

# Medieval Roxburgh: a preliminary assessment of the burgh and its locality\*

Colin Martin† and Richard Oram‡

with contributions from John Gater, George Haggarty, Derek Hall, Philip Harding, Stephanie Knight, Lorraine Mepham and Chris Stevens

## ABSTRACT

*Little surface trace now remains of the royal burgh of Roxburgh in the Scottish Borders, which flourished between the 12th and 15th centuries AD. By the early 16th century it had been abandoned. Documentary sources, maps, topographical analysis and aerial photography have been brought together in a preliminary attempt to define the burgh's location, defences, internal morphology, historical and environmental contexts, and associated extramural features including bridges, roads, suburbs, churches and mills. Some of these assessments have been tested by geophysical survey and small-scale excavation sanctioned by Historic Scotland and conducted by GSB Propection and Wessex Archaeology on behalf of Channel 4's Time Team. Work to date is summarized as a basis for formulating a long-term research agenda and management structure for this important site.*

## INTRODUCTION

Early in the 12th century two developments occurred which marked Scotland's realignment with the mainstream of northern European culture: burghs entered the Scottish historical record and coins were first minted. Both phenomena are associated with David I (Barrow 1981, 84–104; Holmes 2004, 242–3; Oram 2004). By his death in 1153, 17 communities had been granted the status of burgh, mostly by the king (royal burghs) but some, like St Andrews, by other lords (illus 1). Some royal burghs later passed from the direct lordship of the king into the hands of secular or ecclesiastical magnates (mediatized burghs) (McNeill & MacQueen 1996, 196). Four of David's burghs – Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwick and Roxburgh (illus 2) – came to enjoy special prominence by the 13th century

as the communities whose representatives determined the laws and customs applied in Scottish burghs generally, and were focal points of royal power (Duncan 1975, c 18 and p 603).

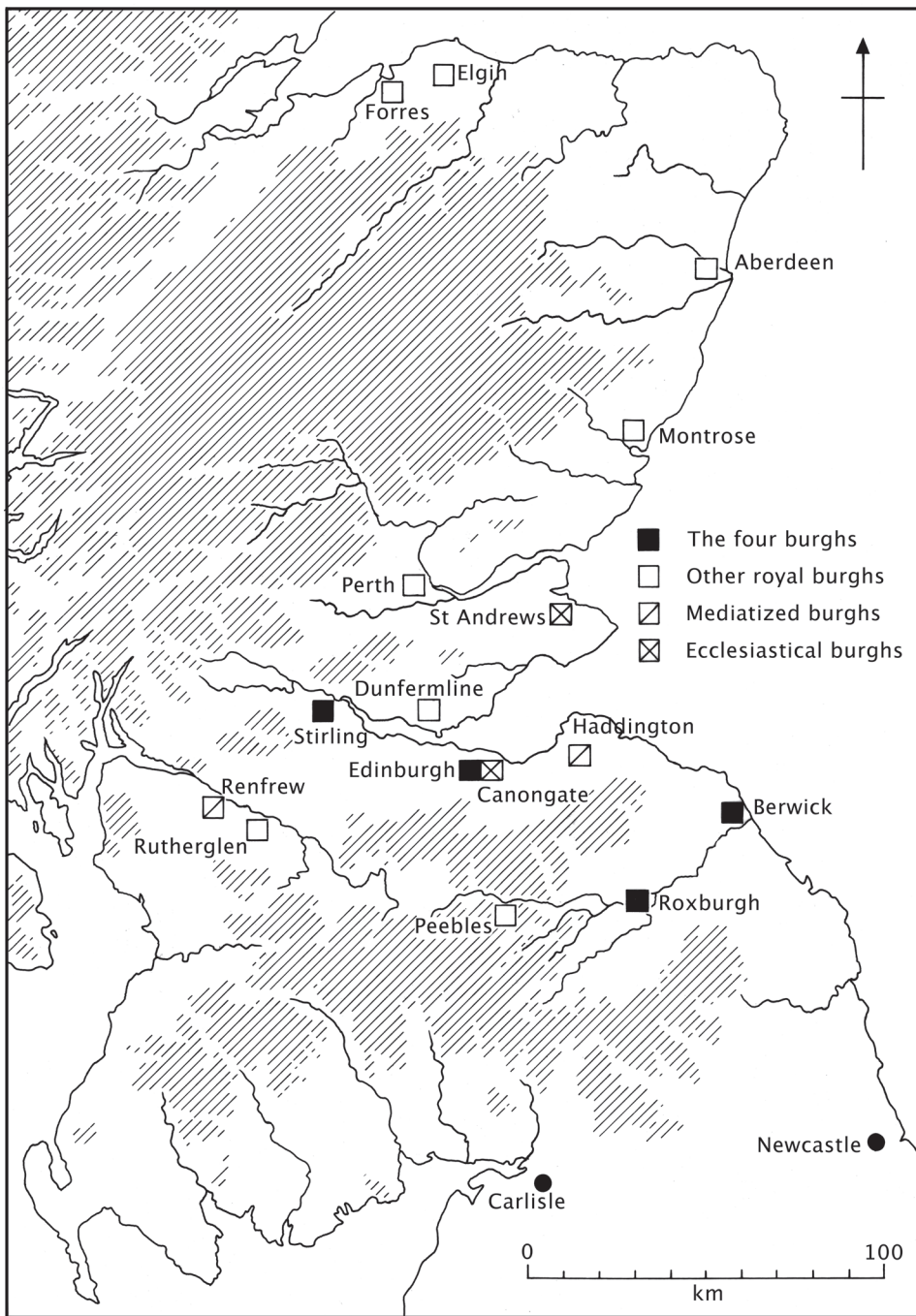
## THE GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

The Tweed Basin is a discrete and highly fertile landscape cradled within the Southern Uplands of Scotland and facing the North Sea (illus 3). On the south it is bounded by the Cheviots, to the north by the Lammermuirs, while to the west rise the Old Red Sandstone uplands of Tweeddale and Teviotdale. The less resistant carboniferous limestones that underlie its lower reaches have been worn down by ice sheets and the river to form the Merse, a wide lowland plain with exceptionally rich soils (Unstead

\* This paper was awarded the R B K Stevenson Prize

† School of History, University of St Andrews, St Katharine's Lodge, St Andrews KY16 9AL

‡ Department of History, University of Stirling, Stirling FK9 4LA



ILLUS 1 Scottish burghs at the time of David I's death in 1153 (Colin Martin)

1964, 208; Bibby 1973, 63). The upper Basin is characterized by river valleys, notably of the Jed, Ettrick Water, Gala Water and Leader Water, which converge on the main water-courses of Tweed and Teviot. Early *foci* of power within this landscape can be recognized in Eildon Hill North (prehistoric) (RCAHMS 1956, II, 306–10; Owen 1992), Newstead (Roman) (RCAHMS 1956, II, 312–20), and Sprouston (Anglian) (Smith 1991). In the high-medieval period it was dominated by the great abbeys of Melrose, Dryburgh, Kelso and Jedburgh (Lewis & Ewart 1995; Fawcett & Oram 2004; Fawcett & Oram 2005).

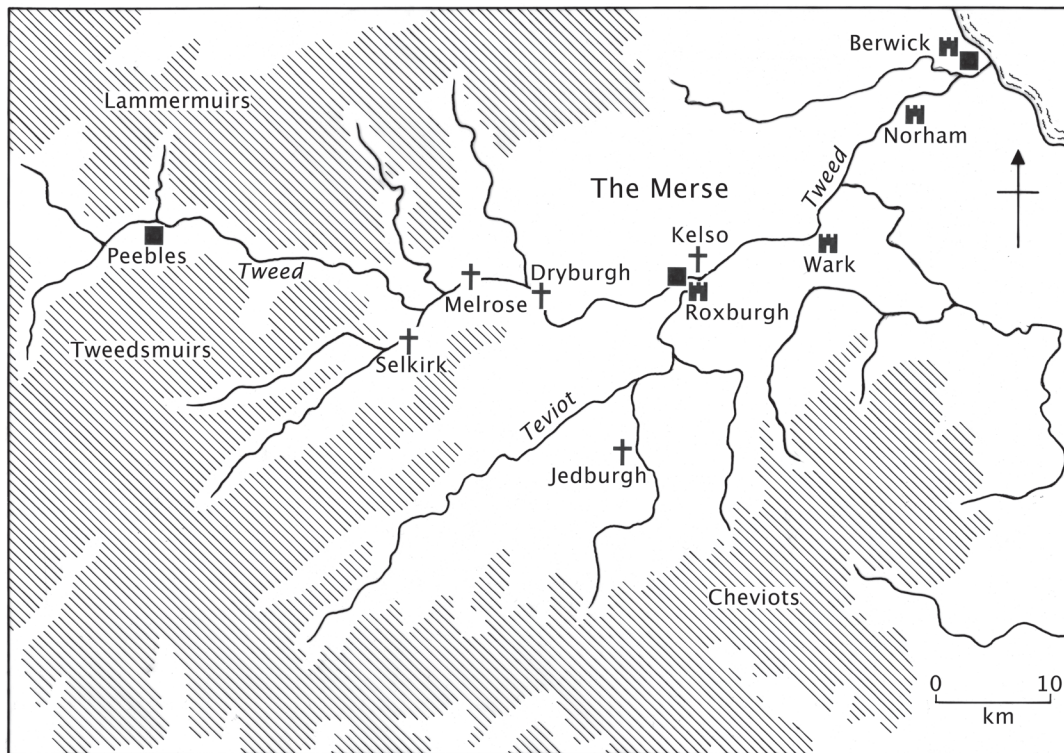
It was also the setting for two of Scotland's earliest and most important burghs, Roxburgh and Berwick. Berwick, strategically positioned at the edge of the North Sea on a rivermouth harbour with the Merse behind it, was a natural outlet for trade. Roxburgh lay between the Merse and the upper part of the Basin, at the junction of Tweed and Teviot, where the sheep-runs of the upland valleys converged on the broadening cornlands of the Tweed plain. In exploiting the rich potential of this fertile landscape the two burghs were conceived as interdependent and complementary in David I's vision of Scotland as part of a wider European world (Oram 2004, 81–2).

Roxburgh's location was, in part, conditioned by an already-existing castle which stood on a long natural mound between the two rivers where they bend close to one another before diverging around the wide haughland on which the burgh was sited (RCAHMS 1956, II, 407–11) (illus 4). At this point the courses of Tweed and Teviot have changed little over the past five centuries, as evidenced by a plan of the castle in 1549 (RCAHMS 1956, II, pl 93, from the original at Belvoir Castle). This drawing shows the two rivers at much the same distances from the castle mound as they are today. Their banks are therefore unlikely to have been significantly further away in the 12th century. The river morphology has, however, changed in other respects. William Wyeth's map of the Floors estate, compiled in



ILLUS 2 Engraving of a now-lost impression of Roxburgh's seal, showing the burgh arms with rook supporters, a canting allusion to 'Rooks' Burgh', and a fanciful representation of a burgh gateway (a full description is given under the Burgh of Kelso in Bute et al 1903, 275–81)

1736 (NAS RHP 3234), shows a number of islands and oxbows on Tweed's left bank (illus 5). Upstream from the castle are two islands, one of which is labelled 'Island next to Braxmilne', while opposite the castle is another complex of three islands and channels. William Roy's

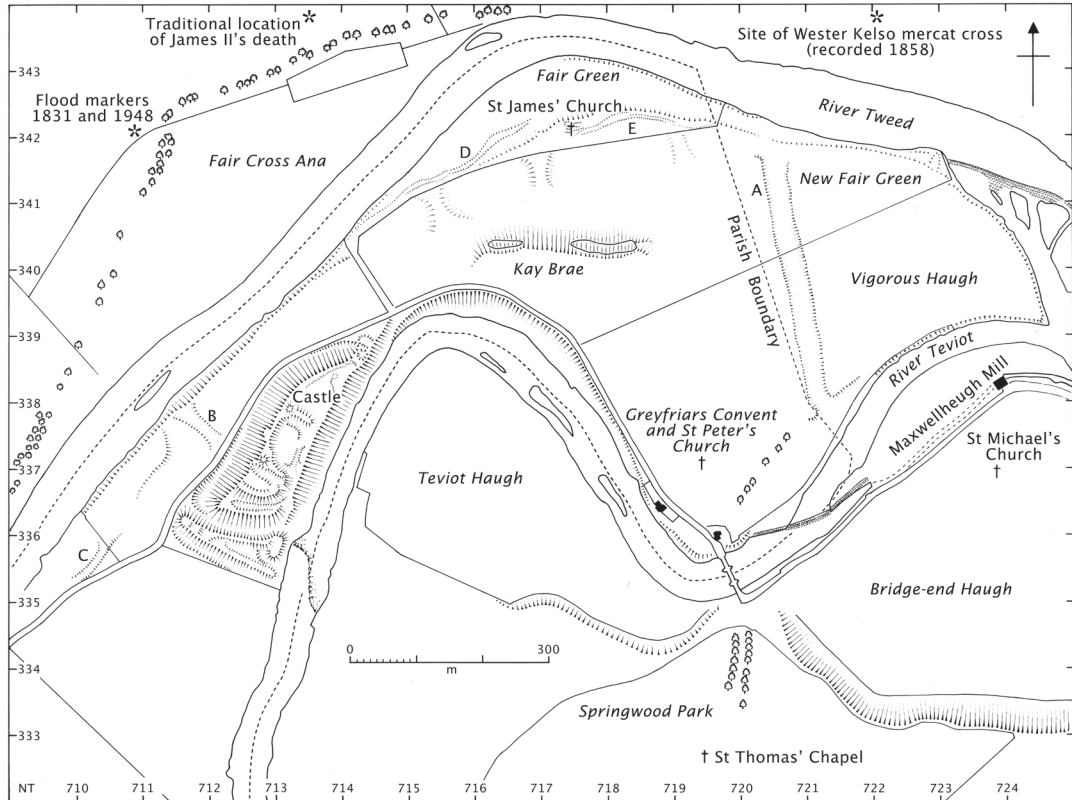


ILLUS 3 The Tweed Basin, showing royal burghs, religious foundations and castles (Colin Martin)

map of *c* 1754 shows the downstream group as a single island, while by this date the channel of the upstream one has apparently been filled. Matthew Stobie (1770) likewise records only a single downstream island. The First Edition of the OS 1:10,560 map, published in 1858, shows that all the channels had by then been blocked by artificial embankments, though the island names survive as 'Wester Ana' (upstream) and 'Fair Cross Ana' (downstream) (illus 6). Ana (pl anay) is a river-island or holm in Old Scots (Chambers Scots Dictionary). The former banks of both island complexes are evident on the map as tree lines, of which vestiges remain today, and the watercourses between them have been revealed by aerial photography. This relict landscape is particularly clear in RAF vertical photographs taken on 22 January 1963 (543/

RAF/2042 F21, 0015 and 0017) (illus 7). The pasture land on which the burgh stood is not normally responsive to crop-mark formation, but good results were obtained on 7 July 1949 (Cambridge University Collection, DM 91–2 and 95–6) and 23 July 1984 (Martin collection, 84.32. 6–15; 84.33. 1–15).

Downstream from the castle, Teviot turns sharply at the foot of Kay Brae, on the top of which the core of the burgh is believed to have stood. It seems likely that the escarpment has eroded since the medieval period, although comparison of the river-line through the various OS editions from 1858 to 1993 shows no measurable depletion. This may be due to an extensive stone apron built from the foot of the escarpment to the present river-bank, probably to counter erosion along the outer curve during



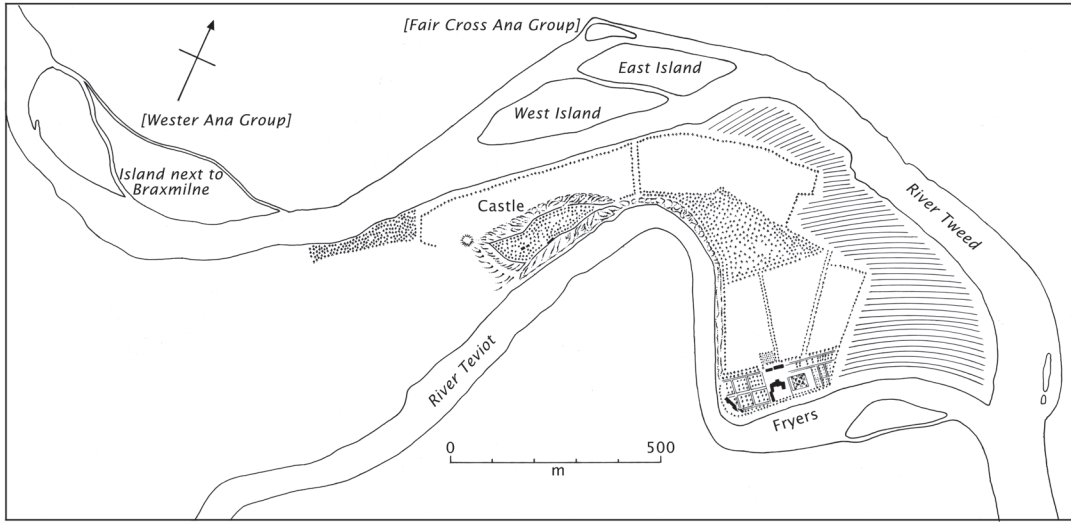
ILLUS 4 General plan of the burgh site, showing features referred to in the text (Colin Martin)

estate improvements in the early 19th century. The edge of this apron seems subsequently to have been regarded as defining the river-line, which it still does when the water is low, although active flood erosion is evident in the steep slope behind it. Crop-marks on the low-lying ground of Teviot Haugh on the opposite side of the river (centred on NGR: NT 715 338) suggest a phased advance of the water-course across the haugh and into the escarpment (illus 8).

Much of the area adjacent to the burgh is prone to flooding, and stones marked on the 1965 1:2500 OS map in the parkland fronting Floors Castle plot the closely adjacent high points of Tweed floods in February 1831 and in August 1948. The *NSA* (Kelso, 301) states that in 1831 'Tweed rose with a rapidity and to

a height wholly unprecedented. The whole of the lower part of the valley had the appearance of a sea; corn and cattle were swept before the torrent'. Teviot was even more prone to violent flooding, and a major episode is recorded on 1 August 1294, when 'the waters ... suddenly waxed without much rain, overflowing bridges and lofty rocks, sweeping away the mill below Roxburgh Castle and others, besides everything else that was in the way' (*Chronicle of Lanercost*, sa 1294).

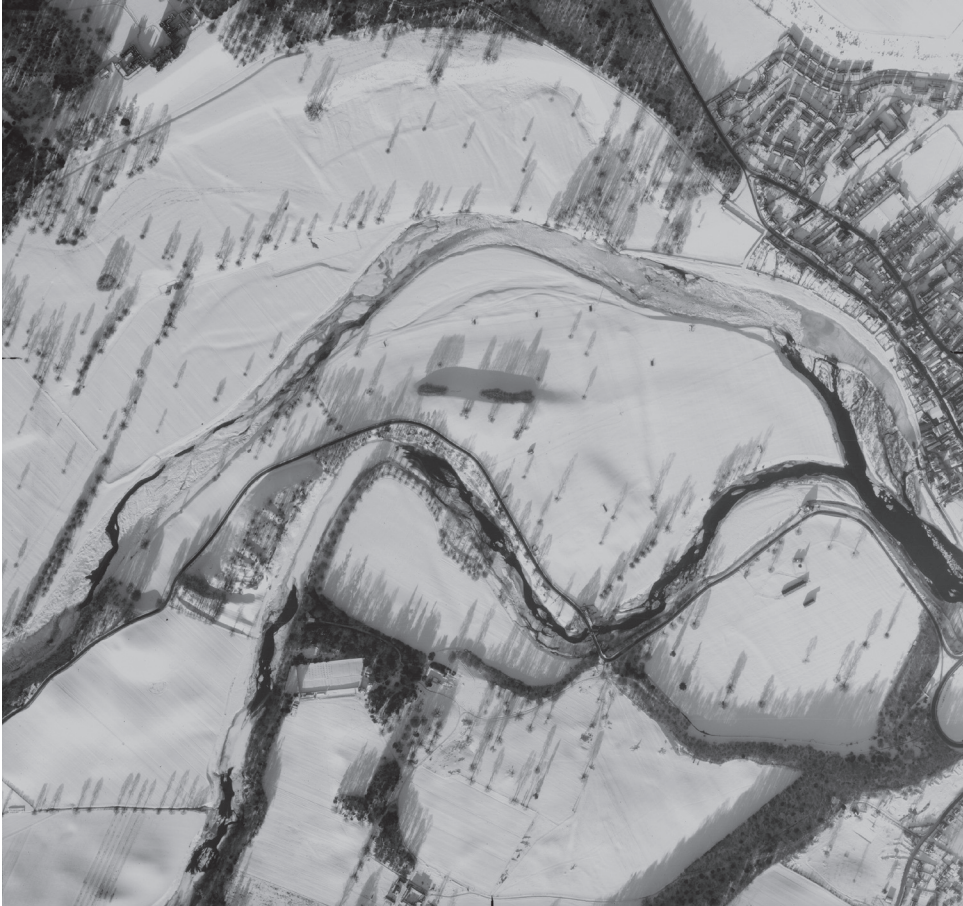
Roxburgh was a hub of communications, and bridges spanned Tweed and probably Teviot. West of the burgh, beyond the castle, a hollow way at NGR: NT 7102 3355 cuts through an escarpment leading to higher ground, perhaps indicating the route towards Jedburgh (Feature C in illus 4).



ILLUS 5 The burgh site in 1736, adapted from William Wyeth's map of Floors, with north point and metric scale added (Colin Martin)



ILLUS 6 The burgh site and environs on the First Edition of the OS 1:10,560 map, 1858 (National Library of Scotland)



ILLUS 7 RAF vertical photograph of the burgh site, 22 January 1963 (543/RAF/2042 0016(F21)) (© Ministry of Defence)

That a road network centred on Roxburgh existed in the medieval period is confirmed by various charter references: for example, the *regiam viam qua itur de valle anant* [Annandale] *versus Rokesburg* (*Melrose Liber*, I: 219) and the *viam quae itur de Neuton* [Longnewton in Ancrum parish] *usque ad rokisburg* (*ibid*, I: 224). What may be a road leading from the putative Teviot bridge site has been detected as a crop-mark in Springwood Park (illus 9) and appears to follow the route recorded on Roy's *c* 1754 map, heading towards Heiton via 'Chaple farm'. The site of a chapel at this location is noted on the 1858 OS

map, together with a double tree-line apparently following the initial stretch of Roy's road. Springwood Park contains extensive evidence of medieval settlement, parts of which have been investigated (Dixon 1998).

A cauld and traces of a lade at NGR: NT 7134 3354 suggest a mill associated with the castle, probably 'the mill below Roxburgh Castle' which was swept away in 1294, while traces of a possible lade survive between NGR: NT 7149 3411 and 7168 3422 (Feature D in illus 4), close to the site of St James Church. 'Braxmilne', recorded by Wyeth (1736) among the Wester Ana

complex, may also have been one of the burgh's mills. 'Broxe Mylne' is noted in Hertford's list of places burnt, between Broxlawe and the watermill of Kelso (Hertford & Sadler to Henry VIII, 27 September 1545, Gairdner & Brodie 1907, no 456). Maxwellheugh mill (NGR: NT 7239 3382) was presumably associated with



ILLUS 8 Crop-marks on Teviot Haugh (NGR: NT 716 337), showing progressive shifts of the Teviot river-channel (23.7.1984) (Colin Martin)

Roxburgh's extramural suburbs on the right bank of Teviot (see below), while the Abbey Mill on the far side of Tweed (NGR: NT 725 339) seems to have had a continuous existence up to its present occupancy by Messrs Hogarth (RCAHMS 1956, 1, 248). The weirs associated with the two latter mills, although relatively modern in their present forms, probably have medieval precursors. Roxburgh and Heiton Mills, both preserved in farm-names and possessing extant remains of weirs, lay further up Teviot.

Further evidence of the route westwards above the right bank of Tweed was provided by the discovery, in March 1939, of a group of skeletons, some of which appeared to have been decapitated (*Kelso Chronicle* 10 and 31 March

1939; Hope 1946). The find was made during road work at NGR: NT 7037 3316. We are indebted to Brian Wain of Roxburgh for drawing our attention to this find and for pointing out its location. The site is probably that of the burgh gibbet and lies some 900m south-west of the isolated mound beyond the southern

end of Roxburgh Castle (NGR: NT 7116 3362), traditionally known as the Gallows Knowe (RCAHMS 1956, II, 407, fig 514). It is noteworthy that it is positioned at the junction of the main route along the Tweed valley with the road towards Jedburgh via the present village of Roxburgh, the significance of which is explained below.

When Roxburgh was destroyed by an English army in 1216 it was noted (*Chron Melrose*, sa 1216) that the town was surrounded with villages and suburbs (*combusta est ... Rokesburgia cum viculis et suburbis quamplurimis*). Springwood was probably

one, as were Heiton and Maxwellheugh, both on the far bank of Teviot and both mentioned in Roxburgh charters (eg *Kelso Liber*, II, nos 358, 479, 480). Springwood may indeed be Maxwellheugh's western end. Close to the junction with Tweed, on Springwood Haugh (the present Border Showground), an enclosed burial-ground and the site of St Michael's Church are noted on the First Edition OS map (NGR: NT 7238 3370). In 1545, Hertford mentions a 'St Thomas Chapell' in this vicinity, which appears to be the chapel site marked by the OS in Springwood at NGR: NT 7194 3327. A number of medieval coins have been found in this vicinity. Most are English, of the late 14th and 15th centuries, reflecting the largely English



occupation of castle and burgh during this period (Holmes 2004, 275). Further up the river was a Maison Dieu (NGR: NT 714 327), probably the establishment first mentioned *c* 1145 (*Kelso Liber*, II, no 372; Easson 1957, 153), whose site is marked in the nearby farm-name of Maisondieu (NGR: NT 715 322). Beyond that is the farm of Roxburgh Barns (NGR: NT 705 329), and the present village of Roxburgh, some 3.5km south-west of the royal burgh.

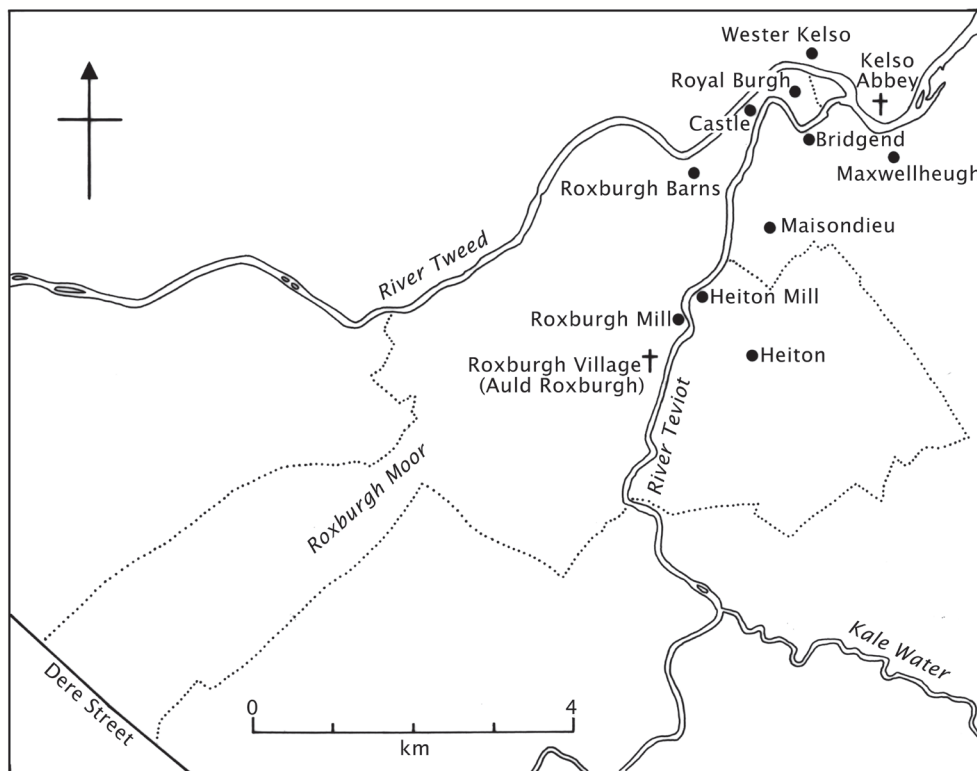
Roxburgh village today shows no obvious sign of medieval antiquity and the fabric of its present church dates to 1752 and later. But a precursor is suggested by the discovery, some time before 1944, of the upper part of a free-standing cross (illus 27) which, we believe, may be earlier than the 12th century date ascribed to it by RCAHMS (RCAHMS 1956, Roxburgh, II, 407) and by references to a parish church of ‘vetus [old] Roxburgh’ in the 1150s (Barrow 1960, no 114; Cowan 1967, 159), clearly distinct from the parish church of St James which served the ‘new’ royal burgh (Cowan 1967, 175). The implied antiquity of the village’s church site, and its central position in the parish (illus 10), suggests that this location may have been an established focus of temporal as well as ecclesiastical power before the early 12th century (*OSA* ‘Roxburgh’ passim; Jeffrey 1859, 156; Cowan 1967, 175) and it is probably here that the early ‘burgh of

Roxburgh’ of *c* 1115, as distinct from the ‘new burgh’ mentioned in *c* 1124 x 38, was located (*Kelso Liber*, I, no 2). The parish name itself, and references from the royal burgh which mention a separate place called ‘Auld Roxburgh’, further



ILLUS 9 Crop-marks in Springwood Park, at the site of Bridgend (the present Teviot Bridge is visible at top right). A double-linear feature crossing the field is probably the road recorded by Roy, leading towards Heiton (Colin Martin)

lend themselves to the suggestion that the site of the present-day Roxburgh village was the original place so named. The distinction between the village site and its early church, and the ‘new burgh’ further downstream which bore the same



ILLUS 10 The parish of Roxburgh and associated locations. The northern edge of the parish is defined by Tweed, and the north-eastern sector by the lower reaches of Teviot (except for the triangle of Vigorous Haugh at the junction of the rivers). Dere Street, the Roman road, marks the SW end of the parish (Colin Martin)

name, had been established before *c* 1153 x 6 when the church of 'Old Roxburgh' is first so designated (Barrow 1960, no 114). Old Roxburgh was a rich parish and its revenues were assigned by the bishop of Glasgow in the 13th century for the support of a prebend in Glasgow Cathedral (Cowan 1967, 159). Its dominant position in the parish and the presence of a population focus at the site of the current village meant that, following the royal burgh's eventual demise, Old Roxburgh Kirk once again became the sole church for what had become the united parish of Old Roxburgh and St James.

On the far bank of Tweed was Kelso Abbey and its extensive precincts. Further upstream stood the abbey's secular burgh of Wester Kelso,

focused on a Market Cross whose base survived into the 19th century and is marked on the First Edition OS map (NGR: NT 7220 3438) (illus 6). However, this may not have been its original location. Excavations have been conducted in this area and it has been postulated that the focus of the burgh lay further west (Dixon et al 2002), the cross having perhaps been shifted to form a feature in a later ornamental garden. Prior to 1193, the abbey's tenants in Wester Kelso were given the right by King William to sell foodstuffs 'from their windows' on days other than the market day in Roxburgh (Barrow 1971, no 367), a privilege that marked the start of the formal development of the community as a commercial centre.

Wester Kelso and Roxburgh were linked by a bridge. Thomas de Carnoto, fermer of Roxburgh, made a charge against his accounts at the exchequer for repairs made to ‘the bridge of Tweed’ in 1330 (*ER* I, 229). A skirmish on the bridge was the scene of the capture in October 1332 of the Scottish Guardian, Sir Andrew de Moray (Bower VII, 89). In 1370 Edward III granted the burgh 40 merks *pro reparatione et emendatione pontes ultra aquam de Twede* (*Rotuli Scotiae*, I: 937; Jeffrey, 1859, 25), while in 1398 the Master of Douglas was accused of plundering the burgh and breaking the bridge (*Foedera*, VIII, 57–8; Bain 1881–8, IV, no 511). It was destroyed yet again in 1411 (Bower VIII, 81). The bridge was still extant in the 16th century, and in 1548 William Patten, who had accompanied the Protector Somerset on his Scottish campaigns the year before, described its by-then-ruinous remains: ‘betwixt Kelsey and Rokesborowe hath thear been a great stone bridge, with arches, the which ye Skottes in Time paste hath all to broken, bycaus we shoold not that wei cum to them’. And later: ‘The best place whereof for getting over [Tweed] ... was over against the west end of our camp, and not far from ye broke arches of ye broke bridge’ (Patten 1548, np).

Somerset’s camp lay on the haughland between the two rivers and its western end would have come close to the eastern edge of the present Floors policies on the other side of Tweed. The bridge cannot have been located much further upstream because of the obstacle presented by the Fair Cross islands. It was probably close to the ferry which operated hereabouts until the early 19th century (Jeffrey 1859, 24), connecting with a road on the Roxburgh side, shown on Stobie’s map of 1770. It is possible that the stone slipway still visible at NGR: NT 719 343 was associated with this ferry, and its structure may perhaps incorporate material derived from the medieval bridge. The road shown by Stobie does not feature on the First Edition OS 1:10,560 map (1858), though what may be part of it survives as a hollow way extending some 150m eastwards

from the St James Church site (Feature E in illus 4).

No explicit documentary evidence has been found for a bridge over Teviot, but the existence of one close to the present bridge (of late 18th-century date) may be inferred from the place-name ‘Brigende’, first recorded in 1545 between ‘Massendewe’ and ‘Maxwell Heugh’ in Hertford’s list of places ravaged during his expedition of that year (Hertford and Sadler to Henry VIII, 27 September 1545, Gairdner and Brodie 1907, no 456). It may also be noted that the *Chronicle of Lanercost* speaks of the destruction of bridges on Teviot during the flood of 1294, as cited above. ‘Bridgend’ is marked on Stobie’s map of 1770 as a settlement close to the site of the present Teviot bridge. A subsequent migration of the place-name can be traced through the various OS editions. In the earliest (1858), ‘Bridge-end Haugh’ is centred on NGR: NT 725 334. This implies that the eponymous settlement was on the adjacent high ground at Springwood, as suggested above. By 1921, ‘Bridge-end Haugh’ had become ‘Bridgend Park’, while the small park just to the south of Kelso Bridge, at NGR: NT 727 334, is labelled ‘Little Bridgend Park’. Meanwhile, ‘Springwood Park’, correctly located adjacent to the now-demolished Springwood House at NGR: NT 716 333 in editions prior to 1921, had shifted north-eastwards to replace ‘Bridgend Park’ at NGR: NT 725 334 by 1968. By the same date, ‘Little Bridgend Park’ had dropped its diminutive element to become ‘Bridgend Park’ and is today known locally (and logically) as plain ‘Bridgend’. But it lies some 700m from Hertford’s settlement of the same name and now refers, in practice if not in origin, to a differently-located and much-later bridge across another river (Martin, 2005).

#### LOCATION AND EXTENT OF THE BURGH

A burgh of Roxburgh first comes on record c 1115, in the foundation charter of Selkirk Abbey, granted

by Earl David (later David I), by which time it was clearly an established settlement although its antecedents are unknown (*Kelso Liber*, I, no 1). Around 1124, a ‘new burgh’ was established on a site adjacent to the castle, at the eastern extremity of the parish (*Kelso Liber*, no 2; Barrow 1960, 193). The designation ‘new’ was probably used to distinguish the royal burgh from the older settlement around the parish church 3km south-west of the castle, as argued above. The nucleus of this new Roxburgh was probably on the high ground around Kay Brae (NGR: NT 715339) (Haig 1825, 181; *Retours* II, 267) and, perhaps in its earliest form, the burgh was separated from the castle by open ground. It is possible that the settled area extended westwards past the castle, since a grant of a toft ‘outwith the west gate wall’ is noted in a charter of David I of c 1150 x 368 53 (*Dryburgh Liber*, no 147). A low bank and ditch which runs from the castle mound to the bank of Tweed (Feature B in *illus 4*) may represent the western extremity of the burgh.

The eastern boundary is described in a charter of 1160, which defines a piece of land lying *extra fossatum burgi de Rokesburg inter Tuedam et Tevieth versus abbatam* (beyond the ditch of the burgh, between Tweed and Teviot, towards the abbey [of Kelso]) (*Kelso Liber*, II, 320). This line is followed by the boundary between the parishes of Roxburgh and Kelso, an apparently anomalous arrangement which gives Kelso a 12ha parcel of open land on the far side of the river, at the western extremity of Roxburgh parish (*illus 4* and *6*). It came about because the churches of the burgh of Roxburgh and their lands originally belonged to Ascelin the Archdeacon and to the Bishops of Glasgow, but following Ascelin’s death and with Bishop Herbert’s agreement, David I granted them to the monks of Kelso (*Kelso Liber*, II, no 415; Jeffrey 1859, 154–5; Cowan 1967, 175). Bishop Herbert had, however, retained for himself the land pertaining to the churches which lay east of the burgh’s ditch, but subsequently restored it and confirmed it in the possession of the monks of Kelso, to whom the churches had been granted.

This peninsula between the rivers, still known as ‘Vigorous Haugh’ after the prominent Roxburgh family of de Vigerus, is unequivocally described by Patten (1548) in his account of the Protector Somerset’s campaigns in Scotland. On 23 September 1547, the army ‘cam that morning to Rokesborow ... our camp occupied a greate fallowe felde between Rokesborowe and Kelseye, stondeing eastward a quarter a mile’.

The burgh’s eastern defences survive today as an almost-levelled bank and ditch running north–east/south–west across the haugh, from NGR: NT 7211 3378 to 7203 3416 (Feature A in *illus 4*), exploiting a natural gravel escarpment and barely visible except under optimum conditions of drought or light snow (*illus 7* and *11*). Towards the south, where the feature is most clearly defined, traces of mortared masonry are visible in the bank among the roots of a tree. A similar line is followed by a row of trees in Wyeth’s 1736 map (*illus 5*), which ends some distance short of Tweed, where surface indications of the bank-and-ditch feature also appear to peter out. But the line can be seen to continue almost to the river-bank in the RAF’s 1946 vertical photograph (*illus 7*), an impression confirmed by a recent topographical survey by RCAHMS (P Dixon pers comm). There was, however, what may have been an extra-mural area of planned settlement to the north of the burgh, in the vicinity of St James Church, where a toft was granted to the monks of Kelso before c 1128 (*Kelso Liber*, II, no 2).

The line of the rampart does not quite match the parish boundary as recorded by the Ordnance Survey. At its southern end, the boundary coincides with the crest of the bank, but as it crosses the haugh it deviates steadily westwards until, about 100m from the Tweed bank, it has shifted some 50m from the rampart crest. Despite this, it is reasonable to suppose that the two are related and that the drift may have resulted, as memories faded, with the post-medieval levelling of the defences by cultivation until they are now barely perceptible. The denuded bank-and-ditch features, now



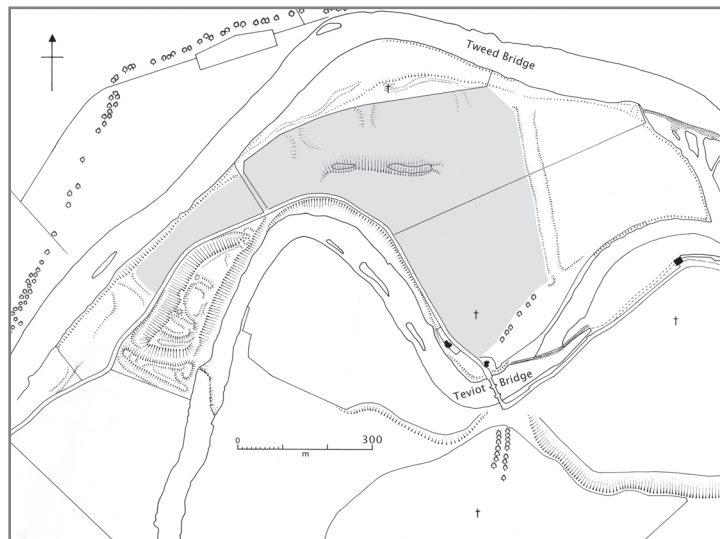
ILLUS 11 The almost levelled bank and ditch feature which represents the eastern perimeter of the burgh showing up under drought conditions in 1984. The apparent termination of the defences towards the right-hand edge of the photograph is illusory, caused by a change of the underlying soil make-up. In fact, the feature continues towards the Tweed bank (Colin Martin)

recognized and tested by excavation, had not been noted by previous investigators nor shown on maps (Martin 1969, 55). It was presumably not recognized by the 19th-century Ordnance Surveyors, who must therefore have used some other reference when they projected the parish boundary across the haugh. The *New Statistical Account* for Roxburgh, describing this part of the parish line, notes that ‘the western boundary ... is a line, extending from river to river, by the Trysting Tree and the foot of St James’ Green’ (*NSA ‘Roxburgh’*, 127–8, n). In this connection it may be noted that the ferry-slip on the far bank of Tweed, which, as suggested above, may be associated with the medieval bridge, would have provided the surveyors with a readily-identifiable aiming-mark for the line they plotted.

No firm evidence has been noted for the south-west perimeter, above the Teviot flood-

plain, but a line of trees above the bank, of which remnants survive, may reflect its course. This tree-line is of some antiquity. It is shown in Wyeth’s 1736 map, and appears to be the ‘raised walk ... between two rows of large elms’ which, according to Jeffrey (1859, 152), was partially demolished by ploughing in 1780. Such a line would terminate at the edge of Teviot where the escarpment begins its rise north-westwards towards the summit of Kay Brae. The perimeter would naturally continue along the crest of the escarpment, curving westwards until it reached the castle mound. On the slope of Kay Brae, the excavations described below identified an early ditch, succeeded by a road (Trench 3). This part of the burgh is well protected by the river and steep bank, and would not necessarily have required formal defences.

Visible evidence for a boundary along the northern perimeter is also lacking, although it clearly lay above the Tweed flood-plain, and it is known that the church of St James, the location of which has been confirmed by excavation (see below), stood beyond it (*NSA 'Kelso'*, 308). The present curving fence above the river-bank follows a line recorded on the first OS survey (1858) and a similar course is indicated by a tree-line on Wyeth's 1736 map (illus 5). This may perhaps reflect an earlier boundary associated with the burgh. On the assumption that it does, a tentative reconstruction of the area enclosed by the burgh can be attempted (illus 12). This



ILLUS 12 A tentative reconstruction of the area enclosed by the burgh (Colin Martin)

suggests that Roxburgh occupied about 22ha within its mural boundaries.

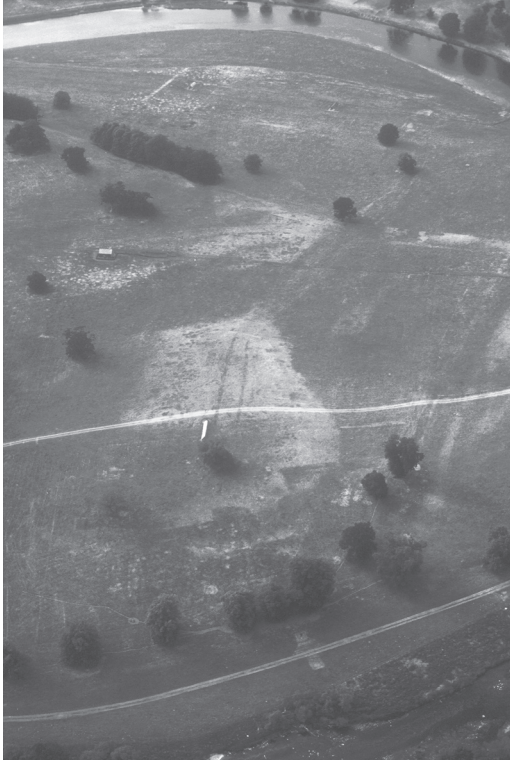
By the mid-12th century, Roxburgh was certainly a walled town, provided with *murus* and *fossatus* (*Dryburgh Liber*, no 146; *Kelso Liber*, no 415). In 1309, the burgesses were authorized by Edward II to raise a tax for the burgh wall (*Rotuli Scotiae*, I, 64), which implies that this work involved a refurbishment

of existing defences. It has been suggested (RCAHMS 1956, I, 253) that this might have involved the replacement of an original earth-and-palisade rampart by a stone wall, as at Berwick (Maxwell, *Scalacronica*, 15, 23), but a section across the eastern defences (Trench 1) has shown that this sector of Roxburgh's rampart remained earth-built throughout its history. However, mortared masonry is evident among tree-roots on the crest of the rampart near the southern end of the eastern sector, at NGR: NT 7210 3379, which may indicate that some parts of the wall, most probably gates or towers, were of stone, and their construction may well relate

to a putative early 14th-century secondary phase. It is possible that the lunate expansion at the adjacent corner of the rampart represents the footings of a tower. The varied nature and function of medieval urban enclosures, and the frequent mix of earthwork and masonry elements, has recently been emphasized by Creighton and Higham (2005, 36–41, 75–8).

Three streets within the burgh are recorded. The Senedegate is first mentioned in *c* 1290, the King's Street in 1329, and Market Street in 1345 (*Dryburgh Liber*, nos 148, 307, 313; *Kelso Liber*, nos 479, 482, 483, 489). It is

likely that Market Street extended from the northern road into the burgh, which presumably came from the Tweed bridge, and a possible stretch of it is revealed by the parallel ditch lines at NGR: NT 7197 3380, picked up by aerial photography (illus 13) and shown by excavation (Trench 2) to have had a gravel running-surface between them. Air photographs suggest that the road bends towards Tweed, in the direction of



ILLUS 13 The burgh site under drought, photographed from the south, looking towards Tweed. In the foreground dark areas with clearly defined edges and right-angles may be identified as terracing for the Friary buildings and/or their post-medieval successors. Beyond, near the centre of the picture and visible within a patch of extreme parching, two parallel dark lines are probably the side ditches of a broad street. Other features appear on parching in the middle distance, while towards Tweed, features associated with the St James' Church complex can be seen (Colin Martin)

the probable bridge site. Another road line, perhaps to be identified as the King's Street, is suggested by parallel positive crop-marks curving south-westwards from the direction of the Teviot crossing, at NGR: NT 7186 3375 (illus 14 and 15). This road, and adjacent street frontage, was confirmed in Trench 3. It presumably continued along the scarp in

the direction of the castle although its curve, if continued across the modern road, would have brought it over the edge. This suggests that river erosion has eaten into the scarp, and archaeological remains were noted here in June 2002 and January 2006, eroding out of the head of the steep slope towards Teviot. Charter evidence which places the church of the Holy Sepulchre and various high-status burgages on the south side of the street (*Dryburgh Liber*, no 307; *Kelso Liber*, nos 479, 489) implies that a significant segment of ground may have been lost, although, as noted above, a comparison of the river-line from OS sources indicates that the bank itself has been stable for the past 140 years. What may be a continuation of the same road was picked up by geophysical prospection in 1986, heading west along the flat ground past the castle and towards the hollow way (Feature C in illus 4) beyond the supposed western defences at NGR: NT 711 336. This will have been the main road along the Tweed valley. A short stretch of possible roadway running east from the putative Market Street may be postulated as the Senedegate, on the basis that it formed the northern boundary of the friary, which was built on land originally held by the nuns of Holystones in Northumberland (Barrow 1971, no 74; *Dryburgh Liber*, no 148; *CDS IV*, no 991). Crop-marks also suggest a street linking the two roads described above, between NGR: NT 7182 3384 and 7191 3043 (illus 15). The junction of this street with the putative Market Street at the latter point might be seen as a possible location for the burgh's market. A number of interesting but enigmatic crop-marks have appeared in this area. Air photography and geophysical prospection (see below), particularly in the south part of the burgh, suggest that networks of smaller lanes or wynds ran between the main streets. Though at present these suggestions are highly tentative, further geophysical work and topographical survey is probably capable of reconstructing the burgh's internal morphology with more confidence and in greater detail.

## CHURCHES AND THE FRIARY

Roxburgh is unusual among Scottish medieval burghs in that it possessed more than one parish church within its bounds. As early as 1134–8, David I, in a charter to the monks of Kelso, referred to ‘all the churches and schools’ of Roxburgh (*Kelso Liber*, I, no 2). The earliest named church is that of St John the Evangelist, which is recorded within the castle in 1127 (Stevenson 1841, 67–8; Barrow 1999, nos 30, 42). The rector of the church was granted one ploughgate in the king’s demesne at Roxburgh



ILLUS 14 The area of the Friars, with the tree-line at bottom right which may represent the southern boundary of the burgh. Towards the top left are curving parallel parch-marks which may border a road, while the dark parch-marks also seen in illus 13 are clearly visible (Colin Martin)

and one toft for his support, and was also given a tenement of land in the castle and the rights to all the offerings made by the inhabitants of the castle (Barrow 1999, no 42). This distinct ‘church of the castle’ was still functioning in 1327 when a cash payment to its rector was made (*ER* I, 67–8), but by 1347 it appears only as a ‘chapel’ and may have lost its parochial status (*Rot Scot*, I, 698b). St John’s appears never to have served as the parochial church of the burgh. Instead, the earliest named church associated

with the burgh is St James, which was dedicated on 17 April 1134 (*Melrose Chronicle*, 33). It evidently lay just beyond the burgh’s northern perimeter, close to Tweed, in what seems to have been already by c 1134–8 an extra-mural area of settlement with defined tofts (*Kelso Liber*, I, no 2). Its general whereabouts has been projected into modern times by St James Fair, which was held in its vicinity. The OS marks two locations for the Fair Green: one, in Gothic script to denote an antiquity, at NGR: NT 717 342; and the other, further downstream at 721 341, in normal lettering (illus 6). This reflects a shift of

the crossing from Wester Kelso to Roxburgh via the medieval bridge (and later by ferry) down river, to a point opposite the present-day focus of Kelso, following the abandonment of Wester Kelso in the late 17th century (Simpson & Stevenson 1980, 3). In the early 20th century, a temporary footbridge was provided here between Kelso and the ‘new’ green during the Fair (Adamson & Lamont-Brown 1981, pl 109).

St James Church appears to have been a substantial structure which functioned as an important ecclesiastical meeting-place. In June 1226, for example, it was the venue for a major church court assembly (*Dryburgh Liber*, no 230). On 21 November 1251 it was the meeting-place of the chapter of the archdeaconry of Teviotdale (*Kelso Liber*, no 164), while in 1282 the wedding of Alexander III’s elder son, the Lord Alexander, to Margaret of Flanders possibly took place here (Bower V, 410–11). St James attracted patronage in the early 14th century from wealthy burgess families who endowed chantries within it. In May 1426,



the abbot of Kelso petitioned the Pope for the relocation of the chaplainry founded in St James by Roger de Auldton to the abbey, citing ‘the destruction of the said church, which is on the borders of England and Scotland’ (Dunlop 1956, 129–30). On 23 September 1434, on account of ‘the ruining’ of the church of St James, this valuable chaplainry was finally relocated to the abbey church at Kelso (*Kelso Liber*, no 527). Despite these claims of destruction in the earlier 15th century, ‘St James his Kirk in the continent betwixt Tiviot and Tweid’ was still in existence as late as 1649, though by that time it had only six communicants (Leishman 1894–5, 348), no doubt members of the Kerr family from the nearby mansion at Friars.

A building labelled ‘Dovecoat’ is shown on the north part of the haugh in Stobie’s 1770 map. This presumably relates to the ‘Dovecote Farm’ recorded on a map of c 1816 (NAS RHP 10007). It is tempting to suggest an association between this building and the redundant church, but it seems to lie too far east. Further to the west, a number of stone coffins and grave-covers have been found, though their exact location was not recorded. The first discoveries were made by workmen tracing the foundations of the church in 1788 on the instructions of the Duke of Roxburghe (*OSA* ‘Kelso’; Hewat Craw 1922, 185–6). Several stones were found, including the Johanna Bulloc slab and an uninscribed stone decorated with a floriated cross (illus 28), both now preserved at Kelso Abbey. Several other stones have since been lost, including the top part of a grave-cover

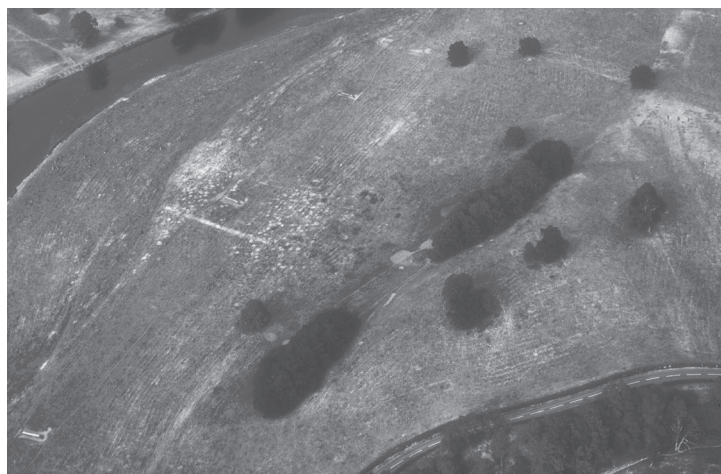
with a floriated cross, which was built into a wall near Kelso, on the Edinburgh road, before 1790, in which year it was drawn in situ by Thomas Cocking (NLS Adv.MS.30.5.23) (illus 28). These antiquarian activities also uncovered burnt grain, a tiled floor, pieces of painted glass and a coin of Robert II (1371–90) (*British Chronicle* (Kelso), 17 October 1788). Probably on the same occasion, six more stones were dug up (Hewat



ILLUS 15 The core area of the burgh, viewed from the west. At top right, the eastern defences can be seen. Below, in the large parched patch, double-ditches mark the sides of a street. Hints of pits on either side suggest activities in the houses and rigs behind, and this has been confirmed by excavation (Trench 2). In the foreground, two parallel curving parch-marks may be side walls along another street. A pair of thin lines running at right angles from the far parch-mark appear to define a rig, and this too has been verified by excavation (Trench 3). Many other details can be seen in the photograph, but their interpretation remains speculative (Colin Martin)

Craw 1922, 184). The *Statistical Account* report, published in 1793, states that the ruins of the church were then still visible and included an aisle built during the previous century for the Roxburghe family. This later addition, wrote the *OSA*’s contributor (Christopher Douglas, Physician in Kelso), was scheduled for demolition so that the original building could be properly appreciated as an antiquity. The latter included, he notes, ‘one very large arch, and the

half of another, besides 7 of a smaller size above ... It has not, like most of the Gothic buildings, any minuteness of ornament, but has a tendency, by its plainness and magnitude, to inspire the mind with the grand and sublime, rather than the pleasing and beautiful.' Unfortunately, this early resolve to enhance and preserve an ancient monument was not put into effect. Though the exact site of these discoveries was not recorded, crop-mark indications recorded in 1984 (illus 16) suggested areas of buried rubble and walling at



ILLUS 16 The site of St James Church. The prominent linear feature is probably a road or wall-footing, while a much thinner one can be made out beyond and parallel with it. An amorphous area of light parching facing the river probably represents buried rubble from the demolished church. The scatters of pock-marks are levelled mole-hills (Colin Martin)

NGR: NT 716 342 and excavation here (Trench 5) subsequently revealed mortuary structures, a small decorated headstone (illus 30), and a plain grave-cover.

Further finds were made at some time prior to 1838 when, according to *NSA* (Kelso), the steward of Roxburghe estate demolished what remained of the church's superstructure to provide material for building 'farm offices and fences'. A displaced iron fence-post set in a piece of moulded stone was photographed by the first-named author during the 1960s in the

small wood centred on NGR: NT 7180 3402, but cannot now be located.

A second church with parochial status lay within the burgh proper. Although its specific dedication as the church of the Holy Sepulchre only comes on record in 1329 (*Dryburgh Liber*, no 307), it is certainly much earlier. Its name points to an early 12th-century foundation date, Holy Sepulchre dedications being very much in vogue in the decades after the First Crusade. This building is presumably one of the churches mentioned but not

specifically identified in David I's 1134–8 charter to the monks of Kelso (*Kelso Liber*, I, no 2). There is a suggestion that this church had lost its parochial status before the end of the 13th century (Cowan 1967, 175), but an *ecclesia sancti Sepulcri* as opposed to *capella* was functioning in the late 1320s (*Dryburgh Liber*, no 307). There is, however, no subsequent mention of the church and it can be surmised that as the burgh declined it passed into disuse as the remaining parishioners were served by St James. The location of Holy Sepulchre is unknown at present, but

charter evidence gives its relative position on the south side of the King's Street in the midst of what appear to have been high-status burgages. Nothing definite is known of its form, but its nave was possibly circular in plan, in common with English examples of churches with this dedication, such as Holy Sepulchre, Northampton, founded c 1108–c 1111 by Simon de Senlis, earl of Northampton (Page 1970, 44–8). Earl Simon was the first husband of David I's wife Matilda, and, as earl of Huntingdon, David would have been personally familiar with this building.

In 1231 the Franciscan order of friars came to Scotland. Their first convent was established at Berwick (Easson 1957, 105), and by 1232 x 4 a second had been established at Roxburgh (ibid, 108) on a site that had been granted originally to the nuns of Holystones in Redesdale by David I (Barrow 1999, no 245). The nuns were to be compensated for the loss of their property and as late as 1426 they were petitioning for payments due of rents given to them by Alexander II in lieu of the Roxburgh site (*CDS IV*, no 991). A letter of the Bishop of Glasgow recording the consecration of the friars' cemetery on 4 May 1235 noted that the church was dedicated to St Peter (*Kelso Liber*, II, no 418), while the appeal of the nuns of Holystones in 1426 referred to a hospital of St Peter on the same site. The friary was clearly one of the more substantial complexes in the burgh, accommodating Edward I of England and his household for one night in May 1296 before he moved into the castle (Stevenson 1870, II, 27).

Little substantial evidence survives for the fortunes of the convent beyond some basic financial details. In 1295, for example, the burgh accounts revealed that the Franciscans received an allowance of 3 shillings per week from the burgh ferme, one tun of wine with free carriage to Roxburgh from Berwick worth 65s 6d, and 18 stones of wax and carriage from Berwick worth £6 (Stevenson 1870, I, 247). This level of financial support does not indicate a large establishment, and there were only four friars in residence in the 1330s (Easson 1957, 108). Repair work to the roof of the church of the Franciscans at Roxburgh was planned in 1332, but the 40 'Estland' boards (deals from the eastern Baltic) allocated for the work were seized instead by Sir Alexander Seton for repairs to the royal castle at Berwick (*ER I*, 411). Although the burgh had effectively disappeared before the end of the 15th century, the friary continued to function on its old site and in 1477 received a grant from James III of all the lands once occupied by the burgh (*RMS*



ILLUS 17 Detail from an engraving of Kelso Bridge by Eastgate, showing the Friars mansion, published by Alexander Hogg, 16 Paternoster Row, London (undated but before 1754)

II, no 1312). In 1501, the friars were granted the rents of ‘the Castelmot, Orchard and Tounesteid’ of Roxburgh, amounting to £4 annually, to pay for masses celebrated in their church for the soul of James II, and the same year the warden of the convent, John Connel, took receipt of £10 for the repair of their ‘place’ (*ER XI*, 324\* and 327\*). The community was still extant in October 1542 when ‘the freyers’ at Roxburgh was burned by English raiders (Bain 1890–2, I, pc). Despite that blow, the convent continued to function for a further three years until it was again burned by English raiders in September 1545 and apparently abandoned thereafter by the friars (Easson 1957, 108). In 1547, parts of the derelict buildings were refurbished and used by the garrison of the English fortification at Roxburgh (Bain 1898, I, no 98).

At the Reformation, the convent’s land, which is still known locally as ‘The Friars’,

was transferred to Sir Walter Kerr of Cessford, ancestor of the present Duke of Roxburghe, and in due course a mansion was built, incorporating parts of the ruined friary. The family lived here on occasion, especially during the rebuilding of Floors by William Adam in 1721–6 (Glendinning et al 1996, 550). Wyeth’s 1736 map (illus 5) shows the pavillioned mansion and the formal gardens which surrounded it, while it appears as a three-storeyed building in an engraving of the first Tweed bridge published by Alexander Hogg of Paternoster Row (illus 17), undated but earlier than 1754, when the bridge collapsed (Martin 2005, 42). The gardens incorporated a raised walk between two rows of elm trees, but in 1780 they were ploughed up, destroying ‘several beautiful vestiges of antiquity’ (Jeffrey 1859, 152). A drawing of ‘Roxburgh Friary’ was made by George Hutton in 1784 (NLS Adv.MS.30.5.23) (illus 18). It shows two thatched cottages and



ILLUS 18 Drawing from the Hutton Collection entitled ‘Roxburgh Friary’ and dated 1784. Though unsigned, it is probably the work of George Hutton himself. It shows trees growing along the bank of the eastern rampart and a pair of later cottages. The ruined wall on the right is probably part of the former mansion, and may incorporate elements of the friary (NLS Adv.MS.30.5.23, Licensor [www.scran.ac.uk](http://www.scran.ac.uk))

part of a taller ruined structure. Christopher Douglas, the OSA's Kelso contributor, observed that before 1793 'a fine arch of their church remained, and other parts of the building [but] are now almost wholly effaced'. Fragments of cloistered buildings could still be seen as late as the 1830s (Hewat Craw 1922, 184), but within a few years Jeffrey (1836, 221) observed that 'not a stone ... now remains upon another to mark the site of this religious house'.

However, the locations of the Friars and an associated 'Trysting Tree' from the elm walk, remained in local memory long enough for the OS to mark them confidently on the 1st Edition map, at NGR: NT 7183 37 and 7203 37. Aerial photography has recorded evidence of terracing into the slope in this area, which presumably provided level footings for the ecclesiastical buildings and their temporal successors (illus 13).

## DEVELOPMENT AND DECLINE

Roxburgh's origins as a settlement are unknown, but it emerges in historical records as a burgh – a privileged commercial community – in the period c 1115–24, during which time David, the youngest son of King Malcolm III and Queen Margaret, ruled over Southern Upland Scotland as 'prince of the Cumbrian region'. Roxburgh Castle appears to have been David's principal seat of power and, after he became king of Scots in 1124, the adjacent burgh flourished as one of the chief centres of his kingdom. It is almost certainly no coincidence that the Tironensian monks, for whom David had founded a monastery at Selkirk in c 1115, had been relocated to a new abbey in Kelso by 1128. The king was clearly concentrating resources at the heart of the Tweed Basin, and the establishment of a major ecclesiastical foundation in the area would have been an essential component in his plans. Shifting this powerful order from a relatively remote and peripheral location (Selkirk did not achieve burgh status until the later 13th century

(Pryde 1965, 21)) to the region's newly-chosen focus of economic and cultural development may be seen as part of an integrated strategic policy directed by the crown (Oram 2007a). The Tironensians would have brought with them not only strong spiritual authority, but also the literacy and managerial skills essential to the revolutionary developments which were taking place in and around Roxburgh.

The castle became one of David's most favoured residences and it is likely that he built what was later referred to as the 'gret toure' there, which was both a palace and a prison for his rivals (*Chron Melrose*, sa 1134, 1156, 1197; Barbour, *The Bruce*, I, 256; Oram 2004, 78–89, 81–2, 86). Shortly after 1138, the burgh's fiscal and administrative importance was underlined by the establishment there of one of five Scottish royal mints.

By the end of the 12th century, Roxburgh was a trading centre of international importance. The produce of its vast hinterland, which included wool from the great Border abbeys and the estates of nobles like the earls of Dunbar or March and the lords of Lauderdale, was channelled through its markets. St James' Fair, held in late July and early August, attracted foreign merchants and became one of the key events in Scotland's trading calendar. Emphasis has been placed on the importance of Berwick as the great driver of Scottish trade in the 12th and 13th centuries, especially for the traffic in wool (Ditchburn 2001, 163–76), but the role of Roxburgh in the development of Scotland's international dealings has been wholly overlooked. Roxburgh was the market through which the wool crop of Teviotdale and the Upper Tweed Basin was channelled, and it is highly significant that from the 12th century onwards it was the venue for a major trade fair while Berwick had not been granted the privilege of holding one. This does not diminish Berwick's importance, but its role was primarily as a maritime entrepôt for southern Scotland's trade. It complemented Roxburgh's function as the Tweed Basin's booming commercial centre, where transactions were settled and goods

assembled for dispatch. Berwick, in effect, was to Roxburgh what Leith was to Edinburgh, a symbiotic partner in Europe's increasingly complex trading mechanisms. Unfortunately for both burghs this mutually-profitable partnership was severed during the Anglo-Scottish conflict of the later Middle Ages. However, while good relations between the two kingdoms prevailed, the general upswing in Scotland's economic development during the high-medieval period gave Roxburgh unprecedented opportunities for expansion and commercial development.

But its growth was not altogether uninterrupted. In 1207, 1216 and 1244, the burgh was devastated by fire (*Chron. Melrose*, sa 1207, 1216; Bower V, 187). The first and last conflagrations were accidents, a consequence probably of the extensive use of timber in Scotland's earlier-medieval towns. The 1216 episode, however, was Roxburgh's first recorded experience of sacking in war, when the English King John ravaged south-east Scotland as punishment for Alexander II's support for rebellious barons in England (Stringer 2005). But these seem to have been only minor setbacks, and Roxburgh survived to prosper during the boom years of the later 13th century.

The burgh continued to flourish through most of the 14th century, a period traditionally regarded in Scotland as a time of human and natural disasters, of war, famine and plague. In spite of its location in what became a hotly-disputed frontier zone between Scotland and England, and its regular switches of national status – English 1296–1314, Scottish 1314–32, English 1332–42, Scottish 1342–6, English 1346–1460 – Roxburgh at first thrived. In large part, its prosperity was perhaps based on the spending power of its garrisons and the vast expenditure, mainly from the English crown, which was poured into securing the burgh and its hinterland, particularly in the reigns of Edward III (1327–77) and Richard II (1377–99). The long periods of English rule brought stability to Roxburgh, especially from 1346 to 1377, when its merchants had access to both Scottish

and English markets. Scottish concern over the volume of Scottish wool traded through English-held Roxburgh and Berwick prompted royal efforts to channel the trade through securely-controlled Scottish outlets (*RMS I*, no 340; Tuck 1996; Oram 2007b).

Wool was clearly moved in bulk through the burgh market during the 12th, 13th and early 14th centuries, generating wealth for a prominent group of merchant-burgess families, mainly of Norman origin. These entrepreneurial dynasties flourished regardless of which kingdom controlled Roxburgh, coming quickly to terms with each change in regime, as in 1296 when the 12 leading men of the burgh gave homage to Edward I of England on behalf of the rest of the community (Stevenson 1870, II, 71). Fortunes could, however, be as quickly lost as made, and only a year later many of these same burgesses were living as refugees in Berwick and Newcastle after a surprise attack on Roxburgh by the resurgent Scots following their victory at Stirling Bridge (*CDS II*, no 958).

Roxburgh swiftly recovered, but after 1300 a clique headed by the de Auldtons, the Bullocs and the Mansels appears to have dominated burgh life. These entrepreneurs were active in Roxburgh's buoyant property market and lavished their wealth on the church of St James, where the de Auldtons founded and richly endowed a chantry chapel to commemorate them after death (*Kelso Liber*, II, nos 479, 482–9, 496, 527). By the 1370s warning signs were appearing that the good times might be short-lived, because new outlets for much of Scotland's wool were beginning to be found through Edinburgh and Dunbar rather than English-held Roxburgh and Berwick.

Worse was to follow. In August 1376 the chamberlain of the Scottish Earl of March was murdered by members of the English garrison at St James' Fair (Bower VII, 369). March owned some of the largest sheep flocks in the Borders and his financial manager had probably been at the fair to sell his master's wool and to buy luxuries for the Earl's household. Demands for

the punishment of his killers went unheeded and, on 10 August 1377, when the burgh was again packed with visiting merchants and traders and their goods, March launched a retaliatory raid. Ignoring the castle, the Scots burst into the town early in the morning, slaughtered all the Englishmen they could find, plundered the stalls and houses, and left the burgh in flames (Bower VII, 369).

Roxburgh was resilient enough to recover from this blow, but further raids followed in 1385, 1398, 1411 and 1417 (*CDS* IV, no 511; Bower VII, 405; Bower VIII, 81, 87), and this catalogue of disasters appears to have been accompanied by a protracted decline in the burgh's prosperity. While contemporary accounts of economic and physical devastation need to be treated with caution, efforts in the 1420s by Roger de Auldton to move the chaplainry established in St James Church, on account of war damage to the church, do seem to tally with hints that the burgh was by then in terminal decline (Dunlop 1956, 129–30).

In 1433 James I tried to negotiate the return of the burgh to Scotland but, when England rejected his overtures in 1436, he brought an army in an unsuccessful attempt to take the castle (Bower VIII, 287–9, 297). This failure was one of the factors which contributed to his assassination the following year. The long minority of his son and the protracted political divisions of the kingdom prevented further Scottish efforts to regain control of Roxburgh until 1460, when James II brought an artillery train to invest the castle. However, the king was 'unhappely slane with ane gun the quilk brak in the fying'. His widow, Queen Mary, pressed on with the siege, stormed the castle, and ordered it to be cast down (*Chron Auchinleck*, 169).

There is no mention in records that the burgh was still in existence at the time of the 1460 siege, but institutions with ancient property rights there, such as the monks of Dunfermline and the nuns of Haddington, still considered it worth having those rights confirmed in Scottish royal charters into the mid-15th century (eg

*RMS* II, nos 429, 610). However, James III's grant in 1477 to the Franciscans of Roxburgh of 'all the perches, bounds, and burgage fermes of the ... burgh of Roxburgh, together with all the fishings, water, and water passages and the old *le fereis* of the said burgh' suggests that the merchant families had decamped and the place was in the last stages of decline, if not abandoned (*RMS* II, no. 312). Subsequent royal charters and financial records give an impression of dereliction. In August 1488, for example, James IV granted 'the castle and castle place called *le castelsted*' to Walter Kerr of Cessford, ancestor of the dukes of Roxburghe (*RMS* II, no 1765), terminology which indicates that the castle had been abandoned. Royal financial accounts for 1501 record rents paid by the Kers from 'Castelwait' and 'Tounfeild' of Roxburgh, while the fermes of the lands of 'Castelmot, Orchard and Tounesteid' of Roxburgh, amounting annually to £4, were given to the Franciscans of Roxburgh to celebrate mass for the soul of James II (*ER* XI, 322\*, 324\*). Only the friars, it seems, maintained a presence in the former burgh, £10 being granted to them by James IV for the repair of their 'place' (*ibid*, 327\*). The friary survived until at least October 1542 when it was burnt by an English raiding party. It may have been repaired, but the eruption of fresh warfare in 1545 and the occupation and rebuilding of the castle forced any remaining Franciscans to abandon their convent, parts of which were used by the English garrison. When the Earl of Hertford camped on the haugh in 1547 he found only 'a greate fallowe felde' (Patten 1548, np).

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVALUATION

In June 2003, a three-day investigation of the burgh area was conducted by Wessex Archaeology and GSB Propection, under contract to the Channel 4 *Time Team* programme, through Videotext Communications Ltd. This work followed the granting of scheduled monument

consent by Historic Scotland, and its objective was to ascertain the nature, extent and degree of preservation of archaeological remains at the site. The first-named author prepared a research design in consultation with Historic Scotland, and agreed the location of trial trenches, while the second-named assembled and analysed the documentary evidence. The investigation, which involved geophysical survey and small-scale targeted excavation, was designed to test and complement the programmes of documentary search, cartographic analysis, topographical fieldwork, geophysical survey and aerial photography which were already underway, to provide data to guide future research, and to

inform decisions about the management and interpretation of the site.

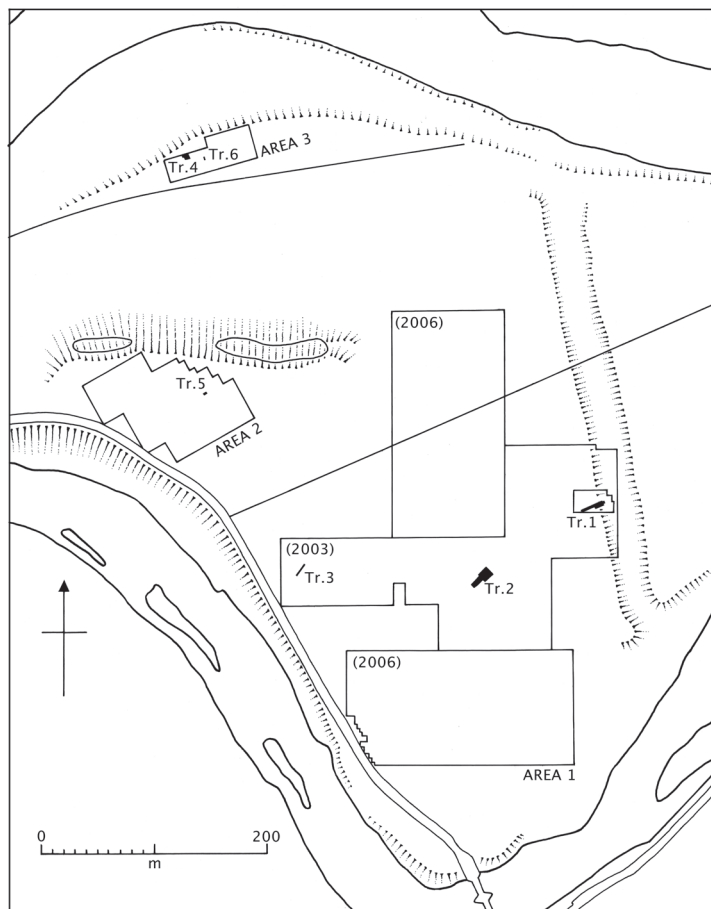
## GEOPHYSICAL SURVEY

John Gater

The geophysical survey comprised magnetometry and resistivity, and was undertaken in three areas which covered the five zones set out in the project design. Some additional work was conducted in 2006, and the areas examined during both seasons are shown in illus 19. It should be emphasized that this work represents the beginning of what is intended to be a long-

term and intensive research programme, and the results presented here are of a summary and provisional nature only. No detailed interpretation has been attempted.

The 2003 survey was conducted to assist in achieving the research aims of the project and to establish the most appropriate locations for trial trenches. A total of 3.6ha was subjected to detailed magnetometer survey in Areas 1 and 2, with 0.3ha examined by resistance in Areas 2 and 3. Area 1 extended east and west across the south part of the burgh. The results were dominated by ploughing trends aligned north/south and east/west, which generally masked any discrete archaeological features. This is thought to result from magnetic material from underlying occupation deposits being brought to the surface by



ILLUS 19 Areas of geophysical survey and trench locations (Colin Martin)





ILLUS 20 Geophysical survey of southern area (2003 and 2006 coverage combined) (John Gater, GBS Prospection)

ploughing. However, it is thought possible that a series of magnetically-quiet bands which formed a generally rectilinear pattern could reflect a street layout. A band of response on the east of Area 1 corresponded to the visible line of the eastern defences. At the western edge of Area 1, where indications of ploughing were not encountered, a number of possible pits, street alignments and ditches were observed.

Area 2, on the higher ground of Kay Brae, produced a strong series of magnetic anomalies

which follow a rectilinear pattern and are suggestive of structural remains. Their character might suggest the presence of burnt-timber slots, igneous or burnt stone building foundations, or former pens or paddocks. There are also a number of pit-type anomalies, suggestive of occupational activity on this higher ground. A small area of resistance survey failed to clarify the results of the magnetic survey.

Area 3 comprised a resistance survey over the suspected site of St James Church. The

results showed areas of high resistance that may reflect earthworks, but did not detect the stone grave-slab and associated structures that were subsequently located in Trench 4. A low-resistance anomaly in the south of Area 3 may be associated with a hollow way, while responses in the north-west perhaps represent a drain.

Further geophysical survey was conducted in 2006 as part of a programme intended eventually to include the whole of the burgh and selected outlying areas. This work extended from the 2003 Area 1, adding a total of 4ha to its north and south edges. A summary greyscale print-out is presented in *illus 20* and, although much has been obscured by later cultivation (visible as closely-spaced parallel lines), elements of what appears to be a grid of streets or property parcels can be made out. What may be buildings and other features are also evident, especially in the vicinity of the Friars.

## EXCAVATION

### Philip Harding

Despite the evidence of the 1736 Wyeth map (*illus 5*) that much of the site was parkland until at least that date, the scale of the disturbance and cultivation, believed by Jeffrey (1859, 152) to have begun in 1780, was corroborated by the geophysical survey. Although the site is now under permanent pasture, and has been so for many years, ploughing has seriously lowered and blurred the definition of any standing features and is likely to have penetrated to the natural subsoil in many places, restricting the stratified archaeology to the fills of features which cut into the natural deposits. This explains the absence of demolition and occupation levels in the excavated areas.

Archaeological features were overlain by an established turf in a mid-grey-brown sandy topsoil that averaged 0.15m thick, with pebbles from the underlying gravel. The soil profile was moderately well sorted, indicating that a prolonged period had elapsed since the most

recent phase of cultivation. The underlying subsoil was typically mid-grey-brown sandy material with mixed pebbles derived from the river gravels. Most features were filled with dark brown or grey-brown silts derived from the matrix of the parent fluvial gravels. The natural gravels in Trench 1 contained a higher proportion of clay matrix, which was reflected in the composition of individual layers.

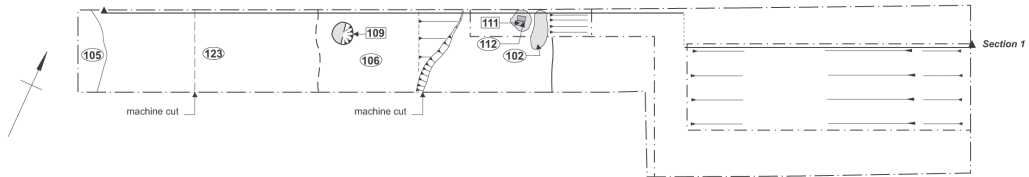
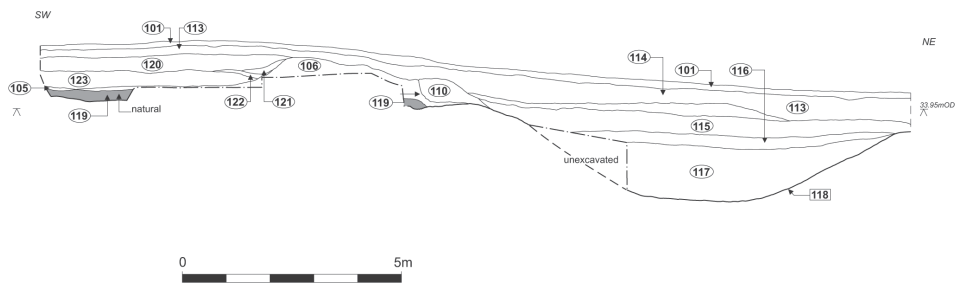
Evaluation trenching took place within five zones (*illus 19*) to examine:

- 1 The eastern defences of the burgh (Trench 1).
- 2 The high ground on Kay Brae (Trench 5).
- 3 An area towards the east of the site where aerial photographs suggest a street frontage and associated rigs (Trench 2).
- 4 A possible street frontage at the foot of Kay Brae (Trench 3).
- 5 The possible location of the church of St James (Trenches 4 and 6).

### TRENCH 1 (*illus 21*)

This trench, measuring 22 × 1.8m, was dug across the eastern defences of the burgh. It was widened to 4m at its east end, where the sides were stepped to allow access to the base of the ditch. The turf and topsoil horizon (101) overlay a plough-soil comprising pebbly, light grey-brown silty clay (113) generally 0.2m thick but increasing to 0.65m in the upper fill of the ditch. The ditch (118) measured approximately 9.5m across and was 2.65m deep from the existing ground surface. It had gently-sloping sides, a slightly concave base and was cut into the grey-green natural shales of the bedrock.

The lowest fill of the ditch (117) comprised an homogeneous pebbly deposit, 1.25m thick, in a mid-grey-brown matrix. The deposit displayed the characteristics of natural silting, including large stones which had sorted to the central part. Episodes of waterlogging or low-energy silting were indicated by thin lenses of clay within the deposit. There was nothing to suggest that the

**TRENCH 1****SECTION 1**

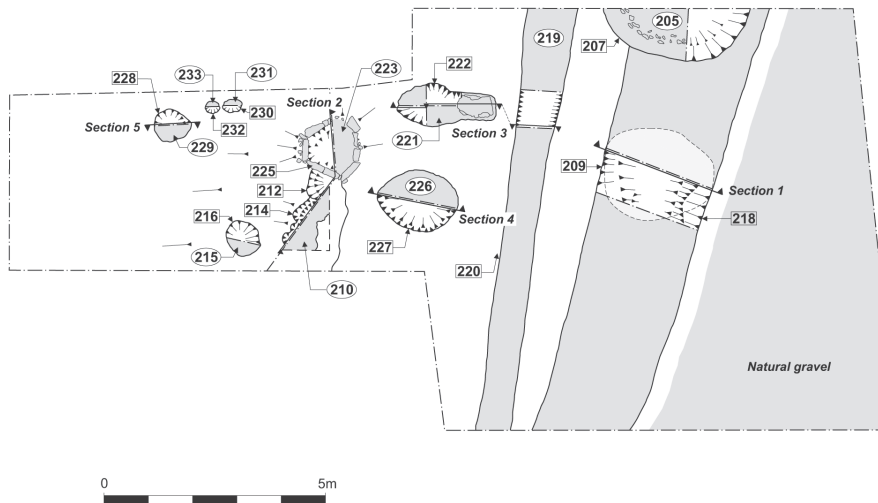
ILLUS 21 Trench 1 (Mark Roughley, Wessex Archaeology)

fill, which produced two sherds of medieval pottery and a fragment of roof tile, was derived from the bank. The first layer of secondary silting (116) comprised mid-red-brown silty clay with a reduced frequency of pebbles and indicated a reduced rate of silting. This deposit was overlain by a layer of more stony material (115), which may represent collapse from the bank and is possibly associated with ploughing, though there was no particular accumulation of this layer towards the edge closest to the bank. However, the overlying silts (114) included a patch of charcoal (102), concentrated immediately east of the bank and traceable as a diffuse spread towards the centre of the ditch. This deposit was associated with an area of fire-reddened clay around a post-hole (111) at the front edge of the bank. Four squared stone blocks were recovered from layer (114) but they were not in situ. They may have derived from a stone facing to the bank. The fills

of the ditch suggest that it silted naturally. There were very few finds and no evidence that it had been used for refuse disposal, or to indicate a deliberate demolition of the defences. It seems likely that when in use the ditch was cleaned out regularly.

The bank sealed a layer of pale grey-green sand (119), 0.16m thick, which may represent the old land surface. The rampart was constructed of gravel layers (120–3) retained by a revetment of mid-yellow-brown silty clay extending approximately 2.4m from its front. A pair of post-holes (109 and 111) suggests that the revetment may have been supported by timbers at a later stage of its existence. Post-hole (109) was 0.36m in diameter and 0.46m deep, with vertical sides and a flat base. A post-pipe (107) was well defined, 0.21m in diameter and filled with loose clay, suggesting that the post had rotted in situ. It contained three small sherds of post-medieval

## TRENCH 2



ILLUS 22 Trench 2 (Mark Roughley, Wessex Archaeology)

pottery. These may be intrusive, or alternatively the post-hole is part of a later fence-line, set out on the crest of the former defences. Post-hole (111) was 0.27m in diameter, 0.15m deep and was defined by a zone of fire-reddened clay, although there was nothing to indicate that the post had been burnt in situ. It is likely that this post is associated with the patch of charcoal (102) which was found immediately east of it, overlying the secondary ditch fills.

## TRENCH 2 (illus 22 and 23)

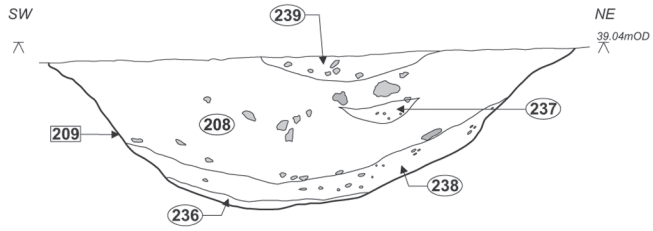
This trench was excavated in the hope of identifying tenements and their associated rigs adjacent to a street, tentatively identified by aerial photography and geophysical survey. Investigation focused on a linear feature thought to be a roadside ditch. On excavation, various intercutting features were identified, and the trench was enlarged to cover 59m<sup>2</sup>, including a strip 4m wide that was extended back from

the street frontage in an attempt to examine the depth of a tenement block. Two provisional phases were identified from a limited number of intercutting features.

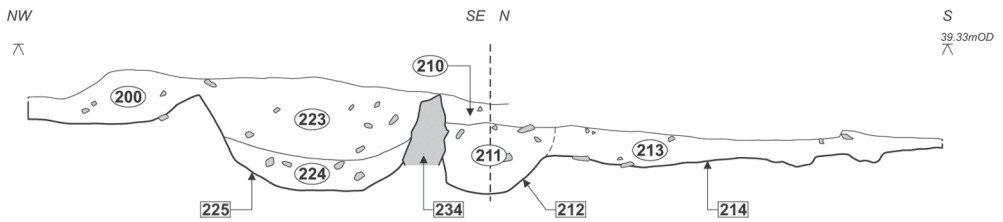
## PHASE 1

The roadway was characterized by a spread of gravel subsoil, at the east edge of the trench, in which there were no archaeological features. Whatever make-up the street surface may have possessed has evidently been removed by ploughing. The edge of the road was defined by a ditch (218) 1.3m wide and 0.6m deep which had been cut through by later pits. It had apparently silted naturally and contained no finds, which is noteworthy considering its prominent position within the burgh. A second linear feature (220), which may represent a tenement boundary or frontage, ran parallel to and approximately 1.2m west of the roadside ditch. It measured 0.66 m wide and 0.26m deep, with well-cut vertical sides and a flat base. The fill (219) included a

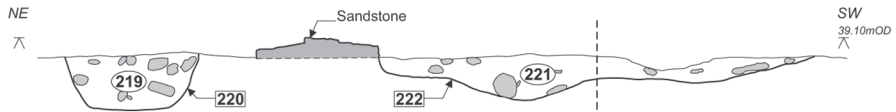
**SECTION 1**



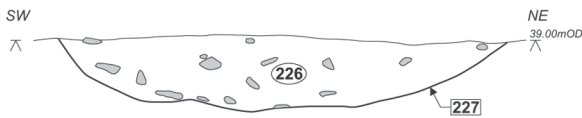
**SECTION 2**



**SECTION 3**



**SECTION 4**



**Section 5**



ILLUS 23 Trench 2, sections (Mark Roughley, Wessex Archaeology)

number of large pebbles, distributed down the west edge of the feature. They may represent packing for timber posts or a beam.

A poorly-cut, irregular feature (222) with gently sloping sides and rounded base, extended at right-angles from the putative tenement frontage and may be related to it. The east end of the feature contained a block of red sandstone. The alignment was continued by a pair of shallow scoops (230 and 232) 0.3m in diameter and 0.10m deep. They may have been post-holes. A second irregular feature (214) with a well-cut post-hole (212) was identified about 4.5m west of the putative tenement frontage feature (220). The south end of this feature appeared in plan to comprise three conjoined post-holes, although this was not confirmed in section.

The above features are thought to represent an initial phase of activity in the burgh characterized by the division of land into tenements with insubstantial buildings of timber post or framed construction. It was not possible to identify the ground-plan or full extent of any structure, or to be certain whether these buildings fronted immediately onto the street as represented by the road ditch (220), or were set back from the road as represented by feature (214) and post-hole (212). The rear of the tenement, as exposed in the evaluation trench, revealed no evidence of structures or pits.

## PHASE 2

The second phase of activity in Trench 2 was represented by a series of pits, including two (207 and 209) which cut the infilled roadside ditch (218). The other secondary pits were dug to the west of feature (218), suggesting that, while the ditch had become redundant, the road remained in use.

Pit (207) was 2.2m in diameter and was excavated to a layer of charcoal-rich ashy sand (206). This deposit was sampled for environmental material. Pit (209) was 2m in diameter and 0.75m deep, with steep sides and a rounded base. The lowest fill (236) comprised

domestic refuse which was sealed by weathered gravel from the ditch edges. The main fill (208) was also characterized by ashy silt with clear tip-lines. Episodes of gravel infill (237), which may have derived from the road, were evident in the stratigraphy. It is unclear whether pits (207) and (209) were contemporary, although the similarity of their fills suggests some form of related burning activity.

Other features to the west of the road included a circular stone-lined pit (225), which cut the Phase 1 post-hole (212). This feature also cut a shallow soil layer, perhaps an old ground surface, which sealed features (212, 214 and 216). Feature (225) was 1.3m in diameter, 0.5m deep, and lined with roughly-hewn stone blocks, set vertically (234). A layer of refuse (224), including charcoal, was found at the bottom, while the upper fill (223) included sherds from glazed jugs.

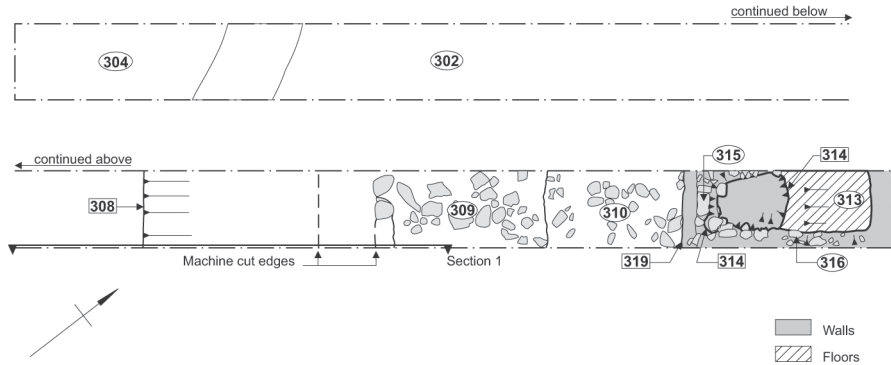
Three other sub-circular pits (227, 216 and 228) were excavated. Their fills (226, 215 and 229) comprised brown silty sand, fragments of bone, and pottery.

The provisional phasing for this part of the burgh suggests that an initial episode of timber buildings along a road was succeeded by one of open yards with pits, some of which may be craft-related. In general, the level of activity within what may have been one of the burgh's main streets appears to have been quite low.

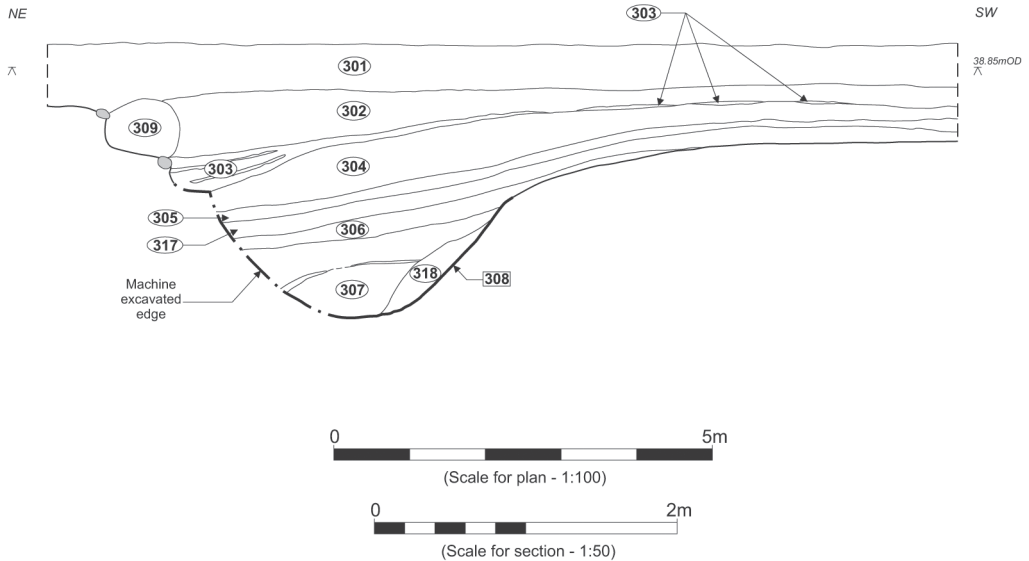
## TRENCH 3 (illus 24)

This trench was placed across a putative street-line and tenement frontage which had been indicated by parch-marks. It was 12m long and 1m wide and lay in an area which the geophysical survey suggested had not been disturbed by ploughing. Excavation revealed that the street had been laid on the course of an infilled earlier ditch. Only the west end of this feature (308) was exposed in a machine-dug slot, which revealed a representative sampling of the road/ditch stratification. The ditch had

**TRENCH 3**



**SECTION 1**

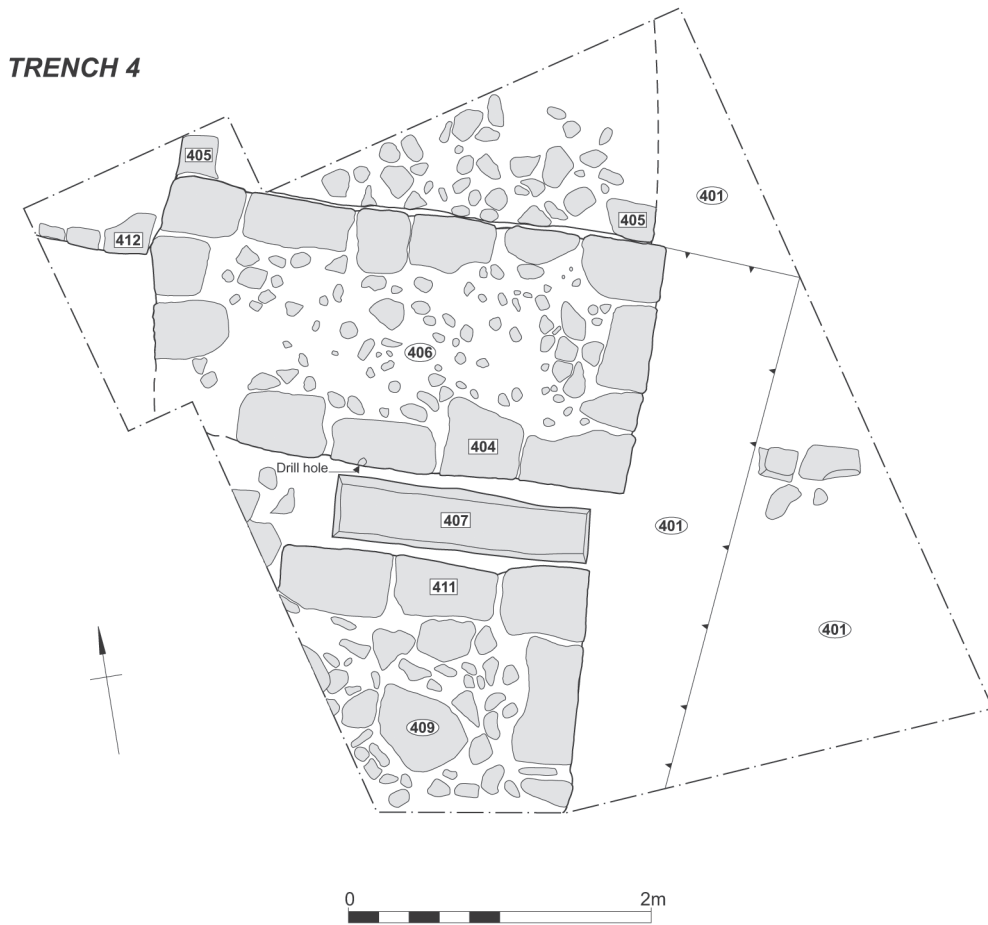


ILLUS 24 Trench 3 (Mark Roughley, Wessex Archaeology)

moderately-sloping sides with a rounded bottom 1.15m below the natural bedrock surface and its projected width was at least 4m. Its primary fills (318 and 307) comprised dark grey-brown silt, while successive layers of clean yellow sand (306) and dark silt indicated that the ditch had silted naturally. There was nothing to indicate

differential silting such as might indicate the presence of a bank.

The fill of the partially-silted ditch was sealed by a spread of cobbles (305) set in a grey-brown matrix. This layer, which was 0.10m thick and probably represented the first road surface, extended from beyond the west end of the trench



ILLUS 25 Trench 4 (Mark Roughley, Wessex Archaeology)

eastwards across the ditch (308), into which it had subsided. The road surface was then sealed by a deposit of dark grey-brown silt (304), which contained large quantities of pottery. This may represent a period when the street went into decline.

A second cobbled gravel surface (303), some 0.05m thick, suggests a refurbishment of the street surface. It had subsided into the top of the ditch (308) and appeared to terminate or dip below the edge of an irregular paved surface (309). This surface comprised a series of smooth

paving-stones, approximately 0.40m across, and large river cobbles, which appeared to butt onto the street. At its north-eastern edge the paving joined another surface of rounded cobbles (310).

The front wall of a stone building (314 and 315), of which part of the facing remained intact, was located in the east of the trench. It was separated from the cobbled surface by a narrow drain (319), 0.16m wide. The wall foundation (314), 1.5m wide, was filled with angular stones and river cobbles (315). Inside the building, a



compacted gravel floor (313) 0.07m thick was covered by demolition rubble (312). A fragment of the core of a mortared internal wall (316), which was built on the floor, was traced eastwards from the front wall. The stone footings may have supported a two-storey building, since Bower's description (VII, 369) of the raid on Roxburgh in 1377 mentions that members of the English garrison 'put up a defence in upper rooms of houses'.

Although the narrowness of this trench made the clarification of some archaeological detail difficult, the results demonstrate that relatively deeply-stratified deposits with large quantities of archaeological material are preserved in this part of the site. Provisional dating of the pottery suggests that this area of the burgh continued in use for longer than that examined in Trench 2. The stone foundations indicate that the later buildings were of more substantial construction and perhaps of higher status. It is not clear whether they were preceded by timber structures.

#### TRENCH 4 (illus 25)

This trench was placed to confirm the location of St James Church, based on traditional sources supplemented by geophysics and aerial photography. Though direct evidence of the building was not found, the foundations of monumental structures, probably associated with high-status tombs inside or closely adjacent to the church, were identified. These lay in an undifferentiated deposit of light-brown silt (401) of uncertain depth, which contained an otherwise-unassociated carved headstone (illus 30), a 17th-century clay pipe (illus 32), and two copper turners of Charles I.

Feature (404) was exposed in its entirety to reveal a rectangular foundation measuring 3.2 × 1.6m. It comprised two courses of well-tooled sandstone blocks, up to 0.60m long and 0.26m deep, laid with creamy-grey granular mortar (403). The core of the structure was

filled with rubble (406). Feature (411), which was not fully exposed, appeared to be of similar dimensions and construction, although only one ashlar course was identified. Elements of similar features (405 and 412) were recorded to the north and west of (404).

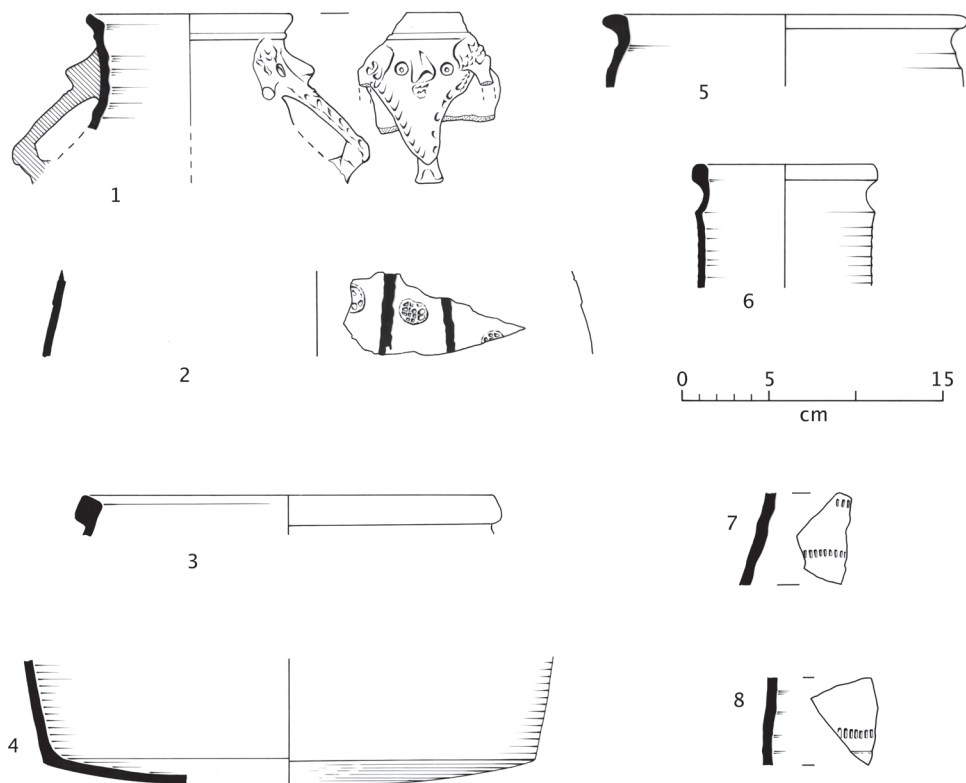
Between features (404) and (411) lay a rectangular grave-slab (407) 1.7m long and 0.46m wide, with bevelled edges. It had no inscription or decoration. The slab rested on a single course of faced and bevelled stones, butted together. The fill (410) was indistinguishable from the homogeneous trench deposit except that it contained fragments of degraded bone, of which a sample was collected. There is nothing to indicate that they represent an inhumation.

#### TRENCH 5

A small excavation of 3 × 2m was conducted near the summit of Kay Brae to test the likely presence of substantial buildings in this area, suggested by the morphology of the burgh and confirmed by geophysics. The trench located a boulder alignment (503) up to 1m wide made up of stones up to 0.4m across. It was aligned north-west/south-east and probably represents the remains of a poorly-preserved structure. A spread of smaller stones, up to 0.20m across, was located in the south-west and may form part of a second alignment extending to the south-west. There were no traces of foundation-trenches and nothing to indicate conclusively whether the structure formed part of the settlement complex of the burgh or was related to a field-system.

#### TRENCH 6

A test-pit was dug at the south end of a low mound, east of Trench 4, which was thought might represent demolition rubble overlying the foundations of St James Church. Part of a possible grave-slab was exposed in the west



ILLUS 26 Representative group of pottery from the 2003 excavations (Colin Martin)

section, 0.42m below the ground surface. At a depth of 1.2m human remains were encountered and it was concluded that the trench had been placed in the graveyard. Excavation ceased and the trench was backfilled.

## FINDS

(Authors' note) A summary of artefactual and environmental finds, based on the data structure report provided by Wessex Archaeology, is provided below. Illustrative descriptive reports by appropriate specialists of selected diagnostic material, from the excavations and from earlier sources, then follow.

## GENERAL SUMMARY

Lorraine Mephram

Finds were recovered from four of the six trenches excavated. No finds were recovered from Trenches 5 or 6, and relatively little material came from Trench 1. All finds have been cleaned (with the exception of the metalwork) and have been quantified by material type within each context. Quantified data form the primary finds archive for the site and these data are summarized by trench in Table 1.

Subsequent to quantification, all finds were briefly examined in order to gain an overall idea of the range of types present, their condition and potential date-range. All finds data are currently

held on an Excel spreadsheet. This section presents a brief overview of the assemblage, which is largely of medieval date, with a smaller amount of post-medieval material.

#### POTTERY (ILLUS 26)

The initial examination did not seek to identify specific ware types – the assemblage was merely quantified by broad date range as medieval or post-medieval. It was apparent, however, from brief visual examination, that the medieval assemblage is dominated by White Gritty Wares of 13th- or 14th-century date, although other sandy wares, some possibly later-medieval, are also present; some of the latter may include non-local material. There is a relatively high proportion of glazed and decorated wares, including a fine example of an anthropomorphic jug. The largest groups of medieval pottery came from Trench 2, particularly pits (207) and (225), and Trench 3 (mostly from topsoil).

#### CERAMIC BUILDING MATERIAL

Most of this small group appears to be of post-medieval date, although a few undiagnostic fragments could be earlier, as could nine small pieces of glazed floor-tile from topsoil in Trench 4.

#### METALWORK

This includes objects of iron, copper alloy, and lead. The ironwork consists mainly of nails and other probable structural items. Also identifiable are two horseshoes, both from Trench 2. One is unstratified, while the other is associated with the old ground surface (210). Both are of medieval ‘wavy-edged’ type with rectangular nail holes, and date from the mid-12th to 14th centuries (Clarke 1995, type 2B). A boot-heel and part of a socketed tool came from topsoil in Trench 1, and a shears-blade from topsoil in Trench 4.

Copper-alloy objects comprise a complete needle (topsoil in Trench 3), a strap-end (silt

layer (304) in Trench 3, and two Scottish copper two-pence coins (topsoil in Trench 4). Lead items include two musket balls (unstratified in Trench 2, and silt layer (304)), a probable weight (topsoil in Trench 3), three pieces of waste (pit (225), and unstratified in Trench 2).

#### CARVED HEADSTONE (ILLUS 30)

A headstone carved in relief with a foliated cross was found in layer (401) in Trench 4, which was dug in an attempt to locate the site of the former church of St James. The piece is of a fine-grained micaceous sandstone.

#### OTHER FINDS

These comprise slag (one small group from a charcoal patch in Trench 1), vessel glass (all post-medieval, mostly from topsoil in Trench 4), clay-pipe fragments (including a bowl of 17th-century type from Trench 4) (illus 32), and a small quantity of oyster shell (all from Trench 3) which includes both left and right valves, indicating preparation and consumption waste.

#### HUMAN BONE

Fragments of human bone, representing the disturbed remains of three individuals, were recovered from the topsoil in Trench 4. These comprise skull, foot and rib fragments from an adult; a neonatal rib and radius fragment; and tibia and vertebra fragments from an older infant or young juvenile.

#### ANIMAL BONE

##### Stephanie Knight

There were 569 fragments of animal bone recovered, of which 254 (45%) were from the topsoil. Bones from the topsoil included fragments of cattle, sheep/goat, pig, horse, dog and bird. This material is in poor to fair condition, and is not discussed further.

A total of 315 fragments were recovered from subsoil layers or fills which are likely to be medieval. 56% of these bones were in poor condition, and the remainder in poor to fair condition. This was mainly due to surface flaking, and in many cases the surface was completely absent, probably reducing the number of identified butchery marks (9%) and incidence of gnawing (3%). 39% of bones could be identified to species, a relatively low proportion that is probably due to their poor condition. Of the identified bones, the main domesticates were best represented (Table 2). Cattle were the most common, followed by sheep then pig, although cattle may be over-represented due to their larger size.

Bones from other species were found in pit (227) (dog and hare) and silt layer (304) (bird), and are probably chance inclusions since they were found singly and are of different elements. A piece of possible red-deer antler that had been sawn was found in pit (209) and may be an off-cut from antler working. As no other deer bone was found, this antler may have been shed and collected, or obtained from a source outside the burgh. No other industrial or specialized activity in the form of the selection of particular bone elements or saw-marks was noted.

A total of 53 bones (17%) could provide age and/or sexing information, and 20 (6%) could be measured to indicate the size of the animals. One possible pathological condition was noted on a cattle rib that had additional bone growth and high bone porosity at the articulation with the vertebra.

Butchery marks were noted on 53 bones (9%), and include chops, cuts and fractures. A deposit in pit (227) described by the excavator as 'articulated cattle vertebrae' may be the remains of an articulated meat joint, while one fragmented vertebra and rib may have been in articulation, although the rib appears to have been from a larger animal than the vertebra. Clarification should be possible with further analysis. Burnt bones were less common (6%), but might provide some evidence of consumption practice: one cattle metacarpal had been broken

when fresh and then scorched, perhaps to assist in the extraction of marrow.

Fish bones were observed within soil samples taken from pits (207), (209) and (225) in Trench 2, but have not yet been extracted, identified or quantified.

#### ENVIRONMENTAL SAMPLES

Chris Stevens

Five bulk soil samples of between 2 and 20 litres were taken from a range of deposits and were processed for the recovery and assessment of charred plant remains and charcoals. The bulk samples were all of medieval date. One came from a post-hole, another from a patch of charcoal and three pit fills.

The bulk samples were processed by standard flotation methods. The residues were not sorted by Wessex Archaeology but were not discarded as some fish bone may be present within them. They have been retained for later analysis.

The flots were scanned under a  $\times 10$ – $\times 30$  stereo-binocular microscope and the presence of charred remains quantified (Table 3). The flots ranged between 5 and 160mm in size. Roots were generally low in the samples, and modern seeds were also infrequent. Several seeds of *Veronica hederifolia* were present. Although seeds of this species often appear to resemble charred seeds, several were tested and found to be modern.

Charred material occurred within all the samples and was in most cases well preserved, enabling identification to species level in several cases. The samples from the post-hole (111) and the patch of charcoal (102) in Trench 1 were smaller in size and sparser in the quantity of remains than those from pits. By far the most common component was grains of oats (*Avena* sp). Distinguishing the cultivated from the wild variety is difficult unless floret bases are present. The only grain from the patch of charcoal (102) in Trench 1 was still within its spikelet, complete with the floret base. Although this base was slightly eroded it appeared to have a straight breakage, characteristic of the cultivated variety

rather than the ‘horseshoe’ shape indicative of the wild. The larger size of many of the grains within the other samples also tend to indicate that most are of the cultivated rather than the wild variety. Some, however, were notably smaller and could therefore represent the wild type.

Hulled barley (*Hordeum vulgare sensu lato*) was the second most common cereal grain after oats. Only two free-threshing wheat grains (*Triticum aestivum sensu lato*) were recovered from post-hole (111). Rye (*Secale cereale*) was represented by a single possible grain from charcoal patch (102) and a rachis fragment from pit (225).

The other common component was hazelnut shell (*Corylus avellana*), which was present in all but one of the samples. Seeds of wild species, most probably of weeds, were relatively scarce in most samples. They were, however, well represented in pits (207) and (209). The most common species was dock (*Rumex crispus*), although seeds of vetch (*Vicia* sp), corn spurrey (*Spergula arvensis*) and capsules of runch (*Raphanus raphanistrum*) were also present. The charred remains would seem to come from domestic activities involving the preparation of food and so have a potential to reveal something of the arable and domestic economy of medieval Scotland at this time.

Charcoal was noted from the flots of the bulk samples and is recorded in Table 3. Where larger pieces of charcoal were recovered it was very characteristically oak, being ring-porous. Several fragments of charcoal appear to come from the roots of wood shrubs, showing high degrees of twisting and bending not normally associated with twigs.

Many charred and uncharred fragments of large-mammal bones were present, and fish bones were also recovered from several features. The fish bones were mainly vertebrae, although other parts were seen, including a jaw from pit (207).

A few other sites in central and eastern Scotland, including Perthshire, Edinburgh (Fairweather 1988; Fairweather 1989) and

Berwick-upon-Tweed (Donaldson 1982) have shown samples dominated by oats and barley together with much hazelnut. Records of cultivated oats in Scotland all fall within the last 2500 years (Dixon & Dixon 2000). The crop is preferred because it can withstand cooler climates and poorer soils, something that barley and rye are also favoured for. The possible presence of the latter is of some interest as it is relatively unknown from medieval Scotland, although it was recovered from Perth in small quantities (Dixon & Dixon 2000).

Historical records indicate only small-scale cultivation of rye in central Scotland during the 14th century (Duncan 1975; but pollen evidence from the Bowmont valley in the northern Cheviots indicates that the crop was perhaps grown more widely than the surviving written record indicates, Tipping 1999; Tipping 2004). While small-scale wheat cultivation is recorded, records indicate that oats and barley were the most common crops in medieval times.

#### POTTERY

Derek Hall and George Haggarty

The assemblage numbers 464 sherds. An initial assessment suggests that this is one of the most important groups of medieval ceramics from the Scottish Borders. A small representative sampling is presented in illus 26, and described below:

Rim and facemask from slash glazed jug in White Gritty Ware fabric copying Yorkshire-Type vessel. ROX03 Trench 3.

Body sherd from green-glazed jug in local White Gritty Ware with applied strips and stabbed pads in local White Gritty Ware. ROX03 301.

Rim and shoulder from unglazed jar in local White Gritty Ware fabric. ROX03.305.

Joining sherds from base of straight-sided jar in local White Gritty Ware fabric. ROX 03 unstratified.

Rim and shoulder from jar in local White Gritty ware fabric with single spot of yellow-green glaze on external surface. ROX03 205.

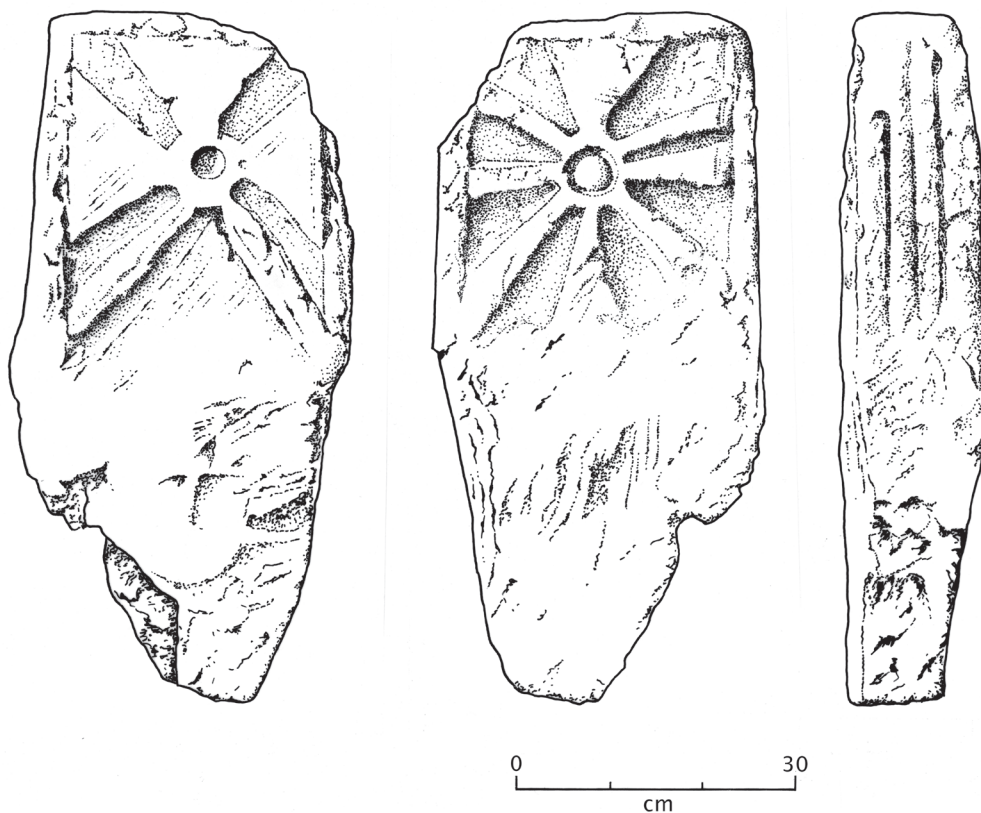
Rim and rilled neck from jug, splash-glazed green, in local White Gritty Ware fabric. ROX03 223.

Body sherd from unglazed vessel in local White Gritty Ware decorated with two lines of incised notches around vessel. ROX03 205.

Body sherd from unglazed vessel in local White Gritty Ware decorated with a single line of incised notches around vessel. ROX03 205.

As to be expected from past work in the area, the group is dominated by what appears to be locally-produced Scottish White Gritty Ware forms,

influenced by imported wares from Yorkshire. From a chronological point of view, the very clear differences between the pottery recovered from Trench 2, and that found in Trench 3, seems significant. The former is dominated by sherds of 12th-century straight-sided white-gritty cooking vessels, similar in form to examples recovered from excavations at Kelso Abbey (Haggarty 1984). The Trench 3 material is more diverse and made up largely of sherds from highly-decorated glazed jugs of the 13th or 14th centuries. Typically of a Scottish ceramic group of this later date, there is a much smaller percentage of sherds from cooking vessels. The Trench 3 group includes a sizeable fragment of the rim and facemask of what appears to be a copy in local fabric of a Yorkshire/Scarborough-type figure-jug.



ILLUS 27 Cross-slab at Roxburgh Kirk (Colin Martin)

The preliminary visual identification which suggests that most of this pottery is of local manufacture requires testing by chemical sourcing, and it is recommended that a statistically-valid sample of sherds from both trenches should be examined using Inductively Coupled Mass Spectroscopy (ICP-MS). Following the recent completion of the Historic Scotland-funded Scottish White Gritty Ware sourcing programme, an extensive database of chemical analysis now exists from other excavated sites, especially Kelso Abbey and Springwood Park, against which the Roxburgh material can be evaluated (Jones et al 2005). When this has been done, an illustrated catalogue and analysis of the full collection will be prepared.

#### MONUMENTAL SCULPTURE

Colin Martin

This section reviews carved and inscribed stones associated with Roxburgh, including the piece recovered during the 2003 excavation.

#### *Roxburgh Church cross-slab (illus 27)*

This stone was described by RCAHMS (1956, II, 407) in 1944 as ‘a recently discovered relic’, and dated to the late 12th century. The top and both sides are moulded. One face shows a cross-head of eight radial arms within a moulded border, expanding from a small central boss. The other face displays a cross-patty with a central hole, also set within a border. It may be suggested that the piece is ‘pre-romance’ in style (I Fraser pers comm), and consequently is likely to be significantly earlier than the late 12th century.

#### *St James Church*

A significant number of carved stones had been discovered in the vicinity of St James Church prior to the 2003 excavation, of which only two (possibly three) now survive (nos 2 and 3 below). Those known in the late 19th century

are summarized by Craig (1879, 290–4). They include two sandstone slabs with effigies of human figures in relief, a partly-broken slab with the shears symbol, and a sandstone lintel with a carved five-sided figure on it. A headstone cross is also noted, which parallels the headstone found in 2003 and is described below in connection with that find. Craig noted that these stones were lying ‘in an uncared-for state in a clump of trees overlooking St James’s Green’. It is not known what has become of them.

Craig also notes the discovery of stones in 1788, citing the *British Chronicle* (Kelso) for 17 October of that year. They include the Johanna Bulloc stone (see below). The following week (24 October) the *Chronicle* reported the discovery of ‘several more tombstones’. All are now lost. They included a grave-cover described as bearing ‘a St George and a St Andrews’s cross intersecting each other, with a pair of wool-scissors on the right-hand side of the shaft, and an inscription which, so far as it can be made out, is HIC JACET ALICIA-LC-’. One of these



ILLUS 28 Stone decorated with a floriolate cross from St James, recorded by Thomas Cocking in 1790 and now lost. (NLS Adv.MS.30.5.23, Licensor www.scran.ac.uk)

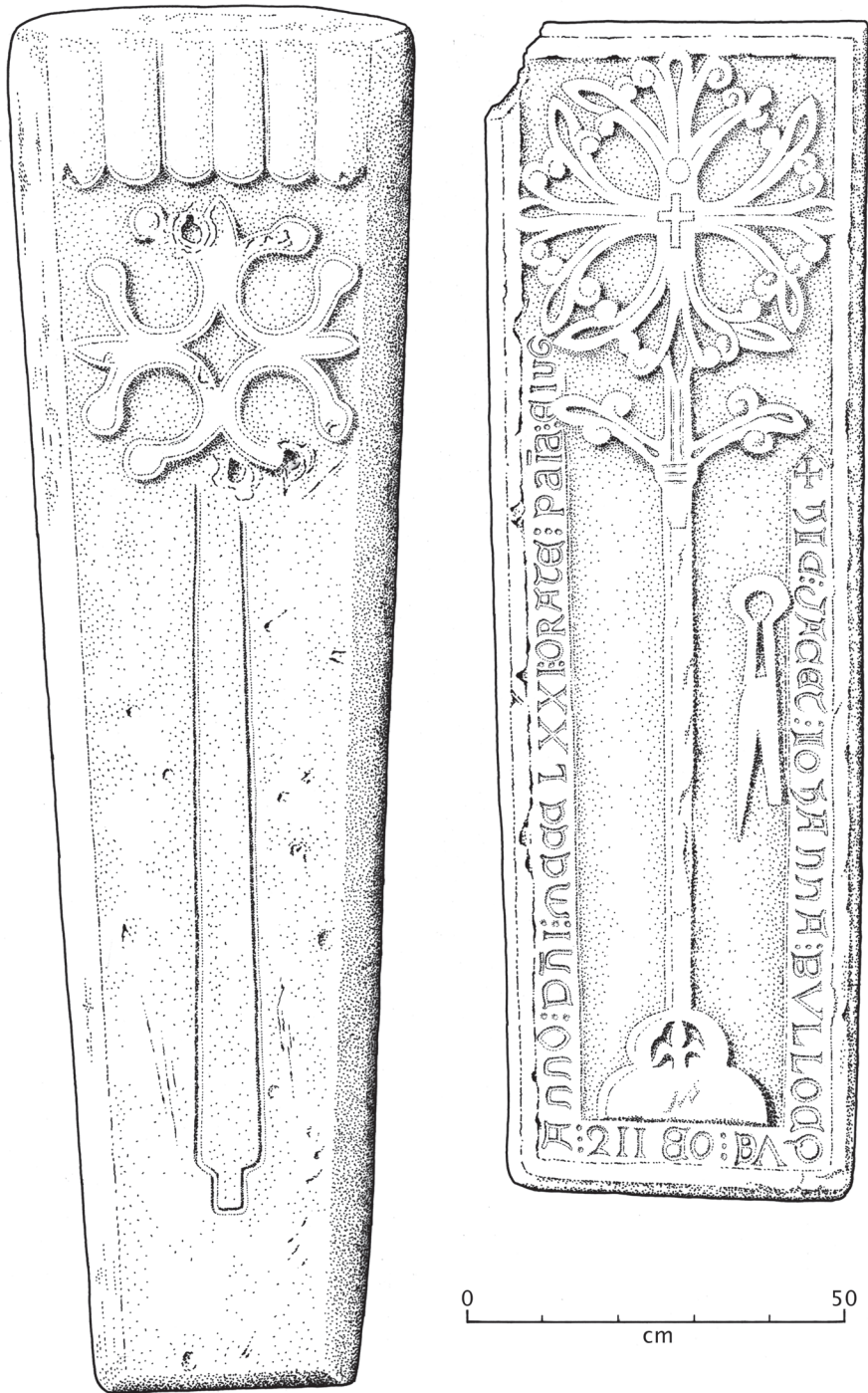
lost stones may be the subject of the drawing of a fragmentary grave-cover (NLS Adv.MS.30.5.23) which shows a carved floriated cross with, below it and to the left, a small inscribed cross and the lower-case letter 'b' (illus 28). A hand-written caption reads: 'Stone dug up in St James's Green near Kelso, now built into the new wall on the Edin. Road near the 40 mile stone. 1790. Drawn by Captain Grose's servant.' The latter was almost certainly Thomas Cocking, assistant to the antiquary Francis Grose.

Two undecorated and uninscribed full-length grave-slabs were uncovered during ploughing on St James' Fair Green in or shortly before 1941 (Anon 1947). Excavation beneath them produced fragmentary bones and a sherd of green-glazed pottery, but no signs of articulated burials. A similar slab, also without evidence of an associated burial, was found during the 2003 excavations.

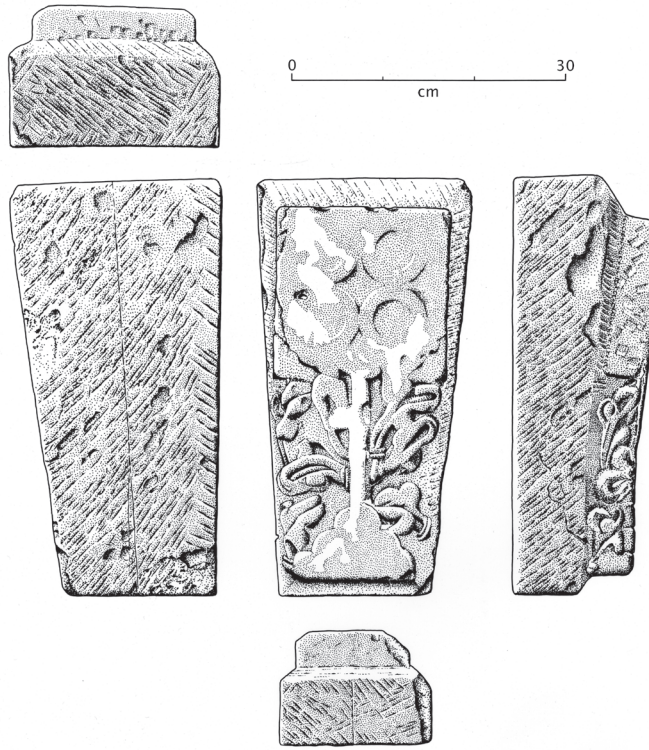
*Surviving tombstones associated with St James'*

1. Grave-cover of red sandstone, now in Kelso Abbey, 1.83m long, and 0.53m wide at the top, tapering to 0.37m at the base (illus 29 left). It is 0.15m thick and chamfered at the margin. A band of six oblong figures with their inner ends rounded, set in pairs, fall from the top of the slab, apparently representing drapery. Four penannular figures with expanded terminals form a cross-head set on a tapering shaft with a tenon on its foot. The reason for using the latter detail to emphasize a deliberate omission of the base, which would have been in the form of a calvary-mount, is not known. The possibility that it is a cenotaph might be considered. A 14th-century date is suggested (RCAHMS 1956, II, 246).
2. Grave-cover of grey sandstone, now in Kelso Abbey, 1.54m long, 0.51m wide at the top, tapering to 0.46m at the base and 0.15m thick (illus 29 right). The stone has a raised chamfered margin within which is a floriated cross on a shaft rising from a two-stepped calvary mount incorporating a fleur de lys. A marginal inscription in Lombardic characters reads HIC JACET IOHANNA BVLLOC / QVE OBIT / ANNO DNI MCCCLXXI ORATE P[RO] A[N]I[M]A EIVS (Here lies Joanna Bullock who died in the year of the Lord 1371. Pray for her soul).
3. Headstone cross, of light pinkish-buff sandstone recovered during the 2003 excavation at the site of St James Church (illus 30) (ROX03 401). It is 0.48m long, and 0.25m wide at the top, tapering to 0.15m at the base. In thickness it is 0.16m towards the top, tapering to 0.125m at the base. The lower sides are vertical, with a shallow chamfered field below the raised decoration on the top surface. This shows a quatrefoil annular cross, much worn, set on a square ground. The lower detail is crisply preserved and incorporates a shaft with entwined foliage set on a triple-mounded calvary. Scribed centrelines are evident on the base and lower edge of the stone. What appears to have been a very similar stone, also from the St James' site, is recorded by Craig (1879, 292 no V). Its dimensions were 1ft (0.305m) by 1ft 7in (0.482m) and it was decorated with an eight-armed cross standing on a stepped calvary. Similar stones have been noted in County Durham (Ryder 1985, pl 8 (Bishop Middleham), no 3; pl 46 (Monkwearmouth), nos 3, 6 and 8).
4. Probable St James stone (illus 31). Incomplete grave-cover supposedly found during cultivation at Greyfriars, probably in the 18th century (RCAHMS 1956, I, 246) (illus 31). There is however some doubt as to its provenance, since Craig (1879, no I, 290–1) asserts that it was one of the stones lying abandoned in the wood above the Fair Green in his day. It is now in Kelso Abbey. 1.04m long and 0.5m wide, it is of fine-grained Tournai limestone and probably dates to the 14th century. The incised decoration shows part of a foliated canopy springing from an ionic capital and around its margin is a fragmentary inscription in Lombardic





ILLUS 29 Grave-slabs from St James Church, now in Kelso Abbey. Left, unadorned slab probably of 14th-century date, right, the Johanna Bulloc slab, 1371 (Colin Martin)



ILLUS 30 Headstone cross from the St James' site, recovered during the 2003 excavations (Colin Martin)

characters which reads: [?O] MEC/ERE DE ROXBVR[GH]. Of particular interest is the corrected mis-spelling of 'Roxburgh', the 'X' having been originally cut as an 'R'. This suggests that the stone-cutter was unfamiliar with the name, and that the piece was probably carved in Flanders to a Roxburgh customer's specification.

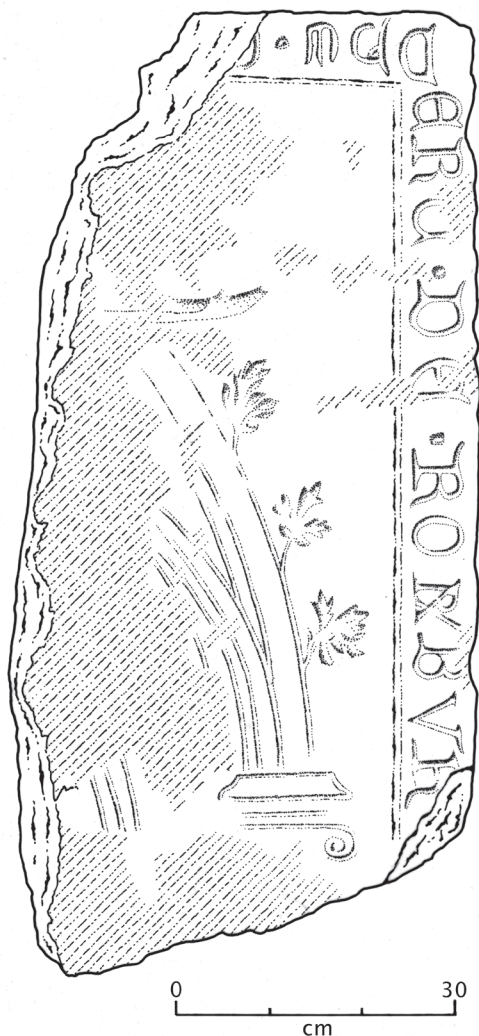
#### POST-MEDIEVAL FINDS

Colin Martin

##### *Clay pipes*

Twelve fragments of pipe stem were found, and one intact pipe bowl (illus 32) (ROX03 407). All were recovered from an unstratified

context in Trench 5. The bowl has a basal castle stamp, denoting Edinburgh manufacture, and bears on its heel sides the letters 'W B' in relief, identifying the maker as William Banks, the first recorded pipemaker in Scotland, who dominated the industry from 1622 when he first enters the documentary record until his death in 1659 (Gallagher 1987, 5–6). The form most closely equates with a shape recorded by Sharp and dated by him to 1630–50 (1987, 16–19 and figs 2–11). It is well-finished and highly burnished, and may be supposed to have been prepared for a high-status customer. Its location in the vicinity of St James Church suggests an association with the Kerr family from the nearby Friars mansion, probably the church's only users during the first part of the 17th century. There



ILLUS 31 Fragment of a grave-cover, probably from St James', recovered in the 18th century and now in Kelso Abbey (Colin Martin)

were only six communicants in 1649 (Leishman 1894–5, 348).

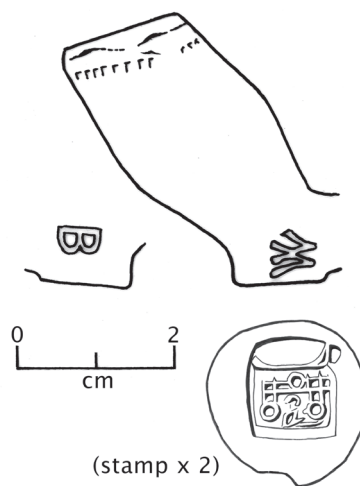
### Coins

Two copper turners (two-pence pieces) of Charles I were found in unstratified contexts in Trench 5. They also suggest activity in the kirk

during the first half of the 17th century. One is a second-issue coin (1632–41) (ROX03 407/2) the other a third issue (post-1641) (ROX03 407/3) (Stewart 1955, 237, 239).

### CONCLUSION

This multi-faceted investigation has dispelled the long-held belief that 'Not a vestige now remains of this ancient and important burgh' (RCAHMS 1956, I, 252, reporting the Commission's visit to the site on 14 June 1932). Though details remain to be confirmed, the general outline of Roxburgh has been established beyond reasonable doubt. Its internal morphology, though still far from clear, is beginning to emerge from an interdisciplinary interrogation of the evidence, which has involved documentary research, cartographic analysis, topographical survey, aerial photography and geophysics. Elements of its contemporary extramural environment, including roads, bridges, churches, mills and settlements, are beginning, however tentatively at this stage, to fit into place.



ILLUS 32 Clay pipe from the St James' site (Colin Martin)

The investigation has also shown that post-burghal agricultural activity on the site has been more extensive than previously supposed. Wyeth's 1736 survey indicates strip-cultivation along the eastern edge of Vigorous Haugh, mainly beyond the burgh boundary. However, geophysics, confirmed by archaeology, has revealed that the archaeological levels in other parts of the burgh's interior have been seriously degraded by cultivation, presumably post-dating 1736 when much of the parkland was ploughed up after the Friars mansion was abandoned as a residence by the Kerrs. Jeffrey (1859, 152) notes an intensification of cultivation in 1780, while at least part of the haugh (around St James Church) was ploughed in the early 1940s (Anon 1947), presumably in response to wartime food demands. It is notable that the enclosure shown in Wyeth's map, which contained the mansion and its gardens, does not appear to have been affected by later cultivation, though this part of the site had already been subjected to major disturbance in the earlier post-burghal period. However, geophysical prospection suggests that there has been relatively little disturbance by cultivation on the south side of Kay Brae, adjacent to the A699.

The whole site of the burgh is a scheduled monument, and it is unlikely to be threatened by future development or damage other than perhaps a realignment of the A699 to accommodate currently active erosion of the Teviot bank along the western edge of Kay Brae. It is recommended that if this requirement arises the affected area should be excavated in good time and to the highest standards, bearing in mind that Trench 3 has demonstrated the importance of this part of the site and the relatively-undisturbed nature of its well-stratified deposits. Apart from this, there is no imperative for further intrusive work on the site, except possibly to define what remains of the St James Church foundations, restricted to the removal of material already disturbed by the 1788 excavations.

Further non-intrusive work on the site should be directed towards establishing the

likely extent of the medieval flood-plains and the effects on the burgh site of post-medieval erosion. It is recommended that geophysical and topographical survey should be extended to cover the whole burgh site, and perhaps to selected areas beyond it, with the aim of further defining its perimeter and interior. Detailed surveys of the castle's architecture and fabric should be made. A high-resolution contour survey of the castle, following the trimming of its ground-cover is also recommended. These activities should be combined with wider interdisciplinary studies aimed at setting Roxburgh into broader historical and environmental contexts. There is good scope for local voluntary involvement. A research programme of this nature would not only be valuable in its own right, but would provide an opportunity for developing effective integrated methodologies for understanding the interactions Scotland's medieval burghs with their environments more fully.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The investigation of medieval Roxburgh has involved many people over the years. During the 1960s, the first-named author drew on the knowledge and enthusiasm of fellow-Borderers in framing the questions which have culminated in this paper. They include Walter Elliot, the late Fred Lilley, Tony Robb and Robin Robson. More recently Alastair Moffat – whose initiative brought about the *Time Team's* involvement – and Brian Wain of Roxburgh have been staunch local supporters. In the 1980s, the late Nicholas Bogdan became involved with the site and was instrumental in bringing about a preliminary survey by a team from Bradford University, headed by Professor Arnold Aspinall and including Dr (now Professor) John Hunter and Dr Steve Dockrill. Peter Yeoman and Dr Richard Fawcett have championed the project within Historic Scotland, and their advice and expert guidance have been much appreciated. Dr John Dent and Rory McDonald of Borders Council have likewise brought their good offices and goodwill to the project, while Dr Piers Dixon of RCAHMS has shared his expertise on the adjacent sites of Springwood and Wester Kelso, and discussed with us the results of the Commission's

recent topographical survey of the site. The Duke of Roxburghe and his staff at Roxburghe Estates – particularly Suzanne Urquhart and Roddy Jackson – have authorized and supported our work on Friars Haugh, while the then grazing tenant, Oliver Stark, uncomplainingly shifted his stirks to accommodate our investigations. The Friends of Kelso Museum, especially Isobel Gordon, have ensured a strong local profile for the project.

Alex Woolf of St Andrews University has brought his incomparable knowledge of early Scottish sources and pre-burghal administration to bear on our studies, while Dr Richard Tipping of Stirling University has kept us on the paths of righteousness with regard to geography and environmental history. Dr Veronica Smart advised us on the identification of the coins. The *Time Team* contingent, headed by Professor Mick Aston, was a joy to work with, and we learned much from our encounters with him and his colleagues Phil Harding, Stewart Ainsworth, Carezza Lewis and Dr Henry Chapman. Dr John Gater and his staff from GSB Prospection impressed us by their sustained hard work and determination in completing the geophysical surveys in far from optimum conditions. Tony Robinson not only asked all the right (and always penetrating) questions, but demonstrated an acute archaeological awareness which he contrives to hide when on camera. Tim Taylor and his production team managed to negotiate a balance between good archaeology and good television, with a minimum of stress on either side. Eric Grant helped to establish the group which has since developed the project.

In addition to fielding an enthusiastic and skilled digging team, reinforced by a contingent from Headland Archaeology, Wessex Archaeology managed the field project and post-excavation work, and prepared a data structure report upon which we have drawn freely. The latter was co-ordinated by Roland Smith, with Lorraine Mephram, Chris Stevens and Phil Harding respectively undertaking the finds summary, analysis and excavation report. Mark Roughley prepared the trench drawings for publication, while Hayley Clark and Sarah Wyles processed the environmental samples. Derek Hall and George Haggarty examined the pottery in the light of their wider studies into Scottish medieval pottery.

Dr Paula Martin has provided encouragement and assistance throughout the project, while Edward Martin helped to digitize the illustrations. Generous financial assistance was received from the University of Stirling, the Strathmartine Trust and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

## ABBREVIATIONS

CDS	Bain, J (ed) 1881–8 <i>Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland</i> . Edinburgh.
<i>Dryburgh Liber</i>	<i>Liber S Marie de Dryburgh</i> , 1847. Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh.
ER	<i>The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland</i> , J Stuart et al (eds) 1878–1908. Edinburgh.
<i>Kelso Liber</i>	<i>Liber S Marie de Calchou</i> , 2 vols, 1846. Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh.
<i>Melrose Liber</i>	<i>Liber S Marie de Melros</i> , 2 vols, 1837. Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh.
NAS	National Archives of Scotland.
NLS	National Library of Scotland.
NSA	<i>New Statistical Account of Scotland</i> , 1845.
OS	Ordnance Survey.
OSA	<i>Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791–1799</i> .
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.
<i>Retours</i>	Thomson, T (ed) 1811–16 <i>Inquisitionem ad Capellam Domini Regis Retornatarum, quae in publicis archivis Scotiae adhuc servantur, Abbreviatio</i> . Records Commission, London.
RMS	<i>Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum</i> , i, 1306–1424, ed J M Thomson (reprinted Edinburgh, 1984); ii, 1424–1513, ed J Balfour Paul (reprinted Edinburgh, 1984).

## MAPS & AIR PHOTOGRAPHS

- Cambridge University Aerial Photographic Collection, DM 91–2 and 95–6.
- NAS RHP3234 (Wyeth, see below) and RHP10007 (Plan of Kelso and land to the north, including Kelso Common and Floors (Fleurs) Castle c 1816).
- OS 1858 Ordnance Survey ‘Roxburghshire’, Sheet IX (1858) 1:10,560.
- RAF vertical aerial photograph, 543/RAF/2042 0016, via RCAHMS.

- Roy, William 1747–55 *Military Survey of Scotland*, sheet 08/3f, 1:36,000
- Stobie, Matthew 1770 'A Map of Roxburghshire or Tiviotdale', NE sheet. London.
- Wyeth, William 1736 *A Survey of Floors in the Shire of Roxburghe Belonging to His Grace the Duke of Roxburghe Drawn by William Wyeth*. MS map in Floors estate archive; photostat copy in NAS RHP 3234.

## REFERENCES

- Adamson, P & Lamont-Brown, R 1981 *The Victorian and Edwardian Borderland from rare photographs*. St Andrews.
- Anon 1947 'Report on Grave at St James's Fair Green, Kelso', *Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club* XX, 227–8.
- The Auchinleck Chronicle*, in McGladdery, C A 1990 *James II*. Edinburgh.
- Bain, J (ed) 1881–8 *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*. Edinburgh.
- Bain, J (ed) 1890–2 *The Hamilton Papers*. Edinburgh.
- Bain, J (ed) 1898 *Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots 1547–1603*, vol I. Edinburgh.
- Barbour, J 1997 *The Bruce*, Duncan, A A M (ed). Edinburgh.
- Barrow, G W S (ed) 1960 *Regesta Regum Scotorum, I, The Acts of Malcolm IV*. Edinburgh.
- Barrow, G W S (ed) 1971 *Regesta Regum Scotorum, II, The Acts of William I*. Edinburgh.
- Barrow, G W S (ed) 1999 *The Charters of David I*. Woodbridge.
- Barrow, G W S 1981 *Kingship and Unity: Scotland 1000–1306*. London.
- Bibby, J S 1973, 'Land Capability', in Tivy, J (ed) *The Organic Resources of Scotland: their nature and evolution*. Edinburgh.
- Blanchard, I 1996 'Lothian and Beyond: the Economy of the "English Empire" of David I', in Britnell, R H & Hatcher, J (eds) *Progress and Problems in Medieval England*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Bower, W 1987–97 *Scotichronicon*, Watt, D E R and others (eds), 9 vols. Aberdeen.
- Bute, Marquis of, Stevenson, J H & Lonsdale, H W 1903 *The Arms of the Baronial and Police Burghs of Scotland*. London.
- The Chronicle of Lanercost, 1272–1346*, translated, with notes, by the Rt Hon Sir Herbert Maxwell, 1913. Glasgow.
- The Chronicle of Melrose* 1936 (facsimile edn), Anderson, A O & M O (eds). London.
- Clarke, J 1995 'Horseshoes', in Clarke, J (ed) *The Medieval Horse and its Equipment*. Medieval Finds from Excavations in London 5, Museum of London, 75–123.
- Cowan, I B 1967 *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*. Scottish Record Society. Edinburgh.
- Craig, T 1879 'The Ancient Royal Burgh of Roxburgh: Notice of Stones exhumed from its site', *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, 1876–8*.
- Creighton, O & Higham, R 2005 *Medieval Town Walls*. Stroud.
- Ditchburn, D 2001 *Scotland and Europe: the Medieval Kingdom and its Contacts with Christendom, 1214–1560*. East Linton.
- Dixon, C & Dixon, J 2000 *Plants and People in Ancient Scotland*. Stroud.
- Dixon, P J 1998 'A rural medieval settlement in Roxburghshire: excavations at Springwood Park, Kelso 1985–6', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 128, 671–752.
- Dixon, P J, Mackenzie, J R, Perry, D R & Sharman, P 2002 *The origins of the settlements at Kelso and Peebles, Scottish Borders: archaeological excavations in Kelso and Floors Castle and Cuddyside/Bridgeway, Peebles by the Border Burghs Archaeology Project and the Scottish Urban Archaeology Trust, 1983–94*. Scottish Archaeological Internet Reports ([www.sair.org.uk/sair2/](http://www.sair.org.uk/sair2/)).
- Donaldson, A M 1982 'Appendix III. Botanical remains', in Hunter, J R 'Medieval Berwick-upon-Tweed' *Archaeologia Aeliana* 10, 90–1.
- Duncan, A M M 1975 *Scotland: the Making of the Kingdom*, vol I. Edinburgh.
- Dunlop, A I (ed) 1956 *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome 1423–8*. Scottish History Society, Edinburgh.
- Easson, D E 1957 *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland*. London.
- The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, J Stuart et al (eds) 1878–1908. Edinburgh.
- Fairweather, A D 1988 'Appendix Carbonised Grain' 227–8, in Gibson, A 'Medieval corn-drying kilns at Abercainey, Perthshire', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 118, 219–29.

- Fairweather, A D 1989 'A cache of charred cereal grain from the "Prior's Well"', in Moffat, B (ed) *Sharp Practice 3. The third report on researches into the medieval hospital at Soutra, Lothian/Borders Region, Scotland*, 8–9. Edinburgh.
- Fawcett, R & Oram, R 2004 *Melrose Abbey*. Stroud.
- Fawcett, R & Oram, R 2005 *Dryburgh Abbey*. Stroud.
- Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae et Cuiuscunque Generis Acta Publica*, Rymer, T (ed), 20 vols 1704–35. London.
- Gallagher, D B 1987 'Edinburgh Pipemakers in the Seventeenth Century: the documentary evidence', in Davey, P (ed) *The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco Pipe. X. Scotland*. BAR Brit Ser 178, Oxford.
- Gairdner, J & Brodie, R H 1907 *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII*, vol XX part 2. London.
- Glendinning, M, MacInnes, R & MacKechnie, A 1996 *A History of Scottish Architecture From the Renaissance to the Present Day*. Edinburgh.
- Haggarty, G 1984 'Observations on the ceramic material from phase I pits BY and AQ', in Tabraham, C (ed) 'Excavations at Kelso Abbey', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 114, 395–7.
- Haig, J 1825 *A Topographical and Historical Account of the Town of Kelso, and of the Town and Castle of Roxburgh, with a succinct detail of the occurrences in the history of Scotland connected with these places*. Edinburgh.
- Hewat Craw, J 1922 'Some Roxburgh grave-slabs and a coped stone at Ancram', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 56, 184–8.
- Holmes, N M McQ 2004 'The evidence of finds for the circulation and use of coins in medieval Scotland', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 134, 241–80.
- Hope, M I 1947 'Skeletal Find near Roxburgh Castle', *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club XX* (1938–46), 142–6.
- Jeffrey, A 1836 *An Historical and Descriptive Account of Roxburghshire, from the most Ancient to the Present Times*. Edinburgh.
- Jeffrey, A 1859 *The History and Antiquities of Roxburghshire*, III. Edinburgh.
- Jones, R, Haggarty G, Hall, D W & Will, R 2005 'Sourcing Scottish White Gritty Ware', *Medieval Ceramics* 26, 45–84.
- Leishman, Rev Dr 1894–5, 'The State of the Kirks within the Presbytery of Kelso, July 1649', *Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club XV*, 348–50.
- Lewis, J & Ewart, G et al 1995 *Jedburgh Abbey: the Archaeology and Architecture of a Border Abbey*. Edinburgh (Soc Antiq Scot Monograph 10).
- Liber S Marie de Calchou*. 2 vols, 1846. Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh.
- Liber S Marie de Dryburgh*, 1847. Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh.
- Liber S Marie de Melros*, 2 vols, 1837. Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh.
- McNeill, P G B & MacQueen, H L 1996 *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707*. Edinburgh.
- Martin, C J M 1968 'Vanished Capital of Scotland', *Country Life* 9 Jan 1968, 54–6.
- Martin, C J M 2005 'Kelso's Bridges', *History Scotland* 5, 340–45.
- Maxwell, H (trans) 1907 *Scalacronica, the Reigns of Edward I, Edward II and Edward III*. Glasgow.
- New Statistical Account of Scotland, III Roxburgh–Peebles–Selkirk*, 1845, Rev J M MacCulloch 'Kelso' (1838), 298–352; Rev James Hope 'Roxburgh' (1834), 127–36. Edinburgh and London.
- Oram, R D 2004 *David I: the King Who Made Scotland*. Stroud.
- Oram, R D 2007a 'Holy frontiersmen? Twelfth- and thirteenth-century monastic colonisation and socio-economic change in Poland and Scotland', in Basista, J & Unger, R (eds) *Britain and Poland-Lithuania: contacts, comparisons and cultural change*. Leiden.
- Oram, R D 2007b 'Dividing the Spoils: war, schism and religious patronage on the anglo-Scottish border c.1332–c.1400', King, A & Penman, M A (eds), *England and Scotland in the Fourteenth Century: New Perspectives*. Woodbridge.
- Owen, O 1992 'Eildon Hill North', in Rideout, J S, Owen, O A & Halpin, E (eds) *Hillforts of Southern Scotland*, 21–72. Edinburgh.
- Page, W 1970 *The Victoria County History of the Counties of England: Northamptonshire*, vol 3. London.
- Patten, William 1548 ? (unpaginated).
- Pryde, G 1965 *The Burghs of Scotland: a critical list*. London, Glasgow and New York.
- Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, i, 1306–1424, ed J M Thomson (reprinted Edinburgh, 1984); ii, 1424–1513, ed J Balfour Paul (reprinted Edinburgh, 1984).

- Rotuli Scotiae in Turris Londinensis et in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi asservati*, MacPherson, D, Caley, J & Illingworth, W (eds), 1814–19, 2 vols. London.
- Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland 1956 *Roxburghshire*, 2 vols. Edinburgh.
- Ryder, P F 1985 *The Medieval Cross Slab Grave Cover in County Durham*, Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland Research Report No 1. Durham.
- Sharp, A 1987 'Edinburgh Typology', in Davey, P (ed) *The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco Pipe. X. Scotland*. BAR Brit Ser 178, Oxford.
- Simpson, AT 1980 *Historic Kelso: the archaeological implications of development*. Glasgow (Scottish Burgh Survey).
- Smith, I M 1991 'Sprouston, Roxburghshire: an early Anglian centre of the eastern Tweed Basin', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 121, 261–94.
- Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791–1799*, Sir J Sinclair (ed), new edn, D J Withrington & I R Grant (eds) 1979, vol III, *The Eastern Borders*, Christopher Douglas 'Kelso' (1793), 'Roxburgh' (1794–5). Wakefield.
- Stevenson, J (ed) 1841 *Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis; nec non obituarium duo ejusdem ecclesiae*. Surtees Society, Durham.
- Stevenson, J (ed) 1870 *Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland 1286–1306*. Edinburgh.
- Stewart, I H 1955 *The Scottish Coinage*. London.
- Stringer, K J 2005 'Kingship, Conflict and State-Making in the Reign of Alexander II: the War of 1215–17 and its Context', in Oram, R D (ed) *The Reign of Alexander II, 1214–49*. Leiden.
- Thomson, T (ed) 1811–16 *Inquisitionem ad Capellam Domini Regis Retornatarum, quae in publicis archivis Scotiae adhuc servantur, Abbreviatio*. Records Commission, London.
- Tipping, R 1999 'Towards an Environmental History of the Bowmont Valley and the Northern Cheviot Hills', *Landscape History* 20, 41–50.
- Tipping, R 2004 'Palaeoecology and Political History: evaluating driving forces in historical landscape change in southern Scotland', in Whyte, I D & Winchester, A J L (eds) *Society, Landscape and Environment in Upland Britain*, Society for Landscape Studies, Suppl Ser 2, 11–19.
- Tuck, A 1996 'A medieval tax haven: Berwick-upon-Tweed and the English crown, 1333–1461', in Britnell, R & Hatcher, J *Progress and problems in medieval England. Essays in Honour of Edward Miller*. Cambridge.
- Unstead, J F 1964 *The British Isles*. London.