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THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND TO THE EMERGENT KINGDOMS OF THE TWEED BASIN IN THE EARLY HISTORIC PERIOD

(Two Volumes)

VOLUME ONE

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To Rosemary

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the archaeological background to the emergent kingdoms of the Tweed Basin in the Early Historic period. The approach is firmly interdisciplinary and, whilst the archaeological evidence is regarded as paramount, use is also made of historical sources and place-names to derive the fullest possible picture for the political development of the region, its settlement and economy. Earlier work by other scholars has demonstrated the potential coherence of evidence for the period, and particularly so in respect to its Early Christian monuments. However, in the past it has proved difficult to bridge the gap between the Late Roman and post-Roman periods. In the course of this work it is recognized that much of the detail which emerges in the Early Historic period probably has its roots much earlier, in the landscape of the Romano-British period and that of the first millennium BC.

The region is discussed and its potential at all periods for supporting settlement and land-use strategies is outlined, also the factors which have shaped the archaeological record and influence our perception of it. In order to provide the backdrop for the Early Historic period, the progress of settlement and economy through later prehistory is discussed and attention is drawn to the probable existence, on the eve of Roman intervention, of a hierarchical tribal society. A number of key sites are identified, the *oppida*, whose importance seems to have been enduring. It is argued that the Roman presence was short-lived, its impact on the native landscape slight, moreover that while change is apparent, that this may have been initiated by native society itself. The question of continuity is evidently crucial and this is addressed in respect to native settlement, the emergence of regional lowland centres, and by reference to a reclassification of sites traditionally believed to be of Romano-British date. The approach is new and offers some scope for identifying a number of sites potentially of the Early Historic period. Reappraisal of the latest levels at Traprain (mid third to early fifth century), a site epitomizing the importance of regional native centres in the north, lends itself to the definition of a building tradition apparently unparalleled south of the Firth of Forth.

Within the Tweed Basin, on the basis of the reclassification of settlement evidence, the presence of a key boundary is identified approximating to Dere Street. The significance of this boundary to the emergent polities of the Tweed Basin is supported by reference to the pattern of territoriality deduced on the basis of the known Early Historic fortifications, and this is set with the evidence for the Anglian takeover of lands on both sides of the Tweed in the seventh century. The cropmark site at Sprouston is considered for the light it casts on the Anglo-British interface. On the evidence presented, it is suggested that Anglian settlement may have extended no farther west than Dere Street and there shaded off into territories supporting a level of British survival.

The historical evidence is considered for the bearing it has on the region, and it is suggested that, while the northern province of Britain may have been pitched into a state of crisis after the Roman withdrawal, these same problems may have held little consequence for the peoples north of the Wall. Evidence for the extension of Germanic settlement to the Tweed Basin by or in the sixth century is considered together with the British response. By reference to the pedigree evidence, the progress of the northern dynasties is charted and their territorial extent is tentatively mapped. A case is made for a tripartite division of the Tweed Basin in the Early Historic period, comprising the kingdoms of *Goddeu* (Tweeddale), *Calchvynyd* (Kelso), and *Bernaccia* (the Merse). In common with other dynastic kingdoms in North Britain, these too are seen to emerge from earlier pre-Roman tribal groupings and, on the basis of the Early Christian monuments, Tweeddale is identified as a probable sub-Roman diocese. The demise of northern Celtic supremacy is heralded by the battles of Degsastan and *Catraeth*. An alternative hypothesis is offered both for the site of Degsastan and the rationale behind the battles.

In recognition of the likelihood of British survival to the west of Dere Street, this is considered in respect to the parish of Manor. Drawing upon field and documentary evidence, the territorial development of the valley is mapped and examined. A case is made for the emergence here of a distinctly native pattern of landholding and one which seems to trace its origins from the early to mid first millennium BC. The totality of the evidence suggests that all we perceive of Early Historic society probably owes a greater debt to settlement and land-use strategies already long established in the region.

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INTRODUCTION

This study considers the archaeological background to the emergent kingdoms of the Tweed Basin in the Early Historic period. There are three aims. First, to demonstrate a level of continuity which, though suspected, has previously not been shown; second to examine the nature of the post-Roman kingdoms, their origin and identity, and third, to consider the factors which combined to shape the political, economic and social organization of the landscape in this the formative phase of its early British history.

The Tweed Basin comprises the modern counties of Berwick, Roxburgh, Selkirk, and Peebles. It occupies a central position in respect to the geography of North Britain and its people would therefore not only have been at the hub of Roman frontier affairs, but also open to the influences and events which shaped the character of northern society after the Roman withdrawal. It is a region too whose life and culture has, in comparatively more recent times, been shaped by the presence of a major boundary, the Anglo-Scottish Border, and, since the fourteenth century, it has been possible to speak of 'Border Society'. The importance of this region to the medieval period is not in doubt (cf. Clack and Ivy 1983; Barrow 1973; 1980; Dixon 1988), but the process by which it came into being is less clear. Certainly the Border is not closely defined before the twelfth century, though it may be seen to be the product of earlier events and a political geography already in place (cf. Smith 1984; this work pp. 274-309, 437-8). Nevertheless, the definition of other critical boundaries within the region, which may also have exerted a greater influence on the culture and life of its people, as too the presence of a society which was possibly in many ways no less distinct from that which followed, are themes examined in this work. The Early Historic period has, however, proved a space difficult to fill, its edges shifting and uncertain. This is particularly true of the Tweed Basin. There are a few Latin and vernacular sources, and an occasional reference specific to the region, though probably none from it (pp. 243, 265). To an extent this difficulty is offset by the great wealth of archaeological survival for which the region is renowned, both in the form of the sites and monuments themselves, but more especially in the extent of relict landscapes of the pre-Improvement period. My aim here is to see how far this evidence can be used to sustain a more coherent overview of the Early Historic period, taking account too of much that is new, obtained as a result of more recent excavation, fieldwork and air-photography.

One of the factors notably overlooked by many scholars who have discussed the region in the past (e.g. Fox 1952; Frere 1978; but see Thomas 1981, 276; 1986, 86), is its sheer diversity and scope for agriculture at all periods. More often it has been dismissed as part of the Highland zone and thus the influence of 'events' has taken precedence over the

factors emanating from the landscape itself and its structure in relation to settlement and economy. The Merse, for instance, has in Scottish terms, probably always been a relatively prosperous district (cf. Baldwin 1985, 15). It is really no more than an extension of the Northumberland plain, a factor which should be mirrored in its geographical and historical make-up (pp. 203-16). But this has been overlooked, both in a consideration of the rationale behind the Roman advance into Scotland (cf. Hanson 1987, 90) and in the takeover of lands on both sides of the Tweed in the seventh century by Anglian Northumbria. The importance of agriculture to the development of Yeavering, however, was well appreciated by Hope-Taylor (1977, 16-27). In **Chapter One**, in seeking to rectify this picture, I have attempted to reconcile the factors which may be seen to have exerted an influence on the development of the landscape, offering too a consideration of its natural resources, potential for settlement at all periods, and balancing this with an appraisal of the factors which have shaped the archaeological record and influence our use of it.

Roman Britain to all intents ended at Hadrian's Wall. Beyond that the Romans could only claim influence, which may have been paramount at first, but which later diminished (pp. 53-9, 80). The Early Historic period, it is held, may have begun earlier and ended later in this zone which, but for some forty years, found itself *extra limites* (RCAMS 1956, 32). Its tribal groupings, revealed to us by Ptolemy and the *Ravenna Cosmography,* are well known, though few have attempted to reconcile their presence with the archaeological evidence; work by Hill (1982a; 1982c) and Macinnes (1983; 1984a) being notable exceptions. Even here, however, the traditional view that the central and upper Tweed Basin formed the hegemony of the Selgovae, has been shaken by Mann and Breeze (1987) and it is essential to bear their arguments in mind in any discussion of the tribal-groupings and the bearing they have on the emergent kingdoms of the Early Historic period (see pp. 57, 187, 274-6). In the past, whilst it has been customary to accept that a number of the post-Roman dynasties probably do re-emerge from earlier polities (Dumville 1989, 217), this has more often been seen as a reflection of Roman policy and the elevation of tribes friendly to Rome acting as *foederati* responsible for the maintenance of a buffer zone, or *cordon sanitaire,* north of the Wall (Richmond 1940, 114-16; Steer 1958, 124-30). The pedigree evidence of those British tribes known in Welsh tradition as *Gwŷr y Gogledd*, the 'Men of the North', has been drawn upon dispassionately to sustain this impression, in particular the presence of Roman Latin names, though clearly the evidence can be interpreted in many different ways (see Thomas 1981, 278; Smyth 1984, 16-18; Garwood 1989, 93-4) and the very premise on which these views are based has itself been questioned (Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 212; Thomas 1986, 87; this work pp. 110, 272-3). Nevertheless, despite the work of George Jobey and others in respect to native settlement and economy in the Romano-British period, the sheer volume of research which has been directed to Rome's

North-west frontier has inevitably cast a shadow not only over what came after, but also on the period of transition either side of the Roman intervention.

There are compelling questions which remain to be answered. What was it that took the place of the diminishing Roman power and prestige in the north, and to what extent were the native population, in the intramural zone, in any way Romanized in the sense we might understand it for the province south of the Wall? In the post-Roman period British leaders emerged to maintain some Roman conditions, although the interaction between them and other groups was crucial to the development of the region. These aspects have been considered before (Jackson 1955a; Chadwick 1976; Blair 1976; Cramp 1983a; Smyth 1984) but often in isolation and rarely in respect to the totality of the evidence, archaeological and historical, with specific reference to the Tweed Basin.

As noted, the archaeological potential of the region is considerable. Nevertheless, despite recent progress in synthesis on the later prehistoric landscape and that of the early centuries AD, it has proved difficult to bridge the gap following the Roman withdrawal (cf. Haselgrove 1979; Garwood 1989). The picture is very opaque and stems also from the fact that, despite the time and resources given to native settlement studies, little is known of how many of these sites proved enduring, or may ultimately have contributed to the make-up of the post-Roman settlement pattern and vernacular tradition.

As a result, disruption seems plausible and support for this has been strengthened by an apparent association of small quantities of Roman material recovered from the few native sites which have been excavated, mainly in the uplands, on the basis of which it has been inferred that most if not all were abandoned in the second and third centuries AD (Hill 1982a, 10). Few individuals have proved willing to cross period boundaries in order to address the question, if the sites had been abandoned, what then of the native population? This together with the conventional view of Roman frontier history, in which the role of Rome is seen as paramount, the native population, willingly or otherwise, subordinate, would seem to be in accord with a period in which Roman intervention was effectively destructive. On this line of reasoning, little if anything of the native aspect need therefore have any bearing on the Early Historic period. Such change as seems apparent, for instance, in the emergence of the post-Roman kingdoms, is consequentially more easily seen as an outcome of the *Pax Romana* and the reconstruction of the northern frontier at the hands of Theodosius (cf. Shaw 1973, 18-43). Any degree of stability within the nascent polities of North Britain might also be seen to have been offset by the northern wars of the late fourth and early fifth centuries (Miller 1975e) and, although Mann has suggested (1974), following

events of 367-9, that Rome could all but regain control of Hadrian's Wall, the level of disruption that has been envisaged seems hardly conducive to any level of continuity, still less literacy and Christian belief (Thomas 1981, 277).

Out of this is borne our image of heroic British society (cf. Chadwick 1976, 61-7; Smyth 1984). A society able, apparently, to turn adversity to their advantage, securing gains for northern Celtic supremacy and control of the Lowlands. Where Rome had once ruled, now only the North Britons remained, and quite possibly they even came to see themselves as the successors of the old Roman order at the dawn of a new age. This perhaps goes some way towards explaining the circumspection with which Early Historic studies in North Britain have been received. Similarly the Early Historic cause has not been served by the manner in which the archaeological evidence has often been been divorced from context and seen as subordinate to an overview derived principally from the historical sources (cf. Driscoll and Nieke 1988, 2-4; Airlie 1989, 134-6). This is particularly true of the fortifications of the period, the so-called nuclear forts (Stevenson 1949b; this work p. 194), which have been used, often uncritically, to sustain an impression of the importance of personal leadership and the role of potentates (*pace* Alcock 1979; 1988b, 32; Cramp 1988, 169). Inevitably this has resulted in a distorted view of native society, a lack of emphasis on the rank and file in favour of a social *élite* (cf. Thomas 1981, 245; Driscoll 1987, 341). Nevertheless, this is one area where archaeology, it might be anticipated, should hold vital clues, for it draws upon the strengths of landscape and site-specific enquiry, artefact research and the level of acceptable interpretation which can be placed upon it, and from this an ability to offer solutions to the problems presented.

In view of the constraints operating on an appreciation of the nature of Early Historic society, the way forward could be approached in one of two ways. Either by considering the later evidence for the emergence of society in the medieval period, which might inferentially cast light on the Early Historic period (e.g. Barrow 1973, 64-8), or by reference to what came before in order to fill out the picture and provide a context for what followed. Ideally a combination of the two. An interdisciplinary approach is clearly essential (implicitly Hope-Taylor 1977, xviii; Bradley 1987). Whilst bearing in mind the problems and pit-falls common to both lines of enquiry, I have adopted the latter approach. In order to assess the background to the Early Historic period, I have retraced my steps, not to the Romano-British period, though many have seen this as the logical starting point (e.g. Davies 1979a; 1982, 85ff; Newman 1984, 155ff; Arnold 1984), but to the time when society first makes its appearance in the Eastern Borders. This level of approach has never before been attempted for North Britain south of the Forth (but for an overview, Higham 1986, and see also Driscoll 1987). Its merit, particularly in view of the short-lived nature of the Roman

occupation (p. 59), is that it serves to underline just how deeply rooted native society was within this region and, more especially, how great a part of the picture which later emerges for the Early Historic period probably owes its identity to settlement and land-use practices already long established. With this in mind, the level of disruption to be anticipated in the period of Roman intervention can, perhaps, more accurately be gauged.

In **Chapter Two**, therefore, I offer a survey of later prehistoric settlement and land use in the Tweed Basin, drawing particularly on the data collated by RCAHMS (1915; 1956; 1957; 1967; 1980), Hill (1982 *et seq*), Macinnes (1983 *et seq*), Jobey and Burgess, to name only a few, together with the results of my own excavations (1979-1982) at the Dod earthwork, a native settlement in the foothills to the south of Hawick (pp. 31-3). In the past settlement history has been set within the rigid framework imposed by the Hownam Model (Piggott 1948; Feachem 1965). I set this aside in favour of an approach which lays greater emphasis on the definition of trends, principally a trend towards enclosure and a trend towards urbanization (p. 23). My aim is to clarify the progress of settlement and economy from the Neolithic to the floruit of hillfort construction in the early to mid first millennium BC, in particular to examine the likelihood for the emergence of site and social hierarchies, the structuring of the landscape and its agrarian potential. This is essential background for it holds the key to the definition of the tribal groupings and lends itself to an appreciation of the character of native society on the eve of Roman intervention.

In **Chapter Three** the impact of the Roman presence is considered. Here too my work marks a radical departure, a reflection perhaps of having traced the development of the landscape from the stance of the native population. I have already drawn attention to some of the problems implicit in the conventional view of Roman frontier history and the difficulties this poses for the scholar of the Early Historic period (see also pp. 56-9), but my own emphasis lays greater claim to the importance of native polities and in particular the role of the *oppida,* the very presence of which in North Britain has been questioned both by Romanists and prehistorians alike (pp. 30, 47-52). Traprain Law has been seen as the only native centre in North Britain to have been allowed to retain a fortified citadel in the Roman period (cf. Jobey 1976). This may be doubted (see pp. 135-6), and in my appraisal of the Tweed Basin I will argue that several other native centres were of commensurate status (pp. 59-61). Above all, the length of the Roman occupation within the Southern Uplands may be seen to have an important bearing on the outcome (p. 59). A review of Romano-British settlement and economy offers some insight into the potential scope of the Early Historic landscape (pp. 62-9).

The question of continuity is obviously crucial yet it has received no more than lip-service in the past (cf. Alcock 1987a, 271; Dumville 1989, 217) and has been eschewed by prehistorians (Hill 1982a, 10). In tackling this question, in **Chapter Four** (see also pp. 171-88), I examine the archaeological evidence for continuity and abandonment of native sites (pp. 81-6). The Dod is critical to this assessment and highlights the probable existence of an identifiable post-Roman building tradition (pp. 86-96). I suggest too a possible site type which might be regarded as a type-fossil of the Early Historic period (see also pp. 181-2, 186). Not a new suggestion (cf. Steer and Keeney 1947; Piggott 1948; RCAMS 1956, 36), but its implications have yet to be realized. Change in the upland landscape in the second and third centuries AD has been recognized (Hill 1982a, 9-10). Here I offer an alternative hypothesis, which can be tested, to account for change but with the emphasis on the lowlands and in particular the role of the regional lowland centres (pp. 98-102). This is an aspect which has notably been overlooked in discussion on urban origins (cf. Dicks 1983; Spearman 1988), but is of importance here for an understanding of the role of emergent centres in the Early Historic period (e.g. Peebles, Melrose, Jedburgh and Kelso).

In support of continuity I identify six round-ended buildings from North Britain, and their date, function and possible parallels are considered with a view that they might be interpreted as churches or public buildings of the Late Roman period. This is a vexed question (see Thomas 1981, 143-54ff) and my solution is no more than an hypothesis. However, it serves to highlight a research priority (see also Alcock 1987a, 89) and is framed by a discussion of the nature and progress of Christianity in Late Roman times (pp. 110-13); well worn, but an inexhaustible subject and one considerably broadened by Charles Thomas (1968 *et seq*).

Having raised the likelihood of continuity, and drawn attention to the probable importance of key native centres to the emergent picture for the Early Historic period, it is clearly necessary to demonstrate this with reference to a specific site. This has not been done before for any site in North Britain, with the exception of Dunadd (Nieke and Duncan 1988). Due to the limited nature of excavation within the Tweed Basin it would be impractical to offer a reappraisal of North Eildon Hill (*Eldunum*), or the Dunion (perhaps Middle Irish *an daingean,* 'a strength'), for which the final excavation reports are awaited (see Owen 1987a; Rideout 1984; 1986). I have therefore undertaken, in **Chapter Five**, a reappraisal of Traprain Law, a site of national importance and so far as this thesis is concerned it is the key site. Building upon earlier work by Hogg (1951) and more recent discussion by Jobey (1976), Hill (1987b) and Close-Brookes (1983; 1987), and making full use of the site-plans and published accounts, I define two phases of late occupation following a period of abandonment, spanning a period from the mid third to the early fifth century AD. This is

altogether new and, whereas in the past it has been customary to dismiss Traprain as an exceptional site (Breeze 1982; Hanson and Maxwell 1983), its buildings a reflection of status (Hill 1987b, 89), I offer an alternative explanation for a building tradition that seems without parallel south of the Firth of Forth. The implications are considered, as too the bearing the evidence has on the political geography and settlement of Lothian and the Eastern Borders.

In the past, reference to the tribal groupings of North Britain has been considered generally without reference to the archaeology of settlement (e.g. Jackson 1955a; Chadwick 1958; Mann and Breeze 1987). This is an oversight, for if the pre-Roman tribal groupings have any bearing on the polities of the post-Roman period this is a question which needs to be addressed (cf. Dumville 1989, 217). Hill (1982c) and Macinnes (1982b) have raised the possibility of using houses as chronological and cultural indicators, and Hill has gone further, though without mapping the evidence (1982a, 7-9), to coin the term a 'Votadinian Tradition'. In **Chapter Six**, I offer an alternative scheme for the reclassification of site types previously grouped under the catch-all 'Romano-British'. This, together with the evidence set out in Chapter Four, might be seen as the first step in coming to grips with the patterning of the evidence in support of continuity. The approach demonstrates the probable importance of localized building traditions which though suspected has previously not been demonstrated (p. 186). From the evidence mapped, Tweeddale would seem to emerge as a distinct entity and this possibly supports Mann and Breeze's view that Tweeddale cannot have formed part of Selgovian territory (1987, 89). Moreover a rough east-west divide within the Tweed Basin seems apparent (p. 187). This has not before been shown (comp. Hope-Taylor 1977, 298-300).

Evidence specific to the Early Historic period in the Tweed Basin is sparse and more often inferential. There are a few artefacts (p. 456, n. 1), a number of Early Christian memorials (pp. 285-96), and a select group of sites for which an Early Historic date seems assured (pp. 194-201). In the past, although attention has been drawn to the presence of sites of post-Roman character in the region (Alcock 1979; 1988a), the evidence has never been set out in full and the sites have more often been divorced from their territorial context and discussed in isolation. This, to an extent, is also true of the recent excavations undertaken by Alcock at Kirk Hill, St Abb's (1986), arguably only the first phase in a wider consideration of the fort in relation to its hinterland (see pp. 211-14, 434); the form of interdisciplinary approach instilled by Cramp at the Hirsel (1985) and Tabraham at Smailholm (1988). For the Tweed Basin it is important to grasp the potential significance of the Early Historic fortifications to the landscape of the post-Roman period and to consider what this means in terms of continuity and social organization (cf. Alcock 1987a, 82-5; 1988b). Although none

of the forts within the Tweed Basin have been excavated for which an Early Historic date has been assumed, and thus the maxim is untested, it is worthwhile to accept this as a shortcoming, which in the future will need to be addressed, and consider their possible bearing on the region (pp. 197-202).

In **Chapter Seven** I examine the distribution of Early Historic fortifications in relation to land capability (cf. Alcock 1987a, 82). A conceptual framework is used to tentatively map the territorial area of the forts and attention is once more drawn to the possibility of an east-west divide within the region (pp. 203-4). I identify Dere Street as the critical boundary (p. 203). This provides a backdrop, building upon the approach set out in Chapter Six, for an integrated pattern of landholding in the region which seems to confirm both the scope and extent of society at this period. Against this, an attempt can be made to set this with the evidence for the Anglian takeover (pp. 205-42).

In the past decade considerable attention has been paid by archaeologists and historians alike to the explanation of the progress of the Anglian settlement in North Britain, but many questions remain unanswered (cf. Alcock 1981c; 1987b; Cramp 1983a; 1988; Higham 1986). Modern historical opinion would argue that the political and social organization of medieval Northumbria was probably derived from that of the British kingdoms which the Anglian dynasties had adopted (Alcock 1988a). There is therefore probably much to be learned from Northumbria itself, but for the Tweed Basin we need to be clear as to the extent of the Anglian presence. Jackson (1955a *et seq*) and others have stressed the likelihood of British survival, but to what degree does this seem likely, are the influences at Yeavering apparent within the Tweed Basin as well and, if the takeover was not complete, what then was the nature of the British kingdoms which remained?

These are compelling questions and in the past it has been argued, or at least generally surmised, that the Anglian takeover was complete and overran the entire Basin (Jackson 1953, 218; Hope-Taylor 1977, 298; Nicolaisen 1979, 74-5). Continuity has thus become a crucial issue (cf. Bradley 1987) but at this level has often been discounted. This is in accord with maps which purport to show *Bernaccia* extending to the heart of the western uplands verging on the upper Tweed Basin (Thomas 1981, fig. 56; 1986, fig. 45). An impression which has been sustained by reference to the Catrail as both close to the site of *Degsastan* (pp. 310-45) and the frontier upon which Anglian colonists, pushing up the Rivers Tweed and Teviot, temporarily stabilized their position (pp. 313, 315-16). This may be all very well in a generalized discussion of the sphere of northern conflict in the late sixth and early seventh centuries, but without corroborative reference to the broad body of

material, archaeological and historical, which can be brought to bear, the picture lacks validity.

Following my appraisal of the Early Historic landscape, I therefore turn in Chapter Seven (pp. 205-42) to consider the evidence for the Anglian takeover. This can only readily be achieved by reference to the place-name evidence and, although as an archaeologist I claim no special expertise in this field, much of the groundwork has already been provided by Johnston (1940), Williamson (1942) and Nicolaisen (1979). It is an oversight that the place-name evidence has never before been mapped by phase (Fraser, I pers. commun., 1989), since it holds important implications for our understanding of the nature and progress of Anglian settlement from Northumbria embracing lands on both sides of the Tweed. This I do (pp. 208-9) and also with reference to the territorial framework of the Early Historic period previously defined (pp. 209-16). A complementary pattern emerges which suggests a broad coincidence between the emergent Anglian centres and the earlier British caputs. This has never before been shown, though Barrow (1973) for one was aware of the possibly deep rooted nature of the Anglian shire (see also Smith 1984, 181).

The Anglian site at Sprouston, long ago recognized from air-photographs by JK St Joseph (1982) and discussed by Reynolds (1980a), is the only Anglian site known from cropmark evidence within the Eastern Borders. It is nevertheless probably representative of sites which have proved enduring as revealed, for example, by the place-name evidence and the presence of Anglian sculpture (Cramp 1983b). It is a site too of some chronological depth and I use it as a case study against which to view the evidence obtained as a result of Hope-Taylor's meticulous excavations at Yeavering (1977), and those undertaken by Miket and O'Brien at Thirlings (O'Brien 1982), along with other sites recognized in recent years by air-photography in Northumberland and Lothian. It is salutary to consider that prior to 1979 this would not have been a viable proposition and it is a credit to Tim Gates and others that parallels for the Sprouston buildings can now be drawn from a limited radius without undue reference to southern England. The Anglian takeover is also considered with respect to the *chester* place-names (pp. 240-1). A place-name element notably overlooked in earlier work, though probably on a par with the *Eccles* names whose significance has often been cited (pp. 112, 114, 216, 262). A linear earthwork, the 'Military Road', is considered too for it seems to define an Anglian salient in a loop of the Tweed close to Melrose (p. 241).

The evidence, contrary to earlier views on the Anglian takeover, suggests in fact that Anglian settlement probably extended no farther west than Dere Street; *contra.* Chadwick (1949, 146 and n.) and Hope-Taylor (1977, 287, 289) who have seen the Tweed as the critical boundary, on the premise that in the twelfth century Lothian extended to the

Tweed and that this may therefore reflect the situation before. On the evidence presented it seems plausible that there may have existed in the middle Tweed Basin, probably from the turn of the seventh century, a level of *rapprochement* between the Anglian and British polities, and that the area to the west of Dere Street remained to all intents a British district. This is an important distinction of bearing not only on the Early Historic period but also on that which follows (cf. Smith 1983b; 1984; this work pp. 204, 209, 241-2, 345, 437).

The historical background for sub-Roman North Britain has received considerable scholarly attention, from the early days of WF Skene and G Chalmers, to the valuable essays of HM and NK Chadwick, P Hunter Blair, KH Jackson and DN Dumville, to name a few. Nevertheless, the groundwork is always shifting as critical appraisal of the early texts by modern scholarship casts new emphases on the primary sources and highlights some which can no longer be held reliable (see Dumville 1977a). In the light of the most recent scholarship, which has tended to focus on specific aspects of the early sources to the exclusion of a wider synthesis, as that engaged in by the Chadwicks, I have attempted, in **Chapter Eight (A)**, to examine the texts of Gildas, Bede and the *Historia Brittonum* for the bearing they have on events in North Britain after the Roman withdrawal with specific reference to the Tweed Basin. In fact this is an ideal, for the reality is that it is difficult to isolate strands specific to the region due to the very nature of the accounts which often only have a general bearing on the region north of the Tyne and Solway. Gildas, for instance, seems to be familiar with traditions probably originating in North Britain, and arguably his account is only of relevance for the north. However, for Gildas, North Britain seems to have ended at the Wall and he may not have known, nor necessarily cared much, what took place beyond the frontier (pp. 243-9).

In my own work I draw a firm distinction between events in North Britain and those apparently of relevance only for the province south of the Wall. This is an important distinction and one previously overlooked (cf. Chadwick 1973, 64-74), for it seems likely that the period of protracted crisis following the northern wars was of little consequence for society between the Walls. Here alone, perhaps, the transition from Late Roman to the dynastic kingdoms of the Early Historic period may have been achieved relatively peaceably (pp. 250-2).

The origins of Northumbria have presented archaeologists and historians alike with a perplexing problem, not least in accounting for the succession of Ida in 547/8 (cf. Wade-Evans 1949; Blair 1947; 1976; Stenton 1955; Dumville 1989, 218-19). Drawing upon modern historical opinion, and taking account of the most recent excavations, I trace the likely origins and progress of Germanic settlement in the north and I offer an hypothesis for

the emergence of Anglian Bernicia from an earlier pre-Roman tribal district distinct from that of the Votadini. This in part may be seen to confirm earlier views on the origins of *Bryneich* (cf. Förster 1923, 132-3; *pace* Jackson 1956, 701-5). I suggest that Germanic settlement may have extended to the Tweed Basin, if not by the fifth century, perhaps by the sixth (pp. 259-62). This runs contrary to Jackson's view (1955a; restated by Nicolaisen 1979, 71, but see also Hope-Taylor 1977, 24-5), as too that of Dumville (1989, 218), who affirms the presence of Ida's grandfather in Bernicia about AD 500. However, my own view would seem to be in accord both with the textual evidence and Hope-Taylor's appraisal of Yeavering (1977, 276-96; see also Alcock 1988a).

In **Chapter Eight (B)**, I consider the pedigree evidence for the northern dynasties. These too have been the subject of considerable scholarly study (cf. Chadwick 1949; 1976), but much of the earlier work has been superseded in the light of a note of caution struck by Dumville (1977a, 178). Dumville inveighed against the use of the pedigree collections as a means to a wider synthesis on the lines adopted, for example, both by Chadwick (op. cit.) and Blair (1947). Nevertheless, in the light of DP Kirby's and M Miller's astute reappraisal of the pedigree evidence, it seems appropriate to see how far this evidence can now be used to frame an overview. My aim, following a consideration of the source material (pp. 243-54), is to reconstruct and tentatively map the dynastic development of North Britain from its early, though speculative, origins to that of the Latinate/historical horizon for the late sixth century (pp. 274-80). This lends itself to the definition of the emergent kingdoms in the Tweed Basin (pp. 280-309). In the past the Tweed Basin has been seen as relatively homogeneous, subsumed in the fifth century by a single territorial district, *Bernaccia* (Thomas 1986, 88-9). I present the evidence for a tripartite division of the Tweed Basin to which *Bernaccia* may only have been the eastern portion. Jackson (1955a, 83, n.13) discounted any likelihood that *Calchvynyd* was Kelso. I uphold the identification. Kelso is therefore seen as the caput of a second kingdom, verging on the west with Tweeddale, possibly sixth-century *Goddeu*, the exact whereabouts of which it has earlier proved difficult to define (Williams 1975, xliii-xliv).

Charles Thomas has done much to elucidate the potential coherence of the Early Christian memorials (1968 *et seq*) and has postulated a diocesan framework for sub-Roman North Britain. This is invaluable background. The evidence, however, has never before been fully set out and my own emphasis, in which the memorials are considered alongside the evidence for the emergent kingdoms, is more firmly landscape orientated. It bears out the likelihood of a sub-Roman diocese, as noted by Thomas (1968, 103-5, 111-16), but I draw an adjustment to its probable extent (p. 300). The origins of the emergent kingdoms in the Tweed Basin are considered in relation to their probable pre-Roman tribal groupings.

The Battle of Degsastan was a crucial conflict for North Britain and its significance has not been forgotten. Nevertheless, the site has never been satisfactorily identified. In **Chapter Eight (C)**, I examine the historiography for its identification with Dawston, Liddesdale (pp. 310-21). The case is dismissed and as an alternative I offer an hypothesis which locates the battle in the eastern Basin, on the very threshold of Bernicia (pp. 321-36). Tangentially the evidence casts light on one other notable conflict, the Battle of *Catraeth* (pp. 336-45). I regard these events as the critical turning point for they effectively brought to a close the Early Historic period in North Britain.

It is a singular facet of earlier work in the Tweed Basin that no one to-date has attempted a case study for any part of the region, not least with specific reference to the Early Historic period. A notable exception is the work undertaken by RBK Stevenson in the valley of Manor in the late 1930s but which, due to the outbreak of War, was never completed. Robert Stevenson's work, however, provides a backdrop to my own and, in **Chapter Nine**, I examine the evidence for Manor in some detail and at length. Earlier chapters have focussed on the development of the eastern Lowlands, a district which came under increasing Anglian influence from the seventh century. I have therefore selected the parish of Manor, in effect a single valley-system, as this lies at the heart of the Tweed uplands and probably central to the British area. It is a valley with a wealth of archaeological evidence and one well documented in medieval and later sources. Here, and drawing upon the results of my own fieldwork, I undertake a retrogressive landscape analysis. My aim is to examine the pattern of estate development from earliest times to about 1600. Tangentially it casts new light on many problems, including the original site of the church of Manor and a twelfth-century caput. More importantly, I demonstrate that the origins of many of these estates may lie with the early to mid first millennium BC. A degree of continuity never before shown for any part of North Britain and at a level perhaps not previously anticipated. A key theme is the identification of a distinctly native, that is to say, British, pattern of land organization based on the thirteen *vills* of an upland *maenor*. This might be seen as the British counterpart for the emergence in the eastern Basin of an altogether different pattern of landholding, the shire system (pp. 433-7). The evidence from Manor suggests, in the uplands to the west of the Tweed Basin, as opposed to the area of Anglian influence in the east, that patterns of settlement and land use may have been more conservative to change and proved to be as much of lasting significance.

There are a number of further points which need to be made to clarify the nature of my enquiry. The full scope of the subject can only be realized by an interdisciplinary approach and by crossing period boundaries normally held to be separate specialisms.

Undoubtedly this has led me into areas where my own training is hardly adequate and this is particularly true of Chapter Eight. Given that such a considerable proportion of the evidence lies with the written sources and place-names it would be wrong to ignore it. Thus to realize the fullest picture, or such of it as I could see, I have had to embrace disciplines outside my own expertise. No doubt to the trained eye this part of my work must seem rather inexpert. Nevertheless, I have drawn wherever possible on a wider counsel, and the help I have received I acknowledge, though not all would necessarily agree that my use and handling of the material has been altogether satisfactory.

Due principally to the limited nature of excavation within the region, it has been necessary to draw upon material from an area much wider than the Tweed Basin. Wherever possible I have confined my parallels to the Tyne-Forth region, an area which seems, certainly in the Romano-British period, to display a level of homogeneity. For reasons outlined I have had to look outside the Tweed Basin for a regional native centre suited to a detailed reappraisal. My choice of Traprain (pp. 116-70) is, I believe, justifiable, if only on the grounds that a comparable area excavation is lacking for any site within the Tweed Basin. For the Early Historic period it would have been impractical to discuss the Tweed Basin without taking into account the emergence of neighbouring polities which affected the region. This at least has the merit of providing an up to date overview of a subject long overdue, but I accept that much of the detail is susceptible to reinterpretation.

It is also necessary to stress that a greater part of the proposed sequences which I have set out are based on slim evidence. More often I have had to be satisfied to identify trends and to examine the evidence for patterning. At times I have been able to do no more than produce hypotheses, some might be tested. It is, however, the identification of recurrent patterning within the evidence which offers the greatest scope for a picture of some objective validity. Thus I have been able to support a case for the succession of the emergent kingdoms from their earlier pre-Roman tribal groupings (pp. 203-4, 284-5, 301-9). I have also made use of conceptual frameworks with which to model and examine the evidence. This is acceptable so long as comparison is like-with-like, but there are problems in crossing the boundary between firm archaeological evidence and data derived solely from written sources (cf. Bradley 1987). All I can hope to do is to suggest a degree of probability by which these patterns emerge. There is also a danger, that where one hypothesis is based upon another, that by restatement this can come to appear as fact (Millett 1987, 435). I am conscious of this and I have always tried to step back from the evidence with an awareness that other solutions are probably just as applicable. These are problems endemic to the period and seem unavoidable if we are to step out from the limited threshold of archaeology to address the wider issues. All I would wish to claim is that I have made a beginning at a difficult but

necessary attempt to offer a plausible explanation of the whole period and progress of the change which shaped the region in this the formative phase of its early British history.

Although the approach is new, as noted, much of my own work builds upon a groundwork already established. It is therefore appropriate at this point to acknowledge the value I attach to the Inventories of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (1915; 1956; 1957; 1967), without which this task would have been impractical. The resurvey of Berwickshire was published by RCAHMS in 1980. Moreover studies complementary to my own have been undertaken elsewhere in the Borders, by Deidre O'Sullivan (1980), Nicky Gregson (1983) and Rachel Newman (1984) in Cumbria (see also Higham 1986). The Anglo-Saxon occupation of south-east Scotland has been the subject of a doctoral dissertation by Christopher Aliaga-Kelly (1986).

Many of my own thoughts and ideas stem from the excavations I undertook over three seasons between 1979 and 1982, on behalf of the then Ancient Monuments Branch of the Scottish Development Department, at the Dod. As a site with a complex structural history spanning too the Early Historic period, it has exerted a great influence on my discussion of the pre- and post-Roman archaeology of the region. I am guilty perhaps of some introspection in my use and handling of this material, though it is germane to an overview and offers some insight into the problems of upland archaeology in the Border region.

I have also carried out fieldwork throughout the region and I have visited, often with others (e.g. 1981, a field-seminar in Yetholm), many of the sites referred to in the text. In 1982, I settled on two case-study areas, Manor, Peeblesshire, and Sprouston, Roxburghshire, and these have been examined in the field at some length. Since joining the Royal Commission as an Investigator in 1983, I have also had the chance to undertake further fieldwork as part of Ordnance Survey map revision. I have excavated too a number of lesser sites within the region (Smith 1981c; 1981e; 1982d) and promoted links with the Regional Council, local archaeological societies, the Border Country Life Museum and the Forestry Commission. In the course of this work I have examined material in the museum collections at Berwick, Coldstream, Jedburgh, Hawick, Selkirk and Peebles, together with that in the Royal Museum of Scotland and the Antiquities and Blackgate museums in Newcastle; also material in private collections. The Planning Department, Borders Regional Council, kindly supplied me with a complete series of 1:10000 maps and I have used these as a basis for transcribing the cropmark evidence from air-photographs in CUCAP, CRAPS, the NMRS and the Archaeological Unit for North-east England.

For primary and secondary sources I have been well served by the university libraries of Durham, Newcastle, Edinburgh and Glasgow, with a liberal use of Inter-Library loans. Time was spent in London in the British Library and increasingly over recent years in the National Library of Scotland. For cartographic material I have used the National Map Library, Edinburgh, and, since 1983, I have had the privilege of having at my disposal a complete series of first edition Ordnance Survey six-inch maps and 1:10000 Record sheets. The Record cards, studied originally in the Archaeological Division of the Ordnance Survey, now updated and maintained by the NMRS, have also proved a valuable source of data. The thesis has been through several drafts and material distilled from it published (1983b; 1984). The bulk of the writing, however, has been undertaken since May 1987. I have attempted to take account of all relevant published works up to March 1990.

So much, then, for the nature of my enquiry and the character of the evidence. Before proceeding it will be best to define the terms I use for the chronology of the post-Roman period. 'Early Historic' is a convenient term for a time-span otherwise known as the Dark Ages, the migration period, or the Early Christian period. Professor Alcock adopted it for the emphasis it casts on the availability for the first time of local - as opposed to Mediterranean - historical sources, some in Latin but many in vernacular languages (1981a, 150-1). In an historical period, where literary evidence takes precedence over all other forms of chronological evidence, the term seems most appropriate. However it may be interpreted in one of two ways, either spanning the full period from the fifth to the eleventh centuries, or in a narrower sense to refer specifically to the fifth to seventh centuries. While allowing for some overlap with the Late Roman period, I use it consistently in this limited sense.

'Early Christian' I define in respect to the origins of Christianity in North Britain in Late Roman times and with reference to a milieu of which the late fifth-, sixth- and seventh-century memorials present in the Tweed Valley are a product. Definition of 'Germanic' depends on the date accepted for the first settlements of these peoples in North Britain, a process I would see beginning in the fifth century and extending to the Tweed perhaps by the sixth. 'Early Anglian' seems appropriate for the emergence of Bernicia from 547 as too for the takeover of lands bordering the Tweed in the late sixth and seventh centuries; 'Anglian' thereafter, that is, until the ninth to tenth centuries which I regard as 'Late Anglian', overlapping there with Norse and Gaelic influences stemming from centres in the west. These terms are suitable for the local picture but are of little relevance for Scotland as a whole, and in this context 'Early Medieval' seems more appropriate though anachronistic. For Scotland, the medieval period is probably best defined as beginning with the House of Canmore (1057), at which time the Celtic monarchy gave way to the makings of an organized feudal state.

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With the exception of Chapter Six, all the remaining chapters have been circulated for comment. For the immense task of reading the entire text in draft I am indebted to Rosemary Cramp, not least for saving me from the worse excesses of my own prose. Individually, for comments returned, I am indebted to JT Coppock, Anthony Harding, Gordon Maxwell, David Breeze, Graham and Anna Ritchie, and Leslie Alcock, Geoffrey Barrow and Gwyn Thomas. For enduring the excesses of an author unschooled in publication, I owe a debt to Margaret Faull, Peter Clack, Jill Ivy, Geoffrey Stell and TD Thomson.

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Edinburgh, March 1990 *Ian M Smith*

ABBREVIATIONS
in the text and references

(1) In dating:
- *c.* before date: about
- † or d. before date: died in
- - before date: before that year
- - between dates: the whole period of time between the dates given
- \+ after date: after that year
- x between dates: not before first date and/or not after second date

s.a. sub anno 'under the year'

(2) For abbreviations for printed sources see: 'Abbreviations and Bibliography' (pp. 486-563).

(3) For etymology:
- * prefixed to a name, or word (thus: **Nudoss*; **Catraxt*) indicates that the name is a reconstructed linguistic form not actually attested in surviving writings or inscriptions, but is legitimately inferred on the known operation of linguistic principles.
- < in etymology: derived from
- > in etymology: developed into

Brit.	British (the earliest form of the Brittonic language down to the sub-Roman period)
Britt.	Brittonic
Cumbr.	Cumbric
Gael.	Gaelic (Scottish Gaelic)
Ir.	Irish
ME.	Middle English
Me.	Scots. Medieval Scots
Med.	Medieval
MSc.	Middle Scots
Mod.E.	Modern English
Mod Sc	Modern Scots
Mod.W.	Modern Welsh
Nb.	Northumberland
OB.	Old Bretton
OE.	Old English
OI.	Old Irish
ON.	Old Norse
OWCB.	Old Welsh, Old Cornish, and Old Breton
Pr.AS.	Primitive Anglo-Saxon
Pr.B.	Primitive Breton
Pr.Cumb.	Primitive Cumbric
Pr.I.	Primitive Irish
Pr.W.	Primitive Welsh
Scots.	Scots; in quoting forms generally means Modern Scots unless otherwise specified
W.	Welsh; in quoting forms generally means Modern Welsh unless otherwise specified

CHAPTER ONE

THE TWEED BASIN: THE REGION, LAND USE AND RESOURCES

The Tweed Basin is one of the major geographical components of north Britain. On plan it resembles a horseshoe slightly tilted to the north-east, with one end, at the coast, represented by Coldingham Moor, the other by the Cheviot, some 30 km inland (fig. 1.1). The hub of the shoe rests on the Southern Uplands and is set apart on the north by the coastal plain of the Lothians, and to the south-west by that of Dumfries and Galloway, and the Stewartry. Within its rim, the hill-country accounts for about sixty percent of the Basin's total area and embraces a zone of medium height which opens out towards the coast across the wide and fertile plain of the Berwickshire Merse.[1]

(I) GEOMORPHOLOGY

The major physical boundaries lie well to the N and the S of the Basin and further serve to set it apart as a topographic unit. To the N, the Southern Uplands' fault, striking from Glen App in the SW (NT 08 75) to Dunbar in the NE (NT 68 78), provides a sharp geological junction between the block of tough, tightly folded Silurian and Ordovician grits and shales which underlie so much of southern Scotland (Steer 1964, 322), broken only in places by igneous intrusions. This fault marks a fundamental change between the high, dissected plateau of the Southern Uplands and the fragmented basins and hill-masses of central Scotland. To the S, the Tweed watershed is set apart by a major physical lowland breach, formed by the fault-bounded strike valley of the Tyne Gap, which separates the northern Pennines to the S from the Northumbrian Fells and the Cheviot Hills to the N. Between these two physical boundaries there is no comparable direct or continuous lowland route linking the W and E coasts of Britain. The dissected uplands of northern England merge, virtually uninterrupted, with the Southern Uplands of Scotland.

Within the Basin two main lines of thrust can be identified (fig. 1.2). The first (SW to NE) extends from Teviothead to the Berwickshire coast, a distance of about 75 km, and has a NW adjunct which takes in the massif of the Southern Uplands and the head-waters of the Tweed: a distance of about 60 km from Tweedshaws following the curving course of the main stream to its confluence with the Yarrow and Ettrick at Lindean. The second (NW to SE) extends from Peel Fell to the Moorfoots (about 59 km), and from the summit of Cheviot to the Lammermuirs (about 52 km). This area, which encompasses the shires

of Berwick, Roxburgh, Selkirk and Peebles, amounts to 4,446 square kilometres and accounts for some 121 km of the 177 km of the Border's total length.

The Basin's topography is diverse and consequently supports a wide variety of flora and fauna, and many types of land use. Several factors have combined to achieve this, principal among these being the influence of solid and drift geology, drainage, the impact of glaciation, and climate. The pattern of settlement from earliest times is complex and can only be understood by reference to these underlying factors. This is no more clearly illustrated, for instance, than in the relict patterns of settlement and land use which occur in horizons across the hill-country (cf. White 1978, 206) (plate 1.1). Significant in this respect was the growth of peat, which is in itself an index of climatic deterioration.

Work by Barber on Arran and in Argyll (1981; 1982), and by RCAMS in the Rhins of Galloway (1985a; 1987), has highlighted the importance of soil fertility to the distribution and patterning of settlement and land use. The loss of soil nutrients, due in part perhaps to over zealous cultivation techniques, led to soil podzolisation; this the first stage in enhanced peat-growth. In the west of Scotland this process had begun by the late second millennium BC, and the same may also hold true for south-eastern Scotland. Basal peat dates generally fall between 500 BC and AD 500 (Halliday, SP pers. commun., 1987), but in deep hollows peat was certainly growing by the turn of the first millennium BC (Shennan and Innes 1986). The result of this was to severely limit the areas available for cultivation and may be seen as critical to the laying aside of large tracts of the landscape of the second millennium, and to the emergence of fortified sites in the face of ever increasing competition for better quality lowland soils (see also p. 43). In Wigtownshire, the moorland interior bordering Luce Bay and extending to the Ayrshire border (about 150 km^2) appears to have remained virtually depopulated for nearly two millennia.[2] In the Tweed Basin similar relict landscapes can be identified and here too the consequences for the lowlands can be mapped and examined (pp. 20-22). The factors governing the distribution of settlement and land use in the Tweed Basin are as follows:

(a) Drainage

On the W, the area is drained by the Tweed and its head-waters the Yarrow and Ettrick. Together with its upper tributaries, the Manor Water, the Glensax Burn, and the Quair, the mainstream flows NNE and N from the curving ridge of the Tweed-Yarrow watershed, to be joined by the Holmes Water (draining the broken hill-country to the W) and the tributaries of Lyne, Eddleston, Leithen and Caddon which flow S from the Moorfoot Hills. From Caddonfoot to St Boswells, a distance of about 24 km, the Tweed describes a series of sweeping meanders, taking in the Gala, Leader and Eden Waters which flow SSE from the

Lammermuirs. To the SW, the curving ridge of high hills, which connect Ettrick Forest with the Cheviots at Hartshorn Pike, are drained by the Teviot and its upper tributaries, the Borthwick, Ale, Allen, Slitrig, and Rule Waters, which flow NE or N, while its lower tributaries, the Jed, Oxnam, and Kale Waters, flow N from the Cheviots; the combined waters of Teviot discharging into the Tweed at Kelso. A small area to the E is drained by the Bowmont Water, a Cheviot stream which skirts the flank of the massif to join the River Till in Northumberland. From Kelso the river valley opens out; the Tweed, fed by its lower tributaries, the Eden, Leet, Whiteadder and Till, flowing from W to E.

(b) Topography

The Tweed Basin embraces a wide variety of terrain. To the W, the land is almost everywhere hilly or mountainous, over seventy-five percent of the area lying at more than 350m above sea level (asl). From its source at Tweed's Well (NT 053 146), the main stream winds a course through broken country, flanked by the high peaks of the Tweed-Yarrow watershed (Hart Fell 808m asl, Broad Law 839m asl). Much of the hinterland of the tributary waters is likewise mountainous, especially the Manor Valley; the Manor Water itself rises beneath the scree-strewn slopes of Dollar Law (817m asl) and is overlooked by series of heights rising above 700m (pp. 357-9). Between Cardrona and Lyne there is a large area of more low-lying ground which constricts at the Neidpath Gorge. On the lower part, at the confluence of the Tweed and Eddleston, is situated the Burgh of Peebles (pp. 100, 294-7). To the NW, the hinterland opens out and is interspersed with more broken hill-country ascending to the ridge of the Pentland Hills. These attain their greatest height at West Cairn Hill (562m asl). From Drumelzier (198m asl) the main river valley turns S; the lofty, steep-sided hills of Minch Moor once more hemming-in the Tweed's haughland. At Galashiels, the Tweed is about 91m asl; the confluence of the Yarrow and Ettrick lies at 121m asl, and from here the valley-floors of the two tributaries rise a further 152m and 244m asl respectively; that of the Yarrow to 274m asl at Muckra (NT 225 171) and that of the Ettrick to 366m asl at Potburn (NT 183 087).

To the SW, the head-waters of the River Teviot and Teviotdale proper are skirted by a rim of high hills and peat moorland, nowhere much less than 442m asl and rising to 595m at Wisp Hill, 529m at Din Fell, 602m at Peel Fell, to the summit of Cheviot at 815m asl. From these peaks, the ground falls away in a series of steep gradients to more low-lying hill-country, between the 250m and 150m contours, which provides the catchment area for the Teviot's tributaries. A zone of more open ground, a considerable part of which lies above the 250m contour, drops to the lowlands adjoining the Tweed. This is a transitional zone, not only in altitude, but also in the form of land use, between the wholly unimproved uplands and the highly cultivated lowlands; moorland and arable interpenetrate, drystone

dykes reflect stony glacial soils, and the prevalence of coniferous shelter-belts implies a high degree of exposure. The scenery of the lowland margins is diverse, due in part to glacial sculpturing but also to the isolated hill outcrops, the most conspicuous of which are the triple peaks of the Eildons (rising to 422m asl) and the summits of the Minto Hills (238 m), Peniel Heugh (238m), the Dunion (338m), and Ruberslaw (424m). To the E, the Basin opens out across the undulating plain of the Merse, flanked on the N by the low-lying hill-country, between the 120m and 300m contours, which rises towards the sweeping ridge of the Lammermuir Hills and the twin peaks of Hunt Law (495m asl) and Meikle Says Law (535m), broken only by the valley of the Leader Water which rises to 396m at Soutra (p. 322). Towards the coast, the Tweed is one more hemmed-in by a south-eastern extension of the uplands and by the broken hill-country of Coldingham Moor and Lamberton Moor (213m asl); mirroring the uplands to the S of the Tweed, backed by the Kyloe Hills (205m) and Dod Law (199m).

(c) Geology

The underlying rock of most of the western part of the region is of Silurian and Ordovician origin (fig. 1.3). The highly-folded sedimentary strata, which form the bulk of the Southern Uplands, are broken in places by intrusive igneous rocks - porphorytes and dolorites - in the form of plugs and dykes. Associated lavas are exposed in numerous localities between Winkston Hill (NT 245 435) and Glencotho (NT 083 303) and occur with tuffs, limestone breccias, grits, cherts, and shales. The Silurian rocks largely consist of greywaches and shales, the former mainly comprising grits and shales having a fine clayey matrix, the latter formed from silts and clays. The NW part of the area has markedly different characteristics, due mainly to the fault which marks the edge of the Midland depression; a line approximately followed by the Leadburn to Skirling road (NT 175 388 to 234 554). Further to the NW, the rocks give way to the Old Red Sandstone and Lower Carboniferous formations, that is, apart from the Moorfoot and Pentland Hills which are of Upper Silurian age.

The character of the Southern Uplands is reflected in the tabular Carboniferous sandstone-capped hills of the Northumbrian Fells and the granites and lavas of the Cheviot Dome. These affinities are heightened by the use of common topographical names for the most distinctive land forms (laws); long, narrow deep-cut dales and their tributary waters which terminate in steep, enclosed amphitheatre heads (hopes) or narrow V-shaped notches (cleughs).

The central part of the Tweed Basin (defined on the W by a line marked by the Leader Water, the Minto and Shankland Hills, and the NW flank of Liddesdale, and on the E

by an irregular line from Kelso to Carter Fell) comprises rocks of Old Red Sandstone age with igneous intrusions occurring among the sandstones. The most conspicuous igneous rocks - trachytes - are those of the Eildon Hills; the denuded remains of a composite laccolite, intruded sheet by sheet, giving rise to the appearance of stratification. To the SE, the district largely consists of lavas of the Lower Old Red Sandstone. Kelso stands on Calciferous sandstone deposits of Lower Carboniferous age with a belt of contemporary lavas - olivine-basalts - to the NW and S (the Kelso Traps), which gives rise to the isolated outcrops of the Dunion, Black Law, Rubers Law, and Bonchester Hill. Liddesdale is formed of Carboniferous limestones and Carboniferous sandstones interspersed with the remnants of the Kelso lavas (pp. 283, 311-21). To the S and E, the greater part of the Cheviot massif is made up of a massive igneous intrusion - Pyroxene Andesites - of Old Red Sandstone age round a pre-Cambrian granite core.

The remaining part of the Basin comprises mainly Calciferous sandstone deposits, broken only by isolated igneous intrusions (e.g. Hume Castle and Duns Law) which on the SE border with the Calciferous limestones and Fell sandstones of Northumberland. Old Red Sandstone, at a higher level, interposes between this area and the ascent to the harsher Silurian strata forming the spine of the Lammermuirs. Along the coast, between Cockburnspath and St Abb's Head, the area is broken by a triangular plateau formed by a fragment of Silurian rocks up to 214m asl in height; the respective Silurian rocks - massive greywaches, grits, flagstones, and shales, are well displayed in the folded cliff formations, predominating with outcrops of Old Red Sandstone - felspathic sandstones and conglomerates - which are exposed at Eyemouth, Reston, Coldingham, and St Abb's Head.

(d) The Effects of Glaciation

Much of the Basin's terrain has been modified by the erosive action of impacted ice. In the period of maximum glaciation the Southern Uplands were entirely covered by a mass of moving ice, as is evident from the direction of striae and trails of erratic blocks. The principal dispersal centre occupied the head-waters of the Tweed, Yarrow, and Ettrick. From this axis the ice moved off towards the NE, and then turned to the SE across the Merse and into Northumberland where it joined with the Solway ice and ice-sheets emitting from the Cheviots. Along the northern margin of the uplands the ice travelled from W to E, moving over part of the Lammermuirs along with ice having its source in the Highlands.

It is probable that immediately prior to the advent of the Ice Age the main features of the drainage patterns differed little from those of today. Consequently, it is along the valley floors and across the less precipitous slopes that thick accumulations of boulder clay occur, sometimes to as high as 518m asl. This is a stiff clay deposit full of subangular

stones, the ground-down Ordovician and Silurian rocks, varying in composition and colour according to the nature of the underlying strata, but it frequently contains erratics which have been moved from farther afield. In Peeblesshire and Selkirkshire, the boulder clay is usually thicker on the W side of the valley than on the E, due to the movement of ice from W to E.

(e) Periglacial Features

While the scenery of the lowland areas of the Basin has been modified by glaciation and the product of meltwater channels, significant too has been the deposition of large volumes of detritus carried from the higher ground. The main river valley, graded to glacial sea-levels at or below 46m OD, was plugged with thick deposits of clays, sands and gravels, interspersed with the mantle of boulder clay which overlies much of the hinterland. Examples of moraine deposits are found in many parts of the region and notable features, including eskers, kaimes and kettle-moraines, occur between Greenlaw and Duns. The melting of blocks of dead-ice left many hollows with sheets of water (to be distinguished from the scoured rock-basins, such as that at St. Mary's Loch). In time, many of these lakes silted up and today are marked by tracts of lacustrine muds or alluvium. One such site is indicated by the place-name Morebattle (*Mereboda c.*1124), derived from OE *mere-botl* 'dwelling by the lake' (Nicolaisen 1979, 77), but examples are also to be seen at Todholes near Selkirk and in other parts of the Border country. Overflow channels occur in Peeblesshire and at the junction of the Yarrow and Ettrick Waters. Many of the rivers are bordered by a succession of gravel terraces, resulting from riverine and glacial action which mark the gradual deepening of their channels; those in the lower reaches of the Tweed rise to heights of between 10m and 24m above the river.

(f) The Soils

To varying degrees, the agricultural soils of the region reflect the nature of the parent rock and the influence of glacial drift. Much of the Southern Uplands, the Northumberland Fells, and the Cheviots are occupied by large tracts of peat which in areas can attain a depth of up to 7m. In Tweedsmuir, the peat-mosses rest on moraine material. The decay of the hill-peat may be seen in many parts of the region, and the black broken edges of the peat hanging down the heather-clad slopes are a characteristic feature of the landscape of the Cheviots and of many of the heights between the Moorfoots and the elevated region around Merrick.

Over much of Peeblesshire and Selkirkshire, and parts of Roxburghshire, the overlying boulder clays determine the quality of the soils and, as these clays are locally derived, they are naturally infused with the acid quality of the parent rock; though the soils to the NW of the Midland Depression are less acidic than the rest. The upland soils are consequently deficient in the basic elements that are required for high fertility.

The soils of the central zone are also largely derived from the boulder clays and thus the influence of the Old Red Sandstone, with its capability of producing more fertile soils, is less marked. The soils are diverse, comprising clay, loam and sand. Lauderdale, a broad vale formed with red boulder clay, owes its character in part to the presence of Old Red Sandstone. To the E, as far as the coastal plain, the influence of the parent rock is more pronounced, giving rise to the distinctive colouration and the highly fertile soils of the Merse.

(g) Climate

It is now widely recognized that climate is one of the most important factors governing soil fertility and land use (cf. Harding 1982b), particularly when combined with such factors as elevation, aspect, and drainage. Today, it may also be seen to be of relevance in terms of the recovery of archaeological data from the lowlands, the zone of destruction, where the evidence is often determined by the vagueries of parching, soil-type, and cropmarks (see also pp. 25-6). From data, which I have obtained from the Metereological Office in Edinburgh, it is possible to provide a picture of local climatic variation in the Eastern Scottish Borders for the period 1951 to 1980. It may serve too, to provide an index of local climatic variation in the past (see also pp. 45, 382).

The highest mean annual rainfall occurs over the Cheviots where figures of 1.25m increasing to 1.37m have been recorded at Sourhope (221m OD); Liddesdale has from 1.12m to 1.25m, and these figures compare with those from Eskdalemuir (242m OD). In Tweeddale the mean annual rainfall recorded at Kingsmeadows (160m OD), and calculated on a thirty-five year range, is 0.83m. These figures are similar to those obtained from Bowhill, near Selkirk (168m OD) and from Wolfelee (161m OD), in the foothills to the SE of Hawick, where the wettest month was December. Meteorological records kept at Kelso (34m OD) give a mean annual rainfall of 65m, the driest month being April and the wettest August. The temperature figures calculated for the above sites are markedly similar, though lower temperatures are naturally obtained on the higher ground. The mean annual temperature is 7.9 degrees C; the warmest month is July (13.6 degrees C) and the coldest January (1.5 degrees C). Sunshine in the region ranges from 1 to 1.5 hours a day in winter, to 5 to 6 hours a day in summer. The figures for the number of days in each month, November to April, in which snow is lying, are particularly revealing: this varies from up to eighty-three days at Sourhope (221m OD), thirty-four days at Kelso (34m OD), to twenty days at St Abb's Head (75 m OD).

The calculation of averages is only the first step in denoting climatic variation, but what crop or animal ever experienced 'average' conditions during its lifetime? It is the fluctuations of the weather (the moist spring, the dry summer, the stormy autumn) which

makes for notably good or bad crops, and for the epidemics of pest and disease or the absence of troubles usually considered endemic (see also Harding 1982b, and for the influence of climate on cereal cultivation and harvesting, disease and animal husbandry, Spedding 1983, 102-20). Spedding also highlights the variation which can occur in the climatic potential of land for cropping within quite small geographical areas; of importance to the Tweed Basin where topography, soils, drainage, and aspect combine with such variety. The shorter the growing season, the more variable it is; an additional hazard for the upland farmer. A drop in temperature by 1 degree C can extend the time needed for crop ripening by up to seventeen days (Spedding 1983, 106).

Recourse to modern records can provide only a notional insight into the potential variations likely to be experienced within a given area, but to understand the significance of climatic trends upon later prehistoric, and Early Historic settlement and land use, one must look farther afield. On the basis of post-glacial vegetational history and that of climate, Lamb has identified a series of broad climatic trends for the period 1000 BC to AD 1000 (1981, 53-65; 1982, 11-32; see also Magny 1982, 33-45). It is also anticipated that the pollen analysis undertaken by Shennan and Innes in conjunction with the excavation of the Dod earthwork, a multi-period settlement site in the foothills of Teviotdale close to Hawick (pp. 31-3, 86-96, 180-1), will soon allow the results to be viewed in their widest scientific context, allowing the palaeoecological and climatalogical reconstruction of post-glacial history to be extended from northern England into southern Scotland with detail and reliability (Shennan, I pers. commun., 1982).

Lamb has suggested that the climate over much of the northern hemisphere in the second millennium BC was somewhat drier than it is today. The onset of climatic deterioration appears to have begun about 1000 BC (see also p. 28) and seems to have continued largely unabated, marked by a sharp decline of the prevailing temperature level and increasing storminess. The estimated fall of 2 degrees C in mean annual temperature in southern Scotland between 1000 BC and 750 BC, probably shortened the growing season by more than five weeks (Lamb 1981, 55). The results of pollen analysis by Turner at Tregaron (1965) indicates a particularly cold spell between about 750 BC and 400 BC, with an accelerated peat growth corresponding to a rate of 1cm every four years as opposed to an average of 1cm every twenty years. Changes in the southern limit of the beech tree, and the northern limits of vine and olive cultivation (Lamb 1977, 4, 420) suggest a return to milder times about 120 BC to 114 BC. The climate of the first and second centuries AD, though somewhat warmer and drier, was much the same as it is today.

Between 250 and 400 AD and 1100 to 1300 AD there seem to have been further peaks in climatic amelioration, and, although it has to be said that climatic change is difficult to prove archaeologically, the significance of climate may lie behind, for example, the intake of marginal lands, the creation of cultivation terraces in the uplands in the sub-Roman period (pp. 382, 432), and recourse to the moorland fringes for use as shielings and grazing in medieval period. It is possible that the condition of riverside land and marshes, as at the early Saxon village at West Stow, Suffolk (West 1985), improved from about AD 270 for a period of about 130 years, becoming wetter again in the fifth and sixth centuries, particularly after about AD 580 (Lamb 1981, 57). There seems then to have been little improvement before about AD 700. The eighth century is believed to have had a more continental climate with drier and probably warmer summers and colder winters. In Europe, droughts and heat waves were reported in many of the summers of the tenth century.

(h) Land Classification

Land classification offers a means by which the relative potential of districts within the region can be assessed. The data is obviously tailored to the picture today and inferring back from this has its problems (fig. 7.1). It does, however, provide a basis for assessing the significance of settlement and land use, though in the context of later prehistory the significance of land classification may be more perceived than real. This, of course, requires a level of inference, but given the probability that a large part of the lowlands had by the late first millennium BC already been cleared (p. 46), the influence of soil type, climate, aspect, and drainage, may be seen to provide the potential for land-use patterns to reflect those underlined by the modern data. Later, for example, and following from this premise, I will draw upon the modern land classification maps as a basis for assessing the significance of the territories which can be notionally attributed to a number of the later hillforts and to the emergent settlements of the Anglian period as deduced on place-name evidence (pp. 197-216).

Virtually the whole of the land above the 300m contour, embracing the Southern Uplands, the Northumberland Fells, and the Cheviots, is classified on the maps of the Land Utilization Survey of Britain (1931-9) (fig. 1.4) as poor quality land sustaining at best 'heath, moorland and rough pasture', while in many places land of this quality drops as low as 260m OD. A belt of medium-quality farm land, 'suitable for meadow and permanent grass', extends across the foothills and well up the lower tributary valleys, though in Tweeddale and the valleys of the Yarrow and Ettrick such land occurs only sparingly and in small blocks confined to the valley floors and a few particularly well favoured spots. Blocks and strips of arable land, including some suitable for 'ley farming and fallow' mixed with 'meadowland and permanent grass', are found in Tweeddale below the 75m contour; in the

main valley of the Tweed between Drumelzier and Peebles; in a number of tributary valleys, including those of Eddleston, Lyne, Quair, and Manor Waters, and in the open and broken moorland between the Cloich and Pentland hills. Along the haughlands of the Tweed, a narrow strip of grassland is also indicated. Tracts of arable land in greater quantity are found around Galashiels and at the confluence of the Gala Water, Yarrow and Ettrick. The greater part of the Tweed and the valley of the Teviot downstream from Mervinslaw and Roxburgh, taking in the Merse, are indicated as first class arable land, and the remainder of the low-lying ground is classed as good general purpose farm land, with intrusions of good but heavy land on its outskirts.

(i) Land-use Potential

The Tweed Basin divides naturally into zones of varying potential: the Merse, the undulating ground of the hill-margins, and the higher but broken country of Teviotdale, Lauderdale, the valleys of Yarrow and Ettrick, the upper Tweed and Tweeddale proper, together with the rim of high hills at the heart of the Southern Uplands (fig. 1.3). Although exposed, the coastal plain today benefits from a mixed economy, including fishing, and shares with the Merse some of the most intensively cultivated soils in the region. This area too offers the greatest potential for the recovery of cropmark sites by air-photography. The hill margins to a height of about 300m OD, together with the main tributaries of the Tweed, though less fertile due to the nature of the drift geology and the presence of the less tractable boulder clays, do offer some capability for plough agriculture as part of a mixed economy supporting cattle and sheep; much as was the case over large parts of the Lammermuirs in the medieval period (Parry 1973; 1978, 112-16). By contrast, though less fertile, the marginal lands and hill-country, which stretches unbroken from Jedburgh to Greenlaw, excepting the bleak and more heavily glaciated peaks, offers an outstanding potential for archaeological recovery. Many of the isolated hill outcrops provide good defensible positions and such sites, together with their associated cultivation remains, are often well preserved, due in part to the fact that later cultivation has largely been confined to more freely drained knolls or areas of shallow peat cover; the only limiting factors being the depth of the peat and the perception of the archaeological fieldworker. The uplands thus stand apart in contrast to the lowlands where the complimentary picture has largely been removed due to later agricultural practices (see also pp. 21-2).

The hill-ground, with its thin and stony soil cover, rendered almost uninhabitable by erosion, has been given over almost entirely to shielings and extensive sheep-runs; there being little need to enclose, as also in the medieval period,[3] due to the steep-sided valleys and glens that distinguish the area to the S of Yetholm, the Cheviot foothills, the upper reaches of the Teviot, and the catchment area of the upper Tweed and its tributaries.[4]

Elsewhere, the peat and heather-clad moorland, once a vital source of fuel (cf. Douglas 1798, 11; *Kelso Liber,* 153r), is now of little use but for sheep. More recently, and of consequence for the archaeological record, extensive tracts of the uplands have been afforested. Woodlands account for about eight percent of the area with 19,845 ha privately owned and 13,365 ha in the hands of the Forestry Commission (Corner 1962, 40).[5]

On the basis that the agricultural potential of a landscape is determined by soil type and the influence of local climate, it may be expected that the land-use potential of the Tweed Basin in the past will have reflected in varying degrees that practised today. Thus it may be inferred that the Merse (pp. 7, 203) would, once cleared, have always been the most suitable for arable, while the meadowland of the Tweed's haughlands would have provided essential grazing. The thinner soils of the coastal plain around Coldingham Moor and the more marginal hill-ground, including the Fell Sandstone uplands in north Northumberland and extending across the Cheviots, were capable of sustaining some plough agriculture but offered greater scope for stock rearing, while the still higher ground and open moorland could be given over to rough grazing. Thus the essential requirement, noted by Chisholm (1973, 102-7), for the maintenance of early settlement, namely the potential for arable and pasture, would have been widespread throughout the region. This need not, of course, detract from Hope-Taylor's view in respect to Yeavering, that agricultural development emerged first on the light soil-tract on the hill-margins, 'the natural primary area for human settlement in the Tyne-Tweed region' before being extended to the coastal zone with its greater potentiality, but one that could only be realized by technological advances in plough agriculture (1977, 22; see also Fenton 1963, 264-79). Nevertheless, as the following chapters will show, the relationship between settlement and land use in the Tweed Basin was never simple.

(II) RESOURCES

The region is also well provided in the other requirements necessary for the maintenance of settlement, namely water, fuel, and building materials. Few regions are so favoured as the Southern Uplands in having an abundance of fresh water, not only for drinking (Pringle 1948, 86) but also for the driving of mills.[6] The Tweed also supplied fish in abundance: brown trout, sea trout, and salmon.[7] Many settlement sites also court locations close to a good water supply, either a stream or spring (p. 30).[8] At the Dod (pp. 31-3), the choice of a valley-bottom location appears to have been intentional, though this was to create problems in the management of run-off from the neighbouring hillslopes and the valley-bottom bog, and resulted in Period VI in the closing of an entrance to the D-shaped enclosure and the opening of another on its uphill side. Access to water is often cited as a key locational factor in the

siting of settlements, as in the case, for example, of the Crock Cleugh homesteads (Steer and Keeney 1947, 141; this work pp. 97, 181) and the Romano-British settlement at Milking Gap (Kilbride-Jones 1938, 303; this work p. 81).

(a) Fuel

The winning of peats and turf for fuel would have presented few problems throughout the region in all periods, and the presence of peat cuts in the uplands, though difficult to date, are not uncommon (Robson, M. pers. commun., 1979). Peat-cutting in the valley-bottom bog adjacent the Dod earthwork, has been cited as the probable cause for the truncation of the pollen record for the crucial period, in terms of the site's history, from the Mesolithic/Neolithic transition to about the second century AD (p. 24). This is indicated by an apparent reversal in the radiocarbon dates, which were obtained for this horizon (Shennan and Innes 1986, 21), and is also borne out in the sampling of the neighbouring peats adjacent the Allan Water earthwork (NT 467 055; RCAMS 1956, pp. 444-5, No. 1002; Shennan, I pers. commun., 1982). It is thus of interest that implements, most probably peat-spades, such as that from Eckford (Curle 1911, 123, 284; Rees 1979, 381, 429-31), appear in metalwork hoards about this date. In the medieval period, provision for fuel was often included in the endowment of a Border abbey. In Schotton parish, for example, the monks of Kelso had, according to the rent roll (Morton 1832, 117) 'rights to 2 acres in Scottoun, and pasture for 400 sheep, with fuel', while the carrying duties stipulated in the bond service for the tenants in Redden included the carrying of coals from Berwick (Morton 1832, 114). The use of coal, although on a small scale, is attested on a number of Romano-British sites in Northumberland where it appears to have been used mainly for smithing (e.g. Huckhoe, Jobey 1959, 238-9, 278). The source appears to have been local outcrops, though in the case of Burradon the exploitation of seams farther afield seems likely (Smith 1970, 86). The use of coal, again probably for smithing is also attested on a number of Roman sites (Webster 1955), including Newstead (Curle 1911; Gillings and Jones 1987, 1; this work pp. 71-3).

(b) Timber

For the first millennium BC and earlier, recourse to timber for building throughout the region can have presented few problems (p. 44), although with the progressive clearance of the lowlands, and particularly with the shift in emphasis from upland to lowland economies in the Roman period (pp. 98-102), reserves of timber may have been at a premium and called for some woodland management. This situation is likely to have prevailed throughout the Early Historic period (pp. 64, 233).

The pollen record (pp. 23-5), however, does not indicate extensive clearance of the higher areas in south-east Scotland until about 500 BC (Bartley 1966; Newey 1969; Turner 1979). It is generally assumed that the sub-Atlantic climate, which was broadly coeval with the onset of the Iron Age, was conducive to widespread tree cover possibly to a height of about 450m OD. The pollen record shows a significant presence of beech, oak, hazel, and alder, whilst the larger trees, such as beech and oak, predominate at lower altitudes. As yet there is insufficient information from palynological evidence to gauge the extent of forest clearance and the impact upon local resources made by the siting and construction of a settlement. Reynolds (1982), however, has argued, on the basis of current guidelines for the durability of timber, that a palisaded site such as that at Hayhope Knowe (Piggott 1949; RCAMS 1956, pp. 342-3, No. 665; this work pp. 44, 222-3) would have needed a minimum of 533 trees for the palisade alone, with a further 330 trees required for the surrounding earthwork, in addition to timber for at least twelve houses. The area of woodland which would have been needed to liberate this amount of timber is likely to have been in excess of the 0.75 ha on which the settlement stands. In the reconstruction of the principal ring-ditch house at Broxmouth (Hill 1982b, 152-3, 176; Reynolds 1982, 53-5; for the house-type see this work pp. 29, 172, and for possible function pp. 162-3) it was calculated that about 3,953m of timber would have been needed for the walls, roof, the planking and joists; a minimum of 658 trees, and about 125 more than that required for the double palisade at Hayhope. Calculations for the amount of timber required for the hall-like buildings at Yeavering were not feasible (Hope-Taylor 1977, 334; this work pp. 101, 227-31) and similar enquiries for the timber needed to construct the substantial earth-and-timber Anglo-Norman castle at Hen Domen proved unfruitful (Barker, P pers. commun., 1987).[9] Crone and Barber have, however, recently proposed an analytical technique for the study of non-artefactual wood from prehistoric and medieval sites which provides a clearer basis for the analysis of scantling (1981, 510-15).

In the first half of the first millennium BC, the almost exclusive use of timber in significant quantities, taken with the density of houses on such sites as Whiteside Hill, Corsehope Rings, and Braidwood (Stevenson 1949a; Piggott 1958a; Hill 1982a, 34), where the enclosing works also incorporate a lot of timber, would imply an almost unrestricted local supply. Following initial clearance some form of woodland management might be anticipated, such as that practised in the medieval period.[10] However, the apparent decline in the use of timber-intensive constructional method, as evident, for example, in the later phases of many settlement sites, and which is suggested too by the Hownam sequence of settlement history (p. 23), may in fact be illusory. In north Northumberland, many of the Romano-British settlements have been shown to have timber precursors, as at Kennel Hall Knowe (Jobey 1978b; see also Jobey 1973a; Charlton and Day 1974; Jobey 1977), whilst

both at Boonies, Dumfriesshire (Jobey 1974a) and Marden, Tynemouth (Jobey 1963), a plentiful supply of timber still appears to have been locally available, in contrast to the use of stone in the uplands which may be more a reflection of location and the availability of suitable materials, arising, most probably, as a by-product of field clearance.

At the Dod settlement (pp. 31-3), the use of timber is evident to varying degrees in all periods. In the earliest phases it is used for palisades, breastworks, screen-walls, and huts. In the later phases too, it is used, though more sparingly, to supplement the internal structuring of stone-walled round houses, and in one instance to provide a joisted, almost cruck-like brace, for the side-walls and roof of a souterrain in use probably during the late first century AD (for the souterrain see p. 88, and for the use of crucks in the late and sub-Roman periods see pp. 130-2, 159-60). Here the deciding factor seems not to have been the availability of timber but the inadequacy of the local greywache to provide a suitable bond for walls of drystone masonry construction. This recourse to what must have been an already well established vernacular tradition is no more fully revealed than by the sudden floruit in the use of timber in the site's later phases; a process which may be seen to have begun as early as the second century AD and to have continued into the medieval period (cf. pp. 86-96). Rectangular buildings probably of stave-built construction were raised on sill-beams (cf. Bugge 1953) seated on stone-and-rubble or aggregate plinths; a technique which is also evident in a twelfth-century context at Barhobble (Cormack 1986; 1987; 1988). In the Flavian period, structures of this type were to be seen in the Roman fort at Newstead (Breeze 1979a, 49; this work p. 54) and, whilst not necessarily the inspiration for those at the Dod, they remain the earliest dated examples so far recorded in the region[11] with the possible exception of a house excavated at Broxmouth.[12]

With the progressive deforestation of the Tweed's lowlands, timber, is likely to have been the most readily adopted medium used in construction. This would be consonant with the emergence of a distinctive vernacular tradition which was only fully to emerge in the Early Historic period. The date at which this tradition began will be considered more fully in Chapter Four but it is likely that it will have persisted until the process of deforestation was nearly complete. At Yeavering, in the sixth and seventh centuries, oak provided the principal structural element with ash perhaps being used, in the later periods, for its lightness and flexibility in roof construction. Although it was not possible to gauge the extent of the exploitation of local oak woodland, the lavish use of heavy oak in the first hall-buildings, constructed before the site reached its peak of importance, would indicate that at the outset large oak trees were readily available and that the area of deforestation must have been significantly large. The trend towards lighter structures, with thinner walls and progressive constructional refinements, as seen in buildings A2 and A4 (Hope-Taylor 1977, 334), would

imply an increased regard for greater economy in the use of timber, particularly in the later phases. Conceivably, at Yeavering, the need to supplement timber reserves from this and the neighbouring royal estates may have led, through the exercise of royal patronage, to the long distance transportation of good timber so as to maintain the kudos of the Yeavering building-style; much as in the same way, in the late eighteenth century, the Duke of Argyll obtained timber for Invereray Castle.[13] The inroads brought about by the deforestation of the natural woodland around Yeavering, together with the large scale agrarian development of the royal estates, does provide a model of broader application to the region as a whole. In the Tweed Basin, the settlement at Sprouston (pp. 217-39), situated on the haughland of the Tweed close to its confluence with the Teviot, would have presented a similar, if not more difficult problem to its builders in an area which had apparently already been deforested and ploughed (Smith 1984, 184-8; this work p. 68) and lacking, perhaps, the advantages necessarily procured by patronage.

(c) Ettrick Forest, Coed Celyddon

There is a strong presumption that the presence of a large tract of what may have been primeval woodland, in the area currently defined by the County of Selkirk, was significant as a limiting factor in the extent of settlement at all periods (pp. 27, 187, 196). In the Early Historic period it seems to have defined an enclave which emerged as the caput for a kingdom centred either on Yarrow or Peebles (pp. 290-1). At this time too it may also have provided an additional supply of timber to offset shortages in the deforested areas of the eastern basin, though this is difficult to prove. By the twelfth century it emerges as a valued but withering asset. Charters of David I (1124-53) refer to the forests of *Seleschirche et de Trauequair* and to the forest of *Seleschirche* (Lawrie 1905, nos. cxli, cxlix), later known as Ettrick Forest. This was a large area of royal demesne which went with the manor of Selkirk. It was erected a royal forest in the twelfth century and was thus brought under Forest law and Forest administration in order to preserve it as a hunting ground for the king (Dunbar 1957a, 4). This need not mean that the area was still extensively wooded, (cf. Gilbert 1979, 19-20; RCAMS 1990, p. 6), and certainly by 1233 the lands belonging to Kelso Abbey included tracts of arable near the confluence of Ettrick and Tweed (*Kelso Liber*, No. 395).

Ettrick Forest has, however, been identified by Skene (1886-90, i, 102, 233; ii, 320, 323) as the Wood of Celyddon (*Coed Celyddon*), which is referred to by Nennius as the site of Arthur's seventh battle: '*Septimum fuit bellum in silva Celidonis, id est Cat Coit Celidon*' (Morris 1980, p. 76, no. 56; this work p. 257); '*Septimum contra illos iniit bellum in silva Celidonis qu<od> brittannice cat Coit Celidon nominatur*' (Dumville 1985,

103). A poem in the *Black Book of Carmarthen* (Skene 1868a, i, 23, 370-3) further recalls the defeat of the pagan alliance at *Arfderydd* and their flight into the wood of *Celyddon*, an event that took place, according to the Welsh Annals, in AD 573 (Morris 1980, p. 85, A573; see also this work p. 268). Again, the poetry of the earliest bards (see also p. 285) commemorates *Myrddin Wyllt* or Merlin (Chadwick 1976, 92-3) and his distraught wanderings in *Celyddon* in his madness after Arthuret: *'Merlinus insanus effectus est'* (Morris 1980, p. 85, A573); a tradition that appears to have been received by Nennius through Elfodda, bishop in Gwynedd in 768 and who died, according to the *Annales Cambriae*, in AD 809 (Morris 1980, p. 88, A809; Shaw 1973, 160). According to a legend, which is at least as old as the fifteenth century (Fordun 1759, iii, 31), the site of Merlin's grave stood on the haughland close to the right bank of the Tweed, 183m to the NNW of Drumelzier Church (NT 134 345). No structural remains have, however, ever been found at this location (RCAMS 1967, p. 61, No. 90).[14]

The presence of woodland in this area in the ninth or tenth centuries is suggested by the place-name Darnick (*Dernewic c.*1136, *Darnyke[e]* 1565), a village due west of Melrose on the eastern fringe of the later royal forest. Its derivation is probably OE *derne wīc* 'hidden farm' (Nicolaisen 1979, 78), so described perhaps because it was situated in woodland or overgrown with vegetation. It is evident that stands of good timber still remained in the twelfth century as a charter of Malcolm IV (1153-65) granted the monks of Melrose Abbey the rights of pannage and freedom to take fuel and wood throughout the whole forest of Selkirk and Traquair (*Melrose Liber*, No. 3). In the fifteenth century breaches of Forest law still included the cutting of green wood (Dunbar 1957a, 5). [15] The boundaries of the Forest varied in time but in the second half of the fifteenth century its extent can be surmised from the approximate location of the forest steads as gathered from the evidence of the Exchequer Rolls for this period (RCAMS 1957, p. 6, fig. 3) (fig. 1.5). The distribution of these steads is largely confined to the valleys of the Tweed, Yarrow and Ettrick, and their more important tributaries; no forest steads lie farther upstream than the Leithen Water, on the north bank of the Tweed, or the Glensax Burn on the south.[16]

As will be demonstrated both with regard to the survey of prehistoric settlement (pp. 25-34), and that for later periods (pp. 173-93, 201, 285-92), the presence of this tract of woodland, and its identification as *Coed Celyddon*, is of considerable significance. If Skene is correct in his identification, and the argument will stand even if he is not, then the implications which follow are fourfold. First, accepting Dunbar's identification of the forest steads as approximating to the boundaries of the forest (this premise underlies all later map depictions of the extent of the forest e.g. fig. 2.4), there existed in the middle Tweed Basin a natural barrier to both settlement and communications. This is borne out by the dearth of

settlement evidence for the first millennium BC in an area which has been colloquially described as the 'Selkirk triangle' (see also p. 27). Second, the presence of this block of woodland can be seen as critical to the filtering of ideas and land-use strategies current in the region to the east, thereby contributing to the increasing insularity of Tweeddale, particularly in the Romano-British and post-Roman periods (pp. 187-8, 299). This is no more clearly seen than in the conservative development of settlement types and the emergence of site types not represented elsewhere in the region (pp. 179, 182-3). The woodland may also have served as a natural barrier to the developing framework of inter-tribal boundaries; that between the Selgovae and the area between Yarrow, Ettrick and Tweed to the west of the Leithen Water; conceivably the Genounian district noted by Pausanius (8, 34) and later, perhaps, the kingdom of *Goddeu* (pp. 290-2, 301-9). This too is the district where the majority of Early Christian *memoriae* are to be found (pp. 286-300). The presence of such a large tract of woodland may also be seen as limiting the area available for cultivation. Whether or not land was in short supply in the Tweed Basin in the Early Historic period is difficult to prove, however, in Wales the story of King Meirchion preserving waste for hunting when it would have been better turned over to cultivation would imply that by the twelfth century there may have been some land shortage (Davies 1982, 41, 227, n.71).

(d) Building Stone

Building stone was prolific throughout the uplands and could easily have been obtained from sources close at hand: either from boulder or scree-strewn slopes, from local outcrops, or from extractions of the parent rock in the course of construction, the digging of rock-cut ditches, by terracing into the slope for house platforms or to provide the seating for ramparts. Increasingly during the later first millennium BC the use of stone is to be seen in the provision of sheer-faced, rubble-cored stone-walls, or forward revetting walls for earth dump ramparts as well as for domestic structures. At Hownam Rings (Piggott 1948; RCAMS 1956, pp. 160-1, No. 301), Woden Law (RCAMS 1956, pp. 169-72, No. 308), Bonchester Hill (Piggott 1950; RCAMS 1956, pp. 150-2, No. 277), and also at the Dod (pp. 31-3, 86-96), a versatility in the handling of stone is displayed to advantage in the primary sequences of fortification. This provided the basis for a building tradition that was to emerge with still greater confidence in the Late Iron Age and Romano-British periods; to be seen in the stone-walled settlements which are widely distributed in the Tyne-Forth province, notably in north Northumberland, in Tweeddale and in Berwickshire near St Abb's Head (pp. 176-80).

In the Flavian period, and drawing upon experience gained in the centuries after 500 BC, the accomplishment of the architect-mason is seen, to perhaps greatest effect, in the broch-like towers at Edin's Hall, Torwoodlee and Bow, together with the dun at Stanhope (for these structures, their date and origin see pp. 75-8). These are the structural

masterpieces of the later prehistoric period, then, as later in the tower-houses of the medieval period, the mark of distinction when single-storeyed housing was the norm. In the post-Roman period, the use of stone on a large scale is a characteristic trait of the native forts either refurbished or newly constructed at this time, when stone-faced walls with rubble-cores are the norm and corresponding ditches rare. The walls are frequently sited to include natural scarps or rock outcrops and boulder orthostats are invariably used to provide a grounding for the masonry facing, for example, Peniel Heugh II (RCAMS 1956, pp. 124-6, No. 201), Bonchester Hill (op. cit.) and Whiteside Hill (RCAMS 1967, pp. 152-3, No. 331). The outstanding example of this group is Rubers Law (Curle 1905, 219-32; 1907, 451-3; RCAMS 1956, pp. 102-5, No. 145) which not only conforms to the type of nuclear fort defined by Stevenson (1949b, 186) as a diagnostic Dark Age type, but also incorporates in its ramparts dressed stones presumably derived from a nearby Roman signal-station (cf. Alcock 1979, 134) (plate 7.1).[17]

The above discussion has mainly dealt with structures of random rubble build; the roughest and most economic form of stone-walling, consisting of undressed stones which are gathered or quarried near, if not on, the building site. The face appearance varies considerably on account of the great difference in the size and shape of the material used. Walls constructed of this class are usually given a slight batter on both faces to give additional stability (McKay 1982, i, 40); mortar is not used though clay-bonding, particularly in the construction of dwellings, is possible (e.g. the Dod, round house I, period III). The Ordovician and Silurian rocks provide several varieties of durable building stone and many of the region's improved farmhouses, possibly in common with their medieval predecessors, are built of greywache or grits. The region is equally well provided with the better classes of building stone, i.e. those capable of hand-dressing. Some of the sandstones of the Upper Old Red Sandstone, and the higher Carboniferous, have, for instance, been worked in Teviotdale. The Carham stone, which is found close to the base of the Carboniferous, has long been worked at Carham, Haddon, and Sprouston in Berwickshire; the limestones of Carboniferous age were formerly also worked on a large scale at Thorlieshope in Liddesdale (Pringle 1948, 85).

(e) Quarrying

In the Early Historic period, as too for the medieval period, the evidence for quarrying, its organization and administration, is sparse and mainly inferential (cf. Fisher 1976). An open quarry on Eildon Wester Hill, exploiting porphyritic and non-porphyritic varieties of sandenine-trachyte, almost certainly provided the source for Melrose Abbey, if not for the buildings and successive forts at Newstead (White 1978, 26; for Newstead, this work pp.

54-8, 71-3). It is at Newstead too that the tools of the mason are first found (Curle 1911, 277). Quern quarries, comparable to those for gritstone, which have been identified in north-east Derbyshire (Hart 1981, 106), must also have been a feature of the uplands throughout the prehistoric and Early Historic periods. Eight rotary querns were recovered at the Dod, including bun-shaped and conical types, of a form found on many native sites in the Tyne-Forth province. Most were in secondary contexts but one may be of Dark Age date (pp. 32, 293); these were of andesitic lavas and probably came from the Cheviot zone. Recent work on the North York Moors has shown a considerable density of Iron Age quernstones coincident with areas of good arable land around the moorland fringes, although, unlike the Tweed Basin, evidence for contemporary settlement is lacking (Spratt 1982).

(f) Minerals

*(i) **Haematite and Lead.*** Other resources that may have had a bearing on the manufacturing activities in the region at all periods (see, for instance, pp. 39-41, 69) include iron, lead, copper, silver and gold. Narrow veins of haematite are found in the Ordovician and Silurian rocks at various localities (Pringle 1948, 85). Lead ore has been worked at Leadhills, Wanlockhead and farther afield at Blackcraig, near Newton Stewart, and at Carsphairn. At the head of the Linglie Burn in Selkirkshire (RCAMS 1957, p. 123, No. 197), traces of quarrying can still be seen and documents of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries respectively credit the locality with producing lead, though presumably on a small scale (Macfarlane 1906-8, iii, 56). So far little work has been undertaken which would confirm the source of waste run lead found on many native sites in the Romano-British period (Spearman, M pers. Commun., 1987), though it is possible that much of this entered native hands through trade with the Roman garrisons or was looted after the forts had been abandoned (cf. p. 83).

(ii) ***Copper*** could have been obtained from the veins of carbonate of copper transverse grits and shales below the junction of the Whiteadder and Dye Water in the Lammermuir Hills; copper pyrites has occasionally been found in the Leadhills area (Pringle 1948, 86). The Ordnance Survey six inch map for Berwickshire (1st ed., 1862, sheet 10) (fig. 1.6) depicts the site of copper workings less than 1.5 km to the ENE of Edin's Hall Broch (for the broch see pp. 75-6). Although these are probably of late eighteenth- or nineteenth-century date (*NSA,* ii, 1865, 117), it is possible that the veins had been worked much earlier. The position of the broch (RCAMS 1915, pp. 60-4, No. 115), which must have been a major landmark, may itself reflect control of these resources probably in the Flavian period (pp. 76-7).

(iii) *Silver and Gold.* Silver has been extracted from the galena workings of Leadhills, Wanlockhead, and Blackcraig, and gold,[18] in small quantities, could have been obtained from the alluvial deposits of streams in the Leadhills, and in Glengaber Burn, near St Mary's Loch, in Selkirkshire (Pringle 1948, 86; RCAMS 1957, pp. 124-5, No. 201).[19]

(III) SOME FACTORS GOVERNING SETTLEMENT LOCATION AND THE RECOVERY OF FIELD REMAINS

As demonstrated, the natural resources available in the region must have provided a good potential for settlement at all periods. However, whilst the availability of resources may have been one factor influencing the location of a site (cf. pp. 29, 423), there are other factors which may also have informed this choice. An optimum situation in respect to local resources may, for instance, have been side-stepped in favour of a site offering a greater defensive capability.[20] This is well illustrated by the collocation of many of the hillforts which seems to be governed by the need to control strategic routeways to and from the Basin (pp. 33-4). In deducing the distribution of settlement and the nature of the economy in the Early Historic period, as too for earlier periods (cf. pp. 25-6, 64, 187), other factors may have been of importance. Significant is the impact of later agriculture, which in places attains heights of up to 250m OD, while in the medieval period rig-and-furrow cultivation has been recorded as high as 300m (Parry 1978, 34). Today, the principal threat to the archaeological landscape is afforestation, but in the Southern Uplands, the ploughing and reseeding of upland grassland with the assistance of EEC subsidies is also likely to cause extensive damage. The long-term destructive agency of plough-agriculture has undoubtedly hindered the recovery of many Anglian settlement sites whose presence in the lower Tweed is indicated by place-name evidence (pp. 205-17). It is also likely that many such sites now underlie the farms, fermtouns, villages (and deserted villages), and burghs of the pre-Improvement period. For the same reasons, the field-systems of the Early Historic period may prove indistinguishable from those which both pre- and post-date them, though excavated evidence for fields of this date is known from the south-west of England (Fowler and Thomas 1962; see also this work pp. 182-3, 224-5, 237, 382, 432), and, as Fowler has pointed out (1976, 28), many more examples of present-day enclosed fields with Anglo-Saxon origins may exist than has previously been anticipated. One example might be the field-boundaries which radiate from the nucleated settlement at Coldingham (p. 213). Excavation strategies have, in the past, more closely focussed on the building remains than on the evidence for associated field-systems, though at Thirlings (O'Brien 1982, 44; this work pp. 225, 230), the recognition of pitted boundaries and fence-lines does imply some degree of ordered extramural activity (see also Finberg 1972b, 418-20).

The gravel terraces and alluvial soils bordering the Tweed (pp. 6, 10), the natural focus for early settlement, have the potential for revealing many cropmark sites to air-photography. But, while the mapping and plotting of these for the prehistoric and Roman periods is an established practice (RCAMS 1975 *et seq*; Fowler 1976, 24; Maxwell 1983a), the lack of chronological control, in all but the most diagnostic site types, remains a source of difficulty in identifying the rural settlement patterns of the Early Historic period, and in distinguishing these from those of a later period. The large hall-like timber buildings of the Anglian period (pp. 227-31) do, however, offer some scope for recovery (cf. Smith 1984, 184-8; Gates 1985). The wall-timbers of these buildings were often seated in substantial and continuous foundation trenches of a type excavated at both Yeavering and Thirlings (Hope-Taylor 1977; O'Brien 1982), but deep-ploughing can, in time, eradicate even these.[21] The problem remains of locating sites, which conform to a more conservative vernacular tradition, where the walls of dwelling-houses are often grounded directly on a deturfed horizon with no subsoil penetration (see also p. 96). This was a standard practice in the medieval period not only for single-storeyed buildings but also for structures rising three or four storeys in height (cf. Dunbar 1966, 37; RCAM[E] 1970, 44, 61). In these cases, excavation alone holds the key (see also p. 102), but the results may more often result from coincidence (the juxtaposition of a later structure - the object of the excavation -revealing elements of an earlier one). The archaeologist thus has to be aware of the full potentiality of the archaeological record; this premise underlies the policy adopted by RCAMS in respect to air-photography (Maxwell, G pers. commun., 1986). The approach is also well illustrated at the Hirsel, Coldstream (Cramp 1978; 1980c; this work pp. 215, 431), and more recently at Springwood Park, Kelso, where work by the Border Burghs Archaeology Project has revealed the remains of buildings of late twelfth- or thirteenth-century date (Haggerty, G. pers. commun., 1988; Dixon 1988a).[22]

In the uplands, the principal factor determining site recovery is one of concealment rather than destruction *per se* (cf. Morris 1986, 11-17). Later prehistoric settlement may overlie the remains of earlier phases that would not normally be apparent without excavation despite the skills of the fieldworker. Long chronological sequences are known both at Bonchester Hill (Piggott 1950) and the Dod, and, in East Lothian, at Broxmouth and Traprain (Ritchie and Ritchie 1981, 96-8; Jobey 1976; this work pp. 116-70), and several Romano-British sites, as that at Huckhoe (Jobey 1959), show more than one phase. It is also probable that many sites, together with their field-systems, lie buried beneath the upland peats; in south-east Scotland the growth of peat seems to have begun around pollen zone VIIa (Newey 1969), that is to say about 1000 BC (see also p. 2).[23] Distribution maps for all site types naturally appear to be biased in favour of the uplands (cf. Macinnes 1984a, 179; Hogg 1943, 136-47; and for the use of distribution maps, this work

pp. 26, 185, 196). This may be seen to be attributable to the conspicuous survival of funerary monuments, hillforts, and the non-defensive, earth-and-stone settlements of the Romano-British period; particularly in areas that are either too rugged, too high, or too poor for cultivation. Even allowing for the problems of site survival, and perhaps a greater use of timber, it may be deduced that the complementary lowland aspect of the situation must generally have been more intensive than it ever was on the less fertile moorland fringes (cf. Hope-Taylor 1977, 16-21).

CHAPTER TWO

LATER PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENT AND LAND USE

In the post-War years excavation and fieldwork in the Tyne-Forth province provided the basis for a model of settlement history. It was proposed by Piggott and drew largely on the results of her excavations at Hownam Rings (1948), but was later elaborated by Feachem as a result of his excavations at Green Knowe (1961). The sequence ran as follows: unenclosed settlement, palisaded enclosures, defences of uni- and multivallate type, and lightly protected enclosed homesteads of Romano-British date and later. The model served to illustrate the potential coherence of the settlement evidence (Ritchie and Ritchie 1981, 89-90; Jobey 1981, 95) and has since provided the interpretive basis for many excavation reports (e.g. Piggott, CM 1948, 270-3; 1949; 62-3; 1950, 132-5 and Piggott, S 1958, 66, 73-4). Nevertheless, the model is poorly dated (Hill 1982a, 4-6; 1982c, 24) and its limitations stem from a time when the chronology for British prehistory was unduly compressed, and when Iron Age studies conformed to the systematic scheme proposed by Hawkes (1959, 170-82; Hill 1982a, 5). More recently, as a result of a growing appreciation of the often dynamic and complex nature of site development (e.g. Broxmouth: Hill 1982b, 144-88), the model has been set aside. As an alternative, Hill has proposed an intentionally loose model of settlement history which is satisfied simply with the identification of trends; principally a trend towards enclosure and urbanization.[1] The merit of Hill's work is that it provides the basis for a cladistic model (accounting for chronology, settlement type, calibrated radiocarbon dates and dated burials) with clearly defined boundaries and horizons which can be tested and examined (fig. 2.1). The model provides the basis for the following survey of prehistoric settlement and land use in the Tweed Basin.

(a) The Bearing of Environmental Evidence on Changing Patterns of Land Use

Evidence of land use and ecological change in the Tweed Basin has recently been put on a firmer footing by the results of pollen analysis undertaken at the Dod, a bivallate earthwork of multiperiod date located at the valley confluence of the Dod Burn and Allan Water (NT 4726 0600). The site was excavated by the writer, in three seasons between 1979 and 1981, on behalf of the Directorate of Historic Buildings and Monuments for Scotland (Smith 1980c; 1981b; 1982b; 1983c; forthcoming). However, in order to distinguish between local and regional patterns of land use, it is necessary to balance the Dod pollen evidence with that undertaken both by Newey in Lothian and the Lammermuirs (1969) and by Turner, and Davies and Turner, in Durham and Northumberland (1965; 1973; 1979; 1981; 1983).

Adjacent to the Dod earthwork, there is a peat-bog which contains sediments ranging in date from the late Devensian to the historic period. These sediments have provided the earliest securely dated environmental evidence for human activity in south-east Scotland (Shennan and Innes 1986, 17-26). Man is shown to have affected the vegetation in the Mesolithic, Neolithic and post-Neolithic phases. Prehistoric man was evidently responsible for the onset of soil erosion and for changing the hydrological conditions within the bog. Through the use of numerical analyses of the palaeoecological data,[2] it has been possible to correlate sites and deposits of cultural and natural origin. Moreover, these techniques were sufficiently sensitive to distinguish small-scale, temporary ecological changes of pre-Ulmus decline age. As the pollen diagram shows (fig. 2.2), there is at this level (Dod F) a transition from a mixed oak forest assemblage to a prevalence of shade intolerant plant types and this is best interpreted as a temporary clearance in the forest shortly after 7370 bp;[3] probably the result of Mesolithic activity, though this is unsupported by archaeological evidence (cf. Piggott 1951a, 44-5).

Disturbance of the vegetation and soil system continued without pause from about 1650 bp (Dod Ga - the zone of the first *Cerealia*-type pollen). Activity in the Neolithic period, by which time the presence of settled communities in south-east Scotland is well established on archaeological evidence (cf. Smith 1974; RCAMS 1956, 10), is borne out by the pollen obtained from an organic layer (probably a buried soil) sealed by a linear earthwork which skirts the Dod on the W (pp. 315-16). This layer, which incorporated cereal-type pollen (fig. 2.3), was overlain by hillwash deposits most probably derived from the SE flank of Gray Coat Hill (fig. 2.4); this probably the result of cultivation.

Pollen from the late second and first millennium BC is not present at the Dod; its absence may be due to peat-cutting in the Late Roman Iron Age. However, the picture was probably not dissimilar to that obtained by Davies and Turner (1979) at Fellend, Steng, Broad End Moss and Camp Hill Moss, in Northumberland (NY 679 658, 965 913, 963 215 and NU 100 263 respectively) and by Newey (1969) at Kitchin Moss (NT 050 113), on the W flank of the Pentland Hills; Side Moss (NT 328 550), on a plateau to the N of the Moorfoot Hills, and from a site at the head of the Eddleston Water (NT 220 520). Although Newey's work lacks radiocarbon dates, the picture is consistent with that obtained by Davies and Turner. Limited forest clearance, probably associated with pastoralism, is indicated in each of the diagrams by pollen of *Plantago lanceolata*, with the peak of activity dated at Fellend to 1780 BC, and, in view of the average rate of peat growth, this phase would seem to have lasted about two hundred years (Davies and Turner 1979, 783).

Ecological change in the mid to late first millennium BC is supported by nine radiocarbon dates from north-east England (Turner 1979) and has also been attested for south-east Scotland (Newey 1969). An intensity of forest clearance is indicated and this is borne out by a corresponding rise in grass and cereal pollen. At Steng Moss (Turner 1979, 793), between 578 BC and 20 BC, amounts of Gramineae and other open area taxa are similar to those found at the Bronze Age maxima and may indicate a corresponding emphasis on pastoralism (see also Dimbleby 1960, 238). In zone VII of the pollen diagrams from south-east Scotland increasing frequencies of *Plantago* appear to correspond to falling counts of *Betula*, indicating that some clearance of Birch occurred, and higher percentages of *Ericaceae* and Gramineae suggest the extension of heath at the expense of woodland (Newey 1969, 432). This too is the picture in the uplands of Durham and Cumbria. The Widdybank Fell site (Durham) failed to support reforestation after *c.*620 bc, and at Moor House, close to the summit of Cross Fell, a final clearance episode was dated *c.*262-255 bc (Turner 1981, 270; Higham 1986, 119).

(b) The Settlement Evidence

Five long cairns[4] and a stockaded enclosure at Meldon Bridge, Peeblesshire (Burgess 1976) provide the only visible evidence for settled Neolithic communities in the Tweed Basin. With the exception of the now destroyed long cairn at Caverton Hillhead, Roxburghshire (fig. 2.4), the distribution is that of the Tweed uplands. Due to the nature of these monuments it is possible that they do not accurately reflect the areas favoured for settlement, though at least they would indicate the extension of a Neolithic population over a greater part of the Tweed's hinterland. This is borne out by the distribution of Neolithic stone axe-heads which follows the Tweed and its tributaries (fig. 2.5, information J Murray 1989; see also RCAMS 1956, p. 10; Burgess *et al* 1981, fig. 3). Neolithic activity, perhaps at a localized level, is confirmed by the palynological evidence (above). Evidence for settlement on the gravel terraces bordering the Tweed's haughland is slim and the now destroyed long cairn at Caverton Hillhead well illustrates the vulnerability of these and like monuments in a zone of established agricultural activity. It would be of interest to know whether the funerary monuments of the lowlands comprised a higher proportion of earthen barrows due to the availability of topsoil in this the arable zone, or whether their loss in some way reflects the selective robbing of cairn material for building. Air-photography has revealed a possible Balbridie-type house, which could be of Neolithic date, beside the steading at Whitmuirhaugh, Sprouston (pp. 221-2, 235), together with an interrupted ditched enclosure in the field to the north (fig. 7.6; p. 220).[5] In Lothian it is possible that a timber hall identified by Hope-Taylor in the course of excavations at Doon Hill may overlie a building of this type. The dating evidence, however, is equivocal and alternative interpretations are possible (Hope-Taylor 1980; Ralston and Reynolds 1981; Ralston 1987; Alcock 1988a, 24;

Beith 1990). Neolithic pottery has, of course, also been found at Thirlings and there is no suggestion here that the buildings are anything other than Anglian (see p. 229).

Nevertheless, in view of the processes which govern the survival and recovery of field monuments (cf. Stevenson 1975), the extent of Neolithic activity in the Tweed lowlands, as that for later periods, may have been far greater than can simply be deduced from a distribution map. In view of the sizeable accumulation of hillwash deposits beneath the linear earthwork at the Dod, which were probably derived from the SE flank of Gray Coat (fig. 2.6), it is conceivable that all traces of Neolithic settlement on the hill itself (of which there is now no visible evidence) may have been removed as part of these same soil processes. To argue that the phase I structure at Doon Hill is a Neolithic hall and that a Dark Age hall was superimposed with it, may thus be stretching credulity too far (unless, of course, there was some surviving visible element by which the earlier building could be identified) and if this is the case the status of the building at Sprouston may have to be revised (see p. 235).

For evidence of the mid to late second millennium BC we are on firmer ground. Unenclosed house platforms terraced into the slopes proliferate in the area of upper Tweeddale (fig. 2.4) and these may be likened to other forms of open settlement known elsewhere in Scotland as, for instance, the Dalrulzian hut-circles of Perthshire (cf. Thorneycroft 1933; 1947; Harris 1984; RCAMS 1990). At least fifty-six unenclosed platform settlements are known from Peeblesshire (RCAMS 1967, 22-3; Smith 1981f; Halliday, S pers. commun., 1988) and the distribution has been extended by fieldwork and excavation to Lanarkshire (RCAMS 1978). The site at Pudding Law, Roxburghshire, is said to be an unenclosed platform settlement (Hill, P pers. commun., 1982)[6] and others have apparently been identified in north Northumberland where they are said to have accompanying field-systems (Jobey 1980a). The site at Green Knowe, Peeblesshire (fig. 2.4) is the only such site excavated in the Tweed Basin (Feachem 1961, 131ff; Jobey 1980b). It consists of nine house platforms terraced into the SW side of the hill (275m OD) and close by there were traces of clearance and a number of field banks. Radiocarbon dates of 1285±112 BC and 1226±112 BC were obtained for the houses and 1208±112 BC for the clearance. Another site which is probably of this category is that excavated by Burgess on Black Law, Houseledge, in the eastern Cheviots (fig. 2.7). Selective excavation here revealed timber huts which had apparently been replaced by stone-walled structures in a complex and long-lived settlement, associated with successive dispersed features in which the excavator identified three major phases of agricultural land use (Burgess 1981). On the basis of high phosphate levels other structures were interpreted as animal pens. It is possible that this implies the concentration of livestock for feeding over the winter months; manuring

may thus have been a useful by-product (cf. Higham 1986, 95). A range of pottery fragments were found both on-site and over the neighbouring fields, many of which bore cord ornament, and these included one possible beaker sherd (Burgess 1982). The identification of unenclosed house platform settlements is, of course, dependent on the nature of the terrain and it would be of interest to know what the corollary of these sites was in the lowlands. In the Cheviots it is possible that a number of ring-banks may be of this date (Gates, T pers. commun., 1982).

On present evidence it is difficult to bridge the gap in settlement evidence between the Neolithic stockaded enclosure at Meldon Bridge and the settlements of unenclosed house platforms which followed. The fullest picture for activity in the mid to late second millennium BC, however, can be achieved by comparing the distribution of settlement in the counties of Roxburgh and Selkirk with the Inventory maps for other Bronze Age monuments and artefact evidence; pottery, bronzes, funerary monuments, stone circles, standing stones, and rock art (RCAMS 1956, p. 12, fig. 8; 1957, fig. 1). It is necessary to view these distributions with a degree of caution in view of the processes which govern their recovery; namely the factors determining the original (i.e. real) distribution, and second, the factors which have affected this distribution since its formation (Stevenson 1975, 108). In Peeblesshire, where the constraints on land use are more pronounced, this is perhaps a more legitimate approach than its extension to the lowlands. Three distinct clusters emerge, one close to the source of the Tweed, another to the north of the Biggar Gap, and a third at the head of the Meldon Burn. Viewed in the most general terms a reasonable correlation exists between the distribution of unenclosed platform settlements and other categories of Bronze Age material.

To the east of Tweeddale, although there are a number of funerary monuments, the evidence is slighter and shades off almost altogether in the county of Selkirk. The most reasonable explanation for this is the presence of the Wood of *Celyddon* (pp. 15-17); a tract of probable primeval woodland on record later as the *Forest of Seleschirche*. Settlement on the margins of the Yarrow valley, at the heart of *Celyddon*, is suggested by the presence of cist-graves, standing stones and pottery (p. 288). In Roxburghshire, the distribution of like material confirms the presence of a Bronze Age population over a greater part of the county to a height of about 300m; though this too may be illusory and may no more than reflect the extent of the infield of the eighteenth-century improvements. The evidence is extended to the lowlands bordering Tweed and Teviot principally on the basis of cist-graves (their discovery most probably a reflection of nineteeth-century ploughing)[7] and on the same line of evidence the picture can be extended to Berwickshire (RCAMS 1980, pp. 15-18, nos. 94-124); pottery dated by thermoluminescence to about 1500 BC was recovered from the Hirsel

(Cramp 1984, 1). It is, however, difficult to map the movement of population groups within this area solely on the basis of artefact evidence. While the distribution of Cinerary-urn burials in Roxburghshire, for instance, might be taken to indicate an extension of the settlement area from the Tweed valley farther up the tributary streams (RCAMS 1956, 13), this may be no more than an indicator of the cisted urnfields and the picture may be distorted, on the one hand, by the ability of the plough to cut unnoticed through uncisted sites and, on the other, by the lack of agricultural disturbance in the uplands. If, however, the pattern of artefact resurgence in the lowlands adequately reflects that established by the unenclosed settlements of the uplands, then the real extent of settled communities in the Tweed Basin in the second millennium BC is likely to have been more diverse than has been anticipated, although, in view of the constraints which operate on archaeological data, this would be difficult to map.

It is possible that the demise of settlement characterized by unenclosed house platforms, coupled with the emergence of new site types set apart by a greater regard to enclosure, was brought about by climatic deterioration and soil exhaustion (Jobey 1980c, 95), but this is by no means certain and would anyway be difficult to prove archaeologically. Palisaded enclosures of several types, dating from the late second to the mid first millennium BC, occur throughout the uplands in Roxburghshire, in the Cheviots, and in Peeblesshire (Feachem 1949, 63). Invariably these sites comprise one but more often several round, timber-framed houses enclosed by a single or double palisade, although both embanked and unembanked examples are known, for example, Stanshiel Hill, Henfield, Fasset Hill and Hayhope Knowe in Roxburghshire (RCAMS 1956, Nos. 317, 801, 660 and 665) and Nether Dod, and Castle Hill, Horsburgh Castle Farm, Peeblesshire (RCAMS 1967, Nos. 204, 195) (plate 2.1). The diminutive representative of this settlement-type is present at Gray Coat (plate 2.2), Shoulder Hill, and Greenborough Hill, Roxburghshire (RCAMS 1956, Nos. 994, 670 and 316), and Glenachan Rig, White Knowe and South Hill Head, Peeblesshire (RCAMS 1967, Nos. 197, 208 and 205).

Palisaded sites are well represented in the uplands of the Tweed Basin (fig. 2.4) and, though evidence for the lowlands is lacking, the full picture may one day be redressed by air-photography and selective excavation. At Sprouston (fig. 7.7), for instance, traces of a double palisade are evident to the interior of the interrupted ditched enclosure which occupies the SW edge of the gravel ridge bordering the Tweed; another palisade, possibly a homestead comparable to that at Graycoat, lies to the exterior of the E entrance (Smith 1984, 185-6, fig. 5; this work p. 220). The palisades are generally believed to rank amongst the earliest forms of enclosed settlement in the region, though the evidence from East Lothian is equivocal (Macinnes 1984a, 179). At Dryburn Bridge, a date of 260±70 bc was obtained for a burial which separated two phases of palisade construction (Triscott 1982, 123); dates for House 2,

overlying the palisaded enclosure, came out at 665±55 bc, 600±55 bc, 500±50 bc and 330±55 bc, confirming a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the palisade in the mid or early first millennium BC; thus the trend towards enclosure denoted at Dryburn Bridge may have been less marked and slightly later in date than elsewhere in the Tyne-Tweed region. A system of parallel perimeter ditches lay beneath the stone-and-earth Romano-British settlement at Huckhoe (Jobey 1959, 275) but it is not clear whether both ditches were contemporary (see also p. 66).

Accompanying some of the palisades, but occurring also in isolation, there is a distinctive house-type which may be regarded as a type-fossil of the early first millennium BC. These houses are distinguished by the use of either a ring-groove (a design element used to support the wall-timbers of the house) or a ring-ditch (possibly a product of function). Ring-ditch houses usually have a distinctive internal layout consisting of a level central area enclosed by an annular or a penannular depression or ditch (cf. RCAMS 1967, 21; Hill 1982a, 12-21; Hill 1982c; Macinnes 1982, 32-3); more recently, several have been excavated by Watkins at North Straiton, Fife (1987; see also Maxwell 1968; Condry and Ansell 1978). The earliest pre-defence houses at Broxmouth, which are of this type, probably date to the early first millennium BC (Hill 1979, 11-12), other examples, however, overlie the palisade at Dryburn Bridge and date to the mid first millennium BC (Triscott 1982, 120) as too do those from Douglasmuir (Kendrick 1982).[8]

Settlements of ring-ditch houses, both with and without accompanying palisades, may, none the less, provide a link with the unenclosed platform settlements already discussed. The distribution is essentially that of the Tweed uplands (Hill 1982a, 14, fig. 3) and contrasts with that in Lothian where the pattern more markedly favours the lowlands, though air-photography may also one day redress the balance for the Tweed Basin. Without accurate chronological control it would be imprudent to talk in terms of a development of settlement-types, but the pattern for Tweeddale (fig. 2.4) does suggest that the distribution of enclosed and unenclosed settlements is complementary and a shift from the more marginal terrain favoured by the unenclosed platform settlements is at least apparent. This may be a product of differing local preferences and requirements, and need not necessarily represent chronological development. The two site-types merge at the settlements of Glenachan Rig and Cardon, on the Holmes Water in western Peeblesshire, where embanked and unenclosed houses are found (RCAMS 1967, Nos. 197, 215); the one an earthwork, the other a palisade (plate 2.3). The settlement near the Castles, above the Calroust Burn, Roxburghshire (RCAMS 1956, No. 661), may repeat the sequence already noted for Dryburn Bridge; namely a succession from palisaded-enclosure to unenclosed settlement (cf. Hill 1982a, 20).

Alongside the palisaded enclosures and their related site-types may be a number of the earliest hillforts (cf. Ritchie and Ritchie 1981, 89), and some may have evolved from earlier palisaded sites (plate 2.4). The hillforts rank amongst the most impressive field monuments in the region. Their distribution (fig. 2.8) is widespread and concentrated and, although they stand in contrast to the preceeding settlement patterns, a degree of complementarity is also apparent. This is perhaps no more than one would expect in view of the presence of established population groups and an ever increasing competition for resources (p. 46). The hillfort distribution is striking and is restricted south of the Lammermuirs to the Tweed and its tributaries with few outliers (Piggott 1951b, 51); see also below. More than a hundred and fifty such sites are known but the number is continually being revised due to air-photography; Macinnes notes that many hillforts lie less than 300m from a source of water (1984a, 181). The forts are distinguished both by size and location (RCAMS 1956, 16-19; 1967, 26-8; Harding 1979). The term *oppida* is used to refer to sites in excess of 1.2 ha and these are often situated on commanding hill-tops (e.g. North Eildon Hill, Hownam Law and White Meldon) (plates 2.5, 2.6, 2.7), though the use of the term has not found favour with everyone (Stevenson, JB pers. commun., 1983).

The hillforts fall into several categories. Contour forts, both uni- and multivallate (between 0.4 and 0.8 ha), are the most numerous and their distribution contrasts with that in Cumbria, Durham and Cleveland where multivallate defences are rare (Higham 1986, 130). Their defences are characterized by the use of either sheer-faced stone walls, stone-revetted ramparts, rubble ramparts with accompanying ditches or combinations of all three. Ridge forts share the same techniques in fortification but are set apart by their use of local topography. The nuclear forts, of which some may belong to the Early Historic period (cf. Stevenson 1949b; Laing 1975, 1-6), reflect a more specialized regard to the principal point of defence - the citadel - linked to a series of outer enclosures which make greatest use of the available and often rugged terrain (e.g. Rubers Law: RCAMS 1956, pp. 102-5, No. 145). These sites may be seen to signify a hierarchical organization of space in relation to their setting (Alcock, L pers. commun., 1988).

A number of hillforts demonstrate more than one phase of structural development but few have been examined in detail (RCAMS 1967, 27). Although the Hownam Sequence may be applicable to some, the excavated evidence from other sites, for instance, Broxmouth (Hill 1982b), suggests a complex succession of rampart building phases interspersed with phases of abandonment or reversion to open settlement, prior to reconstruction and final abandonment. This is well illustrated by the Dod (plates 2.8, 2.9).

At the Dod, on the combined evidence of survey and excavation, at least six periods can be defined for the earthwork which can be broken down into the following elements: a linear earthwork which skirts the site on the W (pp. 315-16); a bivallate suboval enclosure at the foot of Burgh Hill, and a D-shaped enclosure to the S which is separated from the main enclosure by a burn (figs. 2.9, 2.10). Pre-defence activity, which is evident too at Broxmouth and at Traprain (p. 117), is represented at the Dod by a ditch which is cut by the inner ditch to the bivallate enclosure (the function of the earlier ditch is unclear but it may be agricultural) (fig. 2.11); by the remains of a round-house sealed by the D-shaped enclosure and by another round-house, to the WSW, for which a radiocarbon date of 1940±135 bp, 130 BC to AD 160 (GU 1419) was obtained. A sherd of coarse pottery recovered from the infill of the foundation trench to a house in Area VI gave a thermoluminescence date of 170 BC±430 (DurTL 56-2AS). To this period may also belong the first phase of the linear earthwork which skirts the site on the W. This was remodelled in period II, in conjunction with a ditch cut on the E; the secondary infill of this ditch has been dated to 1905±50 bp, AD 10 to 215 (GU 1269). About this time the defences of the bivallate enclosure were probably also laid out. The ramparts were of a simple dump construction (material scooped up from the adjoining ditches) and were externally masonry-revetted. The gateway was on the W side of the enclosure and opened to a metalled causeway which spanned the ditches (plate 2.10); both ditches were recut more than once (fig. 2.12). The enclosure was internally subdivided by a palisade and on the uphill side at least five timber round-houses were ranged in an arc. In Period III the D-shaped enclosure was added and this enclosed a single round-house (replaced once). In Period IV the bivallate defences closest to the main gateway were slighted (material was cast back to fill the ditches) and elsewhere along the circuit the defences were allowed to subside into disrepair; their external facing collapsing into the partially infilled ditches. Solely on the evidence of successive rebuilding on each of the house-stances it seems likely that settlement within the earthwork continued, although, to all intents, the site was now unenclosed. In period V the inner ditch to the bivallate enclosure was recut and the gateway was remodelled; a timber breastwork was added to the ramparts; the D-shaped enclosure was consolidated by a massive masonry addition and stone-walled round-houses superseded timber houses on each stance (plate 2.11). The Dod at this time was at best only lightly protected. Related finds suggest on-site activity in the first and second centuries AD (below and pp. 92-4). In Period VI the earthworks were once more allowed to fall into disrepair. An antenna-wall was extended from the main gate across the infilled inner ditch (fig. 2.13); round-houses were replaced by rectangular buildings of probable sill-beam construction. In the D-shaped enclosure, the rectangular buildings can be divided into three phases; the last of these has a *terminus ante quem* of 420±65 bp, 1405 to 1555 AD (GU 1417). Further radiocarbon dates are awaited and these will allow the sequence to be refined. (See also pp. 92-4.)

The Dod thus falls late in the sequence of hillfort construction and may not be entirely representative of the pattern which might be attested on other sites in its immediate locality (pp. 180-1, 186). At Broxmouth (periods VI and VII) radiocarbon dates obtained for the defences fall between the mid to late first millennium BC, and similar dates have been obtained for Fenton Hill (IV-V), Gillies Hill, Kaimes Hill, Burgh Hill, Ingram Hill and Bannockburn; dates are also awaited for the Dunion and North Eildon Hill (Rideout, J and Owen, O pers. commun., 1987). Although other hillforts have been excavated in the Tweed Basin (e.g. Piggott, CM 1948; 1950; Piggott, S 1951b; Lane 1982a), securing a date for their construction and period of initial use (to distinguish those later reoccupied in the Early Historic period) is difficult and often rests solely on the basis of finds. High accuracy dates are therefore a priority before we can frame an independent settlement chronology for south-east Scotland. Nevertheless, due to the fluctuations of the radiocarbon calibration curve it is impossible to get dates closer to within a four hundred year bracket. This is a problem which dendrochronology may one day resolve. The difficulty also often remains of distinguishing protracted occupation from prolonged occupation with intermittent phases of abandonment, and this is particularly so on sites where post-Roman activity has been inferred (p. 83).

Again, the Dod can be used to illustrate this point. Of the eight rotary querns found, including bun-shaped and conical-types, most were found in reuse as packing or else as paving in contexts that can at best only provide a *terminus ante quem* for their period of functional use. This makes their precise dating and significance difficult to assess. It is likely that most can be ascribed to the first century AD, but some could be earlier or later. The fragment of a bun-shaped upper quern, of a type paralleled at the Dod, was discovered in reuse as posthole packing to the house complex in Area B at Kennel Hall Knowe (Jobey 1978, fig. 6.6), for which radiocarbon dates of 100±90 bc and 30±110 ad were obtained for houses 1 and 3 respectively; this suggests that the quern from which the fragment came was in use in the first century BC. An exceptionally well made stone, with raised hopper, also found in a secondary context at the Dod (reused in the plinth for a rectangular building of probable post-Roman date in Area VII), had a vertical handle socket of a type not usually found in Late Iron Age contexts in south-east Scotland and suggests influence from Ireland in the late prehistoric or post-Roman period (p. 293, fig. 2.14, plate 2.12). Adam Welfare believes that querns of this type may not have been in use much before AD 300 (pers. commun., 1988), while the opinion offered in the final report (Cool, forthcoming) suggests a period of use from approximately the second century BC to the Early Historic period. Fragments of Roman glass from the Dod, which were found in exceptionally large numbers for a native site (Guido, CM pers. commun., 1982), provide a *terminus post quem* not later than the first quarter of the second century AD (see also pp. 92-3). The most unhelpful artefacts from the Dod, in terms of dating, proved to be the metalwork. This is perhaps

surprising given that comparable finds on native sites have been amongst the most closely dated (cf. Piggott 1948). The finds, including horse-shoes, nails, rivets, fragments of knives, and a reaping hook, have a suggested date range of between the late first millennium BC and the thirteenth century AD (Ford, forthcoming), though none is period specific and horse-shoes, of course, can always be chance losses. Although in retrospect the Dod may prove to be unrepresentative of the wider class of hillforts (a factor perhaps underlined by its unusual position on the valley-floor), the evidence gained from the site should counsel caution against the use of any one fixed model of settlement history (see also pp. 180-1, 186). To obtain a more accurate insight into the dating of the Tweeddale forts one would need to excavate the neighbouring sites on Burgh Hill and White Hill (RCAMS 1956, Nos. 158, 991); results are still awaited from the excavation undertaken at the Allan Water earthwork (Rideout, J pers. commun., 1984). For the *oppida* one can turn to Traprain Law, which has a complex history of rampart enlargements and where the relative sequence seems sound, although absolute dates are more problematical (see pp. 116-70). On balance, the excavated evidence suggests that some hillforts may have originated in the late second millennium BC, but that most owe their origin to a floruit of hillfort construction in the mid to late first millennium BC, with a degree of continuity accepted for a select few: Traprain Law, Broxmouth VII-IX, and St Germains, in East Lothian; and in Roxburghshire, the Dod, Hownam IV and probably also North Eildon Hill (Owen, O pers. commun., 1986)(see also p. 194).

The house-types which accompany the hillforts fall into a number of distinct categories and these have in the past been used as an index of date and cultural identity (see also pp. 171-3). On North Eildon Hill, a site of the first order (an *oppidum* of 16.2 ha), ninety-six hut-sites are visible and these are concentrated on the summit plateau, on the stepped terraces and on the western shelf at the foot of the plateau; together with a small group at the E end of the S shelf (plate 2.5) (RCAMS 1956, pp. 306-8, No. 597; Owen 1986). At the Dod (typical of the many smaller fortified sites), there are stances for at least five houses in the main enclosure and another was set apart in the D-shaped enclosure. To the fieldworker, the presence of houses is often indicated by ring-grooves, crescentic scarps or merely depressions, though on excavation these often prove to be the stances for stone-built huts with low mass walls of stone with an earth core (e.g. the Dunion: Rideout 1984, 4-10; 1986, 3-8).

The hillfort distribution in the Tweed Basin is worthy of note, and although not all need be contemporary, three distinct clusters are readily apparent (fig. 2.8). This suggested to Childe (1933, 10) that their collocation was dictated by strategic considerations which transcended mere clan boundaries. The clustering of some fifty forts bordering the

Tweed above Innerleithen may have been dictated by three routes into the Central Lowlands, by way of the Clyde, the Lyne, and Eddleston Waters (Ogilvie 1930, 435). Below Innerleithen, a stretch of the valley about 6 km in length in which no forts occur separates this group from others near the mouths of the Ettrick and Teviot valleys that appear to contest command for the entrances to, or exits, from the Tweed Basin west and south (ibid. 484). Twenty forts at the head of Annandale control passes to the Clyde and Tweed; twenty-one forts seem to guard the route through Lauderdale (p. 322), while still farther to the east, half of the forts clustered on the Lammermuirs are concentrated on bluffs astride the coastal route from the south into the Central Lowlands. The same may also apply to other conspicuous groups along the Till and Bowmont Water, though dating evidence for these hillforts is notably lacking.

Linear earthworks and pit-alignments, most probably the remains of estate or farm boundaries, are widely distributed in the Tyne-Forth region and, though datable evidence is lacking, some almost certainly originated in the hillfort era (plate 2.13). Examples of both are especially common in Berwickshire (RCAMS 1980, pp. 35-9, nos. 290-325), though few are known in north Northumberland, and south of the River Till there are none (Mackay 1980, 1, fig.1; Macinnes 1984a, 188, 192). Most striking are the pitted boundaries round the fort at Chesters, Drem, East Lothian (RCAMS 1924, pp. 9-10, No. 13; air-photographs by Harding and CUCAP in NMRS), but here, as in many other cases, the problem remains of not only defining a coherent boundary network but also in relating them with confidence to the neighbouring settlement (cf. Halliday 1982, 75). The precise form of the pit-alignments is difficult to deduce as few have been excavated. At Meldon Bridge, the pits clearly contained timbers (Burgess 1976, 155-64) and Miket has inferred the use of timber at Ewart Park (1981, 136-7), while at Chesters, Drem (undated), Mackay argued for the presence of an accompanying bank. At East Field, Inveresk, a sherd of Roman pottery was found in association with another pit-alignment (Barber 1951, 21). These four earthworks apart, excavation has done little to extend the chronologies beyond the Neolithic period when, on present evidence, this form of earthwork was probably first introduced (see also pp. 42, 316).

Although recognized as long ago as 1836 on Horsely Hill, Warlawbank in Berwickshire (Carr 1836; RCAMS 1980, p. 39, No. 324), few of these curious boundary works have survived as earthworks. Others were recorded in the nineteenth century (e.g. Hardy 1878, 166; Lynn 1895, 371-2) and the Berwickshire Inventory includes some with ditches interrupted by 'traverses' (RCAMS 1915, p. 33, No. 64); while others have more recently also been recorded by the Commission (RCAMS 1980, pp. 35-9, nos. 290-325). Foremost amongst these is the now destroyed rectilinear earthwork that enclosed about 8 ha

and the fort in Marygold Plantation (Lynn 1895, 368-71; RCAMS 1980, p. 26, no. 201; p. 38, no. 316; Halliday 1982, 78).

The nature of this earthwork is best understood by reference to fig. 2.15. A bank, flanked by pits, extends from the western corner of the earthwork to stop on open ground some 300m to the NW. Its irregular course (marking a transition from a ditch to a line of pits and incorporating a staggered entrance) is characteristic of the pitted alignments revealed by cropmarks elsewhere in the south-east of Scotland, for example, Lamberton Moor and Milkieston Rings (RCAMS 1967, pp. 131-3, No. 304; 1980, p. 38, no. 304). Comparable rectilinear enclosures in proximity to forts occur at Torwoodlee and Big Chesters, Bowshiel, Selkirkshire, and these are of note for each can be demonstrated to have been constructed while the fort defences were still in use (cf. Halliday 1982, 78).

The irregular course of the linear earthworks, so often pronounced, is paralleled in the field-systems of the Dartmoor reeves (Fleming 1978, 99-103), but the suggestion that these kinks may have resulted from group labour (i.e. men working in gangs) is not borne out by the marked nature of many of the deviations in course, though at a local level (e.g. Marygold Plantation) gang construction is probably applicable. In the manner of medieval and Improvement-period roads, the answer may lie in the need to avoid existing field-systems and settlement, perhaps of a temporary nature (cf. Hoskins 1976, 43). The use of the pitted-alignments and linear earthworks for stock control is suggested by the close spacing of the pits, which in view of the slight nature of the accompanying banks must imply their role as key structural elements, and by the staggered entrances that served, in effect, to provide a funnel into which livestock could be driven (see also p. 223).

In Roxburghshire, there are a miscellany of linear earthworks and although some towards the head of the Bowmont valley have been shown to be of Dark Age date (Tipping, R pers. commun., 1988), others may well date to the mid to late first millennium BC. The most impressive of these is the Catrail (RCAMS 1956, pp. 479-83); see also pp. 315-16. This earthwork consists of a bank and ditch of modest proportions, and seems to have run from Robert's Linn (NT 538 026), a small burn flowing to the Slitrig Water, W and then NW to the head of the Dean Burn (NT 379 122), the lowest of the left bank tributaries of the Borthwick Water, a distance of about 7.8 km. Radiocarbon dates of 1905±40 bp, 1956±45 bp and 2068±43 bp have been obtained from sections cut along its length; a further nine dates are currently being processed (Strong, P pers. commun., 1988). Another notable earthwork is that which extends from Broad Law to Raeshaw Fell (RCAMS 1956, pp. 188-91, No. 394). This earthwork is exceptional in that it is partly stone-built; in the course of fieldwork

in the Manor Valley, Peeblesshire, two other boundaries were identified which may also be of this type (p. 368).

Cross-dykes are another category of linear earthwork which is also well represented in the Tweed Basin. These usually consist of a single bank or ditch, or two ditches with a medial bank. Examples, however, are largely confined to the Cheviots. They are distinguished by being drawn across ridges, necks or other pieces of ground and many are flanked by well-marked natural features, either mosses, burns or steep cleughs. The linear earthwork, which skirts the W side of the Dod, if not part of the Catrail itself (cf. Smith 1982b, 129), probably falls into this last category. The first phase of the earthwork is undated, but a *terminus ante quem* of 1905±50 bp was obtained for its second phase.

(c) The Evidence for Land Use and Economic Activity

Although cereal cultivation is attested in the Neolithic levels at the Dod, complimentary evidence from the site at Meldon Bridge is lacking; cultivation on a small scale is possible and grazing too seems likely (Burgess 1976, 168, 176). Given the distribution of Neolithic axe-heads (fig. 2.5), small scale cultivation at this date throughout the Tweed Basin seems not improbable. It is, however, difficult to bridge the gap in our knowledge of the pattern of land use in the intervening period between the Neolithic and the second millennium BC, but, in view of the probable date of a number of the pitted alignments, some organization of the landscape in line with the requirements of cultivation and animal husbandry seems likely. At Green Knowe, an unenclosed platform settlement, a date of 1208±112 BC was obtained for clearance. In the excavator's mind there was little doubt that the settlement had been associated with a system of field-banks and cairns which were scattered over an adjoining area of about 2.5 ha (see also Burgess 1981; 1982). Saddle querns and rubbers provide some evidence for cereal cultivation and a mixed economy seems likely (Jobey 1980b). A similar picture is supported by the evidence from north Northumberland where a number of sites of about this date are said to have attendant field-systems (Jobey 1980b).

By the late second and early first millennium BC significant inroads must have been made into the forest cover (p. 44). Cereal cultivation is attested by trough and saddle querns on many sites, by quartzite rubbers and pounders at Broxmouth (Hill 1982b, 152), where a saddle quern was associated with the palisade; by rubbers and pounders at Glenachan Rig (Piggott 1949), while cultivation in the vicinity of Traprain (pp. 59-61, 116-70) is suggested by the presence of saddle querns and barley. Similar midden material also probably predated the fort wall at Craig's Quarry, Dirleton (Piggott and Piggott 1952, 194). Evidence for livestock comes from artefact evidence but may also be inferred from the form

of the sites themselves. The palisaded settlement at Hayhope (Piggott 1949) is enclosed by an outer annexe which can most reasonably be interpreted as the hardstanding for cattle (see also p. 223). The trenches which swing out from the entrances of the first phase settlement at Huckhoe (Jobey 1959, 275) were believed to be significant; their purpose clearly to connect the two stockades in order to create an outer annexe useful as a corral for livestock. Stock rearing may also be seen to inform the plan of the twin palisaded enclosure at Harehope, Peeblesshire (Feachem 1960; RCAMS 1967, p. 77, No. 199) and is corroborated by the presence of spindle-whorls (which may however be flywheels for bow drills) at Hayhope. Evidence in support of a mixed economy is provided by the bones of both wild and domestic animals, and would imply a full use of natural resources. Bones of cattle, sheep or goat, pigs, and horses or ponies were found both at Dryburn Bridge and Douglasmuir (Triscott 1982, 122-3; Kendrick 1982, 139). At Broxmouth, the exceptional preservation of animal bones allowed a detailed study to be carried out (Barnetson 1982). This demonstrated that cattle were a significant commodity in the agricultural economy of the site, and the same may also be true for the palisaded homesteads at Graycoat, Roxburghshire (RCAMS 1956, p. 441, No. 994), Braidwood, Midlothian (Stevenson 1949a) (plate 2.14),[9] and Glenachan Rig, Peeblesshire (Piggott 1959).

These sites have in common a distinctive type of house which is distinguished by the provision of an annular or penannular ring-ditch (see also p. 172). This feature may be seen to be the product of over-wintering cattle indoors. A reconstruction by Reynolds (1982, 51-2) of one such house from Broxmouth, suggests that some may have functioned as two-storeyed byre-dwellings; the cattle being stalled in the outer annular area (mucking-out would naturally accentuate this feature) and an inserted floor at eaves-level would have provided for a hay-loft (see also below, and for later byre-dwellings pp. 157-61).

In the absence of storage pits or any other proven association with a field-system at Huckhoe (above) - a characteristic of other palisaded sites (Halliday, S pers. commun., 1987) - it was assumed that little radical change had been achieved in the method of cultivation. As the uplands appear to have been only sparsely settled, and the excavated evidence would point to a greater emphasis on pastoralism, it is possible that many such sites were utilized in a system of transhumance (Macinnes 1984a, 198); a tradition which persisted, certainly in the Lammermuirs, into the medieval period when cattle and horses were driven seasonally to the hill pastures (Whittington 1973, 569-70). Although good anthropological parallels exist for the use of a sheiling economy (Orme 1981, 105), seasonality in the use of a site is hard to prove archaeologically.

Six hillforts within the Tweed Basin provide some insight of related economic activities in the mid to late first millennium BC. They are: the Dod, Bonchester Hill, Hownam

Rings, Edgerston, the Dunion and Eildon Hill North. This evidence too, needs to be balanced by that from north Northumberland and the Lothians. To a degree, the archaeological evidence is complementary. Stock-rearing is suggested by bone remains from the Dod, as too at Broxmouth; by weaving combs and spindle whorls, which occur in some number both at Traprain and Edgerston (see also pp. 177-8), and loom weights at the Dod and Hownam Rings. Nevertheless, the significance of pasturage to the hillfort economy may have been unduly emphasized by Newey (1969; see also Alcock 1988b, 25); this perhaps reflecting the influence of Piggott whose view of the native population as 'Celtic cow-boys, footloose and unpredictable, moving with their animals over rough pasture and moorland' (1958a, 25) was untempered by field-systems of the period that have more recently been recognized and excavated (cf. Halliday 1982, 74). Piggott's combination of semi-nomadic pastoralism with limited hoe-cultivation has, however, proved a durable model which still finds currency in the literature of the period (e.g. Megaw and Simpson 1979, 484-5). Its durability stems from the dearth of positive evidence to negate it; the survival of bone on the acid-rich upland soils occurs only exceptionally and evidence for arable farming is limited (cf. Cunliffe 1986, 30). This dependence on negative evidence has, however, been challenged both by Manning (1975) and Halliday (1982).

Indirect evidence for cereal cultivation is provided by rotary and beehive querns which are common finds on many hillfort sites (e.g. the Dod, Hownam in its multivallate phase, Bonchester, Castle Law, Glencorse, and Edgerston). The proximity of arable to the Dod is suggested by an iron reaping hook which was found in the wall-core of the principal stone-walled round-house in Area VI. Carbonized cereal grains were found in a number of contexts at the Dod, but were recovered in quantity from a storage pit which had been cut into the bank-terminal beside the entrance to the D-shaped enclosure (a more freely-drained position), and were identified as *Hordeum vulgare* by Fairweather (forthcoming). The barley was hulled and the size range and shape of the grains suggest that it was probably a six-rowed variety. Barley was also found at Traprain (Macinnes 1984a, 190). Of interest is a single carbonized seed recovered from an organic layer of the inner ditch terminal at the Dod which was identified as *Brassica campestris* agg. This is the aggregate species to which the wild turnip and cultivated forms of turnip belong (Spedding 1983, 572-9). The species has been found on Late Bronze Age sites in Britain (Godwin 1976) but in the context of the Dod is probably an introduction. It grows as an annual on disturbed land or in a biennial form in wetter conditions by streams or ditches and would thus have been well suited to the Dod. Fruits of *Rubus fruticosus* agg (bramble, blackberry) were also recovered from the same deposit.

Most of the bone found at the Dod (Noddle, forthcoming) was of bovine origin and although the collection is small, and little can be deduced about dietary habits, a surprising amount of information is available about the animals themselves. The cattle bone from the inner ditch terminal beside the entrance probably came from a single individual; possibly a discarded carcass. The animal was mature and of small stature; metapodial bones from the average Iron Age or medieval site are about 10mm longer, whilst Roman and Saxon animals are larger still (cf. Higgs and Jarman 1977, 327-2). However, few such bones have been excavated in such a difficult environment as the Cheviots and the small stature is more likely to be of nutritional rather than genetic origin (see also Berry 1969, 207). The complete metatarsal bone was distally asymmetric; a trait which is associated with heavy traction work at an early age. Conventionally this would indicate that the animal was a castrate male plough-ox, but it is likely that females would also have been required to work in an impoverished settlement (cf. Bender 1975, 41-6).

Two sheep bones and three of pig were definitely identified, and these too would indicate individuals of small size. Poorly-fed pigs took at least two years to fatten even in the more progressive areas of England prior to the introduction of Far Eastern stock in the eighteenth century. A Red Deer antler fragment and mandible were also found and, in contrast to the domestic stock, these were from a fairly large animal. Red Deer, larger than the present Scottish race, occurred in several mountainous areas in the British Isles up to the late eighteenth century (Noddle 1982). Stock-rearing is also indicated by bone remains at Kaimes and Hownam in its univallate phase, and the exceptional preservation of animal bone at Broxmouth (108 boxes each weighing about five kilograms) provides for a more definite account of later prehistoric husbandry (Barnetson 1982). The remains included cattle, sheep, pig, goat, horse, Roe Deer, dog and bird.

At Broxmouth, cattle were predominant with slightly fewer sheep, even fewer pigs and only a small number of goats. The general picure was one of systematic slaughter of both sheep and cattle. The rearing of sheep and cattle would have assured the native population of a milk yield, a constant supply of meat and other products such as wool and hides. The evident preference at Broxmouth for the eating of mutton and pork on a more regular basis may imply that cattle were kept principally for non-meat products. This is perhaps surprising in view of the fact that the meat yield from a cow is greater than that for a sheep or pig, but possibly underlines the intrinsic worth of cattle as a wealth commodity (see also p. 49).

(d) Evidence for Manufacturing

Evidence of manufacturing from sites in the Tweed Basin is lacking until the late second and early first millennium BC, though the presence of sophisticated house- and settlement-types which used a large proportion of timber in their construction would imply some acquaintance with metallurgy and access to a range of carpentry tools from an early date. All gold and bronze objects from Peeblesshire, however, to take one example, are unassociated surface finds. The bronzes include two flat axes, five flanged axes, two bronze rings and a halberd (RCAMS 1967, 17). The presence of craftsmen skilled in the working of precious metal is borne out by two gold lunulae from the farm of Southside; two of five recorded from Scotland. Late Bronze Age hoards, such as that from Horsehope, Manor (pp. 359, 419), include horse harness and cart fittings (cf. Coles 1962).

Evidence of on-site manufacturing is suggested by a fragment of a clay mould, possibly for casting a bronze object, recovered from midden material probably pre-dating the fort wall at Craig's Quarry, Dirleton (Piggott and Piggott 1952, 194). At Broxmouth, traces of metalworking, including a bowl-furnace, a possible casting-pit and debris from a non-ferrous metalworking process, overlay the latest house of the pre-defensive phase (Hill 1982b, 153); at Traprain, bronze objects and evidence of manufacturing were found in quantity (Cree and Curle 1922). Fragments of bronze and iron recovered from the palisaded settlement at Dryburn Bridge are also suggestive of metalworking (Triscott 1982, 122-3).

Manufacturing related to the hillforts is by comparison well attested. Pottery production, even allowing for the transmission of stylistic traits by marriage and kinship, must have been widespread and locally based. The tradition of pottery manufacture in the region may, nevertheless, have been long-standing (cf. Gibson 1978) especially in such nodal areas as the Till valley (Higham 1986, 106) from which the earliest evidence comes from Thirlings (Miket 1976). The bulk of the pottery is utilitarian, coarse in execution and unsophisticated in design, and consequently is of little use as either a chronological or cultural indicator (Haggerty, G pers. commun., 1987). One sherd submitted from the Dod produced a TL date of 170±430 BC (DurTL 56-2AS). Other sherds, however, along with examples from elsewhere in the Tweed valley have been submitted to the School of Studies in Archaeological Sciences, Bradford University, for neutron activation analysis and thin section petrology. Here, the aim is to develop an approach which will give answers about the production and supply of locally produced wares in Roman Scotland. The thrust of the programme will focus on second-century material from the Roman fort at Newstead (pp. 53-4) together with that from the Antonine Wall forts (with first and third-century material obtained from the forts at Elginhaugh and Carpow).

Evidence for metalwork and metalworking on hillfort sites is less well represented than one might expect given the weight of artefact evidence for the period, though this may be a product of survival-and-loss and perhaps too reflects the limited areas investigated by excavation; the evidence from Traprain (pp. 120-8) may be set against that for other hillforts. Artefacts of bronze and iron were present at the Dod (p. 33) and in some numbers at Edgerston (RCAMS 1956, pp. 225-8, No. 457; this work pp. 177-8), together with slag and waste-run lead. This in itself would point to some on-site smithing, though the remains of a smithing-shed and forge on the south side of the D-shaped enclosure at the Dod (Area III) are probably later in date. At Broxmouth, there were, by comparison, few finds of iron and bronze, and little evidence of metalworking; this, however, may simply be an indication of the contemporary material culture (Hill 1982b, 182) though at Edgerston portions of two crucibles were found (RCAMS 1956, 228). The absence of stone-cutting tools and those indicated by the sophisticated timberwork of the Broxmouth houses and defences, may reflect a less improvident attitude to implements and scrap metal than that which enriched the midden deposits at Traprain (Cree and Curle 1922; this work pp. 120-8, 133). Iron slag was found on the early phases at Hownam Rings and Kaimes, though insufficient to gauge the scale of production. It is, nevertheless, surprising that so little evidence for manufacturing has been recovered on-site for a period which is otherwise rich in artefacts, particularly weapons, recovered as unassociated surface finds (Ritchie and Ritchie 1972, 54-60). It is, however, possible that the smithing and processing of the ores took place close to source. This might account for the absence of evidence and would also favour some degree of craft specialism, possibly at a regional level, within native society. To date, no foundry sites have been identified in south-east Scotland, though evidence does exist farther afield, notably at Torrs Warren, Wigtownshire (RCAMS 1987, pp. 8-9, no. 21). This would seem to suggest a dispersal in the pattern of manufacturing centres; their products only entering the hillfort economy by way of peddlars and itinerant smiths (see also below). It follows that the acquisition of metalwork by hillfort societies, in the late first millennium BC, may have been a cause of some concern to the native population.

DISCUSSION

The inferences which have been deployed so far in this survey of prehistoric settlement and economy largely follow from the evidence. However, in seeking to answer the broader questions of continuity, social structure, site function and landscape development, questions which are at the root of any understanding of the peoples of prehistoric North Britain, the level of inference required has to be stretched and in areas must verge on the speculative. This need not invalidate the approach as the questions themselves are compelling, but the

basis of a case, which does not ineluctably follow from the evidence, must obviously await the results of further excavation and high accuracy dating (see also p. 423).

It is difficult to distinguish the point in time when activity at a local level gave way to a greater awareness of collective responsibility and the exercise of a higher level of authority. By the Neolithic the presence of population groupings within the Tweed Basin is borne out by archaeological evidence, but the degree of settlement and the significance of the inroads made into the forest cover is hard to gauge. At one level some degree of authority may be seen to have informed the construction of the chambered cairns along with other collective religious or funerary monuments, which would imply a greater degree of corporate endeavour perhaps as a reflex of funerary or ceremonial function; factors such as these may be seen to inform the layout of such notable monuments as the great enclosure at Meldon Bridge. Even here, though, we may be seeing no more than a co-operative venture and one not necessarily informed by any level of centralized authority. Monuments of this type, together with the cairns - the latter most probably a by-product of clearance - may no more than underline the activities engaged in by localized population groups within the slack time afforded by the agricultural calendar; these perhaps no more than the symbols of kinship or epitomizing the territories of extended family groups. The lack of evidence in the Tweed Basin for this period does not allow us to match the picture presented by Renfrew for the evolution of territorial boundaries as defined by the spacing of the tombs in relation to land-use capability (1976, 146-51), nor is it possible to single out any one monument as of paramount importance from which one might infer some level of ranking or status within native society. Nevertheless, although the creation of the long cairns could have been achieved by communities resident in the neighbourhood, the presence of a blue-print or accepted standard for the monuments themselves would seem to underline the presence of artisans, perhaps architect-masons, who must themselves have drawn upon the fruits of an agricultural surplus. Similarly, the construction of the Meldon Bridge enclosure must signify some level of managerial responsibility to exact the services of the woodcutter and the carrying dues required in bringing the rough-hewn timber to site and erecting it on predetermined lines.

For the Tweed valley, the simplest model of social organization probably best fits the evidence; thus one of dispersed farming communities, either fixed or shifting with the changing requirements of agriculture and resources. This need not deny the existence of some level of social organization as outlined above, but without an accurate insight into the size of the population and the degree of competition for resources, its operation at a local level is all that can be inferred. Given the distribution of the long cairns on the fringes of the Lammermuirs it is possible that some interdependence between upland and lowland

economies did exist, but without the settlements it is impossible to push this point much further. In view of the fact that some if not many of the pitted-alignments may be of this date, some degree of land-use management is possible, and from the layout of these boundaries one might infer the need to control livestock and set apart areas for arable; thus the maintenance of a mixed economy, although probably on a small scale. The lack of settlement evidence would imply the presence of unenclosed settlement and this too would seem to underline a certain freedom in the landscape both in the intake of areas for pasture and cultivation and the sites selected for habitation with little or no requirement for sites of a defensive nature.

From this simple model one can trace a course towards the gradual filling out of the landscape, an increasing competition for resources and the emergence of a more hierarchical society with a greater regard to regional authority and resource management. The pace at which this took place is difficult to gauge and it may well have varied from one district to another. By the mid second millennium BC, on the basis of artefact evidence alone, it can be suggested that a greater part of the Tweed Basin had by now been settled. Again the pattern is one of open settlement and, by virtue of its imprint upon the landscape, the evidence is largely biased in favour of the uplands and is thus probably unrepresentative. One might set with this, however, a growing awareness of the role of ceremonial and religious activities: factors which may have served to promote a greater awareness of corporate identity and the significance of particular foci within the landscape; fixed points, perhaps endorsed by burial, which were to prove enduring as centres of social reference (cf. Bradley 1987). Small population enclaves may thus by now have given tangible expression to the presence and identity of the groups resident in them; the valley of the Yarrow Water stands apart as one such example (pp. 288-92), the Dod Burn area another. In the natural progression of events it seems reasonable that as population groups coalesced, as one area of arable merged with another, so greater polities emerged; in the lowlands this would perhaps have been of greater consequence than in the uplands where the divide between the arable zone of the valley-floors and the moorland grazing of the hillslopes is more rigidly fixed and confined by the watersheds of the main river valleys. This lends significance to the definition of natural enclaves, such as the Manor Valley, Peeblesshire, where the extent of settlement in respect to land use can be mapped and examined (pp. 353-419). The excavated evidence bears out the likelihood that many of these were mixed farming communities and the presence of some on-site manufacturing points to a full use of natural resources.

It is perhaps with the appearance of the first palisaded settlements that change on a significant level both within the landscape and society itself may be seen to have taken place. What this represents though is difficult to assess; whether the emergence of sites affording a measure of protection resulted from a fragmentation of an existing and more nucleated

settlement pattern, or exactly the reverse. Clearly the palisades are only one facet of the settlement pattern of the late second millennium BC and the enduring presence of unenclosed site types may simply indicate that the palisades arose as a by-product from the clearance of more extensive tracts of the forest cover than hitherto possible or desirable; though this in itself marks a departure and may underline a shortfall in the carrying capacity of lands already opened up for husbandry. Nevertheless, the balance of the archaeological evidence may not be representative. Many more sites of a transitory or temporary nature may yet remain to be discovered. In the past, numbers of unenclosed stone-walled houses have been attributed to the later prehistoric period, possibly with some justification (for example, the scooped-settlements in Peeblesshire: RCAMS 1967, 26) but not in every case, and a few whose earlier Bronze Age character has been discounted may need to be reconsidered in any search for the complete picture of the late second and early first millennium BC (cf. Jobey 1980a; 1980c, 95). However, in consequence of the emergence of the palisades, the excavated palisaded enclosure at Hayhope (Piggott 1949) does illustrate two points of importance. To the interior, eleven houses are arranged in two rows as if in respect to a street or road. This is the first sign of an ordered layout within a site which not only underlines the gathering trend towards enclosure but perhaps also implies the exercise of some level of authority previously absent in what might be judged as a more egalitarian peasant society; the presence perhaps of a chief or tribal elder.

The second point relates more specifically to land use and lays greater emphasis on a factor not immediately apparent simply on the basis of the archaeological evidence set out above, namely the importance attached to livestock. The site at Hayhope is enclosed by a large outer annexe which is probably best interpreted as a hardstanding for cattle. This regard for the maintenance of a herd close to the habitative area is matched too by the appearance of buildings of a distinctive type which could well have functioned as byre-dwellings (i.e. the ring-ditch houses, cf. Reynolds 1982) (see also p. 29). The ability to over-winter cattle indoors would have brought with it the scope for the management of a herd and as a result a more rational use of natural resources. This too may have been accompanied by a greater emphasis on transhumance; the use of summer shielings relieving pressure on the arable and common grazing close to the settlements (cf. Miller 1939; Smith 1986).

Whatever the reason for the emergence of the palisades the underlying trend towards enclosure and urbanization is undeniable. Although outwardly imposing, the palisades need not at the outset have been strictly defensible. There is little to imply that population pressure, competition for good arable land and the winning of resources were key concerns, as might be indicated, for example, by the close juxtaposition of settlement on the valley-floors and the relative depopulation of the uplands, and society does not appear to

have been sufficiently close-knit or aggressive in nature (i.e. the lack of weaponry) to warrant sites of strategic importance, withstanding the emergence of a number of key sites as at Traprain (pp. 116-17) and Woden Law.[10] Rather, the palisades might be seen as a consequence of a pioneering society engaged in the progressive deforestation of the uplands on a massive scale. Generally they seem to have functioned as self-sufficient units with an emphasis on a mixed economy.[11] If transhumance did take place at this date, this would be an important step towards the increasing interdependence between upland and lowland economies. At a minimal level, the palisades - simply the by-product of clearance - may be seen to demarcate the habitative areas of a settlement combined with the usual farmyard activities (much in the manner of Eumaeus' farm: Homer 1986, 215);[12] the provision of a palisade no doubt afforded some protection for people and livestock against wild animals, and a defensive capability, though probably short-lived (Reynolds 1982, 46), would have been an added bonus.[13] Although the currency of the palisades, of the type noted at Hayhope, seems to have declined by the Roman period (RCAMS 1956, 19-20), their presence in the landscape could well point the way towards the form and function of the great enclosures, probably of fifth- or sixth-century date, noted at Yeavering, Milfield and Sprouston, as too possibly also at Hogbridge (pp. 101, 171, 200, 222-3, 233). If this is indeed the case, it could well underline the prevalence of a vernacular tradition spanning more than a millennium.

The inception of the hillforts marks a clear step towards the emergence of an hierarchical society and one more closely geared to resource management, land allotment and territoriality at a regional level. Climatic change may have been an important factor in the emergence of this more centralized society and the growing importance of the interdependence between upland and lowland economies (cf. Piggott 1982, 109-13). A deterioration in the climate between 750 BC and 450 BC (Turner 1965; Lamb 1981, 55) may have resulted in a growing season abbreviated by as much as five weeks. Ultimately this may have been apparent in ever decreasing crop-yields on the thin upland soils; a problem no doubt made worse by the removal of scrub and trees, lending to soil exhaustion and loss due to over zealous cultivation techniques, and slope wash.

The leaching of the soils, giving rise to podzolisation (usually the first step towards enhanced peat-growth) and the formation of blanket bogs may have made further inroads into the upland economy. In the Rhins of Galloway (RCAMS 1987), this was sufficient to bring to a close a landscape that had been flourishing since the second millennium BC. Here the focus for settlement was transferred to the coastal zone; the moorland interior perhaps supporting a modicum of use in the form of summer pasture. Similarly, in the Tweed Basin, a decline in cereal cultivation in the uplands may lie behind the

observed swing towards pastoralism in the early first millennium BC. Competition for arable and the need to protect it, may have been crucial to the emergence of many more strictly defensible sites along with others clearly of strategic importance (pp. 33-4). This too is borne out by the evidence from the Rhins of Galloway where, with the exception of a fort on Cruise Back Fell (RCAMS 1987, p. 24, no. 155), which may even be of the Early Historic period, no other fortifications are to be found on the moorland interior. Here, the coastal forts would seem to have come into being by the second half of the first millennium BC.

Population pressure may also have been a factor of importance. In the Tweed Basin, palisades far outnumber recorded examples of unenclosed settlements of an earlier epoch (fig. 2.4) and population pressure is perhaps to be deduced from the intensity of house replacement on some enclosed sites and by extramural settlement on others (e.g. Gray Coat) (plates 2.2, 2.15).[14] This is also borne out by the number of hillforts which have no precursors as either unenclosed or palisaded sites (i.e. sites where a case for continuity cannot be made), though this has to be balanced by the fact that few hillforts display evidence of internal expansion; Bonchester (Piggott 1958) (plate 2.16) and the Dunion (Rideout 1986) are two exceptions. At a local level pressure is implied by the intensity with which houses were replaced (Ritchie and Ritchie 1981, 97). At the Dod, for instance, the number of vacant building lots were few and the picture is one of ever increasing encroachment and the eclipsing of existing stances by later buildings; this is particularly apparent in the D-shaped enclosure (pp. 89-91). The embanked palisades perhaps define a transitional phase in the trend towards sites of a more defensible nature. A more aggressive society is indicated by the presence of weaponry and evidence for the on-site production of sword pommels and spear butts, as at Traprain (cf. Warner 1983). By this date, the East Lothian coastal plain appears to have been already densely settled (Macinnes 1984a, 196) and, although due to the impact of later agriculture evidence is lacking from the Tweed lowlands, the picture was probably not dissimilar.

There is, however, an alternative possibility which would account for the observed changes brought about in the landscape in the early to mid first millennium BC, and this explanation rests with native society itself. It is possible, given the probable extent of settlement in the lowlands, that any problem encountered in the uplands in the level of subsistence agriculture need not at first have been apparent. In fact, to offset any shortfall in the level of production, a change in husbandry and a renewed emphasis on pastoralism would be all that was required; a situation which would be enhanced if some level of interdependence between upland and lowland economies already existed. If, on the other hand, change was brought about by society itself, this would be sufficient to account for the observed restructuring of the landscape at this time. This could have been the case if by now society was faced by a vexed plurality of economic activities and competing interests, which,

together with the first glimmerings of tribal identity, may have been sufficient to exert a virtual strangle-hold on resources and with it a need to break the mould engendered by the legacy of earlier land-use practices. This is difficult to prove, but the sheer diversity of new settlement types, patterns of landholding and greater regard for territoriality, together with the character of native society on the eve of Roman intervention (pp. 50-2, 61-2, 69), would not be incompatible with such an hypothesis. The picture may, therefore, be one of a gain in momentum, a progression of events set in motion earlier and secured by defensible sites born out of a need to define territory in the face of increasing instability within society itself.

By the first century AD, tribal-groupings were clearly already well established in the Tweed Basin[15] and, by this time too, inter-tribal aggression, arising perhaps from a need to endorse the new social order, may largly have been supplanted by an ability to secure negotiable boundaries (pp. 187-8, 203, 301) through military action at an inter-tribal level.[16] This would certainly add credence to Roman and Irish literary sources which concur on the presence of a warrior aristocracy whose wealth was measured in cattle and who shared a propensity for aggression.[17] The appearance of large sites defended by massive ramparts of earth-and-stone, supplementing those of timber, together with smaller but no less defensible settlements, all point to there being, by the late first millennium BC, sufficient social cohesion to maintain concerted action in support of a new found and greater political unity.

The corollary of this level of social and economic organization are the *oppida*; focal points within the landscape sustaining a large resident population, manufacturing activities, and a range of crafts (fig. 2.8). Although much smaller than their counterparts in Southern England, I think that we can probably accept that the larger hillforts in south-east Scotland are *oppida* in the conventional sense (cf. Cunliffe and Rowley 1976; Cunliffe 1984). It is most unlikely that the *oppida* were self-sufficient units as in all but the case of North Eildon Hill, which occupies an ample valley-basin peripheral to the Merse (see p. 71, fig. 3.5), the area available for cultivation in the immediate vicinity of these larger forts was invariably restricted; although there is some evidence for limited cultivation close to a few, for example, Woden Law, Torwoodlee, and Cademuir (air-photographs by CUCAP, Harding and Maxwell in NMRS; Piggott 1951; RCAMS 1957, pp. 88-91, No. 118; pp. 114-15, No.178) (*see* plates 2.7, 3.2, 6.5, 7.3, 9.7). One can, therefore, reasonably infer an ever increasing stream of products being directed towards the *oppidum* from its hinterland including the supply of agricultural produce and non-food items either by way of trade or more possibly food rents, taxes, carrying dues and other services. Without these the maintenance of an *oppidum* would have been barely viable. One might therefore envisage a situation whereby the hillforts upon which the *oppida* were dependent were drawn into an ever increasing state of mutual reliance. Although many of the smaller forts could no doubt

have functioned as self-sufficient units, the presence of an *oppidum* would require an increase both in the level of productivity and agricultural surplus produced by each. The impact on land use and the scale of the rural economy would thus have far outweighed that at the turn of the millennium. Moreover, though this is beyond archaeological proof, one might speculate that in return for food renders and other services, the communities subordinate to the *oppida* were afforded a measure of protection and other material assets; the supply of finished metalwork and luxury items - though, because these would be controlled by the *oppida*, this would simply serve to endorse the social hierarchy and the degree of mutual interdependence.

The clear emergence of a centralized authority would almost certainly have been matched by a more rigorous structuring of the landscape and rural economy. The appearance of major linear earthworks evolving from a number of the hillforts, as those contouring round the fort on White Hill, Roxburghshire (RCAMS 1956, pp. 112-13, No.159; Halliday 1982, 80-1, fig. 4), may underline a trend towards the definition of estate and ranch boundaries coupled with a greater regard for the management of livestock and the maintenance of a herd; enclosing, as in the medieval period, the township's infield and outfield lands and setting these formally apart from the common grazing and hill pasture beyond. While at one level land may have been apportioned pragmatically and managed co-operatively perhaps on a runrig basis, the distinction between chiefs and men is likely to have become increasingly more apparent. The management of livestock and arable could no longer be left to the whim of the individual but would have required strict collective controls. The organization of runrig in the medieval period, whereby land was allocated periodically and sequentially may hark back to just such a time as this when society was organized on a tribal basis and private property did not exist; when an all pervading sense of equality was linked to vaguely defined feelings of common welfare that were underpinned by common or communal tenure (Farran 1953, 149). In the lowlands, where the extent of pasture close to the forts may have been limited, this would almost certainly have contributed to a reliance on large lowland commonties whose use was shared by several communities, or on the grazing potential of the Lammermuirs, and the Cheviots. Here perhaps we see the origins of the extended parochial frameworks that extend linearly from the Merse to embrace the upland muirs, as in the case of the parishes of Longformacus and Chirnside (cf. Craw 1922, 423-50; this work p. 201).

Whilst the maintenance of a cohesive hierarchical system would have served to meet many of the requirements arising from the presence of an *oppidum*, and as already outlined this may have been operated on a more-or-less reciprocal basis, a mechanism is clearly needed by which other essential requirements, some specific artefact type, waste

metal, or ore, could be obtained and filtered down through all levels of society to meet the basic needs of husbandry, manufacturing and domestic requirements. The increasing occurrence of weaponry amongst the artefact-types of the period, together with the defensible nature of many of the forts themselves, must have offered some scope for the gaining of necessary articles by looting, raiding, or outright aggression. Seizure followed by redistribution may have been one way to acquire materials or other goods from an outside source. If the aggressor was strong enough it would avert the likelihood of retribution; if not, the consequences could have been counter-productive. An exchange mechanism would have been a viable alternative, either through trade or gift exchange. The latter is, after all, the most basic organizing mechanism among many primitive people where most if not all economic acts are found to belong to some chain of reciprocal gifts and counter gifts (Malinowski 1926, 40). It may be accepted as true of any formative society that no-one ever gave anything, whether goods, services or honours, without proper recompense, real or useful, at the time of the transaction or later. If the operation of supply and demand could be met by other means, trade would have been unnecessary. Thus the need to export, the basis for trade, need not have arisen, only the requirement to have the proper goods for the counter gift when an import was unavoidable or desirable, as was probably the case in respect to luxury items.

Cattle were probably foremost in the maintenance of these transactions. The presence of features, which are probably best interpreted as ranch boundaries, together with the bone evidence from Broxmouth, underlines the likelihood that cattle were by this date regarded as a manifestation of wealth and hence prestige, over and above the utilitarian requirements of a controllable source of meat, milk and leather; in this respect, and only in this sense, cattle were money. In the report on Gussage All Saints (Harcourt 1979) attention is drawn to the presence of naturally-polled cattle at this and a number of other southern sites as possible evidence of trade, or perhaps theft. At Broxmouth there is evidence of two naturally-polled animals (Barnetson 1982, 103). Tacitus referred to the Germani as keeping cattle as a symbol of wealth and while caution is required in applying the model too keenly to south-east Scotland, it is noted by other Classical authors that the British, for whatever reason, kept large quantities of cattle (see also Ross 1974, 83; Reynolds 1979, 49-50; Davies 1982, 46). However, neither cattle, nor anything else need have served for the various other later uses of money. Moreover, there was at this time in south-east Scotland, no circulating medium like a coin; the sole function of which was to facilitate purchase and sale by being passed from hand-to-hand. Almost any useful object would have served and as a means of value, cattle, need not in themselves function as a means of exchange; so today paper currency is qualified by the gold standard and the Bank of England's reserves. A conventional measuring-stick is no more than an abstract language. By itself it cannot decide how much iron is the eqivalent of one cow, or how many swords and spears. In the

eighteenth century such determinents of wealth as those enumerated by Adam Smith (1776) were governed by the market forces of supply and demand, at the root of this was the inducement of profit; a mechanism anathema to primitive societies (Finley 1977, 67-8). Whether in trade or any other trade relations, the abiding principle is equality and mutual benefit; gain at the expense of another belongs to the realm of warfare and raiding, or the act of display or prowess, not to manipulation or bargaining.

Although archaeology does not allow us to distinguish between these various options, the role of the *oppida* may be seen as crucial to the maintenance of an exchange framework at a regional level and the securing of necessary resources. This function, perhaps peculiar to the larger forts, may have been sustained by regular fairs and cattle sales, and could also have been endorsed by religious ritual or an appeal to ceremony (cf. Smith 1983b, 23). This would account for the emergence of some hillforts as ceremonial or cult centres; a role probably elaborated in the Early Historic period as at Dunadd (Craw 1930; Nieke and Duncan 1988) and Traprain (Hill 1987b; this work pp. 51, 99-101). The ostentation and display which goes beyond the simple requirement to provide a defensible line of enclosure, as evident, for instance at White Meldon (RCAMS 1967, pp. 148-52, No. 330; Stevenson, RBK pers. commun., 1987), may be seen as one logical outcome of this.[18]

Although already briefly touched upon, it remains to ask - for whom were the *oppida* and larger hillforts built? From the layout of the *oppida* and the close structuring of ramparts in relation to terrain, one might infer the presence of architects or military engineers, and for the work of building construction, the removal of many able-bodied persons from the active pursuits of food production. However, on the basis of the archaeological evidence alone we cannot determine either whether this was on a temporary basis, or if there was in existence a professional class of hillfort builders, nor do we know the status of those involved; whether free, semi-free or slave (cf. Alcock 1988b, 26). Nevertheless, the degree of organizational ability revealed in the construction and use of the *oppida* must imply a high degree of co-ordination and management which, without the presence of individuals of rank, is the more difficult to envisage. The presence of weaponry and on-site manufacturing of luxury items, as at Traprain, are concomitants of wealth and status, though this picture is only fully revealed in the Early Historic period (pp. 167, 202, 432). One can, therefore, probably exclude the possibility that the *oppida* were built for a more-or-less egalitarian peasant community and postulate instead the presence of a tribal chief, or potentate who ought in some way to represent the community in a symbolic way, but who had special responsibilities and privileges within it (Alcock 1988b, 28). This would be consistent with the string of labour services necessary to uphold and maintain the existence of an *oppidum*, and the proliferation of pits both at Traprain (Hill 1987, 89) and Broxmouth (Hill 1982b),

and paralleled too at Newstead (Curle 1911; Ross 1968), which, though interpreted as votive in origin (see also pp. 58, 73), could as likely signify the role of the *oppida*, along with some other hillforts, as repositories of tribute and taxation drawn from the neighbouring hinterland (an interpretation also put forward to account for the proliferation of pits at Danebury: Cunliffe 1988).

The presence of an individual of perhaps less elevated status is possibly to be seen at the Dod. Here, the presence of a D-shaped extramural enclosure with its substantial forecourt and walled gateway, enclosing at any one time no more than a solitary stone-and-timber round house, is at least suggestive of some level of social distinction. The analogy, which ought not to be pressed too far, of sixteenth-century society of the Anglo-Scottish Border underlines how low the term 'laird' may sink; and how essential a strong place may be, in troubled times, for the protection of a laird, his land and kin (Dixon 1979; 1988, 29), and in this sense many of the smaller hillforts could fall into this category. Moreover, the layout of nuclear forts, such as Rubers Law (RCAMS 1956, pp. 102-5, No. 145), of itself suggests a hierarchical structure reflecting a hierarchical society, with the citadel reserved for a potentate or chief (Alcock 1988b, 29; this work pp. 194, 202, 432). It is difficult on archaeological evidence alone to carry these points much further, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that on the eve of Roman intervention these larger forts and *oppida* had developed into large nucleated settlements which in some way commanded the allegiance of the inhabitants of the neighbouring countryside (cf. Cunliffe 1978, 227).

Looking to the future, high accuracy dating of the hearths within *oppida* will be required before we can determine whether they were occupied on a permanent basis, or over a prolonged period with intermittent abandonment. To an extent, this may be regarded as something of an irrelevance, for their emergence as recognized tribal centres would have been sufficient to establish them as centres of permanence (in an historical sense); the caputs of a ruling *élite*. This certainly was the case put by Hope-Taylor in respect to Yeavering Bell, and the same may also hold true for the *oppida* on North Eildon Hill, White Meldon, Hownam, and Woden Law. However, to argue a case for continuity solely on the basis of the striking juxtaposition of prehistoric and later monuments, as Hope-Taylor did, is clearly questionable, not least when the date-span for sites of the first millennium BC is so fragmented, and when that for the Early Historic period is calibrated by documentary references (cf. Bradley 1987).

Nevertheless, on current archaeological evidence, one can at least, perhaps, speak in terms of 'ritual continuity'; that is to say, sites and monuments already well established in the native landscape may have come to be used as a continual reference point by later

peoples, especially during periods of instability or rapid change, in order to legitimise their social order. In this sense, one might speak in terms of an investment in ideology; the past, a resource in the hands of the living (Bradley 1987, 3). Here, perhaps, we have a basic tenet for continuity between later prehistory and the sub-Roman period. But this also has to be set in context with the likelihood that there was, by the late first millennium BC, in existence in the Tweed Basin an hierarchical and organized agrarian society already in possession of recognized seats of lordship; a society with a political identity and the ability to mount concerted action - in warfare if necessary. It seems reasonable on the evidence presented to postulate that this society was both economically self-sufficient and capable of generating an agricultural surplus; whilst the mechanisms for exacting tribute and redirecting the supply of this surplus and other non-food items to nodal points within the landscape had probably also been securely set in place. Thus, the social *élite*, the potentates and ruling families that emerge only fully in the Early Historic period (pp. 202, 265-73) may be seen to have their roots much earlier, in the landscape of the mid to first millennium BC. Accepting this view, it follows that the first millennium BC was nothing less than the gestation period for Early Historic society; that is, unless, of course, the Roman intervention was effectively destructive.

CHAPTER THREE

NATIVE SETTLEMENT, ROMAN INTERVENTION; THE ROMANO-BRITISH PERIOD

The significance of the Roman occupation of the Scottish Lowlands has in the past perhaps been unduly exaggerated. It needs to be set in context not only with the developed nature of the rural economy and settlement evidence set out in Chapter Two, but also with the length of time that the Romans were actually present in the area. From the disposition of forts and roads, two lines of penetration are apparent for the campaign of AD 79/80: to the east, Dere Street, a route followed by the modern A68 (plate 3.1); to the west, the valleys of the Annan and the Clyde, the line followed by the A74. It is unclear which of these two routes Agricola chose to follow; possibly he divided his army and used both.[1] To judge from Tacitus' Life of Agricola the Roman advance north from the Tyne-Solway line was unopposed and the Romans seem to have had time enough to build forts of their own.[2]

The only contra-indication of an unopposed advance through the Tweed Valley are the suggested siege works accompanying the Woden Law hillfort (plate 3.2),[3] but these may amount to no more than military exercises at an unspecified date, perhaps in anticipation of problems to be encountered in the Highlands rather than close by. There is no evidence for the refortification of native hill-top positions and, therefore, none that need point to the forcible ejection of the native population. Agricola halted at the Forth-Clyde isthmus, considered drawing the frontier there, but turned in 82 west, crossing the Clyde and sending his army into Galloway. He then turned his attention north, in a classic manoeuvre, moving forward by land and supplying his army by sea, up the east coast of mainland Scotland and securing the Highland line. The Southern Uplands had been left far behind, the objective lay to the north and the aim, the subjugation of the Caledonian tribes.[4] The only marching camps south of the Forth-Clyde isthmus which are considered to belong to this campaign lie to the west of the Southern Uplands at Castledykes, overlooking the source of the Clyde close to Lanark, and Dalswinton in Nithsdale.[5]

The infrastructure of forts, roads and accompanying installations, which were inaugurated in Flavian I (85-90), should perhaps be seen in terms of support for the forward garrisons on the Strageath-Bertha axis and securing the overland supply-route north, from Corbridge to Inveresk or Cramond (fig. 3.1).[6] Temporary camps are known in the foothills of the Cheviots, alongside Dere Street, at Chew Green and Pennymuir (plate 3.3).[7] The principal focus on Dere Street in the Tweed Valley, however, was Newstead.[8] Here on the

expansive haughland bordering the Tweed, close to a ford or bridging point and at the mouth of Lauderdale on the route north to the Lothians (for the importance of this valley corridor see pp. 321-3), there are four large superimposed forts: the first of 4.2 ha was constructed in 80 or 81, under the governorship of Agricola. This was demolished and rebuilt about ten years later on a larger scale (5.8 ha) (plate 3.4). Both forts had turf ramparts, the buildings of the first were of timber, those of the second, timber on stone sill-walls. Newstead, *Trimontium*, took its name from the conspicuous triple-peaks of the Eildons on the fort's western flank. A Flavian fort (perhaps for a cohort 500 strong) and temporary camp at Oakwood,[9] in the valley of the Ettrick Water, suggests a minor line of access to the hinterland. A third and metalled road led west from the *caput viae*[10] at *Trimontium* by way of Tweeddale and Clydesdale towards Irvine Bay, accompanying it were an auxiliary fort at Easter Happrew (plate 3.5),[11] a fort at Lyne,[12] outside which civilian buildings were identified in 1956,[13] and temporary (undated) camps at Eshiels, Innerleithen and perhaps too Carlops.[14]

It is possible that these were not the only routes laid out at this time, though others have defied recognition despite considerable archaeological fieldwork and air-survey. The most obvious is the natural line of westward penetration by the Tweed, perhaps linking with a supply base or safe anchorage at Berwick; this possibly the destination of the Devil's Causeway which runs north through Northumberland from Corbridge, via Learchild, to Springwood.[15] It seems unlikely that the coastal defile north of Berwick was negotiated at this date,[16] though a road from Coldstream to Lauder may be inferred from the juxtaposition of long-cist cemeteries and *chester* place-names; this perhaps the route taken by the Bernician army in its advance to *Degsastan* in 603/4 (see p. 335). The name 'Annan Street' in the Yarrow valley, which is also accompanied by a road-side cemetery, may indicate the presence of another lateral route, paralleling those in the valleys of Tweed and Lyne, and to the south over Craik Moor to Raeburnfoot,[17] connecting *Trimontium* to the head of the Annan (see p. 290).

The first frontier did not last long and it would seem that all forts north of the Forth-Clyde isthmus were abandoned by about 90. Although there may still have been some northern outposts, the focus of Roman activity fell back onto the axis between Newstead and Glenlochar, and these forts were accordingly enlarged and strengthened. This situation lasted little more than a decade and about 105 all the units north of the Tyne-Solway line were withdrawn; the forts were abandoned and their buildings levelled. For almost forty years the Tyne-Solway was to remain the frontier for the Roman province of Britain. In the reign of Trajan (98-117) new forts and watch-towers were built and manned to control this line and in the 120s, at the instigation of Hadrian, a durable frontier-wall was built.[18] Roman activity extending to the Cheviots at this period cannot be ruled out, but the only visible evidence of

their presence are the outpost forts at Bewcastle, Netherby and Birrens in south-west Scotland.[19]

Within months of Hadrian's death (138), upon the accession of Antoninus Pius, a decision was taken to reoccupy southern Scotland (for the background to this move see pp. 302-9). Preparations were put in train (139, the Roman fort at Corbridge was rebuilt) and in 142, under a new governor, Quintus Lollius Urbicus, the army readvanced northwards reinstating territories as far as the Strageath-Bertha axis roughly in accord with the boundaries of 86. The frontier was established and a wall built between Forth and Clyde (the Antonine Wall)[20] and along the existing road network new forts were built, along with a number of smaller installations, often on or close to their Agricolan predecessors; attention was especially focussed on the south-west in Annandale, Nithsdale and Upper Clydesdale (see also p. 303).[21]

In the Tweed valley, Newstead was rebuilt, and provided with a stone rampart, to accommodate two cohorts of *Legio* XX and a cavalry attachment perhaps a thousand strong.[22] A 3.1 ha fort was built at Lyne (plate 3.6) and camps were established at Channelkirk[23] (perhaps controlling the pass over Soutra) and Cappuck.[24] These last may be seen as part of a systematic approach in reducing the distance between military stations to about 16 km. In the late 150s the Antonine Wall may have been briefly abandoned and nearly all the buildings in almost every fort north of the Tyne-Solway line were demolished and burnt by the evacuating army. However, many, though not all of the forts, were soon renovated or rebuilt. At Newstead the defences were remodelled and the internal buildings reconstructed, often on their old foundations, when the garrison was changed, probably either in 158 or 163. The garrison at this time may have been the *ala Petriana milliaria*.[25] Close by there are a further four temporary camps, some partially interlocking with the extensive annexes of the fort, and to the south a small fortlet; a signal station was placed on the summit of North Eildon Hill.[26] Reused Roman stones incorporated in the later ramparts enclosing the citadel on Rubers Law perhaps point to the presence of another Roman signal station here.[27] The Antonine I fort at Lyne was probably also rebuilt on a site close to its predecessor.

The Antonine reoccupation was short-lived. Most of the archaeological evidence points to the final abandonment of the Antonine Wall and its outpost forts in the 160s; the frontier was withdrawn once more to the Tyne-Solway line and Hadrian's Wall brought back into use for this specific purpose. North of the Wall, frontier policy seems to have depended upon a series of bases from which troops could be deployed in long distance patrolling. Newstead itself was abandoned in the late second or early third century but a military

presence seems to have continued near Jedburgh, possibly at Cappuck (for two altars of third-century date, one perhaps from here see RCAMS 1956, pp. 200, 206-7, No. 404, figs. 238, 257).

In considering the significance of the Roman presence in the Southern Uplands, two views are possible. It has been customary to see the Roman occupation as essentially repressive, the Selgovae are singled out as the principal antagonists and consequently the infrastructure of roads and forts within the area are seen as instrumental to their subjugation.[28] It is just as likely, however, that there was peaceful coexistence between Roman and native, at least in the Southern Uplands, and that the native population were strategically of less importance to a frontier policy which was concerned principally with control of the Highlands. The evidence can be briefly set out as follows.

The advance northwards in 79/80, at least on the evidence of the marching camps, seems to have been confined to the western rather than the eastern side of the Pennines.[29] The Southern Uplands may initially have been by-passed, and the use of Dere Street is not necessarily a logical deduction from the disposition of later forts and roads which may only have served to underpin the temporary frontier on the Forth-Clyde isthmus in the phase of consolidation which followed. A case has been made that the opportunity was taken to overrun the Selgovae, along with the Novantae in the south-west, as these, it is held, were the tribes from whom Venutius had derived support in the 60s.[30] We should, nevertheless, regard with credulity an argument *ex silentio*. The Selgovae are never mentioned by name and, if it is accepted that their tribal territory was confined to the central Tweed Basin and its hinterland, the Novantae, their neighbours to the south-west, may have been the more likely allies of Venutius and this is possibly reflected in the large number of Roman military installations within their area.[31] According to Tacitus, new tribes were not encountered until the campaign had advanced north from the Forth-Clyde line to the Tay;[32] Rome was perhaps already well acquainted with the Selgovae and the Votadini, their northern neighbours.

Dere Street has been seen as the western boundary of the Votadini and the purpose of this road, along with that between Annan and Clyde, together with the accompanying installations, has been interpreted as a means to cordon off the Selgovae from their neighbours; an argument which gains strength from the presence of at least two other cross-routes which seem to cut through Selgovian territory.[33] The whole system pivots on the large fort of Newstead, which itself is overlooked by the Selgovian *oppidum* on North Eildon Hill (plate 2.5), whose ramparts it was once held had been slighted (and the population presumably dislodged).[34] In contrast to the treatment of the Selgovae, Traprain

Law, perhaps even at this time the principal *oppidum* of the Votadini, was allowed to continue (Flavian pottery has been recovered from the site).[35]

The argument, of course, hinges on the disposition of the tribes; a subject I consider more fully later (pp. 187-8, 274-6). In a reconsideration of Ptolemy's *Geography*, our principal source for the identification of the tribal polities in north Britain,[36] Mann and Breeze have recently argued for the severance of the Selgovae from the middle Tweed and they would wish instead to see them re-allocated to the south-west, and confined specifically to Annandale and Nithsdale (1988, 85-9). I do not find this argument convincing, nor the corroborative evidence drawn in support (see p. 275), but if one follows it through, North Eildon would clearly fall to the Votadini, as too a greater part of the central and upper Tweed Basin, and thus the case for the especial treatment meted out to the Selgovae would, following the tenets of orthodox opinion, apply *mutatis mutandis* to the Votadini themselves; a case which Mann and Breeze failed to answer. However, even if we allow the Selgovae to be still resident in the central Tweed Valley, on archaeological evidence and bearing in mind the constraints of human geography, it seems unlikely that they extended to upper Tweeddale (i.e. beyond *Coed Celyddon*). This was probably a distinct tribal territory, as in a later period a sub-kingdom (pp. 188, 290-2, 306-9), and thus the lateral routes west from *Trimontium*, far from severing the Selgovae, were in fact traversing lands of neighbouring polities. The road from Lyne to upper Tweeddale, in common with others in this part of the Tweed Valley, simply adopts the natural line of penetration through the hills and they are in fact the only logical routes connecting the two northern trunk roads. The nature of Roman relations with the Selgovae thus hinges solely on the status of the North Eildon *oppidum*[37] and its role in conjunction with the Roman fort at Newstead.

The evidence for the slighting of the ramparts of the *oppidum* can probably be dismissed. It is a deduction based on the visible field evidence and is not necessarily correct. Recent excavations by Owen (1987) suggest instead a process of gradual denudation enhanced by soil creep due to the precipitous nature of the terrain around the hill-summit. The site at this date may have only been lightly protected and occupation, or at least activity, on the hill seems to have continued throughout the first century and possibly into the second if not beyond. A similar pattern is evident at the Dod settlement, in the foothills of upper Teviotdale, where, sometime perhaps in the late first millennium BC, the ramparts adjoining the main gate were cast back into the adjacent ditches for a distance of about 30m on both sides; to the interior, however, occupation continued accompanying the transition in build from timber to stone for the plenishments and round houses. Breeze (1979a, 3) suggests that as many as two thousand may have been still resident within the *oppidum* on North Eildon

and, of course, there is no reason to suggest their removal solely on the pretext of the construction of a Roman signal station on the hill-summit.

In the 140s with the remodelling of the large Flavian fort at Newstead (5.8 ha), the garrison strength (allowing for two cohorts of *Legio* XX and the *ala Vocontiorum*)[38] may have been in the order of one thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry. To judge from the artefacts recovered from the site, it was equipped both for striking at a distance and for fighting close at hand.[39] This unusual state of affairs may well emphasize the importance which the fort's strategic position behind the front line, gave to Newstead, but, given that it was overlooked by a force potentially numerically superior, one should perhaps doubt the hostile intentions of the Selgovae and wonder instead whether it is not more likely that there existed in this quarter some level of *rapprochement* between Roman and native.

Nor need we read too much into the firing of Newstead about 105, or for that matter the deposition of body armour and weaponry in the pits of the fort's annexes; these latter may be no more than votive offerings[40] and the destruction and burning of the fort's buildings could simply indicate the Roman policy of dispensing with anything not worth salvaging prior to their evacuating the site. Frere (1974, 144) points to the deposition of human remains as a further sign of hostile native activity, but the detached fragments of four adult males (one a dwarf), an adult female and three infants, hardly adds up to a war-grave.[41]

The significance of the Roman presence at Newstead, along with lesser detachments at neighbouring forts, needs too to be set in context with an overview of Roman frontier policy. Foremost, it should be borne in mind that, in the Agricolan, Flavian and Antonine periods of Roman military activity, their ultimate objective always lay farther to the north or else fell back on the northern province to the south of the intervallate zone. In Antonine I and II, for example, the outpost forts to the Antonine Wall seem principally to have been employed to protect Fife and Strathmore, or else to shield the open east end of the Antonine Wall.[42] It was perhaps from here, as earlier, that the greatest source of unrest was to be anticipated and from here too that hostilities were eventually to spill over in the conflicts which were to beset the northern diocese of Britain in the late fourth and early fifth centuries (see pp. 245-6).

The importance of the Tweed Valley to this northern theatre lay in the direct and natural line of penetration adopted by the Roman supply-route north from Corbridge, Dere Street, itself probably aligned, at least in part, on an earlier native thoroughfare.[43] *Trimontium* provided an optimum nodal centre but in itself may have served as no more than a spring-board for operations mounted outwith the Southern Uplands and to which the lateral

routes west-north-west and north provided the most immediate access. The presence of the Roman forts within the span of the Southern Uplands, though impressive in relation to the overall infrastructure of roads and forts (fig. 3.2), pales in respect to the extent of the area, its relief and the plethora of evidence for native rural settlement and population enclaves, extending to the tributary glens and side-valleys, as also for much of Teviotdale and the Merse, where tangible evidence for the Roman presence at all periods can have been little more than scant. Looking down from the Minchmoor plateau, between Yarrow and Tweed, even at the height of the Antonine occupation, the dominant landscape feature would still have been the *oppidum* on North Eildon Hill and to the south the hillforts of the Minto Hills, Rubers Law, Hownam and Bonchester. The population of the Merse and its hinterland, as for that matter those settled on the terrain from Coldingham Moor north to Cockburnspath, may have remained largely oblivious of the Roman presence but perhaps for the occasional supply-vessel making its way northwards to the supply-bases on the Forth.[44] The Merse, as too a greater part of the Tweed Valley, can thus in every sense be set alongside the Lothian Plain and, though Roman influence cannot be underestimated, these areas may have remained, and may even have been seen by the Romans as peripheral to the mainstream of their traffic tailored to the northern trunk road. We can therefore probably dismiss any notion of the Roman infrastructure as a means of severing fractious elements of the native population and subjugating tribal polities, and look rather to a peaceable and possibly even harmonious relationship between Roman and native over that part of the intervallate zone encompassed by the Southern Uplands.

Even at the height of the Roman presence in north Britain the garrison strength was probably no more than about two thousand two hundred,[45] and the duration of the Roman presence in this zone, in contrast to the area south of Hadrian's Wall, was short-lived. The Flavian occupation (85-*c*.90; *c*.90-*c*.105), amounting to perhaps no more than twenty years, was followed by a period of some thirty-seven years when the area was outwith formal Roman jurisdiction, and in Antonine I and II (*c*.142-158; *c*.158-163) the occupation again lasted only a couple of decades and, depending on whether Newstead lingered on as an outpost fort until the late second or early third century, some forty-five years may have elapsed between the withdrawal to the Tyne-Solway line and the marching camps at Newstead and St Leonards[46] accompanying the Severan campaign with its objectives lying, once more, far to the north.

(A) THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE *OPPIDA* TO THE ROMAN OCCUPATION

In the past much has been made of the exceptional standing of Traprain throughout the

Roman period, in contrast to the status of comparable sites within the Southern Uplands. Traprain was clearly a site of major importance and there is no reason to doubt that it was the curia of the Votadini at least until the mid second century (see pp. 137-8, 150-3). The case for the unique development of Traprain is based on a series of deductions which followed from the belief that this *oppidum* alone was allowed to retain a defensible perimeter; the wealth of Roman material recovered from the hill's western plateau, and the absence of a Roman fort close by, as, indeed, any installation within East Lothian south to the Berwickshire Merse. Together these factors have been used to support the belief that the Votadini were at all times friendly to Rome and had been instrumental, as a philo-Roman tribe, in stemming the hostile pressures exerted against the northern frontier.[47] By these same criteria this view can no longer be sustained.

The collaboration of the Votadini is fundamental to most assessments of successive Roman strategies in the frontier zone (e.g. Breeze 1982; Hanson and Maxwell 1983; Hanson 1987) and thus the interpretation of the evidence from Traprain Law is of critical importance. The identification of Traprain as a defended hill town hinges on the dating of the 'Great Terrace Rampart' and Jobey (1976), following Feachem (1956, 288) dated this defence to the final years of the late pre-Roman Iron Age or early years of the Roman occupation and assumed the rampart to have enclosed a large contemporary settlement which was probably expanding at this time. Close-Brookes (1983, 213; and see also this work pp. 135-6) has pointed out the inadequacy of the dating evidence cited by Feachem and suggests instead that the 'rampart' was composed of debris removed to the hill-perimeter at the onset of rebuilding work on the western plateau in the mid second century (but see also this work pp. 138-9). Traprain was thus probably no different from any other Romano-British settlement in the Tyne-Forth province in being only lightly protected, if protected at all in the Roman period until, that is, the construction of the 'Cruden Wall' perhaps in the mid to late fourth century (see pp. 136-7, 167).

Underlying the significance of the absence of a Roman military presence close to Traprain is, of course, the belief that the garrisons of the intervallate zone stemmed from the forcible subjugation of the tribal polities within it. If one accepts my hypothesis that the collocation of Roman forts was principally determined by the importance of the road network and the efficiency with which troops and supplies could be advanced to the Forth-Clyde line, and the axis of outpost forts from Camelon to Bertha in the forward frontier area, the absence of military installations within Votadinian territory close to Traprain is perfectly explicable. Traprain is peripheral to Dere Street, the eastern trunk road, and thus may altogether have

been side-stepped; the case would probably have been otherwise if the Romans had decided to negotiate the tight coastal defile north of Berwick.

Traprain thus differs in only one respect from the *oppida* of the Tweed Basin, namely the absence of an accompanying fort. Activity at Traprain in the Roman period is, of course, attested by the abundant artefact assemblage. The fact that this level of material was recovered must imply a concerted influx of traded items accruing from centres farther afield, most probably the fort at Elginhaugh[48] and the supply bases at Inveresk and Cramond. Given that this level of material was reaching Traprain in the Flavian period, and its discovery there is purely a reflex of the scale of excavation, it would be reasonable to suppose that a complementary assemblage of material was also entering native hands at sites closer to the Roman garrisons, which would be especially true of North Eildon in relation to the Roman fort at Newstead, and White Meldon[49] which lies close to the Flavian forts at Easter Happrew and Lyne. Indeed one might postulate that the rate and scale of exchange enjoyed by these sites may have exceeded that experienced at Traprain, for, either by accident or design, the *oppida* of the Tweed Valley were at all times more favourably placed in relation to the Roman garrisons than Traprain can ever have been. This in itself may underline the reason for the abandonment of Traprain in the mid second century and the inferred removal of the tribal capital to Castle Rock, Edinburgh (see pp. 150-3); a situation possibly more conducive to a positive and influential market relationship being at the head of Dere Street and at the hub of the installations accompanying the east end of the Antonine Wall. Given the recent discovery of Bronze Age material from Castle Rock, Edinburgh,[50] it is possible that this too was a site of some enduring importance and one perhaps also indicative of the long history of Iron Age development in this part of Scotland.

Although differing in scale to the *oppida* of southern Britain and tailored by geography to the smaller tribal polities of the Tweed Basin, one may surmise that on the eve of the Roman advance into Scotland there existed in this region similar centralized population groupings with the *oppida* as the primary centres in a hierarchy of settlement types disposed about their hinterland and dependent on them. So far as is logically possible within the parameters of the archaeological evidence, this does seem to be the picture within the Manor Valley, in Peeblesshire, in the mid to late first millennium BC (see pp. 369-79). One may deduce that the very presence of the *oppida* was underpinned by the presence of their satellite settlements and that a steady stream of resources were directed at intervals to these primary centres in the form of dues or food-rent, for the purposes of reprocessing, distribution and exchange, and for the maintenance of a social hierarchy or resident *élite* (see pp. 47-52).

While it is possible that the intention was that the Roman garrisons within the area should have been largely self-sufficient, it is as probable that they looked to the native population to meet their added requirements for food, clothing and possibly also some of their horses. The Romans may thus have seen some advantage in siting their forts close to the *oppida* for, as the natural recipients in the food and resource chain, these too would be the logical centres for commerce; as perhaps too the best place for army recruitment.

North Eildon Hill, perhaps drawing to itself the resources of Teviotdale and a greater part of the Merse and its hinterland, may thus have seen a floruit in an abundance of luxury and prestige goods, and a quality of lifestyle befitting its status as the largest *oppidum* in north Britain, and one well placed to capitalize on its proximity to the *caput viae* of the principal Roman thoroughfare north. It perhaps accounts too for the apparent absence of a civil settlement accompanying the Roman fort; though a stone building close by may be an inn.[51] At present, the level of economic activity envisaged can only be a deduction and excavation amid the two hundred and ninety-six or more hut-sites clustered around the summit and shoulders of the hill, and on a scale commensurate with that undertaken at Traprain, is clearly desirable. Naturally, if one accepts a progression in the economic relations between the *oppidum* and the garrison, and lacking the advantage of hindsight for the duration of the Roman presence in the area, the net result may have been a gradual breakdown of the close-knit community resident on the hill. Thus in the case of North Eildon there may in time have been a drift away from the relatively awkward position of the hill town to a site perhaps at the foot of the hill and one more conducive to urban development. Such a position need not have been devoid of protection as this would be guaranteed by the presence of the garrison close by, but it does present a problem archaeologically as the site would most probably lie beneath the burgh of Melrose; this is something which the Borders Burghs Archaeological Project could well address.[52]

(B) RURAL SETTLEMENT

The trend towards sites of an unenclosed nature is more apparent for other categories of rural settlement of the Romano-British period; the relationship between these sites and the *oppida* is perhaps to be inferred from the number of cropmark sites which occur close to Traprain, in East Lothian (Macinnes 1984a, 183-4) and, in Peeblesshire, by the apparent ranking of native sites in respect to the *oppidum* on Cademuir and from the collocation of scooped settlements in relation to a number of the hillforts (see pp. 374-6, 377-9).

Sites of the late pre-Roman Iron Age throughout the Tyne-Forth province are characterized by the provision of small stone-built homesteads, which may at best have been

only lightly protected, and these often have accompanying yards or scooped forecourts set apart by access paths, sometimes cobbled; the entrance is invariably in the south-western arc of the enclosure. On average each site consists of no more than three huts, but those with only one or two are common (Jobey 1960; 1964; Hill 1982a; Higham 1986, 189). There are too a number of larger sites as at Hartside, containing at least six houses (Jobey 1964, 42-4), and the extramural settlement at Greaves Ash which may have thirty or more (Jobey 1966a). In the hinterland of the Tweed Basin, in upper Tweeddale and the Cheviots, the sites are more often characterized by the presence of scooped forecourts and the hut-stances are invariably terraced into the slope (RCAMS 1967, 23-6); that these are components of a contemporary landscape has been proven at Boonies (Jobey 1974a) and at Hetha Burn (Burgess 1970); for the context of the scooped settlements in the Manor Valley see pp. 376-80.

Many of these small-scale settlements share a remarkable degree of uniformity in their proportions and internal layout. Most that have been excavated are associated with small assemblages of artefacts which can be dated to the first and second centuries AD (Hill 1982a, 8) and thus it is generally accepted that they are Romano-British. However, some too appear to have developed from earlier sites originating probably in the late first millennium BC. In Northumberland this level of chronological depth has been demonstrated for the rectilinear enclosed settlements at Tower Knowe (Jobey 1973); Bridge House (Chalton and Day 1974), Kennel Hall Knowe (Jobey 1978b) and Belling Law (Jobey 1977). In each case the enclosure bank developed from an earlier perimeter defined by a free-standing palisade (occasionally more than one), and radiocarbon dates from Belling Law (2110±80) and Kennel Hall Knowe (2050±90; 1970±70 and 1920±110), from buried soils and structural remains, all point to origins well before the advent of the Roman occupation. A similar pre-Roman ancestry has also been suggested for a number of rectilinear settlements in the lowlands of Durham and Northumberland (Haselgrove and Allon 1982; Jobey 1970a; 1982).

Timber precursors to the stone-walled houses of the Tyne-Forth region and a conformity in internal layout in the ordering of pits, hearths and dividing walls, may also point to a remote common ancestry and a deeply rooted vernacular tradition which may owe little to Roman influence. At the Dod, to take one example, the successive replacement of timber round houses on a single stance was evident in the multiplicity of truncated wall-trenches (House 1, Area VI). A transitional phase from the use of timber to stone is also suggested by the presence of a house with a low mass wall, probably turf-built. The transition from timber to stone may thus be vaguer and more drawn out than has hitherto been supposed. In the lowlands timber may have been used in preference to stone (as the by-

product of clearance), but it is also possible that the floruit in the use of stone in the Roman period reflects a level of woodland management; this conceivably a result of Roman intervention and a consequence of the *Pax Romana* (see also p. 71).

In view of the numbers of huts enclosed on native sites, it seems reasonable to interpret the majority of these settlements as the product of one or more close-knit family groups, with provision for livestock and storage. The distribution pattern (discussed in detail on pp. 175-83 and in respect to one valley, pp. 376-80) is essentially that of the Cheviots and Northumberland, though outliers are known in the Lammermuirs, on the coast between Cockburnspath and Berwick, and in Tweeddale. In East Lothian the distribution of known sites is constantly being rectified by air-photography (Macinnes 1983, 60-2) and, if one allows for comparable losses arising from later agricultural practises in the Tweed Valley, the picture may have matched in degree that of the uplands where, as Hill notes (1982a, 10), desertion has left a landscape not unlike that of the Highland clearances of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; for a comparative analysis of the distribution of sites in the Solway Plain see Higham and Jones (1975; 1983), and for the east coast between Tees and Forth see Harding (1979), Haselgrove and Allon (1981) and Jobey (1981b).

As a basis for determining the scale of the rural economy in the Roman period, one can do no better than cast a brief look at the pollen evidence. Unfortunately the Dod pollen diagram is of little use in this respect as the relevant levels have been truncated (see p. 24). One must look therefore to the diagrams from Northumberland and Durham in the hope that these may in some way reflect the trends within the wider landscape and this does seem to be borne out by work in Cumberland (Higham 1986, 84) and that by Newey, although undated, in the Southern Uplands (1969, 432, pollen zone VIII). At Fellend, Steng and the mosses at Camp Hill and Broad End, forest-clearance is indicated in the late first millennium BC and increasingly from the first century onwards, this presumably for pasture though arable is possible (Davies and Turner 1979; Turner 1983). At Steng the clearance is dated to about 20 BC (1970±60 bp). Amounts of Gramineae and other open area pollen taxa are similar to those at the Bronze Age maxima and these levels were maintained to about AD 400. Cereal cultivation is indicated by the presence of *Hordeum* and *Secale*, and, at Broad Moss in the eastern Cheviots, the presence of *Hordeum* is dated to the first and second centuries AD. Between about AD 270 and 400 the high values of these taxa are pronounced and perhaps point to an increase of arable and pasture in the area north of Hadrian's Wall (Davies and Turner 1979, 800, 802). Farther afield, beside Loch Lomond, an extensive phase of clearance has been dated to about AD 150 and, on Flanders Moss on the Forth, to about AD 200; at Bloak Moss in Ayrshire this seems not to have taken place until after AD 400 (Turner 1983, 6-11, 13-17). However, what is perhaps noteworthy is that the pollen diagrams

indicate such a consistent increase in the areas opened up for agriculture over so wide an area, which may itself lend weight to Jobey's suggestion that there was a corresponding rise in the size and density of the native population (1966; 1974, 17-26).

The scope of the rural economy, which is essential to an understanding of the impact of the Roman occupation, can be appraised in terms of arable, pastoral and manufacturing activities. Again, due to the level of excavation within the Tweed Basin, it is necessary to draw upon the evidence from the Tyne-Forth province as a whole in order to derive a representative picture.

(i) Arable Clearance cairns and field-banks close to many of the enclosed settlements would suggest the presence of arable or pasture in company with them. Pollen analysis of a turf sample from beneath the bank of the phase IV enclosure at Kennel Hall Knowe was inconclusive but confirmed the presence of secondary scrub woodland and some moorland, with disturbance of the subsoil prior to the burial of the turf (Jobey 1976, 26). At Tower Knowe (Jobey 1972), no plough-marks were visible in the subsoil though, at Belling Law, traces were found (Jobey 1976, 26) but here, as on many sites, the precise relationship between the settlement and the field-system could not be defined without recourse to large scale excavation. In 1973, however, Gillam did identify evidence of narrow-rig cultivation beneath the internal buildings of the Roman fort at Rudchester (Jobey 1972, 70) and, in 1981, fieldwork by Halliday and others, which included the inspection of air-photographs in the NMRS collection, revealed a similar pattern in proximity to over thirty sites in south-east Scotland and north Northumberland. At the Roman temporary camp at Dirisdale and the south camp at Burnswark, the rigs were stratified beneath the enclosing earthworks (Halliday 1982, 82; Bennett 1983b). Air-photographs also reveal signs of narrow-rig cultivation at heights above 400m (e.g. Arbory Hill, Lanark: RCAMS 1978, p. 90, No. 213; and on Cademuir, in Peeblesshire: this work pp. 368-9, 408, no. 63); this well above the general rig distribution between 190m and 275m OD. Given that this probably reflects no more than a pattern of survival, one may deduce that there can have been few sites in the region where some level of cultivation would not have been feasible (see also Topping 1989).

Cultivation terraces, or lynchets, formed as a result of carrying rig cultivation down or across a slope, have been identified at Torwoodlee (Piggott 1951, 93-4), Milking Gap (Kilbride-Jones 1938, 309) and close to the earthworks at Kilbucho, Calroust and Primrose Hill (Piggott 1957, 109) (plate 3.7). Some could be of Romano-British date, but often the problem remains of proving an association with a known site without recourse to excavation (see also pp. 67, 74, 382, 407-9). Evidence for the on-site processing of the products of cereal cultivation is supported by finds of saddle, bun-shaped and rotary milling

querns as at the Dod, Huckhoe, Witchy Neuk, Bridge House, Middle Gunnar Peak, Tower Knowe, Bonchester and Doubstead, and in East Lothian at Broxmouth, St Germains and New Mains, Whitekirk (Macinnes 1984a, 193-4). It is evident too in the number of quern fragments found either discarded (Jobey 1957, 231-2; 1981, 71), or in reuse as paving to hut floors as at Crock Cleugh (Steer and Keeney 1947) and Broxmouth (Hill 1982b, 174-5). Hoes and sickles were found at Traprain (Hogg 1942, 165) and a reaping hook was recovered from the wall-core of a stone-built round house at the Dod. Carbonised seeds and grains were found at St Germains (Watkins 1982) and hulled barley was recovered from a grain-storage pit at the Dod (see p. 38).

(ii) Pasture Stock-rearing may be inferred from the attendant and sometimes hollowed yards accompanying many of the enclosed settlements as, for instance, at Kennel Hall Knowe (Jobey 1976, 26; see also Jobey 1966a,b; Higham 1986, 201). It is particularly well illustrated by the palisaded enclosure at Huckhoe with its out-turned antennae ditches extending from the entrance; a function which seems to have been transmitted to the settlement in its stone-built phase (Jobey 1957, 225, 252). As yet retting-pools have not been identified in the uplands, though the use of flax in the Romano-British period should not be discounted. Evidence of woollen manufacture, however, is suggested by the presence of spindle-whorls, which are common finds (stone, lignite or ceramic with direct or hour-glass perforations) and by bone and antler weaving combs from the Dod and Broxmouth (Hill 1982b, 182).

The acid-rich upland soils are rarely conducive to the survival of animal remains, but bone was found at the Dod (see pp. 38-9), Hartburn and Gunnar Peak. At Hartburn, most were of domestic cattle (*Bos taurus longifrons*) and some had been butchered (Jobey 1973b, 45); also present were horse (*Caballus*) and sheep (*Ovis aries*). Due to the base-rich limestone soils at Gunnar Peak a wide assemblage of bone was recovered including those of ox, sheep, deer and boar (Hogg 1942, 172). In 1980 at Middle Gunnar Peak, however, Ian Jobey recovered only flecks of bone too small for identification (1981, 71). Analysis of the bone material from the wall-core of the second rampart at Kaimes, Midlothian, indicated that the cattle were mature and kept primarily for dairy-produce (Simpson 1968, 26-8); at Hartburn the cattle were young and had probably been kept for meat. There is no immediate evidence for the over-wintering of cattle indoors, though buildings, which may be byre-dwellings, appear at Traprain in the mid to late fourth century (see pp. 155-61). On field evidence alone, of course, it is difficult to define the function of individual buildings on native sites, though, where houses are closely grouped, the use of ancillary buildings as barns or implement stores is certainly possible (e.g. The Gair, RCAMS 1956, pp. 339-40, No. 659).

Locational factors favourable for farming are often cited as a reason for site selection. At Milking Gap, for instance, the settlement occupied a well-drained position, close to pasture and fresh water, while access to the Whin Sill offered scope for hunting and fishing (Kilbride-Jones 1938, 308). Overall the picture seems to be one of dispersed farming communities engaged in mixed-farming, perhaps with an emphasis on pastoralism. In view of the general absence of storage-pits it seems unlikely that the scope of agriculture exceeded that of subsistence, though any surplus may have been transferred higher up the settlement hierarchy or else exchanged at market for items not locally available. Seed corn for sowing in the following year would clearly have to be stored under fairly rigorous conditions, probably above ground. Beyond this it is difficult to expand without the aid of systematic sampling procedures and a qualitative analysis of the results. The shallow stratigraphy of many upland sites possibly precludes this level of approach, but the potentially complex relationship between arable and pasture has been highlighted by Bradley (1978, 29-38, and for livestock see Chaplain 1971, 120-42) who has shown that the two are invariably interdependent.

(iii) Integrated Field-layouts Evidence for a more specialized approach to farming, which may itself reflect Roman influence, if not the impact of the *Pax Romana*, comes from a number of sites where the field layout is clearly ordered (for the distribution see pp. 182-3). Enclosure, of course, would enhance the scope for livestock management, the diversification of crops and rotation in respect to fallow, and allow pasture to be supplemented by grass leys (Spedding 1983, xxvii). In itself, the field-system represents only one element in the farming landscape and most farms probably included a wider area of good grazing either defined by natural features or, on occasion, artificial boundaries. This is well illustrated by the settlement at Tamshiel Rig (RCAMS 1956, pp. 426-7, No. 943) which, unlike other field-systems in south-east Scotland, consists of a system of linear earthworks with flanking ditches. The enclosed area amounts to 12.5 ha and the interior is divided by banks into strips and enclosures. Narrower strips and square plots, indicative of smaller subdivisions probably due to cultivation, are visible as vegetation marks on air-photographs (Halliday 1982, 78-80).

Comparable, though less complex, field-systems are known at Riding Wood, Quarry House and Crock Cleugh. That at Crock Cleugh, a site which occupies a well-drained gravel subsoil close to fresh water, extends upslope from the western homestead (Steer and Keeney 1947, 41). The field-system enclosed three lynchets, which are terraced with the slope, and these vary in length from 21m to 150m; the intervening ground was divided into plots by transverse rubble-cored drystone walls formed of large boulders - a feature of many post-Roman settlements. The network of enclosing walls would seem to conform to the

Celtic-type field-system defined by Curwen (1927, 287) which is also paralleled at Sprouston (Smith 1984, 184-7, figs. 5 and 6; this work pp. 222-3) and Yeavering.

The Sprouston field-system (some 19 km east of Newstead), known only from air-photographs but of importance as this is a valley-floor site, was laid out along the crest of a gravel ridge bordering the haughland of the River Tweed (fig. 3.3). On the south-west it overlies the interrupted ditches of what may be a causewayed camp and on the north-east it is noteworthy for the manner in which the field-boundaries seem to respect a twin-palisaded enclosure of a type paralleled at Harehope, Peeblesshire (Feachem 1960) and at Yeavering (Hope-Taylor 1977, 205-9); this possibly a British fort, though one cannot discount its dual use as a hard-standing or corral for livestock, most probably cattle (cf. Alcock 1988a, 7; this work p. 223). Some interdependence between arable and pasture thus seems likely, and the meadowland bordering the Tweed could have been used for grazing and as a supplement to winter fodder. The Sprouston fields, which could owe more to Roman than native influence, seem to conform to a recognizable type. The fields are much longer than wide, up to a ratio of 5:1, and they are grouped together and arranged in parallel. Fields of this type are known on the Wessex Chalklands and in Sussex, on limestone in Wharfedale and Somerset, and in the Fens where they seem to accompany 'peasant' farms rather than villas or larger farm units.[53] Their form suggests the use of a one-way plough, rather than a scratch-ard, and that however remotely some idea of Roman mensuration was being applied in the layout of the fields.

The Yeavering field-system (fig. 3.4), which was laid out over a long series of cremation burials, the latest of which are believed to be of Bronze Age date, is probably also of the Romano-British period (Hope-Taylor 1977, 21, 46, 154-6). A trackway extends eastwards along the crest of a free-drained gravel ridge from what may be the ploughed-out remains of a contemporary settlement on the west. Field-boundaries, defined by uniformly shallow, diffuse gullies filled with loamy sand, extend from both sides of the track to the edge of the plateau; those on the north-west joining with a D-shaped enclosure that may once have been subdivided. Comparable small enclosures are found in association with a number of native sites, including Gunnar Peak, Blue Crag, Tower Tye, Milking Gap and North Catcherside (Hogg 1943, 143) and, in the Lothians, have been recognized as cropmarks (Macinnes 1984a, 184-5). The date of the Yeavering fields pivots on three fragments of a bead, dark bluish-green in colour, associated with one of a number of unurned cremations redeposited in the field-gullies. Margaret Guido suggested parallels of between the first and fifth centuries AD and Hope-Taylor accepted that the plateau remained wholly or partly under plough until the third century or later (1977, 204).

(iv) Manufacturing Evidence for this comes from a number of excavated Romano-British settlements. At Tower Knowe, a broken slab of Fell sandstone bore part of a bar-mould possibly for casting a copper-based alloy. One similar to this was found at Hartburn (Jobey 1972, 74) and ten were recovered from Traprain (Burley 1956, 221); the source of the ore apparently lay close at hand, and in Ribblesdale (Richmond 1940, 80). Some local outcrop coal was also being used (Smith, AHV pers. commun., 1989). Fragments of waste-run lead are common finds as, for example, at Middle Gunnar Peak (Jobey 1981, 71), the Dod, and St Germains (Jobey 1982, 114). At least one lead spindle whorl is known and a Roman vessel repaired with lead rivets (Jobey 1977, 44). However, much work still needs to be done to determine the origin of lead on native sites (Spearman, M pers. commun., 1983). At Hartburn, for instance, the lead was probably derived in reuse from sources of Roman manufacture, rather than from the small veins of galena of low silver content which outcrop locally (Jobey 1971, 44). Fibulae, and other bronze ornaments of first- or second-century date, were found at St Germains close to an ore-roasting pit broadly of the same period, accompanied by many and various pieces of metalworking waste. At Traprain, both ornaments and weapons were produced on site, and there are moulds for pins and dress-fasteners as well as for domed spear-butts, possibly of the type noted by Dio (lxxvi, 12.3). Among the items recovered in the Eckford Hoard, perhaps the property of an itinerant smith, are a millstone pick, a mason's hammer and an adze hammer, along with the cheek-piece from a bridle and a bronze terret (Curle 1932, 317).

Evidence for the on-site manufacture of pottery may be deduced from the fragments of crude and often plain vessels which have been recovered from many native sites. Glass working also seems likely, though possibly small-scale. Fragments of glass beads and bangles recovered from the Dod, of late first- or second-century date, seem to have been fashioned from waste or scrap-metal recovered from one of the forts in the area; most probably Newstead (Stevenson, forthcoming; this work pp. 92-3). At Traprain, crucibles, which contain traces of waste-run glass, are thought to have been used in the manufacture of enamels for use in ornamented metalwork (Burley 1956, 135).

(C) THE IMPACT OF THE ROMAN PRESENCE ON THE SETTLEMENT AND ECONOMY OF THE ROMANO-BRITISH PERIOD.

It may be deduced from the evidence set out that on the eve of the Roman advance into Scotland (79/80) native society north of the Tyne-Solway line was self-sufficient, to a degree centralized and probably capable of generating an agricultural surplus. Much of this capability probably stemmed directly from the patterns of land use and settlement hierarchies of the mid to late first millennium BC and, given the ancestry for some if not all of the Romano-British

settlements, one may infer a level of continuity and a complementary trend away from defensible positions to others more conducive to urban development and agrarian activity over a wide area. This in itself might point to a phase of stability and peaceable coexistence between the tribal polities of north Britain.

The settlement evidence, however, is tailored to the uplands and, comprising also the paddocks, enclosures, field-systems, ritual and funerary monuments which have survived in an abandoned landscape, it is possible that this picture is not representative. The preference for stone on upland sites makes the evidence materially robust, if structurally fragile; generally the sites are not deeply bedded and tend towards shallow and often complex horizontal stratigraphy, and the artefact record is often materially poor. The activities consequent to the uplands (shielings, for instance) may also be reflected in specialized distribution patterns that may be absent in the lowlands (see also pp. 178-82). Sites with a greater depth of stratigraphy and subsoil features are now the least visible archaeologically; though, through the use of air-photography, sufficient often remains to aid comparison between the cropmarks and their upstanding upland equivalents. One should thus probably allow for a complementary and possibly even a greater weight of evidence for lowland settlement where timber may have been the standard vocabulary of all vernacular buildings. It might follow from this, and it certainly seems to have been so in the Manor Valley (pp. 376-80), that the lowlands were more intensively cultivated and more strictly geared towards arable farming than was the case in the Cheviots and in the hills to the north and west. If this is accepted, one might also postulate that this level of development may have endured long enough to provide the essential basis for Early Historic society, but one must also weigh this against the possibility of some level of disruption in the course of the Roman occupation.

To gauge the impact of the Roman presence at a local level is, nevertheless, difficult. The Agricolan fort at Newstead seems to have been laid out over an area which was already arable; this, in view of its proximity to the North Eildon *oppidum,* however, is less than surprising. Air-photography reveals a palimpsest of field-boundaries among the annexes, temporary camps and earthworks of the respective levels of the fort complex (plate 3.8). Moreover, contrary to proper practice, brushwood was used to bind the angles of the clay-built ramparts and to secure the batter of the facing-walls (Curle 1911, 124); this in itself would indicate a lack of good-quality turf, the usual medium for construction. The extent of woodland in the locality cannot be gauged, though a recent overview of the problem in southern Scotland for the Flavian period concluded that local supplies of timber were sufficient for the construction of all the Roman forts (Hanson and Macinnes 1980). The internal buildings at Newstead, both in 80/81 and about 90 when the fort was rebuilt, were entirely of timber and if this was in short supply, and had been brought from farther afield,

this might point to the need for some level of woodland management as part of the *Pax Romana* in order to safeguard a withering asset; this, of course, could be reflected in the transition from timber to stone evident on a number of the native settlements.

With the garrison established at Newstead, the intention may have been to import much of the food required, particularly grain, from southern Britain. However, once the army had consolidated its position it may have proved expedient to derive as much as possible from sources close at hand. This is Manning's view and, from an examination of the documentary and archaeological evidence from various parts of the Roman empire, he deduced that military garrisons were supplied with grain from the closest available source and that the movement of supplies long-distance overland was avoided wherever possible (1975, 112). If we accept a garrison strength for Newstead of about 1500 men in the Flavian period (cf. Frere 1974, 163) and, given that each soldier received an issue of 2 lb of grain a day (this was usual throughout the Roman period, cf. Polybius VI, 39.3), it follows that Newstead itself would have consumed in the order of 3000 lb of grain a day, 547 tons each year. If we accept Rivet's estimate (1969, 175), following Piggott (1958b, 23) and Bersu (1940), that a suitable crop yield for Romano-British agriculture would have been in the order of 24 bushels a hectare (see also Reynolds 1979; Bennett 1983a), and at 63 lbs per bushel for wheat (information John Nash, Castlehill Farm, Manor, 1989), the area required to liberate this amount of grain would be about 703 ha, or roughly 2.7 square miles; over 121 times the area of the fort itself.

Evidently this is a fairly large area by any reckoning, even within the context of the Tweed Basin. It would, if all the arable was consolidated close to the fort (see fig. 3.5), comprise all the land bordering the Tweed between the present villages of Melrose, Bowden and Newtown St Boswells, and this takes no account of the grazing required for the garrison's cattle, sheep and horses, or for the presence of woodland close by which the Romans clearly had access to. If we also allow for a native population resident within the *oppidum* on North Eildon of about two thousand or more (Breeze 1979a, 3), then there is clearly a problem, for in order to sustain themselves a similar requirement in grain would be needed to that of the Roman garrison and, given that the existence of the *oppidum* was probably dependent on the returns from arable from much the same area as that defined, the only recourse open to the Roman procurators would have been either to displace the native population or else to conscript from them the surplus they required. This would only reasonably be tenable if the *oppida* in the region were already in receipt of a grain surplus from the settlements and farms of their hinterland, and on which they themselves may in part have been formally dependent.

Thus at Newstead, as possibly also at Easter Happrew and Oakwood, the presence of the *oppida* close by may have been crucial. In the case of Easter Happrew, the fort may have been located specifically to draw upon the surplus from the Manor Valley (see pp. 376-80). This pattern is likely to have been repeated in the Antonine period, especially in respect to Newstead, and particularly so if, as seems likely, the area had already been opened up for arable and was in use as such by the native population, or had reverted to such use following the Flavian withdrawal.

Excavations by Curle at Newstead (1911) vividly illustrate the close relationship between the fort and its hinterland. Within the annexes of the fort there are an array of pits, the majority of which were clay-sealed thus enhancing the preservation of organic and inorganic remains. From one of these pits was recovered a closely-caked mass of vegetable remains composed entirely of wheat grains. Quantities of wheat-chaff were also found (Curle 1911, 359, samples C and E); this the clearest evidence that the wheat was not only grown locally but also that it was threshed and cleaned on site. Amongst the chaff were seeds of *Lichriis Githago*; a weed of cornfields in many parts of Britain before the advent of chemical spraying (Spedding 1983, 486). Although nothing conforming to a plough-share was recovered, a number of agricultural implements were found, for example, from pit 14, a hoe, a half-pick and a half-spade. The latter, of course, could have been used in rampart construction and the digging of ditches, but tillage is also possible; another spade was found in pit 89 and a rake came from pit 57 (Curle 1911, 288). Two sickles with short curved steel-enforced blades were recovered from another pit,[8] and four scythes were found in pit 16 along with a small anvil and whetstones. The scythes showed considerable wear and one had been patched by a piece of iron bolted onto the back-rib. An iron wedge, for splitting wood, and a bill-hook were recovered from the east end of the baths (ibid. 284).

Macroplant remains included a preponderance of hazel, birch was common and oak less frequent, though oak was used to consolidate the Flavian rampart; ash was used for hafting the implements. Of interest too, are a number of moorland plants: *Erica*, berries, and seeds of *Empetrum nigrum*, fruits of *Rumex Acetosa* and those of several species of *Scirpus* and *Carex*; brought to the site possibly for bedding and thatch. Faunal remains included horse, sheep, pig, cattle, red deer and dogs.[54] The cattle probably included draught animals as well as those kept for meat. At Corbridge, cattle products amounted to 96.5 percent of estimated meat consumption, and at Chesterholm *vicus* 91.7 percent (Hodgson 1977). The special place of cattle perhaps owes much to the importance of leather; the most common organic material found on Roman sites (Charlesworth and Thornton 1973). Evidence of textile manufacture is suggested by whorls of sandstone and bone (spindles were found in pit 54), together with bone weaving-combs and iron shears (Curle 1911, 200).[55] A

small bronze fish hook recovered in the most recent excavations (1989) suggests that the Roman diet may even have been supplemented by trout and salmon fishing in the Tweed.

The importance of the assemblage recovered from Newstead is underlined by the dearth of comparable material from native sites both in the Romano-British period and post-Roman times. Agricultural implements, above all parts of ploughs, are rare (cf. Fenton 1963, 265-79). The same is true of scythes, sickles and axes (Wilson 1981, 80-1). Such items, when recovered, are thus likely to be of significance well beyond the particular site on which they were found (Fowler 1976, 48) and those at Newstead can probably be taken as typical of the scope of husbandry over a wide area.

While the Roman garrison at Newstead may have had the capacity to be self-sufficient, the possibility that food-stuffs were obtained from the native population, either by compulsory purchase, or in the form of *annona*, or corn tribute, must seem likely. This is one interpretation which might account for the plethora of pits within the annexes and, given the proximity of the fort to the North Eildon *oppidum*, formerly perhaps, in company with other *oppida* in the region, the natural receiving point for the native surplus, this would be the logical *locus* for economic interaction between the Roman procurators and the native population. For many the payment of dues to a procurator and lip-service to a governor may have been only one step removed from the preceding requirements anent the native hierarchy and, if the transference of goods had been controlled by an *élite* within the native polity, these people alone possibly stood most to gain. Thus the location of the Roman forts may be seen to indicate the pivotal importance of centres where the needs of the garrisons could most readily be met and where the mechanism for producing a workable relationship already existed (cf. Higham 1985, 107-9).

The evidence from Newstead should not, I think, necessarily be seen as indicative of the farming practices of the Romans themselves. Rather, the implements are probably those of the native population, as too the evidence for the fruits produced from arable. The results of the most recent excavations at Newstead, directed by Rick Jones (Bradford University), suggests that the Romans had been gainfully employed in the on-site manufacture and repair of iron weapons, armour and tools, in fashioning small objects in bronze and lead, pottery,[56] roof-tiles and glass bracelets; all pointing to an industrial centre on a scale previously unparalleled in Scotland (Chisholm 1989, 3). Elsewhere too, jewellery seems to have been made to satisfy local demand (Charlesworth 1961).

The net effect of this level of economic interaction perhaps underlines the importance the natives attached to securing items of prestige or luxury value, not only

embellishments in dress, but possibly also the accoutrements of status (cf. Higham 1981b; Stevenson 1956; 1976). The army brought with it money and soon, no doubt, traders would be attracted to the fort to sell their goods (plate 3.9).[57] Thus at one level, the common hill-farmer may have been able to trade-in part of his surplus for items of personal adornment or for use at home or in the field while, at a higher level (i.e. in the bulk acquisition of grain and hide), the native population could perhaps be spurred on to still greater agrarian achievements in order to capitalize on the insatiable market provided by the garrisons necessary to the maintenance of a forward frontier area and the *cordon sanitaire* provided by the intervallate zone; this perhaps also the underlying reason for the emergence of a more specialized approach to agriculture as evident, for example, at Sprouston and Tamshiel Rig.

Roman, or possibly even native, influence, arising from the need to meet the requirements of the Roman market, may also be behind the gradual dispersal of farming communities in the uplands, the exploitation of previously marginal land for cultivation (e.g. at Crock Cleugh), and the relocation of a large proportion of the population in the lowlands with the aim of increasing the returns from arable. This trend, whilst apparent, is difficult to date (it is crucial to the question of continuity and will be considered further pp. 80-102), but would be in line with Hope-Taylor's model for settlement and land use in north Northumberland pressing out, under Roman influence, from the central to the coastal zone, and, in East Lothian, for a similar reversion to the coastal plain as noted by Macinnes (1984a, 184).

The precise mechanism to facilitate exchange, as too the use of coinage, is uncertain (Reece 1981),[58] but may have included items of the type listed by Strabo (IV, 5.2). It is also a possibility that the bar-moulds, which were found at Traprain, as too at Tower Knowe and Hartburn, may represent the beginnings of standardization in the mode of exchange (Macinnes 1984, 194), which perhaps access to the Roman markets required. The small quantities of Roman pottery found on native sites, together with the occasional coin, and metalwork, present also on North Eildon Hill (Robertson 1970, 214, table VI) but as well attested in the hoards from Blackburn Mill, Stanhope, Eckford and Ruberslaw, perhaps provide the clearest proof of the steady flow of material between the Roman garrisons and the native population as a product of trade (cf. Curle 1932, 277-397; Gillam 1958, 79-84).

As a result of positive reciprocity between Roman and native, one can possibly infer the beginnings of regional market centres and, in the absence of *vici* accompanying any of the forts, that is, in the Flavian period with the possible exception of Lyne, we may deduce that if they existed, they were located close to the regional tribal centres: in the case of

the Roman fort at Newstead, perhaps at Melrose, deriving its status from the neighbouring *oppidum;* for Lyne, in the neighbourhood of the White Meldon *oppidum,* Peebles (Welsh *pebyll,* 'tent, pavilion',[59] this perhaps points to a centre of some impermanence which might be admissible in the context of a seasonal market or fair; see also pp. 99-101), and for Cappuck, perhaps Jedburgh. This in fact would require only a marginal shift for the native population from the Dunion *oppidum;* a site which seems to have been abandoned in the late first or early second century (RCAMS 1956, pp. 62-4, No. 33; Rideout 1984; 1986; pers. commun., 1989). Traces of a long-cist cemetery reported by Henshall close to Jedburgh Abbey (1956, 21) might support this. Then, as in the late Anglian period (Smith 1984, 180-1), Jedburgh would have been well placed to draw supplies from Teviotdale as too, lands south of the Tweed.

While it is difficult to gauge the level of material benefits which the native population stood to gain from the opportunity presented by access to the Roman market, it is nevertheless possible that a certain influx of wealth, probably in the Flavian period, did provide the wherewithal for the southern brochs (Torwoodlee, Bow of Bowland, and Edin's Hall); buildings of distinction which appear without precedent in the Tweed Valley alongside too, the solitary dun at Stanhope, in Peeblesshire (RCAMS 1967, pp. 2, 157-8; No. 338), which, like the brochs, is isolated from other monuments of its class. It is possible that as a group (fig. 3.6) these buildings provide the most visible proof for the emergence of a social *élite,* as too the scope of the *Pax Romana* to be enjoyed if only by a few. In this region, the brochs can be seen to some degree as lofty symbols of authority over peasant communities in a period where single-storeyed housing was the norm. To be in the stone tower bracket was perhaps, as later in the medieval period (cf. Stell 1986, 92), a mark of social and architectural achievement.

So far as may be deduced from the excavation and survey of the surviving remains, the southern brochs would seem to conform to the characteristics noted by MacKie for their northern equivalents (1975, 73). Their wall-base to overall diameter is usually large (40.7% at Edin's Hall) and they generally have mural chambers, stairs, and entrances that are typically narrow. Guard chambers are found at Torwoodlee and Edin's Hall, but the layout of features does not precisely match the clock-face positions noted for their northern neighbours (MacKie 1975, 77; Macinnes 1984b, 236); their original height is hard to ascertain but a scarcement was noted at Torwoodlee.

A penannular bronze brooch from the floor of the Stanhope dun has been taken to suggest that it was occupied in the late first or early second century AD. A similar dating horizon is borne out by the finds from Edin's Hall, a broch which overlies the western

portion of an earlier multivallate fort while, to the east, there is a cluster of stone-walled houses; these probably the extramural settlement accompanying the broch tower (plate 3.10).[60] Excavations were conducted at Torwoodlee in 1891 and 1950 (plate 3.11). Samian was recovered from the wall-core of the broch, and the broch itself was associated with a dense scatter of pottery and glass of the Flavian period, including rim and base-sherds from samian vessels, platters, jars or flagons, amphorae, fumed grey and bluish-grey ware (Piggott 1951, 112-13). Some sherds had been trampled into the surface of the causeway between the terminals of the broch ditch and were overlain by a layer of wind-blown soil which was in turn sealed by the collapse of the broch wall. The ditch sealed by the collapse contained only primary siltings (it may have been recut, but no evidence was found of this). Piggott suggested that the form of the collapse could only be interpreted as a result of the deliberate destruction or slighting of the broch (1951, 96). On the west a cist-grave containing the skeleton of a young woman had been built in the ditch-infilling during the process of demolition. From the stratigraphic position of the finds from Torwoodlee one may deduce that it too had been constructed and was in use in the Flavian period and had been abandoned, and perhaps slighted, not long after but certainly before Antonine material began to circulate.

The southern brochs, as too the dun at Stanhope, are thus a short-lived phenomenon of the Tweed Valley and the dating evidence, which broadly concurs, suggests that they are a product of the Flavian period (see also Macinnes 1984b, 237, and for the broch at Leckie see MacKie 1982, 68). Various explanations have been offered to account for their presence. Piggott and MacKie (1951a, 114; 1982) suggested that they evolved following the Flavian withdrawal from Scotland and either pre-dated the Antonine occupation of Scotland or, as Stevenson argued (1966, 35), followed the Antonine withdrawal.[61] MacKie suggested that they were built by Northerners invited by the Votadini to serve as mercenaries to counter Roman aggression, or that of neighbouring tribes, or were built by the Romans themselves in order to subjugate the lowland tribes (1982). Hamilton suggested that they were built by northern invaders (1968, 108) and Macinnes (1984b), who declined from this view, suggested instead that they were rooted in the architectural tradition of south-east Scotland.

The appearance of the brochs as a product of inter-tribal aggression can probably be discounted. If the brochs are of the Flavian period the presence of Roman garrisons in the region should have been a sufficient deterrent. The only documented act of inter-tribal aggression might be the Brigantian attack on the Genounian district, perhaps Tweeddale (see pp. 301-9), but this possibly precipitated the Antonine readvance into the Scottish lowlands and it is thus difficult to reconcile this event with the occurrence of Flavian material on the

sites themselves and in a primary context at Torwoodlee. The reluctance to accept the evidence on face value, in favour of a date outwith the Roman occupation, presumably stems from the belief that defensible structures of this order would be incompatible within a sphere of Roman military jurisdiction; an old argument and one which is clearly questionable. Nor does it seem credible that they were built by the Romans to subjugate the lowland tribes, though there may be some truth in this; again, and particularly in view of the proximity to Newstead of the brochs at Torwoodlee and Bow of Bowland, the Roman presence there should have sufficed. It is possible that the brochs are rooted in the architectural tradition of the Tyne-Forth province (Macinnes 1984b), but this seems to miss the point that without precedent the brochs are exotic to the region and as such represent a rather radical departure from the normal vernacular building types current in the Romano-British period.

Given the level of wealth that an *élite* among the native population stood to gain from a close market relationship with the Roman garrisons (i.e. in the trans-shipment of grain in bulk), is it not more likely that the brochs are a product of this wealth and as such are the dwellings of an entrepreneurial class? It is perhaps fitting that the brochs occupy commanding positions overlooking the market centres where these transactions took place, or, in the case of Edin's Hall, close to copper workings which may have been capitalized at this time (see p. 19). For buildings of status it is perhaps also not incompatible that plans should have been procured from farther afield. This would account for a certain level of prestige and the choice of a new structural type which would be dominant visually within the landscape and one commensurate with the status of the few who had the wherewithal and motivation to engage in building work. One may infer from the plan-type adopted that construction was contracted-out to craftsmen brought from the north for this specific purpose, or else that the work was undertaken by local tradesmen, who may have applied techniques with which they were familiar, perhaps under the auspices of a master mason. In much the same way Edward I delegated responsibility for the castles in Wales and the Marches to his master mason, James of St George (Taylor 1987, 125). This would explain the irregularities on plan and what amounts to an almost artisan-mannerist approach to the work entailed. If this is accepted, and if the brochs are of the Flavian period, it might follow that they did personify some degree of authority over the rank-and-file peasant population and this, of course, could have been recognized by the Romans as a way of expeditiously maintaining the *status quo* within the region.

With the withdrawal of Roman troops about 105 it is possible, lacking the value of hindsight for the reoccupation of southern Scotland some thirty-seven years later, that the broch-owners followed the army south. This then would account for the short-lived duration of the brochs, as too the dun at Stanhope, and perhaps also explains the slighting of

Torwoodlee, not by the Romans, but by native hands accompanying a return to a more egalitarian existence (see also p. 308).

(D) THE LEGACY OF ROMAN INTERVENTION

The southern brochs might thus be seen as a legacy of the Flavian occupation and indicative of the influence and the boost to the native economy brought about by the garrisoning of the Tweed. One can perhaps infer the survival of the native social hierarchy at all times in the Roman period and, moreover, in view of their probable economic relations with Rome, this might also enhance the likelihood of the emergence of a clear ruling class and the basis for the dynastic houses of the post-Roman period (see pp. 265-80).

Alongside this we obviously have the legacy of the Roman road network (see pp. 53-4) which served at once to open up the hinterland and to bring it more closely into line with the economies and market centres of the lowlands (plate 3.7); this probably did as much to open up trade and to break down cultural boundaries as did the railways in the nineteenth century. There were too, no doubt, a plethora of native tracks and ridgeways which served to complete the infrastructure, for example the Thief's Road in Manor (see p. 359); the Minchmoor Road on the Tweed-Yarrow watershed (RCAMS 1957, pp. 79-81, No. 95) and the Wheel Causeway in the parishes of Castleton and Southdean (RCAMS 1956, 474-7), along with the many tracks which traverse the Cheviots and the head-waters of the Teviot (RCAMS 1956, 470). Access to the road to Hermitage (the Queen's Road, RCAMS 1956, pp. 447-8, No. 105), combined with a valley-floor location, perhaps accounts for the longevity of the Dod settlement and its continuity into the post-Roman period (pp. 31-3, 181, 421). A similar level of antiquity may be inferred for the track which runs from the homesteads at Crock Cleugh (pp. 97, 181-2) across the watershed between the Calroust and Kelsocleugh Burns which, between the Border and Belford, pass close to two Bronze Age cairns. Continuity seems to be borne out by its use as a droveway in the medieval period (Steer and Keeney 1947, 141).

Although many of these roads must have had a long history, little is known of their currency until the medieval period. Prior to the improvements of the mid to late eighteenth century (cf. RCAMS 1956, 50; 1957, 27; 1967, 47) the condition of the native road network possibly reflected that of the Early Historic period: Douglas, for instance, notes that, 'There were few places where wheeled carriages could safely pass, without skillful drivers and close attention' (1813, 198). If this was also the case in post-Roman times, the Roman trunk roads would clearly have been of primary importance. Although Dere Street

may have been divested of its flagged metalling at an early date for reuse elsewhere, its importance as a thoroughfare seems to be borne out by its identification in 1473, close to the Border line, as *Gammyllispethe* and as a rendezvous for March meetings (Bain 1888, no. 1409). By virtue of the fact that the Roman roads invariably by-passed the hazards of peat and marsh (Maxwell 1984, 32) in favour of higher ground, they provided the natural lines of egress to and from the Tweed Valley (plate 3.12); this is evident too in the multiplicity of hollowed tracks which parallel the trunk road as it climbs to Soutra.

Alongside the roads one should not underestimate the influence exerted on the native population by the bewildering array of road-side installations (*castella*, fortlets, signal-stations and *mansiones*)[62] that were intimately connected with it (cf. Collingwood and Richmond 1969, 15-70). These possibly, although in a decayed state, provided *exemplaria* to be copied; the inspiration perhaps for the ephemera of rectangular timber buildings that emerge on some native rural sites (pp. 84-96) and for the hall-like buildings of the Anglo-British period (pp. 227-31). Newstead too, whilst in ruins, seems to have retained a shadowy significance.[63] About 1220, Guillaume le Clerc seems to have identified 'Mont Dolerous', in the *Fergus* romance, as the Eildon massif and on it locates a castle overhanging a deep river; this perhaps the remains of the Roman fortifications close by still conspicuous in his day (Loomis 1949, 110). Vague though the picture may be, we should perhaps retain it as a balance to the impact of the Roman presence in the Southern Uplands which, though short-lived, provided a visual as well as an economic boon to the native landscape quite out of proportion to the time-scales involved, one of lasting significance and critical to the overall development of the Tweed Basin consequent to its emergence in the Early Historic period.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONTINUITY IN SETTLEMENT BETWEEN THE WALLS - OR NOT?

In Chapter Three I set out the evidence which suggested that, far from being disruptive, the Roman intervention and occupation of the Tweed Basin may have provided a boon to the native economy. Rural settlement seems to have been widespread and to have flourished under the *pax Romana* (see also pp. 175-88). The question now to be addressed is one of continuity. To what extent did settlement of the Romano-British landscape survive and provide the basis for that of the post-Roman period? It is generally believed that many upland settlements were abandoned in the second and third centuries AD (cf. Hill 1982a, 10) and although little has been said about lowland settlement, by implication, abandonment has been inferred. This creates a problem. If the sites had been abandoned, what became of the native population? The question of continuity is thus critical to an assessment of the impact of the Roman presence in the region and the significance of settlement and land-use strategies in the post-Roman period.

Here I propose to examine the case for continuity strictly on the basis of the archaeological evidence from native sites. Due to the level of excavation in the Tweed Valley, it is necessary to embrace evidence from a wide area. However, a case for continuity can be made for the Dod and for this reason I regard the evidence from this site to be of particular importance not only for its pre-Roman archaeology but also for that of the post-Roman period.

Several factors point to the likelihood of continuity. First, the Roman presence in southern Scotland was short-lived (see pp. 53-9). Given the nature of the pre-Roman landscape and its clear emergence in the Romano-British period, it would be extraordinary if this all but collapsed with the Roman withdrawal. Second, there is the physical structure of the landscape (see pp. 1-6) which probably underlies the proliferation of inter-regional land-use and settlement patterns that may owe as much to seasonality and interdependence of upland and lowland economies (cf. Hope-Taylor 1977, 20-1; this work pp. 43-8). This factor, more than any other, may serve to explain the relative insularity of this region at all periods (Smith 1984, 77), as later, perhaps, the difficulties met in finalizing the line of the Anglo-Scottish Border (cf. Barrow 1973, 139-61). The extent to which topography alone can be used to account for the social, economic and political development of the region in the pre- and immediate post-Roman period is difficult to determine. Analogies with the post-Roman districts bordering the Southern Uplands (Strathclyde, Gododdin and Rheged),

whose events and peoples may be seen to overshadow the development of the Tweed (see pp. 274-309), should perhaps be received with caution. Traprain, however, may provide a useful model and for this reason I examine the evidence in detail in Chapter Five.

The third point which may be drawn is that the epoch between the end of Roman rule in Britain and the emergence of the dynastic kingdoms (see pp. 265-73) can be held to have begun much earlier in the Tweed Basin, and to have ended later. The region was possibly already in a state of transition by the time Roman patrols were recalled from the Cheviot zone in 369 and the outpost forts abandoned (Casey and Savage 1980; Casey 1984). It may be inferred from the clumsy and often hastily made repairs to the Wall-forts as, for example, the west wall of Chesterholm and the west guard-chamber of the south gate at Birdoswald (Richmond 1958, 123), as too the abandonment of the *vici* and the reorganization of fort interiors (Breeze and Dobson 1978, 226-7), that there remained to the north of the Wall a viable native society and one, perhaps, capable of exerting hostile pressure. Their presence is certainly revealed for the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, by the Early Christian memorials of Tweeddale and Liddesdale (see pp. 285-300, 318), the Lindisfarne *Life* of St Cuthbert, Cadrod Calchvynynd (pp. 280-5), the threat posed to the estates and villages of Lauderdale with the appearance of King Aedan's army prior to the battle of Degsastan in 603 (see pp. 321-44), and it may also be deduced from the place-name evidence for Anglian settlement in the seventh to ninth centuries (pp. 205-17). Continuity there seems to have been, the question remains, where and what form did it take?

The starting point in resolving this issue are the Romano-British settlements, the character of which have already been discussed (pp. 62-4). These can be examined to establish if and when they were abandoned and, if there was continuity at what level it seems likely.

The settlement at Milking Gap (Kilbride-Jones 1938), which is situated between the vallum and Hadrian's Wall, characterizes many native upland sites. It consists of five stone-walled round houses within a rectilinear enclosure (fig. 4.1). Huts 1 to 5 were, in the excavator's view, probably contemporary. Samian was recovered from the first three and an early form of glass armlet was found in hut 5. On the basis of the finds, it was deduced that the site may have been occupied for about fifty years, with AD 122 to 130 as the extreme limits; its location in respect to the military annexe of the Wall, a zone from which the civil population were usually debarred (Breeze, DJ pers. commun., 1986), may account for its brief life-span. Alternatively, it may only serve to underline the problem of placing too great a reliance on a few datable artefacts.

The sites at Marden, Tower Knowe and Burradon illustrate an important point in respect to continuity, namely the prolonged use of timber for construction in the lowlands in contrast to the use of stone in the uplands, which may be more a reflection of location and the availability of suitable materials (Hope-Taylor 1977, 19; this work p. 63). The currency of timber in the lowlands for unenclosed settlements renders them less sensitive to recovery except by air-photography; consequently the distribution maps of these sites may be unrepresentative (see pp. 176, 186-7).

Finds recovered from Marden, Tynemouth (Jobey 1963), a native settlement on the coastal plain at the east end of Hadrian's Wall, included a rim sherd from a jar of sandy, pinkish-grey fabric with a suggested date of AD 140 to 210. The site (fig. 4.2) consists of a small rectangular enclosure containing a central round house. This is paralleled at Coxhoe, Westhouse, where, within a ditched and palisaded enclosure, there is a round house occupying a near central position; Coxhoe seems to have been abandoned before Roman pottery began to circulate (Haselgrove and Allon 1982). At Tower Knowe (Jobey 1973a) finds were no later than the second century AD, but it was noted that these might not be altogether significant in assessing the date of abandonment; a factor also borne out by the assemblage from Burradon (Jobey 1970). This site (fig. 4.3), which displays some chronological depth, consists of one large timber-built house within a rectangular enclosure. In the thirteenth century the site was cleared and two pits were dug into the terminals of the house ditch. Finds, principally from these pits, included one hundred and seventy sherds, the majority small and undecorated wall-sherds of which some were of a type found on Roman and pre-Roman native sites. There were nine sherds of Roman vessels, three of Spanish amphorae probably of early second-century date, four from a carinated bowl, of which one was embedded in the clay floor of the house, and two sherds from a ditch together with a grooved rim of black-burnished ware dated to the second half of the second century AD. The most that can be said, solely on the basis of the Roman pottery, is that the site was probably occupied in the second century AD.

This recurrent difficulty of securing dates solely on the basis of Roman pottery is also well illustrated by the palisaded settlement at High Knowe B (Jobey and Tait 1966, 16-20) whose finds only consisted of numerous sherds of coarse hand-built pottery. Five sherds were recovered close to the hearth of the excavated hut (fig. 4.4) and a further twenty fragments were recovered from the robbed stone-work of the hut wall. The sherds, however, are probably contemporary with the settlement (rather than scrapings from an earlier occupation), but all that could be said in terms of dating is that similar vessels had been recovered from the last phases of hillfort sites (e.g. Hownam, Piggott 1948).

The twin-ditched enclosure at Hartburn (fig. 4.5) is noteworthy for its internal complex of house replacements which suggest near continuous occupation until the final phase (Jobey 1973b). Roman pottery would point to occupation as late as the second or possibly the third century AD. A similar life-span, though perhaps as open-ended, is suggested for Kennel Hall Knowe, north Tynedale (Jobey 1978). This site (fig. 4.6) comprised four superimposed structural phases, the first three were entirely of timber, the fourth consisted of a ditched enclosure, stone-walled round houses and paved causeways. Archaeologically, continuity seems likely, but the precise dating of the respective phases is difficult. Three putative stone-walled round houses are probably to be dated to the second century AD, or later; this on the strength of no more than two sherds of Roman coarse pottery and a radiocarbon date (270±80; AD 225-400). A similar note of caution was struck by Ian Jobey in his assessment of Middle Gunnar Peak (1981), a rectilinear settlement enclosing the remains of at least five stone-walled round houses with a further five to the exterior. The site had no predecessor, nor any evidence of occupation prior to the Roman period. A sequence can, however, be traced for the development of the site from the late first or early second century. Jobey notes, 'It might be unwise... to assume that the settlement was abandoned by the third century AD, particularly as the native pottery is not conducive to close dating'.

One point is crucial. While the cumulative evidence of Roman finds would imply that many native settlements were occupied in the second century AD and possibly also the third, securing a date for their abandonment in a period when native coarse wares predominate must await more reliable means of radiometric dating (*contra.* Hill 1982a, 10).

The problem is common to the excavation of many such sites in north Britain, where the paucity of datable finds is notorious and second-century Roman material perhaps more accessible. In her survey of Roman material from non-Roman sites in Scotland, Robertson (1970, 198-226) noted that the most striking feature of the material was its fine quality and the rarity of the mundane, such as the coarse wares, which form the bulk of the material recovered from the excavation of Roman sites. The whole conspectus of Roman objects and Roman coins found on non-Roman sites is not made up of worthless items left behind on Roman sites (Robertson 1970, 200). The coin evidence provides the most striking proof of this; the close correlation between coin finds on native sites and their currency on Roman sites in the first and second centuries suggests that as long as the Roman forts were occupied, coins from them passed regularly into native hands. Exchange between Roman and native can thus be seen to be related to the Roman military presence in the region, principally in the Flavian and Antonine periods. This is also borne out by finds of first- and second-century material recovered from some fifteen sites in the Tweed Valley and in the hoards

from Blackburn Mill, Lamberton Moor, Stanhope, Eckford and Ruberslaw (Robertson 1970, table 8).

With the withdrawal of the garrisons about AD 163 access to this market seems largely to have been precluded. The outcome may have been a floruit in native coarse wares, and those of the immediate post-Roman period need be little different from those which went before (Hogg 1942, 130-3). It is possible then that the pattern of occupation deduced for native sites solely on the basis of Roman pottery is no more than evidence of residuality, unless, that is, the sherds lie on the surface of the hut-floors in which case abandonment can reasonably be inferred. Where Roman pottery might be used as an index for dating is in third- or fourth-century contexts for sites close to Hadrian's Wall (e.g. Huckhoe, 9 km NNE of Corbridge). In the fourth century, however, the absence of Roman pottery needs to be set with the cumulative evidence for the decline in the Roman pottery industry as noted, for instance, by Fulford (1979) in respect to centres at Alice Holt and others in the Nene Valley and Oxfordshire.

THE CASE FOR CONTINUITY IN THE UPLANDS

For some native upland sites, continuity may be inferred from the appearance there of timber buildings, either rectangular or subrectangular, alongside or supplanting existing huts. But here too there may be a problem, for it is often difficult, without excavation, to distinguish buildings of post-Roman date from the conspectus of building types of the pre-Improvement period. To a degree, the Scottish Royal Commission has side-stepped this problem endemic to systematic topographic survey by grouping all within the broad category of 'medieval and later settlement' (e.g. RCAMS 1987, 64-73). In the Southern Uplands, however, there are some pointers which may serve to characterize dwellings of the post-Roman period. Some, which develop on or close to existing Romano-British stone-walled settlements, seem to be distinguished by the provision of crude stone-footings, with walls of either turf, clay or forced earth. Most are single-compartment structures and some have rounded end-walls. Buildings of this type have been identified in Northumberland at West Gunnar Peak, Ingram Hill, Mill Knock, Riding Wood and Huckhoe, and, in Cumberland, at Cow Green, Crosby Ravensworth, Glencoyndale, Patterdale and Troutbeck Farm (Collingwood 1909; 1933; RCAM(E) 1936, xlvi-xlvii, 85; Higham 1986, 247).

The buildings at West Gunnar Peak, excavated in the late nineteenth century by Rome Hall and in the 1940s by Hogg, may be among the earliest. The site (fig. 4.7) consists of a rectangular enclosure within which there are at least five stone-walled round houses with a further two outside (Hall 1885; Hogg 1942a). In perhaps the latest phase of the site's

history a rectangular building was erected and joined, by way of an open end-wall, to a circular hut. Artefacts recovered include fragments of Roman pottery and a brooch, and point to occupation in the second century AD, though Hogg stressed the need for further excavation to elucidate the site's phasing. At Ingram Hill (Hogg 1942b), the remains of at least seven subrectangular buildings are disposed about the site's perimeter (fig. 4.8). The settlement was pre-dated by a palisaded enclosure from which some sherds were recovered. Hut 2, on the north-east side of the later enclosure, was a single-compartment structure with an outshot on the north. It possessed rudimentary stone wall-footings, a roughly laid stone floor and central hearth. Hogg suggested that the building may have had a lectern roof. No artefacts were recovered from the later structures, but pottery found elsewhere on the site was of a type which, in Hogg's view (on the basis of fabric types recovered from the pagan Saxon cemetery at Howick Heugh, and a Saxon pipkin from Heworth parish churchyard), may have continued in use in the Roman and Saxon periods. In 1951, however, he noted that further work at Ingram Hill suggested that the buildings were probably post-Roman (1951, 211).

At Yeavering Bell, excavations in the nineteenth century, within the *oppidum*, recovered finds of first-century date and in 1958 excavations by Hope-Taylor (1977, 6) produced two late Roman *minimi* from a small pit which had been dug into the floor of a circular hut. Although the *oppidum* may have been formally abandoned in or by the late first century AD, at least in two cases circular huts were overlain by rectangular drystone structures.

The native settlement at Huckhoe (Jobey 1959) is a site of some chronological depth (fig. 4.9). A palisaded enclosure was superseded by a number of stone-built huts, the earliest occupied by the second half of the second century AD, but with occupation continuing throughout the Roman period, possibly into post-Roman times. At some time after a jar of probable fourth-century date had reached the site, a circular stone hut, or its remains, were cleared and two subrectangular buildings (each sharing a mutual side-wall) were constructed on the same stance. As far as could be determined each building possessed a rounded end-wall (but for a reinterpretation of these structures see pp. 103-4). From the packed earth and rubble extension to the floor at the south end of the east building were recovered fragments of late fourth-century Romano-British coarse ware and a rim of post-Roman ware. These lay were they had been trampled into the top of the earth-filling and can, therefore, be taken as an indicative of the late Roman and post-Roman use of the buildings. Thomas (1959) believed that the post-Roman sherds from Huckhoe were representative of a technically competent pottery paralleled by a group of unpublished sherds from Dunadd, probably not earlier than the fifth century. Professor Jobey (pers. commun., 1986) has some misgivings, but

corroborative evidence for post-Roman activity at the site seems to be provided by an iron knife, which was found amongst the make-up material derived from the cleared round house, and by a broken quern, with a raised collar, which was found amongst the tumble of the mutual side-wall of the later buildings. On analogy with knives found at Yeavering, Hownam Rings, the Dod and Dunadd (fig. 4.10) that from Huckhoe shows something of the shoulder at the junction of the blade and tang which it has been suggested is a characteristic of post-Roman knives in Scotland (Piggott 1949, 219-20). The quern is paralleled at the Dod (see p. 32) and is of a type considered by Cool (forthcoming) to span a period from the second century BC to at least the Dark Ages; in view of the currency of beehive and rotary milling querns at the Dod, the latter is perhaps more likely.

THE NATIVE SETTLEMENT AT THE DOD, ROXBURGHSHIRE

Over three seasons between 1979 and 1982 I undertook, on behalf of the Historic Buildings and Monuments Directorate (Scottish Development Department), the rescue excavation of a 2.4 ha native settlement in advance of land recclamation for upland arable (Smith 1982b and forthcoming). Here I propose to widen the discussion by examining in greater detail the relevant phases of the site's history with particular reference to the date and context of a number of later buildings. The site occupies a valley-floor position (200m OD; NT 4726 0600) in the foothills to the south of Hawick (fig. 4.11) (plate 4.1). It comprises a bivallate earthwork enclosure, flanked by a linear earthwork and a D-shaped enclosure (fig. 4.12). The site is bisected by a burn; an unnamed tributary of the Dod Burn. Post-dating a complete sequence of timber- and stone-walled round houses there are at least twelve subrectangular buildings, probably of sill-beam construction; their date, however, presents a problem.

(i) Area XVII The earliest of these buildings may be that in Area XVII. This was intentionally a large area (encompassing the main gateway and the principal house-platforms grouped within the bivallate enclosure). Small-scale excavation in 1979 over disparate areas well illustrated the problems to be encountered in interpreting a shallow and often complex horizontal stratigraphy. In 1980 excavation within Area VI suggested an intensity of rebuilding which pointed to the likelihood that space over this part of the site was at a premium. Features clipped in trench V (one of a series of 3m wide trenches cut as a sampling exercise across the length and breadth of the site) were incomprehensible except in a wider context. The transition on plan from round to rectangular buildings may have followed one of a number of levels of site development. The rectangular structures could follow from a phase during which the site was abandoned (perhaps briefly); they may represent a change in function across the site as a whole, or they could be part of a more piece-meal transition

accompanying the partial or possibly total remodelling of the site. Area XVII offered the scope to test these hypotheses.

The area was deturfed in part by machine and partly by hand to provide a control (plate 4.2). Topsoil finds include a flint microlith (another was recovered from the rampart weathering), a perforated stone ball, a sherd of glazed ware (post-medieval) and a copper alloy coin. With the overburden removed an array of structural remains were visible over most of the area interspersed with rubble spreads, stone and paving. Despite initial hopes, the time allotted to this area was brief, and little more could be achieved than the definition of respective surfaces sufficient to commit them to plan. However, it did prove possible to define the principal features and these can be studied in context with those more fully excavated in neighbouring areas. The features comprise (see fig. 4.13): on the S, part of the internal boundary wall to the bivallate enclosure (a composite stone and timber foundation, with masonry facing, supporting a turf-built superstructure and hurdle rear-wall); on the W, the remains of a stone-walled round house; to the E, a paved yard (apparently fenced); on the NNW the slab-footings for a second hut, and on the WNW a fragmented area of paving on a rubble plinth; this I interpret as the foundation and floor of a rectangular building of sill-beam construction (see below).

The round house and neighbouring hut are probably components of one unit; a pattern of collocation paralleled elsewhere (e.g. Park Law, RCAMS 1956, pp. 335-6, No. 652). The one was probably the dwelling, the other a store, implement shed or barn (though there is no evidence to tell). The round house (7.3m in diameter over stone wall-footings 1.1m thick) has a hearth off-centre and an entrance on the SW. On the N and E paving respected two possible internal divisions; the threshold too was paved. Fragments of slag and burnt bone were recovered from a mottled grey clay layer within the hearth; these were the only finds. Steps from the threshold led to the yard. The neighbouring hut, which had been severely truncated, was associated with an area of scorched earth; this perhaps a result of firing the hut's superstructure. Finds were limited to a pivot stone and an undatable iron object. A possible *terminus post quem* in the second century AD, however, is provided by a splinter of Roman glass from a clay layer sealing the demolition of a neighbouring round house (Area VI, phase IV, house V); this assumes, of course, that the two are contemporary and were abandoned about the same time.

In the intervening area between the round house and the foot of the inner rampart, there was a fragmented surface of large and medium-sized slabs which had been levelled over a rubble spread whose edges were well defined. As noted, I interpret these as the remains of

a subrectangular building (5.7m from W to E by 4.4m transversly) set end-on to the rampart. Part of a glass bangle and a piece of pale blue glass, which were recovered from the surface of the rubble spread but beneath the flags (sealed in turn by rampart weathering), suggest a *terminus post quem* probably not later than the first quarter of the second century AD. The precise relationship between the building and the round house itself presents a problem. The two almost abut and it is possible that both were contemporary, though the round house may already have been abandoned. On the basis of a parallel between the later building and others in the D-shaped enclosure and one in Area VI (phase VI, house 2), it seems reasonable to infer that it too was of sill-beam construction, possibly with stave-built walls; the sills being laid directly against the edges of the rubble foundation. The most likely source for the rubble would be the adjacent hut; the removal of which may have eased access to the later building. One may deduce from the close juxtaposition between the building and the neighbouring round house that the transition in plan type was not far removed in time; consequently there need be no reason to infer a period during which the site was abandoned.

(ii) AREA VI The latest round house on this stance was, unlike its predecessors, stone-built (13m in diameter over a wall 1.2m thick with an entrance on the S). The house interior was chordally divided and partially paved, as too the threshold (fig. 4.14). Contemporary and abutting the round-house wall was a structure which, in terms of its form and probable function, can best be described as a souterrain (plate 4.3). This had been set in a trench which had been cut into the make-up of the clay-built inner rampart. Its end and side-walls were of drystone masonry raised on boulder and orthostat footings and seem to have been braced with timber uprights. The roof structure was probably timber and may have been of clerestory type (cf. Ritchie and Ritchie 1981, 115). The souterrain fell into disuse in the lifetime of the round house. It was unroofed and allowed to decay. Sporadic wind- and water-borne deposits, interspersed with lenses of orange-brown silty clay (rampart weathering), accumulated over the floor of the chamber. Ultimately the souterrain was intentionally infilled. A small bronze coil, perhaps a finger-ring, together with several sherds of poorly fired pottery (unsuited to TL dating, although an attempt was made), were recovered from the secondary fill.

The demise of the adjoining round house is signalled by the partial robbing of its stone facing and the collapse of the wall-core (spread up to 2.3m thick) which merged on the N with a pebbly, loose light brown sandy clay weathered from the rampart. Finds recovered from the collapsed wall-core consisted of a quern fragment, a stone lamp, a stone loom weight, a sherd of coarse pottery, an iron object and the stem of a clay pipe. A uniform grey clay layer accumulated to the interior and one may possibly infer from this that in collapse the

structure had been reused as a pen. A *terminus ante quem* for this phase is perhaps provided by a splinter of Roman glass (early second century?).

A raft of stone (8.2m from NNW to SSE by 3.8m transversely), probably the foundation and levelling course for a rectangular timber building, was subsequently constructed to the SW and partially truncated the round-house wall (plate 4.4). Prior to construction the stance had been partially cleared and as a result of this the multiple ring-grooves of the earlier timber round houses were exposed (plate 4.5). Rubble spreads (up to 1.2m thick and 0.3m high) served to define the edges of the raft and were used to level-up on the S where the ground falls steeply. Most of the rubble seems to have been drawn from the collapse of the round-house wall (principally its S arc). The raft interior was levelled using a medium of fine aggregate, probably alluvial, and was bonded by a matrix of dark loam.

The raft is of a type paralleled in the D-shaped enclosure and is similar to that defined in Area XVII. In common with these, it seems to have supported a building of sill-beam construction but here the sills appear to have been set directly on the raft-revetment. There was no trace of a door-frame but a spread of stone contiguous with the E long-wall (perhaps defining one edge of a forecourt) suggests that it may have been central to the long-wall. Fragments of two glass beads, of a type found in England in pre-Roman and Roman contexts (Stevenson, forthcoming), were found in the levelling of the raft and in the E raft-revetment. Burnt bone and a clay-pipe stem, compacted with the surface of the aggregate, are probably intrusive, and a pivot-stone, from the N raft-revetment, may have come from the earlier round house.

(iii) THE D-SHAPED ENCLOSURE The most complex stratigraphic succession of later buildings was defined to the interior of this extramural enclosure (plate 4.6). Together these remains may be divided into five periods. In period I, a round house was constructed within the newly formed enclosure;[1] this was replaced and partially eclipsed in period II by another. In period III a rectangular building with a rounded end-wall (A on fig. 4.15) was constructed over the wasted remains of the two earlier round houses. This was replaced in period IV by two buildings (B, C) ranged to either side of a small yard. At this point the rampart-facing was robbed, the entrance to the enclosure was blocked and a portion of the enclosing bank on the south was removed to allow access from this side; further structures, including a probable smithing-shed, were constructed outwith the enclosure on its south side (Area III). In period V, the enclosure was remodelled and three new buildings (D,E,F) were constructed, each with an associated yard.

Round house 1 (6.9m in overall diameter) was represented solely by a portion of its wall-trench sealed by the collapse of the E rampart. Its successor (round house 2) was relatively complete on plan (7.6m in overall diameter) and had a drip-gully concentric to its E wall, which like the first was probably timber-built. The interior was chordally divided and partially paved. There was no trace of a hearth, nor any for an inner post-ring; the walls were thus probably load-bearing. At the entrance on the W the wall-trench was significantly wider, which would suggest the use of more substantial timbers; this is easily explained at the weakest point of the superstructure but may also imply that the roof was pitched forward over the threshold to form a porch.

Building A was rectangular on plan (10m from NNW to SSE by 6m transversely overall). It truncated round house 1 and eclipsed the S arc of round house 2. On the SSE and ESE the wall-line was represented by a sickle-shaped trench which was compacted with mottled grey clay (plate 4.7). The interior was paved (the slabs probably in reuse from round-house 1). To the NNW and ENE, however, the paving was so fragmentary that the line of the NNW end-wall could only be surmised.[2] The walls, probably stave-built, were raised on sill-beams set in definable though shallow wall-trenches; that on the ENE in part probably overlay the chordal paving of round house 2. An extension to this paving suggests that the entrance was probably at the WNW end of the NNW end-wall; this would correspond with two postholes possibly for a door-frame 1.6m wide. The rounded end-wall was probably post-built (post-impressions were found within the accompanying wall-trench). To the interior and central to the rounded wall, there was a rectangular slab-built plinth (3m by 1.8m) of indeterminate function but which seems intentionally to have been marginally raised above the general floor-level. Although no finds were recovered from Building A, fragments of two glass bangles were securely stratified on the internal paving at its NW angle. These provide a notional *terminus ante quem* probably not later than the first quarter of the second century AD.

Building B (5.5m from ENE to WSW by 3m trasversely overall) was superimposed on the NNW end of (A) and was set end-on to the outer enclosing bank. The close-fit between the two buildings would suggest that the wall-lines of (A) were still visible and usable. Sleeper-beams once more seem to have been used and that on the SSW was apparent as a ghost within the rubble into which it had been embedded. To the interior the rafted rubble was uncompacted which probably points to the use of a planked floor. In the absence of an intervening soil-layer separating the two buildings it is possible that both are close in date. Part of a beehive quern, the segment of a glass bangle and an iron object were recovered from the make-up of the floor.

Building C, 8.8m to the SSE and parallel to (B), measures 6.4m from ENE to WSW by 3.8m transversely overall. Sleeper-beams (up to 0.5m thick) seem to have been set directly on the paving of the house floor. The entrance was probably at the WSW end of the SSE long-wall where the presence of two post-sockets suggest the position of the door-frame. The upper stone from a rotary quern, which is distinguished by its provision of a raised hopper and a vertical handle socket, was found in reuse in the paving of the house floor (plate 2.12); part of a blue glass bead decorated with a yellow trail was found in a gap between the paving. The quern is considered to be of a type which could be of Dark Age date (Welfare, A pers. commun., 1988; Cool, forthcoming; see also this work p. 32).

Buildings D, E and F, though aligned differently (plate 4.8), may be close in date to (B) and (C); though (B) must have been abandoned, (C) could be contemporary. In view of their size it seems reasonable to interpret (D) as a dwelling and (E,F) as outbuildings. Building D (8.3m from WNW to ESE by 3.8m transversely over stone wall-footings 0.8m thick) partially overlies the area occupied by round house 2, incorporates some of its earlier structural elements, and in part cuts the aggregate spread of (B). Sleeper-beams may have been employed for the walls or else turf or forced earth. The floor consisted of a matrix of fine gravel compacted in brown clay. The building seems to have had opposed lateral entrances; the thresholds were paved and the door-frames secured in post-sockets 0.45m in diameter.

Buildings E and F were set *en echelon* to (D). Building E (5.6m by 3.4m internally), divided into two compartments by a partition-wall, appears to have been of sill-beam construction (the sills perhaps 0.4m thick). It was aligned with the end-wall of (D) and was connected to it by a wall reduced to a rubble spread 1.2m thick and 0.3m high; a second wall, extending from the WSW angle of (E), was not fully defined but the purpose of these walls would seem to have been to define a series of discrete yard areas. A tongue of paving central to the SSW end-wall of (E) may indicate the position of the entrance-doorway; the interior was also paved.

The structure of Building F (3.7m by 2.7m overall) is indeterminate. No trace of its walls was found though sill-beams may have been used. A plank trench (1.8m long, 0.1m wide) suggests the presence on the SE of an internal cladding wall which would perhaps indicate that the structure was in part turf-built. An entrance-doorway (0.8m wide) central to the SSW end-wall is suggested by a tongue of paving immediately to the exterior. To the interior the scale of the paving is impressive and composed entirely of sandstone flags which were close-set. A void within the paving (1.5m by 1m) may be a stance or soakaway, while a

relatively stone-free area to the E of (F) could indicate the provision of an outshot. No finds were recovered from either of the three buildings.

(iv) AREA III In December 1979 an area (12.5m by 15.5m) was deturfed on the S side of the D-shaped enclosure revealing a complex of structural remains (plate 4.9). These may be divided into three periods. Period 1 accounts for a pre-rampart structure which, though severely wasted, may be a round house. In period 2, phase I, the outer E rampart was constructed with material extracted principally from the outer ditch and in phase II the line of the enclosure to the interior of the site was formally defined; the entrance was on the W (the bank terminals were consolidated with coursed drystone masonry, the entrance-passage was flagged and closed midway by a gate). In period 3 (contemporary probably with the inception of buildings B and C to the interior of the enclosure) the entrance-passage was blocked, a portion of the S bank was removed, together with a section of the outer rampart, so as to allow access from this side, and the ditch was infilled to provide a causeway to the site exterior. Facing stones and wall-core were robbed from the outer rampart and the inner enclosing bank. On the S, the vestiges of the rampart plinth, which was entirely of stone, were incorporated in the rear-wall of an open fronted shed (10.4m long by 2.2m wide). A central hearth composed entirely of fire-reddened stones, two pits (both clay-lined) and numerous fragments of scrap iron, including knife blades, suggest its probable use as a smithing shed. On the S side of Area III and end-on to the outer enclosing bank, were recovered the remains of a two-compartment building, again probably of sill-beam construction. Central to the S compartment there was a slab-lined pit of unknown function. The partition-wall was defined by a post-trench which contained the negative impressions of close-set timbers each about 0.3m in diameter. In the N compartment, a series of timber uprights had been held fast by substantial stone packing. A knife blade recovered from the area of the forge seems to be of diagnostic Dark Age type (see p. 86, fig. 4.10).

THE DATING EVIDENCE REVIEWED

With the exception of the two-compartment building noted above, all the others are demonstrably later than the site's stone-walled round houses. A level of continuity seems likely and in the D-shaped enclosure there is obviously some chronological depth to the later buildings. Finds almost exclusive to these buildings include fragments of two beehive querns, a rotary quern with raised hopper, and fragments of Roman glass. Notionally these suggest a *terminus post quem* probably not later than the first quarter of the second century AD and a *terminus ante quem* for Building A in the D-shaped enclosure. A radiocarbon date of 420±65 bp (AD 1405-1555) provides a *terminus ante quem* for period 5 in the D-shaped enclosure. The significance of the glass fragments, potentially the most closely datable finds

from the Dod and present in surprisingly large quantities for a native site (Guido, M pers. commun., 1983) may, however be misleading (see Stevenson, forthcoming).

The glass is unlikely to be residual to the phase of activity accompanying the stone-walled round houses; a case in point is the splinter of pale blue glass recovered from a layer post-dating the collapse of the stone-walled round house in Area VI. It may have been brought to the site in the second century, or possibly much later as attractive unweathering fragments, or else at the end of the first century as novelties; Stevenson suggests that the glass could have been picked up from the annexes at Newstead sometime after the fort was abandoned. The glass may thus have formed part of a cache.

If a cache, it is conceivable that it may have been secreted in one or other of the site's earlier structures, and possibly one not identified within the areas excavated, the collapse and robbing of which, at any date, would result in the dispersal of its contents. In whatever context the glass was found it would clearly be residual and of no value for dating purposes. A certain similarity in the foundation matrix for a number of the later buildings might lend weight to the possibility that the materials were drawn from a common source (i.e. that within which the cache was contained); this would include the rectangular buildings in Areas VI, XVII and Building B in the D-shaped enclosure. Nevertheless, the quarry source for each seems readily apparent: in Area VI the source was probably the wall-core of the preceding stone-walled round house; in Area XVII materials were probably derived from a neighbouring hut, and in the D-shaped enclosure the aggregate used to consolidate the bank-terminals flanking the entrance may have been quarried for reuse. On this basis the association of the glass with the later buildings seems more likely to be a product of loss in the course of construction or use. In the D-shaped enclosure we may allow for some residual deposition in view of the remodelling of earlier surfaces and it is possible that some of the buildings provide the context for sherds of late twelfth- and thirteenth-century pottery which were recovered from a nearby midden (Haggerty, G pers. commun., 1987).

Following from this appraisal, an attempt can be made to reconcile the structural sequence for the later buildings by phase. The buildings can be assigned to three respective periods. To period 1 belong the subrectangular building in Area XVII and Building A in the D-shaped enclosure. Both are probably close in date to the stone-walled round houses and need not be much later than the first quarter of the second century AD; Building (A), however, may be the earlier of the two as it appears to predate the currency of Roman glass at the Dod. Alternatively, if one accepts that the glass arrived only much later, one might open up the chronology and accept that both are sub-Roman. If this was so, activity accompanying these buildings could provide the context for the rotary quern in reuse in Building C for

which a date in the Early Historic period is possible. Both buildings are of sill-beam construction and have in common paved floors and an entrance-doorway off-centre in their end-walls.

To period 2 belong the rectangular building in Area VI, which partially eclipsed the remains of a stone-walled round house with a *terminus ante quem* provided by a splinter of Roman glass, and (B) and (C) in the D-shaped enclosure for which a *terminus post quem* is provided by three glass bangle fragments and the rotary quern note above. All three buildings were of sill-beam construction and each has an entrance off-centre to a side-wall and a length/breadth ratio of 2:1 or less. The largest building is that in Area VI ($28m^2$); the smallest (B) with an area of $17.3m^2$. With the exception of (C), whose floor was paved, the others seem to have had planked-floors.

Period 3 comprises Buildings D, E and F, and probably also the building and smithing shed in Area III. Together they reflect a versatility in building style, method of construction and preferred alignment. The use of sill-beams is a possibility, though (D) and (E) may have had walls wholly or partly turf-built. Building E and that in Area III are noteworthy as both are internally divided and have entrance-doorways in their end-walls. Building D is noteworthy for its size ($26m^2$) and provision of opposed lateral entrances, though larger buildings were extant in periods 1 and 2 (Building A, $42m^2$, and that in Area VI, $28m^2$).

FUNCTION AND PARALLELS FOR THE DOD BUILDINGS

Parallels for the Dod buildings can be drawn, notably with sites in Northumberland and Cumbria. Nevertheless, one must bear in mind that in terms of site morphology, situation and development the Dod may be exceptional and could owe more to the presence of a select group of sites with a limited distribution spanning the head-waters of upper Teviotdale (see pp. 180-1). In the absence of hearths it is difficult to deduce function, though some of the buildings must be dwellings; high phosphate levels in Building F suggest that livestock may have been housed indoors. The use of sill-walls is paralleled in the Flavian barracks at Newstead (Breeze 1979a, 49), but their use at the Dod may owe more to vernacular building practice; a tradition which may be reflected in the timber predecessors for a number of Romano-British settlements (e.g. Marden, Burradon and Coxhoe). At the Dod, the use of timber and stone in a composite build is a characteristic of the site; it is evident in a number of the later round houses and is well illustrated by the form of the souterrain which may even

have been crucked (for other buildings in the region possibly employing crucks see pp. 130-2, 157-60).

In Cumbria, as possibly in other areas where stone was inaccessible and cultivation soils comparitively stone-free, the use of timber as a principal component in house construction was retained into the post-Roman period. At Silloth Farm (Higham and Jones 1983; Higham 1986, 196), within a rectilinear ditched enclosure, there were recovered traces of a squat oblong or oval hut (with an outshot on the N) measuring roughly 4.5m in internal diameter. Associated coarse pottery suggested occupation in the third and possibly fourth century. At Penrith Farm (Higham and Jones 1983), within a suboval ditched enclosure, there were a series of rectangular buildings which had been constructed over the levelled remains of a round house and yard (phase I); pottery accompanying this earlier phase (including samian) suggested occupation from about AD 100 to the late second century. Coarse pottery associated with the later buildings (phase II) suggest that they were occupied in the third century and, in the case of Building A, in the fourth century. These, unlike those at the Dod, appear to have been flimsy stake-built structures (compacted with wattle and daub) with few substantial posts. The problem of dating the transition from round to rectangular plan types at Penrith Farm is comparable to that experienced at the Dod. At Penrith farm it was neither possible, on the pottery alone, to date the period of transition, nor, in view of the timespan involved, to demonstrate a hiatus in the occupation of the site, though the intervening period seems to have been brief (Higham and Jones 1983, 53). The transition would certainly seem to have been accomplished by the third century and this too may be the case at the Dod. The size of the buildings also bears comparison, although this may be spurious. The building at Silloth Farm (20.25m^2) compares with Dod (E), also of two compartments and with an internal area of 19.04m^2. Building B at Penrith Farm measured 6.5m by 4.5m internally (29.25m^2) and may be compared with the later building in Area VI at the Dod (28m^2).

A point of some importance to emerge from the Dod excavation is the presence there of timber-framed buildings whose pedigree pre-dates this same tradition on the Anglian palace sites and on other rural settlements in north Britain (see also pp. 227-31). The earliest post-Roman structures at Yeavering were rectangular on plan, post-built and associated with native coarse pottery, and appear to pre-date the threshold of Anglian artefact evidence (Hope-Taylor 1977, 209). Given that they ought to belong at the outside to the first half of the sixth century, it is difficult to believe, as Higham notes (1986, 247), that these forms were derived from Anglo-Saxon architectural traditions. In fact, it seems more likely that they evolved from existing plan-types rooted in a native vernacular tradition, for which the Dod

buildings, as too those from Traprain (see pp. 120-33, 157-61) and the late sixth-century hall at Doon Hill, Dunbar (Hope-Taylor 1966b), do perhaps provide the most visible evidence.

With reference to the later buildings at the Dod the term 'timber-framed' is strictly applied, implying a fully-framed structure, the strength of which lay in its inherent stability rather than in the depth or size of its foundation, postholes or wall-trenches.[3] The use of sill-beams is indicated by the presence of continuous or interrupted slots; it is assumed that horizontal beams were embedded with the slots, on or into which the walls were erected. At Tamworth (Rhatz and Sheridan 1971) the posts were mortiсed into the sill-beams, giving a stability greater than that which could be achieved through the use of postholes or post-in-trench construction. At the Dod, as also at Waltham Abbey (Wilson *et al* 1970; 1971), the timber superstructure seems in certain cases to have been set directly on prepared foundations or slab-footings, for example, (A) and (C) in the D-shaped enclosure and the buildings in Areas VI and XVII. The use of rubble foundation rafts as in the case of Area VI and Building B is paralleled in Roman contexts at Latimer Roman villa (Branigan 1971) and in late Roman and post-Roman contexts at Wroxeter (Frere 1966, 94-5; Barker 1969, 228-33; 1971), St Albans (*J Roman Stud.*, 1960, 227; Frere 1966, 97-8) and Catterick (*J Roman Stud.*, 1960, 217-18; Frere 1966, 96-7). The use of stone for dwarf-walls, floor posts and post-pads, techniques evident at the Dod, are paralleled at Salmonby, Lincolnshire (*Lincs. Archit. Archaeol. Rep.*, 8[1959-60], 20-22), Great Dumnow, Essex (Webster 1972, 152-3; 1973, 140) and Catterick, and as a revetment for turf-walls at Hound Tor, Devon (Wilson 1963, 341-3). Buildings comparable to those at the Dod have also been identified at Whithorn (period I, *c.*AD 400-700), for which radiocarbon dates of AD 230-490 and AD 470-600 have been obtained; accompanying finds include sherds of Eastern Mediterranean amphorae (Bi ware) thought to date to between AD 470 and 600 (Hill 1987, 1-5).

If the Dod buildings, with their structural repertoire of sill-beams, dwarf-walls and post-pads, are representative of a vernacular tradition which spanned the uplands in the late and post-Roman periods, this may go some way towards accounting for the difficulty of recognizing rural settlement types of the Early Historic period by fieldwork alone. Prior to excavation, none of the later buildings at the Dod were visible as surface features. One would anticipate that this problem is likely to remain, except perhaps for sites where the buildings are terraced into the slopes, or where the settlements are enclosed and where deviations in the line of the enclosure, internal subdivision, or the presence of drip-gullies or drainage-hoods, may allude to their presence. But here the difficulty will be in distinguishing such buildings from those of the medieval period, the identification of which is itself a problem without a thorough appraisal of the pre-Improvement landscape as has, for example, been undertaken by RCAMS in Eskdale (Corser 1982) and more recently in north-eastern Perthshire (RCAMS

1990). Excavation is also needed, both at a sampling level and more extensively on the widest possible number of sites where chronological depth is anticipated (for an excavated Romano-British settlement in the Manor Valley where reuse seems likely see pp. 379-80).

THE CRAB-CLAW ENCLOSURES - A POSSIBLE TYPE-FOSSIL FOR THE POST-ROMAN PERIOD

From such ephemeral structures as those defined at the Dod the case for continuity in the uplands must largely rest. Nevertheless, one distinctive site-type can be defined that may also extend to the post-Roman period. Sites of this type are characterized by the homesteads at Crock Cleugh and by the form of their enclosure which on plan may be likened to a crab's claw (fig. 4.16), hence crab-claw enclosure; a term I coin and favour in preference to a generic site-name or recourse to the more usual 'homestead' which can cover a multitude of site types and which in north-western Perthshire is currently being employed in place of the term 'ringfort' (Taylor, D pers. commun., 1989). The manner in which the enclosure walls are constructed, using orthostats and slab-pinnings in a masonry build, is distinctive and is paralleled on a number of post-Roman sites in southern Scotland (RCAMS 1956, 35). Sites of crab-claw type are principally found in the Cheviots and in Tweeddale (for the distribution and discussion see pp. 179-82). Finds recovered from Crock Cleugh (Steer and Keeney 1947) include sherds of native coarse pottery, an amber-coloured fragment of Roman glass from the paving of the hut floor (of late second- or early third-century date), and a bronze annular brooch with an iron pin, also from the hut floor, of a type frequently found in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, possibly of fifth- or sixth-century date.

The crab-claw enclosure at Hownam Rings (fig. 4.17) (plate 4.10), containing as is usual a single round house and hollowed yard, is ascribed by Piggott (1948) to phase IVB of the Hownam sequence. The enclosure overlies the denuded period III rampart and is later than a hut (area III, hut 1, phase IVA) which seems on the basis of accompanying finds to have been occupied in the third century. Finds recovered from the floor of the stone-walled round house within the crab-claw enclosure include a large quantity of native pottery, a base sherd (possibly a copy of a Roman form), fragments of a glass armlet (probably second century), and a sherd which Piggott suggested may be of fifth- or sixth-century date. The evidence thus seems to concur with that from Crock Cleugh.

The longevity of the Crock Cleugh type site has often been supported by reference to Cuthbert's hermitage on Farne (Richmond 1941, 88-9; Cramp, 1980b, 4), but Bede is not explicit (*'mansionem angustem circumuallante aggere et domus in ea necessarias... id est oratorium et habitaculum commune'*, HE iv.28, Colgrave and Mynors

1969, 436) and the presence of at least one rectangular building (the guest house) seems likely.[4] The form of the wall enclosing the hermitage, *'Est autem aedificium situ pene rotundum, a muro usque ad murum mensura quattuor ferme siue quinque perticarum distentum, murus ipse de foris altior longitudine stantis hominis'* (*Prose Life*, xvii; Colgrave 1940, 216), which seems to have been roughly 25m in internal diameter, may more reflect the influence of eremitic and cashel sites of the Celtic north and west (Colgrave 1940, 325-6). But on the testimony of the *Anonymous Life* (iii.1) the form of Cuthbert's cell seems more firmly rooted with the native vernacular tradition. It was probably round, with a dwarf-wall of stone (about 0.4m high) with a compacted earth core (*terra commixtis*), the interior was dug out to a depth of about 0.4m, perhaps to provide additional head-room, and the structure was roofed (*de lignis informibus et foeno*) with rough-hewn timber and straw (*Anon. Life,* iii.1; *Prose Life* xvii). Stones of considerable size (*cum lapidibus incredibilis*) had been used to form the wall of the cell and this contrasts with the technique employed for the enclosure wall which was *'non de secto lapide uel lateere et cemento, sed impolitis prorsus lapidibus et cespite quem de medio loci fodiendo tulerat composuit'* ('not of cut stone, nor of bricks and mortar, but just unworked stone and turf': op. cit., xvii; Colgrave 1940, 216-17). Parallels for the first might be drawn with the masonry technique employed at Crock Cleugh and, for the latter, with the post-souterrain buildings at Ardestie (see pp. 140-1), the Phase One buildings at Traprain (pp. 121-7), as too the longhouses of Phase Two (pp. 157-9), and the form of the Cruden Wall (pp. 136-7).

CONTINUITY IN THE LOWLANDS: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CHANGE

In the past it has been customary to suggest that with the abandonment of the uplands in the second and third centuries AD these areas remained waste until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when increasing pressure once more brought them back into the sphere of a shieling economy (cf. Jobey 1977, 32-4; Barrow 1973, 261-2). This view is at variance with the pollen evidence; that from the Dod (Shennan and Innes 1986), for instance, indicates increased clearance activity within the context of a progressively deforested landscape; a picture which seems to be borne out by other pollen diagrams from north Britain (Cramp 1983a, 277). Although continuity at least on some upland sites seems likely, one should perhaps envisage some restructuring of the landscape in the Romano-British period to account for this perceived period of change. Here I offer one possible hypothesis, the tenets of which may be susceptible to excavation.

One may assume that when change took place it was initiated not in the uplands but in the lowlands and there principally reflected the interests of the major regional centres.

This, if it is accepted, presents a problem for the physical structure of the landscape has undoubtedly left us with an unrepresentative picture of the pattern of rural settlement (cf. Darvill 1987). While there is every reason to believe that the distribution of upland settlement reflects the highland aspect with a degree of precision, we are left to infer a complementary lowland settlement pattern which remains largely undiscovered.

In identifying the regional lowland centres the Roman forts provide a possible key, for they seem to pin-point the importance of the *oppida*: North Eildon in respect to Newstead; Lyne to White Meldon and possibly Cademuir (see p. 379), and the Dunion in relation to Cappuck (see p. 75). By the second century, it is possible that the *élite* among the native population, perhaps no-longer resident in the *oppida* but settled close by (see p. 62, there is a late fourth-century radiocarbon date from North Eildon [Owen, O pers. commun., 1988] so the hill may still have been occupied well on into the post-Roman period; and for the development of Traprain see pp. 137-9, 148-51, 165-7), may have found themselves well placed to serve as middlemen in the redirection of bulk produce to the Roman garrisons; these same people perhaps stood most to gain from these transactions, for in return for their services, and possibly payment, they could have found the wherewithal to increase their prestige and control over the native population (see pp. 74-8).

Out of a requirement to promote and redirect an agricultural surplus to meet the requirements of the Roman market, we perhaps have the pretext for the abandonment of many upland sites. The surfeit population, we may assume, were encouraged to settle in an intensive development of the potentially richer lowland soils. This may be reflected in the distribution of the southern souterrains (Welfare 1984) and the character of the Sprouston field-system (p. 68), while in the uplands an increased agricultural specialism seems to be reflected on sites such as that at Tamshiel Rig (see pp. 182-3). By the third century, with the lowlands opened up and perhaps more intensively settled than before, a drift back to the uplands may have been averted and abandonment of many more upland estates may have followed. This would be in keeping with the archaeological evidence. The retention of the native population in the lowlands in the second and third centuries may provide the basis for the emergence of the hamlets, villages, fermtouns and farms that characterize the medieval landscape (see also Leech 1980, 340). While the lesser categories of settlement may, from time to time, have migrated within the boundaries of their fields and commons, the regional centres perhaps proved more enduring.

One reason for this may have been the emergence of some *oppida* and hillforts as ceremonial or cult centres (cf. Drury 1980, 57; Rodwell 1980a, 233; Hill 1987b); a function perhaps translated to their neighbouring lowland centres. This might be inferred from the

presence of undespoiled burial cairns within hillfort defences (e.g. White Meldon, RCAMS 1967, p. 59, No. 67), which perhaps reflects a continuing veneration for the dead and respect for sacred places, particularly in those cases where the scale of the cairn dominates the area enclosed. At Knockjargon, Ayrshire (NS 2354 4729), for instance, a cairn 15.24m in diameter is encompassed by the hillfort defences. Coincidence needs to be ruled out but, unless the hillforts are earlier or the cairns much later, the association would seem to be real and to have been respected by the hillfort builders (*see* plates 2.6, 2.7). Some hillforts are also clearly preceded by enclosures, probably Neolithic, which could have fulfilled a ritual function. Others, including that on Hamildean Hill, Peeblesshire (RCAMS 1967, pp. 118-19, No. 283) (plate 4.11), seem to have been located with specific reference to earlier ritual enclosures nearby, in this case probably the one at Meldon Bridge (Burgess 1976, 172). To these might be added a number of the apparently unfinished hillforts (cf. RCAMS 1967, 28); to take Hamildean Hill again, this site may have evolved from a Neolithic enclosure and the 'marker trenches' might reasonably be interpreted as the remains of a free-standing palisade (Halliday, S pers. commun., 1988).

Continuity and the emergence of ceremonial or cult centres may have been adapted, under the influence of the early Church, as Christian foci, to be marked, in the first instance, by the raising of a high cross (Cramp 1983a, 277-8) and only much later by a timber- or stone-built church. In this context, the inclusion of Traprain (*Dunpelder*) in the list of churches founded about AD 500 by St Monenna (Skene 1886-90, ii, 37; this work p. 115) perhaps attains greater significance. It is possible that at first group-identity may have been more important than the activities accompanying a particular centre. The place-name Peebles (*Pobles c.*1124), Welsh *pebyll* 'tent, pavilion' (Nicolaisen 1979, 72) may be a case in point and the discovery there in 1261 of an important Early Christian memorial (see pp. 295-6) perhaps illustrates its pre-eminence in the post-Roman period as a focus for the Christian community in Tweeddale.

The parallel development of cult centres elsewhere in Scotland is well illustrated by Isle Maree, Wester Ross, a site I visited in 1988. Here an island apparently dedicated to the Celtic god Mourie was later sanctified by St Maelrubha of Applecross. The wasted remains of a cell or oratory were noted by Pennant (1790, 303) within the circular burial-enclosure which occupies the highest point of the island; here too there are a number of Early Christian cross-slabs, a holy well and a sacred grove (including a tree studded with metal). The records of the presbytery of Dingwall relate how, as late as 1858, recourse to the island was still made by those seeking a cure for lunacy; the propitiating rites, it is said, included even in the late nineteenth century the sacrifice of bulls (Mitchell 1862, 251-8; Dixon 1886, 150-8). Stewart too, in his assessment of Highland settlement in the parish of Balquidder,

has drawn attention to what seems to be another Christianized cult centre accompanying the Kirkton of Balquidder with its pre-Christian tradition of *Tom nan Aingeal*, 'hill of the sacred fires', where until quite recently Beltane festivals were still observed (1976, 7).

The association of fairs with festivals and holy days may have accompanied the economic growth of a number of regional lowland centres (cf. Owen 1981, 161; Hodges 1982, 16). Yeavering (Hope-Taylor 1977), with its religious centre, market place and provision for regional assembly could provide a useful model of wider application. The site had long been a centre of ritual importance. A Bronze Age barrow, supporting an earth-fast post (possibly a reference marker inserted later), stood on the eastern periphery of the site. At the western edge, a knoll had been used for cremations in the second millennium BC. A standing stone and stone circle stood nearby and were subsequently replaced by a radially arranged inhumation cemetery contained by a wooden enclosure. The Anglian settlement seems to have been orientated in respect to these earlier features. Buildings were aligned with reference to the post on the barrow, and the barrow itself became a focus for a Christian burial-ground. Close to the western knoll, already sanctified by two phases of burials, a heathen temple was erected, and to the south the Great Enclosure. Close by, there are a number of possible *grubenhäuser*, akin to those identified at Milfield (Riley *et al* 1985, 10-11; Gates and O'Brien 1988) and Sprouston (Smith 1983b, 28-31; this work pp. 225-7); impermanent structures, no doubt erected for a specific purpose and later demolished.

In the post-Roman period, it is possible that greater reliance was placed on mobile field armies, such as that hosted in Gododdin (Jackson 1969; this work p. 337), rather than on defensible places, though there are, of course, some native sites which do appear to have been refortified at this time (RCAMS 1956, 35; 1967, 35-6; Alcock 1980a; 1986; this work pp. 194-201). The buildings of a social *élite*, whether or not they were accompanied by a fortified position, would probably have been of timber and thus may not be readily distinguishable (but see also p. 129). This may also be so if rank and status were foremost reflected in the accumulation of wealth and display items; this is one possible interpretation for the *cingulum* from Traprain Law (Alcock 1979, 135; this work p. 113), and Cunedda too, we are told, wore the *crys*, a ceremonial belt or diadem (Shaw 1973, 43). Nevertheless, the internal ordering and layout of these key regional centres may have followed certain guidelines and achieved a measure of sophistication (cf. Millett with James 1983a; James, Marshall and Millett 1984; Cramp 1983a, 274-6); this certainly seems to have been the case at Traprain (pp. 133-5, 155-7).

If Yeavering is taken as a model, it is possible that other major regional centres may be denoted by the presence of a large twin- or triple-palisaded enclosure. This may, for example, be the case at Sprouston (pp. 224-5) and Hogbridge (RCAMS 1967, pp. 7, 78, No. 201; Alcock 1979, 134), as this seems to have been a common arrangement akin to both secular and religious sites, since the temple Bede describes at *Godmundingaham*, near York, also had enclosures (HE xi.13).[5] Other key centres in the Tweed Valley probably include Kelso (see pp. 280-4), Peebles (pp. 294-7), Melrose (pp. 201-2, 241) and Jedburgh (pp. 198-9); these are considered more fully later in respect to the development of the region in the Early Historic period.

If one accepts that evidence for continuity must principally be recovered from the lowlands, this, in terms of an archaeological strategy, must be translated into the redirection of resources to the regional lowland centres. The way forward is highlighted by Hope-Taylor's work at Yeavering and Professor Cramp's at the Hirsel (Cramp and Douglas Home 1978; 1980c, and following); both sites being viewed in their widest possible context. The policy needs to be one of maximizing the returns from archaeological coincidence, that is to say, sites where there is some likelihood of chronological depth need to be identified and explored to the full. It is not sufficient, for instance, to excavate Jedburgh Abbey without reference to what may have preceded it; the lesson surely of the excavations at Castle Rock, Edinburgh (see pp. 151-3, 239). This though is the policy adopted by RCAMS in respect to air-photography and holds perhaps the most vital key to unravelling the nature of pre-Improvement rural settlement (Maxwell, G pers. commun., 1986).

We should also bear in mind that while the pattern of upland abandonment in the third century may be a coefficient of lowland improvement in the second, the pattern need not be repeated across the region as a whole. In the Manor Valley, Peeblesshire, for instance, it seems likely that settlement may have been more conservative to change and perhaps more enduring, and continuity here, at the level of individual farms, does seem to be reflected in the estate framework of the fourteenth century and later (see pp. 384-91). Excavation thus needs to be set wherever possible in the context of specific case studies, with the aim of identifying the widest possible landscape trends, which ultimately will perhaps allow us to frame a reasonable overview and sustain a case for continuity.

(I) SIX ROUND-ENDED BUILDINGS FROM NORTH BRITAIN; A CONSIDERATION OF THEIR DATE, FUNCTION AND POSSIBLE PARALLELS

In my appraisal of the later buildings from the Dod, I have suggested that associated

fragments of Roman glass provide a possible *terminus post quem* of the second century AD and that two buildings (that in Area XVII and [A] in the D-shaped enclosure) could span the Early Historic period, providing a context for a rotary quern of unusual type, found in reuse in Building C, which may be of this period. Parallels for the rectangular buildings have been proposed except for (A) which is distinguished by its rounded end-wall. This building is now considered with five others from northern Britain, and the hypothesis to be examined is whether these buildings could have fulfilled a role as Late Roman churches. Naturally, this raises the question of the degree to which Christianity may have taken hold in the region in the fourth and fifth centuries; a problem which is obviously crucial to the degree of continuity that may be envisaged in the post-Roman period.

(a) The Buildings

(i,ii,iii) In 1936 Wheeler drew attention to three buildings associated with the hut-settlements at Ewe Close, Cow Green and Glencoyndale (RCAM[E] 1936, pp. xlvi-vii). Each is rectangular on plan, aligned east-west, has a rounded end-wall and an entrance off-centre in the opposite end-wall. That at Glencoyndale (divided into two compartments by an inserted cross-wall) has, in common with the building at Cow Green, an outshot or porch at its west end. Excavations by Collingwood (1933) at Ewe Close and Cow Green, Crosby Ravensworth, demonstrated that both were similar in size; about 10m from east to west by 5.5m transversely over stone walls (incorporating granite orthostats) up to 1.1m thick. The partially enclosed settlements, to which these buildings are attached, seem to represent a specialized distribution akin to a group of parishes on the limestone fells in Cumbria; in this area there are also a number of enclosed settlements. At Crosby Ravensworth (RCAM[E] 1936, pp. 87-8, No. 31), to take one example, twelve stone-walled round houses are associated with small rectilinear enclosures similar in form and probable function to those elsewhere (Higham 1986, 192). In the Cheviots, sites of this type, which need not have evolved from an original enclosed nucleus, may be of Romano-British or sub-Roman origin (Type 3 in my reclassification, see pp. 182-3). Other examples include those in Upper Redesdale at Barracker Knowe and Farney Clough (Charlton and Day 1978). On the basis of fieldwork in Cumbria, Tom Clare believes it likely that the later buildings, to which attention has been drawn, are probably post-Roman, though as a type he favours the use of the term 'D-ended' (pers. commun., 1989).

(iv) At Huckhoe (Jobey 1959; see also this work pp. 85-6), a round-ended building of much the same size (10.4m from NNW to SSE by 6.6m transversely overall) overlies the levelled remains of a stone-walled round house; the entrance, approached by two shallow rock-cut steps, was at the east end of the north wall. A coin of AD 119, conceivably lost in the process of levelling (though it may be no more than a stray find), was sealed by the

aggregate of the building platform. Pottery accompanying the round house suggests that it may have been occupied in the mid to late second century, although its precise life-span could not be determined (Jobey 1959, 235, 240). Fragments from the rim of a jar (op. cit., catalogue no. 13), possibly of early fourth-century date, however, were sealed by the east wall of the round-ended building and provide a *terminus post quem* for it. Sherds of late fourth-century Romano-British coarse pottery were also recovered from the surface of the earth-and-rubble extension levelled over the remains of the earlier house (op. cit. 248).

(v) Building (A) at the Dod (10m by 6m overall), though of sill-beam and post-in-trench construction, is not dissimilar to those noted above. It has an entrance off-centre in its end-wall, the interior was paved and coaxial with the opposed rounded end-wall there was a rectangular plinth which was marginally raised above the general floor level (plate 4.12); for the dating parameters of this building see pp. 92-3.

(vi) In my reappraisal of the latest levels from Traprain (see pp. 158-9) I have identified another round-ended building which, though much larger, is not unlike (i-v) above. I ascribe it to phase two (Building IV, late fourth-, possibly early fifth-century in date). It occupies the north side of the main square, the focal point for the building complex on the western shelf, and its remains were identified by Cree and Curle (1922) in Areas M and Ha; the building also figures on Hogg's 1951 reconstruction (210, fig. 53), but he unduly shortened it. In this he may have been influenced by the size of the accompanying buildings (principally those of phase one, mid third to mid fourth century). Hogg drew no distinction in the phasing of the latest levels, though chronological depth is apparent even in his own reconstruction. However, by superimposing the published excavation plans, it is clear that (IV) overlies the wasted remains of two earlier buildings (fig. 5.4, phase one, II and IV) whose hearths misleadingly appear on Hogg's plan. The rounded end-wall of (IV) (missed by Hogg, who adopted the end-wall of IV's predecessor) was recovered in Area Ha/G (Curle 1920, 56, fig. 1) and consisted of a faced stone wall. The entrance was off-centre in the opposed end-wall and opened to a porch and from there to the public square, or, in the context of phase two, the principal forecourt. Coins of Constantine Junior, Valentinian and Arcadius provide a *terminus ante quem* for (IV) of about AD 400. If the Traprain hoard has any bearing on (IV), coins accompanying it might extend its period of use to the early fifth century (Valens, AD 364-78; Valentinian II, 375-92 and Honorius 395-423).

Alongside other plan forms current in the Romano-British period, the round-ended buildings seem to represent a rather specialized development. At Traprain the contrast is particularly marked in relation to the phase one buildings (pp. 120-35), though these too are unlike other Romano-British types and in resolution of this problem I have looked north

of the Forth for parallels (pp. 139-45). Hill, on the other hand, accounts for the differences by reference to the status of the site (the curia of the Votadini, although this is perhaps misleading (see p. 136). As a class, the round-ended buildings might point to a specific function common to the settlements on which they are found to which they were tailor-made. In the absence of hearths one might deduce that they were not dwellings, although a domestic fire could conceivably have been contained in a brazier, which need leave no trace, as in some late vernacular buildings of the pre-Improvement period (Walker, B pers. commun., 1989), but at Traprain where hearths proliferate the absence would seem to be real. If not domestic they could perhaps have fulfilled a function as public buildings for which a variety of roles might be envisaged ranging from ceremony, ritual or religious use, or simply public halls, though the size of all but one of the buildings suggests that this is the least likely of the options. If churches, then one might interpret the provision of a rounded end-wall as an apse, the porch a narthex, and conceivably the plinth co-axial with the rounded end-wall of Dod (A) as the plinth for an altar. Round-ended buildings, however, are not exclusive to the native domain. An apse-ended building formed of diamond-brooched ashlar was recently discovered at Easter Langlee, close to the Roman fort at Newstead, though it was destroyed by quarrying before an accurate record could be made and thus its precise form needs to be received with caution (Ritchie, JG pers. commun., 1989); a parallel might be drawn with the apsed ?*martyrium* at Butt Road, Colchester (fourth- to fifth-century date: Crummy 1980, 264-6, 274).

If the round-ended buildings are churches, assuming that Christianity had taken root among the northern Britons, it begs the question, why have such buildings not previously been discovered? One might speculate that if they did exist their form may not be readily susceptible to archaeological definition; flimsy wooden affairs, perhaps, of the type noted by Bede (HE ii. 14; see also Henderson 1967, 69). Possibly, they are deeply stratified beneath later buildings, more likely than not stone-built churches themselves susceptible to replacement more than once not least in the post-Reformation period (cf. Manor Church pp. 355-6, 410, no. 76). It is also possible that our failure to recognize early church buildings in the north may owe more to the emphasis placed on the attributive elements of burials, grave-markers and the presence of a burial-enclosure; absence of evidence thus need not necessarily be evidence of absence. Clearly, however, there should be something, a detached fragment, for example, from a Chi-Rho monogram, or else from an Early Christian memorial. Nevertheless, one should perhaps bear in mind the possible implications of the Traprain hoard, the Ednam Bell and the vallum at Old Melrose as indicative of some level of Christian activity in the region in the post-Roman period.

In advancing an hypothesis that the round-ended buildings from North Britain are churches, I would have to subscribe to the view that they were not intimately connected with features readily identifiable as diagnostic of a church centre. It follows then that we would only have the buildings themselves to go by; their morphology, context and likely parallels, and for corroboration one must bear in mind the Eccles place-names and the documentary evidence. Unfortunately, contemporary references to Late Roman churches are lacking (Thomas 1980, 129; 1981, 43) and a case thus has to be based on disparate evidence drawn from far afield and with it a consideration of the degree to which Christianity may have taken hold in North Britain in the post-Roman period. If the acceptance of Christianity was only notional, there is little hope that archaeology alone will provide an index of spiritual values still less faith (see also Green 1976, 118), but if more than this there is a chance that the tenets of my hypothesis can be supported, though proof may be another matter. Professor Thomas has well summarized the evidence for Christianity in northern Britain (1968; 1971; 1981; 1986) and here it will suffice to draw out only the most salient detail.

At the outset it should, I think, be understood that the context of the round-ended buildings from North Britain, if churches at all, lies not with the urban or estate churches of the southern Roman diocese, but with those of the Celtic West and ultimately with those of Anglian Bernicia; churches which, in common with secular buildings, may be judged to reflect an underlying degree of British influence. They are in the true sense vernacular: buildings constructed by local people, using local materials, in fulfilment of a local idiom. This dual architectural tradition is accredited by Bede (writing *c.*731),[6] who drew attention to buildings which he regarded as exceptional in a British milieu rather than the norm. Whithorn is a case in point for here, *Ad Candidam Casam*, in Bede's view about AD 400, a church was built by or for the British bishop *Nynia* (Ninian). This was of stone, the more remarkable because it was built in a manner to which the British were unaccustomed, *'Qui locus, ad provinciam Berniciorum pertinens, uulgo uocatur Ad Candidam Casam, eo quod ibi ecclesiam de lapide, insolito Brettonibus more, fecerit'* (HE iii.4; Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 222-3). By contrast with Ninian's church we have that built about AD 651 for Bishop Finan on Lindisfarne; a church more in keeping with Scottic tradition (*more Scottorum*), not of stone but of hewn oak (*robore secto*)... thatched with reed: *'Qui in insula Lindisfarnensi fecit ecclesiam episcopali sedi congruam, quam tamen more Scottorum non de lapide sed de robore secto totum conposuit atque harundine texit'* (HE iii. 25; Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 295; Smith 1990; this work p. 232).

Bede thus offers us two useful models, but stops short of revealing the significance of church buildings to the northern Britons. However, we must bear in mind that Bede is here referring specifically to episcopal churches; he says nothing of estate or

congregational churches and in certain districts these would perhaps have been more common. Fabric alone, however, is insufficient to distinguish a building tradition, still less a building type, for the use of stone as opposed to timber may only reflect the builders expertise in the use and handling of these materials. Proficiency in the use of timber and stone, either separately, or in a composite build, is a feature of later prehistory, no less than in the Romano-British period (see pp. 12-15, 63-4).

Discounting fabric, comparison can be made in terms of the plan and size of the buildings; an approach adopted by Thomas in determining the status of Late Roman churches in southern Britain (1981, 186-91). In the North, one would expect the closest analogies to lie with other British churches and with those of Ireland. This is important since, even allowing for the introduction of Christianity from the more Romanized parts of the province, the round-ended buildings from northern Britain must bear comparison with the milieu to which they properly belong and as models, if not the direct antecedents for the earliest churches of either timber or stone of the post-Roman period; a subject upon which the documentary sources cast some light (see, for example, Gildas DEB 3.12; 66.1; Bede HE i.7; i.20; i.26; i.33; ii.14). Buildings which do not bear such close comparison would require special pleading if still to be accepted as churches and, while this might be admissible in the context of Traprain (whose status at all times seems reasonably assured), it may be inappropriate for the other round-ended buildings.

For size, comparison can be made with a number of Irish churches, though many of these, like the oratory at Gallarus (Harbison 1970), are much later in date (possibly eleventh or twelfth century; Lowe, C pers. commun., 1989). Most are single-celled and rectangular on plan,[7] measuring on average 4.5m long by 3m wide internally, and these are often associated with enclosed cemeteries (Thomas 1971, 48-90; 1981, 150; Hamlin 1984). Leask (1955-60, i, 5-9, 43-7) has further set out the evidence, on art historical grounds, for timber precursors, or at least models, for these churches, oratories or *martyria* (see Thomas 1980, 139), and it is with these that comparison needs to be made. Features peculiar to these small Irish churches are a width-to-length ratio of 2:3 (Thomas suggests that this may have arisen from the application of older secular rule-of-thumb markings of initial layouts), and a preference for placing the entrance in the west gable in order to avoid weakening the structure of the longer side-walls (Thomas 1981, 150). The six round-ended buildings have these features in common. Simple post-built structures of this type have been identified at Church Island, Co Kerry (O'Kelly 1958), Carnsore, Co Wexford (O'Kelly 1975), for which there is a radiocarbon date of AD 660, and at Ardwall Isle, Kirkcudbright (Phase II, possibly seventh century; Thomas 1967). Alongside these, the North British buildings (whose mean is 6.3m

by 4.3m internally) sit quite happily; see also the parallels suggested for the Romano-British buildings at Brean Down and Lamyatt Beacon, Somerset (Leech 1980, 349-50).

From within the Tweed Basin, the Hirsel, Coldstream (Cramp and Douglas-Home 1978; Cramp forthcoming), and forming the nucleus to a church which later evolved to include a round-ended apse, there is a single-celled building of much the same size (4.45m by 4.65m). This had walls formed with rounded corners of water-worn cobbles set in a V-shaped foundation trench, and had an entrance in the west wall (fig. 4.18). Its date is uncertain, though on plan-form and associated pottery a date from the ninth to eleventh centuries has been suggested.

For the observed consistency in size and provision of an apse, one must look to the Roman south. This need not be a problem for, although the northern buildings properly belong in a British milieu, one must, I think, anticipate a degree of influence accompanying the spread of Christianity from the more Romanized parts of the province (see also Thomas 1980, 140). It was probably from the south, either by way of traders or the military (Thomas 1968, 97; Green 1976, 108, 115),[8] that Christian teaching and the models for public meeting-places reached the north (see Hope-Taylor 1977, 242-4), as too possibly those for liturgical use. This would concur with Toynbee's view (though referring specifically to sub-Roman times) that, 'the so-called Celtic church, surviving continuously in the west and north, was thoroughly Roman in creed and origin; Roman too, initially, in its organization and practice' (1953, 24).

(i) A Standard Unit of Measure There is a possibility, and one addressed by Thomas (1981, 189-90), that the ground-plan of the British churches was initially pegged out in Roman feet using the *pes Monetalis* (29.6cm). Work undertaken by Walthew (1978, 335-50; 1988), suggests that this standard unit of measure was rigorously applied in the layout of the Insulae XIV timber buildings at Verulanium in period IIc (*c.*AD 150) and remained in use in all later periods. Walthew has also demonstrated that the *pes Monetalis* was widely used on military sites in north-western Europe in the planning of *conturbernia*, for legionary and auxiliary barracks, and that there was a close relationship between the planning of barracks and that of administrative buildings (1981, 15-16). One might anticipate then that this same unit of measure would also be applied, as public buildings, to churches; responsibility for this perhaps resting with the military.

On this basis, parallels might be sought for the round-ended buildings from North Britain. The closest parallel is perhaps with the Late Roman church at Icklingham (ratio 2:3),

whose external nave measurements roughly correspond to a pegged layout of sixteen by twenty-four *pedes* (fig. 4.19 sets the northern buildings in context with Thomas' reconstruction of this church). If this is accepted, it might follow that the layout of Traprain Building IV could simply have been achieved by doubling the standard unit of measure. This would raise the question of mean congregational area and the status of the respective buildings, that is, if they should be accepted as churches. All I would wish to hold out here is that the northern buildings do seem to be of the same order of size as other churches (principally estate churches) in Roman Britain and that comparison might on this basis be made with others in the western part of the Empire and its successor states (see Thomas 1981, 190).

*(ii) **Provision of an Apse*** Apses, either semicircular, polygonal or slightly flattened have been identified at Caerwent (a sub-Roman building with a slightly flattened apse);[9] Lincoln (a fourth-century building, lying east-west, with an eastern apse);[10] Richborough (probably fourth century, possessing a timber superstructure, possibly with an eastern apse);[11] Silchester (perhaps fifth century with a western apse),[12] and perhaps Icklingham (fourth or fifth century) where there was room for an apse though none was found.[13] A parallel might also be drawn with a small church (late fourth or fifth century) that was built within the remains of a Roman villa building at Ligugé, near Tours (Coquet 1978; on-site discussion 1979). As Krautheimer has shown (1975), the currency of this simple plan-type is the oldest and most commonly used for small churches throughout the Late Roman world. While the source for similar buildings in Roman Britain may well lie in western Europe (Thomas 1980, 154-6; 1981, 166, 190), models for those in the north perhaps lay close at hand.

*(iii) **The Mithraea: A Possible Model*** I have already drawn attention to the presence of one possible apse-ended Roman building from within the Tweed Basin (p. 105), but comparison can also be made with the Mithraea of the northern frontier. This is a vexed issue (see Mâle 1950, 110ff; Thomas 1981, 190-1) but in a northern context the Mithraea do seem to offer a credible model (fig. 4.20). In fact, one of the important distinctions between northern and southern Britain is in ritual structures. In south Britain, both in urban and rural areas, small Romano-Celtic shrines with cella and portico are relatively common (Green 1976, 109). In the north, they are conspicuous by their absence and, apart from the Mithraea, the temple type in the area - always connected with the army - is a simple rectangular or circular shrine (e.g. that to Vinotus on Scargill Moor, Green 1948-51). Comparable to the round-ended buildings, are the Mithraea from Carrawburgh and Housesteads (Hodgson 1882, 263-320; Birley 1977, 69; Daniel 1960). That at Carrawburgh (Mithraeum II, phase A) was rectangular on plan (8.9m by 4.6m internally) with a square-ended apse (flattened in

a third reconstruction of the building) built over a large curved foundation; the entrance was set off-centre to the end-wall. It seems to have been desecrated in the early fourth century (Richmond and Gillam 1951, 42-3). At Rudchester the plan is similar (12.4m by 6.7m internally) but for the provision of a flattened semicircular apse and a narthex; elements akin to the round-ended buildings from Crosby Ravensworth, Ewe Close and Traprain (fig. 4.19). The use of a segmental apse for a Mithraeum is otherwise unparalleled in Britain; the Palazzo dei Musei, Rome, was suggested as a model for Rudchester (Gillam and MacIvor 1954, 194).The rise and decline in the cult of Mithras appears to have been much the same at each of the Wall forts and, though that at Rudchester may have continued in use into the fourth century, this may only have been for a short time. This contrasts with the situation in the south; The Walbrook Mithraeum in London seems to have remained in use to the mid fourth century at least (Green 1976, 54).

This uniform treatment accorded to the Mithraea may signify a response to an order issued and implemented along the length of the Wall. By AD 313, with Christianity established as the state religion, models for simple churches, laid out using traditional units of measure, could thus have been readily at hand, and if one accepts the possibility of close interaction between Roman and native still within the intramural zone (see p. 59) they could conceivably have been copied or adapted to the requirements of liturgical or public use. One might infer that the decline in the cult of Mithras was matched by an increase in the fervour of Christian activity and that churches logically followed, but without corroborative evidence there is an unbridgeable gap between the presence of the Mithraea and their use as models by the native population.

It seems reasonable to assume that Christianity reached northern Britain in the Late Roman period. The degree to which it was accepted by the native population, however, is less clear, as too the call they may have had for churches of their own. Two views are possible. The first (see Mann 1974; Thomas 1981, 278-9), is that the level of unrest on the northern frontier following the Barbarian Conspiracy of 367-9 was such that the native population may have been in no position to sustain a continuity of belief. My own view is that the northern wars were of little consequence for the peoples of the intervallate zone; the trouble stemmed primarily from Pictland north of the Forth, and Ireland, and most at risk was the diocese to the south of the Wall (see p. 251).[14] Christian influence, if not an accompanying liturgy, is perhaps to be deduced from the presence of Christian silverware deposited with the hoard at Traprain (see Green 1976, 113; Ritchie and Ritchie 1981, 143), though in itself it tells us nothing of the opinions of its users. British equivalents of Roman Latin names in the pedigrees of the northern British dynasties may also point to a degree of Christian influence, although alternative explanations are possible (see p. 273). Jackson has

simply reminded us of the inevitable prestige of Rome among the native population bordering the northern diocese (1955a, 80). If one accepts that disruption within this region in the late and sub-Roman period was minimal, one might surmise that customs and beliefs were kept alive. At Traprain, an attempt certainly seems to have been made to maintain a level of literacy among the native population (Cree and Curle 1922, fig. 27, no. 1) and this might provide a tentative link between the Roman period and the Latinized inscriptions of the Early Christian memorials of fifth-, sixth- and seventh-century date (see pp. 286-96). One should perhaps also bear in mind the likelihood that, although change did take place both in the Roman period and after, continuity at a local level is borne out by the pollen and settlement evidence (pp. 64-5, 84-102, 188). Traprain, for instance, which may provide a model of wider application, seems to have continued in occupation without a break until the early years of the fifth century (pp. 155-67).

The degree to which Christianity found acceptance at every level of native society, however, does present a problem (for the archaeological evidence for the region south of Hadrian's Wall see Green 1976, 108-115). Mann (1974) and Thomas (1968, 105; 1981) believe that at first it may have been confined to the social *élite*. This is echoed by Wall who sees the Traprain hoard as, 'part of the tableware of a wealthy Roman, or Philo-Roman, a trading official who was also a Christian' (1966, 150). The Philo-Roman status of this individual (see also Richmond 1958a, 124-5; Frere 1978, 392) is perhaps questionable. We know nothing of his rank or profession: he may have been a native bishop or perhaps a warrior aristocrat with Christian aspirations on the model of *The Gododdin* heroes (see pp. 261, 337); in a native context the two might be synonymous (Alcock 1979, 135).

Few of the Early Christian memorials from the area of the Tweed Valley reveal anything of the status of the deceased. The Yarrowkirk stone is one exception. It commemorates the most famous princes Nudus and Dumnogenus, the sons of a British Christian ruling family (see pp. 288-9), moreover, though a product of native workmanship, in its style and conception it clearly looks back to Rome (Thomas 1977, 105). While one can perhaps accept that Christianity first took hold among the native *élite,* the evidence of the long-cist cemeteries, including those at Parkburn, Midlothian (Henshall 1958), Kirkliston (Cowie 1978) and Addinston, Lauderdale (see pp. 333-4), numbering many hundreds of burials, would imply that Christianity had also won acceptance among the rank and file of the population. In origin some of these cemeteries perhaps go back to the late fifth century, if not before (Thomas 1981, 292), corresponding to Thomas' wider class of rural 'undeveloped cemeteries'; the predecessors possibly of small local churches, in wood or stone, which later attracted burials of their own. On the basis of the archaeological evidence, Smyth (1984, 34) has suggested that there existed among the northern Britons a relatively unified Christian

culture from at least the fifth century. If this is acceptable, it might follow that the native population would have had call for churches or oratories of their own, although this need not necessarily have been the case (see Thomas 1980, 134)

The place-name evidence, in particular that defined by the Eccles names, may provide a useful pointer (e.g. Eccles, Berwickshire, *Eccles c.*1200; Innes 1837, 296; this work pp. 216, 262, 458, n. 23). Although the term *Eccles* may no more than indicate the presence of a Christian community (Jackson 1956, 227), it is possible, following the stricter definition and a derivation from Latin *ecclesia*, Old Welsh, *Eglwys* (Ekwall 1922, 257; Cameron 1968; Nicolaisen 1979, 11; Thomas 1980, 134, 157-8; Gelling 1982), that a building for public Christian worship was primarily intended; there are grounds, however, for not pressing this too far. Thomas (1981, 244) believes that many, if not all, of the Eccles sites originated in sub-Roman Christian communities of the sixth century; some, however, may date to the fifth. The presence of an Annat place-name, close to the caput of the barony of Castleton, Liddesdale (Smith 1984, 25), possibly denotes the site of the founder's church, or that within which his remains were interred (MacDonald 1973, 135-46). Its date is unclear, though alongside the Eccles place-names from the Tweed Valley (see Barrow 1973, 30-5), it perhaps raises the possibility that there may have been rudimentary church buildings within the region prior to the extension of Anglian influence from Bernicia (see p. 216. In 1982 I discovered a long cist in a drainage trench at the Annat Field site (Smith 1983d).

If there were churches one might anticipate that they would principally have been either estate or proprietary (see Morris and Roxan 1980, 191) and, if the former, they might be classed as *parochiae* (Thomas 1981, 158), built and maintained by the efforts of their own congregations (*ecclesiae*). This view was developed by Thomas in determining the probable status of churches in southern Roman Britain by reference to their mean internal area, that is, the area theoretically available for congregational use, the congregational area (1980, 150-4; 1981, 186-90). This same criterion can also be applied to the six round-ended buildings from north Britain to which I have drawn attention. With the exception of Traprain Building IV, the closest parallels seem to lie with estate churches: Stone-by-Faversham, Kent (4.8m by 4m);[15] St Martin's, Canterbury (5.2m by 4m),[16] and perhaps Icklingham, Suffolk (6.5m by 3.6m).[17] Traprain Building IV is of a different order and on size alone would more closely approximate to an intramural church. Its mean floor area amounts to 96m^2 and may be compared with the mean of 116m^2 calculated by Thomas for a number of late Roman churches in the south (1981, 186-7) and for seven of the earliest church plans from east and south-east England in the early seventh century, which though narrower are of roughly the same size (about 102m^2). If Traprain Building IV is a church, it would seem that the builders

intention was that it should accommodate a reasonably sized congregation. This is in contrast to the situation which may have prevailed elsewhere in the Celtic West, but might be commensurate with the status of Traprain in the late fourth and early fifth centuries (see p. 167). Ideally, one would expect a church of this status to attract domestic, perhaps episcopal, quarters close by (Thomas 1981, 157); at Traprain this would certainly be feasible (i.e. the phase two buildings, pp. 155-9, fig. 5.5).

The Traprain hoard, deposited during or after the reign of Honorius (AD 395-423) might also sit more happily in this context, though its ecclesiastical use on the site has previously been dismissed for lack of corroboration (Wall 1966, 50; Thomas 1968, 104). Several of the silver items, which include parts of ten flagons, fifty bowls, nine spoons, a wine strainer, handles, fittings and mountings, bear motifs of overt Christian inspiration. One a flagon, has repoussé decoration illustrating four biblical scenes: the Fall, the Betrayal, the Adoration of the Magi, and Moses striking water from the rock (plate 4.13). The bowls of two of the spoons bear Chi-Rho monograms (plate 4.14); the perforations on the base of the strainer are arranged to form the letters of the name of Jesus Christ in Roman capitals (Curle 1920, 102-24; Ritchie and Ritchie 1981, 143).[18]

The ultimate conversion of the hoard into bullion or hack-silver is indicated by packages of folded silver plate accompanying the vessels, made ready as if for melting down. Nevertheless, as Alcock has stated (1979, 135-6), this need not necessarily mean that the hoard came north and west already in this form, nor that it was not in use prior to deposition. His identification of at least two silver belt suites from the hoard itself, comparable to the *cingula* worn as a badge of office in the fourth century (Hawkes 1974), is thus of interest; they could perhaps have been made for a bishop (Alcock 1979, 135).

In promoting my hypothesis that the northern round-ended buildings might be churches, it remains to touch upon the problem of alignment and the apparent absence of burials. Three of the buildings are aligned east-west (Crosby Ravensworth, Glencoyndale and Ewe Close) and present no difficulty. Those at the Dod, Huckhoe and Traprain, however, are aligned NNW/SSE. This can be accounted for but requires special pleading, for it assumes that the provision of a public meeting-place was accorded the highest priority and preferred alignment, secondary. In North Britain, distant from the diocesan centres of the Roman church, this is perhaps admissible. At Traprain, Building IV was constructed on the north side of a public square. Its alignment in any other way would have seriously impinged upon access to and from, or movement within the square. At the Dod, the proportions of the D-shaped enclosure (fig. 4.15) would have been a determining factor and the same may also be true of Huckhoe. Recent work at Whithorn (Keys 1988, 5) has demonstrated a preference

for the alignment of Early Christian buildings and burials of south-west/north-east; an axis perpetuated in the burials of the medieval period and adopted for the medieval cathedral. This, it has been suggested (Pollock, D pers. commun., 1989), may reflect a willingness to accede to deep-rooted pagan beliefs; the orientation being that of the midsummer solstice sunrise and the midwinter solstice sunset. This in itself does not help us to explain the alignment of the northern buildings, although it does perhaps illustrate the degree to which Christian practice could be subverted (see also Rodwell 1980a, 237).

The absence of enclosed cemeteries, or a burial of any kind, does present a problem and one must assume that the tradition of burial within undeveloped long-cist cemeteries, with their strong and earlier native component (Thomas 1968, 107) proved enduring.[19] At Traprain, the density of building on the western shelf would perhaps have precluded burial close in. If Broxmouth were to serve as a model (Hill 1982b, 179-80) one might look for burials peripheral to other native sites. A case in point may be Castle Rock, Edinburgh (*Din Eidyn*), a site listed among the churches founded by St Monenna about AD 500 (Skene 1886-90, ii, 37). A Class I symbol stone found near the well-tower of the castle (RCAMS 1951, p. 215, No. 159) may, for instance, point to an extramural cemetery nearby. It is thus just possible that the earliest churches in northern Britain were not initially intimately associated with burials or formal burial-enclosures, though by implication, if the round-ended buildings were churches, they presumably represent sites of brief duration.

Conclusion

By virtue of the nature of the evidence, the case is perhaps beyond proof and, while the identification of the round-ended buildings as churches is possible, in the absence of corroboration, the hypothesis should be received with credulity. All I would claim is that on external comparison the round-ended buildings find a reasonable context alongside other small British and Irish churches, as too a number of Roman churches whose liturgical function has been demonstrated by excavation and, more often, an association with burials. The Mithraea may have served as useful models but there is no reason why models for churches should not have accompanied the gradual spread of Christianity northwards in Late Roman times. With reference to the Eccles place-names, Cameron (1968) has demonstrated how many lie close to Roman roads, if not Roman sites. Proximity to Roman or native thoroughfares is also an attribute of the northern round-ended buildings. Huckhoe lies less than 300m from the Devil's Causeway, the Roman trunk road north from Corbridge, from which the site is about 9.5 km distant; the Dod lies at the head of thoroughfares which converge at the head of Teviotdale, while the sites near Crosby Ravensworth (Collingwood 1932, 202, fig. 1) are each less than 1 km from the Roman road from Lancaster to Carlisle; the settlement at Ewe Close stands beside the road.

Of the buildings proposed, the most likely candidate for a church might be that at Traprain, a high status site; with the building in question occupying a key position in relation to the main square and, on comparison with the neighbouring longhouses, representing a level of architectural achievement. There is too the accompanying hoard of Christian silverware, perhaps deposited as a final act before the site was abandoned (see p. 254), and Traprain (*Dunpelder*) is entered in the list of churches founded about AD 500 by St Monenna (Skene 1886-90, ii, 37). This would seem to be a genuine tradition as the sites listed are all key dynastic centres (Dumbarton, Stirling and Edinburgh) and a biographer bent on glorifying the saint would presumably only have selected the most well known and famous places. There is none the less a problem in accepting Traprain Building IV as Monenna's church for we have to bridge the gap in archaeological evidence for the abandonment of Traprain by the mid fifth century (see pp. 167-9). Perhaps Monenna simply re-dedicated an existing building; one resorted to perhaps only occasionally by the native population (for continuity of ceremonial and cult centres see pp. 99-102). In my reappraisal of the evidence from Traprain (p. 153), I have argued that it was from the mid third century possibly a Pictish caput and remained so until the site was formally abandoned in the fifth. If Building IV is a church, irrespective of whether or not it is Monenna's, it would be the only one so far identified which might be claimed as 'Pictish'.[20] This may be no more than an excursion into possibilities, but it might add credence to the view (on the basis of traditions that Bede knew, HE iii.4) that the most southerly of the Picts had earlier been converted through contact with the Gododdin kingdom.[21] The fact that Ninian's mission was to the Picts and not to the British creates a presumption that the peoples of southern Scotland were already Christian (Duncan 1975, 38).[22]

Without excavation and more detailed analysis of a number of potentially early church sites, I would not wish to press the case either for Traprain Building IV or for the other round-ended buildings as being churches of the late Roman period beyond the tenets of the hypothesis offered. If I am right, it is difficult to see how the case can be proven without recourse to excavation but the hypothesis should at least serve to broaden the field of enquiry.[23] At the same time, while I have pursued one line of reasoning, it is as likely that the native population could have used such buildings in a secular context, perhaps simply as public meeting halls or as audience chambers for visiting dignitaries. While on the one hand it is feasible for the archaeologist to point to the presence of buildings of more specialized form, and on the other for the historian to define the plethora of public, ceremonial and religious activities accompanying centres of native lordship, the picture perhaps only becomes incredible when the two are presented as reconcilable.

CHAPTER FIVE
TRAPRAIN LAW - A REAPPRAISAL

Traprain Law is an intruded volcanic. Its domicular profile is the most conspicuous feature of the East Lothian plain, standing at the broadest point of the coastal littoral where the wide mouth of the Forth opens to the North Sea (fig. 5.1) (plate 5.1). To the south the bulk of the Lammermuirs, of which Traprain is a detached outlier, serve to set apart this area of good and medium quality farm land from the heart of the Tweed Basin. Precipitous crags and rock outcrops mask the south side of the Law (NT 581 746) and preclude access to the summit except on the west and south-west, where the slopes, though no less steep, are less arduous. The summit (221m OD) is relatively level but exposed and open to the full force of the easterlies. A setting more suited to habitation is provided by the shelf or plateau on its western flank. It was here, from 1914 to 1915 and from 1919 to 1923, that excavations were made by Cree and Curle (Curle 1915; 1920; Curle and Cree 1916; Cree and Curle 1921; Cree 1923; 1924). The results, including a complex of structural remains and a wealth of artefactual evidence spanning a period from the Late Bronze Age to Late Roman times, have marked Traprain as a site of key archaeological and historical significance. In 1952 it was designated a site of Special Scientific Interest (Nisbet 1975, 14).

Later excavations by Cruden (1940), Bersu (1948; Close-Brookes 1983) and Strong (1986a; 1986b),[1] were, by force of circumstances, confined to the western and northern defences and shared the common objective of defining the site's chronology and overall development, together with the date of its investing works. The sequence of fortification elucidated by Feachem 1956; Alcock 1971b, 181; Jobey 1976; Close-Brookes 1983 and Hill 1987b may be summarized as follows.

In the Late Bronze Age a 10 ha fort may have been delimited by a timber palisade. This was replaced, between the seventh and sixth centuries BC, by a stone-and-earth rampart enclosing an area of about 2 ha; an area which was farther extended in the second century BC, if not slightly before, to 12 ha. The date for the construction of the Great Terrace Rampart (enclosing 16 ha) is a problem but seems to have been in place by the first century AD, prior to the Agricolan advance (cf. Close-Brookes 1983; Macinnes 1984a); see also pp. 135-6. During the period of Roman jurisdiction the site appears to have been at best lightly protected but more probably open and this would accord with the evidence of Romano-British settlements elsewhere in the north. A break in occupation from the mid second century AD to the mid third is suggested by coin evidence and by the sequence of metalwork (Burley 1956, 288). In the late third or fourth century the terrace bank was reconstructed (this was dismissed by Close-Brookes who argued instead that the bank was a natural

accretion of hill-wash, decayed rubbish and collapsed buildings: 1983, 215). Sometime in the late fourth century, or perhaps in the early fifth, the hill was re-enclosed by an earth-cored, rubble-faced wall (up to 4m wide at its base); this is customarily referred to as the Cruden Wall.

Reappraisal of the excavated remains is conditioned by the method employed by the early excavators. A system of arbitrary levels was used, which were redefined more than once (Curle and Cree 1916, 86; Cree and Curle 1922, 206). This has left a legacy of difficulty in interpretation which it would be idle to pretend does not persist to this day (cf. Jobey 1976, 191). Nevertheless, by carefully superimposing the phase plans, the remains of at least one ring-ditch house have recently been brought to light from the earliest (and most incomplete) levels; evidence which has been taken and assimilated with that for the overall development of the site: Area Ha (Cree and Curle 1922, 198; Jobey 1976, 193); Area P (Cree 1923, 86-9, figs. 3 and 4; Hill 1982a; Macinnes 1984a; Hill 1987b, 86). This calls for some adjustment from the published scales and the respective phase plans need to be conflated. Jobey has also drawn attention to an apparent inconsistency in the artefactual record. Fragments from one Roman vessel are to be found, for instance, on three different levels in adjoining areas. This need not rule out a reappraisal of the structural remains as the movement of artefacts within surface subsoil layers, resulting from post depositional processes, is now widely accepted (cf. Crowther *et al* 1985, 64-7; Walker 1985, 89). Caution is, of course, advisable. In teasing out the evidence for continuity in the Late Roman period (see pp. 137-9) attention must, in the first instance, be directed to the latest levels, which, though prone to the same difficulties in interpretation, are, as Hogg noted (1951, 209), remarkably intact.

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL LEVELS ON THE WESTERN PLATEAU

A glance at Hogg's published reconstruction of the latest levels reveals a degree of chronological depth which has previously passed without comment (fig. 5.2). Moreover, the structural types represented are unlike standard Romano-British buildings that characterize the settlement pattern of the Tyne-Forth region. This has been widely acknowledged but has drawn little comment. Hogg's description of the latest levels is as follows:

> 'The houses lie adjacent to a narrow road, 8ft or 10ft wide, with cart ruts, which cross the excavated area diagonally. Near the centre is an irregular square, about 60ft by 70ft, which the road enters and leaves at opposite corners. The square is surrounded by four blocks of buildings. The area on the north is very much confused, but the general character of the

structures does not differ seriously from those on the other side. The walls were generally of turf, about 4ft thick, usually on a stone foundation, but where this was absent no trace survived, so the plan is incomplete. The few post holes which could be identified do not fall into a coherent plan. Each block was composed of several sub-rectangular rooms, generally about 15ft by 30ft, opening into each other, with irregular chambers about 10ft by 5ft opening off the larger rooms. The larger rooms often contain big rectangular hearths. The arrangement suggests that each group represents a single house, containing several rooms. The other building which deserves special notice is the long narrow rectangular structure on the south-east side of the road north-east of the square. It is about 15ft wide and more than 70ft long internally, but its full length was not determined' (1951, 211).

Hogg accounted for the differences on plan as perhaps due to Roman influence and cited parallels with the buildings at Gunnar Peak and Ingram Hill. He also drew attention to possible close parallels between the long building and similar undated longhouses from a number of Northumbrian sites (e.g. Richmond 1940, 78, fig. 11). Hill (1987b, 88-9), on the other hand, whilst stressing the view that the latest levels accompanied ceremonial or religious activity on the hilltop, considered that they were specialized buildings reflecting the unusual 'semi-urban' status of the site, or else that they pertained to a different (and presumably later) period; a not unreasonable hypothesis even if the basic tenets of his argument are questionable (see Close-Brookes 1987, 93). He further speculated that the rectangular and circular foundations on the hill crest could have been temple buildings, though Close-Brookes' suggestion (1987, 93) that the irregular round structure on the hill summit was probably a fank or plantation boundary, and the rectangular structure an enclosure, both of more recent origin, seems on field inspection in November 1987, to be the more plausible explanation.

In the light of the apparent chronological depth of the remains and summary inspection of both the excavation plans held by the NMRS and the detailed accounts in the published reports, I saw that there was sufficient scope to justify a reappraisal of the latest levels. Moreover, it has long been realized that despite all the inadequacies of the excavation, there does seem to be an element of genuine division between the lower levels of 1 and 2 and the upper levels of 3 and 4 over a greater part of the western shelf. This difference has been endorsed by Burley (1956) in respect to the coin finds; work which was taken further by Sekulla (1983) as too by Curle (1920, 100-101) who demonstrated that the native coarse wares were mainly confined to the lowest levels. Cree presented the evidence which

demonstrated that ring-headed pins, dress-fasteners and harness mounts are concentrated in the two lower levels, beaded and rosette-headed pins in the uppermost (1924, 261-6). Sekulla's work is particularly important in this respect, for he demonstrated that of the stratified coin finds of the first and second centuries, thirteen came from the lowest levels, with only five from the upper, while only nine of the thirty-three third- to fourth-century coins were to be found amid the lower levels. As Close-Brookes noted (1987, 93), this would imply that, while no individual find can be trusted, the coins and other objects from the latest levels are, in general, contemporary with the building levels in which they are found.

Moreover, I recognized that the long-building to which Hogg referred seemed to provide a particularly close parallel for buildings, hitherto unrecognized in Scotland, that have been identified in the course of fieldwork in north-eastern Perthshire by RCAMS (1990). These buildings, which are larger than the norm, have in common a certain irregularity on plan that includes a marked in-take in the line of their long-walls and although undated, they appear on association to belong to the late prehistoric or Early Historic period; if the latter they might be described as Pictish, though, following the type-site Pitcarmick (NO 052 564), the Commission favours the term 'Pitcarmick-type buildings', or 'Pitcarmick buildings'. If such buildings were present on Traprain this would be of considerable interest and perhaps of significance to a wider area. With this in mind I collated the necessary material with which to undertake this analysis. The site plans from the original excavations are in the NMRS. More useful for this exercise, however, are a series of PMT copies produced by RCAMS at a reduced and more manageable scale. It should be borne in mind that the plans of the original Curle and Cree excavations are not all at the same scale. Some justification from the published scales is thus required before work could proceed (In this I was greatly assisted by Messrs. A Leith and J Boreland of the RCAMS drawing office.) Further, the orientation of a number of the plans (for Areas B, D, E and F) is at variance with the line approximating to magnetic north adopted by the excavators in setting out the grid for the main area excavation, though this too proved to be inaccurate; a discrepancy that was also noted by Hogg. The new orientation, adopted in the drawings accompanying this text, was provided by Gordon Maxwell and was plotted from an air-photograph using the RCAMS Olivetti digitizing table. As Close-Brookes notes (1983, 209), the problem seems to have arisen because the early excavations were set out relative to magnetic north at that date, not true north. Having then accounted for this and assembled the site plans accordingly, one more problem remained; that of reconciling the changes in relative (arbitrary) levels adopted in the course of the excavation. These modifications are explicitly set out by Curle and Cree (1916, 86) and by Cree and Curle (1922, 206) and arose from variations in the depth of the archaeological deposits in respect to the general lie of the ground. Thus the second level of 1915 corresponds to the uppermost level of 1914, while the third level of the 1915

excavation is the same as the second for the previous year. Similarly in 1922 excavation was conducted on four levels and the plans have been conflated accordingly. The consequences of this necessary conflation were only partly grasped by Hogg with the result that the full picture for Areas Ha, G and F has never been fully appreciated. This is of particular importance in respect to Area G where the Traprain hoard was founded (marked by an asterisk on the early plans: Curle 1920, fig. 1). Here the evidence presented by Hogg is only partial and it is unclear from his plan whether the hoard was deposited in a building or an enclosed annexe. Now it can be conclusively demonstrated that the hoard was deposited in a pit, dug between well-defined features, within a building, probably a workshop (pp. 124-6). Hogg further amended his plan by tailoring the area of excavation to exclude Areas T, B, D and E (on the NW and SSE respectively). This has been rectified in the latest reconstruction to provide the fullest picture possible. Hogg omitted from his plan small isolated stones and used conventionalized symbols for hearths and paving. In the latest reconstruction all the information that is conveyed on the original drawings has been faithfully reproduced. However, following Hogg, a light stipple has been added to guide the eye along what appear to be the lines of walls (fig. 5.3); in this the writer was guided by the detail given in the excavation reports and selectively by reference to the published 1951 reconstruction.

A full scale plan was produced from the inked overlay and this was subsequently reduced by camera to more manageable proportions to aid subsequent analysis. Two structural phases were distinguished for the one previously published, and separate phase plans were produced for each retaining in the first instance, the stipple outline of the Phase One buildings together with their associated hearths (fig. 5.4). For Phase Two, the Phase One buildings are retained in a light stipple to provide a contextual framework and the later buildings are solidly inked to set them apart (fig. 5.5). To put the excavation plan of the western terrace in context a site plan was produced (fig. 5.6). This is based on Feachem's plan (1956, fig. 95) with additions by Close-Brookes (1983, 208-9, fig. 95). Traprain Law is soon to be resurveyed by RCAMS (Ritchie, G pers. commun., 1987). The evidence for the two phases will now be examined in detail and rather than relegate the building-analysis to an appendix, each will be fully dealt with in the text to allow for qualifying remarks on how particular wall-lines have been arrived at with specific reference to the published accounts.

(A) THE ANALYSIS OF THE BUILDING DISPOSITION

(I) TRAPRAIN PHASE ONE

At the centre of the building complex (fig. 5.4) there is an open square or yard (19m by 20m) which is entered and left at the diagonally opposite corners (on the N and S respectively) by a

metalled road about 8m wide. By reference to the site plan the course of this road can be traced from the gateway on the SW (where the outer rampart is overlain by the Cruden Wall investigated by Bursu, Cutting I: cf. Close-Brookes 1983, 210), up the western flank of the hill from where a branch road leads to the western shelf. From the N side of the square the road divides, one branch leading to a gate through the outer rampart on the NW, the other leading directly to the hill summit.

Round the square there are three main building clusters (on the N, E and SE respectively) with a more discrete group on the W. Groups 1 and 3 (on the NE and SE respectively) appear to each respect their own yard areas (12m by 9m and 11m by 7m) with further open areas, outlying to the NW and SE, around which many hearths are scattered. Thus at this level some structuring of the settlement is apparent, both in the overall planning of the main square and access roads, and in the layout of the building complexes around it. This would imply a degree of authority governing the overall development and disposition of the building groups which does not appear to have been revoked in the lifetime of the settlement.

(a) Group 1

To take first the building cluster on the N side of the square. These are amongst the most confused remains on the western shelf, due in part to the imposition of a later building (Phase Two, Building I). Nevertheless, the character of the buildings is not at variance with those in neighbouring areas. At the core of the building cluster there is an irregular-shaped yard (12m from N to S by up to 8m transversely) formed with large, rough hill-stones (Cree and Curle 1922, 240), with entrances on the E and W respectively; the first, opening directly to the northern access road and paved, has a clavicular baffle-wall. To one side there is a hearth and to the interior another, orientated roughly east-west, the open-end being probably to the west (Cree 1923, 181). Two buildings (IX and X) have mutual side-walls with the yard, a third (XI) impinges on the W.

(i) Building IX This building is subrectangular on plan (11m by 6m over walls 0.8m thick) and has an outshot on the N (8m by 4m overall). Entrances are located at the SE angle of the E end-wall and central to the N side-wall; the last opening to an outshot with a corresponding entrance in the opposite wall. There are three hearths to the interior with a fourth to the exterior impinging on the road.

(ii) Building X This building adopted the mutual end-wall of IX. It is roughly oval on plan (10m by 8m over walls up to 1m thick), has a hearth set off-centre and entrances on the NNE (with a baffle-wall) and WSW, the last opening to an outshot (8m by 5m overall).

Within the NNE entrance there was a roughly squared paved area close to which a rotary quern was found (Cree 1923, 181).

*(iii) **Building XI*** This rather larger building, which is roughly oval on plan (11m by 10.5m over walls up to 1m thick), has an out-turned entrance on the SE side (probably a porch) opening to the main square and one corresponding at the rear which opens to a well-proportioned outshot (7m by 6m overall) communicating with a funnel-shaped external passage emitting from the enclosed yard area. A hearth is set off-centre to the main compartment (Cree 1923, 181).

*(iv) **Finds*** from the associated levels include a number of bronze fibulae, pins, a finger ring, dress fastener and harness-mount, six segments of glass armlets (opaque white and yellow) and two of jet or lignite and fragments of inlaid glass (probably Roman; spindle-whorls, a socketed spear-head and part of a clay mould (amongst others) for casting a spear-butt; crucible fragments and a sherd of mortarium that may date to between AD 276 and 400. Coins included one probably of Hadrian, a small brass of Gallienus (AD 253-68) and one of Maximianus (AD 305-11). The evidence principally points to domestic activity.

(b) Group 2

This comprises three buildings, each remarkably similar in form, with a fourth, detached, lying to the S. The building cluster lies on the ENE side of the main square or yard area.

*(i) **Building I*** is partially eclipsed by Buildings II and III (Phase Two) and is wholly robbed on the N. It appears to have been round-angled and subrectangular on plan with bowed side-walls (11m by 8m over walls 0.8m thick), and was furnished with at least two hearths; the most likely position for the entrance is towards the N end of the E side-wall. The principal hearth was orientated north-south and was enhanced by a stone kerb, open on the N (Cree and Curle 1922, 191-3).

*(ii) **Building II*** The wasted remains of this building (overlain by Building IV, Phase Two) are reconstructed from the plan of the foundations on levels 1A, 2 and 3, 0.15m below (Cree and Curle 1922, figs. 2, 3 and 4) and account for the pattern of hearths, in part sealed by the later building. The structure is subrectangular on plan (9m by 6.5m overall) and shares a mutual side-wall with Buildings I and III; the entrance is atypical being central to the SE end-wall. There are at least three hearths to the interior with others (both rectangular and circular) to the periphery, including one, which is well defined, set in a redeposited clay layer (Cree and Curle 1922, 194-8). The form of the foundations are suggestive of a turf-wall raised on boulder-footings.

*(iii) **Building III*** is subrectangular on plan (10m by 6m overall) with a mutual end-wall on the SE and another on the NW. The entrance was central to the NE long-wall and to the interior, off-centre, there are two hearths; the more complete one orientated NW-SE, paved and with a stone kerb. Buildings I and III appear to have been terraced into the hillside.

*(iv) **Building IV***, reconstructed from the most fugitive traces recovered from the third level in Area G/H (Curle 1920, fig. 4), was largely eclipsed by Building IV, Phase Two. On plan it was probably subrectangular (9m by 7m over walls up to 1m thick); the walls are slightly bowed and the entrance may have been in the SW end-wall. Clay had been deposited to form the floor, though some may have accrued from the collapse of a clay-daubed wattle superstructure belonging to an earlier phase (Curle 1920, 61).

*(v) **Finds*** from associated levels, again largely of domestic character, include bronze fibulae, finger rings and pins; fragments of jet and glass armlets (together with a playing piece), a portion of engraved glass, stone polishers, whorls, a hoe, inconsequential mould-fragments and a silver stud. The pottery consisted of a small amount of Roman ware, including the occasional piece of samian and some native fabrics. Three coins span the reigns of Nero (AD 54-68), Antoninus Pius (AD 138-61) and Carausius (AD 287-93). (Cree and Curle 1922, 236-8).

(c) Group 3

This group forms a coherent building cluster on the SSE side of the main square. With the exception of Building V, each is characterized by the provision of one or more mural chambers of terminal outshots.

*(i) **Building V***, at the eastern edge of the group, is closer in form to the dwellings of the preceding group. It too is roughly oval on plan (11m by 6.5m over boulder walls up to 1m thick), terraced into the hill-slope and levelled up on the down-hill side, and is furnished with hearths and an entrance at the N end of the E side-wall. The remaining buildings (VI, VII and VIII) are grouped round an irregular-shaped yard (11m by 7m internally) which opens on the SW to a smaller yard area (7m by 5m), attached to Building VIII, with an entrance on the SW whose terminals are out-turned. The wall-line is in part well preserved surviving to two courses of undressed, drystone masonry (0.5m thick and up to 0.3m high). An area of paving was set within the angle of the subsidiary yard and a rectangular hearth (paved and kerbed, and aligned N-S) was incorporated in the NW wall-terminal at the entrance.

*(ii) **Building VI***, entered from the yard (with a second entrance at the E end of the S side-wall opening to a large forecourt) is subrectangular on plan (13m by 7m over walls

about 1m thick) and possesses three mural chambers or outshots in bond with the N side-wall (on average 7.3m^2 internally); each probably entered from the house (Curle 1920, 55). The walls, possibly of turf, were raised on massive boulder-footings, some up to 1.5m long by 0.6m wide and 0.9m thick. An entrance at the NW angle opens to the yard and a second, at the E end of the S side-wall, opens to a large forecourt on the SE. An intake in the line of the side-wall may have served as a baffle. No hearth was found to the interior but one lay immediately to the exterior adjacent the entrance on the SE side (Curle and Cree 1916, 73; Curle 1920, 57).

*(iii) **Building VII*** is round-ended and subrectangular on plan (9m by 6.5m over walls up to 1.2m thick). The entrance is at the W end of the N side-wall and opens to the main square; a mural chamber, with internal partition, appears to have been provided at the SW end of the building and on the ESE there is an outshot (6m by 4.5m overall). The main compartment was furnished with two hearths; that on the W rudely formed (Curle 1920, 57).

*(iv) **Building VIII and the Traprain Hoard.*** The structural remains of this building are of particular importance as it was here, in May 1919, that the Traprain hoard was discovered. That said, the building has never been properly defined and the context of the hoard has passed virtually without comment. The difficulty stems from the fact that the excavation reports for each year are area specific and rarely did the discussion amount to a broader overview. Thus in 1920 Area GH was viewed in isolation and no reference was made to the adjoining section (Area F)) excavated in 1915. Even accounting for Area GH the disparate structural remains associated with the hoard received only fleeting attention and were seen by the excavators as peripheral to the main 'enclosures' now identified as Buildings VI and VII.

The problem is compounded when one considers the relative levels adopted in the 1915 and 1919 excavations. In 1915 we are told that level one in Area F was encountered at a depth of fourteen inches, level two, several inches below and level three, eight inches beneath it (Curle and Cree 1916, 74, 76, 80). By contrast in 1919 in Area GH, level one lay about one foot below the surface, level two eight to ten inches below (Curle 1920, 55, 58). Thus levels one and two in 1916 broadly correspond with level one of 1919, level three in 1915 with level two of 1919. This is crucial, for only in Hogg's reconstruction (1951, fig. 53) does Area F enter into the consideration and then only so far as a record of the latest levels in respect to the two areas. The full picture has therefore previously only be grasped in part, and this goes a long way towards explaining the circumspection with which the find spot of the Traprain hoard has been received. By conflating the upper two levels from 1916 (Area F) and setting them alongside level one from 1919 the full picture can now be presented.

In respect to the hoard, Curle's account indicates that prior to its discovery work in Area G had already progressed to level two. The hoard, as is now well known, was found within a pit; the find spot being marked retrospectively on the level one plan (Curle 1920, fig. 1). The clear implication is that the cut for the pit had not been recognized at this level. As Close-Brookes notes, despite the standard of excavation and the largely unsupervised nature of the work, other pits might have been recognized if they had been large and common (1987, 93). However, the first indication to the workmen involved was when one of their number brought up on the point of the pick 'a metal bowl with a beaded border' (Curle 1920, 102). Curle provides the essential background: 'An immediate examination of the circumstances of the find showed that a hole had been dug from some surface at a higher level than the second, for as was shown by the facts of the actual discovery - the relics at the top of the cache were barely covered by the soil that formed the floor of the occupation. Reference to the plan of the top level made it clear that during the period of latest occupation there was no foundation over the top of the spot which would have shown a deposit during that period of occupation to have been impossible' (ibid. 103). From the reconstruction offered here it can now be shown that the hoard was deposited at a point which could be readily identified on the basis of associated features and that retrieval, though never achieved, was evidently envisaged.

Building VIII then, comprises the irregular circular enclosure noted by Curle in Area G (ibid. 55-6, fig. 1), the dog-legged line of wall recovered on the first level in Area F (Curle and Cree 1916, 74, fig. 8), and the lengths of walling identified on the plan of the second level in Area F (ibid. 77, fig. 10), together with their associated hearths. Building VIII is, therefore, roughly rectangular on plan (8.5m by 7m over walls up to 1m thick) and incorporated a mural chamber at the NE angle; the entrance-doorway appears to have been set towards the S end of the W side-wall. The S end-wall, of faced drystone construction, is slightly bowed but is otherwise not dissimilar to the fabric of its eastern return. The W side-wall does have an awkward in-take midway along its length. Hogg glossed over this point in his reconstruction (1951, fig. 53), but the evidence seems real enough and there may have been a functional reason to account for it. To the exterior, at the SE angle, there is a well-formed area of paving which respects the line of a wall delineating a boundary between two yard or open forecourt areas lying to the NW and SE respectively. The flagged area may thus be the site of a gate linking the two yards.

To the interior of Building VIII there are a number of hearths, of which two are depicted by Hogg by virtue of their presence on the first level plan of Area F. These occupy a medial position close to the bowed S end-wall. One is rectangular, the other circular. Both are paved and carefully finished with a kerb of stones set on edge (Curle and Cree 1916, 75).

A second circular hearth occupies a mid-wall position on the E. Of particular note are the features associated with the W side-wall. Adjacent the entrance-doorway there is a large hearth (2.45m by 1.05m), enclosed by a stone kerb on three sides but paved only on the inner half and open to the SSW. The SW terminal of the hearth is extruded and culminates in a hooked return. The excavators finding no explanation to account for this, speculated that a smaller hearth may have been enclosed by the kerb terminal (ibid. 79). By conflating the relevant phase plans (levels one and two), however, the kerb can be shown to respect the N jamb of the entrance-doorway. Still more remarkable is a curious stone-setting that is set apart from the rear-wall of the hearth by about 0.3m. This feature consists of two parallel stone rows (0.45m apart), projecting 0.2m to 0.3m above the floor level, and stretching for a length of about 1.2m. Curle described this as a 'gutter-like' arrangement but found no evidence in support of his view (ibid. 80). The Traprain hoard had been let into a pit dug between the stone gutter and the rear-wall of the hearth; features that would have provided an accurate reference point should the hoard need to be relocated. In respect to the available surface area between the respective features, the pit (0.45m in diameter) must have been bell-shaped in sectional profile. The manner in which the hoard had been cast-in would imply that the whole operation was hastily achieved (cf. Curle 1920, 103-4). From this reappraisal of the evidence one can deduce that the hoard had been deposited within a building, either during occupation or after it had been abandoned (probably the former), and that it had clearly been located with retrieval in mind. This event may have culminated with the catastrophic demise of the Phase One settlement or, allowing for a more piecemeal transition, to an equivalent event associated with the settlement history of Phase Two. The dating evidence (to be considered) favours the latter (see also p. 254); after which settlement of any permanence on the western plateau is unattested. At any event the nature of the evidence precludes any notion that the Traprain hoard may have been a votive deposit (cf. Hill 1987b, 89; Close-Brookes 1987, 93).

*(v) **Finds*** Setting aside for the present the Traprain hoard, the finds from the associated levels, though less prolific than those from earlier occupation levels, are particularly instructive. They are suggestive of a broader range of activities (to which a domestic function may have been subordinate) than is evident elsewhere on the site; activities that probably included livestock management and the processing of its by-products, fine and heavy metalworking, carpentry and food processing. This accords with the pattern of multiple yard or forecourt areas attendant to the Group 3 buildings, together with their proliferation of hearths, and marks this area out as the workshop or artisan adjunct to the settlement. The finds are as follows: sherds of native manufacture, Roman wares, including samian and mortaria (proportionately less than on level three), a penannular-shaped fibula, bronze pins, a clay mould for casting a small hand-pin, finger rings, bead and bangle fragments, fragments of glass vessels, two javelin and spear-heads with split sockets

(diagnostically held to be a later trait than those without), a spear-ferrule, a number of iron knives, a pair of shears or scissors, a mortising chisel (two of this type were found at Newstead: cf. Curle 1911, pl. lix, Nos. 4, 11), horse-shoes, a whetstone, numerous spindle-whorls (four of samian), a lead disc, a bronze binding, a short coil of silver wire, stone counters or playing pieces, stone balls (sling-stones?), a bronze folding spoon, and coins of Constantine Junor (AD 317-340) and Magnentius (AD 350-353), which, together with the conspectus of datable finds, suggests a late third- or fourth-century date for the Phase One, Group 3 buildings.

(d) Group 4

This looser and more markedly dispersed group of buildings lies to the west of the main square and south-east of Group 1.

*(i) **Building XIV***, was well defined from the first (cf. Curle and Cree 1921, 154-5, fig. 1). It is roughly subrectangular on plan (13m by up to 9.5m overall) and solidly built with faced drystone masonry walls up to 1.2m thick; probably the footings for a turf-wall. There is an entrance at the N end of the E side-wall and a second (about 2m wide) adjacent the apex of the divergent W side-wall. Central to the building there is a massive hearth (2.5m by 0.9m) on which a second hearth (0.9m by 0.6m) was partially superimposed; a third hearth lay immediately to the N. Each was paved and set with a stone kerb.

*(ii) **Building XIII***, immediately to the N, is roughly oblong on plan (10.5m by 8m over walls about 0.8m thick), with an entrance towards the N end of the E side-wall, and was furnished with a central hearth.

*(iii) **Building XII***, on the NW, is also subrectangular on plan but is round-ended and more well proportioned (12.5m by up to 8m over walls up to 0.8m thick). It has a small outshot on the NW (3m by 4.5m overall), which was entered from the main room, and there is an entrance (up to 3m wide) central to the blunt SE end-wall. Two hearths were set central to the interior. Several sections of masonry lying in the open area adjoining the building on the NE can be joined to suggest the presence of an outshot roughly square on plan (7m by 6.5m overall) enclosing a fourth hearth. However, the wall-lines are at best severely wasted and the outshot may be spurious.

*(iv) **Building XV*** Some 6m to the W of XII there are the wasted remains of what may be a fourth building. This would be roughly oval on plan, measuring 12m by 9m overall. To the interior there are the remains of three hearths, one of which is severely fragmented.

*(v) **Finds*** from associated levels bear out the domestic character of the respective buildings but would indicate some minor industrial activity if not within, certainly close by. They include: bronze fibulae, finger rings (one of silver), pins, an armlet, a buckle fragment, the boldly modelled figure of a raven (cast), a piece of semi-tubular binding; glass beads and armlet fragments; objects of jet or lignite; a lead ring and ferrule; hammer stones; two incomplete sandstone moulds (one possibly for a spear ferrule), a bar mould; an iron axe, a key, a file, a rod, a horse-shoe, a link (probably the loop of a buckle) and an iron bar. Pottery was rather more prolific than that from corresponding levels elsewhere on the plateau, and included both native pottery and some samian. The coins too were rather more numerous; discounting the latest, they span the reigns of Constantine I (AD 316-323) to Arcadius (AD 395-408). The last may, however, be out of place with the Phase One buildings and properly belongs, probably with Phase Two. The excavators, it should be noted, failed to distinguish the structures here ascribed to Phase Two. The coin sequence thus properly terminates either with Constantine II (AD 323-324) or Magnentius (AD 350-353).[2]

(e) Building Analysis

The buildings broadly fall into two categories; those that are more markedly oblong on plan with rounded angles or rounded end-walls, and those which have in common rounded angles or bowed long-walls, but are otherwise subrectangular on plan. The first can on size be subdivided into three groups (fig. 5.7), though each is proportionately similar in respect to a mean length/breadth ratio: group 1, Buildings VIII, II and III (32.50m^2, 36.26m^2 and 36.96m^2 respectively); group 2, Buildings IV and V (48m^2 and 49.5m^2 respectively) and group 3, Buildings I, XI and XV (60.16m^2, 76.50m^2 and 76.90m^2 respectively). The second category (subrectangular buildings) are similarly distinguished: Building VII (27.06m^2); IX (43.12m^2); VI (55m^2), and XII (66.56m^2), though it is a characteristic of this category that each building either has an outshot or one or more mural chambers, which could imply a rather more specialized function to which each subscribed. With the exception of the buildings in Phase One, Group 2 (lying to the ENE of the main square) each of the remaining building groups has at least one subrectangular building attendant to the building cluster. This may or may not be of significance. Viewed in total the available internal area (expressed in m^2) derived for each building, regardless of size, is similar in proportion and appears to represent a mean (probably a rule-of-thumb calculation), though this may have been imposed by the scantling available and the constructional technique used to span the internal void. The buildings range in size from 27.06m^2 (Building VII) to 76.96m^2 (Building XV) and four overall size categories can be defined: *a)* less than 40m^2 (Buildings II, III, VII, VIII); *b)* between 40m^2 and 50m^2 (Buildings IV, V, IX, X); *c)* between 55m^2 and 60m^2 (Buildings I, VI, XIII), and *d)* those of 65m^2 and more (Buildings XI, XII,

XIX, XV). On this basis building Groups 2 and 3 (those to the E of the main square) are seen to be broadly similar as each combines buildings of the same ratio of size category (*a, a, b* and *c*). By contrast the buildings ranged on the W side of the main square are proportionately larger and thus may denote a distinction in status. Of particular note are the Group 4 buildings (on the W and WSW side of the main square) each of which is set apart from its neighbour; for these, with the exception of Building XIII (Class *c*), all belong to Class *d*.

When the outshots are also considered a most interesting pattern emerges (fig. 5.8). The category *a* buildings cluster more tightly (33 to 37m^2, Buildings II, III, VII, VIII). The distinction between categories *b* and *c* is lost and new size categories emerge: category b^1 (48 to 61m^2, Buildings I, IV, V, IX and XIII); category c^1 (69 to 83m^2, Buildings VI, X, XII, XIV and XV), and category d^1 (Building XI, 100.5m^2). At this level the similarity between Phase One, Building Groups 2 and 3, becomes marginally less apparent, however, the status of Building Groups 1 and 4 (on the N and W side of the main square respectively) is more clear-cut. The most marked feature of the analysis is the proportionate size of Building XI, the sole category d^1 building. This, together with its conspicuous position in relation to the main square (note too its bulging entrance-doorway, perhaps for a porch) appears to single it out as the most important building amongst the whole complex on the western plateau. If size alone can be used as a determinant of status (and clearly the roofing of this structure would require greater technical skill) then Building XI would be the most likely candidate as the dwelling-house for a potentate or chief.[3]

(f) Constructional Technique

A uniform characteristic of the buildings, in all but the most wasted example, is the provision of substantial stone wall-footings; those in Area G correspond to an average boulder size of 1.5m in length by up to 0.9m in breadth (Curle 1920, 55). Walls raised on footings of this size could have been variously formed, though coursed drystone masonry was found only in Area I (Curle and Cree 1921, 156). In the absence of substantial building debris the excavators favoured the view that the stone foundations served merely to carry walls of turf (Curle and Cree 1916, 55); a view often restated in succeeding reports and more recent glosses, and one perpetuated by Hogg, 'the walls were generally of turf, about 4ft (1.2m) thick, usually on a stone foundation' (1951, 209) and reiterated by Hill who drew comparison with the stone-faced, turf-cored Cruden Wall (1987b, 88-9). However, other options may be entertained. In Area G (level 2), for instance, large amounts of redeposited clay point to the presence of collapsed clay-walled buildings (possibly of wattle and daub),[4] though these probably belong to an earlier phase, perhaps the hitherto elusive Romano-British settlement that was flourishing in the second century AD. Pieces of burnt clay with

wattle-and-post impressions were recovered from the highest levels in Area F (Curle and Cree 1916, 78, fig. 11).

Prospective field- and survey work by the writer on medieval and pre-Improvement farmsteads throughout Scotland (cf. RCAMS 1984, 37-41; 1985, 34-6; 1985b, 25; 1987, 64-72), strongly suggests that the absence of associated building debris is a recurrent trait on many such sites (even in landscapes largely devoid of nineteenth-century stone-walled enclosures and field-walls), though the form of the walls, more often than not represented by turf-covered stone wall-footings, is rarely disputed.[5] Given the structural potential of the solid and drift geology of Traprain Law this must have greatly influenced the pattern of local building, and it is likely, as not, that the walls almost entirely consisted of a random rubble build; a technique used in most seventeenth-century houses that survive (cf. Gailey 1984, 48). The transition from wattle-and-timber to the mass materials evident in the Phase One buildings would appear to have been achieved by the third century, if not slightly before. This need not preclude the use of turf in a composite build, for example, in the provision of turf-and-stone gables (if gabled at all), or to provide the groundwork for thatch or shingles.[6] The adage that 'though turf may represent a poor building material with little inherent stability, yet it has the merit of being everywhere readily available', is probably inapplicable to the densely occupied western slopes of the Law with its degraded rock-strewn summit.

In considering how the buildings may have been roofed their span is obviously crucial. Fig. 5.9 sets out the length/breadth ratios of the Phase One buildings. Three principal divisions are apparent; those with a span not exceeding 5m (Buildings II, III, V, VI, VIII and IX); those with a span of between 5.5m and 6m (Buildings I, IV, X, XIII and XV), and two outsiders (Buildings XV and XI) with spans of 9m and 10.5m respectively. From this it can be inferred that buildings of the first order (categories *a* and *b* in terms of overall size), which display no marked consistency in the mean span, were roofed using a principal-rafter or comparable roof-framing system incorporating a simple collar- or tie-beam truss for stability. The timbers would have been set directly on the wall-head (probably by way of a wall-plate) and thus would require the walls to be fully load-bearing. The preference for rounded end-walls or markedly rounded angles, and in cases a tendency towards some circularity on plan, would argue in favour of a hipped roof-structure rather than provision of an end-gable.

Buildings of the second order (categories *b* and *c* in order of size) represent a more rigid adherence to a standard mean of about 6.4m. This would argue in favour of a cruck (*fforch*) and, in view of the scantling probably available in proximity to the Law, these would most likely have been of composite construction and scarf-jointed, springing either

from ground level or from a mid-wall position. In a random rubble build cruck-slots need not be readily apparent at ground level (particularly when the buildings are reduced to their wall-footings) and the fact that none were found by the excavators need not, therefore, unduly influence the argument.

It should, none the less, be noted that there is no essential difference between continuous and composite cruck-blades insofar as they support much, if not all, of the burden of the roof independently of the side-walls of the structure. Ideally each cruck couple would be fashioned out of the trunk and the main branch of a large oak, split down the middle to make a pair, and inverted so that the branch formed the feet and its trunk the blade, which transmitted the weight and outward thrust of the roof through the elbow to the ground. The members would have been pegged and tailed to the ridge-piece and purlins (cf. Smith, P 1975, 77; Gailey 1984, 74; Smith, IM 1986). Couples were usually prefabricated and assembled on the ground prior to being hoisted into position.[7] Some standardization in cruck-construction is thus a possibility and the necessary tools are well represented amongst the finds' lists from Traprain Law (cf. Curle and Cree 1921, 200-1).[8]

The use of crucks, which has been deduced for the Traprain Phase One buildings and will be developed further in application to Phase Two, nevertheless, represents the earliest use of this specialized craft technique anywhere in North Britain and may, on these grounds alone, call into question the validity of its application here at so early a date. Although little understood, the methodology of prehistoric roof construction does provide an intelligible context for the use of crucks; the function of each being to clear away the inconvenient aisle-posts, or supporting members for the ring-beam, from the floor surface of the living-chamber. The use of crucks has, however, been established from excavated evidence elsewhere: notably at Haldern near Wesel (first century AD; Uslar 1949, 105-45) and at Westick near Kamen (late third to the late fourth or fifth century AD; Banfer *et al* 1936, 410-53), both in Germany, and has been deduced by Peate in a study of the tenth-century Welsh Laws, which refer to the 'three timbers' allowed for the building of a house; two either split, or used in an open truss, and the third for the ridge-piece (1946, ch. VI). The *antae* of the stone-built church on St MacDara's Island (Co. Galway) may also reflect a transmutation into stone, possibly in the twelfth century, of an earlier cruck-building tradition (Leask 1955, 29-30, 37-9; de Paer 1958, 59). Smith has gone further, developing earlier work by Fox and Raglan on Monmouthshire Houses (1951-54), in arguing a case for the cruck as a derivative tradition of the Celtic peoples; that is to say, a technique, which was handed down from master to apprentice by demonstration, without formal instruction (1964, 127).

At Traprain the non-axial layout of hearths in Buildings I, III, VII, IX, XI, XIV and XV would, for all practical purposes, have blocked one or more bays of an aisled superstructure. The opening up of the floor space would also have held important social and political implications, for the display of wealth or the practice of ceremonial, for example; a case which can be paralleled at the Hallstatt settlement on the Goldberg (Childe 1950, fig. 178; Smith 1964, 138), and one which would be entirely apposite in the context of the probable status of Building XI. This is not to say that cruck-building was practised vicariously, nor that it was a principal component in the repertoire of all carpentry traditions practised by different strata of native society, and a social and economic function might be deduced (see Smith 1964, 149), with cruck-framing being limited to select high-status buildings erected for a social *élite* (cf. Hay 1973). Again this would be appropriate at Traprain, and notably so in Phase Two, and the juxtaposition of the cruck-post with a non-load-bearing wall is generally accepted as the earliest form for structures of this type (Fox and Raglan 1951-54, i, 74, 93). The survival of a cruck-building tradition is well borne out in the remoter cultural backwaters over so great an area of Scotland, where for so long single-storeyed housing was the norm (cf. Dunbar 1957b; Walton 1957). The Scottish evidence (currently being assimilated by Geoffrey Stell, RCAMS; pers. commun., 1988), provides a useful balance to the evidence catalogued by Smith for England and Wales, which provided the necessary background for his thesis of Celtic origins.

The use of crucks goes some way towards accounting for the uniformity of span in some five buildings from the western shelf at Traprain. The plan-type of these buildings again favours a full hip at each end, indeed this is particularly apparent in the case of Building XIV, whose N end-wall has a marked outwards inflexion. To allow for this a scarfed cruck-blade would have had to be placed central to each hip-end. The construction of buildings of the third order (XI and XV) would have called for far greater technical ingenuity on the part of the builders. Timber-framing may once more be assumed, though the scale of the operation may have called for added collar-rafters or tie-beam trusses, probably in conjunction with a more complex ring-beam superstructure. An aisled-building is, of course, possible, though postholes and post-pads were not identified within the areas concerned; they were, however, found in Areas G and F (Curle and Cree 1916, 67). From what has been said about the likely status of Building XI it is worth recalling that in the *Llyfr Iorwerth* the only qualification in the description of the king's hall is the phrase 'each truss supporting the roof' *pob gavael o'r a'e kynhalyo (sef a dele bot endy, chuech cholouyn)*, as Butler notes (1987, 50, note 21), these columns are apparently single posts and do not refer to cruck couples (*fforch*).

In early sources thatch is often specified as a roof covering. The Irish Laws cite fines to be paid for interference with one's neighbours thatch, presumably at the eaves (*The*

Ancient Laws of Ireland, iv, 313). This hints at the height of the walls and the extent of overhanging eaves. Wooden shingles are also mentioned as a roof covering. In *Taín bó Fráich* (Meid 1967, 26.3, line 70) Maeve's palace at Cruachan is described as having had, *'Ba tuga slinned boí fair dianechtair'* (a roof of shingles on its outside); an appropriate parallel for the Phase One buildings at Traprain in the light of what has already been said about the probable status of Building XI. The use of wooden shingles is further supported by the evidence of near contemporary representations of buildings (cf. Murray 1979, 90) such as that of the temple of Jerusalem from the Book of Kells (fol.. 202v).[9]

(g) Discussion

In summary, the Phase One buildings may be seen to broadly conform to two plan-types. These have been analysed in respect to size, proportional area and span, and suggestions have been made as to the most likely form of their walls and probable roof-structure. This marks a significant advance on previous work where the structural picture was never fully drawn out, with the result that the building disposition was conflated and accordingly interpreted as 'a series of blocks flanking a main square, each composed of several subrectangular rooms opening into each other, with smaller irregular chambers opening off the larger rooms' (Hogg 1951, 209). Moreover it has been shown that the main square was not the sole focus for the buildings clustered on the western shelf. Two irregularly-shaped yards, that have previously escaped attention (cf. Hill 1987b, 88), form nucleii to Building Groups 1 and 3, while peripheral to these (on the NW and SE respectively) there are a number of other yards or open forecourts. These probably served as the principal activity areas accompanying stock-rearing and livestock management, and for the minor industrial activity which as attested by the artefacts recovered. It is worth recalling that the main appearance of the smithy as defined by the Welsh Laws is in the passage concerning the 'three permitted fires'. The house of the smiths had to be built nine paces distant from the other houses of the settlement, roofed with turves, broom or stone tiles (*tabulis*). The smithy fire is also mentioned in the nine fires of the Powysian Laws (Butler 1987, 50, 53). Group 3, Building XIV, with its enlarged hearths and gaping entrance-doorway on the W, may be seen to fulfill these maxims. It is clear too that a number of buildings possessed features above those required of a strictly utilitarian domestic dwelling. This is implied at a basic level by the provision of capacious outshots to the Group 1 buildings and by the extruded mural chambers accompanying Group 3.

A further level of structural planning is a feature common to each of the respective building clusters, though its implications are more difficult to define. Discounting the rather nebulous evidence for an outshot on the NE side of Building XII, buildings with well-proportioned squared outshots are exclusive to Group 1. By contrast the Group 3 buildings

all have small mural chambers annexed to the main structure. Most notable in this respect is Building VI with three. The only outlier to this case is Building XII, Group 4, which has a small mural chamber extruded on the NNW, central to its end-wall. Each Group, with the exception of Group 2, is commonly provided with one subrectangular building alongside buildings of other plan-types. Group 2 consists of three closely-abutted buildings of simple form, with a fourth lying immediately to the S. The overall size of the respective buildings in Groups 2 and 3 is much the same. By contrast those of Groups 1 and 4 are more spacious and better proportioned. Group 4 is noteworthy both for the loose linear configuration of its respective buildings and their size.

Coincidence as a factor governing layout can be ruled out, as the structuring of the respective building-clusters clearly implies that they were not randomly arranged. One might surmise that each building cluster arose as the product of a single family or social unit (the latter if a social hierarchy is allowed), or kin group whose tasks and status were well defined. Hilary Murray has conveniently summarized much of the documentation accruing from the earliest sources by suggesting what the houses of an *ócaire*, the lowest grade of freeman recognized in Irish law, and an *aire túise*, a farmer of noble grade, would have been like (1979, 91-3). In the early laws the *ócaire* was marginally less well off than average. His house was roofed with thatch on pairs of rafters rising from wattled walls. It was without internal partitions, probably rectangular on plan, measuring some 5.8m in length by 3.9m in breadth. Opposed entrances were probably closed with a wooden door on the windward side, and a hurdle door on the lee side. It is unclear whether the roof was hipped or gabled. The *aire túise* had a larger but otherwise rather similar house, perhaps about 8.8m by 5.9m. This is further amplified by the Welsh Laws, perhaps harking back to an earlier precursor, which itemize the separate components of the lord's winter house, including pillars, roof-plates, purlins, stanchions, benches, sills, lintels, side-posts, door-posts and door (Butler 1987, 51). Some form of internal divisions provided specially defined sleeping spaces, and these had corner posts supporting curtain rails, probably to facilitate privacy as occasion demanded. The sleeping platform figures in romantic literature of the period (cf. Peate 1972, 33, 36; Richards 1948, 2-3). Although the law *Críth Gablach* (Binchy 1970) is of eighth-century date, it may echo what was already a well-tried tradition. One can only guess the origins of this tradition but its application to Traprain, in common with other Celtic-British territories on the western littoral, seems not unreasonable in the light of what has already been said.

On this basis some tentative suggestions can be made as to the status and probable function of the respective building groups clustered on the western shelf. Group 1, characterized by the provision of capacious outshots and a focal yard area, perhaps accords with a settlement unit of the highest status. This is most marked in the case of Building XI

with its spacious interior, opposed lateral entrances and prominence in respect to the main square. Finds were almost wholly domestic. Group 2, set apart as simple sparsely furnished houses, had finds, too, largely of domestic character. These then were perhaps the dwellings of a class of freemen most closely approximately to the *ócaires* of the *Críth Gablach*; the villein or bond-man of the Welsh Laws. The size of the buildings also bears comparison, though in the context of the primacy of any building stance on the western shelf the status of the individuals concerned is likely to have been more elevated than the average man. In Scottish medieval rural society elderly batchelors were often segregated from the fermtoun community (Sherriff, JR pers. commun., 1987; Dodgshon 1981, 226),[10] and just such a policy may account for the close configuration of the insular Group 2 dwellings. The Group 3 buildings share the characteristics of Group 1, but on the basis of size they bear closer comparison with Group 2. Finds include rather more tools and evidence of manufacturing than elsewhere and would signify some degree of craft specialism over this part of the site. The provision of mural-chambers may also serve as a functional distinction. Buildings VII and VIII bear signs of internal partition-walls, the enclosed areas perhaps fulfilling the function of bed-neuks or outshots (the *indae* of the *Críth Gablach*); features too of the houses of the *aire túise*, and the house sizes also bear comparison. Buildings in Group 4 appear to be of commensurate status as those of Group 1, though the hearths are given greater prominence and most are central to their interiors. Hearths situated inside domestic buildings are mentioned in several sources (see Murray 1979, 87) but only three specify that the hearth was central and these refer to the rather exceptional buildings of Bricriu's house (Henderson 1899, 2, lines 13-14) and Maeve's palace at Cruachan (Meid 1967, note 54, 68, lines 19-20). Finds accompanying and peripheral to these buildings were prolific and would be entirely in keeping with their assumed status.

(II) REVIEW OF THE DATABLE EVIDENCE

Before any attempt is made to reconcile the material evidence from the western shelf into the broader social and political milieu of the Votadini, together with the specific contexts of Roman frontier events, it is necessary to consider the probable date of the Phase One buildings and their relation to the defensive works that enclose the hill. Attention thus needs to be directed respectively to the outer rampart, the terrace bank and the Cruden Wall.

(a) The Outer Rampart

As a result of close field inspection there is now general agreement that an important early defensive rampart extends round the N and W side of the hill (cf. Close-Brookes 1983, 213-14). This has been termed 'the outer rampart'. Traces of it survive at the W end of the hill where a series of large stones (probably the footings of the rampart) extrude from the turf at the break of slope to the front of the Cruden Wall. There is no direct evidence for its date of

abandonment, though sherds in the accumulation of material that formed behind it (here referred to as the terrace bank) would not be inconsistent with a rampart that had gone out of use by the first century AD, if not before. Alongside other settlements of Romano-British date in the Tyne-Forth province, which are either open or at best lightly protected, Traprain has always been conspicuous and regarded as rather unique in alone being permitted to maintain a substantial rampart. It was in the customary sense a walled town (an *oppidum*) and this has been taken as a sign of the privileges ascribed to this pivotal native centre in accordance with Roman frontier policy; entirely in keeping with the dearth of evidence for Roman installations close by (but see also pp. 59-61). On this basis the early philo-Roman status of the Votadini seemed assured (cf. Feachem 1956, 288; Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 12, 36). Accepting now that the outer rampart is in the broadest sense 'pre-Roman', this effectively removes the problem to which Jobey first drew attention (1976, 198; see also Close-Brookes 1983, 215).

(b) The Terrace Bank

In appraising B.rsu's 1939 excavations Close-Brookes has put pay to any notion that the terrace bank may ever have been a rampart (*contra.* Bersu 1948; Feachem 1956; Alcock 1971b, 181; Jobey 1976, 198-9). Her explanation of its formation is perfectly plausible, though the implications have never been fully considered. It 'appears to be a natural accretion of hill-wash, dumped rubbish, and collapsed buildings, which has accumulated behind an early rampart built somewhat further down the slope, in the same way as a lynchet forms against a field wall or fence. The earlier rampart was probably sited at a point where there was a natural break in the slope of the ground, which falls away more sharply below. The terrace bank, however, should not be regarded as once the main defence of the *oppidum*, as Bersu thought. It appears rather as a purely domestic feature on which buildings were erected over a long period of time, up to at least the fourth century AD' (1983, 215). In appraising the datable evidence from the terrace bank, Close-Brookes' principal concern was to qualify the date of the Cruden Wall; from where and by what means such a considerable body of material was derived are points that will be considered shortly. Two sherds of probable fourth-century date were found in association. The first, low in the terrace build-up, at the E end of Bersu's Cutting 2 (ibid. catalogue no. 8); the second from a black silt layer that could underlie a hearth constructed on the surface of the bank (Cutting 1; ibid. catalogue no. 2).

(c) The Cruden Wall

The datable evidence for the Cruden Wall, which is of an uncommon build with a substantial stone facing on either side of an earth or turf core (up to 4m wide overall) (plate 5.2), is four-fold. Ground survey and excavation by Bersu (1948) and Cruden (1940) indicate that it is

later than the inner and outer ramparts. It is later than a second-century sherd of samian (Cruden 1940, 54) and later than Roman sherds of third- or fourth-century date recovered from layers beneath (Close-Brookes 1983, catalogue nos. 2 and 8). Close-Brookes has also drawn attention to a 'cast ring pin-head of silver, shouldered variety with bosses' (Cruden 1940, 57). This is to be identified with Duignan's Class 1b (1973), late fourth or fifth century AD. It was recovered from a level which did for the most part underlie the Cruden Wall, though its findspot is not accurately known (cf. Close-Brookes 1983, 216). At best the evidence provides a *terminus post quem* of 'probably fourth century'; the pin-head may extend this into the early years of the fifth century but may indicate no more than that occupation was continuing on the summit.

(d) Continuity or Not?

Critical to the date of the Phase One buildings is an apparent break in the occupation of the western shelf from the mid second century to the mid third. This has long been recognized, though Jobey had some reservations (1976, 199-200). The coin sequence from the Law contains no specimens between Faustina the Elder (AD 141+) and Gallienus (AD 260-268). Feachem (1956, 288) noted a corresponding gap in the metalwork, and Burley (1956), who concurred, noted that this fitted with the coin evidence and commented on changes in the form and style of the metalwork, but was less inclined to speak in terms of a long break in occupation. Jobey counselled caution and suggested a gap in the supply of coinage for the period in question. This was taken up by Close-Brookes (1987, 92), responding to Hill (1987b), who commented on the inadmissible use of Roman pottery as an index of abandonment of native settlements in the later second century AD. 'To argue on this basis that the population packed up and went elsewhere is rash (cf. Jobey 1983)'. Close-Brookes' concern, supporting Sekulla's observations (1982), was that Roman pottery like coinage played an extremely peripheral part in the economy of Traprain, as too for the rest of Scotland, in the third and fourth centuries AD. Nevertheless, coins did reach Traprain in the later period, as too Roman pottery and engraved glass amongst other items. Thus to argue solely on the basis of supply and demand fails to take into account the full implications of the evidence and more especially the place of Traprain in the political orbit of the second century and the context of Roman frontier events.

A still more cogent case for abandonment can be made. It has long been recognized, despite all the inadequacies of the early excavations, that there is an element of genuine division between the upper levels, 1 and 2, and the lower levels, 3 and 4, over much of the western plateau (see Close-Brookes 1987b, 93). Hill too commented on the differences in structures in these two levels (1987, 89). Burley (1956, 131) noted a concentration of certain metalwork types in certain levels and areas. Harness mounts, for instance, came principally from the lower levels but iron tools from the upper. Few tools of

native type came from the lower level, sickles, shears and files came from the upper; Roman swords came from the lowest levels, native swords from the upper. Burley also noted that the coin finds broadly correspond with such a division, while Curle (1920, 100-101) showed that hand-made pottery was concentrated in the lowest level, and Cree (1924, 261-6) gave tables revealing the concentration of ring-headed pins, dress-fasteners and harness mounts in the lower two levels, headed and rosette-headed pins in the upper two. Tabulated data given by Sekulla (1982, 289-93) showed that some thirteen of the stratified first- to second-century coins came from the lower levels, and five from the upper, while of the third- to fourth-century coins only nine are from the lower levels, and some twenty-four from the upper. From this it can be deduced that the coins and other artefacts are in general contemporary with the building levels in which they are found and further, that the division between the two principal levels is both real and symptomatic of a period during which the site was actually abandoned.

These points are crucial. The evidence for the Phase One buildings implies that from the first the settlement was planned and internally structured according to specific guidelines whose precepts can now only be generally surmised. Extrapolating from the issue of coinage from levels associated with the Phase One buildings a *terminus post quem* is provided by coins of Gallienus (AD 260-268) and a probable *terminus ante quem* by coins of Magnentius (AD 350-353). The inception of Phase One thus follows close upon the period of abandonment. Two points arise from this. First, the Phase One Buildings bear no comparison with house-types current on Romano-British settlements elsewhere in the Tyne-Forth province. This has previously been dismissed on the basis that Traprain was an exceptional high-status site and the buildings may merely reflect this (cf. Hill 1987b, 89), but the implications are much wider. Jobey too noted that by analogy one might anticipate a progression from timber- to stone-built huts as seen on the smaller Romano-British settlements in the area (1964, 45); 'the evidence is at best disappointing' (1976, 202). Second, accepting the period of abandonment, a context can now be found for the reordering and layout of the site; an event that took place probably in the second half of the third century AD (at the inception of Phase One).

To take the second point first. Prior to rebuilding, the relict remains of what was probably a typical Romano-British settlement were cleared from the western shelf and the ground levelled. These earlier buildings, possibly round houses of standard type and wattle-and-daub construction (cf. Jobey 1976, 202; Hill 1987b, 86), were demolished and their materials removed to the hill perimeter and dumped. This is the most plausible explanation for the size and extent of the 'terrace-bank' that accumulated behind the denuded outer rampart. The cuttings made by Bersu (1948) across this bank lay on the northern and eastern

extremities of the hill, that is to say, in proximity to the most exposed sections of the summit where long-term habitation seems most unlikely (in April 1947 excavation was beset by gale-force winds, rain and even snow). At the very least the material for a greater part of the build-up of the terrace-bank must have been derived from the western shelf.[11] Allowing for some subsequent deposition, this would be in keeping with the dating evidence. Considerable quantities of hardened day, much of it completely burnt red or black (here held to be the remains of the earlier buildings) extended as a residual deposit over much of the excavated area on the western shelf; like material was found in Bersu's Cutting 1, both below the Cruden Wall and at the east end of the cutting (Close-Brookes 1983, fig. 96). Fragments of burnt clay bearing wattle-and-post impressions were recovered especially from level 2 in Area F (Curle and Cree 1916, 76). The only feature that can be held to be of any enduring significance to the ultimate layout of the Phase One settlement is the roadway. This traces its circuitous course uphill from the gateways through the outer rampart at the foot of the hill on the north and west respectively.

(III) THE PHASE ONE BUILDINGS: THEIR PARALLELS AND POSSIBLE IMPLICATIONS

At the outset it should be recognized that the Phase One buildings are quite unlike traditional plan-types current on Romano-British settlements elsewhere in North Britain. These buildings seem to emerge without precedent and in striking contrast even to the Romano-British settlement that may be held to have preceded them on the Law itself. Burley too conjectured that the respective levels on the western shelf could almost be characterized, insofar as the 'two lowest levels are predominantly Roman and the two upper chiefly Native and Romano-British' (1956, 131). This distinction perhaps needs further clarification and one might substitute for the lowest levels the term 'Romano-British' and for the upper 'Brito-Roman' (see Smith 1984, 193, n. 8), so as to lay greater stress on the native element that is more fully revealed in the nature of the metalwork and other finds. The implications are two-fold. The Phase One buildings would seem to point either to the direct influence of a building vocabulary from another region, hitherto unspecified, if not to the presence of immigrants on the Law itself, or to a liberation of ideas in the form of vernacular architecture practised by the Votadini.[12]

In the search for parallels one immediately encounters the difficulties that arise from the essentially traditionalist approach which has characterized Scottish archaeology. An approach that has mainly skirted the fields of native domestic rural settlement and its artefacts in favour of the conspicuous and external comparisons. With regard to the autochthonous nature of native settlement and land use, which spans millennia over much of mainland Scotland, this has been to ignore the most considerable part of the archaeological record and

the result has been to dislocate the indigenous element of continuity and chronology. It has meant too that the broader categories of rural settlement remain, for the most part, virtually undetected. Thus the settlements of the Picts, the Dalriadic Scots, those of feudal lordship and the pre-Improvement landscape are almost unknown archaeologically. Thus in turning north of the Firth of Forth to seek parallels for the Traprain buildings there is a problem and one must tread warily. This is unavoidable in the absence of more closely defined type-sites whose cultural and racial origins are better understood (e.g. Dunollie, Alcock 1988b) and although the material basis has improved since Wainwright first published *The Problem of the Picts* (1955), the nature of the evidence, it may be held, has changed only in degree, not substance (cf. Wainwright 1980, 88-9; Ritchie and Ritchie 1981, 176-82; Alcock 1987a).

The diagnostic attributes of the Phase One buildings are as follows: the buildings are either oval or ovoid, or more axially subrectangular but not fully rectangular. With the exception of those in Group 4 the buildings are variously conjoined and in certain cases (e.g. Group 2) the term 'multi-cellular' is appropriate. A number of buildings display some form of external development, either in the form of outshots (Group 1) or the provision of one or more smaller cells (extruded either from the side- or end-walls (e.g. Buildings VII, VIII and XII). Such buildings, following Crawford and Switsur (1977, 130), might be termed 'ventra-houses' or, in the case of Building VI, 'polyventral'. This conspectus of diagnostic traits can be held to set apart the Phase One buildings from those current on other Romano-British settlements in the Tyne-Forth province. The large slab-built hearths, to which the excavators devoted much attention (e.g. Curle 1920, 58-61), will also repay investigation, as too the probable form of wall-construction used in the various dwellings.

Close analogies for the form, disposition and constructional details of the Phase One buildings, particularly those in Group 2, are provided by the sites excavated between 1949 and 1957 by Wainwright at Ardestie and Carlungie in Angus (fig. 5.10); two souterrain complexes each consisting of a great souterrain and an array of associated surface dwellings. On chronological grounds the sites can be respectively subdivided into those elements that are broadly contemporary with the souterrain, and those that post-date its infilling. The few finds from both sites showed that their souterrains were in use in the second century AD, and perhaps also in the first, and that they were deliberately dismantled and refilled about AD 200 at Ardestie, and perhaps a little later at Carlungie, but that ground-level occupation continued for a further two centuries or more (Wainwright 1963, 112-16). The dating of the sites at Ardestie and Carlungie, though artefact-based, has more recently found support in a suite of radiocarbon dates obtained by Trevor Watkins both from a souterrain at Newmill, Perthshire (characteristic of Wainwright's Angus group), which had been built after 55±90 bc and refilled in or after AD 195±55 (on the evidence of charcoal from a fire actively in the filling), and from a series of ditch-like features at Dalladies, Kincardine, whose dates ranged from

197±60 bc to 501±65 ad (Watkins 1980a, 160, 164; 1980b, 207). In terms of date it is with the post-souterrain structures at Ardestie and Carlungie that the parallels for the Traprain Phase One buildings most properly lie, nevertheless, in considering the development of a building tradition common to these sites their direct antecedents must also be taken into account.

On both sites the post-souterrain levels of occupation lay close to the modern ground surface and had suffered some depredation due to later agricultural activity. Traces of huts were found but only at Carlungie was there sufficient evidence to commit the details to plan. Wainwright summarizes his findings as follows: 'The post-souterrain houses were not very different from those used in the souterrain period, some, indeed, may have actively belonged to the original souterrain complex. These were strongly built circular or ovoid structures, without central posts, carefully paved with stone slabs, and apparently roofed in wigwam fashion by boughs wedged into the walls and then covered with bracken and turf. The lowest course of their walls consisted of huge glacially-worn boulders of the kind used in the souterrain itself. The huts that were added in the post-souterrain phase were perhaps not so substantially built; they lacked the massive course of boulders and they seem to have had double-walls of smaller stones. There was also an open paved yard or court, and that at Ardestie extended over the dismantled souterrain' (paraphrasing Wainwright 1980, 92).

(a) Conjoining as a Diagnostic Trait

As already noted, this conjoining of structures, a characteristic of Traprain Phase One, is not found to so marked a degree on Romano-British settlements (cf. Hill 1987b, 88), though houses are on occasion grouped in units of one large house with one or more ancillary structures (see also pp. 87, 183). At Ardestie huts 3 and 4 (2.1m by 2.1m and 2.5m by 1.3m internally respectively) were physically conjoined and their structural unity was further emphasized by a continuous length of walling which united them on the SW; in this respect they were treated as two separate huts, but structurally they are one (Wainwright 1963, 65-6). At Carlungie a similar bifocal arrangement is evident in the juxtaposition of huts 1 and 2 (4.3m by 3.7m and 3.7m by 3.1m respectively) and huts 4 and 6 (2.8m by 1.7m and 3.4m by 3.1m respectively). Although communication between each unit was facilitated by a doorway central to their mutual end-walls, this arrangement seems ultimately to have been done away with by the insertion of blocking over the paved thresholds. The Traprain buildings, especially those of Group 2, though larger (almost twice size), bear close comparison both on plan and in the provision of common entry. This is not apparent on my own reconstruction of Phase One but was a feature to which Hogg drew attention (1951, 209). These bifocal houses, which are a feature of the souterrain phases at Ardestie and Carlungie 1, appear to be of the same genre as houses of related form that have been

excavated by Christopher Morris on the Point of Buckquoy, Orkney.[13] The principal house was broadly oval on plan and consisted of two circular rooms, one about 4.5m in diameter and the other slightly smaller, separated by a central drystone pier. The larger chamber contained a slab-lined hearth and a possible oven. The walls were built of horizontal drystone masonry with a neatly finished inner face and an irregular outer face with an earth-and-stone core (see also the form of walling employed at Buckquoy, Ritchie 1977, pp. 178-9, 83).

(b) The Yard as an Essential Element of the Settlement Plan

The grouping of huts around a paved yard or open court, a feature of the settlement at Carlungie 1 (huts 1, 2 and 8, and huts 3, 4, 5 and 6), is a feature too of Traprain, apparent both in the ordering of the buildings around the main square and more especially in the tighter nuclear disposition of buildings in Groups 1 and 3 in respect to their own subordinate yard areas, which correspond in size to that at Carlungie. Wainwright was at pains to emphasize the importance of the Carlungie courtyard and much that he says can be held to apply equally to Traprain. 'It is unfortunate that the courtyard does not emerge more clearly as an element in the complex, for its importance is obvious and it holds the key to many questions' (1963, 97). It was the focal point, the nerve centre for the settlement, from which access was gained to all but one of the huts and to the souterrain by one of its four entrances. Yards are a feature of many Romano-British settlements (see especially Type 2, pp. 179-82) but nowhere do they form such a primary focus for building ranges as they do at Traprain and for the parallels so far cited. The yard as an integral element of the settlement plan can thus be held to be a distinguishing trait of the Phase One buildings and their counterparts.

(c) Wall Construction

Despite broad similarities in the plan-types of the souterrain and post-souterrain phases at Ardestie and Carlungie 1, an important distinction may be drawn between the techniques employed in the two phases. The earlier buildings were exclusively of a boulder-and-slab construction. By contrast the later walls were much slighter and rather different in character. They were between 0.30m and 0.45m thick and consisted of fairly small squarish stones laid in double rows, bound together by occasional cross-members and set in a shallow foundation trench. Wainwright accounted for this difference by suggesting that the builders had broken with the methods employed in the construction of the souterrains, thus freeing them to develop methods more appropriate to surface structures (1963, 111), though he notes that at least one of the post-souterrain huts at Carlungie 1 was built in the traditional boulder-and-slab technique of the souterrain period.

Both techniques are employed in the construction of the Phase One, Traprain buildings, and they stand in marked contrast to the usually better quality masonry evident in

the numerous native houses of the late pre-Roman Iron Age and early Roman Iron Age that have been excavated in the supposed territory of the Votadini (Jobey 1966b), by which standards the walling on Traprain appears most crude (cf. Hill 1987b, 88). It is worth paralleling Wainwright's description (op. cit.) of the efforts required of the builders to lever the boulders into place (where the difficulty was not to find the material but to handle it), and Curle's observation that the average size of the stones on Traprain was so considerable (some were up to 1.65m long and 0.95m broad) that the task of removing them took the efforts of three of four men at a time (1920, 55). The use of a boulder construction is still more apparent in the Traprain Phase Two buildings; double-skinned walls of the type used in the post-souterrain phases at Ardestie and Carlungie 1 are evident in the construction of buildings V, VI, VIII, XI and XV of Phase One.

In one essential respect the Phase One buildings at Traprain are notably different. The outstanding constructional feature at Ardestie and Carlungie 1 is the familiarity of the souterrain builders with what was already a well developed tradition. The souterrains, no less than their above ground structures, represent a conspectus of masonry method whose application is best seen in the souterrains themselves, with their corbelled walls of boulders and slabs, backward projecting flagstones, a massive roof of huge stones, and all the minor constructional devices of bedding, wedging, pinning and packing. Continuity between the souterrain and post-souterrain phases, as too at Dalladies and Newmill, seems assured. At Traprain there is neither evidence for continuity, nor of a unified building tradition. Phase One at Traprain emerges wholly without precedent and in marked contrast to the Romano-British settlement that preceded it, whose buildings, we may assume, were of clay-daubed, wattle-and-post construction.

(d) The Ventra Buildings and Their Parallels

For evidence of ventra- and polyventral buildings one must look still farther afield. Level XIV at Coileagan an Udail (the Udal), North Uist, provides a close parallel and bears one overriding similarity with Traprain beyond the general level of comparative building analysis which is considered here. Between AD 200 and AD 400 the structures and artefacts of all types change character abruptly and completely from classic wheel-house types to a range of alien material; a change so marked as to suggest an invasion hypothesis (Crawford and Switsur 1977, 129). At the Udal the earliest structures of this era represent the prototypes of a distinctive and hitherto unrecognized architectural tradition which was then developed and elaborated for five hundred years.

The first phase (levels XIV-XIII) comprise simple, oval-bellied buildings (measuring on average 5m by 4m) with small satellite cells, slab-lined hearths lying along

the long axis and a single internal revetted platform. Phase 2 (level XIII) sees the development of a more systematic ladybird-like plan; a large oval chamber 6m long, a satellite at one end, the doorway on the other, and a slabbed central hearth flanked by two opposed revetted platforms, also containing major postholes. In form and size the buildings are similar to those in Group 3 at Traprain (Buildings VI, VII and VIII); Building VII provides a particularly close parallel. The final stage at the Udal sees the addition of more side-cells, and a comparable development at Traprain is suggested by Building VI. Apparently absent from Traprain are the lateral benches flanking the side-walls (the sleeping platforms of romantic literature; cf. Butler 1987, 51), although in certain cases the positioning of the hearths would allow for just such a provision. Internal benches are a feature of other Romano-British sites (e.g. Bridge House, Jobey 1960, 12-13, note 15).

Of particular interest is the way in which the disposition of rooms at the Udal are at all stages punctiliously laid out. This may be paralleled at Buckquoy and other post-broch but pre-Norse settlements in the Northern Isles (cf. Ritchie 1974, fig. 1; Alcock 1984, 18). House 4 at Buckquoy (corresponding in date to phase two at the Udal) consisted of a large oblong or oval living-hall containing a central hearth and a smaller circular chamber opening off one end. There was an additional rectilinear room at the opposite end of the living-hall, and beyond it a small entrance-vestibule; the whole house forming a linear unit of interconnecting rooms, about 14m in overall length. A second entrance gave direct access to the living-hall, and the remains of low stone kerbing along either side of the hall was interpreted as evidence for flanking wooden benches or platforms (Ritchie 1977; 1985, 196). Houses 5 and 6 at Buckquoy are of cellular-type. House 5 was much smaller than 4 (3.60m by 2.75m internally) and had three rectilinear cells flanking a central hearth. Although less than half of house 6 was recovered intact (due to coastal erosion), it provides an interesting parallel for Building VI at Traprain. It had a central slab-lined hearth with three rectilinear cells along one side of its main axis. Similar examples are found elsewhere, for example, the 'late dwelling' at Gurness, Orkney (RCAMS 1946, p. 78, No. 263, fig. 132) and on post-broch settlements as at Borwick, Orkney (Watt 1882 ; RCAMS 1946, pp. 252-3; No. 679). The Gurness example had four cells and was comparable in size to house 6 at Buckquoy (Ritchie 1974). Crawford (op. cit.) cited Professor O'Mhurchu (Trinity College, Dublin) who suggested that the major satellite cells may represent the *iomaidh* of early Gaelic literature; that inner sanctum where the elders sat and observed the household proceedings at a discrete remove; a function that has been alluded to in respect to the Group 3 buildings at Traprain.

(e) Hearths

The use of elaborate hearths is a recurrent feature of these sites and is paralleled at Traprain. That to the interior of house 4 at Buckquoy was well designed, paved and kerbed with

stone, and one end was left open to allow the removal of ash. The hearth in house 5 was not only open-ended but furnished with a removable slab, notched to fit the side kerbing of the hearth. Contemporary and similarly elaborate hearths have been found at Howe, Stromness (Hedges and Bell 1980, 50-1; Neil 1985) and at Calf of Eday (Calder 1939, 175, fig. 1, pl. lxvii, 2). Hearths broadly of this type are numerous at Traprain and were noted by the early excavators. In Areas Ha and M (Cree and Curle 1922) a total of twenty-nine are to be found on the various levels. Most are rectangular, slab-paved and have stone kerbs open at one end. Those scattered over the yard and open forecourt areas to the south of Building Group 3 tend to be longer than their domestic equivalents and are usually grouped in pairs, or associated with areas of paving, as in the case of Area F (Curle and Cree 1916, 76-7). The hearths provide yet another contrast with the pattern usually found on Romano-British sites. Indeed, many of the excavated native round-houses never had hearths, and most hearths of the period are either circular or polygonal (cf. Hill 1982b; 1987b, 88; at the Dod, Area XVI, house 1; Smith, forthcoming). Exceptions to this rule are hearths consisting of large flagstones edged by thin upright slabs noted at West Longlee, Bridge House, Cary Howe and Countess Park (Hall 1880, 367; Jobey 1960, 12), but nowhere do these achieve such an elaborate state as those, for instance, clustered axially in Building XIV at Traprain, possibly the smith's house (Curle and Cree 1921, 155).

(f) The Status of Traprain Phase One

It is difficult to account for the form of the Phase One buildings at Traprain solely on the basis of the assumed status of this site as others in the past have done (e.g. Hill 1987b, 89). This in itself has proved an awkward constraint for its assumes that the status of the *oppidum* of the first and second centuries AD, then rightly the *Curia* of the Votadini, was transmitted or taken up by the later settlement after a period of abandonment spanning several generations. It has further been shown that with the abandonment of the outer rampart in the pre-Roman period, Traprain was, to all intents, no different from many other Romano-British settlements in the Tyne-Forth province. The case for the status of the site must thus rest with the wealth of artefacts recovered principally, from the western shelf. This material has all the appearance of everyday domestic refuse and as such is no different from that recovered from Romano-British settlements elsewhere. Nor, indeed, need anything particularly unusual be seen in the quality of artefacts found. The mere presence of toilet instruments (tweezers and ear scoops, etc.) or a tiny silver strainer, is not in itself indicative of any particular style of living; these may have been no more than trinkets or souvenirs. Given that seven toilet instruments and other small Roman bronzes, together with beaded and rosette-headed pins, were found far to the north in the Sculptor's Cave, Covesea, Moray (Benson 1931, figs. 13-17), their appearance at Traprain seems unexceptional (Close-Brookes 1987, 93). The early Irish sources further make it clear that the houses belonging to

men of status were little different from those of men of more average means (cf. Gailey 1984, 19).

(g) Towards the Definition of a Building Tradition

As I have shown, the parallels for the Traprain phase One buildings lie not with neighbouring Romano-British house-types but with settlements and their antecedents over a wider area of mainland Scotland stretching as far as the outer Isles; a development which in the far north may post-date the abandonment of the brochs. But does this evidence amount to a broad-based architectural tradition? Granted it would seem to imply a certain conformity to the layout of buildings over a wide geographical area. However, it could be argued that this need amount to no more than a common response to the handling of specific materials, which of their very nature preclude alternative solutions (Halliday, S pers. commun., 1988). Thus a stone-built house, whether in Midlothian or Orkney, will always possess boulder-footings or be of rubble masonry construction, and the nature of the roof structure will be dictated by the size, form and load-bearing qualities of the house walls. Variations from the norm may be taken as an index of the indigenous aspects but this falls short of a building tradition *per se*. Personally, I do not believe that this is a particularly helpful line of reasoning, as it renders irrelevant all but the most salient observations arising from building analysis. It certainly does not allow more broad-based conclusions to be made concerning culture and racial origins; factors which must be grappled with if knowledge is to advance. On the basis of the internal use of space, the grouping of component elements within a house (themselves indicative of function and social attitudes), and such other features that may be held to be diagnostic, I would submit that a building tradition can be defined with some confidence. For instance, as Hill has shown, where sufficient chronological control does exist, it is possible to elucidate a building tradition; on this basis he was able to coin the phrase 'The Votadinian Tradition' (1982a). The reclassification of Roman-British settlement types set out in Chapter Six (pp. 174-88) follows from this approach and does not itself fall short of the definition of a building tradition.

Similarly, the evidence from a greater part of Scotland, though disparate, would imply an autochthonous building tradition coupled with an adherence to specific plan-types, either subcircular, oval, ovoid or axial, which, as a determinent of function, can be seen to have been transmitted to the plans of ventra (cellular) or polyventral building-types. What is surprising is the geographical extent of this building tradition, which can be seen to transcend the cultural and regional groupings of the peoples of Scotland insofar as they may be deduced from the earliest literary sources. Moreover, as Ritchie has shown (1974, 27), the combination of curvilinear and rectilinear traditions, such as are displayed at Buckquoy and on post-broch settlements as at Nybster and Gurness, are not solely confined to Scotland at

this date (e.g. Leacanabuaile A and B, Co. Kerry; O'Ríordaín and Roy 1941). It is against such a background as this that Wainwright, amongst others, wrestled with the problem as to whether or not the term 'Pictish' can be ascribed to any dwelling-type whose basic similarities are dictated by conservatism and imitation. As the Picts were a heterogeneous people, he notes, 'we should not expect to find a cultural uniformity among them' (1980, 88-9).

Nevertheless, in more recent syntheses initial caution has given way to a degree of optimism; this no doubt due in part to recent developments in settlement archaeology and the use of radiocarbon dating (and more recently thermoluminescence) to provide a firmer chronological framework. Thus the buildings at Ardestie and Carlungie 1 have come to be described as either proto-Pictish or Pictish (Wainwright 1963, 32), whilst Alcock, in reference to buildings in the Northern and Western Isles, states categorically that these were 'certainly the houses of the proto-Picts' (1984, 17). A similar stance was taken by Ritchie with reference to the place of Orkney in the Pictish Kingdom (1985, 183); a view which she accepts would at one time have been considered contentious. With respect to the Udal, the excavator describes the site as Scotto-Pictish and speculated as to whether its affinities could be Gaelic or Pictish, or purely indigenous, or a mixture of all three (Crawford and Switsur 1974, 9-11). He rightly stopped short of suggesting that the level XIV structures could represent the traditional Dalriadan incursion (cf. Bannerman 1974), a phenomenon which he acknowledged, in the absence of comparable material from Ulster, would require a more rigorous consideration of the range of possibilities than it has had (ibid. 129-30); a view reiterated in the 1988 Munro Lectures.[14]

The evidence then, from Scotland as a whole, points to a common cultural tradition shared by contemporary people across a wide geographical area, which can be held to be distinct from that practised in the more Romanized provinces of the north and west of Britain. Celtic Scotland in the Early Historic period was as one eminent student of English agrarian history has written for a later period 'a land of greater local variety, and rather less marked regional contrasts, than I had previously conceived it to be' (Lennard 1959, v). The identification of proto-Pictish and Pictish settlement entirely depends on the coincidence of the distribution with the geographical and chronological span provided for the Picts by the historical record. This can be qualified by linguistic and place-name evidence and, above all, by the distribution of the sculptured stones, without which the Picts could barely be held to exist as an archaeological reality. What then is to be made of Traprain Phase One, whose affinities more closely lie with Pictland proper than with contemporary Romano-British settlements and house-types within the Tyne-Forth region? Traprain clearly lies outwith the territory of the southern Picts whose extent north of the Antonine Wall, or north of the

Forth-Clyde isthmus, is revealed by the historical sources as also by the presence of Pictish chains and their carved stones (see Wainwright 1980; Henderson 1967).

(IV) TRAPRAIN - A PROTO-PICTISH OR PICTISH SETTLEMENT?

Given the unprecedented appearance of the Phase One buildings on the western shelf at Traprain, and the fact that these stand in marked contrast to the buildings that can be held to have preceded them, albeit several generations removed, one perhaps might suppose that the native population had either been physically supplanted, or had come under the influence of a more broad-based vernacular tradition, which, in common with such terms as *in more Romanorum, in more Scottorum,* could be labelled *in more Pictorum.* To give credence to the Votadini for having produced buildings so very different in character and alien to any 'Votadinian tradition' that can be held to have existed in the late third or fourth centuries, raises more questions than it provides answers. The more plausible explanation is that the native population were, following a period of abandonment, no longer present on the hill summit. The presence of the new *indigini* is revealed more by their atypical vernacular architecture than their material culture, though changes in the form and style of metalwork at this later period are features to which Burley has drawn attention (1956, 131). It remains then to consider the historical context and the likelihood for a migration south in the mid to late third century of people formerly resident in the Pictish heartland.

The Picts enter history as assailants of the Roman frontier in Britain in AD 297, and are referred to by name in a panegyric by Eumenius (Holder 11. 993-4; MHB lxvii). Their presence as a unified nation or a confederation of earlier tribes, principally the Caledonians and the Maeatae (Herodian, iii, 14-15; Cassius Dio, 75, 5, 4-77, 1, 1), at a date prior to 297 is implied by Eumenius who refers to an already established state of hostility. Thus it has been customary to use the term 'proto-Pictish' in a strict historical sense for events pre- AD 297 and 'Pictish' thereafter. But as Anderson has reminded us, the first time the term *Picti* was used was in an anachronistic sense (1973, 125; 1987, 7). The panagyricist of 297 compared the struggle between the emperor Constantius and his rival Allectus with the easier struggle between Julius Caesar and the Britons who were accustomed to enemies such as the *Picti* and *Hiberni.* In other words the writer assumed the presence of the Picts from at least the time of Caesar. It is therefore admissible to treat the *Caledonii* throughout the Roman period as Picts, provided it is understood that the term was first used in a loose geographical and political sense to describe all barbarian Celtic tribes north of the Forth-Clyde isthmus. One may thus side-step the issue as to whether an artefact or structure is either proto-Pictish or Pictish, providing it can be shown to be an object of native

manufacture originating in that part of Scotland which belonged to the historical Picts in the period AD 80-850.

Rivet and Smith (1979, 438-40) have drawn attention to the name *Pexa*, which occurs in the sixth-century *Ravenna Cosmography*; perhaps a scribal error for *Pecti*, or *Pectia* 'Pictland', erroneously inserted in a list of Antonine wall forts during an early third-century modernization of an earlier military map. If this hypothesis is accepted it follows that the Picts were already a recognized tribal grouping in Severan times (*supra*), and that their territory lay close enough to the Forth-Clyde isthmus for its name, when written on a map, to be read in conjunction with the names of the forts on the isthmus-frontier (Maxwell 1987, 31). The Forth-Clyde line has generally been accepted as the southern boundary of Pictland. This is supported by Bede who refers to the Picts settling in the north of the island, 'because the Britons had seized the southern regions' (*nam austrina Brettones occupauerant*; HE i. 1, Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 18); a common divide which he further qualifies, 'they were separated from the Britons by two wide and long arms of the sea, one of which enters the land from the east, the other from the west, although they do not meet. Half way along the eastern branch is the city of *Giudi*, while above the western branch, that is on its right bank, is the town of *Alcluith*' (HE i. 12, Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 41). The evidence concurs with Hanson and Maxwell's view of the development of Roman frontier policy governing the control of the peoples of Caledonia, which culminated in the construction of the Antonine Wall, the outpost forts and the dispositon of Severan legionary vexillations respectively along the Ardoch-Strageath-Bertha axis, and on the shore of the Tay (1983, 21). The presence of the Gask Ridge *limes* in the late first century shows that this fundamental point had been grasped at an early stage.

Nevertheless, by the mid fourth century the Picts, acting in collusion to devastating effect (cf. Frere 1974, 390, 391), were ranging farther afield. Ammianus Marcellinus (Holder 11. 994; MHB lxxiii) records that the Picts and the Scots ravaged the districts near the Roman Wall (*loca limitibus vicina*), and a little later he speaks of the *Picti*, the *Saxones*, the *Scotti* and the *Attacotti* as harassing the *Brittanni* without interference. Whilst it is clear that the garrisoning of the Antonine outpost forts would have capitalized on the cultural boundary between the Picts and the Britons that appears to have run along the estuary of the Forth and swung northwards into eastern Perthshire, the evidence need not rule out the possibility that certain elements of the Picts, or their predecessors, may already have moved south and taken up position in Lothian prior to the fourth century.

In the early 180s the northern tribes had already made an incursion into the province, killing a Roman general and destroying his army (Dio, lxxiii, 8). Further trouble ensued in 205/6 and imperial intervention followed (Breeze 1979a, 17). In 305, the emperor

Constantius came to Britain to campaign against the Picts probably in response to a Pictish invasion or threat to the northern frontier, a threat which also resulted in the construction of new forts in the Pennines (Frere 1974, 388; Breeze and Dobson 1978, 215). The presence of what may have been no more than Pictish enclaves in the area south of the Forth need not preclude the often repeated suggestion that the Britons of Lothian, Tweeddale or Strathclyde served as client kingdoms, bound by treaty to stand sentinel for Rome over their northern neighbours (cf. Richmond 1940, 114-16 Steer 1958, 124-30; Mann 1974), although this established view has more recently been challenged (Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 212). It would, however, go some way towards accounting for the ability of the northern tribes to mount concerted action, itself probably an indication of long-standing mutual dependence; a development which is likely to have been enhanced by a frontier policy designed to overcome this one eventuality. Indeed it is a marked feature of the events culminating in the Barbarian Conspiracy of 367-9 that the native tribes of the lowlands chose neither to oppose the invasion, nor warn the Roman frontier of its imminence; a function that may previously have been fulfilled in a semi-official capacity, possibly as the *areani* referred to by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxviii, 3, ; xxvii, 8, 1), seeing on this occasion that it was wiser to bend with the wind. As Hanson and Maxwell remark, 'the final battle of the northernmost frontier had long been lost' (1983, 212).

(a) The Ascendancy of the Picts But Still the Curia of the Votadini?

In considering the most probable date for a Pictish incursion and thereafter settlement in the Lothians one must return to the material from Traprain. I have suggested on coin and stratigraphic evidence that a break in occupation took place shortly after AD 141 and lasted until about AD 268. Some attempt then must be made to fit these thresholds into the specific contexts of Roman frontier events. In the case of a native centre in the intramural zone of the magnitude of Traprain, where there is material in quantity, this exercise is justifiable, even though one may doubt its validity in the case of smaller settlements in the area (Jobey 1976, 199). In 138, a decision was taken by Antoninus Pius to reoccupy southern Scotland, possibly in response to yet another attack by the northern tribes (Breeze 1979a, 10-11). Victory was achieved by 142 and work proceeded on the construction of the outpost forts and installations for the Antonine Wall, completed perhaps by AD 145.

Two factors may explain the abandonment of Traprain about this time, the first accounts for a military option the second is political. It is certainly possible that the hill was subjected to a devastating attack by hostile forces pushing south, possibly from the Central Highlands; just such an event in the fifth century may account for the concealment of the Traprain hoard (cf. Close-Brookes 1983, 217; but see also p. 254). The firing of the Romano-British settlement, previously considered to be a preparatory step to the

redevelopment of the western shelf in Phase One, could as likely have followed an assault on the hill in the 140s. It is worth recalling a statement of Bede who may have had just such an incident in mind: *Quibus ad sua remeantibus, cognita Scotti Pictique reditus denegatione redeunt confestim ipse, et solito confidentiores facti omnem aquilonalem extremamque insulae partem pro indigenis ad murum usque capessunt. ... Quid plura? Relectis ciuitatibus ac muro fugiunt disperguntur* (HE i. 12, Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 44); 'On the departure of the Romans, the Picts and Scots, learning that they did not mean to return, were quick to return themselves, and becoming bolder than ever, occupied all the northern and outer part of the island up to the wall, as if it belonged to them... At length the Britons abandoned their cities and wall and fled in disorder'. Despite the awkwardly conflated historicity, due perhaps to the nature of the source material at his disposal (or more likely an oral tradition), it is possible that Bede was here actually recalling events of the mid second century that were to be of consequence particularly for the Votadini. The evidence, so far as it may be deduced from the fourth century, suggests that the Britons north of the Tyne-Solway Gap acted in complete duplicity, and the same may have been true in the second; political expediency may thus be a more likely option, though military activity in the intramural zone may have been sufficient to warrant this. Whether the Votadini were forcibly ejected or left Traprain of their own free will is immaterial. They next emerge in the historical record as the *Gododdin* (a name which firmly ties them to the **Votadini*, Rivet and Smith 1979, 509) a British kingdom centred on Edinburgh (*Din Eidyn, Etin*; see Jackson 1956, 214; Nicolaisen 1979, 68; Alcock 1981a, 165-66; 1986, 256).[15]

(b) Din Eidyn and the Votadini

Hitherto it has not been possible to specify the date at which the Votadini transferred their pivotal-centre from Traprain to *Etin* or *Din Eidyn*, Castle Rock, Edinburgh (fig. 5.11). If this had been achieved by the mid second century the implications would seem to be two-fold. The Votadini would appear to have openly courted a position closer to the Roman administrative centres accompanying the Antonine Wall and the outpost forts at Cramond, Inveresk and Elginhaugh. The *Etin* citadel lay at the focal point of the Roman road system; Dere Street from the south and, from Carlisle, a second main axis of communication that led by way of Annandale and Upper Clydesdale along the south-east shoulder of the Pentland Hills to meet the first, possibly within the confines of what is now the City of Edinburgh (Maxwell 1984, 27); a third route led west to Stirling, where it crossed the River Forth. One can only surmise whether such a move was informed by a shift in political power from within the sub-factions or social *élite* of the Votadini themselves; if the former, that is to say, the ascendancy of an existing faction, then it is possible that Castle Rock, Edinburgh was already fortified.

Accepting a tribal centre for the Maeatae in or close to Stirling (the name may survive in Dumyat and Myot Hill near Stirling, Rivet and Smith 1979, 404), possibly the *urbs Giudi* mentioned by Bede (HE i.12), perhaps none other than the Castle Rock (cf. Alcock 1981a, 175-6; Alcock and Foster 1986, 256), then the Votadini can be seen to have brought themselves into line with the emergent power-centres of the Early Historic period. Castle Rock, Edinburgh (*Din Eidyn*) is more in keeping, topographically, with Castle Rock, Dumbarton (*Alt Clut*) and Dunadd (*Dun att*). The tactical advantages of the site are obvious (see RCAMS 1951, xxxv; Alcock 1981a, 165-6): precipitous on three sides, more gentle to the east, the summit, probably not uneven, was suited to long-term habitation. This pivotal-position would have given the Votadini ample opportunity to engage in a market relationship with Rome, to a degree, perhaps, surpassing that achieved in the first and early second centuries whilst still at Traprain. It would also enhance the likelihood that they evolved as a philo-Roman tribal, if not wholly client kingdom (cf. Richmond 1940, 114-16; Steer 1958, 124-30; Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 212). The act of Constans certainly gave them greater responsibility for defence against the Picts (Frere 1974, 388).

The implications are of importance not least to the excavations currently under way in Edinburgh, both within David's tower (now immured by the late sixteenth-century half-moon battery) and on adjoining areas of the Castle Rock (Yeoman, P and Driscoll, S pers. commun., 1988).[16] It raises the possibility of recovering finds comparable perhaps to those from Traprain Phase One, in addition to others from a late, pre-Anglian period of occupation. Although little of the original summit area may survive due to the later building work (cf. Alcock 1987b, 242-3), the initial results from the eight areas examined are promising. Two pieces of samian have been recovered from the ash rake-out pit of a medieval forge on Mill's Mount, and these, together with other stratified sherds of both Roman and native pottery, and a fibula brooch, seem to bear out the likelihood of occupation or activity on the hill summit in the late first and second centuries AD; a 'North British' bone comb of eighth- to tenth-century date, recovered from a layer above the Roman and native pottery, clearly underlines the archaeological potential of this site (Yeoman 1988, 18-19; Selkirk 1988, 162).

Nevertheless, although the excavators are inclined to the view that the evidence does point to the possibility of occupation in the Romano-British period (McLean 1988, 3; Beith 1988, 2; Keys 1988, 9), alternative explanations are possible. The material could just as well indicate the presence of a Roman signal station (Hanson, W pers. commun., 1988), if not activity in the fifth and sixth centuries where the presence of small quantities of samian is often also held to be diagnostic. But, given the possibility that the Dark Age caput of the Gododdin may instead have been on Arthur's Seat (Stevenson 1947, 165-8; Feachem 1965, 160), perhaps we are seeing the first glimmer of evidence for residual activity centred on

Castle Rock, Edinburgh in the Roman period. With the caput of the Votadini perhaps established at *Etin*, conceivably the way was now open for political change in East Lothian (see also pp. 245, 251-2, 276-7).

(c) Pictish Settlement in the Lothians

Given the similarity of plan-types between the Traprain buildings and those in Pictland proper, it would suggest that when Traprain was reoccupied in the mid third century, it was occupied as a Pictish centre and if this was the case one might anticipate the presence of Pictish settlements close by. The most likely explanation for this is that the Picts secured territorial gains within the intramural zone either in the 180s following a major incursion, or else in the early third century in actions which precipitated Severan intervention; the aggressors ultimately capitulated and, after a treaty by which the barbarians ceded some territory to Rome, Severus and his son Caracalla returned to York, (cf. Frere 1974, 199; Breeze 1979a, 17). A date in the mid third century is also possible as this might accord with the wider military reorganization of Gordian III, though evidence for this period from Britain is notably lacking (Frere 1974, 212-14). The reoccupation of Traprain broadly corresponds with the demise of the Antonine frontier and the provisions later made by Caracalla, or his provincial administrators, for the reorganization of the forward zone. This saw a shift away from fixed installations to one of broad-based surveillance conducted by *exploratores* or reconnaisance units of various kinds based in outpost forts like High Rochester and Risingham on Dere Street (Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 210). The solution appears to have served well enough to assure the frontier an undisturbed age of tranquility and it is perhaps more than likely that this was accompanied by a recognition of the *status quo* established amongst mutually dependent native factions in the intramural zone.

By the fourth century the Picts appear as a seafaring power, able to range far to the south outflanking the Hadrianic frontier (Frere 1974, 391; Mann 1974, 42). The provision of a strategic and tactical centre at Traprain, with outlooks to the open sea to the north and east would have been both timely and advantageous. That they were able to engage in commerce with the Romans is attested by the wealth of material recovered from the latest levels on the western shelf. The importance of Traprain as a Pictish political centre within the ambit of territories actively under Roman surveillance should not be underestimated. Following intervention by Constans, the panegyricist of 297 implies that the Picts actually sent complimentary messages (*Pan. Lat. Vet.*, vi (vii), 7, 1-2). A mutual accord between the Romans and the peoples of the north is perhaps to be deduced from the panegyrist's succeeding statement that 'tribes in the far north of the island are now obedient to the emperor's will' (*Pan. Lat., Vet.*, viii (v), 20, 3).

(d) The Place-name Evidence

The presence of the Picts, or at least Pictish enclaves, close to Traprain Law is suggested by place-name evidence. The toponymic evidence for the 'historical Picts' depends on a few generics of varying quality and impact. Amongst these, place-names with the prefix *Pit-* are undoubtedly the most important. It is possibly the only place-name element which is exclusively Pictish, and its distribution therefore is of considerable significance in any approach aimed at delimiting the areas settled by these peoples, that is to say, speakers of Celtic-Pictish (Nicolaisen 1979, 151). Credit must be given to the Romans for having first originated the form of the name *Picti* (Maxwell 1987, 31). At first this may have been adopted as *Pecti*, simply latinizing a P-Celtic name that signified 'the men of the **pett-*' or 'those who call their lands **pett-*'(Nicolaisen 1979, 150-8). It is now generally agreed that **pett-* means a 'territorial unit' or 'parcel of land' and names formed with this prefix are widely distributed across eastern Scotland from Moray to the Forth (Whittington 1977).

Nicolaisen identified two such names in Midlothian (Pitcox and Pittendreich, 1979, 152; Watson 1926, 407; Jackson 1955b, 147) and one in East Lothian: Pitcox 'share of the fifth part' (1979, 152-3, fig. 17). Pitcox lies 5.6 km due east of Traprain and occupies a tract of good general purpose farm land (Class 2A on the OS 1944 Land Classification map) at a height of 76m asl (fig. 5.12). This compares favourably with the criteria outlined by Whittington and Soulsby (1968) for the preferred choice of habitation site denoted by the *Pit-* names arising from a systematic investigation of their distribution in Fife and Angus. They state that, because of their specific preferences in the choice of habitation sites, the Picts generally did not favour the coastal zone and also avoided the floors of the river valleys, and that because of the largely coastal area below and the effects of adverse exposure above, *Pit-* names are almost entirely distributed between an altitude of 15m and 200m asl. Altitude, whilst of importance, was only a factor in the preferred choice of site location. The distance from one *Pit-* name to another varies from 0.4 km to 5.7 km, indications that, in an economy based on an advanced farming system, the settlement pattern was more clustered than random. Till-covered soils proved particularly attractive especially when the sites selected combined shelter, good drainage and a southerly aspect. These criteria are all met in the location of Pitcox (NT 642 751). The site sits at the edge of a broad easily cultivated terrace, whilst to the south there is a broken but gentle ascent to the lower slopes of the Lammermuirs. The author of the *Statistical Account* notes the diversity of soils in the parish and the fact that the cereal grain was in general good (28, 1797, pp. 231-2).[17]

More recently Fraser (1987) has drawn attention to a woodland term first noted by Watson (1926, 419-20) which also appears to have strong Pictish affinities. This is Gaelic *preas* 'thicket', a British survival and one that compares with Welsh *prys* 'covert'. A substantial number of these names are widely spread over eastern Scotland and Watson

identified two outliers, one in Dumfriesshire, the other Pressmennan in East Lothian close to the Berwickshire border. He suggests *pres-monadh/mynydd* for this 'copse on the hill' (ibid. 399, 421). It appears as *'Presmunet'* in the *Melrose Liber* for *c.*1160 and so may be genuine (Fraser 1987, 70). Its position in relation to Pitcox, 2 km to the NE, and Traprain, 4.8 km to the WNW, is noteworthy as it confirms a clustered settlement pattern, possibly a discrete Pictish enclave, in the shadow of the Traprain citadel.[18] Its topographic position (165m OD), though slightly higher than Pitcox, is otherwise remarkably similar, for it occupies a break-of-slope position at the foot of the Lammermuirs with a broad tract of good quality arable farm land extending on the WSW and ENE respectively.[19]

Summary

The form and character of the Traprain Phase One buildings are critical to understanding the chronological and overall development of this key native centre. Abandoned probably in the 140s, it is assumed that the Votadini transferred their seat to Castle Rock, Edinburgh; a position perhaps more suited to the maintenance of a philo-Roman tribal centre. This would have left the way open in East Lothian to incursions and settlement by peoples from north of the Firth of Forth (proto- Picts or Picts). It is possible that the Romans could have seen an advantage in placing disparate peoples in this frontier zone. These people, it would seem, settled both at Traprain and, on place-name evidence, in a discrete enclave lying immediately to the east; a move which appears to have taken place by the mid third century. If this set of circumstances is accepted, the consequence is that it could have put the Picts on an equal footing south of the Forth with the North Britons with whom they were to act so decisively in frontier events of the mid to late fourth century (see also pp. 245-6, 250-3). The evidence is also of wider archaeological significance as it raises the possibility of identifying in areas south of the Forth a building tradition which has a clearly defined *terminus post quem*, and one which can be held to be distinct from that usually found on Romano-British sites elsewhere in the Tyne-Forth region. The fusion of ideas brought about by close cultural relations between Pict and Briton may be one reason which might account for the appearance of rectangular buildings on some Romano-British sites in the Late Roman period (pp. 84-96).

(B) TRAPRAIN PHASE TWO

The buildings of this phase (fig. 5.5), apparent in part on Hogg's 1951 reconstruction, have never before been fully drawn out, and yet their implications are of considerable importance, not least in qualifying the foregoing discussion of the Phase One buildings, for their immediate parallels lie exclusively in a restricted area of Pictland proper. They represent an hitherto unidentified building tradition in eastern Scotland and provide the first tangible link

with the 'longhouse' tradition which only fully emerges in the later medieval period. It is to this phase that the Cruden wall (the latest defensive rampart on the Law) belongs, and it was probably during the lifetime of this latest phase that the Traprain hoard was deposited.

It is not clear how precisely the Phase Two buildings evolved in respect to those of Phase One, whether these were still actively used or had in part fallen into a collapsed and ruinous condition. It is possible that we see in the reconstruction only a facet of what was actually taking place on the hill summit, and the partial demise of the earlier Phase One buildings on the western shelf may only reflect the ascendancy of a still more flourishing centre of activity located elsewhere on the hill itself; one might cite as an example of this the slab-built hearth overlying the terrace-bank identified in Bursu's Cutting 1 on the north side of the hill (Close-Brookes 1983, 210). Viewed in totality, however, the Phase Two buildings do appear to form a coherent group (fig. 5.5).

On the N, a substantial longhouse, aligned NW-SE, overlies the most northerly of the Phase One, Group 1 buildings. A second longhouse, aligned NNW-SSE, immediately to the E, was built in part over the roadway that emits from the main square at its NNE angle. Traces of what may be a third building of like type, parallel to the second, lie immediately to the E. A fourth building, to which attention has previously been drawn (p. 104ff), flanks the ENE side of the main square and on the NNW closely abuts the end-wall of building II. A series of antennae-walls, which in part utilize earlier wall-lines, delimit a series of roughly conjoined yard areas, bound in part by the long-walls of the later buildings but taking account too of the available area of the main square and a forecourt area to the SE of the Phase One, Group 3 buildings. The net effect of these later curtain-walls was to reduce the width of the main axis road to and from the principal habitation area of the western shelf, and it is to this narrow, cart-rutted road, not that associated with Phase One, that Hogg drew attention in 1951.

Given the disposition of the buildings, one may reasonably surmise that the Phase One settlement had not entirely gone out of use at the onset of Phase Two, and a more piecemeal transition seems likely with Building II, the first in the sequence, constructed in the available space provided by the roadway emitting from the main square between Building Groups 1 and 2 of Phase One. Building IV, interpreted perhaps as a congregational church of the Late Roman period (p. 112), may have been the next to follow. It effectively eclipsed Buildings II and IV in Phase One, Group 2, but its position flanking the E side of the main square but not intruding upon it would allow it to be earlier and thus broadly contemporary with the latest period of occupation associated with Phase One. This would not be inappropriate for a building of specialized status and function - a public building - erected to

serve in conjunction with the *principia* of the earlier civil settlement. It follows that even with the appearance of Buildings II and IV the integrity of the Phase One settlement was little altered and, indeed, even with the construction of longhouse I, which supplanted Buildings X and XI in Group 1, Phase One, the viable coexistence of Building Groups 3 and 4 (high status dwellings and artisans' workshops respectively) cannot be discounted. It is noteworthy too that the reconstruction totally avoided Building XI, a house conceivably of the highest status on the western shelf in Phase One, though its demise on the completion of the longhouses seems not improbable.

(I) BUILDING ANALYSIS

*(i) **Building I*** The wasted remains of this building eclipse Buildings X and XI of Phase One, Group 1, and undoubtedly contributes to the confused nature of the archaeological deposits in this sector to which Hogg drew attention (1951, 209). Although the long-walls are for the most part severely wasted, presumably by robbing, the end-walls are better preserved and, though not recognized as such, were commented upon by the excavator (Cree 1923, 183, Area Oa; 1924, 243, Area S). Sufficient remains to offer a possible reconstruction for the building. It is roughly rectangular on plan, measuring 35m from NE to SW by up to 8.5m transversely over walls up to 1.2m in thickness. It is widest on the SW but narrows towards the NE end, where there is a marked intake in the line of the NW long-wall, at which point the building is about 6m wide overall. A broad band of paving, coterminous with the SSW angle of the SW end-wall, probably a path, extends for a distance of up to 7m beside the NW long-wall and culminates in a paved threshold, possibly the site of an original entrance. The paving had a stone-revetted kerb along its inner face and the character of the long-house wall is also best revealed at this point, where it is seen to consist of randomly disposed boulder-footings with a soil and rubble infill. Two opposed entrances are indicated by a break in the rubble spread 3.8m to the NE, while central to the NE end-wall there is an additional break (0.6m wide), possibly a byre-drain; a feature which also comes through on Hogg's reconstruction (1951, 210, fig. 53). A slab-built hearth, open-ended and fitted with a stone kerb, may be contemporary and would have lain roughly central to the SW end of the house. One other hearth, about 6.4m to the WNW but to the exterior, may also be contemporary. Atypically it was formed entirely of water-worn stones (Cree 1924, 243). Finds loosely associated with Building I are few and mainly domestic: a small silver ring, a bronze fibula and the segment of an armlet, a portion of what may be a buckle and a small chisel; in glass: a segment of an armlet of green translucent glass ornamented with a trail of opaque white enamel, the base of a vessel in clear white glass, fragments from another of blue-green translucent glass and fragments of an amber bead; a jet object and, in stone, whetstones or polishers, a facetted rubber, two 'pot-lids' and three whorls. Iron objects include a key, a heavy pin, a hammer-head, three fragments of conical ferrules and a ring; a

bar-mould was also found. Roman pottery, supplementing a comparatively small assemblage of native fabrics, was sparse but included some samian. Two coins came from Area S, one a second brass of Constantius II (issue date AD 353; Sekulla 1982, cat. no. 49), the other a fourth brass of the latter part of the fourth century AD, possibly Valentinian II, or Theodosius I (Cree 1924, 277-82).

*(ii) **Building II,*** erected in part over the earlier roadway, was recognized from the first by the excavators (Cree and Curle 1922, 242) and drew further comment from Hogg (1951, 209-11). Although its full length was not determined (its NNE end extends beneath the baulk), sufficient remains to reveal that on plan it was not unlike Building I. It is roughly rectangular, measuring at least 24m from NNE to SSW by up to 7.3m transversely over walls up to 1.2m in thickness. There is the same noticeable intake in the line of the WSW long-wall which is a feature too of Building I. Various methods were employed in wall construction. The SSW end-wall and an adjoining length of the ESE long-wall consisted of a double-skin, earth- or turf-cored, faced stone wall, in places surviving to two courses, while massive boulder footings, some set on edge, were used for the WNW long-wall. The superstructure raised on these footings was probably turf-built and provides the closest counterpart for the construction of the Cruden Wall. Opposed lateral entrances are set central to the two long-walls, while a third is set 2.2m to the NNE in the ESE long-wall; what may be a byre-drain is set slightly off-centre in the SSW end-wall. No trace of a hearth was found.

*(iii) **Building III*** is represented only by a fragment of its SSW end-wall together with an adjoining length of its WNW long-wall. Little more can be said, save that it eclipsed the N angle of Building I, Phase One, Group 2 and was probably much the same width as Building II, with which it was close-set and similarly aligned.

*(iv) **The Roadway*** The average width of the road which passed alongside Building II was 2.8m. This compares with a width of about 3m at a point where the road exits from the main square at its SSW angle, where it is flanked by an antenna-wall which extends from the SE angle of Building I; broken only in three places to permit access to the site. A section cut across the road adjacent to Building II revealed that it had been metalled and was wheel-rutted. A central depression contiguous with the ruts reveals the passage of the draught animal, either a horse or bullock. The ruts measured 1.23m from centre-to-centre (Cree and Curle 1922, 242).

*(v) **Building IV*** This Building, along with five others from North Britain, has previously been discussed (pp. 104-15), and on various grounds it is held that it probably served as a congregational church, possibly that founded at Traprain (or rededicated) by St

Monenna about AD 500. Prior to its construction Buildings II and IV, Phase One, Group 2, were levelled. Its extent is in part apparent on Hogg's 1951 reconstruction (1951, fig. 53) but drew no comment. Hogg, however, misleadingly foreshortened the building at its SW end (influenced perhaps by the size of neighbouring buildings), though its rounded or apsed SE end-wall is clearly represented by surviving masonry uncovered in Area G (see Curle 1920, 55-6, fig. 1). The building is thus roughly rectangular on plan (the long-walls are slightly divergent) and measures 20m from NW to SE by up to 9m transversely over walls 1.6m in thickness. It is round-ended on the SE and square-angled on the NW; an entrance in this end-wall opens to a paved outshot or narthex (4.5 by 5.6m overall), with an entrance on its SW side opening to what was once the main square (in the context of Phase Two this is probably more aptly described as the main forecourt). A break in the wall-line (about 3m wide) towards the SE end of the SW long-wall may be illusory or could be a later insertion (an entrance-doorway at this point would have significantly weakened the superstructure). The form of the walls is uniformly similar and not unlike that of Buildings I and II, though they are of more massive construction employing a number of boulder orthostats to produce a double-skinned, faced stone wall with an earth- or turf-core, upon which were probably raised walls that were entirely turf-built.

*(vi) **Finds*** associated with Buildings II and III were few (Cree and Curle 1922, 258-9) and differ little from the assemblage accompanying Building IV (ibid. 238-40). The former included a segment of a bronze armlet, part of a terret ring ornamented with yellow and red enamel; four fragments of opaque white glass armlets, the head of a pin and a disc, both of jet; three whetstones and a number of iron objects. A single sherd of decorated samian was recovered, several sherds from a black cooking pot and some native coarsewares. In 1915, coins recovered from the highest level in Area G/F (Curle and Cree 1916, 137) included brasses of Valentinian (AD 364-375) and Arcadius (AD 388+; Sekulla 1982, 291).

(a) The Buildings and Their Parallels

As Building IV has already been considered (pp. 104-15), the discussion will be limited to Buildings I-III. One must assume, despite their irregularities on plan, that each was roofed and essentially of domestic character, and that they did not fulfill some other role (e.g. stock-handling pens). In view of the likely provision of turf-built walls an aisled superstructure seems improbable and the most plausible explanation is that they were cruck-framed. In the case of Building I (fig. 5.13) the use of five cruck-bays, each 6.5m from centre-to-centre, would account for all the marked changes in wall alignment and the positioning of the entrances. This would allow for the marked attenuation on plan and would provide for a central ridge-piece (probably scarf-jointed) running the length of the building. The weight of the roof could have been further transmitted through the use of purlins notched and pegged with the cruck-blades, in turn carrying the common rafters and sarking, or else turf

groundwork for thatch.[20] The SW end-wall may have been gable-ended or hipped, probably the latter, but an alternative solution would have been required for the NE end-wall which is rounded. A lum of straw and bramble could have been stuck up to do duty at the kitchen end (Robinson 1862, cited in Maxwell 1896, 357-8).

Buildings I and II are almost certainly byre-dwellings of common-entry type. This is suggested by the provision of what may be byre-drains and opposed lateral entrances; a feature which also seems to have been an essential element in byre-dwellings of a later period in Ireland (cf. Gailey 1984, 143). Nor can it be overlooked that Roman Britain itself could conceivably have offered a receptive, even a formative, context for the development of such buildings and it was not without buildings of analogous plan. Its so-called barn-dwellings and 'basilican-villas' offer comparable forms, though none seem to be later than the mid fourth century (cf. Richmond 1932, 96-106; Berry 1951, 25). In view of the currency of these building types at Yeavering, as too at Sprouston (pp. 236-8), Hope-Taylor hypothesized that this form of building may have been so well rooted in the Romano-Celtic world that something akin to it may well be found to have been in use at the top level of 'free' Celtic society in the Highland Zone of Britain in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries (1977, 233; and for parallels farther afield, 213-31). A non load-bearing, turf-built superstructure would also allow for the dismantling of the attenuated end-walls for the mucking-out of the byre as occasion demanded.[21] The mildness of the climate in the Lothians would permit the keeping of sheep and dry cattle outdoors at most times, but milk cattle would need housing in winter and during the night in spring and autumn. The byre-dwelling provided an optimum solution with its combination of quarters for people and cattle in which there is no physical separation between the byre and house ends. The interior may have been further subdivided to provide additional sleeping accommodation or storage by impermanent hurdle or clay-daubed wattle partitions braced with the crucks, while the opposed entrances (a feature of both buildings) may in themselves suggest an added use of the buildings as threshing-barns. Functional diversity may be an essential characteristic of these buildings and may account for their disproportionate length. In the case of Building I the interior might have been subdivided as follows: domestic / barn / byre and or stable. While common entry for both beasts and people seems likely, the provision of a second doorway at least retained the option of direct-entry to the domestic or living chamber, proportionately the largest single compartment (at the wide-bellied end of the building). A loft inserted above the living space could have provided an added sleeping unit or storage.

The above noted features are all paralleled in early pre-Improvement byre-dwellings over a wide geographical area including Scotland, Ireland and Brittany (cf. Fenton and Walker 1981, 32ff; Gailey 1984, 142-8; Meirion-Jones 1982, 191ff), where they appear as archaic traits of a deeply rooted vernacular building tradition. The longhouse as such,

named after the Welsh *tŷ hir, the domus longa* in medieval England (Peate 1946, 51; 1963, 440), appears to have been the normal type of dwelling in many deserted villages (cf. Hurst 1971). Meirion-Jones simply defines it as 'a rectilinear or subrectilinear aiseless dwelling in which man and beast are housed at opposite ends, under one roof, with entry by a common lateral doorway' (1982, 192). The known distribution of surviving buildings, which is essentially west European and Celtic, led JT Smith (1964) to suggest that it was 'a late manifestation of Celtic Culture' This would be entirely in keeping with the appearance of such buildings on Traprain Law. On accompanying coin evidence they may be ascribed to the mid to late fourth century, and as such they would be the earliest so far identified on an excavated site in North Britain.

(b) Pitcarmick-type Buildings

There are, however, in medieval and later contexts no parallels for the precise plan-form of the Traprain buildings, that is to say, sharing the same marked intake in the line of their long-walls, or for their overall size. Nevertheless, parallels may be drawn with some thirty buildings, representing a similarly hitherto unidentified building tradition, identified in the course of fieldwork by RCAMS in north-eastern Perthshire in 1987. The houses take their name from the type-site at Pitcarmick (NO 052 564), where buildings fulfilling various of the diagnostic criteria are well represented (fig. 5.14); these and others are to be described as 'Pitcarmick Buildings'. The buildings conform to a common plan-type characterized by a certain irregularity on plan distinguished by a marked intake in one or both long-walls. They are roughly rectangular or subrectilinear on plan and massively built, attaining lengths of up to 30m by 5.5m transversely overall. Their walls, now often reduced to a low bank spread up to 1.8m thick, were probably earth- or turf-cored. A boulder kerb, often of sizeable proportions, is a recurrent feature, though only in one instance have traces of an inner kerb been found. Due to the severely wasted condition to which many of the buildings have now been reduced, it is often difficult, without excavation, to identify the position of original entrances. Many appear to possess at least one, sometimes out-turned to form a baffle, and some have opposed lateral entrances common to their long-walls.

The Pitcarmick-type buildings can be divided into two categories: those possessing a relatively level interior (Type 1) and those with a scooped or shallow depression at the attenuated lower end (Type 2). Hybrids of both types occasionally have small lobate enclosures attached to one side, often adjoining the wider end-wall, though some have two. The grouping of houses side-by-side is a common arrangement and is a characteristic of the Pitcarmick buildings (fig. 5.15). As regards date, all that can be said at present is that they appear to be, in the broadest sense, late prehistoric or Early Historic. At Pitcarmick, as elsewhere, they are found in association with field-banks and clearance-cairns accompanying

round houses, some of Dalrulzian-type. Absent in all but a few cases are the cultivation remains and buildings associated with medieval and later land use. At Pitcarmick a later shieling group was disposed amongst the earlier field-remains but continuity is not envisaged. Similarly at Lair (NO 1392 6370), where the Pitcarmick-type buildings are found in juxtaposition to a ring-cairn and a number of round houses, the remains of a later pre-Improvement steading lie some distance away, about 400m to the NE. Only at Craigsheal (NO 0725 5103) is there evidence for an accompanying field-system - a series of strip-fields defined by low clearance-banks each about 15m apart - but this is of a type unparalleled in medieval and later contexts in Scotland.[22]

The apparent distribution of Pitcarmick-type buildings seems to be solely tailored to north-eastern Perthshire. Their scale and wasted condition, however, may account for their not having been recognized before, either here, or elsewhere, though one at least has found its way into the archaeological literature (Stewart 1962, 135, fig. 2), if only by chance. None are known from recent fieldwork in Fife and Angus (Sherriff, JR and Barclay, G pers. commun., 1987), but in the course of fieldwork in 1983 in North Kincardine, I did record, along with Peter Corser, a building which could conform to this general plan-type (RCAMS 1984, p. 30, no. 189). This building which is situated at Upper Balfour, overlooking the Dee (NO 7814 9581), lay amidst a field-system and cairnfield comprising at least three burial-cairns and a round house. It measured 33.2m in length, tapering to 8.3m in breadth at its WSW end, to 7.3m about 11.5m from the ENE end, at which point it contracted to 6m in breadth for its remaining length. The sides were defined by low banks, along which boulders were set, and its ENE end was rounded. It was suggested, on the basis of its ruinous condition, that the structure was probably of considerable antiquity, possibly even of prehistoric date.[23] More recently aerial photography has revealed cropmarkings at Lathrisk, Fife, of what may be rectangular timber buildings (averaging 25m by 9m in size) on a scale of the Pitcarmick-type houses; the presence of an annex at one end of a number of the buildings was held to recall similar elements in Early Historic structures at Doon Hill, Yeavering, Millfield and Sprouston (Reynolds 1980a, 46-53; Maxwell 1987, 34, fig. 2).

The plan-form of the Pitcarmick houses, along with the occasional scooped depressions at their attenuated lower ends, clearly ties them to the Traprain Phase Two buildings, and would imply a similar regard for function; probably as byre-dwellings. The shallowed depression, a feature of the Type 2 Pitcarmick-type houses, recalls the annular ditched depression accompanying and diagnostic of the ring-ditch houses that are a feature of the Tyne-Forth region as too elsewhere in Scotland (cf. Watkins 1981, fig. 4; Watkins, in preparation), which, on the basis of radiocarbon dates, may be seen as a type-fossil of the middle centuries of the first millennium BC (cf. Hill 1982a, 12-21 and gazetteer). The ring-ditch house is itself nothing short of an evolved type of byre-dwelling with provision for

cattle and humans under a common roof (cf. Reynolds 1982, 53); the distinguishing 'ditched-feature', as too in the Pitcarmick-type buildings probably results from the stalling of cattle and frequent mucking-out of an annular byre-area. The size attained by the ring-ditch houses (up to 16m in diameter) is not dissimilar to that of a number of the Pitcarmick-type buildings (Hill, pers. commun., 1987) and may point to a common origin akin to both. It is noteworthy that buildings of ring-ditch tradition are also present in the earliest levels at Traprain (cf. Jobey 1976, 193; Hill 1987, 86); continuity is not implied only the prevalence of a deeply rooted native tradition and a common response to the most economical means of housing cattle and humans under one roof.

If one conflates the building evidence from Traprain, Phases One and Two, the same mixed building tradition emerges as that held by Ritchie (1974, 1985)) and Alcock (1984) to be characteristic of the settlement history from a greater part of mainland Scotland and the outer isles during the historic 'Pictish period'. Indeed the evidence *in toto* is so compelling that Smyth (1984, 54-6) felt able to distinguish a genuine Celtic sub-stratum, rooted in the Celtic Iron Age, which served to unite superficially disparate building-types including the brochs, ring-forts and the bi-cellular buildings of Ardestie-type, together with those from Coileagean an Udal and Buckquoy. Such local variation as exists he submits 'may be due to long established tribal custom, combined with local response to availability of building materials and the demands of a harsh northern climate' (Smyth 1984, 55).

The fusion of curvilinear and subrectilinear building traditions is evident in the secondary settlements accompanying many of the abandoned brochs, as at Gurness (RCAMS 1946, pp. 75-9, No. 263) and Jarlshof (Hamilton 1956, 88), while on the north mainland of Scotland, the so-called 'oblong wags' provide a neglected source of evidence for rectangular buildings (Ritchie 1974; Davidson, JL pers. commun., 1989), as may be seen, for instance, at Langwell (RCAMS 1911, p. 68, No. 250). The post-broch settlement at Forse, though only partially excavated, included one major subrectangular building typified by substantial drystone walling and the use of upright slabs to support the roof lintels (Curle 1946; 1948); In 1986, I also identified other examples of what may be termed 'long wags' in Glenlothdale, Sutherland. Although artefact evidence is lacking, and it is thus difficult without recourse to modern excavation techniques to secure a date for the wags, a date in the post-broch period seems likely (Brown, I pers. commun., 1989; contra.MacKie 1971, 16).[24] The evidence would seem to indicate an indigenous development in building tradition towards the longhouse over some four centuries before Norse settlement occurred in northern Scotland (cf. Bigelow 1987), and in this context the Pitcarmick-type buildings and their possible derivatives at Traprain are clearly important. A similar level of parallel architectural development would also seem to have existed between northern Scotland and Norway;

evident not only in plan-type but also in internal fittings including benches, long hearths and walling techniques, as too the use of turf (cf. Ritchie 1974, 32; Crawford 1987, 142-6, fig. 46).

The post-broch settlement at Forse provides a further possible link with the Pitcarmick-type buildings, for the buildings are similarly axially aligned side-by-side (Buildings A/E and L/N on fig. 5.16). Their use as byre-dwellings is indicated by the presence of a drain in Building L; a function also accounted for by Curle (1946, 22-3), who drew attention to the width of the doorway to Wag L which seemed to be designed so as to permit the passage of cattle (ibid. 20). The term 'wag', by definition Gaelic *uamh* 'cave', with its diminutive *wamheg* (Maclennan 1986, 358), might not be inappropriate in application to the Pitcarmick-type buildings, and their derivatives, as when roofed the completed structure must have presented a cave-like appearance.

The paralleling of buildings, a characteristic of the Pitcarmick buildings and evident too at Forse, is also to be recognized at Traprain (Buildings II and III). Fig. 5.17 sets Buildings I and II from Traprain alongside a number of the Pitcarmick-type buildings. It serves to underline the limited structural variation in buildings ranging in length from about 16m to 34m overall, and would seem to raise the possibility of a common generic form. If the Pitcarmick-type buildings do represent an indigenous tradition peculiar to north-eastern Perthshire (as on present evidence seems likely), it might be argued that the Traprain buildings are in fact derivatives or type-fossils of the same tradition, and, moreover, that their appearance at Traprain may have been due to the presence there of immigrants from the Pictish heartland. This, of course, is only supposition and it would be difficult to prove archaeologically. On face value, the finds accompanying the Traprain buildings would point to their appearance by the late fourth century and if one assumes that the Pitcarmick-type buildings are also of the Early Historic period, then both may be deemed Pictish; the Pitcarmick-type buildings would, of course, fall within the tribal territory of the *Verturiones*, later the Pictish kingdom of Atholl which was bound on the south by the kingdom of Fortriu (Strathearn and Menteith), Fife (Smyth 1984, 69).

The indigenous aspect of the Pitcarmick-type buildings is more fully revealed when seen in the wider context of the ringfort distribution and that for the Dalrulzian houses. Fig. 5.18 draws upon work by Margaret Stewart (1969) and Judith Harris (1984) in setting out the respective distributions for the two monument types. The ringfort distribution is principally confined to north-western Perthshire, though outliers are known in Argyll (Stevenson, JB pers. commun., 1988). By contrast the Dalrulzian houses, both with and without accompanying field-systems, are only to be found in north-eastern Perthshire;

roughly the same area as defined by the known Pitcarmick-type buildings (fig. 5.19). The ringforts appear to date to the mid to late first millennium AD; one excavated by Margaret Stewart produced a radiocarbon date (charcoal from a primary posthole) of 1080±180 ad (Stevenson, JB pers. commun., 1988). Their topographic location is noteworthy as the locational factors governing the ringfort distribution apply equally to the Pitcarmick-type houses in the hill-country immediately to the east. They generally stand at a height of about 228m OD, above the valley floors, in well-drained, advantageous though not necessarily tactical positions. Stewart emphasized the importance of proximity to sheltered hill-grazing, lands later exploited as shielings in a pattern of land use to which transhumance was vital (1969, 20). The divergent settlement patterns and broad locational similarities between the ringforts and the Pitcarmick-type buildings would lend weight to the view that both are facets of a contemporary landscape. The critical east-west divide revealed by the distribution pattern appears to be that of the uplands bordering the Tay Valley. The pivotal centres at Atholl and Dunkeld (cf. Cowan and Easson 1976, 47; Alcock 1981a, 161; 1987, 82, fig. 2) would appear to confirm the historical importance of this key line of communication and, by implication, may serve to underline a still more deeply rooted cultural or tribal divide coterminous with the Tay; a division perhaps mirrored in the emergence of the *tuatha* or smaller tribal kingdoms of Pictland. In the Early Historic period the kingdom of Atholl (specifically mentioned in the Irish Annals) emerges as the power-centre of the Pictish heartland south of the Mounth, overshadowed, perhaps, only by Fortriu; a situation which existed in 739 when, under the Pictish system, Atholl was still ruled by a tribal king (Smyth 1984, 69), though relegated in 966 to the status of *satrapas* 'governor' (ibid. 219).

(c) Discussion

If one accepts the date and possibility that the Traprain Phase Two buildings are derivatives of the Pitcarmick-type buildings, what then is to be made of their appearance at this key native centre by the late fourth century? Pictish incursions south of the Forth Clyde isthmus, which were countered on each occasion by Roman intervention, are on record in AD 360, 367-9, 382 and 396-8 (Mann 1974, 41; Maxwell 1987, 43). The appearance of the Phase Two buildings could be linked to any one of these events, though perhaps the Barbarian Conspiracy of AD 367-9, in which the Picts acted with Scots and Attacotti in a concerted thrust against the norther frontier, comes foremost to mind. This has been seen to coincide with the construction of the Cruden Wall which once more served to raise Traprain to the status of a fortified citadel. It would accord with the datable evidence for the rampart, although if one concedes to Close-Brookes' view, that the Wall could be of early fifth-century date, one might look to reconcile the Phase Two buildings with one of the later Northern wars that emerge in Miller's and Thompson's appraisal of what Gildas has to say about this region at a period in which we find Picts assailing *Brittani* inside *Brittania* after AD 400 (see also this work pp. 245-6).[25] However, this perhaps lends too great a weight to

a cataclysmic view of settlement history and, whilst no doubt fashionable in the context of frontier studies, there are other possibilities.

Given the evidence from Traprain Phase One, it is possible that the hill was by the mid third century AD already a Pictish centre rivalling that of the Votadini at Castle Rock, Edinburgh (*Din Eidyn*) and that of the Maeatae at Stirling (fig. 8.5). The structural layout of the Phase One buildings, together with their size and wealth of artefact evidence, indicates a site of some cultural importance and perhaps political standing. In philo-Roman frontier affairs Traprain may have been a prized citadel; within sight of Pictland north of the Forth and affording security conceivably to a Pictish enclave lying immediately to the east. From this position the Picts would have been well placed to arbitrate in frontier affairs and in the broadening ambit of Celtic supremacy that was to be realized to such great effect in AD 367-9. Following Mann (1974, 41), one might argue that the Pictish kingdom was itself a product of the Roman presence in Britain. If this was so then Traprain could well have emerged as the seat of a social *élite* with sovereign responsibility for Pictland south of the Forth.

This view is perhaps strengthened by the Latin influence seen in the names of Votadinian and Damnonian leaders recorded in the genealogies of those tribes known in Welsh tradition as *Gwŷr y Gogledd* 'Men of the North' (see pp. 272-3). But Christian influence apart, the wish to emulate all that was Rome may be held to be so far removed from the North Britons that it constituted more of an heroic ideal than a political or physical reality to be engaged in (cf. Smyth 1984). If one sets aside the conjectural world of philo-Roman power politics, what emerges instead, in the picture of the late sixth-century Votadini (pp. 249-52, 276-8), is a full-blooded Celtic aristocracy, no different from their Celtic forbears in north-western Europe or their contemporaries in Ireland and historical Pictland.

The great physical divide of Pictland, north and south of the Mounth, which is vouched for by Bede (HE i. 1) and hinted at by Classical writers, can be seen to have induced two major tribal confederacies and by implication two overkingships, one for each sphere of influence (Smyth 1984, 68-9). This is confirmed by a reference to Dubtalorc 'King of the Picts on this side of the Mounth' (Anderson 1973, 191). In addition to an overlord of southern Pictland one may assume the presence of a bevy of satellite kingdoms to the south, locked into a confederacy involving a series of mutual obligations. In turn this would seem to be confirmed by a reference to Talorgen son of Drustan, a king of Atholl who was drowned by the Pictish overlord, Óengus son of Fergus, in 739 (Anderson 1973, 175). Given the oscillating nature of Pictish kingship (the *leitmotif* to Smyth's work, 1984), it is thus just possible that the status of ruling power at Traprain could have ebbed-and-flowed

alongside that of the other Celtic-Pictish kingdoms south of the Mounth. One might then account for the appearance of the distinctive Phase Two buildings at Traprain, whose closest parallels seem only to lie with a select group of buildings in north-eastern Perthshire, as a direct consequence of the exercise of overlordship south of the Forth by a polity that later emerges as the Kingdom of Atholl; an overlordship achieved perhaps by the accession at Traprain of members of the royal house of Atholl, together with their retinue, who built in a manner to which they were accustomed. A similar conclusion was reached by AO Anderson (1922) with regard to the exercise of overlordship by the Picts over Strathclyde in the eighth century; a situation which contrasts with that in the seventh when the roles were reversed.[26]

It might follow that the construction of the Cruden Wall, so often seen to be a response to increasingly hostile times (cf. Close-Brookes 1983, 217), may no more than reflect the elevation of Traprain into the orbit of Celtic-Pictish kingship; an event which will perhaps defy archaeological proof and recourse to more exacting dating methods. The provision of the Cruden wall would bring Traprain into line with the great Celtic fortresses of north-east Scotland at Burghead and Portnockie,[27] from which Pictish overlords, or their potentates, were to later rule (cf. Smyth 1984, 56). The emergence of forts in Pictland in the fourth or fifth centuries is, as Alcock notes, part of a wider phenomenon throughout North Britain (1987a, 85). He draws too an interesting analogy with sites in the Aegean in the early Bronze Age, noting the preferred locations on readily defensible promontories, or on hilltops with elaborate fortifications as at Kastri, Syros, alongside which the forts of the Picts (as too Traprain) appear much larger, though they may have been less densely occupied. Renfrew argues that provision of such sites, along with their artificial defences served to defend the newly emergent wealth and social distinction implicit in the earliest bronze working (1972, 260-4); precepts which, when tailored by transmission through space and time, could be as relevant to the emerging power-centres of sub-Roman, Celtic North Britain.

This alternative hypothesis, which lays greater weight on the development of Celtic supremacy in the north than the influence of Roman frontier policy, places Traprain foremost in the political development of Lothian. While the elevation of Traprain in the late fourth century to a royal site can be no more than inference, it is in part supported by the Herbertian *Life* of St Kentigern (Forbes 1874, cap. 1), which reveals the presence of a royal house in Lothian still in the sixth (*rex... Leudonus... a quo provincia quam regebat Leudonia nomen sortita in Brittannia septentrionali*); although the name itself may be eponymous (Jackson 1958, 282). Wade-Evans, however, although admitting the uncertain origin of Leudonus, notes that he too may have been a Pict (1949, 76).

Evidence for the abandonment of Traprain is two-fold. Coins accompanying the silver hoard provide a *terminus post quem* of AD 420, while the absence of any later

examples in the hand-pin series, after a full series of ring-headed and rosette pins (cf. Fowler 1964, 98-15: Close-Brookes 1983, 217), would indicate that permanent occupation of the hill ceased in the fifth century; a Pictish chain recovered from Traprain (Edwards 1939) might allow for some activity on the hill between the sixth and eighth centuries. The list of Monenna's churches (Skene 1886-90, ii, 37) founded about AD 500, as Hogg notes (1951, 207), appears to be a genuine tradition, and if we are to accept the inclusion of Traprain in this list (under its other name *Dunpeledur*) some continuity must be allowed. This need not be at variance with the datable material recovered fromTraprain, for archaeology in the north seems more often to reflect the influence of the broom; houses were regularly swept clean while still in use and items of value would be taken on leaving the site. It is possible that for 'founded' we should read ' rededicated' as this would allow Building IV, Phase Two, to indeed be Monenna's church, but this can after all be no more than an excursion into possibilities. The abandonment of Traprain is explicit in the *Life* of St Kentigern, which, in its various forms, displays a detailed topographic knowledge of Lothian (cf. Jackson 1958, 288-94). It is Jocelyn's *mons altissimus*, a hill which he calls *Dumpelder* (var. *Dunpelder*); Cumbria *Din Pelidr* 'the fort of the beams' (Watson 1926, 345; Jackson 1958, 289). The Herbertian *Life* calls the hill *Kepduf*, Gaelic *Kepdub* 'the black block'; an apt name for the rock-girt citadel, and one clearly long abandoned. While the Law itself may have been deserted, the survival of a Pictish enclave south of the Forth seems likely. Thomas (1981, 288-9) has set out the distribution of Pictish chains, two of which have incised symbols on their terminals, and the evidence suggests a wide sphere of influence extending across the Lammermuirs, possibly into the Tweed Basin, in the sixth to eighth centuries (fig. 5.20, including some more recent finds).[28] A Class I Pictish symbol stone (RCAMS 1951, p. 215, No. 159) may also suggest a centre close to Castle Rock, Edinburgh.[29]

(d) Conclusions

One of the most important points to emerge from this reappraisal of the latest levels at Traprain is that the southern boundary of Pictland need not *sensu-stricto* have been the Forth-Clyde line; a cultural divide which seems to be borne out by Bede (HE i. 1) and is hinted at by Classical writers. Thomas (1981, 287-8) has pointed to the possibility that Pictland did extend south of the Forth in the seventh century to include Bishop Trumwine's seat at Abercorn (16 km W of Edinburgh), this sometime after the Maeatae had contracted north upon their centre at Castle Rock, Stirling; a view with which Smyth would concur (1984, 65-6; but see also Thomas 1984, 331). However, the dating evidence has proved equivocal. Previously it was believed that such a development may have followed a phase of protracted expansion from the Pictish heartland, that is to say, in one or other of the incursions made by the Picts against the northern frontier. The evidence from Traprain,

certainly in Phase Two, seems to argue otherwise. Granted I have suggested that the reoccupation of the Law and the appearance of buildings of Pictish character in Phase One may have followed from the consolidation of territorial gains in the late second or early third century; the evidence suggests that the Picts merely took over a native tribal-centre long abandoned by the Votadini who may already have transferred their caput to *Din Eidyn*, Castle Rock, Edinburgh, by the mid second century. But in Phase Two, with the transition to buildings quite unlike those of Phase One, and whose closest counterparts seem on present evidence to be confined to north-eastern Perthshire, settlement would seem to have been premeditated. Although it cannot be proven, one explanation to account for the presence of these buildings might be that they do reflect the exercise of overlordship and the arrival of new immigrants from farther afield, most probably Atholl.

If one accepts this line of reasoning, the importance of Traprain to the Picts may stem from the fact that it lay within the intramural zone and thus offered an opportunity for aggrandisement both with Rome and neighbouring Celtic-British tribes (see also pp. 148-55). The inclusion of Traprain in the list of churches founded by St Monenna, alongside other pivotal British centres at Dumbarton, Stirling and Edinburgh, is of interest, although its implications are difficult to assess. To accept that East Lothian had fallen or had been ceded to the Picts as early as the mid third century need not rule out the possibility of their peaceful coexistence with the native Votadini (pp. 250-2). Although building traditions were characteristically different, the peoples north and south of the Forth may not have been that different, and this no doubt ultimately contributed to the emergence of a confederacy of North British/Pictish tribal kingdoms, alongside which the influence of Rome can be seen as incidental (*pace.* Mann 1974).

The reappraisal of the latest levels on Traprain does hold important implications for a wider geographical area, in particular the Tweed Basin. It raises the possibility of identifying a building tradition, hitherto unobserved, on other native sites, not least those bordering upon the Lammermuirs, which it may be held were, until the eighth century, broadly within the sphere of influence of Pictland south of the Forth. Should they emerge, longhouses of Traprain Phase Two type, will probably be closely datable, at least on morphological grounds. The trend towards rectilinearity, which is apparent on a number of native sites in the Southern Uplands (pp. 84-96), may itself point to a gradual dispersal of ideas indigenous to Lothian and the Celtic-Pictish heartland beyond. The application of Roman models as close parallels for these native buildings can thus be called into question. Above all, Traprain serves to demonstrate that where the material and structural evidence is available, despite the method of early excavators, a clear picture can be developed in respect to chronology and continuity. To frame this argument with regard to the conjectural ambit of Roman frontier studies is perhaps misleading, as the evidence from Traprain seems to

underline the importance of the native Celtic aspect to the overall development of settlement, culture and society; ties which may have served to ensure not only the survival, but also the full-blooded emergence of a Celtic aristocracy and warrior *élite*. Traprain may also be used as a model for the development of pivotal-centres in the lowlands, the presence of which has been inferred (pp. 62, 74-5, 98-102), if barely understood. But one should perhaps reserve judgement until such time as a comparable area excavation can be undertaken, for example, close to North Eildon, or on the southern shelf of the hill itself.

CHAPTER SIX

THE USE OF HOUSES AS CHRONOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL INDICATORS : A NEW CLASSIFICATORY SYSTEM

The settlement pattern that may be deduced for the Early Historic period in the Southern Uplands is principally a reflex of the classification adopted by RCAMS for rural settlement types in the Romano-British period. Some forts have been identified as possibly of Dark Age date, either on the basis of their plan, their mode of construction or reuse of Roman materials (e.g. Rubers Law), though the latter may no more than indicate a date post the destruction of a Roman building (Alcock 1979, 134). Other sites (e.g. the triple-palisaded enclosure at Hogbridge) have been identified as Dark Age simply on the basis that they do not conform to the recognized layout of pre-Roman Iron Age forts; this too may be questionable. In order to broaden the discussion, it is necessary to examine the classificatory system adopted by RCAMS which has exerted so great an influence on settlement studies.

In 1982, Hill raised the possibility that certain house types within the Tyne-Forth region might be used as diagnostic chronological and cultural indicators (Hill 1982c). His approach was informed by the data gathered at Broxmouth (1982b) but drew also upon evidence from Northumberland for a period from about 800 BC to AD 400. He appreciated the need to assimilate data from farther afield and for a broader time span, but this lay beyond the scope of his paper; the approach was qualified by Macinnes (1982b) who offered an alternative model but one which accounted for the points already raised. Briefly, Hill began by refuting the Hownam sequence (1982a, 4-5; this work p. 23) and the classificatory system adopted by RCAMS (1956, 1967) as elaborated by Feachem (1965; see also RCAMS 1978) which recognized five house types:

*(i) **Post-ring Houses*** are defined on plan by a simple post-ring which it was assumed may have been used to brace the house walls and support the roof structure (e.g. West Plean, Glenachan Rig, Harehope, West Brandon and Fairy Knowe).[1] Houses of this type are generally believed to date to the early Bronze Age. The problem in accepting this as a diagnostic type is that the uprights of the post-ring may simply be the supporting members of an inner ring-beam; the roof-timbers perhaps resting on a low mass wall of either earth or stone (see Kendrick 1982, 140) which may have been removed by later disturbance (see Stevenson 1984) or missed as a result of less sensitive excavation technique.

*(ii) **Ring-ditch Houses*** are characterized by the presence of an annular or penannular depression, or ditch, which forms an integral element of the house structure. Houses of this type are widespread (for a list see Hill 1982a, 33-9) and have been identified from air-photographs in East Lothian (Macinnes 1984a, 179) and surviving field-remains in the Tweed Basin (e.g. Braidwood and Wester Essenside).[2] Reynolds (1982, 53) has suggested that some may in effect be two-storeyed byre-dwellings, with cattle being confined to the outer annular area; the ditch being accentuated by frequent 'mucking-out' (see also pp. 29, 44, 162-3). Radiocarbon dates from Douglasmuir (Kendrick 1982, 139), Dryburn Bridge (Triscott 1982, 123) and Broxmouth (Hill 1982a, 39-40) suggest a floruit for houses of this type towards the mid first millennium BC. However, this date span may have to be revised to account for some ring-ditch houses which occur in secondary and conceivably Romano-British contexts as at Wester Essenside, Selkirkshire. Subsequent excavation of ring-ditches, at present known from field evidence, may also lead to the identification of different forms of differing dates (e.g. Burradon, Jobey 1970, 66-9; Macinnes 1982b, 32).

*(iii) **Ring-groove Houses*** are common in the Tyne-Forth region and farther afield (e.g. North Straiton, Driscoll, S pers. commun., 1989; Stanwick, North Yorkshire, Haselgrove 1989, 30, fig.1). They are distinguished by the presence of an annular or penannular bedding-trench used to contain the main wall-timbers of the house. By itself, it is questionable whether such an elementary structural component can be held to be diagnostic.

*(iv) **Houses of Advanced Type*** were identified by Feachem (1965, 114-16; RCAMS 1967, 22) to account for the structural sophistication of components in houses excavated at West Brandon (Jobey 1962), Harehope (Feachem 1960) and West Plean (Steer 1956). This is a spurious distinction and as a type is now regarded as obsolete (Hill 1982c, 25).

*(v) **Stone-walled Houses*** are also widespread in the Tyne-Forth province and are generally believed to be of Romano-British date and to have come into being as a result of the *pax Romana* (RCAMS 1956, 32). In Northumberland, Lothian and the Merse, they have been identified as the dwellings of the Votadini (Steer 1958; RCAMS 1967, 35) and Hill has gone so far as to coin the term 'Votadinian Houses'; this on the strength of an apparent coherence in the settlement evidence and the patterning of the floor areas in respect to the collocation of stone-lined depressions, pits, hearths and wattle-lined walls. Although not without some validity, there are problems implicit to Hill's use of the term (see Macinnes 1982b). Some stone-walled houses may have fulfilled a variety of functions and potentially could be much earlier in date; others, in Tweeddale, even allowing for the relocation of the intervallate tribal groupings proposed by Mann and Breeze (1987), clearly lay outwith the area of the Votadini at all times.

On the basis of the patterning of internal layout and mode of construction, Hill sought to identify two architectural traditions: the one represented by the annular layout typified by the ring-ditch houses, the other by the stone-walled round houses. This seems reasonable, but given that both categories may prove on excavation to embrace structures of differing function and date, and that many stone-walled houses do have a long ancestry with timber precursors (Jobey 1973; 1975; 1976; this work pp. 13-14, 63-4) the integrity of this dual architectural tradition is perhaps to be doubted and one must allow for regional variations and local trends in the patterning of the evidence. Questions of function, date and cultural affinity, however, are central to Hill's argument but the application of his approach to excavation and field-survey is limited by the criteria he upholds as significant. As to date, Macinnes notes that some stone-walled houses, found at recurrent altitudes and in recurrent positions close to streams and level, cultivable land, could potentially be interpreted as belonging to the late second or early first millennium BC (1982b, 32). The use of stone-walling, given that it may no more than reflect availability, versatility in handling this medium and preference for a more durable structure, cannot be used as a diagnostic attribute either of an architectural tradition or of a building type. It is in fact the recurrent association of house and enclosure type, the presence of small assemblages of Roman finds (see pp. 81-4) and the position of the houses in relation to broadly dated hillforts that has led to some stone-walled houses being identified as potentially of the Romano-British period, and never the building material *per se.*

The conspectus of settlement evidence contained in the RCAMS volumes would suggest that there were a multiplicity of architectural traditions and building types prevalent in the Tyne-Forth region. Because of this, one should perhaps steer away from an all too rigid framework, with an emphasis on commonality over a wide area, in favour of one which reflects the likelihood of a plethora of vernacular responses tailored by geography to the discrete areas with which they properly belong. A straight forward division of house types will probably not suffice. At the Dod, for instance, timber was used as a component in a stone-build for a number of round houses probably of late first- or second-century date, as too for the souterrain accompanying the house in Area VI (p. 88); a technique which is also evident at Edgerston, Roxburghshire (RCAMS 1956, pp. 225-8, No. 457). The structural development of the Dod Buildings (pp. 86-92), as too those at Broxmouth (Hill 1982b, 170-5), underlines the difficulties in using stone-walling, ring-grooves or post-rings as diagnostic of a particular house type, although Hill accepted that ring-ditches might be significant in this respect (1982a, 12-21; but see also Macinnes 1982b, 32). While this is plausible, the inherent inconsistency probably rules out the likelihood of a satisfactory classification system, and Hill stopped short of proposing an alternative. Even accepting the prevalence of

an architectural tradition, without high-accuracy dates (preferably from hearths), there seems little point to try and advance an hypothesis on cultural origins and affinity.

In determining the criteria required to distinguish a building tradition one might reflect on the scope available to architectural-historians and vernacular building specialists of the medieval and later periods. Here, great play is made of hearth-entry arrangements, the relationship of doors to windows, the provision of lofts, floors and ancillary chambers, and the form of the roof structure. The evidence is also set in context by an appraisal of the building's status and function (cf. Smith and Yates 1968; Smith 1975, 4-17; Gailey 1976; Meirion-Jones 1982, 1-6; Gailey 1984, 140-95; SVBWG 1984). With excavation, particularly in the Southern Uplands, often limited to the recovery of floor-surfaces, the archaeologist has few, if any, of these features to go by and the interpretation of first-floor arrangements and roof-structure often requires a much higher level of inference. This is not the case everywhere; An Sithean, Arran (Barber and Brown 1984) and the Buckquoy House (Ritchie 1977, 175-82; 1989, 44-9), being two notable exceptions, but much more work is required on other deeply stratified sites before the evidence can be used as a basis for extrapolating wider trends (see also p. 102).

While the faults of the Hownam sequence and the 1965 classification are clear, an alternative approach is required to account for the present level of evidence in order to consider how the search for chronological and cultural indicators might be advanced. One line of enquiry which has previously not been pursued, though implicit to Feachem's approach (1965), is offered by the recurrent association of houses with particular types of enclosure, some of which are broadly dated. The Inventories of the Scottish Royal Commission provide a wealth of data which can be used to frame a classification.

(I) A NEW CLASSIFICATORY SYSTEM

(a) Methodology and Aims

In the appraisal which follows, I identify five generic site types from the broad range of settlements previously believed to be of Romano-British date; three have sub-categories (fig. 6.1). These are set out in hierarchical order from the most simple (open settlement) to the most evolved (nuclear settlement). Each type and sub-category reflects a specialized response to the ordering of houses in respect to their enclosures and in certain cases this is particularly pronounced. I have not attempted to rigidly assign all sites to a specific category and in the tabulated data accompanying this chapter (Annex A) some sites appear in more than one

category. This is not a problem as my aim has simply been to identify a best-fit. To force sites, many of which probably have a long and varied structural development, into a specific category for the sake of consistency would fail to account for the unique attributes probably common to many. In time, should one site, on excavation or close field inspection, be seen to be of quite another order, this would probably result in the classification being rejected or being viewed as obsolete. The Dod earthwork falls into this category; originally believed to be of medieval date (a possible derivative of the ringworks), excavation proved that the site was prehistoric but with a long and complex structural history spanning a period from the late first millennium BC to about AD 1500 (see pp. 31-3, 86-96).

In proposing a new classificatory system, my aim has been to identify broad regional trends, together with any evident adherence to more localized building traditions; a factor which may be of greater significance to site development over a wide area where climatic variation, soils and terrain are so markedly different (pp. 1-11). Above all my aim has been to identify those settlement types which perhaps hold out the greatest likelihood of being either Late Roman or Early Historic in date. The value of the classification stems from its facility to incorporate all the basic data from the RCAMS system. It should further be able to accommodate new information at all levels, allowing subsequent interpretations to change without affecting the basic data derived from fieldwork and excavation.

The Ordnance Survey 1:25000 south-east Scotland sheet has been used as a base-map against which to plot the distribution of sites; the sites are numbered with reference to Annex A and those of significance are labelled (fig. 6.2). Although the scale is a limiting factor, reference to 1:50000, 1:10560 and 1:10000 map-sheets has been used to locate sites with a degree of accuracy. The 1:25000 sheet, however, has the advantage of a good colour register for topography which highlights the variety of terrain within the Tweed Basin. The data is all drawn from the RCAMS Inventories for the counties of Berwick, Roxburgh, Selkirk and Peebles (1915; 1956; 1957; 1967). I met some difficulty in identifying sites in Berwickshire as no NGRs are given in the Inventory, but in each case the sites were cross-checked with the *Archaeological Sites and Monuments Series List* (RCAMS 1980). In this List, however, sites are often given alternative names and to avoid confusion I have retained those of the 1915 Inventory.

(b) The Classification

(i) Type 1A This type, classified as open settlement, is characterized by lightly protected or unenclosed habitation sites comprising from five to twenty round or oval huts which, though usually stone-built, often appear, on surface evidence, as shallow hemispherical

scoops. In the uplands, sites of this type often reoccupy earlier hillforts (e.g. Hownam Rings, Bonchester Hill and the Dunion), with later expansion of the settlement resulting in the huts being cut-back into the ramparts or sprawling across the denuded earthwork fortifications (plate 4.10). In these instances the settlements might be seen as having evolved from their predecessors and as such they probably date to the earliest phase of stone-built settlements in the region, that is to say, a period spanning the late first millennium BC to the late first or early second century AD; some may reflect the influence of the *pax Romana* (see pp. 63-4). Occasionally, as at Edin's Hall (RCAMS 1915, pp. 60-4, No. 115, fig. 158; Halliday, S pers. commun., 1987) and Bonchester Hill (RCAMS 1956, pp. 150-2, No. 277), some restructuring of the building layout is evident on plan, with huts being located in respect to a street or road (see also Traprain phase one, pp. 120-1).

In their distribution, the open settlements are all peripheral to the Tweed Lowlands (there are none in Tweeddale) and thus they probably reflect only the fringe of a pattern of open settlement that may once have been more widely dispersed across the lowlands; the evidence for which, one assumes, has been lost due to later agricultural practices. One can reasonably speculate that in the Flavian and Antonine periods of Roman occupation, over an area of greatest agricultural potential (p. 10), open settlement was perhaps the norm (see also p. 99). Consistently, each site is located in favour of better quality land marginal to the principal tributaries of the Tweed, often at the head of small valleys and invariably below the 300m contour. The settlement at Wester Essenside, Selkirkshire (fig. 6.3), noteworthy for its ring-ditch houses, lies at the western extremity of the Ale Water; Bonchester Hill (fig. 6.4) overlooks the Rule Water; the Dunion, the Jed Water; Hownam Rings, the Kale Water, while to the north, the settlements at Hillhouse and Black Hill are sited in respect to the valley of the Leader (for the significance of this valley see pp. 321-3) and Edin's Hall occupies a prominent position on the west bank of the Whiteadder Water (see also p. 19). The Coldingham Loch settlement alone is situated in a more marginal position close to the coast, although this was an area already densely settled (see, for instance, Childe 1932; Feachem 1977, 112). The surviving pattern of open settlement would also suggest that the sites were to a degree structured spatially. Those closest to the lowlands lie no more than 10 km from their nearest neighbours, while those in the uplands are on average 18 km apart. This might be seen to be consistent with a settlement pattern imposed upon the region in the period of Roman occupation. The manner in which these sites span boundaries formally defined by other settlement types (specifically types 2C,D,E and 3) may signify culturally that the distribution of open settlement is a Roman rather than a native phenomenon. With the depopulation of the uplands in the second and third centuries AD, perhaps as an outcome of the Antonine occupation (see pp. 99, 102), the open settlements appear to have undergone a final phase of expansion. A case in point is Bonchester Hill where a series of huts occupy

peripheral positions within the outer annexes (RCAMS 1956, pp. 150-2, No. 277). This might also be accounted for by an increase in the size of the indigenous population (see Jobey 1974b).

(ii) Type 1B, classified as rectilinear settlements, are distinguished by the provision of an enclosure. The huts within these enclosures are, however, loosely ordered and in this respect are not unlike Type 1A. The enclosures, which are often stone-walled, are usually uniform in shape, size, orientation and topographic position (see p. 63). Sites of this type are widespread in the Tyne-Forth region and are generally believed to be of Romano-British date: for those in East Lothian close to Traprain see Macinnes 1984a, 183-6; in north Northumberland, for example, Mardon (fig. 6.5), Belling Law (fig. 6.6), and Kennel Hall Knowe, see Jobey (1963; 1977b; 1978b). Examples of the type in Roxburghshire include Pudding Law (RCAMS 1956, pp. 345-6, No. 667) and Edgerston (RCAMS 1956, pp. 225-8, No. 457). Edgerston is a useful type-site as it was extensively excavated between 1928 and 1939 by Mrs FS Oliver (fig. 6.7). Unfortunately it is unpublished but the report given by RCAMS (op. cit.) can usefully be summarized.

The enclosure walls (1.3m high and 2.5m thick), which may have been timber-laced, were rubble-cored with a masonry wall-face which was revetted at intervals by vertical timbers (0.2m in diameter) set in postholes roughly 1.1m apart. To the interior, the remains of at least four circular huts were recovered, the largest measuring 9.2m in diameter within a stone wall up to 1.8m in thickness. The roof purlins were probably secured by a ring of thirteen or fourteen vertical posts which had been seated in a foundation trench incorporated in the thickness of the hut wall. Further postholes dotted the interior and the entrance on the north-east arc was finished with a paved threshold. Huts 2 to 4 were of a similar build.

Finds were prolific and fall into two categories. The first, which are probably a product of the occupation of the stone-walled settlement, are of second-century date. These include a terret (comparable to one found at Torwoodlee Broch, Curle 1892, 80, fig. 10); three dress fasteners and a penannular brooch (paralleled at Traprain, Curle and Cree 1921, 187, nos. 5, 12); several spiral finger rings, the rim of a vessel, part of a dragonesque brooch, a melon bead, fragments of glass armlets and one of lignite; a *denarius* of Trajan, struck in AD 114 (MacDonald, 1939, 242); samian, part of a plain vessel and a rim fragment from a Roman platter or bowl in a coarse fume ware; fragments of native coarse pottery; a saddle quern and fragments of three beehive querns; parts of two crucibles and several stone spindle whorls and pounders. The second category consists of a number of medieval artefacts. These include an iron cheek piece, or snaffle bit (thirteenth or fourteenth century), a

socketed arrowhead and two bronze spur-rowels (early fourteenth century), a silver spoon (*c.*1400), two English pennies of Edward I (1272-1307) and several pottery sherds (all fourteenth century).

Settlements of the type denoted by Edgerston are limited in extent to the Cheviots stretching from the Jed Water in the west to the head-waters of the Bowmont in the east. The topographical location of type 1B settlements is similar to that of the type 1A open settlements and the distribution pattern can simply be seen as filling out that already defined. The type 1B settlements may be the antecedents for a number of potential Dark Age sites which differ only in the measure of their enclosing walls and apparent preference for a defensible position. The fort on Carby Hill (RCAMS 1956, p. 90, No. 96), conspicuously situated on the east bank of the Liddel Water, provides a close parallel (fig. 6.8). Its enclosing wall, now reduced to a mass of tumble, was possibly about 3m thick; to the interior there are at least six stone-walled houses, the largest 11.9m in diameter within a wall 0.9m thick.

Some of the stone-walled settlements could possibly also have continued in use into the post-Roman period (for a review of the dating evidence see pp. 81-6) and the absence of post-Roman finds, for a period in which the material culture is notoriously poor, need not be altogether significant. Given that houses were probably swept clean in use, the presence of artefacts may simply denote periods of decline or abandonment; in the past, excavation has often been tailored to the houses at the expense of the intervening areas where midden material, if not dispersed over neighbouring fields, might conceivably accumulate. Thus at Edgerston, for instance, the presence of second-century artefacts might not preclude occupation in the third and fourth centuries continuing perhaps until the twelfth or thirteenth centuries; the medieval finds representing perhaps some *ad hoc*, though conceivably high-status, activity of a transient nature. Again, a site like Edgerston would probably repay selective re-excavation if only to obtain a high accuracy date.

(iii) Type 1C This form of enclosed settlement has the attributes of Type 1B but for the form of enclosure which is 'crab-claw' on plan (for the term see p. 97); a characteristic of a number of Romano-British homesteads in the Cheviots (to be considered) and exemplified at Crock Cleugh (RCAMS 1956, pp. 348-51, No. 672; this work p. 97). However, the distribution pattern is markedly different. Type 1C settlements are confined to Tweeddale where they occur as satellites to the main river valley. The enclosed settlement at Hillside Knowe (fig. 6.9) occupies a prominent position on the north bank of the Leithen Water while, to the WSW, those at Easter Dawyck (fig. 6.10) and Hammer Knowe (fig. 6.11) occupy positions overlooking the Tweed. Each site overlies a previously fortified position; at Hillside Knowe, a palisaded enclosure; at Easter Dawyck and Hammer Knowe, earthworks.

The diagnostically-shaped enclosures are remarkably consistent in size (on average 48m by 35m within a stone wall up to 3.7m thick). The Type 1C settlements may have come into being at the time of the Flavian occupation of Easter Happrew (RCAMS 1967, pp. 169-71, No. 371), or in the Antonine period in respect to Lyne (RCAMS 1967, pp. 171-5, No. 374), from which the settlements at Easter Dawyck and Hammer Knowe are less than 5 km distant.

The manner in which the Type 1C settlements are confined to Tweeddale perhaps highlights the insularity of this district, with the emergence there of more conservative or specialized settlement forms, separated from the Tweed Lowlands by an intervening area which has become known colloquially as the 'Selkirk triangle'; an area apparently lacking in settlement evidence at all periods. One explanation for this might be the presence of the Wood of Celyddon, later Ettrick Forest (pp. 15-17, 27, 290-2). As in the case of Type 1B, the crab-claw enclosures of Type 1C may also have proved to be an enduring feature of the native landscape. In my appraisal of the Manor Valley, I infer that all are broadly post-Roman (pp. 380-2). They re-emerge, or evolve, conceivably in the Early Historic period, in a more specialized form in which the huts, instead of being randomly disposed, are close-set with the enclosure wall as, for example, at Hallmanor, Peeblesshire (RCAMS 1967, pp. 117-18, No. 282; this work pp. 381, 397, no. 20). The crab-claw enclosures are the first in a series of site types which seem to underline the presence in Tweeddale of a distinct tribal grouping; perhaps that of the *Genones* (pp. 301-9), or some hitherto unidentified sept of the Selgovae (but see also p. 428).

(iv) Type 2 This type embraces all categories of settlement that possess houses in association with scooped or sunken yards. As a class, they perhaps reflect the difficulties of pitching a settlement on the flank of a hill with the requirement that the interior of the site be hollowed out both to counteract the slope of the ground and release materials for a building platform. The hollowed nature of the yards may also have been accentuated if they were used as a corral for livestock and as a result of frequent mucking-out of the midden area (see also p. 66). In Peeblesshire, sites of this type have previously been termed 'scooped settlements' (RCAMS 1967, pp. 25-6) and, in Roxburghshire, 'scooped enclosures' as, for example, at Fasset Hill (fig. 6.12) and Hayhope Knowe (RCAMS 1956, pp. 356-7, Nos. 692, 695).

The Type 2 settlements can be subdivided on the basis of the structuring of both yards and houses in respect to enclosures of characteristic form; more often than not these consist of boulder-faced, rubble-cored walls. Type 2A comprises those sites where there is no evident form of accompanying enclosure as, for example, in Peeblesshire, Wood Hill, Dreva (fig. 6.13) and Stanhope. Type 2B, epitomized by Cardon (fig. 6.14), Patervan (fig. 6.15) and Woolshears Hill (fig. 6.16), in Peeblesshire, have houses and yards randomly

disposed within an enclosure which is diagnostically crab-claw on plan. Sites where the enclosing earthworks form the predominant element on plan (Type 2C), are typified by the settlements in Roxburghshire at the Dod (fig. 6.17), Allan Water (its neighbour to the south-west) (plate 6.1) and Penchrise Pen. Type 2D, which may be generically close to Type 2B, has both buildings and yards but these are set in an ordered layout within a single enclosing wall or bank: examples include Caddrounburn Culvert, Roxburghshire (fig. 6.18), Longcroft, Berwickshire (plate 6.2), and Drum Maw, Peeblesshire (fig. 6.19). The diminutive form of settlement of this order (Type 2E) often consists of no more than a single house and accompanying yard within an elementary crab-claw enclosure as, for example, at Crock Cleugh, Roxburghshire (fig. 6.20), Oatlee Hill, Berwickshire (fig. 6.21) and Ven Law 2, Peeblesshire (fig. 6.22). Although the Type 2E settlements, or perhaps more appropriately 'homesteads', may be seen to be a hybrid of Type 2B, numerically they stand apart as a distinct category.

Types 2A and 2D are widespread. In Tweeddale, they cluster with other settlement types along the main river valley, on the heights above the Eddleston and Lyne Waters, and on both sides of the Tweed close to Drumelzier. In Roxburghshire, with the exception of outliers at South Berryfell (Type 2A), Chester Knowe, Caddrounburn Culvert and Shank End (all Type 2D), the rest delimit a densely populated area at the head of the Bowmont Water close to the Cheviot. In the Lammermuirs, Type 2D settlements occur in juxtaposition with the open settlements (Type 1A) at Longcroft, Staneshiel Hill and Coldingham Loch. The distribution pattern, which is probably of Romano-British date, seems to be tailored to areas favourable for pastoralism; the scooped forecourts or yards probably do signify a hard-standing for livestock, a feature peculiar to this order of site (for those in the Manor Valley see pp. 376-80). Type 2B settlements (yards and buildings randomly disposed within a crab-claw enclosure) are found only in Tweeddale, where they emerge as the predominant site type, though matching in numbers the Type 2D settlements at the head of the Bowmont Water in Roxburghshire.

Sites characterized by bivallate enclosures (Type 2C), where the earthworks form the principal element on plan, are confined to the valleys of the Dod Burn and Allan Water, with outliers at Newton Hill, Penchrise Pen, Court Hill, Kirkton Hill and Wolfelee; a rather specialized group of settlements all within a 10 km radius of the Dod (the type-site). The dating evidence for the Dod (pp. 31-3) might be broadly applicable to others within this category. Although some, including the Dod, may have evolved earlier (perhaps late first millennium BC), all are ultimately probably Romano-British. Most remarkable, is the manner in which customary Romano-British elements (i.e. houses with accompanying yards) are juxtaposed with defensive layouts of more traditional type. This might be interpreted as a

final assertion of the hillfort tradition or an anticipation of all that was to emerge as characteristically Romano-British. Given their layout, the Type 2C settlements probably do reflect a common response to well-tried building methods and traditional plan-forms prevalent in the locality, although they emerge as rather an archaic phenomenon. It may be that in this part of Teviotdale, sheltered by the rim of hills, artisans were less receptive to the diffusion of new ideas than may have been the case in the more densely populated areas of the eastern Cheviots. Alternatively, one might postulate that the area was sufficiently isolated to warrant some form of defensible perimeter; at the Dod and Allan Water this is reasonable given their valley-floor location, though by the second century the Dod can at best have been only lightly protected (p. 57). The Type 2C settlements, however, would seem to underline a point of importance, namely the inappropriate nature of cladistic models of settlement history with their inherent emphasis on the definition of broad regional trends (Hill, P pers. commun., 1987).

Type 2E sites are characterized by the two excavated at Crock Cleugh in 1939 (Steer and Keeney 1947). Each consists of a solitary stone-walled round house set on a terrace, or platform, occupying roughly half the internal area of an enclosure, diagnostically crab-claw on plan, defined by a substantial wall employing boulder orthostats and slab pinnings in a masonry build with a rubble core (fig. 6.20). Sites of this type were first recognized by RCAMS in preparation of the Roxburgh Inventory and were described as 'homesteads' comparable to the *Einzelhof* settlements of north-western Europe (1956, 20). For reasons already set out (p. 97), I do not favour the term, though frequently used by the Ordnance Survey for mapping purposes (Davidson, JL pers. commun., 1987), as a distinction is not drawn between sites of this order and palisaded homesteads of the late second or early first millennium BC as, for instance, Gray Coat, Roxburghshire (RCAMS 1956, pp. 441-2, No. 994). The form of the enclosure is a better alternative but the term 'crab-claw' needs to be critically applied in order to distinguish between Type 2E settlements and those of a more evolved nature (Type 2B) which occur only in Tweeddale.

Three of the Type 2E sites (South Berryfell, White Hill and Hownam Rings: RCAMS 1956, Nos. 154, 158, 301) overlie earlier earthwork fortifications. The date of the Crock Cleugh houses is suggested, on the basis of finds, to span a period from the second to the sixth or seventh century AD (see p. 97); that at Hownam Rings (p. 97) is probably post-Roman (Piggot 1948, 193-225). The distribution of Type 2E sites would seem to concur with the time-span envisaged. They occur in greatest numbers in the Cheviots and in Tweeddale, where they appear as satellites to both open settlement (Type 1A) and enclosed settlements containing houses with scooped yards (Types 2A,B and D). As such they

perhaps reflect a fragmentation of the pre-existing settlement pattern; conceivably a result of the depopulation of the uplands in the second and third centuries AD (see p. 99). This pattern is similarly repeated in the outliers to the north on the Lammermuir fringe, where Type 2E sites are juxtaposed with the Romano-British settlements at Hillhouse, Staneshiel Hill, Edin's Hall and Coldingham Loch. In terms of function and in respect to their topographic location, the Type 2E settlements can probably best be interpreted as shielings; each hut, perhaps, a herdsman's bothy. As a group they probably reflect a breakdown of the mixed farming economy practised in the uplands in the Romano-British period, though this change may not altogether have been at the expense of a level of subsistence agriculture as suggested, for example, by the presence of field-systems accompanying the sites at Crock Cleugh (Steer and Keeney 1947, 147-81) and Pudding Law (RCAMS 1956, p. 50, No. 673).

(v) Type 3 This type, representing a rather specialized response to the integration of settlement and field-system, comprises a group of sites with stone-walled round houses, field-banks and enclosures of the type found at Blakebillend (plate 6.3) and Tamshiel Rig (RCAMS 1956, pp. 116-17, No. 166; pp. 426-7, No. 943). The settlement at Tamshiel Rig (see also p. 67), sadly one of the earliest casualties of afforestation, overlies an earlier earthwork fortification and forms the nucleus to a network of multiple enclosures which were subdivided into smaller field plots and strips that had evidently been cultivated. Halliday (1982, 79-80) has deduced that crops and animals co-existed within the system and that the cultivated ground was rotated and the fallow manured by grazing stock.

Sites of this type are disposed across the Cheviot watershed from Blakebillend in the west, on the left bank of the Slitrig Water, to Auchope 1 and 2 in the east, at the head of the Bowmont Valley. With the exception of a cluster of sites around the head-waters of the Bowmont, the rest are outliers to a distribution pattern established by other forms of Romano-British settlement (fig. 6.2). They occupy more marginal positions peripheral to the hinterland of the Tweed and seem to be structured spatially; each is roughly 12 km from its neighbour. The specialized approach to a mixed-farming economy implicit in the layout of Type 3 sites may have arisen out of a requirement to boost the level of an agricultural surplus in the Antonine period to meet the market opportunities presented by the *pax Romana* (see pp. 62, 73-4, 99).

Type 3 settlements are absent from the Lammermuirs, but in Peeblesshire an evolved field-system, accompanying a series of stone-walled houses and field-clearance cairns, extends over the south-facing slopes of Glenrath Hope (fig. 6.23); a steep-sided valley about 1 km in length down which the Glenrath Burn flows to join the Manor Water at the foot of Wood Hill (see also pp. 380-2, 406, no. 57). The field-system is laid out across

an expanse of gently sloping ground some 14 ha in extent. The settlements, which lie at the break-of-slope, do not conform to any set pattern but are simply agglomerations of circular houses with flanking enclosures or yards. Excavations by RBK Stevenson (1941) on one of these houses towards the centre of the complex revealed that it was in bond with its courtyard wall; the only find was an ornamented spindle-whorl. The field-system is defined by stony banks, which drop from the scree towards the burn, and in part by lynchets which extend roughly parallel to the contour. Excavation shed little light on the date of the field-system but the site is believed to be Late Romano-British, or possibly post-Roman (RCAMS 1967, pp. 165-7, No. 364). A comparable field-system, though apparently lacking evidence of settlement, lies close to the fort on Shaw Hill near the head of Stanhope; a steep-sided valley drained by the Stanhope Burn. It too is probably Romano-British or sub-Roman (RCAMS 1967, pp. 168-9, No. 368).

(vi) Type 4 This type reflects a common response to the ordering of a settlement though it could conceivably have evolved from earlier plan forms. Type 4A, typified by the stone-walled settlement at Park Law (fig. 6.24), might be seen as a derivative of the agglomerated settlement pattern noted in Glenrath Hope. At Park Law (RCAMS 1956, pp. 335-6, No. 652), the houses are grouped within a series of open courts or yards and the manner in which the buildings are arranged is particularly noteworthy. Each group consists of a single large stone-walled round house (up to 7m in diameter) with two smaller accompanying huts (between 3.7m and 4.3m in diameter respectively). In terms of function, it is tempting to think in terms of the provision made within a medieval longhouse for barn, byre, stable and domestic accommodation, with outbuildings for farm implements and additional storage (for byre-dwellings of late fourth- to fifth-century date at Traprain see pp. 157-61). The cellular development of Romano-British houses is also evident at the Gair, a Type 2E settlement (RCAMS 1956, pp. 339-40, No. 659) but, in view of the evolved character of the Type 4A sites, a date in the post-Roman period seems quite likely. The sites are few in number and all occur towards the head of the Bowmont Valley where they are juxtaposed with more traditional types of Romano-British settlement (see fig. 6.2).

(vii) Type 4B consists of enclosed settlements with stone-walled houses, but instead of the houses being randomly disposed (as in Type 2B), they are close-set with the enclosure wall to leave free an open yard or forecourt at the centre of the settlement. It seems plausible that this more structured ordering of site interiors reflects a level of development from earlier Romano-British settlements characterized by loose-knit groupings of yards and houses. In sociological terms, this might signify a shift away from private property to one of collective ownership. The Type 4B settlements could be a product of the post-Roman period. Support for this is perhaps provided by a number of potential Dark Age citadel forts which display a

similar level of detail in the layout of their dwellings. This is well illustrated at Dreva (fig. 6.13; plate 6.4; RCAMS 1967, pp. 111-14, No. 275). With the exception of the settlement at Haerfaulds (fig. 6.25), conspicuously situated on the Lammermuir fringe overlooking the Blythe Water (RCAMS 1915, pp. 115-16, No. 218), a site which incorporates at least one subrectangular building, the remainder are only to be found in the Manor Valley, Peeblesshire (see pp. 380-2). That at the Bank (RCAMS 1967, p. 83, No. 210) is situated on a low spur projecting north-east from Dollar Law (fig. 6.26) and, at Hallmanor (fig. 6.27; RCAMS 1967, pp. 117-18, No. 282), the settlement occupies a spur which extends eastwards from Hunt Law between the Hallmanor and Dead Wife's Burn. Both overlie earlier settlements; at the Bank, the wasted remains of a Type 2A settlement probably of Romano-British date.

(viii) Type 5 On plan these can best be described as nuclear settlements. Each consists of a suboval central enclosure (the citadel) and a concentric outer annexe, presumably for livestock. The type is characterized by the earthwork on Shannabank Hill (RCAMS 1915, pp. 2-3, No. 3; 1980, p. 27, no. 208) (fig. 6.28) which is prominently situated on the Lammermuirs overlooking the Romano-British settlements clustering around Edin's Hall (see fig. 6.2). It consists of an oval enclosure (75.5m from NNE to SSW by about 65m transversely) within a concentric outer bank (about 12m apart). The entrances are not distinct but there appear to have been two in the outer rampart (on the south and east respectively). To the interior there are the remains of a number of stone-walled round houses. Sites of this type may have a long ancestry within the Tweed Basin and are paralleled, for example, by the settlements at Orchard Rig, all of which have enclosing annexes (RCAMS 1967, pp. 93-5, Nos. 239-41). The Orchard Rig settlements probably date to the early first millennium BC (plate 6.5), though this is not altogether proven (Halliday, S pers. commun., 1987), and may be derivatives of the twin-palisaded enclosures as, for example, those at Hayhope Knowe, Roxburghshire (Piggott 1949b) and Harehope, Peeblesshire (Feachem 1960). Nevertheless, at least one Type 5 site overlies an earlier earthwork fortification (Helm End, Peeblesshire, fig. 6.29; RCAMS 1967, pp. 120-1, No. 286) and, on the basis of its stone-walled houses, may be of Romano-British date or later. This and other Type 5 sites in Peeblesshire (e.g. Rachan Hill, Cardrona, Purvis Hill and Dreva), seem to conform in layout with the so-called 'nuclear' or 'citadel' forts, defined by Stevenson (1949b), for which a Dark Age date is assured (Alcock 1979, 134); to these they are perhaps closely related. The Type 5 sites may provide a better parallel for the twin-palisaded enclosures at Sprouston (see pp. 224-5), Yeavering and Milfield, than the often quoted but inadequately dated example of Harehope (cf. Alcock 1979, 136; Cramp 1983a, 275).

The distribution of the Type 5 settlements seems to be tailored in favour of the uplands (see fig. 6.2). Sweethope Hill, Roxburghshire, is the exception and is notably of a more evolved form, though it too may date to the Early Historic period (RCAMS 1956, pp. 435-6, No. 977). The site (fig. 6.30) lies about 2 km north-west of Stitchill and occupies a grass-covered plateau broken by rock outcrops. It is roughly circular on plan and consists of a bivallate enclosure or citadel (44m by 76m) on the summit of a knoll which is eccentric to an outer annexe or bailey roughly seven times its area. The ramparts appear to have been faced with stone, and a hollow track, which passes obliquely through the defences on the north-east side, may indicate the site of an original entrance; the entrances in the outer rampart (on the south-east and south-west respectively) have in-turned terminals. The size of the bailey and the character of the entrances suggests that it was probably used as a corral for livestock. The manner in which Sweethope combines elements akin to both the Type 5 settlements and the nuclear forts of the Early Historic period is probably significant. It could in this sense be a 'missing-link'. Although parallels from too far afield need to be received with caution, the subdivision of tribal hillforts into citadel and bailey is a feature of early Slavic *castella* of the ninth to twelfth centuries AD (e.g. Levý Hradec; Sláma 1988) which played a crucial role as key administrative centres in the emergence of the Early Medieval kingdom of Bohemia (Godja, M pers. commun., 1989). In the context of the dynastic development of North Britain, it is conceivable that such sites as Sweethope do point to the emergence of princely strongholds within the region, though without excavation on a large scale it is difficult to see how this hypothesis can be further advanced.

(C) Discussion

In any classification, particularly in a region where excavation has been relatively small scale, it is always difficult to determine where precise boundaries should be drawn between the various levels of evidence and, having done so, to be clear as to the weight which should be attached to them. Nevertheless, the worth of my reclassification seems to be borne out by the nature of the distribution patterns resulting from it which might suggest that the breakdown of settlement along the lines I propose is at least plausible. This would have been otherwise if the distributions arising from it were entirely random, displayed little evidence of being structured spatially or failed to reflect more localized developments as, for example, seems to be the case in the extent of settlement Types 2 and 3. The regularity with which houses and enclosures of characteristic form appear to combine suggests an overall coherence within the settlement evidence and one which seems to confirm that the choice and combination of these elements were far from random. It follows therefore that the classification does offer some scope in determining chronology and perhaps also cultural identity, though this is entirely

dependent on future excavation clarifying the date range for sites in each category with a degree of exactitude. The classification has served to pin-point sites worthy of excavation, or closer field inspection, in contrast to the previous situation where the broad range of rural settlement types was simply relegated to the catch-all 'Romano-British'.

The application of the classification well underlines the diversity of settlement types current in the period but more importantly raises questions of function, the significance of such sites to evolving patterns of land use, and perhaps also casts light on a degree of sociological change as evident, for example, in the observed trend towards more closely structured sites, with the emphasis on a common forecourt, and the emergence of nuclear forts; conceivably administrative or princely centres of regional significance.

I accept that my choice of map-scale has its problems and, in two areas, sites of all types jostle for position amid the densely populated areas at the head of the Bowmont Valley, Roxburghshire, and the Manor Valley, Peeblesshire. It does, however, underline the potential importance of these two areas, the first of which has been examined by Roger Mercer (1985) as part of a systematic approach to topographic survey south of Yetholm; the Manor Valley I consider in detail in Chapter Nine.

The distribution and form of Types 1B, 2C, 2D and 3 seems to underline the coherence to more localized building traditions which though suspected was never before demonstrated. It clearly underlines the difficulties of adopting cladistic models of settlement history and confirms the redundancy of models such as the Hownam sequence. Significantly, some structuring of the upland landscape has emerged, notably between the Type 1A open settlements (perhaps only the fringe of a settlement pattern tailored to the lowlands) and the enclosed settlements of Type 2 comprising stone-walled round houses and yards, which conceivably are, in the company of the Type 3 sites (settlements with integrated field-systems), a product of the *pax Romana*. The fragmentation of the upland settlement pattern and its replacement, at least in part, by a shieling economy, possibly followed the depopulation of the Tweed's hinterland in the second and third centuries AD (see p. 99). Thus the solitary crab-claw enclosures (Type 2E) could well have emerged in the Romano-British period but may provide an intermediate link with strategies of upland land use in the Early Historic period. We should also set this in context with the emergence of more specialized field layouts as those in Peeblesshire at Glenrath Hope and Stanhope (Type 4), sites which may be Late Roman or of sub-Roman origin.

While certain trends are evident in the distribution of Type 2 settlements, which are probably Romano-British, a distinction has to be drawn between these and settlements of

Types 1C, 2B and 4B in Tweeddale, along with other settlement categories bordering the Tweed lowlands (fig. 6.2). The peculiar development of Tweeddale can probably partly be accounted for by the presence of the Wood of Celyddon, which perhaps acted as a filter to ideas and settlement strategies current in the eastern basin while at the same time contributing to the relative insularity of an area locked between the forest and the high hill ground to the west. The polarization of settlement evidence in Tweeddale does perhaps also point to the presence of a tribal grouping distinct from that of the central Tweed Basin. This clearly raises the question of cultural identity but in response to it a much higher level of inference is required than can strictly be tolerated on the basis of the archaeological evidence alone.

The problem stems in fact from the uncertainty which has arisen following a paper published by Mann and Breeze (1987, 85-92) in which they argue for a relocation of the tribal areas defined on the basis of Ptolemy's *Geography*; this mainly affects the Selgovae who are generally believed to have occupied the central Tweed Basin. For reasons previously set out (p. 57) and considered more fully later (pp. 274-6), I believe that this is still a possibility. However, the choice of tribal name is probably academic, what is crucial is the nature of the archaeological evidence; does this at any level reflect the presence of a tribal polity? Hill (1982a, 8) has coined the term 'Votadinian Tradition' and if we assume that the Votadini extended down the eastern littoral of north Britain, between Forth and Tees, one might anticipate that this should be reflected in the character of settlement morphology within the eastern sector of the Tweed Basin. The distribution of rural settlement resulting from my reclassification seems to bear this out. Settlement Types 2D and 2E are notably tailored to the eastern Cheviots, the Lammermuir fringe and Coldingham Moor bordering the coast; Types 1A, 2C and 3 dominate the western hinterland although there is some overlap in the area of the Bowmont Valley. Clearly, one would like to know more about the settlement categories in the eastern lowlands; I have simply inferred that Type 1A (open settlement) was standard. However, we appear to have a reasonable distinction, a rough east/west divide, and from this one could infer that this does reflect a level of cultural affinity and that there existed in the central Tweed Basin a tribal polity independent of that to the east. For the sake of argument, let us assume this to be the Selgovae.

Mann and Breeze (1987, 89) argued in favour of divorcing the Selgovae from Tweeddale, thereby removing the link between the tribal name and the modern name of Selkirk, which may be spurious anyway (p. 275). This distinction would seem to be borne out by the insular development of rural settlement types current in Tweeddale and might point to the presence here, shielded by the Wood of Celyddon, as I have previously inferred, of a distinct tribal grouping. By implication, if not in Tweeddale, one would need to concede to the possibility that Selgovian territory extended farther to the south-west, extending from the

central Tweed Basin across Teviotdale towards the Annan and the Nith, to take in the Roman fort of *Corda* (?Castledykes, Lanarkshire) which Ptolemy attributes to the tribe (Rivet and Smith 1979, 455). This would be broadly in line with Thomas' suggestion (1986, 86, fig. 44), that the tribal area should be seen as embracing the hill-country to the west of the lowland fringe, and would fit well with the archaeological evidence for the distribution of clearance-cairns, house-types and forts noted by RCAMS in Eskdale (1980; 1981; Halliday, S pers. commun., 1987).

In Chapter Eight (pp. 301-9), I raise the possibility that the tribal territory delimited by Tweeddale might be that of the Genounian district noted in a second-century context by Pausanias. Concerned only with the major tribal groupings of North Britain, this district could conceivably have passed virtually unnoticed by the Roman geographers or else have been subsumed for administrative reasons within one or other of the leading tribal polities within the region. Significantly perhaps, the district does seem to re-emerge in the Early Historic period (pp. 290-2).

As a result of my reclassification, site Types 1C, 2E, 3 and 4B have emerged as possibly the best candidates for being of either late Roman or sub-Roman origin. The nuclear Type 5 settlements would seem to correspond most closely with the citadel forts which are probably of the Early Historic period and the underlying coherence of the settlement evidence possibly well underlines the long ancestry and development of these sites within the Tweed Basin. Without excavation to clarify the caveats within the classification, it is not possible to press the case much further; the classification does at least liberate a number of potential post-Roman sites and these would appear to bear out the likelihood of a level of continuity, even within a changing landscape, accompanying the emergence of the sub-Roman kingdoms.

ANNEX A

THE SETTLEMENT CLASSIFICATION

Each settlement is classified by type and county, and is accompanied by its RCAMS Inventory number:

Berwickshire	(RCAMS 1915)
Roxburghshire	(RCAMS 1956)
Selkirkshire	(RCAMS 1957)
Peeblesshire	(RCAMS 1967)

Type 1A (pp. 175-7)

Berwickshire

Hillhouse	(No. 28)
Coldingham Loch	(No. 84)
Edin's Hall	(No. 115)
Black Hill	(No. 131)

Roxburghshire

Dunion Hill	(No. 33)
?Kirkton Hill	(No. 148)
Bonchester Hill	(No. 277)
Hownam Rings	(No. 301)

Selkirkshire

Wester Essenside	(No. 129)

Type 1B (pp. 177-8)

Roxburghshire

Carby Hill	(No. 96)
Edgerston	(No. 457)
Pudding Law	(No. 667)

Type 1C (pp. 178-9)

Peeblesshire

Hillside Knowe	(No. 200)
Easter Dawyck	(No. 277)
Hammer Knowe	(No. 284)

Type 2A (pp. 179-80)

Peeblesshire

Drum Maw	(No. 220)	Dreva	(No. 275)
Goseland Hill	(No. 224)	Kidston Hill	(No. 347)
Torbank Hill	(No. 251)	Stanhope	(No. 357)
Torkneis	(No. 252)	Hog's Knowe	(No. 366)
Vane Law	(No. 253)	Meldon Burn	(No. 367)
Ven Law 1	(No. 254)	Wood Hill	(No. 369)

Type 2B (pp. 179-80)

Peeblesshire

Black Meldon	(No. 211)	Patervan	(No. 243)
Caerlee	(No. 214)	Riding Hill	(No. 247)
Cardon	(No. 215)	Wood Hill	(No. 257)
Crookston	(No. 217)	Chester Hill	(No. 271)
Glenrath 1	(No. 222)	Mitchelhill	(No. 305)
Glenrath 2	(No. 223)	The Whaum	(No. 328)
Greenside Craig	(No. 226)	Worm Hill	(No. 335)
Hopeterrick Burn 1	(No. 232)	Stanhope	(No. 358)
Hopeterrick Burn 2	(No. 233)	Woolshears Hill	(No. 363)

Type 2C (pp. 180-1)

Roxburghshire

Kirkton Hill	(No. 148)	Pen Syke	(No. 168)
Newton Hill	(No. 156)	Court Hill	(No. 248)
White Hill	(No. 158)	Wolfelee	(No. 947)
Dodburn Hill	(No. 160)	The Dod	(No. 1001)
Penchrise Pen	(No. 167)	Allan Water	(No. 1002)

Type 2D (p. 180)

Berwickshire

Coldingham Loch	(No. 81)
Staneshiel Hill	(No. 117)
Longcroft	(No. 211)

Roxburghshire

Caddrounburn Culv.	(No. 97)	Inner Souter Cleugh	(No. 662)
South Berryfell	(No. 154)	Mowhaugh	(No. 689)
Chester Knowe	(No. 252)	Fasset Hill	(No. 692)
Shank End	(No. 310)	Cocklaw Foot	(No. 693)
Church Hope Hill	(No. 323)	Old Halterburn Head	(No. 1045)
The Gair	(No. 659)	Piper faulds	(No. 1055)

Type 2E (pp. 181-2)

Berwickshire

Oatlee Hill	(No. 81)	Coldingham Loch	(No. 88)
Coldingham Loch	(No. 82)	Staneshiel Hill	(No. 117)
Coldingham Loch	(No. 85)		

Roxburghshire

Chester Knowe	(No. 252)	Fasset Hill 2	(No. 677)
Big Law Plantation	(No. 315)	Fasset Hill 3	(No. 678)
Kelso Cleugh	(No. 664)	Park Law	(No. 679)
Crock Law	(No. 671)	Branch Plantation	(No. 680)
Crock Cleugh	(No. 672)	Cheviot Burn	(No. 681)
Rush Sike	(No. 674)	Fundhope Rig	(No. 682)
Sourhope Burn	(No. 675)	Bucht Knowe	(No. 1048)
Fasset Hill 1	(No. 676)		

Peeblesshire

The Bank	(No. 210)	Glenveg	(No.345)
Cademuir Hill	(No. 213)	Hammer Knowe	(No. 346)
Flemington Burn	(No. 221)	Kirkton Burn	(No. 348)
Great Hill	(No. 225)	Kirkton Burn	(No. 349)
Hamildean	(No. 227)	Langhaugh	(No. 350)
Hearthstane	(No. 229)	Middle Hope Rig	(No. 351)
Stirkfield	(No. 250)	Mossfennan	(No. 352)
Ven Law 2	(No. 255)	Old Camberston	(No. 353)
White Meldon	(No. 256)	Old Camberston	(No. 354)
Worm Hill	(No. 258)	Posso Craig	(No. 355)
Muirburn	(No. 307)	Purvis Hill	(No. 356)
Cademuir Hill	(No. 340)	Wood Hill 1	(No. 360)
Canada Hill	(No. 341)	Wood Hill 2	(No. 361)

Clashpool Rig	(No. 342)	Wood Hill 3	(No. 362)
Fairlaw Burn	(No. 344)		

Type 3 (pp. 182-3)

Roxburghshire

Blakebillend	(No. 166)	Cocklaw Foot	(No. 694)
Headshaw Hill	(No. 311)	Hayhope Knowe	(No. 695)
Morebattle Hill	(No. 646)	Auchope 1	(No. 700)
The Castles	(No. 651)	Auchope 2	(No. 701)
Currburn	(No. 655)	Bleak Law	(No. 799)
Stany Knowe	(No. 666)	Falla Knowe	(No. 800)
Grabbit Law	(No. 669)	Priest's Field	(No. 802)
Bucht Knowe	(No. 691)	Southdean Law	(No. 942)
Fasset Hill	(No. 692)	Tamshiel Rig	(No. 943)

Peeblesshire

Glenrath Hope	(No. 364)
Stanhope	(No. 368)

Type 4A (p. 183)

Roxburghshire

Park Law	(No. 652)
Kelso Cleugh	(No. 664)
Staney Knowe	(No. 666)

Type 4B (pp. 183-4)

Berwickshire

Haerfaulds	(No. 218)

Peeblesshire

The Bank	(No. 210)	Helmend	(No. 286)
Chester Rig	(No. 273)	Stanhope	(No. 318)
Dreva	(No. 275)	Green Hill	(No. 365)
Hallmanor	(No. 282)		

Type 5 (pp. 184-5)

Berwickshire

Shannabank Hill (No. 3)

Roxburghshire

Sweethope Hill (No. 977)

Peeblesshire

Purvis Hill	(No. 246)	Dreva	(No. 275)
Cardrona	(No. 268)	Helmend	(No. 286)
Chester Rig	(No. 274)	Rachan Hill	(No. 313)

CHAPTER SEVEN

BRITISH AND ANGLIAN SETTLEMENT *c.*AD 500-700

Although there are a few artefacts,[1] the evidence for settlement and more especially the status of society in the Tyne-Forth region in the Early Historic period rests principally with a few fortified sites which have been ascribed to the period on the basis of plan type; the so-called nuclear forts (Stevenson 1949b). None in the Tweed Basin have been excavated and thus the maxim remains untested. Forts of this type, characterized by the presence of a citadel and outlying courts or baileys, often tailored by terrain to intermediate terraces and scarp-edges contiguous with it, could, however, be the product of a dynamic of fort development spanning many decades. This, for example, may be the case at Dreva (see p. 184, fig. 6.13, plate 6.4) as too at Sweethope (p. 185, fig. 6.31). The inclusion of diamond-broached masonry in the curtain walls of Rubers Law (plate 7.1) points to a date later than the destruction of a Roman building and we are left with the presumption, on analogy with sites elsewhere in Scotland, which have been excavated and for which radiocarbon dates are now available, that a date in the Early Historic period is assured (see Alcock 1979, 134).[2] One should, however, bear in mind the fourth-century radiocarbon date obtained for North Eildon (Owen, O pers. commun., 1987), a site which does not display this level of development, the post-Roman settlement history of the Dod (pp. 86-96) and other sites to which I have drawn attention, particularly in Chapter Six, which, though rooted in the Romano-British period, or at least with apparent antecedents, may also have been enduring. Alongside these, the nuclear forts stand apart as a rather specialized phenomenon.

They have been used, especially in the Eastern Scottish Borders, to frame the syntheses of Dark Age studies (cf. RCAMS 1956, 32-5; 1957, 21-2; 1967, 35-6); a useful construct to which the ephemera of the period can be attached. To step out from this limited threshold requires a high level of inference despite the level of confidence which has been instilled in recent years by the systematic work undertaken by Professor Alcock on Early Historic fortifications over a wide area, whose identity and date can reasonably be inferred on the basis of documentary evidence (e.g. Alcock 1980b; 1981a; 1981b; 1986; 1988a; 1988b). Alongside the nuclear forts are others which have been ascribed to the period on the premise that they are unlike the plan types of forts current in the pre-Roman Iron Age (their mode of construction is often held to be diagnostic):[3] the stone-walled fort on Carby Hill (p. 178 and fig. 6.8), the triple-palisaded enclosure at Hogbridge (plate 7.2) and the enclosure at Skirling Mains (RCAMS 1967, p. 192, No. 458) fall into this category. The Dunion, which, on the same criteria coupled with the name, perhaps Middle Irish *an daingean* 'a strength', was

believed to be of Dark Age date (RCAMS 1956, p. 35; Spearman 1988, 99), can now probably be excluded from this list as the radiocarbon dates and artefacts recovered from the site point to its abandonment in the late first or second century AD (Rideout, J pers. commun., 1989). It was, however, used as a point of reference about AD 830x45 (*a Duna*) to fix the boundaries of the estate of Teviotdale, forming part of the 'Patrimony of St Cuthbert' (Hinde 1868, 142; Craster 1954, 180; Smith 1984, 180) and as a defensible place it could perhaps have been reverted to on occasions by the native population (see p. 198). There are too, the large enclosures at Muirburn and Whiteside Hill (RCAMS 1967, pp. 134-5, 152-3, Nos. 307, 331) which compare in size to the works they succeed and thus might also be described as forts. Without excavation, however, no date can be proposed either for these or, for that matter, a number of other secondary enclosures, often thick-walled and planned without reference to the contours of the site, for example, Whiteside Rig and Wood Hill (RCAMS 1967, pp. 153-4, Nos. 332, 333). Although they might be Early Historic, all that can be said is that they probably fall within the period Late Roman to medieval. Some indeed (e.g. the west fort on Cademuir, see pp. 381, 396-7, no. 17) may even have been the forerunners for the *castella* of the medieval period; in the case of Cademuir, perhaps the motte which I have identified at Castlehill (see pp. 384, 387, 411, no. 78).

With these points in mind, and accepting for the present that the forts defined are Early Historic, their distribution within the Tweed Basin can be mapped and examined. This has previously not been done (though for its application elsewhere see Alcock 1987a, 82-3) but it may be seen as the natural progression from my reappraisal of site types set out in Chapter Six. Here, there is little value in re-rehearsing the descriptive detail of the forts. All the relevant information is contained in the RCAMS Inventories, excavation is essential but lies entirely with the future, and for the present we must do what we can with the evidence at hand.

(A) A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR SOCIETY AND ECONOMY IN THE EARLY HISTORIC PERIOD IN THE TWEED BASIN

In 1974, in a review of the distribution of settlement in southern Pictland, Cottam and Small demonstrated for limited areas the importance of better quality farm land; a theme previously taken up by Whittington and Soulsby (1968) with reference to *Pit-* place-names. This approach was developed by Alcock, who sought to define the relationship between major Pictish centres and better land where this was scarce (1980a, fig. 4.1; 1984, 8, fig. 2.1), as exemplified by his case studies of Craig Phadraig, Dundurn and King's Seat, Dunkeld (1987a, 82-4, fig. 2; see also Fraser 1987).

In view of the number of potential Early Historic fortifications in the Tweed Basin, this is an approach which commends itself as a means of examining the social and economic background to the region. In Selkirkshire, such forts are lacking, though we may deduce the presence of a sixth-century community in the Yarrow Valley (see pp. 288-92); here the limiting factor may be the presence of the Wood of Celyddon (pp. 15-17, 187). Berwickshire too presents a problem. Earlier (pp. 84-102, 188), I have identified some sites which may be of Early Historic date (e.g. Haerfaulds and Shannabank Hill) but there is a short-fall in the evidence. This probably reflects the classificatory system adopted by RCAMS in 1915 (pp. xxxiii-xxxv). However, in consultation with colleagues in the Royal Commission, who undertook the re-survey of Berwickshire in 1979 (RCAMS 1980), a number of forts can be identified which may be of this period on the basis that they either post-date earlier works or are unlike those of the pre-Roman Iron Age. For the Merse, these are principally earthworks.

The forts can be mapped (fig. 7.1), though it is important to appreciate that a distribution map in itself represents only a series of fixed points in space and, without reference to a conceptual framework, this would be difficult to appraise. Since it seems likely that each fort will have exacted similar demands on local resources, it is reasonable to suppose that this could be expressed as a spatial value (see, for instance, my assessment of the arable required to sustain the garrison at Newstead and the *oppidum* on North Eildon Hill, p. 71). This could be represented in a number of ways but most simply by the use of circles drawn round the forts themselves, an adaption of Christaller's Central Place Theory, to produce in effect a series of interlocking spatial patterns (see Abler *et al* 1972, 370-2; Hodder 1972; Cottam and Small 1974; Hodder and Orton 1976, 61-6; Stoddart 1981, 75-6). For this to work, it is necessary to assume a degree of contemporaneity and also a certain uniformity in landscape. Although the forts may have been phased in over time, at their maximimum development many were probably coeval; at the level I am mapping the evidence variations in terrain at a local level are unlikely to be significant. What I am in effect trying to do is to tentatively map the approximate territorial areas of the forts, assuming an overriding mutual regard for dividing out arable, pasture and access to other natural resources (for a comparable study see Arnold 1988 and comment by Airlie 1989, 135). The definition of more precise inter-territorial boundaries exceeds reasonable inference. They may at best have only been loosely defined, although in some areas the linear earthworks (assuming some to be of Early Historic date) may have fulfilled this function (cf. Mann and Breeze 1987, 89). In Manor, Peeblesshire (Chapter Nine), where the evidence can be examined with a degree of precision, it is perhaps a reasonable proposition. The results of both exercises need to be judged each on their own merits but both may be seen as complementary to an overview.

In fig. 7.1 I have set the conceptual framework in the context of the 1949 Land Utilization Survey. I do not suppose for a moment that the patterns of land use were the same as those today, nor that the potential of the present landscape could be realized without the advantages necessarily procured by the agricultural improvements of the late eighteenth century. The map does, however, allow us to draw a basic distinction between better quality and poor land; a distinction which would perhaps have been as apparent to the farmer of the fifth and sixth centuries. Good quality land is divided into five categories (1A, 2A, 2AG, 3G, 4G), first class arable today being most suited to intensive cultivation; there are three categories of medium quality land (5AG, 5G, 6AG) which, though capable of cultivation, today favours permanent grassland, and two for poor quality land (7G, 8H) lending itself to little more than rough grazing and open moorland. It should, however, be borne in mind that whilst today medium quality land is almost entirely given over to ley farming or permanent pasture (Spedding 1983, 540-71), in earlier times it may have been cultivated more intensively; this is implicit to Parry's survey of shifting limits of cultivation in the Lammermuirs (1973; see also Walker *et al* 1982; Alcock 1987a, 82).

APPLICATION

(i) Roxburghshire Three interlocking territories spanning the Cheviot watershed are defined respectively, from south-west to north-east, by the stone-walled fort on Shaw Craigs (the third in a sequence of forts on this site, RCAMS 1956, pp. 18, 229-31, No. 459) (plate 7.31) and by the nuclear forts at Moat Knowe Buchtrig and Burnt Humbleton (RCAMS 1956, pp. 18, 167-9, No. 307; p. 454, No. 1040). Each commands extensive rough grazing and open moorland with, to the north, a tract of medium quality land (6AG) capable of cultivation. This would be consistent with an upland economy structured in favour of pastoralism but with scope for some subsistence arable. The territorial area of Burnt Humbleton embraces both rough grazing and some better quality land but includes a tract of grade 2 'good general purpose farm land' perhaps suited to the fattening of livestock or cereal cultivation. Juxtaposed on Moat Knowe Buchtrig are the territorial areas of Woden Law, a stone-walled fort, the character of whose enclosing wall seems to be diagnostic of Romano-British or Dark Age date (note too a hut partly integral with the fort wall, an attribute of the Type 4B settlements which I infer may be post-Roman, p. 183; RCAMS 1956, pp. 169-72, No. 308) and the nuclear fort at Chatto Craig (RCAMS 1956, pp. 164-5, No. 305). This level of overlap is difficult to explain. It may signify the degree to which upland grazing was held in common or some chronological depth (i.e. with succession at one fort following abandonment at another), or, perhaps, infilling on previously under utilized ground in order

to realize the full potential of the upland economy. Population growth may also have been a factor.

On the lowland fringe, to the north-west, the nuclear forts at Rubers Law and Castle Hill, Ancrum, together with Peniel Heugh II,[4] a rather different class of Early Historic fortification consisting of a large rectilinear enclosure subdivided by a cross-wall, delineate three interlocking zones with an emphasis on arable (cf. *Stat. Acct.*, 10, 1792-3, 290). It is possible that some resources, and most probably grazing, were held in common, however the apparent parity of the territorial areas, particularly when set in context with those to the south-east, might suggest a degree of interdependence between upland and lowland economies; a pattern repeated elsewhere in the Tweed Basin (see fig. 7.1). The location of Peniel Heugh II and Castle Hill, Ancrum, suggests that preference for a strategic and defensible position was offset by a need to ensure ease of access to tracts of good general purpose farm land, though the forts are in fact well served in both respects. The role of these lowland forts as caputs is possibly evident at Ancrum by the juxtaposition of the medieval parish church (on record in 1170)[5] and later village. Activity in the tenth century is indicated by a hog-backed stone within the burial-ground (Craw 1922, 188; Lang 1974, 219, 223; for a fragment of Anglian plait-work from Ancrum see Cramp 1983b, 241) and, although we lack secondary evidence for activity in the Early Historic period, one might suppose, once the choice of site had been made, that this proved an enduring focus. It is possible that the church at Ancrum evolved from a burial-ground contemporary with the fort.

The territories of these lowland forts would account for much of the later shire of Teviotdale (see Barrow 1973, 35-6; Smith 1984, 179, fig. 2, 180-1, table 1). A market centre at Jedburgh, the origins of which I have already inferred in relation to the Dunion *oppidum* and the Roman fort at Cappuck (p. 198), would have been well placed to service this district. Evidence for the Early Historic period is lacking, though a long-cist cemetery has been noted close to Jedburgh Abbey (Henshall 1956, 275; *NSA*, 3[Roxburgh], 10; Hilson 1870, 348-9). The centre first comes on record as one of two vills, *Gedwearde* and *altera Gedwearde*, which were granted by Bishop Ecgred of Northumbria (830x45) to Lindisfarne; these holdings have been discussed in detail (Craster 1954; RCAMS 1956, 36-7; Morris 1977). The remarkable collection of Anglian and pre-Romanesque sculpture from Jedburgh (Cramp 1983b) serve to set it apart as perhaps an ecclesiastical centre of regional importance.[6] Economic activity for the ninth to the eleventh centuries is supported by coins of Egbert (800-36), Athelstan (925-41), Aethelred (978-1016) and Cnut (1016-35) discovered in two hoards in a field south of the Bongate and stray finds from the market place (Jeffrey 1855, 276-7; Smith 1860, 300; Stevenson 1951, 174). The importance of Jedburgh in the Early Historic period, and later as a shire centre, probably stems from its

position on Dere Street. Jeffrey (1864, 54) singles it out, along with Edinburgh and Roxburgh, as one of the three first towns of Scotland.

Alongside Jedburgh, I think we must also account for a British centre at Kelso; this possibly the caput of a sub-Roman kingdom of the Coeling dynasty and, after Arthuret (573), perhaps a *civitas* of the Haeling dynasty under their representative, Cadrod Calchvynyd (see pp. 242, 279-84). A centre at Kelso would have been well placed to exploit the potentially richer soils (grade 1A and 2A) of the middle Tweed Basin. A territorial area tentatively defined by a circle with a radius of about 8 km would fit well with those of Peniel Heugh II and Burnt Humbleton, thus completing the network of interlocking and complementary territorial areas over this part of the region. One outlier, defined by the stone-walled fort on Carby Hill, to the south-west, was probably so sited to exploit the resources of Liddesdale; for an Early Christian memorial, perhaps of fifth-century date, see RCAMS 1956, pp. 88-9, No. 78.

*(ii) **Peeblesshire*** The distribution of potential Early Historic fortifications lends itself to a comparable framework of interdependent upland and lowland zones: the former secured by the forts at Whiteside Rig and Wood Hill, Manor, with an emphasis on pastoralism (for a more detailed analysis of the Early Historic landscape in Manor see pp. 380-3); the latter by the twin-ditched enclosures at Skirling Mains and the stone-walled forts at Muirburn and Whiteside Hill, with an emphasis on arable. In the manner of the Cheviot forts, those at Wood Hill and Whiteside Rig also have access to medium quality farm land (grade 6) sufficient, perhaps, to meet their requirements in cereal cultivation. The only stray find of the period is a spear-head from Yarrow (Elliot, JW pers. commun., 1989; see also p. 456, n.1); for the Early Christian memorials from this district see pp. 285-300.

Market centres are less apparent, though one close to Broughton, Drumelzier or Stobo would seem likely in view of the importance of the Biggar Gap as a key thoroughfare (Ogilvie 1951b, 29; this work pp. 299, 429). Of these, Stobo is possibly the most likely candidate given its later probable status as a minster with outlying dependencies (see Hardy 1881, 546; Chalmers 1887-1902, iv, 954-5; *Origines* 1851, i, 196-200; this work p. 298). Peebles too may have fulfilled this crucial role (see also pp. 100, 294-7). Despite the impermanence implicit in the place-name,[7] this might be consonant with its emergence as a market centre, accompanying an ecclesiastical and perhaps too, a royal focus (see p. 297; traders attracted to the locality, perhaps for seasonal fairs or festivals, could well have been housed either in temporary accommodation or under canvas (cf. Colgrave 1940, 258; Bullough 1985; Alcock 1988a, 22); a tradition still practised in the Common Ridings today (White 1978, 190-2). The presence of another Early Historic caput is suggested by the

presence of the triple-palisaded enclosure at Hogbridge (RCAMS 1967, p. 78, No. 201). Either or both of these centres would have been well placed to exploit the medium quality farm land (grade 6AG) bordering the haughlands of the Tweed and the waters of Leithen, Eddleston and Lyne (cf. *Stat. Acct.,* 12, 1792-3, 3-4).

(iii) Selkirkshire As noted (p. 196), this area is devoid of evidence for the Early Historic period except for a discrete enclave in the Yarrow Valley. Here the presence of *Coed Celyddon* may be the critical factor.

(iv) Berwickshire The distribution of potential Early Historic fortifications (RCAMS 1980, pp. 53-4, nos. 461-72; Corser, P pers. commun., 1989) endorses the pattern already noted of interdependent upland and lowland economies; this time, disposed between the Lammermuirs and the Merse, the one more favourably suited to pastoralism, the other arable. What is remarkable, given that the identification of the respective forts stems purely from fieldwork, is that the pattern is so complete. However, an important distinction in terms of territorial area is apparent. With the exception of Chester Hill, Greystonelees, and Kirk Hill, St Abb's (see also pp. 211-13), coastal sites, both of which I infer may have had territorial areas with an approximate radius of 8 km, the rest fall into two distinct categories characterized by more nuclear territories and all proportionately smaller than those defined for the middle and upper Tweed Basin.

The first, disposed in a broad arc across the Merse, comprise the forts at Hardacres Hill, Belchester, Milne Graden and Fairfield. Each is roughly equidistant from its neighbour (about 5.5 km) and perhaps possessed a territorial area of no more than 3.2 km. This would be consistent with an interlocking territorial pattern accounting for most of the first class arable of the eastern basin (see also p. 10). The location of the forts at Miln Graden and Fairfield is particularly noteworthy as both are marginal to tracts of first class arable and good general purpose farm land (grade 2). It is possible, given the likelihood of an upland economy geared towards pastoralism, that cattle may have been driven eastwards to be over-wintered on the meadowland bordering the Tweed, as was the case in the late eighteenth century (*Stat. Acct.,* 8, 1793, 72).

The second category, disposed in a linear riparian manner across the Lammermuirs, comprise, from WNW to ESE, the forts of Blackcastle Rings, The Chesters, Raecleugh Head 1 (plate 7.4), Wrunklaw, Marygold Plantation and Fosterland Burn (RCAMS 1980, pp. 53-4, nos. 462, 464, 470, 472, 468, 466). In the eighteenth century, a piece of silver chain, possibly Pictish, was found on or close to Blackcastle Rings (*NSA,*

3[Berwick], 43; Smith 1874, 327-8; Gibson 1905, 250-2; for the distribution of Pictish chains see fig. 5.20).

The upland forts are favourably situated for an economy orientated towards pastoralism but there is also sufficient medium quality farm land (grade 6AG) to allow for some diversification. Each of the forts is set roughly 4 km apart. Consequently the territorial area for each is proportionately less than that for the forts of the Merse. There is, however, a sizeable gap between the two territorial zones which seems to be unaccounted for; notably, a tract of good quality farm land (grade 1A) between Greenlaw and Chirnside. Here the model is probably at fault. The most reasonable solution, assuming a degree of interdependence and contemporaneity between sites, is that the territorial boundaries of the lowland forts extended laterally from the Merse up onto the Lammermuir fringe and were tailored there with those of the uplands which extended downslope to meet them. This would result in a more justified balance between arable and grazing, and might be consistent with an economy geared towards transhumance. This inferred pattern is perhaps reflected in the attenuated parish boundaries of Westruther, Longformacus and Chirnside (OS 6-inch map, Berwickshire, 1st ed., 1862, index sheet).

Thus in the Early Historic period we perhaps glimpse the origin of a pattern of land-holding that was to emerge fully only later. In the medieval period, along with the arable in rigs and acres, the meadow adjacent to the arable, and the common pasture near the village settlements and on the arable when not under crops, there often went stretches of hill grazing, which were exploited in the summer months in the form of shielings. The villages at the foot of the Lammermuirs had territory reaching far back onto the muir, where names like Penshiel and Gamelshiel reflect the ancient use of this uncultivated grazing (Barrow 1973, 261).

South of the Tweed, the pattern of interlocking territorial areas is completed if one notionally maps in two circles, each with a radius of about 3.1 km, corresponding to the estate centres of Yeavering and Milfield, both of which, known to Bede by Celtic names, *Ad Gefryn* and *Maelmin* respectively (HE ii.14), may be British in origin (Hope-Taylor 1977, 15-16; Alcock 1988a, 7, 9).

On the basis of the data mapped, the breadth of evidence for potential Early Historic activity throughout the Tweed Basin seems clear. With the exception of *Coed Celyddon*, the territorial framework would seem to embrace most of the available agricultural land. Fieldwork and more exacting recourse to the definition of Early Historic sites may one day serve to fill the gaps. The presence of a centre close to North Eildon Hill,

perhaps at Melrose, would, on the size of the territorial area suggested for the Teviotdale forts, account for a sizeable tract of first class arable, interspersed with medium quality land, at the centre of the Tweed Basin. Though apparently lacking a citadel (unless it is that on the promontory at Old Melrose, see Thomas 1971, 35, fig. 11), the status of a centre here, perpetuating the nodal importance of the crossing of the Tweed and the trunk road north (pp. 53-4), may have corresponded most closely to that inferred for Jedburgh and Kelso. The presence here of a power-centre is perhaps also to be deduced from its inclusion within the salient provided by the major linear earthwork known as the 'Military Road'; this probably a frontier work of the early Anglian period (see p. 241).

Given the apparent close structuring of the landscape revealed by the pattern of Early Historic fortifications within the Tweed Basin, one might reasonably enquire as to how this came about. Without excavation, however, it is difficult enough to judge the function of the sites, still less their status. To proceed further can be no more than speculation. We might infer that the larger forts, particularly where there is no apparent evidence for internal subdivision (e.g. Woden Law), protected social units at the level of a clan or tribe. The nuclear forts, with their emphasis on a citadel and outlying baileys (perhaps reflecting a hierarchical regard for the use and allocation of space) might, on comparison with Castle Dore, Chûn, Dinas Powys and Dunadd, be interpreted as the seat of an individual of some distinction, possibly, though not always, a prince and perhaps more often a potentate, together with his warband, personal retinue, servants and craftsmen (Alcock 1987b, 309; 1988b, 28-9, 31). At a lesser level still, sites of small internal area, where the scale of the defences predominate (e.g. Raecleugh Head 1), might be seen in terms of a defended homestead or *llys*, for a person of distinction or possibly a craftsman, whose skills, perhaps in metalworking, were valued (cf. Alcock's discussion on Mote of Mark; 1987b, 160, 239).

Although there are a range of possibilities, we may deduce, whatever the nature of the occupation and the status of the individual concerned, that each fort did denote a caput of local importance (cf. Nieke and Duncan 1988, 16; Alcock 1988b, 26). Hypothetically, a distinction might be drawn between individuals with more limited jurisdiction and those who engaged in affairs at the highest social level; perhaps stewards of the royal house, or cadets of it. Thus, while at one level Kelso may have been the caput of an estate matching in extent that of neighbouring forts, the presence here in the mid to late sixth century of a representative of the Haeling dynasty, might have served to ensure its emergence still later as a leading administrative and political centre (see p. 279).

How and by what date the landscape achieved this level of development is conditioned by our understanding of the nature of Early Historic society and that which

preceded it. The transition from Late Roman to Early Historic might be couched in terms of 'a trend towards the *personalization* of power relations' (Garwood 1989, 97) but, given that in the Roman period centres of native authority within the intramural zone may have been enduring (p. 102), there seems no reason to think in terms of catastrophic collapse and re-emergence, simply, perhaps, a gain in momentum, a progression from what was already in place, redefined and achieving full form possibly only in the fifth and sixth centuries. In fact, we need to know rather more about the nature of native society and its organization at the highest and lowest levels of the social hierarchy, both regionally and locally, before we can truly grasp the significance of its achievements. From the sources available to us in North Britain, with their inherent emphasis on pedigree and elegy (see pp. 265-73), this is a line of enquiry perhaps better left.

There is, however, a further point which can be drawn from the evidence mapped in fig. 7.1. This, the apparent dichotomy in the size of territorial area between the forts of the eastern basin and those of the middle and upper Tweed; a distinction which seems to be directly related to land capability (see the underlying base-map to fig. 7.1). The Merse estates, though much smaller, probably stood to match in productivity those of greater extent to the west where the influence of the Old Red Sandstone is masked by glacial drift and boulder clay (p. 7). Simply, the carrying capacity of the Merse offered greater potential than soils elsewhere, this is reflected in territorial area. This too is the pattern today. The Merse led the way in the agricultural improvements of the late eighteenth century (Douglas 1798)[8] and in Scottish terms this has probably always been a relatively prosperous district. This is apparent in the character of the farmhouses and mansions present in the area.[9] The distinction, however, is worth stressing for it provides yet another insight into the probable divergence of the Basin into its eastern and western halves. Since it emerges as a most basic geographic distinction (land capability and soils), we may surmise that it is of clear importance.

The boundary I have inferred (p. 56). It is coincident, albeit fortuitously, with a line drawn roughly north-south approximating to Dere Street, but it is only with the evidence of territorial area for the Early Historic period that we have grounds for drawing such a firm distinction. The advantage is that we are mapping evidence for a relatively short chronological span where there may be a high degree of contemporaneity; to extend the approach to the forts of the first millennium BC would be more difficult, though the distinction in settlement types, which I have highlighted for the Romano-British period (p. 187), is possibly of interest. The boundary can in fact be seen as a recurrent and crucial interface both in the early centuries AD and later, and, stemming from a division so basic as land capability, this perhaps serves to underline its deep-rooted character and viable

emergence as a political boundary of consequence. The Roman road, perhaps aligned on an earlier native thoroughfare (p. 58), obviously adopts the most direct route north but, by accident rather than by design, it would have offered a visible linear boundary which seems invariably to have been respected.

In the Roman period it may have served as the inter-tribal boundary between the Selgovae and the Votadini or, if not the latter, perhaps the native territory of *Bryneich*. I put this forward because it is possible that Bernicia may itself derive from an earlier pre-Roman tribal polity distinct from that of the Votadini. A pattern of succession which seems to be repeated elsewhere in North Britain (see pp. 277, 284-5, 301-9). *Bryneich* (Old Welsh, Latinized 'Bernicia') has been seen as a derivative of **brigant-* 'Brigantia' (see Jackson 1956, 701-5). Jackson inveighed against this but may have overstated his case (Fraser, I pers. commun., 1989). It is plausible that Brigantia did at one time extend much farther to the north than Ptolemy's *Geography* would seem to allow, perhaps as far as the Tweed, if not to the Lammermuirs; the post-Roman extent of the Votadini (Welsh derivative *Guotodin*, *Gododdin*) might seem to bear this out. Due to the construction of Hadrian's Wall, a geographical rather than a political divide, a sizeable part of Brigantian territory may have been severed from its canton. We might think of this in terms of a 'Free Brigantia' (cf. Birley 1961, 43). Logic would rule that out of expediency the Romans may have turned to the Votadini to administer this territory *extra limites*, perhaps either from their curia at Traprain (*Dunpelder*) or *Din Eidyn*; thus the apparent extension of the Votadinian area from Tyne to Forth and entirely in accord with Ptolemy who ascribes *Bremenium* (High Rochester) to them (Mann and Breeze 1987, 87). In much the same way, perhaps in the Antonine period, the Genounian district of Tweeddale would seem to have coalesced with the territorial area of the Selgovae (see pp. 308-9)

This then would allow not only *Bryneich*, but probably also the Merse as well, to be part of an earlier tribal polity verging in the central Tweed basin with the territorial area of the Selgovae; the Roman road providing a clear inter-tribal boundary. This is possibly reflected both in the size of estates accompanying the Early Historic fortifications on the Merse and the relative unity of Romano-British site types common to the eastern littoral (pp. 187-8). It might, therefore, also be argued that the prime objective in the extension of Anglian control to the eastern Basin was simply the reinstatement of the earlier territorial boundaries and lands over which they could perhaps claim an *a priori* right. If this was the case, it would require nothing short of a revision of those maps which purport to show *Bernaccia* extending to the heart of the upper Tweed Basin (cf. Thomas 1981, 293; 1986, 87, fig. 45). It might also serve to explain why Anglian settlement would seem to have extended no farther west than Dere Street.

(B) THE ANGLIAN TAKE-OVER: ITS NATURE AND EXTENT

On the evidence of land utilization, territorial area, soils and climate (pp. 6-11), it can be suggested that the Merse proved the more progressive and attractive of the two parts of the Basin. In Chapter Eight (pp. 259-62), I present the evidence for the probable extension of Germanic settlement from *Berneich* to these eastern territories sometime possibly in the fifth or sixth centuries. Firm evidence though is lacking and for present purposes it is sufficient to note that the Merse may, by the seventh, have already been in a state of transition. I now intend to examine the evidence for early Anglian settlement in the hope of shedding further light on the structure of the Early Historic landscape and to determine the nature and extent of the Anglian take-over. The turning point is probably the Battle of Degsastan (AD 603); a crucial event for it brought with it the collapse both of Celtic supremacy in the north and the right to self-determination (pp. 310-45). Thereafter, all that conceivably stood in the way of the Anglian advance was the presence of the British kingdom of Strathclyde.

Archaeological evidence for an Anglian presence in the Tweed Basin in the seventh century is, nevertheless, sparse. The place-name evidence is thus important and this can be considered together with a site, known only from cropmarks but for which an Anglian date seems assured; the township of Sprouston, on the south bank of the Tweed near Kelso. To go beyond or even to use this level of evidence evidently requires a high level of inference. It is necessary to assume that the place-names are broadly consonant with the settlements of the period which they denote, that their geographic location approximates most closely with the villages which currently bear the names and, moreover that the status of these centres will to a degree still be mirrored in the medieval period. For economy and land use, the clearest guide we have are the agricultural statements in the *Statistical Accounts* of the late eighteenth-century.

THE PLACE-NAME EVIDENCE

The use of place-names as a basis for mapping settlement history is difficult and particularly in Scotland where so many of the earliest forms are contained in documents of the twelfth to fifteenth centuries. Nevertheless, Williamson (1942) and Nicolaisen (1979, 31) concur that, with only a few exceptions, the absence of earlier documented forms is not a problem in grasping both the meaning of a name and its origin. It has also long been recognized that particular place-name elements represent strata in an overall development; some scholars have gone so far as to tabulate this by reference to chronology (cf. Walker and Ritchie 1987, 11). Place-name studies in the Eastern Scottish Borders, however, have been put on a firm

footing by Johnston (1940),[10] Williamson, and Nicolaisen, and I propose, with one exception, Simprim, Berwickshire, to take this as read. None the less, no-one to-date has mapped the evidence by phase. This is an oversight (Fraser, I pers. commun., 1989) since its application holds important implications for our understanding of the nature and extent of Anglian settlement, but first, we should consider the names themselves.

It is possible that the earliest Anglian place-name in Berwickshire, and probably the only one in Scotland, is an *-ingas* name. Nicolaisen grasped its significance but, erring on the side of caution, failed to press the case. Names in final *-ingas* are believed, on the basis of research in England, to be amongst the earliest strata of the Anglo-Saxon settlements and to be of greatest significance in this respect; properly, they belong to the age of migration. They were originally folk-names with the generalized meaning 'an association of people dependent in some way or another upon the leader whose name forms the first theme' (Cameron 1977, 65; Gelling 1978, 106-12; Nicolaisen 1979, 69). They are thus not really place-names at all. Rather, they refer to communities of people and, more often later, to the districts within which they settled or some place within the district. There are in fact two possible *-ingas* names in the Tweed Valley, Simprim, in the Swinton parish of Berwickshire, and Crailing, Roxburghshire. The latter can be dismissed due to its doubtful etymology (Nicolaisen 1979, 69-70).

The documented forms for Simprim are given by Johnston (1940, 47) and Nicolaisen (1969, 70) and are as follows: *Simprinc* 1153-65 (*Kelso Liber*); *Simprig* 1159 (ibid); 1246 (*Pontifical of St Andrews*); *Semprinc* 1251 (*c.*1320 *Kelso Liber*); *Sympring c.*1280 (ibid); 1370 (Bain, *Calendar of Documents*); *Sempring c.*1300 (*Coldingham Correspondence*); *Sympryng c.*1415 (*Kelso Liber*); *Simpring c.*1600 (Pont); *Simprene* 1609 (*Retours*); *Simpren* 1693 (*Retours*). Nicolaisen identified Simprim as an *-ingas* name (final nominative plural of OE *-ing*) based on a potential personal-name, perhaps a nick-name, belonging to the stem of the English verb *simper*, for which Scandinavian parallels exist in Norwegian *semper*, Swedish *simper*, *semper* 'affected, prudish'. Although not the most appropriate name for a person of distinction, a member probably of the Anglian *élite*, Nicolaisen thought it still possible and, given that there is no indication of plurality, that Simprim might be a potential *-ingas* name, since final *-s* rarely appears in the Middle English sources of the Midlands and northern counties of England. Both Barrow and Fraser agree with Nicolaisen's estimation of the name (pers. commun., 1989). Why then did Nicolaisen fail to uphold the identification, opting instead for the safe conclusion (1979, 71) that names in *-ingas*, just like those in singular *-ing*, are totally lacking in Scotland though apparently present in Northumbria?

In the preface to his book (1979, ix), Nicolaisen notes that many of his thoughts and ideas were distilled from a series of papers published between 1958 and 1959, and articles in the *Scots Magazine* (1969-1971). He, with many others, as still today, no-doubt owed a tremendous debt to Jackson's magisterial survey of *Language and History in Early Britain* (1953). In this and other works, Jackson stressed the likelihood of British survival and consequently relegated the Anglian settlement of south-east Scotland to a date later than that which might now be accepted (see Hope-Taylor 1977, 24-5). In consultation with Jackson, then Professor of Celtic Languages, Literature, History and Antiquities, and a close colleague at Edinburgh, Nicolaisen's unwillingness to uphold Simprim as a potential *-ingas* name is perhaps understandable. He in fact says as much, 'The absence both of [the whole vocabulary of Anglo-Saxon heathen worship] and of names in singular *-ing* and plural *-ingas* taken together surely implies that the Angles cannot have occupied much ground in the Border Counties before their official conversion to Christianity in 627' (1979, 71, my parentheses).

In fairness to Nicolaisen, the picture has changed rapidly in recent years. We now have, for example, the evidence of pagan ritual accompanying building D2 at Yeavering (Hope-Taylor 1977, 97-102) and a cemetery with grave goods of the late sixth and early seventh century within a henge at Milfield (see pp. 257-8) demonstrating that Angles were already settling there around AD 600. In Chapter Eight (pp. 286-300), in consideration of the implications arising from the distribution of the Early Christian memorials of fifth- to seventh-century date, I have suggested that these may be taken as evidence that Germanic settlement did extend as far as the middle Tweed Basin if not by the late fifth, certainly by the sixth century (p. 262). If this is accepted, we perhaps have grounds for upholding the identification of Simprim as an *-ingas* name. Moreover this seems perfectly plausible when set in the context of the British estates (fig. 7.1) and the pattern of Anglian take-over which can be mapped by reference to the place-name evidence (fig. 7.2); a move which seems to have been applied consistently to lands north and south of the Tweed.

Also belonging to the earliest strata of Anglian settlement are names of *-ingahām* type; that is, names ending in OE *hām* 'village, homestead' in which the prefix is the genitive plural of a folk name in *-ingas* (Cameron 1977, 65; Gelling 1978, 106-12; Nicolaisen 1979, 71-3). In his appraisal of the *-ing* and *-ingahām* names in north Northumberland, Hope-Taylor suggested that they might be of seventh-century date (1977, 23). In the Tweed Basin there is only one, Coldingham, Berwickshire; that it too may be of this period is confirmed by the radiocarbon dates obtained by Alcock for Kirk Hill, St Abb's (1986, 273; this work p. 212). Coldingham derives from an earlier geographical name, the documented forms of which need to be divided into two categories (Nicolaisen 1979, 72-3); those formed with the

suffix ending *-burh* or *-byrig* 'a fortified place', and those in *-ingaham*. These are as follows: *Coludesburh* 679 (*c.*1120 *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* E); *c.*890 (*c.*1000, *Old English Bede*); *Colodesbyrig* 699-709 (late ninth or early tenth century, *Anonymous Life of St Cuthbert*); *Colodaesburg c.*710 (eleventh century, *Life of Bishop Wilfrid*); *Coludi urbem c.*730 (Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*); *Coludanae urbs* (ibid); *Collingaham* 1095-1100 (Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*); *Coldingham* 1097-1107 (*National Mss of Scotland*); *Coldingeham c.*1100 (Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*); *Coldingham* 1176 (*Melrose Liber*). For the later documented forms of the name see Johnston (1940, 26). Whether vernacular *-burh* or Latin *urbs*, Alcock suggests that the meaning is the same, 'Colud's fort' (1986, 262). The *-ingahām* name is interpreted by Nicolaisen (1979, 73) either as **Coludingaham* 'village of the people of Colud', or as an elliptical form based on the name *Coludesburh* 'village of the people of Coludesburh'.

Next in the strata of early Anglian names are those formed with the connective particle *-ing*. These, following Nicolaisen (1979, 73), are as follows: Edington (*Hadynton* 1095 [15th]; *Hoedentun* 1095-1100 [15th]; *Edingtonam* 1095 [15th]) 'farm associated with **Ead(d)a*; Edrington (*Hadryngton* 1095 [15th] 'farm associated with the river Adder'; Mersington (*s.o.* 1291) 'farm associated with **Mērsa* or *Mērsige*'; Renton (*Regninton* [15th]; *Reningtona* 1235) 'farm associated with Regna or Regenwald'; Upsettlington (*Upsetintun* 1095-1100 [15th], *Hupsetligtun* 1153-65 [*c.*1320], *Upsedilington c.*1240), from OE *Setling-tun* 'farm by the shelf, ledge', and possibly also Hassington (*Halsyngton* 1406 [*Reg. Mag. Sig.*], *Hawsintoun* 1516-17 [ibid]), either derived from Old Northumbrian **hals* 'neck' (in a topographic sense probably 'a small valley') or the tribal name (or group identity) *Hælsing(as)*; from an historical point of view this name could be of great importance but the evidence is inadequate to confirm its worth (Nicolaisen 1979, 25). Several names which appear to be formed with the suffix *-ing* can be discounted: Lemington (*Lamaton* 1296 [*Instrumenta Publica*], *Lemountoun c.*1304 [*c.*1320], *Lemonkton* 1306 [*Melrose Liber*] and *Lemminden* 1652 [Blaeu's *Atlas*]), probably derived from OE *hleomoc-tūn* 'farm where speedwell grows' (Nicolaisen 1979, 27); Mordinton (*Morthyngton, Morthlintun, Morttringtonan c.*1090 [Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*]), derived perhaps from OE *morð-hring*, possibly a stone circle (Nicolaisen 1979, 28), and to these, on etymological grounds, might also be added: Thirlington, Dirrington, and Melsington in Roxburghshire.

These early strata Anglian names can be mapped at two levels. First by phase, accounting too for late Anglian, Scandinavian and Gaelic place-names formed with the suffix-endings *hām, wīc, worð, byr, baillie, kirkja* and *cill*, in order to complete the picture for a period roughly from the eighth to twelfth centuries (fig. 7.2). I have not

included names ending in OE *tūn*, a common place-name element in the Border Counties, as it is difficult to fit them with any precision into the chronological framework (see Nicolaisen 1979, 35, 39). Fig. 7.2 demonstrates simply the pattern of the Anglian advance. Accepting that Simprim is an *-ingas* name, this settlement may be seen to have been one of the earliest Anglian centres established on the north side of the Tweed, thereby perhaps securing a strategic hold on the heart of the Merse. Possibly concurrent with Simprim is a centre either at *Colodaesburg*, or Coldingham, on the coast.[11] In a second phase, represented by the *-ingatūn* names, settlement infilled to the west of Simprim and Coldingham respectively and on both sides of the Tweed. A phase of consolidation followed (phase III, fig. 7.2), though perhaps much later (?eighth century, names formed with the suffix-ending *-hām* and *-worð*) and, but for two outliers, would seem to have extended no farther west than Dere Street. If the Anglian advance and take-over of former British estates had been total, the pattern that might be predicted for fig. 7.2 would be a uniform distribution of early Anglian place-names. This, clearly, is not the case though it might have been anticipated given that Anglian settlement did at some date extend west as far as the Clyde and Solway (though again, perhaps only in the eighth to tenth centuries; see, for example, the generalized distribution maps in Nicolaisen 1979, 74-5, and for a useful summary, Stell 1986, 135ff).

We should, nevertheless, bear in mind Jackson's suggestion (1953, 218) that since it appears from Bede (HE ii.5; iv.3) that parts of Scotland north of the Forth-Clyde isthmus formed part of the hegemony claimed by Ecgfrith already established under Oswy, it is likely that England and southern Scotland, west of the Pennines, north of the Ribble, extending to the Solway, had already been annexed by Northumbria about 650 to 670. If Jackson is right, it might be envisaged that the Anglian advance would have overrun the Tweed Basin entirely, but here, perhaps, we need to draw a distinction between a political take-over and actual colonization. The pattern suggested by fig. 7.2 is instead one of protracted encroachment stemming from two initial centres and extending westwards with successive phases infilling and developing on gains already made but only so far as the Roman trunk road north, Dere Street.[12] The few Scandinavian and Gaelic place-names in the western part of the Basin probably represent a limited eastwards expansion in the tenth and eleventh centuries from the main centres of Irish Norse and Strathclyde British influence (Jackson 1953, 219; Nicolaisen 1979, 101, 131).

In order to examine more closely the pattern of the Anglian take-over, the early Anglian place-names can be mapped in relation to the Early Historic estate framework and land utilization (fig. 7.3). We must bear in mind that today's villages may not occupy the sites of their Anglian predecessors. From work in England, it is clear that settlement foci

were not static (see Beresford and Hurst 1971, 122-7; Powlesland 1987, 10-11, 22) and this is evident too at Sprouston (see p. 217); the distance between the Anglian township and the present village is about 900m. For mapping purposes, it would be better if we could adopt the view that the place-names simply denote topographic units (Clack and Gill 1981, 30). South of the Border, these units can be defined with a degree of precision due to the presence of township boundaries. In Scotland, this is not possible as the smallest unit is invariably the parish. Nevertheless, there are some pointers which may be of value in determining the *locus* for Anglian activity. Assuming some conformity in the landscape either side of AD 1200, the presence of a twelfth-century church might be significant, as too the form of the burial-ground. If we allow for some continuity in administrative function, the presence of a motte, moated-site or tower-house may also be of value in denoting a centre of lordship and perhaps one of some antiquity. Where there are deserted medieval villages, these too may repay attention.

Fig. 7.3 sets the early Anglian place-names in the context of the British caputs, the Early Historic estate framework and land utilization. With one exception, the sites indicated by these place-names all occupy first class arable land (grade 1A). South of the Tweed, it is noteworthy that the settlements denoted by the *-ing* names (Melkington, Felkington and Berrington) all occupy relatively poorer soils (2AG and 3G) classified as 'good general purpose farm land'.[13] These settlements perhaps reflect a consolidation of land-holding spreading out from the Bamburgh *civitas* and the Anglo-British estate centres at Yeavering and Milfield. However else we interpret the significance of the Anglian advance north of the Tweed (see pp. 204, 339-45), the presence here of soils more favourable for arable, attractive to settlement and potentially conducive to a greater level of prosperity, should probably be seen as crucial. In approximate chronological order, the early Anglian centres in the Eastern Borders are as follows.

(i) ***Simprim*** lies less than 30 km (18.6 miles) to the WNW of Bamburgh and the choice of this as perhaps the springboard for Anglian activity in the Merse possibly underlines the objective and intent of the first Anglian colonists. Other than the place-name, we lack firm evidence for Anglian activity in the locality, but its emergence as a centre of lordship in the medieval period is confirmed by the presence of a proprietorial church on record in 1153x59 (Cowan 1967, 182); the form of the burial-ground, which is circular (35m in diameter),[14] may also be indicative of an early church site (see Thomas 1971, 50, 66, 85-8; 1981, 236). For an insight into the nature of the landscape and the scope for agriculture, which may or may not be significant in a seventh-century context, we have only the *Statistical Account* to go by. This stresses the impoverishment of the soils and the presence of undrained low-lying marsh whose stagnant waters rendered the air 'often moist, foggy and seemingly

unwholesome'; a view perhaps coloured by the wish to emphasize the scope for improvement. Nevertheless, the same author notes the district's achievement in being able to produce an agricultural surplus and its suitability for grazing. Transhumance is also indicated, with cattle being driven from the north side of the parish to pasture beside the Blackadder Water, while cattle south of the Tweed were brought across for the winter (*Stat. Acct.*, 6, 1791-2, 323-5, 327). From the church at Simprim, assuming this approximates with the site of the Anglian township, to the fort at Milne Graden, conceivably the earlier British caput, is about 2.6 km. Simprim occupies a ridge of higher, and presumably more freely-drained, ground to the WNW and was the parochial centre until 1761 when the parish was united with Swinton (Ferguson 1891, 165; see also Barrow 1973, 28-30).

(ii) Colodaesburg, Coldingaham The early forms of the place-name (pp. 207-8) denote probably two sites, one a fort, vernacular *burh*, Latin *urbs*, the other a settlement. The first, following RCAMS (1980, p. 51, no. 449) and Alcock (1986, 264) is probably to be identified with Kirk Hill, St Abb's, rather than the promontory site at Rampart Hall, whose remains seem to be of secular character and probably medieval (RCAMS 1980, p. 58, no. 516; Alcock 1986, 266-8); the second, the village and parish of Coldingham.

Kirk Hill, St Abb's, is a site of natural strength (plate 7.5). It is an elevated plateau 3.8 ha in extent with vertical sea-cliffs on one side and steep inclined edges on the landward. The summit is enclosed by a rampart, overlain by a later field-wall, and entrances are apparent on the north and south sides respectively; the latter approached by a terraced trackway. This is probably the site of the Anglian monastery mentioned by Bede, *monasterium Aebbae abbatissae* (HE iv.19). We are not told when the monastery was founded, nor when it was abandoned but Bede records its destruction by fire, through the carelessness of its occupants, and in divine retribution for their sins (HE iv.25). Alcock (1986, 274) considers that if Aebba did found the monastery, then a likely time would have been after her brother Oswy succeeded to the kingdom of Bernicia in AD 643; the fire is believed to have been after AD 679 (ibid. 264; 1988b, 28) but neither date is certain. Today, all that visibly remains on the hill summit are the degraded wall-footings of a church and burial-ground. The church is on record in 1372 but may have been built before this date (Cowan and Easson 1976, 47); a 'semicircular arch was pulled down about 1800' (*NSA*, 2[Berwick], 109-10; Ferguson 1891, 93).

Selective excavation by Alcock in 1980 (1980b; 1981a; 1986) allows for a tentative reconstruction of the site's history. In the Romano-British period, the site seems to have been unenclosed and the plateau cultivated. This may provide the context for 'a small portion of a milky-grey glass bangle' (probably Romano-British, comparable to those at the

Dod, see pp. 92-3) and a sherd of Samian recovered from the summit (Hogg 1945). Two Late Bronze Age penannular gold armlets (*Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 66, 1931-2, 26; RMS FE 78, 79) found 'at the foot of a cliff under the Kirk Hill' perhaps points to earlier activity in this locality. At some date after the cultivated soil had reverted to grass, the summit was enclosed by a timber palisade seated in a bedding-trench held fast with stone (Alcock's palisade B) perhaps accompanied by a low earth bank to the rear; this probably an embanked palisade of a type paralleled in the pre-Roman Iron Age and Romano-British periods (Hill 1982a, 6). This was either added to or superseded by a second palisade (Alcock's palisade A), set in a trench cut into the wasted earth bank. Alcock suggests that it may have consisted of oak beams interwoven with birch and hazel. It was destroyed by fire and three calibrated radiocarbon dates suggest a date in the third quarter of the first millennium AD; it is therefore demonstrably Anglian. The line of the defences were subsequently refurbished by the addition of a rampart composed of clay and stacked turves, revetted at the front by massively pitched stones and to the rear by a stone kerb. Later, masonry was added to consolidate the front-wall of the rampart. Alcock attributes this phase to the construction of the monastery (1986, 273); the stone perhaps surplus to the builders requirements for the church and conventual buildings.

Although by no means certain, we might speculate that the embanked palisade of phase 1 marks the line of defence of a British fort, which may be of Early Historic date, comparable to those which I have mapped (fig. 7.1). At some date this fort either fell or was adopted by the Anglian colonists who refurbished the defences employing, on the model of Bamburgh (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* s.a. 547) and Doon Hill (Hope-Taylor 1966b; 1980), a palisade for this specific purpose. Given the ninety-five percent chance that this palisade was superseded by the mass rampart sometime after AD 615 on Klein's calibration (Alcock 1986, 276), the Anglian remodelling of the earlier defences could well have followed close on their victory at Degsastan (AD 603); unless, that is, we allow the site to have been taken earlier, but the context for such a succession, even allowing for Germanic activity in the eastern Borders possibly in the sixth century (p. 262), seems unlikely. Nevertheless, if this is considered as a possibility, one might infer that Simprim too is earlier and both Simprim and *Colodaesburg*, with their emphasis on the respective personal-names *Simper* and *Colod* (var. *Colud*, *Golud*), could perhaps relate to folk-movements at some date prior to the main thrust of the Anglian advance north of the Tweed after AD 603, for which the later Anglian place-names provide the clearest evidence.

Rock-cut trenches and postholes to the rear of the palisaded defences, might indicate the presence of wooden buildings, either Anglian or British; at least one, parallel to the rampart, seems to have been rectangular (see also Alcock 1988a, 15). Although there is

no archaeological evidence by which to judge the status of the Anglian fort, its adoption for the site of a monastery compares with the adopted use of other fortified sites for this purpose (see Cramp 1976, 204). We may deduce, given the frequency with which abbots and abbesses were royal kin, that *Colodaesburg* may have been a royal, or at least a lordly, possession, and would therefore have been available for a royal donation to the Church (Alcock 1986, 262).

Although a naturally strong and defensible position, there are a number of obvious shortcomings in the choice of Kirk Hill as an Anglian centre. Foremost is the lack of a safe anchorage (*Stat. Acct.*, 12, 1793, 145). The land capability map marks the coastal strip as suitable only for improved grassland (Bown and Shipley 1982), though, as Alcock notes (1986, 264), this may not be relevant. To the south and south-west, there are large areas capable of growing barley, oats and grass, and today cereals are cultivated over a wide area of the coastal hinterland. The population resident on Kirk Hill may also have derived sustenance from the sea and sea-birds.

Coldingahām, the site of the present village, some 3 km inland, probably offered a more optimum long-term settlement location and if the name is taken to mean 'the village of the people of Coludesburh' (Nicolaisen 1979, 72-3), we may infer that they took the opportunity, on or before the date the fort was granted to the Church, to relocate there. Strict evidence for this is lacking but the form of the burial-ground, accompanying a church on record about 1100, and by 1147 a priory (Cowan 1967, 33; Cowan and Easson 1976, 55-8), together with the field-boundaries which radiate from it are suggestive of an early site (fig. 7.4). Recent excavations close to the priory located a cemetery and two long cists, perhaps suggestive of a pre-Anglian focus.[15] Evidence for late Anglian activity is served by a fragment of a ninth-century cross-shaft decorated with interlace found at Gosmount, 450m to the north-west of the priory (Glen 1876), a styca (Thompson, TD pers. commun., 1982) and two pieces of ornamented metalwork (found in the burial-ground and now in private hands, Baxter, W pers. commun., 1982). One is a ninth-century silver-gilt strap-end (Wilson 1964, 32), comparable to three from Bamburgh (Hope-Taylor 1985, 2), the other a swivel, ornamented with interlace, with suspension loops respectively in the form of a head and a clenched fist; this perhaps for suspending a hanging-bowl. These are the only items of ornamented Anglian metalwork from the Tweed Basin (plates 7.6, 7.7, 7.8). More puzzling, is a red sandstone slab inscribed ABBADISSA which was found to the east of the chapter house. It is tentatively thought to be of eighth- or ninth-century date (Noble 1973c, 176; Okasha 1989; pers. commun., 1990) and possibly formed part of a shrine or memorial.

The village is situated in a dry valley, though close to fresh water, on medium quality farm land (grade 6AG) but with a tract of arable (2A) to the south. It is also better located for access to the sea. The mouth of the Eye Water, 4.3 km to the ESE, offers a safe anchorage and the *Statistical Account* notes, 'eastward of St Abb's Head, a considerable part of the shore is smooth and of easy access, particularly at Coldingham Sands'(12, 1793, 45). There was scope too for fishing, particularly offshore.

To judge from the size of the British territory (fig. 7.1), conceivably the forerunner of the Anglian estate of Coldingham, this was probably one of considerable extent, as today it is still the largest parish within the shire (ibid. 43). A second centre would probably have been essential,[16] either a satellite of the first, separated physically from the earlier centre but retaining close social and economic ties, or a daughter settlement, established and maintained by an independent community.

(iii) Renton This deserted medieval village (*Regninton* 1095 [15th], *Reningtona* 1235),[17] some 5.9 km west of Coldingham (NT *c.*823 659) and 1.2 km from the parish boundary,[18] may fall into this category. Although there are now no visible remains, the *mansio*[19] of Renton is on record in charters of late eleventh- and twelfth-century date, and, about 1300, the villages of Renton and West Renton are mentioned in a survey of lands belonging to Coldingham Priory. In 1836, Carr noted that the village stood near the farmhouse of Renton-barns where 'the foundations of its houses' were formerly visible.[20] The village would thus have occupied a tract of grade 2A arable within easy reach of sufficient medium quality land (6AG) suitable for grazing; the extensive common of Coldingham Moor was finally dispersed by the Court of Session about 1770 (*Stat. Acct.*, 12, 1793, 44). In addition to the estate centre and satellite or daughter settlement, there would no doubt have been many lesser farm-holdings; up to sixty are on record in 1793. It is possibly also of interest that in 1256 there is mention of one Patrick Dreng of Renton (Raine 1852, no. 382). His surname perhaps reflects a carry-over from the Anglian period of a pattern of royal lordship to which thegns and drengs, along with other freemen, were indispensable (Barrow 1973, 27-8).

(iv) Edington and Edrington The neighbouring British territory to the south, with its caput probably at Chester Hill, Greystonelees (fig. 7.3), seems to have been superseded by two potential early Anglian centres: Edington (NT 8968 5614) and Edrington (NT *c.*944 547). The size of the Anglian estate is perhaps to be deduced from its probable extent prior to parochial division from Coldingham at the Reformation (Cowan 1967, 12; Barrow 1973, 32-3, map 4). Both centres occupy first class arable (grade 1A) with medium quality farm land nearby. The author of the *Statistical Account* (15, 1793-4, 175) draws attention to the fact

that the 'district is peculiarly favourable to the purposes of agriculture; the lands, in general, being of a dry and manageable soil, which the skilful farmer can turn to the greatest advantage; and the climate being so favourable, that grain of every kind, even in the latest and most backward seasons, is commonly brought to full maturity'. The *mansio* of Edington is on record by the late eleventh century and, though in the early fourteenth century the village was of considerable extent, following Flodden it rapidly declined (Henderson 1875; Lawrie 1905, nos. 15-16; Thompson 1908, 34). Its role as a centre of secular lordship is perhaps suggested by the presence of a tower-house (about 1600) and a bastle.[21] The only evidence for an earlier caput is a ditched enclosure (35m by 40m internally), some 500m to the north-west (RCAMS 1980, p. 42, no. 353); this perhaps a moated-site. Evidence for a caput at Edrington is served only by a fragment of what may be a fifteenth-century castle incorporated in a farmsteading in a meander of the Whiteadder Water (RCAMS 1980, p. 56, no. 491).

(v) ***Upsettlington***, '(upper) farm near the ledge' (Nicolaisen 1979, 25) occupies a gravel terrace bordering the Tweed overlooked by higher ground to the north and west (NT 888 464); its situation thus seems to accord with the probable derivation of the name. The present village is situated about 1.5 km from the earthwork fortification at Fairfield, Ladykirk (NT 8932 4771), this probably the caput of the earlier British estate. Upsettlington early attained parochial status (Cowan 1967, 204; Cowan and Easson 1976, 236) but the site of the church is unknown, though it has been identified with a rectilinear, embanked ditched enclosure (37m by 35m internally) some 550m north-east of Ladykirk Home Farm (Ferguson 1891, 134; Robson 1896, 146); this was discounted by the Royal Commission (1980, p. 46, no. 406).[22] Other than this, little light can be shed on the nature of the Anglian settlement, though here, clearly, there is the potential for an interdisciplinary study of the type undertaken by Professor Cramp at the Hirsel (8.3 km to the south-west) which has highlighted the degree of juxtaposition to be expected between secular and ecclesiastical centres (Cramp and Douglas-Home 1978; Cramp 1980a; 1981; 1983c; 1985). The scope for agriculture includes both arable and pasture, with meadow beside the Tweed and salmon from it (*Stat. Acct.*, 7, 1793, 72-4).

(vi) ***Mersington*** This the neighbouring estate to the west of Simprim, possibly succeeded upon the territorial area of the fort at Belchester (RCAMS 1980, p. 53, no. 461), 2 km south-east of the present village. A deserted medieval village to the west of Mersington House (NT 774 442) might repay attention as a possible nucleus for the original Anglian focus. All that is visible today are the turf-covered wall-footings of a range of buildings with at least five others close by (RCAMS 1980, p. 61, no. 538). A chapel at Mersington is on record in 1250 (Cowan 1967, 58); the mother church was probably that at Eccles. A tower-

house, which was destroyed in 1545 (*NSA*, 2[Berwick], 57), suggests that this was perhaps also a centre of lordship.

The place-name Eccles (see also pp. 112, 262) seems to denote a British Christian community whose presence was recognized by the early Anglian settlers. Given that the Anglo-Saxons appear only to have used the term *cirice* for a church building (Thompson 1964; Gelling 1982), one should perhaps reserve judgement as to whether the community had a church of their own. If, however, the term *Eccles* refers specifically to the community at large, the presence of a building suited to liturgical use need not be discounted and it is conceivable that if a church was lacking, one may later have been supplied to meet the needs of the Anglian population (as seems to have been the case at Yeavering and Sprouston (pp. 231-2); this perhaps a minster with outlying dependencies (see p. 298 and Barrow 1973, 60-4). The presence of a Christian focus, which may have been both deep-rooted and enduring, is perhaps reflected in the choice of Eccles in 1156 as the site of a Cistercian convent founded by Gospatrick, earl of Dunbar (Cowan 1967, 58; Cowan and Easson 1976, 146).[23]

It is possible then, in the case of Mersington, that the Angles inherited a pre-existing estate possessing a recognizable caput and ecclesiastical centre. The parish of Eccles embraces soils of the highest fertility. Sands and gravels predominate, and in 1793 the farms of the parish were entirely arable, with wheat the staple crop. Grass leys were also common and salmon from the Tweed were a valued asset (*Stat. Acct.*, 11, 1792-3, 232).

(vii) Hassington seems to denote the farthest westward extent of early Anglian settlement on the Merse. The present village lies about 1.5 km to the south-west of the earthwork at Hardacres Hill (NT 743 419), this conceivably the caput of the earlier British estate (fig. 7.3), and some 3.2 km west of Eccles, the later parochial centre. Although there are now no visible remains to confirm the presence of an Anglian enclave, a church, on record in the mid twelfth century, stood about 2 km to the north-east of the present village of Lambden.[24]

The settlements denoted by the early Anglian place-names so far examined all occupy former British estates, notably those of least extent (fig. 7.1), on the Merse. Their wider implications will be considered later (pp. 239-42). The evidence for the settlements themselves is mainly circumstantial but, on the south side of the Tweed, close to Sprouston, cropmarks reveal a settlement which can be positively identified as Anglian. This, the closest counterpart for the Anglian centres at Yeavering and Milfield, is thus of considerable

importance. For the Tweed Basin, and so far as this thesis is concerned, it is the key Anglian site and therefore warrants a case study.

(C) SPROUSTON, ROXBURGHSHIRE
AN EARLY ANGLIAN CENTRE OF THE EASTERN BASIN

Sprouston is a monothematic place-name (*Sprostona c.*1120) with the first element an Old English personal-name *Sprow* and *tũn* 'farm' (Nicolaisen 1979, 36, 38). It thus belongs with the earliest strata of Anglian place-names in the Tweed Valley. The present village is situated about 300m south of the Tweed (NT 7578 3623) (fig. 7.5), some 2.8 km to the ENE of Kelso. Before considering the cropmark evidence it will be useful to summarize what is known of the status of this district in the medieval period.

Sprouston is on record as a royal manor in the early twelfth century. About 1119x20, lands in Sprouston were granted by Earl David to his newly founded abbey at Selkirk.[25] The regality was confirmed by William the Lion about 1193 to Sir Eustace de Vesci, lord of Alnwick, on his marriage to Margaret, the king's illegitimate daughter.[26] In 1255, Henry III, accompanied by a numerous retinue of knights, earls and barons, took up residence for some days at Sprouston, while his son-in-law, the young king Alexander III, and his nobles, prepared and delivered a deed into the hands of the English king, for the peace and government of Scotland.[27] The barony was forfeited in 1289 and in 1302-3 the fees and forfeitures from it, having been conferred on Isobel de Beaumont 'Dame de Vesci' by Edward I, were granted by the king to Sir Henry de Beaumont.[28] In 1320, Robert I confirmed the barony on his son[29] and David II granted it to Thomas Murray and afterwards to Maurice Murray.[30] In 1402, it was confirmed by Henry IV to Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland; the town was destroyed by Sir Robert Umfraville in 1418.[31] James II, in 1451, granted the barony to William, earl of Douglas.[32] In 1522, the town was destroyed twice, first at the hands of Ross and Dacre and later by the Duke of Norfolk's army; it suffered again in 1545.[33] In 1606 the lands of Sprouston were granted to Sir Robert Kerr of Cessford; in 1627, to Lord John Cranston; in 1643 to Henry, Lord Kerr and in 1675 to Robert, earl of Roxburgh.[34] We can thus trace the development of Sprouston from its status as a royal manor in the twelfth century to that of a regality in the late twelfth, its return to the Crown in the thirteenth century and re-erection as a temporal lordship in the fourteenth. A tower-house is also on record[35] but there is no visible evidence to confirm its date or site.

There was evidently already a church at Sprouston about 1128 when it was granted to Kelso Abbey by David I, with the consent of John, bishop of Glasgow (1128-47).[36] This was confirmed by Jocelin, bishop of Glasgow (1175-99); by Bishop Walter in

1232, and by Pope Innocent IV before 1254.[37] The present church, dedicated to St Michael, was built in 1781, possibly on the site of its medieval predecessor. This is suggested by the presence within the church of a fifteenth-century memorial and, within the burial-ground (enclosed in 1814), by the fragment of a cross-shaft inserted in a stone base.[38] In 1207, Sir Eustace de Vesci, and his wife, were granted leave by Kelso Abbey to erect a chapel in their court at Sprouston;[39] this presumably a chapel-of-ease independent of the parish church.

The land capability map (fig. 7.3) indicates an extensive tract of first class arable. In the eighteenth century the district was renowned for cereal cultivation, especially the Redden-heughs where the soils, on a substratum of sand, are well-drained, deep and fertile (*Stat. Acct.*, 1, 1790-1, 65; *NSA*, 3[Roxburgh], 235-6). Today, the fields around Whitmuirhaugh are permanently under rotation, wheat and barley being the principal crops (plate 7.9). In addition, until about 1730, the parish had rights to common pasturage at Wark, 6.5 km to the east and, to the south-east, the common of Hadden-rig whose marches lie with the Pressen Burn, the present parish boundary (*Stat. Acct.*, 1, 1790-1, 66). However, we may also derive a clear picture of the agricultural potential of the district from the grants made from it in the twelfth and later centuries and this is probably more relevant in the context of the Anglian township and later royal manor. Earl David's endowment to Selkirk (1119x20) included a ploughgate and ten acres of arable at Sprouston and, about 1128, on their removal to Kelso, the monks received a further grant of three acres of meadowland (*Kelso Liber*, Nos. 1-2). About 1153x59, Malcolm IV granted to Kelso two oxgangs of arable beside 'Prestrebrige' in the territory of Sprouston together with, in 1159, the pastures of Sprouston and moorland for the cutting of fuel (Barrow 1960, pp. 192-3, Nos. 130-1); Serlo, the king's clerk, received half a ploughgate (ibid. p. 283, No. 295). About 1189x95, the Abbey received confirmation of a grant for a further oxgang of arable (Barrow 1971, p. 321, No. 305). A mill at Sprouston is on record in 1207 (*Kelso Liber*, Nos. 206-8). In the village, in the late twelfth century, the monks had six cottages, one with six acres of land attached, with a *braccina* or brewhouse; a further five cottages each had an acre and a half of land (*Kelso Liber*, Nos. 4-5; Chalmers 1887-1902, iii, 135).

THE CROPMARKS

The cropmark palimpsest, remarkable for its clarity and detail (plate 7.10), occupies a series of fields around the farmsteading at Whitmuirhaugh, some 900m to the north-east of the village. It was first identified by Professor JK St Joseph in August 1970 and has since been flown repeatedly by the Scottish Royal Commission, by Professor DW Harding, Tim Gates and others.[40] The cumulative photographs provide an invaluable record for the settlement history of an area in excess of 16 ha, focussed principally on the fields to the north of the

farm, extending along the relatively level crest of a gravel terrace circumscribed by a wide meander of the Tweed (fig. 7.6). The location is particularly noteworthy on comparison with Yeavering (Hope-Taylor 1977, 5) and the scope of the gravel terraces bordering the Tweed, in attracting settlement over a long period, is well illustrated at the Hirsel (Cramp 1985).

Nicholas Reynolds (1980a, 50-2, fig. 7) was the first to tentatively draw out the cropmarks, which at least gave the overall picture, though he accepted that it might not be completely accurate in all its details. Professor St Joseph used a computer rectified plot for his transcription (1982) but the overall picture, which differed little in detail, was overly rationalized.[41] In the same year, having considered all the available coverage in the NMRS, I prepared an independent survey of the cropmark evidence; the aim being to provide the fullest possible transcription of the cropmark evidence. Many of the air-photographs are obliques and thus the detail had to be converted to the vertical before mapping. For this I used the 'paper-strip method' (Scollar 1975, 52-9; Palmer 1976, 391-4; Hogg 1980, 228),[42] using intersecting rays to fix selected points on the archaeological features. The method of defining the rays on the photographs and transferring them to the 1: 2500 map was simple, accurate but laborious (see Wilson 1982, 198); the intersection of field-boundaries and the farm buildings themselves provide good local control. Moreover in the course of fieldwork in May 1982, some of the features were visible as soil marks and could be measured-in to provide an additional check. I owe a particular debt, however, to Gordon Maxwell and Diana Murray for advice and assistance whilst working on the transcription in the NMRS.

Since publication (Smith 1984, 184-8, figs. 5-6), the site has been re-examined more than once. An extract from my plan was published by James *et al* as an aid to their assessment of an Early Medieval building tradition (1984, fig. 3). In 1985, Peter Hill drew up a portfolio in the hope of pursuading Historic Buildings and Monuments (SDD) to fund an excavation (for the problems this would involve see Reynolds 1980a, 52). Christopher Aliaga-Kelly redrew the site for his doctoral thesis (1986), based in a large measure on my own work with little additional detail (pers. commun., 1989), and, most recently, work on-site has been undertaken by a student in the Department of Archaeology, University of Durham.[43] For present purposes I am re-employing the figures published in 1984 but in view of the time-lapse, I have looked again at the air-photographs and those taken since, and I have made one or two minor emendations to the plan. In 1989, though the site was flown, no cropmarks were apparent (Brown, MM pers. commun., 1990).

In May 1982, I walked the fields to the north of the farm on a 10m grid in the hope of relating plough-soil scatters to the subsoil features revealed by the cropmarks (for the scope of this approach see papers in Smith *et al* 1985).[44] Finds included a number of flint and chert artefacts (?Mesolithic or later), a preponderance of post-medieval pottery and iron work (Fenton, S pers. commun., 1982) but nothing which could be ascribed to the intervening period. This is probably partly attributable to the removal of floor-levels by the plough; it is also an apparent feature of the cropmark palimpsest that its detail has become fainter over the years which perhaps signifies, despite scheduling and payment for ploughing to a depth no greater than 0.9m, that truncation of subsoil features is still a significant factor.[45] The *New Statistical Account*, however, records the tradition that 'hearths and foundations of houses and kitchen utensils have been ploughed up in the field above the Scurry rock' (3[Roxburgh], 237) and this probably indicates the date of critical plough-damage. It is also likely that in use the buildings of the Anglian township were continually swept clean, the domestic refuse either being carted away a comfortable distance, perhaps to be spread over neighbouring fields, or else deposited in rubbish-pits, of which there appear to be a great many at Sprouston (see p. 225). This too seems to have been the case at Yeavering, though rubbish-pits were not found (Hope-Taylor 1977, 168).

Fig. 7.6 provides an overview of the palimpsest around the present steading and underlines the chronological depth of the archaeological features embraced by it. On analogy with Yeavering, it will be apparent that many of the timber features at Sprouston probably have a more complicated history than is evident from the air-photographs. Nevertheless, with the necessary care, the overall form of the buildings can reasonably be deduced. The NMRS catalogue numbers for the air-photographs principally used in the transcription are stated. However, to appraise the archaeology at this level is difficult and to aid interpretation I have tentatively subdivided the evidence into three broad chronological phases (fig. 7.7). This requires a level of inference and is not without its difficulties; the respective phasing of features, of course, can only accurately be determined by excavation.

PHASE I

Encompassing an area of marginally higher ground at the south-western edge of the terrace, there is an interrupted ditched enclosure; potentially the earliest feature of the cropmark palimpsest. This has been interpreted as a promontory fort (Reynolds 1980a, 50; St Joseph 1982, 192) and its position, tailored at either end to the river-cliffs of the Tweed, would seem to fit. However, in view of the number of breaks between the ditch-segments, I am inclined to believe that it might be a causewayed camp and thus of Neolithic date. A close parallel might be Hamildean Hill, Peeblesshire (RCAMS 1967, pp. 118-19, No. 283; this work p.

100) (see also Newman 1976, 184). The ditch-segments on the SE, where the ground shelves away into a natural hollow, are enclosed by a palisade with in-turned terminals respecting what may be an entrance on the E; to the interior, there are traces of possibly a double palisade and, on the N, a penannular feature, perhaps a round house with an entrance on the E. Further ditch-like features, or gullies, extend laterally from the perimeter of the enclosure; these perhaps field-boundaries, their antennae-like character is suggestive of livestock management and, together with the palisaded elements, probably points to the reuse of the ditched enclosure in the late second or early to mid first millennium BC (see also p. 28). Flint and chert artefacts, including burins, points, and scrapers, recovered in field-walking, seem to be related to activity specific to the enclosure. A perforated axe-hammer and a polished stone axe have also been found at Sprouston (Evans 1897, 114-15, 206) and a second axe was found at Lempitlaw (NT 786 327; Anderson and Black 1888, 389). Mulholland notes this as an area producing Mesolithic material (1970, 84).

To the SE of the ditched enclosure, the ground shelves away but rises again in front of the farm buildings where there is a ring-ditch, possibly a ploughed-out barrow, with a primary interment. In the field to the SE of the farm, three other annular features, possibly ring-ditches, eclipsed by the remains of what may be an embanked palisade with internal quarry ditch, may also be barrows. Corroborative evidence for activity in the second millennium BC is provided by two short cists, each containing a skeleton, which were found in 1932, in the field to the south of the public road (NT 760 354; Craw 1933, 67; Bruce 1986, 37). In 1949, a short cist with skeleton, food-vessel and thin flint blade were found on the neighbouring farm of Redden (NT 7830 3732; Calder and Feachem 1949).

Adjacent to the steading ring-ditch, there is an unusual structure, probably a building, with V-gable ends. This was not noted by Reynolds (1980a), nor by St Joseph (1982), but it is reasonably distinct on two photographs taken by Gates in 1981 (NMRS A 40867, 40871). It measures about 22m by 8m overall and may be compared in form with Doon Hill Hall A (23m by 10.4m) (plate 7.11) and the buildings known from cropmarks at Crathes and Balbridie, Deeside (RCAMS 1984, p. 19, nos. 98-9) (fig. 7.8); the latter, excavated by Ralston and Reynolds (1981; Reynolds 1980a, 53-9; 1980b; Ralston 1982), measures 24m by 12m overall. Radiocarbon dates and pottery from Balbridie place it firmly in a Neolithic context (Reynolds 1980b, 326) and, although Neolithic pottery is said to have been found at Doon Hill (Reynolds, N pers. commun., 1983), the date and status of Hall A is still contested. Hope-Taylor was unwilling to accept that it might be Neolithic but did not rule out a possible connexion with the Deeside buildings (1980, 19). The problem is that Doon Hill Hall A is succeeded by another, Hall B, and on analogy with buildings at Yeavering (see p. 230), this seems to be of seventh-century date. The main timber uprights

(B) had been dug into the soft fillings of the large pits that had braced the corresponding members of (A). This would require, if (A) is Neolithic, that some 4000 years later, the dished hollows marking the sunken fillings of its post-pits were observed and used by the builders of Hall B. Hope-Taylor thought this improbable.

However, it occurs to me that the presence of the earlier features might have been apparent to the builders of (B) if, for instance, the turf had been removed prior to construction as part of the initial layout and preparation of the building stance which would be standard vernacular practice (cf. Meirion-Jones 1982, 50); the topsoil on the degraded hill summit is of no great depth and its removal would have revealed the earlier post-pits which could have been reused expeditiously. The presence of a hillfort immediately to one side of the Doon Hill enclosure (RCAMS 1924, p. 108, No. 106) may have served as a visible reference point for later activity and the discovery and reuse of (A) could therefore be no more than coincidental. This would allow Doon Hill (A) and the Deeside buildings to be both manifestations of a common cultural tradition and Neolithic. The same may apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to the building beside the steading at Whitmuirhaugh (but see also p. 235). If this is the case we may speculate that the neighbouring ring-ditch was located by reference to it, though this would seem to require the building to have been still in use, or at least apparent, much later; a level of juxtaposition which may, nevertheless, be paralleled at Dalry (Cochran-Patrick 1874; Coles and Simpson 1965, 46; Laing 1969, 113).

Phase I at Sprouston may thus embrace evidence of Mesolithic, Neolithic and Bronze Age activity; the earliest features being probably the interrupted ditched enclosure, perhaps the building beside the steading, the ring-ditch or barrow, together with those in the field to the SE. The juxtaposition of palisaded elements, perhaps added to the ditched enclosure before the ditches were fully silted (though they may have been recut), probably carries us through to the mid first millennium BC.

PHASE II

The focal point for activity in this phase would seem to be a double palisade which consists of an inner enclosure and an outer annexe (about 10m apart) with well defined entrance-gaps on the SSW. The interior exhibits no trace of houses and for this one might draw comparison with a number of simple palisaded sites in Roxburghshire, for example, Staneshiel Hill, Henfield and Fasset Hill, where no definite hut-sites are apparent, and that within the hillfort of Blackbrough Hill (RCAMS 1956, Nos. 317, 801, 660, 302). For the precise form of the double palisade, there are also a number of good analogies. Palisaded settlements with an internal enclosure and concentric outer annexe are present at Hayhope, Roxburghshire

(Piggott 1949; RCAMS 1956, pp. 342-3, No. 665), and, in Peeblesshire, Castle Hill, Horsburgh Castle farm, and White Hill (RCAMS 1967, Nos. 195, 207) (plate 2.4), and, as earthworks, at the Orchard Rig settlements (plate 6.5), Purvis Hill, Chester Hill, Traquair, and Helm End; a stone-walled settlement with round houses randomly disposed to the interior (RCAMS 1967, Nos. 239-41, 246, 272, 286). In Berwickshire, the fort on Shannabank Hill might be a close parallel. It has twin ramparts set about 12m apart (RCAMS 1980, p. 27, no. 208; this work p. 184, fig. 6.28).

On the evidence of excavation, the settlement at Hayhope Knowe seems not to have been occupied beyond the late first millennium BC; a date in the mid to late first millennium BC has been suggested for the twin-palisaded enclosure of Harehope I (Feachem 1960, 191). The settlement at Helm End seems to be demonstrably Romano-British, though it may be later (p. 183), and I have suggested that the fort on Shannabank Hill could be post-Roman (p. 184). The settlements and outer annexes at Hayhope Knowe, Harehope I and Castle Hill, Horsburgh Castle Farm (plate 2.1), are all defined by twin-walled palisades set in continuous wall-trenches with hair-pin terminals. These are absent in the double palisade at Sprouston and it is unclear what weight should be attached to this. Nevertheless, a date in the mid to late first millennium BC or early centuries AD might be anticipated on the basis of the parallels suggested.

The apparent absence of houses to the interior of the Sprouston palisade need not be significant. Shallow ring-grooves would probably be most vulnerable to later activity specific to the enclosure and, with the exception of White Hill, the inner enclosures of all the other sites noted would seem to have been used as settlements. The outer enclosure is probably best interpreted as a hard-standing or corral for livestock together with the activities common to the farmyard. Peripheral to the palisade, on the SSW, there are a series of tangential gullies. The purpose of these may have been to funnel driven stock through the narrow entrance-gaps.

Extending laterally to both sides of the palisade, but specifically on the WSW, there are clear indications of a linear field-system; the field-boundaries are orientated with the crest of the gravel ridge and extend over the interrupted ditches of the Phase I enclosure. These fields are unlike native field-systems of the uplands of the Romano-British period and I have therefore suggested, given their approximate length/breadth ratio of 5:1, that however remotely some idea of Roman mensuration was being applied to their layout (p. 68). In this context it seems reasonable to interpret the double palisade as a fort and, if the field-system does owe more to Roman than native influence, that the fort and field-system coextensive with it are ultimately Romano-British (see also p. 234). Phase II might thus be seen as the

product of a community engaged in mixed farming with an emphasis on arable close in. If the site of the settlement is denoted by the palisade this would amount to only a marginal shift in preferred location from activity earlier related to the interrupted ditched enclosure of Phase I.

PHASE III

The elements of this phase potentially reflect activity of the Anglian period, most probably the early and middle decades of the seventh century. In view of the data currently accumulating for Anglian sites in North Britain and the exceptionally meticulous excavations undertaken by Hope-Taylor at Yeavering (1977), I propose to confine my parallels specifically, wherever possible, to Northumbria and East Lothian; a radius roughly of 40 km from Sprouston.

The palisaded enclosure

The focal point of Sprouston Phase III, for field-boundaries and buildings alike, and the largest single feature of the site, is a large twin-walled palisaded enclosure which appears to have been remodelled more than once. It is demonstrably later than the double palisade of Phase II which it eclipses on the S.[46] In what I infer may be its earliest form, denoted by pecked lines on fig. 7.7 (although there is no visible distinction in the cropmarks), it seems to have been roughly square with an extruded side on the NE, stilted with rounded angles. It enclosed an area of about 6500m^2 and on plan may be compared to the Great Enclosure or fort at Yeavering (about 7000m^2), though the Sprouston palisade lacks the bulbous terminals at the entrance which at Yeavering are diagnostic (see Hope-Taylor 1977, 85-8; Alcock 1987b, 265); for comparison see fig. 7.9. Due to the discontinuous wall-lines of the Sprouston palisade, it is far from clear where the original entrances may have been, but there are two possibilities: one close to the S angle of the SW wall-line, where there are opposed gaps; the other, roughly central to the NW wall where the line of the palisade is drawn towards the interior and broken. The Yeavering enclosure, succeeding two earlier ones defined by one or more palisades, was progressively elaborated achieving its maximum structural development in phase IIIC which is attributed by the excavator to the time of Edwin and Paulinus, about 626 AD. Despite doubts which have been expressed about the precise chronology of the structural phases of the palisaded fort and associated timber buildings at Yeavering, there can be no doubt that they fall in the seventh and earlier post-Roman centuries (Alcock 1988a, 7-8). In common with Yeavering, the interior of the Sprouston palisade exhibits no trace of houses; a building in the S angle, which appears to truncate the inner wall-trench, is probably later (see p. 237). Although, following Alcock (1987b, 216; 1988a), I interpret the Great Enclosure at Yeavering as a defensive work, it should be noted

that Hope-Taylor's considered view was that it should be seen as a place of assembly (1977, 157, 208-9, 266, 280).

In its remodelled form, the Sprouston palisade was tailored to the square (the form of the enclosure at this level is not in doubt). Boundaries, probably ditches, extend laterally from the four corners; that on the N describing a marked dog-leg with a return to the SW. The boundaries on the WSW, N and NE are seen on the air-photographs as parallel dark lines (or as white lines on the photographs which evidence 'reverse cropmarking') and this perhaps suggests their use as droveways; this is also suggested by the funnelled inflexion of the boundaries opening to the haughland on the WNW and WSW respectively. These boundaries seem to denote cardinal land-divisions which were put to specific use: that to the SW of the palisaded enclosure was set apart for the nucleus of the township; to the NW, within the dog-leg of the northern boundary-ditches, the principal feature is a polygonal enclosure exhibiting traces of internal subdivision and ancillary structures, while, on the NE, the area seems to have been set apart for an array of pits; at least fifty are visible on an air-photograph taken by Harding in 1978 (NMRS RX/3434) - these perhaps domestic refuse or rubbish-pits, possibly symptomatic of a strict policy governing the disposal of unwanted waste. As these lie outwith the SDD scheduled area, excavation here should present no problem.

The township

Within the area of the township itself, there are what may be a number of sunken-floored structures, at least ten rectangular buildings, including post-built structures and others with continuous wall-trenches, and an extended inhumation cemetery with over 380 graves orientated ENE-WSW, set in multiple rows. The similarities between Sprouston and Yeavering, in the overall disposition of buildings in relation to a major palisaded enclosure, is all apparent but for the buildings themselves parallels might also be drawn with those known from cropmarks elsewhere in Northumbria and East Lothian, and the excavated sites at New Bewick, Thirlings, Doon Hill and Dunbar (fig. 7.10). At a glance the buildings of the Sprouston township seem to be randomly disposed, but there is a principal axis which appears to be respected by all but one of the buildings. This extends SW-NE from the S entrance of the palisaded enclosure, cut only by one building aligned east-west (F), and is in the form of a corridor roughly 25m wide; this possibly a street or more formal public space (see p. 238). The principal buildings are disposed to either side.

Grubenhäuser

The sunken-floored structures are probably amongst the earliest components of the Anglian township. These are apparent on several of the air-photographs taken in 1981 and 1988

(NMRS A40867, 40871, B 16089) but are particularly clear on CUCAP AP BEE 36 (1970). On the basis of comparable cropmark evidence in Northumbria, and a number which have been excavated (see below), it seems reasonable to interpret these as *grubenhäuser*. At Sprouston, there are two distinct groups. The first, a group of six, (a) on fig. 7.7, are each set end-on and ranged in parallel; there is at least one other situated within the funnelled terminal to the WSW boundary-ditch. The juxtaposition between the *grubenhäuser* and the paired boundary-ditches extending from the W corner of the remodelled palisaded enclosure suggests that they are probably coeval with the enclosure in its earlier form. The second group (b), a cluster of three, lie to the SE of the public space at the centre of the township, some 60m to the front of the S entrance to the palisaded enclosure. All are subrectangular, have the appearance of slightly rounded corners and are in the order of size of roughly 3m to 4m by about 2m transversely. It is possible that others are masked as cropmarks due to an expanse of sandy silts, which prevail over a greater part of the intervening area between the township and the present farm, evident on the air-photographs as dark amorphous patches. Some 40m to the WSW of (a), there is also a much larger sunken-floored building (c), subrectangular on plan (6m by 4m) with a bowed end-wall and rounded angles.

Although recognized as early as 1970 (McCord and Jobey 1971), the presence of *grubenhäuser* in Northumbria was only confirmed by excavation in 1986 (Gates and O'Brien 1988). Credit belongs to Tim Gates for having identified some forty at Milfield (though not all may be *grubenhäuser*), mainly outwith the massive double palisaded enclosure which, as at Yeavering and Sprouston, seems to have been a key element of the site and similarly appears to be of more than one phase (ibid. 3, fig. 1). At least eight *grubenhäuser* have been identified within an area of about 2 ha at New Bewick, in the upper reaches of the Till valley, and others have been recognized at Thirlings where they are set at a discrete distance from the excavated timber buildings (Miket 1981, 138, fig. 1). In East Lothian, features tentatively identified as *grubenhäuser* are known at Inveresk, and other sunken-floored structures, known only from air-photographs, extend over a wide area of the eastern seaboard from Fife to Moray (see p. 254 and fig. 8.1).

Three have been excavated in Northumberland, two at Yeavering (Buildings C1 and D3; Hope-Taylor 1977, 88-91, 103-6) and one at New Bewick (Gates and O'Brien 1988). The latter was of standard form akin to many that have been excavated, since first recognition at Sutton Courtney in the 1920s (Leeds 1923), on a large number of widely separated sites (e.g. Jones and Jones 1975; Champion 1977; Losco-Bradley and Wheeler 1984, 103-11; Powlesland 1987). The New Bewick *grubenhaus* consisted of a pit (4.7m by 3.9m and 0.5m deep), with posts central to the end-walls and seems to have been of ridge-post construction. It is unclear whether the floor was at ground level or in the base of the pit

(as in the case of the two at Yeavering) but from the interior were recovered fragments of up to thirty annular loomweights and four small sherds of pottery; three body sherds in a sandy oxidized fabric and one reduced and decorated with incised lines and small impressed circles. The Yeavering buildings are atypical. Building C1 (6.1m by 4m) had plank walls braced with posts set at intervals along the sides of the pit; a broken loomweight was found on the floor. Building D3 (12.2m by 6.1m) was of framed post-and-panel construction with opposed lateral entrances and had two hearths off-centre. It seems to have been relatively short-lived, though the dished hollow left after the pit had been infilled was reused as a working surface. Building C1 perhaps provides a close parallel for the large sunken-floored building (c) at Sprouston.

At Sprouston, the presence of *grubenhäuser* in company with other buildings underlines the affinities of the site with the centres at Yeavering, Milfield and Thirlings. The *grubenhäuser* are perhaps best interpreted as flimsy, temporary structures erected for a specific purpose and demolished when the occasion had passed (Owen 1981, 45). On the evidence of Yeavering C1 and New Bewick, some may have been used for weaving (but see also Rahtz 1976, 76; Cramp 1988, 75). Hope-Taylor suggested that Yeavering D3 was a kitchen. In Brittany, a considerable number of sunken-floored huts have survived to the late twentieth century and thus are of great interest for the light they shed on the vernacular aspect. They are all used for storage and there is as yet no record of the *grubenhaus* ever having been used as a dwelling, nor is any example yet known from excavation (Meirion-Jones 1982, 174-7). Their floors are invariably of beaten earth and evidence is lacking for the use of planked floors at ground level as inferred, for example, by Stanley West at West Stow (1985) and Powlesland at Heslerton (1982; 1987; 1988, 159). However, there is a danger of pressing too far theories based solely on contemporary evidence.

Halls and lesser buildings

The timber buildings at Sprouston fall into three categories: post-built structures, those with continuous wall-trenches and those possessing the latter but with annexes or outshots at either one or both ends.[47] There are three post-built buildings, the largest of which (A) is set end-on to the palisaded enclosure and parallel to the main boundary ditch which extends from its W corner. This is a substantial building measuring roughly 28m from SW to NE by up to 9m transversely, its walls defined by a string of massive postholes. Given its span, this might seem to call for centre-posts and perhaps buttresses but none are apparent on the air-photographs. Off-centre to the NW wall, two external post-pits perhaps indicate the position of an entrance. The building appears to be formally set apart in a court defined by gullies or fence-lines on four sides though open on the S and NE.

Professor St Joseph (1982, 197) drew parallels for this building with Yeavering A4 and, in point of technique, with Yeavering A6 and A7. Building A4 is the largest and most impressive of the Yeavering halls (25.3m by 14.7m overall) and is attributed by Hope-Taylor to phase IIIC (1977, 161-3). However, A4 is of buttressed post-in-trench construction. Its closest analogy is probably the hall at Milfield (see Gates and O'Brien 1988, 3, fig. 1) but, while these buildings bear comparison in size with that at Sprouston, to draw such a parallel probably lays too great a stress on the Yeavering building-style. For specific structures based on separate posthole construction we have to look further afield. A close parallel might be a large post-built building identified in 1988 at Dunbar (SUAT 1989, 3, fig. 4). Its extent has not been fully determined but the line of a long-wall is indicated by six large pits and a seventh (4m north of the line of six) probably indicates the position of an end-wall. The pits had an average diameter of 1.5m and an average depth of 2.5m; five contained either postholes or post-pipes set roughly 2m apart centre-to-centre. A sherd of early medieval pottery was retrieved from one of the post-pipes. Finds elsewhere on the site include a fragment of metalwork with garnet inlay, coins of the eighth and ninth centuries, and a composite comb of Anglo-Saxon/Carolingian type (Holdsworth, P pers. commun., 1989). The post-built structure, probably a hall, might belong in a seventh-century context (Alcock 1988a, 28, n.1).

We may also bear in mind the three timber halls identified in 1988 at Birdoswald Roman fort (Wilmott 1988; 1989). The first was built after the north granary collapsed using the stubs of the walls as foundations. This was replaced by a second (28.25m by 8m) built within the ruins of the granary still standing on its south side. Here the floors were made solid and hearths were erected at one end. When this collapsed, a third hall was constructed over the consolidated remains of the north granary and the adjacent road, the *via principalis*. This measured 23m by 8m overall, with the posts set on post pads, five down each side. The posts employed in its construction were clearly massive; the weight of the superstructure exerting sufficient pressure to fragment the paving reused as pads. As yet the halls are undated, though sherds of Huntcliff and Crambeck wares - the latest Roman pottery - were found in the make-up of the floors of the southern hall, along with a gold and glass earring (later fourth century). A fifth- or sixth-century date might be inferred, though the third hall may have been in use later (Wilmott, T pers. commun., 1990).

Given the scale of Sprouston (A), it too might reasonably be interpreted as a hall and, in terms of its proportions and the size of the post-pits medial to the two long-walls (see CUCAP AP BEE 36) (plate 7.3), it might be regarded, along with the 'Long Hall' at Cheddar, as a double-annexed two-square building (cf. Rhatz 1979; and for discussion James *et al*

1984, 206-7). This in itself, setting aside for the present the question of status, might point to a Romano-British rather than an Anglian ancestry, for which the Birdoswald halls provide perhaps an apposite parallel. Nevertheless, in the context of North Britain, we should possibly regard such buildings, in point of technique, as essentially British.

Some 30m to the south-west of Sprouston Hall (A), there is evidence of another (B) which is similarly aligned and apparently also formally set apart by a string of curvilinear gullies coterminous with the forecourt of (A). The cropmarks for (B) are indistinct and this could perhaps suggest that it is earlier than (A) or else was abandoned before it (later activity truncating its subsoil features). Its juxtaposition with the *grubenhäuser* (a) is perhaps of interest (see James *et al* 1984, 198). Hall (B) is denoted by widely spaced post-pits and measures roughly 20m by 7m overall; it is possible that it had an annexe at its ENE end. A third post-built building (C) lies in open ground to the NNE of the cemetery on the S side of the palisaded enclosure. It is much smaller (about 7m by 4m) and may have had an entrance off-centre to its S wall. Comparison might be made with buildings G and I at Thirlings (O'Brien 1982); radiocarbon dates from this site suggest a fifth- or sixth-century context (*c.*AD 470 and *c.*AD 580). Buildings A6 and A7 at Yeavering, similarly defined by spaced posts, are believed to have been of post-and-panel construction with wattle-and-daub walls and are attributed by Hope-Taylor to Yeavering post-Roman phase I (1977, 147, 156). They are thus possibly contemporary with the layout of the Great Enclosure and their position relative to it is perhaps worthy of note on comparison with Sprouston (C) (and see also p. 234).

The remaining buildings, denoted by continuous wall-trenches, can be divided into those without and those with annexes at either one or both ends. There are at least ten simple rectangular buildings within and peripheral to the township. These range in size from about 6m by 3m to 12m by 6m and most are of a ratio of 2:1. In addition there are a number of much smaller structures almost square on plan (on average $4m^2$); perhaps grain stores. Plain rectangular buildings are standard at Yeavering, Thirlings and Milfield. At Yeavering they seem to have achieved their final level of development in phase IIIC (Hope-Taylor 1977, 148-9, 152).

Of note at Sprouston, peripheral to the nucleus of the township, are two buildings uniquely aligned NNW-SSE and arranged *en echelon* (D). Both have opposed lateral entrances. Building D1 (roughly 12m by 5m), on the W, exhibits traces of internal post-settings and slots perhaps indicative of an aisled superstructure, possibly with a screen-wall at its NNW end; Building D2 (about 10m by 5m) has two possible post-pits to the interior at its NNW end. For the layout and form of the buildings comparison can most readily be made

with Buildings C2 and C3 at Yeavering (9.2m by 5.5m and 15.3m by 7.6m respectively) which are similarly arranged *en echelon*, have opposed lateral entrances and internal post-settings. Hope-Taylor assigns them to Yeavering phase IV, possibly contemporary with the return of Oswald, of the Bernician line, from exile among the northern peoples, thus around AD 640 with a possible *terminus ante quem* of AD 651 (1977, 149, 277); but for doubts expressed on Hope-Taylor's use of the historical record to date the key archaeological episodes at Yeavering see Alcock 1988a, 7-8). The buildings of Yeavering Phase IV are distinctive and strongly suggestive of external influence. In Hope-Taylor's words, 'they appear suddenly and complete, characterized by diversification of plan, lighter construction and the assymetrical placing of doorways in the end-walls' (1977, 149). At this date the Great Enclosure or fort seems to have been abandoned, its remains cleared away (ibid. 164). Although not evident at Milfield, it is conceivable that these changes are reflected in the development of the Sprouston township in the atypical form and layout of Buildings D1 and D2.

Sprouston Building (E), to the NNE of (D), consists of two superimposed buildings but on the basis of the cropmarks it is not possible to establish their relative phasing. One is defined by a quite substantial wall-trench (E1, roughly 12m from WSW to ENE by 6m transversely) and has an annexe (6m by 4m) at its SSW end; the other (E2), which seems to be of slighter build though approximately the same size, has an annexe (4m by 3m) at its NNE end. Both have slightly bowed long-walls and possibly opposed lateral entrances. The wall-trenches of one appear to have been reutilized for the other with only minor adjustment. Comparable in form and possibly in the pattern of replacement are buildings C4(a) and C4(b) at Yeavering (Hope-Taylor 1977, 93-5). C4(a) was substantially built with thick oak timbers. It was destroyed by fire but reinstated on roughly the same wall-lines using lighter timbers (C4b); essentially a series of screens (thickly daubed) supported by a minimal number of heavy timbers. The walls of C4(b) were slightly bowed and Hope-Taylor attributed this to the comparative lightness and flexibility of the materials used in its construction (1977, 94). However, for the provision of an annexe, parallels might also be drawn with Yeavering A1(c) and B(b), which most closely approximates in size to Sprouston (E), with Thirlings A (O'Brien 1982) and, in East Lothian, with Doon Hill Hall B (Hope-Taylor 1966b; 1980) and Whitekirk (A) and (B); buildings which also seem to have slightly bowed long-walls, for comparison see fig. 7.11. Hall B at Doon Hill is dated by reference to Yeavering C4(a), both are ascribed to around AD 640 (Yeavering phase IIIC); Buildings C4(b), A1(c) and B(b) are attributed to phase V, perhaps AD 651X55 to possibly AD 685 (Hope-Taylor 1977, 152, 277). If the bowing of the long-walls is diagnostic (see St Joseph 1982, 194; Brown 1983, 156) then perhaps the closest counterpart for Sprouston (E), in point of technique, is Yeavering C4(b).

Building (F) at Sprouston, some 20m to the NE of (E), measures approximately 14m from W to E by 7m transversely and has an annexe central to its E wall and another asymmetric to its W wall. It appears to have opposed lateral entrances (that on the S is distinct) and, to the interior, parallel post-pits probably point to an aisled superstructure. This building is therefore probably best interpreted as an aisled-hall. It most closely resembles in size and form Yeavering Hall A1(b) but parallels can also be drawn with A3(a), a larger and more elaborate version of the former and the counterpart for A3(b). The latter is dated by association with a gold-washed copper alloy copy of a Merovingian *triens* minted probably in the 630s or 640s. Halls A1(b) and A3(a) are ascribed to Yeavering phase IV, A3(b) to phase V (Hope-Taylor 1977, 49, 55-8, 152; Alcock 1988a, 7-8).

The Cemetery

A principal feature of the Sprouston cropmarks, and no doubt a key component of the township, is a cemetery set at a discrete distance to the SSE of aisled-hall (F). Due to 'reverse cropmarking', a phenomenon of the late summer, almost every one of the graves on CUCAP AP BEE 36 (plate 7.12) is apparent as a light band against a darker mass of colour. Only on the SSE periphery of the cemetery is the detail occluded due to the intrusion of silts and sands. Nevertheless, we possibly have the bulk of the cemetery in view; at least 380 graves can be counted, the majority orientated ENE-WSW. The cemetery has well defined edges and on the N is respected by a series of parallel gullies; on the NNE the boundary is defined by what may be a series of string-graves in which the foot of one grave respects the head of the last in a waivering linear pattern. It is possible, as at Yeavering, that the edges of the cemetery were fenced but, unlike Yeavering, the graves at Sprouston are predominantly set in multiple rows in a riparian pattern.

The focus for burials seems to be a building (hitherto unrecognized) inset at the SW corner of the cemetery.[48] This appears to be an ephemeral post-built structure, aligned ENE-WSW and measuring about 7m by 4m overall. The burials are thickest to the N and for about 20m to the E of the building and it therefore seems reasonable to interpret it as a Christian church. A break in the grave-rows running north to a small structure coeval with the boundary gullies on the northern perimeter can perhaps be interpreted as a path giving access from the church either to a secondary focus within the burial-ground, perhaps a mortuary enclosure,[49] or else directly to the township. The graves are thinnest and at their most random towards the northern and eastern perimeters of the burial-ground. A row of graves along the ENE perimeter perhaps reflects infilling along a fence-line, while a subrectangular area devoid of burials to the WSW possibly indicates unadopted ground and from this we may infer that the cemetery was abandoned before its full carrying capacity had been realized.

For comparison, one might consider the eastern cemetery at Yeavering (Hope-Taylor 1977, 70-8) which has been divided into two phases. To phase one belong a series of string-graves akin to those identified on the northern perimeter of the cemetery at Sprouston; these are ascribed to phase IIIC by Hope-Taylor. In phase IV (the cemetery's second phase), the burials were more tightly nucleated and the cemetery was fenced. A closer analogy for the Sprouston cemetery is, however, provided by another identified by air-photography in July 1989 at Philiphaugh on the north bank of the Tweed close to Selkirk (NT 457 284) (Brown MM pers. commun., 1990) (plate 7.13). Here too, the graves are punctiliously laid out in rows and enclosed. Close by there are at least three rectangular buildings defined by continuous wall-trenches and a substantial square, ditched enclosure; a counterpart, perhaps, for the remodelled enclosure of Sprouston Phase III. Philiphaugh clearly lies outwith the area of early Anglian settlement (fig. 7.2) and thus the cemetery, buildings and enclosure are probably best seen as the components of a British site, though the continuous wall-trenches for the buildings perhaps point to some Anglian influence. A church is not apparent.

At Yeavering, however, the focus for burials in phase IV was a simple rectangular building B(a) (11m by 6m) identified as a Christian church. In phase V, it was remodelled and provided with a western annexe, B(b). If one can draw even the most tentative parallel with Building B(a) at Yeavering, it might be inferred that the church at Sprouston was erected about AD 640 (see also p. 238). Given that the building at Sprouston seems to have been of elementary posthole construction, one might wonder whether this too reflects the strong external (Hibernian) influence evident in the building style of Yeavering phase IV (see Hope-Taylor 1977, 228). Bede's reference (in HE iii.25) to the building in 652 of Finan's church on Lindisfarne 'in the manner of the Irish' (*in more Scottorum*) 'not of stone but of hewn oak... with a roof thatched with reeds' is probably quite apposite. Moreover various Irish literary evidences refer to two types of construction in wood, of hewn timber (*dairtheac*) and wattle-work respectively;[50] a distinction which is perhaps apparent in the ephemeral character of the building attached to the Sprouston cemetery.

DISCUSSION

Without intensive geophysical prospection backed up by selective excavation, much that I have said must be regarded as tentative. Nevertheless, given the overriding similarities between Sprouston, Yeavering and Milfield, no less than that counterparts for the Sprouston buildings are apparent elsewhere in the north, it seems reasonable to try to set the evidence in its wider context. At Sprouston, the chronological range of the structural phase III elements, comprising the twin-walled palisaded enclosure, post-built halls, simple rectangular buildings defined by continuous wall-trenches and those of more evolved type including aisled-halls

with opposed lateral entrances and those with annexes at one or both ends, together with what appear from the air-photographs to be sunken-floored buildings (*grubenhäuser*), suggest that the development of the township runs chronologically parallel with the centres at Yeavering and Milfield, at least, that is for the major seventh-century phases. There is too, the same apparent transition in the luxurious use of heavy oak for the earliest phases at Sprouston, and its replacement later by buildings using lighter scantling, highlighted by Hope-Taylor as an important factor in the emergence of the Yeavering building-style (1977, 95, 394). This possibly points to an early abundance and a latterly growing scarcity of heavy oak, the bulk of which was presumably grown locally.

The paramount feature of Yeavering phase IIIC, the centrality of the Great Enclosure, rebuilt in an elaborate and sophisticated style, and the grouping of all the major buildings outside it, is paralleled most closely at Sprouston while there is a hint too of the *echelon* (Sprouston D, fig. 7.7) which was used as a calculated device at Yeavering in the layout of the township rebuilt, following a disastrous fire, in phase IV. Moreover the stylistic changes evident in the construction of the Yeavering halls of phases IV and V are also apparent at Sprouston (Buildings D and E). What we do not know is whether the catastrophic fires which presaged the remodelling of the Yeavering township in its latter phases was also a factor at Sprouston. Given the position of Buildings D peripheral to the township, and the apparent lack of *in situ* replacement but for E (possibly commensurate respectively with Yeavering phases IV and V), we might infer that this was not the case and that the pattern at Sprouston is instead one of continual development and infilling on available ground. But, we cannot altogether rule out the possibility that the palisaded enclosure, remodelled to the square, had not itself fallen out of use in the lifetime of the township. The juxtaposition of parallel gullies, boundary ditches (some possibly defining formal courts) and buildings which encroach on the S side of the enclosure might well suggest that the palisade had been slighted. Thus at Sprouston, as too at Yeavering and possibly also at Milfield, the presence of a major enclosure might be seen as a formative element in the development of the township, but not an enduring one. At Yeavering, the Great Enclosure seems not to have been rebuilt after the fire which brought phase IIIC to an end.

As we move back in time, through the Yeavering attributed by Hope-Taylor to Aethelfrith (phases II and IIIab) to the possible British origins of phase I, we find that while the palisaded fort was a constant feature, the suburban structures become retrogressively simpler and more modest (1977, 159-61; Alcock 1988a, 20). Whilst many of the timber features at Sprouston would seem to best fit in the context of a seventh-century township, one might wonder whether some too are not earlier. Unlike Yeavering and Milfield (*Ad*

Gefryn and *Maelmin* respectively), Sprouston is denoted by an Anglian and not a Celtic name (see Hope-Taylor 1977, 15-16; Alcock 1988a, 7) and this in itself might seem to preclude its early origins as a British centre. None the less the mode of construction of the phase III palisaded enclosure and the post-built halls have probably closer affinities with British vernacular tradition than Anglian. Notably absent at Sprouston are the large buttressed halls present at Milfield (O'Brien and Gates 1988, 3) and Yeavering (A4) in phase IIIC. The closest counterparts for these at Sprouston, at least in size, would seem to be the buildings of separate posthole construction to the WSW of the palisaded enclosure. In point of technique, buildings of this style are ascribed to the earliest phases at Yeavering (Hope-Taylor 1977, 148-9). What then are we to make of their presence at Sprouston possibly in the middle decades of the seventh century? Perhaps, we should regard them as essentially British, at least in conception if not in use. This is possibly admissible given that Sprouston would seem to lie much closer to the British interface, as revealed by the extent of early Anglian place-names (fig. 7.2), than either Yeavering or Milfield; this too might account for the substantial post-built hall at Dunbar, again possibly in a seventh-century context. However, there are further underlying similarities between the earliest phases at Yeavering and Sprouston which need to be examined more closely.

At Sprouston, as too at Yeavering, the site selected for the Anglian township was one already opened up for agriculture (Sprouston Phase II) evidenced by a linear field-system and a focal point provided by the double-walled palisaded enclosure. The field-system seems to be of Romano-British type but the form of the enclosure is perhaps best seen in the context of the late first millennium BC. None the less, we might accept that it could still have been in use in the earliest centuries AD and, given the parallel with the fort on Shannabank Hill (p. 184), that it could be post-Roman. It is not possible to tell whether the field-system had reverted to grass prior to the creation of the township, as seems to have been the case at Yeavering (Hope-Taylor 1977, 154-7), but there is a chance that the outline of the double-walled palisade, if not some upstanding remains, were still apparent at the inception of Sprouston Phase III. We may note the close juxtaposition of (C), a building of spaced posthole construction, apparently bound by the outworks accompanying the entrance to the Phase II palisaded enclosure (fig. 7.6), and the comparable position of the post-built structures anent the Great enclosure at Yeavering in post-Roman phases I and II (Hope-Taylor 1977, figs. 74-5). Given the radiocarbon dates from Thirlings, we should possibly not rule out a late sixth-century date for the inception of Sprouston Phase III. The relative location of the palisaded enclosures of Sprouston Phases II and III represent only the most minor adjustment on plan and from this it might be inferred that the presence of the earlier enclosure provided a fixed point of reference for the one that followed and, moreover that the functions of the former were transmitted to the latter albeit on a grander and more elaborate

scale. Both palisades exhibit no trace of internal structures and though this need not rule out their presence, as proved to be the case at Yeavering (Hope-Taylor 1977, fig. 26; Alcock 1988a, 19), they are perhaps best interpreted as forts but with sufficient hard-standing to befit their dual use as corrals for livestock.

Given that the field-system of Sprouston Phase II is located on prime arable land, which is today permanently under crop-rotation, it is probably unlikely that it had reverted to fallow at the time the Anglian township came into being. Is it then possible that the Anglian *élite* simply took-over a going concern and adopted to their own requirements an existing British fortification? If this was the case, this would bring Sprouston firmly into line with the pattern repeated at *Colodaesburg* (see pp. 211-13), Doon Hill, *Dynbaer* (Alcock 1988a, 5, 15-18) and Bamburgh for the take-over of British defended places; the status and administrative functions of which may have been perpetuated under Anglian lordship.

Against this background, we should possibly also reconsider the status of the V-gable-ended building adjacent the steading at Whitmuirhaugh, which I earlier attributed to Sprouston Phase I with the suggestion that it could be Neolithic (pp. 221-2). Its closest analogy is Hall A at Doon Hill which Hope-Taylor dated to the sixth or fifth century AD; a view upheld by Alcock (1987b, 244; 1988b, 24). Hall A, it could be argued, is without good parallel in its structural form but, as Alcock notes (1988a, 18), this is to say no more than that major buildings of the period are almost unknown in British contexts. If we accede to the view that it may be British, the same may also be the case for the V-gable-ended building at Sprouston. It would also be easier to reconcile its juxtaposition with the ring-ditch or barrow (fig. 7.6) for, although this might be of Bronze Age date, the practice of burial beneath a barrow or within a circular stone kerb, or ring-ditch, is also not without parallel in the British period (e.g. the Catstane; Cowie 1978; see also Thomas 1971, 62; Faull 1977, 5; Close-Brookes 1984, 91-4). As these structures lie outwith the SDD scheduled area, they too could be excavated and the problem resolved. Alcock has suggested that Hall A at Doon Hill would have been a suitable permanent residence for a *praefectus* or thane; in British terms, a princely *neuadd* (1987b, 244; 1988a, 18).

Thus at Sprouston we could perhaps have the nucleus of a British estate: the hall, possibly a ceremonial or religious focus, and, to the N, the fort and field-system. On this basis we can readdress the question, is Sprouston essentially a British or an Anglian site? Given the place-name, I think we must accept that at some date, possibly by the seventh century, it certainly was Anglian. The Phase III palisaded enclosure, though with good British antecedents (cf. Cramp 1988, 75), is some three times larger than its predecessor of Phase II and, in view of the presence of comparable enclosures at Yeavering and Milfield, it

seems reasonable to regard this as essentially an Anglian trait. However, on the basis of the large post-built halls (A) and (B), which bear comparison in size and layout with the major halls of Yeavering phase IIIC, one might suggest that the visible expression of what is essentially a British vernacular tradition was more long-lasting at Sprouston than was the case at either Yeavering or Milfield. Given that the first major halls make their appearance at Yeavering in phase IIIAB (the reign of Aethelfrith), we should possibly not view their presence at Sprouston at a date much before this. We cannot altogether rule out the possibility, given the form of the Phase III palisaded enclosure and the presence of *grubenhäuser* and buildings based on separate posthole construction, that the transition between British and Anglian phases at Sprouston had taken place sometime in the late sixth century but, by the same criteria, it is reasonable to infer that the principal layout of the township, with buildings outside the protection of the palisaded fort, approximates with a degree of probability to the period *c.*605-616; here running parallel with phases II and IIIAB at Yeavering (Hope-Taylor 1977, 276).

The status and function of the township

In determining status and function we have only the timber features to go by, only excavation can cast light on the ceremonial and ritual aspects of the township's life. Nevertheless, we can possibly interpret the palisaded enclosure in the terms elucidated for Yeavering and the timber halls, along with the lesser buildings as correlates of status. Bede refers to Edwin *equitantem inter civitates sive villas aut provincias suas cum ministris*, 'riding between his cities, townships and kingdoms with his thegns' (HE ii.16; Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 192). Here, perhaps, we have a hint of the specific requirements which would have to be met by the provincial centres, administrative, social and economic; a hall suitable for the permanent residence of a royal official and one which could be adapted for use as a royal residence; buildings for the king's retinue and court officials, and service buildings; an ability to exact an agricultural surplus, to store and process it, thus agricultural buildings, and perhaps too a place for formal assembly (see Alcock 1988a, 23-7).

The predominant feature of the Sprouston township, and the natural focus for the buildings which grew up outside its walls, is the large palisaded enclosure or fort. Its presence perhaps highlights a corporate requirement to have at the community's disposal a defensible place, and one to which they could withdraw if occasion demanded, with the capacity to accommodate residential and other intended functions. Even following the collapse of Celtic supremacy in the north, after the battles of *Catraeth* and *Degsastan* (see pp. 336-45), these were perhaps still uncertain times, but, given the scale of the enclosing works, the ancillary functions of the palisade in times of peace should not be overlooked. It perhaps served to safeguard communal gatherings and musterings of herds. More than this it

possibly serves to underline the central role of the township as a key regional centre. The fort should possibly be seen, if not strictly as a royal work, as one built with royal assent and for which labour services may have been provided. This in itself may serve to differentiate the status of Sprouston from the centres at Thirlings, New Bewick and Whitekirk which lack comparable enclosed places. These are possibly best interpreted, at a more modest level, as *villae*, subordinate to the royal centre, the *villa regia* or *vicus regis*, and to those centres denoted by the terms *urbs* and *civitas* which Bede uses of Bamburgh to indicate 'the main royal fortress' (Campbell 1979a, 52; Alcock 1988a, 11ff; 1988b, 32-4).

We can reasonably deduce that a centre like Sprouston would have been in receipt of a wide range of agricultural products, both arable and pastoral, raw and processed, possibly in the form of food-renders, in part for consumption at the time of the royal progress, but there must also have been a surplus which could have been redirected in payment or kind for the maintenance and construction of the royal works, to support craft specialisms and to secure the other necessary luxuries that appertain to kingship (see Cramp 1988, 77; Alcock 1988a, 22-39). Sprouston was ideally placed to meet many of these requirements with ease of access to first class arable on the neighbouring haughlands of Whitmuirhaugh and Redden, and pasture at Haddenrig and Wark. The buildings closest to the enclosure, and juxtaposed with it, along with those to the NW with their peripheral courts and enclosed yards, are possibly best interpreted as the working components of an agricultural unit; the implement sheds, barns and processing areas, as too, perhaps, discrete areas of craft activity. A major building, immediately to the SW of the palisaded enclosure and thus occupying a position near central to the township, is perhaps a candidate for something akin to a tithe barn (see Alcock 1988b, 25). It is formally set apart with its own yard and though it may post-date the palisaded enclosure, and is itself enclosed by a major boundary ditch, its relative position might indicate that it succeeded in some measure on the functions of the former. Even in collapse the perimeter of the palisade may have been used as an annexe for stock; this is suggested by the extension of the later boundary ditch as far as its E angle (fig. 7.6) and, although later buildings encroach on three sides, the interior of the palisaded court seems to have been respected at all times.

Given the number, layout and permanent character of the suburban buildings at Sprouston, the nucleus of the township seems unacceptably grand simply for a *villa regia.* Not all the buildings, of course, need be contemporary and so far as form and style can be used as an index of date, it is possible that the initial focus of the township lay alongside the south-western boundary-ditch and infilled later on the available ground beside the cemetery. The majority of the buildings are probably best seen as halls of greater or lesser extent,

perhaps respectively for kings and thegns. Hall A, on size alone, is clearly the most ambitious, and perhaps fit for a contemporary king. Its position relative to (B) and the presence of an intervening forecourt, is paralleled most closely in Yeavering phase IIIC (Hope-Taylor 1977, 162). It may too have been used at other times as the permanent residence of a royal official, perhaps a *praefectus*, a reeve or factor, with responsibility for oversight of the estate. In a later phase, the role of (A) may have been superseded by (F), an aisled-hall central to the township. Whilst all the halls were probably habitable, the *grubenhäuser* perhaps reflect a diversity of support functions; some, perhaps, were used as weaving-sheds. There is also an apparent church within the cemetery and an ancillary structure on the northern perimeter; the two perhaps connected by a path. It is worth recalling that Bishop Aidan had a church and cell *ecclesia et cubiculum*, on several royal estates (Bede HE iii.3, iii.17).

The presence of formal space within the township is probably also significant; space for the king's bodyguard, or warband, and lesser officials who could not be accommodated in the major buildings and may have encamped close by; space too for formal gatherings, fairs, festivals and markets. There is no evidence for such a formal structure as the Yeavering grandstand. But, until the construction of aisled-hall (F), perhaps late in the township's history, there was a sizeable free central area. This might conceivably have fulfilled much the same public function as the central area at Yeavering; a place of assembly, perhaps a folk-moot. On the Continent, no less than in Britain, assemblies were mainly held in the open air and thus we need not necessarily expect to find archaeological traces of this (cf. Barrow 1981; Nelson 1983, 220; Adkins and Petchley 1984; Alcock 1988a, 24).

In considering which category Sprouston should best be seen to fit, in terms of the site-hierarchy used by Bede to denote secular and royal centres, there is a difficulty as the status of the site may have fluctuated within a relatively short time-span. Without detailed knowledge of the contexts of the buildings, which excavation alone can provide, this question needs to remain open-ended. Given, though, the nucleation of the principal components of the township, the palisaded enclosure and the outstanding size and character of the halls, it would seem natural to think of its being at least an *urbs regia*. Depending on whether or not the function of the palisaded enclosure was perpetuated in the lifetime of the township, one might either allow it to have survived as such or else to have declined, along with Yeavering and Milfield, to the status of a *villa regia* or *vicus regis*, with the emphasis more firmly on the agrarian aspect of its role as an estate centre.

Unlike Yeavering and Milfield, Sprouston emerges in the medieval period with the status of a royal manor. Can we perhaps infer that this reflects a carry-over of its

administrative and political status in the seventh century? The problem we face is that we do not know whether the site itself was still in use, or if it had reverted to a centre closer to or coeval with the present village. One would suspect that the medieval church, on record in the twelfth century is certainly not that within the cemetery at Whitmuirhaugh. In the thirteenth century we have evidence of a royal progress to Sprouston (p. 217) and we can only wonder whether some part of the township had survived long enough to be brought into use for this specific purpose. This, nevertheless, seems unlikely, though it can only be proved by excavation, and we should possibly accept that the Sprouston township, along with Yeavering and Milfield, reached the zenith of its importance in the middle decades of the seventh century and declined rapidly thereafter. The only contra-indication is perhaps the size of the cemetery which seems unacceptably large for a township with a life of perhaps no more than a hundred years. The burial-ground could have had a longer currency, perhaps as a traditional place of burial, but again this is probably unlikely. By way of explanation, one might suggest that it served a wider community and outlying villages which lacked formal burial-places of their own.

With these points in mind, we can turn to consider the status of Sprouston against the wider background already set out for the pattern of settlement denoted by the earliest Anglian place-names within the Tweed basin (pp. 210-16 and figs. 7.2, 7.3). We should probably not regard Sprouston as in any way atypical but rather that it possibly reflects the means by which the annexed British territories were secured and subtended to the control of the Bernician royal house in the late sixth, or more probably the early decades of the seventh century. It is sufficient to note that there was an Anglian take-over and that this seems to have been systematically applied across lands on both sides of the Tweed. The fact that Anglian settlement apparently extended no farther west than Dere Street, however, is of interest.

Sprouston should perhaps be seen alongside *Colodaesburg*, and possibly also Simprim, as one of a series of *urbs regia* established to gain a foothold within the British territories upon which later settlement could evolve. Although, without excavation or evidence of cropmarks, we cannot define the categories to which these sites belong, we may surmise that they included a greater number of *villae* or *viculi* than is at present apparent. The emergence of Coldingham, Sprouston and Simprim (or perhaps a site close by, possibly Swinton or Kimmerghame) as shire centres in the medieval period would seem to bear this out (see Barrow 1973, 28-35; Smith 1984, 181). The presence of Anglian buildings with annexes at Whitekirk and Doon Hill, comparable to those of Yeavering phase IIIC, would be consistent with the extension of Anglian control to the Lothians around AD 640 following the siege of *Etin* (Edinburgh) in 638 (see p. 280). Alcock has suggested that Doon Hill and

Dunbar are best seen as *urbs regia* (1988a, 15-18) and we may postulate that the buildings at Whitekirk represent the nucleus of a *villa*.

The ultimate pattern revealed by the full extent of early Anglian settlement in the eastern Borders, combined with the juxtaposition of the villages currently bearing the place-names with potential Early Historic fortifications, conceivably the caputs of British estates (fig. 7.3), perhaps underlines the degree to which British social and administrative institutions were retained in the Anglian period. At *Colodaesburg*, and probably also at Dunbar, we have evidence of the comparable adoption and continued use of British enclosed places by the Angles. Birdoswald too would seem to fall into this category: an enclave of timber halls and buildings within the protection of the Roman fort. Activity here in the eighth century is provided by a disc-headed pin which seems best to fit in this milieu (Cramp 1964). This too may be the pattern at Sprouston, but the evidence is equivocal.

For the most part, from the evidence I have mapped (fig. 7.3), the early Anglian centres seem to have been located at a discrete distance from the British caputs (usually 1.5 to 2 km) and this could perhaps reflect a desire on the part of the Anglian *élite* that a clean break should be seen to have been made between the old order and the new. This need not mean that the social and administrative functions of the earlier caputs were neglected, simply that they were tailored by transmission to the emergent Anglian centres. As I have already suggested (pp. 202, 235), the provision of food-rents and labour dues, along with other services, could have been as common in the British period as later. What we do not know, and this is critical to the overall picture, is whether the Anglian take-over was forcibly or peaceably achieved, if the native population were removed *en masse*, or simply supplanted at the key regional centres.

Many of the British fortifications of the Merse are denoted by *chester* place-names. This perhaps points to their use as defensible places at the onset of the Anglian advance. One might note in passing the place-name Kerchesters, 1.3 km to the south-east of the cropmark site at Sprouston, a ploughed out bivallate fort. Given the possibility that the double palisade of Sprouston Phase II could be British (p. 234), and thus it might be anticipated that this too should be reflected by a *chester* name, one might wonder instead whether the *chester* designation was only strictly applied to leading fortifications, more especially those of earth-and-stone. It is, I suppose, just possible that the Kerchesters fort was itself the caput of the earlier British estate and that we have here another instance of a late sixth- or seventh-century shuffle.

However, it is in their wider distribution that the *chester* names are of particular interest (fig. 7.12). Without exception they approximate most closely to the lands apparently annexed by Bernicia. To the west, they occur as satellites to Dere Street with a scatter to the south-west, in Teviotdale; lands later embraced by the Lindisfarne estates (see Smith 1983b, 37-8; 1984, 180-1). We can only speculate as to whether the most westerly of the *chester* names delimit the farthest westwards extent of Anglian settlement, or if instead these are the eastern outposts of neighbouring British territories. Given the pattern of territoriality within the Tweed Basin, in which the Merse clearly stands apart (fig. 7.1), the fact that this area should also appear as the maximum zone of Anglian penetration would seem to hold important implications. It perhaps suggests that the Anglian take-over did have as its sole objective the reinstatement of territories that were formerly under the control of the eastern littoral (see pp. 204, 339, 345). Dere Street would thus emerge as the crucial boundary between the Anglian peoples and territories which remained to all intents British (see also pp. 203-4, 336). The tangible expression of this is possibly apparent in the form of a major linear earthwork, which earlier caught Crawford's eye (1936), to the west of the Eildons; perhaps still in the sixth century a major British power-centre (see pp. 201-2).

This earthwork, known as the 'Military Road', comprises a medial bank and flanking ditches, sometimes twin banks and twin ditches (up to 17m overall). It may have connected with the Tweed close to Falconside and stretches for a distance of at least 6.3 km, to Kippilaw, on the south-east (fig. 7.13). It is probably best interpreted as a frontier work, or at least a boundary prepared for resistance; Crawford suggested that this may have been against a chariot-based assault or, more probably, cavalry (1936, 346). Facing south-west, it seems to have been intended to protect a salient within the loop of the Tweed below Melrose (RCAMS 1956, pp. 71-3, No. 572; 1957, pp. 118-20, No. 182). On the juxtaposition of fortified positions bearing *chester* names, together with the orientation of the earthwork, it may be deduced that this is a work of the Anglian period. The forts at Rowchester and Cauldshiels Hill lie close to the rear, while that at Blackchester, 1.6 km to the south-east, lies on the projected line of the earthwork. Chalmers cites Kinghorn as stating that the work had in fact been traced as far as Blackchester (1887-1902, iii, 84, n.Y) but on the basis of fieldwork in 1982 and inspection of the air-photographs I am unable to corroborate this. We might nevertheless speculate that the task of securing this salient was crucial to Anglian control of the Merse and the key to the stabilization of relations between themselves and the British territories to the west; a prudent measure, perhaps, against counter-insurgency. It would also account for the presence of Melrose (*Mailros*), a British name, but the site of an Anglian monastery (Bede HE iv.27), lying within the area secured.

The picture which emerges is more firmly entrenched than has perhaps previously been anticipated (see Hope-Taylor 1977, 298-300, fig. 114). East of Dere Street, this is an area, by the seventh century, firmly under Anglian control. To the west, we are left with the presumption that these territories were at least nominally British. The identification of Dere Street as the cardinal boundary is therefore of interest. It is around the edges of this boundary, where the two cultures come so closely into contact, that the most interesting changes are likely to be manifest. The apparent longevity of a British vernacular tradition at Sprouston, long after it had been superseded at Yeavering and Milfield, may be a hint of this. Moreover the location of the township, together with its probable status as an *urbs regia*, at least in its formative phase of development, so close to the former royal centre at *Calchvynyd* (Kelso), in the seventh century still conceivably in British hands (pp. 199, 284), seems hardly fortuitous. Here perhaps we glimpse the level of *rapprochement* engendered by the Anglian and British polities of the Tweed Basin after *Degsastan*; an easing of relations by which both parties may have stood to gain.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE AND ITS BEARING ON THE POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF NORTH BRITAIN AD 400-600

There are a number of written sources to which we can turn for the historical background of the sub-Roman kingdoms in north Britain. Principal among these are the works of Gildas, Bede and the author of the *Historia Brittonum.* These together with the Celtic sources, the earliest of which date only from the late eighth and early ninth centuries, have been the subject of considerable scholarly study, although for the latter much work still remains to be done and thus the evidence needs to be carefully appraised and balanced by the caveats in historical research which have been outlined by Dumville, Miller, and Kirby, amongst others.

The earliest of our sources is Gildas' tract *De excidio et conquestu Britanniae,*[1] apparently written in the north-west - perhaps at Chester[2] - in 534x549.[3] This seems to be the only British literary source of authentic information about the history of Britain in the mid fifth century (Thompson 1979, 203), although Miller (1977, 462) has stressed that the necessary linguistic work on Gildas and studies of the medieval glosses and glossaries is far from complete and thus the difficulty remains of assessing the exactness of his source material and thought. Of importance, Gildas seems to have first-hand knowledge or perhaps access to an oral tradition, and furnishes some insight into events in north Britain in the late fourth and fifth centuries. Bede twice used Gildas' account of post-Roman Britain: first in 725 in the *Chronica Majora,*[4] and again six years later in the *Historia.*[5] His interpretations rest in part on the difficulties felt in Gildas' narrative by an historian of an annalistic tradition and in part upon his attempt to conflate the narrative with other sources (Miller 1975b, 241-2; 1977, 462). The *Historia Brittonum* (early ninth century), surviving in the same manuscript as the *Annales Cambriae* and recently the subject of several papers and an edited volume by Dumville (1976a; 1977b; 1985; 1989), in contrast to Bede, draws upon Welsh, English and Irish vernacular material (Miller 1977, 459); in Dumville's view the author, struggling with inadequate sources, especially for the fifth century, made a rather competent attempt at an appallingly difficult task in interweaving a sometimes discontinuous and less than coherent narrative (1977a, 176-7; see also Miller 1977, 459-60, 462-4). Dumville, however, has most recently concluded that the *Historia Brittonum* is of no value for the history of earlier centuries, and only of interest for what it has to tell us about the early ninth century when it

was compiled (1974, 445; 1989, 218). Other scholars may consider this too sweepingly minimalist (cf. Alcock 1988a, 6).

For Gildas, the usurpation of Magnus Maximus (383) marks an epoch in the history of Late Roman Britain. From that time on, he infers, the province was despoiled of her troops and, in some sense, her civil administration. Britain became independent and for the first time had to rely on her own resources for defence. The detail is correct as far as it goes (Thompson 1979, 204; 1984, 115). Although stressing the role of Maximus, Gildas seems unaware of the campaign which he led in 382 against the Picts and the Scots (see Frere 1974, 266; Breeze and Dobson 1978, 229; Maxwell 1987, 43). None the less, the incursions of the Picts and the Scots play such a crucial role in his narrative that one may assume that when he speaks of the consequences for Roman Britain, he is principally referring to North Britain and it was from here perhaps that he drew upon an oral tradition. The Picts, he says came from the north, the Scots from the north-west; their incursions were against the *civitates* to the south.

Again, in the years prior to Aetius' third consulship (446), the Picts and Scots, coming by sea, seized northern Britain as far as the Wall (*omnem aquilonalem extramanque terrae partem... muro tenus*: 19. 35.10ff). It is unclear in this context what he means by northern Britain, but from the above statement it would seem that he had in mind some or all of that part of Britain north of the Mersey and Humber estuaries (Thompson 1979, 214). This together with the succeeding statement that the Britons fought back from 'mountains, caves, defiles and woods', would be inappropriate to the Midlands, or Wales, or East Anglia, or, for that matter, Kent. Nor can he be referring to the Scottish Lowlands, although his narrative, in part, has a bearing on this area. Rather, the activities to which he goes on to refer would seem to have taken place within the old British diocese; he shows little concern, or knowledge, and may not have cared much what took place north of the Wall. Here then, he is not speaking of Britain as a whole. The late fourth- and fifth-century events he is describing took place in the north: the Picts and Scots came down by sea, landed on the east and west coasts of the region, and ravaged northwards as far as the Wall.

Pictish incursions against the diocese of Britain were not new and are mentioned in Classical sources (Maxwell 1987, 43). Although ignorant of the incursion of 382, which was countered by Maximus (*Chron. Gall.* 452), Gildas lists three Pictish wars before the *adventus Saxonum* and two may fall in the late fourth century following, in 383, Maximus' departure for Gaul (Miller 1975e, 141-5). If there was no professional army, there was no resistance, a phenomenon of which Gildas was aware. He portrays the Britons as unequal to

the task (though notes their ability in civil war): they were 'utterly ignorant of all the practice of warfare'. When the Picts and Scots attacked, the British army, lacking discipline and leadership, was slow to fight and unwieldy in retreat, its low morale was only matched by that of the rank and file civil population. This, together with the departure of Maximus, and we are told a large number of Britons also accompanied him to the Continent, may have provided the pretext for the first Pictish war.

In response, according to Gildas, a Roman legion was sent and a frontier fixed at a turf-wall; as an outcome of a second invasion, troops were again sent, the frontier was withdrawn and a stone wall was employed in its defence. This is repeated by Bede, who adds some detail of his own. He notes a third wall and another builder, Severus; this was not a stone wall, as some supposed, but a turf-built rampart (HE i.5). The stone wall, which was built in response to the second appeal for help, was on the same line as that selected by Severus (HE i.12); the dates for the two walls he places between 407 and 423 (HE i.13). The detail need not detain us. Gildas was probably arguing from first principles, and simply theorizing (Thompson 1979, 206). Bede, however, may have had first-hand knowledge (Blair 1947, 8); the differences amount to no more than shifts in interpretation, problems which have only most recently been solved by archaeological research. The first and last of Bede's walls may be identified respectively with the vallum and Hadrian's Wall (he was probably unaware of Hadrian's turf-wall, evident only in a 3.2 km stretch from Birdoswald to Appletree); the third wall, the only other he can have known about, is probably the Antonine Wall (HE i.12). If it were not for independent evidence we might discount this part of Gildas' narrative, but we know that there were Pictish raids about this time.

In reconciling Claudian's chronology and references to Britain, Miller (1975e) has suggested that the first Pictish war began soon after Maximus' departure for Gaul and continued *multos annos* until 389-90. Only after the death of Maximus in 388 was a legion sent to Britain; the frontier, following Gildas, was advanced to the Antonine Wall, although this need not imply a Roman reoccupation of southern Scotland as Gildas thinks of his turf wall as not only built but manned by Brittonic forces. One can only speculate as to who these forces may have been, perhaps the Votadini operating from a centre close to Edinburgh at the east end of the Wall (see pp. 151-3) together with the Dumnonii to the west. Could it be that the frontier was held solely by auxiliaries brought from the south, but if either was the case what then are we to make of the presence of a Pictish enclave at and close to Traprain (pp. 148-55, 165-76)? Roman troops had not altogether withdrawn when a second attack came. This, following Miller (op. cit.), was countered by Stilicho in 398 (Claudian, II, 247-55); of this Gildas seems to have been ignorant. The frontier was withdrawn to the Tyne-Solway

line and the stone wall was brought back into this specific use, followed by the withdrawal of the *legio* in 401; it was still leaving, according to Gildas, when the lands up to the Wall were abandoned to the Picts and the Scots (DEB 19). This would seem to point to the failure of the Britons north of the Wall, or a force stationed there, to contain the Pictish incursion, perhaps, as in 367-9, the native population felt disinclined to intervene, but the use of sea-borne forces by the Picts and Scots may have rendered a British response north of the Wall irrelevant. This problem, however, is resolved if, following Thompson (1979, 206-7), we discount Gildas' statement about the Walls and with it the two visits of the Romans, who directly incited the Britons to build them. We can accept that Pictish raids did take place, that the second was countered by Stilicho and that in some sense the frontier, in the late fourth century, was on the Tyne-Solway line. We may further deduce that the Pictish raids may have been of little consequence for the native population of the intramural zone, and that the emergence of polities in this region need not have been beset by the problems encountered in the diocese to the south.

The events of the early years of the fifth century have been examined in detail (e.g. Millett 1990), but can be briefly summarized. This was a period of European instability. In 406, a large number of Vandals, Alans and Sueves crossed the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Mainz and turned northwards towards the Channel. In Britain (406-7), the army rebelled and elevated a succession of usurpers, Marcus, Gratian, and Constantine III; the last perhaps in fear of an imminent invasion from the Continent. Taking troops with him, Constantine crossed immediately to Boulogne, thereby severely reducing the strength of the British garrison. In 408, on the authority of the Gallic Chronicler for the year 452, the British provinces were devastated by a Saxon invasion. Following Gerontius' intrigues in Spain, Constantine could no longer field an effective army in Britain's defence. In view of this, in 409, the Britons again rebelled, took matters of defence into their own hands, and attacked and defeated the invaders; in the autumn of the same year, the Vandals and Alans crossed to Spain (Thompson 1977, 308-9). In 410, in response not to a threat posed by the Saxons, but to that of the rebels who had first incited rebellion within the country and who had overcome the Saxons in 409, the British *civitates* petitioned Honorius. The Britons were told to look to their own defence; Rome could no longer be of assistance.

From Gildas we hear nothing of the British usurpers of 406-7; possibly, as Miller has suggested, the structure of his narrative would render mention of Constantine irrelevant to his account (in i. 14-21) of the northern wars of the late fourth and early fifth centuries (1975b, 243; Dumville 1977a, 180). But Gildas has heard in some way of Honorius' letter (Thompson 1979, 207). He notes too, that before the Romans departed they left behind them

models and patterns (*exemplaria*) of weapons; these perhaps included details on their manufacture, formerly the responsibility of the Roman ordnance factories.

Gildas tells us little of the condition of Britain immediately following upon 410. It is worth emphasizing, that he is apparently familiar with the traditions of the north and only of the north (though see Dumville 1989, 214-15). We hear of another Pictish incursion, this time on a massive scale overrunning lands right up to the Wall (that is to say, the lands to the south of the Wall). Although undated, one may surmise that it in some way paralleled the incursions taking place elsewhere both in Britain (407) and Europe. Gildas offers a pretext for the incursion; the Romans had left and had no intention of returning, 'they were more confident than usual now that they learnt of the departure of our fellow-debtors and the denial of any prospect of their return' (DEB 19). Perhaps we should ascribe this event to the withdrawal of the Roman garrison under Constantine, or else following receipt of the letter from Honorius. According to Procopius, Britain after 410 was ruled by tyrants, by which he probably means usurpers (*Bell. Vand.*, iii, 2.38; Thompson 1979, 224). From Constantius' *Life* of Germanus of Auxerre (Thompson 1984, 39ff), we gain a glimpse of the neighbourhood of St Albans in the year 429, and the situation there is paradoxical. Conditions were quiet enough for a synod of bishops to convene and send a request to Gaul. Yet a confederacy of Picts and Saxons was operating in the vicinity, apparently unchallenged (see also Dumville 1989, 215). Whether or not Constantius could distingish between Pict and Gael, it is at least plausible that elements of the sea-borne incursion noted by Gildas had penetrated far to the south, and by implication this would seem to have been a period of protracted hostilities.

The only date we may deduce from Gildas is 446, Aetius' third consulship (Miller 1975b, 243). For this period, perhaps the 440s (Miller 1975b, 246), and only for north Britain south of Hadrian's Wall, Gildas gives a consistent and vivid, though rhetorical, description of the state of the old British diocese following the final collapse of Roman power there. Even as the Romans were returning home, the Scots and Picts occupied all the Brittonic lands *muro tenus*; morale on the frontier was deplorable. *Interea* attacks continue, the frontier breaks (the army had perhaps been outflanked, cf. Miller 1975b, 247); the cities were abandoned, though not necessarily destroyed (19, 35.20), the inhabitants were scattered, the enemy pursued them and massacres followed. Fighting broke out amongst the fugitives as some groups seized the scanty food reserves of others. So the ravages of the Picts and Scots were added to the struggles of Roman against starving Roman. In the end, Gildas says, food disappeared from the whole region (*omnis regio*), apart from what could be gained by hunting. The plight of the northern diocese can be set in context with events in

southern Britain. In 441-2 the Saxons inflicted a catastrophic blow upon the country and reduced the population to subjugation; though possibly an exaggeration, these events were so disastrous that news of them reached southern Gaul and were there thought there to be so significant as to deserve an entry in a very brief chronicle (*Chron. Min.*, i.660). Even as late as 452 news of any British recovery had not reached southern Gaul (Thompson 1979, 214). Gildas and the Chronicler of 452 can thus be seen in a sense to supplement one another. Both are talking about the early 440s (see also Jones and Casey 1988, 374), but whereas the Chronicler seems to be discussing the south-east of the island, and was certainly a contemporary of these events, Gildas, it would seem, is here also speaking explicitly of the north.

It was in these desperate straits in the north, Thompson argues (1979, 215ff), that in 446 the Britons wrote to Aetius (*Agitius ter consul*) asking for help; Gildas quotes from a documentary source (for Bede's use of Gildas on this point see Miller 1975b, 247). The appeal, Thompson stresses, came from the north, for this is the region of which Gildas is speaking. However, it went unheeded. Bede (HE i.13) adds that this was so because the Romans were occupied by Hunnish wars, and he emphasizes too the famine at Constantinople. Be that as it may, even if Aetius had been well disposed to the plight of northern Britain, it may hardly have been possible to send help to such a remote region. At this time too, the diocese was gripped by a famine which was so severe that it was still recalled in Gildas' own day; he calls it *famosissima*. So dire was it that, in order to get food, some of the Britons actually gave themselves up to the Picts and Scots. Some others, perhaps no more than armed civilians, fought on and at last began to achieve a measure of success. We should perhaps think in terms of sustained guerrilla warfare; Gildas is at a loss to explain how it was that the Britons could mount such effective action (but see also pp. 252-3). The Irish evacuated, though they intended to return (Gildas, however, makes no further mention of them)[6] and the Picts withdrew, and despite the occasional raid, and the misery brought with it, they remained at peace in the northernmost part of the island (21, 36.16ff). Bede (in *Chron. Maj.*, 483-4) places all these events in the reign of Theodosius, AD 425x451 (Miller 1975b, 247). In the respite that followed, a period of unparalleled prosperity returned to the north[7] and a style of life which Gildas regarded as luxurious and sinful. Power struggles ensued, cruel kings were anointed only to be deposed by crueller kings (see also Miller 1975b, 251). Then, at a date which Bede places before 455 (HE i.15), a rumour spread that the same old enemies were about to return to the region - bent on its destruction and settlement (DEB 22, 37.23); once more Gildas seems to be specifically referring to the north (see also Miller 1975b, 251-2; Thompson 1979, 216, n. 66).

A council was convened to consider the appropriate course of action (23, 38.12); the outcome holds important implications for the area both north and south of the Wall. Members of the council, together with an 'arrogant tyrant' whom Bede identifies as *Vurtigernus* (Vortigern, HE i.14; see also Miller 1975b, 252-3; Dumville 1977a, 183-5),[8] accordingly appealed for help to Saxons living on the Continent (Gildas implies that this was not the first time that the Saxons had been employed in this district, Thompson 1979, 216). As it turned out this was a grave mistake. Gildas, however, knows of only three shiploads of Saxons, amounting perhaps to no more than one hundred and eighty men (op. cit. 216-17); a surprisingly small force in view of the scale of the undertaking though probably in keeping with the size of field armies of the period (comp., the *Gododdin*, this work p. 344). From Bede (*Chron. Maj.*, 484), we learn that the Saxon scheme was put into effect; they were settled on the eastern part of the island, *in orientali parte insulae*. Thompson believes that the Saxons had been settled in the east of Northumbria, either in the East Riding of Yorkshire or the Vale of York, and Dumville agrees (1989, 215; *contra*. Miller 1975b, 255). For this, of course, there is some archaeological proof (cf. Alcock 1983). The Saxons were joined by a second wave, apparently in very large numbers; Thompson suggests that up to two thousand would be in keeping with Gildas' language (1979, 217). Thus reinforced the Saxons were recognized as 'Federates',[9] though the reinforcements seem not to have been used in the field (Miller 1975b, 253, 257). In return for land and the payment of *annonae* (monthly rations) the federates undertook to fight for those who paid them; the purpose of the *foedus* then, was the defence of the north against sea-borne Pictish raids, though land-based operations seem principally to have been envisaged. Eventually the Saxons broke the *foedus* on the grounds that their rations were not being paid at a high enough rate.

Bede (in HE i.15) states that the Saxons entered into a treaty relationship and allied themselves with the Picts (Gildas makes no mention of this). This is dismissed by Thompson (1979, 218) who submits that Bede exceeds his authority on this point, while Miller (1975b, 255-6) suggests that the statement may have stemmed from Bede's attempt to bring Germanus' Alleluia battle into place in his historical narrative (but see also this work pp. 252-3). Gildas goes on to say that having broken the *foedus* the 'eastern band of sacrilegious men' ravaged 'from sea to sea' and then turned to 'all the neighbouring *civitates* and rural land' (24, 39.10ff). If the extent of the Saxon mutiny extended from the North Sea to the Irish Sea, and if one accepts that Gildas is here speaking of north Britain, then it would follow that this phrase can have only one meaning: the Saxons now turned southwards, for there is no other direction that they could have turned (Thompson 1979, 218).

So far I have considered the statements of Gildas and Bede, our two earliest authentic sources, for events in north Britain from the late fourth century to the mid fifth. If one follows Thompson in accepting that Gildas, and therefore Bede, is referring specifically to north Britain south of the Wall (a view not shared by all, cf. Dumville 1989, 213-14), it follows that little of the detail that has been highlighted need be of any consequence for the lands and people settled within the intramural zone to the north; the area we are principally concerned with.

The malaise of the Britons in the old British diocese, civil wars and famine, may be put down to the state of affairs in this region following the collapse of Roman power there and the inroads made upon the countryside by the Pictish and Scottic raids. It is possible that the scant food reserves were the product of a succession of poor harvests and if this was the case the problem may well have been widespread. Bede (in HE i.13), for instance, does stress the significance of the famine in Constantinople as one reason why the appeal of the Britons went unheeded. All the same, logistical reasons may have informed this decision and in the context of Gildas' narrative it seems reasonable to pitch the famine in the context of the lands wasted in the course of hostilities and the reluctance of farmers to plan ahead against a background of civil and political unrest.

The only destabilizing influence then, in the area between Tyne and Forth, may have been the activities of the Picts and Scots. However, this too may seem unlikely on two counts. First we are told repeatedly by Gildas that the Picts came by sea (for discussion of this aspect of Pictish warfare see Thompson 1984, 45, 98), and second, their objective lay to the south of the Hadrianic frontier and thus outwith the jurisdiction of the intramural zone. Pictish incursions against the northern diocese were nothing new. In AD 360 the Scots and Picts having broken a treaty attacked the northern frontier to be repelled possibly by Lupicianus (Ammianus, xx, 1, 1). The most notable incursion was that of 367-9 (Ammianus, xxviii, 8), although two further assaults were made in 382 and 396-8, which have been respectively identified with the first two phases of the northern wars noted by Gildas. One or other of these events may provide the context for the appearance of new building types on Traprain Law in Phase Two (pp. 155-61) and with these perhaps the presence of immigrants from farther afield (pp. 165-7, 169-70). However, none of this need have any bearing on the polities within the intramural zone other than the Votadini, their immediate neighbours. Moreover the Romans may have seen an advantage in placing disparate peoples in this frontier zone.

The fact that the Britons of the intervallate zone are not mentioned as accompanying any of these incursions (unless the Atacotti of 367-9 were themselves Britons) is of interest, though not particularly instructive. In the Barbarian Conspiracy, it is now believed that the Brittonic population of the intramural zone merely succumbed to the destiny of events in the north and chose neither to intervene, nor oppose it (Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 212). Through the use of sea-borne forces, assaults overland across the intramural zone can probably be ruled out. Moreover the suggestion made by Gildas (19, 35.10ff), that an attempt was made to contain the uprising on the line of the Wall (though rendered ineffectual by virtue of its being outflanked), clearly points to a theatre of war outwith this northern province. Although Thompson urges us to set aside this portion of Gildas' narrative as part and parcel of Gildas' explanation of the walls (1979, 206-7), Hadrian's Wall may, in the south, have been seen as still the visible boundary of Rome's north-west frontier and the dividing line between the more Romanized diocese and *barbaricum* to the north (cf. Donaldson 1988, 125). This is an important point, for it may be held that the degree of the Roman presence south of the Wall, together with the level of economic input, had been instrumental in producing a distinctive level of *Romanitas* which further served to polarize the native population of the intramural zone from their neighbours within the diocese to the south.

While fully admitting the hazards of an argument *ex silentio*, it would seem that in the intramural zone, lacking the problems which beset the northern diocese as set out by Gildas, these peoples continued to pursue their existence much as they had done for many years withstanding the intervention of Rome in the Flavian and Antonine periods (pp. 53-79). Nor need we be unduly concerned by the presence of Picts south of the Forth since the mid third century (pp. 148-51, 153-5, 166). Gildas clearly implies that those engaged in operations against the northern diocese came from farther afield (19, 35.10), but even if those in East Lothian had participated, their activities need not have infringed upon the neighbouring tribal polities; Traprain directly overlooks the eastern seaboard and would thus have had ready access to the sea-lanes. Nevertheless, we must, of course, reconcile their presence here with Bede's statement (HE i.1) on the political geography of north Britain (see p. 254).

It should also be clear then, that if the events of which Gildas is speaking refer specifically and only to the province south of the Wall, the transition from sub-Roman tribal kingdoms to those of dynastic extent may, possibly alone in the intramural zone, have been achieved relatively peaceably and, lacking the crises experienced elsewhere, have gained strength by it. This, of course, lacking corroboration from either Gildas or Bede, can be no

more than inference but, given that in the third phase of the Pictish wars the aim was not only to utterly waste the lands of the northern diocese, but to settle it (DEB 22, 37.23; HE i.15), this perhaps points to the reluctance of the Picts to test the strength of the native dynasties between the walls by pursuing territorial gains either in Lothian or the Merse. Given that the Picts and North Britons were culturally perhaps not dissimilar (note too the possibly Pictish ancestry of Manaw, this work p. 276), and the growing importance of Celtic supremacy in the north (itself possibly an outcome of Roman frontier policy), such territorial encroachment may have been rendered inconceivable, when to the south, there were richer pickings to be had, and where, following the collapse of Roman power there, no effective force could be fielded against them. This point cannot be over-emphasized, for at a stroke it removes the problem with which historians have wrestled, namely the ability of the North Britons to reassert themselves and counter the threat posed by Bernicia.

The recourse by a council of Britons within the diocese to employ and settle Saxon federates in support of their defence, does, however, set in train events which have an immediate bearing on the intramural zone. The ability of the Romanized Britons to rally and defeat the combined forces of the Picts and Irish, and thereby restore the *status quo*, is a problem for which neither Gildas nor Bede could offer a rational explanation. How well it would fit if we could assume that the rallying of the Britons coincided with the first use of Saxons; a point which may be obscured by the very structure of Gildas' narrative (at this point the reader has not been introduced to the Saxons), although he begins the succeeding section, *Interea...* 'meanwhile', which Bede read differently on two occasions (*Chron. Maj.*, 484; HE i.14); the second time he clearly thought of *interea* as meaning quite a short time (cf. Miller 1975b, 248). Never well disposed towards the Britons (cf. Wallace-Hadrill 1976, 370), Bede conceivably separated the two events simply to lay greater stress on the role of the Saxons. Both Miller and Thompson have discounted Bede's statement (HE i.14) to the effect that the Picts and Saxons entered into a treaty alliance. But in view of the number of Saxons involved in the first settlement, this seems plausible. If one follows Bede (HE i.14), the Picts and Scots had already sustained losses, now for the first time they were faced with a credible opponent (Saxons, and perhaps also Britons); the Picts and Saxons were certainly not strangers. In AD 367-9, Saxons had fought beside both Picts and Irish to devastating effect (Ammianus xxviii, 8); a close liaison which was maintained through the Hallelujah victory campaign of 429 to the revolt of the Saxon federates in the second half of the fifth century. Unless Constantius had read Ammianus we may take the first two to be independent, but Bede's knowledge of Constantius might have led him to embroider with this detail Gildas' account of the third. The possibility of Picto-Saxon *political* interaction should at least be borne in mind (see also Thompson 1984, 39-46; Dumville 1989, 215). A

treaty would have provided an optimum solution. On the one hand it allowed the Picts to withdraw with honour (any territorial gains they may have anticipated within the northern diocese would now be offset by the Saxon settlements), on the other, it freed the Saxons to turn their attention to securing land and wealth of their own; this possibly the principal reason for their presence in the first place.

The *Historia Brittonum* also seems to shed some light on the Saxon *foedus* in the north. Myres has recently argued that the legend of Hengest and Horsa and their dealings with *Gwytheyrn* (Vortigern) represents not the first hiring of Saxon troops but the last - the first of those, rather, which led to the establishment of English dynasties (1969, 95-9; Dumville 1977a, 185; 1989, 214-15). It is immaterial whether the personnel are real or not, the important point is that, following Gildas, we may locate these dealings in the northern part of Britain (that is in the *regio* settled by the Saxons in the first place, cf. Thompson 1979, 217).[10] In *Historia Brittonum* (38) we learn of Hengest's suggestion that he should invite his son and cousin to come and fight against the Irish and that in return they should be given lands in the north about the wall that is called *Guaul*. Consent was given and Octha and Ebissa (again the names may be fictitious) duly came, sailed up the east coast of mainland Scotland and wasted the Orkneys. However, the extent of their settlement seems not to have been anticipated, for the *Historia* goes on to say that they came and occupied many districts beyond the Frenessican Sea, as far as the Borders of the Picts.

Wade-Evans (1949, 68), following Chadwick (1907, 40) identified the *Mare Frenesiccum* as the Irish Sea and argued, therefore, that the focus of Germanic settlement lay in the area of the Solway Firth around the mouth of the Nith; the identification of Dumfries as the 'fort of the Frisians' (Watson 1926, 421-2) lent support to his argument. Crawford suggested that this was improbable on historical grounds (1939, 284) and Blair, who agreed, suggested instead the North Sea (1947, 17). This would concur with Jocelyn and the Durham tradition (no earlier than the twelfth century) in their identification of it as the Firth of Forth. Accepting that the Picts occupied the area to the north, the south side of the Forth would seem the most likely area. Myres' suggestion that it should be identified with the Humber estuary (1936, 262; 1969, 98-9), while in keeping with the archaeological evidence, perhaps stretches credulity too far. If we incline towards Thompson's suggestion that the Saxons had first settled in the east of Northumbria, then the phase of settlement anticipated in the *Historia Brittonum* would seem to point to the extension of settlement north as far as the Wall; again this would still fall within the boundaries of the northern diocese and thus need not infringe upon the polities of the intervallate zone. The outcome was very different; the lands taken extended as far as the boundaries of the Picts, by which we should probably

understand the Firth of Forth (cf. Kirby 1976b, 291). If Gildas is to be believed, the scale of the Saxon involvement was huge (see Thompson 1979, 217). The implications are clearly of importance not only for the emergence of Bernicia, but for the threat that this would pose to the peoples within the intramural zone.

Although, in view of the difficulties surrounding the use of the *Historia Brittonum* as an historical document for North Britain (cf. Dumville 1989, 215ff), it is unclear how far any single statement can be trusted, we should perhaps not altogether dismiss the possibility of a Saxon sea-borne operation mounted against Pictish territories along the east coast of mainland Scotland as far as the Orkneys. If this is accepted, then one might anticipate a situation by which raids where launched sporadically inland in order to replenish supplies and in search of plunder. One such occasion may have been on the Firth of Forth, perhaps at the start of the venture and close to the lands to which the Saxons apparently later returned to secure settlements of their own; the south side of the estuary is Jocelyn's *Litus Fresicum* (Anderson 1922, 130; see also Wade-Evans 1949, 68). Might this, of all possibilities, not account for the abandonment of Traprain about this time and, moreover, provide the pretext for the concealment of the silver hoard (*contra.* Close-Brookes 1983, 217)? The hoard perhaps hidden in haste and amidst the panic brought on by the sudden appearance of the Saxon fleet; of a sea-borne assault there can, after all, have been little warning. With the demise of Traprain we perhaps draw closer too, to the political geography of North Britain as defined both by Gildas and Bede (see also Miller 1975b, 243).

The case for a distinctly early phase of Anglian settlement, or at least activity perhaps of a transitory nature, extending up the eastern seaboard of mainland Scotland, is too not without some archaeological support of its own. Recent air-photographs by RCAMS in the NMRS reveal cropmark features which may be *grubenhäuser*, akin to those identified at Milfield and Sprouston (cf. Gates and O'Brien 1988; this work pp. 225-7), on the Forth at East Field, Inveresk (NT 346 702); at Friockheim (NO 586 492) and Pitmuies (NO 585 499), both in the valley of the Lunan Water, Angus; at Inchture (NO 281 292) on the Carse of Gowrie, and two sites at Balmachree, to the east of Inverness (NH 740 482, 740 479); for the distribution see fig. 8.1. The settlement at Inchture is particularly interesting as the sunken-floored dwellings lie close to cropmarks of two groups of timber longhouses and thus may indicate a site of some chronological depth. None of the sites have been tested by excavation, and selective excavation is, of course, clearly desirable, though probing of an isolated sunken-floored building in the Balmachree group, which in common with others at

this site seems to occupy an artificial terrace, suggests that it measures about 13m by 8m overall; some of the others may be half as large again (see Maxwell 1982, 14; 1987, 33-4).

(II) THE ORIGINS OF BERNICIA

(a) The Evidence for Germanic Settlement in the North and Some Possible Implications

If one accepts the argument that the events described both by Gildas and Bede, as perhaps too reflected in the *Historia Brittonum*, refer specifically to the old British diocese south of the Wall, we can allow the sub-Roman kingdoms of the north to emerge, unimpeded by the crises elsewhere in Britain, as thoroughly Celtic and perhaps gaining in unity through a close sense of kindred. The North Britons spoke a common language and possessed a common culture (cf. Chadwick 1963b, 158; 1963d, 325), and, if one accepts the evidence for Pictish enclaves in the Lothians by the mid third century and a primary, perhaps royal fortress at Traprain in the late fourth (pp. 155-70), relations between these two peoples may have amounted to an *entente-cordiale* (perhaps the reason for the failure of the North Britons to intervene in the *Barbarica conspiratio* of 367). However, with the progressive settlement of the Lowlands by Germanic peoples from perhaps the mid fifth century on, the tide of events was to change as, for the first time, it posed a most serious threat to the balance of power and the viability of these northern kingdoms. The gravity of the situation may have been heightened if, for instance, a wider coalition of the Germanic settlers was anticipated; a situation perhaps not without parallel in the accession of Ida in 547/8. It might be supposed that the northern Britons would respond, and this seems to be borne out by the historical evidence.

Nevertheless, the historical sources shed little or no light on the origins of Northumbria (in effect two kingdoms, Bernicia and Deira)[11] and its relations with the Britons of the North. Moreover, the transmitted royal pedigrees for Bernicia and Deira (Sisam 1953; Dumville 1976b) are of little use to help us understand the process of Germanic settlement in the north, for at best they might be used to give us a sense of the approximate date at which dynastic continuity began in these kingdoms and the process of selection (Dumville 1989, 218). From Bede (HE i.15) we know that the Germanic settlers of Northumbria were Angles (though we hear nothing of the Anglian take-over of Bernicia until the 540s), and in the *Historia Brittonum* (61, 63) we learn of their association with the British fort of *Din Guoaroy*, Anglian *Bebbanburh*, 'Bamburgh' (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* 'E', 547). This is dismissed by Dumville (op. cit.), who rejects the use of the *Historia Brittonum* as a source for this period, and with it, therefore, the unique beginnings of Bernician settlement there.

Alcock, on the other hand, regards this as too minimalistic and would accept that northern British traditions had retained the memory of a *din-* name for Bamburgh, and furthermore that those traditions were part of the learning of the north Wales circle where the *Historia Brittonum* was compiled (1988a, 6).

Bede's statement that the Germanic settlers were Angles seems to be well supported, particularly in Deira, by the nature of the archaeological record, insofar as this is logically possible (cf. Myres 1969, 99ff; Alcock 1983). We are therefore left with the presupposition that if in the north it is at *Din Guoaroy* that they emerge from prehistory, it is here too, or at least in the general area, where they had their origins. This though would be in keeping with the possibility raised by the *Historia Brittonum* (38) that Saxon federates were sometime, perhaps in the 450s, seeking settlements of their own to the north of the Wall known as *Guaul*, specifically between Tyne and Forth. Given the likelihood that throughout the intramural zone Romano-British political geography more or less fossilized pre-existing native components and that in turn these were continued as sub-Roman units (see pp. 204, 277, 284-5, 301-9), can we therefore suppose that one of these areas was subverted by Anglian settlers within the territory? The answer, I think, is yes.

The settlements anticipated by the federates would seem to have comprised the archaic core of an earlier tribal kingdom, the primary fortress of which seems to have been singled out as their nucleus for settlement; that of *Bryneich* with its rock-girt citadel of *Din Guoaroy* (*Historia Brittonum* 61; Jackson 1963, 27-9). This is explicable in terms of political expediency as the area ceded by Vortigern (in *Historia Brittonum* 38) would be that earlier severed from the Brigantian canton as an outcome of Roman frontier policy and the construction of a fixed boundary between Tyne and Solway; not I think a political boundary as Dumville suggests (1989, 217), but geographical. In the Antonine period the problem of a detached Brigantia north of the Wall may have been resolved (see p. 204) by an extension of Votadinian control from their curia at Traprain (*Dunpelder*) or more probably *Din Eidyn*. However, the degree to which political control or influence could be extended over the intervening massif of the Southern Uplands is clearly questionable and with the contraction of the Votadini upon *Din Eidyn*, it is reasonable to assume that the core area of British *Bryneich* remained something of a power-vacuum for many years. To judge, however, from the possible derivation of OW *Berneich* from **Brĭgant*, 'the Brigantes' (but see also Jackson 1956, 701-5), its identity seems not to have been forgotten.[12] It was then to this debatable territory (in contrast to the neighbouring British kingdoms perhaps lacking an established Celtic hierarchy) that the Germanic settlers seem first to have come and in some sense set in train a complementary development to that of Anglian Deira with which it was

probably in effect coextensive (Dumville 1989, 217). If it is accepted that *Bryneich* was the primary focus for Anglian settlement in the mid to late fifth century, the consequences of this would be greatest for the neighbouring British kingdoms of the Tweed Basin (see pp. 280-301), and the Lothians (Gododdin). It is appropriate that this is the historical context for the British response recalled in the northern Arthurian tradition (*Historia Brittonum*, 56).

Whether a figure of legend or mythology, we can probably dismiss Arthur. The argument in support of his historicity, on the basis of Aneirin and the well known passage of the *Gododdin* (Jackson 1939, 29; 1969, 112), is weakened by the admission that this could be a later interpolation (Dumville 1977a, 187-8). However, by the same token we need not dismiss the battles (which divorced from Arthur are freed from the constraints of his *persona* and geography). It was proposed by Chadwick (1932, 154), and the idea has received general assent, that this section of the *Historia Brittonum* is a Latin prose rendering of an Old Welsh battle-catalogue-poem. Of these battles, two with certainty can be located in south-east Scotland; both are instructive. The first was at the mouth of the River Glen, *in ostium fluminus quod dicitur Glein* (*Historia Brittonum* 56; Dumville 1985, 103), a stretch of water between the Bowmont and the Till, in north Northumberland (cf. Skene 1886, i, 153; Crawford 1935, 285; Alcock 1974, 63); the seventh *in silva Celidonis, id est Cat Coit Celidon*, which is identified by Skene (1886, i, 102; this work p. 15) as *Coed Celyddon*, the Forest of Ettrick (see also Alcock 1974, 61-3; Miller 1975d, 102, n. 21). The first battle would thus lie close to the core area of the Germanic settlements in *Berneich* and may have been instigated by the Coelings whose territories at this time probably embraced the middle Tweed Basin (see p. 279); the seventh at the heart of the Tweed Basin, within the kingdom of Tweeddale, perhaps *Goddeu* (see pp. 290-2), at this time, as later, probably under the overlordship of the Haeling dynasty of Strathclyde (see pp. 289, 300-1). The outcome of the battles may have been inconclusive (we cannot elaborate from the source material) but it seems likely that the Germanic peoples, though not dislodged, may at least have been contained to the core area of *Berneich*; evidence for a distinctly early phase of Anglian settlement west of Dere Street is none existent. On the perhaps precarious evidence of the *Historia Brittonum* (56) it was from *Berneich* that Octha returned to the south to found the royal dynasty of Kent (see also Sisam 1953, 324-5). The fact that the *Historia Brittonum* places the removal of Octha prior to the battle-catalogue-poem, may itself reveal the pretext for this phase of hostilities. It should, however, be appreciated that this was probably only a limited theatre of warfare in relation to a wider front extending the length of Britain as the Celtic confederation sought to maintain their supremacy.

Tangible evidence for the Germanic presence in *Berneich* is supported by the recent discovery of a clutch of metalwork, of late sixth- or seventh-century date, accompanying a series of extended inhumations (presumably pagan) within a henge monument due south of Milfield. Rather later may be a cemetery, within another henge to the north of Milfield, of east-west orientated graves, suggesting Christian influence, or perhaps even a British Christian burial-ground (Harding 1981, 93; in preparation; pers. commun., 1988; Alcock 1988a, 9). The evidence admittedly is slight but such is the pattern of archaeological coincidence in the north. It serves, however, to offset that paramount feature of Bernician archaeology, namely the absence of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, which Leeds found astounding and inexplicable (1913, nn. 39, 40); a feature no less of Yeavering where the earliest artefact certainly of Germanic manufacture was a silver inlaid iron buckle which had probably been deposited about 570x640 (Hope-Taylor 1977, 185-7, fig. 88.1; Alcock 1988a, 7). As for the main area of Anglian activity, what appear from air-photographs to be sunken-floored buildings (*grubenhäuser*) at both Milfield and Sprouston (pp. 225-7), akin to those excavated at Yeavering (buildings C1 and D3, Hope-Taylor 1977, 239-41), argue for a distinctly early phase of Anglian settlement (cf. Alcock 1988a, 9). The fact that the two palace sites were known to Bede by Celtic rather than Anglian names is surely of interest (cf. Hope-Taylor 1977, 25) and Alcock (1988a, 10) has stressed both the importance of the archaeological evidence, linked with the place-names, as indicative of an Anglian take-over of existing British defended and enclosed places, which presumably continued to fulfil their earlier functions, and the evidence for continuity implicit in certain archaic, pre-feudal elements revealed in the Northumbrian institutions (Jolliffe 1926) which would imply that the Angles also took over from the Britons a pre-existing legal and administrative system.

We can, nevertheless, only guess the implications for the native population of the presence of Germanic settlers in this locality, although it seems likely that the transition to Anglian rule in *Berneich* was both vaguer and more drawn out than has previously been inferred. Clearly, the only threat to Bernicia in the mid to late fifth century, if one allows Anglian settlement to have taken place this early, would be the presence and intentions of the neighbouring British kingdoms. In the past it has been customary to accept that the English were in no position to be greatly effective in Bernicia much, if at all, before about 600 (i.e. the implications of the battle of *Metcaud*, cf. Dumville 1989, 218). Behind this is the assumption that the accession of Ida was qualified only be limited support from within Bernicia itself; hence Ida is seen as an opportunist, a freebooter or pirate, who secured a limited springboard through the use of sea-borne forces and by fortifying the rock at Bamburgh.[13] However, the archaeological evidence, or lack of, is more readily explained if

one does accept the presence of Germanic immigrants in this area from say the mid fifth century and this would also serve to explain the basis for Ida's claim on Bamburgh in 547/8.

Hope-Taylor's view of the local picture is one of a harmonious relationship between the native population and a minority Anglian *élite*, itself susceptible and responsive to formative influences from its British environment (1977, 282). The evidence is at best circumstantial but may account for the virtual disappearance of Germanic traits in a culture which became more securely rooted with that of the native population. Given that the settling-in process may have spanned almost a century, there can have been few traits left which would have marked out Bernicia as thoroughly Anglian in origin, which of course, in the broadest sense, it was not. One response of this cultural dissolution would be the likelihood that many artefacts, other than those deposited as grave-goods accompanying the earliest immigrants, would have been refashioned, as occasion demanded, by Celtic smiths working in the style and manner to which they were accustomed (see also Alcock 1987b, 279). This would agree with Hope-Taylor's appraisal of Yeavering phase II: 'Overall the picture that emerges is even more strongly Celtic than would have been anticipated from the conventional view of early Northumbria' (1977, 281).

It is reasonable to assume that from the first the issue of overlordship was firmly settled and that the native population merely succumbed to a system which they found to be materially and politically expedient. This would account for the stability of *Berneich* within her own boundaries and the emergence of a clear ruling class through which Ida's accession in 547/8 could be founded with confidence and without recourse to arms. Before examining this marked departure in the fortunes of Bernicia, it will be useful to define its territorial extent and bearing on the lower Tweed basin.

(b) The Evidence for an Inter-dynastic Boundary Within the Tweed Basin

Hope-Taylor argued (1977, 287-9) that the northern frontier of *Berneich* was coterminous with the Tweed and drew support for this from the fact that in the twelfth century Lothian extended as far as the Tweed; a situation which, he suggested and following Chadwick (1949, 146, n.8), may have prevailed in earlier times. Definite evidence is lacking, but if one accepts the emergence of Anglian *Berneich* from the pre-existing British territory of *Bryneich*, then it would follow that if this earlier territory extended to the middle Tweed Basin, as seems it must on the basis of Romano-British political geography (to a line roughly parallel with Dere Street and there shading off into the tribal territory of the Selgovae), it is likely that the earliest phase of Anglian settlement also extended up to but probably no farther than this boundary. This, although difficult to prove, would concur with the statement in the

Historia Brittonum (38) that Germanic settlement extended 'as far as the borders of the Picts' (Dumville 1985, 77), thus to the Forth and thereby embracing at least part of the Southern Uplands. In a sense, on geographical grounds, the lower Tweed Basin is more properly part of north Northumberland than the Scottish lowlands; this is apparent in village morphology, estate architecture and patterns of land use today, but it is equally reflected in the diminutive size of the *territoria* accompanying the caputs of Dark Age estates on the Merse, in contrast to those of greater extent which occupy the hinterland of the middle Tweed Basin, Teviotdale and Tweeddale (pp. 195-204).

To this area, even in historical times, the Tweed was not so much a boundary but an obstacle to be negotiated.[14] The boundary proper (as distinct from the Anglo-Scottish border) would seem in fact to have transected the Tweed Basin not from west to east, but from north to south on a line roughly approximating to Dere Street. This seems to be borne out from an early date (?mid first millennium BC) by the clustering of hillforts which occur as satellites to the Roman road. The significance of this boundary, already briefly touched upon (pp. 203-4), will be considered further in conjunction with the battle of Degsastan (p. 336). Here it will suffice to note that Anglian settlement, as revealed by the later place-name evidence (pp. 205-17), extended up to but no farther west than this line. Here, therefore, I am at variance with Hope-Taylor. Whilst I accept that the Tweed may in some limited sense have defined the core area of *Berneich*, I would not agree that the take-over of the Merse was crucial to the security of Bernicia, except that is in respect to the buffer provided by the linear earthwork which takes in the nodal area round Eildon (p. 241)[15] Rather, I would suggest, any move in this direction is more likely to have been informed by a political rationale based on existing claims with the strict intention of reinstating the boundaries of an earlier British territory (i.e. *Bryneich*) whose fortunes had waned due to the realignment of tribal territories under Roman intervention and the creation of the intervallate zone (p. 204); a territory to which the Anglian *élite* may have had cause to see themselves as the legitimate heirs.

If the diffusion of Germanic settlement in the core area of *Berneich* is difficult to define, that for the lower Tweed is vaguer still. One might point to the shadowy presence of discrete enclaves of Germanic settlers as indicated, for instance, by the place-name Hassington, which, if not topographical, may be derived from the tribal name *Haelsing*[*as*], but the evidence though suggestive is hardly adequate.[16] Hering, son of Hussa (king in Bernicia 579-86) may have possessed estates in Lauderdale; he is credited with having led the Bernician army to the battle and thus may have been familiar with the locality (it would be

extraordinary if Aedan's troops were firing British fields and villages), but the origin of these estates is less than clear and Lauderdale may have formed one of the tributary districts annexed to Bernicia sometime prior to the battle (cf. Bede HE i.34; this work p. 339); although this in itself would seem to require the extension of Anglian control over the Merse at some date prior to 603/4, and if without precedence this would be the more difficult to explain.

Whatever the detail of the local picture it seems unlikely that the integration between Anglian and Briton was as total as that inferred for the core area of *Berneich* around the foci of Bamburgh, Yeavering and Milfield. The Merse estates appear to have retained their identity throughout the sixth century and on into the seventh. It would otherwise be difficult to account for the assumed pincer-movements of Anglian forces securing bridge-heads at *Colodaesburg*, Chester Hill, Greystonelees and perhaps too Simprin (pp. 209, 457, n. 11), or for that matter the repeated juxtaposition of the place-name evidence (*-ing, -ingham*, and *-ington*) in relation to the earlier British caputs (pp. 213-16, 239-40). This at least would suggest that the native rural population and ruling *élite* were still present, and if Germanic settlement had taken place this at the most would probably amount to no more than loose-knit communities infilling on available ground. The picture in the lower Tweed Basin is thus probably one of incipient rather than actual transition; the British remained though perhaps with a veneer of Germanic activity and small-scale infiltration. There is one further line of enquiry that can profitably be pursued in determining the extent of Germanic settlement in the lower Tweed basin.

(c) Christianity Versus Paganism; the Evidence for a Religious and Cultural Boundary Within the Tweed Basin

The material evidence for Briton and Anglian alike has been set out, but what of their religious outlook? The Britons, or at least some of them were ostensibly Christian and had probably been so since Late Roman times (pp. 110-12). North British society was nevertheless essentially heroic, with a highly developed poetic tradition and a high value set on prowess and personal loyalty, though it has to be said, hardly a trace of Christian ethics appears in their poetry, though Christian formulae and invocations appear from time to time (cf. Chadwick 1963d, 330; Jackson 1969, 37, 119). By contrast, the Angles were notoriously pagan; a fact vouched for by Gildas (DEB 24), no less by Bede (HE i.16). What is remarkable then, given the prevailing influence of Christianity in North Britain, is that Bernicia did for so long hold out as a pagan kingdom. Indeed, Bede goes out of his way to record that there appeared to be no visible Christian monument in Bernicia until Oswald set up his cross at Heavenfield (HE iii.2). Yeavering, until Oswald's reign, could show at best a

pagan temple converted to Christian use in 627 (HE ii.14), and Paulinus' mission to Bernicia is probably best seen as an acknowledgement of that archaic region as an outstanding stronghold of heathenism (Hope-Taylor 1977, 250, 288). Is this then not the most tangible evidence for the influence arising from the Germanic peoples and, moreover, is it not perfectly plausible that the native population of *Berneich*, who otherwise seem to have retained their cultural identity, gave way to the practices of their overlords and thus remained a relatively barbarous, backward, illiterate and pagan people? If this were so, it follows that there is a very clear line of evidence which can be used to define the origin and extent of Germanic settlement in *Berneich* as too the territories extending to the lower Tweed Basin up to the inter-dynastic boundary.

It is a feature of the Tweed Basin that the British population of Tweeddale and Lauderdale were, by the late fifth and sixth centuries, at least nominally Christian and to an extent literate. This is supported by the distribution of a number of Early Christian memorial stones (see pp. 285-301). What is striking about the distribution, however, is that none are to be found east of a line drawn roughly north-south approximating to Dere Street (i.e. the inter-dynastic boundary). The inexplicable absence of these stones from the middle and lower Tweed Basin (which, it is generally held, lay outwith the Anglian settlement of Bernicia until after 603/4; see pp. 206-9) is resolved if one accepts the presence of Germanic immigrants, together with the pervading influence of paganism, which served to drive a wedge so firmly between *Berneich* and the British territories to the north and west; stemming the spread of Christianity and pin-pointing areas where Christianity had already taken root.

If one accepts this hypothesis, in this the transitional zone between Briton and Angle, the *Eccles* place-names may be seen to attain greater significance (Christian enclaves within an otherwise pagan environment), and it is perhaps also of interest that the monastery at Melrose, possibly a British foundation, should be known to Bede not by an English but by a Celtic name (*Mailros*);[17] a counterpart then for the names of the two palace sites *Ad Gefryn* and *Maelmin* respectively. The tension between Christian and pagan factions, which was to spill over into conflict amongst the Britons at Arthuret in 573 (see p. 268), may thus provide the most tangible evidence for the infusion of Germanic culture within the Tweed Basin, as also in *Berneich*, at a time long before the floruit of Bernician military supremacy (at its height between about 580 and 650). Accepting too, the indicators provided by the *Eccles* place-names (and for a Celtic quadrangular bell from Ednam see Smith 1882), along with a Celtic place-name for what was later clearly an Anglian monastery, the extension of Germanic settlement to the lower Tweed may have been later in the fifth century than earlier, but certainly by the sixth. If I am right, it would seem Dumville's hope, that

archaeological activity might present historians with one or two more Yarrowkirk-style inscriptions (1989, 219), is likely to remain an ideal rather than a reality to be enjoyed; at least, that is, for *Berneich* and her territories bordering the Tweed.

(d) The Accession of Ida

In a chronicle fragment derivative of Bede's summary chronicle but written before about 850, now surviving in a French manuscript at Bern (Codex 178), we are told in a genealogical context under the year 547 that Oessa-Eosa was the first member of the Bernician royal dynasty to come to Britain (Dumville 1973, 312-14). According to the sole surviving pedigree, echoed by this annal, he was the grandfather of Ida, founder of the Bernician dynasty, whose reign was supposed to have extended from 547 to 559 (Dumville 1976b, 30, 32, 35; 1989, 218). The floruit of his grandfather (counting 27-year generations, see p. 271) would therefore belong about 493x503. We have then an approximate date, if not for the earliest phase of Anglian settlement in *Berneich*, though this may, nevertheless, be the case (cf. Dumville 1989, 219), at least an indication of the origins of the dynasty. The accession of Ida in 547/8 (dates adjusted following Kirby 1963) may thus be seen as the logical outcome of events set in train two, or at the most three, generations earlier. This would be in keeping with Bede's simple statement of fact 'Ida began to reign' (HE v.24; Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 563) and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's* 'Ida succeeded to the kingdom' ('E' text, s.a. 547). The accession seems, as Hope-Taylor noted (1977, 297), to have been accepted by most, if not all of the native people of Bernicia. The emergence of a clear ruling class, however, bore considerable implications, though to judge from the Anglo-Saxon genealogies there would seem to have been other collateral branches who subsequently exerted their right to rule, for example, Glappa, who apparently was not one of Ida's sons though he succeeded him, and Hussa, whose parentage is unknown (see Kirby 1963, 526).

There is a tradition, preserved by William of Malmesbury (*de gestis regum,* i, 1, 3) independent of Bede, which bears the mark of truth (Wade-Evans 1949, 75), that prior to Ida's accession the Bernician royal house always regarded the Kentish kings as their legitimate overlords. It is unclear whether this is historically acceptable or merely the substance of myth resulting from the systematics of Kentish glossators and later copyists,[18] but it would seem to lend significance to the statement that in 547/8 'Ida began to reign', that he was 'the first king of Bernicia' and that 'he was the founder of the royal family of the Northumbrians'. The tradition implies that Ida made himself a king equal to those with higher claims and secured Bamburgh as his seat.[19]

Ida's accession thus marks a critical departure in the history of the north. It was a clear sign that Bernicia, united behind its royal house, was at last ready to stand its ground. Whilst it is possible, given the presence by about 500 of Ida's grandfather, that this move had been well anticipated, it would undoubtedly have served to raise the level of tension between Bernicia and the neighbouring British kingdoms who may have had cause to interpret Ida's accession as a challenge both to their own autonomy and northern Celtic supremacy. What then is surprising is that these northern kingdoms took so long to respond, and it was only after settling differences of their own (Arthuret 573, possibly fought over possession of the Carlisle *civitas* and with the subsequent realignment of dynastic control of *Eidyn*, and Kelso in the central Tweed valley: see p. 279) that they were in a position to mount concerted action, but when they did so, they did so in force (586x93, the battle of *Metcaud*, Lindisfarne).[20]

The outcome was potentially one of the most powerful coalitions yet seen in the north. In *Historia Brittonum* (63) four are mentioned: Urien, Gwallog, and Morgan, all fourth descendants of Coel, and Rhydderch of Strathclyde. Dumville, who again inveighs against the shortcomings of the *Historia Brittonum* as a source for this period, wonders whether the four allied north-British kings should be taken as representing four British nations or tribal confederations in the area (1989, 218). Miller, however, presents a convincing case that this was in fact so (1975c, 265-6). As Urien is of Rheged, she argues, the Coeling will be especially of Gododdin, and were here represented by Morgan Bulc, high king of *Eidyn* (this work p. 270; for a qualifying comment see Kirby 1976a, 112). Less certain is Gwallog's kingdom though it may be Elmet (Chadwick 1949, 14; Kirby 1976a, 112).

Various factors may have combined to underpin the confederacy. Rheged's eastern frontier lay open to attack overland, but the Bernicians had first to secure their right flank against counter-attacks from Gododdin, itself open to an assault either by sea, or overland by way of the Tweed and the valley-corridor provided by Lauderdale to the heart of Lothian, to *Din Eidyn* or Carriden on the Forth.[21] Uppermost to Coeling interests may have been the vulnerable inter-dynastic boundary at the heart of the Tweed Basin (see also pp. 203-4, 336, 345) and the threat of annexation especially to *Goddeu* and the kingdom of Cadrod Calchvynyd; both Haeling territories and perhaps accounting for the presence of Rhydderch in the alliance.

Hope-Taylor suggested that the pretext was the very act of assembling an invasion fleet off Lindisfarne[22] and inferred a consequent naval action which culminated in the siege of Lindisfarne. But this is not necessarily a logical deduction from source material which is in any case hardly first-rate. Nevertheless, the confederacy seem to have been able to carry their assault to the heart of Bernicia, to within grasp of the *civitas regia* itself and, but for Morgan's treachery, they would possibly have succeeded in carrying their assault and dislodging Theodoric and Hussa who had taken refuge on the island.

Whatever is to be learnt of the relative strengths of the opposing armies, there can be little doubt that the Northumbrian royal house met with united suport from within Bernicia. But caution is required lest the case be overstated (*pace.* Hope-Taylor 1977, 292-3). Bernicia was fighting a rear-guard action and must therefore have been vulnerable; the fact that the assault was carried to their seaward bastion would imply the failure of the Bernicians - or possibly their inability - to anticipate this move (from which retreat can only have been possible by sea) and to counter the threat accordingly by a campaign fought beyond their own frontiers. Effective counter-measures, or a wish to capitalize on the failure of the confederacy (the logical military strategy), may well have been at the expense of support amongst the rank and file native population (at this date their resilience was untested). This was, after all, the proving ground for events that were to follow and the military supremacy of Bernicia must, on present evidence, be regarded as conditional on the status of the neighbouring British kingdoms. Hope-Taylor was perhaps too keen to anticipate the outcome of events in the reign of Aethelfrith. However, it will be seen too that there may have been mitigating circumstances attendant even at the battle of Degsastan (603/4), and that the Bernician success here may have owed more to chance than tactical or numerical superiority.

(B) THE NORTHERN DYNASTIES: THE PEDIGREE EVIDENCE

By the fifth century, there were already in northern Britain two major Brittonic dynastic houses and we may further deduce the presence of a number of other satellite kingdoms. Collectively its rulers were known as *Gwŷr y Gogledd*, 'Men of the North'. With the loss of the northern recension few independent and contemporary records survive. However, from material transmitted to the south and west, to be committed to writing only much later, sufficient remains to provide at least a glimpse of these northern peoples, their background and pedigrees, and to a degree their geographical extent. The material is principally genealogical, supplemented by material in the Welsh Annals, a number of 'Triads' and poems (although rarely in anything like their original form) and a few saints *Lives* (no earlier

than the twelfth century). References in the Irish Annals and in other Irish and English sources are rare.

(a) The Genealogical Evidence

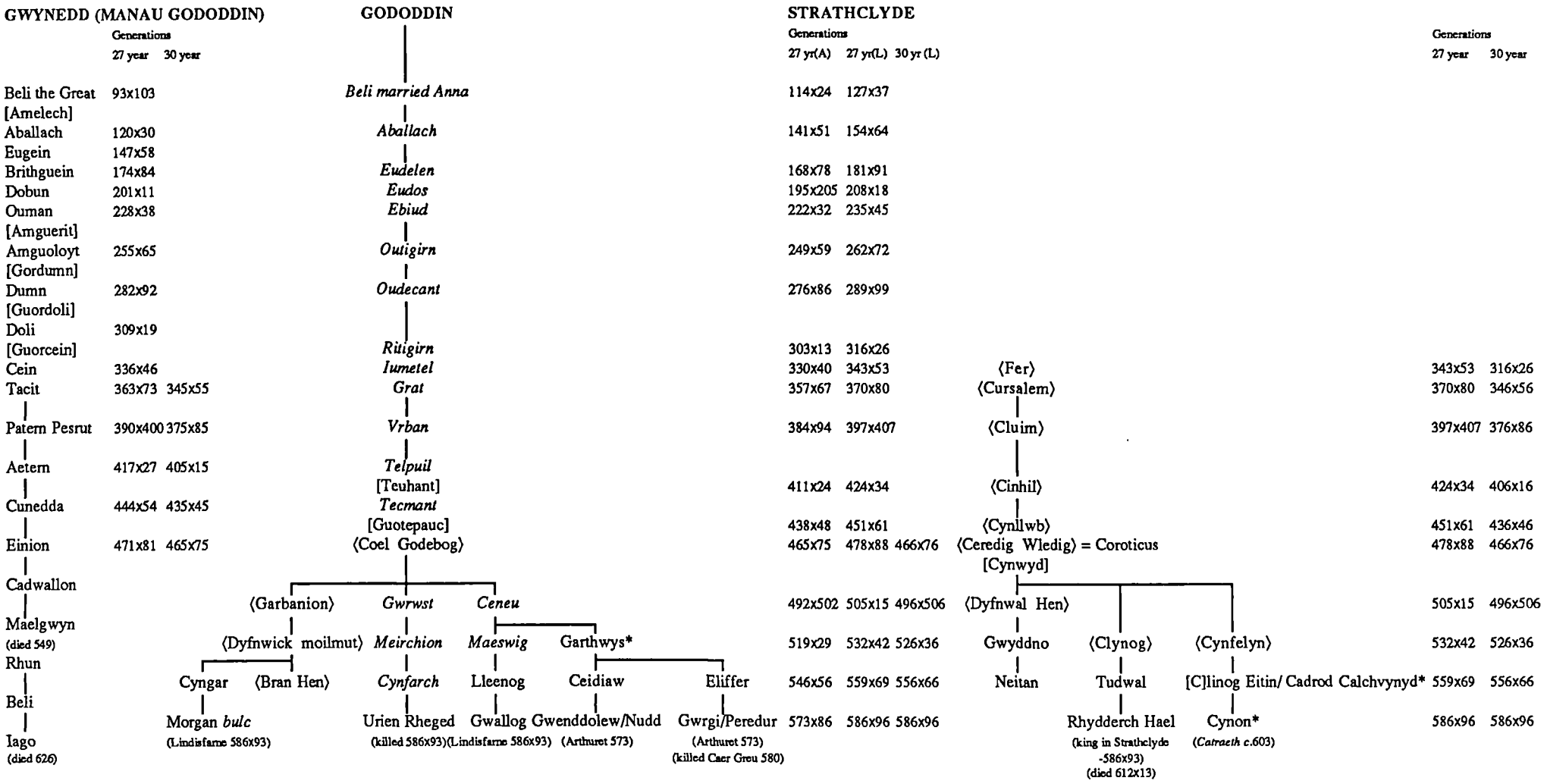
Genealogies are essential for a proper understanding of the political and dynastic history of these northern peoples. They are a feature too, not only of the Celtic west but of the peoples over a greater part of north-western Europe extending to the Sub-Continent, and provided a means by which the history of a house could be handed down over a number of generations. The problem here, however, is how far such material can be used towards reconstructing a dynastic history of the North Britons for the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries. Although the product of an oral tradition and often alliterative, they were once held to be authoritative and generally reliable (cf. Chadwick 1949, 142-9; Jackson 1963, 121). This is no longer so. Dumville (1977a, 178; 1989, 216) has simply pointed to the fact that the genealogical collections have, apart from recent work by Miller and Kirby, received almost no critical study. Celtic genealogies, he states, are not an historical record, they express a legal or political claim. The Harleian Collection, taken as a body, exists to document the position of Owain of Deheubarth (950-88), a representative of the Second Dynasty of Gwynedd, founded in 826 by Merfyn Frych. The term 'genealogy' is itself a misnomer for each in fact is no more than a pedigree and records only one line in what was actually a multiple number of collateral branches (Kirby 1976a, 82), and Miller has pointed out that in the nature of the case it cannot be demonstrated that a pedigree known to us because it was written in AD 995 had in fact any connection at all with whatever pedigrees were orally cultivated in that year (1975c, 255). Alcock too has misgivings (pers. commun., 1989). He points out, for instance, that if Urien Rheged was lord of *Catraeth* and, if *Catraeth* be Catterick, this is at variance with the archaeology for Anglo-Saxon settlement in the area from about AD 450 (cf. Alcock 1987b, 250-3); here there is reason to suspect that the independent evidence accruing to Urien should not be trusted, or worse that Urien's pedigree has itself been deliberately manipulated (but see also this work pp. 338-40).

However, the pedigrees cannot altogether be dismissed. Some may be historically accurate, but these can only be of use where it can be demonstrated that they have not been corrupted in transmission and where historical accuracy does not conflict with the claims made by the owner or author of the pedigree (Dumville 1977a, 178). When it is considered that a royal family would need to know its own pedigree in order to make a valid claim to the kingship within a Celtic four-generation group, the likelihood that a pedigree will be correctly preserved seems to be strengthened (Kirby 1976a, 81-2). The very use of pedigrees for legal purposes, ceremony or funeral recitatives, would seem to demand an

element of accuracy at least within the span of living memory; recent ethnographic work in East Africa seems to bear this out (Alcock, L pers. commun., 1989). Although some pedigrees have been open to manipulation, this is not to question every surviving pedigree for North Britain and, not least due to the work of Miller and Kirby, some can be vindicated. However, it needs to be said that the genealogist of the ninth century, let alone one of the fourth, would probably have been taken aback at the level of input expended in this direction by modern scholarship; which at times is itself abstruse.

There are two pedigree collections of major importance for North Britain. The first, the earliest and most authorative, appears as an appendix to the *Historia Brittonum* in Harleian 3859 which was written about 1100; where it is unclear. It lists thirteen separate pedigrees and each traces its descent from one of two people, Coel Hen Godebog (var. Guotepauc) and Dyfnwal Hen, son of Ceredig Wledig. The descendants of the former are described as 'Coelings' or 'the sons of Godebog', those of the latter, members of the Haeling dynasty, were kings of Dumbarton and Strathclyde.[23] The second, *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd*, the pedigrees of the 'Men of the North', occupies a single printed page and is first known in a manuscript of the late thirteenth century, though its orthography indicates a date of 1150x1250 for its composition. The first six entries are concerned with the descendants of Coel. They are simple retrograde patrilineages, carrying the ancestry in each case back to Coel and repeating as many names as necessary to this end. With the exception of two standard epithets (Clydno *Eidyn* and Chatrawt *Calchvynyd*) there are no names of territories or kingdoms and, of course, no events or dates; there is every reason to believe that the kings listed were known in either Latin or Welsh documents or both for some centuries before this tract was composed (Miller 1975c, 256-7). Entry 7 is a triad, which names the three hundred swords of the Cynferchyn, the three hundred shields of the Cynwydyon, and the three hundred spears of the Coeling. Entries 8 to 12 are concerned with the descendants of Maxen Wledig. Overall the document is less reliable, there are a number of evident inaccuracies and the inclusion of two of Coel's descendants in the pedigree of Maxen Wledig would imply that the pedigree has been deliberately systematized; moreover, the tidiness of the document is historically implausible though it probably accounts for its consistent historical appeal (e.g. Chadwick 1949, 142-9; Jackson 1963, 121).

Both texts have been critically appraised by Miller (1975c) and Kirby (1976a) and each were principally concerned with determining the historical element which may be accepted for the pedigrees. Before proceeding to draw upon the evidence of the pedigrees, as a basis for mapping the political geography of North Britain, it is necessary to briefly re-examine these historical horizons and the implications which follow from them. In Table 8.1,



* Derived from *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd*
27 year (A) Calculated from Arthuret (573)
27 Year (L) Calculated from Lindisfarne (586x93)

TABLE 8.1 THE HARLEIAN PEDIGREES OF THE DYNASTIES OF GWYNEDD (MANAU GODODDIN), GODODDIN AND STRATHCLYDE

I have set out the Harleian pedigrees for the families of Coel Godebog, Ceredig Wledig, and Cunedda. Following Miller, I have reversed the retrograde order and added the annalistic detail (with the exception of Cunedda's pedigree I have ignored the later annalistic material which is given in full by Miller (op. cit. Table I, p. 261); details which may be ascribed to Welsh systematics are given (*in italics*), those due to legal fiction or construction in <angle brackets>, and those which are historical in kind, whether accurately so or not; doublets and ghosts are in [square brackets]. Of the latter I have suggested one more in the pedigree of Cunedda [Amguerit/Amguoloyt] which, along with those noted by Miller (1975c, Table III, p. 268), is perhaps also a spelling doublet; the result perhaps of a copyist of about 1100 misreading a glossed text. To the Harleian pedigrees I have also grafted in, for the pedigree of Coel Godebog, the sons of Ceneu who were combatants at the battle of Arthuret and, for the pedigree of Ceredig Wledig, Clydno's brother, Cadrod Calchvynynd; both derived from *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd* (Bartrum 1966, 72ff). The first serves to integrate the annalistic material for AD 573 (the battle of Arthuret), the second is of importance for the bearing of Cadrod Calchvynynd on the definition of a sub-kingdom within the Tweed Basin. Following Kirby (1963, 523-7; 1976a, 112), I have amended the dates given by Miller for the battle of Lindisfarne.

An element of synchronism is apparent to all three pedigrees (Miller 1975c, 266-7). The battle of Lindisfarne (586x593) provides one historical horizon common to the pedigrees of Coel Godebog and Ceredig Wledig. Miller (1975c, 265-6) identifies Morgan Bulc as the Morcant in *Historia Brittonum* (63),[24] alongside Urien and Gwallog, fourth descendants of Coel Godebog, and Rhydderch Hael, fourth in descent from Ceredig Wledig; Rhydderch Hael was the patron of St Kentigern and is said to have died in the same year as the saint, in 612x13 (Chadwick 1949, 145). In the pedigree of Coel Godebog this same horizon is in broad agreement with that grafted in from *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd* for the floruit of the heroes at Arthuret (*Armterid*, AD 573),[25] Gwendolleu (killed 573) and his first cousins Gwrgi and Peredur (killed at Caer Gru in 580),[26] and *inter alia*, in the pedigree of Ceredig Wledig, the Cynwydyon brothers Clydno Eidyn and Cadrod Calchvynynd (Miller 1975c, 266, 271; 1975d, 96). The battle of Arthuret marks the beginning of Northern entries in the *Annales*, and Miller (op. cit.) suggests that it is the historical horizon for Latinate records in that region.

The Latinate historical horizon in the pedigree of Ceredig Wledig is given by the activities of Kentigern and Rhydderch (above); the vernacular horizon is the generation of Neithon, Clydno Eidyn, Cadrod Calchvynynd, and Tudwal (Miller 1975c, 271). However, the historical horizon may be extended back to the time of Ceredig if one accepts the

identification, first made by Ferguson in 1886, of Ceredig with Coroticus, the contemporary of St Patrick, and the formation of the Cynwydyon warband. The identification is not accepted by all (cf. Dumville 1989, 217; Alcock, L pers. commun., 1989) but, if for the present we pay credence to it, we might accept the preferred estimate for Coroticus' birth around 440x450, and consequently his floruit about 465x475 (Kirby 1976a, 100; Thomas 1981, 341-3). Miller (1975c, 271) accepts a similar historical horizon for the Coeling pedigree and would allow for there also having been earlier historical material back to the formation of the Coeling warband (the Cynferchyn).

Both Miller and Kirby examined in detail Cunedda's pedigree. The important point here, given Dumville's misgivings (1977a, 181-2), is that each accepts the historicity of Cunedda and the evidence for a migration from Manaw Gododdin to North Wales (*Historia Brittonum* 14, 62). The problem stems from the fact that it is unclear whether we are dealing with the genuine family of Cunedda or simply an assortment of princes whose names were later anachronistically linked to Cunedda's pedigree. Kirby thinks the latter likely (1976a, 89-98; see also Miller 1975c, 267), although securing a date for Cunedda's birth and floruit is more difficult. However, accepting a date for the death of Iago (626) and for Maelgwyn (549), and on reckoning that Maelgwyn may have been born about 500, Kirby calculated (on thirty years to a generation) that Cunedda must have been born about 410, consequently his floruit would be about 435x445, and the migration about 450 (1976a, 99-100). He notes, however, the possibility that, taking other factors into consideration,[27] Cunedda's migration could be dated to about AD 400 (1976a, 100). The only difficulty with this is that it de-synchronizes the horizon of Latin Roman names in Cunedda's pseudo-ancestry from that of Coel and Ceredig, which seems implausible (see below). By calculating on the basis of a twenty-seven year generation, Miller argued that Cunedda's floruit could be no earlier than 441 (1976, 107); the difference at this level, of course, is negligible.

A level of synchronism is also evident between the pedigrees of Coel Godebog and Cunedda, but this may be more apparent than real. As the text of about 1100 stands, Coel has fifteen ancestors back to Beli and his wife Anna; Beli and Anna are also the ultimate ancestors of the first dynasty of Gwynedd (cf. Miller 1975c, 266-7). Coel's pedigree seems to be the result of later systematization (e.g. the identification of Coel's daughter Gwawl as wife or mother of Cunedda), but the remote common ancestry can probably be accepted (Miller 1975c, 267). Miller goes on to suggest, therefore, that the pseudo-ancestry of Coel is purely Welsh and probably unhistorical; Kirby (1976a, 112), however, notes that Coel's

immediate forbears need not be pseudo, and consequently need not necessarily be discounted.

An important point to emerge from Miller's appraisal of the pedigree evidence (important, that is, for its bearing on the political geography of North Britain) is the apparent association of the Coeling with Gododdin lands (1975c, 265). Miller argues from the premise that as the Bernicians had settled in the territory of Gododdin, the Gododdin should be represented in the Lindisfarne confederacy either by Morgan or Gwallog or both. Since Rhydderch is of Strathclyde and the Cynwydyon warband, and Urien is of Rheged and the Cynferchyn, the Coeling will, she argues, be especially of Gododdin. Moreover, since it is Morgan's patrilineage in which Coel is given his epithet and his magnificent ancestry, it seems likely that Morgan was the king, or the senior king of Gododdin (Miller 1975c, 266-7). This being so, it is thus very suitable that Cunedda and the Coeling should have the same ultimate ancestry.

Over and above this point, the merit of both Miller and Kirby's work is that it provides us, for the first time in recent years, with reasonably defined historical horizons for the three pedigrees which most concern us in reconstructing the dynastic history of North Britain. Clydno Eidyn and Cadrod Calchvynynd are clearly not 'the sons of Godebog' as was once generally accepted (thus we have an important dynastic change in the overlordship of *Eidyn* and a kingdom centred on the Tweed Basin), and it is clearly questionable whether Coel Hen's floruit would have been early in the fifth century (cf. Jackson 1969, 121; Chadwick 1976, 79).

So far, with the exception of Miller's discussion on Arthuret (1975d), there has been little attempt to integrate the detail arising from the reassessment of the pedigrees into a wider synthesis. Before I attempt to do this, it is necessary to fill out the chronology, which has been provided by the annalistic material for the pedigrees, in order to provide a firmer framework. This of course requires a considerable amount of inference, though, as occasion demanded, both Miller and Kirby engaged in this exercise (e.g. Miller 1975c, 266; and see also Dumville 1989, 218).

Kirby argued for the use of 30-year generations, but accepted that in a Dark Age context this would err on the side of exaggeration (1976a, 99). Miller, applying a model which she had used for Sicilian genealogies, favoured instead the use of 27-year generations (1975c, 278, n.1; 1976). As noted above in relation to Cunedda's pedigree the variation between the two dating methods within the Latinate and vernacular historical horizons is

small; following Kirby, Cunedda's floruit would fall about AD 435x445 and following Miller, 444x454. However, in Ceredig Wledig's pedigree, reckoning back from Rhydderch's floruit (Lindisfarne 586x593), only Kirby's 30-year generations would seem to accord with a floruit for Coroticus about 465x475. However, on an independent line of enquiry I am inclined to follow Miller in the use of 27-year generations. For Clydno Eidyn we have a floruit of 573x583 on the basis of the *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd* pedigree and the date of Arthuret. Clydno's son, Cynon, is credited with having led the Gododdin cavalry to *Catraeth*, the date of which I would suggest can be no later than AD 603/4 (see p. 337). The use of a 30-year generation would give Cynon a floruit of 603x613, whereas applying a 27-year generation his floruit would fall about 600x610 which, I think, is more in line with Jackson's view of the date of the *Gododdin* poem (1969, 56-8). Moreover, working from the sixth- and seventh-century annalistic material tabulated by Miller (1975c, Tables I-III and V) we obtain a best fit only with a 27-year generation model. Evidently for the Latinate historical horizon in the pedigrees the variations between the two methods is small, although the differences do become more apparent if we pursue the use of 30-year generations in reckoning back through the pseudo-ancestry of Ceredig Wledig (five generations) and the systematized psuedo-ancestry of Coel and Cunedda (thirteen generations); the differences at this level are in fact so great that I think we can set aside the use of 30-year generations as a dating method. Applying then, as a rule of thumb calculation, the use of 27-year generations, I have added supplementary dates to the pedigrees alongside the annalistic material already given (Table 8.1).

For Ceredig, reckoning back from Rhydderch Hael (king in Strathclyde -586x593-, died 612x613), we obtain a date for his floruit of 478x488. In view of the preferred date suggested for Patrick's letter to Coroticus (465x475), which is itself an estimate, this is perhaps later than some would like although it does still align both with Kirby's view that his floruit should fall in the second half of the fifth century (1976a, 100) and with the annalistic dates for Patrick's death, which cluster around the early 490s, which may reflect the tradition that he died before the end of the century (Thomas 1981, 345; Smyth 1984, 18). If this is unacceptable, the dilemma on the dating of Ceredig by reference to Coroticus, can, of course, be resolved if the identification is no-longer upheld (i.e. Dumville 1989, 217); could it be that Ceredig succeeded Coroticus? Given the synchronism between the pedigrees of Ceredig Wledig and Coel Godebog, the date for Coel's floruit would roughly accord with that for Ceredig (478x488); the earliest date for his floruit, calculating on 30-year generations and reckoning back from Urien (died 586x593), would be 466x476; either way he is inescabably placed in the second half of the fifth century.

The origin of the respective dynasties is more difficult as we must account for the systematized pseudo-ancestries of each, and, of course, there need be no historical element within these horizons. Following Miller we can probably discount a large part of Coel's ancestry which was later systematized by Welsh copyists to tally with that of Cunedda (1975c, 267). This is for the main to step into relatively uncharted territory and, lacking the necessary linguistic and literary skills, Miller, for one, was disinclined to venture beyond the Latinate and vernacular horizon. But, for what it is worth, by applying 27-year generations to the pseudo-ancestry of Cunedda, accounting for the caveats outlined by Miller (1975c, 267-8, 280) and accepting a suggested floruit for Cunedda of 444x454 (Miller 1976, 107), reckoning back through twelve generations to Beli the Great, we obtain an approximate floruit for the latter of AD 93x103. Although lacking corroborative evidence, a date in the early years of the second century for the foundation of the Manaw dynasty is not implausible (reckoning on Kirby's 30-year generations the floruit would fall about AD 45x55 which seems unlikely). Without attaching too much significance to the date, one can perhaps at least note its broad coincidence with the abandonment of Roman forts north of the Forth-Clyde line by about 90 and the withdrawal of all Roman troops north of the Tyne-Solway line in about 105. The creation of the Manaw dynasty as either a product of Roman frontier policy, or else as an outcome of events following the Roman withdrawal, seems reasonable given that the ancient territory of Manaw would probably have been at the hub of the frontier as originally conceived. It need not, of course, amount to philo-Roman status; a concept with which the North Britons may have been entirely unfamiliar at this date.

By applying the same estimates to the pseudo-ancestry of Ceredig Wledig we arrive at a date for the floruit of Fer (fifth in ascent from Ceredig) of 343x353. At this date Constans was probably attending to military operations against the Picts, in which *areani* were also involved (Julius Firmicus Maternus, *de errore profanarum religionem*, 28.6; Ammianus, xxvii, 3, 8), and the creation of the Strathclyde dynasty at about this date could be a product of Constans' intervention, or else, and perhaps more likely, reflect a spirit of opportunism at a time of growing instability in the far north of the island (i.e. AD 360, Scots and Picts 'breaking peace treaty', attack frontier-areas to be rebuffed probably by Lupicianus: Ammianus, xx, 1,1).

The presence of Late British, or primitive Welsh, renderings of familiar names of Latin, Roman character within the pedigrees has long been accepted, although the significance and pursuit of them has recently received less credence (cf. Jackson 1955a, 80; Thomas 1981, 278; Smyth 1984, 16-18). In appraising the significance of these names, though still in part in the realm of systematic pseudo-ancestries, we are perhaps on slightly

firmer ground given the level of consistency to be expected within a Celtic four-generation group (cf. Kirby 1976a, 81). The names which exhibit Latin influence would seem to cluster within a generation of one another and span a period from about AD 340 to 430 (reckoning from the estimated date of birth for each individual) and in chronological order they are as follows: Tacitus (*c.*340), Patern Pesrut (*c.*360), Clemens and Urbanus (both about 380, though the name of the latter is uncertain), Aeternus (*c.*390), Quintilius (*c.*410) and Tasciovanus (*c.*430).[28] Tacitus, Patern Pesrut and Aeternus are lineal ancestors of Cunedda, Clemens and Quintilius of Ceredig Wledig, and Urbanus and Tasciovanus of Coel Godebog. Whilst the Latin Roman character of these names has in the past been unduly exaggerated (cf. Dumville 1989, 216), a number of points may be made.

The floruit of these names in the mid to late fourth century coincides with a time of protracted crisis in which Rome all but lost control of the frontier area. The Roman response was mainly interventionist and often late in the day. The catalogue of disasters from the 340s to the northern wars of the late fourth and early fifth centuries would imply that there was no ready solution to the problem and Roman concern seems instead to have switched to securing the viability of the northern diocese (i.e. the construction of observation posts along the Yorkshire coast in the aftermath of the 367-9 uprising). This would of necessity involve operations over and beyond the frontier area, however, there is no evidence of either an effective, nor a coherent Roman frontier policy at this date. It seems unlikely then, if Rome could all but withstand the increasingly hostile pressures exerted against her frontiers, that she would in turn abrogate responsibility for defence to the native population of the intervallate zone, not least in view of the events of 367-9 (see pp. 165, 250-1, 252).

We can, I think, therefore dismiss any notion that the Romanized names in the pedigrees of the North Britons signify a specialized status or insignia accruing from Rome. Rather, in view of Rome's slackening grip over the forward frontier area, it is perhaps more likely that the *élite* among the North Britons came to see themselves as the only viable successors of Rome; the progenitors of a new political order, at the dawn of a new age. Where Rome had once ruled now were left only the native polities of North Britain. Perhaps no more than an ideal then, this transition in power could be reflected in the borrowing of Latin names, though by the 430s even this would be archaic, and in the context of Coroticus (born *c.*460x470) would almost be an anachronism. We cannot, of course, altogether discount the influence of Christianty - and Coroticus was a Christian (see also Bieler 1976, 211). However, with this overview in mind, an attempt can be made to set the pedigrees in the context of their political geography.

(II) THE POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF NORTH BRITAIN

My aim here is to start from the pre-Roman tribal groupings in North Britain and, drawing upon the pedigree evidence, to tentatively map their development to about AD 600. As a result of this it should be possible to pin-point the political geography pertinent to the Tweed Basin and, in view of the evidence accruing from this region, to identify more precisely the territorial extent of the sub-Roman kingdoms within it. For the broader picture, of course, it seems unlikely that boundaries can be closely defined and one must allow for some flexibility within the overall pattern. There may too be a real difference between the extent of a tribal or dynastic territory as perceived by its ruling *élite* and its actual constituent components. Prior to the battle of Nechtansmere (685), for instance, it is possible that the English could claim influence over all the lands between the two seas and extending to the Mounth; a wide political orbit which might be termed 'Greater Bernicia'. However, within this extensive domain there no doubt remained discrete and autochthonous polities with their own developed administrative, settlement and land-use patterns. It is thus necessary to distinguish between the broader perceptual framework and the minutiae of political geography which is our concern here. For present purposes, where polities can be defined, at least on the basis of the distribution of primary political cum dynastic centres, I will map the boundaries quite loosely whilst allowing them to shade off into the neighbouring tribal or dynastic districts.

The evidence for the political extent of the tribal groupings in north Britain, derived from Ptolemy's *Geography* and Tacitus' *Agricola*, has recently been the subject of a critical reappraisal by Mann and Breeze (1987). Ptolemy's list of places in this region, arranged by tribe, may include both native sites and Roman forts. It is now believed that unallocated fort names may have been added by Ptolemy to the list of what he thought was the appropriate tribe, possibly not always correctly. By separating the two groups of names, and correcting a basic error in Ptolemy's record whereby Britain north of the Tyne-Solway isthmus is turned eastward through ninety degrees, Mann and Breeze attempt to reallocate the tribal areas (fig. 8.2). As a consequence of this the Selgovae are displaced towards the south-west and the Votadini are seen to embrace north Northumberland to the Forth, if not beyond. The justification for juxtaposing the Selgovae on Nithsdale and Annandale is in part Ptolemy; *Carbantorigum* and *Corda* (though unidentified) would now fall within this area, but *Trimontium* stays put as its identification with the triple peaks of the Eildons, from which the nodal Roman centre at Newstead took its name, is inescapable. However, the rest is inference. It is argued that on the basis of human geography the Selgovae could not have occupied the Tweed Basin as this valley forms a distinct entity looking eastwards and not to the south or south-west; the uplands forming the watershed between the Annan and Tweed

basins were (it is held), and are, sparsely populated while many cross-dykes control the passes at the head-waters of the River Tweed.

On the basis of the archaeological evidence for later prehistoric and Romano-British settlement and land use (pp. 57, 307-8), I would submit that the case is not convincing and, given the density of settlement in the central Tweed Basin, the presence of the largest *oppidum* in north Britain on North Eildon Hill (ascribed by Ptolemy to the Selgovae, not the Votadini), and the thrust of the valley-systems comprising Teviotdale, Liddesdale and Eskdale, there is no reason why the Selgovae should not have embraced the central Tweed valley, along with the hill-country to the south-west, and extended west also into Annandale and Nithsdale; though the latter seems implausible. Given the importance of Roman *Trimontium* and its proximity to the North Eildon *oppidum*, the identity of this tribal centre (ranking with that of the Votadini in Lothian) would surely have been crucial to Roman frontier affairs from the Flavian period onwards. Is it really credible then that its identity should have been lost to Roman geographers, albeit at some distance remove and working from third-hand sources? I think we must accept that Eildon was *Curia Selgovensis* and, following Ptolemy, that this was the principle *locus* of the tribe.

The use of the cross-dykes to justify the severance of the Selgovae from the central Tweed Basin is misleading. Few are dated, and those that are have not been published, and the majority can probably be attributed to land-use patterns anent the hillforts in the mid to first millennium BC (see pp. 34-6 and for the Catrail, which has been dated, pp. 35, 315-16). Mann and Breeze are inclined to divorce Tweeddale from the Selgovae. I am in favour of this, given the apparent insularity of the settlement evidence as too for other categories of evidence for a later period (p. 301), which to a degree may be accounted for by the presence of the Wood of Celyddon; though it should be noted that Ptolemy does attribute Tweeddale to the Selgovae, if only by inference. I am unaware of any place-name scholar who has argued from the premise that the tribal-name can be linked with the modern name of Selkirk as contested by Mann and Breeze (1987, 89).[29] Given the likely derivation of the tribal-name, Brit. **Selg-* 'hunt' (Jackson 1953, 467), it would not be inappropriate in application to the hill-country of Teviotdale (see also Thomas 1986, 86), nor for that matter the pre-cleared (?pre-Roman) landscape of the central Tweed Basin; the name itself may be archaic and in the context of the neighbouring tribal-names one should perhaps receive it with credulity. However, if Tweeddale did not *a priori* form part of Selgovian territory, then we presumably have grounds for inferring the presence of another tribal-grouping and this territory could well have extended into Annandale and Nithsdale (see p. 307).

Nevertheless, there are grounds for believing that Ptolemy's *Geography* accurately reflects the political geography of a later period, possibly that following upon the Antonine reoccupation. Earlier (pp. 203-4), I have argued that the construction of Hadrian's Wall severed an area of 'free Brigantia' north of the Wall from its canton to the south and, for administrative and perhaps fiscal purposes, responsibility for this area passed to the Votadini (p. 256). This then would account for the apparent extension of Votadinian territory from Forth to Tyne; though no doubt the watersheds of the Pentland, Moorfoot and Lammermuir Hills would have been similarly inhibiting to the extension of Votadinian lordship as that inferred by Mann and Breeze as justification for their relocation of the Selgovae. This, I think, is an example of a perceptual framework and the apparent re-emergence of Bernicia from British *Bryneich*, derivative **brĭgant-* 'Brigantia' (Jackson 1953, 701), might seem to bear this out. The same pattern may be inferred for Tweeddale with the loss of tribal identity in Antonine times and the extension of Selgovian sovereignty over this area. This too would account for the implications arising from Ptolemy's *Geography* and the apparent inclusion of Annandale and Nithsdale within the greater tribal territory. On this basis we can map the evidence at two levels. First a pre-Ptolemaic tribal grouping, for the sake of argument *c.*120; the second *c.*142 and reflecting the reorganization of the territories in line with Ptolemy (figs. 8.3 and 8.4). To the second we should probably also add the territory of the Maeatae, the name may survive in Dumyat and Myot Hill near Stirling (Rivet and Smith 1979, 404; Alcock 1988a, 3-4). Holder (1896-1907, ii, 388) thought the name Pictish (see also Wainwright 1980, 51-2) and this is plausible given the apparent Pictish ancestry of Cunedda's pedigree (cf. Chadwick 1949, 149). We should also bear in mind the possible remote ancestry of the dynasty of Manaw which may have come into being about this time (see p. 272).

Three generations in descent from Beli the Great in the ancestry of Cunedda and we are probably in the mid second century. This was a time of change in the Lothians as revealed by the archaeological evidence for the abandonment of Traprain Law accompanied by the inferred shift in the curia of the Votadini from here to Castle Rock, Edinburgh; for which there is now too some possible corroborative proof (cf. Alcock 1988a, 28; this work pp. 151-3). If we follow Miller's suggested identification of the Coeling with Gododdin lands we might also infer the origins of the dynasty about this time, although there is, of course, no evidence to link Coel with *Eidyn*. However, the close synchronism of Roman Latin names within the pseudo-ancestries of Coel and Cunedda might lend support to this view and place each on an equal footing in the forward frontier zone. We must also account for the reoccupation of Traprain in the 250s and from this possibly infer a separate polity, quite possibly Pictish, to the east of *Eidyn* (fig. 8.5). Moreover, change is also apparent at

Traprain in the mid to late fourth century with the introduction of a new building style (pp. 155-67) and this too may hold important political implications for the Lothians and reflect the influence of wider interests. It is about this time, accounting for the pseudo-ancestry of Ceredig Wledig, that the Strathclyde dynasty may have come into being. Roman Latin names are present in all the pedigrees from the 390s. The choice of *Alt Clut*, Clyde Rock, Dumbarton, for the *reges* of Strathclyde is probably also significant. Each of the northern dynasties had by the late fourth century secured highly visible strongholds as the principal fortifications of their kingdoms (fig. 8.6).

We have, therefore, a string of nodal centres spanning the northern frontier from Clyde Rock in the west, by way of Castle Rock, Stirling, and *Din Eidyn*, to Traprain (*Dunpelder*) in the east, though we should perhaps receive favourably Alcock's suggestion that Arthur's Seat would be a better candidate for sub-Roman *Din Eidyn* as it certainly stands head-and-shoulders above Castle Rock, Edinburgh, whether seen from the Firth of Forth or from the Midland Valley (1988a, 14). With the exception of Traprain, we can reasonably postulate the emergence of each of the respective dynastic territories from pre-Roman tribal groupings: Strathclyde would seem to emerge from the Dumnonii; Manaw from the Maeatae, and Gododdin from *Eidyn* and the Votadini (see also Dumville 1989, 217).[30] Traprain is singular in this respect but may have maintained its own and continued to capitalize on the resources of the East Lothian coastal plain until its resident population were dislodged or left of their own accord sometime in the early to mid fifth century (pp. 167-8), at which time Lothian could either have come back into the lordship of Gododdin or have been perpetuated under the rule of the eponymous Leudonus (see p. 167). The presence of this quite possibly Pictish polity on the doorstep of *Eidyn* obviously raises the question of the relationship between the northern kingdoms and the Picts. The one point which might be underlined is that the neighbouring kingdoms may have had good reason to accept the presence of this sub-kingdom; perhaps it was in their own interests, for their power and ultimate stature arguably derived from and could only be sustained by their ability to compromise with Pictland.[31] To this list of northern kingdoms should probably also be added Bernicia, the successor state to British *Bryneich*, for continuity between later prehistory and the Early Historic period in this part of Northumbria seems to be confirmed by the archaeological evidence from Bamburgh.[32]

The apparent stability of these northern kingdoms would seem to be borne out by one event of the mid fifth century. About this time, or possibly in the early 460s, Cunedda is said to have left Manaw in the hands of his eldest son, Typiawn, and departed for North Wales along with eight other sons and one grandson. Although since Chadwick's rebuttal

(1958, 32-4) reservations have been expressed (Dumville 1977a, 181), there seem reasonable historical grounds for accepting the tradition, though the names of all but two of his sons who transferred to Gwynedd are probably fictitious (cf. Miller 1975c, 272; 1976, 102-7; Kirby 1976a, 89-100, esp. 93). However, there are other grounds for accepting the case for a migration. First, throughout north-western Europe in the early to mid fifth century there was a spate of migrations on an unprecedented scale, accompanied by womenfolk, children and the elderly (cf. Thompson 1977, 303). In this context Cunedda's migration was nothing out of the ordinary. Second, most dynasties in Britain in the Dark Ages, of which we have adequate information, experienced periodic bloodbaths, and the more collateral heirs there were at any one time, the more likely the bloodshed. It is possible that Cunedda correctly anticipated this eventuality. Cunedda was a man in his fifties[33] and his departure would have left Manaw united behind one ruler and, on his death, free from the rivalries that were to plague the fourth generation of Coel's descendants.[34] Quite possibly he looked to Cynllwb, Ceredig Wledig's father, to uphold his son's claim and to secure, by intervention if necessary, the viability of his realm. It is thus quite suitable that on Typiawn's own death the overlordship of Manaw would seem to have passed to Ceredig Wledig and the Strathclyde dynasty. Cunedda's departure can therefore be seen as an act of policy over and above the need to dislodge the Irish from North Wales, for here were new territories over which his sons could exercise their right to rule.[35]

Ceredig too, if he be Coroticus, would seem to have been sufficiently confident to allow detachments of his own forces to raid the coast of Ireland. It is possible that these were none other than the Cynwydyon warband; the eponym Cynwyd in Ceredig's pedigree should mean a belief that Ceredig created the warband - Cynwyd being the name father of it (Miller 1975c, 263). They seem to have exceeded themselves, taking captive men who were also Christians so as to capitalize on the gains to be made from slavery; the statement that Patrick's letter was addressed to the warband itself, thus seems appropriate.

Ceredig has the epithet *guletic*, a title by which Cunedda was also known; Coel has the epithet *godebog* 'Protector'. The first has been thought by some to be equivalent of some Roman rank like *Comes Britanniae* or *Dux Britanniarum* (Jackson 1955a, 80). In view of the dates now offered for the floruit of these individuals this level of Roman insignia or status is unlikely, though in view of the apparent pretension (or influence) evident in the Roman Latin names present in the pedigrees it is plausible that the title no more than reflects the prestige with which the overlords of the respective dynasties were received by the rank and file population. It perhaps served to bolster their claim and to uphold a level of symbolic paternalism. The dynasties may be seen to have come of age and such an esteemed level of

full-blooded Celticism should perhaps only be lightly tempered by an aura of *Romanitas* (compare: *Memoria Voteporigis Protictoris*, South Wales, mid sixth century; Nash-Williams 1950, 107, no. 138).

Although the Coeling seem to be closely related to Gododdin (Miller 1975c, 265), there is still nothing to tell us from which region came Coel and the Coeling. Given the subsequent, though inferential, destiny of the collateral branch of Coel's family who may well have been high kings of *Eidyn*, it is possible that Coel himself was sovereign over territories farther afield. We are to an extent thrown back on a retrogressive examination of Coel's direct lineage with Urien; a connection which is demonstrated by the early poem of Taliesin to Urien which declares that any one of the lineage of Coel would need to be sorely grieved before he would give hostages (Williams 1975, vi.11; Kirby 1976, 113). If Urien was of Rheged it might follow that Coel too ruled over these parts, and in view of the probable importance of Carlisle as the primary objective to the campaign culminating at Arthuret (Miller 1975d, 115) this too cannot be ruled out as a possible *civitas* or *urbs regia* for him. If this is allowed, we can perhaps tentatively suggest that by the mid fifth century the lands of the Coeling may have extended from the Forth to the Solway, transecting the middle Tweed basin. In practical terms this would mean that the Coeling embraced lands earlier occupied by the Votadini, the Selgovae and the Novantae; a vast tract of territory but one no doubt subdivided, if not before, almost certainly a generation or two later, between the various collateral branches of the Coeling. The widest plausible area occupied by Gwenddoleu and his allies, in view of his association with Arthuret and Carwinley in lower Eskdale, would seem to be Eskdale and beyond, and Liddesdale (Miller 1975d, 104); their extension to the central Tweed Basin and the fringes of *Coed Celyddon* thus seems likely and would accord with a succession upon lands formerly held by the Selgovae. On this basis we can tentatively map the political geography of North Britain for the late fourth and early to mid fifth centuries (accounting for the four generations from Coel to Gwenddoleu) (fig. 8.7).

An untoward feature of Morgan's pedigree (the Morcant of the Lindisfarne confederacy) is the inclusion of the collateral Bran (*c*.556x566) in Harleian Genealogy 10. Miller interprets this contravention of the proper form of the retrograde patrilineage - the only one in the whole Harleian collection - as indicative of an event of some importance. This is, she suggests, the interruption of the rule of the Coelings in *Eidyn* (1975c, 266). In the Strathclyde pedigree in this generation we are presented with the Cynwydyon brothers Clydno and Cadrod. In Harleian Genealogy 7, as elsewhere, Clydno's constant epithet is *Eidyn*, 'of Edinburgh'; Cadrod has the title *Calchfynynd*, 'Kelso' (see pp. 280-5). The implication is that both Edinburgh and Kelso at this time fell to the Strathclyde dynasty. The

context is probably the battle of Arthuret. Miller argues from the premise that Gwrgi and Peredur's allies were none other than the Cynwydyon of Strathclyde (here represented by Cynfelyn, second in descent from Ceredig Wledig); with the fall of Carlisle and Gwenddoleu's death, they would have been in a position to establish both Clydno in Edinburgh and Cadrod in Kelso (1975d, 105, 115). This then would be an event of sufficient importance to account both for the epithets used and the contravention of the retrograde patrilineage.

The Coeling would seem to have been in a position within a generation to retake Edinburgh, though perhaps by diplomacy rather than by force; Clydno Eidyn's son, Cynon, is credited with having led the Gododdin cavalry to *Catraeth*. This perhaps points to a close common kindred between the two dynasties, although fighting in the vicinity of Edinburgh may be deduced from several stanzas within the *Gododdin* elegy, and in this Cynon seems to have actively participated (Jackson 1969, B34, A13, A15, and for Cynon A76; Miller 1975d, 116). Coeling control of *Eidyn* is resumed with Cyngar (we have no detail of the political status of Kelso at this time) and his son, Morgan Bulc, was probably one of the combatants at Lindisfarne (but for qualification on this point see Kirby 1976a, 112). His contemporary and ally, Rhydderch, was by this date king in Strathclyde. Urien's territories are said to have included *Goddeu* (perhaps, *Coed Celyddon*, see pp. 290-2), *Catraeth* in Yorkshire (this is disputed by Alcock 1987b, 253; but see also this work p. 338) and *Llwyfenydd* (perhaps also in Yorkshire); Gwallog, it has been suggested, was in possession of Elmet (fig. 8.8).[36] In the Irish annals, in 638 and neighbouring years, there appears *obsessio Etin*, 'the siege of Edinburgh' (Miller 1975c, 266); this it is held means the end of the kingdom of Gododdin (Jackson 1959, 35-42: Dumville 1989, 216). With the elder Morgan identified as the Lindisfarne confederate in 586x593, the end of the dynasty under his grandson would appear to admirably cohere with the annalistic evidence for 638.

(III) CADROD CALCHVYNYD: THE CASE FOR A BRITISH KINGDOM CENTRED ON THE TWEED BASIN

Clydno Eidyn's brother was Cadrod Calchvynyd, a prince of the fourth generation from Ceredig Wledig. His surname has in the past been identified with Kelso,[37] and this is important as it would indicate the presence of an hitherto unidentified British kingdom centred on the Tweed Basin. More recently, however, doubts have been expressed, notably by Jackson,[38] and in order to develop the picture further it is necessary to consider his reasoning, if only to reject it and uphold the identification. He states: '*Calchfynydd* means "lime mountain", and Kelso is apparently named from the chalky cliff by the town, called

Chalkheugh in the eighteenth century. With carboniferous limestone a well-known feature in the Lowlands, the logic of the proof is not apparent. Besides the cliff is hardly a *mynydd*' (1955a, 83, n.13). This view can be challenged on the basis of etymology, by reference to the geology of the area, local topography and to Cadrod himself. Further the evidence can be considered in relation to what has previously been said about the likely status of Kelso in the Early Historic period.

(a) Calchfynydd: the place-name

To take the name first. Jackson adopts a strict interpretation of W *mynydd* 'mountain', but the British word for mountain was **moniđo-*, from earlier **monijo* (Watson 1926, 391; Jackson 1956, 355), and *mynydd* is more usually translated in a wider sense, by reference to Gaelic *monadh*, 'hillground' or 'hilly region'. However, it need refer to no more than 'common' or 'wild unenclosed land', without any necessary reference to its hilliness (Watson 1926, 398). Watson notes that as to height *monadh* can in Scotland refer to quite low eminences, but in every instance there is a height of some sort. South of the Forth-Clyde isthmus the term was displaced by Gaelic terms and by OE *law* and Scandinavian *fell* (cf. Cameron 1977, 175-6, 178), sometimes too by Scots *heugh* (Watson 1926, 398): *heuch, heugh, hewch* 'ragged, steep'; 'a steep hill or bank', 'a glen with steep overhanging braes or sides' (Jamieson 1818 *'Heuch'*); 'a precipice, crag or cliff', 'a steep hill' (Craigie and Aitken 1974, 117). Thus Minto, Roxburghshire (*Munethov*, 1166; *Myntowe*, 1296; *Minthov*, 1306-29) seems to be the equivalent of OW *minit*, W *mynydd* and Scots *how*, 'a hollow, a low knoll' or *heugh* 'a hill' (Watson 1926, 398; Johnston 1934, 254), the Minto Hills (271m OD). Similarly, Pressmennan, East Lothian (*Presmunet*, *c.*1160) is 'copse on the hill', with reference to a ridge close by (Watson 1926, 398; Fraser 1987, 70; this work p. 155), and Hesterheugh, Yetholm (*hesterhoh*, *c.*800), from W *ystre* 'dwelling' and OE *hóh*, 'height' (Johnston 1934, 202).

The historicity of Calchvynyd is not in doubt: 'We appear to have solid evidence for *đ* from sometime in the fifth century... through place-names of the seventh century, to the Old Welsh, Old Cornish and Old Breton' (Jackson 1956, 355); this is in line with the genealogical evidence for Cadrod which would place his floruit about 600. However, if the identification of *Calchvynyd* with Kelso is to stand one should expect to see a parallel development for the name as in the place-names cited above, and this is indeed the case. It is *Calkou* (1126); *Chelchou* (*c.*1145); *Calcho* (*c.*1153); *Kelcou* (*c.*1158); *'Ordo Kelchoensis'* (*c.*1203); *Kelsowe* (1420); *Calcouia* (1477) and *Kalyhow* in 1554 (Johnston 1934, 214). Thus we have in the first instance (*c.*600) *calch-* OW 'chalk,

limestone' and W *mynyd* 'height', stylized through OE *cealc-*, Latin *calx, -cis* 'chalk, lime', with the suffix Scots *-heugh* or *-how* 'height' (Johnston 1934, 214; implicitly Watson 1926, 343, and see also Jackson 1956, 570).

(b) The Topographical Evidence

On etymological grounds there is thus no reason to doubt the name, the progression from *Calchvynyd* (*c.*600) to *Calkou* (1126) is readily apparent, but how appropriate was it to this locality? The author of the *Statistical Account* notes the presence of 'an eminence on Tweed side, on which part of the town stands. The height is called the Chalk-heugh, or *Calchow*, one of the ancient names of the town, and contains a great quantity of Gypsum, and other calcareous matter' (10, 1793, 84). The author of the *New Statistical Account* more specifically notes 'the cliff on which part of the town stands... it contains gypsum and other calcareous earths' and in the description of the parish he points out that its topographical features necessarily embrace both dale and upland. To the north, the country gently rises from the river's edge, in a series of undulating ridges nearly parallel to each other and to the river, while to the south, the ground is modified both by the precipitous character of the river banks and by the valley to the west; when viewed from the vicinity of the river, it presents the appearance of an amphitheatre (1845, 298-9). Chalmers (1887-1902, iii, 156-7) simply points to 'a calcareous eminence, which appears conspicuous in the middle of the town and which is still called the Chalkheugh'. Here then are fully met the criteria required by the name (fig. 8.9), but one might also infer the origin of the name prior to the twelfth century on independent evidence. In a confirmatory charter to Kelso Abbey we are told that their lands lay '*in loco qui dicitur Calkou*' (Lawrie 1905, p. 156, no. 194); the name survives to this day in the modern street-name 'Chalkheugh Terrace' (NT 7248 3420) between Riverside Walk and Roxburgh Street on the north side of the Tweed (see also Moffat 1985, 12).

(c) The Geological Evidence

None the less, is it possible that sixth-century *Calchvynyd* lay elsewhere in south-east Scotland as Jackson implies ? Again, the answer is probably no, but there are two regional possibilities. The largest outcrop of Carboniferous strata extends north-eastwards for about 130 km from Kirkudbright to the Cheviot Hills (Lumsden 1971, 61). In the neighbourhood of Coldstream, Carboniferous rocks re-enter Scotland and occupy the Merse of Berwickshire, spreading over low-lying ground on the Scottish side of the Tweed from Kelso northwards to Duns and then eastwards towards Berwick (Pringle 1948, 54). To take first the tract of Carboniferous limestone which extends from the Stewartry into Roxburghshire by way of Liddesdale. This can be discounted for two reasons: first, the

dearth of evidence for any place-name survival which would point to a specific location in respect to its solid geology and local topography. If one is to assume the presence of *Calchvynyd* in this area, one must infer that by the twelfth century it had failed as a settlement. The name would imply a readily identifiable centre and one possibly of some prestige, a county town or some other town of the first order (compare, for instance, Clydno *Eidyn*, 'Edinburgh'). Even allowing for a failed settlement, the name, after all, explicitly topographical, should survive as a hill-name; a possibility of which Jackson must have been aware. In an area where the prevailing rock-type is Carboniferous Limestone, it could be argued that the name itself demands a more exacting location in respect to its solid geology and local topography. On this basis Dumfriesshire and the Stewartry can probably be ruled out; Liddesdale too seems unlikely as here the rock is largely masked by the topography of the Cheviots. The burden of proof, however, lies with the historical evidence, for this was the territory of Gwenddoleu's kingdom, if not that of his cousins Gwrgi and Peredur. Further a succession is not apparent, at least on the genealogical evidence.

The Carboniferous Limestone of the Tweed Basin thus seems the more likely option, but here the limiting factor is not the extent of the strata but the political background to the district. By the sixth century the entire area of the Merse (itself subject to Germanic settlement by this date, pp. 259-62) fell within the kingdom of *Bryneich*, later Bernicia. By any line of reasoning the lord of *Calchvynyd* could not be claimed as a Bernician - he would be one of Bernicia's neighbours (Hope-Taylor 1977, 287). Accepting that the boundary between *Bryneich* and the British territories to the west lay roughly north-south along Dere Street, this then forces us back onto the limited area of outcropping Carboniferous Limestone in the neighbourhood of Kelso. And this area is set apart by its solid geology (fig. 8.10). On plan the Carboniferous Limestone of the Kelso area can be likened to a toe, hemmed-in on three sides by igneous intrusions, 'the Kelso Traps'. Thus on the basis of solid geology the area can be pinned down with a degree of precision, and it is appropriate that this is reflected in the place-name evidence for the locality at all periods.

(d) Cadrod and the Gododdin

One further line of reasoning may be brought to bear to secure the identification of *Calchvynyd* with *Calchou*. In the heroic poetry of the age (Williams 1975, xliii) Cadrod is commemorated as a brother of Clydno Eidyn, of Ceredig's family, and as having accompanied the Gododdin cavalry on their route south from *Din Eidyn* to *Catraeth* (?Catterick). This would seem to require that Cadrod be placed somewhere along this route, and Kelso would, of course, be the logical centre. The town lies less than 11 km from

Dere Street, the route most probably taken by the army, and would allow for a half-way house; a place were supplies could be replenished and the men rested.

(e) Kelso - an Urbs Regia?

Some background has previously been provided for the place of Kelso in the Early Historic period (p. 199). It stands apart as a defensible place and is singled out by the size of its *territoria* in relation to the known Dark Age forts flanking this part of the Tweed Basin. Its origins as a market or redistribution centre have been inferred (pp. 199, 242) and, if the identification of Kelso as sixth-century *Calchvynyd* is to stand, it would appear to have been a royal centre as well. This then makes the presence of a first order Anglian site, less than 3.5 km to the north-east, at Sprouston all the more explicable; a testimony to the Anglo-British *entente* established in this sector of the Tweed Basin by the seventh century. It would serve too, to explain the pre-eminence of Roxburgh in the medieval period; itself a royal centre and one endowed by 1128 with a castle and an abbey.[39]

(f) Kelso - a Dark Age Caput?

Finally, to take Jackson's ultimate rejoinder 'the hill is hardly a *mynydd*'. In answer to this, and setting aside the topographic evidence already reviewed, one need look no further than the site of Roxburgh Castle as a suitable location for a Dark Age citadel. The site is eminently defensible and lies less than 1 km west of Kelso overlooking the junction of Tweed and Teviot, these rivers flanking the site on two sides (fig. 8.9). The mount itself is a kame up to 24m high with a summit area of about 2.5 ha (RCAMS 1956, pp. 407-11, No. 905). No evidence has been found which would point to activity on the hill in the sixth century but it is not impossible, and clearly the earthworks which enclose the castle (on record in 1128)[40] could be earlier; a possibility noted by Moffat (1985, 23). This then, if not the precipitous escarpment flanking the town on Tweedside, would be the most likely candidate in upholding the identification of Kelso with sixth-century *Calchvynyd.*

(g) The Kingdom of Calchvynyd; thoroughly pre-Roman in origin?

Accepting the identification it remains to consider the nature of the kingdom to which Cadrod succeeded. Earlier it has been shown that by the fifth century, if not earlier, the principal tribal-groupings of the Novantae, the Dumnonii, the Maeatae and the Votadini had all re-emerged as British kingdoms, each with its own ruling house. Could the same be true for Cadrod's kingdom? The boundary to the east, I have suggested, lay roughly north-south, on a line approximately to Dere Street. To the west the Wood of Celyddon would seem to provide another boundary, while to the south-west the boundary might lie on the watershed provided by the hills of Eskdale, Liddesdale and Teviotdale. Alternatively, one might

assume a penetration on this line to take in both Eskdale and Liddesdale, as this would serve to unify the lands held by the Coeling dynasty both within the Tweed Basin and to the south-west. Prior to 573, these same territories may have formed part of Gwenddoleu's kingdom centred on Arthuret and earlier still may have fallen within the remit of Coel Guotepauc, whose control over the intramural zone has previously been inferred (p. 279). Moreover, a poem in the *Black Book of Carmarthen* commemorates the defeat of the pagan alliance at *Arfderydd* and their flight into the Wood of Celyddon;[41] amongst their number was one *Myrddin Willt* (Merlin), whose distraught wanderings in *Celyddon* in his madness after Arthuret are also chronicled.[42] Their route must have taken them up the valley of the Liddel Water, probably over territories held by the Christian faction of the Coeling dynasty. Support for this is provided by an Early Christian memorial recovered in 1933 from the bed of the Liddel Water (plates 8.1, 8.2). It is inscribed HIC IACIT / CARANTI FIL[I] CUPITIANI ('Here lies Carantus son of Cupitianus') and is ascribed to the fifth or early sixth century.[43]

Thus we probably have a kingdom stretching from the heart of the Tweed Basin, with its caput at Kelso, taking in most, if not all of Teviotdale and probably also embracing Eskdale and Liddesdale (see also Miller 1975d, 104). In the Flavian period, I have suggested, this was the tribal territory of the Selgovae (pp. 274-5), and the conclusion seems inescapable. A sixth-century kingdom with its caput at *Calchvynyd* to all intents matches precisely the pre-existing tribal territory; *Calchvynyd* itself lies less than 8 km east of the former tribal centre at *Trimontium* (*Eldunum*).[44] The pattern of take-over in the Tweed Basin thus seems to repeat that already established for the neighbouring British kingdoms. From this one may surmise that the later kingdoms, in this the intramural zone, were more firmly and deeply rooted than has previously been envisaged; the one mirrors the other, out of the old emerges the new, itself sustained and strengthened by what went before. The picture seems not to be one of disruption, but of continuity and elemental clarity.

(IV) TWEEDDALE (*GODDEU*). THE CASE FOR A NEIGHBOURING BRITISH KINGDOM IN THE TWEED BASIN

(a) The Evidence of the Early Christian Monuments

The Wood of Celyddon, later Ettrick Forest, serves to set apart a block of country to the west of the middle Tweed Basin comprising the head-waters of the Yarrow and Ettrick, and to the north those of the Tweed. The settlement evidence for this area has already been considered (and see pp. 353-4ff) and, on the basis of the earlier reclassification of Romano-British settlement types (pp. 174-93), it has been suggested that site-types 1C, 2B and 4B underline the insularity of this district in the later prehistoric and Early Historic periods, lending to a

more conservative development of settlement morphology and land-use patterns as distinct from those embracing a greater part of the Tweed Basin to the south and east. The question now to be addressed is how far this insularity is reflected in the emergence of this district in the Early Historic period, on the basis of the known Early Christian monuments, and further, whether these monuments can be used to define a broad territorial framework which would be consistent with the emergence of this district by this period as a distinct entity. If this can be established then it seems not unreasonable to infer that, like Cadrod's kingdom, this too emerged from an earlier pre-Roman tribal-grouping; this would be consistent with the pattern of re-emergence already postulated for the neighbouring British kingdoms. Just such a development would shed important light on the political emergence of Tweeddale and may also serve to clarify its status in the medieval period. To the best of my knowledge this form of approach has never previously been pursued.[45] The Early Christian monuments are often grouped, regardless of date, on maps largely devoid of topographic detail and reference to the most marked feature of the landscape - the Wood of Celyddon - has, but for a few abstruse references, been largely ignored (fig. 8.11). In the course of my own fieldwork, extending over several seasons from 1979 to 1982, the site of each Early Christian monument was visited, sometimes more than once; the last, the site at Over Kirkhope, was visited in 1983 in the course of map revision undertaken for the Ordnance Survey by RCAMS. Summary descriptions of each of the stones are contained in an annex to this chapter and here only the most salient details will be discussed.

(i) Over Kirkhope, Ettrick

The earliest stone, bearing the incised figure of an *Orans*, probably of fifth- or sixth-century date, comes from an isolated hill area (330m OD) towards the head of the Ettrick Water at its confluence with the Kirkhope Burn (NT 2145 1181) (plate 8.3). The precise findspot is unknown. It was discovered about 1885[46] and was ascribed by Romilly Allen to 'the site of an ancient chapel at Over Kirkhope' (1903, iii, 431), however, in 1950, in work preparatory to the Selkirkshire Inventory, the Commission's Investigators were informed that it had been removed from a stone wall close to the south-east end of the shepherd's house, and a disturbance in the masonry of the wall at this point appeared to confirm this (RCAMS 1957, p. 69, No. 65). None the less, when visited in 1962 by the officers of the Ordnance Survey no trace of this disturbance was found (NMRS Record card NT 21 SW 1).

The habitative area of this part of the valley, however, is confined by topography to a limited portion of the haughland flanking the left bank of the Kirkhope Burn, extending from the house and fank at Over Kirkhope for a distance of some 750m upstream to a point where the valley sharply contracts (fig. 8.12); beyond this point there are traces of but a few

shielings. Of the burial-ground noted by Craig-Brown (1886, i, 267) and Allen (above) there are now no visible remains. It would seem to have occupied a quite extraordinary position on the most low-lying area of the haughland adjacent the shepherd's house (an area prone to flooding) and its identification (RCAMS 1957, p. 35, No. 12) should, perhaps, be received with caution. On higher ground, immediately to the WSW (RCAMS 1957, pp. 72-3, No. 77) there are, however, the turf-covered stone wall-footings of at least five rectangular buildings and a circular enclosure (possibly a turf stell), together with extensive traces of rig-and-furrow which are bound on the north by a transverse head-dyke that extends laterally from the burn. On face value these would appear to be the remains of a pre-Improvement farmstead (or possibly a small fermtoun), but in the light of the calibrated radiocarbon dates from Barhobble, Wigtownshire (Cormack 1987, 8), a site not unlike that at Kirkhope, it would be prudent to reserve judgement.

The OS 6-inch map (Selkirkshire, 1st ed., 1863, sheet 17) (fig. 8.12) singles out the most northerly of these buildings as a chapel; but for its size (9.6m by 5.1m overall) it is unexceptional and its identification must be regarded as circumspect. A better candidate, perhaps, is provided by a subrectangular building, which lies within an embanked-and-ditched enclosure some 280m to the WNW. This too is unorientated but it does bear some resemblance to a site identified by the writer in the course of fieldwork in Gleann Bheag, Perthshire, which is associated with the name *Clochnahernan*, 'the lairds' burial-ground' (RCAMS 1990, p. 119, No. 265.12). Alternatively, the Over Kirkhope building need be no more than the remains of a small Border pele (Corser, P pers. commun., 1988). Excavation, of course, holds the key and here at least, within a fairly limited area, there must be a very real possibility of detecting evidence of fifth- or sixth-century activity.

To judge from the distribution of forest steads in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (fig. 1.5), Over Kirkhope probably lay outwith the Wood of Celyddon which blocked the valley corridor on the north-east. Over Kirkhope would seem, therefore, to have been no more than a small rural backwater, amounting perhaps to no more than a few family groups engaged in pastoralism. Although the isolation of this district is borne out by the author of the *Statistical Account*, he notes too that, withstanding the inclemency of the local climate and altitude, on occasion the deep and fertile haughs could produce not only a great quantity of straw, but also grain (3 [1790-1], 294, 297).

(ii) Yarrow

The next stone to be considered, which is of about the same date (early sixth century), lies across the watershed some 18 km north-east of Over Kirkhope at Yarrow (fig. 8.13). This is probably the most interesting stone in the Tweed Basin and is certainly the most informative.[47] It commemorates the burial-place (*locus*) of the most famous princes Nudus and Dumnogenus, the sons of Liberalis. The stone stands where it was found about 1803 in a field, formerly a moor, 100m to the west of Yarrow Kirk (plate 8.4). Human bones were found beneath the stone and close by there were at least twenty large cairns, one of which contained 'part of an old iron spear'. About 480m to the ENE, and apparently also forming part of a large cairn, there is a standing stone (the Glebe Stone), at the base of which more bones were found. While 210m to the NE (adjacent the cottage at Warrior's Rest) another standing stone marks the site where eight orientated long cists were found in 1857. Associated finds included fragments of a food vessel, an Early Bronze Age ring of cannel coal and traces of bone. The combined evidence suggests that the site was successively occupied by Bronze Age and Early Christian communities. Moreover, the OS 6-inch map (1st ed., 1865, sheet 10) (fig. 8.13) preserves a tradition that the moor was called 'Annan Street'.[48] Thus we have, in all probability, evidence of the survival into the Early Historic period of the pagan custom of roadside burial; a custom that was not displaced until later in the sixth century by the Christian practice of churchyard burial.

Strictly speaking, 'Annan Street' cannot have been the site of the settlement; the associated cairns would be the by-product of field-clearance, possibly for arable but more probably for grazing. By tradition this is a poor agricultural area: 'the crops are frequently indifferent. Some years they scarcely repay the labour and expense incurred in raising them... sheep are of superior quality... horses and black cattle do not rise above mediocrity' (*Stat. Acct.*, 7 [1793], 500, 502). In terrain such as this one would expect field evidence to take the form of settlements either terraced or levelled into the slopes at the margin of the hill ground (the division between lowland arable and upland grazing) but it is significant that, apart from a number of linear earthworks and an earthwork enclosure on the east flank of Peat Law,[49] there are no visible remains which would amount to settlement at any period prior to the eighteenth-century improvements, although this was, apparently, already a depopulated landscape (*Stat. Acct.*, 7 [1793], 504). The dearth of evidence suggests that the focus for settlement at all periods lay on the haughland on the eastern margin of the moor; an area set apart by the confluence of the Yarrow with the Whitehope and Deuchar Burns, that is to say, within the shadow of the sixteenth-century tower-house at Deuchar and close to the site of the present parish church (built 1640).[50]

The Yarrow stone commemorates NVDI (W Nudd, from British **Nodonts*, genitive **Nodontos*, the old nominative, Late British **Nudoss*) and DVMNOGEN (genitive of the British **Dumnogenos*), the sons of LIBERALI (Liberalis) (plate 8.5).[51] Liberalis is the Latin equivalent of W *hael* 'generous'; an epithet which seems to have belonged to more than one branch of the ruling family of Strathclyde and Dumbarton.[52] Rhys took the names NVDI and LIBERALI as applying to one and the same person, namely Nudd Hael, second cousin of Rhydderch Hael.[53] This was contested by Macalister[54] and dismissed by Jackson.[55] The question has since not been readdressed. However, the possible link with Strathclyde is important and was not discounted by Jackson; 'the title Hael ('generous') would seem to belong to the family'.[56] Moreover, Miller (1975d, 104-5) identifies Dreon, son of Nudd, who fought at Arthuret as the son of Nudd Hael commemorated on the Yarrow stone. The simultaneous burial of two brother princes suggests that they either died in battle or as a result of plague, and the first half of the sixth century ended with the Yellow Plague: if this was the cause of Nudd's death, his son could well have been present at Arthuret some twenty-four years later. As Dreon supported the Cynwydyon at Arthuret against the Coeling this, if Miller's hypothesis is correct, would seem to provide another pointer that *Celyddon* or *Goddeu* were still in Haeling hands in the mid to late sixth century. The Yarrow stone testifies to the presence in this part of the Yarrow valley of a Christian ruling family; the names are British, typical of the native revival by the early sixth century, though the character of the memorial clearly looks back to Rome.[57] For Roman influence, evident too in the Latinized form of the inscription, if not the names, comparison may be made with the treatment of the hair on the Over Kirkhope *Orans* figure, whose closest analogies lie with poor late Roman provincial work.[58]

First impressions, therefore, are of another discrete rural enclave comparable to that at Over Kirkhope, but here the Yarrow stone marks a radical departure. It recalls the presence in this locality of a ruling house who were at the same time Christian and to a degree literate. The epithet *Liberalis* ('generous') ties them firmly to the ruling British family of Strathclyde. Moreover, and previously altogether overlooked, Yarrow lies at the heart of the Wood of Celyddon. Could this then be the lost Dark Age kingdom of *Goddeu*? Not *Coed Celyddon* itself, as Watson suggests (1926, 343-4), but a district within the forest (see below).

(b) A Dark Age Kingdom

Coed Celyddon is, perhaps, the last place one might expect to find the caput of a ruling British family. Devoid of terrain suited to a citadel in the manner of Dumbarton, Stirling, Edinburgh and even Kelso, in an area notoriously poor agriculturally, and isolated,[59] the

presence of a royal house, but for the chance survival of the Yarrow stone, might have passed without question. And yet, the forest itself, combined with terrain and the viscitudes of local climate,[60] may have served in effect to provide a rampart to a site which must have been eminently defensible by virtue of its impenetrable position.[61] But this, perhaps, lays too great a stress on the sheltered position of Yarrow in this secluded rural backwater, for the royal centre most probably lay at the head of a routeway which penetrated the forest from the west and communicated directly with the south-west via the valley of the River Annan; hence 'Annan Street'. Perhaps this too is in origin a Roman road, possibly one of three traversing the hill-country of the western territories with a common origin at the nodal centre *Trimontium* (Newstead) (fig. 3.2). Is it possible that Annan Street could in Antonine I (*c.*142-158) have connected with the fortlet at Milton, at the valley confluence between the Annan and Moffat Water, and from there led south to the Solway? To the north there is the Roman road connecting the forts at Lyne and Castledykes,[62] and to the south that extending over Craik Moor from the fortlets at Milton and Raeburnfoot.[63] There is no evidence that 'Annan Street' did extend farther east (the roadside burials have their focus at Yarrow) but from here to Newstead, following the main river valley, is a distance of only 28 km (17 miles).

(c) Goddeu

In the historical poems, *Goddeu* is associated with Rheged; in the Urien poems vi. 4 *godeu a reget y ymdulla* and vii. 44 *godeu a reget yn ymdullyaw*.[64] Although the extent of Rheged has frequently been discussed,[65] there are few fixed points which can be accurately located. Welsh tradition in the twelfth century regarded north Cumberland as in Rheged.[66] Sir John Morris-Jones drew the conclusion that Carlisle would have been in Rheged, and that Urien's kingdom may have extended as far as the Trajanic frontier, if not to the Cheviots.[67] Urien's appellation *Llyw Catraeth* 'the ruler of *Catraeth*',[68] certainly seems to tie him to the area of Catterick in Yorkshire, possibly to the fort on Castle Hill, Richmond, but this may have been no more than an outpost to Carlisle; a Roman road links the two.[69] The place-name 'Dunragit' has often been invoked to support the extension of Rheged into Galloway,[70] although this too is not without its difficulties.[71] Sir Ifor Williams, however, picking up a point first made by Watson (1926, 156) on the meaning of *echwydd*, 'a flow of water, a tidal current, a cataract', found support for the identification of *echwydd* as the Solway in the phrase *tra merin reget*[72] 'beyond the sea of Rheged'; this proves he states 'that Carlisle was definitely in the land of Rheged and that the northern shore of the Solway must also have been included in it'.[73] If Williams' interpretation is correct and the shore of the Solway is accepted at least as part of Rheged, then the identification of *Goddeu* as a kingdom centred on *Coed Celyddon* is not unreasonable. It would not be part of Rheged but a neighbouring

kingdom; the extent of one shading off into the other on the north flank of the Solway hinterland, possibly in the area between Lochmaben and Moffat.

Kat Godeu occurs as the title of a poem in the Book of Tailesin.[74] In it we are told how trees, great and small, were changed into soldiers by means of magic power, so Morris-Jones' translation of it as 'the battle of the forest'[75] would seem justified. Sir Ifor Williams concluded that 'if *goddeu* can mean "forest" in *Kat Godeu*, then *Goddeu* as a place-name is a region so called after the wood or forest situated in it'.[76] This would agree with Watson, who states 'it appears to represent the district later known as "the Forest", now Selkirkshire' [77]. The identification would seem to bear out the supposition that the kingdom of *Goddeu* was centred on the head-waters of the Yarrow and Ettrick, but there is one inconsistency. If *Goddeu* be Ettrick Forest, what of *Coed Celyddon*? The answer must be that *Goddeu* as a place was not in itself *Celyddon* but a centre or district within the forest, and one whose influence extended from this point over a greater area which would give rise to its identification as a kingdom. This would be in keeping with a battle fought within the forest 'the battle of *Goddeu*' but the forest itself would be *Coed Celyddon.*

Under *Goddeu* Lloyd Jones (1931) lists several words with different meanings; one is 'purpose, intention'. In a corrupted form the name could survive in 'Yarrow': *Gierua* (*c.*1150); *Gyrwa* (1505),[78] but, of course, the two could have existed independent of each other, and there is no reason to do injustice to the river-name. None the less, two principal lines of evidence converge (textual and epigraphic) and would seem to bear out the likelihood that Yarrow was the royal centre of sixth-century *Goddeu*, though it need not have been the only one. Moreover, one of the early Welsh genealogical tracts (early thirteenth century) commemorates *Gurycon Godheu... uxor Cathraut Calchuynid*, 'Gwrygon Goðeu, wife of Cadraud Calchfynyð'.[79] What more likely that Cadrod Calchvynyd had taken for his wife a princess from a neighbouring royal house, that is to say, from the very kingdom which bordered his own. How else, otherwise, are we to account for the appearance of Clydno Eidyn, his brother, in Gododdin to the north (lands formerly held by the family of Coel Godebog), if not by marriage? In the same way the marriage of Gwrygon (of the family of Hael) to Cadrod Calchvynyd (of the family of Ceredig Wledig) would have served to unite the two dynastic houses whose territories in the sixth century spanned a greater part of the Tweed Basin as far east as *Bryneich* (fig. 8.8). Further, with Clydno established at *Din Eidyn* (Edinburgh) and Cadrod at Kelso, the sphere of influence of Rheged can be seen to have extended unbroken from the Solway to the Forth.

In the historical poems in the Book of Taliesin *Godeu a Reget* occurs twice (60.10, 62.7) and seems to stand for the British regions in the north, as Bernicia and Deira stood for the Anglian.[80] Thus *Goddeu* in a very real sense must have extended over a greater area than that defined by the sphere of influence of a limited royal centre based on the Yarrow. In all probability it extended across the Tweed-Yarrow watershed to embrace the greater part of Tweeddale. Again the Early Christian monuments can be used to fill out the picture.

(i) The Manor Water Stone

Some 16 km to the WSW of Yarrow, in the valley of the Newholm Hope Burn (a left bank tributary of the Manor Water), there is one other Early Christian memorial of sixth-century date (plate 8.6). This was found in 1890 in association with a cairn,[81] which occupies a narrow shelf upslope from the traditional site of St Gordian's kirk (fig. 8.14). At this location there are the turf-covered wall-footings of at least two rectangular buildings, which have been levelled with the slope, together with a series of scarps, scooped platforms and terraces (one of which has been adapted to form a double enclosure), and the whole is incorporated in the line of the old head-dyke which deviates in its course to take in the settlement.[82] Central to the site there are the remains of a substantially formed building (7.8m by 5.2m over stone walls 1.1m thick) which were investigated by trial trenching in 1962 by RCAMS. To the NNE of this building there is another (7.5m by about 4.5m overall). The former may be a small border pele, but was believed by Pennecuik (1715, 210) and Armstrong (1775a, 20) to be the site of St. Gorgham's chapel.[83] An area excavation would resolve the problem. The evidence, nevertheless, points to the presence, certainly by the sixth century, of a settled community in what was otherwise an isolated backwater of the Manor Valley; this no doubt goes some way towards accounting for the difficulties which have been met within the parish itself in deciding where the earliest parochial centre may have been (cf. Buchan and Paton 1927, 542-5). The neighbouring place-names 'Kirkhope' (Blaeu 1654e) and 'Kirkstead' (1315),[84] taken with the presence of a sixth-century memorial stone points to the probable antiquity of this site (see also p. 383), and comparison with the setting of Over Kirkhope is not inappropriate in this context. Again, there must be a very real possibility of identifying within a fairly limited area evidence of activity in the Early Historic period.

The memorial (plate 8.6)[85] is inscribed on a slab of whinstone which has been fractured in an attempt to break it for reuse in dyking; this accounts for a number of wedge-shaped and pitted-hollows which cross the stone on its main axis (their presence has previously eluded mention). The inscription is framed by two vertical lines and reads +

CONINIE / []RTIRIE.[86] The first name, Jackson suggests, is the Latin genitive of the feminine first declension, in *-e* for Classical *-ae*. *Coninia* may be derived from the earlier **Cunignia*; W *Cynin* 'little dog'.[87] Jackson dismissed the possibility that the name may be derived from Irish *Conin*, on the pretext that this was scarcely likely to be relevant in this geographical context. This view can be challenged on two grounds. First, on account of the historical evidence for the presence of *Scotti*, who were engaged more than once in actions against the frontier zone in the fourth and fifth centuries,[88] and second, on the basis of the archaeological evidence which has earlier been set out, namely the form of the southern Scottish souterrains (which are unlike those in Fife and Angus but similar to some in Ireland)[89] and the rotary quern, with raised hopper and vertical handle-socket, that was recovered from one of the latest levels at the Dod[90] which may have been brought to the site as a marriage-gift accompanying a wife from Ireland.[91] Cognate Irish *Conin* might thus be as likely as British **Cunignia*.

The rendering of the second word [ ]RTIRIE has proved a vexed question due to a critical fracture in the stone at this point; the angle of the slab has been detached, this presumably before the labourer engaged in despoiling the cairn was made aware of its significance (thus putting pay to his ultimate aim of splitting the stone along its axis). Further, Jackson was, I believe, misled by what appeared to be part of a broken-off letter preceding the first R, in the form of a short diagonal groove meeting the down-stroke of the R (I have been unable to ascertain whether he was working directly from the stone, or from photographs and a scaled drawing provided by RCAMS).[92] The missing letter must be a vowel, and from this Jackson deduced that it can only have been E with a diagonal topmost bar; this despite the fact that the two remaining E's have horizontal bars (an inconsistency which he rightly noted).

From a study I made of the stone in August 1988 (in the Chambers Institute, Peebles), it is clear that the supposed fragmentary letter is probably no more than a weathered fracture which most probably originated at the time the stone was partially split and its corner detached; it is a slight and irregular groove (another meets the down-stroke of the R at its base) and this contrasts with the deeply V-incised and punctiliously formed characters that make up the rest of the inscription. From a measured analysis of the spacing of these characters it is clear that the sculptor intended both lines to be coterminous. The first line is indented to provide space for a spandrelled Greek cross, and to account for this a marginal adjustment was required in the spacing of the characters of the second line (in contrast to the slightly compressed rendering of CONINIE). Further, he adopted a standard module for the

size of both consonants and vowels which is unique to each line (probably no more than a rule-of-thumb tabulation). This presupposes an initial marking-out of the slab, either in paint or charcoal, before the characters were finally incised. From this it is clear that there are in fact two missing letters: one a vowel, the other a double-stemmed consonant, either M or W. The substitutable options are few. To make any sense, and to account for the module of spacing, the missing letters have to be MA; thus [MA]RTIRIE and hence CONINIE MARTIRIE, 'Conine the martyr'.[93]

Circumstantial evidence in support of the proposed rendering is provided by the dedication of the later church to St Gordian, a fourth-century martyr who was put to death in the reign of the Emperor Julian (AD 362) (see also pp. 388-9). Two reputed relics of the saint were preserved in Salisbury Cathedral, but he had no dedication in England and only one in Scotland; the parish church of Manor, Peeblesshire.[94] The inexplicable resort to this style of dedication in a rural backwater of Tweeddale[95] can be accounted for if one assumes the survival of a tradition in this locality of an earlier martyrdom (for which there was, perhaps, visible epigraphic proof); the sanctity of one being confirmed and revealed by the other. On the other hand, it could simply be just a Roman tradition. For the possible context for a martyrdom within sixth-century *Goddeu*, however, one need look no further than the clash between Christian and pagan factions which culminated at the Battle of Arthuret in 573.[96] If Jackson is right in his dating of the stone (probably not older than the second half of the sixth century) both the assignation and milieu would closely concur.

(d) Peebles; the significance of two Early Christian memorials

Despite the impermanence implicit in the place-name Peebles,[97] which may be more apparent than real, this is perhaps the one place where one might expect to find evidence of an important nodal centre from an early period; one that may have grown from an earlier civil settlement close to the Antonine fort at Lyne[98] and before that the *oppidum* of White Meldon. Evidence there is but it is marginally later than the stones from Over Kirkhope, Yarrow and Manor. From Peebles there are in fact two stones, both of which probably date to the seventh century. One (now lost) is known only from a later documentary source; the other, a remarkably well-preserved stone, was stolen in July 1986 while on display in the Chambers Institute, Peebles.[99]

(i) The Neitan Stone, which was drawn to the attention of RCAMS in 1967 by Mr Ian Lawson,[100] was until 1932 incorporated in reuse in the wall of a tenement adjoining the Cross Kirk (abandoned 1784); in all probability it originated in the burial-ground adjoining the claustral buildings.[101] It is a kite-shaped, water-worn boulder whose face and edges

were polished smooth (plates 8.7, 8.8). On the front it bore the incised outline of a Latin cross with barred terminals juxtaposed with the inscription NEITANO/SACERDOS '(Here lies) Neitan the priest or bishop' (probably the latter).[102] Neitan is a British name (Irish Nechtan); the weakening of the second declension nominative ending *-us* to *-o* is paralleled in British and Gallic inscriptions of the period.[103] Epigraphically the stone has been dated to the late seventh century but it could be somewhat earlier or later.[104]

(ii) The Cross-Kirk Stone

The background to the second stone is provided by Fordun and is worth giving in full.

> 'On 9 May 1261, in the thirteenth year of King Alexander III, a magnificent and venerable cross was found at Peebles, in the presence of many honourable men, priests, clerks and burgesses; but in what year or by what persons it was buried there is entirely unknown. It is, however, believed that it was hidden by some of the faithful, about the year of Our Lord 296, while Maximian's persecution was raging in Britain. Not long after this, a stone urn was discovered there, about three or four paces from the spot where that glorious cross had been found. It contained the ashes and bones of a man's body, apparently dismembered. Whose relics these are, no one knows as yet. Some, however, think that they are the relics of him whose name was found written in the very stone on which that holy cross was lying. Now on the outside of the stone was carved 'the place of St Nicholas the Bishop' (*locus Sancti Nicolai episcopi*). Moreover, in the very spot where the cross was found, many a miracle was, and is, wrought through that cross and crowds of people flocked and do flock there making their gifts and vows to God. Wherefore the king, on the advice of the Bishop of Glasgow (John de Cheyham), caused a handsome church to be built there in honour of God and the Holy Rood' (1759, lib. ii, cap. liv).

The church referred to is the Cross-Kirk, Peebles.[105] It seems the 'urn' containing human remains came from a short-cist burial of Bronze Age date;[106] this is not a problem as it merely serves to highlight the longevity of burial-practices on this spot and it is, of course, closely paralleled by the cemetery at Warrior's Rest, Yarrow, to which reference has already been made.

There can be little doubt that the stone, upon which the cross lay, bore a Latinized inscription comparable to those from Yarrow, Manor Water and the Liddel Valley.[107] The term *locus* (tomb, sacred place, or possibly *logus* 'place'; Craig, D pers. commun., 1989) appears on a seventh-century stone from Whithorn,[108] and may signify the presence of an

enclosed cemetery of sub-Roman origin, perhaps with a small oratory attached dedicated to God in honour of the saint.[109] The name 'Nicolai' strains credulity. The cult of St Nicholas appears first in the ninth century and spread to Britain only in the eleventh.[110] In Scotland the earliest dedication is probably that of St Nicholas, Aberdeen (on record by 1157).[111] Moreover, Nicholas is the patron saint of seafarers - this is borne out by the depictions on the Tournai marble font at Winchester[112] - thus a dedication to St Nicholas in the heart of Tweeddale seems less than credible.[113] 'Nicolai' was perhaps a misreading; a name more closely approximating might be 'Niniavi' or more probably 'NINIAI' (Duncan 1981, 32). Accepting this emendation we have at Peebles the only early association with Ninian outside Whithorn.[114] Whoever Ninian was, and whatever his dates, Tweeddale might be a far more likely theatre for his activities than a centre in the south-west.[115]

(e) Peebles, St Ninian, an Episcopal See and a Dark Age Caput?

The Latinized names present in the pedigrees of the Men of the North suggest that the area was nominally already Christian by the fourth century, and a number of buildings of about this date, which may be churches, have earlier been proposed (pp. 102-15) The presence of a royal house in *Goddeu*, under the overlordship of the Strathclyde dynasty, would secure for Ninian a pivotal and advantageous base from which to work; a centre at the heart of the Southern Uplands but within easy reach of the Lowlands. This, with the possibility that Peebles was already an established population centre, perhaps a British Christian centre of some importance, possibly the *urbs regia* of *Goddeu* (the triple-palisaded enclosure at Hogbridge[116] may underline its importance as a regional market or redistribution centre), coupled with the fact that *Goddeu* may already have been an incipient diocese (possibly on the Celtic model), could have provided Ninian with the scope for a missionary enterprise which would not only bolster any claim to Christianity by a native ruling house but might also provide the groundwork for closer ties between Church and State that emerge fully only much later.[117] Testimony possibly in support of this is provided by Jocelyn of Furness' *Life* of St Kentigern, which perhaps drew upon an earlier Glasgow tradition,[118] that the episcopal church at Glasgow had its origins in a burial-ground *a sancto Niniano quondam consecrato* 'long ago consecrated by St Ninian';[119] a site not far removed from the caput of the Haeling dynasty at *Alt Clut* (Dumbarton). To this early foundation, by tradition ascribed to Ninian, might also be added the old parish church of Eccles, Stirling; the one dedication to Ninian most likely to be ancient.[120] Since the rock of Stirling (*urbs Giudi)* stands less than 2 km from the church an early Ninian link with the royal house of *Manau* might also be inferred. Thus on three counts the presence of a ruling house may have been significant to the sphere of Ninian's activities; in *Goddeu*, Strathclyde and *Manau.*

Duncan regards Peebles as the most likely candidate for the missionary centre to which Ninian came first to preach the faith to the Britons and, in his view, Ninian came from an established ('Martin') church to Peebles and returned to move his original see to Whithorn (1981, 32-2). This would be perfectly reasonable in view of the political framework in the north. His see would at first have been established within the ambit of the ruling family of Ceredig Wledig (the Haelings) and from there would have been transferred to a centre at the heart of the territories possessed by the Coelings. It would serve too to explain the tradition with which Bede was familiar (HE iii. 4) that the most southerly of the Picts had previously been converted through contact with the kingdom of Gododdin. This is inferential but stems from the fact that Ninian's mission was to the Picts and not to the British south of the Forth-Clyde line; implicit is the presumption that the peoples of southern Scotland were already Christian.[121] Moreover, with the presence of what may be a Pictish royal centre at *Dunpelder* (Traprain Law), and Pictish enclaves both within the shadow of the citadel and perhaps too close to *Din Eidyn*, Ninian's objectives lay close at hand; a more reasonable solution, perhaps, to the focus of Ninian's missionary activities than that which might be drawn from the presence of an isolated Class I symbol stone in Galloway.[122] It was, therefore, perhaps not inappropriate for Bede to apply Ninian's endeavours to the southern Picts, and, since Ninian was apparently a bishop at Whithorn, to reduce the intended account of the more recent conversion of Galloway to a mere note.

With Professor Duncan's emendation in mind, Peebles can be placed on the map of fifth- to sixth-century *Goddeu* (fig. 8.11). In many ways this would be the more logical place for the *urbs regia* of the kingdom than Yarrow, (perhaps a subsidiary seat?) and a possible location for an early citadel - within sight of the sub-Roman burial-ground - would be the bluff overlooking the junction of the Tweed and Eddleston Water on the western outskirts of the burgh (NT 248 803); the site later occupied by Peebles Castle (on record 1152-3).[123] Excavation here in 1977 recovered on plan the remains for the earliest phase of two buildings, one circular (about 12.4m in diameter overall), the other rectangular (about 5.6m by 4.7m internally); the dating evidence (suggested twelfth century) is not apparent save that the buildings bore no relationship to the features above them (fourteenth century). Fitting the building into a medieval context has its problems,[124] but there seems no reason why both should not be considerably earlier; the timber components of an Early Historic caput. Given the likelihood that Peebles was by the seventh century already an episcopal see (at least on the evidence of the 'Neitan' stone), Thomas has postulated that it may too have formed part of a sub-Roman diocese, perhaps based on an earlier tribal division (1968, 103-5).[125] In order to examine this view more fully it is necessary to briefly consider the remaining Early Christian monuments.

(f) Later Early Christian Monuments and Stobo

From Innerleithen there is a portion of a cross-shaft of ninth-century date which was discovered when the old parish church was demolished (on record 1153x54) (plate 8.9);[126] from Berry Knowe, on the watershed between Yarrow and Ettrick, there is a cross-slab of ninth- or tenth-century date, which was discovered earlier this century (plate 8.10). The fragment of a tenth-century cross (the Pyket Stane), which is known only from later drawings and an engraving (plate. 8.11),[127] is to be identified with the site of a chapel and burial-ground at Kirklawhill in the Bigger Gap;[128] the neighbouring place-name 'Parkgate stone' (NT 093 361) corroborates this. And, from the parish of Kirkurd, there is a cross-shaped stone (decorated on both sides with debased interlace, plate 8.12), probably not earlier than the tenth century, which was ploughed up about 1943 on the crest of a slight rise 150m to the west of Netherurd Mains; the parish church of Kirkurd is on record in 1170.[129] To these should be added the church at Stobo (dedicated to St Kentigern, 'St Mungo' [died 612], and on record by 1170), which was the *plebania* or mother church of nearly all the parish churches in Peeblesshire.[130] With its wide *parochia* and large number of dependent chapels at Glenholm, Lyne, Broughton, Drumelzier and Dawyck, it possesses all the physical characteristics of a pre-twelfth century foundation.[131]

(g) The Application of the Monuments to a Territorial Framework

By themselves these monuments, together with the *memoriae*, provide only a limited source of reference; a name or names, a date, a focal point within the native landscape. Together they provide the cardinal points for an infrastructure for the pre-parochial development of this district from the late fifth century. In this context the Yarrow stone and the two from Peebles are of particular significance in demonstrating the presence by the seventh century of respectively a royal house and an episcopal see. The historical development of Stobo suggests another diocesan centre; most probably a minister with dependent chapelries. By mapping the evidence, and also accounting for the Wood of Celyddon, it is possible to address the question of a sub-Roman diocese (fig. 8.15). By using the most elementary form of spatial analysis (Christaller's Central Place Theory),[132] taking each site as a focal point within the landscape and drawing a transverse line midway between neighbouring sites, a territorial framework can be evolved. This is an artificial framework, whose boundaries are unadjusted for the constraints of local topography, and assumes that each monument (with the exception of one) represented a focal point (a population centre) to the territory defined; the exception is the cross-incised stone from Berry Knowe (tenth century) which probably stood as a wayside cross on the Ettrick-Yarrow watershed.

(i) The pre-Parochial Framework

The resulting framework one can construct accounts for almost all the country embraced by the modern counties of Selkirk and Peebles (fig. 8.15). Two pivotal-centres will serve as a basis for examining the framework. The first is provided by the Manor Water stone, and working in an anticlockwise direction the territories are as follows: to the south that of Over Kirkhope; to the east, Yarrow; to the north-east, Innerleithen, and to the north, Peebles. These territories diminish in extent from south to north, but each is of a proportionate area relative to its neighbour and this probably reflects the constraints of land use in relation to terrain. Thus the territories of greatest extent embrace the hill-country of Ettrick and Yarrow, and are dominated by the presence of *Coed Celyddon*, while those of less extent occupy the more open country rising from the haughland of the Tweed. This pattern is similarly reflected in the second group of territories which have as their centre the *plebania* of Stobo; this framework is, however, integral with the first. On the S and ENE respectively the boundaries of Stobo are coterminous with those of Manor and Peebles, while to the north there is a territory with a pivotal-centre at Netherurd Mains and to the west that of the Pyket Stane. The only area unaccounted for is Tweedsmuir (open hill-country and the source of the Tweed), but here the presence of an oriented long-cist cemetery at Polmood (NT 110 272)[133] may be significant; it would fall on the projected boundaries of Manor, to the east-north-east, and the Pyket Stane to the north (the latter serving to underline the importance of the Biggar Gap as a primary routeway).

(ii) The Parochial Framework

When these boundaries are collectively set with the parochial framework of the medieval period (mapped from the first edition of the OS 6-inch map) the pattern which emerges is quite comparable (fig. 8.16). Moreover, if the boundaries are adjusted from a spatial model to account for the constraints in human geography arising from the presence of local topography and drainage, the pattern of coincidence becomes all the clearer. The southern boundary of the parish of Manor steps up onto the watershed and there is an extension of Yarrow to the WSW, which would account for the hill-grazing and land outwith the 'Forest of Seleschirche' (i.e. *Coed Celyddon*). This is no more than one would expect and, on the basis of human geography and continuity in the landscape, may have been much the same in the sixth century, as the logical boundary between Ettrick and Yarrow, and Yarrow and Manor, would have been the high ground between the two. Apart from this minor emendation the remaining boundaries require only marginal adjustment. Between Yarrow and Innerleithen the boundary is that of the present parochial boundary for Traquair; between Innerleithen and Peebles the boundaries are identical, and the same is true relative to Manor, Stobo, Kirkurd, Broughton, Glenholm and Kilbucho, and Tweedsmuir. The

Polmood long-cist cemetery falls on the boundary between Tweedsmuir and Drumelzier, and the cross-incised slab from Berry Knowe lies close to the boundary between Yarrow and Ettrick.

(h) Goddeu: a sixth-century kingdom and sub-Roman diocese

From this pattern one can reasonably deduce that the parochial framework of the medieval period stemmed from a territorial framework whose origins lie in the sixth century, if not earlier (recourse to the Manor Valley case-study, pp. 353-91, suggests that the origin of these boundaries could lie in the first millennium BC). Moreover, it demonstrates that the Early Christian monuments, from which the framework is generated, do signify key population centres from an early date. Thus in the instance of Manor, the pre-parochial centre was almost certainly in the valley of the Newholm Hope Burn (the site of the 'Coninie' stone) and not at Kirkton Manor, the site of the present parish church (on record in 1186).[134] The centrality of Stobo to the pre-parochial framework bears out its probable status as a minister, and the neighbouring centre at Peebles would be in accord with its probable status as an episcopal see. On the basis of its completeness the pre-parochial framework must in origin define the boundaries of the sixth-century kingdom of *Goddeu*. Its exactitude in relation to the later parochial framework suggests the boundaries of a sub-Roman diocese with Peebles the episcopal see. The diocese is not that of *Bernaccia* or 'Greater Tweeddale' as some have suggested,[135] but is one and the same with *Goddeu*. Thus the ecclesiastical institution emerges from and is coterminous with the secular; the two would seem to be synonymous.

Given the link provided by 'Liberalis' to the Haelings (kings of Strathclyde and Dumbarton), the ultimate accession in the twelfth century of Tweeddale, Ettrick and Yarrow, together with Teviotdale, to the see of Glasgow (countering claims made on these lands by Durham as an extension of the 'Patrimony of St Cuthbert'),[136] becomes the more explicable. Glasgow, as the successor to the territories of Strathclyde would have had historic cause to regard itself as the patron and benefactor of this district. Perhaps too it serves to explain the presence of an ancient quasi-monastic church at '*Selechirche*' on the eastern fringes of *Coed Celyddon*, lands too claimed by Durham, but which, through the personal intervention of Earl David (1114x24) found itself likewise in the Diocese of Glasgow. This is intelligible only on the assumption that the choice of Selkirk as the site for David's first abbey was due to a deliberate wish on his part that the new monks should occupy a site which already possessed significant if decaying religious associations.[137] Moreover it is clear from the 'lands of Selkirk', which formed the principal item of endowment, that what is now called Ettrick Water from Yarrow-mouth to Tweed, must itself, in the twelfth century, have been

known as Yarrow;[138] this would be in accord if the eastern boundary to the pre-parochial territory of Yarrow was defined by the extent of *Coed Celyddon*, 'the Forest of Seleschirche'.

(i) An Inter-tribal boundary?

It is in fact possible that the eastern marches of Tweeddale were more formally defined by the linear earthwork known as the Picts' Work Ditch (fig. 8.17).[139] This has its origins in a loop of the Gala Water commanded by the hillfort at Torwoodlee (at which point the earthwork detours around the hillfort defences, which would presuppose that the hillfort was still in use), and from here extends south to incorporate the Rink's hillfort on its western flank and from there south-west (adopting the course of the Howden Pot Burn) to Linglie Hill on the northern outskirts of Selkirk; a distance of about 4 km. From the fact that in its central section the upstanding bank is on the west side of the ditch, the earthwork would appear to face east and thus in origin it is most probably a boundary-work of sixth-century *Goddeu*, although it may be earlier or later.[140] It purpose would seem to have been to provide a buffer to insurgency along the Tweed Valley from its confluence with the Gala Water. Nevertheless, it may be an earlier inter-tribal boundary.

(V) TWEEDDALE (*GODDEU*): THOROUGHLY PRE-ROMAN IN ORIGIN?

On the basis of settlement evidence (Types 1C, 2B and 4B in the new classification), epigraphic evidence (the presence of a dynastic house and an episcopal see), together with the distribution of Early Christian monuments and the pre-parochial and parochial frameworks, textual evidence (*Goddeu* a sixth-century kingdom) and that of place-names (the dearth of Anglo-Saxon place-names; not considered but the area is exclusive to the region defined in Chapter 7),[141] and the historical development of the district (its acccssion to the see of Glasgow; an historical claim based on its *a priori* right to the Haeling territories of Strathclyde), seven strands of evidence combine to set this area apart as a distinct district; a sixth-century kingdom and a sub-Roman diocese. In the light of what has been said about the emergence of the neighbouring British kingdoms, namely that they sprung from earlier pre-Roman tribal-groupings, the question can now be addressed, was this also the case for *Goddeu*? The principal tribal-groupings in the Tweed Basin are well known - the Votadini and the Selgovae - and the territorial extent of these tribes has previously been discussed (pp. 57, 274-6). If the presence of a third tribal-group is to be inferred to account for Tweeddale, this must presuppose the presence of an hitherto unidentified tribal-grouping or a lost tribe. In seeking to address this question it is necessary to retrace out steps back to the first and early second centuries AD.

(a) The 'Genounian' District: problems of Roman frontier history

According to the Greek writer Pausanias (*Desc. Graeciae* viii, 43) Antoninus Pius 'took away from the Brigantes in Britain the greater part of their territory, because they too [besides the Moors in North Africa], had entered on a war of [unprovoked] aggression by invading the Genounian district, whose inhabitants were Roman subjects'.[142] But where was the Genounian district, the presence of which is otherwise unattested?[143] The question has to an extent been met by a counsel of despair bred partly by the inability to identify the 'Genounian' area and possibly in part by a reluctance to revise established conventions of Wall history.[144]

Birley (1961, 43) suggests somewhere close to the Wall, and beyond it rather than to the south. This raises the possibility that the Genounian area might be the same as that identified as sixth-century *Goddeu*, and this is, therefore, an avenue worth pursuing, although it is one fraught with difficulty. The argument runs as follows. Unrest in the province of Brigantia (attested 51x52 and again in 69)[145] culminated in an armed struggle between a faction of the Brigantes under Venutius and Cartimandua who was supported by Rome.[146] Venutius was supported by allies from elsewhere, most probably from the north and most likely from the Selgovae and the Novantae in the centre and west. Hadrian's new linear frontier was designed to shut off the Brigantes from further contact with their northern allies to prevent a recrudescence of the troubles of the mid to late first century. The linear frontier, out of expediency, followed the lowland breach of the Tyne-Solway Gap (a geographical, not a political boundary).[147] The Wall detached from the Brigantian canton, on the west and almost certainly on the east (p. 204), a faction of 'Free Brigantes', members of the tribe who now found themselves *extra limites*. On the west the forts at Bewcastle, Netherby and Birrens may be seen to account for this detached area of Brigantia north of the Wall.[148] In the 130s unrest on the northern frontier (both north and south of the wall) gathered in momentum; the members of 'Free Brigantia' being joined by all the malcontents of the canton.[149] Sextus Julius Severus was dispatched to Britain and all the army of Britain was concentrated on or close to the wall.[150] The situation was at first checked but (following one line of thought) on the departure of S. Julius Severus (about 132) the trouble came to a head with active campaigning, serious casualties and the need for substantial reinforcements.[151] Nevertheless, there seems to have been a lull between the trouble which followed the departure of Julius Severus and the offensive conducted by Q. Lollius Urbicus, governor of Britain under Antoninus Pius.

At this point, however, opinion is sharply divided. The traditional view is that what brought the lull to an end was the Brigantian raid on the Genounian district (an area

within the intramural zone). This precipitated the reoccupation of Scotland which led to the construction of the Antonine Wall and the abandonment of Hadrian's Wall. Particular attention was divested on what Maxwell has termed a 'linear defensive-system' in south-western Scotland, with elaborate precautions taken to ensure the security of the Crawford-Birrens-Carzield triangle (1977, 24-9). However, more recently, opinion has swung in favour of disassociating Pausanias' statement from this earlier event to relate it instead the Brigantian uprising (interpreting it as an act of inter-tribal warfare) which took place shortly before AD 158.[152] This alternative view thus lays greater emphasis on the deprivation of Brigantian territory.[153] Evidence for this exists in part. It is now generally accepted that the reoccupation of Scotland was subject to wider, although no less conjectural, considerations. Namely, the need for a propaganda victory to endorse the military reputation of Antoninus Pius,[154] but further, that the interests of Roman security would be best served if the tribes of southern Scotland could be brought under direct control and a shorter frontier held more intensively;[155] this, of course, would have the added benefit of enabling the Romans to intervene more closely in the affairs of these Lowland tribes. The reconstruction of the base at Corbridge in 139 arguably makes no sense unless forward action was anticipated, moreover, it is possible that the strengthening of the Hadrianic frontier had reached such a pitch that a drive into southern Scotland would have been justified on military grounds.[156]

Previously it was customary to view the re-advance into Scotland, combined with at least one major victory, sufficient to merit the salutation *Imperatus* which was accorded to Pius.[157] Now it is assumed that the salutation embraced the conspectus of his achievements. But what were these? Merely the political rationale of successfully retaking (without bloodshed) territories earlier left behind? It is extraordinary that a similar salutation was not forthcoming upon the suppression of the Brigantian uprising which seems to have set off such a marked train of events. The Antonine Wall forts were evacuated and burnt; by whom it is not clear. Reinforcements for the three legions were drawn from upper and lower Germany under a new governor Cn. Julius Verus. His date of arrival is unclear, but he was still in office in 158.[158] As a result of the uprising the administration of Brigantia passed from native hands; Salway suggests the formation of an Imperial estate (1981, 201). Coins of 154-5 show Britain subdued.[159] In Antonine II in south-western Scotland the linear defensive-system was tailored to new requirements (the capacity of some forts was enlarged) but the system as such was abandoned.[160]

However, what now is to be made of the Genounian area which the Brigantes are alleged to have attacked? Certainly it could still lie to the north of Hadrian's Wall and conceivably it would not be out of place in the Southern Uplands. Maxwell argues that one reason for the collapse of the linear defensive-system was that it may have failed in it purpose (presumably to suppress an earlier trouble-spot) or that it had merely been overtaken by events. Others have welcomed Hind's suggestion that the name 'Genounia' arose due to a confusion in the mind of Pausanias between the Brigantes of Britain and the *Brigantii* of *Raetia* and their neighbours the *Genaunia* (1977, 232-4).[161] None the less, Salway, for one, argued that this need not invalidate Pausanias as a source for the fact of a raid by the Brigantes in Britain, only for the name of the district attacked (1981, 199, n. 1). To my mind the suggestion is disingenious, and Salway's succeeding statement is no more than special pleading. Either one should accept what Pausanias says or reject him altogether.[162] Is this, after all, no more than an attempt to conceal the futility in reconciling a district which has hitherto defied definition?

The approach seems inherently flawed. What was it anyway that confirmed the suspicion in Roman minds (cf. Salway 1981, 197-8) that the security of the frontier might be enhanced if it was to be advanced to the Forth-Clyde line, if not some trouble within the intramural zone itself which threatened to engulf the frontier from without?[163] An extraordinary move at all accounts, amounting to no more than a *volte face*, if without pretext all the expense and manpower incurred in Hadrian's Wall could summarily be dismissed. Despite all its inadequacies it was still no less a frontier, and a buffer to insurgency could be provided by diplomacy and the strategic placing of outpost forts. If the aim had simply been to take in territories formerly subject to Rome, even accounting for the propaganda value of such a move, why stop at the Forth-Clyde isthmus? To advance the frontier thus far on the grounds of propaganda alone would be no more than a piric victory, if victory at all in the apparent absence of armed conflict. Or was the pretext for the Antonine re-advance to be packaged for Rome in the same light as the German propaganda machine presented the 'fake' Polish atrocities instigated by Himmler at Gleiwitz in 1938? Indeed, if this was the propaganda coup which it is claimed to be, why need it not have embraced a victory in the field for which the salutation *Imperator* would be wholly appropriate? A conflict at the heart of the Southern Uplands (perhaps no more than localized unrest) need leave no trace in the archaeological record. But it might have provided sufficient justification to a move informed by a less altruistic, though no less important concern (notably overlooked by Fox 1952), namely the need to boost the northern granaries with the surplus from the grain-fields of Lothian and the Merse. It is perverse and contrary to the explicit statement of Pausanias, that Antoninus never voluntarily involved the Romans in warfare (*Desc.*

Graeciae viii, 143, 3), to suggest that political rationale was the only motivation for the new policy in North Britain. Unrest there must have been, and sufficient to merit an opportunity to be grasped.[164] Frere too, points out (1978, 173) that during this reign only in 139-40 could even a fraction of the Brigantes be thought of as outside the province, and their attack on Genounia must have taken place then, since otherwise the advance into Scotland would have been aggression, which Pausanias denies that Pius ever committed. In less than five years all the propaganda victories Pius may have needed had been won. Who was there who could not envisage lasting peace and the ever increasing pace of Romanization in the province to the south? The reoccupation of Scotland was clearly intended to be permanent. This much is borne out by the removal of the milecastle gateways along Hadrian's wall and the slighting of the *vallum*. The Pennine forts were wittled away to provide the garrisons for southern Scotland; peace would seem to have been assumed.[165]

By the same token, how is one to account for the expense incurred in the layout of the linear-defensive-system in south-western Scotland, an area, which it has been suggested, 'now lay menacingly within the frontier zone'.[166] This scarcely seems credible given its position at the rear of the buffer zone; such sentiments might more reasonably be applied to the Strageath-Bertha axis, the outpost forts to the Antonine Wall. Moreover how is one to make sense of the failure to maintain the system in Antonine II? In point of fact, why should the Brigantian uprising (if such it was) prompt the evacuation and firing of the Antonine Wall forts, unless, of course, it had been part of a more widespread uprising embracing not only the Southern Uplands but also the Highlands?[167] To argue that the linear defensive-system had been overrun or merely by-passed again stretches credulity. How was it in the first place (assuming the Genounian district did lie within the intramural zone) that significant native detachments were able to pass through the milecastles of Hadrian's Wall unnoticed by the legionary maintenance units stationed on the Wall itself?[168] Why anyway should the Brigantian forces have plied their way north into less than Romanized territories - and there directly into conflict with the Roman legions - rather than direct their attention to the more established seats of Roman authority within their own canton and against the still more Romanized Claudian province to the south; the objective surely of all later hostilities documented on the norther frontier?

Above all, why should Pausanias' statement be strictly equated with the Brigantian uprising? If it could refer to those earlier events, which precipitated if not wholly accounted for the Antonine re-advance into Scotland, it would, nevertheless, still allow for the sequestration of Brigantian assets and the formation of an imperial estate but in the 140s rather than the 150s. Perhaps it was against this very imposition that the Brigantes rose with

such effect (coupled with the fact that the Roman presence in the Pennines had been significantly depleted), but the circumstances of the insurrection can only reasonably be interpreted as part of a more widespread conflagration in North Britain.[169] The suppression of the revolt would concur with the coins of Antoninus Pius of 154-5 which show Britain subdued (not solely Brigantia). The appearance of *civitas Carvetiorum* (Carlisle)[170] and another *civitas* around Corbridge, both carved out of Brigantian territory, would sit as well in the 140s as in the 150s and would be the most logical outcome of a more formal policy adopted towards the administration of Brigantia in Antonine I.

(b) The 'Genounian' District: the case for Tweeddale

All becomes explicable if one accepts Pausanias' statement as referring to this earlier event and, assuming he meant what he said, if the Genounian area did lie at the heart of the Southern Uplands. A Brigantian raid on this district (a flagrant act of inter-tribal warfare dear to the Celtic soul) would provide the necessary pretext (if not the entire motivation) for the Antonine advance into Scotland; the security of the forward zone was threatened and the political basis for philo-Roman relations with the Lowland tribes may have been imperilled.[171] In a literal sense its population could still be claimed as Roman subjects. At least one victory would be required to impart revenge and exact restitution. The fact that the trouble stemmed from the south-west (many scholars have taken the *Dea Brigantia* altar from Birrens to indicate that Lower Annandale, if culturally distinct, did fall within the Brigantian sphere of influence)[172] is sufficient to account for the complex linear defensive-system based on its network of roads and fortlets at key centres; that it was not wholly refurbished in Antonine II, following the Brigantian uprising, is evidence enough that it had fulfilled its original purpose (to quell the trouble-spot of 'Free Brigantia' north of the wall) and that the source of conflict had been removed; it would thus have been redundant. The construction of the Antonine Wall and its outpost forts served to bring the aggressed district back into the sphere of Roman jurisdiction. Assuming that the Genounian area did lie at the heart of the Southern Uplands the logic for the move is all apparent; an all the more difficult case to argue if conflict had been localized on the Solway Plain, an event which would seem unlikely to have driven the Romans to annexe Scotland as far north as the Tay.[173]

Birley infers at least one principal action against the Brigantian faction and their allies, and he suggests that the battle took place in the Southern Uplands at the heart of Selgovian territory.[174] In support of this he identified the remarkable marble head, 'dug up in the eighteenth century near the site of an old chapel at Hawkshaw, in the Peeblesshire parish of Tweedsmuir',[175] as part of some monumental statue, *ex hypothesi* set up not far from the find-spot of the head which can hardly be anything less than the memorial of a great

victory (plate 8.13). That is to say, we have in the Hawkshaw head at least the suggestion that the parish of Tweedsmuir was the scene of a major Roman victory. Certainly it seems unlikely that the head could have been looted, the nearest military installation would be the Roman fort at Lyne, some 20 km to the north-east; it was certainly not the sort of booty that would be profitable for a looter to carry off into the hills.

Tweeddale, however, can hardly be claimed to be the territory of the Selgovae. In fact, on balance, I believe the likelihood is that this was the Genounian district. This is conjecture but circumstantial evidence, together with the very real possibility that there is indeed a missing tribal area in the Tweed valley provides some corroborative evidence (see pp. 187-8). Clearly, a battle fought between the Romans and the Brigantian faction would not be inappropriate on the margin of the very area which had been aggressed by the Brigantes and, as the pretext for the Antonine advance, would logically be recalled by a chronicler of the time.

The territorial integrity of the district is reflected in the reclassified Romano-British settlement types (Chapter Six) but is attested more specifically by the distribution of unenclosed platform settlements.[176] It is clear that the area did not lie within, nor ever formed part of the territory of the Selgovae (except perhaps later in a broad political sense), at least so far as a 'Selgovian Tradition' can be defined on the basis of settlement history.[177] The conspectus of archaeological evidence both for settlement and field-systems indicates that the Selgovae extended from the middle Tweed Basin to the south-west across Teviotdale to embrace Eskdale and Liddesdale, and there shaded off into the territory of the Novantae, the people to the west of the *Novius* (Nith). If Birley is right in his interpretation of the Hawkshaw head, the battle will be seen to have been fought on the south-west margin of the territory which re-emerges in the sixth century as the kingdom of *Goddeu.* In the light of what has been said about the distinctive character of this area, the likelihood is that this was in the first century the Genounian district. The evidence, to an extent, speaks for itself and will stand regardless of the significance of the Hawkshaw head and any interpretation placed upon it.

Moreover, the evidence is in full agreement with what Pausanias has to say. Its inhabitants were certainly already Roman subjects. In Flavian I (AD 85-*c.*90) a Roman fort had been established at Easter Happrew[178] and Roman influence seems to inform the character of the Type 1C, 2A, B and D, and Type 3 Tweeddale settlements (p. 187).[179] The dun at Stanhope and the broch-like structure at Torwoodlee,[180] may themselves be the outcome of a new found wealth among the native population as a result of a close market

relationship with Rome (pp. 73-8).[181] Further, the area lay open to insurgency from the south-west along the valley of the River Annan (cf. 'Annan Street', Yarrow, p. 290) and is the most likely theatre for the spilling over of Brigantian aggression; perhaps the destruction of the broch-like structures and the Stanhope dun may be ascribed to this very episode.[182] The victory of Lollius Urbicus over the Brigantian faction is seen to lie close to the inter-tribal boundary between the Genounian district and the Novantae to the south (allies of Venutius in the first century and perhaps protagonists along with the Brigantes in the second).

Clearly, the identification of the Genounian district with territories encompassing the head-waters of Tweed, Yarrow and Ettrick, does least violence to Pausanias' statement and most readily fits the historical background anent the 'Free Brigantian' movement. It accounts for the requirement to move the northern frontier forward to the Forth-Clyde isthmus, so as to encompass the Southern Uplands, and this, of course, need not be at variance with the circumstances surrounding the Brigantian uprising in the 150s. The fact that this area is set apart so distinctly and moreover lay outwith the territory of the Selgovae, provides the most reliable pointer to the presence of an earlier tribal-grouping, and into this slot the Genounian district would seem to fit most readily.[183] Further it might seem to confirm the emergence of *Goddeu* from an earlier pre-Roman tribal-grouping and this would be in accord with the pattern repeated for all the neighbouring British kingdoms.

The all too apparent loss of identity for the Genounian area may simply be accounted for by the reorganization of the intramural zone in Antonine I (AD *c.*142-158) for administrative purposes. The tenets of this policy have previously been set out with regard to north Northumberland (a Brigantian enclave also severed from the canton by the construction of Hadrian's Wall) which was brought under the jurisdiction of the Votadini by an extension of their authority from the curia at Traprain Law. Similarly, although the Genounian district lay outwith the formal territory of the Selgovae, the likelihood is that it may later have been accounted for by an extension of political control either from *Eldunum*[184] or *Trimontium* (Newstead), to be secured at a local level by the fort at Lyne. There may have been just cause to merit this; perhaps the destruction of the ruling house of Genounia in the ensuing conflict with the Brigantes culminating in the collapse of political control within the tribal area itself. Thus cultural differences may have been dispelled in favour of an embracing political rationale between Roman and native. This process is no more graphically illustrated than by Israel today in its policy towards the traditional Palestinian territories. 'Since the mid 1970s maps of Israel no longer show the boundaries of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights, there being no need to distinguish between the parts of a united state'.[185] Thus in respect to Genounia, a district united under

the greater tribal-grouping of the Selgovae, this would logically give rise to a loss of identity in name only. The fact that Genounia re-emerges in the sixth-century as the kingdom of *Goddeu* no more than highlights the parallel emergence of native British *Bryneich*, itself formerly under the political domain of the Votadini.

(c) Summary and Conclusions

Given the perplexities of Roman frontier history, it is right that the identification of the Genounian district with the territories of upper Tweed, Yarrow and Ettrick should be received with credulity. However, it should be noted that if Pausanias' statement concerning Brigantian aggression is accepted at face value, as precipitating the campaign of Lollius Urbicus, then the Genounian area can hardly be any other than the district centred upon Tweeddale proper. The identification of this missing tribe (the 'Genounii') confirms the tripartite division of the Tweed Basin, a division which succeeds to the early Historic period: to the west *Goddeu*, the successor state to the Genounian territory; to the east and south, and set apart by *Coed Celyddon*, the kingdom of Cadrod Calchvynyd, encompassing the territories of the Selgovae and bordering there, on a line transecting the Tweed Basin from north to south approximating to Dere Street, the Anglo-British kingdom of *Bryneich*, which succeeded upon territories formerly severed from the Brigantian canton that were later subsumed by an extension of political control from either *Dunpelder* or *Din Eidyn*, the Votadini, later Gododdin.

The collective material from Tweeddale combines to provide the fullest possible picture for the emergence of an Early Historic kingdom from an earlier pre-Roman tribal-grouping. Nine distinct strands of evidence converge to provide a conspectus of proof as to the cultural and political identity of this area; a district united not only in a secular context but standing, perhaps more importantly, as a sub-Roman diocese distinct from that of fifth-century *Bernaccia*. It is fitting that this area should emerge as the spring-board and episcopal see for Ninian's first missionary endeavours, but more so that it confirms the stability of the ruling native British houses of North Britain, whose control and supremacy over territories ranging from Forth to Tyne would seem to have been both unqualified and proven.

(C) THE BATTLE OF DEGSASTAN

'Vnde motus eius profectibus Aedan rex Scottorum, qui Brittaniam inhabitant, uenit contra eum cum immenso et forti exercitu; sed cum paucis victus aufugit. Siquidem in loco celeberrimo, qui dicitur Degsastan, id est Degsa lapis, omnis pene eius est caesus exercitus.'[1]

(I) DEGSASTAN: THE LAST STAND OF PAN-CELTIC SUPREMACY IN THE NORTH

At the turn of the sixth and seventh century the presence of a united Bernicia posed such a threat to the security of the northern British kingdoms that they sought help from Aedán mac Gabrán, king of the Scots in Dalriada. Aedan, with the support of many Gaels from Ireland, including, it is said, the son of the king of Ulster, advanced upon Bernicia. But he was soundly defeated by Aethelfrith at 'a very famous place called *Degsastan*, that is Degsastone' (Bede HE i .34). The significance of Aethelfrith's victory was that it eliminated the Scots as possible contenders for supremacy in northern Britain for a long time to come. From that day to this, wrote Bede, in 731, no king of Scots dared to wage war against the English.[2] Thenceforward the Britons of Strathclyde remained the only serious rivals of Anglian Bernicia for the possession of the Scottish Lowlands. The battle itself was followed by the conquest of Deira by Aethelfrith and the expulsion of king Edwin. Within thirty-five years *Din Eidyn* too had fallen to the English, and with this were laid to rest the aspirations of the Men of the North, the essential fabric of heroic British society and their right to self determination. *Degsastan* was certainly a famous victory for it found its way into the Irish annals. Nevertheless, the place has never been satisfactorily identified, though at the very least one would expect it to survive as the site of a monolith. The most favoured candidate is Dawston, Liddesdale. The grounds for this supposition can be examined and the case dismissed. Here, an alternative and more credible solution is offered. This not only serves to clarify the emergence of the Tweed Basin as a pivotal area of Anglo-British *rapprochement* but also sheds new light on the Men of the North and tangentially upon one other major conflict, the Battle of *Catraeth*. Degsastan marks both the watershed of pan-Celtic supremacy in the north and at the same time its critical demise; appropriately its significance has never been forgotten. There is therefore ample justification to warrant a serious reappraisal of the evidence.

(a) Degsastan: Dawston, Liddesdale

The Dawston Burn rises on the eastern flank of Saughtree Fell (NO 570 985) and from there flows south-west for a distance of no more than 3 km before joining the Liddel Water. This rural and depopulated backwater, characterized by the broken peat hags and heavily dissected heather moorland of Dawston Rigg, which today merits no attention in itself, belies the significance which has come to be attached to this most isolated of places.

(b) The Historicity of Dawston: the grounds for the supposition

It would be tedious to follow up and refute the many statements and theories as to the site of Degsastan, and there would be little value in tabulating such data, but since so many authors have equated it with Dawston, Liddesdale, the grounds for this supposition need to be examined. Edmund Gibson in 1697 was the first to make the link, '*parum dubito quin sit idem qui hodie Dauston in agro Cumberland*'.[3] In 1722 John Smith stated that the site was unknown, but referred both to Gibson's suggestion and to that of the Bishop of Carlisle, probably William Nicholson (1702-18),[4] who proposed '*Dawston juxta Jedbrough*'.[5] Sharon Turner (1799, i, 263) concurred and supposed the site to be 'Dawston near Jedburgh', as too did Ridpath (1848, 11, n. 7). This was no more than conjecture based on the apparent phonetic similarity of the names Dawston and *Degsastan*, but was no doubt encouraged by an increasing orthodoxy of opinion, added to which, Dawston, Liddesdale, was at least, in a broad sense, in the right geographical area. The view received its first tangible support from Skene (1868a, 162, n. 82), who sought to provide corroborative proof by noting the proximity of the linear earthwork known as the Catrail or Picts' Work Ditch (then conceived as a major linear earthwork extending for over fifty miles),[6] which he interpreted as the boundary between the kingdom of Anglian Northumbria and that of the Strathclyde Britons. Further, in refuting the supposed identification of Dalstone, Cumberland, he pointed out 'while the word Degsastane passes naturally into Dawstone, it never could have formed Dalstone'.

The identification was accepted less than critically by Chalmers (1887-1902, iv, 247) 'the fatal field of Dawstone',[7] and Chalmer's influence, no less than Skene's is perceptible in the writings of Jeffrey (1864, 246-5) 'the battle of Dawston'. Jeffrey, however, went further and was to anticipate difficulties which were to be posed about the implicit acceptance of Dawston only some eighty years later. He accepted Skene's suggestion on the significance of the Catrail, but argued for a slight adjustment in the site of the battle (no doubt aware of the problems presented by the terrain of Dawston Rigg), placing it on the farm of Florida, on the estate of Dinlabyre (NY 518 906), some 9 km to the SSW, which is also called the Dawstones or Daegstones. The merit of this move lay in reconciling

the place-name evidence with the normal development of OE *Degsastan*, which would give Daystone, not Dawstone. The word 'day', in the dialect of Cumberland and Westmorland, Jeffrey tells us, is vocalized *deh*, *dah* or *dawe* (1864, 265, n. *). Johnston (1892 'Dawstane Burn') sought to clarify the situation, '*c.*720 *Bede* Degsastan, "Degsa's stone" (OE *stān*, Sc *stane*). This is doubtful'. Murray (1895, 89-92) noted, 'Dawston Rigg, the reputed site of Degsastan', but was less inclined to follow earlier writers on the significance of the Catrail. He, none the less, thought a date in the fifth century not improbable and suggested it may have served the purpose of a 'protected way'.

The identification was accepted with varying degrees of hesitation by later writers: Plummer (1896, notes, p. 66) 'probably Dawston, in Liddesdale';[8] Douglas (1899, 33) 'Degsastan, or Dawstone';[9] Anderson (1908, 11, n. 6) 'perhaps Dawstane near Jedburgh'; Anderson (1922, 123, n. 4) 'near Dawston Burn, within the Catrail';[10] Mack (1924, 4) 'Dawstone in Liddesdale',[11] along with a number of other authors who are cited by Blair (1959a, 157, n. 2).[12] Still, however, there was no proof beyond the repeated assertions of successive generations of historians. This increasing orthodoxy of opinion, based on no more than a guess wholly unsupported by material evidence, merely confirmed in the minds of some (allowing for the passage of time and the inexactitude of the textual sources)[13] that the case was hardly in doubt. This is particularly apparent in Murray's work, for he notes with reference to Dalston, near Carlisle, 'I think modern antiquaries are more partial to Dawston Rig' and further, 'a halo of tradition has always surrounded this locality' (1895, 93). What is perhaps more worrying is the manner in which *Degsastan* itself merely became sublimated to the geography of the Liddel valley and Dawston Burn; a trend apparent to this day: 'The century opens, then, with Aedán mac Gabrán's army moving from the fortress of Dunadd to a defeat at Dawston (*Degsastan*) in Liddesdale... Aethelfrith, victor of Dawston' (Alcock 1987b, 302-3, fig. 19.5).

The identification, nevertheless, won the support of Max Förster (1942, 796-811) in a monumental work acclaimed as 'by far the most thorough and serious work on British linguistic chronology from the Anglo-Saxon standpoint' (Jackson 1956, viii). Förster argued that the place-name originated as a British personal-name (a suggestion first made by Johnston 1892, 154), and sought to reconcile this with the final form of the name as given by Bede. However, whilst seeking to remove one difficulty in the way of the identification, he, nevertheless, failed to advance any evidence for making the identification in the first place; a point highlighted by Blair (1959a, 158, n. 2).

About the same time, Williamson (1942, xli-xlii) set out her own case for the identification of *Degsastan*. She accepted for the first element an OE personal-name *Dæ̃g[i]sa*, an *-isa* derivative of *Dæ̃g-*, as in *Dæ̃ghræ̃fn* (cf. *Beowulf* 1977), but whilst accepting the possibility of Dawston Burn 'a convenient meeting-place', she offered two alternatives; the first was a stream called Day Sike, on the Border close to the point at which the Catrail was supposed to end (NY 595 958); but see RCAMS (1956, 483). Second, recalling the unexplained runes on the Ruthwell Cross *'dæ̃gisgæ̃f'*, which seemed to contain the same name and which was of an early type (cf. Dickens and Ross 1934), Williamson believed that this was more likely to be the site of *Degsastan*; a belief strengthened by the association of the cross. This, however, was no more than an excursion into possibilities and her suggestion has been taken no further. At this time there was, nevertheless, growing concern over the implicit acceptance of Dawston. Stenton, for instance, pointed out that OE *Degsastan* would not produce Dawston, but Daystone (as anticipated both by Jeffrey and Williamson, op. cit.) and suggested that the identification be best left open to question (1934, 77, n. 2). His advice went largely unheeded, though now a degree of circumspection on the part of some writers is at least apparent.

Chadwick (1949, 129), for instance, side-stepped the issue and, whilst referring to the conflict of 603, avoided all mention of the battlefield. Wade-Evans too (1949, 79) was unforthcoming. Jackson (1956, 611-12) cited Förster, but noted 'the etymology is very uncertain'.[14] RCAMS (1956, 34) reverted to 'Degsastan, usually identified as Dawston, Liddesdale' but went further, on the authority of the Ordnance Survey (1939), to apply the date of Degsastan, *mutatis mutandis,* to the moorland road between Robert's Linn and Dawston Burn (op. cit. p. 96, No. 119). Whilst doubt may have been cast on the place-name, the significance of the Catrail was not lost. Following Oman (1929, 251), the Catrail, it was held, might mark the political boundary after Aethelfrith's victory at Degsastan in 603: 'this is indubitably the earliest possible date for such a work'; 'in conjunction with other linear earthworks, these boundaries would fit early Anglian expansion... under the circumstances it is tempting to suggest that the Catrail may mark the line on which Anglian colonists, pushing up the Teviot from Bernicia, temporarily stabilized their position' (RCAMS 1956, pp. 38, 483).[15] In an appendix to the Catrail it is stated: 'there is therefore good reason to argue the existence of territorial encroachment from the east - presumably by Anglian invaders' (RCAMS 1957, 127).

Hunter Blair (1959a, 156-8) was less inclined to follow Skene's interpretation of the Catrail, which he regarded as of doubtful validity, and simply pointed to the lack of evidence for identifying *Degsastan* with Dawston. He concluded, 'for all that has been

written about the site of *Degsastan*, no advance has been made beyond the position of John Smith in 1722: *'hic locus, Bedae seculo tam celebris, hodie ignotus est'* (ibid. 157-8, n. 2). Others, however, seem to have been less prepared to accept this degree of finality; an attitude due perhaps in part to the growing counsel of despair bred by the inability to offer any other credible alternative. Dickinson (1961, 36, n. 4) resorted to 'the exact site of the battle is unknown, but it is suggested that *Degsastan* may have been by Dawston Burn at the head of Liddesdale.' In 1963 Blair reaffirmed his position *'Degsastan*, a place still renowned in Bede's lifetime, but now lost'.[16] Alcock (1974, 338) was more confident, Dawston (*Degsastan*)'. Duncan (1975, 44) notes *'Degsastan*, somewhere in Northumbria ... the place has never been satisfactorily identified, though one would expect it to survive as the site of a monolith and to have the name "Daystone": the most favoured candidate is Dawston in Liddesdale'; a position which he reaffirmed in 1977.

Hope-Taylor (1977, 285) simply notes the defeat of Celtic forces at the unidentified *Degsastan*, but asks 'still conceivably in Liddesdale?' Whether or not the identification was in doubt, in order to frame the boundaries for a northern battle zone, he proceeded to draw upon the 'consensus of opinion' which argued for the significance of the Catrail as a boundary work most probably attributable to a phase of stabilization during the course of 'westward' English expansion from Bernicia. He notes too, that the formerly reputed site of *Degsastan*, lies less than three miles distant from its eastern end. This was restated by Donaldson and Morpeth (1977) *'Degsastan*, perhaps at Dawstane in Liddesdale', and by Mackie (1979, 19) 'Dawston in Liddesdale?' In 1983 I proposed Addinston, Lauderdale (Smith 1983a, 9, 35-8), arguing, following Plummer (1896, notes, p. 66), that the name might be a corruption of *'æt Ægðanes stane'*, 'at Aedán's stone', though the evidence was not set out in detail.[17] Smyth (1984, 30, 34) suggested *'Degsastan*, an unidentified battleground in the lower Tweed Basin or perhaps, as Skene originally suggested, at Dawston (Dawstone) in Liddesdale'; see also Alcock (1987b, 301-2, fig. 19.5).[18] MacQueen (1989, 282, n. 21) followed Stenton implicity (*supra*).

(c) The Case Against Dawston, Liddesdale

The case against the identification of *Degsastan* with Dawston, Liddesdale, has in part already been made. However, until the identification is utterly refuted and a credible alternative proposed, it will be difficult to erase the memory of nearly four hundred years of scholarship and the legacy of tradition which has come to surround this site. Hunter Blair (1959a, 157, n. 2) simply pointed to the origin of the identification as an inspired guess, probably on the part of William Nicholson, Bishop of Carlisle (1702-18), a guess

unsupported by corroborative proof. In order to lay Dawston to rest once and for all it is necessary to consider in detail the evidence which has been drawn in its support.

(i) The Catrail or Picts' Work Ditch

Excepting for the moment the doubt which may be cast on the place-name, the Catrail alone remains the only corroborative proof for an interface in this area between Anglian insurgency and the western native territories, and thus the scene of the conflict (plate 8.14). The Catrail has been seen as a major linear earthwork stretching unbroken from Gala Water in the north to Peel Fell in the south, a distance of over fifty miles (31 km) transecting the Tweed Basin, if not extending to the Roman Wall itself. Whereas in reality, as conceived, it is a miscellany of disparate linear earthworks which bear no real relation to one another (cf. RCAMS 1956, 479-83; 1957, 126-7). Its extension to the Roman Wall was no more than a misguided conjecture on the part of Dr Douglas, the minister of Galashiels, who wrote in a letter to Chalmers, 'when at Gilsland in 1789, I thought I could perceive traces of the Catrail leaving the Roman Wall, about five or six miles to the west of this place, at a station upon the Wall'. He seems to have confused the Catrail with the Maidenway. Gordon too was clearly wrong when he stated that he saw a distinct track of the Catrail running towards Canonby, on the River Esk (cf. Jeffrey 1864, 264, n. ‡).[19]

RCAMS (1956, 38) believed that the Catrail could not be earlier than the sixth century and thus provided the wherewithal by which it would appear on Hope-Taylor's map of the northern battle zone (1977, 298-9, fig. 114); again this can be shown to be inaccurate and consequently any interpretation placed on the Catrail will need to be revised. But of importance is the fact that the Catrail never did extend farther south than Robert's Linn (NT 538 026). Its apparent continuation to Dawston Rig, to which Skene and Williams attached significance,[20] may be seen to be entirely misplaced and to have arisen from a misinterpretation of the old road which extends from Robert's Linn to Dawston Rig (cf. RCAMS 1956, p. 96, No. 119). On these grounds the Catrail can be discounted as proof for the identification of *Degsastan* with Dawston, but, of course, so long as the dating evidence stands, and any notion that the earthwork may have served as a boundary for the Northumbrian English and the Strathclyde Britons, the possibility that this was the theatre of some conflict cannot entirely be dismissed.

A linear earthwork which passes to the west of the Dod settlement is, I believe, part of the Catrail (*contra.* RCAMS 1956, 479) (plate 8.15). The earthwork was sectioned on three occasions (Smith 1982b, 129) and two phases were deduced for its construction.

The first consisted of a dump of redeposited fluvio-glacial material scooped up from the adjoining ground surface. In a second phase, which saw the cutting of a ditch along its eastern flank, the profile of the earthwork was enhanced without materially adding much to its height. Superficial traces on the crest of the earthwork suggest the provision of a timber fence, although brushwood supported by wicker uprights is also possible. A radiocarbon date obtained from the secondary infill of the ditch (1905 ± 50 bp, AD 10-215) confirms that the earthwork had fallen into disuse by the late pre-Roman Iron Age. This is in agreement with dates obtained from sections cut elsewhere along the Catrail by Peter Strong (1905 ± 40 bp, 1956 ± 45 bp and 2068 ± 43 bp); a further nine dates are currently being processed.[21] All would point to the origin of the Catrail in the late first millennium BC. Further, the dates would seem to confirm that the Dod settlement was planned as an integral element in the layout of the Catrail and that this took place long before the period of Bernician expansion in the seventh century. The Catrail is thus probably no more than one of a series of ridge-dykes or linear ranch boundaries which are evidently related to land-use management perhaps accompanying the *territoria* of the hillforts (cf. Halliday 1982, 80-2). The exception may be the linear earthwork known as the Picts' Work Ditch in the county of Selkirk, and it is worth noting the comparable position of the hillforts at Torwoodlee and the Rinks to that of the Dod in relation to the Catrail.[22] It is possible that the Picts' Work Ditch defined the inter-tribal boundary between the Genounian district of Tweeddale and the Selgovae of the middle Tweed Basin, later the sixth-century kingdom of *Goddeu* and the kingdom of Cadrod Calchvynyd (p. 301).

It seems unlikely that the Catrail could have fulfilled such a function. Moreover, on the basis of the patterning of Dark Age forts and on the place-name evidence for Anglian settlement in the lower Tweed Basin, it is improbable that the Catrail defined a political boundary for Anglian Bernicia. The only earthwork which might fall into this category would be the so-called 'Military Road' (RCAMS 1957, pp. 118-20, No. 182) which describes an arc between the Tweed and Kale Water due west of the Eildons; this conceivably a buffer to account for the Anglian take-over of a former British pivotal centre at *Eldunum* (Newstead and Melrose).[23] All in fact would point to conflict in the lower Tweed Basin, an area possibly already subject to Germanic colonization by the sixth century, i.e. the place-name Hassington, which, if not topographical (cf. Nicolaisen 1979, 25), might be identified with the *Hæ̃lsingas* who appear in *Widsiđ* (Malone 1936, 153-4; Williamson 1942, 8). One can thus reject the notion of the Catrail as a boundary upon which the Anglian colonists stabilized their position following *Degsastan* and consequently it may be seen to have no bearing on the scene of the conflict.

(ii) Communications

It has been customary to note that in order to reach Dawston the Anglian army would have had to push their way up the valley of the North Tyne to reach their objective at the head of Liddesdale (probably by way of the Wheel Causeway).[24] This strains credulity for, assuming the Bernician army to have been hosted at Bamburgh, which is the Burgh of the English comparable to Edinburgh (Gododdin), this would require no less than a full detour around the Cheviot massif; a route which would take them through the heart of British districts, principally those of northern Rheged. If this seems unlikely, the route taken by Aedán's army, even allowing for the 120 crow-miles from Dunadd (cf. Alcock 1987b, 302), is all the more inexplicable.[25] It would necessitate traversing some of the roughest terrain in the Southern Uplands, crossing one watershed after another, with little or no help from the Roman road network, which, discounting Dere Street, follows the grain of the landscape from east to west. Even allowing for the traditional routes across the uplands, such as the drove roads (e.g. the Minchmoor Road)[26] and those later used by the Border reivers, the task would have been tiring both to men and animals; a thankless and futile gesture in view of the time and preparation given to the planning of the campaign[27] and in marked contrast to the rapid progress of the Gododdin cavalry from *Din Eidyn* to *Catraeth* by way of Dere Street.[28] Shaw supposed a battle at the head of Liddesdale would allow the Scots to redeploy naval detachments who had reached the Solway Firth by the recognized sea routes from Ireland (1973, 235). This is no more than supposition since the strategic merit of a set-piece battle on the most marginal terrain of upper Liddesdale would offset any merit in the trans-shipment of men by way of the south-west.

(iii) Strategy and tactics

Given the time and preparation committed to the campaign, the choice of Dawston, Liddesdale, as the setting for a battle of this order seems most unlikely. It bears no comparison to the strategic merit of *Catraeth*; the objective of Mynyddog's army (p. 338). *Catraeth* lay at the eastern hub of Rheged and a victory here would have served to drive a wedge between Bernicia and Deira. What could possibly be achieved by staging a battle in the barren fell-country of upper Liddesdale? The deeply engrained peat-hags and glacial ridging, which abound in the area of Saughtree Fell, would rule out the free and rapid movement of foot-soldiers and the use of cavalry.[29] Any advantage the Scots may have had by dint of careful planning and superiority in numbers would at once be dissipated by the excesses of the terrain. Moreover, this was the most marginal hill-country to the British kingdoms centred on the Tweed Valley, just as today it is peripheral to the zone of agricultural improvement. On archaeological evidence, at least, it is an area which is almost devoid of settlement, and it is hard to equate this with the picture presented by Fordun (1759,

iii, 32) of Aedan's army, prior to the battle, burning and pillaging townships and fields (*per villas et arva*). Moreover, it is hard to account for the degree of rapidity with which the arrival of Aedan's army was checked by the sudden appearance of Aethelfrith's. This alone would seem to preclude Liddesdale as the likely scene of the conflict (either Dawston Rig or the site on Dinlabyre favoured by Jeffrey)[30] and should argue instead for a site closer to, if not within, the Bernician heartland.

(iv) The stone, 'id est Degsa lapis'

There can be no doubt from the conspectus of manuscript sources, either derived from Bede or the lost northern recension of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, that the site of *Degsastan* was closely identified with a stone; either free-standing or in the form of an Early Christian memorial. Neither is known from the area of Dawston Rig, and this is all the more surprising (assuming the identification to be correct) given the barren nature of the terrain and the lack of later enclosure. Moreover it seems unlikely that the stone could have been removed for reuse as a lintel, for the only likely candidate would be the farmstead at Dawston Burn (RCAMS 1956, p. 89, No. 79) of which all that now remains is a rubble spread. This appears to have been a late eighteenth-century improvement farmstead and one would therefore expect to find reference to a standing stone, for instance, in Gordon's *Itinerarium Septentrionale* (1726), by which date the significance of Dawston had been realized. The nearest standing stone, in fact, lies 4 km to the WSW 'the Buck stone' (NY 505 962) but this is over the watershed in the valley of Hermitage Water;[31] the next is a recorded site on Goose Rig (NY 546 889), over 10 km to the S and now afforested.[32] It occupied a hill-crest position overlooking the Dinlabyre Estate (the site favoured by Jeffrey for *Degsastan*),[33] but it is clearly of no relevance. The only Early Christian memorial known from the Liddel Valley is the 'Carantus' stone, which was found in the bed of the Liddel Water, some 12 km to the SW of Dawston Burn,[34] but this is an area of agricultural improvement and by virtue that it was found at all this should prompt the question, why has one never been found in the neighbourhood of Saughtree Fell? The negative evidence is striking and again precludes any likelihood of *Degsastan* being Dawston, Liddesdale.

(v) 'in loco celeberrimo'?

Bede states (HE i. 34) that *Degsastan* was a very famous place. This is hardly borne out by the archaeological evidence at any period for Dawston, still less for the presence of Northumbrian settlers which Förster presupposed (1942, 796-811) and without which his etymological equation seems barely credible.[35] Moreover, Dawston neither appears in the *Register of the Great Seal*,[36] nor in the *Retours*, nor Bain's *Calendar of Documents*.[37] As Fraser points out (pers. commun., 1988), this is scarcely surprising given the

Table 8.2

The development of the name 'Degsastan' by date and source

Date	Form	Source	Reference
737	*Degsastan*	Bede (HEi.34), Moore Ms	Plummer 1896, lxxxix-xci; Colgrave & Mynors 1969, xliii-xliv
746	*Degsastan*	Bede (ibid), Leningrad Ms	Colgrave & Mynors 1969, xliv; Parkes 1982, 5-12
8th	*Degsastanae*	Bede (ibid), Cotton Tib cii	Plummer 1896, xciii-xcv; Colgrave & Mynors 1969, xliv-xlvii
8th	*Daegsastane*	Bede (ibid), Namur Ms	Plummer 1896, lxxxvi-lxxxviii; Colgrave & Mynors 1969, xlv
late 9/10th	*Daegstane**	ASC (A), CCCC Parker Ms 173	Anderson 1908, 11, n. 6
*c.*977	*Egesan stane*	ASC (B), Cotton Tib A vi	Anderson 1908, 11, n. 6
early 11th	*Daigsestane*	Bede (ibid), Bodl 163 (O_9)	Plummer 1896, cxi-cxiii, cxviii-cxx; Colgrave & Mynors 1969, li
*c.*1066	*Egesan stane*	ASC (C), Cotton Tib B i	Anderson 1908, 11, n. 6
1070-1100	*Daegsanstane*	ASC (D)(E), Cotton Tib B iv; Bodl Laud 636	Anderson 1908, 11, n. 6
late 11th	*Daisastane*	Bede (ibid), Durham B ii 35	Plummer 1896, civ; Colgrave & Mynors 1969, xlix
12th	*Dexastan*	*Chronicle of Holyrood*	Anderson 1922, 123
14th	*Dexastan*	*Chronicle, Picts and Scots,* Ms Sir T Phillips No. 3119	Skene 1867, 286
early 15th	*Daysastagne*	Bede (ibid), Bodley 302 (D) O_9	Plummer 1896, cviii-cix; Colgrave & Mynors, 1

* Also corruptly given as '*aet Egesan stane*' originally in (A) Whitelock 1979, i. 159

insignificance of the site at all periods. Admittedly, the Jedburgh Chartulary no-longer survives, and this would, perhaps, be the earliest source for the name, but in the absence of corroborative evidence, Dawston can, on this count too, clearly be dismissed.

(vi) A British personal-name?

Before considering the place-name, it is worth considering whether Förster and Williamson were correct in supposing that Degsastan was derived from a British personal-name. Förster derived AS *Degesa*, in Bede's *Degsastan*, from British **Dagiss-* with AS umlaut (cf. Jackson 1956, 612) and suggested the name existed in two parallel forms meaning respectively 'the stone of *Dagan*' and 'the stone of **Dagissu*'.[38] The variations of the name *Degsastan* are given in Table 8.2. Förster suggested that Bede's informant knew the latter of the two forms 'the stone of **Dagissu*' which Bede Anglicized to **Dæ̃gisanstan*. However, this variation is only paralleled in the (D) and (E) texts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which can be no earlier than the second half of the eleventh century, and which must themselves be derived from Bede or the Chronicle's lost northern recension.[39] Förster reconciles the differences by hypothesizing four steps by which the name achieved final form: 'the stone of **Dagissu*', Anglicized to *Dæ̃gisanstan*, which developed normally from **Dæ̃igisanstan*, to **Degisastan*, *Degsastan*. The philology is difficult and it must be inferred that the redaction of the first three stages took place before the name ever reached Bede, otherwise one would expect to find one or other of the forms paralleled in the Leningrad Bede, if not in the Moore manuscript (pp. 323-4)

Förster's equation can, in fact, only be supported by assuming the presence of Anglian settlement in the locality[40] (implicitly Bede, HE i. 34 *'in loco celeberrimo'*) but this is neither supported by archaeology, nor by place-name evidence. Förster's etymology, as Jackson notes (1956, 612), is anyway very uncertain.[41] Moreover, it is unclear which of the two names the stone actually bore (assuming it was an Early Christian memorial) but if the former **Dagan*, the link with *Degsastan* is all the less apparent. Williamson (1942, lxv) believed the name to be **Dæ̃g(i)sa*, which would be closer to *Degsastan*, but again this is only closely paralleled by the form of the name given in the (C) and (N) texts of the Bede manuscript (eighth century) and those of later sources. The merit of Williamson's suggestion is that the name more closely approximates to the expected form of the place-name, which should develop normally to 'daystone' (cf. the form of the name in the Durham manuscript (D) and (O_9), twelfth and fifteenth century respectively); see also p. 324.

(vii) The place-name

Doubt has already been cast on the identification of *Degsastan* with Dawston on the premise that the name would normally give rise to 'Daystone', not 'Dawston' (cf. Williamson 1942, xlii who favoured the Daystone Burn). But there is telling evidence over and above this which altogether precludes the identification. Setting aside the OS 6-inch map, 1st ed. (1867), sheet xlii,[42] the place-name 'Dawstane' only appears on Stobie's map of 1783. On Roy's *Military Survey* (1747-55, sheet 7/2) it is 'Darston' and on Pont (*c.*1600c) 'Dasten' (fig. 8.18). At a stroke, the drawn out historiography surrounding the place-name Dawston and its identification with *Degsastan* collapses. The place-name evidence is unequivocal. The name 'Dawstane' is an eighteenth-century corruption; the origin of the name, most probably in *dar-*, is implicit to the earlier sources. Moreover, it serves to explain why Edmund Gibson (1697, 23) was unable to make the identification; he would have had only Pont's map to go by. Sharon Turner (1799), however, would have had access to Stobie's map, and presumably had no reason to consult Blaeu's *Atlas* to confirm the name; an oversight which can hardly be claimed for Skene and Chalmers.

The origin of the name 'Dawston' from 'Darston' is best explained as a woodland name, Gaelic *der-* 'oak' (cf. Maclennan 1986, 119) 'the farm associated with the oaks', perhaps a nearby coppice; cf. Darvel, probably Gaelic *daire chuill* 'oak wood' (Johnston 1903, 98). Evidence in support of this is provided by the name of the neighbouring fell 'Saughtree', with the prefix Scots *saugh* 'willow' (Williamson 1942, 215). Alternatively, if one is to suppose a derivation from *Daw-*, one might suggest either Scots *Daw, Da* 'a sluggard' with reference perhaps to the burn (cf. Jamieson 1818), or *dar, dor* from Welsh *dwr*, 'river', as in Darnagre (Johnston 1903, 98). *Dar*, a variation of *darr(e), dare, dayre, der* is rare in Scots (Craigie and Aitken 1974, 13) and thus the first option, a woodland name, seems more likely.[43] The identification of *Degsastan* with Dawston, Liddesdale, can thus be refuted on place-name evidence alone (*contra.* Johnston 1903, 99; Watson 1926, 130).

(II) DEGSASTAN: THE CASE FOR ADDINSTON, LAUDERDALE

(a) Addinston, Lauderdale, the Topographical Background

At Newstead the Tweed is joined by the Leader Water, one of its major left bank tributaries. The valley of the Leader is broad and long, and traces its ascent to the watershed between the Lammermuir and Moorfoot Hills, a distance of about 27 km. On two sides it is bordered by the foothills of the Tweed's hinterland, but at Lauder the valley opens out into a wide and fertile alluvial plain flanked on both sides by higher ground which culminates at the head of

the valley in a natural amphitheatre overlooking the junction of the Leader with the Cleekhimmin Burn ('Addinstoun Burn' *c.*1600).[44] At the confluence, on a tongue of marginally higher ground backed by the domicular-profile of Addinston Hill and commanding views down the length of the valley, stands Addinston.

Since the Roman period, if not before, Lauderdale has remained the principal thoroughfare north from the middle Tweed Basin. It is the most direct route from the Tweed to Edinburgh,[45] and its importance in the pre-Roman Iron Age is attested by the number of hillforts which flank the valley corridor.[46] It was the route selected for the main trunk road north from Newstead, Dere Street, whose course closely approximates to the modern A68.[47] Dere Street follows the west side of the valley but converges at Carfraemill, due west of Addinston, with another main thoroughfare (the present A697), which traverses the east side of the valley to Lauder and from there leads directly to Coldstream and, by way of the Fell Sandstone uplands, to the coastal littoral of north Northumberland. In the medieval period Lauderdale was of greater significance and more often used as a routeway than the coastal path between Berwick and Dunbar. This much is borne out by the presence of a hospice, *Domus Soltre*, on Soutra Hill.[48] By this route went most of the great military expeditions designed for operations on the east side, whether from England for the Lothians or from Scotland to cross the Tweed (see also Smith 1984, 178).[49]

North-west of Addinston, at the head of the dale, the thoroughfares converge before climbing to Soutra, and the strategic importance of this part of the valley is suggested by a cluster of hillforts: Blackchester on the west, the imposing fort of Addinston Hill commanding the northern reaches of the valley (plate 8.16), and to the east the forts at Longcroft and Dabshiel Hill.[50] In the Roman period this district was secured by the fortlet at Oxton[51] and Roman influence is apparent in the classic Type IA 'open settlement' which overlies the hillfort defences at Longcroft;[52] secondary settlement is also apparent at Addinston (cf. Feachem 1965, 200). The Type 4B settlement of Haerfaulds, due east of Lauder, [53] may be a Dark Age caput. It was in this locality that Cuthbert spent his youth as a shepherd, and it is possible that this was also the area targeted for his missionary activities whilst resident at Melrose.[54] Tradition identifies him with Channelkirk, 4 km to the north-west of Addinston, and this may also be the site of a pre-parochial church or chapel.[55] In secular and ecclesiastical affairs Lauderdale was pre-eminent in the medieval period. It was the caput of the Morville lordship (hereditary constables of Scotland) and a greater part of the Sheriffdom or barony was sub-infeudated to the abbeys of Kelso, Melrose and Dryburgh, whose chartularies and rent-rolls provide valuable topographic detail and place-name evidence which will be drawn upon in support of the identification of Addinston with

Degsastan. Further, from the vestigial writs of the Morvilles, which form the conspectus of an inventory prepared by the first Earl of Lauderdale, embodied in an act of Parliament in 1661, there is a very real possibility that one may trace the pedigree of the Maitlands of Thirlestane, Lethington and Lauderdale, to a member of the native Anglian gentry of Northumbria (cf. Barrow 1973, 281, 297-9). Lauder's prosperity in the early modern period is more difficult to gauge but seems no less certain (Turner-Simpson and Stevenson 1980); it was a royal burgh by 1455 (Pryde 1965, 43-4).

(b) Degsastan: the evidence of the Leningrad Bede

The annals of Ulster (s.a. 600), Clonmacnois (s.a. 603) and Tighernac (s.a. [599]=603?) recall solely Aedán's defeat and the site of the battle is unmentioned. To Bede alone we are indebted for the name *Degsastan.* However, in the earliest manuscripts there is a discrepancy, which has previously been overlooked, in the gloss provided on the name which unequivocally ties it to a stone (*lapis*). The chronicled variations on the name are given in Table 8.2, but only the Moore manuscript and the Leningrad Bede need detain us (plates 8.17, 8.18). The Moore manuscript was written in Northumbria (probably at Wearmouth-Jarrow) in or soon after the year 737. The number of small mistakes, the absence of ornament, frequent contractions and other symptoms suggest that the scribe was obliged to be economical of time and material (Colgrave and Mynors 1969, xliii -iv). It is, none the less, generally held to be both reliable and to resemble Bede's autograph most closely (Plummer 1896, lxxxix-x). Folio 24v, line 22 is as follows: '*Siquidem in loco celeberrimo qui dî degsastan / id ÷ degsa-lapis omnis pene' ə÷ cessus exercitus*'. Both the name '*degsastan*' and the gloss provided on the name '*id est degsa-lapis*' are in agreement and are consistent with all later transcriptions of the Bede manuscript, withstanding variations in the spelling of *Degsa.* In the Moore manuscript there is thus no discrepancy between the name identified for the stone and that for the battlefield.

In the Leningrad Bede, however, this is not the case (plate 8.19). Folio 26r, column 1, line 2 reads: '*Siquidem in / loco celeberrimo qui dî dicit degsastan / id÷desa lapis omnis pene eius est caes/us*'. Bede would appear to hold out that the name was 'desa', not 'degsa', and this would seem to corroborate the need for a gloss on *Degsastan* which would be otherwise self-evident. The Leningrad Bede is a handsome volume in Insular Minuscule with fine ornament, copied in stages by four scribes, no doubt at Wearmouth-Jarrow, not later than the year 746. Although later than the Moore manuscript, the text is very close to the exemplar and more accurate. Folio 26r is the work of Scribe A whose responsibility embraced folios 1-32v. A close examination of the stints of Scribes A and B

indicates that they were supplying eight quires to the beginning of a pre-existing manuscript (the work of Scribes C and D), and since a corrector added chapter and year numbers to 746, that date must indicate when the manuscript was finally completed (cf. Parkes 1982, 6-11). The quality of Bede's text in this copy is very high indeed. Twenty-six errors noted in the text are in sources quoted by Bede and may well have been in his originals, however, there are only six errors in the text written by Bede himself (Colgrave and Mynors 1969, xl-xli, xliv). The high quality of the text in this copy suggests that it was not far removed from the authors draft (Parkes 1982, 5). There is therefore every reason to attach greater weight of significance to Bede's gloss on *Degsastan* in this manuscript than to any other: '*id est desa lapis*'. The subtlety of the 'missing' participle was lost to all later scribes, the result perhaps of an oversight or overlooked in their haste; as perhaps in the Moore manuscript.

(c) The Implications of the Leningrad Bede: the name 'Desa'

The implications are two-fold. First it removes the likelihood of a British personal-name with the form *Dagan*, **Dagissu* or *Dāēg(i)sa*, as envisaged by Förster and Williamson. More significantly it may point to some uncertainty on the part of Bede, or alternatively, a measure of confidence by which he pronounced the name to be *Desa* not *Degsa*. Could it be that he derived this information directly from his informant, or did he draw his own conclusions on source material which he had received in writing? If the latter, what more likely that his source was the scriptorium at Melrose (*Mailros*), at the hub of the British territories and, despite being almost a century removed from the event, corrupted due to the awkward juxtaposition of language and dialect presented by Brittonic, Gaelic, Old English, Old Northumbrian and Latin-speaking communities on this the very margin of Bernicia. There is, however, another possibility. Aware that it was the Scots against whom Aethelfrith fought, and acquainted perhaps with the tradition that Aedan was supported by many Gaels from Ireland (although this is not expressly stated by Bede), is it possible that he conflated two lines of reasoning and recalled the name *Dési*, the *Déisi*; a tribal grouping driven from Meath to Leinster, and from Leinster overseas (*c.*380) to territories which included Dyfed (cf. Bartrum 1966, 4; Davies 1982, 89-95; Alcock 1987b, 52-3)? At any event to argue strictly in favour of a personal-name, which approximates to the *Desa* of the Leningrad Bede, is probably to miss the point. Implicit to Bede's explanation of the name is a corrupt redaction of the name of the battlefield and this would suffice to imply that Bede was at this point sufficiently far removed from original source material that he could but hazard a guess as to its original meaning. This, of course, needs to be balanced by the fact that he was fully aware that this was a very famous place (*in loco celeberrimo*) and was probably so to his day. By implication this would lend greater significance to the name of the battle itself;

Degsastan, a name which should still survive but which had been sufficiently corrupted by Bede's time that he could not grasp its meaning.

Moreover, the Latin form of *Degsastane* (HE i. 34) would suggest that *Desa* or *Degsa* in Bede cannot denote a person. The scribe in Bede HE v. 24 s.a. 603, who notes *pugnatum ad Degsastanae*, clearly incorrectly assumes or sees that the Latin preposition *ad* takes the dative and accordingly emends the suffix-ending. A case in point is Rendlaesham, a place-name formed with the prefix of an OE personal-name **Rendle*, which Bede (HE iii. 22) accordingly translates into Latin. But he cannot do this with *Degsastan*, which in the genitive would give *id est lapis degsae*. Nevertheless, *Egesan*, in the (B) and (C) texts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *Egesan* too originally in (A), could be the genitive of *Egesa* (a weak declension), which would support the identification of a personal-name. The confusion is probably purely grammatical arising from the translation of OE names into Latin, a problem made the more difficult in a milieu in which scribes were dealing with unfamiliar names in an awkward transition between Latin and Old English; i.e. Vortigern, *Uortigerno* (Bede HE ii. 5) from OE *Wyrt georn* 'eager plant' (see also Miller 1977, 462). Three annals, however, bear no mention of *Degsastan* but stress only the name Aedán. Is it possible then that *Degsastan* may be a corruption of '*aet Ægdanes stane*', 'at Aedán's stone'?

(d) Reconciling Degsastan and the Personal-name Aedán

To achieve final form *Degsastan* the following steps are required. First, for the preposition, the loss of the front vowel *aẽ* and the hardening of the Latin consonant *t* to OE *đ* and a change in the lenition from *đ* to [*đ*]; this would be in accord with the stress fully on the consonant and an unvoiced long vowel *ae*. Second for the personal-name, the substitution of the common AS short *a-* sound, namely *aẽ* to *e*, as in Pr.W **Catraxt* > Pr. AS **Cãetreaht*, Bede *Cetreht* (HE ii. 14);[56] cf. the form of the name in the (B) and (C) texts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, '*aet Egesan stane*'.[57] Third the substitution in Insular Minuscule of *ꝛ* (s) for *ſ* in place of an upright *đ*, which, though frequently used by Scribe D in the Leningrad Bede, was suppressed as a variant by Scribes A and B,[58] this then no more than a simple scribal error arising from the form of the caligraphy and perfectly explicable in the context of the Wearmouth-Jarrow scriptorium where the process of developing minuscule was perhaps somewhat rapid (cf. Parkes 1982, 11-12). The form of the personal-name 'Aedán' as deduced would then parallel that of the (A) and (D) texts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*: *Ægꝛan* and *Ægdan* respectively. Finally OE *stãn* for *stane*.[59]

Table 8.3 The Development of the name 'Aedan' by date and source

Date	Form	Source	Reference
737	Aeđan	Bede (HE i. 34), Moore Ms	Plummer 1896, lxxxix-xci; Colgrave & Mynors 1969, xliii-iv
746	Aeꝛan	Bede (ibid), Leningrad Ms	Colgrave & Mynors 1969, xliv; Parkes 1985, 5-12
8th	*Eadán*	Bede (ibid), Namur Ms	Plummer 1896, lxxxvi-lxxxviii; Colgrave & Mynors 1969, xlv
9th/10th	*Aegran*	ASC (A), CCCC, Parker Ms	Whitelock *et al* 1961, 15; Whitelock 1979, i, 159
10th	*Aida*	Ms Brit Mus Harl 3859	Skene 1867, 14
mid 11th	*Ægdan*	ASC (E), Bodl Laud 636	Whitelock *et al* 1961, 15; Whitelock 1979, i, 159
mid/late 11th	*Ægdan*	ASC (D), Brit Mus Cott Tib Biv	Whitelock *et al* 1961, 15; Whitelock 1979, i, 159
11th	*Aedan*	Tighernac, Annals Ms Bodl Rawl B 488	Skene 1867, 68
11th	*Aedhain*	Tighernac, Annals Ms Bodl Rawl B 488	Skene 1867, 68
11th	*Aodhan*	Duan Albanoch Ms RIA Dubl M'Firbis	Skene 1867, 60
early 12th	*Edan*	Wm of Malmesbury, Gesta regum Anglorum	Anderson 1908
12th	*Edain*	Genealogy of k. Wm. the Lion, Ms Brit Mus Cott Faustina	Skene 1867, 144
12th	*Edan*	Chronicle, Scots & Picts, Ms Bib Fac Jurid Edinburgh	Skene 1867, 148
12th	*Edane*	Chronicle, Scots & Picts, Ms Bib Fac Jurid Edinburgh	Skene 1867, 148
12th	*Ean*	Sigebert of Gemblours, MGH, SS, vi, 322	Pertz 1826-96; Anderson 1908, 11
13th	*Edham*	Chronicle, Scots & Picts, Ms Brit Mus Harl 4628	Skene 1867, 171
14th	*Aidan*	Chronicle, Scots & Picts, Ms Sir T Phillips No 3119	Skene 1867, 286
14th	*Aeddan*	Triads, iii, 45	Plummer 1896, notes, 66
14th	*Edom*	Chronicle, Scots & Picts, Ms Brit Mus Harl 1808	Skene 1867, 305
14th	*Aedan*	Tract on Scots of Dalriada, Ms Trin Coll Dubl H27	Skene 1867, 309
14th	*Aedfind*	Tract on Scots of Dalriada, Ms RIA Dublin Bk of Lecain	Skene 1867, 309
15th	*Aedain*	Ulster, Annals, Ms Bodl Rawl 489	Skene 1867, 346
15th	*Aedhan*	Ulster, Annals, Ms Bodl Rawl 489	Skene 1867, 346

Table 8.4
Adniston, Legerwood [Moricestun] by date and source

Date	Form	Source
1165x77	*Aldenestun*	*Melrose Liber.*, No. 81
1300	*Auldston*	*Dryburgh Liber.*, No. 291
1371-2	*Aulddynstone*	*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, i, No. 431
1535	*Aldestowne*	*Dryburgh Liber.*, Rent Roll, p. 331
1540	*Aldestoun*	*Dryburgh Liber.*, Rent Roll, p. 340
1545	*Aldestoun*	*Dryburgh Liber.*, Rent Roll, p. 345
1555	*Aldestoun*	*Dryburgh Liber.*, Rent Roll, p. 350
1600	*Adinstoun*	Pont *c.*1600b
1608	*Adinstoun*	*Retours*, Berwick, No. 75
1632	*Adinstoun*	*Retours*, Berwick, No. 184
1649	*Adingstoun*	Macfarlane 1906-8, iii, 175
1821	*Adniston*	Thomson 1821

Table 8.5
Addinston, Lauderdale by date and source

Date	Form	Source
1222	*Aldenistoun*	*Dryburgh Liber.*, No. 84
1222	*Aldenistoun*	*Dryburgh Liber.*, No. 85
1222	*Aldinstoun*	*Dryburgh Liber.*, No. 88
1252	*Aldeniston*	*Dryburgh Liber.*, No. 279
1472	*Auldinstoun*	*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, ii, No. 1086
1510	*Aldinstoun*	*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, ii, No. 3501
1600	*Adinstoun*	Pont *c.*1600b
1610	*Adingstoun*	*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, vii, No. 301
1612	*Adinstoun*	*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, vii, No. 659
1625	*Auldingstone*	*Retours*, Berwick, No. 139
1630	*Aldingstoune*	*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, viii, No. 1551
1627	*Adinstone*	*Rep., Parishes Scotland*
1649	*Auldingstaine*	*Retours*, Berwick, No. 281
1649	*Auldingstaine*	*Retours*, Berwick, No. 281
1696	*Auldingstoune*	*Retours*, Berwick, No. 461
1747	*Adniston*	Roy (1747-55), sheet 8/4
1771	*Adingstoun*	Armstrong 1771
1797	*Adingston*	Blackadder 1797
1821	*Adingston*	Thomson 1821
1862	*Addinston*	OS 6-inch map, Berwickshire, 1st ed. (1862), sheet 13

By way of these emendations the tradition preserved by Bede in the place-name *Degsastan* can be reconciled in the personal-name Aedán, thus *'æt Ægdan's stane'*; the variations of this name are set out in Table 8.3 Further, it may be seen to provide corroborative proof for the non-English textual sources which stress only the name Aedan, and on this basis we now have grounds for seeking the name 'Aedán' in a surviving place-name; a name which should be traceable from the earliest sources for the medieval period and one which should in some way be tied to a stone. This much one should expect from the explicit reference *'id est desa lapis'* and from the fact that Bede notes that it was in his lifetime a very famous place, *'in loco celeberrimo.'*

(e) Reconciling the Etymology: Addinston, Lauder; Adniston, Legerwood

There are two place-names in the Tweed Basin for which a claim can be made, Addinston in the parish of Lauder and Adniston in Legerwood parish some 11 km to the SSW (depopulated by 1771). Although superficially alike (comp. Tables 8.4, 8.5),[60] the latter can be dismissed. Adniston, Legerwood [*Aldenestun*], is on record in 1165x77 when it formed part of an endowment of land accompanying a grant by Alan, steward of the king of Scots (died 1177), 'to God and St Mary and the hospital of *Auldenestun*' (*Melrose Lib.*, i, No. 80). The significance lies not in the identification of *Auldenestun*, which, while probable, is unverified,[61] but in the name itself; the documented versions for which are given in Table 8.4. Johnston (1940, 18), Williamson (1942, 27) and Nicolaisen (1979, 36) have suggested that the personal-name forming the prefix is Aldwine, hence OE *Aldwines-tūn* or **Aldenestun*. A fermtoun is depicted by Roy (1747-55, sheet 18/3) but is unnamed, however, it is 'Adniston' on Thomson's map of 1821; a settlement on the SSE side of Legerwood Hill. This concurs with the charter evidence and that from the *Register* of the *Great Seal* and the *Retours* where it appears, as in 1371-2, alongside *Birkysyde* (Birkenside), *Lygeartwode* (Legerwood) and *Moristone* (Morriston).

Addinston, Lauder, is on record in 1222 (*Dryburgh Lib.*, No. 84), where it appears as *Aldenistoun*; the forms of this name are given in Table 8.5. The fact that this is Addinston at the head of Lauderdale and not Adniston, Legerwood, is proven by the names which accompany it in the earliest charters; in 1222 Welpelaw, Ilistoun and Burncastle, respectively modern Wedder Law, Lylestone and Burncastle to the NE, SSE and SE of Addinston respectively. The Whaiplaw Burn appears on Thomson's map of 1821 and survives as a farm-name 'Whalp Law' to this day (NT 530 537). In Dryburgh Charter No. 85, Aldenistoun is grouped with the farms of Todlaw and Langelt (Tollishill on Thomson's map of 1821 and Langatt on Pont *c.*1600b) (fig. 8.19). Similarly in 1252 (*Dryburgh Lib.*, No. 279) it is grouped midway between a series of farms on the west side of the valley,

namely Trabrown, Pilmuir and Wiselaw, and those to the NE, Longhope and Whelplaw respectively, and to the SE Burncastle. Thus the location of Addinston, Lauder, from at least the early thirteenth century is not in doubt and given the fully documented forms of the name, the place-name evidence can accordingly be evaluated.

There is, nevertheless, a problem, for the earliest forms of Addinston, Lauder, and Adniston, Legerwood, are so alike as to be almost indistinguishable. Following Johnston, Williamson and Nicolaisen (above), a derivation for Addinston, Lauder, from the personal-name Aldwine must also seem likely, and if I am to show that Addinston, Lauder, may be a derivation of the personal-name 'Aedán' then the same may also be seen to apply to Adniston, Legerwood. Moreover, Professor Barrow (pers. commun., 1989) has drawn my attention to a reference in a confirmatory charter of 1661 to 'Alden of Langhald' who, sometime prior to 1189, held 'two husbandlands and one half of the toun of Aldingstoun' in the de Morville lordship (*Act. Parl. Scot.*, 7 [1661-1669], 153); this probably *Alden frater Cospatricii* who appears at this date as a witness to a charter of Richard de Morville (*Dipl. Scotiae*, 117, plate 75). It is therefore possible that Addinston is a derivative of Alden; thus a proprietorial name in the same way as *Lyelstoun* (*c.*1222) 'village of Lylell' and Ullfkeliston (*c.*1206) 'village of Ulfcytel or Ulfkill' (Johnston 1940, 39). Barrow suggests that the name may be Scandinavian 'Halfden', rather than OE 'Aldwine'; a common personal-name but in terms of place-names there are only two possibilities, Addinston and Adniston. The development of Addinston from the proprietorial name 'Alden' presents no difficulties and to argue to the contrary would, on this line of reasoning, require an overwhelming weight of evidence (i.e. one would really need a pre-twelfth-century form for Addinston which would exclude the possibility of a proprietorial name). In the absence of an earlier documented form, my case is potentially weakened; it can be no more than an hypothesis and no matter the weight of circumstantial evidence, this is clearly conditional on upholding the all important link provided by the place-name.

Nevertheless, the association of Alden of Langhald with Addinston is itself circumstantial and may be no more than coincidence. The derivation of Addinston from a proprietorial name is therefore not necessarily a logical deduction. Both the name and the person may have existed independent of one another. Alden was proprietor of only part of the toun and lands of Addinston, thus the place-name may be earlier and an alternative derivation is perfectly feasible (Fraser, I pers. commun., 1989). On these and linguistic grounds, my hypothesis can probably be sustained. The difficulty in distinguishing between

Addinston and Adniston is more easily resolved in view of the lack of corroborative evidence required to uphold an identification between Adniston and *Degsastan.*

(f) The place- and Personal-Name Reconciled

Table 8.3 sets out the variations of the name 'Aedán'. The derivation of the place-name 'Addinston' from the personal-name 'Aedán' is achieved as follows. In the earliest forms of the personal-name the stress on the first syllable is readily apparent. Med *a*, whether from OE *ǽe* or ON *á* is frequently fronted to *é* in M Sc or early med Sc (cf. the form of the name *Aedan*, *c.*737, *Ægdan*, mid eleventh). OE *a* is always fronted to [*E*] in Northern Middle English, but in Me Scots is represented by *ai* or *au* (Williamson 1942, viii, 2). A transitional stage in the development of the name from Aedan to Aldin, to account for the earliest forms of the place-name, is achieved by observing the phonetic stress laid on the first syllable which would be vocalized as either *au* or *ou* in the East Mid Scots dialect, thus 'Audan' or 'Aoudan', compare *Aodhan* (*Duan Albanach*, eleventh century) and the form of the place-name about 1222 (Table 8.5). In Old Northumbrian there was no breaking of *a* before *l* plus consonant; thus Mod. Scots *haugh, saugh* may be seen to be developments of Nb *halh, salh* (Williamson 1942, viii, 4). An inverted form of the same process would give rise to Med. Scots *Auldin* (1472) as paralleled in the development of the place-name Falside from Me. faw-side (Williamson 1942, viii, 5). With the loss of stress in Mod. Lowland Scots the name (*c.*1600) reverts to a form closer to the exemplar *Adin* (comp. *Aedhan*, Ulster Annals, fifteenth century), though the underlying stress on the first syllable - the key to the identification of the place-name with the personal-name - is still apparent in the form of the place-name as given in 1625, 1649 and 1696. This, therefore, is entirely in keeping with the development of the personal-name as represented in Modern Lowland Scots from the Old Northumbrian dialect of Old English, through Northern middle English and middle Scots. By this process the prefix to the place-name Addinston may be seen to be derived from the personal-name 'Aedán' and, as already demonstrated, this would accord with the derivation of *Degsastan* as a corruption of '*æt Ægdanes stane*'.

(g) Corroborative Proof for the Identification

(i) A Standing Stone

The place-name evidence for Addinston superficially conceals the presence of a definite landmark - the standing stone - without which the identification with *Degsastan* would be untenable. At face value it seems to point to an original ending in *-tūn* and without independent evidence the form of the name as given in 1625, 1627 and 1649 (*Auldingstone*,

Adinstone and *Auldingstaine* respectively) could be dismissed. There are, however, a series of land grants from about 1230 (*Dryburgh Lib.*, Nos. 178, 179, 183 and 184) which refer to *Standandestane* 'standing stone'; a name which can be located with some accuracy in relation to the boundaries of *terra de Samsonschelis*. The *villa* of Samsonschiels lay about 5 km north-west of Lauder; the charters are rather obscure, chiefly because they describe small parcels of land which are the divisions (or subdivisions) of the whole *villa*. The significance of *Standandestane* was overlooked by Hardie (1942, 85) who noted only the difficulty arising from the lack of any very definite landmarks. Nevertheless, the boundaries can be articulated with a degree of confidence. Samsonschiels is probably to be identified as 'Sheelfield' which is recorded by Pont (*c.*1600b) on the west side of the valley to the north of Pilmuir, and this would agree with the charter evidence (cf. Hardie 1942, 86); the boundary between the two estates is the Mid Burn, the thirteenth-century Bradistruther Burn.

Dryburgh Charter No. 178 (Annex B, to this chapter) records a grant of 'all that meadow which lies between Morelaw and Kaldewell in length and between Standandestane and the headland of Longcroft'. The place-names can be identified as Warlaw and Collilaw (i.e. the watershed to the north of the Mid Burn) and Longcroft is evident to this day, a farm north-west of Addinston. *Standandestane* must therefore lie on or close to Addinston. This is confirmed by a second statement in the same charter which traces a line 'beginning by Morilaw (Warlaw) obliquely all the way up to Standandestane... and then to Witnesbusg (Wiselaw?) as far as Wennesheuede' (now lost but probably in the parish of Channelkirk, cf. Hardie 1942, 86). Again the evidence pivots upon Addinston and this is confirmed by later charters. Dryburgh Charter No. 183, for instance, relates '*unum pratum in Logis Samsonis quod vocatur Flaxillis... Standandstane... Duns Law*'; a formula which is essentially repeated in Charter No. 184 '*in Logis Samsonis quod vocatur Flaxillis... per Standandstane*', that is to say from *Flaxillis* (in Logis Samson, cf. Morton 1832, 307), by way of *Standandstane* (Addinston) to Duns Law (probably Dunside Hill on the eastern marches of the parish of Lauder some 15 km ENE of Addinston). In the Rent Roll for 1574 (*Dryburgh Lib.*, p. 303, No. 26) *Standandstane* appears alongside *Blakburne*; the modern farm of Blackburn 2 km SSW of Addinston.

The evidence suggests that in the thirteenth century *Standandestane* and *Aldenistoun* were synonymous. The first serves as proof for the presence of a standing stone, the latter a settlement close by. References to *Standandestane* only occur in the charters of Samsonshiels and suggest a fixed point by which boundaries could be calculated. The place-name *Aldenistoun*, which may be seen to be derived from the presence of the standing stone, linked with the personal-name Aedan, most probably developed in attribution

to a neighbouring farm or fermtoun; as such it was recognized in the later charters of the barony of Lauder. It is probable, therefore, that the stem of the place-name was Me Scots *stain*, Mod Scots *stane*, from OE *stān*, and not *-tūn* as the later place-name evidence would seem to imply.

(ii) 'in loco celeberrimo'

Bede describes the battlefield as 'a very famous place'. Proof for this was lacking for Dawston, Liddesdale, but a strong case can be made for Addinston, Lauderdale. The site lies at the junction of two main thoroughfares and close to the Roman fortlet at Oxton and the medieval hospice at Soutra; a third route 'the Herring Road' gives access to Lothian by way of the hills to the NE of Addinston.[62] The importance of this area in the pre-Roman period is borne out by the number of hillforts which cluster towards the head of the valley, the most conspicuous being that on Addinston Hill itself. Given that the place-name is on record in documentary sources at all periods, the importance of this settlement, even at a local level, would seem to have been enduring. However, the most striking proof for this is provided by the archaeological evidence, which sets Addinston apart as a site of regional significance, and against this background Bede's remark is perhaps more understandable.

(iii) The Addinston Cist-cemetery

On the haughland to the south of the eighteenth-century farmhouse, at the confluence of the Leader with the Cleekhimmin Burn, there is a remarkable cist-cemetery at least an acre in extent (0.4 ha) (fig. 8.20) (plate 8.20). It was discovered about 1867 as a result of ploughing and was excavated by Lord Rosehill, later 9th Earl of Northesk (Rosehill 1871; Craw 1922, 174). In all he investigated twenty cists, besides several which had been broken up by the plough. In 1967, as a result of winter ploughing, more cover-slabs were dislodged and two long-cists were investigated by JC Wallace; both were orientated east-west and contained skeletal remains (Wallace 1967, 17; 1968). The focus of the cemetery appears to have been a low mound which, though reduced and spread by ploughing, is still visible today; a number of possible cover-slabs are incorporated in clearance at the edge of the field.[63] Rosehill's examination proved that nearly the whole mound, especially the highest part of it, was more or less thickly studded with cists. Towards its centre, three appear to have been set in a row (nos. 2-5 on fig. 8.21). To the east of this group there is a cairn beneath which there appears to have been a primary cremated interment (no. 8 on fig. 8.21; Rosehill 1871, 225-6, 277). Close by, there were a number of other cairns but these were not planned. Of the nine instances where skeletal remains could be examined, three were of infants, three were female, one was an adolescent male and two were adult. All told, the burials included crouched inhumations within short-cists, orientated and unorientated

long-cists and some which bore signs of burning. No artefacts were recovered but on the form of the burials the cemetery would seem to span the Late Bronze Age to the Early Christian period.

The evidence suggests that Addinston was a burial-ground of long-standing regional importance. It is the largest and most complex necropolis in the Tweed Basin and taken with its position at the junction of the principal routes from Tweed to Lothian, and its pivotal position on the inter-dynastic boundary (below), its significance is the more readily apparent. Parallels may be drawn with the orientated long-cist cemeteries at Parkburn, East Lothian, and Lasswade, Midlothian,[64] but more immediately with the cemetery at Warrior's Rest, Yarrow;[65] a cemetery also sited in respect to a road 'Annan Street' and with a burial-tradition spanning more than a millennium (p. 288). This cemetery is identified with two standing stones and one which bore an inscription, and, although no Early Christian memorial is known from Addinston, the most likely context for the standing stone, on record in the thirteenth century, would be the cairn at the centre of the mound investigated by Rosehill.

Although the cemetery was clearly of importance, the standing stone would have served as the definitive landmark and as such it may have been used by Aedán. It is unlikely, given its probable date and context, that the stone ever bore Aedán's name in the manner of an Early Christian memorial, as the gloss on the name provided by Bede would seem to imply '*id est desa lapis*'. Rather, the cemetery might be seen as a focal point for the rallying of Aedán's forces; the site upon which he perhaps raised his standard. The stone may naturally have become identified as 'Aedán's Stone'; a tradition perpetuated and, in a corrupted sense, gleaned by Bede '*æt Ægdanes stane*', to be transmitted to the neighbouring township to evolve by dint of lenition and dialect to its present form 'Addinston'. The parallel which suggests itself is Glenfinnan at the head of Loch Shiel where, on 19 August 1745, the Marquess of Tullibardine unfurled the Jacobite standard of Prince Charles Edward Stuart as a rallying point for the clans; a site marked to this day by inscriptions on the rock outcrop and by earthfast studs (Macnie and McLaren 1977, 55, 394). Thus at Addinston, place-name and archaeological evidence combine to suggest not only the probable site of the battle, but also the significance of Bede's remark '*in loco celeberrimo*'.

(iv) The Tactical and Strategic Significance of the Site

If Addinston is *Degsastan*, then it follows that Aedán's strategy must have relied on numerical superiority and an ability to draw Aethelfrith's army to a decisive defeat on the very threshold of Bernician territory and thereupon to advance on Bamburgh, the *urbs*

regia of Bernicia. From the vantage point of the cemetery-mound, Aedán would have held a strong tactical position overlooking the battlefield; a prime position to monitor the course of the action, to deploy reserves and check any position which faltered. The Bernicians would have been drawn inexorably into the valley-corridor north of Lauder; an attenuated part of the valley-system, flanked on three sides by higher ground and with a broad alluvial plain suited to the deployment of the Scottic cavalry.

Addinston could also meet the added requirements of a fixed engagement. Shelter and subsistence, the importance of which are stressed by Clausewitz (1979, 183), could be gained close at hand. This is borne out by Fordun (1759, iii, 36) who described how Aedan's troops had dispersed amongst the neighbouring townships and fields to loot and pillage '*incendio suus cavaret et spoliis... per villas et arva*'. There can be little doubt that at the turn of the seventh century this was already a densely populated and fertile district, though positive evidence for this is lacking until the medieval period. Moreover, Addinston was a strong position to hold as it secured communications with Dálriada and offered some certainty of retreat. There can have been few places in the Tweed Basin which could have matched these requirements and the evidence, though circumstantial, would seem to bear out the degree to which the strategy had been planned and the site carefully selected. The presence of a visible landmark, the standing stone, and its association with the Roman road south and the trunk road south-east to Bamburgh, serves only to highlight the probable significance of the site.

(v) Communications

In contrast to Dawston, Liddesdale, the role of communications in respect to Addinston may be seen to have been of paramount importance. Both Aedán's army and the force despatched in response from Bamburgh would have been able to use the Roman road network. For Aedán this would have been particularly advantageous. Having reached the royal citadel at either *Alt Clut* (Dumbarton) or *urbs Giudi* (Stirling) he would have been able to connect with the road to *Din Eidyn*, and from there Dere Street would have brought him directly to Addinston. To judge from Fordun's account, the Bernicians too seem to have been able to make rapid progress for their arrival took the Scots by surprise. This suggests the presence of an hitherto unrecognized Roman road north from the Tweed at Coldstream where the river is easily forded;[66] that of the present A697. Evidence in support of this is suggested by the juxtaposition of long-cist cemeteries and the close association of a number of *chester* place-names (fig. 7.12 and see also p. 240); fortified positions perhaps relinquished either in advance of the Bernician army, or during the protracted expansion of Anglian settlement

across the Merse after 603 in line with the take-over of British estates to which the hillforts may formerly have served as caputs.[67]

(vi) The Relation of Addinston to the Inter-dynastic Boundary

The clustering of the hillforts and *chester* place-names suggest a boundary crossing the Tweed Basin from north to south on a line approximating to Dere Street (fig. 8.22). The presence of this boundary seems to be confirmed on place-name evidence by the westernmost extent of Anglian settlement and the boundaries of the Lindisfarne estates (Smith 1983b, 37-8; 1984, 181). Its origin in the pre-Roman period may be inferred, and this being the case its function as an inter-tribal boundary between the Selgovae and *Bryneich* seems likely. In the Early Historic period it may be seen to define the boundary between *Berneich* and the kingdom of Cadrod Calchvynyd. Addinston marks the fulcrum of this boundary; the cemetery-mound at its hub perhaps sanctifying its significance. Control of this boundary would have been essential both to the assurance of British survival and to the furtherance of Bernician ambitions north of the Tweed, and the choice of the battlefield, assuming the identification is correct, may be seen to underline this.

(III) THE BATTLE: PRELUDE AND OUTCOME

(a) Fordun's Account

'And at another time the army of King Aedan was conquered while he was present; namely in the 33rd year of his reign. In the 11th year after he had conquered Ceawlin, king of the Saxons [West Saxons Mss. B,C,E,F], it was at last agreed between [Aedan] and the Britons that they should meet at a place fixed with faithful promises, to attack in both quarters - he on the north, they at the same time on the south - the Northumbrian peoples, who were ruled at that time by Aethelfrith, a king strong in forces and most careful and a continual plague to the Britons and the Scots upon whom he inflicted constant injuries. So the king [Aedán], although very old in years, invaded the districts of Northumbria when the time appointed came, hoping that [the Britons] on their part would do what they had undertaken in the agreement; and while from day to day his army employed its leisure in burning and spoiling, on one of the days [of waiting] King Aethelfrith with a massed army [i.e. in close ranks] came upon the Scots, who were scattered in this manner pillaging through the villages and the fields, and overcame them, not without great slaughter of his own men. Aedán having been soundly defeated fled with just a few followers (this sentence is found in a mutilated state in all our manuscripts and has to be reconstructed from Bede himself). After Aedán had fled with these few remaining supporters practically the whole of his army was slaughtered in a very famous place called *Degsastan.* In this

fight Theobald, brother of Aethelfrith, was killed, with the whole force he commanded; but Aedán was, nevertheless, vanquished, and escaped with a few followers' (Fordun 1759, iii. 30).[68]

This account, written by John of Fordun (*c.*1320 to *c.*1385), based in part on Bede and compiled probably at St Andrews (MacQueen 1989, xv), is the fullest of all the accounts of *Degsastan*. Distanced, however, by time and motive, some doubt may be cast on his reliability. Blair, for one, regarded the account as wholly fictitious (1959a, 157, n. 1); for recent criticism see MacQueen (1989, xv-xviii). Nevertheless, in a footnote to the text, Fordun does refer to his source material, *'Sententia haec, quae plane mutila reperitur in omnibus nostris MSS. ex ipso Beda restituenda est'*, and on these grounds there is some justification for a reappraisal of his work. The nature of the manuscript material at his disposal, however, can now only be surmised. Possibly it formed part of the lost northern recension or annals belonging to the Scottish court, comparable, perhaps, to those informing the (D) text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (cf. Whitelock 1979, 147). The account is clearly written from the Scottish point of view and thus a source originating in Dalriada is not improbable.

Fordun proceeds by stating the date of the battle,[69] for which the clearest statement is provided by Bede, 'Aethelfrith brought this war to an end in the year of our Lord 603, and the eleventh year of his reign... the first year of the reign of Phocas who was then Roman emperor' (HE i. 34; Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 117). The Annals of Tighernac place the battle along with other events in the year section s.a. [598]=604 (Anderson 1922, 122), and the chronicle of Herimannus Augiensis also designates it 604 (Anderson 1922, 124). This apparent inconsistency may stem from the fact that Bede counted the year to begin in the September before Midwinter - that is at the annual change in the number of the 'Indiction', by which years were commonly reckoned in and before his time (Stenton 1955, 76, n. 1). With the exception of Duncan (1975, 44; and see also Kirby 1963, 526), AD 603 is the date generally accepted by most writers.

Central to Fordun's account is a joint venture between the North Britons and their allies the Scots. This point is found in no other source but seems to be confirmed on independent evidence. Aedán, we are told, was to attack from the north, the Britons from the south. If Addinston is *Degsastan* then this would clearly concur with Aedán's objective as laid down by Fordun (a case which could not be made for Dawston, Liddesdale). Similarly we know of only one other notable conflict at about this time and this was clearly a British

venture. The most famous of Old Welsh Poems, Aneirin's *Gododdin*, tells of a disastrous assault on a place known as *Catraeth* (possibly Catterick in North Yorkshire) by a force of young British warriors sent out by order of the ruler of the district centred on *Din Eidyn* (Edinburgh), *Mynyddawg Mwynfawr*.[70] The poem does not mention Aethelfrith, but yields chronological indicators which point with sufficient clearness to his time (Stenton 1955, 77).[71] Whether *Catraeth* is the fourth-century fort and later town of *Cataractonium* (Alcock 1987b, 250; Ros 1989, 14) or Castle Hill, Richmond (Williams 1975, xliii), or some other stronghold in the northern Pennines (Alcock, L pers. commun., 1988), the objective was, in terms of a northern battle zone, clearly in the south; thus on three points there are grounds for accepting Fordun's account. Jackson too came close to this conclusion, 'How well it would fit', he argued, 'if we could accept that the two battles were one' (1939, 28).[72] To follow Fordun, the two battles are seen not to be synonymous but twin operations in a combined strategy. One should, however, note MacQueen's suggestion (1989, 232, n. 10) that Fordun may have interpreted events in terms of the politics of his own time (e.g. the Franco-Scottish alliance against England, renewed in 1326 by Robert I in the Treaty of Corbeil), though MacQueen notes that Fordun may too have had in mind the ancient treaty between the Scots and Britons (see Bower 1989, caps., 20, 11.2-3; 26, 1.18).

It is a characteristic of the Men of the North that they frequently acted in consort. This is well illustrated by the siege of Lindisfarne (586x93) and is as apparent at the battle of the Elm Wood in which the armies of Rheged and *Goddeu* were allied under Urien as befitted his status as paramount prince of the entire British Christian federation.[73] The Scots too appear to have been familiar with this method of warfare. Chadwick, for instance, believed that the conquest and settlement of Argyll could not have been achieved without British support (1949, 152).[74] Positive evidence for this, however, is lacking until the time of Aedán mac Gabrán. In 592, at the request of Cadwalla, Aedán advanced from Dunadd as far south as Chester to join forces with a British army in an assault against the West Saxons (ASC, s.a. 592; Fordun 1759, iii, 29; Stenton 1955, 30). The army hosted by Mynyddog Mwynfawr, and feasted for a year prior to *Catraeth*, marked the last occasion when the British of Lothian collaborated with their kinsmen of Yorkshire, Lancashire and North Wales (Gresham 1942, 242, Alcock 1987b, 189). The federate status of Mynyddog's army is paralleled by that of Aedán's at *Degsastan*, and this too seems to underline the time and resources given in both camps to the preparation of a major campaign (see also Jackson 1969, 6). Amongst the Irish princes numbered in Aedán's army was Maeluma, son of the high-king Baedan and (presumably) Fiachna Lurgan, king of the Cruithnig or Dál Araide (Chadwick 1949, 125). There is in addition a lost saga, which is referred to in the Book of

Leinster, 'the hosting of Fiachna mac Baitan to *Dun Guaire* [Bamburgh] in Saxonland'; this Fiachna was the son of Baetan mac Cairell, king of Ulster.[75]

Although ultimate proof for the joint venture proposed by Fordun is lacking, in view of the gravity of the situation facing the Men of the North it is not implausible. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that Bernicia was by this date strong militarily and firmly united behind its royal house;[76] a view, which, though contrary to modern historical opinion,[77] is, of course, entirely in accord with Bede. The perceived threat of Bernician expansion was nothing new. The most reasonable explanation for the outbreak of warfare in the mid fifth century (p. 257) is that the Celtic federation were intent on dislodging or at least containing the first phase of Germanic settlement to the coastal littoral. Similarly, the accession of Ida in 547 brought a further call to arms (p. 264), and behind the siege of Lindisfarne (586x93) may lie events of still greater consequence.[78]

From the Bernician point of view, expansion north of the Tweed may have been fully justified for, in order to avert the threat of attack both overland and by sea, it would have been necessary to secure these outlying districts. In addition, it is possible that the Merse earlier formed part of the archaic core of a tribal territory over which Bernicia could exercise some rightful claim (p. 204). On these grounds, although the Tweed no doubt served as a natural divide,[79] the Bernician objective would most probably have been the territories to the north which were bound on the west by the inter-dynastic boundary. Justification for this move may have been served by the presence of Germanic settlement in this locality, though the evidence is inconclusive (pp. 260-2). None the less, it is possible that by the turn of the seventh century the Merse did form one of the tributary districts which had been annexed to Bernicia as noted by Bede (HE i. 34). Could it be, to take Fordun's point of view, that it was this very circumstance which lay behind the coalition between the Men of the North and the Scots of Dalriada?

If Bernicia had established a bridgehead north of the Tweed, or at least was seen to be leaning in this direction, this would have posed a very real threat to the British kingdoms of Cadrod Calchvynyd and *Goddeu*. Any action by the English north of the Tweed would also pose a threat to the Lothians and Lauderdale would be the obvious line of penetration. Thus if Addinston is *Degsastan*, then this, together with the choice of *Din Eidyn* as the centre for the hosting of Mynyddog's army, seems perfectly explicable. Nevertheless, assuming Fordun to be correct, this falls short of accounting for the choice of *Catraeth* as the British objective. The significance of *Catraeth* may stem from the fact that it was formerly an outpost of Urien's Rheged.[80] This, however, is really only plausible if one

discounts the notion that *Catraeth* is *Cataractonium*, modern Catterick Bridge, for here archaeology and artefactual evidence combine to suggest the presence of Germanic settlers from the fifth to the seventh centuries (Alcock 1987b, 250-3). As an alternative Castle Hill, Richmond, or else a river crossing might be a more reasonable identification for the battle and, if the former, it need not rule out the possibility that the citadel had already fallen to the English on Urien's death;[81] as a consequence of which the eastern flank of Rheged would have been rendered vulnerable. This was probably the only site blocking the way forward into the greater territorial area of Bernicia from the west. The need to secure this salient and a desire to drive a wedge between Bernicia and Deira may have provided the grounds for Mynyddog's strategy, although this can only reasonably be entertained if one accepts the premise that the strategy was informed by a more far reaching policy, as that revealed by Fordun, which had as its hub the success of a joint venture mounted by a northern coalition.

With this background in mind it is possible to frame an hypothesis. Its viability, however, rests on three premises. First, the veracity of Fordun's account as revealing the nature of this combined venture, second the identification of *Degsastan* with Addinston and third, the likelihood that *Catraeth* was the British objective. There are grounds for accepting the first two premises and, although the precise whereabouts of *Catraeth* is unproven, given the probable date of the battle and its approximate location it seems reasonable to infer that this was the British objective as defined by Fordun. Central to this hypothesis is the role of the Coelings, a family well represented in Mynyddog's army; indeed members of the army are said to have been drawn from the area of Catterick itself.[82] With the accession of Clydno Eidyn, brother of Cadrod Calchvynyd, princes of the fourth generation of Ceredig Wledig *Din Eidyn* had passed from the Coeling overlordship to that of Strathclyde (see p. 279).[83] By AD 600 *Din Eidyn* had probably once more reverted to the Coelings (cf. Miller 1975c, 266); the status of Kelso at this date is unclear, though it too may have been part of the greater Coeling territory. Cynon, Cadrod's nephew, was the captain of the Gododdin cavalry (Shaw 1973, 155). Several reasons may have informed the choice of *Catraeth* as the British objective, but if *Catraeth* had fallen to the English on Urien's death it might be expected that this would be a situation which the Coelings would have to address. This together with the threat, perceived or otherwise, of a Bernician bridgehead north of the Tweed may have served to forge the Coeling alliance, and any decision taken at *Din Eidyn* must to an extent, of course, have been informed by these self-same interests.[84]

Although there are a number of possibilities,[85] the most obvious route south for Mynyddog's army would be by way of Dere Street (the most direct route from *Din Eidyn* to *Catraeth*). The route would thus follow throughout districts united to the Coeling cause and

would altogether avoid any infringement on Bernician territory. This, of course, need not imply that Bernicia could be casually swept aside; the evidence in fact argues otherwise and the very basis for the combined venture would seem to underline a state of heightened military readiness on the part of Bernicia. Given the probable location of the two battles it is possible that what lay behind the strategy was an attempt to outflank Bernicia and drive home an assault on two fronts, having first severed Bernicia from Deira, its southern neighbour; this would be the logical outcome of a successful action mounted by the British at *Catraeth*. Nevertheless, if this was the intention, it is puzzling that Fordun did not pay greater regard to the role of the British and note the outcome of their part in the venture. Likewise, if *Catraeth* was the British objective in a Scotto-British endeavour, how was it that Aneirin could so overlook this fact? The reasons may be diverse and perhaps political. Given that something clearly had gone wrong with the venture it may have suited neither party to recall with esteem the other's role. Aneirin was, after all, foremost recalling the loss of his kinsmen[86] and, whilst he may have ignored the rationale behind the assault on *Catraeth*, it is surely telling that later authors were less reserved in singling-out Aedán as the ultimate traitor to the British cause.[87]

It is just possible, despite the time and resources given in preparation, that the whole venture had been undermined by the Coelings themselves, though this can be no more than speculation. In view of the breadth of British nobility united to Mynyddog's cause and the self-esteem which a year's hospitality at *Din Eidyn* must have fostered, the level of morale amongst the Men of the North may have been such that victory at *Catraeth* seemed almost certain. If the intention had been then to turn the army directly north to Bamburgh it is just conceivable that at the eleventh hour the British had come to believe that they themselves were capable of resolving the problem posed by Bernicia without recourse to outside help. Two factors suggest that this was so. On the strength of Fordun's account it is evident that in spite of the intended meeting between the two armies prior to the campaign, Aedán was still none the wiser as to whether the British would fulfil their part of the pact. By implication it would seen that Mynyddog's army had already departed. Moreover, there is the extraordinary account of Aedán's troops whiling away their time in the neighbourhood of the battlefield while yet still unopposed by a Bernician army. Why was it that Aedán chose not to advance? There may have been sound tactical reasons to account for this (a need to secure communications with Dalriada and to hold a predetermined position) but in addition, perhaps he chose now to await the outcome of *Catraeth* and until such time as his own forces could be supplemented by the reserves of Mynyddog's cavalry; thereby securing superiority in numbers whilst retaining the option of a victory for Celtic supremacy in the

north to complement that of the Coelings in the south. The means and initiative would, of course, have lain entirely with the British.

Catraeth, however, was a disaster for the British. Aneirin laments that only one man returned (Cynon, son of Clydno Eidyn);[88] the Celtic host had pledged itself to victory at all costs and Mynyddog's mead was certainly bought at a ruinously heavy price. Their opponents were the Saxons (*Saeson*), 'men of England', more specifically, the 'men of Deira and Bernicia' (*Dewr a Bryneich*).[89] In Gresham's words, 'the mistake was not in the method of the fighting, nor in the lack of bravery, but in the lack of numbers. The reason for the disaster lay in the sending of a small company of horse-men against too great an army of foot-soldiers' (1942, 250). Superiority in numbers was thus the key; a crucial factor to any theatre of war which is stressed by Clausewitz (1979, 266). Nevertheless, there is another possibility which might account for the outcome. It is just possible that Mynyddog had ruled out the involvement of Bernicia, believing it more likely that faced with an assault on two fronts Aethelfrith would, in turning to meet one, have been outflanked by the other (implicitly Fordun). If this had been the intention, and if Mynyddog's army had left *Din Eidyn* in advance of Aedan's arrival, then the operation would clearly have been jeopardized from the start. On these grounds, believing his assailants would number only the men of Deira, Mynyddog may have placed too great a reliance upon the element of surprise - the dawn attack[90] - and the tactical superiority of cavalry over infantry.

Although in view of the time given to the planning of the campaign it seems unlikely that this eventuality had not been considered, the only reasonable inference is that Bernician involvement had been discounted and in this Mynyddog may have been swayed by his advisers. If, following the current hypothesis, Coeling interests were paramount, this may have precluded alternative strategies; the need to retake *Catraeth*, for instance, taking precedence over a combined assault on Bamburgh. Mynyddog's military career is otherwise unattested and, although Aedán was clearly the more experienced of the two commanders (cf. Chadwick 1949, 124-5), it is possible that his advice was tempered given that this was foremost a British venture. Aedán too was getting on in years (the Annals record his death in 605, see also Bower 1989, iii, 38) and may have been less inclined to risk all in an action at a distance still farther removed from Dalriada. One may infer from the choice of Addinston (assuming that the identification with *Degsastan* is correct) and Aedán's unwillingness to advance beyond this point, that he was being over cautious, and for this he may have been rightly castigated by the British; following the disaster at *Catraeth* the destiny of north Britain would, of course, have rested entirely with Aedán.

How then are we to account for the involvement of the men of Bernicia at *Catraeth*? Again, one can only speculate. It is possible, given that Aethelfrith may have been unaware of Aedán's impending assault in the north, that he foresaw only one threat - Mynyddog's army - and as a consequence sent his own forces south to link up with the Deirans at *Catraeth*. The Devil's Causeway, the Roman road from Springwood to Corbridge, would be the logical route south and would parallel that taken by Mynyddog's army to the west. However, caution may have been counselled in so fully depleting the Bernician reserves and leaving Bamburgh exposed. The obvious strategy would be for Aethelfrith to divide his army, thereby despatching a force (presumably under his own leadership) to *Catraeth*, while holding a garrison in reserve at Bamburgh. If this was the case, the role of Hering, son of Hussa, may have been crucial. The (D) and (E) texts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* note with reference to *Degsastan* that 'Hering, son of Hussa, led the army hither'.[91] None the less, Hering's position is equivocal as a leader of the Northumbrians or as a traitor acting as a guide to the Scots. The latter seems implausible given that *Degsastan* was, at least in Bede's time, a very famous place, and moreover was probably a site with which the Scots had been well acquainted by their allies at the court of *Din Eidyn*. Given that Hussa is probably to be identified with the king of that name who appears seventh in the list of the kings of Bernicia in the Moore Memoranda (plate 8.21),[92] it would not be inappropriate for Aethelfrith to place Hering in charge of the Bamburgh garrison while he was otherwise engaged at *Catraeth*.

Implicit to Fordun's account is the time-lapse between Aedan's arrival at *Degsastan* and the appearance of the Bernician army. If the hypothesis is correct, that Hering alone remained in charge at Bamburgh, the delay may be accounted for by a need to await further orders or else an opportunity to elicit help from Aethelfrith; Hering too, may have been perplexed as to why Aedán had advanced no farther. Given the strength of the Bernician army which was finally brought to bear at *Degsastan*, and that according to the Irish Annals, Eanfrid, Aethelfrith's brother, was numbered amongst them,[93] it is possible that reserves had been despatched back to the north from *Catraeth*, though if Aethelfrith had accompanied them it might be expected that he would have personally led the assault on *Degsastan* (given his foremost involvement in all previous military engagements) but perhaps he too interpreted Aedán's behaviour as no more than a tactical feint. The Roman road back to the north, and from there by way of a ford across the Tweed, most probably at Coldstream, would bring the Bernician army directly to Addinston.

Barely anything is known of the battle itself. The size of Aedán's army may have matched that of the Gododdin, though this too has been the subject of much debate,[94] and may have been similarly armed. Given that the fleet of the Dálriadic invasion is said to have numbered only one hundred and fifty men (Skene 1867, 308-14) and that the favoured figure for the Gododdin is three hundred, this may provide a notional guide-line. Mynyddog's army was principally a cavalry detachment, though infantry are mentioned. Their equipment included chain-mail (*llurig*, from the Latin *lorica*), shields (broad and circular), knives, swords, lances and javelins.[95] The tactics employed and the ferocity of the fighting can be gauged from *The Gododdin* and may be deduced from the accounts of both Fordun and Bede. Although Aedán had taken the initiative in rallying his troops at *Degsastan*, due to the delay and the unanticipated arrival of the Bernician army, the initiative was lost. Clearly, however, Aedán was able to make a stand, but, despite losses inflicted on the Bernicians, the outcome of the battle was to be all too reminiscent of *Catraeth*. Amongst those who fell was the Bernician Theodbald, together with his entire detachment (Bede HE i. 34). According to the Annals of Tighernac, Eanfrith, Aethelfrith's brother, was slain by Maelumai, son of Baitan,[96] and amongst the Scottic dead may have been Aedán's son, Domangart.[97] Victory for the Bernicians was decisive; Aedán was routed and fled the field with a few survivors.

> *'King Aedán also in perpetual mourning after the battle of Degsastan was so grief-stricken that in the second year after his flight (so old that he had almost reached the limit of eighty years) he died in Kintyre and was buried at Kilkerran where none of his predecessors had been buried before him.'*
>
> (Bower 1989, iii, 38).

CONCLUSION

In one respect the battles of *Catraeth* and *Degsastan* may be seen to mark the watershed of Celtic supremacy in the north. It in fact matters little whether the two battles were part of one venture, as Fordun suggests, or twin operations mounted independently but in response to a common cause, as this was the last occasion when concerted action, either amongst the British themselves or in company with their allies, was to be mounted in the north for control of the Lowlands. Aeirin's elegy provides a valuable insight into the capability of the Men of the North and the workings of heroic British society at its highest level. Fordun simply sustains this impression but offers in addition one possible explanation for the rationale behind the venture. However, if *Degsastan* is Addinston then Fordun's account is clearly

of importance as it serves to clarify the significance of the battlefield and the implications which arise from this. The British were never to recover from the disaster of *Catraeth* and within thirty-five years *Din Eidyn* too had fallen. The Scots returned to Argyll and turned their attention instead to lands north of the Forth. In the south, Strathclyde alone remained to uphold British interests.[98] From place-name evidence and the inferred pattern of takeover of the Merse estates, it seems clear that Aethelfrith had succeeded in establishing a Bernician bridgehead north of the Tweed and, if the identification of *Degsastan* is correct, then it may also be seen that he had won control of the inter-dynastic boundary which separated the Merse from the British territories to the west. *Degsastan* may have marked the very fulcrum of the boundary, a point possibly not lost on the neighbouring population and one perpetuated in folk-memory; the standing stone aloft the cemetery-mound at Addinston perhaps now identified as the point where Aedán had rallied his troops and from which he took his last stand against the English on this the very threshold of Bernicia, '*æt Ægdanes stane*'.

The Merse now lay open to Bernician overlordship and to the progress of Anglian settlement. With *Degsastan* the former tribal territory of *Bryneich* was reunited with the archaic core of the dynastic kingdom centred on Bamburgh. Nevertheless, on place-name evidence alone, it seems that the Bernicians did not exceed the opportunity provided by the victory but instead consolidated their position, having first secured the Eildon salient by means of a major linear earthwork 'the Military Road'; to push any farther to the west may have brought them into open conflict with Strathclyde. Given the weight of the evidence, a *rapprochement* between the English and the British to the west of the inter-dynastic boundary seems likely. Thus to all intents the kingdoms of Cadrod Calchvynyd and *Goddeu* may have survived intact, possibly bolstered by the presence of Strathclyde, though as a consequence of *Catraeth* these kingdoms perhaps now lacked the essential fabric provided by their military and social *élite*. Post-*Degsastan* the middle Tweed Basin may thus be seen as the critical interface between Bernicia and, to the west, territories still supporting a modicum of British survival; a distinction which, to judge from the settlement evidence and that for the Tweeddale estates, seems to have persisted for some time but which, from the seventh century on, may have become gradually more diffuse due to the peaceable extension of English influence and the more close-knit integration of British society.

ANNEX A

Early Christian and Related Monuments in Tweeddale

(Ordered by reference to the text, subsection III, and classified by NMRS Record number)

Over Kirkhope, Early Christian Stone

NT 21 12 NT 21 SW 3

This stone was incorporated by a dyker in a stone wall close to the NE end of the shepherd's house at Over Kirkhope (Elliot, JW pers. commun., 1988) and is now in the Royal Museum of Scotland. It is a roughly-shaped pillar of greywache (1.25m by 0.33m by 0.09m) and bears the pock-incised outline of a standing figure or *Orans*, dressed in a tunic, fastened with a belt, and with arms uplifted. There is a small cross above the figure, and one on the breast, and to either side there is a small circle with a dot at its centre; two initials [PP] set in a panel above the figure are more recent. Figures such as this are rare in the north, but are known from Wales, and date to the fifth or sixth century; the treatment of the hair has been compared with late provincial Roman work.

- Napier and Ettrick 1885, 334; Allen and Anderson 1903, iii, 431-2; Nash-Williams 1950, pls. lix, lxx; Radford 1950, 158-60; RCAMS 1957, pp. 69-70, No. 65.

Yarrow, Whitefield, Early Christian Memorial

NT 3481 2744 NT 32 NW 5

This stone, which dates to the early sixth century, stands where it was found about 100m W of Yarrow Kirk. It was discovered in the course of improvement ploughing, probably in 1803, lying prone, just below the surface, on an area of moor known as 'Annan Street'; human bones were found beneath it. In the vicinity there were at least twenty large cairns (RCAMS 1957, pp. 113-14, Nos. 175-5). The stone (1.50m long, 1.70m wide and 0.35m thick), which in part is severely wasted, bears the roughly executed Latin inscription: [+] HIC MEMORIA PE[RP]ETV(A) / [I]N LOCO INSIGNISIMI PRINCI/PES NVDI/DVMNOGENI HIC IACENT / IN TVMVLO DVO FILII / LIBERAL[?S], 'This (is) the everlasting memorial. In (this) place (lie) the most famous princes Nudus and Dumnogenus. In this tomb lie the two sons of Liberalis'.

- *NSA*, 3 (Selkirk), 46-7; Smith 1857, 485; Smith 1862, 524-40; Smith 1866; Russell 1882, 106; Hardy 1883, 407; Craig-Brown 1886, 47-51; Allen and Anderson 1903, iii, 432; Boreland 1904, 169-72; Cash 1913, 367; Macalister 1936, 324; RCAMS 1967, pp. 110-13, No. 174.

Yarrow, Whitekirk, Standing Stone

NT 3526 2760 NT 32 NE 2

This monolith, known as the Glebe Stone, stands some 500m ENE of the Early Christian memorial (NT 32 NW 5). It is a massive, four-sided block (1.37m high, up to 1.17m wide and 0.4m thick) and is said to have formed part of a large cairn. Decomposed bones were discovered at its foot and in the vicinity there were at least a further twenty cairns, one of which contained 'part of an old iron spear'.

- Smith 1857, 487; Cash 1913, 376; RCAMS 1957, p. 113, No. 175.

Yarrow, Warrior's Rest, Standing Stone and Long Cist Cemetery

NT 3545 2775 NT 32 NE 1

This stone is situated at the SE corner of the cottage at Warrior's Rest. It measures 1.60m high, 1.76m round the base and 1.23m round the shoulder. In 1857 eight orientated long cists were found beside it. Finds included fragments of a Food Vessel, an Early Bronze Age ring of cannel coal and traces of bone, and would indicate that the site was successively occupied by Bronze Age and Early Christian communities.

- Smith 1857, 484-9; Smith 1866, 62, 66; Anderson 1881a, 249-50; Hardy 1883, 404; Callander 1916, 220; Childe 1935, 105; RCAMS 1957, pp. 113-14, No. 176.

Kirkhope, Manor, Early Christian Memorial

NT 1923 3076 NT 13 SE 3

This memorial stone, which is of sixth-century date, stood in association with a cairn to the WNW of the remains of a fermtoun on the N bank of the Newholmhope Burn. It was discovered in 1890 when the cairn was despoiled to provide material for walling; the retaining kerb of the cairn remains. The memorial has been cut on a whinstone slab (0.93m long by up to 0.23m wide) and is framed by two vertical lines, and reads + CONINIE/ [ ]RTIRIE. The slab has been fractured with the result that the first letters beginning the second line have been lost. Previously it has been suggested that a diagonal groove immediately in front of the down-stroke of the R was an element of the preceding letter E with a diagonal topmost bar; this is problematical as the two remaining E's have horizontal bars. The names are Latin genitives of the feminine first declension, in *-e* for Classical *-ae*. *Coninia* may represent a somewhat older form **Cunignia*. The second word has been taken to be *Martiria or Ertiria*, a form presupposed by the Welsh woman's name *Erthir*; the first was dismissed as the fragmentary letter cannot be 'A', but is now upheld on the basis that the

critical groove seems on re-examination to be no more than a weathered fracture (the result of an attempt to break the slab).

- MacDonald 1936, 33-9; Macalister 1945, i, 486ff; RCAMS 1967, p. 176, No. 376.

Kirkhope, Manor, Cross-base

NT 1941 3071 NT 13 SE 2

This cross-base, which formerly stood at the road junction midway between Hallyards and Manor Kirk, but which may once have stood within the burial-ground of the present parish church, on record in 1186 (RCAMS 1967, p. 201, No. 478), was removed about 1874 to its present position within the walled enclosure at Kirkhope; by tradition the site of the old parish church. It is a grey sandstone block (0.43m high, up to 0.65m wide and 0.55m thick at its base) and has a square arrised 'waisted' vertical section. Central to the concave faces there are traces of swellings or broad ribs, the vestiges, probably of vanished decoration; superficially, these may be likened to the ribs on the Hartrigg base or cross-shaft, Jedburgh, which is seen as an early ninth-century bridge between English and late Pictish art (Cramp 1983b, 273-6). The socket on the crest of the stone has been enlarged to provide a basin and one side has been notched for an overflow. It is known locally as the 'font-stone'.

- Armstrong 1775, 68; *NSA*, 3 (Peeblesshire), 117; Buchan and Paton 1927, 543; Cowan 1967, 142-3; RCAMS 1967, p. 178, No. 379.

Peebles, Early Christian Memorial

NT 250 405 NT 24 SE 8

This Early Christian memorial, which is probably of seventh-century date and most likely originated in the burial-ground of the Cross-Kirk, Peebles (RCAMS 1967, pp. 203-9, No. 480), was subsequently incorporated first in a tenement and then in a garden-wall, from which position it was removed in 1967 and taken to the Chambers Institute, Peebles from where it was stolen. This was an exceptionally well-preserved memorial which consisted of a kite-shaped water-worn boulder (0.41m long by 0.21m wide at the top, and up to 0.08m thick) that may have been artificially smoothed. On the front it bore a pocked and reamed Latin cross with barred terminals over which was superimposed the inscription NEITANO /SACERDOS '(Here lies) Neitan the priest (or bishop)'; the letters were semi-uncial with the addition of a few Roman capital forms.

On the back of the stone there was an inferior but similar cross to that on the front. The top of the stone had been fashioned to produce a low oval boss.

- Steer 1969, 127-9, pl. 9; Gourlay and Turner 1977, 12.

Cross-Kirk, Peebles, Early Christian Memorial

NT 2506 4072 NT 24 SE 4.1

The Cross-Kirk in Peebles is said to have been built to commemorate the discovery on the same site in 1261 of a 'magnificent and venerable' cross. The cross lay on a stone (both now lost) and the latter is said to have borne the Latinized inscription LOCVS SANCTI NICOLAI EPISCOPI, 'The place of Saint Nicholas the Bishop'. Thomas points out that in a seventh-century context the name 'Nicholas' strains credulity (1981, 291). Duncan suggests that the name most closely approximating is 'Niniavi' or more probably 'NINIAI' (1981, 32).

- Fordun 1759, x, 14; Richardson 1946, 62; RCAMS 1967, pp. 176-7, No. 377; Steer 1969, 127-9; Gourlay and Turner 1977, p. 12, n. 2.

Innerleithen, Cross-shaft

NT 3320 3695 NT 33 NW 9

The fragment of a cross-shaft, which is probably of ninth-century date, together with its base (destroyed), were found in the foundations of the old church of Innerleithen when it was demolished in 1871. The shaft is now set on a pedestal to the E of the present parish church. It is a sandstone block (0.83m long, up to 0.36m wide and 0.03m thick) with decoration on each face consisting of cup-shaped hollows, enclosed by double circles; the circles being linked together by vertical lines. RBK Stevenson has drawn attention to a group of stones found at Rathdown, near Dublin, some of which bear cup-and-ring decoration not unlike that on the Innerleithen cross-shaft.

- Hardy 1881, 545-7; Allen and Anderson 1903, iii, 429-31; Stevenson 1959, 50-5; RCAMS 1967, pp. 177-8, No. 378.

Berry Knowe, Cross-incised Stone

NT 273 199 NT 21 NE 3

This slab, probably of ninth- or tenth-century date, was found on Berry Knowe earlier this century and is now in Selkirk Museum. It is 0.65m long, up to 0.15m wide and 0.04m thick, and bears on both faces the incised outline of a Latin cross. Radford suggested that

cross-slabs of this type were used to mark roads in early times (1949, 195). Berry Knowe overlooks the convergence of three natural routes; these run respectively down the Tushielaw Burn to the Ettrick Water, down Altrieve Lake to Yarrow Water, and up the Berry Knowe Burn and down the Moory Sike to the head of St Mary's Loch (for old roads see RCAMS 1957, pp. 78, 86).

- Radford 1949, 193-6; RCAMS 1957, p. 70, No. 66.

Kirklawhill, Skirling, Cross-shaft

NT 0860 3705 NT 03 NE 11

The fragment of a cross-shaft, probably of tenth-century date, which is to be identified with the site of a chapel and burial-ground at Kirklawhill in the Biggar Gap (*contra.* Fisher 1982, 256-7), is known only from a drawing in the Society of Antiquaries manuscripts and a published engraving. It evidently comprised the upper part of the shaft and lower part of the cross-head. The surviving ornament consists of panels of interlace framed by a flat margin. The interlace is in the form of back-to-back Stafford knots, connected at the top in a right-angled bend. Above this, and without any formal division, the lower part of the cross-head was filled by a triquetra knot. On the left edge, the ornament was the upper part of a four-cord plait. The right edge of the shaft has two crossing strands, interlaced at intervals with free rings in a 'twist-and-ring', pattern. The ornament displays Anglo-Saxon influence, and in general design Scandinavian influence; the general design is in keeping with crosses at Hexham and elsewhere in Northumbria at this period (cf. Cramp 1974, 136-7).

- *NSA*, 3 (Peebles), 10; Name Book, Peebles, No. 37, p. 51; Hunter 1897, 162; Fisher 1982.

Netherurd Mains, Cross-shaped Stone

NT 1041 4403 NT 14 SW 29

About 1943, a cross-shaped stone, probably not earlier than the tenth century, was ploughed up on the crest of a slight rise some 400m W of Netherurd Mains in the angle between two converging tracks. The stone (0.45m high, up to 0.35m wide at its base and 0.09m thick) is decorated on one face. The ornament, which is framed by a plain border, consists mainly of a deeply incised, debased interlace design. There is a central boss and beneath this an incised swastika.

- Stevenson 1959, 52-3; RCAMS 1967, p. 178, No. 380.

Polmood, Drumelzier, Long Cists

NT 1108 2730, 1120 2702 NT 12 NW 10, 21

Two long cists have been found at Polmood. The first, discovered in 1939, had been dug into a gravel knoll. It was aligned from SW to NE and contained an extended male skeleton with its head at the SW end. The second cist was located in 1958. It was aligned from WSW to ENE and contained an extended male skeleton with its head at the WSW end.

- Stevenson 1940, 145; 1958, 27; RCAMS 1967, p. 176, No. 375; McLaren 1969, 287.

Annex B

Dryburgh Charter No. 178 (*c.*AD 1220)

Item super terra de Samsonschelis:

Omnibus etc. Willelmus filius Roberti salutem. Noverit universitas vestra me divine caritatis intuitu dedisse et concessisse et hac mea carta confirmasse consenu et assensu heredum meorum Deo et ecclesie sancte Marie de Driburgh et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus et servituris in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam pro salute dominorum meorum et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum ***unum croftum [toftum] in villa de Samsonschelis scilicet quod est inter domum Gilberti generi Henrici et domum Ade filie Lyolphy cum crofto et [eidem] tofto adherenti et preterea in territorio ejusdem ville totum illud pratum quod jacet inter Morelaw et Kaldewell in longum et inter Standandestane et capud croftorum de Longis ex utraque parte rivuli in latum et etiam totam terram cultam cum mora que infra idem pratum et extra mea fuit incipiendo a predicto Morilaw in obliquum usque ad Standandestane et inde versus orientem per viam juxta jacentem usque ad quendam Witnesbusg' ultra viam que venit de Wennesheuede et ab eodem Witnesbusk versus orientem facto circuitu versus ampnem Leder usque ad prenominatum Caldwell Tenenda*** sibi inperpetuum in Liberam et purum elemosinam ita libere quiete plenarie et honorifice ab omni consuetudine et seculari exactione sicut aliqua elemosina ab aliquo liberius quietius plenius et honorisicentius viris religiosis potest conferri. Et sciendum est quod ego et heredes mei totam dictam terram prefatis canonicis contra omnes homines warantizabimus et forinseca et omnia alia ipsam terram contingentia faciemus. Ut autem hec mea libera donatio dictis canonicis inperpetuum stabilis sit et inconcussa presens scriptum eisdem contuli sigillo meo roboratum. Testibus etc.

CHAPTER NINE

THE MANOR VALLEY, PEEBLESSHIRE, A CASE STUDY

I have suggested already (pp. 204, 241-2, 345, figs. 7.12, 8.22) that, from the turn of the seventh century, there may have existed in the west a tract of territory supporting a level of British survival. The presence of the wood of Celyddon has been suggested as one possible factor for the emergence, in this western enclave, of more conservative settlement and land-use patterns in the Romano-British and sub-Roman periods (pp. 187, 196, 201), and a number of site types have been identified in support of this (pp. 186-8). The constraints of topography in Tweeddale, in common with other highland areas (see Stevenson 1975), may also be seen to have a bearing on the degree of archaeological survival and the extent of agriculture at all times, and this too may be of consequence in the tailoring of the landscape, particularly in respect to estate development in the post-Roman period (see also p. 201). With the lack of any clear pre-parochial boundaries and insufficient topographic control over the Merse generally, it has been difficult to assess the level of continuity in respect to settlement and land use, other than in the most general terms, and the archaeological record is anyway so fragmentary that the picture can at best be only partial (pp. 210-42).

To argue a case for continuity solely on the strength of the juxtaposition of field monuments is difficult for the reasons outlined by Bradley (1987; this work pp. 421-6), but where the evidence is both vestigial and, for the Anglian period, rests principally on place-names, to proceed further requires an even higher level of inference. Any conclusions are likely then to be mainly suppositional.

In Chapter Seven, however, I did offer a tentative model for the take-over of British estates in the Anglian period (pp. 239-42), and in a paper published in 1984, and following Barrow (1973, 7-68), I drew attention to the probable existence by the ninth century of an established shire system extending to this and the outlying districts of Teviotdale, that is to say, the grouping of vills into administrative units, probably based on an already well established estate framework. This pattern is typified by the presence of a central place, which might also have been the site chosen for a mother church, and a number of outlying dependencies, some of which lay at a considerable distance from the estate centre (Smith 1984, 181, n. 5; this work p. 216).[1] It is unclear whether this pattern of estate development existed in the more overtly native districts to the west of the suggested inter-tribal boundary (pp. 203-4, 336), or whether in fact there persisted in these districts a system

which owed more to its native origins, than to those of the incoming English. If this was so, then one might ask, what was the antiquity of such an estate framework? In order to address these questions and to examine more closely the impact of settlement and land use at all periods, it is necessary to isolate one area where sufficient chronological control exists, both archaeological and historical, so that the results can be assessed with a degree of certainty.

These criteria are fully met in the Manor Valley, Peeblesshire (fig. 9.1), where there is a wealth of archaeological evidence and, for a later period, supporting documentation. It will be recalled too, that the Manor has previously been isolated as a territorial block, possibly of some antiquity, on the basis of the distribution of the known Early Christian monuments (pp. 292-4, fig. 8.14) and has also been seen as an integral element in a pre-parochial framework which, in Early Medieval times, would seem to have encompassed the greater part of Tweeddale (pp. 298-301). The implications arising from a study of the valley may also therefore be of wider significance. The presence of forts in the Flavian and Antonine periods, first at Easter Happrew and then at Lyne (pp. 54-5, 61, 72), close to the mouth of the valley, would also lend weight to the possibility that the pattern of Romano-British settlement in the valley would have been indicative of Roman influence across the district as a whole.

In the past there has been some debate as to the origin and meaning of the name Manor (*Maineure*, 1186).[2] Johnston (1892, 247) suggested Welsh *maenor*, 'stone-built mansion', or Gaelic *mainnir*, 'a cattle pen'. Watson (1926, 383) believed the first more likely and drew an analogy with *Mainaure* in Domesday Book, said to mean 'the stone-built residence of the chief of a district' which he suggested would well fit Castlehill of Manor (no. 78 in the accompanying gazetteer, Annex A). Buchan and Paton (1927, 536) point out that the name was still pronounced by local people 'Maenor' and derived from Welsh *Maenawar* could mean a district comprehended in a stone boundary. However, there is another possibility, and one which might be of archaeological and historical significance; namely that the name 'Manor', together with the valley's constituent farm estates, may preserve the memory and framework of an administrative unit described in a Welsh law of possibly the tenth century as either *maenor* or *maenol* (Lloyd 1890, 32-4; see also Jones 1979a, 180-5; Smith 1984, 190-2). A distinction was drawn in this law between the lowland *maenor* composed of seven townships and the upland *maenor* with thirteen. Related to this grouping of vills (*trefi*) was the rendering of food rent (*gwestfa*) and the support and servicing of a lord and his retinue (Davies 1978a, 48). The boundaries of the parish of Manor lie along the valley's watershed and within the parish, and accompanying the Kirktoun of

Manor, there are today twelve farms. The origin and development of the valley's estates can be appraised both by archaeology and through the use of documentary evidence.

The archaeological potential of the Manor Valley is simply illustrated by the distribution maps of Iron Age, Roman and Dark Age monuments and relics, accompanying the introduction to the Royal Commission's *Peeblesshire Inventory* (1967, pp. 20-36, fig. 3). In addition there is good air-photographic coverage[3] and, although a flight undertaken by myself in 1982 was disappointing due to the prevailing cloud cover, I have been well served by the loan of a complete set of stereoscopic prints for the central belt of the valley which were taken in 1968 as part of the preparatory work to the cutting of the Megget pipeline.[4] There has been some excavation but, with the exception of that undertaken by Stevenson (1941), and Keef (1948), this has been mainly geared to answering specific questions arising from the investigations of the Royal Commission. The work undertaken by Stevenson (op. cit.) was made in connection with a projected regional survey of the Manor Water district; a project which was interrupted by the Second World War and, although further work was anticipated, the survey was not resumed (Lamb 1964, 145).

In the course of fieldwork in 1981 I visited all the known monuments, met most of the landowners and tenants, and walked a large proportion of the ploughed and marginal lands. Sites previously unrecorded are accounted for in the survey which follows and include a range of pre-Improvement structures which, in the 1960s, fell outwith the remit of the Royal Commission (Davidson, JL pers commun., 1987). These and other sites noted by the Commission are incorporated in a gazetteer accompanying this chapter (Annex A) and, for ease, I have reduced the reference to a particular site wherever possible to its number within the gazetteer which is arranged alphabetically and by category; sites previously unrecorded are indicated by an asterisk.

Before considering the wider aspects of topography, land use and communications, and the implications for archaeological survival, it will be useful to outline briefly the historical development of the valley from the twelfth century.

The Historical Evidence

The church of Manor was first confirmed by name in 1186 by Urban III (*Glasgow Registrum,* nos. 26, 62). In origin a chapel of Peebles, the church would appear to have shared in the early history of its mother church, pertaining originally to the Bishopric of Glasgow. The patronage of Peebles was confirmed by the Bishop of Glasgow in 1216, and

between 1233 and 1256 the patronage of Peebles and the entire fruits of Manor were granted to the archdeacons of Glasgow as their permanent prebend (*Glasgow Registrum,* nos. 111, 204). In the sixteenth century, the church seems to have attained full parochial status and both parsonage and vicarage of Manor were held as the grant of 1256 had stipulated (cf. Cowan 1967, 142-3). The present church (1874),[5] which is situated at Kirkton Manor, occupies the site of its predecessor upon which work began in 1697 (dedicated 1702).[6] This church too succeeded an earlier building which was already in need of replacement by or before 1658.[7] However, it is unclear whether this was the earliest church on the site, that is to say, the one which is on record in 1186, or whether the original church occupied a site farther to the south towards the head of the valley, at Kirkhope, in the valley of the Newholm Hope Burn (see nos. 76, 82, and for a possible solution to this problem pp. 388-9).

Prior to the twelfth century there is no information about the proprietors of the valley. However, in 1116, Robertus Corbett, who held lands in Manor and is likely to have been of Norman descent, appears as one of the signatories to Earl David's investigation into the lands and churches belonging to the see of Glasgow (Buchan and Paton 1927, 548). David came to the throne in 1124 and among his sheriffs' was one named Malbeth, who exercised jurisdiction in Peeblesshire. Tradition associates him with Manor and the name 'Malbeth's Castle' is attributed by the Ordnance Survey to the fort on Wood Hill (OS 6-inch map, 1st ed., 1889, sheet 16; gazetteer no. 27). Buchan and Paton took the name to be a corruption and to have no connection with Shakespeare's play, and argued that the castle, if there was one, was the sheriff's residence (1927, 548, n.1). In the reign of Malcolm IV (1153x65), Norman the hunter (*venator*), perhaps an ancestor of the Hunters of Polmood, was granted lands in the parish of Manor (Barrow 1960, 45, 83-4, No. 298).

The lands of Hundleshope, on the eastern margin of the parish, provided the surname for their owner in the thirteenth century. Archibald of 'Hundewulchopp', or 'Hundwaluchishope', appears on inquests held in Peebles in 1259 and 1262.[8] In the reign of David II (1329-71), the lands of 'Hundwellishoppe' were granted to John Turnbull,[9] and between 1390 and 1406 Robert III granted these same lands, together with the lordship of the barony, to Sir William Gledstanes.[10] In 1296 John Baddeby was proprietor of Manor,[11] and the connection of this family with the parish is confirmed by three of five charters, granted by Robert I (1306-29), which are listed by Robertson (1798, 24). The first confirms a charter by King Alexander[12] to William Baddeby of the lands of 'Menner' (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, App. 1, No. 95) , and a second confirms the same lands to Alexander Baddeby (Robertson 1798, p. 24, nos. 3-4; *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, App. 1, No. 96; App. 2, No. 595). However, in a third charter the king granted the whole barony of 'Menere' to his retainer, Adam the Marshall

(ibid. no. 5; Duncan 1988, 294, No. 5). This was clearly an oversight (but see Duncan 1988, 19) and Marshall seems later to have resigned one half of his lands into the hands of the king in Parliament (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, App. 2, No. 597). Accordingly, two charters follow. The first, which is of importance as it gives the boundaries of the grant (see pp. 384-8), confirmed to Marshall only the half barony; the second, to Sir Alexander Baddeby, evidently confirmed the remaining portion (Robertson 1798, p. 24, nos. 6-7). Aggrieved at the Crown's solution to the problem, Baddeby duly petitioned King and Parliament on 4 August 1323.[13] However, he was told that if he was not satisfied with the half barony he should surrender it and his petition would be considered.[14] Baddeby clearly thought better of it and the matter was taken no further.[15] The division of the barony which was made at this time appears to have continued thereafter.[16]

In the reign of Robert III (1390-1406), the lands of Possaw, Langhall (Langhaugh), Kirkhope, Caverhill, half of Glenrath, and Glenrath and Letteis, were confirmed by charter to Thomas Baird who took the designation 'of Posso'.[17] The lands, it is stated, were in the barony of Manor, but were excluded from a grant in 1395 of the full barony which was confirmed by Robert III to William Inglis;[18] the descendants of whose family seem never to have held more than the half barony, comprising the lands of Dollarburn, Castlehill, Hallmanor, and Horswaird; both Lowis and Inglis shared the superiority of Caverhill and Glack.[19] The lands of Posso remained with the family of Baird until 1554 when they were transferred by the crown to Michael Naesmyth, husband of Elizabeth Baird.[20] In the second half of the fifteenth century, the last principal family, that of Burnett, settled in the valley at Barns. The history of this family, along with the other leading families in the valley, is set out by Buchan and Paton (1927, 571-90).

The Topography of the Valley, Land Use and Communications

The Manor Water is the principal south bank tributary of the Tweed (fig. 9.2) and from its confluence with the mainstream, 2.5km to the west of Peebles, to its source at Shielhope Head, is a distance of about 16 km and an ascent of 446m. The area amounts to 40,987 ha (Lamb 1964, 145). The valley strikes to the heart of the Southern Uplands and is overlooked by some of their highest peaks. On the west it is bordered by the catchment area of the upper Tweed, to the south by Megget and on the east Minch Moor. At its head (612m OD), its character is almost that of a gorge. Precipitous crags pitch towards the valley floor. These give way to the steep-sided and scree-strewn slopes flanking Notman and Greenside Law (731m and 642m OD respectively). At Manor Head the nineteenth-century farmhouse is tucked into the lee of Dollar Law (817m OD); the most conspicuous of the valley's peaks.

The area available for cultivation is limited and almost entirely restricted to the west of the mainstream. At Langhaugh (274m OD), at the confluence of the Manor Water and the Newholm Hope Burn, a left bank tributary, there is an area of more open ground, but from here north, almost as far as Posso, the valley adopts the distinctive profile of a broad, flat-bottomed, U-shaped glacial trough, flanked by the heights of Posso Craig (566m OD) and Horse Hope Hill (590m OD) on the west and east respectively. The mainstream skirts the western slopes and as a result there is to the east an almost uninterrupted strip of haughland; hence probably the name 'Langhaugh' (but see also p. 389).

At Posso (plates 9.1, 9.2) the valley bifurcates around the foot of Wood Hill; a curious and most prominent feature which may owe its origin to a pre-glacial rock or moraine feature modified by the interaction of converging ice-sheets. The Manor Water skirts the east side of the hill (the low-lying area to the west being drained by the Tower Burn) and joins here with the Glenrath Burn which flows north and north-west from its source at Whitecleugh Hill (593m OD). This is a steep-sided valley a little over 3 km in length but, between the lower slopes of the hills bordering Glenrath Hope on the north and the right bank of the Glenrath Burn and its tributary the Back Burn, there is an expanse of gently sloping ground some 86 ha in extent (fig. 6.23, plate 9.3). Here, aspect, shelter and drainage combine to set this apart as an optimum settlement location (see nos. 57, 81, 91). North of Wood Hill, the relief of the main valley opens out and is almost as wide as it is high. The most conspicuous feature at this point is a broad break of slope along the east side of the valley roughly coeval with the 274m contour; this probably the combination of a lateral, valley-side moraine and the accumulation of soil creep. This too has provided a favoured settlement location (nos. 39-43). On the west, and sheltered by the knoll of Ring Knowe, there is a small hill-basin drained by the Hallmanor Burn. At Castlehill, the valley contracts due to an extension of a spur from Whitelaw Hill (463m OD) on the west, but thereafter opens out into an ample basin on the left bank before again bifurcating, this time around Cademuir; a hill which consists of two principal ridges linked by a narrow saddle. The Manor Water skirts the western footslopes of the hill before turning to join the Tweed (166m OD). The pass on the south side of Cademuir, in pre-glacial times probably the line of the original water-course, swings east and then north towards Peebles, and is flanked on the south by Canada Hill and Hundleshope (529m and 683m OD respectively), and the valley of the Hundleshope Burn.

The nature of the rock is the same as that for the Southern Uplands plateau (p. 4) and comprises greywaches, slatey shales, mudstones and grits. The soils over much of the higher ground are podzolic and generally poor, although in the areas where the ground is

relatively level and well drained there are some that are better developed; the loams of the valley floors are the most productive but here drainage is required before the ground can be tilled (see also p. 363). The creep soils and boulder clays along the hill margins also provide some potential for cultivation and, prior to the introduction of drainage, would have presented an optimum settlement location (e.g. nos. 41-3, 46-50). On the higher ground these give way to skeletal or gley soils interspersed with gravels and moraines, culminating in the bare rock surfaces and deep peats of the high plateau;[21] ground at all periods suited to little more than rough grazing.

The character of the valley's topography offers two main lines of communication, the oldest of which is probably the Thief's Road, which traverses the western watershed of Manor (fig. 9.3), and whose course can be traced from a ford across the Tweed below Stobo, or possibly at Burnfoot (NT 192 386), south to Notman Law and Cauldstane Rig (NT 199 243) where it seems to have coalesced with another moorland road extending to the floor of the Megget valley at Glengaber (RCAMS 1967, pp. 350-1, No. 648; 1957, p. 86, No. 112). This was a traditional route used both by the drovers on their way to the English markets, and earlier by the Border reivers, or Moss Troopers (cf. Armstrong 1775a, 69; 1775b; Barrow 1984), but in origin it may be much older (cf. Coles 1984, 9-11; this work p. 369).[22] That it was regularly used for local communication is shown by the frequency with which branch-tracks descend from it to the valleys on either side, for example, over Posso Rig to Hallmanor, with a branch to Posso; and to Kirkhope by way of Kirkhope Rig. A second route, again possibly of some antiquity, extended from Peebles to Kirkton Manor (RCAMS 1967, p. 350, No. 647), and from here followed a course along the west side of the valley as far as Langhaugh before ascending the higher ground and crossing the watershed to the south-east of Manor Head to Yarrow. Armstrong's map of 1775 (fig. 9.8) shows both this road and another which enters the Manor from Peebles by way of the dry valley to the south of Cademuir. From here this second track respects the right bank of the Manor Water before converging with the first on the haughland between Posso and Langhaugh. Given that the Late Bronze Age hoard from Horse Hope Craig (no. 114) included both cart-mountings and harness-rings, it seems likely that these valley-floor tracks were in use from an early date.

On the Land Utilization Survey of Great Britain (1939) the valley is classified as 'medium quality farm land, productive, but by reason of slope, climate and soil, not first class... often very mixed but suited to crops and grass'. This is a very general statement and in fig. 9.4 I have drawn out the relative proportions of arable and pasture accompanying each of the present farms, together with the extent of woodland both natural and afforested.

Fig. 9.4 provides an index of the intensity of arable farming and serves to underline those areas where there is the greatest likelihood of archaeological survival. In order to assess the significance of the pattern of archaeological survival this needs to be balanced by an assessment of the impact of agriculture in the valley before and after the agricultural improvements of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The merit of this is that it should provide a base-line from which one might infer the scope for agriculture in earlier times whilst also serving to isolate those parts of the valley where archaeological disturbance is likely to have had the least impact.

The earliest map evidence for Manor is that prepared by Timothy Pont (1590) which was later revised and published in Blaeu's *Atlas* of 1654 (fig. 9.5). The first map is at too small a scale to be of any real use, although the estate centres are depicted. The second (fig. 9.6) is more useful as there is both topographic and place-name evidence; a mill is also shown, probably that at Milton (no. 102). The parish is mentioned in a 'Description of the Shirefdom of Selkirk' prepared in 1649 by William Elliot of Stobbs and Walter Scott of Arkiltoun, published in Macfarlane's *Geographical Collections* (1906-8, iii, 150), but lacks any statement on agriculture. Of particular value is Roy's *Military Survey* (1747-55, sheets 6/3, 7/3, 7/4). This map is reproduced in fig. 9.7 and shows extensive rig-and-furrow cultivation on both sides of the Manor Water stretching from Langhaugh to the Tweed; a block of woodland is shown on the west flank of Glenrath Hill but this had been felled by 1775.[23] Most conspicuous are the policies of the sixteenth-century tower-house at Posso (no. 85), at this date the residence of Sir James Naesmyth.[24] Although Roy's depiction of cultivated ground is probably schematic, it possibly provides a reasonable indication of the extent of arable in the valley at this time. What is perhaps surprising is that the limits of cultivation are so closely tailored to the valley floor and seem not to have extended to the tributary glens, nor south to Manor Head. This would suggest a rough divide in the economy of the valley, with the farms at its head being predominantly pastoral, the lower arable, although here too these farms must have had common access to extensive rough grazing.

Armstrong's map of 1775 (fig. 9.8) does not show the extent of arable, although another mill is depicted close to the mouth of the Tower Burn to the south of Hallmanor (no. 92); the tower-house at Posso (no. 85) is shown as ruinous and had been replaced by the house and steading at present occupied. Several tracts of woodland are shown along the tributaries and main river valley to the north of Posso. These include the plantation at Wellbush (no. 107) to the south-east of Castlehill, and a number of copses which can be identified today, for example, that at the head of the Manortoun Burn, and that at Hallyards.

The patterning of the landscape is confirmed by William Maxwell, the author of the first *Statistical Account* (1791), in an article written on the eve of the agricultural improvements, principal among these are the cutting of drains and ditches. He emphasizes, however, that the extent of arable was very small in proportion to the area given over to pasture, and that it was mainly confined to the footslopes beside the Manor Water and along the banks of the Tweed. This would seem to bear out the extent of ridge cultivation as defined by Roy and would account for the need of an additional mill to serve the uppermost portion of the parish. Maxwell notes too a tract of 'arable ground on a wet, tilly substance'; this probably the boulder clay soils of the valley floor in the central belt which had only been brought under cultivation through the use of drainage. Among the crops specified are peas, oats, bere, and potatoes. Turnips had recently been introduced for fattening cattle; these mainly Black cattle kept for milk. Sheep, however, were the staple commodity. The landscape was still unenclosed and this was seen as an impediment to improvement, but it would suggest that by the late eighteenth century few of the valley's upstanding archaeological monuments had been despoiled. In 1755 the population numbered 320 (*Stat. Acct.*, 1791, iii, 385) but by 1951 it had fallen to 239 (Lamb 1964, 148).

The author of the second *Statistical Account* (1845) drew attention to the importance attached to the rearing of sheep, the introduction of short-horned cattle, and the scope for salmon fishing in the months between October and February. The Manor Water was, he says, 'one of the finest localities in Scotland for angling', but at the time of writing this was a diminishing asset. The agricultural improvements had by this date taken full form and all the better quality land had by now been drained, enclosed and subdivided (*NSA*, iii, Peebles, 118). One of the leading proponents of improvement in the valley was James Burnet of Barns. He is credited with the introduction of short-horned cattle and in 1834 his farm of Haswellsykes was acclaimed as 'the finest model of agricultural improvement which is to be seen in the county' (Buchan and Paton 1927, 589). A plan of part of the estate of Barns, prepared in 1821 (SRO map L.67.7), depicts a stretch of the valley between Glenrath and Well Bush Park to the south of the present farm of Cademuir (fig. 9.9). The enclosed land is almost entirely restricted to the valley floor and is best defined on the lower slopes bordering upon Glenrath Hill and Canada Hill; the latter under its old name 'Well Bush Park'. Some new planting is evident (e.g. Ring Knowe, see no. 23) and other trees, possibly the last vestiges of natural woodland, are shown close to Castlehill. The extent of planting is more fully revealed by Forester and Nichol's plan of the estate of Barns prepared in 1836 (SRO map L.67.10). This includes several main shelter belts around the policies of Barns extending to the fields on Tweedside, and a large tract of woodland encompassing the greater

part of Hunt Hill and Syke Hill (see nos. 21, 24). The Ordnance Survey 6-inch map (1st ed., 1859-63, sheets 13, 16-17, 20) reveals the rapidity with which the remaining land on the valley floor was enclosed. By this date too, the amount of surviving natural woodland was negligible and what remained was largely felled during the last War (Lamb 1964, 146).

During the War there was a further increase in the ploughed acreage of about twenty percent but in the post-War years this dropped back to about ten percent (Lamb 1964, 150). At Posso, to take one instance, the need to increase productivity was met by the exploitation of fields infilling between the Tower Burn and the enclosed land close to the steading, and extending to the lower slopes on the flank of Posso Rig (see also p. 364 and fig. 9.10). Since the War these fields have been sown for grass and on air-photographs the imprint of earlier ridge cultivation is still apparent. This would suggest that, in all but the most intensively cultivated soils, there is some chance of archaeological recovery. Significantly, the intake of land during the War did not extend to the south-facing slopes in Glenrath Hope, and thus in this area archaeological survival, comprising both settlement and field-systems, is almost complete (nos. 57, 90).

In terms of archaeological survival the following points may be made. The zone of maximum destruction would seem to be tailored by the nature of the late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century improvements to the valley floor between Glenrath and the Tweed, and would extend also to the fields around Posso (pp. 363-5) and to the haughland north of Langhaugh. This is the area of arable defined on Roy's *Military Survey* (1747-55, sheet 7/4) and is essentially the same as that today (fig. 9.7). The woodlands, of course provide some scope for archaeological survival; for hillforts beneath trees see nos. 20-3. Recent afforestation has, however, been wholly destructive, and even where the sites do survive access is often restricted by the close spacing of conifers and the planting of broadleaves.[25]

The implications for archaeology in the arable zone are two-fold. First, there is a net loss of settlement evidence, together with that for their accompanying field-systems. Second, there is the balancing factor that evidence for earlier activity might be revealed by the recovery of finds in the course of draining, quarrying, and ploughing. To take one instance (NT 23 NW, the area bordering on Cademuir), the evidence which falls into this category includes a stone axe from Cademuir (no. 110); a cist and urn containing bones found on the Manse lawn at Kirkton Manor about 1880, and a second cist discovered about the same time at a small quarry in the glebe (no. 10); a Roman coin of Antoninus Pius (*c.*145) found at Bellanrig in 1910 (no. 109), and an urn containing silver coins, believed to have been of Edward II (1307-27), which was found in 1819 by workmen engaged in road building near

the camp on Chester Hill (no. 112). Elsewhere in the valley, discoveries were also made in the course of despoiling structures, mainly cairns, for stone for reuse in dyking. These include the discovery about 1890 of an Early Christian memorial, which was removed from a cairn on the north flank of the Newholm Hope Burn (no. 74; this work pp. 292-4), and the 'built cists' which are said to have been discovered beneath a cairn near the road into Langhaugh (no. 9). Chance finds, most notable being the Late Bronze Age metalwork hoard from Horse Hope Craig (no. 113), are listed in the gazetteer.

The loss of settlement evidence from the arable zone is of greater consequence to the mapping of the archaeological landscape but can be partially redressed through the use of air-photographs. From the available sorties I have identified five possible sites, all on mapsheet NT 23 NW (nos. 29, 31, 32, 69, 70), and one on the farm of Glenrath (NT 23 SW, no. 19).The net loss to ploughing can also be gauged by reference to the type and number of known monuments which survive on the marginal lands, particularly towards the head of the valley (pp. 372-83), although there will undoubtedly remain an inbalance in the density of site distribution. The fermtoun at Manor Head (no. 100), for instance, must be typical of the many fermtouns which survived into the late eighteenth century lower down the valley and for which there is now no visible evidence (e.g. 'Mannor Toun' which is depicted on Armstrong's map of 1775 to the WSW of Castlehill steading, and see no. 73). However, one factor may be isolated which is of particular importance to the pattern of the valley's archaeological record. Until the advent of improved drainage many of the loam and alluvial soils of the valley floor could not be brought under intensive cultivation (*Stat. Acct.*, iii [1791], 384; *NSA*, iii, Peebles, 111). This need not preclude the likelihood that settlement once extended to these areas, but it would suggest that the upper margins of the haughland provided a natural barrier to settlement at most periods up to the improvements. Thus to all intents the medieval landscape, rather than being enveloped in the agricultural improvements, should still survive largely intact both at the field margins and extending to the lower slopes, and, with this, evidence for settlement and land use of an earlier period. This is well illustrated by reference to the estate of Posso.

In origin perhaps a British name (*Possaw*, *-ow c.*1400) 'calm water', or a derivative of Old Welsh *poues* 'rest, repose', 'a peaceful place' (Johnston 1892, 278; Watson 1926, 383), the present farm occupies most of the low-lying ground between Wood Hill and the higher ground of Posso Rig to the west and Posso Craig to the south-west (fig. 9.10). The eighteenth-century farmhouse is set back from the public road at the foot of Wood Hill, and its fields (numbered 1 to 11) embrace all the level ground at the foot of the lower slopes, together with two outlying fields to the north-west of Wood Hill which encroach

upon an area of marginal ground at the foot of Posso Rig. Cropmark evidence for the area enclosed is lacking and the uniform ridge-systems in fields 1, 4, 6 and 10 are probably of nineteenth-century date or later. The extent of arable depicted by Roy (1747-55, sheet 7/4) is confined to fields 1 and 2, to the south of Wood Hill, and thus it is a reasonable presumption that the intake of land for fields 3 to 11 followed upon the eighteenth-century improvements; all were in place by 1859 (OS 6-inch map, 1st ed., Peebles, sheet 16). The roofless ruin of the sixteenth-century tower-house at Posso, together with the earthwork remains of its outbuildings and garden features (no. 85), stands about 230m to the WNW of the present steading and, although the tower has been despoiled, the site has escaped the improvements virtually unscathed. The old head-dyke, probably one of the first features to be fixed in the medieval landscape, can be traced running north from the policies of the tower along the footslopes of Posso Rig to the west of fields 6 and 7, and an earth-and-stone bank beside the Mill Burn, in the south angle between fields 3 and 4, is probably a continuation of the same. The head-dyke was used to enclose both infield and outfield, and served to set these apart from the common grazing beyond. Fragmentary rig-systems, comprising broad sinuous ridges, are apparent within the head-dyke peripheral to fields 3 to 7 and 10, and, although truncated by these later fields, they probably provide a reasonable indication of the extent of medieval arable. Similar rigs, though wasted by ploughing, are also apparent in a broad swathe both within and to the south of field 11, on the lower slopes of Posso Rig. There is no evidence of any other rural settlement of this date in the locality (there are, for instance, no turf-covered footings of any rectangular buildings) and it is thus likely that the cultivated land was farmed from the outbuildings accompanying the tower-house.

Activity at an earlier date is represented by the earthwork remains of a scooped settlement (no. 47) peripheral to fields 6 and 7, which is respected by the later ridge-cultivation; by another which survives in trees to the west of Wood Hill (no. 52), and by an enclosed homestead, in origin probably of Romano-British date or earlier, which occupies a shoulder on the north flank of Posso Craig (no. 49). With the exception of the last there are no accompanying cultivation remains, however, on Posso Craig, and extending to the valley of the Mill Burn, there is an extensive cairnfield, a well developed lynchet system, and a swathe of cord-rig which is almost certainly prehistoric. Cord-rig has been identified elsewhere in Manor (e.g. Cademuir, air-photographs by Maxwell in NMRS) and it is now generally believed that rig of this type dates to the late second or early first millennium BC (cf. Halliday 1982, 82-4). Wood Hill, of course, provides a high visibility to the archaeological remains grouped on its summit (nos. 27, 61), however, ploughing and reseeding as part of the more recent improvements to upland grazing have all but eradicated any trace of cultivation accompanying a homestead of the type noted above, which is situated on the north

shoulder of the hill (no. 53), and serves to underline the vulnerability of such evidence to modern farming practises.

In the area of open ground at the foot of Posso Rig, between fields 7 and 11, there are traces of other rig-systems, variously orientated but of a more fragmented nature. Obtaining a date for cultivation of this type is difficult without there being any strict stratigraphic relationship between the cultivation and a settlement of known type or date, and for the present all that can be said is that they may span the period between prehistoric and medieval times. Given that Posso is on record in the reign of Robert III (1390-1406) and the lack of visible evidence for settlement at this date, it is reasonable to assume that the earlier laird's house underlies the existing earthworks around the sixteenth-century tower (see also p. 389). Some of the peripheral cultivation remains noted above, which might conform to a primitive system of run-rig, could well be of this date.

Posso provides an optimum model for landscape development within the valley as it is a small nucleated parcel enclosed by higher ground on three sides. However, the principal trends in the development of settlement and land use that have been isolated are probably of more general application. The pattern is clearly one of contraction, with prehistoric settlement spreading expansively over the marginally higher ground, and with later settlement infilling and moving progressively downslope, culminating in the enclosure of land on the valley floors in the improvement period. There is, as one would anticipate, some overlap between each settlement horizon, and the common grazing of a later period is likely to have extended over land that was formerly cultivated. Thus some dislocation of preceding landscapes is to be anticipated, and, on the evidence of Posso, a critical watershed would seem to have been reached by the fourteenth century, if not slightly before, when the sites selected for permanent settlement on or close to the valley floor provided the forerunners to those which followed (see also pp. 389-90). However, the pattern of contraction, coupled with the intensification of farming method, is in contrast to the pattern which is found elsewhere both in the Scottish Highlands, where it is generally seen to be one of increasing encroachment upon earlier shieling grounds (cf. Smith 1986; RCAMS 1990, 5), and in many of the more low-lying districts of the Tweed Basin where settlement development often attains to no more than a cropmark palimpsest in the midst of a landscape of enclosure (for example see pp. 217-39, fig. 7.16, plates 3.4, 7.10). This factor, which also seems to be a trait of other glaciated valleys within the Southern Uplands (e.g. Eskdale: Corser, P pers. commun., 1989) underlines the degree to which the Manor Valley is suited to landscape analysis.

The Approach

The appraisal of the Manor landscape can be approached in one of two ways. The first would be to take the present farms and retrace the development of the valley through the medieval period to prehistory; the second proceeds from the earliest evidence and builds towards the present by gradually filling out the picture. In view both of the weight of the archaeological evidence, and the nature of the enquiry, the latter approach commends itself, and for this reason I propose to start with the landscape of the second millennium BC and to progress to that of the medieval period. However, in order to examine the proposition that the Manor estates may perpetuate an earlier pattern of exploitation, it is necessary to structure the evidence by some form of spatial analysis so as to evolve a notional estate framework by which the evidence can be appraised. This can be evaluated at each step and, ultimately, the framework can be set with that for the medieval period for which there is reasonable documentary evidence. The simplest method to arrive at a tentative estate framework, solely on the basis of the archaeological evidence, is to assume contemporaneity between like site types and to generate boundaries from these on the basis of nearest neighbour analysis; an extension of Christaller's Central Place Theory (discussed on p. 196). This in itself requires a step of faith as it follows from the premise that each site will have functioned as a self-contained unit of equal rank to its neighbour and will have drawn upon the resources of a commensurate exploitation unit or estate. Without adequate excavation this can be no more than inference, though it seems reasonable given that many of the sites are not closely juxtaposed and there are several which display some chronological depth (e.g. nos. 15, 17, 25). The ranking of sites and the impact this had upon the territorial framework is a problem not easily solved by archaeology, but it can be examined statistically (p. 375).

The Evidence for the Landscape of the Second Millennium BC

Fig. 9.11 sets out the distribution of Bronze Age material within the valley, including both settlement and artefacts. Although the material probably represents a broad chronological span, and no doubt to an extent reflects the factors governing the recovery of sites and finds (pp. 20-2, 25-7), it probably provides a reasonable insight into the extent of human activity in the period from about 1800 BC to 1200 BC. Settlement is clearly focussed at two points in the valley, the first spanning the area between Kirkton Manor and the northern flank of Cademuir, at the foot of the valley, the other, to the south and towards the head of the valley, between Kirkhope and Horse Hope Craig.

The first is represented by two platforms which are terraced into the slope on the north side of Cademuir. Each probably served as the stance for one or more timber round houses and all are of a type paralleled in the unenclosed house platform settlements which have been noted elsewhere in Upper Tweeddale, and in Lanarkshire (cf. RCAMS 1967, pp. 22-3; 1976, pp. 23-4), though their extension to the Manor valley has previously received little credence (Halliday, S pers. commun., 1983). Only one such site has been excavated, that at Green Knowe (Jobey 1980b; this work p. 26). One of the Cademuir platforms is overlain by a scooped settlement of Romano-British date (no. 1) and traces of other platforms may have been truncated or concealed by the cultivation terraces and lynchets which swathe this side of the hill (no. 62). Corroborative evidence for Bronze Age activity close by, though accompanying field-systems are not apparent, is provided by an isolated standing stone which is now incorporated in a stone wall beside the public road to the WNW of Bellanrig farmhouse (no. 11). The original position of this stone, in a field about 100m to the NW, can be identified on the basis of Armstrong's map of 1775. Its authenticity seems to be confirmed by the presence of two other standing stones on the haughland bordering the Tweed, one at Cardrona Mains, the other at Drumelzier Haugh (RCAMS 1967, p. 63, nos. 102-3). The Bellanrig stone bears a number of pitted hollows which have in the past been identified as cup-marks (Christison 1889, 140-1). Although this may be doubted due to the propensity for greywache to weather in this way, and a similar cup-marked stone reported by Christison (1889, 141-2), incorporated in a dyke close to Castlehill, can almost certainly be dismissed on these grounds (McLaren, A pers. commun., 1979), there is a stone, now in the drive to the manse at Kirkton Manor, which bears a number of more deeply pecked cups that seem not to be of natural origin (no. 13). About 1880 a cist and cinerary urn containing bones were found beneath the manse lawn, and a second cist was discovered in a quarry in the glebe (no. 10); the site of which, though previously lost, was identified for me by John Horsburgh, tenant at Kirkton Manor (pers. commun., 1981).

Evidence for the second settlement focus consists of at least one unenclosed platform settlement on the S-facing slope bordering the left bank of the Newholm Hope Burn (no. 3), which was identified in the course of my own fieldwork, together with what may be another high up on the W-facing slope of Glenrath Hill (no. 2), though the latter is more circumspect and one of the platforms may simply be the stance for a later stone-walled round house (no. 30). In addition there are at least five round cairns (nos. 5-7, 9, 14, 74), two of which were robbed in the late nineteenth century to provide materials for dyking (nos. 9, 74), although the retaining curbs for both survive as surface features, and 'built cists with bones' are said to have been recovered from the one beside the public road close to Langhaugh (no. 9).

On the ESE flank of Posso Craig there is a remarkable set of rock carvings which were also identified in the course of fieldwork (no.14). The first (plate 9.4) lies at the margin of an area of boulder-strewn ground and consists of a large earthfast boulder with a slightly dished upper face, which bears a deeply pecked and incised figure of what appears schematically, and perhaps uniquely, to represent either an arrowhead with long whisker-like tangs, or more probably a form of bronze dagger, with tang and pommel, of a type in use in south-west England and Armorica in the Early Bronze Age (Harding, AF pers. commun., 1981). The carving is unlike anything that has been seen by the officers of the Ordnance Survey (Davidson, JL pers. commun., 1986). Immediately downslope (plate 9.5), there is an irregular-shaped boulder which has across its main face a more complex design consisting of a straight pecked and incised base-line and, above, a sinuous and arcing curved line, while between the two there is an incised elipse and another which is cut by the edge of the stone. Across the uppermost angle of the stone there are a series of contiguous pitted hollows. The carving is without parallel but may in some way reflect a primitive landscape depiction; the incomplete elipse bears some resemblence to three incomplete ring symbols made on one edge of a stone also bearing an unusual group of markings, discovered in 1867 at Lamancha, which is now in the Royal Museum of Scotland (RCAMS 1967, pp. 62-3, No. 101). The first carving (plate 9.6) may be asssociated with the denuded remains of a cairn, the second rests at the terminal of what has been a substantially formed stone wall (about 12m long overall) which has been reduced to a rubble spread up to 2.2m thick. The function of the wall is unclear but in scale it is paralleled by another which seems to demarcate a boundary between the haughland of the Manor Water and the scree slopes at the foot of Langhaugh Hill (no. 96). It is possible that both have been used for the control of livestock, though in view of their state of preservation they need not be of the same date, and, given the location of the first, which seems to delimit a small terraced area, a rudimentary sheep-shelter might be a more reasonable interpretation. Its proximity to the rock carvings may be purely fortuitous. In 1864 a hoard of Late Bronze Age metalwork was discovered beneath a stone among the screes of Horse Hope Craig (no. 113); an area, but for a single cairn (no. 7) and an enclosure (no. 71), otherwise devoid of settlement evidence.

Evidence for land use accompanying the second settlement focus is provided by three quite extensive cairnfields: one bordering the Manor Water at its confluence with the Newholm Hope Burn (no. 48); the second (no. 33) extending south from the plantation on the west flank of Langhaugh Hill (previously unrecorded), and the third (no. 49) extending along the right bank of the Mill Burn on the north-east flank of Posso Craig. Each consists of a number of clearance cairns and linear clearance-heaps; that on Posso Craig is juxtaposed with an area of narrow rig cultivation possibly of later prehistoric date, though it could be

earlier (cf. Halliday 1982, 82-4), and that at Langhaugh seems to have been incorporated in a later field-system bound by a head-dyke which could be medieval in origin. The shepherd at Langhaugh has trenched a number of cairns but no finds were recovered.

Although the picture is undoubtedly only partial due to the impact of later settlement and land use, the polarized distribution of both settlement and finds, taken with the complementary nature of the evidence, seems to concur and would suggest that during the second millennium BC there were in the valley two distinct but well established communities. The most logical territorial framework, though probably lacking definable boundaries, suggests a rough subdivision of the valley; the lower possibly predominantly arable, the upper pastoral (paralleling perhaps the economic structure of the valley today). However, this may be misleading in the context of a landscape of this period and two communities equally engaged in mixed farming would perhaps be as likely, or one community practising transhumance. On the basis of the cairnfield distribution, which is notably tailored to the later less intensively cultivated parts of the valley, some level of subsistence agriculture seems likely, with cultivation taking place perhaps on the creep soils at the foot of the hills and on the valley-floor alluviums bordering the haughland of the Manor Water (p. 359). Thus the round cairns may represent a duality of function; the by-products of clearance reused for funerary purposes. Whilst the settlement sites are located on the lower hill-slopes, and it is possible that others, particularly towards the foot of the valley, have been lost due to later agriculture, the overall distribution of sites and finds may imply that movement over the more low-lying terrain and across the valley floor was not an obstacle. Indeed, in view of the location of the two population centres, it is possible that the lowland route of communication from Manor Head north to the Tweed, paralleling the ridgeway spanning the watershed on the west (p. 359), could have been in use at this time. The horse-trappings and cart-mountings from the Horse Hope hoard, if derived from a local context, may well suggest that significant swathes had already been cut through the landscape by the second millennium.

The Landscape of the Late Second and Early First Millennium BC

The transition from the late second millennium to the early first millennium BC is often marked by the presence of palisaded sites (pp. 28-9), however, there are no evident palisades within the valley, though there are a number of univallate sites, which may have incorporated a substantial timber element in their construction, that find parallels elsewhere in western Peeblesshire (cf. Hill 1982a, 20). None have been excavated and several probably underlie later earthwork fortifications where their presence is suggested, as at Woodhouse Hill (no. 28), by marked deviations in the line of the later ramparts. They vary considerably in size

from sites such as that at the Bank (no. 15), which can at best have accommodated only a few timber round houses, to that on Cademuir (no. 16) which contains the surface remains of at least thirty-five ring-groove houses with space for as many again (plate 9.7). Not all of these, however, need belong to its univallate phase, as the Cademuir fort was subsequently enlarged by the addition of a bivallate defence and the ring-groove houses could sit as happily in this later context as earlier (cf. Hill 1982a, 25; this work pp. 29, 172).

The distribution pattern of the valley's univallate sites (fig. 9.12) contrasts with that mapped for the second millennium BC, and seems to represent a significant fragmentation from the two pre-existing foci located at the foot and head of the valley respectively. With the exception of three sites, Haswellsykes, Quaw, and Glenrath (nos. 70, 22, 19), all command tracts of higher ground and consequently often survive as upstanding archaeological remains. Because of this locational factor, loss due to later agricultural disturbance seems unlikely and thus the perceived distribution of the valley's univallate sites probably reasonably reflects their original total.

When spatial analysis is applied to the univallate sites a clear territorial framework emerges. This is achieved by simply dividing equally the distance between neighbouring forts, counting each to have functioned as a central place within its own territorial block, and by adjusting the boundaries accordingly to approximate to the closest natural feature; whether the mainstream, a tributary, a ridge, or some other topographic feature. In other words, the territories derive from the spacing of the centres, a preferred location possibly being determined on the basis of an optimum situation in relation to resources, agricultural potential, shelter and a desire to secure a defensible position; factors which may have varied according to each site depending on the needs of the community, its role within the rural economy and overall site density. The derived pattern suggests a subdivision of the valley into fourteen distinct territorial units. On spatial analysis alone it is not possible to complete the boundaries for the two southern territories centred on the Bank and Langhaugh (nos. 15, 83), however, these sites would suggest only a marginal shift in settlement location from the previous Bronze Age focus at the head of the valley, and, in the absence of any other univallate site to the south of the Bank, the boundaries might possibly be extended along the upper watershed of the valley to culminate at Shielhope Head, the natural catchment area.

The Manor Water provides a boundary common to ten of the territorial units within the valley whose boundaries extend laterally from the mainstream, invariably following the course of its minor tributaries, up onto the watershed to either side. It seems unlikely that the

boundaries running the length of the watershed would have been defined by anything more than cairns, although that on the west, common to the territories of Woodhouse, Whitelaw Rig, Hallmanor, Woodhill, and the Bank (nos. 28, 26, 20, 27, 15), may have approximated to the line of the ridgeway (p. 359). The presence of univallate sites outwith the valley at Easter Dawyck and Lour (RCAMS 1967, p. 115, No. 277; p. 130, No. 302) seems to pin the south-western boundary for the site on Syke Hill (no. 24). The presence of this site astride the watershed precludes the continuation of this line as a boundary; although it is resumed as a boundary between Syke Hill and Hunt Hill but is then subtended due to the presence of another univallate site at Haswellsykes (no. 70). The boundary between Syke Hill and Easter Dawyck follows no natural feature but conjecturally may have extended downslope to the Tweed.

To the north, the Tweed provides a common boundary for the territories centred on Syke Hill, Haswellsykes, Hunt Hill and Cademuir (nos. 24, 70, 21, 16). The presence of a univallate site at Manor Sware (RCAMS 1967, p. 130, No. 303) imposes a boundary between itself and Cademuir, and, or the Whaum, which follows in part the Manor Water and ultimately the course of the Red Syke. Similarly, a boundary due east of the site on Chester Hill (no. 18) is confirmed by the presence of a univallate site at Crookston (RCAMS 1967, p. 86, No. 217). The boundary thus links up with the line of the watershed to the south, whilst to the north it might be traced to Whaum by way of a burn across the pass on the south side of Cademuir and from here by way of a dry valley to Cademuir's eastern ridge.

The spatial integrity of the perceived framework seems to bear out the likelihood that we are dealing with a complete distribution of univallate sites. The only close juxtaposition apparent is that between the east fort on Cademuir and the univallate site underlying the evolved settlement at Whaum, immediately to the north-east (nos. 16, 25). This would lend itself to the possibility that the greater territorial unit centred on Cademuir was itself subdivided, which might be accounted for if the Cademuir fort functioned as a central place in relation to a dependent or satellite site at Whaum.

Not all the univallate sites need have come into being at once, which might be one interpretation of the observed framework, and the likelihood is, of course, that we are dealing with a pattern of settlement which evolved over many years to achieve final form only in the latter part of the early first millennium BC; at which time all the sites denoted in fig. 9.12 may have co-existed. If this had not been the case then one might anticipate a more piece-meal or fragmented development with sites jostling for position perhaps under an ever

increasing demand for local resources, which would, anyway, be difficult to prove (p. 45), or else, possibly, the succession of new sites upon earlier but failed settlements. Just such a pattern would involve an element of stress; itself probably undesirable as it might need to be actively countered. The picture which suggests itself is instead one of an almost pragmatic regard for the division of resources common to each site within the valley, with each being allocated a commensurate area of cultivable land, hill pasture and rough grazing; a sense of equality which may also be seen to loosely inform the discrete foci of the earlier Bronze Age landscape.

The size of each territorial unit is noteworthy as all appear to be tailored to land-use capablility; the largest territories seem to occupy the marginally poorer soils towards the head of the valley, and those of least extent occupy the relatively more fertile soils bordering the Tweed. Assuming that each site was of equal status with its neighbour, and exacted similar demands in terms of food production and access to natural resources, a rough correlation may be seen to exist between the size of each territorial unit and the quality and extent of the cultivable soils attached to each. However, given this level of apparent spatial equality this is perhaps too simple a view, and alternative explanations are possible (see below). It is, none the less, impossible to examine the means by which such a framework could have evolved from the simple bifocal settlement pattern which preceded it, as this would involve questions of demography (for example, the influx of population from other areas as well as population growth within the area itself), and some cognizance of the demands made upon the resources of the valley from farther afield; assuming some interdependence between this and neighbouring districts (pp. 44-5).

The univallate sites at the Bank and Langhaugh (nos. 15, 83) may simply indicate a shift in preferred settlement location from the Bronze Age maxima due to changing requirements, or a regard for the management of resources. The six univallate sites to the north (nos. 27, 19, 23, 26, 22, 28) could equally reflect the gradual infilling of otherwise under-developed or waste ground, but it is more difficult to explain the clustering of sites on the hill ground overlooking the mouth of the valley (nos. 24, 21, 70, 16, 25) unless, of course, these too had come into being as a result of a more rational and structured response to land management arising perhaps from the need to promote active cereal cultivation at this point in the locality. A rough divide between lowland arable and upland pasture might account for this, mirroring, perhaps, the pattern in the pre-Improvement period, with those sites towards the head of the valley being geared up principally for animal husbandry and pasturage, balancing those at the foot where the emphasis may have been more strictly arable.

If this second hypothesis is followed, which might in itself account for the perceived level of pragmatism structuring the territorial framework, then it might follow that there may have existed some form of hierarchical relationship between sites, and perhaps too, some form of centralized authority governing the collocation of settlement within the valley. This being so, then Cademuir (no. 16) would logically emerge as the prime centre; its status perhaps marking the ascendancy of the indigenous population group earlier resident on the north flank of the hill (cf. no. 1). This proposition requires a much higher level of inference, and without reference to the territorial framework it could hardly be sustained. Nevertheless, the presence of a territorial framework is not in itself unreasonable given that each site must have had a tract of definable agricultural land and, in view of the probable population density within the valley, this could have been matched by a greater regard for the clarification of mutual boundaries; a case which is, of course, beyond archaeological proof.

The scale of the univallate site on the east ridge of Cademuir would certainly be consonant with a central place and even if one advances the argument no further than a minimal statement, it seems clear that the resulting pattern of territorial units may have been broken down into thirteen possibly subordinate territorial divisions; each possibly a farm estate in its own right and the property of a small community; though whether each represents a family of extended lineage, or the sept of a greater tribal or clan grouping, is impossible to say.

The Landscape of the Mid to Late First Millennium BC

The transition from the early to mid first millennium BC is probably represented throughout the valley by the appearance of sites displaying a greater regard for defence with the provision of multiple ramparts in place of the single line of enclosure typified by the univallate sites (see also pp. 30-4). Nine forts display this level of development (fig. 9.13), and in the case of Cademuir, Wood Hill, and Woodhouse Hill (nos. 16, 27, 28), the area latterly enclosed exceeded that of their preceding univallate phase. This may be accounted for by the need to structure the later ramparts to the nature of the terrain, although on Cademuir, where the fort occupies a plateau-like area, this cannot have been a problem and the size of the fort may simply reflect population growth, or the influx of new people. At a local level, the scale of the Cademuir fort, with its capacity for up to eighty houses, would be consonant with the status of the site as an *oppidum* (plate 9.5). Five univallate forts towards the foot of the valley (nos. 24-6, 18, 70) display no level of development and it is possible that these represent failed settlements, their population perhaps having transferred to one or other of the new multivallate sites; in itself perhaps warranting the expansion of the fort on Cademuir. To

the south the univallate sites at Whitelaw Rig and Hallmanor (nos. 20, 26) seem to have been abandoned in favour of a newly established multivallate site commanding a conspicuous knoll roughly equi-distant between the two centres at Ring Knowe (no. 23).

The territorial framework derived from the valley's multivallate forts suggests a consolidation upon the earlier pattern. Although the addition of ramparts to earlier already well established sites may have been phased in over time, it is a reasonable assumption that all the forts of multivallate character are broadly contemporary and thus that the perceived framework is also valid. The pattern which emerges suggests a greater regard for an equality in the size of territorial area and, perhaps, a still more rational response to the management of resources. Three new territorial blocks emerge: that centred on Hunt Hill (no. 21), consolidating three pre-existing units; Quaw (no. 22), which combined with a pre-existing territorial unit to the east, together with that centred on Ring Knowe which has been noted above. With these need to be set the five territorial units which survived unaltered (nos. 15, 16, 19, 27, 83). The parity in the size of the estates, relative to their position within the valley, is evident from fig. 9.13. By implication it would seem that the pattern of estate development within the valley, as indicated by the disposition of the multivallate forts, was essentially conservative and was achieved without disruption to the integrity of the overall territorial framework. This much might be anticipated, given the likelihood that the carrying capacity of the valley had probably already been reached, and the response would simply point to a more rational approach to the structuring and disposition of the farming communities deriving their living from it.

However, if we infer a population movement at a greater scale (rather than change at one or two foci), this might point to some overriding interest; perhaps a need, borne out of a desire to assimilate interests, to regroup centres of population in relation to land-use potential; again, the exercise of some level of centralized authority combined, perhaps, with some regard for safety in numbers, as evident too in the on-site concern for defence in depth. One might speculate as to whether all of the population resident on Cademuir were still engaged in farming, or whether some now fulfilled more specialized tasks in crafts, manufacturing, or the processing of food stuffs and other raw materials (pp. 47, 49-51). If this were so, it might follow that the sites within the valley would have been drawn into an ever increasing state of interdependence, and the maintenance of a more clear cut social hierarchy, with the specific purpose of promoting an agricultural surplus and redirecting at least a proportion of it to the major centre in the form of dues or food renders (see also pp. 61-2). Similarly, a portion of the valley's surplus may have been required for the maintenance of Cademuir as a market or redistribution centre; a role which it would have

been well placed to serve, given its commanding position overlooking the lowland routes to and from the valley.

Alternatively, one might simply account for the observed territorial framework as the result of a more egalitarian division of resources with each site and territory functioning as a largely self-sufficient unit with little or no reference to its neighbour. However, this would raise the question as to why any of the earlier sites had been abandoned and moreover what the status of the Cademuir fort would have been.

The question can be addressed by applying the rank-size rule to each of the multivallate forts within the valley. If each site did function as an independent unit then one would expect to see no correlation between the size and rank of the forts, but, if the reverse is true, then a coefficient might exist between the size and rank of a given fort relative to the rest. In classical Central Place Theory it is assumed that the hierarchical levels are clearly distinct. The empirical basis and application of the rank-size rule is set out by Haggett (1965, 101) and summarized by Hodder and Orton (1976, 69-73). If the settlements in an area are ranked in decreasing size from 1 to *n*, then the rank-size rule states that $S_n = S^1(n)^{-1}$ where S_n is the size of the *n*th ranked settlement. To calculate the mean area for each of the valley's multivallate forts I used an Allbrit Polar Planimeter and worked from the published RCAMS surveys (1967). The graph drawn from this data using logarithmic scales suggests that there is a clear exponential relationship between the size and rank of the defended settlements in the valley (fig. 9.14). The rank of a site being calculated by reference to a graduated list in which the largest site, in terms of its total internal area (expressed in m^2) takes first place, the smallest the least. The use of a logarithmic graph demonstrates a significant correlation to the mean and this may may be due to the fact that the sites selected are broadly contemporary, that all are drawn from a restricted geographical area and that they constitute the original total ever present in the valley at this time; a factor which also seems to be borne out by the equality of the territorial framework.

One might conclude from this correlation that the perceived territorial framework did result from a clear hierarchical relationship between sites and that interdependence between each is likely. Simon (1955) has suggested that this level of relationship is common to more complex societies, or in a settlement pattern of some age in which, over time, many forces have had effect, although Berry suggested (1961) that this form of rank-size relationship is found more often when the country is small, has had a shorter period of settlement development, has a simpler economic and political life, or has had a lower degree of economic development. In application to the Manor Valley, the latter might seem more

reasonable given the size of the area, but in view of the fact that the pattern had evolved from an earlier framework, imposed by sites of univallate character, it is not unlikely that the settlement pattern was both of some age and the product of a more highly organized society. It is clear that the model gives a good fit to most of the data, though this is not the case for the large fort on Cademuir whose overall area exceeds the mean. The exponential relationship between the size and rank of the valley's forts would suggest that each was laid out according to a specific measure and that sites of increased rank were allocated in addition a commensurately larger area; this perhaps for storage or possibly, in view of the spatially random processes which allocate people to settlements, due to the attention concentrated on the 'contagiousness' of numbers of people attracting further people (cf. Cliff and Ord 1974). This then might account for the greater size of the fort on Cademuir in relation to its rank; the allocation of space sufficient for its role as a market and redistribution centre, and accommodation for itinerant tradesmen.

The Landscape of the Late First Millennium BC and the Early First Millennium AD

The successive phase of settlement in the valley seems to be represented by a plethora of scooped homesteads (fig. 9.15). These are principally enclosed by boulder-faced rubble-cored walls, and the stances for timber dwellings are indicated in each case by house platforms. Many are pitched on the flanks of the hillslopes and have been hollowed out internally to counteract the slope of the ground. There are, however, two exceptions, both of which have been dismissed in the past as not of any great age. The first (no. 45) lies on the haughland of the Manor Water to the south of Wood Hill and consists of a low mound enclosed by the turf-covered footings of a wasted wall, with an entrance on the south, to the interior of which there are the remains of a single round house and the stances for a further eight huts (plate 9.8); the second (no. 48) lies on the haughland on the south-east flank of Posso Craig and is similar in character. Both sites display the same regard for the terracing of houses into natural mounds and are probably the lowland counterparts to the enclosed settlements which flank the hillslopes. At the Bank (no. 15) a scooped settlement impinges upon an earlier enclosed site, and at the Whaum (no. 25) the scooped settlement lies immediately to the east of a site of univallate character. Succession seems likely, though one cannot actually prove without excavation that the earlier site had previously been abandoned. The pattern, however, seems generally to be repeated throughout the valley. In the territorial areas of Cademuir, Glenrath, Wood Hill, and the Bank, the scooped settlements appear as satellites to the multivallate forts, though they are absent from the territories of Hunt Hill, Woodhouse Hill, the Quaw, and Ring Knowe (nos. 21, 28, 22, 23).

Although these four territories lie in the arable zone of the valley, it seems unlikely that later agriculture has eradicated all trace of the homesteads as the terrain in each of the territorial divisions is not dissimilar to that, for instance, flanking the western margins of Glenrath Hill where there are four homesteads (nos. 39-42). One may, perhaps, draw the conclusion that we are dealing with a real distribution and that in these four territories apart the multivallate sites continued in use in contrast to the apparent fragmentation of the settlement pattern noted elsewhere in the valley; of course, this need not preclude the possible use of the multivallate sites in territories where there are homesteads, although their functions may have been modified. The presence of hollowed forecourts to all of the scooped settlements suggests the presence of a hard-standing for livestock and thus the maintenance of a mixed economy, or perhaps one more closely geared to pastoralism. One could then envisage a situation where, with the exception of the territory centred on Cademuir, a rough north-south divide had been imposed upon the economic structure of the valley with those territories at its foot, dominated still by their multivallate sites, being geared towards cereal production, with those at the head being more distinctly pastoral; again perhaps a mirror-image of the pre-Improvement landscape. The disposition of the scooped homesteads seems to reinforce the earlier territorial framework imposed by the multivallate sites, but in those territories where the homesteads are present the landscape can be seen to have been subdivided into roughly equal-sized exploitation units. The pattern is particularly well reflected in the territorial divisions of Cademuir, Woodhouse Hill, and Glenrath, and is no more clearly seen than on the western footslopes of Glenrath and Canada Hill where the homesteads are located on the break-of-slope at the margin between the improved and unimproved ground (nos. 39-42) (plate 9.9); the arable and hill pasture of the nineteenth century. Each site commands a block of ground set apart from its neighbour by some minor topographic feature, stream or rivulet, with the boundaries extending laterally upslope from the haughland of the mainstream.

The distribution of the scooped homesteads in the five territories accompanying the four without suggests a fully developed native settlement pattern typified by a regularity in the spacing of sites. Whilst this may be due to reasons of economy, it may also hold some chronological significance. In time, increased population may lead to increased site density, greater competition between sites for land, and therefore greater uniformity in spacing (cf. Hudson 1969). If the pattern in the disposition of homesteads had been repeated throughout the valley then one might have suggested that population pressure had been the crucial factor, but, given the apparent dichotomy in distribution, this would seem to point solely to an economic division, with an adjustment in the pattern of land use within the valley being reflected by the emergence in one part of it of the scooped settlements and homesteads.

FORT		AREA	HOMESTEAD		AREA
Wood Hill	(no. 27)	93,906 m²	Wood Hill	(no. 53)	8,541 m²
			Wood Hill	(no. 55)	3,593 m²
			Wood Hill	(no. 55)	6,614 m²
			Wood Hill	(no. 54)	4,947 m²
			Wood Hill	(no. 52)	9,375 m²
			Wood Hill	(no. 52)	10,885 m²
			Wood Hill	(no. 52)	5,885 m²
			Posso	(no. 46)	8,645 m²
			Posso	(no. 47)	9,843 m²
			Manor Water	(no. 45)	25,416 m²
			Total Area:		*93,744 m²*
			Difference:		*162 m²*
The Bank	(no.15)	28,333 m²	Fairlawburn	(no. 38)	9,218 m²
			The Bank	(no. 15)	11,302 m²
			The Bank	(no. 15)	7,604 m²
			Total Area:		*28,124 m²*
			Difference:		*209 m²*
Glenrath	(no. 19)	56,041 m²	Glenrath Hill	(no. 39)	13,697 m²
			Glenrath Hill	(no. 40)	13,951 m²
			Hopeterrick 1	(no. 41)	12,447 m²
			Hopeterrick 2	(no. 42)	9,218 m²
			Canada Hill	(no. 37)	6,718 m²
			Total Area:		*56,031 m²*
			Difference:		*10 m²*

TABLE 9.1 CONSTITUENT AREA ANALYSIS OF THE FORT AND SCOOPED HOMESTEADS IN THREE TERRITORIES OF THE MANOR VALLEY, PEEBLESSHIRE

Discounting population pressure a relationship might, therefore, exist between the size of the multivallate forts and the satellite homesteads in their attendant territories; that is, unless the upland and lowland units were two elements in a totally integrated landscape.

This question can be addressed by examining the constituent areas of the sites within each territorial division possessing a fort and peripheral homesteads. On the basis of archaeological survival and later land-use practices, this seems feasible for the three territorial divisions where there is the greatest likelihood of a totality of evidence; the divisions of Wood Hill, the Bank, and Glenrath. For each of these territories I have calculated the total internal area for each homestead, and I have compared the sum of the areas for all the homesteads within the division with that for the accompanying multivallate site (Table 9.1). For the three divisions where this calculation was possible, given the presence of valley-floor sites as well as those on the hill-margins, the correlation between homestead area and that of the accompanying fort is seen to fall within a range of between $10m^2$ and $209m^2$; the constituent areas for the five homesteads and fort in the territory of Glenrath most closely compare but, allowing for the tolerance required in working from published survey drawings, the disparity of $162m^2$ for the compared constituent areas for the ten scooped homesteads and the fort on Wood Hill seems not that great. By implication it would appear that the overall size of the scooped homesteads attached to each territorial block was more or less governed by the size of the accompanying hillfort. It might follow from this that the forts and the homesteads are facets of a contemporary landscape and that one grew from the other but that each were mutually dependent.

This apparent relationship might be accounted for if the hypothesis on the economic restructuring of the valley is correct and if there was no real increase in the size of the population within each of the territorial districts. The population simply left the hillforts and established new sites with a pragmatic regard for the division of land within each territorial unit but retained the option of returning to the fort, along with their livestock and produce, as occasion demanded; the size of each satellite homestead being determined by a corporate regard for the size of habitable area within the fort and the efficiency with which its ramparts could be defended. Thus the communal effort governing the original size of the fort in relation to the size of its resident population may be seen to have been extended to the settlements which sprang from it. This would imply a high regard for the efficiency of each attendant settlement unit and the exercise of some level of authority operating at a local level in line with a more far reaching and possibly centralized seat of authority governing the overall pattern of land use within the valley; this perhaps still resting with the east fort on Cademuir. The constituent area analysis of the scooped settlements and house platforms in

the Cademuir territorial division suggests a short-fall of 212,715m^2 between the size of the fort and that of its satellite settlements, and would suggest that the bulk of the population were still resident in the fort and, given this deviation from the mean, it is possible that we see here either the emergence of functional units dependent on the fort, or overspill from the fort itself though with protection guaranteed due to their very proximity. In view of the fact that this is the highest ranking fort within the valley, its size may have been dictated foremost by the reasons governing its emergence as an *oppidum* and thus the factors governing the collocation of scooped homesteads elsewhere in the valley may in this instance not apply.

In terms of continuity the following point may be made. On the basis of constituent area analysis, and an appraisal of the overall territorial framework, a degree of contemporaneity may be seen to exist between the multivallate forts and the scooped homesteads. By implication from those territories where scooped homesteads are apparently absent it may be inferred that the lifespan of the hillforts was perhaps longer here than elsewhere in the Tweed Basin where abandonment has been suggested towards the close of the first millennium BC or in the early centuries AD (see pp. 30-3). In origin the scooped homesteads of Manor, simply on the evidence of juxtaposition, might fall within the latter part of the first millennium BC, although their currency in the Romano-British period cannot be excluded as here they would provide close counterparts to the stone-walled and rectilinear settlements in the Cheviots and south-west Northumberland whose earlier pre-Roman ancestry has also be proven (cf. Hill 1982a, 8-9; this work p. 63).

Only one scooped settlement has been excavated in Manor, that at Hopeterrick (no. 41), but the dating evidence presents a problem. Excavations conducted by Stevenson in 1939 produced over twenty sherds of pottery of fourteenth- or fifteenth-century character or later, a fragment of a knife blade of fifteenth- or sixteenth-century date and a considerable quantity of eighteenth-century bottle glass. The pottery was largely recovered from the floor of the lower house platform and within the entrance to the settlement; only one sherd was deeply stratified 'in the make-up of the terrace' (Stevenson 1941, 103), but this seems to have been above the lip of a posthole and was therefore not actually in the matrix of the terrace itself. The knife, however, was securely stratified 'at the edge of the floor... in a crevice down into the rock and partially under a levelling stone' (ibid. 104).

Stevenson accordingly interpreted the site as having been actively used in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, though rejected the eighteenth-century bottle glass as perhaps intrusive. The dating evidence seems unequivocal, and in support of his case

Stevenson drew other analogies from the period for the site type. There is thus a problem. Are we to date the scooped settlements in the valley considerably later than has previously been allowed on the basis of the datable evidence recovered from this site, or should the case made earlier (and see also pp. 62-3, 81-4), namely that the sites are intrinsically Romano-British, be allowed to stand? The succession from sites of multivallate character to the scooped homesteads seems assured, if only on juxtaposition, and analogies do exist between these and other settlements of Romano-British date noted elsewhere in the region. In the Manor too a development can be demonstrated from sites of multivallate type to stone-walled settlements of crab-claw type of sub- or post-Roman origin, as on Cademuir (no. 17) and Wood Hill (no. 27), whilst at the Whaum (no. 25) and the Bank (no. 15) similar sites overlie both earlier fortifications and occur close to scooped settlements, though they do not actually impinge. The scooped settlements thus appear to occupy a well defined niche in the hierarchy of site types in the valley and but for the finds from Hopeterrick their date might not be questioned. However, one cannot altogether ignore the evidence from this site and one possibility, by way of explanation, is that the material derives from the reuse of the settlement at a later date; at which point it would anyway fill a caveat in the archaeological record for rural settlement of this period. The eighteenth-century bottle glass could have been derived from a midden deposit accumulated at the nearby farmstead in Wellbush plantation (no. 107), the scooped settlement in this context having been reutilized as a rubbish dump.

The Evidence for Settlement, Land Use and Landscape Development in the Post-Roman and Early Historic Period

The transition in construction from timber to stone is evident throughout the valley, with stone-walled round houses overlying the scooped settlements on Cademuir, at Langhaugh, and possibly also at Posso Craig (nos. 36, 44, 49), in addition to one which overlies the medial rampart of the multivallate fort on Wood Hill (no. 27). Elsewhere in the Tyne-Forth province the increased use of stone has been seen as a direct result of the *pax Romana* (cf. Hill 1982a, 8; this work pp. 63-4.) and the same could well be true of the Manor though here the phase of stone-building may have been more protracted. The evidence for this comes from a range of settlements of crab-claw type which, whilst sharing some of the attributes found elsewhere on Romano-British sites, suggest a more developed approach to the ordering of their internal space, for where houses are present these are usually drawn in close to the enclosure wall (e.g. no. 20). Elsewhere, as in Glenrath (no. 57), the houses lie in loose agglomerations with attendant stone-walled courts and antennae walls. In Manor, only two such sites have been excavated, that at Chester Hill (Keef 1948), where the crab-claw enclosure succeeds upon an earlier univallate site (no. 18), and Glenrath (Stevenson 1941).

Here, the only find was an ornamented spindle-whorl, but on the basis of the form of the accompanying field-system, and comparison with the settlements at Dreva and Stanhope (this work pp. 182-4, 186, 194), the Royal Commission concluded that the sites were of Romano-British or sub-Roman origin; given the developed character of the settlements in Manor, and on analogy with the crab-claw enclosure which overlies the fort at Hownam, and the datable evidence recovered from the homestead at Crock Cleugh (pp. 97-8, 181), their extension to the Early Historic period seems likely.

On Cademuir, as too at Whaum (plate 9.10), and Wood Hill, the stone-walled crab-claw enclosures seem to have succeeded or developed from earlier multivallate sites. Both at Cademuir and Wood Hill (nos 17, 27) the enclosures approximate to a style of nuclear fort with the provision of a stone-walled citadel and flanking courts or salients which are again suggestive of a date in the Early Historic period (see p. 194); that on Cademuir occupies a ridge to the west of the earlier fort and in addition was provided with a large *chevaux de frise* (plate 9.11).

The distribution of the stone-walled settlements is of interest and suggestive of a phase of change throughout the valley (fig. 9.16). Both contraction and expansion upon earlier exploitation units is apparent, though the observed shift in settlement does not noticeably detract from the pre-existing territorial framework. Some critical developments, however, are apparent and would be consonant with a broader restructuring of the landscape. The two territorial blocks at the foot of the valley, formerly defined by the multivallate sites on Hunt Hill and Woodhouse Hill (nos. 21, 28) coalesce upon a centre on Hog's Knowe located a little to the south (no. 59); the cardinal boundaries are unchanged, and the same is true for Cademuir despite the shift in focus imposed by the new fort on its western ridge (no. 17). The most significant change seems to have been the extension of settlement and field-systems into the valley of Glenrath Hope; possibly at the expense of the scooped settlements flanking the west side of Glenrath Hill (nos. 39-42) which may have been abandoned about this time. On the basis of nearest neighbour analysis, this shift in settlement seems to require an adjustment of the boundaries in the central sector of the valley between Hallmanor and Chester Hill to the north, although with the exception of the extension of the boundary to the east of the Manor Water, for the territory formerly defined by the multivallate fort on Ring Knowe (no. 23), which was itself abandoned in favour of a new site a little to the south (no. 20), this is a relatively minor change and would have been of little consequence to the extent of the pre-existing territory of Hundleshope; although here too a shift is apparent from the multivallate fort at Quaw (no. 22) to the crab-claw enclosure on Chester Hill (no. 18). The territorial divisions to the south, and embracing Wood Hill (no. 27), are the same as before

with the addition of a further territorial unit centred on a possible crab-claw enclosure at Manor Head (no. 60).

The emergence of the crab-claw enclosures, combined with the apparent settlement shift and the extension of settlement and field-systems to Glenrath Hope (fig. 6.23), does, however, mark a departure from the previously conservative patterns of settlement and land use. Without excavation it is difficult to date this period of transition more closely than that it seems to have followed the abandonment of both the multivallate forts and scooped settlements; if, in their latest phase of use, these are seen to be ultimately of Romano-British character, then one is left with at least the possibility that the settlement pattern defined by the crab-claw enclosures is broadly that of the Early Historic period and, in view of the apparent absence of later site types, is the same as that which may have extended up to the medieval period. The presence of cultivation terraces accompanying the settlements in Glenrath Hope (no. 57, where they overlie an earlier field-system), and on the slopes bordering the crab-claw enclosures on Greenside Craig, Hog's Knowe (plate 9.12), Woodhouse Hill, Cademuir and the Whaum (nos. 58, 67, 68, 62, 63), may themselves be symptomatic of climatic deterioration in the fifth and sixth centuries arising from a need to bring more marginal land under cultivation in order to redress the carrying capacity of the valley (see also pp. 9, 65, 432). This can be no more than inference, based on a pattern of apparent repeated juxtaposition, but it is a problem which could perhaps be solved by excavation.

The settlement pattern defined by the crab-claw enclosures suggests a breakdown of the valley into nine territorial divisions, of which only that at Manor Head is without precedent. However, if subdivisions between sites are also taken into account this would indicate the presence of thirteen separate exploitation units; this assumes that all sites are contemporary and this need not, of course, be the case.

In addition, there is evidence of a possible Early Christian focus within the valley of the Newholm Hope Burn (?sixth century) provided by the 'Coninie' memorial stone (no. 74; see pp. 292-4). Downslope from this there are the turf-covered remains of at least two rectangular buildings, one of which may have been a pele tower, though it is said by Pennecuik (1715, 210) and Armstrong (1775a, 20) to be the site of St Gorgham's chapel (see no. 82; and for discussion of the dedication and site pp. 294, 388-9). Although this has been doubted (cf. Buchan and Paton 1927, 542-5; Lamb 1964, 146), it is possible, given the apparent density of population towards the head of the valley, that there was a chapel, either of medieval origin or earlier on this site. This need not preclude there having been another

chapel towards the foot of the valley at Kirktoun Manor, the later parochial centre (no. 76), or else that one may have superseded the other (cf. *Origines,* 238); a problem which excavation might resolve.

Professor Barrow has suggested to me (pers. commun., 1989) that the river-name 'Newey' (i.e. the 'Newholm Hope Burn') may be a derivative of Old Welsh *neved*, Old Gaulish *nemeton*, 'a sacred place'. Watson (1926, 244-50) notes the association of *nemeton* with sacred groves and pagan ritual of the pre-Roman Iron Age in Britain and Gaul, 'possibly every tribe had one or more such places of judgement and worship; they were the local habitations of the gods'. If the identification is correct, the association of the name 'Newey', in Manor, taken with the presence of the 'Coninie' stone, is thus of great interest. It could indicate a very early sacred place and one reflected in the choice of Kirkhope as a later church centre (see also pp. 388-9).

Between the possible sixth-century *locus* offered by the Coninie stone and the tower-houses of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there is no structure or site which can be precisely dated. We have, therefore, a considerable hiatus which may only in part be filled by the stone-walled enclosures of crab-claw type. However, there are towards the head of the valley a number of place-names, possibly of Norse origin, with the element *-grain* (ON *grein*), which occur in greatest number, along with other Scandinavian place-name forms, in south-west Scotland and most notably in Dumfriesshire (Nicolaisen 1979, 99). South-east of Langhaugh, at the head of the Langhaugh Burn, there are the East and West Grain burns, whilst to the south and opening off the Linghope Burn there is the Mid Grain. At the foot of the scree to the south of Langhaugh, and in the valley of the Linghope Burn, there are the indeterminate remains of a number of stone-walled structures, possibly shielings, though their date is unknown (nos. 96-9). In the valley of Glenrath Hope, however, there is a rather unusual building which could conceivably be of Norse origin. It is unlike any other building I have seen, either in this area or in the course of fieldwork elsewhere, and consists of a substantially formed two-compartment, bow-sided building with rounded end-walls (no. 90, fig. 9.17, plate 9.13). It occupies a small shelf of cleared ground to the west of the main cluster of stone-walled settlements and related field-systems, which could be of post-Roman origin (no. 57 and p. 183), and its position in relation to these might indicate a further stage in the development of land use at this location; this could easily be tested by excavation.

The Landscape of the Medieval Period

From the twelfth century there are on record a series of proprietors who held lands in Manor (see pp. 355-7). The first of these was Robertus Corbett (*c.*1116). His seat may have been the possible motte or earthwork castle at Castlehill (no. 78) (plate 9.14), though the identity of this earthwork needs to be tested by excavation. Tradition associates Malbeth, a sheriff in the reign of David I (1124-53), with Manor and in particular with the fort on Wood Hill (p. 356). This cannot be substantiated, though a caput to the south of Castlehill and reusing the stone-walled fort on the hill-summit (no. 27) is a possibility. It is worth comparing the disposition of these two possible estate centres in relation to the hypothetical territorial framework of the post-Roman period (fig. 9.16); perhaps we have here a hint of the division of the valley into its two economic parts, one arable, the other pastoral, each possibly with its own caput in the twelfth century. The lands of Hundleshope, on record in 1259 (p. 356), could conceivably be the same as the territorial block formerly defined by the crab-claw enclosure on Chester Hill (no. 18) and this would seem to be confirmed by the charter of 1315 (below) which sets out the bounds for the half barony of Manor, from which the lands of Hundleshope seem to have been exempt.

This charter, which was granted by Robert I in resolution of a dispute over the proprietorship of the barony between Alexander Baddeby and the king's retainer Adam Marshall, is invaluable for the detail it provides. The charter was discovered early this century by Colonel FRS Balfour of Dawyck in the Posso Muniments; a facsimile is published by Buchan and Paton (1927, 548) and the full text is given by Duncan (1988, pp. 344-5, no. 60). The charter is dated at Ayr on 28 April in the tenth year of the King's reign (1315) and grants to Adam Marshall the half barony of 'Meneris' as follows:

Robertus Dei gracia rex Scottorum omnibus probis homnibus tocius terre sue salutem. Sciatis nos dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse Ade marescallo dilecto et fideli nostro pro homagio et seruicio suo medietatem baronie de Meneris cum metis et diuisis infrascriptis videlicet: terram dominicam de Meneris cum villa eiusdem baronie cum bosco de Catcluylayn et terra del Glak' cum pertinenciis incipiendo apud Glakheuid et sic de Glakheuid apud Herchestir et sic apud le Blinde Well et sic vsque Medugal et sic descendendo per aquam de Meners ex parte orientali et sic ascendendo per dictam aquam per antiquas diuisas ex parte australi vsque ad sex acras iacentes iuxta Dunduff' et sic de illis sex acris vsque ad portam orientalem de Dunduff' et sic de dicta porta vsque ad vnam petram fixam in terra iuxta Mamusgrass' et sic per altam viam vsque ad Cuaford' et sic de Cuaford' per vnam sikam ex parte occidentali le Croley et sic de capite illius sike vsque Haropfald' et sic ascendendo per conuctum vsque ad Crapislaw et sic descendendo per conductum vsque ad Glakheuid ex parte aquilonali. Vna cum le Hop de Meners per has diuisas, incipiendo apud aquam de Meners vbi riuulus de

Langhop' cadit in dictam aquam et sic ascendendo per dictum riuulum vsque ad capud de Langhop' et sic per conductum vsque ad capud de Meneres et sic per conductum vsque ad capud del Crokitgat' et sic descendendo per Crokitgat vsque ad Cokplay inter Newey et Kirkhop et sic descendendo apud Kirksted et sic descendendo per riuulum de Neuway vsque ad aquam de Meners et sic ascendendo per dictam aquam vsque ad riuulum de Langhopmuth. Vna cum secta ville de Meners et de Kauirhill'. Tenendam at habendam dicto Ade et heredibus suis de nobis et heredibus nostris in feodo et hereditate libere et quiete plenarie et honorifice cum omnibus libertatibus comoditatibus aisiamentis et iustis pertinenciis suis. Faciendo inde nobis et heredibus nostris dictus Adam et heredes sui seruicium debitum et consuetum tempore bone memorie domini Alexandri regis Scocie predecessoris nostri vltimo defuncti. In cuius rei testimonium presenti carte nostre sigillum nostrum precepimus apponi. Testibus, bernado abbate de Abirbrothoc cancellario nostro, Johanne de Meneteth', Jacobo domino de Duglas, Roberto de Keth' marescallo nostro, et Thoma de Haya, militibus. Apud Ar' xxviiio die Aprilis anno regni nostri decimo.

Buchan and Paton identify the town of barony as 'the old Town of Manor', or 'Mannor toun', which is depicted on Armstrong's map of 1775 between Castlehill and Woodhouse. This is possible given that there may have been an early caput at Castlehill, though I believe Kirkton Manor, the later parochial centre, more probable as this was most likely the site of the church of Manor which is on record in 1186; the Kirktoun is on record in 1396 (Robertson 1798, 137, no. 18). They suggest that 'Dunduffe' was then a holding in the valley, but I can find no corroborative evidence for this and it would anyway raise the question as to what the status of the gate referred to in the charter was, as, presumably, in the context of a pre-Improvement landscape, the farm would have been unenclosed; unless, of course, we are dealing with a moated site for which again there is no evidence. The 'Cuaford' is reasonably identified as a ford near Quaw Plantation and 'Crapislaw', the Scrape; for 'Crokitgat' they suggest 'a zig-zag road winding up Newholmhope' (op. cit. 549, n. 3; 550, nn. 1, 2, 4). Buchan and Paton suggest that the initial bounds followed the line of the ridge between Tweed and Manor to the plateau west of Posso Farm and then extend to the boundary between Posso and Hallmanor; it is unclear where precisely they see 'Dunduffe'. On this line of reasoning the boundary would seem to have been traced in an anticlockwise direction, but from Cuaford it turns south and back on itself to Scrape, on the watershed to the west of Posso, and from here ties in to the bounds of the southern portion of the barony. However, the result is an incomplete circuit, though Buchan and Paton overcome this problem by suggesting that 'this would include all the land on both sides of the river to the head of Manor' (1927, 550, n. 3). Given that we are dealing with the designated bounds for only half the barony, that granted to Adam Marshall, and that on Buchan and Paton's reckoning this would embrace all the lands between Glakhead and Manorhead, it begs the question, where were the lands occupied by Alexander Baddeby? These can only

have been in the area of Kirktoun Manor and if I am right in supposing that this was the 'toun of barony' referred to in the charter, it seems strange that it should instead have been confirmed to Marshall. By not drawing out the boundaries in an accompanying figure, these difficulties may not have occurred to Buchan and Paton. It is also possible that they were misled in believing that the lands lay all together and that the grant provided for a straightforward division of the barony into its upper and lower halves. In this they are probably wrong, though the ambivalent nature of the boundaries, together with the inexactitude of the areas defined, should have been sufficient to warrant a reassessment of the evidence (*contra.* Duncan 1988, 345).

The grant in fact seems to set out the boundaries for two distinct portions which together formed the half barony. Between the two lay another, comprising the lands of Posso, Glenrath, and Langhaugh; this presumably the half barony granted to Alexander Baddeby. I believe that the boundaries for both areas were traced in a clockwise direction as this would result in two complete circuits. It is not possible to account for all the place-names given in the charter but my solution to the problem is as follows (see fig. 9.18).

Beginning at Glakhead (at the head of Glack Hope), *and thence to Herchester* (the fort on Syke Hill some 400m to the north; for *chester* place-names see p. 240) *and so to the Blind Well* (a spring, presumably overgrown, but evident today midway between Syke Hill and Hunt Hill) *and then as far as Medugal* (unidentified but possibly on the haughland close to Haswellsykes; there are two streams here, one with its source at Blind Well, the other to the north-west, at the foot of the first and extending to the Tweed) *then descending by the Water of Meners on the east side* (following the Tweed to its confluence with the Manor Water), *and so ascending by the said water by the old marches on the south side* (thus by the Red Well Syke up the north flank of Cademuir; perhaps the same boundary as that earlier defined by the univallate forts cf. fig. 9.12; also later the parish boundary) *as far as the six acres lying next to Dunduffe* (the saddle between Whaum and the east fort on Cademuir over which there are extensive traces of rig-and-furrow cultivation and lynchets), *and thence from these six acres to the east gate of Dunduffe* (the place-name prefix would indicate a fort; there are two on Cademuir but only that on the eastern ridge has an entrance on the east), *and from the said gate as far as a stone set in the ground beside Mamusgrasse* (unidentified but the stone could be the 'font stone', a cross-base now in the enclosure at Kirkhope no. 82 [plate 9.15], which is said to have stood originally on the roadside near Hallyards to mark the site where three lairds' lands met),[26] *then by the other road as far as Cuaford* (a ford to the west of Quaw Plantation; the OS 6-inch map, 1st ed., 1863, sheet 17 shows a foot-bridge), *and from Cuaford by a syke on the west side of the Croley* (possibly

Gaelic *cro* 'fold' and *ley* 'untilled': the cleft on the north flank of Canada Hill; the syke runs from the ford on the west to the head of the cleft), *and from the head of that syke as far as Haropfald* (unidentified but possibly the highly visible scooped setlements on the west flank of Glenrath Hill overlooking the present farm, cf. nos. 39, 40), *then ascending by the path as far as Crapislaw* (a branch track of the Thief's Road from Hallmanor, over Posso Rig, to the Scrape), *and then descending by the path as far as Glakhead on the north side.*

This completes the first circuit which both begins and ends at Glack Head and defines the extent of the lands of 'Meneris'. Within the area are Kirkton Manor and Castlehill (to the north and south respectively); the one the later parochial centre, the other the caput and later seat of the family of Lowis (*c.*1427) who took the baronial designation, though they, like Marshall, never held more than the half barony (cf. Buchan and Paton 1927, 554, 595). The lands of the remaining portion are as follows.

Beginning at the Water of Meners where the Langhope Burn falls into the said water (the confluence of the Manor Water and the Langhaugh Burn) *and ascending by the said burn as far as the head of Meners* (thereby following the watershed to Shielhope Head and Notman Law), *and then by the path as far as the head of the Crokitgat* (the Thief's Road from Shielhope Head to the branch track which drops to the valley of the Newholm Hope Burn; the steep descent to the narrow col known as Newholm Cairns Hill is accomplished by a well engineered zig-zag obviously graded to take carts, RCAMS 1967, p. 351, No. 650), *then descending by the Crokitgat as far as to Cokplay* (the lek of the Blackcock *lyrurus tetrix*; there is one at NT 1855 2960; information Mr Collet, shepherd, Manor Head) *between Newey and Kirkhop* (a steading, today unoccupied, though one is also shown on Armstrong's map of 1775), *then down to Kirksted* (the traditional site of St Gorgham's chapel, see no. 82 and pp. 292-4) *and down by the burn of Neuwey as far as the Water of Meners, thence up the said water to the mouth of the Langhope Burn.*

This territorial unit, which comprised the ground at the head of the valley, constituted the 'Hope of Meners' centred on Manorhead. Again, the bounds are traced methodically in a clockwise direction. The division of the barony is particularly helpful as it reveals a number of boundaries which may not have been apparent if say, the barony had been subdivided simply on the basis of topography into two halves; north and south. Similarly it is not difficult to complete the framework for the remaining portion granted to Alexander Baddeby as this would seem to comprise the lands of Posso, Glenrath, and Langhaugh, the boundaries for which presumably ran along the watershed; on the west extending a line from Scrape to Newholm Cairns Hill, and on the east spanning the

watershed of the Glenrath heights; marching on the north with the southern boundary of the estate of Hundleshope. This would account for all the land in the valley and would concur with what we know from documentary evidence of the pattern of land-holding in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It would seem too, to provide for an equable division of natural resources. The Lordship of Meneris granted to Adam Marshall comprised mainly the arable towards the foot of the valley with scope for limited grazing on the hill margins, however, this would have been balanced by the pasturage and rough hill-grazing of the Hope of Meners. In Baddeby's portion arable and pasture were all together, though the potential return from arable may have been less and this may be one reason to account for his reluctance to accept the Crown's division of the barony. However, if, prior to the grant, he had already been in possession of a demesne comprising Posso, Glenrath, and Langhaugh, and if this too had been his seat of lordship, it is hard to see how else the barony could have been subdivided given that the balance of hill pasture towards the foot of the valley had already been accounted for in the barony of Hundleshope.

It is of interest that Marshall was awarded the Wood of Catcluylayn, perhaps an area of managed woodland, and, although it cannot now be located, the prefix of the place-name perhaps ties it to the environs of Cademuir. In Marshall's portion we thus have evidence of a balance of resources, the presence of a likely caput, a church and a kirktoun. The centre of lordship for the other half barony may have been at Posso, later the seat of the family of Baird who were introduced to the valley in the reign of Robert III (1390-1406) and who received from the king a grant of the lands of Possaw, Langhall (Langhaugh), Kirkhope, Caverhill, half of Glack, and Glenrath and Letteis in the barony of Manor (p. 357). This would seem to bear out the division of lands as confirmed by the 1315 charter to Adam Marshall. The presence of two *kirk-* names in the bounds of the Hope of Meners, Kirkhope and Kirksted, in the valley of Newholm Hope, would also seem to point to the presence of a church or chapel in this locality, and, in the context of the division of the barony, this is perhaps more readily explained as it would provide for a church focus accompanying the caput of Alexander Baddeby.

On this line of reasoning one can perhaps offer a solution to the problem which has perplexed local historians as to the site and origin of the church of Manor. By reconciling the evidence from both halves of the barony one can infer the presence of two church sites each of which would have corresponded to a centre of lordship. The earliest of these might be that at Kirkhope where the dedication to St Gorgon survives as a settlement name (St Gorgham's Tower, *Stat. Acct.*, iii, 1792, 387); the association of the Early Christian

memorial (pp. 292-4) is too, perhaps, not without significance. However, with the tenurial development of the valley in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the formal distinction between the two halves of barony may have become increasingly less relevant and, given the balance of the heritors towards the foot of the valley, Kirkton Manor would have emerged as possibly the logical parochial centre. In 1186 this was simply identified as the 'Chapel of Maineure', which would accord with its position in 1315 accompanying the 'Lordship of Meneris'. However, by 1396 it had gained the dedication to St Gorgon and from this one might infer that the chapel at Kirkhope had already fallen into disuse. The disputes that arose between the heritors in 1658 and 1694 over the rebuilding and site of the parish church, which met with an unsuccessful attempt by the lairds of Posso and Manorhead to have it transferred to the site at Kirkhope (cf. Buchan and Paton 1927, 544-5), perhaps alludes to the situation which earlier existed, and it was probably under the influence of this same tradition which led Sir John Naesmyth of Posso to set up a cross on the site in 1874.

It is worth comparing the territorial framework resulting from the division of the barony in 1315 with that produced through the application of nearest neighbour analysis for the settlement pattern of the post-Roman period, for even allowing for the fact that we are not comparing like with like, as one is archaeological and largely inferential, the other historical, the pattern of coincidence is, nevertheless, remarkable (figs. 9.16 and 9.18).

Documentary evidence for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (summarized by Buchan and Paton 1927, 551-618) allows us to fill out the pattern of landholding in the valley and the presence of estate centres is probably revealed in the distribution of the valley's tower- and pele-houses (fig. 9.19). Archaeological evidence for secondary settlement for the medieval period, however, is lacking. Artefacts recovered from the scooped settlement at Hopeterrick (no. 41) might indicate some reuse of earlier sites, and possibly even permanent settlement. The fermtoun to the south of Manorhead (no. 100) could well be typical of the valley's pre-Improvement settlement pattern. The place-name 'Langhall' (1395) might indicate a timber antecedent to the tower and could have provided an earlier nucleus to the estate centre at Langhaugh (no. 83) (plate 9.16). While here, as too at Kirkhope and Posso (nos. 82, 85), there are stances for buildings accompanying the towers and, though some may be contemporary with them, others could be earlier. Without excavation it is difficult to press the case but, as possibly at Castlehill (no. 78), the origin of some of these estate centres could lie in the twelfth century. On comparison with the post-Roman settlement pattern as defined by the crab-claw enclosures, the towers do confirm a shift in settlement and the emergence of clear nucleii within the valley. This in part may be due to the fact that the towers had been located out of strategic necessity, perhaps to provide an intervisible link

down the length of the valley, connecting via the tower on Caverhill with a similar line of communication along the Tweed. This presupposes that they functioned as signal towers (the lantern tripod from the tower at Barns still survives) and as refuges in the times of trouble which beset Border history (cf. Chambers 1864, 70). However, the development of the tower-house may as much be a mark of distinction in a period when single-storeyed housing was the norm, and the presence of an already established estate centre might be sufficient to guarantee the construction of a stone-built tower as and when time and resources allowed.

The distribution of the tower- and pele-houses would seem, however, to confirm the breakdown of the valley into its thirteen constituent units (fig. 9.19). This same division may also be inferred from the maps of Blaeu (1654e), Roy (1747-55) and Armstrong (1775b) and is essentially that of the present farms as defined by Millman's Administrative Area Plans of 1969-70 (SRO RHP 1-10).

Summary and Conclusion

The breakdown of the valley into its thirteen exploitation units seems to be a recurrent feature of both the archaeological and historical landscape. This may be no more than coincidence and the pattern is certainly not one of consistent and successive replacement. In the valley's univallate phase, for example, only nine key centres are apparent (assuming all to be contemporary) and for the fourteenth century the number of vills dependent on the two suggested caputs is unknown. Nevertheless, given the hypothetical pattern of tenurial development in the valley's multivallate, post-Roman and pre-Improvement phases some level of continuity is at least admissible, and on these grounds it is plausible that we are dealing with a pattern of survival and one which could owe, if not its origin, at least its later development to an administrative unit based on the thirteen vills of an upland *maenor*. This framework, the memory of which does perhaps survive in the name of the parish, could be medieval or earlier in origin, but much more work is required before a definitive case can be made. Excavation is needed and also a few pollen cores would not go amiss in order both to isolate the main periods of change and to explore the relationships between sites. Assuming the hypothesis is correct, that we are dealing with an upland *maenor*, one perhaps need look no farther than the east fort on Cademuir, the site noted as 'Dunduffe' in the charter of 1315, for the stone-girt residence of the *maer*, and the site therefore of the central place, or *maerdref* (Jones 1976, 18). Another possibility, suggested to me by Professor Alcock (pers. commun., 1983), might be the nuclear fort on the hill's western ridge (no. 17); given its location close to Kirkton Manor, a site of this status would perhaps befit its enduring role as

the seat of a local potentate - a role perhaps transferred only in the twelfth century to the suggested motte at Castlehill.

The second point of importance to emerge from this case study is that once laid down, and withstanding minor shifts in settlement location, the estate framework seems to have been one of the most conservative and enduring features of the landscape. If in turn, the historical framework is set alongside the maps delineating the hypothetical territorial development of the valley as set out on the grounds of the archaeological evidence, then the pattern of coincidence is such that one is left with at least a hint that the origin of many of the territorial boundaries may lie with the period of formative change in the valley during the course of the late second and early first millennium BC. It might follow from this that the origin of the estates in the valley is considerably earlier than has previously been anticipated from similar studies on estate development made elsewhere in Britain: for those in West Yorkshire, for instance, a date in the Anglo-Saxon period has been suggested (cf. Faull 1984b; for Northamptonshire see Cadman and Foard 1984, 87-96; for Lincolnshire, Roffe 1984, and Everson 1984, 125-6; for Cumbria, O'Sullivan 1984, 146-9, and Newman 1984, 157-8). However, the pattern of estate devlopment in Manor is perhaps no more than is to be expected given that this is foremost, at least for the periods defined by archaeology, an entirely native and indigenous pattern. Given the lack of place-name evidence for primary Anglian settlement in Peeblesshire (cf. Nicolaisen 1979, 141), the evidence from Manor would at least raise the possibility that, in the uplands to the west of the Tweed Basin, patterns of settlement and land use may have been more conservative to change and would, perhaps, have been of more lasting significance. For the Early Historic period attention principally needs to be focussed on the stone-walled crab-claw enclosures, their related settlement types and patterns of land use.

ANNEX A

GAZETTEER OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES AND MONUMENTS OF THE MANOR VALLEY, PEEBLESSHIRE

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Notes

Sites with this sign following the name - * - are previously unrecorded.
Each entry is prefaced by a district serial number, name,
National Grid Reference and 1:10000 or 1:10560 map number
followed by the serial number of the NMRS Record Card.

UNENCLOSED PLATFORM SETTLEMENTS

1 Cademuir Hill, Unenclosed Platform Settlement

NT 2335 3820 NT 23 NW 9a

On the N face of Cademuir Hill there are the remains of an unenclosed platform settlment which consists of two platforms, one of which is overlain by a scooped homestead (no. 35); other platforms may have been obliterated by later cultivation (no. 62).

- RCAMS 1967, p. 72, No. 155; NMRS PB/ 1842-3, A 36593-6.

2 Glenrath Hill, Unenclosed Platform Settlement (possible) *

NT 2146 3330 NT 23 SW 41

On the W flank of Glenrath Hill, to the ENE of settlement no. 58, there is a platform, which, together with another that is overlain by hut-circle no. 30, may be the remains of an unenclosed platform settlement.

3 Newholm Hope, Unenclosed Platform Settlement *

NT 1924 3068 NT 13 SE 13

On the left bank of the Newholm Hope Burn, on the slopes below the denuded remains of cairn no. 74, and to the W of settlement no. 82, there is an unenclosed platform settlement consisting of at least four terraces, the largest of which measures about 17m by 5m overall.

4 Wood Hill, Unenclosed Platform Settlement (possible)

NT 2040 3351 NT 23 SW 19

On the W flank of Wood Hill the Ordnance Survey identified three house platforms (information on NMRS Record card). However, on the date of visit I could find no trace of them, although soil-creep and sheep-runs have contributed to the appearance of terracing on this side of the hill. (See also no. 54)

CAIRNS

(see also nos. 9, 14, 74)

5 Hallmanor Burn, Cairn *

NT 2052 3468 NT 23 SW 44

On the right bank of the Hallmanor Burn there are the remains of a cairn.

6 Posso Craig, Cairn

NT 2023 3185 NT 23 SW 14

On the E footslope of Posso Craig there are the heather-covered remains of a cairn.

- Christison 1888, 202, no. 18; RCAMS 1967, p. 57, No. 53.

7 Horse Hope Craig, Cairn

NT 2105 3244 NT 23 SW 45

On the N flank of Horsehope Craig there are the wasted remains of a cairn.

- Christison 1888, 199, no. 15.

BURIALS AND CISTS

8 Hunt Law, Cists

NT 190 349 NT 13 SE 12

About 250m to 300m to the SSE of Dead Wife's Grave, on the S side of the Thief's Road overlooking Manor Water, there are at least six small cists.

- *Discovery & Excavation Scotland* 1979, 2.

9 Langhaugh, Cists

NT 2102 3136 NT 23 SW 10

On the E side of the public road there are the wasted remains of a robbed cairn. Buchan and Paton record the discovery here of 'built cists with bones'.

- Veitch 1893, i, 46; Buchan and Paton 1927, 538; RCAMS 1967, p. 61, No. 87.

10 Kirkton Manor, Cists

NT 220 380, 2225 3836 NT 23 NW 37

About 1880 a cist and urn containing bones were found on the manse lawn at Kirkton Manor, and a second cist was discovered at a quarry in the glebe. The quarry was operational until the close of the last War; its location was pointed out to me by J Horsburgh Esq, Kirkton Manor.

- RCAMS 1967, p. 61, No. 85.

STANDING STONE

11 Bellanrig, Standing Stone

NT 2269 3863 NT 23 NW 15

Incorporated in a field-wall beside the public road, some 310m to the WNW of Bellanrig farmhouse, there is a large flat-sided boulder on the NW and SE faces of which there are at least twelve pitted hollows which in the past have been regarded as cup-marks. The stone has been removed from its original position in a field about 100m to the NW (cf. Armstong's map of 1775).

- Christison 1889, 140-1; RCAMS 1967, p. 63, No. 104.

CUP-MARKINGS

(see also no. 11)

12 Castlehill, Cup-marked Stone (alleged)

NT 2133 3536 NT 23 NW 24

Built into the wall on the W side of the public road near Castlehill steading, there is a whinstone boulder with five hollows, probably of natural origin, which were alleged to be cup-marks.

- Christison 1889, 141-2.

13 Kirkton Manor, Cup-marked Stone

NT 2206 3800 NT 23 NW 47

At the entrance to the manse at Kirkton Manor there is a stone slab bearing four possible cup-marks.

- *Discovery & Excavation Scotland* 1971, 32.

ROCK CARVINGS

14 Posso Craig, Rock Carvings *

NT 1972 3130 NT 13 SE 14

On the ESE flank of Posso Craig, at the margin of an area of boulder-strewn ground and associated with what may be the denuded remains of a cairn, there is an earthfast boulder which has, on its upper face, the pecked and incised outline of a V-shaped figure with central bar and, at the edge of the stone, a dumb-bell shaped hollow. A second stone, immediately downslope, bears the incised outline of a more complex figure consisting of a straight base-line and, above, a sinuous and arcing curved line, while between the two there is an oval ring

symbol and an incomplete ring symbol which is cut by the edge of the stone (for discussion of both carvings see this work p. 368). The second stone lies upslope from the wasted remains of a substantially formed stone wall (about 12m long and spread up to 2.2m thick) which encloses a small natural terrace; its date and function are unclear (plates 9.4 - 9.6).
- Smith 1981f.

FORTS

(see also no. 83)

15 The Bank, Fort, Settlements and Farmstead

NT 1954 3052 NT 13 SE 11

On the nose of a spur projecting NE from Dollar Law, and now partially obscured by trees, there is a complex of structural remains which can broadly be divided into four phases. The first and earliest of these consists of an enclosure defined by a boulder-faced rubble-cored wall within which there are stances for at least three timber round houses. The settlement was partially eclipsed in phase II by the juxtaposition of three contiguous scooped farmsteads; a fourth lies immediately to the SE. Phase III consists of a settlement which developed within the line of the first enclosure, the interior of which was now subdivided into three courts, within which, and abutting the earlier perimeter wall, there are the remains of a subrectangular structure with a circular annexe (possibly a building) and beside it a solitary stone-walled round house. These remains were subsequently incorporated in phase IV in a stone plantation boundary and a farmstead comprising at least five subrectangular buildings and a range of field-walls (fig. 6.26).
- RCAMS 1967, p. 83, No. 211.

16 Cademuir, Fort

NT 2300 3745 NT 23 NW 13

On the E ridge of Cademuir there are traces of a univallate fort which was later substantially enlarged to form a bivallate defence with entrances on the SW and E respectively. To the interior there are visible the outlines of at least thirty-five ring-groove houses, though there is space for as many again (plate 9.7).
- RCAMS 1967, pp. 102-3, No. 263: Air-photographs in NMRS.

17 Cademuir, Fort

NT 2247 3708 NT 23 NW 12

On the rocky western knoll of the elongated summit of Cademuir, there is a substantial stone-walled fort of nuclear type with outlying courts, or salients, on the SSW, N and E

respectively. The main wall of the fort is now reduced to a sizeable rubble spread within which there are several stretches of inner and outer facing; the entrance was towards the S end of the W wall. To the interior there is the outline of a ring-groove house and a scarp to the S may indicate the stance of another. The approach to the fort from the NE is blocked by a gully (up to 37m broad and 3m deep) on the far side of which there are the remains of a *chevaux de frise* (plate 9.11).

- RCAMS 1967, pp. 103-5, No. 264; Air-photographs in NMRS

18 Chester Hill, Fort and Crab-claw Enclosure

NT 2368 3606 NT 23 NW 17

On the summit of Chester Hill there are the remains of a univallate fort which was superseded by a crab-claw enclosure, with an entrance on the E, within which there are traces of three stone-walled round houses. In 1939 excavations by Keef focussed on the entrance and revealed the postholes for a double gateway, the boulder-and-masonry revetting to the rubble-cored wall terminals and a paved threshold. No finds were recovered.

- *NSA,* 3(Peebles), 115; Keef 1946; RCAMS 1967, pp. 108-9, No. 271; Air-photographs in NMRS.

19 Glenrath, Fort

NT 2101 3383 NT 23 SW 28

On the flood-plain about 100m to the E of Glenrath farmhouse cropmarks reveal what is probably a univallate fort with the addition of a further rampart on the N. An ornamented whorl and part of a quern are said to have been found within the earthwork which was still visible in 1964.

- Christison 1888, 197; RCAMS 1967, p. 184, No. 433.

20 Hallmanor, Fort and Crab-claw Enclosure

NT 2015 3472 NT 23 SW 3

On an afforested spur, which projects eastwards from Hunt Law between the Hallmanor and Dead Wife's Burns, there are the remains of what is probably a univallate fort which is overlain by a stone-walled enclosure of crab-claw type within which, and contiguous with its perimeter wall, there are the remains of four stone-walled round houses; the entrance was on the E (fig. 6.27).

- Christison 1888, 197, no. 13; RCAMS 1967, pp. 117-18, No. 282.

21 Hunt Hill, Fort

NT 2083 3847 NT 23 NW 3

On the afforested summit of Hunt Hill, there are the remains of a trivallate fort with an entrance probably on the ENE.

- RCAMS 1967, p. 123, No. 291.

22 Quaw Plantation, Fort

NT 2226 3628 NT 23 NW 7

Occupying a low ridge, in trees, in otherwise low-lying and formerly poorly drained ground, there are the remains of what may originally have been a univallate fort which was strengthened in a second phase by the addition of multiple ramparts on the W and E, the entrance was on the W.

- Veitch 1893, 126; RCAMS 1967, pp. 138-9, No. 312.

23 Ring Knowe, Fort

NT 2068 3465 NT 23 SW 2

On the afforested summit of Ring Knowe, there are the well-preserved remains of a trivallate fort with an original entrance on the NE. To the interior there are indications of a number of ring-groove houses. At the date of visit the plantation was being clear-felled (plate 9.9).

- RCAMS 1967, p. 140, No. 314; Air-photgraphs in NMRS.

24 Syke Hill, Fort

NT 2015 3856 NT 23 NW 2

On the rounded summit of Syke Hill, there is a univallate fort with opposed entrances on the SW and NE respectively.

- RCAMS 1967, p. 142, No. 319; NMRS PB/ 2301-2, 2340.

25 The Whaum, Fort, Settlement, Crab-claw enclosure, Farmstead, and Cultivation Remains.

NT 2354 3794 NT 23 NW 10

Occupying and clustering around a small rocky knoll at the head of the Whaum, there are a complex of structural remains which may conjecturally be divided into four phases (I-IV on plate 9.10). The first and earliest of these, enclosing the summit of the knoll, is a small univallate fort which was eclipsed in phase II by an irregular scooped settlement on the E, bound and divided into two courts by low walls, to the interior of which there are at least five hut stances. In phase III a crab-claw enclosure, with an entrance on the ENE, was set on the summit of the knoll enclosed by the phase I earthwork. This was eclipsed in phase IV by two

of four enclosures which are probably contemporary with the turf-covered stone-wall footings of a rectangular building set in the angle of the SE enclosure. These may be the remains of the farmstead of 'Wham' which is depicted on Armstong's map of 1775. In the vicinity there are extensive traces of rig-and-furrow cultivation, and to the W some traces of cord-rig (see also no. 63)

- RCAMS 1967, pp. 147-8, No. 328; NMRS PB/ A 28034-5, 1878-9.

26 Whitelaw Rig, Fort

NT 2112 3537 NT 23 NW 1

On a low rocky knoll at the E end of Whitelaw Rig, there is a univallate fort within which, and terraced into the slope of the knoll, there are at least seven hut-stances.

- RCAMS 1967, p. 148, No. 329; NMRS PB/ 2295-7.

27 Wood Hill, Fort, Round House, and Crab Claw Enclosure

NT 2504 3341 NT 23 SW 1

Occupying the rocky knoll on the summit of Wood Hill, there are the remains of three successive forts. The first, though largely conjectural, seems to be of univallate type, subsequently strengthened in a second phase by the addition of a further two ramparts. The third fort is closely tailored to the summit with the addition of a salient on the N and is now represented by a considerable rubble spread in which several stretches of the outer face are visible; the entrance was on the NW. The footings of a stone-walled round house, on the SW, partially overlie the outer rampart of the second fort, while on the SE, adjoining the medial rampart, there are the remains of a small enclosure of crab-claw form (fig. 9.10).

- Christison 1888, 193; RCAMS 1967, p. 154, No. 333; Air-photographs in NMRS.

28 Woodhouse Hill, Fort

NT 2089 3731 NT 23 NW 6

On the summit ridge of Woodhouse Hill there are the denuded remains of what has probably been a univallate fort which has been incorporated and enlarged by the addition of a further three ramparts; one apparently unfinished. The entrance through the inner rampart has bulbous terminals and access to it was by way of a narrow corridor skirting the SE edge of the ridge. Within the fort there are traces of at least five hut-stances.

- RCAMS 1967, pp. 154-5, No. 334; NMRS PB/ 2196, 2303-5.

OPEN SETTLEMENT

29 Crosshouses, Settlement *

NT 2210 3846 NT 23 NW 68

Cropmarks reveal what may be the wasted remains of a ditched enclosure, with an entrance on the W, enclosing a number of possible round houses.

- CRAPS AP 541/A/524/4121.

30 Greenside Craig, Hut-circle *

NT 2141 3313 NT 23 SW 42

Upslope from settlement no. 58, and occupying a small terrace (see also no. 2), there are the turf- and bracken-covered remains of a stone-walled hut-circle; the entrance seems to have been on the N. The area around the hut-circle has been cleared of stone.

31 Haswellsykes, Homestead (possible) *

NT 2093 3934 NT 23 NW 69

Cropmarks reveal what may be a ditched enclosure in the field due E of Haswellsykes steading. It appears to have an entrance on the SE and may enclose a single round house.

- CRAPS AP 541/A/524/4118

32 Hundleshope, Round House (possible) and Enclosure *

NT 2279 3641 NT 23 NW 70

Cropmarks reveal a penannular feature, possibly a round house, in the field to the W of Hundleshope steading. It appears to be associated with a ditched enclosure, one arm of which extends roughly parallel with the field-boundary.

- CRAPS AP 541/A/524/3102.

33 Langhaugh, Settlement, Field-system and Hut-circle *

NT 2002 3068 NT 23 SW 51

On the slopes at the foot of Langhaugh Hill and extending to a plantation due S of Langhaugh farmhouse, there is an extensive field-system consisting of a number of linear field-boundaries, which are connected on the uphill side by the old head-dyke, and at least thirteen clearance cairns. On the E side of the track cutting the plantation, there are traces of two scooped hut-stances (NT 2006 3070); the head-dyke deviates upslope and around to take in the hut-stances. At the edge of the trees there are the remains of a possible hut-circle (NT 2004 3068) (plate 9.16).

34 Langhaugh Hill, Hut-circle and Small Cairns *

NT 1994 2987 NT 12 NE 5

In rough ground close to the confluence of the Linghope Burn and Manor Water, on the footslopes to the SW of Langhaugh Hill, there are at least thirteen cairns, one of which has been trenched by the shepherd at Langhaugh. Close by, beside a prominent upright boulder, there are the remains of a small enclosure, possibly a hut-circle.

SCOOPED SETTLEMENTS

(see also nos. 15, 25)

35 Cademuir, Scooped Homesteads

NT 2340 3823 NT 23 NW 9

On the N face of Cademuir Hill, bound by a wasted wall and reusing an earlier house platform (no. 1), there are the remains of a scooped homestead which consists of a single hut-stance and a hollowed yard; a second homestead of like type lies some 40m to the SW.

- RCAMS 1967, pp. 158-9, No. 340.

36 Cademuir, Scooped Homesteads

NT 2256 3770, 2245 3770 NT 23 NW 11

On the NW flank of Cademuir Hill there are two scooped settlements. The more easterly is bound by a denuded wall and has an entrance on its NW side which opens to a narrow sunken court; at the rear of which there is a platform sufficient to accommodate two huts. Close by there are a series of cultivation terraces. The second settlement, which lies about 100m to the W, has an entrance on the E which opens to a hollowed court fronting three hut-stances. These are overlain by two stone-walled round houses and on the NE a subsidiary enclosure has also been tacked on to the earlier settlement.

-RCAMS 1967, pp. 160-1, Nos. 348, 349; Air-photographs in NMRS.

37 Canada Hill, Scooped Homestead

NT 2179 3492 NT 23 SW 4

On the W flank of Canada Hill there are the remains of a scooped homestead consisting of a single hut-stance and adjoining yard; the entrance was on the NW.

- RCAMS 1967, p. 159, No. 341.

38 Fairlaw Burn, Scooped Homestead

NT 1984 3103 NT 13 SE 8

On the S flank of Posso Craig, beside the Fairlaw Burn, there are the wasted remains of a scooped homestead which have been truncated by later ploughing. The homestead consists of a single hut-stance with a yard on the E; the entrance was probably on the NNE.

- RCAMS 1967, pp. 159-60, No. 344.

39 Glenrath Hill, Scooped Settlement

NT 2131 3395 NT 23 SW 22

About 400m to the ENE of Glenrath farmhouse, there are the remains of a scooped settlement bound in part by a ruinous stone wall, within which, and divided by a natural spur, there are two hut-stances and an enclosure; the entrance was probably on the N. On the adjoining slopes to the W, there are traces of a number of cultivation terraces (plate 9.9).

- RCAMS 1967, p. 88, No. 223.

40 Glenrath Hill, Scooped Settlement

NT 2140 3390 NT 23 SW 7

About 550m to the E of Glenrath farmhouse, there are the remains of a scooped settlement defined by the wasted remains of a low wall, within which there are six house platforms. Immediately to the rear of the settlement there are a group of cultivation terraces and below it a field-bank which is probably contemporary (plate 9.9).

- RCAMS 1967, p. 88, No. 222.

41 Hopeterrick Burn 1, Scooped Settlement

NT 2157 3454 NT 23 SW 5

On the N side of the Hopeterrick Burn, there are the remains of a scooped settlement enclosed by a single boulder-faced stone wall, within which there are at least six house-platforms arranged at different levels; the entrance was on the WSW. As a result of excavations conducted by RBK Stevenson in 1939, it was suggested that two of the platforms on the NE may have formed a later annexe. The remains of a hearth were recovered in the main enclosure, and on an adjacent platform a rock-cut posthole; a further house-platform, with a well paved floor, was recorded to the exterior of the enclosure on the ESE. The finds included an iron nail and a small perforated stone from the platform with the hearth, and from that closest to the entrance, and also within the entrance, over twenty sherds of pottery of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century date or later, the fragment of a knife-blade of fifteenth- or sixteenth-century date, a dozen iron tackets, a number of whetstones, and a considerable quantity of eighteenth-century bottle glass. In addition, from a midden deposit which lay

beneath and outside the settlement wall on the W, were recovered a broken quartzite pounder, a pot-boiler and the animal bones of pig, ox, sheep, bird, and rabbit. Christison (1888, 197) records the discovery of a quern from one of the Hopeterrick scooped settlements.
- Stevenson 1941; RCAMS 1967, p. 91, No. 232.

42 Hopeterrick Burn 2, Scooped Settlement
NT 2149 3425 NT 23 SW 6

About 150m to the S of Hopeterrick Burn, there are the remains of a scooped enclosure defined by a low wall within which there are five house platforms ranged on three levels.
- RCAMS 1967, pp. 91-2, No. 233.

43 Horse Hope Rig, Scooped Enclosure *
NT 2100 3302 NT 23 SW 11

On the nose of a spur extending NW from Horse Hope Rig, there is a scooped enclosure possibly for a hut.

44 Langhaugh Hill, Scooped Settlement and Crab-claw Enclosure
NT 2027 3090 NT 23 SW 16

Towards the foot of Langhaugh Hill and occupying a low spur between two natural gullies, there are the remains of a scooped settlement comprising two hut-stances and a hollowed forecourt which opens to an entrance on the N. To the interior, and probably secondary, there are the remains of a stone-walled round house. The perimeter of the site seems to be enclosed by a later crab-claw enclosure (plate 9.16).
- RCAMS 1967, p. 161, No. 350; NMRS A 28015.

45 Manor Water, Scooped Settlement *
NT 2035 3206 NT 23 SW 13

On the haughland bordering the left bank of the Manor Water in otherwise low-lying and poorly drained ground, there is a low mound (50m by 60m overall) which has been partially enclosed by a low wall with an entrance on the S. Within the enclosure there are the turf-covered footings of a round house and scooped into the edges of the knoll, there are stances for a further eight huts and a subrectangular structure. Immediately to the W there are traces of narrow rig cultivation (plate 9.8).
- Christison 1888, 199-200, no. 16; Air-photographs in NMRS.

46 Posso, Scooped Settlement

NT 1992 3315 NT 13 SE 10

Some 300m to the W of Posso farmhouse, there are the remains of an enclosure within which there are two possible hut-stances. The enclosure, which seems to have been defined by a boulder-faced stone wall, has been partially terraced into the slope (fig. 9.10).

- RCAMS 1967, pp. 96-7, No. 245.

47 Posso, Scooped Settlement

NT 2006 3344 NT 23 SW 23

Some 440m to the NW of Posso farmhouse, at the margin of the improved fields, there are the earthwork remains of a scooped settlement which is bound by a low wall with an entrance on the E; to the interior there are at least two hut-stances (fig. 9.10).

-Stevenson 1941, 93

48 Posso Craig, Scooped Settlement and Cultivation Remains *

NT 1995 3109 NT 13 SE 6

At the margin of the cultivated ground on the SE side of Posso Craig, on the left bank of the Manor Water opposite Langhaugh, there is an irregular shaped knoll. The summit is enclosed by a low wall, within and around which there are traces of a number of scarps that may be hut-stances. Partially eclipsing the knoll and extending to the haughland to the E, there are several swathes of broad, reverse-S cultivation ridges, while to the W, and extending to the confluence of the Newholmhope Burn and the Manor Water, there is an extensive cairnfield. See also no. 104 (plate 9.16).

- Christison 1888, 202, no. 19.

49 Posso Craig, Scooped Settlement and Cultivation Remains *

NT 2011 3239 NT 23 SW 29

On the NW flank of Posso Craig, there are the wasted remains of a scooped settlement which is enclosed by a wall. To the interior, at the rear, there is a house-platform sufficient to accommodate two huts which is fronted by a sunken court set at two levels; the entrance was on the ENE. On either side of the entrance there are two small secondary enclosures; that on the N may be the remains of a stone-walled round house. On the adjoining slopes and extending to those flanking the right bank of the Mill Burn, there are extensive traces of narrow rig cultivation, a cairnfield numbering over thirty-eight cairns, and several broad swathes of rig-and-furrow cultivation (fig. 9.10).

- RCAMS 1967, pp. 162-3, No. 355; NMRS A 28020-3.

50 Posso Rig, Scooped Enclosure

NT 1999 3391 NT 13 SE 9

On the lower slopes of Posso Rig and disturbed by a land drain, there are the remains of what may be a scooped enclosure with traces of a possible hut-circle at its NW angle. Some 35m to the S, there is a second scooped depression but this may be natural.

51 Whaum, Scooped Settlement

NT 2373 3803 NT 23 NW 40

About 100m to the NE of the settlement at Whaum (no. 25), there are the remains of a scooped settlement that consists of a kidney-shaped enclosure within one half of which there are two hut-stances; one of these is overlain by a later stone-walled round house (plate 9.10).

- RCAMS 1967, p. 84, No. 213.

52 Wood Hill, Scooped Settlement

NT 2040 3295 NT 23 SW 30

On the SW flank of Wood Hill, in trees, there are the wasted remains of a large contiguous scooped settlement comprising at least nine hut-stances, together with their hollowed forecourts and boundary walls (fig. 9.10).

- RCAMS 1967, p. 169, No. 369.

53 Wood Hill, Scooped Homestead

NT 2056 3362 NT 23 SW 8

On the N flank of Wood Hill, there are the remains of a scooped homestead consisting of a single hut-stance and a yard. Due to ploughing and reseeding the remains are severely wasted (fig. 9.10).

- RCAMS 1967, pp. 164-5, No. 362.

54 Wood Hill, Scooped Homestead *

NT 2031 3342 NT 23 SW 43

Beside the public road at the foot of Wood Hill, there are the wasted remains of what may be a scooped homestead comprising a single hut-platform with a hollowed forecourt to the front; the latter has been truncated by road widening (fig. 9.10).

55 Wood Hill, Scooped Homesteads

NT 2074 3338, 2073 3356 NT 23 SW 9, 31

On the left bank of the Manor water to the E of Wood Hill, there are two scooped homesteads each consisting of a single hut-stance and adjoining yard. On the haughland to the E of the S homestead there are traces of narrow-rig cultivation, and a number of clearance cairns (fig. 9.10).

- RCAMS 1967, p. 164, Nos. 360-1.

CRAB-CLAW ENCLOSURES & RELATED SETTLEMENTS

(see also nos. 15, 17, 18, 20, 25, 27, 44)

56 Cademuir Hill, Crab-claw Enclosure

NT 2419 3726 NT 23 NW 14

On a southern spur of Cademuir Hill, and overlain by a later fank and pen, there are the heather-covered remains of a stone-walled crab-claw enclosure with an entrance on the ESE.

- RCAMS 1967, p. 86, No. 217.

57 Glenrath Hope, Settlements, Field-systems and Cultivation Terraces

NT 2232 3252 NT 23 SW 21

On the S-facing slopes of Glenrath Hope there is an extensive field-system together with the remains of four settlements, each consisting of an agglomeration of stone-walled round houses and a number of small enclosures or courts. The settlements are roughly equidistant and are set at the rear of the terrace flanking the right bank of the Glenrath Burn, and its tributary the Back Burn, at the foot of a steep scree slope. In 1939, excavations by RBK Stevenson in the group of remains lettered A on fig. 6.23 revealed a stone-walled round house which was in bond with its court wall, The only find was an ornamented spindle-whorl. The field-system comprises a series of stone banks and clearance heaps, together with a number of lynchets, several of which have ruined walls along their crests. A group of six cultivation terraces, cut by a modern plantation, have obliterated the earlier system at a point about half way along it. The field-system and settlements are probably of Romano-British or sub-Roman origin (see also plate 9.3).

- Christison 1888, 193-6; Stevenson 1941, 108-14; RCAMS 1967, pp. 165-7, 180, Nos. 364, 398.

58 Greenside Craig, Crab-claw enclosure, Farmstead and Cultivation Terraces

NT 2134 3329 NT 23 SW 20

On the W flank of Greenside Craig, and previously afforested, there are the remains of a crab-claw enclosure with an entrance on the N. Immediately to the S there are a number of cultivation terraces. At the rear of the enclosure, and previously unrecorded, there are the remains of a farmstead comprising the turf-covered wall-footings of two subrectangular buildings, set end-on to one another, and an adjoining enclosure; each building has a rounded end-wall with an entrance in the opposed end-wall (plate 9.9).

- Christison 1888, 197; RCAMS 1967, p. 89, No. 226.

59 Hog's Knowe, Crab-claw Enclosure

NT 2071 3670 NT 23 NW 5

On the summit of Hog's Knowe and partially enclosed by trees, there are the remains of what is probably a crab-claw enclosure. It is bound by a wasted stone wall within which there are traces of at least five round or oval stone-walled round houses; the entrance was on the E (plate 9.12).

- RCAMS 1967, pp.167-8, No. 366.

60 Manorhead, Crab-claw Enclosure (possible) *

NT 1959 2765 NT 12 NE 6

Immediately to the SE of Manorhead steading there are the remains of what may be a crab-claw enclosure (18m from W to E by 17m internally). It is defined by the wasted remains of a stone wall with boulder-footings to the interior of which, on the W, there is a stance for possibly two or more huts.

61 Wood Hill, Crab-claw Enclosure

NT 2056 3326 NT 23 SW 26

On the S subsidiary summit of Wood Hill there is a stone-walled crab-claw enclosure with an entrance on the NE (fig. 9.10).

- RCAMS 1967, p. 100, No. 257.

CULTIVATION TERRACES

(see also nos. 39, 40, 57, 58)

62 Cademuir, Cultivation Terraces

NT 2335 3800 NT 23 NW 8

On the NE face of Cademuir Hill and extending from NE to SW for a distance of over 200m, there is a series of cultivation terraces consisting of scarps up to 2m high and terraces about 5m wide.

63 Cademuir, Cultivation Remains

NT 2342 3793 NT 23 NW 61

Between the east fort on Cademuir (no. 16) and the settlement at Whaum (no. 25), there is a tract of cord-rig cultivation. To the N, and extending across the lower slopes, there are extensive traces of rig-and-furrow (plate 9.7).

- Air-photographs by RCAMS in NMRS; CRAPS PB 1841.

64 Glenrath Hill, Cultivation terraces

NT 2140 3385 NT 23 SW 24

On the W flank of Glenrath Hill, between the 300m and 365m contours, there is a group of cultivation terraces.

- RCAMS 1967, p. 180, No. 397.

65 Manor Sware, Cultivation Terraces

NT 2342 3964 NT 23 NW 42

On the W flank of Manor Sware and now obscured by afforestation, there is a group of cultivation terraces.

- RCAMS 1967, p. 180, No. 405.

66 Posso, Cultivation Terraces

NT 2003 3812 NT 23 SW 18

In an enclosed field about 100m to the S of Posso tower-house (no. 85), RCAMS recorded a series of cultivation terraces. However, on the date of visit I could find no trace of them.

- RCAMS 1967, p. 181, No. 411.

67 White Knowe, Glenternie, Cultivation Terraces

NT 207 364 to 209 368 NT 23 NW 20

On the eastern flank of White Knowe, between the 240m and 365m contours, there is an extensive system of cultivation terraces (plate 9.12).

- RCAMS 1967, p. 178, No. 382.

68 Woodhouse Hill, Cultivation Terraces

NT 2113 3760 NT 23 NW 23

On the NE flank of Woodhouse Hill there are five discernible stretches of cultivation terraces. They vary from 1.5m to 4m in width, with negative lynchets ranging in height from 0.8m to 1.7m. Towards the foot of the slope there are extensive traces of rig-and-furrow cultivation.
- Graham 1939, 313.

MISCELLANEOUS EARTHWORKS AND ENCLOSURES

(see also no. 27)

69 Glack Hope, Enclosure *

NT 2073 3794 NT 23 NW 71

Air-photographs reveal the outline of an oval enclosure, cut by the modern field-wall, on the N bank of the Glack Burn. The enclosure is open on the W and seems to have an antenna ditch extending from its N terminal.
- CRAPS AP 541/A/524/4117

70 Haswellsykes, Enclosure *

NT 2051 3912 NT 23 NW 36

Cropmarks reveal what may be a ditched enclosure in the field due W of Haswellsykes steading. It is open on the E and has an antenna ditch extending from its S terminal.
- CRAPS AP 541/A/524/4118; CUCAP BE/41; NMRS PB/ 1652.

71 Horse Hope Craig, Enclosure

NT 2057 3244

NT 23 SW 12

At the foot of Horse Hope Craig, beside the Manor Water, there are the wasted remains of an enclosure, the interior of which is strewn with rubble.
- Christison 1888, pp. 197-8, no. 14.

72 Hundleshope, Earthwork

NT 2335 3657

NT 23 NW 19

In trees some 300m to the NE of Hundleshope farmhouse, there are the remains of an oval enclosure.

73 Manortoun Burn, Enclosure

NT 2056 3576 NT 23 NW 72

To the E of a small copse of beech trees there are the wasted remains of an enclosure. Within the copse there are a number of scarps and terraces.

ECCLESIASTICAL MONUMENTS

(See also no. 82)

74 Kirkhope, Cairn and Early christian Memorial

NT 1923 3074 NT 13 SE 3

In 1890 an Early Christian memorial was found in association with a cairn of stones on the hillside overlooking the left bank of the Newholm Hope Burn. All that remains visible of the cairn is its revetting kerb; the memorial has been removed to the Chambers Institute, Peebles. For a discussion of the stone see this work pp. 292-4.

- RCAMS 1967, p. 176, No. 376

75 Kirkhope, Cross-base

NT 2175 3782 NT 23 NW 30

In 1874 a cross-base, mistakenly identified as a font and possibly originating in the burial-ground at Kirkton Manor (no. 76), was removed to its present position within the walled enclosure at Over Kirkhope (no. 82), the traditional site of St Gorgon's chapel. According to the author of the *New Statistical Account* it stood originally on the roadside near Hallyards, to mark the site where three lairds' lands met (plate 9.5).

- *NSA*, 3(Peebles), 117; Buchan and Paton 1927, 543: RCAMS 1967, p. 178, No. 379; NMRS PBD/324/1 (Archer 1838)

76 Kirkton Manor, Parish Church and Burial-ground

NT 2202 3799 NT 23 NW 21

The present church (1874) is the last of a series of churches which have successively occupied this site. Its immediate predecessor was begun in 1697 but was not dedicated until 1702 (photograph in vestry); the E wall-footings of this building extrude from the S wall of the present church. This building too replaced an earlier church which was already in need of renewal in 1658. Within the burial-ground there are a number of seventeenth- and eigtheenth-century gravestones. The church of Manor is on record in 1186 but only attained full parochial status in the sixteenth century. It was dedicated to St Gorgon, a martyr of the reign of Diocletian.

- Gunn 1910, 108-20; RCAMS 1967, p. 201, No. 478; Cowan 1967, 142- 3.

MEDIEVAL EARTHWORKS

(for a probable motte see no. 78)

TOWER- AND PELE-HOUSES

77 Barns, Tower-house

NT 2151 3913 NT 23 NW 16

Barns tower, three storeys and an attic in height, is a well-preserved tower-house of late sixteenth-century date. The lands of Barns were acquired by the Burnet family in the fifteenth century.

- RCAMS 1967, pp. 218-20, Nos. 490, 611.

78 Castlehill, Motte (probable) * and Tower-house

NT 2141 3544 NT 23 NW 18

On the W bank of the Manor Water adjacent Castlehill steading and occupying a commanding position overlooking a ford of an old road to Hundleshope, there is a rocky knoll. The sides of the knoll (up to 12.8m high on the ESE and 3.2m on the W) appear to have been scarped and the summit is relatively level (25.6m by 20.2m overall). Around the base of the knoll on the S, W, and NW, there is a ditch up to 3.4m broad with a low counterscarp bank which may once have extended round the N side, where there is now a road, and along the E side where the ground falls steeply; the summit is approached by a causeway on the S. These are probably the remains of an hitherto unrecognized earthwork castle or motte of the Anglo-Norman period. On the summit of the knoll, and once enclosed by a barmkin wall, there are the remains of a late fifteenth-century tower-house, originally possibly four storeys in height. Castlehill was the property of the Lowis family. Patrick Lowis of 'Mennar' appears on an inquest at Innerleithen in 1427. The tower itself is on record in 1555 (plate 9.14).

- *Stat. Acct.*, 12(1791), 378; Name Book Peebles, p. 32, No. 42; MacGibbon and Ross 1887-92, iii, 416; Buchan and Paton 1927, 547; RCAMS 1967, pp. 221-2, No. 494.

79 Caverhill, Tower-house

NT 2152 3833 NT 23 NW 29

There are no visible remains of the tower-house of Caverhill which was probably of sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century date. the lands of Caverhill are on record in 1494 and belonged to the family of that name. Air-photographs reveal a series of interrupted parallel ditches enclosing the site of the tower in the field to the E of Caverhill steading.

- Buchan and Paton 1927, 553; RCAMS 1967, p. 222, No. 495; CRAPS AP 541/A/524/4117

80 Hallyards, Tower-house

NT 2161 3756 NT 23 NW 22

Incorporated in the SE corner of the present house at Hallyards, there is an earlier building of late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century date, at the core of which there is a still earlier structure that may have formed part of a tower-house of late sixteenth- or seventeenth-century date. A marriage stone bearing the monogram initials of John Scott of Hundleshope and Helen Geddes, his wife, together with the date 1647, is incorporated in reuse in the SE front of the present house. The tower is on record in 1666.

- RCAMS 1967, p. 290, No. 560.

81 Horse Hope Rig, Pele-tower *

NT 2174 3251 NT 23 SW 34

Set in the lee of a hollow at the foot of Horse Hope Rig and overlooking the left bank of the Glenrath Burn, there are the remains of a substantial stone building. It is rectangular on plan (6.6m from W to E by 5.1m transversely over walls 1m thick). there is no visible entrance but a plinth at the E end of the N side-wall may have provided for a stair with entry at first-floor level. Adjoining the W end-wall there is an outshot (3m by 2.5m overall). The remains may be those of a late sixteenth-century pele-tower, probably to be identified as the tower of 'Horse-hope-shank' which is mentioned by the author of the *New Statistical Account.*

- *NSA,* 3(1845), 116; Christison 1888, 196.

82 Kirkhope, Tower-house

NT 1940 3070 NT 13 SE 5

Within a walled enclosure on the left bank of the Newholm Hope Burn, there are the turf-covered wall-footings and earthworks of buildings and associated enclosures, together with a number of scooped platforms and terraces. The remains may be those of a small tower of sixteenth-century date, together with its outbuildings and policies, comparable perhaps to those at Langhaugh and Posso (nos. 83, 85). However, this is also the traditional site of St Gorgon's Chapel, of which Pennecuik wrote in 1715, 'the scarce discernible remains of St Gorgham's Chapel'. A font (now lost) was seen on the site in 1887 (see also no. 75). On Blaeu's map of 1654 the site is depicted as that of a secular building.

- *RMS,* 3(1609-20), No. 1769; Blaeu 1654a; Pennecuik 1715; Armstrong 1775a, 70; *Stat. Acct.,* 3 (1792), 387; *NSA,* 3(Peebles), 116; Walker 1886, 7; Mackinlay 1914, 371-2; Buchan and Paton 1927, 541- 2; Lamb 1964, 146; RCAMS 1967, pp. 267-8, No. 527.

83 Langhaugh, Tower-house, Buildings, Enclosures and fort (possible) *

NT 2030 3100 NT 23 SW 15

On the left bank of the Langhaugh Burn there are the turf-covered remains of what is probably a sixteenth-century tower-house, together with its outbuildings and associated enclosures (plate 9.16). On the N side of the site and directly overlooking the burn, there is a substantial earthwork enclosure which in origin may be a developed univallate fort; although previously unrecognized it is, perhaps, comparable to the situation at Lour (cf. Dunbar and Hay 1961; RCAMS 1967, pp. 239-43, No. 517) (plate 9.17).

- *NSA,* 3(Peebles), 116; RCAMS 1967, p. 180, No. 403; pp. 237-9, No. 515.

84 Manorhead, Tower-house

NT 1954 2767 NT 12 NE 3

The remains of a sixteenth-century tower-house are incorporated in the steading at Manorhead. It is rectangular on plan and stood at least two storeys in height.

- RCAMS 1967, p. 243, No. 518.

85 Posso, Tower-house, Buildings and Earthworks

NT 2000 3324 NT 23 NW 17

To the W of Posso farmhouse there are the remains of the early sixteenth-century tower of Posso, together with the turf-covered wall-footings of its outbuildings, earthworks and terraces; the latter probably the remains of orchard and garden features.

- RCAMS 1967, pp. 265-7, No. 525.

86 Woodhouse, Tower-house

NT 2118 3707 NT 23 SW 28

There are no visible remains of Woodhouse tower. Before 1522, when it was acquired by David Hoppringle of Smailholm, the property belonged to the family of Inglis of Manor; proprietors of the barony of Manor in 1396.

- Buchan and Paton 1927, 551; RCAMS 1967, p. 276, No. 536.

MEDIEVAL AND LATER SETTLEMENT

(see also nos. 15, 25, 56, 58)

87 Cademuir, Building, Pen and Cultivation Remains *

NT 2231 3722 NT 23 NW 59, 73

At the edge of a scree-strewn gully on the N face of Cademuir Hill, there are the turf-covered wall-footings of a subrectangular structure, possibly a building, while upslope from it there is a pen. Extending down the lower slopes of Cademuir there are extensive traces of rig-and-furrow cultivation (NT 23 NW 59).

88 Fairlaw Burn, Building *

NT 1966 3107 NT 13 SE 15

On a terrace on the right bank of the Fairlaw Burn, there are the turf-covered stone wall-footings of a rectangular building (10m by 4m overall).

89 Fairlaw Burn, Building and Cultivation Remains *

NT 1992 3109 NT 13 SE 16

At the margin of the cultivated ground that is bound on the S by the Fairlaw Burn, there are the turf-covered remains of a rectangular building (11m by 5m overall), a number of linear clearance heaps and at least two cairns.

90 Glenrath Hope, Longhouse *

NT 2188 3267 NT 23 SW 46

On relatively level ground at the foot of Greenside Craig overlooking the right bank of the Glenrath Burn, there are the turf-covered stone wall-footings of a long bow-sided building measuring 16m from W to E by up to 4m transversely over walls about 1.2m in thickness. The building is markedly tapered towards its ends and has rounded outer angles. The interior seems to have been divided into two compartments by a cross-wall, with access probably to each from the N side-wall (*see* fig. 9.17 and plate 9.13).

91 Glenrath Hope, Building *

NT 2205 3266 NT 23 SW 47

On the E side of an oval enclosure at the foot of Scuds Cleugh, and within the field-system noted in no. 57, there are the turf-covered stone wall-footings of a rectangular building (19m by 6m overall).

92 Hallmanor, Mill *

NT 2120 3478 NT 23 SW 48

There are no visible remains of the mill which is depicted by Edgar (1741), Armstrong (1775b), and Thomson (1821), though it seems to have occupied a natural gully at the edge of the floodplain some 700m to the SSW of Castlehill steading. What may be the tail-race emits from the E side of the gully, while to the N there are traces of an overflow channel. The lade seems to have been fed from the Tower Burn, the course of which has now been diverted. (Site identified by John Nash, Castlehill, pers. commun., 1989.)

93 Horse Hope Craig, Building and Enclosure

NT 2100 3302 NT 23 SW 11

On the N flank of Horse Hope Craig there are the wasted remains of a building and enclosure; the enclosure has been partially terraced into the slope.

94 Horse Hope Rig, Building and Enclosure *

NT 2135 3271 NT 23 SW 49

At the foot of Horse Hope Rig, overlooking the left bank of the Glenrath Burn, there are the remains of an open-ended rectangular building (10m by 5m overall) and an enclosure.

95 Kirkhope, Farmstead

NT 1995 3092 NT 13 SE 7

On level ground to the E of the public road, about 100m to the NNE of the cottage at Kirkhope, there are the turf-covered wall-footings of a rectangular building (10m by 4.5m overall), an enclosure and a fank. Close by there are traces of a number of field-banks.

96 Langhaugh Hill, Boundary-wall and Shieling-hut *

NT 1988 3022 NT 13 SE 17

On the W side of Langhaugh Hill and extending from the lower scree-slope to a point close to the right bank of the Manor Water, there is a substantial stone wall. The wall has a battered profile and is up to 30m in length, 1.7m to 2m in height and up to 2m in width at its base narrowing to 1.5m in width at its head. At the SSW end of the wall there is a secondary structure consisting of a small oval cell (possibly a hut) with an antenna-wall extending from its entrance on the N. The function of the wall is unclear but it may have been used in livestock management (there is another at NT 1992 2744); its stature is comparable to the pale of a deer park (cf. Gilbert 1976, 219).

97 Langhaugh Hill, Shieling-hut *

NT 1997 3003 NT 13 SE 18

At the foot of the scree on the SW flank of Langhaugh Hill, there are the remains of a stone-walled polygonal hut (6m in internal diameter) with an entrance on the SW opening to a walled court; in the re-entrant angle between the hut and court there is a pen. Immediately to the SSW there is a large clearance cairn.

98 Langhaugh Hill, Shielings *

NT 1994 3036 NT 13 SE

At the foot of the scree on the W flank of Langhaugh Hill, there are a number of shieling structures, including several subcircular and oval huts, some with hook-shaped antenna-walls, pens and enclosures. In addition there is one particularly well-preserved structure. This consists of an oval stone-walled hut with an adjoining pen to which it is linked by a short connecting wall.

99 Linghope Burn, Shieling-huts *

NT 2133 2843 NT 22 NW 2

On the right bank of the Linghope Burn and levelled into the slope, there are the wasted remains of a rectangular building and a number of ruinous stone walls.

100 Manorhead, Fermtoun *

NT 1950 2678 NT 12 NE 7

On a tongue of rough boulder-strewn ground at the confluence of the White Cleugh Burn and the Manor Water, some 800m to the S of Manorhead steading (no. 84), there are the remains of a fermtoun comprising at least nine buildings, a series of pens, enclosures and field-banks. The buildings are randomly disposed and range in size from 9m by 4m to 13m by 5m overall; all are single compartment structures. On the left bank of the Manor Water some 250m to the N (NT 1957 2725), there are the remains of a further building together with a series of field-banks and stone clearance-heaps.

101 Manortoun Burn, House-platform *

NT 2074 3568 NT 23 NW 74

On the right bank of the Manortoun Burn there is an isolated house platform (17m by up to 7m overall) which has been partially terraced into the slope. On the W there is a clearance cairn.

102 Milton, Mill

NT 2177 3735 NT 23 NW 75

There are no visible remains of the mill which is depicted by Blaeu (1654e), Edgar (1741), Armstrong (1775b) and Thomson (1821b), although it probably stood close to the present house at Milton.

103 Posso craig, Shieling-hut *

NT 2008 3223 NT 23 SW 50

In rough ground on the E flank of Posso Craig, and terraced into the slope, there are the remains of a rectangular building (10m by 2.5m over stone wall-footings 0.9m thick) with an entrance in its E end-wall which is flanked by an antenna-wall extending from the outer wall-angle. Some 40m to the SW there is a stone fank.

104 Posso Craig, Farmstead *

NT 1995 3109 NT 13 SE 6

In broken ground on the S flank of Posso Craig, there are the turf-covered stone wall-footings of an open-ended rectangular structure (possibly a pen) which is connected by a dyke to the first of two house-platforms set roughly parallel with each other. About 30m to the S, there is an enclosure and what may be a bowl-kiln, and close by there are at least three clearance cairns.

105 Posso Craig, Shieling-hut *

NT 1994 3118 NT 13 SE 20

On a terrace on the SW flank of Posso Craig there are the stone wall-footings of a circular hut (about 7m in internal diameter) and an adjoining enclosure.

106 Waddyside Rig, Shieling *

NT 2065 2941 NT 22 NW 3

On the W face of Waddyside Rig (396m OD), between the Mid Grain and the Linghope Burn, there is a scarped hut-platform, possibly for a shieling-hut. Occupying a small terrace, overlooking the confluence of the two burns (NT 2041 2942) there is an open-ended rectangular building (6m by 4.5m within walls up to 1.5m thick).

107 Well Bush Plantation, Building *

NT 2189 3500 NT 23 NW 76

In Well Bush Plantation, some 600m to the SE of Castlehill steading and close to a spring, there are traces of a building. John Nash, farmer at Castlehill, has uncovered stone debris close by while trenching.

108 Whitelaw Rig, Shieling-hut *

NT 2030 3539 NT 23 NW 77

At the foot of a scree slope on the E face of Whitelaw Rig, there is a terrace (14m by 8m) which has been enclosed at front and rear by a stone wall. At the date of visit the bracken was such that detail on the terrace was largely obscured, but there may be the remains of a circular hut about 5m in internal diameter.

MISCELLANEOUS

109 Bellanrig, Roman Coin

NT 2310 3861 NT 23 NW 34

A Roman coin of Antoninus Pius was found at Bellanrig in 1910. It probably dates to about AD 145.

- Pringle 1914, 84; NMRS PB/ 859.

110 Cademuir, Stone Axe

NT 22 37 NT 23 NW 78

Buchan and Paton (1927, 538) record the discovery of a small stone axe at Cademuir.

111 Castlehill, Stone Axe

NT 21 35 NT 23 NW 60

Buchan and Paton (1927, 528) record the discovery of 'a very fine stone axe' from Castlehill. It is now in the Royal Museum of Scotland (RMS AF 252).

112 Chester Hill, Medieval Coin Hoard

NT 235 360 NT 23 NW 35

An urn containing silver coins, believed to have been of Edward II (1307-27) was found in 1819 on the W side of Chester Hill, near the summit.

- *Stat. Acct.*, 3(1791), 388; Name Book, Peebles, No. 28, p. 6; *NSA*, 3(Peebles), 115-16.

113 Horse Hope Craig, Late Bronze Age Hoard

NT 206 322 NT 23 SW 27

In 1864 a hoard of Late Bronze Age metalwork was discovered by Mr Linton of Glenrath and his shepherd, under a large stone among the screes of Horse Hope Craig. Twenty-eight of the items are in Peebles Museum and one, a socketed axe, is in the Royal Museum of Scotland (RMS DE 60). Most of the objects are elements from horse-harness and cart-mountings.

- Piggott 1953, 175-86; Coles 1962, 51-2, 71, nos. 3-4, 92, 123-4; NMRS PB/ 792.

CONCLUSION

At the start of this thesis I set out three aims. I propose now to take these each in turn in order to review some of the problems raised by the study, to point forward to specific requirements for future work and to highlight some of the implications of my findings.

My first aim was to address the question of continuity. As this is such a crucial theme, it is worth making the tenets of my case explicit. It has been particularly important to establish continuity either side of the Roman period. Arguably this is the first step required in any discussion of the Early Historic period and particularly for North Britain in view of the level of disruption apparently created by the abandonment of many upland settlements in the second and third centuries AD. Without a degree of continuity at this stage it would be difficult to postulate the presence of peoples necessary to 'populate' the landscape following the Roman withdrawal and one would be obliged to fall back once more on a discussion framed solely by the so-called Dark Age forts. Arguably these represent only one facet of social organization, presumably high status, though they have framed all previous syntheses of the period in this region (cf. RCAMS 1956, 32-5; 1957, 21-2; 1967, 35-6). A problem endemic to this approach is that of understanding how it was that post-Roman society emerged from what came before, and what the key factors were which precipitated political and social change. Thus it was that when Collingwood and Myres wrote their seminal work on the history of Roman Britain and the Anglo-Saxon settlements some fifty years ago, they found the end of Roman Britain an impenetrable problem (1936, 425). It would be idle to pretend that the problem is still not with us, for despite the volume of scholarship and the diversity of interpretations which have been offered in the intervening period, the archaeological and historical evidence can still be characterized as 'a web of contradictions' (Haselgrove 1979, 5). Many too have seen the evidence as altogether too intractable to permit anything more than the broadest outline. Accounts of the end of Roman Britain have been founded more often on narrative historical interpretations of certain written sources, and interpretations of material patterning in the archaeological record, and attempt to explain socio-political change in terms of causally related sequences of 'events' of various military-political, economic, or environmental kinds (cf. Garwood 1989, 99). This is particularly so for North Britain where the transition between Late Roman and Early Historic is so opaque. The emphasis in fieldwork and excavation on the highly visible at the expense of the materially less robust evidence for rural settlement in the region in the Early Historic period is probably the main reason for the perceived breakdown in continuity. It has acted like a distorting mirror by which the social and political organization of the region has been judged. This is not a problem peculiar to the Early Historic period. The emphasis is just as apparent

in the medieval period across Scotland as a whole, where the upstanding buildings, ecclesiastical, fortified and domestic, have been studied at length, and in some detail, while other categories of rural settlement, for example, shielings, townships, farms and field-systems, have passed virtually without notice. This is a trend which has only recently been reversed in the systematic topographic survey undertaken by the Scottish Royal Commission in NE Perthshire (RCAMS 1990). Nevertheless, for the Tweed Basin I have identified a number of site types perhaps representative of rural settlement in the Early Historic period, including some which might be regarded as type-fossils of the period, and it is with these that a case for continuity is best made (see pp. 84-98, 188, 194-201, 233-5).

My chief concern, however, has been to demonstrate an overriding level of continuity within society itself and I have suggested that much of what emerged in the Early Historic period actually had its roots much earlier. The concept itself is not new, but to attempt to trace it over such a long time-span at a regional level is. In the past continuity has been traced within specific periods, thus disruption is inevitable as one period follows upon another and diachronically the evidence is dovetailed and joined. In the course of my own research, where the emphasis is firmly interdisciplinary, and the need to cross cultural and chronological boundaries gainsaid, there is perhaps some scope for taking the implications of continuity much further.

Continuity can, however, be interpreted in different ways. Some local historians and historical geographers have been prepared to postulate continuity not merely of settlement, but even of social and administrative arrangements, if within a small area they identify an apparent collocation between a hillfort, a Roman fort or building and a centre of medieval lordship as revealed, for example, by the presence of a church, tower-house or moated site. This was the approach adopted by Hope-Taylor (1977) in respect to Yeavering, but there is a problem here, highlighted by Bradley (1987, 10), as we cross the boundary between firm archaeological evidence and that derived solely from documentary sources; in effect we are no longer comparing like with like. Thus care is necessary in promoting a case for continuity without good chronological control and recourse to fine-grained landscape studies both at a regional and local level. To the archaeologist, however, 'continuity' implies something altogether more precise, more particular, more contagious (Alcock 1987b, 271). Continuity at this level is apparent both at the Dod and Broxmouth, and on many other such sites where there is evidence of *in situ* house replacement accompanying change in defensive layout (including periods where the sites may have been at best only lightly protected or open). The same might apply to those Romano-British settlements which exhibit timber antecedents to their stone-walled phases. Here the problem remains of distinguishing between long-term occupation and activity interspersed with periods of abandonment. This is

a problem pertinent to the uplands, for example, in the case of the Crock Cleugh homesteads (pp. 97, 181), which may span the Late Roman and Early Historic periods. Where these sites occupied long-term or seasonally as shielings? The definition of seasonal activity, implicit to Parry's model of shifting limits of cultivation in the Lammermuirs (1973), is hard to define archaeologically as we simply cannot date these sites with sufficient precision. It is difficult enough to be clear as to their date of abandonment (pp. 80-4), although the presence of residual small finds might be a reasonable indicator, given that in use the houses would probably have been swept clean, midden material gathered up and dispersed over neighbouring fields.

We still know little about the factors governing deposition on native sites, not least in the Romano-British period, and, although I have upheld a case for a phase of abandonment at Traprain, on the basis of changes in the metalwork, the pattern of deposition and a break in the coin sequence (pp. 137-8), it is worth noting that Jobey was more reticent (1976, 199-200). At the Dod, where the evidence for activity spans the late first millennium BC to the medieval period, there is some hope of tying down the nature of occupation, but, whilst I am satisfied that the transition between the site's stone-walled round houses and rectangular buildings of sill-beam construction was perhaps close in date (pp. 92-4), I would accept that the evidence of later building replacement, evident particularly in the D-shaped enclosure, is altogether vague.

Nevertheless, the presence of a major earthwork enclosure and complex building remains, might be seen to engender continuity, for such a site may have provided a ready quarry source for materials to be reused either on-site or close by, and the denuded earthworks could have been used as a ready made corral for livestock with provision only of a fence or brushwood perimeter. Thus if one allows for on-going land-use management, some settlements even in decay may have continued to exert an influence on settlement location thereby determining collocation which might underpin continuity at a local level. This is perhaps apparent in the pattern of repeated juxtaposition between site types of varying chronological depth in Manor, evident, for example, at Langhaugh, Posso, Dollarburn and Cademuir (pp. 373-83). Implicit to this is a certain structuring of the landscape that once achieved dictated a level of conformity in the choice of settlement location; the more structured the zones of arable and pasture, the more difficult it perhaps proved to break away from this.

Across the region as a whole, change is evident both in the form of relict landscapes and changing preferences in settlement location. This need not preclude continuity, but it serves to highlight that society was never static. The leaching of soils due to

over zealous cultivation, enhanced peat-growth, climatic change and population growth, together with the differing responses governing site location, side-stepping an optimum position in respect to resources, for instance, in preference for one offering a measure of defence, may all be crucial factors. Our understanding of these factors is, however, notional and climatic change is difficult to prove archaeologically. In the second millennium BC, when the landscape was perhaps more loosely structured, the opportunity to engage in a *laissez-faire* attitude to settlement and economy was perhaps freer than may have been the case once the trend towards sites of enclosure had become more firmly established. It is noteworthy that it is with the emergence of the palisades that evidence for on-site continuity and ensuing chronological depth become increasingly apparent (e.g. Harehope, Feachem 1960).

The excavated site types spanning the late second millennium BC to the early first millennium AD can be ordered by reference to the radiocarbon dates obtained (fig. 2.1). From this we can deduce a level of continuity despite changing requirements in the ordering and layout of a settlement. What we do not know is whether it is fair to assume that all sites which conform in character equate in date with the few that have been excavated. The Dod, though sitting late in the sequence, more properly belongs probably with the floruit of hillfort construction in the early to mid first millennium BC (p. 33), or so one might have assumed before the site was excavated. It thus serves as a cautionary warning against accepting all at face value and one should also bear in mind the importance of more localized trends of vernacular tradition, for which the Dod again is a good example (pp. 180-1). The lack of firm chronological control for sites examined in Manor is an inherent weakness of my case study; the more worrying given that, for the one site which has been excavated and from which finds were recovered, I have had to question the validity of its dating (pp. 379-80). The construction of an independent chronology for site types in south-east Scotland must be a priority for future research.

From the data I have mapped (fig. 2.4), structured by the evidence obtained by excavation, I am prepared to accept, in view of an accompanying presence of stray finds, ritual and funerary monuments (p. 27), that a large part of the Tweed Basin was already settled by the second millennium BC and, despite the shifting emphasis of settlement and economy, that there was an overriding level of continuity within the region throughout the later period. This is important for it allows us to determine the character of native society on the eve of Roman intervention and its bearing on the Early Historic period (pp. 50-2, 61-2, 69, 202-3). I have singled out the *oppida* as worthy of attention, though for the Early Historic period it is essential that a large scale open-area excavation, commensurate with that achieved at Traprain, is attempted for at least one of the *oppida* within the Tweed Basin. For

the prehistoric period we can but infer the presence of an hierarchical tribal society and an *élite* capable of commanding an agricultural surplus and redirecting it to their specific use (p. 47). This has not been tested for the Tweed Basin, though for Danebury an attempt was made to see the site in its regional setting (Palmer 1984; for criticism see Driscoll 1987, 340). It is perhaps only in the Early Historic period, drawing upon the complementary evidence of the written sources, that we can judge the degree to which hierarchy and patronage were instrumental in the maintenance of social organization. With this in mind we can perhaps frame a line of enquiry to examine the assumed interdependence between the *oppida* and their satellites. The real measure of a successful blend of archaeology and history should be that it opens up new . ways of proceeding and, as I have done at Traprain (pp. 121-48, 155-9), we might consider too the evidence of context as a determinant of social and settlement hierarchies and status.

I have suggested that the first millennium BC might be seen as the gestation period for society as it emerges in the Early Historic period (p. 52). The importance of cattle as a wealth commodity, the emphasis on agrarian achievement and the ability to redirect a manufactured and agricultural surplus to maintain the internal workings of society are apparently common to both the pre-Roman Iron Age and the Early Historic period. The *oppida* I believe are critical to this level of achievement, though previously it was believed that many were probably not in use much after the end of the first millennium BC. I hope my own work will serve to refocus attention on these pivotal sites, the forerunners, perhaps, of the *civitates* of the British period (e.g. *Alt Clut, Urbs Giudi, Din Eidyn, Dunpelder* and *Dynbaer*). I have stressed the importance of the *oppida* to the siting of Roman forts within the Tweed Valley, and here there is a specific line of enquiry which can be tested. It might also serve to shed light on the mutually beneficial interaction between Roman and native, which I have assumed (p. 59), though in the past this view has received little credence. Moreover the role of the *oppida* as enduring centres of ritual and ceremonial activity, even after they had been formally abandoned, should possibly not be underestimated (pp. 50, 99-100). They may hold the key to the origins of complementary lowland regional centres; an hypothesis which could be tested by the Borders Burghs Archaeology Project in respect to Peebles, Jedburgh, Melrose and Kelso. This, for instance, does seem to be the pattern borne out by the excavations at Dunbar (SUAT 1989; Alcock 1988a, 15-18).

The continued veneration or adopted reuse of centres of prehistoric activity is a theme I have addressed. It is apparent both in the tradition of the founding of Monenna's church at Traprain (p. 115) and in the reuse of the henge monuments at Milfield for burials of sixth- and seventh-century date (pp. 257-8). In this context future research might be tailored specifically to addressing the question of 'ritual continuity' (Bradley 1987, 13). The centres

at Yarrow, Kirkhope in Manor, and Addinston, Lauder, might be studied with this in mind, for it seems likely that sites such as these may have exerted a more clearly articulated influence on the medieval landscape than has previously been anticipated. May this also have been the case at Peebles, Selkirk, Melrose and Kelso; sites which attracted major ecclesiastical centres of their own in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries? The same of course applies to all the early church sites in the region; with the exception of the Hirsel (Cramp 1985), we know precious little about any of them. The potential of church archaeology, particularly in rural areas, has been well demonstrated at Barhobble (Cormack 1990) and both the Eccles names and the sites to which I drew attention in Chapter Four (pp. 102-15) might repay attention.

For continuity in the Early Historic landscape we have to account for the continuance into the fifth century of those elements of material culture which I have discerned in the fourth and earlier centuries (pp. 80-102). To these we must add the cultural factors accompanying the Anglian take-over of the Merse, and lands south of the Tweed, if not in the fifth century, perhaps in the sixth (pp. 260-2). This, combined with a change of language, no doubt added to the mosaic of influences already present in the region. We should therefore probably not expect to find evidence of cultural continuity, nor a right to assume it. It is a subject for discussion and, perhaps, proof. It is, however, worth underlining the evidence I have set out for a clear cultural divide within the region, between those areas coming under increasing Anglian influence and territories to the west of Dere Street which apparently did not (pp. 204, 241-2, 345, 353). Here, and critical to my assessment of Manor, is the presumption that these territories remained essentially British and thus some cultural conformity within the British area is probably to be expected. Given the dearth of artefact evidence for the Anglian period, the acquisition of further material is a priority. This could most easily be realized by selective excavation of the pits, outwith the SDD scheduled area, accompanying the Anglian township at Sprouston (p. 225); the cemetery itself may repay attention on the merit of techniques developed at Sutton Hoo and Snape (Selkirk 1990; Filmer-Sankey 1990).

Hope-Taylor (1977, 16-27) might be criticized for placing too great an emphasis on the results of one meticulously excavated site and generalizing from this to an overview of interdependence between the central and coastal zones pivotal on Yeavering, the necessary archaeological evidence for which still needs to be provided. It was, all the same, a courageous attempt to reconcile a broader picture of agrarian and social organization, and is in many ways complementary to my own. However, it is worth stressing that my analysis of the early Anglian centres and their relation to the British territories denoted by the Early Historic fortifications (figs. 7.1, 7.3) need not amount to continuity *per se*. Simply, I have

tried to isolate, by reference to a broad body of material, the likely focus for Anglian activity in each case. This would need to be tested by fieldwork, inspection of air-photographs, air-photography and selective excavation; much in the same way as Professor St Joseph, Gordon Maxwell and Marilyn Brown have filled out the picture for the Roman occupation of Scotland. The evidence in fact suggests that the pattern is not one of direct succession, generally a discrete distance seems to have been allowed between the Anglian centres and the earlier British caputs (up to 2.6 km). Continuity at a British level on the Merse could conceivably be tested by focussing attention on the caputs of the British estates that I have identified. This would be beneficial for we might learn more of their internal layout and something of their role in respect to their districts. It might also clarify our understanding of what constitutes an Early Historic fortification. With the exception of Kirk Hill, St Abb's, none within the Tweed Valley have been examined and thus the maxim is untested.

In seeking continuity, I have touched only on the most rudimentary outline of a picture which may one day be much clearer. It has, however, served to underline a point of importance, that is, if we are to grasp the significance of the Early Historic period we must frame our questions by reference to events and factors which determined the character of the landscape long before. This goes much further than an attempt simply to span the unbridgeable gulf defined by Myres (1936, 7) and is particularly germane to North Britain where disruption in the Roman period was probably of less consequence than south of the Wall. Here alone, perhaps, British society emerged relatively peaceably, progress and the tempo of change more likely being determined by society itself, whilst ultimately its identity was probably more thoroughly Celtic than was possibly the case either in Wales or *Dumnonia*. We might think of this in terms of a progression of events set in motion earlier, a gathering of momentum which achieved full form perhaps only in the fifth and sixth centuries. Though much of the detail is still vague, the latent potential of the archaeological and historical sources can probably only be realized by adopting still more fundamentally interdisciplinary studies with the aim of promoting a wider synthesis.

The Emergent Kingdoms

My second aim was to establish the probable extent of the emergent kingdoms, their origin and identity. This was ambitious in view of the evidence to hand and the impression, resulting from earlier work, that the Tweed Basin seemed to be a relatively homogeneous cultural entity in the Early Historic period, evidencing perhaps no more than two pre-Roman tribal polities and one sub-Roman kingdom, *Bernaccia*, which Thomas has suggested may have embraced the entire Basin (1981, 292-3, fig. 56). The origins of Bernicia have been well studied both by historians and archaeologists, though I think I am the first to offer an hypothesis for the presence of an earlier pre-Roman tribal grouping distinct from that of the

Votadini (p. 204), and to suggest why it was this district was singled out for Germanic settlement in the fifth century, thereby providing the wherewithal for Ida's accession at Bamburgh in the sixth (pp. 255-9, 263). A complementary picture for the Tweed Basin has never before been postulated, though Dumville (1989, 217) identified the pattern to be expected from the apparent succession of dynastic kingdoms upon earlier pre-Roman tribal polities elsewhere in North Britain. My own conclusions would seem to bear this out (pp. 274-309). Hope-Taylor too came close to identifying this pattern by reference to his 'northern battle-zone' (1977, 287-90, 298-300), but he argued that the Tweed was the critical boundary and thereby introduced an element of discontinuity, as the river creates an east-west axis effectively severing the pre-Roman tribal polities within the region, thus making a case for succession improbable.

It should be understood, however, that neither the kingdoms, nor their critical boundaries, can be proved solely on archaeological evidence, though the recognition of the patterning and distribution of site types, which might be used as chronological and cultural indicators (pp. 171-88), does have a bearing on this. But, much more work is required to test the validity of this classification before it can be used reliably. The definition of the emergent kingdoms can in fact only be upheld by reference to the widest body of evidence, both documentary and place-names. At best the picture is only a plausible reconstruction based on a recognition of the structuring of evidence at all levels. With the pattern identified, however, further research might serve to add other pieces to the jigsaw and this may clarify the picture. For the Tweed Basin, I have deduced the presence of three post-Roman polities or kingdoms: one in Tweeddale, possibly also a sub-Roman diocese, with a centre at Peebles and a subsidiary seat at Yarrow; the second in the central Tweed Basin, with a caput at Kelso (though North Eildon or *Mailros* would also be feasible); the third to the east, embracing the Merse, coterminous with Bernicia and, from the seventh century, firmly allied to it. We might term this third district *Bernaccia*. Collectively, the kingdoms would seem to confirm a tripartite division of the Tweed Basin in the Early Historic period and this accords with what we know of its pre-Roman tribal polities; succession therefore seems likely. I have suggested that Dere Street may have been the critical boundary for the two eastern polities. The Lammermuirs would seem the logical boundary between Gododdin and *Bernaccia*. This was the situation in the tenth century and was recognized as such in the early twelfth by Alexander I (*contra.* Hope-Taylor 1977, 287).[1] I have suggested that the Picts' Work Ditch, together with the fringes of *Coed Celyddon*, may have been the inter-tribal boundary of the pre-Roman tribal polity of Tweeddale; later an inter-dynastic boundary separating this territory from that of Cadrod Calchvynyd (pp. 280-5, 301).

There are, however, problems. We must bear in mind the implications of Mann and Breeze's wish to see an adjustment in the extent of the tribal groupings of the Selgovae and the Votadini, displacing the first altogether from the Tweed Basin in favour of Annandale and Nithsdale (1987, 88-9). I have argued against this and logic rules that *Trimontium* was the curia of the Selgovae and thus the presence of this tribe in the central Tweed Valley would seem secure. Time has not yet elapsed to see how far the case made by Mann and Breeze is accepted. If it is upheld, I will have to rethink the earlier picture. On a positive note, they concur that Tweeddale cannot have formed part of Selgovian territory and thus the case for upholding this as a distinct tribal entity seems strong. It would appear to be corroborated by the presence in Tweeddale of site types distinct from those in the eastern Basin and the Cheviots (p. 187). I have argued for the first century AD that this was the Genounian district (pp. 301-9), but this is no more than an hypothesis and Gordon Maxwell, for one, would not agree (pers. commun., 1987). No matter, the evidence should stand even without the label attached. The same would apply to my identification of it, in the Early Historic period, as the kingdom of *Goddeu* (pp. 290-2). Reconciling a name is no more than a gloss and I would not wish to press my case on present evidence. Similarly, the presence in Selkirkshire of an extensive tract of woodland, whether primeval or managed we do not know, seems borne out by the dearth of archaeological evidence at all periods. It matters little whether we identify this as *Coed Celyddon* or simply acknowledge the presence of the forest which would appear to have been an enduring facet of the Early Historic landscape, no less than in the medieval period (pp. 15-17).

My understanding of the identity of *Goddeu* is based on very slim evidence; simply the name *Liberalis* on the Yarrowkirk inscription which seems to tie him to the Haeling dynasty of Strathclyde (p. 289). The succession of Tweeddale in the twelfth century to the see of Glasgow, however, suggests that this is not improbable. Similarly there are problems in the identity of the kingdom adopted by Cadrod Calchvynyd, again of the Haeling dynasty, probably following Arthuret in 573 (p. 279). One would suspect, given his epithet and the succession at *Eidyn* by his brother, Clydno, that both places were formerly in the hands of the Coeling. *Eidyn* returned to the Coeling, what we do not know is whether the same was also the case at *Calchvynyd*. It is, however, of interest that both *Goddeu* and *Calchvynyd* do not lie within the bounds of the Lindisfarne estates (fig. 8.22), from this we might deduce that both retained something of their original identity well on into the seventh century and later. The Lindisfarne estates match most closely the lands annexed by Bernicia in the eastern Basin and this is in accord with the evidence for take-over as revealed by the earliest strata Anglian place-names, the *chester* names and by what seems to be an Anglian salient taking-in the nodal British centre at Melrose (pp. 240-2). Overall there is a high degree of complementarity in the patterning of the evidence. Further work may clarify this.

My case for identifying *Degsastan* as Addinston, Lauder, is also an hypothesis (pp. 321-36). It is dependent on establishing a link between the earliest forms of the personal-name 'Aedan' and the place-name itself. This can be no more than supposition and alternative explanations are just as credible, though the burden of proof must lie with the attributive factors accompanying the rationale of the battle itself (pp. 336-45). Logic would rule, taking account of the principal thoroughfares to and from the Basin, that the battle was most probably fought either here or close by, or else in the Biggar Gap (Barrow, GWS pers. commun., 1989). Of the two the former would seem more likely given the origins of the opposing forces and their apparent intent. The juxtaposition of Addinston at the fulcrum of the inter-dynastic boundary is of potential interest (p. 336). However, the archaeologist should probably be content to simply set out the evidence without trying to reconcile it immutably.

Factors Which Have Shaped the Landscape

My third aim was to examine the factors which have combined to shape the political, social and economic organization of the landscape. These though complex are particularly relevant in the context of the emergent kingdoms and their pre-Roman tribal origins, as too the nature of the Anglian take-over. Foremost is the character of the landscape itself, the potential and constraints of which I discussed in Chapter One. The topography of the region serves to set it apart physically and can be seen to have contributed a level of equilibrium to the structuring of the landscape at all periods, providing in effect clear boundaries for a microcosm which can be mapped with some objective validity. Although I cannot prove it, this seems to be the main reason for our ability to recognize the presence in the medieval period of a 'Border Society'. For the Early Historic period, as earlier, it is possible that this was always a relatively homogeneous cultural district, though at the same time a crucible of peoples. It may also go some way towards accounting for an apparent ability of native society to absorb external influences without materially changing its own. This seems to be the case both in the Roman period and later accompanying the introduction of the English settlements. Central to this view is, of course, my belief that all we perceive of the progress of native society in the Early Historic period was more deeply rooted than has previously been supposed.

The routeways to and from the Basin are thus worthy of especial attention, as the corridors by which influences were directed to the region. This is possibly reflected in the collocation of hillforts along the valley corridors (pp. 33-4) and I have discussed the significance of the valleys of Lauder, Yarrow and Upper Tweeddale in this respect, as too the Biggar Gap. These thoroughfares should attract case studies of their own. I have also highlighted the role of Dere Street as a boundary of consequence. This needs to be tested and research should in particular be directed to examining the archaeological evidence close-on

the boundary, for, as I have suggested (p. 241), it is here that the most interesting changes are likely to be evident.

Throughout this study I have stressed the importance of an appreciation of the landscape at a regional level taking account too of its full chronological depth. This is only a starting point, for unless the generalized patterns are tied down at a local level the validity of the overview will clearly be suspect. The two approaches are interdependent. In this respect, studies such as those undertaken by Shepherd (1983), Whittington and Soulsby (1968), and Cottam and Small (1974), which attempt to identify patterns at a regional level, or on a still larger scale, are of limited value because they are simply too broad. For my own purposes I have settled on two case-study areas, Manor, in Peeblesshire, and Sprouston, Roxburghshire. These demonstrate the value of a more fine-grained approach to landscape analysis and, in the case of Manor, where the natural boundaries are closely defined by the physical structure of the valley-system, the results are likely to be of some validity. Nevertheless, I would not wish to progress to a more generalized model solely on the basis of two case studies. Each is probably of relevance for its immediate area, but we require many more such studies before we can use them as templates to an overview.

It is a prerequisite of future research that pollen analysis is undertaken elsewhere in the region to supplement the diagrams obtained for the Dod, Allan Water, and Sourhope. Moreover the dating obtained for these diagrams needs to be precise and detailed if they are to be of value to the archaeologist. Our requirements are more exacting than those of palaeobotanists. This may require an independent research programme to offset the expense of processing dates. For the Dod, for instance, all dates were obtained free by integrating our research programme with another undertaken by Dr M Stenhouse, Glasgow University. A pollen diagram for Manor is essential and under optimum circumstances should have been obtained before work on my case study began.

For Sourhope, now that a pollen diagram is available, there is considerable scope for a complementary case study of the Bowmont Valley and one is to be undertaken by Ms Kirsty Duncan, Department of Geography, Edinburgh University (pers. commun., 1990). Tangentially this sheds light on another problem and one already highlighted for Manor (p. 366), namely the need to secure high accuracy dates for the sites themselves. Without these we can only presume that sites which are similar in character are broadly contemporary. Inevitably, in framing chronology, we have to rely on external comparison. This is a questionable premise with which to begin any case study and whatever the results our confidence is likely to be qualified. For Manor, where there is evident chronological depth, a

wealth of archaeological information and clear differentiation between site types, this is an area ideally suited to landscape analysis. Elsewhere, however, the pattern is likely to be more fragmented, the number of sites within definable categories fewer and for the most part undifferentiated. The reclassification of site types that I have proposed (pp. 173-88) offers a way forward, but it must be critically tested. For the most part it will probably be best to simply make clear our assumptions and break the landscape down into broad chronological slabs, arguably one for the second millennium BC, the mid to late first millennium BC, the Romano-British period, grouping all the rest in one category, Early Historic to medieval. This at least should aid comparison.

Rescue excavation, which is both selective and calculated on threat, will not be adequate to secure the necessary data. Systematic field programmes are required, tied to geophysics and selective excavation. These might be tailored, for instance, to assessing the nature and progress of settlement on the Merse, the rudiments of which I have already outlined (pp. 200-16, 239-42). Ideally, it would be of value if both university and state sponsored research was shared out between specialists, making full use of the services of an archaeologist, an historian, an historical geographer and palaeobotanist. Not a new suggestion but it has yet to be implemented for the early medieval period. This would have the merit of sustaining the critical acumen common to each discipline, whilst enhancing the level of direction, motivation and regard for the allocation of resources. The value of an inderdisciplinary approach has been demonstrated by Professor Cramp at the Hirsel, but was notably absent at Kirk Hill, St Abb's (pp. 211-13); arguably only the first phase to a wider study which might account for the role of the fort in relation to its hinterland. Coldingham parish would be a suitable testing-ground for such an approach and one which might take as a starting point the site of the British fort and nascent Anglian centre, and consider its development in company with Coldingham and Renton (pp. 211-14). From this it might be possible to progress to an overview of the shire (p. 433).

This highlights another field of research which is long overdue, that is securing firm evidence for interrelationships between sites. I have been able to do no more than speculate on the possible implications of, for example, the apparent juxtaposition between the *oppida* and the Roman forts, the British caputs and the emergent Anglian centres. The landscape of the Early Historic period is one still dominated by the *castella*, the leading fortifications for which a Dark Age date has been postulated. There is an assumption that these are high status sites and studies of the period still staunchly favour the view of the leading role of an *élite* (see Cramp 1988, 69). For the Tweed Basin, I have tried to fill out the picture by drawing attention to other site types perhaps prevalent in the fifth and sixth centuries and the ephemera of building traditions evident at the Dod and Traprain. This is

only a beginning, for our knowledge of how these sites relate to an overall site hierarchy remains all too vague. One of the research priorities for the excavations at Elginhaugh (Hanson and Yeoman 1988) was to establish the relationship of the fort to the native economy. The only native site examined, however, was one sealed by the fort; its contribution to the overall picture was thus severely abbreviated and arguably of little relevance. By contrast, the excavations undertaken at Smailholm Tower (Tabraham 1988), in which its context as a centre of lordship was considered in relation to the medieval rural economy and settlement, is precisely the approach required.

The nuclear forts also commend attention. It is far from clear whether they can still be regarded as a valid site type of the Early Historic period, or whether in fact, as seems the case at Dunadd,[2] their development represents a dynamic of fort development spanning a greater length of time. If this is the case, the concept of the nuclear fort, which has not seriously been addressed since Stevenson first proposed it (1949b), may collapse altogether. Moreover there has been a tendency to speak in terms of a level of status ordering the structural layout of these forts. It is assumed that the citadel was occupied by a chief or potentate, the outlying courts by his personal retinue and craft activities. Nowhere has this been tested and it requires open-area excavation if the results are to be meaningful. Archaeology evidently has a key role to play in promoting an understanding of the internal workings of society and the exercise of patronage, for it draws upon the strengths of artefact research, the definition of manufacturing processes and distribution; aspects on which the historical sources can tell us little. This should one day lend itself to an understanding of the way in which certain, perhaps prestige, items were used to establish and maintain social and site hierarchies. It might also clarify the role of the *oppida* no less, in the Early Historic period, the relative status of the *civitates*, *urbs* and *villae* (see pp. 236-9).

A further line of enquiry which needs to be pursued are the *lacunae* of the field-systems present in the relict landscapes of the pre-Improvement period. Our knowledge of the nature and extent of cultivation in later prehistory has recently been put on a firm footing (cf. Topping 1989). It might be argued that this is premature for the Early Historic period as its field remains may be indistinguishable from those of later date. Nevertheless, one might start with the field-systems in Glenrath Hope and Stanhope (resurveyed by RCAMS, 1989), which are believed to be of sub-Roman origin (pp. 182-3), and extend this to a consideration of the cultivation terraces, as some could be a product of climatic deterioration in the fourth and fifth centuries, arising from a need to bring marginal land under cultivation to offset a shortfall in agriculture in areas traditionally farmed (pp. 9, 65, 382).

All of this is not to deny the value of site-specific enquiry, for there are pressing questions to be asked of almost every imaginable type of Early Historic site, but unless these wider issues are addressed, and research strategies more precisely targeted, the whole approach and our understanding of social organization is likely to be less than effectual. This will not be easy, but the contribution of archaeology to a period where our perspective is to a great part coloured by the historical sources, should not be underestimated and holds the promise of one day being able to write a social history for the Eastern Borders.

Some Historical Implications

In this thesis I have emphasized the importance of agrarian achievement and I have traced the progress and increased structuring of the landscape within the Tweed Basin to the seventh century. It is to be anticipated that this would have a bearing on wider issues addressed by historians working from the later sources. At this stage it is therefore worth summarizing some of the direct contributions this study makes towards improving our understanding of that development. It has been recognized that from Kent to Northumbria, without a break, some system of 'extensive' royal lordship, based upon a unit known variously as lathe, soke, shire or *manerium cum appendiciis*, had survived long enough for its main features to be observed in records of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[3] For the Borders and Northumbria the shire seems to have been the common unit. Eschewing site specific enquiry in favour of a landscape orientated approach, Professor Barrow (1973, 28-35) has mapped the extent of the shires of Berwick, Coldingham, Norham and Holy Island, and reconstructed a lost shire, the shire of Yetholm; the vills of which were discussed by Craster (1954; see also Morris 1977). We know quite a lot about Coldinghamshire, Norhamshire and Islandshire simply because they formed part of the 'Patrimony of St Cuthbert' and Church estates would seem to have remained unaltered over a long period (Smith 1984, 180-1). Berwickshire, on the other hand, was taken back from the Church and quickly subsumed by the larger sheriffdom of Berwick created in the twelfth century. However, it is the origins of the shire system and its social institutions that have presented historians with the greatest problems.[4]

In his discussion of origins, Barrow attached particular weight to the place-name evidence and from this suggested that the shires might at least be of seventh-century date. While he recognized the potential importance of British names, he was reticent to project the picture back much before the seventh century, though he did note that both the shire and its social institutions might have Celtic antecedents (1973, 53-68). The introduction of the archaeological evidence perhaps offers some clarification and indicates a number of new ways by which the search for origins can be addressed.

For Coldinghamshire, Barrow suggested that the presence of *urbs Coludi* might point to a shire of some antiquity (fig. 10.1). From my own work, *urbs Coludi* should probably be seen in the context of the territorial framework tentatively mapped for the Early Historic fortifications at Kirk Hill, St Abb's, and Chester Hill, Greystonelees (fig. 7.1); British estates with emergent Anglian centres probably at Coldingham, Renton, Edington and Edrington (fig. 7.3) and a monastic site on Kirk Hill itself (p. 211). These estates, in respect to those of the Merse, are notably of large extent and this is perhaps reflected in the extensive demesne of the later shire. This is a pattern which also seems to be borne out for Berwickshire and, from the evidence I have set out (pp. 210-16), it is possible to suggest a probable shire centre. In 1095, most of Berwick's *appendicia* lay within a 10 km radius of Berwick, but there was also a group of four estates some 19 to 25 km farther up the Tweed. One, Birgham, which never attained parochial status, formed one of three chapelries in the large and, to judge from the place-name (p. 216), the ancient parish of St Cuthbert of Eccles. Barrow suggested that the original shire centre was probably not Berwick, as the *wīc* element would imply an outlying dependency, but may have been located to the west at Swinton or Kimmerghame (1973, 30).

Simprim, in the parish of Swinton, can perhaps be identified as the shire centre. I have suggested that it is one of the earliest Anglian place-name survivals in the Tweed Basin, a potential *-ingas* name (pp. 206-7). I have argued from the place-name evidence that Simprim and *Colodaesburg* may have been the pivotal centres of Anglian activity north of the Tweed. The later Anglian place-name survivals would seem to have stemmed from these two initial centres and progressively spread outwards (p. 209). Thus Simprim and *Colodaesburg* would logically emerge as the two most likely estate centres for their respective shires. The shire of Berwick, in accord with the pattern of succession apparent at Coldingham, would seem to embrace the totality of British estates of least extent tailored to the Merse, bound on the west by Dere Street.

There is, however, a problem. Although there is the presumption that both *Colodaesburg* and Simprim may have been the earliest Anglian centres north of the Tweed, there is little else to confirm their status. *Colodaesburg* is denoted by Bede as *urbs* (HE iii.17) and this might be significant, but we lack corroborative evidence for the status of Simprim, unless, that is, we view favourably its proximity to Eccles and thereby deduce both the site of an estate centre and a mother church, a situation perhaps paralleled in Hallamshire, with its hall at Sheffield and mother church at Ecclesfield (Linton 1956, 188, 196). Moreover the pattern revealed by mapping the earliest strata Anglian place-names (fig. 7.3) is one of repeated juxtaposition between the emergent Anglian centres and the earlier British caputs,

and this does not easily lend itself to the definition of a shire. Rather it seems likely that in the seventh century the pattern reflects a slight shift in emphasis whilst preserving the territorial framework already in place in the British period. Thus if we are to look for the origins of a shire system on the Merse, one might suggest that it probably came into being only after Anglian settlement had become established and that this in some way reflects a second phase of development, perhaps in the eighth or ninth centuries, brought about as estates coalesced and key centres emerged exercising a degree of precedence over all others.

This is a problem which can also be addressed by reference to the social institutions upon which the shire depended. The shire was geared specifically to the rendering of rents and services to the king and thus necessitated the redirection of the same from outlying vills to a royal centre, the *villa regia*. This can only have been facilitated by a ministerial or servential, and we may presume, horse-owning aristocracy or gentry, but a clear distinction is drawn between the rank and status of the individuals concerned.[5] At the top of the hierarchy, but non-residential, are the king, his earls and other leading dignitaries, ecclesiastical and lay (e.g. the entourage accompanying Henry III to Sprouston in 1255, p. 217). On a second tier are the king's thegns, freemen, who appear to have been large landowners holding entire villages or townships. From evidence of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, thegns and drengs seem to have been attached to a number of the Border shires (Barrow 1973, 28). On a level below these, and more numerous, were individuals tied to their holdings (sokemen), perhaps ten to forty per village.[6]

For the Early Historic period, we may deduce the presence of individuals of the two highest ranks, the royal house and the potentates who held jurisdiction over their caputs (p. 202), but we are not in a position to tell whether they were freemen or whether they were tied by obligation, though this is a reasonable inference in view of the royal circuits made, for instance, by Edwin (Bede HE ii.16). One might go further and argue that the caputs may themselves have relied on outlying dependencies. The apparent integrity of the territorial framework is perhaps a hint of this (fig. 7.1). It is possible, therefore, that the Anglian thegn may have had a close counterpart in the British period and, given the custom of partible inheritance, a number of such individuals might easily develop not only in the amount of the land they held, but also in their status within society. In view of the role that personal-names play in the place-name forming process of the Anglian period (e.g. *Colud*, *Simper*, and *Sprow*) (see also pp. 206, 208, 217, 239), it can be suggested that these individuals were foremost in the folk-movements of the period and thereby they, or the centres they established, potentially stood most to gain as the status of settlement and landholding evolved.

This would emphasize perhaps the pivotal importance of Coldingham, Simprim and Sprouston in the overall progress towards a more cohesive form of social organization, of which the shires are probably the logical development. While it is difficult to be certain of the tempo of social change in the Early Historic period, which may have lent itself to the evolution of a shire system, the character of the services rendered would seem to offer a line of enquiry which archaeology is best in a position to address. These services can be briefly enumerated. They include the payment of a flat rate tax, or money rent, Scots *feu-ferme*; carting or carrying duties, involving horses or other draught animals; seasonal ploughing and reaping, and wood-cutting; a requirement to perform bodyguard for the king whenever he was in the district, which may have included maintaining and palisading the royal residence; also compulsory hospitality, thus the provision of food-rents, tribute in cattle and pigs.[7]

Tangible evidence of a centre geared to the receipt of such services is perhaps evident at Sprouston (pp. 236-9). One might reflect that services of this type were also as much a part of the fabric of native society in the Roman period, no less too in the early to mid first millennium BC (pp. 47, 59-61), while sites, such as that at Sweethope (late or sub-Roman), with its extensive outer annexe (p. 185, fig. 6.30), may similarly have served as key centres for redistribution. This needs to be tested and one should be looking particularly for evidence of pits in which grain in bulk may have been stored. The souterrains of the Southern lowlands could have fulfilled such a function (Welfare 1984). Evidence for the manufacture and circulation of high quality craft items, as might reflect centralized control, might also be an important key. One might suggest therefore that in terms of social organization and administration of an agricultural and manufactured surplus, with its redirection to a specific end, that these were enduring features of the native landscape and that the shire system represents only an adaptation of a situation already long established, and one with which the native population were probably quite familiar.

As a working model one might postulate that the system originated accompanying the emergence of tribal polities within the region, initially perhaps in respect to a few key sites, the *oppida*. With increasing social differentiation, possibly enhanced in the Roman period (see pp. 62, 77), collective controls may have given way to more personalized obligations, attendant perhaps to the potentates inhabiting the broch-like dwellings on the fringes of Lammermuir and the dun at Stanhope (pp. 75-8). This might in turn lend itself to the exercise of lordship in the fifth and sixth centuries accompanying the emergence of the sub-Roman kingdoms and a more rational regard for a coherent territorial framework tied by the jurisdiction of the caputs, the forts of the period. In the Anglian period, with the political remodelling of the region, estate structure and the extension of Bernician royal control, this may have engendered alternative strategies governing mutual obligation and resources, of

which the shire system was probably the natural outcome. The Anglian shire might thus be seen to embody the vestiges of an archaic pattern of landholding comparable to the Irish *tuath* and the cantreds or commotes of early medieval Wales.[8] Implicit is the presumption that the shire was essentially an Anglian trait which capitalized on the social processes informing the character of British society. It was thus a system ideally suited to a mixed pastoral-agricultural landscape and one evidently already long developed.

Barrow suggests that it would not be difficult to find evidence in the rest of Teviotdale, Tweeddale and Lothian for a shire system (1973, 35). However, if I am right, that Anglian settlement extended no farther west than Dere Street, and there shaded off into territories which remained to all intents British, this would seem unlikely. My case study of Manor is therefore of particular relevance for it underlines the likelihood of a pattern of British survival probably not to be found on the Merse; a system characterized by the grouping of vills in accord with an upland or lowland *maenor*, with a central place, the *maerdref*, and an individual of rank, a potentate or a king's reeve, the *maer*. For the territories to the west of Dere Street there is thus scope for learning more of the British corollary of the Anglian shire. It is possibly also of interest, in the context of Manor, that this system would seem to trace an unbroken course from its origins in the early to mid first millennium BC to the medieval period (p. 391).

I began this thesis by suggesting that the Anglo-Scottish Border is of no relevance for the period in question. I set out with the hope of drawing together the background for the emergent kingdoms of the Tweed Basin in the Early Historic period and to demonstrate the link which seems to have existed either side of the Roman period. If this hope be modest enough it must be admitted that behind it lay the larger and bolder hope of reconciling a plausible reconstruction of the character of a region later subsumed by England and Scotland. The picture I have conveyed might therefore be seen to have a direct bearing on the formation of the critical boundary which came to divide the two kingdoms. The evidence for this can be briefly set out (fig. 10.2). The cession of Lothian to the Scots by Edgar in 973 probably reflects some memory preserved throughout the Anglian occupation of Bernicia of a northern sub-division of former Votadinian territory, Gododdin.[9] The boundary would logically fall not on the Tweed but on the Lammermuirs. This was recognized as the boundary in the tenth century and by Alexander I in the early twelfth.[10] By 945 the evidence suggests that the Scots had already penetrated as far as the Tweed.[11] The Merse estates thus fell to the Scots and the see of St Andrews.[12] To the west, the see of Glasgow extended to embrace Teviotdale and its outlying dependencies which may have remained at all times firmly within the British domain. South of the Tweed, Durham held on to its estates.[13] The Tweed in part

thus became the logical boundary. Kelso, perhaps always at the hub of the British territories central to the Tweed Basin, formerly the caput to the kingdom of Cadrod Calchvynyd, was in the twelfth century in the hands of Alexander's younger brother, the future David I.[14] Redden, due east of Sprouston, formed part of David's endowment to Kelso.[15] It is at the Redden Burn that the border takes the critical step of leaving the Tweed and turns south towards the Cheviots. The Anglo-Scottish Border as achieved in 1249 would therefore seem to correspond most closely with the political geography and cultural make-up of the Tweed Basin, the definition of which has been my chief concern throughout this thesis.

NOTES & REFERENCES

1 The Tweed Basin: the Region, Land Use and Resources
(pages 1-22)

1. For the opening sections of this chapter the following works have been consulted: the Regional Geological Memoirs of North Northumberland and southern Scotland (Pringle 1948; Greig 1971; Taylor *et al* 1971); *The Scientific Survey of South-eastern Scotland* (Ogilvie 1951a, and papers by Paton and Piggott); the introductory paragraphs to RCAMS 1956; 1957; 1967; topographic works by Watts (1975), and White (1978); the regional memoirs to the Soil Survey of Great Britain (together with land use and soil maps in the National Map Library, Edinburgh); and works by Sissons (1967), Robson (1965), Bennison and Wright (1969), Dury (1963) and Coppock (1976).

2. Summarizing points arising from RCAMS fieldwork (1987) and presented in a paper which I gave to the Wigtownshire Archaeological and Natural History Society on 17 September 1987.

3. Douglas 1798, 62; Barrow 1973, 261-2.

4. Many of the summer grazings in the Cheviots are on record in medieval times. In the reign of David I (1124-53), for instance, the shielings of Riccalton, in the parish of Oxnam, went with the lowland estate of Whitton (*Reg. Reg. Scot.*, i, no. 27).

5. As a follow-up to the excavations at the Dod, the Forestry Commission liaised with me over the proposed layout of planting in the Dod Burn valley (cf. Smith 1983c).

6. *Kelso Liber,* 118r; 218r.

7. Salmon fishing is a major industry in the Borders. In the medieval period the monks of Kelso and Melrose had interests in the Tweed fisheries; by 1562 the Tweed Rights were the property of the Crown, and by 1725 salmon was a common food in the region (*Melrose Liber,* No. 3; White 1978, 54). In Macfarlane's *Geographical Collections* the author refers to 'severall Rivers abounding with variety of Fishes'; the *Statistical Account* refers to trout, but not to salmon in the Ettrick (1790-1, iii, 295) and elsewhere to small salmon occasionally ascending the Ettrick and the Yarrow (1793, iii, 501).

8. The fort on White Hill, Cavers Parish (RCAMS 1956, p. 112, No. 158), which is situated on a spur (301m OD), is sited close to a spring which rises on the summit of the hill.

9. I put this point to Richard Higham at the 'Early Castles in Wales' conference which was held in Aberystwyth in April 1987.

10. *Melrose Liber,* No. 10.

11. For Newstead see Curle 1911; Richmond 1950, 10-11; RCAMS 1956, pp. 312-20, No. 604; Breeze 1979a, 49; this work pp. 53-4, 55, 58, 70-3.

12. This house (Period V, Inner Ditch Occupation Area) was defined by two concentric circles, the outer for an enclosing wall of planking or wattle; the inner, represented by a consistent gap between paving, floor and rubble, was interpreted as the remains of a circuit of sleeper-beams (Hill 1982b, 176-7). Hill found no close parallel for this structural type in the Tyne-Forth province, but noted the similarity of some comparable structural details revealed in the partially exposed house at Craig's Quarry, Dirleton (Piggott 1958a). In reconstructing the Broxmouth house the original interpretation has been challenged by Diana Murray (pers. commun., 1987).

13. At Inveraray Castle, where building methods were empirical, not to say hit-and-miss, the third Duke (1743-61) had to resort to many means to obtain the timber required. The first cargo, for instance, was obtained by mere chance, from a wreck off the west coast of Scotland; other abortive attempts included a wreck off Stranraer and one off Burra. Scaffolding timber derived locally ran out and Norwegian timber had to be imported (cf. Lindsay and Cosh 1973, 107-19, 366-90).

14. It has been suggested that the tradition may have originated from the discovery there of a Bronze Age cist (RCAMS 1967, p. 61, No. 90).

15. As Innes points out (1861, 101), the grant of cutting rights in a forest such as frequently occurs in charters, may well point to a need for conserving stocks of timber which were none too plentiful. The popular belief that the greater part of Selkirkshire was once densely covered with trees seems to have been current as early as the late seventeenth century. Macfarlane (1906-8, iii, 168) notes that 'this Shire was called the Forrest, because it was wholly covered with Woods, except the tops of the mountains... But the woods being now decayed much, the Wild Beasts are for the most part, also destroyed'. (See also Macfarlane 1906-8, iii, 168-9.)

16. The author of the *Statistical Account* for the parish of Yarrow notes that it formerly abounded with wood but that 'every remnant of the old wood hath entirely disappeared' (1793, iii, 507). From the great quantities of oak found in the mosses, it would appear to have been the principal species.

17. Similarly, Roman stones, including cornice-mouldings and numerous flat and chamfered stones, probably from the fort at Newstead, had been incorporated in the corbelling of a nearby souterrain (RCAMS 1956, p. 321, No. 611; Welfare 1984, 310.

18. A document dating from the reign of James V (1513-42) mentions several places in Selkirkshire as producing gold (Macfarlane 1906-8, iii, 56). The Glengaber Burn, which figures in this list, was recorded as producing alluvial gold as early as the sixteenth century; one of the miners, 'sware for a truth, that the greatest Gold that ever he got, was upon Glengaber Water within the Forest of Atrick and he sold it then for six shillings eight pennies stirling the ounce weight to the Earle of Morton' (ibid. 34). In the late sixteenth century a Mr Bulmer likewise 'got [there] the greatest gold, the like of it in no other place before of Scotland' (ibid., 43). In 1982 I visited the workings in Glengaber Burn as part of OS map revision for RCAMS.

19. Ronald Morris (1981, 176-7) has drawn attention to the many incidences where Bronze Age rock carvings occur close to copper ore and gold workings; the carvings being made, he suggests, by the early prospectors. In this context, the remarkable carving, of what seems to be an Armorican-type dagger (Harding, A pers. commun., 1984), discovered in the course of my fieldwork in the Manor Valley, Peeblesshire, may be significant (Smith 1981, 4-5; this work pp. 368, 395-6, no. 14). All the gold and bronze objects of this date, however, are unassociated surface finds. The only gold objects are two identical lunulae from the farm of Southside (see p. 40). Late Bronze Age hoards include those from Horse Hope Craig, Manor, and Hatton Knowe (Piggott 1953; Hawkes *et al* 1957, 178 ff; Coles 1962).

20. The Dod earthwork occupies a valley-bottom situation (p. 86) and thus access to an adequate supply of fresh water was not a problem. However, this factor probably does not underlie the location of the site at this point, rather the Dod, together with the comparable earthwork at Allan Water (pp. 78, 181), may be seen to have been sited so as to govern access to a series of thoroughfares which converge at the head of Teviotdale.

21. The detail of the Sprouston cropmarks has diminished over the years; compare, for example, NMRS prints RX/2471, 2127 and 3435 which were taken in 1967, 1970 and 1978 respectively.

22. The Border Burghs Archaeology Project was set up in 1983 with a brief which was confined to excavation and survey in and around the historic burghs (Dixon 1985a, 4-6).

23. In 1985 fieldwork undertaken by the Scottish Royal Commission extended to the moorland interior between Luce Bay and the Ayrshire border (RCAMS 1987). In the course of this work the visible remains of a largely intact Bronze Age landscape were recorded, which extended for over 150 square kilometres. It was demonstrated, however, that the visible remains formed only a partial impression, for where the peat growth was greater than about 0.8m, the monuments no longer survived as surface features; cairns, for instance, were reduced to no more than a low blister in the surrounding heather. Features, such as dykes, could, nevertheless, be further traced by probing. At the start of the survey only six hut-circles had previously been identified, together with a scatter of small cairns; at its conclusion the hut-circles numbered more than a hundred and these were set in context with field-systems and cairnfields of varying extent.

2 Later Prehistoric Settlement and Land Use

(pages 23-52)

1. Hill's model of settlement history was presented in a seminar on 'Settlement and Chronology in south-east Scotland 1500 BC to 700 AD', in January 1986, in the Department of Archaeology, University of Edinburgh, with invited participants.

2. The Dod pollen analysis was undertaken by Dr I Shennan and JB Innes Esq, Department of Geography, University of Durham. An initial bore-hole survey of the bog revealed up to 3.5m of organic sediments. A core was taken for pollen analysis from a location where the peats were apparently uninterrupted by inorganic inwash. Ninety-three levels between the surface and the basal pink clay were analysed using standard preparation and counting methods. A FORTRAN program, NEWPLOT 7, was used to calculate the 95% confidence limits of each pollen frequency and to draw the diagram. Biostratigraphic correlations were made with two other sites from south-east Scotland: Beanrig Moss (Webb and Moore 1982) and Din Moss (Hibburt and Switsur 1976). The pollen data was further analysed using Principal Component Analysis to aid comparison of the pollen assemblages from the bog and those associated with the Dod earthwork. The technical aspects of this work are summarized in Shennan and Innes 1986 (see also Smith, forthcoming).

3. The pollen and stratigraphic evidence from the Dod show that open water ceased to exist on the bog site by the end of Dod-C (well before 7370 bp), although the site remained poorly drained thereafter.

4. For the Long Knowe and Caverton Hillhead long cairns, Roxburghshire (the former not depicted on fig. 2.4) see RCAMS 1956, p. 94, No. 110; p. 133, No. 218. For Harlaw Muir, Peeblesshire, see RCAMS 1967, p. 51, No. 1, and for the Mutiny Stones, Byrecleugh, Berwickshire, see RCAMS 1980, p. 7, no. 1.

5. Cf. Smith 1984, 185-6, figs. 5 and 6.

6. I visited this site in the company of Investigators from RCAMS in July 1981.

7. Cf. Stevenson 1975, 104, 107.

8. By superimposing the excavation plans a similar structure, of ring-groove type, can be identified amongst the remains on the western plateau at Traprain Law (Macinnes 1984a, 179; Hill, P pers. commun., 1985; this work p. 117)

9. I visited Braidwood with SP Halliday (RCAMS) in May 1985.

10. Chronologically, the putative 4 ha palisade at Traprain Law has been placed between the Late Bronze Age and the first phase rampart (Feachem 1956, 286; Jobey 1976, 195; Macinnes 1984a, 180). The palisaded settlement at Woden Law, Roxburghshire, though noted shortly after the publication of RCAMS 1956, remains unpublished (Murray, D pers. commun., 1987). It is visible on air-photographs by Harding in the NMRS.

11. The lack of small field-systems with palisaded sites cannot be entirely explained as a result of later ploughing, as many such sites occur at altitudes up to 390m OD.

12. About this time, the Greek writer Homer describes a herdsman's bothy on Ithica which in many respects would probably not have been out of place among the early enclosed settlements of the Tweed uplands: 'He [Odysseus] found Eumaeus sitting in front of his homestead in the farmyard, whose high walls, perched on an eminence and protected by a clearing, enclosed a fine and spacious court. The herdsman had made it himself... building the wall of quarried stone with a hedge of wild-pear on top. As an additional protection outside he had fenced the whole length on either side with a closely set stockade made of split oak which he had taken from the dark heart of the logs. Inside the yard, to house the pigs at night, he had put twelve sties... in each of which fifty sows slept... the boars lay outside the yard - three hundred and sixty of them still. They were guarded every night by four fierce and powerful dogs' (*Odyssey,* xiv, 215, trans. Rieu 1986).

13. In the reconstruction of the Hayhope palisade, Reynold's accepted an estimated height of 2m for the wall-timbers but noted that a free-standing palisade can only have had a short period of use before removal became imperative or the abandonment of this line of enclosure took place (1982, 44-6).

14. The extramural settlement at Gray Coat consists of a number of ring-ditch houses which are visible on air-photographs in the NMRS collection.

15. The tribal groupings of the Tweed Basin in the first century AD are the Selgovae, occupying the middle and upper Tweed (Thomas 1986, 86, fig. 44, places them farther west) and to the east the Votadini (Welsh derivative *Guotodin*), stretching from either Wear or Tyne through Northumberland and the Lothians to the Forth (Rivet and Smith 1979, 508-9); see also this work pp. 57, 187-8, 203-4, 274-6.

16. For the assault on the Genounian district by the Brigantes - a clear act of inter-tribal aggression - see pp. 301-9.

17. 'They are exceedingly fond of wine... they are boasters and threateners and given to bombastic self-dramatization' (Diadorus Siculus, v, 26, 31, trans. Tierney 1980); 'Madly fond of war, high-spirited and quick to battle, but otherwise straightforward and not of evil character' (Strabo, iv, 2, trans. Tierney 1960): Two images of the Celts in conflict seen through the eyes of Diadorus and Strabo.

18. A point made by RBK Stevenson following Rideout's paper on 'Excavations at the Dunion' (Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, February 1987).

3 Native Settlement, Roman Intervention; the Romano-British Period (*pages 53-79*)

1. The Roman occupation of Scotland has been the subject of considerable scholarly study. For recent authoritative opinion see: Frere 1974, 123-33ff; Robertson 1975; Breeze 1979a; 1980; 1982; Clarke *et al* 1980; Maxwell 1980; Hanson 1980; Hanson and Maxwell 1983; Salway 1984, 139-284f; Keppie 1986; Hanson 1987; Breeze 1988.

2. Tacitus, *Agricola,* xxv.

3. RCAMS 1956, pp. 169-72, No. 308; for the composite nature of the 'investing works', some of which may be earlier and native in origin, see Halliday 1982, 81-3.

4. Tacitus, *Agricola*, xxii.

5. Breeze 1979a, 5, fig. 1; the difficulty, of course, remains of distinguishing the marching camps of the first Agricolan campaign from those of later campaigns without there being a strict stratigraphic relationship between the camp and a fort of known date (Brown, MM pers. commun., 1989). Hanson (1987, 84, fig. 10), following Maxwell (1980, 28-40), extends the distribution by grouping them with temporary camps and draws no distinction between the two; the temporary camps (cf. Richmond 1969) anent Dere Street could be related to road construction and need not belong to the first season of Agricola's campaigns in Scotland. For this reason I draw attention only to the two noted by Breeze (op. cit.).

6. For the Roman road system in Scotland see Maxwell 1983a, 175; 1984.

7. Richmond and Keeney 1937; RCAMS 1956, pp. 28, 375-77, No. 794; Maxwell 1980; Salway 1984, 145; and for temporary camps at Castlecraig, Kirkurd Parish (NT 125 445), and at Pathhead, Chrichton Parish (NT 399 632), see Wilson 1975, 14; St Joseph 1976, 6; for the full distribution see Hanson 1987, fig. 10.

8. For Newstead see also: Curle 1913; 1917; Richmond 1924; 1950; RCAMS 1956, pp. 312-20, No. 604; Jones 1975, 59, 77, 79, 169; Gentry 1976, 12-13, 30-2, 85-6; Breeze 1979a, 48-9; Macqueen 1980, 30-5; Elliot and Henig 1982; Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 27-8, 37-8, 45-7ff; Manning 1983, 143-4, 151.

9. RCAMS 1957, pp. 99-102, No. 130; Manning and Scott 1979, 23, 28, 44-5; Breeze 1979a, 49; 1980, 16-18, 21; Hanson 1980, 20-1, 33, 36.

10. The sole surviving milestone from Scotland, the Ingleston stone, bearing an inscription dedicating it to the emperor Antoninus Pius, and detailing the unit of auxiliary troops who erected it, as well as the Roman name for Newstead, *Trimontium*, demonstrates that this was the *caput viae*, the hub of the Roman road system in Scotland (Collingwood and Wright 1965, No. 2313; Maxwell 1984, 44-6).

11. Steer 1957; RCAMS 1967, pp. 169-71, No. 371.

12. Christison 1901; Richmond 1941; Steer and Feachem 1962; RCAMS 1967, pp. 171-5, No. 374; Gentry 1976, 27-8, 30-2, 84-5; Hartley 1972, 9, 14, 44-5; 1976, 83-4; Breeze 1979a, 46; 1982, 21; Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 40, 178.

13. Steer 1957; Breeze 1979a, 46; 1982, 21.

14. RCAMS 1967, pp. 33, 171, Nos. 372-3.

15. Taylor 1957, 206; Ordnance Survey 1978; Hanson 1987, 102.

16 The road north from Berwick to Dunbar, through the tight coastal defile at Cockburnspath, always appears to have been negotiated with some difficulty. Many of the great military expeditions, whether from England for the Lothians or from Scotland to cross the Tweed, followed the line of Dere Street (RCAMS 1915, xv); this too was probably the route taken by Ragnald's army in 914 and 918 (Smith 1984, 177-8), and for the possible significance of Dere Street to the battles of *Catraeth* and *Degsastan* see this work pp. 283-4, 335-6, 340-1.

17. Richmond 1947, 103-5; RCAMS 1956, pp. 402-4, No. 889; Robertson 1962; Breeze 1979a, 51-2.

18. Breeze and Dobson 1978; Donaldson 1988.

19. Maxwell 1977, 21.

20. Breeze 1975; Hanson and Maxwell 1983; Mann 1988.

21. Scott 1976b; Maxwell 1977, 25-9.

22. Frere 1974, 175; Breeze 1979a, 49.

23. St Joseph 1961, 121; *Disc. Exc. Scot.*, 1967, 17; Frere 1974, 136; Breeze 1979a, 37-8; Hanson 1987, 99.

24. Richmond 1951; RCAMS 1956, p. 381-3, No. 803; Hartley 1972, 9; Hanson 1987, 99.

25. Breeze 1979a, 49.

26. Steer and Feachem 1952a; RCAMS 1956, p. 310, No. 597.

27. RCAMS 1956, pp. 102-5, No. 145.

28. Collingwood 1923, 43; RCAMS 1956, pp. 25-6; Clarke 1958, 48; Richmond 1958, 42; RCAMS 1967, 34; Frere 1974, 127ff; Breeze 1979a, 6; Hanson 1987, 90-3.

29. Frere 1974, 123; Scott 1976, 30, 36, 40-1; Salway 1984, 144.

30. Frere 1974, 123ff.

31. Scott 1976b; Maxwell 1977, 23; Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 63.

32. Tacitus, *Agricola,* xx.

33. RCAMS 1956, p. 25; Macinnes 1983, 393; Hanson 1987, 91-3.

34. Frere 1974, 74, 126.

35. Dore 1979, 62-9.

36. Ptolemy, *Geography*, 2, 3, 5-7; Rivet and Smith 1979, 125, 139, 210, 475.

37. RCAMS 1956, pp. 306-10, No. 597.

38. Breeze 1979a, 49; Hassall 1983, 120.

39. Scott 1976b, 83-91.

40. Lowther 1936; Ross 1968, 268-70, 282-3; Manning 1972, 243-6; 1979, 52-61; Ross and Feachem 1976.

41. Curle 1911, 110-11, 380-4; Wells 1958.

42. Breeze 1979a, 11.

43. RCAMS 1956, p. 312, No. 603.

44. The difficulty of negotiating this northern sea-passage and the lack of suitable anchorages between Tees and Forth, would have been problems encountered by vessels of this period, as no doubt later (Mowat, R pers. commun., 1989).

45. Calculated for the 140s on the following basis: Newstead, 1500 men comprising two cohorts of *Legio* XX and the *ala Vocontiorum*; for Lyne, 500 men (appropriate to a *cohors milliaria equitata*); and for the installations at Oxton and Cappuck, perhaps no more than 200. For the size of detachments see Birley 1961; Frere 1974, 248-55.

46. RCAMS 1956, p. 312, No. 603.

47. Frere 1974, 174.

48. Hanson and Yeoman 1988.

49. RCAMS 1967, pp. 148-52, No. 330.

50. Yeoman, P pers. commun., 1989.

51. RCAMS 1956, p. 314.

52. The Border Burghs Archaeology Project was set up in 1983 as a result of co-operation between the Regional Planning Department and archaeologists in consultation with the Historic Buildings and Monuments Directorate (SDD). It followed from the success of the Eyemouth excavations undertaken by an MSC scheme under the direction of Dr Piers Dixon and the supervision of John Forsyth, Director of Environmental Education, Borders Region. Since then a lot of useful work has been undertaken by the project in Kelso, Jedburgh, and Peebles, with fieldwork in Berwickshire and excavation close to the royal burgh of Roxburgh. A county-based sites and monuments record has also been set up in conjunction with the NMRS (Dixon 1985, 4-6; 1988a,b).

53. Bowen and Fowler 1966, fig. 4; Applebaum 1972, fig. 12; St Joseph 1973, pl. xii; Fowler 1970, fig. 27; Philipps 1970; Fowler 1976, 26, fig. 1.2.

54. The keeping of hunting dogs and dogs of war is accredited to the Celts by Strabo (IV, 5.2). Dog bones were also found at Broxmouth (Barnetson 1982, 104).

55. Henshall 1950, 135-6, 151-2.

56. Hartley 1976, 82-4, 88-9; and see also Elliot and Henig 1982.

57. Traders may have played a key role and a few (though none from the Tweed Basin) are attested by tombstones in extramural settlements: Ateco (Old Carlisle, cf. Davies 1977); Duvianus (Carvoran) and Barathes of Palmyra (Corbridge, cf. RIB 1171).

58. See also Robertson 1970, 200; 1978; 1983, 409, table 2; and for the articles of exchange, Curle 1932, 277-397; Gillam 1958, 79-84.

59. Nicolaisen 1979, 172.

60. Turnbull 1881; Christison 1895, 160-4; RCAMS 1915, pp. 60-4, No. 115; Feachem 1977, 111; RCAMS 1980, p. 25, no. 190.

61. See also Breeze, Close-Brookes and Ritchie 1976, 78; Breeze 1980, 46-7; 1982, 40; Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 19, 64.

62. For an apse-ended building, possibly a shrine, at Easter Langlee, in the parish of Melrose, see NMRS Record card NT 53 NW 2; Keppie 1983, 400.

63. In the eighteenth century the site was supposed to be that of an abbey and was known as 'Red Abbey-stead' (Smith 1857b, 422-7; Vernon 1907, 375); a name perpetuated on the second edition of the OS six-inch map (1899).

4 Continuity in Settlement Between the Walls - or Not?

(pages 80-115)

1. The D-shaped enclosure seems to have originated as a glacial hollow, possibly a small kettle hole (Alexander, forthcoming). It was enhanced by the addition of an outer rampart on the E and by a turf-wall raised on boulder-footings on the S. The enclosing bank on the W was consolidated by the addition on a stone-faced wall with a rubble core.

2. The relationship between Building A and round house 2 is not entirely clear. The extent of (A) was largely defined by its wall-trench (about 0.5m wide), but the depth of the trench varied according to the slope of the ground from S to N and from E to W; the base of the trench, however, was uniformly level. On the N, the E wall-trench faded away and its full extent could only be deduced by the slightest retention of its mottled grey clay infill which had been compacted with the subsoil; a mottled brown-grey stony clay. Thus at the critical point where Building A cut, or would have cut, the wall-trench of round house 2, the wall-trench of (A) was so indistinct that it was virtually impossible to be certain whether it pre- or post-dated the round house. The relationship was finally decided on the probable extent of the slab-flooring on the W side of (A); this and the logical development of the Dod plan types suggests that (A) is in fact later.

3. Rahtz 1976, 81-6.

4. A trend towards rectangular structures is apparent on other island hermitages, for example, St Helen's, Isle of Scilly (O'Neil 1965); Church Island, Co Kerry (O'Kelly 1958); Lachubran (RCAMS 1928, 9-10; Munro 1961, 82-3), and possibly St Cuthbert's Isle, Lindisfarne (re-surveyed and published in Cramp 1980b) (see also Smith 1990).

5. Immediately on the acceptance of Christianity by the Northumbrian royal house, Coifi, the chief priest, set out to desecrate the altars and shrines of the idols, and the enclosures which went with them: *'iussit sociis destruere ac succendere fanum cum omnibus septis suis'* (Bede HE ii.13; Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 186-7); a task for which he needed a stallion. This would suggest that the religious centre lay at some distance from the site selected by Edwin for his meeting with Paulinus. If, however, the meeting took place on neutral ground (cf. Augustine's meeting with Ethelbert: Bede HE i.25), then the secular and religious centres at *Godmunddingaham* may have been close by, if not integral as at Yeavering.

6. The work was finished in 731 (Colgrave and Mynors 1969, xvii).

7. In Irish sources the size of a church is usually denoted by one measurement. This was probably its length, assuming churches were always rectangular (Radford 1977, 1-11); in Tirechan's *Life* of Patrick, for instance, the measurement of one is given as sixty feet (18.3m).

8. The presence of traders who were also Christians is supported, for example, by the fourth-century tombstone of *Flavius Antigonus Papias*, which was found in reuse in the Gallows Hill Cemetery, Carlisle (Salway 1965, 216-17; RIB, no. 955) an inscribed stone from Brougham Castle, which is probably of fourth-century date (Wall 1965, 204-5, fig. 1; RIB, no. 787), and a lost fragment, possibly from a tombstone, bearing a Chi-Rho monogram (*c.*AD 400), from Maryport, where coin evidence extends to the late fourth century (Wall 1965, 213, fig. 3).

9. Nash-Williams 1930; 1953; Radford 1971; Thomas 1981, 166-8.

10. *Lincs. Archaeol. Trust, 4th Annual Rep.*, (1976), 16; Coyler and Jones 1979, 52-4, fig. 2; Thomas 1981, 168-9.

11. Brown 1971; Thomas 1980, 142.

12. Radford 1971, 1; Thomas 1980, 142, 154.

13. West 1976; Thomas 1980, 146.

14. The situation today in Nicuragua, El Salvador and Korea suggests that interest in the church, both from a political and spiritual point of view, is promoted in times of conflict (Wimber, J pers. commun., 1987). If unrest on the northern frontier was rife in the late fourth and early fifth centuries, this need not therefore preclude the possibility that Christianity still flourished. One might also note the recourse to the Church made by the heroes of *The Gododdin* prior to their engagement at *Catraeth* (Jackson 1969, 37, 119).

15. Fletcher and Meates 1969; 1977; Thomas 1980, 149-50.

16. Jenkins 1965, 12; Taylor and Taylor 1980, 143-5.

17. See West 1976; Thomas 1980, 146, 152; Thomas 1981, 188.

18. See also Curle 1921; 1923; 1928; 1931.

19. Smyth believes that the spread of Christianity among the northern Britons was probably a gradual and low-key process (1984, 35).

20. I refer specifically to churches of the pre-Columban era, though the same would be true for those of a later date (see Henderson 1967, 77-89). I acknowledge the identification of a royal church site at Forteviot, on the evidence presented by Alcock (1984), though the site of the church is unknown and, following MacGibbon and Ross (1896-7, iii, 623), may be lost forever. So far as the interpretation of the cropmarks is concerned (Alcock 1982a; 1984, 229-33), it is noteworthy that the site suggested for the church on Haly Hill lay at some distance from the Pictish burial-complex of Early Christian date. For the state of the art see Alcock 1987a, 89-90.

21. Thomas (1981, 342; 1986, 100) sees this as more likely to have taken place after, rather than before, AD 500. Henderson (1967, 69-72) argues that the Picts had been Christianized at an earlier date, though Bede's account (in HE iii.4) may reflect a later elaboration (Thomas 1986, 100).

22. Duncan (1975, i, 39-40) has drawn attention to the pre-parochial church of Stirling which is associated with an *Eccles* name and is dedicated to St Ninian. He suggests that the site of the church (2 km from the Castle Rock) may be indicative of the cautious acceptance of a new religion by a tribal king, who in the fifth century could well have been Pictish.

23. O'Sullivan has listed a series of circular churchyards in Cumbria which may have evolved from early church foci or even small monastic settlements. None, however, have been tested by excavation (1980, 241-53, pl. IX). Alcock has highlighted the value of focussing fieldwork on similar enclosures in 'historical Pictland', in a search for other early church sites (1987a, 89).

5 Traprain Law - A Reappraisal
(pages 116-170)

1. *Medieval Archaeol.*, 31 (1987), 187

2. Curle and Cree 1921, 194-202; Cree 1924, 277-82.

3. In respect to the status of the Phase One settlement one is reminded of the Welsh Law, which, though dating to between 1200 and 1500, may reflect laws perpetuated by oral tradition. These explicitly set out the obligation for the nine houses which the bondmen are to erect and repair for the king's court (Edwards 1962, 163-76). Eight of these are always present in the Latin and most of the Welsh versions; the hall, the chamber, the kitchen, the stable, the granary or barn, the kennels, the kiln and the privy (Butler 1987, 49). There is some doubt whether nine or seven houses were the norm, and some surveys have five or less (Peate 1946, note 1, 150-51). Phase One, Building Group 1 at Traprain could represent a settlement unit of comparable status; Building XI, perhaps, combining the function of hall (*aula*; *neuat*) and chamber (*camera*; *estavel*)

4. Buildings of this type may belong to a wider vernacular tradition practised in the Celtic world. Gerald of Wales wrote that the Welsh built 'not great palaces nor sumptuous and overlarge structures raised on high with stone and mortar, but dwellings of woven rods sufficient for a year's occupation, assembled with a minimum of labour and a modicum of expense'. These, though probably shielings (*hafodau*), demonstrate a versatility in the handling of such materials (cf. Butler 1987, 47-8).

5. By contrast, turf-walled structures, principally shielings, are often represented by low turf mounds; thus overall measurements are given and no attempt is made to conjecture the original internal area (cf. RCAMS 1987, p. 72, no. 449; the full description is held on transfer in the NMRS).

6. I have recently recorded examples of both; for the use of turf in roofing see the cruck-framed cottage at Kincraig, Invernesshire (NMRS record sheet INR/32), and for a composite turf-and-stone-gable, an outbuilding at Blacklunans, Perthshire (NO 16 SW 49).

7. The manufacture and raising of couples is recalled by Samuel Robinson (1862), writing of the first Wigtownshire farmhouse that he served in (cited in Maxwell 1896, 357-8).

8. The Welsh Laws specify the three timbers which every builder (bondman or villein) upon open land or field land (*maes tir*) is to secure from the landowner whether the woodman is willing or not; a roof tree or ridge-piece (*nen brenn*) and two roof forks or couples (*a dyr nenfforch*). The building of a house, if done stealthily, was considered an act of theft (see Butler 1987, 52). There is a parallel in Irish Law exacting restitution for the illegal cutting of a 'fork' from a 'noble tree' by a fine of a two-year-old heifer *(Celtica,* 11 [1976], 109).

9. Gailey 1984, 18, fig. 15.

10. I recently recorded the fermtoun at Invereddrie, bordering the valley of the Shee Water N of Dalrulzian (RCAMS 1990, pp. 143-5, No. 285). A feature of this settlement is a group of small, round-angled single-compartment dwellings detached from the rest; these are most likely to be the dwellings of the community's unmarried men-folk (Caird, J pers. commun., 1988).

11. It is unlikely that hill-wash may itself account for the formation of the terrace-bank; so close to the degraded summit the amount of soil-creep can have been minimal.

12. The movement of peoples over a greater part of the Celtic West was perhaps more common than has previously been anticipated, though it is difficult to prove in the archaeological record. However, at the Dod (Smith 1982b) the souterrain, though sitting in the wider context of the Southern Scottish souterrains, is more closely paralleled by examples in Ireland (e.g. Cahercommaun, Co. Clare; Hencken 1938, 30). From this one may infer the presence of people who were probably immigrants rather than architectural whim; a view which is further supported by the presence of the unusual rotary quern with raised hopper and vertical handle-socket (see Cool, forthcoming). It has been suggested that this may have formed part of a marriage-gift accompanying a wife gained from Ireland (Welfare, A pers. commun., 1988) (plate 2.12).

13. Brough Road, Area 3, in the Birsay Bay Report, Morris 1979, 16-18, and a possible second house in Area 5, Morris 1980, 27-8).

14. I am grateful to JB Stevenson for having drawn my attention to the Deer Park Farms site at Glenarm, Co. Antrim (Lynn 1987, 11-15). Here two well-preserved bifocal (figure-of-eight) wicker buildings, counterparts for those at the Udal, have been recovered from a rath (26m in diameter). These are of Early Christian date; the outlines of a further twenty-five houses on the successive mound summits were also recovered together with the remains of two souterrains. The form of the walls, in all phases, was of wattle-and-post construction (some of the houses had double walls) and provide a particularly close parallel for the suggested antecedents for the Traprain Phase One buildings.

15. *Canu Aneirin,* ed. Ifor Williams, Cardiff 1938. For English summaries see Jackson 1939, 25-34; Gresham 1942, 237-57.

16. By special arrangement with the Area Superintendant, I was able to visit the excavations in December 1987. For an interim statement see McLean 1988.

17. Prior to the Reformation Pitcox was a chapelry in the parish of Dunbar (Cowan 1967, 167).

18. Both Pitcox and Pressmennan lie within the parish of Stenton; formerly the parish of Pitcox (*NSA*, 1845 [Haddington], 55).

19. In 1905, at Woodend Farm, on arable land, on the top of a slight declivity sloping down to the W end of Pressmennan Loch, a long cist cemetery containing at least nine graves, probably of Early Christian date, was discovered (Richardson 1905, 441; Henshall 1956, 278; NMRS NT 67 SW 1)

20. For alternative solutions in the use of crucks see Gailey 1984, 80-92.

21. Close-boarding of an end-wall is a recurrent feature in the Scottish medieval landscape, recoverable by field-survey (the turf-covered remains of open-ended rectangular buildings - not cartsheds - or longhouses as at Auchanlochy and Rosal in Sutherland; Fairhurst 1968, 135-69) and is evident too on a number of early photographs of nineteenth-century stone-built houses (cf. Kerr 1986, 30, 'Pitagowan as a Clachan in 1860'); the reason appears to have been the same, that is, to allow for the clearing of the byre.

22. The closest approximating to the Craigsheal field-system are the remains at Lawrence Field, north Derbyshire. These comprise a large oval ditched enclosure with a stone-on-edge revetted bank, within which there is clear evidence of plough strips outlined by merestones along narrow baulks. Incorporated in the eastern boundary of the main enclosure are two boat-shaped stone huts; pottery from the larger of the two huts is believed to be of eleventh- or twelfth-century date (Smith 1979d, 43-4, 76; Hart 1981, 13, 132, fig. 10.5).

23. The presence nearby of the large bow-ended timber buildings at Balbridie and Crathes (Ralston and Reynolds 1981; Ralston 1982; RCAMS 1984, nos. 98, 99) provide particularly close parallels for buildings on the scale of that at Upper Balfour.

24. I acknowledge the assistance by JL Davidson (NMRS) in discussing the date and form of the wags, and for first having drawn my attention to those in Glenlothdale.

25. Miller 1975c; Thompson 1977; 1979.

26. Thomas (1984, 328) also accounts for the possibility that a degree of overlordship was practised by the Picts but refers to events of the seventh century in support of this and then only in respect to the Picts nearest (not in) Lothian.

27. Cf. Ralston 1987; Alcock 1987a, 85, fig. 5.

28. For dating of the Pictish symbols see Henderson 1987, Ritchie 1989, and for the significance of the Pictish chains see Thomas 1984, 326.

29. A symbol stone from Borthwick Mains, Roberton Parish (RCAMS 1956, pp. 390-1, No. 855; Thomas 1984, 327), which bears the incised outline of a fish, can be dismissed (plate 5.3). The fish does not occur anywhere in Pictland as an isolated symbol (Stevenson, RBK pers. commun., 1980). Anthony Jackson (pers. commun., 1988) has related that the stone was originally set in the Tweed; when the water rose above it the local fishermen knew it was time to prepare for the netting of the salmon.

6 The Use of Houses as Chronological and Cultural Indicators: A New Classificatory System

(pages 171-193)

1. Steer 1956; Feachem 1959; 1960; Jobey 1962; Main 1979.

2. RCAMS 1988, p. 18, no. 129; RCAMS 1957, p. 98, No. 129.

7 British and Anglian Settlement *c.*AD 500-700

(pages 194-242)

1. Other than those recovered from the Dod (pp. 32, 86, 93), the remaining artefacts from the Tweed Basin, which may be of Early Historic date, are as follows: a knife blade from Hownam Rings (Piggott 1948, 219-20, fig. 14); a bronze annular brooch from Crock Cleugh (Steer and Keeney 1947, 146, 154-5, figs. 3, 7); a blue glass bead from Bonchester Hill (Piggott 1950, 120, 128), and an iron spearhead found at Catslackburn, Yarrow (NT 335 260), which is believed to be of sixth- or seventh-century date (Graham, A and Bruce-Mitford, RLS *letters* 1955), now in Selkirk Museum. There are also three bun-shaped loomweights. The first, and decorated on one face with a ring of punched holes, was discovered in 1971 in the garden of Sourhope farmhouse and is believed to have been deposited there along with soil removed from the extension to the sheep-yards on the lower slopes below Park Law hillfort (NT 845 200) (*Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.,* 104, 1971-2, 316, no. 21; RMS IG 190); enquiries made at the farm in 1982 offered no further clarification as to the origin of the find. Another, found in 1972, was recovered from the Chapel Haugh, close to the Jed Water (NT 674 143) (RMS IG 250), and the third was found on the Forest Nursery, Stichill, near Kelso (NT 710 385) (RMS IG 3). These are believed to be of seventh-century date, probably Anglian (Close-Brookes, J pers. commun., 1982).

2. RCAMS 1956, pp. 102-5, No. 145.

3. Cf. RCAMS 1956, p. 35; 1967, 35-6; Laing 1975a, 1-12.

4. Above n. 2; RCAMS 1956, pp. 58-9, No. 16, pp. 124-6, No. 201.

5. Cowan 1967, 6.

6. RCAMS 1956, pp. 210-12, No. 417.

7. See Nicolaisen 1979, 172; Thomas 1981, 292.

8. At the time the new parklands were taking shape and tower-houses were giving way to lairds' houses and baronial mansions, William Roy, later Quarter-Master General in the British Army, was commissioned by the Duke of Cumberland to undertake a survey of Scotland, as an outcome of which a large-scale map of the Border region was produced (for Roy's life and mapping techniques see Moir 1973, 104-12; Davidson 1986, 13). This is a unique document as it shows the landscape still dominated by the old open-field system,with runrig predominating over most of the lowlands but with new enclosures taking shape close to Kelso and the outlines of the great estates transforming the 'waste'. Pennant, in his *Tour of Scotland, 1772* (1790, 273), noted the new enclosures around Kelso and compared them with 'the work of a new colony in a wretched impoverished country'. Less than thirty years later, a traveller was to remark that Berwickshire was 'a district in which agriculture has been happily carried to perfection, an example to the rest of the country' (cited in White 1978, 125).

9. The relative prosperity of the eastern Tweed Basin is well reflected in the work of the Adam brothers, James and Robert, who had, by the mid eighteenth century, submitted plans for no less than fourteen mansions in Berwickshire and Roxburghshire (NMRS Architects Catalogue).

10. Johnston was a native of Berwickshire and, although his book on Scottish place-names (1892) has been superseded by the work of Watson (1926) and others, his survey of the place-names of Berwickshire (1940) is still an authoritative source (Fraser, I pers. commun., 1989).

11. Assuming that the Anglian take-over met with at least token resistance from the British, we may infer that it would have been necessary for the Angles to secure not only coastal positions but also others inland, of which Simprim may be one. One without the other would have been ineffectual if British positions remained from which counter-insurgency could be mounted. The want of sufficient exertion across the Merse by sea-borne and Anglian land-forces would result not only in failure but positive harm. It might be anticipated therefore that the two polities would seek to outstrip each other, thereby producing a reciprocal action which could only be won by securing objectives and displacing the indigenous forces (see Clausewitz 1979, 374).

12. In the reign of Edwin (617-33), or soon after Gododdin was overrun, the farthest extent of Anglian penetration in Lothian apparently lay just west of Abercorn (NT 082 791), where a bishopric was established in 680 (Bede HE i.12). It is therefore possible that the boundary between Anglian and British polities in the Tweed Basin was similarly reflected in the Lothians and that the frontier there rested near the present boundary of Mid and West Lothian, with Abercorn, perhaps, the strategic frontier post (see Smyth 1984, 65-6).

13. See also Hope-Taylor 1977, 23-4.

14. Ferguson 1891, 165; RCAMS 1915, p. 156, No. 278; 1980, p. 51, no. 450.

15. Thomson 1967; Clarke 1970; Elliot and Thomson 1970; Noble 1970; Thomas 1971, 197; Noble 1973a; 1973b; 1973c; Thomson 1973a; 1973b; 1973c; Noble 1976a; 1976b; 1976c; Thomson 1976; RCAMS 1980, p. 47, no. 410.

16. Chisholm accepted figures of between 0.8 km and 1.6 km as the limiting distance at which the cost of cultivation rose high enough to warrant a shift in settlement location (1973, 144-7). From measurements drawn from an accurate map of open-field land in Warwickshire about 1700, Roberts calculated the median distance from village centre to the farthest point on the field perimeter to be in the order of 2.4 km (1979, 104).

17. Johnston 1940, 45; Nicolaisen 1979, 73.

18. The antiquity of this boundary is perhaps to be deduced from its juxtaposition with the Winding Cairn, now much reduced in size but measuring about 29m in diameter within a rough kerb (RCAMS 1980, p. 15, no. 92).

19. Anglian shires in Northumbria were formed for taxation purposes round townships which were administered by ealdermen,whose court was termed the *mansio* (Adams 1976, 76).

20. Carr 1836, 109-12; Raine 1841, Appendix, 93-4, 97-9; Lawrie 1905, nos. 15, 16, 19, 65; Thomson 1908, 163-9; RCAMS 1980, p. 62, no. 543.

21. *Stat. Acct.*, 14(1795), 36; Name Book, Berwick, No. 7, pp. 41, 46; Henderson 1875, 99-100, 102; RCAMS 1980, p. 56, nos. 489-90.

22. The district is probably one of some chronological depth. Some 75m to the north of Ladykirk House there is a prehistoric barrow (RCAMS 1980, p. 12, no. 60).

23. My thanks to the Honourable Caroline Douglas-Home for introducing me to the site. In the course of fieldwork I examined the fields adjacent to the convent (cf. *Stat. Acct.*, i, 1792-3, 240; RCAMS 1980, p. 47, no. 414) but no finds were recovered. The extent of the *territoria* accompanying the church is perhaps indicated by a medieval disc-headed cross which stands some 300m to the south-west of Crosshall farmhouse (NT 7605 4220) (Hardy 1884, 366-71; RCAMS 1915, p.80, No. 143; 1980, p. 66, no. 589). Although archaeological evidence for an early church site is lacking, it is possible that a marked loop in the public road (the B641), due west of Eccles to the north of Eccles House, if not the result of eighteenth-century emparking, might be indicative of an earlier ecclesiastical boundary. This could be tested by excavation.

24. Robson 1896, 126, 128; Gibson 1905, 49-51; RCAMS 1980, p. 49, no. 433.

25. *Kelso Liber,* No. 1; Cowan 1967, 186.

26. Jeffrey 1864, 193; Barrow 1971, p. 362, No. 367.

27. Jeffrey 1864, 199; Bain 1881-8, i, 386-7. On the English side fifteen are mentioned by name, including the provost of Beverley and the earls of Gloucester, Norfolk, Surrey, Albemarle and Warwick, and evidently there were many other dignitaries beside; Jeffrey (op. cit.) states that Henry III was accompanied by his queen.

28. Bain 1881-8, ii, pp. 97, 234, 251, 356, nos. 395, 895, 983, 1348; iii, p. 321.

29. Robertson 1798, 12, no. 62; Duncan 1988, pp. 23-4, 41, 47, No. 172.

30. Robertson 1798, 12, no. 62; Webster 1982, p. 218, No. 187.

31. Jeffrey 1864, 199.

32. *Reg, Mag. Sig.*, iv, No. 148.

33. Jeffrey 1864, 199.

34. *Retours,* Roxburgh, Nos. 36, 52, 131, 156, 181, 267.

35. Jeffrey 1864, 198.

36. *Kelso Liber,* Nos. 1-2, 23, 382.

37. Jeffrey 1864, 198; Cowan 1967, 186-7.

38. *NSA*, 3(Roxburgh), 239; RCAMS 1956, p. 433, No. 971, fig. 406.

39. *Kelso Liber*, No. 208.

40. The following air-photographs have been studied as a basis for the transcription: RCAMS AP's for 1976, 1977, 1978, 1981, 1984, 1986, 1988; CUCAP K17-Y235 BHC 67, BFZ 70; BEE 35-8; Harding 1978/013/1,2,5,8,11; 1978/014/6-11; T Gates 1981 A40842-904.

41. The cemetery was detached from St Joseph's main plan and dealt with separately (1982, figs. 1 and 2). Computer rectified plots have their limitations, not least in the transcription of fine detail (information MM Brown and I Parker, RCAMS, 1990). Thus in the case of the Sprouston cemetery, St Joseph resorted to an interpretative sketch and noted 'the actual pattern is almost certainly more complicated' (1982, 196). For a site like Sprouston, where the quality of the air-photographs offer considerable scope for refinement, alternative methods of transcription commend themselves (compare Reynolds 1980, fig. 7; St Joseph 1982, fig. 1; Smith 1984, fig. 5).

42. In my transcription, I have taken account of papers on photo-interpretation by Guy 1962; Soyer 1963; Steiner 1966; Haefner 1966, and Sensenbrunner 1969.

43. Christopher Loveluck has undertaken a phosphate survey as part of his re-analysis of the site (Cramp, RJ pers. commun., 1990).

44. My thanks to the Duke of Roxburgh on whose land the site is situated, and to Bryce and Charles McCririck for permission to walk their fields at Whitmuirhaugh, for discussion and hospitality.

45. Payments in compensation for ploughing no deeper than 3 feet (0.9m) had ceased by 1989 (McCririck, C pers. commun., 1990). The depth of ploughsoil above the subsoil horizon (i.e. that cut by the archaeological features), visible in an eroded section at the edge of the field, is about 40cm.

46. St Joseph (1982, 194) identified the palisaded enclosure of Phase II as possibly corresponding in some fashion to the Great Enclosure at Yeavering, not that of my Phase III.

47. To aid comparison, buildings designated (a) to (f), in St Joseph's analysis (1982, 194-6), correspond respectively to (A)(F)(E)(D1)(D2) and (C) in mine.

48. Although not recognized by St Joseph, the site of the church is apparent on his figure as a gap on the south-west side of the cemetery (1982, 196, fig.2), moreover the density of graves in this sector of the cemetery is clear. Reynold's glossed over the issue by sketching-in further graves to fill the void (1980a, fig. 7).

49. Cf. Bullough 1983, 194; Cramp 1988, 75.

50. See de Paor 1958, 57, and general summary of relevant evidence in Chapter Two.

8 The Historical Evidence and its Bearing on the Political Geography of North Britain AD 400-600

(pages 243-309)

1. Gildas, *De excidio et conquestu Britanniae,* T Mommsen (ed.) *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi,* 13, 1ff (1894-8); Williams 1899-1901; Winterbottom 1978.

2. Thompson 1979, 225.

3. Miller 1975a, 174; Dumville 1977a, 179; 1989, 214.

4. Bede, *Chronica Majora,* T Mommsen (ed.) *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi,* 223ff (1898).

5. Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* B Colgrave and RAB Mynors (ed. and trans.), *Bede's Ecclesiastical History* (Oxford, 1969).

6. Miller (1975b, 248) argues that *post non longum tempus reversuri* (DEB 20, 36.7) could mean either that the Irish did return, or that they went away with every intention of returning.

7. Thompson (1979, 220) suggests that three or four good harvests would account for this.

8. Although we know little about Vortigern's role in fifth-century British politics and administration, Dumville suggests that he is perhaps best seen as an overlord of some sort who had a general control over military matters for the territories of a group of *civitates* (1977a, 185; but see also Thompson 1979, 216, n. 69).

9. For the implications of 'Federate' status see Thompson 1979, 217.

10. Dumville (1977a, 185, cf. n. 8 above) suggests that the sphere of Gwythern's activities may have been in southern Britain. This is disputed by Thompson who points to the fact that there is no evidence that the tyrant's power extended outside northern England, and that those who suppose him to have ruled from Wales to Kent have gone beyond the evidence supplied by Gildas or by Constantius in his *Life* of Germanus (1979, 217).

11. Kirby 1963, 527.

12. Hope-Taylor (1977, 274ff) grasped this point but failed to draw more than limited inference on the significance of the area. Nor did he account for the origin of the name **Bernaccia*, although he accepted that the district must have been a distinct entity before 547.

13. For the Bamburgh fortifications in the Early Historic period see Alcock 1987b, 265; 1988a, 13.

14. Cf. *Stat. Acct.*, 4(1790-1), 416; 6(1791-2), 328.

15. The issue here is not the security of Bamburgh but the territorial integrity of *Berneich*, without which Bamburgh in its widest sense as the *civitas regia* (cf. Alcock 1988a, 15) would have been rendered ineffectual. Whether the northern boundary of *Berneich* lay with the Tweed, or extended from north to south through the middle Tweed Basin, is almost immaterial. The security and very survival of *Berneich* depended not so much on its ability to forcibly maintain its identity, but lay with the fortunes of the neighbouring British kingdoms. The sustained emergence of Bernicia during the seventh century may be seen to be an outcome not of force of arms *per se* but as a corollary of the decline of the North British kingdoms and the failure of Celtic supremacy both militarily and politically.

16. Cf. Williamson 1942, 8; Malone 1936, 153-4; Nicolaisen 1979, 25.

17. *Mailros* (Bede HE iii.26), Cumbric *Moelros*, 'the bare moor'; Nicolaisen 1979, 6.

18. Cf. Sisam 1953, 326-7.

19. The archaeological evidence for the occupation of the Bamburgh citadel is summarized by Hope-Taylor (1966a; 1977, 370, n. 339) and discussed by Alcock (1987b, 265; 1988a, 13, 15); see also the Bamburgh Castle guide (1985, section 1). The evidence points to continuous occupation from the pre-Roman period to medieval times. Symeon of Durham notes, 'The City of Bebba is exceptionally well fortified, but by no means large, containing about the space of two or three fields, having one hollowed entrance ascending in a wonderful manner by steps... There is on the west and highest point of this citadel, a well, excavated with extraordinary labour' (1987, 36, *s.a.* 774).

20. Jackson 1955a, 82; 1963, 31-2; Miller 1975c, 265; Dumville 1989, 218.

21. Jackson 1939, 25; Chadwick 1949, 143-4.

22. Lindisfarne is the natural seaward bastion to the Bamburgh citadel, which together provided the essential basis for control of coastwise traffic by sea and land (Hope-Taylor 1977, 292).

23. Non-contemporary references in Muirchu's *Life of Patrick* and in Adomnan's *Life of Columba*, preserve the tradition that 'the Rock of the Clyde', Castle Rock, Dumbarton, was the seat of the Strathclyde dynasty back respectively to the fifth and sixth centuries (Alcock 1976; 1981a, 157-9; 1988a, 12).

24. Kirby (1976a, 112) notes that if we are indeed rigorous in our criticism, we will recognize that the Morgan (Morcant) who fought with Urien may not have been either of the Morcants who appear in the Coeling pedigree (cf. Miller 1975c, 265).

25. *Annales Cambriae* 573, *Armterid*, cf. Miller 1975d.

26. Miller 1975d, 110.

27. Kirby argues that if the original tradition had not been that Cunedda migrated 146 years before the accession of Maelgwyn but 146 years before his death (549), the movement of these people will have occurred about AD 400. If the names of Einion's two immediate lineal ancestors have indeed been lost, this would date Cunedda's migration to about 400 (1976a, 100).

28. Miller suggests that Tecmant and Teuhant, in Cunedda's pedigree, are two forms of the same name, Tasciovanus in Romano-British (1975c, 266).

29. Johnston (1934, 293) suggests a derivation for the place-name Selkirk (*Selechyrca*, 1113) from OE *sele*, *soel*, 'church in the hall or house'.

30. Dumville (1989, 217) suggests that the Dumnonii appear to have occupied what in recent times were the counties of Ayr, Renfrew, Lanark and Dumbarton, and western Stirlingshire too. This defines the territory which we should also assign to the Early Medieval kingdom of Strathclyde, based on Dumbarton: why should this, he asks, not also be the lineal ancestor of the Iron Age kingdom of the Dumnonii? In the east the Votadini may be seen emerging in our post-Roman sources as the Gododdin, in occupation of the territory between Tees and Forth continuing to the region of Manaw (notably Clackmannanshire) around the head of the Forth. Dumville draws no conclusions on the Novantae and the Selgovae but suggests that on this model we should perhaps suppose there to have been separate sub-Roman successor kingdoms in south-central and south-western Scotland.

31. Hope-Taylor 1977, 307.

32. Hope-Taylor 1977, 292, 370, n. 339.

33. Blair 1947, 34-5.

34. Cf. Skene 1868b, 92; Chadwick 1949, 143; Miller 1975d.

35. 'His son Meriawn shared in the partition of the (conquered) territories with his (Typiawn's) brothers.Their territories extend from the (estuary of the) Dee to the Teifi'; *Harleian Genealogies,* Nos. 32ff; Chadwick 1949,147; Blair 1947, 36-7; Kirby 1976a, 89-100.

36. Chadwick 1949, 144.

37. Skene 1886a, i, 172; Watson 1926, 343; Blair 1947, 46; Chadwick, HM 1949, 144; Chadwick, NK 1976, 80.

38. Hope-Taylor had grave doubts but was not forthcoming (1977, 287), but see Jackson 1955a, 83, n. 13.

39. Cowan and Easson 1976, 68-9.

40. Bain 1902-27, iv, No. 568.

41. Skene 1868a, ii, 3-5, 18-29.

42. '*Merlinus insanus effectus est*' (*Annales Cambr., s.a.* 573; Morris 1980, 85); Skene 1868a, 91; 1886, i, 157, n. 75, ii , 18; Lloyd 1911, i, 167; Shaw 1973, 159-60.

43. RCAMS 1956, pp. 88-9, No. 78.

44. For the name of the *oppidum* see *Symeon of Durham* 1987, s.a. 759.

45. Derek Craig, however, is currently considering the territorial significance of the Early Christian monuments in south-west Scotland, as part of a doctoral thesis under the supervision of Professor RJ Cramp, University of Durham.

46. Napier and Ettrick, 1885. Its discovery is recalled by Walter Elliot (now the archivist in Selkirk Museum) as it was found by his father in the course of removing stones from the adjoining field for the purposes of dyking. Other inscribed stones were apparently also found and were subsequently incorporated in the neighbouring dykes (of these I can find no trace); the *Orans* was the best preserved and was thus incorporated in a prominent position from which it was subsequently removed (Elliot, JW pers. commun., July 1988).

47. NMRS record card NT 32 NE 11; see Annex A for references.

48. Cf. Craig-Brown 1886, 47-8.

49. NMRS nos. NT 32 NE 1, 7, 8.

50. Respectively RCAMS 1957, p. 67, No. 53; p. 35, No. 10; Cowan 1967, 211-12.

51. Jackson 1957, 113.

52. Blair 1947, 24.

53. Rhys 1906, 10; see also Chadwick 1949, 145.

54. Macalister 1945, 491ff.

55. Jackson 1957, 113.

56. Chadwick 1949, 145.

57. Thomas 1968, 105.

58. RCAMS 1957, p. 69, No. 65; the parallel is with the barbarous head from Wallsend (Kendrick 1938, pl. vii, 2).

59. Cf. *Stat. Acct.*, 7 (1793), 511.

60. *Stat Acct.*, 7 (1793), 506 under 'Agriculture'.

61. Cf. Myrddin Willt and his distraught wanderings in *Coed Celyddon* in his madness after Arthuret (*Annales Cambr., s.a.* 573; see also Skene 1868a, ii, 3-5, 18-29).

62. Keppie and Walker 1987.

63. For the Roman road system in the Flavian and Antonine periods see Breeze 1979a, figs. 2-6, and Maxwell 1977 and 1984.

64. Williams 1975, xliii.

65. For a summary see Williams 1975, xxxviii-ix; Chadwick 1949, 144, 160.

66. Williams 1975, xxxix.

67. Morris-Jones 1918.

68. Morris-Jones 1918, viii. 3 'KANV VRYEN'; Williams 1975, xxxvii.

69. Ordnance Survey 1956, *Map of Roman Britain.*

70. Hogan 1910, 388; Watson 1926, 156. The earthwork referred to (the Round Dounan, Dunragit) seems, on the basis of my own fieldwork in October 1986, to be most probably a motte (cf. RCAMS 1987, p. 61, no. 340). That said, its sole distinguishing feature is a terrace which extends around the base of the mound on the west. With hindsight I am prepared to revise my earlier view, as the distinguishing feature for a number of so-called Dark Age forts (e.g. Cluny and King's Seat, Dunkeld; Alcock 1981a, 161; 1987a, 82 respectively) is a terrace rampart and sometimes, as in the case of King's Seat, there is more than one. It is, nevertheless, difficult to determine without excavation whether these are original features or merely the result of later landscaping; which seems likely at Kingseat and possibly also at Cluny (where the lower terrace may be the result of broad-rig cultivation) but is hard to account for at Dunragit (although the earthwork does stand within the policies of Dunragit House: RCAMS 1987, p. 63, No. 345). Terrace ramparts, however, are not a common feature of later earthwork castles; the motte at Castle Ban, West Rhins, is one exception (RCAMS 1985a, p. 30, no. 186).

71. Williams 1975, xl.

72. Evans 1910, 78.15.

73. The identification is made independent of the interpretation of *echwydd*, which Williams regarded strictly as meaning 'fresh water' i.e. 'river water'. In Cumberland and Westmorland the river which suggests itself is the Eden and, in Yorkshire, the Swale and the Ure; Williams 1975, xlii-xliii,

74. Skene 1868a, i, 276-84, ii, 399-401; Evans 1910, 23-7.

75. Morris-Jones 1918.

76. Williams 1975, xliii - xliv.

77. Watson 1926, 343-4.

78. Johnston 1970, 325; Watson 1926, 522; Jackson 1956, 434-5.

79. Morris-Jones 1918, 72-5; Bartrum 1966, 16.

80. See also MacQueen 1955, 111.

81. Peter Corser has drawn my attention to another Early Christian memorial which was found in association with a cairn (see RCAMS 1982, p. 13, no. 68).

82. NMRS Record Card NT 13 SE 5; RCAMS 1967, pp. 267-9, No. 527.

83. Two saints are possible: St Gorgon (a fourth-century martyr) whose festival was commemorated in 1396, and whose name appears in some later deeds, and St Gordian, whose name is commemorated on the church bell (which is said to be the oldest in Scotland) 'HONORE SANCTI GORDIANI, 1483' (Buchan and Paton 1927, 544). St Gorgon is otherwise unattested in this country and thus an original dedication to St Gordian seems more likely.

84. Buchan and Paton 1927, 550.

85. NMRS Record Card NT 13 SE 3; RCAMS 1967, p. 176, No. 376.

86. Ian Fisher (RCAMS) has drawn my attention to a stone from Lochgoilhead, Argyll (RCAMS in prep., b), which is also framed by two transverse lines, but this stone probably dates between the eighth and tenth centuries.

87. Jackson 1967, 176.

88. Ammianus xx, 1.1; xxvi, 4.5; xxvii, 8; *Chron. Gall.*, 452; Gildas DEB 19.1; Bede HE i. 12 ; i. 14; Nennius cap. 23; Fordun 1759, ii, 44-5, 49, 52; iii, 3-5, 7, 10, 12-13.

89. Harding, D pers commun., 1981; see also Smith 1982b, 123.

90. Smith., forthcoming.

91. Welfare, H pers. commun., 1988.

92. Ian Fisher thinks it likely that Jackson had seen the stone; my thanks to Ian Fisher for discussion on this and the other Tweeddale monuments.

93. See also 1945, i, 486ff. The identification of the second word MARTIRIE was discounted by Jackson (op. cit.) on the basis that the 'fragmentary' letter could not be A or E (as in *Ertiria,* W *Erthir*); moreover he regarded Macalister's Turtiria as fanciful, epigraphically and philogically.

94. Mackinlay 1914, 371-2.

95. Buchan and Paton were at a loss to explain it (1927, 544, n. 1).

96. Skene 1868b; Shaw 1973, 158-60; Miller 1975a.

97. Peebles (*Pobles c.*1124, *Pebles c.*1126), the plural of W *pebyll* 'tent, pavilion'; Watson 1926, 383; Duncan 1975, 64; Nicolaisen 1979, 172; Thomas 1981, 292.

98. For the clustering of forts in this area see RCAMS 1967, pp. 33-5, 171-5, No. 374.

99. Information from Ms Rosemary Hannay, August 1988; fortunately I had the opportunity to view this stone on several previous occasions.

100. My thanks to Ian Lawson for discussion on the earlier provenance of this stone (July 1980) and for encouragement in fieldwork.

101. Steer 1967, 127; RCAMS 1969, pp. 203-9, No. 480.

102. Duncan 1975, 38.

103. Steer 1969; Thomas 1981, 291, 292.

104. Duncan 1981, 32.

105. RCAMS 1967, pp. 203-9, No. 480.

106. The cist is probably that preserved beneath the south wall of the church and incorporated in the later shrine (see RCAMS 1967, 204).

107. See also Thomas 1968, 105; 1981, 291.

108. (L)OCI/PETRI/APU/STOLI 'The place of St Peter the Apostle': Radford and Donaldson 1980, p. 36, no. 2.

109. RCAMS 1967, pp. 176-7, No. 377.

110. Duncan 1981, 33, n. 1.

111. Cowan 1967, 2.

112. For the font see Stoll 1967, 286, pl. 48.

113. Nevertheless, it has to be said that if the inscription was legible at all, how was it possible to misread the name? Fordun presumably derived his information from an earlier manuscript, itself possibly a redaction of an oral tradition (? late thirteenth century). By this date the cult of St Nicholas was well established and it is conceivable that Fordun's informant - imbued with the cult of St Nicholas - merely substituted the two names by accident; in his zeal adopting the name which most readily suggested itself 'Nicolai'.

114. Cf. Bede HE iii. 4; Duncan 1975, 38.

115. *Pace.* Thomas 1981, 288.

116. RCAMS 1967, p. 78, No. 201.

117. Cf. Smith 1984, 178.

118. Cf. MacQueen 1955, 111ff; Jackson 1958, 332.

119. Forbes 1874; Thomas 1971, 218-19; 1981, 291.

120. Duncan 1975, 39.

121. Cf. Henderson 1967, 68-72; Duncan 1975, 3; Thomas 1984, 325-30.

122. Cf. Thomas 1971.

123. RCAMS 1967, p. 263, No. 523.

124. Murray and Ewart 1980, 519-27.

125. The suggestion was accepted by Cowan and Easson (1976, 53, 'Stobo') and was acknowledged by Steer (1969, 128).

126. Cowan 1967, 86. For the bibliographic references for this and the remaining stones see Annex (A) accompanying this chapter.

127. My thanks to Ian Fisher for discussion in advance of re-publication of this stone. It is illustrated by Hunter (1867, 162) and its provenance is explicitly stated.

128. RCAMS 1967, p. 198, No. 474.

129. Cowan 1967, 125.

130. Chalmers 1887-1902, iv, 196-200; Gunn 1907, 2; Mackinlay 1914, 178-83; Scott 1915-61, i, 289; Cowan 1949; Cowan 1967, 188.

131. Cowan and Easson 1976, 53.

132. Abler *et al* 1972, 370-2; Hodder and Orton 1976, 55-63; Haggett *et al* 1977, 106. 143, 165.

133. RCAMS 1967, p. 176, No. 375.

134. Cowan 1967, 142-3.

135. On the basis of the Early Christian monuments and the potential significance of a nodal centre at the heart of the Tweed Valley revealed by the juxtaposition of the North Eildon *oppidum,* the Roman fort at Newstead (the *caput viae* of the Roman road system) and the seventh-century monastery at Old Melrose, Professor Thomas has inferred the presence of a diocese encompassing Greater Tweeddale; 'If the Tweed Basin was the home of a distinct people, or tribe, this area must have been the focal point of their territory' (1968, 105). Thomas tentatively mapped the boundaries of this diocese of *Bernaccia* (op. cit. 115; 1981, 219-2). The suggestion was accepted by Cowan and Easson (1976, 53) and by Steer (1969, 128). However, on the evidence I have set out for the disposition of tribal-groupings within the Tweed Basin and their apparent re-emergence in the Early Historic period, I believe we should draw a distinction between the categories of evidence and tailor the diocese, on the basis of the Early Christian monuments, more firmly to Tweeddale; probably a sub-kingdom of the Haeling dynasty of Strathclyde, which seems to be borne out by the succession of this territory to the see of Glasgow in the twelfth century. This need not rule out the possibility of a neighbouring diocese embracing the middle Tweed Basin: by the seventh century the diocese of Bernicia may have extended to encompass the sixth-century kingdom of Cadrod Calchvynyd with its caput at Kelso; lands later claimed by Durham under the 'Patrimony of St Cuthbert' (Craster 1954, 178-84; Smith 1984, 180-1). In fact, with reference to Thomas' map of sub-Roman territorial dioceses (1968, 115), if Tweeddale was divorced from the diocese of *Bernaccia* this would serve to fill out the picture and would allow for an integrated diocesan framework embracing Rheged, Strathclyde, Gododdin and the Lower Tweed.

136. Barrow 1973, 154, 166.

137. Cf. Barrow 1973, 205.

138. Lawrie 1905, pp. 26-8, No. 35; Barrow 1973, 205, n. 49.

139. RCAMS 1957, pp. 114-18, Nos. 178-80, Appendix A, pp. 126-7, 'The Catrail or Picts' Work Ditch'.

140. I walked the entire length of this earthwork in July 1980; my thanks to Walter Elliot and Peter Strong for discussion.

141. My thanks to the late Charles Morrison and to Walter Elliot for discussion on the place-names of Tweeddale.

142. Var. *Genunia*. See also Collingwood and Myres (1949, 146-9); Birley 1961, 31; Frere 1977, 173; Hind 1977; Maxwell 1977, 29-30; Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 62.

143. For a summary of attempts up to 1977 to locate the Genounian district see Hind 1977, 229-32.

144. Cf. Maxwell 1977, 29-30.

145. Tacitus, *Histories*, 3.45; *Annals* 12, 40.

146. Cf. Hartley 1980, 2; Cunliffe 1988, 161-2.

147. Cf. Breeze 1982, 95.

148. Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 54.

149. Birley 1961, 43; Frere 1977, 174; Breeze and Dobson 1978, 37; Hartley 1980, 5.

150. Salway (1981, 182) suggests that the fighting which, it has been supposed, was provoked by the construction of the Wall may be no more than conjecture. It is not borne out by archaeological evidence. Jarrett (1976, 145ff) has pointed out that in a period of peace, as now existed, the command of a province with a large army was only to be expected of such an officer at this point in his career. But see Hanson and Maxwell (1983, 51-2, 59) who argue otherwise.

151. Birley 1961, 38; but see also Salway 1981, 182.

152. Collingwood and Myres 1949, 149, Maxwell 1977, 30; Breeze and Dobson 1978, 81; Salway 1981, 193, 198.

153. Frere 1977, 173-4.

154. Salway 1981, 198; Breeze 1982, 97, 99; Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 60.

155. Breeze and Dobson 1978, 106; Salway 1981, 197-8.

156. Cf. Collingwood and Myres 1949, 146; Breeze and Dobson 1978, 81; Breeze 1982, 99.

157. AD 142: cf. CIL X 515 and celebrated on coin issues (RIC Antoninus Pius, 743-5) and in contemporary speeches (*Pan. Lat. Vet.* iii [v] 14); Breeze and Dobson 1978,82; Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 61).

158. Cf. the *Iulius Verus* inscription from Birrens (RIB 1322).

159. Frere 1977, 176; Breeeze and Dobnson 1978, 106; Salway 1981, 199.

160. Maxwell 1977, 29.

161. See also Rivet and Smith 1979, 42.

162. Cf. Todd 1980, 165; Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 62-3.

163. Birley 1961, 44-6.

164. Frere 1977, 174; Breeze and Dobson 1978, 79, 108; Breeze 1982, 97; Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 61.

165. Cf. Collingwood and Myres 1949, 147-8.

166. Maxwell 1977, 25.

167. Cf. Collingwood and Myres 1949, 150; Mann 1988.

168. Cf. Frere 1977, 175; Salway 1981, 200.

169. This view is in accord with Hartley who notes that the evidence in favour of a purely 'Brigantian' uprising is totally circumstantial and its assessment is, therefore, bound to be subjective (1980, 5, 6); see also Frere 1977, 177; Breeze and Dobson 1978, 105.

170. Higham and Jones 1985.

171. For the basic tenets of this view see Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 51-2; but see also Breeze and Dobson (1978, 80-1) with reference to Pausanias' statement, namely, 'This is more likely to refer to events leading to the reconquest of the Scottish Lowlands and the building of the Antonine Wall than to anything later in the reign of Antoninus Pius.'

172. Maxwell 1977, 23; Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 63.

173. Cf. Maxwell 1977, 29-30.

174. Birley 1961, 44-6.

175. Armstrong 1775a, 51, 107; RCAMS 1967, p. 35 and frontispiece, p. 236, No. 509.

176. The twenty-one unenclosed platform settlements recorded in Lanarkshire all occur within 8 km of Crawford, so the presumption is that they belong essentially to the same complex as does the Peeblesshire series, which is localized in Upper Tweeddale, east of the watershed at the heads of the valleys of the Camps and Midlock Water. Excavation of one platform at Green Knowe, in the valley of the Meldon Burn (Jobey 1980b, 79-85) disclosed that it was the stance for an unusual type of round timber house; pottery found in the house could not be closely dated but was thought to belong to the first half of the first millennium BC, in which case these settlements are clearly the earliest domestic structures so far recognized in the Borders (cf. RCAMS 1967, 22-3; 1978, pp. 23-4, fig. 7, pp. 81-6, Nos. 182-202).

177. Compare Hill 1982a, 8-10, 'The Votadinian Tradition'.

178. RCAMS 1967, pp. 170-1, No. 371.

179. See also Frere 1977, 176.

180. RCAMS 1967, pp. 157-8, No. 388 and RCAMS 1957, pp. 89-91, No. 118 respectively.

181. See also Cunliffe 1988, 166.

182. *Contra.* Steer 1964, 20-1; Piggott 1951a, 113-15; but see Stevenson (1966, 35) who expressed doubts on dating the site so early; Mackie 1979, 54; Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 63-4.

183. Maxwell (1977, 30) ingeniously suggested that 'Genounia' was a corruption of 'Nouantia'; that is to say, Pausanias is describing retributive action taken by Rome against the Brigantes for hostilities against the neighbouring Novantae. However, how is this to be reconciled with the earlier view that the Novantae may have been amongst the allies of Venutius in AD 69 (Birley 1961, 39)? Moreover, conflict on the Solway Plain would seem unlikely to have driven the Romans to annexe Scotland as far north as the Tay. If, however, the Genounian district did lie at the heart of the Southern Uplands, the extension of Roman control to the Forth-Clyde isthmus and beyond becomes the more readily explicable. My thanks to Gordon Maxwell (RCAMS) for discussion on the 'Genounian district'. Hind (1977) removes the 'Genounian' area from Britain altogether and suggests an identification with the *Genauni* in the northern Alps, whose neighbours were the *Brigantii*. The virtue of this suggestion is that in emphasizing one possible alternative to how the name *Genounia* came to figure in the text of Pausanias it removes the necessity of looking for a name in Roman Britain. The suggestion has not found favour with more recent commentators on Northern Frontier history (cf. Hanson and Maxwell 1983, 62).

184 *Eldunum*, near Melrose (i.e. the *oppidum* on North Eildon Hill) where Oswin was slain in battle with Ethelwald (Symeon of Durham, *Symeonis monachi opera omnia, s.a.* 759; Stephenson 1987, 34).

185 'Shoot and Cry' Channel 4 documentary, 22 August 1988.

8 (C) The Battle of Degsastan

(pages 310-352)

1. 'For this reason Aedan, king of the Irish living in Britain, aroused by his [Aethelfrith's] successes, marched against him with an immensely strong army; but he was defeated and fled with few survivors. Indeed, almost all his army was cut to pieces in a very famous place called *Degsastan*, that is the stone of Degsa' (Bede HE i. 34; Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 116-17).

2. Cf. Blair 1963b, 191

3. Gibson 1692, 23.

4. Cf. Blair 1959a, 157, n. 2

5. Smith 1722, 74

6. Cf. RCAMS 1956, pp. 479-83; 1957, pp. 126-7, at 126

7. Chalmers (1887-1902, iv, 89, 94, 240-1) notes the significance of the Catrail or Picts' Work Ditch and the possibility that it extended southwards to the Roman Wall (ibid. 240, n.). Gordon (1726), and on his authority Chalmers (*supra*), evidently confused the Catrail with the old moorland road between Robert's Linn and Dawston Burn and its continuation to Liddel Water and the North Tyne, and it was no doubt in virtue of this error that they extended the Catrail to Liddesdale and Peel Fell (cf. Jeffrey 1864, 264, n. ‡; RCAMS 1956, p. 96, No. 119). With reference to *Degsastan* Chalmers notes: 'The real site of this decisive field appears to be Dawstone, a small farm in the parish of Castleton, Roxburghshire, on a rivulet of the same name which falls into the Liddle'. See also Chalmers 1887-1902, iv, 247, 253, n. (p), and 282 where the argument gains strength by repetition.

8. Plummer (1896, notes, p. 66): 'Dalston near Carlisle has also been suggested, but philology is against this (cf. the form 'Darsastan' in some of the latter Mss.); alternatives include Theekstone, north of Ripon and Dissington, north-west of Newcastle.' See also Rhys 1882, 156.

9. 'and the united force, advancing up the valley of the Liddel, met that of Aethelfrith at Degsastane, or Dawstane, in the hill-country of southern Roxburghshire' (Douglas 1909, 33).

10. 'Degsastan may have been at the head of Liddesdale, near Dawston Burn, within the Catrail; not far from the present boundary of Scotland' (Anderson 1922, 123, n. 4).

11. 'In 603 a great battle was fought in the Western Cheviots at a spot now known as the Dawstane Rig, at the head of Liddesdale' (Mack 1924, 14).

12. Namely, Hodgkin, T (1906, 134); Oman (1929, 251); Hodgkin, RH (1935, i, 197).

13. Cf. Murray 1895, 93-4.

14. There is no mention of *Degsastan* in Jackson 1955a, but in 1969 (10), following Blair (op. cit.), he states, 'the site of which is unknown'. See also Wade-Evans 1949, 79.

15. Restated in RCAMS 1957, p. 153.

16. Blair 1963b, 190; later, however, he notes that 'but for Bede, we should have been completely ignorant not only of the whereabouts [of *Degsastan*], but also of the combatants and the significance of the battle itself' (ibid. 200).

17. The evidence was summarized in a graduate seminar, in the Department of Archaeology, University of Durham, on 14 October 1982.

18. My thanks to Professor Alcock for discussion and encouragement to put pen to paper.

19. Gordon 1726.

20. Skene 1868a, 162, n. 82; Williamson 1942, xlii.

21. My thanks to Peter Strong for discussion.

22. Cf. RCAMS 1957, p. 114, No. 178; p. 116, No. 180.

23. Though the name more strictly applies to the former *oppidum* on North Eildon Hill.

24. Cf. Murray 1895, 91; Shaw 1973, 234.

25. Cf. Alcock 1987b, p. 303, fig. 19.5.

26. RCAMS 1957, pp. 79-81, No. 95

27. See below and Jackson 1969, 6.

28. Cf. Jackson 1969, 13, 29 where two routes are proposed and below for the most probable choice.

29. For the use of cavalry see Alcock 1987b, 300.

30. Jeffrey 1864, 265, n. *.

31. RCAMS 1956, p. 95, No. 114.

32. RCAMS 1956, p. 95, No. 115.

33. Jeffrey 1864, p. 265, n. *.

34. RCAMS 1956, pp. 88-9, No. 78.

35. See also Blair 1959a, 157-8, n. 2.

36. *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, (RMS), 1882-1914.

37. Bain, J 1881-8, *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland,* Edinburgh.

38. Förster 1942, 801.

39. For the background to the texts see Whitelock 1979, i, 147.

40. As Shaw did (1973, 234).

41. See also Stenton 1943, 77, n. 2; Williamson 1942, xlii; Duncan 1975, 44.

42. Name Book, Roxburghshire, No. 5, p. 82.

43. My thanks for discussion to Victor Watts, Department of English, University of Durham and particularly to Ian Fraser, School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh.

44. Pont. *c.*1600b.

45. Ogilvie 1951b, 28.

46. RCAMS 1915, pp. 108-20, Nos. 211-15; Childe 1933, 10-12; Piggott 1951a, 51.

47. Cf. Hardie 1942; RCAMS 1956, 470-3.

48. Cowan and Easson 1976, 192-3. Currently being excavated by Ewart and Moffat (cf. Moffat and Fulton 1988).

49. Cf. RCAMS 1915, xiv - xvi.

50. Respectively RCAMS 1915, pp. 114-15, No. 216; pp. 110-12, No. 213; pp. 108-10, No. 211; pp. 213-14, No. 215. For Addinston Hillfort see also Feachem 1965, 200.

51. Roy 1793; Craw 1930, 323; Breeze 1979a, 10, 52.

52. For querns both from Longcroft and Addinston see Black 1894, 326.

53. RCAMS 1915, pp. 115-17, No. 218; this work p. 184, fig. 6.26.

54. *The Anonymous Life of St. Cuthbert*, i, 5; Bede's *Life*, iv; Bede HE iv. 27 Watson 1926, 471; Colgrave 1940, 313, 343.

55. Allen 1900, 41-50; Cowan 1967, 30.

56. Cf. Jackson 1956, 271-2.

57. *daegstane* (A) originally given as *Egesan stane* in this text too (cf. Whitelock 1979, i, 159).

58. Parkes 1982, 11.

59. Cf. Williamson 1942, 149.

60. The two names have been confused more than once, notably by Morton (1832, 265) and the two were probably regarded as synonymous in the list of lands belonging to the baillary of Lauderdale (cf. *Retours*, Berwick, No. 281). This, combined with a certain similarity of topographical detail in the evidence of the chartularies (for instance, the explicit reference to *Standandestane* - of which there appear to have been two such names - one to the west of Lauder, the other close to Addinston, Lauder), may account for Hardie's reluctance to pursue the northern evidence for Addinston (cf. Hardie 1942, 85-96).

61. Cowan and Easson 1976, 184.

62. Robson, M pers. commun., 1982.

63. My thanks to Mathew McKerrow Esq., farmer at Addinston, for discussion and permission to carry out fieldwork.

64. Henshall 1956; 1958.

65. RCAMS 1957, pp. 110-14, Nos. 175-6.

66. Implicity *Stat. Acct.*, 4 (1790-1), 416.

67. Evidence for the reoccupation of these hillforts in the Early Historic period is lacking but it seems reasonable to assume (given the place-name evidence) that the pattern will reflect other fortified sites whose position in the prehistoric literature is established but which, on re-examination, are producing later dates (e.g. Clatchard Craig, Fife, cf. Close-Brookes 1986, and Finavon, Angus, cf. Ritchie and Ritchie 1981, 89-90, for which there is now a TL date of about AD 500; Sanderson, D pers. commun., 1988).

68. This translation is based on Skene (1872, 107-8) with emendations suggested by Pat Musset (Palaeography Department, University of Durham), to whom I am indebted for an original translation from the Latin and discussion.

69. Aedan reigned *c.*574 to *c.*608 cf. Plummer 1896, notes, 65; Chadwick 1949, 124.

70. For the *Gododdin* poem see Williams 1938, for a definitive translation Jackson 1969 and for a splendid extract given in translation see Jackson 1980, 249-51. See also articles by Jackson 1939; Gresham 1942 and Jackson's review of Alcock 1971 (1973, 80-1). For the identification of *Catraeth* see Jackson 1956, 409; 1969, 83-4; Williams 1975, xxxvii, xlii -xliii; for *Din Eidyn,* Jackson 1969, 75-8 and see also Alcock 1987b, 189, 241.

71. See also Jackson 1939, 29-33; Gresham 1942, 256-7, and Jackson 1969, 87-91 for discussion and recent criticisms of the date 600.

72. See also Hope-Taylor 1977, 293 and in particular Skene 1868a, ii, 365 with reference to Stephens (1847).

73. Shaw 1973, 143, and for the significance of marriage alliances pp. 209-11.

74. However, the invasion hypothesis itself has recently been called into question by Richard Warner (Ulster Museum) who has, on the basis of archaeological and art historical evidence (Warner 1983), suggested that Argyll may have been the Dalriadic homeland and that settlement may have been extended to north Antrim in the Atlantic late Iron Age; this is at variance with the literary sources and may no more than underline the lack of detailed settlement studies in the north of Ireland. (Information presented in a paper given at the Scottish Archaeological Forum Conference 'Beyond the Brochs, the Later Iron Age in Atlantic Scotland', 12 November 1988.)

75. Chadwick 1949, 125; Shaw 1973, 231, 236.

76. Cf. Hope-Taylor 1977, 297.

77. Cf. Dumville 1989, 218.

78. Hope-Taylor 1977, 291-3.

79. For the conventional view of the Tweed as a geographic and cultural divide see Hope-Taylor 1977, 289-91, 298.

80. Cf. Jackson 1939, 28; 1969, 7-8, 83; Gresham 1942, 242-6; Williams 1975, xxxvii; Hope-Taylor 1977, 295.

81. Jackson 1939, 28; and see also Williams 1938, xxvi - xxxvi.

82. Jackson 1969, 19.

83. Chadwick 1949, 143-4.

84. For *Din Eidyn* see Jackson 1939, 25, 32-4; 1969, 4; Gresham 1942, 242, 246.

85. Cf. Jackson 1939, 32-4; 1963, 70; Miller 1975d, 115-16.

86. Cf. Hope-Taylor 1977, 296.

87. In Welsh tradition he is '*Aeddan Fradwr o'r Gogledd*,' 'Aedan the traitor of the North,' one of three base traitors (along with Aethelfrith and the mythical Gwrgi) through whom the *Cymry* (fellow countrymen) lost the crown of the Isle of Britain (*Triads*, iii, 45; Skene 1868a, 66; Plummer 1896, notes, 66).

88. The *Gododdin*, A.57, A34, A36, A76; Jackson 1969, 19-20, 146.

89. Jackson 1969, 80-2.

90. Cf. Alcock 1987b, 307.

91. Cf. Blair 1959a, 156; Shaw 1973, 234.

92. Hussa, the son of Ida, ruled Bernicia 585-92 ; cf. Blair 1950, 245 ff; Whitelock 1979, i, 262.

93. *Tighernac, Annals,* in Stokes 1896, 163, *s.a.* [599]; Anderson 1922, 123.

94. Gresham 1942, 252; Jackson 1969, 15; 1973, 80; Alcock 1971b; 1974, 336; 1987b, 264

95. Gresham 1942, 254-5; Jackson 1969, 28-33.

96. *Tighernac, Annals,* op. cit. s.a. [599]; the entry does not say where the battle was fought and doubt has been cast on its contents. English sources show no acquaintance with a brother of Aethelfrith called Eanfrith (Blair 1959a, 156). The death of Maelumai is placed by *Tighernac* s.a. 609 (Anderson 1922, 123); see also Plummer 1896, notes, 66; Chadwick 1949, 125, n. 3; Shaw 1973, 233; Anderson 1980, 29, n. 125.

97. According to Adamnan (i, 8) Domangart was killed 'in England', probably at *Degsastan* (Anderson 1922, 119). The *Annals of Tighernac* place his death in 598 at the battle of Circhenn, but this entry may be confused (Chadwick 1949, 124, n. 2). The *Annals of Ulster* (i. 76) record his death in 596 (Anderson 1922, 118, n. 5).

98. Shaw (1973, 235-6) adopts a more minimalistic view of the outcome of *Degsastan* and thus sets himself against Bede's estimation of its significance. Nevertheless, Shaw's view of the consequences of *Degsastan* upon the native population of the Lowlands does not run contrary to the hypothesis offered here; it merely serves to underline the degree to which a diplomatic *entente* between Bernicia and the surviving native population may have been effective.

9 The Manor Valley, Peeblesshire, a Case Study
(pages 353-419)

1. Jolliffe 1926, 2; see also Jones 1961; 1979ab; 1981; 1983.

2. The documented forms of the place-name are: *Maineure* (1186, *Glasgow Regist.,* 55); *Menewire* (1256-7, *Glasgow Regist.,* 164); *Mener* (1323, *Act. Parl. Scot.,* i, 122); *Menare* (1401, *Glasgow Regist.,* 299); *Mennar* (1478x83, *Act. Dom. Audit.,* 65, 81, 98; *Act. Dom. Conc.,* 19); *Mennare* (1492-3, *Act. Dom. Conc.,* 291); *Menar* (1555, *Glasgow Regist.,* 581); *Maner* (1829, *Booke of the Universall Kirk,* i, 224).

3. Nine air-photographic sorties, the property of CRAPS, New St Andrews House, Edinburgh, cover most of the valley. Eight of these are at a scale of 1:10000 and were flown as part of the RAF post-War coverage of the British Isles. Due to the age of the prints, and prevailing cloud cover, few are of any use for mapping purposes. One sortie is at a scale of 1:5000 but this mainly covers ground peripheral to the valley.

4. The Megget Scheme air-photographs are at a scale of 1:4000 and are in stereoscopic pairs. The resolution of the image area is good, the only shortcoming being that the coverage does not extend to the side-glens at the head of the valley. This is partially offset by the low-level obliques held by the NMRS and CUCAP; for specific sites see the references in the gazetteer (Annex A). My thanks to the consultant engineers on the Megget Scheme, both for the loan of the photographs and discussion in the course of fieldwork.

5. *Origines,* i, 239.

6. RCAMS 1967, p. 201, No. 478.

7. Buchan and Paton, 1927, 545.

8. *Act. Parl. Scot.,* i, App. Nos. 88, 91.

9. Robertson 1798, p. 57, no. 32.

10. Robertson 1798, p. 145, no. 15; *Reg. Reg. Scot.,* No. 186; *Reg. Mag. Sig.,* App. 2, No. 917.

11. John of Badeby was sheriff of Berwick in 1296, and in that same year swore fealty to Edward I for his lands in the Merse (*Rotuli Scotiae,* i, 33; Ragman Rolls, 164). John of Baddeby, of the County of Peebles, made his allegiance to the English king, as Overlord of Scotland, in the same year (*Ragman Rolls*, 162); see also *Reg. Mag. Sig.,* App. 2, No. 594.

12. It is unclear whether this was Alexander II (1214-49) or Alexander III (1249-86); *Origines,* i, 240.

13. In 1323 Baddeby appeared in Parliament at Scone and claimed 'the whole land of Menar, in one half of which Adam Marshall stood seised in heritage by our Lord the King' (*Origines,* i, 240).

14. *Origines,* i, 240.

15. *Act. Parl. Scot.,* i, 122.

16. *Retours,* Peebles, nos. 58, 200, 205.

17. Robertson 1798, 144, no. 35; *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, App. 2, No. 1700. Posso is described by Pennecuik as 'a pleasant and solitary seat in a valley amongst high and green hills' (1715, 210).

18. Robertson 1798, p. 137, no. 18; *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, App. 2, No. 1723.

19. *Act. Dom. Audit.*, 59, 65; *Act. Dom. Conc.*, 19; *Origines*, i, 240; Buchan and Paton, 1927, 552.

20. *Origines*, i, 240.

21. Linton and Snodgrass 1963, 143-5.

22. The presence of a series of short-cists close to the line of the ridgeway (no. 8) perhaps bears this out.

23. Armstrong 1775b.

24. RCAMS 1967, pp. 265-7, No. 525; Buchan and Paton 1927, 569.

25. But see the provisions now set out in the Woodland Grant Scheme (Forestry Commission 1988, 7; 1989, 6-7).

26. These lands were Glack, Hallyards and Caverhill (Buchan and Paton 1927, 543, n.1).

10 Conclusion

(*pages 420-438*)

1. Barrow 1960, 36-7; 1973, 151.

2. The results of the most recent excavations at Dunadd by Alan Lane are unpublished, but were summarized in a lecture given to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (October 1986). It is suggested that the fort is of at least four phases (see Lane 1980; 1981), originating as a dun with later ramparts spreading out progressively around the hill-summit. For discussion see Driscoll 1987, 347-9; Nieke and Duncan 1988.

3. The background is set out by Barrow 1973, 8-68.

4. Cf. Jolliffe 1926; 1933; Stenton 1957; Barrow 1973, 53-68; Jones 1979a; 1981a; Barrow 1980, 33-4; Gregson 1983, 49-52ff.

5. Jolliffe 1926, 15; Barrow 1973, 13-14.

6. Barrow 1973, 17.

7. Ibid. 9, 35.

8. Cf. Byrne 1981; Jones 1981c; 1983; Davies 1978ab; 1979a; 1982, 43, 129f, 132, 235, n. 68.

9. The formation of the Anglo-Scottish Border before 1237 is discussed by Barrow (1973, 139-64); see also Higham 1986, 1, 336-7. For the cession of Lothian see Anderson 1960; Barrow 1973, 150-1.

10. Above n. 1.

11. Craster 1954, 178; Barrow 1973, 151-2.

12. Barrow 1973, 154.

13. *Symeon of Durham,* i, 199; Raine 1852, no. 727; Craster 1954, 178; Barrow 1983, 3-4.

14. Barrow 1960, 36-7; Moffat 1985, 11-17.

15. Lawrie 1905, No. 176.

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