

**Landscape and the Making of the Medieval Anglo-Scottish  
Border:  
Power, Place, and Perspective c. 1200-c. 1500**

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March 2022

# Abstract

The political development of the medieval Anglo-Scottish border and its borderland culture has long been of interest to historians. However, because of the non-monumental nature of the Anglo-Scottish border, archaeology is seldom incorporated into their political narratives. And yet, modern border studies indicate that even seemingly ephemeral borders have important physical components. Therefore, the archaeology of the medieval Anglo-Scottish borderland offers a valuable opportunity to investigate relationships between physical landscapes and the development of medieval political international boundaries.

To do this, the project utilises an idea from contemporary border studies, the border-scape, to construct a more holistic picture of the landscapes of the Anglo-Scottish borderland. Concentrating on the eastern half of the borderland and the formative years between 1200 and 1500, the project conducts the largest cross-border synthesis of medieval landscape data to date. This data was organised into a spatial database using GIS software which is used to explore the Anglo-Scottish border-scape through two case studies—cross-border court sites and fortifications—and a five-part theoretical framework that reveals how landscape was involved in the creation and enforcement of the medieval border.

This project exposes important characteristics of the Anglo-Scottish border-scape. It distinguishes processes which link the physical medieval landscape to medieval bordering, and, moreover, the intersections of these bordering processes with other medieval cultural processes. It also identifies mechanics through which the border-scape was co-produced by communities at national and local scales. Finally, the project proposes an ‘alternative geography’ of the medieval border, one based on the experience of bordering rather than territoriality, and argues for the existence of many other medieval geographies of the region yet to be discovered. Overall, the project represents the most sophisticated analysis, to date, of the relationship between landscape, power, and the formation of political geographies along the Anglo-Scottish border.

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# Acknowledgements

This research would not have been possible without the help of many people. I must express particular thanks to my supervisor, Aleks McClain. Her continuing advice throughout my PhD has been instrumental to both the improvement of my work and in helping me navigate the challenges of living abroad. Thank you, Aleks.

I also extend heartfelt thanks to the people who shared data with me: Liz Williams (HER Officer, Northumberland) and Keith Elliot (HER Officer, Scottish Borders) shared HER datasets and offered helpful advice as I worked with the data in my database. David Simpson also kindly shared his data from his digitization of Roy's *Military Survey of Scotland* for use within my project.

I am also indebted to a number of other scholars who shared their expert advice about a variety of subjects throughout my research:

- The members of my Thesis Advisory Panel, Steve Ashby and Jon Finch, provided useful guidance throughout the development of this work
- Al Oswald and Stewart Ainsworth shared expert advice regarding the interpretation of landscape features
- Helen Goodchild provided necessary technical support
- Cynthia Neville helpfully answered my questions about the *Leges Marchiarum* and sent copies of some important primary resources
- David Petts offered useful suggestions and guidance about researching the archaeology of Anglo-Scottish meeting places
- Philip Dixon kindly donated his time to answer my questions about Anglo-Scottish fortifications.
- Fergal Leonard shared useful references from his archive research.

I also could not have completed this PhD without the help of my friends and colleagues in G65. They have provided unlimited academic and emotional support over the past four years. Particular thanks is extended to Callum Reilly, Taryn Bell, Don Henson, Carl Savage, Emma Bryning, Josh de Giorgio, Richard Lee, Samir Belgacem, and Claire Smith. The G65 Crew are the reason I looked forward to going to the office every day. I hope they all realise how interesting and brilliant they are.

Toby Pillatt has gone above and beyond to help me complete this thesis. He has spent the past few years using up his holiday to drive the narrow roads of the Anglo-Scottish borderland, and his advice has always been insightful. My 'landscape eyes' are much improved thanks to his influence. Long live the plenished ring.

Finally, my deepest gratitude is reserved for my family, especially my grandparents and parents. I would not be where I am today without their help and guidance throughout my life.

Mom, I no longer need you to stay up with me to help me finish my school projects, but I'm sure you still would if I asked you to. You've remained my biggest support throughout my PhD. This thesis is dedicated to you.

# Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work, and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University.

All sources are acknowledged as References.

# Chapter 1: Introduction

Recent political debate over international boundaries has forced us to question what borders are and what they ought to be in the future. Border walls have become familiar features at international boundaries over the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century—growing from just five international border walls at the end of World War II to nearly 70 by 2017. Indeed, seven countries announced plans for the construction of border walls in 2015 alone (Jones 2020, 197). These changes have led to debate amongst policy makers and academics about the myriad ways in which the physical landscape helps to make, maintain, and reinforce conceptual political divisions. Yet, despite the advanced technologies used on contemporary border walls and at border crossings, these are not new questions.

In northern Britain, the 800-year history of the Anglo-Scottish border can tell us much about the evolution of international borders over time. However, the medieval period is particularly important. The region witnessed massive cultural and political change between the years 1200 and 1500. Where initial delineation of the border in 1237 divided a region largely sharing beliefs and customs, the 14<sup>th</sup>-century Scottish Wars of Independence introduced political and cultural divisions that only grew in significance through time. However, the relationship between the development of the border and the physical landscape in which it existed has seen surprisingly little research. Moreover, unlike its monumental Roman predecessor to the south, Hadrian's Wall, the Anglo-Scottish border remained largely intangible, which has further discouraged research. Very recently, Jackson Armstrong (2020, 96) noted that academic descriptions of the region's historic landscape are often overly simplified and fail to account for the complexities and variability that actually existed on the ground. And yet, modern border studies inform us that even intangible boundaries can have complex and influential spatial dimensions (Papadopoulos 2020; Donnan and Wilson 1999) and that the tangible manifestations of 'the border' and processes of 'bordering' can extend well beyond the borderline (Peña 2021). As a result, the medieval Anglo-Scottish border and its borderland offer a valuable opportunity to use archaeology to explore how physical places in the landscape were involved in the definition and

enforcement of a seemingly intangible political boundary during a period when modern conceptions of geographic borders were first developing.

The project is guided by three research questions which reconnect the physical landscape of the borderland with processes of bordering:

- 1) What physical aspects of regional landscapes were used in border work?<sup>1</sup>
- 2) Who were the agents within these landscapes?
- 3) How were these landscapes used to negotiate and articulate cross-border power dynamics?

To fully answer these questions, the project utilises an ‘inhabited’ approach to archaeology (Barrett 1999) which integrates the tangible and intangible elements of landscape to reconstruct the ‘border-scape’ of the Anglo-Scottish borderland. Chapter 2 explains this approach and devises a five-part thematic framework through which the border-scape is analysed throughout this thesis.

The thesis is organised in two parts. Part I involves the construction of the first large-scale cross-border spatial database of medieval landscape features in the eastern borderland. As will be introduced in Chapter 2, there are numerous historiographical and administrative pressures which have created divisions in previous archaeological work that mirror the modern borderline. As a result, the creation of the spatial database required the collation and synthesis of a variety of historical and archaeological datasets that record elements of the physical landscape on both sides of the modern border, a process described in Chapter 3. Chapter 3 also analyses this act of synthesis and assesses how different layered acts of border work have impacted landscape data in the region, which in turn, informs us about the potentials and limitations of these new cross-border datasets.

Part II of the project uses the information synthesised in the spatial database to interpret two case studies. Chapters 4 and 5 investigate the ‘defence-scape’ of the Anglo-Scottish borderland by contextualising local defence systems and border fortifications within the medieval landscape to explore their role in border work and the experienced geographies of a medieval zonal borderland. Chapters 6 and 7 examine the ‘legal-scape’ of the border and reconstruct the relationships between Anglo-Scottish meeting places, or cross-border court sites, and bordering processes along a medieval

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<sup>1</sup> See section 2.3.3 for definitions of ‘bordering’ and ‘border work’.

'linear' border. Bordering processes identified in each of the case studies are then analysed as part of the Anglo-Scottish border-scape in Chapter 8.

This two-part approach means that this project examines a multiplicity of ways the medieval border and its borderland were negotiated and maintained through landscapes and places. Previous work on bordering processes have largely been conducted by historians, so the focus of this thesis on landscape integrates a large body of under-utilised datasets on the archaeology and historic landscape of the region with existing academic discourses. The use of these datasets expands our ability to interpret historic bordering processes and offers an exciting opportunity to investigate more holistically how power and place were used to divide and connect people in the medieval past. The rest of this chapter outlines the historic context within which the analyses of this thesis are set and defines the geographical and chronological parameters which structure this project.

## **1.1 Historical Context**

As will be explained in more detail in Chapter 2, the history of the Anglo-Scottish borderland has a remarkably complex historiography due to its location on the boundary between two countries. It is at once intrinsically embedded into the political histories of both the English and Scottish kingdoms, while also maintaining distinct regional characteristics. As a result, it is impossible to offer a complete history of the region within this thesis. Instead, this section provides a brief outline of the main historic events and socio-political trends which impacted the development of the Anglo-Scottish borderland between 1200 and 1500.

The region known as the Anglo-Scottish borderland, or the Anglo-Scottish 'Marches,' has a history as a frontier landscape that extends well before the delineation of the Anglo-Scottish border in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. In the Roman period, the region between the Tyne and the Firth of Forth, marked iconically by Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall, was the northernmost frontier of the Roman Empire in Britain. However, despite its geographic proximity, there is no direct continuity between the Roman and medieval borders. While Hadrian's Wall appears to have been a widely-recognised feature in the medieval landscape, one which has occasionally been adopted as a symbol of the medieval, post-medieval, and indeed, the modern border, the delineation of the medieval borderline had much more to do with medieval landholding

and military conquest than the geographies of the prehistoric past (Hingley 2012; Hingley et al. 2012; Woodside and Crow 1999).

After the collapse of Roman power in Britain, early medieval territories gradually redrew the political map of the former Roman frontier. On the east, the kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira, divided by a boundary near the River Tees, were unified into the kingdom of Northumbria (Rollason 2003, 48; Phythian-Adams 2000, 240). Northumbria's power expanded until the eighth century when it controlled a territory stretching from the Humber to the Firth of Forth (Rollason 2003, 34). However, repeated raids from Vikings weakened the kingdom until it collapsed in the late-ninth century, dividing the region into four smaller successor kingdoms. This collapse created a power vacuum which the expanding English and Scottish kingdoms sought to fill (Oram 2011, 7; Rollason 2003, 256; McCord and Thompson 1998, 6–7).

The history of the Tweed Basin as a medieval borderland begins with the growth of the Kingdom of Alba (the early Scottish kingdom) and the extension of the English kingdom further north in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries. The origins of the high medieval boundary between Scotland and England along the River Tweed are still shrouded in mystery. While it was not officially set in writing until the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the origins of the borderline are possibly associated with the Battle of Carham, which was fought along the River Tweed in 1018, although this is still debated (Petts 2018; Barrow 2003a, 123–124; Rollason 2003, 176; Phythian-Adams 2000). Meanwhile, the foundations of the political relationships that were to define Anglo-Scottish politics throughout the medieval period were constructed in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. In England, the Norman Conquest significantly changed the political landscape, but these changes occurred much more slowly at the limits of their power in the north. The Domesday book of 1086 extends only as far north as Yorkshire and a small portion of southern Cumbria, so it is arguable how much control the English kingdom had over their northern territory (McClain 2011, 153; Aird 1997, 27; Dalton 1997, 19). However, by the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century, the burgeoning bureaucracy of Henry II's reign had firmly collected the northern counties into England's political net. Meanwhile, the nascent Scottish crown was turning its ambitions southward.

Scotland underwent its own series of administrative and cultural reforms in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, particularly during the rule of David I (r. 1124-1153). David I established new bureaucratic administrative systems and structures of landholding

based upon English and European models, both of which extended the reach of the crown's authority (Oram 2011, 211; Brown 2004a, 13; Stringer 1997, 55). Both Barlow (1988, 127) and Oram (2011, 203–204) argue that the introduction of 'nationalised' administrative systems for the church and the state built a foundation upon which a common Scottish identity and a concept of the *regnum Scotie*, or Kingdom of the Scots, could be constructed. It enabled a series of disunited regions to become a single powerful entity capable of resisting English power to the south.

Although the Scottish crown had readily used English models for its political and cultural reforms, these changes were embedded into a contest for hegemony in Britain which was being fought on multiple fronts—political, cultural, martial, and administrative. Nevertheless, the relationships between the Scottish and English kings were relatively stable during the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Cross-border connections prospered, and the regional economy grew. Trade throughout the borderland expanded and is most visibly evident through the rapid growth of burghs in Scotland. Three of the largest burghs, Berwick-upon-Tweed, Roxburgh, and Edinburgh lay south of the Forth, indicating Scottish interests had well-and-truly moved south (Ditchburn 2017; Brown 2004a, 98). Social ties also extended across the border in a complicated web of cross-border familial connections and landholding (Holford et al. 2007, 40; McCord and Thompson 1998, 37). It is during this long period of cooperation in the 13<sup>th</sup> century where negotiations between England and Scotland were at their most fruitful. The official international border was first delineated in the Treaty of York in 1237. This fixed the border on the Tweed-Solway line, and for most of the border's history, the official borderline remained in much the same location as it is today (Barrow 1966).

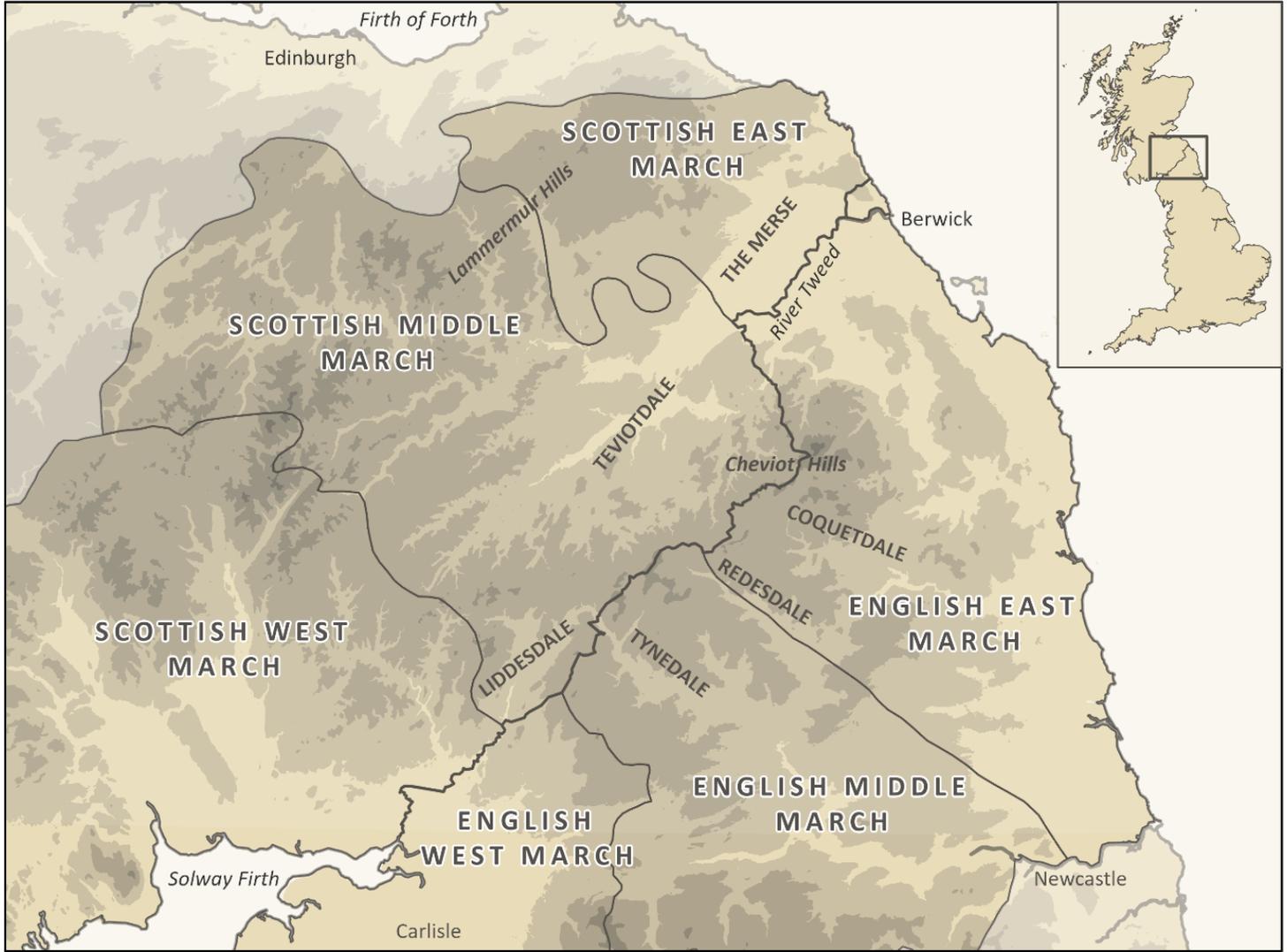
Alexander III's untimely death in 1286 and the subsequent death of his heir, Margaret, the 'Maid of Norway', resulted in a Scottish succession crisis, which brought the relative peace of the 13<sup>th</sup> century to a sudden end. In the resulting political turmoil, 13 individuals made claims to the Scottish throne, but Robert the Bruce and John Balliol quickly emerged as the two leading contenders. The Guardians of Scotland, a committee of earls acting as the temporary head of the government, requested the help of Edward I to arbitrate the succession decision before Scotland became embroiled in civil war. Edward instead forced the Guardians of Scotland to accept him as Lord Paramount of Scotland, legally ensuring Scottish submission to the English crown. He

then arbitrated the 'Great Cause' of Scottish succession, eventually choosing John Balliol as the King of Scotland (Brown 2004a, 158–169).

These events initiated a period of violent hostilities between the English crown and the Scottish nobility known as the Wars of Independence which lasted over 50 years. By the time war officially ended in 1357 with signing of the Treaty of Berwick, the English crown controlled much of southern Scotland, and the Anglo-Scottish borderland fell into a long period of uneasy relative peace. Intermittent fighting between the two nations continued until 1388 as the Scottish crown slowly reobtained its lands in southern Scotland (King and Ety 2016), but campaign warfare continued to become less frequent through the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries (King and Penman 2007, 6).

The society which emerged from the sustained warfare of the Wars of Independence was much changed from that of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. One of the most important of these changes was the breakup of the network of cross-border landholding that had flourished in earlier centuries. During the Wars, the English and Scottish crowns forced large-scale forfeitures of land held by individuals who had pledged allegiance to the opposing side, creating divisions between people on either side of the border that had not existed previously (Brown 2008, 188).

Alongside these social changes, there were also administrative changes. During the 14<sup>th</sup> century, both sides of the border were divided into units called 'the Marches' (Figure 1.1). Each March had an individual character determined by its topography, settlement patterns, and political stability, and the boundaries of the Marches fluctuated through time as the political and cultural environment of the region evolved (Armstrong 2020; Dixon 2017). The Marches were administered by powerful officials called the Wardens of the Marches whose power expanded dramatically from the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century (Genet 2012, 133; Storey 1957). By the reign of Edward III, the Wardens of the Marches had the authority to make and enforce truces, they had broad punitive powers, and they could also make laws (Neville 1998, x). Regional lordship had always been relatively strong along the border, and this became even more true after the Wars of Independence when the Scottish and English governments began to rely heavily on powerful landholding families such as the Percies, Nevilles, Grays, Dacres, Scropes, Cliffords, and Roos, who often had their own agendas, to maintain control. Wardens were frequently picked from amongst these leading families, and historical narratives of the late-14<sup>th</sup> and early-15<sup>th</sup> centuries often characterise this period as one where 'local



**Figure 1.1:** Map of the region (Credits: Appendix A)

figures were the real power in the region' (Jamroziak 2011, 195). However, Alistair MacDonald's (2000) work indicates that both crowns probably manipulated and guided late-14<sup>th</sup>-century warfare in the borderland more than is generally acknowledged.

By the late-14<sup>th</sup> century, the deaths of prominent nobles, particularly those of the powerful Douglas family, at the battles of Otterburn (1388) and Humbleton Hill (1402) led to a power vacuum on the Scottish side of the border which resulted in increased feuding and raiding in the borderland (King and Eddy 2016, 59–64). Meanwhile, the English crown was distracted by its ongoing war with France, and its relationship with Scotland vacillated between uneasy compromise through ill-kept truces and short-term military campaigns until the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Scotland finally recovered the last of its English-held territories in the 1460s, but once the English war with France had ended, the Scottish crown reverted to policies which courted peace rather than war (Armstrong 2008). As a result, large-scale battles were rare between the two kingdoms in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but small-scale organised raiding remained a problem, leading to the rise of the infamous 'surnames' of the 16<sup>th</sup> century—a network of familial clans in the borderlands which competed with the crowns for political authority in the region (King and Eddy 2016; Armstrong 2008).

By the Tudor period, the English government had changed the way it managed its northern territories, replacing regional administrative systems with ones resembling those of southern England much more closely. This was done to enhance the government's direct control over the region (Ellis 1999, 166), but it backfired, and regional unrest intensified for 'the imposed vision took no account of the realities and uniqueness of different frontier situations, nor of the fact that the frontier inhabitants saw things differently' (Power and Standen 1999, 17). Direct government intervention in the region shifted the sensitive balances of power which held the region together. However, the role of the region as a contested border was quickly coming to an end. In 1603, James VI of Scotland's accession to the English throne placed the kingdoms of the British Isles under a single monarch who pursued an aggressive policy of pacification that punished or resettled the most troublesome of local society. These policies were largely successful in pacifying the region but marked 'an abrupt end [to] the old border way of life' (Spence 1977, 159). Eventually, the Acts of Union in 1707 unified the country under one parliament based in Westminster. The region's role as a frontier and borderland between two separate nations was officially at an end.

## 1.2 Defining the Project Scope

Examining the border-scape of the entire borderland from its birth in the 13<sup>th</sup> century to the Acts of Union in 1707, when the border lost much, but not all, of its political importance, is too large a task for a single project. Indeed, because of the many cultural, environmental, and political divisions in the region, as well as the multi-scalar nature of this project that incorporates both large-scale mapping and small-scale ‘inhabited’ approaches to landscape, it was decided to limit the project chronologically and spatially.

### 1.2.1 Geographic Scope

Geographically, the project targets the eastern side of the borderland and is defined by both topographic and administrative boundaries (Figure 1.2). The medieval and early modern administrative boundaries of the Marches encompass an area with a wide range of physical environments, from the rugged moorlands of the Cheviot Hills to the rich agricultural landscapes of the Merse, resulting in complex and overlapping physical and cultural geographies (Dixon 2003; Winchester 2000a). The Cheviots, which run roughly north-south through the middle of the borderland, has acted as a major administrative and cultural division since at least the early medieval period (McCord and Thompson 1998). East of the Cheviots, the region is easily defined by the limits of the Tweed watershed, the second largest watershed in Scotland (4843km<sup>2</sup>) (Gittings 2019). The watershed drains into a broad basin, the Merse, surrounded by a ring of hills—the Southern Uplands to the north and west, including the Lammermuir and Moorfoot Hills, and the Cheviot Hills to the south. The alluvial lowland area of the Merse along the Lower Tweed was a rich agricultural heartland, a type of ‘champion’ land, in the medieval period characterised by nucleated settlement and unenclosed arable fields, although these have since been enclosed (Dixon 2003). The surrounding hills, meanwhile, were typified by moorland and hunting forests rich in natural resources. Settlement there was more dispersed, and the economies were characterised by pastoralism and seasonal transhumance (Dixon 2017; Winchester 2017; Dixon 2003; Winchester 2000a). Upland and lowland communities were connected in complex economic networks that linked the pastoral farms of the uplands to the trading centres of the coastal lowlands. Topography influenced the flow of these



**Figure 1.2:** The project area (*Credits: Appendix A*)

connections, as communication between different river valleys in the Cheviots was often restricted. For instance, cultural differences between upland and lowland communities are very apparent in 16<sup>th</sup>-century records where individual valleys in the Cheviots, such as Redesdale and Tynedale, were noted to have different cultural characteristics (Bowes and Ellerker 1541, 237–238).

Because of the importance of topographical barriers in cultural development, it was decided to limit this thesis to that part of the borderland which drained eastward. This was due in part to the comparative stability of the eastern border which has continued to be aligned very closely to the original medieval border until the present day, with a few exceptions (Barrow 2003a). In contrast, the boundary on the western side of the border is much more difficult to trace, and its high medieval location is still debated by scholars. By the late medieval period, much of the western border emerged as a designated no-man's land, known as the Debatable Land, within which a borderline was not officially delineated until 1552 (Todd 2006, 12; Jack 2004, 298; Barrow 2003b;

Phythian-Adams 1996). Further political complexity was introduced into the region by the presence of the medieval kingdom of Galloway in south-western Scotland until the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century, which would have caused additional interpretive challenges to the project (Oram 2011, 194).

However, a purely topographical delineation of the project area was problematic for two reasons. First, the Tweed watershed is unmanageably large, and second, the majority of it is located in Scotland. Only a small portion of the east coast of northern Northumberland drains into the Tweed, while much of the border west of Coldstream follows the southern boundary of the Tweed watershed. In a project targeting cross-border landscapes, a study area defined by the Tweed watershed alone would not encompass enough land on both sides of the border.

Historians and archaeologists of the region have traditionally used historic or modern political boundaries to determine their project areas (Kent 2016; Newman 2014; Arvanigian 2013; King 2007; Todd 2006; Maxwell-Irving 2000). Indeed, this is a logical method to restrict the scope of many projects, as it can help isolate the number of variables influencing a study. The medieval landscape was layered with a multitude of administrative units such as dioceses and parishes, liberties and baronies, townships and estates, and the administrative Marches themselves. As a result of these complexities, it was deemed effective to utilise modern divisions which simplified the construction of the spatial database. The project area in Scotland was limited by the pre-1975 county limits of Berwickshire and Roxburghshire, as these two counties encompass the heartland of the Scottish East and Middle Marches. The modern territories do resemble the medieval sheriffdoms bearing the same names, however, they are also expansive enough to incorporate many of the other administrative units. In keeping with the historical importance of topography, it was also decided to remove the modern parish of Castleton, roughly equivalent to the historic district of Liddesdale, from the Scottish project area. This parish forms the only part of Roxburghshire which drains west into the Solway and was often administered by a separate Keeper during the early modern period. In England, the study area was drawn utilising modern parish boundaries. The project limit in England follows the eastern limit of the Kielder Forest Park to the southern limit of Northumberland National Park. From there, the project area extends along parish boundaries directly east to the coast. In total, the project area covers 2107km<sup>2</sup> in England and 2646km<sup>2</sup> in Scotland, for a total of 4753km<sup>2</sup>.

### **1.2.2 Chronological Scope**

This thesis targets the years between c.1200 and c.1500, a period encompassing the formal establishment of the border in the Treaty of York (1237), the tumultuous years of the Scottish Wars of Independence, and their long aftermath. As described earlier, the society which emerged from the Wars of Independence differed dramatically, both politically and culturally, from that of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. As a result, the targeted centuries represent a fundamental period of change in the development of the border and its borderland in the region. Moreover, it was decided to limit the project to the years before 1500, not only because the 16<sup>th</sup>-century borderland has seen far more social research, but because the great cultural and political changes, including the Reformation, of the 16<sup>th</sup> century had significant and long-lasting impacts on societies across Europe. Nevertheless, the rich documentary evidence from the 16<sup>th</sup> century is not ignored and is often utilised throughout this thesis to help enhance our understandings of the centuries that came before.

# Chapter 2: Defining Anglo-Scottish Border-scapes

## 2.1 Introduction

The histories of medieval borderlands are often complex, and as was made clear in the previous chapter, the Anglo-Scottish borderland is no exception. The region between the Tyne and the Forth held a long-standing, if inconsistent, role as a frontier and borderland from the Roman period onward. Throughout its tumultuous history, the Anglo-Scottish border was an ever-changing testament to the power of political constructs. Its role as a borderland directly impacted the development of regional cultures and identities in numerous ways. This thesis argues that investigation of medieval cross-border landscapes offers an important new perspective for our understanding of this region. However, to argue this, it is necessary to evaluate former scholarship upon which current understandings of the borderland has been constructed.

This chapter reviews the existing body of literature on the medieval Anglo-Scottish border in both history and archaeology and outlines current understandings of the geographies of medieval borders and borderlands. It then introduces the idea of the border-scape, which integrates the physical and conceptual landscapes of the borderland, and constructs a theoretical framework based on ‘inhabited’ approaches to landscape. The final part of the chapter introduces and rationalises the selection of the two case studies evaluated in this project and explains the structure of the thesis.

## 2.2 Previous Research on the Anglo-Scottish Border

The study of medieval frontiers and borderlands inherited conceptual frameworks from a long line of anthropological literature on the subject. Detailed overviews of the development of borderland studies and its relationships to both medieval studies and archaeology have been published elsewhere (Jamroziak 2011; Naum 2010; Kolossov 2005; Lightfoot and Martinez 1995) and will only be briefly summarised here. The theoretical foundations for the modern study of borders and frontiers in anthropology extends to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century with Frederick Jackson

Turner's 'The Significance of the Frontier in American History' in 1893 (Turner 1963). Commonly critiqued in modern academic literature for its one-sided Euro-American perspective (Jamroziak 2011; Naum 2010), Turner's ideas were nevertheless implemented in frontier studies in the United States and Europe for much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the 1970s, the development of World-Systems Theory by Wallerstein (1974) spurred on a new era in frontier studies which emphasised the relationships between the 'core' and 'periphery', that is, between centres of power and politically marginal areas. Wallerstein's theories formed the foundation for a large number of research projects regarding economic and political relationships between colonial populations and their original motherlands (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995, 476; Green and Perlman 1985). The inability of World-Systems Theory to address questions regarding cultural and social processes in borderlands in the 80s and 90s led to widespread disenchantment with the study of frontiers and borderlands in archaeology (Naum 2010; Parker 2006). However, postmodern and postcolonial theories since the 1980s helped change the uni-directional perspective (from core to periphery) of most previous research and have slowly spurred a revival of the topic. In archaeology, numerous papers (e.g. Naum 2010; Baud and Van Schendel 1997; Lightfoot and Martinez 1995) encouraged others to 'redress the imbalance of "state-centred" studies' in order to award 'an active historical role to borderlands and their populations' (Baud and Van Schendel 1997, 635). Postmodern and postcolonial studies have successfully looked beyond the field of archaeology into literature from other disciplines. As a result, modern research often investigates borderlands and frontiers as regions unto themselves and grants agency to the populations living within them (e.g. Sawicki et al., 2015; Ylimaunu et al., 2014; Pluskowski et al. 2011; Naum, 2010). Such analyses allow for multi-directional flows of political power and cultural change across borderlines, enabling researchers to ask questions not only about the mechanics of frontiers, but about the multiplicity of experiences which occur in populations on either side of borders.

Until recently, research concentrating on medieval frontiers and borderlands of the past has been largely monopolised by historians through a number of influential volumes (e.g. Abulafia and Berend 2002; Goodman and Tuck 1992; Bartlett and Mackay 1989). These volumes sought in different ways to bring together research from across Europe, and occasionally beyond, to compare broad themes about how medieval

borders were created, negotiated, and understood. A similar emphasis on historical rather than archaeological research exists on the Anglo-Scottish border. There is a vast body of literature investigating wide-ranging aspects of politics and life on the border including identities, political and social networks, warfare, law, and administration. However, as both Armstrong (2020) and Houston (2016) argue, territoriality and the connections between politics, law and space in these regions has not yet been sufficiently addressed. In most of these previous studies, landscapes beyond basic political geographies have been ignored.

Archaeological work in the region remains much narrower in focus. This is not due to fundamental inabilities of archaeology to grapple with similar types of research topics. Indeed, there is a large collection of archaeological work on Roman frontiers across Europe (e.g. Verhagen et al. 2019; Collins and McIntosh 2014; Collins 2012; Galestin 2010), on colonial and diasporic communities of the post-medieval period (Lau-Ozawa and Ross 2021; Sunseri 2017; Voss 2016; Naum 2013a, 2013b; Gilchrist 2005, 331–332), and on the archaeology of contemporary borders and refugee communities (Kiddey 2020; McAtackney and McGuire 2020; Kourelis 2019). Many of these studies are transnational in perspective, reflecting the geographies of borders which, by definition, transgress international boundaries. Medieval archaeologists have generally not contributed to wider theoretical debates as substantially as early medieval or post-medieval specialists, and in general, medieval archaeological outputs have frequently not been as explicit in acknowledging and critiquing theoretical influences as those of their temporal neighbours (Dempsey 2019; McClain 2011; Gilchrist 2005). However, this is rapidly changing, and there are a growing number of theory-conscious interdisciplinary projects that have great potential to greatly enhance our understanding of the medieval world (e.g. Dempsey et al. 2020; Dempsey 2019; Jarvis 2017; Gilchrist 2009). As a result, medieval archaeologists have only very recently begun to adopt more transnational perspectives through work such as Aleks Pluskowski's research on crusading kingdoms in the Baltic States and Iberia (Sawicki et al. 2015; Pluskowski et al. 2014; Pluskowski 2013; Pluskowski et al. 2011). Medieval communities on the Welsh border have also started becoming the targets of recent research (Williams and Delaney 2020; Williams and Delaney 2019; Murrieta-Flores and Williams 2017; Rippon 1996) but transnational perspectives are largely missing from medieval Anglo-Scottish archaeology.

In part, this pattern of largely nationally-defined Anglo-Scottish research is due to a number of important methodological obstacles. On the Anglo-Scottish border, barriers to archaeological research have taken two forms. First, there are the longstanding methodological difficulties in distinguishing political borders from the cultural borders visible through material culture. A small number of recent projects integrating cross-disciplinary theories with modern archaeological methodologies have been conducted on medieval and early modern borderlands across Europe (Sawicki et al. 2015; Pluskowski et al. 2014; Ylimaunu et al. 2014; Naum 2014, 2012, 2010, Pluskowski et al. 2011). To date, work has largely concentrated on tracing distributional patterns and stylistic changes of artefacts, buildings, or sites which were used as 'badges of identification' between cultural groups (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995, 480). The archaeologist can use these 'badges' to track cultural and political relationships. For example, Naum (2010) analysed pottery styles along the Danish and Western Slavic frontier in the medieval period as objects of multiple meanings and of negotiation between cultures in a borderland region. Ylimaunu et al. (2014) similarly uses church buildings and burials in Christian cemeteries to trace 'third spaces' and cultural change on the late medieval northern Ostrobothnia borderland in modern-day Finland. When analysed within historical contexts of the frontier and with a solid grasp of border theory, these types of studies have been successful in illustrating important characteristics of frontier communities, including the complex processes of hybridisation. However, utilising material culture such as artefacts and building types to determine the boundaries of frontiers can be problematic. Badges of identification have been difficult to observe in frontier contexts where cultural signatures are not as clearly defined, such as on the Anglo-Scottish borderland where it has been very difficult to identify clear cultural divisions materially (Kent 2016; Steingraber 2014; Standley 2010; Lightfoot and Martinez 1995, 479).

The second major barrier is the presence of the modern national border and the historiographical divisions it has produced. This is a problem both in historical and archaeological research. In the field of history, it has been acknowledged that research on the high and late medieval period in the Anglo-Scottish borderland generally targets one side or the other of the border (Ellis 1999; Stringer and Winchester 2017; Jamroziak 2011). In some cases, this pattern is reflective of historical divisions. As independent countries, the documentary records of Scotland and England have separate histories

which directly impact the way primary sources can be used. English and Scottish archives possess different patterns of preservation, the most prominent of which is the scarcity of Scottish records prior to 1300 (National Records of Scotland 2019). Additionally, English and Scottish records are not always directly comparable. The two kingdoms had different administrative systems which either recorded entirely different information or recorded similar information in different ways, making statistical comparisons difficult (Dixon 2017; Rorke 2006).

However, some of the current historiographical division is also reflective of nationalist narratives that have dominated as historical paradigms since the 19<sup>th</sup> century (see also Dalglish and Driscoll 2010; Driscoll 2010; Kocka and Haupt, 2009, 17; Juneja and Pernau, 2009, 108). Naomi Standen (Power and Standen 1999, 26–27) has argued that there is an institutionalised connection between the development of the historiographical ‘idea of the nation-state’ and the creation of academic disciplines which matured at approximately the same time. This has led to a research environment of highly specialised scholars with regional interests that often mirror national and/or cultural boundaries. Ellis (1999, 157, 176) notes that amongst the national boundaries of the British Isles, the Anglo-Scottish border’s historiography has been particularly nationalised and contends that this national division is a primary reason there have been few projects comparing the ‘very comparable experience[s]’ of the communities living alongside the various English frontiers in the medieval and early modern periods.

Much like historical scholarship, archaeology, both academic and commercial, in the Anglo-Scottish borderland has also fallen prey to national geographical divisions. A national perspective has been supported not only by academic traditions rooted in documentary history, but also by modern heritage infrastructures. In many countries, the collection and recording of archaeological data is organised at the state and local levels, leading to inconsistencies in the type and quality of data that is available to use (Haselgrove et al. 2016, 18–23). These divisions can impact not only how archaeological work is performed in the field (or whether it is performed at all), but also how this work is published and disseminated. In combination, these forces have encouraged national rather than transnational perspectives in archaeology. Haselgrove et al. (2016, 23) note that the infrastructural mechanisms encouraging compartmentalisation are particularly acute in the United Kingdom in comparison to other European countries. Grey literature and other unpublished archaeological data stored in local archives across the country

adhere to a variety of different standards of practice (see ALGAO 2010, 2012 for further information), disconnecting resources and making synthesis even within England challenging. The boundary between England and Scotland divides a variety of important national institutions, such as Historic England and Historic Environment Scotland, the leading public bodies in charge of archaeological materials in their respective countries. As a result, many management policies and recording practices differ on either side of the borderline. Funding bodies, which are frequently national or regional in scope, can also limit projects to specific regions. For example, funding restrictions were particularly problematic for the Till-Tweed Geoarchaeology Project, one of the most recent and most extensive landscape studies to date in north-east England (Passmore and Waddington 2012; Passmore and Waddington 2009). This project intended to study landscapes of the Rivers Till and Tweed from prehistory to the early medieval period. However, their funding from English Heritage restricted their investigations to the English side of the Tweed (Gates and Deegan 2009, 126).

Despite these challenges, these overarching divisions in the historiography of England and Scotland does not mean that the two sides of the border have never been compared. Indeed, the last twenty years have seen a movement toward a 'British turn' in history, and there are numerous examples of fine work targeting a variety of subjects in both England and Scotland, especially in recent years (Armstrong 2020, 2008; Beam et al. 2018; Jones and Coquetdale Community Archaeology 2017; Stringer 2017, 22; Winchester 2000a; Davies 2000). Edited volumes including the work of both Scottish and English researchers represent a useful way to begin comparing historical narratives (e.g. Boardman and Goodare 2014; King and Penman (Eds.) 2007). Of these, one of the most recent has been *Northern England and Southern Scotland in the Central Middle Ages* (Stringer and Winchester 2017) which explores case studies from preeminent experts in the history and archaeology of the Anglo-Scottish borderland to highlight promising directions for future research. However, this is just a first step toward developing rigorous cross-border dialogues. For instance, the period after 1200 targeted by this thesis has yet to be thematically interrogated in a similar way.

In archaeology, there has been a gradual movement in the region toward developing more cross-border projects, mirroring the advances in documentary scholarship. This movement is particularly strong amongst scholars of prehistory and the early medieval period. One of the best syntheses of archaeological data in the

region is Crellin et al.'s (2016) edited volume, *Prehistory without Borders: The Prehistoric Archaeology of the Tyne-Forth Region*, which provides a valuable theoretical and methodological model for future cross-border projects and collaborations. For medievalists, cross-border projects have tended to either be community archaeological projects or surveys of particular site or material types (e.g. Standley 2010; Crow 2007; Brooke 2000). Two of the former include a series of projects on ancient roadways in the Cheviots (Jones and Coquetdale Community Archaeology 2017) and the Flodden500 project, a community project which investigated Scottish and English sites related to the battle of Flodden (Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum 2019). Both projects successfully integrated documentary research and archaeological fieldwork across the border to help construct a more nuanced view of the medieval past of the region. All three of the primary research frameworks for south-east Scotland and north-east England—the North-East Regional Research Framework for the Historic Environment (NERRF) (Petts and Gerrard 2006), the Scottish Archaeological Research Framework (ScARF) (ScARF 2012), and the Archaeological Research Framework for Northumberland National Park (ARFNNP) (Young et al. 2010)—argue for a general need for synthesis and contextualisation in the region (see Appendix B for a comparison of the content of relevant regional research frameworks). NERRF and ARFNNP consider comparisons with Scotland to be a crucial context for the medieval research agenda, and NERRF pushes this agenda particularly strongly. As a result, although one can detect growing momentum toward synthesis, cross-border researchers must still tread between the historiographies of England and Scotland, which both begin and end at the border.

Finally, the disciplinary divisions outlined here mean that there has been little integration of landscape-based archaeological work with documentary-based historic narratives. One of the most important trends woven throughout all three of the research frameworks is the need to move beyond site-based approaches which have largely characterised research in this region, particularly outside of the upland areas of the Cheviots. Instead, the frameworks encourage approaches which synthesise and contextualise. Similarly, in his recent book on local society in northern England, Jackson Armstrong (2020, 93–106) argues that modern historians tend to propagate a simplified view of the physical environment as upland 'waste' which is associated with a specific cultural package of dispersed settlement, small-scale hill farming and transhumant pastoralism. This image of the north is not without historic precedent, and indeed, is

also professed in historic documents from the medieval period onward. He notes that this has led to an emphasis on deprivation and impoverishment rather than on productivity in historical scholarship, when in fact the region sustained many different economies and ways of life. This has meant that the fertile lowlands are often overlooked in analyses of life on the frontier. As a result, Armstrong (2020, 103) pleads for 'a more nuanced interpretation of what late medieval borderers said about life at the frontier'.

On the other hand, archaeological research in the region tends to have a much more sophisticated understanding of the environment, both upland and lowland (Dixon 2017, 1984; Tipping 2010; Winchester 2000a). In part, this has been due to the influence of the positivist strand of 'landscape archaeology' which targets environmental, ecological, and economic human-landscape interactions. Traditionally, there have been divisions amongst landscape archaeologists between practitioners of positivist epistemologies and humanist, post-processual ones that explore 'socially and experientially engaged place' or cultural landscapes (David and Thomas 2008, 39; Strang 2008, 51). These two strands of landscape archaeology are no longer as diametrically opposed as they once were in the wider field of archaeology (Rippon 2009, 243, 245; Fleming 2007; Johnson 2007a, 2007b; Ashmore 2004, 255), but the divisions of the epistemological rift linger in academic scholarship and have partially contributed to the separation of historical narratives and archaeological data in the Anglo-Scottish borderland.

As a result, this project fills multiple gaps which exist in both historical and archaeological research in the region. It performs much needed synthesis of landscape data which have been separated by numerous historic and modern processes, and it employs the results of this synthesis to reconnect the socio-political narratives of history with the physical environments reconstructed by archaeologists. This landscape approach introduces new methodologies less reliant on 'badges of identification' which allow us to explore archaeologically the material components of the political geographies of a primarily political, rather than cultural, border.

## **2.3 Geographies of Medieval Borders and Borderlands**

To reconnect the physical archaeological landscape and the ideological landscape of political history, it is necessary to introduce what is currently known about

the geographies of medieval borders and borderlands. To do this, this section first introduces the definitions of important terms related to borderland geographies. Next, it identifies important spatial characteristics of medieval borderlands. Finally, it critiques medieval borderland research within the context of modern border studies and introduces the concept of the border-scape as a useful framework to improve our understanding of the role of landscape in the development of medieval borders and borderlands.

### **2.3.1 Definitions**

Thus far, this thesis has used numerous words to refer to the political division between England and Scotland: border, borderline, borderland, boundary, frontier, and March. The first four of these terms are used frequently in modern political discussions and current-events journalism and will be familiar to most people. However, this familiarity masks intersections and inconsistencies in the way these terms are used. Terms such as 'frontier' and 'borderland' are often used synonymously in academic literature but also have different definitions depending on the discipline and the nationality of the researcher (Ylimaunu et al. 2014; Naum 2010; Parker 2006; Brunet-Jailly 2005; Lightfoot and Martinez 1995). This imprecision can be problematic in technical discussions about historic borders, borderlands, and frontiers, and so these terms must be defined before any further examination of borderland geographies can occur. This work utilises a combination of definitions from both archaeologist Bradley Parker (2006) and modern historians Michiel Baud and Willem van Schendel (1997).

Parker, Baud, and van Schendel agree that 'boundary' is the most general of the terms. It is used for a divisional line between people, cultures, or other entities. It does not necessarily denote a major international divisional line, but it can also be used for lines between properties and smaller internal administrative units (Power and Standen 1999, ix). They also agree that a 'border' is a linear conceptual line of separation defining the territories of two or more different political entities or administrative units, making it a synonym with the term 'borderline'. It is a geographic line as well as an institution which marks political and administrative boundaries between states.

Parker's definition of 'frontier' as a zone of contact between either two or more distinct political or cultural entities, or between a political entity and empty space, will be used within this work. According to Parker, a frontier may incorporate many

different types of boundaries within its geographical extent, so it is not necessarily a linear feature. He incorporates five different categories of boundaries into his model which he calls 'The Continuum of Boundary Dynamics'. In this model, each type of boundary can be charted on a scale, ranging from static to fluid, to compare different boundaries within a single borderland or to compare between frontiers. He isolates five different types of boundaries, or 'boundary sets': geographic, political, demographic, cultural, and economic. Each frontier need not have all of these divisions, and some divisions are more important than others, which stresses the need to understand a frontier within its own historical milieu (Baud and Van Schendel 1997; Lightfoot and Martinez 1995). It is also important to note that frontiers are frequently defined by their peripheral location to centres of power. For instance, Magdalena Naum (2010) writes that frontiers are areas which are defined 'as a limit of possession or settlement', frequently but not always between two or more political territories. Frontiers can change in magnitude—they can expand to the point of becoming their own political territories or they can narrow and become a linear borderline. Frontiers are also often conceptualised as a zone of interaction in contrast to the divisive qualities insinuated by terms 'boundary' or 'border' (Feuer 2016, 12; Power and Standen 1999, ix; Donnan and Wilson 1999, 48).

'Borderland' is a more problematic term. Parker's work contains a very broad definition of 'borderland', which is used as a blanket term for both borders and frontiers. In his work, borders and frontiers are types of borderlands existing on a sliding scale from linear (borders) to zonal (frontiers). This work will instead adopt Baud and van Schendel's more specific definition which is more useful for explaining distinctions between different types of boundaries. Baud and van Schendel define a borderland as a geo-political region directly affected by the presence of a border. A borderland is a type of frontier which requires a defined legal border to exist. Similar to a frontier, the unit of analysis is a region, or zone, which extends across the boundary, whether well-defined (border) or ill-defined (frontier) so that 'both sides of a state border are taken as the unit of analysis' (Baud and Van Schendel 1997, 216). In both practice and function, the Anglo-Scottish border region acted as both a borderland and a frontier simultaneously, so the two terms will be used relatively interchangeably throughout this work. However, it is important to note the distinctions between the

two terms here, because in other geographical and temporal contexts, the two terms are not always synonymous.

Finally, the term 'March' was used during the medieval period across western Europe and had a variety of meanings (Ellis 1999, 160; Power and Standen 1999, ix). In the medieval Anglo-Scottish borderland, it was often used relatively synonymously with the term, 'frontier', but it also had particular legal connotations relating to the unique administrative structures of the region, the Marches (see Figure 1.1), that were used to manage the specific administrative challenges of the Anglo-Scottish borderland (Armstrong 2020, 53–54). As a result, when used in this thesis, the term 'March' will be used either as a synonym with frontier and borderland or as a reference to the administrative 'Marches'.

### **2.3.2 Characteristics of Medieval Borders**

Traditionally, the fundamental concept which has structured our understanding of borders and borderlands is territory—a bounded geo-political space within which a governing entity, often a state or nation-state, exercises power (Peña 2021; Donnan and Wilson 1999; Agnew 1994). However, medieval political geographies are commonly contrasted with this concept of clearly defined political space. It is widely argued that territorially-defined states developed sometime towards the end of the medieval or the beginning of the early modern period, depending on the author (Jones 2020, 200; Taylor 2016; Hirst 2005, 28; Berend 2002; Abulafia 2002, 1; Power and Standen 1999, 5; Agnew 1994, 60–61;). This concept should not be confused with national identities, which developed much earlier in the medieval period (Driscoll 2010, 446–447, 1998). The incongruity between the use of state-based territorial paradigms in a supposedly pre-territorial context has often made it easier to define medieval borders by what they were not rather than what they were. For instance, the spatial division between the territorial core and its periphery, frequently used in models of borderland processes, is often difficult to define in the medieval period. The complex spatialities of medieval landholding amongst the nobility was not usually limited to one region, but a lord could hold lands scattered across a kingdom. Prior to the Wars of Independence in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Anglo-Scottish nobility, including the Scottish king, held lands and privileges on both sides of the border, and many of them owned extensive properties as far away as south-east England (MacQueen and McNeill 1996, 420). In such situations, land would

be held under multiple legal frameworks and a lord could be a vassal of multiple kings. Even the Scottish king's authority was changeable depending on the territory considered. Throughout much of the high medieval period, he was king in Scotland, but considered a vassal in England for his English properties. Within such a complex legal framework only intermittently tied to geography, it is difficult to define where the periphery of one kingdom ends and the core of another begins.

Alternatives to the territorial model have been proposed. In his analysis of conflict management on the Anglo-Scottish border, Jackson Armstrong (2020, 42) critiques the utility of core-periphery territorial models. Instead, he argues, that medieval geographies were based on a different conception of space—one which was moved through rather than viewed from above like a map. This has been noted in other medieval contexts and is described by Franklin (2020, 853) within her work on medieval Armenia as a 'landscape in motion'. The geography this experience of space produced should be viewed as an 'agglomeration of porous cells' each one defined by watersheds and urban hinterlands' which existed at a quasi-regional scale where the 'in which the local and national interacted' (Armstrong 2020, 42). Armstrong explores some of the cultural effects of these geographies, noting that they were much more fluid and flexible than the cartographic territories of the 16th century, but also suggests that this way of understanding geographic space 'deserves much closer attention in its own right' (2020, 73).

However, these contrasts between modern and medieval political geographies have allowed scholars to identify general patterns in the topography of political power at the somewhat blurry edges of medieval kingdoms. Many scholars argue that there is an overarching geographical pattern across medieval European frontiers indicating they were usually decentralised zones where regional landholders often held such a degree of power that their holdings could almost be considered separate states (Power and Standen 1999, 21). Along the Anglo-Scottish border, this can be seen through the liberties and regalities, particularly those of the Prince-Bishops of Durham, which were dispersed across the borderland and came with special legal and administrative privileges that limited the effective reach of the bureaucratic machine of the medieval state (Holford and Stringer 2010; Grant 2008; Barrow 1992, 5–6). In these traditional historical narratives, the end of the medieval period is a watershed moment where political geographies shifted from ones where the kingdom was conceived of as a

collection of communities united under spatially unconsolidated networks of tenurial rights and privileges, to one which placed a greater emphasis on the importance of consolidated territories (Baud and Van Schendel 1997, 223; Sahlins 1990, 1427–1428).

The territorial framework of borderlands has also been useful in identifying some of the geographical characteristics of individual medieval borderlands that are important for understanding how political space was organised in these regions. In his exploration of medieval borders through the 14<sup>th</sup>-century peace treaty between Sweden and Novgorod, Katajala (2012) identified four types of medieval borders: linear, zone-like, spot-like, and vertical. Of these, only the first three are considered within this thesis, as it was found within an Anglo-Scottish context that vertical barriers overlapped problematically with the other three types of border geographies in analysis. Linear and zone-like borders were introduced in the previous section through discussions of the difference between borderlines/borders (linear) and borderlands/frontiers/Marches (zone-like). However, spot-like borders deserve further explanation. The spot-like border is conceived not as territorial lines but as particular places, or points on a map, which may not be located on the borderline but represent the border in microcosm (Katajala 2012). In the modern world they can manifest as customs barriers in airports or as embassies (Peña 2021; Paasi 2009), and in the medieval world they are often associated with international diplomatic events (Benham 2011).

However, despite the previous utility of territorial paradigms in identifying types and characteristics of medieval borders, it also has a number of limitations. While borders exist in space, they are fundamentally processes of human behaviour. Borders and borderlands may follow topographic divisions that appear natural, but all political borders and their borderlands are made through the assertion of authority onto the landscape (Kolossoff 2005, 620; Baud and Van Schendel 1997, 242). Boundaries between territories have very little meaning unless the behaviour of those living either at the core or on the periphery is controlled or altered in some way by the maintenance of the border (Mullin 2011, 5). In essence, it is the processes of bordering which defines a border. However, territoriality is just one way of making a border. It is an obvious place to begin exploring historic border geographies, because as Power and Standen (1999, 27) assert, 'We are looking at premodern frontiers through the eyes of people accustomed to national frontiers,' where 'our present-day conceptions of frontiers are firstly as lines, and the ramifications of their existence flow from that'. However, we

should not limit ourselves to this conception of frontiers and borders. The geography of state-based territoriality is frequently a poor fit for the political mechanics of medieval borderlands and can mask the distinctiveness of medieval bordering processes and lead to problematic misinterpretations (see Katajala 2012, 40 for examples).

Fortunately, recent decades have seen debate amongst modern border studies scholars over the primacy of territory as the defining geographic concept structuring border landscapes, a concept frequently referred to as the 'territorial trap' (Agnew 1994, 2015). Since then, a large body of research in border studies has focussed on identifying alternative types of geographies of political power, mapping them as processes of bordering rather than as spatial lines (e.g. Krichker 2021; Peña 2021; Paasi 2009). The plethora of new geographic models emerging from border studies offers opportunities for enhancing our understanding of medieval borderland geographies which do not fit within territorial models. The following section explores how they can be integrated with archaeological methodologies into a useful theoretical framework which propels analysis in this thesis beyond the 'territorial trap'.

### **2.3.3 The Border-scape and the Inhabited Landscape**

The previous discussion of territoriality and medieval borderland geographies has highlighted two fundamental features of medieval borders. First, borders are 'simultaneously structures and processes' (Donnan and Wilson 1999, 62). They are institutions that have to be made and reinforced. And secondly, they are relational and are defined by connections between people and between people and places. Thus far, discussions of the processes of bordering along the Anglo-Scottish border have largely overlooked the involvement of the physical landscape. However, the reinforcement of borders often involves tangible 'things,' like monuments, walls, or linear earthworks, as well as places and landscapes. This thesis adopts a concept from postmodern (post-territorial) border studies, the border-scape, and combines it with the methodologies of post-processual landscape archaeologies to bridge the gap between English and Scottish historiographic divisions and explore the physical manifestations of borderland socio-political dynamics through cross-border landscapes. These ideas are then developed in the following section into a five-part thematic framework which explains how these concepts shape how the landscape of the Anglo-Scottish borderland is explored within this thesis.

The border-scape is conceived as a 'mobile relational space' which is made through processes of 'bordering' or 'border work' that generate divisions between people and/or places (Peña 2021, 18–19; Papadopoulos 2020). Because the concept of the border-scape emerged as a reaction to traditional territorial conceptions of borderland landscapes, certain applications of the concept of the 'border-scape' have tended to de-emphasise the material elements of a border and its landscapes in favour of tracing relational processes which happen in spaces that may or may not be physical (Krichker 2021). However, as Peña (2021, 2) argues through an autoethnography of his experiences living and working along the US/Mexico border, 'space still matters' and is part of the lived experience of the border and borderland. As a result, the border-scape is defined within this thesis as a conceptual and physical geography of the Anglo-Scottish borderland where bordering processes/border work were experienced.

Conceptions of space in postmodern border studies and the post-processual and phenomenological movement in archaeology tend to be influenced by many of the same theorists (i.e. Giddens, Foucault, Lefebvre, Deleuze, and Guattari). Consequently, concepts of landscape commonly used in post-processual archaeology connect neatly to the idea of the border-scape. As defined within this thesis, a 'landscape' is a physical entity—it is a subsection of the physical world that people inhabit and can be made up of things like the earth's surface, trees, rivers, roads, and buildings. However, a landscape is more than just a physical area where human activities take place. A landscape in the full sense of the word also has a conceptual element that makes it a meaning-laden entity 'that exists by virtue of its being perceived, experienced, and contextualized by people' (Knapp and Ashmore 2000, 1).

Landscapes are made up of 'places' and 'spaces'. The situated qualities of landscape derive from embodied experiences within specific locations, or places—imbuing them with meanings in a recursive process of place-making. Places are the 'foci for the production of meaning, intention and purpose of societal significance' (Tilley 1994, 17). Space, on the other hand, is sometimes viewed as the opposite of place. In this view, meaningful places are created from natural spaces (Whitridge 2004, 213). However, this oversimplifies the relationship; space, too, is socially constructed because space 'is the general idea people have of where things should be in physical and cultural relation to each other' (Donnan and Wilson 1999, 9). Tilley (1994, 10) conceptualises space as the relational structure within which meaningful places are situated. Space can

both constrain the limits of 'place' and connect places together. Thus, places exist within and between spaces.

As a result, landscapes are things you can see and touch as well as imagine and are defined by the reciprocal relationships in which the material world both shapes and is shaped by human action (Hicks 2016; Gillespie 2008, 110; Bender 2002; Knapp and Ashmore 2000, 4; Tilley 1994). Zedeño (2000, 107) argues that landscape has three main components:

1. Formal: the physical characteristics or landmarks of the environment.
2. Relational: links of human interaction between landmarks
3. Historical: connections through time created by the repeated use of elements in the landscape.

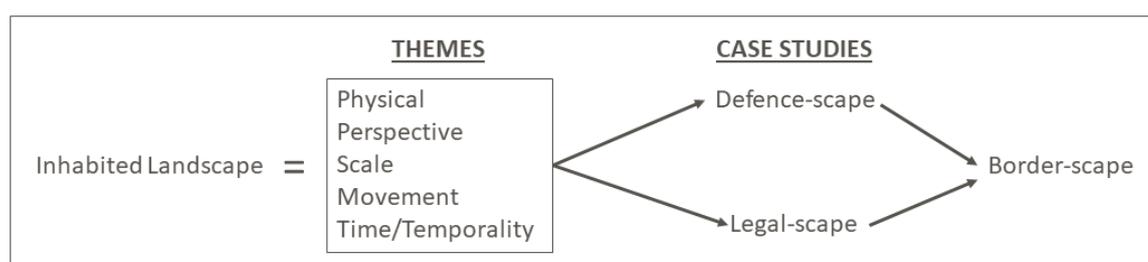
This definition of landscape, which combines both material and cognitive elements, is a helpful one within the context of this project, as it enables the physical world to connect to the experienced world of the historic geo-political border-scape through the interactions between humans and the physical world around them. These ideas have been developed by Barrett (1999) as an 'inhabited' approach to landscape in which the physical landscape is interpreted through a plurality of different perspectives. In this approach, the archaeological monuments within the landscape are not just 'a trail of debris generated by the passing of the processes of history' but instead are 'situated in the context of past human understanding' (Barrett 1999, 257–258). Thus, archaeological landscapes can have numerous meanings at once, and these meanings can change through time because they are created by people, both as individuals and as collectives, as they interpret and experience the world around them.

## **2.4 Theoretical Framework**

This thesis adopts a theoretical framework based on the idea of Barrett's inhabited landscape. However, to avoid falling into a rabbit hole of cultural relativism, we must refine the situated and relational nature of this approach. Barrett (1999, 259) argues that the inhabited landscape only 'becomes meaningful when it is situated between different frames of reference,' by which he means it is an understanding of the world filtered through interpretive frameworks constructed at the individual and societal levels in a dialectic relationship with material conditions that are both spatially and temporally situated. Both Barrett (1999) and Nicola Whyte (2009) in her study of

inhabited early modern landscapes of Norfolk, use time and memory as the reference through which they assess historic experiences of landscape. However, there are others frames of reference that can be used and will be adopted here.

In this project, the inhabited borderland, or border-scape, is analysed through a framework where the border-scape is composed of multiple ‘-scapes’, or case studies, which target different processes of bordering.<sup>2</sup> Two -scapes are targeted by this project: the defence-scape and the legal-scape (Figure 2.1). The medieval experience and understanding of these -scapes are deconstructed for analysis through five themes which represent different frames of reference through which the world can be interpreted. As a result, this structure connects the situated and multi-vocal interpretations of inhabited landscapes with the broader geographies of the medieval border-scape. The rest of this chapter explains the rationale for the choice of themes and case studies within this project.



**Figure 2.1:** Diagram of the theoretical framework of the thesis

## 2.5 Project Themes

Understanding the conceptual and emotional relationships between people and landscape can be a challenge. As exemplified in this chapter’s discussion of the problems with concepts of territoriality in medieval border studies, early modern and medieval concepts of place, space and landscape were different in many ways to those of modern Western society, and it is important to critically examine the historicity of the concepts we apply to the past (see also Giles 2007). It is also important not to over-generalise, as concepts of space and place were not identical across the medieval

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<sup>2</sup> Although Ingold (2017) critiques the over-use of the term ‘scape’ for diluting the concept of the experienced landscape, it is sometimes useful to distinguish the conceptual and physical landscape in archaeological analyses. As a result, the case studies have been designated by the term ‘scape’ to differentiate purely physical landscape from the blended physical, conceptual, and experiential elements of inhabited landscapes within this text.

world. For instance, Houston (2016) argues that the relationships between people and legal spaces differed in practice between England and Scotland in the medieval and early modern periods. As a result, careful contextualisation is of vital importance in the study of medieval socio-political landscapes (e.g. Jamieson and Lane 2015; Hansson 2009; Giles 2007). Fortunately, the material and documentary record of the medieval period offer ample threads of evidence to use.

To avoid projecting modern assumptions of borderland geographies onto medieval borders, a selection of texts written by people travelling along the border through its 800-year history were subjected to a brief thematic analysis. This process allowed particularly impactful aspects of the landscape to emerge from the sources. In total, seven different sources which record perambulations dating to between the 13<sup>th</sup> and the 21<sup>st</sup> centuries were used in this analysis: 1245 (Stones 1965, 55–57), 1541 (Bowes and Ellerker 1541), 1550 (Bowes 1550), 1920s (Mack 2011), 2006 (Robson 2006), and 2014 (Crofton 2014) (see Appendix C for descriptions of each of these sources). Together, these surveys offer a layered account of the way the Anglo-Scottish border was encountered, experienced, and negotiated within and through landscapes by individuals over the course of its history. Five themes were identified which form a framework for future analyses within this thesis: the physical landscape, scale, perspective, movement, and time/temporality.

### **2.5.1 Theme 1: The Physical Landscape**

All of the surveys describe the Anglo-Scottish border as an institution which is experienced as part of the physical landscape of the borderland through which they walk. Sometimes the border was experienced through barriers such as fences, rivers, and ditches. At other times it was experienced through more subtle differences in the landscape, such as changes in the types of trees and prevalence of woodland noted in both the 16th-century and 21<sup>st</sup>-century surveys (Crofton 2014, 107; Bowes 1541, 205). Borders exist on a spectrum from ‘hard’ (clearly demarcated and enforced, or sometimes impermeable, divisions of space) to ‘soft’ (fluid, ephemeral, or unenforced and permeable divisions) (Parker 2006). The enforcement required for hard borders means that borders on this end of the spectrum tend to have a greater degree of physical infrastructure associated with them, such as the fences, rivers, and ditches of the surveys. The relative monumentality of these types of borders has meant that most

archaeological analyses of border landscapes concentrate on demarcated and relatively 'hard' borders. In England, the prevalence of archaeological frontier research which targets Hadrian's Wall, the Antonine Wall, Offa's Dyke and the military infrastructure integrated with them are good examples.

This widespread fixation on linear, monumentalised borders has led to longstanding debate over the presence of linear borders in medieval contexts. It is generally agreed that clearly demarcated and enforced linear international borders did not exist in the medieval period, despite their occasional appearance in documentary records (Katajala 2012; Benham 2011; Power and Standen 1999), but precise linear boundaries did exist at the local level. These were often delineated not simply through text but through the practice of perambulation whereby representatives on behalf of interested parties in a land transfer or in land disputes walked the boundaries of the property in question and negotiated their exact limits. Descriptions within charters indicate that boundaries became fixed to the landscape through physical markers that could be both natural and manmade. Boundary stones and crosses, marks on trees, footpaths and roads, hedges, ditches and dikes, and linear embankments like those described in the Anglo-Scottish surveys were used as boundary markers at both local and regional scales across Europe (Johnson 2017; Jones and Coquetdale Community Archaeology 2017, 53–57; Jamroziak 2011, 11; McCarthy 2008). Natural features were also commonly used, and Neville (2010, 60) notes that Scottish charters indicate a preference for natural linear features like rivers, lakes, and burns, the locations of which were anchored against immovable natural features like hills and mountains. Rivers were especially important for demarcating boundaries. In England, Phythian-Adams (2000) identified at least 15 rivers which demarcated a major territorial boundary in the Middle Ages.

However, soft borders could also have material components that become part of the process of political and social bordering, as evidenced by the differences between English and Scottish woodland noted in the surveys. Sunseri (2017) explored the intersection between landscape and identity formation on the colonial frontier of 18<sup>th</sup>-century New Mexico, finding that a palimpsest of different natural and man-made features of the landscape cumulatively contributed to the formation of group identities and conceptions of 'otherness' which were experienced spatially in the frontier, albeit not as a linear boundary. Katajala's (2012) analysis of 14<sup>th</sup>-century borders in north-

eastern Europe noted a similar pattern where the physical infrastructure of local geographies was adopted in the demarcation of larger-scale cultural and political divisions. These examples indicate that border work can be performed as much from the bottom-up of power politics as from the top-down.

There is no doubt that physical landscapes were deeply influential in medieval lives and acted as more than just a backdrop for human action. Angus Winchester's (2000a) work on rural uplands of, primarily, northern England has illustrated how the landscape was not only intrinsically connected to the seasonal lifeways of agrarian and pastoral communities but also was connected to the negotiation of local power-dynamics through the regulation and control of the landscape. Tom Johnson's (2020) recent work reveals that law in medieval England, a seemingly ephemeral concept, was grounded in the embodied experiences of landscape much more closely than is typically acknowledged. As a result, it is perhaps the spatialities of 'soft' borders that offer the most interesting contributions to our understanding of the formation of medieval political landscapes.

Whether the manifestation of 'hard' or 'soft' bordering processes, the physical landscape and the entanglement of local and international geographies also offers the opportunity to explore changes to the material manifestations of the medieval Anglo-Scottish border. In his perambulations of the 1910s and 20s, James Logan Mack (2011) described the physical remains of layers of historic bordering constructed piecemeal through the centuries with ditches, hedges, and boundaries markers and then subsequently abandoned. Borders frequently go through phases of materialisation and dematerialisation, often in relation to political anxieties over perceived threats to the authority of the government (Agnew 1994; Papadopoulos 2020). The scars of these processes are often left visible in the landscape, either through abandoned monuments, like those noted by Mack, or even through empty 'voids' left in the landscape, as is visible along sections of the former Berlin Wall which are now preserved as green spaces (Papadopoulos 2020; McWilliams, 124). Rather than simply acknowledging that change occurred, assessment of the physical landscape can help us understand the processes of change and add dynamism to the geographies of the Anglo-Scottish border.

## 2.5.2 Theme 2: Perspective

One of the most pervasive themes woven through the historic accounts of the Anglo-Scottish border is how perspective fundamentally impacts one's experience and understanding of the border-scape. Multiple types of borders can exist and be experienced simultaneously within the same landscape (Parker 2006), and an analysis which concentrates on the multiplicity of perspectives enables us to see these manifold border-scapes. For instance, a person's identity can have a significant impact on their experience of the border, the borderland, and their relationship with border work. In his autoethnography of crossing the modern US-Mexican border for work, Peña (2021) noted that the border he experiences as a Mexican academic living in the US and working in Mexico is much different from someone attempting to cross illegally who must pass through multiple barriers including fences, rivers, and busy roadways. He also notes that his experience of the border changes depending on with whom he travels. While he rarely gets checked crossing the border with his American wife, the opposite is true when he crosses the border alone. This is a type of embodiment of the border and its processes (Sheridan and McGuire 2019). While the infrastructure of the modern US-Mexico border is far more complex than that on the historic Anglo-Scottish border, the historic border also was not experienced similarly by all. For many, the medieval and early modern border was frequently ignored. There are numerous documentary references that indicate that Scottish livestock were regularly pastured illegally on the English side of the border (CBP, ii.129, 56-57; Schultz 2019, 193). However, there are other cases where the presence of the border was felt much more sharply. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (later Pope Pius II), in order to avoid a long and uncomfortable sea voyage, famously crossed the border by boat in secret in 1435 or 1436 disguised as a merchant (Bates 1891, 61–64).<sup>3</sup> In another instance in 1581, a man named Roger Aston was chased across Northumberland by a group of men from Alnwick who had just sold him a horse after they mistook him for a Scot (it was illegal to sell English horses to Scots at the time) (CBP, i.104, 72-73). It is clear from these examples that each of these

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<sup>3</sup> Piccolomini had been sent to Scotland in 1435 on a special mission but ran into difficulties on his journey into Scotland. He had originally planned to cross the Channel to London and travel overland to Scotland, but upon arrival in England, had trouble traveling north due to the 'suspicions of the English' (Bates 1891, 61). Instead, he took a boat to Flanders, and from there endured a 12-day journey to Lothian on stormy seas. After this, he decided 'nothing should induce him to return by sea' again and donned a disguise to avoid further trouble (Bates 1891, 61).

individuals experienced a very different border-scape because of differences in the way bordering processes interacted with their socio-political identities.

The previous examples all indicate that the enforcement of the border through bordering processes could influence the experience of the border, but bordering could also be internally stimulated. An individual's personal history could also have a significant impact on their understanding or interpretation of border-scapes. For instance, in exploring how Hadrian's Wall was valued in the past, Nesbitt and Tolia-Kelly (2009, 381) noted a difference in the way the historical significance of the wall was understood between antiquarian William Hutton and local people. Hutton situated the wall within a much grander historical framework than local people did, basing his interpretations on the familiar symbolism of neo-classical architecture in towns and cities and granting it a much more significant role in the landscape than the locals. These differences in perception resulted in distinctions between the way Hutton and the local people physically interacted with the monument.

The 20<sup>th</sup>- and 21<sup>st</sup>-century travel accounts also reveal that geographic proximity to the region can change one's understanding of the border. Reminiscent of the situated interpretations of Hadrian's wall above, during Robson's perambulation of the border in c. 2006, the most ardent argument for the symbolic importance of the border came not from a resident of the borderland but from a history teacher from Glasgow, who held the border to be a symbol of 'capitalist oppression and domination [by the English] that showed the Scots who was boss' (Robson 2006, 157–158). Meanwhile, Crofton performed his perambulation shortly before the Scottish Independence referendum in 2014, and his conversation with a local drum major while attending Coldstream's Civic Week indicated that many along the border considered the practical implications of Scottish independence to be more significant than any national feeling. 'My sense,' the drum major explained, 'is that the Borderers are dead against it. Cos if they get it—I live in England, just, and I get a lot of work in Scotland. So where do I pay my taxes? Do I pay them to Scotland, do I pay them to England? Do I have to show my passport every time I cross the bridge?' (Crofton 2014, 200). Indeed, the national results of the referendum indicate that the drum major was not alone in his practical concerns. The border council areas of Dumfries and Galloway and Scottish Borders held the second and third highest proportion of votes against independence in the country after Orkney (Jeavans 2014).

### 2.5.3 Theme 3: Scale

Another influential theme to emerge from the sources is the multiplicity of geographic scales at which bordering processes function. Archaeologists are generally comfortable working within and between different geographic scales of analysis, and scale is a fundamental consideration in the design of most archaeological projects. However, scale has particularly important implications within border-scapes. Transnational and borderland projects need ‘careful and subtle spatialization’ to be truly effective in achieving their research aims (Crang and Ashmore 2009, 568–569). Frontier dynamics act on multiple scales—from individuals integrating a new type of pottery into their daily lives (Naum 2012) to regional upheaval due to war between kingdoms (Sawicki et al. 2015; Pluskowski 2013). Archaeological methodologies have the potential to capture these scales and everything in between (Sunseri 2017). As Stringer (2017, 29) notes, just as it is important to expand research beyond national boundaries, it is also important not to entirely erase those boundaries in research. The careful use of scale can help identify areas where the border had a very real impact on material culture, but also prevents oversimplified interpretations where the border becomes the only reason for these patterns. The strength of a multi-scalar approach is that small- and large-scale projects differ in both the evidence that can be used and the types of arguments that can be made. Large-scale projects can be useful in understanding wider trends and in building grand narratives. However, the quantity of data at large scales comes at the expense of detail, meaning much of the data becomes abstracted from the influences of its original context. This runs the risk of inadvertently replicating preconstructed historiographical narratives (Kocka and Haupt 2009, 14). Small-scale analyses, on the other hand, have the benefit of detail. They enable projects to engage more critically with primary sources and make the agency of individual groups or people more visible, adding nuance and depth to the final analysis. However, the small number of case studies which can be interrogated in this kind of detailed analyses can make it difficult to distinguish the typical from the atypical.

Particular geographic scales are also more likely to capture the voices of different social groups (e.g. Meniketti 2009; Katajala 2012). As a result, working between these scales has the potential to integrate multi-vocality into the landscapes and to understand the region not simply from a top-down perspective, but to contrast the prevailing national rhetoric regarding frontiers and borderlands against the

experiences of communities living within those regions. For instance, the chaotic social environment engendered by the Wars of Independence was characterised by shifting and seemingly contradictory national and local identities. National identities were beginning to divide along the borderline at this time, but regional or local identities often crossed boundaries. Based on the language of locally written sources like Thomas Gray's *Scalacronica*, King (2000) argues for the existence of regional identities in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries founded on shared experiences across the national border. Meanwhile, further afield in the heartlands of England and Scotland, royal policies drew distinctions between Englishmen and Scotsmen and divergent vilified stereotypes began to appear more frequently in literature (King and Penman 2007, 4; Ruddick 2007, 199).

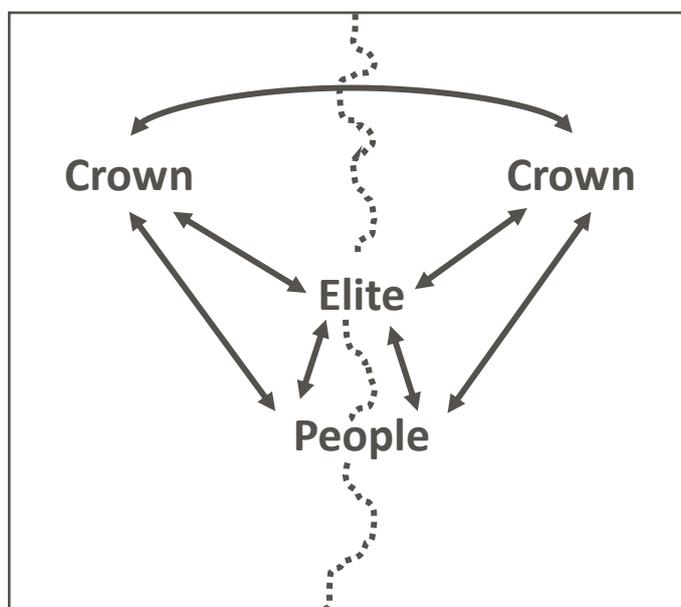
At the national scale, the 16th-century surveys paint a picture of the borderland as a region the English crown had trouble controlling (Ellis 1999; Fraser 1971). However, the 16th-century surveys also include descriptions of subcultures defined by the geographic limits of individual valleys, rather than the region or even the nation. At this time, clans known as 'the surnames' were organised through networks of kinship, but these networks also had blurred geographic territories. This conflation of identity and geography led toward contemporary conceptions of geographically defined personalities of culture. For instance, Bowes (1550, 244) notes, 'The Riddesdall men be even of like nature and qualities as the Tyndall men save that they be not soe trusty of their words and promise and have often tymes attempted to disobey and refuse their keepers by force. And can in no wise be kept in order butt by correction and dread'.

Local agency emerged from the thematic analysis as an important component in the use of the border-scape. The influence of a border is visible not through the enactments of the state alone, but through the ways they were enforced, accepted, and resisted by local communities. Magdalena Naum (2010, 127) describes borderlands as 'third spaces' where there are unique 'possibilities to act in ways impossible or difficult to do in other places, creating hybrid solutions pregnant with potential for new worldviews and discourses. They are confusing places where the merging of some elements can give birth to new solutions, where redefinition of self and creation of new identities may take place'. Those living in the Anglo-Scottish borderland, both past and present, found ways to negotiate the legal quirks of the region. For instance, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Robson (2006, 196) noted that when Scottish laws forced pubs to close earlier

than their English counterparts, the Scottish drinkers would cross the bridge to England. However, English laws restricting cross-border travel would then force them to take a ten-mile detour from Coldstream bridge to Kelso in order to have an English pint.

The conflation of geographic scale and social position means that geographic scales of analysis are not independent of each other. Baud and Van Schendel (1997) argue that power in borderlands is uniquely structured, with power flowing both within a territory and across its boundaries (Figure 2.2). A consideration of power structures enables the researcher to explore the social and political relationships which bind and connect these scales together and identify who was performing and who was impacted by border work at different levels of society. In most research on the medieval Anglo-Scottish border, only the top two levels of society are present—the ‘crown’ and the ‘elite’, and it is only from the late-15<sup>th</sup> century on where local communities begin appearing as influential agents in historical narratives. Intensive cross border

landholding and social ties in the medieval period have been used by many historians to argue that the border prior to the 16<sup>th</sup> century held little meaning within regional society (Stringer 2017; Jack 2004). It was instead those acting on the behalf of the crown to whom the border mattered. Including scale as part of the project’s analytical framework will allow critique of this argument.



**Figure 2.2:** Diagram of typical ‘double-triangle’ power relations across medieval borders (after Baud and van Schendel 1997, 219, Fig.1)

#### 2.5.4 Theme 4: Movement

If inhabitation is the understanding of the landscape in reference to ‘other times and other places’ (Barrett 1999, 260), then movement is another important theme within this framework. The sources analysed here indicate that the significance of a border is often felt most clearly in its crossing, making clear the position of the individual within the wider border-scape. Historians of travel literature have long

recognised the value of these accounts in understanding the landscapes of the past and how people engaged with them because they depict 'embodied encounters' with the landscape (Franklin 2020; Nesbitt and Tolia-Kelly 2009). The freedom, or lack thereof, of movement across a border and the way it changes how people move through space, sometimes described as 'flows', is one of the principal processes of bordering (Peña 2021). Along many borders, the borderland becomes a middle-ground between territories, a place where communities are defined by their 'in-betweenness'. It is this state of in-betweenness that is one of the key factors contributing to the development of the unique traits visible in many borderland and frontier societies. The porosity of the border both directly influences whether a frontier experiences fragmentation (the development of two or more cultural units from a single parent culture), hybridisation (the process through which two or more unique cultures merge to become a new cultural entity), or a combination of the two. Hybridisation is often observed along highly porous borders where it is the result of political, economic, and social connections stretching across boundaries (Baud and Van Schendel 1997, 220). It often manifests as a 'frontier identity', which is a de-territorialised identity of in-betweenness (Mullin 2011, 5). Fragmentation often occurs along borders which act as barriers. As contact decreases, perceptions of those living in the opposing territory change. They can become a mysterious and potentially dangerous 'other,' resulting in relatively binary identities of 'us' and 'them'. Governing bodies at centres of power frequently exploit binary identities to create antagonism between groups on either side of the border (Power and Standen 1999, 24; Newman 2003, 20). Therefore, concepts of otherness are both maintained by the presence of the border and can also help maintain the border itself. This pattern was visible in the difference between the development of national stereotypes between communities within and beyond the borderlands. For medieval borderers like Thomas Grey, who frequently interacted with those across the border, it might be more difficult to believe the vilified stereotypes professed from afar, where contact was far less frequent, particularly during times of prolonged conflict when concepts the 'other' beyond the border and national enemies intersected. This resulted in complex local identities where one could simultaneously identify as a person of the wider borderlands, as well as subscribe to identities of 'militant patriotism' (King and Penman 2007, 3) in which identity and power was based on martial activity against 'the other'.

From an archaeological perspective, this emphasis on mobility has important methodological and theoretical ramifications. It is often movement between places which define cross-border relationships in the wider landscape, but as Jim Leary (2014, 4) has recently argued, the traditional site-based approach of many archaeological projects means that movements between sites are frequently left unacknowledged 'and a stillness is imposed on the past'.

The movement of people across the border was certainly a concern for border officials throughout the medieval and post-medieval periods. For instance, in 1340, important fords of the Solway Firth were entrusted to John de Stratford, who was instructed by the English crown to arrest any Scotsman entering England without safe conduct in order to prevent the sale of arms and food to Scottish enemies. This sparked conflict with the Earl of Northampton, who complained that Stratford's deputies prevented lawful movement across the border (Neville 1998, 30–31). It is widely assumed that people moved relatively freely across the Anglo-Scottish border (e.g. Armstrong 2020; Rees Jones 2017; Rae 1966), and aspects of cross-border mobility have been investigated previously. For instance, Bennett (2018) used English alien subsidies to trace the distribution and demographics of Scottish migration in northern England in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, particularly that of women, highlighting some of the 'push' and 'pull' factors which impacted the flows of people across the border. Cross border marriages (McCord and Thompson 1998, 37), trade (Rorke 2006), and criminal collusion (MacDonald 2000, 214) have also been investigated, often as part of studies of the nature of medieval border identities and 'patriotisms'. The distributions of raids have also been used to trace geographic patterns of illicit movement in the region (Dixon 1977; MacDonald 2000). However, for the most part, these studies trace mobility through its endpoints. Life is lived along paths, an idea propounded by Christopher Tilley (1994) and Tim Ingold (2011), and places are created through the confluence of numerous paths of movement. Aldred (2020) refers to types of studies like the above examples as exploring the 'fact of movement', because they inform us that movement happened, but not necessarily how it happened. The 'how' of movement, he argues, is a key question. Typically, researchers jump straight from the evidence of movement to thinking about why people moved. But, stepping back and asking how this movement occurred is important, because it can present new information about why movement occurred. In effect, he suggests using the 'how' as a way to get back to the why of

movement' (Aldred 2020, 62). This thesis will take this perspective and consider how people were moving about the landscape to expose the relationship between movement and bordering processes.

### **2.5.5 Theme 5: Time/Temporality**

A final theme is time and temporality. In this project, 'time' refers to chronology—where time is linear and can be measured in defined intervals. Temporality, on the other hand, is the experience of time, which is often non-linear. These two concepts and their relationship to the Anglo-Scottish border-scape are explored in this section.

In much of the research relating to the development of the Anglo-Scottish border, time is presented as a linear force which passes from one period to another. It is used as a tool to measure changes in social and political dynamics in the borderland as well as in the evolution of the landscapes that archaeologists investigate. The first theme explored geographical scales of analysis, but border-scapes are impacted not only by geographical scales but by temporal scales. Like geographic scales, temporal scales are a useful tool for contextualising analyses. Close analysis of a single event, such as the Battle of Bannockburn between the forces of Edward II and Robert Bruce in 1314, raise the potential for understanding important moments in the histories of these regions (Tipping et al. 2014; Goodman and Tuck 1992). Meanwhile, studies spanning significant time scales can look at change and continuity through time (Ylimaunu et al. 2014; Naum 2010). Throughout this thesis, chronologies are often assembled to facilitate the interpretation of temporalities.

Barbara Bender (2002, S103) argued that 'landscape is time materialised'. The landscapes of the Anglo-Scottish border have never been stable, but rather, are constantly changing. Robson (2006), on his journey along the border, noted the drastic changes visible in the landscape since Mack's perambulations in the 1910s and 20s. Conifer plantations that had been planted across much of the region and obscured the landscapes described by Mack, and the construction of the Kielder Reservoir along the border in the 1970s created the United Kingdom's largest artificial lake where once there were farms and fields. It was argued in Theme 1 that borders frequently go through phases of materialisation and dematerialisation. However, the experience of these phases of materialisation and dematerialisation are not always chronological.

Temporality is an intrinsic component of being within a landscape (Barrett 1999). In much literature (Nesbitt and Tolia-Kelly 2009; Whyte 2009), non-linear temporalities are closely connected to memory, and the material world—either landscapes or objects—often act as mnemonics to conceptually connect the present to the past (Van Dyke 2008; Schama 1995). The boundaries being negotiated and asserted in the medieval and 16<sup>th</sup>-century sources were not simply boundaries of the present. These boundaries were based on the idea that the contemporary boundaries had value because they had been set in the past. Thus, while in a landscape, one can be in the present, yet one's actions can be guided by things that happened long ago. Van Dyke (2008, 277–278) argues that it is this intersection of landscape and memory that creates places, because memory is the mechanism which connects the landscape to social engagement and creates the meaning that makes a place. This is seen very visibly in Robson's description of the eastern terminus of the modern borderline on the coast north of Berwick when he describes the moment of reaching the end of his journey:

‘But there it was. A part-demolished stub of wall on a low ledge above the sea. In the league table of anti-climax it would be hard to beat. We've walked more than a hundred miles to see a slumped wall. Even Logan Mack, the introspective traveller, was more than usually underwhelmed. “Having accomplished this feat, he may seat himself thereon, and for the time being claim the distinction of occupying the most northerly point of England, and having reached the eastern terminus of the Border Line.” And that's how his book ended. No fanfare. No drama. No conclusion.

I sat on the wall, dangling a leg into each country and watched the steady advance of the sea. The Border, snaking a hundred and some miles through the landscape behind me to the mud of Sark, still does all manner of little jobs. Like a pensioner trying to fill his days. It divides Euro electoral regions and unitary authorities, constituencies and counties, parishes and private land. But in old age, it's just pottering compared with the hell raising it caused as a youngster' (Robson 2006, 252–253).

Robson had arrived at a location which in a purely physical form was the underwhelming end of a stone wall. However, Robson's narrative reveals how the location became a meaningful place, if only a temporary and personal one, by interpreting it within the context of not only the personal journey he had just finished, but the history of Mack's journey in the early-20<sup>th</sup> century and the wider political history it represented. These examples illustrate how the past was a fundamental component in the interpretive processes which create the border-scape.

## 2.6 The Case Studies

Scale, perspective, movement, and temporality are common, one could argue, to the inhabitation of all landscapes, but this chapter has interpreted how they intersect with bordering processes in the Anglo-Scottish borderland. However, in order to trace the specific roles of these processes in the Anglo-Scottish border-scape, the five project themes will be applied to the interpretation of two case studies—the defence-scape and the legal-scape. The case studies were selected because of their differing associations with traditional ‘types’ of territorial borders (linear, zonal, and spot-like) introduced above. This enables the project to contrast the results of its inhabited approach with those of more territorial approaches. The rest of this section explains the specific rationale for the selection of these case studies and explores the individual historiography of Anglo-Scottish research on each.

### 2.6.1 Case Study 1: Defence-scapes

In this thesis, the defence-scape is an element of the border-scape which relates to fortifications, their connections with their surrounding landscape, and organised defensive systems. As noted in the discussion of ‘hard’ borders above, the construction of modern border infrastructure is often related to political, economic, and social insecurities which promote the construction of monuments, such as walls, dikes, and military outposts, in performative behaviours that alleviate these anxieties, whether they are practically effective or not (Jones 2020). Although traditional narratives often describe medieval castles as acting like ‘forts along the Maginot Line’ (Lowerre 2007, 239), the centralisation of defence networks is much more commonly a feature of early modern states than medieval kingdoms. Instead, the medieval and early modern defences of the Anglo-Scottish borderland are often described as ‘defence-in-depth,’ a type of zonal, non-linear borderland rather than a borderline (Ellis 2015; Goodman 1998). This case study will critique these assertions and reconstruct the relationships between the physical landscapes of these defences, the types of border work in which they were involved, and the effect this military infrastructure has on the overall geography of the border-scape. The rest of this section reviews the historiography of castle studies in the region to provide the context within which future analyses are situated.

Castles and fortifications have been a popular topic of academic study in England and Scotland since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Traditional approaches to their study concentrate on documentary and architectural evidence to explore their roles in military history, but over the past few decades, these traditional functionalist approaches have been challenged by both historians and archaeologists interested in the social histories of these sites. Spearheaded by scholars such as Charles Coulson (2003, 1979), Oliver Creighton (2002), Robert Liddiard (2005), Matthew Johnson (2002) and others, these social archaeologies of castles have revealed new complexities to the use and meanings of castles in the medieval period—that they were at once administrative, social, political, and military symbols experienced by men and women from all levels of medieval society. Contextualising castles within their landscape settings has been a particularly fruitful endeavour, and there is an exciting new group of female castle studies scholars now revealing that many of the landscapes around castles were carefully designed and controlled (Jamieson and Lane 2015), and that these designs harnessed the political power of not just martial symbols but romantic chivalric symbols and ancient landscapes (Swallow 2019; Jamieson 2019). These approaches have been important as they have introduced a dynamism to castle studies in which fortifications are active tools that were manipulated as their keepers both influenced and reacted to the world around them.

While the study of castles specifically in the Anglo-Scottish borderland has a long history (Bates 1891), it has yet to witness much application of these social approaches. England and Scotland each have unique national histories of castle scholarship that have impacted the trajectory of research in the two countries, with Scottish studies generally remaining much more conservative in nature (Oram 2008, 2010), although this is currently changing. However, in comparison to many of the other topics mentioned earlier in this thesis, investigation into the history of fortification in this region has had a much more substantial cross-border character, and castle specialists in the borderlands are relatively comfortable looking across the border for analogous comparisons. In fact, Oram (2008, 355) argues that castle research in Scotland frequently relies too heavily on analogies from outside the country, particularly from England, to guide its interpretations on castle histories and architecture. In line with castle studies more broadly, academic research still largely focusses on architectural typologies and military technology (e.g. Spencer 2014; Maxwell-Irving 2014, 2000; Petts

and Gerrard 2006; Dixon and Marshall 1993), although recent scholarship has expanded to consider the social roles of castles (e.g. Oram 2014; King 2007; Oswald et al. 2006). Of particular note is Catherine Kent's recent PhD thesis (2016) which explores the 16<sup>th</sup>-century 'house-building culture' of the English East March and defines regional characteristics of houses as well as the influences of wider national styles. This general delay in the integration of new approaches is partially influenced by geographical biases in data collection. For instance, socially informed English castle studies tend to be concentrated in southern England where most excavations have occurred (Creighton 2008, 82). Although architectural castle studies in Scotland have been keen to integrate new technologies and methods, landscape approaches in castle studies have been slower to take hold (Dixon 2018, 119). As a result, there is still much to learn about the landscape settings of castles for both northern England and southern Scotland which was targeted as a research theme in both the NERRF and ScARF research frameworks (Appendix B).

Earlier in this thesis, borders were described as being formed of relationships between people as well as between people and places. Previous Anglo-Scottish research (e.g. Dixon 2013, 1977; King 2007) describes how border society impacted the chronology of castle building, but do not often consider in great detail the influences of castle landscapes over border society in return. For instance, some places on the border were particularly important both tactically and symbolically. Brown (2004b, 227) argued that holding Roxburgh Castle was an important influence over the allegiance of the people of Teviotdale during the Wars of Independence as the garrison was utilised as a force of physical coercion. However, not all of Roxburgh's importance was tactical. Alistair MacDonald (2018) has argued that continued fighting over Roxburgh, even after the burgh had disappeared, indicates it may also have carried a greater political, and perhaps even cultural or symbolic importance within the kingdom of Scotland. These studies only capture a glimpse of the scope of possibilities along this line of research. Research on fortifications in other parts of the British Isles have indicated that greater integration of the martial and social aspects of these fortifications have great potential to help us understand much more about the way places were used to negotiate power along the Anglo-Scottish border. Both Rachael Swallow's (2018) work on castles and elite culture in Cheshire on the Welsh border and Dalgligh's (2005) study of the castles of the Campbells of the Glenorchy kindred in the Scottish Highlands identified the close

connection between the distribution and siting of castles and the political relationships and aspirations of those who built them. In both cases, the castles revealed how the physical world was manipulated to define relationships between people.

Further research needs to be done on the diverse, situated experiences of border fortifications. In the field of archaeology previous work on medieval landscapes has been primarily site-based and has largely targeted the largest royal or baronial castles (Dixon and Tabraham 2017; Creighton 2008, 84; Dixon and Marshall 1993), although there have been a few exceptions, primarily for the earliest castles (Wyeth 2018; Constable 2004). This has led to a greater amount of research on the role of the border fortifications in large-scale royal military campaigns and siege warfare. However, violence in this region occurred on multiple scales, as did fortifications. Localised raiding was far more frequent than full-scale war in this region (Armstrong 2020, 242–244). Smaller fortifications take numerous forms including not only castles and towers, but also fortified churches, smaller pele towers and beacons. These sites have numerous relationships to each other, but these relationships have yet to be explored in great detail. The role of smaller towers and defended religious sites in systems of local defence is frequently assumed, but in general, is poorly understood. Previous research has targeted the fortified farmsteads of the post-medieval period known as bastles (Christopherson 2011; Ryder 1992; Ramm et al. 1970), but research on smaller medieval defensive sites and their connections to these larger fortifications is noted as a research gap by both NERRF and ScARF (Appendix B).

### **2.6.2 Case Study 2: Legal-scapes**

The second case study investigates the legal-scapes of the eastern Anglo-Scottish borderland. The Anglo-Scottish border hosted a unique system of law known as the Laws of the Marches, or *Leges Marchiarum*. This system developed in response to a need to facilitate the smooth handling of cross-border legal suits in a region where English and Scottish common laws intersected. The *Leges Marchiarum* were first codified in 1249, although many elements of it are probably much older (see Barrow 2003a; Neville 2002; Neilson 1971). It was elaborated slowly until the Union of the Crowns in 1603, and by the end of the medieval period, this legal system had developed a complex hierarchy of courts and diplomatic meetings organised by the wardens which were held at a network of traditional places scattered along the medieval border. These

meeting places are what Peña (2021, 3) calls ‘micro-spaces,’ places where bordering processes at multiple scales exist simultaneously, such as border bridges or checkpoints. The history of the courts and laws are relatively well understood, but both the physical and inhabited landscapes which hosted these courts, the ‘legal-scape’, have seen little previous research. Furthermore, because these sites were often located directly on the political borderline, the legal-scape investigates how linear or spot-like medieval borders were experienced.

The extensive corpus of legal documentary material related to the *Leges Marchiarum*, in combination with the general improved survival of governmental documents in both England and Scotland in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (many of which were also helpfully collected and published in the 19<sup>th</sup> century), have proved a tempting target for historians. As a result, most historical research on the *Leges Marchiarum* until very recently has concentrated almost exclusively on the 16<sup>th</sup>-century laws (e.g. Jack 2004; Fraser 1971; Rae 1966; Tough 1928). Research on the medieval legal system has largely concentrated on its origins around the 13<sup>th</sup> century (e.g. Barrow 2003a; Scott 1993). Thus, although some historians such as Neilson (1971) and Summerson (1991) traced the general development of the medieval laws, these were largely broad overviews which connected the more detailed legal research on the 13<sup>th</sup> and the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. For the medieval period, the most comprehensive sources are Cynthia Neville’s works on the development of the medieval *Leges Marchiarum*, particularly her book *Violence, Custom, and Law* (1998, but see also: 2002, 1994, 1991, 1988). One of the primary barriers to medieval research on the *Leges Marchiarum* is that there was no systematic preservation of medieval court documents from the borderland until the 16<sup>th</sup> century, resulting in a body of materials scattered across a variety of archives and collections. Neville’s (1998) work represents the first systematic attempt to find and collect these scattered documents to piece together a detailed narrative of the history of the *Leges Marchiarum*.

However, historical research has largely focussed on the laws themselves and on the written records of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The role of the places these courts have been held, not only in the development of the *Leges Marchiarum*, but also in the role these court sites played in wider border processes has not yet been assessed in detail (although see Petts 2018; O’Grady 2008; Barrow 2003b for some brief discussions on the settings of these sites). However, space is often an intrinsic component of legal

systems. Practically, territorial jurisdictions decided which courts of law were available to an individual, but space also plays important symbolic functions. For instance, the construction and organisation of a court-site or courtroom could be used to influence conceptions of authority or promote equity amongst groups (Brodie et al. 2016; Graham 2016). Meanwhile, Tom Johnson (2020, 181) argues that while law is often considered to be an intangible cultural or psychological institution by most historians, in fact it was a 'physically proximate presence' in medieval England and was made tangible in a variety of ways, one of which was through the landscape. Conceptions of legal space also varied by place. In his comparisons between English and Scottish legal systems, Houston (2016) argues that these connections between law and space were so important that distinctions of legal space in the two countries led to differences in the structure of their respective legal systems. However, while archaeologists may not yet have significantly looked at the role of place in borderland legal systems, archaeologies of assembly and legal systems elsewhere offer some important insights into methods useful to the study of Anglo-Scottish meeting places.

The idea that written or oral law has a material component that can be traced and used to understand how law was produced, enforced, and received through time has been studied in a variety of different ways around the world. However, Smith and Reynolds (2013, 687) claim that the archaeology of legal culture in the UK has been 'almost entirely overlooked'. They argue that the abstract nature of law has largely discouraged archaeological enquiry. This has changed slightly over the past decade, particularly for the early medieval period, as archaeologists have become more willing to experiment with seemingly ephemeral subjects. Of particular relevance to this project is recent work on the connection between law and landscape through two very different lenses. The first is the use of archaeology to investigate crime and punishment. This is best exemplified through a handful of different projects studying the landscapes of gallows and sites of corporeal punishments (Tarlow and Lowman 2018; Tarlow and Dyndor 2015; Coolen 2015, 2013). Using the interdisciplinary methods typical of historical archaeology, these researchers explore the way governments utilise landscape to enforce law, while simultaneously acknowledging the multiplicity of meanings these same landscapes develop over time. Additionally, the work of Andrew Reynolds and Stuart Brookes (Smith and Reynolds 2013; Reynolds 2013; Brookes and Reynolds 2011) has harnessed the power of large-scale spatial data

to explore the development of early medieval legal culture. Their work on UCL's Early Medieval Atlas (Reynolds and Brookes 2019) brings researchers together to explore a multitude of aspects of early medieval governance, territoriality, and defence utilising spatial data from a variety of sources, offering up new interpretations of the development of the early English state (UCL Institute of Archaeology 2019; Brookes and Reynolds 2011). Overall, the results of the project highlight the important role archaeological theory and method can contribute to the study of past assembly practices, and therefore, inform useful lines of interrogation for this study. Both of these themes highlight that the archaeology of legal culture has the ability to contribute alternative interpretations to the relationships between governments, law, and the governed at a variety of different scales.

Methodologies to examine the connections between place, law, and power have been developed by early medieval archaeologists through their work on assembly places. Like the archaeology of law more broadly, the archaeology of historic assembly places in Europe has witnessed a great amount of growth in the last few decades. These sites are known by a variety of names such as 'moothills', 'Thing' sites, or court hills, but are all sites where large groups of people would gather at designated times for important legal proceedings. Early research on assembly sites was largely based on documentary or place name evidence, as the ephemeral nature of these meetings was considered to constrain the efficacy of archaeological methodologies (see Semple 2018; O'Grady 2008 for more detailed discussions of the historiography of assembly studies). However, this changed in the late 1990s and early 2000s when a number of researchers began instigating a series of independent archaeological projects targeting early medieval and Iron Age assembly sites in England and Scandinavia. Some of the similarities between these projects were striking, and this inspired the publication of the edited volume *Assembly Places and Practices in Medieval Europe* (Pantos and Semple 2004), which intended to begin comparing assembly practices in the two regions. This project eventually inspired the much larger The Assembly Project, which constructed a consortium of researchers exploring assembly practices across north-west Europe who published their results as a series of volumes in *The Journal of the North Atlantic* (Sanmark et al. 2015, 2013) and a book, *Negotiating the North* (Semple et al. 2021). Projects like these and the Landscapes of Governance project (UCL 2018)

have produced methodologies for identifying and locating open-air assembly places across north-west Europe (Baker and Brookes 2015a; Brookes and Baker 2011).

In the United Kingdom, research on assembly and meeting places has largely targeted southern England (Baker and Brookes 2014; Sanmark and Semple 2008; Williams 2004; Semple 2004; Pantos 2004a, 2004b, 2003; Adkins and Petchey 1984), although Skinner's recent work (Semple et al. 2021; Skinner and Semple 2015; Skinner 2014) has extended research northward into Yorkshire. Northumberland remains a glaring hole in the distribution of assembly place studies, excepting some brief consideration by David Petts as contextual evidence for his paper on the setting for the Battle of Carham (2018). Scotland, too, has seen some research into historic assembly practices. Some of the Danish areas of the northern islands have been explored (Semple et al. 2021; Sanmark 2013), but Oliver O'Grady's work for his PhD is the most thorough study to date on assembly on the Scottish mainland (O'Grady et al. 2015; O'Grady 2014; O'Grady 2008). Based on initial work by Stephen Driscoll (2004), O'Grady's PhD (2008) conducted a survey of open-air assembly sites across the entirety of mainland Scotland, locating sites based on place name evidence and historical documentation. He noted a scarcity of sites in the south-east of Scotland but thought it unlikely that this pattern was due to a historical absence of open-air assemblies in that part of the country. There is still a significant amount of room to explore questions related to the siting of Anglo-Scottish border meetings, the legal hierarchies of these sites, chronologies of use, and the way space influenced activities at these sites. With these themes in mind, the in-depth analysis of these meeting places in this thesis can explore for the first time how landscape was integrated into the border work that made the Anglo-Scottish border and its borderland.

## **2.7 Project Structure**

This chapter has made two key arguments. First, it argued that there are great historiographical and methodological divisions which have hindered the integration of geographical narratives across the Anglo-Scottish border and have separated discourses in fields of history and archaeology in the Anglo-Scottish borderland. In order to fully understand the geographies of the medieval borderland, we need to reach across these divisions to reconnect the physical and social elements of the borderland. Secondly, it argues this is achievable through the concept of the border-scape which can be

reassembled within this thesis through a five-part theoretical framework. To fulfil both of these goals, this project takes a two-part approach: Part I involves the construction and evaluation of a cross-border spatial database which includes qualitative, quantitative and spatial data about the physical and historic landscape within the project area. This represents the most substantial collation of cross-border spatial data in the region to date. Part II then utilises the database to reconnect the physical landscape of the spatial database with the social aspects of political history through a thematic analysis of the two case studies. This approach allows overlooked geographical patterns to emerge which can answer the project's research questions and help reveal new characteristics of the medieval Anglo-Scottish border-scape.

# Part I: The Spatial Database

An overarching analytical synthesis of the late medieval archaeology of the Anglo-Scottish borderland is long overdue. Edited volumes for both prehistoric periods (Crellin, et al. 2016) and the ‘Central Middle Ages’ (AD 900-1300) (Stringer and Winchester 2017), bringing together the work of regional specialists in history and archaeology, have begun to synthesise the archaeological record of other time periods, but this has yet to be done for the late medieval record. The presence of a modern national border across the project area complicates matters, as each category of data often requires two corresponding datasets—one from either side of the border. As described in the previous chapter (2.2), this has disincentivised cross-border research in the past. Nevertheless, a greater degree of integration between nationalised datasets is a necessary step in the analysis of the cross-border border-scape.

As introduced in the previous chapter, Part I of this project consists of a large-scale exercise in synthesising archaeological data to construct a spatial database which can be utilised in Part II for case study analyses. This process of synthesis included both the collation of pre-existing datasets and the creation of new datasets that together record a wide range of elements of the physical medieval landscape in the project area. First, a working list of pre-existing archaeological, historical, and environmental datasets within the project area were collated. This revealed the vast amount of existing spatial data that has been underutilised in previous Anglo-Scottish research. From the list generated in the collation exercise, relatively equivalent datasets from either side of the border were matched. This process exposed gaps in the existing landscape data which were necessary to fill to effectively analyse the case studies and the border-scape. In response, original datasets were created, usually from relevant primary historical sources, to fill these gaps. All of the datasets (Table PI.1) were then cleaned and compared before being integrated into a cross-border spatial database which could be used within ArcGIS Pro 2.8.0 software.

The construction of the cross-border spatial database coincides with a wider movement in archaeology and history toward the creation and reuse of large digital spatial datasets, and there are numerous examples relating to medieval landscapes. While big-data projects like the UCL Early Medieval Atlas (Reynolds and Brookes 2019)

and the Rural Settlement of Roman Britain project (Allen et al. 2018) all have different aims and objectives and utilise a variety of different collection and interpretive methodologies, there are several consistent methodological problems tackled by these projects which are mirrored within this thesis. The first are the challenges in combining pre-existing datasets. Even datasets attempting to accomplish the same goal will inevitably have differences in their data structures, often derived from the numerous choices researchers must make when they compile and organise data. Thus, combining datasets must be done with a careful awareness of the histories and structural quirks of each dataset, and changes made to the data must be explicitly documented. As a result, the following chapter presents the initial results of this project's synthesis of archaeological data in the project area. It characterises the histories and structures of the five central datasets incorporated into the spatial database (Historic Environment Records, fortifications, meeting places, the transportation network, and religious buildings and boundaries) and identifies a number of important regional patterns that inform the use of these datasets in analyses in later chapters.

**Table PI.1:** List of Sources Integrated into the Cross-Border spatial database

Theme	Region	Source Name	Date	Source Type	Reference
General Archaeological Data	Scottish Borders	Historic Environment Records	2019	Vector Point Data	(Scottish Borders Council 2019)
General Archaeological Data	Northumberland	Historic Environment Records	2018	Vector Point Data	(Northumberland County Council 2018)
HLA	Scottish Borders	Scottish Borders Historical Landscape Assessment	2015	Vector Polygon Data	(HES 2015)
HLC	Northumberland	Northumberland Historic Landscape Characterisation	2015	Vector Polygon Data	(Williams 2015)
Elevation Data	Northumberland/ Scottish Borders	Shuttle Radar Topography Mission	2008	Raster (90m resolution)	(Jarvis et al. 2008)
Elevation Data	Northumberland/ Scottish Borders	OS Terrain 5	n.d.	Raster (5m resolution)	(Digimap n.d.)
Parish Boundaries	Scotland	Civil Parishes	n.d.	Vector Line Data	(NRS n.d.)
Parish Boundaries	Northumberland	1851 England and Wales census parishes, townships and places	1851	Vector Line Data	(Satchell et al. 2018)
Churches and Chapels	Northumberland/ Scottish Borders	Safe Sanctuaries: Security and Defence in Anglo-Scottish Border Churches 1290-1690	2000	Gazetteer	(Brooke 2000)
Churches and Chapels	Northumberland	The Old Parish Churches of Northumberland	2002	Gazetteer	(Salter 2002)
Churches and Chapels	Scottish Borders	Atlas of Scottish History to 1707	1996	Atlas	(MacQueen and McNeill 1996, 347–360)
Defensive Structures	Northumberland	Castles and Fortalices in 1415	1415	Historic Survey	(Bates 1891, 12–19)
Defensive Structures	Northumberland	Survey of Tevedale and the Mense	1509	Historic Survey	(Bates 1891 23–24)

Defensive Structures	Northumberland	Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Raufe Elleker, Knyghts, Comyss'ers, 2 Dec. 1542, 33 H. S. Cottom MS. Caligula, B. S.	1541	Historic Survey	(Hodgson 1828 171–242)
Defensive Structures	Northumberland	A Book of the state of the Frontiers and Marches betwixt England and Scotland, written by Sir Robert Bowes, Knight, at the Request of the Lord Marquis Dorsett, the Warden General, 1550, 5°. E. 6.—Cotton M.S. Titus F. 13.	1550	Historic Survey	(Hodgson 1828 171–248)
Defensive Structures	Northumberland	The Survey book of Norham and Islandshire	1561	Historic Survey	(Bates 1891 52–54)
Defensive Structures	Northumberland	Report of the Commissioners on the Borders	1584	Historic Survey	(Bates 1891 69–80)
Defensive Structures	Northumberland	Notices of Ruined Towers, Chapels, etc., in Northumberland circa 1715	1715	Historic Survey	(Hodgson 1916)
Defensive Structures	Scottish Borders	The Border Towers of Scotland 2: Their Evolution and Architecture	2014	Gazetteer	(Maxwell-Irving 2014)
Roads	Scottish Borders	Roy Military Survey of Scotland, 1747-1755	1752-1755	Historic Map	(Simpson 2020)
Roads	Northumberland	A Map of the County of Northumberland	1769	Historic Map	(Armstrong 1769)
Fords	Northumberland/ Scottish Borders	Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Raufe Elleker, Knyghts, Comyss'ers, 2 Dec. 1542, 33 H. S. Cottom MS. Caligula, B. S.	1541	Historic Survey	(Hodgson 1828 194-202)
Rivers	Northumberland/ Scottish Borders	OS Open Rivers	2019	Vector Line data	(Ordnance Survey 2019)

# Chapter 3: Mapping the Anglo-Scottish Border-scape

## 3.1 Introduction

Five key datasets were compiled for use within this project—Historic Environment Records, fortifications, cross-border meeting places, the transportation network, and religious buildings and boundaries. Each of these datasets has a unique history which is built of three different factors—the medieval context it represents, the characteristics of the primary sources from which the data was initially gathered, and different academic historiographies through which the data making up the datasets has been recorded and previously interpreted. This makes them ‘characterful’ datasets (Cooper and Green 2016) which have complex and frequently obscured biographies that affect their structure and content. Anwen Cooper and Chris Green (2016), as part of the English Landscape and Identities Project (EngLald), have argued that researchers tend to focus on the inadequacies of these types of datasets without fully exploring the potential of their current forms. The EngLald project synthesised archaeological records across England, developing methodologies which used GIS to help to make the ‘topographies and histories’ of these inherited datasets more transparent and tested the utility of their methods in enhancing the data’s interpretive capabilities (Green et al. 2017; Cooper and Green 2016). While their methods could not completely unentangle the artefacts of archaeological recording practices from historic patterns, it did make some of these artefacts more explicit.

The differences between English and Scottish datasets, it is argued here, are part of a variety of processes of bordering, both deliberate and unintentional, which have occurred since the delineation of the borderline in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. As a result, this project adopts EngLald’s optimistic approach to characterful data and argues that rather than simply being a limitation, the differences in the national datasets exposed by their integration within the spatial database offers the opportunity to uncover these complex layers of historic bordering. Therefore, this chapter maps the Anglo-Scottish border in two ways. First, it describes the methods used to clean, digitise, and integrate

English and Scottish data to identify the layers of bordering within each dataset, revealing what each dataset can and cannot say about the medieval cross-border landscape. Next, it briefly identifies and contextualises apparent regional patterns in the dataset. These patterns are then used to formulate a series of questions that can help us understand historic bordering and border work in the Anglo-Scottish borderland, which will be investigated in subsequent chapters of this thesis.

### **3.2 Dataset 1: Historic Environment Records (HERs)**

Digital datasets held by local Historic Environment Record (HER) offices in Northumberland and the Scottish Borders make up the principal source of archaeological data around which the rest of the spatial database was structured. HERs have a long and complex history which directly impacts the quality of their data. HER offices hold geospatial databases and archives of known archaeological and historic landscape information within the jurisdiction of the Historic Environment Record office, typically a county, a unitary authority, or similar administrative district. They evolved from the Sites and Monuments Records (SMRs) which developed in the 1960s and 1970s in England and the 1980s in Scotland to improve access to archaeological landscape information by local-authority planning systems to prevent unnecessary destruction of existent archaeology during modern development. As a result, they are maintained and controlled by local authorities rather than national bodies. Even today, while HERs nominally fall within the oversight of national heritage bodies like Historic England and Historic Environment Scotland, this oversight is generally limited. As the role of commercial archaeology within the planning process expanded, SMR and HER offices took on more advisory responsibilities, and they have become vitally important repositories of knowledge regarding not only the ancient environment, but also of local archaeological practice and research. Now, HER offices often act as important intermediaries, connecting interested parties with local datasets and sources (Gilman and Newman 2019; Historic England 2019).

Unfortunately, the relatively organic and independent development of local HERs means that the datasets provided by the two HER offices initially contained many inconsistencies which needed to be resolved before they could be integrated into a spatial database. Because of their largely local oversight, HER databases are built from inherited datasets developed by a variety of different parties. One of the most

important distinctions between the datasets was the way sites were listed. For instance, whereas the Northumberland HER dataset would often include multiple points for each site, multiple sites were recorded on a single point in the Scottish Borders HER dataset. Additionally, the content included in the datasets also varied. Some of these differences have historic origins. Halliday (2016, 44) notes that in the Scottish Borders, the methods used to record antiquities during the initial surveys for the 1<sup>st</sup> edition Ordnance Survey maps, an important data source for HERs, were unevenly implemented and imprecise in their use of vocabulary. These inconsistencies are then replicated in the HERs. Settlement data taken from 16<sup>th</sup>-century maps is similarly fraught with inaccuracies and inconsistencies (Elliot 2019). As a result, this means that while combining HER landscape data is a useful way of synthesising cross-border archaeological knowledge, the construction of a cross-border spatial database from this data requires a significant amount of assessment to understand and mitigate the irregularities between the two datasets.

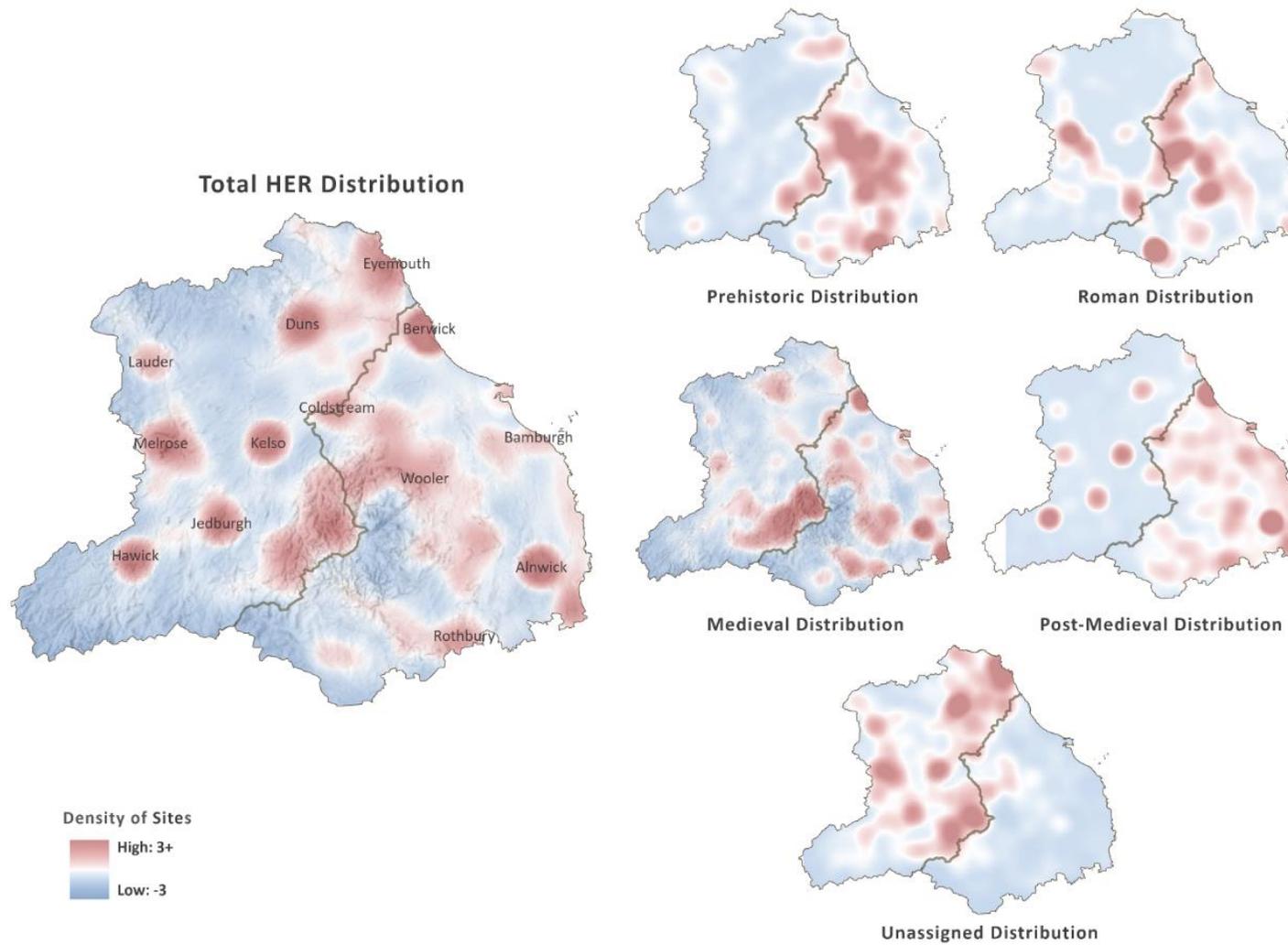
Due to the large number of data points and the amount of cleaning necessary to make the datasets usable, it was deemed unfeasible to clean the entire HER dataset. Instead, records dating to the 'medieval' period were extracted and exposed to a rigorous sequence of cleaning strategies detailed in Appendix D. This process identified problematic inconsistencies, errors, and missing elements and generated a collection of metadata catalogues (Appendices E-G) which define terms used in the database.

Because the types of data recorded in the HERs and how they were collected differed between the two datasets and changed through time, in order to identify medieval patterns present in historic environment data, it is necessary to distinguish the causes of specific patterns within the datasets. As a result, this section conducts a systematic analysis of HER datasets across the Anglo-Scottish border and identifies the artefacts of the complex histories of these inherited datasets. It uses a methodology in combining HER datasets first applied in the EngLald project (Green et al. 2017), which used density maps to compare the distribution of archaeological sites through time. The EngLald project restricted its analysis to England and did not consider Scottish datasets or records relating to sites more recent than the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, this section extends some of the methodologies of their work across the border into Scotland and into later periods to expose new spatial patterns and their origins.

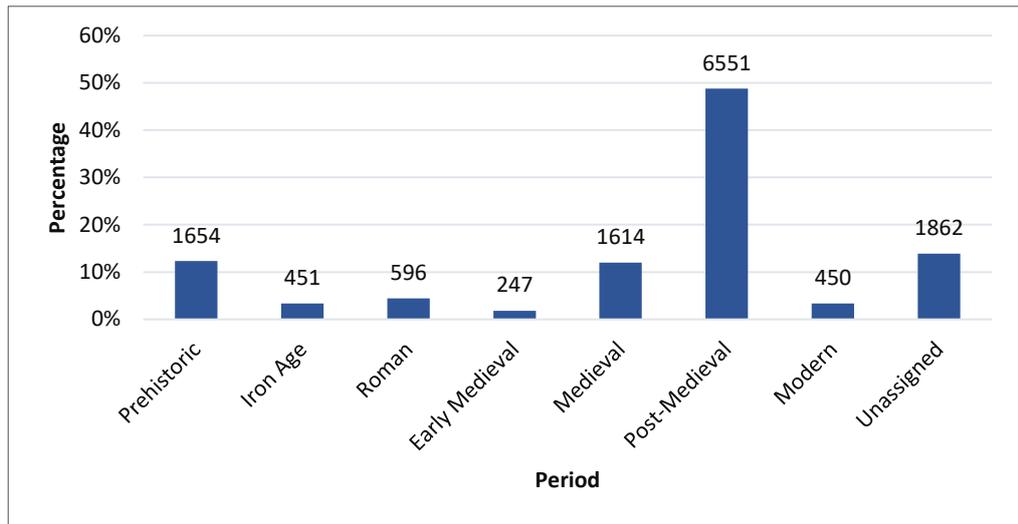
To do this, duplicate site numbers were removed from both HER datasets so that each archaeological site was represented by just one point. Following the methodology described by Green et al. (2017, 247–248), kernel density estimates of the total cross-border HER dataset and datasets of different historic periods were calculated within the project area (see Appendix D for definitions of the historic periods used in the project). These maps were then normalised to make them comparable by subtracting the mean value for each density raster by the raster's standard deviation, also known as the z-score. The resulting maps depict areas where the distribution of archaeological sites are denser (positive values) or less dense (negative values) than the average for the period (Figure 3.1).

Sites dating to the medieval period represent over 10% of both the English and Scottish datasets, which is about equivalent to what one would expect if sites were distributed evenly across all eight period categories (Figures 3.2a and b). When medieval sites (or 'Match Types', see Appendix D for further explanation) were sorted into themes based on typical thematic divisions in medievalist academic research, patterns largely reflect those one would expect to see in a medieval landscape dataset (Figure 3.3). Specialised types of sites like military/defensive or religious sites are represented far less than more ubiquitous site types like agricultural and settlement sites. In a healthy dataset, there should be far more evidence of settlement or agricultural practice in the medieval landscape than sites of administration or religious practice, where one site often served multiple communities. Other trends match known patterns identified in the regional research frameworks. For instance, the limited representation of the industrial theme is a known gap in research in the area (Daniels et al. 2006; see also Appendix B). Overall, there is little which would indicate problematic or significant biases in the medieval period HER data.

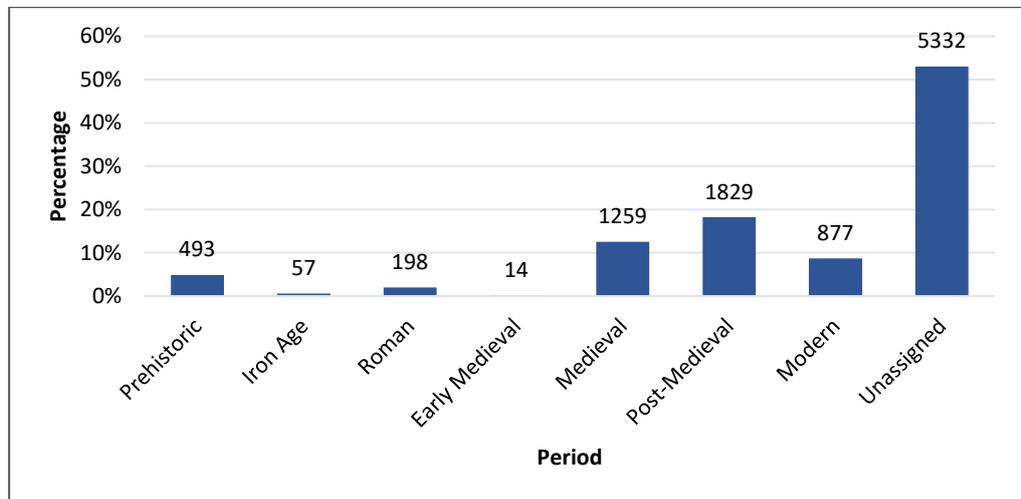
However, the artefacts of both modern and historic processes of a variety of sorts are visible in the archaeological distributions for other periods. For instance, both Prehistoric and Iron Age sites are more common in Northumberland than they are in the Scottish Borders, a pattern which is certainly not prehistoric in origin since the national border post-dates these periods by at least 1,000 years. A similar pattern is visible in the Post-Medieval distribution of sites. In contrast, the Unassigned distribution depicts an inverse pattern, with a greater concentration of Unassigned sites on the Scottish side of the border. This indicates that there is a difference in the way



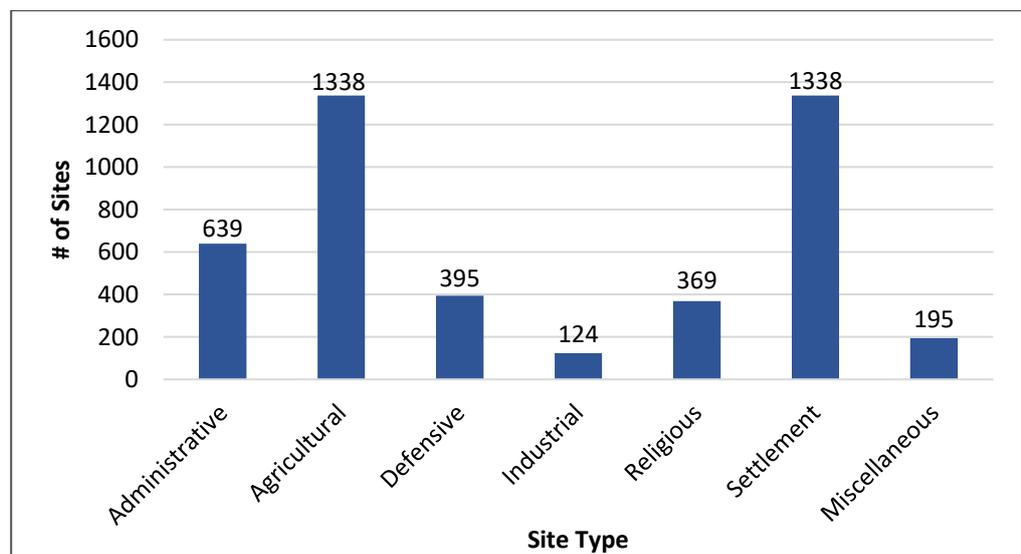
**Figure 3.1:** Density of sites by period (*Credits: Appendix A*)



**Figure 3.2a:** Proportions of Northumberland HER sites by period



**Figure 3.2b:** Proportions of Scottish Borders HER sites by period



**Figure 3.3:** Number of Medieval sites per theme

archaeology is recorded by heritage practitioners in England and Scotland.

The key to understanding some of these differences are through the sites classified as belonging to either the 'Post-Medieval' period or which are 'Unassigned' to a specific period. Sites dating to these two period categories make up the largest proportion of sites in Northumberland and the Scottish Borders, respectively. The Post-Medieval and Unassigned categories include hundreds of different monument types, but when one compares the ten most commonly listed Post-Medieval and Unassigned site types in the Scottish and English datasets (Table 3.1), they include very similar types of sites such as farm buildings and agricultural features like sheepfolds—types of sites that can be very difficult to date precisely. However, while many of these sites are categorised in Scotland as Unassigned, these same sites are listed as Post-Medieval in England. This indicates that the Unassigned category is utilised as a 'catch-all' category for sites that have not been precisely dated in the Scottish Borders, whereas many of the same monument types are assumed to be Post-Medieval in Northumberland. Thus, the two categories are serving similar purposes in the different datasets. This particular pattern does not necessarily affect the content of the HER dataset itself, but it does impact the network of relationships between different elements of the dataset, which in turn affects how the data can be used to best effect. For instance, if one wanted to create a general representation of 'medieval' HER data, the medieval dataset would need to be closely referenced alongside Unassigned sites on the Scottish side of the border and with Post-Medieval sites in Northumberland.

In addition to the way archaeological information is assembled in HER offices, the way it is created in the field also has a visible impact on these distributions. There are numerous forces which foster opportunities for archaeological work, what Green et al. (2017, 253) call 'affordances'. Towns appear as hotspots on most of the distribution maps, particularly on the Scottish side of the border, although Alnwick and Berwick are also prominent in Northumberland. This is due not only to the connection between development and commercial archaeology (Petts and Gerrard 2006), but also due to the presence of upstanding remains in these areas, as indicated by the mirroring hot spots on the Post-Medieval distribution. The impact of particular field methodologies such as earthwork survey or aerial photography analysis is also apparent in the concentration of prehistoric sites around the edges of the Cheviot Hills (Cowley 2016).

**Table 3.1:** Comparison of the ten most commonly listed Post-Medieval and Unassigned site types

Northumberland Post-Medieval		Scottish Borders Post-Medieval		Northumberland Unassigned		Scottish Borders Unassigned	
<i>Site Type</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>Site Type</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>Site Type</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>Site Type</i>	<i>Count</i>
House	939	House	389	Enclosure	311	Findspot	764
Wreck	545	Terraced House	159	Linear Feature	212	Enclosure	590
Boundary Stone	403	Tenement	140	Site	202	Farmstead	527
Building	359	Cottage	110	Pit Alignment	125	Term Pending <sup>4</sup>	370
Well	315	Shop	102	Trackway	91	Settlement	298
Sheepfold	235	Farmstead	84	Circular Enclosure	80	Cottage	266
Findspot	221	Church	82	Cultivation Marks	79	House	256
Farmstead	209	Country House	70	Watermill	73	Farmhouse	252
Wall	190	Farmhouse	56	Rectilinear Enclosure	71	Cairn	212
Farmhouse	179	Road Bridge	50	Bank (Earthwork)	64	Sheepfold	193

The HER distributions may well tell us more about modern archaeological practice than they do about patterns of landscape use in the past. It is very challenging, if not impossible, to disentangle historic and modern patterns from each other, because new spatial patterns introduced by more recent recording practices can mask earlier patterns. The Roman dataset is a good example of this. Roman infrastructure, particularly Dere Street, is clearly depicted in the Roman distribution as a roughly north-west/south-east aligned linear hotspot on the west side of the project area. However, it is difficult to determine whether this pattern is a reflection of historic distributions of Roman activities, or archaeological intervention. Archaeologists often target areas of known archaeological potential, creating hotspots of archaeological activity (Cowley 2016), and Romanists frequently target urban centres, military centres, and major roadways for their research. In fact, Green et al. (2017, 271) noted a similar pattern in their England-wide distribution of Roman sites. While one would expect Roman activity to be clustered along major Roman infrastructure, Roman activities between these places have seen far less research (Passmore and Waddington 2012, 259; Petts and

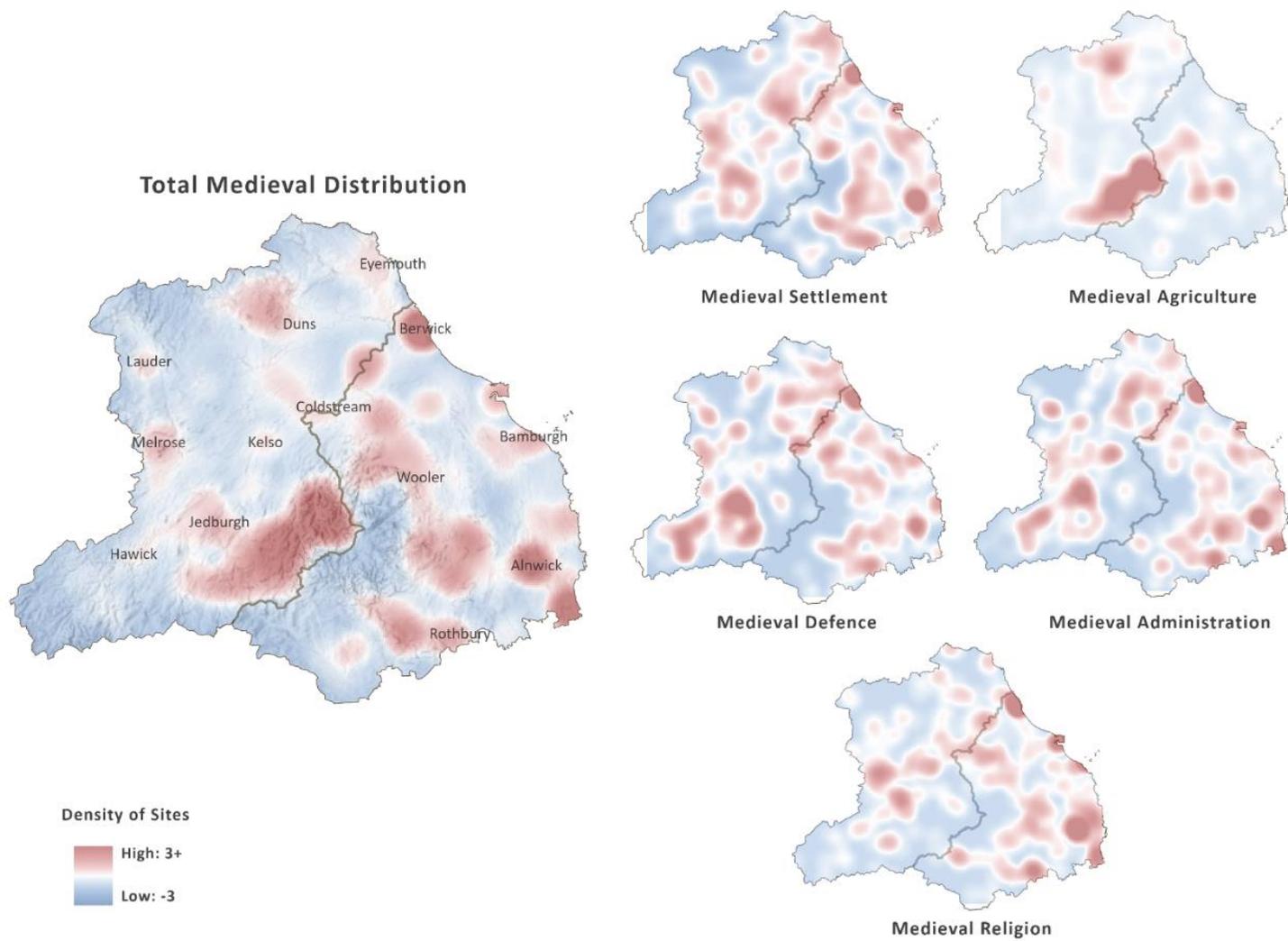
<sup>4</sup> This Site Type is given to sites which do not yet have complete records.

Gerrard 2006). In the project area, the cluster of Roman sites along the Rivers Till and Tweed is partially the result of earthwork and aerial survey work performed during the Till-Tweed Aerial Photography Project, but is also a reflection of differences in what is recorded as 'Roman' between England and Scotland. The Scottish definition is much narrower and does not typically include Roman-period British sites (Petts and Gerrard 2006; Passmore and Waddington 2009, 126–130). As we begin to better understand the relationship between Romans and the native British, then the divisions between the Iron Age and Roman datasets may also shift. However, despite the blurred boundaries between the past and the present, this does not mean that comparing archaeological distributions is a useless task. While 'it is far from certain that the nature of those processes [influences over archaeological distributions] can be reliably discerned from the sum total of their recorded traces...' (Green et al. 2017, 270), understanding these 'characterful' datasets enhances our ability to negotiate the artefacts of these processes to extract the most potential from the datasets.

This leads us to question whether there are hidden biases present in the medieval data which initially seemed to be fairly robust. Many of the thematic distributions of the medieval period data bear striking similarities to each other. They depict clusters of archaeology in the lowlands, particularly around major settlements in the region, a pattern which one might expect of the medieval landscape. The similarities between the distributions of these different themes could be indicative of the impact of documentary sources in filling gaps in the archaeological record. For instance, numerous churches and fortifications in the medieval HERs are known only from documentary sources (see Figures 3.8 and 3.24), whereas for earlier periods, one must rely on the archaeology alone. However, despite these similarities, there are subtle differences between some of the themes that indicate that the data is not immune to the impact of archaeological 'affordances'. The most obvious effect of these is the concentration of agricultural sites on the Scottish side of the Cheviots which stops at the national boundary. Agricultural sites make up one of the two most common site types in the dataset (Figure 3.3), but they are heavily clustered in the Scottish uplands (Figure 3.4). This is due not only to historical patterns and the preservation of agricultural features in the uplands,<sup>5</sup> but also to a difference in the way upland sites are

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<sup>5</sup> Tipping (1998, 45) argues that the Scottish uplands were much more populous than the English uplands during the medieval period.



**Figure 3.4:** Density of Medieval sites by theme (*Credits: Appendix A*)

recorded between England and Scotland, since a similar pattern is visible in the HER data of other time periods.

Overall, this section has highlighted some of the historic and modern factors which have influenced the regional collection of archaeological data that will be used to analyse the medieval landscape. While modern and historic influences were not able to be completely distinguished, a careful use of scale through analysis of both the internal relations of the medieval data and its external relations with data from other periods of did expose some of the many layers of bordering to which this dataset has been subjected which improves the rigour of future analyses of the border-scape.

### **3.3 Dataset 2: Fortifications**

The fortifications dataset is the principal dataset used for the defence-scape analysis of Chapters 4 and 5. This section reviews the methods used to construct the fortifications dataset for this thesis, identifies important patterns about the medieval use of these buildings, such as chronologies of construction and patterns of destruction. It also poses questions about the way fortification datasets have been used in the past and highlights particularly important sources which can be used to reinterpret the medieval fortified landscape in subsequent chapters of this thesis.

A dataset of defensive structures was created using a combination of sources. For Northumberland, Philip Davis' (2016) 'The Gatehouse' was a useful starting point for generating a list of fortifications in the county. The website includes a table of known fortified sites in Northumberland based on DJ Cathcart King's (1983) seminal catalogue of castles in England, *Castellarium Anglicanum*. Davis' list was supplemented with information from the HERs, which provided most of the locational data, as well as a series of historic fortification surveys dating to the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries produced by administrative officials of the English royal government. For Scotland, which lacks similar historic surveys, the fortification list was generated from catalogues produced by regional experts in castle studies such as Philip Dixon (1977) and Alistair Maxwell-Irving (2014) (see Table P.1 for a full list of sources).

The fortifications dataset includes information on the location of the site (this was checked against modern and 19<sup>th</sup>-century OS maps, and in some cases, the HER coordinates were changed), whether it is still extant, known histories of ownership,

**Table 3.2:** Fortification typology utilised in the spatial database

PROJECT TYPE		TYPE DESCRIPTION
0	Unknown	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- the absence of evidence makes it impossible to determine the original form of the building</li> </ul>
1	Castle	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Royal or baronial in status</li> <li>- Include substantial perimeter defences such as curtain walls and moats.</li> <li>- Often include a keep and additional towers, sometimes gatehouses</li> </ul>
2	Tower House	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Baronial status—often the seat</li> <li>- Usually 3-4 stories tall and capped by a parapet, sometimes with bartizans</li> <li>- Residential areas are above the ground floor</li> <li>- Usually have vaulted basements</li> <li>- Often have a length/width ratio of 1.5</li> <li>- Sometimes solitary, but often was attached to a hall block</li> <li>- Additional wings may be present. For example, L-shaped tower houses are fairly common.</li> <li>- Usually surrounded by a defensive barmkin</li> </ul>
3	Tower	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Often the residences of the gentry and lesser nobility</li> <li>- 3-4 stories</li> <li>- Sometimes solitary, but often was attached to a hall block</li> <li>- Often surrounded by a defensive barmkin</li> <li>- Length to width ratio around 1.33 (Maxwell-Irving 2014)</li> </ul>
4	Pele/Bastle	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Usually 16<sup>th</sup> or 17<sup>th</sup> century in date</li> <li>- Usually 2 stories</li> <li>- Bastles are more elongated than the peles and towers. Ratio of length to width could extend to 2.6 (Maxwell-Irving 2014, 226)</li> <li>- Peles tend to be square (often squarer than towers).</li> <li>- Peles have a length to width ratio of 1.16 (Maxwell-Irving 2014)</li> </ul>
5	Vicar's Pele/Fortified Ecclesiastical Site	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Tower associated with a church or other ecclesiastical building.</li> <li>- sometimes have domestic features like fireplaces and garderobes.</li> </ul>
6	Other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- include other types defensible buildings recorded in the HER such as moated sites, hall houses, urban defences, and fortified bridges</li> </ul>

architectural typologies, and chronologies of construction, destruction, and abandonment. These last two categories required standardisation within the dataset. Fortification type was classified using a seven-tiered typology based on a combination of architectural qualities (size, shape), terminologies used in historical references to the structures, and the social status of the occupier (Table 3.2).<sup>6</sup> Dates of construction and use, where known, were included in the dataset, but many of the fortifications lack any evidence which would precisely date their construction.<sup>7</sup> As a result, chronologies of defences in this thesis are often referred by period rather than date. The periods applied in this thesis are based on a periodisation defined by Dixon (1977, 2013) which uses major events and the dates of important defensive surveys as logical termini (Table 3.3).

**Table 3.3:** Periodisation of fortifications within the spatial database

<i>Period #</i>	<i>Date Range</i>	<i>Date Range Description</i>
<b>1</b>	Before 1290	Before the Wars of Independence
<b>2</b>	1290-1415	Wars of Independence to Henry V's defence survey
<b>3</b>	1415-1485	15 <sup>th</sup> century
<b>4</b>	1485-17 <sup>th</sup> century	Post-Medieval Period

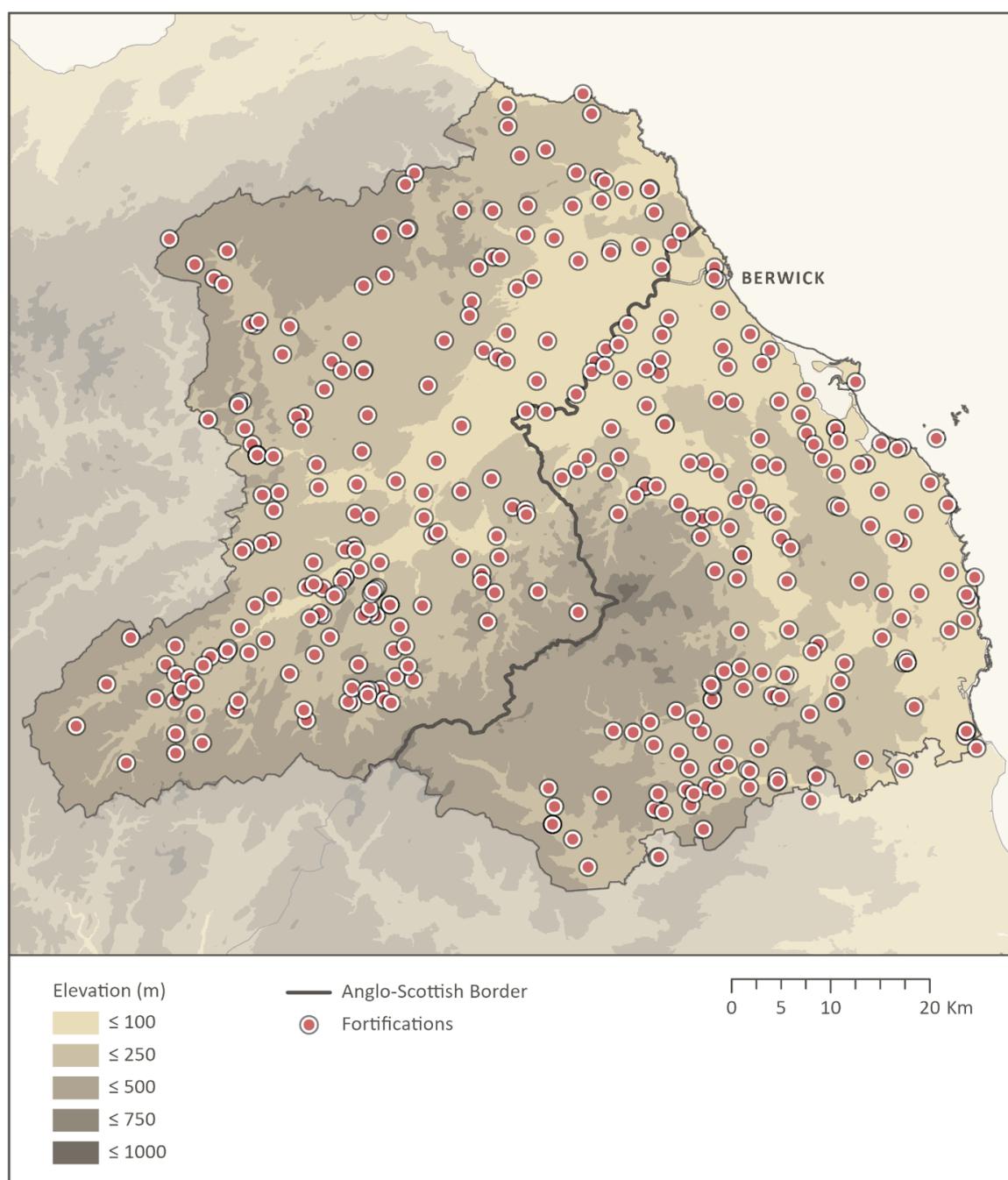
Overall, the fortification dataset contains a total of 366 fortified structures (Figure 3.5) (Appendix H). However, many of these sites, such as urban defences, peles, and bastles, which date to the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, were not integrated in much of the analysis within this thesis because they post-date the centuries targeted by this project. After these types of fortifications are removed, the spatial database includes a

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<sup>6</sup> Note on Anglo-Scottish fortification typologies: The use of terms such as 'castle', 'tower', 'pele', and 'bastle' have been characterized by inconsistent and contradictory use in past scholarship, particularly for the less prestigious of these buildings such as bastles and pele towers (Dixon 2013; Ryder 2004; Ramm et al. 1970). As a result, it was necessary to define the use of these terms within the spatial database. Each of these categories incorporates many subtypes of fortification, but in most cases, HER and historic descriptions do not allow for greater typological precision, especially for Scotland where there are fewer historic records. Terminological problems regarding fortifications in the region have been previously reviewed by several scholars (Armstrong 2020; McKean 2015; King 2007; Ryder 1990; Dixon 1977) who have proposed numerous typologies. Reliance on historical terminologies is problematic as the medieval use of specific terms was inconsistent (Armstrong 2020; King 2007). Previously developed typologies range between complete reliance on architectural features (e.g. Ryder 1990) to ones which combine architecture and the presumed social status of the builder (Davis 2014). All of the typologies previously used have strengths and weaknesses and are complicated by the fact that many of these buildings, where they still exist, have complex histories which have significantly altered the fabric of the structures and their functions over time. In many cases, it is a combination of factors which are most helpful in defining the typology of the structure including construction/reconstruction date, builder, size, and shape.

<sup>7</sup> Even for the larger, more prestigious fortifications, chronologies are often difficult to establish. Where documentary evidence is absent or inconsistent, a problem particularly prevalent on the Scottish side of the border, many sites are dated using architectural analogies and typologies.

total of 277 fortifications ranging from castles to small towers. 56.3% (156) of these are located on the Scottish side of the border while the rest (121) are located in Northumberland.



**Figure 3.5:** Fortified structures recorded in the spatial database (*Credits: Appendix A*)

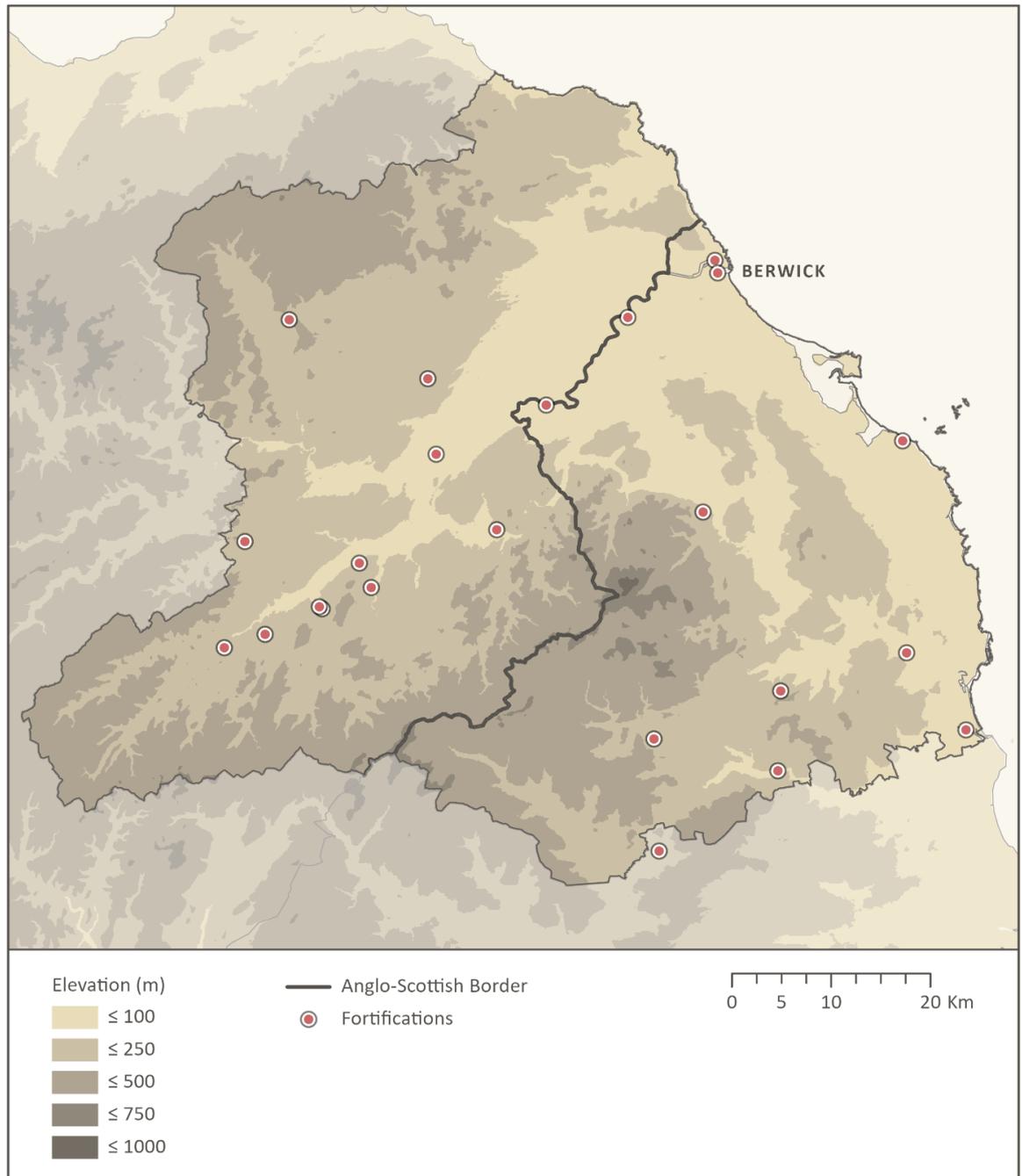
### 3.3.1 Chronology

The fortifications dataset enables us to map chronological patterns in the construction of medieval fortifications within the project area, which provides important historical context for the interpretations of the defence-scape in Chapters 4

and 5. The broad chronological and spatial distributions of Anglo-Scottish fortifications has been previously discussed by two researchers in particular, Philip Dixon (2013, 1977) and Andy King (2007). These two studies highlighted both the chronology of fortification-building in the region and social and political influences over sequences of construction. Dixon's study was important in beginning to characterise the spatial chronologies of fortified architecture along the Anglo-Scottish border and connected distribution patterns to historic events and processes. King's work, meanwhile, was less spatial, but synthesised evidence for the social meaning and purposes of castles within this heavily contested region. Nevertheless, because this thesis is looking at fortifications over the *longue durée* of the high and late medieval periods, it is necessary to provide a basic chronology of fortification construction in the Anglo-Scottish borderland between c.1200-c.1500. The patterns within this chronology can be linked to wider patterns in the construction of castles and other fortifications throughout the British Isles, but it also differs in significant ways.

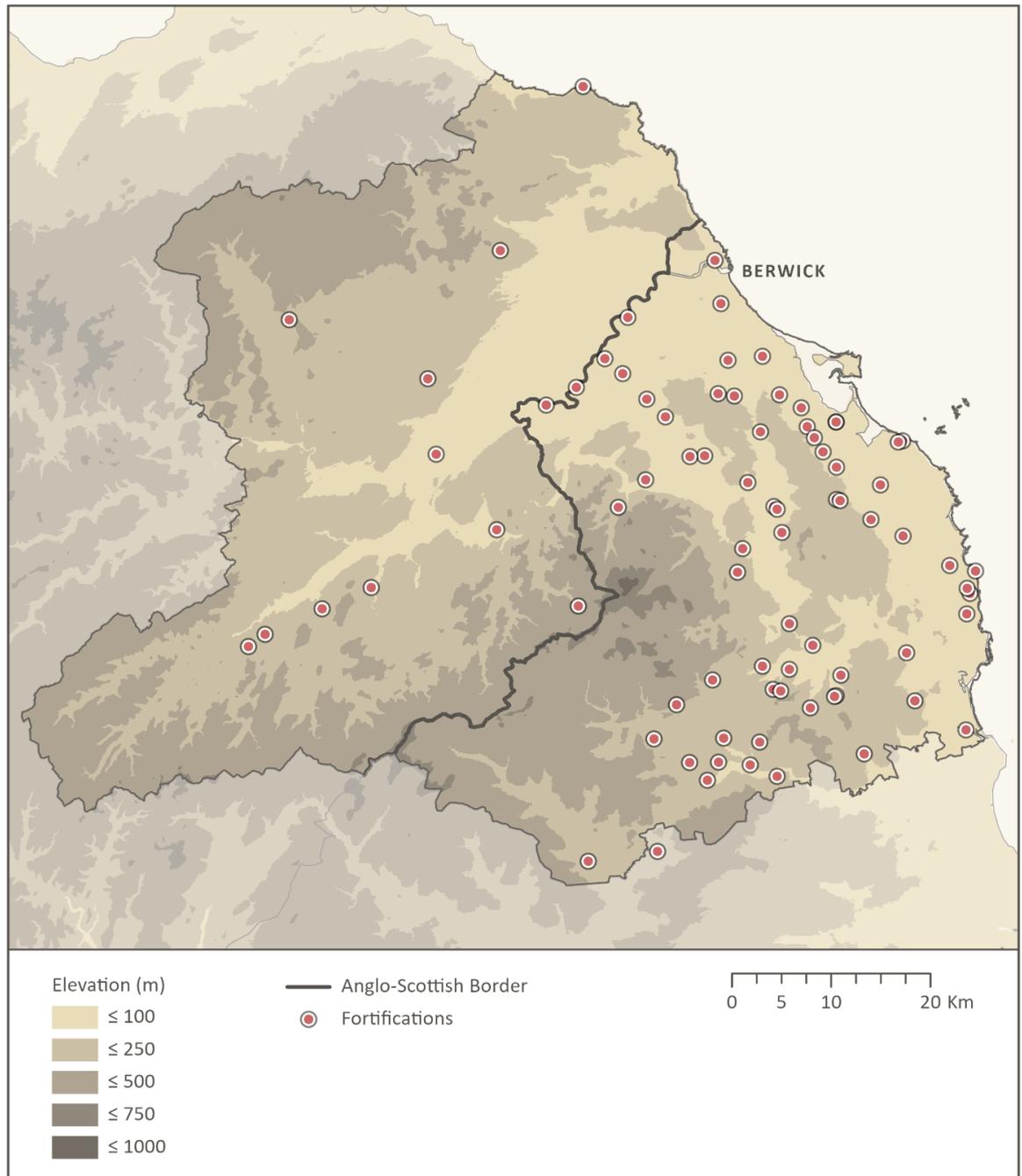
The earliest castles in the region were constructed on the English side of the border and appear in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries as timber structures which were later replaced with stone keeps (Figure 3.6). Castle-building in Scotland lagged behind that of England, and stone castles did not appear in southern Scotland until the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Dixon and Tabraham 2017, 347). Dixon (2013, 248–249) has recorded at least 45 mottes scattered across the Marches, although the greatest density of these is south of the project area along the River Tyne and Solway Firth. Dixon argues that many of these early castles probably relate to the early baronies and lordships that were carved in the area in the late-11<sup>th</sup> century. Many castles fell into disrepair in the relative peace of the 13<sup>th</sup> century but were later rebuilt after the Wars of Independence. A handful, such as Wark and Norham were maintained as impressive and strong stone fortifications and remained key military sites throughout the medieval period, although even these sites were occasionally neglected (Kent 2016). Nevertheless, prior to the Wars of Independence, the Anglo-Scottish border was under-fortified in comparison to other regions like the Welsh Marches and even some areas of central England (Dixon 2016, 129).

Figure 3.7 illustrates the distribution of fortifications in Period 2 (1290-1415). The years following the Wars of Independence witnessed Northumberland transition



**Figure 3.6:** Period 1 (pre-1290) fortifications (*Credits: Appendix A*)

from a region of relatively little fortification to one of the most densely fortified counties in England (King 2007, 373). The majority of these new Northumberland fortifications were constructed after c.1350 when most of the major hostilities between England and Scotland had ceased (Dixon 2013; King 2007; Lomas 1992). The type of people living in fortified houses had expanded, and Lomas (1992, 71) notes that the vast number of towers in existence by the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century indicate that ‘virtually every landed family and institution in the county had provided for its own defense’. Possibly as a partial result of this demographic shift in fortification



**Figure 3.7:** Period 2 (1290-1415) fortifications (*Credits: Appendix A*)

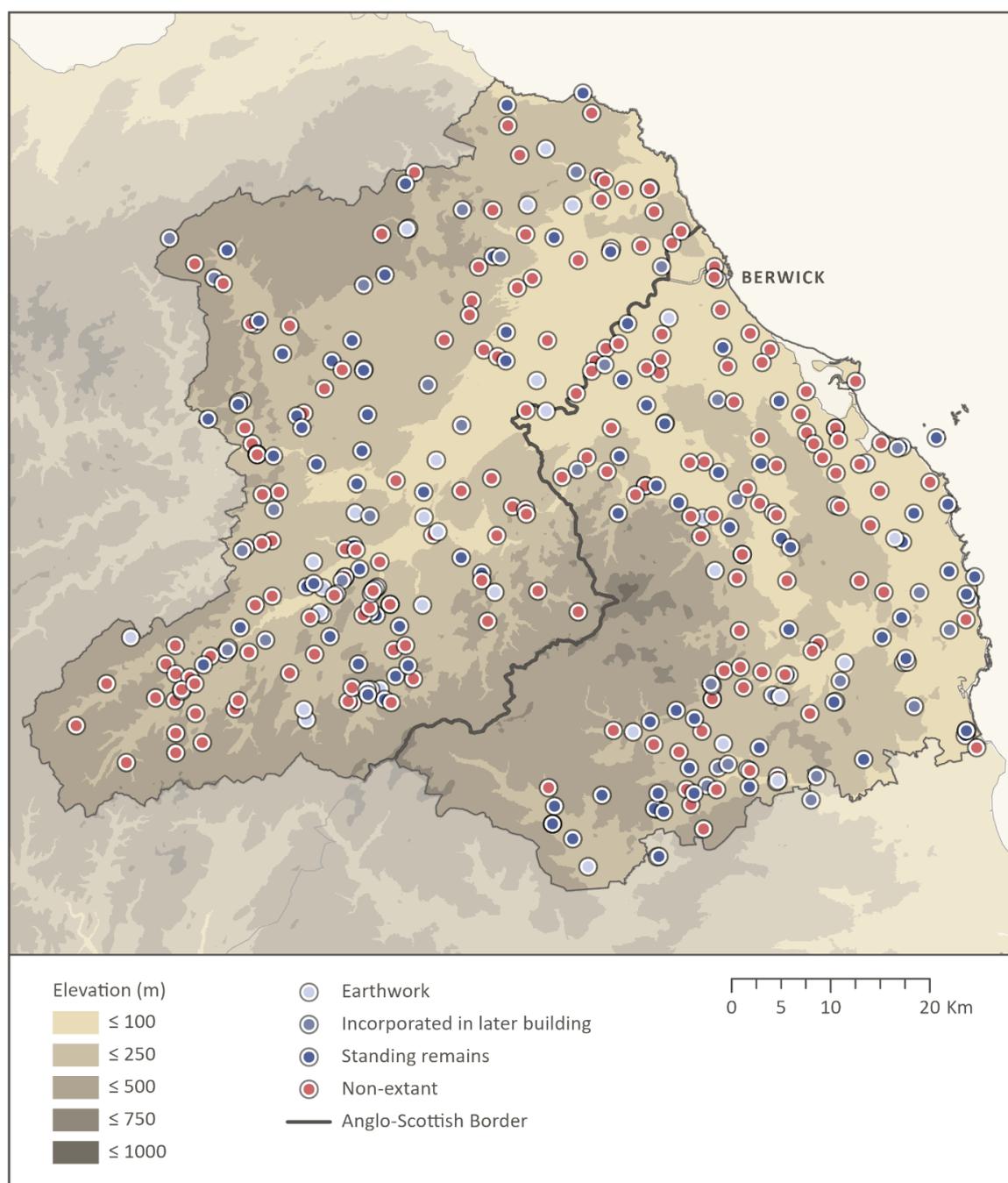
construction, the types of buildings being erected changed, and the castle was largely replaced with towers and tower houses built on the sites of earlier unfortified manors (Dixon 2016, 139). These towers represented an architectural shift in the focus of defensive architecture from an emphasis on the strength of curtain walls toward a strengthening of the defences of the tower itself. These towers were often part of a complex with other less fortified structures (although by the late-14<sup>th</sup> century some tower houses were freestanding), surrounded by an outer line of defences in the form of a comparatively small curtain wall or barmkin (Ryder 1990; Dixon 2016). There is still

debate over when the construction of towers and tower houses began in Northumberland, but the earliest documentary evidence dates to 1305 (Shortflatt tower) (Dixon 2013, 250). Many of these 14<sup>th</sup>-century towers and tower houses remained in use until the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Building patterns on the Scottish side of the border were much different—very few new fortifications were built in the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Dixon 2013, 252). However, the reasons behind this difference are not entirely clear. Fiona Watson (1998) has argued that castles did not serve the same roles as status symbols in Scotland as they did in England, particularly for well-established nobles. Moreover, there is evidence that the Scottish occasionally pursued what is often considered ‘scorched earth’ tactics, where the countryside was cleared of its food and people before English invasions to disrupt the supply chains of the invading forces which probably impacted fortification distributions (Caldwell 2010, 78). Additionally, from the start of the Wars of Independence, the Scottish military use of castles differed markedly from that of the English. While the English crown relied on castles to hold territory in Scotland, the Scots often slighted castles, particularly ones in Scottish territory, after their capture (or recapture) from English forces (Cornell 2008). In general, military tactics in 14<sup>th</sup>-century Scotland seem to have been less reliant on fortifications than they were in England, relying instead on the forests and caves of the region as the bases for military activities (Brown 1997, 6; Cornell 2008).

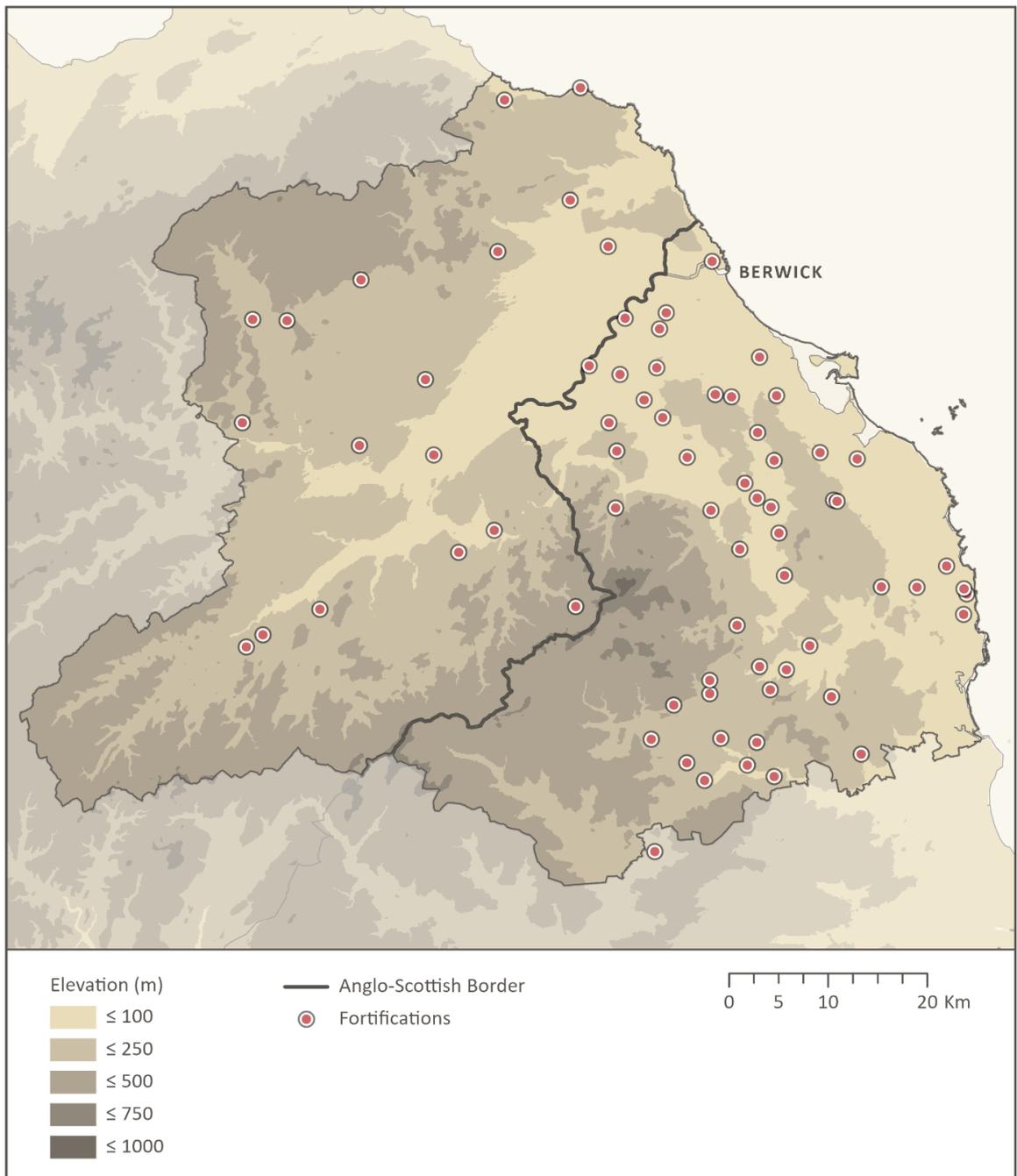
However, differences between the English and Scottish use of castles are not the only factors contributing to the distributional disparities across the border. There are also differences in the preservation of fortifications on either side of the border. Unfortunately, while we can see evidence for these differences, it is difficult to quantify their real impact. Only 48.6% of fortifications (from all periods and of all types) are still extant either as upstanding masonry incorporated into later structures, or as earthworks (Figure 3.8). Of those that still exist, 60% have substantial above-ground remains, 20% are preserved as earthworks, and 20% are incorporated into later structures. The other 51.4% of structures are no longer extant and are evidenced from documentary sources, historic photographs, or sometimes, local knowledge. In many cases, the exact location of the structure has been lost. There is a slight difference in the loss of fortifications between the Scottish Borders and Northumberland. 54.9% of Scottish structures are no longer extant, while 47.4% of Northumberland fortifications

have been lost. The Scottish figures, in particular, probably significantly underestimate the number of fortifications that existed in the medieval period, especially for the earlier periods. This is because the documentary record in Scotland is far more fragmentary through the medieval period than England's archives and post-medieval changes to the landscape were particularly acute. Previous studies have struggled to quantify the number of Scottish fortifications in the region, even in the comparatively well-documented 16<sup>th</sup> century (Maxwell-Irving 2012a), and archaeological surveys in Scotland have uncovered previously undocumented towers (e.g. RCAHMS 1994).

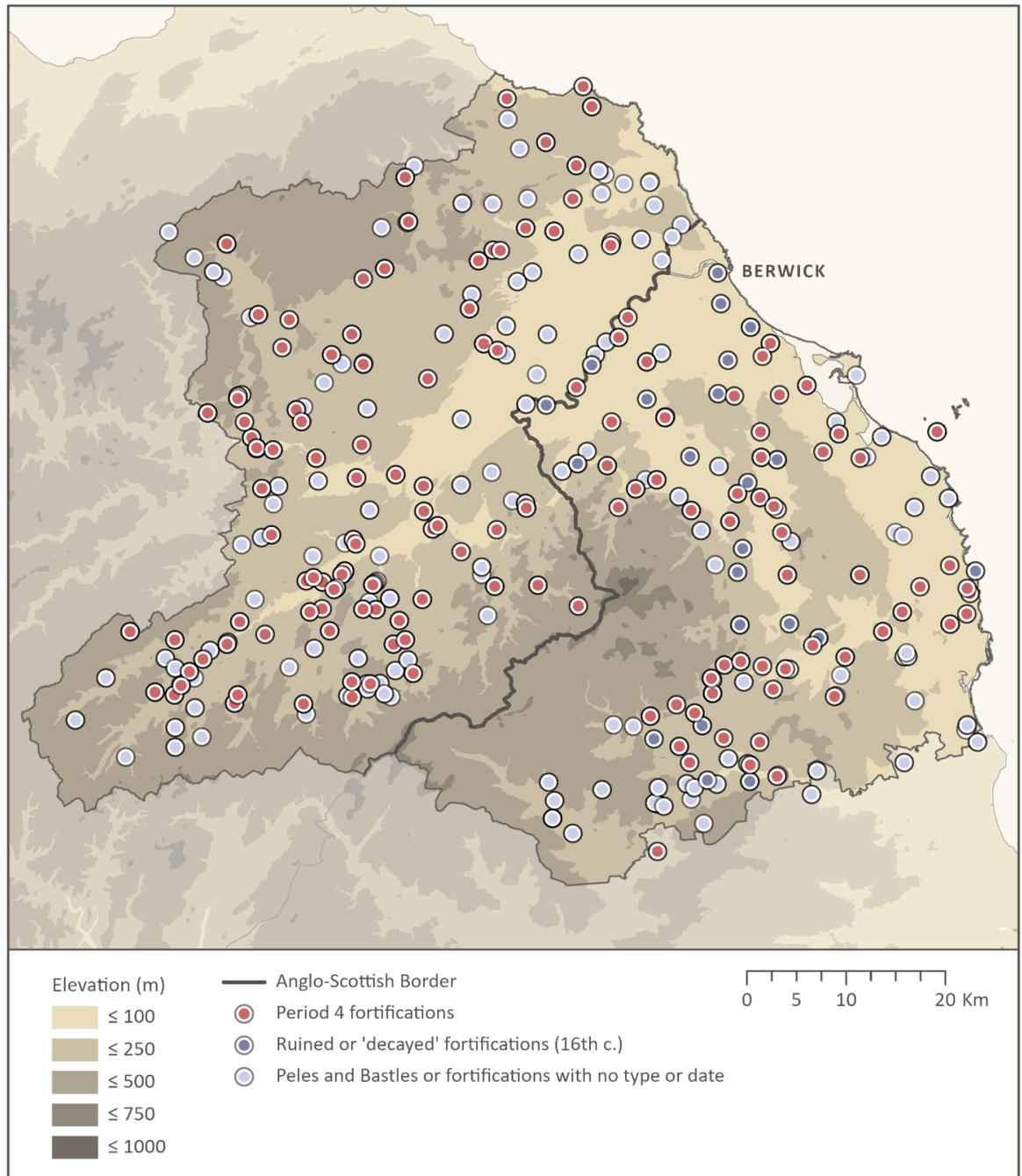


**Figure 3.8:** Distribution of extant and non-extant fortifications (from all periods and all fortification types) (Credits: Appendix A)

During the 15<sup>th</sup> century, English tower building continued its process of democratisation as smaller satellite towers continued to be built across the region (Figure 3.9). Meanwhile, in Scotland, the greater lords of the region began to construct large towers, such as the Douglas family castle of Threave, as the seats of their baronies. These towers are possibly the result of the weakening control of the crown over the Scottish nobility and increasing competition between rival powerful families in the region in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Jamroziak 2011, 195). These towers seem to mark a change in fortification practices in the Scottish Borders, because after 1485, there is a proliferation of towers on the Scottish side of the border, particularly after the



**Figure 3.9:** Period 3 (1415-1485) fortifications (*Credits: Appendix A*)



**Figure 3.10:** Period 4 (1485-17<sup>th</sup> century) fortifications (*Credits: Appendix A*)

Reformation when monastic land was redistributed (Maxwell-Irving 2012, 229) (Figure 3.10). Architectural styles also changed in both England and Scotland in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. New towers were often much smaller than their predecessors and were joined by a new type of fortified farmhouse called the bastle. There are also references to timber houses that were roofed in flame-resistant turf which have yet to be made visible in the archaeological record (Bowes and Ellerker 1541, 232-233). Construction of these new types of buildings spread through the uplands and are often interpreted as a reflection of the collapse of traditional political structures and increasingly endemic

raiding through the century which forced small farm holders to find ways to protect their valuables (Frodsham 2004).

### **3.3.2 Patterns of Destruction**

The questions over the distributional patterns of Scottish fortifications in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries (Periods 2 and 3) discussed above suggest that patterns of destruction are potentially just as important as patterns of construction when understanding elements of fortification and defence in the border-scape. However, previous research on fortifications largely concentrates on the extant structures and their development, such as the motivations behind castle construction and how architectural features were added or changed through time. The abandonment, destruction, and decay of fortifications has been subjected to much less critical inquiry, particularly for periods prior to the 'decay' of the borderland in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Nevell 2020). And yet, the fortifications dataset indicates the destruction or abandonment of fortifications was not unusual in the medieval period (Table 3.4). Between 15% and 30% of castle or tower sites were abandoned per century between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. Abandonment of sites is highest in the transition between Periods 1 and 2 (the period of the Wars of Independence) and in Period 4 (the 16<sup>th</sup> century), when the borderland was seen as being largely in 'decay'. These also happen to be the periods of the most investment in new castle and tower sites, as 80% of sites appear to be new in the transition from Period 1 to Period 2 and 25% of sites in the 1541 survey (not counting bastles and peles which would raise this percentage) also have no known evidence for earlier fortifications. This means that the periods of the most abandonment were followed by periods of the most investment in new castle and tower sites. As a result, it is important to acknowledge that abandonment and decay of administrative sites would have been nearly as familiar a feature of the medieval landscape as the construction of new fortifications, even in the periods before the 'decay' of the Marches.

There were numerous reasons fortifications could be abandoned or destroyed. In some cases, the decision to abandon a site was a deliberate choice either made by the lord or with their consent. For instance, Constable (2004, 182–186) argues that early mottes were sometimes willingly abandoned due to a changing relationship between the lord and nearby settlements. At Caerlaverock Castle in Dumfries and

Galloway, recent geochemical analysis suggests that extreme flooding events and storm surges at the mouth of the River Nith may have impacted the earlier castle and caused a second castle to be built at a less exposed location less than 200m away (Canmore, 66100 and 66101; Castle Studies Trust 2021). However, the destruction of a castle could also be an emotionally charged and traumatic event, carrying powerful symbolic meanings which defined relationships between people. For instance, when the crown decided to slight a castle rather than to simply confiscate it, it was a deliberate act which ‘symbolised nothing less than the emasculation of a lord, eradicating an ancestral seat for future generations of a noble dynasty’ (Creighton and Wright 2016, 114). When Edward II was informed of the loss of Roxburgh and Edinburgh Castles in Scotland in 1314, it was claimed that he nearly wept, and that by slighting the castles, the Scots had denied him the opportunity to reclaim the honour he had lost in the castles’ capture (Nevell 2020, 125).

**Table 3.4:** Patterns of abandonment in the project area in Northumberland. Note: Periods 2-4 are drawn from Northumberland data due to the better chronological precision of that dataset, but period 1 includes Scottish fortifications due to the small number of castles and the fluidity of landholding patterns during this period.

	Total # fortifications existing in period	# of fortifications not appearing in later periods	# of new fortifications	% abandoned by next period
Period 1 (pre-1296)	21	6	21	28.6%
Period 2 (1296-1415)	70	13	55	18.6%
Period 3 (1415-1485)	68	10	5	14.7%
Period 4 (1485- c. 1600)	60 (in 1541)	20 (listed as decayed)	15 (in Northumberland)	33.3%

Destruction and abandonment of sites, the consequence of relations of power of a variety of types, had a significant impact on the medieval landscape at multiple scales. However, these impacts are sometimes only detectable in the historic and archaeological record as absences in broader distributions of sites. This means we need to consider how networks of fortifications will be handled in this project. Previous research in castle studies, both within the Anglo-Scottish region and beyond, has experimented with the utility of different scales of analysis when considering groupings of fortifications. Examples range from singular sites (e.g. Oram 2014), to groups of

fortifications owned by particular families (e.g. Dalglish 2005), to regional or national datasets (e.g. Dixon 2013; Constable 2004). However, these scales of analysis are imposed upon the dataset by the modern researcher. While these groupings do tend to make sense within historical contexts and can tell us how networks of fortifications developed, it is also possible that there is a wider range of useful scales of analysis within a medieval context that have yet to be explored. The concept of historic scales was critiqued in another context by Warner-Smith (2020b) who mapped conceptions of 'local' and 'regional' from written sources referencing a 19<sup>th</sup>-century cholera epidemic in the Caribbean. She argues that these scales are far more fluid and contingent historically than is typically acknowledged by 'local' and 'regional' analyses in modern scholarship. Therefore, we need to look more carefully at the contingencies of networks of fortifications in the medieval period.

A consideration of fortifications as 'assemblages' offers an interesting way to analyse medieval networks of castles and towers. The assemblage, understood as a collection of things (often material, but not always) which are related by some underlying logic, is a long-standing concept in archaeology. But recently, archaeologists have re-examined this concept and challenged the idea of the assemblage as a defined collection or a 'single whole', redefining its analytical potential (Harris and Cipolla 2017, 139). Largely based on the ideas of Gilles Deleuze and Bruno Latour, amongst others, archaeologists have reinterpreted the assemblage to be not simply a collection of things, but a continuously evolving set of relationships between things which are constantly being assembled, disassembled, and reassembled (Jervis 2019, 38; Jervis 2017; Franklin et al. 2016). Franklin et al. (2016, ix) argue that archaeologists can extend these ideas even further by shifting our focus to the process of assembling to explore how groups of things 'become,' in both the past and in the present. This perspective, they claim, provides insight into the 'complexity, temporality and contingency' of the datasets we use as archaeologists.

The assemblage is a useful concept for the study of medieval fortifications for two reasons. First, it allows us to critique how an 'assemblage,' or in this case, a network, of fortifications could have been identified and conceptualised in the medieval period. Second, it grants equal weight to both the construction of fortifications (an act of assembling a network) and their destruction/abandonment (an act of disassembling), acknowledging that absences, or 'silences', can tell us important information about the

past, a type of critical cartography more often seen in post-colonial archaeologies (see examples and discussion of this in Warner-Smith 2020a, 769; Norton 2020; Platt 2020). Importantly, this connects the fortifications dataset and the defence-scape to crucial bordering processes. In Chapter 2 (2.5.1 and 2.5.5), it was argued that borders experience cycles of materialisation and dematerialisation where the absence of a physical barrier is just as important as the presence of one. Therefore, a consideration of bordering through transformations to the networks of fortifications enables us to consider alternative and situated narratives of bordering, a topic which will be explored further in Chapter 8

### **3.3.3 Important Sources for the Defence-scape**

During the construction of the dataset, two sources emerged as being particularly useful in interpreting medieval conceptions of the geographies of defence: a survey of defences in Northumberland in 1415 and a plan of defences for Northumberland developed in 1584. This section outlines some of the characteristics of the defence-scapes these sources reveal and introduces some of the questions these surveys lead us to ask about the defence-scape which are explored in more detail in Chapters 4 and 5.

#### ***3.3.3.1 Nomina castrorum et fortaliorum infra comitatum Northumbriae (1415)***

1415 is a key moment in the history of fortifications in Northumberland, as it marks the publication of the first detailed survey of fortifications in the county. The '*Nomina castrorum et fortaliorum infra comitatum Northumbriae*' was drawn up prior to the English campaign in France which led to the Battle of Agincourt (Armstrong 2020, 68; Bates 1891, 13) and represents a snapshot-like picture of the fortified landscape of Northumberland. It lists the location, custodian, and type of each fortification, beginning with the largest castles (*castrum*) and decreasing in size (*fortalicium* and *turris*). This list has received some attention from historians who have identified several important features. First, it provides some clues about how networks of fortifications may have been imagined in the medieval period and how they interact with administrative boundaries. Armstrong (2020, 68–72) has noted a geographic logic to the order in which the structures are listed which depicts an understanding of space that is

itinerant, or moved through, rather than cartographic. He also notes that prominent spatial patterns become much less apparent toward the end of the list, indicating, perhaps, the influence of oral input from informants after the initial list was created. Indeed, there is evidence of alterations to the list in the form of annotations in the margins. Interestingly, there is no distinction between fortifications within and without the liberties along the border, despite their differing legal status.

The list also appears to be influenced by social aspects. King (2007, 396–397) has tried to trace the logic behind the typological terms used in the list and argues that while there seems to be a general organisation of the list based on architectural details, the use of typological terms was somewhat inconsistent and probably influenced in some cases by the aspirations of the lords rather than architectural realities. This illustrates the complex entanglements between martial and social concerns represented in the defensive architecture of the medieval period. Analysis of the construction histories of numerous castles and towers in the Anglo-Scottish Marches such as Thirlwall (Rushworth and Carlton 2004), Etal, and Chillingham (King 2007) indicate that design decisions to the structures were often inspired by competition between local families. In fact, these studies indicate that it is often impossible to distinguish between defensive concerns and social competition in many elements of castle and tower architecture due to the conflation of martial aesthetics with lordly ambitions and power. This is best evidenced through Oram's (2014) analysis of the chronology of landscape development around Hermitage Castle, which indicated that design elements of the castle and its landscape fluctuated between favouring defensive elements and those making clear social statements as the political context of the region changed through time.

As a result, the 1415 survey includes important evidence illustrating the relationships between medieval conceptions of geographic space and the entanglement between martial and social factors in the development of the defence-scape. These subjects will be investigated further in Chapters 4 and 5 as part of the defence-scape and contextualised as part of the border-scape in Chapter 8.

### ***3.3.3.2 Plan of the seats of the fortresses and castles upon the borders (1584)***

The second important source is a proposed plan for county defences at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The plan 'of the seats of the fortresses and castles upon the

borders' (SPO TNA SP15/27B/91-92) was proposed by Christopher Dacre, who came from a subsidiary line of an important Cumbrian family with strong connections to the administration of the English borderland (Summerson 2004; Sargent 2011, 89). Around 1583, Dacre conducted a survey of the border defences in the West March. After this, he was put on another commission for the East and Middle Marches, compiling a similar report (Merriman 1984). This report included an annotated plan, 'not cunningly done,' by Dacre which was accompanied by an explanatory letter describing features of the plan (Bates 1891, 77).

The plan included a linear string of fortifications and settlements along the Tweed and the edge of the Cheviots (Figures 3.11 and 3.12). This string of fortifications was to be enhanced by a long defensive ditch and earthwork bank which both Merriman (1984) and Bates (1891, 75–78, 80) argue is clearly based on the Roman fortifications of Hadrian's Wall—the wall would have been very familiar to Dacre who was raised near Lanercost, which is located adjacent to the Roman monument. The portion of the map depicting the region within the project area included a total of 50 fortifications.<sup>8</sup> Distances are not depicted to a consistent scale on Dacre's map, but in general, the spatial relationships between fortifications are accurate. This indicates that Dacre, or his informers, were either deeply familiar with the landscape or had a reference map close to hand when the plan was made.

There are questions over the historic existence of some of the features of this map. It must be remembered that it was not a map of actual 16<sup>th</sup>-century defence systems, but a design created by a small committee. Elements of the plan proposed a number of new constructions. The proposed linear ditch and bank feature was certainly new, and Dacre's report specifically proposes the construction of four new tower sites alongside costed repairs to existing structures (SPO TNA SP15/27B/91-92). It is more difficult to determine if all of the named structures on the map existed at the time the plan was drawn. The precise locations of only 23 of the 47 fortifications on the map (not counting the proposed locations) are known, and many of these known locations do not have substantial standing remains. In some settlements, such as Mindrum and Hedgeley, Dacre's map is the only evidence that has been found to date that suggests there was ever possibly a tower there. It has been argued (Dodds 1999, 77) that some

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<sup>8</sup> Towers depicted south of Harbottle on the plan extended beyond the project area and were not integrated into the analysis.

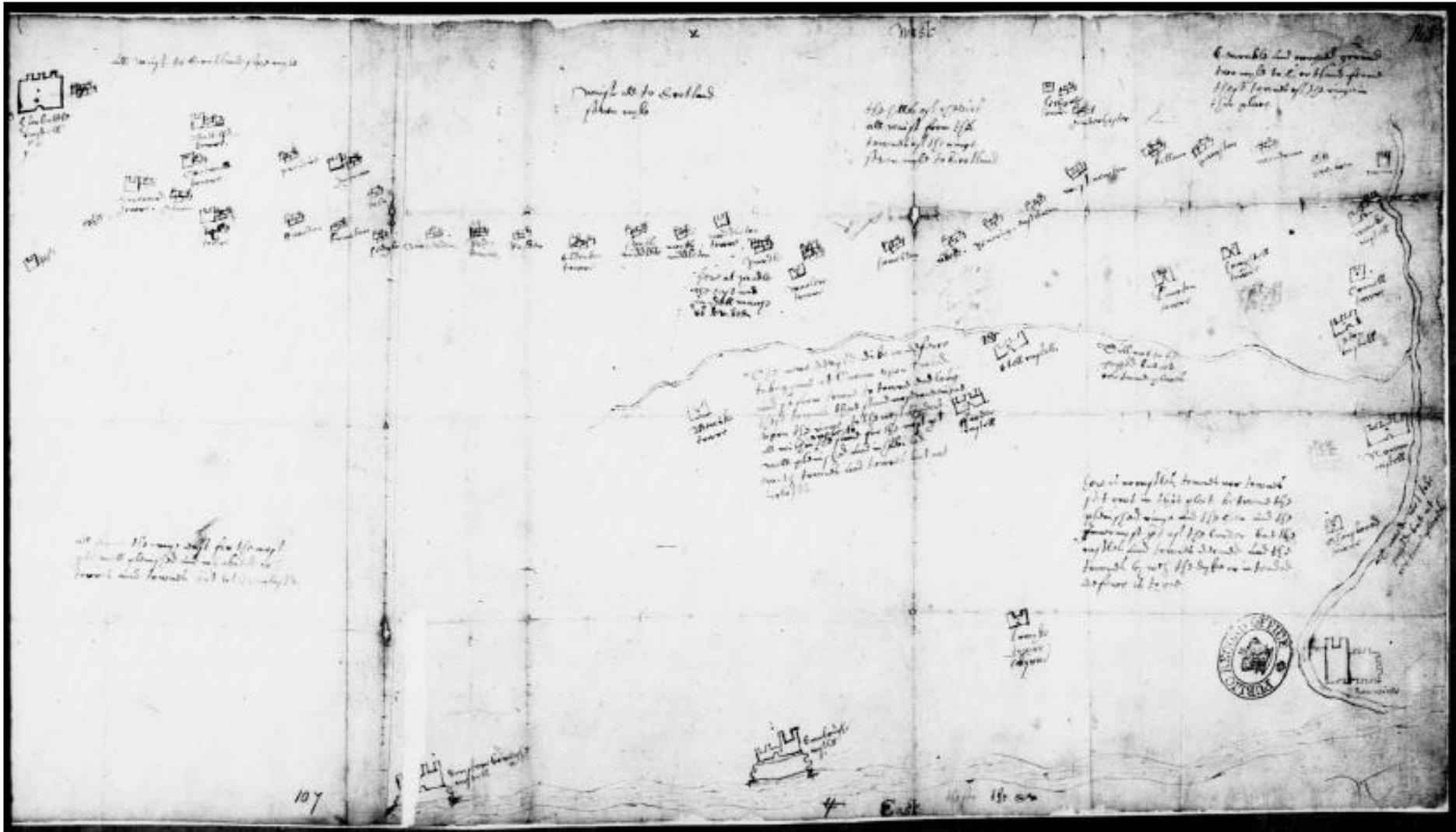
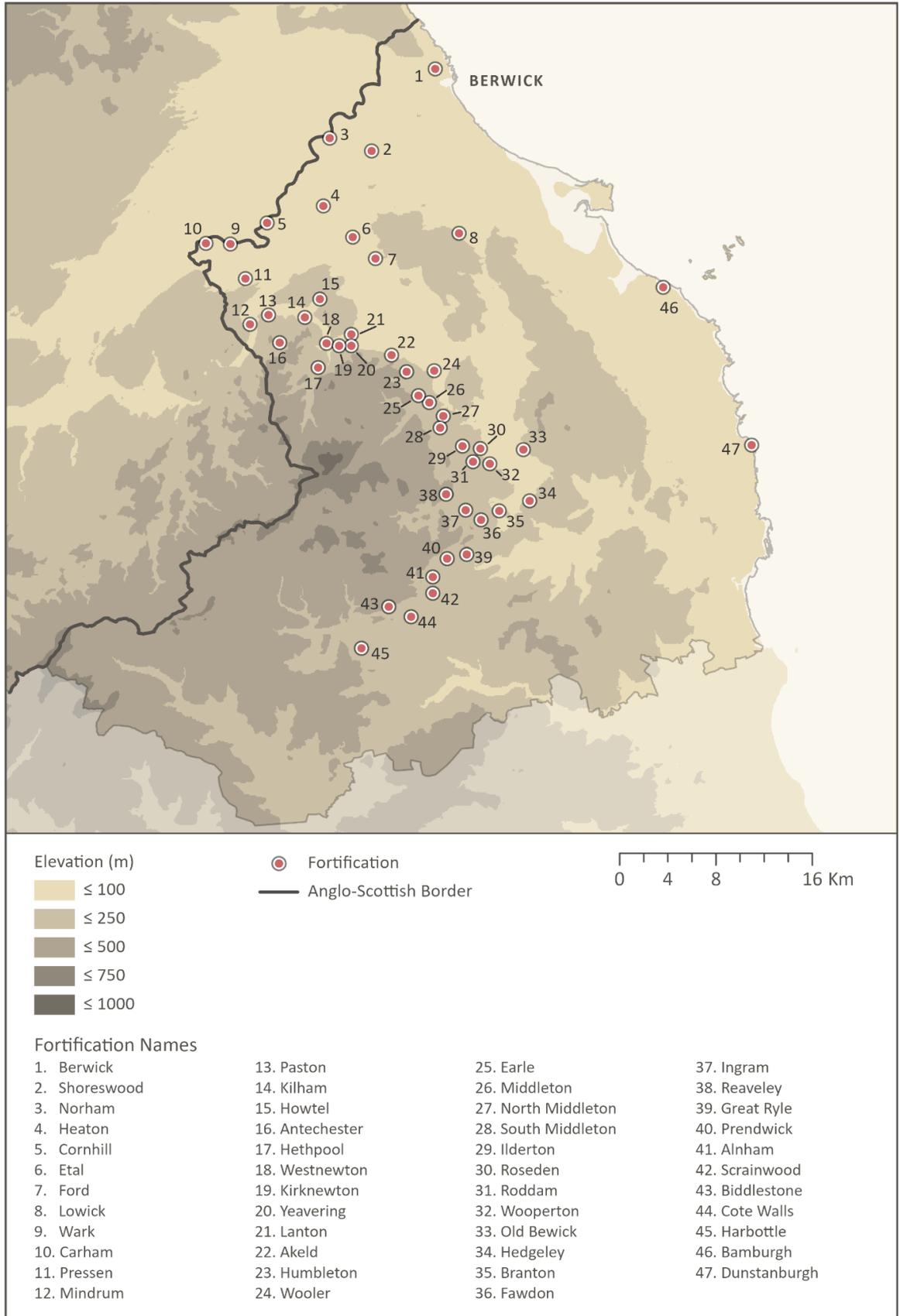


Figure 3.11: Christopher Dacre's plan 'of the seats of the fortresses and castles upon the borders' (SPO TNA SP15/27B/91-92).



**Figure 3.12:** Map of the fortifications depicted on Dacre's plan of fortresses (*Credits: Appendix A*)

of these places may have been proposals for suitable places for towers. A closer comparison of the landscapes of these sites and Dacre's map suggests possible solutions to this problem.

While the architectural form of many of these buildings are not known, the ones that do exist or have documentary evidence for the form of their structure indicate that this ring of fortifications consisted of a variety of building types. These types are indicated on the plan (Figure 3.11) by a range of icons that depict a rough gradation of size. Large castles like Bamburgh and Berwick have unique icons depicting the façade of the castles surrounded by crenelated walls. Smaller castles and towers are distinguished with varying numbers of turrets. A third type of icon is more difficult to interpret—these look like clusters of houses, possibly depicting settlements, and it is difficult to determine whether these icons were intended to depict fortifications. However, many of these depicted 'settlements' also hosted fortifications. Some, such as Pawston and Alnham, appear to have taken a more traditional tower form. However, many also appear to have taken the form of 'strong houses', elongated rectangular structures which came into use in the late-15<sup>th</sup> or early-16<sup>th</sup> centuries. These buildings were often at least twice as long as they were wide, although some were much longer, such as at Akeld, and had a vaulted basement which housed garrisons (Kent 2016). Possible strong houses on the plenished ring include Heaton, where in the 16<sup>th</sup> century a strong house stood amidst the ruined remains of a larger castle, Akeld (Figure 3.13), Pressen, and Yeavering (Figure 3.14). Fawden is listed on Dacre's map and, interestingly, analysis of aerial photography during the Till-Tweed Project identified a 20x11m rectangular structure near the earthwork remains of Fawden village. This structure approximately matches the strong house at Pressen which measured 17.2x7.9m and Akeld which measured 19x7.3m and is also on a different alignment than the nearby farm. Although further archaeological investigation is required, it could be that this feature is the remains of a former strong house. If confirmed, other villages on the ring may have also hosted strong houses which have been lost to time. In other places, documentary evidence has identified the existence of previously unknown strong houses associated with the settlement symbols. On Dacre's map, Wooler is unusually depicted with both a tower and a settlement symbol. Wooler tower is known to have been located in the centre of the settlement, but Catherine Kent (2016, 70, Fig. 3.3) has identified a possible strong house located adjacent to the tower from a drawing of the



**Figure 3.13:** Akeld strong house (*Photo by author*)



**Figure 3.14:** Yeaverling's strong house (*Photo by author*)

village dating to c.1570. Additionally, many fortifications which certainly had settlements, such as Norham, are not depicted with the 'settlement' symbol. As a result, it seems likely that these 'settlement' icons probably do depict smaller fortifications, possibly ones which had a history of being more communal than private in function (see Kent 2016, 69–71).

Overall, an analysis of the way the defence-scape is portrayed by these two sources illustrates that the development of the defence-scape was entangled with many aspects of medieval life, all of which would have influenced the way the physical landscape was involved in processes of bordering. The 1415 survey suggests that non-cartographical conceptions of space and social competition beyond concerns of defence influenced distributions of fortifications. Meanwhile, Dacre's plan highlights the tension between the physical requirements of an effective defence system and the practical considerations of implementing the plan within the context of the pre-existing landscape. These influences will be considered in the defence-scape analysis of Chapters 4 and 5.

### **3.4 Dataset 3: Cross-Border Meetings and Meeting Places**

The legal-scape investigated in Chapters 6 and 7 targets the landscapes used for cross-border Anglo-Scottish legal meetings through the medieval period. Currently, there is no published database of Anglo-Scottish meetings, so a dataset of medieval meetings and their locations between 1200-1500 needed to be constructed (Appendix I). A variety of sources were used in the development of this dataset. Cynthia Neville's (1998) work, *Violence, Custom, and Law*, represents the most comprehensive source on medieval meeting places to date and is based on her work with hundreds of medieval documents. She carefully cites these documents throughout the text, so her book was a useful starting place for the construction of the dataset. The book was systematically surveyed for any reference to border meetings. Dates, locations, and primary-source references for these meetings were recorded and the majority of the primary-source references were then checked to ensure the robustness of the dataset (see Appendix J for a full list of sources consulted). These sources included a variety of different document types such as indentures, commissions, letters of safe conduct, treasury records, and personal letters. This process expanded the dataset beyond Neville's text

and offers useful contextual information, including the names of attendees, details of travel, and details about the negotiations over the locations of the meetings.

The vast majority of medieval documents used to build the dataset were official government documents like commissions and safe conducts. These are often formulaic in form and function. Alone, excepting a few examples (such as the description of the truce negotiations in Kirk Yetholm and Carham in 1401, published in Stones 1965, 346–365), the medieval documents proved to be fairly reticent sources for the use of place and landscape within border meetings. However, these sources can be supplemented with additional contextual evidence. A second dataset of 16<sup>th</sup>-century meetings was created from the letters and documents collected in Bain's *Calendar of Border Papers* (1894-1896) and two lists of meetings between 1536 and 1538 which were compiled by the wardens of the English East and Middle Marches (Letters Henry VIII, xiii.i.489, 179-189; xiii.ii.241, 94-95) (Appendix K). Bain's work, which comprises a printed collection of the papers of the English border administrators in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, has historically been one of the most important and widely cited compilations of primary documents relating to early modern Anglo-Scottish history. Many of these documents are letters which provide exceptional and often quite personal details about the organisation of border meetings and the landscapes in which they took place. Again, this dataset is not intended to provide a complete list of border meetings. However, the dataset created from these documents provides topographical and contextual details lacking in the medieval documentation, and when analysed contextually with the medieval evidence can be useful for understanding the organisation and experience of medieval meetings.

Overall, of the 346 meetings included in the medieval dataset, only 293 are considered 'border meetings,' a term which will be defined in the following section. Of these, 175 (60%) of the border meetings have locational information which connect the meeting to a place in the landscape. These numbers are a significant underestimate of the actual number of meetings that were occurring along the border over this period. Nevertheless, this dataset represents one of the most comprehensive datasets, to date, of known medieval Anglo-Scottish border meeting places, and it provides a framework upon which wider landscape interpretations of the legal-scape and its relation to the border-scape can be constructed.

### 3.4.1 Defining a 'Border Meeting'

The creation of the Anglo-Scottish meetings dataset introduced questions about how an Anglo-Scottish meeting should be defined within the project, which highlighted important characteristics of the organisation of the cross-border legal system. In particular, this process forced a confrontation with the historicity of the concept of a 'border meeting' and how to account for the fairly fluid definitions of the concept in the past within the rigid structures of a spatial database.

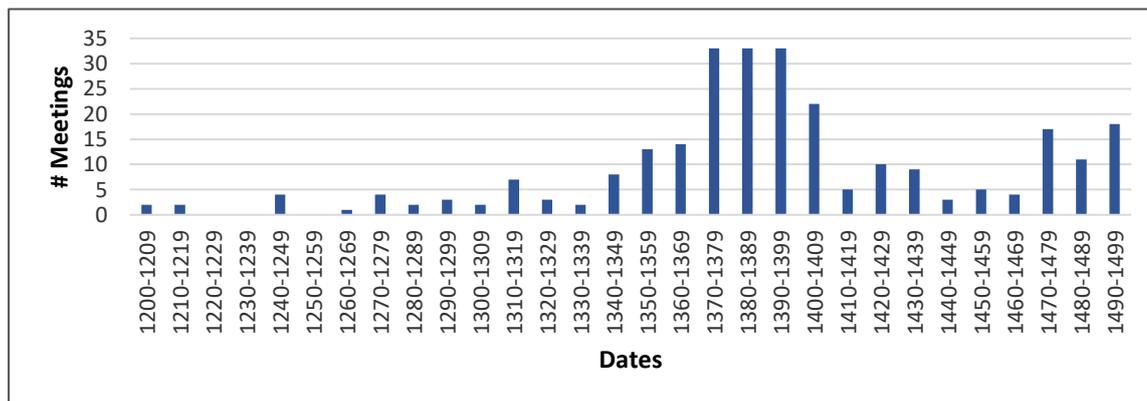
The sites utilised as meeting places developed as a component of a cross-border legal system known as the Laws of the Marches, or *Leges Marchiarum*, which was unique to the Anglo-Scottish border. This system developed in response to a need to facilitate the smooth handling of legal suits in a region where English and Scottish laws intersected. They were first codified in 1249, although many elements of it are probably much older (see Barrow 2003b; Neilson 1971; Neville 2002a) and was elaborated slowly until the Union of the Crowns in 1603.

There were a number of different types of border meetings. Two types appear most prevalently in the documentary record. The first are border courts known as the Days of March (or the Days of Truce) organised by the wardens which settled cross-border crime within the jurisdiction of the *Leges Marchiarum*. The second were formal diplomatic meetings attended by conservators or commissioners. These were arranged for specific reasons, usually to negotiate diplomatic agreements and agree cross-border policies. However, there were other types of meetings occurring on the border. Wardens' courts were an important part of the *Leges Marchiarum*, running alongside the Days of March. They were intended to redress crime under the jurisdiction of the *Leges Marchiarum* between parties of the same nationality and were not cross-border courts. Little is written about these courts, but evidence from the 16<sup>th</sup> century indicates that Wardens' courts functioned much the same as the courts of the Days of March, although without some of the ceremonial trappings (Bowes 1849). The meeting places were also used for more informal meetings on occasion. A complaint filed against the Sheriff of Carlisle, Andrew de Harcla, in 1319 describes how John de Harcla, Andrew's brother, organised a number of illegal activities in a meeting place on the 'Solway Water'. Among these was a kidnapping and ransom of Scottish prisoners from Carlisle castle and an illegal cross-border cattle purchase (Neville 1998, 18). Legislation throughout the medieval period attempting to restrict the trade of horses and other

livestock across the border, as well as references in English court records indicate that such trade probably remained a common practice throughout the Middle Ages.

The jurisdictional line between cases which should be tried in the common law courts and those tried in the border courts was poorly defined throughout the medieval period (Neville 1998). Medieval legal systems never existed in isolation, and medieval law in Great Britain was composed of a patchwork of different and overlapping jurisdictions and codes, the divisions between which were rarely entirely clear (Brodie et al. 2016, 3–4; Ormrod 2005, 8; Musson 2001, 9). Furthermore, the legal mechanisms of the *Leges Marchiarum* changed dramatically through time. The smooth running of the border courts required cooperation by both realms (Neville 1998), and legal systems were deeply embedded within the growing concepts of nationalism and sovereignty emerging during the medieval period (Neville 1998, 2, 2002b, 163–163). As a result, the justice system of the borderlands completely broke down during periods of war (Barrow 2003b, 306), and so the development of the Laws of the Marches followed the ebb and flow of peaceful relations between the two kingdoms (Figure 3.15). Consequently, the relationships between the different types of events under the jurisdiction of the *Leges Marchiarum* evolved between the 13<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, and there were many overlapping responsibilities between these meetings. Treaties might be negotiated at Days of March and crime might be redressed at diplomatic events. Sometimes multiple levels of border meetings were being arranged simultaneously. Thus, the *Leges Marchiarum* were often conflated with international law.

The structure of medieval archives also does not necessarily help define the limits of what can be considered a ‘border meeting’. There is no archive of the border courts. It was not until the 16<sup>th</sup> century that the English crown systematically archived border courts’ papers, and there is no corresponding archive for Scotland (Neville 1998, 146). Nevertheless, hundreds of references to medieval border meetings exist, but they exist in an assortment of different forms and are scattered across a variety of different archives and collections.



**Figure 3.15:** Number of meeting place records per decade. One must carefully contextualise the reasons for increases and decreases in the number of records as the relationship between records and the number of meetings is not direct. For instance, the decline in meetings at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century is likely to be at least partially caused by a real decrease in the number of meetings along the border. Neville (1998, 96–97) notes that the period between 1399 and 1424 was marked by both a renewed campaign for English lordship over Scotland, which disrupted diplomatic negotiations, and by an increasing sense of rivalry between border magnates who usually facilitated the organisation of the meetings. However, the continuing low numbers of meetings into the later-15<sup>th</sup> century is likely an artefact of documentary preservation

Certain types of meetings are less likely to be recorded in the documentary record. Wardens’ courts, although organised throughout the medieval period, appear less than ten times in the dataset. Furthermore, trysts, or unofficial cross-border meetings, are also few and far between, although Armstrong (2020) notes that additional English sources such as gaol delivery and, more rarely, King’s Bench records, do preserve scattered references to local trysts. These differences probably represent different historic processes of archiving, because these particular events were either beyond the reach of formal documentation (informal trysts) or were not cross-border events (wardens’ courts). These distinctions cause us to question whether such meetings should be eliminated from the border meetings dataset. However, because the purpose of the dataset is, eventually, to investigate the place these meetings were occurring and many of these events were taking place at the same locations as the more diplomatic and ‘international’ meetings, it is argued here that they should be included. Their inclusion generates a dataset that it is neither too prescriptive nor so broad that it becomes unwieldy and over-engineered for the questions being pursued by this project.

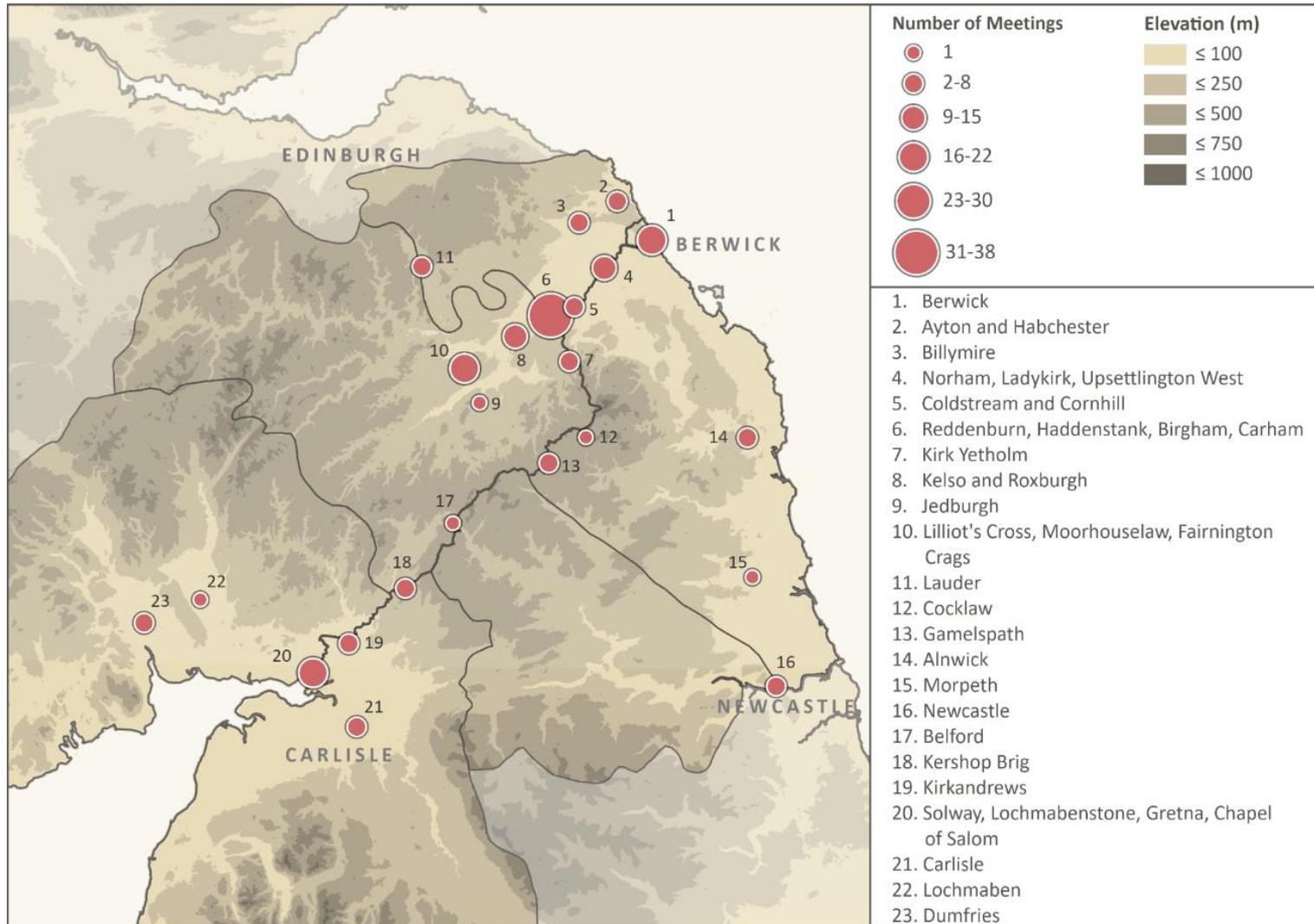
From this process of databasing, research questions were refined and a working definition of an Anglo-Scottish meeting was constructed: a meeting had to be both within the bounds of the Anglo-Scottish Marches and related to legal cross-border

transactions to be considered a 'border meeting'. This explains why only 293 meetings in the Anglo-Scottish meeting dataset are designated as 'border meetings'. There is also an awareness that this is an imperfect dataset and is one which should be refined as more is learned about these events through smaller-scale case studies. Exploring the relationships between different types of meetings returns as an important theme in the case study analysis of Chapters 6 and 7.

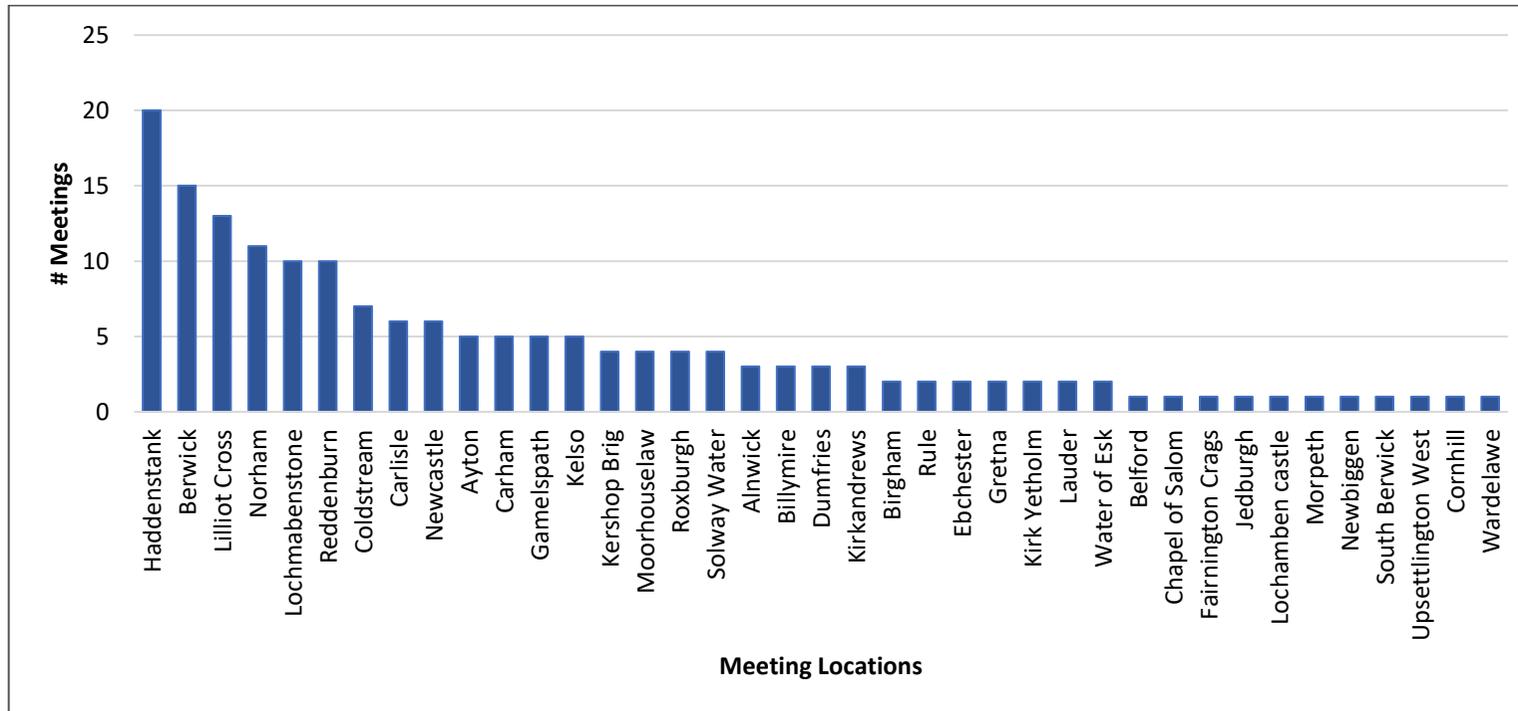
### **3.4.2 Brief Overview of Meeting Places**

Furthermore, a review of the characteristics of the meeting places which are recorded in the dataset highlights some important patterns which will be targeted for further analysis in the legal-scape case study. First, considering the use and re-use of meeting places reveals some interesting patterns. There is a fairly large range of places which were used for border meetings. In total, 39 separate locations are recorded within the limits of the Anglo-Scottish Marches for cross-border meetings between 1200 and 1500 (Figures 3.16 and 3.17). However, nearly half of the locations are only used once or twice, indicating that many of these locations were probably not customarily used but were instead places where meetings were relocated temporarily for particular reasons. This was a pattern also apparent in the 16<sup>th</sup>-century meetings dataset. The wide range of locations and their disparate frequencies of use suggest that the network of meetings places was prone to adjustment. Perhaps this should not be surprising given the great degree of change which occurred within the medieval cross-border legal system. However, many of the mechanics of these changes remain poorly understood, and their reflection within the meeting places dataset indicates that an analysis of meeting places can reveal a new range of important mechanisms which influenced the evolution of diplomatic and criminal legal systems in the region.

There are also regional patterns in the type of sites which were being used. Of the border meetings, 116 were able to be associated with a specific type of setting. These were broadly defined into three categories: open-air settings, church/churchyard settings, or castle and public buildings settings. Of the three, there was a clear preference for open-air settings, with 74 (64%) of the meetings occurring outside. 33 (28%) of the meetings happened in churches or in their churchyards, while only 9 meetings (8%) were associated with castles or public buildings. This last category is very



**Figure 3.16:** Anglo Scottish Meeting Places c. 1200-1500 (Credits: Appendix A)



**Figure 3.17:** Number of meetings recorded at each meeting place (1200-1500)

likely an artificially low number. An additional 39 meetings were located in urban settings such as Berwick or Carlisle, but the specific locations used for the meetings were not identified. In many of these cases, it is likely that the major castles in these towns were used for at least some of the meetings. The comparable use of castles for meetings is evidenced by the use of Norham and Berwick castles during the Great Cause negotiations of 1291 (Stones and Simpson 1978, 226) or when commissioners were attacked in the King's Exchequer at Carlisle castle in 1344 (CPR 1343-5, 383, 392; Neville 1998, 34). However, other medieval urban meetings are known to have occurred in parish churches, monastic sites, or even fields on the boundaries of the of the towns, and so the use of castles and public buildings could not be claimed with certainty in most cases.

This mixture of indoor and outdoor spaces is significant because the late medieval period witnessed a transition from large open-air court settings to indoor settings where existing buildings would be temporarily repurposed for courts and other diplomatic meetings (Brodie et al. 2016; O'Grady 2008, 379; Graham 2016). This transition is poorly understood and has resulted in an unlikely dichotomy where the interpretation of late medieval open-air sites influenced by archaeological landscape theory and early medieval assembly research are often granted a much more symbolic and meaningful purposes than late medieval buildings that were used for similar activities. The most thorough review, to date, of Anglo-Scottish meeting places was conducted by O'Grady (2008) for his PhD thesis on Scottish assembly sites. However, it only considers sites which were used as open-air meeting places. As a result, the late medieval transition between open air and indoor court sites provides an important opportunity to investigate a pivotal period of change in medieval legal systems and explore more thoroughly and more holistically the connections between place, law, and power in the border-scape.

### **3.5 Dataset 4: The Transportation Network—Fords and Roads**

Because movement is one of the five themes targeted by this project, the spatial database required a dataset which represents the medieval transportation network. In fact, the transportation network recorded in the spatial database is made up of two separate datasets—one of fords and the other of historic roads.

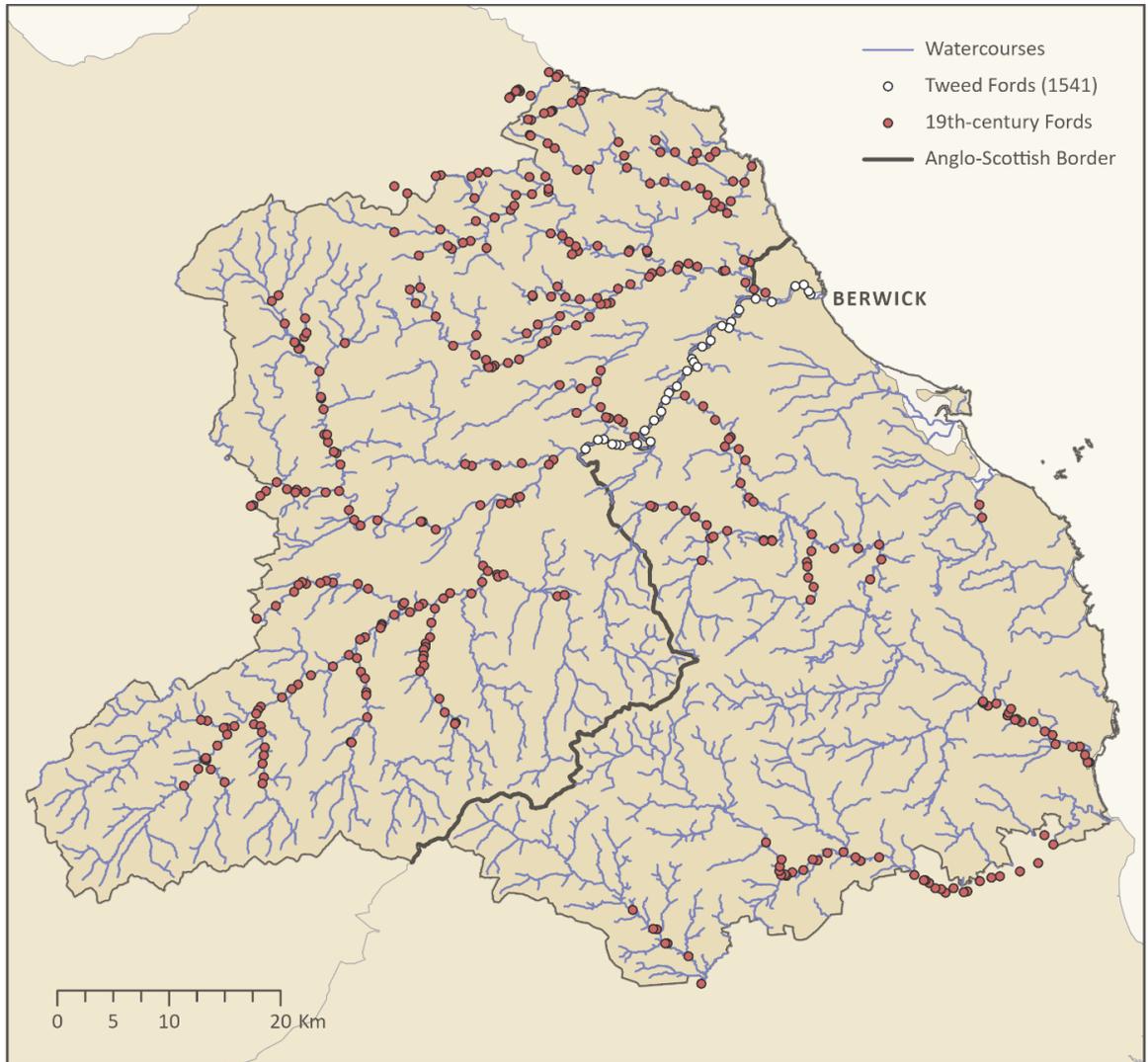
### 3.5.1 Fords

Fords are a fundamental component of the medieval transport network as nodes in the landscape where movement is particularly confined and directed along specific paths. Rivers and their crossings were a significant concern for medieval travellers in the eastern borderlands, as will be evidenced in Chapter 7 (7.3). Furthermore, their impact in the medieval landscape extends well beyond the transportation network. It was noted in the previous chapter (2.5.1) that rivers influenced the organisation of territories and administration (Phythian-Adams 2000). On a smaller scale, fords frequently influence the way settlements and fields were physically organised in the landscape (Edgeworth 2014). As a result, fords were incorporated into the spatial database as a dataset. In total, 414 fords were included in the dataset (Figure 3.18). These came from two different sources. 30 fords along the lower Tweed were mapped from a list of fords recorded by Bowes and Ellerker in 1541 (194-202) by matching the names of fords and descriptions of their locations with placenames on 19<sup>th</sup>-century OS maps. Elsewhere, fords were mapped from the first edition OS maps for the region. Not all fords on the OS maps were included in the dataset. Rivers were divided into three categories, called 'levels', based loosely on width as measured in the OS maps (Figure 3.19; Table 3.5). Fords were only mapped along Level 1 and 2 rivers.<sup>9</sup> This is because many Level 3 rivers are often easily crossable by foot or by horseback, evidenced in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century OS maps by the change in the depiction of river crossings along streams and burns of less than 15m as unimpeded footpaths rather than fords.

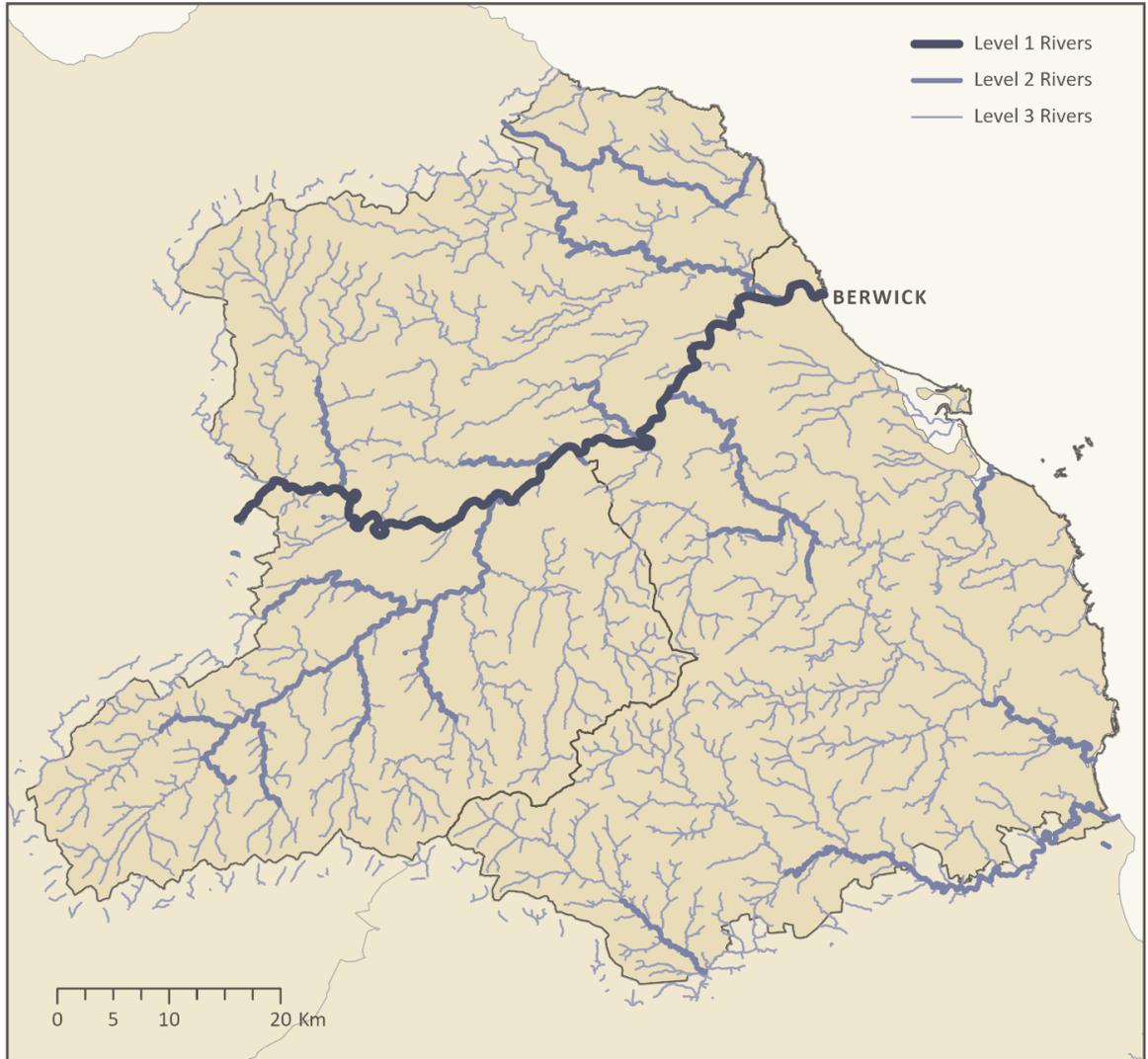
The maps produced as part of the digitisation of fords within the project area highlight differences in the physical environment between the Scottish Borders and north Northumberland. River catchments in north Northumberland are much smaller than that of the massive Tweed Basin, and so there are fewer Level 1 and 2 rivers in north Northumberland. Therefore, major fords probably were a more frequent and significant component of travel on the Scottish side of the project area than they were in Northumberland.

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<sup>9</sup> It should be noted that some fords along Level 3 rivers were mapped in the eastern portion of Roxburghshire. This was part of a brief pilot study through which the ford digitisation methodology used by this project was developed.



**Figure 3.18:** Fords mapped in the project area (*Credits: Appendix A*)



**Figure 3.19:** Rivers in the project area by 'level' (Credits: Appendix A)

**Table 3.5:** Width parameters for river 'levels'

River Level	Width on OS Maps
1	Over 50 m
2	15-50m
3	Up to 15m

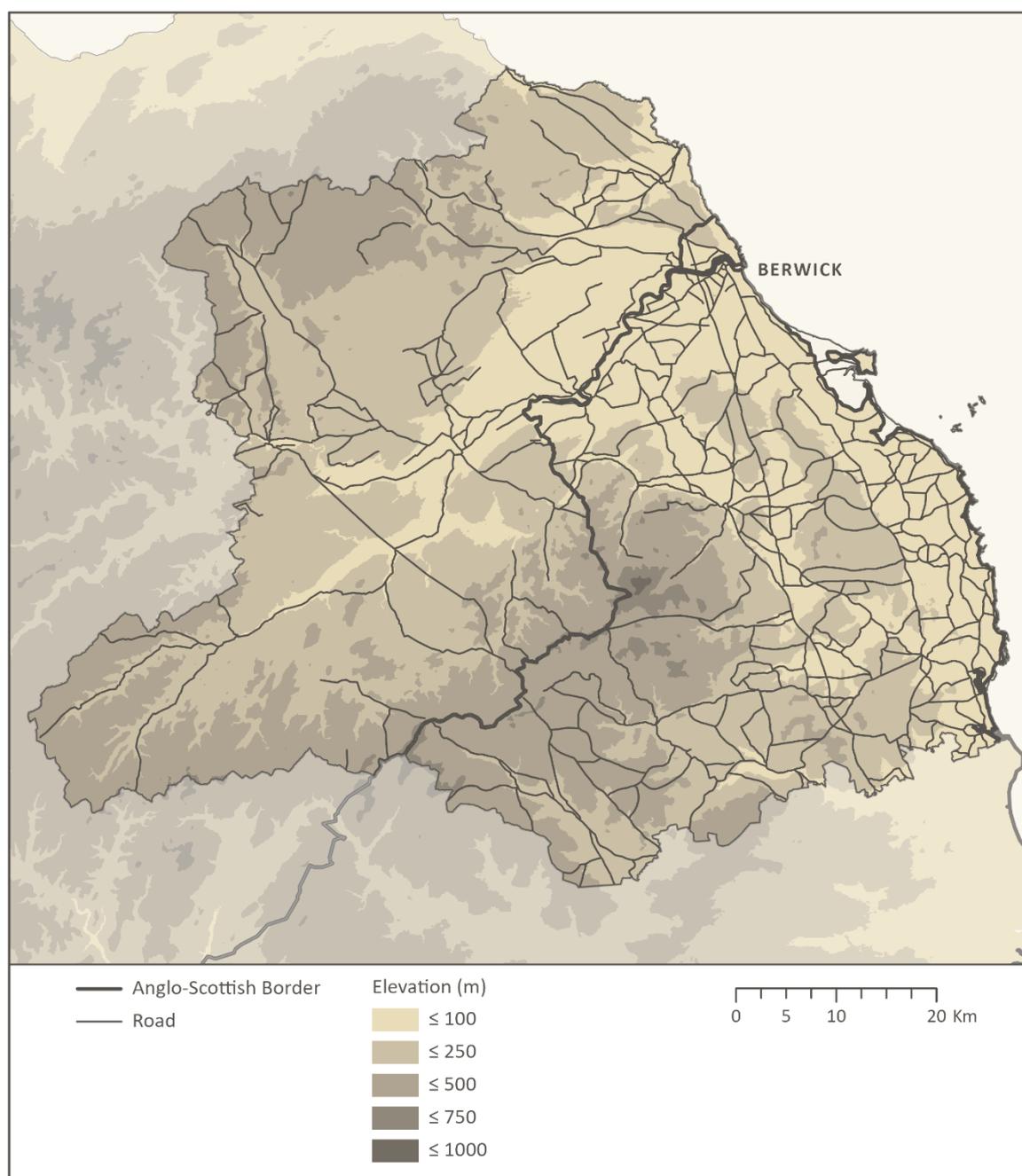
### 3.5.2 Roads

The second body of data making up the transportation dataset is historic roads. While much is known about the Roman road networks, information on the medieval network tends to be localised, in part, because it often has to be reconstructed from documentary evidence, such as charters, which can be difficult to map onto the modern landscape. This task has not yet been conducted in an accessible format for much of the project area, and so, in the absence of any modern cartographic synthesis, there are typically two options available to the regional researcher: to expand the medieval road network from known networks of Roman roads, or to use the more detailed historic maps of later periods as proxies for the medieval road system. The known Roman road network for the region was not fine-grained enough for the purposes of this project, including only a handful of the largest Roman highways. Instead, it was deemed best to use later historic maps with an awareness that these 18<sup>th</sup>-century transportation networks would not be an exact replica of their medieval predecessors.

For Scotland, the earliest large-scale maps of the road systems are William Roy's military survey of Scotland, which was conducted between 1747 and 1755 (Roy 1747-1755). Initially, Roy's survey was intended to cover only the Highlands but was later extended into the lowlands of southern Scotland. The outbreak of war in 1755 interrupted the survey, and as a result, the lowlands are mapped in less detail than Highland regions. Nevertheless, they represent the first detailed maps of the Scottish road network in the project area. The roads depicted on Roy's maps have been digitised by David Simpson (2020), who compared the roads depicted on Roy's maps with the modern road network. Where roads did not match, Simpson traced the most logical path between points or based his routes on depictions of roads in other historic maps. As a result, the roads traced by Simpson are not particularly accurate at a fine scale but provide 'a general outline of the road system in 1750' (Simpson 2020). Simpson shared this dataset in .xml format which was subsequently manually edited and reformatted during this project to be compatible with ArcGIS Pro software as vector line data.

Unfortunately, Roy's maps do not extend into Northumberland. The earliest map detailing Northumberland's road network in detail is Armstrong's (1769) map of Northumberland. An original digital dataset of the roads depicted on the Armstrong map was created for this project. To do this, a high-resolution digital image of the Armstrong map (Armstrong 1769) covering the project area was cut into 20 equal tiles

which were then georeferenced in ArcGIS Pro using settlements, significant topographic features, and archaeological sites as reference points on satellite imagery. Once complete, these georeferenced tiles were used to trace the 18<sup>th</sup>-century road network in Northumberland as vector line data. Armstrong's drawing conventions were recorded as attributes of the vector data, allowing the traced map to be divided by road type according to Armstrong's cartographic conventions. A simple three-tiered spatial accuracy confidence score was also recorded for the plotted lines based on the survival of the historic roads in the modern landscape.



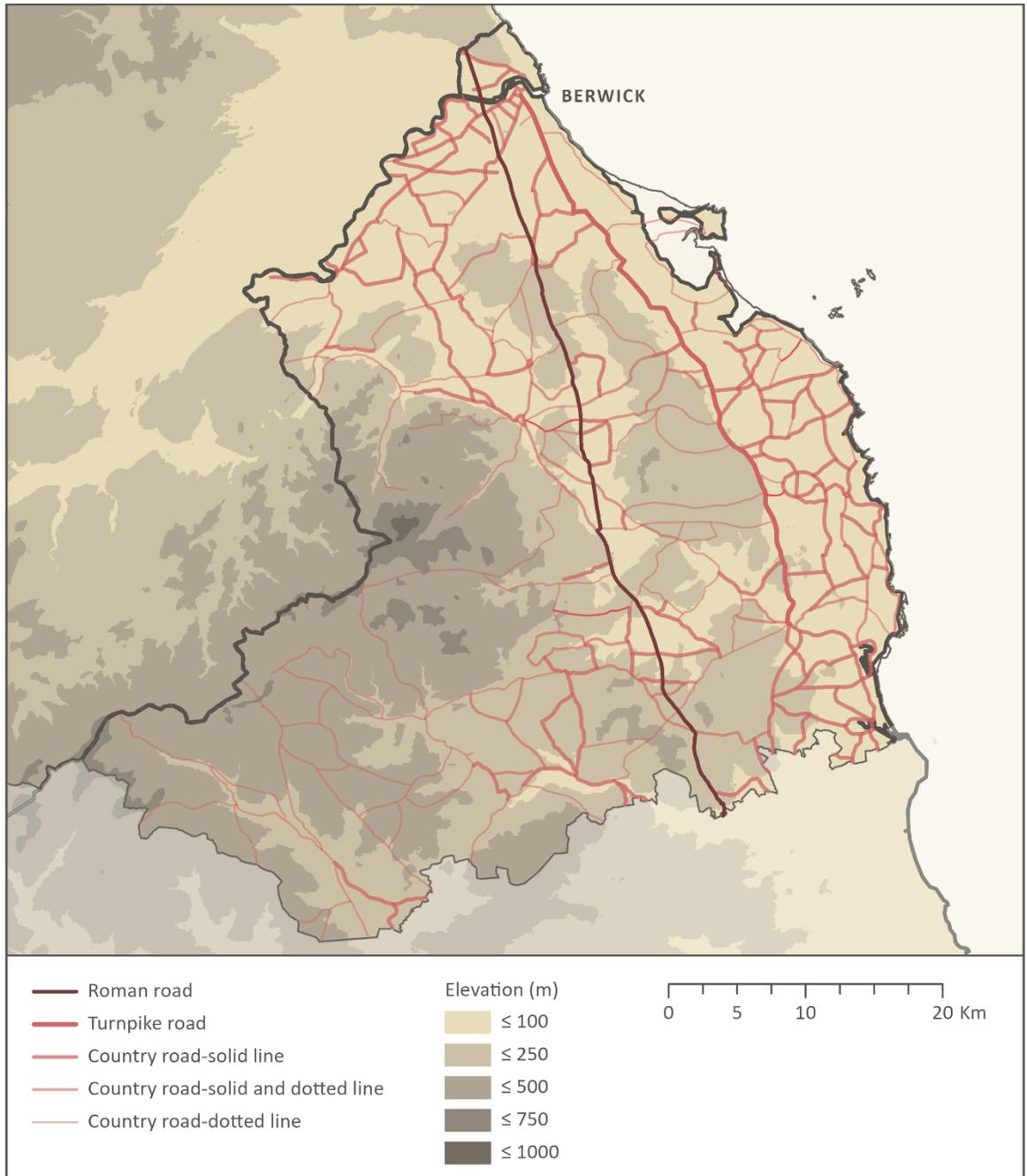
**Figure 3.20:** Anglo-Scottish roads (*Credits: Appendix A*)

In general, the two datasets portray their respective road networks slightly differently (Figure 3.20). Armstrong's road network in Northumberland appears relatively comprehensive, while Roy's map of lowland Scotland includes roads that are problematically unconnected to the wider Scottish transportation network. As a result, the two maps have slightly different scales of accuracy. Despite these differences, in the lowlands along the Tweed where both maps are fairly accurate, the two maps knit together relatively smoothly and generate a cross-border map approximating the 18<sup>th</sup>-century road network.

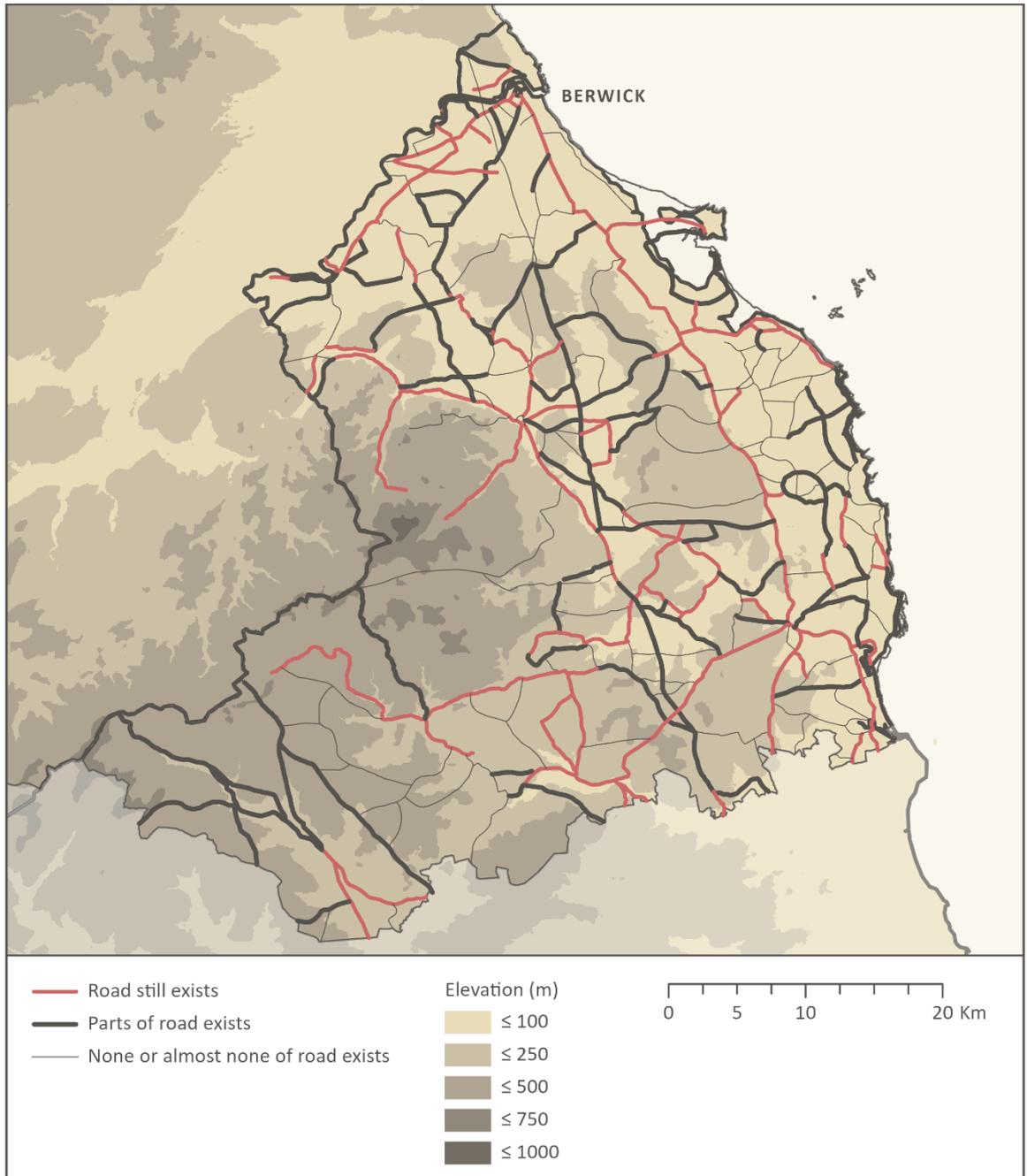
### **3.5.3 The Medieval Transport Network**

It is important to question just how well these maps reflect the medieval transport network in order to use them appropriately as proxy data in later analysis. Both Richard Oram (2016) and Geoffrey Barrow (1992) have used documentary evidence to explore the form and use of the medieval road system in northern England and Scotland. 18<sup>th</sup>-century descriptions of the poor quality of Scottish roads and the inaccessibility of many places encourage an interpretation of a medieval road system which was disjointed and poorly maintained. However, both Oram and Barrow argue that the reality of the medieval road network through the area is much more complex and nuanced. Medieval roads were much different in form than their Roman predecessors. Rather than substantial structures, they were defined by privileges of easement and rights of way through the landscape which were probably maintained and cleared by local communities as part of their obligations to the king (Oram 2016, 308–309). They were rarely paved, and in many cases, probably did not have precisely defined edges. As a result, the meandering paths of medieval roads, frequently preserved in the landscape as hollow ways, often contrast with the linear characteristic of their post-medieval counterparts. Barrow (1992, 204) argues that documentary evidence indicates that many of the larger medieval roads in Scotland were maintained well enough to accommodate wheeled traffic. He notes that documentation of Edward I's campaigns in Scotland include occasional references to repairing or rebuilding roads in order to accommodate armies and siege-engines. However, references to repairs are fairly rare, and where there is ability to calculate journey times, these are relatively short, indicating a network of well-maintained transportation routes, at least for the largest of the roads.

It is important to acknowledge that the project dataset is not a mirror image of the medieval road network. The quality of roads across England and Scotland are believed to have deteriorated prior to the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Hindle 2009), at which time there was a need to improve the utility of the roads for wheeled traffic. Military roads offering better access to the most troublesome parts of the Highlands were constructed in Scotland in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Both the Roy and Armstrong maps were drawn in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, a period in which the landscape was exposed to significant alteration under the Enlightenment idea of Improvement. Indeed, the development of accurate mapping was part of these Enlightenment ideals (Barber 2020; Withers 2002). Improving the landscape took many forms, including the enclosing of open medieval field systems with hedges and fences, particularly prevalent in the lowlands, and redirecting roads around the new linear property edges. In Northumberland, the first parliamentary enclosure act was passed in 1731 (for Elsdon), and the vast majority of the acts were passed after the Roy and Armstrong maps were published. However, it must also be noted that not all enclosure occurred through parliamentary approval, and groups of landowners frequently enclosed land through local agreements as well (O'Donnell 2014). Meanwhile, the ideals of Improvement also resulted in the development of Turnpike Trusts, which were local groups who were granted privileges by parliament to maintain and improve short stretches of roads, formed from the 17<sup>th</sup> century. A few turnpikes are depicted on Armstrong's map, but these are mainly restricted to the coastal highway to Berwick, Berwick's immediate hinterland, and some of the larger towns in the project area. The vast majority of turnpikes were put in after the Armstrong map was published. Nevertheless, at a small scale, the creation of turnpikes could change the landscape—multiple nearby routeways could transform into a single road, removing some of the meanders of the medieval roads (Hindle 2009). However, at the county scale of the Armstrong maps, the impact of these changes is relatively negligible. The major medieval routes through the project area are largely preserved in these 18<sup>th</sup>-century roads, although the relative importance of some of these routes had changed through time. Malcholmisrode (Malcolm's Road), which ran north from Roxburgh through Soutra and up to Edinburgh where it connects to the road network north of the Forth (Oram 2016, 317–318), is preserved in Roy's maps, while the modern road (the A68) has since shifted eastward toward the river. Other major arteries preserved in the road network include Dere Street, the coastal road to Berwick,



**Figure 3.21:** The size of roads depicted on Armstrong's (1769) map (*Credits: Appendix A*)



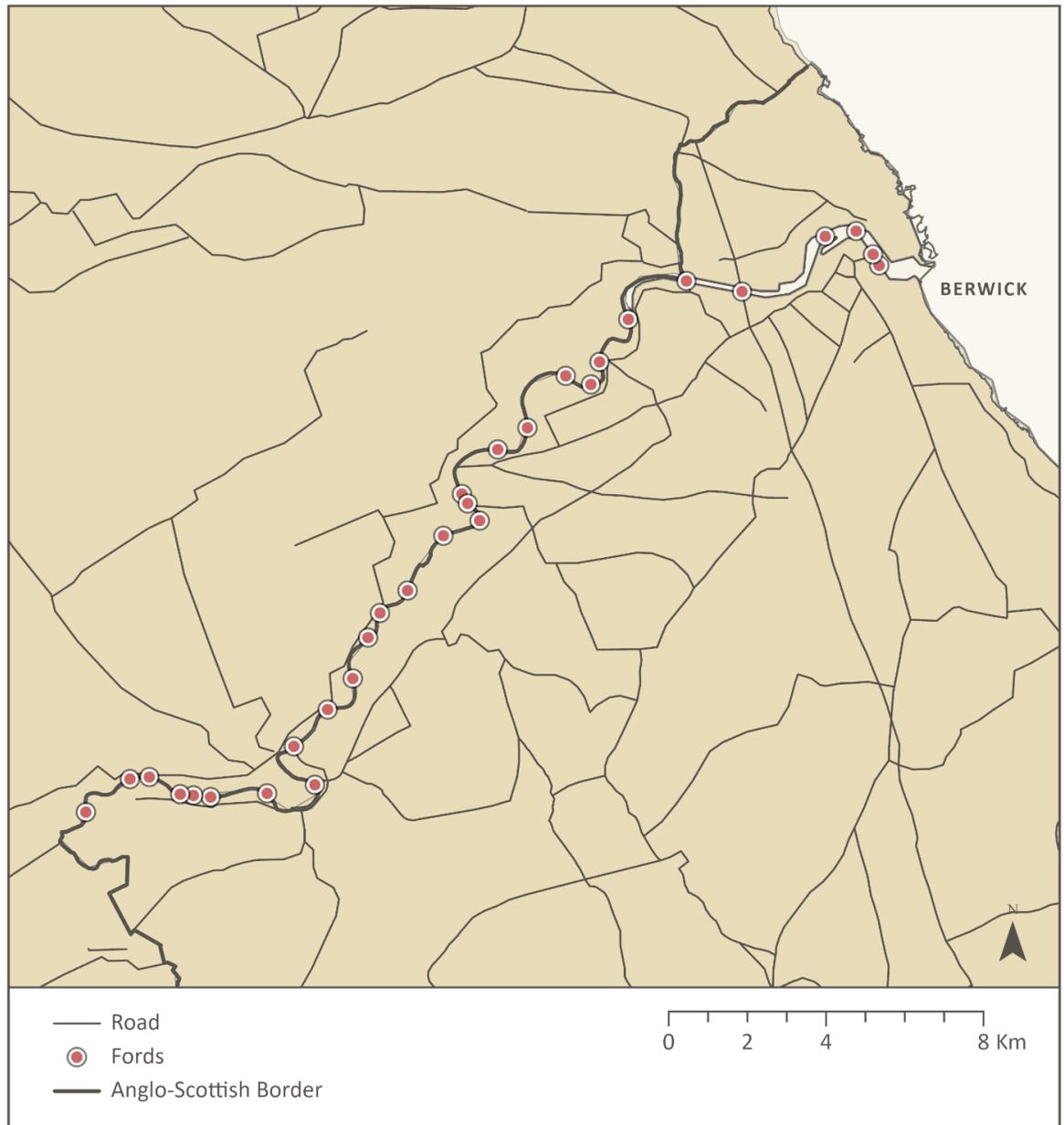
**Figure 3.22:** The preservation of Armstrong’s (1769) roads in the modern landscape as represented by the ‘accuracy’ score given to roads during mapping. (Credits: Appendix A)

much of the road running north-south along the Till to Twizel, as well as the network of routes running from Berwick which resemble those mapped by Catherine Kent (2016, 16 Fig. 1.2) from 16<sup>th</sup>-century documents.

Most of the missing medieval roads were probably smaller trackways and roads of less importance. A comparison of change in the road network from the 18<sup>th</sup> century to the present indicates that roads in the more heavily trafficked lowlands tend to be the most stable in time, being both the most substantial of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century roads (Figure 3.21) and the most likely to remain extant in the modern landscape (Figure 3.22). A 16<sup>th</sup>-century document describes over 40 routes through the Cheviots in 1597 (Frodsham 2004, 101), whereas the road dataset includes only a handful. It should be noted however, that the rugged topography of the Cheviots would have restricted the number of possible routes of travel, even without developed roads. Nevertheless, a comparison of the mapped roads crossing the Tweed to a list of fords from 1541 shows that many of these river crossings are not served by the depicted transportation network, indicating that the lowlands have also experienced a degree of change between the medieval period and the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Figure 3.23). In a few cases, even some of the major roads have been lost. While the road along the Teviot is preserved, its Roman antecedent a few kilometres to the north, which was a major road from Annandale into Tweeddale in the medieval period (Murphy et al. 2018; Oram 2016), has disappeared. Nevertheless, until detailed research on the medieval road network of the region is undertaken, the 18<sup>th</sup>-century transportation network provides the best approximation of medieval communication routes, particularly when it is contextualised alongside other historic landscape data which can supplement its deficiencies.

### **3.6 Dataset 5: Religious Buildings and Boundaries**

A study of bordering processes along the Anglo-Scottish border is incomplete without a discussion of the impact of the church in the region. Both monastic and parochial institutions were deeply involved in the politics of the borderland, and throughout the medieval period, the Scottish government fought to maintain the independence of the Scottish church from the Diocese of York (Brooke 2000, 4). Churches and monasteries were used as places where important treaties could be negotiated and agreed. The church was also a major landholder in the region, with vast



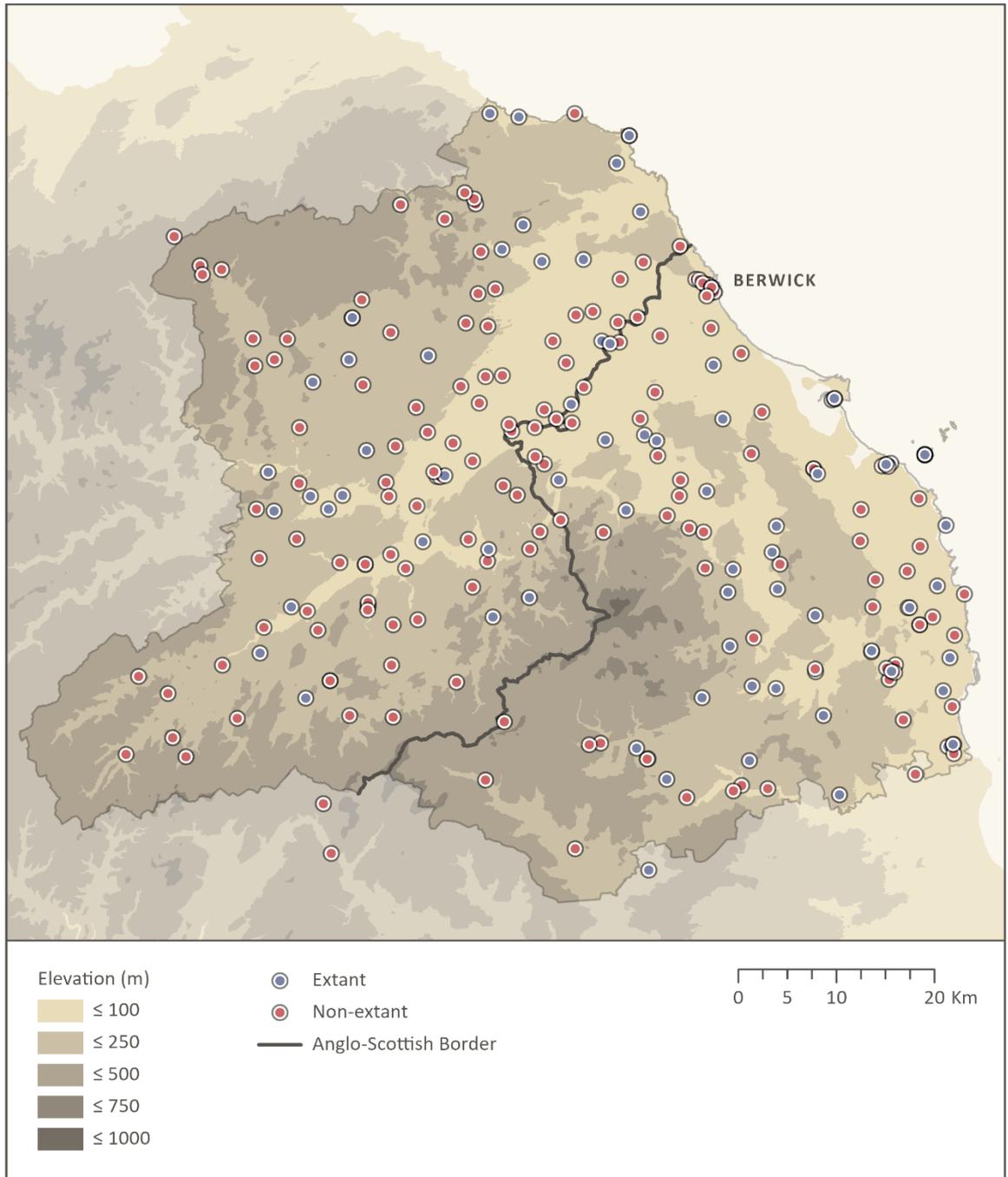
**Figure 3.23:** Fords from Bowes of Ellerker’s survey (1541) in comparison to the 18<sup>th</sup>-century road network (*Credits: Appendix A*)

estates held by monastic institutions like Melrose Abbey and Kelso Abbey. Likewise, the Prince-Bishop of Durham controlled a large portion of the north-east of Northumberland through its management of Norhamshire and Islandshire as exclaves of the Palatinate of Durham. The wide extent of the church’s power also had a significant impact on the landscape of the borderland through the construction of churches and monasteries and their management of their land holdings. Two datasets relating to the religious landscape were incorporated into the spatial database: a dataset of religious buildings, and a dataset of parish boundaries.

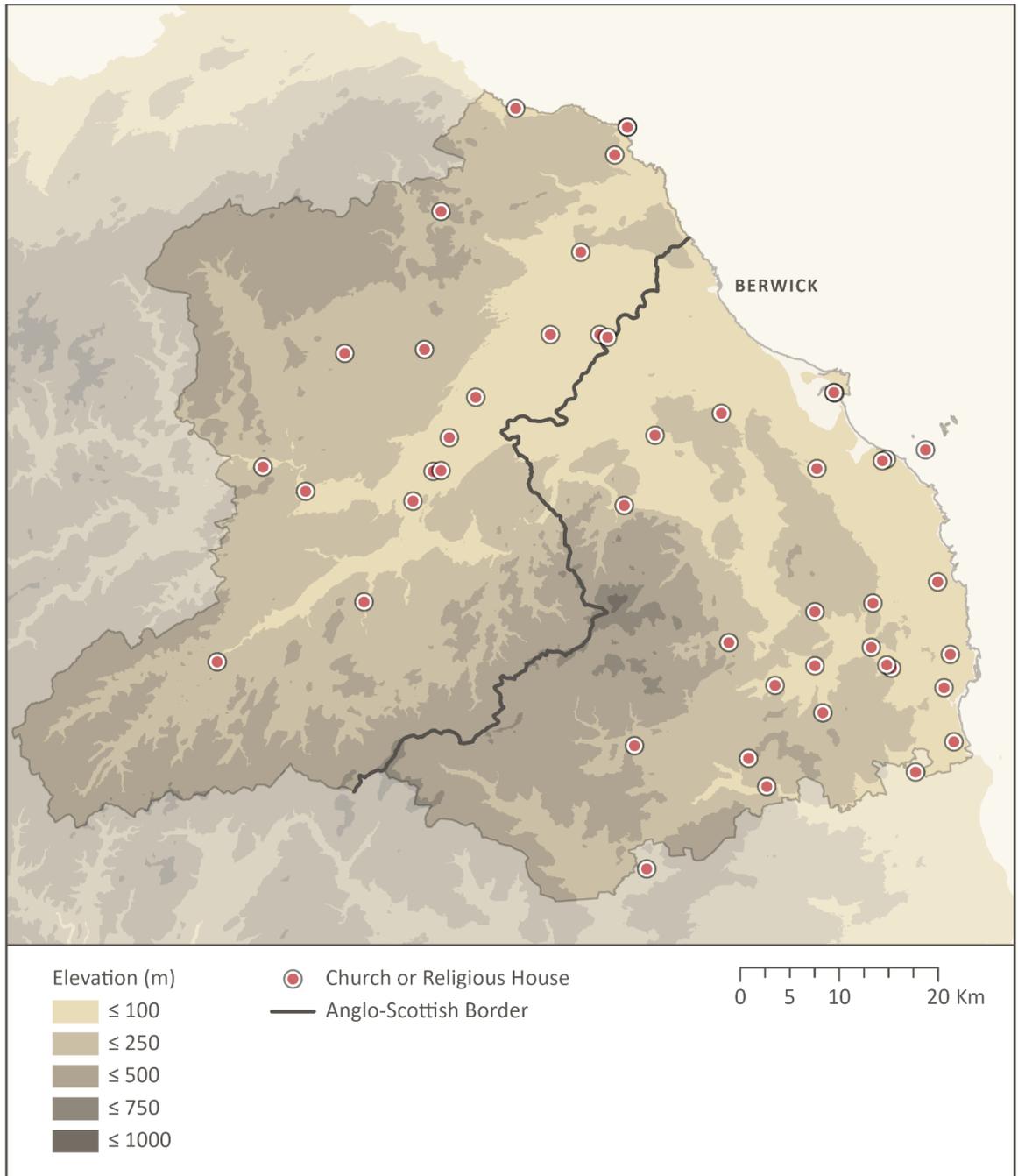
### 3.6.1 Religious Buildings

A dataset of religious buildings, which includes churches, chapels, and monastic institutions, was compiled using the HERs and an additional three sources. All three of these additional sources are gazetteers of churches compiled from their authors' original research utilising a combination of medieval and post-medieval documentary sources and personal site visits. The most important of these was Christopher Brooke's *Safe Sanctuaries: Security and Defence in Anglo-Scottish Border Churches 1290-1690* (2000), which is a thorough study of religious structures on both sides of the Anglo-Scottish border. Although the title of the book implies a concentration on churches with defensive features, and indeed, much of the text is dedicated to descriptions of defensive elements, the poor survival of medieval churches in the region made it difficult for Brooke to assess the defensibility of many churches. In response to this problem, Brooke did not limit his work to sites with proven defensive features, but includes all churches and chapels documented in the region in one of the most thorough lists in the borderland to date. In addition, Brooke also notes the presence of vicar's pele towers, providing important information not only for the religious structures but also for fortifications, as some of these towers are included in medieval and early modern fortification surveys. Brooke's list was supplemented with information recorded in Mike Salter's *The Old Parish Churches of Northumberland* (2002), which catalogues upstanding churches and their physical features dating to before 1770, and the list of parish churches in existence in Scotland in c. 1300 compiled in Peter McNeill and Hector MacQueen's *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707* (1996, 347–360). It is important to note that none of these sources claim to be a complete catalogue of medieval churches and chapels in Northumberland and the Scottish Borders, and indeed, analysis later in this thesis suggests the presence of unrecorded chapels (6.3). Using these sources, the dataset includes the location of the structure, the type of structure, the earliest evidence of existence, whether it contained defensive features, and any relevant comments regarding its preservation, location, or administrative ties.

In total, 243 churches are included in the dataset (Figure 3.24). While the survival of medieval fabric in churches is poor across the project area, a much smaller proportion retain their medieval fabric in Scotland (25.6%) than in north Northumberland (36.9%), a reflection of the destructive impact of the Scottish



**Figure 3.24:** Distribution of churches in the project area depicting the survival of medieval fabric (after information in Brooke 2000) (Credits: Appendix A)



**Figure 3.25:** Distribution of defended churches (*Credits: Appendix A*)

Reformation on the preservation of medieval churches in Scotland more widely (Fawcett et al. 2010).

At least 47 churches in the project area either have architectural evidence for defensive enhancements or documentary evidence they were used defensively by local communities and/or armies (Figure 3.25). Medieval fortified churches are found across England and Scotland, but Brooke (2000) has recorded a particularly dense distribution of nearly 100 churches in the English and Scottish Marches. This is probably a much smaller number of defended churches than actually existed in the past due to the generally poor preservation of medieval church fabric. The defensive features of these churches vary. On rare occasions, religious houses received licenses to crenellate—the leper hospital at Bolton, for instance, received a license in 1336 (Brooke 2000, 106). More commonly, a tower was built which incorporated defensive features such as small windows, thick walls, restricted access to upper floors (often requiring the use of ladders), and sometimes even arrow holes, gunports, or door reinforcements. In Yorkshire, the church of St Gregory in Bedale even had a portcullis (Davis 2016).

### **3.6.2 Parishes**

In addition to religious buildings, religious boundaries, particularly parish boundaries, were also an important administrative unit in the region and were highly influential in the organisation of the landscape. The parochial structures of northern England and southern Scotland share a common origin within the early medieval Northumbrian state and were formalised by at least the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Scotland 2019; Oram 2017; Lomas 1992, 105). However, there is evidence that parochial systems were diverging even before the Wars of Independence. The complex web between parochial, secular, and monastic power became more entangled during the 13<sup>th</sup> century as parish churches in the region became increasingly appropriated by important institutions, primarily monasteries, who sought easy profits from church tithes. Monasteries like Kelso Abbey and Melrose Abbey actively sought out and acquired privileges over churches across the region to supplement their incomes, especially during times of warfare or economic depression (Fawcett and Oram 2004, 255). Oram (2017, 215) notes that appropriation patterns differ between England and Scotland, with appropriation becoming more common in Scotland than in England by the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Furthermore, monastic cross-border patronage of churches was never

common after the formalisation of the parochial system. This is in juxtaposition to the vast amounts of cross-border landholding found amongst the secular elite prior to the Wars of Independence (1.1). Oram (2017, 216) argues that even during the reign of David I, where the Scottish crown attempted to extend its authority far into Northumberland and Cumbria, the king tended to gift the patronage of churches in the English territory he held to English, rather than Scottish, monasteries. This indicates that the border was being performed and enforced, whether intentionally or unintentionally, through monastic and parochial structures well before the Wars of Independence.



**Figure 3.26:** Parishes c. 1300 (after Lomas 1992, 104) (Credits: Appendix A)

In Northumberland, parishes of the region tend to be relatively large, covering as much as 130,000 acres of land and ten different townships (Lomas 1992, 104) (Figure 3.26). The large size of the parishes was due in part to competition over the profits of church tithes. Church authorities in the region generally fought to prevent subdivision of the large parishes into independent parishes in order to maintain profits (Oram 2017, 207). As a result, the township is often the more useful administrative boundary for analysis at local scales in Northumberland. Boundaries for Northumberland are based on Satchell et al.'s (2018) mapping of the 1851 census of England and Wales, which were then adjusted to reflect the mappings of parish boundaries c. 1300 reconstructed by Lomas (1996a, 109). There has not yet been a systematic mapping of medieval parish boundaries in Scotland. Therefore, this project uses digitised parish boundaries from the 19<sup>th</sup> and early-20<sup>th</sup> century Ordnance Surveys (NRS n.d) which are then compared with the parish histories published in Ian Cowan's (1967) seminal work on the medieval parishes of Scotland to account for medieval and early modern changes to the boundaries.

### **3.7 Part I Outcomes**

The development of the spatial database represents the largest collation of cross-border datasets that has been conducted for the medieval Anglo-Scottish borderland to date. For the first time, disparate thematic strands of research can be easily compared and connected, leading to a more holistic view of the landscapes of the region. The purpose of the analysis within this chapter was not to map out every intricacy of 'characterful' cross-border datasets, a goal which is likely unattainable. Instead, it was pursued to begin unpicking general biases, affordances, and layers of bordering which affect the datasets. Large-scale transnational projects based on pre-existing datasets and secondary sources have been criticised in the past for inadvertently replicating constructed historiographical narratives (Kocka and Haupt 2009, 14). Furthermore, they can mask the evidence for individual and group agency, the loss of which can promote colonial or nationalist interpretations and agendas over more inclusive and diverse readings (Gilchrist 2005, 333). Therefore, it is important to simultaneously acknowledge the impacts and complex temporalities of the Anglo-Scottish border while also avoiding attributing every difference in the data to the presence of the political boundary. The analysis in this chapter illustrates how the

additional GIS interfaces helps to prevent replicating problematic nationalist narratives by enabling patterns to be quickly and efficiently tested at multiple scales which foster more robust and methodologically self-aware interpretations of Anglo-Scottish landscapes than has been realised previously.

Nevertheless, despite the inherent challenges of cross-border datasets, this chapter has successfully identified numerous characteristics of the medieval landscape. It described distributional patterns in all five of the datasets and explored influences, both historical and modern over these patterns. It has also posed new questions about the medieval data which will help us understand the relationships between space, landscape, and bordering processes in subsequent chapters.

## Part II: The Case Studies

As outlined in Chapter 2, the goal of Part II of this project is to use the landscape data compiled in the spatial database to interpret medieval experiences and understandings of the borderland through the analysis of two case studies, the legal-scape and the defence-scape, through a thematic structure broken down into five themes: the physical landscape, perspective, scale, movement, and time/temporality. It was argued in Chapter 2 that frontiers and borderlands are made up of many different types of boundaries, the spatial aspects of which may not directly mirror the political one. As a result, this framework represents a beneficial departure from typical archaeological studies of borderlands, because rather than concentrating on particular types of material culture or ‘badges of identification’, the isolation of specific socio-political ‘filters’ through the case studies creates new opportunities to explore and experiment with the geographies of these various borders. This, in turn, enables the archaeology to contribute more comprehensively to an assessment of bordering processes. However, thus far, datasets included as part of the spatial database have been analysed independently from each other. As illustrated in Chapter 3, each of these datasets is shaped by the previous scholarship of particular academic sub-disciplines. Therefore, in order to begin to piece together the thematic medieval border-scape in Part II, we need to begin to breach the conventional divisions that have developed between these datasets in order to explore their many connections.

To do this, Part II implements a methodology based on ideas of performative mapping/mapping-as-process and ‘unfolding’ cartographies (Hacıgüzeller 2017; Lilley and Dean 2015, 288–290) to combine datasets and model the situated landscape through each of the project themes. This type of GIS analysis has been growing in popularity over the past decade (e.g. Franklin 2020; Warner-Smith 2020b; Norton 2020; Murrieta-Flores and Williams 2017; Gillings 2017; McManama-Kearin 2013), and has developed from the field of critical cartography where maps are the products of ‘socially situated’ (Warner Smith 2020a, 768) processes of mapping and have complex, and often political, biographies rather than being simple representations of geographic reality (Hacıguzeller 2019; Gillings et al. 2019). Archaeological examples of unfolding cartographies often harness the power of GIS software to breach the division between

the map maker and map user through spatial databases so that mapping is a reflexive and recursive exercise through which hypotheses about the historic landscape are generated, tested, and either validated or rejected—a process which produces new hypotheses than can subsequently be tested and interpreted (Lilley and Dean 2015; Lilley 2011). This cyclical and creative process gradually develops richer interpretations of the historic landscape as unexpected patterns emerge, or unfold, through playful experimentation with shifting scales of analysis, a process already seen in the analysis of HER data in Chapter 3 (3.2) (Warner-Smith 2020a; Haciguzeller 2019, 268–269; Lilley and Dean 2015, 288–290; Lilley 2011, 24–25). This method is useful, because it helps to avoid uncritically replicating pre-conceived historical narratives, a problem noted in the previous chapter, and encourages experimentation with the ‘assemblages’ being analysed (see 3.3.2). Furthermore, in an Anglo-Scottish context, as was noted in Chapters 2 and 3, we must cognisant that we are interpreting the historicity of modern concepts, such as territoriality, in a medieval world using datasets which are recording medieval concepts that in some cases were fluid and changeable, such as the concept of a ‘border meeting’ discussed in the previous chapter (3.4.1). An unfolding cartography of creative experimentation and contextualisation offers the opportunity to reveal and interpret these contingencies of the medieval inhabited landscape through multiple mappings which trace a variety of relationships existing within the same places and may even reveal the ‘alternative’ geographies of people not in traditional positions of power (e.g. Norton 2020).

The structure of Part II has been developed to allow the results of the cyclical processes of unfolding cartographies to be explained through the linear narrative structure of the thesis. As argued in Chapter 2, each case study represents a different type of borderland geography in order to assess processes of bordering in a variety of different contexts. The defence-scape (Chapters 4 and 5) represents a zonal borderland, while the legal-scape (Chapter 6 and 7) represents linear or spot-like borders. Each case study is divided into two chapters. The first chapter characterises the physical landscape of each case study utilising a combination of evidence from documentary research, a range of traditional desk-based and field-based methods used in landscape archaeology, and spatial analyses in GIS. It also explores the pertinent relationships that exist *between* the different datasets in the spatial database. In the second chapter, the physical landscape evidence is contextualised and interpreted through each of the

four remaining themes. Due to the reflexive and recursive approach adopted by this thesis to allow medieval patterns to emerge, different analytical methodologies are used in each case study. Nevertheless, this somewhat fluid method successfully identifies a multiplicity of ways the borderland was negotiated and perceived by different actors in the region, the implications of which are explored in more detail in Chapter 8.

# Chapter 4: Physical Defence-scape

## 4.1 Introduction

The infrastructure of defence and enforcement frequently comprises the most monumental elements of borders, taking forms such as walls, dikes, and military outposts. In the Anglo-Scottish borderland, fortifications remain some of the most iconic symbols of the region, aided in large part by the romantic writings of Sir Walter Scott. In the medieval period, castles were sometimes used to hold conquered territory, and English-held castles in Scotland were pivotal elements of the English crown's strategy during the Wars of Independence (Cornell 2006). However, the medieval use of these buildings was multi-faceted. As was the case with castles beyond the borderlands, Anglo-Scottish fortifications were administrative centres and symbols of power and status as well as military structures. The custom of building fortified houses remained prevalent in the Marches long after it had fallen out of favour elsewhere in Britain (Liddiard 2016; Cornell 2008), and the Wars of Independence marked a period of great cultural and institutional change for the region which was 'undeniably formative of a tradition, an identity, and a landscape of border defences' in which the roles of castles and towers were not solely practical (King and Penman 2007, 1). More widely, the transition between the medieval and the early modern periods witnessed a great shift across much of western Europe in the way fortifications were managed. There is widespread evidence of a greater degree of centralisation in their management (e.g. Kirk 2017) that reflect the changing conceptions of government and territoriality developing across Europe at this time. Nevertheless, for much of the period targeted by this thesis, the defence-scape has been interpreted as a zonal frontier, sometimes described as 'defence-in-depth' (Ellis 2015; Goodman 1998). This concept was introduced in Chapter 2 (2.6.1), and one of the primary purposes of the next two chapters is to explore both the accuracy of this description as well as the mechanics of how a zonal border manifests in the physical and conceptual medieval landscape of the Anglo-Scottish borderland.

On the Anglo-Scottish Marches the difference between the defences that were planned and even written into law what was actually implemented or enforced was

often vast. Evidence for the region's infrastructure of defence is largely through its failures. Royal legislation and financial records document the frequent failure of castle fortification, the devastation of raids and campaign warfare, and recurrent underinvestment in defence infrastructure by both crowns (King 2007, 378; Coulson 2003, 254–255). Nevertheless, there are indications throughout the medieval period that local communities in the Marches organised ad-hoc systems of local defence which are evidenced in the documentary record through references to refuges and beacons (Armstrong 2008). Historians such as Jackson Armstrong, George Neilson, David Cornell, and Charles Coulson have explored elements of these local defence networks, particularly from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onward. However, the mechanics of the relationship between these systems of defence and the physical landscape have not been systematically interrogated. Archaeologists and historians still debate the defensive role of towers and castles, and a concentration on architectural studies in previous scholarship means that the spatial relationships between fortifications and other features of the medieval defence-scape need greater elucidation, particularly for periods prior to the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Landscape evidence, then, can help us understand the role of fortifications in bordering processes and trace medieval perceptions of the border as an institution.

The following two chapters do not seek to entirely reconstruct the regional systems of defence on both sides of the border, but they do attempt to identify some of the mechanics of these systems. This chapter begins with a systematic overview of the relationships between fortifications and other elements of the medieval landscape, including rivers, roads, churches, and the physical topography. After this, the chapter models the potential relationships between fortifications in regional defence systems and analyses how these may have developed through time. Together, these two analyses reveal important characteristics of the physical defence-scape which can be used as evidence through which the four remaining themes targeted by this thesis—movement, perspective, temporality, and scale—can be examined in Chapter 5 to reconstruct some of the relationships between violence, landscape, and political geography in this zonal medieval borderland.

## 4.2 Anglo-Scottish Defence Systems

The military history between England and Scotland has received a significant amount of attention from historians, and as part of this tradition, aspects of the way the frontier was defended on both sides of the borderland have been gradually pieced together (e.g. Caldwell 2010; Armstrong 2008; Cornell 2006). However, while elements of these systems have been partially reconstructed, they are not usually contextualised within the physical landscape and there remains much we do not know about how these systems worked on the ground. This section reviews what is currently known about the regional defence systems to identify important elements of these systems to consider and incorporate into the analyses of the following two chapters.

Traditionally, it is believed that the use of castles as a military technology was in decline by the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Cornell 2008, 233). Defensively, a castle alone was of limited use except in the case of a siege, as it was possible for armies to bypass castles on campaigns (Goodman 1998). But, castles and towers were just one element of a layered defence-scape which reflected the varied roles these structures played. In his analysis of the Scottish use of castles, Cornell (2008, 233) argues these buildings need to be reimagined not as a military technology in decline, but as structures which were used sophisticatedly and creatively for political gain. Castles were sites which could be avoided by armies, but their roles as economic, administrative, and defensive nodes meant that they were closely linked to their wider landscape through a variety of complex and evolving connections which could be used for defensive purposes in a variety of ways. Previous research on Anglo-Scottish fortifications in archaeology has tended to focus directly on the physical structure or on the immediate hinterland of these buildings. However, as was argued in Chapter 3 (3.3.2), it is important to take a fluid view of defence networks and consider assemblages of defences through the potential connections of fortifications to a variety of medieval landscape features to think more holistically about how these sites worked, or failed to work, as a wider system of zonal border defence within the physical landscape.

There were numerous components to Anglo-Scottish systems of defence. First and foremost was the garrison, which was a key element of castle defences, particularly in Northumberland. The garrison was made up of unpaid, paid, and in some cases, semi-professional groups of armed men, both mounted and unmounted, who could be

deployed from a castle for a variety of purposes.<sup>10</sup> While often cited as defensive units, they were also aggressive offensive forces which conducted formal forays against small-scale enemy units, harried the enemy through the collection of plunder and booty, and gathered intelligence through the garrison's scouts. In his study of 14<sup>th</sup>-century English royal garrisons in the borderland, Cornell (2006) noted that it was often the garrison rather than the castle which was the target of Scottish attacks, as it was one of the more dangerous and critical elements of a castle's defence. The mobility of these garrisons increased in time as mounted units made up larger proportions of the garrisons through the medieval period, and military service remained a much more prominent feature of life in Northumberland than it did elsewhere, particularly after the Wars of Independence. This was, in part, because military service held a particular appeal as a way of building one's reputation in the borderland society of the 14<sup>th</sup> century—although it should also be noted that garrisons were not composed entirely of men local to the area (Cornell 2006; Goodman 1998, 171).

Defensive units were organised somewhat differently in Scotland. While garrisons still played a role, they were of lesser importance than the common army which was raised from local men between the age of 16 and 60 as part of their tenurial obligations. The common army was unpaid, but it was trained by royal sheriffs and gathered at least once a year at 'wappenschaws' (weapon-showings) and included large numbers of mounted men (Caldwell 2010; Armstrong 2008, 130–133). Although it was of less significance, a similar practice was used in Northumberland where tenants often held their land with through a form of tenure known as 'tenant right' which required them to maintain 'weapon, horse, and harness' for local military service (Ellis 2009, 82; Cornell 2006).

In order to successfully fulfil its duties, a garrison or other military unit defending a fortification required an infrastructure of support which distributed payment, supplies, and assistance in times of need (Cornell 2006). There does not appear to have been a formal network in place to facilitate the delivery of messages. Instead, the network largely relied on the social and political connections of the lords involved, and as a result, it often failed to provide warning of imminent attack. However, Cornell (2006) argues a letter of Edward II in 1322 chastising the garrisons for

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<sup>10</sup> Military service (40 days a year) was a common tenurial obligation. However, in England, payment for military service became more common by the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (King 2002, 29; Prestwich 1996, 74).

not communicating effectively indicates that the garrisons were expected to work together. There is scattered documentary evidence for garrison collaboration, but the relationships between garrisons, particularly those not of royal castles, has yet to be thoroughly investigated.

The importance of the connections between fortifications for regional defence continued into the 16<sup>th</sup> century. For instance, Bowes and Ellerker (1541, 235–237) suggest either Chipchase Castle or Simonburn Tower as the base for the Keeper of Tynedale in 1541, not only because of the fortifications' defensible locations, but also because they were located close enough to each other 'that the one of them may both heare & see when a fraye or busyness ys about the other and by such a bridge as ys before devysed the one of them might ev' relyfe tother as nede should requyre'. In England, where the garrison system was more formally organised, the defence of a region was integrated into a network of manned major fortresses such as Bamburgh, Alnwick, and Dunstanburgh, supplemented by smaller garrisons which could be stationed on a temporary basis at more peripheral 'castles of ward', or later 'strong houses', which took a variety of forms (Liddiard 2016, 13–14; Kent 2016; King 2002, 17). Although less formalised, Armstrong (2008, 143) also notes the presence of networks of military units stationed strategically at both large castles and smaller towers, or fortalices, in Scotland. In reality, though, garrisons often struggled to hold castles against large forces or sustained pressure, as illustrated by the slow erosion of English territory in southern Scotland in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Although small-scale raiding was not often recorded in documentary records, it was this form of attack that was more likely to impact local communities on a regular basis (Armstrong 2020, 242–244). The scattered documentary references that do exist indicate that garrisons were likely more successful in defending their fortifications against this type of attack than is often implied in historic literature (Cornell 2006, 240; Caldwell 2010, 62). Nevertheless, in some cases, local defence was managed without a garrison. Sometimes people fled into the hills and countryside, leaving what they could not carry behind to be plundered or burned.<sup>11</sup> This practice appears to have been particularly common in the uplands, where the dispersed nature of settlement prohibited defensive organisation and where houses seem to have sometimes taken a

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<sup>11</sup> There are detailed references to these practices in the Whiteadder Valley of Scotland during the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century (Raine 1852, xxi)

different, possibly less substantial, form than those in the nucleated settlements of the lowlands (Ellis 2015, 105).<sup>12</sup> In other cases, blackmail could be paid to prevent attack entirely. Between 1315 and 1322, the Scots are estimated to have been paid over £20,000 in blackmail by northern English communities (Brown 2004a, 211).

However, considering small-scale raids introduces another important aspect of borderland defence systems: refuge. In England, refuge within fortifications was a major component of local defence. When Scottish invasions were expected, substantial portions of the borderland population were occasionally encouraged to seek refuge at larger castles and religious houses, such as Dunstanburgh, Bamburgh and Tynemouth Priory, which could accommodate great numbers of people within their walls (Coulson 2003, 257-258). Occasionally, the crown would even order evacuation to refuges in neighbouring counties beyond the borderland. For instance, in May 1323 a royal mandate was issued that ordered that

‘as the Scots may invade the realm...all persons in his bailiwick [of the Sheriff of Cumberland] are...to take their animals towards the parts of Yorkshire where they will be safe from the incursions of the enemy; and their victuals, stock, and all other goods to castles and walled towns for safety, so that the enemy if they invade the county may not have any sustenances. The king has also commanded John de Crombewell, keeper of the forest on this side [north] of Trent, and the sheriff of York to permit such persons to come to the forest and pasture the same with their beasts free of charge; the sheriffs to prevent injury being done to such persons; and all constables of castles and keepers of walled town on this side Trent are commanded to permit them to bring in their victuals, stock, and goods and to remain therein’ (CPR 1321-1324, 288-289).

However, it is unclear how much of a role towers and castles played in communal defence beyond the most intense periods of campaign warfare. A classic example of their use as refuges dates to 1436, when Papal legate Piccolomini recorded that all the men in the village in which he stayed took shelter in a nearby tower in preparation for a raid that was expected to happen that night (Dixon 1977, 66–67; Bates 1891, 61–64). In contrast, there are also indications that some fortifications were not used as refuges, or that duties to provide refuge were not always willingly

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<sup>12</sup> It is recorded that houses in the uplands could be rebuilt in three or four hours (Boord 1555, 136). This seems somewhat unlikely, but allowing for exaggeration, the statement does imply that those living in the uplands lived in housing which was viewed by the administrators of the lowlands as somewhat ephemeral.

accepted—some constables charged refugees for the use of their castles. In 1318, the constable of Bamburgh was censured for charging ‘for the pitches (placeis) within the castle wherein they constructed lodgings (logeas) when they fled there recently on account of the burning of their houses and buildings by the Scotch rebels and on account of their frequent attacks’ (Coulson 2003, 257). By the 16<sup>th</sup> century, fortifications’ role as refuges becomes more certain with the increasing prevalence of legislation which attempted to ensure access to these places for the defence of the community. By this time, there appears to have been a multi-tiered and informal system of refuge which relied on a combination of small towers, larger castles, and barmkins (a fortified enclosure around a tower). However, even at this late date, there appears to be variability in the defensive functions of fortifications—some may have been used to protect goods and documents rather than people. For instance, when General D’Esse took Cornhill tower in 1549, he found it stocked with provisions including a large amount of salted salmon (Raine 1852, 321)

The role of refuge in Scotland remains more of a mystery, particularly for earlier periods when there is little evidence that the lowlands were encastellated to the same extent as Northumberland (Figure 3.7). As was noted in Chapter 3 (3.3.1), castles had a less prominent role in Scottish campaign warfare and were often slighted during the Wars of Independence in order to prevent their use by invading English armies (Caldwell 2010, 78; Cornell 2008).

Beyond the fortifications and their garrisons, the defence systems on both sides of the border also relied on a variety of types of warning systems which extended the defensive range of the fortifications. Beacons supplemented with manned watches were used upon occasion to signal invasion, either by armies or raiders, and also to muster men for the immediate defence of settlements (Bowes and Ellerker 1541, 239-241; Hodgson 1840, 118; Nicolson 1705, 237; Caldwell 2010, 76). Beacons are reported in the borderlands as early as the 13<sup>th</sup> century, although the earliest references are primarily in the West Marches (Neilson 1971, 69-70). However, beacons have a long history of use in England and Scotland. There were beacon networks in Britain in both the Roman and early medieval periods (Murphy et al. 2018; Baker and Brookes 2015b), and medieval beacon locations in the borderland were re-used during the Napoleonic Wars (Brooke 2000, 31). By the mid- to late-15<sup>th</sup> century, these systems were becoming more formalised in legislation, and in 1455 the Scottish crown issued a statute that

ordered the organisation of a working beacon system in the Tweed basin which would use a visual code that communicated the size of approaching English forces (APS.ii, 44-45; Cardew 1974, 202; Neilson 1971, 73). In other cases, ad-hoc beacon systems were set up for particular campaigns (Neilson 1971, 73). These systems were occasionally quite effective, and there are multiple accounts of raids which were abandoned due to the lighting of beacons in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Maxwell-Irving 2014, 324; Neilson 1971, 74–75). By the late 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, lists of beacons in both Scotland and England are preserved (APS.ii, 44; Bowes 1550, 220; HMC 37-38; SAS, 879) and it has been argued that the Scottish system could muster up to 10,000 men for the defence of the realm (Lesley 1675, 7; Neilson 1971, 71).

Elements of these defence systems manifest in the archaeological record in a variety of ways. Towers were sometimes built with stair turrets, corner towers, and seats for watchmen for the purpose of surveilling the surrounding landscape. Vaults, which could take the form of a vaulted basement within a tower or as an entirely separate structure, were used to protect goods, horses, and depending on the size, people (Kent 2016, 67). Towers also occasionally housed beacons which are evidenced today as either cressets or fire pans. Parapets on older towers and church towers were also used as lookout points, for beacons, or as defensive platforms (Maxwell-Irving 2014, 312; Caldwell 2010, 69; Neilson 1971, 72).

On both sides of the border, local systems of defence were primarily the responsibility of the landed nobility and gentry, particularly the wardens as their powers expanded over the course of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries (Armstrong 2008; Dixon 1977). On the English side, royal investment in the region, particularly in the eastern borderland, was limited to periods of large-scale campaign warfare and restricted to the large royal castles in the region, such as Berwick, and those in English-held Scottish territory, like Roxburgh (Cornell 2006; Dixon 1977). Royal involvement in defensive administration in Scotland was even less substantial (Armstrong 2008). As a result, the defensive systems on both sides of the border were heavily reliant on local social, tenurial, and kinship networks for their organisation. Officers appointed to roles related to defences were often chosen to encourage involvement and cooperation across these local networks (Caldwell 2010; Armstrong 2008).

Nevertheless, these defence systems do not appear to have been maintained consistently throughout the medieval period. This is partially due to the reliance on

local social ties, which could be severed by factionalism, feuding, and the mortality of local lords, whose deaths could leave large parcels of territory unprotected. However, it was also due to the cost of maintaining these systems. Cornell (2006) noted that the size of the royal garrisons stationed at the larger English castles mirrored the intensity of war. In periods of small-scale raiding, the crown reduced its funding for the region, and the local gentry needed to muster their own men and maintain their own garrisons in their own fortifications with only occasional supplementation from royal funds (Goodman 1998, 171–172). Cornell (2006, 236) argues that it was the failure of the wider military defence system which led to the ineffectiveness of the garrison defence network rather than a failing of the garrisons themselves. Because garrisons were exceptionally expensive to maintain and common armies were not able to be raised for long periods, stretches of the Anglo-Scottish border were often left undefended and vulnerable to attack (Armstrong 2008).

This section has highlighted known elements of regional defence systems. However, much of the underlying data is anecdotal, and our understanding of the mechanisms which organised these systems and their evolution through time remain underdeveloped. In particular, our ability to trace the relationships between these systems and the physical landscape of the region requires further investigation. The following section begins this process by exploring the relationships between fortifications and other features of the medieval landscape to start understanding which physical elements of the landscape are part of the defence-scape. Only then can we begin to comprehend the relationship between the defence-scape and the development of the Anglo-Scottish border.

### **4.3 Characterising the Landscape Setting of Fortifications**

To better understand the mechanics of defence-scapes along the Anglo-Scottish border as well as their socio-political significance, a more systematic and robust dataset of the characteristics of the physical settings for fortifications is necessary. As mentioned in Chapter 2 (2.6.1), landscape-based analyses of Anglo-Scottish fortifications are far less commonly pursued than architectural studies, but this does not mean that the value of understanding the landscape settings of fortifications has been ignored. Descriptions of topographic settings often feature prominently in the HERs at sites which have been subjected to previous fieldwork. Works by regional castle

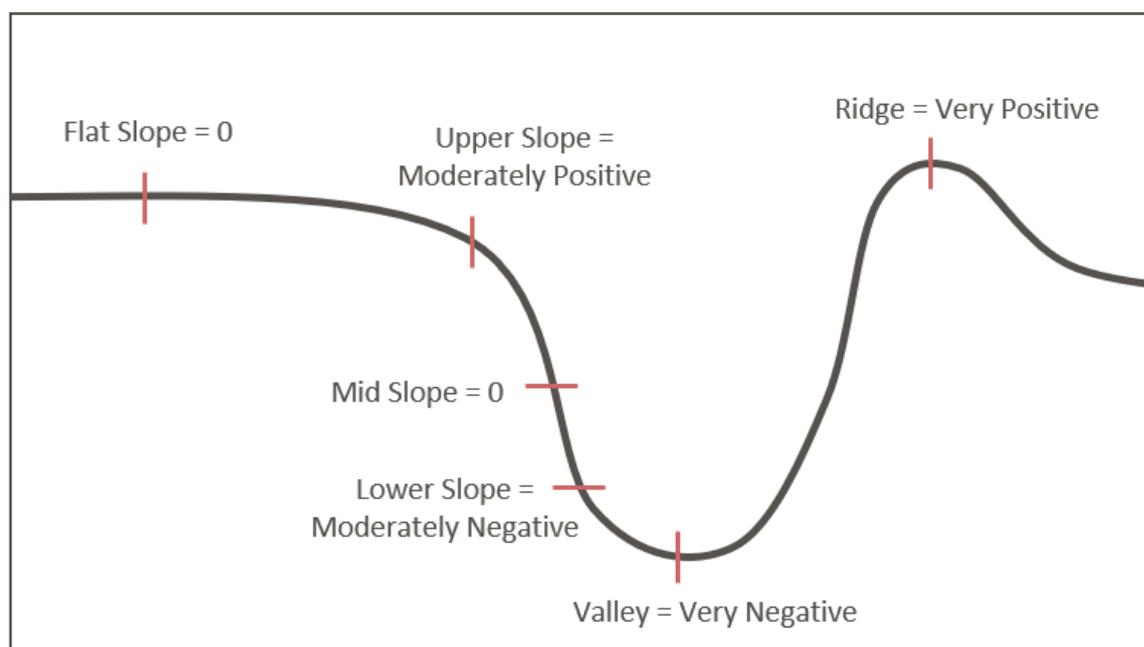
scholars, particularly those with interests in archaeology, such as Philip Dixon (2013, 1977) and Alistair Maxwell-Irving (2014), often indicate an acute awareness of topographical patterns in the siting of fortifications. However, this data has never been synthesised and published. Not all of the HERs for fortifications within the project area include a topographic description, and the descriptions which do exist were not collected and recorded systematically, making some of the qualitative statements difficult to compare. To remedy this problem, this section explores and reconstructs relationships between fortifications and other important features of the medieval landscape included in the spatial database, such as rivers, roads, and churches, using a combination of two GIS analyses: 1) the generation of a Topographic Position Index (TPI) and 2) proximity analysis. This process identifies numerous spatial relationships which were previously difficult to isolate through published literature and also facilitates the comparison of Anglo-Scottish fortification siting patterns with other parts of the British Isles subjected to similar types of studies.

Proximity analysis is a technique that has been applied to fortifications in other parts of England and Scotland (Jamieson 2020, 2019; Lowerre 2007), but has yet to be performed on the Anglo-Scottish border. As Lowerre (2007) argues, the proximity between a fortification and another feature of the landscape is only a rough estimate of its influence over site selection. Proximity does not directly equate to accessibility, and something which is close might still be inaccessible. For instance, a river might be located right next to a fortification but remain inaccessible to it by the presence of steep bluffs. However, proximity is frequently used to gauge importance within a landscape by castellologists, and using this analysis makes the Anglo-Scottish data comparable to these other studies.

A TPI, on the other hand, is an analytical methodology first proposed by Weiss (2001), which characterises the topography of the landscape by comparing (using the standard deviation) the elevation of a cell in a raster dataset to the mean elevation of the cells in a designated neighbourhood around the original cell (Figure 4.1). This enables a flexible topographic categorisation sensitive to the wider character of the landscape. The index can then be manipulated to characterise topographic features at difference scales. These multiple scales generate much more complex 'nested' topographic landscapes (Weiss 2001). In this analysis, topographic indexes were generated for two different scales. The first was a highly localised scale with a

neighbourhood of 300m, which characterises the immediate landscape context of a site and is referred to as the 'local-scale TPI' in the following analysis. A second topographic index, referred to as the 'landform-scale TPI' in the following analysis, was generated with a neighbourhood of 2000m, a scale which characterises larger topographic features such as river valleys and mountainous ridgetops. Together, these two scales of analysis help to contextualise the siting of fortifications at the local and regional scale, producing a nested topographic characterisation model. This an important consideration because fortifications could be sited in a prominent location in relation to an adjacent village while also being located at the bottom of a large river valley.

The following analysis, unless otherwise noted, was performed on Types 1, 2, and 3 fortifications (Table 3.2) which are still extant as either standing remains, earthworks, or incorporated into later structures (Figure 3.8), due to the difficulty in identifying the exact location of many of the non-extant fortifications. In total, 122 fortifications were considered in this analysis (see Appendix H for the raw results of this analysis).



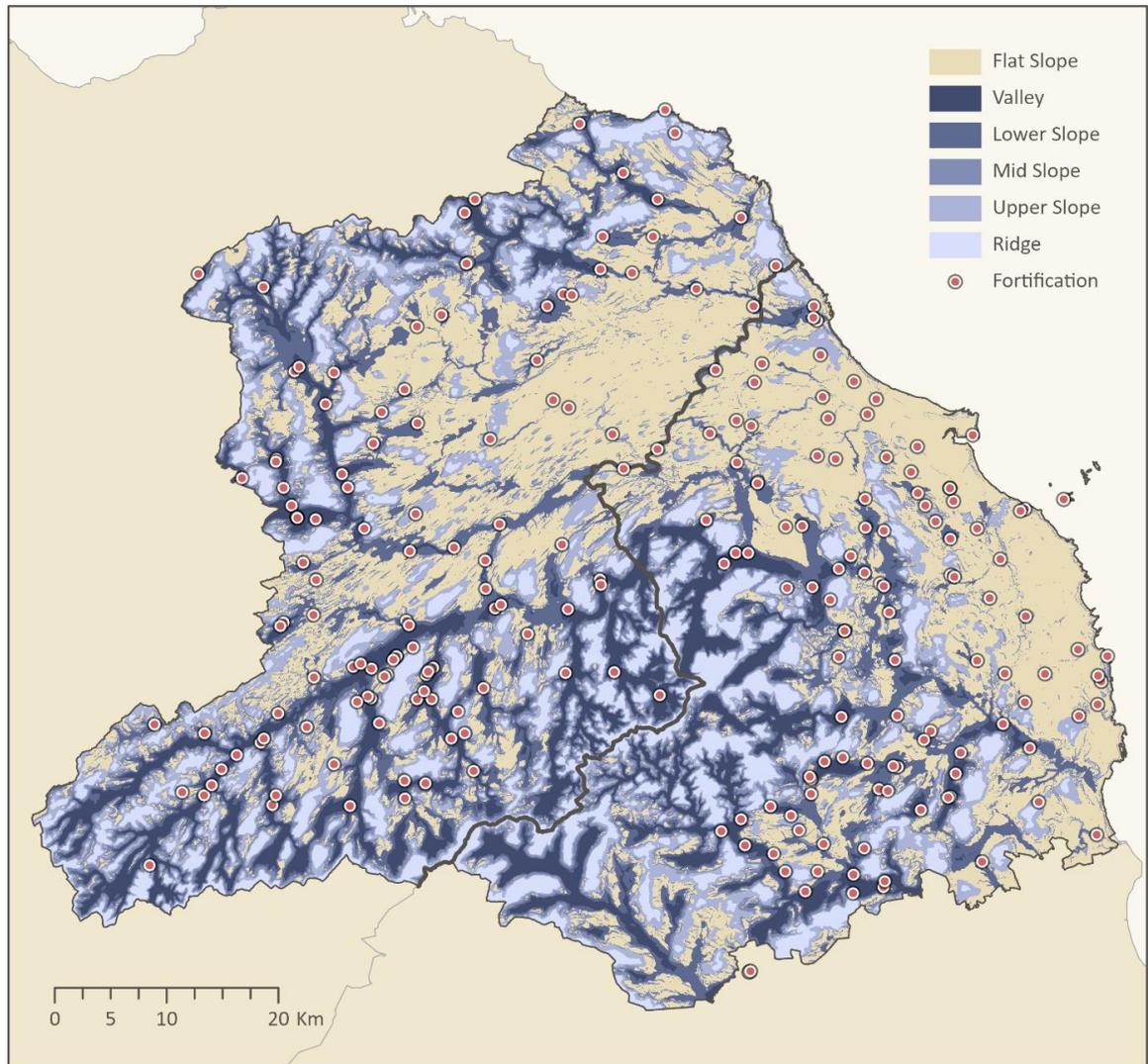
**Figure 4.1:** Diagram of TPI categorisation (by standard deviation) in relation to the topography of a hill (after Weiss 2001, Fig. 3a)

### 4.3.1 Topographic Settings using the TPI

The TPI reconstructs the relationships between topographic datasets and the fortification dataset. At the landform scale (2,000m) there is a clear preference for

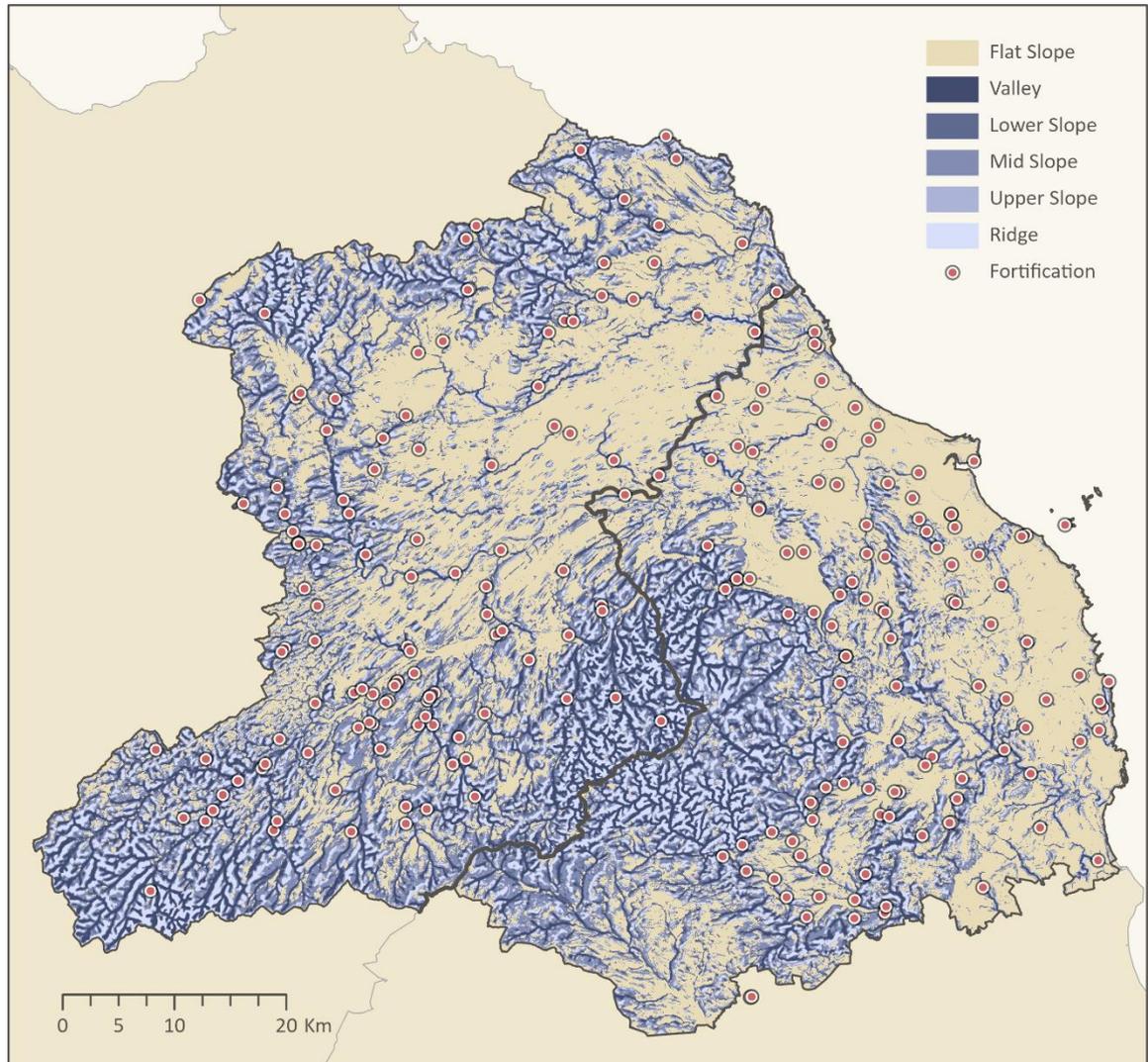
lowland locations, with 58% of fortifications located in either valleys or on flat slopes which cover 46.7% of the project area (Figure 4.2). In contrast, only 10.6% of fortifications are located on upper slopes or ridges, which cover 23.7% of the project area. The local-scale TPI has an apparently opposing pattern where fortifications in valleys and on flat slopes are underrepresented in comparison to the proportion of the project area covered by flat slopes and valleys, whereas those on upper slopes and ridges are overrepresented (Figure 4.3). Overall, 59% of fortifications are located on a more prominent local landform (300m neighbourhood) than at the landform-scale (2000m neighbourhood). In contrast, only 10% are located on a less prominent local landform than at the landform-scale (31% rank equally at both scales). This pattern suggests that there is a clear preference for topographic settings that are prominent within their immediate locality. However, more prominent landforms, for instance upland hilltops, are much less commonly used, possibly due to accessibility limitations at such places. This is a pattern largely mirrored by the HER descriptions for the region as well as in castle studies more broadly. Castles are typically located in the lowlands rather than on hilltops, although there are a few exceptions (see Swallow 2018), but in the lowlands, they do tend to be located on locally-prominent ridges or knolls. The HER descriptions for the project area include numerous notes on the topographical prominence of the sites, which in many cases are used to describe the defensibility of the sites. Indeed, these topographic characteristics are ubiquitous across castle sites in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and so sometimes, these features of 'defensibility' are used by investigators to propose the locations of destroyed towers in the project area, resulting in a somewhat circular assessment of castle siting.

The TPI analysis also recorded a difference in siting preference between different types of fortifications, with a strong preference for local-scale ridge locations amongst castles and tower houses (Castles/Type 1: 50% in Scotland/46% in England; Tower Houses/Type 2: 25% in Scotland/40% in England). The smaller towers (Type 3) tend to remain located on local-scale flat slopes (over 50% in both Scotland and England) and significantly fewer were located on ridges (14% in Scotland and 6% in England). This pattern is further supported by the high number of castles and tower houses on upper slopes in comparison to towers (Castles/Type 1: 10% in Scotland/15% in England; Tower houses/Type 2: 17% in Scotland/20% in England; Towers/Type 3: 2% in Scotland/9% in England), suggesting that castles and the largest tower houses were



Slope Type (2000m TPI)	% of Fortifications	% of Total Project Area
<i>Flat Slope</i>	28.7%	36.1%
<i>Valley</i>	29.5%	10.6%
<i>Lower Slope</i>	17.2%	13.6%
<i>Mid Slope</i>	13.9%	16%
<i>Upper Slope</i>	5.7%	11.8%
<i>Ridge</i>	4.9%	11.9%

**Figure 4.2:** 2000m TPI results in relation to the distribution of fortifications (*Credits: Appendix A*)



Slope Type (300m TPI)	% of Fortifications	% of Total Project Area
<i>Flat Slope</i>	38.5%	46.1%
<i>Valley</i>	5.7%	8.2%
<i>Lower Slope</i>	11.5%	9.9%
<i>Mid Slope</i>	13.1%	19.5%
<i>Upper Slope</i>	8.2%	6.4%
<i>Ridge</i>	23%	9.9%

**Figure 4.3:** 300m TPI results in relation to the distribution of fortifications (*Credits: Appendix A*)

more likely to be sited in locally prominent settings than the smaller, and often later, towers.

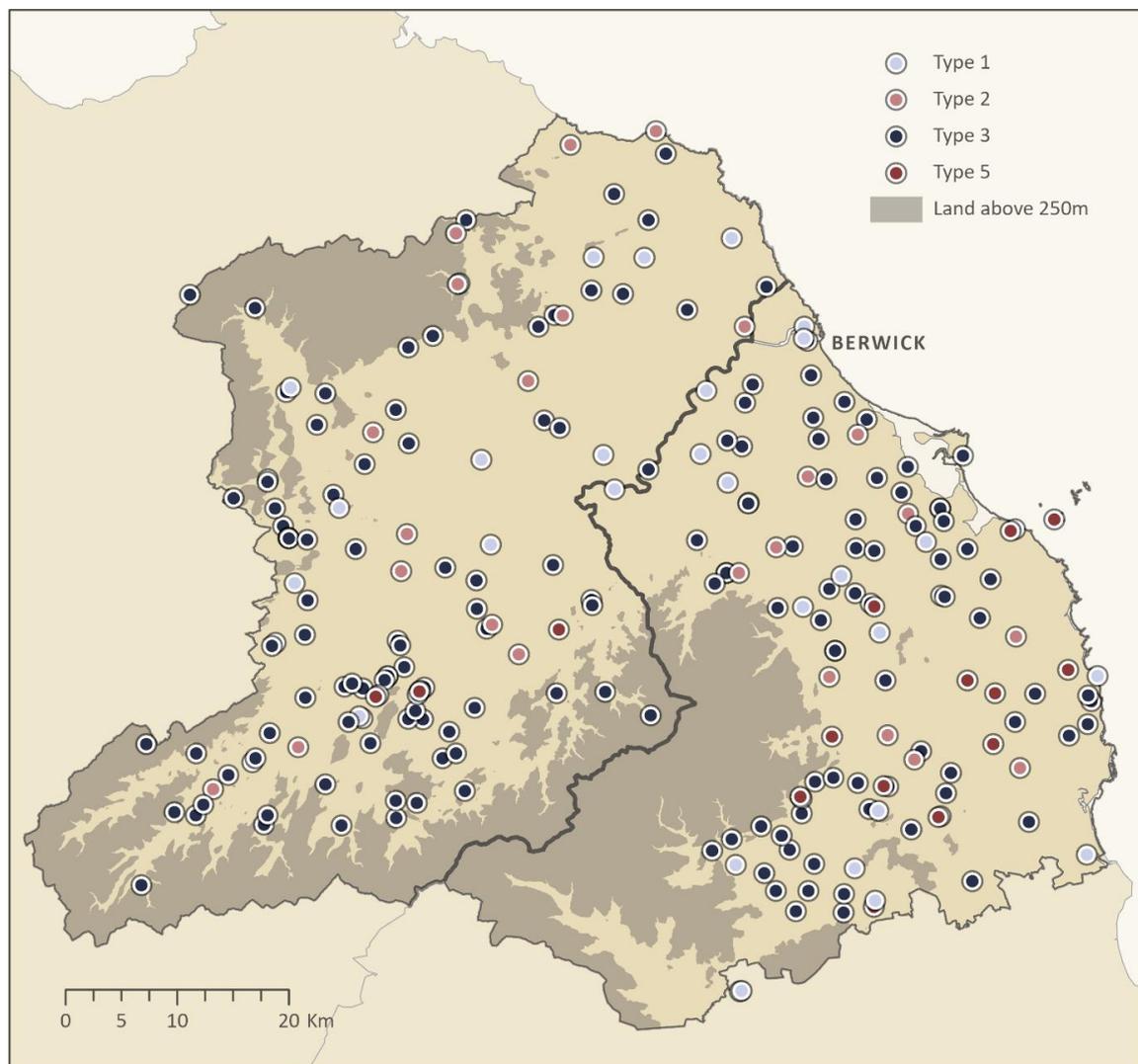
The TPI is also useful in identifying outliers to overarching patterns. It is unusual for fortifications to be located at a site that is less prominent at the local scale than at the landform-scale. There are a few exceptions to the rule, such as Overgrass Tower, which is located in a valley bottom next to the Swarland Burn. This site is doubly unusual, because based on its architectural features (NCC HER, 4293), the tower probably dates to the 14<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> century, but it is not listed in the 1415 or 16<sup>th</sup>-century surveys of borderland fortifications. The infrequency of hilltop locations was previously noted, but the TPI also identified eight fortifications which were located on hilltops or ridgetops: Old Callaly, Cartington, Crawley, Heiferlaw, Fatlips, Smailholm, Hume, and Dunstanburgh. Two of these, Hume and Smailholm, were used in the 16<sup>th</sup> century as beacon locations (Canmore, 57231, 58561), indicating that sometimes these unusually prominent sites possessed additional defensive responsibilities.

Consideration of the elevation of fortification sites also reveals important patterns. Although the highest point in the project area is over 800m in elevation, 250m above sea level is the upper limit for the construction of fortifications in the region (Figure 4.4). Only four towers were built over an elevation of 250 meters. These anomalies to the general pattern are mostly located on the edges of the project area in the uplands to the west and the north. There are also differences between types of fortifications. Although the differences are slight, there is a minor increase in both the mean and median elevation based on fortification type, with the smaller towers being constructed at a slightly higher mean elevation than large castles. A related pattern is also visible chronologically, with a similar difference between the lower, earlier sites and higher, later sites as the construction of fortifications extended down the social ladder.

Figure 4.4 suggests a spatial relationship between fortifications and 'upland' environments. However, the division between upland and lowland environments is not simply a matter of elevation (Costello 2021), and when fortifications are compared to the modern distribution of moorland, which typifies most 'upland' environments in this region, it is apparent that there are both temporal and chronological differences in distribution (Figure 4.5). Scotland's fortifications do not exhibit a preference for locations adjacent to moorlands until the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Period 4) although this also

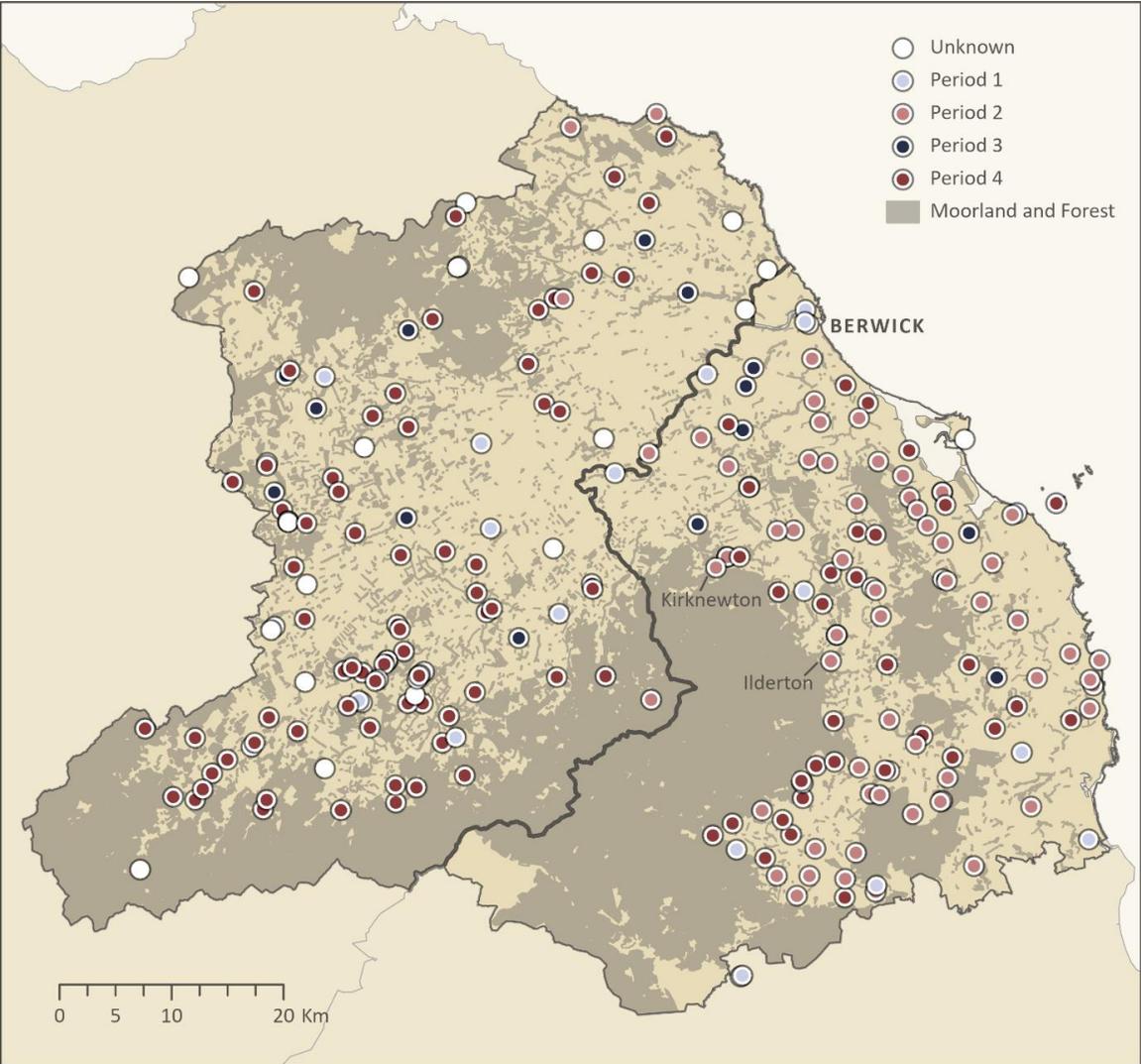
could be due to the lack of fortifications in earlier periods. In Northumberland, fortification sites begin to show a preference toward the edges of moorland in the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Period 2), but only in the southern Cheviots with the exception of a handful in areas further north such as Ilderton and Kirknewton. By the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Period 4), fortifications begin to cluster along the edge of the moorland around the rest of the Cheviot Hills.

These patterns indicate that the siting of fortifications was influenced by upland and lowland divisions within the region, a pattern which became much more defined as the medieval period progressed. The differences between upland and lowland lifestyles have been mentioned previously (1.2.1), but the relationships between fortifications and these patterns deserves further scrutiny. Although the agricultural potential of the uplands was limited, the uplands contained other desirable resources. Throughout the medieval period, uplands in Redesdale, North Tynedale, Coquetdale, and further north near the Cheviots were covered in hunting forests which were frequently used by the landholding classes (Young et al. 2010, 234). Indeed, medieval documents abound with references to the elite hunting together in the uplands of the region where they forged and maintained social bonds with one another (King 2001b, 254). Hunting reserves were prevalent on the Scottish side of the border, and records indicate that cross-border hunting expeditions were relatively common, such as an instance in 1594 when Lord Hume crossed the border to hunt with friends near Bamburgh and Alnwick, although disputes over cross-border hunting rights did sometimes lead to bloody international incidents (CBP.i.987, 549-550; Dixon 2018, 124). Across the British Isles, access to these upland resources was often controlled by fortifications constructed at the interface of the upland and lowland zones, a pattern which is particularly strong in Cumbria (Creighton 2002, 51). Faunal analysis from excavations at Barnard Castle, located along the south-eastern edge of the North Pennines, indicate that much of its economy was based on hunted resources and that activity at the site may have been somewhat seasonal (Constable 2004, 213). However, this relationship between fortifications and the uplands extended beyond the practical to the symbolic, and Creighton (2002, 68) has argued that based on depictions in both medieval iconography and literature, castles were conceptualised as symbols of ‘civilisation’, particularly in contrast to upland wildernesses.



Fortification Type	Mean Elevation	Median Elevation
1	99.16m	86.5m
2	119m	109.6m
3	133m	124.4m

**Figure 4.4:** Fortifications (by Type) in relation to land 250m above sea level with an accompanying table recording the mean and median elevation of fortifications by type. Medieval fortified religious buildings (Type 5) were omitted from this analysis. (Credits: Appendix A)



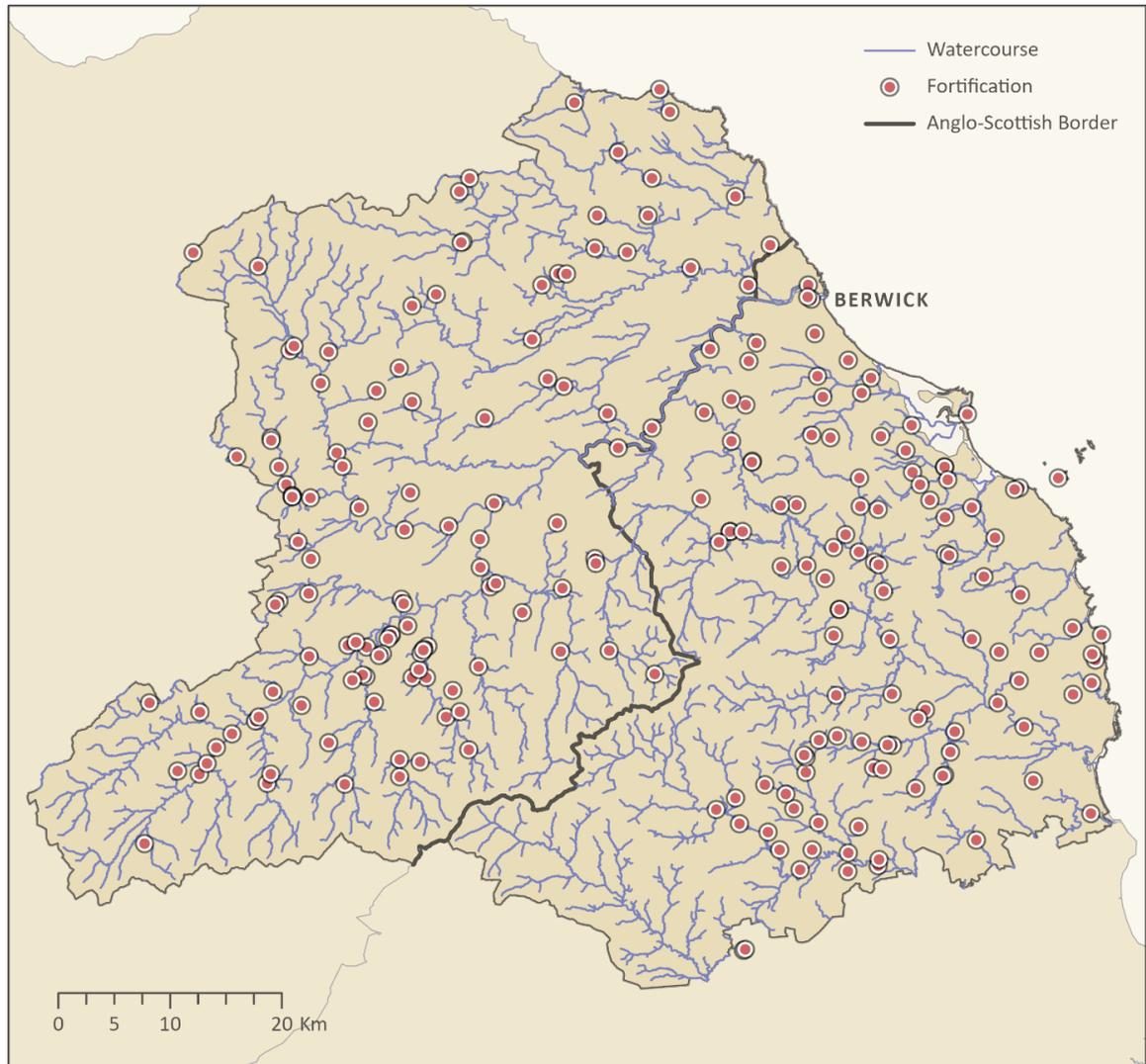
**Figure 4.5:** Fortifications by period in relation to moorland and forest recorded in the HLC/HLA (Credits: Appendix A)

## 4.3.2 Proximity Analysis

While topography was an important element in the siting of fortifications, it was not the only element. Fortifications across England, Scotland and Ireland also frequently exhibit spatial relationships with other features of the medieval landscape. In this section, spatial relationships between fortifications and rivers, roads, and churches will be assessed (see Appendix H for raw results of this analysis).

### 4.3.2.1 Rivers

Within the project area, 59% of fortifications in the Scottish Borders and 47% in Northumberland were located within 250m of a river (Figure 4.6). It has been noted previously that castles are often sited near rivers (Immich 2015; Creighton 2002, 14–43), but this common correlation masks a wide range of reasons for such sitings. Many of the sites in the project area are situated just beyond the limits of the flood plains of the major rivers running through the region, often just at the top of steep riverbanks which are frequently noted in the HERs as providing additional defence. Defensive use of rivers is clearly visible at Roxburgh, which nestled between the Tweed and Teviot, and at Hethpool, which was located between the Elsdon and College Burns (Figure 4.7). However, other types of watery landscapes could be similarly used for defence. It has been suggested that Loch Tower (Canmore, 59318), near Kirk Yetholm, was located defensively on an island, possibly on an earlier crannog, in Yetholm Loch and connected to the mainland by a causeway (Stratigos 2014, 103). Marshes and bogs were also used defensively. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the use of boggy terrain as a defence was noted in the uplands of Tynedale where people lived in places ‘naturally fortified as well by reason of mosses and marresces w<sup>ch</sup> w<sup>th</sup> great dyfficyalty maye be passed w<sup>th</sup> horsemen...’ (Bowes and Ellerker 1541 232). Corsbie Castle (Canmore, 57356), Billie Castle (Canmore, 59638) and Greenknowe Tower (Canmore, 57386) are all located in marshy landscapes which were sometimes altered to create water features around the castles. In fact, it is likely that modern evidence underrepresents the extent to which water was a component of many castle landscapes. Stratigos (2018, 75) found that most of the lochs and bogs of the Tweed lowlands have been drained since the medieval period, and Jeffrey (1864a, 41) argued that placenames along the Teviot indicate the presence of bogs and marshes in the past which no longer exist in the modern landscape.



**Figure 4.6:** Fortifications and rivers (*Credits: Appendix A*)

There were numerous other practical reasons for siting a castle or tower close to a river. Many of the fortifications are located near fords, bridges, and other river crossings. Norham and Wark are both positioned adjacent to important crossings of the Tweed, and the smaller castle of Twizel has been traditionally overshadowed in the history books by the nearby bridge crossed by the English army prior to the Battle of Flodden in 1513 (NCC HER, 964; Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum 2019).

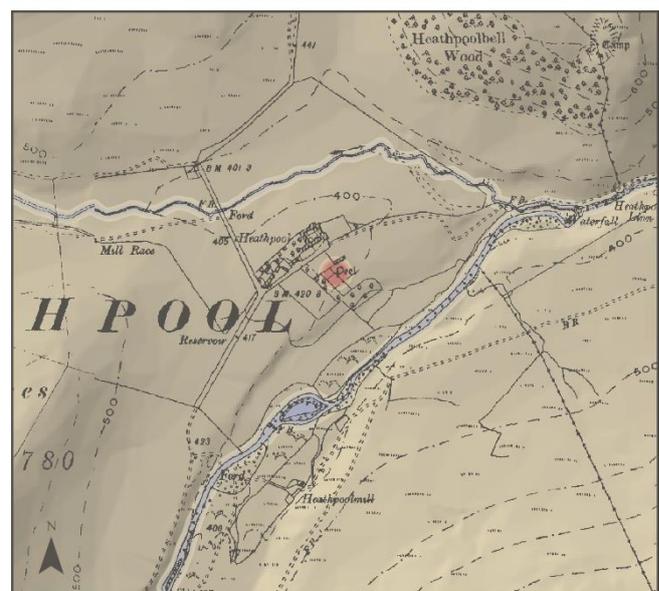
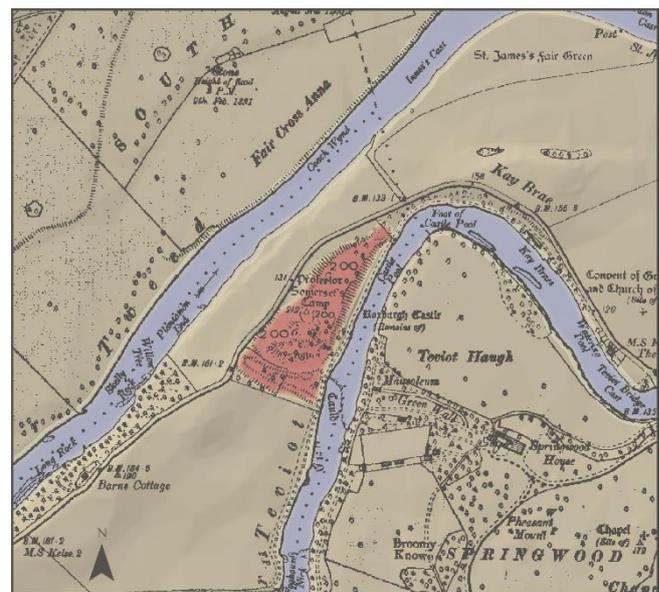
However, the use of water in these landscapes could extend beyond the practical, and rivers, ponds, and manmade water features were frequently integrated into the highly designed elite landscapes that often encircled castles. For example, Jamieson and Lane (2015, 265) noted in their survey of Kenilworth Castle that the approach to the castle was ‘carefully manipulated and staged’ through the construction of moats, ponds, and other water features. In the project area, similarly designed watery landscapes are most famously found at Dunstanburgh Castle which was

surrounded by constructed meres that have been interpreted as symbolic references to legendary Arthurian landscapes (Oswald et al. 2006), although this interpretation has been challenged (Liddiard and Williamson 2008).

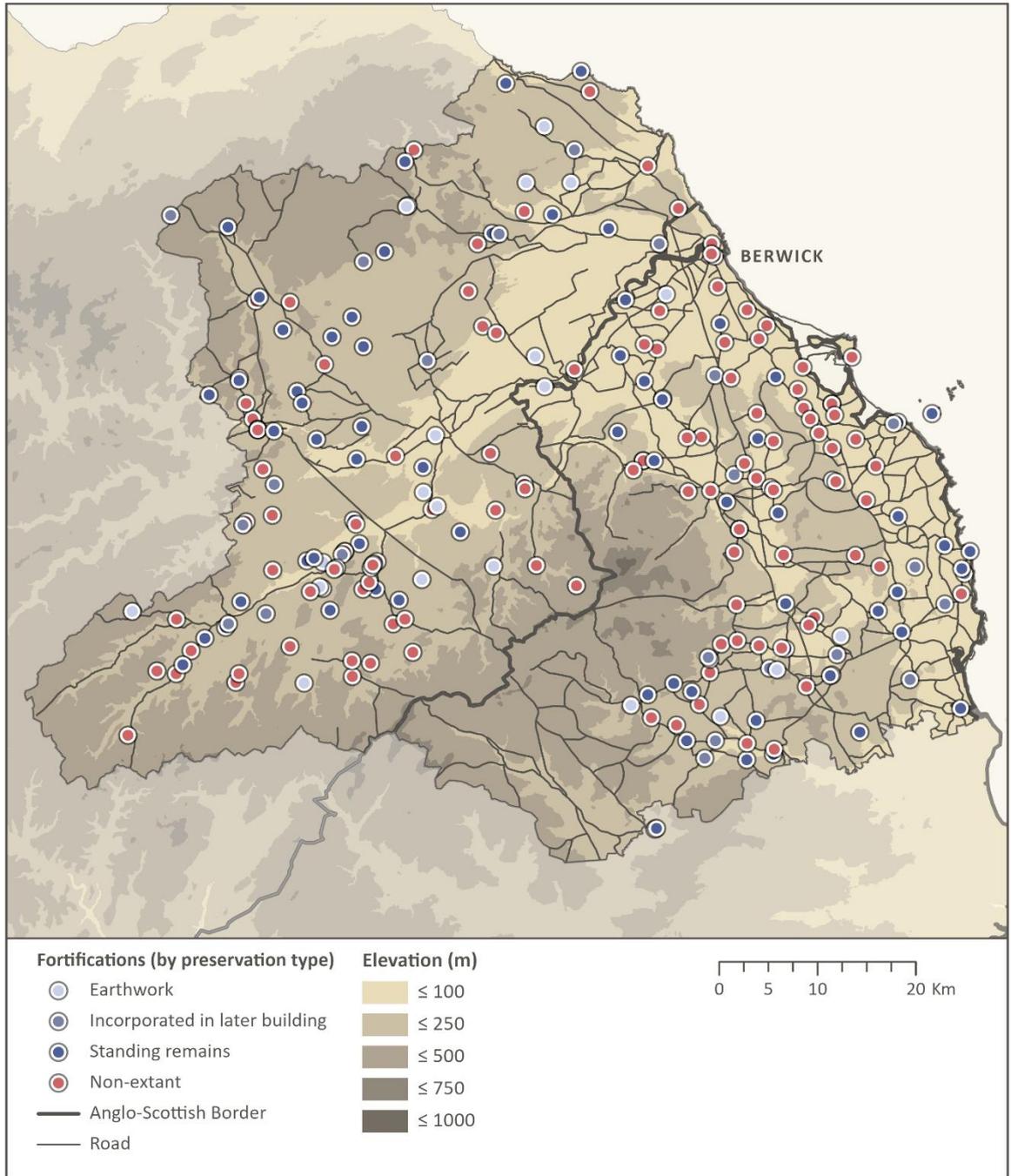
#### 4.3.2.2 Roads

Roads are similarly important in fortification landscapes in the project area. In Northumberland, 57% of fortifications were located within 250m of a road (Figure 4.8). The vast majority of these (53%) were located along main roads depicted on the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Armstrong map (those depicted with solid lines).

Correlation between fortification locations and roads was less strong in Scotland (19%), although that is largely due to the limited coverage of the Scottish road data in the spatial database (3.5.2). The preference for roadside locations is not surprising, as in the past, all fortifications would have been connected in some way to the transportation network, but this pattern indicates a preference for sites close to main routes. This pattern is particularly evident when non-extant castles and towers are included in the distribution map and clusters of fortifications can be seen distributed along the major routeways, particularly the coastal highway between Alnwick and Berwick (Figure 4.8). There are also distinctions between types of fortification. There is a closer



**Figure 4.7:** Fortifications and Rivers at Roxburgh (above) and Hethpool (below) (Credits: Appendix A)



**Figure 4.8:** Roads and fortifications (all fortifications, both extant and non-extant) (Credits: Appendix A)

**Table 4.1:** Proximity of fortifications, by type, to the nearest road (in percentages)

Type	<100m		<250m		<500m		<1000m		>1000m	
	Scot.	Eng.	Scot.	Eng.	Scot.	Eng.	Scot.	Eng.	Scot.	Eng.
1	20	31	40	92	50	100	80	100	20	0
2	17	20	17	60	17	80	50	100	50	0
3	7	41	14	59	24	78	57	87	43	13

correlation between roads and castles (Type 1) and tower houses (Type 2) than between roads and the smaller towers (Type 3) (Table 4.1). In Northumberland, it is unusual to find castles and tower houses located more than a kilometre from a road, whereas 12.5% of towers were located over kilometre from a recorded road. When the numbers were adjusted to account for only main roads, this number increases to 25%. Similarly in Scotland, 43% of towers were located over 1km from a recorded road in comparison to 20% of castles. This pattern is further supported when the proximity to intersections is taken into account. 31% of castles in Northumberland were located over a kilometre from a main intersection while this number increases to 56% for towers.

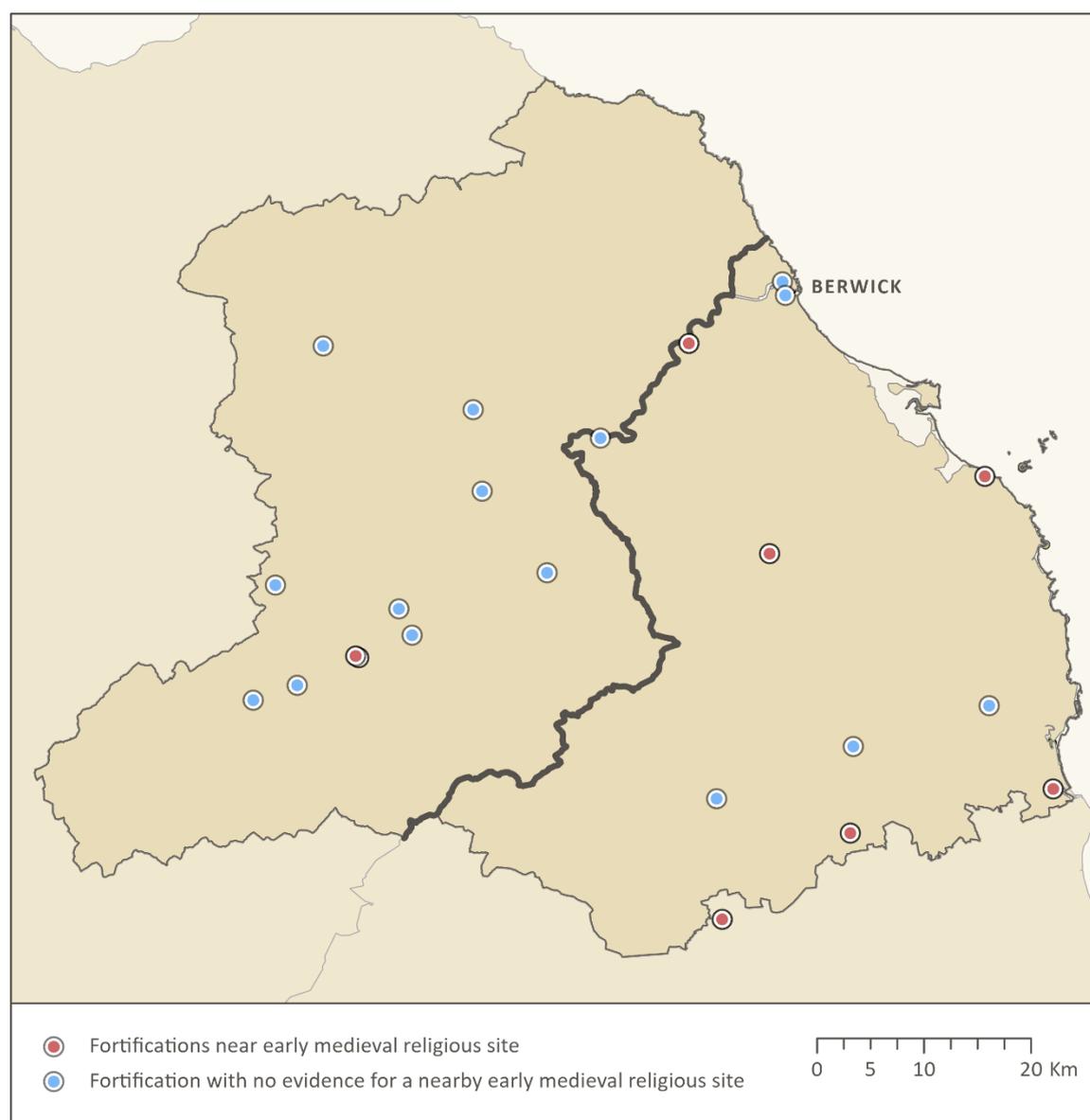
#### ***4.3.2.3 Churches***

Fortifications and parish churches were frequently found juxtaposed in nucleated settlements, since the patronage of a parish church was often an important trapping of lordship (Dixon 2018; Wheatley 2006; Constable 2004; Creighton 2002). However, the data from Scotland and Northumberland reveal much more complexity to this pattern. Northumberland has a slightly stronger correlation with the juxtaposition of church and castle than Scotland, with 39% of fortifications located within 500 metres of a church in Northumberland and only 15% in Scotland. The majority of fortifications are located over 1km from a church (69% in Scotland and 55% in Northumberland). There were particularly strong patterns when the dataset was broken down by type and by period. Castles, particularly those built prior to the Wars of Independence, were particularly strongly correlated with a location next to a parish church, with only 38% of castles in Scotland and only 15% of castles in Northumberland located more than a kilometre from a church. For the other types (Types 2 and 3), no less than 64% of fortifications are located over a kilometre from the nearest church, a pattern which reflects a general dissociation between tower and church noted across Scotland (Samson 1998, 133). This pattern possibly represents different relationships between fortifications and settlements in England and Scotland, as churches were usually (although not always) located in settlements. Promisingly, a comparison of the locations of extant fortifications to settlements, or 'Built-Up Areas', in the Historic Landscape Assessment (HLA)/Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC) within the project area reveals a similar pattern. It is important to note the HLA/HLC depicts modern patterns of settlement, and so these patterns could also have been impacted by post-medieval

settlement changes where patterns of population growth and decline differed between England and Scotland. Nevertheless, fortifications in Built-Up areas are overrepresented in both England and Scotland. However, the degree to which they are overrepresented differs markedly. Built-Up land comprises 1.3% of the land on the English side of the project area and just .8% of the land in the Scottish project area. In contrast, 7% of castles and towers in Scotland were located in Built-Up areas while 34% of English fortifications were located in Built-Up land. This suggests a very different relationship between fortifications and settlements in England and Scotland. This pattern is further supported when the average distance between the fortifications in the database and the closest settlement recorded in the HLA/HLC is calculated. For England, the average distance between a fortification and a settlement was 516m. The median distance is much lower at 94m, suggesting most fortifications in Northumberland were located immediately adjacent to or within a settlement. In Scotland, the average is much higher at 1599m with a median distance of 1247m. This indicates that while Northumberland fortifications were frequently located adjacent to or within a settlement, fortifications on the Scottish side of the border were more isolated in the landscape and were often located over a kilometre from the nearest settlement.

There are also temporal patterns in the relationship between fortifications and churches. One of the primary purposes of a castle was as an administrative centre for a lordship or territory, and as a result, they served a range of purposes beyond being a type of elite housing. The construction of a castle or tower was a statement of authority over a territory and its people, and elements of the medieval administrative landscape were built upon early medieval antecedents. Comparison of fortification locations with early religious centres indicates a high correlation with early castle sites. In fact, 6 out of 12 castles in Northumberland dating to Period 1 are located in the immediate vicinity of a religious site with presumed pre-Conquest origins (Figure 4.9), a trend not observable in fortifications built in later periods. In many cases, early castles appear to have been constructed alongside pre-existing settlements, as Constable (2004, 194–195) argues at Wooler. This was probably to take advantage of pre-existing administrative centres, as appears to have occurred elsewhere, such as the Tees Valley. There, Robin Daniels (1996) has noted a similarly strong correlation between Norman castles and pre-Norman churches and has argued that this pattern is evidence that reclaiming earlier political centres of power was a ‘key element’ of Norman political expansion

northwards. Examples of this within the project area are visible at Elsdon, which was likely an earlier *caput* and Anglo-Saxon meeting place with a connection to St Cuthbert (NCC HER, 9744; The Archaeological Practice Ltd 2004), and Norham, which also shared a connection with St Cuthbert denoted by an early medieval church dedicated to the saint in the settlement. However, it is apparent from the growing disassociation between church sites and fortifications that the early medieval religious past became much less influential over fortification siting as the medieval period progressed.

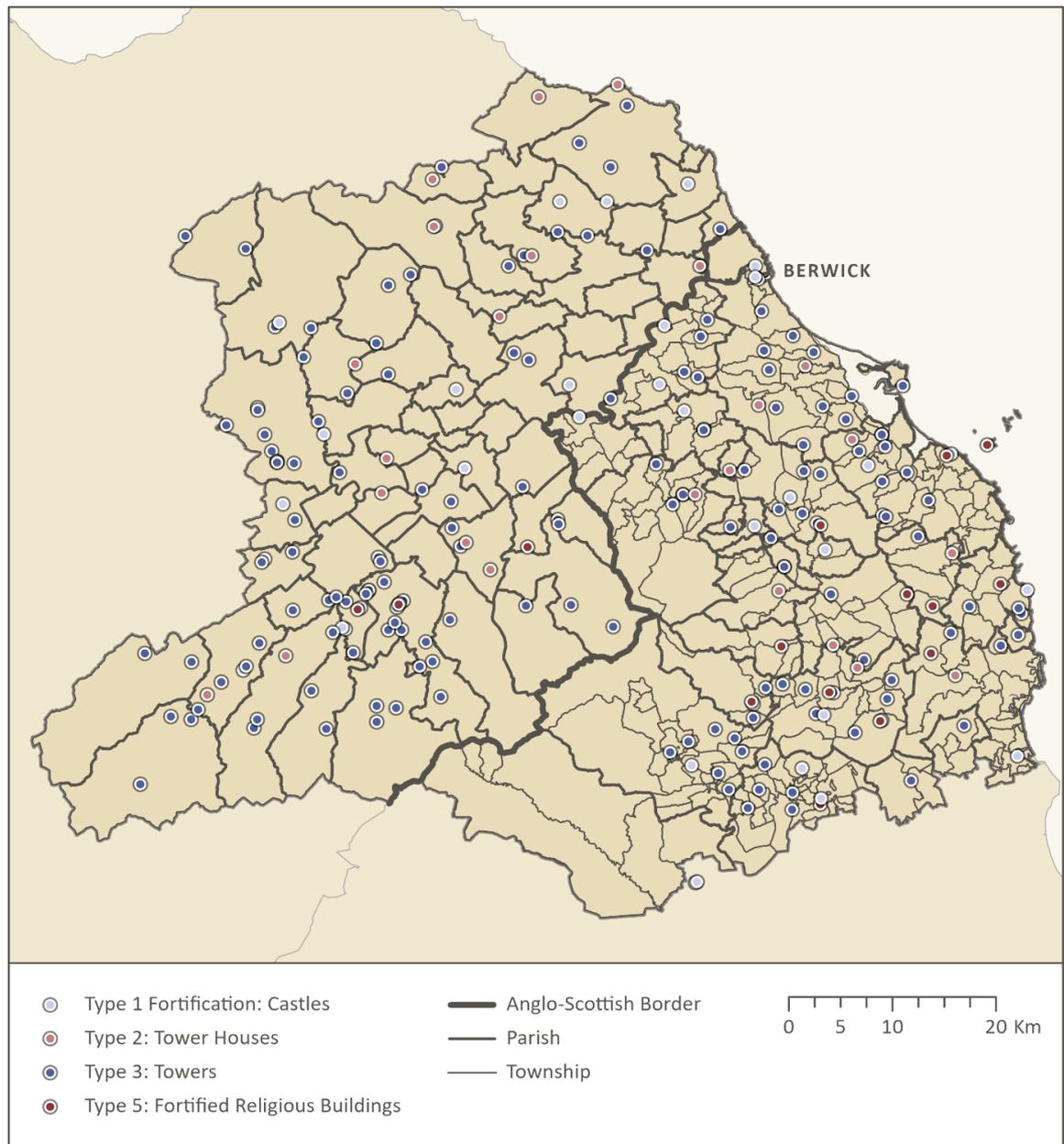


**Figure 4.9:** Period 1 fortifications and early medieval churches or religious sculpture (Credits: Appendix A)

In addition to the churches themselves, parochial boundaries can also reveal interesting information about the choice of fortification site. Jamieson (2020) argues that the correlation between Sussex castles and administrative boundaries, often

preserved as parishes, was likely the result of attempts by lords to use castles to mark the extent of their territories and assert their authority over what might otherwise have been a liminal boundary space. She noted that 65% of Norman castles were located within 250m of a parish boundary, indicating a close relationship between the two. Unfortunately, unique characteristics of the development of parochial administration in Sussex meant it was difficult in some cases determine whether the parish or the castle had been established first, and thus, which influenced the siting of the other. The fortifications of Northumberland and the Scottish Borders reveal a much different pattern. Within the project area, only 8% of fortifications in Northumberland were located along (within 250m) a parish boundary. Scotland's correlation is higher (23%), but the parishes are also slightly smaller than those of Northumberland. A stronger correlation between fortification and boundary is visible at the township level in Northumberland. Because parishes were frequently quite large in Northumberland (3.6.2), the township was one of the basic administrative units in the medieval landscape. Fortifications show a slightly stronger correlation between their location and township boundaries, with 34% of fortifications located within 250m of a township boundary. This correlation increases dramatically (63%) when one considers a 500m-radius from the boundary. Less than 5% of fortifications are located over a kilometre from a township boundary, and while this could be explained by the relatively small sizes of the townships, Figure 4.10 illustrates that very few fortifications are located toward the centre of township territories. In some cases, this is due to the influence of other landscape features, such as roads or rivers which form parish and township boundaries in many locations.

At the beginning of this section, it was argued that one of the greatest challenges in reconnecting fortifications to their landscape contexts was the inconsistent way in which landscape data was collected, making it difficult to compare with any degree of rigor. This section has generated a systematic characterisation of the landscape settings of fortifications within the project area. This enabled spatial and chronological patterns between datasets to emerge which were then contextualised with the results of similar studies from other parts of the British Isles, identifying commonalities and region-specific differences within the fortifications dataset. As a whole, this process has begun to build a more holistic image of the physical medieval landscape as it relates to the defence-scape.



**Figure 4.10:** Fortifications with parish and township boundaries (*Credits: Appendix A*)

## 4.4 Modelling ‘Spheres of Influence’

In addition to the physical characteristics of fortification landscapes, understanding the defence-scape also requires an awareness of how the physical landscape affected the relations between fortifications in defence networks. To reveal these relationships, this project has adapted a methodology developed by Edward Triplett (2017), which models territorial change along the medieval Andalusian Christian-Muslim frontier. Unhappy with the way in which cartographic visualisations simplified the complex and often non-linear and overlapping fluctuations of territories during the *Reconquista* as simple lines, Triplett developed a method which models the

'spheres of influence' of each castle. These 'spheres of influence' are an amalgamation of two different types of territorial control, one defined by visual surveillance, modelled using viewshed analyses, and the other by the physical policing of garrisons, which can be modelled through cost-distance functions in GIS software. This method visualises castles as the centres of wide landscapes, but the ability of GIS to combine and compare the 'spheres of influence' of individual castles offers the ability to test hypotheses about wider bordering processes. Triplett used this model to explore whether the Andalusian fortresses could have been used as a chain of fortresses which marked a cultural frontier. His model not only pinpointed areas where this appeared to be the case, but also identified areas where this was not true. Using this methodology, he identified previously little-known and unexplored castles which appeared to have unexpectedly important strategic locations within the regional military network. His results indicate the utility of this method in not only testing hypotheses in areas with limited historical documentation, but also in reworking existing narratives. The added appeal of this model is that it shifts the narrative from traditional territorial perspectives which focus on legal linear boundaries and territorial holdings in the landscape, to one that incorporates some of the more psychological, situated, and fluid elements of the border-scape. Triplett makes it clear that the model is not intended to be interpreted as a realistic mapping of historic influence, but as a model which maps the possible spatial extents of influence.

The Anglo-Scottish border and the Andalusian frontier of the *Reconquista* are very different contexts. Triplett's frontier is one in which castle construction was part of a sustained campaign of conquest where the construction of fortifications was more centralised, sustaining the plausibility of the idea of a chain of fortifications defining the frontier. The decentralised administration of the Anglo-Scottish borderland, however, means that a planned chain of fortifications was never possible along this frontier, although Tudor-period attempts at integrating the region more tightly with English administration led to proposals for more centralised defensive networks. However, adaptation of Triplett's methodology can answer a variety of new questions about the relationships between fortifications, their landscapes, and the development of the Anglo-Scottish border. In particular, it can explore the mechanics of local defence where documentary evidence is sparse, as well as changes to these networks through time.

For this project's model, multiple viewsheds were created for each fortification utilizing a minimum (12m) and a maximum (24m) height. For further details about the parameters used for the viewshed and cost-distance analyses, see Appendix L. Because known heights of fortifications varied immensely and because many of the structures no longer exist, constructing a range for the possible extent of a viewshed was deemed the best way to handle the imprecision innate to the source data. Accuracy of the viewsheds was validated by testing the intervisibility results of a selection of castles previously known to be visible to each other from photographic evidence and site visits.

Next, garrison 'catchment' polygons were created through a cost-distance analysis. This required the construction of a cost-surface or friction-surface, a raster which quantifies the 'cost' or difficulty of travelling across each cell. The units of these costs can be anything relevant to the research questions, but previous research typically measures cost in either energy expended (in joules) or in time. Although it is impossible to take into account all of the costs of crossing a landscape, especially for a large area, commonly considered costs include physical elements of the landscape, such as topography, as well as social costs which can result in the evasion of or attraction of certain places. The most common cost incorporated into cost-distance analyses is slope, and a large body of research exists which explores the impact of topographic slope on both the energy expenditure of walkers and the time it takes to travel over a physical landscape (e.g. Herzog 2020, 2014, 2010; Campbell et al. 2019; Irmischer and Clarke 2018; Tobler 1993). Triplett took slope and the presence of roads into account in his model, while a similar study by Canosa-Betés (2016) accounted for slope and hydrography (rivers). This project's model incorporated slope, hydrography, and roads due to their importance in historical accounts of travel through the region. Because time rather than effort would have been a primary consideration of cost in the movement of garrisons, either during war or as a response to local raids, and because travel was often expressed in historical records either in miles or in time units, time (in cost-hours rather than hours to signify that one hour of time in the model may not represent one hour of actual time) was used as the cost unit in this project's model. Additionally, because garrisons were frequently mounted, a multiplier (.8) was added to the cost equation to account for the speed of horse travel rather than travel on foot (Herzog 2020, 342; Tobler 1993). This model was validated against historic descriptions of travel times from within the project area (see Appendix L for more details).

#### 4.4.1 Calibration of the Model

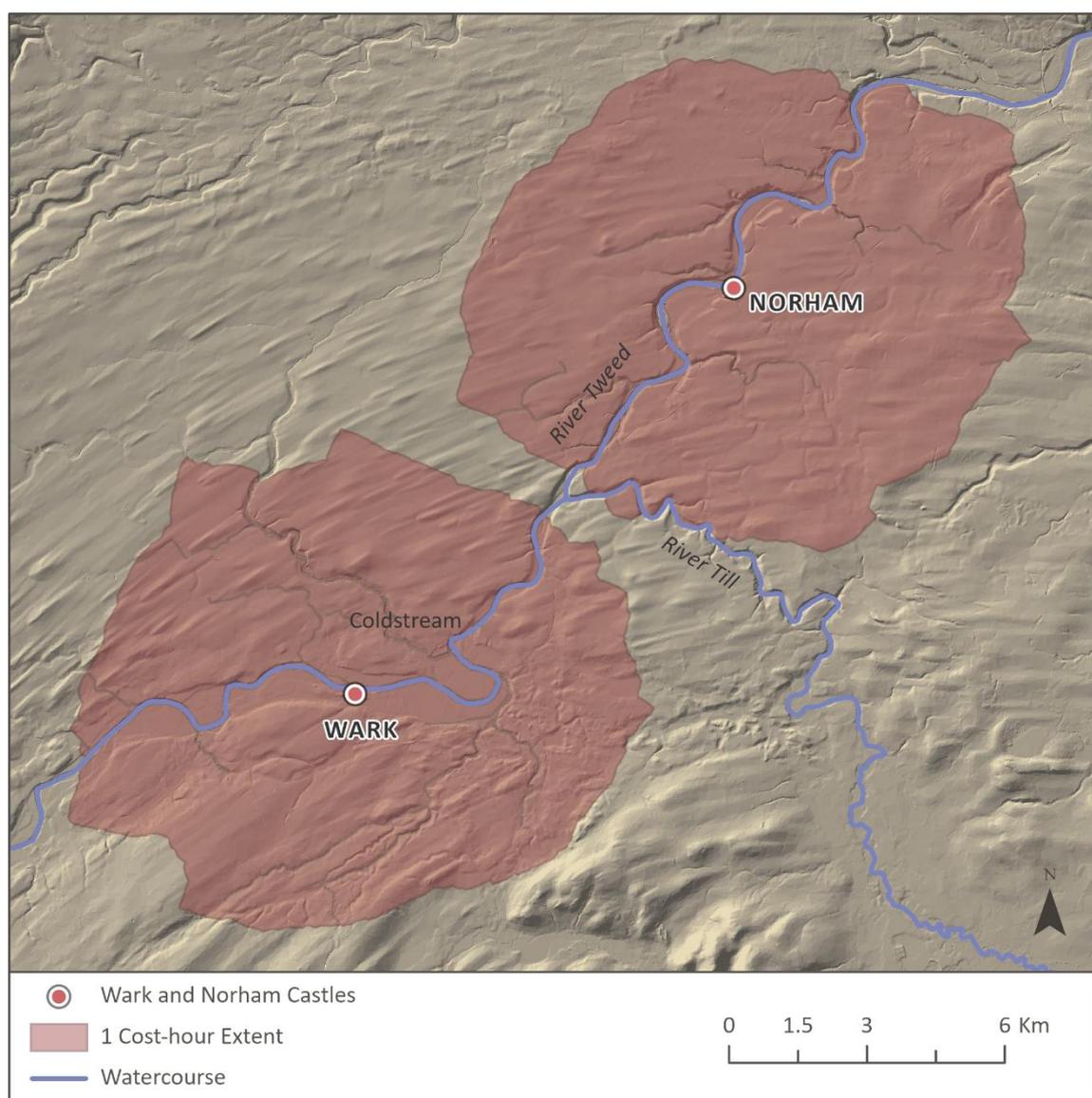
The Spheres of Influence model required calibration against historic accounts in order to establish a normative framework upon which interpretations could be made. Although this thesis is primarily interested in the medieval landscape, documents of the 16<sup>th</sup> century tend to be more detailed about the mechanics of defence systems in this region, particularly in England, and contain data upon which the model results could be calibrated. As a result, the catchment and viewshed models were compared to the detailed descriptions of the defence-scape along the Rivers Till and Tweed from the 1541 and 1550 surveys by Bowes and Ellerker (Bowes and Ellerker 1541; Bowes 1550). The descriptions from the 1541 and 1550 surveys are particularly useful because they describe not only aspects of the organisation of the defence-scape in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, but also identify areas which were particularly weak and in need of improvement.

First, the 16<sup>th</sup>-century surveys were used to construct a general limit of the defensive range of a fortification garrison. The 1550 survey provides the best descriptions of garrison catchments. In the survey, the descriptions of six castles (Wark, Wooler, Ford, Etal, Fenton, and Norham) include information about their immediate landscapes of defence. The description of the catchments between Wark and Norham are the clearest:

‘...uppon a fray made or any other warninge given by fyer beacon or otherwise the inhabitaunts of that castle or a guarison of horsemen lying there maye be in the waye of any enemyes that shal passe into Scotland between Barwick and Warke or between Warke and teversheugh. Also such as lye in that Castle have used in tyme of neede to watche the fordes of Twead betweene the boundes of Barwick and the mowth of the river of till’ (Bowes 1550, 197–198).

When this description is compared to catchment contours of both Norham and Wark, the map reveals some important spatial patterns (Figure 4.11). Although the River Till is not equidistant, as the crow flies, between Wark and Norham, it sits roughly at the interface of 1 cost-hour between Wark and Norham and represents an equitable division of travel distance between the two castles. Furthermore, while the River Till does mark numerous township boundaries, in fact, this description of the garrison catchment ignores other, more influential, territorial boundaries. For instance, Ford parish extends across the River Till and has its western-most boundary at Cornhill. This

boundary also marked the edge of the of the Liberty of Norhamshire (Lomas 1996a, 152, Fig. 19; Barrow 1966, 40), an important and longstanding administrative and legal boundary demarcating the edge of land held by the Church of Durham. Therefore, the described garrison catchment appears to be a boundary based upon travel-time rather than administrative units or even geographic distance—a type of ‘landscape-in-motion’ (Franklin 2020, 853) (2.3.2). Based on this evidence, the catchment for a garrison’s duties can be estimated to extend to the area that could be travelled to in approximately 1 cost-hour.



**Figure 4.11:** Garrison catchments of 1 cost-hour between Norham and Wark Castles (Credits: Appendix A)

The survey also includes details about the geographic range at which the local populace would resort to a fortification as a place of refuge. In some cases, the description is imprecise. For instance, Wooler’s ‘lytle towre’ was recorded as being used

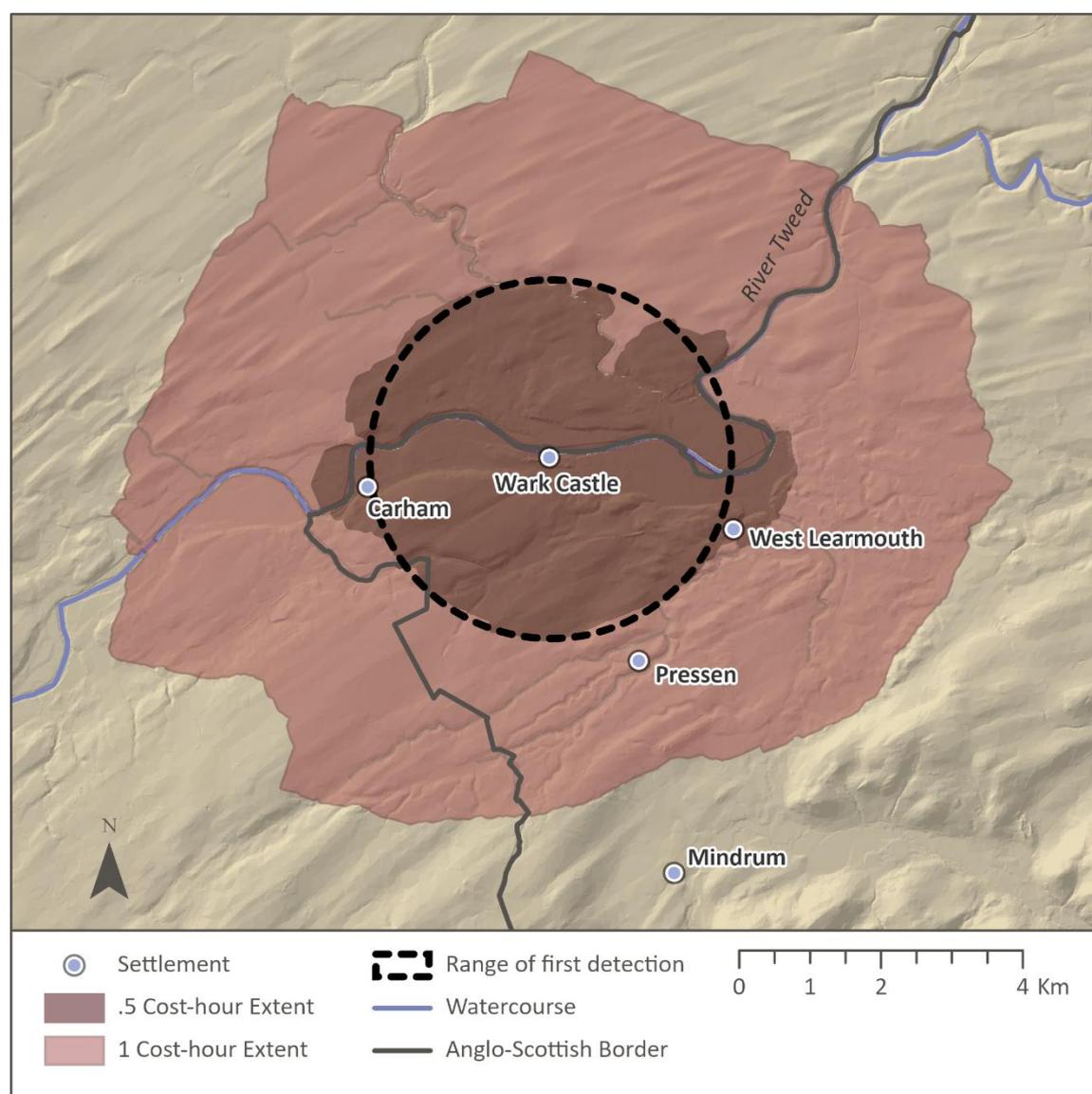
as a refuge by ‘the inhabitants of the same towne as of two or three vyllages nere adjoyninge thereunto...’ (Bowes and Ellerker 1541, 185). However, many of other descriptions are much more specific. Ford serviced the village of Croukhame (Crookham) and Eddersley (Heatherslaw). Etal was used by the inhabitants of New Etal on the opposite side of the river. And those living in Eworthe (Ewart) would refuge in Fenton when it was necessary. The description of Wark’s refuge catchment is the most specific, including not only which villages resorted to Wark for protection but which did not and were left exposed to violence. Learmouth and Carrane (Carham) were within reach of Wark’s defences, but Pressen and Mindrem (Mindrum) were not. When these descriptions are applied to the model (Figure 4.12), it is apparent that the effective catchment for a tower as a place of refuge is surprisingly small, only about .5 cost-hours. Between 1 and 1.5 cost-hours was well beyond the outer limits of the refuge catchment, as the location of Mindrum illustrates.

Additionally, it should be noted that when buffers are placed around the castles to the greatest extent at which the human form is typically visible (2550m—henceforth called the range of first detection, see Appendix L for further discussion) and compared with refuge catchments of .5 cost-hours, then it is apparent that even castles with relatively complete visibility within this range would have had little time to warn the surrounding area of danger as the two are roughly equivalent. It is possible, based on this evidence, that refuge catchments for medieval fortifications may have been even smaller than the model implies.

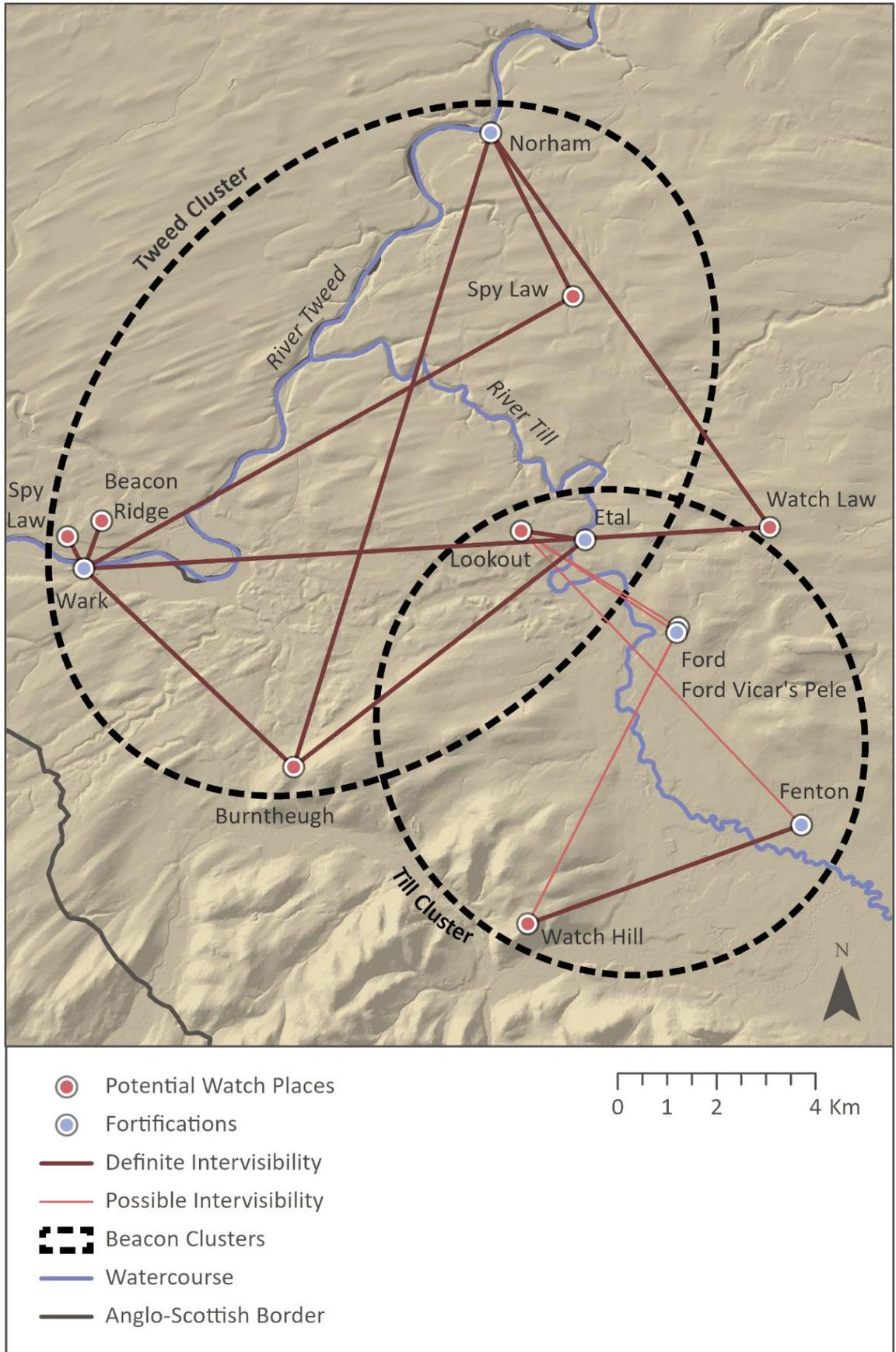
These examples highlight that garrisons alone would probably have had difficulties defending local settlements, even when fully manned and funded, due to compounded problems of the mechanics of local defence. The garrison catchment of 1 cost-hour recorded between Norham and Wark and a refuge catchment of just .5 cost-hours indicates that garrisons were sometimes expected to protect an area beyond what they could effectively defend.

This means, then, that advanced warning was fundamental to the effective functioning of the 16<sup>th</sup>-century local defence systems. Warning beacons and even gunshots are mentioned in descriptions from 16<sup>th</sup>-century surveys as an integral part of the defence system, warning local communities of the need to either flee or to muster (Bowes and Ellerker 1541, 223, 236). As mentioned earlier, by the 16<sup>th</sup> century, lists of beacon sites were being recorded on both sides of the border (e.g. APS.ii, 44; HMC 37-

38). However, there were certainly more beacon locations used within long-distance communication networks than is evidenced from these lists alone. It was already mentioned that fortifications were sometimes used as beacons, but there is further evidence for components of long-distance communication systems in the form of placenames in the landscape. There are a handful of place names in the Till/Tweed area which indicate past use as either tactical points of observation or as signalling stations, such as Watch Law, Spy Law, Lookout, and even Burntheugh. When these are mapped in association with the viewsheds from the castles considered in the survey, these placenames typically appear just along the edges of the viewsheds. When the placenames are compared by the fortifications from which they were visible, the communication networks between the wider landscape and the fortifications begins to become visible (Figure 4.13).



**Figure 4.12:** Wark Castle's catchments (Credits: Appendix A)



**Figure 4.13:** Intervisibility of fortifications and potential watch/beacon locations along the Rivers Till and Tweed (Credits: Appendix A)

There are two clusters within the network which were determined by geography, one along the Tweed and one along the Till. The purpose of these locations appears to be to extend the range of defence along the edges of the landscapes already visually controlled by fortifications. For instance, when 2,550m buffers (the 'range of first detection') are placed around these locations, Burntheugh, which is visible from Etal, Norham, and Wark, is clearly intended to watch the border crossing near Mindrum and defend against armies and raiders approaching from the west. Interestingly, the exposed Mindrum is just beyond the range of first detection for Burntheugh, perhaps an indication as to why Mindrum was so vulnerable to Scottish attack. The use of Burntheugh extends the warning time from this direction from .5 cost-hours to approximately 1.5 cost-hours at Wark, and from, at most, 1 cost-hour to 1.5 cost-hours for Etal. For Norham, it buys even more time, with warning of attack from the west at 2.5 cost-hours. Watch Hill, which is visible from Ford and Fenton, appears to have been important in protecting the Till Valley from attack to the west, along the routes to Kirk Yetholm and the Cheviot interior.



**Figure 4.14:** Spylaw and Beacon Ridge from Wark Castle. The hill in the distance is the location of Beacon Ridge and the Spylaw Plantation as viewed from the base of Wark Castle's motte. *(Photo by author)*

Interestingly, there are two sites, Spylaw and Beacon Ridge, on the north side of the Tweed which were perched at the edge of Wark's visibility to the north (Figure 4.14). The placenames may indicate that Wark may also have used a watch or beacon system to extend its defensibility to the north of the border. However, this place

became a site of territorial dispute between two Scottish landowners in 1593 when a meeting between the two interested parties was observed from Wark, which had readied its defences in case of trouble (CBP.i.835, 460). As a result, Spylaw was probably the location of one of the medieval Scottish lookouts over the Tweed crossings (APS.ii, 44; Caldwell 2010, 76).

Unfortunately, it is impossible to date the use of these beacons and watch posts without excavation, and even then, exact chronologies of use would be highly difficult to reconstruct. For instance, while the model indicates that Norham and Berwick could have passed messages to each other via beacons, this does not mean they did so. In fact, in the 1290s a message was sent from the besieged Berwick to Norham not by beacon, but by a soldier who swam across the Tweed with messages hidden in his shoes (Cornell 2006, 271).

Overall, this introductory exploration has exposed numerous patterns in the connections between the raw model results and 16<sup>th</sup>-century descriptions of defence. The consistency in the results, particularly those for the refuge catchments, indicates that movement is, in fact, a useful framework for understanding the mechanics of defensive networks. Additionally, many of these patterns, such as the relationships between garrison and refuge catchments and human acuity, are based upon physical limitations grounded in the human body, and so they are likely to be applicable to situations prior to the 16<sup>th</sup> century. These results suggest that spatial modelling can be helpful in understanding the geographies of medieval spaces by identifying landscape-scale patterns within what is often anecdotal documentary data.

#### **4.4.2 The Chronology of the Defence-scape**

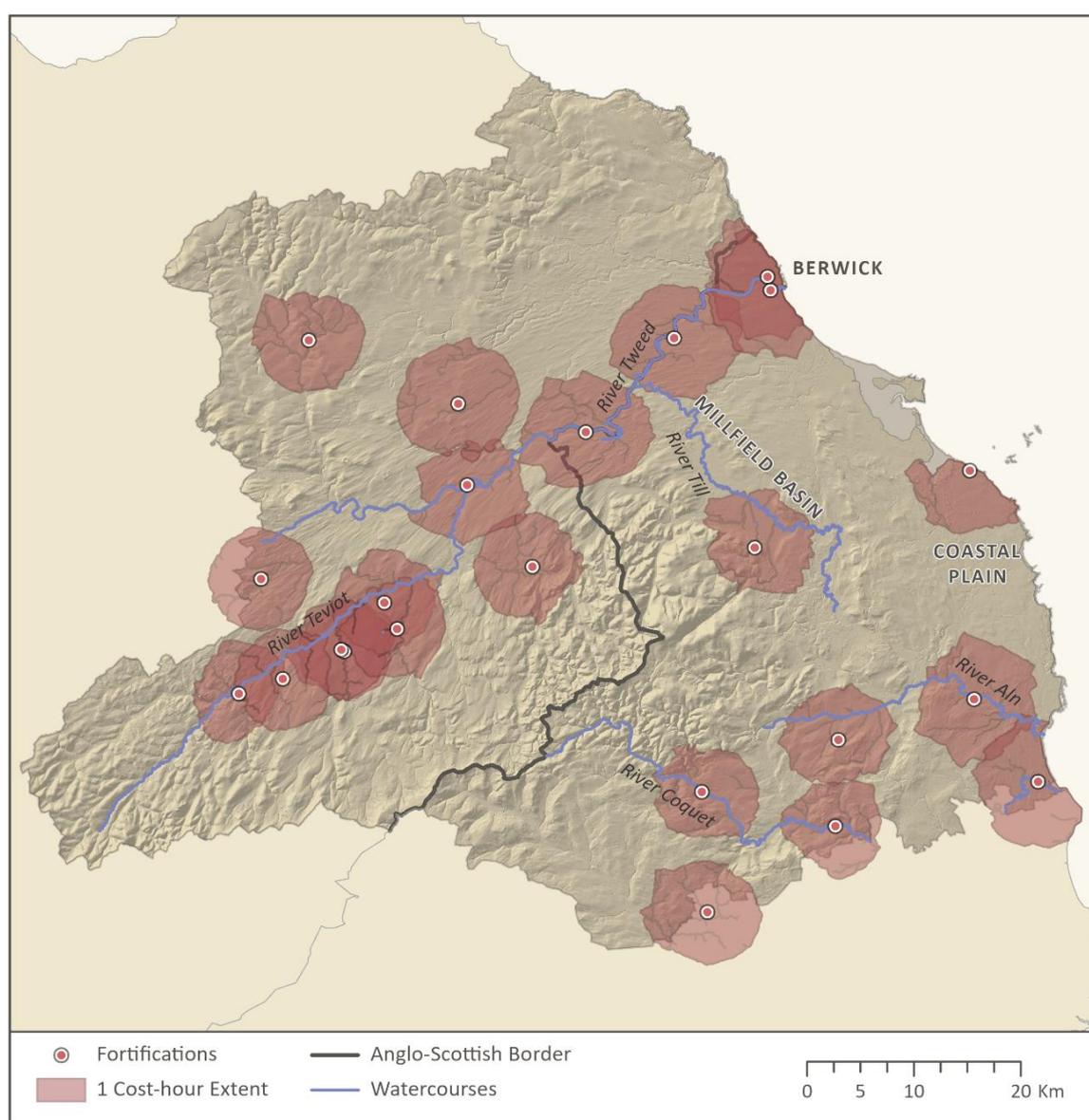
The calibrated Spheres of Influence model was then applied to the fortification dataset to explore how the defence-scape may have developed through the medieval and early modern periods. Three datasets representing different periods of fortifications were selected for analysis: the collection of fortifications constructed prior to the Wars of Independence (Period 1 fortifications), the 1415 fortification survey identified in Chapter 3 (3.3.3.1) as an important documentary source, and Christopher Dacre's 1584 fortification plan (3.3.3.2).

#### ***4.4.2.1 Before the Wars of Independence***

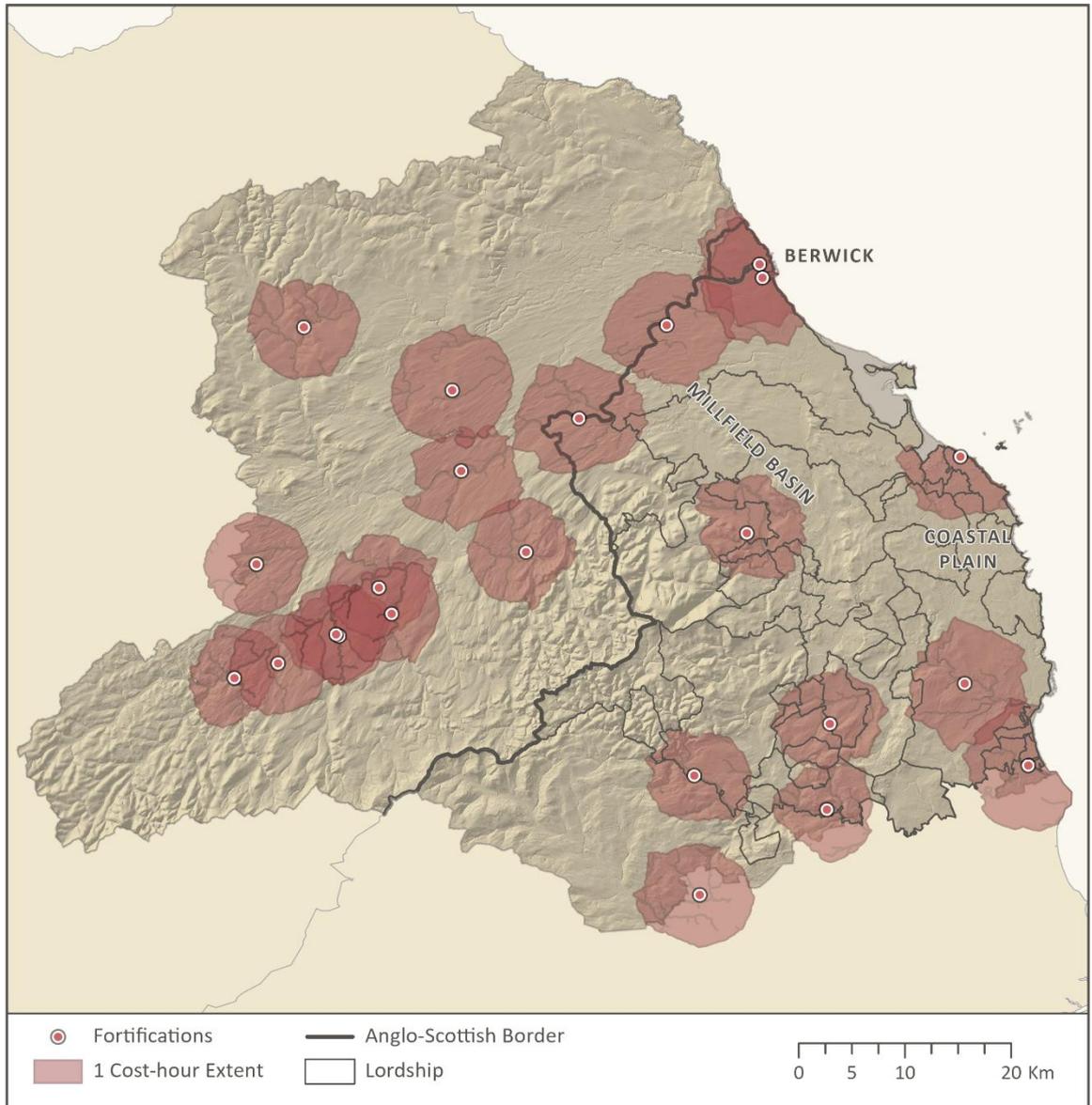
The sparse distribution of fortifications across the project area prior to the Wars of Independence (Period 1) (Figure 4.15) indicates that most of the project area was not within the defensive catchment of a fortification before the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. This is particularly true of the Millfield Basin and the coastal plain south of Berwick. Instead, the catchment coverage depicts a defence-scape which is centred on a few key sites where any assistance or relief would require advanced notice. Interestingly, although armies typically travelled along the north-south routeways, the distribution of castles does not indicate preference toward control of these routeways. Instead, castles are much more closely aligned along the rivers which run east and west. The Tweed and, particularly, the Teviot are highly protected, while in the south of the project area, there are strings of fortifications along the Aln and the Coquet. However, while these patterns initially seem to be geographically defined, when major estate boundaries in the 13<sup>th</sup> century are considered, it becomes apparent that the distribution of castles probably has more to do with estate management than any sort of interest in developing a regional defensive system along rivers (Figure 4.16). Instead, these apparent ‘strings’ along rivers are the result of geographic influences over estate boundaries and the widespread preference, noted in the characterisation exercise in Chapter 4 (4.3.2.1), for locating major castles and settlements along important rivers. This resembles patterns Strickland (1992, 210–212) noted in the way early castles were utilised in 12<sup>th</sup>-century warfare. He argues that rather than working as a wider system, they seemed to have functioned more as self-contained units. Overall, this is a distribution of fortifications which, if and when they worked as a system, would be much more suited toward defence within the context of campaign warfare rather than one of endemic raiding, which requires much denser distributions of fortifications.

The results of the visibility analysis tell a similar story. In Period 1, most fortifications can see a substantial amount of the surrounding landscape within the range of first detection (Figure 4.17). However, all Period 1 fortifications have viewsheds which extend further than this range. It is notable that there is very little overlap between the viewsheds of most of the castles, particularly in Northumberland, and few castles were intervisible with other fortifications (Figure 4.18). The coastal castles such as Bamburgh and Warkworth have viewsheds strongly oriented toward the sea, while in fact, their extended viewsheds toward the land are fairly limited. Wark and

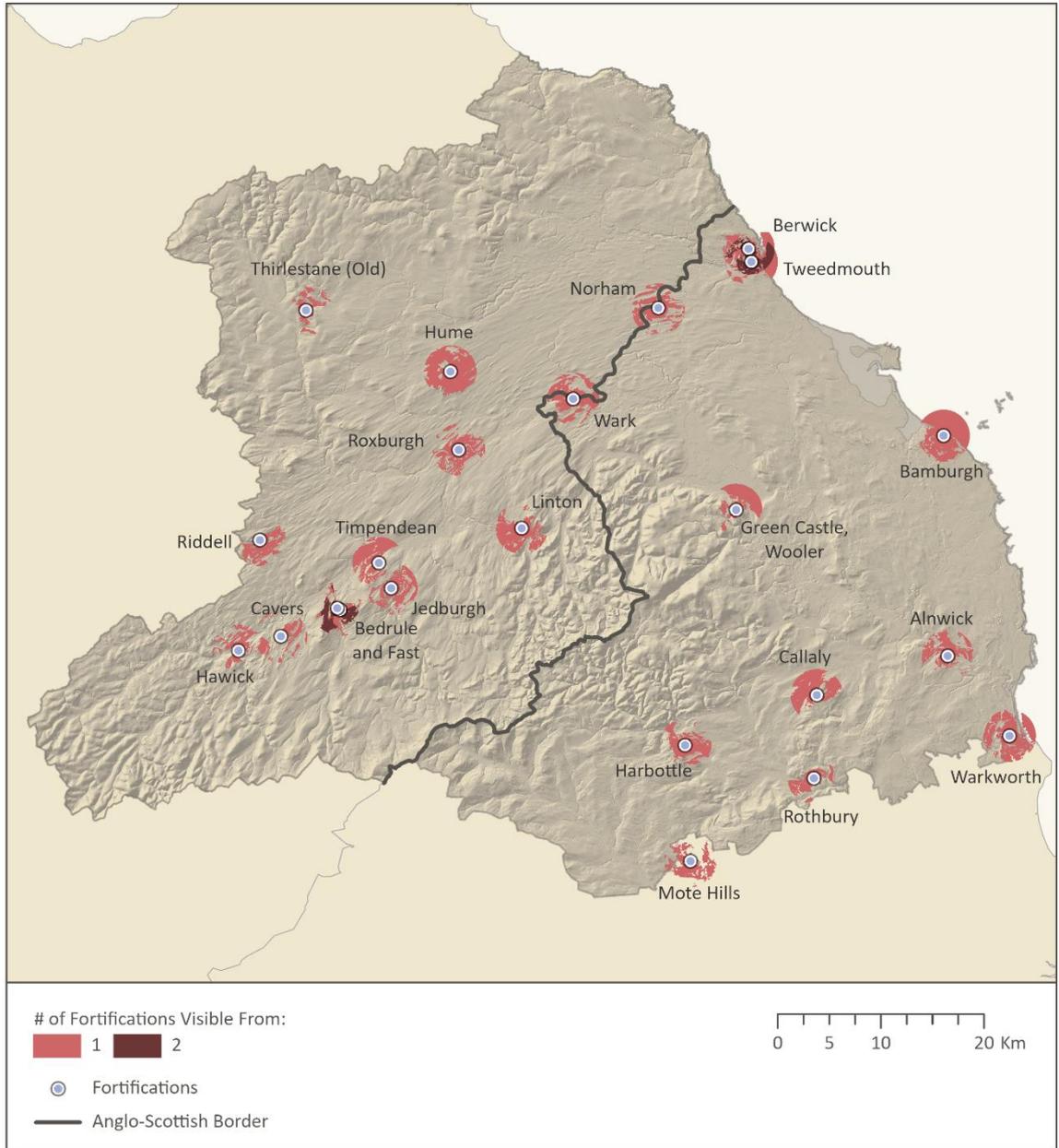
Norham on the River Tweed also have surprisingly limited extended viewsheds. However, other extended viewsheds possibly indicate instances where a castle's location may have been influenced more by the urge to be seen rather than to see. Some locations appear to have had expansive views integrated into their design. For instance, the Green Castle ringwork in Wooler and Callaly castle each have expansive views of the surrounding river valleys. Meanwhile, the elongated viewshed of Harbottle castle indicates that visibility from a road into the Cheviots was probably influential in the siting of this castle. Similarly, Timpendean Castle in Scotland is visible from much of the Teviot Valley. In other instances, variations to these general patterns are evident. Linton's location means that it just misses having visual control up the Kale Water, a routeway through the Cheviots.



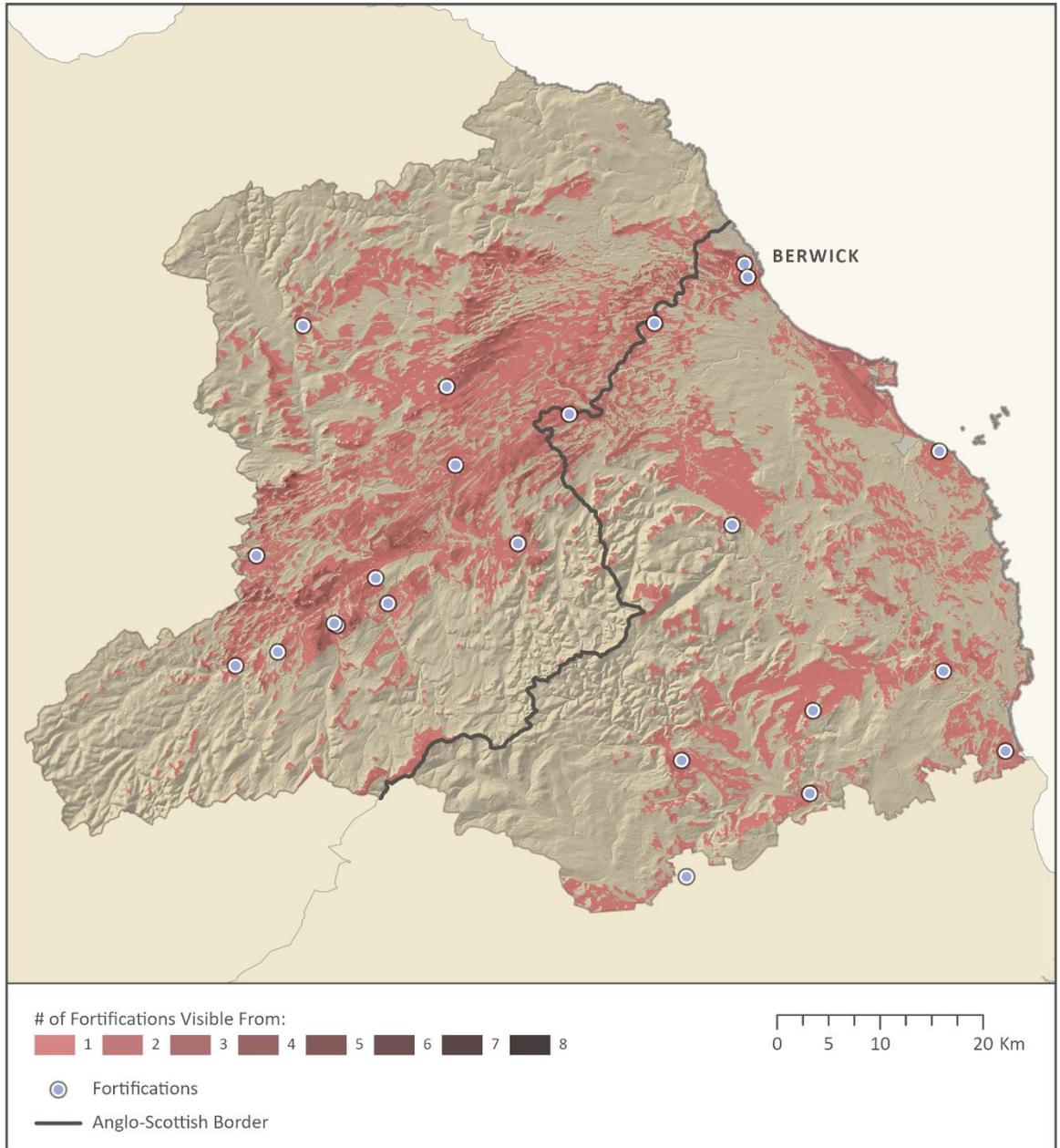
**Figure 4.15:** 1 Cost-hour catchments for Period 1 fortifications in comparison to major rivers (Credits: Appendix A)



**Figure 4.16:** 1 cost-hour catchments for Period 1 (pre-Wars of Independence) compared to 13<sup>th</sup>-century estate boundaries in Northumberland (after Dixon 1984, Fig. 5). It should be noted that there are currently no equivalent maps of estate boundaries for the Scottish side of the border. (Credits: Appendix A)



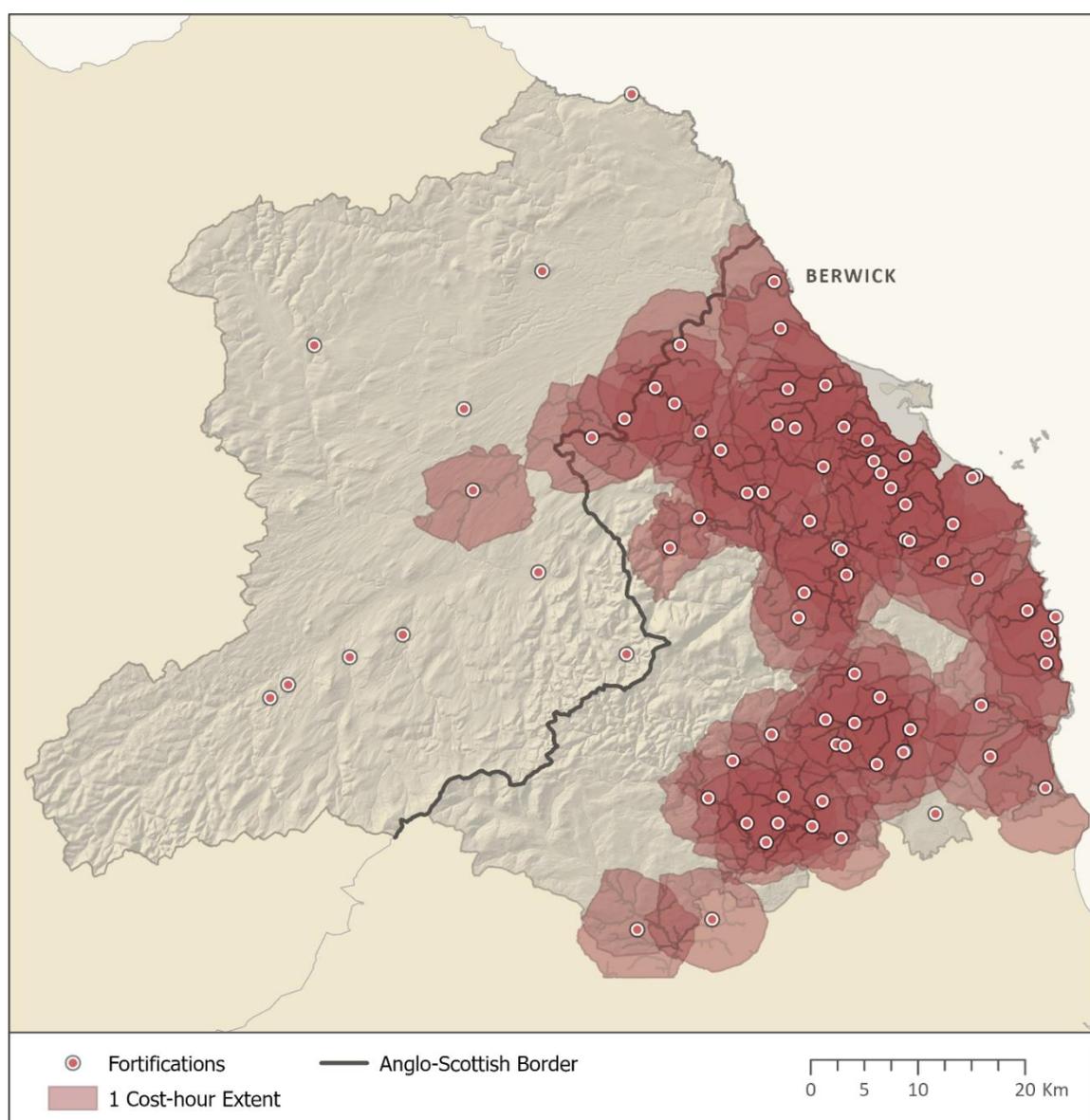
**Figure 4.17:** Cumulative visibility of Period 1 fortifications to the range of first detection (2550m) (Credits: Appendix A)



**Figure 4.18:** Cumulative visibility of everything visible from Period 1 towers modelled at their maximum height of 24m (Credits: Appendix A)

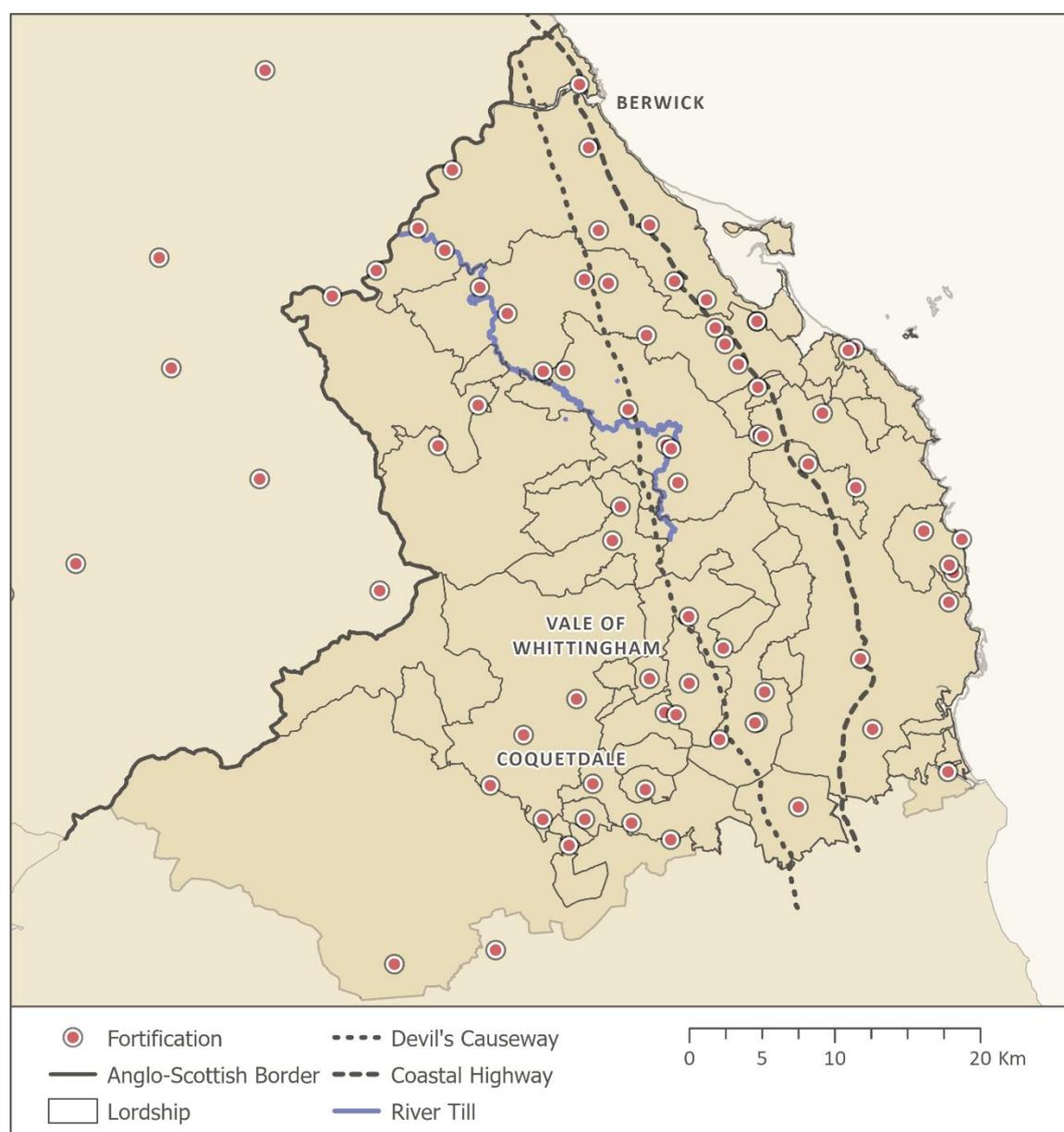
#### 4.4.2.2 1415

By 1415, there had been little change in the distribution of fortifications on the Scottish side of the border, but the explosion in castle-building in Northumberland resulted in a landscape of fortification in which garrison catchments frequently overlapped, particularly on the coastal plain, in the Millfield Basin, and toward the southern end of the project area (Figure 4.19). Very little of the project area in Northumberland is beyond the reach of a potential garrison except for the Cheviot uplands and a patch of territory between Bewick Moor, Eglington and South Charlton in the south-eastern portion of the project area.



**Figure 4.19:** 1 cost-hour catchments of fortifications listed in the 1415 survey. Fortifications not mentioned in the survey but thought to have existed at the same time included as points on the map without catchments. (Credits: Appendix A)

There are numerous factors which influenced the distribution of fortifications in the 14<sup>th</sup> and early-15<sup>th</sup> centuries. The first is the road network. There is a greater correlation between fortifications in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and the major north-south routeways than routeways and the castles of Period 1. Strings of fortifications ran up the coastal road to Berwick, along the old Roman road of the Devil's Causeway, and along the River Till (Figure 4.20). In general, there appears to have been a growing desire to construct fortifications within easy reach of these major highways. From a practical point of view, this growing interest in fortifying sites along the main highways may have arisen from the warfare of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, offering estates protection from



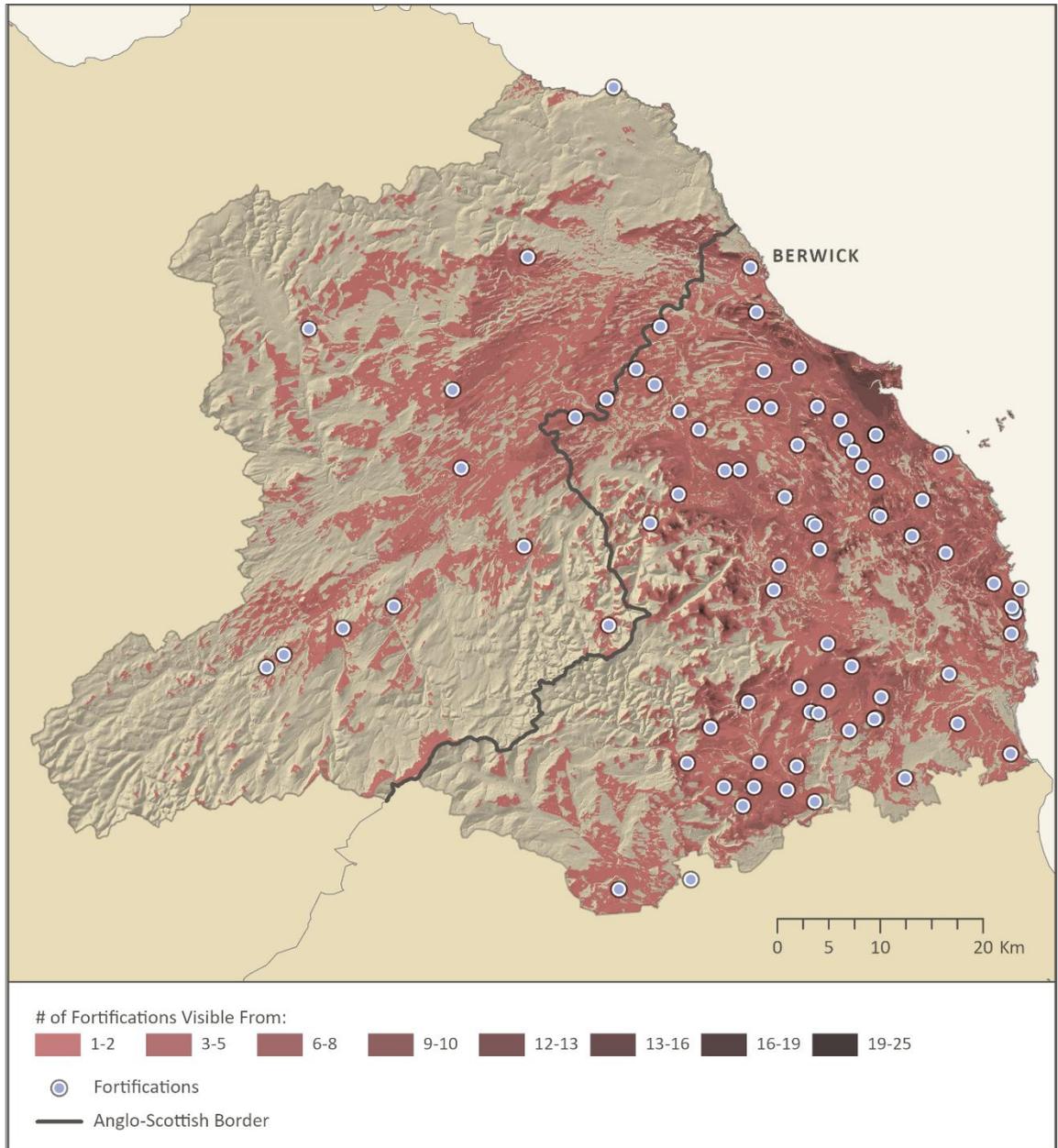
**Figure 4.20:** Period 2 fortifications and their association with major routeways and 13<sup>th</sup>-century estate boundaries (after Dixon 1984, Fig. 5) (Credits: Appendix A)

or access to the main routeways along which the armies travelled. It was mentioned earlier in the chapter that regional defence relied on an infrastructure which allowed messages to be passed between castles and between garrisons, and roads would have been a vital part of this system (Cornell 2006, 253). However, the appeal of a location close to a road was also possibly a function of the growing social competition amongst the gentry, of which castle-building was a component—a fortification close to a major routeway could be seen by more people.

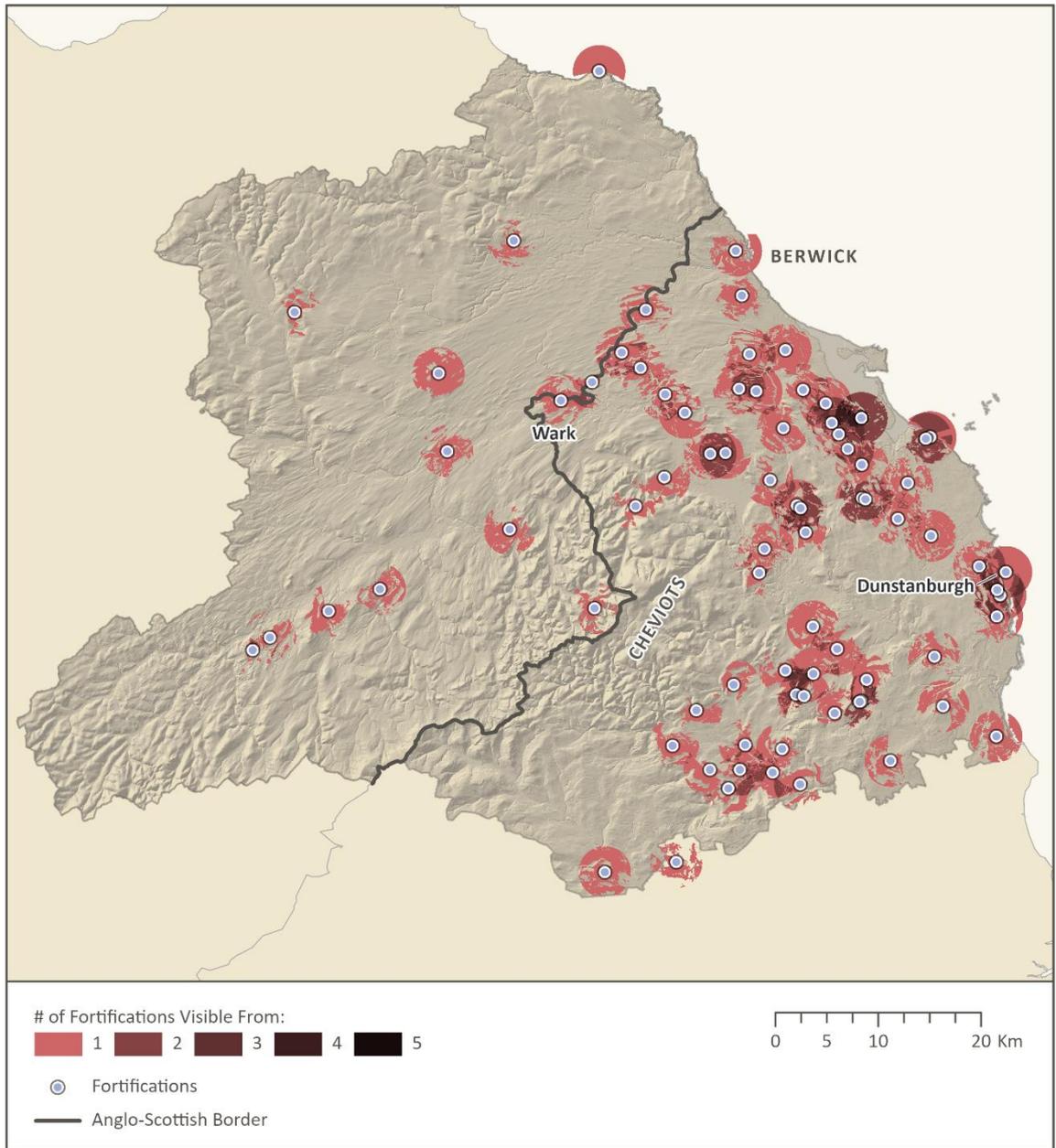
There is also evidence that fortification construction was heavily influenced by estate boundaries. Figure 4.20 illustrates how the density of fortification is correlated with smaller estate territories, particularly to the south in Coquetdale and the Vale of Whittingham. Dixon (1977, 39) argued that by the end of the 14th century many landed families were tactically creating small networks of castles and towers. Those in control of compact but extensive estates, such as the Feltons, were distributing fortifications across them, while those holding scattered estates, such as the Ogles, were building fortifications across independent parcels of land which would be inhabited by secondary branches of the family. These patterns indicate that castle and tower construction was highly affected by estate administration, of which concerns of defence were just one part.

Viewshed patterns also change drastically in Northumberland by 1415. While the lack of evidence of fortification-building in the Scottish Borders (3.3.1) means there was little change on that side of the border, in Northumberland, most of the lowlands were within sight of a fortification by 1415, and there is far more overlap between the extended viewsheds of fortifications (Figure 4.21). Furthermore, more of the landscape is within the first-detection range of at least one fortification, although there are still gaps, particularly the area south of Wark, the area west of Dunstanburgh, and the Cheviot uplands (Figure 4.22). The clusters of fortifications along the major routeways along the River Till and the coastal road described above are particularly noticeable here as areas where the first-detection ranges of fortifications tend to overlap.

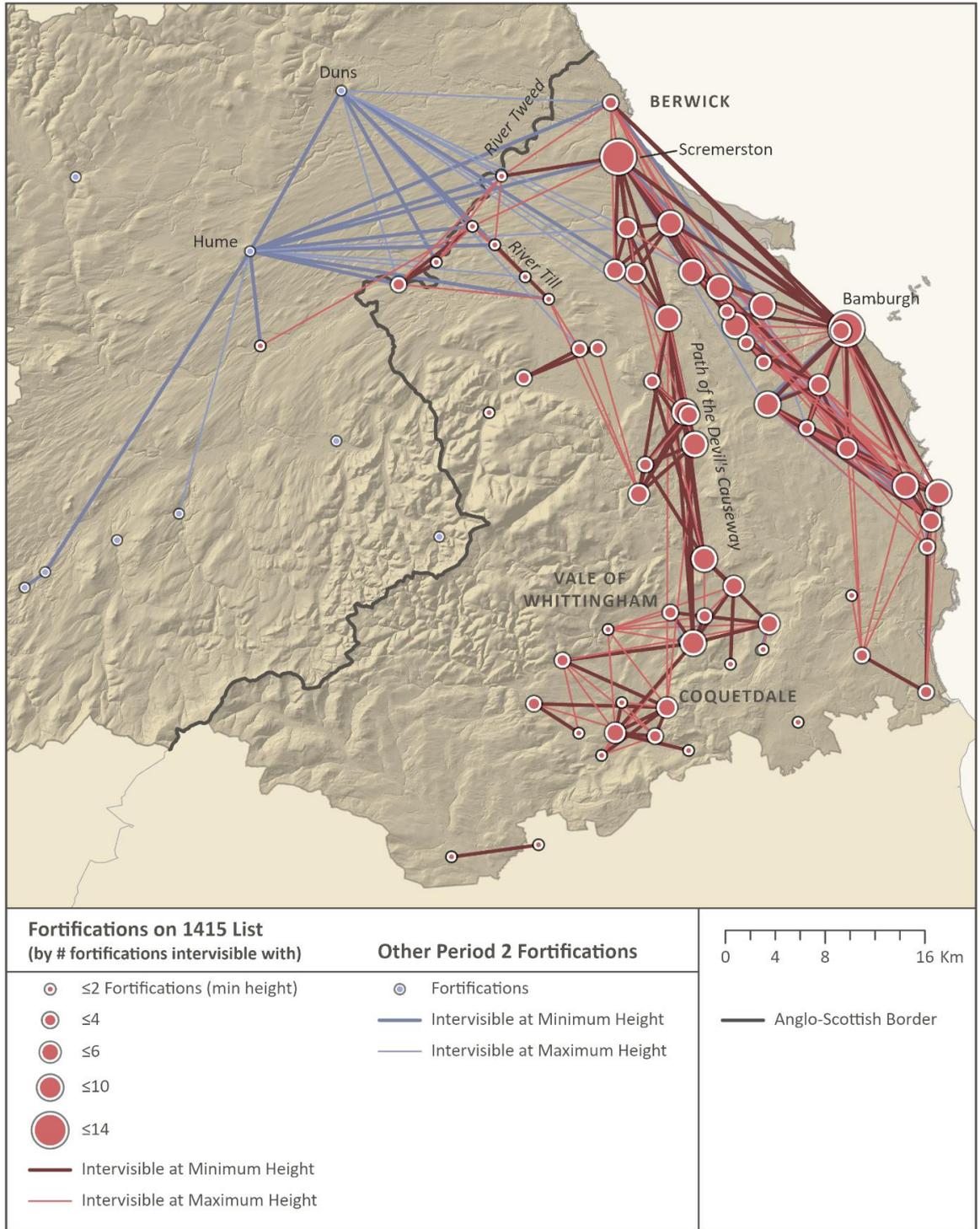
By 1415, there is also the potential for a highly connected signalling network between fortifications (Figure 4.23). Dense, semi-linear networks of intervisibility are evident along the edge of the coastal plain and along the alignment of the Devil's Causeway. Coquetdale and the Vale of Whittingham to the south also have a dispersed



**Figure 4.21:** Cumulative Viewshed of Period 2 (built by 1415) fortifications at their maximum height of 24 m (Credits: Appendix A)



**Figure 4.22:** First-detection range viewsheds of Period 2 fortifications (Credits: Appendix A)



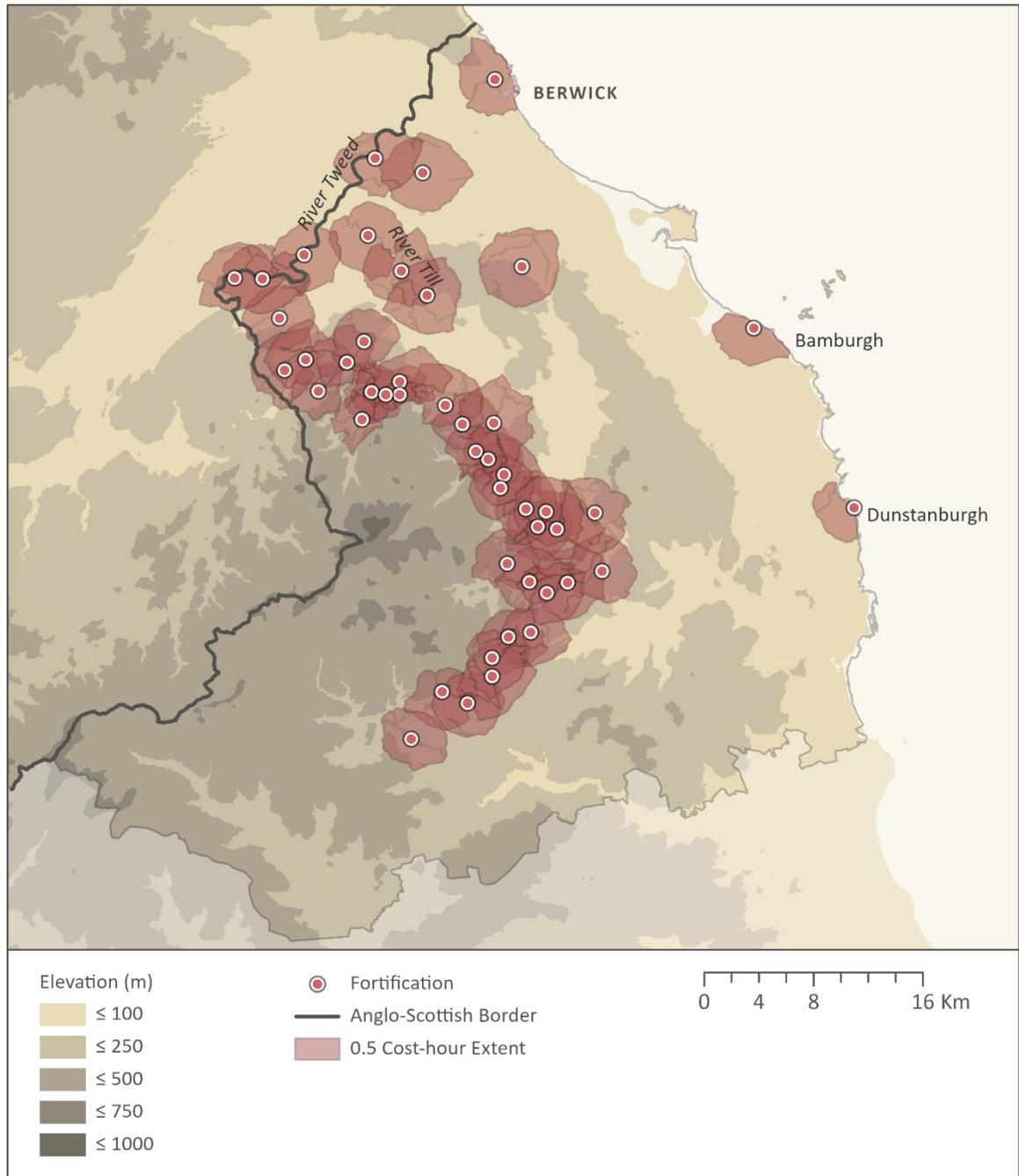
**Figure 4.23:** Potential intervisibility network between fortifications in 1415.

but well-connected potential network of fortifications. Surprisingly, the fortifications along the Till and Tweed are, in general, poorly connected with the rest of the network, which is perhaps why so many beacon and watch-post placenames can be found in the area. Instead, these fortifications are much more intervisible with the towers of the Merse including Duns and Hume. This map indicates that north-south communication would have been much easier to facilitate than that running east-west.

Some of the most highly connected sites are those one might expect, such as Bamburgh, which appears to be an important visual node along the coastal plain. Others, however, are more surprising, such as the tower recorded in 1415 at Scremerston which was owned by a relatively minor member of the Northumberland gentry, John Swinhowe. Although this tower no longer exists, it is in an area of particular visual prominence amongst the 1415 towers, much more so than the nearby royal castle at Berwick.

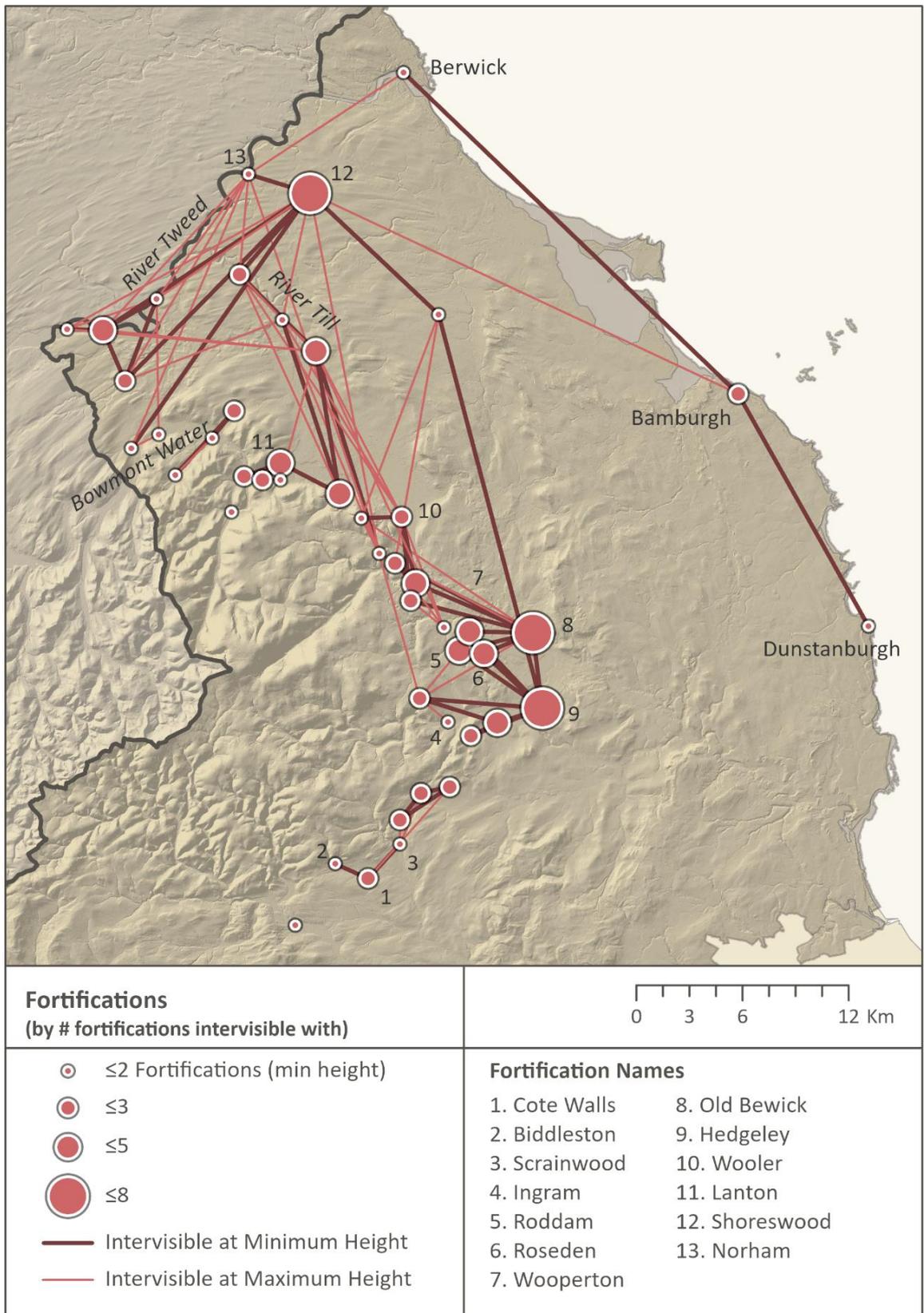
#### ***4.4.2.3 1584—The Plenished Ring***

The fortifications listed in Dacre's plan are much more densely clustered than either of the medieval distributions. The late-16<sup>th</sup>-century distribution incorporates a significant amount of overlap between the edges of the refuge catchments (.5 cost-hours), and fortifications tended to be less than 2km from the next closest tower along the chain, although some segments between fortifications extend up to 4km long (Figure 4.24). There are also castles and towers located off the immediate plenished ring around the Cheviots. Some smaller strings of fortifications extend up valleys. Other fortifications are located further away from the upland/lowland division towards the hearts of the valleys surrounding the Cheviot hills. There is also a short line of defences depicted along the northern end of the Till and a thin line along the Tweed, and both Bamburgh and Dunstanburgh are depicted isolated along the coast. This indicates that while Dacre's plan is linear in its overall structure, it has more complexity than a single line of defences.



**Figure 4.24:** .5 cost-hour catchments of fortifications on Dacre's plished ring plan of defences (*Credits: Appendix A*)

The way this line of defences was intended to function is suggested by patterns in the intervisibility network, which are complex and vary across the plished ring (Figure 4.25). To the south, the system appears to work much like a linear defensive network, with a string of fortifications, each protecting the mouth of a river valley, visually connected along the edge of the uplands. The addition of Cote Walls was possibly integrated into Dacre's system in order to facilitate communication between Biddleston and Scrainwood which were hidden from each other by the topography of the landscape. However, further north, near Ingram and Wooler, the system works



**Figure 4.25:** Potential intervisibility network along Dacre's plished ring defences (Credits: Appendix A)

differently. Here, the edge of the uplands is not so well defined topographically, and the towers along the front line of defence are located further up the river valleys along routeways. Along some of these valleys, fortifications seem to form very local networks of communication, such as between Roddam, Roseden, and Wooperton. However, communication between the valleys was not always possible, and instead, appears to have been facilitated through fortifications located in the lowlands, such as at Bewick and Hedgeley along the River Breamish, and Wooler and Lanton further north. Fortifications along the Tweed appear to have a somewhat separate defensive communication systems, and here, the inclusion of Shoreswood, which initially appears strange due to its location away from the river, becomes clear. Within the model, Shoreswood acts as a node of long-distance visual communication, connecting fortifications along different chains of intervisibility.

## **4.5 Conclusion: Patterns Through Time**

Two major patterns have emerged from this overview of the chronological development of the defence-scape of Northumberland. First, are patterns in the linearisation of a fortified boundary between England and Scotland. There is little evidence that a desire for a network-like system of defence influenced the locations of fortifications prior to the Wars of Independence. This changes slightly by 1415, when strings of fortifications can be traced through the region. However, these strings tended to be located along major routeways rather than along the borderline. In fact, fortifications along the Tweed, the borderline, tended to have fewer connections to other castles, either through overlapping catchments or through intervisibility links, than ones which were located closer to the coast. These patterns indicate that where ideas of defence were influencing the choice of fortification site, they do not seem to have been directly tied to cartographic considerations of the border, but instead were more influenced by flows of movement within the region. In contrast, the defence network of 1584 depicts a much more cartographically linear type of defence network where the upland/lowland divide around the Cheviots and the political border along the Tweed appear to be the focus. The implications of this pattern for the border-scape will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8.

The spatial evidence also indicates a degree of regionality within the system, and this is possibly the direct result of local influences over defence systems. After the

onset of the Wars of Independence, there are differences in the way fortifications are distributed between north Northumberland and the southern portion of the project area. While in the north, fortifications were often distributed in strings along routeways, toward the south in the Vale of Whittingham and the rest of Coquetdale, fortified sites were more widely distributed. Garrison catchments had fewer gaps and the potential intervisibility network was much more evenly distributed and robust. It is possible that this southern defensive system had a much greater degree of organisation than areas further north, perhaps related to pre-existing administrative structures such as the Ten Towns of Coquetdale, a medieval territory of possibly ancient origins which linked communities from the River Breamish to the River Coquet (Brien 2002). It is probably no coincidence that in 1541 the people of Coquetdale are described as the 'best p'pared for defence and most defensyble people of themselves' (Bowes and Ellerker 1541, 224). The only watches listed in the 1541 survey that are within the project area are also located in Coquetdale (Bowes and Ellerker 1541, 240). In general, the proposed watches of 1541 equate to the towers listed along Dacre's plenished ring and probably indicate that the defences Dacre suggests in this part of the project area had been developed decades before his plan was drawn, and perhaps had medieval origins. The relationships between local customary defence systems and regional systems will be explored in greater detail in the following chapter.

# Chapter 5: Thematic Defence-scape

## 5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter characterised the types of sites selected for fortifications and developed a model which can be used to explore the mechanics of Anglo-Scottish defence systems. It then examined the potential for the existence of regional defence systems through time, identifying some trends which merit further investigation. This chapter applies the results of the previous chapter to examine aspects of the medieval defence-scape through the remaining four project themes (movement, perspective, time/temporality, and scale). First, it explores how a consideration of movement within the defence-scape can help us piece together the development of local systems of defence. Next, it expands analyses of medieval defence systems beyond fortifications to explore the role of churches as part of the defence-scape. The third section of this chapter compares the chronological patterns of the regional defence-scape noted in the previous chapter with local patterns of violence and defence. Next, because the most detailed historical information on defences describes the English side of the border, much of this chapter focusses on the English defence-scape. However, the fourth section of the chapter explores the potential for the Spheres of Influence model to also model the Scottish defence-scape. Finally, the relationship between defences at the local and regional scale are considered. Together, these analyses build a much more detailed picture of the Anglo-Scottish defence-scape as it was experienced in the medieval period which can then be used to explore bordering processes within the border-scape in Chapter 8.

## 5.2 Movement: The Barony of Embleton and Landscapes of Refuge

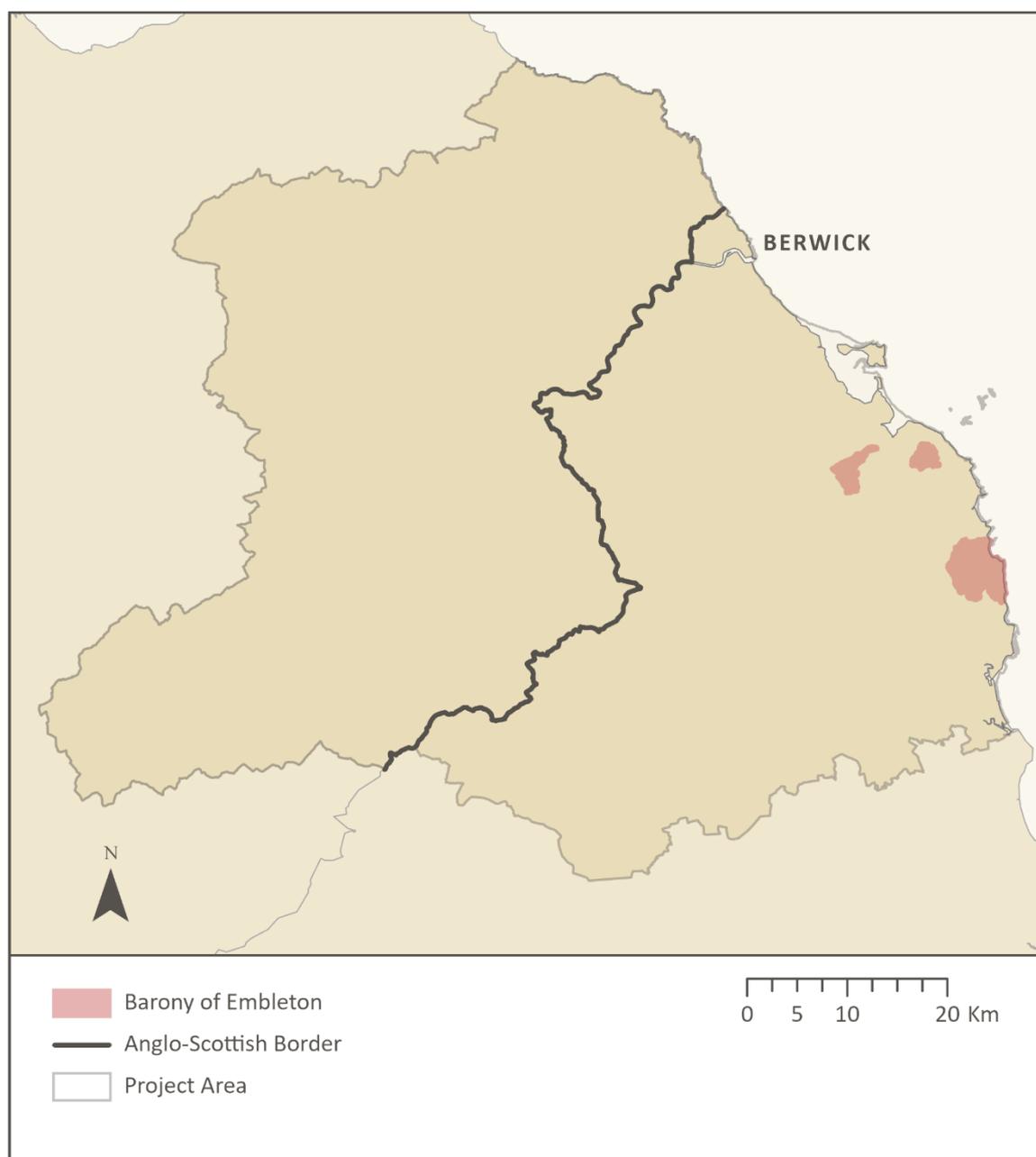
The previous chapter argued that Anglo-Scottish defence systems changed through time. Some of the features of these systems are known, but the mechanics of the systems as they functioned on the ground are not well understood. The second half of the previous chapter explored the potential for the development of regional defence networks at particular points in time using the project Spheres of Influence model. This

section expands the application of this model to examine its utility as a tool with which local medieval defences can be interpreted. To achieve this, this section will investigate how communal defence, particularly considerations of refuge, shaped the landscape of the Barony of Embleton. The Barony of Embleton was one of the smaller baronies in medieval Northumberland, and unlike many others in the region, remained relatively compact throughout much of its history. It was comprised of the townships of Embleton, Stamford, Craster and Dunstan in Embleton parish and Burton and Warenton in Bamburgh parish (AHN.ii, 10) (Figure 5.1). Despite its size, it is one of the better documented estates in Northumberland, making it a good case study to explore how the Spheres of Influence model enhances our understanding of the development of a medieval defence-scape. The following analysis concentrates on the southern part of the Barony within the parish of Embleton.

The barony is first recorded in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, when it was held by Odard, the 'sheriff of the Northumbrians' (AHN.ii, 11). By the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century, control of the barony had transferred between multiple hands until it was finally gifted to Edmund, the earl of Lancaster. Lancaster was responsible for the construction of Dunstanburgh Castle, one of the largest castles in Northumberland, which began in 1313. The castle has largely overshadowed the rest of the barony in published historical research, and its construction has been the target of defence or display debates common in castle studies. For instance, King (2001a, 228) argues that Dunstanburgh had a largely peripheral and 'strategically irrelevant' location. However, investment under Edward II to prepare it for war indicates that its 'strategic irrelevance' is perhaps a problematic generalisation, and it was seen at times as a useful staging point for English armies on their way to Scotland (Oswald et al. 2006, 18). Dunstanburgh also housed an important garrison, mostly mounted, which occasionally numbered in excess of 100 men, and was even called to take part in a number of battles (Cornell 2006, 9,19,258, 260).

The castle defences enclose 4.5ha (11 acres) of land, making it the largest castle in Northumberland. But unlike many castles in Northumberland (see 4.3.2.3), it was isolated in the landscape and was never associated with a settlement (Summerson 1993, 7). The site is highly defensible, with either steep slopes or the sea on three sides of the castle. However, King (2001a) argues that the size of the castle had little to do with the defence of an estate largely peripheral to Lancaster's interests. Instead, it was intended to be used as a bolt-hole or getaway while also satisfying his penchant for

enhancing his political power through ostentatious castle construction. Nevertheless, despite Lancaster's apparent disinterest in the use of the castle for defensive purposes, it is possible that others saw the construction of the castle as an opportunity to strengthen the defences of the region. For instance, several monasteries lent horses and oxen to Lancaster during the construction of the castle.

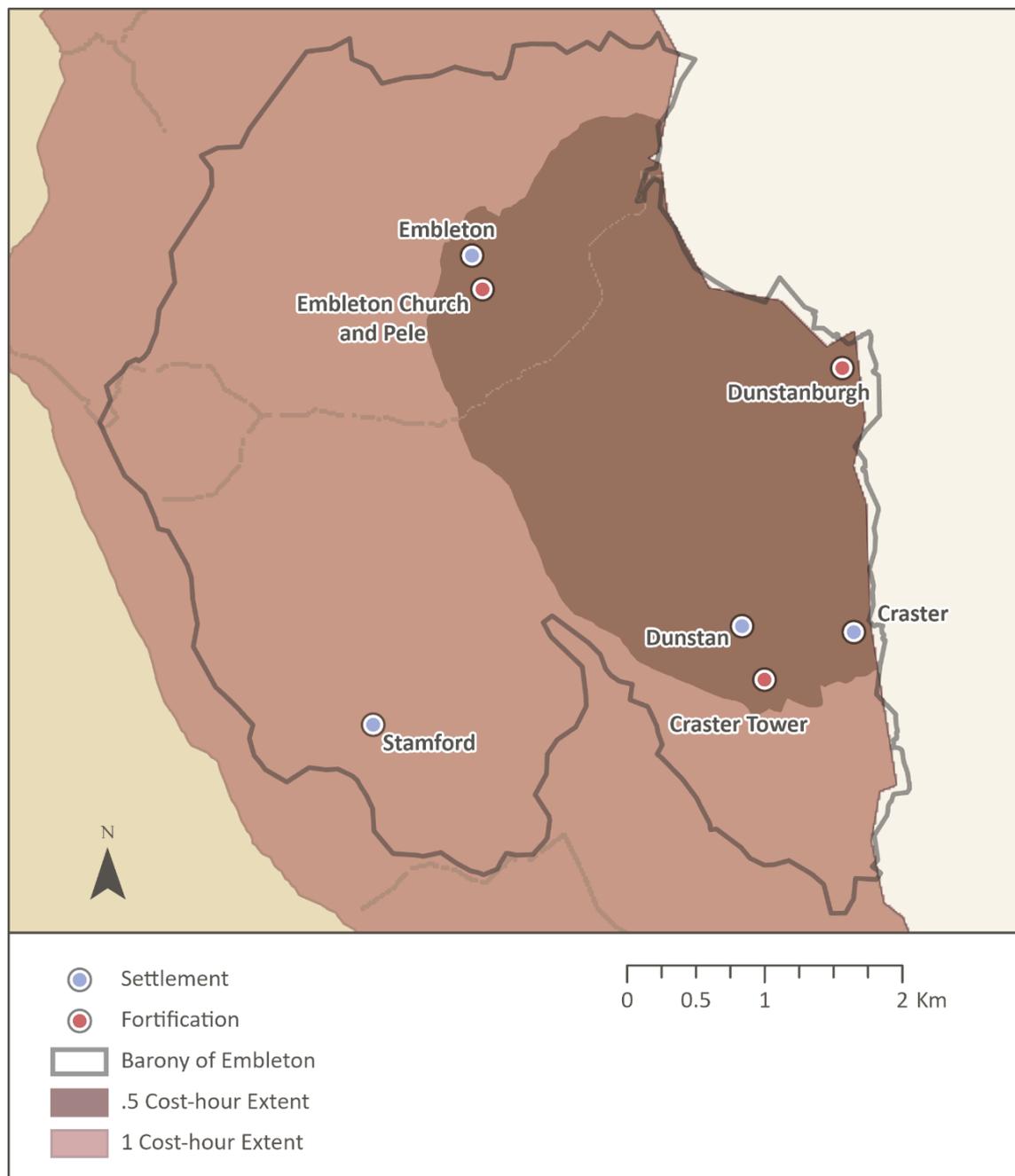


**Figure 5.1:** The Barony of Embleton (*Credits: Appendix A*)

The castle has also been widely interpreted as an important place of refuge for inhabitants in the area (Coulson 2003, 255; Goodman 1998, 162–163). Dunstanburgh's vast bailey is seen by some historians as evidence for its 'highly localised' defensive responsibilities as a refuge (Goodman 1998; see also Summerson 1993). There is

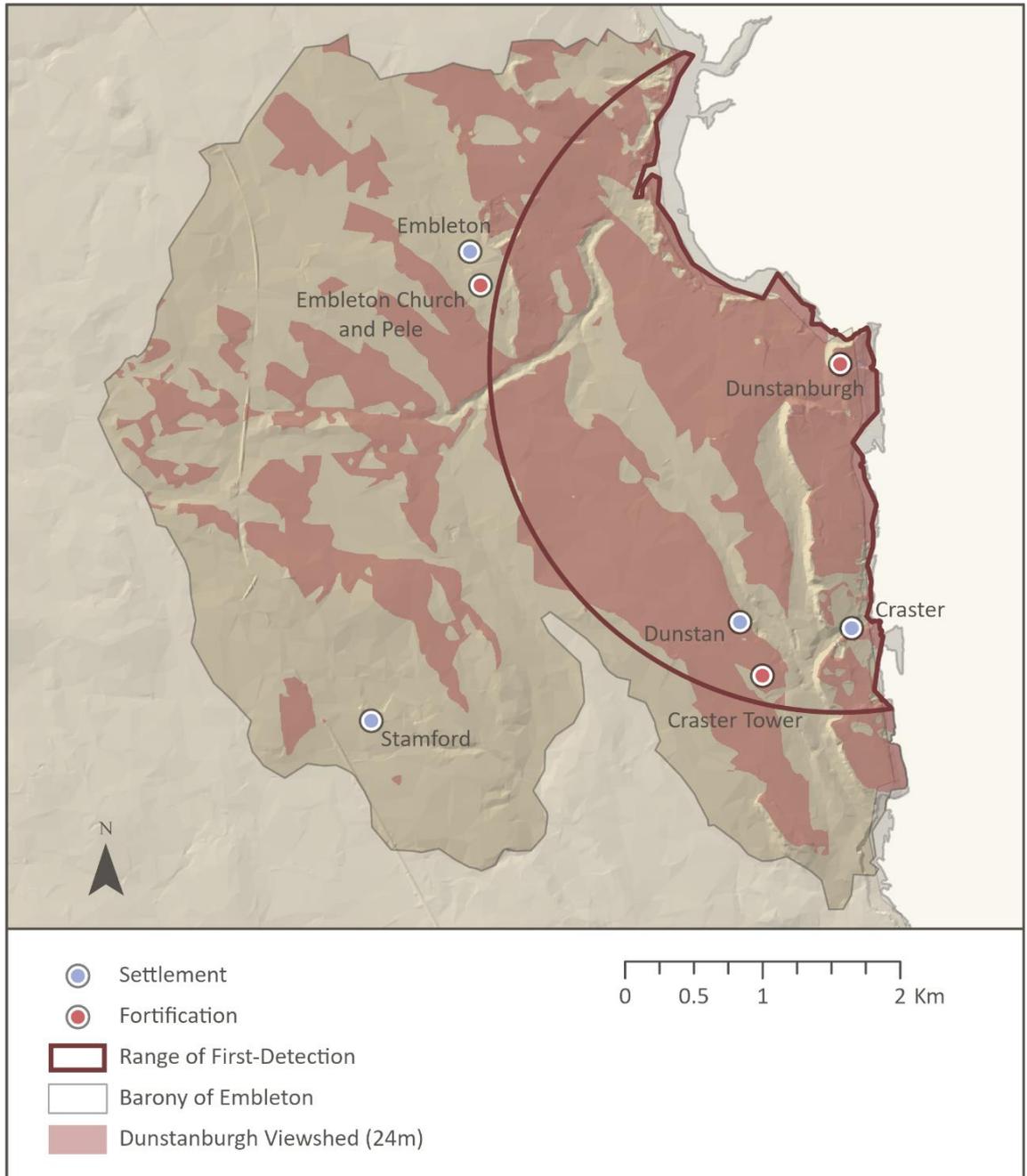
evidence that the castle was, on occasion, used as a place of refuge by those from the surrounding countryside during times of war in both the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries (Oswald et al. 2006, 92; AHN.ii, 34). Nevertheless, despite the presence of the region's largest castle, the barony experienced its fair share of violence at the hands of Scottish armies and raiders. Accounts indicate that the wealth of the manors within the barony fluctuated across the 14<sup>th</sup> century, although none explicitly note the reasons for these financial troubles. King (2001a, 228) hypothesises that Lancaster's patronage may have saved the estates some trouble in the early-14<sup>th</sup> century, as there is evidence that Lancaster colluded with the Scots. Nevertheless, despite the defences of the castle, by the 1380s and throughout the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the villages in the Barony of Embleton experienced hardships both from campaign warfare and from smaller raids and skirmishes, including some at the hands of fellow Englishmen (AHN.ii, 31). One of the most troublesome appears to have been in 1384, when the 'the Scots lay in the fields of Embleton and did great destruction' (AHN.ii, 67). However, both King (2001a, 28) and Oswald et al. (2006, 92) note the major inadequacies of Dunstanburgh's siting for local defence, primarily discussing its distance from the nearby settlements. Interpretation within the context of the calibrated GIS model can verify just how inadequate it was.

While much of the Barony of Embleton is within the garrison catchment of 1 cost-hour, both Embleton and Craster, major settlements within the barony, exist on the edge of the .5 cost-hour refuge limit (Figure 5.2). As Cornell (2006) noted, a garrison could do little in the face of an entire army, and so some of the devastation of campaign warfare could be forgiven on that basis. However, even if a garrison was able to be consistently maintained (and there is documentary evidence that Dunstanburgh's important garrison was not always paid on time (Cornell 2006, 61)), the model indicates that there was little the garrison could have done for the communities of the barony without advance warning of an impending attack. The maximum viewshed from Dunstanburgh covers a significant portion of the coast as well as the approaches to Embleton and Craster, but both settlements are located toward the outer limit of the range of first detection, and Dunstanburgh's viewshed does not extend much beyond the settlements (Figure 5.3). Stamford is particularly exposed, being located nearly 4km from the castle and in a large blind spot in the viewshed. In order for these villages to be protected by the garrison, there would need to be a system of watches and signals in place to indicate an attack—a system for which no documentary evidence exists.



**Figure 5.2:** Dunstanburgh castle's defence catchments (*Credits: Appendix A*)

If we extend our gaze beyond the castle, then a much more interesting defence-scape begins to emerge over the course of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Dunstanburgh was not the only fortification within the Barony of Embleton. To the south, there was a tower with a vaulted basement at Craster which was built sometime in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. To the north, the town of Embleton contains two fortifications—a tower owned by the vicar, which was constructed in 1395 of an 'unusually elongate plan' with two vaulted basements (NCC HER, 5833), and a parish church which shows signs that it was enhanced with a defensible tower in the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Brooke 2000, 82–83) (Figures 5.4 and 5.5).



**Figure 5.3:** Dunstanburgh's maximum viewedshed (24m) within the Barony of Embleton  
*(Credits: Appendix A)*



**Figure 5.4:** Embleton's Vicar's Pele (*Photo by author*)



**Figure 5.5:** Embleton Church (*Photo by author*)

Fortifying a church was often a community decision, although their defensive enhancements could be funded by the lord. Account books of the Earls of Northumberland in the 15<sup>th</sup> century record spending on the repairs of church towers for the protection of tenants (Brooke 2000, 9). It has been suggested that church refuges were popular as a source of community defence earlier than many secular towers, although evidence for defensive additions and the use of these churches for defence extends throughout the medieval period (Armstrong 2020, 85; Brooke 2000). The Embleton church tower exhibits typical defensive features such as stone barrel vaulting on the ground floor, small windows, and upper floors that were only accessible by ladder (Brooke 2000, 82–83).

The fortifications in the Barony of Embleton probably represent the piecemeal development of a local landscape of defence. Although the .5 cost-hour refuge catchment for the fortifications of both Embleton and Craster cover much of the barony, whether they were intended for communal use is debateable. For Embleton, the juxtaposition of defended church and fortification indicates that this was probably not always the case. Meanwhile, whether the tower of Craster was ever used for communal defence is purely conjectural. Although it is separate from the village of Craster, closer to the shoreline, it is well placed to act as a refuge for both the communities of Craster and Dunstan. In contrast, the defensive structures in Embleton, particularly the church, have much clearer connections to communal defence. Historical records indicate that administration was well-organised within the barony, and Embleton was its administrative centre. The baronial court system was well-structured and included a prison in Embleton, gallows at Newton, Embleton, Dunstan and Craster, and eventually, a moot hall in Embleton (AHN.ii, 19). As a result, Embleton was a natural gathering point where precautions for safety might be expected. While the defensive relationship between the pele and the defended church is uncertain, a hoard found at the eastern end of the churchyard (NCC HER 5837) indicates that the area was probably a point at which people gathered in times of distress. If there was a defence network, it was probably one which was loosely organised piecemeal through time and as a reaction to political events. For instance, the construction of the vicar's tower in Embleton in 1395 (AHN.ii, 67) was possibly a response to the devastation of the Scottish encampment near Embleton a few years before.

Embleton's defensive geography of the castle, towers, and defended churches foreshadows tiered systems of defence better documented across the borderland in later periods. For instance, further north along the Rivers Tweed and Till in 1541, Ford Castle is noted as a place of refuge, but that an incomplete vicar's tower in the town was also needed because 'yt were mucche requisite to be fynyshe for defence of that towne' (Bowes and Ellerker 1541, 191–192). The description of Wark's tiers of defence is even more explicit. The populace of Carham could resort to Wark in times of need, but Carham also had its own 'lytle tower without barmekyn or iron gate' which they could run to 'in a soddenly occurrant skyrmiyshe'. Wark was typically used for relief in 'tyme of warre' when there was greater warning of impending attack (Bowes and Ellerker 1541, 182).

However, the example of Embleton illustrates that these tiers did not always nest smoothly together. Although Dunstanburgh contained an important garrison and may have been occasionally utilised as a refuge in periods of extended warfare, it was not a primarily defensive castle. Its orbit of influence was much broader than the barony, and its practical military use was similarly large-scale and predominantly part of offensive campaigns. Ironically, recent archaeological survey indicates that the approach to Dunstanburgh from Embleton, the most important of the villages, may have been carefully designed, but this landscape of movement was designed to express power on a national scale through martial symbols rather than as a practical means of local defence (Oswald et al. 2006). Meanwhile, the fortifications of Embleton and Craster, although similarly listed on the survey of 1415, were not 'offensive' fortifications: it is unlikely that either ever housed a local garrison. Even into the 16<sup>th</sup> century, a collection of 16 places in Bamburgh and Embleton parishes were only able to muster 27 men 'with horse and harness' (Lomas 1996a, 147). While their use as refuges could help protect the bodies of those in the surrounding area or their small portable goods, they were far too small in scale to effectively protect large quantities of goods and chattel, resulting in the repeated devastation of the settlements throughout the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Overall this evidence illustrates that the defence-scape from the perspective of Dunstanburgh was primarily integrated into regional and national networks with significant offensive responsibilities. Meanwhile, the towers of Embleton and (possibly) Craster were much more closely organised around the needs of the settlements in the barony and were more communal and defensive in nature. The

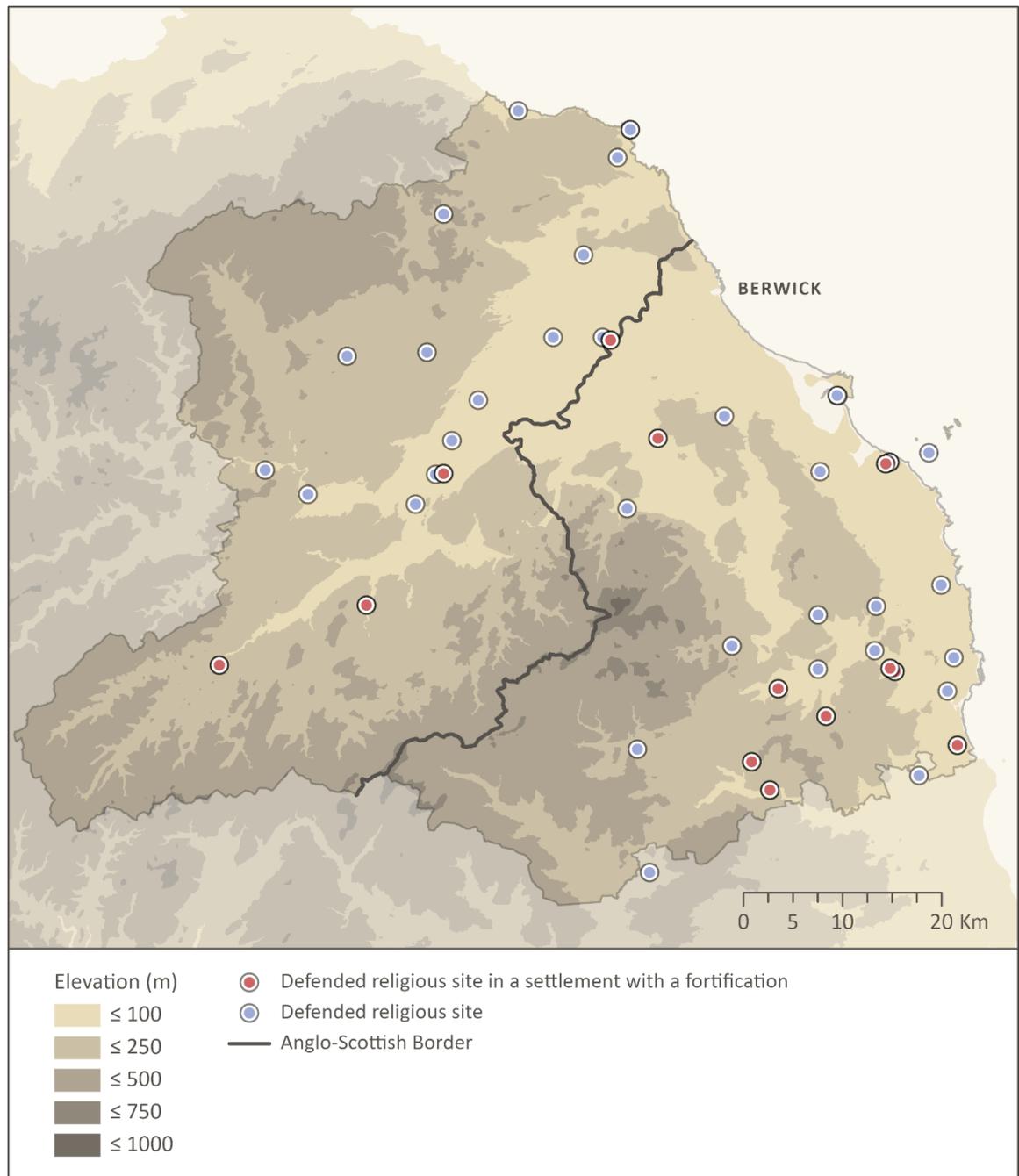
inability of the two systems to work together smoothly was the fundamental weakness of the defence of the barony.

This section indicates there is great utility in investigating local defences-scapes through the mechanisms which organised defence. In this case, understanding the movement of garrisons and threatened communities within the landscape of Embleton revealed that the offensive and defensive roles of local fortifications were entangled but not always completely overlapping. These patterns suggest that it may be worthwhile to expand our exploration of communal defence-scapes beyond the fortification lists.

### **5.3 Perspective: Fortified Churches and Local Defence**

Consideration of landscapes of defence as not only landscapes of movement but also as complex landscapes that extended beyond the immediate vicinity of the fortifications has highlighted that previous castle studies may have been at once too narrow and too broad. The tendency of research to compartmentalise the study of fortifications to particular building types or particular periods has already been critiqued. The evidence discussed above suggests that different fortifications did, in fact, serve different roles. However, the example of Embleton also indicates that the relationships between defended churches and fortifications has previously been undervalued in recent scholarship due to divisions between church and castle studies. While castle studies have noted the presence of defended churches, the investigation of these structures is generally found in studies by church architecture specialists. It is argued here that a full understanding of the defence-scape, particularly from a local perspective, requires a re-evaluation of the relationships between fortifications and churches within local refuge systems.

When compared with the distributions of fortifications, 14 defended churches are located in a settlement with a known fortification (excluding vicar's peles) (Figure 5.6). Some churches were fortified as direct result of the military activities of specific campaigns. For instance, Norham's St Cuthbert's Church was fortified by the Scots during their siege of Norham in 1318 (Brooke 2000, 62). But at others, the reasons for adding defensive elements to a church were more complex. At some of these churches, defensive architectural elements were likely added when the nearby fortifications were constructed or renovated. For example, Edlingham's church has numerous defensive



**Figure 5.6:** Defended churches in a settlement with a fortification (*Credits: Appendix A*)

features, including a ladder-accessed tower with small defensive windows which is accessible only through a door in the nave that is protected by a thick drawbar (Figure 5.7). Based on its architectural features, Brooke (2000, 109) argues that the tower was probably constructed at the same time as a major renovation was being undertaken at the nearby castle between 1295 and 1300. The church is located between the village and the castle, which sits a short distance away to the north-east, indicating that the castle was probably not the first point of refuge for the village (Figure 5.8). Instead, its fortification was funded by the lord of the castle to offer security to the village, an act of both defence and a display of prestige, power, and good lordship (Coulson 2003,

173). The presence of both a defended church and fortification in a village probably indicates a degree of separation between the fortification and its role in communal defence, except in periods where the threat of large-scale invasion was particularly heightened.



**Figure 5.7:** Edlingham Church (*Photo by author*)

The other defended churches (N=33) which do not have a clear association with a fortification can also tell us much about local defence systems. When compared with towers in existence in 1415, many of these defended churches appear to be protecting areas that did not have refuge access to other fortifications, particularly toward the southern end of the study area. This is most apparent in the area around the Shipley Burn between Eglington, South Charlton and Bewick (Figure 5.16). This also happens to be the location of an unusual gap in the coverage of garrison catchments in the fortification list of 1415 (Figure 4.19).

This 'gap' in the fortification catchments contains two defended churches and a fortified abbey (Figure 5.9). There was a chapel-of-ease at South Charlton to which the Earl of Northumberland gave money in 1450 toward the construction of a fortified chapel for the protection of the villagers (Brooke 2000, 84). Eglington has a church tower that appears to have defensive characteristics including small windows, and entry to the upper levels by ladder. There is little record of attacks on the area through the medieval period, but it was sacked by the Scots in 1596 and again during the Civil

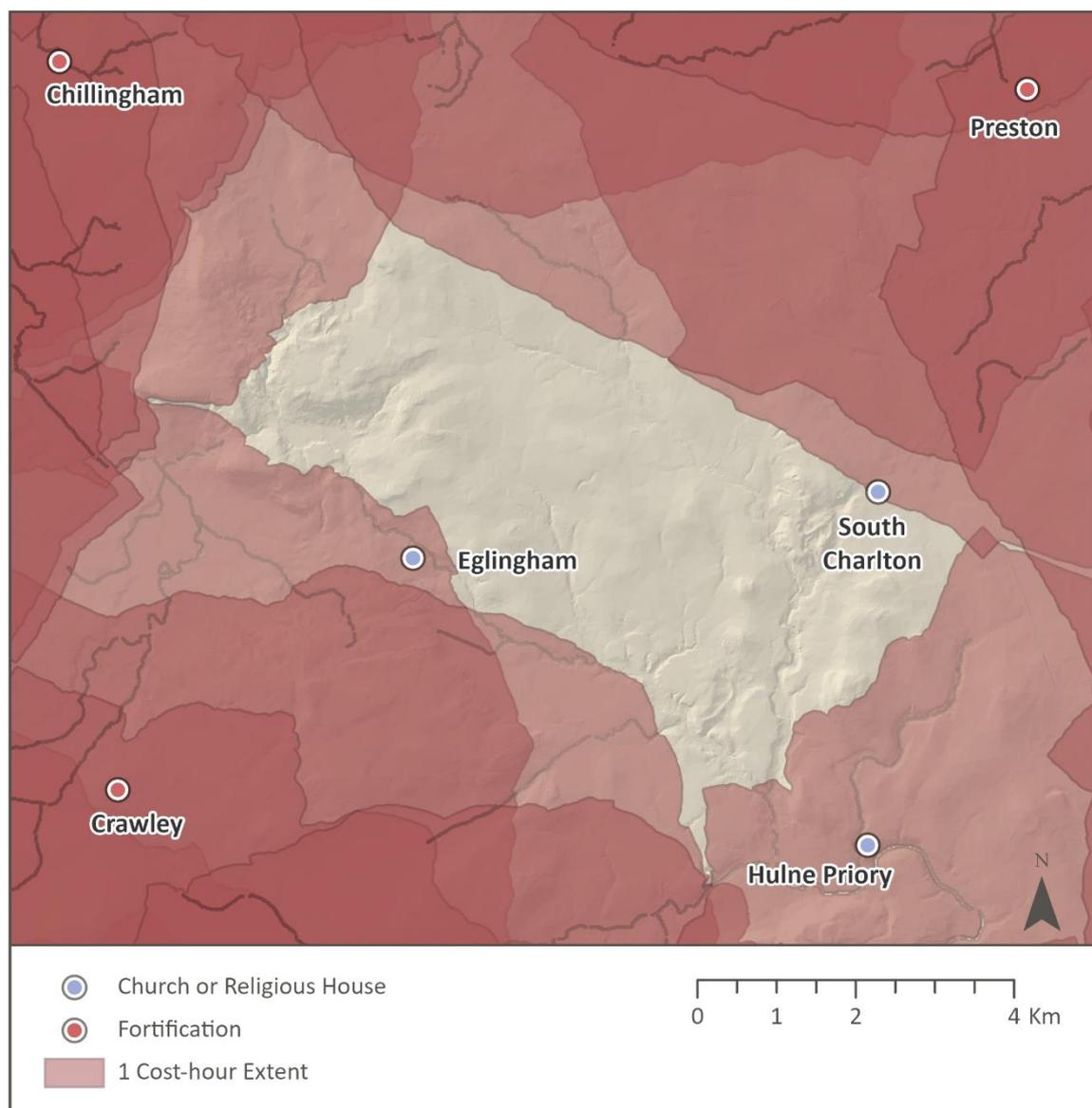


**Figure 5.8:** View of Edlingham Castle from the church (*Photo by author*)

War (AHN.xiv, 362; Brooke 2000, 97). Finally, Hulne Priory is another example of defensive investment by the Earls of Northumberland. It has numerous defensive features, including a substantial precinct wall, as well as a fortified tower built in the late 1480s (NCC HER, 4426; Brooke 2000, 105). When these sites are compared to the tower catchments within the model, all are located well beyond the .5 cost-hour refuge catchment. The two churches, Eglingham and South Charlton, are at the outer limit of the 1 cost-hour garrison catchment. This is significant because 1 cost-hour also represents the distance between two adjacent refuge catchments (.5 cost-hours each). In these cases, churches were clearly supplementing weaknesses in the area's defence network.

There are other examples where defended churches can be found existing beyond refuge catchments or at the boundary between the refuge catchments of two fortifications. Ingram is another interesting example and bears some striking resemblances to Embleton (Figure 5.10). The medieval tower of Ingram's church was heavily restored in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, removing most of the medieval features. However, earlier records of the church indicate it had typical defensible features such as small entryways, small windows, and access to the upper floors by ladder. It was attacked multiple times in the 16<sup>th</sup> century which left it ruined by the end of the century (Brooke 2000, 94–95). Nevertheless, like Embleton, a fortified tower for the vicarage was constructed in either the late-15<sup>th</sup> or early-16<sup>th</sup> centuries. The tower has since been

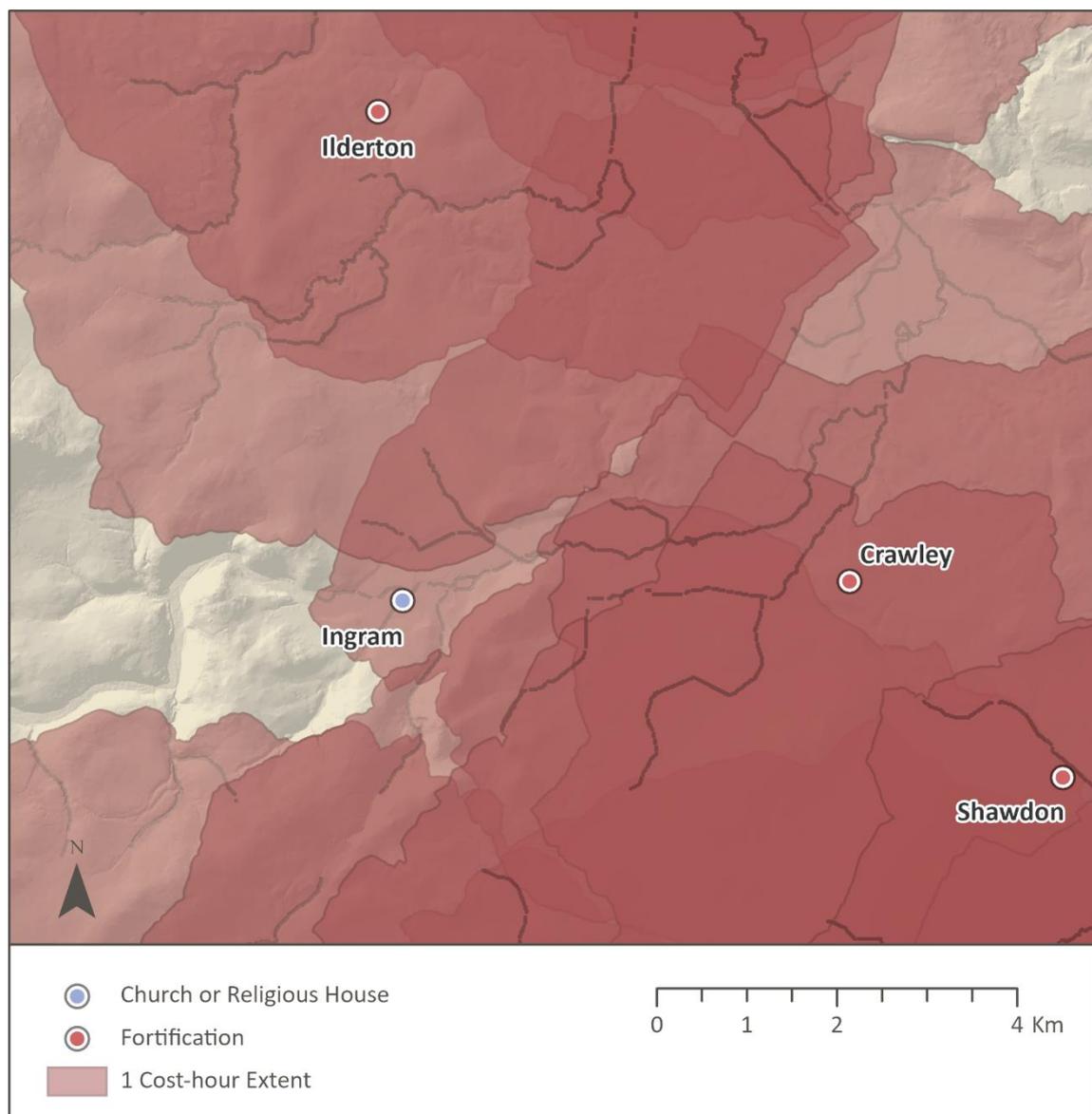
destroyed, possibly by the river, which was recorded as threatening the tower in 1541 (Bowes and Ellerker 1541, 211).



**Figure 5.9:** The defended churches of Eglingham, South Charlton and Hulne Priory in relation to the 1 cost-hour garrison catchments of surrounding fortifications (*Credits: Appendix A*)

The need for the defended church in Ingram is evident—it is located at the edge of the garrison catchments for the three nearest fortifications in 1415. The Breamish Valley is one of the few river valleys not controlled by a fortification in the 1415 survey (the nearest fortification was Crawley, 5km east, which controlled the north-south route from Glanton to Wooperton). This was a routeway in and out of the Cheviots and possibly even held a garrison as it was recorded as being able to hold 40 men in the early-16<sup>th</sup> century (1509 survey—Bates 1891, 24). Its importance in local defence continued to be recognised since the tower at Ingram is included in later defence plans

of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (SPO TNA SP15/27B/91-92). This evidence, like Embleton, indicates that defences in an area often grew organically, sometimes first by a defended church which was later supplemented with additional fortification.



**Figure 5.10:** The defended church at Ingram in relation to the 1 cost-hour garrison catchments of surrounding fortifications (*Credits: Appendix A*)

These examples illustrate that defence-scapes as they were experienced by local people were far more than simply the fortifications around which they lived. Consideration of the relationships between traditional fortifications such as castles and towers with others such as church towers is essential to build a complete picture of the medieval landscape of defence as it was experienced and understood within the region. However, thus far, analysis in this chapter has been largely atemporal. Nevertheless, the beginning of this chapter noted the fluidity of defensive systems. To understand the

change within the Anglo-Scottish defence-scape and its influence over local socio-political dynamics, the temporality of these systems needs to be explored.

## **5.4 Time and Temporality: The Experience of Local Violence**

The organisation of the defence systems in the Anglo-Scottish borderland was not static. Castles were constructed and then fell into disrepair, garrisons were formed and disbanded, and systems of watches came and went. As a result, it is important to consider the temporalities (the way time is experienced) of the defence systems in the region. This section explores this through an investigation of the temporalities of violence and defence and their relationship with the physical development of the defence-scape.

The local experience of the defence-scape may have been different than the large-scale chronological changes to defence-scape outlined in the previous chapter imply. Previous work on the anthropology and geography of violence in other parts of the world has highlighted the influence of situated temporalities in local conceptions of defence-scapes. For instance, in their work on refuge caves of the Spanish Civil War, Fernández and Moshenska (2017) note that there are differences in the timelines of violence and warfare at the national and local scales. In their project area in Asturias, the greatest period of violence was experienced just after the war had ended and hostilities elsewhere were beginning to slacken. Therefore, the local need for defence need not necessarily match chronological patterns at the regional scale.

In the Anglo-Scottish borderland, there has been debate over the extent of the impact raids had on local communities in the region. Historians have been quick to point out that the devastations recorded in the documentary record do not necessarily reflect reality on the ground. There was financial incentive to over-exaggerate the devastation of raids as it often resulted in reduced taxation (King 2001b). Others have noted that many settlements seem to have recovered quickly from the financial impact of raids, and so as a community, a raid would not necessarily have devastating long-term financial implications (Lomas 1996b; Tuck 1985). Long-term violence and stress can have significant physiological consequences in affected communities (Green 1994), and Jaime Jennings (2010) investigated the biological evidence for sustained violence in four cemetery populations from the wider Anglo-Scottish borderland, although only

one of these populations is located within this thesis' project area. She found few indications of higher levels of stress in borderland populations and suggested that this pattern may indicate there were lower levels of raiding than it appears from the documentary record. However, because geographies of violence can be very localised, it is perhaps best to characterise violence as inconstant rather than insubstantial.

While violence in certain areas of the borderland may have been somewhat inconstant, this does not necessarily mean that hostilities had no impact, but rather that they could have had different impacts depending on who one was and where one was located. Some of these impacts can be discerned in the archaeological record. For instance, Oram (2014) traced the evolution of the designed landscape around Hermitage Castle in the West March and noted how a former deer park was altered to become a more defensible enclosure for cattle as violence escalated at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. There is also evidence that a person's exposure to and, thus, experience of violence, could be shaped by sociological factors. In 1436, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II, recorded his experience in a village along the borderline. He described that in the evening, all the men took refuge in a nearby tower, leaving the women behind in the village. Armstrong (2020, 260–261) argues that this story is indicative of differing gender roles in the customs of feud for the region, demonstrating that experiences of and roles within the defence-scape differed by gender. Others have noted that raiders purposely avoided certain houses on their raids, although the reasons for such avoidance are not always clear (Fraser 1971, 192–194). Thus, while violence appeared chaotic and indiscriminate, other violence was far more targeted and selective.

Not all violence was fleeting. Apparent weaknesses in the fortification distributions can also inform us about patterns of longer-term disruptions. Even in Dacre's idealised plan for fortifications in the late-16<sup>th</sup> century, sites along the plinshed ring are least connected along the Bowmont Valley and the northern edge of the Cheviots (Figure 4.25). There, some links existed along river valleys, but communication from tower to tower along the Bowmont was not possible.<sup>13</sup> This was an area that, despite the presence of one of the border's key castles at Wark to the north, was

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<sup>13</sup> Although it should be noted that an unfinished tower was noted at Downham in 1541. The exact location of this tower is unknown, nor whether it was ever finished. However, had it been included in Dacre's plan, it would have facilitated a chain of visual communication down the Bowmont Valley.

particularly vulnerable and exposed to attack. The Bowmont Valley and its immediate surroundings contained a number of important routeways between England and Scotland, including ones where the popular meeting places at Reddenburn and Haddenstank were located (these will be described in more detail in Chapters 6 and 7). However, despite its tactically important location on the Tweed, the region was repeatedly attacked in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. At Mindrum, ‘in ev’y apparence of a troublous worlde or warre yt ys abandoned & left waste as an easye praye for enemyes to ov’ronne’ (Bowes and Ellerker 1541, 183).

There are numerous indications that the exposure of this part of the region had a long history, and in fact, it appears as a notable gap in the defences of the border in the 1415 survey (Figure 4.19). The reasons for this insecurity are rooted in the tenurial history of the area. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the entire area was part of the Barony of Wark, which was held by the de Ros family (AHN.xi, 35-41). This family had interests on both sides of the border, and after 1296, Robert de Ros pledges Scottish allegiance. Robert forfeited his English lands, and the barony was then gifted by the English crown to one of Robert’s relatives, William de Ros. Following this, the property became embroiled in a long series of legal battles over ownership as Robert’s daughters tried to reclaim it. Claims over the control of the Barony of Wark continued well into the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and so, there was no lord to invest in local defences and the territory was repeatedly left exposed to attack. For instance, Wark castle suffered multiple sieges and was ransacked by the Scots on numerous occasions—by 1390, the castle was in ruins, and in 1460, the fortifications were dismantled (AHN.xi, 53). The campaigns of the early-16<sup>th</sup> century reawakened royal interest in Wark Castle and the crown invested money into repairing the ruinous fortification. Unfortunately, royal interests did not extend to the exposed lands of the Barony of Wark to the south, which were held by a number of different tenants (AHN.xi, 81-82).

As a result, throughout the medieval period, a tactically important piece of the borderlands was left woefully unprotected because complexities of property claims, particularly after the tumultuous years of the Wars of Independence, made it impossible for any one person to invest and manage local defence in the area. The locality was still exposed in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and required major investment in order to be defensible. For instance, in 1541, it was recommended to not only build a tower within the settlement, but also to construct an additional ‘two little piles or watch

howses, the one upon Teversheughe<sup>14</sup> between it and Warke and the other upon heddon lawe between it and Chevyot' (Bowes and Ellerker 1541, 203–204). Such a localised and heavily fortified system of defence in what was an impoverished area would have required investment from the lord, and the necessary leadership was not always present in this region.

Overall, this section has highlighted the importance of considering the vast range of ways the defence-scape was experienced and conceptualised in the region. Chronological patterns in the distribution of fortifications in the previous chapter indicate broad changes to the ways fortifications were used throughout the medieval period. They suggest that there was probably a greater consideration of fortifications as parts of broader networks as the medieval period progressed, although this does not necessarily mean that fortifications were built with the intent to create a region-wide system of defence. The correlation between fortifications and estate boundaries in the previous chapter (Figures 4.16 and 4.21) instead suggested that these networks developed somewhat organically and at the small-scale, a pattern further evidenced by the development of the Barony of Embleton's defence-scape traced earlier in this chapter. Alongside this evidence of local variation, a consideration of temporalities highlights just how varied the experience of the medieval defence-scape could be. While the threat of violence remained a key consideration for communities, such as Mindrum, for long periods of time, at others, its influence was probably much more temporary. It is likely the intensity and duration of violence would have had a significant impact on the way local communities functioned.

## **5.5 The Problem with Scotland: The Rule/Teviot Confluence**

Thus far, this chapter has been more focused on the fortified landscapes of the English side of the project area. As was evidenced in Chapter 3, this is because the range of evidence available is much greater in Northumberland than it is in the Scottish Borders, and the Scottish dataset is much more affected by historiographical bias. Thus,

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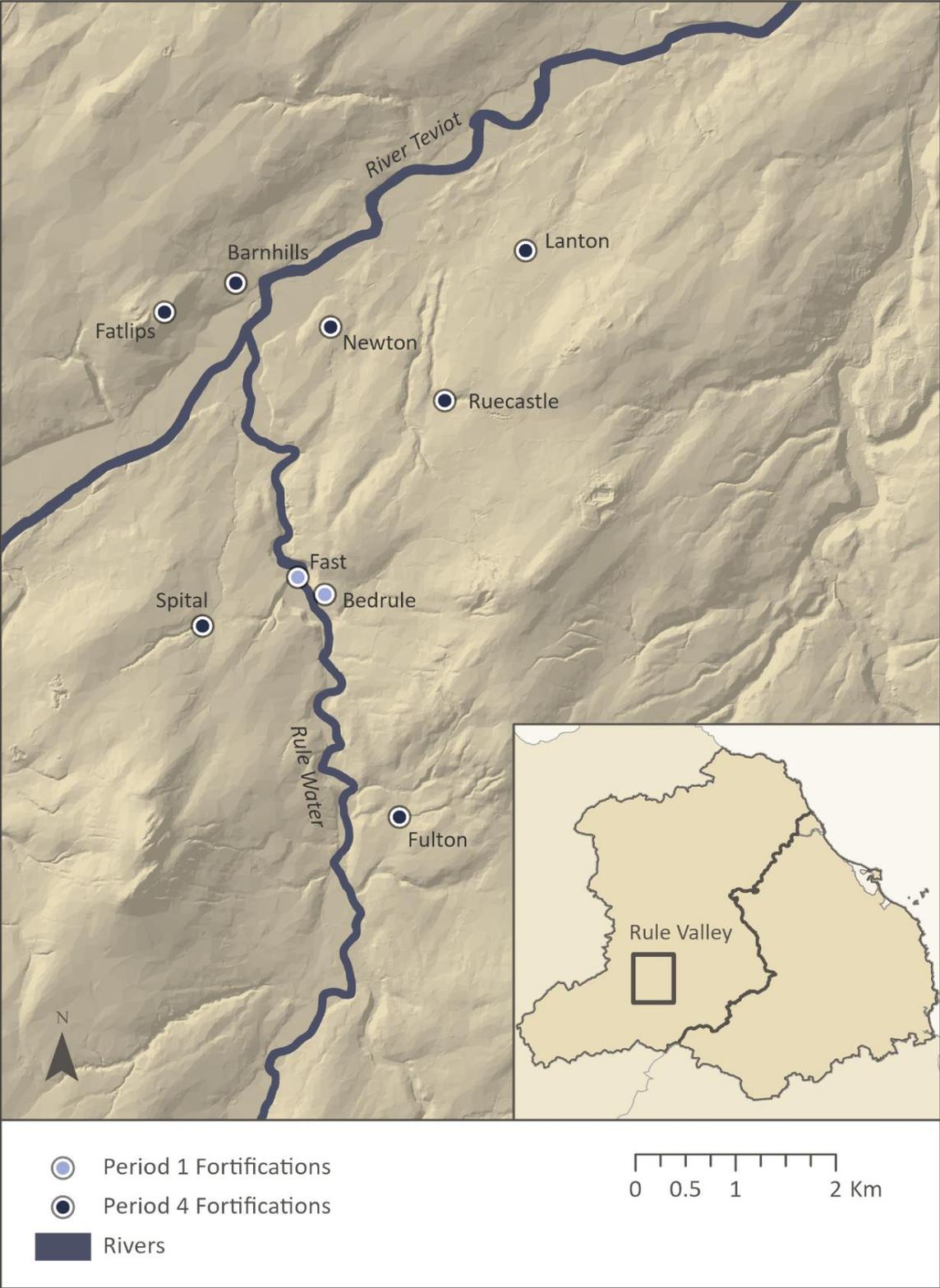
<sup>14</sup> The location of Teversheughe is not certain as the placename appears to have disappeared. It is proposed here that its possible location may be Mindrummill Crag. It is probably no coincidence that there is currently a quarry located on the site since the term 'heugh' typically refers to a steep bank or crag (Grant n.d.). The highest point of the hill is topped with a small outcrop of bedrock from which Wark, Mindrum and the medieval routeways from Scotland up the Bowmont Water are visible.

the accuracy of many of the spatial patterns of the Scottish data is much more uncertain compared to the English dataset. Nevertheless, violence and warfare were also important parts of the Scottish border-scape. However, as discussed in Chapter 4 (4.2), the organisation of defences and the use of fortifications differed on the Scottish side of the border. As a result, we cannot use Northumberland evidence as a proxy for the Scottish experience. This section explores how the GIS models can be applied to a Scottish defence-scape and help us understand its development. It targets the Rule Valley, which has one of the highest concentrations of fortifications throughout all of the four periods considered in this project, and is fairly well represented in the documentary record, particularly within a Scottish context.

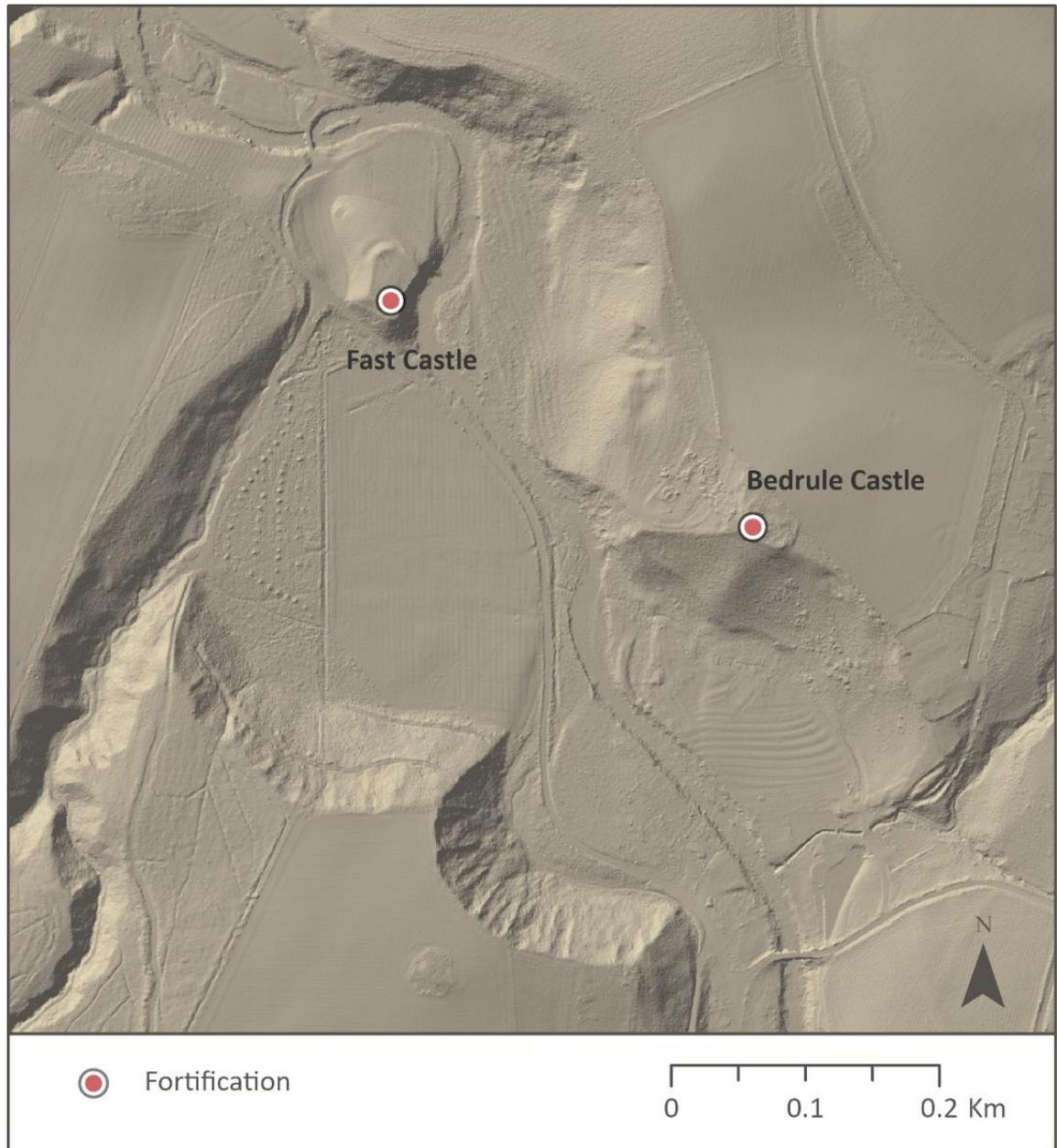
### **5.5.1 Fortifications at the Rule/Teviot Confluence**

The landscape of the Rule Valley (Figure 5.11), both environmental and anthropogenic, is much different than many of the English case studies explored in this chapter. Located north-west of the Cheviot hills, the area lies on the blurry boundary between upland and lowland landscapes. The terrain on either side of the valley is rugged, with two notable hills, Rubers Law and the Dunion, located on either side. Erosion from the river has resulted in steep and uneven topography in the valley bottom. The area is not characterised by the nucleated settlements of the lowlands, but instead, by relatively dispersed settlement and small clusters of farmhouses found in many of the valley bottoms in the uplands of southern Scotland (Dixon 2003; Winchester 2000b). Nevertheless, the soil is 'uncommonly fine and deep' and has supported agriculture for centuries (SAS, 330). Although modern agriculture and estate development has removed most evidence of medieval settlement in the Rule Valley and, medieval rig and furrow marks are visible along the banks of the river in LiDAR imagery (Figure 5.12).

Teviotdale was the target of political conflict throughout the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the region was a focal point of Scottish royal government, and its history as a royal heartland meant that Teviotdale, unlike other areas, was not controlled by great secular magnates prior to the Wars of Independence. Some of the larger families such as the Comyns had interests in the area, but these were of less importance than their lands elsewhere in Scotland and northern England. Instead, local society and administration was run by the sheriff who was selected from a large



**Figure 5.11:** Fortifications in the Rule Valley (Credits: Appendix A)



**Figure 5.12:** LiDAR 50cm DTM of topography around Fast and Bedrule Castles (*Credits: Appendix A*)

network of 20-30 families (Brown 2004b, 222). This pattern changed during the Wars of Independence. With English-controlled territory located both to the south and the east, Teviotdale witnessed its fair share of fighting, and the uplands of Selkirk Forest and Liddesdale to the west became important bases and refuges for Scottish armies.

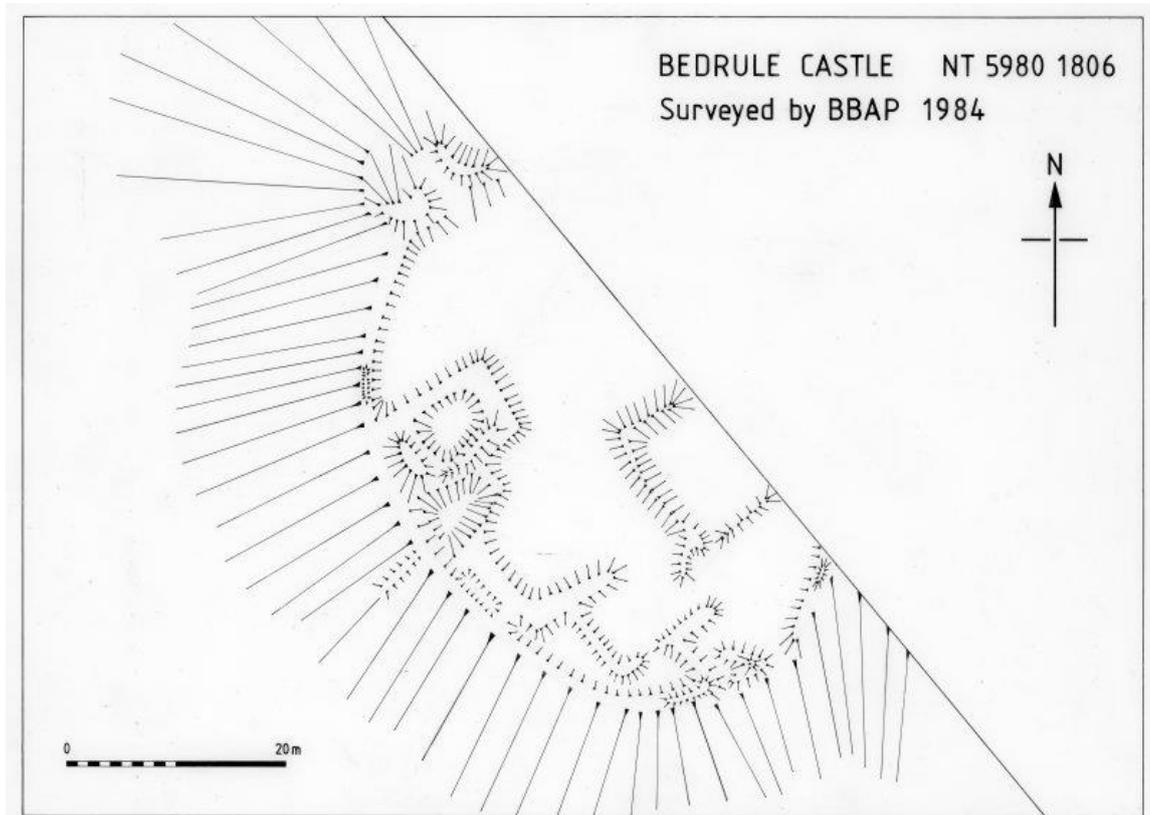
At the end of the Wars of Independence, much of Teviotdale was under the control of the English. As a result, the Teviot Valley was an important military concern as it was the boundary between the Scottish-held uplands and the English-held lowlands. This meant that the local families of Teviotdale were faced with a difficult choice in where to place their loyalty—an unlucky choice would likely result in

disinheritance from their properties. Indeed, the political upheavals of the Wars meant that there was room for new families to find interests in Teviotdale. This was encouraged by both crowns who granted families loyal to either side properties in the region to try to maintain royal allegiance, although this did not always manifest on the ground. The Scottish Douglases, for example, received significant land interests throughout Teviotdale, particularly around Jedburgh, where they acquired the baronies of Jed Forest and Bedrule over which they had substantial special privileges. Importantly, the barony of Jed Forest was also granted by the English king to the Percies, a dispute which would lead to significant conflict in the region in the late-14<sup>th</sup> and early-15<sup>th</sup> centuries (Brown 2004b, 233). Many of these new families such as the Turnbells and the Kerrs shifted their loyalties much more frequently than the great families, although others developed close connections with the powerful Douglases, which they used to advance their influence in the region (Brown 1998, 48).

The earliest castles established in this landscape were Fast and Bedrule castles. The earthworks of Fast Castle, sometimes called Castle Knowe, are located directly on the west side of an oxbow bend in the Rule Water and are composed of a motte approximately 14m tall constructed from an artificially heightened hill in the river valley and enclosed with a rampart (Figure 5.12). Little is known about the history of this castle, but it was probably constructed by the Comyns, who held land in the area in the 13<sup>th</sup> century when John Comyn, the 'Lord of Bedrule', was gifted a parcel of land in 1279 known as 'Rulehalch', which was probably at the confluence of the two rivers and just north of Fast Castle (PoMS 1/8/119).

Bedrule castle is located only 320m south-east of Fast Castle on a small prominence just across the river in 'a situation equally remarkable for prospect, for safety, and for beauty' (SAS, 335). Fast Castle was abandoned prior to the Wars of Independence, and Bedrule was probably its replacement. Unlike its neighbour, it takes the form of a masonry castle, and the curtain walls are still visible as earthworks (Figure 5.13). An earthwork survey conducted on the site in 1984 identified a number of buildings within the castle including possible towers, a square donjon, and a potential gatehouse (Canmore, 55205) (Figure 5.29). The survey identified a possible gatehouse on the north-west side of the castle, and the LiDAR data appears to show possible defensive banks down this north-western approach as well as a potential road or hollow way leading up from the river. Bedrule remained in use into the 16<sup>th</sup> century, but by the

end of that century it was in ruins. No upstanding masonry remains above ground and the north-eastern corner of the castle has been destroyed by later ploughing.



**Figure 5.13:** Earthwork survey of Bedrule Castle (HES DP208015) (Credits: Appendix A)

As is typical for south-east Scotland as a whole, the Rule/Teviot confluence witnessed little additional building in the area until the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Fast castle was no longer evidenced in the documentary record after the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and Jedburgh castle was destroyed in 1409. However, by the 16<sup>th</sup> century, there was an explosion of tower building in the region, with at least 12 other towers constructed within 5km of Bedrule castle (Figure 5.11). These fortifications were situated in a variety of locations, but generally were located higher up the valley slopes and further away from the river floodplains than either Fast or Bedrule castles, a regional pattern noted in the characterisation exercise of Chapter 4 (4.3.1). Numerous families owned these towers over the course of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, but the Turnbills were particularly prominent in the region, using Bedrule as their family seat and additionally holding Barnhills (Figure 5.14), Fulton (after 1570), and probably Fatlips (Coventry 2010, 576) (Figure 5.15).

In general, very little is known about these sites. Documentary references to the sites are scattered, and so a detailed chronology of the relationships between these sites cannot yet be constructed. However, application of the GIS model can offer some

suggestions about why this region was so heavily fortified between the medieval and early modern periods and how some of the sites may relate to each other.



**Figure 5.14:** Fatlips Castle (*Photo by author*)

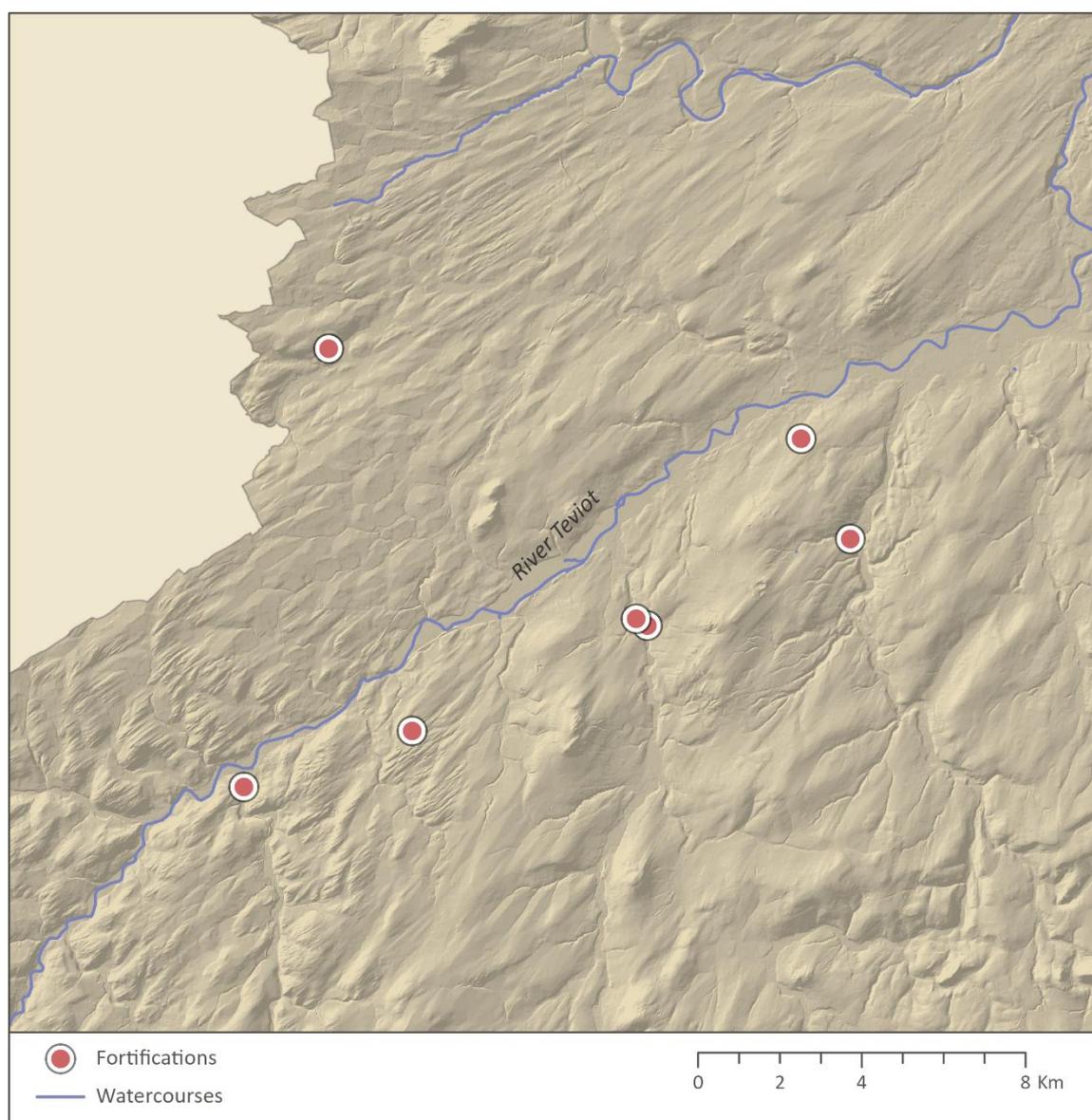


**Figure 5.15:** Barnhills Tower (*Photo by author*)

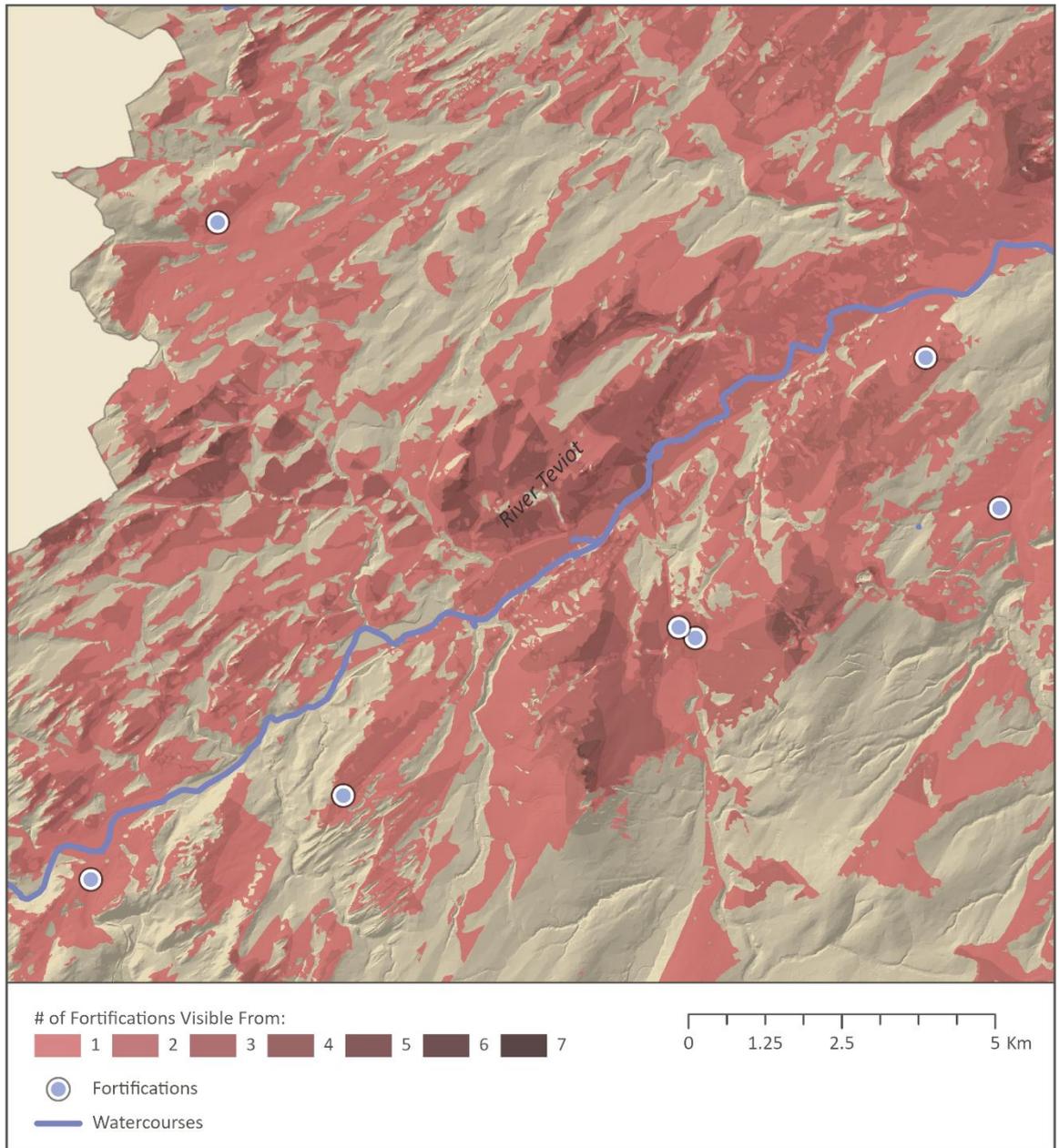
### 5.5.2 Applying the Model

Distributional patterns between Period 1 (pre-Wars) and Period 4 (post-1485) in Teviotdale differ remarkably. Fortifications before the Wars of Independence (Period 1), including Bedrule and Fast castles, tend to be located slightly up the river valleys that

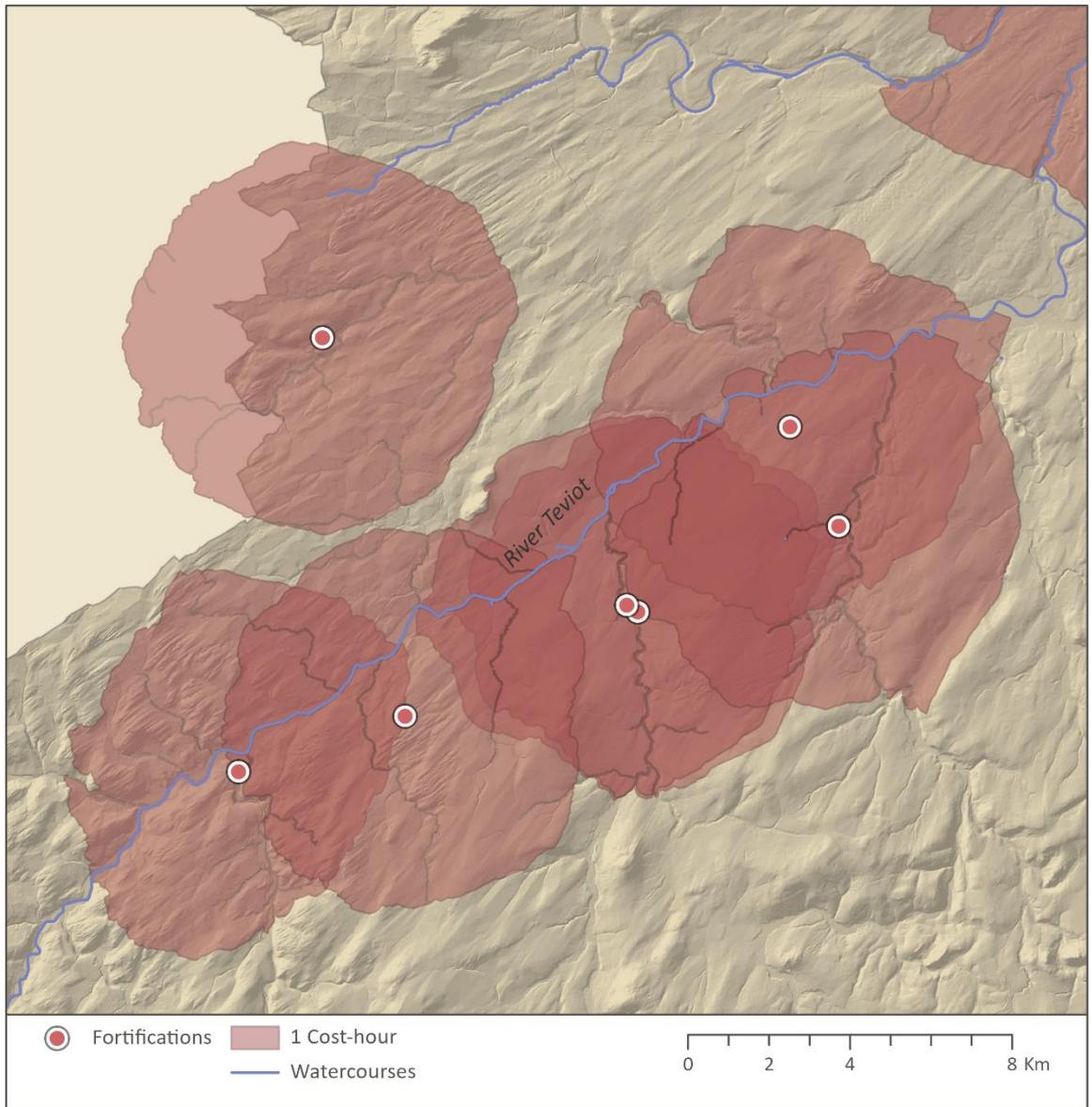
drain into the River Teviot (Figure 5.16). Much of the Teviot valley is visible from at least one fortification, but in very few places is the valley visible from more than one or two fortifications at a time, suggesting visual control of the valley was not a priority or a feature of social competition (Figure 5.17). Fortifications are also spaced relatively evenly, often at approximately 1 cost-hour distance apart from each other (excepting Fast and Bedrule, which as noted above, probably were not occupied at the same time) (Figure 5.18). This distribution changes dramatically by Period 4. While fortifications further upriver were spaced much more evenly along the Teviot, in the Rule Valley, they are particularly clustered around the confluence. In many cases fortifications lay within 1km of each other, well within the refuge catchment of the next nearest tower (Figure 5.19). This suggests a shift in the locational focus of power and competition within the landscape.



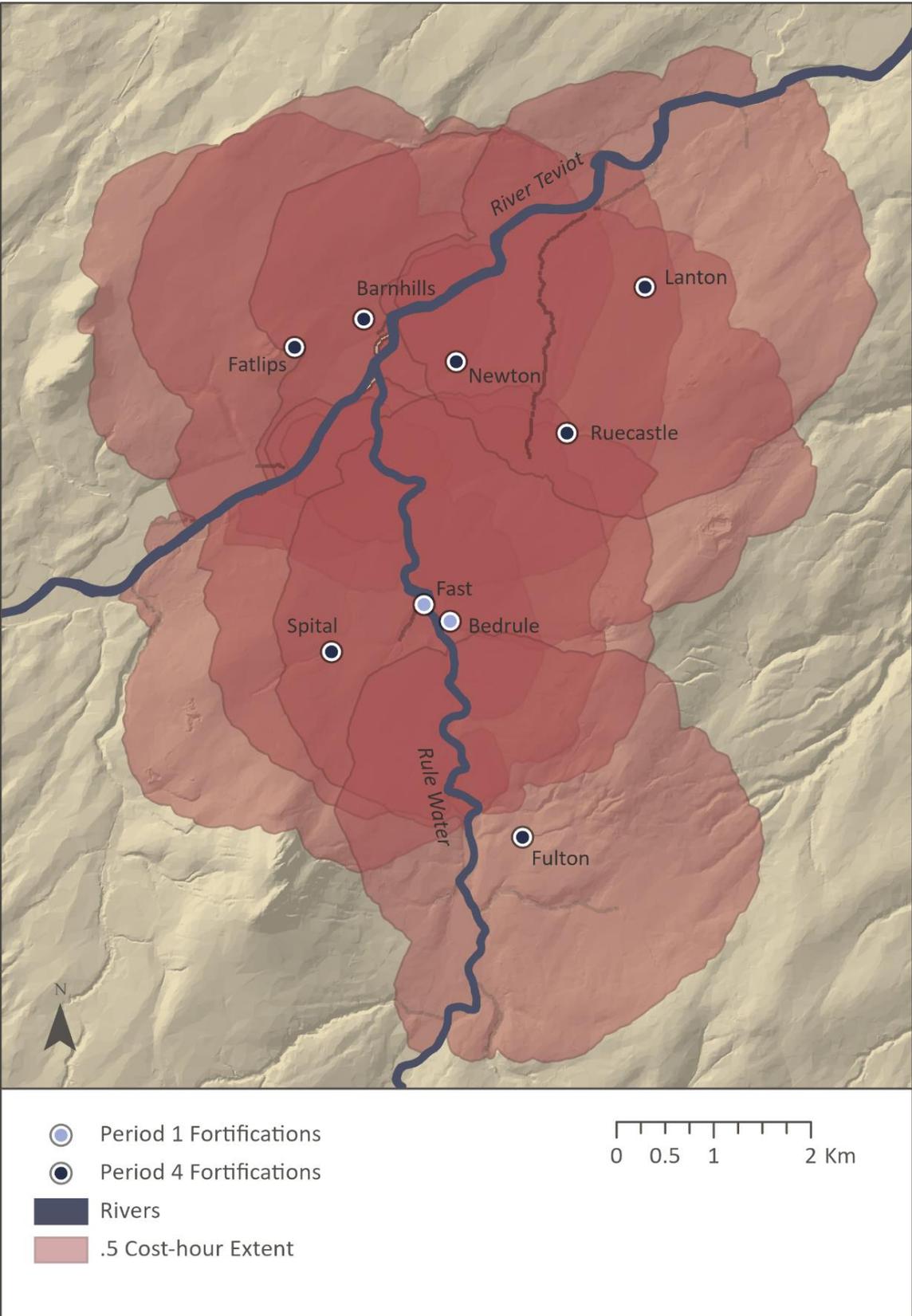
**Figure 5.16:** Period 1 fortifications along the River Teviot (Credits: Appendix A)



**Figure 5.17:** Visibility of the River Teviot from Period 1 fortifications (Credits: Appendix A)



**Figure 5.18:** 1 cost-hour catchments of Period 1 fortifications along the River Teviot  
*(Credits: Appendix A)*

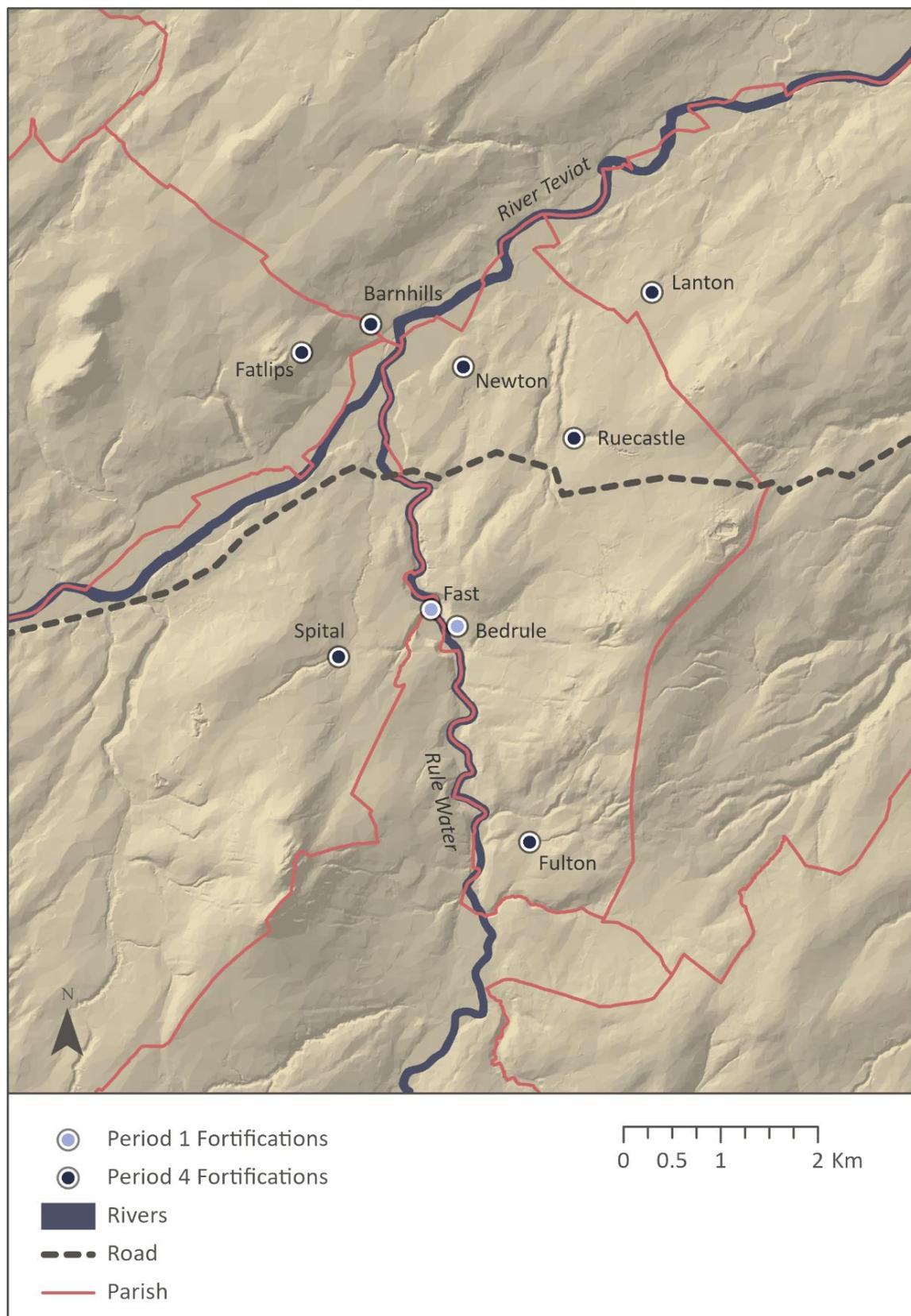


**Figure 5.19:** Rule/Teviot fortifications and their refuge catchments (Credits: Appendix A)

These distributional differences may represent changes in the way the landscape was managed between the medieval and early modern periods. Dalglish (2005) explored changes to the role castle-building played in estate management for a single clan, the Campbells, in the Scottish Highlands (Argyll and Bute) between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. He connected a surge in castle construction by the Campbells in the 16<sup>th</sup> century to changes to the way the lordship was administered—the development of more personal and involved lordship where lands were managed directly by the lord through estate managers, often family members—and competition with other neighbouring kindreds. The chronologies and tenurial histories of the Rule/Teviot towers are much more incomplete than Dalglish's Campbell case study, making it difficult to identify the political and social relationships their spatial patterns can tell. It is possible that estate management could have influenced the construction of one or two of the towers at the Rule/Teviot confluence, but the extreme density of fortifications in the area indicates this is probably not the reason for the existence of all of the towers. The network of fortifications in Dalglish's study was on a much different scale, with most of the castles located between 15 and 25km from each other (Dalglish 2005, 245, Fig. 1), suggesting alternative explanations for fortification construction at the Rule/Teviot confluence need to be considered.

It is possible that social display and inter-kindred competition played a role. Medieval boundaries, both national and local, indicate that the Rule/Teviot confluence may have been of some administrative importance by the Anglo-Norman period, and possibly much earlier (Proudfoot and Aliaga-Kelly 1997, 36). Four parishes meet at the confluence—Cavers, Minto, Bedrule, and Ancrum (Figure 5.20), which was also once the site of a chapel-of-ease, leper hospital, and graveyard which were established by at least 1425 (Easson 1957). Importantly, it was also the location for the boundaries between the Jedburgh Regality and the Baronies of Minto, Bedrule, and Cavers (Jeffrey 1864a). The confluence also had a legal significance. A place named Rulehaugh is debated between the English and Scottish crowns as a potential place for Anglo-Scottish meetings in 1389, and it was used as a location for a judicial duel between an Englishman and a Scot in 1395 (MacDonald 2000, 181; Neville 1998, 78, 93, 1994, 13). Although the location of this placename is debated, it is likely that it is the 'Rulehalch' listed on the southern bank of the Teviot in the 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS maps (1863). As will be explored in more detail in Chapter 6, Anglo-Scottish meeting places were often located

at important territorial boundaries belonging to England and Scotland, and Jedburgh castle and its hinterland were important holdings for the English crown in southern Scotland in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.



**Figure 5.20:** Rule/Teviot fortifications in comparison to nearby rivers, roads, and parish boundaries (*Credits: Appendix A*)

There are also indications that the confluence may have been an important crossroads. Medieval hospitals (and Anglo-Scottish meeting places) were often located along important routes and the intersections of roads in order to gather the alms they needed to support themselves (Roffey 2012), a role which was later appropriated by a tollhouse depicted on Taylor and Skinner's 18<sup>th</sup>-century map (Taylor and Andrew 1776). This indicates that the road system portrayed on Roy's 18<sup>th</sup>-century map (1747-1755), which leaves the Teviot and stretches over the slopes of Dunion Hill to the east, may not be a complete picture of the road network in this locality. A road probably also continued down the Teviot toward Ancrum, another important medieval settlement which had its own bridge and a bishop's palace. The river confluence was thus likely also the site where important routes from the south and the east converged, connecting two important medieval settlements to a major routeway west. In many ways, the shift of fortification from the valleys off the Teviot itself is reminiscent of the correlation between fortifications and roads beginning in the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Period 2) in England (Figure 4.20). In Chapter 4 (4.4.2.1), it was argued that visibility of the roads served a dual purpose: being able to see approaching danger, while also allowing the fortifications to be seen by travellers and neighbours. Barnhills, Fatlips, and Ruecastle all have extended views along the River Teviot and the road from Jedburgh. Fatlips, in its particularly prominent setting atop a crag, can see roughly 10km of the course of the River Teviot (Figure 5.21).



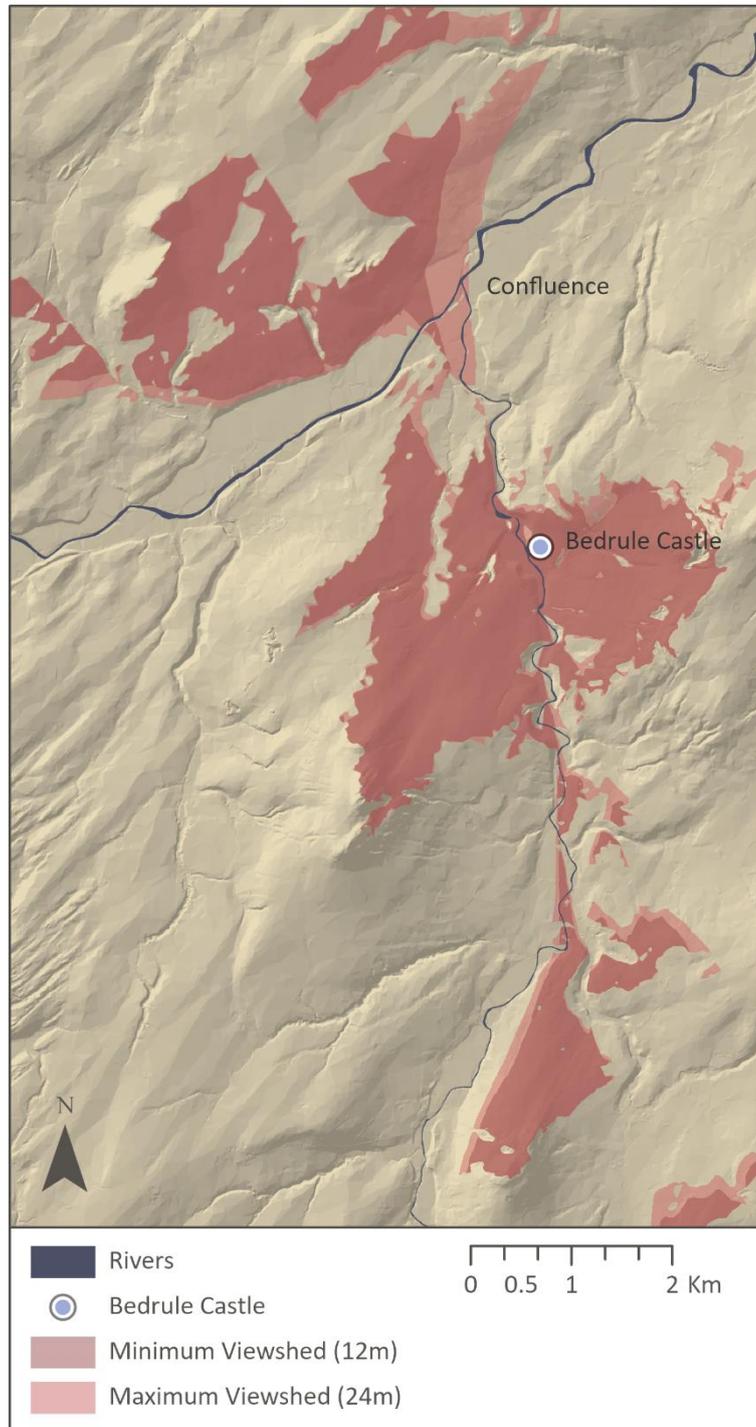
**Figure 5.21:** View east down the Teviot from Fatlips Tower (*Photo by author*)

These characteristics indicate the influence of social display in the selection of tower sites. They possibly also suggest inter-kindred competition similar to that identified by Dalglish (2005) from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, where the commercialisation of land and the upward social mobility of particular tenant families meant that the established landholding family felt pressured to reassert their authority through the construction of further fortifications. By the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the fortifications north of the Teviot belonged to a subsidiary line of the Turnbull clan which was semi-independent from the family at Bedrule (Tancred 1907, 239). Newton tower has also been attributed to belonging to other families, including the Kerrs, with whom the Turnbells feuded throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> century (SAS, 336). Because of both the longstanding administrative importance of the location, particularly its role as a legal venue, as well as its importance as a routeway, this would have been an ideal place to display rival claims of status with a fortification.

There are also indications that the proliferation of towers may also have been related to defensive concerns. Viewsheds offer suggestions about the way the Turnbull fortifications may have functioned as a system. First, they indicate that the construction of the 16<sup>th</sup>-century towers along the Teviot may have been intended to remedy a strategic deficiency of the Turnbull's seat at Bedrule. When compared to the visibility of the 16<sup>th</sup>-century towers in the region, Bedrule castle is one of the least visible (Table 5.1). Even when modelled at the maximum height, Bedrule castle has only a narrow viewshed of the area around the confluence, and almost none at the minimum height (Figure 5.22).

**Table 5.1:** Visibility of fortifications and landscape features mentioned in the text (in Period 4)

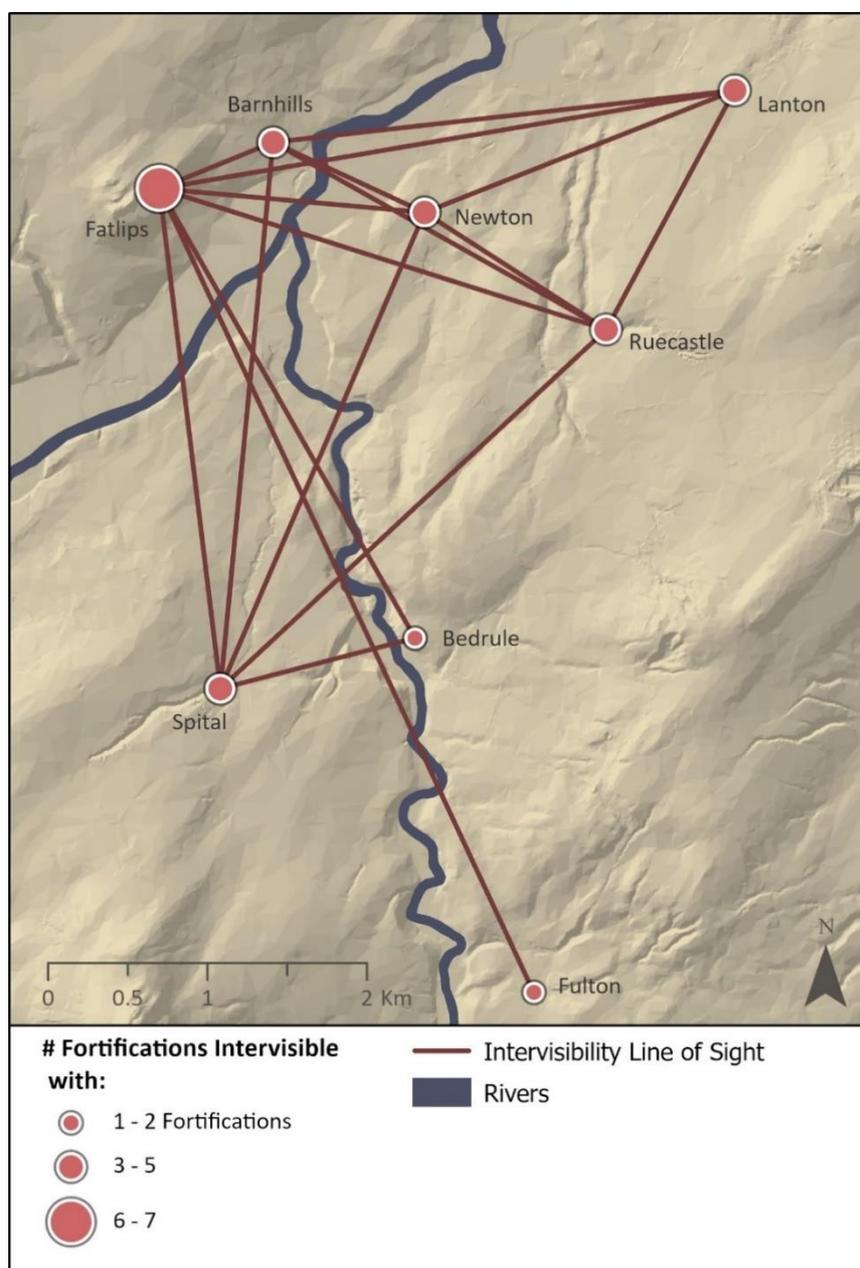
Fortification Name	# Observers at Maximum	# Observers at Minimum
<b>Fatlips</b>	20	18
<b>Barnhills</b>	11	10
<b>Newton</b>	12	10
<b>Bedrule</b>	3	3
<b>Fast</b>	3	3
<b>Fulton</b>	3	2
<b>Dunion Hill</b>	19	15
<b>Rubers Law</b>	26	24



**Figure 5.22:** Bedrule Castle's viewshed (*Credits: Appendix A*)

The model also offers clues regarding why the Turnbells would construct not one, but two towers (Fatlips and Barnhills) at the Rule/Teviot confluence. When intervisibility is considered, Fatlips is the key node between all of the Turnbull Towers (Figure 5.23). Bedrule, Barnhill, and Fulton are only intervisible at the maximum height and it is unlikely that either Barnhill or Fenton would have been quite so tall. Instead, Fatlips is needed to connect all four together into a cohesive defensive network. This is reminiscent of some of the other hilltop fortification sites within the project area. As

noted in Chapter 4 (4.3.1), hilltop fortifications are relatively unusual, as these locations often inhibited the accessibility of the site. They are also highly intervisible, and examples such as Crawley Tower, Old Callaly, and Chillingham appeared as important nodes in the intervisibility network in Northumberland in 1415. In some cases, such sites were known to be used as beacons, particularly in Scotland where both Smailholm and Hume housed beacons for the Merse (APS.ii, 44-45; Canmore, 57231). In others, such as Chillingham and Crawley, which were both seats of important Northumberland families, high visibility was a way for the family to display their wealth and power. However, Fatlips does bear some striking resemblances to the example of Old Callaly.



**Figure 5.23:** Intervisibility of Rule/Teviot fortifications (Credits: Appendix A)

Old Callaly is a Period 1 castle located in a densely forested prominence upon which are a complex multi-phase series of earthworks, the earliest of which is an irregularly-shaped bivallate Iron Age hillfort (Figure 5.24). In 1415, the castle on the hill is referred to as 'Old Callaly', and this is typically taken to mean that a second, newer fortification had been built somewhere on the estate (Dodds 1999, 155-156, 156; Grundy et al. 1992, 210; AHN.xiv,527). This new fortification was probably located at the foot of the hill where the 17<sup>th</sup>-century house now stands, although there are conflicting interpretations as to the amount of medieval fabric that is incorporated into the standing structure (NCC HER, 2751). Old Callaly is intervisible with at least 10 other fortifications in 1415, comparable to the intervisibility of many of the 16<sup>th</sup>-century beacons in the area. Meanwhile, the newer tower was in a particularly obscure location. It is close to the river and the village, and so it would have been accessible. However, it has a particularly small viewshed where much of the area within the range of first detection is not covered, even at the maximum height. While it is not known exactly why the castle on the hill was replaced by the tower in the valley, it probably had to do with accessibility as the hillfort was located at the eastern extremity of the township and analysis of the contours of the two sites indicates that removal to the foot of the hill put the other important settlement of Yetlington within .5 cost-hours. By tradition, it is believed that the old castle site remained utilised as a refuge (Dodds 1999, 155-156).

It is possible that the juxtaposition of Fatlips and Barnhills served a similar purpose. Whereas Barnhills, which is listed as being responsible for one of the Teviot watches in 1548-9 (Hamilton Papers.ii.461, 626), was the more accessible and frequently used site, Fatlips likely served a more defensive function. However, it should also be noted that Fatlips was large for a watch tower, roughly equivalent in size to Barnhills and possibly even taller (Canmore, 55452). Perhaps it was a defensive site, but like Chillingham, it was also a very visible statement of power by the Turnbills.

There is also evidence of an extended defence-scape which offers suggestions about where perceived threats were located in the landscape. The dispersed population of the area would have meant that extensive systems of refuge would not have been needed to the same extent as they were in the lowlands. Indeed, the proximity of multiple towers well within .5 cost-hours of each other (the refuge catchment) indicate that this defence-scape is indeed different than that of the English lowlands. However,



**Figure 5.24:** Fortifications in and around Callaly (OS Map: 1<sup>st</sup> Ed. [1866] 1:2500) (Credits: Appendix A)

the need for advanced warning was still necessary, and a network of watches was proposed along the Teviot in 1548-49 (Hamilton Papers.ii.461, 624-627). Alongside this, there is also evidence of watches further away from the river. Dunion Hill to the north-east and on the opposite side of the Rule Water has some indications that it may have been used in the past as a lookout. Dunion Hill had a hillfort at its summit which, prior to its destruction during the construction of a quarry, was targeted twice for excavation in the 1960s and later in the 1980s (Rideout 1992, 82). Two rectangular structures (5.8x4.6m and 6.7x4.6m respectively) were located within the hillfort and the site report suggests that these structures may have acted as look-out posts in the 15<sup>th</sup> or 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. One of these structures is listed as a watch tower in the Ordnance Survey map and a 'Watch Knowe' about 2.5km south down the Rule Valley indicate that hilltops in the area probably do have a history of use as lookouts.

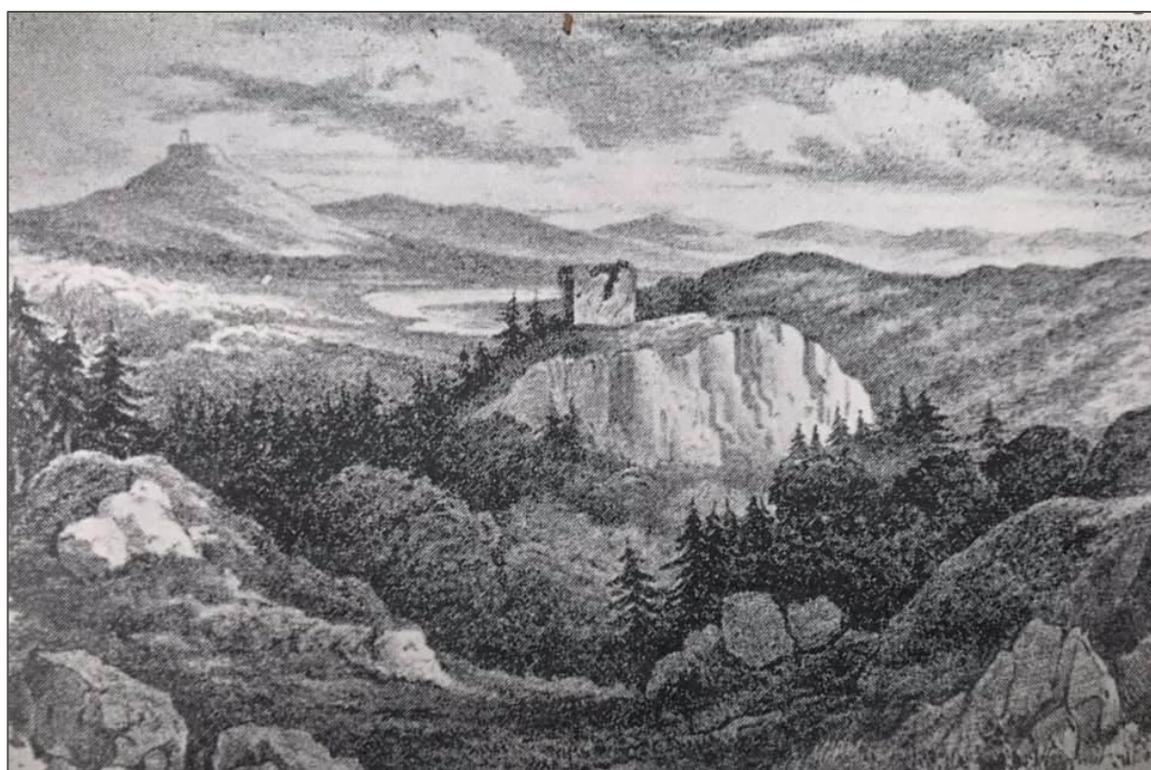
Another potential watch post is also evidenced on the opposite side of the valley. The summit of Rubers Law is believed to have been the location for a Roman signal station inside a hillfort which was excavated by Curle (1906, 1904) in the early-20<sup>th</sup> century. Curle (1904, 231) noted that Timothy Pont depicted a 'Tour' on the top of Rubers Law in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, suggesting that the Roman ruins may have still been in existence at that time. This 'Tour' is depicted with a symbol unlike those of the other towers in the area, indicating it was something different (Figure 5.25), and a late-18<sup>th</sup>-century drawing of the area also depicts a tower on the top of Rubers Law (Figure 5.26). This reveals that there was a stone structure which does not appear to be a traditional tower at the top of Rubers Law as late as the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but which had disappeared by the time the first Ordnance Survey maps were drawn in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. While the structure does not take the form of a typical 16<sup>th</sup>-century or medieval beacon (Devon County Council c. 1995), it would certainly make an excellent signalling point. If it was a beacon, however, it remains unmentioned in 16<sup>th</sup>-century documentation of the area, most notably those recording the destructive English campaigns that swept through the Rule Valley.

In general, the evidence suggests that the late medieval and early modern defence network of the region was primarily oriented toward the Teviot rather than south down the Rule Valley toward England. While hilltop watches could have extended security further south beyond Bedrule, the connections between the towers indicate that it was the road from Jedburgh and the crossroads at the confluence which was the

primary focus of the defence network in the area. Indeed, the road from Jedburgh is the route the English army took in 1545 when they burned most of the towers in the Rule



**Figure 5.25:** Timothy Pont's (1560-1614) depiction of the 'Tour' on Rubers Law (Credits: Appendix A)



**Figure 5.26:** 18<sup>th</sup>-century drawing of Fatlips castle with the unidentified structure atop Rubers Law in the distance (Vernon and McNairn 1911, 98)

Valley. The northward orientation of the local defences, again, indicates the vast array of influences, only some of which have to do with border politics, which are involved in the development of the defence-scape, and therefore, intersect in important ways with the border-scape in both England and Scotland. While the model cannot definitively reconstruct defensive networks in the past, particularly prior to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, it is a useful tool in constructing and testing hypotheses which can help us better understand how these fortified landscapes, even those with relatively limited documentation, developed through time.

## **5.6 Scale: Defence-scapes in a Zonal Borderland**

Throughout this chapter, the differences between the regional, national, and local scales have repeatedly emerged as an important factor in understanding the processes which made the defence-scape. This final section of the chapter explores the differences between these scales more explicitly, investigating how they relate to bordering processes and the mechanics of a zonal medieval borderland.

First, analysis throughout the chapter has highlighted the geographic scale of a single fortification's defence-scape. Although garrisons are often considered to be defensive military units, Cornell (2006) argues that they also had important offensive functions which are less frequently acknowledged. The catchment model demonstrates that the idea the country could be defended from a few large castles is a fallacy, especially when considering the frequency with which small-scale raiding occurred in the region. Cornell (2006) noted the importance of external support in upholding a garrison's ability to sustain a successful defence, and this project's model agrees with this assessment. In reality, the effective defence zone of a fortification was limited to a few kilometres unless given prior warning of an attack. This highlights the intensity of the organisation and manpower necessary to practically defend the border and adds further nuances to discussions of the 'failure' of these systems in the past.

Studies on the flows of movement through modern border walls have shown how difficult it is to completely block movement across extensive geographic spaces. Efforts to harden the US/Mexico borderline as a barrier, which includes both 'hard' and 'soft' elements, has not effectively stopped the flow of people in illegal border crossings. Instead it has merely deflected these flows toward new weak points (Jones 2020, 205–206). Similar problems faced the Anglo-Scottish border—MacDonald (2000)

noted that the Scots often gathered intelligence prior to their campaigns into England to target the weakest points in the English defences, and so the flow of raids would have similarly altered as defence systems changed. This was why the permeability of the River Tweed was a great concern for the border officials in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Bowes and Ellerker 1541, 177). Despite the best intentions of the administrators in their plans, a nation-wide system of defence as proposed by Dacre (and others), even with his proposed border wall, would have relied on an extensive network of 'soft' elements, such as watches, which would have been exorbitantly expensive and required significant manpower to maintain. Although we see watches referenced in 16<sup>th</sup>-century documents, they also leave no material traces. However, the results of Chapter 5 indicate that they can possibly be modelled.

Because of the geographic limitations of a fortification's defensive range, it has become clear throughout this research that there were multiple scales of 'defence': a communal type of local defence and one which was more regional, private, and included the offensive responsibilities of the garrison. Examples throughout the defence-scape chapters indicate that these tiers can be differentiated at a very local level using the GIS models, but it is much more difficult to distinguish private/communal and offensive/defensive fortifications at the regional scale. Indeed, because fortifications were multi-purpose buildings, there likely never was a clear separation. The fuzzy boundaries of the functional defence-scape are indicated by the types of fortifications that are listed in the 1415 survey. Vicar's towers appear in both the list of 1415 as well as the 1541 survey, but, defended churches do not. It is difficult to say for certain why defended churches and vicar's peles are handled differently in these surveys. It is possible that it has to do with the ability of these places to be manned and act as a base for a garrison or other defensive unit, although it should be noted that vicar's peles tended to be much smaller than the fortifications which typically housed garrisons in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Bates 1891, 23–24). Nevertheless, these places were privately retained, and their defence would have been managed by the lord (or church official) who controlled the fortification, as indicated by the list of occupants in the 1415 survey. As a result, it was in the crown's interest to record them as potential military sites of interest. Defended churches, on the other hand, were different. These were purely sites of refuge for local communities. There was no need to man them as

one would a fortification, and as a result, they did not fulfil the same range of offensive and defensive roles as a garrisoned fortification.

Nevertheless, the examples above indicate that the use of small-scale case studies can help identify elements of national and local defensive networks and reconstruct their interactions with other features of the medieval landscape. For instance, the distribution of defended churches indicates that their construction, at times, was a response to weaknesses in defence systems that functioned at larger-than-local scales. These patterns enable us to expose elements of the defence-scape missing from most historical records and explore how they were experienced by locals on the ground.

## **5.7 Conclusion**

In the past, studies of the geographies of the Anglo-Scottish border have tended to look for linear spatial patterns, marking cartographic extents for the region impacted by raids. For instance, Lomas (1996b, 164) suggested an affected area of less than five miles from the Tweed. In contrast, this chapter has highlighted that the zonal geographies of border warfare did not necessarily run parallel to the borderline. Instead, the defence-scape evolved to have very complex and localised spatial patterns which were influenced by a variety of both non-military drivers and defensive imperatives. The understanding of the medieval experience of the defence-scape developed in this chapter has a variety of connections to the border-scape which will be explored in Chapter 8. For instance, the numerous relationships between fortifications and other features of the medieval landscape mapped in the previous two chapters enables us to identify and characterise the fluid and intersectional materialities of the border-scape. Distinctions in national and local defence-scapes identified in this chapter offer the possibility of contrasting and contextualising bordering processes between medieval and early modern landscapes. Finally, the consideration of situated and multiple experiences of the defence-scape are used in Chapter 8 to reveal 'alternative' geographies experienced by those living in the region that are missing from existing academic narratives.

# Chapter 6: Physical Legal-scape

## 6.1 Introduction

Previous chapters have noted the complex and multiple connections between linear boundaries and the negotiation of state power on the edges of territories. However, many scholars have doubted their existence in the medieval period (e.g. Benham 2011; Jack 2004). As a result, to contrast our exploration of a zonal borderland conducted in the previous two chapters with a landscape of linear boundaries, the following two chapters investigate the inhabited legal-scape of the Anglo-Scottish border through an exploration of the physical and conceptual landscapes of Anglo-Scottish meeting places.

As outlined in Chapter 3 (3.4.1), the administration and form of Anglo-Scottish border meetings has a complex history of experimentation and change. These meeting places were used as spaces for the negotiation of cross-border legal suits and diplomatic agreements from at least the 13<sup>th</sup> century until the Union of the Crowns (1603), occasionally becoming the focus of negotiations of international importance. Although these sites are referenced frequently by regional historians who study cross-border legal systems and social and political histories, there has yet to be any in-depth analysis of the places where these meetings were held and the role of landscape within the meetings. A portion of one chapter within O’Grady’s (2008) PhD thesis briefly investigated the landscape context of some of the Anglo-Scottish assembly places. Lochmabenstone, in the Scottish West March, was highlighted as an important case study within his work, and his research offers tantalising evidence that further investigation into the use of these sites would be rewarding. However, O’Grady’s work only scratches the surface of the potential for cross-border meeting places to inform us about the role of the legal landscape in medieval bordering processes. His work provides necessary large-scale context for assembly practices in northern Britain. However, it only considers sites which were used as open-air meeting places. As was introduced in Chapter 3 (3.4.2), only some of the border meetings were located at open-air sites—churches and castles were also used—and so his study does not capture the full picture of the archaeology of Anglo-Scottish meeting places. The rest of this

chapter seeks to build on O’Grady’s initial work, investigating the landscape settings and the history of use of additional meeting places and reviewing in greater detail the evidence for the physical landscape of some of the sites initially explored by O’Grady.

To do this, this chapter begins with an initial characterisation of the physical elements and landscape histories of individual meeting places. Using a combination of methods, the characterisation exercise identifies broad regional patterns which help us reconnect the sites together as a network of places. This evidence is then used in Chapter 7 to detail the practices that helped construct the conceptual legal-scape, explore how meeting practices were structured by the physical landscape, and reveal and how bordering processes are entangled with these meeting practices. In combination, these different analyses reveal new insights into the form and development of Anglo-Scottish legal-scape and how it was involved in the creation and maintenance of the medieval Anglo-Scottish border.

## **6.2 Selection of Legal-scape Case Studies**

Like the defence-scape case study, an analysis of Anglo-Scottish legal-scapes requires contextualising historic data within the physical landscape. As a result, this chapter also begins with an exercise in which the physical settings for Anglo-Scottish meetings are identified and compared to recognise trends. Chapter 3 (3.4.1) highlighted the inherent fluidity of the concept of a border meeting through time and how that impacts the precision with which we can identify them in the historic record. In total, the dataset includes 293 border meetings which occurred between 1200 and 1500. These were located at 39 separate locations which varied greatly in the extent to which they were reused (Figures 3.16 and 3.17). It was argued in Chapter 3 (3.4.2) that these inconsistent patterns of reuse indicate that the network of meetings places was susceptible to modification, but that the mechanics and reasons for these changes remain poorly understood.

Unlike the defence-scape case study where the locations of many fortifications have been precisely identified, there is a greater amount of ambiguity in mapping a meeting place. Research on meeting places elsewhere suggest that it is often difficult to pin-point the exact location of a meeting place, even when its general location is well known (Sanmark 2017, 25). This is also true of many of the Anglo-Scottish meeting places, since many are identified in the documentary record only by general

placenames. As a result, while the defence-scape characterisation exercise began by identifying trends within the entire fortifications dataset, the characterisation of the legal-scape will begin with site-based case studies upon which interpretations at the regional scale can be based. To do this, four meeting places or clusters of meeting places were selected for in-depth analysis. The case studies were selected based on three criteria. First, they needed to be in the project area, although it should be noted that meeting places outside of the project area are also considered for additional context throughout this chapter. Second, to avoid sites which were atypical, the meeting places selected were all used repeatedly. Finally, sites were chosen which represent the full range of different environments and meeting types found in the dataset: Norham was selected for its village setting and use of indoor spaces; the cluster of sites around Reddenburn was chosen because of the longevity of their use as open-air meeting places; Gamelspath is an example of an upland meeting place; and the cluster of sites around Lilliot's Cross was selected to represent meeting places located off the demarcated borderline. A combination of rapid but thorough walkover field surveys, documentary research, and existing environmental datasets were used to characterise the natural topography, the built environment, tenurial histories, and the taphonomic impact of post-medieval and modern development at each site.

### **6.3 Norham**

Today, Norham is a quiet village nestled within a large westward sweep of the Tweed that surrounds the village on two sides (Figure 6.1). The village is located on gently sloping alluvial deposits, unusual for this stretch of the river where steep banks are more typical, of the southern bank of the Tweed. This gentle topography abruptly ends at the eastern limit of the village where a small stream, the Mill Burn, separates the village from a steep promontory upon which a 12<sup>th</sup>-century castle is located. By the late medieval period, Norham became an administrative centre of borough status for the Archbishopric of Durham's holdings in the royal liberty of Norhamshire and, due to its strategic position close to Berwick, was a critical stronghold of the eastern English Marches (Letters 2004). The modern village retains much of the layout of this important medieval town, although it has shrunk significantly since the medieval period (Brightman and Johnson 2013).

**Table 6.1:** Anglo-Scottish meetings near Norham

Year	Date	Meeting Place	Type of Meeting
<b>1095</b>		Norham	Cross-border negotiation
<b>1203</b>		Norham	Truce negotiation
<b>1209</b>		Norham	Truce negotiation
<b>1211</b>		Norham	Truce negotiation
<b>1213</b>		Norham	Truce negotiation
<b>1249</b>		Hamisford	Day of March
<b>1291</b>	10-11 May 3-5 June	Norham	Indenture negotiation
<b>1291</b>	6, 11-12 June	Norham	Unknown
<b>1291</b>	2-3 June 12-13 June	Norham	Unknown
<b>1292</b>	20 November	Norham	Indenture negotiation
<b>1331</b>		Upsettlington West	Property dispute
<b>1475</b>	4 January	Norham	Truce
<b>1491-1492</b>		Norham	Day of March
<b>1492-1493</b>		Norham	Day of March

Norham's status as an important settlement in the region extends to at least the early medieval period. It is the likely site of an early medieval ford (Barrow 1966, 37–38), and its strategic location along transport routes probably extends at least to the Roman period (Keppie 1989, 9). However, it was its early religious connections which ensured its continued significance into the late medieval period. Norham was the see for the Diocese of Lindisfarne from the 9<sup>th</sup> century and was where it housed its chief relics, including Saint Cuthbert's body (Woolf 2018, 232). This early connection to Lindisfarne, the Bishopric of Durham, and the cult of St Cuthbert heightened the importance of the settlement at Norham and was probably part of the reason it was deemed appropriate for early truce negotiations.

The collection of documents recounting the Great Cause negotiations of 1291-2, (Stones and Simpson 1978), which sought to resolve the Scottish succession crisis, and descriptions of various types of cross-border meetings at Norham in the 16<sup>th</sup> century represent some of the finest records of medieval and early modern Anglo-Scottish meetings. This rich record means that the locations of meetings at Norham can be identified with great precision. At least five different locations have been used for meetings within Norham and its immediate environs between the 12<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries (Figure 6.1).

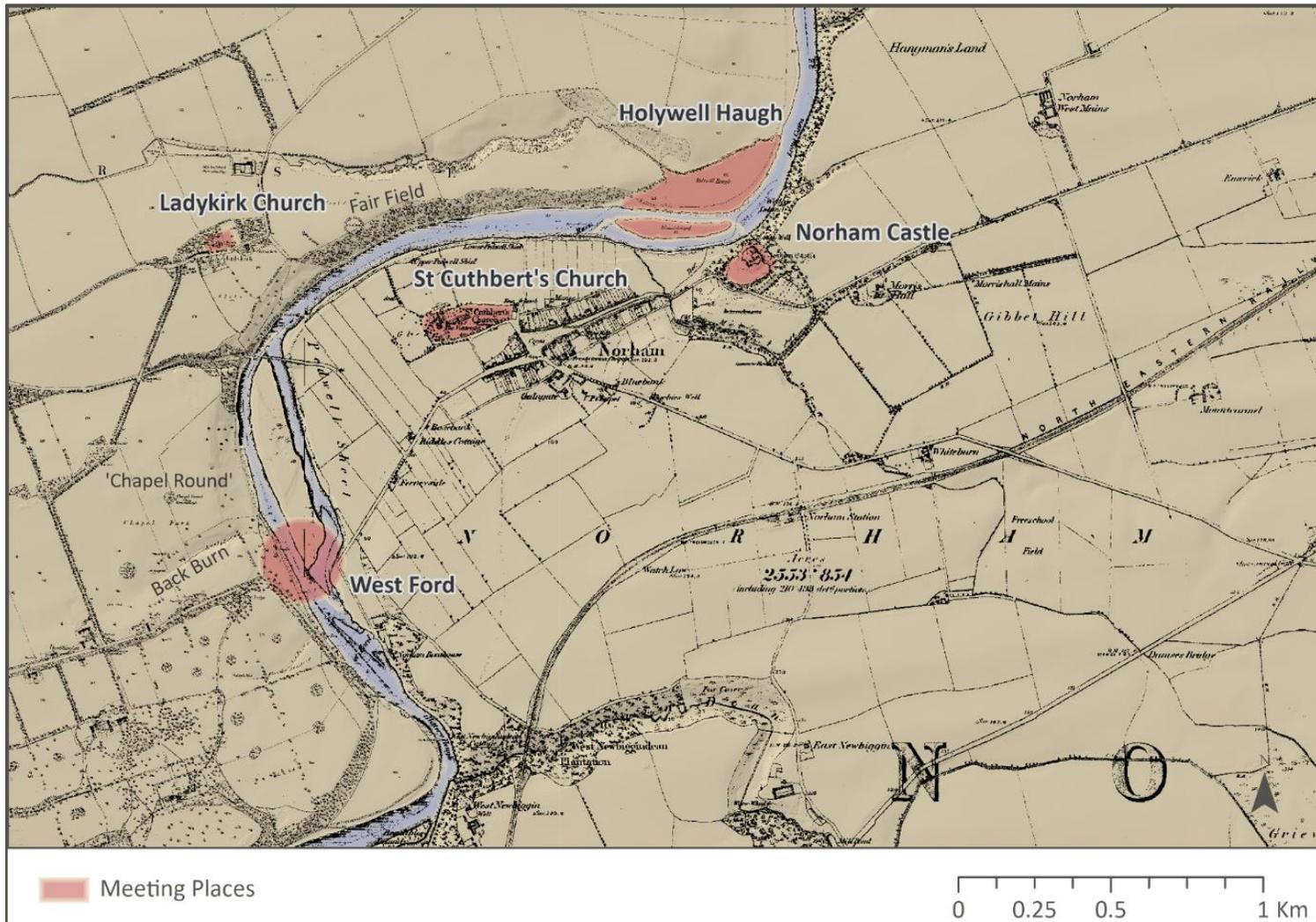


Figure 6.1: Locations of meeting places in Norham (OS Map Eng.: 1<sup>st</sup> Ed. [1866] 1:10,560; Scot.: 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. [1895] 1:2500) (Credits: Appendix A)

The first recorded meeting in Norham was an agreement of a charter to Durham which was sealed in Norham's parish churchyard in 1095, at least a century before the *Leges Marchiarum* were codified in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century (Barrow 2003a, 125) (Figure 6.2). This meeting occurred near a timber church that according to documentary evidence dated from at least the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century, although 7<sup>th</sup>-century land grants to a religious institution in Norham may indicate that there was an even earlier religious building on the site (NCC HER, 14915). Little is known about the physical form of the early medieval monastery or church in Norham, although excavations by local vicars in the late-18<sup>th</sup> and early-19<sup>th</sup> centuries found evidence of stone structures and sculpture just east of the present church. Early medieval stonework has also been found on the site (Cramp 1984, 208–214).

A stone church was constructed in the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century which was used on occasion for cross-border meetings in the medieval and early modern periods.<sup>15</sup> This church was one of the grandest in the region, but the fluctuating prosperity of Norham through the centuries has resulted in complex phases of renovation and deterioration, making its phasing difficult to interpret (NCC HER, 919). It was damaged and occupied in the tumultuous years during and after the Wars of Independence and was reportedly fortified by Robert I in his 1319 siege of the nearby castle (Brooke 2000, 62). The late medieval church had two complete aisles, and the medieval nave was probably longer than the one that exists today. Even in its current smaller form, the church can accommodate large crowds and would have been a suitable venue for big assemblies.

The castle was built in Norham from 1122 by the Bishop of Durham, Ranulf Flambard, using the same architect who designed the parish church (Figure 6.3). From this point, the castle becomes the site of some cross-border meetings. These meetings, likely in the castle's great hall, were limited to formal truce negotiations rather than the judicial meetings arranged by the wardens. Throughout the Wars of Independence, Norham's castle was one of the finest and most defensible castles in the realm (Dixon and Marshall 1993). Although it was owned by the Bishops of Durham and managed by their appointed constables, it was taken into royal custody during periods of heightened threat from the Scots (Dobson 1992, 136–137). It was captured by the Scots in 1136,

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<sup>15</sup> No meetings explicitly mentioning St Cuthbert's church in Norham are recorded in Bain's *Calendar of Border Papers*. However, a report by William Selby on meeting practices in 1598 indicated that commissioners had used the church within living memory for border meetings (CBP.ii.1002, 566-567).

1138, 1322 and 1513, but withstood an additional five sieges in 1215, 1318, 1319, 1327 and 1497 (Saunders 1998, 17). Consequently, Norham acquired a reputation as the ‘most perilous, adventurous place in the country’ (King 2005, 81), perhaps explaining why it fell out of use as a meeting place in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, although as will be evident in more detail below, the English occupation of southern Scotland may also have had an effect on Norham’s use as a negotiation site.



**Figure 6.2:** St Cuthbert’s Church, Norham (*Photo by author*)



**Figure 6.3:** Norham Castle—the castle was severely damaged during the Flodden campaign of 1513, and much of the existing castle is of later construction (Dixon and Marshall 1993) (*Photo by author*)

Around 1500, another church, Ladykirk church, was built on the Scottish side of the river by James IV, supposedly after a near-death encounter crossing the Tweed at Norham (Figure 6.4). Perched on a steep bank above the Tweed, it is large and ornate for churches in the region, and both its architecture and prominent position in the landscape indicate that James was likely making a political statement through its construction (Canmore, 59525). It was used for wardens' meetings and truce agreements in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and it is important to note that there is no record of any medieval meetings at Ladykirk prior to the construction of the present church. However, in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, numerous skeletons were found beneath the foundations of portions of the church, suggesting the possibility of an earlier burial ground, and accordingly, the possibility of an undocumented medieval chapel on the site (Canmore, 59525).



**Figure 6.4:** Ladykirk Church, Scottish Borders (*Photo by author*)

The final two meeting places in Norham are open-air locations located at two fords along the Tweed. A place called 'Hamisford' is listed as an accepted meeting place in the original *Leges Marchiarum* of 1249, and Barrow (2003b, 127) has associated this term with Norham through a connection made by Symeon of Durham between the castle and a place called '*Et-hamisforda*'. However, others have proposed Coldstream to be the possible site of the meeting place, in part due its position on the limits of Norhamshire (O'Grady 2008, 306–307; Neilson 1890, 127). While the identification of Hamisford is not completely certain, a ford at Norham was certainly important during

the Great Cause negotiations. The early June 1291 meetings were recorded as having taken place in an open green area opposite the castle in the parish of Upsettlington (Stones and Simpson 1978.ii, 32). This location is usually associated with Holywell Haugh, a flat grassy alluvial point bar opposite the castle and sandwiched between the Tweed and Ladykirk Burn where there was a holy well dedicated to St Anne (Canmore, 59993) (Figure 6.5). This field is located just east of 'Rack Ford' labelled on the 1<sup>st</sup> Edition OS map (1866), which probably also equates to the ford known as 'the Swift' in Bowes and Ellerker's 1541 survey (1541, 196). Although it is not currently in use and neither the early OS maps nor the Roy (1747-1755) or Armstrong (1769) maps of the 18<sup>th</sup> century include the ford in their depictions of the regional transport network, it was in use up until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as J.M.W. Turner painted a ferry crossing at the location in 1819 (Figure 6.6).



**Figure 6.5:** Holywell Haugh (the far side of the river) from the foot of Norham Castle  
(*Photo by author*)



**Figure 6.6:** The Rack Ford with Holywell Haugh and Norham Castle in the distance as depicted in “Norham Castle on the Tweed” by J.M.W. Turner (1816). (Credits: Appendix A)

Rather than situating the negotiations on the riverbank, there is an additional, previously unrecognised, location at which meetings may have been taking place—on the relatively flat bluff of agricultural land on either side of Ladykirk Burn. Here, there is a large mound surrounded by two ditches enclosing a large area of 50x44 meters which is eroding out of the northern riverbank east of Old Ladykirk (Figure 6.7). The mound is substantial, having measured 2.5m (8.5ft) tall in a survey of the feature in 1908. At that time, it was noted to have been significantly reduced by modern ploughing (Canmore, 59522). The site is currently undated, but relationships between the mound and rig and furrow marks indicate that the mound is probably of medieval or post-medieval date. Without excavation it is difficult to determine precisely why this mound was built. However, it could be the remains of a temporary camp which were used during medieval military campaigns and for large political events (Taylor 2019). It is possible that such a camp was built for the Great Cause negotiations. Additionally, it could be the remains of a siege work from one of the many sieges of Norham castle. However, it does resemble flat-top mound sites found elsewhere in Scotland and England which were built between the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, such as the Secklow Mound in Buckinghamshire, which although smaller than the Ladykirk mound, also boasted a

surrounding ditch (Baker and Brookes 2015a, 15–16; Adkins and Petchey 1984; see also O’Grady 2008 for other examples of meeting places with ditches). Whatever the original purpose of the mound, it is possible it was re-purposed as a meeting place at a later date—a practice noted at some motte sites elsewhere in Scotland (O’Grady 2008, 348). This interpretation is supported by the fact that the field in which it is located is named ‘Fair Field’ on 19<sup>th</sup>-century OS maps (1858), indicating a history of use as a local gathering place—a juxtaposition between mound and ‘field’ placename which is also found at the famous *ping* site of Tynwald on the Isle of Man (O’Grady 2008, 57).



**Figure 6.7:** Mound east of Old Ladykirk (HES SC 1751676) (Credits: Appendix A)

A second ford, the West Ford, was also the frequent site of early modern meetings in Norham. It is possible, perhaps even likely, that the ford was used as a meeting place during the medieval period, but this lacks documentary corroboration. The historic location of this ford is somewhat uncertain. The 1<sup>st</sup> Edition OS map (1862) places the ford south of Upsettlington near the Bow Burn. Roy’s map (1747-1755) depicts a road and possible ford running south-west from the village along the alignment of the modern road to Bow Well Farm. This seems a likely place for the

earlier ford as the terminus of this road aligns with the road through the village of Upsettlington on the opposite side of the river. The name 'West Ford' is preserved in a structure on the west bank of the river called 'Westford Shiel' which is also labelled on the estate map for Ladykirk and Simprim (NLS 1840). Armstrong's (1769) map, on the other hand, depicts a road travelling north-west of the village toward Ladykirk, along the alignment of the B6470 and the existing 19<sup>th</sup>-century bridge over the Tweed. Both of these locations possess numerous hollow ways and trackways winding down the steep riverbanks on the Scottish side of the river to the proposed ford locations, which suggests that there may have been multiple fords in this area, or that the West Ford shifted in location over time.



**Figure 6.8:** Proposed location for the West Ford meeting place, as seen from the English side of the Tweed. The wooded area in the middle of the photo is the 'narrow valley' of Bowes' description. The slopes on either side of the river are relatively gentle for this section of the Tweed. *(Photo by author)*

William Bowes' descriptions of the West Ford at a meeting in 1597 (CBP.ii.784, 417) offers further clues which help locate the 16<sup>th</sup>-century meeting place. In negotiations prior to the meeting, Bowes suggested that Lord Hume ought to put the Scottish troops 'into the west end of the long narrow valley on the Scottes syde upon the brinke of Tweed, which was the place of meteing'. At the meeting, the wardens, with six men each, met at the 'water syde'. Later, after a tumult erupted, Scottish horsemen descended down the bank. This 'valley' is probably where the Back Burn, just

north of Upsettlington, runs into the Tweed (Figure 6.8). Furthermore, unlike the location of the current Ladykirk Bridge, which has steep slopes on either side, the riverbanks above the Back Burn could be feasibly traversed by mounted horsemen. The area around Back Burn is also associated with a religious site, possibly a chapel or burial ground for Coldingham Priory, and numerous holy wells (Canmore, 59517, 59518, 50519), a characteristic common to many of the Anglo-Scottish meeting places, as will be made evident throughout this chapter.

## **6.4 Reddenburn, Carham, Birgham, and Haddenstank**

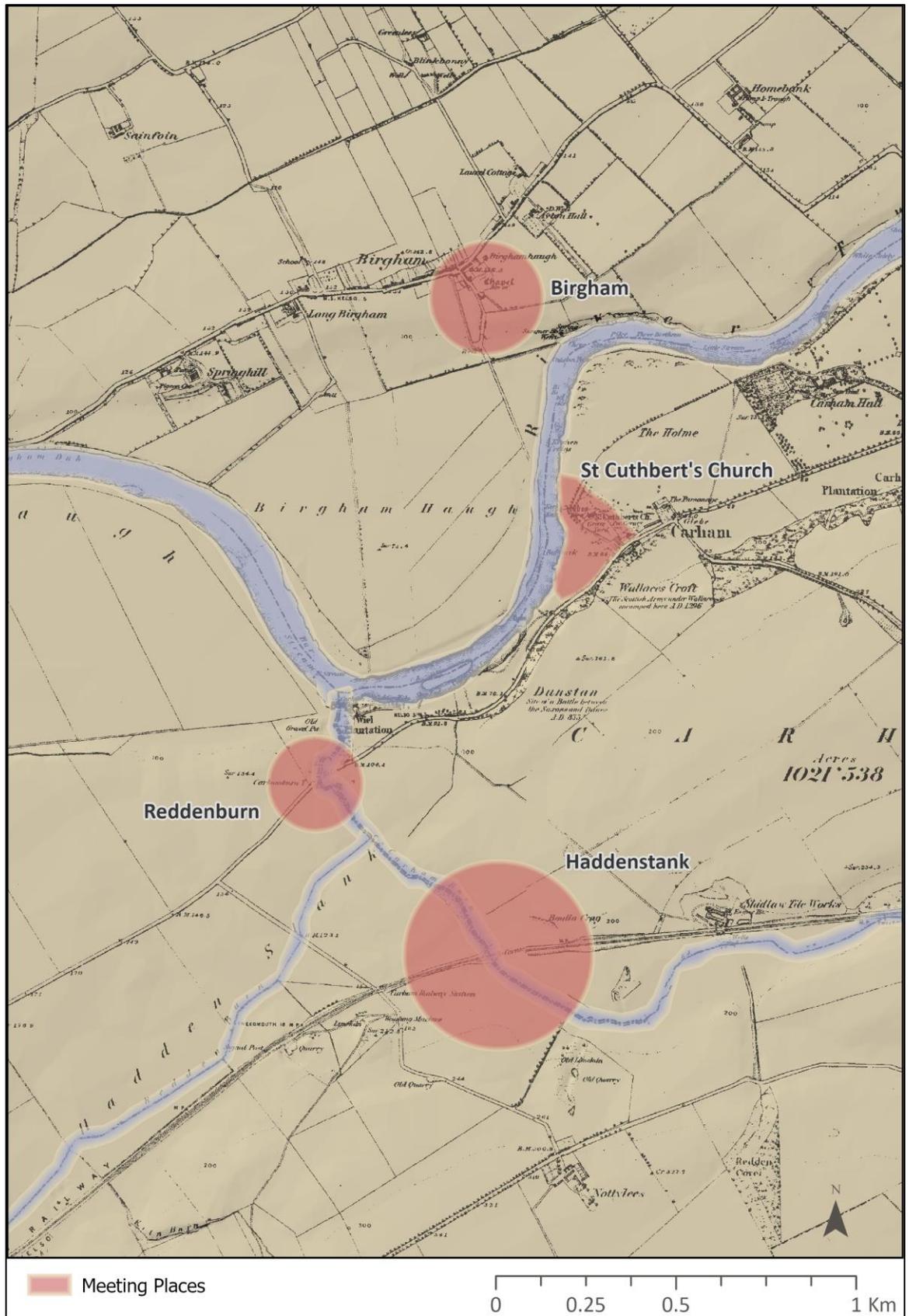
A cluster of meeting places around the confluence of the Carham Burn with the River Tweed, where the Anglo-Scottish border leaves the course of the river, were the most frequently used meeting places throughout the medieval period until the Union of the Crowns (Table 6.2). Like Norham, these meeting places were probably located on the flat alluvial deposits or the low hills which bordered the Tweed on both sides of the river.

At least four different meeting places are located within 1.5km of the confluence (Figure 6.9). Of the four, Reddenburn and Haddenstank were the most frequently used sites, with 13 and 20 meetings respectively, while Carham and Birgham were used just six and four times. However, despite the popularity of the meeting places at Reddenburn and Haddenstank, I have yet to discover any detailed descriptions for the locations of these meetings in either the medieval or early modern periods. Additionally, there is a long history of both agricultural and industrial use, including the construction of numerous quarries, a tileworks at Shidlaw, and the Alnwick to Cornhill line of the North Eastern Railway, which have dramatically changed the landscape since the medieval period. As a result, place names in this area, especially for the watercourses, are frequently interchanged on historic maps, hindering interpretation of the landscape.

The name 'Redden' is associated with multiple features near the confluence of the River Tweed and Carham Burn. There is a modern farm called Redden located 1.5km west of the confluence, and the earliest reference to a settlement of Redden dates to the 12<sup>th</sup> century, when it was the location of a grange of Kelso Abbey (Canmore, 136638). Earthworks of earlier buildings exist around the modern farm, but no archaeological work has been performed to suggest a likely date for them. Redden

**Table 6.2: Anglo-Scottish meetings near Reddenburn**

Year	Date	Meeting Place	Type of Meeting
<b>1174</b>		Reddenburn	Truce negotiation
<b>1181</b>		Reddenburn	Conference
<b>1199</b>		Carham	Royal property dispute
<b>1245</b>	October	Reddenburn	Perambulation
<b>1249</b>		Reddenburn	Day of March
<b>1285</b>	10 September	Carham	Perambulation
<b>1287</b>	Spring	Carham	Unknown
<b>1289</b>	3 February	Carham	Commissioner meeting
<b>1290</b>		Carham	Commissioner meeting
<b>1290</b>	18 July	Birgham	Treaty negotiation
<b>1330</b>		Hadden estate	Perambulation
<b>1391</b>	April	Brighamhalgh near Riwele	Day of March/Indenture
<b>1396</b>	26 November	Birgham	Truce negotiation
<b>1397</b>		Hadden	Unknown
<b>1398</b>	21-26 October	Haddenstank	Day of March/Indenture
<b>1398</b>	28 October	Haddenstank	Indenture negotiation
<b>1398</b>	November	Haddenstank	Day of March
<b>1398</b>	11 March	Haddenstank	Truce negotiation
<b>1399</b>	14 May	Haddenstank	Truce negotiation
<b>1401</b>	18 October	Carham	Truce negotiation
<b>1404</b>	8 October	Haddenstank	Day of March/Truce negotiation
<b>1405</b>	24 March	Haddenstank	Day of March/Truce negotiation
<b>1407</b>	1 August	Haddenstank	Truce negotiation
<b>1409</b>	late spring	Haddenstank	Truce negotiation
<b>1409</b>	spring or early summer	Haddenstank	Truce negotiation
<b>1410</b>	21 April	Haddenstank	Truce negotiation
<b>1411</b>	May	Haddenstank	Truce negotiation
<b>1412</b>	17 May	Haddenstank	Truce negotiation
<b>1426</b>	June	Reddenburn	Day of March
<b>1429</b>	November	Reddenburn	Day of March
<b>1429</b>		Reddenburn	Pre-trial meetings
<b>1426</b>		Reddenburn	Day of March
<b>1429</b>	12 July	Haddenstank	Truce negotiation
<b>1430</b>	Winter	Haddenstank	Unknown
<b>1433</b>	August	Haddenstank	Day of March
<b>1434</b>	March	Reddenburn	Day of March
<b>1451</b>	July or August	Haddenstank	Day of March
<b>1464</b>	July	Reddenburn	Day of March
<b>1473</b>	28 October	Reddenburn	Day of March
<b>1484</b>	18 October	Reddenburn	Day of March
<b>1484</b>	21 October	Haddenstank	Day of March
<b>1484</b>	1 December	Reddenburn	Day of March



**Figure 6.9:** Meeting places near Reddenburn (OS Maps: 1<sup>st</sup> Ed. [c. 1860] 1:10,560) (Credits: Appendix A)

also gives its name to the large haugh, or riverside meadow (Grant, n.d.), located immediately west of the confluence.

However, the placename 'Reddenburn' can be associated with the modern Carham Burn. On modern maps, the name Redden Burn has shifted to a small stream running from the west into Carham Burn, but the Redden Burn is referenced in the 16<sup>th</sup>-century border surveys (Bowes and Ellerker 1541; Bowes 1550) as the stream which flowed into the Tweed at the point the border left the river. Thus, Carham Burn is 'Reddenburn', and historic maps indicate it is a surprisingly stable point in the landscape. This is due to the steep banks on either side of the burn at its union with the Tweed which fixed the position of this confluence (Figure 6.10).



**Figure 6.10:** Looking up the Redden Burn (now Carham Burn) from its confluence with the Tweed. The banks on either side are steep, stabilising the course of the burn. *(Photo by author)*

While it is difficult to identify exactly where the meetings were happening in this landscape, the riverine placename suggests the meeting place may have been situated similarly to those along the Tweed and Solway which clustered near border crossings at fords. Barrow (2003b, 125) argues that the antiquity of Reddenburn as a meeting place, extending at least into the 12<sup>th</sup> century, suggests it was a well-known crossing point between England and Scotland. Early grants specify that tenants were expected to deliver crops weekly to Berwick (Morton 1832, 114), further indicating that the immediate area around the confluence was well-connected within the medieval road

network. As a result, it is highly likely that the meeting place was located very near the point at which the medieval road crossed the boundary over the Redden Burn. Both Roy's (1747-1755) and Armstrong's (1769) maps depict a road running east-west from Sprouston to Carham, roughly equivalent to the B6350. Although the natural topography may have been altered due to the construction of a modern bridge over Carham Burn, this modern crossing is the first point at which the banks of the burn become traversable, forming a natural ford across the stream (Figure 6.11). This combined evidence indicates it could have even greater antiquity as a crossing place, and consequently, as a meeting place.



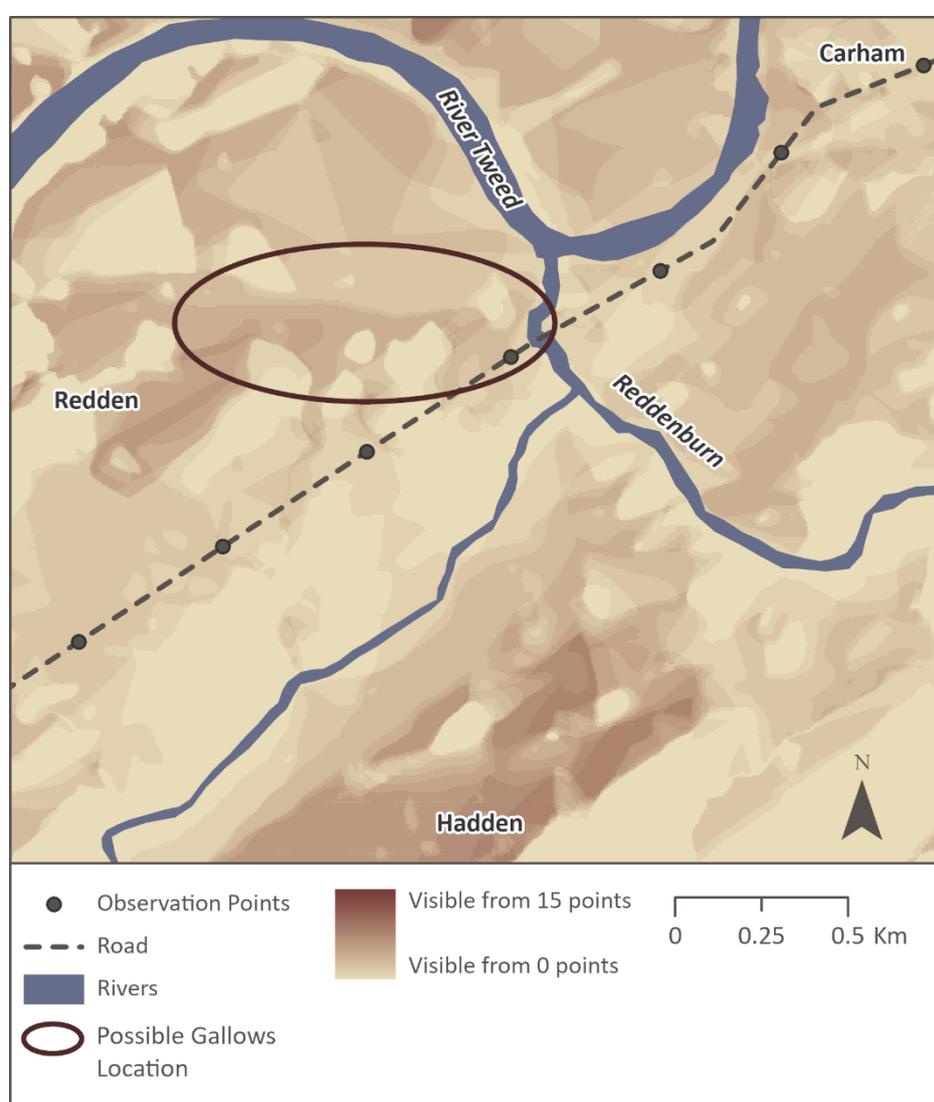
**Figure 6.11:** The manageable banks at the Carham Burn bridge (*Photo by author*)

The documentary record also includes evidence that the location was visible from the road. In 1602, Lord Roxburgh and Sir John Carey held a special court at Reddenburn to decide a particularly challenging case. During the meeting, one of the pledges, George Yonge, struck the man who had 'filed' him and used 'ill words' to the deputy warden. This made Lord Roxburgh angry, and in what was apparently a shocking turn of events, Roxburgh 'caused George Yonge to be hanged upon a fayer payer of gallowes he had caused to be made for the nones, and afterwarde, cause him to be striped and hanged in cheynes, wher he remaynes styll hanging [as of 10 March] in cheynes at the metinge plase for an exampell' (CBP.ii.1450, 783-784).<sup>16</sup> The gibbeted

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<sup>16</sup> Gallows and execution sites are not typically found directly at meeting places but are often within their viewsheds (Brookes and Baker 2011).

man was clearly meant to be a symbol of the judicial authority of the wardens, and, by proxy, of the crowns they represented in reaction to his disrespect toward one of the officials of the court. For this gibbet to be effective in its messaging, it would have been placed in a highly visible point in the landscape (Tarlow and Lowman 2018; Tarlow and Dyndor 2015; Coolen 2013). Visual prominence can be modelled using GIS, and to test for the possible locations of this gibbet, cumulative viewsheds were calculated every 500m along the 18<sup>th</sup>-century alignment of the road (Figure 6.12) (see Appendix L for more details on the methodology). The incline to the west of the Reddenburn crossing as well as a small ridge west of that were particularly visually prominent from the road, and thus, are the most likely locations for the 16<sup>th</sup>-century gibbet.



**Figure 6.12:** Visibility of the nearby topography from the road at the Reddenburn border crossing (Credits: Appendix A)

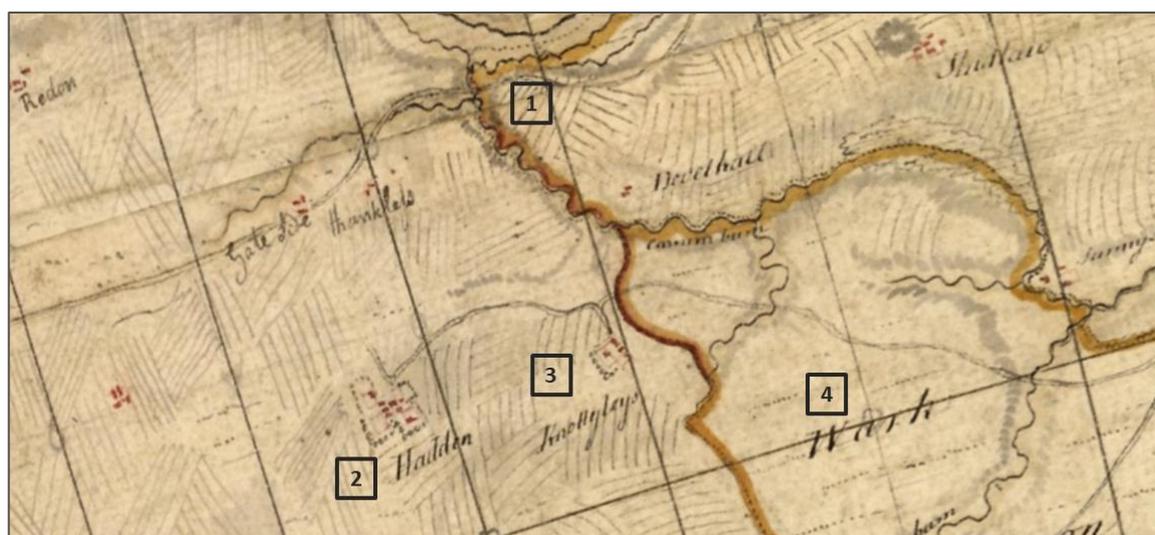
Haddenstank is similarly difficult to locate in the landscape. The term ‘stank’ is an Old French word referring to a pond or a body of slow-moving water (Grant n.d.). Today, the name Haddenstank is preserved as a small stream and swampy area 250m south of the Carham Burn bridge (Figure 6.13). The 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map (1863) associates it with a general area at the foot of the incline up to Hadden Rig (Figure 6.9). The surveys of 1541 and 1550 indicate that in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Haddenstank was the next identifiable point on the border upstream from Reddenburn’s confluence with the Tweed (Bowes and Ellerker 1541; Bowes 1550). Due to their close proximity, it is tempting to consider, as Petts (2018) argues, that Reddenburn and Haddenstank were the same meeting place with multiple names. However, analysis of the meeting places in Norham, above, and near Lilliot’s Cross, below, indicate that multiple meeting places could exist simultaneously in the same locality. Furthermore, Reddenburn and Haddenstank are referenced as separate places suitable for meetings in the indenture of 1397 (Foedera.III.iv, 136-7), indicating that although they were close to each other and probably used somewhat interchangeably, they were likely separate meeting places.



**Figure 6.13:** Area labelled as ‘Hadden Stank’ on the 1<sup>st</sup> Edition (1863) OS map from just west of Hadden (*Photo by author*)

As a result, Haddenstank can refer to both a specific meeting place as well as to a more general area depending on the source of the information. The most likely location for Haddenstank (the meeting place), was probably near a medieval road to the south of the Reddenburn border crossing. The medieval settlement at Hadden was located at the top of a steep slope above Hadden Stank (the area), and archaeological

excavations have found pottery dating to the 12-13<sup>th</sup> centuries at this location (Turner 2005, 125). Although Kelso Abbey owned land in this area, the prime landowners appear to be the de Hadden family, who owned a manor which was probably located somewhere near the modern farm (Morton 1832, 114–115), and the Hadden grants describe a village which straddled a road heading toward Carham. Unfortunately, the Roy (1747-1755) and Armstrong (1769) maps are not as consistent in their depictions of this road as they are with the road past Redden. Roy's map suggests the possibility of a road heading north toward the Redden road, but it also depicts a much more prominent road heading east through a settlement called Knotty Lees (Nottylees) and into the disputed ground of Wark Common (Figure 6.14). In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, surveys occasionally reference a notable point along the Redden Burn as the 'Bushment Hole of Hawden', which marked the point at which the disputed ground of Wark Common began and was located near some crags and a well (Bowes 1550, 185; Mack 2011, 18;). This was close to a place called 'howdeneleughe' (Haddenstank), although it cannot be mapped directly based on the contradictory locational descriptions of Bowes' survey (Bowes 1550, 182–184). Based on this description, Haddenstank may be associated with the Boulla Crag, located just north of the place where Carham Burn turns east, and possibly located near a medieval road, no longer extant, which ran from Hadden to Carham.



**Figure 6.14:** Roads from Hadden on Roy's *Military Survey of Scotland* (1747-1755). Places in text: 1. Reddenburn; 2. Hadden; 3. Nottylees; 4. Wark Common (Credits: Appendix A)

Carham was a very different type of meeting place from Reddenburn and Haddenstank. At Carham, details from historic documents (CDS.ii.359, 93; Stones 1965,

346–365) indicate that at least some of the meetings happened in the local church. A cell of Kirkham Priory was founded at the site sometime after 1131 (Brooke 2000, 64), but the remains of an early medieval cross shaft were also found in the vicinity in the early-20<sup>th</sup> century, suggesting there may have been much earlier religious activities, or perhaps even assemblies and markets, in the vicinity (NCC HER, 114). The Augustinian cell, like the village itself, appears to have always been small. The standing church dates to the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Figure 6.15), but recent geophysical surveys have found evidence of multiple phases of structures which represent the foundations of the medieval ecclesiastical buildings buried in the churchyard (Bernician Studies Group 2019, 19–21).



**Figure 6.15:** St Cuthbert's Church, Carham (*Photo by author*)

While many of the meetings probably happened in the church or its churchyard, as occurred at Norham, descriptions of the truce negotiation of 1401 (Stones 1965, 346–365) indicate that the banks of the Tweed at Carham were also used. At this meeting, the parties met 'a little beyond the church of Carham, in a field by the side of the River Tweed...The earl of Northumberland, with his retinue, remained in the town of Carham, and the earl of Douglas, with his retinue, on the other side of the river Tweed, upon the bank' (Stones 1965, 359) (Figure 6.16). Like Norham, Carham was situated near important fords across the Tweed. Bowes and Ellerker (1541, 201) name two fords, the 'Houleford' and 'Crabbestremes' which were both located between Carham and Birgham. It is possible that these fords were used at some of the other meetings at Carham, especially considering the small size of the medieval church which could not have accommodated many people inside.



**Figure 6.16:** The banks of the River Tweed below Carham's parish church (*Photo by author*)

Less is known about Birgham and its meetings. The village had a medieval chapel which was one of four located in the parish of Eccles (Petts 2018). This chapel is probably where the few Birgham meetings, which were formal truce negotiations, were held. However, like Carham, some events may also have been held on the riverbank. For instance, in 1391 there was a meeting at Birghamhaugh, located on the banks of the Tweed south of Birgham (Neville 1994, 13), suggesting that there was a customary open-air meeting location near Birgham.

## **6.5 Lilliot's Cross, Moorhouselaw and Fairnington Crag**

Lilliot's Cross, Moorhouselaw, and Fairnington Crag are unusual amongst the border meeting places because they are removed from the modern border by over 15km and were used intensively for only a few decades (1360s-1380s) (Table 6.3). Whereas the other meeting places investigated in this chapter are characterised by a long history of use, this cluster of meeting places offers the opportunity to explore a landscape that was either created or repurposed for use within the network of border meeting places well into the late medieval period.

The three meeting places are located within 3km of each other in an area of gently rolling hills overlooking the floodplains of the Tweed to the north and the Teviot to the south (Figure 6.17). The physical landscape around the meeting places has been heavily impacted by parliamentary enclosure and modern estate management, erasing much of the medieval landscape with arable fields, parkland, and plantations. The relative scarcity of archaeology recorded in this area by the HER also presents

challenges in precisely locating the meeting places. Nevertheless, the collection of historical documents from both Fairnington and Moorhouselaw, although not informative about the specific locations for border meetings, does paint a fairly vivid picture of this landscape (The Bannatyne Club 1851, 494–495). This was a place of complex tenorial claims over agricultural fields which were separated by boundary markers that included ditches, stones, and roads. The area was also rich in industrial resources, and medieval documents as well as 16<sup>th</sup>-century descriptions of the Battle of Ancrum Moor, which occurred in the immediate vicinity (HES 2012), describe areas of moorland which supported a fairly significant peat industry.

**Table 6.3:** Anglo-Scottish meetings near Lilliot’s Cross

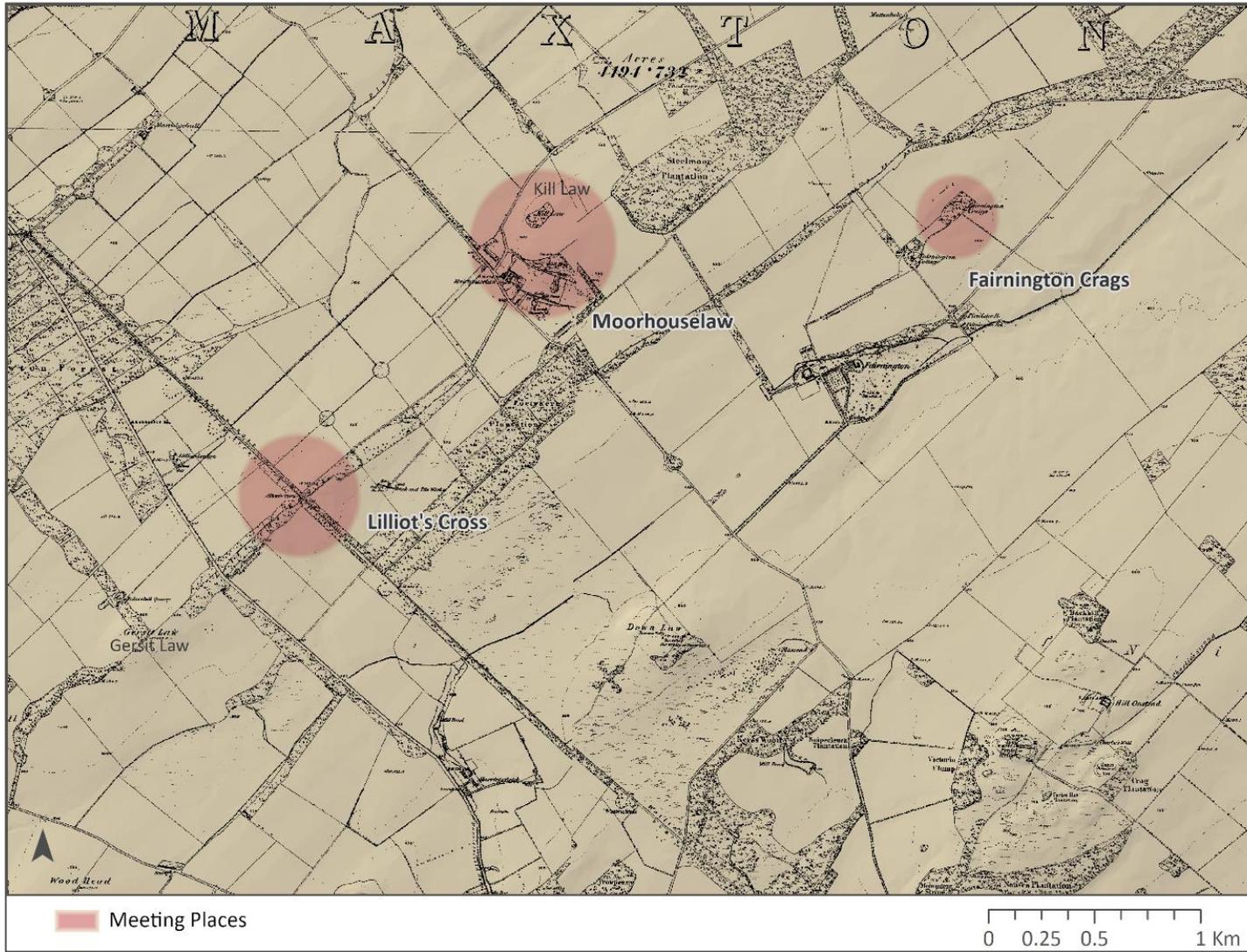
Year	Date	Meeting Place	Type of Meeting
<b>1367</b>	1 September	Moorhouselaw	Indenture negotiation
<b>1367</b>	13 October	Moorhouselaw	Day of March
<b>1372</b>	October	Lilliot’s Cross	Day of March
<b>1373</b>	27 June	Lilliot’s Cross	Day of March
<b>1373</b>	July	Lilliot’s Cross	Day of March
<b>1375</b>	7 September	Lilliot’s Cross	Indenture negotiation
<b>1377</b>	14 September	Fairnington Craggs	Truce negotiation/Day of March
<b>1378</b>	18 January	Lilliot’s Cross	Day of March/Indenture
<b>1378</b>	14 June	Lilliot’s Cross	Day of March
<b>1378</b>	June	Lilliot’s Cross	Day of March
<b>1378</b>	Monday after 11 November	Lilliot’s Cross or Ayton	Day of March/Truce negotiation
<b>1379</b>	9 March	Moorhouselaw	Truce negotiation
<b>1379</b>	17 October	Lilliot’s Cross	Day of March/Truce negotiation
<b>1380</b>	17 October	Lilliot’s Cross, Moorhouselaw and Maxton	Day of March
<b>1380</b>	12 November	Lilliot’s Cross	Judicial duel
<b>1381</b>	November	Lilliot’s Cross	Judicial duel
<b>1383</b>	Last week in June to 2 July	Lilliot’s Cross	Day of March/Indenture
<b>1383</b>	3 July	Moorhouselaw	Day of March/Indenture

It was also a contested landscape—it was located on the edge of English-held territory in southern Scotland during the 14<sup>th</sup> century (CDS.iv.295, 64-65) (Figure 6.18), and its disputed status is reflected in the tenorial history of the area. The Barony of Fairnington first appears in the historic record in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century when Melrose Abbey granted properties to Richard Burnard. The Scottish king Robert II made grants

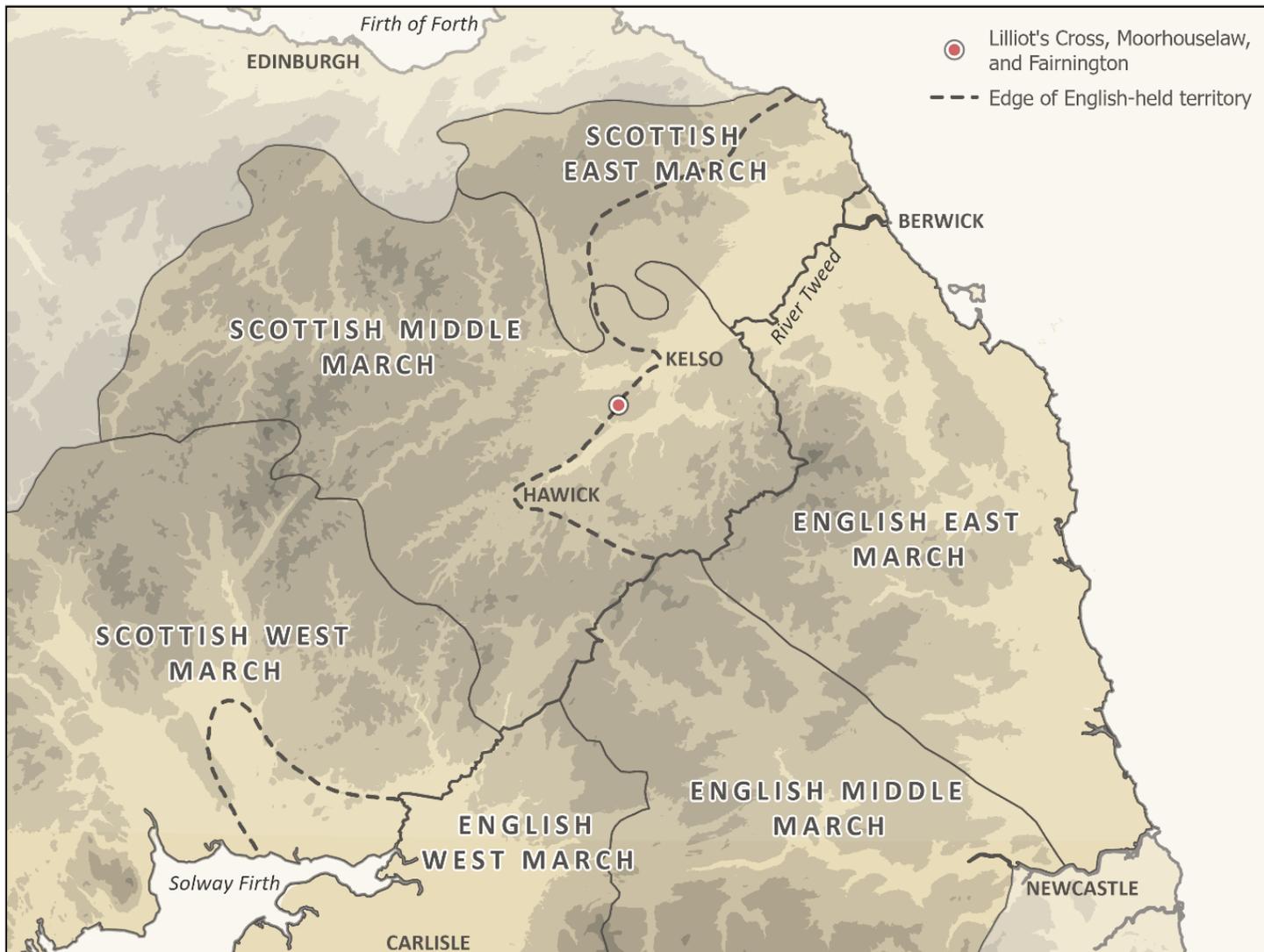
within the barony in 1372, but in 1380 the English king, Richard II, acquired the whole Barony of Fairnington as part of the terms of a peace treaty. By the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the barony was in the hands of the Scottish earl of Bothwell (Jeffrey 1864b, 170-172).

Of the three meeting places in the area, Lilliot's Cross appears to be the most frequently used, with approximately 13 events recorded at the location. It was used for a range of purposes, from Days of March to judicial duels and truce negotiations. The earliest reference to the place, dates to the late-12<sup>th</sup> century when Melrose Abbey erected a boundary stone south of the ridge of Morrig (the placename preserved as Morridgehall), east of Dere Street, and just north of 'Lilisyhates' (the name preserved as 'Lilliardsedge' by a nearby farm) (Canmore, 57010). This stone possibly led to its later medieval association with a cross, as the two terms were often used interchangeably in medieval charters (Reynolds and Langlands 2011, 420; Jeffrey 1864b, 187). The location along Dere Street, a major route between England and Scotland, made the place readily accessible to those coming to a meeting from afar. There was also a crossroad in the area, running between Moorhouselaw and Fairnington on the boundary between Maxton and Fairnington parishes, allowing for east-west access to Roxburgh (Cummins 2014).

The landscape around Lilliot's Cross was composed of a complex combination of 'symbolic topographies' (FitzPatrick and Hennessy 2017, 31) of 'liminal' or boundary landscapes that are often found in connection with medieval meeting places. For instance, crossroads have long been a focus for religious or cultic practices. Deviant burials dating to between the 6<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century are frequently associated with crossroads, and Reynolds and Langlands (2011, 420) argue that such behaviours possibly imbued these locales with ideological significance which later manifested through the construction of monuments like crosses, also frequently found at crossroads. Additionally, the environmental setting of Lillit's Cross also possibly held ideological significance. Lilliot's Cross is located on the northern limit of Ancrum Moor before the topography descends into the lowlands of Tweeddale. Assembly places in both Ireland and England are sometimes located in 'gateway' locations, like Lilliot's Cross, where either the soil type or the surface vegetation (or both) changes (FitzPatrick 2018; FitzPatrick and Hennessy 2017; Baker and Brookes 2013b, 748). These transitional environments appear to have been conceptualised in the medieval periods as 'the idealised setting for transitional behaviours and practices' (FitzPatrick 2018, 116)



**Figure 6.17:** Meeting places near Lilliot's Cross (OS Maps: 1<sup>st</sup> Ed [1863] 1:10,560) (Credits: Appendix A)



**Figure 6.18:** English-held territory in southern Scotland c. 1369 (after MacDonald 2000, 12, Map 1) (Credits: Appendix A)



**Figure 6.19:** Lilliardsedge Ridge (*Photo by author*)

due to their location between tamed lowlands and the wild and dangerous wilderness of the uplands (Turner and Young 2007, 301)—a conception which was also noted to have impacted the distribution of fortifications in the defence-scape in Chapter 4 (4.3.1).

The exact location of the Lilliot’s Cross meeting place cannot be identified with complete certainty. Currently, there is a modern monument on Lilliardsedge that memorialises ‘the fair maiden Lilliard’ for her heroism at the Battle of Ancrum Moor (1544-5). The story of maid Lilliard is almost certainly not true, but a memorial has been located on the site since before 1743, when an earlier memorial was described as lying broken in the vicinity (RCAHMS 1956.i, 60). Tradition places the open-air meeting place somewhere near the ridge upon which the Lilliard’s Stone currently resides (Figure 6.19). It is possible that the meeting place was located to the west of Dere St closer to Gersit Law (Figure 6.17), which in combination with Lilliardsedge, shares some resemblance to a type of assembly location Baker and Brookes (2013a) call a ‘hanging promontory’, although it lacks a few of their distinguishing features including an identifiable mound feature. Nevertheless, these types of sites are noted for their expansive views over the surrounding territory, which this area does have (Figures 6.20 and 6.21). Given the propensity for open-air assemblies in Scotland to be located on elevated terrain (O’Grady 2008), the fact that Lilliardsedge is one of the most visible

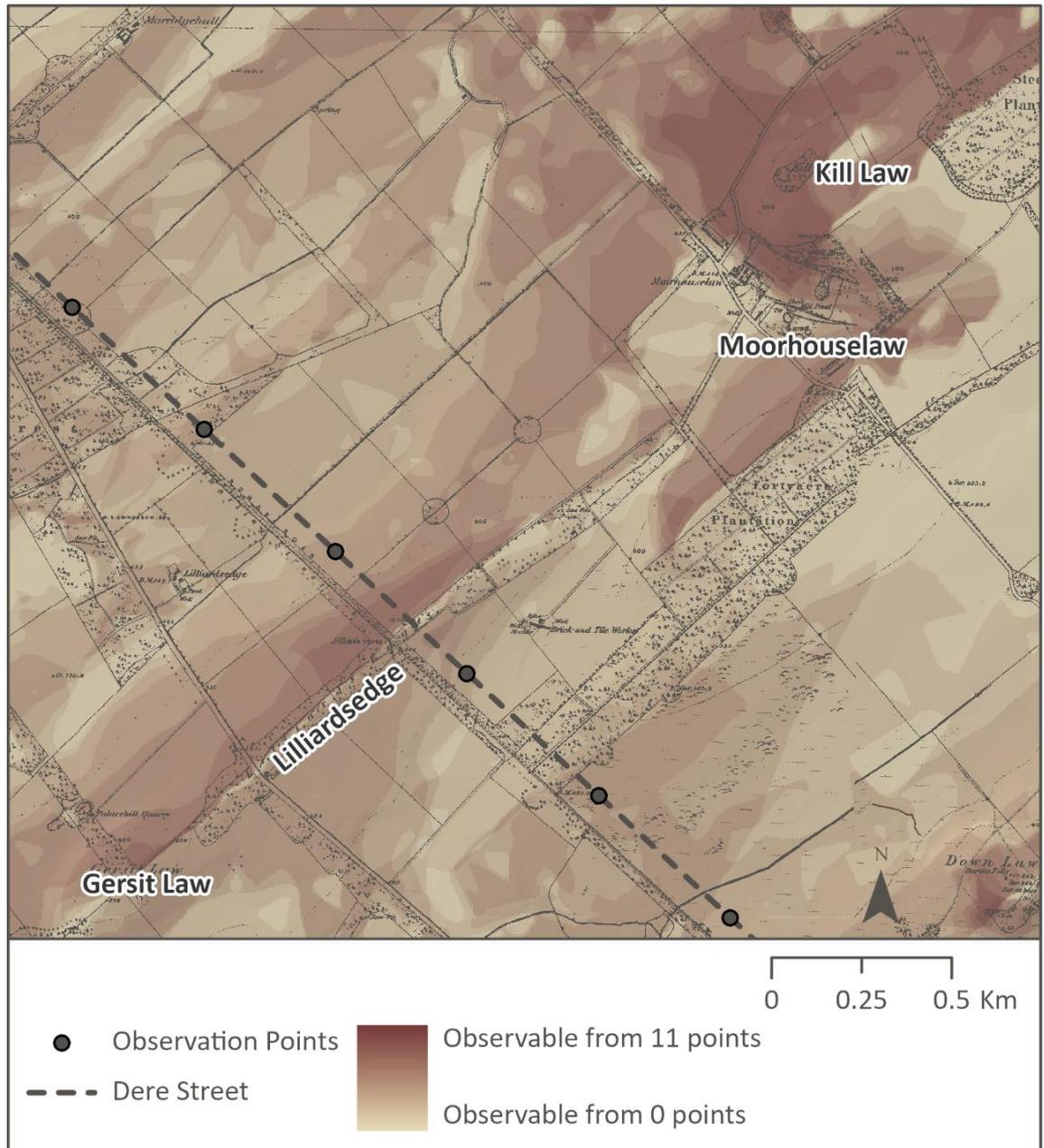
points along this portion of Dere Street (Figure 6.22), suggests that the ridge was a focal point for the border meetings.



**Figure 6.20:** The view from Lilliardsedge looking south-east (*Photo by author*)



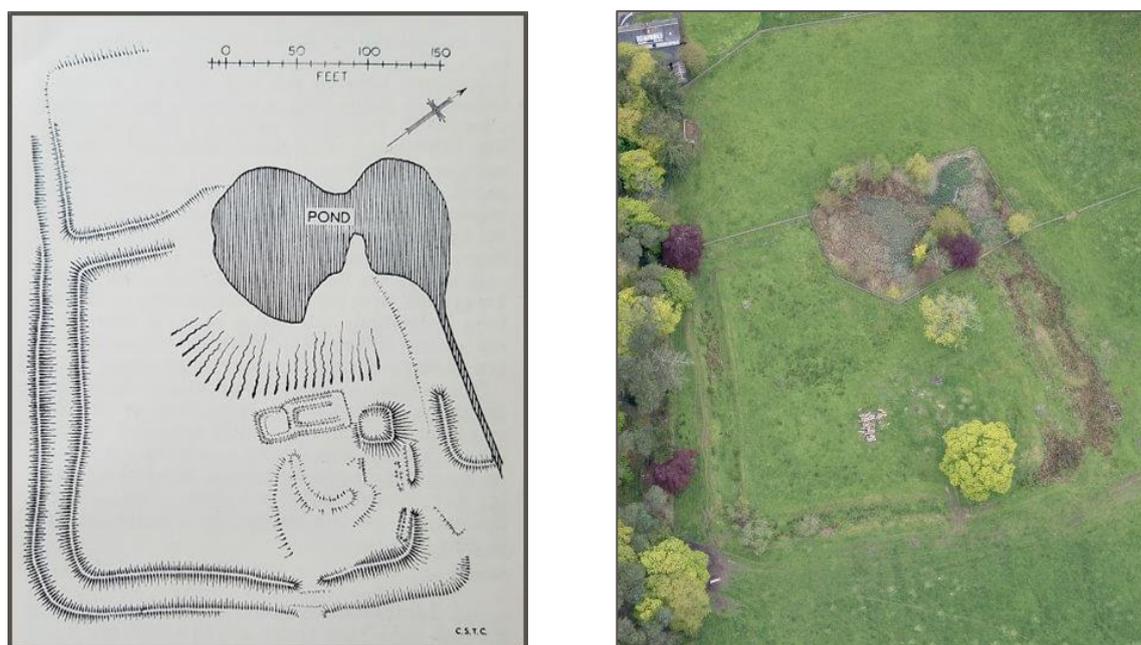
**Figure 6.21:** The view from Lilliardsedge looking north-west (*Photo by author*)



**Figure 6.22:** Visibility of the topography along Dere Street near Lilliot’s Cross. See Appendix L for details of the analyses used to determine visibility (*Credits: Appendix A*)

Moorhouselaw was the location for five meetings. Today, the placename is associated with the remains of a medieval moated site 1.4km north-east of Lilliot’s Cross and located just east of a late-19<sup>th</sup>-century model farm. The moated site is of uncertain date, but similar sites in this region typically date between the Anglo-Norman period and the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Dixon 2003, 60). It is made up of two large enclosures containing two buildings, one of which may have been a tower (Figure 6.23) (RCAHMS 1956.i, 262–263). The area first appears in the documentary record at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century when Robert de Berkeley and Hugo de Normanville gifted lands in the area, along with the use of common pasture and quarrying rights, to Melrose Abbey (The

Bannatyne Club 1851, 299–300). By the 14<sup>th</sup> century, Melrose must have lost or sold many of its holdings in the area, because a number of families are noted to have property interests in this area by this time (The Bannatyne Club 1851, 301).



**Figure 6.23:** Moorhouseslaw's moated site. (Left: RCAHMS 1956.i, 262 Fig. 324; Right: HES DP 296940) (Credits: Appendix A)

It was not possible to locate exactly where the meetings were occurring in Moorhouseslaw, but as it was fairly unusual for meetings to occur within fortifications outside of town settings, they were unlikely to have occurred in the moated site. However, approximately 350m north of the manor is a small hill known as Kill Law. Like Lilliot's Cross, it boasts spectacular views to the west and is highly visible from the slope below (Figure 6.22). This heavily wooded hill possesses steep sides but was quarried at some point in the past, disfiguring the natural topography (Figure 6.24). 'Kil' as a prefix can either indicate the site of a kiln or is associated with the Gaelic word for cell or church, possibly indicating the presence of a nearby religious site (Grant n.d.).

Finally, Fairnington Crag only appears as a meeting place once in the database. Today, the name refers to an outcrop of rocks in a wooded area to the east of a farm (Figure 6.25). Like Moorhouseslaw, Fairnington Crag was located near a settlement, Fairnington, which appears on the Blaeu (1654) map. It and Moorhouseslaw are the only two settlements marked in the immediate vicinity. A chapel under the authority of the Bishop of Glasgow is recorded at Fairnington as early as the late-12<sup>th</sup> century, and there was a hospital in the area by the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Jeffrey 1864a, 177–178).



**Figure 6.24:** The steep sides of Kill Law above Moorhouselaw Manor (*Photo by author*)

All three of these sites share a number of important features. All are clustered along the boundary between Fairnington and Maxton parishes. The meeting places at Moorhouselaw and Fairnington Craggs are much more closely connected to local estate centres, indicating they may have origins as manorial or baronial court sites. They also share some topographical characteristics. All are associated with prominent hills or outcrops of rock in the moorlands, which in combination with the fact that these sites were sometimes used in association with each other at the Anglo-Scottish meetings, may suggest the existence of as yet unidentified ideological or administrative relationships between the sites. It is likely that the nature of these relationships will become clearer with further research on local legal systems in south-eastern Scotland and north-eastern England, which could clarify the associations between physical landscape features and legal hierarchies in the region.



**Figure 6.25:** Fairnington Craggs (*Photo by author*)

## 6.6 Gamelspath

In comparison to the other meeting places discussed above, Gamelspath, deep in the Cheviot uplands, is much more elusive in the documentary records. Located on a large knoll near the source of the River Coquet and surrounded by even larger hills, it is one of the oldest named meeting places (Figure 6.26). It is first mentioned as the appropriate venue for disputes of the people of Redesdale and Coquetdale in the *Leges Marchiarum* of 1249. After this, it is referenced only four more times in the late-14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. It seems to have been used for a variety of types of meetings, from Days of March to formal truce negotiations. Like many of the other early locations, it is likely that this meeting place was used more frequently than the surviving documentary evidence implies.

**Table 6.4:** Anglo-Scottish meetings at Gamelspath

Year	Date	Meeting Place	Type of Meeting
<b>1249</b>		Gamelspath	Day of March
<b>1398</b>	12 November	Gamelspath	Day of March
<b>1401</b>	16 May	Gamelspath	Truce negotiation
<b>1411</b>	18 October	Gamelspath	Unknown
<b>1456</b>		Gamelspath	Unknown
<b>1473</b>	5 November	Gamelspath	Day of March

Gamelspath is one of a few meeting places which were located on the major routes winding through the border hills. Like Lilliot's Cross, it lies along Dere Street, a Roman road which connected York to the Antonine Wall and the Firth of Forth. While this road was known by many names, the section near the meeting place was known as 'Gammel's Path'. The Roman route, doubtless accentuated by medieval traffic, is still evident as braided hollow ways traversing the steep slopes of the hills on either side of the extraordinarily well-preserved sequence of Roman military enclosures at Chew Green (Figure 6.27). Like much of the Cheviot hills, the area is littered with earthworks remains spanning the Bronze Age to the post-medieval period. However, from at least the Roman period, Dere Street had a significant influence over the development of the settlement.

The most prominent archaeological feature in the landscape is the Roman fort (Figure 6.28). The Chew Green fort is one of a series of temporary camps constructed along Dere Street which helped control Roman access into Scotland. At least four

phases of Roman activity are visible from earthworks, and a possible fifth phase was suggested by subsurface features uncovered during an excavation in the 1930s (NCC HER, 13; Welfare and Swan 1995, 85–90; Richmond and Keeney 1937, 137).



**Figure 6.26:** Approximate location of the meeting place at Gamelspath (OS Map: 1<sup>st</sup> Ed. [c. 1863,1866] 1:10,560) (Credits: Appendix A)



**Figure 6.27:** Braided hollow ways along Gammel's Path (Dere Street) south-east of Chew Green (Photo by author)



**Figure 6.28:** Aerial view of Chew Green roman fort and medieval Gamelspath (HES 1761659) (Credits: Appendix A)

By the medieval period, a small settlement known as Gamelspath or Gamelspath Walls had developed within the Roman enclosures and along the line of the road. Very little is known about the medieval settlement, which was largely ignored in the 1936 excavations. In published literature, it is often treated as an interesting, if inconsequential, anecdote of later re-use or as a complication when phasing the Roman remains. Dixon (1984, 88) notes that Kelso Abbey owned extensive lands in Redesdale, and perhaps also had interests in Gamelspath. Surviving earthworks visible in both aerial photography and at ground level include enclosures and house platforms on both sides of Dere Street which sometimes bisect the Roman earthworks but occasionally also respect them (Jones and Coquetdale Community Archaeology 2017, 184). However, these earthworks are complicated by a later farm and inn which catered to the drovers who used the road to transport cattle through the Cheviots in the 18<sup>th</sup> century as well as a variety of other earthworks which appear to be post-Roman livestock enclosures (Roberts et al. 2010, 59).

The first reference to the place name, Gamelspath, is in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and the village is referenced in *inquisitions post mortem* for Redesdale into the late-15<sup>th</sup> century (Jones and Coquetdale Community Archaeology 2017, 185–186). By the Bowes survey of 1550, the settlement is described as a place where ‘theire hath bene howses builded in tymes past’ (Bowes 1550, 209), indicating that the settlement had been abandoned by then. Pottery recovered from the 1930s excavations date to between 1250 and 1450 (Jones and Coquetdale Community Archaeology 2017, 185), mirroring patterns of settlement and abandonment suggested by the documentary record.

Like many of the other Anglo-Scottish meeting places, it is difficult to determine the exact locations of the meeting place with certainty. The medieval documents refer to the meeting place simply as Gamelspath, but this could refer to multiple places. Both the road and village were referred to by this name at various points in history. Nevertheless, while placenames do not inform us of the exact location of the meetings, there are features in the landscape which seem particularly likely to have been the locus of medieval assemblies.

The first of these locations is a series of wayside crosses along Dere Street known as the Golden Pots, which have been in existence since at least 1228. Their antiquity is debated and unresolved. They have sometimes been interpreted as Roman mile markers (Roy 1793), although the existing examples appear to be socket-stones

that held cross-shafts and were probably boundary markers between the Parish of Elsdon and the chapelry of Halystone (Figure 6.29) (NCC HER 330, 124, 126, 127, 23455). Some of the stones have been moved, but at least one was placed at the crossroads between Dere Street and a road east to Ridlees (Armstrong 1769). It is possible that the Gamelspath meetings, like those at Lilliot's Cross, were happening at a cross or stone, potentially located at an important crossroad. However, this would have removed the meeting further from the border, which is located just north of the fort.



**Figure 6.29:** One of the 'Golden Pots' (*Photo by author*)

The second and more likely option, also advocated by O'Grady (2008, 308–309) in his brief discussion of the site, is a possible chapel site within the medieval settlement (Figure 6.30). In 1883, architect Clement Hodges conducted an excavation within the Roman fortlet. He was looking for Roman antiquities, but instead, uncovered the foundations of a stone building 18x9m in size in which he found masonry he believed to be Norman in date. This masonry and his sketches have not survived to verify his interpretations, but some of the building's characteristics support Hodges' interpretations. The building is not aligned with the Roman remains, is situated on an east-west axis, and is surrounded by a stone wall that is still up to 1m in height (Jones and Coquetdale Community Archaeology 2017, 185–186). However, it should be noted that similarly-sized buildings found within the Epiacum Roman fort in the North Pennines were discovered to be post-medieval bastles that were constructed to take advantage of the defences of the Roman Fort (Went and Ainsworth 2009, 59). The

structure as Gamelspath was not a large building and could not have accommodated a significant crowd, although the area within the Roman defences, within which there is no evidence for any other structures, measures 68x55m and could certainly have accommodated a large meeting (NCC HER 13).



**Figure 6.30:** Location of Gamelspath's supposed chapel (*Photo by author*)

## 6.7 Regional Patterns

These case studies paint a picture of four very different kinds of meeting place. In fact, the wide variety of settings used is striking and illustrates that there was no such thing as a 'typical' Anglo-Scottish meeting place. However, meeting places were not usually chosen at random. Studies of assembly places across Europe indicate they were often the product of choices made by governing authorities, and they usually fit within a framework of criteria, albeit a relatively loose one, which determined whether a place was an appropriate venue for assembly (Semple et al. 2021; Sanmark 2017; Baker and Brookes 2015a). This section will compare the evidence introduced by the case studies with frameworks for assembly place landscapes developed elsewhere to characterise the physical features which were important in the selection of Anglo-Scottish meeting places.

The spatial distribution of Anglo-Scottish meeting places suggests important connections between place and power at the national and regional scale. In general, there is a correlation between the density of meeting places used and areas which were central to regional administrative networks. For instance, the clustering of sites in the lowlands of the Tweed Basin (Figure 3.16), which mirrors patterns for other administrative structures, such as fortifications (4.3.1) and churches (3.6.1), does

indicate a relationship between the location of border meetings and politically central areas. The east side of the border has far more recorded meeting-places than the west side of the border, which is probably influenced by the administrative and economic importance of this agriculturally rich area for both England and Scotland (Dixon 2003). These were regions worth controlling and it should not come as a surprise that the legal-scape which divided England from Scotland would also focus on these areas.

Unsurprisingly, there is also a clear relationship between the location of meeting places and the international border. Scholars of medieval assembly places note that geographies of assemblies in many regions suggest close connections between the location of assembly places and territorial claims of authority, often culminating in a pattern where meeting places happen along important political boundaries, including international borders (Sanmark 2017; FitzPatrick 2015; Reynolds 2013, 709–710; Coolen 2013, 766; Benham 2011;). Jenny Benham (2011) has studied 12<sup>th</sup>- and 13<sup>th</sup>-century practices determining the setting of international diplomatic negotiations on borders. She argues that the location of the meeting is a reflection of the relationship between the rulers involved in the negotiation. Rulers of equal standing, ‘whether [that equality was] perceived or real,’ typically met directly on the border. When rulers were unequal in status, meetings were often moved off the border and into the territory of the more powerful ruler. Along the Anglo-Scottish border, because legal jurisdiction was utilised, especially by England, to assert their claim over territory, even regional border courts with their incendiary cases between the people of the two kingdoms could take on the full significance of diplomatic negotiations. With this in mind, the location on the boundary between the nations could have helped preserve peaceful relations through its politically ‘neutral’ location.

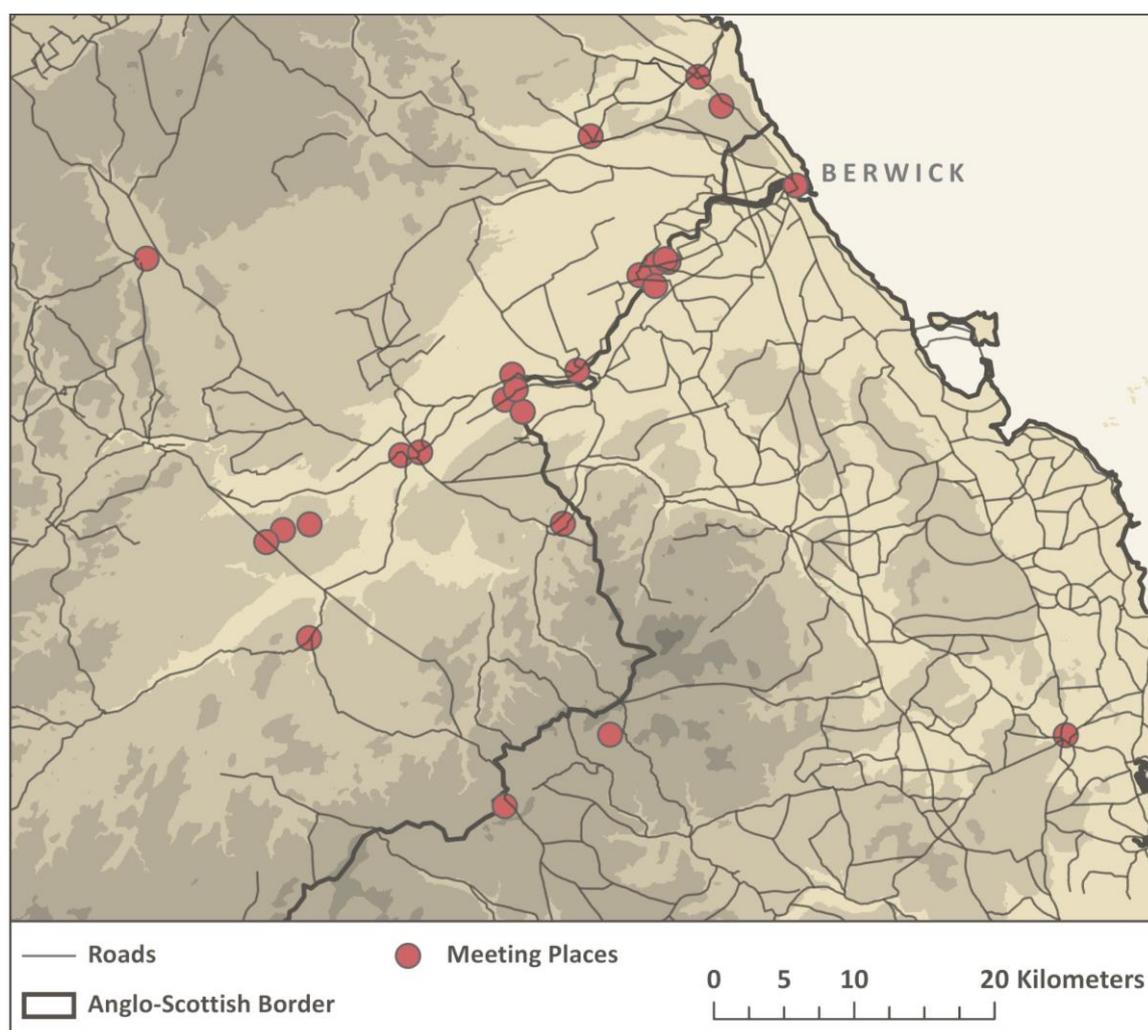
There are also regional patterns in the types of sites being used for border meetings (open-air, church/churchyard, and castle or public buildings). These patterns were first introduced in Chapter 3 (3.4.2), but evidence presented in this chapter can help us contextualise these patterns, understand the social and political pressures that impacted the choice of site within the legal-scape, and identify tentative hierarchies between meeting places.

Open-air meeting places were the most common type of location (64%) for Anglo-Scottish meetings. In fact, it seems that contemporary conceptions of Anglo-Scottish meeting places imagined them as open-air settings. For instance, a late-16<sup>th</sup>-

century treatise on reforms to the *Leges Marchiarum* and borderland administration described meeting places as, ‘Ther howse of session is the open ffeild the ffirmament ther rooff and ther seat[es] the cold earthe or some hard stone’ (Cotton Caligula B VIII f. 408 v). As seen in the case studies above, a wide variety of natural and manmade landscape features marked open-air Anglo-Scottish meeting places—fords, rivers, prehistoric monuments, bridges, crosses, and hills were all used. Nevertheless, there are some common characteristics. Recent efforts to bring together disparate studies on assembly places across Europe, primarily of the early medieval period, have been successful in identifying numerous commonalities in the types of places typically used for these activities (e.g. Semple et al. 2021; Sanmark 2017; Baker and Brookes 2013a). Baker and Brookes (2015a) identified a range of important characteristics exhibited by Anglo-Saxon assembly places, including accessibility, liminality, and topographical functionality/distinctiveness. Many of these characteristics are identifiable at late medieval Anglo-Scottish meeting places, such as the importance of the accessibility of sites. The importance of the accessibility of Anglo-Scottish meeting places has long been acknowledged (e.g. Rae 1966) and, indeed, is frequently discussed in 16<sup>th</sup>-century administrative documents (e.g. CBP.ii.1001, 564-566; CBP.ii.1045, 591). All four of the case studies in this chapter are well-connected within regional transportation networks. When meeting places are overlaid on the 18<sup>th</sup>-century road network (Figure 6.31), the close association between meeting places and nodes in the network (denoted by multiple crossroads) or at important border crossings become evident.

The next most popular category of meeting place, religious sites (28%), straddle the bounds between indoor and outdoor spaces. Both large parish churches, as at Norham, and small rural chapels were used as meeting places. Churches and monasteries were entangled in the system of border law in a variety of ways, but this relationship between church and law was not unique to the borderland. Churches were used not only for ecclesiastical courts but were also occasionally used for manorial courts and civic meetings, and were frequently where legal documents were drawn up (Musson 2001, 22, 43–45; Davies 1968). Some documents indicate that meetings were held inside the church, as occurred in the Great Cause negotiations at Norham’s parish church in 1291. However, in most other cases, it is difficult to determine whether the church itself was being used, or whether meetings were taking place in the churchyard. Church porches were often used for local financial transactions well into the early

modern period (Johnson 2020, 168; Postles 2007), and it is possible they served a similar function at some Anglo-Scottish meetings. At many of the locations, it is possible that both indoor and outdoor spaces were used, as the churches at meeting places were too small to accommodate the large gatherings (often hundreds) of people who attended these events. This is likely at the rural chapels of Gamelspath and the chapel of Solom on the West March (McIntire 1941).



**Figure 6.31:** Anglo-Scottish meeting places and historic roads (Credits: Appendix A)

Spatial juxtapositions between medieval open-air meeting sites and Christian churches have been noted across Europe, although there was a great degree of variation in the types of patterns observed (Semple et al. 2021, 229; Ødegaard 2018). Hall et al. (2005) identified numerous medieval meeting places in Scotland where an assembly place and an early medieval church were found in close proximity to one another, and there is a particularly close relationship between churches, particularly early medieval churches, and the most prestigious meetings in Orkney and Shetland

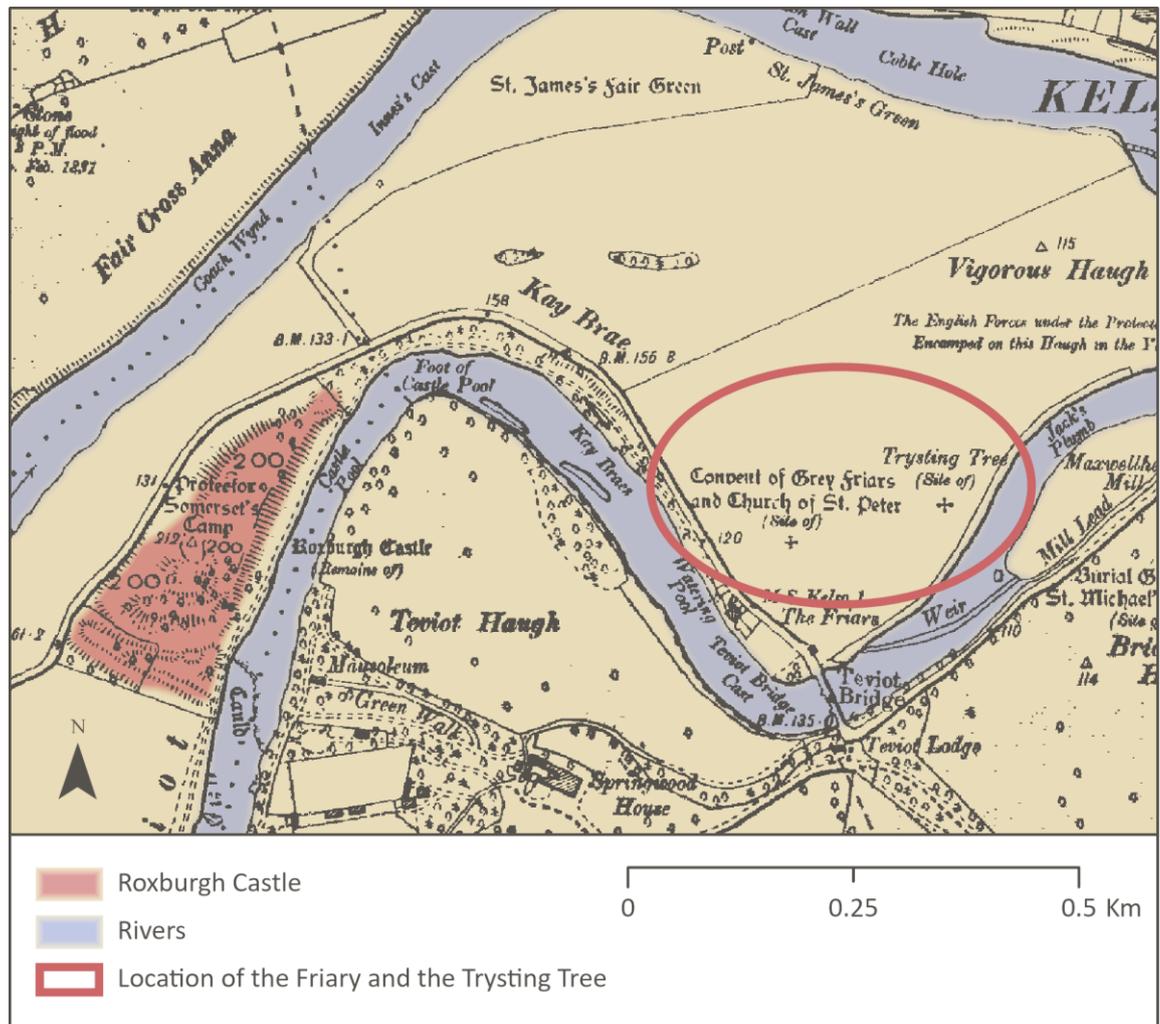
(Semple et al. 2021, 215) and in mainland Scotland (O'Grady 2008; O'Grady et al. 2015). O'Grady (2008, 364) argues that this spatial relationship between early medieval sites is probably the result of the close collaboration between the early medieval church and political authorities which mutually benefitted politically from the association (see also Driscoll 1998). Secular powers benefitted from the moral authority granted by their close relationships with the church and God, while the church garnered secular power through their numerous connections to the ruling elite.

In the Anglo-Scottish borderlands, churches and monasteries also played somewhat charged political roles during and after the Wars of Independence, which probably influenced their use as meeting places. Monasteries and their churches were tangled in a complex web of social and political power through their ties to benefactors and founders. In the medieval period, establishing new monasteries or providing existing institutions with endowments played complex and important roles in the assertion and maintenance of power. Only the most wealthy and powerful could afford to hold such role. The political role monastic foundations could play through their benefactors is best exemplified by their occasional use as declarations of territorial control. For instance, Jamroziak (2011, 49) argues that Dundrennan was founded by the Lord of Galloway, Fergus, as an assertion of independence from the Scottish crown in the 12th century. After the onset of the Scottish Wars of Independence, this international network of benefactors and landownership caused problems for many of the monasteries. A growing secular conception of monasteries as being either Scottish or English is evident in their treatment during the Wars. Monasteries were often coerced into switching loyalties. Some were used as bases for military expeditions such as Holm Cultram and Melrose, ostensibly partially for the practical reasons that they had large buildings, large precincts, and numerous granges in which to store people and supplies (Jamroziak 2011, 174). By the end of the Wars of Independence, the entanglement of religious architecture and national identity becomes more apparent as Scotland had begun to develop its own style of religious architecture, and churches and monasteries on either side of the border began to look more different than they had in the early years of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Fawcett 1994, 76).

Despite their political entanglements, another part of the appeal of churches for meetings was their ability to lend a degree of sanctification to the proceedings. Oaths and rituals before the altar were common features of a variety of types of legal

ceremonies (Davies 1968), although explicit evidence for such practices at Anglo-Scottish meetings has yet to be found. It is possible that this explains why many of the open-air meeting places are found in proximity to other types of religious features such as crosses (Lilliot's Cross) or holy wells (Holywell Haugh and West Ford, Norham). In fact, the use of open-air religious sites was particularly common in the Norse Danelaw where there is little evidence for a close relationship between meeting places and churches (Semple et al. 2021, 225-226). There is also evidence that trees had a particular spiritual significance for assemblies within the Danelaw, and this pattern may also be evident at Roxburgh, where negotiations for an indenture were completed in 1367 (Rot. Scot.i., 913-14; Foedera.iii.ii.,137-8). The site of the friary, which fell to ruins after the Reformation, was also the site of the baronial court of Roxburgh and was associated with a 'Trysting Tree', a tree which measured 'thirty feet in girth' and was the 'prince of neighbouring trees' due to its large size (Jeffrey 1864a, 152–154). In the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, local folklore remembered the location as the site of medieval and 16<sup>th</sup>-century diplomatic meetings (Martin and Oram 2007; Jeffrey 1864a, 154), and it even was marked on the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century OS map of the area (1858) (Figure 6.32).

While churches and monasteries represent a tenuous category between indoor and open-air locations, the use of castles and public buildings for courts and diplomatic negotiations (8%) were certainly indoor events. The use of indoor spaces as settings for medieval courts, in general, is not well understood, and their role at Anglo-Scottish border meetings even less so. Preference for indoor court sites generally expanded from the 12<sup>th</sup> century, but this did not happen consistently across different types of courts. The most important and prominent courts were the first to move inside. For instance, in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, royal assemblies and courts would be held at sites in key towns, abbeys, and castles (O'Grady 2008, 228). The use of indoor spaces at regional or local courts was less consistent. Purpose-built courthouses or court rooms were rare throughout the medieval and early modern periods, but other forms of architecture, such as tollbooths, moot halls, and ale houses increasingly began to be used for judicial proceedings from the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Platts 2020; Brodie et al. 2016, 4; O'Grady 2008, 80–81).



**Figure 6.32:** Location of the friary and the Trysting Tree in Roxburgh on the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Ordnance Survey maps (1858, 1:10,560). (Credits: Appendix A)

Finally, the relationship between physical landscape features and hierarchies within the network of Anglo-Scottish meeting places can be tentatively identified. Previous research on early medieval assembly sites indicates that assemblies were often organised into hierarchies of places used for local, regional, and national assemblies (Petts 2018, 168). For instance, hundredal courts in England were often located at open-air locations, whereas manorial courts could be sited at the head of the manor. Meanwhile, royal assemblies were often hosted at monasteries or in burghs (Johnson 2020; Sanmark 2017; Skinner and Semple 2015; O’Grady 2008; Pantos 2004b). In general, there appears to be a hierarchical division between open-air Anglo-Scottish meeting places and indoor meeting places with the latter tending to be used for the bigger, diplomatic events. These patterns are also in keeping with patterns attested to by 16<sup>th</sup>-century administrators (CBP.ii.1001, 564-566). Many border meetings occurring at indoor locations or at town sites were either truces, indenture negotiations, or

judicial duels. Days of March and other border courts, on the other hand, were more frequently held at the open-air meeting places. However, there was a fluidity to these hierarchical structures which makes these patterns very difficult to discern. For instance, while Haddenstank and Reddenburn witnessed the full range of border meeting types, Carham and Birgham primarily hosted formal international agreements or high-profile judicial decisions.

This section has begun to distinguish some of the connections between the characteristics of the physical elements of the legal-scape of the Anglo-Scottish border and the way the network of Anglo-Scottish meeting places was structured. The following chapter explores how these landscapes were involved with the practices occurring at the meeting places through the remaining four project themes—scale, time/temporality, movement, and perspective. Together, these themes explore how cross-border relationships were negotiated within and through the landscape.

# Chapter 7: Thematic Legal-scape

## 7.1 Introduction

As with the defence-scape analysis in Chapters 4 and 5, this second chapter of the legal-scape case study will interpret the legal-scape through the remaining four project themes. First, it explores patterns of accessibility and exclusion at both indoor and open-air meeting places to consider the targeted audience at Anglo-Scottish meetings. Next, it traces patterns of movement within and between meetings to reveal how meetings were used to create political communities. Third, it explores the role of custom in the selection and reuse of meeting places and the evolution of meeting practices through time. The last section of the chapter highlights how the organisation and implementation of Anglo-Scottish meetings reveals the complex power relations between local and national parties within the legal-scape and how they were involved in border work.

## 7.2 Perspective: Accessibility at Anglo-Scottish Meeting Places

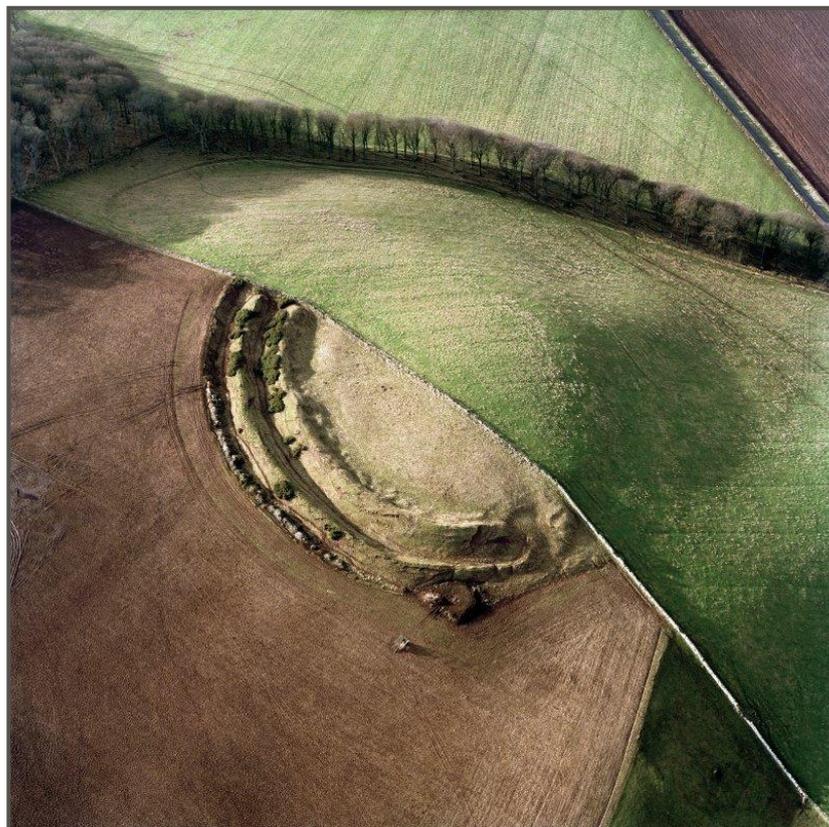
The previous chapter argued that the use of indoor and open-air meeting places have interesting but somewhat ambiguous relationships to the structural hierarchies of the legal systems of the Anglo-Scottish borderland. This section will clarify some of the differences between the use of indoor and open-air spaces through a consideration of audience in both of these types of spaces. Considering audience at these meeting highlights important elements in the way landscape and politics intersected at these places. First, it highlights patterns of accessibility at these sites—who was included in particular spaces, who was not, and how it varied at different meeting places. In combination, this deconstruction of the audience within the landscape informs us about structures, both physical and conceptual, which organised the legal-scape and influenced the way it was used in border work.

Explicit reference to audience at Anglo-Scottish meetings is sparse in the medieval and early modern documentary records. While we sometimes have indications of the vast size of the retinues which accompanied administrators at these

meetings, there are very few descriptions of anyone who was not directly involved in either the legal proceedings or the diplomatic ceremonies of the various events. There is only one explicit reference to audience in the entirety of Bain's *Calendar of Border Papers* (1894), from which much of the 16<sup>th</sup> century meeting place dataset is drawn (3.4)—at a delivery meeting in June 1598, the warden's deputy noted 'that the fairness of the day had drawn some [to the meeting] for pleasure, not by command' (CBP.ii.941, 534-535). Because of the relative absence of evidence, historians are left to hypothesise about audience based on their impressions from entire collections of documents. For instance, Fraser (1971, 160) described the atmosphere of the meetings as having 'the conviviality of a Rugby club supper with...the generality either watching—and doubtless commenting—or talking in groups about the field'. Elsewhere, court sites are often associated with medieval markets and fairs (Semple et al. 2021, 257; Sanmark 2017, 52; O'Grady 2008, 312;), and in Scotland, there was a strong connection between legal assemblies and horseracing (Driscoll 2004, 83). While horseracing and other sports games could be cross-border events (Fraser 1971, 76–78), in general, Anglo-Scottish meetings were meant to happen regularly, and probably would not have been accompanied with the full festive trappings of larger, more exceptional events. Despite Neilson's (1899, 254) claims to the contrary which have been repeated by other scholars (O'Grady 2008, 300), there is currently little evidence that Anglo-Scottish meetings were typically accompanied by games and large fairs on-site.

Many assembly places in Europe are noted for the openness of the landscape around them, affording expansive views both to and from the meeting places (Baker and Brookes 2015a, 2013). As noted earlier, some of the Anglo-Scottish meeting places (e.g. Reddenburn and Lilliot's Cross) seem to be situated in highly visible locations. Mounds and hills, both natural and manmade, were also used as meeting places in both England and Scotland as well as further abroad, because they offered an elevated platform that extended the range at which the events of the meeting could be seen (O'Grady 2018, 2008; Sanmark 2017; Benham 2011). While mounds are relatively underrepresented at Anglo-Scottish meeting places, as noted earlier, meetings at Moorhouselaw and Fairnington Crag were possibly located on natural mounds made of bedrock. Additionally, 'Ebchester', which is probably the hillfort of Habchester south-east of Ayton (Figure 7.1), was used for the public sealing of an indenture negotiated in the church of Ayton in 1381 (Foedera.iv, 124-5; Rot. Scot.ii, 38-9; Foedera.iii.iii., 122-3),

and in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Halidon Hill, north of Berwick, was the site of a prisoner exchange, or 'delivery' (CBP.ii.907, 513-514).



**Figure 7.1:** The hillfort of Habchester, south-east of Ayton. Habchester is located on a parish boundary, and this has resulted in differential preservation of the fort on either side of the boundary. (HES SC 993205) (Credits: Appendix A)

As the example of Ayton church/Habchester hillfort indicates, indoor and open-air spaces were also sometimes used within the same meetings (Table 7.1). This pattern is also evident in the Great Cause meetings in Norham and Berwick (see 6.3 for more details) and the 1401 meeting in Kirk Yetholm and Carham, which will be explained in more detail in a later section of this chapter (7.3). This integration of indoor and open-air spaces within sequences of meetings suggests that these spaces were not entirely interchangeable but could be used to differentiate and facilitate different parts of the meetings. In particular, public access to a meeting appears to have been more important at the beginning and end of a meeting, a pattern also visible in the 16<sup>th</sup>-century records (e.g. CBP.ii.1001, 564-566). Publicly ratifying an agreement is still a feature of diplomacy today and needs little explanation. Likewise, public performances at the beginning of diplomatic events often indicate the political intentions of different parties in negotiations. Anglo-Scottish negotiations were no different, and there were a

variety of formal ceremonies which began Anglo-Scottish meetings, described in more detail later in this chapter, which were clearly intended to perform the political relationships between the two kingdoms.

**Table 7.1:** Movement between meeting places

Year	Route
<b>1290-1291</b>	Norham (10 May-13 June) → Berwick (3-12 Aug.; 2 June 1292, 15-19 Nov. ) → Norham (20 Nov.)
<b>1357 or 1358</b>	Billymire → Wardlaw (Cocklaw) → Berwick
<b>1367</b>	Moorhouselaw (1 Sept) → Roxburgh (3 Sept)
<b>1381</b>	Ayton (12-18 June) → Habchester (19 June)
<b>1383</b>	Lilliot's Cross (2 July) → Moorhouselaw (3-12 July)
<b>1391</b>	Haddenstank (21-26 Oct.) → Unknown (28 Oct.) → Lochmaben (2 Nov.)
<b>1401</b>	Yetholm (17 Oct.) → Carham (18 Oct.) → Hill near Carham → River near Carham

However, once the initial ceremonies were complete, some of the formalities could be put aside, explaining why it is much more common to see movement from an open-air location to an indoor location than vice versa. The appeal of creature comforts during a long meeting should not be underestimated, and it is likely that for the longer meetings, the shelter of the castles and tollhouses of Berwick and Carlisle would have been very appealing in comparison to open-air locations exposed to the vicissitudes of weather. However, control over access was another concern. Even at open-air assembly places, access to certain parts of the legal-scape were restricted to select groups of people. At assembly sites across Europe, space was often segregated hierarchically, and movement between spaces of different functions could be restricted. At elevated meeting places like mounds, hierarchies were sometimes symbolised through altitude (Semple et al. 2021, 262–263). At other places, hierarchies were represented by horizontal zones of inclusion and exclusion. Often the centre, and most exclusive space, of the meeting was clearly delineated through a practice called ‘fencing’, where a physical boundary was delimited on the ground through either a permanent or temporary barrier (Sanmark 2017, 103–104; O’Grady 2008, 84–85).<sup>17</sup> There is no direct evidence for physical fencing at the Anglo-Scottish meetings, but a central zone where

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<sup>17</sup> Fencing is first documented in Scotland in 1380 (O’Grady 2008, 84–85), but as it appears to be a widespread practice across early medieval Europe (Semple et al. 2021, 273), it was probably in use in Scotland and England much earlier.

access was highly restricted remained a feature of border meetings into the 16<sup>th</sup> century (e.g. CBP.ii.766, 406-407).

There were functional as well as symbolic reasons for controlling access to certain portions of the legal-scape at each meeting place, such as considerations of safety. In one example, a 16<sup>th</sup>-century meeting was moved to an unnamed town to avoid 'the risk of breaches of peace by meeting' in the fields' (CBP.ii.352, 180). However, there were other diplomatic reasons why administrators might want to limit the public visibility of certain portions of a meeting. For instance, the presence of a public audience could necessitate political posturing, which could be problematic during sensitive negotiations. This explains why indoor locations were more often associated with the larger diplomatic types of meetings. The importance of exclusionary spaces at diplomatic Anglo-Scottish meetings is visible in the Great Cause negotiations. After the initial meetings in Norham, the Scots were allowed to choose the location for the next series of meetings. They selected Berwick, which was in Scottish control at the time. Stones and Simpson (1978.ii, 87) argue that Berwick was selected primarily for practical reasons, although through this choice the Scots had also made sure that the post-Norham meetings were to happen within Scottish territory. Nevertheless, practicalities were certainly taken into account, as Berwick was one of the most prosperous towns on the border and could certainly accommodate the large number of people who were to attend the meetings (Stones and Simpson 1978.i, 229). The larger general meetings appear to have taken place in the castle, primarily in either the chapel or the great hall. However, the petitions of each claimant were heard and discussed in an abandoned Dominican friary, no longer in existence, on the outskirts of Berwick and near the castle. The friary had been abandoned in 1285 because the friars had found it 'too remote' (Stones and Simpson 1978.ii, 130). Fordun records in his chronicles that the friary was selected for the negotiations because it was 'away from the haunts of people' and 'closely guarded', although it was apparently also close enough to the castle that Edward I could easily check in to observe how the negotiations were progressing (Skene 1872, 308; Stones and Simpson 1978.ii, 75).

However, alongside the combined use of indoor and open-air spaces for meetings for security and diplomatic purposes, there was also a broad shift in the types of places being used for courts and civic gatherings by the end of the medieval period. The transition from open-air to indoor assembly was by no means linear, nor was it

uniform across all types of courts. As argued in the previous chapter, there has been surprisingly little research on the relationship between indoor and open-air legal spaces, but overall, the transition appears to have been a messy, complicated process influenced by local and national agents (Platts 2020; Tittler 1991;).

This is evident in the use of indoor spaces at 16<sup>th</sup>-century Days of March. In the medieval period, Carham had primarily been used for formal truce negotiations, but by the 16<sup>th</sup> century, it was used occasionally for common warden meetings rather than formal commissioners' events. However, in the context of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when the different phases of a Day of March were often spread over multiple meetings, Carham was often used for the administrative phase known as bill 'filing', where wardens would decide which bills of complaint would be heard by the court. These bills would then be heard, and the complaint would either be 'filed' (found guilty) or 'cleared' (acquitted). This type of meeting often, although not exclusively, occurred at church locations such as Kirk Yetholm, Kirknewton, or in urban places like Kelso. This may indicate that certain parts of the process of a Day of March were more likely to happen in either indoor or open-air venues. For instance, delivery of criminals, which required physically transporting the convicted over the borderline, often occurred at open-air venues. It seems the administrative components of the judicial system were more likely to occur inside by the 16<sup>th</sup> century (CBP.ii.1001, 564-566), supporting Graham's (2016, 42) argument that growing emphasis on written documentation rather than communal ceremony contributed to changes in medieval legal venues.

The organisation of space within indoor courts mirrors that of open-air courts in many ways. Courts located in castles and manor houses were often located in the building's great hall. These were multifunctional, but relatively public, spaces where architectural features and furnishings were used to demarcate and control use of the space. Graham's (2016, 19–20) work notes that benches and bars were used in indoor courts to demarcate space hierarchically into an inner and outer court, with access becoming increasingly restricted as one neared the central table. This practice is reminiscent in many ways of the 'fencing' practiced at open-air court sites (Sanmark 2017, 103–104).

Nevertheless, while the use of space sometimes resembled that of earlier open-air court sites, the general move indoors reflects broader changes to the ways legal power was structured and enforced over the course of the late medieval and early

modern periods. In his seminal analysis of post-medieval public buildings, Tittler (1991) notes that accessibility to public meeting spaces became more restricted from the 16<sup>th</sup> century as a way to enforce the power of the civic authorities administering the meetings. Similarly, there is evidence of the growing compartmentalisation of different components of the border meetings as legal bureaucracies were elaborated, evidenced by a description in the use of the Berwick tollbooth at a commissioners' meeting in 1597:

'...the tollbooth affords us two rooms, and 2 commissioners, taking to them the two deputy wardens for the East March, called a Scottish bill at their choice, the other 6 commissioners above, at the same instant tried the Queen's allegation of invasion against Sir Robert Kerr, wherein he was filed upon the commissioners honours, to undergo such penalty, as our general letters will report....the other bills we divided being tried before 6 commissioners, the "stonthes and reifes" before 2 commissioners, Sir R Carey, 2 deputy wardens and the gentlemen assisers of both nations'. (CBP.ii.494, 247-248)

This general trend toward greater restriction in space, which is often represented materially as increasingly compartmentalised architecture and the addition of more 'private' rooms, is seen in a variety of types of buildings in the late medieval and early modern periods, from private domestic houses to civic buildings such as guildhalls (Giles 1999). Even a variety of once open-air institutions, such as theatres, also began moving indoors in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Tittler 1991; also see Platts 2020 for other examples). Giles (1999, 177–181) convincingly argues that these changes represent a general shift in the way space was experienced and conceptualised in the transition from the medieval to the early modern world due to changes in the way local power and civic communities were conceptualised and controlled. Protestant and Puritan values stressed the value of 'civil order' and the 'common good' which needed administration by a strong civic authority. These new ideas manifested materially through architecture, and open medieval halls were replaced with more controlled and defined spaces in which 'the opportunities for others to question or contest existing power relations [were] deliberately reduced' (Giles 1999, 180). Relocation to indoor spaces removed the courts from the public venues they had existed in previously and redefined the locus of civic identities. Thus, the increasing use of indoor spaces at Anglo-Scottish meetings was part of wider changes to civic institutions in which the

public spaces of earlier courts were being replaced with increasingly inaccessible bureaucratic spaces.

A consideration of the accessibility of spaces at Anglo-Scottish meetings reveals the way space and politics were intertwined in these places, particularly through the differences between indoor and open-air spaces. While the audience of these meetings remains somewhat vague, it is apparent that the meeting organisers were enforcing discourses of power through inclusive and exclusive spaces. The relationships between indoor and open-air meeting places indicates that use of these spaces was sophisticated, meaningful, and influenced by a variety of factors including custom, practicalities, and broad cultural understandings of space which interacted in multiple ways.

### **7.3 Movement: Space and Political Relations at Anglo-Scottish Meeting Places**

The previous discussion of audience and Anglo-Scottish meetings as a political dialogue now compels us to consider the types of messages being expressed to this audience and the mechanisms through which these messages were disseminated. In Chapters 4 and 5, a consideration of movement helped reveal the how the medieval defence-scape was organised. Movement was also a key component of the legal-scape and is fundamental to understanding how Anglo-Scottish political and geographic borders were made, maintained, and imagined in the medieval period.

The convenience of travel to, from, and within a meeting was an important consideration in the organisation of meetings. Weather and floods are referenced occasionally in the medieval documents as reasons that meetings were cancelled or relocated (Rot. Scot.i, 918, 1389). In fact, 16<sup>th</sup>-century descriptions of travel sometimes encapsulate the experience of attending an Anglo-Scottish meeting better than any other kind of document. In 1597, Robert Bowes painted a particularly vivid picture of the hardships of travel to a meeting:

‘This journey hath been payneful and dangerous to us that travelled by reason of exceedinge stormes of snowe, winde and rayne, and thereby the waters so great that the most of us that pased over them, rode wett in our sadles, which being added to riding in the night, as for my parte, I did, 5 or 6 hours 3 nightes together, I have had a right paynefull and unpleasante journey’ (CBP.ii.776, 411-412).

But, a consideration of movement and Anglo-Scottish meeting places reveals more than just the lived experiences of these landscapes and events. Just as movement helped to define the boundaries and connections within to the Anglo-Scottish defence-scape, it was also central to the way space was experienced, conceptualised, and defined at meeting places.

First, a consideration of movement can help us understand the spatial limits of meeting places. Where does a meeting place end and the rest of the landscape begin? One of the most striking characteristics of the Anglo-Scottish meeting places in the previous chapter was their spatial complexity. At the regional scale this is perhaps not surprising given the variety of known settings for early

medieval assemblies. However, it is apparent that this complexity is mirrored at the local scale. Interrogation of Norham's patterns of assembly in the previous section, with meetings located at several fords and buildings, exposes a landscape where multiple places, both indoors and in the open-air, could become focal points of assembly, not only between different events, but sometimes even within the same event.

Descriptions of Anglo-Scottish meetings recorded by the wardens in the 16<sup>th</sup> century indicate that members of their retinues were sometimes stationed at quite a distance from the central assembly point. In 1597, Sir Robert Carey noted that he and Lord Eure with their horse and foot were stationed a half mile from the west ford of Norham, where William Bowes was exchanging pledges with the Scottish warden (CBP.ii.668, 351-352). Meanwhile, the Scottish retinue was situated at a similar distance from the Tweed on the Scottish side of the river. This pattern is visible elsewhere in Europe, and Sanmark (2017, 25) notes that many early medieval assembly points were part of extended assembly landscapes which included a wide range of features (Table 7.2).

**Table 7.2: Features associated with assembly sites (from Sanmark 2017, 56–57)**

- Land routes
- Water routes
- Fords
- Portages
- Landing Places
- Wetlands
- Elevations
- Prehistoric cemeteries
- Large mounds
- Rune-stones
- Standing stones
- Wood posts
- Ship settings
- Square or circular wooden/stone features
- Hearths and cooking pits
- Cleared and marginal land
- Area to keep horses
- 'booths'
- 'law rocks' and 'assembly slopes'
- Places names of a cultic nature

It has been noted throughout this chapter that events were occasionally relocated from one place to another, sometimes forming a sequence of meetings at different locations (Table 7.1). It is likely that processions were an important component of many of these relocations. Elaborate practices using objects, architecture, and coded behaviour were part of ostentatious image-making fundamentally integrated into the hierarchical social structures of the medieval period. For instance, banners were a fundamental component of both large-scale campaign warfare and local raiding (Armstrong 2020, 244; Creighton and Wright 2016, 61–62). They were mobile symbols of lordly authority, but also marked territorial control as they could be flown above castles and settlements. Creighton and Wright (2016, 61–62) argue that these practices were a type of ‘communicative strategy that built and affirmed the identities of groups as they conducted and presented themselves for war’.

At Anglo-Scottish meetings, we see similar patterns in the importance of performative displays of political and martial power and group identities. This is evidenced most clearly in a letter dating to 1434 in which Lord Salisbury, the conservator of the truce, wrote to Prior Wessington of Durham to either borrow or buy his ‘chariot’ and a horse in order to arrive at the next cross-border meeting in an appropriately extravagant manner (DCD LOC XXV, 121; Neville 1998, 137). However, it is also visible in 16<sup>th</sup>-century descriptions of the way retinues moved through the landscape at Anglo-Scottish meetings. Many of these meetings began with a display of the retinues, who would process to the field of meeting with colourful banners and the sound of trumpets (CBP.ii.359, 184). For example, in 1591, the Scottish warden asked the English warden to arrange his men on the hill above Staweford in site of the meeting place at Kirk Yetholm, so that the parties could be assessed prior to the meeting (CBP.i.702, 373-375). In another example, Sir William Bowes met the men from Northumberland ‘on a height whence the Scottish companies might be seen thoroughly armed’ (CBP.ii.784, 416).

The size of the retinue accompanying the official at each meeting was an important element of the performance of a meeting. They served multiple purposes, representing the moral authority of the crown to command allegiance, the power of the crown to muster and mobilise armies, and as a defensive mechanism to deter attempts to use force to influence the negotiations. It is important to note that as the responsibilities of the border officials expanded, they, too, were invested in their

retinues as symbols of their own power. This was a practice which extended throughout the medieval period as Prestwich (1996, 42) notes that the size of retinues across England began to expand from the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The symbolic importance of the Anglo-Scottish retinues continued into the 16<sup>th</sup> century, where numerous documentary references indicate that a warden was judged on his ability to command attendance at the Days of March (CBP.ii.211,101-102; CBP.ii.292, 145-146; CBP.ii.940, 533-534). Thus, the size of the retinues became, at times, a competitive element of the meetings, and it is probably for this reason that the 1473 indenture limited the number of men border officials could bring to 1,000 for wardens, 500 for lieutenants, and 200 for deputies (Neville 1998, 158; Neilson 1971, 52). However, the process of organising retinues for a meeting was also somewhat cooperative, especially at times when wardens were truly interested in redressing criminal cases. Evidence for cooperation is scant for the medieval period, but by the 16<sup>th</sup> century, wardens frequently negotiated the number of men each side was allowed to bring at upcoming meetings (CBP.i.702, 373-375; CBP.ii.343, 175-176; CBP.ii.1090, 617; CBP.ii.1108, 624-625)

This view of the legal-scape of Anglo-Scottish meetings is much more holistic than previous studies on the subject, because it depicts the legal-scape not as an isolated meeting place, but as an interconnected network of places linked by channels of communication within the landscape which were experienced as part of the event. But it is important to consider how the movement within the landscape was linked to bordering processes.

Actors at Anglo-Scottish meetings physically embodied and represented cross-border political relationships, both regional, national, and local. The political tensions inherent in all types of Anglo-Scottish meetings made movement within the meeting places particularly significant. This is best exemplified through testimonies gathered during an investigation led by Cecil into traditional procedures of movement across the national boundary. The dispute began when, at a meeting at a ford in Wark in 1598, Sir Robert Carey, warden of the English Middle March, refused to cross first into Scotland, as was traditional. In response,

'John ker of Corbet house sayd of himself, not from Sir Robert ker, and he spoke yt to me, that yt was an obedyence England outght to Scotland, ever seynce a warden of theirs was slayne at a day of trew by us, one of Sir Robert Ker his ancestors; and at that instant, another of them called Andrew ker of rockbrough, sayd to Roger Woodryngton, Sandy Fenwych and others of my

campnye that seynce that tyme we have ought them that dutye' (CBP.ii.999, 563-564).

This testimony illustrates that appropriate and defined ways of moving had developed over the years through custom and practice borrowed from a variety of sources. Johnson (2020, 173) notes that law, landscape, and movement were entangled in the medieval period, and that movement through the landscape during legal proceedings 'relied upon a delicately balanced legal kinetics, in which people were expected to know the "right" way to go, and even subtle divergences were closely monitored and corrected.' As a result, movement Anglo-Scottish meetings was highly symbolic, and the messages transmitted by movement frequently fluctuated between aggression and conciliation depending on the socio-political dynamics of actors in the meeting. First explicitly written out in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (e.g. Reprints of rare tracts 1849) but evident in medieval diplomacy much earlier (Benham 2011), movement at these meetings was highly controlled through a customary choreography which was intended to deter conflict. However, violence was not unknown at these meetings, and the medieval records include references to murders (Neville 1998, 87), skirmishes (Neville 1994, 13; MacDonald 2000, 187), assaults (CPR.1343-5, 383, 392; Neville 1998, 34), and kidnappings (Neville 1998, 141). Violence became such an issue that an indenture of 1458 (Neville 1998, 144) banned bringing weapons to the meetings. Consequently, because of the violence at these events, medieval and 16<sup>th</sup>-century historical documents provide ample evidence for the ways administrators and their retinues moved through the legal-scape at these meetings and illuminate the wide range of factors which influenced behaviour at these events.

A truce negotiation in Carham in 1401 is a particularly interesting example, because it shows how movement within a meeting changed after acts of aggression, both political and physical. At this meeting, the English and Scottish commissioners and their retinues met 'in a field near Kirk Yetholm' (Stones 1965, 173). Negotiations faltered over discussion of the sovereignty of the Scottish crown, and after two unsuccessful days in the open-air, it was decided to meet the next day at the church in Carham. The English clerk of the truce negotiation recorded that once the meetings were relocated to Carham, the English officials and their relatively small party:

'awaited both the lords, their colleagues, and the commissioners of the king of Scotland. At length, after receiving certain information, they went out and rode

to a hill, at some distance from the church, on the top of which they found both lords their colleagues, and the commissioners of the king of Scotland, and nearby, on one side, the whole army which the Scots had there at that time, as it seemed to me, drawn up together and arrayed, assembled in line as for war, our own very small company being assembled some distance further off' (Stones 1965, 357).

In response to this intimidating scenario, the meeting the following day was relocated to the banks of the Tweed next to Carham's parish church with the Scottish party located on the opposite bank.

The Carham meeting highlights the interrelationship between linear boundary features and movement at these meetings. Physical linear boundaries were used (often not successfully) to encourage productive behaviours at meetings when negotiations began to break down or tensions amplified. It is significant that both the Carham meeting and the Great Cause negotiations of 1291 (Stones and Simpson 1978.i, 1978.ii) were relocated from a church to a river after an act of aggression. Previous work has stressed the utility of natural linear boundaries at diplomatic negotiations in encouraging peaceful encounters between adversaries. Rivers were commonly used in royal ceremonies across medieval Europe because their physical characteristics offered a number of desirable benefits: they hindered fighting, protected the negotiators, and they enabled face-saving behaviours by clearly delineating space (Benham 2011; Dalton 2005, 16). Rivers were used for all three purposes at Anglo-Scottish meetings.

It should also be noted that, occasionally, the heightened awareness of the linear boundary at these clearly delineated places sometimes jeopardised discussions. As described above, Sir Robert Carey and Robert Kerr could not agree on which side of the Tweed their meeting in 1598 was to be held. The meeting was rescheduled for a week later at Cocklaw, because Carey believed relocation to a dry boundary with a less physically demarcated border might resolve the argument (CBP.ii.998, 563). However, it appears that even here, a place where passionate border historian (and one of the surveyors of Chapter 2: 2.5) James Logan Mack (2011) had difficulty finding the true boundary as late as the 1920s, the boundary between England and Scotland was still defined enough for the wardens to refuse to cross it. In the end, the wardens decided to entirely remove themselves from the meeting place, away from the watchful eyes of their retinues, and instead met a mile away on a high fell (CBP.ii.998, 563).

This assessment of movement at the Anglo-Scottish border meetings illustrates a number of key points. The landscape was intrinsic to the theatre of the event and was not simply a neutral stage where the immaterial actions of the meetings took place. The landscape was simultaneously produced by those acting out the ceremonies while also influencing and structuring their behaviours. Johnson (2020, 269) notes that law was a ‘pervasive means through which common people understood their relationships to one another’ and how they built ‘a meaningful associational life’. The use of prominent or linear features in the landscape to define and divide different communities across the political border was a type of border work through which the interwoven social and spatial components of the border-scape were negotiated and remembered.

## **7.4 Time/Temporality: Custom and the Selection of Meeting Places**

As seen at the Carham negotiations of 1401 described above, meeting places were nodes within a wider framework of locations which were linked together in a network which could be used and manipulated for political purposes, particularly at the larger diplomatic meetings. It was argued in Chapter 3 (3.4.2) that the great number of meeting places and patterns of re-use indicate that this network was susceptible to change through the medieval period. Some sites were used for hundreds of years (Reddenburn and Haddenstank), while others remained in use for only a few decades (Lilliot’s Cross, Moorhouseslaw, and Fairnington Crags). Still others fluctuated in popularity through time. While Norham was used frequently as a site of truce negotiations in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, after the outbreak of the Wars of Independence, it is not recorded as a meeting place again until the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century when it once again became popular. To understand some of the mechanisms that were driving and restricting these evolving patterns of use we need to consider the drivers of this change and how change was justified at Anglo-Scottish border meetings.

An unregulated and uncontrolled network of meeting place use would, in theory, exhibit a seemingly random pattern of locations selected as meeting places. This is not evident at Anglo-Scottish meeting places, so it is necessary to explore the forces which were restricting change in their selection and use. Some of the places designated for Days of March in the original *Leges Marchiarum* of 1249 (Nicolson 1705) offer evidence that their use as places of assembly may have originated in the early medieval

period, if not earlier. O'Grady (2008, 310) noted that the Lochmabenstone in the Scottish West March, a megalithic monument used for border meetings from the 13<sup>th</sup> century, likely had a history of use which stretched into antiquity. Norham may also have a history of use which stretched into at least the early medieval period. O'Grady (2008, 275) found a correlation between early meeting places in Scotland and the tidal limit of rivers. Norham is noted in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Groome 1882) as being the upper tidal limit along the Tweed, and it is possible that the name of the ford on 19<sup>th</sup>-century OS maps, the Rack ford, may be a reference to the wrack, or highest of point, of a tide. Additionally, it has already been noted (6.7) that early medieval churches occasionally appropriated existing places of assembly. Norham's relationship with an early church belonging to the Archbishopric of Durham, then, might suggest that Norham was a settlement which evolved around an earlier assembly place located near a ford over the Tweed at the tidal limit.

Reddenburn also may have had a long history of use. Barrow (2003a, 125) argues that documentary evidence indicates that it was 'one of the accepted places for passing from one country to the other, comparable with Berwick and Norham' from at least the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Its importance is further suggested by the confluence of national, regional, and local boundaries which date to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, at the latest, at this location. However, there are also indications that the locality may have been of some significance centuries earlier. Just 3.5km west at Sprouston are a series of cropmarks which suggest the presence of Anglian halls that share many similarities to those found at Yeavinger, possibly indicating the location of an early medieval royal estate centre (Smith 1991). While the Anglian settlement probably represents the zenith of Sprouston's importance, it maintained at least some of its significance in the high medieval period. A possible early medieval church and nearly 400 burials are recorded in the village, it was a royal manor in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and Henry III stayed there in 13<sup>th</sup> century (Smith 1991).

One of the fundamental mechanisms driving the long-term, repetitive use of certain places in the landscape was the importance of custom and tradition at Anglo-Scottish meetings. Neville (1998, 96) argues that by the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the border legal system had all the trappings of a true system of law, 'complete with a hallowed and proven tradition, a body of written record, and a legitimate purpose'. However, this written body of law had been codified in a series of agreements and

truces over hundreds of years and was never collected in one place. It was not a body of law that was easily consulted, and custom remained a prevalent feature of the border legal system into the Tudor period, even as the Tudor government of England began attempting to archive documents related to border law (e.g. CBP.i.174, 82; CBP.i.778, 412-413; CBP.ii.163, 70-71; CBP.ii.164, 71). In some cases, the memory of certain customs and places appears to be surprisingly resilient. There are only six recorded uses of Gamelspath between 1200 and 1500, but it came to be used more frequently in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Neville (1998, 18–19) argues that the border customs of the region were maintained and practiced locally, even through long periods of royal suppression. As a result, while it is possible that this scarcity of recorded meetings at Gamelspath may be due to a bias against documenting upland meetings, the long-term and seemingly intermittent use of the site may suggest that a type of folk-memory of the location as an appropriate meeting place sustained its use throughout the medieval period.

The ways these customs were maintained has had little scrutiny. The 16<sup>th</sup>-century investigation by Cecil into border meeting procedures referenced in the previous section elucidates some of the mechanisms which sustained Anglo-Scottish legal procedures. The testimonies gathered during the investigation indicate that traditional procedures for movement across the national boundary were based on practices learned from or practiced by the most experienced border administrators (CBP.ii.999, 563-564; CBP.ii.1001, 564-566; CBP.ii.1002, 566-567; CBP.ii.1003, 567-568; CBP.ii.1010, 570). Numerous acting and retired wardens recounted their memories of practices and by whom they had been taught. However, these rules were not inflexible, and customs did vary across the region. In fact, the testimony from William Bowes specifies how and why wardens might deviate from tradition:

'I [William Bowes] served vii yeares deputy [warden] to my noble father in lawe Henrie lord Scroope, all which tyme we made no question both to demaunde assurance first, and to sitt in the Scottishe grounde, except yt were of courtisie that the Scottishe officer came to Carlisle. He says when he was a commissionyr to try Russell's murder at Cocklaw he 'urged stricter standing, yet I could not prevail with Henry lord Scroope and Sir John Selby, for they first met on Scottish ground, and kept every session in Foulden church, a mile beyond the bound road. But at the last commission we were so 'warie' that the Bishop of Durham being not well at ease, sent me to meet the Scottish comissioners, which I did at the verie roade and stepped 'my length' [a custom he mentions the previous warden, Robert Bowes, did] into Scotland, on condition they relinquished sitting at Fowlden and sat with us at Berwick, which they did. Then the King and

Council trying to transfer the end of the treaty to Dumfries, we drew them to Carlisle, where at finishing, they urged the clause that next treaty should be kept in Scotland...' (CBP.ii.1001, 564-566)

This investigation highlights three important features of the customary practices they describe. The first is that the authority of Anglo-Scottish law was rooted in precedent, a characteristic typical of most legal systems (Smith and Reynolds 2013, 688; O'Grady 2008, 78). The authority of precedent provided the necessary element of 'neutrality' that enabled engagement between competing groups. Second, the interrogation of the wardens indicates that precedent or continuity in practice was not preserved through a documentary record but through human memory, even well into the early modern period. Finally, it also indicates the degree of change and flexibility inbuilt in the customary practices of the legal system. While custom can be an instrument of stability in the legal-scape, it is not entirely unchanging. As William Bowe's testimony illustrates, inconsistencies in practice are common in customary systems, which must be flexible enough to adapt to changing circumstances—up to a point. They must retain at least a semblance of similarity to their previous forms in order to retain the authority associated with continuity (Hobsbawm and Ranger 2012, 2). In some cases, this element of inconsistency could be aggressively manipulated. This is best exemplified through the emergence of Lilliot's Cross, Moorhouselaw, and Fairnington Crags as meeting places for a few decades in the late-14<sup>th</sup> century. As indicated in Table 6.3, the first recorded use of these places was in 1367, when Moorhouselaw was used for an indenture negotiation. After that, the three sites are used frequently for Days of March, truce negotiations, and judicial duels until the 1380s, when their use appears to end. These sites represent a sudden and intense relocation of meetings off the borderline, which was influenced by changing patterns of territorial control in southern Scotland throughout the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Figure 6.18). After the treaty of Berwick in 1357, Anglo-Scottish relations were largely peaceful, although this only superficially masked ongoing competition over the region. King and Eddy (2016, 56) describe the period as a 'sporadic, low-intensity war'. During the Wars of Independence, England had gained control over most of southern Scotland, but by 1367, much of that territory had been regained by Scotland, and England controlled just a few burghs such as Roxburgh and Jedburgh. In this tense political environment, the movement of the meeting places to the area around Lilliot's Cross was probably a

political move by the English crown to protect English control in Scotland during a period when their power was slowly being chipped away. This is further evidenced by the simultaneous introduction of places such as Billymire and Ayton to the border meeting place network in the 1350s to 1380s. These, too, were located well north of the Tweed, but also had links to institutions in English allegiance. Ayton church was a subsidiary church to Coldingham Priory, which was maintained as an outpost of Durham until the late-15<sup>th</sup> century (Dobson 2014).

By the 1380s these new sites had been largely abandoned for more traditional sites along the original 13<sup>th</sup>-century border. The abandonment of these sites is probably also related to shifting power relations between the two crowns. By the late 1380s, a series of letters between the English and Scottish kings indicate that Robert II had grown uncomfortable with meetings occurring so far inside Scottish territory, especially now that Scotland had recovered nearly all of its land in the south-east (Hamer 1971, 157–161). Because of the close relationship between meeting places and the limits of legal jurisdictions and political territories, the location of meeting places so far into Scotland was probably seen as a legal incursion on Scottish sovereignty.

Meanwhile, local and regional concerns about the selection of meeting places were not necessarily territorial concerns. It was noted in the previous chapter that Moorhouselaw, Fairnington Crag, and Lilliot's Cross display a lot of features typical of local open-air meeting places and that it is probable that one or more of these sites was a local assembly place that was repurposed for use as a border meeting place. The adoption of these locations (along with many of the others of limited duration) may indicate that the cartographic positioning of a meeting place was of less concern, within reason, to local people than the suitability of the landscape setting within a customary framework of acceptable places and the ceremonies that were performed at the meetings. Scholars of other regions in England have noted that by the late medieval period, the use of early medieval assemblies was based on a hazy and mythologised understanding of the administrative structures of the past (Semple et al. 2021, 28; Skinner 2014, 32). Thus it is easy to see how local assembly places could easily be incorporated into the Anglo-Scottish network of meeting places. A local perspective encouraged conservatism in practice but allowed for changes in location if they still appeared legitimate in form, although the analysis of the use of indoor locations earlier

in the chapter illustrates that what was considered ‘legitimate’ could change through time.

## 7.5 Scale: National and Local Border work

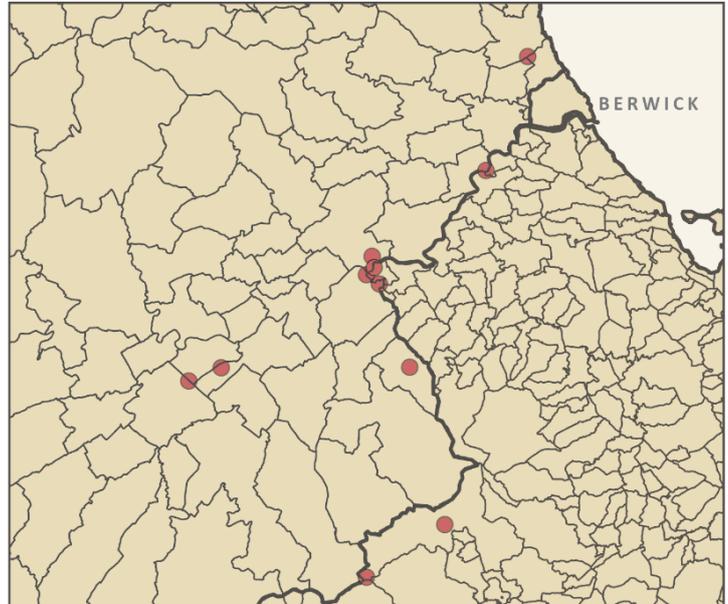
The selection of meeting places in medieval Europe is often framed in recent research as ‘well-planned and well-executed elite strategies’ which enforced authority by harnessing the symbolic power of the natural and built landscape through a combination of ideological and practical concerns (Sanmark 2017, 28). In contrast, the selection of Anglo-Scottish meeting places has classically been believed to have been primarily influenced by considerations of convenience (Rae 1966, 50).<sup>18</sup> While, convenience certainly was a factor in the selection of meeting places, this chapter has illustrated how this simple narrative requires reassessment. Furthermore, in all of these narratives, power is seen as being primarily directed top-down. However, throughout this chapter the voices of local people with traditionally less political power keep emerging. As a result, this section explores the influence of local voices in the geography of the Anglo-Scottish legal-scape, giving insight into the agents conducting the border-work in which these places were involved.

The spatial relationships between meeting places and parish and township boundaries indicate that local geographies influenced the location of Anglo-Scottish meetings, and these patterns reveal previously unacknowledged local influences over the development of the Anglo-Scottish legal-scape. Of the three types of meeting place sites reviewed above, open-air meeting places exhibit a closer relationship with parish boundaries than either religious or castle/public building settings (Figure 7.2). While all three types of meeting places tend to be located near parish boundaries, open-air meeting places are more frequently located intersecting points between three (Reddenburn) or even four parishes/townships (Gamelspath). This suggests that many of these locations probably had their origins in local or regional legal systems, as yet unidentified and unmapped in this region, which were later co-opted for Anglo-Scottish meetings. Similar patterns are visible at open-air setting elsewhere. In Anglo-Saxon England, 65% of sites in Pantos’ (2003, 38–39) study of central England were within

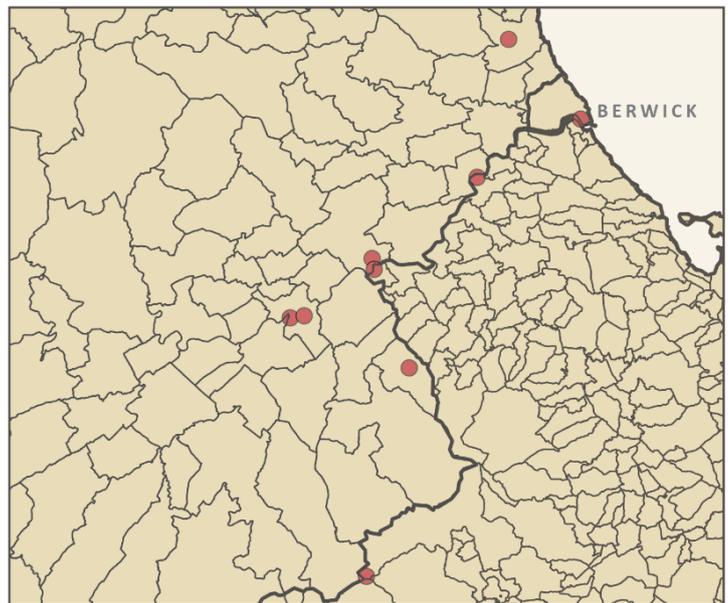
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<sup>18</sup> In fact, sometimes places were chosen because they were inconvenient. Bowes’ 1550 survey accuses the administrators of purposely selecting a particularly inconvenient place for meetings as a ‘subterfuge and evasion of justice devised by the theves of Liddesdale...’ (Bowes 1550, 216).

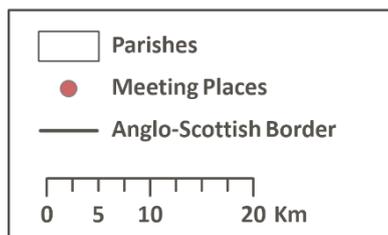
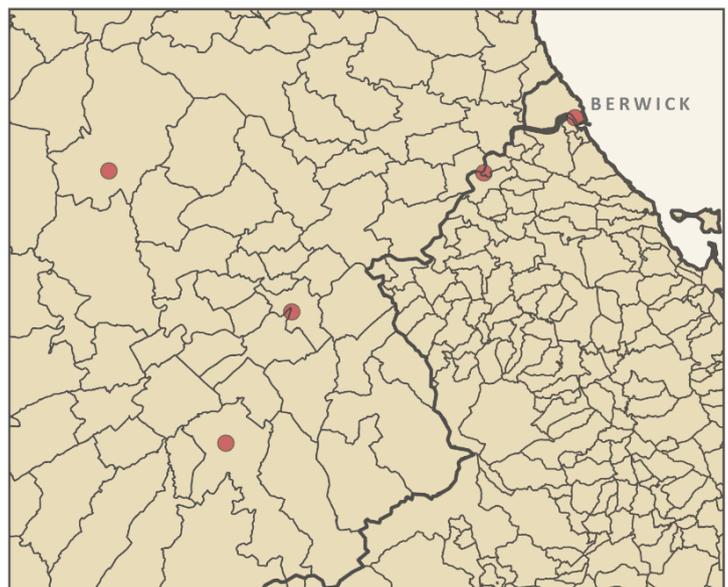
Open-Air Meeting Places



Church Meeting Places



Urban Meeting Places



**Figure 7.2:** Anglo-Scottish meetings (by setting) and parish boundaries (*Credits: Appendix A*)

200m of a parish boundary, and this increased to 85% when the range was extended to 500m of a parish boundary. Although not quite as definitive in Scotland, O'Grady (2008, 344) noted that 9 of the 20 historically attested court sites he explored were near a parish boundary. The prevalence of the intersection between parish and township boundaries and meeting places across Europe attests to their utility in the negotiation of local political power dynamics. In part, this is due to the ability of these locations to simultaneously have an element of neutrality through their liminal locations between territories while also acting as a focal point for reinforcing and rehearsing the definitions and limits of, as well as divisions within and between, different political communities (Reynolds 2013, 703–704; O'Grady 2008, 346–347; Pantos 2004b, 174).

The conflation of national and local interests in this legal-scape makes it particularly difficult to differentiate national and local influences over the choices in locating Anglo-Scottish meetings. Some of these meeting places probably had a long history of use and were gradually appropriated into the Anglo-Scottish network over time. In other cases, it is likely that the personal interests of administrators were influential. It should be noted that as the duties of the wardens expanded, their ability to select new meeting places grew—this was particularly true of the Percy and Douglas families in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, who frequently acted as wardens but also required special cross-border meetings in the late-14<sup>th</sup> century to address problematic feuding between them (Neville 1998, 82; Tuck 1968).

The combination of national and local interests and geographies in these areas resulted in a landscape that was characterised by contradictions. They were places where custom was both remembered and created. They were places in which different groups were supposed to come together to settle conflict, but in fact, were spaces deeply involved in the process of 'othering' as divisions between people were clearly defined and re-enacted in space. They were liminal spaces, on the boundary between territories, but they were anything but 'neutral'.

## **7.6 Conclusion**

This chapter has illustrated how Anglo-Scottish meeting places were not simply locations where the feuds and violence of the Anglo-Scottish border were negotiated and performed. Instead, it has shown that the landscape was intrinsic to the discourses of power which were being played out by the many agents interacting with them, both

in person and from afar. Physical characterisation of these sites has highlighted their wide variety of features which fit into broad patterns of elements familiar in assembly sites across northern Europe. These patterns have allowed us to identify possible origins for some of these places and detect the voices of different political communities which were conducting border work through their influence over the development of the procedures of the *Leges Marchiarum*. By understanding the way the legal-scape was experienced in the medieval period, through a consideration of accessibility, symbolic choreographies of movement, and the mechanisms influencing change and stability, this study has revealed how parties at the meetings were defining and redefining their relationships with others in the Anglo-Scottish borderland. These relationships, performed in complex and fluid spaces rather than along cartographic lines on maps, were the messy manifestations of medieval linear borders and will be contextualised as part of the Anglo-Scottish border-scape in the following chapter.

# Chapter 8: Finding the Anglo-Scottish Border-scape

## 8.1 Introduction

At the beginning of this thesis, it was noted that a recent publication on medieval Anglo-Scottish border dynamics (Armstrong 2020) argued that the landscape of the region has tended to be simplified as a remote upland pastoral environment in academic scholarship. This impression of the borderland is not without historical precedent, and Armstrong contends that elements of this image have been cultivated in literature from and about the region since the medieval period. However, it has led to relatively simplistic interpretations of the relationship between the landscape and the socio-political development of the Anglo-Scottish borderland. As a result, the primary goal of this thesis has been to enhance our understanding of this relationship and explore the many ways in which landscape not only impacted the development of the border but was fundamental to the medieval experience and understanding of bordering.

To achieve this, the project was framed around three questions:

- 1) What physical aspects of regional landscapes were used in border work?<sup>19</sup>
- 2) Who were the agents within these landscapes?
- 3) How were these landscapes used to negotiate and articulate cross-border power dynamics?

To answer these questions, this project utilised the concept of the border-scape—a relational, inhabited landscape which is defined by processes of bordering and border work. Chapter 2 (2.4; Figure 2.1) explained the theoretical framework around which this thesis is structured to make the medieval border-scape visible. In this model, the border-scape is brought to light through a series of different case studies, or types of landscapes related to bordering processes. These case study landscapes, in turn, are interpreted through five different themes (physical landscape, perspective, scale,

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<sup>19</sup> See 2.3.3 for definitions of ‘bordering’ and ‘border work’.

movement, time/temporality), or frames of reference, that expose different processes of bordering. Thus far, this thesis has explored the case studies through the project themes, but we must now integrate the results of these analyses to identify the bordering processes that made the medieval Anglo-Scottish border-scape. This integration contributes to our understanding of the nature of medieval bordering, generally, and the role of landscape in medieval Anglo-Scottish bordering, specifically. To achieve this, this chapter reinterprets the results of the case study analyses through three concepts about the geographies of medieval borderlands and bordering processes that were introduced in the critique of existing scholarship on medieval borders and borderlands in Chapter 2.

First, it is argued that it is difficult to characterise the physical elements of a relational concept like the border-scape, but that a consideration of the materialisation and dematerialisation of the physical components of the border-scape can help us better understand the complex relationships between the physical world and the effects of bordering processes, such as the generation of borderland identities.

Next, this chapter explores the co-production of the border-scape and identifies the impact of different agents on the geographic characteristics of the border. This analysis develops into a consideration of evidence for agency in and resistance to the implementation of administrative policies based on cartographic conceptions of space during the medieval/early modern cultural transition.

Finally, the theoretical framework and methodologies of this thesis were designed to allow medieval patterns to emerge, or unfold, through the layers of bordering which have masked them in the individual datasets. It was argued in the introduction to Part II that this has the potential to reveal 'alternative' geographies which contrast those typically used to describe the political landscape. The final part of this chapter describes one such alternative geography which has emerged through a further consideration of the concept of anxiety.

## **8.2 The Physical Landscape: Complex Temporalities of the Border-scape**

For many reasons, the archaeology of borders and borderlands has tended to concentrate on the material effects of bordering. As described in Chapter 2 (2.2), the most frequent approach to archaeological border studies often concentrate on 'badges

of identification’ (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995, 480) which are used as material signatures of particular cultures which can be used to track cultural and political relationships. Meanwhile, landscape-based studies often focus on particular monumental markers of territories, like walls or dykes (Murrieta-Flores and Williams 2017; Hingley 2012; Nesbitt and Tolia-Kelly 2009). In both cases, the relationships of these objects, structures, and monuments to bordering processes are, superficially, relatively clear. However, the materialisation of the Anglo-Scottish border-scape is more subtle and ephemeral than many of these examples. Nearly any feature of the landscape could become part of the border-scape, and analysis throughout the thesis has highlighted the involvement of broad range of features in processes of bordering, including roads, valleys, crosses, a hillfort, and even upland ‘waste’. Moreover, these tangible features existed in the landscape alongside intangible features, like parish boundaries (which were not always physically marked with linear features in the landscape), that were similarly known and experienced as part of the medieval landscape. Because the concept of the border-scape is defined by relations and processes, it is impossible to simply describe the physical features of the border-scape. Some features (both tangible and intangible), such as the Reddenburn ford, were consistent elements of the border-scape throughout the medieval period. Others, such as the hillfort at Habchester (7.2), were used only once or twice and were not permanent features or were destroyed and removed from the border-scape, such as Jedburgh castle (5.5.1). Therefore, to understand the things that composed the border-scape is not simply to make a list of landscape features in a database that are commonly associated with border work; rather, it is to understand the relationships that connected physical aspects of the landscape with bordering processes.

Chapter 2 (2.5.2, 2.5.5) introduced the idea that borders go through phases of materialisation and dematerialisation, and this is a useful concept through which we can understand the physical components of the border-scape. Modern examples of cycles of border materialisation have tended to concentrate on the presence or absence of border monuments such as walls, monuments, and refugee camps (McWilliams 2020; Papadopoulos 2020), but any element of the landscape can be considered. Of particular use to the study of non-monumental borders, is a concept developed by Adrian Little (2015, 432) called the ‘complex temporality’ of borders, which acknowledges that different processes of bordering happen at different speeds.

In other words, the rate and direction of change is just as important as the change itself, because it affects how the border-scape materialises and dematerialises through time. In borderland contexts, this is often connected with the concept of political anxiety (see papers in McAtackney and McGuire 2020, but especially Papadopoulos 2020). Much previous work approaches distress, or anxiety, as an emotion, but some studies have begun to approach anxiety as an epistemology which manifests as sets of habits and behaviours with material residues, connecting the emotional to the material (King 2017). This section applies these ideas to the medieval Anglo-Scottish border-scape and explores how considering the relationship of rates of bordering manifesting as anxiety and the material reflections of this anxiety can help us characterise the border-scape. This, in turn, identifies the implications of bordering for and interactions with other aspects of Anglo-Scottish culture not inherently connected to bordering.

Within the defence-scape, the intensity of royal and administrative border work frequently related to increasing or decreasing political anxieties about the security of the border. This is a consistent feature of borders throughout time and is still visible in patterns of infrastructural investment in both 'hard' and 'soft' borders around the world (Papadopoulos 2020, 135; Jones 2020). Anxieties of attack and a sense of emergency could increase the rate of change at which the Anglo-Scottish defence-scape was fortified. This was initially visible in the association between rates of abandonment and construction of fortifications in the dataset noted in Chapter 3 (3.3.2). However, it is also visible in a variety of other forms in this project. For instance, both the 1415 fortification survey and the 1541 defence surveys used throughout this thesis were conducted by the English crown prior to major English campaigns and in periods of tense international relations across Europe (King and Eddy 2016, 108). There is also a similar pattern of investment in defence measures and the repair of fortifications in Scotland in preparation for an English invasion in 1481 and 1482. This included an increase in the frequency of muster drills from once a year to once every 15 days (Armstrong 2008, 132).

In fact, the effects of the border work associated with these heightened periods of political anxiety probably had much more of an impact on local communities than simply the repair of a castle wall or the appearance of a new tower. At times it could make the presence of the border felt with much greater intensity. Bowes and Ellerker, in their survey of 1541 shortly before the outbreak of renewed Anglo-Scottish hostilities

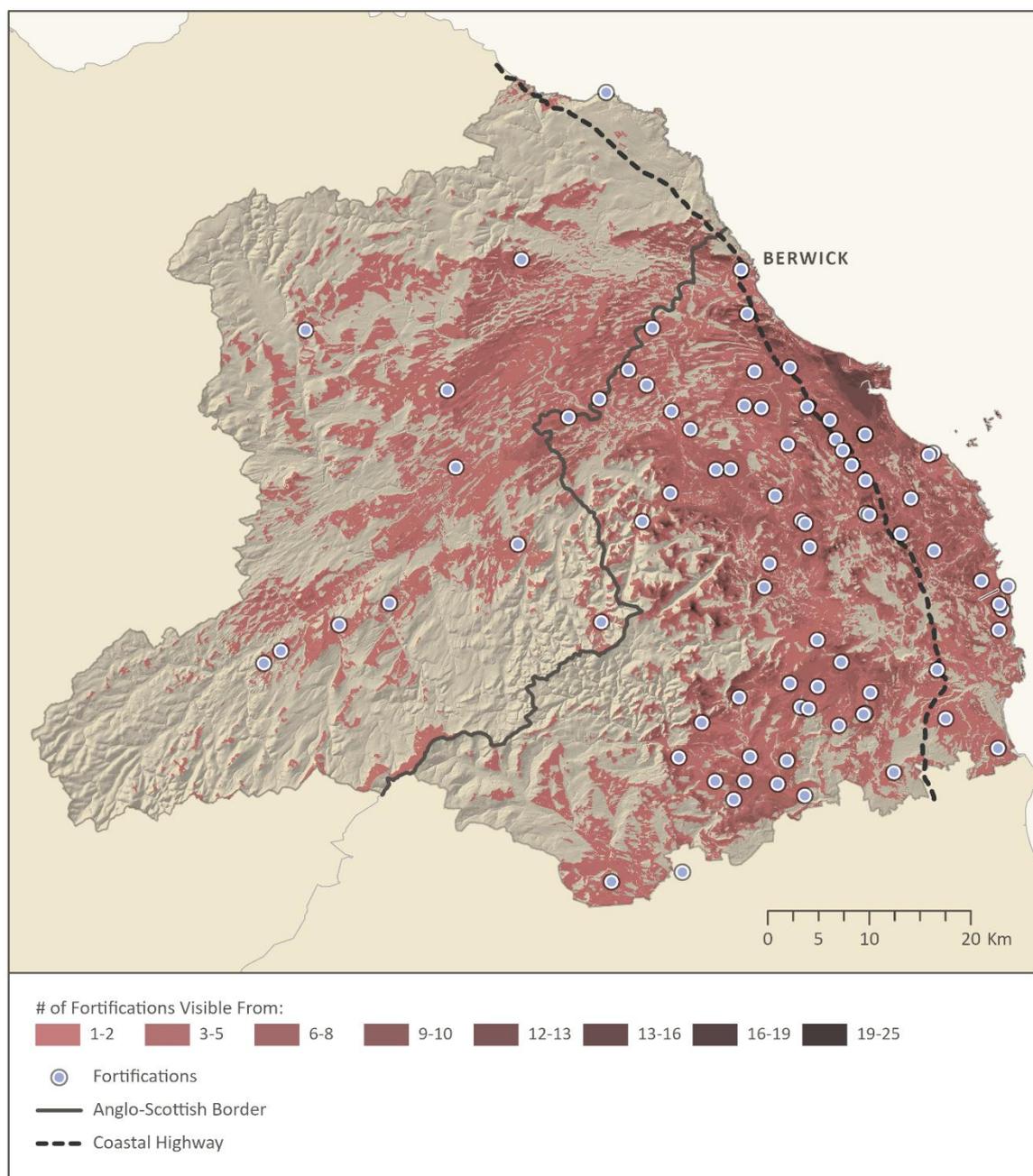
during the Rough Wooing (1542-1551), record how they corrected illegal encroachments along the borderline through aggressive border work. Any Scottish crop or cattle on what Bowes and Ellerker determined to be English territory was confiscated or destroyed. They also destroyed a dam along the Halterburn that they claimed had been built by the Scots to stop 'the old ryghte course and channel of the said water of intente to make the same divert and alter his course and runne into the ground of England so that thereby they proposed to encroche & wyne toward Scotland certayne p'cells of English ground...' (Bowes and Ellerker 1541, 176). Whether this claimed political purpose was the real reason for the dam's existence is difficult to determine from the sources. Instead, this scenario could be an example of an uncomfortable and unexpected materialising of the border at a location where it had previously been made immaterial due to a lack of enforcement. It also illustrates the particular necessity of consistent physical enforcement and maintenance in a medieval context where, as was evident in Chapter 7 (7.3), understanding, or knowing, the organisation of the landscape, and therefore the border, was closely connected to the experiences of the body.

Meanwhile, political anxieties interacted very differently with the development of the legal-scape. Rather than speeding up change, it was noted in Chapter 3 (3.4.1; Figure 3.15) that the number of recorded meetings decreased during periods of war, and in some cases, the legal-system ground to a complete halt (Neville 1998, 96–97). Furthermore, because legal precedent was relied upon to resolve disputes, anxieties resulted in a slower rate of change as administrators for both crowns were keen to prevent setting precedents that would give greater advantage to the opposing side. This is evident in the pattern noted in Chapter 7 (7.3) where meetings often relocated to places along rivers after acts of aggression, demonstrating the fluctuating importance of the borderline at Anglo-Scottish meetings. One of the best examples of this was at the 1401 truce negotiation which began in Kirk Yetholm, but then relocated to the banks of the Tweed after the English negotiators were threatened by a small army of Scottish soldiers. The relative security of meeting places at river crossings was likely because these sites represented some of the oldest meeting places, as well as being some of the most frequently used, and so they were also places where space was precisely demarcated and known by longstanding custom. Meanwhile, lessened anxieties between the crowns often meant more local control over the selection of meeting

places and the activities that occurred within them through the warden and other administrators (7.5). This enabled the legal system to attain the fluidity that was typical of customary practice.

In modern communities, rates of bordering can impact the development of new identities, as they can reinforce the 'othering' that results from political anxieties (see papers in McAtackney and McGuire 2020). These identities, in turn, can be expressed through material culture in a variety of ways which further reinforce divisions. This is evident on the Anglo-Scottish border through patterns in the construction of fortifications in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Scholars have noted the development of a type of 'militant patriotism' profuse with a variety of martial and chivalric symbols which developed in the aftermath of the Wars of Independence in the 14<sup>th</sup> century (King and Penman 2007, 3; King 2007, 2005; Cornell 2006). This coincides with a proliferation in the construction of new fortifications in Northumberland after c. 1350 (Dixon 2013; King 2007; Lomas 1992), after most of the major hostilities between England and Scotland had ceased. Most of these fortifications were unlicensed and traditional interpretations of the spike in tower building in Northumberland argue it was the result of destabilising effects of the Wars of Independence. However, King (2007) argues that the proliferation of Northumberland fortifications was due to two factors. First, there was a wider trend of a highly performative social gradation in the 14<sup>th</sup> century which was expressed through material culture. And second, the 14<sup>th</sup> century also witnessed the regional development of a highly competitive martial elite that emerged from changes to landholding patterns after the forced forfeitures of properties during the Wars of Independence. This gave ambitious new families the opportunity to climb the political ladder, in part, through the construction of fortifications that expressed their military services and successes. Meanwhile, identities manifested differently in Scotland. Towers did not develop that same role as status symbols of the landed elite in Scotland, particularly by those well-established in the region (Cornell 2008; Watson 1998). As was described in Chapter 4 (4.2), castles were an important feature of English military tactics during the Wars of Independence, but they were less important to Scottish strategies. Many of the great castles of south-east Scotland were important strongholds for the English throughout the 14<sup>th</sup> and into the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. These differences in the way bordering materialised and was involved in identity formation resulted in the stark differences in the distribution of English and Scottish fortifications

in the project area by the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Figure 3.7). It was argued in Chapter 2 (2.5.1) that the border was experienced by some of the modern perambulators through subtle differences in the landscape such as tree plantations. By the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, fortifications would have been part of a similar subtle change. When crossing from England to Scotland along the coast road, one would certainly have noticed the sudden disappearance of fortifications on the skyline after traversing the English part of the road where frequently more than one fortification was visible from any single point (Figure 8.1)



**Figure 8.1:** Visibility of fortifications along the coastal highway in the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Period 2) (Credits: Appendix A)

Similarly, the inverse relationship between anxiety and change within the legal-scape was probably associated with the materialisation of Scottish identities. The legal recognition of Scottish laws and customs was a particularly important symbol of Scottish independence during Anglo-Scottish conflicts. Anglo-Scottish law contained many elements of Scottish law, and indeed, was targeted for reform by Edward I from the 1290s. As a result, the survival of practices within the *Leges Marchiarum* became an important symbol of Scottish identity (Neville 2002). The symbolic role of the *Leges Marchiarum* and its practices had a long legacy, and re-materialised through the location of meeting places during periods of anxiety when the Scottish crown needed to reassert its independent identity. This pattern was reflected in the resumption of the use of the original 13<sup>th</sup>-century borderline along the Tweed for meetings in the late-14<sup>th</sup> century as the Scots were slowly re-acquiring their lost lands in southern Scotland (7.4).

This section has illustrated that a consideration of the complex temporalities of borders and bordering can help us develop much more nuanced understandings of the materialisation of many of the effects of bordering, such as the development of borderland identities. Discussions of fortifications in relationship to the development of the Anglo-Scottish borderland have often debated their roles as either martial symbols of status or as pragmatic military infrastructure. Instead, a consideration of the materialisation of rates of bordering indicates we should not limit ourselves to such dualisms, because multiple processes of bordering could be reflected through the same material culture. Moreover, the materialisation of bordering processes could be adopted by a variety of agents to express new identities and divisions. As a result, considering the materialisation of bordering processes enables us to trace the diverse intersections between bordering and other cultural developments in the region more explicitly than top-down political histories have typically managed.

### **8.3 Agents and Power Dynamics: The Co-Production of the Border-scape**

As was noted in Chapter 2 (2.3.2), it has been argued that prior to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, space was more itinerant, or conceptualised as being moved through, rather than as a Cartesian view from above—what Franklin (2020, 853) calls ‘landscapes in motion’. Nevertheless, most research on Anglo-Scottish geographies tends to fall into the ‘territorial trap,’ wherein geographies are defined through the presence or absence

of bounded political spaces (Agnew 1994, 2015). An exception to this is Armstrong (2020, 42), who briefly argues that medieval landscapes in motion resulted in a medieval political geography on the Anglo-Scottish border that was organised at the regional level as ‘porous cells’, defined more by watersheds and urban hinterlands than by clearly demarcated edges of kingdoms. He suggests the mechanics that formed medieval geographies deserve further investigation. Consideration of scale in both case studies (5.6 and 7.5) has identified evidence of the interaction between national and local parties. In the legal-scape, local communities influenced both the selection of specific meeting places and the performance and negotiation of political relationships at these sites. Meanwhile, the modelling of the defence-scape began to distinguish between local and national scales of defence. This section expands on this analysis to consider how different agents in the medieval landscape contributed to, or co-produced, the development of particular geographic characteristics of the political border-scape. It first concentrates on the agents who produced the linear and spot-like characteristics of the border. Next, it argues that it is more difficult to isolate agents within a zonal borderland, but that a consideration of agency in the zonal borderland has the potential to help us understand more about the transition from medieval landscapes in motion to early modern cartographic understandings of space.

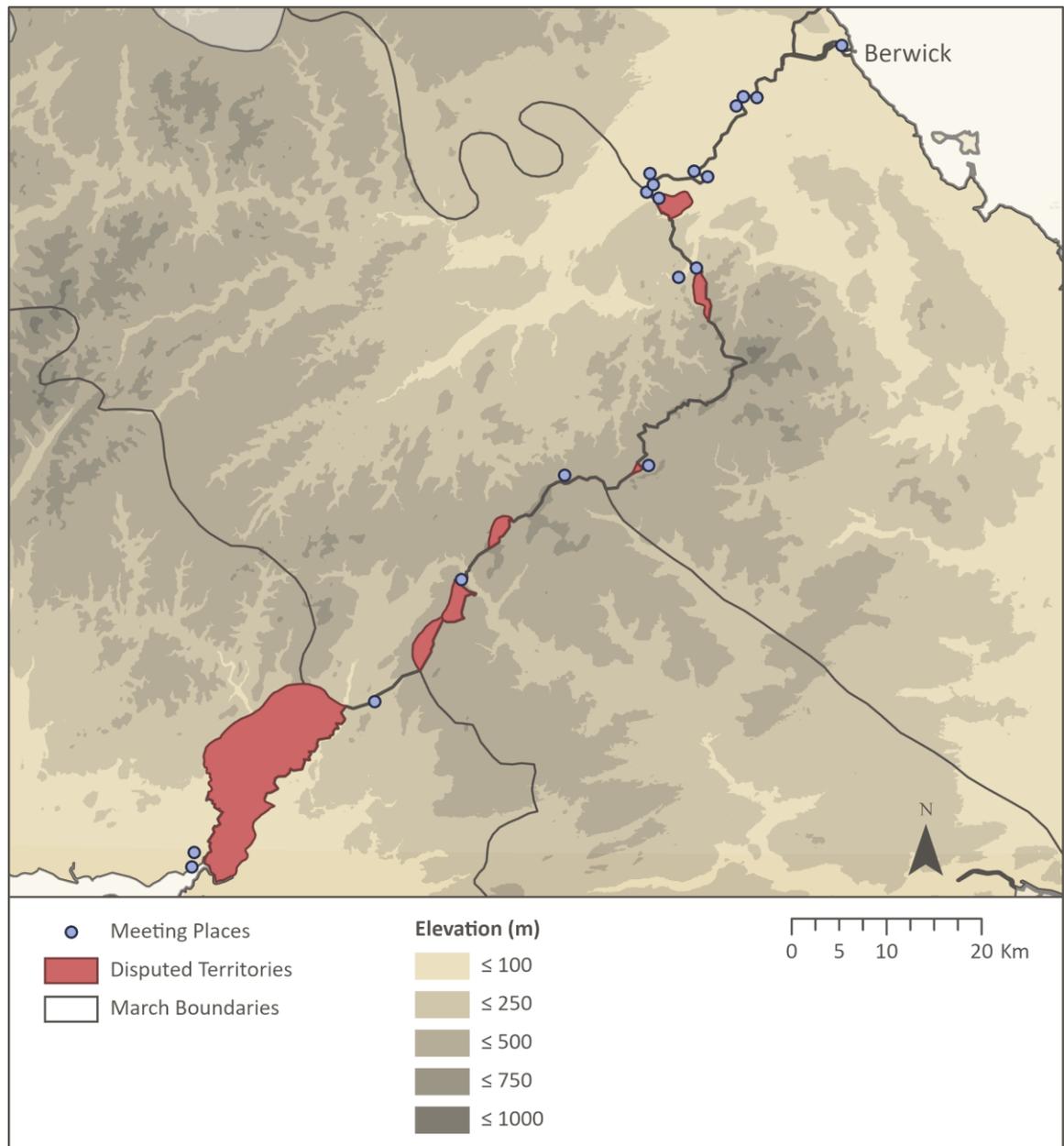
### **8.3.1 The Anglo-Scottish Spot-like Border**

In the evidence presented throughout this thesis, the two crowns and their administrators had the most direct and explicit involvement in border work, and this introduced specific types of geographies into the administration of the Anglo-Scottish border. They were particularly influential in the spot-like elements of the Anglo-Scottish border, a pattern best evidenced through the use of particular locations for diplomatic Anglo-Scottish meetings, a type of meeting in which the crown and its most senior regional officials often had more involvement in arranging. As was noted in Chapter 2 (2.3.2) spot-like borders were often associated with international diplomatic events in the medieval period (Benham 2011). In these instances, the location of the event was considered to *be* the border, whether it was located directly along a demarcated linear national boundary or not. Benham (2011, 30–31) argues that a location far away from the general area of the border usually indicated an unequal balance of power between negotiating parties, and this explains some of the more unusual locations for Anglo-

Scottish meetings further away from the border (Figure 3.16). Importantly, in some cases, it appears that legal jurisdiction could take the place of the political boundary in the choice of meetings places. For instance, Ayton church, which was used for diplomatic Anglo-Scottish events in the late-14<sup>th</sup> century, was within Scottish territory but was a holding of Coldingham Priory, a daughter house of Durham (7.4). Therefore, although this location was away from the political border, it was still considered a bordering point between English and Scottish political spaces.

A consideration of legal space at spot-like borders also explains the mechanisms through which contested areas along the border developed. These were areas where the delineation of the borderline was disputed and neither kingdom had jurisdiction. The most famous of these was the Debatable Land, a broad stretch of territory just east of the Solway Firth which was a designated no-man's land where people were not allowed to inhabit or graze their livestock after sunset (Todd 2006). However, there were numerous other pieces of contested territory along the border. One of the most well-recorded origins for a debateable land along the Anglo-Scottish border is that of Wark Common, near the meeting places of Reddenburn and Haddenstank. There, in the early-13<sup>th</sup> century, the English canons of Kirkham Priory's cell in Carham and Robert de Ros, a landholder with ties to both Scotland and England (Rhodes and Thomas 2005), contested a property boundary claimed by Bernard de Haudene (Hadden) of Scotland. Six trusted knights from both kingdoms perambulated the boundary, but while conducting the perambulation, it was found that the Scottish and English parties disagreed on the exact location of the border. In response to this stalemate, a new, larger committee of 12 knights elected from each of the realms conducted a second perambulation. This, too, failed to delineate the boundary. A third committee of 24 English knights was then selected to settle the boundaries independently of the Scottish officials, but the Scots resisted this unilateral English plan with violence (Stones 1965, 55–57).

In this instance, location near a contested border could cause local property disputes to fall under the international spotlight. However, the precise delineation of the boundary was undesirable in comparison to the highly localised and often temporary precision of a spot-like border while both crowns argued their rights to the same land. There is a correlation between meeting places and contested, or 'debateable', areas along the border (Figure 8.2), illustrating that royal interventions



**Figure 8.2:** Meeting places and disputed territories along the Anglo-Scottish borderline (after Armstrong 1769) (*Credits: Appendix A*)

were a prevalent problem along the Anglo-Scottish border. They also could leave long-lasting scars on the landscape that impacted the development and use of local landscapes for centuries—the boundaries depicted in Figure 8.2 are mostly (excepting the Debatable Land to the far west) from Armstrong’s (1769) map of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This longstanding association between meeting places and disputed territories illustrates the contradictions of medieval spot-like borders in that these were places where precision of the border at specific points was needed for the procedures of the meetings that negotiated complex political relationships (7.3). However, they were simultaneously also spaces where the symbolic importance of space could be so

heightened, it could become nearly impossible to formally delineate a precise boundary, highlighting how difficult it was to truly define the geographies of contentious medieval borders.

### **8.3.2 The Anglo-Scottish Linear Border**

Linear borders, on the other hand, indicate slightly different processes at play. Linear borders are often associated with border work imposed by ‘the state’ (Papadopoulos 2020)—or, in a medieval and early modern context, the crown and its bureaucratic machine. This is, in fact, an oversimplification of the reality and a consideration of the linear characteristics of the Anglo-Scottish border reveals a greater diversity of agents of border work on linear borders than is often assumed.

As noted earlier in the chapter, there is debate over whether international political borders were linear in the medieval period (Benham 2011; Jack 2004). Certainly, portions of the border were considered linear in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and are described as such by Bowes and Ellerker in 1541. In their survey, the border is clearly delineated along the Tweed where it is defined by the river, and Berwick’s boundary was ‘so notoriously knowen that no dyfference or controvsye aryseth’ (1541, 172–173). However, descriptions of the borderline are more ambiguous in other places, particularly in upland areas, indicating variability in the precision of the linear boundary along its course. This pattern mirrors the concentration of medieval meeting places along the border, with meetings happening more frequently along the well-defined Tweed boundary than along the vague upland boundary (Figure 3.16). One of the reasons for this is the customary nature of medieval legal space, which, as noted in Chapter 7 (7.4), was far more fluid than cartographically delineated space.

It must be remembered that Anglo-Scottish meetings were a type of public theatre where political divisions were performed in space (7.3). As such, they were meant to deliver particular messages to those in attendance. At the local level, there was a ‘language’ of place through which medieval people came to know the landscape around them (Whyte 2009, 125). Johnson (2020) identified multiple mechanisms for ‘knowing’ local legal landscapes which were so ubiquitous and legitimised that they were widely accepted as evidence in courts. Movement through the landscape, viewing the landscape, and understanding placenames and their temporalities all appear in legal records as ways medieval people explained and evidenced their interpretations of the

legal landscape in court. As a result, in an Anglo-Scottish context, in order to effectively disseminate messages about political relations, the performances at Days of March needed to use a language of space that was familiar to those attending the meetings. In essence, these events were political dialogues. However, these dialogues which used local signs and symbols broke down the distinctions between the agents doing the bordering and resulted in a co-production of the border-scape. Both Johnson (2020, 154) and Neville (2010, 63–64) argue that this element of co-production and cooperation is a common feature of medieval legal systems in both England and Scotland, and so it is reasonable that it was also an important feature of the Anglo-Scottish meetings. This is not to imply that the lower classes shared the same influence over the delineation of the border as the landed nobility and the two crowns. In fact, the relationship between the different parties and border work indicates that influence of these different agents over the development of the landscape is based on very different mechanisms of power.

Sometimes, local people were more explicitly involved in the border work undertaken at the meetings. Although some of the practices at the Days of March originate in formal diplomatic practices, other elements were familiar from more local practices. As noted in Chapter 2 (2.5.1), linear boundaries did exist at the local level in the medieval world because local property boundaries needed to be clearly defined to regulate access to and use of land. This was often done through perambulations that anchored political space to the physical landscape. In the complex network of medieval legal systems, local legal customs were often an important element of local identities. These customs frequently valued local knowledge which was seen as 'legitimate', and rooted in place (Johnson 2020, 187). Aspects of these customs at Anglo-Scottish meetings are evident in the 16<sup>th</sup>-century investigation of meeting practices introduced in Chapter 7 (7.3). There, Scottish attendants John Ker of Corbet House and Andrew Ker of Rockbrough (Roxburgh) challenged Robert Carey's inappropriate refusal to cross the boundary at the beginning of the meeting. This indicates that maintenance of customary practice was a somewhat collective endeavour, at least amongst those with landholding status, and not solely the responsibility of official administrators.

However, there is significant evidence that the influence of local communities over bordering was often through less direct means. It was noted in Chapter 6 (6.5; 6.7) that some of the meeting places, like the Lilliot's Cross cluster which was integrated

into the network of sites in the late-14<sup>th</sup> century, were probably appropriated from pre-existing local networks of assembly places. Many of these locations were also used as local trysting places beyond the official border meetings. The location of the Lilliot's Cross cluster of meeting places on the edge of English-held territory in Scotland indicates the influence of the crowns and their administrators in the choice of site, but their similarities to more local types of meeting places, such as their association with parish boundaries and estate centres as well as some of their topographical features, potentially suggest the influence of other agents as well. Wardens frequently selected meeting places without extensive oversight from the crown, particularly for the less prestigious events, and so, in some ways, it should not be surprising that local administrators would select pre-existing places of assembly as the location for cross-border courts. However, it is possible that local conceptions of 'legitimate' places for meetings also influenced the incorporation of pre-existing assembly places for Anglo-Scottish meetings. Tittler (1991) argues that in urban spaces, the use of specific halls was a legitimisation of the meetings that occurred within the building, and it is likely that a similar type of legitimisation was being pursued by the administrators in co-opting Anglo-Scottish open-air meeting places.

### **8.3.3 The Anglo-Scottish Zonal Borderland**

The agents of zonal borders are more challenging to characterise. It is important to remember that the complexities of zonal borderlands as socio-political spaces are not simply due to the presence of the political border, but also to the presence of multiple types of boundaries that divided people in these regions. Because of the plurality of boundaries in zonal borderlands and the manifold ways they materialise, as discussed in the previous section, it is difficult to succinctly break down the influence of individual agents in this type of geography. On the Anglo-Scottish border, historians have argued that the frontier was largely the result of relations between the crowns and their regional elite. Previous research on both sides of the border has identified a general pattern of decentralisation throughout the medieval period in which both crowns grew increasingly reliant on the local nobility, especially a handful of influential families holding extensive powers over local justice who knew borderland society intimately and used their local influence to maintain order (Jamroziak 2011, 195; MacDonald 2000 11-13). However, these families had their own agendas which at times

could be at odds with those of their respective governments. This relative autonomy of the local elite led to the development of a region plagued by feuding and private warfare, a heightened reliance on resident lordship, and the development of unique administrative devices such as 'tenant right' (Genet 2012; Ellis 1999).

This section is not going to completely rewrite these historic narratives. However, the focus on the a-territorial border-scape in this thesis, particularly the through the theme of movement, allows us to add some nuance to them, especially in relation to the conceptions and mechanics of the formation of political geographic space in the region. This section begins by reviewing how movement structured and defined geopolitical space in the case studies, and then explores its ability to help us identify different types of geographies, or ways of bordering, that existed within the Anglo-Scottish border-scape. In particular, a consideration of movement can help us understand how landscape was involved with the changing conceptions of power and administration that altered processes of bordering at the end of the medieval period.

If, as was argued above, medieval space was a landscape in motion, then it should come as no surprise that movement proved to be a valuable way to explore the way space structured medieval bordering practices in both the legal-scape and defence-scape case studies. As noted in the previous section, movement through the legal-scape was an important part of the way the medieval landscape was 'known' or understood, allowing a language of space to be used to define and legitimise political communities. In the defence-scape, movement was fundamental to the organisation and effectiveness of local defences beyond the fortification. Previous research into the defences of the border have looked for spatial patterns based primarily on building types and architectural features. However, because of the unsystematic way in which the defence-scape developed, the identification of an underlying 'logic' that differentiates communal and private defences cannot be found through the analysis of architecture or simple landscape characterisations alone. The results of the GIS model implemented in Chapters 4 and 5 indicate that the movement of garrisons and local communities through the landscape was part of the spatial logic through which offensive, and especially, defensive systems were organised in both the medieval (e.g. the Barony of Embleton—5.2) and early modern periods (e.g. Dacre's defence of the plinshed ring—4.4.2.3). However, while the underlying logic organising the defensive systems was based on local logistics, the primary difference between the two periods is

the scale of the networks being planned and (sometimes) assembled—with the local medieval networks being replaced with centralised regional networks.

It was argued in Chapter 4 (4.5) that changes in the distribution of fortifications through the medieval period and into the early modern period depict an emerging concept of cartographically linear defences that were being developed by administrators of the region. Dacre's map of the 16<sup>th</sup> century clearly depicted a line of defences stretching along the Tweed and the Cheviot fringe (Figure 4.24). Importantly, this linear boundary did not follow the official political boundary, but instead followed the contours of the upland/lowland divide, which had formed an important division in the landscape since the medieval period (4.3.1). Moreover, the expanding importance of cartographic conceptions of space at the administrative level was also illustrated through the production of Dacre's map. In Chapter 3 (3.3.3.2) it was argued that Dacre's map was probably produced using a reference map, since although the fortifications were not drawn using a consistent scale, their relative cartographic positions were depicted accurately.

Nevertheless, there is evidence that Dacre's plan of a linear border, although it incorporated aspects of medieval geographies of the region, does not represent the way the border-scape was conceptualised by local communities in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It was, in fact, possibly resisted by these communities. The failure of defensive systems in the 16<sup>th</sup> century to defend the English border, or the 'decay' of the border, was largely blamed on the dismantling of traditional power structures through the removal of important regional families from power, as well as the lack of investment in the region from an increasing number of non-resident lords (Ellis 2009). However, it is also possible that changing relationships between space and authority were also involved. In their 1541 survey, Bowes and Ellerker noted ongoing disputes regarding the payment of the watchmen to guard the inroads across the border. The costs of maintaining these watches were too burdensome for the towns and villages located along the Cheviot fringe. Instead, they proposed that towns closer to the coast should also contribute to the costs for regional defence. This proposal was refused because 'ev'y townshippe amonge them [the coastal townships] kepte a sev'all watche w<sup>th</sup>in themselves...' and that 'in tymes paste when the said watche hathe bene lykewyse charged & kepte as yt is nowe yet nev' the lesse their goodes & cattalles have bene stollen and spylled as though not watche and been kepte...' (Bowes and Ellerker 1541, 241-242).

On the surface, this seems like a purely practical, economic response, but within the context of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, it is possible this refusal by coastal towns to pay may also be a political statement. Resistance to the imposition of authority was not new in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. There is a growing amount of evidence across England for deliberate resistance against unwanted regulations by both peasant communities against local lords (Kilby 2015; Smith 2009) and provincial elites against royal policy (Ormrod 2005). Indeed, Anglo-Scottish communities had long resisted taxes imposed by the English crown (Briggs 2005, 669), but this resistance probably took on a new significance in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. As was noted in Chapter 7 (7.2) in the discussion of the use of indoor meeting places, the late-15<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> centuries was an important period of cultural change which included changes to the relationship between individuals and communities, the privatisation of land, and the territorialisation of political spaces that altered way power was expressed through a variety of material mediums (Blomley 2007, Johnson 1996). Part of these changes was a move toward the enclosure of common land, a process which sparked riots and other forms of resistance such as the destruction of enclosure hedges and ditches (Liddy 2015; McDonagh 2013; Blomley 2007). Enclosure was fairly unusual in north Northumberland prior to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, a pattern Dixon (1984, 149,178) argues was because of the need to maintain traditional systems of local military service. However, while resistance to enclosure has attracted the most historical research to date, it was not the only societal change that was resisted. Instead, the enclosure riots were part of a general resistance to the disintegration of customary rights and privileges as part of this new cultural package developing in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Johnson (2020, 51) has argued that custom ‘was not just about specific rules, but about the very ability of a rural settlement to ordain and articulate its own rules’. Thus, the general lack of enclosure in north Northumberland need not necessarily mean that there was not a similar clash between conceptions of space. It is suggestive that some of the forms of cross-border criminality Bowes and Ellerker (1541, 205) remark on in other parts of their survey, such as the illegal collection of firewood, also feature as methods in which the privatisation of land was resisted further south (McDonagh 2013, 44; Blomley 2007, 10–11). Instead, these patterns indicate that the borderland context changed the way these conflicts manifested. As a result, it is probable that the refusal to pay for watches was a type of local resistance against the growing centralisation of administration in the borderland, a

larger package of administrative change of which bordering through linear borders was just a small part. While the regional administrators, many of which were no longer local men, were attempting to defend a regional linear boundary, the coastal towns were still choosing to live within a medieval customary landscape organised as a localised and zonal border—a landscape in motion where the best defence was local.

These same conflicts do not appear to have occurred on the Scottish side of the border (Charlesworth 1983). Scottish royal government was far less centralised than its neighbour to the south and maintained a variety of traditional administrative and judicial practices far later than England. For instance, the practice of perambulation was maintained for much longer (Neville 2010). This is not to argue that Scottish law was unchanging. However, the cultural changes north of the border were far less dramatic in the 15<sup>th</sup> and early-16<sup>th</sup> centuries, and in general, the full force of many of the societal changes happening on the English side of the border would not be felt to the same extent in much of Scotland until the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (Houston 2016).

In questioning who were the agents using this landscape, this project has illustrated that while bordering was most explicit at the level of the crown and the elite, there is also evidence that local communities did, in fact, have an important role in the development of both the physical and symbolic landscapes of the Anglo-Scottish border. As a result, the medieval border-scape was a multi-vocal, co-produced landscape in which symbols and histories of landscapes at the local level impacted decisions and behaviours at the national level. As evidenced above, the concept of a borderline is not necessarily completely inappropriate within a medieval Anglo-Scottish context, but the term does not capture the multiplicity of forms the border took, nor does it explain the complexities of the political geographies that emerged. By concentrating on the relationships between agents of border work and the political geographies they produce, we can move beyond the territorial trap and simple definitions of linear, zonal, and spot-like borders. Although scholars often like to think of space in territorial terms, the geographies of the medieval world were much more complex. Instead, we can use territorial models alongside models of landscapes in motion as a starting point to explore the diversity of medieval bordering practices and complex flows of power and influence between different agents within the landscape. This has allowed us to contrast processes of medieval bordering, which were local and deeply connected to the experience of the physical landscape through mechanisms like

movement, with later early modern bordering practices in which boundaries were imposed and enforced upon the landscape by administrators.

## **8.4 Deconstructing Power: Alternative Geographies of the Anglo-Scottish Border-scape**

Thus far, this chapter has argued that the border-scape is made up of many types of borders, but it has primarily focussed on bordering across the borderline. In Chapter 2 (2.3.2) and the introduction to Part II, it was argued that a rejection of purely territorial conceptions of space enables alternative types of geographies to emerge, particularly through the unfolding cartographic approach of this project. Alternative cartographies are a concept developed from the field of critical cartography that uses mapping to deconstruct the structures of power inherent in maps to identify the omissions and silences and allow new perspectives and experiences to emerge from existing datasets (Lilley and Dean 2015; Warner-Smith 2020b). As a result, it is important to finish this chapter with a consideration of the border-scape beyond the concept of border work and examine the presence of potential alternative geographies that may have impacted the experience of the landscape and the socio-political dynamics of the borderland. In particular, it considers how the physical landscape can help us trace the relationships between the materiality of anxiety, discussed above, and concepts of marginality and liminality in the border-scape.

Marginality, or being on the 'edge', and liminality, being 'in-between', are frequently used as ways to characterise not only borderland landscapes but also borderland cultures (Naum 2010, Lightfoot and Martinez 1995). However, both of these concepts can be conceived in different ways: ecological, economical, and socio-political standards being among the most commonly used (Turner and Young 2007, 298; Walsh et al. 2006). Being marginal or liminal in the Anglo-Scottish borderland was not just about one's proximity to the border. Throughout this project we have seen many spatial divisions which do not echo the borderline. The most prominent of these was concept of the 'plenished ring' which was mapped by Dacre. Steven Ellis (2015, 2009) has argued that this ring, which marks the division between the inhabited lowlands and the expansive areas of the liminal uplands, represents the actual boundary being defended by early modern officials rather than the political boundary. This pattern probably has earlier origins that stretch into the medieval period. It was noted in

Chapter 4 (4.3.1) that medieval fortifications also tend to respect this divide, and the elevation ceiling for fortification construction tended to be around 250m above sea level (Figure 4.4). The development of this spatial pattern was not directly related bordering processes, but rather represented wider medieval cultural patterns. Moorlands, which mostly coincide with parts of the project area higher than 250m above sea level (Figure 4.5), were perceived as a liminal spaces in medieval literature (Creighton 2002, 68), and 16<sup>th</sup>-century administrative documents certainly describe the inhabitants of the uplands as a type of ‘other’, with strange social structures and material cultures. Many factors could make a community marginal. Not all of them were directly related to the presence of the medieval border, but as was evidenced by Dacre’s plan, they could become entangled in bordering within the context of a borderland.

This leaves us to question whether other communities beyond the Cheviot fringe could have become similarly impacted by the entanglement of marginality and bordering. Chapter 4 (4.4.2.2) illustrated that by the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, much of the lowlands of north Northumberland were, in theory, within a fortification catchment. However, the mapping exercise indicated there were a few areas which were beyond the protective reach of a fortification on the 1415 survey. While vicar’s peles are included in the 1415 list, defended churches are not, and it was argued (5.3) that defended churches were not considered by administrators as part of the same defensive system. These churches were beyond the range of refuge for nearby fortifications, indicating that these church defences were probably built (a process often initiated by the communities, although they were sometimes funded by the lord (Brooke 2000)) in response to the exposure of these communities to raids. In other words, these communities built church defences because they were marginal.

While Chapter 5 argued that distributions of defended churches appear to relate to communal needs for refuge, it did not discuss the reasons why and how people sought refuge. Indeed, in this region of frequent, sometimes endemic violence, the reasons why people invested in local defences may seem obvious. But in fact, the construction of refuges was more than simply a way of protecting physical bodies—it also had sociological implications. In her work on the colonial frontiers of 19<sup>th</sup>-century southern Africa, Rachel King (2017) notes that refuge and distress have long been connected. Adopting the epistemological approach to anxiety discussed earlier, she

notes that there is a recursive relationship between refuges and anxieties—that refuges are manifestations of a sustained series of ‘anxious encounters’ between different groups and are reactions to the uncertainty of the relationships in question.

In response, then, it is important to consider the sociological implications of the spatial relationships between fortifications and defended churches—that, in fact, we are possibly mapping a type of ‘emotional geography’ (Fleisher and Norman 2015, 9), or specifically, the geography of medieval anxieties in relation to border defence. This is an important concept because it allows us to approach the defence-scape of the ‘deep’ border from the perspective of the communities that lived within it, rather than as a defensive barrier for the ‘core’ of a territory. A reactive type of anxiety was manifested in the construction of the vicar’s pele at Embleton, which was possibly built in response to Scottish hostilities (5.2). But, the physical manifestations of anxiety could be as much forward-thinking as they were backward-looking. For example, Bowes’ 1550 survey (201-202) describes Wark castle as being ‘much decayed’ but includes in his suggestions for its repair an interesting passage about the relationship between physical defence, economic stability, and security. He proposes to expand the defences of the castle to encompass much of the town to ‘conteyne in tyme of warre the inhabytants of sundry villages thereabouts for their better savety...’ (Bowes 1550, 201-202), but also because the construction of the town walls would provide the security necessary for the village to receive the rights and privileges of a market town and attract merchants. This statement represents a consideration of a type of ‘soft power’—the economic benefits of which would provide better security to the area. In essence, Bowes is describing the close connection within medieval and early modern society between the martial, the political, and the economic. Alleviating local anxieties of attack, symbolised by the protective walls of the town, could result in both political and economic benefits and stability for the locality.

In thinking about marginality and liminality, it is also important to note that the geography of anxiety need not exactly reflect the geography of violence. For instance, there is no evidence for direct hostilities on Eglingham, yet the need for a defended church was evidently felt by the community (5.3). Previous studies have attempted to map the impact of raids on the landscape of Northumberland, but the example of Eglingham indicates that these maps may not necessarily reflect the geographies of exposure, fear, and anxiety as they were experienced on the ground. Additionally, the

distribution of these isolated defended churches indicates that these geographies of anxiety were not necessarily linear and directly reflective of the borderline, as many of the examples investigated in this section are located well away from the border and the Cheviot fringe.

The impact on local communities of both short- and long-term anxiety due to border violence is difficult to see. In some places, exposure to violence seems to have generated a sense of community. For instance, in 1536, a group of rebel captains in Penrith instigated an uprising ‘for the maintenance of...this country’ by urging the people ‘to help one another’ because the ‘rulers of this country do not defend us against the Scots’, relying on their fears of Scottish violence to unite them (Ellis 2015, 59). This possibly suggests the presence of what Barbara Rosenwein (2006) calls ‘emotional communities’—communities that share and identify with specific emotional characteristics (see also Morris and Bickle 2022). It is likely that the construction of some of the fortifications and defended churches as part of local systems of defence were a manifestation of the formation of emotional communities based on borderland anxieties. It is also possible that the refuge catchments, which represent the extent of the fortification’s defensive capabilities, may represent the geographies of some of these emotional communities. These examples indicate that ‘exposed’ communities which, although not located on what are typically seen as the margins of the border, possibly felt marginal within the wider context of the lowlands. This feeling of exposure, in turn, resulted in the development of a specific communal identity expressed through practical and symbolic elements of defence, in much the same way as a town wall could represent an urban community (Baker and Brookes 2013b; Creighton 2006).

However, not every locality in the region can be expected to have forged an identity based on anxiety. Mindrum was mentioned in in Chapter 5 (5.4) as a village south of Wark castle that was located in an area left undefended throughout the medieval period. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, it was noted that Mindrum was abandoned whenever sustained violence broke out across the border (Bowes and Ellerker 1541, 183). It is likely that Mindrum represents an environment where the devastation of repeated attacks and abandonment of this locality in a truly exposed landscape prevented the development of a strong sense of community. Papadopoulos (2020, 147) noted that people originally from villages on the Greek-Albanian border that had been abandoned during the Greek Civil War of the 1940s reported that returning to the

empty village years later heightened their awareness of the community they had lost. The town was unfamiliar, and even family members could not recognise each other. It is possible that the repetitive patterns of violence and abandonment at Mindrum would have led to a similar loss of the sense of community that was especially needed there to develop local defences since tenurial claims to the village were contested. As a result, Mindrum, perched directly on the border, had an under-developed system of defence that lasted for centuries, only to appear as a place of logistical weaknesses in the carefully crafted defence plans of the early modern period (Bowes and Ellerker 1541, 203-204).

With these examples in mind, any consideration of marginality and liminality on the borderland should emphasise that exposure to raiding or even campaign warfare was not completely determined by a settlement's proximity to the borderline. Nor should we simplify this process of bordering simply as an upland/lowland division conceptualised along Dacre's linear plenished ring. Settlements all over the region were impacted by raids, and the patterns of the flows of soldiers and raiders fluctuated through time (Dixon 1977, vol ii fig. 7-13). Dixon (1984) notes that patterns of settlement growth and reduction in the region during the medieval period were complex, impacted by a variety of forces beyond raiding, such as plague and climate change, and that settlement reduction was not limited to the uplands. The landscapes of these upland 'liminal' areas varied as well. 16<sup>th</sup>-century documents indicate the presence of micro-cultures defined geographically by valleys (Bowes and Ellerker 1541; Bowes 1550). The ecological histories between these valleys also differed, resulting in different responses by local communities and different settlement patterns (Tipping 2010; Campbell et al. 2002; Winchester 2000a). While some of these patterns may have been influenced by the geographic border—for example, the Scottish uplands appear to have been much more heavily populated and wealthier than the English uplands just over the political border (Tipping 1998, 45)—not every aspect of bordering in this region was solely derived from border work relating to the production of the borderline. There are certainly many alternative geographies of the border left for us to discover.

## 8.5 Conclusion: An Archaeology of Border-scapes

This chapter has highlighted how the analyses conducted in this project have revealed the many complexities of the geographies of the Anglo-Scottish border. The story of the Anglo-Scottish border is not simply about lines, zones, crowns, and lords, but about the multiplicity of ways the border was experienced by those living alongside it. These experiences were situated within the medieval landscape, through medieval conceptions of space, and impacted by a variety of social factors that intersected with the negotiation of cross-border power. As was illustrated in this chapter, to understand the things that composed the border-scape is not simply to consider features of the landscape commonly associated with border work and explore bordering through a single frame of reference, or -scape. We need to recognise our assumptions about what is (and is not) of the borderland and make sure they are not dictating the limits of our conception of the medieval border-scape. The key to understanding the archaeology of the border-scape is not so much about asking what was in it, but why these various things, both iconic and quotidian, were involved in bordering processes and how they worked in relation to each other as systems.

Furthermore, this thesis has shown that any consideration of medieval cross-border dynamics and border work should think carefully about the landscapes in which they were occurring. Indeed, a consideration of the landscapes enables voices which have been hidden by layers of administrative bordering in the archives to re-emerge. However, there is still much left to learn about these landscapes, and so the next chapter reviews some of the key findings of this project and proposes avenues for future research.

# Chapter 9: Conclusion

The primary goal of this study has been to explore how both the tangible and intangible landscape was involved in the socio-political dynamics and bordering processes of the medieval Anglo-Scottish border and its borderland. To do this, the project utilised an idea from contemporary border studies, the border-scape, an inhabited landscape which is a process of situated interpretation, to construct a more holistic picture of the landscapes of the eastern borderland. Previous historical and archaeological research in the region is typified by numerous historiographical and geographical divisions which need to be deconstructed to interpret the medieval border-scape. As a result, this project was primarily an act of synthesis and reinterpretation at multiple scales, requiring datasets to undergo multiple sequences of assembling and disassembling to build the connections necessary to investigate the landscapes targeted by this study. This process enabled a variety of historic characteristics of the medieval landscape and its connections to bordering processes to re-emerge. This chapter summarises the key findings and contributions of this project and proposes future avenues of enquiry which will further enhance our understanding of the medieval border-scape.

## 9.1 Part 1: The Spatial Database

This project's spatial database represents the most substantial synthesis of cross-border datasets in relation to the medieval landscape of the eastern Anglo-Scottish borderland to date. Moreover, the use of the database throughout this thesis demonstrates the analytical potential of geospatial analyses for improving our understanding of the medieval Anglo-Scottish border-scape. In addition to enabling analysis of the medieval landscape, the generation of the cross-border spatial database facilitated analyses which began to disentangle some problematic residues of centuries of administrative bordering preserved in the 'characterful' datasets of the region. The analysis of the HER datasets as part of this process will be of particular use for other archaeological works endeavouring to investigate across the borderline. Its documentation of the impact of recording practices and other external factors on the

distributions of archaeological sites across the border will be a useful baseline to which smaller-scale studies can compare their spatial patterns.

The potential for the spatial database to support further investigations of the medieval Anglo-Scottish landscape has not been exhausted. For example, this project's reflexive, exploratory approach to GIS analysis allowed patterns in the landscape to 'unfold', and repeatedly highlighted the utility in using GIS to broaden the range of questions that can be answered with the datasets. Because inhabited landscapes are experiential, this project experimented with GIS' capabilities to model the medieval experience of the landscape. In Chapters 4 and 5, the relationship between visibility limitations and modelled garrison and refuge catchments at fortifications helped estimate and quantify the functional limitations of fortification defences and explain why garrisons were often so ineffective in defending the region. In Chapter 6, a model of the visibility of the topography of the landscape around the road which crossed the border between Carham and Redden was used to propose the location for Reddenburn at which a gibbet was constructed in 1602, although the accuracy of this proposal still needs to be confirmed through fieldwork. Nevertheless, a consideration of the senses offered a useful way to explore some of the intangible features of the landscape and experiment with how they may have shaped the way the landscape developed within specific '-scapes', or case studies. The implementation of an experimental and fluid methodology based on the concept of unfolding cartographies is a novel approach for the Anglo-Scottish borderland. It is also an unusual approach in medieval border studies more widely, which, as argued in Chapter 2, often follow traditional top-down or political geography approaches with little exploration of the nuances of inhabited space. Experimental methodologies which focus on the 'map-as-process' (Gillings et al. 2019, 4) have great potential to be usefully expanded in a number of directions. For instance, experimentation with methods of deep mapping and digital storytelling (Earley-Spadoni 2015; Gillings et al. 2019) should introduce new ways of experimenting with conceptions of medieval space, particularly through further application of 'alternative mapping' frameworks. Some of this potential was realised in this project through analysis of the spatial relationship of defended churches and fortifications, which highlighted the role anxiety and other medieval emotions may have had on the development of the landscape. However, there are possibilities to expand these types of practices to other datasets. In particular, while this project began identifying some of

the implications of the linearisation of administrative borders in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, further analysis of early modern maps of the region will likely help contextualise these patterns and inform us about important changes in conceptions of space and power between the medieval and early modern periods.

Finally, additional projects in the future can expand cross-border synthesis to new datasets and new parts of the Anglo-Scottish border. The geographies of bordering do not always mirror the political borderline, as was evidenced in the discussion of the anxieties of border defence. The geographic expansion of cross-border syntheses will enable us to explore the spatialities of various social behaviours to compare local, regional, national, and even international spatial patterns. More importantly, exploring these patterns at different scales will offer a better understanding of which socio-political behaviours are actually 'of the borderland'. Throughout this thesis the intersection of medieval borderland processes with broader patterns of cultural change have been highlighted. For instance, the relationship between the use of indoor and open-air Anglo-Scottish meeting places and changes in the organisation of public space in the late medieval period were introduced in Chapter 7. These patterns were then re-interpreted within the context of the wider border-scape in Chapter 8 to explore possible evidence for resistance to new forms of administrative space in the borderland. A multi-scalar approach allows us to begin to incorporate a greater degree of intersectionality within future research and will help distinguish patterns which were not necessarily unique to the borderland but took on particular meanings and significances in an Anglo-Scottish borderland context.

## **9.2 Part 2: The Anglo-Scottish Defence-scape**

This part of the project considered the Anglo-Scottish border as a zonal frontier, characterised as a system of defence-in-depth, and explored the mechanics of the medieval defence systems that protected the region, particularly concentrating on communal defences. It provided the first comprehensive summary of spatial relationships between fortifications and other important features of the medieval landscape for the region in Chapter 4. Some general differences between English and Scottish fortification sites emerged from this analysis, although the reasons for these differences were not always clear and require further investigation in the future. For instance, Scottish fortifications tended to be far more isolated in the landscape than

their English counterparts. This, combined with the long-noted differences in construction chronologies (Dixon 2013), does indicate a very different relationship between fortifications and the elite members of society on either side of the border, although the nuances of these patterns require further exploration and contextualisation within Scotland more widely. Additionally, although this project was not designed to be meticulously comparative beyond the region, the characterisation exercise also identified features of Anglo-Scottish fortification landscapes that were similar to those of castles in the rest of England and Scotland. For instance, Period 1 (pre-Wars of Independence) castles tend to have different site profiles than later towers—they are far more likely to be located near early churches and early medieval estate centres, a feature also shared by many castles in England which date to the Norman period (Creighton 2002, 118; Daniels 1996). While it is not argued here that there was nothing unique about the fortifications of the border region, these patterns highlight that the construction of these structures was also influenced by broader national and even international trends in elite architecture, a pattern which is sometimes de-emphasised in fortification surveys of the region.

The characterisation exercise also highlighted important limitations in our current understanding of medieval Anglo-Scottish defence landscapes that should be targeted in future research. There is a desperate need for more research on the relationship between fortifications and medieval settlement on both sides of the border but especially in Scotland where much less is known about the medieval landscape. There is also a great need to improve our understanding of lowland defences in the Merse, which was noted as a suspicious gap in the project's distribution maps that greatly limited the utility of the GIS model in Scotland.

Typical analyses of defences in the region tend to be based on a few historic fortification lists. Analysis of the defence-scape in Chapters 4 and 5 broadened the definition of the martial landscape to a greater range of both 'hard' and 'soft' features of the medieval defence-scape, including garrisons, watches, and beacons. This was achieved by modelling relationships between sites through intervisibility and movement using a methodology adapted from Triplett's (2017) Spheres of Influence model. While these relationships were not able to completely model communal and private defence systems, the model was able to identify some of the mechanics of the medieval defence-scape and revealed how some local defence-scapes may have developed. The

model suggested relationships between refuge catchments, garrison catchments, and the range of first detection for each fortification. These mechanics were then able to suggest influences on the development of the Barony of Embleton and were also usefully applied to explain the strengths and weaknesses of Dacre's proposed border defences. It was also able to suggest undocumented relationships between fortifications and structures not typically included on surveys of the defensive systems of the region, such as defensive churches. In particular, the model uncovered an underlying spatial logic based on movement within the defence-scape of the border that compare well to descriptions of the defensive landscape in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Indeed, the consistency of the results of the model with the 16<sup>th</sup>-century documentary descriptions of defence catchments indicates that these limitations on movement are, in fact, somewhat measurable, and this represents a new way of understanding the medieval geographies of zonal frontiers. In particular, the model revealed possible conflicts in the organisation of defences in the transition from medieval zonal defences to early modern systems which were conceived as much more formally linear.

There is room to refine this model and incorporate it with other models in the future. The model would be improved by a greater understanding of the garrisoning of fortifications, particularly those which were not held by the crowns. Furthermore, sound, produced by trumpets and gunshots, were sometimes used as warning signals in defence systems (Bowes and Ellerker 1541, 223, 236). While GIS models are used more frequently to measure sight-based phenomena, there has been experimentation with the ability of GIS to model sound-scapes (Primeau and Witt 2018; Mlekuz 2004), and it is possible that some of these methodologies could be used to enhance our ability to model and understand the mechanics of the Anglo-Scottish defence-scape. Furthermore, the utility of the intervisibility analysis for understanding the defence-scape was limited by problems in reconstructing event chronologies. Archaeological survey and, potentially, excavation of some of the beacon sites may improve our understanding of beacons within the region. However, because the organisation of medieval systems of defence was closely connected to social networks (Cornell 2006, 254), there is also a great opportunity to improve the utility of this aspect of the model by comparing intervisibility patterns with social patterns obtained through Social Network Analysis on documentary sources recorded in existing databases (e.g. Beam et al. 2018; Hammond et al. 2017).

Finally, the model in its current form was of limited utility in understanding much of the Scottish defence-scape, but there are a variety of ways it can be adjusted to better suit the Scottish context. The Scottish use of castles during campaign warfare of the Wars of Independence was very different from that of England, and Scottish forces instead frequently based activities in other parts of the landscape such as forests and even caves (Cornell 2008). Rather than applying the model to the entire Scottish defence system, modelling specific, well-documented campaigns and incorporating these alternative landscape features, may prove useful in better understanding Scottish campaign tactics in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, particularly the military dynamics of the English occupation of southern Scotland in the 14<sup>th</sup> and early-15<sup>th</sup> centuries.

### **9.3 Part 2: The Anglo-Scottish Legal-scape**

The collation of documented references to Anglo-Scottish meetings throughout the medieval period represents the first systematic characterisation of the meeting places of the Anglo-Scottish legal-scape through time. While the variety of locations used as meeting places has been briefly reviewed previously (e.g. O’Grady 2008), analysis within this project expanded the range of sites which have been considered and generated an updated list of the types of places that were being used, which included crosses, fords, churches, and roads, as well as natural features such as hills, rocky outcrops, and river valleys. The physical elements appearing consistently at the meeting places mirror many of the features of sites used in legal systems in England, Scotland, and continental Europe (Sanmark 2017; O’Grady 2008). Characterisation of the places used for these meetings suggests potential origins for the meeting places in other legal systems, indicating the presence of much more complex relationships between international and local assembly practices in this region than is typically acknowledged. Furthermore, the close analysis of a few of the meeting places highlighted the fluidity in both the location and use of meeting places in space and time. This fluidity was a function of socio-political relationships that extended across the border and were negotiated through a customary language of space.

Additionally, most previous research on medieval legal sites has concentrated on open-air spaces. However, this thesis also considered the use of indoor spaces, which were frequently used in the Anglo-Scottish legal system. It argues that there were similarities in the way space at both indoor and open-air events were organised.

Nevertheless, based on trends from the meeting place dataset, the use of indoor locations appears to have grown more important as the process for redressing crimes compartmentalised in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It is argued this shift was related to broad changes in the way power was conceptualised and controlled during the transition from the medieval to the early modern period, removing many aspects of civic administration from the public gaze. Overall, these findings transform the dialogue about the choice of Anglo-Scottish meeting places from one which emphasises the convenience of these locations (e.g. Rae 1966, 50) to a much more nuanced understanding of the legal-scape as it was experienced and understood in a medieval context.

While general patterns were identified which indicate the use of different sites for different types of events within the hierarchy of meetings in the Anglo-Scottish legal system, the details of these hierarchies still require refining. Our understanding of these hierarchies would be greatly improved with further research into local assembly places and trysting locations within the Anglo-Scottish region more broadly, as has been done further north in mainland Scotland (O'Grady 2008) and in Yorkshire (Skinner 2014). Previous assembly place projects in southern England have produced a variety of training materials for similar studies, (e.g. Brookes and Baker 2011) that could be used as part of a community or citizen-science project.

## **9.4 The Medieval Anglo Scottish Border-scape**

The project began with an initial assumption that landscape was an important component of the processes through which cross-border relationships between different agents were negotiated. It was organised to explore, through landscape, how medieval borderlands were conceptualised and experienced in the medieval period. The project identified far more spatial complexity to the Anglo-Scottish border than is often acknowledged. In much literature, borders and bordering are interpreted through the lens of territoriality, where borders are either demarcated or they are not. They are either lines or they are zones. This thesis has illustrated that these typologies oversimplify the fascinating fluidity of the Anglo-Scottish border in space. The medieval border was at once a linear boundary, a zonal frontier, and a collection of 'spots'. There was not one 'border landscape' but a complex layering of multiple borders which incorporated both physical and intangible elements of the landscape.

This plurality of spatialities was influenced by a number of agents. The study has particularly made contributions to our understanding of the relationship between the upper classes and the crown and the local communities which are underrepresented in the documentary record in the medieval period. It is argued here that the development of the border-scape was not simply a top-down process. Instead, the landscape of the border was co-produced, like many other medieval landscapes, and different agents within the landscape contributed uniquely to the development of specific characteristics of the border-scape through different ways of 'knowing' the landscape.

Elements of the border-scape are necessarily connected with processes of bordering and border work. While it was hoped the broad chronological scale of this research could contribute to some of the grand historical narratives which trace the development of the border, the complexities of the dataset make it difficult to map change to specific events with any precision in many cases. Nevertheless, this project has made a considerable contribution to our understanding of the border through time. It has been shown elsewhere that borders tend to materialise and dematerialise in cycles, but until now, this aspect of bordering has not been acknowledged on the medieval Anglo-Scottish border. Anxiety has proven to be a useful lens with which to view change and stability, and reveals that the rate of bordering was never constant. Whereas anxiety could accelerate processes of fortification along the border, it could simultaneously cause diplomatic negotiations to cling to the stability of precedent within the legal-scape. These cycles of materialisation, in turn, were shown in Chapter 8 to have important connections to other features of medieval culture in the region, such as the formation of borderland identities, and represent an alternative way of understanding the development of medieval borderland cultures.

Consideration of the border as inhabited and composed of numerous borders has highlighted that the medieval border-scape was experienced differently by separate agents. This opens up the possibility of alternative geographies of the border-scape which need not run parallel to the borderline. Numerous boundaries were identified which influenced the development of the landscape, including the upland/lowland divide. However, it is also argued here that the consideration of movement within this project enabled us to redefine the definition of 'marginal' and 'liminal' within the border-scape. Anxiety was noted to impact bordering, but it also appears to have impacted the geography of the border-scape. It was argued that through mapping

movement, an emotional geography emerged which related feelings of marginality and exposure in the landscape to the development of the built environment.

Overall, by approaching the Anglo-Scottish border as an inhabited landscape, this project has propelled discussion of medieval bordering beyond territorial characterisations. It has exposed numerous complex spatialities of the medieval Anglo-Scottish border that have, thus far, only been recognised in studies of modern borderlands. There was never just one Anglo-Scottish border, and the border-scape was made up of a multiplicity of lines, zones and spots produced by a range of agents. It is possible that the geographies of the past have been simplified because we often don't acknowledge the complexities of our own 21<sup>st</sup>-century borders, which even now, are more than simple cartographic lines in space or walls on the ground. As was visible in this thesis, modern bordering did not emerge in isolation in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Instead, the development of cartographic territories emerged from and interacted with earlier bordering processes. As a result, studying medieval and other historic borders has the potential to reveal much about the processes through which borders are constructed, performed, and deconstructed in the present. There are an infinite number of -scapes we can use to study bordering in the Anglo-Scottish region, and there is great value in exploring the sophisticated and complex relationships between power, place, and perspective in medieval borderlands.

# Appendix A: Data Credits for Figures

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## Appendix B: Comparison of Research Frameworks Table

Relevant research frameworks offer an easy opportunity to explore the trajectory of archaeological research within this region and the implications it has on the synthesis of archaeological data across the borderline. Three primary research frameworks have been written to guide archaeological investigations within the project area: the North-East Regional Research Framework for the Historic Environment (NERRF) (Petts and Gerrard 2006), the Archaeological Research Framework for Northumberland National Park (ARFNNP) (Young et al. 2010), and the Scottish Archaeological Research Framework (ScARF) (ScARF 2012). It should be noted that while NERRF and ARFNNP are regional frameworks, ScARF is a national framework with a much different scope. Regional research frameworks are in the process of being released in Scotland, but the one relating to the south-east, is not yet published. As a result, ScARF still represents the best synthesis of Scottish archaeological work for the project area.

The following tables compare research gaps and research themes expressed within the three primary research frameworks targeting northeast England and southeast Scotland. Tables are organised by topic which are largely derived from thematic divisions present in both NERRF and the ARFNNP (Settlement and Agriculture, The Church and Religion, and Industry and Trade). Three other categories were added to accommodate both specific interests of this thesis (Military and Defence) and themes introduced in ScARF which were not explicitly referenced in the English frameworks (Identity and Artefacts, State and Nationhood). Noted gaps in current research as well as explicitly stated research themes are listed by framework. Content is divided into those which are mentioned by at least two of the three research frameworks and those which are uniquely identified by individual frameworks. Similar topics are aligned horizontally across frameworks within the tables.

## SETTLEMENT AND AGRICULTURE

	NERRF	ScARF	ARFNNP
Gaps in Research	<u>SIMILARITIES</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Rural settlement especially in uplands</li> <li>- Urban archaeology, especially for smaller burghs and shire centres</li> <li>- Extent of ridge and furrow</li> <li>- Synthesis of environment and faunal samples</li> <li>- Emphasis has been on upstanding remains thus far</li> <li>- Few excavations</li> </ul>	<u>SIMILARITIES</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Rural settlement</li> <li>- Origin of burghs</li> <li>- Agricultural practices</li> <li>- Consistent faunal analysis</li> <li>- Paleoenvironmental analysis</li> <li>- Animal husbandry</li> <li>- Medieval vernacular architecture beyond castles and ecclesiastical buildings</li> <li>- Few excavations</li> <li>- Manorial estate centres of 12-14<sup>th</sup> centuries</li> </ul>	<u>SIMILARITIES</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Rural settlement</li> <li>- Medieval vernacular architecture</li> <li>- Few excavations</li> <li>- Manorial system and manorial boundaries</li> </ul>
	<u>UNIQUE GAPS</u>	<u>UNIQUE GAPS</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Medieval rural economies of the Highlands</li> <li>- Highland/lowland divide</li> <li>- Change in lordship characteristics over time</li> <li>- Horticultural practices</li> <li>- Long distance droving</li> <li>- Origin of coastal settlements</li> </ul>	<u>UNIQUE GAPS</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Bastles</li> </ul>

Research Themes	<u>SIMILARITIES</u>	<u>SIMILARITIES</u>	<u>SIMILARITIES</u>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Chronology of medieval vernacular architecture and increased understanding of survival of upstanding remains</li> <li>- Compare upland and lowland evidences</li> <li>- Urban-rural relationships</li>   <li>- Origin of urban communities (especially small towns and market centres)</li> <li>- Chronology of upland transhumance</li>   <li>- Parish and larger scale survey of landscape development to improve understanding of settlement development</li> <li>- Origin of permanent coastal settlement</li>   <li>- Improve mapping of ridge of furrow</li>   <li>- Woodland management practices</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Chronology of medieval vernacular architecture and increased understanding of survival of upstanding remains</li> <li>- Compare upland and lowland evidences</li> <li>- -Urban-rural relationships</li> <li>- Consumption centre (royal, ecclesiastical, and urban) and rural relationships</li> <li>- Origins of burghs</li>   <li>- Chronology of upland transhumance</li>   <li>- Regional studies of land use and settlement to answer questions on clan, kinship, and Highland-Lowland divide</li> <li>- Beachmarkets</li> <li>- Combined paleoenvironmental and archaeological approaches to analysis of rural landscapes, especially lowland landscapes</li>   <li>- Woodland management practices</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Chronology of medieval vernacular architecture and increased understanding of survival of upstanding remains</li> <li>- Excavation of lowland rural settlements</li>   <li>- Excavation and survey of shieling sites</li> <li>- Investigation of deserted medieval or shrunken settlements and their connections to their landscapes</li>   <li>- Faunal analysis to determine land use patterns</li>   <li>- Origins of field systems and boundaries</li> </ul>

	<u>UNIQUE THEMES</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Better understanding of place names</li> <li>- Extent medieval/post medieval transition can be characterised by change or continuity</li> <li>- Rural settlement patterns during medieval/post medieval transition</li> <li>- River crossings and their infrastructure</li> </ul>	<u>UNIQUE THEMES</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Regional studies on intensification of lordship</li> <li>- Monastic granges</li> <li>- Dendrochronological research</li> <li>- Holistic/interdisciplinary approach to studying settlement</li> <li>- Settlements in their landscape context</li> </ul>	<u>UNIQUE THEMES</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Faunal analysis on Pele tower and Bastle sites</li> <li>- Further place name analysis</li> <li>- Analysis of bastles, especially in a landscape context</li> <li>- Analysis of medieval emparkment</li> <li>- Medieval fairs and markets</li> </ul>
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## THE CHURCH AND RELIGION

	NERRF	ScARF	Northumberland National Park
<b>Gaps in Research</b>	<u>SIMILARITIES</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Monastic houses</li> <li>- Analysis of medieval burial populations</li> </ul> <u>UNIQUE GAPS</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Chronology of Saxo-Norman period parish churches</li> <li>- Internal decoration of churches</li> <li>- Wider ecclesiastical organisation</li> <li>- Development of parochial structures</li> <li>- Role of minor religious structures such as chapels-at-ease</li> </ul>	<u>SIMILARITIES</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Monastic houses</li> <li>- Analysis of medieval burial populations</li> </ul> <u>UNIQUE GAPS</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Networks of religious influence</li> </ul>	<u>SIMILARITIES</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Monastic houses and estate holdings</li> <li>- Analysis of medieval burial populations, especially rural</li> </ul> <u>UNIQUE GAPS</u>
<b>Research Themes</b>	<u>SIMILARITIES</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Osteological and bioarchaeological analysis of medieval burial populations</li> </ul>	<u>SIMILARITIES</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Osteological and bioarchaeological analysis of medieval burial populations</li> </ul>	<u>SIMILARITIES</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Osteological and bioarchaeological analysis of medieval burial populations</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Burial monuments</li> <li>- Production and patterns in regional sculptural traditions</li> <li>- Monastic granges</li> <li>- Regional parish church design</li> </ul> <p><u>UNIQUE THEMES</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Chronology of church architecture</li> <li>- Tighter chronology of Saxo-Norman period</li> <li>- Better understanding of parish and pastoral responsibilities</li> <li>- How did the Reformation impact different types of artefacts?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Church furnishings</li> <li>- Collaborative approaches to studying regional variation in religious practices</li> <li>- Monastic granges</li> </ul> <p><u>UNIQUE THEMES</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Monastic houses in a prehistoric context</li> <li>- Mapping changing parochial structure</li> <li>- Create of corpus of medieval relics</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Regional parish church design</li> </ul> <p><u>UNIQUE THEMES</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Holystone Nunnery</li> <li>- Holy wells</li> <li>- Monastic and estate holdings</li> <li>- Investigation of chapels</li> </ul>
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## INDUSTRY AND TRADE

	NERRF	ScARF	Northumberland National Park
<b>Gaps in Research</b>	<p><u>SIMILARITIES</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Origins of deep-sea fishing</li> <li>- Origins of urban communities (especially small towns and market centres)</li> <li>- Urban-rural relationships</li> </ul>	<p><u>SIMILARITIES</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Riverine and deep-sea fishing</li> <li>- Growth of market economy</li> <li>- Origin of burghs</li> <li>- Urban-rural relationships</li> <li>- Consumption centre (royal, ecclesiastical, and urban) and rural relationships</li> </ul>	<p><u>SIMILARITIES</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Urban-rural relationships</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Gap in pottery studies in Northumberland</li> <li>- Very little research has been performed on industry in general</li> <li>- Coal industry</li> <li>- Silver industry</li> </ul> <p><u>UNIQUE GAPS</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Distinction of English and Scottish materials in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century</li> <li>- No wider synthesis of potteries from further south in region</li> <li>- Very little knowledge of pottery from rural sites</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Networks of trade and communication</li> </ul> <p><u>UNIQUE GAPS</u></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Gap in pottery studies in Northumberland</li> <li>- Very little research has been performed on industry in general</li> <li>- Coal industry</li> <li>- Silver industry</li> <li>- Communication routes through time</li> </ul> <p><u>UNIQUE GAPS</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Iron industry</li> <li>- Trade from an archaeological rather than historical perspective</li> </ul>
<p><b>Research Themes</b></p>	<p><u>SIMILARITIES</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Monastic granges</li> <li>- Develop better understanding of national and international trade in region</li> <li>- Urban-rural trade/exchange</li> <li>- Industry and its connection to the growth of towns and urbanism</li> <li>- Regional pottery chronologies, both urban and rural</li> <li>- Locate more pottery production workshops</li> </ul>	<p><u>SIMILARITIES</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Monastic granges</li> <li>- Regional studies on growth of market economy</li> </ul>	<p><u>SIMILARITIES</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Urban-rural trade/exchange</li> <li>- Review medieval ceramics in the park</li> <li>- Locate more pottery production sites</li> </ul>

- Better understanding of riverine fishing and survival of medieval materials remains of this industry.
- Develop chronology of sea fishing, fishing technology, and coastal settlement
- Better understanding of riverine fishing and survival of medieval materials remains of this industry.
- Identify more bloomeries and waterpower facilities for iron industry
- Identify more colliery sites
- Better understanding of cross-dykes and drove roads through the Cheviots and their antiquity

UNIQUE THEMES

- NE English pottery should be related to pottery industries in Scotland
- Locate silver mines of Carlisle
- Research North Pennine lead industry
- Identify evidence for other industries (e.g. glass working, leather working)

- Beachmarkets

UNIQUE THEMES

- Multi-scalar analysis of medieval conceptions of urbanism and urban identities
- Medieval shipwrecks

- Identify more iron production sites
- Excavation and field survey of colliery sites
- Better understanding of medieval/post medieval drove ways

UNIQUE THEMES

- Distribution and history of mills
- Archaeological evidence for stone quarrying

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Connections between production sites and tenurial institutions (e.g. monastic estates and manors)</li> <li>- Can the distribution of magnate holdings in the region help us understand regional communication routes, especially between England and Scotland?</li> <li>- Better understanding of seasonality</li> <li>- 16<sup>th</sup> to 17 century urban structures</li> <li>- Trade with Baltic and Scandinavia/Hanseatic League</li> <li>- River crossings and their infrastructure</li> </ul>		
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## MILITARY AND DEFENSE

	NERRF	ScARF	Northumberland National Park
<b>Gaps in Research</b>	<u>SIMILARITIES</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Small defensive sites</li> <li>- Castles from an archaeological perspective</li> </ul> <u>UNIQUE GAPS</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Defensive structures (e.g. town walls, monastic precincts, vicar's peles)</li> </ul>	<u>SIMILARITIES</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Small defensive sites</li> </ul> <u>UNIQUE GAPS</u>	<u>SIMILARITIES</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Castles from an archaeological perspective</li> </ul> <u>UNIQUE GAPS</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Battlefield sites</li> </ul>

Research Themes	<p><u>SIMILARITIES</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Research castles within their landscapes—interaction with hinterland</li> <li>- Holistic approaches to castles rather than purely militaristic/functional</li> <li>- Identify the range of response to unrest and violence in region beyond castle building</li> <li>- Battlefield sites</li> </ul>	<p><u>SIMILARITIES</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Research castles within their landscapes</li> <li>- Develop better understanding of small defensive sites</li> </ul>	<p><u>SIMILARITIES</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Origins of castles</li> <li>- Role of early castles in the Border Region</li> </ul>
	<p><u>UNIQUE THEMES</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Connection between functional and symbolic castle architecture and other structures such as fortified churches and city walls</li> <li>- Better understanding of the demise of castles—what led to their abandonment, what inspires the transition from castle to country house?</li> <li>- Reuse of earlier defensive sites</li> <li>- Relationship between castles and military technology</li> <li>- Development of a battlefield research agenda</li> <li>- Afterlife of battlefield sites</li> <li>- Cross-period analysis of fortified structures and battlefields</li> </ul>	<p><u>UNIQUE THEMES</u></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Battlefield sites</li> </ul> <p><u>UNIQUE THEMES</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Transition from motte and bailey to stone castles</li> <li>- Organisation of space in castle baileys</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Survey of defensive structures in Durham to determine southern edge of border zone</li> <li>- Border raid beacons</li> <li>- Comparisons of movements of militaries to determine communication routes</li> </ul>		
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**IDENTITIES AND ARTEFACTS**

	NERRF	ScARF	Northumberland National Park
<b>Gaps in Research</b>	Not discussed	<u>UNIQUE GAPS</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Ethnic and political identities</li> <li>- Gender and sexuality</li> <li>- Textual Archaeologies</li> <li>- Archaeology of universities</li> <li>- Archaeology of play</li> <li>- Museum collections under-researched</li> </ul>	Not discussed
<b>Research Themes</b>	<u>SIMILARITIES</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Expressions of identity through objects</li> </ul> <u>UNIQUE THEMES</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Regionality</li> <li>- Status</li> <li>- Regional beliefs</li> <li>- Urban-rural identities</li> </ul>	<u>SIMILARITIES</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Expressions of identity through objects</li> </ul> <u>UNIQUE THEMES</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Development of clan structure</li> <li>- Materiality of writing</li> <li>- Sensory aspects of medieval material culture</li> </ul>	Not discussed

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Distinction of English and Scottish materials in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century.</li> <li>- Comparison of artefacts across the modern border</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Better utilisation of museum collections to build chronologies</li> </ul>	
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## STATE AND NATIONHOOD

	NERRF	ScARF	Northumberland National Park
<b>Gaps in Research</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Not discussed</li> </ul>	<u>UNIQUE GAPS</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The emergence of power structures in high medieval period</li> <li>- Networks of political influence</li> </ul>	Not discussed
<b>Key Research Themes</b>	<u>SIMILARITIES</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Regionality</li> </ul> <u>UNIQUE THEMES</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- How far did the Solway-Tyne line mark the southern edge of the border zone?</li> <li>- Increased cooperation between research in northern England and southern Scotland</li> <li>- Join funding for projects crossing the modern national border</li> <li>- Comparison of 16<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> century Border society and creation of a border identity</li> </ul>	<u>SIMILARITIES</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Regional studies of polities</li> </ul> <u>UNIQUE THEMES</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Material interactions between polities over time</li> <li>- Understanding why, where, and how 'Scotland' emerges</li> </ul>	Not discussed

# Appendix C: Perambulations of the Anglo-Scottish Border

## 1245 Perambulations

The first record that describes a journey along the Anglo-Scottish border were a series of legal documents describing perambulations settling property disputes along the border in the early-13<sup>th</sup> century (Stones 1965, 55-57). It is possible that up to three, but more likely two, separate perambulations were performed between 1222 and 1245, but potential errors in the 19<sup>th</sup>- and 20<sup>th</sup>-century publications of the original documents make it difficult to determine with certainty whether some of the dates listed for the documents are correct.<sup>20</sup> A perambulation of 1245 described in a letter from Hugh de

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<sup>20</sup> The two most commonly utilised sources for these surveys are Bain's *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London, Vol. 1, A.D. 1108-1272* (CDS.i) and Stones' (1965) *Anglo-Scottish Relations, 1174-1328: Some Selected Documents*. These edited collections of original documents potentially list up to three separate surveys. However, Bain's work contains some recognized dating errors which make it difficult to determine with certainty that all of the surveys listed were separate events. The first of the surveys is listed in Bain's work (CDS.i, 147) are recorded as occurring in May of 1222. This appears to be an order from King Henry III to the Sheriff of Northumberland ordering a meeting at Whitelaw with some trusted English knights, including a man named Hugh de Bolebec, to settle the international boundary after the Prior of Kirkham and Robert de Ros claimed Scotland had made a 'purpestore' on English lands. This is followed in Bain's work (CDS.i, 147-148) by a document he records as being dated to October 13, 1222 which records a perambulation of the boundary between Carham and Hadden at Reddenburn to Whitelaw. The events of this survey are identical to that recorded as occurring in Stones' (1965, 55-57) collection on October 13, 1245. PoMS (H4/40/3) also dates this document to 1245. In this survey the plaintiffs of the dispute are not recorded, but Hugh de Bolebec is named in the document as the Sheriff of Northumberland, which seems to be a different role than that he held in the May 1222 document. This is followed by a record Bain (CDS.i, 307) dates to October 13, 1245 which lists what appears to be the names of the 24 English knights who conducted the perambulation between Reddenburn and Whitelaw referenced in both the Stones and Bain documents. Because all of the documents are referencing the exact same locations and often the same specific details, it seems likely that all four of these documents may be referencing the same event which probably occurred in October 1245. The May 1222 document is likely to be the initial order (probably also dated to c. 1245) for a perambulation which the documents of 1245 record. 24 English knights are listed as having conducted the survey in Bain's October 1222 document, which then seem to be referenced again in Bain's 1245 document, giving the event a date of 1245. Bain (CDS.i, 312-313) then lists another document dated to 1246 which references a perambulation 'on the morrow of St Andrew the Aposittle' (a different date than the 1245 perambulation) to settle a dispute between the Canons of Carham, a cell of Kirkham Priory, and Bernard de Haudene (Hadden) of Scotland. The perambulation is listed as having travelled the opposite direction as the 1245 perambulation. The specific reference to a separate date seems to indicate another perambulation which occurred a little over a year after the 1245 perambulation. Barrow (2003a, 124) references the two perambulations (1245 and 1246) as one event. However, he provides no explanation as to his justification for this decision. Because the plaintiffs and locations overlap in both documents, and because of previous evidence that the published source material includes errors in the recorded dates of the documents, it is not certain whether these

Bolebec, the Sheriff of Northumberland, to King Henry III is dated with the most certainty. There had been a dispute over property boundaries, likely between the English canons of Kirkham Priory's cell in Carham and Robert de Ros, a landholder with ties to both Scotland and England (Rhodes and Thomas 2005), against Bernard de Haudene (Hadden) of Scotland.<sup>21</sup> In this document, de Bolebec records that an international committee composed of himself, the Justiciar of Lothian David de Lindesay, and Scottish nobleman Patrick the Earl of Dunbar gathered at Revedeneburne (Reddenburn) to elect a team of six trusted knights from each of the realms to perambulate the 'true and ancient bounds' between Reddenburn and Whitelaw (Stones 1965, 55). However, while conducting the perambulation, it was found that the Scottish and English parties disagreed on the exact location of the border. In response to this stalemate, de Bolebec, de Lindesay, and the Earl of Dunbar created new, larger committees of 12 knights elected from each of the realms to conduct another perambulation 'to have greater assurance in making the perambulation' (Stones 1965, 57). Again, perhaps predictably, an agreement could not be reached. de Bolebec then organised a third committee of 24 English knights to settle the boundaries independently of the Scottish officials. The Scottish party apparently did not approve of de Bolebec's unilateral plan, for as soon as the English set out upon their perambulation, the Earl and de Lindesay 'resisting with violence, hindered them by threats from so doing' (Stones 1965, 55-57). As a result, it was agreed that the ancient boundary extended from the stream at Reddenburn to a currently unknown location of the 'three marshes' and Hoperichelawe, and from there in a straight line to Whitelaw, one of the Cheviot Hills (Stones 1965, 57). Portions of this boundary, however, remained disputed until well after the medieval period.

## 1541 and 1550 Surveys

The next two surveys date to the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and describe the borderline within the limits of the East and Middle Marches from the bounds of Berwick to Kershopefoot. Both surveys were conducted by Robert Bowes, an important English

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perambulations truly were separate events. Thus, it is certain that at least one perambulation occurred between Reddenburn and Whitelaw in 1245. A second perambulation in 1246 is likely. A third occurring in 1222 is possible, but unlikely.

<sup>21</sup> Assuming the defendant listed in the 1246 survey is the same as that of the 1245 survey, which seems likely due to the commonalities between the two events.

official and recognised expert in borderland affairs for the Tudor government in the north of England (Newman 2008). In the 1541 survey Bowes was assisted by fellow northern official Ralph Ellerker (Macmahon 2004). The 1541 survey was conducted ‘as a description of the p’sent state of all castells towers barmekyns and fortresses scituate and beinge nere unto the said frountier or borders together w<sup>th</sup> certayne devyses thoughte by us moaste expeidente for the repaying strengtheninge and replenyshynge and peoplynge of the sayd frountier or borders for the best contynuall defence of the same’ (Bowes and Ellerker 1541, 171-172). This survey first describes the borderline and notes any portion of the border which had been contested or breached by citizens of either side. It then lists the towns and fortifications of the border, noting where towers, castles, and barmkins were in need of repair. It also lists the fording points over the River Tweed and describes some of the characteristics and challenges to settlement in specific places in the borderland before offering suggestions to improve the defensibility of the region as a whole. The 1550 survey describes many of the same features as the 1541 survey—the boundary, disputed areas, castles, and settlement are discussed (Bowes 1550). It too offers suggestions of ways to improve the defensibility of the borderland. Many of the suggestions were repetitions of those found in the earlier surveys, indicating that little had been achieved by the Tudor government in the previous decade.

## **20-21<sup>st</sup>-Century Travel Accounts**

The last three sources are modern and date to the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. Unlike the historic sources which were initiated at the behest of the government and recorded by government officials, these modern journeys along the border were performed by civilians interested in the history and anthropology of the borderline. James Logan Mack’s (2011) book, *The Borderline: From the Solway Firth to the North Sea, Along the Marches of Scotland and England* is the most important of the three surveys, and it marks one of the first attempts of synthesising the history of the borderline. With Barrow’s works (2003a; 2003b), it remains a seminal source for modern researchers interested in the history of the border. Mack was a lawyer from Edinburgh with an interest in history, and his book is a memoir of a series of walks he performed over six years in the 1910s and 20s covering the entirety of the border. Mack’s work describes the landscapes he witnessed on his walk and includes a series of photographs and

paintings made along the way. It also investigates in great depth the history of particular places, often landmarks, along the border utilising evidence from historical sources, folktales, and local knowledge. The other two modern surveys, Eric Robson's *The Border Line* (2006) and Ian Crofton's *Walking the Border* (2014) are heavily influenced by Mack's book and record the perambulations of the two authors along the modern borderline. Neither of these books is as academic as Mack's work but are popular accounts investigating anthropological themes. Robson's book, written as a companion to an ITV television programme called *Walking the Line*, questions whether the modern border has any real meaning in society, and if it does, where its impact is felt (Robson 2006, 14). He concludes that while the border may have had an important role to play in the region's past, in a world that 'frowns on borders', any real meaning of the Anglo-Scottish border lies in the past, in its influence on the way the region has developed due to the complex cross-border relationships of the region where the border both did and didn't matter in many ways (Robson 2006, 253). Crofton's book is more interested in local identities along the border. His book includes less historical research than either Mack's or Robson's books and is more interested in his experiences and human interactions. He comes to the conclusion, based purely on his own experiences rather than any rigorous methodology, that the people of the borderland feel neither completely English nor completely Scottish. Instead, they appear to have complex entangled identities caught somewhere between the two nations which occasionally manifests as an identity completely independent of nation.

# Appendix D: Characterisation and Integration of the HER datasets

The datasets provided by the two HER offices for the spatial database initially contained many inconsistencies which needed to be resolved before analysis could take place. Many of these inconsistencies were caused by differences in recording practices and database architecture between the two HERs. This appendix describes the methods used to clean and integrate the two datasets together.

## Dataset descriptions

The two HERs provided data packages of their respective HER databases within the project area as shapefiles accompanied by appropriate metadata. Both the Northumberland and Scottish Borders datasets were clipped to the shape of the project area with a 2km buffer to account for any inaccuracies in the location of the points. The initial database supplied by the Scottish Borders HER dataset was initially composed of 12,359 points, while the initial database supplied by the Northumberland HER had 22,559 points. The huge disparity between the number of points in each region indicated some initial differences between the data that needed to be addressed.

The two HER datasets were downloaded into Microsoft Excel where the data could be cleaned and organised effectively in preparation for integration. The Scottish Borders dataset required significantly more cleaning because the HER utilises a particularly clunky and outdated database architecture with numerous multipart and multivalued fields that made running queries difficult (Hernandez 2013). Fortunately, the Scottish Borders HER database has been updated since the spring of 2019 to encourage a greater range of uses for the database in the future (Elliot 2019). Because of this, the architecture of Scottish Borders HER information provided to researchers in the future will not exactly mirror those described in this thesis. However, the data processing described in this appendix will be useful to future researchers as an indication of how data management prior to the HER database overhaul likely impacted previous research.

One of the most important distinctions between the datasets was the way sites were listed. Whereas the Northumberland HER would often record multiple points for each site, the Scottish Borders HER would often record multiple sites as a single point. First, Scottish Borders points which represented multiple sites were divided so that one point represented one monument type. Each point was then given a unique key within the database. This led to a full Scottish Borders HER dataset of 15,323 points, a 24% increase in Scottish Borders points. Additionally, time period and monument type were originally recorded in the same field. These were divided into separate fields so that each site could be queried by monument type and period independently. The Northumberland dataset required less detailed cleaning initially. However, it was noted that the Scottish Borders dataset included Treasure Trove data while the English equivalent, Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) findspot data was included as a separate dataset by the Northumberland HER office. The PAS dataset, clipped to the project area, was added to the Northumberland dataset, for a full total of 23,250 points within the Northumberland HER dataset, an increase of 3%.

## **HER Periods**

While this thesis primarily targets archaeology dating to the medieval period, landscapes are not isolated, and landscapes prior to the medieval period impacted medieval landscapes. Likewise, post medieval landscapes can tell one much about not only the medieval past, but also about its preservation. As a result, the initial datasets provided by the HERs included data related to all sites dating to before the modern period (c. 1900 and later), although as will be noted below, some modern sites have still been included in the cross-border dataset. At the regional scale of the project area, non-medieval points act primarily as context for the medieval dataset but can be utilised as supplementary evidence for case study analysis. However, due to the large number of data points, it was deemed unfeasible to clean the entire HER dataset with the same rigour as the medieval data.

In order to isolate the medieval data and to organize the rest of the HER data into manageable datasets, both the Scottish Borders and Northumberland HER data were separated into period designations. The Scottish Borders and Northumberland HER offices use different period designations within their datasets. The Northumberland HER offices utilise Historic England periodisation standards (FISH

2019a), while Scottish Borders utilises ScAPA standards (HES 2018; Binding 2018). It is important to note here that both databases have been built over long periods of time, and the designated period standards are not always consistently utilised within the datasets.

Scottish Borders HER data contained sites with 37 different period designations (Table D.1). Northumberland HER data included 27 different period designations (Table D.2). To make the datasets more comparable, these periods were grouped into broad period categories which could be utilised in the cross-border spatial database (Table D.3). Of particular importance to this thesis is the designation of what constitutes a ‘medieval’ site. In the Scottish Borders, the medieval period typically ends at the Union of the Crowns in 1603, while in Northumberland, the Reformation of the 1540s marks the end of the medieval period. The precision of the Scottish Borders data does not enable elimination of the post-1540 points, so the medieval period for the cross-border spatial database data extends from c. 1000 AD to c. 1600 AD. While this period is wider than the target date range for this thesis, dating for many archaeological monuments can be very imprecise. As a result, maintaining a broader definition of the medieval period will prevent important data from being eliminated unintentionally by artificially precise period definitions.

**Table D.1:** Periods listed within the Scottish Borders HER dataset

Period Name	Date Range or Identifying Features (from HES 2018)
<b>Prehistoric</b>	All periods up to the emergence of recorded history mainly known through archaeological research.
<b>Neolithic</b>	The Neolithic, or New Stone Age, sees the transition from hunter gatherer economies to farming. Monumental architecture, including chambered cairns, develops. Pottery is first used and stone tool technologies become more sophisticated.
<b>Neol/Bronze Age</b>	A term not found in the Scapa glossary. Indicates a site which could be dated to either the Neolithic or the Bronze Age.
<b>Bronze Age</b>	After the Neolithic and the first use of metal in the Chalcolithic, the Bronze Age is defined by advances in metal working to produce durable Bronze tools and weapons, accompanied by societal change. New architectural styles and burial practices appear.
<b>Bronze/Iron Age</b>	A term not found in the Scapa glossary. Indicates a site which could be dated to either the Bronze Age or the Iron Age.
<b>Iron Age</b>	Tribal centres and elites appear in society at the end of the Bronze Age. There is a wide range of monumental buildings including brochs, duns and crannogs. Iron is used for tool making. The fall of Rome traditionally marks the end of the period. The chronology of

	this period is debated but extends roughly from 700 BC- AD 900. The Long Iron Age extends into the Early Medieval period.
<b>Romano-British</b>	Term not in use by the ScAPA glossary. Equivalent to the Roman period.
<b>Roman</b>	A term applied to physical traces of the Roman military incursions into Scotland and objects made within the Roman Republic or Empire from the late 1st century until the 4 <sup>th</sup> century BCE.
<b>Pictish</b>	A cultural term derived from Picti - painted or tattooed people – was applied by the Romans to the peoples living north of the Forth and Clyde rivers. The distinctive art of the Symbol Stones documents the adoption of Christianity.
<b>Early Medieval</b>	Early medieval Scotland can be defined by the adoption of Christianity and emergence of identity from cultural groupings leading to state formation after the end of the Roman Empire. Extends to the death of Malcolm III Canmore in 1093 CE. Overlaps with the end of the Long Iron Age.
<b>Anglian</b>	A specific term relating to the Early Medieval period. A cultural term for groups of people from northern Germany who occupied large parts of eastern England after the Romans left. The Anglian kingdom of Northumbria included much of the eastern side of Scotland up to the Firth of Forth.
<b>Anglo-Saxon</b>	A specific term relating to the Early Medieval period. Both a political and cultural term: applied to the distinctive culture and artistic styles that evolved from the merging of native traditions with those of Germanic tribes who had migrated from northern Europe.
<b>7<sup>th</sup> Century</b>	Century encompassing years 601 CE to 700 CE
<b>8<sup>th</sup> Century</b>	Century encompassing years 701 CE to 800 CE
<b>9<sup>th</sup> Century</b>	Century encompassing years 801 CE to 900 CE
<b>10<sup>th</sup> Century</b>	Century encompassing years 901 CE to 1000 CE
<b>Medieval</b>	The Medieval period or Middle Ages arbitrarily begins with the death of Malcolm III Canmore in 1093 CE until James VI inherited the English throne in 1603 CE.
<b>11<sup>th</sup> Century</b>	Century encompassing years 1001 CE to 1100 CE
<b>12<sup>th</sup> Century</b>	Century encompassing years 1101 CE to 1200 CE
<b>13<sup>th</sup> Century</b>	Century encompassing years 1201 CE to 1300 CE
<b>14<sup>th</sup> Century</b>	Century encompassing years 1301 CE to 1400 CE
<b>15<sup>th</sup> Century</b>	Century encompassing years 1401 CE to 1500 CE
<b>16<sup>th</sup> Century</b>	Century encompassing years 1501 CE to 1600 CE
<b>Post Medieval</b>	Arbitrarily commences with the accession of James VI to the English throne (1603 CE) until the start of the 20th century (1899 CE).
<b>17<sup>th</sup> Century</b>	Century encompassing years 1601 CE to 1700 CE
<b>Pre-Improvement</b>	In Archaeology, largely applied to traces of the rural settlement and landscape documented or surviving the sweeping agricultural changes of the Age of Improvement (c. 1750 CE-1850 CE).
<b>18<sup>th</sup> Century</b>	Century encompassing years 1701 CE to 1800 CE
<b>19<sup>th</sup> Century</b>	Century encompassing years 1801 CE to 1900 CE
<b>19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> Century</b>	Centuries encompassing years 1801 CE to 1600 CE
<b>Modern</b>	Older term which has been replaced in current practice by '20 <sup>th</sup> Century'

<b>20<sup>th</sup> Century</b>	Century encompassing years 1901 CE to 2000 CE
<b>First World War</b>	Used to record buildings, defensive monuments and sites dating to, and associated with, the First World War (1914 CE-1918 CE).
<b>Second World War</b>	Used to record buildings, defensive monuments and sites dating to, and associated with, the Second World War (1939 CE-1945 CE).
<b>21<sup>st</sup> Century</b>	Century encompassing years 2001 CE to present
<b>Period Unassigned</b>	This term is used to identify records where nobody has attempted to assign a specific period to. Use PERIOD UNKNOWN for records of sites or objects which cannot be categorised by period.
<b>Period Unknown</b>	This term identifies those records where the date of the site or object is not known.
<b>None</b>	Entry contains no period information

**Table D.2:** Periods listed within the Northumberland HER dataset

<b>Period Name</b>	<b>Date Range or Identifying Features (from FISH, 2019a)</b>
<b>Prehistoric</b>	1,000 000 BC to 43 AD
<b>Palaeolithic</b>	1,000 000 BC to 10,000 BC
<b>Lower Palaeolithic</b>	1,000 000 BC to 150,000 BC
<b>Mesolithic</b>	10,000 BC to 4,000 BC
<b>Late Mesolithic</b>	7,000 BC to 4,000 BC
<b>Later Prehistoric</b>	4,000 BC to 43 AD
<b>Neolithic</b>	4,000 BC to 2,200 BC
<b>Early Neolithic</b>	4,000 BC to 3,300 BC
<b>Late Neolithic</b>	2,900 BC to 2,200 BC
<b>Bronze Age</b>	2,600 BC to 700 BC
<b>Early Bronze Age</b>	2,600 BC to 1,600 BC
<b>Iron Age</b>	800 BC to 43 AD
<b>Roman</b>	43 AD to 410 AD
<b>Early Medieval</b>	410 AD to 1066 AD
<b>Medieval</b>	1066 AD to 1540 AD
<b>Tudor</b>	1485 AD to 1603 AD
<b>Modern</b>	Not in FISH Thesaurus, but stretches from Post Medieval to 21 <sup>st</sup> Century
<b>Post Medieval</b>	1540 AD to 1901 AD
<b>Stuart</b>	1603 AD to 1714 AD
<b>Hanoverian</b>	1714 AD to 1837 AD
<b>Georgian</b>	1714 AD to 1830 AD
<b>Victorian</b>	1837 AD to 1901 AD
<b>Edwardian</b>	1902 AD to 1910 AD
<b>First World War</b>	1914 AD to 1918 AD
<b>Second World War</b>	1939 AD to 1945 AD
<b>21<sup>st</sup> Century</b>	2001 AD to 2100 AD
<b>Uncertain</b>	Site of unknown date

**Table D.3:** Period categories utilised by the cross-border spatial database

<b>Project Period Name</b>	<b>Northumberland Period Divisions Included in Project Period</b>	<b>Scottish Borders Period Divisions Included in Project Period</b>
<b>Prehistoric (c.1,000,000 BC- c.700 BC)</b>	Prehistoric Palaeolithic Lower Palaeolithic Mesolithic Late Mesolithic Later Prehistoric Neolithic Early Neolithic Late Neolithic Bronze Age Early Bronze Age	Prehistoric Mesolithic Neolithic Neol/Bronze Age Bronze Age
<b>Iron Age (c.700 BC- c.900 AD)</b>	Iron Age	Bronze/Iron Age Iron Age
<b>Roman (43 AD- 410 AD)</b>	Roman	Roman Romano-British
<b>Early Medieval (c.400 AD – c.1000 AD)</b>	Early Medieval	Early Medieval Pictish Anglian Anglo-Saxon 7 <sup>th</sup> Century 8 <sup>th</sup> Century 9 <sup>th</sup> Century 10 <sup>th</sup> Century
<b>Medieval (c.1000 AD – c.1600 AD)</b>	Medieval, Tudor	Medieval 11 <sup>th</sup> Century 12 <sup>th</sup> Century 13 <sup>th</sup> Century 14 <sup>th</sup> Century 15 <sup>th</sup> Century 16 <sup>th</sup> Century
<b>Post Medieval (c.1600 AD- c.1900 AD)</b>	Post Medieval Stuart Hanoverian Georgian Victorian	Post Medieval 17 <sup>th</sup> Century 18 <sup>th</sup> Century Pre-Improvement 19 <sup>th</sup> Century
<b>Modern (c.1900 AD-present)</b>	World War I World War II 21 <sup>st</sup> Century Edwardian Modern	19-20th Century 20th Century Modern First World War Second World War 21st Century
<b>Unassigned</b>	Uncertain	Period Unassigned Period Unknown None

## Medieval Dataset Construction and Comparisons

Analysis of the HER dataset in Chapter 3 identified numerous factors which impacted the data recorded in the HERs. It was important to limit the impact of these on the integrated cross-border medieval dataset in the spatial database as much as possible. This required significant assessment and cleaning. First, independent monument classification terminologies utilised within the two datasets needed to be joined. This next section describes the creation of a cross-border classification system for the data which resolved many of the terminological inconsistencies within the dataset.

### Monument Types and Match Types

Monument type classifications differed greatly between Northumberland and the Scottish Borders. First, the Northumberland and Scottish Borders HERs use different monument vocabulary conventions (FISH 2019b; FISH AND HES 2019). Much of the vocabulary is similar, but there are some significant variations which create an unmanageable and unpredictable dataset that is challenging to query when the Northumberland and Scottish Borders data is combined. For instance, whereas in Northumberland the term 'Ridge and Furrow' is used, the Scottish Borders dataset lists the same monument as 'Rig and Furrow'.

Furthermore, the specificity of the vocabulary varies between the two datasets. The Northumberland Medieval dataset included 2,957 individual points. These points were classified into 258 unique monument types. This means that the dataset has 11.46 points per monument types. The Scottish Borders Medieval dataset had 1,716 individual points with 118 different monument types. This dataset averages 14.54 points per monument type. This suggests that the Northumberland HER office tends to utilise more monument types than the Scottish Borders data. This is visible within the two datasets. For instance, monastic sites were often listed by religious order (e.g. Cistercian Monastery) within the Northumberland HER but were simply listed as 'Monastery' within the Scottish Borders dataset. This practice contributed further problematic inconsistencies within the dataset.

In order to resolve these inconsistencies to efficiently integrate the two datasets into one easily searchable cross-border spatial database, a cross-border monument

type classification system for the medieval data was constructed. HER-designated monument types were compared, and the new cross-border monument type classification, called 'Match Type', was developed by resolving inconsistencies in vocabulary used for identical monument types. The specificity of terms used were also made more equivalent. Some terms, such as 'Site' and 'Tower', lacked useful specificity. These were given more detailed and informative Match Type classifications. Differences between original HER Monument Type classifications and Match Type classifications are listed in Appendix E. The combined dataset utilises a total of 167 unique terms. A glossary defining Match Type designations is listed in Appendix F.

## **Theme Definitions**

The process of cleaning the medieval HER data to create a cross-border spatial database served three primary purposes. The first was to create a tool which could be used to synthesise and store a variety of medieval landscape data within the project area. Secondly, it created a large-scale tool which could be used to validate the credibility of interpretations made locally within the case studies. Thirdly, it generated a platform which could be utilised to run spatial analyses which could assess archaeological monuments within their wider landscapes. The medieval dataset as a whole is too large and complex to analyse as a single entity, and a distribution map of all medieval points within the project area divulges very little information about regional patterns. Instead, regional analysis is best achieved through thematic analysis of subsets of the medieval dataset which helps isolate independent patterns. The results of this analysis appear in Chapter 3.

To conduct this analysis, the HER data was categorised into nine different themes based on typical thematic divisions within medievalist academic research (Table D.4). While there is certainly research which extends across these thematic boundaries, most regional research projects target one or two of these categories. However, as discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, the 800-year history of the border has woven an intricate web of cross-border division and bias which needs to be untangled in order to understand the medieval evidence. In order to facilitate loosening these tangled knots, thematic divisions are organised around typical research divisions. For instance, most of the themes mirror those found in the regional research frameworks (see Appendix B). Comparing these themes side by side enables this analysis to be at once both a more

holistic assessment of the late medieval landscapes, but also an approach that is intrinsically self-aware of the methodological biases within traditional research divisions.

**Table D.4:** Thematic categories applied to the medieval HER dataset

Theme	Definition
<b>Administrative</b>	Sites of institutional power which are directly involved in the enforcement of institutional power. This can be related to military, social, economic, religious, or political institutions.
<b>Agricultural</b>	Sites related to the cultivation of plants and livestock.
<b>Military/Defensive</b>	Sites related to martial activities, both offensive and defensive. It includes sites where the martial nature of the sites is debated or uncertain.
<b>Findspots</b>	Sites which record the location of small finds, often but not always recorded from data from the Portable Antiquities Scheme in Northumberland and Treasure Trove in England.
<b>Industrial</b>	Sites related to the processing and manufacture of raw materials. This category also includes places where raw and manufactured materials were traded and sold.
<b>Infrastructure/Transportation</b>	Sites which were components of the infrastructure of travel and movement.
<b>Religious</b>	Sites associated with the organisation and practice of belief systems and spirituality. This can encompass sites such as places of worship, holy places, sites which were components of religious institutions, and sites inhabited by religious personnel.
<b>Settlement</b>	Sites which acted as established habitation places for a person or a group of people.
<b>Miscellaneous</b>	A catch-all category for sites which are not suitable for the other thematic categories.

All 167 Match Types in the cross-border database were sorted into these nine categories (Appendix G), and many Match Types were sorted into multiple categories. For instance, castles were included in the Military/Defensive, Administrative, and Settlement categories as they fulfilled functions related to all of those themes. This complicates the dataset, but restricting monuments with numerous functions to one theme would be artificially simplistic and limit the utility of the dataset. Castles are an excellent example illustrating why limiting a monument to a single category can be problematic. Castles served a variety of different functions which often differed

between castles. They had numerous military roles, serving as a defensive base for armies and landholders. However, they also held numerous administrative roles. They often acted as estate centres where settlements and agrarian systems in the surrounding landscape were managed. Royal castles had additional administrative functions and could also house important institutions like mints. Furthermore, castles were a well-established component of the material language of status amongst the upper nobility. As a result, to restrict a castle to a single theme would be to deny the multiplicity of roles they served in medieval society.

# Appendix E: Site Type to Match Type Conversion Tables

This table lists the changes made to Site Type designations listed in the original medieval period HERs in order to synthesise terms used in the Scottish and English HER datasets in the cross-border geodatabase. Blank boxes indicate the original Site Type was used as the Match Type term.

**Table E.1:** Site Type to Match Type term changes for English HER data

Site Type Term	Match Type Term
ALMSHOUSE	
ANGLE TOWER	FORTIFICATION
Animal Remains	FINDSPOT
AQUEDUCT	
Architectural Component	FINDSPOT
ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENT	CHURCH COMPONENT
ARMY CAMP	MILITARY CAMP
Arrow	FINDSPOT
Artefact	FINDSPOT
ARTILLERY TOWER	FORTIFICATION
AUGUSTINIAN CELL	CELL
AUGUSTINIAN FRIARY	FRIARY
AUGUSTINIAN NUNNERY	NUNNERY
Axe	FINDSPOT
BAKEHOUSE	
BANK (EARTHWORK)	
BARMKIN	
BARN	
BASTION	FORTIFICATION
BASTLE	
BATTERY	FORTIFICATION
BATTLEFIELD	BATTLE SITE
BEACON	
BELL PIT	COAL WORKINGS
BELL TOWER	FORTIFICATION
BENEDICTINE CELL	CELL
BENEDICTINE MONASTERY	MONASTERY
BISHOPS PALACE	
BONHOMMES MONASTERY	MONASTERY
BOUNDARY	
BOUNDARY BANK	BOUNDARY BANK (EARTHWORK)
BOUNDARY CROSS	CROSS

BOUNDARY DITCH	BOUNDARY DITCH (EARTHWORK)
BOUNDARY STONE	
BOUNDARY WALL	
BREASTWORK	FIELDWORK (DEFENCE)
BREWERY	BREWHOUSE
BREWHOUSE	
BRIDGE	
BROAD RIDGE AND FURROW	RIDGE AND FURROW
Brooch	FINDSPOT
Buckle	FINDSPOT
BUILDING	
BUILDING PLATFORM	BUILDING
Burgage Plot	BURGAGE PLOT
BURIAL	
BURIAL PIT	BURIAL
CAIRN (FUNERARY)	BURIAL
Camp	MILITARY CAMP
Cannon Ball	FINDSPOT
CARMELITE FRIARY	FRIARY
CARVED STONE	
CASTLE	
CEMETERY	BURIAL GROUND
CESS PIT	
Chair	CORONATION STONE
CHANTRY CHAPEL	CHAPEL COMPONENT
Chape	FINDSPOT
CHAPEL	
CHAPEL OF EASE	CHAPEL
CHURCH	
CHURCHYARD	
CISTERCIAN NUNNERY	NUNNERY
CLEARANCE CAIRN	
CLOISTER	CHURCH COMPONENT
COFFIN	BURIAL
Coin	FINDSPOT
Coin Hoard	FINDSPOT
COLLEGIATE CHURCH	CHURCH
COLUMN	BRIDGE COMPONENT
COMMEMORATIVE MONUMENT	
COMMON LAND	
CORN DRYING KILN	KILN
COUNTRY HOUSE	
COURTYARD	CHAPEL COMPONENT
COW HOUSE	FARM BUILDING(S)
CROSS	
CROSS DYKE	CROSS DYKE (EARTHWORK)
CRYPT	CHURCH COMPONENT
CULTIVATION TERRACE	

CULVERT	
CURTAIN WALL	FORTIFICATION
Dagger	FINDSPOT
DEER PARK	
Defence Post	FIELDWORK (DEFENCE)
DESERTED SETTLEMENT	
DITCH	DITCH (EARTHWORK)
DOMINICAN FRIARY	FRIARY
DOVECOTE	
DRAIN	SETTLEMENT COMPONENT
DROVE ROAD	ROAD
DYKE (DEFENCE)	FIELDWORK (DEFENCE)
EARTHWORK	
ENCLOSED SETTLEMENT	
ENCLOSURE	
EXTRACTIVE PIT	
FARM	
FARM BUILDING	FARM BUILDING(S)
FARMHOUSE	
FARMSTEAD	
FEATURE	BUILDING; MIDDEN; CULVERT; FIELDWORK (DEFENCE)
FIELD	FIELD BOUNDARY
FIELD BOUNDARY	
FIELD SYSTEM	
FIELDWORK	
FINDSPOT	
FISH TRAP	
FISHERY	FISH TRAP
FISHPOND	
FLOOR	BUILDING
FONT	CHURCH COMPONENT
FOOTBRIDGE	BRIDGE
FORD	
FORGE	FOUNDRY
FORT	
FORTIFIED MANOR HOUSE	
FOUNDRY	
FRANCISCAN FRIARY	FRIARY
FULLING MILL	MILL
GALLOWS	EXECUTION SITE
GARDEN	
GATE	
GATEHOUSE	
GIBBET	EXECUTION SITE
GRANGE	
GRAVE	BURIAL
GRAVE SLAB	BURIAL

GRAVESTONE	BURIAL
GRUBENHAUS	
GUEST HOUSE	
GULLY	
GUN EMPLACEMENT	CHURCH COMPONENT
HAMLET	
Hammer Stone	FINDSPOT
HARBOUR	
HEARTH	BUILDING COMPONENT
HERMITAGE	
HISTORICAL SITE	LANDSCAPE
HOLLOW	EARTHWORK
HOLLOW WAY	ROAD
HOLY WELL	
HOSPITAL	
HOUSE	
HOUSE PLATFORM	HOUSE
HUMAN REMAINS	BURIAL
INDUSTRIAL SITE	
INFIRMARY	PRIORY COMPONENT
INHUMATION	BURIAL
INHUMATION CEMETERY	BURIAL GROUND
INN	
Intaglio	FINDSPOT
INTERVAL TOWER	FORTIFICATION
IRON FOUNDRY	FOUNDRY
IRON WORKING SITE	
KILN	
LAYER	BUILDING
LAZY BEDS	FIELD SYSTEM
LEPER HOSPITAL	HOSPITAL
LIGHTHOUSE	
LIME KILN	KILN
LINEAR EARTHWORK	
LINEAR FEATURE	
LONGHOUSE	HOUSE
LOOKOUT	
LYNCHET	
MANOR	MANOR HOUSE
MANOR HOUSE	
MARKET CROSS	CROSS
MARKET PLACE	
MIDDEN	
MILITARY CAMP	
MILL	
MILL POND	
MILLSTONE WORKING SITE	
MOAT	MOATED SITE COMPONENT

Moated Site	
MONASTERY	
MOOT	
Mortar	FINDSPOT
MOTTE	
MOTTE AND BAILEY	
NATURAL FEATURE	
PALACE	
PARISH CHURCH	CHURCH
PARK	
PARK PALE	PARK
PELE TOWER	
PEN	
PIER	
Pike	FINDSPOT
Pilgrims Badge	FINDSPOT
PILLORY	
PILLOW STONE	BURIAL
PIT	
PLATFORM	
POND	CASTLE COMPONENT; POND
PORT	
POST HOLE	BUILDING COMPONENT
Pottery	FINDSPOT
POUND	PEN
PRECINCT WALL	FRIARY COMPONENT
PREMONSTRATENSIAN NUNNERY	
PRIORY	
PRIVATE CHAPEL	CHAPEL
QUADRANGULAR CASTLE	CASTLE
QUARRY	
QUAY	
Quern	FINDSPOT
RECTANGULAR ENCLOSURE	ENCLOSURE
RECTILINEAR ENCLOSURE	ENCLOSURE
RIDGE AND FURROW	
Ring	FINDSPOT
RINGWORK	
ROAD	
ROAD BRIDGE	BRIDGE
RUBBISH PIT	PIT
SALT WORKS	
SCHOOL	
Seal	FINDSPOT
SETTLEMENT	
SHEEP FOLD	PEN
SHELL KEEP	FORTIFICATION

SHIELING	
SHRINE	
SHRUNKEN VILLAGE	
SITE	
Slag	FINDSPOT
SLAG HEAP	
Spindle Whorl	FINDSPOT
SPRING	
Spur	FINDSPOT
SQUARE ENCLOSURE	ENCLOSURE
STACK STAND	FIELD SYSTEM COMPONENT
STOCK ENCLOSURE	PEN
Strap End	
STRUCTURE	BUILDING
Stud	FINDSPOT
Sword	FINDSPOT
TITHE BARN	
TOLL HOUSE	
TOWER	TOWER; TOWER HOUSE; PELE TOWER; BRIDGE COMPONENT
TOWER HOUSE	
TOWER KEEP	CASTLE COMPONENT
TOWN	
TOWN DEFENCES	TOWN DEFENCES
TOWN GATE	GATE
TRACKWAY	ROAD
TRINITARIAN MONASTERY	MONASTERY
VILLAGE	
VILLAGE CROSS	CROSS
WALL	
WATERCOURSE	
WATERMILL	MILL
WAYSIDE CROSS	CROSS
WELL	
WELL HOUSE	WELL
WINDMILL	MILL
WRECK	

**Table E.2:** Site Type to Match Type term changes for Scottish HER data

Site Type Term	Match Type Term
ABBEY	
ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENT	FINDSPOT; CHURCH COMPONENT; ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENT; TOWER COMPONENT
ARMORIAL PANEL	CHURCH COMPONENT
ARTILLERY FORTIFICATION	FORTIFICATION
AVENUE	ROAD
BACKLANDS	BURGAGE PLOT
BANK (EARTHWORK)	
BARMKIN	
BASTLE	
BASTLE(S)	BASTLE
BATTLE SITE	
BISHOPS PALACE	
BOTHY	
BOUNDARY	
BRIDGE	
BUILDING	
BURGH	
BURIAL AISLE	CHURCH COMPONENT
BURIAL GROUND	
CARVED STONE	
CASTLE	
CHAPEL	
CHURCH	
CHURCHYARD	
CLOISTER	MONASTERY COMPONENT
COFFIN	BURIAL
COMMEMORATIVE MONUMENT	
COTTAGE	HOUSE
COUNTRY HOUSE	
CROSS	
CROSS BASE	CROSS
CROSS SLAB	BURIAL
CROSS SLAB(S)	BURIAL
CULTIVATION REMAINS	
CULTIVATION TERRACE	
CULTIVATION TERRACE(S)	CULTIVATION TERRACE
DAM	
DEANERY	
DEER PARK	
DROVE ROAD	ROAD

DOVECOT	DOVECOTE
EARTHWORK	
EFFIGY	BURIAL
ENCLOSURE	
FARM	
FARM BUILDING(S)	
FARMHOUSE	
FARMSTEAD	
FIELD SYSTEM	
FINDSPOT	
FINDSPOT, COIN HOARD	FINDSPOT
FISHPOND	
FLUE TILE	FINDSPOT
FONT	CHURCH COMPONENT
FORT	
FRIARY	
GATE PIER(S)	GATE
GATEWAY	GATE
GRAIN MILL)	MILL
GRANGE	
GRAVE SLAB	BURIAL
GRAVE SLAB(S)	BURIAL
GRAVESTONE(S)	BURIAL
HEAD DYKE	HEAD DYKE (EARTHWORK)
HERALDIC DEVICE	FINDSPOT
HOGBACK STONE	BURIAL
HOLY WELL	
HOSPITAL	
HOUSE	
HUMAN REMAINS	BURIAL
INSCRIBED STONE	CARVED STONE
LADE	
LANDSCAPE	
LEPER HOSPITAL	HOSPITAL
LINEAR EARTHWORK	
LINEAR EARTHWORK(S)	LINEAR EARTHWORK
LINEAR FEATURE(S)	LINEAR FEATURE
LINTEL	BUILDING COMPONENT
MANOR HOUSE	
MANSE	
MILITARY CAMP	
MILL	
MOATED SITE	
MONASTERY	
MONASTIC SETTLEMENT	

MOTTE	
MOTTE AND BAILEY	
MOUNT	FINDSPOT
NUNNERY	
PELE HOUSE	PELE TOWER
POLICIES	GARDEN
PRIORY	
PROMONTORY FORT	FORT
QUARRY	
QUARRY(S)	QUARRY
REVTMENT	WALL
RIG AND FURROW	RIDGE AND FURROW
RIG AND FURROW(S)	RIDGE AND FURROW
ROAD	
ROYAL FOREST	
RUBBISH PIT(S)	PIT
SETTLEMENT	
SETTLEMENT(S)	SETTLEMENT
SHIELING	
SLIPWAY	
SMITHY	
STRAP END	FINDSPOT
STRUCTURE(S)	BUILDING
TILE	FINDSPOT
TILE KILN	KILN
TITHE BARN	
TOLBOOTH	TOLL HOUSE
TOWER	TOWER HOUSE; TOWER; PELE TOWER
TOWER HOUSE	
TOWN	
TREE	
UNIDENTIFIED POTTERY	FINDSPOT
UNIDENTIFIED POTTERY(S)	FINDSPOT
VILLAGE	
WALL	
WATERCOURSE	
WATERMILL	MILL
WEIR	
WELL	

# Appendix F: Glossary of Match Type Terms

This glossary defines all the terms which were used as 'Match Type' terms in the cross-border geodatabase. The Scottish monument type vocabularies differ slightly from the English monument type vocabularies (FISH and Historic England 2019; FISH AND HES 2019). Unless otherwise noted, terms which match the original terms used by the Scottish Borders and Northumberland HER use definitions from the FISH monument type vocabulary (FISH 2019b) to maintain consistency. Some Scottish terms have maintained their Scottish definitions to ensure the integrity of the data. Citations indicate where this is the case. 'Match Type' terms created during this project are underlined and the definitions are original creations of this thesis.

**ABBEY:** A religious house governed by an abbot or abbess.

**ALMSHOUSE:** A house devoted to the shelter of the poor and endowed by a benefactor for this use.

**AQUEDUCT:** An artificial water channel for carrying water over long distances. Use also for bridge-like structures that carry the channel or canal across a valley, river, or other obstacle.

**ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENT:** A detached piece of masonry, generally worked, formally part of a stone structure. (FISH AND HES 2019)

**ARTILLERY CASTLE:** Castles constructed between 1481 and 1561 for defence using heavy guns.

**BAKEHOUSE:** A service building to a country house, farm, etc, used for baking.

**BANK (EARTHWORK):** Linear or curvilinear construction of earth, turf, and stone, often, but not always accompanied by a ditch.

**BARMKIN:** A defensive cattle enclosure added to fortified towers.

**BARN:** A building for the storage and processing of grain crops and for housing straw, farm equipment and occasionally livestock and their fodder.

**BASTLE:** A fortified house of two or three storeys, the lower floor being used to house animals and the upper for domestic use.

**BATTLE SITE:** The field or area of ground on which a battle or skirmish was fought. (FISH AND HES 2019)

**BEACON:** A site or structure on which a signal, especially a fire, could be placed as a warning or means of communication. Use for beacon sites or surviving beacon structures.

**BISHOPS PALACE:** The official residence of a bishop.

**BOTHY:** A small building used as temporary lodgings or shelter for farm labourers, shepherds, walkers, or mountaineers. Often in an isolated location.

**BOUNDARY:** The limit to an area as defined on a map or by a marker of some form, e.g. boundary wall.

**BOUNDARY BANK (EARTHWORK):** An earthen bank that indicates the limit of an area or a piece of land.

**BOUNDARY DITCH (EARTHWORK):** A ditch that indicates the limit of an area or a piece of land.

**BOUNDARY STONE:** A stone that indicates the limit of an area or piece of land.

**BOUNDARY WALL:** Any wall enclosing a building or complex of buildings, e.g. prisons, dockyards, factories, etc.

**BREWHOUSE:** An outbuilding containing brewing equipment, as opposed to a large commercial BREWERY. Often found in conjunction with public houses, country houses etc.

**BRIDGE:** A structure of wood, stone, iron, brick, or concrete, etc, with one or more intervals under it to span a river or other space.

**BRIDGE COMPONENT:** A part or element of a bridge (see definition for BRIDGE)

**BUILDING**: A structure with a roof to provide shelter from the weather for occupants or contents. This term is also used for archaeological remains that indicate the presence of building.

**BUILDING COMPONENT**: A part or element of a building (see definition for BUILDING)

**BURGAGE PLOT**: A plot of land longer than it is wide, can include any structures on it. Typical of medieval towns.

**BURGH**: A civil and administrative area incorporating a town of medieval origin.

**BURIAL**: An interment of human or animal remains.

**BURIAL GROUND**: An area of land used for burials, generally used from the medieval period up to the 19th century. It may also be detached from the church. (FISH AND HES 2019)

**CARVED STONE**: A stone (including standing stones, natural boulders, and rock outcrops) decorated with carved motifs.

**CASTLE**: A fortress and dwelling, usually medieval in origin, and serving as a royal or baronial residence or administrative centre. Often consisting of a keep, curtain wall and towers etc. (FISH 2019b; FISH AND HES 2019)

**CASTLE COMPONENT**: A part or element of a castle (see definition for CASTLE)

**CAVE(S)**: A subterranean feature entered from a hillside, cliff face, etc. A cave may have been used for occupation, storage, burial, refuse, or as a hideaway.

**CELL**: A monastic enclave dependent on a mother house.

**CESS PIT**: A pit for the reception of night-soil and refuse.

**CHAPEL**: A freestanding building, or a room or recess serving as a place of Christian worship in a church or other building.

**CHAPEL COMPONENT**: A part or element of a chapel (see definition for CHAPEL)

**CHURCH**: A building used for public Christian worship.

**CHURCH COMPONENT**: A part or element of a church (see definition for CHURCH)

**CHURCHYARD**: An area of ground belonging to a church, often used as a burial ground.

**CLEARANCE CAIRN:** An irregularly constructed, generally unstructured, mound of stones. Often, but not necessarily, circular. Normally a by-product of field clearance for agricultural purposes.

**COAL WORKINGS:** A site where coal is processed.

**COMMEMORATIVE MONUMENT:** A building, structure or landscape created to commemorate a person or event.

**COMMON LAND:** Unenclosed wasteland, forest and pasture used in common by the community.

**CORONATION STONE:** A stone on which a monarch traditionally sat during the coronation ceremony.

**COUNTRY HOUSE:** A rural residence or mansion. (FISH AND HES 2019)

**CROSS:** A free-standing structure, in the form of a cross (+), symbolizing the structure on which Jesus Christ was crucified and sacred to the Christian faith.

**CROSS DYKE (EARTHWORK):** A linear earthwork, usually a bank accompanied by a ditch, which runs across rather than along an area or ridge of higher ground.

**CULTIVATION REMAINS:** Traces left by past cultivation, in the form of upstanding features, subsoil marks or cropmarks. (FISH AND HES 2019)

**CULTIVATION TERRACE:** An area of land, usually on a slope, which has been built up to provide a flat surface for the cultivation of crops.

**CULVERT:** A drainage structure that extends across and beneath roadways, canals, or embankments.

**DAM:** A barrier of concrete or earth, etc, built across a river to create a reservoir of water for domestic and/or industrial usage.

**DEANERY:** The official residence of a dean.

**DEER PARK:** A large, enclosed area where deer are kept. Used for hunting in the medieval period but now largely ornamental. (FISH AND HES 2019)

**DESERTED SETTLEMENT:** An abandoned settlement, usually of the Medieval period, often visible only as earthworks or on aerial photographs.

**DITCH (EARTHWORK):** A long and narrow hollow or trench dug in the ground, often used to carry water though it may be dry for much of the year.

**DOVECOTE:** A building, or part of a building, used to house doves and pigeons, usually placed at a height above the ground, with openings and provision inside for roosting and breeding.

**EARTHWORK:** A bank or mound of earth used as a rampart or fortification.

**ENCLOSED SETTLEMENT:** A site containing traces of human settlement and which has been surrounded by a bank and ditch, palisade or some other form of enclosure.

**ENCLOSURE:** An area of land enclosed by a boundary ditch, bank, wall, palisade, or other similar barrier.

**EXECUTION SITE:** A place where people were put to death.

**EXTRACTIVE PIT:** Surface workings including shallow shafts, lode workings, open-pit methods and quarrying including some mines of stone, clays, compounds, etc.

**FARM:** A tract of land, often including a farmhouse and ancillary buildings, used for the purpose of cultivation and the rearing of livestock, etc.

**FARM BUILDING(S):** A building or structure found on a farm. (FISH AND HES 2019)

**FARMHOUSE:** The main dwelling-house of a farm, it can be either detached from or attached to the working buildings.

**FARMSTEAD:** A farmhouse and ancillary farm buildings forming a group. (FISH AND HES 2019)

**FIELD BOUNDARY:** A fence, wall or other boundary enclosing a field. Use only for fragmentary remains; otherwise use FIELD SYSTEM. (FISH AND HES 2019)

**FIELD SYSTEM:** An area of land, often enclosed, used for cultivation or the grazing of livestock. Includes both single enclosures and more complex groups of fields. (FISH AND HES 2019)

**FIELD SYSTEM COMPONENT:** A part or element of a field system (see definition of field system)

**FIELDWORK (DEFENCE):** A usually temporary earthwork or fortification, the latter constructed by military forces operating in the field.

**FINDSPOT:** The approximate location at which stray finds of artefacts were found.

**FISH TRAP:** A device for catching fish, may be a portable or permanent structure, often a fence or row stakes made in a river, harbour, etc.

**FISHPOND:** A pond used for the rearing, breeding, sorting, and storing of fish.

**FORD:** A shallow place in a river or other stretch of water, where people, animals and vehicles may cross.

**FORT:** A permanently occupied position or building designed primarily for defence.

**FORTIFICATION:** A work or installation with a primarily defensive purpose. Used primarily for structures in contrast to FIELDWORK (DEFENCE).

**FORTIFIED MANOR HOUSE:** A manor house, which was granted a royal licence to crenellate.

**FOUNDRY:** A workshop or factory for casting metals.

**FRIARY:** Houses specifically for men and of chiefly mendicant religious orders. The status of priory is represented in several friaries.

**FRIARY COMPONENT:** A part or element of a friary (see definition of FRIARY)

**GARDEN:** An enclosed piece of ground devoted to the cultivation of flowers, fruit, or vegetables and/or recreational purposes.

**GATE:** A movable structure which enables or prevents entrance to be gained. Usually situated in a wall or similar barrier and supported by gate posts.

**GATEHOUSE:** A gateway with one or more chambers over the entrance arch; the flanking towers housing stairs and additional rooms.

**GRANGE:** An outlying farm or estate, usually belonging to a religious order or feudal lord. Specifically related to core buildings and structures associated with monastic land holding.

**GRUBENHAUS:** A timber building based around a sunken hollow, the floor of which may have been suspended above the hollow to counteract dampness. Grubenhauser are believed to date from the 5<sup>th</sup> to 8th centuries AD but may be earlier.

**GUEST HOUSE:** A separate residence for guests, a house on a private estate or a monastery building specifically for receiving visitors.

**GULLY:** A deep gutter, drain or sink.

**HAMLET:** Small settlement with no ecclesiastical or lay administrative function.

**HARBOUR:** A sheltered port for ships.

**HEAD DYKE (EARTHWORK):** A dyke used to separate the agricultural land of a township from rough grazing. (FISH AND HES 2019)

**HERMITAGE:** A small hut, dwelling or cave, usually in a secluded spot, in which a hermit lived. Hermits chose to live solitary lives often due to religious motives.

**HOLY WELL:** A well or spring which is reputed to possess miraculous healing properties. (FISH AND HES 2019)

**HOSPITAL:** An establishment providing medical or surgical treatment for the ill or wounded.

**HOUSE:** A building for human habitation, especially a dwelling place. Also includes house platforms.

**INDUSTRIAL SITE:** An area or defined space believed to have been used for trades and/or manufacturing activity.

**INN:** A public house for the lodging and entertainment of travellers, etc.

**IRON WORKING SITE:** A site used for the production and/or working of metallic iron.

**KILN:** A furnace or oven for burning, baking, or drying.

**LADE:** An artificial channel carrying water from a stream or river to a water mill. Called a LEAT in England (FISH AND HES 2019)

**LANDSCAPE:** An area of ground containing sites, structures, and other evidence for human activity. (FISH AND HES 2019)

**LEAT:** see LADE

**LIGHTHOUSE:** A tower or structure, with a powerful light or lights at the top, usually erected at an important or dangerous point on or near the sea-coast for the warning and guidance of mariners, but can also be erected inland for the guidance of travellers.

**LINEAR EARTHWORK:** substantial bank and ditch forming a major boundary between two adjacent landholdings.

**LINEAR FEATURE(S):** A length of straight, curved, or angled earthwork or cropmark of uncertain date or function.

**LOOKOUT:** A building or site from which a lookout can be kept.

**LYNCHET:** A bank formed at the end of a field by soil which, loosened by the plough, gradually moves down slope through a combination of gravity and erosion.

**MANOR HOUSE:** The principal house of a manor or village.

**MANSE:** The residence of a clergyman, usually a Presbyterian minister. (FISH AND HES 2019)

**MARKET PLACE:** An area, often consisting of widened streets or a town square, where booths and stalls may be erected for public sales.

**MIDDEN:** A refuse heap.

**MILITARY CAMP:** A site where a body of troops is temporarily or permanently lodged, with or without entrenchments and fortifications.

**MILL:** A factory used for processing raw materials.

**MILL POND:** The area of water retained above a mill dam for driving a mill.

**MILLSTONE WORKING SITE:** A site where millstones have been cut to shape and/or fabricated from smaller pieces of stone.

**MOATED SITE:** A site enclosed within a moat, normally rectangular on plan, and believed to be medieval in date. (FISH AND HES 2019)

**MOATED SITE COMPONENT:** A part or element of a moated site (see definition of MOATED SITE)

**MONASTERY:** Houses specifically of monks, canons, or religious men but not friars.

**MONASTERY COMPONENT**: A part or element of a monastery (see definition of MONASTERY)

**MONASTIC SETTLEMENT**: Buildings and land associated with a monastery. (FISH AND HES 2019)

**MOOT**: An outdoor meeting place.

**MOTTE**: An artificial steep-sided earthen mound on, or in, which is set the principal tower of a castle.

**MOTTE AND BAILEY**: An early form of castle consisting of a flat-top steep-sided earthen mound, supporting a wooden tower, and a bailey.

**NATURAL FEATURE**: Use only for natural features mistakenly assumed to be archaeological or natural features with archaeological significance.

**NUNNERY**: Houses specifically of nuns/canonesses or religious women.

**PALACE**: A substantial house in a town or the country (particularly associated with medieval London).

**PARK**: An enclosed piece of land, generally large in area, used for hunting, the cultivation of trees, for grazing sheep and cattle or visual enjoyment.

**PELE TOWER**: A strong, fortified dwelling, of between two and four storeys. Occupied only in times of trouble built mainly in the border country of the North from the mid 14th to the 17th century.

**PEN**: A small enclosure for cattle, sheep, swine, poultry, etc.

**PIER**: A structure of iron or wood, open below, running out into the sea and used as a promenade and landing stage.

**PILLORY**: A wooden frame with holes, through which the head and hands of an offender were thrust, in which state they would be exposed to public ridicule and assault.

**PIT**: A hole or cavity in the ground, either natural or the result of excavation.

**PLATFORM**: A level area, often cut into a hillside, slope or uneven ground. (FISH AND HES 2019)

**POND**: A body of still water often artificially formed for a specific purpose.

**PORT:** A settlement area that combines a harbour and terminal facilities at the interface between land and water transportation systems.

**PRIORY:** A lesser monastery headed by a prior or prioress, often linked to a cathedral or dependent on a mother house. (FISH AND HES 2019; FISH 2019b)

**PRIORY COMPONENT:** A part or element of a priory (see definition for PRIORY)

**QUARRY:** An excavation from which stone for building and other functions, is obtained by cutting, blasting, etc.

**QUAY:** An artificial paved bank or solid landing place built parallel to, or projecting out from, the shoreline to serve in the loading and unloading of vessels.

**RIDGE AND FURROW:** A series of long, raised ridges separated by ditches used to prepare the ground for arable cultivation. This was a technique, characteristic of the medieval period.

**RINGWORK:** A defensive bank and ditch, circular or oval in plan, surrounding one or more buildings.

**ROAD:** A way between different places, used by horses, travellers on foot and vehicles.

**ROYAL FOREST:** A forested area of land, set aside for the royal hunt. (FISH AND HES 2019)

**SALT WORKS:** A site, building or factory used for the production of salt.

**SCHOOL:** An establishment in which people, usually children, are taught.

**SETTLEMENT:** A group of dwellings and associated buildings and structures. (FISH AND HES 2019)

**SETTLEMENT COMPONENT:** A part or element of a settlement (see definition of SETTLEMENT)

**SHIELING:** Pasture to which animals were driven for grazing, with associated temporary huts for domestic or agricultural use.

**SHRINE:** A place where worship is offered or devotions are paid to a deity or saint.

**SHRUNKEN VILLAGE:** A settlement where previous house sites are now unoccupied, but often visible as earthworks, crop, or soil marks.

**SLAG HEAP:** A spoil heap consisting mainly of slag, pieces of refuse material separated from a metal during the smelting process.

**SLIPWAY:** A structure inclined towards the water on which a ship may be built or lowered into the water.

**SMITHY:** Place where a smith works iron. May be for small scale local use or within a larger industrial complex.

**SPRING:** A point where water issues naturally from the rock or soil onto the ground or into a body of surface water.

**TITHE BARN:** A large barn used to store the tithe (a tenth part of the annual produce of agriculture etc.) which was paid by the tenants of ecclesiastical lands.

**TOLL HOUSE:** A house by a toll gate or toll bridge where tolls are collected.

**TOWER:** A tall building, either round, square or polygonal in plan, used for a variety of purposes, including defence, as a landmark, for the hanging of bells, industrial functions, etc. Tower Houses are a separate category.

**TOWER COMPONENT:** A part or element of a tower. (see definition of TOWER)

**TOWER HOUSE:** A permanently occupied, fortified residence, built from the mid-14th to the 17th century. Tower-houses are rectilinear in plan, often with one or more additional wings, and provide accommodation on several storeys. (FISH AND HES 2019)

**TOWER HOUSE COMPONENT:** A part or element of a tower house (see definition of TOWER HOUSE)

**TOWN:** An assemblage of public and private buildings, larger than a village and having more complete and independent local government.

**TOWN DEFENCES:** Defensive fortifications such as ramparts, ditches, and stone walls, built to defend a town or city.

**TREE:** A natural feature. Use only where a tree has archaeological, historical, or social significance. (FISH AND HES 2019)

**VILLAGE:** A collection of dwelling-houses and other buildings, usually larger than a hamlet but smaller than a town with a simpler organisation and administration than the latter.

**WALL:** An enclosing structure composed of bricks, stones, or similar materials, laid in courses.

**WATERCOURSE:** A channel used for or formed by the conveyance of water. Can be natural, e.g. a river, or artificial, e.g. an aqueduct.

**WEIR:** A dam constructed on the reaches of a canal or river designed to retain the water and to regulate its flow.

**WELL:** A shaft sunk into the ground to provide a supply of water. (FISH AND HES 2019)

**WRECK:** The remains of a vessel which has either sunk or suffered structural damage to the extent where it can no longer function.

# Appendix G: Categorisation of Match Type Terms

**Table G.1:** Match Type thematic categorisation

Match Type	Religious	Findspots	Defensive/ Military	Agricult.	Admin.	Settlement	Industrial	Infrastr./ Transport.	Misc.
ABBEY	X				X	X			
ALMSHOUSE	X					X			
AQUEDUCT				X					
ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENT									X
ARTILLERY CASTLE			X		X	X			
BAKEHOUSE							X		
BANK (EARTHWORK)									X
BARMKIN			X						
BARN				X					
BASTLE			X			X			
BATTLE SITE			X						
BEACON			X		X				
BISHOPS PALACE	X				X	X			
BOTHY				X					
BOUNDARY					X				X
BOUNDARY BANK (EARTHWORK)					X				X
BOUNDARY DITCH (EARTHWORK)					X				X

BOUNDARY STONE					X				X
BOUNDARY WALL					X				X
BREWHOUSE							X		
BRIDGE								X	
BRIDGE COMPONENT								X	
BUILDING						X			
BUILDING COMPONENT						X			
BURGAGE PLOT						X			
BURGH					X	X			
BURIAL	X								
BURIAL GROUND	X								
CARVED STONE									X
CASTLE			X		X	X			
CASTLE COMPONENT			X		X	X			
CAVE(S)									X
CELL	X					X			
CESS PIT						X			
CHAPEL	X								
CHAPEL COMPONENT	X								
CHURCH	X				X				
CHURCH COMPONENT	X				X				
CHURCHYARD	X								
CLEARANCE CAIRN				X					
COAL WORKINGS							X		
COMMEMORATIVE MONUMENT									X
COMMON LAND				X					

CORONATION STONE					X				X
COUNTRY HOUSE					X	X			
CROSS	X				X			X	
CROSS DYKE (EARTHWORK)			X	X	X			X	
CULTIVATION REMAINS				X					
CULTIVATION TERRACE				X					
CULVERT									X
DAM				X				X	
DEANERY	X				X	X			
DEER PARK					X				
DESERTED SETTLEMENT						X			
DITCH (EARTHWORK)									X
DOVECOTE				X					
EARTHWORK									X
ENCLOSED SETTLEMENT			X			X			
ENCLOSURE									X
EXECUTION SITE					X				
EXTRACTIVE PIT							X		
FARM				X		X			
FARM BUILDING(S)				X		X			
FARMHOUSE				X		X			
FARMSTEAD				X		X			
FIELD BOUNDARY				X					
FIELD SYSTEM				X					
FIELD SYSTEM COMPONENT				X					

FIELDWORK (DEFENCE)			X						
FINDSPOT		X							
FISH TRAP							X		
FISHPOND				X			X		
FORD								X	
FORT			X		X	X			
FORTIFICATION			X						
FORTIFIED MANOR HOUSE			X		X	X			
FOUNDRY							X		
FRIARY	X				X	X			
FRIARY COMPONENT	X				X	X			
GARDEN				X					
GATE			X		X				
GATEHOUSE			X		X				
GRANGE	X			X		X			
GRUBENHAUS						X			
GUEST HOUSE						X		X	
GULLY									X
HAMLET						X			
HARBOUR					X		X	X	
HEAD DYKE (EARTHWORK)				X					
HERMITAGE	X								
HISTORICAL SITE									X
HOLY WELL	X								
HOSPITAL	X								

HOUSE						X			
INDUSTRIAL SITE							X		
INN						X		X	
IRON WORKING SITE							X		
KILN							X		
LADE							X		
LANDSCAPE									X
LIGHTHOUSE								X	
LINEAR EARTHWORK									X
LINEAR FEATURE									X
LOOKOUT			X		X				
LYNCHET				X					
MANOR HOUSE					X	X			
MANSE					X	X			
MARKET PLACE					X		X	X	
MIDDEN									X
MILITARY CAMP			X						
MILL					X		X		
MILL POND							X		
MILSTONE WORKING SITE							X		
MOATED SITE			X		X	X			
MOATED SITE COMPONENT			X		X	X			
MONASTERY	X				X	X			
MONASTERY COMPONENT	X				X	X			
MOOT					X				

MOTTE			X		X	X			
MOTTE AND BAILEY			X		X	X			
NATURAL FEATURE									X
NUNNERY	X				X	X			
PALACE					X	X			
PARK					X				
PELE TOWER			X		X	X			
PEN				X					
PIER							X	X	
PILLORY					X				
PIT							X		
PLATFORM						X			
POND				X			X		
PORT					X			X	
PRIORY	X				X	X			
PRIORY COMPONENT	X				X	X			
QUARRY							X		
QUAY							X	X	
RIDGE AND FURROW				X					
RINGWORK			X			X			
ROAD								X	
ROYAL FOREST					X				
SALT WORKS							X		
SCHOOL						X			
SETTLEMENT						X			
SETTLEMENT COMPONENT						X			

SHIELING				X					
SHRINE	X								
SHRUNKEN VILLAGE						X			
SLAG HEAP							X		
SLIPWAY								X	
SMITHY							X		
SPRING	X								
TITHE BARN				X	X				
TOLL HOUSE					X				
TOWER			X						
TOWER COMPONENT			X						
TOWER HOUSE			X		X	X			
TOWER HOUSE COMPONENT			X		X	X			
TOWN					X	X			
TOWN DEFENCES			X		X	X			
TREE									X
VILLAGE						X			
WALL									X
WATERCOURSE				X			X		
WEIR							X		
WELL						X			
WRECK									X

# Appendix H: Fortifications Dataset and Analysis Results

**Table H.1:** Fortification types and chronological data

MatchID	Name	Region	Extant <sup>22</sup>	Project Type	Period	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	Period 4
1051_1	Barrow Peel	Northumberland	E	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	N
1056_1	Clenell	Northumberland	Y	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
10755_1	Clenell	Northumberland	I	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
1108_1	Biddlestone	Northumberland	Y	3	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
1112_2	Scrainwood Tower	Northumberland	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	Y	Y
1112_3	Scrainwood Tower	Northumberland	N	6	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
1119_1	Burradon in Coquetdale	Northumberland	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	D
1125_1	Coteswall Tower	Northumberland	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
1145_2	Harbottle Castle	Northumberland	Y	1	1	Y	Y	Y	D
1192_1	Harbottle Castle	Northumberland	N	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
1198_1	Hepple Tower	Northumberland	Y	3	2	no mention	Y	Y	D
1199_1	Hepple Tower	Northumberland	N	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
1214_1	Sharperton bastle	Northumberland	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
1224_3	Farnham Tower	Northumberland	N	3	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
1228_1	Flotterton Tower	Northumberland	N	3	2	no mention	Y	no mention	no mention
1336_1	Alnham Tower House	Northumberland	E	3	2	no mention	Y	Y	D

<sup>22</sup> Y= Extant; E= Extant as earthworks; I= Incorporated into a later building; N= No longer extant; D= 'Decayed' or in a ruinous state

1337_3	Alnham Vicar's Pele	Northumberland	I	5	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
1492_1	Earle	Northumberland	N	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
14944_1	Earle	Northumberland	Y	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
1529_1	Akeld bastle	Northumberland	Y	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
1547_1	Akeld bastle	Northumberland	E	6	1	Y	no mention	no mention	no mention
1549_1	Wooler Tower	Northumberland	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	Y	D
1557_1	Humbleton Tower	Northumberland	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
1726_1	Whinney Hill moated site	Northumberland	E	6	2	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
1811_1	Etal Castle	Northumberland	Y	1	2	no mention	Y	Y	D
1812_1	Ford Castle	Northumberland	Y	1	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
1813_1	Ford Parson's Tower	Northumberland	Y	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
1954_2	Barmoor Castle	Northumberland	I	2	2	no mention	Y	Y	D
2006_1	Lanton Tower	Northumberland	E	3	2	no mention	Y	no mention	N
2006_2	Lanton Tower	Northumberland	N	3	2	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
2011_1	Kirknewton Tower	Northumberland	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
2018_1	Coupland Castle	Northumberland	Y	2	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
206_2	Linbrig Pele	Northumberland	N	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	N
20712_1	Hepple Woodside	Northumberland	N	0	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
2129_1	Nesbit Tower	Northumberland	N	3	2	no mention	Y	no mention	N
2133_2	Fenton Tower	Northumberland	N	2	2	no mention	Y	Y	D
2137_1	Doddington Bastle	Northumberland	Y	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
217808_1	Purves Hall	Scottish Borders	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
2207_1	Norham Castle	Northumberland	Y	1	1	Y	Y	Y	Y
2210_2	Thornton Tower	Northumberland	E	6	3	no mention	no mention	Y	D
2291_1	Shoreswood Tower	Northumberland	N	3	3	no mention	no mention	Y	N
2338_1	Castle Heaton Castle	Northumberland	Y	1	2	no mention	Y	Y	N

2339_1	Duddo Tower	Northumberland	N	3	3	no mention	no mention	Y	N
2345_1	Felkington Bastle	Northumberland	N	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
2346_1	Grindonrigg Tower	Northumberland	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
23465_1	Hulne Friary	Northumberland	Y	5	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
2424_5	Berwick Castle	Northumberland	N	1	1	Y	Y	Y	no mention
2430_1	Tweedmouth tower	Northumberland	N	3	1	Y	no mention	no mention	D
2751_1	Callaly Tower	Northumberland	I	3	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
2752_1	Old Callaly Castle	Northumberland	E	1	2	Y	Y	no mention	no mention
2808_1	Newtown Tower	Northumberland	N	3	2	no mention	Y	no mention	no mention
2815_1	Great Tosson Tower	Northumberland	Y	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	D
2829_1	Low Trewhitt Tower	Northumberland	E	3	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
2832_3	Cartington Castle	Northumberland	Y	1	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
2837_1	Cartington Castle	Northumberland	I	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
2844_1	Thropton Bastle	Northumberland	Y	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
2859_1	Thropton Tower	Northumberland	N	3	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
2897_1	Whitton Tower	Northumberland	Y	5	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
2912_1	Rothbury Castle	Northumberland	N	1	1	Y	no mention	no mention	no mention
2929_1	Whitton Grange	Northumberland	E	4	2	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
2936_1	Hope Farmhouse	Northumberland	I	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
3099_1	Ingram Vicar's Pele	Northumberland	N	5	4	no mention	no mention	Y	D
3155_1	Crawley Tower	Northumberland	Y	2	2	no mention	Y	no mention	D
3160_1	Titlington Tower	Northumberland	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	D
3198_1	Prendwick Tower	Northumberland	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
3206_1	Eslington Tower	Northumberland	N	3	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
3207_1	Great Ryle Tower	Northumberland	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
3208_1	Little Ryle	Northumberland	N	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
3238_1	Shawdon Hall	Northumberland	N	2	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y

3251_1	Whittingham Tower	Northumberland	Y	3	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
3252_1	Whittingham Vicarage	Northumberland	N	5	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
329_1	Whittingham Vicarage	Northumberland	N	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
3297_1	Fowberry Tower	Northumberland	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	Y	Y
3298_1	Weetwood Hall	Northumberland	I	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
3311_1	Coldmartin Tower	Northumberland	Y	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
3389_1	Chillingham Castle	Northumberland	Y	1	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
3393_1	Chatton Earl's Tower	Northumberland	N	3	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
3394_1	Chatton Vicarage	Northumberland	N	5	2	no mention	Y	no mention	D
341411_1	Mungos Walls	Scottish Borders	N	0	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
341891_2	Mungos Walls	Scottish Borders	N	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
344069_1	Whithope Tower	Scottish Borders	N	0	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
344070_1	Todshawhill Tower	Scottish Borders	N	0	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
344071_1	Girnwood Tower	Scottish Borders	N	0	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
344507_1	Southfield Tower	Scottish Borders	N	0	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
344551_1	North House Tower	Scottish Borders	N	0	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
344552_1	Skelfhill	Scottish Borders	N	0	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
3480_1	West Lilburn Tower 2	Northumberland	Y	3	2	no mention	Y	Y	D
348326_1	Earlston Tower	Scottish Borders	N	0	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
3501_1	Ilderton Tower	Northumberland	N	2	2	no mention	Y	no mention	D
354428_2	Bonjedward	Scottish Borders	N	0	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
3601_1	Hepburn Bastle	Northumberland	Y	4	4	no mention	no mention	Y	Y
3613_1	Old Bewick Tower	Northumberland	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	Y	Y
3685_1	Lowick Tower	Northumberland	N	3	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y

3687_1	Holburn Tower	Northumberland	N	3	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
3733_1	Buckton Tower	Northumberland	N	3	2	no mention	Y	no mention	no mention
3737_1	Detchant Tower	Northumberland	N	2	2	no mention	Y	no mention	no mention
3738_1	Middleton Tower	Northumberland	N	3	2	no mention	Y	no mention	no mention
3739_2	Kyloe Tower	Northumberland	Y	3	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
3783_1	Hetton Hall	Northumberland	Y	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
3810_1	Hetton Hall	Northumberland	N	1	2	no mention	Y	Y	D
3921_1	Hazelrigg Tower	Northumberland	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	Y	D
3961_1	Cheswick Tower	Northumberland	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	D
3962_1	Scremerston Tower	Northumberland	N	3	2	no mention	Y	no mention	D
3967_1	Ancroft Church of St Ann	Northumberland	Y	5	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
4024_1	Goswick Tower	Northumberland	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
4030_1	Haggerston Castle	Northumberland	N	2	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
4032_1	Berrington Tower	Northumberland	N	3	2	no mention	Y	no mention	D
4100_2	Fenham Tower	Northumberland	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
4221_1	Edlingham Castle	Northumberland	Y	1	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
4234_1	Edlingham Castle	Northumberland	Y	5	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
4258_1	Shilbottle Tower	Northumberland	I	3	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
4293_1	Overgrass Tower	Northumberland	Y	3	2	no mention	Y	Y	no mention
4340_1	Overgrass Tower	Northumberland	I	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
4417_1	Heiferlaw Tower	Northumberland	Y	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
4457_1	Lemington Hall	Northumberland	I	3	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
4458_1	Abberwick Tower	Northumberland	E	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
4497_1	Pottergate	Northumberland	N	6	3	no mention	no mention	Y	Y
4507_1	Alnwick Castle	Northumberland	Y	2	1	Y	Y	Y	Y
4830_1	Clayport Tower	Northumberland	Y	6	3	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention

4831_1	Clayport Tower	Northumberland	N	6	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
4907_1	Cocklaw Peel	Northumberland	E	3	3	no mention	Y	Y	no mention
4917_1	Adderstone Tower	Northumberland	N	3	2	no mention	Y	Y	no mention
4966_1	Preston Tower	Northumberland	Y	2	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
4970_1	Newstead Tower	Northumberland	N	3	2	no mention	Y	no mention	no mention
4971_1	West Fleetham Tower	Northumberland	Y	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
4986_1	Ellingham	Northumberland	E	6	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
5009_1	East Ditchburn	Northumberland	N	5	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
5040_1	South Charlton Chapel tower	Northumberland	N	5	3	no mention	no mention	Y	no mention
5069_1	Elwick Tower of Thomas Elwyke	Northumberland	N	3	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
5069_3	Elwick Tower of Thomas Bradforth	Northumberland	N	3	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
5070_1	Easington Grange	Northumberland	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
5089_1	Bamburgh Castle	Northumberland	Y	1	1	Y	Y	no mention	no mention
5090_1	Newtown Pele	Northumberland	N	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
5114_2	Belford Tower	Northumberland	N	1	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
5120_1	Outchester	Northumberland	E	6	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
5124_1	Outchester Tower	Northumberland	N	3	3	no mention	no mention	Y	Y
5131_1	Newland Tower	Northumberland	N	3	2	no mention	Y	no mention	no mention
5258_1	Bamburgh Tower	Northumberland	I	5	2	no mention	Y	no mention	no mention
5267_1	Hoppen Tower	Northumberland	N	3	2	no mention	Y	no mention	no mention
53006_1	Old Howpasley	Scottish Borders	N	0	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
5346_2	Old Howpasley	Scottish Borders	N	5	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
5347_1	Lindisfarne Castle	Northumberland	N	3	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
54035_1	Dodhead Tower	Scottish Borders	N	0	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention

5404_1	Warkworth Castle	Northumberland	Y	1	1	Y	Y	Y	Y
54063_1	Slaidhills Tower	Scottish Borders	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
54076_1	Broadhaugh Tower	Scottish Borders	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
54109_1	Castleweary Tower	Scottish Borders	N	3	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
5411_1	Warkworth Bridge	Scottish Borders	Y	6	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
54126_1	Wester Alemoor	Scottish Borders	E	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
5413_2	Warkworth Bridge Gatehouse	Northumberland	Y	6	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
54145_2	Branxholme Castle	Scottish Borders	N	2	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
54146_2	Allanmouth Tower	Scottish Borders	Y	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
54150_1	Hawick Motte	Scottish Borders	Y	1	1	Y	no mention	no mention	no mention
54154_1	Raesknowe Tower	Scottish Borders	N	0	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
54155_1	Whitchesters Tower	Scottish Borders	N	0	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
54175_1	Whitchesters Tower	Scottish Borders	N	0	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
54176_2	Goldielands Tower	Scottish Borders	Y	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
54203_1	Harden Tower	Scottish Borders	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
54385_1	Buckholm Tower	Scottish Borders	Y	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
54573_1	Gilston Peel	Scottish Borders	I	3	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
54585_1	Overhowden	Scottish Borders	I	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
54597_1	Hartside	Scottish Borders	N	0	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
54599_1	Collielaw	Scottish Borders	N	0	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
55140_1	Dykeheads	Scottish Borders	E	6	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
55141_1	Wauchope	Scottish Borders	E	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
55154_1	Stobs Castle	Scottish Borders	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
55179_1	Cleerie Castle	Scottish Borders	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
55205_1	Bedrule Castle	Scottish Borders	E	1	1	Y	Y	Y	Y
55206_1	Fast Castle	Scottish Borders	E	1	1	Y	no mention	no mention	no mention

55250_1	Spittal Tower	Scottish Borders	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
55273_1	Horsleyhill	Scottish Borders	N	0	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
55294_1	Monk's Tower	Scottish Borders	N	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
55295_1	Burnhead Tower	Scottish Borders	Y	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
55298_1	Caver's House	Scottish Borders	I	2	1	Y	Y	Y	Y
55321_1	Hawthornside	Scottish Borders	N	3	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
55324_1	Hallrule	Scottish Borders	N	0	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
55368_1	Cocklaw Castle	Scottish Borders	N	0	2	no mention	Y	Y	no mention
55373_1	Cocklaw Castle	Scottish Borders	I	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
55397_1	Hawick Tower	Scottish Borders	I	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
55447_1	Chapel	Scottish Borders	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
55448_1	Kippilaw	Scottish Borders	I	3	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
55450_1	Lilliesleaf tower	Scottish Borders	N	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
55452_1	Fatlips Castle	Scottish Borders	Y	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
55457_1	Newton Tower	Scottish Borders	E	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
55468_1	Bloomfield	Scottish Borders	E	6	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
55473_1	Barnhills Tower	Scottish Borders	Y	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
55482_1	Riddell Castle	Scottish Borders	N	1	1	Y	no mention	no mention	no mention
55483_2	Riddell Tower	Scottish Borders	I	3	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
55512_1	Rhymers Tower, Earlston	Scottish Borders	Y	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
55523_1	Cowdenknowes	Scottish Borders	Y	1	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
55574_2	Pavilion	Scottish Borders	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
55581_1	Allanmouth Peel	Scottish Borders	N	3	3	no mention	no mention	Y	Y
55583_1	Langshaw Tower	Scottish Borders	Y	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
55594_1	Colmslie Tower	Scottish Borders	Y	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
55601_1	Hillslap Tower	Scottish Borders	Y	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y

55659_1	Hillslap Tower	Scottish Borders	N	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
55670_1	Bowden Peels	Scottish Borders	N	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
55703_2	Bemersyde House	Scottish Borders	Y	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
55717_1	Darnick Tower Fishers Road	Scottish Borders	Y	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
55720_1	Darnick Tower Road	Scottish Borders	Y	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
55724_1	Danick Peel	Scottish Borders	N	3	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
55731_1	Holydean Castle	Scottish Borders	N	1	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
55738_1	Holydean Castle	Scottish Borders	Y	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
55792_1	Old Thirlestane Castle	Scottish Borders	N	3	1	Y	Y	Y	Y
55857_1	Lauder Tower	Scottish Borders	N	3	3	no mention	no mention	Y	no mention
55867_1	Lauder Auld Castle	Scottish Borders	N	0	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
55900_1	Thirlestane Castle	Scottish Borders	Y	1	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
55906_1	Whitslaid Tower	Scottish Borders	Y	3	3	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
5592_1	Gloster Hill House	Northumberland	N	6	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
55999_1	Gloster Hill House	Scottish Borders	Y	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
5632_1	Howick Hall	Northumberland	N	3	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
5635_1	Littlehoughton Hall	Northumberland	I	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
5668_1	Craster Tower	Northumberland	I	3	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
56815_1	Dykeraw Tower	Scottish Borders	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
56818_1	Lustruther	Scottish Borders	N	0	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
56845_1	Ferniehurst Castle	Scottish Borders	Y	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
56846_1	Ferniehurst Castle	Scottish Borders	Y	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
56850_1	Crag Tower	Scottish Borders	E	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
56868_1	Hunthill	Scottish Borders	N	0	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
56874_1	Huntill	Scottish Borders	N	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y

56878_1	Huntill	Scottish Borders	E	6	2	no mention	Y	no mention	no mention
56881_1	Fulton Tower	Scottish Borders	Y	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
56882_1	Fulton Tower	Scottish Borders	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
56890_1	Hundalee Tower	Scottish Borders	N	3	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
56907_1	Old Jedward	Scottish Borders	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
56913_1	Old Jedward	Scottish Borders	E	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
56915_1	Mervinslaw Pele	Scottish Borders	Y	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
56922_1	Dolphinston Castle	Scottish Borders	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
56923_1	Dolphinston Castle	Scottish Borders	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
56934_1	Dolphinston Castle	Scottish Borders	Y	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
56938_1	Chesters	Scottish Borders	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
56940_1	Clessley Tower	Scottish Borders	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
56941_1	Hindhaughhead	Scottish Borders	E	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
56952_1	Hindhaughhead	Scottish Borders	Y	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
56968_1	Muirhouselaw	Scottish Borders	E	6	1	Y	no mention	no mention	no mention
56970_2	Ancrum House	Scottish Borders	Y	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
56990_1	Fairnington	Scottish Borders	I	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
57026_1	Jedburgh Stone Hill	Scottish Borders	N	3	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
57035_1	Jedburgh Kirk Wynd	Scottish Borders	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
57038_1	Jedburgh Kirk Wynd	Scottish Borders	Y	4	1	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
57087_1	Timpendean Tower	Scottish Borders	Y	3	1	Y	no mention	no mention	no mention
57089_1	Ancrum Tower	Scottish Borders	N	4	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
57090_2	Ancrum Tower	Scottish Borders	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
57092_1	Lanton Tower	Scottish Borders	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
57093_1	Lanton Tower	Scottish Borders	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
57107_1	Lanton Tower	Scottish Borders	I	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
57109_1	Rue Castle	Scottish Borders	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y

57114_1	Jedburgh Castle	Scottish Borders	N	3	1	Y	Y	no mention	no mention
57117_1	Jedburgh David's Tower	Scottish Borders	N	5	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
57130_1	Ruecastle	Scottish Borders	N	5	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
57165_1	Whiteside Tower	Scottish Borders	Y	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
57193_1	Makerstoun House	Scottish Borders	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
57227_1	Littledean Tower	Scottish Borders	Y	2	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
57231_2	Smailholm Tower	Scottish Borders	Y	2	3	no mention	no mention	Y	Y
57338_1	Bassendean Tower	Scottish Borders	Y	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
57356_1	Corsbie	Scottish Borders	Y	2	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
57364_1	Morrison	Scottish Borders	N	3	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
57366_1	Huntlywood	Scottish Borders	N	0	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
57377_1	Gordon	Scottish Borders	N	0	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
57386_1	Greeknowe Tower	Scottish Borders	Y	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
57395_1	Longformacus Manseunknown	Scottish Borders	I	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
57411_2	Craigie Wood	Scottish Borders	E	2	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
57413_1	Scarlaw Peel	Scottish Borders	N	0	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
57425_1	Evelaw Tower	Scottish Borders	Y	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
57434_1	Wedderlie Tower	Scottish Borders	I	3	3	no mention	no mention	Y	Y
57514_1	Harehead Tower	Scottish Borders	N	3	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
57529_1	Cranshaws Castle	Scottish Borders	Y	2	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
5782_1	The Craster Arms	Northumberland	Y	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
57995_1	Upper Chato Farm	Scottish Borders	N	6	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
58178_1	Linton Tower	Scottish Borders	N	5	3	Y	Y	Y	Y
58195_1	Graden Place	Scottish Borders	N	6	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
58220_1	Ormiston Castle	Scottish Borders	E	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y

58223_1	Eckford Tower	Scottish Borders	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
58224_1	Moss Tower	Scottish Borders	E	2	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
58277_1	Chesterhouse	Scottish Borders	E	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
58294_1	Whitton Tower	Scottish Borders	Y	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
58299_1	Heatherlands	Scottish Borders	N	0	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
58306_1	Cessford Castle	Scottish Borders	Y	2	3	no mention	no mention	Y	Y
5833_1	Embleton Tower	Northumberland	Y	5	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
58378_1	Embleton Tower	Scottish Borders	I	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
5839_2	Dunstan Hall	Northumberland	Y	3	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
58405_1	Lurdenlaw Tower	Scottish Borders	N	3	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
5841_2	Rock Hall	Northumberland	I	3	2	no mention	no mention	Y	Y
58412_1	Roxburgh Castle	Scottish Borders	E	1	1	Y	Y	Y	no mention
58434_1	Wallaces Tower	Scottish Borders	Y	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
58483_1	Wallaces Tower	Scottish Borders	Y	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
58489_1	Polwarth Castle	Scottish Borders	N	0	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
58515_1	Greenlaw Castle	Scottish Borders	N	0	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
58516_1	Redbraes Castle	Scottish Borders	N	2	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
58520_1	Mersington Tower	Scottish Borders	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
58521_1	Leitholm Pele	Scottish Borders	Y	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
58561_1	Hume Castle	Scottish Borders	I	1	1	Y	Y	Y	Y
58589_1	Cockburn Castle	Scottish Borders	N	0	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
58623_1	Windy Windshiel	Scottish Borders	I	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
58629_1	Borthwick Castle	Scottish Borders	Y	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
58630_1	Nisbet House	Scottish Borders	N	0	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
58652_1	Duns Castle	Scottish Borders	I	2	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
58663_1	Langton Castle	Scottish Borders	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
5872_2	Dunstanburgh Caste	Northumberland	Y	1	2	no mention	Y	no mention	D

58727_1	Cockburnspath Tower	Scottish Borders	Y	2	2	no mention	no mention	Y	Y
58751_1	Bowshiel	Scottish Borders	N	0	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
58776_1	Kilspindie Castle	Scottish Borders	N	6	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
5889_1	Prior Castell's Tower	Northumberland	Y	5	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
5900_1	Shorston tower	Northumberland	N	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
59011_2	Cocklaw	Scottish Borders	N	3	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
59313_1	Cocklaw	Scottish Borders	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
59318_1	Lock Tower Yetholm	Scottish Borders	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
59380_1	Mow Tower	Scottish Borders	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
59569_1	Little Swinton	Scottish Borders	N	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
59579_1	Miln Graden	Scottish Borders	N	0	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
59624_1	Castlelaw the Mount	Scottish Borders	E	1	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
59638_1	Billie Castle	Scottish Borders	E	1	3	no mention	no mention	Y	Y
59639_1	Edington Bastle	Scottish Borders	N	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
59689_2	Blanerne Castle	Scottish Borders	Y	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
59699_1	Bunkle Castle	Scottish Borders	E	1	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
59715_1	Broom Castle	Scottish Borders	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
59718_1	Hutton Castle	Scottish Borders	Y	3	3	no mention	no mention	Y	Y
59724_1	Blackadder House	Scottish Borders	N	0	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
59785_1	Lumsden Tower	Scottish Borders	N	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
59819_1	Renton Peel	Scottish Borders	E	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
59884_1	Heugh Head	Scottish Borders	N	0	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
59885_2	Reston	Scottish Borders	N	0	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
59892_1	Ferney Castle	Scottish Borders	N	0	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
59900_1	Houndwood House	Scottish Borders	I	3	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
59944_1	Fast Castle	Scottish Borders	Y	2	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y

60022_1	Mordington bastle	Scottish Borders	N	4	3	no mention	no mention	Y	Y
60034_1	Lamberton	Scottish Borders	N	3	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
60057_1	Bastleridge	Scottish Borders	N	4	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
60080_1	Foulden Bastle	Scottish Borders	N	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
60136_1	Edrington	Scottish Borders	I	2	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
60244_1	East Reston	Scottish Borders	N	0	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
60254_1	Ayton Castle	Scottish Borders	N	1	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
60259_1	Ayton towers	Scottish Borders	N	0	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
635_1	Hethpool Tower	Northumberland	Y	4	2	no mention	Y	Y	Y
685_1	Carham Tower	Northumberland	N	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
688_1	Wark upon Tweed	Northumberland	E	1	1	Y	Y	no mention	D
727_1	Branxton Tower	Northumberland	N	4	3	no mention	no mention	Y	Y
74610_1	Northbank Tower	Scottish Borders	Y	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
74613_1	Watties Spindles	Scottish Borders	N	0	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
74660_1	Watties Spindles	Scottish Borders	Y	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
801_1	Mindrum	Northumberland	N	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
8103_1	Evistone	Northumberland	Y	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
8103_2	Evistone	Northumberland	Y	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
8103_3	Evistone	Northumberland	Y	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
8158_1	Rattenraw Bastle	Northumberland	Y	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
8165_1	Branshaw	Northumberland	Y	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
8279_1	Troughend Tower	Northumberland	E	4	2	no mention	Y	no mention	no mention
846_1	Downham Tower	Northumberland	N	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
854_1	Howtell	Northumberland	Y	3	3	no mention	no mention	Y	N
860_1	Kilham	Northumberland	N	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
873_1	Pawston Tower	Northumberland	I	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	D
921_1	Groat Haugh Bastle	Northumberland	N	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y

922_1	West Newbiggen	Northumberland	N	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
9617_1	High Shaw	Northumberland	Y	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
9618_1	Ironhouse	Northumberland	Y	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
9619_1	Craig Farm	Northumberland	Y	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
962_1	Cornhill Castle	Northumberland	N	3	2	no mention	Y	no mention	Y
9620_1	Bastle at Raw farm	Northumberland	Y	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
9691_1	High Rigg Pele	Northumberland	N	0	0	no mention	no mention	no mention	no mention
9702_1	Harehaugh Old Farmhouse	Northumberland	Y	4	4	no mention	no mention	no mention	Y
971_3	Tillmouth Tower	Northumberland	N	4	3	no mention	no mention	Y	D
972_2	Twizel Castle	Northumberland	I	4	2	no mention	Y	no mention	N
9742_1	Elsdon Tower	Northumberland	Y	5	1	no mention	Y	Y	Y
9744_1	Mote Hills	Northumberland	Y	1	1	Y	no mention	no mention	no mention

**Table H.2:** Topographic Position Index (TPI) results

MatchID	Name	TPI-300m	TPI-2000m	Combined TPI description	TPI Change
1051_1	Barrow Peel	mid slope	valley	mid slope in valley	positive
1056_1	Clennell Hall	flat slope	valley	flat slope in valley	positive
10755_1	Butterknowes Farmhouse, bastle	<Null>	<Null>	none	
1108_1	Tower house and World War II air raid shelter, 360m east of Biddlestone Home Farm	mid slope	lower slope	mid slope on lower slope	positive
1112_2	Scrainwood deserted medieval village	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
1112_3	Scrainwood deserted medieval village	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
1119_1	Alleged tower at Burradon	flat slope	upper slope	flat slope on upper slope	negative
1125_1	Cote Walls (Coat Walls) tower	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
1145_2	Motte and bailey castle and shell keep castle at Harbottle	ridge	valley	Ridge in a valley	positive
1192_1	Bastle, 100m south-west of Holystone Grange	mid slope	lower slope	mid slope on lower slope	positive
1198_1	Hepple Tower	lower slope	valley	lower slope in a valley	positive
1199_1	Bickerton Farmhouse	flat slope	valley	flat slope in valley	positive
1214_1	Sharperton bastle	upper slope	mid slope	Upper slope on a mid slope	positive
1224_3	Farnham Tower (Thurnham)	upper slope	mid slope	Upper slope on a mid slope	positive
1228_1	Flotterton Tower	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
1336_1	Alnham Castle	flat slope	valley	flat slope in valley	positive
1337_3	Tower House, Alnham	valley	valley	Bottom of valley	none
1492_1	Bastle	flat slope	upper slope	flat slope on upper slope	negative
14944_1	The Bastle, High Rochester	ridge	lower slope	Ridge on a lower slope	positive
1529_1	Akeld Bastle	valley	valley	Bottom of valley	none
1547_1	Green Castle ringwork 320m south west of Humbleton Mill	upper slope	mid slope	Upper slope on a mid slope	positive
1549_2	Wooler Tower on east side of Church Street	mid slope	lower slope	mid slope on lower slope	positive
1557_1	Tower house	valley	upper slope	Valley on an upper slope	negative
1726_1	Whinney Hill medieval farmstead/moated site	mid slope	mid slope	Mid Slope	none

1811_1	Etal Castle tower house	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
1812_1	Ford Castle	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
1813_1	Parson's Tower, Ford Castle	mid slope	mid slope	Mid Slope	none
1954_2	Barmoor Castle	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
2006_1	Lanton tower	lower slope	valley	lower slope in a valley	positive
2006_2	Lanton tower	lower slope	valley	lower slope in a valley	positive
2011_1	Kirknewton tower	valley	valley	Bottom of valley	none
2018_1	Coupland Castle	flat slope	valley	flat slope in valley	positive
206_2	Linbrig Pele	valley	valley	Bottom of valley	none
20712_1	Hepple Woodside	lower slope	valley	lower slope in a valley	positive
2129_1	Possible tower at Nesbit	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
2133_2	Fenton Tower	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
2137_1	Doddington Bastle	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
217808_1	PURVES HALL, TOWER	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
2207_1	Norham Castle tower keep castle	ridge	mid slope	Ridge on a mid slope	positive
2210_1	Thornton Tower	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
2291_1	Shoreswood Tower	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
2338_1	Heaton Castle, Castle Heaton	ridge	valley	ridge on a flat slope	positive
2339_1	Duddo Tower	ridge	valley	ridge on a flat slope	positive
2345_1	Reputed bastle at Felkington	flat slope	upper slope	flat slope on upper slope	negative
2346_1	Grindonrigg	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
23465_1	Hulne Friary: summerhouse and tower	ridge	lower slope	Ridge on a lower slope	positive
2424_5	Enclosure castle, two 16th century gun turrets and an early 17th century house	ridge	valley	ridge on a flat slope	positive
2430_1	Tweedmouth Tower	upper slope	mid slope	Upper slope on a mid slope	positive
2717_1	Possible site of Tweedmouth Castle	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
2751_1	Callaly Castle	valley	valley	Bottom of valley	none

2752_1	Univallate hillfort and medieval tower, 750m east of Callaly Castle	ridge	ridge	Ridge	none
2808_1	Newtown Tower and Village	lower slope	valley	lower slope in a valley	positive
2815_1	Great Tosson tower house	mid slope	lower slope	mid slope on lower slope	positive
2829_1	Low Trehwhitt tower	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
2832_3	Cartington Castle at Cartington Farm	upper slope	upper slope	Upper Slope	none
2837_1	Warton Farmhouse	upper slope	valley	Upper slope on a flat slope	positive
2844_1	Thropton Bastle	flat slope	valley	flat slope in valley	positive
2859_1	Thropton Tower	flat slope	valley	flat slope in valley	positive
2897_1	Whitton Tower	mid slope	valley	mid slope in valley	positive
2912_1	Rothbury Castle	lower slope	valley	lower slope in a valley	positive
2929_1	Wall, arbour, and base of tower attached to south of Whitton Grange	ridge	lower slope	Ridge on a lower slope	positive
2936_1	Hope Farmhouse	<Null>	<Null>	none	
3099_1	Tower at Ingram	flat slope	valley	flat slope in valley	positive
3155_1	Crawley Tower, with cottage inside	ridge	upper slope	Ridge on an upper slope	positive
3160_1	Titlington tower	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
3198_1	Site of Prendwick tower	flat slope	valley	flat slope in valley	positive
3206_1	Eslington Tower	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
3207_1	Tower at Great Ryle	lower slope	mid slope	Lower slope on a mid slope	negative
3208_1	Little Ryle	ridge	upper slope	Ridge on an upper slope	positive
3238_1	Shawdon Hall	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
3251_1	Whittingham Tower and attached cottage	mid slope	lower slope	mid slope on lower slope	positive
3252_1	Possible medieval tower site	mid slope	lower slope	mid slope on lower slope	positive
329_1	Sills Pele	mid slope	lower slope	mid slope on lower slope	positive
3297_1	Fowberry Tower	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
3298_1	Weetwood Hall	flat slope	valley	flat slope in valley	positive

3311_1	Coldmartin Tower	mid slope	upper slope	Mid slope on an upper slope	negative
3389_1	Chillingham Castle	mid slope	lower slope	mid slope on lower slope	positive
3393_1	Chatton Tower	ridge	valley	ridge on a flat slope	positive
3394_1	none	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
341411_1	MUNGO'S WALLS	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
341891_2	WESTER SOFTLAW	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
344069_1	WHITHOPE TOWER	mid slope	upper slope	Mid slope on an upper slope	negative
344070_1	TODSHAWHILL	mid slope	mid slope	Mid Slope	none
344071_1	GIRNWOOD	lower slope	valley	lower slope in a valley	positive
344507_1	SOUTHFIELD	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
344551_1	NORTH HOUSE TOWER	valley	mid slope	Valley on a mid slope	negative
344552_1	SKELFHILL	mid slope	mid slope	Mid Slope	none
3480_1	West Lilburn Tower 50m north east of Lilburn Cottage	upper slope	valley	Upper slope on a flat slope	positive
3480_2	West Lilburn Tower 50m north east of Lilburn Cottage	upper slope	valley	Upper slope on a flat slope	positive
348326_1	EARLSTON	lower slope	valley	lower slope in a valley	positive
3501_1	Ilderton Tower	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
354428_2	BONJEDWARD	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
3601_1	Hepburn Bastle, (tower house)	mid slope	mid slope	Mid Slope	none
3613_1	Old Bewick Tower	mid slope	mid slope	Mid Slope	none
3685_1	Lowick Tower site	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
3687_1	Holburn tower site	ridge	valley	ridge on a flat slope	positive
3733_1	none	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
3737_1	none	mid slope	mid slope	Mid Slope	none
3738_1	Tower at Middleton	upper slope	valley	Upper slope on a flat slope	positive
3739_2	Kyloe tower house	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
3783_1	Hetton Hall	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
3810_1	Horton Castle	mid slope	mid slope	Mid Slope	none

3921_1	Hazelrigg Tower	mid slope	mid slope	Mid Slope	none
3961_1	Tower at Cheswick	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
3962_1	none	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
3967_2	Church of St Anne	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
4024_1	Reputed tower at Goswick	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
4030_1	Medieval castle at Haggerston	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
4032_1	Berrington Old Hall	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
4100_2	Monastic Grange at Fenham	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
4221_1	Edlingham Castle fortified manor and solar tower	lower slope	valley	lower slope in a valley	positive
4234_1	Church of St John the Baptist, Edlingham	flat slope	valley	flat slope in valley	positive
4258_1	The Old Vicarage, formerly 'Pele House'	flat slope	upper slope	flat slope on upper slope	negative
4293_1	Overgrass Tower House	valley	lower slope	Valley on a lower slope	negative
4340_1	Acton Hall	<Null>	<Null>	none	
4417_1	Heiferlaw tower house, 230m north east of Holywell	ridge	ridge	Ridge	none
4457_1	Lemington Hall	ridge	valley	ridge on a flat slope	positive
4458_1	Abberwick medieval village, tower house and open field system	lower slope	lower slope	Lower Slope	none
4831_1	Clayport Tower	lower slope	valley	Lower slope on a flat slope	negative
4497_1	Alnwick town wall (course of) and Bondgate Tower	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
4507_1	Alnwick Castle	upper slope	lower slope	Upper slope on a lower slope	positive
4830_1	Bondgate Tower	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
4907_1	Cocklaw Peel	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
4917_1	none	upper slope	valley	Upper slope on a flat slope	positive
4966_1	Preston Tower	ridge	valley	ridge on a flat slope	positive
4970_1	Tower at Newstead	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
4971_1	West Fleetham Farmhouse	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
4986_1	Ellingham, moated site	lower slope	mid slope	Lower slope on a mid slope	negative

5009_1	East Ditchburn tower	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
5040_1	South Charlton Chapel and Tower	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
5069_1	Elwick	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
5069_3	Elwick	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
5070_1	Easington Grange	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
5089_1	Bamburgh Castle	ridge	mid slope	Ridge on a mid slope	positive
5090_1	Newtown	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
5114_2	Belford West Hall, moated site	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
5120_1	Medieval moated site and 18th century dovecote, 600m east of Outchester	ridge	valley	ridge on a flat slope	positive
5124_1	Tower	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
5131_1	Newlands Tower	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
5258_1	The Master of Bamburgh's Tower	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
5267_1	Tower at Hoppen	mid slope	mid slope	Mid Slope	none
53006_1	OLD HOWPASLEY	valley	valley	Bottom of valley	none
5347_1	Lindisfarne Castle	ridge	mid slope	Ridge on a mid slope	positive
54035_1	DODHEAD TOWER	valley	valley	Bottom of valley	none
5404_1	Warkworth Castle motte and bailey castle, tower keep castle and collegiate church	ridge	valley	ridge on a flat slope	positive
54063_1	SLAIDHILLS	ridge	ridge	Ridge	none
54076_1	BROADHAUGH	valley	valley	Bottom of valley	none
54109_1	CASTLEWEARY	valley	lower slope	Valley on a lower slope	negative
54126_1	WESTER ALEMOOR	valley	lower slope	Valley on a lower slope	negative
5411_1	Warkworth Bridge	valley	valley	Valley on a flat slope	negative
5413_2	Warkworth Gatehouse	lower slope	mid slope	Lower slope on a mid slope	negative
54145_2	BRANXHOLME CASTLE	lower slope	valley	lower slope in a valley	positive
54146_2	ALLANMOUTH TOWER	lower slope	valley	lower slope in a valley	positive

54150_1	HAWICK MOTTE	ridge	valley	Ridge in a valley	positive
54154_1	RAESKNOWE	valley	valley	Bottom of valley	none
54155_1	WHITCHESTERS	ridge	upper slope	Ridge on an upper slope	positive
54175_1	CRUMHAUGH	lower slope	valley	lower slope in a valley	positive
54176_2	GOLDIELANDS TOWER	ridge	lower slope	Ridge on a lower slope	positive
54203_1	HARDEN	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
54385_1	BUCKHOLM TOWER	lower slope	lower slope	Lower Slope	none
54573_1	GILSTON PEEL	<Null>	<Null>	none	
54585_1	OVERHOWDEN	flat slope	upper slope	flat slope on upper slope	negative
54597_1	HARTSIDE	mid slope	valley	mid slope in valley	positive
54599_1	COLLIELAW	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
55140_1	DYKEHEADS	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
55141_1	WAUCHOPE TOWER	mid slope	valley	mid slope in valley	positive
55154_1	STOBS CASTLE	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
55179_1	CLEERIE CASTLE	mid slope	mid slope	Mid Slope	none
55205_1	BEDRULE CASTLE	ridge	valley	Ridge in a valley	positive
55206_1	FAST CASTLE	lower slope	valley	lower slope in a valley	positive
55250_1	SPITAL TOWER	lower slope	valley	Lower slope on a flat slope	negative
55273_1	HORSLEYHILL	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
55294_2	MONK'S TOWER	mid slope	mid slope	Mid Slope	none
55295_1	BURNHEAD TOWER	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
55298_1	CAVERS HOUSE	lower slope	upper slope	Lower slope on an upper slope	negative
55321_1	HAWTHORNSIDE	flat slope	upper slope	flat slope on upper slope	negative
55324_1	HALLRULE	lower slope	valley	lower slope in a valley	positive
55368_1	COCKLAW CASTLE	mid slope	mid slope	Mid Slope	none
55373_1	HAWICK, 51 HIGH STREET	flat slope	valley	flat slope in valley	positive

55397_1	HAWICK, KIRKSTILE, DRUMLANRIG TOWER, HEART OF HAWICK	flat slope	valley	flat slope in valley	positive
55447_1	CHAPEL	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
55448_1	KIPPILAW HOUSE	upper slope	valley	Upper slope on a flat slope	positive
55450_1	LILLIESLEAF TOWER	ridge	mid slope	Ridge on a mid slope	positive
55452_1	FATLIPS CASTLE	ridge	ridge	Ridge	none
55457_1	NEWTON, TOWER	flat slope	valley	flat slope in valley	positive
55468_1	BLOOMFIELD	flat slope	ridge	Flat slope on a ridge	negative
55473_1	BARNHILLS CASTLE	mid slope	valley	mid slope in valley	positive
55482_1	RIDDELL	mid slope	lower slope	mid slope on lower slope	positive
55483_2	RIDDELL	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
55512_1	EARLSTON, RHYMER'S TOWER	flat slope	valley	flat slope in valley	positive
55523_1	COWDENKNOWES HOUSE	lower slope	valley	lower slope in a valley	positive
55574_2	PAVILION	flat slope	valley	flat slope in valley	positive
55581_1	ALLAN WATER	valley	valley	Bottom of valley	none
55583_1	LANGSHAW TOWER	upper slope	valley	Upper slope in a valley	positive
55594_1	COLMSLIE TOWER	flat slope	valley	flat slope in valley	positive
55601_1	HILLSLAP TOWER	flat slope	valley	flat slope in valley	positive
55659_1	LESSUDDEN	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
55670_1	BOWDEN	upper slope	valley	Upper slope on a flat slope	positive
55703_2	BEMERSYDE HOUSE	flat slope	upper slope	flat slope on upper slope	negative
55717_1	DARNICK, TOWER ROAD, FISHER'S TOWER	flat slope	valley	flat slope in valley	positive
55720_1	DARNICK, TOWER ROAD, DARNICK TOWER	flat slope	valley	flat slope in valley	positive
55724_1	DARNICK COTTAGE, LITTLE PEEL	flat slope	valley	flat slope in valley	positive
55731_1	HOLYDEAN CASTLE	lower slope	lower slope	Lower Slope	none
55738_1	MELROSE ABBEY	flat slope	valley	flat slope in valley	positive
55792_1	OLD THIRLESTANE CASTLE	mid slope	lower slope	mid slope on lower slope	positive

55857_1	LAUDER TOWER	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
55867_1	LAUDER, AULD CASTLE RIGS	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
55900_1	THIRLESTANE CASTLE	upper slope	lower slope	Upper slope on a lower slope	positive
55906_1	WHITSLAID TOWER	mid slope	valley	mid slope in valley	positive
5592_1	Old gate piers to east of Gloster Hill Farmhouse	upper slope	valley	Upper slope on a flat slope	positive
55999_1	CARFRAE BASTLE	ridge	lower slope	Ridge on a lower slope	positive
5632_1	Howick Hall	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
5635_1	Littlehoughton Hall	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
5668_1	Craster Tower	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
56815_1	DYKERAW TOWER	upper slope	valley	Upper slope on a flat slope	positive
56818_1	LUSTRUTHER	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
56845_1	MOSSBURNFORD TOWER	mid slope	mid slope	Mid Slope	none
56846_1	FERNIEHURST CASTLE	mid slope	valley	mid slope in valley	positive
56850_1	CRAG TOWER	valley	valley	Bottom of valley	none
56868_1	HUNTHILL	flat slope	ridge	Flat slope on a ridge	negative
56874_1	HUNTHILL	flat slope	ridge	Flat slope on a ridge	negative
56878_1	LINTALEE	mid slope	valley	mid slope in valley	positive
56881_1	FULTON TOWER	flat slope	valley	flat slope in valley	positive
56882_1	GREY PEEL	lower slope	lower slope	Lower Slope	none
56890_1	HUNDALEE TOWER	flat slope	valley	flat slope in valley	positive
56907_1	OLD JEDWARD	upper slope	valley	Upper slope in a valley	positive
56913_1	ROUGHLEE	lower slope	valley	lower slope in a valley	positive
56915_1	MERVINSLAW PELE-HOUSE	upper slope	mid slope	Upper slope on a mid slope	positive
56922_1	DOLPHISTON CASTLE	ridge	ridge	Ridge	none
56923_1	EDGERSTON	mid slope	mid slope	Mid Slope	none
56934_1	OVERTON TOWER	ridge	mid slope	Ridge on a mid slope	positive
56938_1	CHESTERS	mid slope	mid slope	Mid Slope	none

56940_1	CLESSLEY TOWER	mid slope	valley	mid slope in valley	positive
56941_1	HINDHAUGHHEAD	flat slope	valley	flat slope in valley	positive
56952_1	KILNSIKE TOWER	lower slope	valley	Lower slope on a flat slope	negative
56968_1	MUIRHOUSELAW	lower slope	valley	Lower slope on a flat slope	negative
56970_2	ANCRUM HOUSE	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
56990_1	FAIRNINGTON HOUSE	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
57026_1	JEDBURGH, STONE HILL	upper slope	valley	Upper slope in a valley	positive
57035_1	JEDBURGH, KIRK WYND	lower slope	valley	lower slope in a valley	positive
57038_1	JEDBURGH, QUEEN STREET, QUEEN MARY'S HOUSE	lower slope	valley	lower slope in a valley	positive
57087_1	TIMPENDEAN TOWER	mid slope	mid slope	Mid Slope	none
57089_1	ANCRUM	mid slope	mid slope	Mid Slope	none
57090_2	MANTLE WALLS	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
57092_1	LANTON	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
57093_1	LANTON	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
57107_1	LANTON TOWER	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
57109_1	RUE CASTLE	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
57114_1	JEDBURGH, CASTLEGATE, JEDBURGH CASTLE JAIL	ridge	valley	Ridge in a valley	positive
57117_1	JEDBURGH, DAVID'S TOWER	mid slope	valley	mid slope in valley	positive
57130_1	RUECASTLE	valley	mid slope	Valley on a mid slope	negative
57165_1	WHITESIDE TOWER	upper slope	valley	Upper slope on a flat slope	positive
57193_1	MAKERSTOUN HOUSE	mid slope	lower slope	mid slope on lower slope	positive
57227_1	LITTLEDEAN TOWER	mid slope	lower slope	mid slope on lower slope	positive
57231_2	SMAILHOLM TOWER	upper slope	ridge	Upper slope on a ridge	negative
57338_1	BASSENDEAN HOUSE	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
57356_1	CORSBIE TOWER	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
57364_1	MORRISTON	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
57366_1	HUNTLYWOOD	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none

57377_1	GORDON	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
57386_1	GREENKNOWE TOWER	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
57395_1	LONGFORMACUS MANSE	ridge	mid slope	Ridge on a mid slope	positive
57411_2	CRAIGIE WOOD	valley	valley	Bottom of valley	none
57413_1	WATCH WATER RESERVOIR	mid slope	mid slope	Mid Slope	none
57425_1	EVELAW TOWER	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
57434_1	WEDDERLIE HOUSE	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
57514_1	HAREHEAD CASTLE	<Null>	<Null>	none	
57529_1	CRANSHAWS CASTLE	upper slope	valley	Upper slope on a flat slope	positive
5782_1	The Craster Arms	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
57995_1	UPPER CHATTO FARM	valley	lower slope	Valley on a lower slope	negative
58178_1	LINTON TOWER	mid slope	valley	mid slope in valley	positive
58195_1	GRADEN PLACE	upper slope	upper slope	Upper Slope	none
58220_1	ORMISTON CASTLE	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
58223_1	ECKFORD TOWER	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
58224_1	MOSS TOWER	flat slope	valley	flat slope in valley	positive
58277_1	CHESTERHOUSE	ridge	mid slope	Ridge on a mid slope	positive
58294_1	WHITTON TOWER	mid slope	mid slope	Mid Slope	none
58297_1	CORBET TOWER	valley	valley	Bottom of valley	none
58299_1	HEATHERLANDS	flat slope	upper slope	flat slope on upper slope	negative
58306_1	CESSFORD CASTLE	ridge	valley	ridge on a flat slope	positive
5833_1	The Old Vicarage	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
58378_1	EDNAM MAINS	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
5839_2	Dunstan Hall	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
58405_1	LURDENLAW	upper slope	valley	Upper slope on a flat slope	positive
5841_2	Rock Hall	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
58412_1	ROXBURGH CASTLE	upper slope	valley	Upper slope on a flat slope	positive

58434_1	WALLACE'S TOWER	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
58483_1	BITE-ABOUT	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
58489_1	POLWARTH CASTLE	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
58515_1	GREENLAW CASTLE	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
58516_1	REDBRAES CASTLE	ridge	valley	ridge on a flat slope	positive
58520_1	MERSINGTON TOWER	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
58521_1	LEITHOLM PEEL	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
58561_1	HUME CASTLE	ridge	ridge	Ridge	none
58589_1	COCKBURN TOWER	ridge	valley	ridge on a flat slope	positive
58623_1	WINDY WINDSHIEL	mid slope	upper slope	Mid slope on an upper slope	negative
58629_1	BORTHWICK CASTLE	valley	valley	Valley on a flat slope	negative
58630_1	NISBET HOUSE	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
58652_1	DUNS CASTLE	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
58663_1	LANGTON CASTLE	mid slope	valley	mid slope in valley	positive
5872_2	Dunstanburgh Castle	ridge	upper slope	Ridge on an upper slope	positive
58727_1	COCKBURNSPATH TOWER	lower slope	lower slope	Lower Slope	none
58751_1	BOWSHIEL	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
58776_1	KILSPINDIE CASTLE	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
5889_1	Prior Castell's Tower	ridge	mid slope	Ridge on a mid slope	positive
5900_1	none	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
59011_2	COCKLAW	ridge	valley	Ridge in a valley	positive
59313_1	THIRLESTANE TOWER	flat slope	valley	flat slope in valley	positive
59318_1	LOCH TOWER, YETHOLM LOCH	flat slope	valley	flat slope in valley	positive
59380_1	MOW TOWER	lower slope	valley	lower slope in a valley	positive
59569_1	LITTLE SWINTON	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
59579_1	MILNE GRADEN	ridge	valley	ridge on a flat slope	positive
59624_1	CASTLELAW, THE MOUNT	ridge	mid slope	Ridge on a mid slope	positive

59638_1	BILLIE CASTLE	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
59639_1	EDINGTON BASTLE	ridge	valley	ridge on a flat slope	positive
59689_2	BLANERNE CASTLE	mid slope	mid slope	Mid Slope	none
59699_1	BUNKLE CASTLE	lower slope	mid slope	Lower slope on a mid slope	negative
59715_1	BROOM HOUSE	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
59718_1	HUTTON CASTLE	ridge	mid slope	Ridge on a mid slope	positive
59724_1	BLACKADDER HOUSE	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
59785_1	LUMSDAINE	flat slope	upper slope	flat slope on upper slope	negative
59819_1	RENTON PEEL	lower slope	valley	lower slope in a valley	positive
59884_1	HEUGH HEAD	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
59885_2	RESTON	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
59892_1	FERNEY CASTLE	flat slope	upper slope	flat slope on upper slope	negative
59900_1	HOUNDWOOD HOUSE	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
59944_1	FAST CASTLE	ridge	mid slope	Ridge on a mid slope	positive
60022_1	MORDINGTON	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
60034_1	LAMBERTON	upper slope	ridge	Upper slope on a ridge	negative
60057_1	BASTLERIDGE	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
60080_1	FOULDEN BASTLE	mid slope	lower slope	mid slope on lower slope	positive
60136_1	EDRINGTON CASTLE	ridge	valley	ridge on a flat slope	positive
60244_1	EAST RESTON	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
60254_1	AYTON CASTLE	ridge	valley	ridge on a flat slope	positive
60259_1	AYTON CASTLE	mid slope	mid slope	Mid Slope	none
635_1	Hethpool tower house	flat slope	valley	flat slope in valley	positive
685_1	Carham Hall, on site of tower	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
688_1	Wark Castle motte and bailey castle and artillery fort	ridge	mid slope	Ridge on a mid slope	positive
727_1	Branxton tower	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
74610_1	NORTHBANK TOWER	upper slope	lower slope	Upper slope on a lower slope	positive

74613_1	WATTIES SPINDLES	ridge	mid slope	Ridge on a mid slope	positive
74660_1	SLACK'S TOWER, PELE-HOUSE	lower slope	valley	lower slope in a valley	positive
801_1	Tower and barmkin at Mindrum (not located)	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
8103_1	Evistones	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
8103_2	Evistones	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
8103_3	Evistones	flat slope	lower slope	flat slope on lower slope	positive
8158_1	Bastle ruin c.100m north east of Rattenraw Farm	flat slope	valley	flat slope in valley	positive
8165_1	Branshaw deserted settlement and bastle	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
8279_1	Tower at Troughen	upper slope	valley	Upper slope on a flat slope	positive
846_1	Documentary reference to a tower at Downham	flat slope	upper slope	flat slope on upper slope	negative
854_1	Howtel tower house	flat slope	valley	flat slope in valley	positive
860_1	Kilham peel tower	flat slope	valley	flat slope in valley	positive
873_1	Medieval tower at Paston	mid slope	lower slope	mid slope on lower slope	positive
921_1	Remains of earthwork (possible site of 16th century castle)	mid slope	mid slope	Mid Slope	none
922_1	West Newbiggin, formerly Newbiggin	upper slope	valley	Upper slope on a flat slope	positive
9617_1	Bastle, 500m west of High Shaw	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
9618_1	Bastle at Ironhouse	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
9619_1	Bastle at Craig Farm	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
962_1	Cornhill Castle, 650m north east of Cornhill Bridge	lower slope	lower slope	Lower Slope	none
9620_1	Bastle at The Raw Farm	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
9691_1	High Rigg Bronze Age cairn	upper slope	ridge	Upper slope on a ridge	negative
9702_1	Harehaugh Old Farmhouse	mid slope	valley	mid slope in valley	positive
971_3	Tillmouth deserted medieval village	flat slope	valley	flat slope	none
972_2	Twizel Castle	upper slope	mid slope	Upper slope on a mid slope	positive
9742_1	Elsdon Tower	<Null>	<Null>	none	
9744_1	Mote Hills motte and bailey castle	<Null>	<Null>	none	

**Table H.3: Proximity Analysis results**

MatchID	Name	Parish Boundary <sup>23</sup>	Church	Roads	River	Road Inter-section	Rank parish boundary <sup>24</sup>	Rank Church	Rank Road	Rank River	Inter-sections	Closest Type
1056_1	Clennell Hall	4177.18	1454.99	84.18	130.55	1108.10	5	5	1	2	5	Road
1198_1	Hepple Tower	1382.76	1121.61	33.71	287.68	389.17	5	5	1	3	3	Road
1224_3	Farnham Tower (Thurnham)	504.27	1871.82	32.61	567.85	263.45	4	5	1	4	3	Road
1228_1	Flotterton Tower	1537.68	2831.49	36.56	901.85	176.31	5	5	1	4	2	Road
1811_1	Etal Castle tower house	1117.44	427.20	4.28	96.11	271.24	5	3	1	1	3	Road
2006_1	Lanton tower	1997.62	1398.18	30.89	111.60	1298.02	5	5	1	2	5	Road
2338_1	Heaton Castle, Castle Heaton	1534.67	3257.30	18.48	119.47	472.30	5	5	1	2	3	Road
23465_1	Hulne Friary: summerhouse and tower	1187.89	2794.35	87.43	82.56	1254.34	5	5	1	1	5	River
2815_1	Great Tosson tower house	5061.67	3064.00	23.91	624.35	1649.82	5	5	1	4	5	Road
3251_1	Whittingham Tower and attached cottage	2203.46	305.94	94.73	76.58	139.06	5	3	1	1	2	River
3311_1	Coldmartin Tower	473.54	1996.92	23.75	1199.18	570.54	3	5	1	5	4	Road
3739_2	Kyloe tower house	2648.87	949.21	96.75	805.56	710.41	5	4	1	4	4	Road

<sup>23</sup> All measurements are in meters

<sup>24</sup> 1= <100m away; 2= 100-250m away; 3=250-500m away; 4=500-1000m away; 5=>1000m away

4234_1	Church of St John the Baptist, Edlingham	1396.33	0.00	92.47	152.96	410.66	5	0	1	2	3	Road
4258_1	The Old Vicarage, formerly 'Pele House'	1136.20	44.01	75.30	1032.80	259.41	5	1	1	5	3	Church
4457_1	Lemington Hall	1686.04	2261.53	58.40	478.92	1437.48	5	5	1	3	5	Road
4966_1	Preston Tower	680.51	2168.75	79.96	285.76	1511.79	4	5	1	3	5	Road
5258_1	The Master of Bamburgh's Tower	319.78	445.98	20.76	2112.07	339.00	3	3	1	5	3	Road
5404_1	Warkworth Castle motte and bailey castle, tower keep castle and collegiate church	1288.08	431.86	78.28	88.88	365.56	5	3	1	1	3	Road
54385_1	BUCKHOLM TOWER	342.90	8890.90	7.42	523.78	#N/A	3	5	1	4	#N/A	Road
55720_1	DARNICK, TOWER ROAD, DARNICK TOWER	1723.47	4021.17	88.31	258.15	#N/A	5	5	1	3	#N/A	Road
5635_1	Littlehoughton Hall	569.65	1834.48	48.77	1586.86	1257.32	4	5	1	5	5	Road
5668_1	Craster Tower	276.26	2191.64	19.50	1846.86	65.53	3	5	1	5	1	Road
58412_1	ROXBURGH CASTLE	101.78	659.08	75.13	106.60	#N/A	2	4	1	2	#N/A	Road
58561_1	HUME CASTLE	1260.07	3176.15	16.07	615.97	#N/A	5	5	1	4	#N/A	Road
58629_1	BORTHWICK CASTLE	843.75	1736.23	85.59	839.39	#N/A	4	5	1	4	#N/A	Road
58652_1	DUNS CASTLE	1393.47	1402.17	66.66	748.14	#N/A	5	5	1	4	#N/A	Road

<b>60136_1</b>	EDRINGTON CASTLE	69.76	2562.61	24.57	65.23	#N/A	1	5	1	1	#N/A	River
<b>688_1</b>	Wark Castle motte and bailey castle and artillery fort	155.19	351.28	93.96	89.05	98.48	2	3	1	1	1	River
<b>1108_1</b>	Tower house and World War II air raid shelter, 360m east of Biddlestone Home Farm	1584.38	4016.88	146.35	56.62	172.37	5	5	2	1	2	River
<b>1812_1</b>	Ford Castle	2324.79	123.69	207.22	494.42	380.91	5	2	2	3	3	Church
<b>1813_1</b>	Parson's Tower, Ford Castle	2231.12	72.80	139.48	447.24	277.41	5	1	2	3	3	Church
<b>2018_1</b>	Coupland Castle	1048.03	2367.72	111.93	74.59	2058.05	4	5	2	1	5	River
<b>2207_1</b>	Norham Castle tower keep castle	245.62	114.02	109.12	241.47	751.10	2	2	2	2	4	Road
<b>2832_3</b>	Cartington Castle at Cartington Farm	1507.12	0.00	192.54	698.20	443.73	5	0	2	4	3	Road
<b>3298_1</b>	Weetwood Hall	1273.35	2963.19	163.49	217.38	1750.27	5	5	2	2	5	Road
<b>3389_1</b>	Chillingham Castle	916.28	180.28	235.17	62.61	530.07	4	2	2	1	4	River
<b>3967_2</b>	Church of St Anne	3607.90	0.00	100.46	178.42	220.23	5	0	2	2	2	Road
<b>4221_1</b>	Edlingham Castle fortified manor and solar tower	1506.33	183.85	157.73	64.88	409.77	5	2	2	1	3	River
<b>4417_1</b>	Heiferlaw tower house, 230m	734.74	3094.77	106.44	787.70	148.37	4	5	2	4	2	Road

	north east of Holywell											
<b>4507_1</b>	Alnwick Castle	2264.33	0.00	108.04	223.31	173.99	5	0	2	2	2	Road
<b>5089_1</b>	Bamburgh Castle	100.70	0.00	108.97	2430.35	118.49	2	0	2	5	2	Parish boundary
<b>55703_2</b>	BEMERSYDE HOUSE	552.78	1259.46	246.31	533.59	#N/A	4	5	2	4	#N/A	Road
<b>55717_1</b>	DARNICK, TOWER ROAD, FISHER'S TOWER	1687.50	3985.17	119.05	237.97	#N/A	5	5	2	2	#N/A	Road
<b>55738_1</b>	MELROSE ABBEY	1866.42	3364.59	191.73	156.42	#N/A	5	5	2	2	#N/A	Road
<b>5833_1</b>	The Old Vicarage	1294.27	41.23	187.14	648.81	238.06	5	1	2	4	2	Church
<b>5839_2</b>	Dunstan Hall	282.26	1844.59	132.19	2027.88	329.48	3	5	2	5	3	Parish boundary
<b>5872_2</b>	Dunstanburgh Castle	221.81	262.62	138.66	1822.68	2096.65	2	3	2	5	5	Road
<b>59638_1</b>	BILLIE CASTLE	108.57	4081.34	111.80	47.08	#N/A	2	5	2	1	#N/A	River
<b>59699_1</b>	BUNKLE CASTLE	1864.62	339.48	180.48	488.38	#N/A	5	3	2	3	#N/A	Road
<b>9742_1</b>	Elsdon Tower	3754.34	125.28	134.63	63.40	134.63	5	2	2	1	2	River
<b>9744_1</b>	Mote Hills motte and bailey castle	3700.10	219.01	137.41	81.66	142.63	5	2	2	1	2	River
<b>1051_1</b>	Barrow Peel	4387.29	1290.31	455.51	52.62	1016.41	5	5	3	1	5	River
<b>1336_1</b>	Alnham Castle	1695.76	201.25	466.27	92.39	542.73	5	2	3	1	4	River
<b>1954_2</b>	Barmoor Castle	2419.85	1489.46	280.00	646.21	298.02	5	5	3	4	3	Road
<b>2210_1</b>	Thornton Tower	900.42	50.99	310.36	430.00	960.86	4	1	3	3	4	Church
<b>2751_1</b>	Callaly Castle	2950.05	2490.64	271.11	39.11	571.87	5	5	3	1	4	River
<b>2752_1</b>	Univallate hillfort and medieval	2399.75	2309.31	366.92	805.79	1243.00	5	5	3	4	5	Road

	tower, 750m east of Callaly Castle											
<b>3480_1</b>	West Lilburn Tower 50m north east of Lilburn Cottage	424.82	64.03	455.35	158.42	660.63	3	1	3	2	4	Church
<b>3783_1</b>	Hetton Hall	601.58	2683.38	390.79	50.76	1747.24	4	5	3	1	5	River
<b>54146_2</b>	ALLANMOUTH TOWER	40.56	1520.57	380.16	32.04	#N/A	1	5	3	1	#N/A	River
<b>54176_2</b>	GOLDIELANDS TOWER	1608.29	2764.57	397.41	275.35	#N/A	5	5	3	3	#N/A	River
<b>55512_1</b>	EARLSTON, RHYMER'S TOWER	73.90	992.65	308.95	83.80	#N/A	1	4	3	1	#N/A	Parish boundary
<b>55523_1</b>	COWDENKNOWES HOUSE	38.14	1749.60	261.03	44.68	#N/A	1	5	3	1	#N/A	Parish boundary
<b>55601_1</b>	HILLSLAP TOWER	3169.89	6135.23	494.51	142.52	#N/A	5	5	3	2	#N/A	River
<b>1337_3</b>	Tower House, Alnham	1876.82	58.14	640.14	41.09	654.52	5	1	4	1	4	River
<b>2829_1</b>	Low Trewhitt tower	753.68	3640.95	867.88	120.50	2350.85	4	5	4	2	5	River
<b>2897_1</b>	Whitton Tower	3200.76	631.51	670.02	471.95	791.88	5	4	4	3	4	River
<b>3155_1</b>	Crawley Tower, with cottage inside	431.60	2607.27	596.08	587.14	647.36	3	5	4	4	4	Parish boundary
<b>4458_1</b>	Abberwick medieval village, tower house and open field system	1566.52	1983.35	979.39	672.99	1797.57	5	5	4	4	5	River
<b>4907_1</b>	Cocklaw Peel	360.85	3816.98	617.04	285.01	1951.82	3	5	4	3	5	River

54126_1	WESTER ALEMOOR	827.25	2804.39	598.14	34.45	#N/A	4	5	4	1	#N/A	River
54150_1	HAWICK MOTTE	1261.60	362.75	746.33	89.28	#N/A	5	3	4	1	#N/A	River
55397_1	HAWICK, KIRKSTILE, DRUMLANRIG TOWER, HEART OF HAWICK	1300.02	107.94	514.02	29.40	#N/A	5	2	4	1	#N/A	River
55457_1	NEWTON, TOWER	376.81	1321.36	950.16	622.97	#N/A	3	5	4	4	#N/A	Parish boundary
55594_1	COLMSLIE TOWER	3375.58	5903.76	509.05	67.81	#N/A	5	5	4	1	#N/A	River
55900_1	THIRLESTANE CASTLE	2216.68	105.30	522.48	126.40	#N/A	5	2	4	2	#N/A	Church
55999_1	CARFRAE BASTLE	635.36	113.17	697.77	228.41	#N/A	4	2	4	2	#N/A	Church
56845_1	MOSSBURNFORD TOWER	650.88	1660.12	984.00	1228.39	#N/A	4	5	4	5	#N/A	Parish boundary
56846_1	FERNIEHURST CASTLE	334.47	2423.88	521.70	170.94	#N/A	3	5	4	2	#N/A	River
57227_1	LITTLEDEAN TOWER	108.01	956.62	565.01	75.55	#N/A	2	4	4	1	#N/A	River
57395_1	LONGFORMACUS MANSE	2316.66	4378.24	702.42	155.31	#N/A	5	5	4	2	#N/A	River
57411_2	CRAIGIE WOOD	2435.97	4456.04	878.27	5.46	#N/A	5	5	4	1	#N/A	River
57529_1	CRANSHAWS CASTLE	1050.19	210.68	715.84	696.93	#N/A	4	2	4	4	#N/A	Church
58220_1	ORMISTON CASTLE	820.62	1037.85	798.08	208.67	#N/A	4	5	4	2	#N/A	River
58224_1	MOSS TOWER	1451.11	999.98	895.20	503.20	#N/A	5	4	4	4	#N/A	River
58277_1	CHESTERHOUSE	211.39	1186.08	554.81	417.41	#N/A	2	5	4	3	#N/A	Parish boundary

59624_1	CASTLELAW, THE MOUNT	833.20	2002.32	682.41	168.28	#N/A	4	5	4	2	#N/A	River
59689_2	BLANERNE CASTLE	272.81	689.35	692.27	141.81	#N/A	3	4	4	2	#N/A	River
59718_1	HUTTON CASTLE	132.87	2058.97	583.74	135.52	#N/A	2	5	4	2	#N/A	Parish boundary
59819_1	RENTON PEEL	1723.73	5658.24	743.12	292.67	#N/A	5	5	4	3	#N/A	River
59900_1	HOUNDWOOD HOUSE	2863.70	5715.80	592.56	74.54	#N/A	5	5	4	1	#N/A	River
1125_1	Cote Walls (Coat Walls) tower	1348.60	3913.37	1081.97	605.13	1492.14	5	5	5	4	5	River
4293_1	Overgrass Tower House	2214.89	2687.84	1552.76	7.09	2299.13	5	5	5	1	5	River
54573_1	GILSTON PEEL	283.60	3657.44	1588.74	274.42	#N/A	3	5	5	3	#N/A	River
55141_1	WAUCHOPE TOWER	817.13	2671.81	2571.25	75.00	#N/A	4	5	5	1	#N/A	River
55205_1	BEDRULE CASTLE	137.59	174.67	1546.76	129.90	#N/A	2	2	5	2	#N/A	River
55206_1	FAST CASTLE	26.67	490.60	1366.30	27.11	#N/A	1	3	5	1	#N/A	Parish boundary
55295_1	BURNHEAD TOWER	1136.29	2704.35	1144.18	42.47	#N/A	5	5	5	1	#N/A	River
55298_1	CAVERS HOUSE	1402.46	136.62	1468.96	977.31	#N/A	5	2	5	4	#N/A	Church
55448_1	KIPPILAW HOUSE	1230.34	1561.51	2365.81	960.60	#N/A	5	5	5	4	#N/A	River
55452_1	FATLIPS CASTLE	511.29	1151.56	1306.27	761.89	#N/A	4	5	5	4	#N/A	Parish boundary
55473_1	BARNHILLS CASTLE	29.25	1285.91	1488.99	194.81	#N/A	1	5	5	2	#N/A	Parish boundary
55483_2	RIDDELL	1298.57	2332.19	2898.25	245.44	#N/A	5	5	5	2	#N/A	River
55906_1	WHITSLAID TOWER	137.53	1219.08	1270.18	70.69	#N/A	2	5	5	1	#N/A	River

56850_1	CRAG TOWER	940.15	228.04	1723.57	30.29	#N/A	4	2	5	1	#N/A	River
56881_1	FULTON TOWER	535.25	2205.81	3621.19	527.26	#N/A	4	5	5	4	#N/A	Parish boundary
56970_2	ANCRUM HOUSE	1155.12	836.44	1193.71	219.65	#N/A	5	4	5	2	#N/A	River
57087_1	TIMPENDEAN TOWER	972.74	2351.93	2273.22	774.08	#N/A	4	5	5	4	#N/A	River
57107_1	LANTON TOWER	259.07	3373.99	1922.11	955.49	#N/A	3	5	5	4	#N/A	Parish boundary
57231_2	SMAILHOLM TOWER	438.60	2046.75	1028.66	1097.23	#N/A	3	5	5	5	#N/A	Parish boundary
57338_1	BASSENDEAN HOUSE	532.63	323.79	4595.77	612.78	#N/A	4	3	5	4	#N/A	Church
57356_1	CORSBIE TOWER	90.18	1414.85	1918.82	173.05	#N/A	1	5	5	2	#N/A	Parish boundary
57386_1	GREENKNOWE TOWER	663.78	637.05	3169.73	269.95	#N/A	4	4	5	3	#N/A	River
57425_1	EVELAW TOWER	584.82	1859.32	2736.77	190.19	#N/A	4	5	5	2	#N/A	River
57434_1	WEDDERLIE HOUSE	1930.44	576.10	1299.54	361.01	#N/A	5	4	5	3	#N/A	River
58306_1	CESSFORD CASTLE	1223.48	2392.59	3900.37	229.32	#N/A	5	5	5	2	#N/A	River
5841_2	Rock Hall	1893.76	140.04	1260.41	876.17	2196.99	5	2	5	4	5	Church
58434_1	WALLACE'S TOWER	1575.35	206.09	1215.64	187.08	#N/A	5	2	5	2	#N/A	River
58727_1	COCKBURNSPATH TOWER	1360.95	1596.76	1075.35	34.67	#N/A	5	5	5	1	#N/A	River
5889_1	Prior Castell's Tower	55.36	20.00	2650.32	4781.13	2820.73	1	1	5	5	5	Church
59944_1	FAST CASTLE	43.09	0.00	1913.39	800.38	#N/A	1	0	5	4	#N/A	Parish boundary

<b>854_1</b>	Howtel tower house	753.33	3421.26	1328.45	643.08	1578.77	4	5	5	4	5	River
<b>972_2</b>	Twizel Castle	803.11	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	4	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	#N/A	

# Appendix I: Medieval Anglo-Scottish Border Meetings (1000-1499)

**Table I.1:** Anglo-Scottish border meetings (1000-1499)

Year	Range	Day	Month	Location	Documented Site	Site Type	Border Meeting (Y/N)	X <sup>25</sup>	Y	Type of Meeting
1095				Norham	parish church	churchyard	Y	389691	647410	truce negotiation
1174				Reddenburn		river	Y	378975	637710	truce negotiation
1181				Reddenburn		river	Y	378975	637710	conference
1199	to 1216			Carham		church	Y	379730	638430	royal property dispute
1203				Norham	castle	castle	Y	390631	647607	truce negotiation
1209				Norham	castle	castle	Y	390631	647607	truce negotiation
1211				Norham	castle	castle	Y	390631	647607	truce negotiation
1213				Norham	castle	castle	Y	390631	647607	truce negotiation
1245			October	Reddenburn		river	Y	378975	637710	perambulation

<sup>25</sup> British National Grid references

1246			December	unknown			Y			perambulation
1248		20	November	Banks of the River Tweed		river	Y	399699	653104	tribunal
1249				East March			Y			indenture
1249				Norham			Y			day of march
1249				Reddenburn		field	Y			day of march
1249				Gamelspath		church/ churchyard	Y			day of march
1249				Lochmabenstone		stone circle	Y			day of march
1255				Roxburgh		town	Y	371580	633715	truce
1264	c.			East March			Y			tribunal
1272				unknown			Y			inquest
1277	to 1278			unknown			Y			inquest
1279				unknown			Y			inquest
1279				Solway Water		ford	Y	331218	565975	tribunal
1280	whole decade 1280-1290			unknown			N			day of march
1285		11	September	Carham		church	Y	379730	638430	perambulation
1287			Spring	Carham	Priory	church	Y	379730	638430	unknown
1289		3	February	Carham		church	Y	379730	638430	commissioner meeting
1290				Carham		church	Y	379730	638430	commissioner meeting
1290		18	July	Birgham			Y	379500	639500	treaty negotiation

1291				Norham	church	church	Y	389691	647410	indenture negotiation
1291				Norham	castle	castle	Y	390631	647607	
1291				Norham	ford	ford	Y	390421	647792	
1291	-1292			Berwick	multiple	town	Y	399700	653104	indenture negotiation
1292				Norham	castle	castle	Y	390631	647607	indenture negotiation
1300		30	October	Dumfries		town	Y	297500	576500	truce
1302		26	January	Linlithgow		town	N			truce
1310			Autumn	Berwick		town	Y	399700	653104	inquest
1310	to 1320			unknown			Y			inquest
1311				unknown			Y			unknown
1314				unknown			Y			unknown
1314				unknown			Y			inquest
1319		1	January	on the march			Y			truce
1319	c.			Solway Water		ford	Y	331218	565975	ransom
1319	c.			Solway Water		ford	Y	331218	565975	Cattle trade
1323			April	unknown			Y			tribunal
1323			June	unknown			Y			inquest
1323		5	May	Newcastle		town	Y	424740	563808	truce
1324	c.		June	Solway Water		ford	Y	331218	565975	Prisoner exchange
1328		17	March	Edinburgh and Northampton		town	N			truce
1330				Hadden estate		field	Y	380221	636835	perambulation
1331				Upsettlington West			Y	388579	646661	property dispute

1335				unknown			N			truce
1340		25	September	Esplechin, France			N			truce
1342				unknown			Y			truce negotiation
1342				Roxburgh		town	Y	371580	633715	tournament
1342				Berwick		town	Y	399700	653104	tournament
1343				Chapel of Salom		church/ churchyard	Y	331218	565975	indenture negotiation
1343			May	Westminster			N			truce
1344			July	Carlisle	King's Exchequer	castle	Y	340325	555679	inquest
1344	to July		May	Berwick		town	Y	399700	653104	inquest
1344	c.			Berwick		town	Y	399700	653104	inquest
1346			February	Northumberland			Y			inquest
1346			September	unknown			Y			truce negotiation
1347			April	international			N			truce
1348			April	west march			Y			inquest
1348				unknown			Y			
1348			April	international			N			truce
1348			July	unknown			N			non meeting
1350				Carlisle		town	Y	340325	555679	warden's court
1350	to 1354			unknown			Y			warden's court
1354			October	Lochmaben castle		castle	Y	308815	581165	judicial duel
1357				Berwick		town	Y	399702	653104	truce

1357			July	unknown			Y			day of march
1357	or 1358			Billymire			Y	385095	656627	day of march
1357	or 1358			Wardelawe		field	Y	386460	613620	day of march
1358			June	unknown			Y			day of march
1358		16	March	Berwick		town	Y	399700	653104	inquest
1359			February	unknown			Y			commission
1359				unknown			Y			inquest
1359				unknown			Y			inquest
1359			July	unknown			Y			inquest
1360			June	unknown			Y			inquest
1360			August	unknown			Y			truce negotiation
1360	to 1371			unknown			N			non meeting
1362				unknown			Y			truce negotiation
1363				unknown			Y			truce negotiation
1363				unknown			Y			truce negotiation
1364				unknown			N			truce
1365		20	May	London			N			truce
1367		18	October	Gretna		church	Y	331743	567018	day of march
1367		1	September	Moorhouselaw		castle	Y	363155	628350	indenture negotiation
1367	to 4	3	September	Roxburgh	Friar Minors	monastery	Y	371580	633715	indenture negotiation
1367		13	October	Moorhouselaw		castle	Y	363155	628350	day of march
1367		1	September	Roxburgh		town	Y	371580	633715	truce

1368			January	unknown			Y			day of march
1368	to Novem ber		August	unknown			Y			day of march
1369				unknown			Y			day of march
1369	post 1369			unknown			Y			day of march
1369		18	June	London			N			truce
1370		5	July	unknown			Y			commission
1370	to Novem ber		October	unknown			Y			commission
1371		6	August	East march			Y			day of march
1371		6	August	West March			Y			day of march
1371			October	unknown			Y			commission
1372			October	Lilliot Cross		cross	Y	361964	627467	day of march
1372	1372- 1373			unknown			Y			non meeting
1373			July	Lilliot Cross		cross	Y	361964	627467	day of march
1373			February	unknown			Y			inquest
1373			March	unknown			Y			day of march
1373		27	June	Lilliot Cross		cross	Y	361964	627467	day of march
1373		25	July	unknown			Y			commission
1374				unknown			Y			inquest
1375		7	September	Lilliot Cross		cross	Y	361964	627467	indenture negotiation
1375		20	February	unknown			Y			day of march
1375		29	January	unknown			Y			commission

1375			July	unknown			Y			commission
1376			Autumn	unknown			Y			day of march
1377			June	unknown			Y			day of march
1377		14	September	Fairnington Crags		field	Y	365032	628750	true negotiation/ day of march
1377			to end of Ed III reign	unknown			Y			day of march
1378			November	Ayton		church	Y	392740	660885	day of march
1378		18	January	Lilliot Cross		cross	Y	361964	627467	day of march/ indenture
1378		14	June	Lilliot Cross		cross	Y	361964	627467	day of march
1378			June	Lilliot Cross		cross	Y	361964	627467	day of march
1378			October	unknown			Y			day of march
1378		11	November	Lilliot Cross or Ayton		cross	Y	361964	627467	day of march/truce negotiation
1378	-1380			unknown			N			day of march
1379		9	March	Moorhouselaw		castle	Y	363155	628350	truce negotiation
1379		17	October	Lilliot Cross		cross	Y	361964	627467	day of march/truce negotiation
1379		1	November	Berwick		town	Y	399700	653104	truce negotiation
1379				Ayton		church	Y	392740	660885	unknown
1379	to 1382			unknown			N			day of march
1380			Spring	unknown			Y			commission

1380		12	November	Lilliot Cross		cross	Y	361964	627467	judicial duel
1380			November	West March			Y			day of march
1380		12	November	Berwick		town	Y	399703	653104	day of march/truce negotiation/truce
1380	for four days	17	October	Lilliot Cross, Moorhouselaw and Maxton		cross	Y	361964	627467	day of march
1380	-1381			unknown			N			day of march
1380	late 1380s			unknown			N			day of march
1380	to 1390			unknown			N			warden's court
1381			Spring	unknown			Y			day of March
1381	-18	12	June	Ayton	church	church	Y	392740	660885	indenture/truce negotiation
1381		19	June	Ebchester (near Ayton)		hillfort	Y	394412	658817	truce
1381			November	Lilliot Cross		cross	Y	361964	627467	judicial duel
1381	c.			Kershop Brig		bridge	Y	350085	583415	day of march
1381		18	June	Ebchester (near Ayton)		hillfort	Y	394412	658817	day of march/indenture negotiation
1381	pre-1381			Gretna		church	Y	331743	567018	day of march
1381		16	May	unknown			Y			day of march
1382			December	on the March			Y			judicial duel

1383	Last week in June to 2 July	2	July	Lilliot Cross		cross	Y	361964	627467	day of march/indenture
1383	12	3	July	Moorhouselaw		castle	Y	363155	628350	day of march/indenture
1383		24	August	Bilymire			Y	385095	656627	day of march
1384	to 7	4	July	Ayton	eccliam'	church	Y	392740	660885	indenture/truce negotiation
1384			Summer	East March			Y			day of march
1385		15	March	Water of Esk	beside chapel of Salom	chapel	Y	331218	565975	indenture negotiation
1385		19	April	Water of Esk	chapel of Salom	chapel	Y	331218	565975	day of march
1385		29	May	East March			Y			day of March
1386				unknown			Y			judicial duel
1386		27	June	Bilymire			Y	385095	656627	indenture/truce negotiation
1386				unknown			Y			day of march
1387			June	Berwick		town	Y	399700	653104	judicial duel
1388				unknown			Y			unknown
1389				unknown			Y			day of march
1389			Spring	unknown			Y			judicial duel
1389			June	Leulinghen			N			truce negotiation

1390				Unknown			Y			day of march
1390		25	July	Berwick		town	Y	399700	653104	truce negotiation
1390		16	July	Perth		town	N			truce
1391				unknown			Y			day of march
1391				unknown			Y			judicial duel
1391				unknown			Y			day of march
1391			April	Brighamhalgh near Riwele			Y			day of march/ indenture
1391			September	Kelso		monastery	Y	372925	633910	day of march/ indenture
1392		5	May	Easthamstead			N			truce
1393				unknown			Y			day of march
1393		21- 27	June	Carlisle		town	Y	340325	555679	tournament
1393			June	unknown			N			truce
1394				unknown			Y			day of march
1394			October	Kelso		monastery	Y	372925	633910	truce negotiation
1395				Rulehaugh			Y			judicial duel
1395			July	unknown			Y			tournament
1395				unknown			Y			day of march
1395			November	Carlisle		town	Y	340325	555679	day of march
1396				numerous			N			day of march
1396			June	unknown			Y			commission
1396		26	November	Birgham			Y	379500	639500	truce negotiation
1397				Hadden		field	Y	380221	636835	Unknown

1397		2	October	Dunfermline		town	Y	308935	687300	indenture negotiation
1398		12	November	Gamelspath		churcyard/field	Y	378965	608500	day of march
1398		21-26	October	Haddenstank		field	Y	380221	636835	day of march/indenture
1398		28	October	Haddenstank		field	Y			indenture negotiation
1398	c.		November	Haddenstank		field	Y	380221	636835	day of march
1398		2	November	Lochmaben		stone circle	Y	331202	565975	indenture negotiation
1398		14	November	Lochmaben		stone circle	Y	331202	565975	day of march
1398		18	November	KirkAndrews		church/churcyard	Y	259500	548500	day of march
1398	Monday after Christmas		December	Lochmabenstone		stone circle	Y	331202	565975	unknown
1398				KirkAndrews		church/churcyard	Y	259500	548500	day of march
1398				Kershop Brig		bridge	Y	350085	583415	day of march
1398		26	November	Kershop Brig		bridge	Y	350085	583415	day of march
1398	to 16	11	March	Haddenstank		field	Y	380221	636835	truce negotiation
1399	c.			unknown			Y			judicial duel
1399		14	May	Haddenstank		field	Y	380221	636835	truce
1399		21	December	Kelso		monastery	Y	372925	633910	truce negotiation
1400		5	January	Kelso	abbey	monastery	Y	372925	633910	meeting

1400			January	numerous			N			day of march
1400			December	unknown			N			truce
1401			Spring	unknown			Y			truce negotiation
1401	to 23	17	October	Kirk Yetholm	in a field near Kirk Yetholm'	field	Y	383120	628810	truce negotiation
1401			February	unknown			Y			warden's court
1401	to 23	18	October	Carham	church	church	Y	379730	638430	truce negotiation
1401		16	May	Gamelspath		churched/fie ld	Y	378965	608500	truce negotiation
1401		24	June	unknown			Y			truce negotiation
1401		22	September	Kirk Yetholm	Yetholm- Kirke"	church	Y	383120	628810	truce negotiation
1402		10	April	Kelso		monastery	Y	372925	633910	day of march/truce negotiation
1404			Summer	Carlisle		town	Y	340325	555679	judicial duel/ tournament
1404		8	October	Haddenstank		field	Y	380221	636835	day of march/truce negotiation
1404		6	July	Pontefract		town	N			truce negotiation

1405		24	March	Haddenstank		field	Y	380221	636835	day of march/truce negotiation
1405			late spring	Smithfield			N			tournament
1405				unknown			N			truce
1406		29	September	England			N			judicial duel
1407		1	August	Haddenstank		field	Y	380221	636835	truce Negotiation
1409	or early summer		late spring	Haddenstank		field	Y	380221	636835	truce negotiation
1409			November	unknown			Y			tribunal for maritime offenses
1409			spring or early summer	Haddenstank		field	Y	380221	636835	truce negotiation
1410		21	April	Haddenstank		field	Y	380221	636835	truce negotiation
1411	or June		May	Haddenstank		field	Y	380221	636835	truce negotiation
1411		18	October	Gamelspath		field	Y	378965	608500	meeting
1412		17	May	Haddenstank		field	Y	380221	636835	truce negotiation
1413			September	unknown			Y			
1414		18	November	Berwick		town	Y	399700	653104	judicial duel
1414	-1415		winter	Carlisle		town	Y	340325	555679	judicial duel
1415	c.			unknown			Y			inquest
1423			February	unknown			Y			inquest
1423			September	Durham		town	N	427400	542325	truce

1423				Pontefract		town	N			truce
1424				Durham		town	N	427400	542325	truce
1424				Durham		town	N	427400	542325	truce
1425		15	August	Berwick		town	Y	399700	653104	day of march
1426			June	Reddenburn		field	Y	378975	637710	day of march
1426			August	unknown			Y	379140	637542	day of march
1426				Reddenburn		field	Y	378975	637710	day of march
1427			July	unknown			Y			day of march
1429			November	Lochmabenstone		stone circle	Y	331202	565975	day of march
1429			November	Reddenburn		field	Y	378975	637710	day of march
1429				Reddenburn		field	Y	378975	637710	pre-trial meetings
1429				Kirkandrews		church/ churtyard	Y	259500	548500	pre-trial meetings
1429		12	July	Haddenstank		field	Y	380221	636835	truce negotiation
1430			Winter	Haddenstank		field	Y	380221	636835	meeting
1430			May	unknown			Y	424740	563808	day of march
1430			June	Newcastle		town	Y	424740	563808	truce negotiation
1430	1430-1440			unknown			Y			day of march
1430			December	Edinburgh		town	N			truce
1431			Spring	unknown			Y			day of march
1433			August	Haddenstank		field	Y	380221	636835	day of march
1434			March	Reddenburn		field	Y	378975	637710	day of march
1434			Summer	East March			Y			truce negotiation

1434			Summer	unknown			Y			day of march
1434			Summer	unknown			Y			day of march
1435			July	unknown			Y			day of march
1436			February or march	unknown			Y			truce negotiation
1436			February or march	unknown			Y			day of march
1438				unknown			N			truce
1440				unknown			Y			day of march
1442				unknown			N			truce
1446				unknown			Y			day of march
1448				unknown			Y			day of march
1449			November	Durham		town	N	427400	542325	truce
1449			July	Wyntoun			N			truce
1449			August	Stirling		town	N			truce
1450	1450-1460			unknown			Y			day of march
1451			July or August	Haddenstank		field	Y	380221	636835	day of march
1451	or 1452			unknown			Y			day of march
1451		14	August	Newcastle		town	Y	424740	563808	truce
1453		23	May	Westminster			N			truce
1457	-1461			unknown			Y			day of march
1457				unknown			Y			day of march
1457		10	June	Coventry			N			truce
1458			Summer	unknown			Y			day of march
1459		25	July	Coventry			N			truce

1460	1460-early 1470s			unknown			Y			day of march
1462				unknown			N			truce
1463			December	York		town	N			truce
1464		23	July	Lochmabenstone		stone circle	Y	331202	565975	day of march
1464			July	Reddenburn		field	Y	378975	637710	day of march
1464			June	York		town	N			truce
1464				Cornhill		chapel	Y			day of march
1465		12	December	Newcastle		town	Y	424740	563808	truce
1466		5	December	Newcastle		town	Y	424740	563808	day of march
1471	late		September	Alnwick		town	Y	418937	613583	day of march
1471	-1472			Morpeth		town	Y	419965	585655	warden's court
1472				Newcastle		town	Y	424740	563808	day of march
1473		28	September	Alnwick		town	Y	418937	613583	day of march/ indenture
1473		5	November	Gamelspath		churchyard/ field	Y	378965	608500	day of march
1473	early		December	Kershop Brig		bridge	Y	350085	583415	day of march (great diet)
1473		12	November	Lochmabenstone		stone circle	Y	331202	565975	day of march
1473		20	October	Newbiggen			Y	389670	645865	day of march
1473		28	October	Reddenburn		field	Y	378975	637710	day of march
1473		9	November	Belford			Y	359640	596440	day of march
1474		22	February	Debateable Lands			Y			indenture negotiation
1474				unknown			Y			day of march

1474	or March		February	West March			Y			indenture negotiation
1474			December	unknown			Y			indenture negotiation
1474		26	October	Edinburgh			N			truce
1475		8	May	Alnwick		town	Y	418937	613583	tribunal for maritime offenses
1475		8	May	South Berwick			Y	399699	653104	tribunal for maritime offenses
1475		4	January	Norham	parish church	church	Y	389691	647410	truce
1482			June	Fotheringhay			N			truce
1483			February	Westminster			N			truce
1484		10	October	Dunbar	castle	castle	Y	367670	679250	day of march
1484		21	October	Reddenburn		field	Y	378975	637710	day of march
1484		18	October	Haddenstank		field	Y	380221	636835	day of march
1484		14	October	Lochmabenstone		stone circle	Y	331202	565975	day of march
1484		18	November	Lochmabenstone		stone circle	Y	331202	565975	day of march
1484		22	September	Nottingham		town	N	456658	340044	indenture/ truce negotiation
1484		1	December	Reddenburn		field	Y	378975	637710	day of march
1485			April	Lochmabenstone		stone circle	Y	331202	565975	day of march
1486		26	July	London			N			truce
1487			December	West March			Y			day of march
1487	c.		December	East March			Y			day of march

1487		28	November	Edinburgh			N			truce
1488	c.		October	unknown			Y			day of march
1488			October	Coldstream			Y	384152	639779	truce
1490	c.		November	Jedburgh		town	Y	365022	620570	day of march
1490				unknown			Y			meeting
1491		31	July	unknown			Y			day of march
1491			June	unknown			Y			day of march
1491			December	Berwick		town	Y	399700	653104	day of march
1491			December	Coldstream			Y	384152	639779	truce
1491	-1492			Lauder		town	Y	353418	647829	day of march
1491	-1492			Norham			Y	389691	647410	day of march
1492			Spring	Coldstream			Y	384152	639779	day of march
1492			Autumn	Coldstream			Y	384152	639779	unknown
1492		3	November	Coldstream			Y	384152	639779	truce negotiation
1492	-1493			Coldstream			Y	384152	639779	day of march
1492	-1493			Lauder		town	Y	353418	647829	day of march
1492	-1493			Norham			Y	389691	647410	day of march
1493		1	August	Haddington			N	351500	673500	tribunal for maritime offenses
1493		1	August	Berwick		town	Y	399700	653104	tribunal for maritime offenses
1493		8	August	unknown (probably in western march)			Y			indenture negotiation
1493				Edinburgh		town	N			truce

1494		26	March	Coldstream			Y	384152	639779	indenture negotiation
1494		8	August	Lochmaben		stone circle	Y	331202	565975	indenture negotiation
1495				Unknown			Y			day of march
1496				Unknown			Y			day of march
1497				Ayton		church	Y	392740	660885	truce
1498				Unknown			Y			warden's court

# Appendix J: Sources Used to Compile the Meeting Places Dataset

## UNPUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

*Archives of the Dean and Chapter, Durham Cathedral*

Locelli XXV

Miscellaneous Charters

Registrum IV

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# Appendix K: 16<sup>th</sup>-Century Anglo-Scottish Border Meetings

**Table K.1:** 16<sup>th</sup>-century Anglo-Scottish Border Meetings

Year	Range	Day	Month	Held (H) or Cancelled (C)	Location	Site	Site Type	Type of Meeting
1500					Dumfries		town	day of march (bill filing)
1500	possibly				Dumfries		town	day of march
1502			February					commission
1506			April					commission
1507			April					commission
1525		27	July					day of march
1525			June					day of march
1525			December					day of march
1526			November		Ladykirk	church	church	day of march
1526			February		Reddenburn	field	field	day of march
1526		23, 25	August					day of march
1526			March					day of march
1526			November					day of march
1527			September					day of march
1527								day of march
1534			November					day of march
1536		26	April		Reddenburn		field	day of truce
1536		25	June		Reddenburn		field	day of truce
1536		4	July		Reddenburn		field	day of truce

1536		23	July		Carham	Carham Kirk	church	day of truce
1536		11	September		Reddenburn		field	day of truce
1536		25	September		Reddenburn		field	day of truce
1536		5	October		Reddenburn		field	day of truce
1536		18-19	October		Kelso		town	bill filing
1536		4	November		Cornhill			bill filing
1536		15-16	November		Reddenburn		field	day of truce
1536		27	November		Carham	Carham Kirk	church	bill filing
1536		18	December		Carham	Carham Kirk	church	bill filing
1536		19	December		Sprouston	Sprouston Kirk	church	bill filing
1537		11	January		Reddenburn		field	bill filing
1537		22	January		Reddenburn		field	bill filing
1537		28 or 29	February		Reddenburn		field	delivery
1537		4	April		Reddenburn		field	day of truce
1537		28-29	June		Coldstream			day of truce
1537		29	June		Coldstream			day of truce
1537		20	July		Coldstream			day of truce
1537		2	August		Coldstream			day of truce
1537		20	August		Coldstream			day of truce
1537		10	September		Coldstream			day of truce
1537		10	October		Coldstream			day of truce
1537		22	October		Coldstream			day of truce
1537		8	November		Coldstream			day of truce
1537		25	November		Coldstream			day of truce
1537		17	December		Coldstream			day of truce
1537		25	April		Cocklaw		field	day of truce
1537		13	May		Hexpathgate			day of truce

1537		18	June		Cocklaw			day of truce
1537		27	June		Cocklaw		field	bill filing
1537		12	July		Cocklaw		field	day of truce
1537		6	September		Cocklaw		field	day of truce
1537		24	October		Cocklaw		field	day of truce
1538		25	February		Coldstream			day of truce
1538		11	March		Coldstream			day of truce
1538		9	May		Cocklaw		field	day of truce
1538		26	August		Cocklaw		field	day of truce
1538		30	August		Cocklaw		field	day of truce
1565			April	C				meeting
1565	few days after		Easter					meeting
1565			December	N/A				non-meeting
1579			December		Dunfermline			non-meeting
1580		1	May	N/A	Carlisle		town	non-meeting
1580		10	May	N/A	Alnwick		town	non-meeting
1580		20	May	C	Berwick		town	day of truce
1580		15	June	N/A	Berwick		town	non-meeting
1580		20	June	C	Berwick		town	non-meeting
1580		10	August	C	Berwick		town	day of truce
1580		16	September	H	Alnwick		town	meeting
1580		29	October					day of truce
1580		22	November	C				day of truce
1580				N/A				non-meeting
1581								delivery

1581		28-19	August		Hermitage		castle	warden court (possible)
1581		4	September					non-meeting
1581		4	September	H	Carlisle		town	meeting
1581	first week in		October		Gretna		church	delivery
1581				H	Berwick		town	commissioners' meeting
1582		24	April					non-meeting
1582		1	May	H				day of truce
1582			Early Summer					tryst
1582		19	May					non-meeting
1582		17	June					non-meeting
1582		11	July					non-meeting
1582		28	July					non-meeting
1583		3	February					non-meeting
1583		24	February					non-meeting
1583		19	April					non-meeting
1583		1	July		Kirshopefoot		field	day of march
1583		3	August					non-meeting
1583	On Monday last before	30	October	H	Rockliff			informal meeting
1583		5	November	H				day of march
1583		5	December	C	Gamelspath		churtyard/field	day of march
1583			December	C				day of march

1584		20	February					non-meeting
1584		8	March					non-meeting
1584		2	April					non-meeting
1584		23	April					non-meeting
1584		17	May					non-meeting
1584		5	July					non-meeting
1584		12	July					non-meeting
1584	Thursday after	13	July		Lochmaben			warden meeting
1584	A week after the Thursday post 13 July Meeting	13	July		Lochmaben			warden court (possible)
1584	Thursday after	11	August					tryst
1584			Summer	H				Day of march
1584			Summer	H				day of March
1584		21	September					non-meeting
1584			November		Hexham		town	English warden informal meeting
1584		18	December	H	Hermitage	Castle	castle	Warden and Surname meeting

1584		20	December	H	Whitawghe			Warden and Surname meeting
1585		4	March	C	Gretna	kirk	church	Day of March
1585		4	February	H				day of march
1585		18	March	C	Gretna	kirk	church	day of march
1585			Spring	H	Staweford		field	day of march
1585		Tuesday	Easter	H				horse race
1585	Wednesday before this date	28	May		Lincluden			Scottish informal meeting
1585		27	July		Hexpathgate/Cocklaw		field	day of march
1585			August					non-meeting
1585		4	September					commission
1585		4	September					non-meeting
1585		12	September	C	Hexpathgate		field	meeting
1585		15	September					non-meeting
1585		28	September	C	Reddenburn		field	meeting
1585		4	October	H	Reddenburn		field	meeting
1585		11	October					non-meeting
1585	c.	9	October	H	Berwick		town	commissioners' meeting
1585	c.	9	October	H	Foulden		field	commissioners' meeting
1585		16	October	H	Berwick		town	commissioners' meeting
1585		23	October	H	Unknown			meeting

1586		6	April	H	Staweford		field	bill filing
1586	to 9	6	April	H	Kelso		town	bill filing
1586	to 16	13	April	H	Alnwick		town	bill filing
1586		17	June	H	Berwick		town	commissioners' meeting
1586			July					non-meeting
1586	Tuesday last' before	8	September		Unknown			informal meeting
1586			September		Kershopefoot		field	delivery
1586		27	September					non-meeting
1586	c.	27	September					non-meeting
1586	Thursday after	10	December	C	Kirknewton			meeting
1586		29	December	C	Kirknewton			meeting
1587		12	January	C	Kirknewton			bill filing
1587		13	January	C	Kirk Yetholm			bill filing
1587		2	February	C	Kirknewton			bill filing
1587		3	February	C	Kirk Yetholm			bill filing
1587		16	February		Kirknewton			bill filing
1587		17	February		Kirk Yetholm			bill filing
1587		31	January		Hyndmerwell			tryst
1587		16	February	C	Kirk Yetholm			meeting
1587		17	February		Jedburgh		town	meeting
1587	to 3	2	March	C	Kirk Yetholm			meeting
1587	to 3	2	March	C	Kirknewton			meeting
1587		16	March		Kirk Yetholm			meeting
1587		14	March	H	Foulden		field	meeting

1587		18	March	H	Kirknewton			meeting
1587		2	May		Staweford		field	day of truce
1587	Tuesday last before 13th April		April		Alnwick		town	warden court
1587		29	April		the Bounds'			informal meeting
1587	Tuesday next after 1 June		June	C				meeting
1587	Wednesday next after 1 June		June	C				meeting
1587		18	August	H	Staweford		field	meeting
1587			August	C	Redeswyre		field	day of march
1587		2	September		Kirk Yetholm			day of march
1587		3	September		Kirknewton			day of march
1587		31	August		Fogo Moor			watch
1587		27	September					non-meeting
1587			October	C	Jedburgh		town	day of march
1587			October		Alnwick, Harbottle, or elsewhere		town	day of march
1588		15	January	C	Foulden		field	day of march/truce negotiation
1588		20	January	C	Hutton	Hutton Hall	castle	meeting

1588	Thursday next after 23rd		January	H	Foulden		field	meeting
1588		29	January	H	Berwick		town	meeting
1588		30	January	H	Berwick		town	bill filing
1588		5	February	H	Berwick		town	bill filing
1588		10	February	H	Berwick		town	delivery
1588		24	February	H	Berwick		town	proclamation
1588		20	February	H	Berwick		town	bill filing
1588		24	February	H	Berwick		town	delivery
1588	to 27	26	February		Berwick		town	delivery
1588	middle of		March	H	Berwick		town	delivery
1588		11	March	H	Alnwick		town	warden court
1588		9	September	H	Cawmylles near Berwick		tower	informal meeting
1589			October	H				day of march
1590	or April		February		Jedburgh		town	delivery
1590	or 19	18	February					meeting
1590		12	March	H	Staweford		field	bill filing
1590	c.	23	February	H				meeting
1590		20	March	H				meeting
1590	to 19	13	April	H	Belles Kyrk		church	day of march
1590		31	April	H	Belles Kyrk		church	day of march
1590	c.				Berwick		town	bill filing
1590		17	September		Roakley			day of march
1591		15	February		Staweford		field	day of march
1591		15	February		Reddenburn		field	day of march

1591			November					day of march
1591		27	June	C				day of March
1592		6	July	C				day of March
1592		11	August	H	Annand	water at	field	meeting
1592		31	August					bill filing
1592	Tuesday before this	28	September	C	Greenlaw			meeting
1592		14	November					day of march
1592		10	November					meeting
1592		8	October					non-meeting
1592	Thursday before	14	October	H	Esk			sport event
1592	c.	18	October	H	Redeswyre		field	informal meeting
1592	2 days		October	C	on March			ambassadorial mission
1592		14	November	C	Gretna	kirk	church	day of march
1592		12	December					
1592		21	November		Annand		field	bill filing
1592		22	November		Carlisle		town	bill filing
1592		28	November	C				meeting
1592			January	C				judicial combat
1593		28	February	H	Tordowath		ford	meeting
1593		8	March	H	Kirk Yetholm			day of march
1593		9	March	H	Kirknewton			day of march
1593		15	March	H	Gamelspath		churtyard/field	day of march
1593	c.		May					meeting

1593	to 17	10	May	H	Norham			day of march
1593		20	July					non-meeting
1593	before	26	September					meeting
1593		17	September	H	Berwick		town	marshall court
1593		17	October					non-meeting
1593		16	October	H	Alnwick		town	meeting
1593		28	November		Berwick or Alnwick		town	delivery
1594	Weds and Thurs before	27	April	H	Hexham		town	meeting
1594		28	June					non-meeting
1594			Summer	H				day of march
1594		2	July	C				day of march
1594		19	July					non-meeting
1594		24	October	H				Scottish meeting
1594		31	October					non-meeting
1595		20	January					non-meeting
1595			January	C				day of march
1595		31	January		Berwick Bound Road			meeting
1595		7	March		Cressoppe	Dayeholm		indenture negotiation
1595		8	June					non-meeting
1595		7	July					non-meeting
1595		7	August					non-meeting
1595		9	August					non-meeting
1595			August		Durham			assize

1595		29	August					non-meeting
1595			September					non-meeting
1595		7	October					non-meeting
1595		17	November					non-meeting
1595		25	November	H	Newcastle		town	English warden meeting
1595		10	December	H	Morpeth		town	bill filing
1596		8	January					non-meeting
1596	c.							delivery
1596		29	January					non-meeting
1596			February					English warden meeting
1596			January					non-meeting
1596		5	February					non-meeting
1596	to 8	5	April	H				gaol delivery
1596		8	April	H				warden court
1596			March	H				meeting
1596		17	March	C				redress and delivery
1596		3	March	H	Bound Road		road	meeting
1596	c. early		May	H				meeting
1596		2	June					day of march
1596			Spring	C				meeting
1596		20	July	C	Staweford			day of march
1596		19	June					non-meeting
1596			June					day of March
1596		17	August	H	Staweford		field	day of march

1596		16	July					non-meeting
1596		31	July	H				meeting
1596			July					non-meeting
1596		19	August		Berwick		town	English warden meeting
1596		24	August	H	Cocklaw		field	day of march
1596			August	C				day of march
1596		17	August	H				day of march
1596		13	November	C	Berwick		town	commissioners' meeting
1596		17	November	C	Berwick		town	commissioners' meeting
1596	Tuesday or Thursday before	31	December	C				meeting
1597	to 14	12	January		Berwick	Tollbooth	tollbooth	commissioners' meeting
1597	to 2	1	February	H	Berwick	Tollbooth	tollbooth	day of march
1597		3	February	H	Berwick	Tollbooth	tollbooth	day of march
1597		8	February	H	Berwick	Tollbooth	tollbooth	day of march
1597			January	H				warden court
1597			January	H				warden court
1597		8	February	H	Berwick	churtyard	churtyard	duel
1597		20	February		Tordowath		ford	delivery
1597		20	February		Reddenburn		field	delivery
1597	Thursday after	19	February	H	Reddenburn		field	bill filing

1597	Thursday after	19	February	H	Carham		church	bill filing
1597	Tuesday after	19	February	H	Kirknewton			redress and delivery
1597	Weds after	19	February	H	Kirk Yetholm			redress and delivery
1597		10	March	C	Gretna Kirk/Carlisle		church	commissioners' meeting
1597					Carlisle		town	commissioners' meeting
1597		1	March	H	Kirknewton			redress
1597	to early May	12	April	H	Gretna Kirk/Carlisle		church	commissioners' meeting
1597		9	March	H	Penrith			meeting
1597		4	March	C	Kirknewton			redress
1597			April					delivery
1597		15	April	H				warden court
1597	c.	27	April	H	on March			day of march
1597		3	May					day of March
1597	Weds after	20	April		Carlisle	tolbooth	tollbooth	bill filing
1597	Sat after	29	April		Gretna	bound road	road	delivery
1597		27	April	C	Canonbie		field	delivery
1597		5	May	H	Carlisle		town	truce
1597		10	June	C				bill filing
1597		1	July					delivery

1597	Shortly after midsummer		June					day of March
1597		25	June	H	Norham	West ford	ford	delivery
1597	to 12	11	July	H	Carlisle		town	assize
1597			August					delivery
1597		1	August	H	Staweford		field	meeting
1597		17	August		Hexham		town	meeting
1597		20	August		Canonbie	holme	field	meeting
1597		30	August		Kershopefoot		field	bill filing and delivery
1597			August					non-meeting
1597		20	September	C	Norham	West ford	ford	delivery
1597	to 24	20	September		Newborne on Tyne	Newborne haugh		meeting
1597		29	September	H	Norham	West ford	ford	delivery
1597			September	H	Carlisle		town	bill filing
1597			September					non-meeting
1597		9	October	C	Berwick	bound road	road	delivery
1597		8	October	H	Norham	West Ford	ford	delivery
1597		5	November		Foulden			delivery
1597		31	October		Lithquo			Scottish meeting
1597	or December		November					delivery
1597					Esk			duel
1597		11	November	H	Bound Road			meeting

1597	Tuesday after 'I' parted from you		November	H	Morpeth			English meeting
1597		15	November	H	Morpeth			English meeting
1597	Tues before	25	November	H	Mote of Lydell			meeting
1597	Weds before	25	November	H	Rockliff			meeting
1597	after the Weds before	25	November	H	Newbie			meeting
1597								non-meeting
1597				H	Harbottle Castle			tryst
1597				H	Staweford			day of march
1597				H	Newburne			meeting
1597								non-meeting
1597			December					non-meeting
1598		13	February	H	Foulden			delivery
1598		14	February	H	Berwick	castle		delivery
1598		14	February	H	Halidon Hill	hill		delivery
1598		1	March		Torday Forth			
1598		7	February		Lammerton (Lamberton?)			meeting
1598	c.	15	February	H	Norham	West ford		delivery
1598		1	June					non-meeting
1598		3	June		Norham	West ford		delivery
1598			August	C				delivery
1598		29	August					non-meeting

1598		9	September	H	Jedburgh			Scottish meeting
1598	Tuesday after	10	September		Wark			meeting
1598	Tuesday after	10	September		Cocklaw			meeting
1598		12	September	C	Fyreburn mill		ford	meeting
1598		19	September	H	Cocklaw			meeting
1598		6	October					non-meeting
1598		10	October					non-meeting
1598			October					non-meeting
1598			October					non-meeting
1598		16	October	H	Rockliff			meeting
1598		18	October					non-meeting
1598			January	H				commissioners' meeting
1598					Berwick	within 12 miles of		day of march
1599		14	February	H	Sark Water	foot of		meeting
1599		15	March		Carlisle and Annan			bill filing
1599		3	April		Carlisle			
1599			Spring		Graydon ford		ford	meeting
1599			Spring					meeting
1599		12	June					non-meeting
1599		18	June	H	Kershopefoot			meeting
1599			July	H				meeting
1599		24	July	H	Foulden	rig		meeting
1599		1	August	C	Norham	West ford		meeting

1599		10	August		Norham	West ford		meeting
1599	14 days before	8	September	C				meeting
1599		7	September		Havr {?} Craggs			duel
1599		21	September	H				meeting
1599		27	September	C				day of march
1599		5	October	C				day of march
1599	27	25	September					meeting
1599		26	October					day of march
1599		2	November	H	Staweford			day of march
1600			January	H	Carlisle			gaol delivery
1600			February					non-meeting
1600		19	April	H	Gretna	kirk		meeting
1600		19	May					bill filing
1600	Thursday before	14	June	H	Gretna	kirk		bill filing
1600		15	July					delivery
1600		27	June		Tordowath			meeting
1600		24	July	C				bill filing
1600			Summer					meeting
1600		5	September	C				meeting
1600		6	September	H				meeting
1600	Sunday before	22	September	H	Longryche			meeting
1600	Tuesday before	23	October	H	Carlisle			gaol delivery
1600		24	October	H				meeting

1600		6	November				bill filing
1600		18	December		Gretna	kirk	delivery
1600							non-meeting
1601			April	H	Annan	dyke	bill filing
1601		14	May	H	Gretna	kirk	Day of March
1601			May	H			meeting
1601	to 3	2	June				day of march
1601	within 6 days of	3	June				bill filing
1601		25	June	H			delivery
1601	to 11	8	June	H	Jedburgh		bill swearing
1601	18	15	June	H	Morpeth		bill swearing
1601	Saturday before	27	July	H			bill swearing
1601			August				non-meeting
1601		4	September	H			meeting
1601		27	September	H			day of march
1602		17	February	H	Carham		day of March
1602		18	February	H	Redden		day of March
1602		20	February	H	Reddenburn		meeting
1602		25	February	H			meeting
1602		7	May	H			delivery and filing
1602		10	June		Gretna	kirk	redress
1602		15	May				delivery
1603			May				meetings

<b>1602</b>		16	July					indenture negotiation
<b>1602</b>			August					day of truce
<b>1602</b>			August					meeting
<b>1602</b>	to 9	8	September					days of march
<b>1602</b>		4	November				Bound Road	meeting

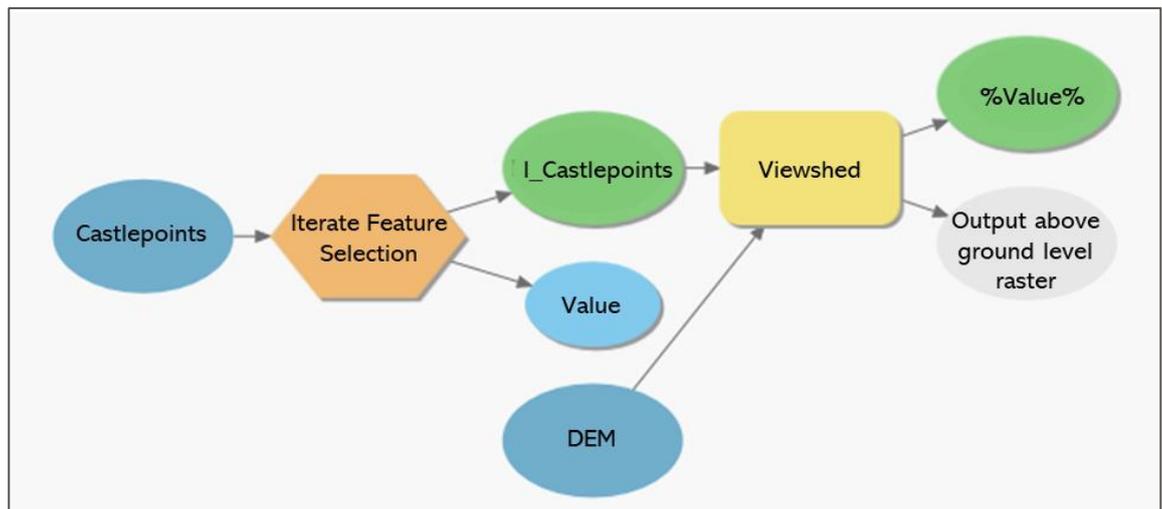
# Appendix L: GIS Methodologies

This appendix describes the specific methodologies, including parameters and rationales, used for the various GIS-based analyses conducted throughout the thesis. It is organised by chapter number, analysis type, and subtopic for ease of referencing in conjunction with the main text of the thesis.

## Chapters 4 and 5: Defence-scapes

### Viewshed Methodology Specifications and Rationale

This section describes the parameters and their rationale for the calculation of viewsheds as part of Triplett’s Spheres of Influence methodology utilised in the analysis of Chapters 4 and 5. Figure L.1 shows the iterative model used in ArcGIS Pro 2.8’s Model Builder used to calculate the viewshed for each fortification point in the database.



**Figure L.1:** Process used to calculate fortification viewsheds

### *Modelling Non-Extant Fortifications—Handling Spatial Imprecision in the Dataset*

The preservation of sites is a consistent challenge throughout the analysis of Chapters 4 and 5 as around half of the castles and towers in the geodatabase are no longer extant, and the precision of sites posed problems for certain aspects of the model. As this analysis was an exploratory exercise, it was decided to include non-

extant castles and towers in the analysis, but of course, interpretations obtained from non-extant sites were handled with extra care. While the exact placement of a point denoting a tower within a limited area has little impact on the results of the catchment area analysis, it can have a significant impact on the result of the viewshed analysis, particularly in hilly terrain. To account for this, locations that were unknown were identified with points located either at existing settlements or at estate houses bearing the same placename as the missing castles and towers. Analysis utilising the viewsheds, such as intervisibility, was done by hand rather than through automated processes available in GIS. In particular, the generation of 'above ground' rasters, which measure how much higher a raster cell would need to be in order to be visible from a fortification, allowed reasonable adjustments to the analysis to be made to account for the imprecision inherent to the dataset.

### ***Characteristics of the Surface Raster (DEM)***

Viewsheds are calculated using a surface raster which represents the topography of the landscape upon which a viewshed is calculated. A digital elevation model (DEM), in which modern structures are removed from the raster, was downloaded from Digimap (Digimap n.d.) and then the DEM was smoothed in order to remove the most egregious impacts of modern and post medieval alterations to the natural topography of the landscape and to reduce the impact of errors in the DEM itself. It is important to note that medieval buildings and vegetation were not incorporated into this model. Without full knowledge of the medieval landscape, a standard of data collection we will likely never be able to achieve, it is impossible to know the full impact of buildings, particularly churches with towers and vegetation on the viewshed of the fortifications in the dataset. As a result, the viewsheds modelled in Chapters 4 and 5 represent viewshed potential rather than viewshed reality.

### ***Height: Determining the Minimum and Maximum***

Calculating the exact viewshed of a medieval tower is impossible in many instances as the buildings are often either in ruins, have disappeared entirely, or changes have been made to the original medieval fabric of the building that have impacted the height of the existing structure. As a result, any viewshed analyses will be an estimate rather than an exact reflection of the medieval reality. This a problem

commonly encountered in archaeological visibility studies, but even gross estimates of the height and size of structures have been shown to be useful in heuristic GIS studies acknowledging the limitations of the data (Franklin 2020; Kirk 2017; Kantner and Hobgood 2016). Where known, the height of existing structures was recorded as a component of the fortification dataset. This information primarily came from HER records, but in many cases, fortification heights were recorded in stories rather than in meters or feet. Nevertheless, there were a few towers where height was recorded in either metric or imperial units. From these fortifications, it was estimated that a three-story tower in northern England and southern Scotland measured on average about 12m in height, whereas a four-story tower measured about 15m in height. Castles, on the other hand, might include more substantial keeps or gatehouses. Norham's medieval donjon measured 23m above ground level, while Dunstanburgh's early gatehouse measured 24m in height. It is important to note that parapets and turrets often extended above these heights. As a result, viewsheds were calculated twice using the model builder—first at a minimum height of 12m and afterwards at a maximum height of 24m. In most cases, the differences between the viewsheds at the minimum and maximum heights were not sufficient to significantly alter initial interpretations.

### ***Extent of viewsheds***

Objects are only visible to a certain distance, and the furthest distance at which one can see an object depends on a number of factors including size, colour, reflectiveness, and environmental factors such as the air quality and the weather. Incorporating each of these factors would create a model so complex as to be nearly unusable. For most models, the impact of distance and size on acuity are sufficient to produce viewsheds which are accurate enough to be usable in archaeological analyses and are comparatively easy to incorporate into viewsheds calculated within ArcGIS Pro. In a large number of previous archaeological viewshed studies, the degradation of acuity over distance is modelled by applying a Higuchi viewshed where viewsheds are divided into three ranges of decreasing degrees of acuity—the short distance, middle distance, and long distance (McManama-Kearin 2013; Wheatley and Gillings 1999). The ranges of each of these categories is often adjusted for individual projects based on the questions being asked and the structures or objects involved (e.g. McManama-Kearin 2013; Lowerre 2007). This project was primarily concerned with the visibility of two

different objects—fortifications and raiding parties. For each of these, the distance to which the outer extent of the viewshed was calculated from each fortification point was based on a combination of contextual information and experimental visibility studies which have tested human acuity in the real world.

The maximum distance at which a fortification is visible has been handled differently in different studies. In his analysis of the visibility of castles, Lowerre (2007) set the outer limit of his viewsheds at 15 km. Meanwhile, McManama-Kearin (2013) set hers at 11km. However it has been noted that in Northumberland, Warkworth Castle is visible from Dunstanburgh Castle in perfect conditions (Summerson 1993), a distance of over 15km. As a result, the outer extent of the viewsheds in this study needed to extend further than Lowerre and McManama-Kearin’s methodologies allowed. An analogy was found in the US southwest where John Kantner and Ronald Hobgood (2016) explored Chacoan tower kivas, which are similar in size to the towers of Northumberland. They determined that a tower less than 20m high would have a maximum visibility range of 20km. This maximum extent has been similarly adopted by this project for analyses relating to the visibility of towers.

Other analyses within the chapters related to the visibility of small raiding parties or individual humans over long distances. Many studies (Gillings and Wheatley 2020, 320) use a distance (6,880m) based on a study conducted by Ogburn (2006, 410 Table 1) which determined ranges using optical mathematics. This thesis, instead, uses a limit based on an experimental study by Pastor Fábrega-Álvareza and César Parcero-Oubiña (2019) which tested the maximum distance at which the human form could be spotted in different environments in Spain. Through these experiments, they determined that the distance at which a person was detectable in the landscape was between 2,100m and 2,550m depending on the characteristics of the surrounding environment—a number similar to the range at which military manuals in the 19<sup>th</sup> century claim an enemy army can be detected. As a result, this project uses 2,550m as the range of ‘first detection’ at which a raiding party could be seen approaching a fortification.

### ***Testing the Results***

To ensure their interpretational validity within the analyses of Chapters 4 and 5, a selection of viewsheds were checked for their accuracy during field visits. The

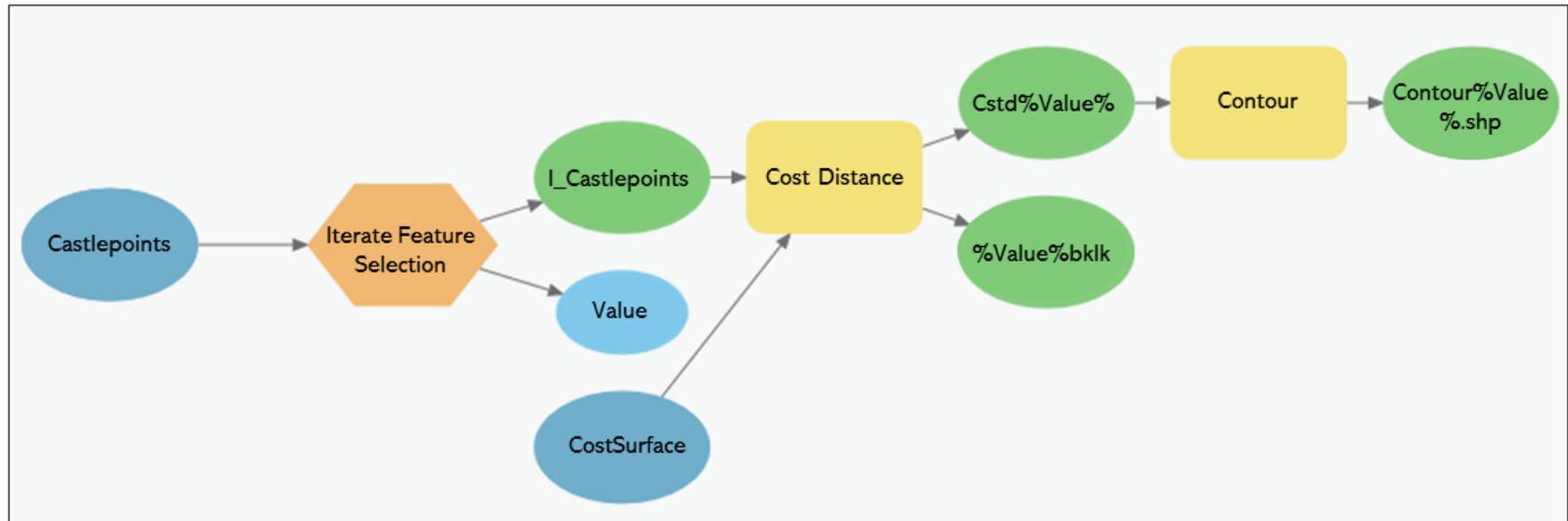
viewsheds were all determined to be reasonably accurate. It was also noted during these visits that trees had a significant impact on visibility. However, in many cases, these woodlands were modern plantations which restrict viewsheds that would likely have been visible in the medieval period. For instance, Spylaw and Beacon Hill are noted as being visible from Wark Castle in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. However, this viewshed is blocked by modern trees along the River Tweed and a plantation along the ridge where Spylaw is located (Figure L.2). A similar problem occurred when testing the intervisibility of Simonburn and Chipchase. This indicates that in some cases, digital modelling is a much more useful way of reconstructing viewsheds than purely in-field studies which are highly impacted by landscape changes and access restrictions.



**Figure L.2:** The impact of trees on the visibility (from the base of Wark's motte) of Spylaw and Beacon ridge, which are located at the crest of the hill in the background of the photograph, also covered in trees. *(Photo by author)*

## **Cost-Distance Methodology Specifications and Rationale**

This section describes the parameters and their rationale for the calculation of cost-distance surfaces as part of Triplet's Spheres of Influence methodology utilised in the analyses of Chapters 4 and 5. Figure L.3 shows the iterative model used in ArcGIS Pro 2.8 to calculate cost-distances and generate cost-distance contours for each fortification point in the database. In general, multiple friction surfaces were generated based on environmental parameters and then combined into a cost-surface raster.



**Figure L.3:** Process used to calculate cost-distance contours

Using this surface, cost-distances were calculated from each fortification point. From the cost-distance raster, contours were calculated which mark the landscape which could be travelled to in .5 cost-hour intervals.

### ***Friction-Surface: Slope***

Slope was included as a cost in the cost-surface. A number of different equations to calculate cost have been proposed (see Herzog 2020 for a useful list of these) and occasionally tested through real world experiments. The most commonly used one is that proposed by Waldo Tobler (1993), known as Tobler's Hiking Function.<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately, most of these equations are written to model a human walker, not the horse-mounted garrisons of the Anglo-Scottish castles and towers. Similar experimentally validated friction equations for horse-based travel have not yet been created, although experiments using horses in the Sierra Nevada Range of California by Sunseri (2015) indicate horses are impacted slightly differently by slope than humans. Until a model is published, a best-fit proxy must be created for the purpose of this project and validated through historical evidence. The two models for this methodology resolved this issue in different ways. Triplett created his own slope equation for his model but was not explicit about the formula he used. Canosa-Betés (2016), on the other hand, used a combination of friction functions, including Tobler's Hiking Function to find a range of costs. Because this project is looking to create a singular catchment, it was decided to use Tobler's Hiking Function (see Tripcevich 2015 and White 2015 for methodologies in ArcGIS) but to adjust it to 'horse-speed' by multiplying the friction values by .8 (Herzog 2020, 342; Tobler 1992). This does not change the relative friction of the cells but adjusts the overall velocity at which travel is possible through them.

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<sup>26</sup> Tobler's Hiking Function is often used incorrectly (see Herzog 2014, 232 for examples). Tobler's formula is calculated using mathematical slope rather than in degree or percent.

## ***Friction-Surface Rivers and Fords***

Rivers and their crossings were a significant concern for medieval travellers in the eastern borderlands. The importance of these crossings was already implied by the results of the characterisation of castle landscapes exercise in Chapter 4. Rivers could become significant barriers to travel in the region, particularly in the winter and spring months when they are liable to flood. As discussed in Chapter 7, the choice of meeting places on the borderlands was sometimes impacted by the flooding of the rivers which made fords impassable (and travel exceptionally uncomfortable and dangerous). While the size and violence of river flow varies immensely through the year, it was decided to incorporate rivers as barriers within the model, so that travel across rivers in the model would be diverted to flow through the fords, as it did in the past. To do this, rivers were divided into three categories, called 'levels', based loosely on width as measured in the first-edition OS maps (Table L.1). Each level was given a designated buffer size which could be used to transform the river data from line to polygon vectors that could then be transformed into raster data and incorporated into the cost-surface raster as a barrier to movement.

**Table L.1:** Characterisation of rivers, by 'level', within the cost-surface model

River Level	Width on OS Maps	Width of buffer (diameter)
1	Over 50m	100m
2	15-50m	40m
3	Up to 15m	10m

Fords were mapped along Level 1 and 2 rivers. Excepting for the region of the Lower Tweed where historic fords were named in the 1541 survey and previously mapped in this project, fords were located using the first edition OS maps for the region. The mapped fords and roads were then clipped from the river polygons, thus eliminating the rivers as barriers at these points. Crossings of the Level 3 rivers were not mapped. This is because many of these rivers are often easily crossable either by foot or by horseback, as evidenced by the change in the depiction of river crossings in the OS maps where streams and burns of less than 10m are often depicted with unimpeded footpaths crossing them and largely lack designated fording points.

It is also important to note the difference between the way Level 1 and 2 rivers and Level 3 rivers behave in the model. The 10m wide polygons of the Level 3 rivers are smaller

than the cell size of the cost-surface raster (15m). As a result, Level 3 rivers appear only as barriers 1 cell wide. This means that while movement is impeded through these single cells, the barrier is not wide enough to completely impede travel across these small rivers. Thus while Level 1 and 2 rivers act as barriers except at the designated fording places, the level 3 rivers act as an impediment to travel but not as a barrier, much as they would have done in historic reality.

### ***Friction-Surface: Roads***

Finally, roads were also incorporated into the cost-surface because without roads, least-cost paths calculated between fortifications were depicting paths which were more direct than historic evidence suggests. In order to reflect historical reality more closely, it was decided to include the 18<sup>th</sup>-century road dataset in the model and adjust its friction multiplier in the cost-surface calculation so that roads were easier to travel along than the surrounding landscape. Experimentation with least-cost paths resulted in a friction multiplier of .7 for the roads. This is similar to the difference between the friction of improved dirt paths and grassland in Herzog (2020, 340 Table 18.3) and results in least-cost paths which respect the roads but will also cut corners and deviate from them based on rugged topography. This results in a model which likely relates to historic travel patterns but allows for adjustments and potential additions to the imperfect and incomplete dataset.

### ***Calculation of the Cost-Surface and Model Validation***

The individual friction-surfaces were then combined to create a single cost-surface raster which was input into ArcGIS Pro's Cost-Distance tool to generate a catchment area (using hours as its unit) around designated points. The plausibility of the resulting catchment area was then tested using Berwick Castle in comparison to historical documentation of how far one could travel in a day by horse.

How fast and how far, on average, a rider could travel in a day would have varied and is difficult to determine. Triplett argued that the average rider in Andalusia could travel 32km in a day. However, this seems a significant underestimate as Bork and Kann (2010, 8) argue that the Roman army generally travelled about 20 miles (32km) in a day but could

cover up to 50 miles (80km) in exceptional circumstances. Meanwhile, Delano-Smith (2006, 17) notes that Charlemagne rarely travelled more than 20 miles day, but that the average medieval rider unimpeded by royal baggage trains could easily travel around 30 miles (48km) a day. In the Anglo-Scottish borderland, Froissart claimed that Scottish raiders into Northumberland could ride up to 70 miles in a day (Fraser 1971, 86). In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Robert Carey was famous for having travelled from London to Norham, a journey of nearly 400 miles, in just 2.5 days and had previously walked the same journey in just 12 days. However, that journey often took around 10 days or more to complete for the experienced traveller. In 1600 Lord Scrope recorded travelling 32 miles in a day across the border region for his wardenial duties (CBP.ii.1205, 672). As a result, it is clear that travel times could vary depending on the incentive for speed, but considering a day's travel as being around 30-32 miles (50km) would not be unreasonable.

When the catchment area around Berwick was calculated with the multiplier of .8 for a horseback journey, a distance of 50km would take approximately eight hours to travel (a rate of 6.25km per hour), a reasonable day's journey. This is also towards the outer limit of the distances possible to calculate within the project area. Usefully, the speed of a horse canter is approximately twice as fast (~12km/hr), meaning that the time-catchment could be doubled to account for fast-moving garrisons over a short distance. As a result of this simple validation, the cost-distance model created for the project is a plausible representation of the potential catchment areas, in units of cost-hours, of armed mounted soldiers at the castles and towers in the Anglo-Scottish borderland. As a result, like the viewsheds, the cost-distance was calculated at each fortification in the geodatabase. This surface was then transformed using the Contour tool into a series of polygons around each fortification at .5 cost-hour intervals.

## **Chapters 6 and 7: Legal-scapes**

### **Cumulative Viewshed Methodology**

In Chapter 6, the visibility of meeting places from roads emerged as an important characteristic of some of the Anglo-Scottish meeting places. This pattern is most certain at Reddenburn, which can be associated with the construction of a gallows in the early-16<sup>th</sup>

century (CBP.ii.1450, 783-784). It was deemed useful to model the visibility of the topography along historic roads at two of the meeting places, Reddenburn and Lilliot's Cross, to aid interpretation in Chapter 6. To do this, cumulative viewsheds were calculated using the smoothed DEM described above and vector layers of points located in .5 km intervals along segments of roads in the cross-border road dataset which passed the two Anglo-Scottish meeting places. The results of this analysis modelled the relative visibility of each cell in the DEM from the road, as the results calculated the number of points along the road from which each cell was visible. The cumulative viewsheds were calculated from a height of 1.7 m at each point, a relatively standard convention used to represent the height of a human in GIS visibility models (Gillings and Wheatley 2020), and no offset was used for the elevation of the DEM surface which was being 'observed' from each of these points. Calculations were restricted to a 2,550m buffer on either side of the road, which represents the range of first detection for a human form (see above).

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## Abbreviations

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- APS            *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland.* T. Thompson and C. Innes (Eds.). (1814-1875). Edinburgh: Record Commission. 12 vols.
- CBP            Bain, J. (Ed.) (1894-1896) *The Border Papers: Calendar of Letters and Papers Relating to the Affairs of the Borders of England and Scotland Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London*, 2 vols. Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House.
- CDS            *Calendar of documents relating to Scotland preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London.* J. Bain (1881-1888). Edinburgh: Scottish Record Office. 4 vols.
- CPR            *Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office (1893-1916)*, London: Public Record Office. Available at: <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009029274>.
- DCD            Archives of the Dean and Chapter, Durham Cathedral
- HES            Historic Environment Scotland (2015) *Historic landuse assessment* [dataset]. Historic Environment Scotland. Available at: <https://portal.historicenvironment.scot/downloads>. [Accessed 8 Jan 2019]
- HMC            *The manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland, G. C. B., preserved at Belvoir Castle. Vol I.* Historical Manuscripts Commission, Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part IV. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
- NCC HER       Northumberland County Council (2018) *Northumberland historic environment records* dataset]. Northumberland County Council. [Accessed 29 Nov. 2018].

- NLS National Library of Scotland (n.d.). *Roy Military Survey of Scotland, 1747-1755* [Online]. National Library of Scotland. Available at: <https://maps.nls.uk/roy/> [Accessed 2 January 2020].
- NRS National Records of Scotland (n.d.) *Civil parishes* [Online]. National Records of Scotland. Available from: <https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/statistics-and-data/geography/our-products/other-national-records-of-scotland-nrs-geographies-datasets/civil-parishes>. [Accessed: 7 Jan 2019].
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- RCAHMS Royal Commission on Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland (1956). *An inventory of the ancient and historical monuments of Roxburghshire*. Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office. 2 vols.
- SAS *The statistical account of Scotland 1791-1799, Volume III*. S. J. Sinclair, (Ed.). (1979). Wakefield, England: EP Publishing Limited.
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- TNA The National Archives

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