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The Residences of the Bishops of Durham

Archaeological and Historical Perspectives

Submitted in full requirement of an MA by Research in Archaeology

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The Residences of the Bishops of Durham: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives

Abstract

Bishops were amongst the wealthiest and most influential people in medieval England and Wales. They held a dual role as both spiritual leaders and secular lords, and their residences provided the infrastructure from which they enacted their duties. Therefore, understanding these buildings offers unique insights into the lives and duties of these people. In the case of the bishops of Durham, their residences were numerous and diverse, with only a few having received significant scholarly attention.

This thesis adopts a multifaceted approach to understanding these buildings. Using sources ranging from episcopal registers and itineraries, archaeological evidence and standing building reports, this thesis aims to be a holistic and wide-ranging study of the episcopal residences of the bishops of Durham with a consideration of how these buildings relate socially to the episcopal role.

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisors Professor Chris Gerrard and Dr Pam Graves for their endless guidance, support and patience. I would also like to thank Professor David Rollason and Dr Lynda Rollason for their guidance on the historic material and also for allowing me the opportunity to discuss my research with them. In addition, I would like to thank Dr Michael Stansfield and Dr Alejandra Gutierrez for helping me learn some of the new skills required for this thesis and to all those that helped me negotiate their archives or helped me source material at Durham County Council Historic Environment Record, Archaeological Services University of Durham and Palace Green Library. Lastly, I would like to specially thank my parents and family for their unwavering support over the past year and to E.R. Treasure for endless proof reading, cups of coffee and kind words.

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List of Abbreviations

ASUD	Archaeological Services University of Durham
CWGC	Commonwealth War Graves Commission
DCC	Durham County Council
EH	English Heritage
HE	Historic England
GE	Google Earth
HER	Historic Environment Record
PAS	Portable Antiquities Scheme

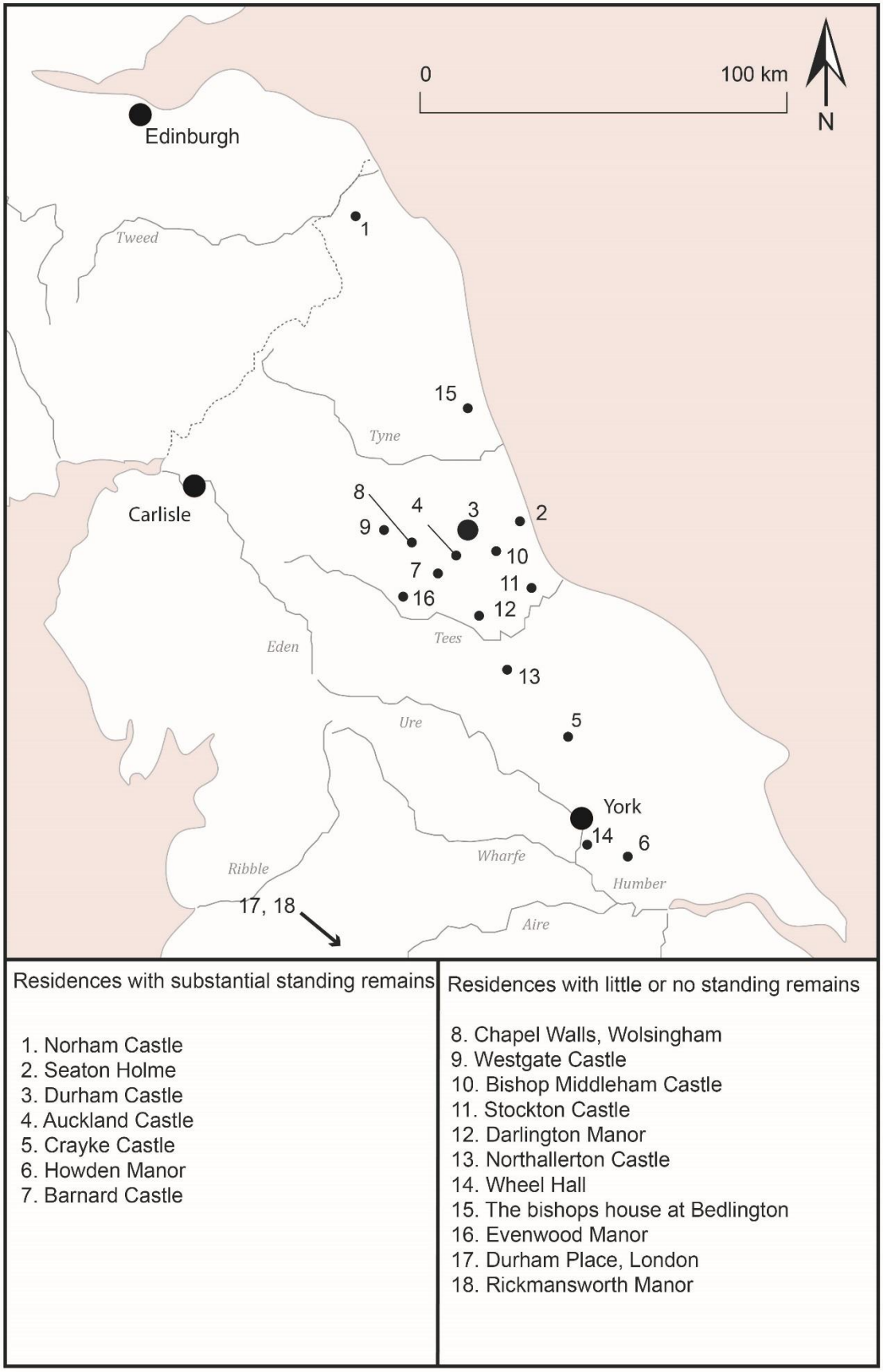

Figure 1. Distribution map of the residences of the bishops of Durham

Chapter One

Introduction

'*We shape our buildings; thereafter they shape us'*

(Churchill 1944)

In this quote, Churchill perfectly captures the relationship between buildings and their occupiers. On the one hand, buildings are created for a purpose and to best suit the needs of its residents, and yet once this is achieved their continued existence moulds later generations. As people's needs and wants change over time, buildings remain as a constant fixture throughout, though often become adapted to suit modern requirements. In this way, they serve as a valuable resource for understanding the wider world in which they inhabit and as indicators of the contemporary social climate. This study extends this metaphor to incorporate the anthropogenically exploited landscapes in which residences are situated. The residences of the Bishops of Durham existed within a politically and socially unique entity: 'The Palatinate'. As 'Prince Bishops', their role merged the two social classes of bishop and royalty. They were afforded the spiritual rights of a bishop alongside the landowning, legal and military responsibilities of a monarch. The buildings that make up this grouping represent a building class designed for and by a rare collection of men within an unusual setting. If we accept that buildings can act as a gauge of social change and atmosphere, then understanding them is a crucial tool in helping to understand much wider concepts relating to the nature of episcopacy for the bishops of Durham. So far, there has been no systematic study of these residences. This thesis aims to redress this imbalance, through an archaeological and historical analysis of these buildings and their associated landscapes.

Research Context

Review of Historical Research

Approximately 150 bishop's residences were lived in during the medieval period[1]. Of these, only a handful have received serious scholarly attention. Historical interest in bishops' residences has been ongoing since early antiquarian studies. Bishoprics for which considerable historical documentation has survived relating to the mechanisms of episcopal estate management, has provided a focus for academic and antiquarian scrutiny. Unusually detailed manorial accounts, such as the Winchester Pipe Rolls (Britnell 2003) or well preserved series of

[1] Payne (2003) and Thompson (1998) have both compiled lists of all episcopal residences in England and Wales. These lists vary slightly, but approximately the number of residences hovers around 150.

acta or registers, were attractive to scholars and inspired early discussions of episcopal residences from an economic viewpoint. These datasets have remained an essential part of medieval episcopal studies today, with many high-quality document-based contributions emerging in recent years (Barrow 2015; Burger 2014).

In the case of the bishops of Durham, the extensive surviving medieval collections retained by the Durham Cathedral College Community have provided an exemplary dataset with which to understand the bishops of Durham. The Surtees Society[2] was founded in 1834 with the aim to publish and transcribe unpublished historical manuscripts, in so doing making these texts widely accessible for research purposes (Thompson 1939). These works provide a valuable contribution to the study of medieval Durham, including the study of bishops and their residences and serve as an important dataset.

Christian Liddy (2008) has most recently continued this vein of research in his book entitled *The Bishopric of Durham in the Late Middle Ages: Lordship, Community and the Cult of St Cuthbert.* His work looks in detail at the social and economic makeup of the bishopric, and reinterprets the political identity of the palatinate of Durham as a socially exceptional region (Liddy 2008: 174-236). Liddy argues that socially the bishopric maintained an individual cultural identity born from the cult of St Cuthbert and the first settlers in the region (*Haliwerfolc)* that reinforced the physical, economic and political separation between Durham and the wider realm (Liddy 2008: 174-236). Although not primarily concerned with the residences of the bishops of Durham, Liddy's theories have implications for how we interpret the residences of the bishops of Durham and the role they played in episcopacy.

Review of Archaeological Research

Although not often credited in historical work, the archaeological study of bishops' residences has developed alongside historical recreations of episcopal lifestyle and the role residences played in that. For example, Sherborne Old Castle, Old Sarum Bishop's Palace and Norwich Bishop's Palace were assessed archaeologically in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (White and Clark 2015: 34-43; Montague 2006; Blomefield 1806; Calthrop 1910). Developing from these early studies, these residences have all become foci for later archaeological investigation (White and Clark 2015; Biddle 1964 -1972; Colvin 1963: 824-828; Gilchrist 2005). In addition, the bishops' palace at Wells can be added to this canon (Dunning 2010). Notably, these large-scale excavations have all been conducted at high-status and historically important 'see palaces' or residences beside cathedrals. These buildings are known for being the most highly invested at residences in the medieval period because of their inherent symbolic connection to bishopric identity (Thompson 1998: 29-33). Because of this, they are not representative of most bishops' residences as the vast majority of residences comprised smaller manors distributed throughout the bishopric. While some archaeological studies of smaller episcopal manors have been

[2] http://www.surteessociety.org.uk/

conducted (Allen and Hiller 2002), they have not been as numerous or well-received as excavated palace sites. Therefore, the majority of large scale archaeological investigation undertaken at bishops' residences has been centred on a non-representative selection of buildings. In effect, the study of bishops' *residences* has become dominated by the study of episcopal *palaces.*

Thompson's 1998 work *Medieval Bishops' Houses in England and Wales* provided an alternative perspective to these buildings. Thompson's book is a synoptic overview of the different types of buildings that comprise bishops' residences (Thompson 1998). Thompson provides a valuable guide to bishops' residences and is among the first to consider residences as a collective, interconnected network of houses offering different functions (Thompson 1998). Published alongside this work were several other general studies of palaces and high-status houses in England and Wales. Woolgar's (1999) *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* explored the role and form of the episcopal household and its relationship to architecture of the time. In addition, Emery's (2006) *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales* series provided an overview of all medieval houses, including episcopal residences. In Volume I, which was focussed on the north of England, Emery briefly discussed the residences of the bishops of Durham and provided more detailed accounts of the buildings elsewhere. These books are a valuable resource for understanding medieval buildings on a general level and the accessibility of the information within these books mean that it is easy to compare and contrast examples accordingly. Overall however, while there has been much study on high-status medieval architecture and their occupants, little of this has been directly devoted to the study of episcopal residences.

Naomi Payne's 2003 doctoral study *The Medieval Residences of the Bishops of Bath and Wells, and Salisbury* sought to rectify this imbalance. Payne built on the growing momentum of palace studies to explore the residences of these two bishoprics through a synthesis of archaeological, historical and topographical approaches. Through this holistic approach, Payne also explored the landscapes associated with medieval episcopality and the relationship these had with the residences. This approach drew from the trend for landscape-based studies aimed at understanding buildings in the context of their surroundings (Payne 2003: 12-14). Ultimately through the synthesis of many different datasets, a comprehensive impression of the nature of bishopric and the role of the buildings within it has been achieved. Unlike previous studies, this wide scale, holistic approach is particularly attuned for answering bigger questions relating to the episcopal connections with the landscape, use of residences and how they shaped or were shaped by the episcopal role as well as viewing episcopal buildings as a barometer of change alongside complementary historical methods.

Since Payne's thesis, bishops' residences have remained a distinctly understudied subject. Few studies have sought to view episcopacy from the perspective of bishop's residences, and even

fewer have implemented multidisciplinary approaches to do this. John Hare in his study of the evolution of the medieval Wiltshire landscape adopted different approaches, including the distribution and placement of episcopal residences, to understand the effect of episcopal landowners on the landscape more generally (Hare 2011). This is one example where a multifaceted approach to episcopal studies has been implemented within a more general subject area – in this case the evolution of archaeological landscapes.

There are however, signs of change and development in regard to episcopal studies. The 2015 'Princes of the Church and their Palaces' international conference explored bishops' residences from a variety of different perspectives, drawing together insights from historians, medievalists, archaeologists, economic historians and landscape historians[3]. The forthcoming publication of papers presented at this conference will, when considered together, offer a multidisciplinary understanding of bishops' residences for the first time.

Discussion

Overall, the study of bishops' residences has fallen into three groups: historical, archaeological and multidisciplinary. Arguably, it is the multidisciplinary approach that has proved the most innovative. Through the integration of multiple sources, notions developed through either history or archaeology have been challenged. In addition, the multidisciplinary approaches to episcopal buildings have been combined with landscape-studies that when synthesised with more traditional archaeological and historical approaches revealed new and innovative understandings to episcopacy. This holistic approach allows for bishop's residences to be understood as a whole, ultimately furthering our understanding of these buildings, the role they played as a cohort, their connection with the landscape and consequently their relationship with their occupants.

Why study the residences of the bishops of Durham?

The historical and archaeological overview provided above reveals that there has been little synthesis of historical and archaeological datasets in conjunction with a consideration of bishop's residences from a broad, multifaceted perspective. Historical analysis alone has focussed on the social and economic conditions within the bishopric whilst archaeological research targeted at episcopal residences has predominantly sought to understand only the most prestigious examples. Payne (2006) was among the first to adopt an integrated approach to this topic. Through the amalgamation of historical, archaeological and topographical datasets together with a landscape-based perspective, she provided an alternative and more cohesive narrative of episcopacy in the region.

In the case of the bishops of Durham, there has been no systematic study of their residences. Individual residences (mostly *palaces*) have been investigated archaeologically and historically,

[3] http://aucklandcastle.org/conferences

but there has been no attempt to synthesise these findings within the wider context of the other episcopal residences. A study using a similar approach to Payne's thesis is therefore necessary to significantly improve the current state of knowledge of the residences of the bishops of Durham. This is of particular relevance given Durham's unique status as a County Palatine. It is well-known that Durham enjoyed an unparalleled level of autonomy compared to other bishoprics (Liddy 2006: 243) in addition to supreme wealth (Heal 1980: 40). Liddy's (2006) findings have suggested that socially, Durham was also distinct. Therefore, we have reason to believe that Durham was an entity unto itself both in terms of its administration and social identity.

If we accept Churchill's (1944) assertions about the nature of buildings, then the study of buildings and, I argue the anthropogenic landscapes created around them can provide valuable insights into the nature of society and political administration. Nowhere is this more deserving or applicable than in the case of the bishopric of Durham. For the reasons discussed above, Durham was a unique social, regional and political microcosm with the bishops as the rulers. Therefore, the bishops held two distinct roles: spiritual leader and secular ruler. While other bishops also held land and managed vast estates, the bishops of Durham were held at an elevated status. They existed within and managed a unique liberty and as a result exist in their own social category.

Research Aims and Objectives

In order to answer the research questions proposed, this thesis adopts a multidisciplinary approach, utilising many key datasets. The primary aims and objectives of this work can be summarised into six key points:

1) To collate developer-funded, unpublished 'grey literature' together with published archaeological evidence into a broad synthetic overview. This evidence will then be used to provide detailed examinations and reconstructions of these residences.

2) To create a select database of itineraries for some of the bishops of Durham. These sources will be used to inform interpretations of how these residences were used. This is dependent on available resources.

3) To place sites in their wider geographical contexts. Using earthwork analyses, aerial photography and regressional map analysis, the landscapes in which residences were located will be analysed.

4) To understand how bishops' residences interacted as a group and existed individually.

5) To understand how these buildings adapted and changed to meet modern requirements.

6) To understand whether in light of the unique situation of the palatinate of Durham, their residences were different from those of other bishops.

Thesis Structure

This thesis has been grouped into 6 chapters. *Chapter One* is the introduction and review of the literature relating to this study area. *Chapter Two* looks more in depth at the sources and methodologies employed throughout this thesis. Strengths and weaknesses of the different datasets will be assessed and the strengths, difficulties and merits of using a multidisciplinary approach to this study will be reviewed.

Chapter Three is a detailed review of the itineraries of the bishops of Durham. Itineraries compiled from episcopal registers have been synthesised in Appendix 1. This chapter will look in detail at the movements of the bishops, comparing and contrasting their movements from different periods across the High Medieval period to better understand precisely how these buildings were used in relation to one another.

Chapter Four is a very detailed look at the buildings that made up the residences of the bishops of Durham. This chapter is divided into two sections: section one presents the data for each residence, and section two analyses these buildings in terms of *access analysis* to better understand the social meaning of the spaces and how this changes over time. This chapter will draw on textual sources alongside archaeological sources such as excavation, standing buildings analysis and earthwork techniques.

Chapter Five reviews the landscapes and topography relating to these buildings. This chapter is also divided into two parts: section one discusses obvious topographical trends common across residences, while section two looks at the managed landscapes associated with episcopal residences. This chapter draws on a variety of datasets including: archaeozoological deposits, textual resources, maps and illustrations and earthwork analyses.

Chapter Six presents a discussion of the evidence presented in chapters Three, Four and Five. This chapter will critically examine to what extent the evidence presented in Chapters Three, Four and Five is useful in revealing the precise nature of the residences of the bishops of

Durham, and how relevant this information is in constructing ideas relating the use, function and purpose of these buildings. A central theme to this chapter is the question ‘to what extent are the residences of the bishops of Durham indicators of the changing role of episcopacy in late medieval Durham?’.

Chapter Two

Sources and Methodology

Methodology

Numerous lists of bishop's residences have been compiled for England and Wales though each feature a slightly different arrangement of sites (Thompson 1998; Payne 2006). Therefore, for this thesis the sites have been selected and compiled by the author based on a series of characteristics. Firstly, only residences that were built, or were significantly altered by the bishops of Durham are covered. Part of this study is aimed at understanding the motivations behind their buildings regimes. This can only be achieved at residences they were influential in creating. This thesis therefore discounts Barnard Castle (Austin 2007 (a and b)) (which was intermittently resided in by the bishops) and The Manor on the More, Rickmansworth (Biddle et al 1959) (which came into the possession of the bishops of Durham for a short period in the 15th century). Similarly, the bishop's houses at Evenwood and Bedlington similarly do not feature prominently. Neither residence has been firmly located, and there are few textual sources which offer insight into the buildings development. Therefore, the available data provides us with no clear avenues with which to progress knowledge at this point in time.

Data collection on the residences of the bishops of Durham was conducted in two ways. Firstly, secondary literature was consulted. These included general books and articles on the history of County Durham and the towns therein, often produced and compiled by local history societies. In addition, Victoria County History publications were consulted where editions were available. From there, the sources were compiled and researched with attempts made to collect hitherto unpublished data. From these, historical profiles of the residences and landscapes were compiled. County Historic Environment Record Office (HER's) and county archive collections were consulted. Archaeological reports were also requested from commercial archaeology units.

For historical sources, transcribed documents were primarily used. Volumes of transcribed medieval manuscripts produced by The Surtees Society and others formed the basis for much of the historical research. In addition, the Palace Green Special Collections catalogue was consulted for transcriptions and summaries of their collections.

The sources used in this research have been summarised below for the strengths and weaknesses.

Archaeological Sources

Aerial Photography

Aerial photography has been used to better understand every site included in this thesis. It has been a particularly valuable resource for understanding the extent and morphology of earthworks relating to both the buildings and wider landscapes that comprise these sites. It is a relevant technique for understanding sites where little or no standing remains exist. In these instances, aerial photography has proven beneficial in identifying and locating earthworks associated with residence sites, particularly those with no standing remains such as Bishop Middleham, and Riccall. Moreover, it has been used extensively as a primary resource in Chapter Five, where the 'birds-eye' perspective has allowed for full assessments of the wider landscapes associated with these episcopal residences.

This study has used aerial photography from two sources. Firstly, images from Google Earth (*GE*) have been used. Its widespread coverage and ease of access mean that it is an extremely versatile resource that is now an established tool within the discipline of archaeology (Myers 2011; Beck 2006; Ullman and Gorokhovich 2006). *GE* images are of mixed resolution, with some areas recorded at a substantially lower quality than others. In addition, the photographs not taken obliquely limit contrast making it harder to identify subtle earthwork features.

The second source is oblique aerial photography from Historic England's archive collection. These are compiled from a range of sources and dates and were commissioned either to directly survey the archaeology or are other images that have now become of archaeological significance as a result of their content. These photographs range in date from the immediate post-war period (1940s) to the modern day. Furthermore, they are also of varying quality. Most are of a higher quality than *GE* images, though many are not in colour. The oblique angle in these pictures serves to enhance details in the picture through the exaggeration of shadows. This feature renders this type of photography more effective in depicting earthworks than the vertical view captured through *GE* imaging. Oblique photography can be detrimental to our viewing of the data in examples where the focus of archaeological interest does not lie centrally within the photograph. The result is that the focus can be distorted for peripheral objects due to the photographic angulation. Despite this, the resolution and level of detail is far higher in oblique aerial photography than the satellite images produced through *GE*.

Oblique aerial photography is therefore the preferred aerial photographic method. However, for many sites oblique aerial photography remains absent. *GE* therefore remains an essential data source for producing aerial photographic images with which to understand both detailed earthworks and broader landscapes.

Artefacts and Ecofacts

Assemblages of artefacts and ecofacts have been compiled at Auckland Castle, Darlington Manor and, less comprehensively, at Westgate Castle and Wolsingham. Artefacts provide a valuable contribution to our understanding of the occupants 'needs, capabilities, and aspirations' (Hurcombe 2007: 3). In relation to architecture, their discovery is indicative of the buildings uses and function. Alongside, ecofacts provide a clear record of consumption at sites, with the animal remains recovered largely suggestive of hunting and farming in the immediate landscape, with 'exotic' substances indicators of trade and prestige (Ashby 2002). As a result, these datasets have been heavily applied in Chapters' 5 and 6 to illustrate building purposes and the wider exploitation of the landscape.

Large assemblages of artefacts and ecofacts relating to the medieval occupational phases are only available at Auckland Castle and Darlington Manor due to recent wide-scale excavations at these two sites (ASUD 2015; ASUD 2014). These assemblages consist of: pottery, metalwork, glass, textiles and leather, worked stone, archaeobotanical remains, animal bone and other archaeozoological remains (notably the remains of shellfish and molluscs). The scale and breadth of these assemblages is due primarily to the environmental conditions at both sites that enabled the exceptional survival of organic matter. Darlington Manor in particular was waterlogged and yielded large quantities of leather and animal bone.

Smaller assemblages were recovered at Wolsingham, Westgate Castle and Crayke Castle excavations. In these instances, the sites were subject to multiple small-scale excavations which yielded mostly artefactual assemblages. At Westgate Castle the finds included: pottery and metalwork (coins) (ASUD 2013). These small assemblages are limited in their use but can be used successfully as a dating method (i.e. pottery recovered from beside a kiln at Crayke Castle). Occasionally, finds listed by the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) have been used to identify and locate potential areas of elite medieval activity[4]. This resource is of limited use as it the location of finds is recorded as a general area. In addition, these finds are normally recovered as surface-finds by members of the public (PAS 2015). As a result, it is impossible to confirm the source of these artefacts and the context that they belong to. Despite this, finds recorded by the *PAS* remain a useful for identifying areas of elite medieval activity.

The irregular rates of recovery for artefact and ecofacts assemblages are also indicative of different sampling and recording strategies across different excavations. The recovery of large quantities of ecofacts, particularly archaeobotanical material, is restricted to recently excavated sites, and is largely representative of the modern approach to data recording and the changing perceptions of organic material as an informative resource (Campbell, Moffett and Straker 2011). As a result, we have no available organic remains from sites excavated in the 19th and

[4] https://finds.org.uk/

early 20th centuries, and only meaningfully large assemblages from sites excavated in the 21st century.

Therefore, artefacts and ecofacts remain a worthwhile resource for understanding the buildings and landscapes through their use. Aside from textual sources, no other dataset can provide this personal perspective. At sites where large and comprehensive assemblages have survived and been effectively recovered, this resource is particularly illuminating. At sites where the artefact and ecofact assemblages are scarce, this resource can, at best, prove the existence of high-medieval activity. While these assemblages may not shed light on the precise nature of use, and therefore the form these buildings and landscapes adopted, they are beneficial at sites where little other information is known or available.

Excavation Data

Six sites have been excavated in this study. Excavation remains the best technique for understanding historic remains, revealing information where the 'documents are silent' (Barker 1993: 13). Where almost every other dataset fails, excavation can provide a way of collecting tangible evidence relating to the past. At sites for which there are no standing remains, excavation remains the foremost technique for understanding that archaeology; both to better inform impressions of the structural remnants and to retrieve dateable and informative material culture.

The excavations conducted between 2013 and 2014 at Auckland Castle were part of a larger privately funded research project ahead of upcoming development at the site to make it fit for purpose as a heritage visitor attraction (ASUD 2014). The excavators opened 8 trenches and 20 test pits in strategically located positions with clear research objectives, namely to date specific features and test hypotheses generated from standing buildings analysis and geophysical prospection (ASUD 2014: 1-3). The result was a question-led investigation designed at furthering the current state of knowledge of Auckland Castle. This project was the most informative series of excavations used in this study, with excavations significantly furthering the body of research at this site.

Recent excavations conducted ahead of development of the Darlington Manor site similarly yielded informative results (ASUD 2014c). This excavation uncovered a substantial assemblage of medieval and post-medieval artefacts and ecofacts, in addition to large quantities of medieval stonework reused in post-medieval structures. However, as a 'rescue' excavation, the focus of the work was centred on the development region, meaning that the majority of the trenches targeted post-medieval aspects of the building. The result is that much of the known surviving medieval fabric was untouched, potentially meaning that there is unexplored medieval fabric that might be of academic interest.

Westgate Castle excavation was run jointly by a local voluntary archaeological group (Altogether Archaeology) and ASUD (2014d). The result is that a previously very poorly understood site archaeologically is well represented in the archaeological record. Prior to excavations, little was known about the form and appearance of the building, with no surviving images depicting it. Through excavation the first impression of its physical appearance was understood.

Excavations at Seaton Holme (2000), Crayke Castle (1984), Stockton Castle (1988), were less wide-reaching in their scope and success. At all these sites, the excavations were conducted as part of 'rescue' archaeology projects. As at Darlington, the objectives of these excavations were to excavate the at-risk parts of the site, which has not always meant the most profitable areas for academic interest in the residences of the bishops of Durham. The result at these sites is that some new knowledge was gathered, but there are likely more archaeological deposits that, if excavated, would improve the state of knowledge at these sites. At Stockton Castle in particular, the site was excavated only partially and in a very short period of time that meant that much of the suspected archaeological remains were likely missed (Aberg and Smith 1988).

The most accessible format for understanding excavation data are excavation reports. Well synthesised and detailed excavation reports were created at Darlington Manor and Auckland Castle (ASUD 2015 and ASUD 2014c). These included detailed lists of finds, contexts together with Harris matrices and dating evidence. The older excavations are generally not recorded in such a detailed format. Antiquarian reports are typically recorded even less effectively, with contexts entirely absent. The variation in recording quality can make understanding the broad picture of residences a challenge.

Geophysical Evidence

Two sites included in this thesis have been surveyed using techniques of geophysical prospection. Geophysical survey is a tool for understanding below-ground deposits in an unobtrusive manner (EH 2008). Where applied, this resource has produced detailed and effective images of below-ground remains that have, in some cases, been clear enough to identify buildings and rooms (i.e. Bishop Middleham Castle). In this study, two types have geophysical prospection have been employed: electrical resistivity and magnetic gradiometry. The latter has been employed most frequently among surveyed sites due to its quick surveying time and relatively low cost compared to other techniques. This method measures magnetic variations in the soil and is adept at identifying areas of high magnetic response (i.e. metalwork or areas of burning/brick walls) and low magnetic response (i.e. ditches). Because of this, it has not been used in urban areas (i.e. Durham and Darlington) because of response interference. Using this technique, some notable features have been identified which are of archaeological interest in this study.

Electrical resistivity has been employed less often but to great effect at Auckland Castle (ASUD 2013) where both geophysical prospection techniques were used conjunctionally to provide the fullest record of the below-ground deposits. This was particularly effective as this technique identifies different features to magnetic gradiometry. By measuring the resistance encountered by specially emitted electrical charges, this technique can adeptly identify stone features, which are not so easily measured through magnetic gradiometry (EH 2008). Therefore, this is a preferable technique for understanding episcopal residences.

Geophysical prospection, where it has been used, has produced an informative dataset for understanding residences with subterranean deposits. The general absence of electrical resistivity surveys has resulted in a reliance on magnetic gradiometry surveys in this study. As both sources identify different features, there is significant scope to correct this imbalance with further surveying. For this study, these sources have been informative and provide an indicator of the below-ground deposits available for research.

Geophysical prospection remains a valuable technique for understanding the below-ground deposits at the residences of the bishops of Durham. Where viable (i.e. not in urban settings) this technique has produced usable and informative evidence of the form, layout and design of residences. In most cases however, magnetic resistivity has been preferred over electrical resistivity. The latter produces plans most suited to the known building materials at these sites, meaning that the adoption of only magnetometry does not produce the fullest record of the remains at this site. Auckland Castle is the only site that employs both techniques, resulting in a comprehensive record of the site.

Standing Building Records

Six sites incorporate standing buildings remains. Of these only four have been recorded using standing building analysis techniques. While there are many tools available in the study of standing buildings (EH 2006), drawn elevations, photographic records and descriptions of building features are the three techniques employed in this study.

Drawn elevations are the most common and thorough technique of standing building recording in this study. These are essential to our understanding of the buildings development as they provide a clear record of the stonework unobscured by external influences, such as light and shadow, that are present in photography (EH 2006: 8). These measured elevations therefore provide an easy and accessible resource for understanding patterns within the building that relate to its phasing and development. At Seaton Holme and Auckland Castle, measured elevations have been an essential resource in understanding the phasing and dating of the buildings.

At sites where measured elevations are not available, written descriptive records of the development and phasing of the buildings are available. These reports consist of a written

account of the building fabric which dates and phases the different portions of the building with photographs and drawings of interesting features. These are generally thorough and informative guides to the age and development of a building. While they lack the precision of drawn elevations, they are nevertheless informative guides for understanding the development and phasing of a building.

Lastly, photographs of standing building features have been used as an illustrative resource in this study. Although drawn elevations are typically preferred over photographs as a permanent way of recording historic building material (EH 2006), they remain a useful and accessible resource in this study for understanding the historic character of a building. At Auckland Castle, Durham Castle, Seaton Holme, Howden Manor and Crayke Castle individual features have been recorded photographically in their current state of preservation. These images have been used alongside other standing building recording techniques, and offer a detailed way of recording important features. Although photographs are not often at sufficient resolution to be used as a way of documenting large bodies of masonry (EH 2006: 14), they offer accurate and non-biased records of a feature. While a drawn record confers the interpretation of the illustrator, a photograph does not, therefore leaving the interpretation of the image to the viewer not the creator. Therefore, for small, dateable and diagnostic features, photographs remain a valuable technique.

The most useful standing buildings records remain those that incorporate many different recording techniques. Seaton Holme, Durham Castle, and Auckland Castle stand out as examples of this. Through the integration of drawn elevations, photographs and descriptions the fullest impression of the nature of the standing remains is realised. Standing buildings can be understood on both a stone-by-stone level alongside a broader classification. Through the synthesis of many different techniques, the best and fullest impression of these buildings can be realised.

Maps and Illustrations

Maps and illustrations have been used as an abundant resource in this thesis, particularly where buildings or residences continued to remain standing into post-medieval and modern periods.

Firstly, cartographic sources have been used to identify building and landscape changes in successive periods. From the 19th century, Ordnance Survey maps have been a plentiful resource that provides detail to a scale of 6 inches. These are useful for understanding landscape change on a small and detailed scale, but do not date back far enough to be of great use in understanding medieval landscape change.

Some medieval maps have been located that show the county of Durham generally. While these lack the precision and detail of later maps, they do offer a good general guide to the landscape and identify key features such as parks, rivers, castles and manors. The oldest map consulted in

this thesis dates from 1577, and although after the study period can still highlight aspects of the landscape lost today (Saxton 1577).

The quality and availability of illustrations relating to the residences of the bishops of Durham is variable. Auckland Castle and Durham Castle are unique among the residences of the bishops of Durham because there are contemporary post-medieval images available for consultation. Darlington Bishop's Manor has some later images of the still standing bishops' residences that offer a valuable insight into the standing building before it was demolished.

These resources have been very helpful in improving our understanding of the buildings. In cases where they exist they have been used to ground-truth observations highlighted in textual sources. However, caution should be established over using them. In Buck's 1727 engraving of Auckland Castle, windows in the Scotland Wing appear differently than today. Archaeological research has discovered the wall to be an original medieval feature and probably not rebuilt. Therefore, it is probable that these windows are not an accurate representation of the actual windows in Auckland Castle.

Historical Sources

Bishop's Registers and *acta*

Episcopal registers comprise the primary data source for the itineraries of the bishops of Durham (Appendix 1) that form the basis for the discussion in Chapter 3. Episcopal registers are the core documents relating the episcopacy of an individual bishop (Smith 1981). They were compiled as an administrative resource to document the affairs of the bishops in an easily accessible format (Smith 1981: ix).

Registers have been located and suggested according to David Smith's 1981 *A Guide to Bishop's Registers in England and Wales*. Only published transcribed registers have been used in this thesis. The unpublished and incomplete register of Bishop Hatfield for example, has not been included. Given the vast number of bishops in the high medieval period, a selection of registers has been chosen from across the time period, in order to provide a broad and comparative dataset.

Registers are a useful resource because they primarily contain a complete record of documents issued by the bishop during their episcopacy. For some bishops these are very thorough and lengthy, while for others fewer documents were written or survive. Enclosed within the charters, receipts and memoranda that comprise the bishops' registers are typically a record of the date and place it was recorded. Although this information is periodically omitted, it is present in the vast majority of cases. It is from these records that an itinerary for the bishops' movements can be composed. The majority of texts are recorded according to the Gregorian Calendar. In

instances where they feature the Roman dating system, Cheney and Jones (2000) *A Handbook of Dates* has been consulted.

It is not possible to fully verify whether or not a bishop was actually present in the signing of a document. It is known that the bishops' seal was used by episcopal officials, and this might account for some of the most distant locations recorded in the registers (Post 1964: 46). With a few exceptions, there are no duplicate records with different dates, which might prove definitively that this practice had occurred. Despite this, registers are still a very valuable resource for understanding general patterns of episcopal travel.

In addition, in cases where the itinerary appears like this:

Richard Kellawe

1311	*July 4th*	*Riccall*
	July 9th	*Riccall*

speculation must be made for the intervening period between July 4th and July 9th. In the instance outlined above, it could be reasonably presumed that the bishop remained at Riccall for the unrecorded days. In cases where the time between recorded documents is longer, then it must be accepted that we cannot know with certainty where the bishop was in that period.

Smith (1981) notes that the keeping of registers is a primarily a post-1300 phenomenon. In the case of the bishops of Durham, there are many volumes of *acta* which survive. These *acta* document the earliest periods and are less complete than later medieval registers. The main differences between *acta* and registers is the intention behind their production. *Acta* are charters which have been compiled into volumes according to bishop, whereas registers are a compilation of documents relating to the bishops formed during the medieval period. For some, the distinction between the earlier and later high medieval period can be drawn by the date at which registers were introduced (Brooke 2005:4). As a result, registers are more detailed and can provide a better impression of the movements of the bishops. While *acta* are less detailed and unable to reveal journeys made by bishops, they are nevertheless helpful at showing the places where the bishop resided.

Travellers and diarists – contemporary accounts

Four of the sites in this study were documented by medieval diarists William de Chambre (fl. 1365?) and the well-known antiquarian John Leland (c. 1503 - 1552). Leland wrote an itinerary of his travels through the British Isles and Europe (Chandler 1998) and his evidence is especially interesting. For example, the terminology Leland uses regarding the 'Old Hall' and 'New Tower' at Crayke Castle offer a relative chronology for this building. For the purposes of this study, Toulmin-Smith's (1909) transcription of Leland's itinerary has been used in

preference to other resources as it is widely regarded as the most accurate transcription of Leland's original itinerary (Rippon 2012: 35). John Chandler's (1998) modern English edition was also consulted as a reference aid in this study.

William de Chambre (c.1365) features briefly as a chronicler of Durham episcopal affairs. He was widely reputed to have been marshal of the Guest Hall at Durham Priory and probably part of Bishop de Bury's household (Piper 2004) who continued the work of chronicler Robert de Graystanes (Archer 1887). Although not as prolific in his recording of the residences of the bishops of Durham, de Chambre's accounts provide a valuable insight into the 14th century bishops residences. Although his testimony is only of use in understanding two residences (Durham Place and Howden Manor), de Chambre's records provide a sense of the dating and patrimony of these buildings as it was understood in the 14th century. In both these cases, de Chambre's records are the only indication of the date of these buildings from this time. As a dating source, these are valuable. However, these sources are not descriptive and cannot provide the same level of detail and depth that Leland does. Therefore, de Chambre's accounts are of limited value.

Contemporary accounts from diarists and travellers are a valuable resource for understanding these buildings and adjoining landscapes from the point of view of the audience for which they were created. This insight into the mind of the observer provides a unique perspective with which to understand these buildings. Leland's use of terminology challenges our perceptions of the phasing and dating of specific buildings at Crayke Castle, while de Chambre provides a dateable resource in cases where there are no structural remains. Caution should be observed however, when using multiple strands of written evidence. At Howden Manor and Durham Place, multiple diarists record different dates for the founding of these buildings. Although these have been interpreted to mean the different dates for the extension and development of the buildings, these instances highlight a weakness arising from this resource. Being personal testimonies, their accuracy cannot be verified and overreliance on them as the only source of evidence is unreliable. In cases where they are the only source of dating evidence, their use alongside testable archaeological dating methods is preferable. At Howden this has been achieved, although due to the lack of archaeological remains at Durham Place, this cannot be conducted.

In conclusion therefore, personal testimonies from diarists and travel writers are an important and valuable resource. They offer a unique perspective with which to understand these buildings and landscapes. Ultimately however, they are an unreliable source when used in isolation that should be used with caution or in conjunction with more secure dating methods.

Contemporary Surveys

Study of the residences of the bishops of Durham can be dissected by the three principal surveys that were conducted during this time: The Boldon Book (1183), Bishop Hatfield's Survey (1377 – 1385) and a post-medieval Parliamentary Survey (1646). These surveys are a compilation of the records for the pertinences of the bishops of Durham at different points throughout the High Medieval Period. In effect, they serve as a detailed record of the state of episcopal holdings at crucial moments through the history of the bishopric of Durham. These are therefore extremely important guides for understanding the development of the residences of the bishops of Durham, both individually and as a whole.

Commissioned by Bishop Hugh de Puiset (1153 – 1195), the Boldon Book was created in 1183 as a record of the rents and dues owed by tenants in land owned by the bishop (Austin 1983). As a result, any residence that fell in towns, vills and manors owned by the bishopric were recorded in this survey. The detail with which they were recorded does vary and offers varying levels of use. For example, Auckland Castle is descriptively mentioned as being a 'hunting lodge' adjacent to hunting parks, whereas others are merely mentioned as a manor within episcopal lands (Austin 1985: 87). David Austin's 1982 transcription and translation have been used in this study.

Hatfield's Survey is a manuscript of compiled documents commissioned by Bishop Hatfield between 1377 and 1385 as a survey of episcopal owned land and holdings (Greenwell 1857). This document at times offers a very detailed and comprehensive record of the precise possessions owned by the see of Durham. However, not every residence known to be inhabited at during this period is included in this survey. Therefore, it is of intermittent and variable use. Greenwell's transcription from 1857 is the copy consulted in this study.

Some residences were subject to Parliamentary Surveys in the early modern period to assess their value and chattels. For the most part these surveys are very detailed and are comprehensive enough to provide clear reconstructions of estate size, layout and contents. Stockton Castle, Crayke Castle and Howden Manor were all subject to a parliamentary survey. In each of these cases, these surveys have been transcribed, translated and discussed in later antiquarian works (Raine 1876; Sowler 1976; Raine 1869).

Antiquarian accounts and secondary literature

Owing to Durham's rich and well-documented history, there have been many attempts to tell the history of the Bishops of Durham. The most famous of these historians was James Raine (1791-1858) (Bell 2004). He published histories of many medieval buildings in County Durham in addition to broader volumes on this history of Durham. In this thesis his work on Auckland Castle (1852) has been used. In this work, Raine recorded the history of the building and attempted to date and phase parts of it. In addition, he included hand drawn elevations of the building and specific architectural features (1852). Until recently (ASUD 2015), Raine's work

was the most recent detailed study of this building. Raine's son, also named James Raine (1839-1896) was also a prolific historian of Durham. His work on Crayke Castle (1869) and Stockton Castle (1876) also provided the most detailed accounts of these buildings until recently. Though more recent archaeological work has in some cases cast doubt on their assertions (i.e. Raine's date for the Scotland Wing at Auckland Castle has since been disproven with modern archaeological investigation), these works are still valuable.

Work by other antiquarian researchers have been consulted for this study. Notably, topographer William Hutchinson (1794) and Fordyce and Joicey (1857) both produced broad geographic and historical overviews of Cumberland and County Durham respectively. These works were very thorough and their observations have been useful in this study. More recent local history works have provided further insights. For example, Sowler's history of Stockton-on-Tees features transcriptions of medieval documents (1978) as does Chapman's work on Darlington (1975). In some places, unpublished local history resources have also proved useful, though their reliability has variable and have been used sparingly and in conjunction with other resource. Overall, these resources have been very useful in identifying key themes and for providing more detail on the towns and landscapes in which these residences were situated. In many cases, these studies are the first of their kind and as a result offer an unrivalled resource.

Chapter Three

The Travels of the Bishop: interconnection of residences revealed through episcopal itineraries

For a medieval bishop travel was a necessity. To perform judicial and administrative responsibilities, a bishop had to visit their subordinates. Similarly, the bishop fell under the command of the King and Pope and was obliged to attend Church Councils and Royal Assemblies in London, York and Rome (Woolgar 1999). Therefore, their episcopal role was inherently mobile requiring an administrative and material infrastructure (Thompson 1997). This chapter will examine more closely the role of residences in their mobile life. In so doing, the movements of the bishop will be analysed to reveal how these residences were used as a whole. To achieve this, episcopal itineraries compiled from transcribed registers have been used to reveal the residences occupied by individual bishops throughout their episcopacy. Therefore, allowing us greater insight into the time spent at different locations and the resulting relationship between these sites.

Substantial work has been conducted on the value of itineraries in medieval studies although this has primarily focussed on royal journeying (Barrow 2012). The study of episcopal travel is a growing field of research with recent transcriptions of episcopal acta[5] reigniting a popular vein of research from the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Smith 1981; Fraser 1957; Hinde 1952; Peers Howden 1932). Nevertheless, little literature has concentrated on the value of these documents and their impact to our understanding of medieval buildings and archaeology more widely. Where itineraries have been employed alongside archaeological research, this has tended to focus on understanding medieval route-ways, with little attention concentrated on the residences specifically (Hindle 1976; Edwards and Hindle 1991). Julia Barrow's recent article (2012) on the identification and nature of episcopal way-stations therefore provides an important piece of research. This chapter will adopt a similar stance, using episcopal itineraries as tools to indicate the pattern of occupation at individual locations. This will be conducted through looking at two distinct areas of episcopal travel: ambulation within their diocese and extended journeys beyond the see of Durham. Analysis from the itineraries highlights the different approaches adopted by bishops when travelling in these different spheres. In the

[5] The English Episcopal Acta Project conducted by the British Academy for the Humanities and Social Sciences have published 44 Volumes to date of episcopal acta. The series began in 1980 with their latest volume published in 2014.

former, the territory was familiar with residences littering the landscape, while in the latter the hospitality of amenable nobles and religious houses ensured safe passage (Woolgar 1999: 47-49). To further understand the nature of this travel, data from the itineraries has been analysed to reveal patterns of occupation at palaces, distance between them and identification of them.

Popularity of Sites and Frequency of Occupation

The relative popularity of residences can in some way be gauged through understanding how regularly they appeared in episcopal itineraries. As a general rule, the bishop was present in the places he signed a document and as such these are excellent indicators to the placement and location of the bishop. Most recently Hoskin (2016) has challenged this assertion by identifying clear examples where bishops were documented at being in two places simultaneously. She argues that this proves that these sources are inherently flawed. While Hoskins arguments are valid, for the purposes of this thesis I argue that these sources are still valuable in identifying sites that were being used. Where possible only sources sealed by the bishop or clearly issued by the bishop have been used. In the case of Bishop Fox's register, many sources appear to have been issued by other members of the clergy. In these instances, only sources issued specifically by the bishop have been used. In this way, we can develop the clearest impression of the episcopal movements between residences.

In the light of this research it should be remembered that not all the residences of the bishops of Durham were in use at the same time. Many went in and out of fashion throughout the period, and this is reflected in the results. Similarly, as mentioned above, the bishops of Durham kept registers and *acta*s of different quality. As a result, some of these diagrams feature hundreds of records, while others feature only a few. This is an unavoidable data bias. However, it is perhaps most surprising given these findings that with so few records, there is such a high degree of movement and variation within the results. Arguably, this is highly indicative of the peripatetic life.

Pie charts are used to illustrate the frequency of visits to episcopal residences and elsewhere. What is clear from analysing the data is that the earlier episcopacies of Richard Poore, Nicholas Farnham, Walter Kirkham, Robert Stichill and Robert of Holy Island present a contrasting picture of travel and occupational patterns than the later bishop Thomas Langley. Broadly these two groupings of bishops can be divided by period, with the 13th century bishops presenting a contrasting occupational pattern to the late 14th and early 15th century bishops. Antony Bek is the only bishop in this study whose episcopacy straddled the 13th and 14th centuries.

The 13th century bishops' itineraries reveal a trend for issuing *acta* from numerous different sites with no overwhelming preference for particular locations. While some locations appear more frequently for specific bishops, for example Robert of Holy Island visited Bishop Auckland more frequently than other places with 31% of the *actum* having been issued from

there; no location can be confidently asserted to have been a ‘favoured’ estate, with none issuing over 50% of *actum* form a singular location. Instead numerous locations had actum issued from them, suggesting that multiple locations were visited often. This is especially clear from the itinerary of Robert Stichill who records having visited 7 locations within the bishopric of Durham regularly, with none of these locations exceeding 23 per cent with five no less than 10 per cent of the time. It can therefore be suggested that these results indicate a highly

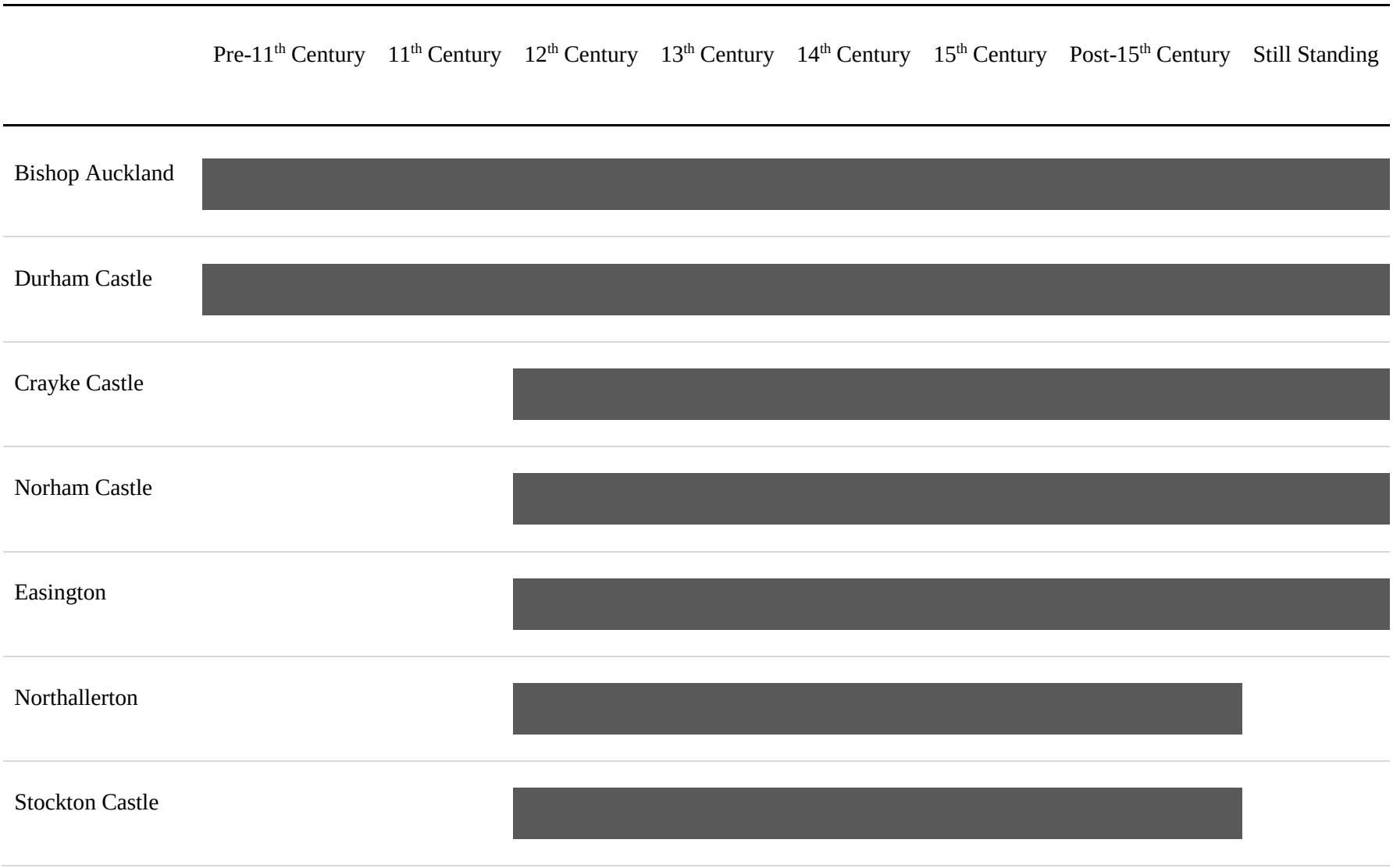
Pre-11th Century
11th Century
12th Century
13th Century
14th Century
15th Century
Post-15th Century
Still Standing
Bishop Auckland
Durham Castle
Crayke Castle
Norham Castle
Easington
Northallerton
Stockton Castle

Figure 2. Duration of use of these residences.

mobile episcopacy, visiting residences at an equal rate.

In contrast, the late 14th and 15th century itineraries reveal fewer sites where documents were issued suggesting the adoption of a more sedentary lifestyle and the development of 'favoured' residence. In each of the pie charts relating to the itineraries of, Thomas Langley and, between 63 per cent and 76 per cent of acta issued came from a singular location. This is an evident increase from the 39 per cent of acta issued from a singular location by Walter Kirkham in the 13th Century. Thomas Langley records from a broad spectrum of locations but the other two (Skirlaw and Neville) record from three and four locations within the Durham bishopric respectively. This suggests that bishops were travelling not only less, but to fewer locations. However, this may instead result from a data collection bias insofar as we have fewer surviving acta from these episcopacies. Nevertheless, from analysing Langley's register it is clear that there was a trend toward the establishment of 'favoured' estates.

The itinerary of Antony Bek from the late 12th/early 13th centuries reveals a bishop that moved extensively around the bishopric, visiting numerous locations, with the early development of a favoured estate in Bishop Auckland, issuing 46 per cent of *actum* from there. Although not as a convincing as the more regularly visited 'favoured' palaces of Langley, Bishop Auckland is visited more by Bek than other singular location from any earlier bishops. Arguably, what we are seeing an emerging pattern for the development of 'favoured' estates beginning with Bek in the late 12th and 13th centuries that, by the 15th century has developed further with bishops spending the vast majority of their time in a singular location.

Elite Parallels

The evidence presented through the itineraries echoes a wider phenomenon repeated throughout British nobility, both ecclesiastic and lay. Academic discussion of other English episcopal itineraries has favoured the stance that bishops enjoyed an actively mobile life within their own dioceses initially, with the development of 'preferred' estates from the late 14th/15th centuries onwards (Woolgar 1999:46-47). Examples from across Britain substantiate this claim. After AD 1400 bishops from Salisbury regularly spent in excess of 200 consecutive days in a singular location (Woolgar 1999:47). In addition, the Bishops of London regularly visited only 5 main palaces, choosing not to inhabit a range of previously used domiciles (Woolgar 1999:47). This trend was not confined to bishops and clergymen solely with royalty developing a similar trend toward itinerancy. The most complete itineraries of Kings John (1199-1216), Edward I (1272-1307), Edward II (1307-1327) and Edward III (1327-1377) exhibit a similar trend for the development of sedentariness (Hindle 1976: 213-214). For example, Kings John and Edward I accomplished 1,378 and 2, 891 moves respectively within their reigns, averaging 81 and 83 moves individually per annum (Hindle 1976: 213-214). In contrast, Edward II's itinerary from

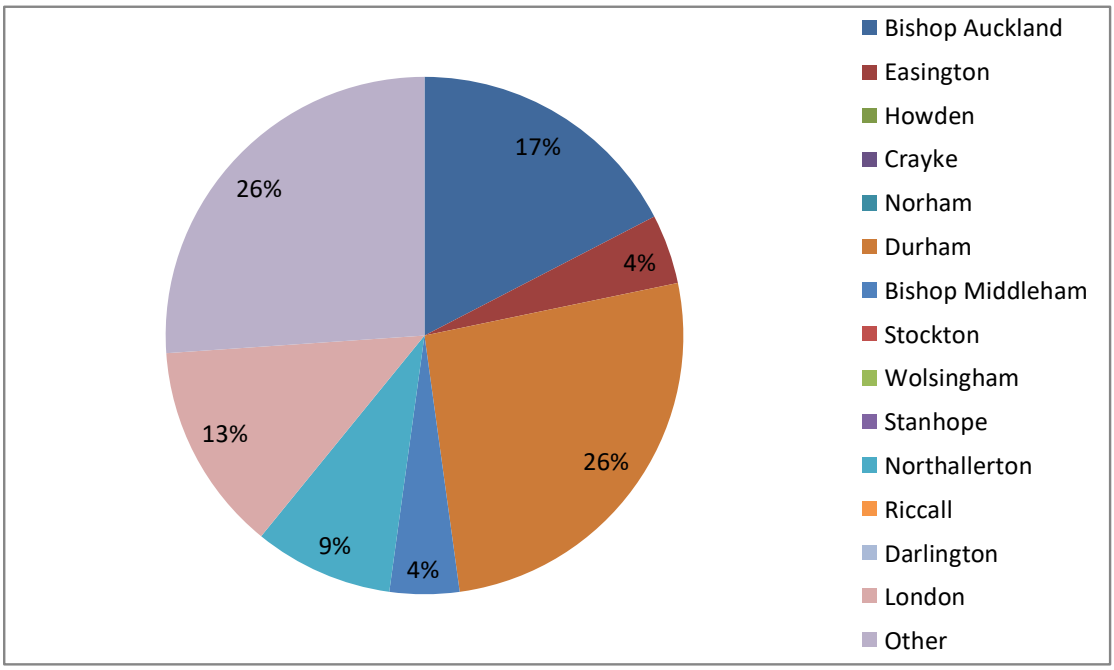

Figure 4. Chart showing the proportion of documents recorded from different locations for Bishop Richard Poore (1209-1213).

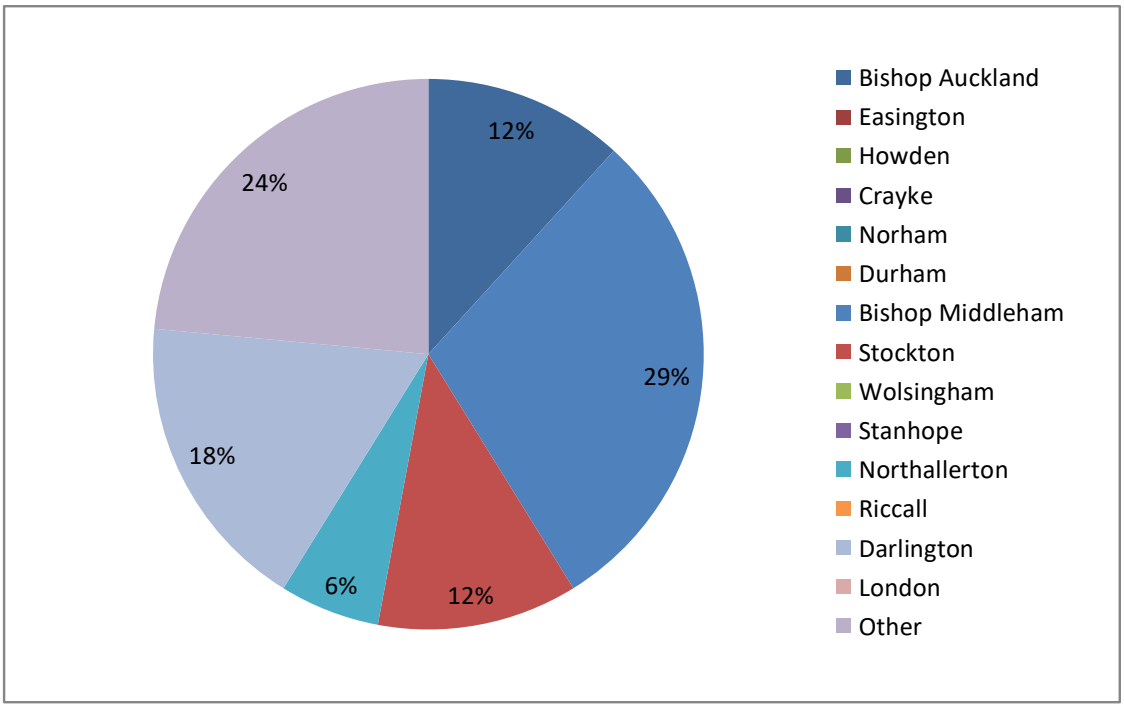

Figure 3. Chart showing the proportion of documents recorded from different locations for Bishop Nicholas Farnham (1241 - 1249).

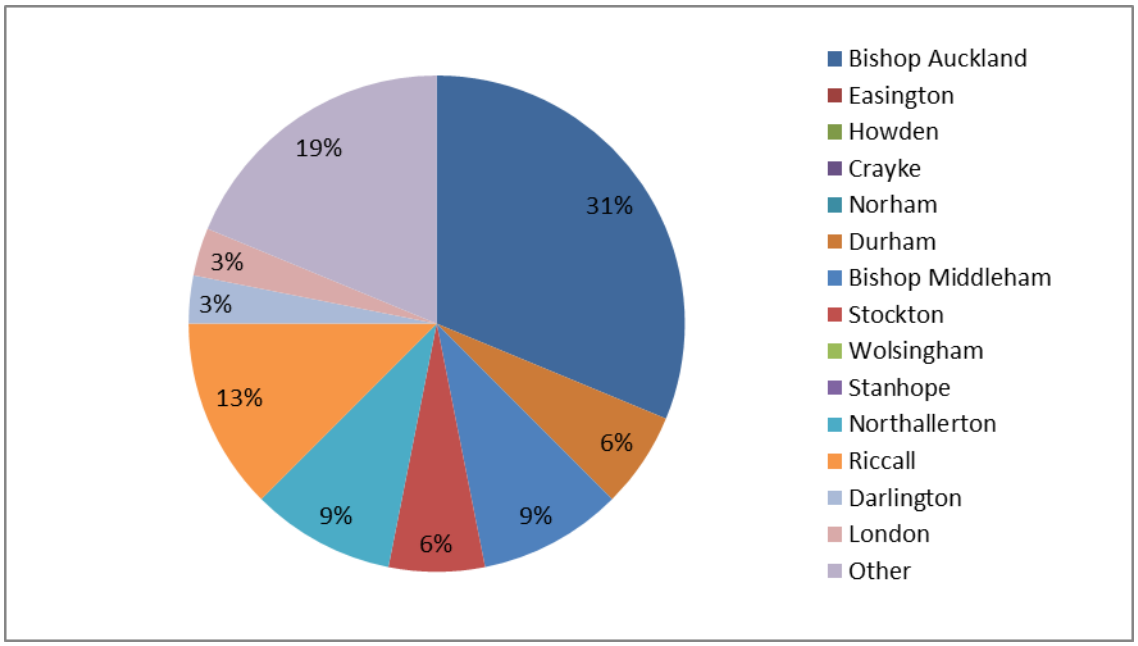

Figure 5. Chart showing the proportion of documents issued from individual residences for the episcopacy of Bishop Walter Kirkham (1249-1260).

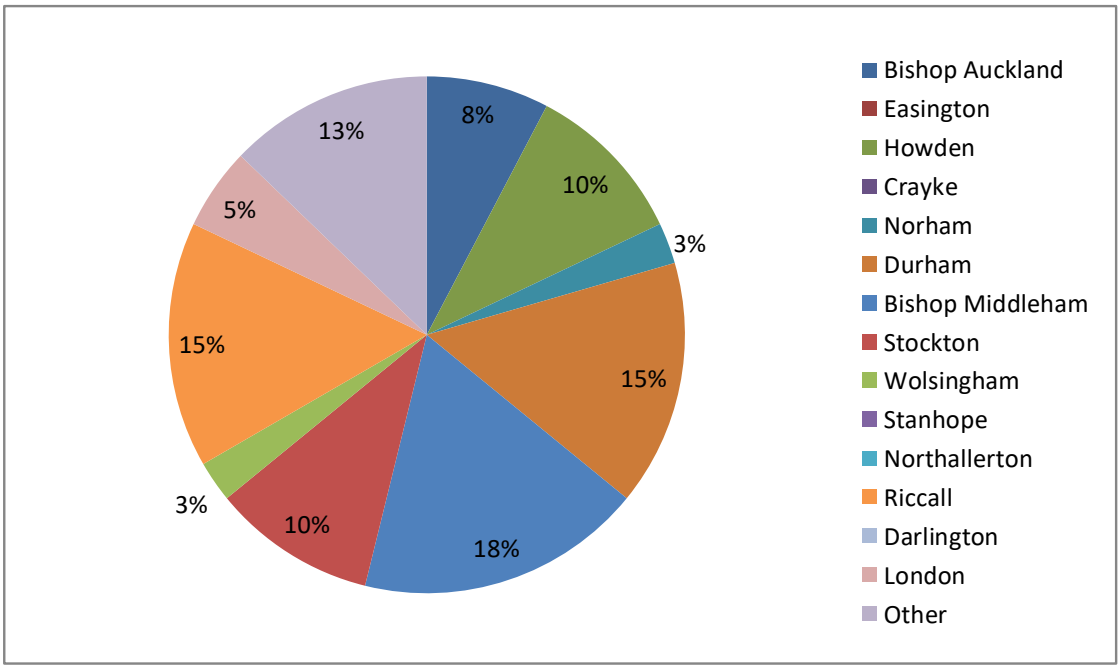

Figure 6. Chart showing the proportion of documents issued from particular locations during the episcopacy of Bishop Robert Stichill (1260 – 1274).

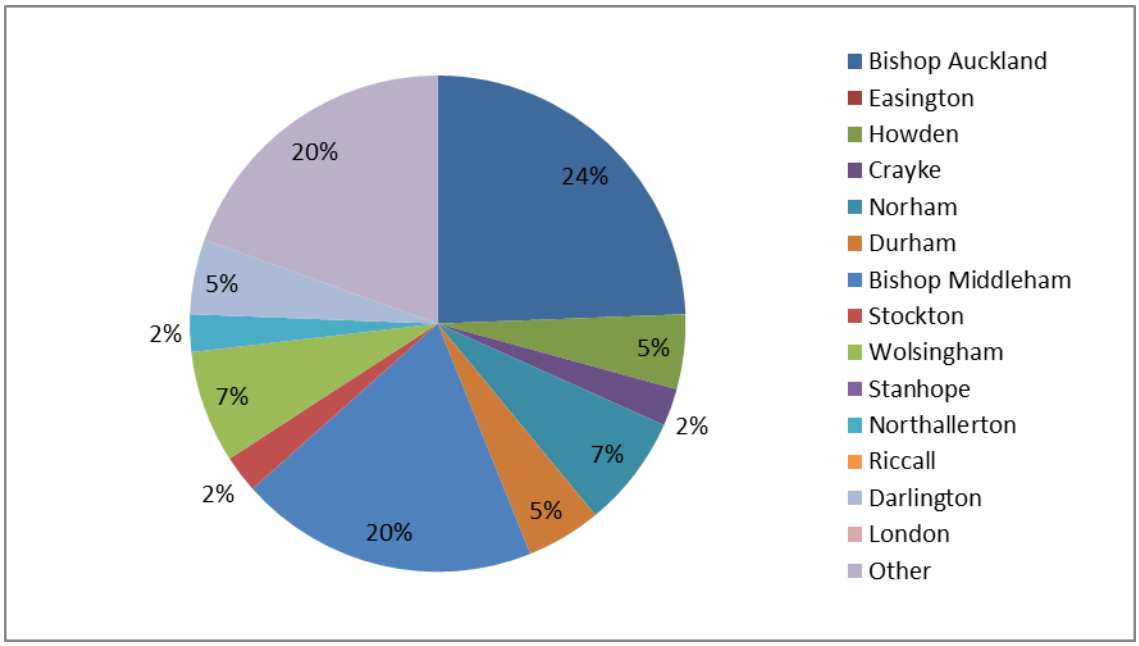

Figure 7. Chart showinn the proportion of documents issued from individual residences during the episcopacy of Bishop Robert of Holy Island (1274-1283)

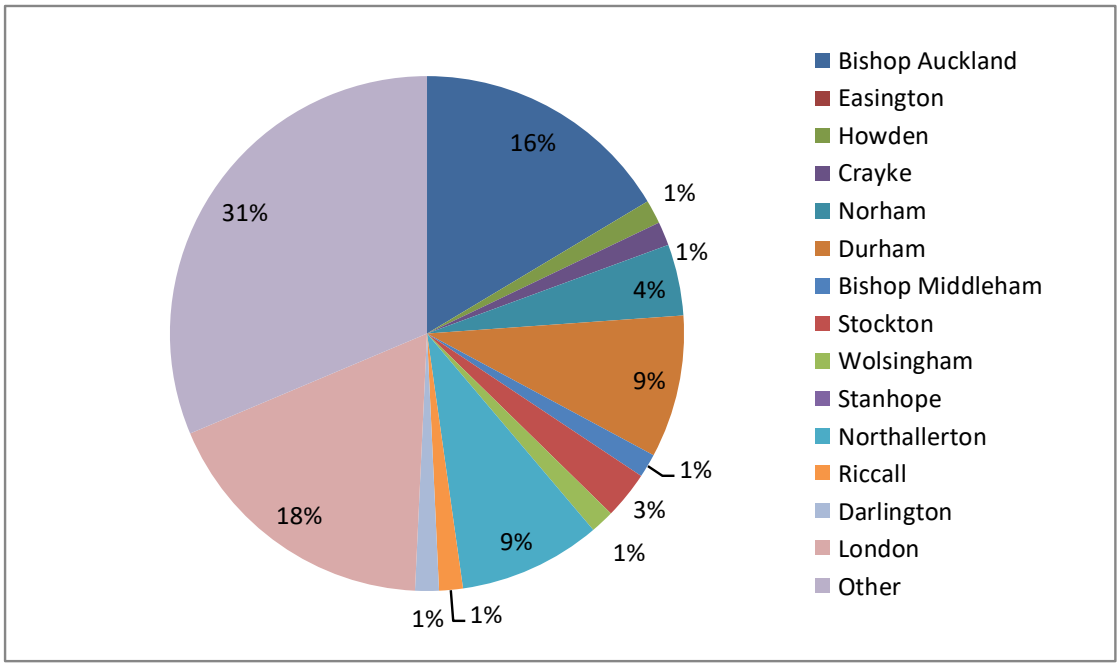

Figure 8. Chart showing the proportion of documents issued from particular locations during the episcopacy of Bishop Antony Bek (1260 - 1274).

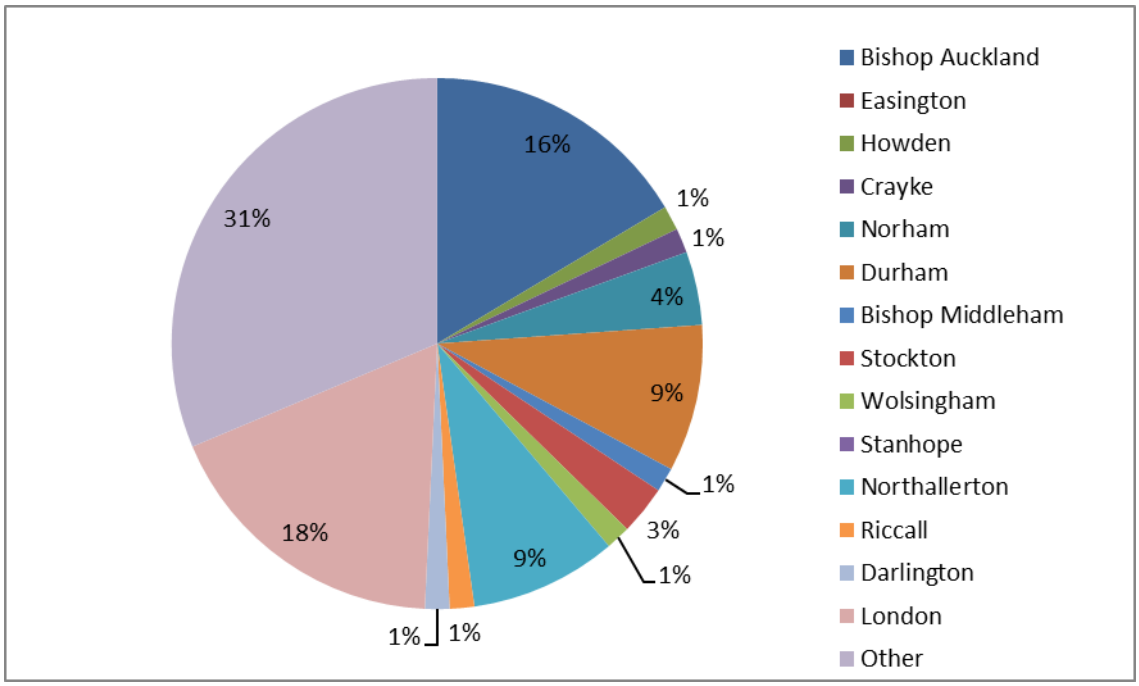

Figure 9. Chart showing the proportion of documents issued from individual residences during the episopacy of bishop Thomas Langley (1406 – 1437).

the 14th Century reveals only 72 moves per annum (Hindle 1976: 213-214) with the final 30 years of Edward III's reign notable for the adoption of a more sedentary lifestyle based primarily in Southern England in and around the royal residences at Westminster and Windsor (Ormrod 2011:609-630). Nevertheless, as Beaumont James highlights, elite clergy remained the most actively mobile sector of medieval nobility (1990:16). Historians commonly attribute the origin of early itinerancy to the practical requirements of using up food resources and performing administrative duties at these residences (Barrow 2012: 550; Beaumont James 1990:12). Aside from the practicalities afforded by a peripatetic lifestyle, this decline in elite itinerancy is arguably symptomatic of the changing state of social order and composition in the later High Medieval Britain. Matthew Johnson (1996) has written comprehensively on the changing state of elite of residences as a result of the decline of the peripatetic medieval household (Johnson 1996: 135). In 'An Archaeology of Capitalism' he argues that by the 16th century a social transformation had occurred whereby the medieval household had declined to such an extent that continual mobility was largely unachievable (Johnson 1996: 135). This transformation was borne from a change in social attitude to sending elite children between households (Johnson 1996: 135). Instead, it became more common to keep children within their own households and families and school them in that way (Johnson 1996: 135). For the bishops of Durham, the pressures of family and intermarriage did not necessarily apply. Despite this, bishops were necessarily a part of the medieval social elite. While they held a dual role as both spiritual leader and secular lord, arguably it is their capacity as a secular lord that accounts for the sudden and dramatic change in episcopal itinerancy displayed through analysis of their registers. In this way, they are bound by the same conventions as secular elites.

In addition, James highlights this important factor involved in the decline in noble itinerancy as the necessity to collect revenues from tenants (1990:16). With the establishment of a well-organised monetary economy, the necessity to travel to collect revenues became less pressing. Arguably, if the bishops of Durham were not reliant on visiting manors and estates to collect all their taxation, the peripatetic lifestyle was not as necessary. Due to the well-preserved and abundant archive of material relating to the bishops of Durham it is clear that while many transactions involved the payment of 'denarii argenti' many still revolved around land and produce. The bishops' bailiffs in their manors were largely responsible for the receiving and distribution of goods and chattels.

Therefore, it is clear that the bishops of Durham were affected by external factors experienced by monarchy and other medieval elites. Their decline in the peripatetic lifestyle is not unique to Durham and is highly reflective of the wider social atmosphere at this time.

Extended Stays and Repeated Stays – What do they mean?

What this chapter has revealed so far is that the travel habits of the bishops of Durham reflected a far greater atmosphere of change occurring in medieval elite groups as a result of political revolution. Religious and political transformations resulted in the overall move away from peripatetic episcopality and kingship across Britain by the 15th Century. The implications of this are visible in the bishop's palaces. Chapters Four and Five will tackle in more depth the material remains of the buildings and the wider landscape to identify whether it is possible to archaeologically identify any physical alterations made to accommodate this new lifestyle. From the itineraries alone some features of sedentary episcopal life can be discerned.

For example, Thomas Langley (1406-1437) regularly spent the winter period at Auckland Castle, Bishop Auckland. From his 31 year episcopacy, 16 lengthy wintertime stays at Bishop Auckland have were recorded. While this may be a sign of his personal preference for this site, as we see bishops favour different locations; arguably this could have been a result of the amenities available at Bishop Auckland. The winter time periods he resided in Bishop Auckland correspond strongly with known deer hunting seasons (Richardson 2005). This suggests an attraction to the site that is directly unrelated to the spiritual and judicial roles of the bishop. Hunting was an elite activity, popular as a communal sporting activity partaken by numerous elites for the intention of strengthening social bonds and displaying wealth in a chivalrous manner (Judkins 2013). In the case of Thomas Langley, the itineraries suggest that this was an important aspect of his episcopacy to warrant annual two or three month winter habitation at Auckland Castle. From this we can surmise that hunting was important either as a personal endeavour of the bishop or as an important elite activity to strengthen interpersonal relationships therefore embedding the bishop among the ranks of other medieval social elite and, as a result, ensuring the perpetuity of the interests of the bishopric.

Another place highlighted as a frequently occupied site is the palace in London. Nearly all bishoprics held an estate in London as a place to stay when conducting affairs there (Jenkinson 2009). From the itineraries it is clear that for some bishops this was a popular location, suggesting other factors influencing the decision to occupy this site. One causative factor is the personal political ambition of individual bishops. Antony Bek, for example, was a prominent figure in the court of Edward II, assuming political roles, such as Investigator of the Templars, in addition to being the Bishop of Durham (Fraser 1957). Thomas Langley, similarly held political roles beign Lord Chancellor England to three kings and acting as the longest serving medieval chancellor (Sharman 1999)

In some instances sites are listed within registers with little relation to known episcopal affairs. One such example is the repeatedly visited site of Tarrant by Richard Poore (1209-1213). This site probably relates to Tarrant Abbey and Cistercian Monastery in Dorset (Emery 2006: 596). There is no known link between this religious institution and the bishopric of Durham.

Nevertheless, this nunnery fell within the bishopric of Salisbury where Poore had been translated from. I suggest that what we are seeing through his repeated visitations to Tarrant is a personal mission relating to his previously held episcopacy.

These examples all highlight that travel, and stay, were conducted for a multitude of reasons. Some were likely to have been for personal reasons, others for social and business reasons and some for reasons relating to the episcopal role. In the centuries prior to and including the 14th century, we can identify from the itineraries deviations from the standard spectrum of sites visited (as in the case of Richard Poore and Tarrant) but it is virtually impossible to identify a pattern of occupation frequent or regular enough to suggest a pull-factor to that site. This is not the case in later periods, where we can identify clear patterns of seasonal occupation. Not only does this highlight the changes in episcopal journeying mentioned above, but hints at an impact of these changes on the use, function and approach to these sites. With bishops occupying sites for shorter durations

Situation of Sites – Some observations

Until now, this chapter has focussed on how often these sites were used and the implications of these results. Similarly, focus has remained entirely within the bishopric of Durham. This section will explore the situation of palaces both within and away from the bishopric by isolating some identifiable journeys. The itineraries of the bishops of Durham play a key role in understanding the spatial relationship between sites. Some of the itineraries record journeys made by bishops, either through the diocese or beyond, providing an impression of the time taken to travel between sites and their situation to allow ease of travel. However, this is not possible for every bishop depending on the completeness of documentary data. Using more complete itineraries, some journeys have been reconstructed for ambulation within the diocese but also for lengthier journeys across Britain.

The first of these is a journey made by Thomas Langley between May 29th and October 17th 1436 revealing 11 individual moves between 8 separate locations, 6 of which were known palaces (Fig. 11) depicts the stages of the journey between the sites located within the bishopric of Durham. In a period dominated by a move away from extensive travel, this seven month period represents a rare session of high mobility. Of interest is the length of time travel took between sites that can be discerned from itineraries. Although there is no way of being certain of the precise time taken on journeys between palaces, from acta issued by the bishops we can approximate the order of palaces visited on ambulatory periods through the diocese therefore allowing for an impression of the length of time taken to move between these sites. In this instance, the longest possible journey undertaken was between the bishop's palace at Stockton and Alnwick Castle, the stately home of the Dukes of Northumberland (Tate 1865). The time between the last acta from Stockton and the first from Alnwick is recorded as taking 8 days. In contrast, the shortest period of time recorded between two sites is as short as four days, between

Alnwick and Durham and Bishop Auckland and Stockton. Taken together, it is clear that the journeys between palaces and other stately homes within the bishopric could be rapid. Aside from 'Heywod', an unknown location from which *acta* were recorded on September 12th, movement appears to be restricted to only episcopal palaces and elite residences, with any way-stations or overnight stopover locations not recorded. Therefore, the impression from this evidence is that travel between palaces and elite residences could be done swiftly, with most primary palaces (such as those at Bishop Auckland, Durham, Darlington and Stockton) no more than a four day journey apart. Even locations at the peripheries of the bishopric required longer journeys (of no more than 8 days journey from the nearest primary palace) but these were limited due to the close proximity of palace sites that were scattered through the diocese. Even Alnwick, the furthermost locations, was no more than four days from Durham. For example, no journey was undertaken across the whole diocese, with intermittent locations instead occupied. This indicates an appreciation of the necessity to place sites accordingly so as to limit extensive travel between sites and facilitate a peripatetic lifestyle.

Contrastingly, on journeys beyond the bishopric, episcopal palaces of Durham were sparse, with travel instead conducted through a likely series of way-stations and other elite residences (Barrow 2012). The most common place visited outside of the bishopric is London. For bishops of Durham, answerable only to the King and Pope, London represented a place of significant importance as a focus for monarchic rule and a communal centre for bishops and secular elites nationwide (Williams 2007).The bishops of Durham, like other bishops, held a residence in London used for lengthy stays in the capital city.

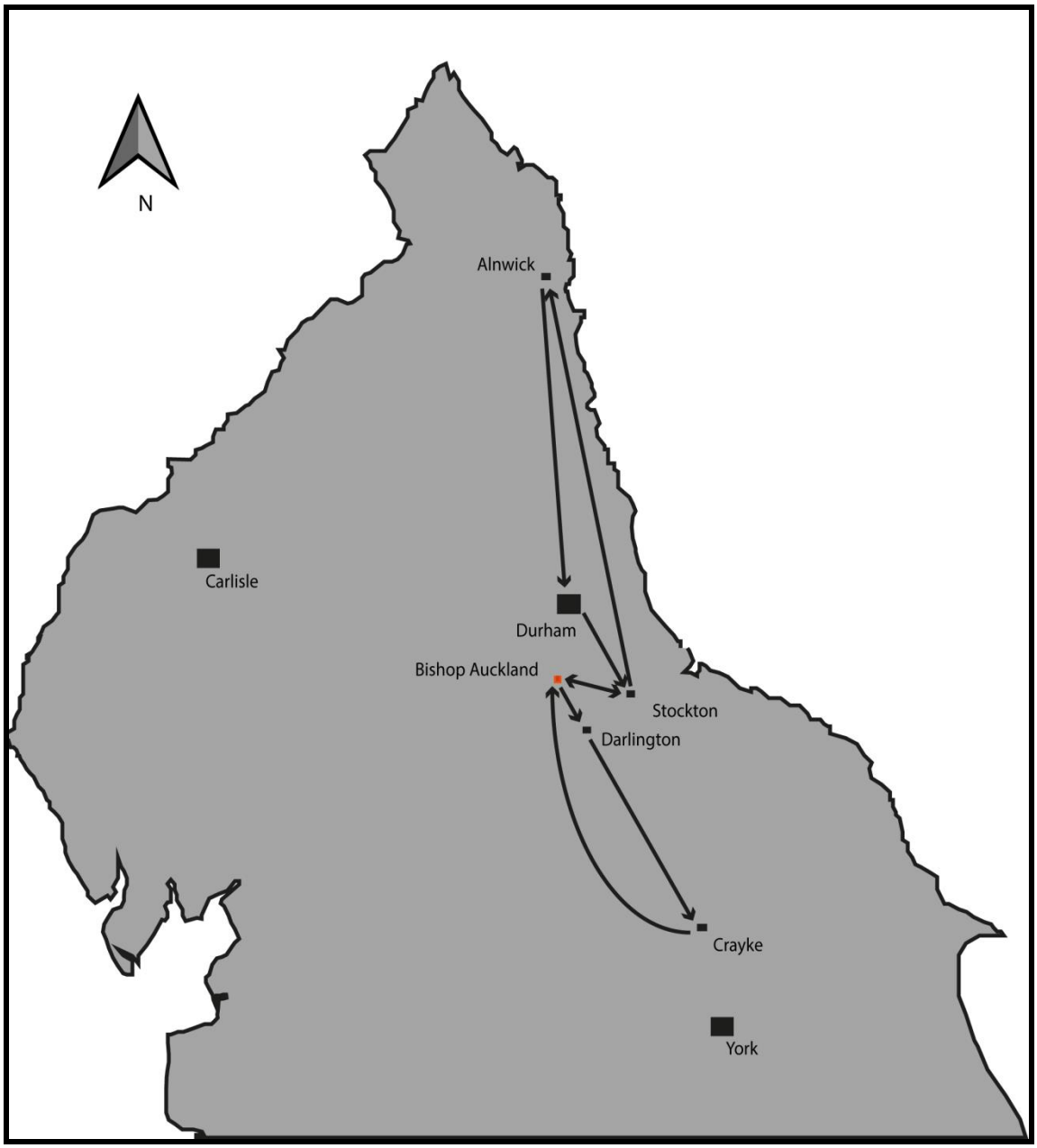

Figure 10. An example of Thomas Langley's itineration during 1436.

Thomas Langley			
1436			
	May	*29th*	*Bishop Auckland*
	June	*5th*	*Darlington*
		9th	*Crayke*

		25th	*Bishop Auckland*
		27th	*Bishop Auckland*
	August	*1st*	*Stockton*
		7th	*Stockton*
		8th	*Stockton*
		12th	*Stockton*
		20th	*Alnwick*
		24th	*Durham*
	September	*10th*	*Stockton*
		12th	*Heywod?*
		14th	*Stockton*
		23rd	*Stockton*
	October	*4th*	*Stockton*
		16th	*Bishop Auckland*

Table 1 An excerpt of the itinerary of Thomas Langley in 1436.

No recorded residences exist on the stretch of land between the historic county of Durham and London. Logically, therefore, when conducting journeys between these places, way-stations and other elite residences were used as overnight shelters and as places to acquire food and warmth (Barrow 2012). Documentary sources from other bishoprics indicate this practice, with precise routes constructed using this geographic information (Barrow 2012). In the case of the bishops of Durham, using itineraries alone, few connecting locations can be identified. Often the only trace of this journey is a conspicuous gap in recorded locations. This is especially apparent with earlier bishops, with some later bishops recording occasional intercessional locations

Figure 12 shows the journey made by Langley between 1414 and 1415. With the start and end places recorded as Bishop Auckland, Langley embarked on a journey southwards to London stopping for an estimated 3 weeks in Leicester followed by a journey onwards to the '*manerio nostro'* in London ('our manor in London') taking no longer than 15 days. Leicester presents a logical stopping place as a sizeable and well situated medieval town featuring the palace of the

Bishops of Lincoln (Thompson 1998:179). This route conducted by Langley hint at what can be expected to be a typical travel pattern, revealing lengthy stops at places of episcopal activity with periods of rapid travel across the landscape between these sites.

We see this pattern replicated with stops instead reported at Grantham (Lincolnshire), Swineshead (Lincolnshire), Selby ('*capella sancti Germani de Selby juxta ripam fluvii de Ouse Eboracensis'* – The Chapel of St Germain of Selby beside the river Ouse of York). Each of these examples is ideally located on the route toward London, making them desired stopover locations. Moreover, these sites share similar features. Grantham has a long history of royal and episcopal ownership with all castles and manors in Grantham granted to the 1st Duke of York in 1363 (Start and Stocker 2011). Similarly, nearby Swineshead is the site of a medieval moated manor, Swinehead Abbey and a substantial 12th Century motte castle with visible earthworks (Page 1906). Continuing the theme, Selby, as recorded in the register, features the chapel of St. Germain with accompanying abbey (Farrar and Abbey 1979). All these sites, in accordance with Leicester discussed above, are prominent elite and/or religious centres. Therefore, the pattern of travel across country is a journey spanning approximately 15 days (suggested from the itineraries) intersected by a visitation to a prominent elite residence part-way through the jurney. Any other residences used en route, which presumably happened as it did elsewhere (Barrow 2012; Woolgar 1999) are not recorded in *actas* representing a symptom of the inherent data bias accompanying the use of episcopal registers.

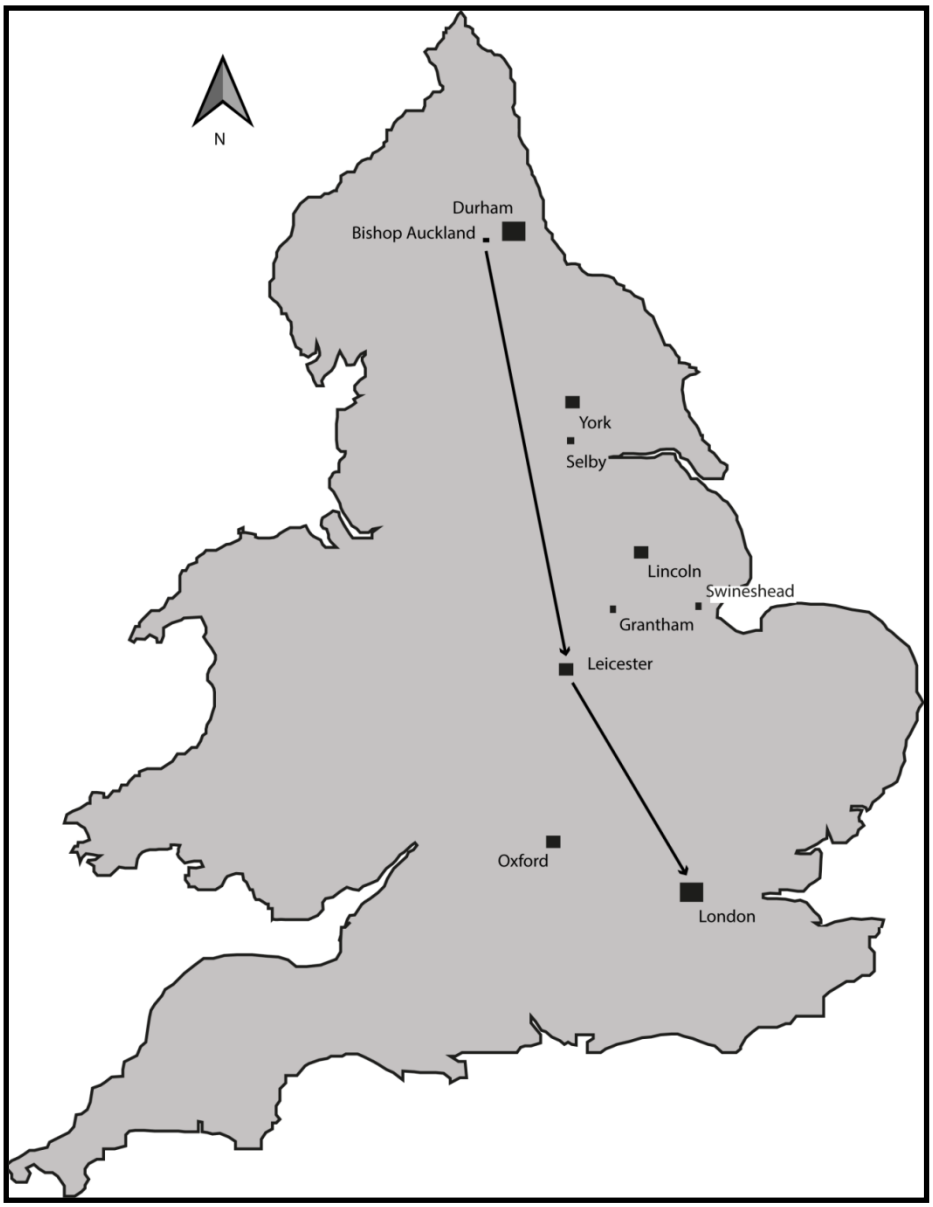

Figure 11. Map showing Langley's journey from Bishop Auckland to London via Leicester in 1414.

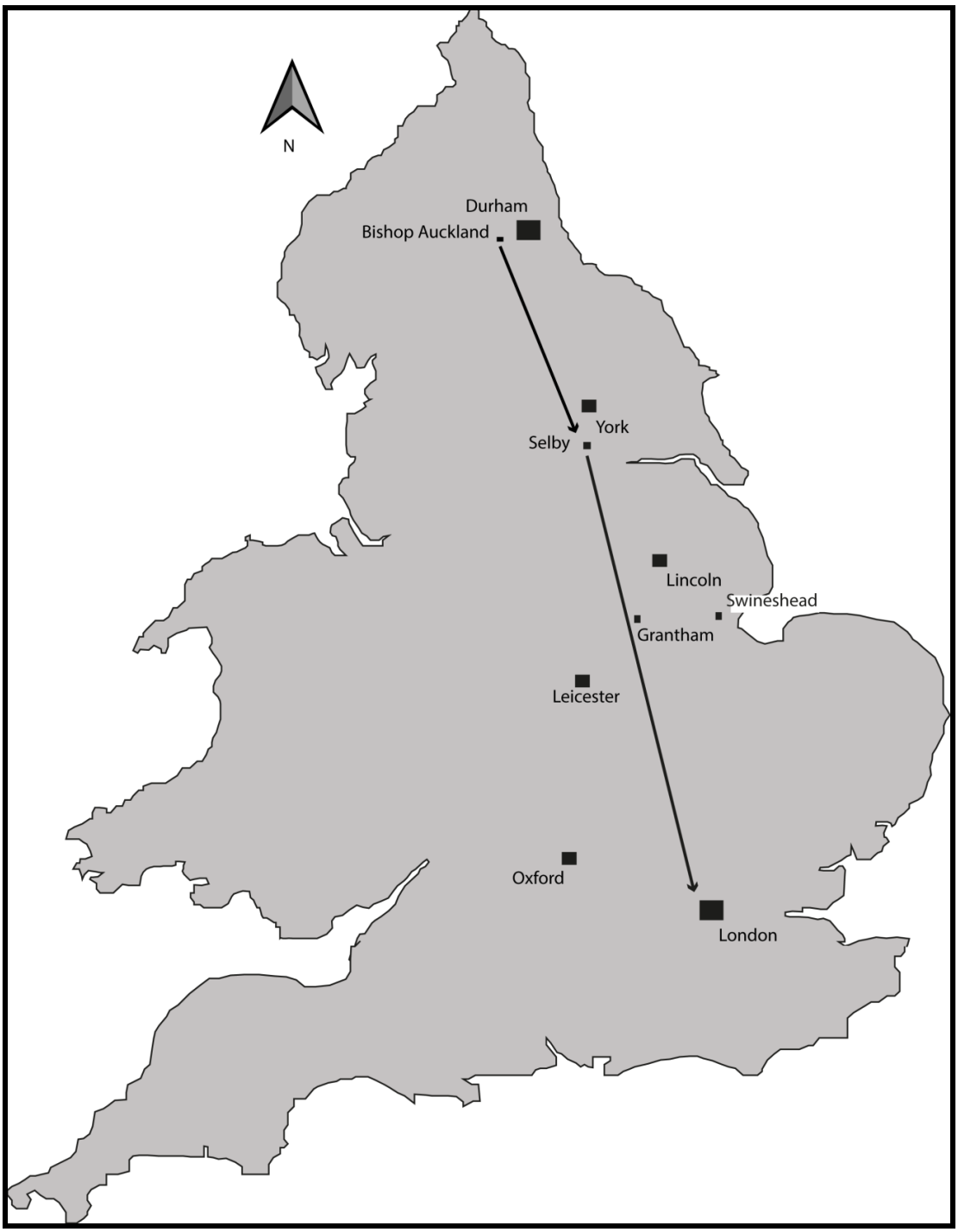

Figure 12. Journey made by Langley via Selby in 1408.

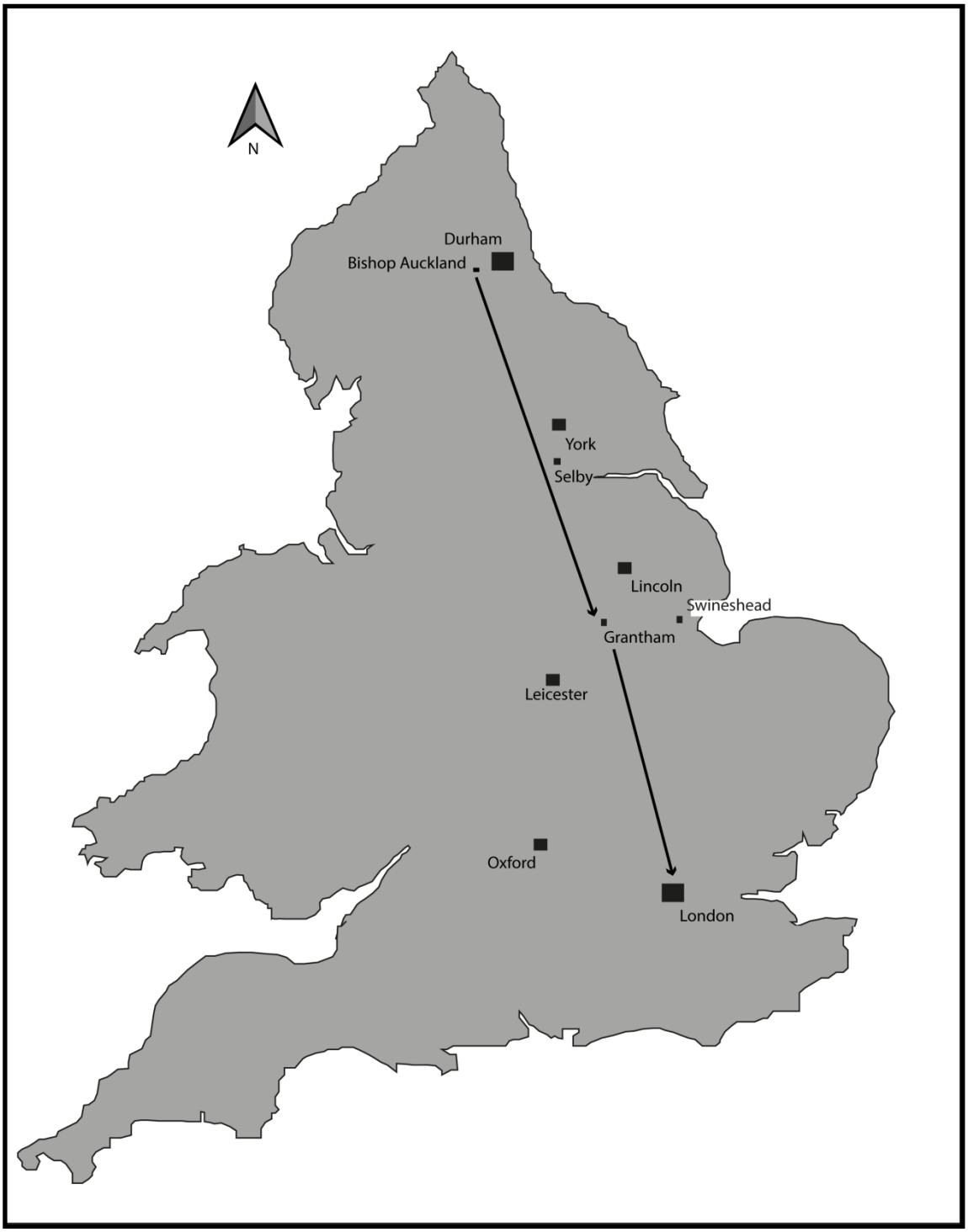

Figure 14. Journey made by Langley via Grantham in 1409

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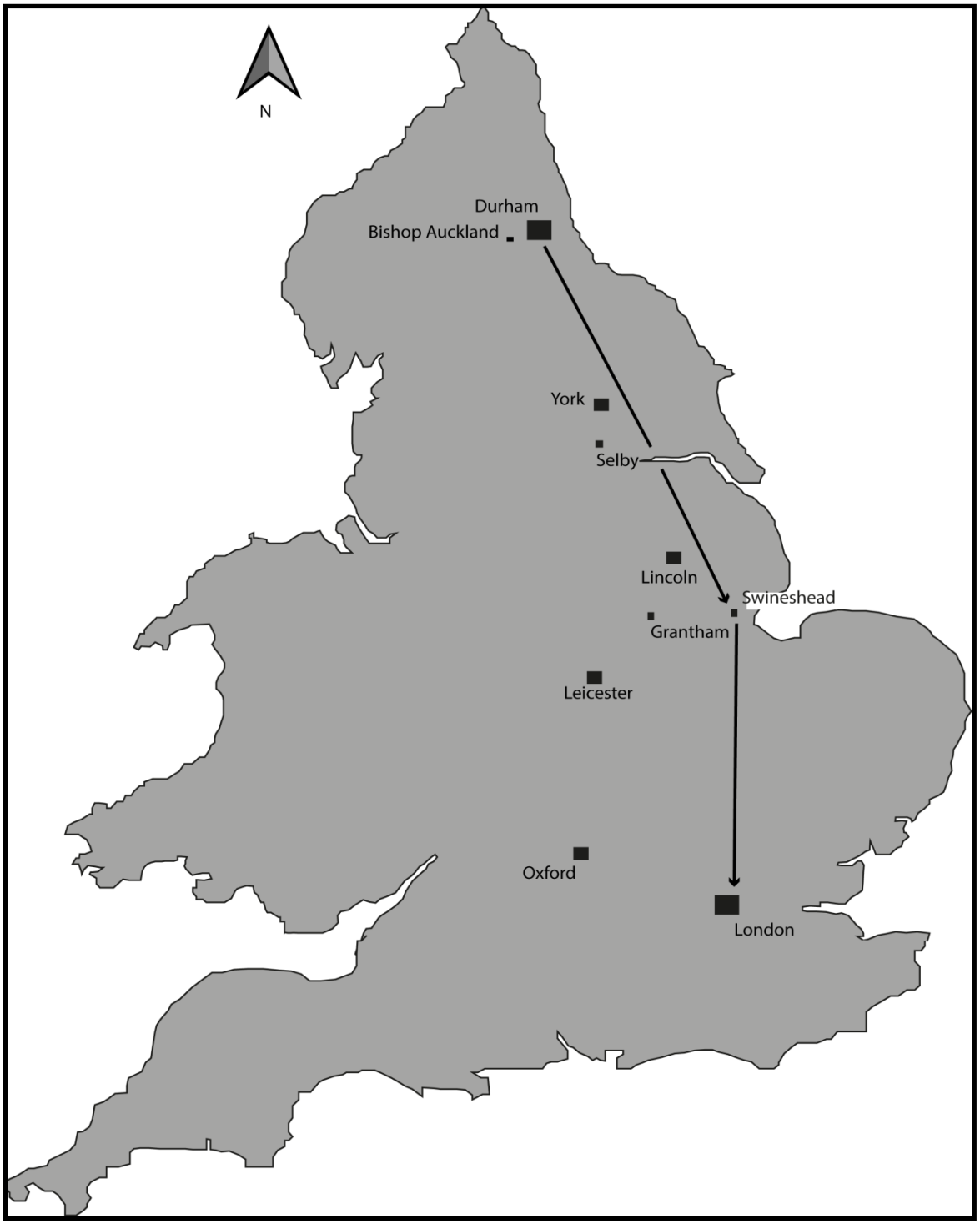


Figure 15. Journey made by Langley in 1408.

Lastly, the focal point of the journeys discussed reveals a further aspect of episcopal itinerancy. From reading the itineraries it is clear that Durham House, the bishop's palace in London, served as a satellite point for activity in the city. A wide range of locations in and near London were visited by bishops from every period including: Westminster, Fulham (residence of the Bishops of London with adjoining park), Charing Cross, Waltham (described as being near London – probably Waltham Abbey, Essex), Aldenham (historic settlement near Watford, North London), Oldford, Suthwik/Southwark, Tottenham, Duresmesyn (described as being close to Charing Cross), Eltham (probably Eltham Palace, south of the Thames) and Istelworth (probably Isleworth, London) despite Durham House not being built until 1345 (Schofield 2003). All these locations are now considered either within the City of London or existing in present day suburbs. Durham House is situated on the modern day Strand, beneath the Adelphi Theatre (Schofield 2003) on the banks of the Thames. This central location therefore enabled travel to city-centre residences, such as those of Charing Cross, Westminster , Eltham Palace and Fulham in addition to travel further afield to the likes of Aldenham and Waltham Abbey. No long stays at these sites have been recorded, which may be a symptom of a data bias but equally may suggest that these sites were visited for daily durations. The impression this gives therefore is that Durham House, recorded more regularly than any other location, remains a permanent dwelling from which other sites were visited. This mimics the function of the royal palaces of Westminster, suggesting that the pattern of increased sedentariness visible within the bishopric of Durham extends to the bishops London lives.

Discussion

Using itineraries, the movements of the bishops have been analysed in both local and national settings across the broad high medieval period. The results show three important things. Firstly, that the nature of intradiocesenal travel varied from a state of high mobility to one of predominant sedentariness by the end of the High Medieval Period, with a combination of social, political and religious factors plausibly accountable for this. Secondly, that movement across Britain can be identified in itineraries as featuring a universal characteristic for bisecting the journey with a lengthy stay at an elite residence or religious house mid-way from County Durham to London. Lastly, the situation of Durham House in London allowed for the easy and convenient visitation to sites of interest from its central location. These observations drawn from itineraries presents a very clear impression of precisely how these habitations were used both in geographic and chronological frames.

On the one hand, we see the use of residences vary hugely over time. As discussed above, the beginning of the High Medieval Period is characterised by high mobility that ceases by the 14th/15th centuries favouring the adoption of 'preferred estates' (Woolgar 1999). This is a pattern we see repeated across England with the turbulent political and social backdrop of the early

High Medieval Period a possible cause. This is especially clear in County Durham, where aggressive political measures were enacted to ensure compliance to the new Norman rule. It has been argued that episcopal itinerancy was both a symptom of these times but equally an active measure in ensuring stability in the face of much upheaval. The increased visibility of the bishop by both the public and other elites allowed for control to be strictly enforced.

Nevertheless, by the 14th and more noticeably within the 15th century, the adoption of 'preferred' estates is noticeable, arguably resulting from the increase in episcopal powers during the formation of the 'County Palatine' in 1293 (Fraser 1957). This moment bestowed upon the bishop a greater degree of autonomy within the bishopric in exchange for fortifying Durham against invading Scots. In turn, we see a pattern of travel emerge fitting more closely to that of many contemporary monarchs. In accordance with greater monarchical stability following the signing of the Magna Carta, many kings ceased active travel. Arguably, the bishops, who by the 14th century wielded great power and influence in royal spheres (Schofield 1999), adopted a lifestyle akin to that.

The implications of this lifestyle meant that people had to travel to see the bishop. This meant that palaces for regular habitation could be chosen on the basis of useful amenities for this emerging lifestyle rather than for purely geographic convenience. Although we see palaces within the diocese positioned conveniently to limit lengthy travels between sites, suggesting awareness for a peripatetic episcopacy in their placement within the landscape, the timing of recorded visits allow us a more precise idea of attraction to individual locations. For example, regular winter habitation at Bishop Auckland matches conveniently with deer hunting seasons (Richardson 2005), indicating that hunting may have been a pull-factor at that site.

While the use of residences change over time in County Durham reflecting a change in the episcopal role, the bishops of Durham were concerned with different pursuits when in London. Instead of managing the bishopric both spiritually and judicially, in London business was more concerned with national and international politics and affairs with the bishops sometimes embroiled in affairs relating to their own political ambitions (Sharman 1999). Evidence from the itineraries indicates that Durham House, was used as a primary residence when in London and that visitations to London increased in the later periods. Arguably, this pattern of use is more reminiscent of a secular monarch, echoing the way Westminster was used as a primary London residence of medieval kings (Sharman 1999).

Conclusion

Therefore, the itineraries present a contrasting image of episcopacy with their use of residences serving as an indicator for these. As social attitudes to elite life changed, their residences were similarly used differently with the emergence of permanent residences emerged This mimicked transformations elsewhere, most notably among monarchy from the same period. Using

itineraries alone it is possible to reconstruct the way that these palaces were used over the medieval period. This is an unachievable feat using traditional archaeological methods alone. The rest of this thesis will focus on the archaeological evidence for the buildings and landscapes of the bishop's palaces to further inform traditional narratives of how they were used, how they changed over time to accommodate changing requirements and how they influenced and were influenced by the landscape in which they inhabited. These are all themes touched upon in this chapter which can be further examined using archaeological datasets.

Chapter Four

The Residences: A study in form, function and meaning

For medieval bishops, their residence represented more than a home. They offered a combined set of uses that reflected the multiplicitous duties entailed with episcopacy. From being arenas for both stately affairs and religious jurisdiction to providing a domestic dwelling, the buildings had to accommodate a wide range of different, and sometimes opposed requirements. Chapter Three revealed how the situation of residences facilitated the lives of the bishops by allowing them to move with ease through the landscape resulting in the irregular and intermittent use of particular sites based on the continually evolving role of the bishops. Their relative placement within the landscape reflected their function at different chronological periods and building upon this evidence, the function of these buildings will be explored to reveal the form they took, and how this changed alongside the role of the bishops.

Miller expresses the 'fundamental relationship' (2000:13) between form and function of a building as inextricably linked. While function refers to the utility of the space, form is the manifestation of this architecturally. Miller argues that function undeniably advises the form, and that in turn the form conveys and inspires meaning (Miller 2000). The principles of *access analysis* adhere to a similar concept. Hillier and Hanson (1984) were among the first to attempt to understand created space through the interconnected dimensions of function, style and the social meaning. They argue, effectively, that social meaning can be interpreted from the relative permeability of different spaces. Gilchrist (1999), Richardson (2003) and Johnson (2002) have all analysed access routes through medieval buildings to better understand the social factors that affected and motivated those who created these spaces, and those who used them. A recurring theme through these studies is the continually evolving nature of these buildings. It is through the identification and study of the changing aspects that provide a comparative point of examination with which to understand the social and functional factors involved. These changes through which meaning can be inferred has been termed '*transformational grammar'*: a concept that notionally accepts buildings and artefacts as transmitting the thoughts of the builders and architects as a decipherable 'language'. This chapter will attempt to decipher this 'language' (Richardson 2003).

Part One provides an in-depth review of available archaeological and historical evidence that relates to the physical remains of the residences of the bishops of Durham. This includes a consideration of both standing and below-ground remains that relate to an understanding of the form, layout and structure of these buildings. From this, the chronological phasing and building plans have been composed in examples where the evidence permits this. The residences have been categorised according to the nature and quality of their standing remains. Part Two analyses this data using the philosophical principles of *access analysis.* Through this approach, the social meaning and contexts of the buildings have been suggested in relation to how they reflect and challenge our understanding of the changing role of the bishops.

Sites with substantial standing remains

Auckland Castle

Until recent years, Auckland Castle was the principal residence of the bishops of Durham in the post-medieval period (Howse 2011). Due to its continued ecclesiastical role, Auckland Castle has been well preserved as a rare example of an active bishop's palace. Most recently, Auckland Castle has been a popular heritage visitor attraction. Current plans are in place to develop this aspect of Auckland Castle with a significant extension attached to the 'Scotland Wing'[6]. As a result, there has been an extensive archaeological investigation of this site that incorporates data from excavations, geophysical prospection and standing building analysis (ASUD 2013, ASUD 2014 a and b). This builds on a strong legacy of textual and archaeological investigation at Auckland Castle, beginning with Raine in 1852 that helps to uncover the design of Auckland Castle through its development.

Phase 1 – pre-13th century

There are some clear indicators to suggest that there had been a residence at the site of Auckland Castle prior to the Boldon Book (1183) having been written. Descriptors in it suggest that this manor, and an episcopal residence within it, were already established. For example, 'the hall of the Bishop in the forest' is described as having posts 16 ft apart and comprising a complex featuring a chapel '40 feet in length' as well as a chamber and a privy (Austin 1982: 37). Gill et al (1976) have highlighted the term 'weardsetle' might be indicative of this earlier phase of occupation. As the earliest fabric at Auckland Castle dates from Puiset's episcopacy (1154 - 1198) (Cunningham 1980), it is likely that any buildings before this date were probably constructed of timber that has not survived through the later stone phases of Auckland Castle.

[6] Current plans are in place by the Auckland Castle Trust and are described in detail at http://aucklandcastle.org/community/plans.

St Peter's Chapel, formally le Puiset's hall, is the only part of Auckland Castle to retain 12th century fabric. The north wall of this space incorporates in situ ashlar masonry, while internally some high-quality 12th century decorative moulding is present (Ryder 2005). Notably, there are four bay arcades in a cruciform arrangement displaying Romanesque waterleaf embellishment on some piers (Ryder 2005). In addition, the embellishment on some of the piers is of typical 12th Century design (Ryder 2005) and of unusually high-quality craftsmanship while in comparison the north and south shafts are constructed from Frosterley marble, parallels of which exist at Durham Cathedral (Blair 1991: 49). Ryder highlights that the highest-quality stonework is focused at the western end of the space, hinting at its earlier function as a 12th century hall (Ryder 2005). This interpretation therefore places the head table at the western end. Drury (2012) has suggested a possible building phasing based on standard medieval vernacular design. These assertions are informed by contemporary documentary sources that record the underpinning of the parlour walls and 'my lords chamber' in 1387-8 (cited in Drury 2012). This extract locates these rooms 'north of the small garden', thus also placing them west of the hall and corroborating Ryder's interpretation of the arrangement of high-quality stonework in St. Peter's Chapel.

In addition, excavation beneath the current floor surface (a raised floor laid by Bishop Cosin) of St. Peter's Chapel provides insight into the development of the hall. Two trial trenches excavated within the hall as a response to damp uncovered a possible early floor surface (mentioned in ASUD 2014b). Beneath Cosin's floor, a relaid earlier stone floor was uncovered atop of a beaten earth surface with distinct areas of burning visible, consistent with a hearth, though the lack of available datable remains means this cannot be firmly dated to the early 12th century occupational phases. However, the floor surface and position of the possible 'hearth' corroborates the spatial understanding of the hall realised from others sources.

Phase Two (13th - 14th Centuries)

The second structural phase falls mainly within the bishopric of Antony Bek (1284-1311). It was at this time that Auckland Castle took on its characteristic L-Shaped configuration, through Bek's construction of a second accommodation range. Receipts from 1307-1308 record Bek's construction of a chamber, undercroft and chapel (cited in Drury 2012), Bek's first floor chamber now forms the modern 'Throne Room'. This space features an original wooden floor throughout, and the original arrangement of rooms is thought to have altered little (ASUD 2014 (b)). Adjacent to the 'Throne Room' on the northern extent is a small antechamber that served as a holding space for visitors.

Adjacent to the Bek's Chamber on the southern extent was a chapel, known only through documentary sources and an image from c.1680 (see Fig 20). Given its location in the image, it appears to have only been accessed through Bek's Chamber, it is probable that this was a

private chapel. It is believed that this building was destroyed during the Interregnum period alongside much of the medieval fabric of the building by Sir Arthur Haszlerigg (ASUD 2014b). As a result, nothing is known about the interior décor of Bek's chapel.

Running west of this range, a possible fortified enclosure dating from this period has been identified through recent archaeological investigation. The 'Scotland Wing' which currently extends in this direction has been securely dated to the 13th/14th centuries through a mixture of textual sources and standing building analysis. Recent reinterpretation of these standing remains (ASUD 2014a) has shown that the northernmost wall is composed of a different kind of masonry and is much thicker than the southernmost wall. In addition, geophysical prospection conducted in the ground immediately south of the Scotland Wing has revealed an earlier walled enclosure with two potential tower foundations embedded within (ASUD 2013). In response to the geophysical investigation, investigative trenches were excavated in this region. Through this work the subterranean remains of a substantial sandstone wall were recovered (Trench B1), with Trench B2 containing a rubble and ash surface abutting a wall that is consistent with the internal floor and household debris from within a tower (ASUD 2014b: 8-10). Contemporary accounts attest to the presence of an enclosure extending toward 'The Grange' (Drury 2012). Moreover, further documentary sources from shortly after Bek's episcopacy discuss a perimeter wall with multiple gateways (Raine 1852). These physical remains may therefore relate to the historic descriptions.

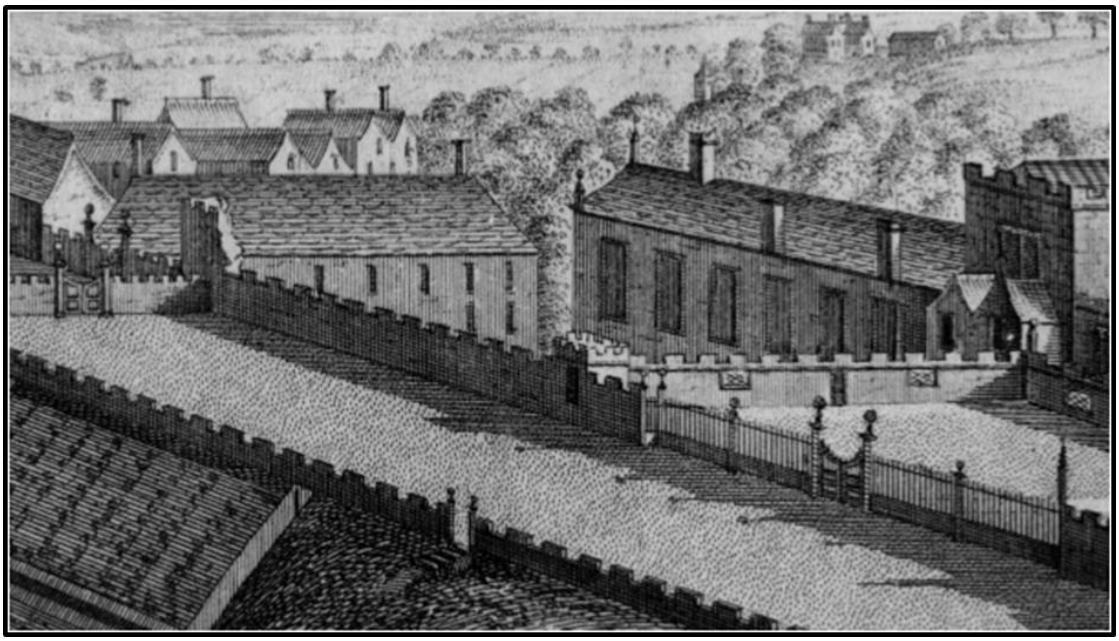


Figure 16. Cropped engraving by S. Buck 1726. Housed in Palace Green Library.

Figure 17. Image dating from c. 1680. Currently dislayed in Auckland Castle. Bishop Bek's Chapel occupies the immediate foreground against the backdrop of Bek's Chamber and accommodation wing.

Phase Three (1311 – 1550)

Following Bek's building achievements, a sequence of other later medieval bishops commissioned additions to Auckland Castle. Among these was the creation of a curtain wall encircling the complex. The account rolls for Bishop de Bury (1338) record structural work to this as well as spaces built by Bek (Ryder 2005/6). Embedded within this curtain wall, a gateway was created by Bishop Skirlaw (1388 – 1406) (Ryder 2005/6). This building has since been entirely replaced by a later gateway under Bishop Booth (1476-1480) and then again by Bishop Trevor in 1760 (Colvin 1978: 703). The resulting building does not contain any original medieval fabric but is thought to follow the footprint of the earlier buildings (Ryder 2005/6).

North of this building, a further tower set into the wall and backing onto Silver Street has been dated to the 15th century (Ryder and Degnan 1998). Adjacent to this tower appears to be an old, and now unused, entrance to the complex. The walls extending from this are probably contemporary with the tower due to consistencies in the nature of their fabric. Due to the proximity of the tower and the entrance, it is highly probable that the tower was built to serve as a gatehouse. It is unlikely however, that this was ever the primary entrance into the complex, as it would have resulted in a complicated and impractical route for carriages and horses to navigate to reach the entrance (Ryder and Degnan 1998). Raine (1852) proposed that this was the entrance to the College. This interpretation implies that the College remained detached from Auckland Castle in some respects.

‘The College’ is in itself, a unique and interesting building. Still standing, it is thought to have assumed the location of the previously mentioned ‘Grange’; a farm on the outskirts of the Auckland Castle complex. Recorded by Leland as the ‘quadrant on the south-west side of the castelle for ministers of the colledge’ (in Raine 1852:7), he attributes the origin of this structure to Bek’s (1284-1311) episcopacy (Raine 1852:7). Historically however, this date is problematic. During Bek’s episcopacy the Dean and Prebendary known to have inhabited ‘The College’ were still resident at St Andrew’s Church, South Dean (Laurie 1995). Bek confirmed the collegiate status of this church in 1292 and subsequently heavily patronised building there, though the extent of these endeavours is debated among scholars (Hodgson 1899; Ryder 2005 (b); Pevsner and Williamson 1983:412). Given the involvement of Bek with St Andrews collegiate church, it seems unlikely that he would have commissioned the building of an alternative college site at Auckland Castle. Significant structural amendment to make the buildings suitable as stables, potting sheds and carriage houses in the post-medieval period has resulted in difficulty dating the medieval phases accurately.

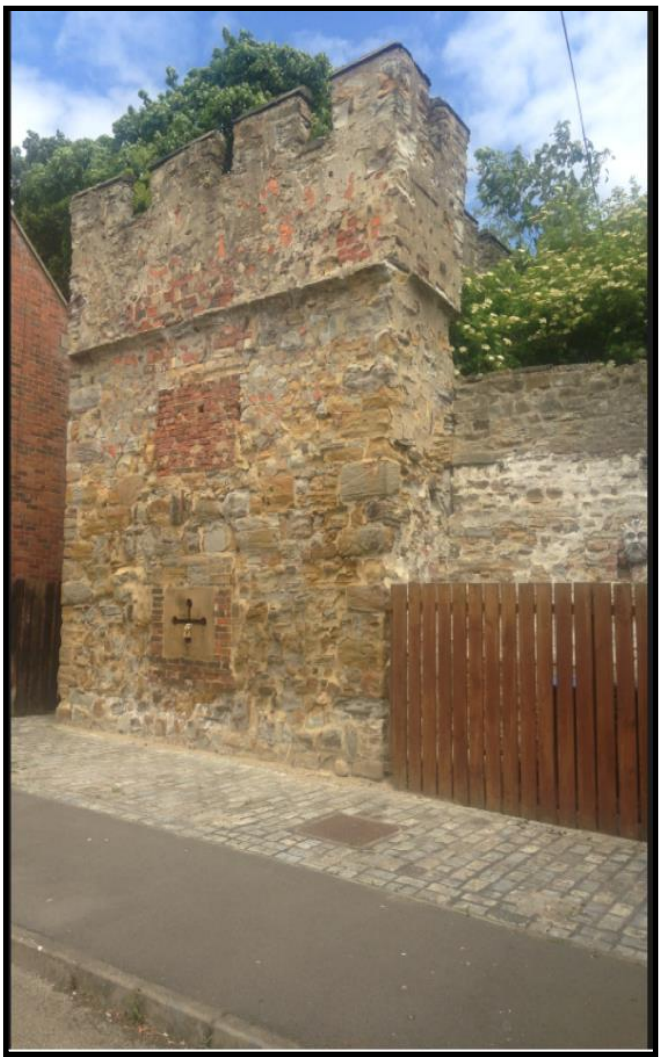


Figure 18. Silver Street Tower. Photograph taken from the western approach. Photographed by author.

The suggested development of Auckland Castle

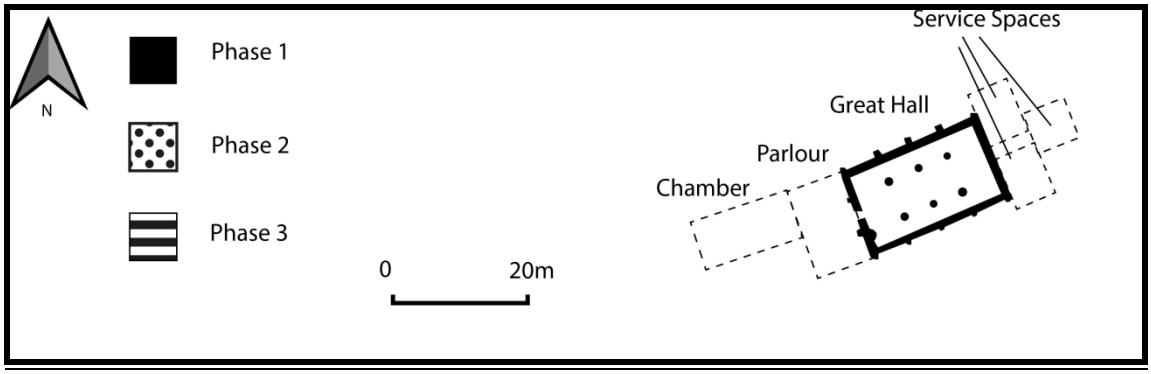


Figure 19. Proposed first phase of Auckland Castle. Figure based on Drury 2012 and ASUD 2014.

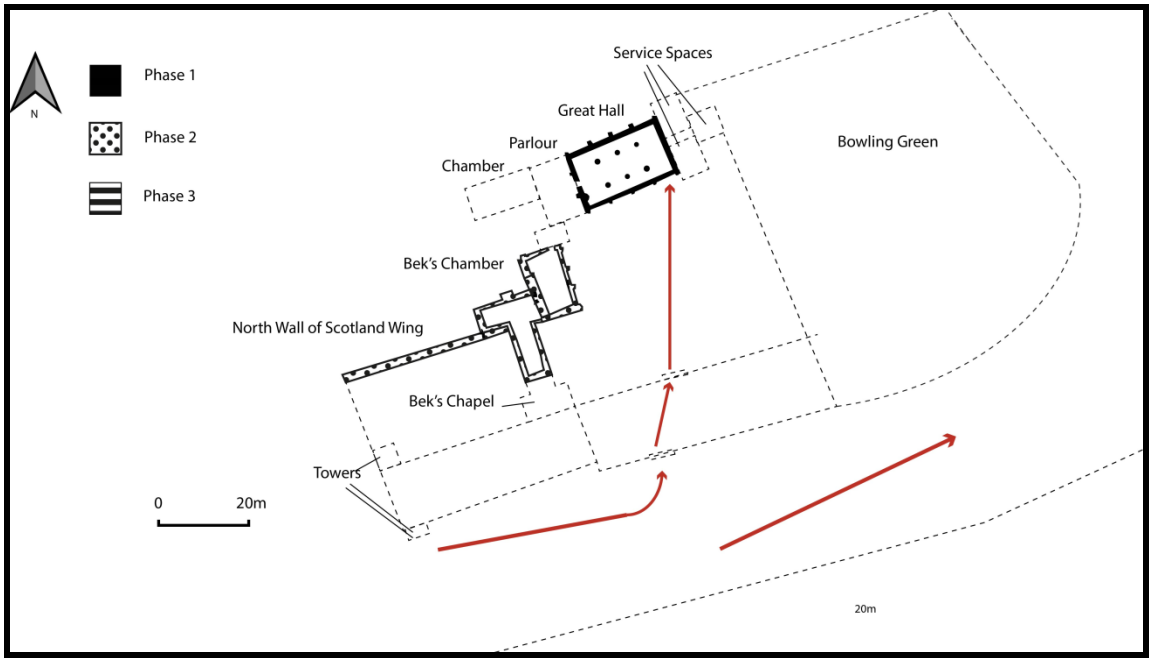


Figure 20. Proposed second phase of Auckland Castle development. Image based on Drury 2012 and ASUD 2014.

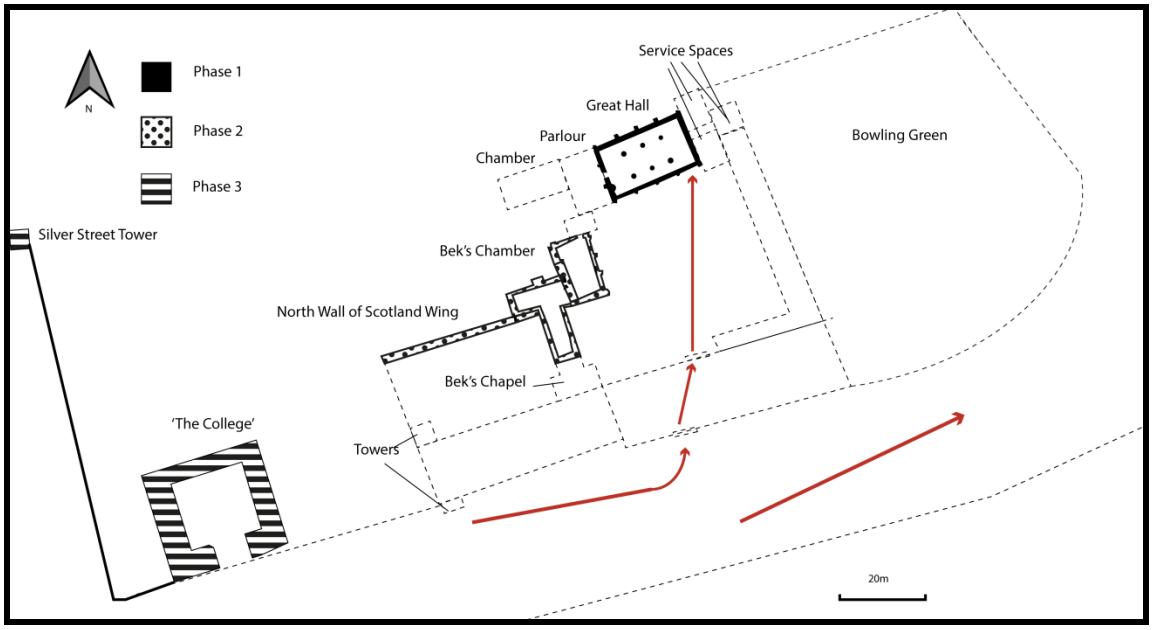


Figure 21. Phase Three Auckland Castle development. Image based on Drury 2012 and ASUD 2014

Seaton Holme – Easington, Co. Durham

Built as a residence for the bishops of Durham and used latterly as a base for the archidiaconate of Durham, the site of Seaton Holme comprises three ranges, the Main Range, 'Oratory' and North Range (Surtees 1816). In the Main Range and 'oratory', a vast majority of the original medieval fabric is thought to have survived alongside more recent alterations (Ryder 1960). Conversely, the North Range has been demolished and as a result any impression of it has been drawn from archaeological investigation. Additionally, much of the historical documentation has been lost following its sale in 1921 (ASUD 2000). Therefore, the archaeological record has proved a vital resource in understanding the complicated evolution of this building. Unlike other residences of the bishops of Durham however, Seaton Holme adopted a dual role as the seat of the archdiaconate of Durham from 1378 (Dickens 1774). It is unclear to what extent this has influenced the form, shape and style of the residence.

Phase 1 (13th - 14th Century)

The residence at Seaton Holme is universally recorded in antiquarian literature as having been built for Bishop Farnham's retirement in 1248 (Ryder 1960). Despite this, evidence from itineraries suggests that bishops had been frequenting Easington earlier than this date, with documents issued from this place as early as 1236. This could indicate that the bishops had been visiting Easington without possessing a formal residence there, or that the assumed 1248 date is unreliable.

Due to later medieval renovation of the site, substantial quantities of original fabric has been lost. Despite this, an impression of the arrangement of rooms from this period can be understood

though careful analysis of the architecture. For example, although the current hall is of predominantly 15th century date (Emery 1996), windows and wall scars in the interior of the building allude to an earlier and smaller hall having sat at the site. Emery has suggested that initially an aisled hall existed that was enlarged in the 15th century, to create a wider, unaisled space. This would explain the lack of 12th century fabric within the interior of the building and also explain the building scars and remnants of earlier architectural detailing.

The east-wing, entered through a series of three arches from within the hall, has been dated to the mid-13th century also (Emery 1996:87). Both architectural assessments (ASUD 1998; Emery 1996:87) and dendrochronological dates taken from roof timbers (Arnold 2008) support this assessment. These spaces are consistent with our understanding of service spaces that normally lay adjacent to the hall in standard medieval manor house construction.

Dated to this same period are aspects of the 'oratory' or north range. Through standing building analysis conducted before its conversion into office space in the late 1990s, a complex building sequence was uncovered. The northern end appeared to be more consistent with 15th century construction whereas the southern end featured aspects of 13th century fabric (ASUD 1998). It is likely, therefore, that this building reveals aspects of two distinct building phases. Also identified through the standing building elevations is clear evidence of blocked doorways and elements of ornamental, high-status stonework (ASUD 1998). This contrasts with evidence from excavations within the building that revealed no floor surface consistent with its use as hall. Instead, the lack of any distinct surface is more indicative of its use as a barn or agricultural building. This aligns with a description of a 'tithe barn' associated with the manor (ASUD 1998). Alternatively, it has been suggested (ASUD 1998) that the building had a second-storey entrance that might have reflected its use as a potential accommodation range.

Historic maps depict two further building close to Seaton Holme manor site, immediately west of the 'Oratory'. Although these have since been demolished, testimony from a local farmer suggests these buildings had similar architectural detailing to that from the Seaton Holme site (ASUD 1998). It is therefore highly likely that these were associated with the bishop's residence and might have played an important role within the complex. Excavation of the corner of one these buildings did not produce any dateable evidence however, from the descriptions from the farmer it seems likely these could have been 13th century in date (ASUD 1998). Because of the unreliability of this evidence, these buildings have not been included in reconstructions of the site.

Moreover, historic maps also allude to an eastern range extending between the 'Oratory' and Main Range. Today, only part of the northernmost wall stands. Although no clearly identifiable architectural features are present, archaeologists from the 1998 excavation of the north wall highlighted the similarity in construction style between this wall and the earliest 13th century

phases of the 'oratory' (ASUD 1998). Based on this, it seems plausible that this building is part of the earliest building at the site and represents a third range. Through the inclusion of this building, the earliest 13th century building appears to have been arranged in a horseshoe-shaped complex around a central courtyard with the southern extent unenclosed. However, it should not be assumed that there has never been a fourth range at the site, as this possibility has not been investigated archaeologically.

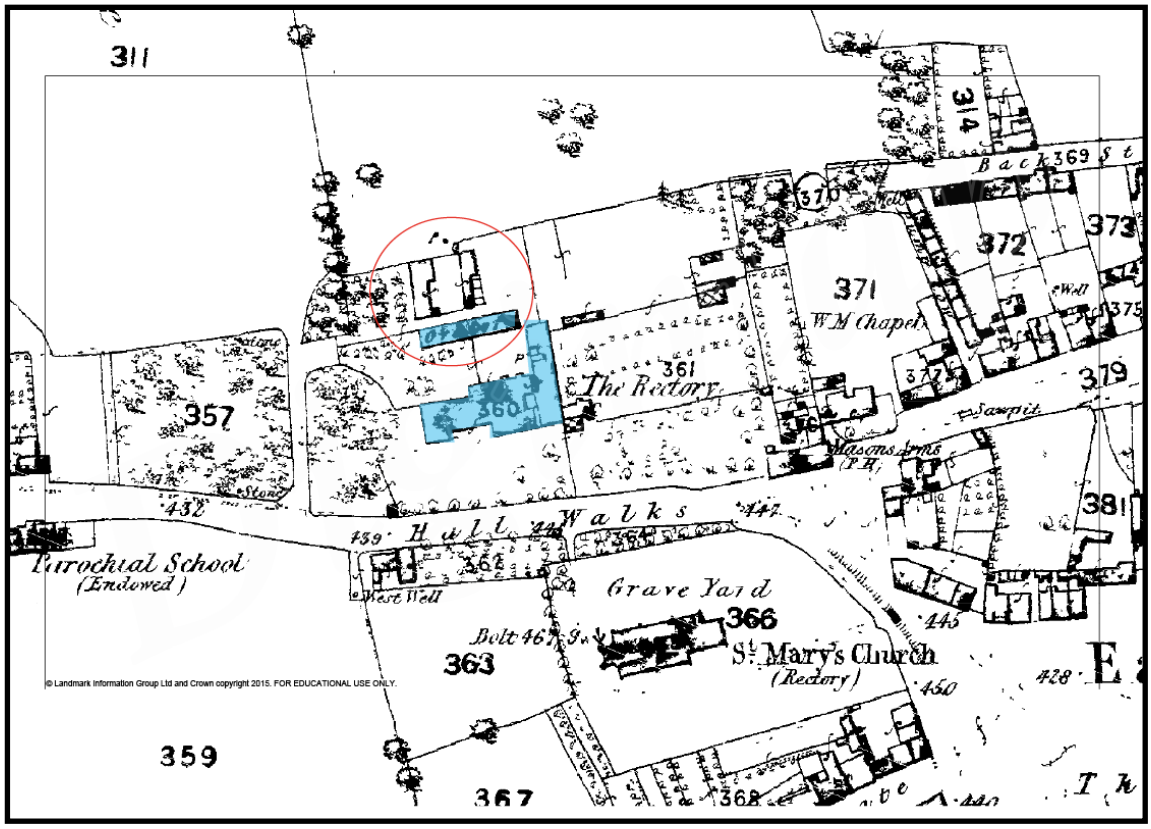


Figure 22. 1864 OS map of Easington. Buildings circled in red are the two demolished associated structures while the buildings comprising the Seaton Holme accommodation complex are highlighted in blue.

The second major structural phase is predominantly confined to the 15th century. As mentioned previously, the enlargement of the hall in the Main Range is the most characteristic building addition from this period. Emery (1996: 87) has highlighted that scarring on the northern exterior wall of the hall might allude to the presence of a porch that now no longer stands. Emery (1996: 87) further suggests that there might have been an identical porch in a mirrored position on the other side of the hall, although there is no archaeological evidence to corroborate this.

The west-wing of the Main Range appears contemporary with the enlargement of the hall in 15th century. Although the exterior facade has been obscured by 19th century gothick design, this space has been stylistically dated to the 15th century from internal design elements (Ryder

1960). In addition, dendrochronological dates taken from roof timbers in this section reveal a felling date from the 15th century. These two strands of evidence taken together firmly suggest that this part of the Main Range is contemporary with the enlargement of the hall and therefore likely to be 15th century in date. whether this building overlies an earlier structure has not been explored archaeologically and is therefore unknown. The presence of rooms at both extents of the hall would fit typical vernacular medieval manor-house design and therefore seems a strong possibility.

Moreover, the later dated fabric of the North Range ('Oratory') suggests either an enlargement of rebuilding/reconstructing effort on this building during the 15th century. This might represent a renewed or ongoing interest in maintaining this building as an accommodation range into the later medieval periods. As a result, this might be indicative of the wider social changes that might have dictated the importance of specific spaces within buildings.

Suggested Development of Seaton Holme

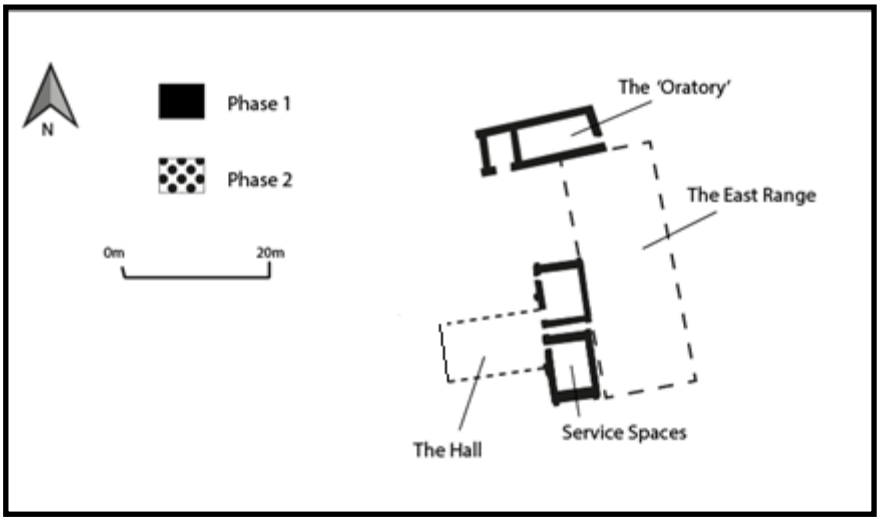


Figure 23. Plan of Seaton Holme Phase 1. Based on Emery 1996:67)

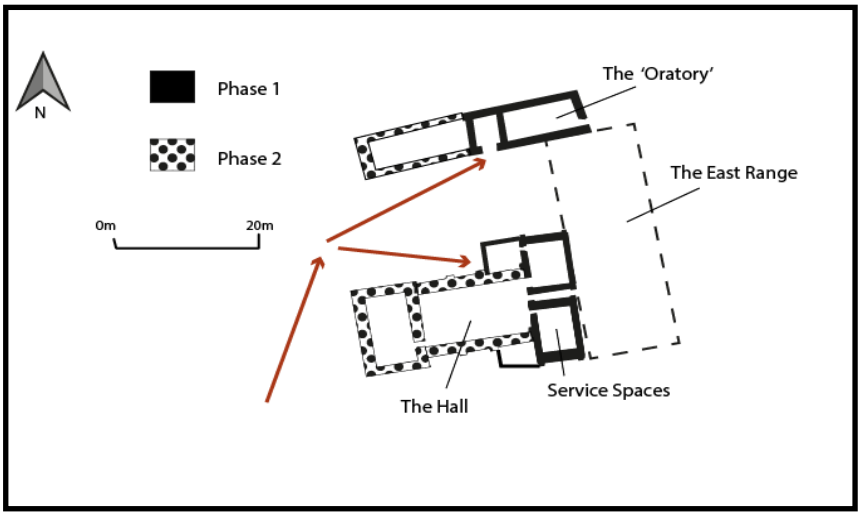


Figure 24. Proposed plan of Seaton Holme Phase 2. Based on Emery 1996: 67.

Howden Manor – Howden, Humberside

Howden Manor was first granted to the bishops of Durham in 1086 and remained in their possession until the 16th century as a unique, detached temporality of the see of Durham (Hutchinson 1886: 390). Despite this peculiar location, Howden Manor was regularly visited by the bishops of Durham (see Chapter 3). Today, the surviving hall and porch comprise a Grade 1 listed residence with traces of the earlier building visible in sections of upstanding walls around an irregular courtyard arrangement. The remainder of the manorial complex has not survived but is understood archaeologically and through an impressive documentary record.

William de Chambre's record of Howden Manor from 1333 (Hutchinson 1886:390) states that Bishop Skirlaw (1388-1406) was the builder of the hall and he also contributed considerable sums of money to the building of other parts of the complex. 10th and 11th century pottery recovered through excavations (Whitwell 1984) suggests however, that the site was inhabited from the late Anglo Saxon period, probably before the construction of the bishops residence. Moreover, the death of Bishop Kirkham at Howden Manor in 1260 reveals that the bishops had held a residence there from at least this date (Hutchinson 1886: 386). Standing building analysis of the hall prior to its conversion into a domestic residence in the mid-1980s confirms that this hall dates from Skirlaw's period (Whitwell 1984). Although obscured by a later Georgian façade on the northern extent, some of the original chamfered window splays are still visible on the southern extent (Whitwell 1984). In addition, excavation has revealed the medieval date of three of the buttresses on the southern wall through the discovery of their foundations during excavations to remove a later buttress on the south-eastern edge (Whitwell 1984).

In addition, the foundations of three mirrored buttresses in the northern face were discovered and in the same excavation, the foundations of an earlier building with the same dimensions and alignment of the current hall built by Skirlaw was also discovered (Whitwell 1984:56). It is highly likely that this represents an earlier hall, built before Skirlaw, possibly contemporary with the death of Kirkham in the 13th century. In excavations conducted internally, rubble-based benches found alongside the door have been interpreted as the foundations for aisle posts from an earlier building phase (Whitwell 1984: 56).

Also revealed through the internal excavations of the hall were the below-ground remains of an adjoining rubble-work building and blocked up doorway leading from the hall into this space (Whitwell 1984:56). In the adjoining space, the foundations of a stairwell consistent with one mentioned in historic documentation was recovered (Whitwell 1984:56).

Two surveys taken in 1561 and 1577 provide illuminating glimpses into the spatial arrangement of Howden Manor. Similar in nature to the Stockton survey, these surveys have also been transcribed the antiquarian researcher Hutchinson (1886). These list the dimensions and state of dilapidation of the buildings comprising Howden Manor. Thanks in part to particular surviving spaces, such as the hall and porch, it is possible to reconstruct the arrangement of the original medieval layout from this. This was a task undertaken by J.B. Whitwell. The first survey was undertaken in 1561 by Bishop Pilkington upon his appointment to bishop. It describes the buildings arranged around a courtyard extending 186ft (e-w) and 126ft (n-s) with the hall and porch occupying the easternmost extent (Hutchinson 1886:389). The western range is said to have incorporated the domestic spaces, notably the kitchen, pantry, buttery and offices (Hutchinson 1886:389). The western range is said to have been used as stables, separated from the south range by a gateway, named after its creator Langley (1966 Listing Text). The remainder of the western range featured five houses and the opposite eastern range featured the private bishop's spaces. This survey reveals the precise layout of these rooms in relation to one another (Hutchinson 1886:390). Interestingly, stylistic details are similarly included. Notably, the presence of a bell-turret on the eastern range together with assessments of its 'loftiness' and 'poorly made second storey' adjoining the 'battlemented' hall provide an impression of its aesthetic form and the reception of this by contemporary viewers.

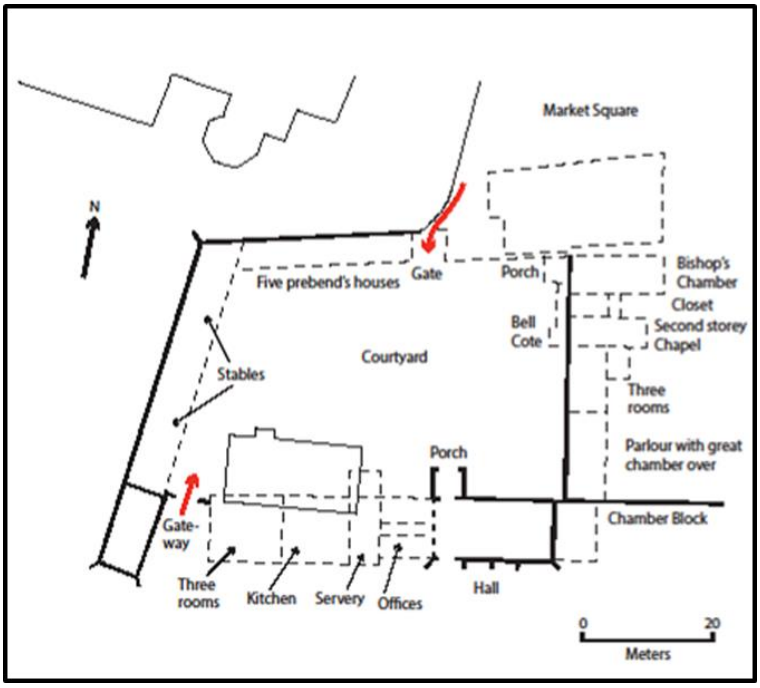


Figure 25. Plan of Howden Manor. Based on plan from Whitwell, 1984.

Crayke Castle – Crayke, N. Yorkshire.

Crayke Castle is today a private residence sat atop a commanding hill at the northern edge of Crayke village, beside a church of Anglo-Saxon origin (Pevsner 1966:130). The site is popularly referred to as a motte-and-bailey castle with two distinct building ranges - 'The Old Hall' and 'New Tower'- comprising the majority of the castle structures, with other medieval

structures discovered within the outer and inner baileys encircling the hilltop. However, the exact development and form of this castle has been subject to debate by scholars, notably Raine (1869) and Emery (1996). This study draws heavily on the work of these two scholars while incorporating recent archaeological investigations and observations, to provide a comprehensive interpretation of this site.

Crayke village was owned by the bishops of Durham since St Cuthbert and his Community were granted the land by the Early Medieval Northumbrian King Egfrid (Churton 1840: 201). Various researchers (Raine 1869; Page 1923) have suggested that Crayke Castle was built by Bishop le Puiset (1154-1195) though no textual reference confirms this. Le Puiset is known to have fatally stayed at Crayke the night before he died in 1195 (Scammell 1956: 60). Given le Puiset's prolific construction endeavours (notably Auckland Castle, Bishop Middleham Castle) it is plausible that he would have also founded a residence at Crayke.

The site appears to have been resided at until the transition into the post-medieval period, when a Parliamentary Order in 1646 called for its destruction (Page 1926), though this was prevented through its private sale two years later (Page 1926). The 'Old Hall' is now entirely demolished, while the kitchen appears to have fallen into disrepair during this period. Today only the undercroft remains and was reportedly used as a cattle shed in the post-medieval period (Hester 2006). Luckily, the 'Great Chamber' was converted for use as a farmhouse and has survived today (Laycock 2008). Today, the 'New Tower' has fallen into ruin and has become an ornamental garden feature. Other buildings within the wider complex have nearly entirely disappeared from the landscape, with only some earthworks revealing their location.

Phase One – Motte-and-Bailey? (11th - 12th centuries)

The topographic position of the site has led scholars to suggest that Crayke Castle was initially a 12th century timber motte-and-bailey style castle that evolved latterly into the high-status masonry dwelling that exists today (Hester 2006). This theory takes into consideration the lack of physical remains indicative of this kind of building, as timber castle construction was a method confined to the immediate post-Conquest period and has typically left little surviving imprint in the archaeological record due to the ephemeral building materials used, combined with a general trend for replacing wooden defences with stone (Liddiard 2005: 17-18).

Apparent post-holes discovered during 2004 excavations might relate to this phase, but without dateable evidence from these this cannot be proven (Dennison 2004). An alternative evaluation of the site concluded that there were no artificial earthworks and that the appearance of such is a result of terracing on a natural hill (Field Investigators Comments 1973). Both these interpretations assume that the earliest phases adopted the motte-and-bailey style castle, though without physical evidence to confirm this cannot be proven.

The positioning of this castle and its limits likely relates to the nearby Anglo-Saxon burials and possible monastery (Page 1923: 122). Excavations in 1956 and 1983 uncovered multiple inhumations buried in a Christian manner (east-west aligned) and radiocarbon dated to 630-860 AD (Hildyard 1959; Adams 1990). In addition, Roman pottery and remains of a possible hypocaust system attest to prior Roman settlement in Crayke. Contemporary documentary evidence, notably Symeon of Durham, records that the monks of Durham established a monastery in Crayke for which tentative layouts were produced following the excavations of 1983 (Adams 1990). The boundary of Crayke Castle bailey appears to lie adjacent, and partially truncate, this cemetery. This evidence suggests an awareness of the history and legacy of the place by its builders, which affects our understanding of the motivations of the builders and the perceived significance of this place.

Phase Two – 'Old Hall' and castle baileys (13th - 14th centuries)

The earliest reference to any act of construction at the site is 1441-1442. An account of Robert Ingelard, Surveyor of Works, reveals that Bishop Neville ordered the construction of a kitchen and larder adjoining the 'Old Hall' (Church Commissioners Box, Durham University Special Collections CCB B/110/1 (189881) 20-21 Henry VI [1441-42]). These building accounts are informative as they describe the kitchen as lying between the 'Great Chamber' and 'Old Hall', thus providing a relative spatial plan. Interestingly, this textual source refers to this site as 'Old Hall' implying that it was of a considerable age by this point, suggesting a relative chronology for this building.

Unfortunately, the 'Old Hall' no longer exists and it is believed that the remains sit beneath later development on the site. Without any standing remains or recovered archaeological deposits, the date of this building remains unknown. Despite this, it has been suggested that the 'New Tower' might include stonework from the earlier 'Old Hall'. Dennison (2004) cites the Caenarvon arch and external shouldered window heads as stylistically 13th century, while features such as the 2nd storey entrance is more typically associated with later medieval construction, with 15th century parallels found at Harsley Castle (Emery 1996:325) and Seaton Holme, another residence of the bishops of Durham. With this in mind, two theories have been proposed:

(1) The first theory centres on the New Tower being constructed in the 15th Century incorporating some reused masonry, possibly from the 'Old Hall'. This scenario suggests that the 'Old Hall' featured high-status stone fabric of 13th century date. Given that the building was occupied from at least Puiset's episcopacy, this could indicate that the hall was initially wooden and latterly refaced in stone in the 13th Century (l'Anson 1913:343). This interpretation dictates that the 'New Tower' must have been constructed after the demolition of the 'Old Hall' meaning that the two never existed simultaneously.

(2) Alternatively, the 'New Tower' is actually of primarily 13th century origin with 15th century amendment. This would render the 'Old Hall' and 'New Tower' as existing contemporaneously. This theory is preferred by Emery (1996) though the failure of the 'New Tower' to appear in the records before the 16th century casts doubt on this idea. Furthermore, Leland's assertion that this is a '*New'* tower would have also been entirely erroneous.

Without further evidence, neither of these theories can be proved. However, given Leland's testimony that the tower is 'New' it seems probable that l'Anson's theory is more applicable. Through this interpretation we can assert that the 'Old Hall' was probably built sometime in the 13th century, possibly replacing an earlier timber hall that would have likely been in residence from at least the 12th century.

Probably contemporary with the 'Old Hall', a medieval pottery kiln was discovered through excavation in 1983 within the inner bailey. Dated using pottery evidence to the late 13th/early 14th centuries (Adams 1984), this kiln represents one of the earliest known features at the site. In addition, the remains of an excavated gatehouse (probably that mentioned in the report of 1560) as well as a tower platform, barn and outer curtain wall identified through earthwork analysis, are likely to be of equally medieval origin (Dennison 2004). These buildings reveal that throughout the periods leading up to the 15th century, Crayke Castle was a productive centre of activity.

Phase Three – The Great Chamber, Kitchen and 'New Tower'(15th - 16thcenturies)

Mentioned in Ingelard's accounts of 1441, the 'Great Chamber' and kitchen represent the next structural phase in the life of Crayke Castle. Archaeologically, these buildings are consistent with the dates proposed in the documentation. The stepped stonework visible in both antiquarian (Raine 1869:62 and 70) and modern images of the exterior façade of the chamber is suggestive of high-status craftsmanship and visually echoes Neville's other architectural endeavour at Raby Castle (Dennison 2004). Although the internal arrangement of rooms has been altered to meet modern requirements (Hester 2006), views of this façade reveal that it has not been significantly altered in modern times, although Emery (1996) notes that the original doorway has been replaced, and the wooden stairway exterior access to the second floor has been removed (Emery 1996:327)

Moreover, Emery observed that the surviving undercroft of the kitchen would have undoubtedly supported a significant superstructure (1996:327). Supposing that the kitchen assumed the same dimensions as the undercroft, this room would have assumed a significant proportion of the known space that made up this building. In itself, this might provide an indicator of the size of the 'Old Hall' in addition to emphasising the role of the domestic spaces. Arguably therefore, through the inclusion of such a large kitchen in 1441, Neville alters the space to create a

sizeable and comfortable domestic dwelling, suggesting that comfort and domesticity were paramount concerns.

It is in this architectural transition toward domesticity that the 'New Tower' has to be viewed. A 'view' of Crayke Castle recorded in 1561 (Church Commissioners Box, Durham University Special Collections CCB B/110/4 (189550A)) described this structure as standing three storeys high, lying north-west of the 'Old Hall' and being in a good state of repair with features including thick stone walls and a vaulted ground level with porch, along with the dimensions of the buildings. As discussed earlier, the most likely interpretation for the age of this building is that it was built in the 15th century, reusing earlier stonework. The exact purpose of this building is unclear, though some of the rooms are named, such as the porch and parlour (Page 1929). This building could have served as an additional accommodation range built to house guests, the domestic 'household' and other retainers that would have provided an acceptable environment for entertaining and extended stays at Crayke Castle. This reflects a conscious change in the function of Crayke, toward a residence suitable for an elite, peripatetic lifestyle.

The same 16th century source (Raine 1869) similarly recorded a tower within the complex that stood five storeys high and it was this building that was similarly noted by Leland in 1539 (Toulmin-Smith 1909: 66). Archaeologically, this has been located within the grounds through earthwork analysis. An irregular plateau to the east of the main ranges is dimensionally consistent with that described by both sources. Unfortunately, neither source record the date of this structure and no dateable remains from this building have been recovered. As a result, this building is of indeterminate date. The description suggests it was highly defensive, though the possibility that this building served an ornamental role, or acted as an accommodation range like the 'New Tower' should not be excluded.

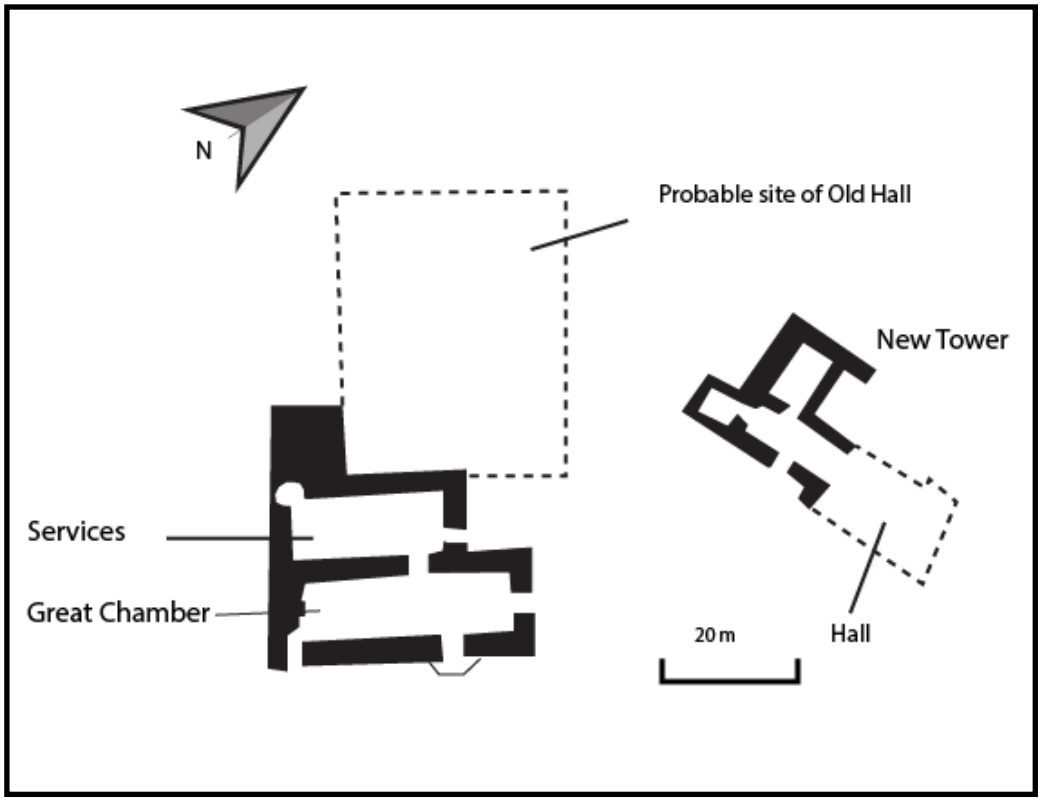


Figure 26. Plan of Crayke Castle with the site of now demolished rooms outlined in dashed lines. Presently, it is impossible to determine a chronology for the site so the buildings cannot be accurately phased. Image based on Emery 1996: 325).

Norham Castle – Norham, Northumberland.

Norham Castle stands today as one of the most famous castles in the historically militarised Scottish border zone. Through history it has played an important role as the sight of numerous battles and political events (Sadler 2013). In peaceful times Norham Castle continued to remain a relevant building, predominantly due to its 'romantic' aesthetic captured by Turner in the 19th century and as the backdrop for Scott's epic poem (1936) (Finlay 1980). Because of the enduring popularity of this site, significant historical work has been conducted tracing its history and development. Influentially, Philip Dixon and Pamela Marshall (1993) have reassessed the archaeological and historical evidence surrounding Norham Castle, presenting new interpretations based on the standing buildings evidence of the development and use of the central *donjon*, whilst the Heritage Lottery funded Flodden Project has conducted archaeological investigation into the unscheduled outer ward region of the site (Waddington and Brightman 2013).

Norham Castle held a particularly valuable role to the bishops of Durham, not only as their borderland stronghold, but also as the capital of Norhamshire. The bishops attained their exclave of Norhamshire during the early medieval period, and it was first mentioned alongside lands held on Lindisfarne in 995 AD (Lewis 1848). They governed this exclave, like others at Bedlingtonshire and Islandshire, as an arm of their bishopric. Because of Norhamshire's location on the Scottish borders, it became an essential asset to the bishops of Durham in their efforts to suppress Scottish incursions.

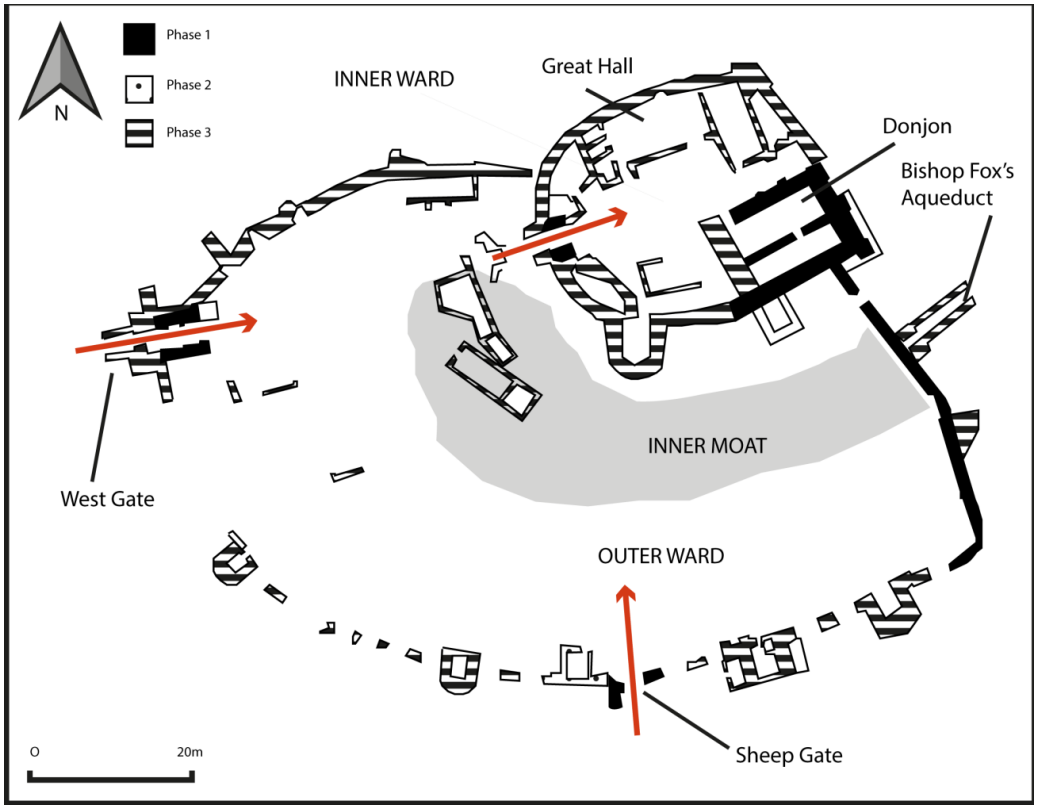


Figure 27. Plan of Norham Castle. Drawn by author based on Salter (2009) and Saunders (1998:28).

Phase One – Timber castle or stone donjon? (12th Century)

While this castle features prominently in many historical events of national importance the origin of this building and the nature of it during its earliest days are contested. Traditional scholarship has attributed the origin of the castle to Bishop Ranulf Flambard (1099-1128) following his order in c.1121 for its construction to defend against the 'Scottish Threat' (Bartlett 2000:281; Pettifer 1995:193; Dodds 1988:27; Mackenzie 1825:332; Platt 1982:40; Allsop and Clark 1970). The first phase of this building is thought to have been a motte-and-bailey castle, and the earthworks indicating this are still prominent in the landscape. Recent archaeological excavation was conducted (Brightman and Waddington 2013) to date these following speculations by Pearson (2002) that a prehistoric feature might have been incorporated within the motte earthworks. A 2013 investigation (Brightman and Waddington 2013) yielded few dateable archaeological remains, with those that were discovered suggesting that the earthworks excavated were the result of post-medieval remodelling of the area. As a result, this investigation was not conclusive in proving whether or not the earliest phases of this site reused prehistoric earthworks within the motte.

The earliest structures at this site have been traditionally interpreted to have been of timber construction. Following two well documented attacks by the Scots in 1136 and 1138, Norham Castle suffered 'extensive damage' and a period of abandonment and ruination seemed to have followed thereafter (Sadler 2013). Historical documentation is clear on its 'reconstruction' by de Puiset (1153 - 1195) following orders by King Henry II (Saunders 1998:20). This evidence suggests therefore, that the stone *donjon* dates from this set of building works.

Dixon and Marshall (1993) have through extensive standing buildings analysis, challenged this assertion. They concluded that parts of the stone *donjon* were 'almost certainly the work of Flambard c. 1121' (1993: 428) and that the *donjon* at this time featured a sizeable hall and was later sub-divided into smaller rooms and spaces (Dixon and Marshall 1993: 428). This re-evaluation of the standing buildings evidence alters how we interpret the phasing suggested through the historical record, and more precisely challenges the understanding that Norham Castle once had a timber structural phase.

Also dating from the 12th century are large aspects of the still-standing outer and inner wards. It has been suggested that the Outer Ward dates from Flambard's structure, though this this has not been confirmed archaeologically (Saunders 1998:20). Le Puiset is known to have commissioned the Inner Ward gatehouse and West Gate in addition to repairing the Great Tower (*donjon)* (Saunders 1998: 20). It has been suggested that the Outer Ward was a product of Flambard though no archaeological evidence appears to confirm this (Saunders 1998:20).

Archaeologically, le Puiset's building efforts aside from the Great Tower include the very earliest phases of the Inner Ward (Saunders 1998).

Ward gatehouse and West Gate (Saunder 1998). The phasing of Sheep Gate coincides with a known expenditure by King John on the castle in 1212 (Saunders 1998: 21). Much of the complex was strengthened by Bishop Fox, and the aqueduct system was added by him to provide both a clean water supply and water to fill the moat. The presence of buildings associated with wool production located near the water sources have been attributed to this building phase also (Saunders 1998:21).

Phase Two (13th/14th centuries)

The end of the 12th/beginning of the 13th century was a period of substantial turbulence in the history of Norham Castle. It was during this period that Norham Castle transitioned between royal ownership and possession by the bishops of Durham (Saunders 1998: 21). While Norham Castle was possessed by the bishops of Durham following Poitou's death in 1208, King John spent considerable sums of money updating and improving Norham Castle (Saunders 1998: 21). The Sheep Gate has been stylistically dated to this phase (Saunders 1998: 21). In addition, a royal garrison was installed at Norham Castle between c. 1208 – 1211 (Fraser 1961: 128-9). It is probable that the remains of structures relating to this period remain at the site as below-ground deposits. Aside from these events there are no further textural or archaeological records relating to building expenditure by the King at Norham Castle, despite this period being known for sustained and repeated attacks at this castle (Aiken 1808: 139).

Phase Three (15th/16th centuries)

In contrast to the 14th century, the 15th century is notable for the scale and extent of building work conducted at Norham Castle. Firstly, a new stone tower named 'Westgate' was built between February and December 1408 (Church Commissioners Box, Durham University Special Collections, CCB B/72/2 (190003)). The account records that the tower was topped with a wooden palisade made from timbers imported to Berwick from the Baltic. Twenty years later a similar account records the building of a new latrine attached to the south-west side of the Great Tower, construction below the vent of the dungeon beneath the Great Tower, building of a stone encasement for suspending the portcullis and a lean-to structure next to the 'Westgate' to shelter oxen and the builders (Church Commissioners Box, Durham University Special CCB B/72/3 (190008))

The structural additions proved valuable upon the beginning of the 16th century, when Norham Castle was severely damaged in siege of 1497 (famous for the canon 'Mons Meg' having been used) (Drees 2014: 39). In 1510-1511, there are accounts amounting £350 for repairs made to the castle, though the precise nature of these repairs is not known as this source only details the

wages each labourer/craftsman received and the materials used (,Church Commissioners Box, Durham University Special Collections CCB B/72/10 (221030A)).

In addition, the *donjon* was significantly altered in this period. Firstly, it was heightened and an additional staircase inserted in 1422-25, and then at the end of the 15th century the roof was flattened and additional. These changes together with the reconfiguration of the internal spaces have led Dixon and Marshall to state that these changes are a reflection of the changing role of the building in later periods. Saunders (1998: 21) concluded that following the Treaty of Northampton, the bishops created a 'tower-house' from the original defensive *donjon.*

Durham Castle – Durham, Co. Durham

Durham Castle is situated on an elevated motte on Durham peninsula. Durham Castle is located at the narrowest point of this peninsula, blocking free flowing access to the tip of the peninsula inhabited by Durham Cathedral. Like Auckland Castle, Durham Castle has remained an actively used residence to the present day. In 1832 the castle was given from the bishopric estate to help found Durham University (Brickstock 2007: 56). Because of its enduring use, Durham Castle has remained in good state of repair. Today therefore, it stands as one of the most intact examples of a Norman castle in Britain and is one of the major landmarks in Durham.

Phase One – 11th/12th centuries

The earliest developmental phases of Durham Castle appear to have been of great interest to scholars. Martin Leyland (1994) wrote his doctoral thesis examining the development of the castle from 1071 to 1217. Many have debated the precise structural order of buildings in the Durham Castle precinct (Leyland 1994, Wood 2010, Page 1928) but most agree that there was some pre-Conquest structure beneath the site of the current Durham Castle. Leyland has concluded that some of this fabric can be identified in the basement of the North Hall while there has been suggestion that the northern wall of the Norman Chapel might incorporate earlier fabric (Page 1928).

The development of Phase 1 following the research of Martin Leyland, 1993.

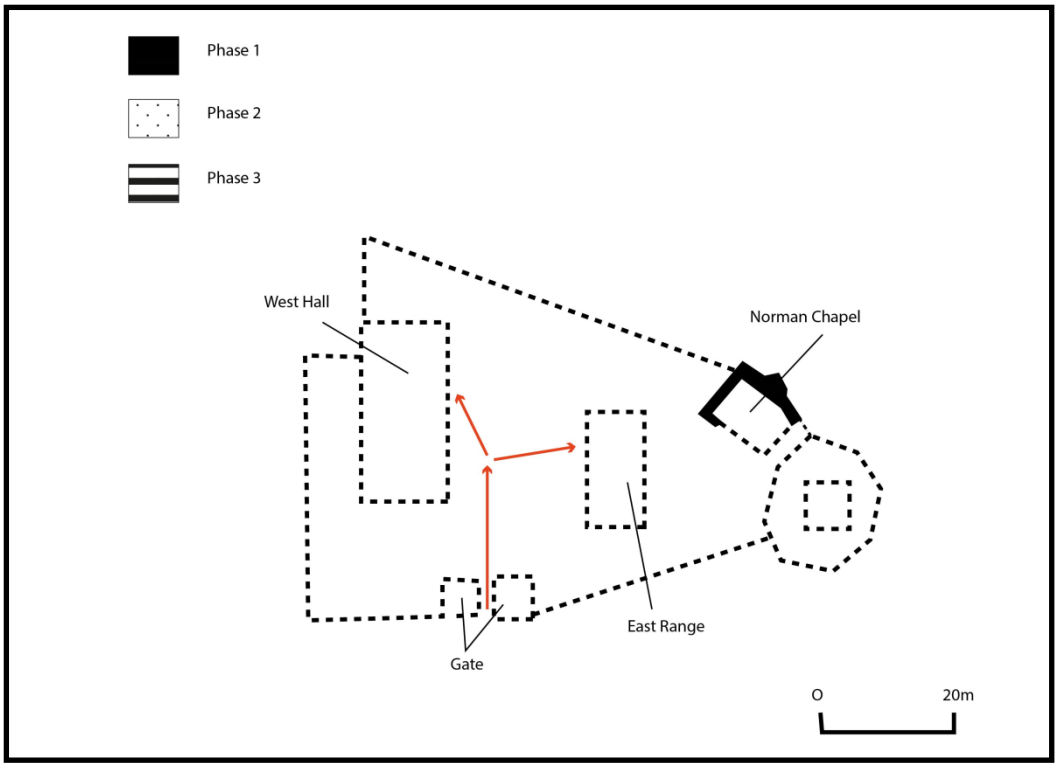


Figure 28. Leyland's suggestion for the earliest building phases at Durham Castle during the episcopacy of Bishop Waltham (1071-1080).

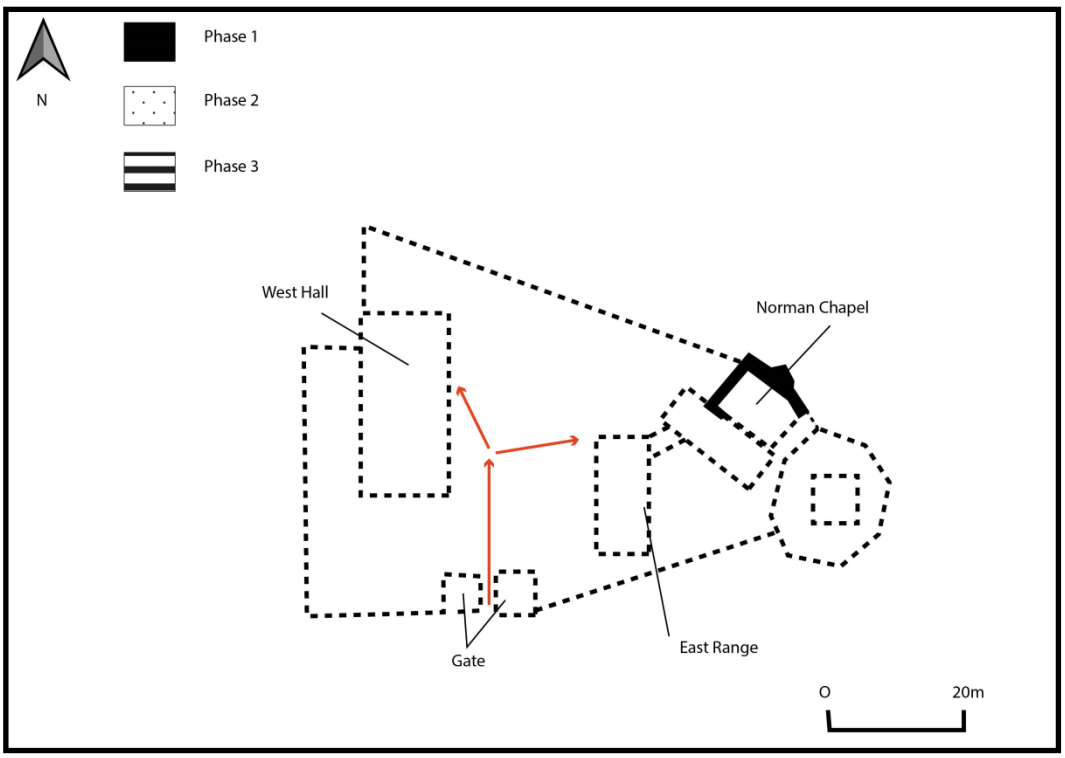
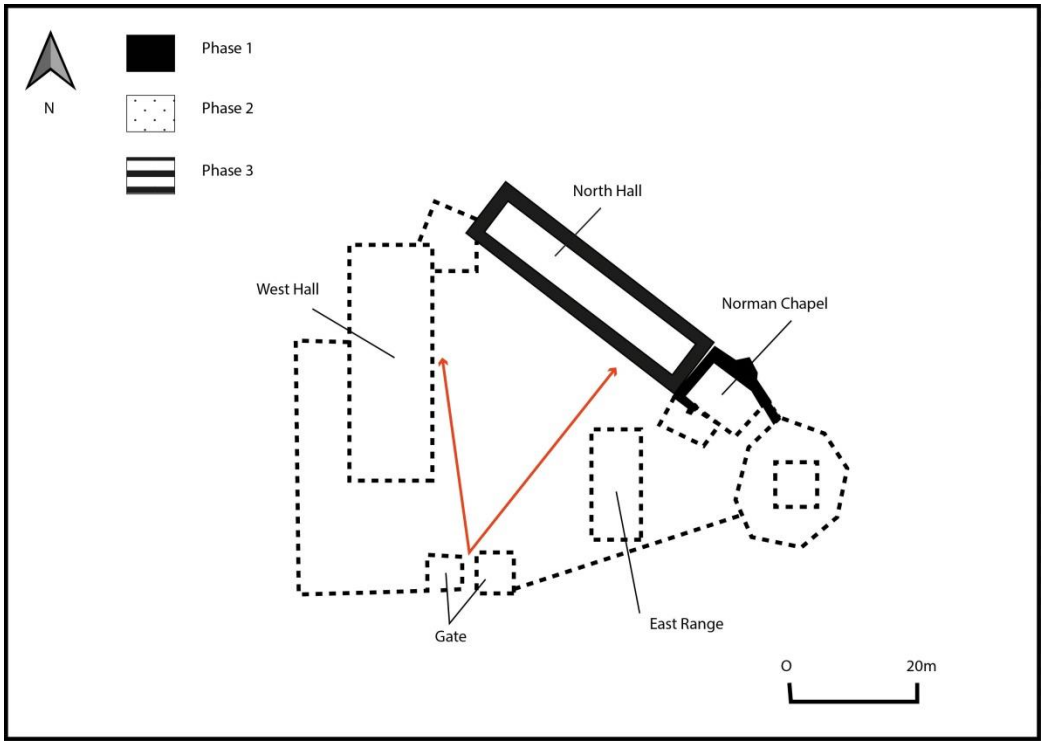


Figure 29. Leyland's suggestion for the building phases conducted by Bishop St Calais (1080-1096). Base image after Page, 1908, plan after Leyland, 1993.



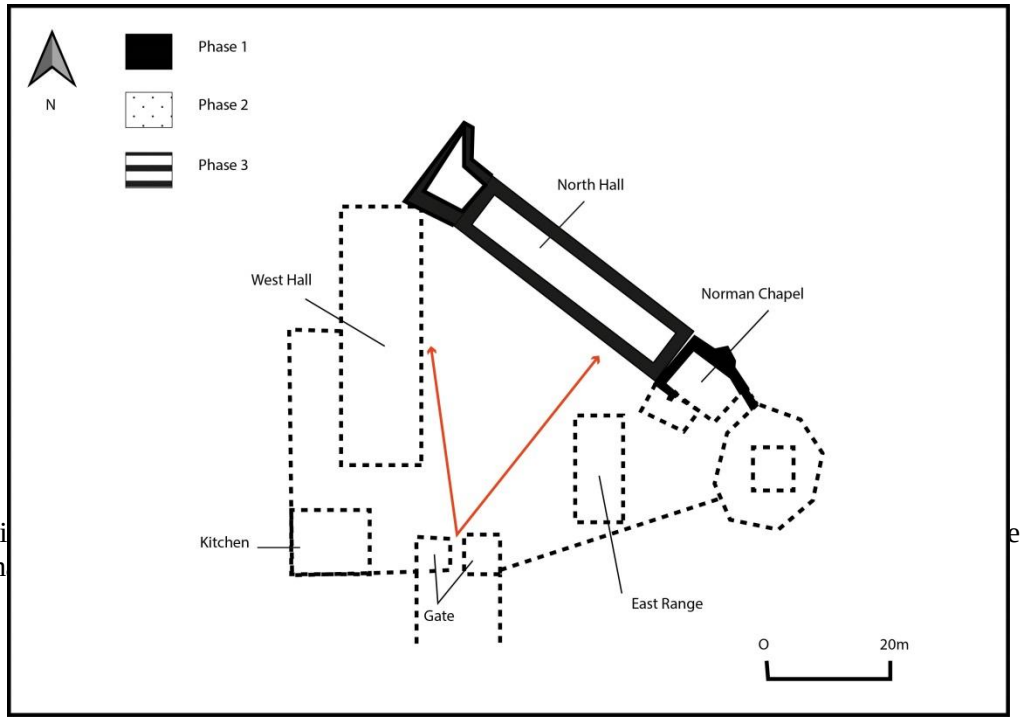


Figure 31. Image depicting the building work of Bishop Puiset (1153 - 95). Base map after Page, 1908 and plan after Leyland, 1993.

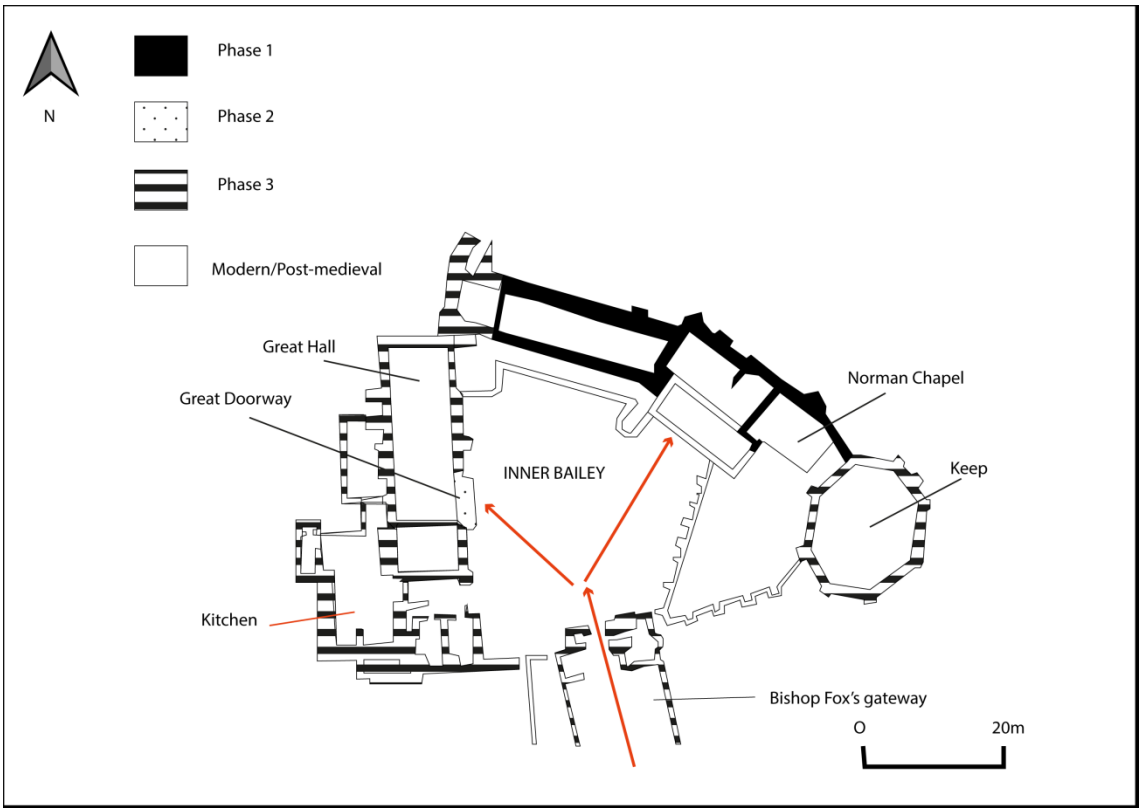


Figure 32. Phase plan of Durham Castle. While Phase One has been discussed and depicted in detail, due to the lack of surviving material from Phase Two combined with the fact that it occupied the same structural footprint, these two phases have been illustrated on the same plan. Based on Page, 1908.

Despite this, there seems to be a general consensus that the earliest phases of the Durham Castle were built by Bishop Walcher in 1072. Leyland has traced a possible outline for the buildings at this time, and he concluded that their arrangement is more reminiscent of secular castle design than episcopal. The reasons for this are most likely as a response to the instability in the region, the Historia Regum explains this decision as providing a safe home for his appointee (Thompson 1994). The earliest arrangement of buildings within the Durham Castle precinct therefore seems likely to have consisted of a motte, chapel, gateway, curtain wall and hall. This collection of spaces is highly typical of Norman castle design, and echoes the other very early bishops' residence at Norham.

The Norman Chapel has long been a focus for academic scholarship because of its unique, unaltered survival and interesting Norman carved stones. The Norman chapel is a small, one storeyed room abutting the outer curtain wall and motte. The north wall features *in* situ remains of the northern curtain wall. Inside, it is noted for its unusual carved Romanesque stonework which features, among other things, a figure of a mermaid and dogs. Most recently Rita Wood (2010) has reassessed the structural remains and concluded that due to the obvious Norman

influences, it would have had to have been built by a Norman bishop (Wood 2010: 44). She concludes that William St Calais (1080 – 1088) built the chapel during his episcopacy.

Of similar antiquity is the under croft beneath the 'west' hall. Still in use today, the under croft appears to have outlived its accompanying hall. Inside the under croft are *in situ* Norman stonework and vaulting suggesting it had once accommodated a sizeable superstructure the hall it had accompanied has since been demolished. Judging by the date of the under croft, this was the initial location of the hall. Pevsner (1983: 217) states that excavations north of the West Hall uncovered the remains of service spaces. Meanwhile, excavations conducted in the courtyard by Leyland (1994) uncovered the remains of a further stone building. This building might therefore represent the otherwise illusive domestic spaces for the bishop.

The subsequent decades saw a linking range inserted between the Norman chapel and East Range (Leyland 1994: 416), while Bishop Flambard was responsible for the insertion of a second range at the beginning of the 12th century. This North Hall was positioned opposing newly located front gate, with the famous first-floor entranceway positioned directly aligned with this gateway. This arrangement creates a new focus for the complex, switching the perspective from the West Hall toward the North Hall. The presence of a second storey doorway adds credence to this idea, as the elevated position would have encouraged the viewers gaze higher, resulting in an imposing and dramatic entranceway. Internal analysis of the North Hall shows it to have possibly had a two storey arrangement, with a lower storey constable's hall and second storey bishop's hall (Leyland 1994: 422). The clerestory level windows are cited as evidence for this but might just as easily be proof of a gallery level.

Phase 2 – (13th/14th centuries)

With a substantial building plan already in place by the beginning of the 13th century, Durham Castle was in stark contrast with the vast majority of other residences owned by the bishops of Durham. The first noticeable change from this period was the replacement of the West Hall (Great Hall) by Bek (1284-1310), though this was latterly enlarged by Bishop Hatfield (1345-1381). In addition, Hatfield rebuilt the keep in stone, though this has since been replaced (Raine 1839: 150; Brickstock 2007: 63). Hatfield's keep from this time was described in Hutchinson as tall, narrow, ill-formed and attractive (1794: 368). The impression that is cast by Hutchinson is of a tower designed for aesthetic value rather than defensive means. Arguably, these structural additions show a greater departure away from the defensive style obvious in Phase One. Both of these structural changes have been largely rebuilt with the keep and West Hall in their direct footprint. Only some small traces of original masonry still exist *in situ*.

Phase 3 - (15th century)

In the intervening years between Hatfield (1345 – 1381) and Bishop Fox (1494-1501) only the gateway was significantly altered (Ref). Bishop Fox reconfigured Hatfield's Great Hall back to the dimensions of Bek's initial hall. In so doing, most of the fabric from Hatfield's hall was lost, and only some remnants of Bek's initial hall were reused in both designs, notably the impressive stone doorway. In addition, Fox subdivided the new hall and he built to accommodate his kitchen and associated rooms. Today, Fox's additions comprise the majority of buildings within the footprint of Durham Castle.

Summary

Therefore, what we have seen is that Durham Castle develop rapidly through the medieval period, assuming new ranges and an increased expenditure on domestic spaces. There has been much debate over whether to term this building a palace or castle (Thompson 1994) and this relates to much wider debates over the precise nature of a castles and appropriate terminology (Stocker 1994). However, at Durham Castle there is clear evidence to suggest that its appearance in terms of display, through the conscious placement of entranceways and halls, reveals that the aggrandisement of the bishop was an important aspect of its construction and role.

Sites with few or no standing remains.

Darlington Manor – Darlington, Co. Durham

Darlington bishop's residence was reportedly built in c. 1164 by Bishop le Puiset (Clack and Pearson 1978:8) though relatively little historical information exists relating to the medieval phases of occupation, with the latter post-medieval developments better recorded historically. Of the few historical reports available, we know that the bishops maintained the building into the post-medieval period, with repairs commissioned to the buildings following the Darlington Fire in 1668 (Longstaffe 1854: 60). Moreover, an antiquarian report from 1703 records that the residence was in use as a Quaker Workhouse though owned (but not administered) by the bishops of Durham until 1808 whereby it was sold, as a workhouse, to the town of Darlington. The buildings were sold in 1870 to Richard Luck and ultimately destroyed to make room for new houses (Longstaffe 1854: 153). However, the most revealing records regarding the form and layout of the medieval residence are post-medieval maps and illustrations from its duration as a workhouse.

The 1st Ordnance Survey map of the area from 1856 provides the clearest cartographical record of the site. Depicted is the ground plan of the 19th century workhouse with the 'Old Hall' labelled. The 'Old Hall' stands in contrast with the newer workhouse ranges due to the thicker walls and larger room size typical of medieval architecture. From this image it can be discerned

that this building displays characteristics from two building phases. An architects illustration (H.D Pritchett, Durham County Council HER) drawn 10 years after the Ordnance Survey map supports this interpretation by depicting the building with the same characteristics. It can therefore be suggested from these images that the ‘Old Hall’ is an original surviving feature from the medieval bishop’s residence, while the north-south orientated range is a later feature, probably associated with the workhouse.

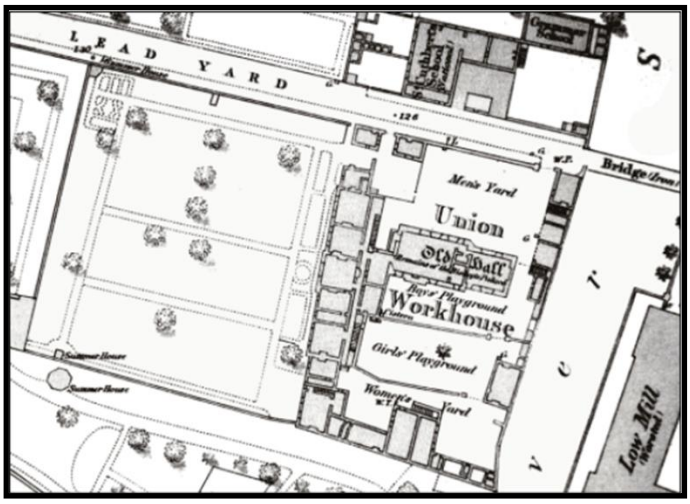


Figure 33. 1'st Edition OS Map, clearly showng the bishops residence adjoined to later workhouse features

Two key illustrations from the 18th and 19th centuries support this theory. Both these images portray the Darlington residence in the intervening years between its transformation into a workhouse and any 19th century alteration to the main building. The earliest, dated from 1764 (Darlington Local Studies Library (acc. no. PH5067 L566A) depicts the east face of the medieval residence, while an illustration dating from 1813 (reproduced in Hammond 2014) portrays the same building from the west. Both these images show an L-shaped configuration with the ‘Old Hall’ projecting eastwards towards the river. On the projecting easternmost wall, the hall features three tall, statement windows (also included on Pritchett’s plan that would have framed views over the river and episcopal parkland beyond. The adjoining range would have most likely held the domestic spaces. In both images it is clear that this range was heavily ornamented with decorative stonework consistent with medieval architectural design. Moreover, the heavily ornamented doorway on the western aspect depicted in Fig. 45 suggests that was the main point of access into the building, indicating that the building was designed serve as a vantage point over the landscape beyond. According to these images the bulk of the decorative stonework appeared on the western, access side. It is possible to infer from this that the stonework was intended to be seen by guests upon arrival.

Peter Ryder (2013) has suggested that the placement of the largest and most decorative windows on the first floor could indicate that the hall was positioned at the first floor level (ASUD 2014: 49). He cites the lack of cross-passage entry, as is a typical feature of other

ground-floor medieval halls, as justification for this theory. Pritchett's 19th century plan suggests that by this point the hall assumed a ground-floor location. Similarly, assuming that the three double height windows on the easternmost wall of the hall were medieval features, this would suggest that the hall was located at ground level but assumed the height of storeys.

Until 2011 little archaeological attention had been paid to the bishop's residence at Darlington. Since then, two excavations have been conducted by Archaeological Services Durham University; preliminary trial trenches in 2011 followed by a full excavation of at-risk areas in 2013. In this instance the highest risk areas were primarily confined to the workhouse phases with one trench exposing the northeast corner of the 'Old Hall'. Despite this, many of the finds recovered were relevant to the medieval occupational phases.

247 stones containing architectural details, medieval mortar or plasterwork was recovered from the excavations of the workhouse range (ASUD 2014). Of these, there are elements of medieval lintels, window arches, chamfered edging and column bases (Ryder in ASUD 2014: 45-49; Ryder 2010). Inspection has revealed the majority of the carved stonework dates from the 12th and early 13th Century. Around 30 of these stones were either door jambs or window details that are consistent with the 12th Century stonework features depicted in Fig.47. Fewer stones are of later 14th and 15th century dates and bare stylistic similarities to ones at the neighbouring St Cuthbert's Church (Ryder in ASUD 2014: 45-49; Ryder 2010). The smallest collection of these stones can be stylistically dated to the 16th Century and are of the medieval Scottish style (Ryder 2014). These finds suggest that the later workhouse buildings were constructed reusing stonework from the earlier domestic wing with the later stonework representing the 16th century repair work. In addition, three whole arches were recovered prior to the demolition of the workhouse in 1870 with two of them still standing at Luck's former house (Hammond 2013: 26). Stylistically, these arches match those depicted in the figures above.

In addition, the excavations revealed ditches, pits and areas of scorching that were cut into the subsoil that predated the workhouse and bishop's manor phases. These features revealed no obvious patterns and could therefore not be considered strong evidence of settlement. Despite this, it is evidence that there was some degree of activity at the site that predated the bishop's residence. Darlington is known to be a focus of Early Medieval activity, with St Cuthbert's Church the site of an early episcopal college and some evidence for Early Medieval settlement recovered through excavation (ASUD 2014: 7). Although this is important in understanding the history of the site and the relationship of the palace to the wider community, these findings provide little insight into our understanding of the nature and development of the medieval residence.

Figure 35. In blue is the outline of the bishops residence alongside the excavation area. The red squares represent the trenches excavated during this study. Drawn by the author using information from (ASUD 2014) and 1st Edition OS map (1858).

Bishop Middleham Castle - Bishop Middleham, Co. Durham

Bishop Middleham Castle survives today as earthworks confined to a rocky outcrop abutting Bishop Middleham village. The site is surrounded by marshy land prone to intermittent flooding, leaving the 'castle top' exposed. The site is currently used as land for grazing animals, and due its topographical situation, seems unlikely to have been subject to intensive ploughing in the past. As a result, it is reasonable to believe that there are considerable well-preserved below-ground deposits remaining. Unlike other sites, substantially less is known regarding the sequence and development of Bishop Middleham Castle. This is stems from the fact that Bishop Middleham Castle was in use for a substantially shorter timespan than other sites. The site is recorded as having been sold by the see of Durham in 1649 and it is has been suggested that Bishop Middleham Castle was ruined by this point (Gibson 1848: 55). The itineraries of the bishops of Durham (see Appendix 1) record a severe decline in attendance at Bishop Middleham Castle from the mid-14th Century onwards, supporting the interpretation that this site suffered gradual abandonment and subsequent dilapidation as a result of its unpopularity with later High Medieval. Unlike other residences, Bishop Middleham Castle did not maintain a substantial standing edifice into the modern period and is reported as having its last surviving feature (a vaulted under-croft) demolished in the 19th Century with Gibson (1848:55) suggesting that some of the stones were reused in the creation of Island Farm south-east of the

site. This possibility has never been archaeologically explored, and with no known images of the buildings, little is known about its

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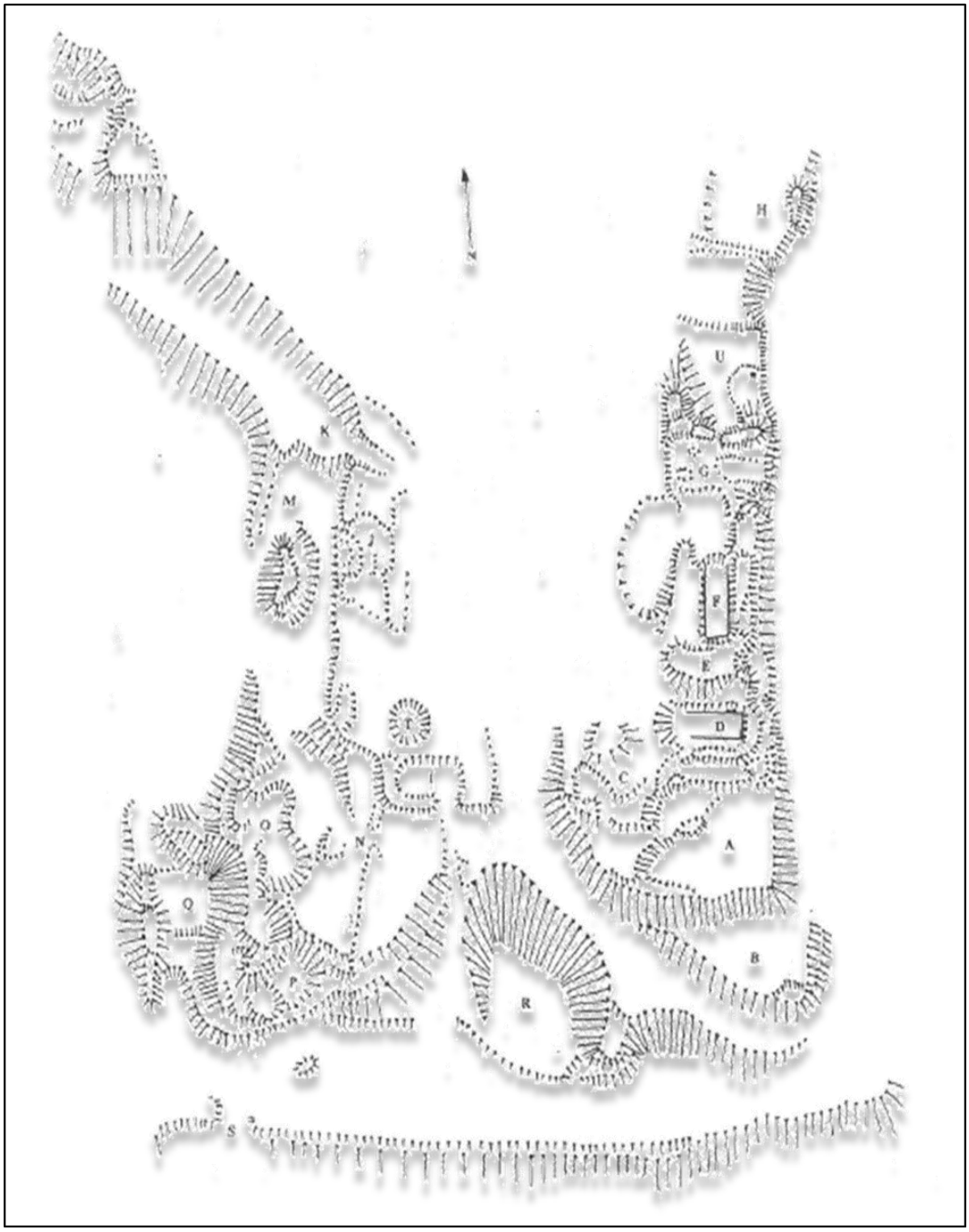


Figure 36. Earthwork survey conducted as part of a training exercise at Durham University, 1999. The letters correspond to those overleaf.

Figure 37. Magnetometer survey conducted by students of Durham University, 1999. The letters correspond to those overleaf. This image has had the identified features traced in red by the author.

upstanding character and edifice. Crucially however, it is because of this lifetime of abandonment and neglect that we are today presented with a unique opportunity to understand an unadulterated example of early episcopal residential design.

The Boldon Book (c1183) refers to Bishop Middleham settlement being owned by the bishops of Durham (Austin 1982), and it has been suggested that this could indicate the beginning of a residence at the site (DCC 1998). The earliest definitive historical references to a residence at Bishop Middleham are the documentary records from the episcopacy of Bishop Poitou (1197-1208) (Greenwell 1871: 250). Poitou succeeded de Puiset and is not known as a key palace builder like his predecessor, de Puiset. With this in mind, it is probable that le Puiset (1154-1195) was responsible for the initial construction of a residence at Bishop Middleham. This therefore, places the origin of this Bishop Middleham Castle within the mid-to-late 12th century.

Multiple historical references from the 14th century indicate the expansion and continued occupation of this site. Records dating between 1316 – 1333 (primarily the episcopacy of Louis de Beaumont) report the construction of a kitchen, hall and chapel and subsequent repairs in 1349 (Raine 1839:119). These rooms are typical of episcopal palace design and their inclusion in the early 14th Century supports the evidence from itineraries (see Appendix 1) indicating that Bishop Middleham Castle was a popular point of habitation for the 13th and early 14th Century bishops. The death of two bishops (Robert of Holy Island (Raine 1839: 119) and Richard Kellawe (Hardy 1873: 180) at this site further emphasises the importance of this location and provides ample justification for the building achievements recorded during the early 14th Century. Noteworthy therefore, is the report from 1384 in Hatfield's Survey that '*juratores dicunt quod manerium de Middelham nichil valet ultra reprisas'* (the jurors say that the Manor of Middleham is worth nothing' (Greenwell 1857: 183)). This reference almost certainly includes the palace site within the rest of the episcopal manorial land in Bishop Middleham (Jackson 1996).

Archaeological investigation appears to substantiate what is known through historical evidence. An earthwork survey records two rectilinear depressions (U and G) enclosed by stonework that are consistent with medieval buildings and later agricultural features. However, the stonework visible at Feature (U) is of a less substantial nature than that at Feature (G). The walls are not mortared or of even construction which contrasts with the thick, mortared walling with visible entryway or window in Feature D. This suggests that the northernmost east-west orientated wall in Feature D is an original medieval feature while the other walls are more recent building efforts, possibly to create small animal enclosures. With this in mind, it is therefore possible that the depressions these 'walls' are associated with are also later features and not indicative of the medieval structural arrangement.

- Feature T is the only other clearly defined visible earthwork. This circular depression is consistent with the form of a well and this is corroborated in geophysical plans of the site. The magnetic response for this feature is strongly positive and assumes the same shape as the earthwork. This is consistent with typical responses for a ditch infill, possibly indicating the site of an infilled well.
- Feature U appears on the geophysical survey as a rectilinear feature of very positive magnetic response with three circular zones of negative response. This aligns with a plateaued feature on the earthworks. These features could relate to the kitchen mentioned from historical sources and are consistent with an area of dense, flat stonework and concentrated zones of burning. From this evidence it is possible that this is a stone floor surface and hearths although this is impossible to confirm without more intrusive archaeological investigation.
- Features G and D that feature prominently on the earthwork survey appear magnetically 'noisy' suggesting that there is an irregular formation of stonework beneath ground that is consistent with demolition stonework and rubble. A similar patterns of magnetic 'noisiness' are apparent on the western side of the promontory suggesting the same irregular stony below-ground deposits. It is possible that in these zones, stone medieval buildings stood and the layout and form of which is obscured in survey by rubble from their demolition.
- Interestingly, Features L do not align with any earthwork feature. These rectilinear negative features are consistent with a series of ditches and connect to a longer ditch feature running east-west across the peninsula neck (Feature F. This unusual arrangement suggests that they are connected with Features L respecting Feature F as its northernmost boundary. It is possible that Feature F is a boundary feature that comprised of a ditch and potentially and associated wooden fence or palisade. From this, two small enclosures extended with an additional smaller enclosure attached to the south. Their size and form would have been suitable for containing animals in. Without further archaeological investigation it is not possible to know the date of these features or how they relate to the rest of the site. If they medieval, it suggests that the site was defensively and/or symbolically separated from the rest of the community by a wooden barrier.

The farm buildings north of the peninsula are of similarly historic character. Surtees (1823) stated that these buildings might have served as 'offices' for the castle, though there is not further evidence to suggest this. A cursory inspection of the buildings has revealed that some

might contain medieval masonry within later fabric though it is unclear whether any are entirely medieval in date. It seems highly probable that given their close proximity to the ‘castle top’ that some original stonework was incorporated into their construction. Overall however, the precise relationship between the castle and these buildings is unknown.

Assuming that the above and below-ground stonework to be medieval in date (with the exception of features F and L the buildings appear to cluster along the eastern and western edges of the site leaving the central region empty. As the southern extent hasn’t been appropriately geophysically surveyed, it is possible that the complex extended on three sides to incorporate the southern end of the promontory. This would suggest that the complex might have had three ranges surrounding a central courtyard; a shape repeated at other sites, namely Seaton Holme and Howden. The presence of possible animal or garden enclosures within the complex highlights the importance of the outdoor space within the wider enclosure. It is possible that, Bishop Middleham Castle comprised more than one building and instead incorporated various ranges and outdoor enclosures that although not all connected, all played important parts in the spatial configuration of the residence.

As at Durham Castle, Crayke Castle and Durham Castle, Bishop Middleham Castle appears to have had a defined boundary separating the site both physically and symbolically from the surrounding settlement, though unlike these sites this boundary appears to have been wooden. It is not clear whether this site was truly defensive therefore, or whether it reflects an earlier construction style that has not survived elsewhere. The implication of this is the creation of a separate complex of buildings cut-off from the wider community, serving to add additional layers of spatial division between the bishop and the community.

Figure 38. Picture showing Feature F. The walls are clearly composed of rubble and is not thought to be an original medieval feature. It could possibly be a post-medieval agricultural feature.

Figure 39. Photograph of the north wall of Feature D. In contrast with Feature F, this wall is mortared with evidence of a window or doorway. This feature is therefore a probable in situ wall. Photographed by author, 2015.

Stockton Castle – Stockton, Co. Durham

Although a significant residence of the bishops of Durham, very little is known regarding the form, structure or layout of Stockton Castle. The site where Stockton Castle once stood is now a modern shopping centre at the heart of Stockton-on-Tees town. The castle was entirely demolished in the post-medieval period, and the site was not extensively excavated prior to its redevelopment. As a result, the archaeological evidence is limited. In contrast, the historical

documentation relating to Stockton Castle is unusually detailed and provides an impression of the castle's medieval structural phases.

Stockton Castle was a nationally important site. King John is known to have visited in 1214 and Bishop Farnham is known to have retired to Stockton Castle in 1249 (Surtees 1823: 170). Despite this, our earliest reference to any building at the site is a document from the 12th century that records Bishop le Puiset as having a 'hall' in Stockton (Page 1928). It is not clear whether this 'hall' corresponds with Stockton Castle, but it is probable given a 13th century source that details people having stayed at Stockton Castle

A 16th century survey provides the most detailed record relating to Stockton Castle. It was recorded following the death of Bishop Pilkington (1576) and has been transcribed in full by Raine (1876) and Sowler (1972). In it, the state of repair of different parts of the complex providing the dimensions, and in some cases, the location of buildings relative to others is recorded. This is an illuminating text that provides an impressive snapshot into a moment in time shortly after the end of the medieval period.

Notably, the typical collection of spaces associated with episcopal residences are present, for example the hall and the chapel. The 'decaying' towers described allude to the building having once had a highly defensive form. These towers, that stood at '12 yards high', would have loomed over the other buildings, such as the '5 yard' high barn. As a result, the picture this source conjures is of a complex suitable for domestic habitation but also with a keen preoccupation with defence, or the expression of defence.

Despite the importance of this site as a popular residence of the bishops of Durham, Stockton Castle has only been archaeologically examined once, shortly before the site was redeveloped to accommodate a carpark and shopping centre in 1965 (Aberg and Smith 1988). The excavators were limited to a two-week excavation and encountered issues from modern stratigraphic disturbance that hindered progress and results (Aberg and Smith 1988). The excavations were not extensive or wide-ranging enough to provide any clear evidence with which to begin suggesting a plan for the buildings. Despite this, the excavations did reveal some important discoveries:

1) Firstly, two stone-built drains were recovered, both of which contained only medieval pottery and one (Drain 1) incorporated 12th century masonry. Analysis of this masonry suggests that it came from a high-status stone building, possibly a hall, from around c. 1150. This masonry was therefore reused in the construction of these drains. These particular architectural fragments include a column fragment with waterleaf and square-abacus design and decorative string-courses with octagonal bosses and a fragment of Frosterley Marble (Aberg and Smith 1988: 185). There

was also much less ornate stonework more commonly associated with less high-status buildings (Aberg and Smith 1988: 185). These discoveries suggest that a high-status medieval building was demolished with the parts reused in the construction of drain alongside other stonework.

2) The south-east corner of the excavation revealed the presence of three robbed-out stone walls and hearth but was disturbed by a modern brick basement wall intersecting the site between trenches 1 and 2. The lack of any industrial debris within the hearth was interpreted by the excavators as revealing a domestic hearth (Aberg and Smith 1988: 181). Similarly, a clay floor level beneath a mortar floor level yielded only medieval pottery types, suggesting that this was the original medieval floor level of this structure. Unfortunately, without further evidence it is unclear precisely the nature of this space and how this space was incorporated into the complex.

This archaeological evidence enhances our understanding of the aesthetics of Stockton Castle, revealing to have had stylistic parallels elsewhere. Of particular note, the ornamented column fragments bear similarities in both design and date with the sculptural remains from the excavations at Darlington. In addition, the presence of Frosterley marble echoes the famous columns in le Puiset's hall/chapel at Auckland Castle, supporting the dates for construction proposed by scholars. With these points in mind, Stockton Castle appears as an elaborately ornamented, high-status residence with clear parallels to some of the most impressive of the residence sites. The size and scale described in the account of repairs further supports this point, and indicates that Stockton Castle may once have aesthetically rivalled other residences like Durham Castle and Auckland Castle.

'Chapel Walls' – Wolsingham, Co. Durham

Hatfield's Survey (Greenwell 1857: 60-68) records a manor house belonging to the bishops of Durham in Wolsingham. This house was situated within 8.5 acres of parkland and featuring a garden, orchard and three acres of meadow (Greenwell 1857: 60-68) and was allegedly destroyed by Sir Arthur Haslerigg during the Interregnum period (Surtees 1929: 10). Antiquarian researchers have attributed the earthworks of 'Chapel Walls' to the bishop's manor house (Hutchinson 1794; Fordyce 1867). However, other historical events have been tied to the same site. Notably, Henry de Puiset (Bishop Hugh de Puiset's nephew) tried unsuccessfully to found a 'priory or religious house' in Wolsingham but it was eventually founded at Finchale (Fordyce 1867:632). According to Fordyce, this is how the site gained its name. Hutchinson (1794:301) records that the priory was next to a stream in a place called '*Backstaneford'* in Wolsingham. Topographically, this description is consistent with 'Chapel Walls'. Furthermore,

a legend surrounding a visit made by St. Godric[7] to the hermit Aelric has yielded speculation around whether this site has an earlier origin. Allegedly, Aelric had a hermitage in the woods of '*Blackstone Bank'* c.2.5km north of the Chapel Walls site. Today this site is memorialised by a well-house named 'Holy-Well' (1967 Listing Text). Following Aelric's death, St. Godric is said to have founded a chapel and settlement nearby to the Aelric's hermitage (Dufferwiel 2004). This has led to the suggestion that Chapel Walls might incorporate the remains of this occupation (ASUD 2006: 3). According to Conyers Surtees (1929: 10), the site was known as St. Godric's Chapel until shortly before he wrote, and a silver crucifix dated to 1434 was recovered at the site[8], supporting claims that Chapel Walls was the site of St. Godric's chapel. Further small finds recovered in the immediate vicinity include medieval silver coins and metal artefacts (PAS) as well as an alleged bag of silver coins[9], which correspond to a period of elite activity in the high medieval period.

With three historical events attributed to the same earthworks, there has been speculation over which, if any, of these relate to them. Alternatively, all these events might relate to the same site, resulting in an interesting history for the site. Archaeological evidence from the sites point heavily toward Chapel Walls once having been a residence of the bishops of Durham, but provide no clear evidence at it ever having been the site of St. Godric's chapel and/or Puiset's failed priory.

The earthworks in question consist of a large enclosure, with a central rectilinear platform, known as a 'camp' in an OS map of 1860 (enclosure 1). To the south-west of these features is a separate rectilinear enclosure and additional earthworks (enclosure 2). The enclosure 1 earthworks are consistent with a moated enclosure with central platform; a form present at other residences of the bishops of Durham (i.e. Riccall, Stanhope). The southern earthworks appear to also display evidence of a moat.

Since 1860, the site has been built on, resulting in part of the proposed moat being truncated. Excavation conducted in the construction of one of these buildings in 1904 uncovered two cross-walls that were interpreted by the excavators as part of a chapel (Wooler 1905: 139). Evidence of burning led them to believe that the building sustained damage through Scottish incursions (Wooler 1905: 139). Further construction in the area resulted in the probable discovery of thick, dressed stone walls[10], and another unrecorded excavation in 1977 discovered

[7] Dufferwiel 2004 had written about the legend of St Godric and its place in the history of Durham.
[8] This artefact was eventually donated to Durham Cathedral some years after its discovery in 1860 (Conyers Surtees 1929; ASUD 2006:3).
[9] ASUD records the discovery of these coins by a local resident shortly before World War One. This story is well known by local residents, but it is not clear what happened to these finds and their whereabouts are not known today.
[10] These discoveries are known only through conversations with local residents. There is no known archive of this material (ASUD 2006).

similar features[11]. More recent archaeological investigation has uncovered the remains of a probable timber structure characterised by a sequence of postholes, as well as a flagged stone floor and metalled surface (Anon 2015). It is unclear whether these features are contemporary and to what date they relate.

Therefore, through the study of the earthwork remains and excavated material, it seems highly probable that some or all the earthworks at the Chapel Walls site relate to the residence of the bishops of Durham. Both the moated earthworks and material culture is representative of an elite medieval residence. The possibility that these earthworks might represent either the ruins of St. Godric's chapel or Puiset's priory should not be ignored. It is possible that one of the enclosures relates to the episcopal residence, while the other relates to another feature. Alternatively, the residence of the bishops of Durham may have incorporated structural remains from these features within its construction. Previous archaeological investigation has proven that substantial subterranean deposits exist, therefore further archaeological investigation to investigate the precise nature and configuration of buildings might be viable.

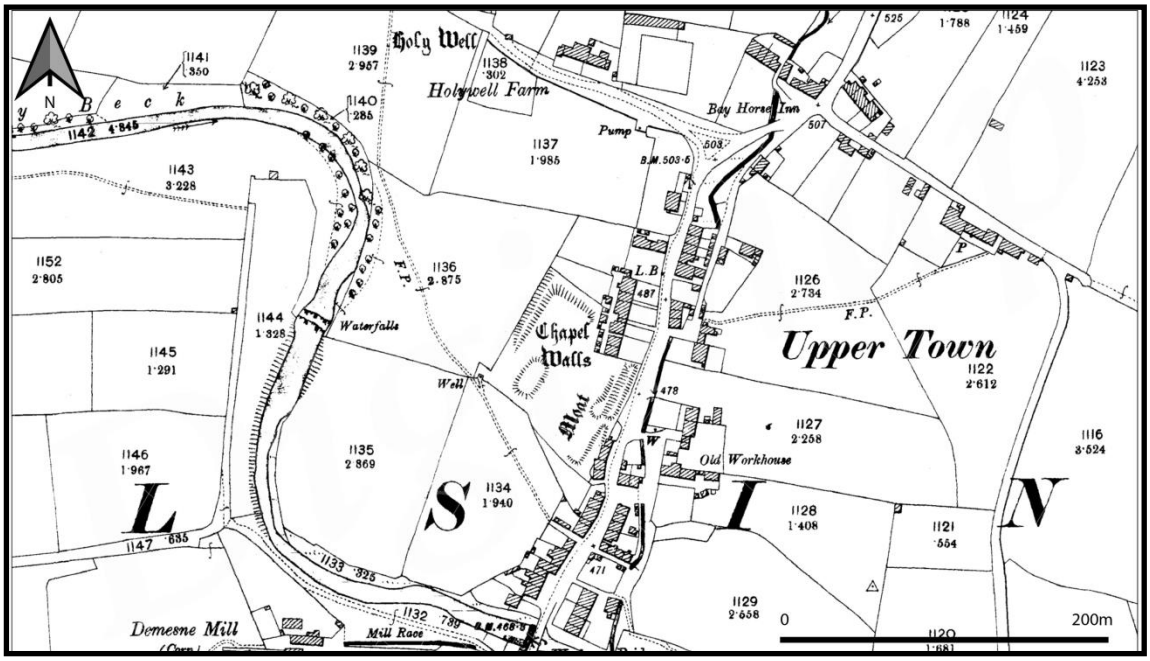


Figure 40. 1897 2nd Edition OS Map. The earthworks and some encroachment from building developments can be seen alongside the earthworks. This map provides the clearest record of the earthworks.

Westgate Castle – Stanhope, Co. Durham

The founding date of Westgate Castle is not known. It is thought that it was built following the imparkation of Stanhope Park around c.1300 by Bishop Bek, and probably assumed the same role as earlier timber hunting lodges used during the Great Chase (Drury 1978: 93). As a result, this residence has a strikingly different exterior form to other residences of the bishops of

[11] This excavation was unrecorded and unarchived. There is dispute over the size and extent of the investigation (ASUD 2006).

Durham. The name 'Westgate' probably refers to its location within Stanhope Park and an additional role as a gatehouse it might have held.

When the annual hunting party was disbanded in 1442 (Drury 1976), Stanhope was leased the Master Forester of Weardale and eventually assumed a new role as an administrative centre for the region (Drury 1987: 72- 77). Descriptions of Westgate Castle from this period provide the most detailed impression of its form. Leland writing in 1546 referred to the site as '*a praty square Pile*' which has been interpreted by some to mean the building resembled a Pele tower (Toulmin-Smith 1909: 70). In addition, a catalogue following the death of Bishop Tunstall (1559) lists some of the rooms and chattels present then (Drury 1978: 31). These include: a chamber, hall, kitchen, stables, buttery, pantry and outbuildings. This room assemblage has clear parallels with other residences of the bishops of Durham from this period, most notably Auckland Castle, Durham Castle, Howden Manor and others. This arrangement suggests that this building was well equipped to deal with large influxes of people as well as high-status occupation by the bishop and others.

Archaeological investigation has largely corroborated the textual sources. Two unrecorded excavations uncovered areas of walling, lime mortar and plaster of probable medieval date (ASUD 2012: 7). More recently, a Heritage Lottery funded investigative project aimed at uncovering more about the physical remains of Westgate Castle, has built significantly on this body of knowledge. Geophysical resistivity surveying revealed the extent of the structures (ASUD 2012). A broadly rectilinear rubble scatter of 10 m width can be identified with a smaller rectilinear structure identified immediately eastwards (ASUD 2013). Targeted excavation based on this evidence, revealed the robbed walls of a substantial stone structure with internal room division still existent (ASUD 2013). Contrary to earlier assessments (Drury 1978), this building appears to have spanned three storeys due to the exceptional thickness of the walls (Ryder 2013 in ASUD 2013). In addition, specific features common to high-status medieval buildings were recovered including a stone spiral staircase and a garderobe exit.

Through the combination of geophysical evidence and archaeologically recovered material, a possible reconstruction of the building has been created by Peter Ryder (Fig 54.). This building adopts a contrasting form to other residences of the bishops of Durham. While individual spaces exist, such as the hall, chamber and kitchen, the overall shape and layout contrasts with other residences. Notably, the rooms are concentrated in one tall building rather than across multiple ranges. The implication this has for understanding the social meaning inferred through the *access routes* is unachievable without a more detailed impression of the internal arrangement of rooms.

Northallerton Manor – Northallerton, N. Yorkshire.

The bishop's residence at Northallerton is situated on the site of an earlier motte-and-bailey castle. More recently, the site has been used for a Commonwealth War Graves cemetery (CWGC 2015). Consequently, the earthworks relating to the bishop's residence are obscured by earlier and later features, forming an unusual and complicated palimpsest landscape. Ultimately, the sequencing of the different phases of building is challenging, but diagnostic characteristics from different building types can be discerned from the earthwork evidence.

Though there has been speculation that the site has been occupied since the Anglo-Saxon period (Wooler in Riordan 2002: 24), the first identifiable phase is medieval in date. Northallerton Castle, known as 'Bishop Rufus' Palace' locally, almost certainly took the form of a motte-and-bailey castle. Although earlier work has stated that le Puiset was responsible for the initial construction of this castle (Page 1914: 421), it is now believed that le Puiset was only responsible for an enlargement of the castle in 1174. Instead, it is affirmed that Bishop Rufus' Palace was built by Bishop Rufus in 1130, with further building work enacted in 1142 by Bishop Cumin (Historic England 2014). Rufus's palace is therefore, one of the earliest residences of the bishops of Durham. The earthwork evidence corroborates that this building adopted the typically Norman building form of a motte-and-bailey castle. Still identifiable within the landscape is the characteristic motte, though it seems likely that this does not stand at full extent anymore as a result of landscaping of the site to accommodate the later buildings. No archaeological work has been conducted to test whether or not this motte is a natural feature.

It is well documented, that 'Bishop Rufus' Palace' was demolished in 1176 as part of Henry II's policy of 'fortress control' (Hosler 2007: 186). Subsequently, the bishop's residence was built on the site of the old bailey, altering the line of the moat. Earthworks from within the bailey region are not clear enough to provide an intelligible impression of the form of this building, but do hint at the presence of a considerable structure having once stood in this location. It is highly probable that the stones from the initial castle were reused in the construction of the residence, though it is unclear whether the motte was ever reused. No precise date for the founding of this building can be found but evidence from the itineraries of the bishops of Durham similarly reveal that Northallerton (or 'Alverton' as it was often styled) was frequented regularly from this date.

From analysis of the earthworks, this new residence would have likely resembled a moated manor. Some descriptions of the site do survive however, which add to what we know from earthwork analysis. For example, Leland records his visit to Northallerton (Toulmin-Smith 1905:67), describing the residence as a 'mansion'. An early 13th century source further records a pele tower having been erected at the site suggesting that this residence was a more heavily militarised example of a moated manor house than is typical of this form (Aberg 1978), possibly representing a hybrid of this form and a castle. The surviving earthworks reveal an obvious

moated enclosure, partially truncated by the Commonwealth War Graves cemetary immediately adjacent to a still standing motte. These earthworks corroborate the descriptive sources of a militarised manor house. However, without further archaeological examination it is hard to know which building phase these earthwork features relate to.

In 1663 the now-ruined residence was ordered to have been demolished by Bishop Cosin, with the disassembled stonework used to repair Castle Soke Mills[12] (a nearby corn mill). Inspection of the stonework the comprised Castle Soke Mills might yield valuable insights into the composition of the stonework at Northallerton Bishops Residence and test the validity of this evidence. However, the precise location of this mill is unknown. One antiquarian report details how the dam affiliated to the mill was discovered and 'many loads of good, useful stone' recovered and reused for various, unspecified purposes (Saywell 1885: 154). The present location of this stone is not known. Further archaeological investigation of the nearby rivers (Willow Beck and Sun Beck) might locate this dam.

Overall, the historical and archaeological evidence for the residences of the bishops of Durham reveal a complicated progression of building forms. The initial construction of an early Norman castle suggests a preoccupation with defence and fortification that was, in some ways, continued within the new building. The resultant building might have held an unusual form typologically, displaying elements of elite domestic architecture alongside aspects of fortification. There is considerable potential for archaeological deposits to exist in situ. Currently a Commonwealth War Graves Cemetery shares the same site. This was instated in the early 20th century, labelled an act of'vandalism' of an ancient site by some (Wooler 1905 in Riordan 2013: 24). According to local accounts, portions of masonry are often uncovered through the excavation of the graves (Riordan 2013: 24). This strongly indicates that there are substantial subterranean archaeological deposits, though these may have been disturbed by the later Commonwealth War Cemetary at the site. Because of this, there has been little archaeological investigation at the site despite the clear potential for extensive archaeological deposits.

Wheel Hall – Ricall, N. Yorkshire.

The site of the medieval bishop's house of Wheel Hall (or Le Wel Hall as it is occasionally styled) in Riccall stood the bank of the River Ouse. Although recorded as an often visited residence of the bishops of Durham (see Chapter Three and Appendix 1) this site had a complicated progression of ownership, eventually falling out of the possession of the bishops of Durham only to be shortly recovered (Baggs et al 1976: 84). The site now does not contain any standing remains of the original residence. Nor visible are any earthworks relating specifically to the buildings, although some earthworks relating to its moated enclosure have been visible

[12] Page, 1919 cites two unlocated secondary sources for this information: Langdale, Northallerton and Franck, Northern Memoirs

until recent times. Similarly, this site has received very little attention archaeologically and is currently not a Scheduled Ancient Monument (Historic England 2008).

Riccall is also the location of another medieval episcopal residence not associated with the bishops of Durham; a prebendary manor belonging to the York Minster (Baggs et al 1976). These two residences should not be confused, though both residences appear to share many characteristics. Stemming from this situation there is some confusion over precise landholdings by the bishops of Durham and archbishops of York, and it seems likely that there was some transference between the two. In 1066 the Archbishop of York was said to have owned two carucates of land in Riccall, whole one other carucate of land was owned by the King (Baggs et al 1976). After 1086 this land became the soke of the manor of Howden, that owned then by the bishops of Durham (Baggs et al 1976). In effect, the land owned by the King came under the ownership of the bishops of Durham. The itineraries of the bishops of Durham (see Chapter Three) record the bishops visiting Riccall from as early as 1259 (Appendix. 1) suggesting they had established a permanent residence at the site by this point.

A 16th century survey lists repairs made to the hall, chamber, chapel, drawdike and other ancillary buildings (Smith 1937:265). This account reveals the extent of buildings at the site, proving the complex to be of comparable extent to others. Unlike similar accounts, such as those for Stockton Castle, this does not provide sufficient detail with which to understand the relationship of the buildings to one another nor their dimensions. The mention of drawdike however, does correspond with our understanding from antiquarian observations and historic accounts of earthworks of Wheel Hall having been moated. In addition, Cosin's survey from 1662 makes reference to an 'old gatehouse' and 'water gate house'. While this reference is brief it is nevertheless illuminating. The choice of descriptor 'old' suggests a perceived notion of the relative age and condition of the building. Moreover, the inclusion of the 'water gatehouse' relates the earlier reference of a 'drawdike' at the site. Clearly, Riccall is a place that included, and is known for, having a manmade, defensive water management system.

Despite this historical evidence revealing an important and impressive residence, very little archaeological work has been conducted a Wheel Hall. At the site now stands an 18th century farmhouse that has taken the name 'Wheel Hall Farm'. This building has never been surveyed and there is a possibility that stonework from the bishop's residence was incorporated into the fabric of the farmhouse. Moreover, in the immediately surrounding land White recorded that in 1840 'the foundations of the palace can still be traced' (White 1840:334). In 1973 le Patourel recorded at 'triple moated enclosure' at the site with the River Ouse forming a natural barrier on one extent, for which the triple moats were visible in 1947 but only a stub of one moat could be seen by 1973 (1973:117). In modern aerial photography it is impossible to see any obvious trace of these earthworks or building foundations and today only faint traces of part of a moat can be

seen from ground level. This suggests that the site is in a state of deterioration and needs urgent archaeological surveying and investigation. In this instance geophysical prospection may prove a useful resource with which to understand the below-ground deposits in an unobtrusive manner. Similarly, as at Darlington, the riverside location might yield extensive well-preserved archaeological deposits.

In summary, it is clear that Wheel Hall was an important and vast palace site. The records of repairs made to the buildings reveals that the complex was as extensive as others recorded and the existence of a triple-moated enclosure signifies that the site was clearly marked out from the landscape either defensively or symbolically. No other site explored in this chapter incorporate such extensive manmade earthworks as those recorded at Wheel Hall. That alone signifies the relative importance and uniqueness of Wheel Hall. However, without further archaeological research it is impossible to know precisely how Wheel Hall fits into the broader spectrum of bishops' residences and the way its form influenced and was influenced by the working lives of the bishops of Durham.

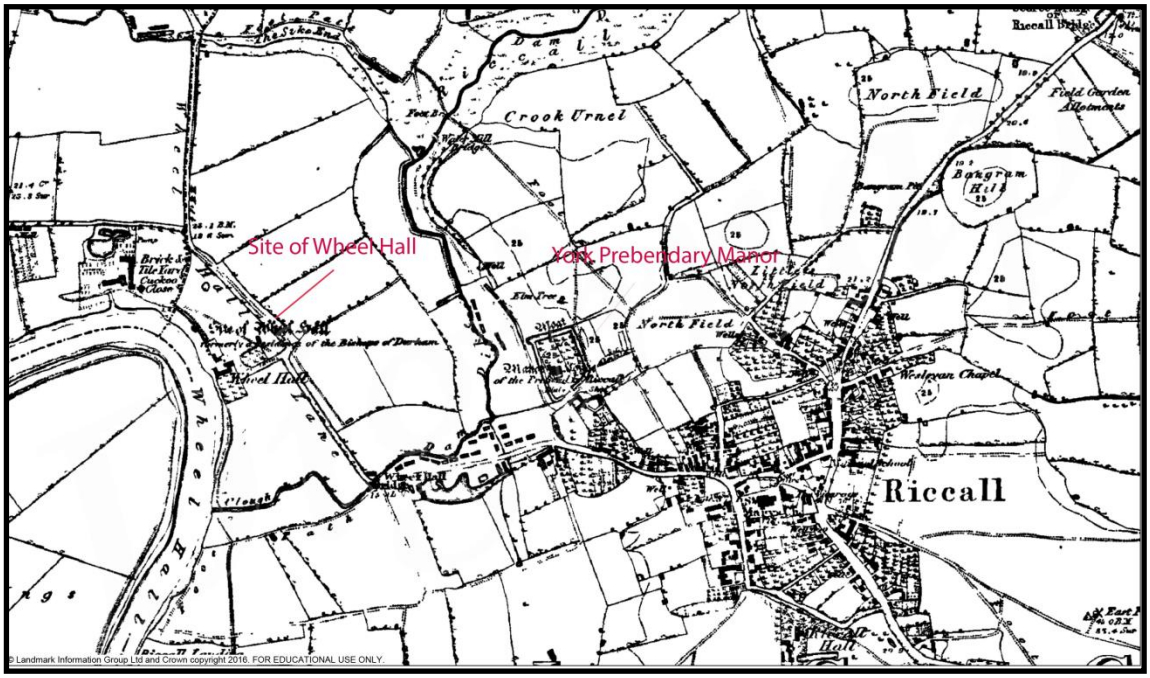


Figure 43. 1851 1st Edition OS Map depicting the site of Wheel Hall and the Prebandary manor of the archbishops of York.

Figure 44. 2015 aerial view of Wheel Hall. From this view there is hardly any archaeological deposits visible. (GE)

Durham Place – The Strand, London.

Durham House has played a key role in medieval and early-modern British history. This residence was a base for episcopal life when in London and a centre for conducting political and business affairs (Schofield 1995:212). London, as the capitol city of England and royal centre of power was a hub of elite activity and Durham House, more than any other palace of the bishops of Durham, lodged important political figures ranging from Catherine of Aragon to Cardinal Wolsey (Gater and Wheeler 1937: 87). As a result, Durham House has been recorded heavily by contemporary writers within elite circles, both through descriptions and diagrams. This provides us with an interesting opportunity to understand this building from the perspective of contemporary visitors. Unfortunately, Durham Place was demolished in the immediate post-medieval period (c.1660) and the area has now been entirely redeveloped, eventually becoming the site of the Adelphi Theatre. As a result, little is known about it archaeologically and, as with many urban sites, there is little chance of the site being available for archaeological evaluation in the future.

The historical evidence suggests Durham Place had a convoluted development. Firstly, evidence drawn from the itineraries (see Appendix 1) reveals that the bishops had been visiting London from the 13th century, though the earliest record of any places they stayed at being described in a possessive way (i.e. *in manerium nostro* etc.) is from the 14th century. This could suggest two things: firstly, the notational style changed to a more precise system by the 14th century or that the bishops did not own a residence in London until the 14th Century and that during their visits they were staying elsewhere. Matthew Paris (Gater and Wheeler (1937) cite this incident from Paris' *Chronica Majora*) mentioned an incident in 1258 between the King and Bishop Kirkham - the King was forced to stay at Durham Place due to inclement weather while travelling down the Thames in the midst of a feud between the two men - suggests that the bishops had owned a waterside residence from at the 13th century. This description is therefore, consistent with the known location of Durham Place.

Contradicting Paris' testimony, Leland (Toulmin-Smith 1905) records that Durham Place was built by Bishop Bek (1285-1310). This evidence could suggest that until Bek's episcopacy, the bishops of Durham had resided but not owned a residence in London where the events of 1258 had occurred. Alternatively, Leland's account might refer to a largescale building effort by Bek at a previously owned site. To further confuse the matter, an account by William de Chambre states that Bishop Hatfield (1345-1381) had instead built Durham Place (Gater and Wheeler 1937). As with the Leland's account, it is plausible that this might represent a building phase at the site rather than the structural foundation. All this conflicting evidence does highlight the difficulties in using personal testimonies as reliable dating evidence.

Due to the prestigious location of the site combined with the illustrious spectrum of known visitors, an array of descriptions of Durham Place exists. For example, a list of assets recorded in a grant between Bishop Cuthbert and the King records the site as featuring '*Houses, Buyldyngs, Gardeyns, Orcheards, Pooles, fysshyngs, stables and all other commodytes*' (*Statutes of the Realm*, 28 Henry VIII, c 33). In addition, a grant from 1380-1 mentions a '*vaulted chamber under the chapel and a sollar by the entrance of the chapel towards the north, and the vestibule of the chapel with two chambers adjoining, and the whole inn with houses on the east side of the north gate of the manor'* and Norden in 1592 (Gater and Wheeler 1937) described the hall as '*stately and high, supported with loftie marble pillars'.* Through personal descriptions and testimonials it is possible to gain a sense of the aesthetic appearance of the building. In terms of layout and style, these descriptions evoke parallels with other residences of the bishops of Durham. Notably, the '*loftie marble pillars'* are reminiscent of the Frosterley marble columns in Puiset's chapel at Auckland Castle.

Our most revealing informational resource is a sketch drawn in 1626 as evidence in a legal dispute (original in Calendar of State Papers, 1629, reproduced in Gater and Wheeler 1937: 87). Although the spatial dimensions are not recorded, this image is valuable in providing an impression of the relative spatial layout of Durham Place. The complex is wedged between the high street and River Thames, with the hall facing onto the Thames. The Hall features four large glass pained windows above a shorter storey characterised with a series of square windows. The northern face of the hall faces onto a courtyard and adjoins a passageway linking it to the chapel. The chapel features three tall peaked windows with an embattled roof. A gatehouse is also featured together with many buildings, possibly shop frontages, facing onto the 'High Street'. The image appears to show docking space from the Thames and an extensive 'Outer Court' adjacent to smaller courtyards. Overall the residence appears to have had a Z-Shaped configuration with extensive hall and outside space despite being confined by the London townscape. This sketch, though not sufficiently detailed to provide an accurate point of comparison with standing remains, similarly conjures parallels with other residences of the bishops of Durham. The Z-Shaped arrangement recalls Auckland Castle, while the arrangement

of windows and embattled chapel roof alludes to Durham Castle and Auckland Castle. Arguably, these buildings represent a continuation of visual motifs from within the bishopric of Durham. This thought taken together with the conscious placement of the hall alongside the river suggests a concerted effort to project a sense of their personal identity in a highly visual forum.

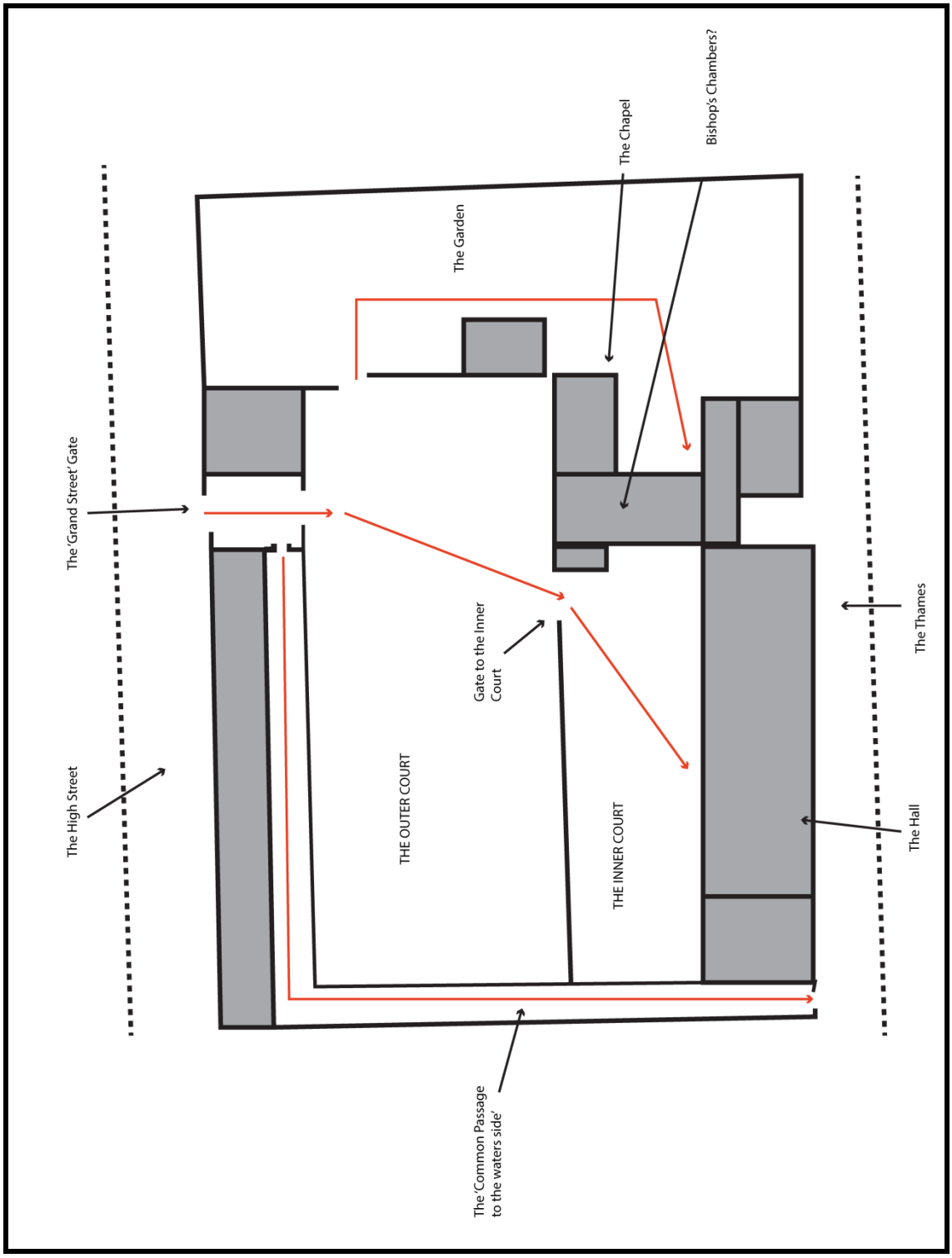


Figure 45. Line drawing based on drawing of 1662. This image provides some indication of the layout and arrangement of room at Durham place.

Part two – the buildings: form and meaning

Part One has revealed how on a geographic and chronological basis, the residences of the bishops of Durham varied widely. Castles of different types, manor houses, gatehouses and hunting lodges all qualify as residences of the bishops of Durham, but have vastly mixed forms, that in some cases change dramatically over the high medieval period. This section seeks to understand to what extent these changing forms reflect wider themes in the varied and evolving function of these buildings and the social influences that inform these.

At the beginning of the study period, two main building forms prevail: the manor house and the castle. Among the former, a uniform domestic arrangement can be observed. This domestic plan features a central hall, with service rooms and chambers and parlours extending in opposite directions. This domestic plan has been recognised as a standard vernacular architectural form from the 12th century across the Britain, even in examples where the building structures are not alike (Gardiner 2000). Among the castles from this period, the same domestic plan can be recognised. At Norham Castle for example, defence was a paramount objective with elements of fortification occupying a greater proportion of the ground plan than domestic quarters, which were confined to a short and narrow *donjon.* Internally, this domestic plan aligns with that from the manor houses: the central hall served as the focus for activity, with additional services and chambers radiating from that.

This arrangement is best understood in relation to the functionality of the spaces against the social and political backdrop of the period. It is widely recognised that the Great Hall served in a multifunctional capacity as a place for sleeping, entertaining and dining for both the bishop and other members of the episcopal household (Thompson 1995). This arrangement spread uniformly among the residences of the bishops of Durham reveals a development that parallels non-episcopal examples. It reveals that the bishops functioned like other secular elites, inhabiting communal spaces and living alongside their retainers. The emerging existence of parlours in 12th century high-status residences represents a shift away from communal living toward hierarchical privacy for the elite (Richardson 2003: 378).

Expressed using the principles of *access analysis,* this layout produces a dendritic ('tree-like') pattern, implying that the human traffic through the spaces is formally ordered. In effect, the arrangement serves to emphasise the dichotomy between these two social groupings. While the hall is a communal space used and accessed by all (Thompson 1995), the positioning of rooms extending from it serve to alienate and isolate these two spheres of domestic life from one another. Without interconnection between these two groupings, their social status is crystallised both symbolically and actually.

From the mid-14th century, uniformity among the residences of the bishops of Durham fractured. Some residences, notably Auckland Castle but also Seaton Holme and Howden, received significant building work, with their ground plan effectively doubled in size through the insertion of private quarters. Conversely, at other residences little structural amendment is noticeable. Through this conspicuous creation of spaces reserved solely for the use of the bishop, the social organisation within the residence is further polarised. For example, Bek's Great Chamber provides a new location for the episcopal duties previously confined to the parlour in earlier centuries. Michael Burger (forthcoming) has examined the use of the phrase *camera* (chamber) in relation to episcopal documents. In later centuries, the chamber is recorded more frequently as a location for issuing documents and conducting business among high-ranking clerical officials. This implies that the chamber is a semi-permeable space to which only certain people were admitted on a hierarchical basis. Attention should also be paid to the linking spaces between the chamber and Great Hall which serve to add further levels of 'depth' within the space, therefore emphasising the physical and symbolic division between the communal spaces and the semi-private ones. Extending from the chamber were the exclusive episcopal accommodation and, in the 'deepest' space, the bishops private chapel. By placing these rooms extending from semi-permeable ones, the traffic is limited further on a hierarchical basis. The seclusion of the building's devotional spaces (i.e. the chapel) from the main domestic cohort infers a particular hierarchical social meaning attached to this space that contrasts with that attached to the service spaces placed at the opposite end of the *access diagram*.

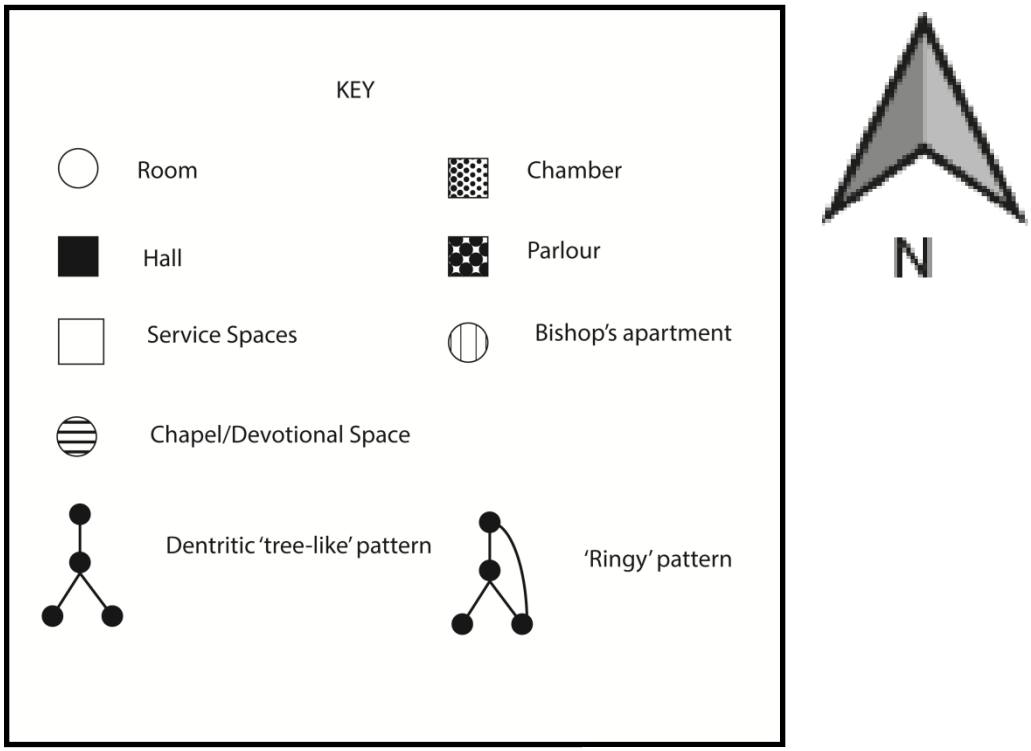
At Durham Place, the layout is strikingly similar to Auckland Castle. Although it is not possible to know the earliest phases of this building, its post-medieval layout would have yielded a similar access patter as that displayed at Auckland Castle. Furthermore, Durham Castle stands out as similarly exhibiting the same broad layout by the end of the study period. However, in many ways Durham Castle flaunts the trend for 14th century building additions. The second range (the feature that primarily alters the social ordering of space at Auckland Castle) is added to Durham Castle in the 12th century. While superficially this suggests that the trend for building occurred earlier than the evidence from other residences suggests, I believe that Durham Castle is exhibiting a wider trend. At nearly every English and Welsh see, a central 'palace' (see palace) emerged from the residences as different (Thompson 1998: 29-66). Many of these saw significant structural amendment and a trait common among some of these was the addition of the 'second hall' as a characteristic feature. Therefore, from an early period Durham Castle assumed this role before the wider trend for building additional accommodation ranges flourished.

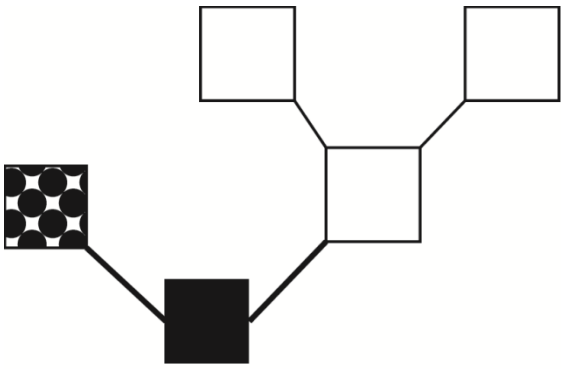
In support of this theory, the extension of the service and domestic spaces at Durham Castle from the 14th century combined with the building of a traditionally non-defensive keep suggests an ideological move to change the form and function of Durham Castle from a military

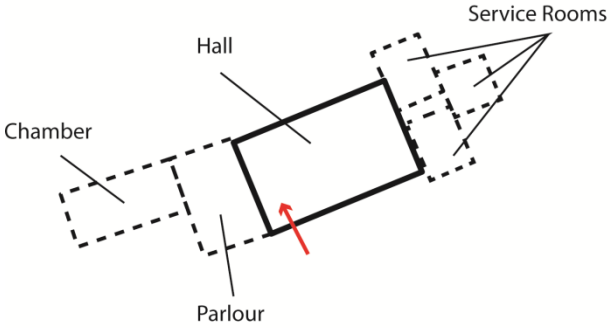
stronghold to a more comfortable dwelling. Thompson (1994) summarised this pithily in his description of Durham Castle ‘more like a palace’. In addition, Dixon and Marshall’s (1993) analyses of Norham Castle reveal that the keep was more functionally suited to life as a domestic residence in the later periods. These two observations therefore, ultimately reveal a trend toward the domestication of these two previously martial structures.

Elsewhere there is a less direct attempt to refocus the spatial arrangement away from the central hall through a second range. At Seaton Holme two additional ranges are added in the later centuries to most likely provide accommodation, but there is no clear evidence that these were for an episcopal purpose. In addition, Crayke Castle witnessed substantial alteration, yielding an unusual pattern of access. For example, the Great Chamber, built in the 15th century, is placed directly adjoining the kitchen. This is unusual as at every other residence, the service spaces are situated at diametrically opposed extents of the building. Arguably however, the ‘New Tower’ may have fulfilled the role of a second episcopal range by offering a place for private accommodation in isolation of the main range. There is evidence to suggest that the Great Chamber was accessed by an external entranceway, offering an easy point of access from the ‘New Tower’. This therefore created a ‘ringy’ arrangement, such as that we see at Seaton Holme. In this instance, the obvious benefit of such an arrangement would have been to provide access for servants when necessary. Without further archaeological or textual evidence firmly establishing a role of the ‘New Tower’ and contemporary age, it is impossible to fully understand the social and symbolic value of these spaces.

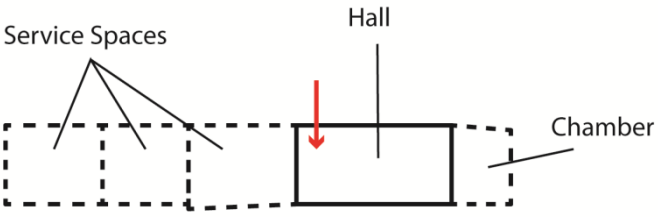
Ultimately therefore, the residences of the bishops of Durham undergo a significant transformation across the study period. Through the study of their buildings and spaces, the early periods suggest that they were used in a similar fashion, with no degree of specialisation obvious through their forms. The later medieval period reveals a project in select building, at only some residences. At these sites, the residences undergo transformations that suggest an underlying shift in the social atmosphere at the time, with a greater commitment to building domestic and private rooms that made comfortable once martial spaces and acted as visual reminder of the bishop’s power through the strict segregation of space and visual elevation of the status of the bishop through the addition of rooms with strict social parameters attached.

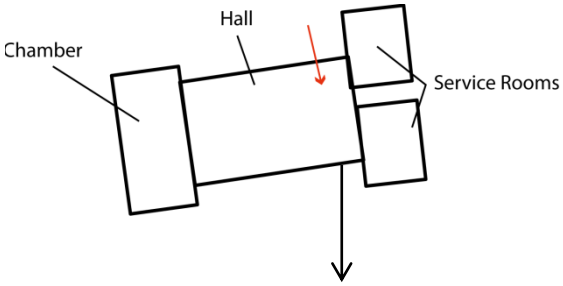






Auckland Castle: Phase 1





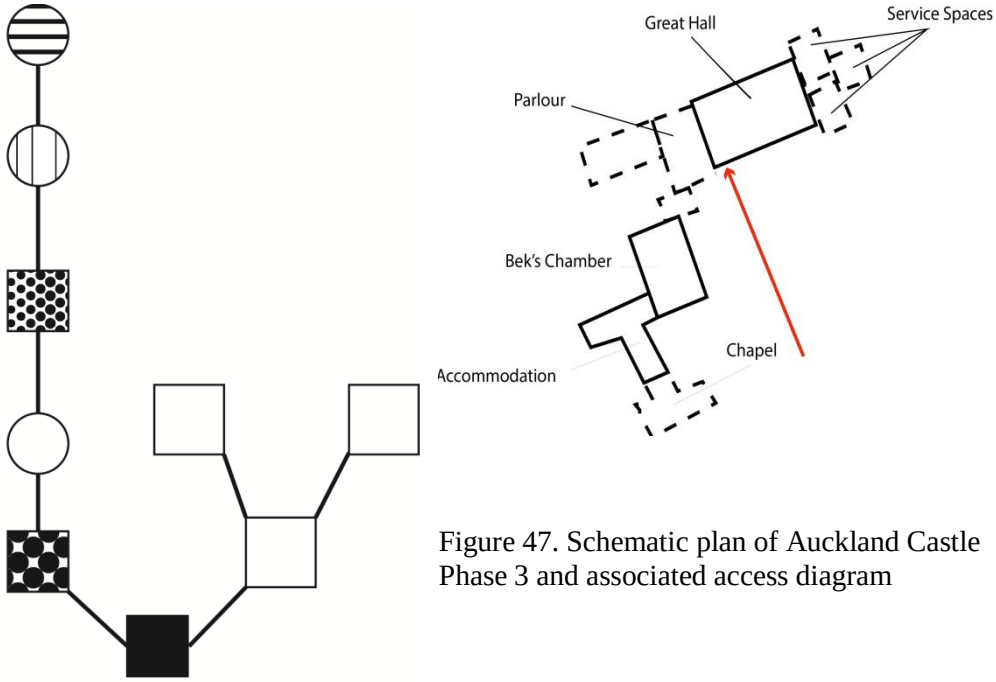


Figure 47. Schematic plan of Auckland Castle Phase 3 and associated access diagram

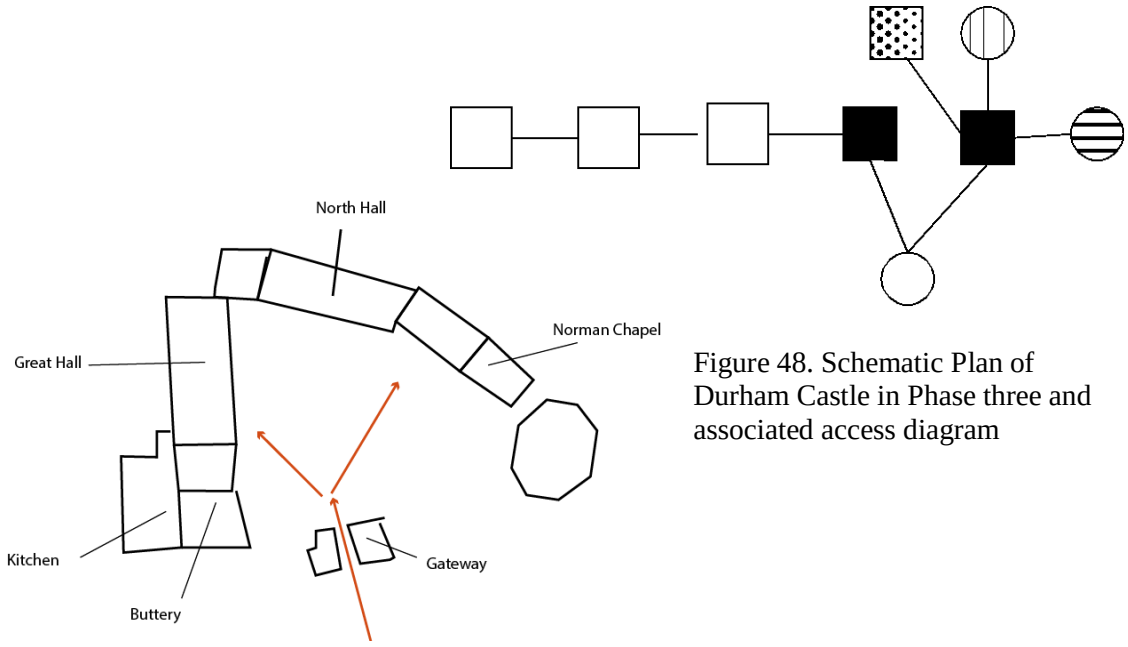


Figure 48. Schematic Plan of Durham Castle in Phase three and associated access diagram

Conclusion

This chapter examined in detail the evidence for the residences of the bishops of Durham. Two stances were used. Through the analysis of the residences it is clear the bishops had many and that they exist today in many different states of preservation with varying levels of knowledge available for them. This chapter has therefore highlighted the discrepancies between our knowledge of these buildings. However, in most cases sufficient evidence was available to understand the forms of these buildings. Understood as a whole, the residences of the bishops of Durham display both conformity and dissimilarity in their layout that echoes the changing nature of the role of the bishops over the High Medieval Period. Widespread early distribution of residences all with a uniform building type suggests a lifestyle of continual travel akin to that of other nobles of this time. There was an emerging attempt to segregate members of the domestic household through the addition of parlours. This is exaggerated however, at three particular residences (Durham Place, Durham Castle and Auckland Castle) which suggests a conscious effort to establish ‘palaces’ within the bishopric of Durham, reflecting an ideological shift in the management of the bishopric and social status of the bishop. In so doing, the social factions within the household were segregated further, enhancing the status of the bishop. In this way, the architecture of the residences of the bishops of Durham is an intensely meaningful way of reflecting and capturing the intangible concepts social meaning. Therefore, through the analysis of the function and resultant form of these buildings, an impression of their meaning on the people who inhabited and experienced them can be realised.

Chapter Five

Inhabiting the Landscape: bishop's residences within their wider environs

'It is a truth universally acknowledged that land was the basis of social and political power in late medieval England'

(Liddy 2006: 25).

The context in which residences were situated is integral to our understanding of the role they played in episcopality. Land was important to medieval elite for many reasons. Firstly, it offered economic prospects when let out on demesne or used for food production (Campbell 2000: 55-94). In addition, enclosed areas of land were used for hunting or quarrying which were activities practiced by elite that served to reinforce social relations and political alliances (Almond 2011). Developing on this idea, the aesthetic value of 'designed' landscapes also expressed prestige. Lastly, I argue that in the cases of the bishops of Durham, the landscapes associated with particular residences carried a deeper, social meaning. Topographic echoes between sites suggests careful placement of residences with location a key consideration. Although particular terrain features are associated with utility, the combination of certain landscape qualities suggests a possible symbolic reasoning behind the placement of residences.

This chapter therefore explores the environs of the residences of the bishops of Durham through both the perspective of the natural topography characteristics that shaped the form of these residences from their conception, and how these landscapes were altered and manipulated by the bishops to suit their requirements. Churchill's quote mentioned at the start summarises this dualistic approach and offers an explanation of why this approach is essential at furthering our understanding of the bishops of Durham. By understanding their dynamic and changing relationship with the landscape, we can begin to better understand precisely how their residences assisted and influenced the role of the bishops of Durham.

In this chapter only parks situated in immediate or in close proximity to a known residence of the bishops of Durham will be explored. As this study is primarily concerned with understanding the role of the residences and their form, function and identity, only parks which have a direct relationship with them have been analysed.

Topographic Setting – placement of residences within the natural landscape

While the residences of the bishops of Durham were geographically diverse (see Fig. 2 (Chapter 1)), observation of the landscapes in which they inhabited reveals that they shared some topographical characteristics (though not all are apparent in every case). The two primary topographic characteristics which appear most commonly at residence sites are:

1) Placement in 'watery' locations. These locations are often on peninsulas, at bends in rivers and in marshy land.
2) Elevated positions. The residences are often in high-up locations. In some cases, natural promontories were incorporated into castle mottes.

Alone these features tell us much about the ways that these residences were used, but when understood conjunctionally reveal more about the symbolic value of location. In this section, these features will be explored and discussed for how they relate to our understanding of the residences of the bishops of Durham. Both of these characteristics are discussed individually with a third section devoted to understanding how these two topographic characteristics interact to reveal patterns in the topography of residence sites. Particular sites have been discussed in detail and full topographic maps of these sites are available in Appendix 2.

Table 2. Different topographic characteristics displayed at different residence sites.

	Nearby watersource	Elevated Position
Auckland Castle	✓	✓
Seaton Holme	-	-
Howden Manor	✓	-
Crayke Castle	-	✓
Norham Castle	✓	✓
Durham Castle	✓	✓
Bishop Middleham Castle	✓	✓
Stockton Castle	✓	-
Chapel Walls	✓	-
Westgate Castle	✓	-
Northallerton Manor	✓	✓
Wheel Hall	✓	-

Durham Place	✓	-
Darlington Manor	✓	-

Water and Rock - Discussion

The presence of water at these sites remains one of the most consistent naturally occurring features attributable across the residences of the bishops of Durham and the factors behind this are numerous and diverse. As it is today and in the past, water was an essential substance for many aspects of medieval daily life, ranging from cooking, agriculture, bathing, industry and trade. As a result, prominent towns are almost always concentrated around water sources. In the case of the residences of the bishops of Durham, there is evidence that they were similarly exploiting these naturally occurring water sources for their productive capabilities. Recent excavations at Darlington Manor (discussed in more detail in later in this chapter) uncovered the remains of waterfowl while at Bishop Middleham swans were known to have been kept at the residence in the naturally occurring carr land. In addition, many of these sites were situated close to large, interconnected rivers (i.e. the Wear and Tees) that may have acted as thoroughfares for boats and barges transporting goods, people and messages to places further afield. In this way, the presence of rivers so close to these sites acted as a means of communication with the wider world and allowed for these sites to remain linked with places beyond the bishopric.

Moreover, at some sites naturally occurring rivers undoubtedly formed part of the defensive features at this site. For example, at Durham Castle, the water partially encircled the site providing a natural defensive barrier between this site and the wider landscape. Similarly, at Norham Castle the site was partially encircled by the naturally occurring river, ultimately providing an additional external defence mechanism between the castle and the wider landscape. In these instances, it is highly probable that the naturally occurring rivers contributed in the decision making process for the placement of these sites in the landscape.

In the same way, the placement of sites in elevated positions in the landscape contributed to their defensive capabilities. Durham Castle and Norham Castle, the two sites with the strongest martial qualities were erected in naturally elevated lands and incorporated manmade mottes into their strategic design. At sites that are less strongly defensive in design, elevation remains a recurring feature. At Crayke Castle, the buildings are situated on a high mound situated in the centre of the episcopal park and commanded impressive views of the wider landscape, and was in turn able to be viewed from far afield. In the same way, Auckland Castle was situated prominently, so that it could be viewed, and commanded views, from far away points in the landscape. The bishops' residence at Northallerton similarly abides by these rules. Therefore, their elevation in the landscape was both a defensive asset while also through their inherent

visibility served to imprint the image of the bishops might onto the horizon. This created a landscape dominated by them.

The aesthetic similarities in nearby available water at these sites further adds to this visual metaphor. For example, multiple sites were located in peninsulas or bends in the river. At Bishop Middleham, extensive marsh land that was prone to intermittent flooding may have resulted in periods of time when the site was effectively cut-off from the wider landscape. While practical reasons might explain these situations, the aesthetic similarities between these sites are at times, striking. This 'topographic brand' is effectively portrayed by Turner in his 19th century paintings of Norham Castle, and perfectly captures this notion. In this series of paintings, Norham Castle is depicted in an elevated position atop its motte. Beneath, the castle is reflected in the river which exaggerates the proportions of the building, while the jaggedness of the visible geology further emphasises the martial aspects of the building design. Although Turner was painting from a romantic stance, his views of Norham Castle easily reflect the visual impact of this building. Therefore, residences placed in similar topographic settings, such as on promontories atop pronounced exposed natural exposed rock and enclosed by water expressed the same visual sentiments. In so doing, the bishops effectively created a visual brand repeated throughout their residences that aggrandised their buildings through their manipulation of natural resources.

Figure 49. Map edited to show the potential appearance of the landscape when completely flooded. Areas of land of the same height, or higher, than Bishop Middleham Castle top have been interpreted to have stood out as islands if and when the landscape completely flooded. The site is marked with a red disc,

Productive Land – Parks and Forests adjacent to bishop's residences

Aside from the natural topography of the region, the bishops of Durham were actively altering and exploiting the landscape to suit contemporary requirements for hunting and food production. Although often thought of as purely 'hunting' parks, medieval parks often assumed many different purposes. In the cases of the bishops of Durham there are records of deer, cattle, rabbits, fowl, swans and bees all kept in episcopal park land. In addition, there are reports of the land let out for agriculture and licenses issued to people for the foraging of crab apples and other wild foods (Church Commission Deposit of Durham Bishopric Estate Records: Financial and Audit Records. Grant for people to forage in Crayke Park (CCB B/106/23 (189905))). In this way, parks assumed multiple roles but were ultimately sources of production that were affiliated to the residences of the bishops of Durham by geographic proximity. This section will look in detail at the archaeological and historical evidence for these, with the aim of this study to better understand the role of these residences in the wider context of episcopality and the lives of the bishops of Durham.

Saxton's map of County Durham from 1577 shows the distribution of hunting parks in County Durham shortly after the end of the study period. In this image, the vast majority of parks are situated close to a known residence site. Auckland Castle, Westgate Castle and Wolsingham are all featured in this map. This source is a visual reminder of how residences and hunting practices were invariably linked, and the identity of both these places should be understood in the context of the parks and forests they were situated near or in.

Auckland Castle Park

Auckland Castle Park is the best understood park of the bishops of Durham, primarily because it still largely exists in the same arrangement as it did in the medieval period. The park was first described in the Boldon Book alongside the entry for Auckland (Austin 1982: 37). Chroniclers such as John Leland (1538) recorded visits to the 'faire park' and indicate that it was in active use in the medieval period (Toulmin-Smith 1909). Later sources reveal that during the Interregnum the trees in Auckland Park were felled with later attempts by bishops Cosin (1660-1672) and Butler (1750-1752) to renew the park. The result is that today, Auckland Park retains its original medieval footprint although the planting scheme and internal architecture (i.e. the deer house, bridges) are all later additions. In total the park covers 120ha and is bisected by the River Gaunless. As a result, the park is very steep in parts. It is adjacent on the east side of Auckland Castle.

Bucks' 1728 engraving of the Auckland Castle (copy held at Palace Green Library) reveals that the park was separated from the buildings and gardens by a stone or wooden wall. Set into this wall is a gateway that extends from the driveway. Recent archaeological investigation (ASUD 2015) discovered the original stone foundations of this wall beneath the current wall, though no dateable finds from the earliest contexts could be found to date the origin of this wall. In this

report, it is highlighted that the gateway depicted in 1728 appears to be large enough to accommodate a carriage. Later this gateway highlights that in the medieval period the park may have been accessed with a horse and carriage. Given the steep natural topography, some obvious challenges may have been encountered.

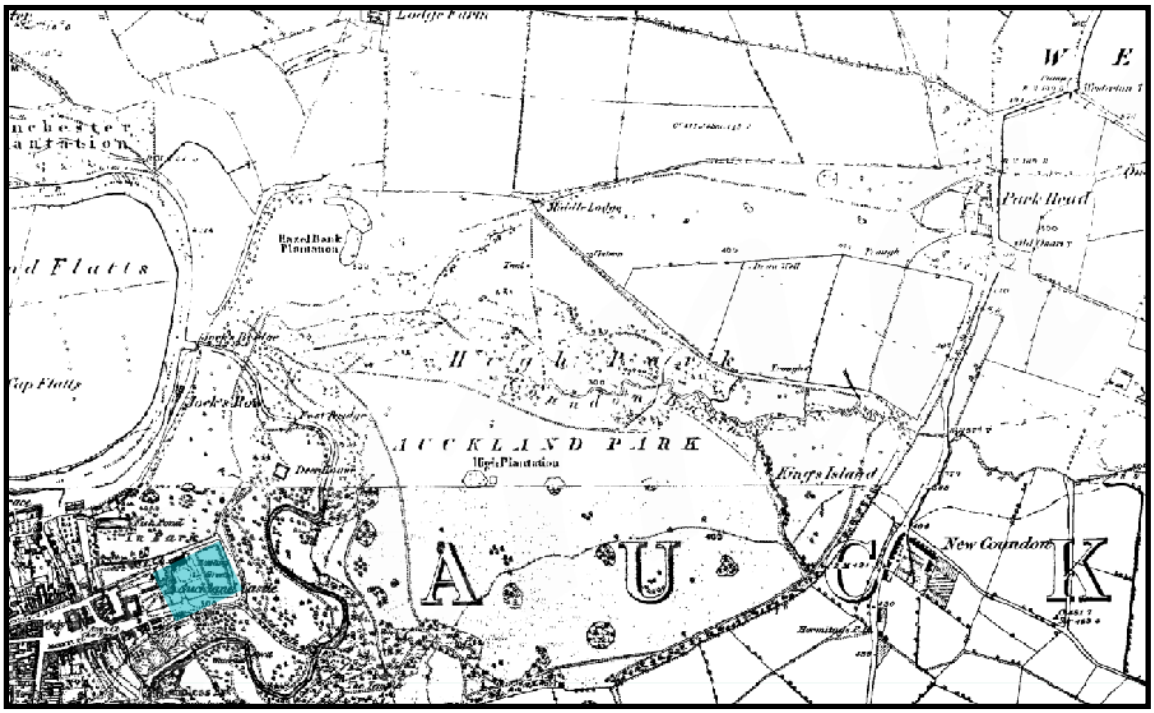


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Figure 50. 1859 1st edition OS map of Auckland Park. Auckland Castle is highlighted in blue.

Figure 51. Aerial view of Auckland Castle Park outlined in red. GE 2015.

Primarily, two types of animal appear to have been kept in Auckland Park; deer and wild cattle. The wild cattle appear to have been of significant interest to zoological researchers in the past and present due to the belief that these cattle descended from ancient urus (Graham 1932). Leland remarked that Auckland Park had '*wild bulls and kine'* while Sir William Brereton descriptively recorded *'20 wild beasts, all white; will not endure your approach, but if they be enraged or distressed, very violent and furious'* (Gibson 1862: 36). There were many documented cases of royal parks containing wild white cattle, though Chillingham Park cattle remain the most famous and well documented herd (Ritvo 1992; Hall 2006). During excavations at Auckland Castle, many fragments of cattle bone were recovered, though the age and profile of the cattle is more consistent with these being domesticated than wild (ASUD 2014: 22 (b)). Although the assemblage is not complete enough for a full profile to be conducted, all the remains suggest they were slaughtered at an 'economic age for consumption' (ASUD 2014: 22 (b)). However, it is possible that our understandings of 'wild' do not fit this evidence. While the medieval accounts discuss 'wild bulls', we must remember that they were contained with a park and likely managed. In this way, 'hunting' may have occurred on an organised scale of economically viable stock. Further faunal remains revealed other hunted species, notably deer, fowl and fish (ASUD 2014: 22 (b)). The River Gaunless ran through Auckland Park, probably accounting for the source of the fish and some of the fowl. Deer bones recovered are of the red deer species which likely inhabited the park in the medieval period.

Reports of restocking Auckland Park in the 17th century, suggest that the animals disappeared in the Interregnum period. Today fallow deer have been reintroduced to Auckland Park and have no hereditary connection with the medieval livestock. The wild, white cattle also disappeared and there was no attempt to reintroduce this breed.

Crayke Park

In contrast to Auckland Park, not much is known about the park surrounding Crayke Castle. A park appears to have been active at Crayke from the 13th century. On November 8th 1229 the King granted the bishop a 140ft deer-leap to Crayke (Page 1923: 119). This is unusual as only a few properties nationwide were granted deer-leaps, with even fewer parks adjacent to royal parks granted them (Steane 2004: 141). Deer-leaps were earthen embankments designed to encourage deer to run into parks but not to escape them (Steane 2004: 141). Therefore, archaeologically these are identifiable as large linear earthworks at the boundary of an estate. Kaner (1993) attempted to reconstruct the park using a mixture of historic and topographic sources. Kaner cites descriptions made in the 17th century of fields names 'Crayke Park Fence' and 'Crayke Laund' and their relative location as 'over the fosse' to locate the boundaries of the park in the landscape.

Building on Kaner's observations, it is clear that the original footprint of the park is fossilised in the current field systems. The fields around Crayke radiate from the central hill on which the castle is sat. There is a suggestion in the current field system that an inner park pale might have once existed which followed the contours of the natural morphology of the region. Kaner has hypothesised that this might have represented the land originally designated to St Cuthbert, and as a result was viewed as sacrosanct (1993:111). Crayke Castle would have been extremely visible in the landscape given its elevated topographical situation, but there is not clear evidence to support Kaner's suggestions that it held special spiritual values.

Overall, the park associated with Crayke Castle appears to be well preserved in the current layout of the town. The shape is irregular and partially corresponds to the natural morphology of the landscape. The presence of a deer-leap (Page 1929:119) suggests this was an important hunting centre recognised by the King, while the layout of this park serves to emphasise the residence of the bishops of Durham placed centrally.

Figure 52. Aerial photograph of Crayke Park. Crayke Castle is highlighted as the pink dot in the centre while the inner and outer parks are outlined in green and red respectively. Image: GE.

Bishop Middleham Park

Like much of the rest of Bishop Middleham Castle, the park is little understood. As discussed above, much of the park lies in waterlogged land prone to flooding. Today, this area is not owned by the bishops of Durham and is a wetland bird reserve therefore retaining an element of

its former use. Aside from a water treatment centre built within the park boundaries, the rest of the park has not been built upon. This has left the original boundary of the park keenly visible in the landscape. In some parts the original walling exists, though it is clear from observation of the masonry that in parts this has been rebuilt in post-medieval times. The park enclosure is therefore broadly rectilinear in shape, with the castle plateau completing the northern edge.

Primarily, Bishop Middleham Park comprises two distinct areas and functions; a swannery and fishponds. Bishop Middleham's association to the practice of keeping swans can be dated back to the 14th century. In 1313 Bishop Kellaw received two swans at Bishop Middleham (Hardy 1873: 480). Unfortunately, this report does not elaborate on this fact, and does not indicate whether or not these swans were kept in Bishop Middleham and whether they were kept ornamentally or for food. Bailiff's accounts from 1474-5 document the income from Bishop Middleham Park include the rent of a dovecot, some properties, hay and swans from the carr land (Durham University Bishop Middleham Bailiwick Accounts 1413-98. CCB/73/1 – CCB73/15). This source therefore suggests that the park was used for many functions, with the naturally waterlogged places used for the keeping of swans. Additionally, this account records

Figure 53. Aerial photograph of Bishop Middleham Castle and Park. The park has been outlined in red with areas of existing park walling highlighted. (Image: GE 2015)

that in one year a swan and six cygnets were killed by poachers (Durham University Bishop Middleham Bailiwick Accounts 1413-98. CCB/73/1 – CCB73/15).

Immediately beneath the castle plateau are the earthwork remains of medieval fishponds. The southernmost fish pond is particularly well preserved as a rectilinear depression with raised earthwork causeways either side. The westernmost fishpond is not as well defined, but can still

be identified as a fishpond. Eating fish on a Friday was a medieval ecclesiastical custom practiced by bishops and religious people (Frantzen 2014: 235). As a result, the presence of fish ponds alludes to specificities of an ecclesiastical

Darlington Manor Park

Because of the rapid period of urbanisation in Darlington resulting from the Industrial Revolution, much of Darlington Manor Park has been built over after Darlington Manor was sold by the see of Durham in the 19th century. In contrast to other residences owned by the bishops of Durham, Darlington stayed in their position until the 19th century with the park largely intact. Images from this period show Darlington Park before it was built over in the 19th century, offering some semblance of the nature of the park and the views it held. This park was divided into two parts: the high park and the low parks. These began on the south side of the river, opposite to Darlington Manor. Therefore, from Darlington Manor, views would have stretched across the river toward the parks on the other side. The parks had a gradual slope leading toward the river meaning that the view from Darlington Manor would have shown episcopal parkland to the horizon. In addition, Darlington Manor would have been a focal point in the landscape from the manor. Today, the footprint of the park has been fossilised in the town plan with Parkgate Road positioned along the dividing line between High and Low Parks.

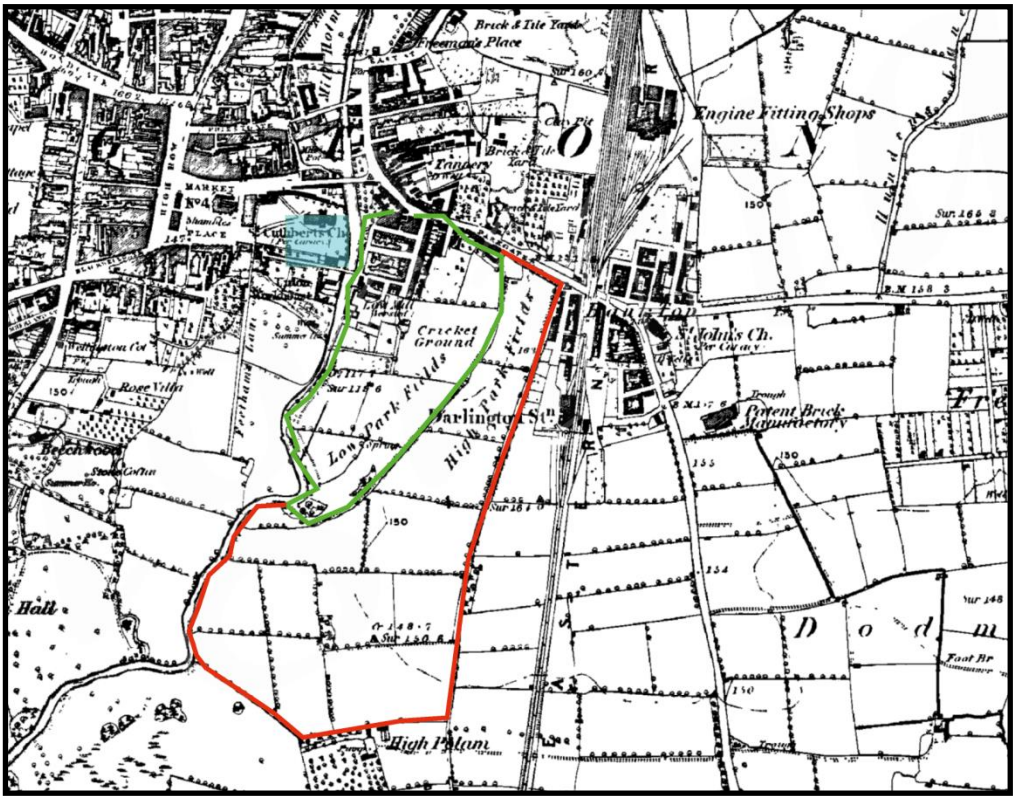

Figure 54. Map edited to showing the high and low parks of the bishops of Durham still fossilised in the mid-19th century landscape. (OS 1st Edition: 1857).

Animal remains recovered in recent archaeological excavations revealed high quantities of bone and wetland bird remains alongside other typical domestic animal bone assemblages. Notably, fragmentary parts of a crane and heron were recovered (ASUD 2014: 13). This assemblage of animal bones might indicate that horses were kept or reared in the park. In addition, the high levels of bird bones (including the crane bones) might be indicative of the bishops making use of the river and wetland landscape for hunting and falconry. Herons were a popularly hunted bird in medieval Britain due to the use of sparrow hawks considered a 'noble sport' (Oggins 2004: 16). Therefore, it seems likely that Darlington Park was used as a venue for hunting of wetland birds and falconry before it was let out for grazing in the Tudor period (Chapman 1975:8).

In addition, unusually high levels of horse bones were recovered, including those of infant foals and adult horses (ASUD 2014: 12). This assemblage of animal remains further hints at its possible medieval use as a horse breeding centre, or for the knackering of horses to be used as fodder for hunting dogs. This would be logical given its commutable distance from major hunting centres associated with the Forests of Weardale. Overall, this evidence strongly suggests that Darlington Manor Park held a pivotal role in the wider hunting scene occurring throughout the residences of the Bishop's of Durham.

Stanhope Park

These two parks, associated respectively with Westgate Castle and Chapel Walls, will be considered together as both parks fell within the Forest of Weardale.. The Forest of Weardale was the permanent hunting ground of the bishops of Durham, and was used annually for the 'Great Chase'. The 'Great Chase' saw the bishops of Durham descend into the forests of Weardale, to hunt large game alongside elites and nobles from across the bishopric. Hutchinson (1823: 618) cites the case of the noble William of Little Ushworth attending the Great Chase repleat with two greyhounds. This was an indulgance of the privileged and important display of social order and military might (Almond 2003:29-38). Because of the ritual and importance surrounding this event, no permanent settlement was allowed to exist within the Forest of Weardale, traditionally wooden buildings were erected annually within the forest to provide temporary accommodation (Austin 1982: 11-71). The event required exceptional manpower and resources and is referenced extensively in the Boldon Book (Austin 1982: 11-71).

Stanhope Park is not emparked until c.1250, which is later than other parks recorded in this chapter. The park covered an area of around seven square miles and is recorded to have been stocked with fallow deer which were smaller and easier to hunt than larger red or roe deer (Randerson and Gidney 2011). In so doing, the bishops created a more accessible park to hunt in. Westgate Castle discussed in Chapter Four formed the westernmost gateway into this park (ASUD 2014). It is likely therefore, that with the emparking, a more permanent and comfortable residence was subsequently built to accommodate the bishop. In addition, it has been suggested

that settlement in Upper Weardale and increased mining activity, together with the declining popularity of hunting led the bishops to create a smaller park (ASUD 2014: 5). Significantly, the annual hunting parties were disbanded by 1442, and the building was latterly leased out (Drury 1987: 72-77). Taken together, the strong textual evidence indicates the unique and specific role Stanhope Park and residence played in the wider network of episcopal residences.

Stockton Park

There is strong evidence that Stockton Castle had an attached park, though very little textual or physical evidence relating to it survives. The most descriptive source is a Parliamentary Survey of the estate from 1647, prior to its destruction by parliamentary order (Page 1928). This survey describes the ruinous state of the land at this time, with the moat filled in and the park disimparked. Interestingly, in its description of the landholdings, an orchard and 'Smithy Hill' were both within the moated enclosure. Other parts of the park including meadows and fields held as demesnes fell outside the moated enclosure. In total the extent of the land held as a park amounted to 370 acres. This description is particularly illuminating as it provides an indication that the park was complicatedly ordered and divided by the moat.

Unfortunately, any trace of the castle layout in the current plan Stockton-on-Tees is not possible. Unlike at Darlington where the residence and its park continued in use into the 19th century, the 17th century demolition and disimparkment of Stockton Castle and Park (Page 1928) mean that the layout of it the park was never reflected in the landscape. Today, Stockton-on-Tees is a heavily urbanised town which obscures any remaining artificial earthworks. Compounding this issue, the moat around Stockton Castle was infilled before 1647 (Page 1928), resulting in no physical trace remaining in the layout of the town. Therefore, due to the extensive development on the site, any traditional archaeological prospection methods would be ineffective.

Discussion – Designed, productive or opportunistic landscapes?

So far this chapter has examined the landscapes of the bishops of Durham from two different perspectives: natural topography and productive, managed land. When viewed independently this evidence highlights some of the motivations behind the decision to develop particular aspects of the landscapes and the effect of doing so. When viewed together however, this evidence can provide better insights into the role these landscapes played alongside the residences in episcopacy.

The most striking observation from this research is that the landscapes associated with the residences of the bishops of Durham served a multitude of different roles. Some parks were used productively to produce a regular supply of food as at Bishop Middleham while others appear to have functioned more reasonably as pleasure grounds (i.e Auckland Castle), while others provided valuable resources as at Darlington Park through the possible breeding and

raising of horses in the parkland. Individually, this evidence reveals that each park held a specific role, and when viewed alongside one another, the residences of the bishops of Durham appeared to have interacted cohesively as parts within a wider network. In this way, the parks associated with the residences of the bishops of Durham hold an important role in the way we view the residences.

Also discussed was the natural topography of the regions and the impact the observable trends displayed across residences. The majority of residences seem to have been placed in either watery or elevated positions, with the most highly frequented sites sharing an unmistakably similar natural aesthetic. Although it is hard to draw any substantial conclusions from this, it is clear that through the decision to place sites in areas with water and hills, the bishops were effectively fostering a particular aesthetic.

The visual effect of landscapes is an idea that has been explored extensively in relation to 'designed' landscapes. James and Gerrard (2007) highlighted how the convoluted entranceway into Clarendon Royal Palace took advantage of the vast deer park to manufacture specific viewsheds of the palace. At Somersham Bishop's Palace (Taylor 1989), ponds were deliberately placed in front of the building to create a particular visual aesthetic, even when a more logical place for the them topographically can be identified elsewhere. In both these examples, the landscapes appear to be designed to emphasise the importance and position of the landowner. In every aspect of these landscapes, the views were crafted to accentuate the wealth and prestige of the owner. The concept of 'designed' landscapes similar in nature to those portrayed at the above examples can be identified in Durham. For example, the entranceway was situated into Auckland Park so as to frame views over the park while entering the complex. Therefore, through the crafting of these landscapes the bishops wealth and power was showcased and they were ultimately aggrandised.

Liddiard and Williamson (2008) have challenged whether these landscapes were designed with the sophistication that many had suggested. They argue that while post-medieval landscapes certainly employ landscape design as a method of visual aggrandisement, the evidence for this in medieval contexts is less clear. They instead argue that landscapes projected power through the display of 'superior resources of production' (Liddiard and Williamson 2008: 520). In the case of the landscapes associated with the residences of the bishops of Durham, there is strong evidence to suggest that this was a motivating factor also. In each of the examples cited, an economic resource was showcased in the landscapes. At Bishop Middleham, the swans and fish that were produced formed the basis of the aquatic landscape while at Crayke Castle the productive deer park formed the backdrop of this landscape. Therefore, it could be reasonably argued that through the display of resources of production, these landscapes were altered and used to transmit deeper suggestions of ownership, wealth and power on a visual level.

Therefore, in the case of the Bishops of Durham, their landscapes offer a new perspective on how we view residences, their role and function. On the one hand they are productive locations used for food, resources and arenas for hunting. On the other hand, these landscapes served a deeper symbolic and ideological role as ways to project power and wealth. Fundamentally however, I argue that these two concepts are intertwined. Through the strategic situation of their resources in the landscapes and the showcasing of them, the landscapes associated with the Bishops of Durham acted as visual reminders of the wealth. Coupled with this, the natural topography of the region served to add a further dimension, emphasising the power of the bishops through impressive landscape topography. In this way, the landscapes associated with the residences of the bishops of Durham are integral to our understanding of them.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter examined the natural topography of the residences of the bishops of Durham alongside an examination of the way these landscapes were used. Through these two different approaches, an understanding of the role of the landscape in the identity, form and function of bishop's residences was achieved. Ultimately, the two different themes are intimately entwined and offer an interesting and complex interpretation of how we understand how residences worked and how they were viewed. Liddiard and Williamson's (2008) notions of the display of 'superior resources of production' is influential this interpretation of the landscapes associated with the residences of the bishops of Durham.

Chapter Six
Discussion

The residences of the bishops of Durham existed as an interconnected body of individual houses that when viewed as a whole functioned as a physical infrastructure, providing a platform from which the bishops conducted their duties and articulated their power. In this thesis, three distinct approaches to understanding episcopal residences have been conducted: how they were used in conjunction with each other (Chapter Three), how they were used individually and the form they took (Chapter Four), and lastly how these residences interacted within the wider landscapes (Chapter Five). Independently, these complimentary approaches show patterns of change and development on a temporal and geographic basis. When considered together, these approaches have the capability to offer a deeper understanding of the mechanisms of episcopacy in Durham. This chapter will draw together the findings from Chapters Three, Four and Five and explore the impression of episcopacy that is revealed through these findings, and how this interpretation relates to a broader understanding of bishops and their residences nationwide. The research aims outlined in Chapter One will form the backdrop for understanding the findings from this study.

Research summary

The clearest observation that can be made from this research is that, while the buildings remained constant, they had vastly differing roles through the High Medieval Period. At the beginning of the study period the itineraries of the bishops of Durham revealed how the bishops assumed predominantly peripatetic lives, using their residences on a broadly equal basis and moving frequently between them. Generally, the majority of these residences were spread evenly throughout the see of Durham with a trail of residences continuing southwards toward London. Routes identified through the itineraries of the bishops of Durham, show specific journeys made by bishops around the bishopric and down to London which shed light on the convenient spatial arrangement of residences to as to appropriately facilitate the peripatetic life.

Traces of this lifestyle can be discerned from the form and layout of residences at this time. Generally, these buildings had a relatively uniform floorplan that was replicated, or closely approximated, throughout their residences. The overriding impression these discoveries suggest is that the bishops' lifestyle was largely peripatetic and there is no obvious allusion to any preferred residences emerging at this time. Some specialisation did exist at this time in the form of parks and landscapes, but there is no clear evidence to suggest that these impacted in any great way the decision to reside at particular sites.

Bisecting this study period is a dynamic shift in episcopal practices from the mid-14th century. After this point, evidence from itineraries and building analysis reveals a perceivable shift in episcopal practices and habits. The itineraries show that the bishops have adopted a more sedentary existence, choosing to exist at a more restricted range of sites with fewer journeys around and through their see. Coeval with this shift in practices is a change in architectural form. Some residences, notably Durham Castle and Auckland Castle, are extended and developed to assume radically different forms. These buildings develop on the ubiquitous central hall with opposing service rooms and bishops' accommodation, to a far more developed form featuring additional halls, chambers and private chapels.

Through the application of *access analysis* to these buildings (Chapter Four), the social implications of this building evolution have been discerned. Through the construction of additional rooms and spaces, the bishops' private spaces are physically segregated from the communal and service spaces. These changes are symptomatic of a shift in the social role of bishops; the way that they were viewed and the impression that they sought to project through their buildings. Johnson argued in the case of secular elite residences, that the proliferation of new 'palaces' was a conscious effort to project power visually in a time of greater social fluidity as a result of the decline in households (Johnson 1996: 131-140). In effect, without a retinue to project ones wealth, power and authority, buildings became a new vessel for this social dialogue. Therefore, the change in movement patterns presented in Chapter Three bares direct relevance to our understanding of these buildings. In this way, through the study of these two complimentary approaches a more nuanced impression of the social role of the bishops and the part buildings played in projecting this.

In Chapter Four the role of the adjoining landscapes of the bishops of Durham were discussed. The specialised role of these landscapes was discussed, revealing that they each offered a different reason for the occupation of different sites. The different roles of these parks add to our notion of these residences acting together within a network, with each residence offering a slightly different set of specialisms. This idea has particular impact when understanding the centralisation of activity by bishops at certain residences toward the end of the study period. The topographic similarities of the sites chosen as primary residences might offer an explanation for their location and additionally serves as an extension of the built environment, serving as a method of aggrandisement. In addition, the cultivated landscape (moats/ponds and gardens) equally acted in conjunction with the buildings to project the power and wealth of the bishop.

Therefore, in conclusion the three strands of evidence discussed in this thesis depict a clear impression of the residences of the bishops of Durham over time, how they were used and how

their changing form expressed wider ideas relating to the contemporary social and political climate.

These findings in the context of national medieval episcopacy

As discussed previously (Chapter One), it is challenging to situate the results of this study within contemporary literature because, aside from Payne (2003), no other systematic study of all residences within a singular see has been conducted. The findings from this thesis sit comfortably within those from Payne's doctoral research which focussed on the bishoprics of Bath and Wells, and Salisbury. Firstly, the composition of residences (i.e. a mixture of smaller houses, *'palaces'* and London Inns) is consistent with those exhibited at both Bath and Wells and Salisbury. The bishops of Durham appeared to have held more residences than both those sees but maintained the same broad makeup of residence type. The bishops of Durham did own more castles than either of those bishoprics, but this is probably the result of its volatile location neighbouring the Scottish border.

More specifically, Payne (2003) highlights the same trend for declining itinerancy among the bishops of Bath and Wells, and Salisbury. As in the case of the bishops of Durham, from the mid-14th century the bishop's movements become more restricted, and ultimately fewer residences were popularly frequented for greater proportions of time (Payne 2003: 208). It can therefore be suggested that the bishops of Durham were affected by the same influences as at Bath and Wells, and Salisbury. In Chapter Three the probable reason for this change was cited to have been the decline in the elite medieval household after Johnson's observations of the changing nature of medieval elite houses (Johnson 1996: 135). Therefore, Payne's (2003) results alongside the findings from this study suggest that bishops were in this respect no different from other medieval elites.

Even without detailed studies of individual bishoprics, it is possible to draw these comparisons with other bishoprics. For example, every bishopric appears to have broadly maintained the same collection of residences. At all sees, a main palace appears to have formed the focus of episcopal activity, at least by the end of the study period. Among these, many held the same basic collection of identifying rooms, such as having large halls, a secondary hall, a large chamber and private chapels. Comparable examples to the palaces at Durham include the archbishop's palace at Canterbury (Rady et al 1991), Lincoln (Faulkner 1974) and Wolvesey Palace (Biddle 1972). At these sites, their floorplan share many basic characteristics with Durham Castle and Auckland Castle. At Wolvesey Palace for example, the earliest floorplan would have strongly resembled the earliest suggested floorplan at Auckland Castle, with the hall and adjoining rooms. In subsequent decades, an additional range was added featuring a further second hall, similar in kind to Durham Castle. Furthermore, this trend extended to palaces from less wealthy bishoprics. Noticeably, St David's palace was the see palace for the diocese of St David's (Turner 2000) and its floorplan closely resembled the floorplans at Auckland Castle,

Howden Manor and Durham Castle. Aside from the unusually located kitchen that was added in the 14th century, the *access analysis* for this residence reveals a similar pattern and development to the palaces of Durham Castle and Auckland Castle. Its arrangement would have initially been a central hall with adjoining service rooms and bishops spaces that was ultimately improved upon to encompass a larger bishop's chamber, accommodation range and private chapel. In addition, every other bishopric similarly held one London Inn and many had castles alongside other manors (Thompson 1993: 71-84; Schofield 1995). While Durham held more castles than other bishoprics, its compilation of different residence types is not untypical of episcopacy nationwide.

In the light of this evidence therefore, the residences of the bishops of Durham do not appear to have been distinctly affected by the unique conditions of the palatinate of Durham. While politically Durham was known to have been unique (see Chapter One), the residences when compared with other examples nationally are typical of the trends exhibited elsewhere. Ultimately therefore, the bishops of Durham were affected by the same external influences that affected other nobles and elites, and their movements and buildings reflected this change. Analysis of other bishoprics reveals that these changes permeated even the least wealthy and influential bishoprics.

Points for progression – future research avenue

One of the primary objectives of this research was to provide a synthetic overview of the current state of knowledge of the episcopal residences of the bishops of Durham (see. Chapter One). In so doing, a number of knowledge gaps and potential areas for future research were identified. This section will outline these key findings.

1) There is potential for considerable future research at Bishop Middleham Castle. This site stands out among the residences of the bishops of Durham because of its striking topographic position, good textual record, and popularity with bishops and unusually short lifespan. Geophysical and earthwork evidence reveals considerable well-preserved below-ground deposits that have as yet not been examined archaeologically. Further geophysical examination utilising the combined methods of electrical resistivity and magnetometry might yield the best results. Additionally, excavation of the deposits would likely reveal significant finds, especially relating to the parkland and wider landscape. The excavations at Darlington and Bishop Auckland show the considerable potential for recovering finds relating to hunting practices and land management. In addition, the waterlogged landscape might provide good potential for the recovery of well-preserved organic material. Currently the site is not developed upon which would assist future examination.

2) Similarly, Crayke Castle is an excellent contender for future research for similar reasons. Although some archaeological work has been conducted (e.g. Dennison 2004), there is still more that could be done. There is strong evidence that below-ground deposits relating to the 'Old Hall' might exist, and recovery of these would help clarify the date of the 'New Tower'. In addition, recovery of organic material relating to the park would improve knowledge of that. Crayke Castle as an excellent textual record, so recovery of material culture relating to the medieval phases of occupation would improve our understanding of the site.

3) The creation of a complete itinerary of the bishops of Durham would be an excellent resource to fill in gaps and further test and strengthen theories proposed in this study. This thesis adopted a primarily archaeological view and therefore, only selection of registers were analysed to reveal broad trends and patterns. There are more registers currently unanalysed and compiled together with substantial amounts of unpublished records. A more detailed examination of these would likely add to our knowledge of these residences and their uses and roles.

Conclusion

Ultimately, the evidence discussed through Chapters Three, Four and Five present a complex picture of how episcopal residences were used. In specific response to the research aims outlined in Chapter One, the following was achieved. Through the synthesis and comparison of some episcopal itineraries, archaeological and historical data relating to the residence buildings and their associated landscapes some key questions were answered. Firstly, the residences of the bishops of Durham had individual roles and specialisms borne from the uses of their landscapes. Contrastingly, the residences also existed within a wider network, situated at convenient locations for traversing the see of Durham and travelling south to London. In this way, the residences of the bishops of Durham held a dual role. This role changed over time according to the changing social atmosphere of the High Medieval Period and this thesis has proven that through the analysis of their forms, episcopal residences are effective gauges of this. Ultimately however, these changes displayed through the residences of the bishops of Durham do not reveal any particular trends unique to them having held Palatinate status. As a whole, the residences of the Bishops of Durham compliment current knowledge and ideas in the field of bishops' residences. Nevertheless, this study is one of the only of its kind, and with further projects aimed at understanding the relationship between both palaces and smaller manors, the findings from this thesis could be further tested and extended.

This thesis proves that through the study of only one site, an incomplete picture of the role of bishop's residences in the wider episcopal sphere is produced. Only by viewing these residences as a whole can a meaningful and holistic understanding of these places be gained. This research

showed how these buildings existed as parts within a bigger network with each providing a unique specialism while also providing an effective infrastructure from which the peripatetic life could be conducted. In addition, this research has shown how these buildings are effective gauges of social and political change, as their changing form and occupational patterns are indicative of much wider themes and concepts relating to the changing nature of medieval society.

Appendix One

The Itineraries of the Bishops of Durham

The Itinerary of Bishop Richard Poore (1229-1236) based on actum compiled and published by M.G. Snape, 2002.

1229	September 24th	Durham
	September 28th	Northallerton
	September 29th	Northallerton
	October 13th	Westminster
1230	September 24th	Durham
	November 28th	London
	December 27th	Durham
1231	December 9th	Bishop Auckland
1232	March 10th	Bishop Middleham
1233	April 18th	Tarrant
	July 31st	Durham
1234	March 4th	Bishop Auckland
	August 20th	Fulham
1235	April 9th	Tarrant
	July 8th	London
	July 18th	Stanwell
	August 13th	Tarrant
	November 3rd	Fenwick
	November 22nd	Durham
	December 7th	Bishop Auckland
	December 13th	Bishop Auckland
1236	July 8th	Easington

The Itinerary of Bishop Nicholas Farnham (1241-1249) based on actum compiled and published by P. Hoskin, 2005.

1241	January 24th - May 24th	Aldenham
	September 28th	Bishop Auckland
1242	October 3rd	Stockton
1243	March 3rd	Bishop Middleham
	April 2nd	Bishop Middleham
1244	May 16th	Darlington
	September 18th	Bishop Middleham
	October 27th	Northallerton
1245	April 20th	Midhurst
1246	March 15th	Slindon
1247	July 17th	Darlington
1248	March 28th	Darlington
	June 24th	Bishop Middleham
	August 10th	Stockton
	September 3rd	Darlington
	December 2nd	Bishop Auckland
1249	January 28th	Bishop Middleham
	January 30th	Kepier

The Itinerary of Bishop Walter Kirkham (1249-1260) based on the actum compiled and published by P. Hoskin, 2005

1249	December 5th	York
1250	March 24th	Durham
1251	January 1st	Bishop Auckland
	June 17th	Northallerton
1252	February 10th	Bishop Auckland
	April 23rd	Bishop Middleham
	June 15th	Northallerton
	July 10th	Bishop Auckland
	July 20th	Bishop Auckland
	September 12th	York
	October 1st	Durham
1253	April 13th	Durham
	May 13th	Westminster
	June 28th	Weston
	August 16th	Bishop Auckland
	August 17th	Bishop Auckland
	December 10th	Bishop Auckland
1254	March 22nd	Gateshead
	April 17th	Darlington
1255	January 29th	Bishop Auckland
	March 6th	Bishop Middleham

	September 8th	Bishop Auckland
1256	January 30th	Bearpark
	April 6th	Bishop Auckland
1257	September 30th	Stockton
1259	April 18th	Fenwick
	June 12th	Stockton
	June 19th	Northallerton
	July 12th	Riccall
1260	January 1st	Bishop Middleham
	May 22nd	Riccall
	May 25th	Riccall
	July 13th	Riccall

The Itinerary of Bishop Robert Stichill (1260-1274) according to the compiled and published actum by P. Hoskin, 2005

1261	February 13th	Lekingfeud
	March 3rd	Riccall
	April 13th	Stockton
	June 14th	Riccall
	June 15th	Riccall
	December 26th	Durham
1262	February 12th	Bishop Middleham
	May 24th	Durham
	May 25th	Bishop Middleham
	July 15th	Bishop Middleham
	October 8th	Stockton
	November 27th	Bishop Middleham
	December 13th	Lekingfeud
1263	February 18th	Bishop Middleham
1264	October 9th	Wolsingham
1265	May 23rd	Stockton
	October 16th	Riccall
	November 13th	Riccall
1266	February 7th	Bishop Auckland
	June 19th	Bishop Middleham
	October 19th	Stamfordham
	October 26th	Kenilworth
	26th December	Howden

1267	March 5th	Norham
	December 25th	Durham
1268	January	Bishop Auckland
	April 9th	Greatham
	April 23rd	London
	April 24th	London
1269	September 9th	Howden
	September 10th	Howden
1272	February 14th	Bishop Auckland
1273	January 8th	Durham
	January 23rd	Durham
	March 13th	Howden
	July 4th	Bishop Middleham
1274	February 10th	Riccall
	April 13th	Stockton

The Itinerary of Bishop Robert of Holy Island (1274-1283) based on the compiled actum of P. Hoskin, 2005.

Robert of Holy Island	1275	February 17th	Bishop Middleham
		September 20th	Fenwick
		September 26th	Bishop Auckland
		October 1st	Bishop Auckland
		October 29th	Howden
	1276	February 8th	Bishop Auckland
		February 16th	Bishop Auckland
		May 26th	Norham
		June 19th	Fenwick
		August 29th	Bishop Middleham
	1277	January 16th	Bishop Auckland
		June 12th	Bishop Middleham
		June 15th	Bishop Middleham
		September 16th	Bishop Middleham
		September 24th	Bishop Middleham
		November 20th	Bishop Auckland
		November 27th	Bishop Auckland
	1278	January 1st	Bedlington
		June 18th	Bishop Auckland
		October 3rd	Darlington
		October 5th	Darlington
		November 4th	Waltham
		December 8th	Bedlington
		December 13th	Howden
	1279	April 14th	Bishop Auckland
		June 2nd	Crayke

		August 1st	Durham
		August 16th	Wolsingham
		September 8th	Northallerton
		December 7th	Wolsingham
	1280	March 28th	Fenwick
		April 29th	Bishop Auckland
		May 8th	Stockton
	1281	April 3rd	Norham
		April 4th	Norham
		April 17th	Wolsingham
		June 15th	Halton
	1283	January 31st	Bishop Middleham
		February 24th	Durham
		May 14th	Bishop Middleham

The Itinerary of Bishop Antony Bek (1284-1310) based on the compiled and published by C. Fraser, 1957.

1284	September 20th	Bishop Auckland
1285	August 7th	Hartley
1286	November 9th	Bishop Auckland
	December 2nd	Dover
1288	March 27th	Durham
	March 29th	Durham
	May 1st	London
	August 21st	Norham
	August 24th	Norham
1290	March 16th	Wark
	September 18th	Durham
1291	March 9th	Bishop Middleham
	July 20th	Ballock
	September 19th	Devises
	November 3rd	Bishop Auckland
	November 5th	Northallerton
	November 6th	Northallerton
	November 14th	Nassington
1292	January 7th	London
	July 13th	Norham
	August 28th	Pickering
1293	November 4th	London
	December 10th	Istelworth
1294	June 14th	London
	June 22nd	London

	November 1st	London
1295	April 10th	Chester
	December 29th	Bishop Auckland
1297	July 19th	Westminster
1298	June 17th	Bishop Auckland
	October 26th	Northallerton
1300	April 24th	Durham
	November 2nd	Bishop Auckland
	November 6th	Stivelingflet
	November 30th	Riccall
1301	April 13th	Barnard Castle
	November 10th	Bishop Auckland
	December 1st	Durham
1303	June 25th	Bishop Auckland
	August 31st	Barnard Castle
	September 1st	Somerton
1305	June 10th	Wolsingham
1306	August 13th	Northallerton
1307	July 29th	Carlisle
	October 2nd	Somerton
1308	September 30th	Waltham
	December 12th	Eltham
1309	February 10th	Bishop Auckland
	March 30th	Howden
	July 16th	Eltham
	September 23rd	London
	September 26th	London
	October 1st	Newnham

	November 26th	London
1310	April 5th	London
	May 11th	Stockton
	May 12th	Stockton
	May 13th	Northallerton
	June 5th	Eltham
	June 8th	Isleworth
	August 11th	Northallerton
	August 17th	Bishop Auckland
	September 28th	Durham
	October 2nd	Crayke
	November 10th	Midhurst
	December 13th	London

The Itinerary of Bishop Thomas Langley (1406-1437) from documents and actum compiled and published by R.L.Storey, 1961-1970.

1406	May 14th	Rome
	May 25th	Rome
	August 8th	Durham
	August 9th	London
	November 3rd	London
	November 14th	London
	November 21st	London
	November 30th	London
	December 13th	London
1407	January 1st	London
	January 22nd	London (Charing Cross)
	March 13th	London
	March 21st	London
	May 5th	London
	May 7th	London
	July 2nd	London (Parish of St Martins adjoining Charing Cross)
	July 16th	Riccall (Welehall)
	September 8th	Wearmouth
	September 13th	Bishop Auckland
	December 6th	Gloucester
	December 27th	Bishop Auckland
	December 28th	Bishop Auckland
	December 30th	Bishop Auckland

1408	January 1st	Bishop Auckland
	January 6th	Riccall (Welehall)
	January 7th	Selby
	January 31st	London
	February 7th	London
	February 9th	London
	February 10th	Oxford
	February 13th	London
	February 14th	London
	February 15th	London
	February 21st	Sleford
	February 24th	London
	February 28th	London
	March 26th	Howden
	March 30th	Howden
	April 4th	Howden
	April 6th	Howden
	April 11th	Howden
	April 12th	Howden
	April 15th	Howden
	April 16th	Howden
	April 21st	Pontefract
	May 1st	Howden
	May 30th	Northallerton
	June 4th	Stockton
	June 5th	Stockton
	June 6th	Stockton
	June 11th	Stockton

	June 28th	Norham
	July 18th	Bishop Auckland
	July 23rd	Durham
	July 29th	Bishop Auckland
	August 10th	Stanhope
	August 14th	Darlington
	September 18th	Bishop Auckland
	September 20th	Darlington
	September 22nd	Bishop Auckland
	October 8th	Swynshed
	October 18th	London
	October 24th	London
	November 7th	London
	December 31st	Riccall (Welehall)
1409	January 10th	Grantham
	January 27th	London
	February 25th	London
	March 10th	London
	March 21st	London
	March 26th	London
	April	Pisa
	October	Pisa
	December 3rd	Riccall (Welehall)
	December 5th	Riccall (Welehall)
	December 9th	Northallerton
1410	January 1st	Bishop Auckland
	January 5th	Bishop Auckland
	January 6th	Bishop Auckland

	January 9th	Durham
	February 12th	London
	February 13th	London
	February 20th	London
	March 8th	London
	April 25th	London
	May 5th	London
	June 13th	London
	Jun 14th	London
	August 15th	Bishop Auckland
	August 21st	Jarrow
	August 27th	Bishop Auckland
	September 8th	Bishop Auckland
	September 18th	Bishop Auckland
	September 20th	Bishop Auckland
	September 24th	Bishop Auckland
	September 29th	Crayke
	October 5th	Cawood
	October 6th	Riccall (Welehall)
	October 20th	London
	October 24th	London
	December 1st	Leicester
	December 2nd	Leicester
	December 7th	Riccall (Welehall)
	December 8th	Riccall (Welehall)
	December 25th	Bishop Auckland
1411	January 2nd	Bishop Auckland
	January 5th	Bishop Auckland

	January 11th	Bishop Auckland
	January 14th	Bishop Auckland
	January 24th	Bishop Auckland
	January 25th	Bishop Auckland
	January 29th	Crayke
	January 30th	Shirrefhoton
	March 9th	London
	March 20th	London
	April 27th	Howden
	June 17th	Bishop Auckland
	June 19th	Bishop Auckland
	June 21st	Bishop Auckland
	June 22nd	Bishop Auckland
	June 23rd	Bishop Auckland
	July 2nd	Bishop Auckland
	July 6th	Sherburn Hospital
	July 31st	Bishop Auckland
	August 26th	Bishop Auckland
	September 1st	Bishop Auckland
	September 3rd	Northallerton
	September 20th	London
	September 28th	Oldeford
	November 8th	London
	November 29th	London
	November 30th	London
	December 22nd	Durham
	December 27th	Howden
1412	January 12th	Bishop Auckland

	January 14th	Bishop Auckland
	January 22nd	York
	January 24th	howden
	January 28th	Howden
	February 6th	London
	February 15th	London
	March 13th	Riccall (Welehall)
	March 14th	Riccall (Welehall)
	March 26th	Durham
	April 2nd	Durham
	April 14th	Bishop Auckland
	April 16th	Bishop Auckland
	April 18th	Bishop Auckland
	April 29th	Bishop Auckland
	May 10th	London
	May 11th	Fulham
	May 17th	London
	July 24th	London
	August 19th	York
	August 24th	Howden
	August 26th	Howden
	December 4th	Bishop Auckland
	December 5th	Bishop Auckland
	December 10th	Bishop Auckland
	December 14th	Bishop Auckland
	December 17th	Bishop Auckland
	December 19th	Bishop Auckland
	December 20th	Bishop Auckland

1413	January 9th	Bishop Auckland
	January 10th	Bishop Auckland
	January 14th	Bishop Auckland
	February 3rd	London
	February 10th	London
	June 11th	London
	July 2nd	Oldford
	July 16th	London
	August 25th	Stockton
	August 30th	Gateshead
	September 1st	Durham
	October 1st	York
	October 6th	Howden
	November 11th	London
	November 15th	London
	December 12th	London
	December 14th	London
	December 28th	London
1414	March 5th	Bishop Auckland
	March 6th	Bishop Auckland
	March 9th	Bishop Auckland
	March 16th	Bishop Auckland
	March 19th	Bishop Auckland
	March 20th	Bishop Auckland
	April 3rd	Bishop Auckland
	April 5th	Bishop Auckland
	April 7th	Bishop Auckland
	May 12th	Leicester

	June 3rd	Leicester
	June 17th	London
	July 8th	London
	October 7th	London
	November 13th	London
	November 28th	London
1415	February 4th	London
	February 12th	London
	April 2nd	London
	April 10th	Oldford
	April 15th	London
	April 24th	London
	April 28th	London
	May 17th	Darlington
	May 18th	Darlington
	May 22nd	Bishop Auckland
	May 27th	Bishop Auckland
	May 30th	Bishop Auckland
	June 2nd	Stockton
	August 21st	Howden
	September 5th	Stockton
	September 6th	Stockton
	September 7th	Stockton
	September 27th	Durham
	October 9th	York
	October 11th	Riccall (Welehall)
	October 13th	Riccall (Welehall)
	October 15th	Riccall (Welehall)

	December 28th	Bishop Auckland
	December 31st	Bishop Auckland
1416	January 1st	Bishop Auckland
	January 6th	Bishop Auckland
	January 9th	Bishop Auckland
	January 13th	Bishop Auckland
	January 23rd	Bishop Auckland
	January 24th	Bishop Auckland
	February 22nd	London
	March 21st	London
	March 22nd	London
	April 6th	London
	April 10th	London
	April 14th	London
	April 22nd	Oldford
	April 24th	London
	May 1st	London
	June 13th	London
	July 24th	Stockton
	July 26th	Stockton
	July 29th	Riccall (Welehall)
	October 6th	Calais
	October 8th	Calais
	November 16th	London
	November 26th	London
	December 24th	Howden
1417	January 12th	Howden
	January 31st	Bishop Auckland

	February 2nd	Bishop Auckland
	February 6th	Bishop Auckland
	February 12th	Bishop Auckland
	February 14th	Bishop Auckland
	February 19th	Bishop Auckland
	February 20th	Bishop Auckland
	February 21st	Bishop Auckland
	February 22nd	Bishop Auckland
	February 23rd	Bishop Auckland
	February 28th	Bishop Auckland
	March 1st	Howden
	March 10th	Howden
	March 22nd	Huntingdon
	April 21sr	Oldeford
	May 13th	London
	May 14th	Reading
	May 20th	London
	September 29th	Oldeford
	October 13th	London
	October 23rd	London
	October 28th	London
	October 30th	London
	November 10th	London
	November 28th	London
	December 2nd	London
1418	January 4th	Asshere
	March 19th	Oldeford
	April 4th	London

	April 5th	Oldeford
	April 24th	London
	June 18th	London
	July 20th	Oldeford
	August 7th	Stockton
	August 12th	Stockton
	September 16th	Bishop Auckland
	October 16th	London
	November 4th	London
	November 20th	London
	December 3rd	London
	December 7th	London
	December 12th	London
1419	January 6th	London
	January 20th	London
	January 24th	London
	February 10th	London
	April 20th	Oldeford
	June 16th	London
	September 2nd	Oldeford
	November 9th	London
	November 12th	London
	December 24th	Oldeford
1420	January 6th	London
	February 1st	London
	February 16th	London
	May 13th	London
	December 20th	London

1421	March 18th	Durham
	September 2nd	Lumley Castle
	September 4th	Bishop Auckland
	September 11th	Bishop Auckland
	September 12th	Bishop Auckland
	September 13th	Bishop Auckland
	October 13th	London
1422	January 4th	Oldeford
	March 27th	Oldeford
	April 30th	Suthwik
	May 16th	London
	May 17th	Fermerygardyn
	June 3rd	London
	August 18th	Stockton
	August 26th	Stockton
	September 9th	Stockton
	September 10th	Stockton
	September 15th	Crayke
	November 13th	London
	November 27th	London
1423	June 12th	London
	June 16th	London
	October 1st	Durham
1424	March 10th	Huntingdon
	March 20th	Durham
	March 31st	Durham
	April 5th	Bishop Auckland
	April 9th	Durham

	July 21st	Sutton in Holand
	August 29th	Newcastle-upon-Tyne
	September 11th	Bishop Auckland
	September 29th	Stockton
	October 1st	Durham
	October 20th	London
	October 25th	London
	October 28th	London
	November 24th	London
	December 11th	Hoveden
	December 23rd	Durham
1425	January 5th	Bishop Auckland
	January 14th	Bishop Auckland
	January 18th	Bishop Auckland
	February 2nd	Bishop Auckland
	February 9th	Bishop Auckland
	February 17th	Bishop Auckland
	February 22nd	Bishop Auckland
	February 23rd	Bishop Auckland
	March 6th	Bishop Auckland
	March 24th	Bishop Auckland
	April 5th	Bishop Auckland
	April 7th	Bishop Auckland
	April 9th	Bishop Auckland
	April 12th	Bishop Auckland
	May 3rd	London
	May 15th	London
	May 16th	London

	May 17th	London
	July 1st	London
	July 30th	Howden
	August 5th	Whitfield
	August 20th	Berwick
	August 27th	Bishop Auckland
	September 7th	Bishop Auckland
	September 18th	Newcastle-upon-Tyne
	September 19th	Jarum
	September 20th	Alnwick
	August 1st	Salisbury
	August 5th	Stockton
	August 12th	Holy Island
	August 14th	Norham
	August 25th	Newcastle-upon-Tyne
	August 28th	Bishop Auckland
	August 31st	Stockton
	October 4th	Bishop Auckland
	November 6th	Stockton
	December 4th	London
1426	January 31st	London
1427	November 8th	London
	November 9th	London
	November 11th	London
	November 12th	London
	November 20th	London
	November 27th	London
	November 28th	London

	November 29ht	London
	November 30th	London
	December 6th	London
	December 15th	Howden
	December 19th	Darlington
	December 27th	Bishop Auckland
	December 30th	Bishop Auckland
1428	January 2nd	Bishop Auckland
	January 5th	Bishop Auckland
	January 10th	Bishop Auckland
	January 12th	Darlington
	January 21st	Bishop Auckland
	January 28th	Bishop Auckland
	January 29th	Bishop Auckland
	January 30th	Bishop Auckland
	February 14th	Bishop Auckland
	March 8th	Bishop Auckland
	March 12th	Bishop Auckland
	March 20th	Bishop Auckland
	April 1st	Bishop Auckland
	April 10th	Bishop Auckland
	April 14th	Lekenfeld
	April 18th	Howden
	April 28th	Stockton
	May 13th	Stockton
	May 17th	Bishop Auckland
	May 20th	Stockton
	May 22nd	Stockton

	June 20th	London
	June 21st	London
	June 22nd	London
	July 13th	London
	July 14th	London
	August 12th	Monastry of St Mary, The Virgin
	August 14th	Monastry of St Mary, The Virgin
	August 18th	Monastry of St Mary, The Virgin
	August 28th	Stockton
	September 9th	Bishop Auckland
	September 10th	Bishop Auckland
	September 11th	Bishop Auckland
	September 16th	Stockton
	September 20th	Stockton
	October 5th	Stockton
	October 25th	Stockton
	October 31st	Stockton
	November 3rd	Stockton
	November 10th	Stockton
	November 12th	Stockton
	November 17th	Bishop Auckland
	November 19th	Bishop Auckland
	December 1st	Bishop Auckland
	December 2nd	Bishop Auckland
	December 6th	Bishop Auckland
	December 20th	Bishop Auckland
	December 22nd	Bishop Auckland
	December 24th	Bishop Auckland

	December 28th	Bishop Auckland
	December 30th	Bishop Auckland
1429	January 5th	Bishop Auckland
	January 6th	Bishop Auckland
	January 14th	Crayke
	January 15th	Crayke
	January 16th	Crayke
	January 24th	Bishop Auckland
	February 5th	Bishop Auckland
	February 9th	Bishop Auckland
	February 17th	Bishop Auckland
	February 18th	Bishop Auckland
	February 19th	Bishop Auckland
	March 3rd	Bishop Auckland
	March 27th	Bishop Auckland
	July 13th	Norham
	July 19th	Norham
	July 22nd	Stockton
	July 25th	Stockton
	August 20th	Bishop Auckland
	August 21st	Stockton
	August 30th	Stockton
	September 5th	Stockton
	September 6th	Stockton
	September 12th	Hoveden
	November 2nd	London
	November 7th	London
	December 20th	Bishop Auckland

	December 22nd	Bishop Auckland
1430	January 8th	Bishop Auckland
	January 14th	Bishop Auckland
	January 16th	Bishop Auckland
	January 19th	Bishop Auckland
	January 27th	Bishop Auckland
	January 28th	Bishop Auckland
	January 30th	Bishop Auckland
	February 3rd	Bishop Auckland
	February 13th	Bishop Auckland
	February 14th	Bishop Auckland
	February 20th	Bishop Auckland
	February 23rd	Bishop Auckland
	March 1st	Bishop Auckland
	March 2nd	Bishop Auckland
	March 3rd	Bishop Auckland
	March 5th	Durham
	March 6th	Durham
	March 11th	Durham
	April 1st	Bishop Auckland
	April 15th	Bishop Auckland
	April 26th	Lumley Castle
	April 29th	Durham
	June 10th	Bishop Auckland
	July 7th	Bishop Auckland
	July 8th	Bishop Auckland
	July 12th	Bishop Auckland
	July 14th	Bishop Auckland

	July 19th	Ryton
	July 24th	Bishop Auckland
	july 31st	Bishop Auckland
	August 1st	Darlington
	August 14th	York
	August 25th	Bishop Auckland
	September 2nd	Bishop Auckland
	September 3rd	Bishop Auckland
	September 6th	Bishop Auckland
	September 16th	Bishop Auckland
	December 14th	Bishop Auckland
	December 20th	Bishop Auckland
	December 23rd	Bishop Auckland
	December 29th	Bishop Auckland
1431	January 2nd	Bishop Auckland
	January 8th	Bishop Auckland
	January 14th	Howden
	January 22nd	Howden
	February 5th	Bishop Auckland
	February 11th	Bishop Auckland
	February 18th	Bishop Auckland
	February 24th	Bishop Auckland
	March19th	Bishop Auckland
	March 20th	Bishop Auckland
	March28th	Bishop Auckland
	April 11th	Bishop Auckland
	April 17th	Stockton
	April 20th	Stockton

	April 28th	Stockton
	May 8th	Stockton
	May 11th	Stockton
	May 14th	Stockton
	May 18th	Stockton
	May 25th	Newcastle-upon-Tyne
	May 26th	Newcastle-upon-Tyne
	June 21st	Stockton
	July 20th	Stockton
	July 22nd	Stockton
	July 24th	Stockton
	july 31st	Stockton
	September 6th	Stockton
	September 8th	Stockton
	September 12th	Stockton
	September 22nd	Durham
	October 4th	Stockton
	October 8th	Stockton
	October 13th	Stockton
	October 20th	Hoveden
	November 4th	London
	November 20th	London
	December 3rd	Dunstable
	December 16th	Howden
	December 22nd	Bishop Auckland
	December 29th	Bishop Auckland
	December 30th	Bishop Auckland
1432	January 4th	Bishop Auckland

	January 13th	Bishop Auckland
	January 22nd	Bishop Auckland
	January 24th	Bishop Auckland
	January 29th	Bishop Auckland
	January 30th	Bishop Auckland
	February 22nd	Bishop Auckland
	February 23rd	Bishop Auckland
	February 24th	Bishop Auckland
	February 26th	Bishop Auckland
	February 28th	Bishop Auckland
	February 29th	Bishop Auckland
	March 1st	Bishop Auckland
	March 6th	Bishop Auckland
	March 11th	Bishop Auckland
	March 12th	Bishop Auckland
	March 15th	Bishop Auckland
	March 17th	Bishop Auckland
	March 24th	Bishop Auckland
	April 2nd	Bishop Auckland
	April 9th	Bishop Auckland
	April 12th	Bishop Auckland
	April 15th	Bishop Auckland
	April 16th	Bishop Auckland
	April 23rd	Bishop Auckland
	May 12th	London
	May 26th	London
	August 21st	Stockton
	August 22nd	Stockton

	September 12th	Durham
	September 16th	Stockton
	September 17th	Stockton
	September 18th	Stockton
	September 19th	Stockton
	September 23rd	Bishop Auckland
	October 1st	Crayke
	October 4th	York
	October 27th	Stockton
	November 5th	Bishop Auckland
	November 6th	Bishop Auckland
	November 13th	Bishop Auckland
	November 16th	Bishop Auckland
	November 21st	Bishop Auckland
	November 22nd	Bishop Auckland
	December 1st	Appelby
	December 6th	Bishop Auckland
	December 9th	Bishop Auckland
	December 12th	Bishop Auckland
	December 13th	Bishop Auckland
	December 24th	Bishop Auckland
	December 28th	Bishop Auckland
	December 31st	Bishop Auckland
1433	February 2nd	Bishop Auckland
	February 5th	Bishop Auckland
	February 7th	Bishop Auckland
	February 12th	Bishop Auckland
	February 18th	Bishop Auckland

	February 23rd	Bishop Auckland
	march 13th	Bishop Auckland
	march 18th	Bishop Auckland
	March 23rd	Bishop Auckland
	March 31st	Bishop Auckland
	April 1st	Bishop Auckland
	April 3rd	Bishop Auckland
	April 9th	Bishop Auckland
	April 11th	Bishop Auckland
	April 14th	Bishop Auckland
	April 15th	Bishop Auckland
	April 18th	Crayke
	May 8th	London
	May 12th	London
	July 24th	London
	July 27th	London
	July 31st	London
	August 12th	London
	August 31st	York
	September 11th	Stockton
	September 20th	Stockton
	September 21st	Stockton
	September 23rd	Stockton
	September 27th	Stockton
	October 6th	Hoveden
	October 19th	Grantham
	November 14th	London
	November 20th	London

	November 23rd	London
	December 8th	London
1434	January 4th	Oldeford
	January 5th	London
	January 7th	Oldeford
	January 30th	London
	February 24th	London
	March 18th	Bishop Auckland
	April 9th	York
	April 19th	Bishop Auckland
	April 20th	Bishop Auckland
	April 27th	Bishop Auckland
	April 29th	Bishop Auckland
	May 1st	Bishop Auckland
	May 22nd	Bishop Auckland
	June 4th	Stockton
	June 5th	Stockton
	June 14th	Stockton
	June 15th	Stockton
	June 30th	Stockton
	July 19th	Middleton
	July 27th	Stockton
	August 21st	Durham
	August 25th	Durham
	August 26th	Stockton
	September 14th	Stockton
	September 25th	Bishop Auckland
	October 2nd	Crayke

	November 10th	Abendon (Salisbury)
	November 26th	Hoveden
	December 8th	Bishop Auckland
	December 11th	Bishop Auckland
	December 13th	Bishop Auckland
	December 19th	Bishop Auckland
	December 20th	Bishop Auckland
	December 27th	Bishop Auckland
1435	January 8th	Bishop Auckland
	January 11th	Bishop Auckland
	January 27th	Bishop Auckland
	January 31st	Bishop Auckland
	February 1st	Bishop Auckland
	February 4th	Bishop Auckland
	February 10th	Bishop Auckland
	February 21st	Bishop Auckland
	February 22nd	Bishop Auckland
	February 28th	Bishop Auckland
	March 7th	Bishop Auckland
	March 8th	Bishop Auckland
	March 12th	Bishop Auckland
	March 21st	Bishop Auckland
	March 29th	Bishop Auckland
	April 7th	Bishop Auckland
	April 8th	Bishop Auckland
	April 12th	Durham
	April 20th	Bishop Auckland
	May 5th	Bishop Auckland

	June 11th	Bishop Auckland
	June 16th	Stockton
	June 29th	Stockton
	June 30th	Stockton
	July 3rd	Stockton
	July 4th	Stockton
	July 6th	Stockton
	July 18th	Stockton
	August 24th	Stockton
	August 27th	Stockton
	September 8th	Stockton
	September 12th	Northallerton
	September 16th	Crayke
	September 24th	Hoveden
	November 9th	London
	November 11th	London
	November 15th	London
	November 19th	London
	November 20th	London
	November 26th	London
1436	February 1st	Bishop Auckland
	February 3rd	Bishop Auckland
	February 4th	Bishop Auckland
	February 9th	Bishop Auckland
	February 14th	Bishop Auckland
	February 18th	Durham
	February 25th	Bishop Auckland
	February 27th	Bishop Auckland

	February 28th	Durham
	March 1st	Bishop Auckland
	March 3rd	Bishop Auckland
	March 14th	Bishop Auckland
	March 20th	Bishop Auckland
	April 11th	Bishop Auckland
	April 17th	Bishop Auckland
	April 18th	Bishop Auckland
	May 17th	Bishop Auckland
	May 29th	Bishop Auckland
	June 5th	Darlington
	June 9th	Crayke
	June 25th	Bishop Auckland
	July 27th	Bishop Auckland
	August 1st	Stockton
	August 7th	Stockton
	August 8th	Stockton
	August 12th	Stockton
	August 20th	Alnwick
	September 10th	Stockton
	September 12th	Heywod
	September 14th	Stockton
	September 23rd	Stockton
	October 4th	Stockton
	October 16th	Bishop Auckland
	October 17th	Bishop Auckland
	October 19th	Bishop Auckland
	October 20th	Bishop Auckland

	October 23rd	Bishop Auckland
	November 1st	Bishop Auckland
	November 13th	Bishop Auckland
	November 19th	Bishop Auckland
	November 20th	Bishop Auckland
	November 27th	Bishop Auckland
	November 29th	Bishop Auckland
	December 1st	Bishop Auckland
	December 18th	Bishop Auckland
	December 22nd	Bishop Auckland
1437	January 1st	Bishop Auckland
	January 3rd	Bishop Auckland
	January 10th	Bishop Auckland
	January 21st	Bishop Auckland
	January 23rd	Bishop Auckland
	January 26th	Bishop Auckland
	January 27th	Bishop Auckland
	February 1st	Bishop Auckland
	February 5th	Bishop Auckland
	February 10th	Bishop Auckland
	February 12th	Bishop Auckland
	February 15th	Bishop Auckland
	February 16th	Bishop Auckland
	February 25th	Bishop Auckland
	March 5th	Bishop Auckland
	March 12th	Bishop Auckland
	March 23rd	Bishop Auckland
	March 27th	Bishop Auckland

	April 1st	Bishop Auckland
	April 3rd	Bishop Auckland
	April 5th	Bishop Auckland
	April 7th	Bishop Auckland
	April 13th	Bishop Auckland
	April 15th	Bishop Auckland
	April16th	Bishop Auckland
	April 21st	Bishop Auckland
	April 23rd	Bishop Auckland
	May 7th	Bishop Auckland
	May 25th	Bishop Auckland
	May 31st	Alnwick
	June 1st	Bishop Auckland
	June 10th	Bishop Auckland
	June 12th	Bishop Auckland
	July 3rd	Bishop Auckland
	July 4th	Bishop Auckland
	July 12th	Bishop Auckland
	July 15th	Bishop Auckland
	July 17th	Bishop Auckland
	July 28th	Bishop Auckland
	August 1st	Bishop Auckland
	August 19th	Bishop Auckland
	August 24th	Bishop Auckland
	August 26th	Bishop Auckland
	August 28th	Bishop Auckland
	September 6th	Bishop Auckland
	September 10th	Bishop Auckland

	September 19th	Bishop Auckland
	October 1st	Bishop Auckland
	October 4th	Bishop Auckland
	October 10th	Bishop Auckland
	October 22nd	Bishop Auckland
	October 27th	Bishop Auckland
	October 31st	Bishop Auckland
	November 3rd	Bishop Auckland
	November 10th	Bishop Auckland
	November 20th	Bishop Auckland

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