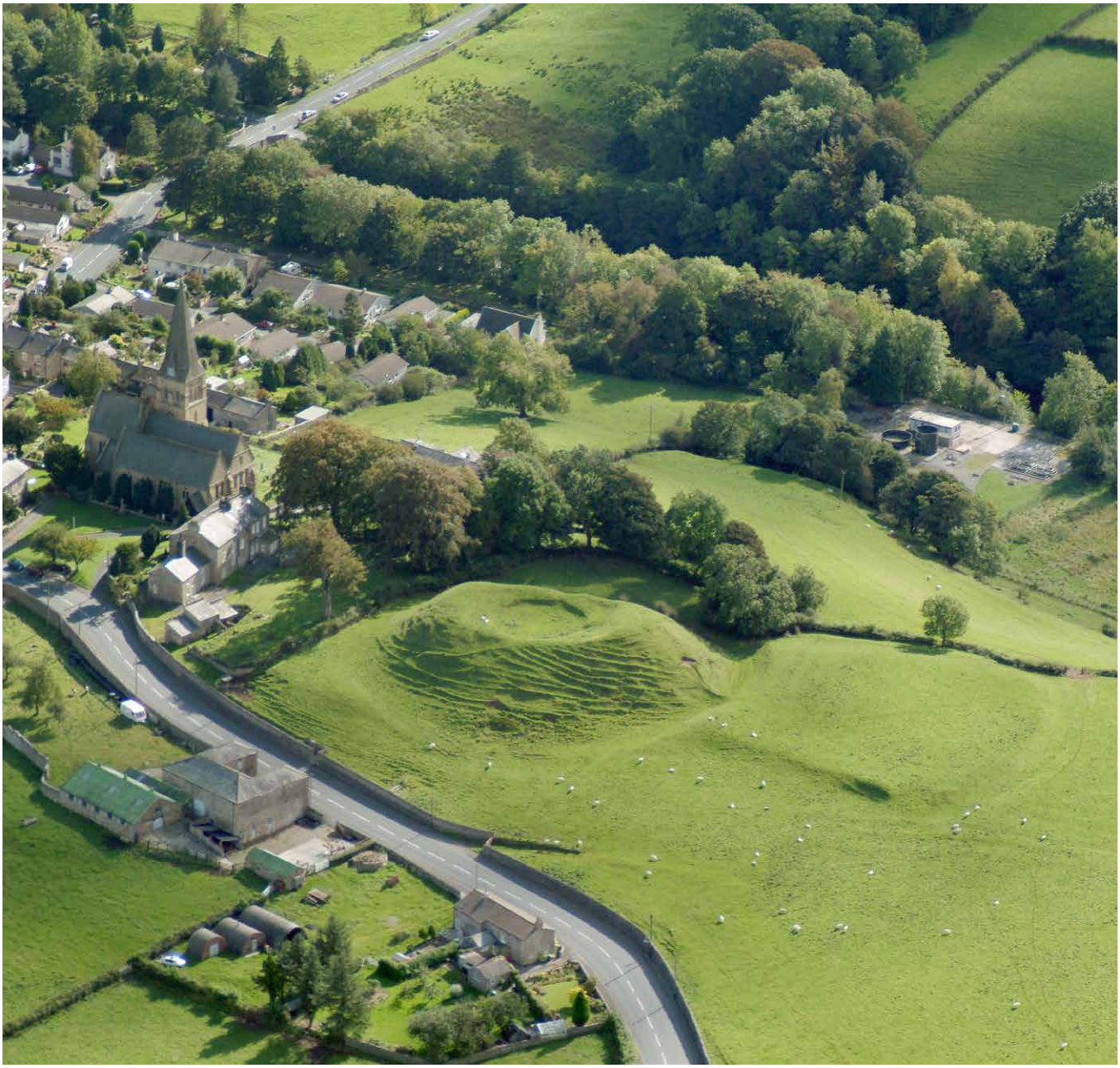
Historic England

Pre-1500 Military Sites

Scheduling Selection Guide



Summary

Historic England's scheduling selection guides help to define which archaeological sites are likely to meet the relevant tests for national designation and be included on the National Heritage List for England. For archaeological sites and monuments, they are divided into categories ranging from Agriculture to Utilities and complement the listing selection guides for buildings. Scheduling is applied only to sites of national importance, and even then only if it is the best means of protection. Only deliberately created structures, features and remains can be scheduled. The scheduling selection guides are supplemented by the Introductions to Heritage Assets which provide more detailed considerations of specific archaeological sites and monuments.

This selection guide offers an overview of archaeological monuments or sites designed to have a military function and likely to be deemed to have national importance, and sets out criteria to establish for which of those scheduling may be appropriate. The guide aims to do two things: to set these sites within their historical context, and to give an introduction to some of the overarching and more specific designation considerations.

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Front cover
The castle at Burton-in-Lonsdale, North Yorkshire was built around 1100 as a ringwork; later it was reconstructed as a motte with two baileys.

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Introduction

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Because of the sheer range and number of military sites and structures, from prehistory to the present day, two selection guides have been prepared: this one, covering the period before 1500, and a second (Military Sites Post-1500) treating the period up to the end of the twentieth century. There will inevitably be some sites, particularly those which have several phases of development, where both guides will be relevant. In addition, there are many types of sites which incorporate defences of varying strength but which primarily fulfil other functions, whether domestic, judicial, political or even symbolic and religious. Here, where the defensive aspects are subsidiary, the reader will be directed to the appropriate selection guide. Further factual detail on individual site types may also be found in Historic England's Introduction to Heritage Assets series; again, relevant examples are flagged below.

This guide deals with material ranging in date from the Neolithic period to the end of the Middle Ages. For the sake of simplicity, the term 'historic' is used here to refer to the entire period without drawing a distinction between prehistory and later periods.

1 Historical Summary

Military sites reflect a particular aspect of human activity, regrettable and yet almost universal, which forms some of our most important historic places. In Britain they are encountered within almost all periods from the Neolithic onwards, although exceptionally large parts of the Bronze Age (2200-800 BC) are almost devoid of defensive sites, notwithstanding the apparent prevalence of warfare in the Bronze Age attested by numerous finds of weapons and armour. At some periods the form and density of military sites demonstrate the inclusion of these islands in larger European entities (Roman forts, for instance), while at other times they emphasise the particular complexities of internal conflict in Britain.

Especially in prehistory it is difficult to distinguish defence from other activities, and it is important to remember that all the site types discussed probably had other purposes alongside any defensive ones. The further back in time one looks, the harder it is to identify specifically defensive sites. Arguably, the term 'military' has no place in prehistoric studies, with its meaning of organised armed forces constituting a distinct element of society. Only with the Roman invasion can truly military sites be easily distinguished.

The nature of defensive works in the fifth to eighth centuries AD is poorly understood, and it may be that although the elite, at least, adopted elements of an heroic warrior culture, fixed fortifications had an uncertain part in that culture. Only with the establishment of the ninth-century Alfredian *burhs* did major purpose-built military bases re-appear as part of a network of strongholds built to withstand the Danes in southern England, and more remains to be discovered about Anglo-Saxon fortifications. Castles, as we understand them today, were introduced by the Normans in the mid-eleventh century, and although from the fourteenth century, at the latest, their residential functions began to dominate the military ones, they remained the principal strongholds of the realm until the arrival of the artillery blockhouse in the sixteenth century.

1.1 Prehistoric

Although skeletons found in chambered tombs and elsewhere exhibit what are clearly the result of violence, defensive features of Neolithic (4000 – 2200 BC) and Bronze Age (2200-800 BC) date are not common. Whether the causewayed enclosures (see Causewayed Enclosures IHA) of the mid-fourth millennium BC were intended as defensive monuments is open to question but certainly at least three of them (Carn Brea, Cornwall; Crickley Hill, Gloucestershire; and Hambledon Hill, Dorset) were attacked and defended. Yet many other causewayed enclosures are in low-lying positions that do not suggest a defensive purpose.

Through the later Neolithic period and most of the Bronze Age few defensive structures are known, although the prevalence of organised violence by the late Bronze Age is suggested by finds of large numbers of daggers and swords, and of personal defensive armour. Those sites which have been identified are generally defended settlements of varying types. For example, the Rams Hill-style enclosures (named after the site-type in Oxfordshire) – oval enclosures defended by bank and ditch – are a very rare phenomenon. Their dating is imprecise but may cover most of the Bronze Age, and they are perhaps best seen as a

subset of the hilltop enclosures discussed below. Other, more common, Bronze Age enclosures tended to be small and slight, at the 'farmstead' scale, and cannot be considered as major fortifications.

Towards the end of the Bronze Age the appearance of new monument types suggests social changes were afoot. Large tracts of land were divided up by linear earthworks – a good example is that on Chapperton Down, Wiltshire – thought to be tribal, social or political boundaries rather than defensive works (see Prehistoric Linear Boundary Earthworks IHA). Some palisaded enclosures date from this period, and eastern England saw the construction of a small number of perfectly circular Springfield-style enclosures – small enclosures but with massively constructed earthworks – for instance, Thwing (East Yorkshire) and Springfield Lyons (Essex, from which the category takes its name). While some have argued for a defensive function, more generally these are now seen as elite residences, the earthworks of which were principally for display.

The construction of 'hilltop enclosures' (for instance, Balksbury, Hampshire; Harting Beacon, West Sussex; Norbury, Gloucestershire) was more widespread. These are extensive areas of high ground surrounded by relatively slight banks and ditches or, in some areas, timber palisades without earthworks. These are not heavily defended sites but the enclosure of space with physical barriers may be taken to imply that some degree of defence was envisaged by the builders. Beyond that, the function of these sites is not clear; they do not appear to be settlements in the ordinary sense but may be the sites of fairs, markets or other social gatherings. It must be stressed, however, that very similar enclosures were being constructed at the same time in lowland locations that are not defensive; it may be that it is their hilltop locations which endow them with their particularly defensive character.

Hillforts

About 800 BC, during the transitional period between the Bronze Age and the Iron Age (800 BC-43 AD), many 'univallate' hillforts (that is, with single lines of substantial ramparts and ditches) were built, seemingly dominating distinct territories (see Hillforts IHA). Some sites occupied already-established hilltop enclosures, but the early Iron Age saw the main flourishing of these sites, which constitute some of the most distinctive and memorable of all prehistoric monuments.

The term 'hillfort' covers a wide variety of structures, but they have in common the enclosure of a large (or sometimes very large – up to 10 ha) area of hilltop, hill-slope or spur by massive ramparts and ditches, though sometimes the enclosing earthworks are decidedly more modest. The stimulus for the building of these sites is unknown, but it fits within a picture of social and political stress that is evident in much of the archaeological record of the transition to the Iron Age. Much has been written recently (as with medieval castles) about the probably multitudinous functions of these sites, but the building of such massive timber, stone and earthwork ramparts does imply that a defensive imperative was one of the prime movers of this development. The warfare to which hillforts were (in part) a response was probably one of relatively small-scale raiding and pillaging. Hillforts are found extensively in southern England, along the Welsh Marches, and in Northumberland; they are absent or relatively sparse in much of eastern England, the Pennines and north-western England.

Typically each hillfort occupies a position on the edge of high ground, overlooking the plain or vale below. Hillforts on spurs are called 'promontory forts' or, in coastal locations, 'cliff castles'; the latter are numerous in the south-west. While the shape of each hillfort conforms more-or-less to the local topography, the defensive capability of many has been called into question. Most have one or two entrances; one almost invariably faces east, and where there is a second it faces west. This uniformity of orientation, which certainly holds true for much of southern Britain, cannot be based upon a defensive principle and it must be assumed that a symbolic, perhaps cosmological,

aspect of Iron Age belief systems was being incorporated in defensive considerations. Some hillforts, but by no means all, have evidence of occupation in their interiors.

Around 400 BC further major changes occurred in Iron Age settlement patterns and material culture. At the same time many hillforts were abandoned. Those that remained in use were enlarged and elaborated; additional lines of ramparts (sometimes with substantial timber revetments) and ditches were built ('multivallation') and entrances were given outworks which may have increased their defensive capability as well as emphasising a symbolic distinction between the hillfort interior and the outside world (Fig 1). Hillforts treated in this fashion (for instance, Danebury, Hampshire) are known as 'developed' hillforts. As before, there is considerable variation in size. It has been argued, initially by Sir Mortimer Wheeler who excavated the Maiden Castle hillfort in Dorset, that the multivallation of hillfort defences was a direct response to the development of sling warfare, the increased depth of the defences keeping slingers at a distance from the defenders, and well down-slope of them. However, not all authorities have found this theory convincing – depth of defence could have been achieved by less arduous means – arguing instead that the excessive amount of labour involved in multivallation is evidence of a degree of very visible social control (although it is not clear whether the labour for the construction and maintenance of the ramparts was raised from willing volunteers or by conscription or slavery).

Developed hillforts typically contain abundant evidence of a dense population and occupation lasting over several generations – round houses, storage pits and 'four-posters' (structures raised on four (though occasionally more) massive posts, probably for above-ground agricultural storage) predominating in the archaeological record. Whether they were permanently or just seasonally

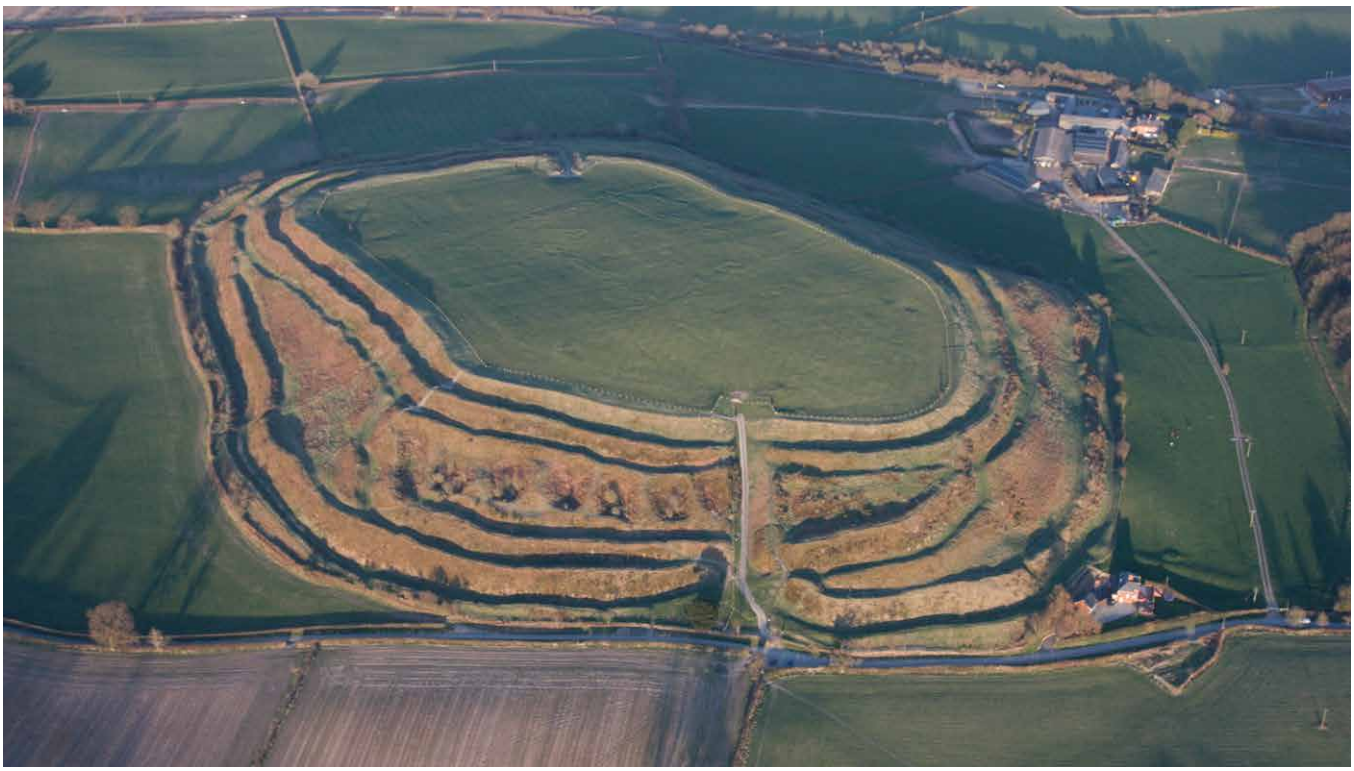


Figure 1
Old Oswestry, Shropshire, a multivallate Iron Age hillfort. The function of the pen-like depressions which straddle the entrance mid-way up the defences remains a mystery. First World War practice trenches have been identified in the hillfort's interior.

occupied is one of many unanswered questions which remain about them, although in Hampshire, settlements around the massive Danebury hillfort were abandoned for a time in the later Iron Age which strongly suggests that, at least sometimes, it had a permanent population.

There have been assumptions that hillforts were at the top of a hierarchy of settlements, with enclosed farmsteads and open settlements both literally and figuratively below them. However, hillforts do not show differentiation in their enclosed structures – house sizes and details are relatively uniform with no obvious chiefs' houses – and finds are certainly no richer than those recovered from farmsteads. They may therefore constitute places of refuge for those otherwise occupying lower sites, rather than being higher status places of residence. The assumption that hillforts lay at the centres of territories is also open to question, as there is reason to believe that many stood on or close to political boundaries, just as they were sited on the edges of higher ground; certainly the earliest hillforts were frequently built over the later Bronze Age linear ditches which are assumed to mark boundaries.

1.2 Later Iron Age

About 100 BC there were further major upheavals, possibly driven in part by the expansion of the Roman republic, marked archaeologically by the appearance of coinage, the development of new extensive settlement sites in the lowlands – the so-called 'oppida' (see Oppida IHA) and the related multiple ditch systems of Wessex – and the abandonment of hillforts.

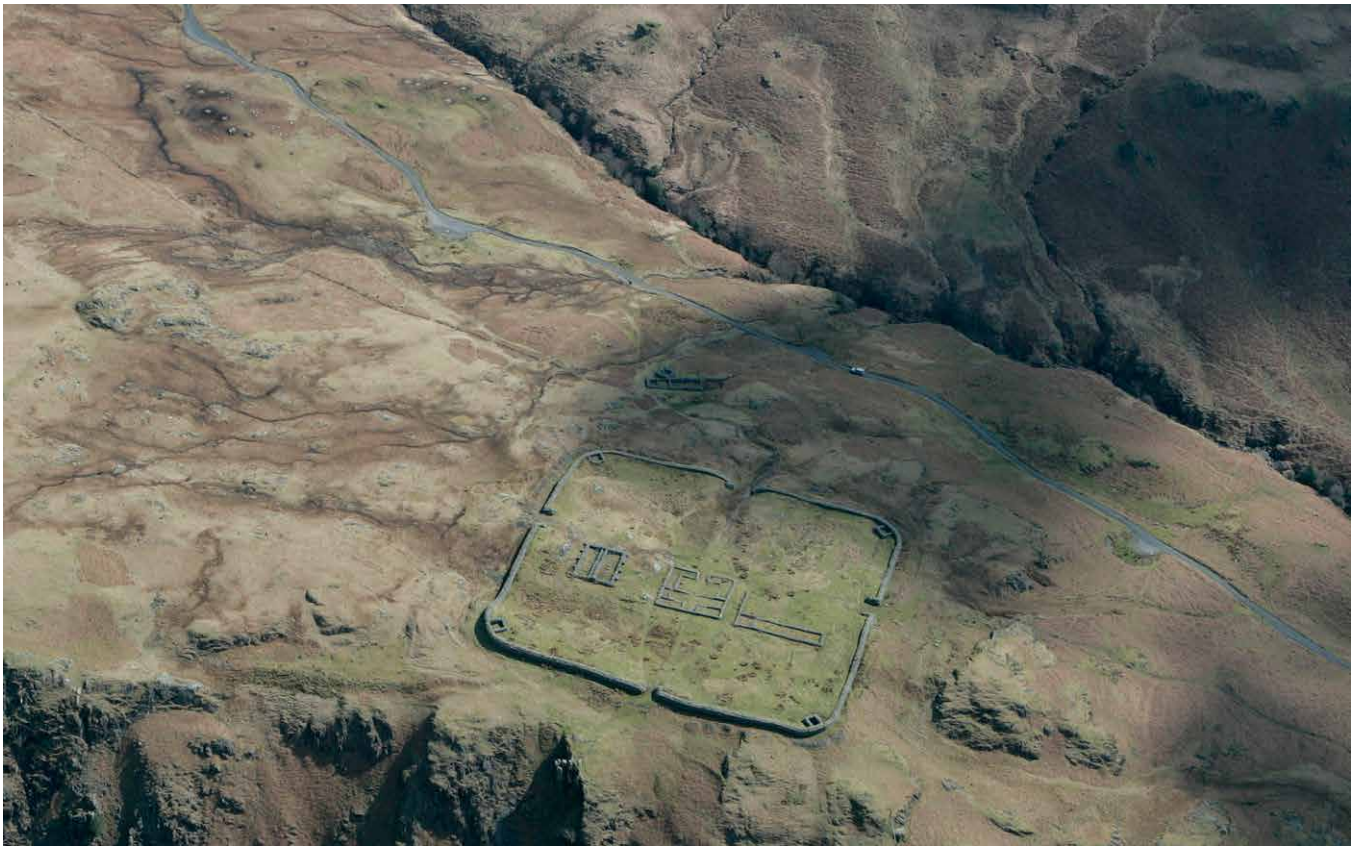
The late Iron Age was another period that lacked distinctive defensive sites, with the exception of small regional groups of heavily enclosed sites: rectangular ones (known as Wooton Hill-style enclosures) centred on Northamptonshire; circular ones (including the Cornish rounds such as the excavated example at Trethurgy) in the south-west; and the multiple enclosure forts (for instance, Milber Down, Devon) also found mainly in the south-west. Although there is some evidence (for instance, at Maiden Castle and Hod Hill, both in Dorset) that some hillforts were defended against the Roman invaders in AD 43, this would have been a desperate re-use of a type of defensive structure that had been obsolete for three generations and that – it is argued by modern scholars – had not been designed for resistance to disciplined armies with new assault techniques.

1.3 Roman

The initial Roman military expeditions to Britain under Julius Caesar in 55 and 54 BC have not to date yielded any certain physical remains, but the existence of at least temporary camps might be anticipated from this preliminary assault. The Roman invasion of AD 43 and the subsequent conquest of the area now covered by England, Wales and southern Scotland has left a rich legacy of Roman military installations (see Roman Forts and Fortresses IHA).

At the top of the scale are the massive legionary fortresses (for instance, York), substantial vexillation fortresses (large Roman forts of between 6.4 ha and 12.0 ha which were occupied on a temporary basis by campaigning forces of between 2,500 and 4,000 troops, for instance, Longthorpe, Cambridgeshire), forts (for instance, Bowes, Co Durham; Hardknott Fort, Cumbria: Fig 2) and fortlets (typically under 0.2 ha – for instance, Haltwhistle Burn, Northumberland), along with all of the structures associated with the curtain frontier works of Hadrian's Wall (Cumbria and Northumberland), including forts, milecastles and turrets, wall ditch, wall, *vallum* and Military Way (see below).

These were supported by chains of signal stations and other smaller installations including Roper Castle (Cumbria), Filey, Scarborough, Ravenscar (not scheduled) and Goldsborough (all North Yorkshire). Less permanent works (many of them, nevertheless, still visible in the landscape today) were temporary camps (for instance, Malham, North Yorkshire; Troutbeck, Cumbria; Rey Cross, Co Durham).



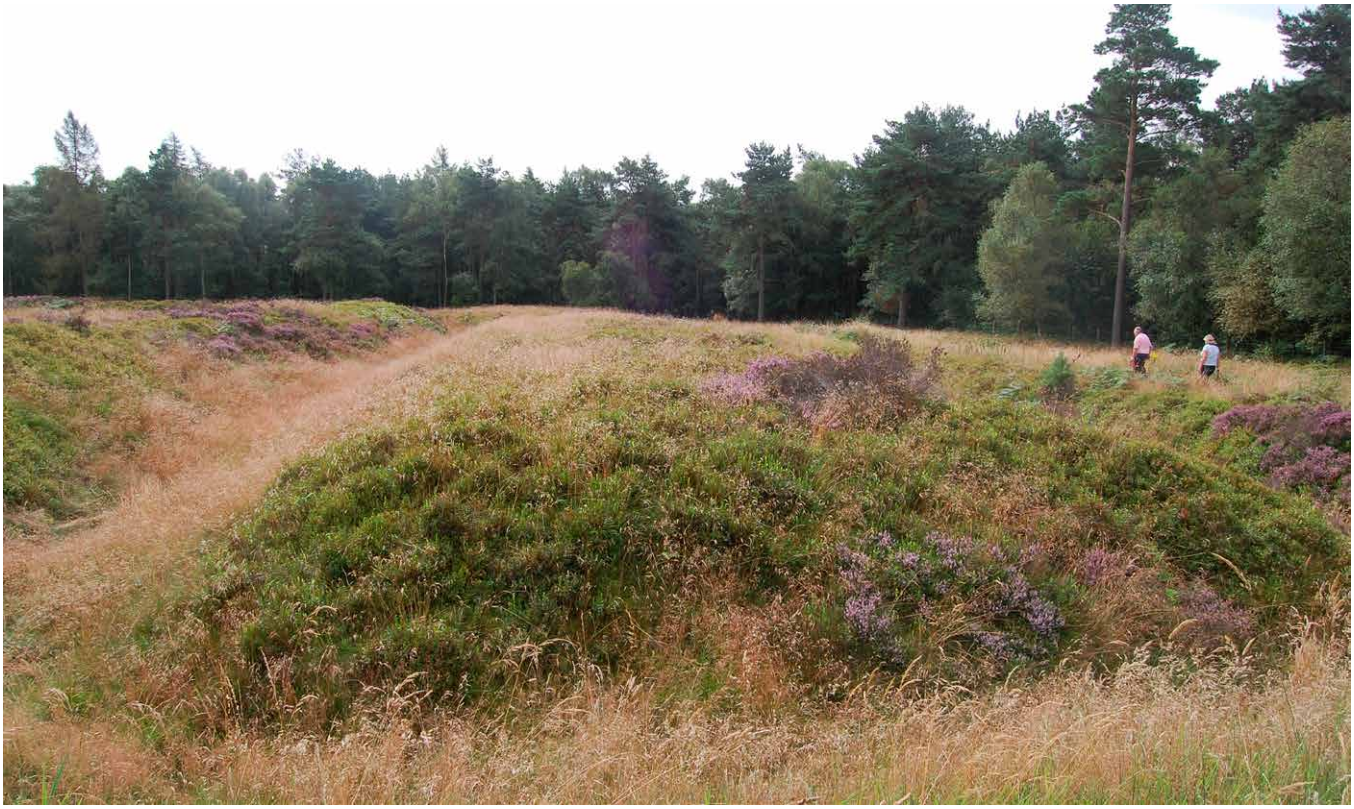


Figure 2 (top)
Hardknott Fort, Cumbria was constructed early in the second century AD to control Hard Knott Pass, which connects Eskdale with central Lakeland, and the road to Ravenglass.

Figure 3 (bottom)
Cawthorn Camps, North Yorkshire is a Roman military complex of the late first to early second century AD interpreted as a temporary camp and two fortresses. A coniferous plantation blocks the long views outward, concealing the site's strategic location.

The forts also attracted civilian settlements just outside, the *vicus* (plural *vici*) (for instance, *Vindolanda*, Northumberland) which, although not strictly defensive, are closely associated with their military parent sites. Remarkable agglomerations of Roman military sites, variously involving combinations of camps and forts or fortlets, survive at, for instance, Chew Green (Northumberland) and Cawthorn (North Yorkshire; Fig 3).These sites tend to cluster in the 'military zone' of the north and west. Southern Roman forts, such as the site of Richborough (Kent), were constructed to safeguard important naval links with the Continent.

Early forts were built of earth and timber, with substantial banks and ditches that can survive as visible earthworks; the camps were similarly constructed but on a relatively slight scale. From the second century forts, including those on Hadrian's Wall and the Saxon Shore (see below), were stone-built and in some cases there is considerable survival of the masonry elements (for instance, Housesteads, Northumberland; Burgh Castle, Norfolk). This includes, in the case of several Hadrian's Wall forts, internal buildings such as barracks, storehouses, headquarters, commanders' houses and latrines, generally laid out to a standard pattern. External bath houses (for which see the Culture, Entertainment and Sport scheduling selection guide) are sometimes also preserved, particularly well at Chesters (Northumberland); these may account for the aqueducts which brought water supplies from the north (supposedly hostile) side of the Wall, as at Great Chesters (also in Northumberland).

Hadrian's Wall

Construction of Hadrian's Wall began in AD 122. Extending from Bowness-on-Solway (Cumbria) in the west to Wallsend (Tyne and Wear) on the River Tyne, the way consists of a number of inter-linked linear elements with attached strong points. The whole complex has been inscribed as part of the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site, along with other linear defensive works in Germany, Hungary and elsewhere.

From north to south the linear elements are: the ditch (massive and V-shaped though not complete all along the line); the Wall itself, built of stone for most of its length although initially built in turf for substantial stretches in Cumbria (the stone part surviving well, though heavily reconstructed, for many miles); the Military Way, a road connecting the various installations along the line and surviving visibly for long stretches; and the *vallum*, an enigmatic and unique earthwork construction, consisting of two banks with a large U-shaped medial ditch with frequent causeways, presumably demarcating the military zone (extending up to approximately 700 m from the Wall) although its curious form is unexplained.

The strong points consist of the forts (which were a late addition to the scheme, the initial design relying on forts, like *Vindolanda* behind the wall line), a milecastle every mile and two turrets, evenly spaced, to every mile. It has been assumed that this scheme was rigidly adhered to regardless of terrain and indeed this seems to be the case in many instances. However, recent discoveries such as the Peel Gap Tower – effectively a third turret in wall mile 39 covering the 'dead ground' in the bottom of this deep, narrow defile – show that pragmatic departures from standard practice were possible. The forts, although built within a relatively restricted period and adhering to the standard rectangular plan and layout of Roman forts, also show considerable variety in size and proportions. A screen of forts, without the associated linear features, extends along the Cumbria coast to Moresby, thereby protecting the western flank of the Wall. Collectively, its linear form and associated components amount to one of Britain's outstanding archaeological ensembles.

Saxon Shore Forts and Signal Stations

The changing fortunes of empire, and especially the threat posed by seaborne Saxon raiders, necessitated the defence of the southern and eastern coasts of England from the mid-third century. Eleven so-called Saxon Shore forts (see Saxon Shore Forts IHA) were built as a direct response, including Portchester, (Hampshire), Lympne (Kent) and Brancaster (Norfolk). Other developments include the late fourth-century

signal stations known on the Yorkshire coast, and the possible inland equivalents of the Saxon Shore forts (for instance, Caistor, Lincolnshire). Collectively, this network is of huge significance as the earliest known planned defensive system around this country's coastline.

Town defences

Few first-century Roman towns were defended; some, the *colonia* such as Lincoln and Gloucester founded at former legionary fortresses, utilised their defences and some early *civitas* capitals *Verulamium,* (*St Albans,* Hertfordshire), *Venta Belgarum,* (Winchester, Hampshire) and possibly *Noviomagnus Reginorum* (Chichester, West Sussex) may have had earthwork defences in the first century. By the end of the second century many British towns had earthwork defences, including some small towns such as Catterick (North Yorkshire).

The adoption of stone defences began around the beginning of the third century at London and several other major towns; most such places had stone walls by around AD 270. Modifications to defences, notably the provision of bastions, were made probably from the late third century (for instance, *Verulamium*, and Caistor St Edmund, Norfolk), but later at other sites, such as Ancaster (Lincolnshire) where they are fourth-century. Rather than to mount artillery – arrow- and stone-firing catapults – which would have required specialist troops to operate the machines, the bastions were probably intended to provide enfilading fire along the wall faces using conventional weapons. The survival and re-use of Roman town walls in Saxon and medieval fortifications is a testament to their enduring construction and effectiveness. Particularly good upstanding sections of masonry defences can be found at Silchester (Hampshire), *Verulamium* and Caistor St Edmund.

Domestic security

Whether villas were defended remains uncertain. Enclosing earthworks are known in some cases, but these may generally have been more of a statement than an effective defence. However, there are sites such as Castle Dikes, North Stainley (North Yorkshire) where the upstanding earthwork 'defences' were clearly impressive with ditches claimed by nineteenth-century excavators to be 3 m deep.

1.4 Anglo-Saxon and Viking

Despite the advances brought by archaeology since the Second World War, our knowledge of the fifth to eighth centuries, and of the apparently mobile form of warfare mentioned in chronicles and the few other written sources, remains limited. The demise of the Roman Empire in Britain (conventionally dated to AD 410) brought about enormous changes and a fragmentation of power across England. A number of Iron Age hillforts, particularly in the south-west, were re-fortified in the early post-Roman period. The most famous is South Cadbury (Somerset) where extensive excavations clearly demonstrated post-Roman occupation. This adaptation of existing features for defence has also been found at the Roman legionary amphitheatre in Chester, but in both cases traces are comparatively slight and more examples probably await discovery.

The post-Roman period also saw the raising of earthwork frontiers (see Linear Frontiers IHA) such as Wansdyke (Wiltshire) and Combs Ditch (Dorset); massive though these can be, they are probably better regarded as political boundary markers, rather than as defensive works.

On the whole, the emergent Anglo-Saxon trading places and towns seem to have been open and undefended, at least until the ninth century. Viking raids in 842 and 851 may have been the prompt for a defensive ditch around London. The Vikings themselves built defended camps, often as at Repton (Derbyshire; not scheduled) in 873/874 alongside rivers to protect ships, or making use of pre-existing defences like Exeter's Roman walls. Later they made banks and ditches around some of their towns (or made use of Roman walls) including the principal Five Boroughs (Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford).

The reign of Alfred the Great (871-889) saw an English counter-offensive, and the construction of a network of *burhs*, mostly in Wessex, whose primary function may have been to serve as defended centres where refugees from Scandinavian attack could find protection. Thirty-three of these, some prehistoric or Roman defended sites but others new-built, are named in the probably late ninth-century Burghal Hidage, a document listing *burhs* and the taxation arrangements for their upkeep. As England was reconquered by the Anglo-Saxons more *burhs* were built in midland and northern England, and they perhaps served equally as much as army bases as centres of civilian protection. A few *burhs* such as Wareham (Dorset) and Wallingford (Oxfordshire; Fig 4) retain very well-preserved earthwork defences, and some, like Hereford, with permanent populations, later had their earthwork defences reinforced with stone walls; these form some of the most imposing remains of pre-Norman England. More *burhs* (like South Cadbury, which was again refortified) and Viking camps date from the period of renewed Scandinavian attacks on England after 980.

Both historical and archaeological evidence show increasing numbers of manorial complexes laid out from the early tenth century, as an emerging aristocracy (the thegns) received land grants in return for service to the Crown. Some of these complexes were set apart by banks, ditches, palisades and gates, and sometimes possessed wooden towers: Sulgrave (Northamptonshire), the re-used Roman fort at Portchester (Hampshire) and Bishopstone (East Sussex) are well-known examples. Such 'thegnly residences' are similar in conception to some of the earliest post-Conquest castles; at some sites, like that known as Goltho (Lincolnshire; levelled and not scheduled), one evolved into (or was replaced by) the other.

Figure 4
The substantial defences around the Anglo-Saxon *burh* at Wallingford, Oxfordshire partly survive. Seen here, in the Bullcroft area on the northern side of the town, is the external ditch. The burh interior is to the left.

1.5 The Middle Ages

The eleventh to the sixteenth centuries were characterised by a deeply engrained social hierarchy. The uppermost social levels (knights, various degrees of aristocrats and the monarchy) were described in a much-repeated text as 'those who fight': martial prowess and the visual expression of authority were important elements of feudalism. This martial component of high social rank was exemplified in no small part by an essentially new type of site, the castle, and it is largely with these that any treatment of medieval fortification must be concerned.

However, a second and related class of monument, increasingly studied in recent years, is urban defences: systems of banks, ditches, palisades, walls and gatehouses: these increasingly became important elements in the topography of major towns from the thirteenth century onwards. Nor should it be forgotten that many private residences, both in country and town, were defended, if only against theft and roguery. Impressions of power had a symbolic and social function, as well as a practical defensive one, which further explains the high numbers of fortified sites from this period.

Definitions of castles are notoriously contentious, and their traditional classification as 'military' structures lies at the crux of the problem. The broadest general definition is that almost all medieval castles were the residences of seigneurial families and their households, and that all castles incorporated physical features expressive of the idea of defence. Such vagueness in definition is unavoidable, because particularly from the late fourteenth century onwards there exist many sites whose design, it is argued, would have been ineffective against serious assault, and whose possession of arrow-loops or gun-ports, drawbridges, portcullises, crenellations and moats, was more plausibly for visual effect than practical use.

It is probably fair to say that most castles at all periods involved an element of architectural display; were often sited for dramatic as well as strategic effect; and often comprised but a part of a wider landscape of power and display alongside religious establishments, buildings for administration, and designed landscapes including deer parks. The Yorkist complex at Fotheringhay (Northamptonshire; Fig 5) is a good example of such juxtapositioning. While modern castle studies have typically assessed the worth of a castle according to the strength of its defences, or the care with which arrow loops were laid out, medieval commentators do not seem to have discriminated between castles which were 'strong' and those which were 'beautiful', pointing up the dual function of most as stronghold and lordly residence.

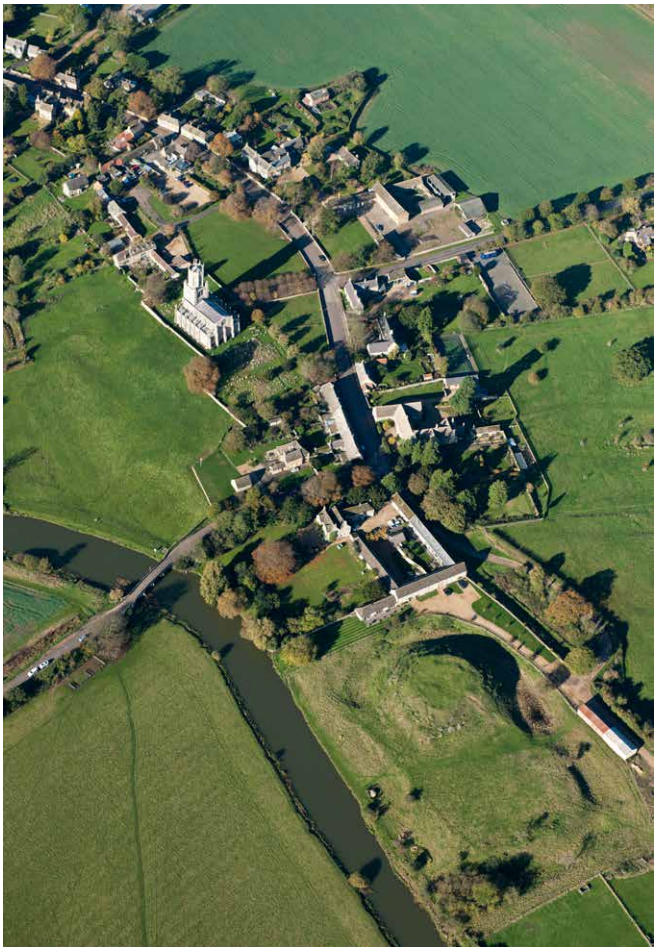


Figure 5
Many castles were components of wider sites. At Fotheringhay, Northamptonshire the castle stood between a deer park and a magnificent college, founded in 1411 as the mausoleum of the House of York. The later Richard III was born at Fotheringhay in 1452, and Mary Queen of Scots was executed in its great hall in 1587.

Although there are exceptions, most castles of the generation or two after the Norman Conquest were of earth and timber; later, stone became almost ubiquitous for above-ground structures. Certainly it is most convenient to give a slightly more detailed treatment of castles under these two headings. (See too the two Introductions to Heritage Assets: Earthwork and Timber Castles and Stone Castles).

Earthwork and timber castles

The castles of the decades immediately following the Norman Conquest tended to conform to one of two types. First is the motte-and-bailey, in which the castle was divided into a raised artificial mound (the motte), usually topped by a tower (Fig 6), and an enclosed flat area (the bailey) containing domestic buildings, stables and so forth. Less common is the second type, the ringwork, effectively a bailey without a motte; sometimes (see cover) ringworks were subsequently reconstructed as mottes. Occasionally mottes stand on their own, apparently without baileys – known as motte castles. Structures within the castles of this period, and their perimeter defences, were overwhelmingly of timber (the eleventh-century stone walls of the bailey of Rochester Castle (Kent), and the remains of stone buildings within the bailey of Peveril Castle (Derbyshire) are exceptional), and for this reason earthworks tend to represent the principal visible survivals of such sites. Historical narratives of the Conquest (and the famous pictorial representations on the Bayeux Tapestry) suggest that such castles could be raised very quickly, sometimes in a matter of days.

A second group of earthwork castles (sometimes called 'adulterine' – that is, unauthorised by the Crown) dates from the time of the Anarchy, the period of civil war in England spanning 1135-1153. While often raised rapidly as temporary works and

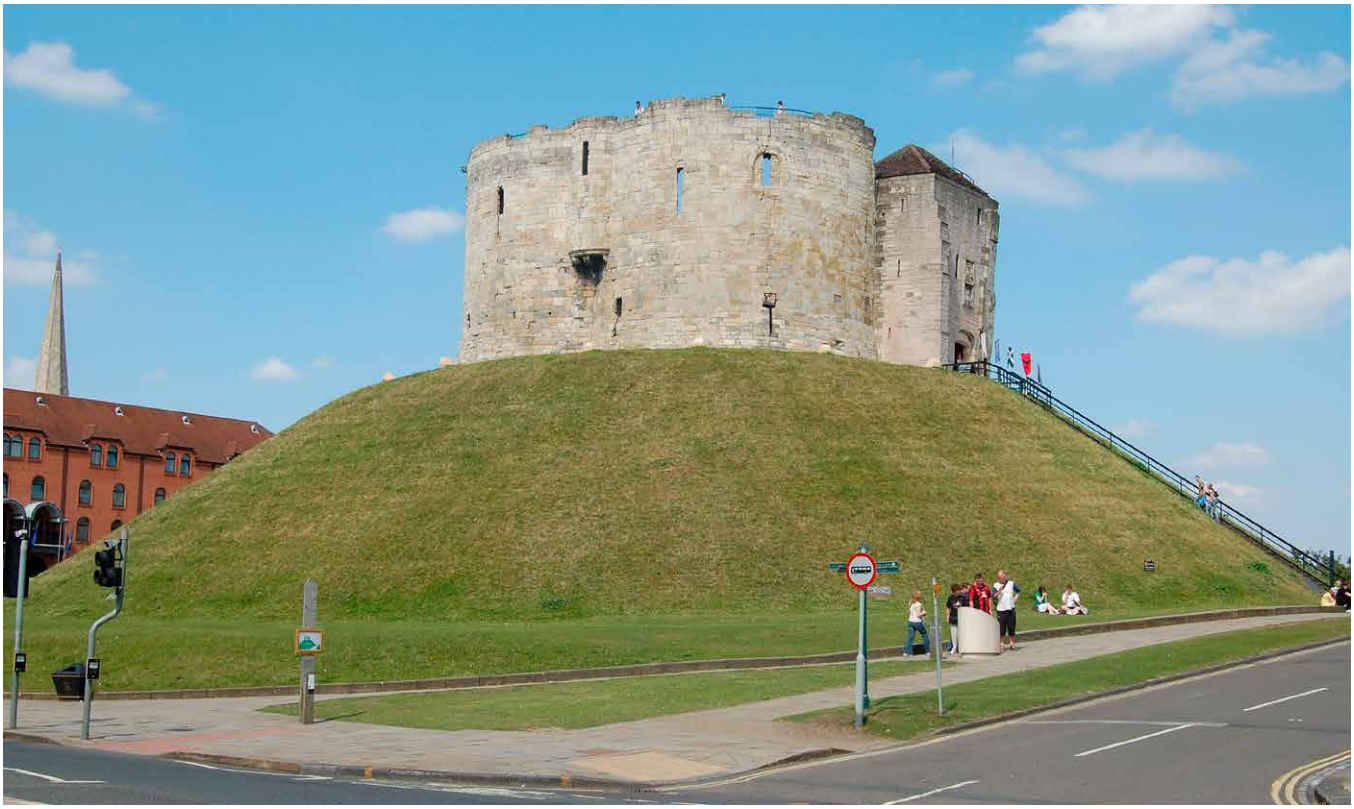


Figure 6
Many castles have compelling histories and a national significance. In 1190 anti-Jewish rioting lead York's 150-strong Jewish community to seek safety in the royal castle's wooden keep. Rather than submit to the mob the Jews chose mass-suicide, and set the keep on fire. Clifford's Tower, begun in 1245, stands on its site.

thus hard to identify in the historic record, there are two main groups: in the south-west and on the Fen-edge. A particular feature of this period of warfare was 'counter-castles', raised to form offensive strong points during sieges. A few survive as earthworks, such as those called Jew's Mount and Mount Pelham (neither scheduled), built by King Stephen in 1141 outside Oxford castle.

Castles of stone and brick

It was during the eleventh century that the first English examples of large stone towers (tower keep castles) appeared, at first mainly within castles in large cities. Such 'great towers', known in the eleventh century as *donjons* (derived from the Latin term for 'lordship') and only from the sixteenth century as 'keeps', were derived from a type of tower already present in northern France: among the earliest and largest examples in England are the White Tower of the Tower of London, and Colchester Castle (Essex), both begun in the 1070s as royal strongholds.

Such towers, square or rectangular in plan, were usually internally compartmented into several large rooms on two or more levels, and are often interpreted as defensible residences: they often contain recognisable chapels together with other large rooms interpreted as halls and chambers (Fig 7). The notion that such buildings were constructed principally to be defensible as places of last resort against attack is currently discredited in favour of broader interpretations which see the towers as buildings which provided settings for ceremonial functions and, by virtue of their size, as landscape markers symbolising authority.

Great towers of various sizes and plan-forms (some modern writers, for instance, have drawn a distinction between large, compartmented 'hall keeps' and smaller single-room 'solar towers') continued to be built through the twelfth century, essentially to the same model as eleventh-century examples. From the final quarter of the twelfth century variations in the plan-form of great towers began to appear, including round and polygonal examples. This is plausibly interpreted as an aesthetic choice, probably in imitation of buildings on the Continent, rather than a technological adaptation to overcome the dangers to towers posed by mining or projectiles.

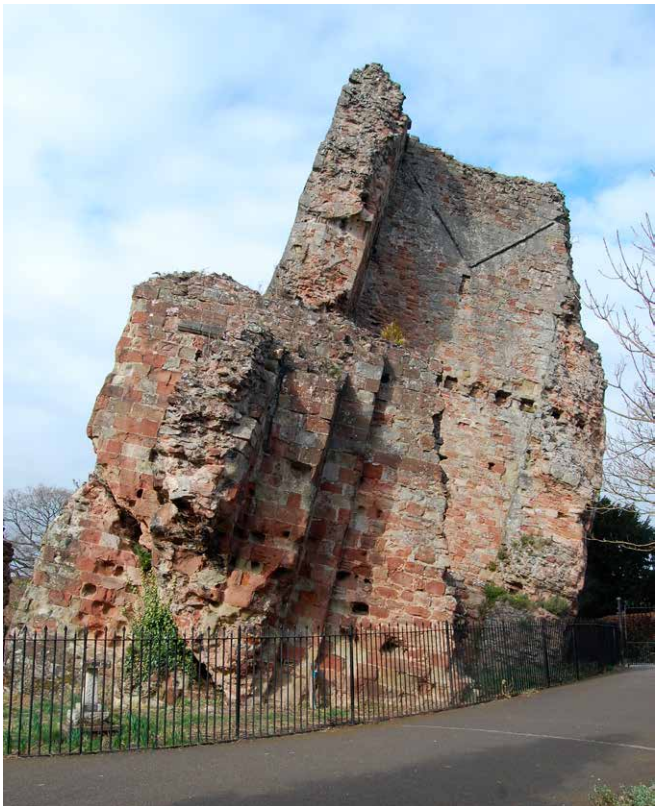


Figure 7
Many castles had active lives of a half-millennium or more – albeit with long periods of near redundancy. Bridgnorth castle, Shropshire was probably begun in 1101, with the keep being added in 1166-74 by Henry II. This was undermined and blown up by Parliamentary forces in 1646.

As residences for magnates and their households, castles typically contained one or more suites of residential accommodation (Fig 8). These invariably included halls (usually rectangular in plan, often aisled), private chambers (commonly storeyed, and originally standing separately from halls, though from the late twelfth century onwards, increasingly integrated with them), chapels, kitchens, bakehouses, brewhouses and the like, and stables. The extent to which these buildings, which in the overwhelming majority of cases survive only as archaeological deposits or exposed footings, are identifiable by a distinctive plan form varies considerably from site to site. It is clear from detailed documentary and archaeological examination of sites belonging

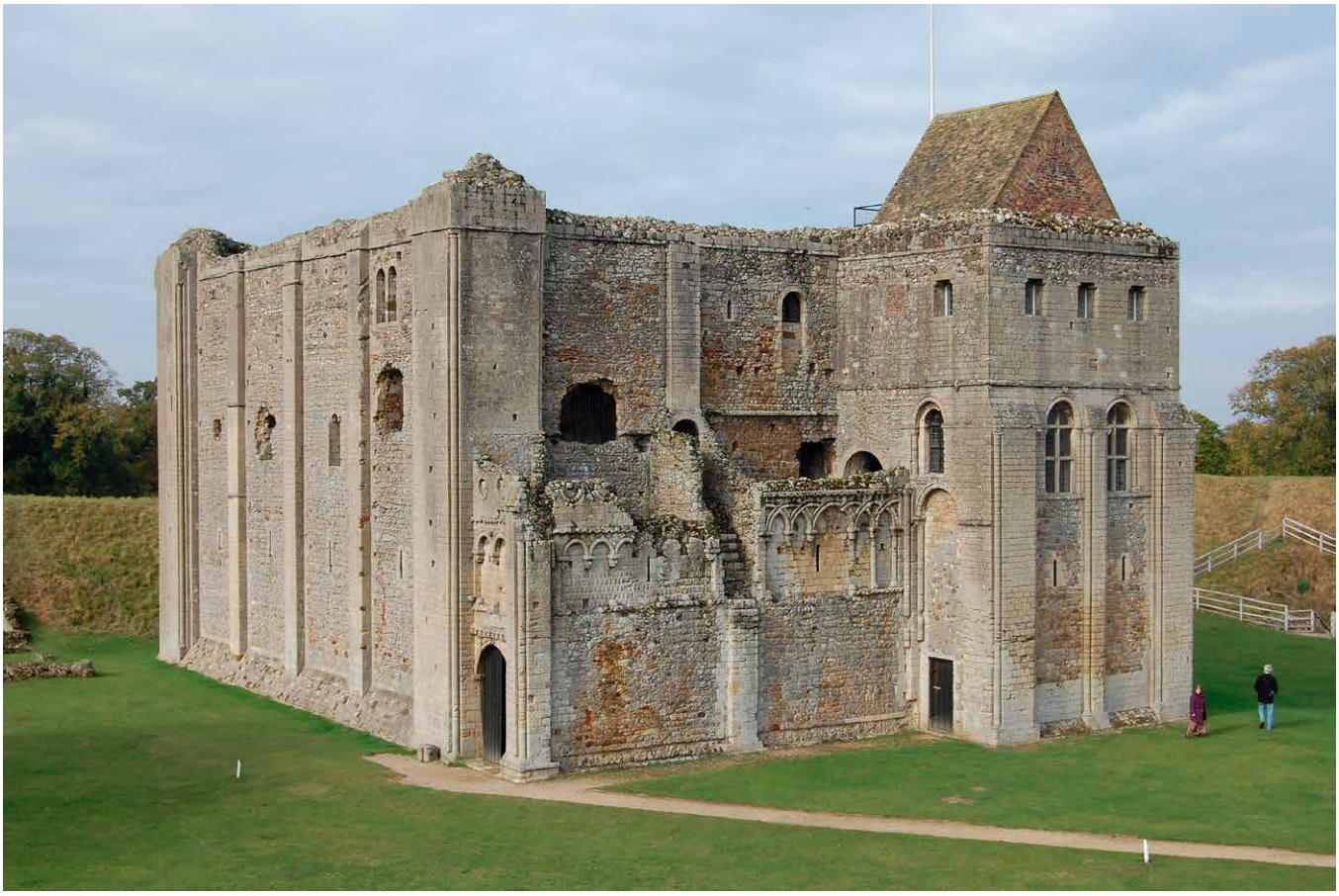


Figure 8
The great tower of Castle Rising, Norfolk stands within a massive ringwork. Begun about 1138 by William d'Albini, husband of Henry I's widow, this was evidently a building intended to reflect his status, being consciously modelled on the forty-year-old royal castle at Norwich.

to figures of the highest status, notably the monarchy, that it is impossible to identify a typical layout for a residential complex (in the way that this is possible for a monastic site, for example), and that the functions of individual structures could change dramatically over time, according to need. Only a few exceptional sites, including the early twelfth-century episcopal castles at Old Sarum (Wiltshire) and Sherborne (Dorset), show systematisation in the planning of the residential buildings, and most complexes of the period show no greater formality in layout than unfortified sites.

One adaptation of earlier forms, largely confined to the twelfth century and mostly concentrated in southern England and the midlands, is the 'shell keep' (for instance, Restormel, Cornwall), in which residential buildings were ranged on the motte-top around and against a high, typically circular, curtain wall.

During the twelfth century the perimeter defences of castles underwent considerable evolution, with the increasingly common use of stone for walls, in the growing size and elaboration of gatehouses, and from the last quarter of the century in the provision of means for active defence, notably the piercing of walls with narrow openings through which crossbowmen could fire. The combination of such arrow-loops with towers (at first rectangular in plan, and from the last years of the twelfth century, round or semi-circular) projecting from the line of the wall, shows a growing appreciation of the science of fortification gained through experience of civil wars in England, conflicts on the Continent, and participation in the Crusades

Figure 9
Many medieval castles were complemented by designed landscapes. Alongside Clun Castle, Shropshire, the great Welsh border fortress of the FitzAlans, is the site of what is almost certainly a later medieval water garden (here to top left of picture).

in the Near East. As well as what survives today, such castles typically had timber hourds projecting from their upper walls and towers, these being projecting galleries which added considerably to castles' defensive capacities, and especially gave protection to wall-bottoms.

The final point describing twelfth-century castles derives from recent research, and asserts that the concept of landscape design was established in this period; several castles were laid out with parklands, gardens and meres, whose functions were as much aesthetic and recreational as they were defensive or economic. Such an argument has been well developed for sites of the fourteenth century, including the moated quadrangular castle at Bodiam (East Sussex) and later at Clun (Shropshire; Fig 9), but the model can be adopted for much earlier sites without any difficulty, and is supported in contemporary texts, as well as by archaeological survey and excavation.

The thirteenth century began with Civil Wars between King John and his opponents, saw a more substantial war in the 1260s between Henry III and reformist barons led by Simon de Montford, and ended with expansionist campaigns into Wales and Scotland by Edward I. Of developments in the design of castles and other fortifications, particular attention may be drawn to the growing size of gatehouses, with central passages flanked by round or semi-circular towers; the systematic use of water defences, including moats and meres; the adoption on a small number of sites of concentric plans, with an inner circuit of stone walls overlooking an outer; and the effective abandonment (temporarily) of the construction

of great towers. These developments are all famously exemplified by the royal castles of Edward I, mostly in Wales, but the trends are visible earlier at baronial sites, such as Kenilworth (Warwickshire) and Goodrich (Herefordshire). These are sometimes referred to as enclosure castles. Some integration in planning is also identifiable of domestic structures with the defences within which they stand.

While some items of military technology survived throughout the Middle Ages, notably the use of bows and cross-bows (leaving very rare physical remains in the form of archery butts: Fig 10), from the later fourteenth century onwards these were increasingly augmented with firearms. Both castles and town defences were equipped with gunports to accommodate them. From the later fourteenth century also appear the earliest examples of forts purely built as emplacements for artillery: little more than blockhouses, they should be regarded as precursors of the Tudor forts, whose purpose was directly comparable. The well preserved fort at Dartmouth Castle (Devon), associated with a defensive chain across the mouth of the River Dart, is perhaps the best example of this type, which through the Middle Ages was comparatively rare: their construction was piecemeal, dependent on specific need and opportunity. Chain towers are an associated variant, again controlling entrances to estuaries and river mouths.

During the fifteenth century, much of the emphasis in castle architecture was on martial display rather than purely practical defence considerations (regardless of the actual domestic conflicts which took up much of the second

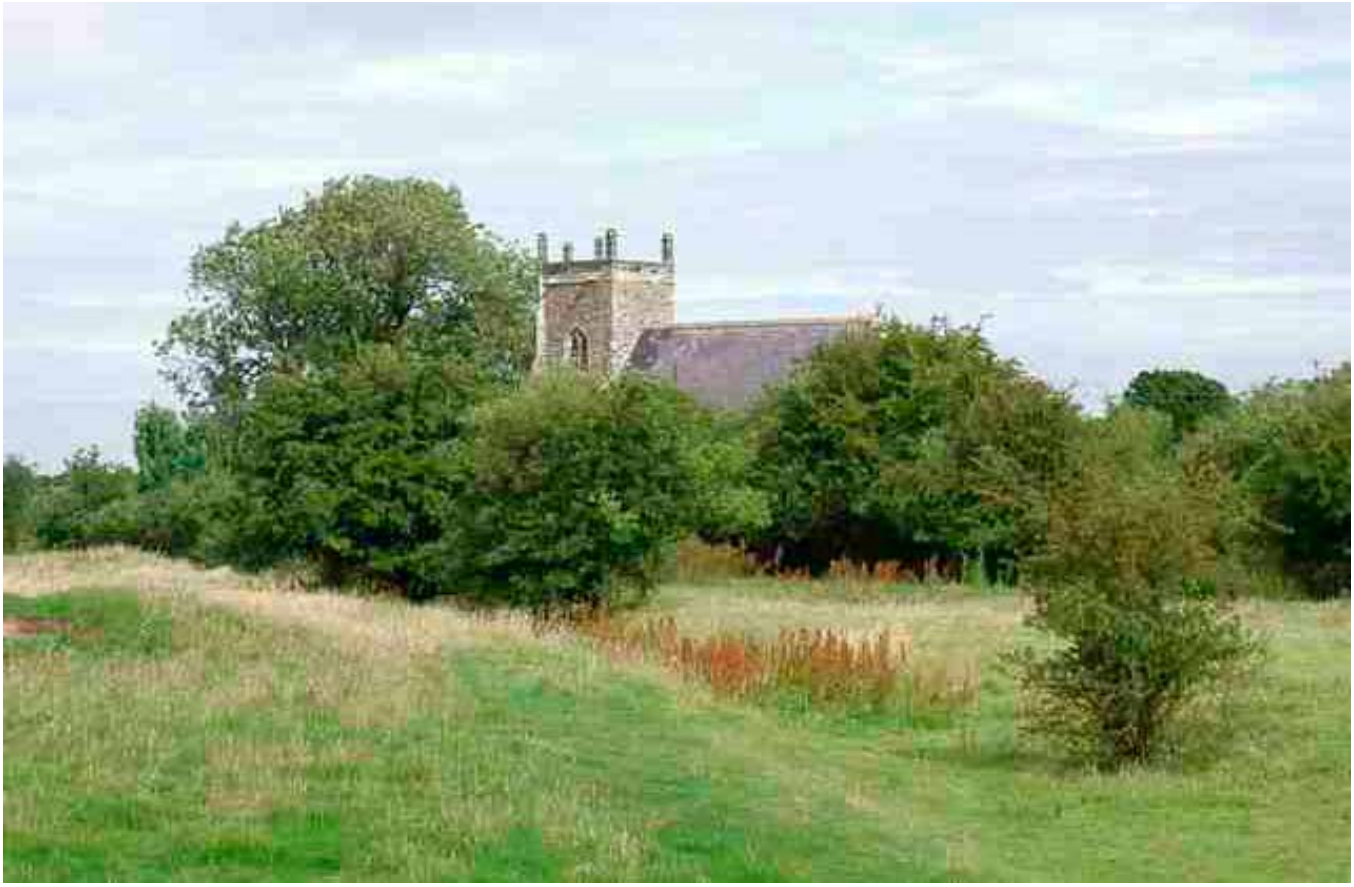


Figure 10
Archery butts of medieval or – as they stand on top of ridge and furrow ploughing – early post-medieval date at Long Riston, East Riding of Yorkshire.

half of the century and led to several important sieges). The builders of some castles chose the revival of earlier forms, notably great towers or keeps. In several parts of the country, builders made more extensive use of brick walling, hitherto limited to eastern counties and sparingly used. Structures such as the great tower of Tattershall (Lincolnshire) and the complete structure of Kirby Muxloe (Leicestershire; Fig 11) and Herstmonceux (East Sussex) show the adoption of this material for reasons of fashion and aesthetics.

Numerous castles of this period have architectural and functional points of comparison with great houses, and naturally the dividing line between fortified and unfortified structures is hard to draw precisely: the presence of gun-ports at a site like Baconsthorpe Castle (Norfolk; Fig 12), for example, has often been taken to place the structure within a 'military' classification. Brick structures can also be seen in urban defences, as for example the town gate at Beverley (Yorkshire) and Norwich's Cow Tower of 1389-1390, which is also the earliest detached gun-tower in England.

Many surviving castles saw action – sometimes for the only time in their history – during the Civil Wars of the mid-seventeenth century. Damage from bombardment, as seen at Newark Castle (Nottinghamshire), can augment the importance of these sites considerably, as can siege works and fortifications. Some held out for many weeks against besieging forces before capitulation; slighting of key walls and features inevitably followed capture, as dramatically shown at Corfe Castle (Dorset), with its battered and leaning walls and gatehouse. For many, this was the last time they were occupied, although others were

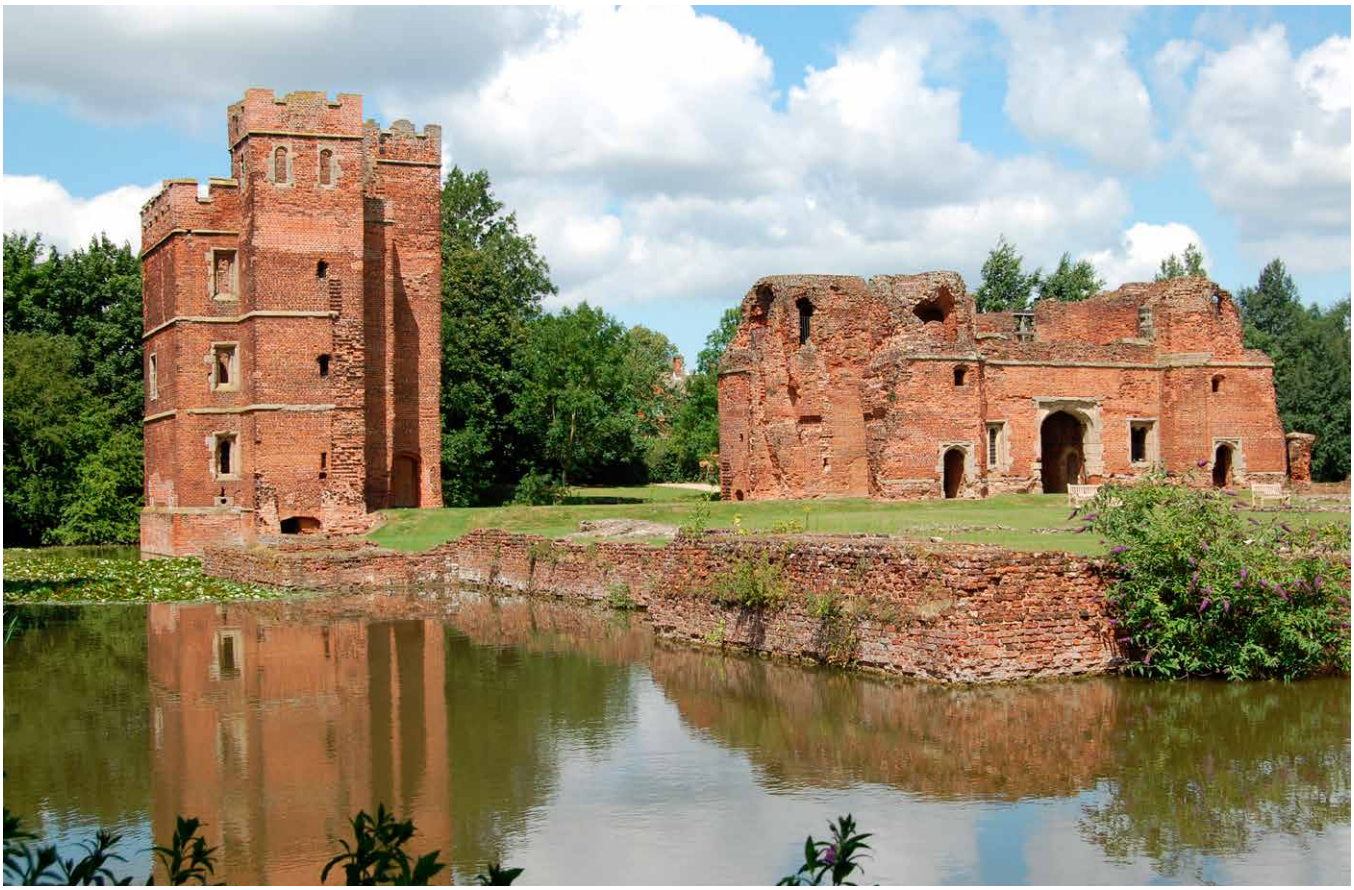


Figure 11
The innovative use of materials can add interest to a site. At Kirby Muxloe Castle (Leicestershire), fashionable brick was used in 1480 for Lord Hastings's new house. Despite its broad moat and gunloops, Kirby Muxloe is only lightly fortified.

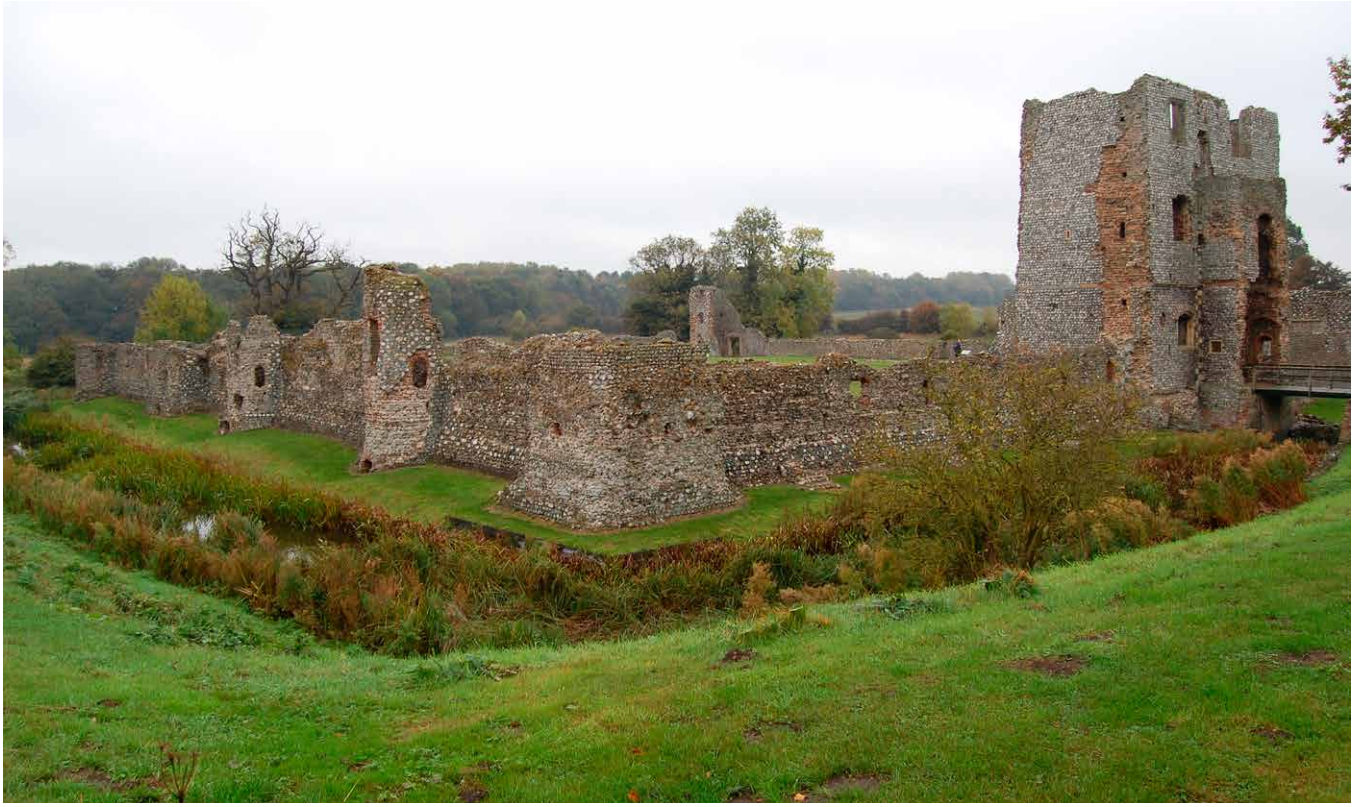


Figure 12
Baconsthorpe Castle, Norfolk. Of about 1450 and later, from afar this looks like a full-scale quadrangular castle; nearer to, its drastically scaled-down dimensions become apparent.

repaired and continued in occupation as often somewhat rambling and careworn houses.

Fieldworks

Fortified camps were a common feature of late medieval warfare on the Continent, and while apparently far rarer in England the Duke of York dug in his army at Crayford (Kent) in 1452 and at Ludford Bridge (Shropshire) in 1459. However, Northampton (1460; a Registered Battlefield), where the royal Lancastrian force occupied a banked and ditched 'fortified camp' with artillery, was the only known battle when an English fortification came under (successful) attack. None of these three fortifications has been archaeologically identified.

Martial training

Knights and professional soldiers needed to practise their martial skills, and from the tenth century tournaments – imitation warfare – were being held in western Europe. Over time, these became increasingly governed by rules, and confined to tourney grounds; King Richard I (1189-1199) licensed five places for tournaments including Warwick. They remained popular throughout the Middle Ages and beyond, and in the Tudor and Jacobean periods were of major significance in the court calendar and important instruments of political propaganda. Tournaments were held at Whitehall, London, into the 1620s.

Tiltyards were purpose-built enclosed courtyards used for jousting and other martial pursuits. Generally associated with castle or palace complexes, few have been identified with certainty, and it is likely that many were temporary, set out only for the duration of a tournament. Several were laid out by Henry VIII. Physical evidence for tiltyards has been identified at Hampton Court, where the tiltyard tower is listed, and at Kenilworth Castle (Warwickshire),

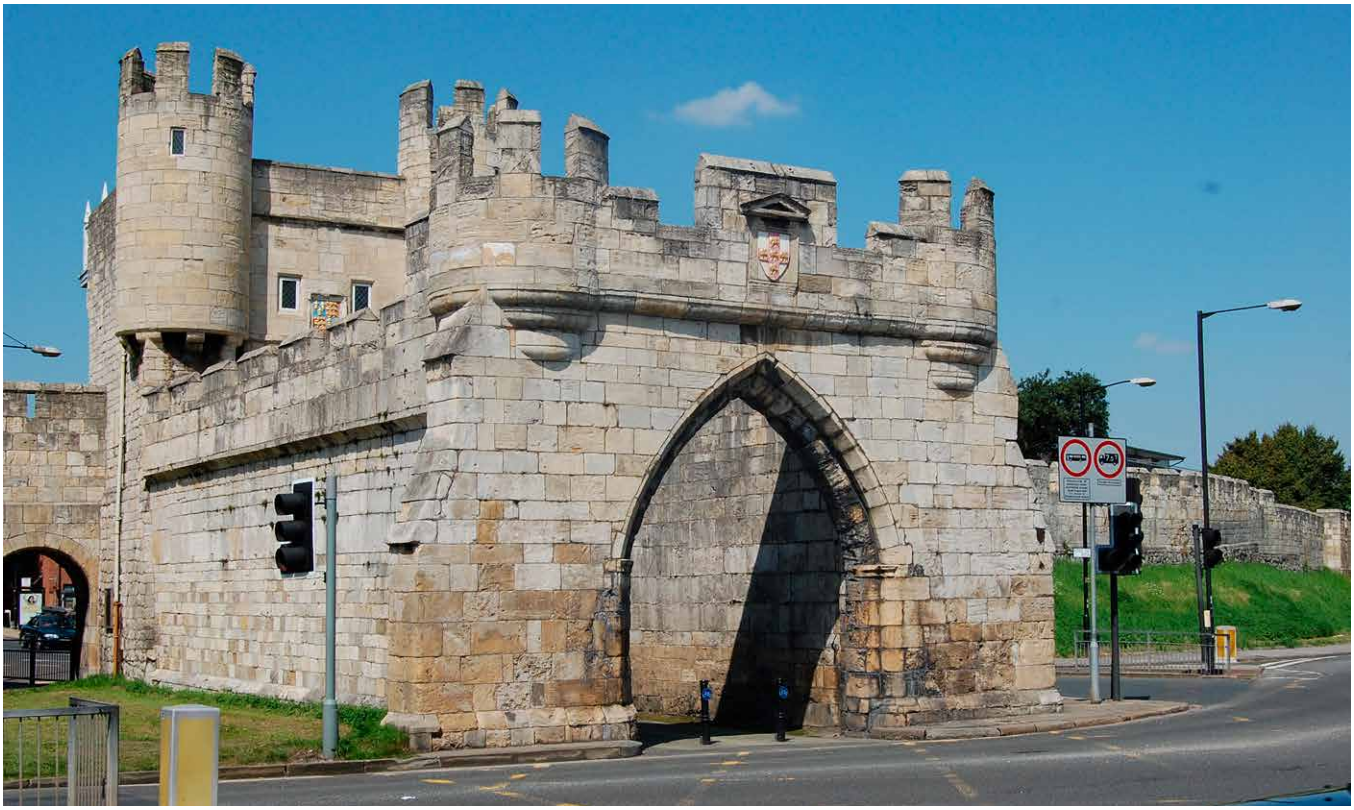


Figure 13
York's extensively scheduled city walls extend for 2.5 miles and enclose 263 acres. While principally of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, for about half their length they are built on the Roman city wall. Four main and two lesser gates or 'bars' give access to the city. Walmgate Bar is England's only surviving town gate with a barbican, which gave additional, outward, protection.

where the tiltyard occupied the 150-metre long walled causeway which approaches the main gate.

Quintains were a shield or target set on a post, which sometimes revolved upon impact, generally used for jousting practice although they could be used for foot combat. Although perhaps once commonplace, few survive. One of the best known, The Quintain on the Green, Offham (Kent), is scheduled.

Efficient use of the longbow, which proved such a deadly weapon in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, long after the introduction of crossbows, and later hand guns and artillery, required regular practise. The requirement for this on dedicated grounds with butts (artificial target mounds – or target-supports – of earth or stone) was often reiterated by the Crown. Butts are occasionally mentioned in documents: at Wold Newton (East Riding of Yorkshire) butts were in use by 1299, while a boy was shot at the butts in Wakefield, West Yorkshire, in 1367. As late as 1615 (at Creaton, Northamptonshire) butts were ordered to be provided for archery practice.

Typically occurring in pairs, located on level ground at the edges of villages and towns, butts are generally between 2-8 metres in diameter and 1-3 metres high. With surviving examples, a broad date can sometimes be assigned through their associations with other monuments. Those at Wold Newton are respected by ridge and furrow (that is, they predate it), while at Long Riston (also in the East Riding of Yorkshire; Fig 10) four butts lie on top of ridge and furrow (and thus are later). To date there has been no national survey of butts, but they are not thought to be rare; in 1990 it was estimated 1,000 to 2,000 examples may survive nationally, although ploughing will have reduced that number. A small number have been scheduled, including a pair at Lyme Hall

(Cheshire) and those at Wold Newton, where two Bronze Age bowl barrows were adapted for this purpose.

Town defences

The defences of English towns, where they exist, are very varied. They range from defensive ditches evolving from jurisdictional boundary markers to substantial masonry circuits punctuated by the architectural statements of elaborate gateways. However, an overview of town defences shows a marked lack of correlation between the size, location, wealth and date of the towns and the character of their defences, with political importance being, perhaps, the only factor of relevance.

Considerable overlap can also be seen between parallel developments in castles and urban fortification, for which the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries represent a particularly fruitful period, including the forms of towers, arrow-loops, treatment of wall-walks and battlements, and gateways. As with interpretations of castles, modern treatments of urban defences have tempered considerations of practical defensibility with ones based on the expression of civic pride, identity and aspiration. That is best seen in the surprising number of towns which invested in masonry gates – sometimes of some elaboration (Fig 13) – while their (increasingly nominal) defences remained a ditch and palisaded bank. However, French attacks on the south coast during the Hundred Years War (1337-1453), which resulted in notable fortifications as at Southampton (Hampshire) or Winchelsea (East Sussex), proved that the threats to life and property could be very real indeed.

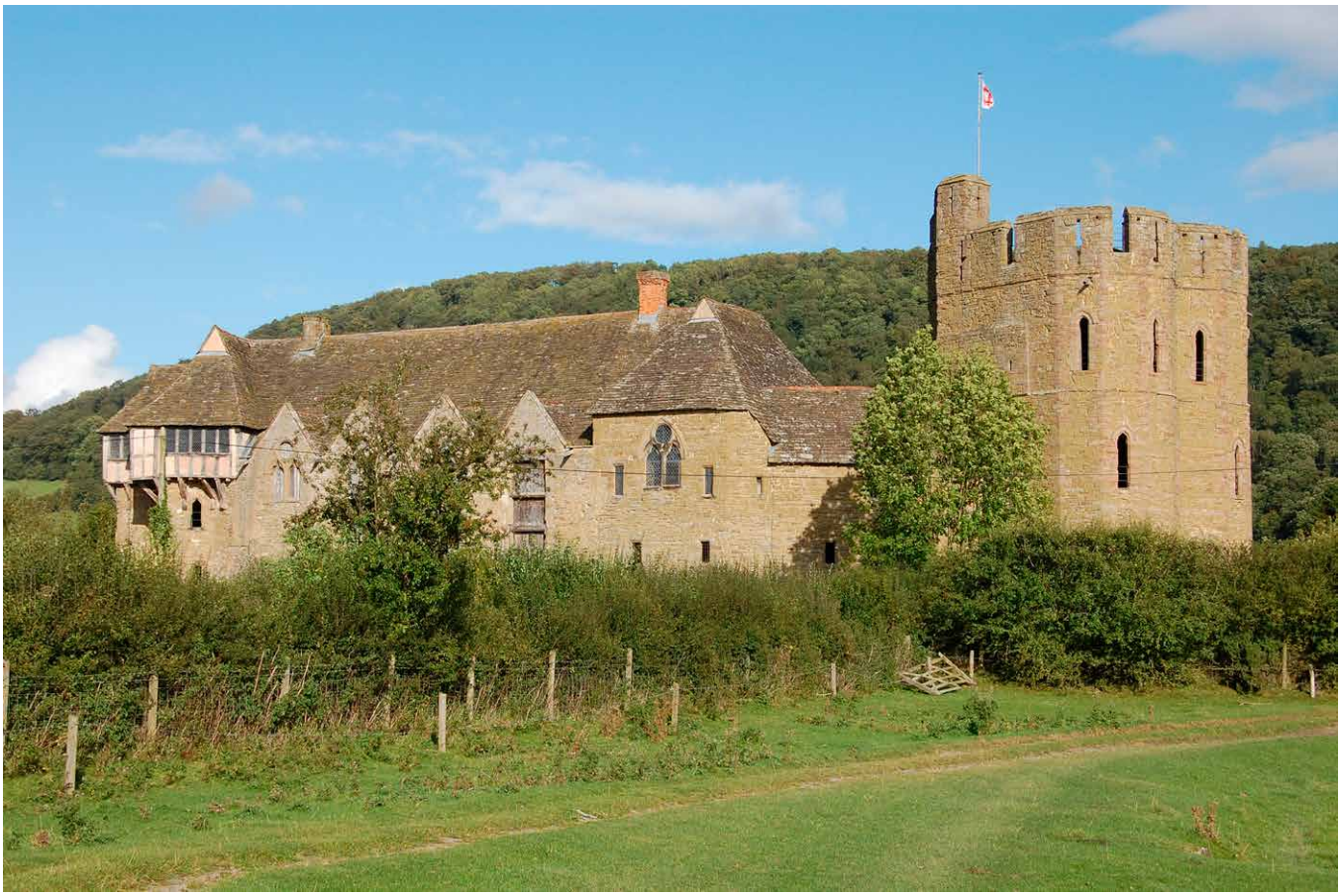


Figure 14
Stokesay Castle, Shropshire. A licence to crenellate was granted in 1291. The south tower (to the right) is undeniably martial; the rest of the house is undeniably not. This is less a true castle than a wealthy merchant's architectural statement that he had arrived in society.

As with castles, town defences were sometimes refurbished, after a fashion, in the Civil Wars of the 1640s, and in many cases this was the only occasion when they were called in to action.

Domestic security

Widely found across mainland England are houses – generally in the countryside, but occasionally in towns – of the well-to-do which received a grant of licence to crenellate, and manors or freeholder farms which were moated. The former involved the purchase of a licence from the Crown, ostensibly to make a residential complex defensible with a crenellated (battlemented) wall. About 550 licences are documented, issued between 1200 and the sixteenth century; while some properties with such a grant (like Stokesay, Shropshire, licensed in 1291; Fig 14) were at least outwardly martial and might be held against an armed mob, in other cases the defences were largely decorative, presumably indicative of social aspiration or pretence. Similarly there may have been mixed motives behind why some 6,000 manorial lords and peasant freeholders dug moats (for a more detailed treatment of which see the Settlement Sites selection guide around their properties, mainly in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, although the need for self-protection in a notoriously lawless period in history should not be under-estimated.

In the Scottish borders, particularly in upland areas, the necessity for self-protection was even more pronounced. Lodgings were incorporated into small but thick-walled towers, sometimes known as tower houses or peel towers, with their immediate surrounds surrounded by a stone wall. Many are fifteenth-century. Another type of secure house was the bastle (for instance, Black Middens, Northumberland), effectively a defensible farmstead with living accommodation above ground-floor housing for animals. Most seem to be of the mid-sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, but there may be earlier examples: neat classification of house-types can be difficult. Interestingly, and largely inexplicably, defended houses are largely absent along the almost equally troubled Welsh border, notwithstanding its many castles and its detached early medieval church towers (eleven or so in Herefordshire) which may have served, in part, as refuges.

2 Overarching Considerations

2.1 Scheduling and protection

Archaeological sites and monuments vary greatly in character, and can be protected in many ways: through positive management by owners, through policy, and through designation. In terms of our designation system, this consists of several separate approaches which operate alongside each other, and our aim is to recommend the most appropriate sort of protection for each asset. Our approach towards designation will vary, depending on the asset in question: our selection guides aim to indicate our broad approaches, but are subordinate to Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) policy.

Scheduling, through triggering careful control and the involvement of Historic England, ensures that the long-term interests of a site are placed first. It is warranted for sites with real claims to national importance which are the most significant remains in terms of their key place in telling our national story, and the need for close management of their archaeological potential. Scheduled monuments possess a high order of significance: they derive this from their archaeological and historic interest. Our selection guides aim to indicate some of the grounds of importance which may be relevant. Unlike listed buildings, scheduled sites are not generally suited to adaptive re-use.

Scheduling is discretionary: the Secretary of State has a choice as to whether to add a site to the Schedule or not. Scheduling is deliberately selective: given the ever-increasing numbers of archaeological remains which continue to be identified and interpreted, this is unavoidable. The Schedule aims to capture a representative sample of nationally important sites, rather than be an inclusive compendium of all such assets.

Given that archaeological sensitivity is all around us, it is important that all means of protecting archaeological remains are recognised. Other designations such as listing can play an important part here. Other sites may be identified as being of national importance, but not scheduled. Government policy affords them protection through the planning system, and local authorities play a key part in managing them through their archaeological services and Historic Environment Records (HERs).

The Schedule has evolved since it began in 1882, and some entries fall far short of modern standards. We are striving to upgrade these older records as part of our programme of upgrading the National Heritage List for England. Historic England continues to revise and upgrade these entries, which can be consulted on the Historic England website.

2.2 Heritage assets and national importance

Paragraph 139 of the National Planning Policy Framework (March 2012) states that in order to conserve and enhance the historic environment 'non-designated heritage assets of archaeological interest that are demonstrably of equivalent significance to scheduled monuments, should be considered subject to the policies for designated heritage assets'. These assets are defined as having National Importance (NI). This is the latest articulation of a principle first raised in PPG16 (1990-2010) and later in PPS5 (2010-2012).

2.3 Selection criteria

The particular considerations used by the Secretary of State when determining whether sites of all types are suitable for statutory designation through scheduling are set out in their Scheduled Monuments Policy Statement.

3 Specific Considerations

3.1 Historical importance

The close association of a site with particular events and individuals is likely to enhance the interest of a site.

3.2 Innovation

Sites which demonstrate innovation in their planning or otherwise, such as the early provision of artillery-related features, will also have added interest.

3.3 Regional variation

Military sites often exhibit geographical variation, reflecting responses to different threats, to varying terrains, and to the availability of construction materials. This variation helps tell the story of the various areas which now make up England. It is, therefore, important that the sites selected for scheduling reflect this variety. Equally, distributional rarity (as mentioned below, in the case of medieval moated sites) can be another factor needing to be considered.

3.4 Extent of scheduling: inside the defences

Where sites such as hillforts, *oppida*, Roman forts, *burhs* and castles are proposed for scheduling, their interiors, as well as the defences, will be included in the area proposed for designation, unless it is conclusively the case that the archaeological levels have been destroyed or severely damaged. The justification for this is that where there has been modern investigation of such areas, whether by geophysical survey, aerial photography or excavation, invariably occupation or other activity contemporary with the defences has been found. Where houses or other modern buildings have been erected on such sites, the ground beneath them may still be scheduled if a convincing case can be made that archaeological deposits survive intact.

3.5 Extent of scheduling: outside the defences

The definition of sites' boundaries, which is essential for scheduling purposes, can often be challenging. Generally early schedulings were drawn tight up against any outer defensive bank. As it can be presumed that most defences generally had an external ditch (based on excavated examples) beyond this, an allowance is today made for such. Its width is determined either by that of known sections of the defences which is then projected around the defensive perimeter or, if there is no specific evidence from the site itself, is inferred from similar sites with comparable defences. If all else fails, a margin, often 5 m, is given to allow for the presence of a ditch.

Careful survey often reveals lost features, including outer defences, and civilian settlements 'beyond the gate'. In such cases, this may suggest

that longstanding designated areas are too limited: on an individual basis, the boundaries of such sites may be proposed for extension where there is clear evidence of high archaeological potential.

3.6 Re-use and adaptation

A strategic location – say controlling a routeway or a harbour, or with long-distance visibility – was often chosen for military sites. These locations remained attractive throughout history, and sites were often re-occupied, adapted, or used anew over millennia. The case of the Iron Age South Cadbury hillfort, refortified at least twice in the post-Roman centuries, is cited above, while Pevensey Castle (East Sussex) was periodically adapted and refortified over sixteen centuries, most recently in the Second World War. Such adaptations, demonstrating responses to military threats as well as changing military technology and thinking, will tend to enhance a site's interest and importance, rather than diminish it.

4 Considerations by Period

4.1 Prehistoric

In general, because of their rarity and national importance, most sites of the type discussed above will be deemed schedulable in their entirety where they survive in good condition. Where damaged, by activities such as ploughing, quarrying or development, a judgement will have to be made on a case-by-case basis as to whether a part of the site still merits scheduling. What will play a large part in any such assessment will be the potential survival of undisturbed archaeological deposits.

4.2 Roman

Roman-period military sites, including temporary camps, that either have above-ground remains, or are clearly delineated by means such as geophysical survey or aerial photography, will often be strong candidates for designation as Scheduled Monuments. Where there are large numbers of a particular site-type, such as forts where there are about 150 known examples in England, especial attention should be paid to selecting examples of each type and sub-type (including irregularities) in different landscapes and in different parts of the country.

Designation of associated *canabae, vici* and cemeteries has been less extensive than it has for the military sites themselves, in large part because of problems of definition (see above: Extent of scheduling: outside the defences). Examples will be approached on a case-by-case basis. The scheduling of Roman military sites that underlie modern towns and cities including York, Lincoln and London brings particular challenges. For a discussion of approaches to these see the Settlement selection guide.

4.3 Anglo-Saxon and Viking

Because of their rarity, and association with elites and historic events, sites such as *burhs*, Viking camps and thegnly complexes will always be very strong candidates for designation.

The designation of long-distance linear earthworks like Offa's Dyke is discussed in the Law and Government scheduling selection guide.

4.4 Middle Ages

Most castles are either scheduled, or will be strong candidates for such. Where discrimination will be called for is with mounds which are suspected to be mottes, typically of adulterine castles. Without proof that such are indeed castles, designation is unlikely.

The recent interest in the landscape context of castles has led to a greater emphasis on the close physical and functional relationships between fortified sites and towns, parks, moats, meres, monasteries, harbours, field systems, churches and gardens. Although we now see castle landscapes within such wider contexts, it is nonetheless desirable to identify (and where appropriate, schedule) discrete elements of this landscape, where survival is good, where

potential remains, and where strong visual and associational grounds with the castle can be identified.

As rehearsed above, some sites associated with martial training have already been designated, sometimes as elements of much bigger sites such as Kenilworth Castle. The case for scheduling archery butts will be stronger where they occur in a group, and where they have a relationship with features such as ridge and furrow.

The designation of town defences can be complex, and historically both scheduling and listing has been applied. Given the variety of remains and structures which comprise town defences – gates, walls, banks and ditches – often in heavily built-up areas, the approach to designation will inevitably remain mixed, and approached on a case-by-case basis. Upstanding town walls often have buildings, sometimes listed, built against or on them. In such cases, especially, listing may be the most appropriate regime. On the other hand, walls and ditches which have been built over are likely to be scheduled if their lines can be securely mapped and the presence of archaeological deposits demonstrated, or reasonably assumed.

With moated sites, their number (some 6,000 are known) demands considerable discrimination in scheduling assessments, especially where they are fairly commonplace, as in parts of East Anglia: regional rarity may be a reason for scheduling. Factors which may favour designation include good quality earthworks; the demonstrable or likely survival of medieval archaeological deposits; the presence of listed medieval buildings within the moat; diversity of features, such as the presence of fishponds; contemporary (that is, medieval) documentation – although this should not be expected, as many sites were occupied by freeholders who generally did not make records; and where a site stands within a wider, contemporary (medieval), landscape, say of associated ridge and furrow (where this adjoins the moated site some may appropriately be included within the scheduled area).

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