O.H. Creighton

'The Rich Man in his Castle, The Poor Man at His Gate'[1] : Castle Baileys and Settlement Patterns in Norman England

Of recent developments within British castellology, one of the more significant has been an upsurge in interest in the wider settings of castles and their place within the medieval landscape. Particularly striking has been an increasing realisation that the immediate environs of many later medieval castles were composed to produce ornamental settings, while through survey and fieldwork, archaeological research projects have progressively broadened their horizons to examine interrelationships between fortifications and their hinterlands[2]. This paper focuses on an important yet often neglected aspect of the castle's interrelationship with its surroundings – its impact on patterns of human settlement, in the context of eleventh- and twelfth-century England. Using a combination of archaeological, documentary and landscape evidence, particular attention will be given to the significance of castle baileys and outer baileys as topographical factors in the growth, reorganisation and planning of settlements. Such evidence has, in turn, great significance for our understanding of far wider issues of interest, including social and economic relationships between lords and communities, and definitions of communal and private defence in town and country.

In their seminal work *The Village and House in the Middle Ages* (first published 1980), Jean Chapelot and Robert Fossier viewed the castle as a 'mother economic cell' – 'indubitably' the most important factor of all in the nucleation of rural communities in medieval Europe[3]. In parts of continental Europe, especially the Mediterranean zone, medieval castles have long been viewed as catalytic features in rural landscapes. The *incastellamento* phenomenon – the nestling of enclosed rural communities around seigneurial sites on prominent topographical positions, so characteristic of parts of Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries – is only part of a wider phenomenon whereby castles acted as nuclei for rural settlement growth[4]. But in England, the place of castles within the medieval settlement pattern has frequently been overlooked, and their contribution to its evolution somewhat under-estimated.

In the English countryside most private castles were simultaneously manorial centres, with appurtenances of lordship such as fishponds or watermills not unusually linked to the defences of baileys and outworks, or else found in immediate association. A further indication of the close connection between castles and the rural economy is their context within the rural settlement pattern, and in particular, their importance as elements of village topography. Sites of lordship frequently structured the topographical characteristics of rural settlements, with baileys or precincts often providing a 'morphological frame' for the settlement and the high-status core constituting a 'plan dominant' and frequently a focal point for growth[5].

The planning or re-casting of villages by castle lords is but one manifestation of a wider phenomenon of seigneurial intervention in medieval settlement change. A particularly clear

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1. C. F. Alexander, from the third verse of the popular hymn 'All Things Bright and Beautiful' (1848). The verse (usually omitted in modern versions) ends 'God made them, high or lowly, and ordered their estate'.

2. For examples of recent studies of the landscape settings of individual castles see Everson *et al.*, 2000; Higham & Barker, 2000; Darlington, 2001. For synthesis see Creighton, 2002; Johnson, 2002, ch. 2; Creighton & Higham, 2003, ch. 6.

3. Chapelot & Fossier, 1985, 129-33.
4. Wickham, 1981, 162-3, 173-4; Christie, 1999, 45.
5. Roberts, 1987, 73-5.

example of a settlement bearing the hallmarks of lordly plan-ning in association with a castle focus is the Nottinghamshire village of Laxton, one of the most celebrated of all English medieval villages on account of its substantially surviving open field system[6]. Far from being the 'typical' Midland village sometimes assumed, detailed scrutiny of Laxton's morphology as reflected in a remarkable estate map of 1635 indicates that the settlement was planned or re-planned with a large Norman motte and bailey castle as its focus (Fig. 1), most likely when the castle emerged as an important estate centre of the de Caux family in the twelfth century[7]. Particu-larly striking is the formalised relationship between the castle site and principal east-west street, with a series of regular plots bounded by a former back lane. Reinforced by a substan-tial linear bank, this feature formed a 'seam' in the settlement plan, demarcating the boundary between the lord's demesne (containing a seigneurial park, fishponds, rabbit warren, stable facilities and possible jousting paddock) and the village. Notably, the outer bailey also extended up to this boundary, which clearly exerted a profound topographical influence on settlement form and development.

   A number of archaeological excavations and related surveys have also provided compelling evidence for the planning of rural settlements relative to castle foci in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the Oxfordshire parish of Middleton Stoney, a long-term programme of excavation and fieldwork established that a small castle of the de Camville family was a relatively impermanent feature of village topography, being built in the mid twelfth century but dismantled on the orders of King John in 1216[8]. Yet during this brief period of high-status occupancy, the local settlement pattern was radically re-oriented following the grant of a market, a deer park created, the road system re-planned, and a new parish church built in close asso-ciation with the seat of lordship. Clearly there is no simple correspondence between the longevity or status of a castle site and the level of the seigneurial impact on landscape reorgani-sation.

   In the Lincolnshire claylands, the 'classic' deserted village of 'Goltho' partially excavated, along with an associated mano-rial site and castle, in the late 1960s and early 1970s appears to have been another settlement whose plan bears the hallmarks of seigneurial intervention[9]. Here, a large and regular row-based unit of plots appears to have been grafted onto an earlier village core containing the castle and adjacent church, proba-bly early in the twelfth century when the manor was consoli-dated by the de Kyme family, whose presence within the parish was also signified by the upgrading of the castle and establish-ment of a deer park and new Gilbertine priory[10]. The precise chronologies for such policies of settlement re-planning remain
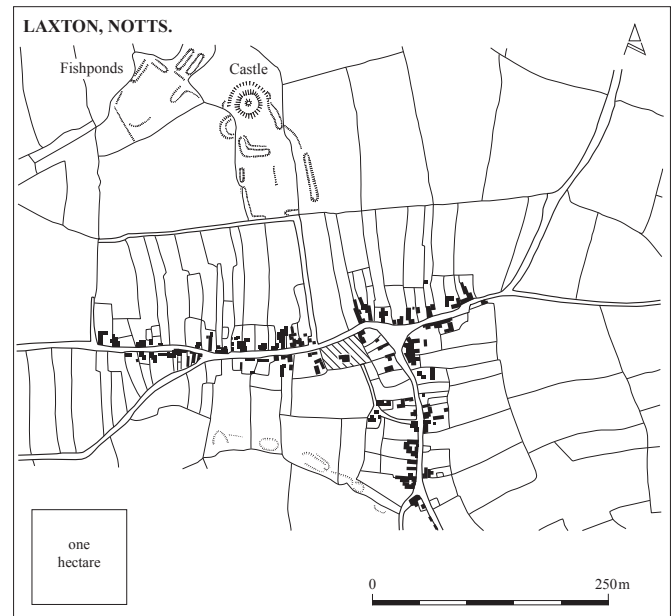

Fig. 1 : Plan of Laxton (Nottinghamshire), based on Ordnance Survey First Edition (1887), showing the relationship between the motte and bailey castle a village plan with clear planned elements.

uncertain, however, as do the seigneurial motives, although tightening social control and economic rationalisation would seem to be important factors. To these three examples can be added many others, including several in Yorkshire, where estate -reorganisation and planning of castles and associated villages by Norman landlords in the wake of economic dislocation in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries seems to have been partic-ularly commonplace. Likely candidates include Bowes and Bishopton (County Durham), Cropton, Kirkby Malzeard and Sheriff Hutton (North Yorkshire), and Barwick-in-Elmet (West Yorkshire)[11]. We must not overlook, however, that beyond the central belt of village England, in areas where the medieval countryside contained fewer nucleations and a more kaleido-scopic blend of smaller hamlets and farmsteads (as in the south-west peninsula) that most Norman castles still functioned as manorial centres within a settlement pattern where lordship was not expressed in the planning of villages[12].

   While disruption of property due to the construction of castles appears to have been a characteristic feature of Norman urban castle-building (see below), rather less frequently does evidence emerge for the imposition of Norman castles and their baileys over villages. The limited evidence available suggests that where Norman castle-builders superimposed on extant rural communities this was generally in the face of extreme military necessity. The unusual unfinished castle of Burwell (Cambridgeshire), was one of a chain of fen-edge sites rapidly erected in a brief royal campaign of the 1140s. These circum-stances, of pragmatic response to short-term military circum-

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   6. Orwin & Orwin, 1967.
   7. Cameron, 1980, 220-4.
   8. Rahtz & Rowley, 1984.
   9. Beresford, 1975; 1987.
   10. Everson, 1988; Creighton, 2002, 21-7.

   11. Creighton, 1999; 2002, 202-6.
   12. Higham, 1982, 106.

stances, seem to explain why a site was chosen that entailed the clearance of part of a village, as with the nearby and contemporary site of Rampton[13]. The clearest archaeological evidence of village disruption is at Eaton Socon (Cambridgeshire). Here, construction or expansion of the site's bailey defences buried a church, cemetery and part of an extensive settlement subsequently transplanted to a fresh site; again a military Anarchy-period context seems likely, with the site occupying a strategically important crossing of the Ouse[14].

The physical relationships between castles and associated rural communities are often especially clear where these settlements have not been continuously occupied to the present day but leave traces in the form of earthworks, as with the example of Goltho. While such settlements may not be strictly 'typical', the absence of significant post-medieval expansions means that the topographical arrangement of the site of lordship and village plan may be more comprehensible. Other clear examples include Castle Camps (Cambridgeshire), Kingerby (Lincolnshire) and Whorlton (North Yorkshire), all of which preserve evidence in the form of earthworks of nucleations drawn to, or re-planned around early mottes or ringworks. We must be careful with the identification of such sites, however. A complex suite of earthworks at the gate of Stafford Castle, for instance, has commonly been interpreted as the site of the lost medieval settlement of *Monetvile*, and several reconstructions of the site have featured a fortified village embraced within earth and timber outer defences[15]. Yet a re-appraisal based on detailed topographical survey has suggested that these earthworks cannot be equated with settlement remains but instead represent garden features and other landscaping, with the lost settlement lying elsewhere in the locality[16].

In addition to various types of deserted rural settlements associated with castles, a surprisingly large number of failed castle-dependent boroughs exist, especially on the Welsh borders where a particular concentration can be noted, including particularly well-preserved examples at Kilpeck and Richard's Castle (Herefordshire) and Caus (Shropshire), where planted settlements were enclosed within outer enclosures[17]. The physical locations of many such sites are again suggestive of forced seigneurial nucleations, no more so than those deserted castle boroughs which, like Caus and Almondbury (West Yorkshire), were squeezed into the re-used defences of late prehistoric hillforts. These formed, in effect, vast pre-positioned baileys, yet were located in positions where commercial growth was clearly unsustainable following the decline of the seigneurial focus, thus demonstrating a symbiotic relationship between castle and community. We may speculate as to how

many other of the numerous eleventh- and twelfth-century mottes and ringworks located within iron-age hillforts, including sites such as Hembury and Loddiswell (Devon), Mount Caburn, Glynde (East Sussex) and Barwick-in-Elmet (West Yorkshire), were associated with enclosed settlements that have left no tangible traces.

While it is customary to describe sites such as these as 'deserted' settlements, this terminology obscures the fact that in many cases these communities may have been 'stillborn' or 'abortive' nucleations never developed or populated to their planned potential. In other cases settlement may have been transplanted or migrated to a less constricted site. An instructive example in this sense is the eleventh- or twelfth-century castle of More (Shropshire), now preserved as an impressive suite of earthworks on a low-lying marshy site (Fig. 2). Within the outermost and largest of three sub-rectangular baileys arranged in line can be identified the vestiges of raised house platforms and the sinuous courses of sunken hollow ways indicating the former presence of an enclosed peasant community[18]. Furthermore, the plan of field boundaries in the immediate environs – forming an horseshoe-shaped precinct concentric with the castle earthworks – suggests strongly that this complex was a *de novo* Norman plantation, More being carved from the manor of Lydham in the twelfth century[19]. Yet this site was but one component within a wider and clearly fluid local settlement pattern: the Norman parish church lies immediately beyond the outer bailey, forming the focus of an irregular village that was either a contemporary nucleation, or, more likely, demonstrates a sequence of gradual settlement shrinkage or drift away from an enclosed site towards a more open position.

This example also reminds us of the how commonly in the English landscape parish churches and early castles are juxtaposed in close physical proximity. In Yorkshire and the East Midlands, approximately 23% of eleventh- and twelfth-century castles have a parish church in direct association (i.e. lying immediately adjacent or within outer defences), and in certain counties the proportion of early rural castles with adjacent medieval churches approaches or exceeds 50%, as in Cheshire, Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire[20]. Regional variations in this phenomenon are clearly apparent, and in the absence of excavation we cannot always be sure that these spatial relationships are all they seem. These statistics do, however provide vivid evidence for the seigneurial influence over ecclesiastical provision at the parochial level, especially where churches were not only located in the immediate vicinity of castles, but physically embraced within baileys (Fig. 3). Physical linkage between castle and church in this manner demonstrates Norman social control as well as the expression of status through ecclesiastical patronage, with worshippers obliged to progress from the communal sphere to the more private zone of the bailey. As

13. LETHBRIDGE, 1936; RCHME, 1972, 41-2.
14. LETHBRIDGE & TEBBUTT, 1952; ADDYMAN, 1965.
15. BARKER & HIGHAM, 1992, 289-93; HILL & KLEMPERER, 1995.
16. JECOCK & CORBETT, 2001, 99-100
17. BERESFORD, 1967, 451-2, 480; SHOESMITH, 1992, 162-9; CREIGHTON, 2002, 167-71.

18. WALL, 1908, 397; HIGHAM & BARKER, 1992, 232-3
19. ROWLEY, 1972, 86.
20. CREIGHTON, 1998, 147-56.

Fig. 2 : Aerial view of More, near Lydham (Shropshire), showing the earthworks of an earth and timber castle with an outer bailey enclosure containing evidence of a deserted village. The entire complex is highly suggestive of a Norman plantation, probably of the twelfth century (Photograph by Chris Musson, © Clwyd Powys Archaeological Trust).

LAUGHTON-EN-LE-MORTHEN,
SOUTH YORKSHIRE

HOUGH-ON-THE-HILL,
LINCOLNSHIRE

EARL SHILTON,
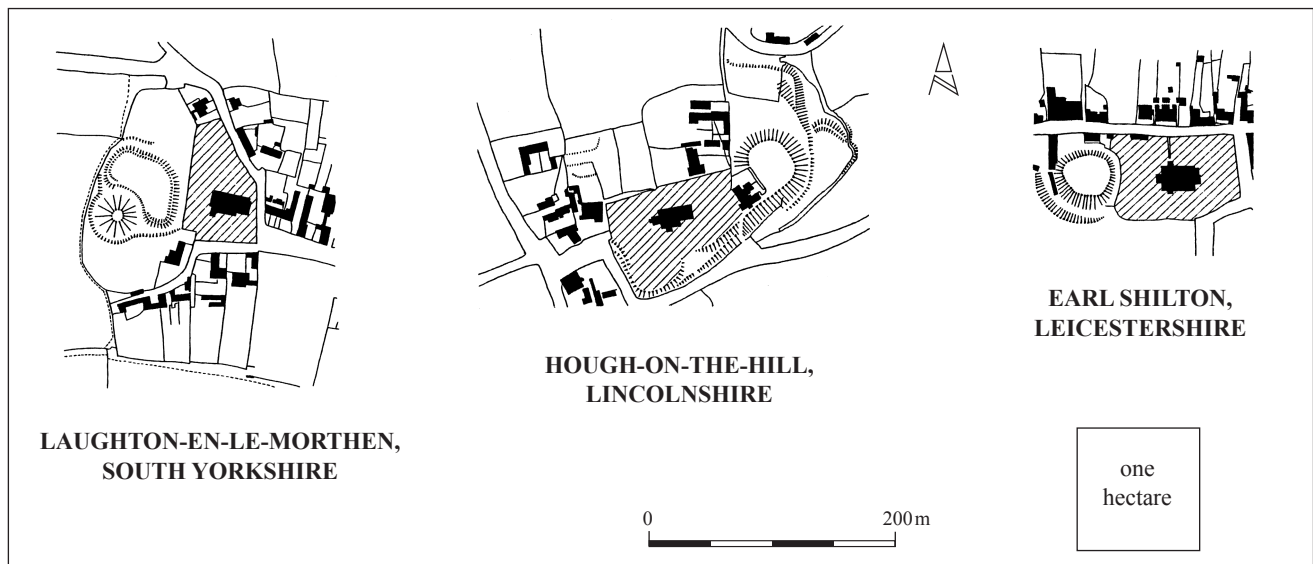LEICESTERSHIRE

one hectare

0   200 m

Fig. 3 : Three examples of Norman Castles embracing parish churches within baileys or outer baileys. At Laughton-en-le Morthen, architectural and documentary evidence suggest that the castle enclosed a pre-Conquest parish church within an outer bailey; at Essendine and Earl Shilton the churches appear to have originated as castle chapels.

well as baileys constituting the outer perimeters of lordship sites, in this sense and others they also sometimes provided points of linkage between lord and community, as exemplified clearly at sites such as Kilpeck (Herefordshire), where the church lay at the interface of the bailey defences and a planned settlement embanked as a dependency of the castle[21]. The potential chronological relationships between castle and church are complex and not always possible to unravel. In certain cases these ecclesiastical sites will have originated as castle chapels and were later upgraded to parochial status[22]. Where architectural or documentary evidence indicates an authentic pre-Conquest ecclesiastical foundation, however, Norman castle-builders clearly appropriated parish churches and, given the growing evidence for the association of Saxon thegns' residences with estate churches (as, for instance, at Sulgrave, Northamptonshire and Trowbridge, Wiltshire), the likelihood of longer-term continuity in the juxtaposition of a site of lordship with a private ecclesiastical site cannot be ruled out[23].

Turning to the topographies of those Norman castles founded within towns, it is clear that in the urban sphere too, the construction or enlargement of baileys could have enduring impacts on settlement form. The systematic programme of royal castle-building in major urban centres during the period c 1066-80 was characterised by the placement of new Norman castles within the corners of earlier defensive circuits. At Exeter and Winchester, where castles were placed in the corners of town walls of Roman origin, and Wallingford and Wareham, where they occupied angles within Saxon *burhs*, for instance, castles were peripheral features of urban topography, their circuits partly demarcated by the lines of extant defences[24]. In Norman Lincoln the castle (built 1068) and cathedral (founded in the 1070s) occupied the entire former Roman upper city, a walled area known from 1163 as 'The Bail' – in effect a vast bailey enclosing over 156,000 square metres, or some 16% of the total urban zone[25]. The disruption caused by such large-scale imposition within townscapes is recorded in many instances in Domesday Book (1086); at Lincoln for instance 166 of a the total of 940 *mansiones* recorded in 1066 were removed to make way for the castle. In several places, archaeology has fleshed out our understanding how castle-building impacted on late Saxon townscapes, nowhere more dramatically than at Norwich, where excavations on the Castle Mall site revealed a wealth of evidence for properties and cemeteries sealed beneath the castle earthworks, including a timber-built church under the north-east bailey[26]. At Wallingford Castle (Oxfordshire), the addition of an outer ward in the thirteenth century resulted in the re-routing of the principal north-south road through the town, excavation having traced the remnants of the town's dismantled
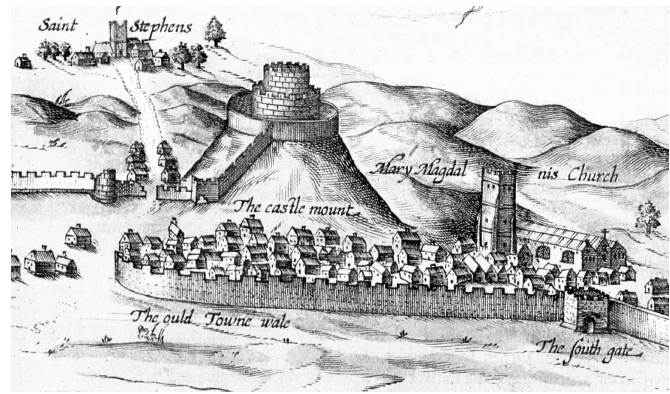

Fig. 4 : The town and castle of Launceston (Cornwall), as depicted by John Speed in the seventeenth century. Note the elevated position of the castle, with its famous 'wedding cake' profile, and the dependent walled town at its base.

north gate and the former street surface buried beneath the new earthwork[27].

Baileys could also provide the stimulus, and on occasion the physical settings, for markets. This was but one physical manifestation of the seigneurial interest in the commercialisation of the countryside that was such a driving force behind the growth of new towns from the late eleventh century. While the marked absence of market charters in the eleventh and twelfth centuries means that the dates when these early markets were established and the ways in which they functioned remain obscure, Domesday Book contains a number of tantalising references to early associations between castles and markets[28]. Perhaps most remarkably, the Exon Domesday tells us that the Count of Mortain had taken control of an earlier market under the control of the canons of St Stephens-by-Launceston and transplanted it into his castle of *Dunheved* on the opposite bank of the River Kensey [29]. This new seigneurial market rapidly superseded the Saxon centre as the commercial focus of the locality, adopting its name and becoming the nucleus around which the walled town of Launceston developed (Fig. 4). Another instructive example of a new commercial focus twinned with a late-eleventh-century castle is Tickhill (South Yorkshire), where the 31 burgesses recorded in Domesday formed the basis of a new market-based nucleation at the castle gate which rapidly eclipsed and replaced the nearby pre-Conquest settlement of *Dadsley*[30]. Essentially similar documented examples include Trematon (Cornwall), Eye (Suffolk) and Beaudesert (Warwickshire), where eleventh- and twelfth-century markets were again held within castles, presumably inside baileys[31].

While the original medieval form of such features have usually been obscured by infilling, sufficient topographical

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21. SHOESMITH, 1992, 204-6.
22. POUNDS, 1991.
23. MORRIS, 1989, 250-6; CREIGHTON, 2002, 116-21.
24. DRAGE, 1987; POUNDS 1991, 207.
25. STOCKER & VINCE, 1997, 223-4.
26. SHEPHERD, 1997, 187.

27. BROOKS, 1965-66.
28. HARFIELD, 1991.
29. BERESFORD, 1967, 405.
30. MAGILTON, 1971-77, 344-6.
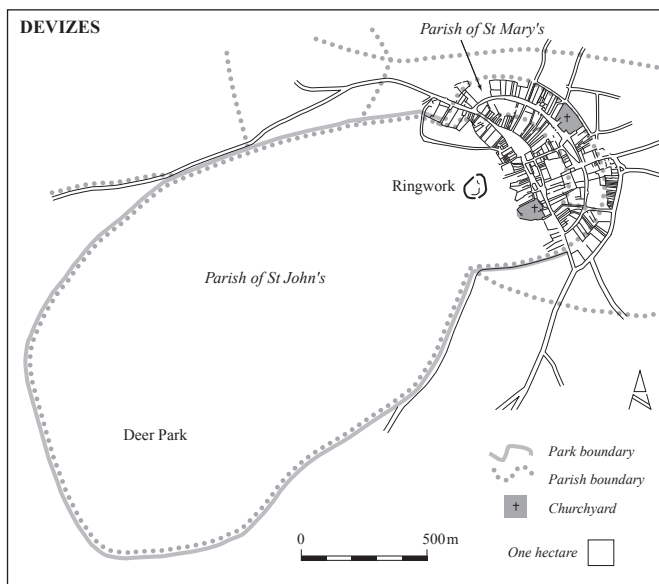31. BRITNELL, 1996, 16, 21.

Fig. 5 : The medieval topography of Devizes (Wiltshire), showing the location of a Norman ringwork between a deer park and planned borough. Note how the street curving pattern of the medieval town appears to fossilise the plan of a large outer bailey or settlement enclosure.

evidence survives in town-plans to show that many market places were located immediately beyond the confines of baileys, sometimes with the defensive perimeter defining one side of the space. Common forms included square or compact rectangular examples (e.g. Castleton, Derbyshire; Corfe, Dorset), elongated rectangular forms (e.g. Ludlow, Shropshire; Skipton, North Yorkshire), and triangular market places (e.g. Banbury, Oxfordshire; Week St Mary, Cornwall). In many cases an axial arrangement of castle, market place and ecclesiastical site can also be observed. Less common are castle-gate market places with curved profiles, as at Barnard Castle (Co. Durham), Brinklow (Warwickshire), Richmond (North Yorkshire) and Devizes (Wiltshire). This final category, of castles associated with crescentic or horseshoe-shaped market places forming the commercial nuclei of Norman boroughs, are particularly interesting in that most seem to fossilise the perimeters of baileys or outer baileys. The clearest evidence of this sort is the Wiltshire market town of Devizes, where two concentric lines of streets curve around the market place established at the foot of a ringwork castle (Fig. 5). It is unclear whether this is the product of secondary inward colonisation of a large outer bailey, or expansion from an initial enclosed core, although in either case the crescentic plan indicates the enduring topographical influence of the bailey on urban form[32]. Other town plans certainly suggest that early urban nuclei adjacent to castles could be contained within large appending enclosures. Recognised examples of towns with suggestive semi-circular plans include Richmond (North Yorkshire), Tonbridge (Kent), Launceston

(Cornwall) and Trowbridge (Wiltshire) [33]. In cases such as Bridgnorth (Warwickshire), such an initial castle-dependent unit might be added to through the subsequent planning of urban extensions, but still be identifiable in the composite plan as the seminal settlement focus[34].

Notably, while some of these seigneurial nucleations of the eleventh and twelfth centuries could later develop on economic trajectories independent of the castle nucleus, others did not flourish into fully-fledged towns with a full range of urban privileges and complex plan-forms. In addition to the 'deserted' castle-dependent boroughs already mentioned, we should also recognise others that survive in contracted form. The settlement of Pleshey (Essex) deserves mention in this context, its shrunken status preserving the substantial remains of a semi-circular embankment enclosing the skeleton of a planted settlement with a curved street pattern concentric with the earthwork and attached to a motte and bailey. The unusual place-name of Norman-French derivation (from *le plessis* meaning 'enclosure formed by interlaced fencing') seems to be a topographical reference to this feature[35]. While the site has no formal borough charter, burgesses and market stalls are mentioned in 1336[36]. This site, along with several others, prompts an important question: were these enclosures, defended using earth and timber technologies, strictly outer baileys or rather communal urban or proto-urban defences? The range of examples examined here indicates that clearly there was no rigid division between the two.

Topographical evidence can also be traced for enclosed castle-dependent settlement units that were not recognised as boroughs and have no evidence of urban or marketing functions[37]. Fig. 6 depicts the plans of a selection of fortified village enclosures associated with Norman castles, giving a good representative impression of their sizes and spatial relationship between the castle and outer unit. Sometimes confusingly labelled as *burgus* enclosures, these sites reflect the physical containment of rural communities as dependencies of castles, a notable characteristic being that in many cases the plans of the enclosures mirror, and are very closely integrated with, the defences of the castle. Usually, therefore, we can assume that these sites indicate that a secondary settlement unit has been appended to a primary castle, or that they were planned more or less contemporaneously. It should also be noted that fortified villages unattached to castles are virtually unknown in the British landscape; an exceptional anomaly is the embanked settlement of Wellow (Nottinghamshire), the product of Cistercian land clearance[38]. This reminds us that seigneurial initiative was the driving force behind the enclosure of such settlements.

32. BUTLER, 1976, 45; HASLAM, 1976, 19.

33. ASTON & BOND, 2000, 87.
34. LILLEY, 2002, 140-2.
35. REANEY, 1935, 488-9; WILLIAMS, 1977.
36. BERESFORD & FINBERG, 1971, 110.
37. BERESFORD & FINBERG, 1971. It should be noted that while there was a medieval borough at Skelton, this was located beyond the castle defences in the vicinity of the present village.
38. BARLEY, 1957.

ONGAR, ESSEX

CASTLE ACRE, NORFOLK

MOUNT BURES, ESSEX

WYMONDLEY, HERTFORDSHIRE

ANSTEY, HERTFORDSHIRE

SKELTON, CLEVELAND

MEPPERSHALL, BEDFORDSHIRE
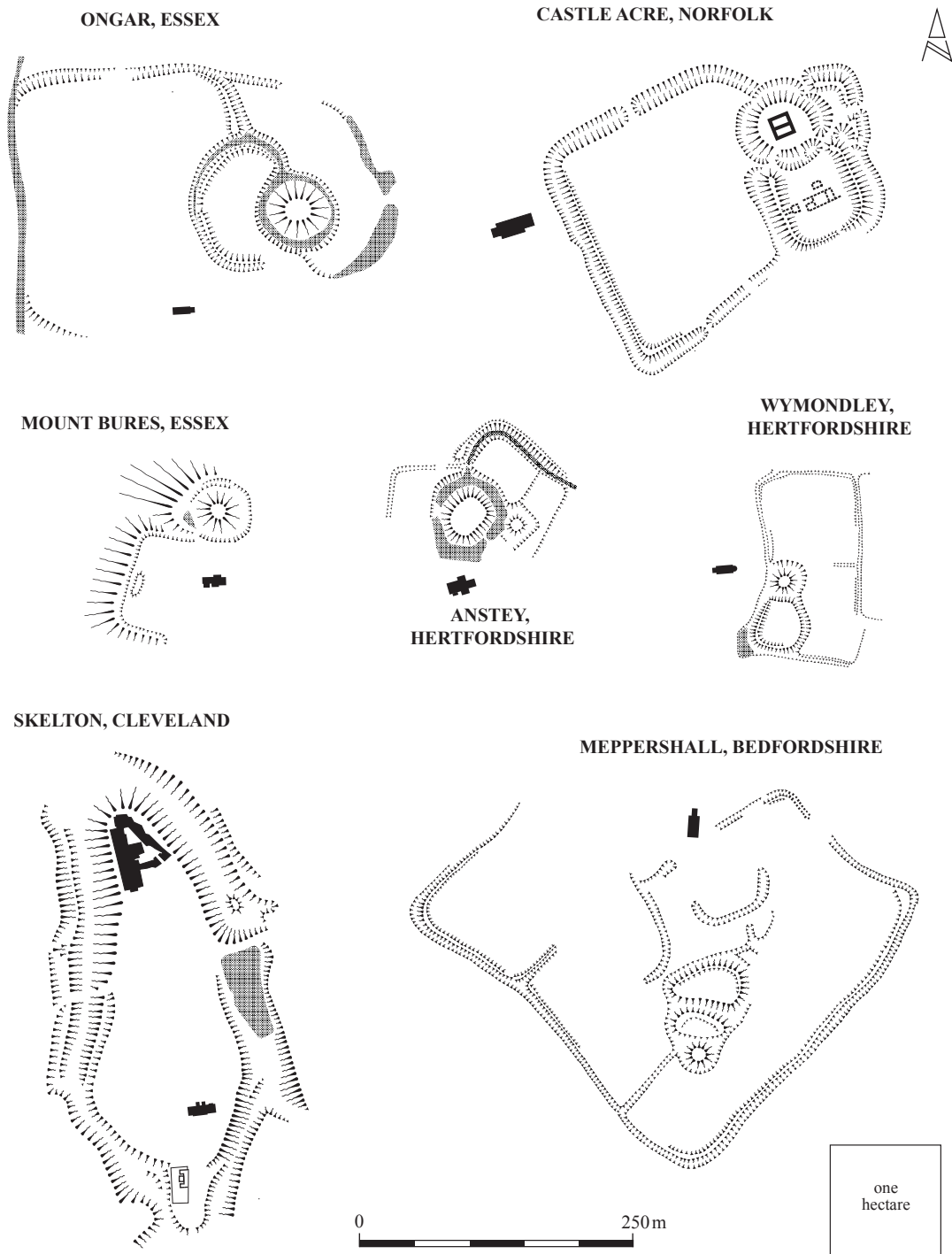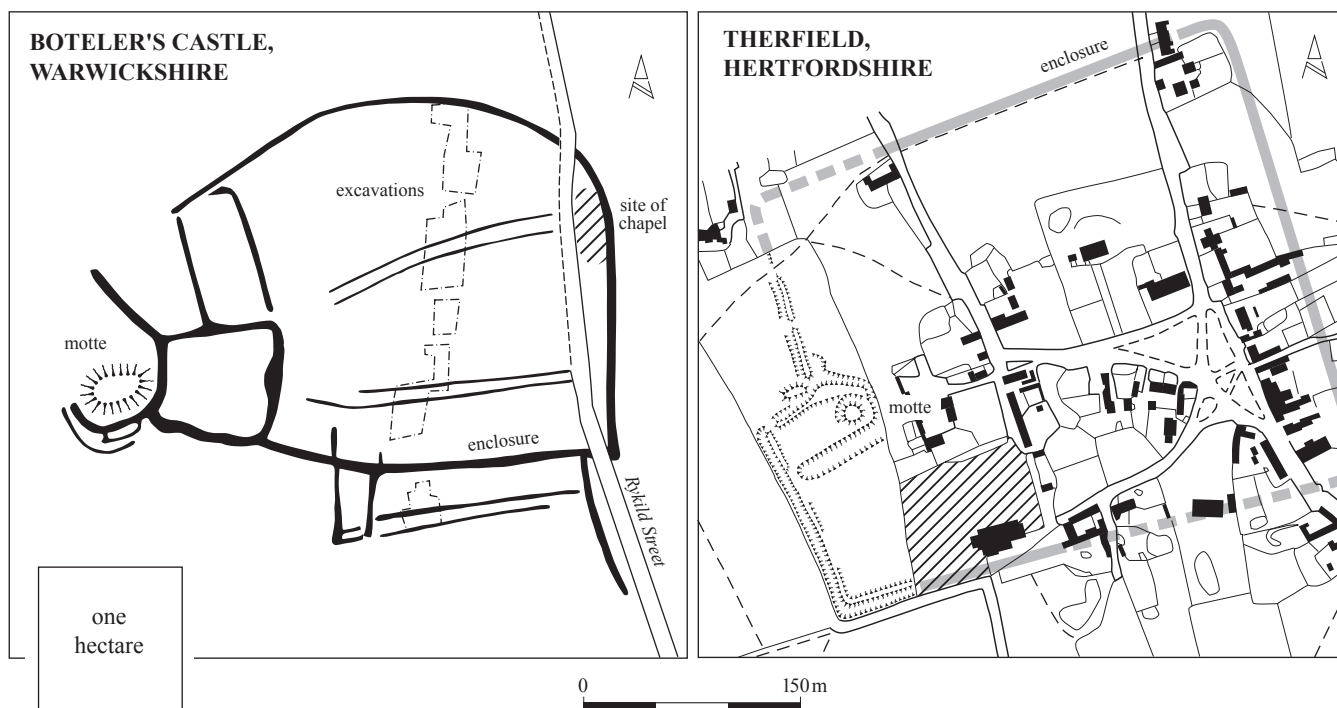
0   250 m

one hectare

Fig. 6 : Comparative plans of eleventh- and twelfth-century castles associated with embanked settlement enclosures. Note physical relationship between the plans of the castles and enclosures, and the positions of parish churches.

*Fig. 7 : Two examples of twelfth-century motte and bailey castles associated with small fortified communities.
At Boteler's Castle the settlement and castle appear to be contemporary; at Therfield the castle and village enclosure
were added to defend an extant community.*

In many other cases physical vestiges of such enclosures will have been entirely eradicated. This certainly seems to have been the case at Middleton Stoney (Oxfordshire), where the earliest surviving map of the parish (1710) depicts a large semi-circular enclosure appended to the castle and subdivided into a series of long plots, although no physical evidence survives[39].

A final brief comparison between two contrasting examples of Norman castles with attached fortified villages that have, unusually, been subject of to limited archaeological excavation allows many of these issues to be explored in further detail (Fig. 7).

The earthworks of a small motte and bailey castle at Therfield (Hertfordshire) were partially excavated in 1958 in advance of proposed clearance; sections through the motte and bailey defences revealed the site to have been unfinished prior to an episode of slighting, the most likely period of construction being 1143-4, when the area was ravaged by Geoffrey de Mandeville and the Abbot of Ramsey or a tenant seems to have ordered the site to be built as an act of property protection[40]. Notably, the excavations showed the palisaded and ditched bailey defences to be contemporary with, and linked directly to, a much larger embanked and ditched enclosure. While this earthwork does not describe a complete circuit, the surviving vestiges, along with the alignment of property boundaries,

imply that this was a rectangular feature embracing (or intended to embrace in its final form) the entire village. The relationship between the village plan (based around a green) and the enclosure, combined with the unfinished nature of the motte and bailey would seem to imply that these features were, exceptionally, added to an extant nucleation. That a castle and enclosure were explicitly erected for property protection seems, of course, rather at odds with the accepted notion that castles were principally a form of private defence, again highlighting the somewhat hazy distinction between outer baileys and more extensive enclosures containing entire nucleated communities.

The little-known site of Boteler's Castle (Warwickshire) was partially excavated in 1992-93, when a transect was opened through a series of outworks in advance of road-building[41]. This clarified the plan of a semi-circular fortified precinct of approximately five hectares appended to the motte and bailey. A small settlement, contemporary with the castle, occupied this enclosure, being planned when the site was originally built by the Boteler family in the early twelfth century but deserted, along with the seigneurial site, by c 1225. The fact that this settlement had been hitherto unrecognised again reminds us that we might underestimate the numbers of such settlement enclosures in the landscape. While there is absolutely no documentary evidence of a community of any sort, let alone a town, at the site, it is highly significant that,

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39. RAHTZ & ROWLEY, 1984, 13.
40. BIDDLE, 1964.

41. JONES *et al.,* 1997.

taking the archaeological evidence at face value, this seems to have been more than a primarily agricultural community. Open area excavation of some 50% of this enclosure demonstrated a remarkably regular ladder-type settlement plan, while there is much in the character of the finds assemblage and environmental evidence to demonstrate the existence of a small-scale 'consumer' community with evidence of small-scale industry and a higher level of material wealth than could be anticipated on contemporary rural sites. Also significant is the location of the site across a former Roman road, implying that it was positioned with an eye to control (or exploit) the movement of traffic. While this was not a town, it is not inconceivable that it is the type of early seigneurial nucleation with commercial potential that could, under different circumstances, have developed into one.

It has been demonstrated that many baileys and outer baileys used and structured space in quite sophisticated ways, for instance through the planning of associated settlements and the enclosure of ecclesiastical sites. To date, studies of domestic planning and the usage and manipulation of space within castles have focused largely on the interiors of substantially surviving masonry buildings. It is also important to consider, of course, how the formats, planning and physical appearance of baileys and associated features must have impacted on how high-status sites was accessed and experienced. This paper has also underlined the immense, but as yet largely untapped, scope for research collaboration between castle specialists, landscape archaeologists and settlement historians. Yet many fundamental questions remain concerning the social and economic functions and the spatial organisation of baileys and outer baileys. If our sample of adequately excavated baileys is small and almost certainly non-representative, then our sample of excavated outer baileys and wards is smaller still. What is sure, however, is that their investigation, through excavation or non-intrusive means, has much to tell us about not only the physical appearance of castles, but also the interplay between lordship and the landscape.

In a variety of ways, baileys and outer baileys acted as zones of interface between castles and wider hinterlands beyond – transitional spaces between the communal and private spheres. In many cases it is not unambiguously clear from available topographical evidence what exactly constituted the limits of a castle site, and quite often, the boundary between castle baileys, outer baileys and settlement enclosures seems rather hazy. These observations raise the intriguing question of whether the many baileys and outer baileys containing dependent settlements actually constituted 'private' or 'public/communal' defence. At what level did the community of the bailey outer bailey reach a sufficient level of social and economic complexity that it constituted a settlement in its own right? These distinctions are further blurred by the occasional functions of some baileys as communal refuges. In this context, the distinction between 'private' and 'public' defence distinction may be of more importance to modern historians and archaeologists than actually representing the reality of medieval traditions of fortification. Somewhere along the continuum between bailey defences on the one hand, and town defences on the other, lies a point at which fortification served both private and communal needs. Another distinction breaks down is that between 'urban' and 'rural settlements', as it becomes clear that many settlements associated with castles, especially in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, do not fit neatly into either category, but represent a peculiar type of seigneurially focused nucleation symbiotically linked to the workings of the castle. In order that these possibilities might be given adequate consideration, it is crucial that we look not only at baileys and their interrelationships with 'core' features of castles, but also at their interface with communities and the wider landscape beyond.

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RÉSUMÉ, ABSTRACT, ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

« Le riche dans son château, le pauvre à sa porte » : basses-cours de châteaux et types d'habitat dans l'Angleterre normande

On oublie souvent que les châteaux en Angleterre étaient implantés au cœur des villages médiévaux et que leur présence provoquait souvent des changements dans l'habitat, en particulier aux XIᵉ et XIIᵉ siècles. Dans le paysage rural, de nombreux châteaux formaient des centres manoriaux au sein des villages et il n'était pas rare que les églises paroissiales soient situées à l'intérieur des basses-cours ou que des villages entiers soient construits ou reconstruits autour de châteaux. Il existe aussi de bonnes preuves de l'emplacement de communautés rurales à l'intérieur des défenses extérieures des châteaux. Dans le paysage urbain aussi, les basses-cours pouvaient constituer un pôle d'attraction et susciter l'implantation de marchés et le développement des villes. Pourtant, la construction ou l'extension des basses-cours pouvait aussi parfois avoir un impact négatif sur les communautés, dans la mesure où elles empiétaient sur celles-ci, et aboutir au déplacement ou à la reconstruction de villes ou de villages. Cet article met l'accent sur le rôle des seigneurs châtelains dans l'aménagement de l'habitat et attire l'attention sur l'importance des basses-cours comme points de contact entre châteaux, communautés et arrière-pays plus vastes.

'The Rich Man in His Castle, The Poor Man at His Gate' : Castle Baileys and Settlement Patterns in Norman England

It is often overlooked that the castles of England were embedded within medieval settlement patterns and that their presence frequently stimulated settlement change, especially in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the rural landscape, many castles formed manorial cores within villages, and it was not uncommon for parish churches to be embraced within baileys or for entire settlements to be planned or re-planned around castles. There is also good evidence for the containment of rural communities within the outer defences of castles. On the urban scene too, baileys could form focal points for the establishment of markets and the growth of towns. Yet the construction or extension of baileys could also, on occasion, have a disruptive impact on communities, encroaching upon and sometimes resulting in the displacement or re-planning of towns and villages. Throughout, this paper emphasises the role of castle lords in settlement planning, and draws attention to the importance of baileys as points of contact between castles, communities and wider hinterlands.

« Der Reiche in seiner Burg, der Arme an ihrem Tor » : Vorburgen und Siedlungstypen in normannischem England

Es wird oft übersehen, dass Burgen in England inmitten mittelalterlicher Dörfer standen und dass ihre Präsenz besonders im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert oft Siedlungsänderungen herbeiführte. Auf dem Lande bildeten zahlreiche Burgen Landsitze innerhalb der Dörfer und nicht selten waren Pfarrkirchen innerhalb der Vorburgen eingeschlossen oder wurden ganze Dörfer um Burgen herum gebaut oder wiedergebaut. Es gibt Beweise, dass sich ländliche Gemeinschaften innerhalb der äusseren Burgverteidigungen

befanden. Auch in der städtlichen Umgebung konnten Vorburgen ein Anziehungspunkt sein und die Marktgründung und Stadtentwicklung fördern. Doch konnte das Bauen oder Ausbauen von Vorburgen negativ auf die Gemeinschaften wirken, da diese in deren Land vordrangen, und zur Versetzung oder zum Wiederbauen von Städten und Dörfern führen. Dieser Artikel betont die Rolle der Burgherren in der Siedlungsplanung und unterstreicht die Bedeutung der Vorburgen als Kontaktpunkte zwischen den Burgen, den Gemeinschaften und dem weiteren Hinterland.