
DISCUSSION OF THE EXCAVATION RESULTS

It was a relatively simple task to divide the excavation results into pre-Augustinian, early monastic, later monastic and post-Reformation phases. The findings from Period II, the major building phase, were subdivided into those associated with the temporary accommodation of the canons and/or the builders (in the mid-12th century) and those related to the construction of the original claustral ranges (from the late 12th to mid-13th century). However, for three centuries after the completion of this programme the abbey underwent numerous alterations and repairs, many of them difficult to place within neatly-defined periods. Nevertheless, two principal stages of rebuilding are postulated. In Period III (*c* 1300–*c* 1480) extensive alterations were implemented throughout and beyond the cloisters, while in Period IV (*c* 1480–1559) the emphasis seems to have been on repair-work although some larger-scale projects were undertaken, particularly within the East end of the church and within the Chapter house. It is thought that many of the modifications carried out in Periods III and IV resulted from damage wrought during the numerous conflicts that raged through the Border country after 1296.

6.1 PRE-AUGUSTINIAN ACTIVITY (PERIOD I)

THE MATERIAL EVIDENCE FOR A PRE-AUGUSTINIAN PRESENCE

Ecgrid, Bishop of Lindisfarne, is known to have endowed two foundations at or near Jedburgh in *c* 830 (Arnold 1882, 52–3). There are few references to Jedburgh from the succeeding centuries, other than mention of a church in *c* 1080 (Arnold 1885, 198) and David I's confirmation of a monastery (OPS 1855, 367–9) which Cowan and Easson (1975, 18) refer to as a 'monasterium, large parish and dependent chapels'. Documentary sources have not equated the site of the Augustinian abbey with either of Ecgrid's foundations; the artefactual evidence, however, is considerably more compelling.

The many pre-Augustinian artefacts retrieved from the abbey and its environs suggest that the early religious house was located there rather than at the alternative site, 5 miles up-river, proposed by some authorities (Cowan & Easson 1976, 92; Morton 1832, 2). Most of these objects, some of which were pre-Christian, were uncovered during previous investigations at the abbey. They comprise: a cup-and ring-marked stone, found at the abbey in 1903; a Roman altar, reused as a lintel over the entrance to the N stair in the church; part of the inscribed face of a Roman altar, reused in the presbytery of the church; three fragments (two from the abbey and one discovered in Ancrum) of a stone sarcophagus end, dated to *c* 700 and decorated with vine scrolls, birds and other animals; the spatulate head of a large cross, possibly late 8th or early 9th century; a terminal, of uncertain date, from a cross-head with a cable border; a fragment of a cross-shaft, perhaps 9th century; five stone fragments (two reused in the S wall of the refectory), all with coarse cable border and probably belonging to the same sculptured piece; a sandstone slab with interlaced pattern in relief; and a cross-shaft fragment with rope-moulding at one corner and leaf-scroll on one face, found when the manse was demolished in 1878 (Laidlaw 1905, 21–25; RCAHMS 1956, 200–208).

Large numbers of early coins have been found throughout Jedburgh, particularly at riverside locations. In 1827 about 90 'Saxon' silver coins were dug up at Bongate, 600m N of the abbey (NSAS 1845, 13). The same source also refers to 'many coins' of the reigns of Eadred, Eadwig and Aethelred (of the period 946–1016), and of Henry I, Henry III, Edward I and Edward III (1100–1377), which were discovered near Abbey Bridge. This second, rather mixed assemblage was probably deposited during landscaping and the regular tipping of refuse from the abbey.

The five pre-Augustinian artefacts recovered during the excavation consisted of: a Roman *dupondius*, from a disturbed drain in the East cloister alley (4.5, no 1 above); a coin of Aethelred II, from a late medieval context in the Chapter house (4.5, no 2 above); a probable 10th-century sculptured slab, reused in a late medieval wall (4.7 above); a 9th- or 10th-century cross-shaft fragment, redeposited in the South cloister alley (4.7 above); and an architectural fragment, perhaps dating to the late 9th or 10th century, found at the W end of the site.

The presence of a small number of Roman artefacts implies that there was a Roman camp a short distance from the abbey. The numerous 8th- to 11th-century stone fragments and coins found at or near the abbey are strong indications of a more permanent pre-Augustinian presence on the site, although this does not necessarily mean that that presence was unbroken over that period.

THE EXCAVATED FEATURES

Several factors should be taken into account when analysing the presumed pre-Augustinian features: none was fully defined; none could be dated; and their relationships with other important contexts were often difficult to establish. For example, the location and alignment of wall 915 corresponded to those expected for the S wall of the 18th-century 'John Preston's House' (Watson 1894, 95) (illus 12a); the stratigraphic evidence, however, pointed to this wall being 12th century or earlier. Furthermore, the N wall of John Preston's house was very different in style from wall 915 although the former's resemblance to an abutting wall (914) was quite pronounced. There was simply insufficient evidence to determine whether either or both of walls 914 and 915 were of pre-Augustinian, post-Reformation or even monastic origin.

A few patches of metallurgy (916) and a short stretch of walling (915) that might have been associated with it provided scant evidence from which to reconstruct the pre-12th-century landscape. Some skeletal remains, however, provide some indication of early habitation: the many residual bones, including those of females and juveniles, recovered from the Chapter house area suggest that a cemetery had been disturbed during the construction of the East range. Furthermore, investigations in the area of Murray's Green, to the E of the abbey, revealed crude stone cists at a considerable depth below presumed monastic stone coffins (Hilson 1872, 349). Hilson assumed the lower graves to be pre-Augustinian; indeed, they may even have been pre-Christian.

6.2 THE BUILDING OF THE ABBEY (PERIOD II)

THE INITIAL OCCUPATION (PRIMARY PERIOD II)

TERRACING AND COLONIZATION

The earliest phase of construction of the claustral complex after 1138 was reflected by two periods of timber building and terrace formation (illus 27), maximising the lower reaches of the slope as defined by the original course of the *Jed Water*. Evidence for both structures was fragmentary and later building had created merely isolated pockets of early Period II activity. Although the precise inter-relationship of each was obscured, enough remained to suggest possible connections.

Timber Structure 1 was of relatively sophisticated construction utilising a wide sill beam with offset, squared posts for its walls. The need to create a wider and lower terrace saw the abandonment of Timber Structure 1 and the truncation of its terrace in favour of a surface some 1.5m below. This lower terrace was ultimately to become part of Structure 8. The W extent of this terrace might be determined from the position of drain 490, the N end of which appeared to be turning northwards, following the edge of the flat surface which was to receive cobbling (304), ultimately associated with the 18th-century manse.

Similarly, the terrace immediately to the E of Timber Structure 2, which was absorbed into the open courtyard defined by Structure 10, dated from primary Period II. This surface and the W riverside terrace thus defined a raised, regular platform running E-W which supported a large, rectangular, wooden building.

To what extent these complex terraces were integral with the ultimate layout of the abbey ranges was difficult

to determine, but it is arguable that they represented an independent programme of works dictated by the original N bank of the river. This programme created occupation/building platforms to answer the immediate needs of the incoming community rather than necessarily viewing it as part of the overall plan for the eventual stone abbey – a process which took well over a century.

The character of temporary structures which might have been built during the initial colonisation of monastic sites generally has been scantily documented and only a few examples have ever been identified through excavation. However, both the obvious attempts to terrace the site and the dateable artefacts found in association suggested that Timber Structures 1 and 2 dated from the 12th century and were not elements from an earlier, pre-Augustinian occupation phase.

The best documented accounts of the initial colonisation of abbey sites and the attempts to accommodate the basic requirements of a monastic foundation relate to Cistercian houses. The differences in the practices and preferences of that order compared with those of the Augustinians, did not necessarily preclude direct comparison once the site itself was selected.

While it was unwise to speculate too much on what was fragmentary evidence, it was reasonable to assume that temporary structures would have been necessary while the main building programme was under way – indeed, the evidence from the 1984 excavation suggested that over a century elapsed before the main elements of the W side of the complex were completed (Structure 8). The use of wood for such building was also to be expected as it was plentiful, cheap and relatively quick to build. However, whether such structures were built by the incoming colonists themselves or at the behest of King David, as founder, in anticipation of their arrival is not known. Furthermore, as both Timber Structures 1 and 2 were part of a common, west European tradition of timber building techniques, identifying the builder(s) from that standpoint was not possible. Certainly, members of the Cistercian order arriving from France expected the prior construction of ‘an oratory, a refectory, a dormitory, a guest house and a gatekeeper’s cell’ (Lekai 1977, 448). In the case of the foundation at Meaux in south-east Yorkshire, two buildings were erected by the Earl of York, William ‘Le Gros’, in 1150; and at Kirkstead in Lincolnshire a contemporary account specifies ‘that two years were spent raising the wooden buildings before the reception of the community’ (Ferguson 1983, 79). The continuity found at Jedburgh between the early terraces and subsequent Period II building on the site was also a feature of the early buildings at Meaux which were absorbed into the main building programme at a later date. Count William (Le Gros)

‘. . . had a certain great house built with common mud and wattle where the hill is now established, in which the arriving lay brothers would dwell until better arrangements were made for them. He also built a certain chapel next to the aforementioned house, which is now the cellarer’s chamber, where all the monks used the lower storey as a dormitory and the upper to perform the divine service. . .’ (Chron Melsa, 82).

In general terms, therefore, while it was impossible on the surviving evidence to ascribe with any accuracy a specific function for either of the timber structures so far revealed at Jedburgh, they did represent a sequence of terrace construction and accommodation over an extended period. The reuse of Timber Structure 2 and its terrace, whereby they were adapted to the needs of the main stone phase in Period II, was paralleled by the later use of the early chapel at Meaux.

THE SEWAGE DITCH

There seems little doubt that the ditch (928) was used as a sewer – the bran and whipworm ova within the basal deposit of grey-green silt testify to that – although this was not necessarily its only function. It does not, however, appear to have been a defensive ditch for there was no evidence of any other defensive mechanism between the ditch’s N terminal and the abbey church – a distance of 25m. Another cut of similar dimensions and alignment to those of the ditch was uncovered within the Chapter house although this cut did not extend beyond the limits of the building and has been interpreted as a robber trench for the E wall of the Period II building.

Presumably, the ditch had extended as far as the river before it was truncated, perhaps during the construction of the East range. Without a timber or clay lining, of which there was no evidence, much of the fluid waste would have drained away through the sandy subsoil, leaving solid matter to be removed manually.

The proximity of the ditch to the East range would have posed a serious threat to the stability of the building's foundations and hence it seems unlikely that the two features were co-existent. In addition, there was no evidence – either from excavation or from contemporary illustrations – that the ditch was associated with any of the post-Reformation structures in this area. Indeed, the artefacts retrieved from the ditch indicate that it was backfilled some time after 1161, in all probability in anticipation of the construction of the East range.

The weight of evidence, then, suggests that the ditch was a sewer dating to the early years of the Augustinian occupation. It was probably associated with a temporary, timber latrine although no physical evidence of such a structure was found during excavation. High concentrations of metallic lead in the underlying subsoil suggest that the water that flushed the sewer was carried along lead pipes, implying that at least some of the plumbing (for example, the drain at the S end of the East cloister alley (illus 15a)) had been installed during the early years of the abbey's construction. Less likely is that the metal was derived from a lead roof, for the only building to have been in such an advanced stage of construction at that time was probably the East end of the abbey church.

The source of the water has not been established. Although the pollen assemblage from the base of the ditch suggests that it came from a stream, such as the Skiprunning Burn, flowing from a nearby hill, the means by which it could have been transferred to the abbey is still open to speculation. To avoid pumping or otherwise manually carrying the water up the sides of the burn's steep-sided ravine, there would have had to be a long system of conduits commencing some distance away from the abbey. There may have been such a system although it has not been located. Alternatively or additionally, rainwater butts and wells could have supplied the abbey with its drinking water although the two wells that have been identified appear to be post-Reformation in date.

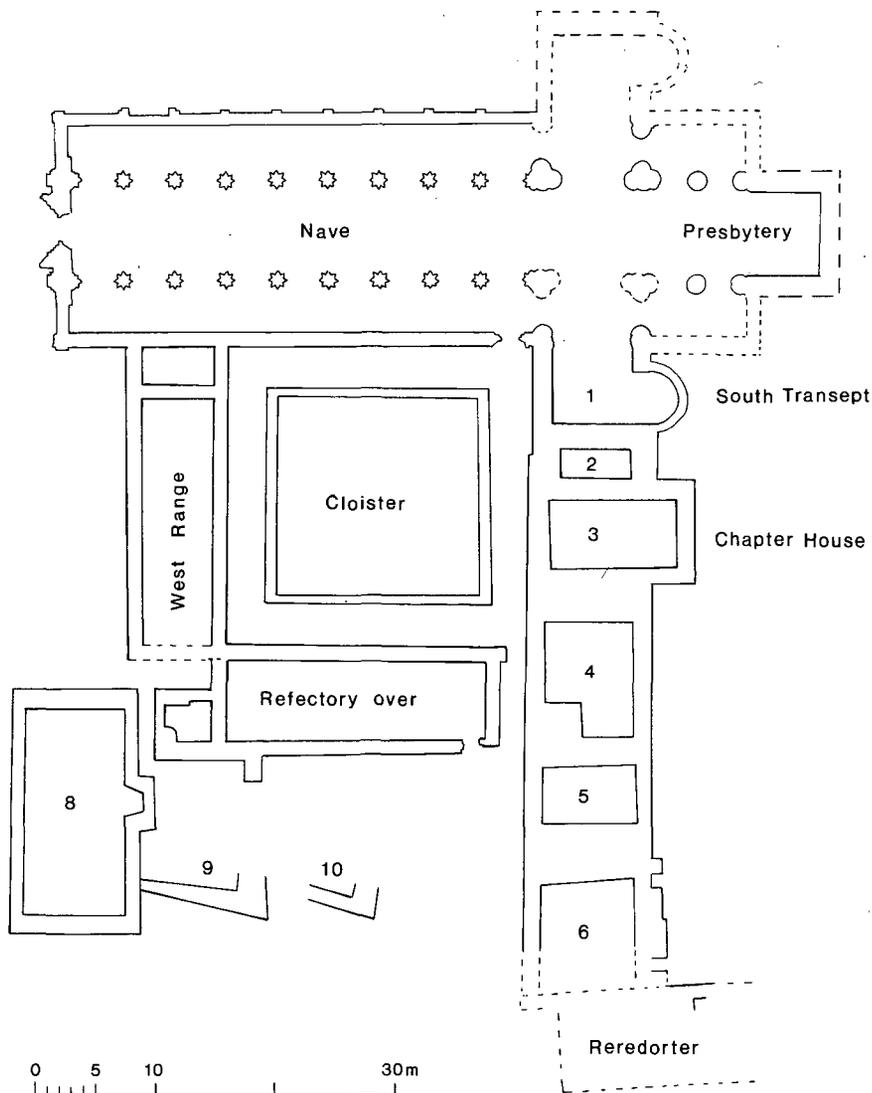
There was no definitive proof linking the remains of the torso with the nearby assemblage of artefacts (comb, buckle, seal/pendant and whetstone (illus 78; colour V; VI)) although the circumstantial evidence is persuasive. The objects belonged to a person of high social standing – perhaps a knight – who died in the mid- to late-12th century and who was not, it seems, given a Christian burial. It has been suggested that the corpse was that of Eadwulf Rus, who is alleged to have assassinated Bishop Walcher of Durham in 1080. Shortly afterwards Rus himself was killed and buried thereafter at Jedburgh, only for his body to be cast out by Walcher's successor, Bishop Turgot (RCAHMS 1956, 195). It is difficult to match this event with the ditch burial. If the corpse had been moved, it was done soon after death which, according to the artefactual evidence, was probably during the second or third quarter of the 12th century – too late for the body to be that of Rus. A similar assemblage, comprising a small iron chain, a small whetstone, a small square ivory comb and an ivory seal matrix of Godwin was found in association with skeletal elements at Wallingford, Berkshire, in 1879 (Hodges 1881, 183–4). Unfortunately, the full circumstances of the Wallingford collection are unknown and difficult to compare meaningfully with those from Jedburgh.

It is difficult to believe that the corpse lay exposed for long. It must be assumed, therefore, that either the body was thrown into the ditch and immediately covered or that the infill was disturbed for an unauthorised burial although the latter was not borne out by the evidence of excavation. Both possibilities point to murder – in this case of a person of high social standing. If the motive was theft, objects such as the comb must have been considered too distinctive to be taken.

THE MAIN BUILDING PHASE (illus 99)

THE ABBEY CHURCH

Previous investigations within the presbytery revealed masonry in a position similar to that of the wall foundations uncovered in 1990, 2.1m (7') W of the surviving E gable (RCAHMS 1956, 200). Although the accepted explanation of that masonry as representing the footings of the original E gable may be correct, the linear face on its W side renders its interpretation as the chord from which an apse projected seem less likely. It can only be assumed that the tusing projecting from the S presbytery wall, being more than 3m from the putative gable, was not the masonry to which the earlier investigators referred.



Illus 99
The layout of the abbey by the mid-13th century.

There seems no obvious reason for siting the altar base off-centre. Its masonry had not been truncated and it can only be assumed that the altar itself was positioned towards the right side of its foundations.

No floor surface was uncovered. On the evidence of the wholesale disruption of floor levels throughout the church and within most of the claustral buildings, it can be assumed that floor tiles or flagstones were removed in the aftermath of the Reformation. The absence of a floor surface and the limited nature of the exercise did little to help date any of the excavated structures or the sarcophagus burial (Grave 42). The grave's resemblance to those of the group C burials within the Chapter house hints at contemporaneity although the Chapter house graves can only be said to pre-date the early 16th century.

THE EAST RANGE

It is generally accepted that the construction of the East range began adjacent to the abbey church in the 12th century and finished with the completion of the reredorter astride the re-routed Jed Water a century later (RCAHMS 1956, 205). This was difficult to verify because much of the relevant architectural evidence had been masked or destroyed during the programme of masonry consolidation that followed the 1936–37 excavation. However, the surviving stonework at the S end of the range, which had escaped the attentions of the earlier investigators, was certainly characteristic of the first half of the 13th century.

The South transept (Room 1)

Although excavation within the South transept was limited, the apse at the E end of the transept (illus 18) was shown to be authentic. Apsidal-ended transepts, common in many 12th-century churches, were frequently squared off in later centuries. For example, at Thetford and Castle Acre Priors the primary (12th-century) layouts included chapels within three apses at the E end of the choir and one at the E end of each transept whereas all but one in each of these monasteries were replaced during the following century. A similar development was also likely at Jedburgh, where there is evidence that both transepts originally had apsidal ends (8 below).

Room 2

Room 2 occupied a position usually identified with that of the library, sacristy, vestry or slype (illus 18–20). At Jedburgh there was insufficient evidence to confirm how this room had been utilized although there were a few pointers to its likely role(s).

The room's position corresponds to that of the 'vault in the garden' shown in Winter's survey of 1760 (illus 67), the 'vault' perhaps being a reference to a vaulted passage or cellar or to an arched opening. Also in the vicinity of Room 2 was a single Romanesque-style arch, piercing what appears to be the ruined E wall of the East range, depicted in an early 19th-century engraving (illus 100). Taken together, these two illustrations suggest that there was a passage – or slype – through the East range, a suggestion supported by the squared sandstone footings in the room's NE and NW corners which may have been foundations for the jambs of a doorway.

It is conceivable that the masonry against the S wall of Room 2, was the foundation of bench seating, implying that the room was used as a parlour (RCAHMS 1956, 204). It is also possible, however, that this stonework was associated with the first phase of the Chapter house (see below). There was no evidence of major alterations to the fabric of Room 2 and it seems that, if this small chamber served both as a slype and as a parlour, it did so from the outset.

The Chapter house (Room 3)

It is not immediately obvious why the original Chapter house projected a mere 3m beyond the East range; in most monasteries it was either contained within the range or extended well beyond it. As the most important of the claustral buildings, however, the Chapter house was quite probably the first one to be built and at Jedburgh it may have stood in isolation until Room 2 was constructed. As a result, the dimensions of the original, free-standing building would not necessarily bear any relation to those of later, longer lasting structures. It has been suggested that the N wall of this putative free-standing structure is represented by the apparent wall face within the wall dividing Rooms 2 and 3 (illus 20), or that the outer face of the N wall of the Chapter house survived as the fragmentary remains visible (as 129) in Room 2.

On the evidence of architectural fragments retrieved from the overburden in the 1930s, it had been assumed that a late 12th-century Chapter house was remodelled, a century later, to include the earliest lierne vault in Scotland (RCAHMS 1956, 204). This interpretation is now considered to be erroneous, the fragments of vaulting bearing no relation to the date of deposition of the materials from which they were recovered. Indeed, even the near-complete excavation of the area in 1984 failed to yield sufficient evidence by which to accurately date the changes within the Chapter house or to provide accurate pictures of the building's superstructure prior to the Period IV remodelling.

Without doubt the primary building was small. Its internal area was only 52.5m² which is less than most other chapter houses of similar, or even lower, status – an indication, perhaps, of the building's temporary nature and the intention of its architect to extend it at the earliest opportunity.

There was no evidence of stone seating around the interior of the Chapter house. Indeed there were graves immediately adjacent to the N wall, making it likely that wooden benches were in use, at least in that part of the room.



Illus 100

An early 19th-century engraving, by J Greig from a painting by G Arnold, of the abbey viewed from the E.

Room 4

It was impossible to make an accurate interpretation of the architectural history of Room 4 without removing much of the masonry that had been consolidated and even rebuilt after the 1936–37 excavation. This was deemed impractical and hence no such programme was undertaken.

Room 4 occupied the position often assigned to the warming house – the only room, other than the kitchen, where the brethren were allowed the benefits of a fire. Although no medieval hearth was located (the one set into the N wall belonged to the overlying 18th-century house, Room 15), this may be because the evidence was obliterated in one of the attacks that plagued the abbey for centuries or during one of the more recent programmes of masonry consolidation.

The wall between Rooms 3 and 4 was up to 2.5m thick: substantial enough to help bear the weight of the overlying canons' dormitory or even to support its gable end. Alternatively, or indeed additionally, this may have been the site of the day stair, linking the dormitory with the cloister. There could have been a straight flight of steps, as at Dryburgh Abbey, or an arrangement similar to that at Haughmond Abbey, where access to the dormitory appeared to be directly from the Chapter house (Hope & Brakspear 1909, 296). The stair could also have been built upon the massive, L-shaped masonry foundations (120 and 215) and comprised steps, at least 2.0m wide, which descended to the S from the dormitory before turning to the E into the cloister – an arrangement similar to that at Chester Cathedral Priory. Another authority, however, suggests that the stairs were located between Rooms 2 and 3 (RCAHMS 1956, 204) although this seems less likely.

Room 5

The perils of building on a sloping river terrace were offset somewhat by the addition of buttresses against Rooms 4 and 5 and by thickening substantially the walls of the East range as it approached the river. While there were no real clues to help date the construction of Room 4, the tightly-jointed ashlar masonry and the piers supporting the roof of the two-bayed Room 5 and of the larger Room 6 were features typical of early 13th-century architecture.

Again, there was little to help interpret the function of Room 5 or to indicate whether it had undergone any significant alterations during its occupation. To interpret this small chamber as a day room (as its position might indicate), on the strength of the bench seating suggested by the linear masonry (276) and associated slot (242), would be to ignore its overall dimensions – a mere 8.0 by 4.7m. A more feasible suggestion is that Room 5 was the treasury.

Room 6

This basement chamber (illus 24) was a well-built structure with ashlar walls and a ceiling supported by quadripartite vaulting. The thickened walls were needed to carry the weight of the East range which must have towered to a considerable height at this point, allowing an additional floor level between the undercroft and the canons' dormitory.

The absence of windows, at least in the N bay, suggests that this was a storage cellar, its cool damp interior making it an ideal store for some types of food. Normally, most foodstuffs would have been kept in the West range (the domain of the cellarer) but at Jedburgh it was a rather insignificant building and its role appears to have been taken over by other buildings within (and perhaps beyond) the cloister. The doorway in the E wall of Room 6 would have allowed supplies to enter the abbey from the SE, rather than (or as well as) from the W. Access to the abbey's inner court was through a door in the W wall (since demolished) of the S bay and thence by steps between the East and South ranges or, less likely, by a stair in the NW corner of the cellar, another badly damaged part of the building.

Projecting further E from the E wall of Room 6 was a wall, which survived only as tussing, that perhaps barred the way to those who were allowed as far as the stores but who were not given access to the rest of the East range, the canons' burial ground or the infirmary.

The reredorter (Room 7)

Only a small portion of the reredorter (illus 24) was exposed although the resemblance between its masonry and that of Room 6 was unmistakable, even at foundation level. The building projected well beyond the line of the East range, as was customary in many monasteries (a good surviving example is Melrose Abbey), being aligned along the river course to facilitate the easy removal of waste.

THE WEST END OF THE ABBEY

The role of the Jed Water and a determination to take full advantage of the general topography of the natural eminence above a steep meander in the course of the river characterise the main building phase for the S and W of the site. Commencing in the first half of the 12th century while temporary buildings were still in use, the site was prepared by a series of stabilising measures in advance of the great weight of masonry which was to follow. The early, simple, scraped terraces were then extended to accommodate, on an appropriate scale, the required claustral buildings. This had to take account of the river and the original steep bend in its course which was exploited to facilitate removal of drainage waste and protected the new artificial building platforms.

A mid-13th-century date for the completion of Structure 8, with Structures 9 and 10 following in rapid succession, implied that the main focus for the building programme was the abbey church, cloister and East range while the S and W parts of the site were consolidated but not completed until over a century

had elapsed since the first canons arrived from France. This was supported by the evidence of the architecture within the church itself (8 below). Further evidence was the upgrading of certain simple drains (such as 2003 and 387) which survived from primary Period II buildings and terraces and which were only suitably improved when their associated waterfront buildings were well underway, if not virtually completed.

The precise function of Structure 8 – the biggest and most elaborate building from this phase on the W of the site – could not be readily deduced from the excavation because the best preserved section of the building had already been dug out. Structure 8 and ultimately Structure 13 saw many changes, including a period as a possible gun platform in 1548/9 (6.4 below).

The structure was both large and domestic with at least two floors. A large fireplace and an elaborate drainage might have indicated kitchen activities at least at basement level with domestic accommodation above, as evidenced by the latrine chute. However, Structure 8 might have been either a guest accommodation or a private lodging for the abbot or one of the senior officials.

The pend and the waterfront were not fully exploited initially – the former being one way of utilising a steep gradient and a method of ‘bridging’ two important supporting cross walls (384 and 378). In its original form, the pend may have been no more than a convenient method for the disposal of rubbish while at the same time providing access to the river.

Of the examples of other sites where a distinctive angled waterfront was constructed, the most striking was the Premonstratensian abbey at Alnwick. This sprawling site followed a bend in the River Alne, creating a large fortified enclosure defined and defended to the S by the river. In particular, the double angled wall in the area of the kitchen which fronts onto the river was closely echoed by the angled frontage of Structures 9 and 10 at Jedburgh.

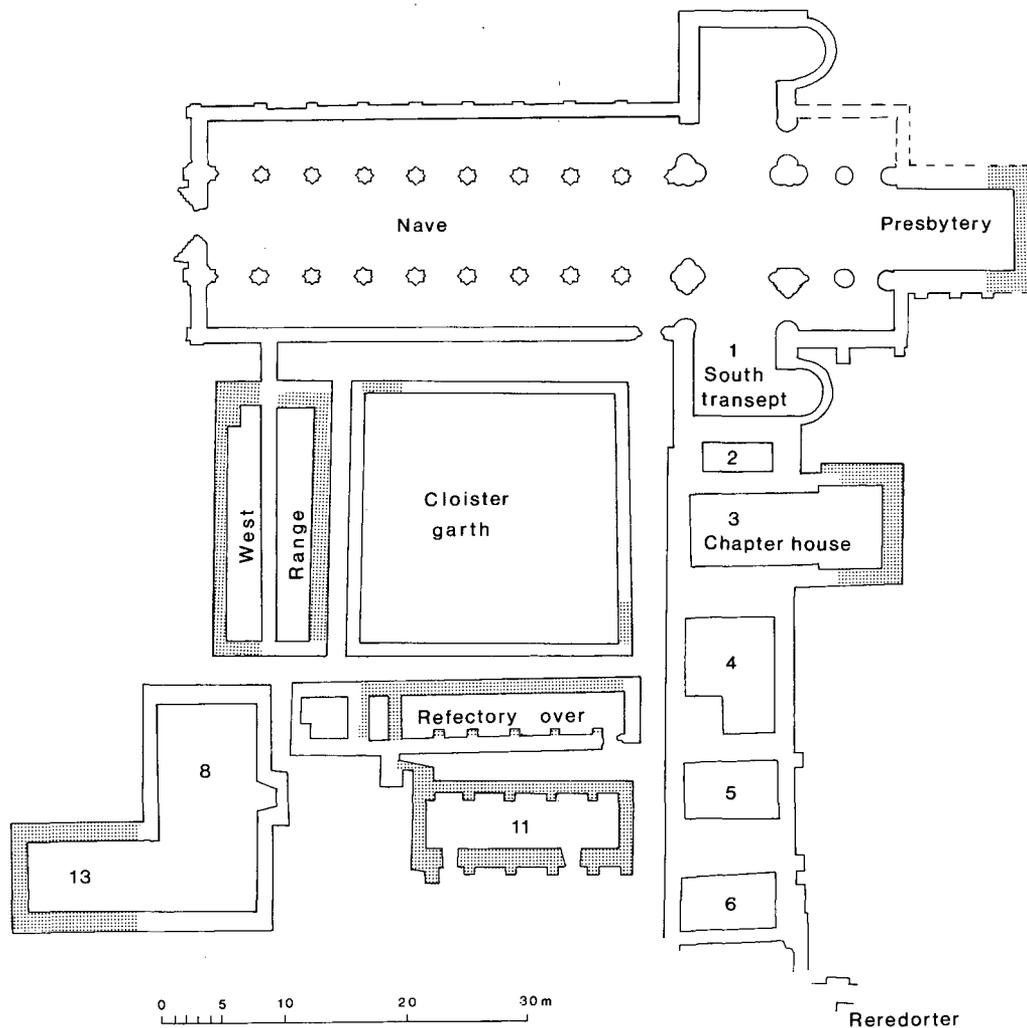
The use of a foundation raft of interlaced oak beams under at least part of the great S wall (378) and its extension (Period III wall 3006) was a consequence of the riverside location of Structure 8/13. Both the Period II timber work and that of Period III were part of a common tradition of wooden foundations, relying on horizontally laid beams. There were numerous examples of this technique from a wide range of contexts, applied mainly as a method of building across unstable, often waterlogged ground (see Stell 1984, 584–85). A similar use of interlaced beams was found beneath parts of Winchester Cathedral and beneath the tower of Holy Trinity Church, Hull which featured ‘. . . a timber raft of horizontal oak baulks crossing each other at right angles. . .’ (Fox 1908, 260–1). The 16th-century King’s College, Aberdeen was similarly built:

‘The quholl foundatione of the colledge, being builded in marrish ground is under layde with great rafters of oake, which behoved to be great coast and travell’ (Innes, 1842, 24).

6.3 REMODELLING AND REBUILDING IN THE 14TH AND 15TH CENTURIES (PERIOD III) (illus 101)

In terms of new building operations, this period was marked by efforts of the community to repair major structures damaged by warfare; and to take the opportunity to remodel the layout in order to reflect new trends in monastic discipline. The new works were both the result of practical expediency and the need for improvement within a less austere regime.

The community found itself inevitably drawn into a pattern of cross-Border warfare which persisted from the late 13th century until the mid-16th century. The chaos and panic created by the invasion of Scotland by Edward I in 1296 and his determination to maintain control of the Borders heralded an anxious period for the community. Abbot John Morel swore fealty to the English king at Berwick in August 1296. Edward had visited Jedburgh in May and June of that year and returned in October 1298 yet, despite the efforts of the Jedburgh canons to comply, the lead from the roof of the church was removed by English forces in 1305.



Illus 101
The layout of the abbey in the 14th and 15th centuries.

That the community supported the English cause is further suggested by the request of Edward II to Abbot William in 1307 to keep the peace (Bain 1881, 29). It is probable that the departure of some of the brethren between 1314 and 1324 to their lands in north Yorkshire was prompted by fear of retribution from the Scottish king Robert I. It was probably only when David II returned to Scotland in 1357 that relative stability returned to the area and a period of prosperity commenced which lasted more or less to the early years of the 15th century. The destruction of Jedburgh Castle by a local Scots force in 1409 after it had been held by the English since 1346 heralded a second, lengthy period of unrest. During that time the threat of war was never far away, culminating in the furious campaigns of the 16th century. The abbey was attacked twice by English forces in the 15th century – by Sir Robert Umfraville in 1416 and by the Earl of Warwick in 1464. The extent of the damage to the abbey is not known.

THE REMODELLED CLOISTER

The remodelling of the cloister coupled with the rebuilding of the Chapter house were most probably the results of damage to the site during the early 14th century. It was likely that work did not start until after 1326 when the exiled canons returned from Yorkshire.

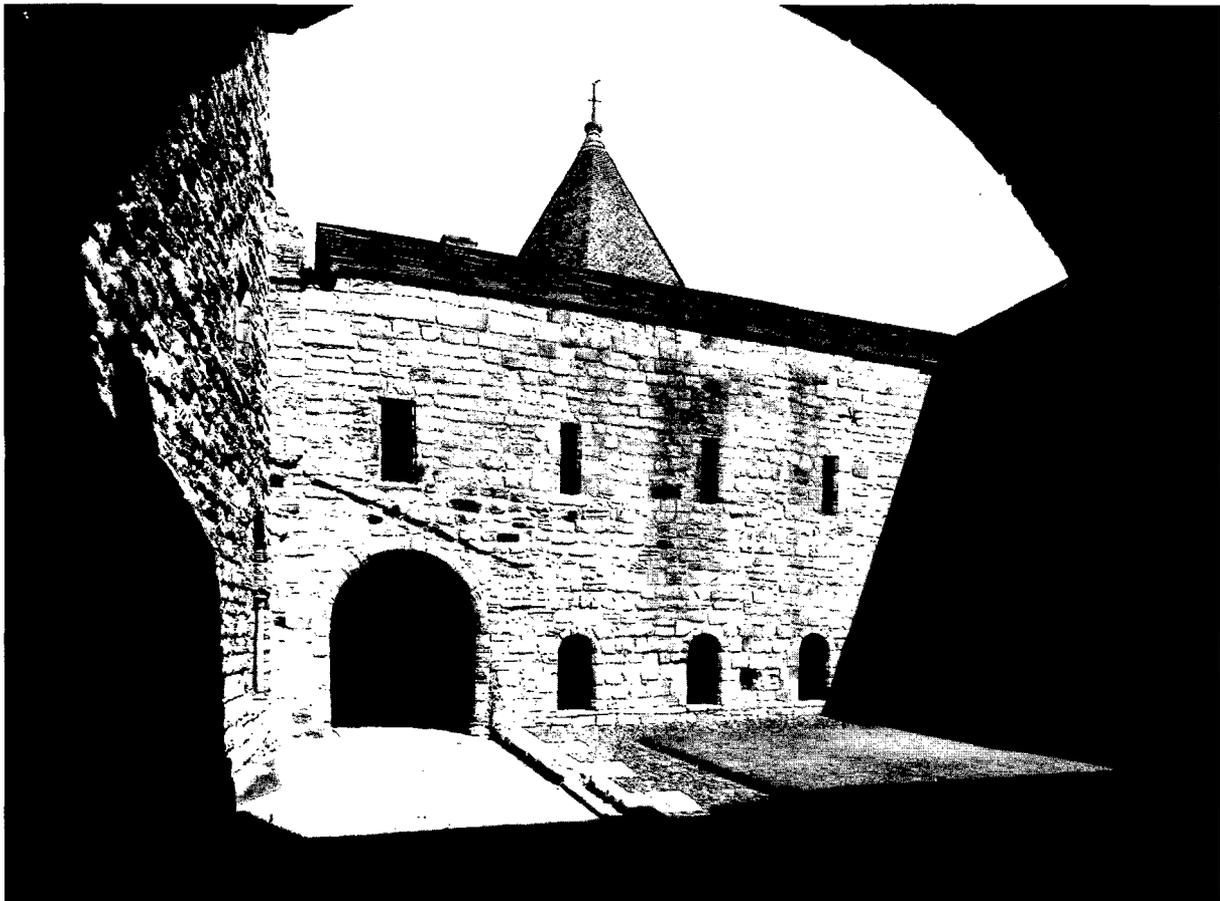
The damage which prompted such major works, and which had significant structural implications for most of the Period II buildings on the cloister terrace, was thought to have been extensive. The documentary record is not specific: the main concern seemed to be about the robbing of lead from the

church roof by Sir Richard Hasting in 1305. The evidence retrieved during the 1936 excavation (when the structures most affected were uncovered) seemed to show rebuilding over Period II walls which were somewhat erratically damaged. The most noticeable was the N wall of the secondary South cloister alley which overlay the N wall of the Period II refectory (compare the arrangement at Inchcolm Abbey: illus 102). In addition to the albeit limited stratigraphic evidence, there was no doubt that the Period III cloister belonged to an entirely separate building phase from that perceived in the 12th century. There is every indication that the Period II claustral ranges were completed by the mid-13th century as part of an integrated complex.

The need to re-establish the cloister and West range as well as the relative ease with which it was achieved could be explained by major structural damage to the site during the 14th century. The desire to extend and improve the facilities of the abbey linked the secondary West range with the extensions to Structure 8 and led to the creation of Structure 13.

‘The rebuilding of a cloister, although sometimes conceived as a separate enterprise. . . was very often accompanied by the modernisation of the adjoining domestic ranges’ (Platt 1984, 155).

Moreover, the new, wider, claustral circuit and Structure 13 generally improved the W side of the site and it might be possible to see these refinements as part of an implied upgrading of the western access to the abbey. The presence of the main entrance to the abbey complex via Abbey Close and documentary sources suggest that the upgrading of the abbey defences by the construction of Dabies Tower and the other towers to form a defensive line along Canongate coincided with the demise of the Castle in 1409. The limited evidence from excavation in the W of the site could be seen as a result of the increased wealth of the community which stimulated further efforts to protect that community.



Illus 102
Inchcolm Abbey: the refectory over the South cloister alley.

THE ADDITION OF STRUCTURE 13

'Separation of revenues and activities carried with it separation of lodging and staff, and by the end of the 12th century, the great abbots had quarters of their own, with a private chamber, hall, chapel and the rest' (Knowles 1956, 1, 273).

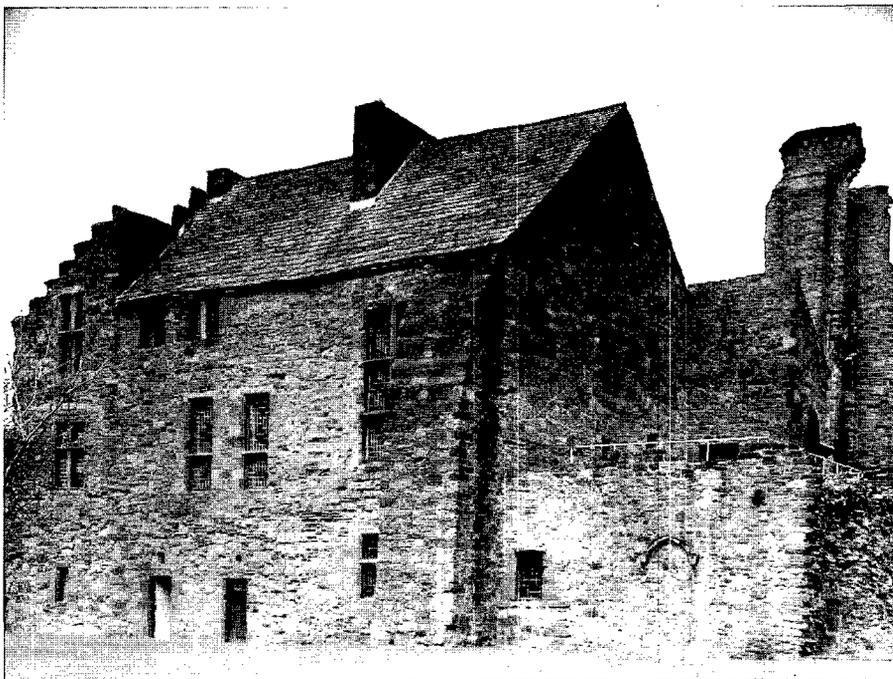
The Period II Structure 8 appeared to fit within this tradition, having been extended by the addition of Structure 13 (illus 56; 57) and by the upgrading of the garderobe arrangements. Because the level of the new basement of Structure 13 was appreciably lower than the undercroft in Structure 8, how the upper floor of the extension related to that of Structure 8 was not entirely clear. However, their upper floors were directly linked and shared access to the new garderobe chute. If the upper floor of the new building was at the same level as the upper floor of Structure 8, it would have given the new undercroft a ceiling height of some 5m. More likely there was some form of stepped access between the two – possibly steps up – from the upper floor of the Period III extension, through a doorway in the N wall of Structure 8 and into the upper chamber.

The location, role and complex chronology of Structure 13 were echoed to some extent by the abbot's lodging at Arbroath Abbey (illus 103) which progressed from a '...relatively modest first-floor suite of rooms. . . to form a handsome, semi-independent residence. . .' (Fawcett 1985, 23). There were many examples of the original, fairly minimal accommodation of the superiors of a monastic house being regularly refined and extended over the 14th and 15th centuries. This was seen as an attempt to keep pace with the increasing status of the heads of such houses in society at large. However, the extreme dilapidation of the remains of Structure 13, later referred to as 'the Abbot's Hall', renders more than the broadest comparisons impossible.

THE EAST RANGE

Excavation did not indicate that there had been substantial changes to Rooms 1, 2, 4 or 5 during these two centuries although the sparse archaeological record may reflect the destruction of the evidence. It is not even clear if the Chapter house was enlarged during this period or if such alterations were carried out at the same time as the construction of the rest of the East range. Caution, however, dictates that this event should be described here.

The extensive changes within Room 6 can be attributed with some justification to war damage, probably



Illus 103
Arbroath Abbey: the abbot's
lodging.

during the Wars of Independence. Although reports broadcast by armies on campaign were usually little more than propaganda (McRoberts 1962, 427), Sir Richard Hastings' account of his assault on Jedburgh is usually given credence and his attack is believed to have caused considerable damage to the abbey. Morton (1832, 11) states that Hastings removed lead from the church roof and he describes the abbey as uninhabitable in 1300. Other authorities, probably correctly, reach the same conclusion for the year 1305 (Cowan & Easson 1976, 92). In all likelihood lead was also stripped from some of the claustral buildings, leaving them too in a ruinous state.

As a consequence, an extensive programme of repairs must have been of paramount importance. However, this scheme was apparently interrupted by the canons' flight to England around 1313 (Bain 1881, iii, 630; 894) and it must be wondered whether the abbey ever fully recovered from the trauma. As well as the re-organization of the S end of the East range, this programme of repair, upgrading and expansion probably included the remodelling of the refectory and the construction of new buildings such as Room 12 and a new range, represented by Room 11, on the abbey's southernmost terrace.

THE ENLARGED CHAPTER HOUSE

It has been suggested (6.2 above) that the original Chapter house was a small, temporary, albeit stone, structure that was extended at a later date. This remodelling could have been contemporary with the construction of the adjacent Rooms 2 and 4 although the time span between the two building phases appears rather short. It is also possible that the Chapter house was enlarged in response to a growth in the monastic community – a familiar situation during the 13th century. More likely options, however, are that the Chapter house was expanded by an ambitious abbot, wishing to see his house grow in splendour; or that the canons were forced to rebuild parts of their abbey following one of the many raids inflicted on it over the centuries.

Whatever the cause, extending the building to the E was a relatively simple operation, involving the addition of one extra bay, probably only of one storey. Its width of only 5.3m would not have warranted an aisled arrangement: indeed, there was no evidence of pier bases either within the room's interior or within any of its walls.

Chapter houses were sometimes extended and simultaneously divided into two chambers. Between 1313 and 1321, the Chapter house at St Andrews Cathedral Priory, measuring 7.7×6.5 m (roughly the same area as the Period II chamber at Jedburgh), was converted into a vestibule for a new Chapter house, measuring 14.0×6.5 m (RCAHMS 1933, 236). The area of the new building was identical to that of the Period III Chapter house at Jedburgh although, if the latter had been partitioned, the new sub-divisions would simply have been too small to function effectively.

DESTRUCTION OF ROOM 6

The S end of the East range never recovered fully from the catastrophic damage to its upper storey(s). The insertion of a partition wall allowed the S half of the undercroft to be reused as the basement of a two (or more)-storeyed, free-standing building whereas the bays to the N of this wall remained derelict and were used subsequently as a midden. Artefacts retrieved from the midden point to its deposition beginning in the mid-14th century, thus placing the insertion of the partition wall at a similar, or earlier, date and the destruction of Room 6 earlier still. If the demolition was intentional, as seems likely, it was the probable result of the attack by Sir Richard Hastings early in the 14th century.

The range of finds within the midden points to it being a non-selective, general rubbish deposit. In apparent contradiction to this argument was the substantial proportion of mammal bones derived from high-meat joints although this may simply indicate that slaughtering and most butchery was done away from the claustral area. The abundance of bones suggests that the refuse did not come from the canons' kitchen or refectory where meat was supposedly absent, except on special occasions. However, many monasteries abandoned meatless diets in the later Middle Ages and the midden may well represent the waste derived from the canons' refectory during the 14th and 15th centuries. Other possible sources of this debris are the kitchens of the infirmary, guest houses, and lodgings of abbey officials, at least some of which would be

within easy reach of Room 6. Room 11, for example, is thought to be the undercroft of a guest house or of an official's private chambers (perhaps those of the abbot or prior) and, by analogy with many other religious houses, the *infirmarium* was probably located just beyond the East range and could perhaps be equated with Room 12.

From the proximity of the river, it might be reasonable to expect to find fishponds within the abbey precinct, yet no freshwater fish bones were found in the midden assemblage whereas the bones of marine species occurred in relative abundance. A likely reason was the non-availability of flat, riverside land, rather than a preference for seafood. Indeed, it has been argued (in a paper given by CK Currie to the Medieval Europe conference in 1992) that, during much of the medieval period, freshwater fish and fishponds were status objects, unlike sea fish which ranked very low. A similar situation was encountered during recent excavations at the late medieval Smailholm Tower, 16 km (10 miles) N of Jedburgh, where bones of freshwater fish were also absent (Barnetson 1988, 258).

The shortage of pig bones signifies either: a dislike for the animal's meat (unlikely outwith the Highlands); that it was reserved for special occasions; that it was limited to certain members of the community and guests; or, most likely, that an abundance of cattle and sheep, received as teinds or rents, discouraged the rearing of pigs. Similarly, the minimal effort put into catching wild species may have also stemmed from a cheap, readily available supply of beef and mutton/lamb.

ROOM 11 (SOUTH RANGE) (illus 53; 54)

The location of this range probably owed more to topography than to a strict adherence to a pre-ordained monastic layout. Level ground was at a premium and all suitable space – including this, the lowest terrace – was exploited to the full. Although this building has been dated to the 13th century (RCAHMS 1956, 206), the extensive use of the local, dark red sandstone suggests contemporaneity with the 14th-century remodelling of the refectory.

The building's function has not been positively identified although possible roles include: an *infirmarium*; a guest house; or the lodging of an abbey official, perhaps the abbot or prior. By general analogy, the *infirmarium* was likely to be outside the East range and may well have had some connection with Room 12 (see below). The *infirmarium* would have housed the old and the sick brethren as well as those being bled; it would also have had its own chapel, kitchen, refectory and perhaps other rooms. The range that included Room 11 was limited to two storeys to allow adequate light into the adjacent refectory and was simply too small to be the *infirmarium*. Furthermore, the garderobe chute in the SE corner of the building (the only one located) would have been woefully inadequate as the *infirmarium*'s only latrine.

At the priories of Ely Cathedral and Tynemouth the guest house and prior's lodging were both to the S of the refectory. One of these roles may have been assumed by Jedburgh's Room 11 which could be interpreted as a basement cellar below residential accommodation at first-floor level.

ROOM 12

This structure could not be closely dated nor its purpose easily identified from the limited evidence retrieved from excavation. However, both the stratigraphic sequence and a simple, visual comparison between its clay-bonded, rubble masonry and the superb ashlar of the East range confirmed that the doorway at the SW corner of Room 12, and hence the building integral with it, post-dated the construction of Room 6. This relative chronology and the similarity between the W wall of Room 12 and the secondary partition wall in Room 6 suggest that the former building dates from the phase of redevelopment that followed the demise of the S end of the East range. Most of the artefacts retrieved from levels associated with the construction of Room 12 pre-dated the destruction (and in some cases the construction) of the East range. This apparent anomaly can be explained by soil erosion and landscaping which redeposited these objects, some of them from ditch 928, perhaps after the ditch had been truncated.

It is not clear whether Room 12 replaced an earlier building or if it was an entirely new structure, built after the demise of the East range. From its location, it is more likely to have been an *infirmarium* (or at least one of

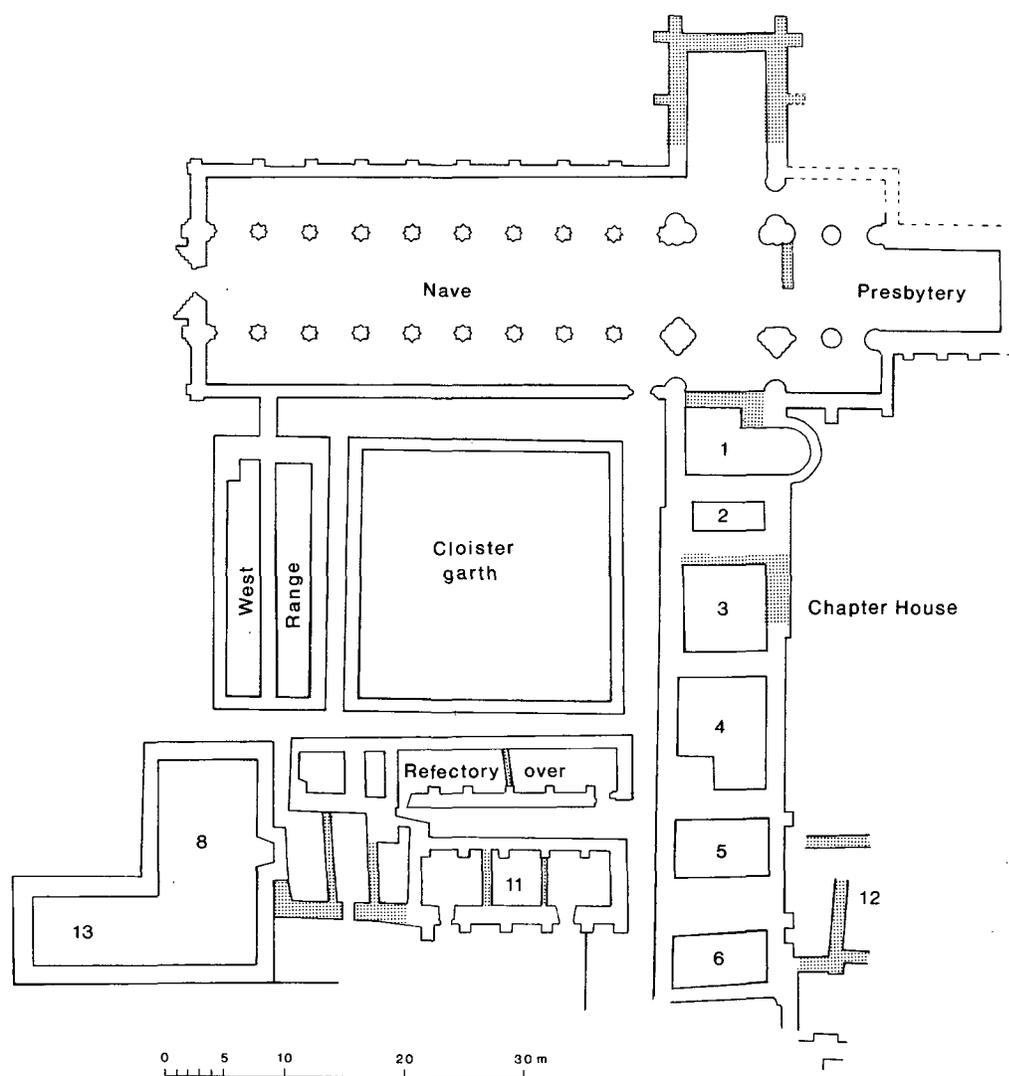
its ancillary buildings) rather than a guest house or the lodging of an abbey official. Indeed, it was the usual practice to site the infirmary beyond the East range, near to the monastic cemetery, and downstream of the reredorter, as was the case at nearby Kelso Abbey (Tabraham 1984, 401).

6.4 LATER REPAIRS AND ALTERATIONS FROM THE LATE 15TH TO MID-16TH CENTURIES (PERIOD IV) (illus 104)

THE AREA OF THE EAST RANGE

THE CHAPTER HOUSE

It is easy to imagine that the Chapter house was enlarged by an ambitious abbot or because the community was expanding. It is difficult to believe that the subsequent contraction (illus 105) was provoked by anything other than structural damage, whether at the hand of man or by the ravages of time.



Illus 104
The layout of the abbey in the early 16th century.

A late 15th- or early 16th-century date for this radical change is suggested by the similarity between the octagonal pier in the centre of the chamber and those in the chapter houses at Cambuskenneth, Crossraguel and Glenluce abbeys (RCAHMS 1963, 128; MacGibbon & Ross 1896, III, 138; RCAHMS 1912, 106). The small number of interments (all coffin burials) that post-dated this change – three in the backfilled robber trench 888 and two adjacent to the N wall – support a relatively late date for this phase of reconstruction.

The Chapter house at Cambuskenneth is now demolished although its roof was evidently vaulted with transverse ribs. Glenluce is better preserved. There the rib-vaulted roof of the building (at 7.3m square, almost identical in size to that at Jedburgh) springs from a moulded central pier, 3.4m high, and from corbels in each angle and midway along the walls. Similarly, the ceiling of the four-bayed Chapter house at Crossraguel was rib-vaulted from a central, compound pier with corbels in the angles and vaulting shafts along all but the E wall, where a corbel had been substituted to allow for the abbot's seat below. At Glenluce (illus 106) an early 16th-century rebuild has been assumed from the evidence of tracery within two three-light windows in the E wall, whereas those in the E wall at Crossraguel may belong to the century before.

If the rebuilding of the Jedburgh Chapter house was contemporary with that at Crossraguel, then the architect of change was perhaps John Hall, abbot from 1478 until his death in 1484, or his successor, Thomas Cranston (1484–88). Hall initiated repairs to the East end of the church, perhaps damaged during a raid by the English in 1464 (although it may have also suffered from age), and he also began the reconstruction of the crossing tower (8 below). The same attack may have also affected the Chapter house which, being such an important building to the monastic community, would have been a prime candidate for immediate restoration.

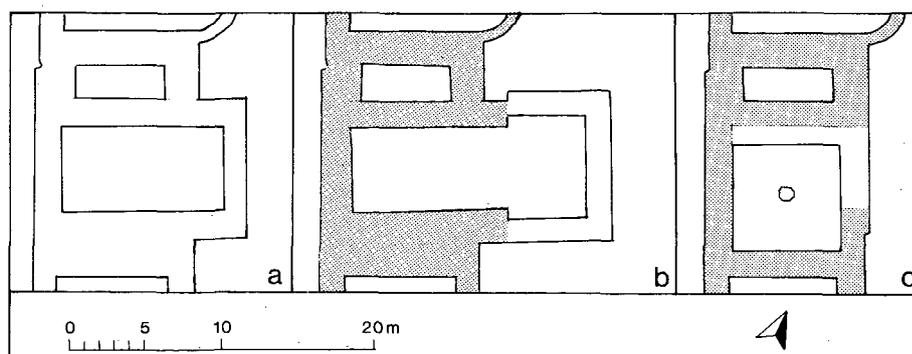
ROOM 4

According to one source, Room 4 was robbed of much of its masonry during the 18th century in order to build houses and to repair a nearby waulk mill (Watson 1894, 96). This may account for the paucity of information associated with the constructional phasing of the chamber. As a consequence, it was difficult to reconcile the layout of this room with that of the adjacent Period IV Chapter house.

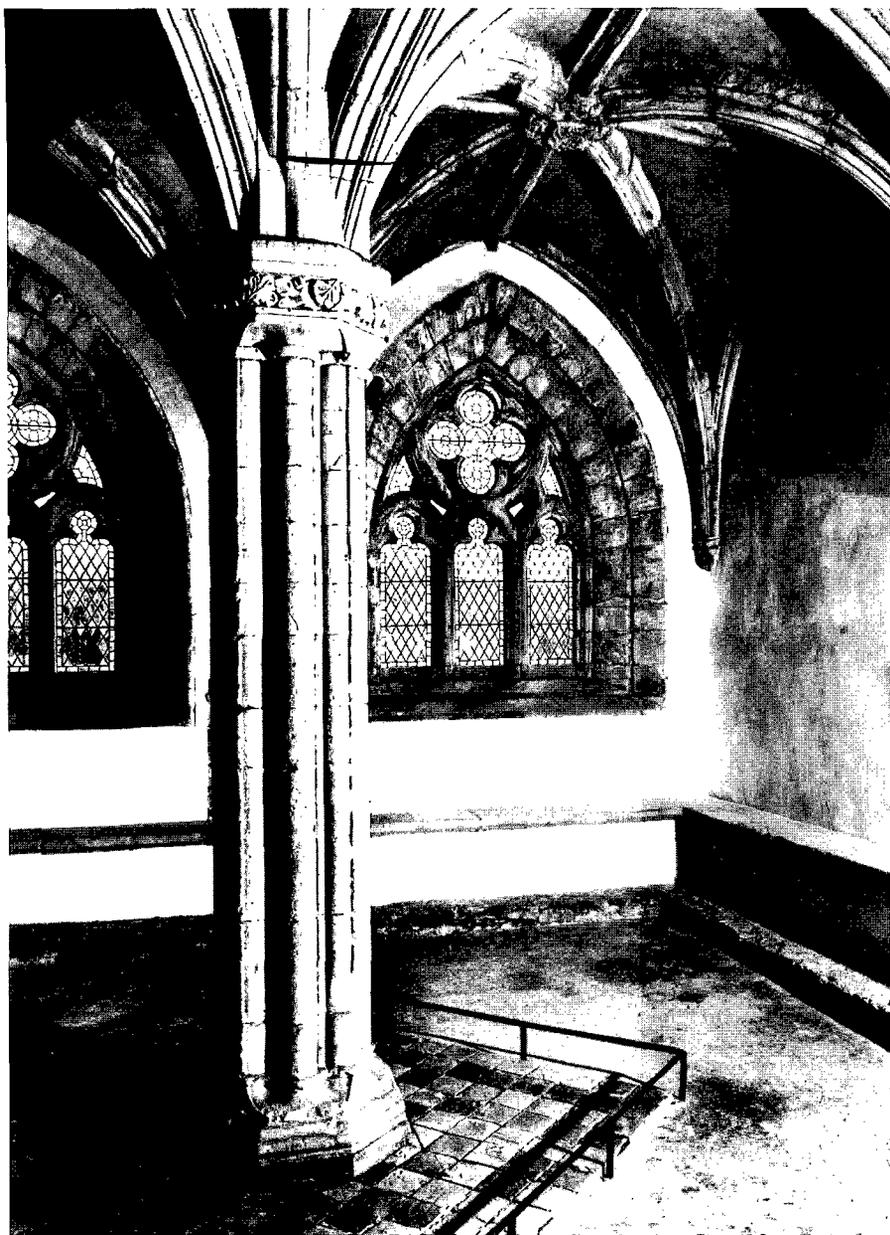
OUTSIDE THE CHAPTER HOUSE (illus 47)

There is overwhelming evidence that the principal monastic cemetery was beyond the East range. Burials of probable monastic age were uncovered at Murray's Green, beyond Abbey Place, during the 19th century (Hilson 1872, 349) and large numbers of human skeletons were also unearthed when the same area was landscaped in recent years. Several graves had been disturbed by the insertion of a wall (960), after which 19 skulls and numerous other bones were re-interred against the wall's inside face. The presence of three stone coffins near to Rooms 1 and 2 are an indication that the cemetery extended up to the East range itself, the proximity of the graves to the Chapter house being a likely pointer to the incumbents' seniority.

Although the construction of the wall (960) post-dated that of the Period III Chapter house, excavation could



Illus 105
The principal structural phases of the Chapter house: a) Period II b); Period III; c) Period IV.



Illus 106
Glenluce Abbey: the interior of the early 16th-century Chapter house, its roof supported by a central pier.

not determine whether it was built before or after the building's demolition. If the two structures coexisted, the wall must have been quite low in order to allow light to enter the window(s) in the E wall of the Chapter house, the gap between the two structures being only 2m. The angled wall, together with the N wall of the Period III Chapter house, may have lined a passage similar to those at Faversham Abbey (Philp 1968, 28) and at Crossraguel Abbey, the latter providing shelter between the church or Chapter house and the infirmary range (Pevsner 1962, 114). At Jedburgh this conjectural passage appears to lead from Room 2 (the slype) towards Room 12, tentatively interpreted as part of the infirmary range.

Investigations to the NE of the Chapter house were somewhat cursory and the role of the masonry feature there (966) remains unclear. It resembles an angled buttress although, if this was its function, the E-NE face of the adjacent wall 960 would have been external, rather than being on the inside of a passage. Other possible interpretations for the masonry 966 include the base of a door jamb associated with the inferred passage and a section of the same wall as is the tusing at the SE corner of the South choir chapel. The latter interpretation implies that at least some of the above alterations belonged to Abbot Hall's rebuilding programme of the late 15th century.

THE W AND S OF THE SITE

This period reflected the decline of a much reduced community in the face of relentless warfare and profound social change. In the W and S of the site, the evidence for building works during this period can be described under two headings: the partial and crude repairs of dilapidated Period II structures; and the possible slighting and conversion of elements of the conventual buildings to create a fortification after 1545.

Despite its size, Jedburgh Abbey was generally thought never to have had a very large community of canons and, despite the scanty documentation for the numbers in residence as compared with the other great Border abbeys at this time, the figures were modest indeed. Available documentation states the minimum numbers of canons after 1450 were as follows:

1464	8 canons	1547	7 canons
1516	10 canons and abbot	1553	5 or 6 canons
1528	10 canons and abbot	1542–53	1 canon
1542	7 or 8 canons		

Four canons of the abbey survived till 1560; three of whom were dead by 1583 (Dilworth 1983, 234–5). The extreme dilapidation of the conventual buildings was regarded as the main reason for the small size of the community although the abbey church cannot have been utterly ruinous even after the 1545 raid, services and ordinations being held there as late as 1550.

This small community was borne along by the general trend away from spiritual considerations in the face of increasingly secular interests and by extensive manipulation of monastic estates and revenues by local families. In the case of Jedburgh, the appointment of John and Andrew Home after 1513 was the imposition of a local laird's son as commendator – the suitability of either on religious grounds was questionable.

'In the 16th century, indeed, the Border abbeys were not regarded as spiritual power houses, but as sources of revenue and positions for royal servants or predatory individuals.' (Dilworth 1983, 247).

As the aims of the organisation were focused more on the secular than the spiritual, the impetus to maintain and repair church buildings receded:

'Neither the commendator nor the monks had any interest in maintaining buildings other than their domestic quarter, so that the Church decayed or, if damaged in military operations, was imperfectly repaired.' (Donaldson 1965, 135).

This policy was evinced by the crude masonry seen in the subdivisions of Structure 14 and in the buttresses (1215, 1216 etc) supporting the S wall of the church. The most striking characteristic of both areas of work was the extensive reuse of a variety of moulded stones. In walls 409 and 440 there were some fourteen fragments of round-section pillars varying in diameter from approximately 0.3–0.72m as well as numerous miscellaneous moulded fragments. The range of types and their general high quality implied that they originated in a complex ashlar building or buildings, possibly structure 9 from Period II. This use of residual stonework from demolished or redundant buildings nearby was also apparent in the crude building of buttresses bases 1215, 1216 and 1225: there was noticeable use of broken grave slabs – even more suggestive of hasty repair and unsentimental attitude.

6.5 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EAST RANGE

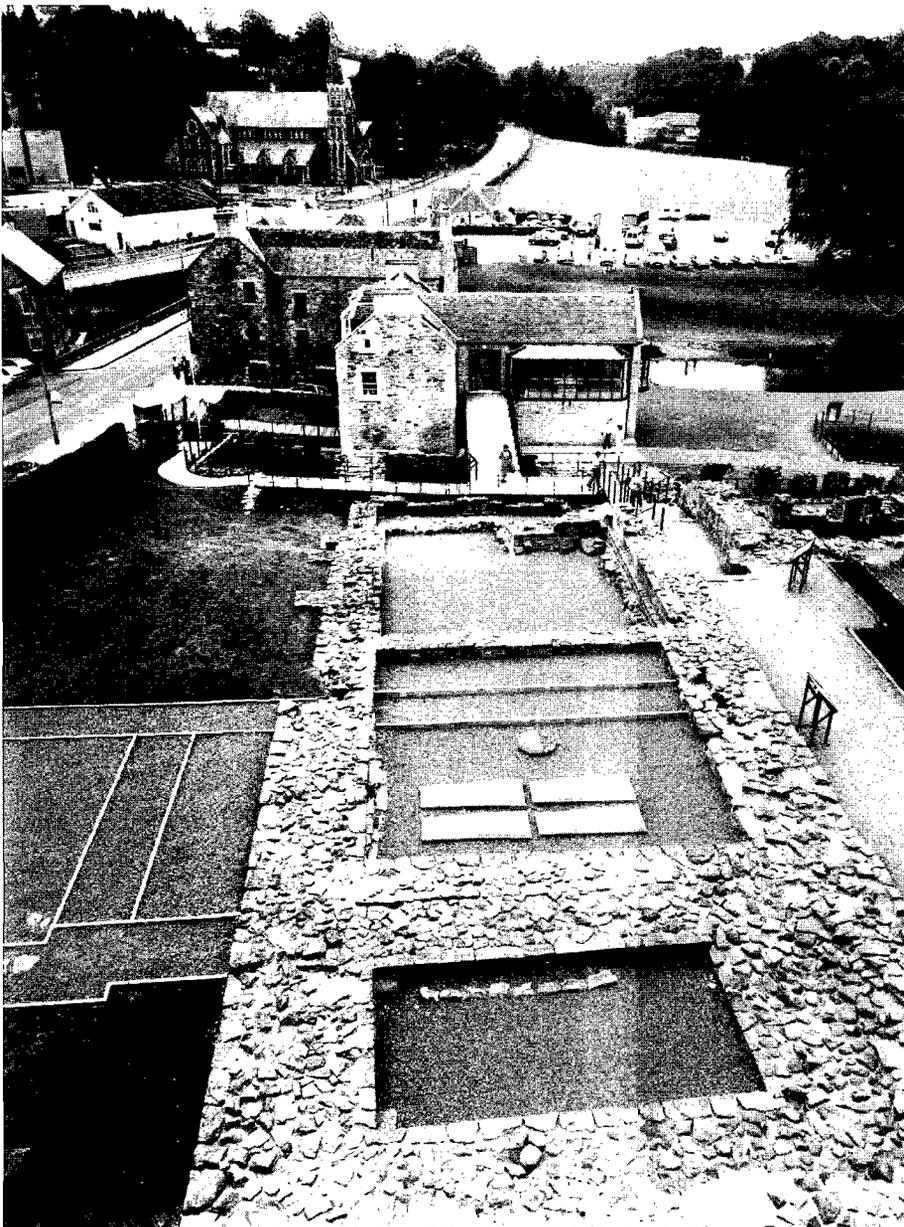
PERIOD II

The artefactual evidence has shown that ditch 928 was infilled some time after 1161, presumably in readiness for the foundations of the East range to be laid. Between then and the construction of the reredorter, several decades later, another temporary latrine – perhaps a timber building at the river's edge – must have been in use although none was identified by excavation.

The masonry at the N end of the range was too fragmentary to be dated with any accuracy whereas the style of the piers and vaulting ribs in Rooms 5 and 6 proclaim the work of early 13th-century craftsmen. Although the dating is far from precise, the evidence does suggest that the East range was begun adjacent to the church, perhaps in the third quarter of the 12th century, and finished at the river's edge about a half century later. Over this period architectural styles changed but, as at many medieval monuments, such changes were readily incorporated into the building programme.

Although it is difficult to visualize the overall appearance of the completed East range from the dearth of evidence that survived, much can be deduced by integrating certain aspects of the standard monastic plan with the results of excavation. The slype (Room 2), adjacent to the South transept, comprised a short passage with doors (probably within Romanesque arches) at each end, giving passage from the cloister to the monastic burial ground and probably also to the infirmary. It is not clear whether the Period II Chapter house (illus 105; 107), next to the slype, remained in operation during the 13th century or whether it had been replaced by the larger (Period III) building.

The day stair was probably reached from Room 4. Room 5 was probably accessed only from the cloister



Illus 107
The East range in 1987,
showing the layout of the three
phases of the Chapter house.
The new visitor centre stands
beyond the S end of the range.

whereas Room 6 appeared to have doors in its E and W walls. This southernmost chamber, evidently a simple storage cellar, was apparently windowless.

The reredorter was sited over the course of the Jed Water and extended some (unknown) distance to the E of the range, at right angles to it. The route from the canons' dormitory to the latrines was contingent on the number of storeys above Room 6: intermediate floors would have allowed for a simple passage (and a level roof); if the contours of the sloping ground were followed there would have had to be a flight of steps.

PERIOD III

Following the demise of the S end of the range, a free-standing building (perhaps a mill) was erected within, and possibly beyond, the S bays of Room 6. The N side of the room was abandoned and used thereafter as a midden.

PERIOD IV

During this period no further changes were apparent in Room 6 and, if Rooms 2, 4 or 5 had been altered, the evidence had been lost or masked before 1984. Hence, the only identifiable modifications to the East range were confined to the Chapter house and its environs, the change probably being linked to the restoration of the E end of the church by abbots John Hall and Thomas Cranston, between 1478 and 1488.

If the day stair had been adjacent to the Period II or III Chapter house it would not have survived the final remodelling programme, perhaps indicating that the stair was situated on the S side of Room 4 or that the dormitory had been abandoned by this stage. The latter hypothesis is further endorsed by the suggestion that the canons slept within the crossing and transepts during the 16th century (RCAHMS 1956, 202).

6.6 THE ABBEY FORTIFIED?

In addition to strictly monastic building programmes during this period, there was some evidence to suggest that the reduced abbey ranges saw limited re-use as a fortification, most notably in 1548 and 1549.

The extensive campaigns waged in southern Scotland by French, Scottish and English armies from the early 1520s to 1559 had profound impact on most of the Border towns and villages. Although never one of the well documented forts of either Franco-Scottish or English troops, Jedburgh, with its abbey and town defences, emerged as one of the secondary power bases and was occupied by both sides over the years.

The extant documentation concerning the construction of forts is concerned largely with works at the main centres. Perhaps because there was no reference to a fort at Jedburgh, the identification of the 16th-century campaigns with the 'Rampart' (which lay to the E and N of the church and cloister) was never made. There were problems in isolating distinctive earthworks from the mass of infilling and landscaping which the abbey site sustained after the Reformation. However, after the recent excavations, more evidence was found to justify a closer scrutiny of this intriguing possibility.

The abbeys of Jedburgh and Kelso were damaged in 1523 by the English during the rather half-hearted moves by a combined French and Scots army to invade England. It was with the birth of the future Mary Queen of Scots on 8 December 1542 that the impetus towards full-scale war across the Borders gathered momentum. King Henry VIII embarked on a policy of trying to coerce the Scots into the marriage of the infant Queen with his young son Edward. The 'Rough Wooing' was rigorously promoted by the Earl of Hertford and two armies during 1544 when they '...burned and looted from Leith to the Borders. . .' (Donaldson 1956, 70). On 27th May 1544, correspondence between Hertford and Henry described the abbey of Jedburgh as '...a house of some strength, and may be made a good fortress. . .' only if it was considered to be '...tenable without mayne armye. . .' (*ibid.*, 393). In the event, '...the abbey likewise they burned, asmoche as they might for the stone worke. . .' on 12th June 1544 (Hamilton Papers II 393).

Hertford returned the following year to carry on the devastation and on 13th September 1545 the army moved from ‘. . . Kelso to Jedburgh and then to Wark burning and wasting the country in their way’. On 18th September, after ten hours foray along the Water of Teviot and the destruction of fourteen or fifteen villages, Jedburgh abbey and town were burnt. (CSP 1898, 80).

The scale of the damage to the abbey fabric was not certain and it was generally assumed that Hertford exaggerated his successes for propaganda purposes. The English re-occupied Jedburgh after their victory at the Battle of Pinkie in 1547 when the town featured as one of a series of strong points maintained by both sides. Letters to Hertford (by now Protector Somerset) during January 1548 mentioned troops at Jedburgh under Sir Oswald Wolstrop but a French force under its commander, D’Esse, appeared to be the most likely candidate for re-fortifying the town and abbey. From the spring of 1548, a French garrison held the town from where they mounted regular attacks southward including, most notably, the destruction of Ferniehirst Castle. The gruesome fate of the English garrison there at the hands of Scots troops was a consequence of the tyrannical rule of the English commander: the French could do nothing to stop the slaughter. In response, an English army was ultimately despatched and the French, ‘. . . receiving intelligence of their design. . .’ (*ibid.*, 170), retreated into the countryside. They were much reduced by disease by this time, having no more than 1500 men and 500 horses (Jeffrey 1864 II, 170). This still represented a considerable French force under the command of a senior general, based in the town for some months. In addition, a letter to Somerset from Sir John Buttrell (at Broughty Fort, of 30th April 1548) mentioned that ‘The abbot of Paisley brought hither two ‘anseyns’ of Frenchmen from Jedburgh to scale the fort, and all his Fife adherents. . . .’ (Bain 1881, 113).

The overwhelming characteristics of the fortifications erected by both sides in the campaigns of 1540s and 1550s were that they were built on the principles of ‘Trace Italienne’ and that they were primarily earthworks (Merriman 1982). These theories saw the introduction of new European designs of fortification, based essentially on a system of flanking fire from strategically located gun positions. Some forts during these campaigns were built entirely *de novo* (for example, Eyemouth, Haddington, Dunglass, Inchkeith and Lauder) but there were also attempts, particularly by the English, to adapt existing fortifications or, indeed, any convenient structure.

As has been already noted, Hertford considered using Jedburgh Abbey as a fort. He chose to fortify Hume and Roxburgh Castles although ecclesiastical sites were also being surveyed for this purpose throughout 1549; and a plan was drawn up for the conversion of Lindisfarne Priory by Giovanni di Rosetti. Although the work was never undertaken, it was evident that a monastic complex could have been easily converted into an effective artillery fort. Coupled with this policy was the regular practice of the local townspeople of both Kelso and Jedburgh to use the abbeys for defence. Certainly in 1523, Ker of Ferniehirst defended the abbey against Hertford ‘. . . in the midst of its burning ruins. . .’ (Jeffrey 1864, 293).

The use of earthworks enabled the construction of the most sophisticated fortifications in a relatively short time and for relatively little cost. More modest ramparts could have been more easily thrown up, particularly when using the shell of an existing stone building. It was in this regard that elements of the later work at the abbey could have been associated with military defences rather than the more usual interpretation of stone robbing after the Reformation.

Although it was difficult to date the platform (449) in Structure 13, it was possible that the slighting of what may well have been an already badly damaged stone building after 1545 was not simply later municipal clearance.

As has been pointed out in the discussion of the coin evidence from the excavation (4.5 above), there was a significant gap in the range of dates reflected by the coins found. This might be explained by the rapid abandonment of the site and the reoccupation of abbey buildings on a completely different basis.

This reoccupation, the presence of a major French occupying force in Jedburgh; the construction of the Rampart; and the obvious strategic and fortification potential of the abbey ranges suggested reuse along military lines. The need for security against the neighbouring English forts of Lauder, Hume and Roxburgh might demonstrate the necessity for a military base at Jedburgh.

The 'Rampart' was described in 1857 as being about 12 yards broad and 7 or 8 feet high, at one time forming '... the fashionable promenade of the burgh, but for the past few years has been nearly deserted. . .' (Jeffrey 1864, 109). These dimensions conformed well with the style and standard of earthworks erected during the campaigns of the 1540s elsewhere in Scotland. This implied that the East range formed part of the southern limits of a defensive line, with the Rampart cutting off the gap between the abbey church and the market place with its tower. This was a fair indication of the integration of upstanding abbey walls with a new earthwork to defend the abbey from attack from the E and from the Canongate bridge. It was also possible that the route, ultimately rationalised into the main river crossing at Abbey Bridge End, derived in part from a similar bank which augmented or 'vamured' the East range walls. The use of a redundant parapet as a promenade and the fact that it did not appear to have a monastic origin suggested that it was just such a bank which led to the development of the 17th-century street frontage now followed by the main route southwards out of the town.

The South range of the abbey served a similar function for the S defences; and access along the monastic riverside walk and pend under Structure 13 could have served the reused undercroft. The two platforms or paved areas (449, 502) could have represented two gun platforms set on a terrace within an old monastic building and the eroded bank (485) could have been the traces of an associated earthwork. This may have been the origin of the route of The Bow overlying reduced abbey masonry.

This arrangement provided a SW corner bastion or gun platform in a circuit defined by Dabies Tower to the NW, the Market Place Tower to the N, and the abbey church tower itself as the 'citadel'. Such a gun platform would have looked up the Jed valley and may even have provided flanking fire along the line of the South range. It was also worth considering that the deliberate backfilling of the lowest buildings in the South range may have dated from this period. This possibility was backed by some coin evidence which suggested a mid-16th century date for the abandonment of Structure 14 in advance of the development of The Bow. Certainly, these structures were not mentioned in the burgh charter of 1671 (Jeffrey 1864, 145) and were completely absent on any 18th-century map of the town.

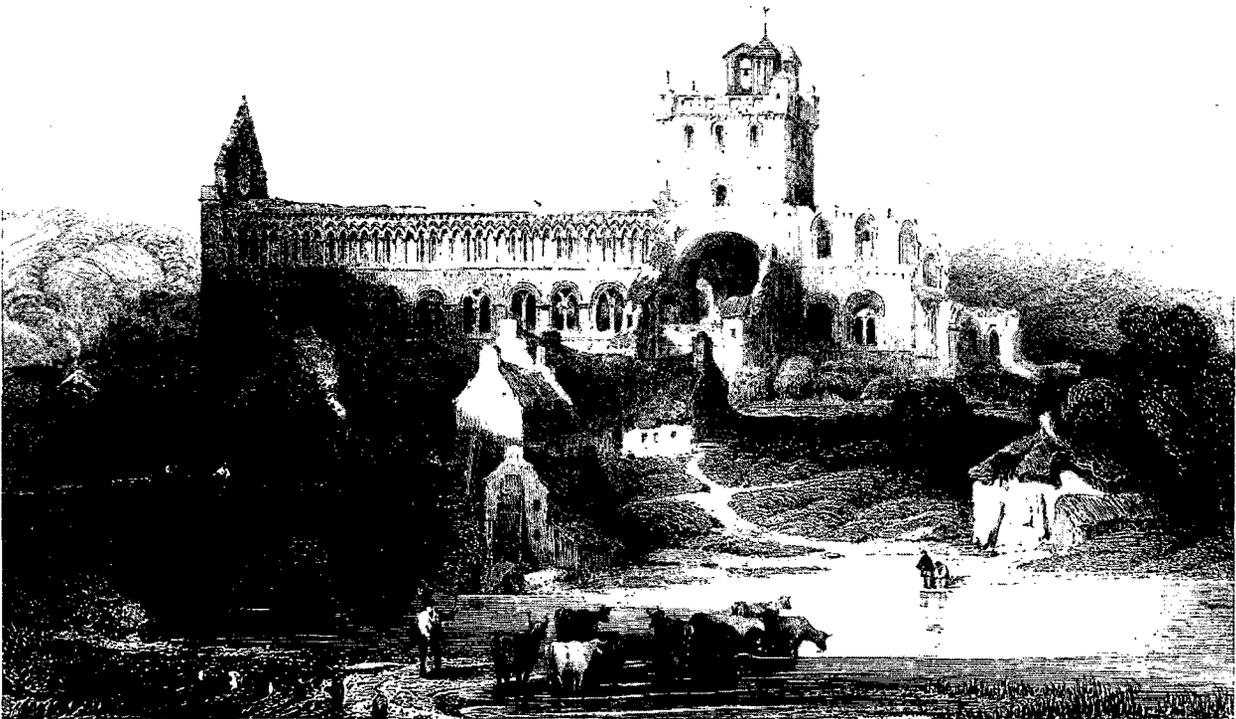
6.7 POST-REFORMATION ACTIVITY (1559–1875) (PERIOD V) (illus 108)

OUTSIDE ROOMS 1 AND 2

The graveyard to the N of the abbey church served the parish from 1602 (and probably earlier) until the present century (Laidlaw 1905, 41), yet the preservation of many of the skeletons outside Rooms 1 and 2 indicate that the monastic cemetery also continued in use after the Reformation. This apparent anomaly should be considered in the light of evidence from the excavated graves, three specific points being worthy of note. Firstly, three of the post-monastic inhumations were of young children (one of them probably a newborn infant) who, if unbaptized at death, would have been debarred from burial in ground consecrated by the Reformed Kirk. Secondly, in contrast to the cemetery to the N of the church, there were no grave markers, either *in situ* or within disturbed contexts, in this area. Thirdly, grave-digging appeared to be somewhat haphazard, many of the burials (both monastic and later) being disturbed with two graves (29 and 30) deviating considerably from an E–W alignment. The last two points are indicative of a lack of organisation, suggesting that there was limited involvement by church officials. In turn, this implies that, after the Reformation, the monastic cemetery became the burial ground for paupers, unbaptized infants and others who, for whatever reason, could not be interred in the main graveyard.

ROOMS 15 AND 16

If the S and E walls of Room 15 overlay those of Room 4 (which could not be proved without removing 1930s masonry), then the building measured $10.6 \times 4.3\text{m}$ internally and, if each wall was of similar thickness (0.8–1.0m) to the building's W wall, its overall size and position would be identical to those of the 18th-century house of Andrew Preston (illus 67–69). A similar date of construction was suggested by sherds of Staffordshire slipware retrieved from within the clay bonding of the W wall.



Illus 108

Buildings overlying the ruined East range in the early 19th century. From an original drawing by D Roberts.

Room 16 was identical in position and width (its full length was not revealed) to the 18th-century 'John Preston's House' (illus 67; 68; 70) and to the 'smithy' illustrated in the 1st edition (1857) Ordnance Survey map. Its N wall was built directly over the S wall of the Period III Chapter house whereas it was not clear whether the building's S wall overlay wall 915 or if the two were one and the same structure. Again, the adjacent stonework of 914 may have been a comparatively early feature or part of the 18th-century arrangement. Eventually, Preston's house appears to have become uninhabitable, for it was converted into a smithy during the following century, the putative anvil setting being placed over the demolished masonry of 914.

THE SE CORNER OF THE ABBEY

Two possible sources of the cereal chaff and seeds recovered from post-Reformation levels in this area are the nearby 'Mitchell's Stable' (illus 67) and the putative cornmill, of which Room 17 was the basement. This building, defined on its N side by a presumed 14th-century partition wall, could not be positively identified with any of the three mills operating in Jedburgh in 1610 (Jeffrey 1855, 129) for, although one was named 'abbey mill' so, too, was a later structure, situated about 100m down-river (illus 73).

The absence of structural remains on the site of the 'Town House' is probably due to the building's complete demolition prior to the creation of The Bow. The fragmentary remains overlying the infilled N bays of Room 6 were possibly part of 'Mitchell's Stable'. No trace of 'Mitchell's House' was found during the 1984 excavation although the stone steps exposed in 1936–37 and the well piercing the monastic masonry between Rooms 5 and 6 may have been associated with it.

6.8 IN CONCLUSION

Whether motivated by reforming zeal or by political and economic expediency, the decline and ‘urbanisation’ of the abbey ranges at Jedburgh fell into a pattern common in 16th-century Scotland. Typically, the abbey church was retained and adapted for use as the new Reformed parish church while what was left of the claustral ranges was variously demolished, robbed of stone or partially reoccupied. The impact on the town plans of post-medieval and modern Jedburgh of the abbey nucleus was very apparent. The natural constraints of the terraced site and the requirements of the Reformed Church minister appear to have prevented the wholesale absorption of the abbey ruins within street frontages – despite the increasing use of The Bow by a growing community towards the E and SE of the site. The development of the manse and its outbuildings along the W of the site and the numerous town houses and workshops to the E preserved the broad outlines of the conventual ranges.

Apart from these structural considerations, the effect of the abbey on the town was reflected, on one hand, by the development of an important 18th-century textile industry and, on the other, by the continued use of the monastic gardens as orchards cultivating (amongst other things) the celebrated ‘Jeddart Pears’. Both developments, particularly the former, were significant factors in the economic revival of Jedburgh. They were the direct successors of ‘abbey industries’, although to what extent the sitings of the numerous 18th-century mills and their associated water supplies were based on those of their monastic predecessors, is not fully understood.

‘The rule of the canons regular is the Rule of St Augustine, who drew his brethren to live together and tempered the rigour of his rule to their infirmity. Like a kind master, he did not drive his disciples with a rod of iron, but invited those who love the beauty of holiness to the door of salvation under a modern rule’ (Clark 1897, 34).

Despite the inevitable emphasis on the structural aspects of the development and decline of Jedburgh Abbey, its full story is the result of the interaction between a constantly evolving, complex institution and a developing society. However, the abbey buildings themselves do constitute the most graphic reflection of the importance and the chequered history of the site – both in terms of the quality and complexity of its architecture and the profound impact it had on the subsequent development of the town of Jedburgh.

