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on which the Curator remarked that down to the 11th century the figure of Christ was always represented as alive, the eyes being set with precious stones; but at the end of the 12th a change occurred—the figure being represented as dead—the suffering depicted by the contortions of the body.

(9) A Tibetan cloak-fastener, and a strike-a-light. It is a curious fact that similar cloak-fasteners, but of different dates, are found all over the country in England.

(10) An Indian libation-spoon and an elaborate cover for the horn of a sacred cow.

Thursday, 16 November, 1905.

The Reverend the President in the Chair.

Professor Sir R. S. BALL gave a lecture (copiously illustrated by lantern slides) on Irish scenery and antiquities visited during the cruise of the Commissioners of Northern Lights in June, 1905.

Monday, 20 November, 1905.

The Reverend the President in the Chair.

ROBERT ALEXANDER STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., of S. John's College, gave a lecture on recent excavations made at Gezer in Palestine in connection with the Palestine Exploration Fund.

Monday, 27 November, 1905.

The Reverend the President in the Chair.

WILLIAM HENRY ST JOHN HOPE, M.A., Peterhouse, read the following paper:

ON THE NORMAN ORIGIN OF CAMBRIDGE CASTLE.

One of the greatest difficulties that confronts the working archæologist in the field is the dating of those relics of the past which are so abundantly scattered over the land and are collectively known as earthworks.

More wild and useless speculation has been spent upon them than on any other antiquarian subject, except perhaps that which deals with the routes of the Roman roads, and Lt.-General Pitt Rivers was quite right in arguing that the only sure test of the age of any earthwork was the result obtained by careful excavation. The names by which they are known are often quite misleading, and give no clue to their real age, as was shown when the "Danes' Camp" at Hunsbury proved on excavation to be a work of the Late Keltic period, and "Cæsar's Camp" above Folkestone to be later than the Norman Conquest.

In default of excavations, which are not always feasible, some idea of the age of an earthwork may often be arrived at by the comparative method. This consists in first classifying the recognized types of earthworks, and then comparing such as are of unknown date and origin with others whose history can be fairly well established through documents or excavation.

During the last few years efforts have been made to place the study of English earthworks on a more secure basis, and a small and influential Committee has been working slowly and I hope surely towards that end. A rough classification of the various types of earthworks has been drawn up and widely circulated, and an increasing band of workers has volunteered to take in hand the important preliminary work of scheduling and systematically examining and planning by counties or districts every known example.

The subject of earthworks is not one that arouses anything like the interest it deserves, notwithstanding its important bearing on so many points connected with the early history of Britain, and I do not intend to offer any more remarks on the subject in general.

There is, however, one group of earthworks to which I shall venture to call special attention.

This is the group which is described in the Committee's classification as including

> "Fortified mounts, either artificial or partly natural, with traces of an attached court or bailey, or of two or more such courts."

Now this type of fortress forms the basis of a very large proportion of the principal castles in this country, and to it there attaches one great advantage over every other group of defensive earthworks, that it is possible to connect a fair number of them with documentary evidence of their origin and date. The Castle Hill at Cambridge, before its appended bailey or baileys were transformed in 1643, must have been a good and typical example of this particular class.

The Castle Hill at Cambridge has already been the subject of a communication to this Society, in January, 1893, by my friend Professor Hughes, who has described in a very clear way the natural and artificial features of the site, the discoveries that have been made upon and about it, and the various views as to its age and origin. His own view, as therein laid down, is that "there is no evidence of a British camp, or even of any British settlement, nor are the outer earthworks those of a Roman camp." But in accordance with the then accepted theory, he thinks we have here an example of what the late Mr G. T. Clark called a *burh*, which gave place later to a Norman castle.

At the date of Professor Hughes's paper, Mr G. T. Clark was the recognized authority on English castles, and his two volumes of collected papers, entitled *Medieval Military Architecture in England*, are, and will probably for some time continue to be, the standard work on the subject.

One of the theories enunciated by Mr Clark, and maintained by him to the last, relates to the particular group of earthworks to which I have called attention. In a paper communicated to the *Archæological Journal* for 1889 he writes:

> Their chief and most striking characteristic is a circular mound, table-topped, and surrounded by a deep and broad ditch, out of which, where the mound is wholly artificial, it has been formed.
>
> Appended to the mound, outside of, or beyond its ditch, are one or two enclosures, abutting upon the ditch of the mound, and contained within banks of earth, defended by an extensive ditch, communicating with the ditch of the mound.....
>
> An earthwork of this description is what is described in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as a Burh, and when we read that Edward or Ethelflede

wrought or Getymbred a Burh, this is what we may expect to find, unless the works have been levelled or encroached upon, as is often the case[1].

In his work above referred to, which was published in 1884, Mr Clark puts his proposition in another form:

What then is a burh? A burh is a moated mound with a table top, and a base court, also moated, either appended to one side of it or within which it stands. But the burhs the dates of which are on record, and which are thus described, are but a very few of those found all over England, in the lowlands of Scotland, and on the marches bordering on Wales, which from their precise similarity in character to those actually identified, must be assumed to be of like date and origin, and may therefore safely be attributed to the ninth and tenth and possibly to the eighth centuries, and to the English people, that is to the Northern settlers generally, as distinguished from the Britons and the Romans[2].

Mr Clark's definition of a *burh* has been widely accepted, and is still held by those who have not taken the trouble to examine the evidence on which it is based. But it has lately been challenged in several quarters.

In a review of Mr Clark's book in the *Quarterly Review* for July, 1894[3], the authorship of which has since been acknowledged by Mr J. H. Round, he writes:

Rash though it may be to differ on such a point from Mr Clark, we hold it proved that these fortified *mottes* were, at least in some cases, erected in the Conqueror's days; and if this is proved of some, it becomes probable of many[4].

Mr Clark's theory was further discussed in a criticism of Mr D. Christison's "Early Fortifications of Scotland" in the *Scottish Review* for October, 1898[5], by Mr George Neilson, who has shown that the numerous examples in Scotland are confined to those districts which were affected by the Anglo-Norman settlement under David I (1124–52), Malcolm IV (1152–65), and William the Lion (1165–1214).

The whole question has also been still more fully dealt with in a most able paper on "Anglo-Saxon Burhs and Early Norman

[1] *Archæological Journal*, XLVI. (1889), 197, 198.
[2] *Medieval Military Architecture*, I. 23.
[3] No. 357, pp. 27—57.
[4] *Ibid.* 43.
[5] Pp. 209—238.

Castles" in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*[1], by Mrs E. S. Armitage, who maintains that "while the *burhs* of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle are almost always walled towns, the moated hillocks scattered so thickly over England and south-western Scotland are the remains of castles built by Normans[2]." She also points out (p. 276) that in Ireland the moated mount-and-bailey castle is to be found "only in the English pale, that is, in the part of the country conquered by the Normans in the 12th century."

Mr Round has also elaborated his original proposition in a paper communicated to the Society of Antiquaries of London in January, 1902, and printed in the 58th volume of *Archæologia*.

Lastly, I have myself ventured to examine the evidence, that of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, on which Mr Clark relied for the truth of his proposition, in a paper read to the Royal Archæological Institute in July, 1902[3], with results which I will try to summarize as briefly as possible.

In recording events that took place after the first landing of the Danes in England in 787, the Chronicle mentions three classes of defensive works:

(1) the "geweorcs" and fastnesses thrown up, for the most part by the Danes, during the second half of the 9th century;

(2) the "burhs" or "burgs" built or wrought by the English during the first quarter of the 10th century; and

(3) a new form of fortress, introduced by the Normans, called "castel."

The term "geweorc" is usually applied to the defensive works thrown up by the Danish invaders for their own protection when they found themselves strong enough to winter here, which they did for the first time in 851. A "geweorc" is first mentioned as having been thrown up at Nottingham

[1] Session 1899—1900, xxxiv. 260—268.

[2] *Ibid.* 262.

[3] *Archæological Journal*, lx. 72—90.

when the Danes wintered there in 868, but nothing further is known of it beyond the fact that it was strong enough to sustain successfully a siege by the Mercians and West Saxons. Other "geweorcs" are mentioned as having been "wrought" at Middleton and at Appledore in Kent in 893, and at Benfleet and Shoebury in Essex in 894. At all these places, and at others where the Chronicle says "geweorcs" or fastnesses were wrought either by the Danes or by King Alfred, not a single moated mount can be found, so far as I have been able to learn, and the traces of the works themselves are so indefinite that in many cases their very sites are in dispute. Probably they were nothing more than entrenched and palisaded enclosures for temporary defence, and their disappearance can easily be accounted for.

The first mention of a "burh" is in 886, in which year King Alfred is stated to have restored "Lunden burh," and to have "committed the burh to the keeping of the alderman Æthered." Exeter too is described as a burh in 894. A charter of Ethelred, Duke of Mercia, between 873 and 899, quoted by Kemble[1], thus refers to the burh at Worcester: "...for ðæs lufan æt ærestan Æðelred ealdorman and Æðelflæd and for sancte Petres and ðære cyricean æt Weogernaceastre, and eac for Wærferðes bisceopes béne heora freondes, hehtan bewyrcean ða burh æt Weogernaceastre eallum ðæm folc to gebeorge, and eac ðæron Godes lof to arærenne." It is clear from the rest of the charter that the burh was a walled town, and not a castle or fortress. The Norman castle at Worcester was outside the Saxon burh.

In the account of the harrying of the Danes by King Edward the Elder and his sister Ethelfleda a number of burhs are recorded as having being builded or wrought in Mercia and East Anglia between 910 and 925.

Of ten burhs accredited to Ethelfleda before her death in 918, four have not been identified, at four more there is neither record nor trace of a moated mount, while the mounts at Tamworth and Warwick are both sites of Norman castles.

[1] *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, v. 142. No. MLXXV.

At Derby, where Ethelfleda acquired the burh in 917, and the gates of which are mentioned, there is no mount, and although the walled burh at Leicester which submitted to her in 918 contains a mount, that too is the site of a Norman castle.

Of Edward's burhs there is also no mount at Witham, Maldon, or Thelwall. A work at Bakewell, which is thought to be his burh, has within it a small mound near one end, but it is not moated, and does not conform even to Mr Clark's definition.

There are five places at which Edward is stated to have wrought two burhs, viz. Hertford, Buckingham, Bedford, Stamford, and Nottingham, and according to Mr Clark there ought to be two moated mounts at each. Concerning those at Hertford he writes: "One is gone, but the other remains, and on it was the shell keep of the Castle of de Valognes." Of Buckingham he writes: "The two moated mounts thrown up in 918 are gone, and the present church stands on the site of one of them. The other was probably occupied by the keep of Earl Gifford's castle." Of two mounds at Bedford, which he describes, without any authority, as being "mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle," he says one "has been lowered and surrounded by earth-banks," and "the second mound on the right bank of the Ouse has long been removed." With regard to the two burhs at Stamford he writes: "One was connected with the later castle, now swept away," and of those at Nottingham he has also to admit: "Both are now gone."

So that out of ten possible mounts, eight, on Mr Clark's own showing, are non-existent; and the other two are the sites of Norman castles.

It will be seen then that the Chronicle, to which Mr Clark appeals as his authority, does not actually help him. It does not contain a single passage to show that a mount formed part of any burh, or was thrown up within one. On the other hand it contains abundant evidence that a burh was actually a fortified town. London and Exeter, the two earliest burhs mentioned, were both towns, as was the burg of Colchester, which was then enclosed, like London, by its Roman wall.

There is of course no mount at any one of them. The Chronicle, or at any rate one copy of it, also contains a pretty testimony as to the meaning of the word *burh*, when recording that Kenulf, who was abbot of Peterborough from 993 to 1006, "first made the walls about that monastery and then gave it for name Burch that was before called Medehamstede."

The reasons why burhs were wrought and their sites selected by Edward and Ethelfleda, I have already discussed in the paper above noted; we may therefore for the present take leave of Mr Clark's theory, which has clearly no basis outside his own imagination. Mrs Armitage has pertinently remarked that "it is strange that Mr Clark was never challenged to produce a single instance from Anglo-Saxon literature where the word *burh* was clearly used in this sense," viz. of a moated mount. For my own part, I am also awaiting historical proof of the throwing up of any one of these earthworks before the reign of Edward the Confessor.

We may now pass on to the third class of fortress mentioned in the Chronicle, the "castels" of the Norman period.

A "castel" is first mentioned in 1048:

> Then had the Welshmen wrought a castle in Herefordshire among Earl Swegen's followers, and wrought every harm and insult to the King's men thereabout that they could;

and the surrender of this castle and of the Frenchmen who were in it was among the things demanded by Earl Godwin in 1052. It will be noticed that both word and thing are new.

When Godwin returned from banishment in 1052 the Chronicle states that Archbishop Robert and the Frenchmen, i.e. the Normans, who had caused the discord between the Earl and the King,

> took their horses and went, some west to Pentecost's Castle, some north to Robert's Castle.

Mr Round has identified the castle in the west with the castle of Osbern surnamed Pentecost at Ewias Harold, which is therefore probably the Herefordshire castle mentioned in 1048. The castle to the north, that is of London, he suggests was that of Robert son of Wimarc, at Clavering in Essex. Both at Ewias

Harold and Clavering the chief feature of the castle is a moated mount, though of different forms.

Concerning the only other castle mentioned in the Chronicle, the "castel æt Haestinga port," said to have been wrought by Duke William of Normandy on his landing in England in 1066, there can be no doubt, since the Bayeux Stitchwork actually depicts the throwing up of the still existing mount at Hastings, with the accompanying inscription:

ISTE IVSSIT VT FODERETVR CASTELLUM AT HESTENGA CEASTRA[1].

Lastly the Chronicle tells us that when William, now King of the English, went over sea to Normandy early in 1067, his regents,

Bishop Odo and Earl William remained here behind, and wrought castles widely throughout the nation and oppressed poor folk; and ever after that it grew greatly in evil.

Now it is clear from the language of the Chronicle that these castles were new things, and that they were offensive and defensive works distinct from a town; they were also the strongholds of individuals, and not of a community. They had therefore nothing in common with burh, burg, borough, or town.

They were also certainly not numerous, for Orderic, in describing the general insurrection that took place in 1068, especially in the Welsh marches and in Northumbria, says that

the fortresses which the French call Castles have been very few in the English provinces, and on this account the English, although they were warlike and bold, were notwithstanding too feeble to resist their foes.

Such as existed, like Pentecost's Castle and Robert's Castle, were most probably the work of Norman favourites of King Edward the Confessor.

We may now pass on to discuss what were these castles, why and by whom were they raised, and in what did they differ from the fortresses of earlier date.

[1] The Stitchwork also gives graphic pictures of the moated mounts of the castles of Dol, Rennes, and Dinan, all in Brittany, and of that at Bayeux itself.

According to William of Jumièges the establishment of these castles originated with King William himself, who, he says,

> guided by the prudence which he knew how to be mindful of in everything pertaining to a king, visited with extreme care the least fortified parts of his kingdom, and to repulse the attacks of enemies, established very strong castles in suitable positions, which he fortified with the best of his soldiers and plenty of pay.

This systematic building of castles was begun by the King directly after his coronation, when, as Orderic tells us, he left London for a few days and abode at Barking, while certain strongholds (*firmamenta quaedam*) were being raised within the City of London. These strongholds were clearly the Baynards Castle and the Tower of London of later days, and were placed one at either end of the City, on the bank of the river, "contra mobilitatem ingentis ac feri populi," says Orderic.

Early in 1067 King William made the progress through parts of his kingdom referred to by William of Jumièges. He also built a strong citadel within the walls of Winchester and committed it to the care of William FitzOsbern, whom he had made Earl of Hereford. The Castle of Dover was entrusted to his half-brother Odo, bishop of Bayeux, who was made Earl of Kent.

During the King's absence in Normandy, these two Earls were appointed regents.

On William's return from Normandy in December, 1067, his first act was to march against Exeter, where, having captured the city and suppressed the rebellion, he "chose a place within the walls for rearing a castle." Whilst the work was in progress he continued his march into Cornwall, and so completed the subjugation of the west country.

Early in 1068, while on his way to York to crush another revolt, King William raised castles at Warwick and Nottingham, and following the surrender of York he "built a fortress in the city itself which he handed over to picked knights to guard." On his way south, William also raised castles at Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Cambridge.

In 1069 another revolt occurred in the North, and the

King's castle at York was besieged by the rebels. The King promptly marched to the rescue of his castellan, and having raised the siege, stayed eight days in the city while a second castle was wrought there, which he entrusted to William FitzOsbern. The mounts of both these castles exist: the one as the base of the later structure known as Clifford's Tower; the other, which confronts it on the opposite bank of the Ouse, being the lesser known Bail Hill.

Later in the year the English of the North were again in rebellion, and aided by the Danes once more attacked York and demolished the castles[1]. The King for the second time relieved the place, and leaving there a strong garrison to restore the castles, laid waste the whole country from the Humber to the Tweed. Orderic says that "his castles were scattered over a space of 100 miles," from which we may infer that strong fortresses were left to ensure good order for the future.

From York William set out for Chester, and having crushed another rising in those parts, built a castle at Chester itself, and another at Stafford on his way southwards.

These several statements from Orderic, William of Jumièges, and the Chronicle, as to the building of numerous fortresses by or under the Conqueror, are fully confirmed by the Domesday Survey, which, although it says nothing about many that were certainly in existence, refers directly or indirectly to some fifty English and Welsh castles, and in many cases in terms which show they were new.

Concerning those that were in the King's hands we read of eight *hagæ* being destroyed *pro castello* at Wallingford; of the destruction of 27 houses at Cambridge *pro castro*, and of 16 at Gloucester *ubi sedet castellum*. At Huntingdon there used to be 20 dwellings *in loco castri* and *ubi castrum est*; and at Lincoln no fewer than 166 houses were done away with *propter castellum*, which is unusually large. At Stamford five dwellings had become waste or untenanted *propter opus castelli*, and four at Warwick *propter situm castelli*. All these removals of houses

[1] This involved probably merely the destruction by fire of the wooden defences cresting the earthworks, which were quite easily replaced by King William.

clearly point to new castles. In the manor of Kingston, co. Dorset, the King had a hide of land *in qua fecit castellum Warham*, better known to us as the mighty stronghold of Corfe. At Rockingham certain land was waste *quando rex W. jussit ibi castellum fieri*; and at Stafford there was a piece of land in the manor of Chebsey *in qua rex praecepit fieri castellum, quod modo est destructum*[1], adds the Survey. The royal castles of Windsor and Carisbrooke are also described in terms that imply they were new.

Of castles held of the King by tenants-in-chief the Survey says that Earl Roger *construxit castrum Muntgumeri vocatum*, and that at Oswestry, under the same Earl, *ibi fecit Rainald castellum Luure*. The Survey of Cheshire states that at Rhuddlan in Flintshire a sub-tenant of Earl Hugh *in ipso manerio Roeland est factum noviter castellum similiter Roelent appellatum*. At Rayleigh in Essex *in hoc manerio fecit Suenus suum castellum*, and the Suffolk Survey states that William Malet *fecit suum castellum ad Eiam* (Eye). In the land of Roger of Poitou between the Ribble and the Mersey *Rex E(dwardus) tenuit Peneverdant* (i.e. Penwortham, opposite Preston)...*Modo est ibi castellum.*

With the building of five castles the name of the Earl of Hereford, William FitzOsbern, is associated, and since he died abroad in 1072 they can be approximately dated:

(i) "Radulphus de Todeni tenet castellum de Clifford. Willelmus comes fecit illud in wasta terra quam tenebat Bruning T. R. E.;"

(ii) "Castellum de Estrighoiel," that is, the castle known to us as Chepstow, "fecit Willelmus comes;"

(iii) "In Nesse sunt quinque hidae pertinentes ad Berchelai quas Willelmus comes misit extra ad faciendum unum castellulum," no doubt that at Berkeley itself;

(iv) of the castle of Wigmore, in Herefordshire, then held by Ralph de Mortimer, we read that "Willel-

[1] Probably by the dismantling of the timber defences, since the earthworks still remain.

mus comes fecit illud in wasta terra quae vocatur Merestun;" and

(v) concerning the "Castellum Ewias" the Survey says "Willelmus comes ... qui hoc castellum refirmaverat."

This last entry is of particular interest since, as Mr Round has pointed out, it refers to the rebuilding of the castle of Osbern surnamed Pentecost, at Ewias Harold in Herefordshire, mentioned in the Chronicle in 1048 and 1052; it is also the only castle which is said to have been rebuilt[1].

Lastly, there is the complaint of the English burghers of Shrewsbury that they are still called upon to pay all the geld which they did in King Edward's days, *quamvis castellum comitis occupaverit quinquaginta et unum masuras et aliae quinquaginta masurae sunt vastae*; the said houses being obviously displaced for the throwing up of the mount-and-bailey castle. This castle of Shrewsbury was in existence in 1069, when Orderic calls it *praesidium regis.*

Besides the castles already named as specially recorded in the Domesday Survey, or by contemporary writers like Orderic, as having been raised by the King or his tenants-in-chief, there are many other important examples which, from their nature and position, must be assigned to the same time and be regarded as forming part of the same great offensive and defensive scheme.

Not a few of these are also mentioned in the Survey, including Monmouth, Canterbury, and Norwich, all royal castles; Launceston and Trematon in Cornwall; Okehampton in Devonshire; Dunster and Montacute in Somerset; the castle of the Peak in Derbyshire; Rochester in Kent; Caerleon in Monmouthshire; Richard's Castle in Herefordshire; Arundel, Hastings, Lewes, and Bramber, all in Sussex; Dudley in Worcestershire; and the Yorkshire examples of Ilbert's Castle at Pontefract, Earl Alan's at Richmond, and Roger's Castle at Clitheroe (now in Lancashire). The Survey also mentions the

[1] The rebuilding probably consisted in nothing more than the renewal of the destroyed wooden defences.

castle at Stanton, Salop, now Stanton Holgate, of Helgot, an under-tenant of Earl Roger of Montgomery.

To these may be added the royal castles of Newcastle on the Tyne, Durham, Worcester, Hereford, Dover, Guildford, Hertford, Southampton, Berkhamstead, Oxford, and perhaps Sarum and Bristol; also Devizes, Tickhill, Tamworth, Thetford, Bungay, Clare, Ongar, Pleshy, Hinckley, Belvoir, Leicester, Reigate, Tonbridge, Sandal, Castleacre, Basing, and Peterborough (Thorold's Mount), Norham, Alnwick, and Warkworth. There are historical or other reasons for including all these among the castles raised during the reign of the Conqueror or his successor.

We have next to consider the nature and character of the castles wherewith the Conqueror so freely and so carefully studded the land.

An examination of their sites shows that in every case, save where the natural strength of the position rendered such unnecessary, the beginning of each stronghold was a formidable defensive earthwork composed of the very same moated conical mount with truncated top and appended courts or baileys which Mr Clark persisted in claiming as the *burh* of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Such mount-and-bailey castles exist or have existed at every one of the castles expressly attributed to King William in the Domesday Survey: at Wallingford, Gloucester, Lincoln, Stamford, Warwick, Corfe, Rockingham, the castle by Stafford, at Windsor, and at Carisbrooke; as well as at York, Nottingham, Huntingdon, and Chester; also at Montgomery, Oswestry, Rhuddlan, Rayleigh, Eye, Penwortham, Clifford, Berkeley, and Wigmore; likewise at Shrewsbury, Monmouth, Canterbury, Norwich, Launceston, Trematon, Okehampton, Caerleon, Arundel, Hastings, Lewes, Dudley, Pontefract, Clitheroe, Stanton Holgate, and Richard's Castle, Norham, Alnwick, Warkworth, Newcastle, Durham, Worcester, (destroyed c. 1840), Hereford (destroyed 18), Guildford, Hertford, Southampton, Berkhamstead, Oxford, Sarum, Devizes, Tickhill, Thetford, Bungay, Clare, Pleshy, Hinckley, Leicester, Tamworth, Reigate, Tonbridge, Sandal, Castleacre, Ely, and Peterborough.

Now there is one noteworthy fact about these moated mounts which has not sufficiently been borne in mind, and that is their distribution over the whole country. Even Mr Clark had to admit, as I have already shown, that those which he thought were the work of Edward the Elder and Ethelfleda "are but a very few of those found all over England, in the lowlands of Scotland, and on the marches bordering on Wales," and he also acknowledges that "from their precise similarity in character to those" described by him they "must be assumed to be of like date and origin."

Granted. But the question next arises, at what period of our history was the whole land, from the Tweed to the Solent, from the North Sea to the Bristol Channel, from the Straits of Dover to the Marches of Wales, ever in the hands of one dominant power? Surely not until Duke William crossed over from Normandy in that fateful year 1066 to begin his conquest of England with the great fight at Battle. Who, too, but he and his Norman lords and their sub-tenants could have thrown up these castles all over the land[1]? And what other purpose could they more aptly fulfil than the holding in check and final subjugation of a hostile population?

Look, too, at their strategical positions. They do not defend, but overawe, the cities and towns in which we find them. They control roads and waterways, like William's two strongholds at York. They watch the passes through the

[1] Castles of the mount-and-bailey type are to be found all over Normandy and other parts of France. A list of 90 *mottes* in France, forming but a proportion of the whole number, is given in a paper on "Les Mottes" by the late M. G. de Mortillet in *Revue Mensuelle de l'École d'Anthropologie de Paris*, 5th year, VIII. (15 August, 1895), 261—283.

More recently, M. Camille Enlart, in his *Manuel d'Archéologie française*: Vol. II. *Architecture civile et militaire* (Paris, 1904), writes: "Les vestiges de châteaux du XI^e^ siècle sont particulièrement nombreux en Normandie....Il est de règle générale que la motte et le donjon sont placés non au centre, mais contre un côté de l'enceinte. Les châteaux que les seigneurs normands élevèrent en Angleterre après la conquête ont reçu les mêmes formes: il faut citer Richard's Castle dont l'enceinte ressemblait à un rectangle à angles arrondis dont la motte du donjon occupait un coin, et Pleshey (Essex) avec une enceinte en forme de croissant contournant un côté de la motte, et un second fossé entourant le tout. Ces châteaux étaient en bois" (p. 501).

mountains and hill-ranges, as we may see along the Welsh border, and in the castles of Lewes and Bramber and Arundel, with their rearguards at Reigate and Guildford and Windsor. They overlook harbours and landing places, and Orderic expressly says that Pevensey and Hastings served at William's first landing as bases for his army and havens for his ships. Look, too, at the remarkable ring that encircles London, namely Rochester, Tonbridge, Reigate, Guildford, Windsor, Berkhamstead, Hertford, Ongar, and Rayleigh.

The absence of such strongholds in Norway and Sweden, as Mrs Armitage points out, proves that they are not of Scandinavian origin. They are certainly not Danish, as I have already shown; nor can a single example be proved to be Saxon. They are equally certainly not Roman or earlier.

There is left but one working theory, which, as I have pointed out, rests upon the sure basis of documentary evidence, and will moreover stand whatever test is applied to it, that the mount-and-bailey earthworks which constitute these early "castels" are Norman in date and origin, and in no way related to the *burhs* of the Chronicle.

These castles did not of course consist of earthworks merely, but were defended by lines of timber palisading along the crests of the banks and by a strong wooden citadel on the top of the mount, which was also connected by palisading with the defences of the bailey. Such newly thrown up banks and mounts were not at first capable of carrying the weight of walls and works of masonry, but in the case of gatehouses, which stood in a break purposely left for them in the earthworks, a number of early examples in masonry exist, as at Arundel, Lewes, Tickhill, and Exeter. There was also nothing to hinder stone buildings being set up in the bailey, like William FitzOsbern's great hall at Chepstow, or Scollond's hall at Richmond, or the early chapels at Oxford and Durham. In a few cases, when the natural strength of the position rendered earthworks unnecessary, the castle was walled from the beginning, as at Richmond, Corfe, and the Castle of the Peak. A mural tower of very early date also forms part of the outer defences at Oxford.

But as a rule the timber defences were general, and in many cases they can be shown to have continued far into the thirteenth century. Even the lower bailey of the royal castle of Windsor was not walled until 1227, and yet was able to resist successfully for three months the siege by the Frenchmen and the Barons in 1215.

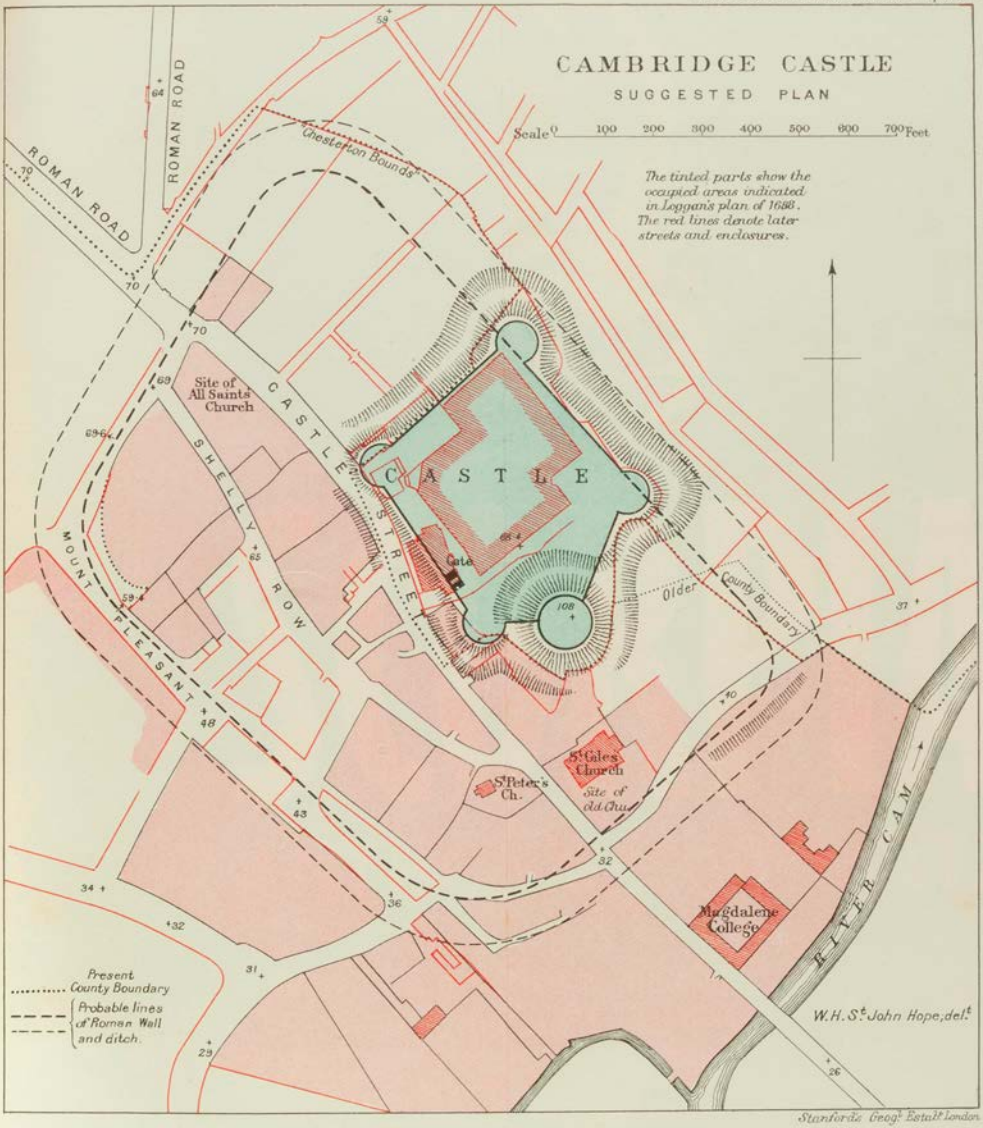
The ditches or fosses that surrounded these castles were of course of corresponding magnitude to the banks and mounts which were dug out of and thrown up within them, hence the bigger the mount or bank the deeper the ditch. The ditches of course were in themselves a material addition to the defences, and were spanned by moveable bridges before the gates, which could be raised in time of need.

There is no occasion to suppose that these ditches were made to hold water. On the contrary by far the greater number were always dry, and where water was admitted purposely, as in the case of the pool encircling the castle of Berkhamstead, it was only because the natural circumstances were favourable. The primary reason for the formation of a ditch was that it yielded the material for the construction of the bank or mount.

And now to return to the Castle of Cambridge.

It occupies the highest ground in or about the town, where it at the same time controls the waterway, commands the bridge, and dominates the town itself. (See Plan, Pl. XVIII.) It moreover stands where no fewer than four lines of Roman road converge upon the crossing of the river.

Of its Saxon or Danish origin there is no evidence whatever, and it does not conform in any particular to any known or recorded work of the Saxons or the Danes. On the other hand we have the explicit statement of Orderic that King William in 1068 disposed or put castles (*castra locavit*) at Lincoln, and Huntingdon, and at Grentbridge, as Cambridge was then called. This is fully confirmed by the Great Survey in terms which call for special attention. "In this burgh," it says, "there were and are ten wards. In the first ward are fifty-four masures (*masurae*), of these two are waste.... This same one ward was reckoned as two in King Edward's


CAMBRIDGE CASTLE
SUGGESTED PLAN
Scale 0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 Feet
The tinted parts show the occupied areas indicated in Loggan's plan of 1688. The red lines denote later streets and enclosures.
ROMAN ROAD
ROMAN ROAD
Chesterton Bounds
Site of All Saints Church
CASTLE STREET
SHELLY ROW
MOUNT PLEASANT
CASTLE
Gate
Older County Boundary
St Giles Church
Site of old Chu
St Peter's Ch.
Magdalene College
RIVER CAM
Present County Boundary
Probable lines of Roman Wall and ditch.
W.H. St John Hope, del.t
Stanford's Geog.l Estab.t London.

time, but twenty-seven houses (*domus*) have been destroyed on account of the Castle."

Descriptions of the contents of the other wards follow, with the exception of the sixth, which, oddly enough, is omitted altogether. Surely the explanation is that it was now occupied by the same castle for which twenty-seven houses had been destroyed, and the remnant of it had been attached to the first ward.

There is moreover a further remarkable fact, which has been pointed out by Professor Maitland in his *Township and Borough*[1], that "Cambridge Castle was not in Cambridge, that is to say, it was not within the 'town' that was granted to the burgesses," but "in Chesterton, a vill whose nucleus lies a mile or two away." But Professor Maitland has not pointed out another significant fact, that Chesterton was part of the *Terra Regis*. The evidence therefore seems conclusive that in setting up a castle at Cambridge, King William took possession for its site of either the whole or the larger part of the sixth ward of the burgh, and then added it to the royal vill of Chesterton. Of the curious illustration of this point afforded by the town boundary I shall have more to say presently.

With regard to King William's Castle it is quite clear from Professor Hughes's careful description of the site, though not from his conjectural plan of the so-called *burh*, that the earthwork composing it was originally a good and complete example of a mount-and-bailey castle. The mount still exists to a height of 40 feet above the bailey, and its encircling ditch, the existence of which Professor Hughes has either forgotten or overlooked, can easily be recognized on all the old plans of the town. The boundary of the bailey has been to some extent obliterated by the remodelling of the outer defences in 1643, and by later building operations.

It is moreover obvious, from comparison with other of the Conqueror's castles, that this at Cambridge was typical in every way. The mount is of the same large dimensions as in many other of the king's fortresses, having a diameter at the top of about 100 feet, and probably of twice as much across the base.

[1] F. W. Maitland, *Township and Borough* (Cambridge, 1898), 37, 38.

The area of the bailey was apparently between 3 and 4 acres, which again is a characteristic size of King William's castles. The bailey lay wholly on the north side of Castle Street, from which it was also entered, and the gatehouse so unfortunately destroyed in 1840 no doubt occupied the site of the early Norman one.

Whether there was ever a second or outer bailey, extending north-westwards over what used to be called Sail Piece, and south-eastwards as far as Shelly Row, from want of sufficient local knowledge I am not prepared to argue, but for reasons given in the Postscript it is not improbable. It must not, moreover, be overlooked that more than one of the Conqueror's castles, e.g. Carisbrooke and Rockingham, were reduced in size when their timber defences were replaced by stone walls, and the original need for a fortress on the first large scale had passed away.

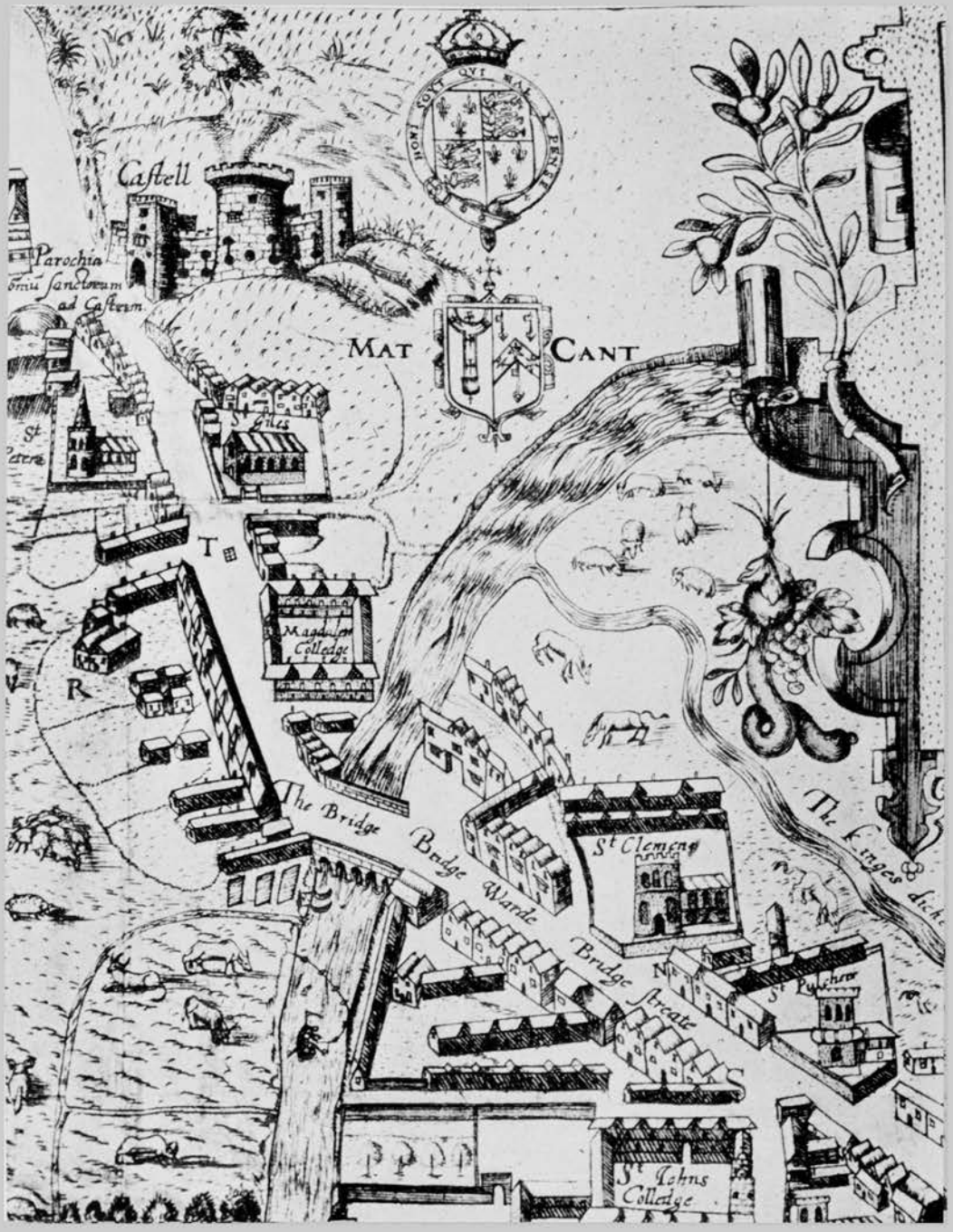
But the site of the Castle proper at Cambridge seems to be absolutely laid down by the line taken by the boundary between the town and the county, which cannot be better described than in the words of Professor Maitland:

> If we cross the river at the Great Bridge and walk up Magdalene Street and Castle Street, an extremely small part of Cambridge, sometimes none at all, is on our right hand. The borough just includes Magdalene and its grounds, and a small patch of land between Chesterton Lane and the castle mound. Then the boundary comes into the street in which we walk. The Shire Hall and the County Police Station are in Chesterton. When these are past, the boundary swerves away to our right and includes a small square of land which in 1805 was for the more part open land, known as Sail Piece, but is now densely peopled. Then the boundary comes back into and pursues the street that is now becoming the Huntingdon Road. In the castle's exclusion from the borough there may be something of legal fiction; but still the fact remains that in this quarter the open fields of another vill, namely Chesterton, came to the very verge of the fortified nucleus of Cambridge[1].

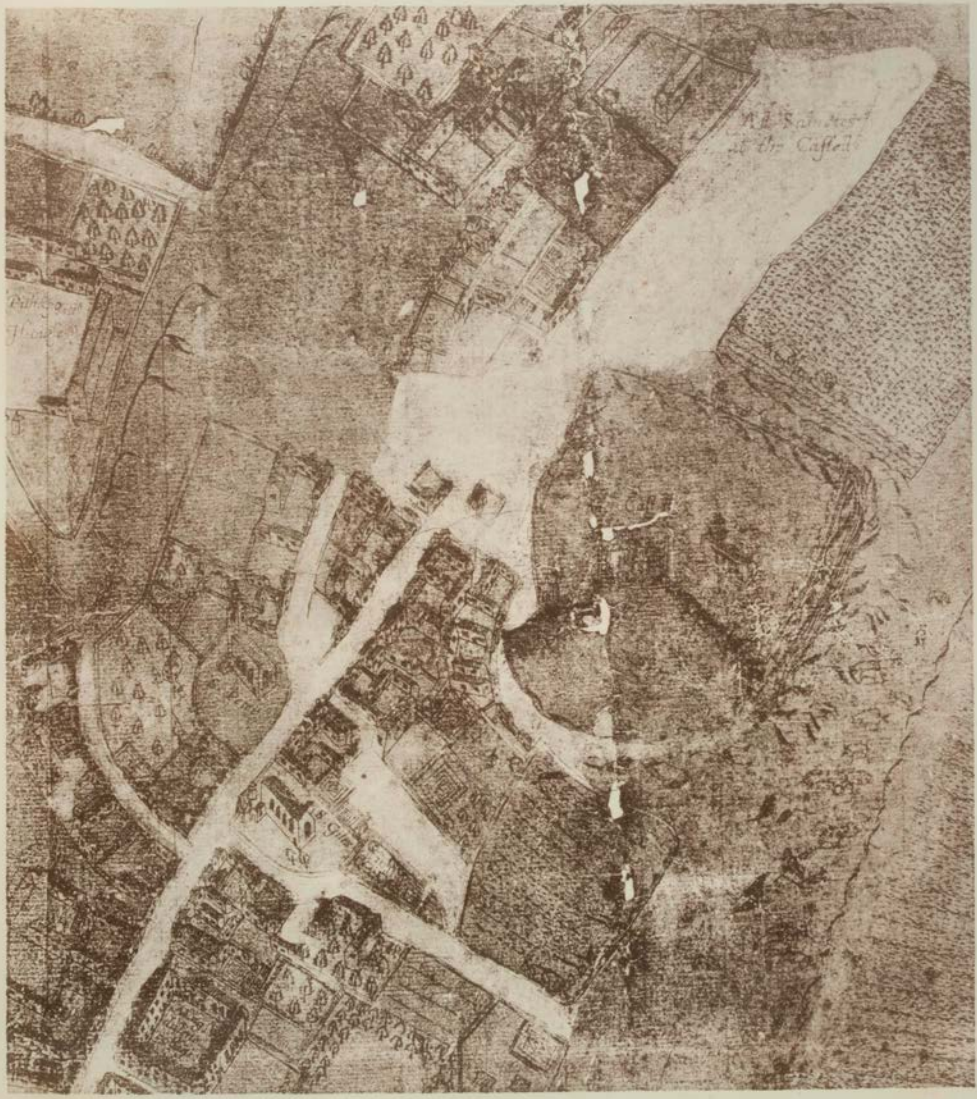
Of the masonry defences of the castle that replaced the original timber work we unfortunately know but little.

The earliest map of Cambridge, that published by Lyne in 1574 (Pl. XIX), shows the great round tower that stood upon

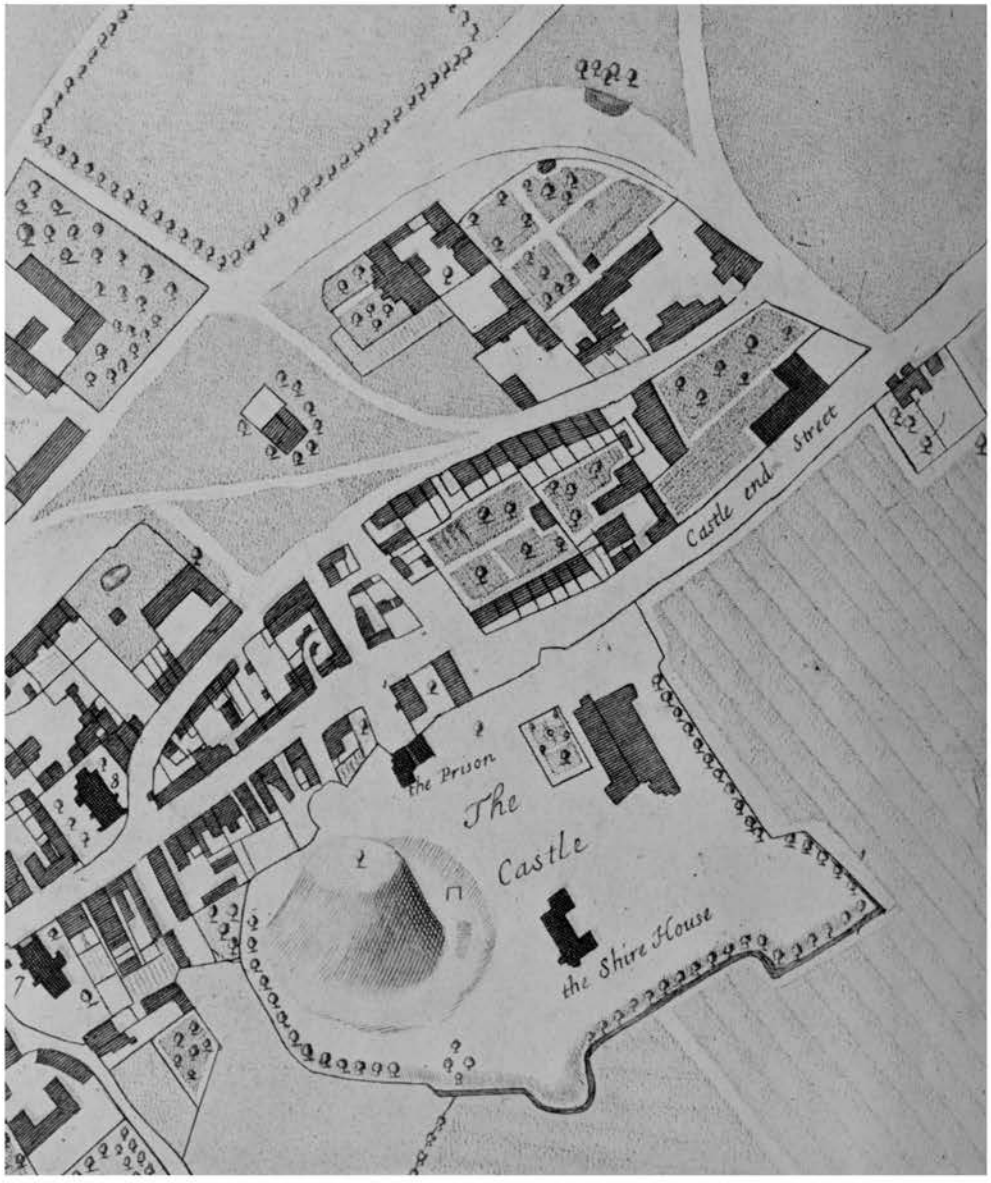
[1] F. W. Maitland, *Township and Borough* (Cambridge, 1898), 119.



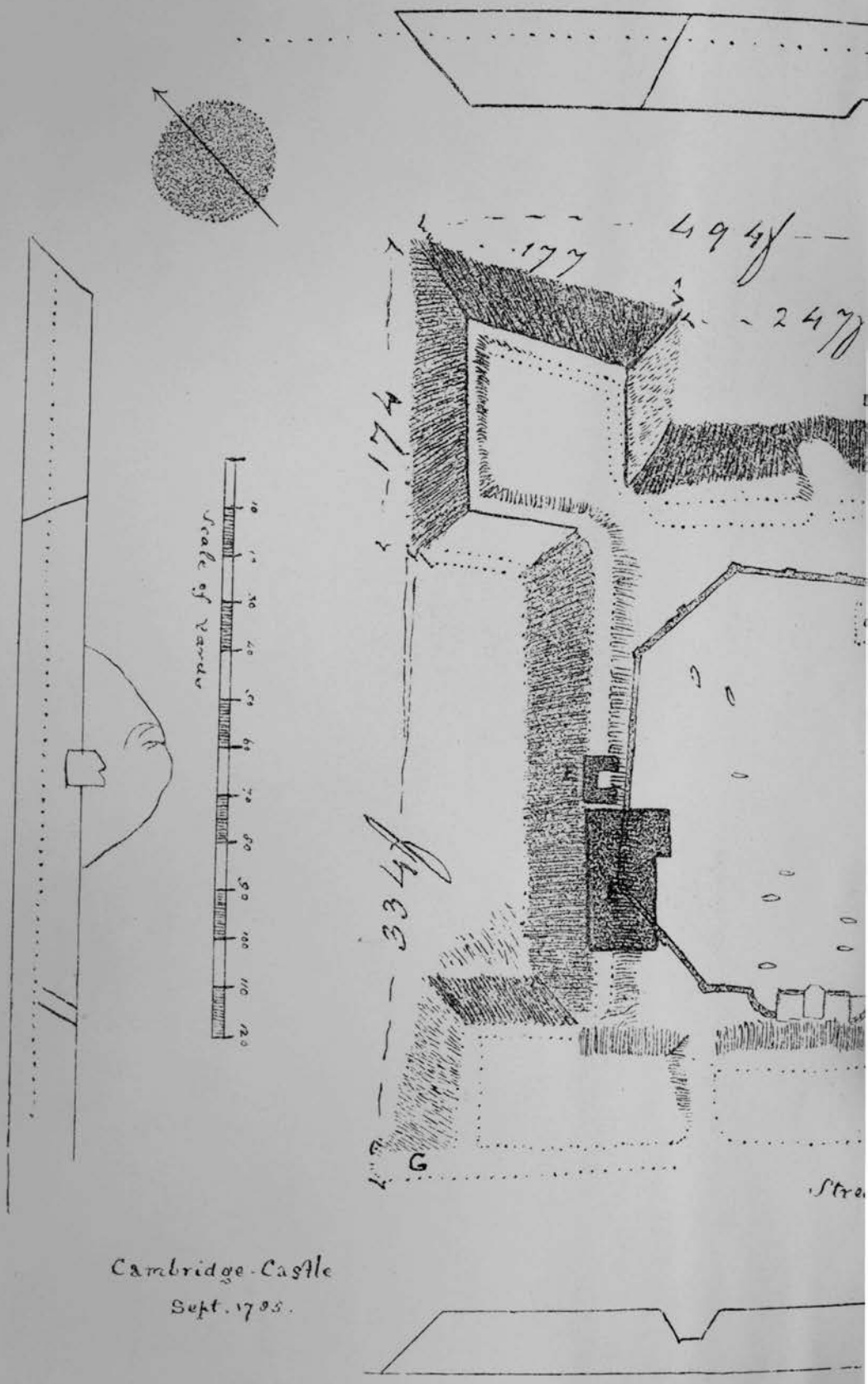
Cambridge Castle, from Lyne's map of 1574.



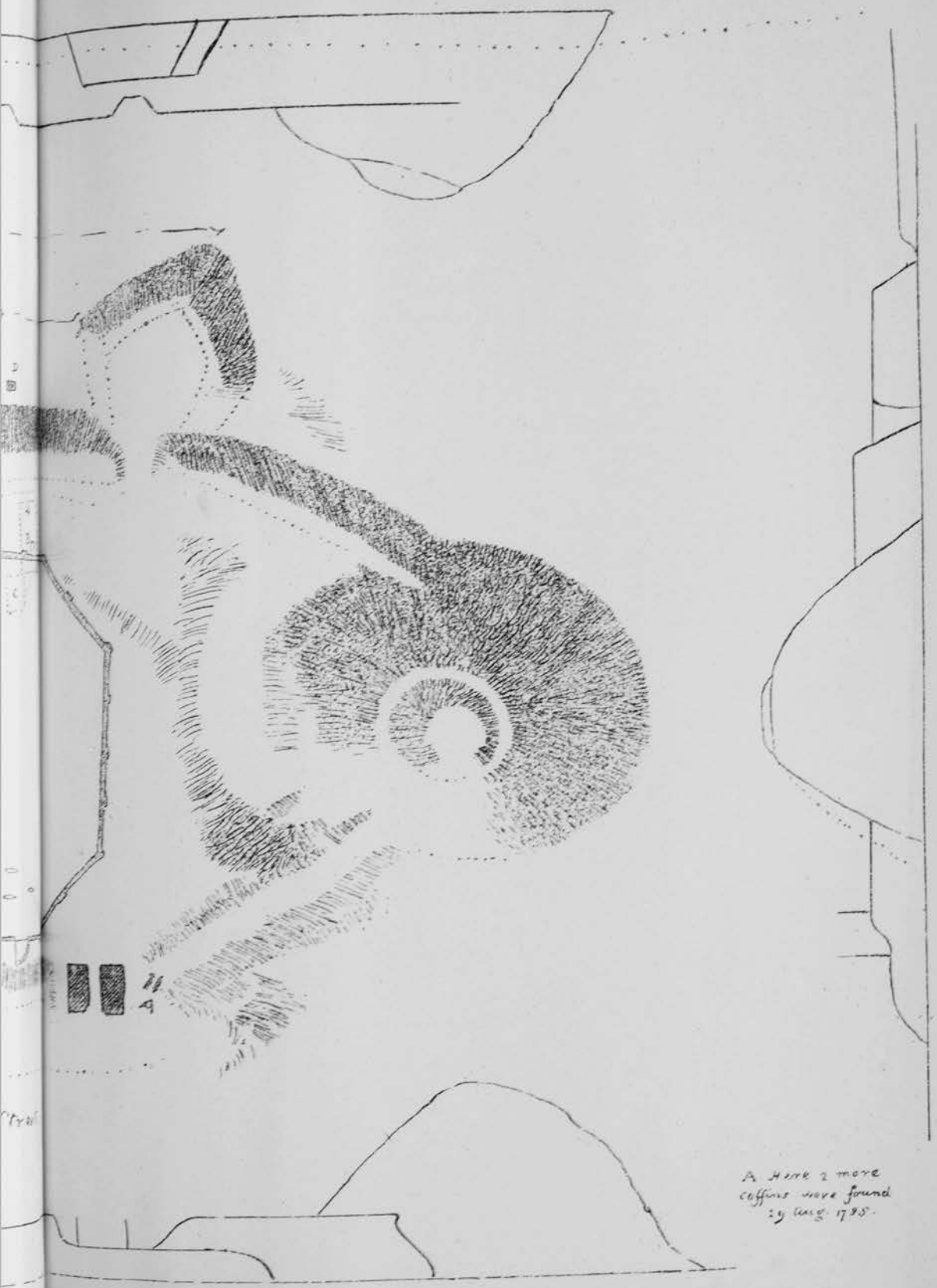
Cambridge Castle, from Hamond's map of 1592—3.



Cambridge Castle, from Loggan's map of 1688.



Plan and Sections of Cam



Castle made by Bowtell in 1785.

southern half of the mount, which thus stood clear of the defences, as in many other cases.

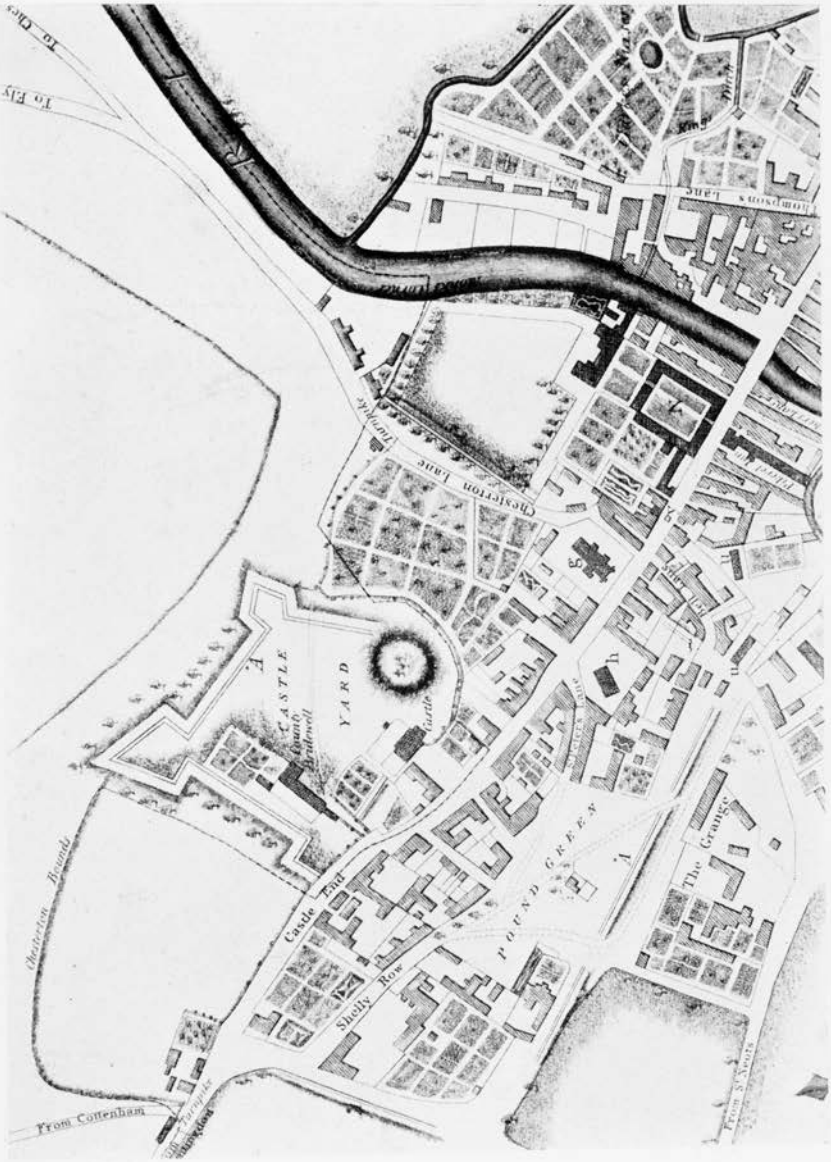
The later history of the Castle has been so well told by Professor Hughes that it need not be repeated here. I should however in concluding like to say a few words about the possibility of a Roman settlement at Cambridge.

That the Castle itself may be a Roman work is of course absurd, but there can be little doubt that it stood within one. This was apparently a four-sided enclosure of some twenty-eight acres, the limits of which can be fairly accurately laid down. Part of the earthwork that formed the rounded eastern corner is still visible on Mount Pleasant (Pl. XVIII), and the continuation of it south-eastwards is plainly marked on Custance's map of 1798 (Pl. XXIII), and on Lysons's map of 1810. The raised bank in the garden of Magdalene College ought to be part of the southern rampart, and another of the rounded corners, that on the south, is traceable apparently in the curve of Northampton Street (Bell Lane). Since the north gate which faced the Huntingdon Road probably stood in the middle of the north-western rampart, and opened on to a street dividing the enclosure into two halves, the north-eastern rampart would extend as far out as the defences of the Castle on that side, which were very likely formed out of them. The limits of the external ditch of the western half of the enclosure can be easily traced on Loggan's map[1] (Pl. XXI).

From its area, 28 acres, the Roman work must have been something more important than a mere fort or camp, and nearer akin to a small town like Caerwent. There is some evidence to show that it was walled.

The Roman name of this settlement is not known, but the existence of the place seems to have given to the adjoining vill of later days the significant name of Chesterton.

[1] I ought to add that after I had worked out the foregoing theory and laid down the lines on my plan, I found that the late Prof. C. C. Babington had already published a similar one, but with square instead of rounded corners, in the Society's *Octavo Publications*, No. III. (1853), as the first of the illustrations of his paper on Ancient Cambridgeshire.



Cambridge Castle, from Custance's map of 1798.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since writing the above my friend Mr J. W. Clark has drawn my attention to a passage in the *Memoranda Ecclesie de Bernwelle*[1], recording the result of a perambulation of the precincts of the Castle made by the Justices Itinerant in 1286.

97. *De quo Waranto et recognicione Prioris de Bernewelle.*

In fine itineracionis justiciariorum multa venerunt brevia Regis de *quo Waranto.* Rex enim ante biennium per consilium domini J[ohannis] de Kyrkebi inceperat Castrum Cantebrigiense, unde ex precepto Regis facta fuit inquisicio per liberos et legales homines de comitatu de procinctu Castri, qui jurati fecerunt circuitum. Incipientes ad locum qui vocatur Armeswerk circuibant fossatum Castri, ascendentes usque ad locum qui vocatur Aswykston, et descendentes fecerunt transitum per medium curie Scolarium de Mertone per vetus fossatum usque ad riveram. Et tandem redeuntes dederunt responsum suum quod totus ille circuitus spectabat ad procinctum Castri per sacramentum quod fecerunt. Et ex hac occasione venerunt brevia Regis singula super omnes habitantes ultra pontem ex parte Castri, *Quo Waranto, etc.*, unde timor omnes invasit.

With this passage should be read a paper by Mr A. Gray "On the Watercourse called Cambridge, etc." read before this Society in 1895[2].

The surveyors started at Armeswerk, apparently a gatehouse or Barbican covering the entrance to the Roman town. Thence they went along the Roman ditch, first eastward, then northward, and round to a place called Aswykston, which Mr Gray shows to have been a stone, or a dwarf cross, standing at the end of the Huntingdon Road where it is joined by the road to Barton. This stone probably stood before a second Barbican or gatehouse covering the north entrance to the town. From Aswykston the surveyors passed along the Roman ditch round by Mount Pleasant (as it is now called) and through the property of the Scholars of Merton and along the old Roman ditch back to Armeswerk. The itinerary says that

[1] Harl. MS. Mus. Brit. 3601.

[2] *C.A.S. Proc. and Comm.*, IX. 61.

they ended their perambulation "at the river (*ad riveram*)," which, as Mr Gray suggests, points to a branch of the River Cam which anciently flowed at the foot of the Roman town. It will be seen that the *procinctus* was related to the Castle as the "precinct" to a monastery, or the "close" to a cathedral church.

Monday, 4 December 1905.

The Reverend the President in the Chair.

Mr JOHN BILSON, F.S.A., delivered a lecture on "The French Archæological Congress at Beauvais and Compiègne in 1905," illustrated by lantern slides kindly lent by Monsieur Martin-Sabon of Paris.

Monday, 29 January 1906.

The Reverend the President in the Chair.

Mr W. A. CUNNINGTON, of Christ's College, delivered Anthropological Notes from Lake Tanganyika, illustrated by lantern slides.

Mr ARTHUR BEALES GRAY read a paper on the life and work of John Bowtell (1753—1813).

At a subsequent meeting (19 February) he read a second paper on John Bowtell, nephew of the above (1777—1855).

The editor has decided to print these two papers together.

A BIOGRAPHY OF JOHN BOWTELL (1753—1813); AND OF JOHN BOWTELL HIS NEPHEW (1777—1855).

Prefatory Note.

To all those who have assisted me or shown an interest in my endeavour to compile a biography of my two fellow-craftsmen and fellow-parishioners, I wish to express my grateful acknow-

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