventu Willelmi ducis Normanniae in Angliare: Hugh the Cantor, The History of the Church of York, 1066-1127, trans. C. Johnson (Oxford, 1961).

Anglo- Saxon Chronicle, trans. & ed. G.N. Garmonsway (London, 1972).

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ed. M.J. Swanton (New York, 1998).

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. A Revised Translation, ed. D. Whitelock (London, 1961).

British borough charters, 1042-1660, eds. A. Ballard & J. Tait (Cambridge, 1913-43)

Calendar of Chancery Warrants, 1244-1326, ed. H.C.M. Lyte, (London, 1927).

Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland A.D. 1272-1307, ed. J. Bain, vol. II (Edinburgh, 1884).

Calendar of Feet of Fines for Cumberland, from their commencement to the accession of Henry VII, ed. F. H. M. Parker, vol. 7 (TCWAAS, 1907), pp. 215-61.

Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and other Analogous Documents preserved in the Public Record Office, vols. II & V (London, 1906, 1909).

Calendar of the Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, covering the period 1226-1516, 6 vols. (London, 1903-1927).

Calendar of the Close Rolls Edward I. Vol. III, A.D.1288-96, preserved in the Public Record Office (London, 1904).

Calendar of the Liberate Rolls ... Henry III [1226-1272; appendices 1220-1267] 6 vols. (London, 1916-1964).

Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Edward III, A.D. 1350-54, preserved in the Public Record Office, Vol. 9 (London, 1891-1916).

Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Henry III, 1225-32 A.D., preserved in the Public Record Office (London, 1903).

Chancellor's Roll for 8 Richard I, 1196, ed. D.M. Stenton (London, 1930)

Charters of King David I: the written acts of David I King of Scots, 1124-53 and of his son Henry Earl of Northumberland, 1139-52, ed. G.W.S. Barrow (Woodbridge, 1999).

Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin: with the register of its house at Dunbrody, and Annals of Ireland, ed. J.T. Gilbert, Rolls Series Vol. 80 (London, 1884).

Chronicle of John of Worcester, eds., R. Darlington & P. McGurk, Vol. II & III (Oxford, 1995, 1998).

Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I (1169-92), known more commonly as the 'Benedict of Peterborough', ed. W. Stubbs, Vol.1 (London, 1867).

Chronicle of the War between the English and the Scots in 1173 and 1174 by Jordan Fantosme, ed. F. Michel (Surtees Society, 1840).

Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I, ed. R. Howlett, Rolls Series, 4 vols. (London, 1884-90).

Coucher book of Furness Abbey, eds. J.C. Atkinson, & J. Brownbill, 6 vols., (Chetham Society, 1886-1919).

Domesday Book: A Complete Translation, eds. A. Williams & G.H. Martin (London, 2002).

Dublin Guild Merchant Roll, c.1190-1265, eds. P. Connolly and G. Martin (Dublin, 1992)

Early Scottish Charters: prior to A.D. 1153, ed. A.C. Lawrie (Glasgow, 1905).

Early Sources of Scottish History A.D. 500-1286, ed. A.O. Anderson, vol. II (Stamford, 1991)

Early Yorkshire Charter: being a collection of documents anterior to the thirteenth century made from the public records, monastic chartularies, Roger Dodsworth's manuscripts and other available sources, eds. W. Farrer & C.T. Clay, vol. II (Edinburgh, 1861-1924).

Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis, ed. M. Chibnall, vol. vi (Oxford, 1972).

Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis, ed. M. Chibnall, vol. III (Oxford, 1972).

English Historical Documents c.500-1042, ed. D. Whitelock, vol. 1 (London, 1955)

Florence of Worcester: A History of the King's of England (Lampeter, 1988).

Florence of Worcester: Florentii Wigorniensis Monachi Chronicon ex Chronicis, ed. B. Thorpe, vol. I (London, 1848).

Gesta Normannorum ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni. ed. E.M.C. Van Houts, vol.1 (Oxford, 1992-5).

Gesta regum Anglorum. Vol.1, History of the English kings, William of Malmesbury, ed. & trans R.A.B. Mynors, completed by M. Thomsen & M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1998).

Great Roll of the Pipe of the Reigns of Henry II, Richard and John, Multiple volumes (Pipe Roll Society, 1884-1955).

Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, Historia anglorum, ed. D.E. Greenway (Oxford, 1996).

Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543, ed. L. Toulmain Smith (London, 1906-10).

Johannis de Fordun, Chronica Gentis Scotorum, ed. W.F. Skene, Vol. I (Edinburgh, 1871-2).

John of Fordun's Chronicle of the Scottish nation trans. F.J.H. Skene & ed. W.F. Skene (Dyfed, 1993)

Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle, ed. R.C. Johnston (Oxford, 1981).

Lancashire Pipe rolls of 31 Henry I., A.D. 1130, and the reigns of Henry II., A.D. 1155-1189; Richard I., A.D. 1189-1199; and King John, A.D. 1199-1216 ed. W. Farrer (Liverpool, 1902).

Lanercost Cartulary (Cumbria County Record Office MS DZ/1), ed. J.M. Todd (CWAAS Record Series & Surtees Society, 1997).

Lestorie des Engles solum la translacion Maistre Geffrei Gaimar, ed. T.D. Hardy, 2 vols. (London, 1888-9).

Libellus De Vita Et Miraculis S. Godrici, Heremitae de Finchale, by Reginald of Durham, ed. J. Stevenson (Surtees Society, 1845).

Liber Feodorum. The Book of fees commonly called Testa de Nevill, Part I A.D. 1198-1242; Part II AD 1242-1293 and Appendix, ed. H.C. Maxwell Lyte, 2 vols. (London, 1920, 1923).

Medieval Chronicles of Scotland. The Chronicles of Melrose and Holyrood, trans. J. Stephenson (Llanerch, 1988).

Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria: the historical collections of Walter Coventry, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols. (London, 1872-1873).

Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I, Michaelmas 1130, ed. J. Hunter (London, 1929)

Pipe Rolls of Cumberland and Westmorland 1222-1260, ed. F.H.M. Parker, CWAAS Extra Series Vol. XII (Kendal, 1905).

Pipe Rolls, or, Sheriff's annual accounts of the revenues of the crown: for the Counties of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Durham during the reigns of Henry I. [i.e. II], Richard I., and John (Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1847).

Placita de quo warranto temporibus Edw. I. II. & III: In curia receptæ scaccarij Westm. Asservata, ed. W. Illingworth, Record Commissioners Publications No. 56, (London, 1818).

Priory of Hexham, Vol. I: its Chroniclers, Endowments, and Annals, ed. J. Raine (Surtees Society, 1864).

Priory of Hexham, Vol. II: Its title deeds, black book etc, ed. J. Raine (Surtees Society, 1865).

Records Relating to the Barony of Kendale, by W. Farrer; ed. J.F. Curwen, CWAAS Record Series 3 vols. (Kendal, 1923-26).

Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154, eds. H.W.C. Davis, et al., 4 Vols, (1953-1969).

Regesta Regum Scottorum I: The Acts of Malcolm IV, King of Scots, 1153-1165, together with Scottish Royal Acts prior to 1153 not included in Sir Archibald Lawrie's 'Early Scottish Charters', ed. G.W.S. Barrow (Edinburgh, 1960).

Register and Records of Holm Cultram, eds. F. Grainger & W.G. Collingwood, CWAAS Records Series Vol. 7 (Kendal, 1929).

Register of the Priory of St. Bees, ed. J. Wilson (Surtees Society, 1915).

Register of the Priory of Wetheral, ed. J.E. Prescott, CWAAS Record Series Vol. I (London, 1897).

Registrum episcopatus Glasguensis: munimenta ecclesie metropolitane Glasguensis, a sede restaurata seculo ineunte XII, ad reformatam religionem, ed. C. Innes, vol. I (Bannatyne Club, 1843)

Roger of Hovedon, Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene, ed. W. Stubbs, 3 vols (London, 1868-1871).

Rotuli litterarum clausarum 1204-1227, ed. T. D. Hardy, 2 vols (London, 1833, 1844)

Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati vol. I Ab Anno MCCIV ad Annum MCCXXIV (London, 1833).

Royal Charters of the City of Carlisle, ed. R.S. Ferguson, CWAAS Extra Series Vol. 10 (Carlisle, 1894).

Scotichronicon, eds. D.E.R. Watt et al, Vols. 1-9 (Aberdeen, 1993-8)

Scottish chronicle known as the Chronicle of Holyrood, ed. M.O. Anderson (Edinburgh, 1938).

Symeon of Durham, Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae, ed. T. Arnold, 2 vols. (London, 1883-1885).

Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate P. Nicholai IV, c.1291, eds. T. Astle, S. Ayscough, & J. Caley (London, 1802).

Thomas Denton: A Perambulation of Cumberland, 1687-8, including descriptions of Westmorland, the Isle of Man and Ireland, eds. A.J.L. Winchester & M. Wane, vol. 207 (Surtees Society, 2003).

Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert: A Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's Prose Life, ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1985).

Secondary Sources (Unpublished)

Winchester, A.J.L., "Draft Report. Cumbrian Historic Towns Survey, 1978-9. The Archaeological Potential of Four Cumbrian Market Towns", Unpublished Report, Carlisle, Cumbria Record Office, DX/784/1, D/Phi/74

Secondary Sources (Published)

Addy, S.O., *Castle and Manor: A Study in English Economic History* (London, 1913)

Aird, W.M., 'Northern England or Southern Scotland? The Anglo-Scottish border in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and the problem of perspective', in J.C. Appleby & P. Dalton eds., *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England 1000-1700* (Stroud, 1997), pp. 27-39

Armitage, E.S., *The Early Norman Castles of the British Isles* (London, 1912)

Armstrong, A.M., Mawer, A., Stenton, F.M., & Dickinson, B., *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, 3 Vols (Cambridge, 1950-52)

Aston, M., & Bond, J., *The Landscape of Towns* (London, 1976)

Aston, M., & Gerrard, C., (eds), *The Shapwick Project, Somerset: a Rural Landscape Explained*, Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph Series 25 (London, 2007)

Aston, M., & Rowley, T., *Landscape Archaeology: An Introduction to Fieldwork Techniques on Post-Roman Landscapes* (Newton Abbot, 1974)

Aston, M., *Monasteries in the Landscape* (Stroud, 2002)

Aston, M., *The Shapwick Project: a topographical and historical study: 1988 Report* (Bristol, 1989)

Aston, M., *The Shapwick Project: a topographical and historical study: 1989 Report* (Bristol, 1990)

Austin, D., 'The castle and the landscape', *Landscape History* Vol. 6 (1984) pp.69-81

Bailey, M., *The English Manor, c.1200-c.1500* (Manchester, 2002)

Balchin, W.G.V., *The Cornish Landscape* (London, 1983)

Barker, P.A., & Higham, R.A., *Hen Domen Montgomery: A Timber Castle on the Welsh Border* (1982)

Barley, M.W., & Palliser, D.M., *The Plans and Topography of Medieval Towns in England and Wales* (London, 1976)

Barlow, F., *Thomas Becket* (London, 1986)

Barlow, F., *The Feudal Kingdom of England 1042-1216* (Harlow, 1988)

Barrow, G.W.S., 'Northern English Society in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', reprinted in his *Scotland and its Neighbours in the Middle Ages* (London, 1992), pp. 127-54

Barrow, G.W.S., 'The pattern of lordship and feudal settlement in Cumbria', *Medieval History*, vol. 1 no. 2 (1975), pp. 117-138

Barrow, G.W.S., *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History* (Oxford, 1980)

Bennett, J., Herne, A., & Whitworth, A., 'The Castles, Downhall, Aikton', *TCWAAS*, New Series Vol. 87 (1987) pp. 67-82

Beresford, G., 'The Excavation of the Deserted Medieval Village of Goltho, Lincolnshire', *Chateau Gaillard VIII* (1976), pp. 47-68

Beresford, M., & Hurst, J., *Wharram Percy: a deserted medieval village* (London, 1990)

Beresford, M., *History on the Ground: six studies in maps and landscapes* (London, 1957)

Beresford, M.W., & St. Joseph, J.K.S., *Medieval England: An Aerial Survey* (Cambridge, 1958)

Beresford, M.W., 'Medieval Town Plantation in the Carlisle Area', *The Archaeological Journal*, vol. CXV (London, 1960), pp. 215-19

Beresford, M.W., *New Towns of the Middle Ages: town plantation in England, Wales and Gascony* (London, 1967)

Birley, E. 'Brough Castle: The Roman Fort of Brough under Stainmore' in 'The Summer Meeting at Carlisle', pp. 207-53 *The Archaeological Journal,* vol. CXV (1958), p. 237

Birley, E., 'Roman Papcastle', *TCWAAS* New Series, Vol. 63 (Kendal, 1963) p.96-125

Blanchard, I., 'Lothian and beyond: the economy of the 'English empire of David I'', in R. Brinall & J. Hatcher, eds. *Progress and Problems in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 23-45

Blanchard, I., Gemmill, E., Mayhew, N., & Whyte, I.D., 'The Econony: Town and Country', in E.P. Dennison, D. Ditchburn & M. Lynch, eds., *Aberdeen before 1800: A new history* (East Linton, 2002), pp. 129-58

Blood, K., *06-May-1992, RCHME: Liddel Strength Survey,* held in NMR, accessed 20th August 2006

Bradbury, J.B., *A History of Cockermouth* (1981)

Britnell, R.H., 'Boroughs, markets and trade in northern England, 1000–1216' in Britnell, R.H. & Hatcher, R.H., (eds.), *Progress and Problems in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 46-67

Broun, D., 'The Welsh identity of the kingdom of Strathclyde, c.900-c.1200', *Innes Review,* 85 (2004), pp. 111-80

Broun, D., *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain* (Edinburgh, 2007)

Brown, R.A., 'A List of Castles, 1154-1216', *English Historical Review*, Vol. 74 (1959), pp. 249-80

Brown, R.A., *English Castles* (London, 1976)

Brown, R.A., *The Norman Conquest of England: sources and documents* (Woodbridge, 1995)

Bruce, J.C., 'Notes', *Archaeologia Aeliana,* Vol. 7 (1866-76) p. 80

Camden, W., *Britain, or A chorographicall description of the most flourishing kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the ilands adjoyning, out of the depth of antiquitie beautified vvith mappes of the severall shires of England* (London, 1637)

Camden, W., *Britain, or A chorographicall description of the most flourishing kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the ilands adjoyning, out of the depth of antiquitie beautified vvith mappes of the severall shires of England (London, 1772)* 4th Edition

Cantor, L.M., *Medieval Parks of England* (Loughborough, 1983)

Caruana, I., 'Excavations on the medieval Church of St. Thomas, Farlam', *TCWAAS*, New Series Vol. 92 (1992), pp. 123-134

Cathcart-King, D.J., *Castellarium Anglicanum: An Index and Bibliography of the Castles of England, Wales and the Islands*, 2 vols. (London, 1983)

Chancellor Ferguson, 'Two Moated Mounds, Liddel and Aldingham', *TCWAAS*, Old Series Vol. ix (Kendal, 1888), pp.404-11

Charlesworth, D., 'Recent Work at Kirkby Thore', *TCWAAS*, New Series Vol. 64 (1964) pp. 63-74

Charlton, J., *Brougham Castle* (Edinburgh, 1931 & 1992)

Charlton, J., *Carlisle Castle* (London, 1985)

Cherry, J., Cherry, P.J., & Ellwood, C.A., 'Archaeological Survey of Crosby Ravensworth Fell: Occupational Evidence', *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. 84 (Kendal, 1984), pp. 18-30

Cipolla, C.M. (ed.), *The Fontana Economic History of Europe, Vol. I: The Middle Ages* (Glasgow, 1972)

Clack, P.A.G. & Gosling, P.F., *Archaeology in the North: report of the Northern Archaeological Survey* (1976)

Clanchy, M.T., *From Memory to Written Record* (Oxford, 1993)

Clare, T., *Archaeological Sites of the Lake District* (Derbyshire, 1981)

Clark, G.T., 'On the Medieval Defences of the English Border', *TCWAAS* Old Series Vol. VI (Kendal, 1883) p.38-49

Clark, G.T., *Mediaeval Military Architecture in England*, 2 vols (London, 1884)

Claughton, P., 'Production and economic impact: Northern Pennine (English) silver in the 12th century', *Proceedings of the 6th International Mining History Congress* (Akabira, Japan, 2003) pp. 146-9

Cokayne, G.E., *Complete Peerage of England Scotland Ireland Great Britain and the United Kingdom,* 14 vols. (Gloucester, 1982-98)

Collingwood, R.G., 'Liddel Mote Castle', *TCWAAS*, New Series Vol. 26 (Kendal, 1926), p.390-397

Colvin, H.M. ed., *The History of the King's Works. The middle ages*, 3 vols. (London, 1963)

Cope, J., *Castles in Cumbria* (Milnthorpe, 1991)

Coulson, C., 'Structural Symbolism in Medieval Castle Architecture', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association,* 132 (1973) pp.73-90

Coulton, G.G. (ed.), 'Reginald of Durham, Life of St. Godric', in *Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation* (Cambridge, 1918), pp. 415-420

Cowper, H.S., 'The Homes of the Kirkbys of Kirkby Ireleth', *TCWAAS*, Old Series, vol. xiii (Kendal, 1894), pp. 269-86.

Creighton, O.H., & Higham, R.A., 'Castle Studies and the 'Landscape' Agenda', *Landscape History. Journal of the Society for Landscape Studies,* Vol. 26 (2004) pp. 5-18

Creighton, O.H., *Castles and Landscapes; Power, Community and Fortification in Medieval England* (London, 2002)

Creighton, O'H., & Liddiard, R., 'Fighting yesterday's battle: beyond war or status in castle studies', *Medieval Archaeology*, 52, (2008), pp. 161-9

Crouch, D., *William Marshall: Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147-1219* (London, 2002)

Curwen, J.F., 'Cockermouth Castle', *TCWAAS*, New Series Vol. 11 (Kendal, 1911) p. 129-58

Curwen, J.F., 'Liddel Mote', *TCWAAS,* New Series Vol. 10 (Kendal, 1910), p.91-101

Curwen, J.F., *The Castles and Fortified Towers of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North of the Sands, together with a brief Historical Account of Border Warfare*, CWAAS Extra Series Vol. 13 (Kendal, 1913)

Dalton, P., 'The Governmental Integration of the Far North, 1066-1199', in J.C. Appleby & P. Dalton, eds., *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England 1000-1700* (Stroud, 1997) pp. 14-26

Darby, H.C., (ed.), *A New Historical Geography of England before 1600* (Cambridge, 1976)

Davies, H.W.C., 'Cumberland before the Normans', *English Historical Review*, 20 (1905) pp. 61-65

Davies-Shiel, M., *Wool is my Bread or the Early Woollen Industry in Kendal from c.975-1575A.D.* (1975)

Davis, H.W.C., 'Cumberland before the Norman Conquest', *English Historical Review,* Vol. XX (1905) pp. 61-5

Davison, B.K., 'Early Earthwork Castles: A New Model', *Chateau Gaillard III* (London, 1966), pp. 37-47

Davison, B.K., 'Excavations at Sulgrave, Northamptonshire, 1960-76', *Archaeological Journal,* 134 (1977), pp. 105-14

Davison, B.K., 'The Origins of the Castle in England', *Archaeological Journal,* Vol. 124 (New Barnet, 1967), pp. 202-11

De Bouard, M. 'De l'aula au donjon.Les fouilles de la motte de la Chapelle a Doue-la-Fontaine', *Archeologie Medievale iii-iv* (1973-4), pp.5-110

Delano-Smith, C., & Kain, R.J.P., *English Maps: A History*, The British Library Studies in Map History Vol. II (London, 1999)

Denton, John, 'History of Cumberland' in *An Accompt of the most considerable Estates and Families in the County of Cumberland*, ed. R.S. Ferguson, CWAAS Tract Series II (Kendal, 1887)

Dickinson, J.C., 'Furness Abbey – An archaeological Reconsideration', *TCWAAS*, New Series Vol. 67 (1967), pp. 51-80

Dickinson, J.C., 'The Origins of the Cathedral of Carlisle', *TCWAAS*, New Series Vol. xlv (Kendal, 1946), pp. 134-43

Dix, B., 'Cumbria: Report and Proceedings of the 144th Summer Meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute, 1998', *Archaeological Journal*, Vol.155 (London, 1999) pp.328-379

Doherty, H., 'Robert de Vaux and Roger de Stuteville, sheriffs of Cumberland and Northumberland, 1170-85', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 28 (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 65-102

Doran, L. & Lyttleton, J., *Lordship in medieval Ireland: image and reality* (Dublin, 2007)

Drage, C., 'Urban Castles' in J. Schofield and R. Leech, eds., *Urban Archaeology in Britain. CBA Research Report* (1987), pp.117-32.

Duncan, A.A.M., *Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom* (1975)

Duncan, A.A.M., *The Kingship of the Scots, 842-1292. Succession and Independence* (Edinburgh, 2002)

Ellis, S., 'Frontiers and power in the early Tudor state', *History Today*, April 1995, vol. 45 no. 4, pp. 35-43

Fair, M.C., 'Notes on Early Copeland', *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. 37 (Kendal, 1937) p.73

Farrer, W. & Brownbill, J. (eds), *The Victoria History of the County of Lancaster*, vol. II (London, 1906-14)

Farrer, W., & Brownbill, J., (eds), *Victoria County History Lancashire* 8 Vols (1906-14)

Farrer, W., 'On the Tenure of Westmorland temp. Henry II and the date of the creation of the Baronies of Appleby and Kendal', *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. VII (Kendal, 1907), p.100-107

Fellows-Jensen, G., *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West* (Copenhagen, 1985)

Ferguson, R.S. 'Kendal Castle', *TCWAAS*, Old Series Vol. IX (Kendal, 1887), pp. 178-85

Ferguson, R.S., 'The Barony of Gilsland and its Owners to the end of the Sixteenth Century', *TCWAAS*, Old Series Vol. IV (Kendal, 1880), pp. 446-485

Fields, N., *Hadrian's Wall AD 122-410: AD 122 – 410* (Oxford, 2003)

Fleming of Rydal, Sir Daniel, *Description of the county of Westmoreland,* ed. Sir G.F. Duckett, CWAAS Tract Series Vol. 1 (London, 1882)

Freeman, E.A., 'The Place of Carlisle in English History', *TCWAAS*, Old Series Vol. VI (1882), pp.238-271

General Roy, *Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain* (1793)

Gibbons, P., 'Excavations and Observations at Kirkby Thore', *TCWAAS*, New Series Vol. 89 (1989), pp. 93-130

Gibson, A.C. 'Popular Rhymes and Proverbs Connected with Localities in Cumberland', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol. 13 1860-61 (Liverpool, 1861) p. 45-66

Gilpin, William, *Observations, relative chiefly to picturesque beauty, made in the year 1772 on several parts of England; particularly the mountains, and lakes of Cumberland, and Westmoreland,* 3rd Edition, (London, 1792)

Graeme, R.L. *The Normans in Scotland* (1954)

Graham, T.H.B., 'The Debateable Land. Part I', *TCWAAS*, New Series Vol. 12 (Kendal, 1911-12) pp. 33-58

Graham, T.H.B., 'The Debateable Lands. Part II', *TCWAAS*, New Series Vol. 19 (Kendal, 1920) pp. 132-139

Graham, T.H.B., 'Extinct Cumberland Castles' *TCWAAS* Vol 12 (Kendal, 1912), p187-94

Green, J., 'Anglo-Scottish relations 1066-1174', in M. Jones and M. Vale, eds., *England and her Neighbours, 1066-1453* (London, 1989), pp. 53-72

Green, J., 'David I and Henry I', *Scottish Historical Review,* 75 (1996), pp. 1-19

Hall, R., 'An Early Cockermouth Charter', *TCWAAS*, New Series Vol. 77 (Kendal, 1977) pp.75-81

Harmer, F.E., ed., *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (Manchester, 1952)

Hart, C.R., *The Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands* (Leicester, 1975)

Harvey, B.F., 'The Population Trend in England between 1300 and 1348', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* Fifth series, vol. 16 (1966), pp. 23-42

Hicks, C., *The Bayeux tapestry : the life story of a masterpiece* (2007)

Higham, M.C., 'The Mottes of North Lancashire, Lonsdale and South Cumbria', *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. 91 (Kendal, 1991), pp. 79-90

Higham, N.J., 'An early medieval site at Coldbeck Ravenstonedale', *TCWAAS*, New Series Vol. 76 (1976), p.214

Higham, N.J., *The Norman Conquest* (Stroud, 1998)

Higham, N.J., *The northern counties to AD 1000* (London, 1986)

Higham, R.A., & Barker, P., *Timber Castles* (London, 1992)

Hill, A., *The Collected Poems* (London, 1994)

Hill, D., *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1981)

Hindle, B.P., *Maps for Local History* (London, 1988)

Hindle, P., *Medieval Roads and Tracks* (Oxford, 2008)

Hodgson, M.A. *Topographical and Historical Description of the County of Westmoreland* (London, 1820)

Hogg, A.H.A., & King, D.J.C., 'Early castles in Wales and the Marches: a preliminary list' *Archaeologia Cambrensis* Vol. 112 (1963) p77-124

Hogg, R., 'Excavations at the fortified manor house of Burgh by Sands', *TCWAAS*, New Series Vol. 54 (Kendal, 1954), pp. 105-118

Hollister, C.W. *Henry I* (New Haven, 2001)

Holt, J.C., *The Northerners: A Study in the Reign of King John* (Oxford, 1961)

Hooke, D., ed., *Landscape, the Richest Historical Record* Society for Landscape Studies Supplementary Series No. 1 (Amesbury, 2000)

Hoskins, W.G., *Fieldwork in Local History* (London, 1969)

Hoskins, W.G., *Local History in England* (London, 1959)

Hoskins, W.G., *The Making of the English Landscape* (London, 1960)

Howard-Davis, C., *Kendal Castle* (Kendal, 2000)

Hugill, R., *Borderland Castles and Peles* (1939) [1970 Reprint by Frank Graham]

Hugill, R., *Castles and Peles of Cumberland and Westmorland : a guide to the strongholds of the Western English borderland together with an account of their development and their place in border history* (Newcastle, 1977)

Hurst, J., (General Editor.) et al., *Wharram: a study of settlement in the Yorkshire Wold,* Vols. 1-11 (London, 1979-2007)

Hutchinson, W., *The History of the County of Cumberland* vol. II (Reprint, 1974)

Jackson, K., 'Angles and Britons in Northumbria and Cumbria', *Angles and Britons*, O'Donnell Lectures (Cardiff), p. 60-84

Jackson, K.H., *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh, 1953)

Jackson, M.J., *Castles of Cumbria* (Carlisle, 1990)

Jarrett, M.G., *Maryport, Cumbria: a Roman fort and its garrison* (Kendal, 1976)

Johnson, M., *Behind the Castle Gate* (London, 2002)

Johnson, M., *Ideas of Landscape* (Oxford, 2007)

Jones, M.J., *Department of the Environment. Archaeological Excavations, 1972* (London, 1972), pp. 107-8

Jones, R. & Page, M., *Medieval Villages in an English Landscape: Beginnings and Ends* (Cheshire, 2006)

Kapelle, W. E., *The Norman conquest of the North: the region and its transformation, 1000-1135* (London, 1979)

Kenyon, J. R., *Medieval Fortifications* (London, 1990)

King, D.J.C., *Castellarium Anglicanum,* 2 vols. (London, 1983)

Kirby, D.P., 'Strathclyde and Cumbria', *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. 62 (1962) p.77-94

Knowles, D. & Hadcock, R.N., *Medieval religious houses : England and Wales* (London, 1953)

le Maho, J., 'L'apparition des seigneuries chatelaines dans le Grand Caux a l'epoque deucale', *Archeologie Medievale, 6* (1976), pp. 5-217

le Maho, J., *Les Chateaux Normands de Guillaume le Conquerant a Richard Couer de Lion* (Caen, 1987)

Leach, P.J., 'Hereford Castle Excavations 1968-69' *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club,* 40 (1971), pp. 211-24

Liddiard, R., *Landscapes of Lordship: Norman Castles and the Countryside in Medieval Norfolk, 1066-1200,* Bar British Series No. 309 (Oxford, 2000)

Liddiard, R., *Castles in Context. Power, Symbolism and Landscape, 1066-1500* (Bollington, 2005)

Liddiard, R., *The Medieval Park: New Perspectives* (Macclesfield, 2007)

Lloyd, T.H., *English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1977)

Lowerre, A.G., 'Why here and not there? The location of early Norman castles in the south-eastern Midlands', *Anglo-Norman Studies,* 29 (2006), pp. 121-144

Lysons, D., & Lysons, S., *Magna Britannia, Vol. 4: Cumberland* (1816)

Macdonald, A.J., *Border Bloodshed: Scotland and England at War, 1369-1403* (East Linton, 2000)

Machell, Thomas, *Antiquary on Horseback. The First Publication of The Collections of the Rev. Thomas Machell Chaplain to King Charles II Towards a History of the Barony of Kendal*, transcribed & ed. J.M. Ewbank, CWAAS Extra Series 19 (1963) Machell MSS, held by the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle Cathedral.

Mannix & Whellan, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Cumberland* (1847)

Martin, J., *Cumberland and Westmorland Newsletter*, Spring 1994 (Carlisle, 1994)

McCarthy, M.R., Bishop, M., & Richardson, T., 'Roman armour and metalworking at Carlisle, Cumbria, England', *Antiquity*, Vol. 75 No. 289 (2001), pp. 507-8

McCarthy, M.R., Carlisle Archaeology Ltd & Dept. of Archaeological Sciences, University of Bradford, *Roman and Medieval Carlisle: The Southern Lanes*, Research Report 1 (Kendal, 2000)

McCarthy, M.R., *Roman Carlisle and the Lands of the* Solway (2002)

McCarthy, M.R., *Roman Waterlogged Remains at Castle St.,* CWAAS, Research Series no. 5 (Kendal, 1991)

McCarthy, M.R., Summerson, H.R.T., & Annis, R.G., *Carlisle Castle: a survey and documentary history* (London, 1990)

McCarthy, M.R., *The Roman waterlogged remains and later features at Castle Street, Carlisle : excavations 1981-2* (Kendal, 1991)

McCarthy, M.R., *The structural sequence and environmental remains from Castle Street, Carlisle: excavations 1981-2* (Kendal, 1991)

McCarthy, M.R., with contributions by Allison, E.P.,... [et al.], *Roman and medieval Carlisle: the southern Lanes : excavations 1981-2* (Carlisle, 2000)

McCarthy, M.R., with contributions by Archibald, M.M.,…[et al.], *A Roman, Anglian and medieval site at Blackfriars Street, Carlisle : excavations 1977-9*, CWAAS Research Series No. 4 (Stroud, 1990)

McNeill, T., *Castles* (London, 1990)

Millea, N., *The Gough map: the earliest road map of Great Britain?* (Oxford, 2007)

Miller, E. & Hatcher, J., *Towns, Commerce and Crafts 1086-1348* (London, 1995)

Miller, E., 'Farming in northern England during the 12th and 13th centuries', *Northern History,* vol. 11 (1976), 1-16.

Millward, R., & Robinson, A., *The Lake District* (London, 1970)

Mitchell, S.K., *Taxation in Medieval England* (New Haven, 1951)

Morris, R., *Churches in the Landscape* (London, 1989)

Munby, J., 'Medieval Kendal: the first Borough Charter and its connexions', *TCWAAS*, New Series, Vol. 85 (Kendal, 1985), pp. 95-114

Nettleton, J.A., *Cumbria* (1996)

Newman, C. & Newman, R., 'The Medieval Period Research Agenda', *North West Region Archaeological Research Framework*, February 2005.

Newman, R., 'Piel Castle: Excavation and Survey', *TCWAAS* New Series, Vol. 87 (Kendal, 1987) p.101-16

Nicolson J., & Burn, R., *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland*, 2 vols (London, 1777)

Nicolson, J., & Burn, R., *History and Antiquities of the Counties of Cumberland & Westmorland* (1976 Reprint)

Notes, 'Aldingham Motte and Grange', *TCWAAS* New Series vol. 62 (Kendal, 1962), pp.341-2

Oldfield, F., 'Pollen Analysis and the history of land use', *Advancement of Science,* No. 25 (1969) pp. 298-311

Oman, C., *Castles* (London, 1926)

Ordnance Survey, *Old Ordnance Survey Maps. Shap, Ullwater & Appleby 1895: An Inch to a Mile,* Sheet 30, The Godfrey Edition (2003)

Padley, T.G., & Winterbottom, S., *The wooden, leather and bone objects from Castle Street, Carlisle: excavations 1981-2* (Kendal, 1991)

Palliser, D.M. ed., *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, Vol. I 600-1540* (Cambridge, 2000)

Parker, F.H.M., 'Inglewood Forest' *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. 5 (Kendal, 1905) pp.34-51

Parsons, E.J.S., *The map of Great Britain circa A.D. 1360, known as the Gough map : an introduction to the facsimile*, (Oxford, 1996)

Payne, A., 'Geophysical Survey', in H. Summerson & S. Harrison, *Lanercost Priory, Cumbria*, CWAAS Research Series vol. X (Kendal, 2000) p.87-94

Perriam, D.R., & Robinson, J., *The Medieval fortified buildings of Cumbria: an illustrated gazetteer and research guide,* CWAAS Extra Series Vol. 29 (Kendal, 1998)

Petrie, H., ed, *Monumenta Historica Britannica* (London, 1848)

Pevsner, N., *The Buildings of England: Cumberland and Westmorland* (London, 1967)

Phythian-Adams, C., *Land of the Cumbrians: a study in British provincial origins, A.D. 400-1120* (Aldershot, 1996)

Pickard, A.J., *Research Methods in Information* (London, 2007)

Platt, C., & McCarthy, M.R., *Carlisle Castle*, English Heritage Guidebook (London, 1992)

Platt, C., 'Revisionism in castle studies: a caution', *Medieval Archaaeology*, 51 (2007), pp. 83-102

Platt, C., *The English Medieval Town* (London, 1976)

Pounds, N.J.G., 'The chapel in the castle', *Fortress 9* (1991) pp. 12-20

Pounds, N.J.G., *The Medieval Castle in England and Wales: A Social and Political History* (Cambridge, 1990)

Pugh, R.B., & Crittall, E., (eds) *A History of the County of Wiltshire*, Volume 3 (London, 1956)

Rees, E., *An essential guide to Celtic sites and their Saints* (London, 2003)

Reynolds, S., 'The writing of medieval urban history in England', *Theoretische Geschiedenis,* No. 19 (1992), pp. 43-57

Rippon, S., *Historic Landscape Analysis: Deciphering the Countryside* (York, 2004)

Roberts, B.K. & Wrathnell, S., *An Atlas of Rural Settlement in England* (London, 2000)

Roberts, B.K., 'Field survey of Maulds Meaburn, Westmorland', *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. 96 (1996) pp. 45-50

Roberts, B.K., *The Making of the English Village: A Study in Historical Geography* (Harrow, 1987)

Robinson, J., 'Notes on Old Brampton Church', *TCWAAS*, New Series, Vol. 82 (Kendal, 1982), pp. 73-89

Robinson, R. & Millward, A., *The Lake District* (1970)

Roesdahl, E., *The Vikings* (1987)

Rose, R.K., 'Cumbrian Society and the Anglo-Norman Church' in S. Mews ed. *Religion and National Identity. Papers Read at the Nineteenth Summer Meeting and the Twentieth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 119-35

Ross, S., 'Changing trains at Wigan: digital preservation and the future of scholarship', *NPO Preservation Guidance*, Occasional Papers (2000), pp. 1-44

Rouche, M., 'Vinchy: le plus ancien chateau a motte', *Melanges d'Archeologie d'Histoire Medievales, en l'honneur du Doyen Michel de Bouard* (Paris, 1982), pp. 365-70

Round, J.H., 'The Castles of the Conquest', *Archaeologia* Vol. 58 (London, 1959), pp.313-40

Roy, General., *Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain* (1793)

Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Westmorland* (London, 1936)

Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, *An inventory of the historical monuments in Essex.* Vol. 1 (1916)

Russell, J.C., *British Medieval Population* (Albuquerque, 1948)

Russell, P., *An Introduction to the Celtic Languages* (London, 1995)

Salter, M., *The Castles and Tower Houses of Cumbria* (Malvern, 1998)

Salter, M., *The Old Parish Churches of Cumbria* (Malvern, 1998)

Sanders, I.J., *English Baronies: A Study of their Origin and Descent 1086-1327* (Oxford, 1960)

Saunders, A.D., 'Introduction to the Five Castles Excavations', *Archaeological Journal,* Vol. 134 (New Barnet, 1977)

Schofield, J. & Vince, A., *Medieval towns: the archaeology of British towns in their European setting* (London, 2003)

Schofield, J. and Leech, R. (eds) *Urban Archaeology in Britain. CBA Research Report* (Cambridge, 1987)

Scott, J.G., 'The partition of a kingdom: Strathclyde 1092-1153', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire & Galloway Natural History & Antiquarian Society*, 3rd series, 72 (1997), pp. 11-40

Scott, W.W., 'The March Laws reconsidered', in A. Grant and K. Stringer, eds., *Medieval Scotland: Crown, lordship and community* (Edinburgh, 1993), pp. 114-130

Sharpe, R., *Norman Rule in Cumbria 1092-1136. A lecture delivered to the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society on 9th April 2005 at Carlisle,* CWAAS Tract Series Vol. XXI (Kendal, 2006)

Shaw, R.C., 'Romano-British Carlisle: its Structural Remains', *TCWAAS,* New Series Vol. 24 (Kendal, 1925), pp.95-109

Shead, N.F., 'The origins of the medieval diocese of Glasgow', *Scottish Historical Review,* 48 (Aberdeen, 1969), pp. 220-225

Shoesmith, R., 'Archaeology, 1983, Report of Sectional Recorder', Vol. 44 *Transaction of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club* (1983), p. 250

Simpson, W.D., 'Brough-under-Stainmore: The Castle and the Church', *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. xlvi (Kendal, 1947) pp.223-283

Simpson, W.D., 'The town and castle of Appleby: a morphological study', *TCWAAS*, New Series Vol. XLIX (Kendal, 1950) p. 118-33

Slater, T.R., & Jarvis, P.J., (eds), *Field and Forest: An Historical Geography of Warwickshire and Worcestershire* (Norwich, 1982)

Smith, A.H., *English Place-Name Society Vol. XLII The Place-Names of Westmorland Part I* (Cambridge, 1967)

Stamper, P., 'Woods and Parks' in G. Astill & A. Grant (eds), *The Countryside of Medieval England* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 128-48

Stone, J., *19-Mar-1993/RCHME/AP Primary Recording Project*, held Cumbria Record Office.

Stranks, C.J., *The Life and Death of St. Cuthbert* (London, 1964)

Strickland, M., 'Securing the north: invasion and the strategy of defence in twelfth-century Anglo-Scottish warfare', *Anglo-Norman Studies,* 12 (1990), pp. 177-98

Stringer, K. 'Acts of Lordship: the records of the lords of Galloway to 1234', in T. Brothestone and D. Ditchburn, eds., *Freedom and Authority. Scotland c. 1050-*

c.1650. Historical and Historiographical Essays presented to Grant G. Simpson (East Linton, 2000), pp. 203-34

Stringer, K. 'Kingship, conflict and state-making in the reign of Alexander II: the war of 1215-17 and its context', in R.D. Oram, ed., *The Reign of Alexander II, 1214-49* (Brill, 2005), pp. 99-156

Stringer, K., 'Identities in thirteenth-century England: a frontier society in the far North', in C. Bjorn, A. Grant & K. Stringer, eds., *Social and Political Identities in Western History* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 28-66

Stringer, K., 'Periphery and Core in Thirteenth-Century Sctoalnd: Alan son of Roland, Lord of Galloway and Constable of Scotland', in A. Grant and K. Stringer, eds., *Medieval Scotland: Crown, lordship and community* (Edinburgh, 1993), pp. 82-113

Stringer, K., *The Reign of Stephen. Kingship, Warfare and Government in Twelfth-Century England* (London, 1993)

Stringer, K.J., 'State-Building in Twelfth Century Britain: David I, King of Scots, and Northern England', in J.C. Appleby & P. Dalton eds., *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England 1000-1700* (1997), pp. 40-62

Stubbs, W., *Select Charters and other Illustrations of English Constitutional History from the Earliest Times to the Reign of Edward the First* (Oxford, 1905)

Summerson, H., 'Responses to War. Carlisle and the West March in the later fourteenth century', in A. Goodman and A. Tuck, eds., *War and Border Societies in the Middle Ages* (London, 1992), pp. 155-77

Summerson, H., *Brougham and Brough castles, Cumbria,* English Heritage Guidebook (London, 1999)

Summerson, H., Trueman, M., & Harrison, S., with contributions by Blood, K., [et al.], *Brougham Castle, Cumbria: a survey and documentary history* (Kendal, 1998)

Summerson, H.R.T. & Harrison, S., *Lanercost Priory, Cumbria,* CWAAS Research Series vol. X (Kendal, 2000)

Summerson, H.R.T., *Medieval Carlisle: the city and the border from the late eleventh to the mid-sixteenth centuries,* CWAAS, Extra series vol. XXV 2 vols. (Kendal, 1993)

Taylor, C., ‘Total Archaeology’ in A. Rogers, & T. Rowley, eds. *Landscapes and Documents* (London, 1974), pp. 15-26

Thomas, A.T., *The Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain* (London, 1971)

Thompson, A.H., ‘Diocesan Organisation in the Middle Ages’, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 29 (1943) p.179-84

Thomson, M.W., & Curnow, P.E., ‘Excavations at Richard’s Castle 1962-4’, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* Vol. 32 (1969), pp.105-27

Toy, S., *A History of Fortification from 3000 BC to AD 1700* (London, 1955)

Toy, S., *The Castles of Great Britain* (London, 1953)

Turnball, P., & Walsh, D., ‘Monastic remains at Ravenstonedale’, *TCWAAS*, New Series Vol. 92 (1992), pp. 67-76

Turnbull, P., & Walsh, D., ‘Recent Work at Egremont Castle’, *TCWAAS,* New Series Vol. 94 (1994) pp. 77-89

Turner, V.E., ‘Results of Survey Work Carried out in the Caldbeck Fells, Cumbria’, *TCWAAS*, New Series Vol. 87 (1987), pp. 18-25

Waites, B., *Monasteries and Landscapes in North-East England* (Oakham, 1997)

Watson, G.P.H., & Bradley, G., *Carlisle Castle: Cumbria* (London, 1937)

Whitworth, A.M., ‘Lanercost Priory Excavations in 1994’, *TCWAAS,* New Series Vol. 98 (1998), pp. 133-43

Wild, C., & Howard-Davis, C., ‘Excavations at Priory Gardens, Cartmel’, *TCWAAS*, 3rd Series Vol. 100 (2000) pp. 161-180

Wilson, D., ‘Multi-Use Management of the Medieval Anglo-Norman Forest’, *Journal of the Oxford University History Society*, 2004, pp. 1-16.

Wilson, D.M., & Hurst, D.G., ‘Note on the excavation at Moat Hill, Aldingham, Cumbria’, *Journal of Medieval Archaeology,* vol. 13 (1969), p. 258

Wilson, J., *Victoria County History Cumberland*, 2 Vols (London, 1901-5)

Wilson, P.A., ‘On the use of the terms ‘Strathclyde’ and ‘Cumbria’’, *TCWAAS*, 66 (Kendal, 1966) pp. 57-92

Winchester, A.J.L., ‘Peat Storage Huts in Eskdale’, *TCWAAS*, vol. 84 (Kendal, 1984), p. 103-115

Winchester, A.J.L., ‘Medieval Cockermouth’, *TCWAAS* New Series Vol. 86 (Kendal, 1987), pp.109-28

Winchester, A.J.L., ed. & Crosby, A.G., *England’s Landscape: The Northwest*, Vol. 8 English Heritage England’s Landscape Series (London, 2006)

Winchester, A.J.L., *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987)

Wordsworth, W., *A Guide through the District of the Lakes in the North of England* (London, 1906)

Wyatt, J., *Cumbria: the Lake District and its county* (London, 2004)

Young, B., 'Geology of Lanercost Priory' in H. Summerson & S. Harrison, *Lanercost Priory, Cumbria*, CWAAS Research Series vol. X (Kendal, 2000) p.81-86

Young, C., 'Conservation Policies in the Royal Forests of Medieval England', *Albion,* 10 no. 2 (1978)

Youngs, F., *Local Administrative Units: Northern England* (London, 1991).

Zant J., & Griecco, F., 'Recent work in Carlisle', *Current Archaeology*, Vol. 164 (1999), pp. 306-9

Zant, J., 'An excavation at Brougham castle', *TCWAAS* 3rd Series Vol. 1 (Kendal, 2001), pp.31-7

Theses

Creighton, O.H. *Castles and Landscapes: An Archaeological survey of Yorkshire and the East Midlands,* (Leicester PhD, 1998)

Hall, I., *The Lords and Lordships of the English West March: Cumberland and Westmorland from c.1250 to c. 1350* (Durham PhD, 1986)

Howarth, S.J.P., *King, government, and community in Cumberland and Westmorland c. 1200-c.1400* (Liverpool PhD, 1988)

Phillips, N., *The Earthwork Castles of Gwent and Ergyng A.D. 1050-1250* (Newport PhD, 2004)

Richardson, K.M., *Anglo-Norman defence strategy in selected English border and maritime counties, 1066-87* (Hull PhD, 2001)

Electronic

Archaeological Data Service, 'Archsearch', http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/search/keyRes.cfm, accessed 4th September 2008.

Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Homepage, 'The Society', http://www.cwaas.org.uk/ , accessed 2nd February 2008

Cumbria County Council, Census 2001, http://www.cumbriaobservatory.org.uk-AboutCumbria/Census/Census.asp, accessed 20th May 2006

Cumbria County Council, 'Historic Environment Record Online', http://www.cumbria.gov.uk/planning-environment/countryside/historic-environment/HER_online.asp , accessed 22nd Sept. 2007

English Heritage Online Thesaurus, http://thesaurus.english-heritage.org.uk/ , accessed 22nd July 2006

English Heritage, 'Hadrian's Wall NMP', http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/server/show/nav.1162 , accessed 12th October 2004

Geography Department, University of Portsmouth, Online projects, 'Guide to the Lakes', http://www.geog.port.ac.uk/webmap/thelakes/html/lakemenu.htm , accessed 30th January 2008

Institute of Name Studies, University of Nottingham, 'A Key to English Place Names', http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/english/ins/kepn/ , accessed 1st October 2007

Lake District National Park Authority, 'Education Service Geology Factsheet', http://www.lake-district.gov.uk/lake_district_docs95/factsheet_geology.pdf , accessed 4th June 2008

National Archives, 'Manorial Documents Register'; http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/mdr/ ; accessed 1st February 2007

Pastscape, NMR searchable database, http://www.pastscape.org/default.aspx , accessed 3rd June 2003

Winchester, A.J.L. & Straughton, E., 'Cumbrian Manorial Records Project', http://www.lancs.ac.uk/fass/projects/manorialrecords/index.htm , accessed 14th February 2007