

ART. IX. – “*The Castles*”, *Downhall, Aikton*.

By J. BENNETT, A. HERNE and A. WHITWORTH

**Introduction**

**T**HE CASTLES” (NY 283526) is an earthwork enclosure north of Downhall Farm in the Parish of Aikton (County SAM No. 527). It has twice suffered damage in recent years owing to the piecemeal expansion of the eastern part of the Downhall Farm complex, the first time in 1971 (Richardson 1972), and again, ten years later, in 1981. On both occasions it was possible to examine the relevant parts of the site before these were damaged, and the 1981 excavation (C.E.U. Site Code 311) forms the basis of this report: the opportunity is also taken, however, to provide a preliminary check-list of

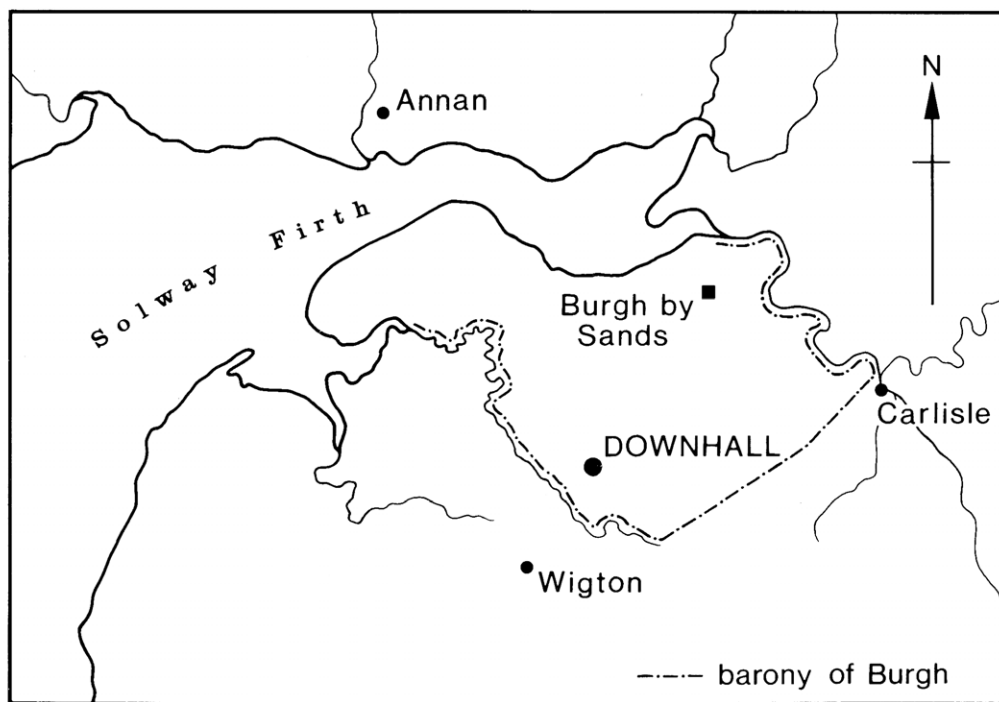


FIG. 1. – The extent of the Barony of Burgh, showing the location of Burgh-by-Sands and Aikton.

moated sites in Cumberland, and to discuss the relevance of “The Castles” to these and other fortified sites in the county. The 1981 work was directed by Julian Bennett and Andrew Herne, Central Excavation Unit, Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments, and the preliminary documentary research was undertaken by Alan Whitworth. Both the finds and records will be stored in the Carlisle Museum, Tullie House.

**The Site** (Figs. 2 and 3)

The Downhall earthworks have been described on four occasions prior to the 1971

survey (Ferguson 1883, 195-6; Collingwood 1901, 292; Graham 1910, 112-15; Curwen 1913, 43-4), and had clearly not been altered to any great extent between the 19th century and 1971. They occupy the eastern point of a west/east hog-back of impermeable boulder clay, separated by a valley from the gently rising ground to the north, on the summit of which stands St Andrews, the 11th century parish church of Aikton (Barnes

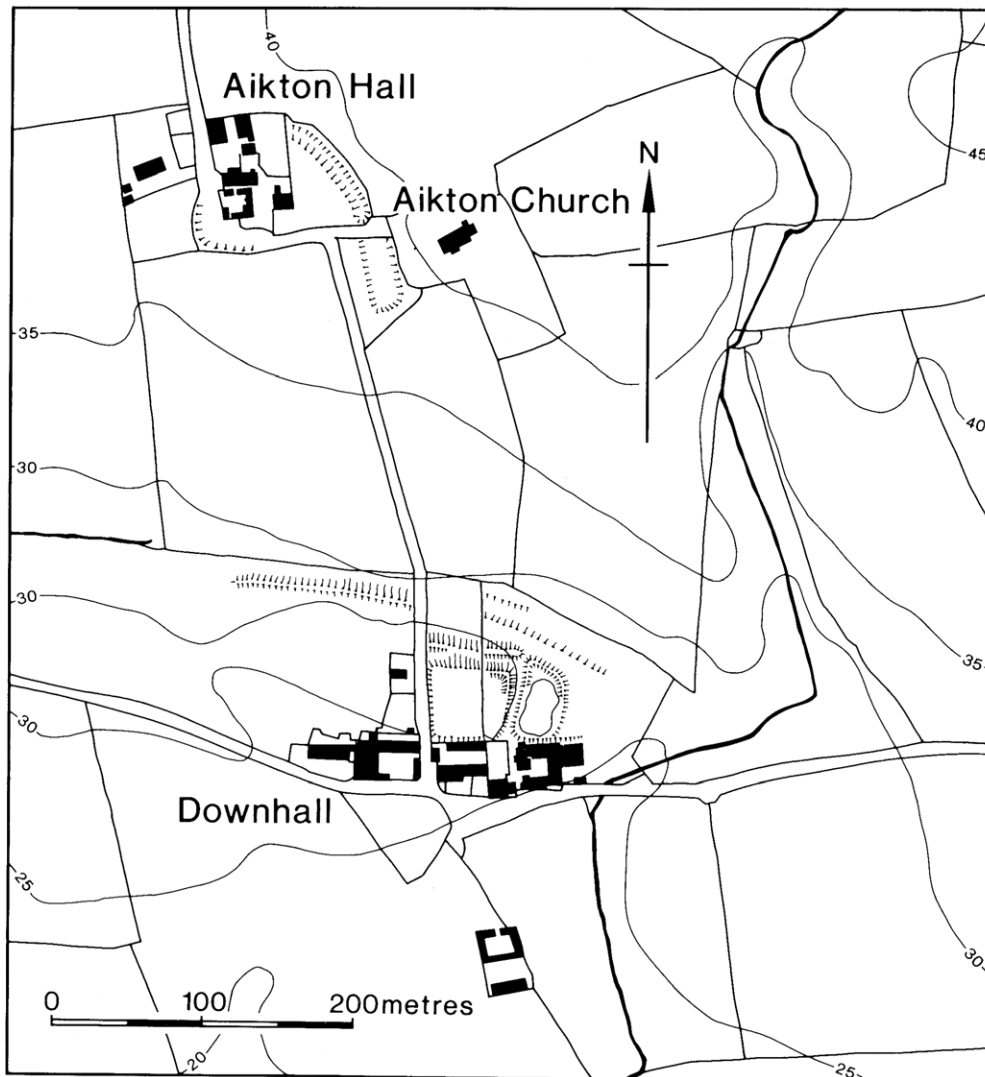


FIG. 2. – Aikton Hall and Downhall: present topography and structures. Contours in metres.

1913), and Aikton Hall and Aikton rectory. The Church is more-or-less central to the parish, which comprises the townships of Aikton, Biglands, Gamblesby, Wampool and Wiggonby; Aikton village itself being situated a mile to the west. Modern Downhall, a hamlet in 1610 (Ferguson 1887, 71), consists of two separate farm complexes, sharing the common name, immediately south of the earthworks; further to the south is low-

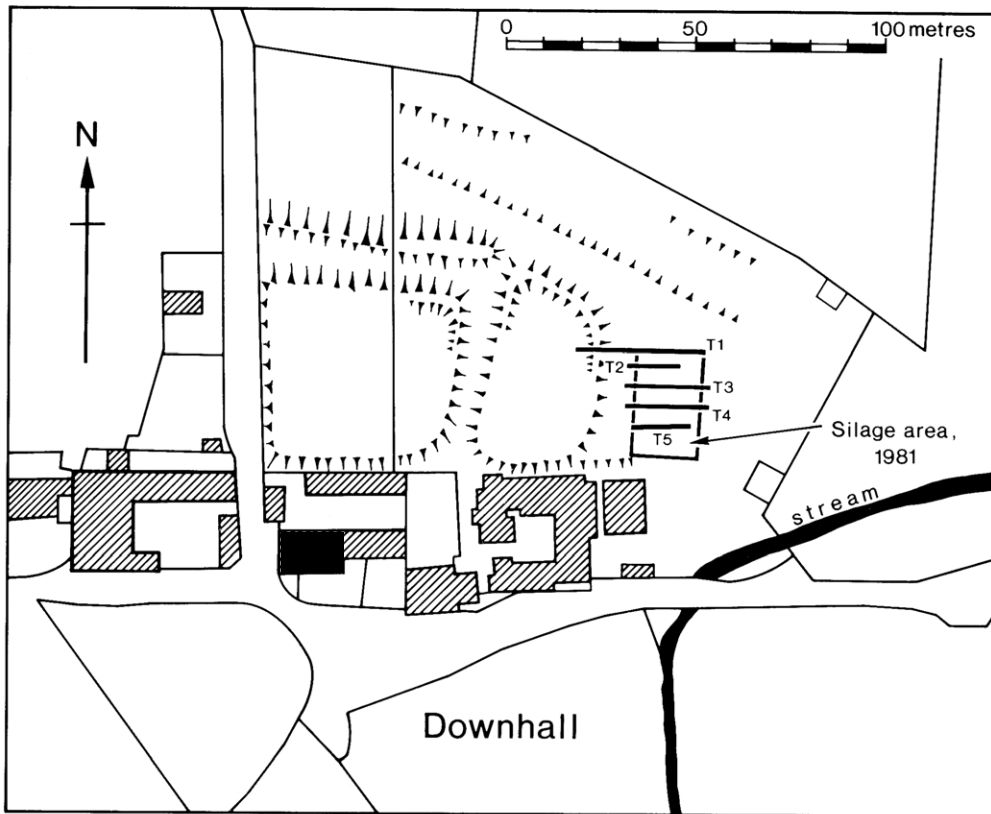


FIG. 3. – "The Castles", Downhall; plan of the earthworks, showing the location of the excavations and the proposed silage area.

lying undulating land, containing several minor tributaries of the River Wampool. The Downhall earthworks (Fig. 3) are dominated by a level rectangular platform,  $50 \times 48$  m ( $163 \times 157$  ft), with a slight internal bank at the north-east corner, the general slope of the ground indicating that the rectangular platform has been artificially heightened to some extent, principally on the eastern side. The platform is defined by deep ditches on the north, east and west, and although the construction of farm buildings has destroyed the evidence, a steep slope on the south side, together with a 19th century record, implies that a deep ditch formerly existed on this side also. The west and east arms of the enclosure ditch are cut transversely across the ridge, and while the profile and appearance of the former has been affected by its incorporation into the roadway leading to Aikton Hall, the eastern arm is flat bottomed, with steep sides, up to  $2.10$  m ( $6$  ft  $9$  ins) deep from the inner edge,  $1.40$  m ( $4$  ft  $6$  ins) from the outer. On the north, the ground falls away sharply, and the ditch on this side has been embanked on the outer edge: where it has not been filled in it has the same profile as the eastern arm, with a maximum depth of  $2.0$  m ( $6$  ft  $6$  ins) from the inner edge,  $1.2$  m ( $3$  ft  $11$  ins) from the outer, the embankment itself being a maximum of  $750$  mm ( $2$  ft  $5$  ins) high. The slope of the land indicates that the assumed southern arm must have been similarly embanked along its outer edge.

East of the rectangular platform is a D-shaped enclosure, and examination of the junction at the north-east corner indicates that it is an addition to the principal earthwork. The enclosure is defined along its outer edge by an artificially scarped slope, with some traces of an internal bank on all sides, and the interior is fairly level, about 750 mm (2 ft 5 ins) or so below the level of the rectangular platform, suggesting that it may have been artificially lowered at the time of its creation.

Beyond the D-shaped enclosure was a gently sloping area, with some mounds, which prior to 1971 had been defined to the north by a marshy hollow, and to the east, until at least 1925, by a north-south cut containing a small pond. The northern feature has been described by antiquarian writers as a "wet moat", and its former site is still marked by a slight depression filled with soft, boggy soil. Fieldwork established that this continued further west, where it narrows to an embanked channel, evidently a leat, originally intended to supply water to the "moat" from a stream issuing some 220 m (720 ft) to the west.

### Archaeological observations to 1981

The earliest recorded archaeological discovery at Downhall is provided by Whellan, who noted that "when the present buildings were being erected in 1826, a portion of the old drawbridge was found" (Whellan 1860, 201). The precise location of this discovery is uncertain, but it was presumably on the south side of the earthwork, where two dwelling houses and associated farmbuildings constitute the present hamlet of Downhall. Of these, the eastern one, originally of clay-daub, now in part faced with brick, is probably of late 17th century origin, while the western one, with cement rendered walls and a fine pedimented doorway, is probably of late 18th century date. There is a later extension at the west end of the latter structure, which, together with the nearby farm outbuildings, probably represents the building work referred to by Whellan (*Perriam, pers comm*). Despite the lack of further details concerning the nature of the "drawbridge", it is safe to infer that a timber structure was discovered in the building work, and we may concur with Graham's interpretation of this as part or the whole of a timber bridge structure (Graham 1910, 115), suggesting that the enclosure ditch had continued round the south side of the principal platform.

No further archaeological work is recorded at Downhall until 1971, when a survey of the eastern part of "The Castles" was prepared by the late George Richardson and others prior to levelling and infilling of the area east and north of the D-shaped enclosure (Richardson 1972). Subsequently, when earthmoving began, it was seen that the mounds immediately east of the platform, and the principal object of the levelling, were of comparatively recent origin. A cut across the outer edge of the D-shaped enclosure, however, revealed an inner bank, of small stones and gravel, 1.75 m (5 ft 8 ins) high, sealing an old ground surface. To the north, preliminary stripping of the inner edge of the "wet moat" revealed what must have been the remnants of a bank, described in the report as "upcast", sealing an intermittent stoney layer at least 1 m (3 ft) wide.

### The 1981 excavations (Figs. 3-6)

In 1980, the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments received a proposal to construct a

silage complex over the area levelled in 1971, work which would require the excavation of an area 20×30 m (65×114 ft), to a maximum depth of 750 mm (2 ft 5 ins). This part of the Downhall earthworks was scheduled as an Ancient Monument, but in view of the earlier levelling, it was considered that very little archaeological evidence would have survived. Nonetheless, trial trenching took place in June 1981 as a precautionary measure. A series of five trenches, all 1.5 m (5 ft) wide, were mechanically excavated

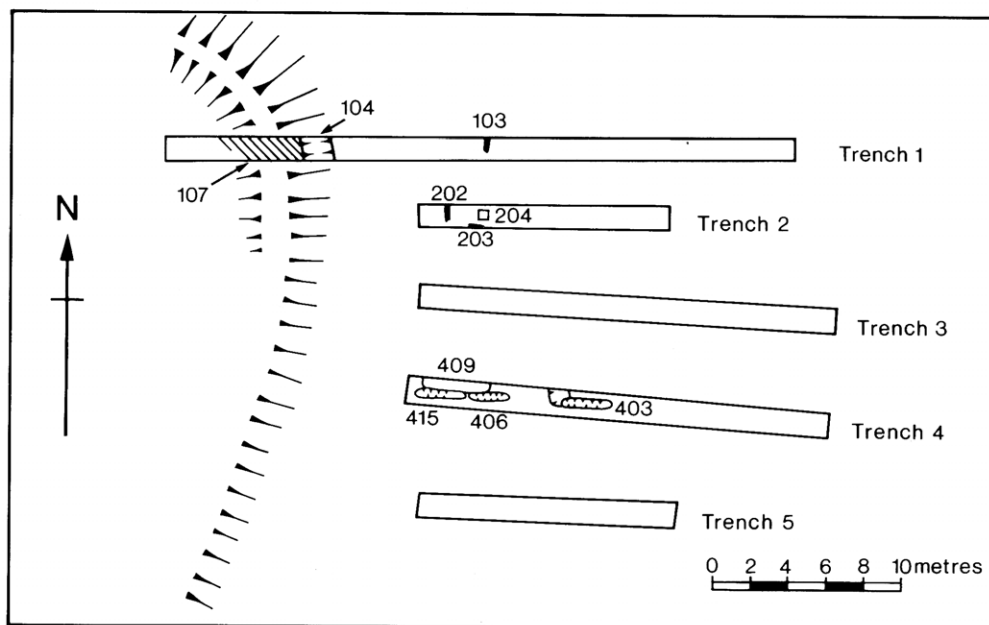


FIG. 4. – Overall plan of the excavated trenches.

across the threatened area (Fig. 4), three of which revealed archaeological features, subsequently hand-cleaned, recorded and excavated. One of the trenches was later extended west across the edge of the D-shaped enclosure, to recover and record a section through the bank observed here in 1971, and finally, other details were recorded when the silage complex itself was constructed later in the same year.

#### *Trench 1* (Figs 5 and 6)

The eastern edge of the D-shaped platform was sectioned and recorded (Fig. 5), revealing the inner bank (C. 107) to have been truncated since it had been recorded in 1971, as it now survived 400 mm (1 ft 3 ins) high, with a width of 2.4 m (7 ft 9 ins), instead of the 1.7 m (5 ft 6 ins) recorded by Richardson (1972, 328). A slightly stoney red-brown clay loam formed the body of the bank (C. 106), and at the rear this graded into a firmer deposit (C. 101), which appeared to seal the original tail of the bank. Both the bank and the layer C. 101 sealed an old ground surface, represented by a dark brown friable clay loam (C. 102), and two sherds from the body of the bank suggested that it was formed no earlier than the later 14th century.

To the east, the bank material graded almost imperceptibly into a red-brown sandy

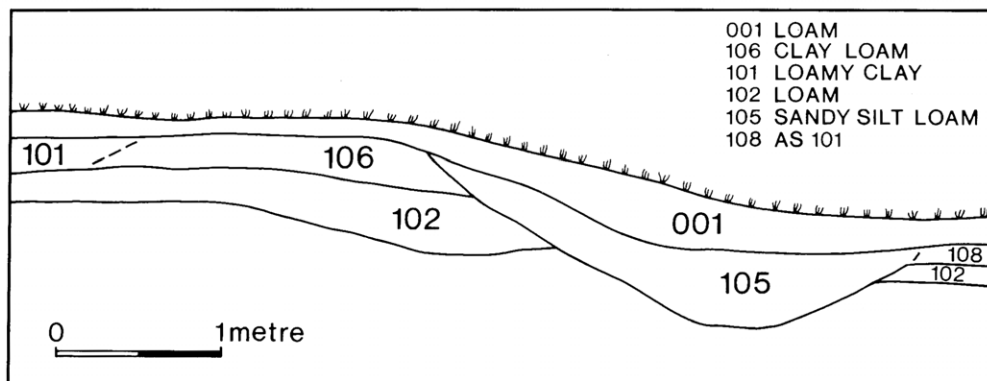


FIG. 5. – Trench 1, west-east section through the bank.

silt-loam (C. 105), which represented the fill of a shallow U-shaped ditch (C. 104) fronting the bank. At the outer edge, this fill again graded into a spread of red-brown clay-loam (C. 108), sealing an old ground surface identical to that beneath the bank. At the point where the ditch had cut the old ground surface, it was 2.6 m (8 ft 6 ins) wide and 400 mm (1 ft 3 ins) deep.

Beyond the ditch and the layer C. 108, a spread of recently deposited sandy clay-soil (C. 100) was removed to reveal the only other archaeological feature in this trench, a north-south alignment of flags and cobbles, set into and surrounded by a red sandy soil (C. 103; Fig. 6). This was conceivably the base for a timber-framed and/or clay-daub (cob) wall. It is not clear whether this hypothetical wall was part of an enclosed building or merely a free-standing boundary.

#### *Trench 2 (Fig. 6; Pl. 1)*

Removal of the 1971 redeposited levels (C. 200) in this trench revealed a 400 mm (1 ft 3 ins) wide north-south alignment of pitched cobbles resting on a flagged foundation (C. 202). There was a break in this towards the south side of the trench, perhaps a doorway, and an eastern return was seen during the excavation (C. 203), and was traced further east during the later construction work. These two walls represent the south-west corner of an enclosed building, of at least 1.6 × 3.6 m (5 ft 3 ins × 11 ft 9 ins), presumably with a timber-framed and/or clay-daub superstructure: the alignment of the west wall, C. 202, did not coincide with the wall C. 103 in trench 1, and the two are therefore unlikely to be part of the same structure, although they may have co-existed.

Within the building was a red sandstone pivot stone, resting against the inner face of the west wall. This may not have been *in situ*, although it might have been connected with an otherwise undetected west-east partition wall. An area of beaten earth with some charcoal (C. 206), which ran up against the two walls, presumably represented an internal floor, set into which was a slabbed foundation (C. 204). There were no signs of burning on the latter, but it was surrounded by extensive spreads of burning and charcoal, indicating that it had been the base of a raised hearth or brazier.

To the west of the building was a thickish spread of dark soil, with many small stones (C. 205), presumably an area of trample or make-up, and perhaps reinforcing the

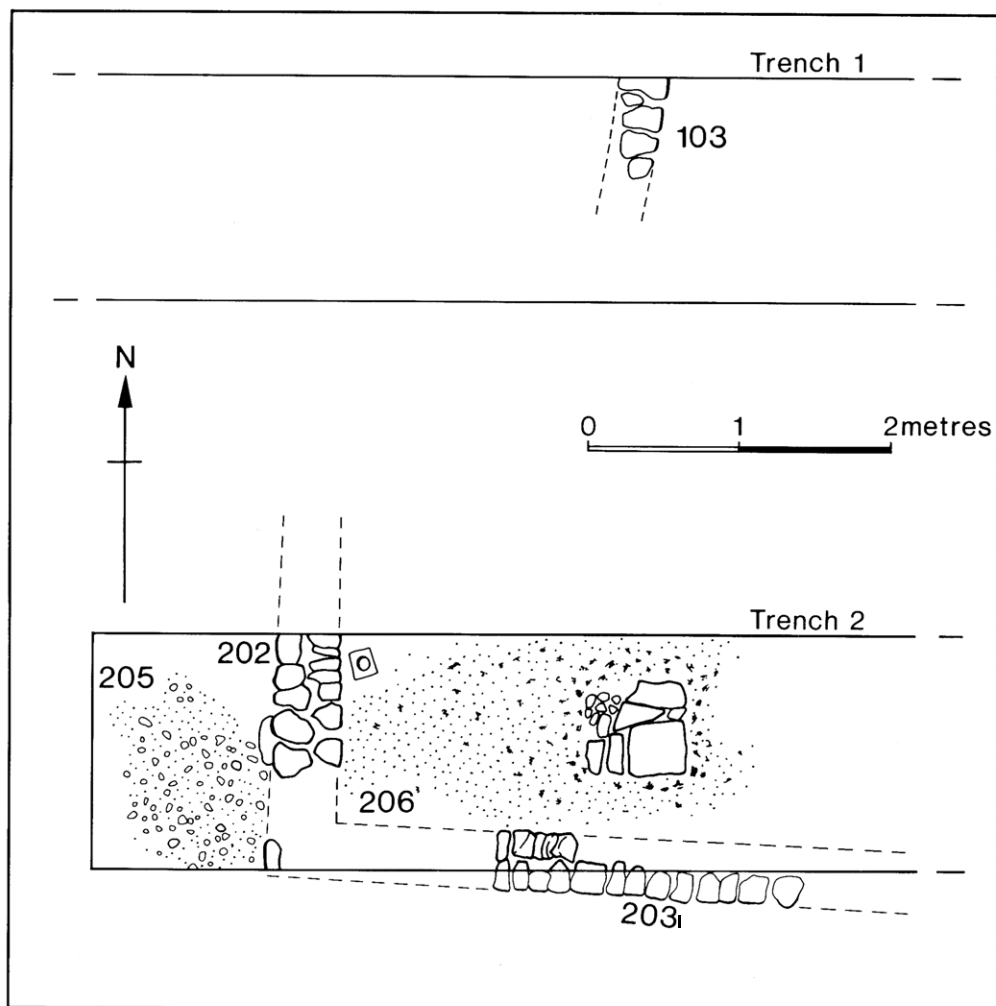


FIG. 6. – Trenches 1 and 2, showing structural remains.

suggestion that the break in the west wall noted here was the original entrance. Both this layer and the internal floor building, sealed an old ground surface, C. 201, identical to that located in Trench 1.

There were no finds from any of the archaeological features located in Trench 2.

### *Trench 3*

There were no archaeological features located in this trench.

### *Trench 4 (Fig. 7)*

Removal of the 1971 redeposited soil (C. 400) and the pre-1971 topsoil (C. 401) revealed five archaeological features. At the west end of the trench was a large pit (C. 409), which

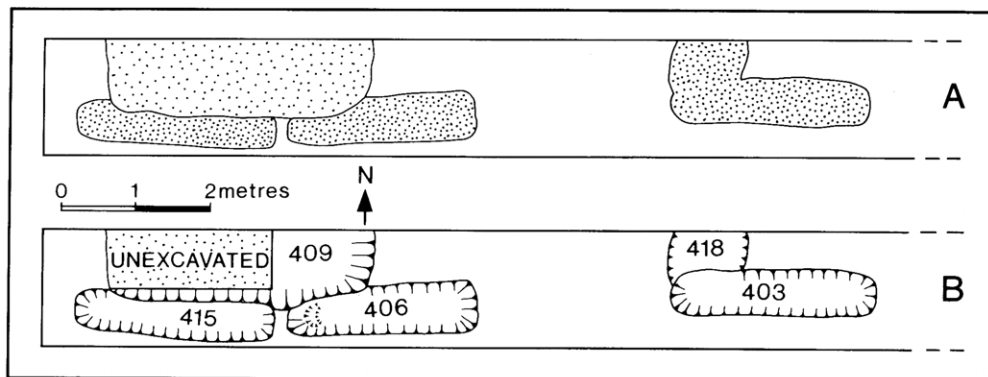


FIG. 7. – Trench 4, showing the ?industrial pits.

could only be partly excavated as it continued north beneath the trench edge, this northern portion being destroyed without observation during the later construction work. The pit was 3.5 m (11 ft 4 ins) long, and at least 1 m (3 ft 3 ins) wide, with a maximum depth of 750 mm (2 ft 5 ins) from the base of the pre-1971 topsoil. Five fills were distinguished within the pit, of which the uppermost, a red clay (C. 410), overlay an ashy and silty dark grey loam (C. 411), with a strong urinous odour: this noxious odour immediately suggested that C. 410 was a deliberate clay seal. Beneath C. 411 was a lens of sandy clay (C. 412), apparently weathered from the sides of the pit, which overlay a blue-grey clay (C. 413) over a peat formation (C. 414), the latter intermixed with some large cobbles. The original purpose of this pit is not clear, but there can be little doubt that it later served as a cess-pit, or some other activity (?filling) which involved the use of urinous compounds.

Pit C. 409 cut two virtually identical west-east linear features. The westernmost (C. 415) was 2.6 m (8 ft 6 ins) long, and 500 mm (1 ft 6 ins) wide and deep, with a flat bottom, steep sides and squared ends: the bottom was not quite level, having a gentle fall to the east. The eastern feature (C. 406), was 2.5 m (8 ft 2 ins) long, 500 mm (1 ft 6 ins) wide at the west end, widening to 750 mm (2 ft 5 ins) at the east: at the west end, there was a 100 mm (4 ins) step, before the bottom of the pit steeply sloped to a level bottom, 500 mm (1 ft 6 ins) deep. In both features, the upper fill was of clay-loam with much charcoal, sealing a deposit of large cobbles with very little soil and many charcoal flecks, and the eastern feature also produced sherds of late medieval reduced ware (below, p. 77).

East of this complex was a third linear feature, C. 403, analogous in both dimensions and fills to C. 406 and 415. At the west end it was either cut by or cut a shallow pit, C. 418, the fill of which, C. 419, could not be distinguished from the upper fill of C. 403.

The similarity in the shape and fills of these three linear features proclaims that they served an identical purpose, and that they were probably contemporary. The presence of the large stones in the bottom, with very little soil, suggests that they may have served as soakaways, their construction necessitated by the impervious nature of the boulder clay subsoil hereabouts. It is possible, given their similarity and proximity, that they were connected with some industrial rather than domestic process, but there was no evidence to suggest the nature of this.



### *Trench 5*

There were no archaeological features located in this trench.

### **The Pottery**

By JEFF TAYLOR

The excavation produced 10 sherds of medieval pottery from a minimum of 4 vessels, and 3 sherds of post-medieval pottery from a minimum of 2 vessels. The only pottery of any stratigraphical value are one body sherd of 14th-15th century "lightly gritted ware" and another of "late medieval reduced ware" from the bank, C. 107; and the base and bung-hole of a pitcher in "late medieval reduced ware" from the pit, C. 406. The date range of the local "late medieval reduced wares" is 14th-17th century, but there is no reason to believe that the Downhall sherds are later than 1500. The other, unstratified, material from the site is chiefly of the "late medieval reduced wares", with local 18th century products, although there was one body sherd of the 12th-13th century local "gritty ware".

### **Documentary Evidence**

The earliest document to refer to Downhall by name is of 1536 (Armstrong *et al.*, 1971, 120), but it has been considered that certain earlier documents do have a bearing on the site, and these have been discussed in greater or lesser detail by previous contributors to these *Transactions* (e.g. Barnes 1913; Graham 1931 and 1932). The parish of Aikton, from Old Norse *Eik* and *Tun*, meaning a farmstead within an oak forest (Armstrong *et al.*, 1971, 118-19), formed part of the barony of Burgh (Fig. 1), created by Ranulph Meschin c. 1100, when the Charleolium, or Honour of Carlisle, seized from the Scots in 1092, was divided into three manageable parts (Storey 1954, 119). The first baron was Robert de Trivers, and the barony passed, through the distaff line, to Simon De Morvill, who held the title from 1157 until his death in 1167. He was succeeded by his son, Hugh, who has frequently been confused with his namesake, one of the four murderers of Beckett: the archepiscopicide, however, was Hugh de Morvill, lord of Cumberland and Knaresborough, brother to Simon de Morvill and thus the Aikton Hugh's uncle (confusion on this point goes back to Camden's *Magna Britannica*, repeated in Dugdale's *Monasticon*: see Barnes 1913, 277-9). When first created, the barony consisted of two manors only, Burgh and Aikton, but Hugh's marriage to Helewisa de Stutville brought with it the manors of Kirkoswald and Lazonby, and in 1194 the barony was further enlarged by his acquisition of the Bailiwick of Chief Forester of the Forest of Cumberland (Storey 1954, 120). By now, Kirkoswald was presumably the chief residence, a licence to crenellate being granted in 1201 (Curwen 1913, 150-3), but the construction of a moated stone manor house, with a round tower, at Burgh-by-Sands has also been ascribed to Hugh (Hogg 1954, 115-16).

Hugh de Morvill died c. 1202 and by c. 1212 his estates were partitioned between his two daughters, Ada (de Multon) and Johanna (Gernun), each daughter receiving an equal share, each moiety at Aikton carrying a half-share of the advowson (Graham 1931, 51). Johanna died in 1246/7, her heirs being her daughters Helewisa (de Vernon) and

Ada (de Levington). Subsequently, the elder daughter and her husband allotted the whole of the first moiety at Aikton to the younger and her husband (Graham 1931, 52-3), whose daughter Helewisa (de Baliol) acquired the moiety on her mother's death in 1271. Helewisa (de Baliol) died the following year, but her spouse, Eustace de Baliol (*obit* 1274), retained the moiety, suggesting that there may have been issue of this marriage who died after Helewisa and before her husband. By Order of Council, Helewisa's inheritance was granted to Thomas de Multon *secundus*, her second cousin (Graham 1931, 53). This re-united manor and advowson, but a further split occurred a few years later, when Thomas de Multon *secundus* granted the manor of Aikton to his daughter Margaret (de Colvill), probably as a marriage settlement, retaining the advowson only for his son. Manor and advowson remained separate entities until the reign of Henry VI, when they were reunited again under the Dacres.

## Discussion

Few of the non-Royal fortified sites in Cumberland have been excavated, let alone in recent years (Burgh-by-Sands, Hogg 1954; Clifton Hall, Fairclough 1980; Piel Castle, *Cumb. & West. Antiq. Arch. Soc. Newsletter*, 3, 4), and while the limited excavations of the Downhall "Castles" add little to our detailed knowledge of this class of monument, the paucity of modern work on similar sites in the County justifies some detailed discussion of the results. Thus, both fieldwork and excavation at "The Castles" showed firstly that the eastern D-shaped enclosure was probably a late 14th century addition to the main rectangular platform, thereby providing a *terminus post quem* for the latter, and that secondly, the area to the east of the enclosure was occupied by at least one building, together with a series of soakaway pits which might have been for some minor industrial use. One of the pits contained late medieval pottery similar to that found in the enclosure bank, while the comparative scarcity of post-medieval pottery from the site, given its ubiquity on sites utilized during the post-medieval period, strongly suggests that the building is more likely to be medieval than any later. Without excavation within the main platform, however, neither the date of this, nor the presence of any internal structures, can be determined, although the former existence of the latter might be thought a reasonable presumption, given the scale of the earthwork, and could possibly be proved through geophysical prospection. Nor can it be determined if the ditch of the main rectangular enclosure ever held water, although this is more than likely, given the impervious nature of the subsoil and the probable existence of a bridge of some description across the southern arm. Some support for the former existence of a water-filled moat is given by the cut through the outer embankment at the north-east corner (Fig. 3), which can be best explained as having been opened to drain a wet moat, although it might conceivably have been original, and have contained a timber dam, to allow circulation of water within the moat. There is, however, no surviving evidence to indicate how this principal "moat" was originally filled.

Within the general category of moated sites, more specifically those that contained dwelling houses, as distinct from true castles, the function of a moat might include defence. This can never have been a serious proposition in the majority of cases and it is reasonable to accept that the social status implied by the existence of a moated dwelling had the greater importance (see Le Patourel and Roberts 1978, 47-8). That said, the

specific siting of the Downhall earthworks at the end of a prominent ridge implies that a defensive situation was actively chosen, and the apparent siting of a bridge and entry on the south side, the least easily accessible, supports this interpretation. A further pointer to a defensive function is the existence of the "wet moat", with an internal bank, which formerly existed north of the site. This was fed by a leat from a spring some 220 m (720 ft) to the west, the absence of any dams across it indicating that it was not primarily a fish-pond complex, although it may well have been used as such.

Despite the lack of archaeological evidence for the date of "The Castles", some indication of this can be derived from fieldwork and the documentary evidence. As noted, the name Downhall first appears in 1536 (Armstrong *et al.*, 1971), and a hamlet existed here by 1610, as was observed by Denton in his account of Cumberland, perhaps compiled during his incarceration in the Tower of London (Ferguson 1887, 71: see now Mawson 1979, 97). Denton considered that the "Down" element referred to a former hall burnt down by the Scots, although the Holkham manuscript adds the alternative suggestion that it was so-called because it lay at the foot of the "downe" (James 1922). A more plausible explanation might be that it was the second of two halls within the same manor. Certainly, a hall of some kind must have existed within the manor from the inception of the barony in c. 1100, the most obvious site for this being within the village or adjacent to the church. The earliest reference to a hall at Aikton is, however, not until 1279, when a "John de Aula de Ayketon" is recorded in the Assizes for that year (Armstrong *et al.*, 1971, 119). Aikton Hall is the name formerly carried by the Rectory and farm west of St Andrew's Church (Fig. 2), although the name is now restricted to the farm, the present Rectory having been constructed in 1828, as is shown by a date-stone. Undescribed ruins were noted east of the Rectory in 1912, together with a deep ditch (Barnes 1913, 272), which is shown water-filled on the 1845 Tithe Map (DRC/8.2, C.R.O., Carlisle), remaining so until 1973 when it was filled by the then rector, although its course is still indicated by a boggy depression within the Rectory gardens. Despite the objections of Hodgson (noted in Barnes 1913, 272), this is best seen as one arm of a moat, whose continuation north-west is marked by a pond shown on the 1845 Tithe map. A possible west arm is indicated by a wet depression south-west of the farm, and a continuation south of the principal arm is indicated by a rectangular wet depression west of the church, although as this is at a lower level, a dam must have formerly existed where the footpath now is, suggesting that this part was primarily a fish-pond. Given the name-evidence and the probable former existence of a moat at Aikton Hall, and its juxtaposition to the parish church, there are good grounds for seeing Aikton Hall as having been the site of the principal seigniorial residence within the manor, the Downhall complex – assuming that the two were in contemporary use – being a secondary one (Fig. 8).

It is by no means unusual for one parish to contain two contemporary seigniorial residences, although this would normally indicate division of the parish into two manors. As we have seen, Aikton was a single manor throughout its entire existence, except for the period c. 1212 to 1274, when the manor was split between Ada de Multon and Johanna Gernun and their descendants. This provides a possible context for the construction and initial occupation of the Downhall site, which by the 17th century was already considered to have been the site of Johanna's capital messuage at Aikton (Ferguson 1887, 71). Accepting this dating for the primary use of the site, the D-shaped

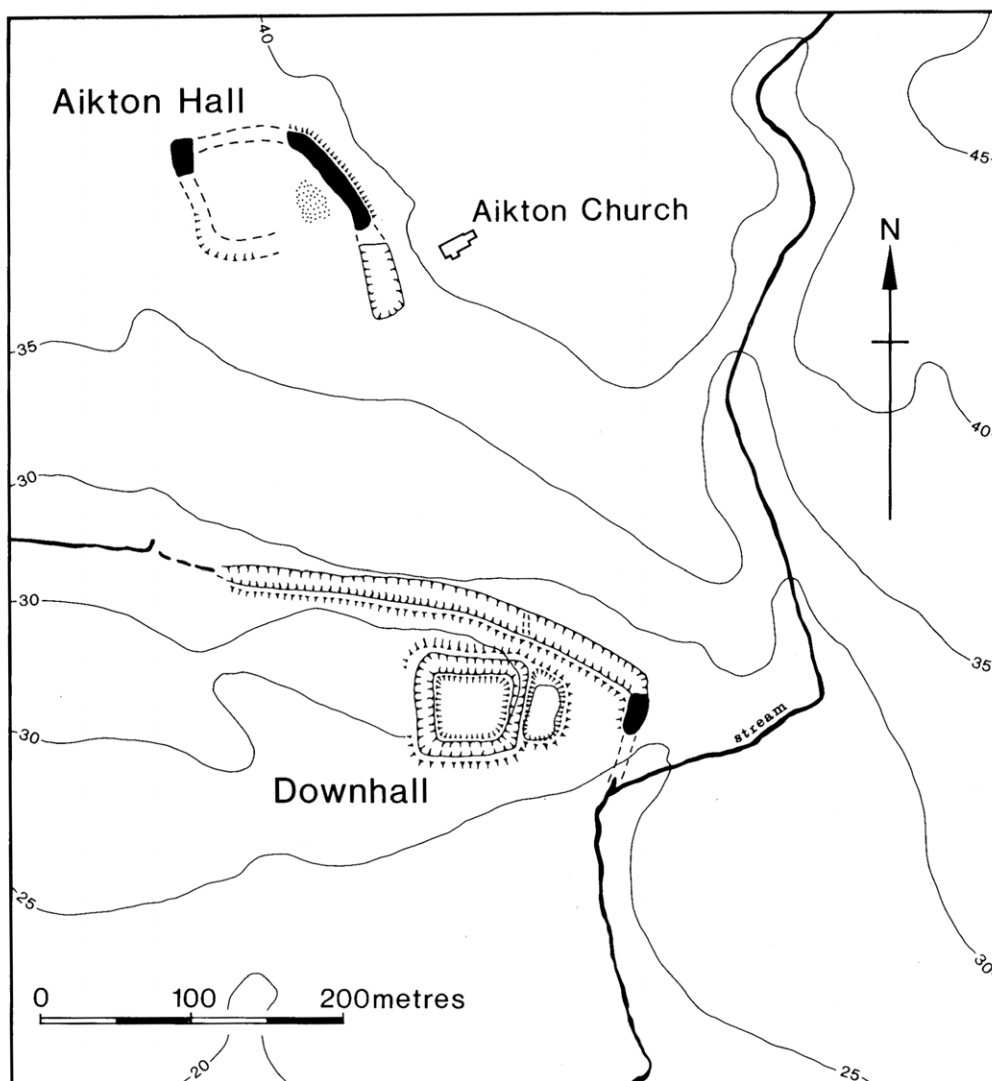


FIG. 8. – Aikton Hall and Downhall: suggested medieval topography. The black areas indicate stretches of standing water known to have existed in the mid-19th century, and interpreted as remnant water-filled moats. Contours in metres.

enclosure might be seen as a later 14th century extension indicating re-use of the abandoned site, perhaps in connection with the Border wars of that period: it is worth noting that the principal manor at Burgh, a few miles north, suffered particularly heavily as a result of these between 1314 and 1326, by which date the manor house was in ruins and worth nothing, and that there were further losses to the estate by 1382 (Storey 1954, 126).

Moated sites in general are primarily a late 12th – early 13th century phenomenon (Le Patourel 1973, 19), but a brief consideration of other fortified sites within the area lends support to the hypothesis that the Downhall complex is 13th century in origin.

The Solway Plain was subject to Scottish raids throughout the medieval period, and the many fortified sites that remain in the area bear witness to this. Moats themselves, however, are a rare feature in the Cumberland landscape: although field and documentary research by Perriam and others has established the existence of not less than 200 or so

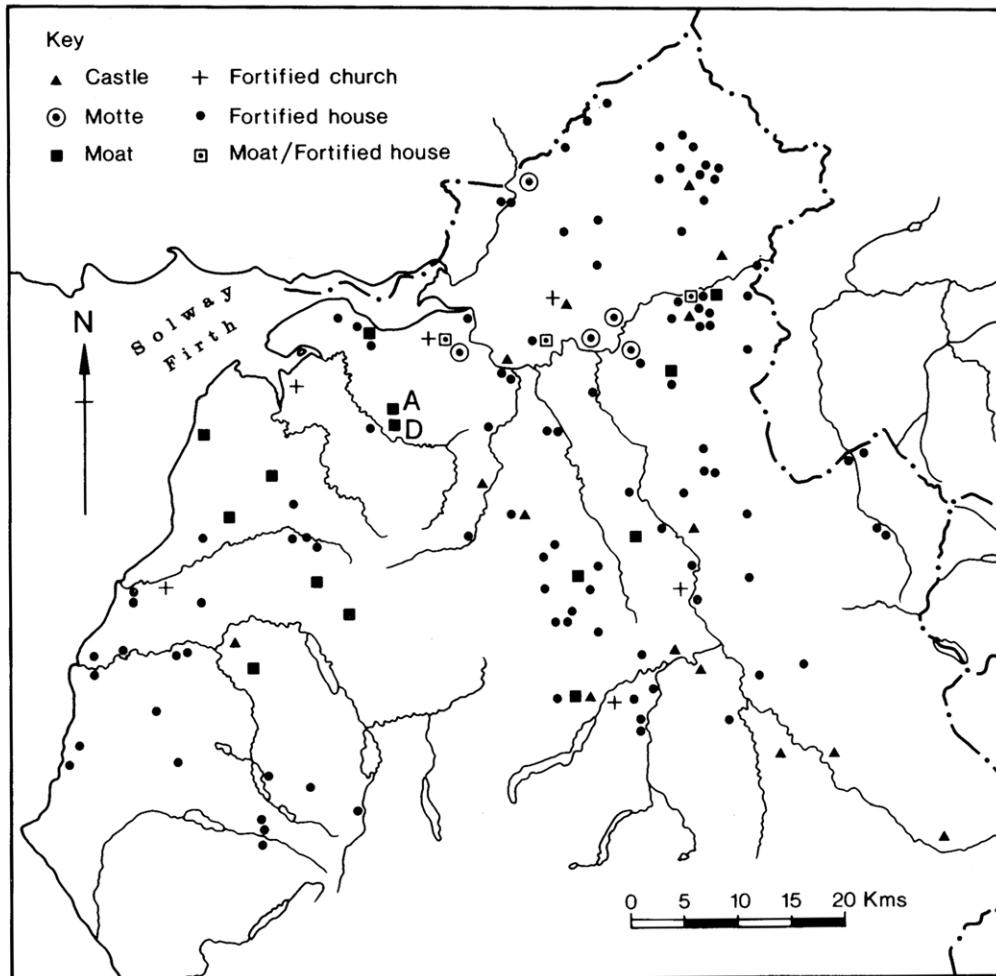


FIG. 9. – Distribution of moated and other medieval defended sites in the Solway Basin and North Cumberland; A = Aikton, D = Downhall.

fortified houses in the region (Perriam 1985, 35), there are only 17 certain or probable moated sites (Fig. 9 and Appendix: this total does not include the unpublished Kershope Foot, Bewcastle, site identified through aerial reconnaissance by Tom Clare). In the very few cases where they occur in the same manor or parish (e.g. Denton Hall, Drumburgh and Whitehall), there is little relationship between the two categories of monument, which would suggest that they belong to different phases within the development of the Cumberland landscape. Supportive evidence for this interpretation can be seen in those few cases where a fortified house and moat are found at the same site (e.g. Burgh-by-

Sands, Dacre), for the house would seem to post-date the moat, although there are of course, exceptions (e.g. Wolsty, where moat and house are probably contemporary; and Linstock, where the moat probably post-dates the fortified house). Nonetheless, the overwhelming impression is that the moats pre-date the fortified houses, which themselves principally belong to the early 14th century and later, as is shown by a wealth of documentary evidence. It is possible to see some chronological significance in this, in which certain of the moats represent an innovatory phase of limited duration, of *defensible* earthworks containing timber structures, replaced on a different site by the *defensive* stone fortified towers and buildings especially characteristic of the region from the early 14th century onwards. Certain of the moated sites in Cumberland, therefore, might be broadly dated to the 12th-13th century, a time of comparative peace in the Western March, particularly after the 1237 settlement by which Scotland gave up all claims to the county. As a result of the renewed Anglo-Scottish wars of the 14th century, however, the moats were abandoned for the defensive stone structures, which remained the dominant form of seigniorial and other dwelling throughout this period, and during the ensuing phase of casual brigandage that characterized the Borders until the Union of the Crowns in 1603, and even later, until the 1660's, in the more remote parts of marches (Ramm *et al.*, 1970; Dixon 1979).

### Acknowledgements

We are grateful to Mr R. Graham, of Downhall, for allowing the excavation to take place, and to Ian Stuart of the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments for preliminary arrangements concerning this. A number of people gave help on various matters, notably the Reverend Barnett of Aikton; Colin Richardson, of Carlisle Museum; Tom Clare, Cumbria County Planning Department, Kendal; Bruce Jones and the staff of the Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle; and especially Denis Perriam, of the Cumbria County Planning Department, Carlisle, who gave valuable advice on other medieval fortified sites in the region, and whose research forms the basis of Fig. 8. The illustrations have been prepared by David Goodger and Philip Magrath, of the Central Excavation Unit, and we are grateful to John Hinchliffe and Andrew Saunders for commenting on the text: it must be emphasized, however, that any inadequacies in this rest with the first author.

### Appendix: A Check List of Cumberland Moats

The following list cannot claim to be exhaustive, but is a compilation of certain, probable and possible sites, not all of which have been visited, and whose exact status is therefore unknown.

Site	Parish	N.G.R. (all NX)	Type	References
Aikton Hall	Aikton	281529	Manorial	This report
Burgh-by-Sands	Burgh-by-Sands	332591	Manorial	Hogg 1954
Byerstead	Embleton	155292	Manorial?	Curwen 1913, 45
Castle Carrock	Castle Carrock	544565	Manorial?	Hall 1883, 465; Collingwood 1901, 293; 1923, 217

Castlerigg	Lazonby	507415	Hunting lodge? (no trace now visible)	Hutchinson 1794, 289; Collingwood 1901, 287
Collinson Castle	Inglewood	459379	Manorial? (no trace now visible)	Graham 1910, 115-16; Collingwood 1923, 227
Dacre	Dacre	461265	Manorial	Curwen 1913, 269-72
Denton Hall	Upper Denton	579631	Manorial	Collingwood, 1901, 292-3; Curwen 1913, 28; Ferguson 1883, 194
Downhall	Aikton	283525	Manorial	This report
Drumburgh	Bowness	264599	Manorial	
Linstock	Stanwix Rural	428585	Manorial	Curwen 1913, 298-9; Graham 1912, 187-94
Overwater Hall	Ireby	247345	Manorial	Collingwood 1901, 288; Collingwood 1923, 241; Anon 1900, 49
St Mungo's Castle	Bromfield	175470	Manorial	Collingwood 1923, 243; Curwen 1913, 42; Anon 1904, 347
Snittlegarth	Bewaldeth and Snittlegarth	215375	Manorial?	Collingwood 1901, 293; Curwen 1913, 46; Ferguson 1883, 193; Anon 1900, 49; Graham 1921, 148
Upper Denton	Upper Denton	615655	Agricultural	Collingwood, 1901, 292; Curwen 1913, 28; Ferguson 1883, 194
West Newton	West Newton	130437	Manorial	
Wolsty	Holme Low	105505	Ecclesiastical	Curwen 1913, 241-3; Grainger 1901, 194, 203 and 207; Graham 1909, 235-40

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