Aspects of archaeology, history, landscape, material culture and structures of bishops' houses in the English dioceses of Carlisle and Durham, and the Scots dioceses of Glasgow and St Andrews c1450-1660

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Volume 2 of 2

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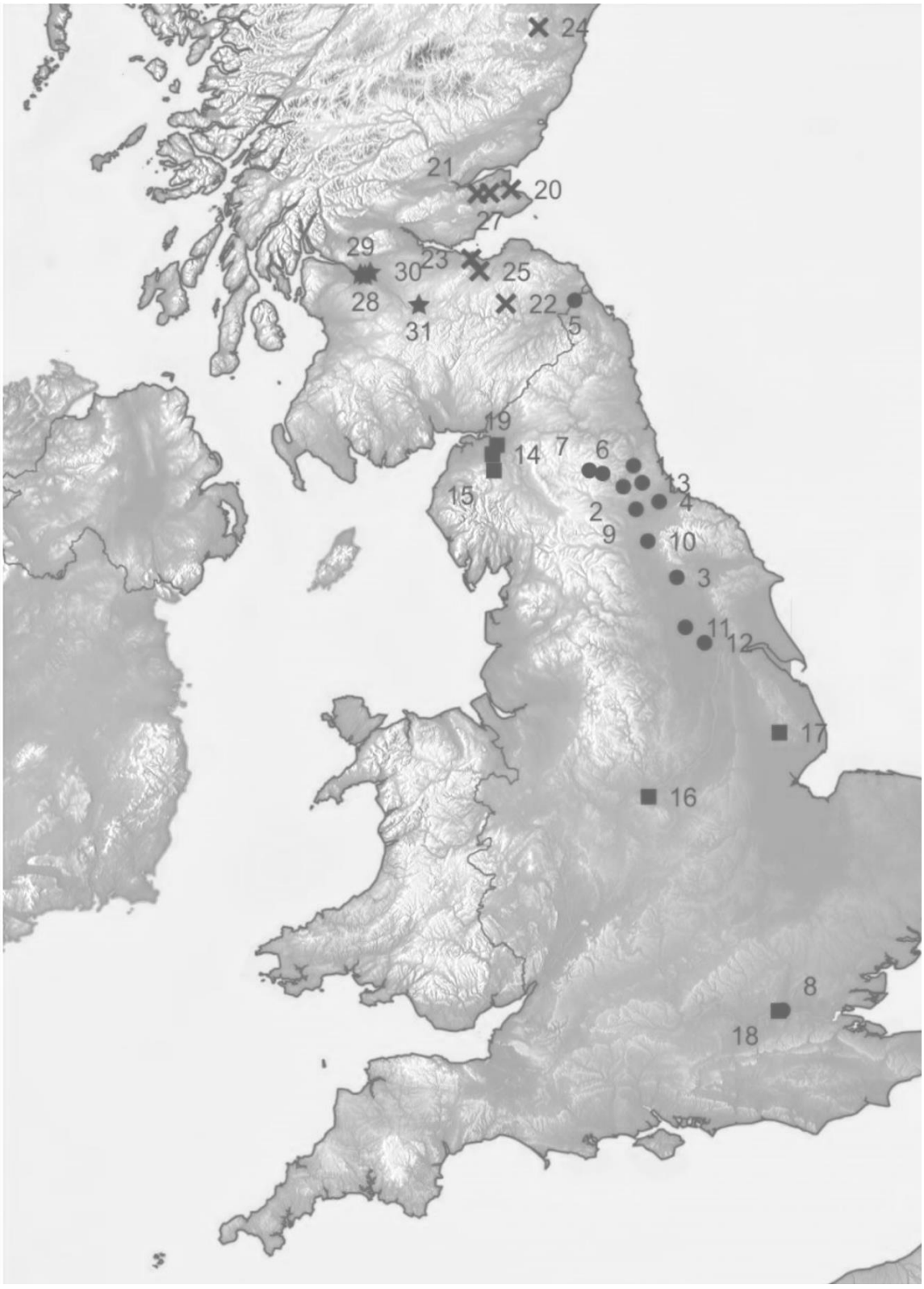


Figure 1.1 Location map of sites and study area. Symbols denote residences belonging to different bishoprics. Circles = Durham, Squares = Carlisle, Crosses = St Andrews, Stars = Glasgow. Key overleaf.

1 – Durham Castle

2 – Auckland Castle

3- Crayke Castle

4 – Stockton Castle

5 – Norham Castle

6 – Wolsingham Bishop's House

7 – Westgate Castle

8 – Durham House

9 – Darlington Bishop's House

10 – Northallerton Bishop's House

11 – Wheel Hall

12 – Howden Bishop's House

13 – Bishop Middleham Castle

14 – Rose Castle

15 - Bewley Castle

16 – Melbourne Hall

17 – Horncastle Bishop's House

18 – Carlisle House

19 – Linstock Castle

20 – St Andrews Castle

21 – Monimail Tower

22 – Stow Bishop's House

23 – The Bishop's House on Edinburgh Cowgate

24 – Monymusk

25 – Lasswade

26 – Tyninghame

27 – Dairsie Castle

28 – Glasgow Bishop's House

29 – Partick Bishop's Palace

30 – Lochwood/Bishop's Loch

31 – Ancrum Bishop's House

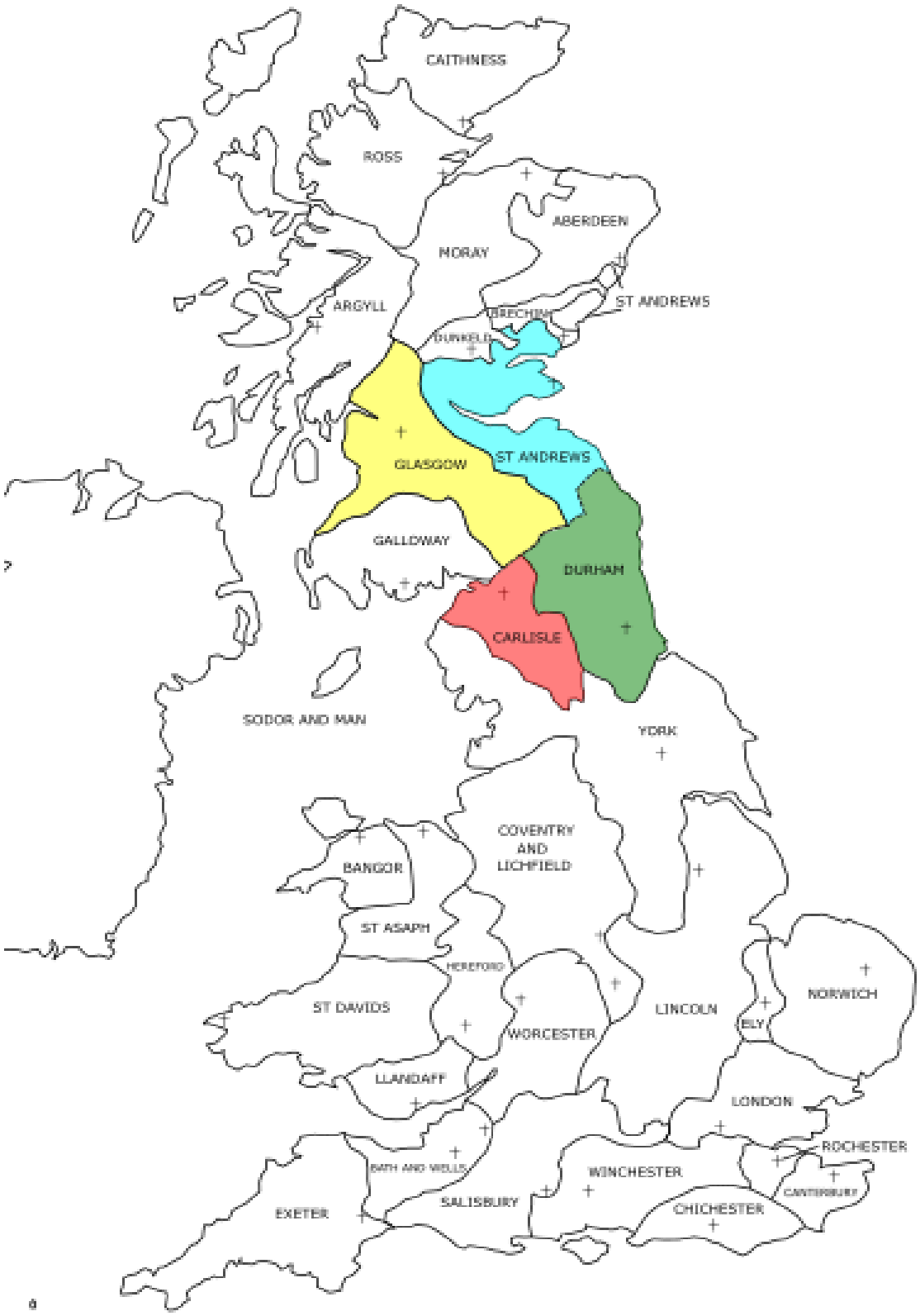


Figure 1.2. Map of pre-Reformation medieval diocese boundaries. Study-dioceses are coloured. Image drawn by author.

Category	Condition and source quality	Sites
Category 1	• Well-preserved standing remains. • Significant amounts of archaeological/architectural investigation • Extensive and detailed historic records	• Durham Castle (D) • Auckland Castle (D) • Rose Castle (C)
Category 2	• Generally well-preserved standing remains featuring some level of spatial reorganisation and/or episodes of destruction which have obscured historic structural phases. • Some archaeological/architectural investigation. • Generous and detailed historic records.	• Crayke Castle (D) • Howden Manor (D) • Linstock Castle (C)
Category 3	• Ruined/partly ruined, and featuring extensive below-ground archaeology. • Some archaeological/architectural investigation. • Limited or fragmentary historic records.	• Norham Castle (D) • Bewley Castle (C) • St Andrews Castle (SA) • Stow Bishop's House (SA)
Category 4	• Only below-ground archaeology with occasional above-ground stonework. • Limited or no archaeological/architectural investigation. • Extremely limited or fragmentary historic records.	• Durham Place (D) • Wolsingham Manor (D) • Stockton Castle (D) • Darlington Bishop's house (D) • Wheel Hall (D) • Westgate Castle (D) • Northallerton Bishop's Manor (D) • Carlisle Place (C) • Melbourne House (C) • Horncastle Bishop's Manor (C) • Edinburgh Cowgate (SA+G) • Glasgow Bishop's Palace (G) • Partick Castle (G) • Lochwood Bishops House (G) • Ancrum Bishop's House (SA)

Category 5	• Sites known only through historic documentation and not able to be accurately geo-referenced.	• Evenwood Manor (D) • Bishop's Row (C) • Monymusk (SA) • Lasswade (SA) • Tyningham (SA)

Figure 2.1: Synopsis of site categories, condition and source quality. Full references and further detail can be found in Appendices.

Diocese	Tier 1	Tier 2
Durham	Durham Castle Auckland Castle Crayke Manor Howden Manor Norham Castle Durham Place, London	Evenwood Wolsingham Stockton Castle Darlington Bishop's House Wheel Hall Westgate Castle Northallerton Bishop's Manor Bishop Middleham Castle
Carlisle	Rose Castle Bewley Castle Carlisle Place, London	Melbourne House Horncastle Bishops House Linstock Castle
St Andrews	St Andrews Castle Monimail Tower Stow Bishop's House Edinburgh Cowgate*	Monymusk Lasswade Tyningham Dairsie Castle
Glasgow	Glasgow Bishop's Palace Partick Castle	Lochwood Ancrum

Figure 2.2: Sites tiered according to source quality and quantity

Bishopric	Standing Buildings	Partially Ruined Buildings	Ruined Buildings	Only below-ground deposits
Durham	Durham Castle, Auckland Castle	Crayke Castle, Howden Manor	Norham Castle	Durham Place, Northallerton Bishops House, Westgate Castle, Darlington Bishops House, Stockton Manor, Wheel Hall, Wolsingham and Evenwood Manor
Carlisle	Rose Castle	Linstock Castle	Bewley Castle	Horncastle Manor, Melbourne House, Carlisle Place
St Andrews		Monimail Tower	St Andrew's Castle, Stow Bishop's House, Dairsie Castle	The Bishops House on Edinburgh Cowgate, Monymusk, Lasswade, Tyningham
Glasgow				Ancrum, Partick Castle, Glasgow Bishop's Palace, Lochwood

Figure 2.3: Survival of buildings at sites in the study area. Full references can be found in Appendices

Site	Diocese	Excavated?	Yield
Auckland Castle	Durham	Yes	Artefacts, in situ remains, bioarchaeological matter. Multi-period and multiple points of focus.
Durham Castle	Durham	Yes	Artefacts, some in situ remains.
Darlington Bishop's House	Durham	Yes	Artefacts, bioarchaeological matter, in situ remains. Multi-period.
Stockton Manor	Durham	Yes	Some artefacts and small amounts of in situ remains.
Crayke Castle	Durham	Yes	Some artefacts and small amounts of in situ remains.
Northallerton Bishop's House	Durham	No	
Westgate Castle	Durham	Yes	Artefacts, in situ remains, bioarchaeological matter.
Wheel Hall	Durham	No	
Wolsingham	Durham	Yes	Some in situ remains, some artefacts.
Durham Place	Durham	No	
Norham Castle	Durham	Yes	Some artefacts, other archaeological features.
Rose Castle	Carlisle	Yes	Some in situ remains, small amounts of artefact evidence.

Site	Diocese	Excavated?	Yield
Bewley Castle	Carlisle	No	
Horncastle Manor	Carlisle	No	
Melbourne House	Carlisle	No	
Carlisle House	Carlisle	No	
St Andrews Castle	St Andrews	Yes	In situ remains, archaeological evidence.
Stow Bishop's House	St Andrews	Yes	Artefact evidence, in situ remains.
Monimail Tower	St Andrews	No	
Dairsie Castle	St Andrews	No	
Edinburgh Cowgate	St Andrews/Glasgow	Yes	Artefact evidence, high quantities of bioarchaeological matter.
Glasgow Bishop's Palace	Glasgow	Yes	Forthcoming
Lochwood	Glasgow	Yes	Forthcoming
Partick Castle	Glasgow	Yes	Forthcoming
Ancrum	Glasgow	Yes	Artefact evidence, bioarchaeological matter, in situ remains.

Figure 2.4: Archaeological results from sites in the study area. Full references can be found in Appendices

1476	Norham Castle and Auckland Castle	Edward IV orders repair of defences and keep at Norham. At Durham, Bishop Booth constructs new gateway
1480	Rose Castle	Bell constructs first-floor chapel and repairs drawbridge
1494-1501	Durham Castle, Norham Castle and Wheel Hall (all BoD)	Fox reduces length of great hall, inserts a four-storey chamber block south of West Range, adds trumpeters' pulpits, remodels kitchens and service spaces At Norham, Fox adds water supply and strengthens castle defences At Wheel Hall, repairs are made to mill and 'glowe'
1497	Norham Castle	Besieged by Scots
1508	Glasgow Bishop's Palace	Site enclosed with ashlar wall
1509	Edinburgh Cowgate and Auckland Castle	Edinburgh Cowgate building finished Bishop Ruthall begins building chamber block between 1509-23
1514	Norham Castle	Donjon re-reroofed and Clapham's Tower built
1521	Rose Castle	Kite begins renovations
1524	Rose Castle	Kite completes tower
1522-8	Monimail	Tower built during this period
1534	*ACT OF SUPREMACY IN ENGLAND*	

1536	*FIRST ACT OF DISSOLUTION*	
1537	Rose Castle	Kite complete renovations
1540	Durham Castle and Auckland Castle	Tunstall builds chapel, stairway, bell-tower, two-storey gallery, improves water supply Tunstall builds gallery and additional chamber block
1547	HENRY VIII DIES, EDWARD VI SUCCEEDS	
1549	ACT OF UNIFORMITY	
1553	EDWARD VI DIES, MARY 1 SUCCEEDS	
1554	REVIVAL OF THE HERESY ACT	
1558	MARY DIES, ELIZABETH I SUCCEEDS (Elizabethan Religious Settlement; Act of Supremacy; Act of Uniformity)	
1561-7	Auckland Castle	Pilkington makes alteration to College and possible chapel
1569	Norham Castle	Condemned as unfit for garrisoning
1596	Norham Castle	Elizabeth I refuses to spend any more money in upkeep at Norham Castle
1603	JAMES VI CROWNED	
1617-27	Durham Castle and Auckland Castle	Neile created Senate Suite, remodelled room north of great hall in advance of James I visit At Auckland, Neile remodelled and redecorated the chapel, updates and redecorates elsewhere at Auckland Castle.

1625	CHARLES I CROWNED	
1642	ENGLISH CIVIL WAR BREAKS OUT	

Figure 3.1: Reduced timeline of key events and building episodes

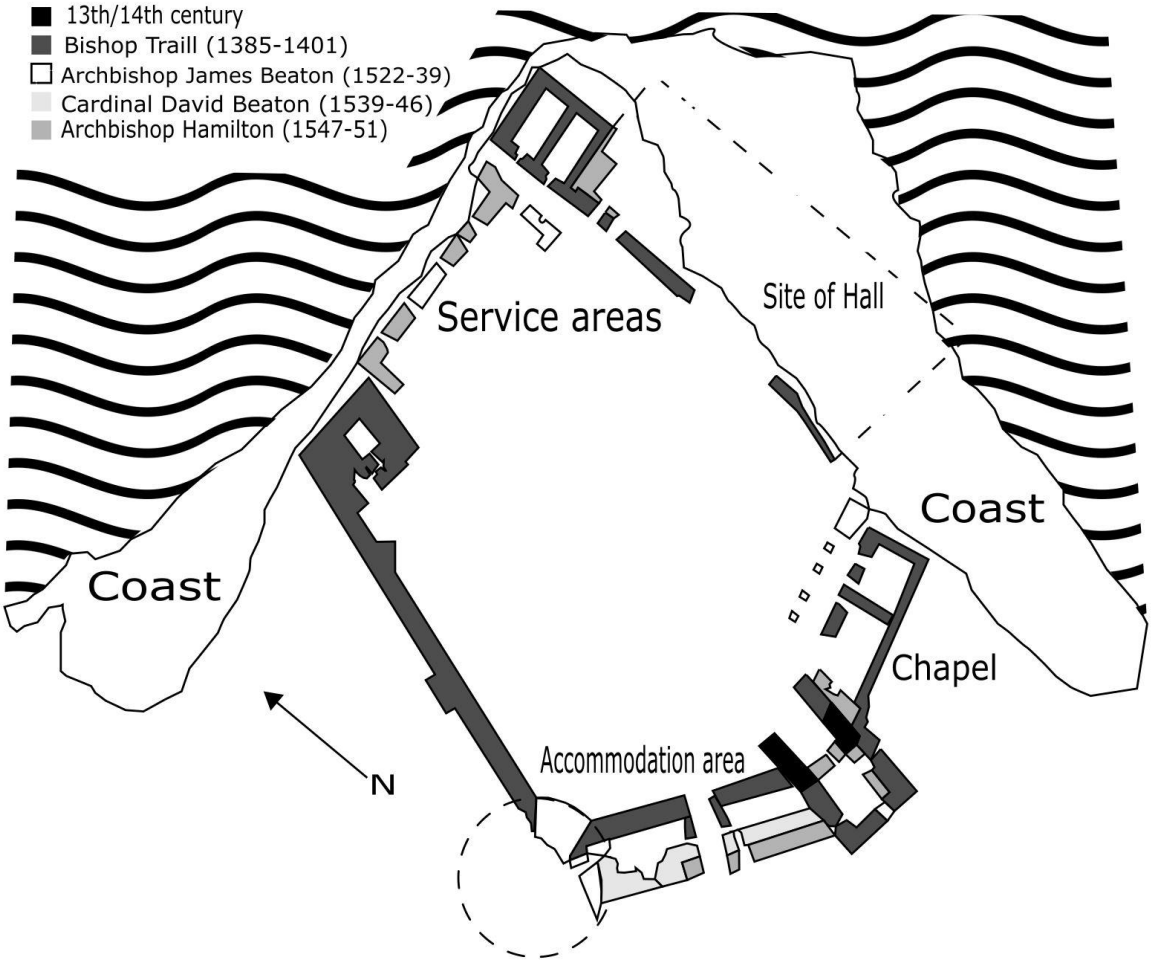


Figure 3.2: Phased plan of St Andrews Castle, including structural work constructed by three bishops in this study: James Beaton, David Beaton and John Hamilton in the period 1522-1551. This figure also shows the location of lost buildings, notably the hall that has since been lost due to coastal erosion. Based on a plan by Historic Scotland (Tabraham and Owen 2010)

Cuthbert Tunstall (1530-59)	**Unmarried with no issue.**			
James Pilkington (1561-76)	Alice Kingsmill (d.1596)	Daughter of Sir John Kingsmill of Sigmanton. Married c. 1564. It has been suggested that this marriage advantaged a union between Pilkington and the See of Winchester. Alice's brother, Richard Kingsmill, was commissioner for the establishment of religion in the north of England (1559-1600). Marriage is believed to have possibly been secret before at least October 1564.	Isaac (*bap*. 1567/8), Joshua (died young), Ruth (*bap*. 1569) and Deborah (*bap.* 1564).	Deborah married Thomas Gargrave. All surviving children recognised in will. Later allegations were made by Thomas Fuller relating to Pilkington's daughters receiving £4000 on marriage.
Richard Barnes (1577-87)	Fridesmund(a) Gifford (d.1581) Jane Dillicotes	Fridesmund Gifford: daughter of Ralph Gifford of Claydon in Buckinghamshire, sister of Roger Gifford the Queen's physician. Date of marriage unknown. Fridesmund was buried at Auckland St Andrews and is commemorated with a memorial brass. Jane Dillicotes: Allegedly French. Married in 1582 in the chapel of Durham Castle.	Fridesmund Gifford: Emmanuel, Walter, Elizabeth, John, Barnabe (*bap*. 1571, *d.* 1609), Mary, Timothy, Margaret and Anne. Jane Dillicotes: No children.	

		Survived Barnes and latterly married Leonard Pilkington, clergyman.		
Matthew Hutton (1589-95)	Katherine Fulnetby (m. 1564, d. unknown) Beatrix Fincham (m. 1567, d. 1582) Frances Bowes (m. 1583, d. unknown).	Fulnetby: Niece of Bishop Thomas Goodrich of Ely and Lord Chancellor. Fincham: Daughter of Sir Thomas Fincham of the Isle of Ely. Bowes: Widow of Martin Bowes, son of Alderman Sir Martin Bowes. Survived Hutton.	Fulnetby: No children. Fincham: 6 children including: Timothy, Thomas, Elizabeth, Thomasine and Anne. Bowes: No children.	Timothy married daughter of Sir George Bowes of Streatham, and is styled as Timothy Hutton of Marske. Thomas married the daughter of Sir John Bennet (chancellor) and is styled Thomas Hutton of Nether Poppleton. Both these families are considered county families in Yorkshire. Elizabeth married Richard Remington, archdeacon of Cleveland. Thomasine married Sir William Gee, secretary to the council in the north. Anne married John Calverley, gentleman.
Tobie Matthew (1595-1606)	Frances Parker (m. 1577, d. 1629).	Daughter of Bishop William Barlow of Bath and Wells (d. 1598) and Agatha Wellesbourne, former nun. Widow of Matthew Parker (m. 1569), son of Archbishop of Canterbury	Toby (b. 1577, d. 1655), John, Samuel – 2 others died in infancy.	Toby was a writer and courtier, graduate of Oxford University. He had a close relationship with Francis Bacon and

		Matthew Parker. Frances and Matthew had one son, Matthew, born after Parker's death in 1575.		famously converted to Catholicism, for which he was forced to leave the country and travel Europe for 9 years. He was very involved with the courts of Vienna and Madrid. Little is known about John and Samuel. Few items were left by Frances or Toby in their will.
William James (1606-17)	Katherine Risby Second Wife Isabel Atkinson	Risby: Born in Abingdon, Buckinghamshire. Second Wife: Identity unknown. Atkinson: Born in Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Risby: No known children Second Wife: No known children Atkinson: Francis James.	Francis James: very little known. Principal beneficiary of James' will.
Richard Neile (1617-27)	Dorothy Dacre (m. c.1605, d. 1647)	Daughter of Christopher Dacre and cousin of Katherine Howard.	Sir Paul Neile	Little is known about Paul Neile.
George Mountain (1627-28)	Unknown.			
John Howson (1628-32)	Jane Floyd (m. 1601	Floyd was a former parishioner of Bampton where Howson was vicar between 1598-1602).	3 sons and 2 daughters named as Anne Farnaby and Melicent Cleaver in	Five children and 2 grandchildren identified as beneficiaries in will.

			will.	
Thomas Morton (1628-32)	Unmarried with no issue.			

Robert Aldrich (1537-56)	Unmarried with no issue.			
Owen Oglethorpe (1557-59)	Unmarried with no issue.			
Bernard Gilpin (1560)	Unmarried with no issue.			
John Best (1560-70)	Elizabeth Somner (m. c.1560, d. 1574).	Very little is known about her life prior to marriage. After Best's death in 1570, Somner suffered extreme poverty and was allowed to stay in the residence until the appointment of Richard Barnes.	4 children. Details unknown.	
Richard Barnes (1570-77)	See Richard Barnes entry in Bishops of Durham.			
John May (1577-98)	Amy Cowel (m. c.1560).	Amy was widow of John Cowel of Lancashire and daughter of John Vowel of North Creake, Norfolk.	John May and 3 daughters.	May's children inherited very little after his death, with his son inheriting substantial debts.
Henry Robinson (1598-1616)	Unmarried with no issue.			
Robert Snoden (1616-21)	Abigail Orme (m. c. 1599)	Daughter of Robert Orme of Elston in Nottinghamshire. Likely met during Snoden's time as rector of Hickling	3 sons, 2 daughters. One called Rutland (bap. 1600), Scroope and George.	Rutland attended Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1615. Rutland was a noted Parliamentarian

		in Nottinghamshire.		supported, and also accused of bigamy. Rutland, Scroope and George are mentioned in the 'Humble Petition of Abigail Snoden' as residing in Horncastle Manor.
Richard Milbourne (1621-24)	Married c. 1594. Identity unknown.		At least one child, Leonard. Possibly more.	Leonard Milbourne is thought to have also attended Queen's College, Cambridge, and taken up ministry thereafter.
Richard Senhouse (1624-26)	Unknown.			
Francis White (1626-29)	Married by wife's identity is unknown.		Several daughters mentioned in will. Possibly one son named Francis White who was baptized at Barrow-upon-Soar in Leicestershire in 1612.	
Barnaby Potter (1629-42)	Elizabeth Yard (m. 1615)	Daughter of Walter Northcote of Crediton, a clothier. Elizabeth was widow of Edward Yard of Churston Ferrers. Elizabeth and Barnaby married at Dean Prior in Devon, in the same	1 son (d. 1623) and 6 daughters all baptized in Dean Prior between 1616-1625. Two daughters were named Grace and Amye.	Very little is known about these children.

		year that Barnaby had been presented the rectory of Deptford in Devon and the vicarage of Dean Prior.		
James Ussher (1642-43)	Phoebe Challoner (m. 1613)	Daughter of Luke Challoner and Rose Ball. Ussher was living in Ireland at the time while he was chancellor of St Patrick's Cathedral and prebend of Finglas. Phoebe is likely to have also been Irish.	Elizabeth (b. 1619)	Elizabeth was born in London and baptized at St Dunstan-in-the-East.

Figure 3.3: Table detailing the families of the Bishops of Durham (top) and Bishops of Carlisle (bottom).

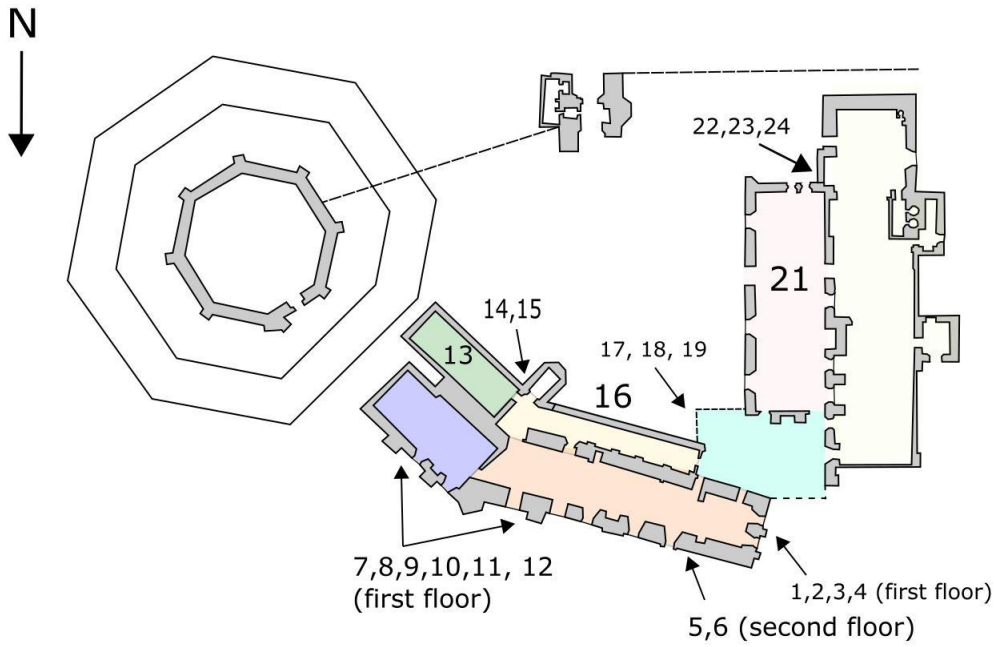


Figure 3.4: Simplified conjectural plan of Durham Castle showing the rooms mentioned in the 1628 Inventory. Room arrangements are based on the order of rooms as listed, existing rooms and standing buildings analysis. In the order of the inventory, these are: 1) Little Dining Room, 2) New Chamber, 3) Lords Chamber, 4) Lords Study, 5) Chamber over the study, 6) Chamber over the Lords Chamber, 7) Clerke's House, 8) Second Judge's Chamber, 9) Second Chamber to the Judge's, 10) Third Chamber, 11) Senior Judge's Chamber, 12) Stair Foot to the Armory, 13) Chapel, 14) Closet, 15) Stair Foot, 16) Gallery, 17) Mistress Chamber, 18) Maid's Chamber, 19) Withdrawing Chamber, 20) Upper Dining Room, 21) Hall, 22) Pantry, 23) Buttery, 24) Servery, 25) Kitchen

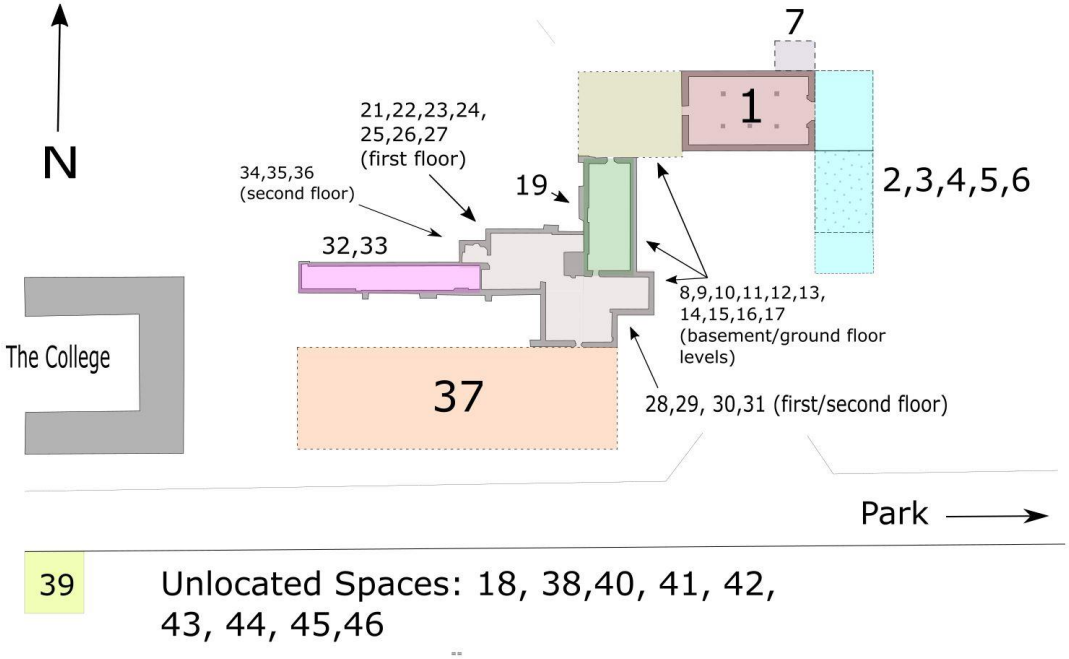


Figure 3.5: Simplified plan of Auckland Castle showing the conjectured location of rooms mentioned in the 1628 Inventory based on the location of existing rooms, archaeological discoveries and order of rooms mentioned in the text. In order of writing rooms these are: 1) Hall, 2) Old Pantry, 3) Old Kitchen, 4) Old Scullery, 5) Brewhouse, 6) Larder, 7) Chamber on the north side of the hall, 8) New Wine-cellar, 9) New Kitchen, 10) Spicerie, 11) New Larder, 12) Old Candlehouse, 13) New Pastry, 14) New Scullery within the Pantry, 15) The Surveying Room without the New Kitchen, 16) New Pantry, 17) New Ewry, 18) Out Pantry, 19) Great Chamber, 20) Dining Room, 21) Earls Chamber, 22) Wardrobe, 23) Chancellors Chamber, 24) Knights Chamber, 25) Low Nursery, 26) Room within the Nursery, 27) The Chamber next about the nursery, 28) High Nursery, 29) Chamber over the Chancellors Chamber, 30) Chamber of the Knights Chamber, 31) Lords Study, 32) Long Gallery, 33) Chamber at the end of the gallery, 34) Lords Chamber, 35) Chamber within the Lords Chamber, 36) New Library, 37) Low Chapel, 38) Mr Cosin's Chamber, 39) Chamber by the Gatehouse, 40) Chamber over the Buttery, 41) Low Parlour, 42) Porters Lodge, 43) 2 Stables, 44) Slaughterhouse, 45) Jo. Lockies House, 46) Yard

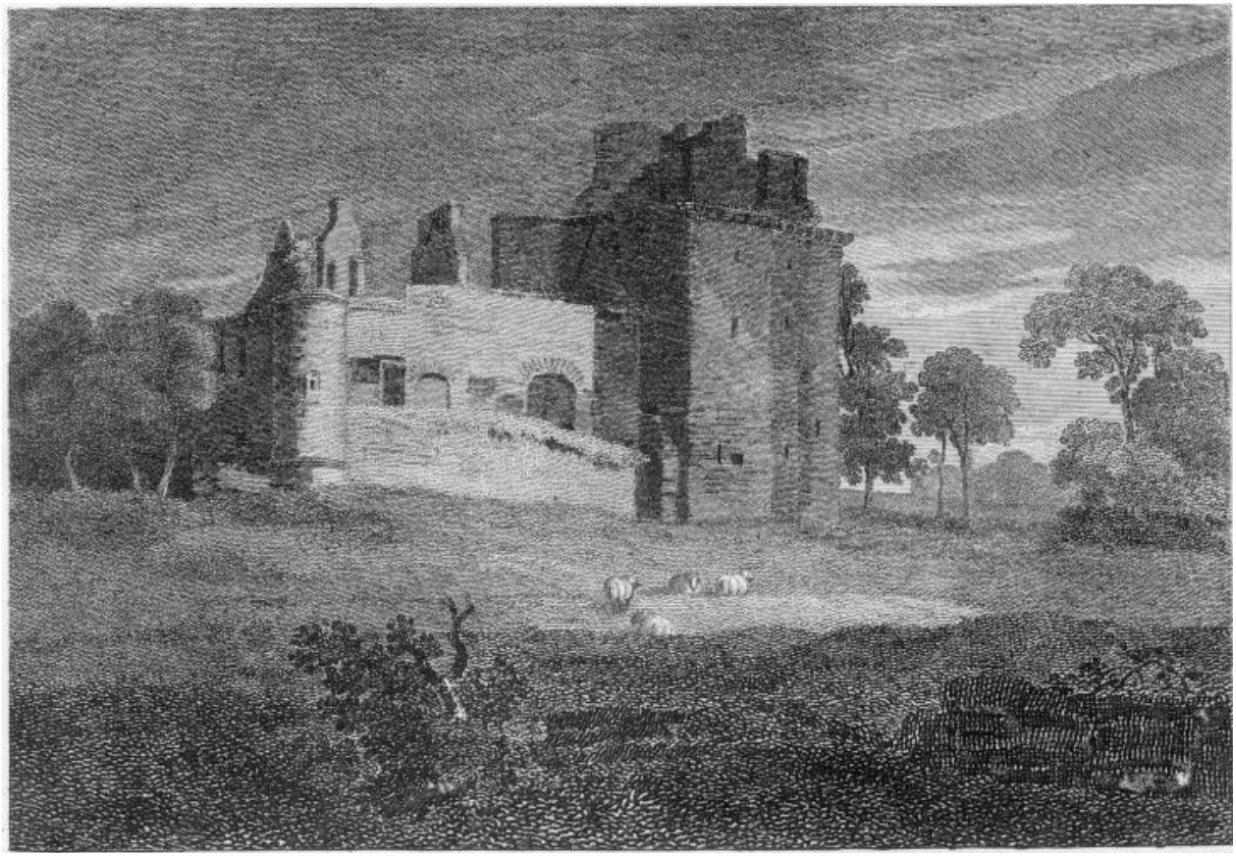


Figure 3.6: The standing remains of Melgund Castle, revealing architectural details including round towers, decorated parapets and structures around a central keep-like structure. First published in May 1809 in the *Scot Mag and Edinburgh Literary Publication* by A. Constable. The version here was republished by Cumming 1848, *Forfarshire Illustrated*, Dundee

Figure 3.7a. 1952 photograph of Ethie Castle. The wing and cross passage in the foreground are the earliest 14th century phases of Ethie Castle with additional wings visible in picture being added by Beaton in the 16th century, including a spiral staircase in bartizan tower, tower with parapet, and the round corner tower. Façade and windows heavily modified in 18th and 19th century. Image sourced from: CANMORE Collection SC 1328500: E72856S

Figure 2.7b. Standing remains at St Andrews Castle (left) and Monimail Tower (right), both sites owned and occupied by the (Arch)bishops of St Andrews. Both share features common to many sites owned and used by the (arch)bishops of St Andrews, including decorated parapets, round turrets and bartizans and square-shaped plans. Photographs authors own.

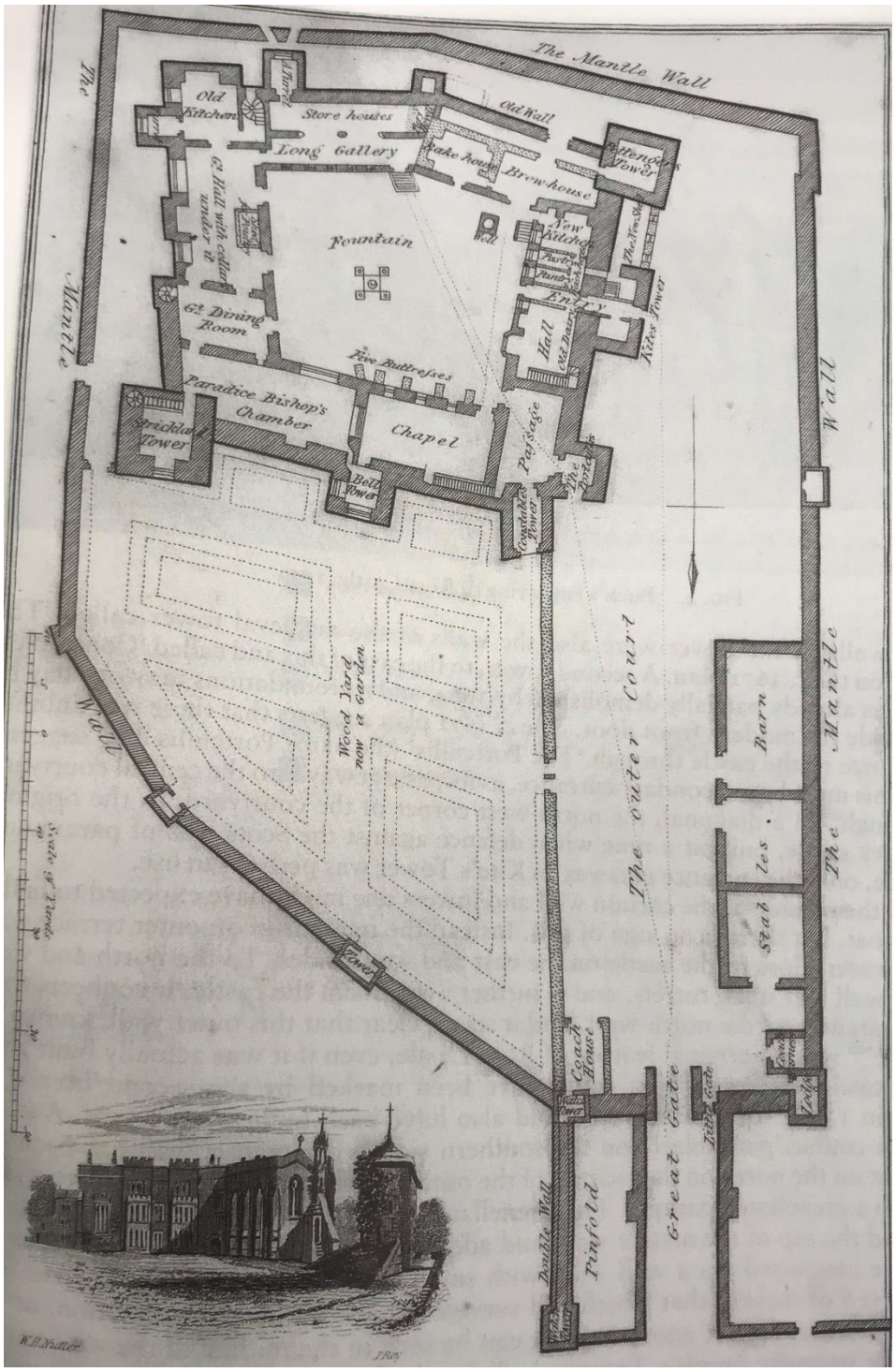


Figure 3.8: Samuel Jefferson's re-drawn copy of *c*.1671 plan of Rose Castle (now illegible). This image, published in *History and Antiquities of Carlisle* (1838) shows the arrangement of rooms before the Civil War and Commonwealth. In the bottom left corner is a contemporary 1838 depiction of Rose Castle which shows the remaining two wings of the building.

Excavation Season	Types of Faunal Remains
2018 – Site of ‘Old Kitchens’	Cow
	Pig/Boar
	Fallow Deer
	Shellfish (oyster/lobster/clam)
	Dog
	Sheep
2019 – North Terrace Excavation	Cow
	Pig/Boar
	Red Deer
	Fallow Deer
	Shellfish (oyster/lobster/clam)
	Dog
	Sheep
	Fish Bones
	Chicken/other poultry

Figure 4.1: List of faunal remains recovered from 2018 and 2019 excavations of Auckland Castle. Findings based on preliminary results. (Rowley-Conwy pers comm)

Food Group	Type	Source
Animal	Cow	Herds kept at Auckland Park, Bishop Middleham Park, Crayke Park, Wolsingham Park, Stockton Park. Cattle from Auckland Park are reported to have been a unique white variety (see Appendix 2).
	Deer	Herds kept at Stanhope, Auckland Park, Wolsingham, Crayke, Stockton Park. Crayke Park had a deer leap (and therefore a pale), Auckland Park had two parks (inner and outer) which reflects the breeding of deer. Stanhope regularly supplied deer for feasts throughout the study period, and was the site of the Great Chase in the 12th and 13th centuries.
	Pig/Boar	Auckland Park, Bishop Middleham Park, Crayke Park and Stanhope. All parks had provisions for pannaging.
	Dog	Kennels are likely at all sites. Dogs known to have been kept at Darlington, Bishop Middleham Park and Stanhope.
	Horse	Stabling facilities at all sites. Horses known to have been raised and knackered at Darlington Manor.
	Chicken	Internal chicken coops recorded at Auckland Castle and Durham Castle. Likely all sites maintained a small brood of chickens.
	Swans and other fowl	Auckland Park and Bishop Middleham Park both maintained swanneries.
Aquatic/Marine	Freshwater Fish	Auckland Park, Bishop Middleham Park, Howden Manor all had fishponds.
	Shellfish (freshwater)	All residences had nearby access to rivers which could have supplied freshwater oysters.

	Shellfish (marine)	All sites within diocese are within a 5-day ride from the sea. Lobsters, oysters and clams could all be transported live.
	Other marine resources	References to sturgeon being caught and transported from Darlington and other dioceses, seals and porpoises being hunted in Stockton. Bishops of Durham also had rights over the coastline and were able to claim wrecks and washed-up whales, dolphins and porpoises.
Plants	Vegetables and foraged foods	Vegetable gardens recorded at Auckland Castle, Crayke Castle, Howden Manor. There were probably others too.
		Foraging occurred at all of the bishop's parks. Foraged items may have included mushrooms, berries and nuts.
Other	Salt	Bishops of Durham owned salt pans at South Shields and Hartlepool.
	Honey	Honey and beeswax sourced from the bishop's parks at Auckland Castle, Crayke, Bishop Middleham. Probably sourced from others too.

Figure 4.2: Details of all animals, fish, shellfish and other foodstuffs resources known from account and other documentation relating to the Bishops of Durham. A full discussion of this information can be found in Chapter 5

Figure 4.3: Baluster stem of a glass wine goblet with scallop shell motif. Other decorative elements are consistent with more common lion mask designs. Dateable between 1550-1650. Discovered during 2019 excavations of North Terrace at Auckland Castle. Photo credit: Jeff Veitch

Figure 4.4: Decorated bone handle knife with gold and silver filigree bolster. Discovered during 2019 excavations on the North Terrace at Auckland Castle. Photo credit: Jeff Veitch

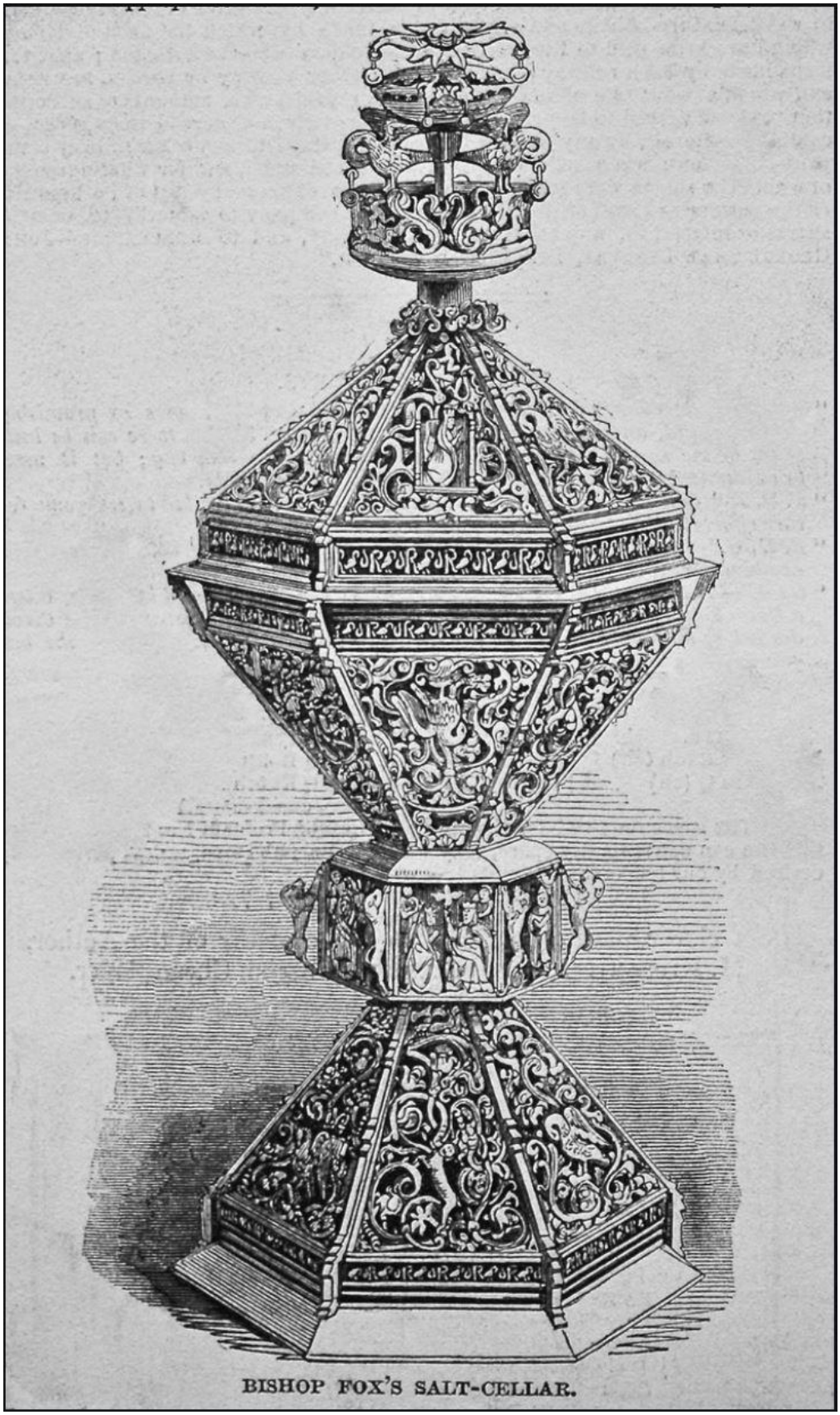


Figure 4.5 Salt cellar c.1500 once belonging to Richard Fox, Bishop of Durham (1494-1501) and bearing his emblem. Now at Corpus Christi, Oxford. Drawing from the 'London Illustrated News, May 12th 1849'

Figure 4.6 Service screen at Auckland Castle bearing the motif of the pelican-in-its-piety, the emblem of Richard Fox, Bishop of Durham (1494-1501). Photo courtesy of Jeff Veitch.

Figure 4.7 Service screen at Durham Castle bearing the motif of the pelican-in-its-piety, the emblem of Richard Fox, Bishop of Durham (1494-1501). Photos courtesy of the Auckland Project.

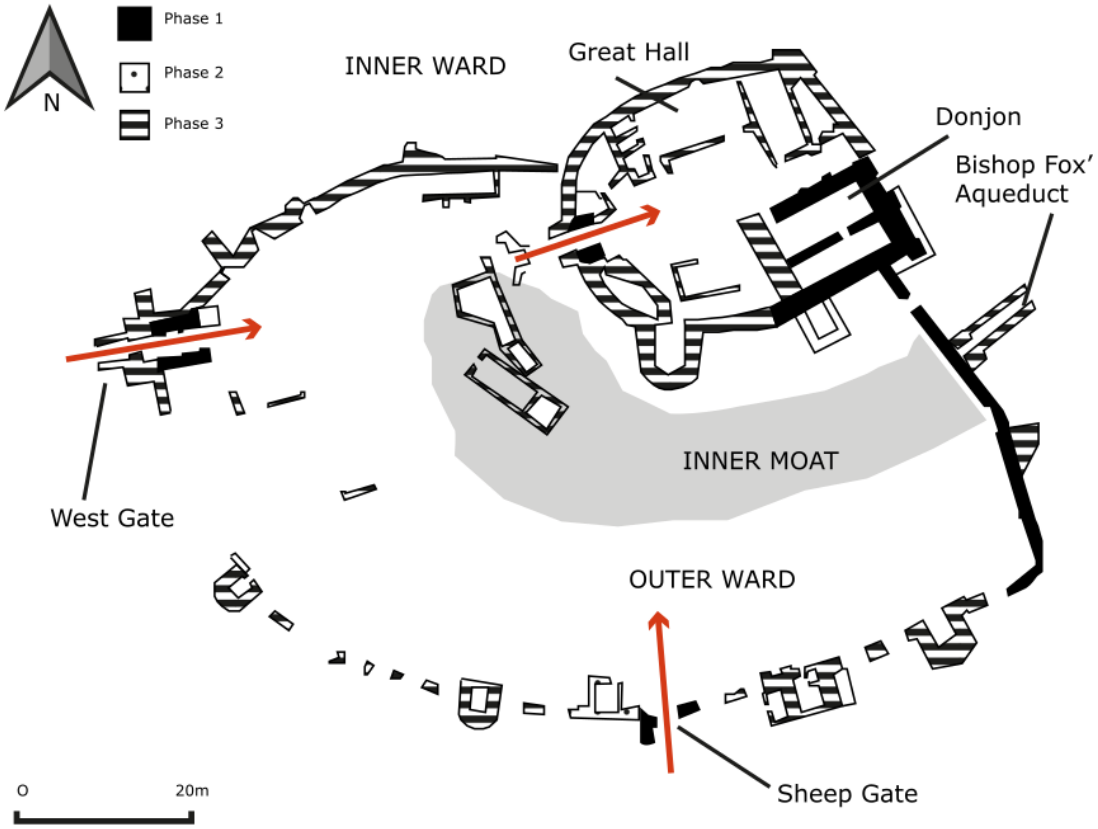


Figure 4.8 Ground-floor plan of the surviving remains of Norham Castle. Re-drawn from Historic England (2000).

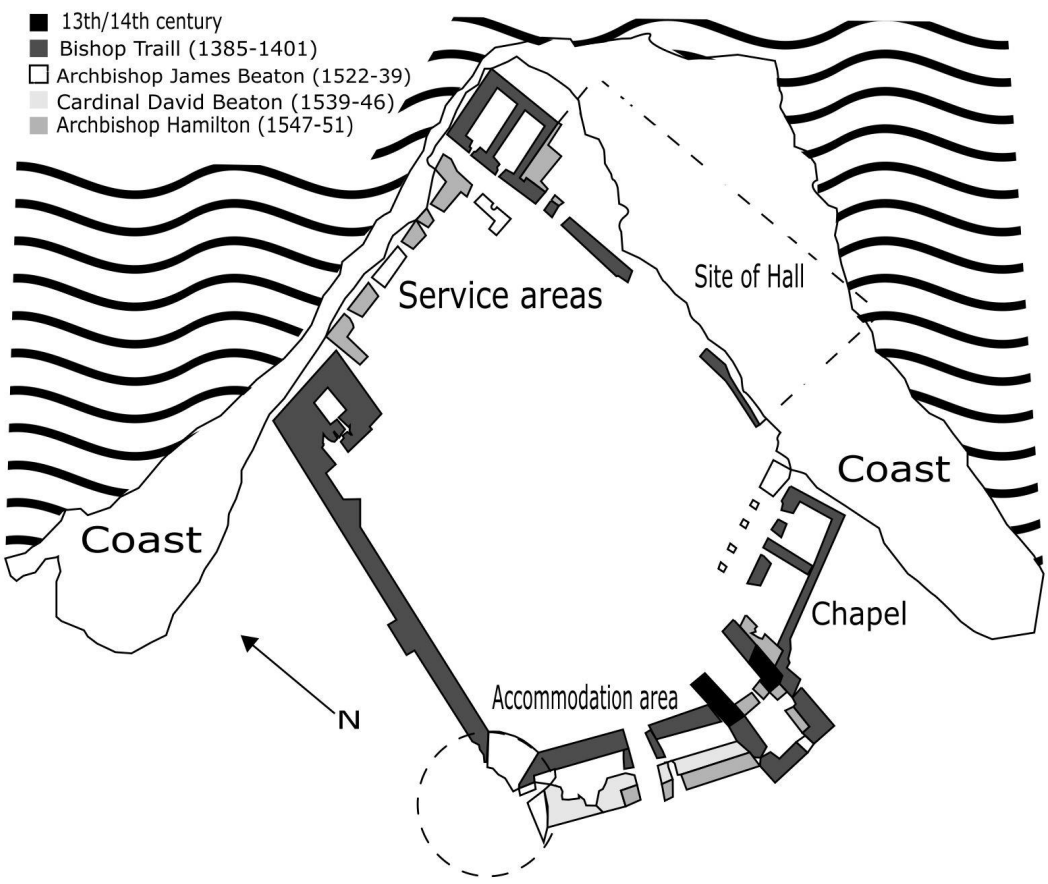


Figure 4.9 Ground floor plan of St Andrews Castle. Based on image from Historic Environment Scotland (Tabraham and Owen 2010)

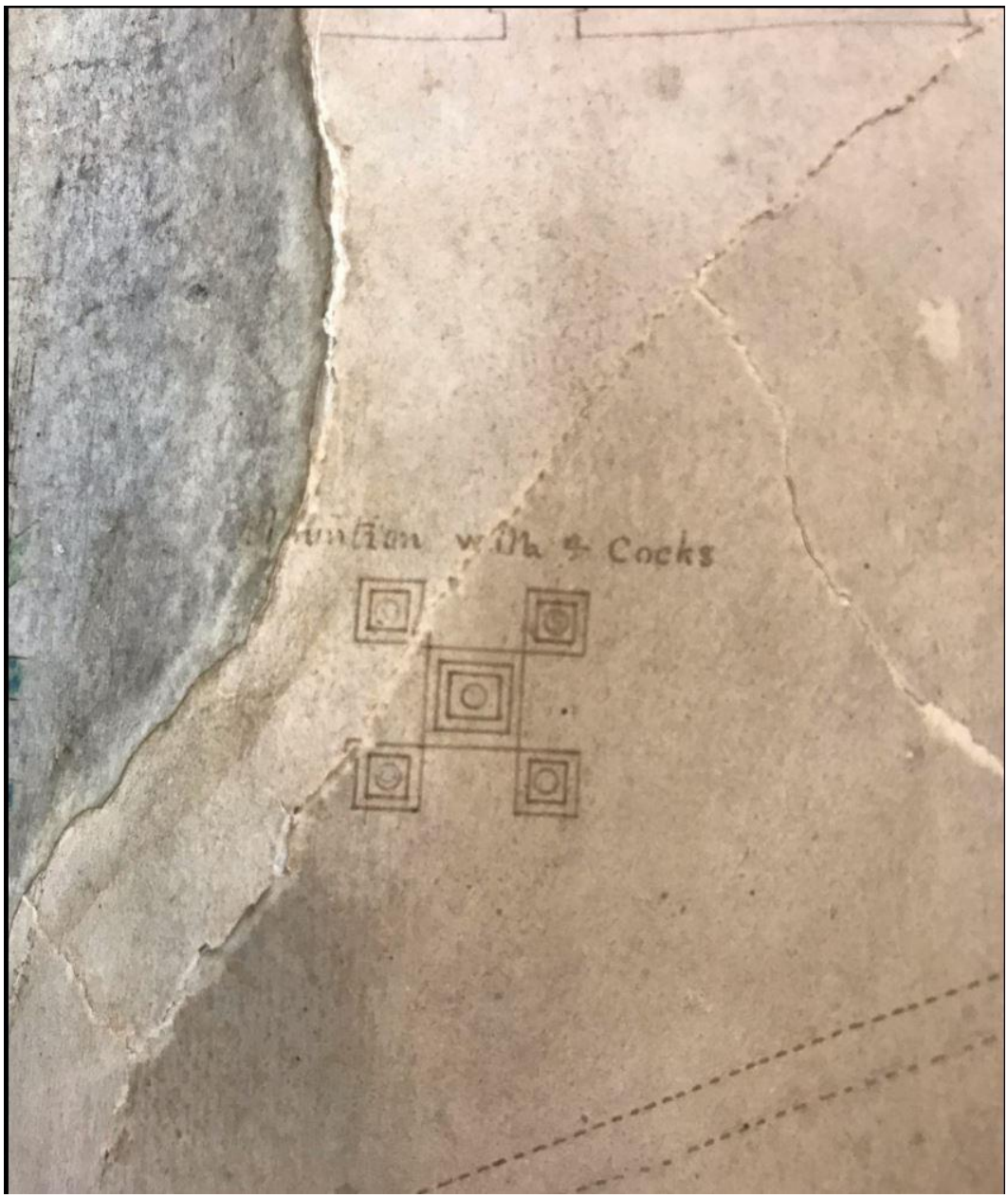


Figure 5.1: The Fountain of the Four Cocks. Image extracted from Stearne's 1690 plan of Rose Castle (DRC 2/213). Photograph by author.

IMAGE REMOVED DUE TO COPYRIGHT.

Figure 5.2: LIDAR image of Northallerton Castle, North Yorks. 2018.

Figure 5.3: Section of park pale at Auckland Castle, Co. Durham. Photograph by the author

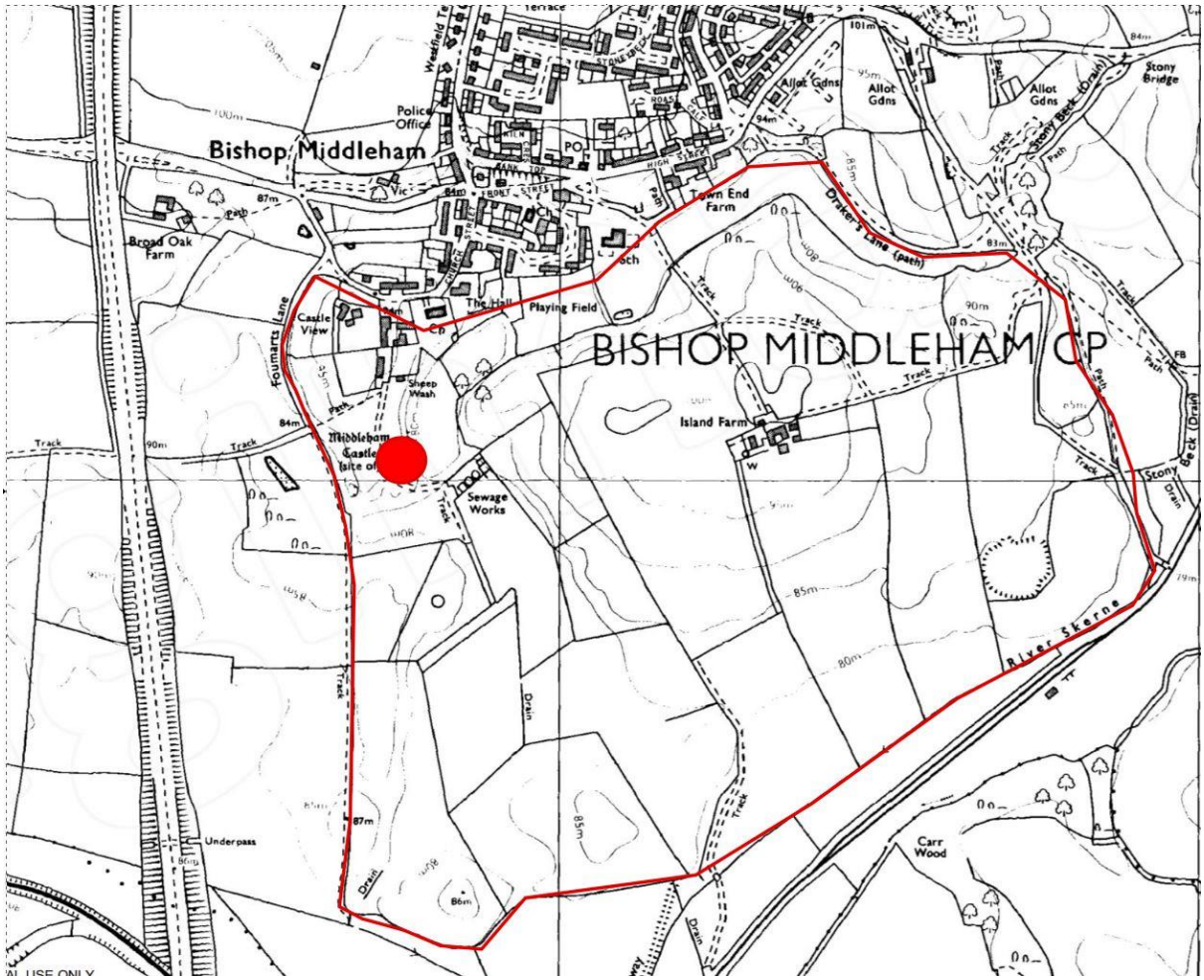


Figure 5.4: Edited 1980 OS Map showing outline of park and castle. Image submitted in compliance with EDINA Digimap Licensing.

Figure 5.5a. Historic 1948 aerial photograph of Auckland Park showing park curving park boundary. RAF/58/B/36 V 5412. Copyright: Crown MOD.)

IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS.

Figure 5.5b. Map of Auckland Park showing features, including curving ditch (pale blue). Image courtesy of Historic England.

Figure 5.6: Anonymous 1740 drawing of Auckland Castle and park (CCB MP/92 (7479)

Figure 5.7: Annotated aerial image of Crayke Park, North Yorks. Both boundaries are recorded. Site of castle marked by pink circle (Google Earth)

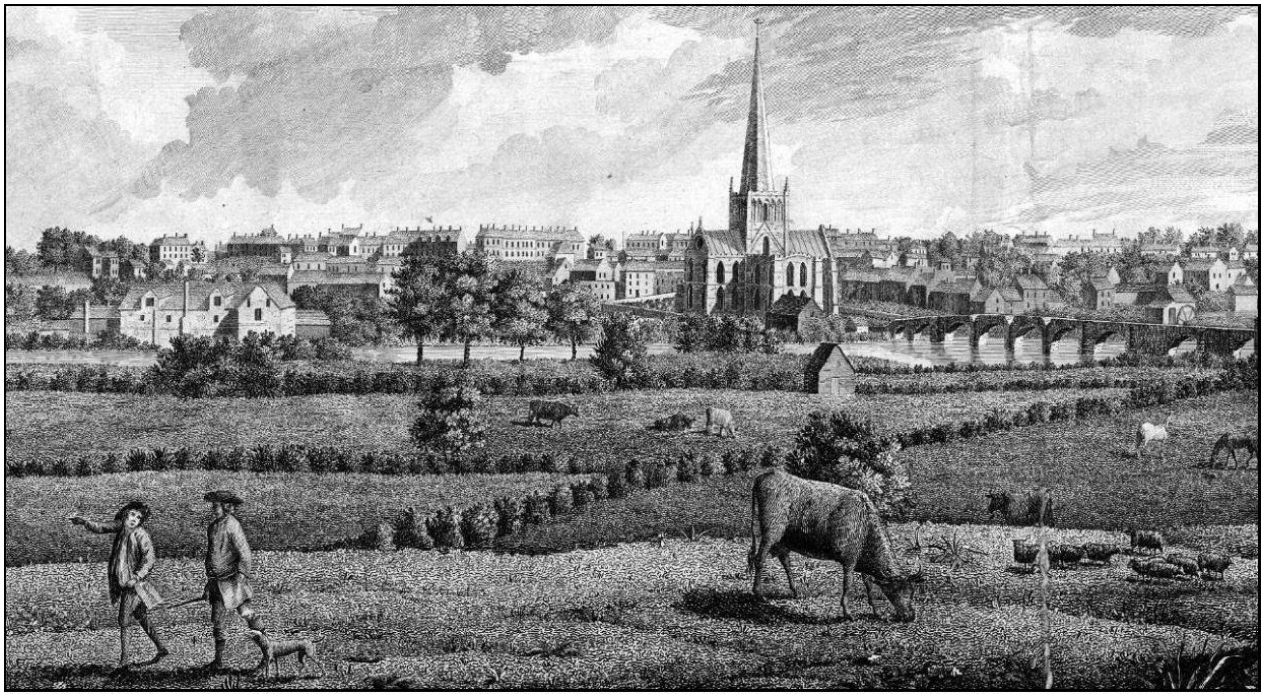


Figure 5.8: Engraving by Samuel Wilkinson c.1760 of Darlington Manor Park (Darlington Local Studies Library acc no. PH3122)

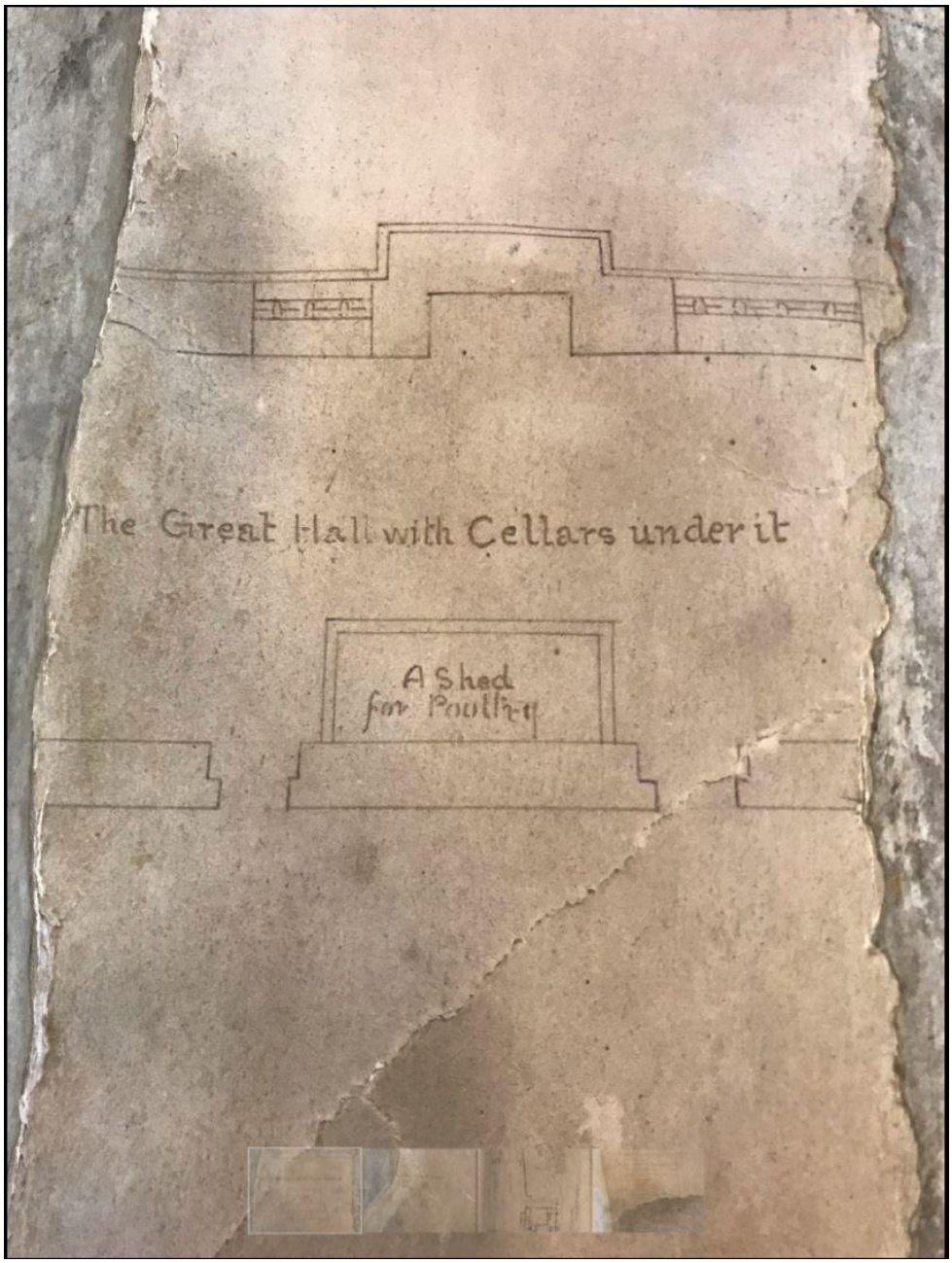


Figure 5.9: Extract of Stearne's plan of Rose Castle 1671 showing poultry shed (DRC 2/213). Photograph by author.

Figure 5.10: Butchered cockspur from 2019 excavations at Auckland Castle, showing butchery marks. Photograph by the author

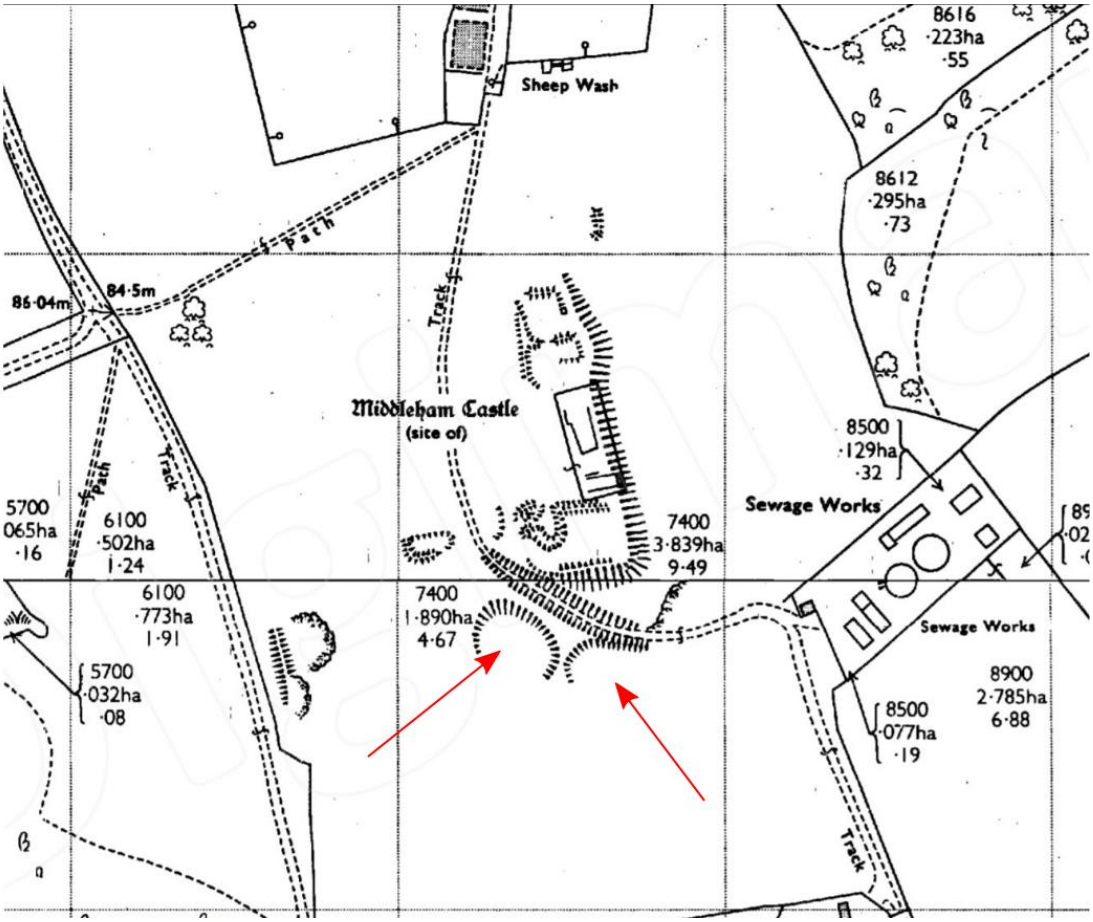


Figure 5.11: 1970 OS Map of Bishop Middleham showing the site of the fishponds marked with red arrows. Digimap Licence.

Figure 5.12: Rose Castle ‘stewpond’. Photograph by author

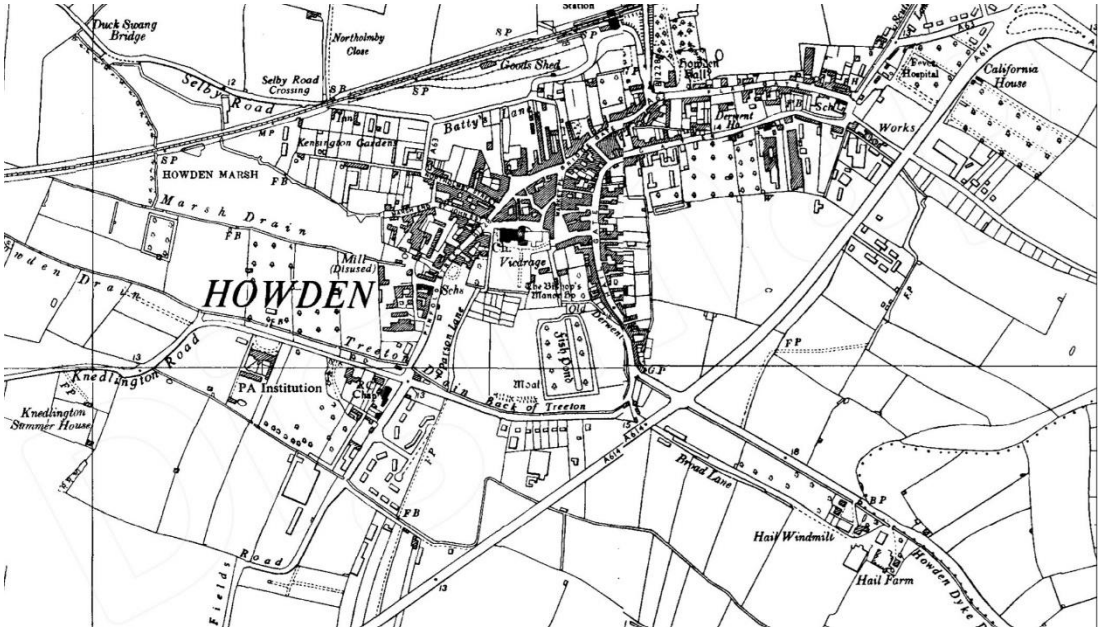


Figure 5.13: 1980 OS Map of Howden Manor showing earthworks of fishponds centrally. Reproduced in accordance with digimap licensing.

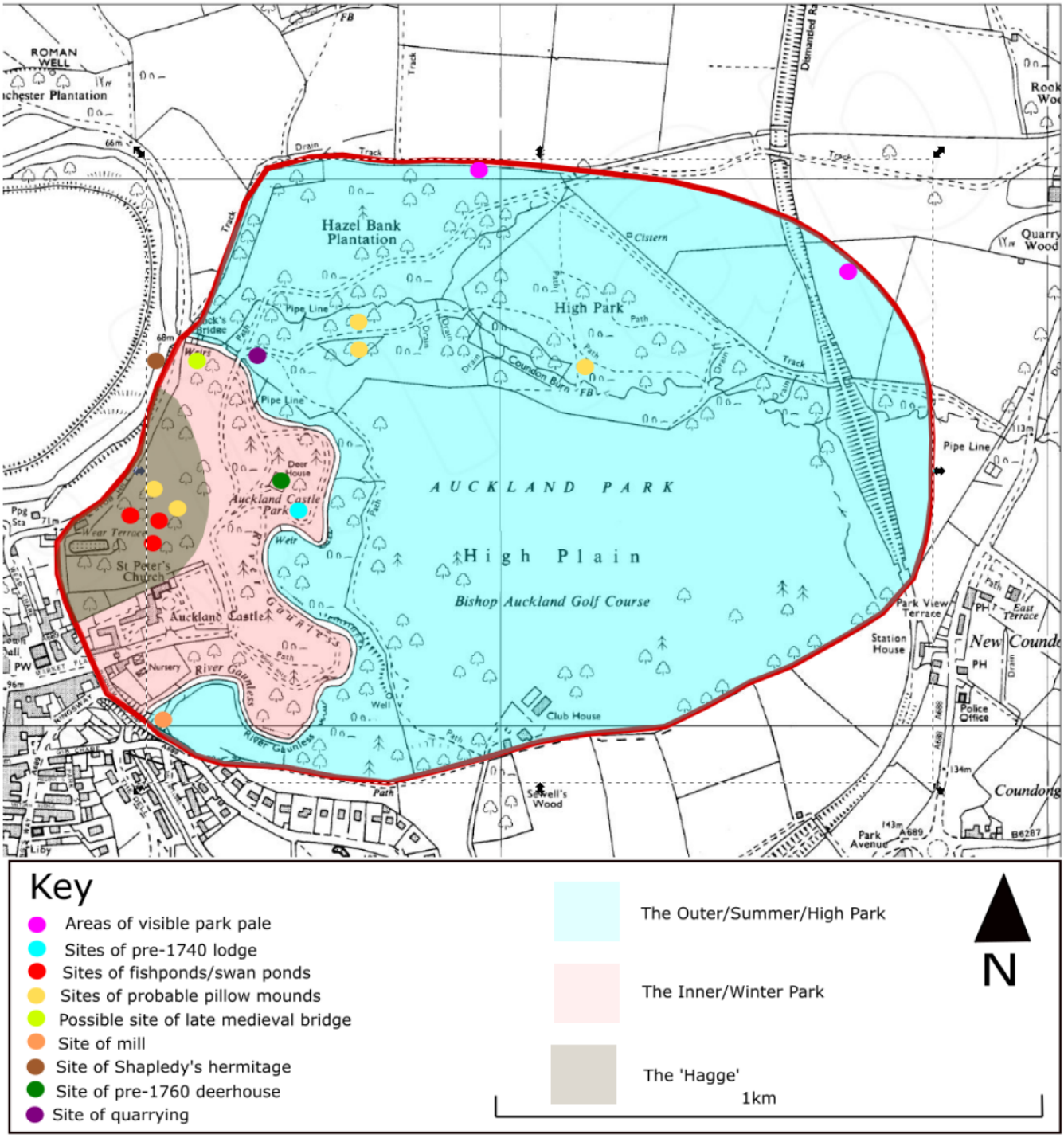


Figure 5.14. Map of Auckland Park showing features and boundaries. Drawing is authors own.

Figure 6.1: Extract of Agas map 1560 showing Durham House and Carlisle House on the Strand in London, viewed towards the north.

Figure 6.2: Anonymous painting 1630 showing Durham House and Bedford Place viewed from the Thames towards the north

Figure 6.3: Extract of Visscher panorama 1616 showing Coldharbour Place in London, viewed towards the south

Site Name	Date	Buyer	Value
Auckland Castle	1647	Arthur Haselrigge,	£6102.8s.11.5d
Stockton Manor	1647	William Underwood	£6165.10s.2.5d
Northallerton Manor	1648	John Wastell and James Danby	£102.10s.
Durham Castle	1649	Thomas Andrews	£1267.0s.10d.
Bishop Middleham Castle	1649	Thomas Haselrigge	£3306.6s.6.5d
Bewley Castle	1649	Robert Braithwaite	££321.10s.0d
Howden Manor	1650	Thomas Coghill	£5192.15s.0d
Wolsingham Manor	1650	Arthur Haselrigge	£6764.14s.4d
Rose Castle	1650	William Heveningham	£4161.12s.10d

Figure 6.3: Table detailing episcopal properties sold by the Parliamentary Commissioners during the 1640s and 50s. Main properties covered in this section are included in this table. Data sourced from Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Volume 1 (Carey et al 1858).

Figure 6.4: Detail from the 2018 excavations at Auckland Castle showing one of the late 13th or early 14th century buttresses at the south-east corner of Bek's chapel. Photograph by author.

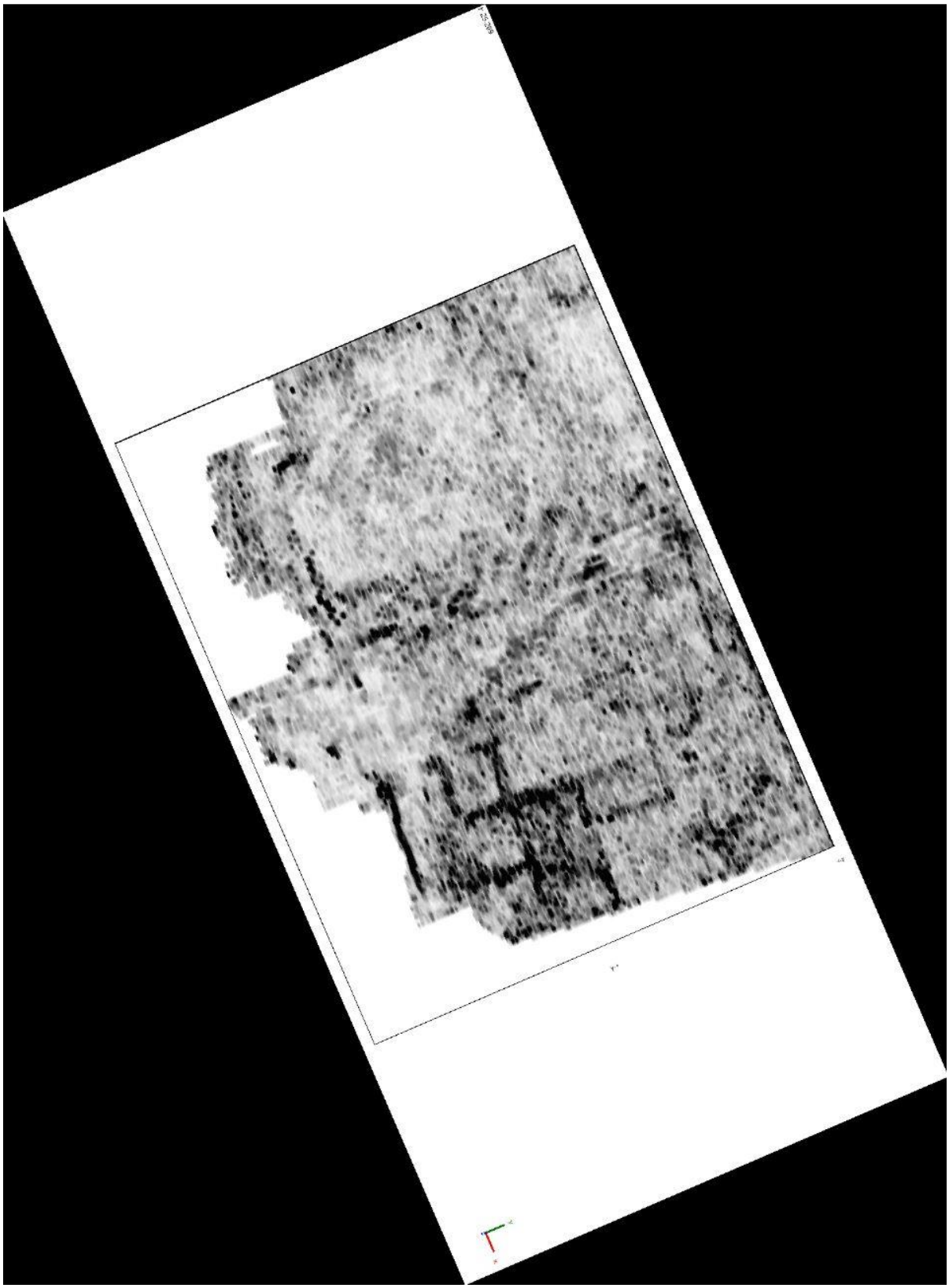


Figure 6.5: GPR survey of Auckland Castle grounds showing the location of Sir Arthur Haselrigge's mansion house c.1650. Note the square-shaped room arrangement and similarities with Thorpe Hall (next image). Image by courtesy of Archaeological Services, Durham University

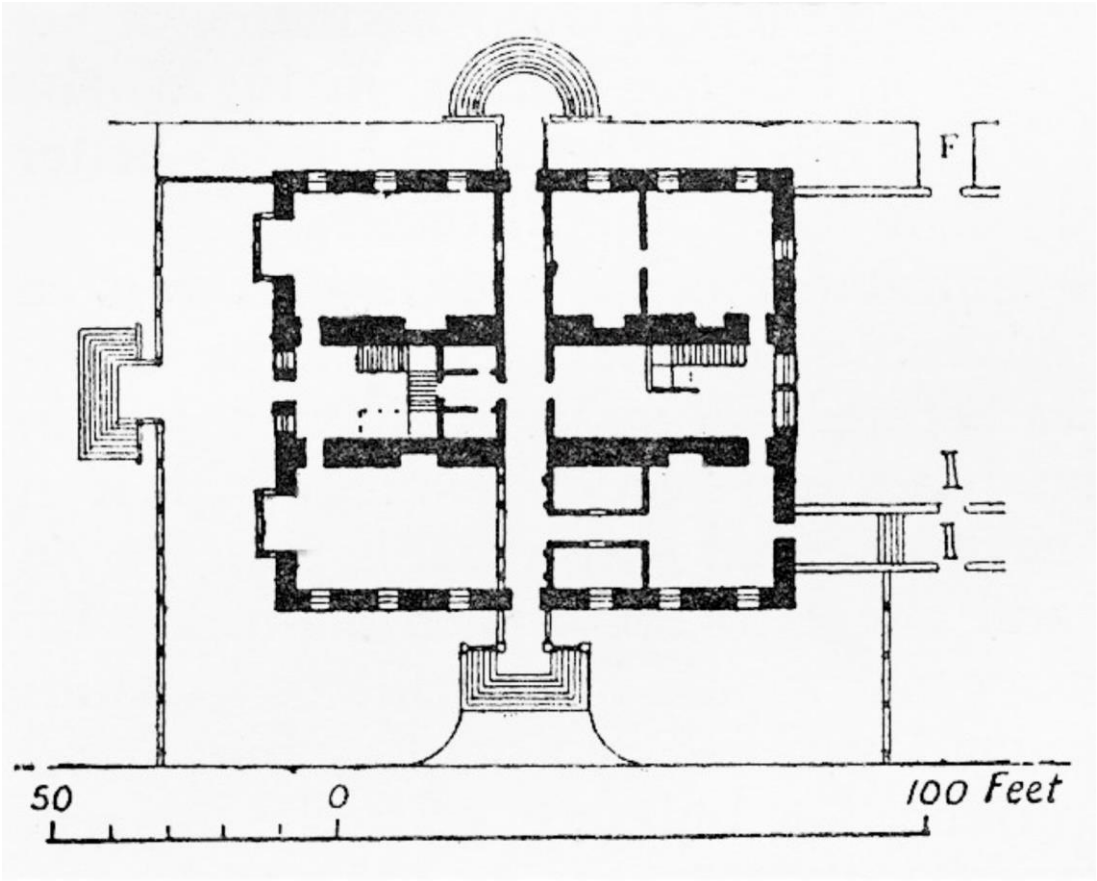


Figure 6.6. Plan of Thorpe Hall, a mid-17th century mansion house in Cambridgeshire, showing layout of rooms. Image by courtesy of britishtowns.net.

APPENDIX 1

Durham Castle

Overview

Durham Castle was a primary residence of the Bishops of Durham in their diocenal centre. The Castle is 11th century in origin having been founded during the episcopate of Bishop William Walcher (*c*. 1071-1080). The site comprises two adjoining ranges, a motte with keep atop, encircling curtain wall and gatehouse. There were six major building episodes here in the 11th, 12th, 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th centuries respectively. Today, most of the visible exterior fabric dates from 16th century or afterwards, though substantial portions of original 11th and 12th century fabric survive *in situ* within the building and have been subsumed into later building phases. Durham Castle remained in the possession of the Bishops of Durham after the Restoration (1660), and remained as one of two episcopal residences by the 19th century. In 1832, the Castle was gifted to Durham University by Bishop William Van Mildert. It is still owned by the University today and used as residential student accommodation. Durham Castle is within Durham City's UNESCO World Heritage Site area (UNESCO 1986); its ongoing post-Restoration use and recognised cultural and historic significance have arguably contributed to its excellent state of preservation today

Location and topography

Durham Castle is situated within the medieval city of Durham in County Durham, England. It is located on the north side of Palace Green in Durham, about 400m from Durham Cathedral which lies on the south side of Palace Green. Both the Castle and Cathedral sit on a naturally occurring peninsula, surrounded on three sides by the River Wear. The medieval city of Durham is mostly concentrated around two roads and a marketplace immediately to the north and accessible via three bridges, Framwellgate, Prebends and Elvet, which are either partially medieval or have known medieval antecedents (Pevsner and Williamson 1984: 230, 252). This location is naturally defensive, and further protected by defensive gate towers and curtain wall (Figure A1.1).

Durham city was affected by Scottish incursions during the late-13th-mid-14th centuries, which resulted in substantial damage (Rogers 1998). While Durham Castle is not believed to have witnessed any active combat, it still retained both its moat (since infilled) and the motte with keep, two characteristic elements of its original Norman castle design.

As the diocenal centre, Durham held additional symbolic significance. Durham Cathedral was the site of pilgrimage for the cult of St Cuthbert whose grave is located within Durham Cathedral. The monastic community at Durham Cathedral traced its origin from the monastic community of St Cuthbert and St Aidan on Holy Island, Lindisfarne (Piper 1989). They reportedly fled Lindisfarne in 875 following Norse raids, arriving in Durham in 995 and interring Cuthbert's remains on the site of Durham Cathedral (Bonner et al 1989). As Bishop of Lindisfarne, all Bishops of Durham trace lineage from him, and many of the territories which comprise the bishopric of Durham respect the early medieval territories of the bishopric of Lindisfarne. Durham therefore represented the spiritual and historic home of this religious cult which lived on through the monastic community and episcopacy.

The city of Durham was also the administrative centre for the bishopric. Durham Cathedral and its College housed the Dean and Chapter of Durham. The city of Durham had a long-standing legal and trading history, which took on special significance due to Durham's palatinate status. A court, mint and episcopal exchequer building were located on Palace Green near Durham Castle and Cathedral. Together, this combination of buildings and facilities created the symbolic and administrative focus for the diocese.

Archaeological evidence

Durham Castle has been subject to relatively few intrusive or non-intrusive archaeological investigations.

In 1992, three small trenches were opened in the central courtyard/inner bailey area in work conducted for Martin Leyland's doctoral thesis (1994). These trenches uncovered evidence of a well and post-holes believed to be contemporary with the 11th century 'Norman' chapel (see below). To date, these finds have not been scientifically (i.e. radiocarbon) dated but their chronology is suggested from associated pottery and masonry. Leyland also shed light on the amateur archaeological investigations of Henry Gee, the Master of University College (Durham University) between 1902-1910. Gee's exploits are recorded in a series of letters to Canon Greenwell and Charles Hodges in which he makes observations about the castle's history and discusses his discovery of the curtain wall extending from the north bastion in 1904 (CADD 301; CADD 301/24). Gee was also seemingly aware of excavations which took place on the site of the 12th century barbican in 1898 (Gee 1928: 68) which was located on the north-east corner of Palace Green, about 200m from the current barbican. Gee attributed the date of this barbican to Flambard's building at the site.

Grace Simpson and Victor Hatley (1953) published their findings from an excavation of a crawlspace beneath the eastern bays of Tunstall's Chapel, which despite being situated on

the first floor partly overhangs the room below and intersects the sloping side of the motte creating a small triangular space. Pottery, stonework and other artefacts were discovered here which had been sealed there when the floor was laid down by Bishop Crewe (1674-1721).

In 1991 excavations took place in the Fellow's Garden ahead of the construction of a new office building for Durham University in the area which would have contained the moat. A report on this has not been located in research for this thesis. These excavations seemingly uncovered large fragments of worked 12th century masonry, consistent with the known demolition phases of the barbican which took place under both Tunstall and Cosin (Leyland 1994: 41).

Standing buildings

As a standing and in-use building, Durham Castle is in an excellent state of preservation; the site has been Grade 1 listed since 1952 and has been subject to detailed phasing based from a combination of standing buildings and documentary evidence. Most the building phases known to have occurred at the site from documentary evidence are preserved in some way and have been phased. The susceptibility of sandstone, the primary building material, to weathering has hindered accurate phasing in some areas however, and the earliest 11th-13th century phases are the most poorly understood from the standing buildings evidence (Leyland 1994: 37). A fire which occurred in the late-12th century has similarly affected the survival of these early 11th and 12th century phases (see below). In places where these early standing buildings evidence survives, it has been the subject of many published academic investigations (Wood 2010; Pears 2019; Green 2016, 2017, 2019; Leyland 1994). A particular focus has been the 11th century 'Norman' chapel due to its rarity (Leyland 1994; Wood 2010).

Documentary evidence

The surviving documentary record relating to Durham Castle is generally well-preserved and well-understood. The prominence of this building as the diocenal centre for the early Norman bishops of Durham means that it was recorded in texts relating to the Norman invasion of Britain and the north of England, such as Simeon of Durham (Rollason 1998).

The development of this site prior to 1646 is generally well represented in the documentary record. Account information from the Church Commissioner archive, kept in Palace Green Library in Durham, contains many of the relevant accounts relating to building work conducted at the Castle. Unlike some other episcopal residences, these sources are unusually well-preserved because of the different accounting strategies employed for this site. Usually

any accounts relating to building work at episcopal residences considered in this thesis were included in separate accounts, many of which have been lost. At Durham Castle they were often were amalgamated into other accounts and this has ensured their survival. For example, the complete accounts for Tunstall's building work have survived in full (see below).

Normal episcopal recording procedures were suspended between 1646-1660 during the Commonwealth. The use and any changes made to the Castle at that time are all gleaned from incidental sources. After 1660 is the evidence is more complete and detailed. The works conducted by Bishop Cosin are particularly well-understood through a series of detailed letters and accounts (e.g. Chapter 6). Later bishops are similarly subject to the same rigid accounting and bureaucracy which have left a lasting documentary legacy.

Development pre-1450

Durham Castle was commissioned by William the Conqueror in 1072 (Simeon 1885: 199), with initial construction by Waltheof, The Earl of Northumberland, intended to serve as a defensive stronghold for the Norman bishops of Durham. This is believed to have been a response to the murder of Bishop William Walcher in 1080 who may have been killed for his part in the Harrying of the North (Leyser 2011). Morphologically, Durham Castle is entirely consistent with early-Norman motte-and-bailey design.

The earliest form of Durham Castle has been extensively investigated by Martin Leyland in his 1994 thesis (Leyland 1994). Small-scale excavations in the inner bailey of Durham Castle discovered a well and the remains of a range aligned north-south. Named by Leyland the 'East Range', this range aligns with the still-standing Norman chapel to the north. Leyland has interpreted these findings as the earliest discovered building phase on the site, dating from *c.* 11th century. This range therefore predates the earliest phases of the north and west ranges (see below), though it is possible that earlier buildings on the footprint of these two ranges may have existed and had been entirely removed during their construction. It is highly likely that the earliest keep (now lost) may have been a wooden construction and contemporary with the earliest phases of the castle.

The earliest standing portion of the site is believed to be the 11th century 'Norman' chapel. This room was built against and incorporating the north-wall of the castle and constructed within the first phase of building which began in 1072. This space has been confidently dated to the late 11th century, and Rita Wood (2010) has identified stylistic parallels between the carved iconography inside the chapel and examples from Roman basilica, suggesting a

degree of personal involvement from the 11th century Bishop of Durham, William de St Calais (1081-1096).

The earliest dates of the North and West ranges are disputed and possibly overlie earlier building phases. The North Range contains diagnostic fabric dating from Bishop Hugh de Puiset's episcopate (1153-1195), notably the Norman Arch which contains characteristic early-12th century stylistic details. The Norman Arch was the doorway into the Great Hall in the North Range, which is all believed to have been built in one phase. Leyland (1994: 32) has proposed, based on le Puiset's other building work on the Galilee Chapel in Durham Cathedral, Ushaw College, Darlington Church and at Auckland Castle, that the Norman Arch in Durham Castle was one of his earliest building projects as Bishop of Durham. This suggests that his building of the North Range occurred early in his episcopate, probably within the first 20 years (i.e before 1178).

Le Puiset's building work was allegedly in response to a fire which therefore must have occurred early in his episcopate (Leyland 1994; Gee 1928). Leyland (1994) has suggested that the lower storey of the North Range might pre-date le Puiset's building work. Le Puiset's two-storey hall was built at first-floor level, creating a three-storey building. This suggestion is supported with evidence from the poem of Laurence of Durham in 1144, a monk of Durham who described Durham and its Castle.

During the occupation of Durham Castle by King John between 1208-1217, evidence from his Pipe Rolls (NA E 372/60.6.1) states that work was conducted at the site. In 1213, £18.5.0 was spent, while the following year saw a further £13.3.3 in repairs. Standing buildings evidence from the upper walling of a tower on the northwest of the North Range is suggested to date from John's occupation (Leyland 1994: 209).

Bishop Antony Bek (1284-1310) is responsible for the earliest structural phases of the Great Hall in the West Range. Standing buildings evidence reveal that this hall sat atop a pre-existing undercroft of uncertain date (Leyland 1994: 29). It can be reasonably presumed that Bek demolished the existing building, retaining the undercroft beneath. Much of Bek's original building fabric has survived at second-storey level but is obscured at lower levels.

Bishops' Hatfield and Fox both remodelled the Great Hall and other parts of the West Range in c. 1350 and 1498 respectively. Bishop Thomas Hatfield (1345-1381) extended the Great Hall to the south by about 10m and this work is included both within his accounts for the year and corroborated through the dating of two windows in his extension. On that basis, Hatfield's building work occurred early in his episcopate, around 1350. The entrance doorway is similarly believed to date from this period but was clearly inserted in the place of the original door as it is located at the low-end of Bek's original Great Hall.

Clerk of Works' accounts for the episcopate of Bishop Richard Fox have not survived, but the buildings he commissioned have been confidently inferred from the standing buildings and the insertion of his personal emblem, a pelican in its piety, on both the screens passage and decoratively in the buttery servery hatches together with the phrasing *'1499 Est Deo Gratia'* (Figure A1.2 and see Chapter 3). It is generally accepted (Leyland 1994; Pears 2019; Gee 1928; Brickstock 2007) that Fox was responsible for shortening the hall and that it was he who inserted the screens passage and renovated and extended the kitchen and service provisions. Fox's kitchen, buttery, pantry and servery spaces probably encompassed an existing 12th century tower, which likely dated from le Puiset's episcopate and contains diagnostic Romanesque windows. This space was converted for use as a kitchen by Fox, together with new buildings running along the west side of the Great Hall. The full extent of Fox's new kitchen and service spaces cannot now be fully understood as parts of these spaces were replaced by Bishop Trevor in the 18th century (see below). In addition to the carved woodwork, traces of Fox's kitchen scheme survive in ovens on the north wall of the chamber west of the buttery, suggesting that this might have been a bakery or brewhouse.

Two trumpeter's pulpits in the south wall of the Great Hall are of unknown date. Compelling arguments for their creators include Bishops Hatfield and Fox (Brickstock 2007; Leyland 1994; Gee 1928).

Development and use 1450-1660

Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall (1530-1559) was responsible for substantially remodelling the south façade of the north range through the construction of a two-storey gallery and first-floor chapel. Clerk of Works accounts reveal that construction of this gallery took place between 1538 and 1549 (CCB B/76/32 (190069A); CCB B/76/34 (190071); CCB B/76/35 (190072); CCB B/76/37 (190075)). In addition, Tunstall moved some stalls and misericords from Auckland Castle chapel to the Tunstall chapel (Hardwick 2011: 79) (Chapter 4). Tunstall similarly demolished the existing gatehouse, creating a new gatehouse at different alignment which no longer aligned with the main door of the hall in the North Range which had been constructed by le Puiset.

Bishop Richard Neile (1617-1627) is recorded in his accounts as having spent £3000 on repairs to Durham Castle (Green 2016: 57). It is unclear exactly how that money was spent, but it is stated that Durham Castle was in a poor state of repair by the time of Neile's episcopate (Green 2016). It is unclear what had happened to the site in the decades between Tunstall and Neile's episcopates, though the site was regularly used during the episcopates of Richard Barnes (Andrews 1850), Matthew Hutton and Tobias Matthew (as evidenced by his frequent requests for deer from this site, see Chapter 4). It has been reasonably suggested

that he shortened the north end of the Great Hall in the West Range to create two smaller chambers (Green 2016; Brickstock 2007). An inventory of the site created after his death in 1628 (CCB B/210/43 (220724A**)** and see Chapter 3) details the range of rooms which existed at this time. This evidence reveals that by 1628, a network of rooms and chambers had been established which included several chambers in the North Range. It is unclear when these rooms had been inserted, and it is possible that this occurred during the episcopates of Neile or Tunstall. In any case, this source provides a valuable snapshot of the number, arrangement and contents of rooms and spaces at Neile's death. It should be noted that some spaces which are known to have existed in this building do not appear in this inventory, including the Norman Chapel. It could be that this room did not have any contents deemed important or valuable enough to record.

On the 9 October 1646 the episcopacy was abolished in England, and an order for the sale of episcopal lands was made on the 19 November 1646. On 2 May 1649 Durham Castle was sold to Thomas Andrews, Lord Mayor of London for £1267 10d (Dugdale 1846: 233). In addition to obtaining Durham Castle, rights to the Durham markets were also included in this sale. This therefore made the sale of Durham Castle particularly profitable due to its trading potential. It is probable that Andrews quickly sold Durham Castle to John Blakiston, MP for Newcastle, who was also a regicide and active within the Commonwealth parliament (Peacey 2008). The precise transfer of ownership is not well understood and has been debated (Dumble 1978; Leyland 1994; Green 2016)

Relatively little is known about its use between 1649 and 1660, and there are no known structural impacts on the building. Following the Restoration, Bishop John Cosin (1660-1672) mentioned in a letter that the *'Scots spyl'd and ruined with gunpowder'* though there is no clear evidence for this in the current standing buildings or archaeological evidence. Recent excavations have, however, uncovered the probable use of gunpowder in the demolition of Bek's Chapel at Auckland Castle (Appendix 2; Chapter 6), and Cosin might be referencing this. Durham Castle was used to imprison and hospitalise Scottish prisoners of war following the Battle of Dunbar (Gerrard et al 2018). In letters from Haselrigge to the Council of State on the 31 October 1650 (NA PH 1793/19/418 discussed in Gerrard et al 2018 2018) Haselrigge relates the plight of the prisoners of war, revealing that many had '*flux'* (dysentery) and that the sick were transferred to Durham Castle where they made use of many rooms. No specifics are given and there is no known evidence in Durham Castle, such as graffiti, from this time. It is possible that any trace of their presence in the building was removed by Bishop John Cosin following the Restoration.

Development post-1660

Following the Restoration of Episcopacy in 1660, Bishop John Cosin embarked on an ambitious building programme across his episcopal residences. Cosin's works combined necessary repairs to sites which had sustained damage through the Commonwealth, together with serious practical and stylistic changes in line with his own artistic, intellectual and religious ideals. The motivations and meanings behind his work have been researched and discussed by Adrian Green (2016). At Durham Castle, Cosin was responsible for remodelling the area between the North and West ranges to insert the building containing the Black Staircase. In the creation of this, Cosin must logically have destroyed rooms created by Neile and the tower built by Tunstall, in so doing preventing a full and accurate understanding of how these buildings intersected in these earlier periods. Cosin is responsible for building the Black Staircase, a significant free-standing wooden staircase ornamented with pineapple finials, situated at the juncture between these two ranges it enabled access to all floors (Green 2016). Cosin was similarly responsible for buttressing the Great Hall, remodelling the portico and remodelling the gatehouse. His building endeavours are well recorded in his correspondence (MS/S MSP 20). Details of this include requests for new flagstones in the hall (MS/S MSP 20/46), screens for the chapel (MS/S MSP 20/57) and buttressing (MS/S MSP 20/47). Beyond the building work, Cosin also infilled the moat and terraced the motte. In his correspondence with architect Christopher Scurrey, Cosin also refers to pulling down walls between the gatehouse and exchequer building.

Towards the end of Cosin's life, he began work extending Tunstall's chapel by two additional piers toward the east end (MS/S MSP 20/57; Leyland 1994). Following his death, his successor Bishop Nathaniel Crewe (1674-1722) completed this work (Leyland 1994). During the latter half of the 18th century, Bishops Joseph Butler (1750-1752) and Richard Trevor (1752-1771) both embarked on ambitious redecoration of internal areas of the building including the Senate Suite. These schemes have been retained and are still visible today.

Timeline of major building events

Date	Event
1072	Construction of Durham Castle begins on orders from William the Conqueror. Norman Chapel dates from this period.
1099 – 1128	Bishop Flambard engages in building work at this site, probably the North Range.
1144	Laurence of Durham's poem describes

Date	Event
	Durham Castle.
1153-1195	Fire occurs at Durham Castle, Bishop de Puiset conducts major building work at the site, primarily on the North Range.
1208-1217	King John carries out repairs. The full extent is not fully known.
1284-1311	Bishop Bek constructs Great Hall in West Range.
1345-1381	Bishop Hatfield undertakes extensive repairs and remodels the West Range and is responsible for the interior façade of the Great Hall.
1494-1501	Bishop Fox undertakes extensive renovation in the West Range, including the construction of a new suite of service spaces and kitchens.
1536-1548	Bishop Tunstall inserts gallery, chapel and new gatehouse.
1617-1628	Bishop Neile conducts £3000 of repairs after finding the site in a poor state of repair. Possibly also the shortening of the north end the Great Hall in West Range.
1633 and 1639	King Charles I entertained at Durham Castle by Bishop Thomas Morton.
1640-1645	Durham Castle used as a hospital for wounded Civil War soldiers.
1646-1660	Abolition of episcopacy; Durham Castle sold by Parliamentary Commissioner to Thomas Andrews, Lord Mayor of London for £1267. Used to accommodate prisoners of war after the Battle of Dunbar in 1650.
1660-1672	Bishop Cosin restored large portions of Durham Castle following its Commonwealth use and alleged disrepair. Cosin was responsible for re-buttressing and adding a new entrance, stairway and portico to the Great Hall, remodelling the gateway and approach, refashioning the internal arrangement of Neile's rooms north of the Great Hall and inserting the 'Black Staircase', terraced the motte and infilled the moat and began work extending Tunstall's

Date	Event
	chapel by two piers.
1674-1722	Bishop Crewe completed Cosin's work extending Tunstall's chapel.
1750-1752	Bishop Butler planned the interior refurbishment of rooms, including the Senate Suite, within the North Range.
1752-1771	Bishop Trevor completed Butler's building scheme in the North Range.
1789	Bishop Thurlow removed the unstable top storey of the keep after it had become ruinous.
1791-1826	Bishop Barrington replaced the roof on the North Range and made extensive repairs to the roof on the West Range.
1836	Bishop Van Mildert gifts Durham Castle to Durham University. The University make extensive repairs and alterations to the site, including: rebuilding the keep, re-roofing the Great Hall, creating a through-way between the Great Hall and Black Staircase. An additional access route through the Norman chapel to provide access to the new Junction Building, enabled direct access from the Inner Bailey to the keep.
1951	The access route opened up through the Norman Chapel was blocked-up in favour of a new access route created beneath the Tunstall chapel.

Parks and outdoor spaces

Durham Castle is not associated with an adjoining or related park. The limits of the site are clearly defined by the historic curtain walls and the castle itself was moated, probably since the earliest phases of the site. Laurence of Durham writing in 1144 described a moat separating Durham Castle and Palace Green (Raine 1880: 9-11). The moat was infilled following the Restoration by Bishop Cosin (1660-1672), who wrote in a letter to Christopher Scurrey, his architect, to '*fill up the hollow of the ground to levell the passage between the Gate house and the Exchequer'* (Ornsby 1869: 379). Cosin is also believed to have terraced the motte. Adrian Green (2019) has examined the use of terraced mottes as areas for

contemplation by 17th and 18th century lawyers and clergy, citing comparisons from Cambridge and Oxford colleges.

Cosin was similarly responsible for many of the buildings on the western edge of Palace Green located on land which belonged to the Durham Castle estate and were probably used as gardens before their development. The limit of the Durham Castle estate was Windy Gap, an alley which separated the lands of Durham Castle and Durham Cathedral (Figure A.1.2). No visual sources survive to show how this area looked or how was used beforehand. The recent archaeological discovery of the mass graves of Scottish prisoners of war from the Battle of Dunbar (Gerrard et al 2018) within this area of development demonstrate that during the Commonwealth period, this part of the site was open and had remained undeveloped.

Historic maps, illustrations, paintings, photographs and representations

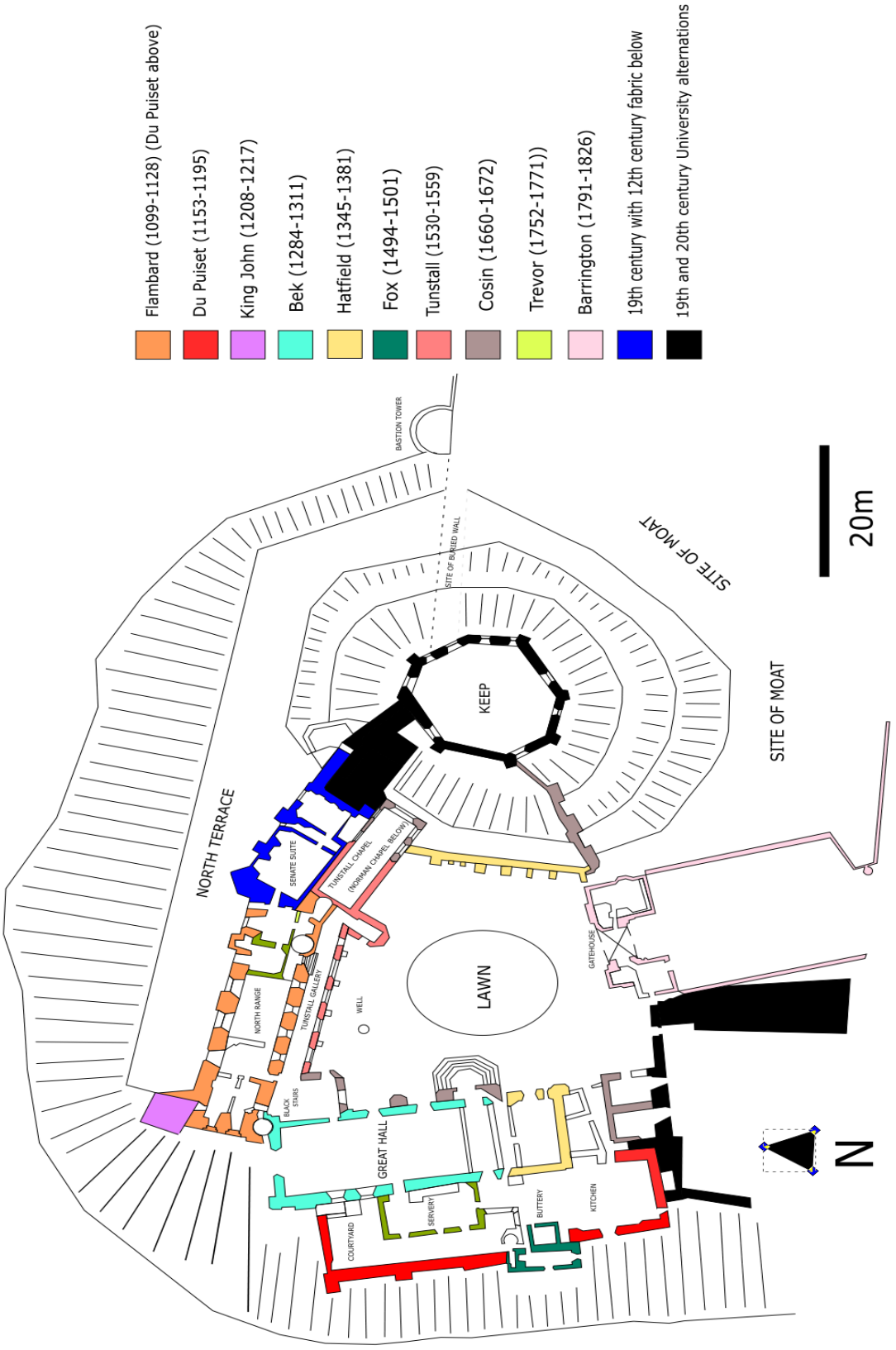


Figure A1.1 Phased plan of Durham Castle. Created by author, after Leyland (1994).

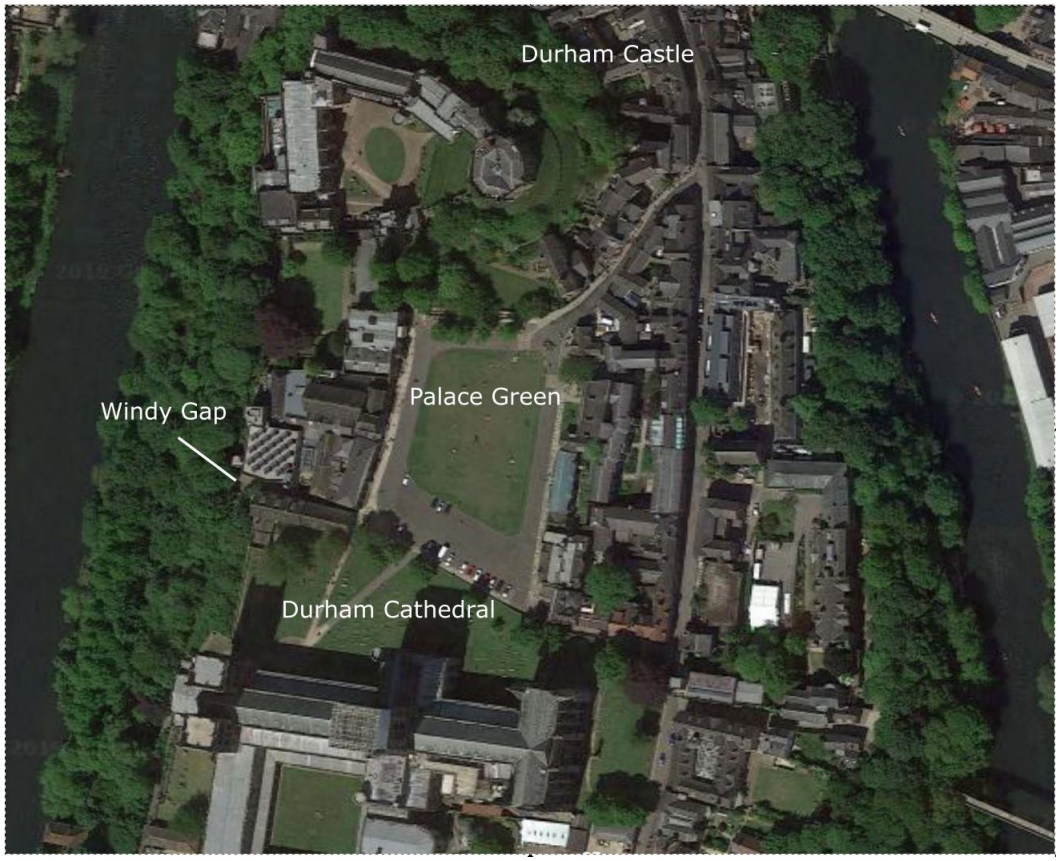


Figure A1.2 – Annotated aerial image of Durham Castle.

APPENDIX 2

Auckland Castle

Overview

Auckland Castle was a primary residence of the Bishops of Durham from the 12th to 21st centuries. This site has been subject to a sustained history of building work and development which has created a lengthy and complex building sequence. Today the site comprises three main adjoining ranges in a Z-shaped formation. However, Auckland Castle sustained extensive bouts of damage and demolition during the Commonwealth period which significantly reduced the building complex. Recent archaeological work following its sale to a private owner in 2012, has shed light on the extent of demolition and the scale of the later medieval building complex. This evidence has shown that Auckland Castle surpassed other episcopal residences belonging to this bishopric in size and magnitude. The bishop's house is accompanied by an adjoining park which, due to its ongoing ownership by the Bishops of Durham until recent times, has remained largely *intact* with many features still excellently preserved (eg. the scheduled 18th century deer house). This site has been subject to more intensive archaeological investigations than any other site featured in this thesis, mainly as a result of the development of Auckland Castle into a heritage attraction which features a large extension to the existing site and the repurposing, remodelling and restoration of other portions of the palace buildings and wider landscape (https://www.aucklandproject.org/).

Auckland Castle is now among one of the most heavily investigated bishop's houses in Britain and is subject to ongoing research projects with further excavations scheduled for 2020 and 2021. This report acknowledges the ongoing research being undertaken at this site and presents a brief overview of the chronology of the site to-date and the current state of knowledge. Only salient points are covered here. The most encompassing account of the historical evidence for Auckland Castle is that compiled by James Raine (1852). There are plans for a synthetic account of the archaeology conducted at this site once excavation is completed in 2021.

Location and topography

Auckland Castle is situated on the eastern edge of the medieval market town of Bishop Auckland. It is located about 16 km from Durham city, one of the geographically closest episcopal residences to the diocenal centre. The Castle sits in an elevated position

overlooking extensive parkland which encompasses its north and east peripheries. The River Gaunless, a tributary of the River Wear, flows through the park while the River Wear forms the park's western boundary.

Archaeological evidence

Of all the sites examined in this thesis, Auckland Castle has received the most archaeological attention. There have been six planned excavations since 2012, and two geophysical surveys. Four excavations were conducted with local volunteer groups alongside commercial archaeologists from Durham University Archaeological Services, and the two most recent excavations have formed part of the Durham University field school and have been research-led (reports forthcoming). In addition, multiple small-scale excavations, watching briefs and test pits have been conducted across the site as construction has proceeded. Key findings include the discovery a hitherto unknown later medieval building which is currently undated (see below), the location and extent of Bek's lost chapel, the site of Haselrigge's house discovered through geophysical prospection, the site of the original kitchen and service spaces destroyed in the 17th century, areas of curtain wall which have allowed for its full width and dimension to be ascertained, a previously unknown range and large ditch features. The excavations have also generated a large and extensive faunal, artefact and archaeobotanical assemblage.

Standing buildings

As the site remained active as an episcopal residence until the 21st century, many of the standing buildings are well preserved and centred around a Z-shaped building with five main building phases spanning the 12th-17th centuries. Recent archaeological investigation of the site has revealed that many parts of the medieval building were demolished in the 17th century, and that the building complex that we see today is only a portion of the original complex. The site also incorporates other separate buildings including the gatehouse (18th century), the lodge (17th century), the College (13th century) and the Silver Street Tower (probably 12th century).

Due to the ongoing building work at the site, most of these parts of the building have been subject to extensive recording and standing buildings analysis.

Documentary evidence

As one of the longest occupied and most heavily invested-at residences of the Bishops of Durham, Auckland Castle has a rich and detailed documentary record. This record is particularly strong for the site post-1660. The record is more fragmentary for the pre-Civil

War period. Most large-scale building projects conducted by the Bishops of Durham were recorded in separate accounts, some of which have been lost (i.e those of Bishop Ruthall). Auckland Castle has an exceptionally detailed record relating to the use and development of its park, all held in the special collections at Durham University.

Development pre-1450

A 'hunting lodge' at Auckland is referred to in Boldon Book (Austin 1982: 37), suggesting that the site and its park have been established since at least this date. The earliest standing portion of the site is the Great Hall, now St Peter's Chapel (see below), which is thought to date from the episcopate of Bishop Hugh de Puiset (1154-1195). This structureace has primarily been dated through analysis of its carved stonework (Cunningham 1990; Thurlby 2017).

The accompanying spaces to Puiset's hall have not survived as standing remains, but some are believed to have been recovered through excavation in 2018. On the eastern exterior wall of Auckland Castle, a relieving arch is partially visible in the façade untouched by Cosin's later restoration. The excavations undertaken to the south-east of the hall uncovered the remains of a kitchen (complete with hearths), and other spaces possibly consistent with a larder, pantry, porch and brewhouse. It is probable that the spaces identified are those listed in the 1628 inventory of the site which lists the 'Old Kitchen, old pantry and brewhouse'. Based on the positioning of those in text, it could be reasonably presumed that these spaces were close together. They are recorded immediately after the Great Hall, suggesting that they adjoined it. The discovery of finds no later than 17th century in date suggests that these rooms were demolished in the 17th century, either during the occupation of the site by Sir Arthur Haselrigge or during Bishop John Cosin's restoration project. From their relative positions, it could be presumed that the bishop's chamber lay to the west of Puiset's Great Hall, in an area that has since been developed. Evidence of these has not been found.

Discoveries to south-west of Puiset's Great Hall uncovered the remains of a presently undated structure which is morphologically consistent with a 12th century chamber block. So far, there have been no dateable finds from this structure and no diagnostic masonry with which to date it. Excavation of it has been scheduled for the summer of 2020 with the intention to recover dateable material. This free-standing building does not appear in 18th century illustrations of the site, meaning that it must have been demolished by then. It is possible that this building represents an early phase in the site's development.

The next significant building episode at Auckland Castle was conducted by Bishop Antony Bek (1283-1311). Bek is typically held responsible for the construction of a chamber,

accommodation block and chapel, the first two of which survive today. A bailiff's account from 1308 records £148 for the construction of a chapel (Raine 1852: 20). The most often-cited reference to Bek's building work is that made by the contemporary historian Robert Graystanes (d.*c.*1336) whose work is one of the three works to comprise the *Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres* (Raine 1839). Greystanes describes the site as '*manerium de Aukland cum capella et cameris sumptuossisme construxit, capellanis in capella perpetuo servituris ecclesiam de Morpath approprians'* [translation: 'He constructed the manor-house of Auckland, with a chapel and chambers, in a most sumptuous way, appropriating the chaplains, to serve in the said chapel from the church in Morpeth' (Raine 1839: 90). Raine (1852: 21) has similarly identified another contemporary description of the site from Godwin de Presulibus which states (in translation) '*this bishop did sumptuously build and incastellate the ancient manor place of Auckland. He built the Great Hall, wherein were divers pillars of black marble speckled with white. He built also the Great Chamber and many other rooms adjoining and erected a goodly chapel there of well-squared stone and placed in the same a dean and 12 prebandaries allotting the quadrant in the west side of the castle (likewise built by him) for their habitation'.* Repairs made by Bishop William Dudley (1476-1483) in 1476-7 refer to the *alt acapella* (high chapel) indicating that this structure was two-storey (Raine 1852: 54).

Although slightly problematic because they attribute some building works to Bek which are confidently proven not to have been commissioned by him, such as the changes to the Great Hall recorded by Presulibus, both sources confirm that the chapel, college, chamber and accommodation portions of the building were constructed by Bek. Bek's new building would have effectively doubled the footprint of Auckland Castle and coincide with evidence drawn from his itineraries which suggests that he was spending more time at the Castle and less time at minor residences (Smith 2016).

During excavations south of Bek's chamber in 2018, the discovery of four buttresses together with fragments of walling, an incised plaster floor and internal columns confirmed the discovery of a chapel, and dateable fragments of masonry place its date to Bek's episcopacy. Excavations conducted in the area immediately south of the Scotland Wing uncovered the remains of a feature thought to have been a gateway, but which be form a narthex to the chapel. This structure, which would have provided a ground floor entrance to the lower-floor of the chapel through the curtain wall, also had two flanking staircases which have gave access to the top of the curtain wall. This entrance is aligned with the College, supporting the theory that the structure is associated with the chapel. It is possible that the structure created a processional walkway between the ground floor of the chapel and the

College. Excavation of the zone between excavated areas would help answer whether or not these features are related.

References to Bek 'incastellating' the site suggest that he was also responsible for the curtain wall. Identified in two places, to the west of the Scotland Wing in the 2016 excavations and north of the Great Hall in the 2019 excavations, this wall was substantial. The excavations of 2019 have revealed that this wall was repaired and buttressed numerous times as a result of subsidence. This discovery corroborates a documentary reference. Furthermore, the discovery of a large ditch feature during the 2018 excavations reveals that the chapel was likely encircled by this ditch for a short time. The West Mural Tower might also date from Bek's episcopate. Although no firm dates have been attributed to this tower, it has been generally believed to have dated from the 15th century, though it might reasonably date from an earlier period or incorporate earlier masonry (see Ryder 2005/6). Its function is unknown, and it may have formed part of a gateway or alternative entrance to the site. Its location close to the College and other fragments of curtain wall, hint at its spatial relationship to those structures.

Development 1450-1660

Bishop Thomas Ruthall (1509-1522) is typically attributed with the construction of chambers and a dining room south of Bek's chamber, though evidence from his accounts are not explicit. From these, as compiled by Raine (1852: 60-61), it is clear that he spent considerable sums on repairing the building, including re-glazing parts of it. It is very possible that Ruthall built more widely than these accounts suggest, and that the information has not survived.

Raine (1852: 63) presents a plausible course of events. He argues that Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall (1529-1558) was responsible for the construction of both the long gallery (Scotland Wing) and Ruthall's dining room. Standing building analysis of the Scotland Wing (ASUD 2014b) confirm the presence of blocked-up windows of mid-16th century date. It is unclear how this range connected with the curtain wall and gateway/narthex on its western end. On its western end, the Scotland Wing has been truncated at an unknown date (possibly during the Commonwealth/Civil War period), and an oriel window was inserted in the 19h century. Tunstall's construction of a long gallery is consistent with his work at Durham Castle (Section 4.3).

Tunstall's successor, Bishop James Pilkington (1561-1575), in line with his general patterns of purposeful dilapidation at other episcopal residences, dismantled portions of the College

to generate revenue (Raine 1852: 70). As the College community was dismantled during the Reformation, the College buildings would have been vacant at this time.

Bishop Richard Neile (1617-1627) spent £3000 repairing the episcopal residences of Durham Castle and Auckland Castle, though details of his expenditure are not known, though they have been surmised by Adrian Green (2017). He argues that Neile would have been likely to inserted the new suite of kitchens and service spaces beneath Bek's chamber. Following his death however, an inventory of both sites was taken which provides a list of the rooms and some of the contents of them. This source has been the most valuable in reconstructing the layout of the site before the Civil War and Commonwealth period. Rooms recorded in this survey include: *hall, olde pantry, olde kitchin, brewhouse, larder, chamber, new wine-seller, new kitchin, spicerie, new larder, old candle-house, new pastrie, new scullery within the pastrie, surveying roome without the newe kitchin, pantrie, new ewry, outer pantrie, great chamber, dineing room, earles chamber, wardropp, chancellors chamber, knights chamber, low nurserie, roome within the nurserie, chamber next above y nurserie, the high nurserie, chamber over the chancellors chamber, chamber over the knights chamber, lords studdie, long gallerye, chamber at thend of the gallery, lords chamber, chamber within my lords chamber, new librarye, lowe chapple, mr cosin's chamber, chamber over the gatehouse, chamber over the buttery, lowe parlor, porters lodge, bakehouse, 2 stables, slaughter-house, Jo. Lockies house, yard (CCB 220724A).* These spaces have been discussed in detail in Chapter 3 and is of significance because it provides a relative chronology for the site. New spaces might relate to those recently added by Neile. Many of these spaces have been lost, both through demolition of the exterior building and through interior remodelling of the site.

In 1647 Auckland Castle was sold by the Parliamentary Commissioner to Sir Arthur Haselrigge for £6102.8s.11.5d along with other episcopal lands and estates, including Wolsingham Manor and Easingwood borough (Dugdale 1846: 233). The survey site conducted prior to this sale (Kirby 1971: 1) confirms the existence of a two-storey chapel, together with the dilapidation of rooms as a result of the Civil War. It is unclear how Auckland Castle might have suffered during the Civil War, and how it was used.

There are no contemporary sources pertaining to Haselrigge's treatment of the site. However, some indication of his effect at Auckland Castle can be gleaned through the writings of Bishop John Cosin (1660-1672) who came into the bishopric upon the Restoration. Cosin describes Haselrigge demolishing the residence by gunpower and building the house with his own materials. Cosin's description was confirmed through the discovery in 2018 of the remains of the chapel which featured parts of a broken buttress. The

relative lack of rubble or building remains relating to this phase are indicative of Haselrigge's reuse of the building. Recent geophysical analysis of the site has revealed the presence of Haselrigge's house, conforming to a compact-plan manor house, in the area south of the Great Hall. This subject is discussed further in Chapter 6.

Development post-1660

Upon Cosin's restoration to the See of Durham, he embarked on a repair and reconstruction campaign of the Castle using precisely the same architect, John Langstaffe, who had been employed by Haselrigge. Cosin's letters relating to this phase are preserved in the Mickleton Spearman Archive at Durham University. Cosin employed Langstaffe to '*take down part of Sir Arthur Hesilrigs (new) building and remove it, to take away the old buildings before the Great Chamber or Hall, to bring up the front wall of the same with rusticke ashlar of the said new building'* (Ornsby 1869: 54). It is clear from this extract that Cosin was responsible for the demolition of Haselrigge's house and for the conversion of the Great Hall into his chapel. He is also responsible for the construction of the gatehouse lodge, which is believed to have incorporated reused stone and windows from Haselrigge's house (Raine 1852: 110) Furthermore, it seems likely that he was responsible for the demolition of other buildings south of the building range. It is unclear how extensive Cosin's remodelling of the site was, possibly affecting much larger areas than has previously been imagined. Cosin's building efforts and his religious motivations have been discussed by Green (2016). Cosin's building changes have been largely preserved through to the modern-day, with few modern alterations made to his original building scheme.

Other bishops to have made structural impacts on the site include Bishop Richard Trevor (1752-1771) and Bishop Shute Barrington (1791-1826). Bishop Trevor was responsible for inserting an extension, now the site of the Bishops Office, to the south of Bek and Ruthall's accommodation block. Both these bishops are also associated with wide-ranging internal decorative schemes.

Timeline of major building events

Date	Event
1183	Reference to Auckland Castle in the Boldon Book
c. 1190	Bishop de Puiset constructed Great Hall
c. 1308	Bishop Bek builds chapel, college, chamber, accommodation block and curtain wall
1509-1522	Bishop Ruthall builds dining room and

Date	Event
	accommodation area south of Bek's chamber
c. 1551	Bishop Tunstall builds long gallery and probably completes Ruthall's building work
1561-1575	Bishop Pilkington dismantles parts of the College
1617-1627	Bishop Neile spends large amounts of money at Auckland Castle and Durham Castle and is probably responsible for inserting the new kitchens and associated spaces
1628	Inventory of Auckland Castle
1647	Auckland Castle sold by Parliamentary Commissioner to Sir Arthur Haselrigge
1663	Bishop Cosin begins Restoration of Auckland Castle including the demolition of Haselrigge's house and other portions of the medieval building
1754-1771	Bishop Trevor builds extension to south of the castle complex

Parks and outdoor spaces

Auckland Castle is associated with a sizeable deer park which, because of the sustained occupation of the site between the 12th-21st centuries, has remained largely intact. Recent LiDAR imaging of the site has uncovered the remains of an internal park boundary, suggesting that the park was subdivided (Chapter 5). In 1373 a hermitage lay on the pale close to the River Wear (Raine 1856). Earthwork features, including fishponds (eg in the 15th century fishponds were constructed over a period of 467 days, a major construction), walls, ridge and furrow ploughing and ditching speak to its complicated history which included a variety of land use from arable to meadowland (for mowed hay) and managed woodland (eg. for underwood and bark, timber), many of whose products were used in the park itself for paling, bridges, sluices and gates, among other items. Other sections of the perimeter were evidently of stone. The Castle is also associated with the maintenance of a herd of wild white cattle until the Civil War period. These cattle were present in the park from the 14th to the 17th centuries and noted for their size and unusual appearance and aggressive character. These have been likened to the Chillingham White Cattle which are still resident at Chillingham Castle today (Drury 2017: 150). Horses could also be found there as well as deer, sheep, pigs, swans and rabbits. Faunal remains from recent excavations

has uncovered evidence of the exploitation of all these animals. Other features of the park include a lodge, limekilns, quarries and a fulling mill, all of which are documented but have not been identified on the ground (Chapter 5).

Eigtheenth century maps and illustrations of this park provide some of the best indications of its use, with structures such as the deer house being recorded for the first time. During these later centuries the park became more ornamental. In 1770, a new deer house replaced the existing deer house. Plans for the development of the park into an ornamental landscape were recorded and produced by Dixon, though little of this design was eventually executed.

Historic maps, illustrations, paintings, photographs and representations

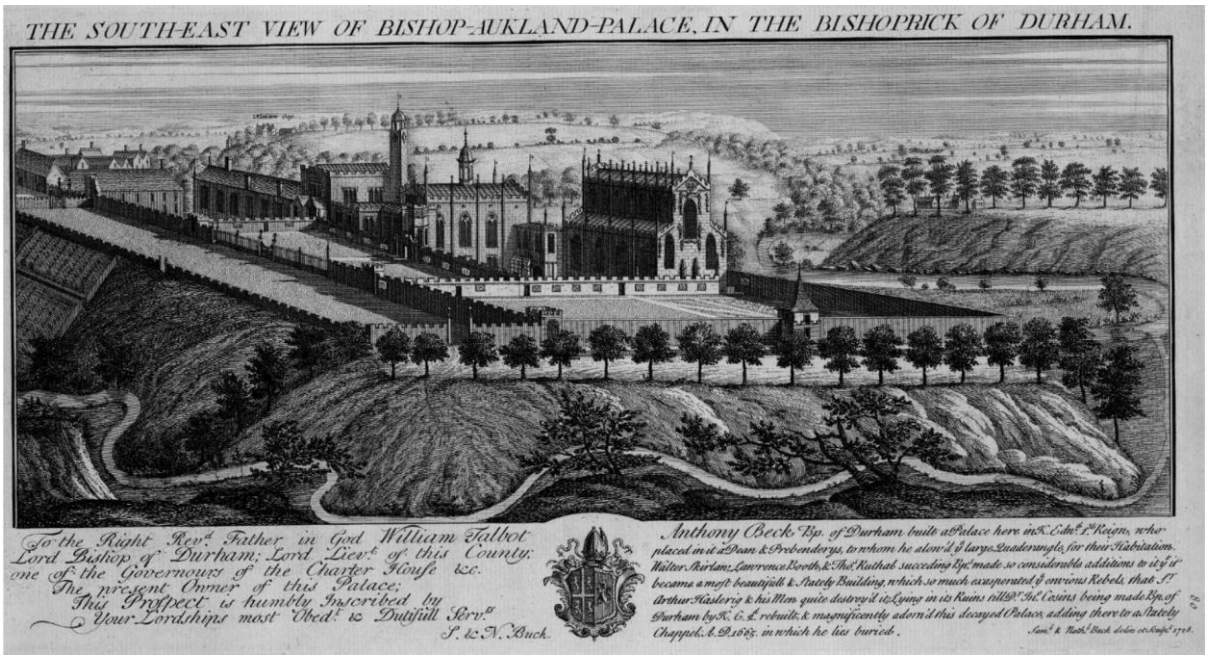
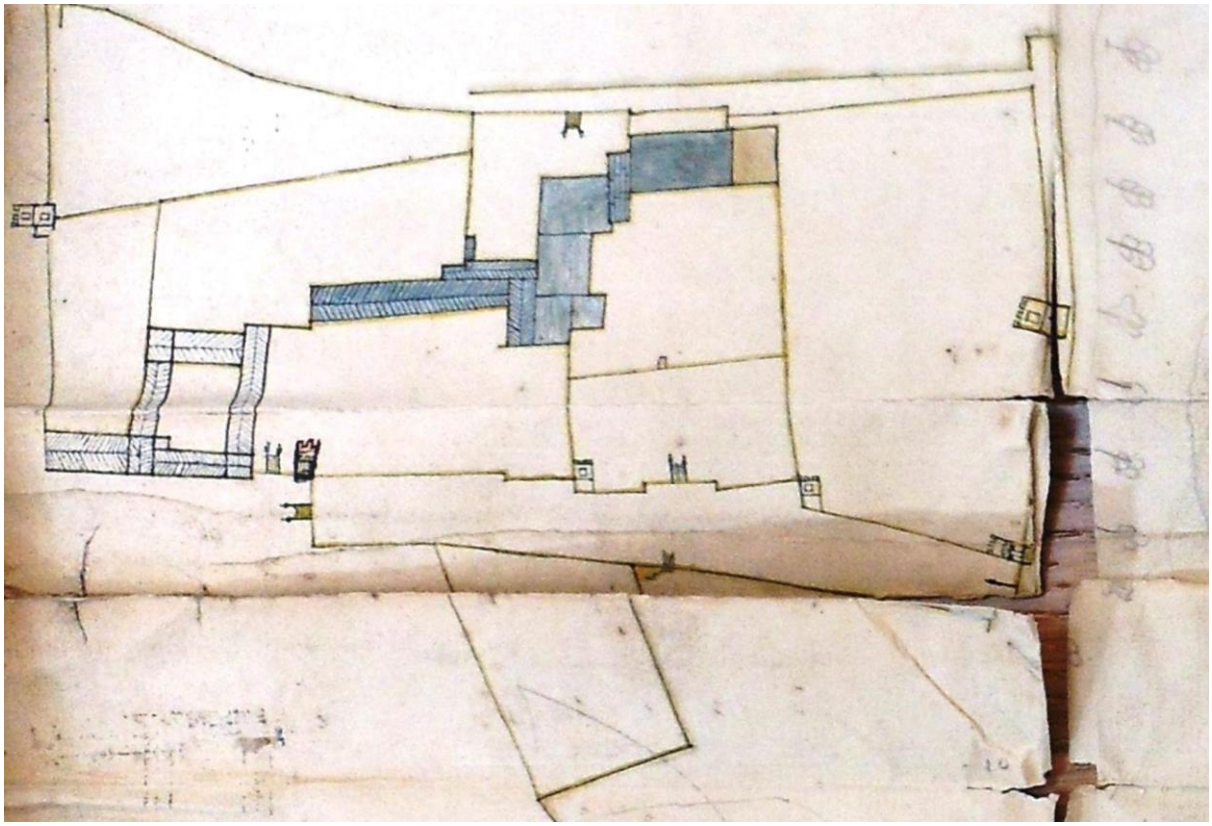


Figure A.2.1. 1780 Buck view of Auckland Castle.

Figure A.2.2. 1740 map of Auckland Castle and Park. Note buildings within park which likely correspond to earlier deerhouses and slaughterhouses (see Chapter 5). CCB MP/92 (7479)



Extract of above image.

Figure A.2.4. 1772 plan of Auckland Park by Jeremiah Dixon. Image shows full extent of park at this time, with demesnes land beyond (CCB MP/91 (7459)).

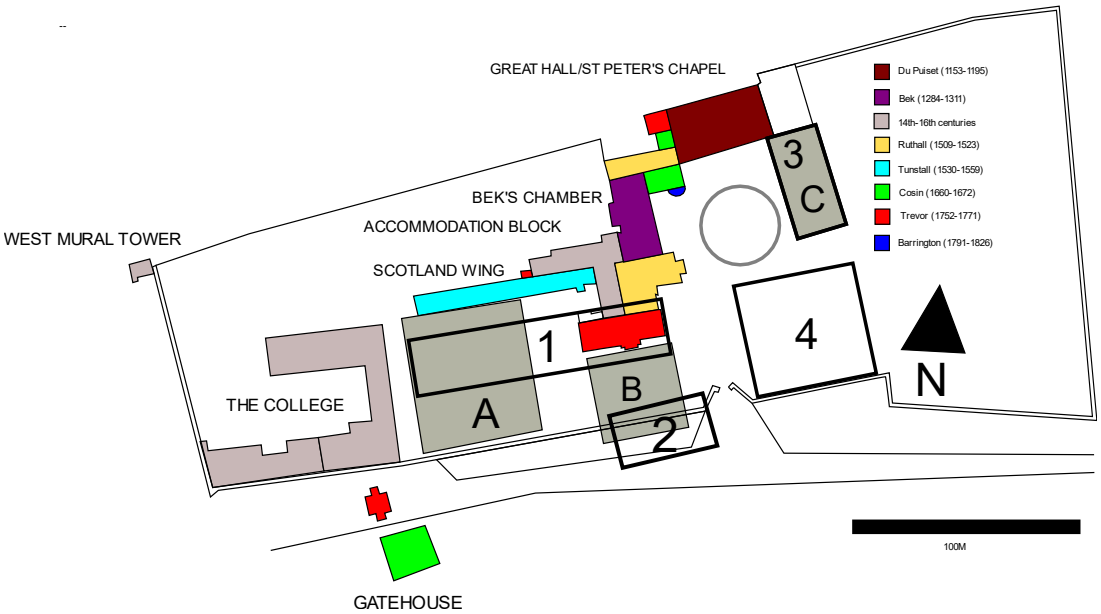


Figure A.2.5.. Phase plan of Auckland Castle based on plan The Auckland Project. Main spaces discussed in chapter are marked on. Pink boxes reference areas conjected through archaeological discoveries. 1 - Bek's Chapel. 2 - Chamber block of unknown date. 3 – Kitchens and service spaces. 4 – Hazelrigge's House. Green boxes relate to places of excavation. A – 2016. B – 2018. C – 2018. Image created by author.

APPENDIX 3

Darlington Bishop's Manor

Overview

Darlington Bishop's Manor was an important residence which belonged to the Bishops of Durham from the 12th to 18th centuries. Located about 38km south of Durham, Darlington was popular with earlier bishops (Smith 2016) and the residence was only finally sold in 1808, though it was leased since *c.*1703. The buildings were totally demolished in 1870 but 18th and 19th century depictions reveal that the site had an L-shaped configuration, with an accommodation range situated at right-angles to the Great Hall. Archaeological investigation of the site in 2012 (ASUD 2014b) uncovered the partial remains of the Great Hall together with extensive faunal remains, fragmented masonry deposits and 19th century building remains. These shed light on the use of the park and the exploitation of the wider landscape. Today, the site has been totally redeveloped beneath an office building and carpark. Evidence for the layout of the park, however, is fossilised in the 18th century street plan of Darlington.

Location and topography

Darlington was within an easily commutable location from Durham city within a day's ride of other popular residences of the Bishops of Durham. Other residences belonging to the Bishops of Durham, including Stockton Castle, Northallerton Castle and Auckland Castle, were similar distances apart but Darlington Manor was also on the main medieval thoroughfare south and therefore a useful way-station for travelling bishops and guests to the diocese.

The episcopal residence was located between the River Skerne to the east, and Darlington market place to the west. St Cuthbert's Church, founded by Bishop William de St Calais (1080-1096), held a collegiate community of monks from Durham and was an important religious centre in the later medieval period (Surtees 1823a). A large and thriving medieval market town, Darlington centre still conforms to its medieval layout with streets like 'Skinnergate' and 'Bondgate' denoting their medieval use. In 1585, Darlington suffered a disastrous fire which destroyed large portions of the town, though there is no evidence that Darlington Manor was affected (Cookson 2003: 25). Repairs were made to the site during fires in 1668, however (Longstaffe 1854: 60).

Given its location, Darlington Manor would have enjoyed panoramic views over its park beyond the eastern bank of the River Skerne. The land here slopes gently away from the river, leaving the episcopal residence in a depression in the landscape. The site may have suffered from flooding and damp, a fact highlighted by the discovery of waterlogged remains during the excavations at the site.

Archaeological evidence

Excavations at the site of Darlington Manor took place ahead of the development of the site in 2013 (ASUD 2014b). Following the standard procedure of developer-led archaeology, only those areas deemed at-risk from the development process were excavated. Three of the five trenches centred around the 18th century building range, with only one targeting the southwest corner of the 'Great Hall'. These excavations uncovered substantial deposits of organic and inorganic remains, with the majority dating from the 18th and 19th century occupation of the site. Leather shoes and extensive faunal assemblages were recovered from waterlogged deposit. One feature, a reused pond that had silted up and been levelled off with animal bone waste, contained substantial faunal assemblages deposited in two phases and radiocarbon dated to 1323-1440 and 1445-1631. These assemblages included a high proportion of cow and sheep bones, together with horse, dog, heron and crane suggesting exploitation of the surrounding landscape for falconry and hunting during the study period. The butchered and disarticulated remains of horses indicate knackering, while the discovery of dog bones suggests that these were also kept at the site and probably fed on the horse remains.

An extensive assemblage of 250 masonry fragments was recovered from the 19th century parts of the building relating to its period of use as a workhouse. These were dated to three main phases: 12th century, 14th century and 15th century, including some fragments in the Scottish vernacular style (ASUD 2014: 17). Many of these fragments were of high-quality workmanship and contained diagnostic stylistic details. This range of the building had evidently been built with reused stone from the medieval bishop's residence.

Standing buildings

This site features no upstanding building remains.

Documentary evidence

Darlington Manor formed one of the Bishop of Durham's bailiwick regions and is accompanied by extensive accounts detailing the use of the landscape and surrounding areas (CCB B/68). There are few references among the Church Commissioner's archive relating

specifically to building episodes at the site. Many of the accounts relating to specific large scale building programmes have been lost although incidental records of the maintenance and upkeep of the site do occur periodically (i.e. CCB B/68/4).

Antiquarian descriptions, such as Longstaffe (1854: 188-190) provide some of the clearest descriptions of the site and its post-medieval uses. Longstaffe describes visiting the manor house when it was still standing. Alongside his descriptions of furniture, Longstaffe describes walking through a *'neat little early English arch'* and the reuse of buildings such as *'what is now a hen-house, supposed to have been a dungeon…so modernized as to retain little that appertaineth to 'hoare antiquitie' save the massive stone walls'*. In his descriptions of windows, Longstaffe mentions *'three Norman lights in the eastern gable (pointing out the date, 1160, as a probable one'*. It is clear fr-om this description that large portions of the medieval building were standing in 1823. Unfortunately, many of the assertions Longstaffe made about its use, its transfer between owners and development are unreferenced and in research for this thesis it has not been possible to trace their original sources. Despite this, Longstaffe's account is generally accepted to be reliable and has been treated as such in this account.

Depictions of the site have been the most useful for developing an understanding of the size, morphology and post-medieval development of the site. A painting of Darlington Manor House painted by Norman Crosse and dated to 1764 (Figure A.3.4), together with a sketch of the site dated to 1813 (see Figure A.3.5), provide impressions of the both the east and west facades of the building. In both cases, the Great Hall is shown at right-angles to a long buttressed range with dormer windows, chimneys with other diagnostic stylistic details like string-courses, arched windows and doorways. These images present a building which had undergone multiple building phases.

An architect's plan from 1866 provides the only floorplan of the site (Figure A.3.6). In it, the Great Hall is clearly depicted with chapel inserted on its east end. To the west, another range connects with the Great Hall and its later age is implied by the relative thinness of the walls. A small connecting room joins these two building phases. A similar floorplan can be gained from the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey map (Figure A.3.5) which clearly shows the Great Hall and its adjoining range. The multiple interior subdivisions of this range likely relate to its use as a workhouse at this time.

Development pre-1450

Very little is known about the medieval development of this site. It is widely believed and repeated (Longstaffe 1854; Surtees 1823a; Cookson 2003; Hammond 2013) that le Puiset

founded the site in 1164. In research for this thesis, this has not been verified. However, depictions of the site (see below) do show a range of architectural features, including rounded Romanesque arches consistent with le Puiset's building style. The 11th century foundation of St Cuthbert's Church and collegiate community demonstrate that this area was active among clergy from the 11th century and supports the assertion that a 12th century residence might have been founded here.

Post-medieval depictions of the site (see below) provide some insight into the use and arrangement of space. The Great Hall is depicted on an east-west alignment extending towards the park. The presence of Norman and Romanesque windows on the adjoining north-south range show that this was contemporary to the Great Hall, although substantially developed. Masonry assemblages recovered during excavations corroborate that the site originates in the 12th century. The other two building phases represented in this assemblage are not represented in the documentary sources but reveal that the site received ongoing development throughout the later medieval period.

Development 1450-1660

This site is poorly understood during the study period for this thesis. Evidence from the itineraries of the Bishops of Durham (Smith 2016) reveals that they spent increasingly little time at Darlington Manor after the mid-14th century, in favour of spending more time at other episcopal sites like Auckland and Durham castles. It was these sites which received greater attention and expenditure in line with their continuing use, while other episcopal residences were of less interest. Darlington Bishop's House was one of those. It is likely therefore that this residence was primarily occupied by members of the bishop's wider household and staff, who managed affairs relating to the park and Darlington bailiwick on behalf of the bishop. Unlike other episcopal residences, Darlington Bishop's House was not leased-out by the Bishops of Durham, suggesting that it was integral to the day-to-day running of the bishopric.

It can be reasonably assumed that Darlington Manor was larger than it appears in images of the site (see below). Longstaffe's (1854) description some of the spaces not depicted such as the hen-house/dungeon. A visit by Princess Margaret Tudor in 1504 ahead of her marriage to James VI/I suggests that the site was able to accommodate her and a travelling retinue (Buchanan 1985: 47).

It is unclear what happened to Darlington Manor during the Civil War and Commonwealth periods. Darlington Manor was acquired by Sir Arthur Haselrigge alongside Auckland Castle and other estates previously owned by the Bishops of Durham (Dugdale 1846: 233).

Although Haselrigge's treatment of other episcopal residences, such as Auckland Castle and Durham Castle, is well understood, little is known about happened at Darlington Manor. At the Restoration, Bishop John Cosin spent £16,000 repairing damage to Darlington Manor and Auckland Castle. In 1668, he collected 3s6d per oxgang in Bondgate in Darlington to pay for the '*slates, stones, timber and brick for both the manor house and toll booth*' (Surtees 1823a: 94). Cosin's restoration of Darlington Manor is probably what is represented in the Norman Crosse and anonymous 1813 images; the dormer windows in the pitched roofline are characteristic of late 17th century building design (Pevsner 1976: 42). These images, and the range of window styles presented in them, suggests that that large portions of the buildings depicted survived the Civil War and Commonwealth.

Development post-1660

Following Cosin's restoration in 1661, Darlington remained a property which was used by the Bishops of Durham. In 1669, Cosin let Darlington Manor to his son-in-law Charles Gerard (Cosin Letter Book GB-0033-COL 5A/18). It is unclear how this site was used, or if it changed, within that time. Longstaffe references an observation made by a chronicler and antiquary that by 1703 the site was being used as a Quaker workhouse despite officially being owned by the Bishops of Durham (Longstaffe 1854: 153). In 1808 the site was formally sold to the townspeople of Darlington to be used as a workhouse. Sometime after that date, the second range depicted on the 1866 Pritchett plan (Figure A.3.9) and the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey map (Figure A.3.6) wass added, while the Great Hall was retained. The building range depicted in the Norman Crosse image (Figure A.3.4) and anonymous 1813 image (Figure A.3.5) pertain to the earlier building.

In 1870 the Darlington Workhouse was sold to Alderman Richard Luck who relocated it to Yarm Road in Darlington (Longstaffe 1854: 153) and redeveloped the area into a terrace of houses named eponymously 'Luck Terrace' (Hammond 2014: 61). These houses were eventually demolished in 1966, though no archaeology was conducted at that time (Hammond 2014: 61). The site was subsequently redeveloped into offices before their eventual demolition and redevelopment in 2012 (Hammond 2014).

Timeline of major building events

Date	Event
c.1164	Construction by Bishop le Puiset.
1287-1311	Bishop Bek encloses the park.
1504	Princess Margaret, then betrothed to James IV of Scotland, stays at Darlington Manor.

Date	Event
1575	Darlington Great Fire
1661	Bishop Cosin restores Darlington Manor house in wider campaigns following Civil War and Commonwealth period.
1669	Charles Gerard, Bishop John Cosin's son-in-law resides at Darlington Manor.
1703	Darlington Manor was being used as a Quaker workhouse
1808	Darlington township buys Darlington Manor to create workhouse
1870	Workhouse relocated, site acquired by Richard Luck who demolishes it.

Parks and outdoor spaces

Darlington Manor was accompanied by large park which encompassed the area east of the River Skerne. Rising uphill from the river, this park would have afforded views of the Darlington Manor from its highest points, and views from Darlington Manor eastwards would have included the River Skerne with the parkland beyond. 18th century depictions (Figures A.3.1 and A.3.2) provide a good idea of the viewsheds and surrounding landscape which would have probably been damp and fostered a modest wetland habitat. Modern canalisation of the river together with the waterlogged contexts found during excavations hint at the propensity of this area to flood and offers some insight into the medieval landscape. Discoveries of crane and heron bones in contexts radiocarbon dated to between 1485-1668 corroborate this assertion.

Darlington Park was allegedly enclosed by Bishop Bek (1293-1301) (Longstaffe 1854: 199) but in research for this thesis no direct evidence for this was found. In any case, the area surrounding the residence, which forms a broadly oval enclosure and encompasses St Cuthbert's Church, comprises the 'hallgarth', with the high and low parks situated on the east side of the River Skerne. Both faunal evidence and documentary evidence give some clear indication of the use of this landscape. Aside from the discovery of wetland species, large quantities of disarticulated horse and dog bones were recovered alongside cow and poultry bones from the same contexts. These remains were discovered in a reused pond feature, identified through the stratified sedimentary deposits lining the base of this feature. These hint at the use of this site for both the rearing of horses and dogs. Its situation south of Durham made it a valuable site for bishops journeying south.

The layout of the park is clearly visible in the current street plan. The area of Darlington situated east of the Skerne and encompassing the parks was developed in a piecemeal way after c. 1890, judging by regressive map analysis. This corresponds with the sale of the property in 1870. The area is clearly divided by 'Parkgate' which follows the division of the High and Low Parks visible in maps of the park (Figure A.3.7; Figure A.3.8). Elsewhere, curved internal boundaries have also been identified in recent LiDAR and landscape surveys at Auckland Castle. It is very possible that these internal boundaries relate to the internal segregation of different animal types. Due to the redevelopment of the site in the late 19th century, no structural remains of barns, garden features, follies, ornaments or other buildings associated with the park have been found.

Historic maps, illustrations, paintings and photographs

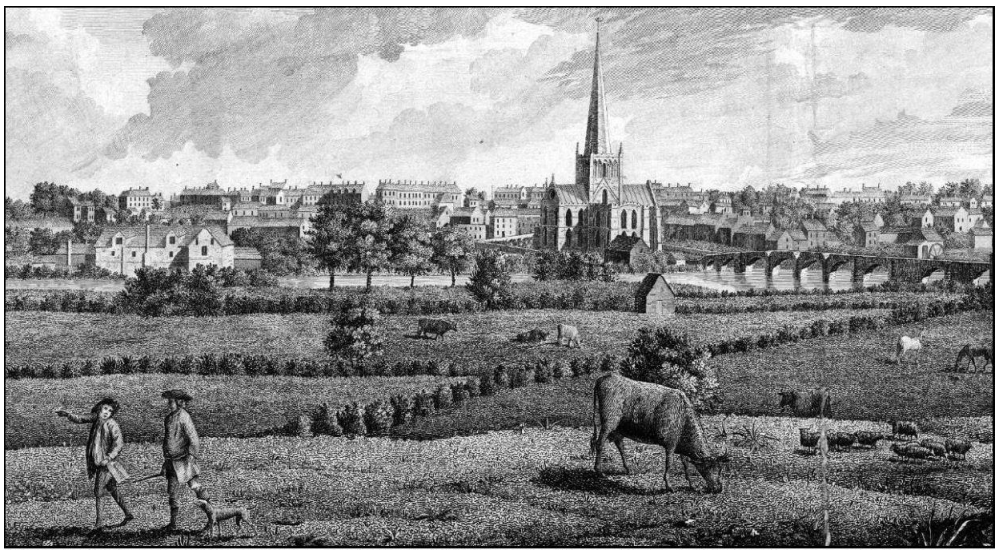


Figure A.3.1. Engraving of Darlington (viewed towards east) by Samuel Wilkinson, 1760. Park depicted in foreground; Darlington Manor and St Cuthbert's Church in background. Note the riverside location

Figure A.3.2. Sketch of Darlington Manor, view from east, entitled 'The Bishop's Palace, East View' dated 1766, anonymous. (Darlington Local Studies Library acc no. PH3122). The similarities of fenestration and roofline with Figure A.3.1 are striking

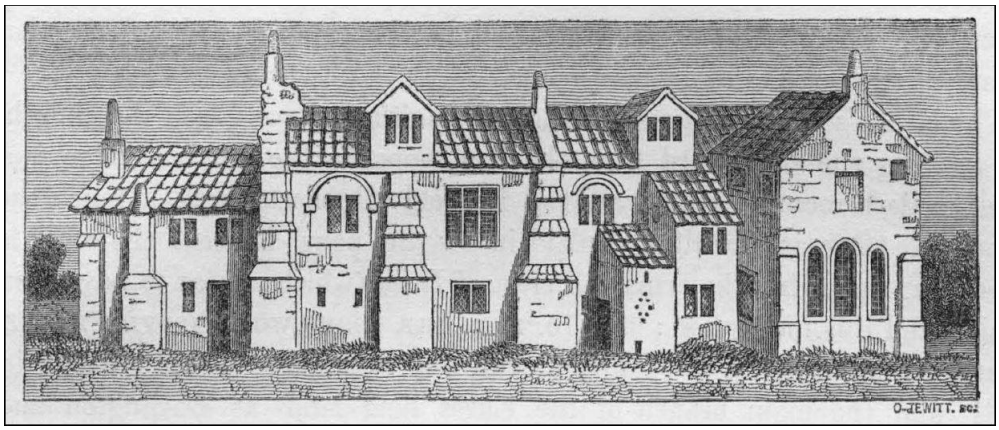


Figure A.3.3. Woodcut of Darlington Manor from Longstaffe's History of Darlington *(1854). East elevation.* The details are taken from the illustration below.

Figure A.3.4. Watercolour dated 1764 by Norman Crosse. East elevation (Darlington Local Studies Library acc no PH5067 L566A).

Figure A.3.5. Sketch dated 1813 entitled 'Old Bishop's Palace'. West elevation. Darlington Local Studies Library acc. No. PH2933 L56B.

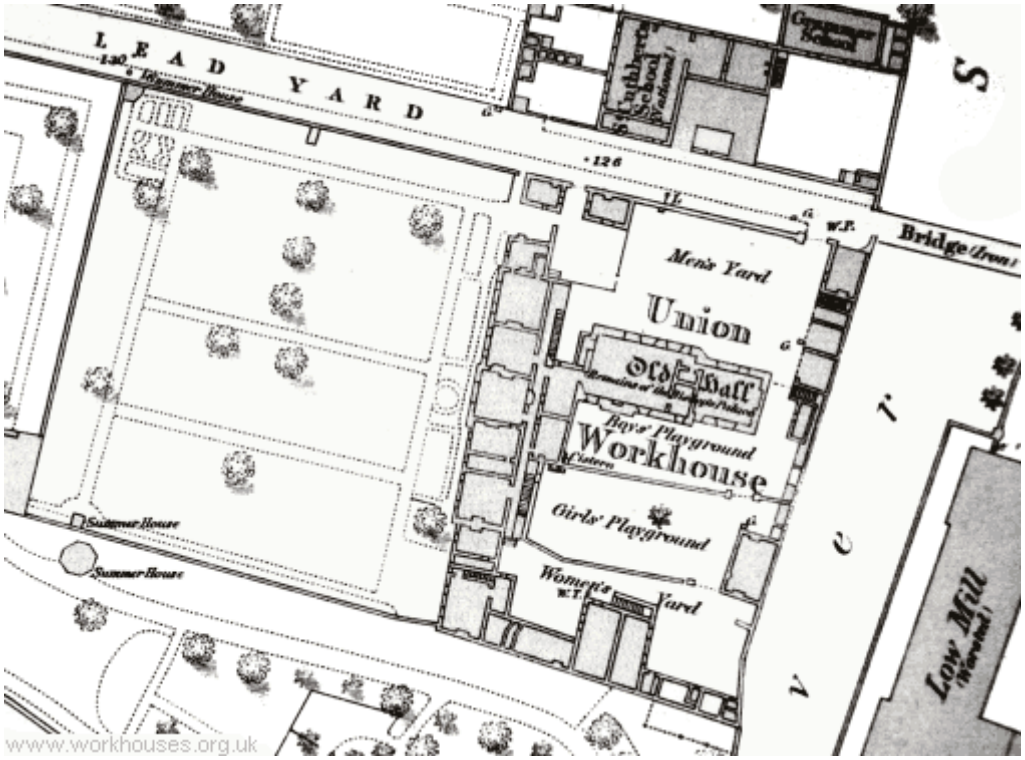


Figure A.3.6. 1st Ordnance Survey Map of Darlington from 1856. Depicts the new workhouse range adjoining the Old Hall.

Figure A.3.7. 1850 map depicting the Low and High Parks fossilised in the field systems west of the River Skerne.

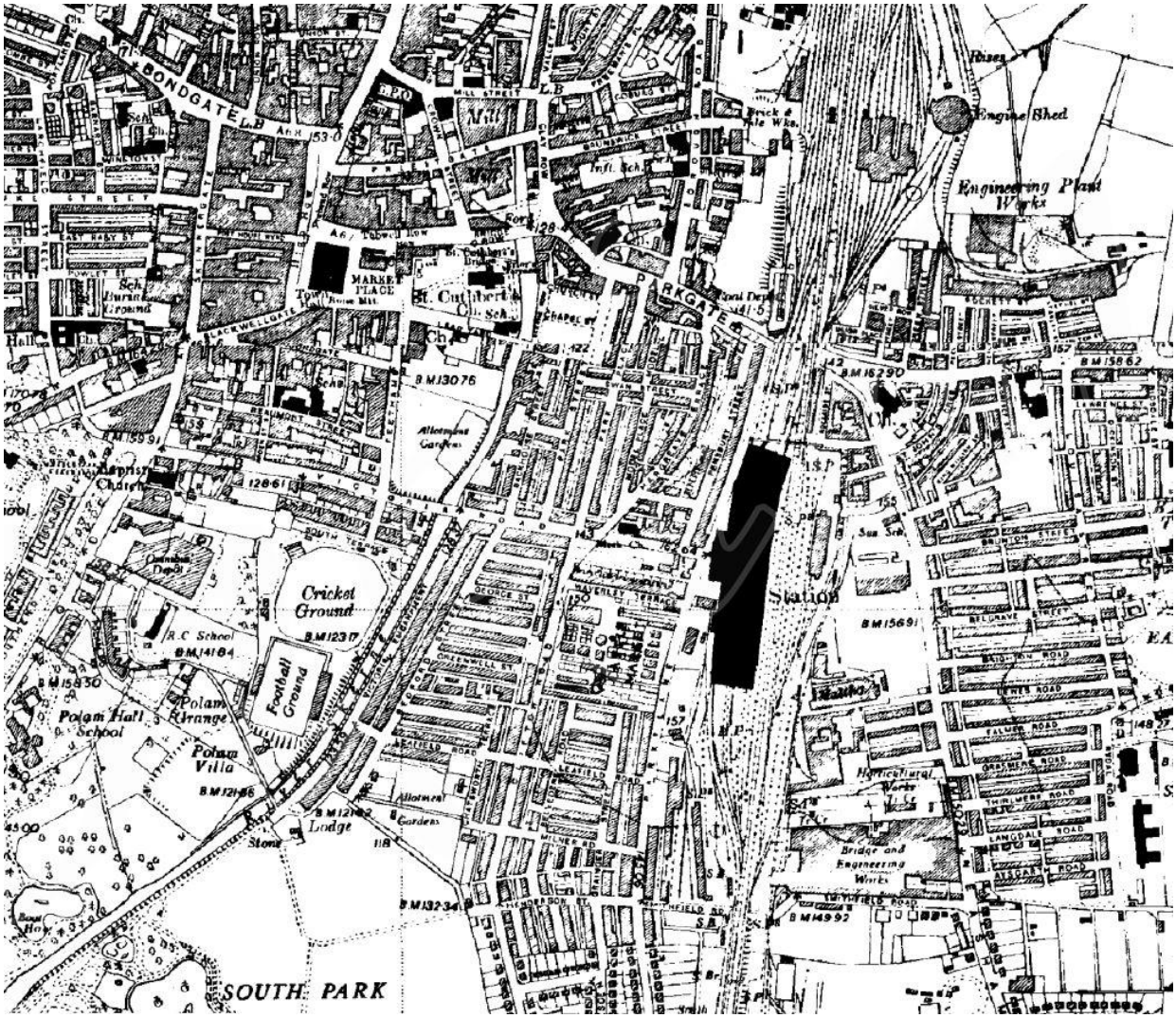


Figure A.3.8. 1890 map of Darlington depicting St Cuthbert's Church centrally with station depicted at eastern limit of the park. This image shows the urban development between the Station and St Cuthbert's Church.

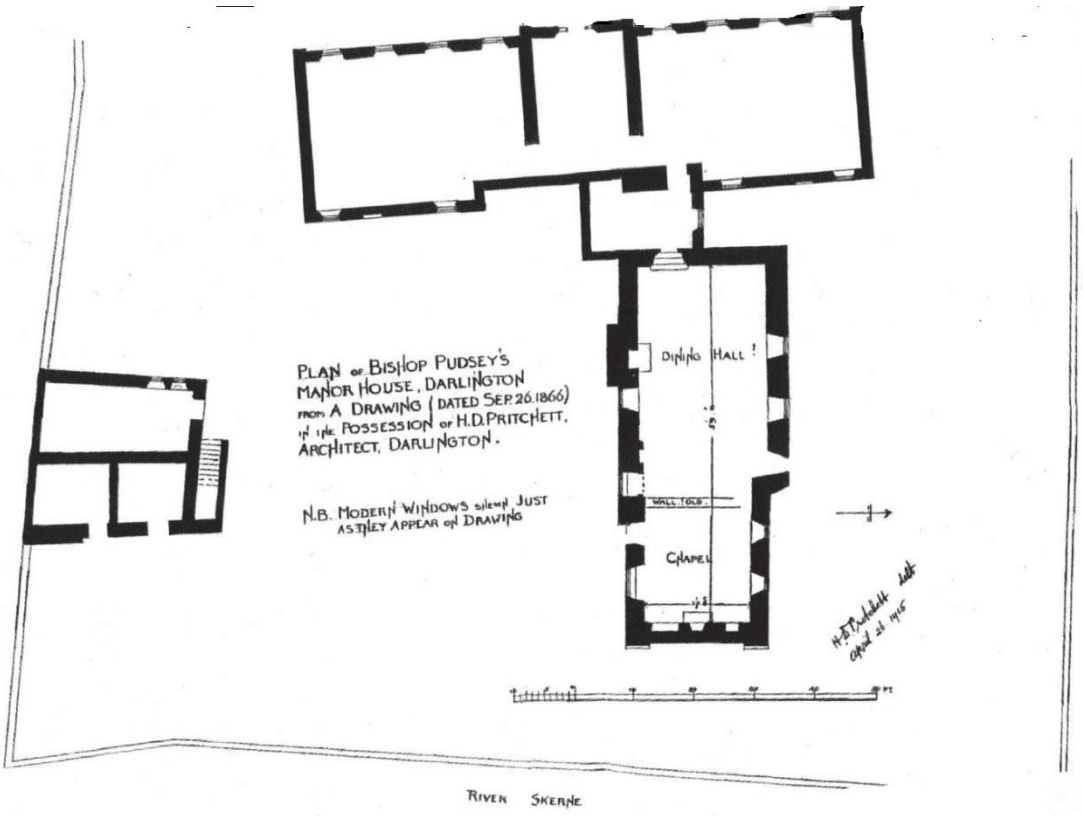


Figure A.3.9. Darlington Manor architectural plan drawn 1866, redrawn 1915. Source unknown. Located in Darlington Manor HER box.

APPENDIX 4

Stockton Castle

Overview

Stockton Castle was a major residence of the Bishops of Durham located within the town of Stockton-on-Tees in County Durham. The site was established in the 12th century and continued to be used by the Bishops of Durham until its demolition in 1672 following severe damage during the Civil War and Commonwealth periods. The site of the residence has been entirely developed and only minimal archaeology has conducted. Documentary references allow for a more complete reconstruction of its appearance and layout. Stockton Castle was accompanied by a park which is also well documented.

Location and topography

Stockton Castle was situated on the banks of the River Tees towards the south of Stockton market place (see Figure A.4.2). The town of Stockton-on-Tees is located about 40 km from Durham city. Stockton was the centre of one of the bishopric's major administrative bailiwicks from which nearby villages and villeins were administered. Stockton town was arranged according to a typical proto-urban arrangement consisting of a central road extending from the castle from which the settlement was nucleated (Dyer 2003). The castle was situated on a slightly elevated position above the town.

Archaeological evidence

Stockton Castle has only been subject to one archaeological excavation during the demolition and redevelopment of the site of the bishop's palace (Aberg and Smith 1988). By the excavators' own admission this excavation was hampered by lack of time. The features identified were not primary deposits, but redeposited broken fragments of high-quality carved masonry dated stylistically to the 12th century (Aberg and Smith 1988). No other relevant finds were recovered and, since its redevelopment, there has been no further archaeological investigation.

Standing buildings

There are no standing buildings at the site.

Documentary evidence

Stockton Castle has fewer surviving documentary records relating to its use and occupation than other episcopal residences belonging to the Bishops of Durham. Those that have

survived primarily cover the use of the park (CCB B/81/1-19) with few references to significant building episodes at the site itself. The bulk of individual building records were probably created in independent accounts which have since been lost. Stockton Castle was subject to an extensive survey following the death of Bishop Pilkington in 1576 which has traditionally been used as the primary source for understanding the scale and nature of the site (Sowler 1972; Raine 1876). The Parliamentary Survey of Stockton Castle conducted by the Parliamentary Commissioners ahead of its sale during the Commonwealth is another useful source.

Development pre-1450

Stockton Castle is mentioned in the Boldon Book of 1183 in which a '*Hall-toft, and the oxgang which the Bishop holds across the river, opposite to the Hall'* are recorded (Austin 1982: 54-55). This description provides a clear impression of both the location of Stockton Manor and its park on the opposite side of the River Tees. Given the known development of Stockton town on the east bank of the Tees, the park must have been on the west bank of the Tees. This description only mentions the existence of a hall, suggesting that the site did not bear the typical characteristics of castle at this time. Very little is known about its development in the following centuries, although Surtees (1823b) records that King John visited the site in 1214. There are many 13th and 14th century instances of bishops signing charters from Stockton Castle (Smith 2016), indicating that it was a major centre for the later medieval Bishops of Durham. In research for this thesis, no records of building activity for these periods were located. Between 1249-57, Bishop Nicholas Farnham was allowed to reside at Stockton Castle until his death (Franklin 2004). This was not unusual, with other bishops being granted minor episcopal residences in their retirement.

Development 1450-1660

The most detailed and most often cited source for understanding the nature and development of Stockton Castle is a survey conducted in 1576 following the death of Bishop James Pilkington (1561-1576). This source was fully transcribed by both Raine (1876) and Sowler (1972). In it, the following spaces are recorded and brief descriptions of their state are given based on their descriptions in the text: 1 barn ('*dacaied and ruynouse'*), the hall ('*nothinge remaynynge but the walles, which are broke and ruynouse'*), the tower north of the chapel (*'decaied in the battlement & for lacke of pointinge')*, the westmost tower (*'beinge likewise decaied in the battlement & for lacke of pointinge')*, the walls of the chamber adjoining unto the Lords Chamber called the Chamberlains' Chamber from the West Tower unto the Great Chamber ('*decaied for lacke of pointing'),* the walls of the chamber adjoining the Great

Chamber on the north side (‘*decaied for lacke of pointing’)*, the walls of the west square of the garden (*‘decaied’*), the walls of the garden on the south square with stables under (‘*decaied for lacke of pointing’)*, the kitchen (roof at been ‘*pulled downe by the commaundment of James late busshopp of Duresme’*), one other house (*‘nothinge remaynge but ruynouse walles’*), house for horse mill (roof ‘*all decayed & downe’*), a kiln (‘*decaied’*), house adjoining the kiln with two flowers for flowering malt (*pulled downe by the commaundment of James late busshopp of Duresme’)*, brewhouse and bakehouse with chamber at either end (*‘lack of pointinge’),* chapel with four turrets (*‘decaied in leade’*), great chamber (roof leads are ‘*sore decaied & muste be caste a newe’),* chamber at the end of the Great Chamber (*‘decaied in riggyng and fillettes’*), garden on the west square with tower at north end (*‘which was covered which the said James late busshopp caused to be taken away and uncovered: which Tower is yet bare’*). Other spaces mentioned are: parlour, chamber next to parlour, buttery, tower over the stairs, revestry, chamber on north side of the chapel, pantry and adjoining chamber, and wine cellar.

Without any existing structures or plans, it is not possible to reconstruct these spaces accurately. However, the many references to garden squares suggestt that the building was centred around a courtyard. Moreover, by 1576, this building was in a very poor state of repair, most recently as a result of building changes made by James Pilkington during his neglectful episcopate. This suggests that during his episcopate, and possibly earlier ones too, this building was not actively used. Moreover, as Stockton Castle was not leased, any deterioration can be confidently attributed to episcopal ownership.

The only reference to this site being used as an active residence by the Bishops of Durham is when Bishop Thomas Morton (1632-1646) fled to Stockton Castle in 1640 to avoid Civil War conflict (Quintrell 2008). The numerous references in the 1576 survey to towers and battlements suggest that this site was built defensively and assumed the appearance of a castle. Given its state of repair in 1574, it is unclear what condition Stockton Castle might have been in when Morton lived there. Throughout the Civil War, Stockton-upon-Tees was in Royalist control, and Stockton Castle was used as a Royalist fortress during that time (Sowler 1972). It is not, however believed to have witnessed any direct fighting.

Some indication of its condition can be gleaned from a survey of the site conducted at the time which described it as ‘*ruinous and in great decay…the materials of the castle are worth to bee sould’* (full transcription in Surtees 1823b). On 24 March 1647, the manor of Stockton, which included the castle, park and other holdings, was sold to William Underwood and James Nelthorpe for £6165.10s.2.5d (Dugdale 1817: 233). It is not clear how this sale was arranged, nor how Underwood and Nelthorpe divided their assets. In 1652

however, Stockton Castle is recorded as having been totally demolished (MSS MSP 25 f.5v). Very probably the building was already in a poor state of repair and was purchased with the explicit intention stripping it, including the stonework.

Development post-1660

The manor of Stockton reverted back to episcopal ownership, but the castle had since been demolished. The barn belonging to the bishops stood until 1850, whereupon it too was demolished (Raine 1876). The site of the castle was known within the wider community and is recorded in the 1850 map of Stockton Castle. At that time it may have been visible as surface earthworks. In any case, this site as entirely built upon by 1860 in wider campaigns of development across Stockton-on-Tees during the Industrial Revolution. The site of the park was also built upon. The excavations conducted in 1967 (Aberg and Smith 1988) were the only time since its redevelopment that the site had been available for intrusive archaeological examination. Today, the Castlegate Shopping Centre occupies the site of Stockton Castle.

Timeline of major building events

Date	Event
1183	Reference to Stockton Manor in Boldon Book
1249-1257	Bishop Farnham retires to Stockton Manor and dies at this site
1345-1381	Bishop Hatfield's Survey of Stockton Manor
1576	Survey of Stockton Castle taken after the death of Bishop Pilkington
1640	Bishop Morton flees to Stockton Castle during Civil War
1647	Parliamentary Commissioners Survey recommends for the demolition of Stockton Castle
1647-8	Stockton Castle sold by Parliamentary Commissioner to William Underwood and James Nelthorpe
1652	Stockton Castle entirely demolished

Parks and Outdoor Spaces

Stockton Castle was accompanied by a substantial park located on the west side of the River Tees which is best described in the Parliamentary Survey for the site as '*the castle hath had a greate moat abt it, but the same is now want of cleansing filled up in part, and within that moate hath heretofore been orchards and gardens, but all destroyed; there hath likewise been a parke, but the same hat been disparked….there belongeth to the said Castle good demesnes…a meadow or parke lying under the Castle wall, containing 26 acres…no wood growin upon any part of it…nor is there any quarryes, mynes, parks, or sheep-racks within the said moate, except the park above mentioned belonging to the B'pp'* (extract taken from full transcription in Surtees 1876).

This extract suggests that prior to this survey of 1647, the land within the moat contained orchards and gardens, with the land beyond being used as parkland. Instaurers' accounts from 1429-1518 record proceeds from Stockton Park which included sheep, cattle and horses, together with herbage (CCB B/81/1-19). There is no indication that the park was used for deer hunting. The Parliamentary Survey also records the name of fields leased in the park. 'Little meadow field', 'winter field', 'great sumer field' and 'Smithy field' relate to pasture and perhaps industrial activities. Parkland within the castle wall was about 26 acres, parkland beyond was about 235 acres based on the areas given in the Parliamentary Survey.

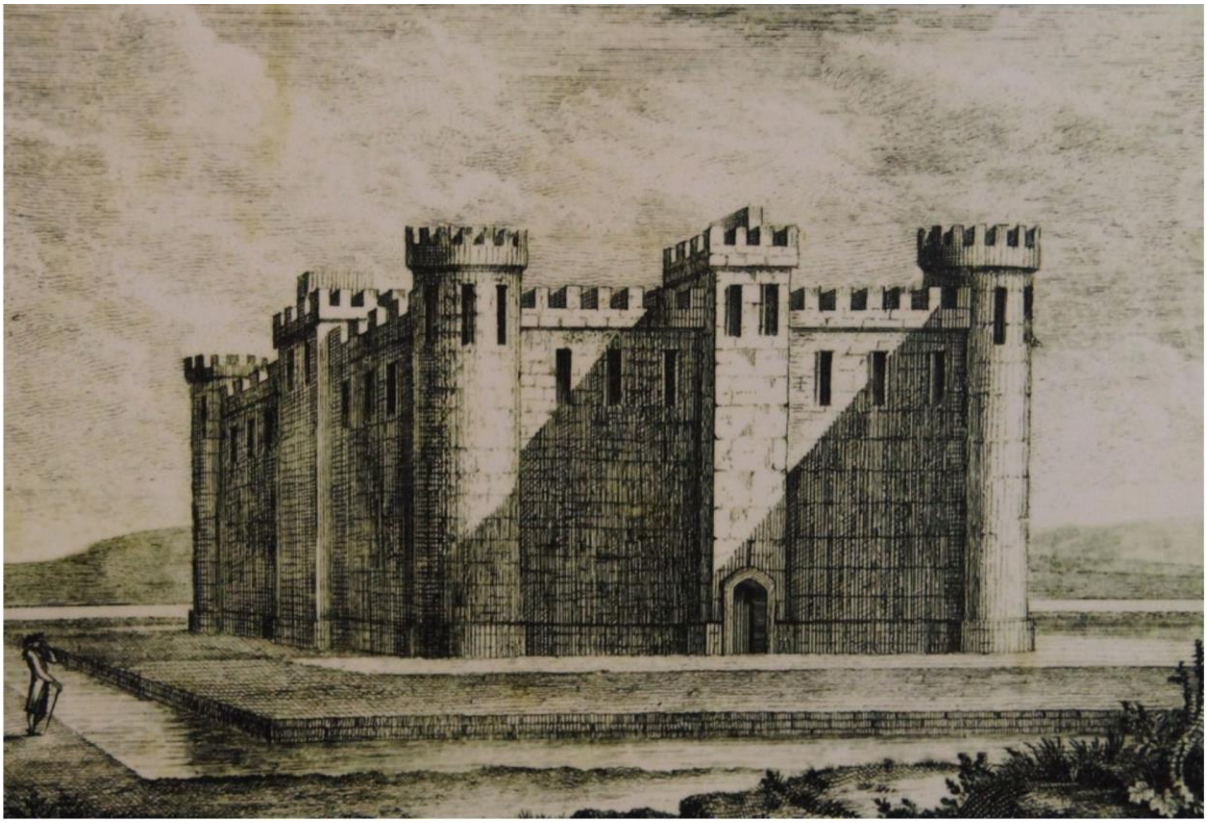


Figure A.4.1. Anonymous 19th century depiction of Stockton Castle. Created after demolition of site and therefore conjectural. This image does show some relevant details, however. Note the depiction of towers, battlements and a moat which are all referred to in documentary sources.

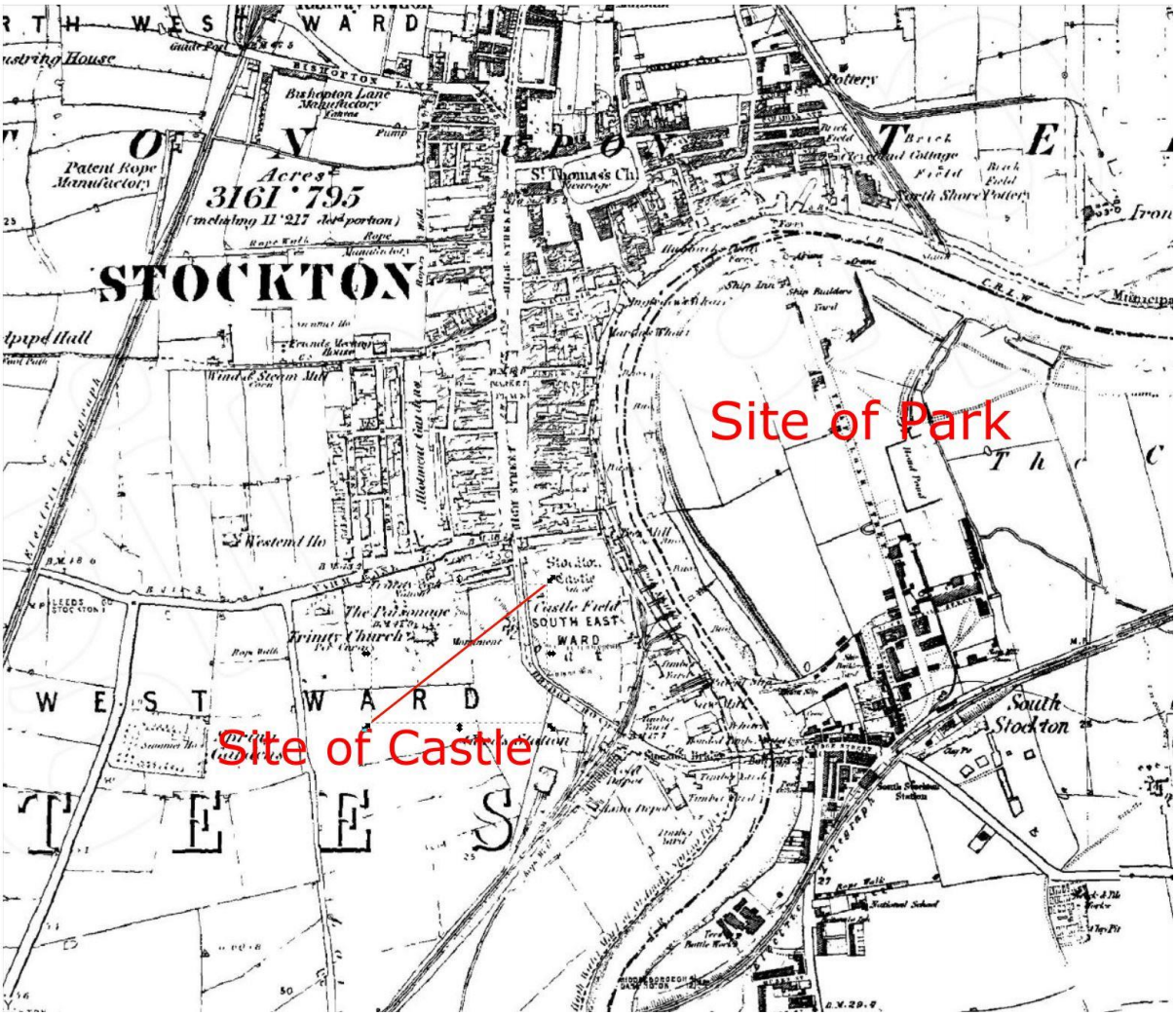


Figure A.4.2. 1850 map of Stockton showing the site of Stockton Castle, park and town before the area was entirely redeveloped in the later 19th century.

APPENDIX 5

Crayke Castle

Overview

Crayke Castle is situated atop a hill within the village of Crayke in North Yorkshire. The Castle fell within an additional protectorate belonging to the Bishops of Durham and was thus beyond the boundaries of the diocese. The Castle was established in the 12th century and remained in use by the Bishops of Durham until its lease in 16th century and final sale by Bishop Van Mildert in 1827. Today, Crayke Castle is a Grade 1-listed private house which comprises a mixture of historical spaces from different periods. The surviving remnants of the medieval residence are split across two structures which confuses the interpretation of them. Crayke Castle was accompanied by a deer park which was routinely used by the Bishops of Durham until the 17th century.

Location and topography

Although geographically Crayke is about 96 km from Durham city and lies within territories belonging to the See of York, this was a historic administrative dependency of the Bishops of Durham owing to an early medieval arrangement by which the land of Crayke was granted to St Cuthbert and his community by the Northumbrian King Egfrid in AD 685 (Blunt 1866). Crayke has an upstanding early medieval church and cemetery (Wood 2008).

Crayke Castle sites on a commanding hill on the northwest periphery of Crayke village within an encircling park enclosure and commanding views over the landscape. Today the surrounding landscape is predominantly woodland and farmland. Graham Jones (2017) has discussed how the wider landscape around Crayke was a hub of hunting activity for bishops (both Durham and York) and royalty alike, with three significant hunting parks situated within a 10km radius.

Archaeological evidence

Crayke Castle has been subject to one commercial investigative project conducted at the site in 2004 (Dennison 2004). This project comprised a building survey which focused on creating a photographic record of (primarily) the ruined southeast block. The project also examined the hill on which the bulk of the standing structure sits, concluding that this is likely to be a natural feature which may have been adapted or terraced to function better as a motte, though evidence for this is tenuous. According to this theory, Crayke Castle was in

origin a motte-and-bailey castle, but later 15th century remodelling and the destruction of medieval parts of the building have obscured this. There are no surviving traces of an inner or outer bailey and there has been no archaeological assessment of the wider below-ground archaeology. All post-medieval building development occurred before pre-1900.

Standing buildings

There are two main areas of standing building remains at the site. The southern block is the inhabited portion and centres around the well-preserved 15th century chamber block and probable 12th century vaulted undercroft. Because of their ongoing use, these are in an excellent state of repair and the sites Grade-1 listing has ensured their survival and protection. The spaces would have likely connected to a Great Hall which mentioned in documents (see below) but which has not survived. A new building extension has been constructed on its probable site. The northern block consists of a ruined area of masonry broadly corresponding to the fragments of three rooms. Some diagnostic fragments of carved masonry have survived in good condition.

Documentary evidence

Because of its administrative and geographical independence from other areas belonging to the See of Durham, Crayke Castle has an excellent surviving documentary record in the Church Commissioners archive at Palace Green Library, Durham University. Most of this record surrounds the use of the park there, but there are references to the maintenance and upkeep of the bishop's manor (i.e. Crayke Castle).

Development pre-1450

Crayke Castle was probably built for Bishop Bek (1283-1310), Bishop Kellaw (1311-1316) or Bishop le Puiset (1153-1195) (Hester 2006). It is reported that le Puiset spent the night at Crayke Castle before his death at Howden Manor where he contracted food poisoning (Barrow 2004). Supposing this account to be reliable, it would suggest that le Puiset was the most likely person responsible for Crayke's construction. de Puiset was responsible for significant building projects, including at Auckland Castle, Ushaw College and Durham Cathedral, which also suggest that he might have been responsible for Crayke Castle.

Very little is known about the earliest building phases at Crayke Castle and it is not believed that any of these 12th century phases have survived. Dennison (2004) suggests that the earliest building phases might have consisted of a timber motte-and-bailey castle, replaced by stone buildings in the 13th century. Archaeological investigation is yet to confirm this suggestion.

It has been reasonably presumed the existing four-storey chamber block which comprises the majority of the standing accommodation at the site in the south range was built by Bishop Robert Neville (1438-1457) (Raine 1869; l'Anson 1913; Dennison 2004). This is based primarily on stylistic details, including the distinctive banding around the chamber created by three evenly spaced stringcourses, which echo similar details at Raby Castle, the historic seat of the Neville family (Dennison 2004). Account details from between 1441-2 (CCB B/110/1 (189881)) detail the construction of a new kitchen between the 'old' hall and 'new' chamber. This account falls within Neville's episcopate and suggests that the chamber had already been built, indicating that it was probably constructed early in his episcopacy. The space referred to in this account likely relates to the existing vaulted undercroft space, now used as a kitchen by the modern owners, and to the spaces above it (Figure A.5.3). The undercroft might have been a storage space for the kitchen. Moreover, the reference to the 'old' hall suggest that this space pre-dated the chamber. Based on the description of the location of this kitchen, the hall was probably located south of the undercroft in a space which is now occupied by a modern extension. This might have been the main focus of the building during the many royal visitations there during the 13th and 14th centuries. Logically, this space must have been accompanied by a suite of additional ancillary spaces which have been lost.

In addition to the northern block, the ruined remains of an additional building block lie about 50 m south and comprise three main rooms. The date of this structure is unclear. It was most extensively described, and sketched, in the Elizabethan Survey of the site in 1561 (Figure A.5.1). In this survey, the New Tower is described '*thear is, besides the Castle, afore, an elder house buylte of stone walles of lviij fote long on way & xviij f. wyde, w a roufe covered w slate in sore decay, & ye tymber rotten in meny places, of iiij storye height w the vaughtes, & guttered w leade rounde about the rouf and imbatteled'* (transcribed by Raine 1869:67). This source reveals that it was in a poor state of repair. Some (i.e. l'Anson 1913) have argued for its date based on surviving 13th century masony fragments within the ruined structure, though Dennison (2004) has suggested that these might have been reused. The term 'new tower' suggests that it must logically be newer than the major building, despite the reference to it being the 'elder house' in the 1561 Elizabethan Survey. Emery (1996: 329) has suggested that the New Tower might have provided accommodation for the Bishop's steward.

Development 1450-1660

Relatively little is known about the buildings use during the study period. Most references reveal that it was in a poor state of repair. The Elizabethan Survey of 1561 (quoted above,

transcribed in full below) demonstrates that large portions of it were in need of repair. Traveller and chronicler John Leland visited the site twice, and on his second visit in 1543 described the state of Crayke Castle (see below). These accounts strongly suggest the Castle was not in active use by the bishops at this time.

In 1587, Crayke Castle was leased to the Crown for £51 1s 10d, a sum which included the leases of Wheel Hall and Howden (CCB B/109/98 (189979)). Sir Francis Walsingham took on this lease, but it was in that year sold to John Theker (Page 1923). The precise treatment of this site during this period is not known, and there are no surviving documentary records. No descriptions of this site during the period of its leasing have been found.

In 1648 the Manor of Crayke Castle was sold to William Allenson by the Parliamentary Commissioner (CCB B/162/5 (23377)). In addition to detailing the size and extent of the property, it also recommended its demolition due to ruination. There is some local suggestion that the castle was used as a Civil War garrison, but these assertions are not supported factually (Dennison 2004). It is unclear how Allenson treated the site during his period of ownership.

> '*The New Tower- The Castle of Crake is buylded of harde stone, the walles wherof v fote thicke; the same is all vaughted underneath throughout, and is thre storie height above the vaught. This house is all covered over w leade & in reasonable good reparacion. The grounde-worke of the house or story, wherin the hall is, is about xl fote longe & xxvii fote wyde on the owtesyde; & the house or story wherin the parler is ys xlij fote longe & xxxiij fote wyde on the owtesyde. Ther is at the entrye into the Castle a highe porche of xv fote one way & ix fote an other waie, w lodgings over yt, covered w leade; and a newe strong grate dore of iron at the entryng in at yt.*
>
> *Thear is, besides the Castle, afore, an elder house buylte of stone walles of lviij fote long on way & xviij f. wyde, w a roufe covered w slate in sore decay, & ye tymber rotten in meny places, of iiij storye height w the vaughtes, & guttered w leade rounde about the rouf and imbatteled.*
>
> *Item one other house, joyneng to this story, of xxij fote one waye & xx fote an other waye, which is the kychen. In it ij ranges w a highe rouf & a vaute under yt covered w slate and guttered; the walles wherof cracked & in sore dec, redy to fall, under propped w stayes & proppes.*
>
> *Item at the sowthwest corner of this house one other house of stone work, the walles of v storye heighte w the vaughte, w a flatt rouf of leade cont xviij fote one way and xij f. an other way, in good reparacion.*

Item thear is, adjoyneng to this, olde walles of a house, which, as it semyth, hathe ben the hal of theas olde houses before the new Castle buylded.

Item there is a barme w a thacked rouf, new buylded, wether-borded from the eves to the grounde, of xlviij fote longe & xxiiij fo. Wyde, of late days buylded.

Item thear is an old gatehouse, the rouf whereof is gon all excepte a fewe peces of tymber that is rotten; but for fier better-away than remayne to lose all togyther.'

-Elizabethan Survey of 1561 transcribed by Raine (1869: 67).

'There remaineth at this tyme smaul shew of any castel that hath been there. There is an haul with other offices and a great stable voltid with stone of a meatly auncyent building. The great squar tower that is thereby, as in the toppe of the hill and supplement of logginges, is very fair, and was erectid totally by Neville, Bishop of Duresme' (Toulmin-Smith 1907: 12).

Development post-1660

At the Restoration, the Bishops of Durham re-acquired ownership of Crayke Manor, though the property was already being leased in 1667 (CCB CRK/1-11). The owners of Crayke Manor between 1667 and 1708 included members of the Gerard family, relatives of Bishop Cosin. Again, it is not known what building changes they made at this time.

Drawings made by James Raine in 1857 (Figure A.5.1-3) provide the best indication of how the building was affected by its years of ownership. In these, parts of the building are revealed as being ruined and seemingly in use as animal shelters. In 1823, Hutchinson records the building being used as a farmhouse (1823:87).

The site remained a valuable asset to the Bishops of Durham. In 1706 it was mortgaged for £700 (PGL DDR/EA/PHL/1/1A). In 1827 Crayke was sold by the diocese into private ownership (Page 1923).

Timeline of major building events

Date	Event
685	King Egfrid gifts land of Crayke to St Cuthbert and his community.
c. 1150-1195	Bishop Hugh de Puiset probably builds Crayke Castle.
1195	de Puiset stays at Crayke Castle the night before he dies at Howden

Date	Event
1209-11, 1227, 1292, 1345	Various kings all lodge at Crayke Castle.
1441	Kitchen added by Bishop Neville, reference to 'new' chamber and 'old' hall
1561	Survey refers to gatehouse and retaining wall
1587	Crayke Castle leased by Crown
1646	Parliamentary survey of Crayke Castle. Site advised for demolition.
1648	Manor of Crayke sold to William Allenson
1660	Bishops of Durham restored, manor reverts back to bishops.
1827	Bishop Van Mildert sells Crayke Castle from diocese through Act of Parliament.
1939-45	Crayke Castle used as billet for the Women's Land Army during WW2.

Parks and outdoor spaces

There are good records relating to Crayke Park from the 13th century. In 1229, Crayke Park was granted a 140ft deer-leap (Page 1923: 114). G Jones (2017) has identified how the wider Crayke landscape contained multiple deer parks, and was a hub for hunting and elite sports. The many visitations made to Crayke Park by royalty (see table above) reveal its popularity which might have been inspired by its hunting potential.

Surviving documentary records relate to the resources obtained from the park, in particular reevers' accounts dating between 1448-1554 (CCB B/106/1-98). Among resources obtained from the park are deer, pigs, honey, beeswax, fruit (specifically nuts and apples), wood (both timber and windfall) and hay from inclosed meadows.

Kaner (1993) conducted the most extensive survey of these grounds. Through an analysis of field names she asserts that it is possible to identify the alignments of park boundaries which have since been lost. 17th century field names recorded in the Parliamentary Survey of 1648 (see above) record 'Crayke Park Fence' and 'Crayke Laund'. Aerial photographs reveal a series of fields corresponding to a broadly triangular shape around the Crayke Castle hill. This morphology suggests the possible presence of two parks (and inner and outer) surrounding Crayke Castle.

Historic maps, illustrations, paintings, photographs and representations of this site

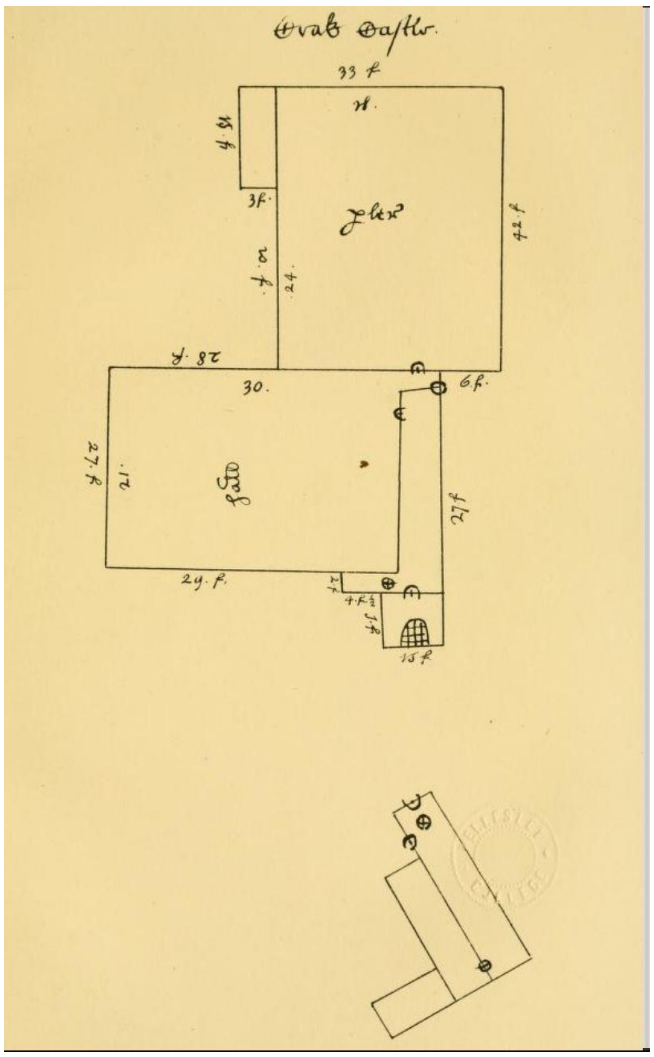


Figure A.5.1. Copy of the sketch from the Elizabethan Survey. Reproduced in Raine (1869: 67). Drawing depicting both ranges.

Figure A.5.3. Depiction of Crayke Castle Chamber with undercroft beneath, viewed from north. Drawn by Raine (1869: 69).

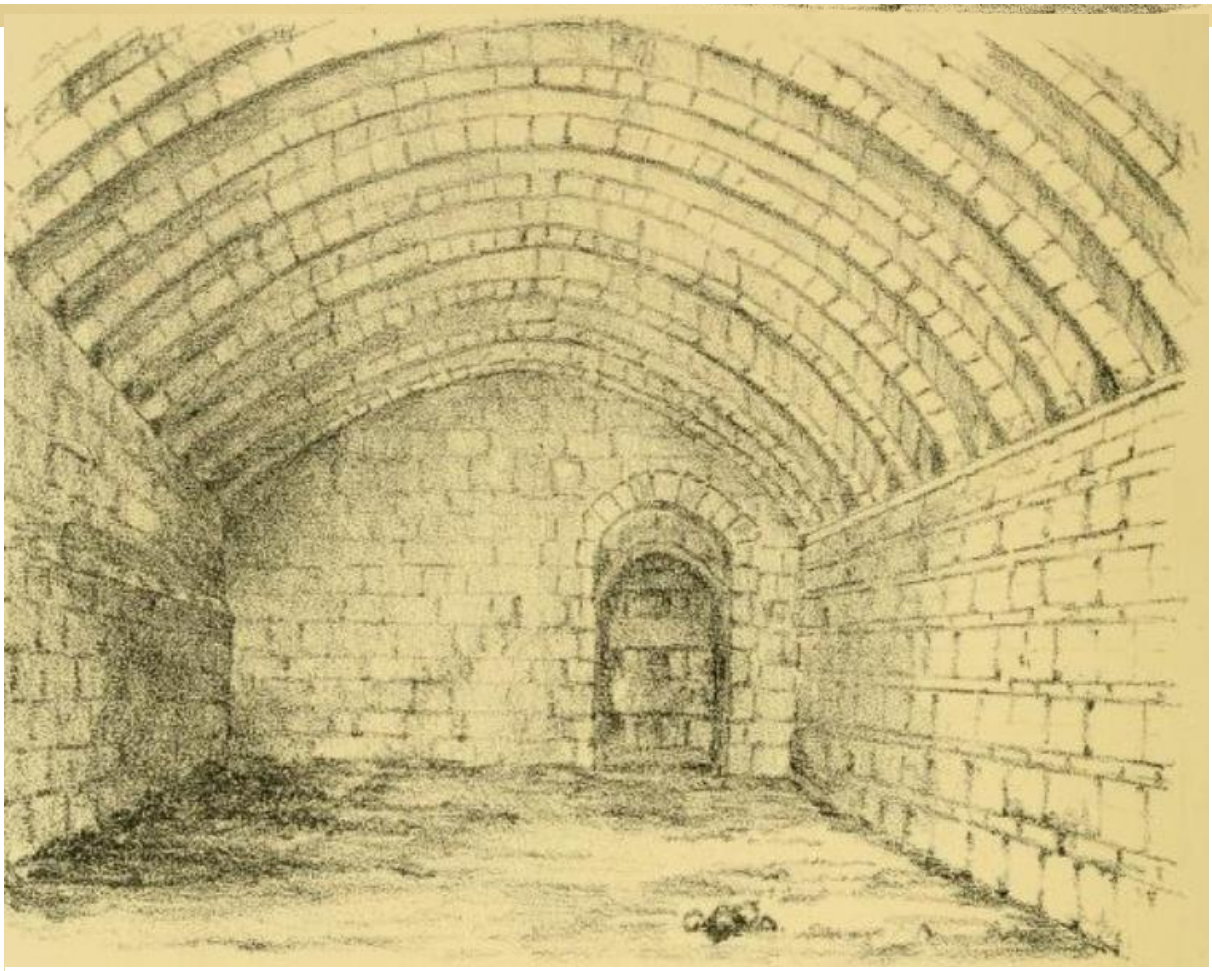


Figure A.5.3. Sketch of undercroft. Raine (1869: 70)

Figure A.5.5 Crayke Park. Red line shows the proposed limit of the outer park, green shows the proposed limit of the inside park. The pink dot shows the location of Crayke Manor. Proposed outline of the park based on work by Kaner (1993).

APPENDIX 6

Howden Manor

Overview

Howden Manor was an important residence of the Bishops of Durham located in Yorkshire. It was the furthest south of all their episcopal residences (excluding London residences) and in the later medieval period acted as a useful way-station on journeys south and as a main residence when visiting the Archbishops of York. Howden was in use by the Bishops of Durham from the 12th to the late 16th centuries after which portions of the site were demolished and the existing hall (still standing) was transformed into a two-storey house. The full form and extent of Howden Manor has been successfully reconstructed from two surveys of the site made in 1561 and 1577 (detailed below) which record the number and complexion of rooms at this site, together with its state. Howden Manor was also accompanied by a park, complete with fishponds.

Location and topography

Howden Manor is located within the medieval market town of Howden in the modern-day East Riding of Yorkshire, about 170km from Durham city. The manor of Howden had been granted to the Bishops of Durham by William the Conqueror in 1060 (Hutchinson 1886) and remained a territorial dependency. The bishop's house lies south of the medieval town within an area of parkland now delineated by the modern street layout. The site is located about 1.5km from the River Ouse in low-lying land which is historically prone to flooding. Nearby place-names, including Barmby-on-the-Marsh and Howden Dyke are illustrative of the surrounding landscape. Allowing for changes in the course of the River Ouse from the later medieval period to present day, it is likely that Howden Manor was located closer to the River Ouse, so that fishponds could have been accessed them more directly. In addition, it was at Howden that many royal fish (i.e. sturgeon, whale, seal and porpoise) were recorded, probably due to its close proximity to the sea and river courses (CCB B/93/13 (189060)).

Archaeological evidence

There have been two excavations conducted at Howden Manor. The first, conducted in 1984 (Whitwell 1984), excavated on both the northern and southern sides of the surviving Great Hall and uncovered the remains of three buttresses on the south-eastern façade of the building together with the foundations of a possible earlier structure. This suggests two

distinct building episodes on the site of the Great Hall alone. In addition, a pottery assemblage of pottery dating from the earlier later medieval period was recovered, together with some fragments of early medieval pottery, suggesting that the site had been occupied prior to the construction of the episcopal property.

More recently, excavations were undertaken in the summer of 2019 on the proposed location of the eastern range of the site. Sections of wall running east-west were uncovered which are believed to have been the eastern wall of the medieval building. Future excavations are planned and may uncover further details relating to the use, dating and formation of this site (Howden Civic Society 2019).

Standing buildings

The majority of the episcopal building was seemingly demolished at the end of the 16th century. The Great Hall is the only surviving portion of the medieval building which was converted into a house and is still in use as a private residence today. Whitwell (1984) conducted some standing buildings analysis of this structure concluding that the structure is late-14th century in date. The western wall of the Great Hall has survived with the range of service doorways retained in its internal and external facades. These features assist in recreating an approximate layout for this site.

Documentary evidence

Howden Manor is well represented in documentary sources. As a residence of the Bishops of Durham with a park, it is covered by its own Receiver for which the accounts between 1448-1554 survive (CCB B/93/1-142). The two most influential documentary sources for Howden Manor are two surveys made in 1561 and 1577 which recorded its dilapidation. These are the basis for all attempted reconstructions of the site (Whitwell 1984; Smith 2016).

Development pre-1450

Very little is known about the early development of the site. Early medieval pottery uncovered in the 1984 excavations imply a pre-episcopal history. The Bishops of Durham must have had a residence in Howden from the 12th century, as both Bishop Hugh de Puiset (1154-1195) and Bishop Walter Kirkham (1249-1260) are recorded as having died at Howden, with Kirkham's viscera being buried in Howden Church (Barrow 2004; Piper 2004). Despite this, Bishop Walter Skirlaw (1388-1406) is usually attributed with having constructed Howden Manor. This theory stems from Hutchinson's (1886: 339-340) comments in which he loosely cite William de Chambre and states that '*he built the whole hall..and expended large sums of money moreover in edifices of the same Manor-house'*.

The standing buildings survey conducted by Whitwell (1984) confirms that the standing hall is consistent with Skirlaw's episcopate, and thereby corroborates Hutchinson's assertions. Moreover, the discovery of foundations of an earlier hall are in line with references to the site being used from the 12th century. Aside from the Great Hall, it seems likely that Skirlaw would also have constructed the other accommodation and service spaces at this site. Although this cannot be confirmed without examination of their standing or archaeological remains, it stands to reason that Skirlaw's building must have been equipped with the spaces mentioned in the later surveys.

Bishop Thomas Langley (1406-1437) is responsible for adding the existing gateway to Howden Manor. Although no documentary references have been found to corroborate this, Langley's coat-of-arms still adorn this gateway.

Development 1450-1660

Very little is known about the later 15th century period at Howden Manor. Bishop James Pilkington (1561-1576) stripped the lead from the roofs and removed the battlements. This was part of a sustained campaign conducted by Pilkington across many episcopal residences which were later recounted during legal proceedings between Pilkington's widow and his successor, Bishop Richard Barnes (1575-1587). In 1577, Barnes sued Pilkington's widow for *c*.£700 for dilapidations at Howden Manor (based on estimates by Hutchinson 1886: 392).

In 1634 Bishop Thomas Morton (1632-1646) made a formal claim of dilapidation at Howden Manor to the Court of Delegates (LP DCD/K/LP1/58/3) whose response was to eliminate the claim - thereby removing Howden Manor from the main canon of episcopal residences belonging to the Bishops of Durham. From that moment the site was no longer managed and cared-for by the Bishops and ceased to be actively used. At some point, possibly in conjunction with Pilkington's dilapidations, the Great Hall at Howden Manor was converted into a house. Later the entire site was levelled except for the Great Hall, but the date of this is unknown.

Two surveys of 1561 and 1577, both transcribed by Raine (1866), provide the clearest insight into the layout of these buildings and record their state and dilapidations (Figure A.8.3). These two surveys were made at the beginning of Pilkington's episcopate and immediately following Pilkington's episcopate by Bishop Barnes. In addition to the expected types of rooms like pantry, buttery and kitchens, these sources shed light on the spaces located within the eastern range which included '*parlour with grete chamber over',*

'busshops chamber', 'second storey chapel' and *'bell-turret adjoyning battlemented hall'.* Particular details include the 'poorly-made' second storey (1577 survey in Raine 1866).

Development post-1660

Very little is known about the post-1660 development of Howden Manor as it fell beyond episcopal purview following Morton's claim of dilapidation. Parts of the stable east range which contained the stables survived until the 1850s when they were demolished (Emery 1996: 355). The park and lands associated with the manor of Howden continued in the Bishops' ownership until the mid-18th century.

Timeline of major building events

Date	Event
1080	Bishops of Durham granted manor of Howden
1190	Bishop de Puiset spends the summer at Howden
1195	Bishop de Puiset dies at Howden Manor
1260	Bishop Kirkham dies at Howden Manor
1388-1406	Bishop Skirlaw 'builds' Howden Manor
c. 1406-1437	Bishop Langley constructs gateway
1561-1576	Bishop Pilkington strips building of lead and battlements thereby dilapidating the structures
1577	Bishop Barnes sues Pilkington's widow for dilapidations to Howden Manor
1634	Bishop Morton made a formal claim of dilapidations at Howden Manor to Court of Delegates

Parks and outdoor spaces

Howden was accompanied by a park (Figure A.8.2). Part of the park boundary is thought to have been fossilised in the street layout of Howden town. The curving streets of Treeton Road and Hailgate encompass an area containing the earthworks of at least one medieval fishpond, though more features may be present. The earthworks of the moat south of the fishpond reveal that this area formed one enclosure within a wider park landscape (see Figure A.8.1). The boundaries of the full park are presently unknown, with no scheduled earthworks recorded corresponding to boundary or any other diagnostic park features.

Information drawn from the Receiver accounts for Howden provide some insight into the types of animals exploited and habitats available (CCB B/93/1-142). Pigs, cattle, horses, rabbits and sheep are all recorded as being regularly produced from the site and transported from Howden elsewhere. The area was known for its exceptionally good pasture, and this

might have resulted from its propensity to flood. Records relating to repeated ditching suggest that the local wetland habitat was managed to create ideal growing conditions for pasture (see for example CCB B/93/7 (189057)). The location adjoining the River Ouse also made this an important fishery, with salmon and other fish being recorded as major exports (see for example CCB B/93/7 (189057)).

Historic maps, illustrations, paintings, photographs and representations

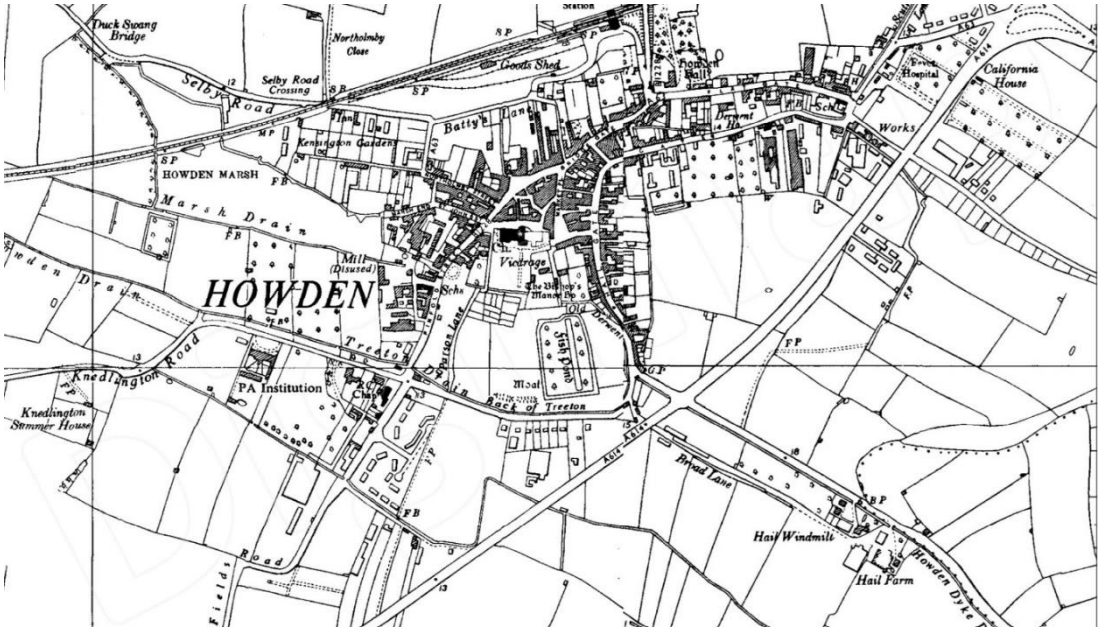


Figure A.8.1. 1950 OS Map of Howden showing Howden Manor centrally, with fishponds to south.

Figure A.8.2. Annotated aerial photograph of Howden Manor (highlighted) within its wider landscape.

Figure A.9.5. Annotated 1980 OS map of Bishop Middleham showing the boundary of the park

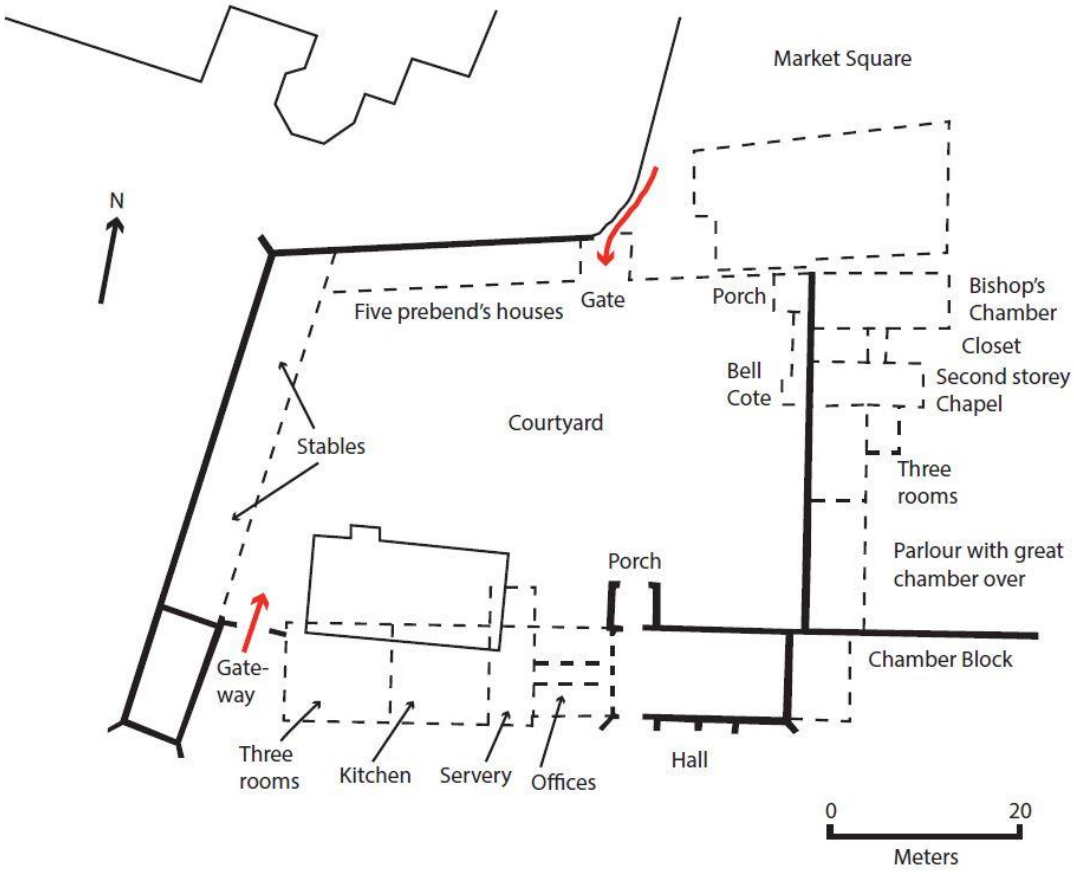


Figure A.8.3. Conjectural plan of Howden Manor based on descriptions from 1561 and 1577 surveys. Based on illustrations by Whitwell (1983) and Emery (1994). Drawn by author.

APPENDIX 7

Bishop Middleham Castle

Overview

Bishop Middleham Castle is located in the village of Bishop Middleham in County Durham. The bishop's house is atop a naturally occurring rocky outcrop beneath which Bishop Middleham Park extends. The landscape around Bishop Middleham Castle was historically, and is still today, naturally wet and home to water-loving plants and birds. Bishop Middleham Castle was a popular residence of the Bishops of Durham from the 12th-14th centuries, after which the site fell out of use. The park continued to be exploited by the Bishops of Durham with the site of the bishop's house being made use of by members of the bishop's wider administrative staff. Until recently, there has been very little archaeological investigation here despite the obvious potential of the site to provide insight into early episcopal residences.

Location and topography

Bishop Middleham Castle is located about 16km south of Durham City at the southern extent of the medieval village of Bishop Middleham. The village sits on a naturally elevated ground, with the episcopal residence on a promontory extending into the lower-lying landscape to the south. At the neck of this promontory is the 12th century St Michael's Church which was patronised by the medieval Bishops of Durham and includes high-status objects including a large Frosterley marble font (personal observations).

The location of the Castle would have afforded expansive views over the landscape to the south and the Castle was similarly visible from across this landscape.

Archaeological evidence

Until the summer of 2019, there had been very little archaeological investigation of Bishop Middleham Castle and the wider landscape. In 1999, an earthwork and magnetometry survey of the earthworks was conducted as part of a student project at Durham University (Figure A9.3). The findings from this project revealed several areas of magnetic anomaly which likely correspond with areas of archaeological interest. Both these surveys were incomplete, however. The uneven terrain prevented total geophysical coverage of the area, while the earthwork survey focused on the most distinct earthworks to the south of the outcrop, ignoring the subtler earthworks to the north.

In 2019, as part the Durham County Council Brightwater Project, two trenches were excavated at Bishop Middleham, one at the northern extent of the site and one at the southern. Key research questions behind the placement of these trenches centred on trying to identify both the limits of the site. In both trenches, walls and buildings were identified together with evidence of purposeful and systematic demolition. Pottery and artefact assemblages included diagnostically medieval pottery (i.e. green glaze and red slip wares) together with 14th century jettons and coins. No stratified finds fell outside of the known occupational period. Key findings from these excavations were that some of the structures had been purposefully demolished; there was little evidence of gradual ruination and most fragments of diagnostic carved stone had been removed. One large fragment of 14th century window tracery was recovered (Figure A.9.1). These findings are consistent with our understandings that the site was used until the mid-14th century but later uninhabited and quarried for its remaining stone. Future excavations in the summer of 2020 are planned to focus on the earthworks east of the site, which show evidence of *in situ* walls (Figure A.9.4). In addition, there is a further project planned for 2020 to investigate the farm buildings and other buildings in Bishop Middleham village for evidence of reused stonework.

Standing buildings

There are no *intact* standing buildings at the site of Bishop Middleham Castle. One fragment of *intact* wall oriented east-west in the southeast of the promontory remains visible.

Documentary evidence

Due to the early use and development of Bishop Middleham Castle, there are fewer documentary records than are available for other sites which remained in use during the 15th to 17th centuries. Nevertheless, fragmentary documentary references have been useful in establishing a chronology (see below). Moreover, a detailed documentary record relating to the park use and development during the later 15th-16th centuries has survived (CCB B/73/1-15).

Development pre-1450

The early development of the site is unclear. Bishop Middleham Manor was certainly in the possession of the Bishops of Durham since the later-12th century as it is recorded in the Boldon Book (Austin 1982: 56). It is very likely that the Castle was constructed by Bishop Hugh de Puiset (1153-1195) who was responsible for building at other residences belonging to the Bishops of Durham (such as Auckland Castle or Howden Manor). Bishop Philip de Poitou's (1197-1208) register includes many place-dated acta from Bishop Middleham,

indicating that it was a regularly used site by that bishop (Smith 2016). The registers of Bishop Robert of Holy Island (sometimes styled 'Coquina') and Bishop Richard Kellawe similarly reference multiple visits to the site (Smith 2016). Both these bishops also died at Bishop Middleham, though the circumstances around their deaths are not well understood (Surtees 1823). It is unclear whether these bishops were taken specifically to Bishop Middleham Castle because it may have been considered a peaceful or suitable place to recuperate.

The clearest reference to any explicit building work having taken place at Bishop Middleham Castle is by Bishop Louis de Beaumont (1316-1333) who reportedly built a kitchen, hall and chapel – *'apud Midelham coquina aedificavit, et aulam cum capella satis amplam et decoram inchoavit; sed antequam muri ejus essent perfecti'* (Raine 1839: 119). This description reveals that the new buildings were large, but provides little idea about what the site looked like before. It is not known whether Beaumont destroyed the existing building or simply added to it. The recent excavations at Bishop Middleham Castle revealed little dateable diagnostic masonry which could be confidently attributed to either building regime, nor any secure evidence of rebuilding. One large fragment of carved window tracery has been dated to the broad mid-14th century and can therefore be considered part of Beaumont's building campaign (Fig. A.9.1). Unfortunately, this was found out of context and therefore cannot be tied to a particular building on the site.

Confusingly, by Bishop Thomas Hatfield's episcopate, Bishop Middleham Castle appears to have fallen into disrepair. Page (1923) has noted that Hatfield spent considerable amounts on repairs to the site early in his episcopate whereas, by the time of his survey of 1384 (Greenwell 1857: 183), the manor of Bishop Middleham, which would have included the bishop's residence, is recorded as worthless –*'juratores pred. dicunt quod manerium de Middelham pred. nichil valet ultra reprisas'.* It is unclear what could have happened to have affected the worth of this property so much in less than a hundred years. Very possibly the effects of the Black Death in 1348/9 may have resulted in the temporary vacancy of the residence and its subsequent dilapidation.

Following this, there are very few references to Bishop Middleham Castle, and the site stops appearing as a place-date in the registers of subsequent later medieval bishops (Smith 2016).

Development 1450-1660

Relatively little is known about the development of the Castle within the study period, but a lack of references in the registers of bishops suggests it was not being lived in or actively

used. No recorded instances were found during research for this thesis of Durham bishops spending money restoring or repairing the site.

Bishop James Pilkington was responsible for dismantling many lesser episcopal residences, or at least partially robbing them of valuable materials following the exemption of this site by Queen Elizabeth I due to dilapidations there. At Bishop Middleham he is reported to have removed many of the stones, presumably to be reused elsewhere (Raine 1852: 70). There has been much speculation (Page 1928; Surtees 1823) about whether or not the barns and nearby agricultural buildings close to the site of the Castle might have incorporated into them reused stone from the episcopal residence. A proposed standing building survey of these to be conducted in 2020 might yield some relevant results.

Otherwise, throughout the study period Bishop Middleham Castle demesnes were leased and it seems likely that parts of the medieval building were leased too. Page (1926) has suggested that the bishop's bailiff and family for Bishop Middleham might have lived in the medieval palace building. This is very plausible, however there has been no archaeological or other historical evidence to corroborate this.

In 1649 the site was sold by Parliamentary Commissioner to Thomas Haselrigge for £3306.6s.6.5d. It is unclear what Haselrigge did with this site, as the buildings would have been ruined, dilapidated and demolished by this point. It is probable that its value lay in its park, which was estimated at that time to have been 70 acres.

Development post-1660

The site was restored to the Bishops of Durham upon the Restoration, but it is unclear how it continued to be managed. In the centuries after the Restoration, the demesnes associated with Bishop Middleham Castle continued to be let and many of them were sold. In 1761, the Surtees family took possessions of the park and demesnes, and this probably included the site of the bishop's residence also (Page 1928). They also acquired the rectory immediately adjacent to the episcopal residence.

Today, the site of Bishop Middleham Castle forms part of farmland which encompasses much of the park also. The earthworks are scheduled with permission for grazing by farm animals.

Timeline of major building events

Date	Event
1183	Bishop Middleham recorded in the Boldon Book
1197-1208	Bishop Poitou records many place-dated *acta* from Bishop Middleham Castle.
1283	Bishop Robert of Holy Island dies at Bishop Middleham Castle.
1316	Bishop Kellawe dies at Bishop Middleham Castle.
1316-1333	Bishop Beaumont rebuilds large portions of the site, including a kitchen, hall and chapel.
1349-50	Bishop Hatfield conducts repairs at this site.
1384	Bishop Hatfield's Survey indicates that Bishop Middleham Castle is worthless.
1561-1575	Bishop Pilkington sells off much of the stone from this site for revenue after they are exempted by the Crown in 1561
1649	The site of Bishop Middleham Castle was sold by Parliamentary Commissioner.
c. 1820	Surtees (1820) records that the last standing portion of the building, a vaulted room, was dismantled years before.

Parks and outdoor spaces

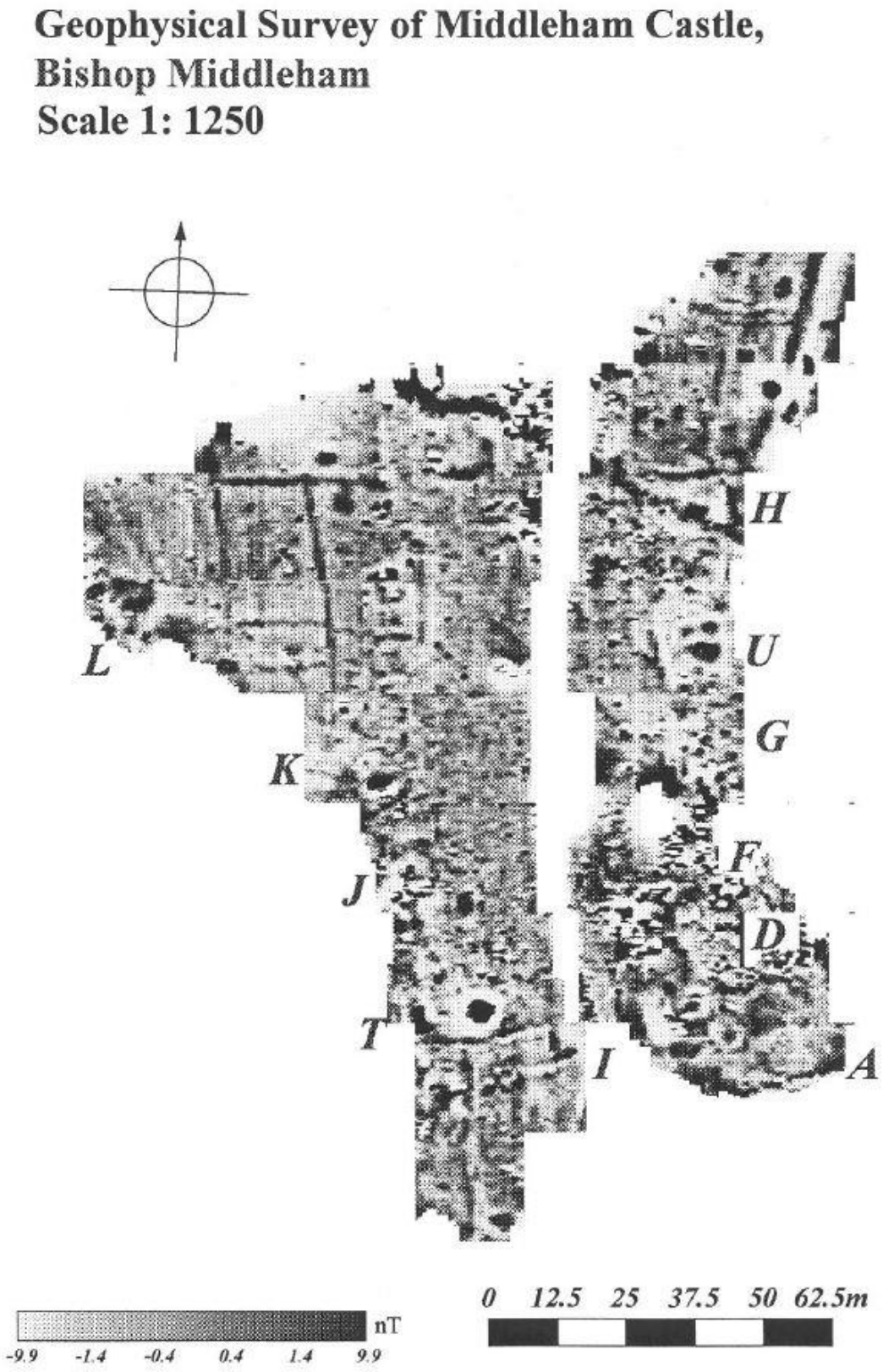
Bishop Middleham Castle is accompanied by a sizeable park, the boundaries of which can still be confidently ascertained today (Figures A.9.5 and A.9.2). Upon its sale in 1649, this park was calculated to have been 70 acres. Bishop Middleham Park is most commonly associated with swans, with multiple references to them throughout the later medieval period (see for example CCB B/73/1 (188859); CCB B/73/14 (190244)). References to payments made to a rat-catcher indicate the presence of a sizeable swan population and a dovecot is also recorded at the site. It seems that the bishops made use of the natural marshy/carr land to raise wetland bird species. These may also have had an ornamental role, as the park was in full view of the bishop's residence. Another primary product was hay which would have flourished in the wetter meadows; accounts between 1413-1498 record regular production of hay (CCB B/73/1- 15), for example. It is, however, unclear whether hay production was

managed using water meadows, or whether the natural environment supported the production of hay.

In addition, the well-preserved earthworks of two fishponds demonstrate that fish were farmed, although no references to fish have been found in documentary research for this thesis. It is likely that, because these were not sold, fish were not accounted for. The earthworks are excellently preserved and warrant further attention; given the watery landscape in and around Bishop Middleham Castle, they have the potential to yield well-preserved organic remains.

Figure A.7.1. Fragment of 14th century window tracery discovered during the 2019 excavations at Bishop Middleham Castle. Photograph by author.

Figure A.7.2. View from Bishop Middleham Castle of park towards the south and into the park. Photograph by author.



FigureA.7.3. Magnetometry survey of Bishop Middleham Castle conducted by Durham University in 1999. Letters denote possible features.

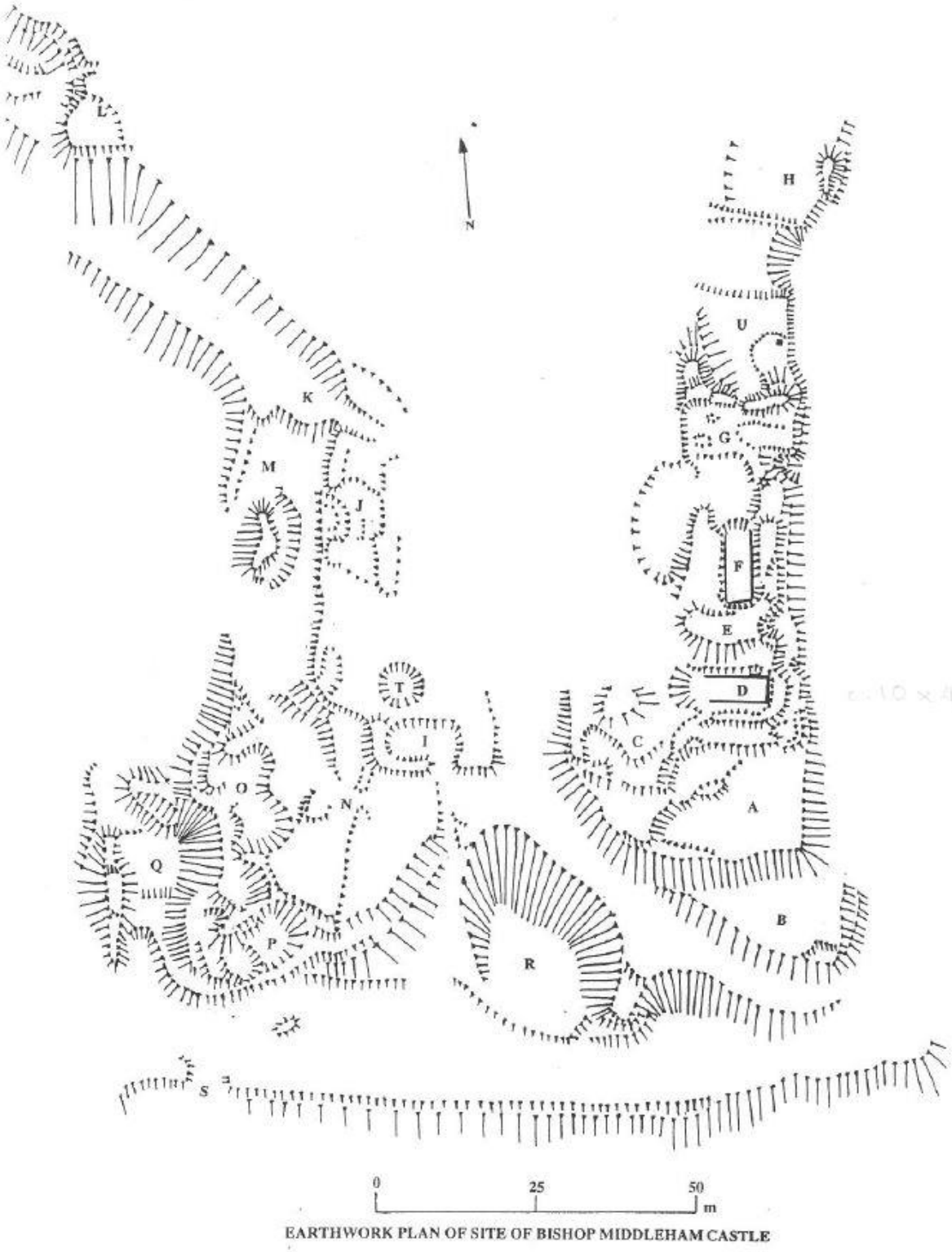


Figure A.7.4. Earthwork survey of Bishop Middleham Castle conducted by Durham University, 1999.

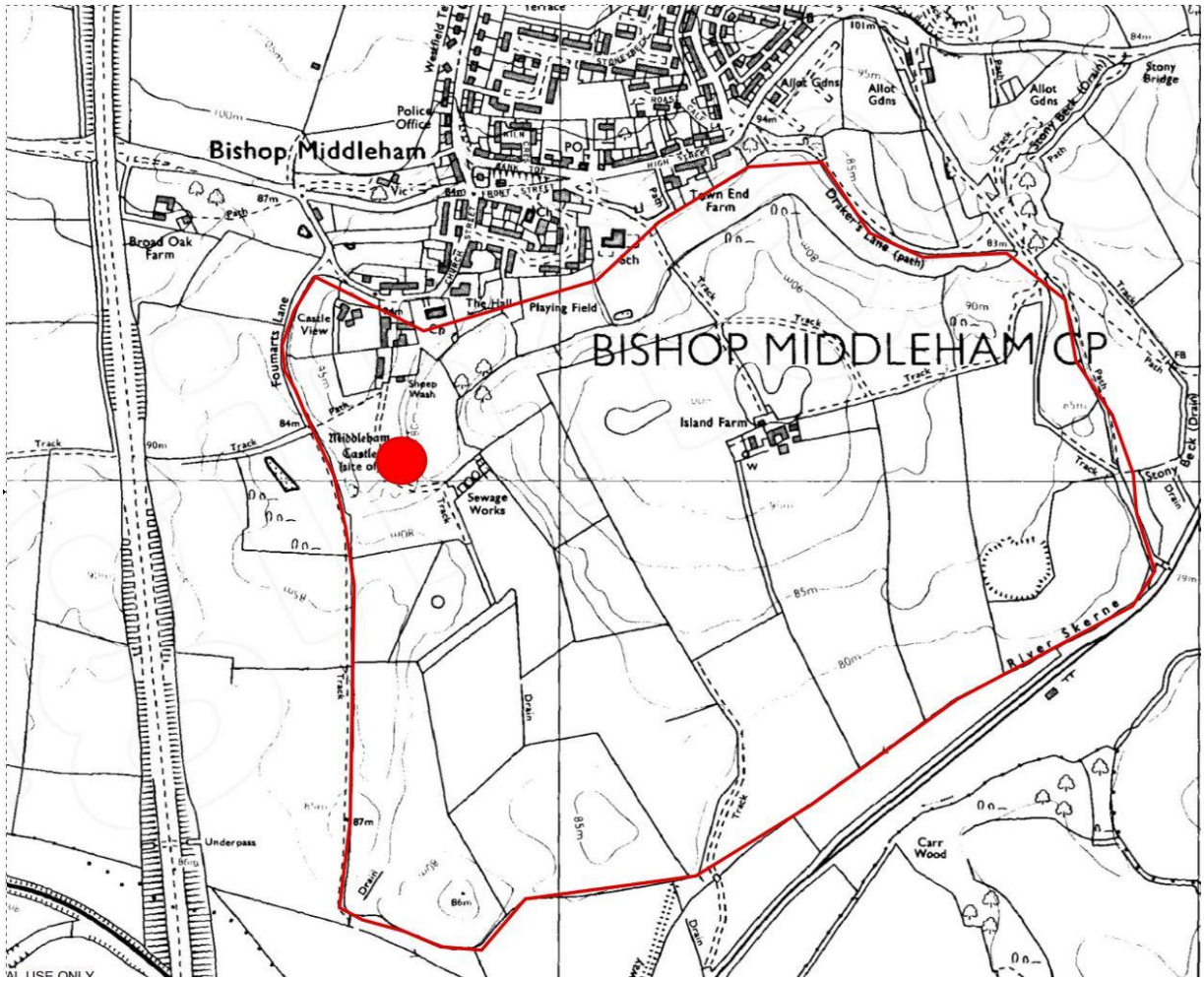


Figure A.7.5. Annotated 1980 OS map of Bishop Middleham showing the boundary of the park

APPENDIX 8

Durham House

Overview

Durham House, the Bishop of Durham's episcopal residence in London, was located along the Strand on the banks of the Thames. Probably established during the 13th century, this house continued to be the primary London residence of the Bishops of Durham until 1539 when, as part of a programme of royal acquisition of episcopal property in London, it was 'exchanged' with Coldharbour. Durham House was subsequently reclaimed by the See of Durham in 1603 and became the meeting place for the Durham House Group. Throughout the early-17th century, the plot was subdivided to create street frontages and tenable lots. In 1641, Durham House was let and used to accommodate Parliamentary soldiers during the Civil War. Following the Restoration, the site was gradually divided and redeveloped in a piecemeal fashion to make way for tenement housing, the New Exchange and the Adelphi theatre. The gatehouse, thought to be the last standing portion of this building, was demolished *c*.1790.

Location and topography

The Strand is a historic road connecting the cities of London and Westminster and Durham House was located on a plot extending from the southside of the Strand to the north bank of the Thames, all within 5km of Westminster Palace. During the later medieval period, all English and Welsh bishops owned properties in London (Schofield 2017), and most of these were located on the Strand. Close neighbours of Durham House include Carlisle House (residence of the Bishops of Carlisle and latterly Russell Place/Bedford House/Worcester House) and Salisbury House (residence of the Bishops of Salisbury). Alongside these episcopal palaces, other secular palaces were also built, including Savoy Palace, Northumberland House and Somerset House. Significantly, Durham House had riverside access which would have allowed access to the site by boat from the Thames and ultimately from ports in the north-east of England, particularly Newcastle. Today the site has been entirely redeveloped: realignment and widening of the Strand Road in the 18th century, construction of Durham Street and embanking of the Thames have all obscured the original location but the palace probably lies beneath Durham Street and parts of the New Strand Road as well as beneath buildings currently occupying the site.

Archaeological evidence

There has been no archaeological investigation at this site.

Standing buildings

There are no standing remains at this site.

Documentary evidence

As an adjunct house of the Bishops of Durham without an associated park, this site often falls beyond the remit of accounting systems established by the Bishops of Durham, and there are only a few references in the Church Commissioner episcopal accounts. Most historical documentation is instead drawn from incidental sources concerning its royal occupation in the 16th and 17th centuries. Most known sources were compiled by Gater and Wheeler's Survey of London (1937) and some additional sources have been added here.

Development pre-1450

The origin of Durham House is obscure and claimed by many different bishops including Bishop Poore (1229-1237), Bek (1284-1310), and Hatfield (1345-1381). It seems likely that each contributed architecturally to the site, though to what extent cannot be verified. Both Bek and Hatfield were avid builders and are known to have completed large building projects in the bishopric of Durham and elsewhere (i.e. Auckland Castle, Durham Castle, Eltham Palace etc). Multiple references to the use of a London house prior to Bek's episcopate lend weight to the theory that Durham House was established earlier (Smith 2016). It is likely that Durham House was 13th century construction which was added-to/modernised in the subsequent century.

Throughout its later medieval life, Durham House was an important and influential residence. Its proximity to Westminster Palace and the Tower of London marks it out as a politically strategic locale. A 1380-1 grant between Bishop Hatfield and William de Beverley, who had been selected to appoint 12 chaplains to Durham House, provides the best insight into the internal configuration. Rooms designated for use by Beverley include: *2 chambers in the manor; vaulted chamber under chapel with 2 adjoining chambers; solar by the north entrance of the chapel; the whole inn and houses on the east side of the north gate; quarter of the walled garden extending from the north entrance to the King's highway, 160ft length and 140ft breadth; waste ground without manor opposite north gate (*Calendar of Patent Rolls, March 28th 1380 (1895)). While this source only details the spaces made available to Beverley and the 12 chaplains, and therefore is not representative of the entire

medieval building, it does indicate its size and scale. The vaulted chamber beneath the chapel implies to a two-storey chapel. The dimensions provided for the quarter of the walled garden reveal the full extent of the walled garden, which was probably about 200m long and 170m wide (34,000 m^2), while the references to houses on the east side of the north gate allude to extensive outbuildings. For a city-centre location, this residence was well-appointed.

Images of the site from the 16th-17th centuries (Figures A11.1-A11.3) show its layout which is unlikely to have substantially changed from the later medieval period. The depiction of Durham House on the Agas Map (1561) show that the buildings were clustered at the southern end of the plot, on the riverside (Figure A11.3).The northern portion of the plot features a row of street-frontage buildings. To the east of the main buildings is a large walled-garden area. This image depicts the buildings as crenellated, with towers, windows and buttresses. The anonymous depiction of the site (Figure A11.4) provides greater clarity on the architectural detailing of the site. In this image, the building is clearly crenellated and traces of gothic arches can be seen extending above a riverside retaining wall. The 1626 plan of Durham House provides the greatest indication of its layout which appears, in form, to respect a broad-L shaped medieval plan (Figure A11.1). The Great Hall is depicted abutting the riverside and corresponds with the building depicted with gothic arches in the Holbern image. In 1592, Norden refers to the hall being '*stately and high, supported with loftie marble pillars'* (Norden 1723: 5). The chapel is depicted extending from an accommodation block attached to the Great Hall. It is very possible that the site was larger in extent during the later medieval period than is represented in these images.

Development 1450-1660

During this period, Durham House underwent multiple ownership changes. Between 1523-9, Cardinal Thomas Wolsey became Bishop of Durham in addition to his position as Archbishop of York (Gwyn 2002: 4). Consequently, Wolsey occupied Durham House, York House and Hampton Court Palace (due to his role as the King's chief adviser) concurrently. Wolsey's partial inventory of 1528 provides a valuable insight into the interior décor, furniture, fixtures and fittings of this residence (LMA CLC/521/MS00231). The inventory titled '*stuffe delivered oute at Durham Place'* lists items moved between his residences of Durham House, Tyttenhanger, York Place and Hampton Court Palace. This document mostly lists furniture and soft furnishings (*boulsters, pillowes, beddsteads, paliotte*) which are removed to be used as furniture for his staff. Listed staff include comptrollers, clerke of the spicerie, sexton, yeoman, smith etc. Some of the furniture listed are to be moved to other

rooms at other, non-disclosed, sites. One such quote is '*to the prevye chamber, ij large paliotte and one newe bedd'* which implies that he is removing these items from Durham House to be installed at another of his properties.

In 1536, Durham House is granted to the King in part of a wider series of acquisitions of episcopal residences enacted by Henry VIII (Croot 2014). In exchange, the Bishops of Durham are granted Coldharbour in Upper Thames Street. Under royal ownership it is clear the site was used extensively for royal affairs, including the wedding of Lady Jane Grey and Guildford Dudley, and to accommodate officials and ambassadors. This period also witnessed the beginning of the piecemeal reduction of the site. In 1544, 22 messuages were granted to Nicholas Fortescue and developed into Durham Rents. These are probably the northernmost row of buildings facing the Strand depicted on the Agas map (Figure A11.3). In 1549, Durham House similarly underwent a new use as a mint while under royal ownership (Gater and Wheeler 1937).

In 1553, Mary I granted ownership of Durham House back to the Bishops of Durham. Bishop Tunstall, who had lived under house arrest at Coldharbour since 1550, was an octogenarian and was not required to attend the same range of activities that were expected of other bishops because of his age (Newcombe 2004). There is no evidence that he undertook any substantial building work at Durham House at this time.

Following Tunstall's deprivation of his See and death in 1559, Durham House passed back into the ownership of Elizabeth I who used it to house important people, including the Spanish Ambassador and Sir Walter Raleigh. Durham House accommodated the first Native American's in Europe, two Algonquin chiefs bought to England by Raleigh (Batho 2000). We know that scientist and naturalist Thomas Harriot was conducting classes in Algonquin from Durham House during the early 1590s (Batho 2000). Any building work or maintenance at the site during this period is unknown and no evidence of this has been discovered in research for this thesis. Given its pedigree of occupants, it is likely that Durham House was in good condition.

After the death of Elizabeth I in 1603 and decline in popularity for Raleigh, Durham House was nominally restored to the Bishops of Durham, but evidence demonstrates that it continued to be used as an occasional residence by the monarchy as well as by the Bishops of Durham. This evidenced by a dispute at the site relating to its use by the French Ambassador (Calendar of State Papers 1626) for which the only floorplan of the site was produced (Figure A11.1). This image suggests that the original layout of Durham House had

been minimally altered from its medieval arrangement. The Great Hall, chapel and chamber block were all preserved in the footprint which surrounds a large central courtyard.

In 1641, an Act of Parliament was granted which enabled the Bishops of Durham to rent out their residence for an annual sum of £200. It was at this point that John Webb produced plans for a new building on the site, though these were never enacted (Eisenthal 1985). These plans would have generated a large Palladian-style house, entirely demolishing all existing fabric. Webb's plans were curtailed because of the onset of the Civil War. At this time, Gater and Wheeler (1937) have demonstrated that the house was used as a refuge for French Protestants and Huguenots.

Development post-1660

The period between the Restoration and 1680 is unclear. The site had been permanently leased, and the bishops no longer resided there. The site was gradually divided by its subsequent owners, with the Strand frontage first being redeveloped into shops, tenements and eventually the New Exchange in 1739. Its unclear at what point the main buildings associated with Durham House were demolished too. It seems likely that the last surviving portion of the site was the gatehouse, which was reportedly demolished in 1790 (Gater and Wheeler 1937).

Timeline of major building events

1228-37	Possible construction by Bishop Richard Poore
1238	Reference to the papal legate attending Durham House
1258	Simon de Montford lodged at Durham House
c. 1300	Reference to the King taking shelter at Durham House in Paris' *Chronica Majora*
1285-1310	Bishop Bek allegedly builds Durham House
1345-81	Bishop Hatfield allegedly builds Durham House
1380	Description of rooms made in grant to William de Beverley
1412	Prince Henry IV stayed at Durham House
1474	Fight occurred at Durham House which required legal proceedings
1502	Katherine of Aragon stayed at Durham House

1516-18	Thomas Wolsey stayed as a guest at Durham House
1523	Wolsey purchased Bishop Ruthall's furnishings from Durham House after his death and succeeded Ruthall as interim Bishop of Durham
1528	Wolsey's inventory of Durham House showing furnishings taken from York House and Hampton Court Palace
1529	Norden description of Durham House
1529	Thomas Boleyn and Thomas Cranmer reside at Durham House
1532	Anne Boleyn resides at Durham House
1536	Durham House is granted to King in 'exchange' for Coldharbour. Description of house is made in grant
1544	Grant made between the King and Nicholas Fortescue for 22 messuages and gardens which were developed into 'Durham Rents' tenements
1549	Elizabeth I granted Durham House in fulfilment of Henry VIII's will
1549	Durham House briefly used as a mint
1550	French Ambassador lodged at Durham House
1553	John Dudley took possession of Durham House and it was used as the setting for the wedding of Guildford Dudley to Lady Jane Grey
1553	Mary I restored Durham House to the bishopric of Durham
1559	Following death of Bishop Tunstall, Elizabeth I resumed possession of Durham House
1559-65	Spanish Ambassador resided at Durham House.
1561	Depiction of Durham House on the Agas Map of London
1591-1603	Sir Walter Raleigh resided at Durham House
1603	Main buildings of Durham House nominally restored to Bishop's of Durham but often used for royal affairs
1603-10	Part of the site (inc. gatehouse, stables and land) between the Strand and York House was obtained by the Earl of Salisbury who built the New Exchange over the site, preserving the gatehouse.
1626	Plan drawn of Durham House following dispute with French ambassador

1641	At a proposal by Charles I, Durham House is granted by Bishops of Durham to Philip, 4th Earl of Pembroke for an annual payment of £200
1650	Parliamentary soldiers quartered in the ‘old buildings’and the chapel was used by French Protestants
c.1660-1682	Old Durham House buildings are demolished by 5th Earl of Pembroke and site is leased into multiple building plots.
1737	New Exchange demolished, and 11 houses built on site
1790	Gatehouse acquired by Earl of Salisbury is demolished
1923	11 houses on site of New Exchange were demolished

Historic maps, illustrations, paintings, photographs and representations

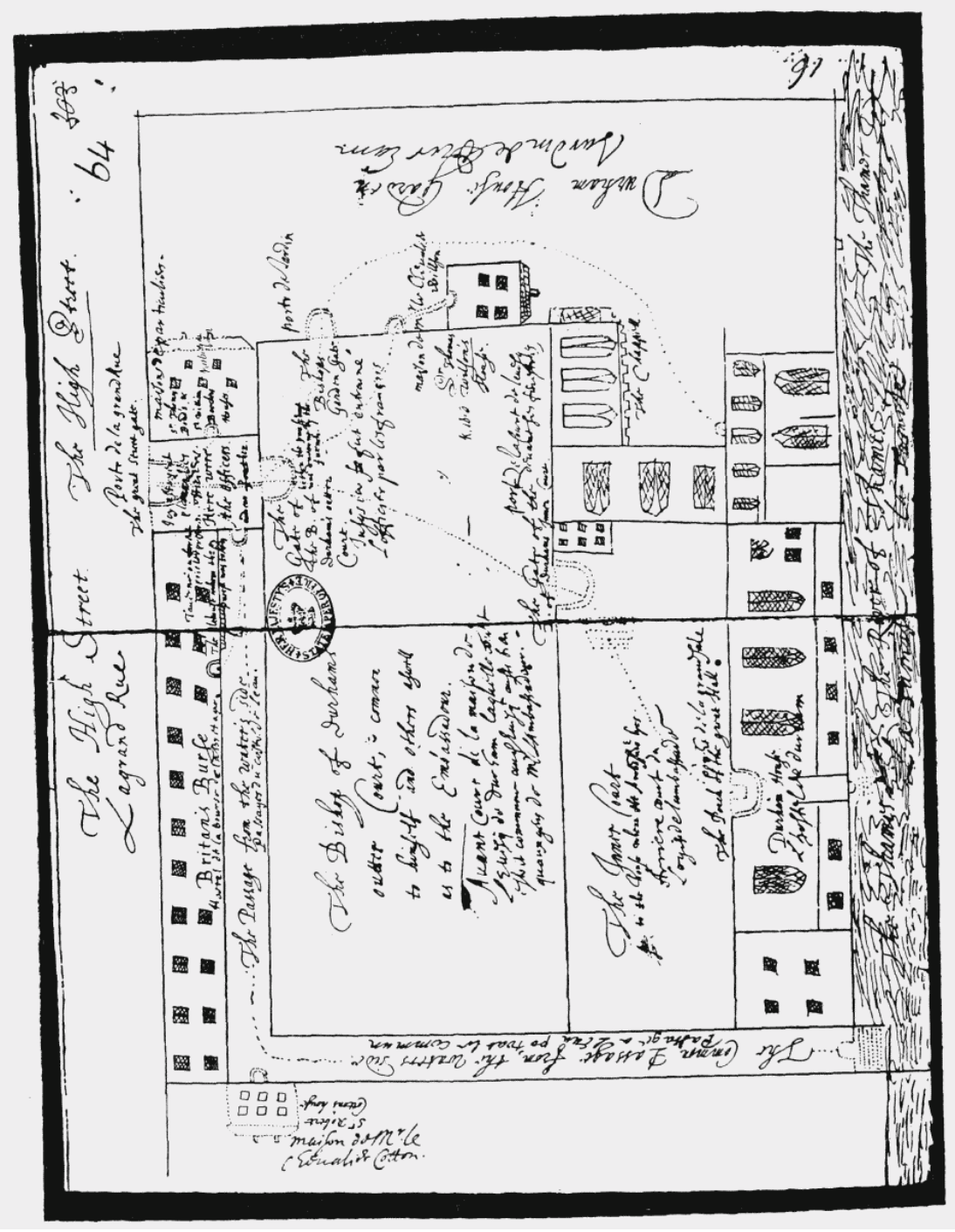


Figure A8.4. Durham House sketch 1626 produced for dispute involving French Ambassadors. Calendar of State Papers, 1626. Reproduced by Gater and Wheeler 1937.

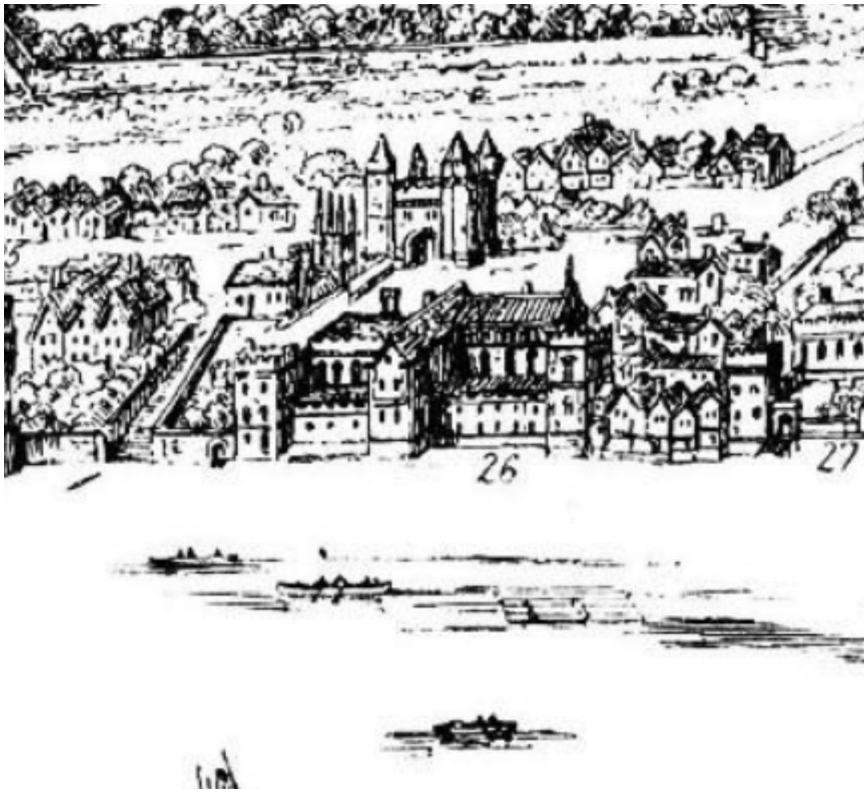


Figure A8.5. Wyngaerde Panorama showing Durham House in centre of picture (1543)

Figure A.8.6. Agas Map (1561) depicting Durham House at the centre

Figure A.8.7. Anonymous painting of Durham House on left.

APPENDIX 9

Rose Castle

*other names: Roos, Ros, La Rose, Rise

Overview

Rose Castle was the primary residence of the Bishops of Carlisle from the 13th to the 21st centuries. Situated just outside the village of Dalston, this is the only residence of the Bishops of Carlisle in Cumbria to be accompanied by a park. Unlike most other houses examined for this thesis, Rose Castle saw active combat throughout the later medieval and early modern period, the most recent of which during the Civil War severely affected the survival of its standing remains. Today, Rose Castle is arranged around two ranges, though historic plans of the site show that it conformed to the plan of a concentric castle with internal courtyard. It is thought that this is the third permutation of Rose Castle, with two earlier castles raised entirely to the ground by raiding Scots in the 13th century. Despite its clear potential, Rose Castle has never been subject to extensive archaeological examination and there is high potential for substantial below-ground deposits.

Location and topography

Rose Castle is situated about 7km south of Carlisle, 20km east of the coast, 20km south of the present-day Scottish border, 21km northwest of Penrith and 20km west of the present-day western limit of the north Pennine hills. The site lies within the medieval parish of Dalston, the main community of which lies 3km north of Rose Castle. The River Caldew flows through Rose Park and comes to within 400m of the main building complex. The site is at an elevation of 78m above sea level within a slight valley corresponding to the course of the River Caldew so it is sheltered on its west side by higher terrain, though there are sweeping views over the valley and landscape to the north, south and east of the site. Today, Rose Castle is accessed via a 400m track named ‘Rose Causeway’ which connects the site to the main road between the villages of Raughton Head and The Gill. Ultimately this road system then links to the wider road network connecting Carlisle to Penrith.

Archaeological evidence

Despite the potential of large *in-situ* burnt deposits following multiple destruction phases at this site (see below), very little archaeology has been conducted. Tatton-Brown (2004) has discussed a small excavation conducted during routine maintenance work in 1994 at the southwest corner of the Strickland Tower. The findings from these excavations, reappraised by Tim Tatton-Brown, demonstrate that the Strickland Tower, which was previously believed to have been an older tower built by Bishop John de Halton (1292-1324) and restored and altered by Bishop William Strickland (1400-1419), is all of one date and bonded at foundation level to the east range (hall range) and the north curtain wall. Although undecorated, Tatton-Brown's asserts through analysis of the stonework of the Strickland Tower that it is probably 14th century, suggesting that this tower was built when two licences to crenellate were issued to Rose Castle in 1336 and 1355. This work demonstrates the potential of archaeology to challenge existing narratives on this building's development. Archaeological investigation would also be the only way to determine the plan, nature and morphology of the earliest forms of Rose Castle destroyed in the 14h century.

Standing buildings

Today, Rose Castle is arranged around two ranges, the north and west ranges. Both contain building fabric stylistically dated by Tatton-Brown (2004) and others (Wilson 1912; Ferguson 1874) which broadly defines their layout. Added to this are portions of surviving visible masonry from Bishop Richard Bell's building work (1478-1495) and Bishop John Kite (1521-1537). Most of the external fabric on the west façade has been largely obscured by Thomas Rickman's remodelling of the site, with some portions of both Rainbow and Smith's building work still visible. Most of the episcopal building phases are concentrated around building towers attached to earlier building phases.

The standing building phases at Rose Castle are in an excellent state of repair. Rose Castle is Grade 1 listed, and these building phases are protected. Rickman's 19th century remodelling of the wester façade is the only substantive attempt to alter and obscure earlier building fabric on the standing portions of the site. There are no further recent additions or extensions.

Two of the ranges (south and east) were entirely demolished in 1648 (see below) and have no above-ground remains today.

Documentary evidence

In comparison with the bishopric of Durham, the surviving documentary record relating to Rose Castle is patchy and mostly summarised in the Machell manuscript collection held at the Carlisle Archive Centre. The documentary record for the pre-1450 development of the site is particularly minimal and fragmentary. Very few episcopal accounts survive. Later periods are better represented, arguably the most useful resource being the 1671 plan of Rose Castle commissioned by Bishop Stearne following the Restoration. The original of this held by Carlisle Archive Centre (DRC 2/213) is fragmentary and in poor condition (Figure A12.4). Two copies were made by Jefferson (1838) and by Charles Ferguson (1874

) (Figures A12.2 and A12.3) which contain slightly different details. The Ferguson copy includes a reproduction of the colours used in the original copy, while the Jefferson copy includes the names of rooms and spaces. Both copies omit certain details included on the original Stearne copy, including the names of features such as the 'Fountain of the Four Cocks' (Section 5.3.2), 'Hog House' and 'Chicken House'.

Development pre-1450

The earliest phases of Rose Castle were almost certainly badly damaged or destroyed during the two destruction episodes wrought by Edward and Robert the Bruce in 1314 and 1322 (Wilson 1912: 42). None of the existing standing buildings are believed to date from this period. Tatton-Brown (2004) has suggested that the first licence to crenellate issued in 1336 relates to a sustained episode of building following these attacks (Lyte 1895: 245). Bishop John Kirkby's register (1332-1352) reveals that in 1337, Rose Castle was again attacked and burned by Scottish raiders, and that the surrounding landscape was wasted and livestock slaughtered (DRC 1/2). This course of events explains the second licence to crenellate (Lyte 1909: 252). The earliest standing buildings evidence dates broadly from the early-mid 14th century (Tatton-Brown 2004; Wilson 1912; Weston 2013) which is consistent with Bishop Kirkby's episcopate. It therefore seems likely that Kirkby was responsible for the earliest phases of the existing structure.

Given its history of being attacked, the form of Rose Castle that we see today and in historic depictions is consistent with a defensive 14th century castle design. The concentric design with inner courtyard differs from other motte-and-bailey castles discussed in this thesis and has parallels with sites including Bodiam Castle in Kent. The Strickland Tower, now thought to date from Kirkby's episcopate (see above), echoes the design of pele towers common across Cumbria and Northumberland and was explicitly used for defensive/protective purposes.

Although older works (Wilson 1912; Ferguson 1874; Bouch 1956; Bulman 1958; Robinson 1989) assert that the Strickland Tower significantly predated the rest of the building, with later modifications by Bishop Strickland (1400-1419), Tatton-Brown's (2004) work now demonstrates that the Tower is contemporary with the north and east ranges, suggesting that the entire concentric castle, complete with defensive towers, was all built in one episode. This was probably undertaken by Bishop Kirkby in the early-mid 14th century. We can be certain that the west and north ranges are of this date while excavations of the south-west corner of the so-called Strickland Tower reveal that it too is contemporary. It stands to reason that the south range probably also dates from this period. The building plan depicted on Stearne's 1671 plan (Figure A12.4, and copies –Figures A12.2 and A12.3) includes all the essential spaces of a 14th century castle, suggesting that it is a build of one phase.

Development 1450-1660

Very little is known about the building work conducted after the construction of Rose Castle until Bishop Richard Bell's (1478-1495) episcopate. Aside from one reference in the accounts of Bishop Edward Story (1468-78) in which he re-roofed large portions of the site with slate and lead (CAC DRC/2/12), little else is known. Given the size and extent of the castle established in the 14th century, it is very possible that subsequent bishops felt no need to develop it further.

Bishop Bell (1478-1495) is responsible for next known building phase at Rose Castle, however. His building accounts are a rare survival and provide exceptional insight into his building endeavours (CAC DRC 2/18). Bell was responsible for the construction of a new tower, the Bell Tower and also for the substantial remodelling of interior spaces around the castle, including the first-floor chapel. Descriptions taken from accounts dated 1487-89 reveal his architect was William Raleton and that he bought 160 boards for the ceiling of the chapel, over 4000 nails of different types which were made by a smith on site and stone from the bishop's own quarry at Shawk. The quantities supplied and the descriptions of the work undertaken make it clear that he was constructing a tower and a chapel. Bell's Tower is also marked with his initials on a rebus beneath the battlement. Bell is also responsible for inserting a drawbridge which has not survived.

An account of the site in 1767 by Bishop Charles Lyttelton, who made substantive changes to the site in the 18th century, makes it clear that he believed that the old chapel was sited under the old Brewhouse. Lyttelton wrote: '*the first or most ancient chapel [which] was converted into other rooms circa an. 1480 after Bishop Bell had built another chapel. This ancient chapel stood at the SW corner of the Quadrangle near Pettenger's Tower on the scite of the old Brewhouse etc latel demolished by Bishop Lyttelton'* (CAC D/MH 10/3/7:9).

Lyttelton's description is problematic however. Notably, the Stearne plan of Rose Castle from 1671 reveals that brewhouse and surrounding spaces on the south range had been destroyed during the Civil War. This would suggest that Lyttelton could not have destroyed these rooms in 1767. Furthermore, in research for this thesis no other corroborating evidence has been found to confirm Lyttelton's claim. However, if this first floor chapel was inserted by Bell as his accounts would suggest, logically there probably would have been an earlier chapel at this site.

Bishop John Kite (1521-1537) was responsible for conducting multiple large-scale building projects across the site. Firstly, Kite divided the Great Hall to create a hall and dining room and added large windows into these rooms. His building work can still be seen in the West Range where he significantly altered the entrance/gateway with the insertion of a new tower. Tatton-Brown (2004) has examined the fabric on Kite's Tower and drawn the conclusion that Kite's building work added to a pre-existing gateway. From this, Tatton-Brown suggests that the main entrance to the castle was via the Kite Tower entrance on the western range. This contradicts the Jefferson plan of the site which suggests that the main entrance was at the north-west corner of the site. Weston (2013) disagrees with Tatton-Brown's assertions and has instead proposed that the entire Kite Tower was built by him, based on the style of the doorway. In any case, the insertion of a new gateway, or remodelling of an old gateway, by Kite might suggest an attempt to improve the defences at this site, but the inclusion of new windows within the Great Hall suggests that defence was not a primary concern at this time. Instead, Kite's building work is more likely to have been an attempt at remodelling. Kite's initials and emblem, three kite heads impaling the arms of the diocese of Armagh, are included within his new tower. It is also likely that Kite was responsible for the insertion of a gateway in the north of the mantle wall and for the removal of the drawbridge inserted by Bell (Weston 2013; Bouch 1956; Wilson 1912).

In 1644, the Scottish army in support of the Parliamentarians seized Rose Castle. Bishop Barnaby Potter (1629-1642) had died in January 1642, and the See remained vacant, probably due to the ongoing Civil War conflict. With the Civil War continuing, Carlisle became the site of conflict of 1644 and Carlisle Castle was seized by Colonel David Leslie, commander of the Scottish Army in support of Parliament, in summer of 1645 (Jefferson 1838: 102). Rose Castle, which was seemingly vacant, was taken at that time (Jefferson 1838: 102). Leslie is known to have made Dalston Hall his base, and many other vacant castles and elite residences were acquired by the Parliamentarians at that time. It is unclear how Rose Castle was used by the Scottish army, probably as a garrison. There is no known material evidence of its use at this time such as graffiti or associated material culture.

In May 1648 the Carlisle area fell into Royalist possession. Carlisle Castle, Appleby Castle, Brougham Castle, Greystoke Castle and Scaleby Castle were all seized (Weston 2013: 57; Jefferson 1838: 104). Supposedly, Rose Castle was besieged for two hours by a Royalist army of two hundred men who took Rose Castle from a resident garrison of forty men, one of whom died. It seems that during this siege, Rose Castle was minimally damaged. However, within the year Rose Castle fell back into the hands of the Parliamentarians who then set fire to the castle to prevent it falling back into Royalist hands. It was at this time that '*the most habitable part thereof on the east and north side were consumed to ashes. But ye west side of the castle which consisted of daryes, graneries and other common offices, happened to escape the furie of those flames'* (Winchester et al 2003: 87).

In 1649, the site was subject to a Parliamentary Survey ahead of its sale by the Parliamentary Commissioner (Wilson 1912). This survey makes little reference to any burning except for a *'malt house in great decay, a kiln for drying malt burnt to the ground'* (Parliamentary Survey reproduced by Wilson 1912: 48). Other spaces mentioned in this survey include the hall, kitchen, two turrets, Pettinger Tower, watch houses, stables, dovecote, slaughter house and barn. The fact that there is no reference to the destruction of Rose Castle in 1648 is interesting and would suggest that it had not happened. That is corroborated by the mentions of spaces, such as the hall, which lay in ranges allegedly demolished in 1648. However, it is possible that other spaces in Rose Castle were being used for these functions, and these might be reflected in Stearne's 1671 plan.

On the 1 June 1650, the castle was sold by Parliamentary Commissioner to William Heveningham, together with the manors of Dalston and Linstock (other properties of the Bishops of Carlisle) for a combined sum of £4161.12s.10d (Madden and Bandinel 1835: 290). Between 1653 and 1655, Heveningham conducted repairs across Rose Castle, and some idea of these can be gleaned from the accounts of William Barker, bailiff of Dalston, to Alexander Pogmire the mason who were employed to undertake the work (Jones 1981). Payments made to Pogmire include '*finishing the building of Rose Castle according to articles…lineing the wall in Kites Tower and putting off 2 windowes…bringing upp of 2 chimneyes in Kites Tower…clearing rubbish out of Kites Tower…one doore stall breaking out of Kites Tower…glazing four windows at the entrance of Kite's Tower'* among other references to the purchase of nails, slate, lead, and wooden boards. These references suggest that Heveningham occupied Kite's Tower as most of his building work appears to be concentrated there. As Kite's Tower was situated in the West Range, this aligns with the theory that the building had lost two of its ranges in 1648. Heveningham seemingly remained at Rose Castle until the Restoration in 1660 after which he was arrested as a regicide.

Development post-1660

At the Restoration, Bishop Richard Stearne (1660-1672) was appointed as the new bishop. It was Stearne who created the plan of Rose Castle (now severely damaged – see Figure A12.4) which outlines the shape and form of Rose Castle *before* the Civil War. It is unclear how Stearne would have known this. It is possible that Stearne had visited Rose Castle before and was familiar with its layout. Sterne's successor, Bishop Edward Rainbow (1664-1684) wrote that Stearne had been responsible for the demolition of the ruined parts of the building (see discussion by Weston 2013) and this suggests that Heveningham had left ruined parts of the site *in situ*, restoring only the West Range which he occupied. These ruins, which were presumably those destroyed in 1648, were then demolished by Stearne.

Important stylistic changes made in the century following the Restoration include the insertion of a new entrance by Rainbow and Bishop Thomas Smith (1684-1702) in the northwest tower of Rose Castle, creating the so-called Smith's Tower (Tatton-Brown 2004: 281). A view of this structure is captured in Buck's 1739 engraving (Figure A12.6). It seems likely that this entrance would have made use of a part of the building that may have been in poor repair upon the Restoration, and by relocating the entrance prevented traffic travelling through the occupied West Range which had, by that time, become the site of the main episcopal apartments.

Nearly all of the exterior-facing standing façade of Rose Castle was severely altered by Thomas Rickman in 1829-39 to create a Gothic-style façade which obscured much of the earlier facing of the West Range. Part of Rickman's work was to insert a new tower protruding west, the so-called the Percy Tower, after the incumbent bishop. Tatton-Brown (2004), has discussed in depth the elevations and dating of the standing buildings. Other building works at this time include those by Bishop Edward Venables-Vernon-Harcourt (1791-1808) who excavated an area beneath the site of the first-floor medieval chapel installed by Bell, creating another chamber beneath. Unfortunately, Bishop Venables-Vernon-Harcourt's work went largely unrecorded and it is not known if anything was discovered during his works (Weston 2013: 54).

Rose Castle remained the primary seat of the Bishops of Carlisle with very little building work after Rickman in the 19th century. In 2009 the decision was made to sell Rose Castle, and it was eventually sold in 2015 to the Rose Castle Trust who use it as a peace and reconciliation centre.

Timeline of major building events

Date	Event
1230	Manor of Dalston granted to Bishop Walter Mauclerc by King Henry III.
1255	Earliest reference to occupation at Rose Castle.
1300	Edward I, Queen Margaret and court lodge at Rose Castle
1314	Edward the Bruce occupied and destroyed Rose Castle
1322	Robert the Bruce occupied and destroyed Rose Castle again
1336	First licence to crenellate
1355	Second licence to crenellate
1400	Description of 'La Herber' at this site.
c.1400-1419	Strickland Tower built
1479	Wall hangings commissioned.
1480	Bishop Bell builds first floor chapel and converts existing chapel into 'other room'. Original chapel was on possibly on site of brewhouse in southwest corridor.
1481	Building re-roofed by Bishop Story
1488	Bishop Bell tower built, drawbridge repaired.
1521-1537	Gateway remodelled by Bishop Kite, Kite Tower possibly built at this time also (see above). Great Hall divided into two unequal parts, windows installed in hall and chapel and council chamber redecorated.
1544	Bishop compensated for the felling of 100 trees in Rose Park.
1598	Scottish raiders steal all the bishops' oxen, cows and horses from Rose Park.
1644	Scottish army in support of Parliament seized control of Rose Castle.
1648	Rose Castle fell into Royalist possession, torched by Parliamentarians in response. Two ranges lost.
1650	Rose Castle sold to William Heveningham.
1653-1655	Heveningham makes repairs to Rose Castle
1660	Rose Castle restored to Bishops of Carlisle
1660-1664	Bishop Sterne restores Rose Castle and makes changes to the building
1664-1684	Bishop Rainbow rebuilds front entrance in new style.
1684-1702	Bishop Smith continues work creating new entrance
c. 1700	Dovecot added. Stylistically dated to early 18th century.
1769-87	Bishop Law lowered parts of the north curtain wall (mantle wall).
1796	Bishop Vernon excavates basement rooms in north range beneath the chapel and Bell Tower for the placement of a new chamber.

Date	Event
1829-30	Architect Thomas Rickman completes major building and refacing of much of the visible exterior façade, adds new corbelled and crenelated parapet and creates the Percy Tower.
2009	Rose Castle stops being used as the primary residence of the Bishops of Carlisle
2015	Rose Castle sold into private ownership

Parks and outdoor spaces

Rose Park is the only known park belonging to the Bishops of Carlisle and would therefore have been an important asset to them (Cantor 1983) but relatively little is known about it in comparison to those belonging to other dioceses. Instaurer, reever and forester accounts have not survived.

The site of Rose Castle and its park was granted to the bishopric out of land in the forest of Inglewood, the northernmost royal forest in England (Parker 1905). This royal forest was renowned for its hunting potential, with rich stocks of wild boar, red deer and roe deer, wild fishing, as well as for the high-quality timber produced there (Parker 1905). In the founding charter of 1229/30 for the manor of Dalston, in which Rose Park and Castle are situated (Parker 1907), specific conditions are set down that gave the bishop the authority to possess the manor as a forest with the same privileges as the royal forest of Inglewood. It is therefore implied that this land was intended for the same uses, including hunting, fishing and timber production. Reports of tree felling in Rose Park and deer being hunted in the park and taken to Rose Castle for preparation shed light on the uses of Rose Park and the sustained relationship between Rose Park and Inglewood Forest (Parker 1910). In 1357 the park was slightly enlarged by 6 acres (Parker 1907: 33). Newman has estimated the full extent of Rose Park to have been about 163 acres, based on his wider research on the development of the medieval landscape of Cumbria (Newman 2014: 98).

Lasting traces of Rose Park are harder to identify archaeologically. Due to the site's rural location and the lack of recent development around Rose Castle, very little archaeological attention has been paid to features such as pales, boundaries, mills, or deer leaps. Furthermore, as the park was situated within and created from land in Inglewood Forest, it is quite possible that any boundary delineating Inglewood Forest and Rose Park was only ephemeral. To date there are no scheduled ancient monuments associated with any feature of Rose Park. A valuation of the land associated with Rose Park made in 1662 (CAC DRC 2/146) lists the names of different areas of the Park. These names, which include

'*middelwood', 'low harke', 'broad meadow', 'laid flatts', 'stony hollow', low willows', 'goat kidding' and 'pig willows'* shed light on the local topography.

Evidence of historic land usage is visible in aerial photography, including ridge and furrow ploughing synonymous with later medieval agriculture, together with areas of pre-19th century quarrying. Recent LiDAR images have shown evidence of ridge and furrow ploughing and fishponds (Deegan 2019: 35). Reports of fish being transferred from rivers in Inglewood Forest to the bishops' fishponds following the depletion of fish stocks after Scottish raids further confirm the existence of fishponds close to Rose Castle from the 14th century (Parker 1910: 13). It is very possible that these are the same fishponds described in the Commonwealth Survey of 1649 as '*grown up with weeds'* (transcribed in Wilson 1912). The same source describes an '*orchard without the south and east quarter of the castle containing about three roods of ground…fine walks of ash and oak…trees growing near and about the aforesaid castle being in number 120'*. It is likely that this orchard is the same one mentioned occasionally in medieval bishops' registers through the 14th and 15th centuries. In 1480 Bishop Bell's register mentions that '*apples, pears and plums grow in the orchard and around the castle'*, (CAC DRC/2/14).

In both the Jefferson and Ferguson images of Rose Castle, a garden is depicted north of the main building, contained by the 'mantle wall' (see Figures A12.2 and A12.3). In both images, the garden contains four evenly spaced polygonal-shaped beds. In the Jefferson image, this depiction is accompanied by the phrase '*wood yard now a garden'* which indicates the site had a change of use, and that the arrangement in the image refers to its use as a garden. It is possible that it became a garden after the Restoration in the years immediately preceding c.1671. The formal planting scheme depicted in the image is stylistically consistent with late 17th and 18th century country house garden design which are characterised by compartmentalised gardens, symmetrical planting and linear pathway divisions. This would suggest therefore, that the garden depicted was created post-Restoration, and that prior to the creation of this garden the land was likely used as a wood-store or as an earlier garden. Other references to gardens at Rose Castle include a record of Bishop Strickland maintaining a vegetable garden named 'La Herber' in documents relating to its creation (CAC DRC/2/7). No further mention to 'La Herber' or any other vegetable/herb garden has been found by the author, and its location at the site is unknown. It is possible that 'La Herber' was an earlier form of the garden depicted north of the main buildings at Rose Castle or located elsewhere within the wider site. Other outdoor features included an internal courtyard with a water feature, described as the Fountain of the Four

Cocks, of unknown date but depicted on the Jefferson and Ferguson illustrations and mentioned in the 1621 Commonwealth Survey (Section 5.3.1).

Historic maps, illustrations, paintings, photographs and representations

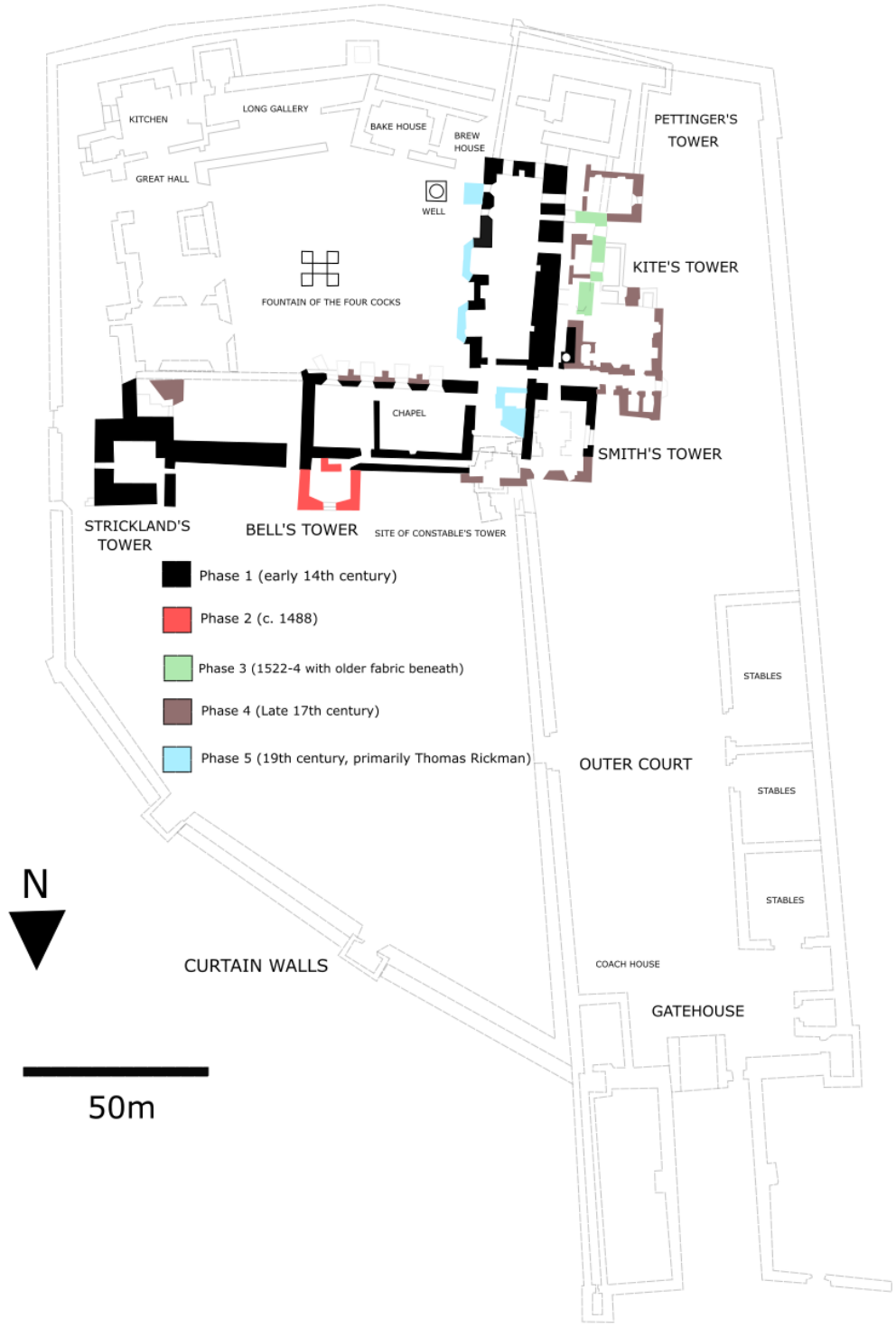


Figure A.9.1. Phase plan of Rose Castle based on Tatton-Brown (2004).

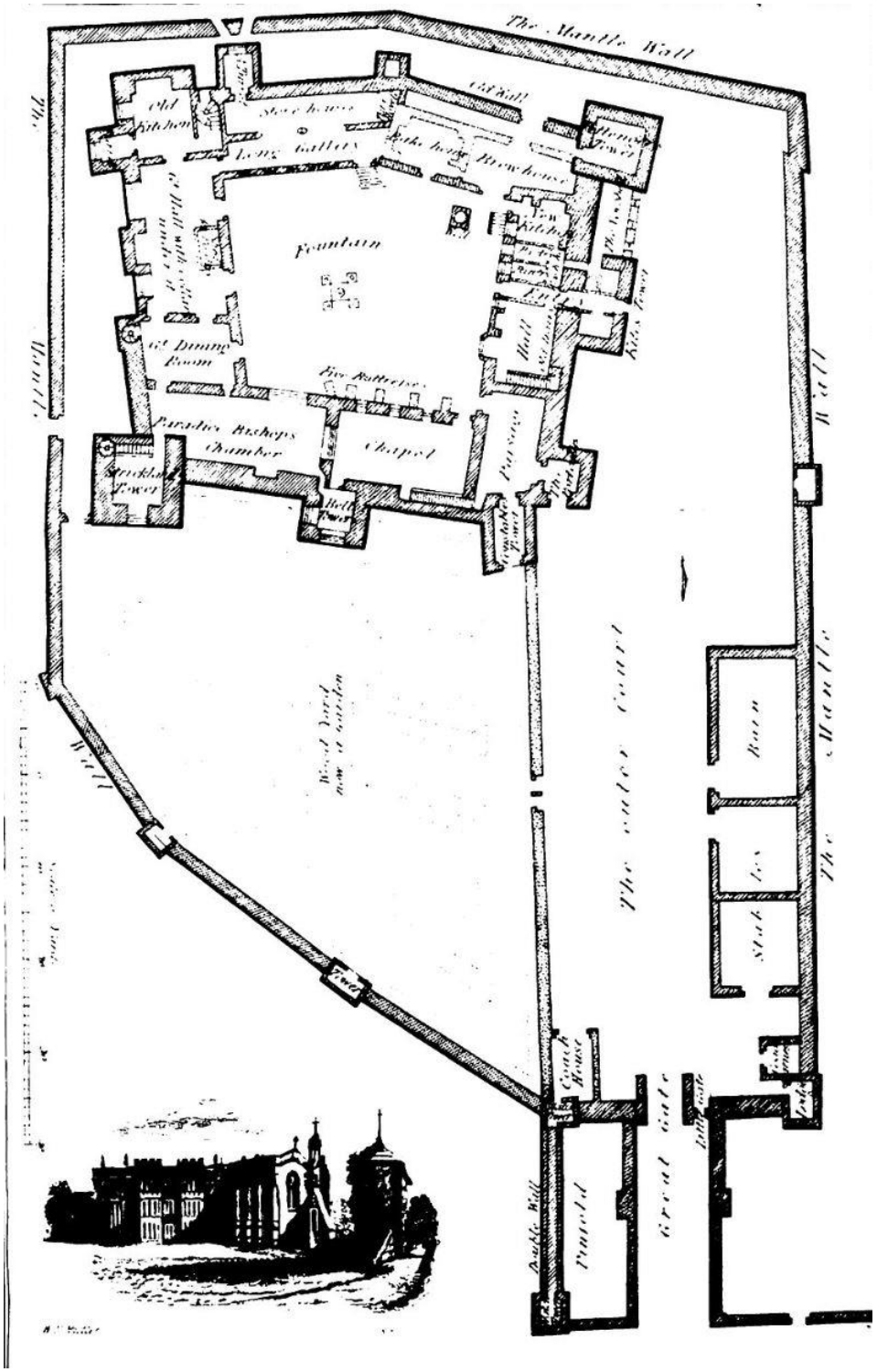


Figure A.9.2. Jefferson's redrawn plan of Rose Castle (1838) based on Stearne's 1671 plan.

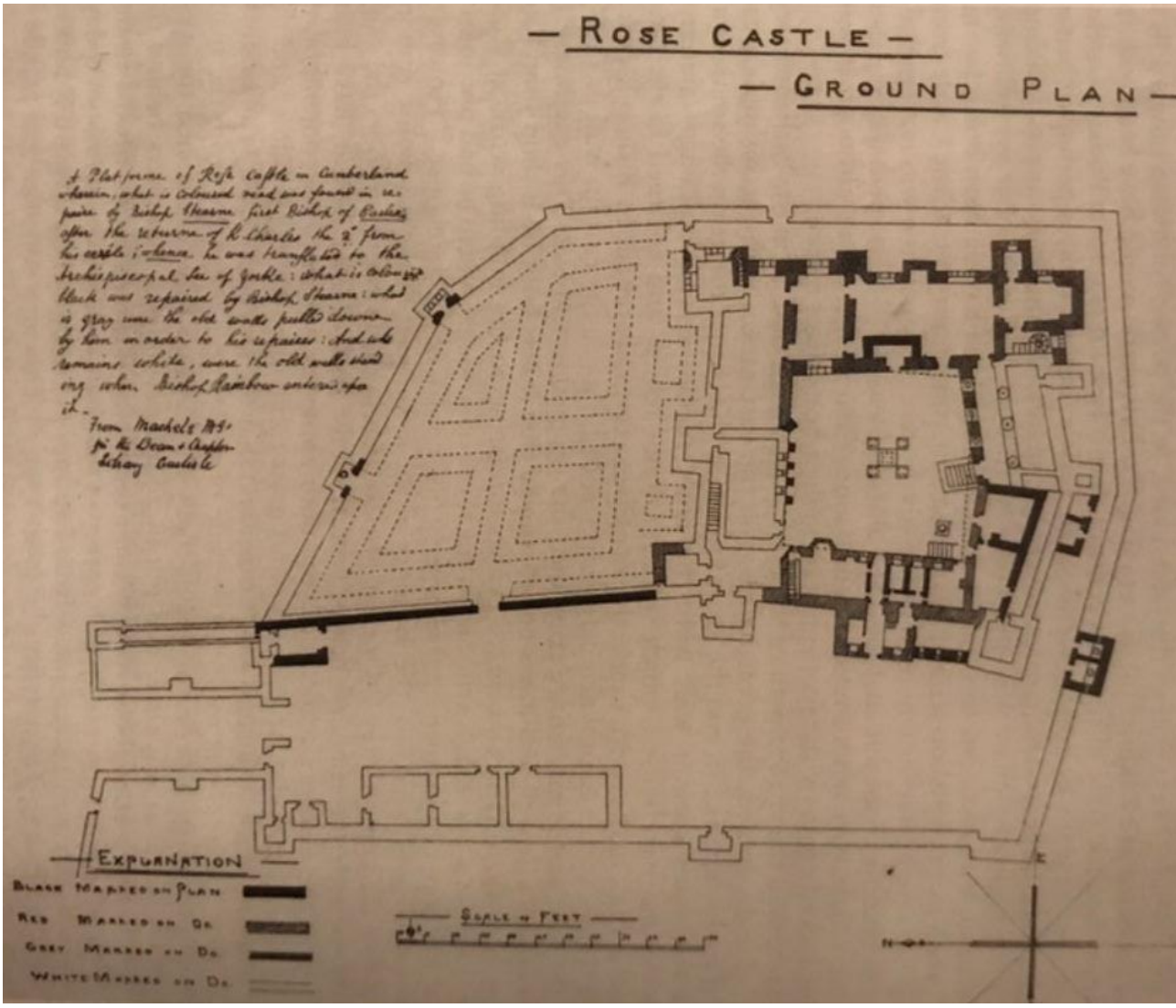


Figure A.9.3. Ferguson (1874). A redrawn version of Stearne's 1671 plan of Rose Castle.

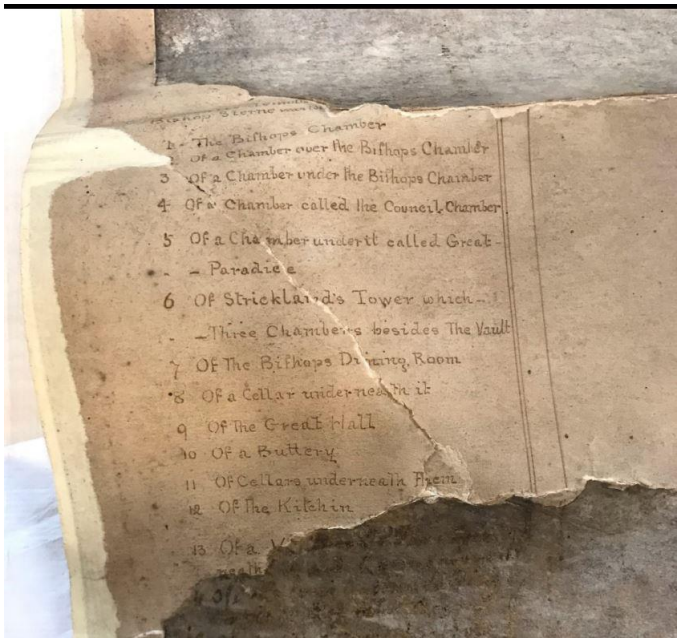


Figure A.9.4 Fragment of Stearne's 1671 plan of Rose Castle showing his listing of spaces.

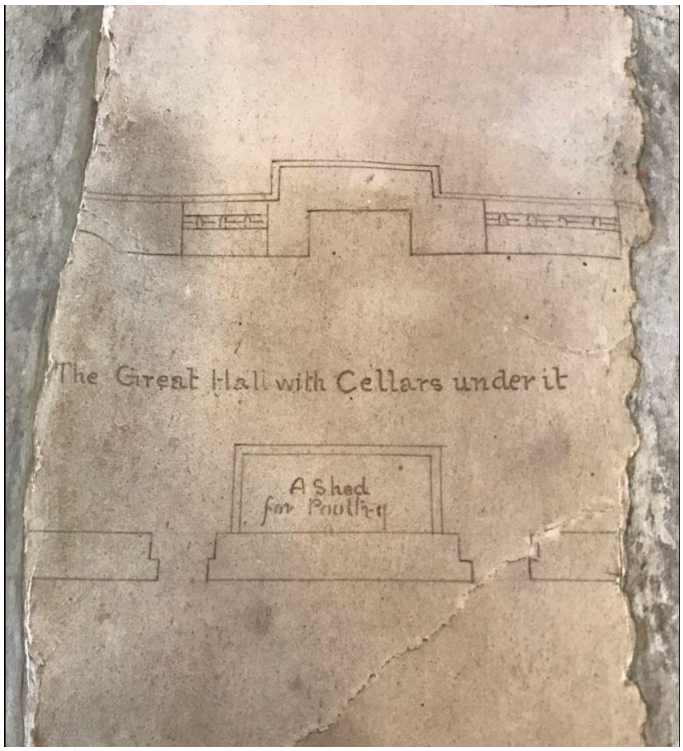


Figure A.9.5. Fragment of Stearne's 1671 plan of Rose Castle.

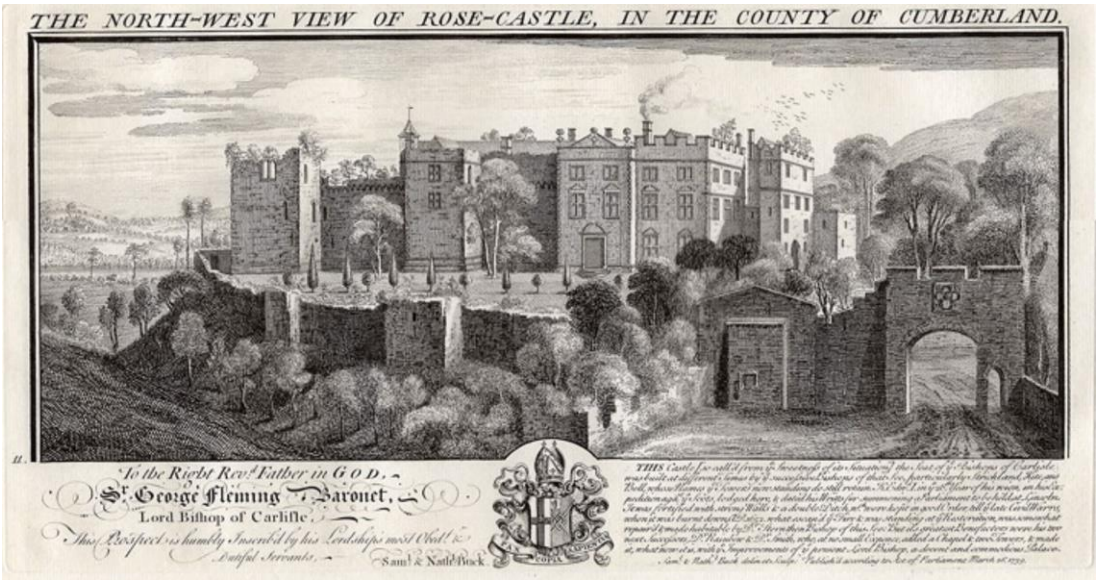


Figure A.9.6 Buck's engraving of Rose Castle, 1739

APPENDIX 10

Bewley Castle

*Other names: Bellus Locus, Beaulieu, Buley, Buly, Builli, Fithnenin

Overview

Bewley Castle was an important and much frequented residence of the Bishops of Carlisle throughout the later medieval and early modern period but was sold latterly and fell into disrepair (Figure A13.1). Today, Bewley Castle lies within farmland (pasture) and is ruined, though significant below-ground deposits may survive. The footprint of one range can be clearly identified, with an adjoining tower at its southwest corner. Furthermore, incomplete projecting walls indicate that there was certainly a northern range. Some authors (Emery 1996: 191) have suggested that Bewley Castle was a courtyard house, similar in plan and design to an abbatial palace. Some diagnostic architectural features have survived which, together with documentary data, provide a basis for dating and Peter Ryder (2000) has recently conducted a thorough survey of the standing remains. Comprehensive textual reconstructions of the site were completed by Wilson and Bewley (1902), and Carmichael (1927), while Ferguson's (188) well-illustrated article synthesised the documentary information together with the standing buildings evidence.

The majority of the standing remains probably date from a well-documented restoration in 1402, likely with earlier 13th century fabric being incorporated. The Machell and Musgrave families acquired the Bewley Castle and are thought to have actively inhabited it until the 18th century (Ryder 2000). This suggests that it remained in a state of good repair until that time. In later centuries, stone was robbed from Bewley Castle to construct a nearby farmhouse, and the site has been damaged by trees growing through the site and a nearby field wall truncates some of the northernmost archaeological features Similarly, the garderobe has suffered some partial collapse, which was found to extend below ground-level suggesting that this building has been in a state of decline for a good while (Oxford Archaeology 2002). Historic plans and illustrations are a useful source for identifying some of the diagnostic building details here. The documentary and standing building evidence is, at times, fragmentary and further archaeological prospection at the site might yield important results.

Location and topography

Bewley Castle is situated about 50 km south-east of Carlisle and about 140 km from the Scottish border at the settlement of Old Bewley in the Eden valley. The site sits at the confluence of the Teas Sike and Swinegill Sike, roughly 2km from the River Eden. Its sheltered position undeniably afforded it protection from both intruders and the weather but the site would have been prone to flooding and damp conditions: Swinegill Sike runs less than 10m from the main building. Because of this, there is the strong possibility that waterlogged remains may have been preserved.

Archaeological evidence

There have been no large intrusive archaeological investigations at the site. Oxford Archaeology North (2002) conducted a small-scale excavation as part of a watching brief at the site but very little archaeological material of interest was recovered. The excavation was focused around collapsed portions of the south-east tower. Excavation of this revealed that this collapse had likely occurred during the 19th century. Ryder (2000) has made recommendations for a full geophysical survey of the site.

Standing buildings

Only part of the original medieval building still stands - a rectilinear structure aligned north-south (18.8 x 855m externally) with a square tower projecting from the south-east corner (5m) and a garderobe turret in the south-west corner (Figure A13.2). In most places, the walls survive to first-storey height, with the south-east tower walls surviving to second-storey height. In the northernmost portion of the north range and in the south-east tower, parts of subterranean basements are still visible (springers for barrel vaulting are visible in both; E-W aligned). The building walls are uniformly 1.4 m thick and finished with high-quality chamfered limestone. Stubs of other walls extending north/north-west can be seen but have been obscured by a later field-boundary wall. Perriam and Robinson (1998) also include on their plan the remains of a cross-passage running east-west through the northern range but this cannot be seen today.

The inclusion of a cross-passage neatly subdivides the space into discernible rooms. South of the cross-passage is a large room with beamed ceiling with a doorway leading into the south-east tower, with a basement below. The garderobe was accessed through a first-floor doorway, and window seats are also visible at this level. North of the cross-passage was a smaller room leading to the barrel-vaulted basement below. On both the eastern and western

walls of the northern range are external doorways, while a plainly decorated fireplace exists in the southeast tower.

Ryder (2000) has interpreted these spaces in line with the known documentary evolution of the building. He argues that the first-floor room in the southern end of the northern range was the hall, with the dais situated against the backdrop of the window with window seat. The solar was therefore situated in the well-heated south-east tower. Logically therefore, service spaces were likely to have been situated north of the cross-passage, with the basement below. The location of the chapel is still unknown and likely lies within unexamined parts of the building.

Documentary evidence

The documentary record for Bewley Castle is fragmentary and limited. This stems from the general paucity of documentary relating to the residences of the Bishops of Carlisle in comparison with other bishoprics (i.e. Durham). As a minor episcopal residence of the Bishops of Carlisle, the castle was less well used.

Development pre-1450

During a vacancy in the Carlisle See (1175), land named 'Fithnenin' was granted to the bishopric by Uchthred of Bolton. Its importance within the bishopric is affirmed when a right to free warren in the lands of 'Fytenenyn' was granted in 1290, but this was challenged in 1292 by the King. Subsequent documentation details that a warren, right to gallows, attainment of the goods of felons etc. were all practiced and presented at the site, suggesting an important and central administrative centre (Carmichael 1927). Throughout the 1290s there are multiple references to administrative duties occurring at 'Fytenenyn' which suggest that it was frequently inhabited (Carmichael 1927: 187). Carmichael (1929) charts the change in name during this period, with different sources intermittently referring to the site as 'Fytenenyn' or 'Bellus Locus', with the 'Bellus Locus' being favoured after 1300. This name, from which Bewley (Beaulieu) derives, might signify a wider English trend among monastic communities to copy a French place-name (Carmichael 1927: 186). Alternatively, Bishop Hugh of Beaulieu (1218 – 1223) had previously been the first abbot of Beaulieu Abbey in Hampshire, and 'Bellus Locus' might refer to his involvement. This would place the earliest date of this building at 1218. The evidence suggests that this residence grew in significance and influence throughout the 13th century, though very little is known about what the building would have looked like at this time.

In 1402, Bishop Strickland 'restored' the site, reportedly adding a chapel and solar (bishop's chamber) (CAC DRC/2/7). Parts of the standing buildings might correspond with this

building phase, as dateable portions contain some diagnostically 15th century stonework (Ryder 2000). Unfortunately, in many places the stonework has been sufficiently weathered to have removed identifiable and diagnostic traces. However, given how extensive Strickland's building efforts were, it is very possible that he also demolished earlier buildings on the site and reused that stonework in his own building, though his accounts show no clear evidence of this. Ultimately, it would be necessary to undertake further standing buildings analysis and archaeological investigation to ascertain fully the scale and impact of Strickland's building work.

Development 1450-1660

Very little is known about the nature and use of this residence during the study period. Bewley is mentioned in the *valor* of castles and manors owned by the Bishops of Carlisle in 1462 (CAC DRC/2/9), though no assessment of its condition or use is made there. Most building work through this period appears to have been centred on Rose Castle.

It has been suggested that from the late-16th century Bewley Castle was already leased which meant that the Bishops of Carlisle were obliged to stay in Rose Castle (Weston 2013). In 1598 Sir Richard Musgrave was possibly a tenant. In research for this thesis, no confirmatory evidence for this has been found, though it might reasonably be assumed. No references to the Bishops of Carlisle visiting Bewley Castle seem to exist and occupation of the site seems to have fluctuated between the Machell and Musgrave families throughout the study period and afterwards. These families are still present in the area and have had extensive influence historically. Only two confirmatory leases from 1678 and 1781 prove that the site was leased.

In 1649, Rose Castle was sold by Parliamentary Commissioner to Robert Braithwaite for £321.10s.0d. It is unclear what Braithwaite did with the property, and there are no known accounts of his work.

Development post-1660

In 1660, the Bishops of Carlisle had Bewley Castle restored to them, though it is clear that this site was leased out shortly after, to both the Machell (1678) and Musgrave families (1781) (Carmichael 1927: 184). Again, it is unclear how this site was treated by them at this time. The will of Elizabeth Machell (1700) demonstrates that Bewley Castle was at that time actively in use by the Machells (Bellasis 1885: 461). The process by which the site came to be in the ruined state it is in today is unclear, but it is apparent that the Bishops of Carlisle never resided in Bewley Castle, making Rose Castle their permanent residence.

In 1857 Bewley Castle and 219 acres were sold into private ownership as part of the wider Bewley Castle estate (CAC DAR/21/1). Bewley Castle is recorded as a ruin then.

Timeline of major building events

Date	Event
1175	'Fithnenin' granted to the Bishopric of Carlisle by Uchthred of Boldon
1218	Bishop Hugh of Beaulieu consecrated
1290	Right to free warren at Bewley Castle granted by Edward I
c. 1300	The name 'Fithnenin' falls out of use and 'Bellus Locus' becomes the favoured name
1402	Bishop Strickland 'restores' Bewley Castle
1649	Bewley Castle sold by Parliamentary Commissioner to Robert Braithwaite
1660	Bewley Castle restored to the Bishops of Carlisle
1669	Hearth Tax shows that Bewley Castle had 7 hearths
1678	Lease indicating that Bewley Castle was leased to Machell family
1781	Lease indicating that Bewley Castle was leased to Musgrave family
1857	Bewley Castle and 219 acres of land sold by Church Commissioners

Parks and outdoor spaces

The Bishops of Carlisle are usually associated with only one hunting park, that at Rose Castle (Cantor 1983). Although no park is specifically mentioned, the sale of Bewley Castle in 1857 makes it clear that Bewley Castle was associated with a wider estate and the same implication can be drawn from Bishop Barnaby Potter's 1630 pamphlet of leased and tenanted land (CAC DRC/2/145) (Figure A10.3).

Historic maps, illustrations, paintings, photographs and representations

Figure A.10.1. Aerial photograph of Bewley Castle. Photo courtesy of Simon Ledingham.

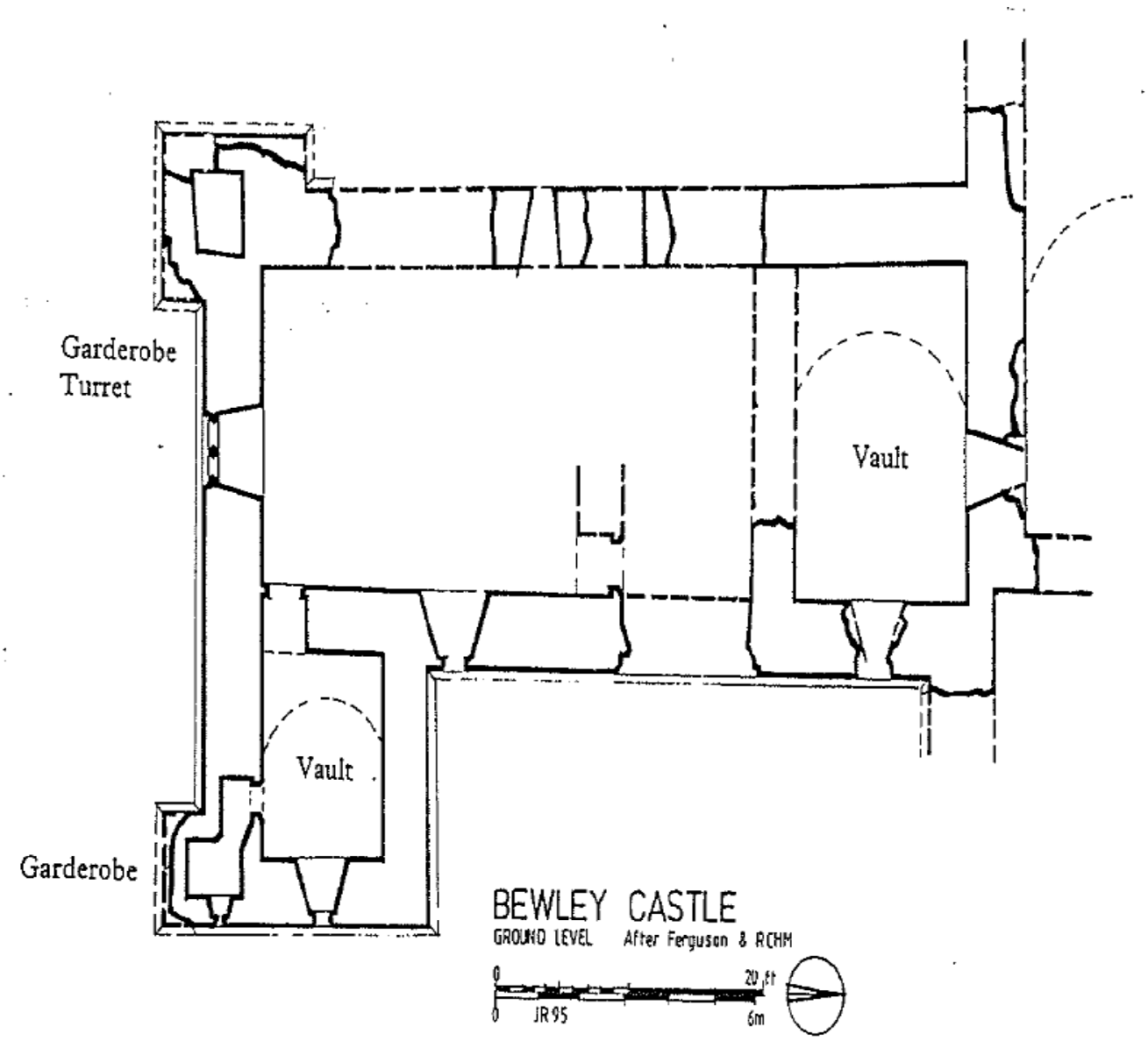


Figure A.10.2. Plan of the ruins of Bewley Castle by Peter Ryder (2000). Photograph reproduced with permission of Peter Ryder.

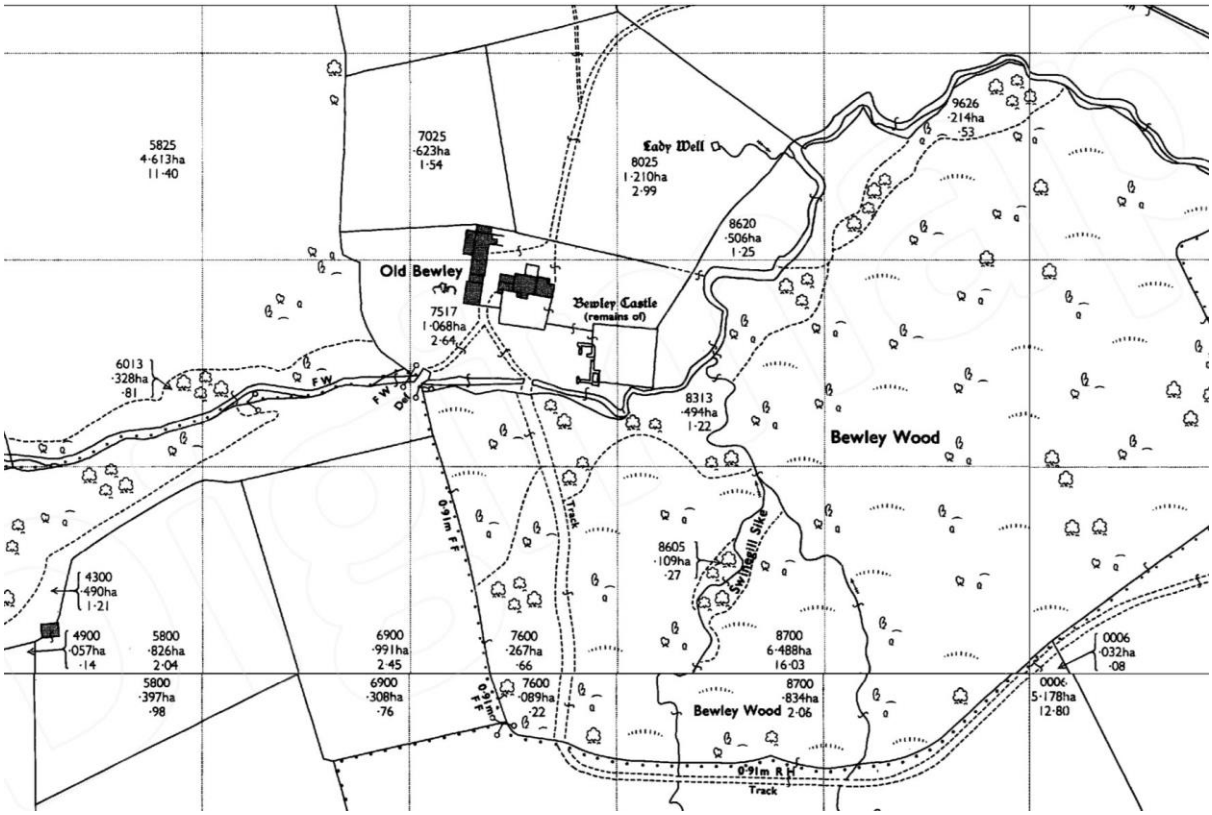


Figure A.10.3. 1970 OS map of Bewley Castle within its immediate landscape.

APPENDIX 11

Carlisle House and Carlisle Place

Overview

The Bishops of Carlisle owned two residences in London: Carlisle House/Inn (The Strand) during the later medieval period, and Carlisle House (near Lambeth Palace) after 1539. As these houses were never owned simultaneously, they are to be considered here within the same entry. Neither of these two residences has survived and no archaeological work has been conducted so very little is known about their layouts. Furthermore, the documentary record for either site is fragmentary and provides little insight. A fuller discussion of the development of Carlisle House *after* its ownership by the Bishops of Carlisle had ended can be found in Chapter 6.

Location and topography

Carlisle Inn was situated adjacent to the Strand and Ivy Lane, beside the Savoy Palace and opposite Durham Place (the residence of the Bishops of Durham) in close vicinity to numerous other bishop's houses (Schofield 2017: 179), while Carlisle House was located about 1.5 miles away, within the shadow of Lambeth Palace on the south bank of the river Thames (Roberts and Godfrey 1951).

Archaeological evidence

There has been no archaeology conducted at the site of either of these residences.

Standing buildings

There are no standing remains at these sites.

Documentary evidence

Among the available and relevant documentary sources are a handful of deeds and charters recorded by the bishops of Carlisle, as well as some letters and legal documentation relating to the other owners of these properties. Taken together, these sources provide some indication of the chronology of their ownership, but they do not provide sufficient detail to adequately reconstruct the form, style or spatial arrangement of the houses. The most authoritative text on these sites is the *Survey of London* for The Strand and Lambeth (Gater and Wheeler 1937; Roberts and Godfrey 1951).

Development pre-1450

The earliest reference to the Bishops of Carlisle at Carlisle House/Inn dates from 1238 (Schofield 2017: 181), though later records of the Bishop of Carlisle receiving writs of *venire facias* in 1294 suggest that the site was important throughout the 13th century. In later centuries parts of the residence facing Ivy Lane and the Strand were given over to the Prior of Carlisle, with receipts from 1402 detailing the planned construction of a new stable and gatehouse at the site.

Carlisle Place, called 'La Place' during the medieval period, was a contemporary to Carlisle House/Inn. In 1197, at the acquisition of Lambeth Palace by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishopric of Rochester was granted a small parcel of land within the estate on which the London residence of the Bishops of Rochester was constructed (Denne 1795). There are no surviving records which provide any impression of the style, size or layout of this residence, but some indication of its importance and influence might be grasped from its geographic position. Firstly, La Place remained distant from most other London episcopal residences. It was a close neighbour of the medieval residence of the Bishops of Bath and Wells and Lambeth Palace (residence of the Bishop of London) but lay spatially distant from the main cluster of episcopal residences which lined The Strand. Furthermore, this house lay on the south bank of the River Thames, whereas all but two other residences (those of the bishops of Winchester and Bath and Wells) lay on the north bank. La Place also did not occupy a waterfront position. These facts together with the relative poverty of the Bishopric of Rochester (in comparison to other bishoprics) imply that La Place began as a marginal London episcopal residence.

Development 1450-1660

In 1539 an exchange deal was struck between three parties, the Bishops of Carlisle, the Bishops of Rochester and Lord John Russell at the request of the Henry VIII (Private Act of Parliament, Henry VIII 1539 c.26). The Bishops of Carlisle assumed Carlisle House (formally La Place) while the Bishops of Rochester acquired Russell's house in Chiswick, with Russell occupying Carlisle Inn. Through this deal, the Bishops of Carlisle attained a residence that had gained some infamy. Bishop Fisher of Rochester had survived an attempted poisoning at La Place. The story gained recognition because it resulted in the first execution of the perpetrator by public boiling in England, after Henry VIII passed an 'Acte for Poysening' making murder by poison high treason (Stacy 1986). Some scholars have seen this episode as a pivotal moment in Tudor judicial proceedings as it was the first instance of the use of Parliamentary Attainder (condemning an accused with Parliamentary

authority only) which latterly became a well-exploited legal precedent during the Reformation (Stacy 1986).

Allen (1827: 334) argues that the bishop's new residence was not used by them following its acquisition. Although this assertion is unsupported by references, there is no strong textual record to suggest that they did visit. Parliamentary records do show that in 1647 Carlisle House was sold to Matthew Hardy, a Republican leader and it is not known how he treated the property (Allen 1837: 334). At the Restoration Carlisle House reverted back to the Bishops of Carlisle (Allen 1837: 334; Roberts and Godfrey 1951).

Development post-1660

In the years following the Restoration, the documentary records for Carlisle House are fuller and show that it was repeatedly leased out by the Bishops of Carlisle. A series of leases, charters and deeds illustrate the different occupiers. Between *c*.1690 to *c*.1730 the site was used as a pottery specialising in stoneware; the site was leased to a dancing master in 1763; and it became a school from the late 18th to early 19th centuries (Roberts and Godfrey 1951). No images of these buildings have been found during research for this thesis.

The bishop's house was demolished in 1827 and the site has been entirely redeveloped. Today, Carlisle Lane commemorates the legacy of the Bishop's of Carlisle at the site.

Timeline of major building events

Date	Event
1197	Bishops of Rochester gain land to build their London residence – La Place (latterly Carlisle Place)
1238	Earliest reference to a London residence belonging to the Bishops of Carlisle, presumably Carlisle House
1402	Planned construction of stables and gatehouse at
1539	Carlisle Inn passed into the ownership of John Russell with the Bishop of Carlisle obtaining 'La Place' near Lambeth, in a tri-party deal
1647	Carlisle House sold by Parliament to Matthew Hardy
1660	Carlisle House restored to Bishops of Carlisle
c.1690-1763	Carlisle House leased to various occupants
1827	Carlisle House demolished

Parks and outdoor spaces

Carlisle House is not believed to have been accompanied by any known parks, and although Carlisle Place was accompanied by some land, very little is known about its size or extent. In 1753 a mulberry tree there bore 400-500 pottles of fruit in that year (Walford 1878).

APPENDIX 12

St Andrews Castle

Overview

St Andrews Castle was the primary residence of the (arch)Bishops of St Andrews from c.12th until the 17th century. As the primary diocese in Scotland, the Archbishops of St Andrews were among the most influential and important clergymen in Scotland, with this residence serving as the symbol of their diocese. Unlike most of the English study dioceses, St Andrews saw significant conflict both before and during the study period, and its form corresponds to that of a defensive Scottish castle. Founded probably in the 12th century, and then heavily modified in the 14th, the bulk of construction work took place during the study period. This was also the site of the infamous murder of Cardinal Beaton in 1546 at the hands of Protestant reformers and was besieged in 1546-7 by government forces after it was occupied by Protestant rebels. Following the Reformation in Scotland, St Andrews Castle was subject to stone quarrying and looting, like St Andrews Cathedral, which entirely ruined the site. Its decay has been exacerbated by sea erosion due to its coastal situation. Today, this site is managed by Historic Environment Scotland.

Location and topography

St Andrews Castle is located at the northern periphery of St Andrews town in Fife, Scotland on a rocky outcrop which extends into St Andrews Bay. St Andrews town is situated at the north-east end of the Fife peninsula and surrounded on three sides by the North Atlantic Ocean, with access to the major cities of Edinburgh, Perth and Dundee being by boat or road across the peninsula. St Andrews Castle was surrounded by coastline on its northern and eastern peripheries, and is totally inaccessible by foot from these sides during periods of high tide. St Andrews Castle was also moated (using sea water) on its southern and western edges.

Archaeological evidence

Despite its significance, the site has received very little archaeological attention. No research excavations are known to have taken place, with only one investigation taking place during building work for the new visitor centre at St Andrews (Lewis 1996). This visitor centre is situated south-east of the main castle complex, outside of the castle walls. Relevant finds include a pottery assemblage including pottery dating from the 12th-16th centuries, areas of

burning and refuse and 12th century masonry rubble deposits. One key find includes a carved stone with the name 'Robertus' written on it. This has been interpreted by the excavators as an indication that the site was occupied since the 12th century, with 'Robertus' referring to Bishop Robert of Scone (1123-1159).

Standing buildings

All of St Andrews Castle is ruined, with no intact standing portions surviving. Most of the footprint of the pre-17th century buildings has survived, except the Great Hall on the eastern range which fell into the sea in 1801 after centuries of dilapidation. In many places on the site, the standing remains have survived to three storeys, and there are well-preserved ashlar and facing stones in places. Diagnostic and dateable stonework, and lower-storey rooms, have survived in the south range. Other parts of the building have been affected more severely from stone robbing and erosion: facing stones have been removed and stonework has been severely eroded, and it has been more challenging to date these areas, particularly the earliest castle phases (Tabraham and Owen 2010). During conservation, the ruined remains have been consolidated to prevent further weathering.

Documentary evidence

Development pre-1450

The earliest phases of St Andrews Castle probably date from the 12th century. Masonry in the lower courses of the Fore Tower has been broadly dated to the late 12th century, which might correspond to the episcopate of Bishop Roger de Beaumont (1189-1202). The discovery of a carved stone interpreted as that belonging to Bishop Robert of Scone, however, possibly places the construction of the castle earlier. St Andrews Cathedral, situated about 200m east of St Andrews Castle, was founded in 1158 (Cambridge 1977), and Bishop Roger de Beaumont (d.1202) is believed to be the earliest grave there. It is reasonable to presume that St Andrews Castle was founded at a similar date to provide accommodation and workspace for the Bishops. The development and morphology of the town of St Andrews also indicates that it gained its shape and layout primarily in the 12th century at the same time as the construction of the cathedral and castle (Cant 1970; Brooks and Whittington 1977).

Very little is known about the Castle's early form and use, beyond the small quantity of *in situ* masonry in the Fore Tower. We can presume that the site had defensive characteristics because it suffered military action during the Wars of Scottish Independence (1296-1357). During the two wars, the site fluctuated between the possession of the English and Scottish.

In 1337, the Castle was apparently destroyed by the Scots to prevent its use by the English (Barrow 1962). The extent to which the site was ruined is similarly unclear.

The majority of the castle that we see today was erected by Bishop Walter Traill (1385-1401). It is unclear whether Traill replaced most of the existing building, or whether he was the one to initially layout the full castle circuit. All major spaces, including the Great Hall, chapel, kitchens and prison towers are confidently attributed to him (Tabraham and Owen 2010).

Development 1450-1660

The next clear developmental phase at St Andrews Castle was conducted by Archbishop James Beaton (1522-1539) who was a keen builder-bishop in both the dioceses of Glasgow and St Andrews. He is responsible for constructing a new *loggia* on the entrance of the chapel and adding a block tower (gun tower) on the south-west corner of the site. His works added a new, modernised defensive element to the site. In addition, Beaton probably also inserted a new accommodation block on the north range, most of which was subsequently destroyed but which has been identified through standing building analysis of some existing ruined remains (Tabraham and Owen 2010: 21).

Beaton's successor, Cardinal David Beaton (1539-1546) is responsible for adding a new building towards the entrance - the south accommodation range. Beaton's work also realigned the existing entrance from the Fore Tower to this range on the south-west part of the site (Tabraham and Owen 2010). Beaton was murdered by Protestant Reformers in 1546, and the Castle besieged for a year. During this time the French navy besieged the castle together with government forces (Bonner 1996). The north range inserted by Beaton and portions of the northeast tower were destroyed (Bonner 1996: 56). A mine was also dug beneath St Andrews Castle by government supporters in an effort to penetrate the castle that way. It is believed that John Hamilton (1547-1571) inserted a new north range to replace that which had been destroyed (Tabraham and Owen 2010: 27).

Following Hamilton's rebuilding, the Castle remained an episcopal residence until its brief removal from the bishopric in 1606 by the monarchy in an attempt to extract wealth from the bishopric in a nationwide campaign (1843: 467). In 1613 it was restored to the bishopric (1843: 479) but had seemingly suffered severely in the intervening period. There are no instances of subsequent building at this site and it is unclear how often subsequent bishops resided there. In 1656, the site was being quarried for stone, as evidenced by a decree by calling for the reuse of the stone in St Andrews pier and in other buildings around St

Andrews town (Brown and Stevenson 2017: 196). After this, the site can never have been reused.

Timeline of major building events

Date	Event
c.12th century	Earliest phase of St Andrews Castle built
1337	St Andrews Castle destroyed by Scots during the Wars of Scottish Independence
1385-1401	Bishop Traill constructs main circuit of buildings
c.1520s	Bishop Beaton builds apartment and new entrance at the site, blocks up postern (service entrance) and inserts blockhouse in southwest corner
1539-1546	Cardinal Beaton inserts new façade and makes general repairs to site
1546	Beaton murdered at St Andrews Castle. Site seized by Reformers
1547	French Navy launch attack on St Andrews Castle to retrieve it from Reformers
1547-1571	Bishop Hamilton rebuilds the north range after naval attacks
1656	St Andrew's Castle quarried for stone, out of use by this point

Parks and outdoor spaces

St Andrews Castle is not associated with a park.

Historic maps, illustrations, paintings, photographs and representations

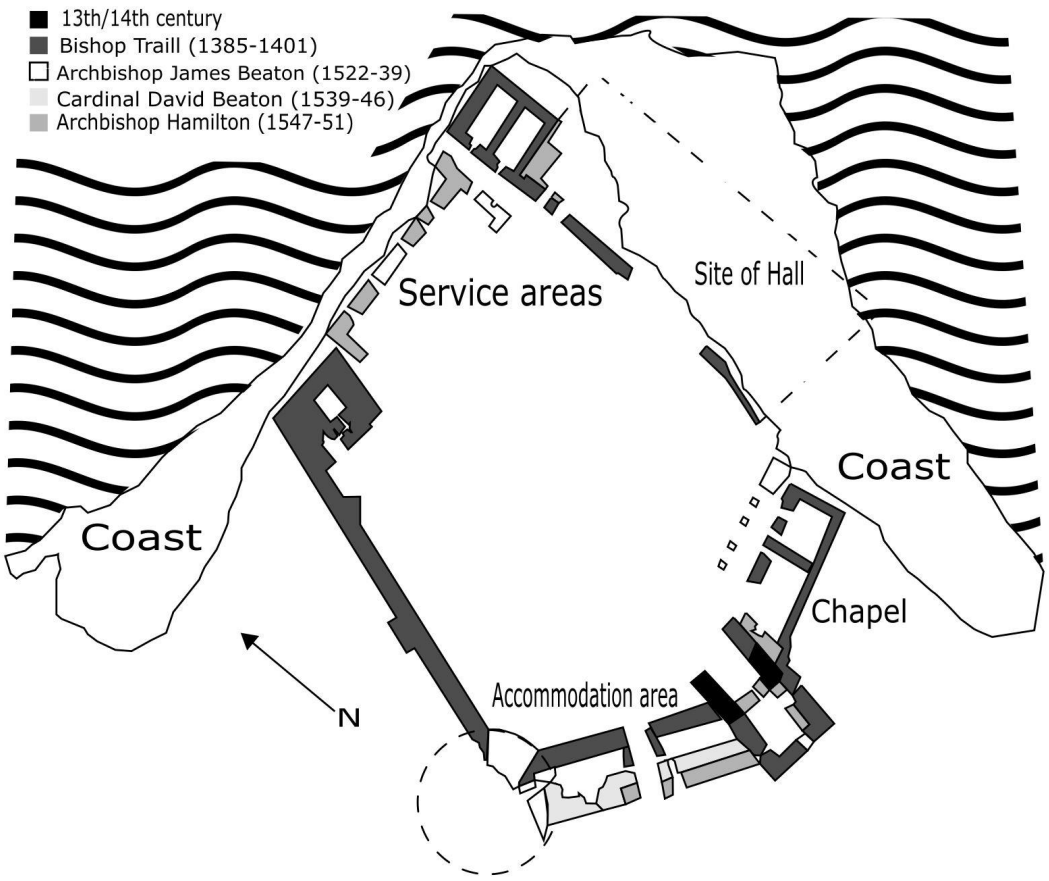


Figure A.12.1. Plan of St Andrews Castle based on Historic Scotland (2010).

APPENDIX 13

The Bishop's House on Edinburgh Cowgate

Overview

Located in Edinburgh, the Bishops House on Edinburgh Cowgate was the only residence belonging to a bishop located within Edinburgh (Figure A20.1). Unlike English and Welsh bishops who routinely maintained residences in London, it was not customary for Scottish bishops to do the same. The Bishop's House in Edinburgh was constructed by Bishop James Beaton (1509 – 1522) and demolished in 1867 having fallen out of the possession of the bishops in 1546. The site has been completely redeveloped, and is now commemorated by a plaque. There has never been any archaeological investigation here, and it is not known how much of the original building might survive below-ground. Some 19th century photographs and illustrations depict external view, and some 19th century reports mention the Bishop's House and rooms within.

Overall, the evidence suggests this was a high-status dwelling incorporating devotional spaces (a chapel) and elite functional spaces (wine cellars) common to bishop's houses. Reports of James V lodging at Edinburgh Cowgate would corroborate its status. Analysis of the external façade reveals that it probably had two turrets, possibly ornamental.

Location and topography

This site is located between the streets of Cowgate, Blackfriar's Wynd and Todrick's Wynd within Edinburgh's urban 'Old Town'. It lies about 500m south-east of Edinburgh Castle and about 300m west of Holyrood Palace. Cowgate was a main medieval thoroughfare through Edinburgh and runs parallel to the Royal Mile within the historic walled city. Today, the site falls within the Edinburgh Old and New Town UNESCO World Heritage Site.

On 16th and 17th century maps of Edinburgh (Lee 1544; Braun and Hogenburg 1582; Janssonius 1657; Kirkwood 1817; Gordon 1647; Slezer 1693) this site is not specifically recorded. The 1st Edition Ordnance Survey Map of Edinburgh (1854) highlights the 'Palace of Archbishop Beaton' and reveals that this building was rectilinear in shape, the largest building on Cowgate. At this time, the building had no garden or attached outdoor space.

Edinburgh City is strategically located close to the Firth of Forth, about 4km south-west of the nearest shoreline at Leith, and about 42km west of the nearest North Sea shoreline at Dunbar. Edinburgh is a naturally defensible location, clustered on seven hills around the largest, Castle Rock. There are clear views to the sea from multiple vantage points both in and around the city.

Archaeological evidence

To date, no archaeological work has been conducted at the main site of the Bishop's house on Edinburgh Cowgate. This is likely due to the rapid development of the site in the 19th century, well before developer-funded archaeology was a planning requirement. However, in 2011 an archaeological investigation was conducted immediately east of the site of the bishop's house, in the grounds once owned by St Patrick's Church and now the site of a hotel. The project, led by Headland Archaeology, used a range of archaeological methods, including analysis of maps and historic documents, pottery and small finds, faunal remains, soil thin sections, plant macrofossils, pollen and insect remains. These results revealed that the site probably remained undeveloped until the 16th-17th centuries. In the 11th-14th centuries, the area was subject to extreme flooding episodes and the range of plant macrofossils suggests that there were pools of standing water through the 15th century. During the early-mid 15th century the site was probably used as a dump, with some level of ephemeral occupation in the late 15th century, evidenced by the digging of piles and a barrel-lined well. A large ditch was cut across the site in the mid-14th century which aligns with the boundary of the bishop's house, subsequently interpreted as the town ditch/boundary and thought to have been created as a response to external threats from plague and the Wars of Independence. The later infill of this ditch in the early 15th century, creation of a midden dumps in the mid-15th century, and the cutting of an overlying ditch in the late 15th century, yielded an extensive assemblage of artefacts and ecofacts which provide glimpses of daily life and industry on Cowgate throughout the 15th century. The site was wasteland throughout the 16th century and early 17th century.

Disposals of skinned horse carcasses, cattle-horn cores and fish remains in the ditch reveal the range of industries active in and near Cowgate in the 15th century, while the presence of dung in the ditches hints at animals kept close to the site, while pollen and insect remains reveal that rotting vegetables and human manure was also present. The discovery of beetles which live in heather reveal that it was brought into Edinburgh, probably for use as a roofing material. A goatskin shoe, pins and beads were also recovered.

Taken together, this excavation provides valuable insight into a space in close proximity to the bishops' house and exposes the busy and varied social scene on Cowgate.

Standing buildings

There are no standing buildings on the site.

Documentary evidence

Development pre-1450

The site was constructed in the early-16th century and was not owned by the Bishops of Glasgow or St Andrews at this period.

Development 1450-1660

The Bishop's House on Cowgate in Edinburgh is generally believed to have been built by Bishop James Beaton (1509 – 1522) while he was Bishop of Glasgow. This narrative is presented repeatedly (i.e. Jones et al 2011) and rooted in the original NMRS report (NT27SE 65 2606 7352) for the site. In research for this thesis, no corroborating evidence has been found which proves if this site was founded by Beaton during his Glasgow episcopate. However, Beaton's close involvement with the Scottish royal family throughout the 1520s and 30s (Cameron 2004) would have provided strong reasons for its construction.

Unlike English bishops who had owned property in London from the early Middle Ages, it was not customary for Scottish bishops to hold property in Edinburgh prior to this date The close proximity of the site to the royal palace at Holyrood together with Beaton's own political involvement were very possibly motivating factors behind its construction. Very little is known about the form and use of the house during this period (Cameron 2004). In 1522 James Beaton was transferred to the Archbishopric of St Andrews and in 1528 he entertained James V who lodged at the house (Thomas 2000: 138). Following James Beaton's death in 1539 (Thomas 2000: 138), the site passed to his successor and nephew, Cardinal Beaton. In 1544 Edinburgh was attacked by the English during the 'Rough Wooing'. Large parts of Edinburgh city were destroyed and burnt, including areas close to this site (Paul 1911). Seemingly the bishop's residence was relatively unscathed, however.

Very little is known about the complex after this point. Only fragmentary reports have been located which point to its later non-episcopal use. By 1555, the Bishop's House on Edinburgh Cowgate had become the temporary home of the new High School while a permanent building was constructed nearby (Coghill 2008: 28). This would suggest that the Bishop's House was under the control of Edinburgh city at this time.

Development post-1660

Very little is known about the site's later 16th/17th century life, but there is strong evidence to suggest that it remained a prestigious place to live. In *c.*1775-1800 a lorimer practiced from this site under the sign 'The Golden Cock' and in 1703 a boarding school was established on nearby Blackfriars Wynd (Coghill 2008).

By the 1860's the area was degraded, with the Bishop's House being used as slum housing. Newspaper reports from 1866 and 1867 refer directly to Cardinal Beaton's House:

'*We observed that the roof of the turret was giving way, while the walls were also getting into a ruinous state, the proprietor being unwilling, it seems, the expend money on repairing the property as he expects the building to be cleared away in the course of a year or two.*

The wine cellars of the palace are now used as dwelling-houses, and very dingy residence they are. It was in one of the transformed chapels, nearly half-way up the wynd, that the first cases of cholera in the parish broke out.

The rooms in this building are very badly constructed – the aim of the proprietor having evidently been to make a large number of apartments without regard to the comfort of the tenants. What appears to have been one of the lobbies of the chapel has been portioned off into small rooms, which are rented at 1s a week and upwards.'

This is the only known source which refers specifically to rooms inside the building, notably wine cellars and a chapel.

19th century photographs and paintings provide the best source for understanding the later external appearance of this site. Most of the views are from the western approach along Cowgate with the junction between Cowgate and Blackfriar's Wynd centrally. All the photographs focus on the protruding hexagonal corbelled bartizan/tourelle with a hexagonal candle-snuffer roof (Figure A20.1). This is probably the turret mentioned in 19th century newspaper reports (see above). It is not known if the bartizan is an original feature, but they are generally associated with elite styles of architecture that can be traced back to medieval French and Spanish fortifications (Pevsner 2016). Latterly, they became associated with the Scottish Baronial Style (from the 1560's) (McKean 1996), and were popularly incorporated into elite buildings in the early modern period.

Less clearly defined in the photographs, and altogether ignored in paintings, is a slightly curved portion of wall on the Cowgate façade. Flanked on either side by two sets of identical sash-windows, the windows on this feature are smaller and set a different height to the

others. The feature is topped with a different style of roof and/or a dormer window. Possibly, this feature was also a turret which has been obscured by later remodelling of the façade.

Overall, the front façade of the building shows significant sign of remodelling. The windows are predominantly large, rectangular sash windows which are common to late 18th/19th century buildings and these were probably later incisions. In 1867, the site was demolished as part of wider programmes of regeneration within Edinburgh city centre (RCAHMS 1951: 128).

Timeline of major building events

Date	Event
1509-1522	The Bishops Residence on Edinburgh Cowgate constructed
1528	James V lodged at this site.
1555	The site used as a High School
1775-1800	Lorimer was practicing from the site
1860	The site is referred to as being used as slum housing
1867	Site was demolished

Parks and outdoor spaces

The Bishop's House on Edinburgh Cowgate is not associated with any outdoor space.

Historic maps, illustrations, paintings, photographs and representations

Figure A13.1. Photograph of the Bishops of House on Edinburgh Cowgate by Archibald Burns, commissioned in 1871 by Edinburgh's City Improvement Trust. Scottish National Portrait Gallery. Acc no. PGP R 214. Reproduced in this thesis with permission by the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

APPENDIX 14

Glasgow Bishop's Palace

Overview

Glasgow Bishop's Palace was the principal residence of the (Arch)Bishops of Glasgow situated within the centre of Glasgow city adjacent to Glasgow Cathedral. Probably dating from the 12th century, this residence was demolished in 1759 having fallen into ruin. While the medieval origins of this site are obscure, the post-medieval life of this building is well-documented and has been extensively studied by Athol Murray (1995; 2003). Because of its extensive post-episcopal sequence of ownership, Glasgow Bishop's Palace has a sizeable documentary record to draw upon. Today, the site has been entirely redeveloped and the site is only understood through documentary sources and a single depiction.

Location and topography

This site is located within the medieval urban centre of Glasgow city, neighbouring Glasgow Cathedral on its southeast side. This site is about 1.5km from the River Clyde. The surrounding area would have been extensively urbanised, as is evidenced by the medieval street layout around this site. Roads including Wishart Street and Castle Street signal the ecclesiastical presence in this part of the city.

Archaeological evidence

The site was excavated was partially excavated in 1986-7 as part of a research project (Clarke and Thompson 1987). Major results from this excavation included the discovery of a corner tower and curtain wall stylistically dated to the early 16th century, and therefore consistent with James Beaton's known programme of work here. The tower, surviving to four courses and built of well-faced ashlar, was keyed together with the remains of the curtain wall found to extend south-west from it, suggesting that this programme of work was a single episode.

In addition, this excavation uncovered a substantial pottery assemblage consisting of mostly 19th century pottery and some fragments of high-quality post-medieval and 13th/14th century green glazed ware. These finds are entirely consistent with the known occupation of the site. Some additional faunal and artefact evidence was recovered and believed to date from its post-medieval/19th century use.

Standing buildings

There are no standing buildings associated with this site.

Documentary evidence

Documentary evidence for its pre-Reformation episcopal occupation is lacking and fragmentary. The bulk of evidence relating dates from its post-1560 non-episcopal ownership and occupation. Accounts relating to Lennox family and 17th century Privy Council expenditure have been the most useful sources for reconstructing the development of the site and its layout. It is very likely that there are medieval developmental phases relating to this building which have not been identified through documentary evidence or during archaeologically investigations of the site. One engraving of this site by John Slezer (1693) is the most reliable source for understanding the appearance of the site in the century before its total demolition.

Development pre-1450

Relatively little is known about the early development of Glasgow Bishops's Palace. Most early references to this site were compiled by Renwick and Lindsay (1921: 282) and Macgeorge (1880: 117) in their synthetic works on the development of Glasgow. Both attribute the earliest reference of Glasgow Bishop's House to a charter signed at the site in 1258. In 1290, Edward I garrisoned the site during the wider Wars of Independence campaigns (Watson 1991: 128). This broad date is corroborated by the discovery of 13th century pottery during excavations (Clarke and Thompson 1983). Glasgow Cathedral is believed to have been founded in the early-12th century (Driscoll 2002: 2), and it is very possible that the neighbouring bishop's house was founded at a similar date. The form and nature of the site during this period is unknown.

Bishop John Cameron (1426-1446) is responsible for the next significant development phase. Macgeorge (1880:117) and Renwick and Lindsay (1921) both cite Cameron as having constructed a five-storey tower at the site, though evidence for this has not been located in research for this thesis. It is probable that this tower is that featured repeatedly in illustrations and has become synonymous with it. Depicted a standing about five storeys tall with a decorated corbelled parapet and step roof, this tower is consistent with mid-15th century design.

In 1544 Bishop Gavin Dunbar (1523-1547) is credited with the insertion of a gatehouse (Macgeorge 1880), the surviving plaque featuring his coat-of-arms has been preserved. This gateway can be seen in the 1693 depiction of the site in the foreground with Cameron's

tower behind. This illustration reveals that the crenelated gateway was flanked by two round towers and linked to the surrounding curtain wall.

Development 1450-1660

In 1560 Archbishop Beaton fled to France and the site remained vacant until 1598. The occupation of this site at this time has been extensively recounted by Murray (1995; 2003), and is only briefly overviewed here. Once Beaton had departed, the regent Matthew Stewert (Earl of Lennox) appointed John Porterfield as Archbishop on the condition that the diocese be sold and retained by the Lennox family. The following decades saw considerable religious strife in the face of the Reformed Kirk and questions surrounding who should own episcopal and ecclesiastical temporalities; the Act of 1537 annexed all episcopal lands with the Crown. The question over Lennox's ownership was apparently nullified with an Act of Parliament granted to them in 1593 allowing them superiority over the archbishopric of Glasgow and St Andrews over temporalities. In 1598 however, Archbishop Beaton was restored and so began an arrangement of joint ownership and use by both the Lennoxs and archbishopric. In relation to this, a meeting and survey of site was conducted followed by repairs valued at £2287.3s.6d. Two accounts were produced: a smith's account and an account detailing expenditure at the castle (NAS GD 220/2004/3). Both have been transcribed as appendices to Murray's article (2003), and originals were consulted for this thesis.

These accounts are an invaluable source for understanding the site. Spaces mentioned include the kitchen, dungeon, yard, Mistress Margaret's chamber, Lord Elginstone's chamber, loft, stables and barn. Unfortunately, their layout cannot be reconstructed and many spaces which would have existed, such as the chapel, are not mentioned by name, probably because of their state of disrepair. Interestingly, references in the smith's account to the insertion of three new locks for the dungeon reveal that this space was still actively used and considered important enough to preserve. The results from these repairs must have been positive because the site was used to host James VI in 1602.

In 1641, episcopacy was abolished in Scotland and the lands seized and granted back to the Duchy of Lennox (Murray 2003; 1995). There is no clear evidence of how they treated these buildings at this time.

Development post-1660

After episcopacy was restored in Scotland in 1662, the Archbishops of Glasgow reacquired their residences and temporalities, but these were regrettably short-lived when in 1687 episcopacy was again abolished and the bishops deposed. The intervening years were turbulent, with the Bishop's Palace being besieged by Presbyterian rebels, though it is unclear what physical damage had been wrought to the site (Murray 1995). Following the abolition of episcopacy the Palace fell into Crown ownership. Changes made during this period reveal that the site was repeatedly subject to repair and update, with different tenants in this house throughout the period. The full programme of ownership is outlined in detail by Murray (1995) who drew attention to a range of Privy Council documentation which survived the fire which decimated much of the 17th century royal diplomatic material in 1811 (see Chapter 1). These documents, which largely consist of appeals made to the council and Exchequer for money to repair the site, followed by reviews of the spending, shed light on the levels of dilapidation which had occurred during periods of vacancy, and also provide valuable insights into rooms and spaces recorded inside.

In 1693, an estimate of repairs (reproduced in Murray 1995:1157 Appendix 2.1) mentions the need for '*upbuilding a long necked chimnyhead for the great Chamber above the Hall which if it fall will goe quite throu the roof of the new roumes beneth', 'rain coming in there has quite spoyld the walls and plaster of the bed chamber above the gate' 'the Heigh Hall', 'fogging the neu dyning roume quich joyns the toure above the Gate to the Great tower', 'lyme to cast and point the breu hous and bakehouse walls', 'timber to secur the Chapell windors', 'tuo windors in the Great bed-Chamber and 6 widors in the 3 Jamb-Chambers', 'the Great Blisterd stair that goes form the Court to great hall'.* Together, these references shed light on the range of rooms present at this site. They demonstrate that, like other bishop's houses, this site was complete with all range of rooms associated with larger estates, including brewhouses and bakehouses.

By 1736, Correspondence with the Exchequer Commisioner revealed that the gateway, '*the whole part of the castell as we enter the port'* had collapsed (Murray 1995: 1159 Appendix 2.4). It is clear, however, that despite the poor condition of the building, it was still lived in at this time. In a petition for lease (Murray 1995: 1160 Appendix 5), a plea is made to the occupant for the removal of a projecting tower over the street for fear that it might fall and hurt people. By 1792 the site had been entirely demolished (Murray 1995: 1153).

Timeline of major building events

Date	Event
1258	First reference to this site.
1426-1446	Bishop Cameron enlarges the site
1544	Gatehouse added by Bishop Dunbar
1560	Archbishop Beaton flees to France, abandoning his residences. Residence sold to the Duchy of Lennox
1587	Act of 1587 annexes episcopal residences to the Crown; Walter Stewart acquired lands previously owned by the bishopric
1594	Ludovick Stuart acquires lordship of Glasgow
1598	Episcopal estates restored to Beaton, revenues split between Beaton and Stuart. Meeting held at site to assess state of property and rents
1599-1600	Repairs conducted at site and recorded in account to the value of £2287.3s.6d
1602	James VI lodged at Glasgow Bishop's Palace
1616	Duchess of Lennox leaves Glasgow Bishop's Palace and leaves all furniture within
1641	Charles I grants ownership of all lands previously owned by the Archbishops of Glasgow to the Duke of Lennox
1662	Episcopacy restored in Scotland
1674-5	Unspecified repairs made to site
1679	Site damaged during Western Rebellion
1680-1683	Archbishop Ross granted £300 (£3600 scots) to repair Glasgow Bishop's Palace. By £3933 scots had been spent. Report to Privy Council recorded that Old Tower and barmekin were dilapidated
1683	An additional £150 (£1800 scots) was granted by the Privy Council
1689	Site abandoned with abolition of episcopacy
1693	Site affected by vandalism
1696	Lord Cathcart occupied Glasgow Bishop's Palace
1715	Reports that the site had been ruined and was being robbed for resources by local people
1728-44	Site continues to be partially occupied and in poor condition. Parts of the site are systematically removed
1790	Remaining building remains entirely removed. Site redeveloped

Parks and outdoor spaces

This site is not associated with a park or outdoor space.

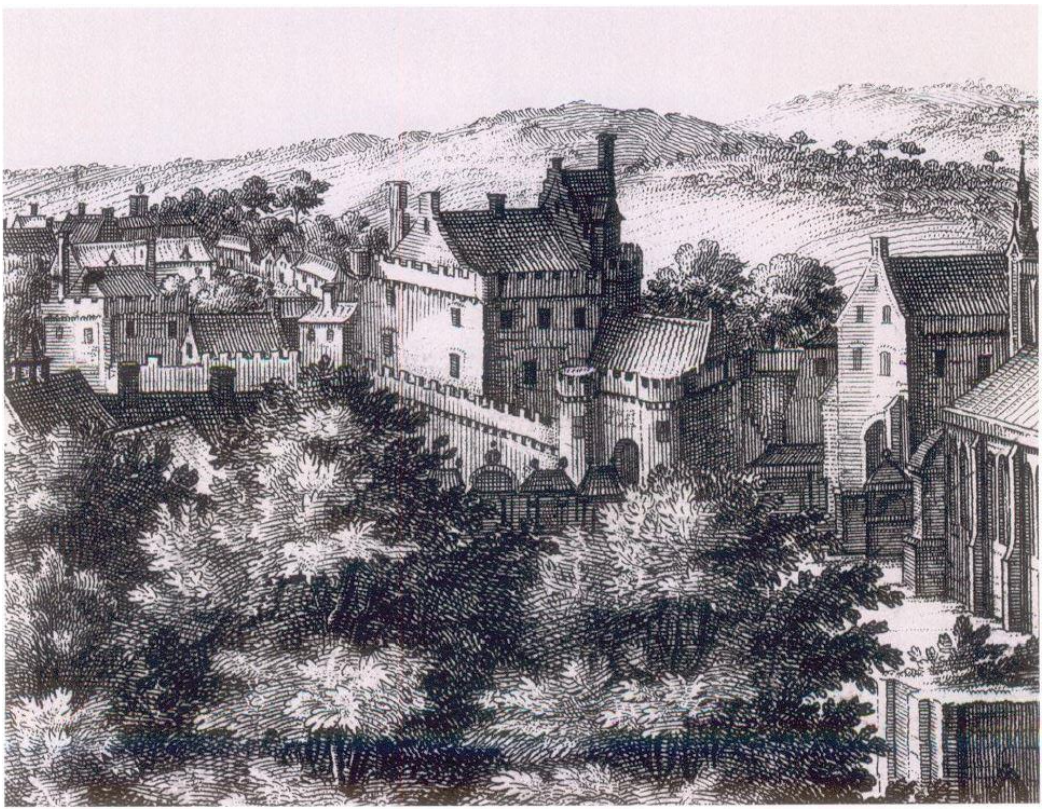


Figure A14.8. Slezer's depiction of Glasgow Bishop's House produced in Theorum Scotiae, *1693. National Library of Scotland*

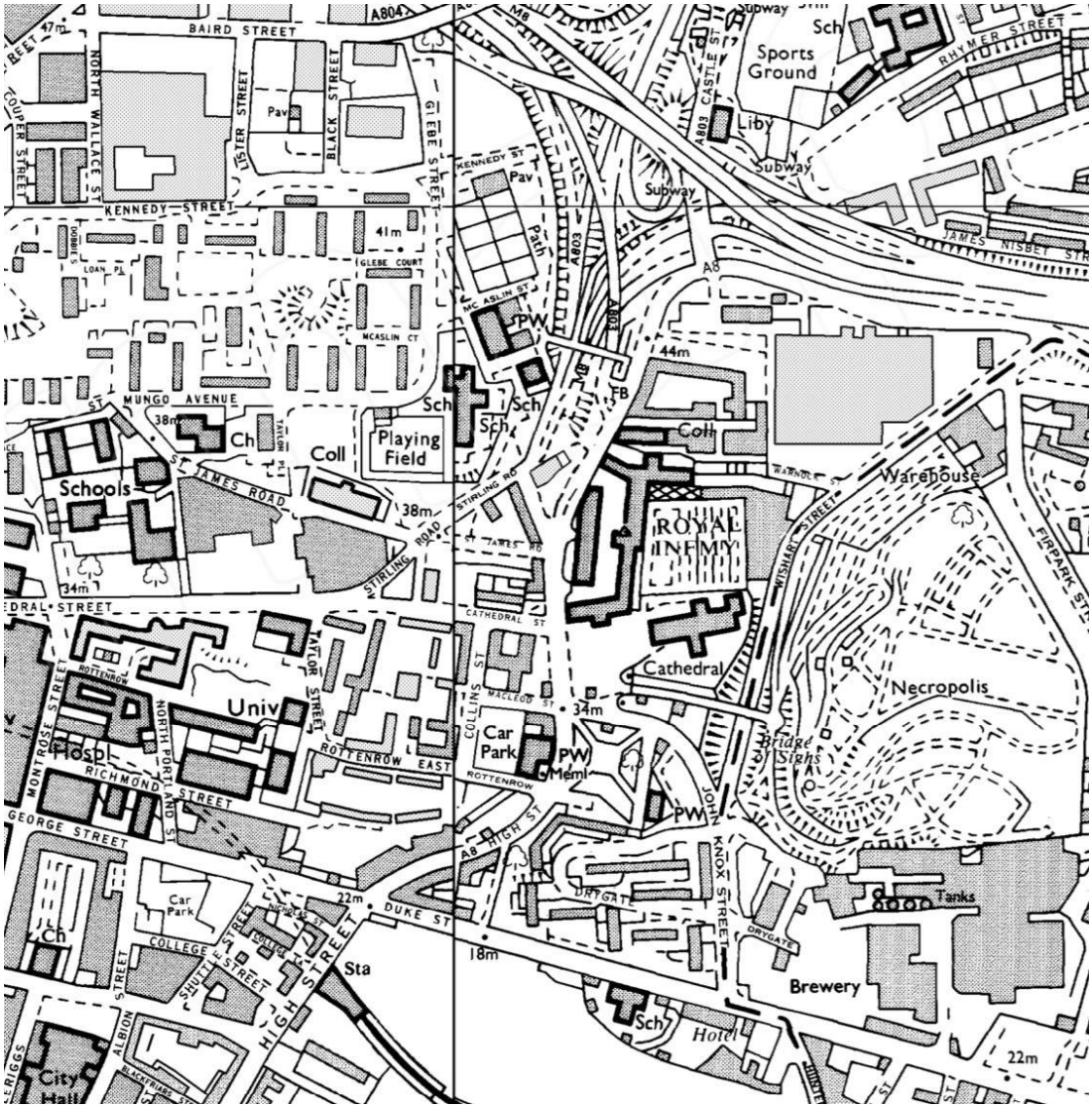


Figure A14.2. 1990 OS map of Glasgow. Royal Infirmary is built on site of Bishop's House. Note its proximity to Glasgow Cathedral