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Sheffield Castle, Sheffield

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NON-TECHNICAL SUMMARY

In January 2009, ARCUS were awarded University of Sheffield KT Rapid Response funding to undertake an archive scoping review and produce a predictive model of the layout of Sheffield Castle. This was initiated in response to issues raised at the September 2008 meeting of the Remains of the Sheffield Castle Working Group and subsequent SYAS brief.

While the KTRR funding allocated for the project was only sufficient to fund a rapid scoping review of the archive material, compile an updated history of Sheffield Castle, and produce a preliminary reconstruction of the layout of the main structural elements of Sheffield Castle, the results warrant further archival research to enhance the history presented in section 3 and to refine and expand the reconstruction presented in figure 1.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Scope of Report

In January 2009, ARCUS were awarded University of Sheffield KT Rapid Response funding to undertake an archive scoping review and produce a predictive model of the layout of Sheffield Castle. This was initiated in response to issues raised at the September 2008 meeting of the Remains of the Sheffield City Council (Castle Working Group) and subsequent SYAS brief. This report presents the results of a scoping review of archive material with a recreation of the potential layout of Sheffield Castle based upon this review.

2 AIMS AND METHODOLOGY

2.1 Aims and Objectives

The general aim of the assessment was to undertake a rapid scoping review of the archive material to assess the potential for producing a detailed history of Sheffield Castle and reliable predictive model of the layout and potential remains of Sheffield Castle.

The specific aims were:

- to assess the available archive material
- to produce a detailed account of the history of Sheffield Castle
- to produce, as far as possible, an accurate reconstruction of the layout of the major structural elements of Sheffield Castle based on the available archaeological, cartographic and documentary evidence

2.2 Methodology

All relevant and readily available published and unpublished documentary sources were consulted, including historic maps and photographs. Information on recorded archaeological sites was obtained from the regional authority. Data was collected from the following sources:

- South Yorkshire Sites and Monuments Record;
- University of Sheffield Western Bank Library and Archives;
- Sheffield Archives;
- Sheffield Local Studies Library;
- Weston Park Museum;
- National Monuments Record (NMR);
- Archaeology Data Service (ADS).

3 ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Glossary of time periods referred to in the text:

Early Medieval	450-1066	Medieval:	1066-1485
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3.1 Prehistoric to Roman

Sheffield Castle was constructed on an elevated site at the confluence of the River Don and the River Sheaf. Given the location and defensibility of the natural sandstone outcrop, the site is likely to have been a potential focus for early occupation (Armstrong 1930; Belford 1998). Likely to be due to the area's extensive development during later periods, a Bronze Age flint horseshoe scraper and an undated flint flake are the only prehistoric finds to have been recovered from the castle site (Armstrong 1930).

The castle site is located between the suggested courses of Roman roads at Bridgehouses to the north-west and Cricket Inn Road to the north-east (Preston 1956-58). The latter is likely to have crossed the River Sheaf just to the north of its confluence with the Don. Roman pottery recovered from the site includes one rim and several further pieces of a grey Silchester urn, along with one piece of local Samian ware (Armstrong 1930). This material, the only evidence for Roman activity within the site, appears to have been lost.

3.2 Early Medieval

The status of the castle site during this period remains problematic. Since at least the mid-19th century, the castle site had been suggested as the location of the 'aula' or hall of Waltheof, earl of Northumbria, a structure that had been recorded in Domesday Book (Addy 1853; Faull and Stinson 1986, 320a, c). Leslie Armstrong interpreted the archaeological remains of a large, timber-framed building that stood within the north-east part of the site as an Anglo-Saxon building constructed prior to the first Norman castle and tentatively identified the structure as Waltheof's aula (Armstrong 1930).

Armstrong stated that this 'extensive and substantial' structure was clearly 'of Saxon construction' (Armstrong 1930, 22; 24). Two complete bays and the remnant of a third were represented by the bases of two upright wooden posts that were set into the ground and resting on flat padstone supports. The posts were connected by a sill beam, adjoining which was a well-preserved wattle-and-clay floor (Armstrong 1930). Armstrong considered these features to be the floor and long wall of a pre-Norman building and asserted that there was 'clear stratigraphical evidence' to demonstrate that the building pre-dated the first Norman castle (Armstrong 1930, 24).

Waltheof, or perhaps Sweyn, lord of Sheffield and Attercliffe, in 1066 (Faull and Stinson 1986, 320a, c), would have possessed the status to command labour services and the economic power to hire the skilled craftsmen necessary to construct a substantial timber-framed building on a high status site. However, there is no unambiguous evidence to associate the site with these figures or to assign the building to the Anglo-Saxon period.

Armstrong's identification of the timber features as the remains of a cruck-framed building (Armstrong 1930) is problematic as this construction method is unknown in England prior to the early 13th century (Davies and Symonds 2002). Box-framed buildings were also unknown in England prior to the Norman Conquest (Davies, *pers comm.*). This suggests that Armstrong's identification of the construction method was incorrect or his interpretation of the remains as an Anglo-Saxon structure was wrong. Armstrong left one of the timbers *in situ* but does not appear to have retained those he removed. The timbers are consequently unavailable for dating analysis by dendrochronology.

The padstones and the materials used to create the wattle and clay floor indicate that made ground was brought into the site in association with this phase of construction. The made ground could itself have contained datable material and may have sealed evidence relating to earlier phases. Armstrong does not appear to have excavated beneath the padstones and consequently did not produce evidence relating to possible site preparation or landscaping works that appear to have taken place prior to the construction of the timber-framed building. However, two pits containing wrought timber and 'wattle-work', along with three ditches identified towards the west of the castle site were also suggested as possible Anglo-Saxon features (Butcher 1970).

A small amount of ceramic from the south ditch was interpreted by Armstrong himself as 'Saxon' pottery and was cited as further evidence of pre-Norman occupation at the site (Armstrong 1930; Himsworth 1929). This material does not appear to have been among that given by Armstrong to Weston Park Museum (Butcher 1970; Davies and Symonds 2002). L.B. Butcher subsequently found late 11th-century 'Saxo-Norman' ceramic at the site (Butcher 1959), suggesting that the 'Saxon' pottery may not have been pre-Norman.

A series of sharpened oak stakes 2m in length that were recovered from the base of the south moat were interpreted by Armstrong as 'Saxon' features associated with the site's earliest defences (Armstrong 1930). However, there is no evidence to indicate that the moat was extant during the pre-Norman period and defensive stakes were observed in this area as late as the siege of Sheffield Castle in 1644. Himsworth reported that Armstrong removed some of the 'Saxon' stakes (Himsworth 1927). It is not clear if these remain extant and may thus be available for dating by dendrochronology.

3.3 Medieval

Armstrong stated that the 'Saxon' building within the castle site had been 'destroyed by fire' (Armstrong 1930). Fire damage was apparent on 'spars' found between the timbers, while burnt material was associated with the wattle floor of the building (Armstrong 1930; Himsworth 1929). Armstrong suggested that the destruction had occurred during the Harrying of the North, a 'scorched earth' policy embarked upon by William the Conqueror following northern support for of the 1069 invasion of England by Svein Estrithson, king of Denmark (Armstrong 1930).

However, while Waltheof took part in the 1069 rebellion, he was not the earl of Northumbria at that date and, while William's route appears to have taken him along the Great North Road and thus through Tickhill, Bawtry and Doncaster, there is no evidence to indicate that Sheffield was one of the Conqueror's targets. Royal castles were constructed at several strategic locations in the Midlands and North during this period, including Nottingham, Lincoln and York. However, there is no evidence to suggest that William built a castle at Sheffield.

Waltheof became earl of Northumbria following his submission in 1070 and subsequently married the king's niece, Countess Judith of Lens. In 1072, Waltheof constructed a castle at Durham on William's behalf (Dalton 1994), thus becoming the first English earl to be associated unambiguously with castle-building. However, castles were a Norman introduction into England (Eales 1990) and it is likely that Waltheof merely 'oversaw', rather than directed or designed, the construction of Durham Castle by Norman *ingeniotores*. There is no evidence to indicate that the earl subsequently built castles in his own lands and Waltheof is thus unlikely to have constructed the first Sheffield Castle. The majority of lands held by Waltheof and

Judith were not in South Yorkshire and there is no evidence to demonstrate that they actually lived in Sheffield. Waltheof was executed in 1076 for his part in a baronial rebellion.

Armstrong stated that a deposit of 'debris and humus' had accumulated over the charred remains of the 'Saxon' building, indicating that the site had 'lain waste and deserted for a considerable period' following the building's destruction (Armstrong 1930, 23). There is no direct evidence to support this, although Roger de Busli, Judith's tenant-in-chief, was based at Tickhill and it is thus plausible that following the destruction of an Anglo-Saxon building during the Harrying of the North, the site may have remained unoccupied for the remainder of the 11th century.

However, it is possible that, rather than accumulating over several decades, the deposit of 'debris and humus' may have been made ground deriving from the demolition of the timber structure and landscaping works conducted in preparation for the construction of the site's subsequent phase. This may be supported by the felling of the fire-damaged timbers to approximately 0.12m above ground level (Armstrong 1930). This suggests that landscaping works had indeed taken place in association with the site's subsequent redevelopment.

William de Lovetot assumed control of Sheffield during the early 12th century. The process by which this occurred is unclear, although de Lovetot appears to have held the manor as tenant-in-chief of Waltheof's daughter, Maud. Countess Judith and Roger de Busli both appear to have died during the reign of William Rufus (1087-1100). Maud succeeded to Judith's estates, although she may have been a minor during this period and thus became a ward of the Crown. Henry I is known to have arranged the marriage of Maud's sister, Adeliza, and may also have been responsible for the marriage of Maud to David of Scotland in 1113. The choice of William de Lovetot as Maud's tenant-in-chief may also have been made by Henry I. Evidence given to an inquest in 1332 stated that the ancestors of the then-lords of Sheffield had 'held the said castle (of Sheffield) of the King of Scotland by homage and service of rendering two white greyhounds yearly' (quoted in Curtis 1914, 40). Maud's marriage to David of Scotland provides the context for this arrangement, and confirms William de Lovetot's status as Maud's tenant.

De Lovetot is credited with having purposely developed Sheffield as the principal site within his Yorkshire estates (Hunter 1819). There is no direct evidence to demonstrate that de Lovetot constructed the first Sheffield Castle, although it is plausible that the figure who constructed the town's parish church, the first Lady's Bridge over the River Don, and St. Leonard's Hospital on Spital Hill, may also have established a castle in the principal seat of his lordship (Hunter 1819). However, the witness list of the St. Leonard's charter implies that the hospital may have been constructed during the reign of Henry II (1154-1189), which suggests that it may have been built by William's grandson, William de Lovetot II (Page 1974, 331).

Suggested dates for the construction of the first Sheffield Castle are typically given as c.1100 or c.1150 (Davies and Constable 2005, 5). There is no direct evidence to support either of these dates. However, archaeological evidence of a motte within the site may indicate the castle was likely to have been constructed in the first or the second quarter of the 12th century, as there are no documented examples of mottes being constructed in England after the accession of Henry II in 1154 (Pounds 1990, 21). The presence or absence of a motte within the site may thus help to determine if Sheffield Castle was constructed during the early 12th century by William de Lovetot or in the mid-12th century by his son, Richard or grandson, William II. No evidence of a motte has been identified within the castle site. However, this could be due to later

medieval development and the limited scope of the archaeological programmes carried out to date.

There is little evidence to demonstrate the nature and form of the first Sheffield Castle. Developments in baronial castles throughout England during the 12th century may suggest several features and aspects of design that may have been incorporated into the structure, although these remain speculative. The castle may have been a motte and bailey structure, featuring a timber stronghold or keep atop an earthen mound, surrounded by a ditch. The area between the motte and the ditch may have included a number of ancillary buildings by the mid-12th century, while the defences may also have included a timber fence or palisade around the summit of the motte and also around the castle's outer perimeter. However, the majority of the mottes known to have been extant prior to this period appear to have been disused by the late 12th century (Pounds 1990, 20).

Alternatively, the first Sheffield Castle may have been a ringwork fortification. This form of castle featured a timber keep within a defensive embankment and associated ditch. Given the location of the site atop a natural outcrop, either form is plausible. However, Armstrong's observations do not appear to have identified banks in association with the moats and there are no documented examples of mottes being constructed in England after the accession of Henry II in 1154 (Pounds 1990, 21). The current evidence thus does not favour either design, and the form of the first Sheffield Castle remains unknown.

William de Lovetot II died prior to 1181, leaving his seven-year-old daughter, Maud, as his heir. Maud was made a ward of Henry II and the manor of Sheffield appears to have been administered during this period by Ralf Murdac, the sheriff of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. Royal records preserved in the Exchequer demonstrate that a castle was extant at Sheffield in 1183-84, when Murdac was paid an allowance from the profits of the manor as recompense for works at '*castellum de Sedfeld*' (quoted in Madox 1711, 535). This is the earliest known explicit reference to Sheffield Castle, although this is almost certainly due to the incidence of survival of royal records in comparison to that of baronial documentation.

From the late 11th to the mid-12th centuries, the focus of a castle's defences was the seignorial dwelling or keep (Thompson 1991). However, by the second half of the 12th century, stronger perimeter defences, such as a stone curtain wall that enclosed the site, became the primary focus of a castle's defence (Thompson 1991). Documentary evidence suggests that 'walling' did in fact occur at Sheffield Castle during the latter period. In 1183-84, Ralf Murdac was recompensed by the Exchequer for the money he had expended '*in custamento claudendi castellum de Sedfeld*' (Henry II Pipe Roll 30, 100). Thomas Madox translated this as 'moneys laid-out in walling Sheffield Castle' (Madox 1711, 535).

Developments in castle technology saw the gradual replacement of earth and timber defences with stone features during this period and it is possible that this process was reflected at Sheffield in the 1183-84 account. However, the nature of the 'walling' remains unclear, as '*claudendi*' derives from '*claudere*', meaning to enclose or fortify, and can indicate a wall, a fence or even a ditch. It is not clear in which context the term was applied to Sheffield Castle. Should the Pipe Roll entry refer to the construction of a stone wall, the process may have involved the construction of a perimeter wall or, as is rather more likely during this period (Pounds 1990, 20), a stone wall around the top of a motte, in order to strengthen the defences of the keep

Archaeological evidence demonstrates that moats or defensive ditches added further protection on all but the northern approach to Sheffield Castle, which was protected

by the River Don. It has been argued that the moats may have been earlier features that were associated with the timber building which Armstrong believed to pre-date the first castle (Armstrong 1930). However, with the exception of several sherds of apparently misinterpreted 'Saxon' pottery, the artefacts recovered from the castle ditches dated from the 12th to 17th centuries (Armstrong 1930). This corresponds with the period in which castles are known to have occupied the site and, although it is possible that pre-existing ditches were recut, suggests that the moats and castles were contemporary.

The base of the south moat was cut into the bedrock to a depth of 2.1m (Armstrong 1930). Stone removed from rock-cut moats was typically utilised in the castle itself, perhaps to support a motte or to strengthen weak points such as gate defences. The inner face of the moat beneath the gate was faced with stonework which may have been excavated from the base of the moat (Armstrong 1930; Butcher 1970). The majority of defensive ditches associated with 12th-century castles were dry features and at those sites with water-filled moats, the water had been diverted from nearby rivers (Thompson 1991). Sheffield Castle appears to fit this pattern, with 'wet' ditches at the west and south that were fed by the River Don, with the inlet being located immediately east of Lady's Bridge and controlled by a sluice.

The site of the sluice from the Don may have been represented by a series of large, unmortared stone blocks found at river level during excavations along the site's River Don frontage in 1930. Butcher indicated that 'the northernmost record of the moat bottom...shows that it lies at virtually river level' along parts of Waingate and that this level was 'sustained southward past the Waingate-Exchange Street corner' (Butcher 1970, 9). Butcher calculated that a '20ft high dam would be required' at the Don sluice in order to maintain a single water-level throughout the moat (Butcher 1970). The top of the stone blocks identified in 1930 were 3.85m below the then-current ground level.

Glyn Davies identified the inner face of the east moat during excavations carried out in 2000 (Davies 2002). Waterlogged deposits were not recovered from this area, although the base of the moat lay beyond the limit of excavation (Davies and Symonds 2002). However, it is possible that the east moat may have been a normally dry ditch that, when required, could be filled with water from the River Sheaf via a sluice. However, the latter was recorded in relation to the 1644 siege of the castle and it is not clear if the east ditch had possessed this facility during the castle's 12th-century phase.

Butcher calculated that a '20ft high dam' similar to that on the Don would also be required at the river's confluence with the Sheaf in order to maintain water within the east ditch (Butcher 1970, 9). The east moat was not as deep as that at the south of the castle, although additional protection was offered in this area by the outcrop, which appears to have risen steeply from the inner face of the east ditch, while the course of the River Sheaf, which may have run approximately 5m to the west of its current course (Belford 1998), also provided additional security in this area.

Armstrong encountered various layers of charcoal and wood ash, including burnt rubble and fragments of masonry displaying fire damage (Armstrong 1930). This was interpreted as the remains of the 12th-century castle, which was destroyed by fire ('*combustionem*') in 1266 (Armstrong 1930; Hunter 1831, 186). However, Sheffield Castle had been damaged extensively by fire ('*incendium*') in 1184-85, with the £66 that was spent on its repair or restoration ('*reficiendo*') indicating the scale of the destruction and consequent rebuilding (Henry II, Pipe Roll 31, 117). Armstrong does not appear to have taken into account either the 12th-century fire or the consequent

replacement of features when interpreting the archaeological evidence.

Two pits excavated by Davies at the north of the site contained charcoal and burnt stone, along with late 12th- to 15th-century pottery (Davies 2002). Given the disputed interpretations of Saxon ceramic and construction methods, it is thus possible that the 'Saxon' timber structure recorded by Armstrong was actually a building that stood within the bailey of the first Sheffield Castle, and which may have been demolished after being damaged during the 1184-85 fire.

Rather than being an accumulation of 'debris and humus' deriving from several decades of disuse (Armstrong 1930), the material that sealed the timber features may have been a levelling layer that was deposited in order to landscape the site in association with the repairs or rebuilding that occurred within the castle following the fire in 1184-85. The Exchequer records do not specify the nature of the castleworks on which £66 was spent and there is no evidence to indicate the extent to which damaged structures were repaired, rebuilt or demolished.

The timber building was located beneath the probable site of the subsequent 13th-century hall. This may indicate deliberate continuity in the location of the seignorial dwelling within the various phases of the castle, further supporting the interpretation of the timber building as a medieval structure associated with the first castle.

In 1187-88, Ralf Murdac was paid a further allowance for the sums expended on the '*custodia castelli de Saffeld de ipso honore vigilibus et portario et servienti*' (Henry II, Pipe Roll 34, 200). Thomas Madox translated this as 'wages' paid to 'gendarmes' (Madox 1711, 533), which suggests that a professional garrison was present within the castle, rather than a series of tenants performing castle-guard as part of their tenorial services. A permanent garrison would have required quarters within the castle precincts. These are likely to have been located within the bailey, along with other important ancillary structures such as a chapel and, given the manorial lord's role in the provision of justice, perhaps a prison or dungeon. This is likely to have been located within one of the castle's towers and the guarding of prisoners may have formed part of the garrison's duties. Archaeological evidence has not identified unambiguously potential subsidiary structures such as prisons or dungeons within the first phase of the castle, although archaeological deposits relating to such features could have been destroyed by later developments.

It should be noted, however, that the 1187-88 entry in the Pipe Rolls can be translated as money spent on the safekeeping ('*custodia*') of Sheffield Castle through the provision of watchers or sentries ('*vigilibus*') on gatehouse service ('*portario*', '*servienti*'). In that case, this entry need not rule out the performance of castle-guard as a tenorial service and Joseph Hunter argued that the manorial lord of Ecclesall did, in fact, owe castle-guard to the lord of Sheffield during the medieval period (Hunter 1819). Castle-guard was gradually replaced by the use of a permanent garrison, although it is not known when this tenorial service was superseded by a professional garrison at Sheffield. The term '*portario*' indicates that a gatehouse was present at the main entrance to the first castle during the late 12th century. This feature is likely to have been located on or in close proximity to the site of the Great Gate that stood subsequently at the south-east corner of the second castle.

Control of Sheffield passed from the de Lovetot family and descended through the female line to Maud's husband, Gerard de Furnival. The latter paid King John £1000 to be allowed to inherit Sheffield at the expense of Maud's cousin, Nigel de Lovetot. Little is known of the castle during Gerard's tenure. His grandson, Thomas de Furnival, supported the royalist cause during the Second Barons' War and was ordered by Henry III to look to the defence of Yorkshire (Calendar of Patent Rolls

1258-1266). John de Eyvill subsequently led rebel forces into South Yorkshire and attacked Sheffield Castle in April or May 1266 (Vickers 1992).

Thomas de Furnival subsequently petitioned Edward III for reparations, stating that de Eyvill had led the assault on Sheffield (*'cum equis et armis'*), had robbed and despoiled his property and had burned (*'combustionem'*) the town and castle (quoted in Hunter 1831, 186). It is often stated that the castle was 'burned to the ground' (Davies and Constable 2005, 205). However, the extent of the damage incurred during the 1266 attack is unknown.

Similarly, it is not clear where the seignorial family were living during the immediate aftermath of the attack. However, Thomas de Furnival did not seek to replace the castle until four years later, when he sought a royal licence to crenellate from Henry III. The text of the licence, which was granted at Westminster on 25th July 1270, is preserved in the Patent Rolls and reads: 'Grant to Thomas de Furnivall that at his manor (*apud manerium suum*) of Shefeld, co. York, he may build a stone castle (*castrum lapideum*) and fortify and crenellate it' (Calendar of Patent Rolls 1258-66, 447).

Obtaining a royal 'licence to crenellate' during this period was merely a formality, yet one which 'dignified the recipient' (Coulson 1979, 86) and the request may have been intended to demonstrate that de Furnival remained loyal to, and retained the favour of, the king. The specific phrase 'stone castle' is likely to reflect the wording of Thomas de Furnival's individual petition. The intention to construct a stone castle may imply that the first Sheffield Castle fell due to the firing of its timber structures, including defences and primary buildings. This, following the destruction caused at the site by fire in 1184-85, may have motivated its lord to diminish the possibility of a recurrence of similar damage by rebuilding in stone. However, the symbolic aspects of castleworks became increasingly prominent during this period (Coulson 1979) and the emphasis on masonry may have included elements of display and defiance, indicating to de Furnival's baronial peers his continuing prosperity and status following the destruction of his castle in 1266.

Documentary and archaeological evidence demonstrate some of the features that were present within the second castle and indicate how these developed over the remainder of the castle's history. Halls, rather than keeps, were the prevailing form of seignorial residence within castles of this period and there are numerous references to a Great Hall within the second Sheffield Castle. The hall may have been the large building towards the north-east corner of the castle site that was identified by Davies in 2002. Archaeological evidence of the footings of stone walls approximately 2m in width, glazed and leaded windows, tiled floors, buttresses and a vaulted cellar or undercroft may suggest that this structure was a continuation of the building containing the vaulted undercroft identified by Armstrong (Davies 2002).

The form of the hall building at Sheffield is unknown, although extant halls within contemporary English castles suggest that it is likely to have been one of three types of structure: a long building with two rows of columns dividing it into a broad, central vessel with two aisles on either side; a smaller, narrower building without columns; or a two-storey structure with the main hall over a ground-floor vault, possibly with a central row of columns supporting the vault (Thompson 1991). Armstrong recorded the base of a large, circular column, possibly preserved *in situ* in the inner bailey, which may have derived from the castle hall (Himsworth 1928).

Alternatively, this column may have derived from the castle chapel. The presence of a chapel at this date is indicated by the five marks paid annually by Thomas de Furnival to Worksop Priory for two chaplains and a clerk to work at Sheffield Castle (Hunter

1869). Chapels were typically located either close to the upper end of the hall or between the hall and the gate (Thompson 1991). Thomas de Furnival died in 1291 and appears to have been buried in the castle chapel. During the 17th century, a large, flat stone was found in the chapel, upon which was engraved: 'I Lord Furnival - I built this castle-hall - and under this wall - within this tomb was my burial' (quoted in Gatty 1873, 19). The stone coffin is said to have been used subsequently as a water trough at Manor Lodge (Belford 1998).

Armstrong suggested that the new, stone castle was constructed on the site of its 12th-century predecessor, through the importation of made ground at the north and west and the levelling of the remains of the de Lovetot structures, which may have stood on the site of the courtyard within the inner bailey of the second castle (Armstrong 1930; Butcher 1970). However, there is some evidence to suggest that elements of the first castle may have remained extant within de Furnival's castle.

An 'old tower' that was recorded in 1442 may have dated from the first castle (Thomas 1920, 71), while a *camera abstracta* or 'withdrawing room of the earl' was also recorded within the castle during this period (Thomas 1920, 71). The nature and location of the latter feature remains unclear. Although it may have been part of the Great Hall, perhaps the earl's private dining room, it should be noted that as castles developed during the 12th and 13th centuries, existing keeps are known to have been 'retained as a chamber-block for the lord' when halls were constructed (Thompson 1991, 94). The keep of the first Sheffield Castle may thus have remained extant and been in use as the 'old tower' or the *camera abstracta* until at least the mid-15th century. However, it should be noted that while medieval and post-medieval documentary sources contain numerous references to a 'hall' and several to a 'mansion house' within the site, there are no known documentary references to a 'keep' within Sheffield Castle.

Tower keeps became less frequent features of English castles during the 13th century and the presence of a seignorial hall within a baronial castle was the norm by the time that Thomas de Furnival constructed the second castle at Sheffield in 1270 (Thompson 1991). A 'Great Tower' was recorded at the site in 1442 (Thomas 1920, 71) and while it is possible that this feature was a keep it was not named as such in the documentary sources. The Great Tower may have been merely the largest of the four mural towers which are known from archaeological evidence to have stood along the castle's north wall (Himsworth 1930).

Himsworth observed the 'great width' of this mural tower, which stood at the castle's north-west corner, and noted the 'heavy pieces (of rubble) used for filling' between the ashlar stonework (Himsworth 1930, 20). A strong tower at this location would have protected the sluice gate that stood near Lady's Bridge, allowing water from the River Don to be channelled into the castle's west and south moats. However, such a feature need not have been a keep in order to fulfil this role. There are no known descriptions of the Great Tower and both its form and the period in which it was constructed remain unclear.

Archaeological evidence demonstrates that the principal entrance to the castle was located at the south-east of the site and incorporated a gate, with large, circular bastion towers approximately 14m in diameter set immediately east and west of the entrance (Armstrong 1930; Butcher 1970). Round towers had become a feature of English castles soon after 1200 (Thompson 1991) and their design, which increased their ability to deflect projectiles, was well-established by the time that Thomas de Furnival's castle was built in 1270. The principal entrance to Sheffield Castle thus reflected a typical design, with the entrance recessed between two towers, set

approximately 2.5 to 3m apart, so that the garrison could outflank an attack on the gate (Thompson 1991).

The west gate tower stood on a substantial ashlar plinth, which abutted directly onto the edge of the south moat and a steeply-inclined masonry wall which had been constructed against the inner face of the moat and which stood on a series of steps cut into the bedrock (Butcher 1970). Archaeological evidence identified a large ashlar pillar immediately opposite the castle gate as a support for the lowered drawbridge (Armstrong 1930). Although Armstrong had interpreted this feature as a free-standing pier in the centre of the south moat or Great Ditch, Butcher demonstrated that the pier was built out from the south side of the moat, ending in a vertical fall at the centre of the ditch (Butcher 1970).

Masons' marks identified on the drawbridge pier were also found on the bastion towers, indicating that these parts of the gate defences were contemporary. Identical masons' marks were also found on the remains of buildings within the eastern part of the inner bailey, which included a vaulted chamber that was interpreted as a 13th-century structure (Armstrong 1930). The masons' marks thus suggest that the bastion towers and drawbridge pier were also part of the original phase of the second castle.

A large curtain wall appears to have been constructed as part of Thomas de Furnival's castle. Armstrong identified part of the course of the east wall, which he believed may have followed roughly the inner line of the ditch (Armstrong 1930). The south wall did not follow this pattern and appears to have stood several metres to the north of the ditch (Armstrong 1930). The form of the defensive walls may have been influenced by contemporary trends towards a predominantly square or quadrilateral design (Thompson 1991). The west ditch and walls were not identified archaeologically in 1927-30 but were observed by Butcher between 1952 and 1968 (Butcher 1970).

The bastion tower and the east curtain wall were constructed of finely-tooled ashlar blocks of high quality masonry, backed by flat-backed rubble that was adhered with lime mortar, and stood on ashlar plinths (Armstrong 1930). This was typical of castle construction throughout the later medieval period. The wall was approximately 3.6m thick. A local tradition that the stone was derived from seignorial quarries at Handsworth may be supported by Patent Rolls which indicated that this area belonged to Thomas de Furnival during the period in which the second Sheffield Castle was constructed (Edward I, Pipe Roll 4). Himsworth's observation of various sections of excavated masonry also suggested a Handsworth source, with the yellowish tracery perhaps indicating that further material was sourced from quarries at Anston and Grenoside. A yellow sandstone plinth observed in the vicinity of the north wall may have been constructed from stone deriving from Sheffield Park or Arbourthorne (Himsworth 1927; 1928).

Archaeological evidence suggests that the hall stood at the north-east corner of the castle, separated by the north curtain wall from the Great Tower at the north-west corner. Given contemporary developments in English castle development, a series of subsidiary buildings would have been situated between the two primary structures. These would have been constructed against the castle's north wall and would have been accessible from the courtyard. Archaeological evidence of such structures may be represented by a drystone wall up to seven courses in height, that ran north towards the edge of the precipice overlooking the Don (Davies and Constable 2005). The northern terminus of this feature had been truncated by the removal of the north wall and the cutting back of the 'precipice'. However, a clay deposit which had

built up against the wall contained 13th-century material, suggesting that the wall itself may have pre-dated that period (Davies 2002).

During this period, the layout of English castles appears to have become standardised and a similar sequence of ancillary buildings located around the inner curtain wall of the bailey is found at many sites (Thompson 1991). An abundance of kitchen debris in that part of the south ditch adjacent to the entrance may indicate that a kitchen was located in that area (Armstrong 1930). The remains of buildings at the east of the inner bailey included a cellar or, possibly a dungeon, with a vaulted stone roof, along with doorways indicating the remains of various apartments (Armstrong 1930).

Archaeological evidence indicates that modifications were made to the defences at the entrance of the castle during the 14th century. A rectangular gatehouse was constructed at the entrance, perhaps to protect the drawbridge mechanism and to strengthen the immediate approach to the gate, which was the castle's weakest point (Armstrong 1930). The construction of this feature, which required entrance to the castle to be made through the ground floor of the gatehouse, was in keeping with contemporary developments in English castle architecture (Thompson 1991). The gatehouse constructed at Sheffield was as wide as the drawbridge pier (Butcher 1970).

The base of the gatehouse had been constructed with a 75° batter to match that of the bastion towers. However, in comparison to the latter, the gatehouse was built of inferior materials and with inferior craftsmanship (Armstrong 1930). It was not keyed-in to the tower and the gap between the two structures was filled with earth and clay, rather than rubble grouted by lime mortar (Armstrong 1930). Fourteenth-century pottery recovered from the infill indicated the period in which the gatehouse was constructed. It is possible that the presence of this inferior structure at one of the main focal points of the site influenced a 1332 description of Sheffield Castle as 'frail and ruinous' (quoted in Curtis 1914, 40).

This statement, made just 62 years after the castle's construction remains problematic. The size and scale of the 14th-century castle is suggested by a comment made by Sir George Sitwell who, upon viewing a 14th-century map on the wall of the Bodleian Library, remarked that 'Sheffield is all castle' (quoted in Drury 1929, 188). The whereabouts of this map are currently unknown. Archaeological evidence does not bear out the depiction of a 'frail and ruinous' castle, with at least one substantial new building being constructed within the site during the 14th century. Armstrong believed that this structure stood in close proximity to the great hall or chapel (Armstrong 1930) and it is possible that this was the 'porch' that stood before the entrance to the hall that was recorded in a 1560 description of the castle (Hunter 1819).

The 'frail and ruinous' description was recorded in an inquisition made on the death of Gerard de Furnival and the additional comment that the castle was 'worth naught yearly' (quoted in Curtis 1914, 40) may suggest that these assertions were intended to downplay the potential wealth of Gerard's heirs, who would have to pay a fine to the king for the right to inherit his estates. This may be supported by the repetition of the claim that the castle was 'worth nought yearly' in a 1383 inquest on the death of William de Furnival (quoted in Curtis 1914, 48).

The 1332 inquest recorded that among the lands owned by the lord of Sheffield was 'a close within the castle' itself (quoted in Curtis 1914, 34). Despite the phrasing of the statement, it is not clear if this plot was located within the inner courtyard or the outer bailey, as a statement that 240 acres of demesne land within the castle 'lie fallow and untilled' was also made to the 1332 inquest (Curtis 1914). Sheffield Castle

encompassed an area of approximately 4 acres (Belford 1998) and the figure given to the inquest is likely to represent the total of the lord's lands within the manor, rather than the castle, of Sheffield.

Sheffield passed from the de Furnival family in 1383 and descended through the female line to Thomas Neville and subsequently to John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury. Talbot was a renowned figure and a hero of the final stages of the Hundred Years War (Gatty 1873). Castles such as Sheffield that were 'occupied over long periods were repeatedly refurbished and rebuilt' (Eales 1990, 58) and numerous castleworks were carried out at Sheffield during Talbot's tenure. It is not clear if these appear to be unusual due to the loss of evidence from earlier periods, or if Talbot, one of the pre-eminent English aristocrats of this period, purposely aggrandised the castle to reflect his status.

Documentary evidence records several features that were present within Sheffield Castle during the 1440s, along with indications of their interrelationship. These included the Great Hall, the Great Tower, the Great Gate, a bakehouse, a kitchen, a prison and a *hospiteum*, where itinerant workers and less salubrious guests were lodged (Thomas 1920, 71-72). The majority of these features faced into the castle's inner courtyard, which suggests that they conformed to typical structural arrangements within English castles during this period, with the subsidiary buildings being arranged around the wall of the inner bailey. Armstrong recorded archaeological deposits relating to the courtyard itself in a series of pile holes (Armstrong 1930). The courtyard appears to have been, at least partially, cobbled although documentary sources indicate that a stone and cinder path ran from the hall to the gate during the 15th century (Thomas 1920, 71).

A 'hedge' that was located 'below the castle wall', ran from the Great Tower to the bakehouse and was situated between the wall and a water source called 'the stream' (quoted in Thomas 1920, 70-72). Thomas suggested that the stream was synonymous with the River Sheaf, although the Great Tower is likely to have stood at the north-west of the site, overlooking the Don, and the hedge's course between the tower and the bakehouse suggests that it may have run around the castle's west wall. It is possible that 'hedge' was a euphemism, as the Latin term *hircheti* was often applied to a timber palisade (Pounds 1990, 204). Himsworth believed that a stream which ran from High Street may have fed the south ditch (Himsworth 1927). This watercourse may have been synonymous with the 'stream' recorded in the mid-15th century.

The term 'great' in relation to the hall, tower and gate implies that these features were to be distinguished from smaller counterparts. This is borne out by work carried out in 1442, when John Plumber repaired the lead on both the Great Tower and a tower next to the bakehouse (Thomas 1920, 68). A further tower was recorded next to the chapel in 1445-46. This feature, described as 'the old tower', was demolished and replaced by a new tower constructed by two masons from Tickhill (Thomas 1920, 71). Its construction required the employment of 120 people to bring stone from Roche Abbey in 60 wagons. The sourcing of stone from the Roche Abbey quarries indicates that the new tower is likely to have been constructed from limestone. 60 oak trees were felled in Sheffield Park to provide timber for the tower (Thomas 1920).

During the 1440s, work was also carried out on the gutters which discharged into the castle's inner courtyard and in making a lead pipe for bringing water into the castle (Thomas 1920). The water source appears to have been a well that was located outside the castle. Several further structures were described specifically as being 'outside the castle' (quoted in Thomas 1920, 72). These included the Exchequer

Chamber, where dues and fines will have been paid in while wages and service payments were paid out; a stone and timber grange; a cowhouse; and stables (Thomas 1920, 68-72). These are likely to have been situated within the outer bailey, which stood to the south of the castle's southern ditch. Sheffield Castle thus accords with the pattern at other English castles which, if occupied over considerable periods, were repeatedly refurbished and rebuilt (Eales 1990).

3.4 Post-medieval

During the first quarter of the 16th century, the Talbots had come to regard Sheffield Castle as 'cramped' and had developed Manor Lodge, a hunting lodge in Sheffield Park, as the principal seignorial residence. Several details of the castle during the early post-medieval period were revealed in an account of the funeral of Francis Talbot in 1560. Descriptions of the funeral ceremony revealed that 'first the Porch, going into the Hall, and the Hall also, was hanged with black cloth...then the way from the Hall to the Great Chamber was hanged in like manner' (quoted in Hunter 1819), thus demonstrating the relationship between key features of the seignorial buildings.

A description of the 'great dinner' that followed the funeral listed several of the officers of the earl's Household, who were employed at the castle, including a steward, a treasurer, a 'controuler' and several officers of arms (quoted in Hunter 1819). A variety of administrative, residential and military buildings within the castle precincts are likely to have been associated with these roles. Similarly, quarters would have been required for the '*castellanus*', the constable or castellan, who was recorded at the castle in 1571 (Hunter 1819).

In 1570, Elizabeth I committed Mary, Queen of Scots, to the custody of George Talbot. Mary was held prisoner in Sheffield Castle until 1584. Elizabeth's concerns that Mary may escape from the castle were addressed by the earl in a letter written in 1573, in which Talbot stated that he had stationed guards permanently 'under her windows and over her chamber' (quoted in Hunter 1819). This suggests something of the layout of the building in which Mary was kept and indicates that she was held under 'house arrest' during her initial years at Sheffield Castle.

In 1571, Talbot stated that Mary was unable to exercise as he was 'loathe to let her out of the gates' of the castle, but that 'I do suffer her to walk upon the kads here in the open air in my large dining chamber and also in this courtyard' (quoted in Hunter 1819). This indicates that Mary was allowed to walk on the flat roof (the 'kads') of the earl's dining room, which is likely to have been part of the Great Hall.

The Calendar of Patent Rolls record that on 2nd January 1574, Elizabeth I granted a licence to George Talbot allowing him 'to alienate the castle of Sheffield' (Calendar of Patent Rolls 1572-1575, 340). No plausible context or explanation is known for Talbot's desire to transfer the castle to another's control, and the queen's permission to do so does not seem to have been acted upon.

In 1575, Talbot wrote to Lord Burghley, revealing that on 24th February Sheffield had been hit by an earthquake which shook the castle walls. In a letter to the queen, the earl revealed that the shock 'so sunk chiefly her chamber', indicating that Mary's apartments had been the part of the castle most affected by the quake (quoted in Hunter 1869, 92).

It is not clear to what extent Mary's imprisonment impacted on the day-to-day running of the castle and its functions. Following her removal to Tutbury in 1584, the castle resumed its medieval role as a manorial prison, when three deer-poachers caught at Kimberworth in 1586 were sent to the castle and held until the earl returned to the town (Hunter 1819).

Gilbert Talbot died in 1616 and control of Sheffield passed through the female line to Thomas Howard, the earl of Arundel and Surrey. The latter were absentee landlords and are generally thought to have been little concerned with Sheffield. However, a series of substantial works were conducted throughout Sheffield Castle between 1633 and 1637. Documentary evidence relating to these works reveals incidental details about the castle during this period, including a statement by surveyors that 'the castle cometh to 1046ft' (quoted in Hunter 1819). This suggests that the 1637 measurement may have indicated only the area encompassed by the inner bailey, thus demonstrating a division between the castle and its outer courtyard.

The surveyors also recorded the measurement of 'the new building', which 'cometh to 669ft' (quoted in Hunter 1819). The construction of such a substantial 'new building' demonstrates the extent to which Sheffield Castle continued to develop during the post-medieval period, despite the absence from the town of its new manorial lords. The nature and location of the new building, along with the earlier structures that may have been demolished to accommodate it, remains unclear although it may be synonymous with the 'new building' which was listed at the south-west of the castle in 1649 (Hunter 1819). Conversely, work was also conducted in 1637 'about the decayed building' (quoted in Hunter 1819). The nature and location of this feature, and its possible relationship to earlier phases of the castle, also remains unknown.

In 1633, repairs were made to 'some breaches of the wall upon the river of Dunne, by the Raven-pool' (quoted in Hunter 1819). This referred to the castle's north wall, although the location of the Ravenpool remains obscure. Armstrong and Wigfull referred to the east ditch as being 'dry' but 'with pools of water' (Himsworth 1928, 7) and it is possible that one such pool had acquired this name. This is conjecture, however, and the pool may have been located between the base of the precipice and the river.

Glaziers were hired to work at the castle in 1633, 'repairing and making new glass' while, in the following year, bills were paid 'for bringing of the water-works' to the castle and creating a 'coachway between Hallam Head and the Gate house' (quoted in Hunter 1819). The 'water-works' suggests that plumbing had replaced the medieval lead pipes that had brought water into the castle from a well in 1442.

A 'Great Stable' that was listed during this period is likely to have been located within the outer bailey. This structure may have been reserved for the seignorial horses, with the designation 'great' implying the existence of a smaller stable that may have housed workhorses.

In 1637, Thomas Howard commissioned John Harrison to conduct 'An Exact and Perfect Survey of the Manor of Sheffield...'. Harrison's written description of Sheffield Castle, described as 'fairely built with stone and very spacious' (Ronksley 1908, 47), remains the only detailed account of the site that was made by an eyewitness. Harrison stated explicitly that identification numbers recorded with the plot descriptions matched those shown on an accompanying plan (quoted in Ronksley 1908, 47). However, the whereabouts of the 1637 map are currently unknown and the precise layout of the castle during this period remains speculative..

Several aspects of Sheffield castle during the second quarter of the 17th century can be discerned from Harrison's survey. The principal structure within the site was described as 'the Mannor or Mansion house' (Ronksley 1908, 47). This indicates that by the 17th century, the seignorial building within the castle was indeed a hall rather than a former medieval keep. It is not known if the hall was constructed during the

original phase of the 1270 castle, or the extent to which it may have been modified subsequently and, if so, in which period.

Harrison stated that the castle contained 'divers buildings and lodgings about an Inward Court yard and all offices thereto belonginge, havinge a Great Ditch about ye same' (Ronksley 1908, 47). This demonstrates that a variety of buildings, both official and residential, were located within the inner bailey and that the latter was demarcated from the outer bailey by the south moat. Armstrong's observations indicated that the south ditch was approximately 9m wide and 4m deep, thus bearing out its designation as the Great Ditch (Armstrong 1930).

Beyond the south moat, the castle had 'an Outward Court Yard or fould builded round with diverse houses of office as an armory, a Granory, Barnes, Stables & diverse lodgings' (Ronksley 1908, 47). This indicates that the outer bailey contained a variety of utility and residential buildings that were arranged around its inner circuit. Harrison did not state that the outer bailey was enclosed within a perimeter wall, despite the presence of the armoury, which stored the castle's weaponry, in this area. It is not clear how the perimeter of the castle's outer courtyard was delineated or how access into and through this area was controlled.

The apparent absence of a walled outer courtyard during this period would make Sheffield Castle atypical, as contemporary developments in castles throughout England during the late medieval and early post-medieval periods favoured the use of perimeter walls around an outer bailey (Thompson 1991). There are no documentary references to such a structure, although selected features within the outer courtyard, such as the armoury, may have been defendable. A 15th-century reference to a tower near the stables (Thomas 1920) indicates that at least one fortified structure stood within the outer bailey.

During the English Civil War, Thomas Howard, the earl of Arundel, supported the Royalist cause but was absent from Sheffield and the castle was taken by Parliamentary forces in 1642. The contents of the castle armoury, including four cannon, had been removed from Sheffield and were in use by the Royalist army (Leeming 2005). Given the dearth of arms with which to defend the castle, the approach of a Royalist army in the following year led the Parliamentarians to retreat into Derbyshire. Kellam Homer, the town armourer, then re-took the castle for the Crown. Eight cannon and two mortars were brought subsequently to the castle.

Following the Battle of Marston Moor in 1644, a Parliamentary army led by Major-General Crawford took Doncaster and Rotherham, before advancing on Sheffield in the first week of August. A description of the ensuing siege of Sheffield Castle, published anonymously as a pamphlet in 1644, revealed several aspects of the site. Colonel Bright is said not to have 'valued' the castle, suggesting that it did not possess a reputation for military or strategic significance. However, once Crawford viewed the castle he 'found it to be of very considerable strength' in terms of its defensive position and its built defences (Anon. 1644).

In reconnoitring the castle, Crawford found deep water present in the east and west ditches, which were described as being 'slackered on all sides' (Anon 1644, 1st August). This indicates that the inflow and outflow of water within the ditches was controlled by a system of sluice gates. The water level of both the River Don and the River Sheaf was below the level of the castle ditches, demonstrating that water could only enter and be retained within them by artificial means. It is not clear at what date the sluices had been installed or if those observed in 1644 were replacements for earlier features. Armstrong was convinced that the south ditch had been 'wet' throughout the majority of the medieval period (Armstrong 1930). In that case, a system of sluices

would have been required from the early phases of the castle's history.

Crawford hoped to drain the ditches and he and his officers went to 'view a sluice that was stopt to keep water deep about the east side of the Castle', with the intention to 'break up the sluice through the dame' (Anon. 1644, 4th August). This suggests that Butcher's assertion of substantial 'dams' at the sluices of the moats may be correct (Butcher 1970). However, the attempt to destroy the sluice and so 'let the water out of that corner against the Orchard, on the east side of the Castle' also failed (Anon. 1644, 4th August). The Orchard was one of three such features that had been recorded in Harrison's 1637 survey and was situated on the east bank of the River Sheaf, directly opposite the castle.

A 'strong fort before the gate pallisado'd' appears to have been a Civil War defensive feature constructed on the south side of the ditch, protecting the approach to the drawbridge. During this period, such forts were typically star-shaped constructions featuring earthen banks topped by wooden palisades, perhaps incorporating sharpened, projecting stakes called 'storm poles' (Harrington 2003, 32). However, David Leeming (2005, 29) has suggested that the fort at Sheffield was 'a half-moon work...with a D-shaped trench around it.'

The fort's earthen bank construction is suggested by Crawford raising a battery to destroy 'the mount before the Gate' (Anon. 1644, 3rd August). The battery 'flauncked the draw-bridge of the Castle, with intention to beat it downe...whereby they might not have passage to relieve the fort from the Castle' (Anon. 1644, 5th August). The drawbridge mechanism appears to have been located within the gatehouse on the north side of the ditch. There is no archaeological evidence to indicate the location of the fort. However, Crawford's aim of destroying the drawbridge and thus preventing defenders from the castle reaching the fort indicates that the 'fort' stood on the south side of the ditch.

The D-shaped trench referenced by Leeming (2005) appears to be synonymous with the 'Trench 12 foot deepe and 18 broad' that was present 'about the Fort, and the other parts of the Castle', with an associated 'breast-worke pallisado'd within the Trench, betwixt it and the Castle' (Anon. 1644, 1st August). Leslie Butcher (1970) identified the western and south-western section of this feature, which was a separate defensive feature from the south moat. However, rather than being constructed in association with the Civil War 'fort', Butcher argued that the course of the trench and the archaeological material recovered from it showed this feature to be 'a long term "outwork" and unconnected with the siege episode' (Butcher 1970, 9). In that case, the trench may have been a medieval or early post-medieval defensive feature designed to focus potential entry to the castle into a narrow area immediately before the drawbridge. Alternatively, Butcher raised the possibility that the ditch 'might be a feeder for the moat, coming from "The Ponds" on the Sheaf' (Butcher 1970, 9).

The anonymous pamphlet describes palisades 'within the Trench' and also 'betwixt it and the Castle' (Anon. 1644, 1st August). This suggests either that defences had been constructed to form an additional barrier between the northern edge of the trench and the south wall of the castle, with storm poles projecting from the ditch surrounding the fort (Harrington 2003).

Bombardment of the castle by cannonfire included a direct strike 'through the Governor's chamber' (Anon. 1644, 2nd August). This is likely to have been the quarters occupied at that time by the castle's governor, Major Thomas Beaumont, or the heavily-pregnant widow of his predecessor, Lady Anne Saville. It is not clear if the chamber itself was formerly occupied by the earls or if it had been the castellan's or

constable's quarters, and its location within the layout of the castle is unknown. However, the cannons were situated 'in the edge of the park' (Anon. 1644, 2nd August) and so were on the east bank of the Sheaf, with the direction of fire likely to have been from the north-east.

Crawford's examination of the castle's defences included viewing 'the little Towre by the River, that flankt two quarters of the Castle' (Anon. 1644, 3rd August). In order to flank two corners of the castle, the Little Tower would have been a mural tower located at one of the corners of the castle's curtain wall. As the tower that stood at the north-west corner was the largest of the towers along the north wall, the Little Tower is thus more likely to have occupied the north-east corner. Crawford 'raised a new battery against the west side of the castle', creating a small breach in the curtain wall (Anon. 1644, 3rd August). The presence of a tower on the west side of the castle is indicated by the statement that once the small breach had been created, 'Sakars' then beat down the battlements and a part of the tower that flanked that part of the town' (Anon. 1644, 5th August).

Archaeological evidence of artillery damage at the castle gates is likely to have been sustained at this time. Crawford brought a culverin and an artillery piece called 'the queen's pocket-pistoll' to Sheffield on 9th August and the more powerful ordnance succeeded in clearing a breach within the castle walls on the 11th. The garrison surrendered as the Royalist army were preparing to storm the castle. Stone from the 'new breach' was sold off in 1648 (Hunter 1819).

Royalist estates, among them those of the earl of Arundel and Surrey, were sequestered by Parliament in 1644. Several resolutions were passed in the House of Commons in order to render Sheffield Castle indefensible, beginning with an order on 30th April 1646 to make the castle 'untenable' (House of Commons Journal 1802a, 528). No work was undertaken in response to this decision and on 13th July 1647 a resolution was passed ordering that 'all the new works about Sheffield Castle be dismantled and sleighted and the castle disgarrisoned' (House of Commons Journal 1802b, 243). A bill was sent to Sheffield summarising these orders on 27th February 1648 indicated that the process was being carried out by 'the country people in this devisiion' under the supervision of the 'Lordes officers' (quoted in Hunter 1819, 113).

It is not clear at what date the demolition of the castle had commenced. However, a 23rd January 1648 account of the 'materials of the castyle that had been sold' (quoted in Hunter 1819, 113) indicated the extent of the demolition work that had taken place, while revealing several aspects of the castle's fabric. The progress of the work suggests that much of the castle was actually dismantled, rather than demolished, in order to enable various materials to be sold off.

The sale of the 'slate of the hall' adds further support to the seignorial building being a hall, while indicating the roofing material of the castle's principal structure. Further details were revealed by the sale of the 'roofo timber' and the 'pavers and steps' of the hall, along with 'the stone of a square room at the halle end' (quoted in Hunter 1819, 113-115). Named structures were also revealed due to the sale, including 'the roofo over Middleton's chamber' and 'two flores in Nic. Spedeman's chamb.' (quoted in Hunter 1819, 113-115). The location of these chambers and their relationship to the named individuals is not known.

The sale of 'the slate of the ould backhouse' demonstrates the roofing material of that building while also suggesting the existence of a 'new' bakehouse, while the sale of 'all the materials of the ould kitchen, savinge lead' suggests that there was an older kitchen which had probably had a lead roof. The sale of 'ye little kitchen' indicates the both the presence of that feature and implies the presence of a 'great kitchen'

(Hunter 1819, 113-115).

A 'round tower', a 'square tower' and a 'sentry house' were also recorded (Hunter 1819, 113-115). It is possible that the latter was the 14th-century gatehouse. Square towers were an early design that, by the 13th century, had largely been superseded in English baronial castles by round towers. It is thus possible that this feature may have been a remnant of the first Sheffield Castle or had been part of the first phase of the second castle. Square towers were often the site of minor entrances to the castle, known as postern gates (Thompson 1991). There is no direct evidence of a postern gate at Sheffield, although the designation of the entrance at the south-east as the 'Great Gate' (Thomas 1920) during the 15th century may imply the presence of a 'lesser' gate in that period.

The course of the continued reduction of the castle can be traced through a 3rd February 1648 record which listed payments 'for demollishing al the walle after the water side' (quoted in Hunter 1819, 113-115). It is not clear which of the castle walls was referred to, but it is likely to have been the north wall, which faced the Don, as William Fairbank's 1768 fieldbook sketch of Castle Hill and 1771 map of Sheffield showed a substantial wall along the eastern edge of the standing archaeological excavation indicated that and Sheaf respectively.

By 3rd March 1648, payments had also been made for 'dimollishinge the halle', a 'walle at the ende of the halle', 'round of either side ye gatehouse' and 'a wall next the Dungan' (Hunter 1819, 113-115). It is possible that the latter term was the French *donjon* and thus a reference to a keep, although the term is more likely to have been 'dungeon' and thus to have indicated the presence of a prison during this period.

On 10th March 1648, payments were made to 'several workmen for two weeks' due to 'ye walles beinge let doune', (Hunter 1819, 113-115). This work does not appear to have been completed as 'the crosse walles' were demolished on 10th May 1648 and the 'timber from the walls of the castle' was cut down on 10th November that year (Hunter 1819, 113-115). The 'ould pipes' were also removed on the latter date. These are unlikely to have been the 'water-workes' that were installed in the castle in 1633 but may have been the lead pipes that were recorded in 1442. Water pipes were also removed from the Orchard and the Park and taken to the Manor during this period (Hunter 1819, 113-115).

Various items held at other locations are often claimed to have come from Sheffield Castle, including 'bords and plaster' taken to Bishop's House and an ornate wooden bed that was subsequently in the possession of the family of the engineer, James Watt (Drury 1929, 343-46). The authenticity of these claims is uncertain, although a door from the castle that was sold 'for the schoole' may be the door shown in a photograph taken by Thomas Winder c.1900 (Bostwick 1985).

Work was continuing on the castle when Henry Howard, the new earl of Arundel and Surrey, bought back his father's estates for £6000 on 24th November 1648. This included Sheffield Castle and on 5th January 1649, the earl issued orders for the demolition of the castle to cease. Howard initially intended to rebuild the castle and issued instructions for the rooms that remained standing to be repaired and re-glazed, 'soe that the same be made a fitteing habitation', while the 'foldsteades and yardes' were to be fenced and gated (quoted in Hunter 1819, 115). This belies the common perception that Sheffield Castle was demolished entirely in the aftermath of the Civil War. In fact, the castle's surviving fabric was such that on 30th May 1649 Andrew Carter, possibly the mayor of York, reported that he had 'viewed the remaining part of Sheffield Castle now standing' and, even at that date, the castle remained 'in part tenable' (quoted in Hunter 1819, 113-114).

Carter oversaw the destruction of a window at the castle (Hunter 1819), which indicates that the earl's order for the demolition to stop had not been acted upon. Carter further reported that, in his judgement, further works would still need to be carried out in order to make the castle 'unservicable for war' (quoted in Hunter 1819, 113-114). These included the demolition of the 'new building' at the south-west of the site, 'nex towards the towne'. The nature of this structure is not known although it is possible that it was analogous with the 'new building' that was described by the surveyors in 1633.

In order to reduce the castle's ability to withstand a siege, Carter suggested that numerous windows should be inserted into the fabric of the remaining buildings. Four windows were to be made in 'the buildings on the south part' of the castle, while one 8ft by 8ft window was to be inserted between each buttress, while three 6ft by 8ft windows were to be made in the second floor (Hunter 1819, 113-114). This reveals that the walls featured several buttresses and that a building of at least two storeys stood at the south of the castle.

A reference to 'the ould tower wher the stables ar' suggested that part of the outer bailey were fortified, as Harrison's 1637 survey stated that the stables were located in the outer ward (Hunter 1819, 113-114; Ronksley 1908, 47). Carter suggested that a new window should be inserted between two 'port holes' that were present in the Old Tower. These features may have been arrow slits indicating that the Old Tower was a surviving medieval feature.

Carter also recommended that the battlements 'bee not above one foot and a halfe' (quoted in Hunter 1819, 113-114), thus implying that substantial sections of the castle wall not only remained standing but also retained their crenellations. As battlements were the top course of the wall, this indicates that at least part of the castle walls stood to their full height as late as 1649.

Andrew Carter's report, which also considered the earl of Arundel's desire to convert the castle into a hospital, was not acted upon. Despite the extent of the standing fabric, the castle was not rebuilt nor transformed into a hospital. Further material was removed from the castle site during the third quarter of the 17th century. It is not clear to what extent stonework from the castle was incorporated into the fabric of the Shrewsbury Hospital, which was constructed in 1666 on the site of the former Castle Orchard to the east of the River Sheaf (Hunter 1819).

The earls of Arundel retained ownership of the site, which was referred to as being 'commonly called Sheffield Castle' in a 1677 mortgage (Belford 1998) and 'the site of Sheffield Castle' in a 1706 deed (Belford 1998). However, by the latter date, Sheffield had passed to the dukes of Norfolk, who had no plans for the site and began to sell off the land for redevelopment. Gatty stated that the 'mansion house' within the castle remained in constant use by the lords' agents until 1706 when the duke of Norfolk gave orders for it to be dismantled (Gatty 1873). Given the records of extensive dismantling and sale of features from the hall during the mid-17th century, the accuracy of this statement cannot be determined.

Rubble from the castle's demolition appears to have been dumped into the moats in order to level the ground prior to the onset of the extensive redevelopment that occurred throughout the site during this period. An early 20th-century reconstruction of the castle site c.1700 by Thomas Winder marked the course of the moat on the south and west sides of the site, but not at the east. It is possible that the east course of the ditch had been infilled by the 1700 period that Winder was depicting.

Several roads around the castle site, such as Castle Folds, Waingate and Exchange

Street, appear to have developed along the courses of the former castle ditches. Castle Folds appears to have been within the former outer bailey and may have developed along or immediately adjacent to the south ditch. It is possible that a berm, a path adjacent to a moat, had been present in this area during the medieval period.

Waingate appears to follow the line of the castle's western defences. Properties along Waingate were described as being 'in the ditch' in early 19th-century leases (Himsworth 1929, 15). A berm may also have been present along the edge of the west ditch prior to the mid-17th century. This appears to have followed the present-day eastern frontage of Waingate.

Ralph Gosling's 1736 map of Sheffield is the earliest surviving plan of the castle site. Gosling depicted general development within the west and south of the site, with a large, square bowling green at the centre and a series of smaller, rectangular plots between the green and the Don and Sheaf. Gosling's plan did not depict the outcrop or 'precipice' and did not indicate any surviving features associated with the castle. Archaeological evidence suggests that the bowling green may have been demarcated by a series of stone posts connected by iron railings, as a 3m iron rail attached to a sandstone pillar was recovered from the site of the green in 1928 (Himsworth 1928).

Several of the properties that were extant at the time of the Gosling map are likely to have been depicted on a variety of plans and fieldbook sketches that were produced subsequently by William Fairbank. By combining several of these, it is possible to reconstruct a relatively accurate plan of buildings and properties around the castle site c.1760-90.

A 1768 Fairbank fieldbook sketch of Castle Hill marked a substantial wall along the north-east boundary of the outcrop (Sheffield Archives FB 35, 57). Fairbank did not mark this feature explicitly as part of the castle's former curtain wall. However, its scale and location may suggest that a substantial section of the perimeter wall overlooking the River Sheaf remained extant in 1768. The course of the northern edge of the precipice, the bowling green, a causeway leading onto Castle Hill in the vicinity of the former castle gate, and the confluence of the Don and the Sheaf were also shown on the 1768 sketch.

Archaeological evidence indicates that several metres of imported material had to be brought into the site in order to raise the ground level above the remains of the castle (Belford 1998) and in 1764 it was reported that no traces of the castle remained visible (Davies and Constable 2005). However, a 1771 Fairbank sketch of the south and west parts of the castle site depicted a section of wall marked 'ruins of the castle' (Sheffield Archives FB 40, 47). If accurate, this indicates that elements of the castle's fabric remained above ground during the late 18th century. It is not clear which former feature was represented by the extant masonry depicted by Fairbank. Features known to have stood in this part of the site include the 'new building' constructed in the early 17th century, and it is likely that a tower would have been situated at the castle's south-west corner.

The outcrop on which the castle had stood was typically referred to as a 'precipice' in this period and appears to have remained openly visible in the late 1770s. A 1771 Fairbank map of Sheffield depicted the precipice, the contours of which bore a close resemblance to those shown on the measured sketch in Fairbanks' 1768 fieldbook. The 1771 map is thus likely to accurately depict the precipice prior to its northern face being cut back during the 19th century.

Fairbanks' plans had depicted several individual structures around the south and west sides of the bowling green. Many of these were domestic houses that were

leased from the duke of Norfolk by John Waite, who had then sub-let the properties to various tenants. Waite himself occupied a large house at the south-east corner of the bowling green. The majority of the 18th-century tenements appear to have been concentrated in the area around Castle Hill and between the Hill and the River Sheaf (Belford 1998).

Industrial premises were also established within the former castle precincts. These included a variety of tool and cutlery workshops, the cementation steel furnace of Thomas Clegg (Belford 1998) and the cupola furnace of R. and J. Smith Bros. Numerous stones reflecting '15th-century workmanship' were discovered during the demolition of the latter structure (Wigfull 1916, 239), while Himsworth observed the excavation of a further cupola furnace within the castle site in 1928 (Himsworth 1928).

Following a 1784 Act of parliament, much of the property on Castle Hill was demolished (Sheffield Archives, Fairbank FB 64:80-81). Former seignorial barns that had been located formerly in the castle's outer bailey appear to have remained standing until this period, when they were demolished in association with the construction of the Tontine Inn (Hall 1926). It is possible that Fairbanks' 1785 plan of Castle Hill (Davies and Constable 2005, 214) was produced in relation to this redevelopment.

A narrow lane that ran around the eastern side of the bowling green during the 18th century appears to have marked the course of the castle's eastern defences. This route was partly truncated by Shambles Lane in the early 19th century, but survived by becoming incorporated into Exchange Street in the later 19th century. The line of the ditch ran to the east appears to have followed the approximate northern edge of the present-day Exchange Street.

3.5 Modern

Further redevelopment occurred throughout the castle site during the first half of the 19th century. The bowling green was built over during this period, while the northern part of the 'precipice' was levelled, in order to create an area of flat ground on which a Shambles, a series of slaughter houses, was constructed (Sheffield Archives, Fairbank SheS 1242L). Nelson and Company constructed a small steel and tool works within the site, which was taken over in the mid-1820s by Furniss, Cutler and Company. Cementation and crucible furnaces, warehouses and tool and cutlery workshops were constructed subsequently around the works (Belford 1998).

To the east, the site was almost completely redeveloped and by 1853 included workshops and tenement housing (Belford 1998). In 1881, the area between the Corn Exchange and the Norfolk Market Hall was cleared, and the River Sheaf, which ran through the centre of the area, was culverted. The open space thus created became the Castlefolds Market. By 1890, the name 'Exchange Street' had been applied to the whole of the east-west section of the former Castle Folds.

Thomas Winder's reconstruction of the castle c.1700 depicted several detached structures set around the former castle courtyard, which had been converted into a bowling green, while sections of curtain wall appeared to remain extant at the north-east. The Winder map appears to be based on an amalgamation of smaller plans of various parts of Castle Hill, such as William Fairbanks' plans and fieldbook sketches. However, Winder was employed by the Norfolk Estates Office and may also have had access to private documents within the Estate archive (Hall 1926).

Construction of a new market and a Co-op store between 1927 and 1930 involved extensive excavations within the former castle site and revealed substantial

archaeological deposits. Archaeological excavation was not part of the redevelopment process and Armstrong, Wigfull and Himsworth essentially undertook a series of watching briefs, although they were not on-site throughout the period of the works. Much of the archaeological data relating to Sheffield Castle dates from this period and includes the initial identification of the Great Gate; the gatehouse; the mural towers along the north wall; the drawbridge pillar; the south and east ditch; and the numerous artefacts recovered from the latter features. The disputed interpretation of 'Saxon' remains beneath the medieval castle also dates from this period.

Many of the archaeological deposits associated with the castle that were revealed during this period were damaged or destroyed during the course of the site's redevelopment (Armstrong 1930; Himsworth 1928). Further loss may have occurred in the late 1930s, when tunnels were excavated beneath the south-west and east side of the market without any archaeological observation being carried out (Butcher 1970).

Further destruction occurred when the centre of Sheffield was damaged extensively by bombing during the Second World War (Himsworth 1940) and in association with the post-war construction of the Sheaf and Castle Markets. The latter involved the demolition of the 19th-century Shambles, the construction of Castlegate and the canalising of the River Don immediately north of the site. Substantial quantities of roofing and other timber materials were recovered from the castle demolition levels during this redevelopment (Belford 1998).

Many of the post-war works within the castle site were observed by Leslie Butcher, although he was not present throughout and was unable to record comprehensively many of the archaeological features and deposits that were exposed. Butcher noted that deep excavations had been undertaken within the castle site during the 1950s and 1960s during which no archaeological observation had taken place (Butcher 1970). Masonry that was observed on the precipice by Himsworth during the 1930s remained extant until 1969 when it collapsed during works to re-face the wall along Castlegate.

Archaeological excavation during the early 21st century suggested that up to 75% of the ground plan of the inner bailey may survive (Davies and Constable 2005).

4 CASTLE LAYOUT RECONSTRUCTION

During the review of available archive material, the records from past archaeological investigations, archive documents, and historic maps were used to reproduce the layout of the main structural elements of Sheffield Castle at the time it was dismantled and sleighted in 1648 (**Figure 1**).

For this report, the reconstruction has been overlaid on Gosling's 1736 map (**Figure 2**) and White's 1841 map (**Figure 3**) in order to assess the location of the main structural elements identified with respect to 18th to early 19th century development on the site of the former castle.

Identified elements and Layout of Sheffield Castle

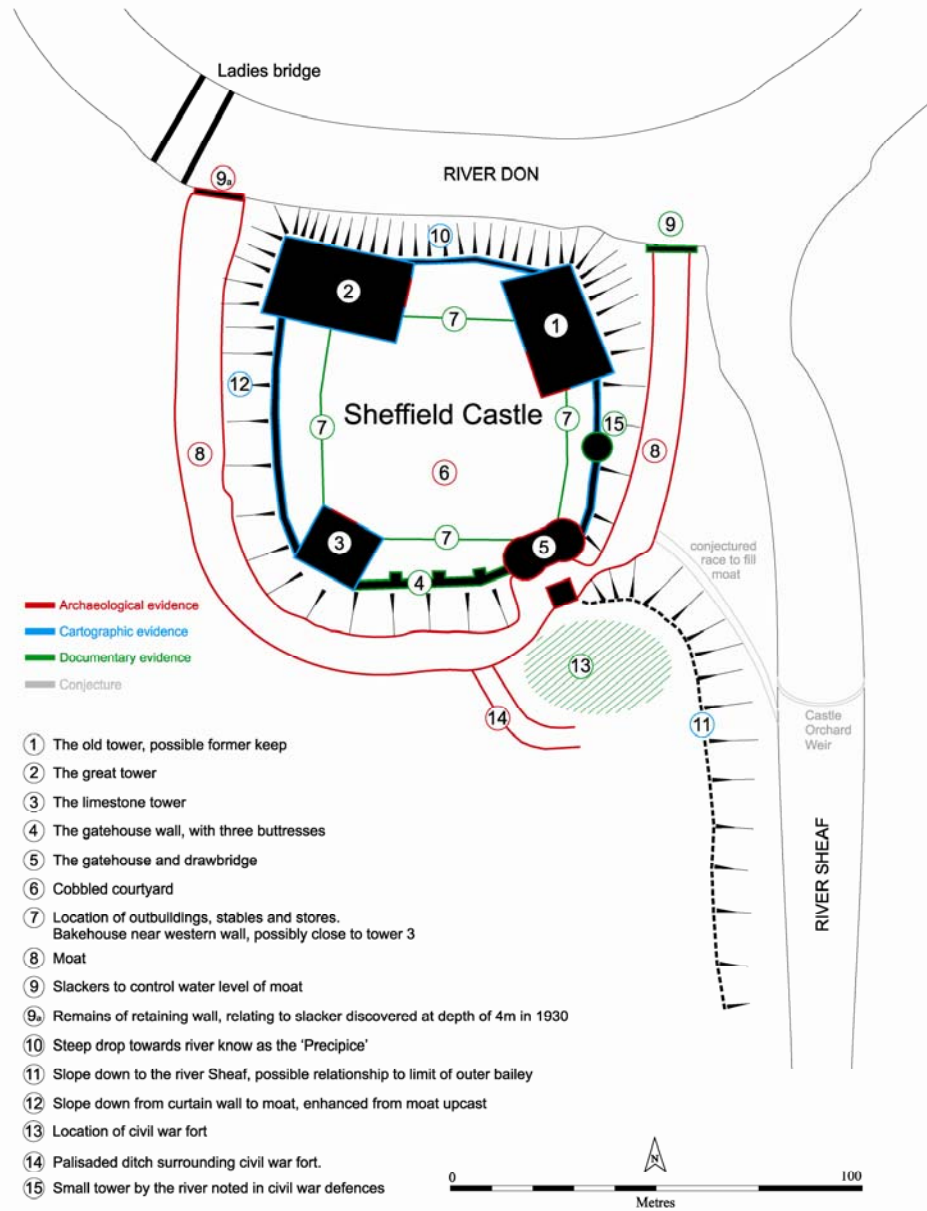


Figure 1. Reconstruction of the layout of Sheffield Castle

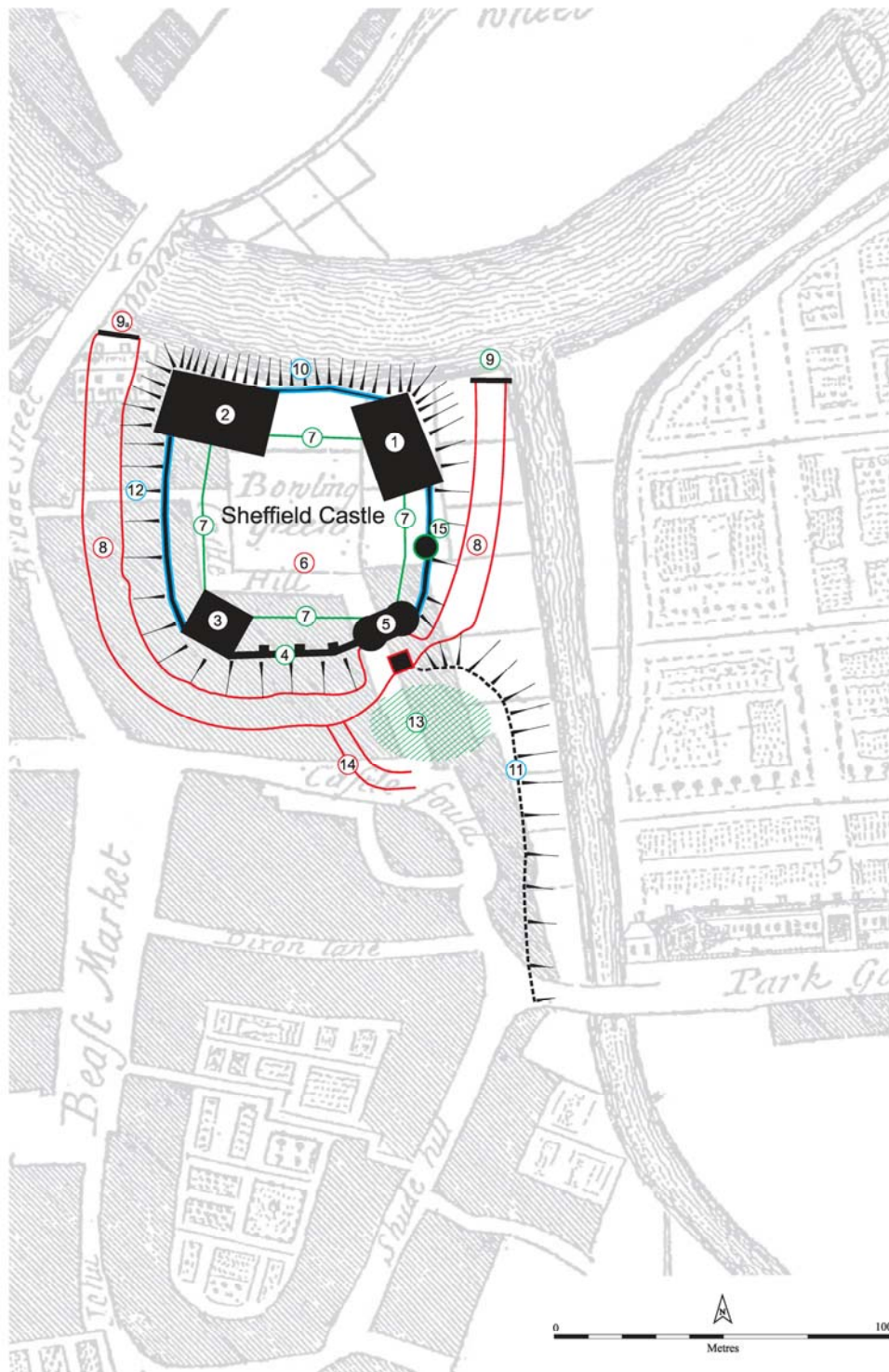


Figure 2. Reconstruction of the layout of Sheffield Castle overlaid on the 1736 Gosling Map

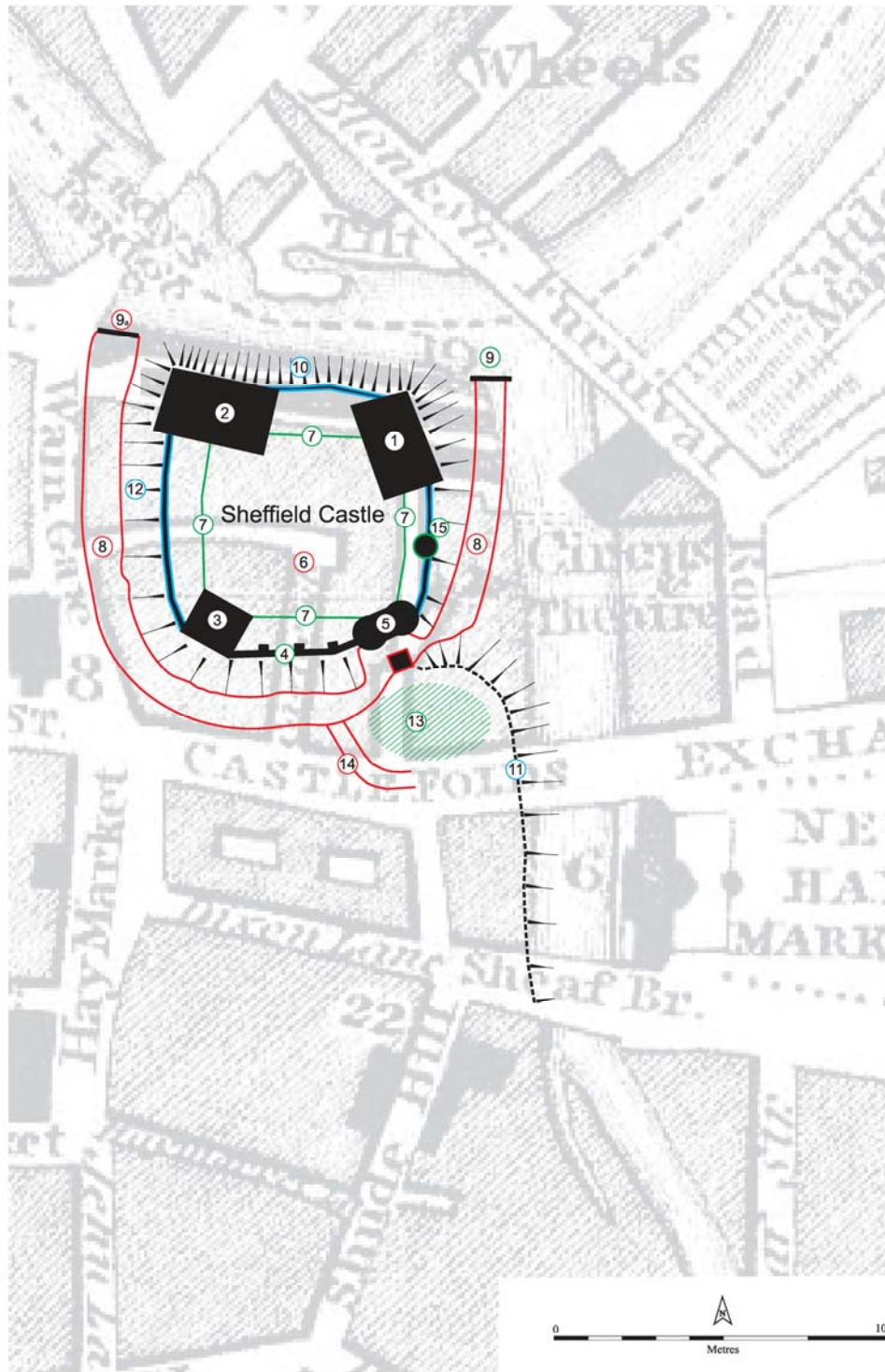


Figure 3. Reconstruction of the layout of Sheffield Castle overlaid on the 1841 White map

5 CONCLUSIONS

While the KTRR funding allocated for the project was only sufficient to fund a rapid scoping review of the archive material, compile an updated history of Sheffield Castle, and produce a preliminary reconstruction of the layout of the main structural elements of Sheffield Castle, the results warrant further archival research to enhance the history presented in section and to refine and expand the reconstruction presented in figure 1.

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Documents

Fairbanks Collection (fieldbooks): 3 (1754); 25 (1763); 35 (1768); 40 (1771); 50 (1777); 52 and 52 Supp. (1779); 64 and 64 Supp. (1788-89); 67 (1789).

Maps

1736 Ralph Gosling map of Sheffield

1768 William Fairbank fieldbook (Sheffield Archives, FB 35, 51)

1771 William Fairbank fieldbook (Sheffield Archives, FB 40, 47)

1771 William Fairbank map of Sheffield

1797 William Fairbank map of Sheffield

1808 William Fairbank map of Sheffield

1832 Taylor map of Sheffield

1851-53 Ordnance Survey map

1888-90 Ordnance Survey map

1901-03 Ordnance Survey map

1933-35 Ordnance Survey map

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