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Berwick and Beyond: Medieval Religious Establishments on the North Western Margin of Berwick-upon-Tweed — Problems of Identity and Context

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A. SUMMARY

This paper sets out the results of recent excavation, survey and research at three medieval religious sites lying on the north-western outskirts of Berwick-upon-Tweed, at 21 Castle Terrace, Cheviot House, and to the south-west of West Hope Farm. The implications of these sites for the medieval ecclesiastical provision of the area are then discussed and a hypothetical model of the settlement dynamics which may have generated them is put forward.

B. INTRODUCTION

The abiding impression of modern day Berwick-upon-Tweed is that of a town of sober Georgian elegance within spectacular Tudor fortifications. This impressive domestic, civic and military architecture draws attention from what is, in fact, a striking hiatus in the town's built environment: no medieval churches or secular buildings survive and of the medieval defensive curtain and castle, only fragments remain. Few if any other British towns of comparable size and antiquity have suffered such a comprehensive obliteration of the above ground evidence for their medieval past.

This absence of surviving medieval architecture means that it is all too easy to overlook the significance of medieval Berwick. At the height of its prosperity in the thirteenth century it was not only the wealthiest town and port in Scotland with a population far greater than until recent times, it could also stand comparison with all but the largest towns of its sister kingdom to the south of the Tweed. The elusiveness of early Berwick should, however, be perceived more as a challenge to the present than as a cause for lament over what has not survived. For instance, the layout of the town's streets

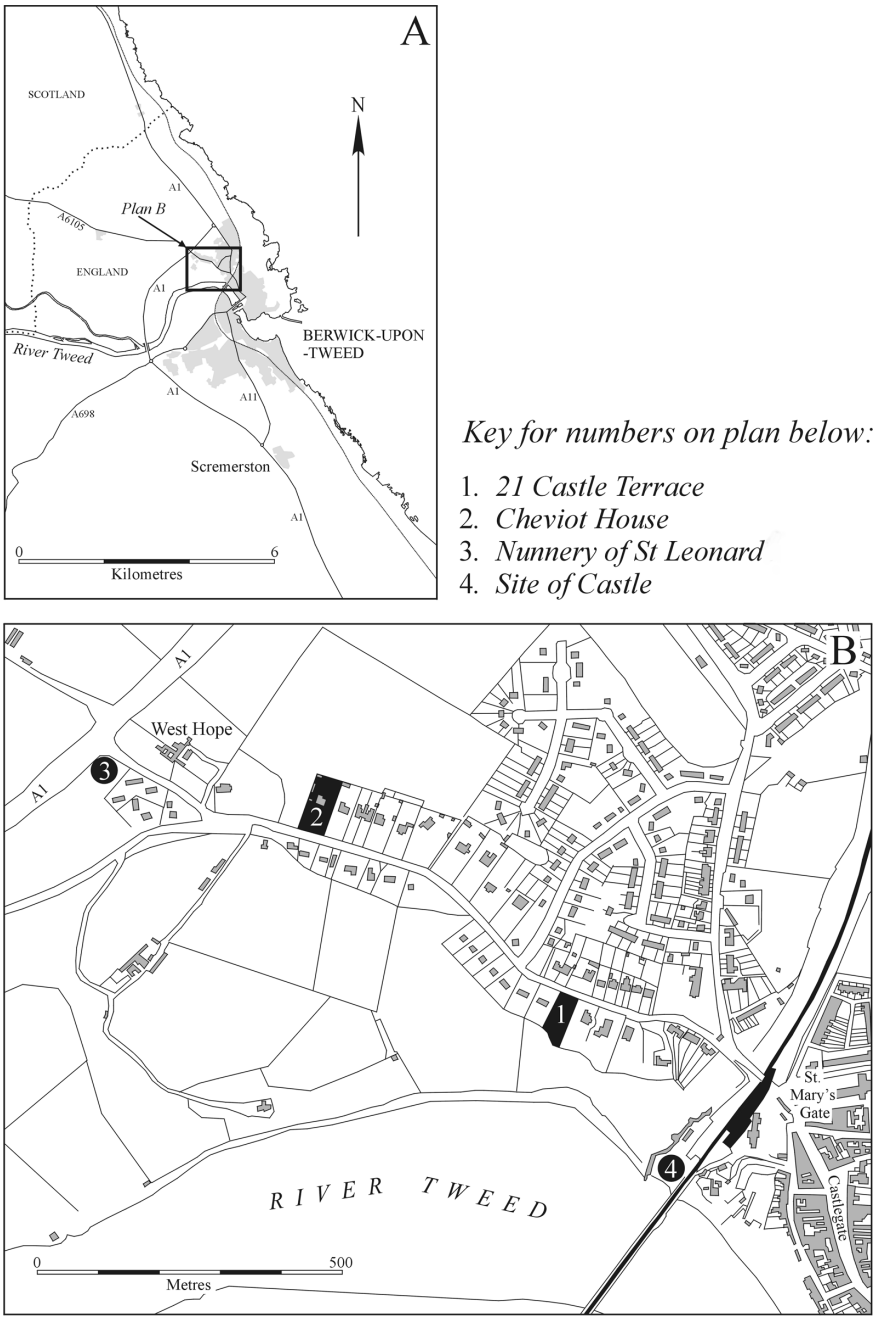


Fig. 1 A: Berwick-upon-Tweed B: Its north-western extent.

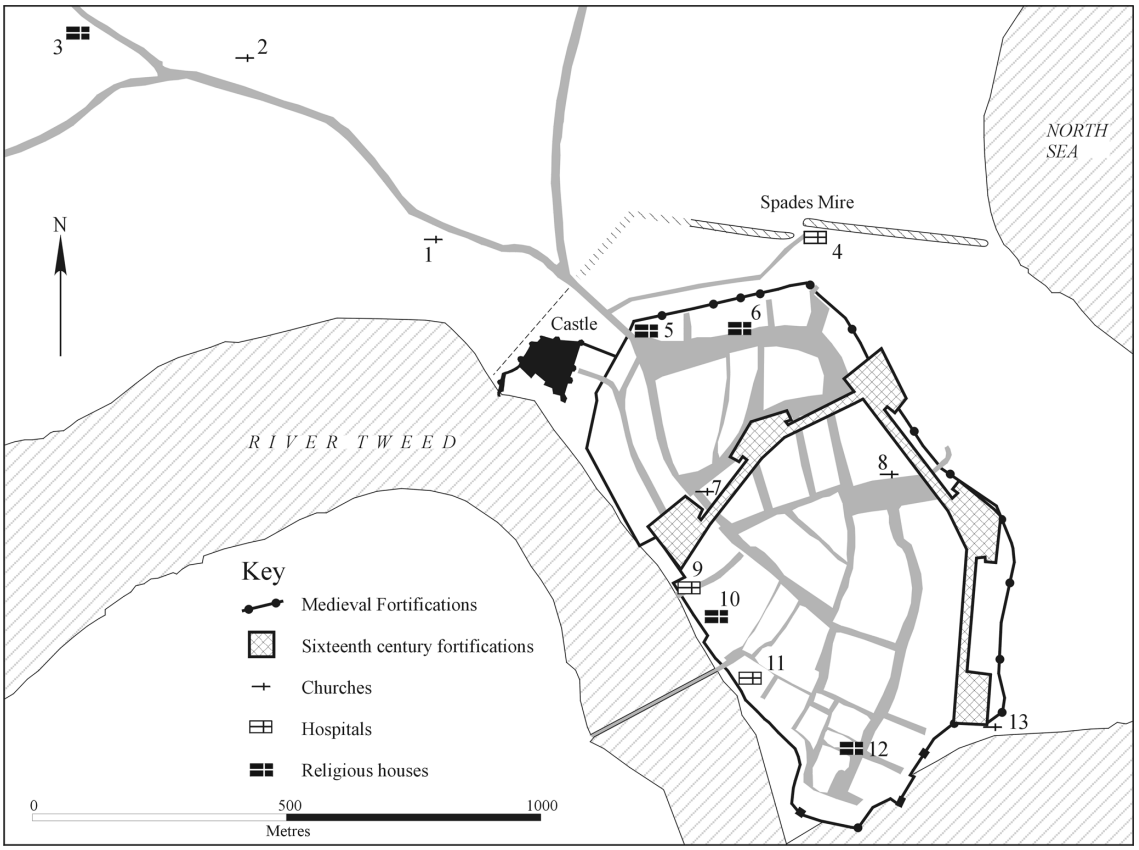


Fig. 2 The probable form of Medieval Berwick-upon-Tweed showing known or possible locations of medieval structures. The postulated street plan is in tone. The sixteenth-century fortifications have been superimposed. 1. 21 Castle Terrace 2. Cheviot House – ?Church of St Laurence 3. Nunnery of St Leonard 4. St Mary Magdalen Hospital 5. Dominican Friary 6. Franciscan Friary 7. Church of St Mary 8. Church of Holy Trinity 9. St Edward's Hospital 10. Dominican Friary 11. Domus Dei *or* Maison Dieu *(hospital for poor) 12. Carmelite Friary 13. Church of St Nicholas.*

and property boundaries is likely to derive to a significant extent from the Middle Ages and, properly decoded, may have much to tell us about its development during that period. And opportunities for evaluation and excavation of what is proving to be a very rich below-ground archaeological resource are already beginning to make a significant contribution to our knowledge of the medieval town.

This paper seeks to make a contribution to these growing insights into the development of the town by presenting the evidence of recent research and investigation at the sites of three medieval churches in Berwick. Given that all three of these sites – the only examples of Berwick's medieval churches securely identified – lie not within the core of the town, but well outside it to the north-west (figs. 1B and 2), the paper goes on to consider the probable implications of their location for the ecclesiastical provision of the town and its environs, and to place the results of that work in a broader hypothetical context as to the origins and early development of the settlement as a whole.

C. ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT 21 CASTLE TERRACE

Deposition of Archive and Finds

An archive detailing the excavations at 21 Castle Terrace, along with artefactual material recovered during the excavation, is deposited with the Museum of Antiquities at the University of Newcastle. Human remains which were excavated during the fieldwork have been reburied at Holy Trinity, the parish church of Berwick-upon-Tweed.

Background

Castle Terrace, the road leading to the town of Duns in the Borders Region of Scotland, runs out from the north western edge of the town of Berwick above the steep bank of the River Tweed (fig. 1). Number 21 Castle Terrace, which lies 300 m north-west of the site of Berwick Castle, was, in 1998, the last undeveloped property on the south side of that road (fig. 3). The plot is relatively flat from the road southwards for around 45 m but then drops sharply away to the river in a series of overgrown mounds and ridges. The topography of the area around the site is formed of a geology which divides, approximately along the course of Castle Terrace, between Lower Carboniferous Limestone Viséan strata to the north east and Lower Carboniferous Tournaisian strata to the south west which comprises mudstones, cementstones and some areas of Old Red Sandstone. Stone suitable for the construction of the church and for the carving of funerary monuments is available locally.

A planning application for the construction of a private house at 21 Castle Terrace was passed during April 1998 (figs. 1B and 3). No archaeological condition had been placed on the site development by the local planning authority as there was no evidence available to suggest that it had any potential historical interest.[1] Stripping of topsoil and cutting of foundation trenches for the house began in the last week of June of the same year, during which human bone and stone structures were disturbed. The owner of the site informed the relevant authorities and archaeological investigations were initiated by Mairi Lees, then Assistant County Archaeologist, to establish the nature of the site. This work, carried out by the Archaeological Practice of Newcastle University, revealed the foundations and fragmentary walls of a church with an eastern apse, providing a medieval context for the disturbed burials within the surrounding graveyard which spread over a considerable area of the plot and contained numbers of *in-situ* medieval grave markers.

Given the significance of these remains, the development scheme was put on hold (it was subsequently abandoned) and further archaeological investigations initiated. These were largely restricted to establishing the plan of the church and the layout of the graveyard by clearance of overlying modern disturbance; modern foundation trenches were exploited to establish depths of stratigraphy within the church and graveyard and to allow the removal of inhumations where considered necessary for their preservation. It was not felt appropriate, given the (then) uncertain future of the property, to pre-empt any development or planning decisions by carrying out investigations which would have put already fragile archaeological remains at further risk from exposure.

The Investigations

The majority of topsoil over the northern half of the empty plot had been removed by building contractors prior to archaeological intervention. This had resulted in the loss of early modern deposits built up over the church and graveyard (none of which included any substantial occupation – the last use of the site had been as allotments) but had left medieval layers mostly intact. Only where house foundation trenches had been cut were the remains of the church and graveyard severely damaged (fig. 4). Fortunately, these intrusions were fairly discrete and the foundations had only been partially dug. It became evident during the investigations, however, that the modern

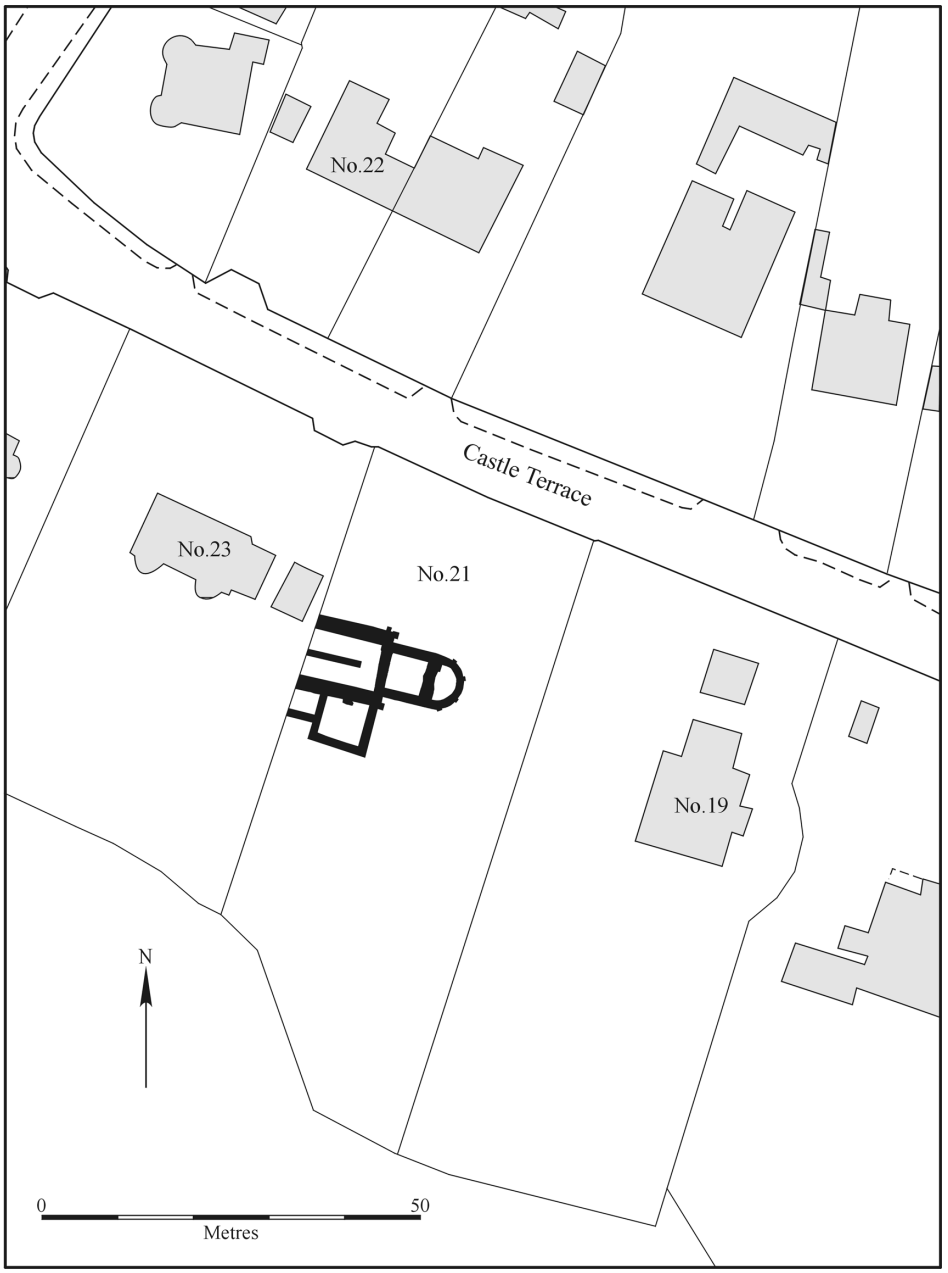


Fig. 3 The location of the church within 21 Castle Terrace.

Fig. 4 21 Castle Terrace. View over site during excavation, looking south. Remains of semicircular apse can be seen to the extreme left of the frame. The narrow trenches through the church and graveyard were cut for the house which was to be built on the site prior to the discovery of the church and graveyard.

construction work did not represent the only damage to the site: characteristic strike marks on grave slabs, the slight displacement of some of these slabs, and damage to areas of the church superstructure, showed that ploughing had occurred across the site on a north-south axis.

INVESTIGATION OF THE CHURCH (figs. 3–8)

Alan Williams

The portion of the church lying within the property (figs. 3 and 5) consists of five components: an eastern apse; a chancel; a nave (the western part of which extends into the property to the west) and two appendages on the southern side of the nave; a large rectilinear chamber, probably a chapel, and an aisle or passage running westwards from this chamber. The long axis of the church is east-south-east / west-north-west.

Nave

As noted above, the nave of the church extends beyond the plot into the property to the west; consequently there is no evidence for either the form or extent of the western end of the structure. The maximum excavated length of the nave was 9.5 m and its width 6.5 m (both internal dimensions). North and south walls **[26]** and **[27]** were represented by a partially surviving course of mortar-bonded sandstone masonry set over substantial foundations of clay-bonded stone and cobble which were in excess of 1.4 m deep (figs. 5 and 6). Both north and south walls of the nave (varying in width between 1.6 m and 1.8 m) have 'stepped' internal faces, presumably for the provision of benching (see below p. 46). A narrow wall (between 0.75 m and 0.8 m wide) **[28]** with no foundations, ran longitudinally down the centre of the nave. A substantial layer of burning around this wall **[3]** contained some window-glass fragments, iron nails and a hinge pivot, all hinting at the type of superstructure above the wall. The lowest course of the wall dividing the chancel and nave **[29]** survived nearly complete; its foundations were not seen. Externally, the eastern end of the nave had

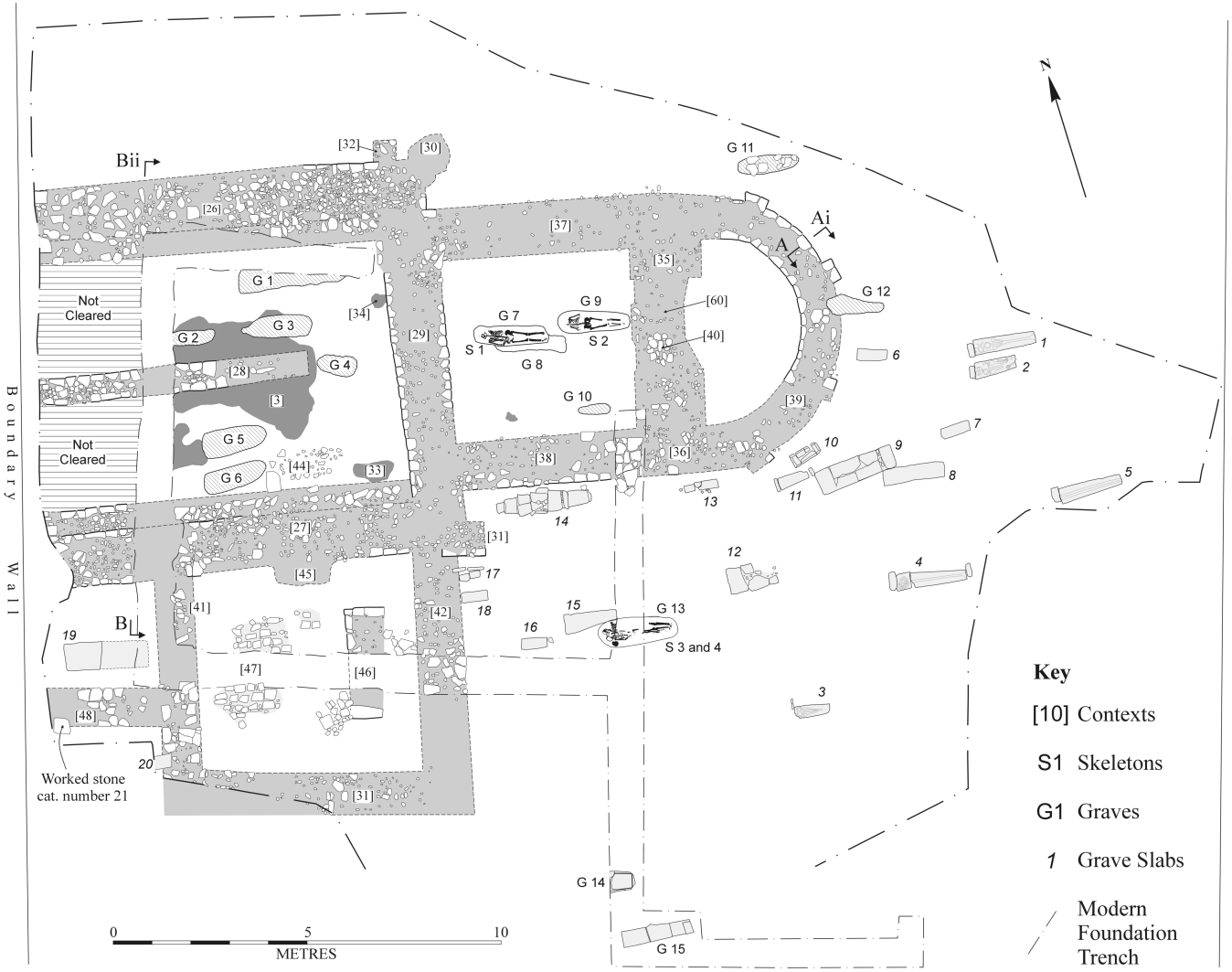


Fig. 5 21 Castle Terrace. Plan of excavated areas of church and graveyard.

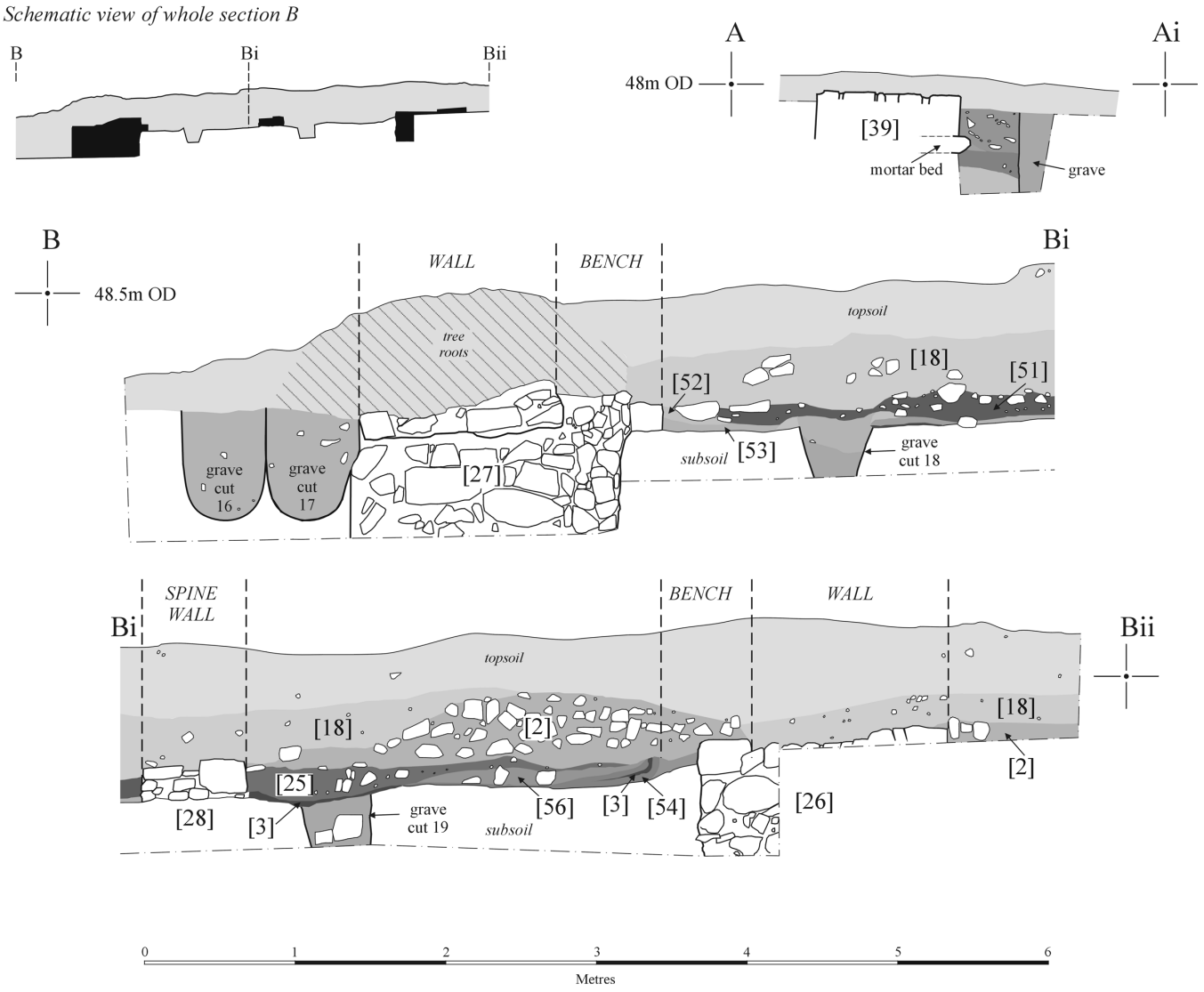


Fig. 6 21 Castle Terrace. Sections A: against wall of apse; B: across nave.

clasping buttresses to north **[30]** and south **[31]**; one partial course of the facing of the southern buttress had survived but there was only a ploughed-out, or robbed-out, shadow of the buttress to the north. A small appended buttress **[32]** sat immediately to the west of **[30]**. Two discrete burnt deposits, **[33]** and **[34]** overlying the nave floor may indicate the presence of timber fixtures or fittings which were destroyed in the same conflagration that caused the layer of burning **[3]**.

Chancel

Most of the faced stonework of the chancel, including what are interpreted as wide bases for responds carrying an arch between chancel and apse, **[35]** and **[36]**, and the north wall **[37]** had been either robbed or badly disturbed by ploughing. Enough remained, however, to indicate that the approximate internal length of the chamber was 4.5 m and the internal width 4.2 m. The best preserved section of the chancel was the south wall **[38]** which survived in places as a single course of mortar-bonded sandstone masonry. Its foundations, as seen in the modern trench cut through the same wall, were formed of clay-bonded sandstone blocks; these extended to a depth of at least 0.5 m and were seemingly offset to the superstructure.

The structural relationship between the chancel and the apse extending from it to the east was not securely established during the investigations. The apse may either be primary or an addition to an originally square ended church. The markedly narrower walls of the apse when compared to the walls of the chancel may suggest the former. On the other hand, there was no clear change in the foundations at the junction between chancel and apse to indicate that it was secondary.

The interpretation of the rather irregular feature **[60]** running between responds **[35]** and **[36]** is problematic. Although the outline of some structural element was present, its exact nature remains unclear as all above-surface evidence had either been robbed or ploughed-out prior to the excavation. A number of interpretations are possible: the church did not originally have an apsidal eastern end and **[60]** represents the remains of the early eastern wall of a square-ended church; that (whether the apse was primary or secondary) it was demolished at a later date and **[60]** represents an infilling of the area between responds **[35]** and **[36]** to form the new eastern end of the church; or that chancel, apse, and feature **[60]** are all in fact part of the original build, in which case the latter should presumably be interpreted as a sleeper foundation on the chord of the apse. Insufficient structural evidence was observed during the investigations to substantiate any of the above possible interpretations, though if the eastern portion of the church had ever terminated with the chancel, no graves lay against what would then have been its east wall which would, presumably, have been a prime location for burial. It is also possible that **[60]** represents the remains of a purely functional or liturgical 'fixture' within the church; perhaps a step or a set of steps led up to the apse (the section below notes that the floor of the apse may have been higher than that of the chancel), or an altar was positioned across the chord of the apse. With regard to this latter interpretation, a discrete area of stones **[40]** within the footprint of **[60]** could be interpreted as a soak-away, possibly an ablution drain or *sacrarium* used by an officiating priest during Mass (Blair 1996, 14, fig. 1.6).

Apse

The eastern apse had an internal radius of *c.*3 m with a wall **[39]** just under 1 m wide with four external pilaster buttresses (two complete, two partially robbed-out), each 0.6 m wide and projecting 0.3 m from the wall. The only substantial surviving external face of the wall was a short length of mortar-bonded ashlar to the north-east. Foundations for this wall were remarkably insubstantial, consisting of a 0.15 m thick raft of mortar (figs. 6 (section A) and 7). This is directly comparable with the foundation of the apse revealed at Woodhorn Church, Northumberland (Briggs, Cambridge and Bailey 1983, Pl. 1; Bailey, Cambridge and Briggs 1988, 45–50). Unlike the chancel, there

Fig. 7 21 Castle Terrace. Section cut against the external face of apse wall showing one of the pilasters and the mortar foundation bed. Scale is 0.3m long.

was no evidence within the apse for any flooring, and the removal of modern disturbance revealed subsoil throughout, possibly indicating that the floor of the apse had been higher than that of the chancel.

Southern Annexe

A chamber set against the south wall of the nave (walls **[41]**, **[42]**, **[43]**) presumably represented a chapel. It had an approximate internal (east-west) length of 5.8 m and a width of 5.5 m. The chamber was demarcated only by foundations, which were around 1.1 m wide and formed of angular blocks of sandstone in a matrix of fairly loose earth. The structure had been tied into the southern wall of the nave and overlay part of the pre-existing graveyard; its eastern foundations incorporated a grave slab (Finds catalogue no. 20). A discrete spread of small stones within the floor of the nave adjacent to the chamber **[44]**, and a corresponding rectilinear spread of mortar **[45]** within the chamber extending from the southern face of the nave's south wall, probably indicate the location of a door. Towards the eastern wall of the chamber were the foundations of a stone structure **[46]**, 2.8 m long and 1 m wide. These almost certainly represent the base of an altar which had been bisected by a modern foundation trench. An area of fallen walling **[47]**, consisting of roughly-coursed squared sandstone blocks in a matrix of lime mortar, lay over the chamber's floor.

Southern Aisle/Passage

A short length of wall foundation **[48]**, 1 m wide and only 0.2 m deep, ran parallel with the southern nave wall and had presumably butted against the west wall of the southern chamber (the junction between the two structures had been disturbed by groundworks associated with the cutting of a modern foundation trench). The space enclosed by this wall may have formed a 'proto' aisle as is known to have

developed elsewhere (see below p. 46). However, the presence along the line of foundations **[48]** of a fragment of a possible reworked pier base for a double arcade (Finds catalogue no. 21) could suggest another interpretation: that the space formed an open passage along the southern face of the nave.

Floors

No stone or tile flooring survived in any part of the church although the deposition of the burnt layer **[3]** directly over areas of clay subsoil in the nave, may suggest that this was the only floor that had ever existed in this part of the church. A series of mortar spreads formed either a floor or its setting in the chancel, although no fragments of tile or slab were recovered during the fieldwork. There is no evidence for any surviving floors within the apse; if this had been at a higher level than the chancel then any traces might have been ploughed away.

Graves within the Church

Fourteen graves were identified within the eastern end of the nave or the 'aisle ' structure beyond, and within the chancel (ten of which were seen in plan and four in section (fig. 6, section B). One grave slab, presumably *in situ*, lay within the southern 'aisle'. No graves were found within the apse or the southern chamber. In the case of the apse this absence is fairly conclusive negative evidence, as subsoil was exposed throughout, but in the case of the southern chamber the floor was only partially exposed and graves may not therefore have been identified. Only two inhumations (G7 and G9), already damaged during the housing development as they lay within shallow graves, were removed during the excavations. Both lay extended and on their backs with heads to the west and arms crossed over the stomach (S1) and the chest (S2). Grave 7 seems to have overlain an earlier grave (G8) which was not investigated and cut through a layer of rubble **[23]** which, although disturbed by ploughing, would seem to represent a discrete demolition or destruction deposit. This may indicate that this grave was cut into the floor of the church after it had been abandoned and either ruined or demolished. Two samples of bone from the skeleton within this grave (S1) were consequently taken for radiocarbon analysis to provide an insight into the period in which the structure fell into disuse. The results suggest that the burial had been made at the very end of the thirteenth century.[2]

Within the nave, a line of at least three burials ran parallel with, and to the north of, the spine wall **[28]** (two were seen in plan, one in section), whereas to the south of the wall, graves lay towards the nave wall and seemed to avoid the doorway between the nave and the southern chamber. One large, probably multiple, grave (G1) was set against the northern wall of the nave whilst another probable inhumation (G4) was positioned against the eastern end of spine wall **[28]**.

Stratigraphic Evidence within the Church

Although the majority of the work on the site involved clearance to establish a reasonably definitive plan, it was also possible to exploit the modern foundation trenches to gain an insight into stratigraphy. The most useful of these trenches was that which cut through the nave (fig. 6, section B). Walls **[26]**, **[27]** and **[28]** were the earliest identifiable features. The foundations for **[26]** and **[27]** (the north and south nave walls), occupied deep, trench-cut slots; whereas spine wall **[28]** had no foundations and sat directly on the clay subsoil. Two graves (G18 and 19) were then cut within the nave, G18 probably originally capped with a marker slab which was subsequently removed. Silty clay deposits **[52]**, **[53]** and **[54]** also began to build up over the nave's floor and against its north and south walls. Layer **[58]** (a rotted mortar; not illustrated) had built up against the spine wall **[28]**, before a conflagration of some nature left the burning layer **[3]** intermittently across the floor and most markedly against both flanks of wall **[28]**. It is uncertain whether this fire marked the end of the use of the rest of

the church, but there is no evidence for subsequent functional insertions within the nave: layers overlying the burning would appear to have been decay or destruction deposits, containing stone fragments and mortar (**[51]**, **[56]** and **[25]**). The robbing of the north nave wall **[26]** is represented by a rubble layer **[2]** which extended from the southern face of that wall. Layer **[18]** with less stone than **[2]** and with a greater humic content, would seem to represent gradual levelling over the reduced structure. No pottery was recovered from layers earlier than **[3]**, which contained material possibly as late as the fifteenth century.

THE ARCHITECTURAL CONTEXT OF THE CHURCH (figs. 5 and 8)

Eric Cambridge

Enough survives of the ground plan of the church at 21 Castle Terrace to enable it to be placed in an approximate chronological and stylistic context. As initially conceived the plan probably comprised three cells: aisleless nave; square chancel; and eastern apse, the excavation having disclosed no strong indications that the apse belonged to a later phase, despite its appreciably thinner walling. The foundations between apse and chancel revealed provision for what can only have been the bases of responds carrying an arch dividing the two cells. The evidence for this is particularly clear on the north side. A similar arch must also have divided chancel from nave. This plan type occurs fairly frequently in the Romanesque architecture of Norman Britain (Fernie 2000, 222–5). Examples can be found locally at Old Bewick and formerly at Tuggall, Northumberland, and at Dalmeny and Tyninghame in Lothian.[3] In so far as they are determined, the dimensions of these churches are also broadly similar to those of the excavated remains at 21 Castle Terrace.

The form of the apse at 21 Castle Terrace is comparatively unusual in that its diameter is the same width as the side walls of the chancel, the more common arrangement being for each component of the plan to be slightly narrower than the one to the west of it. Conversely, where the apse is the same width as the chancel, there is often a lack of structural division between the two. As we have already seen, however, this cannot have been the case here. Examples of churches in which an arch separates the apse from a chancel of the same width can, nevertheless, be found. Tyninghame was apparently of this form, and Tuggall may have been another. Hales in Norfolk provides an example of the type surviving virtually unaltered, though 21 Castle Terrace differs in having an apse with markedly thinner walling than the chancel, suggesting that it would have been lower than the chancel, whereas at Hales chancel and apse walls are of uniform thickness and height throughout (Heywood 1988, 171, fig. 56). The presence of pilaster buttresses around the apse at 21 Castle Terrace, in contrast to their absence from the lateral walls of the parts to the west, might suggest that it was vaulted. On the other hand, the thinness of the walls tends to suggest that this is unlikely; perhaps the explanation should rather be sought in terms of the articulation of the wall surfaces, as the example of Hales suggests. It is worth noting in this context that several of the buildings with which the remains at Castle Terrace have been compared above were high Romanesque buildings of considerable architectural pretension and sculptural elaboration; slight though the surviving indications are, the quality of the surviving ashlar of the apse hints that this might have been the case here also (see fig. 7 and reconstruction, fig. 8).

If the stylistic context of the apse at 21 Castle Terrace is correctly identified, it enables a likely date for its construction to be determined, since the high Romanesque style is scarcely attested north of the Tees before the end of the eleventh century, even in the greater churches, and may have taken somewhat longer to make its presence felt in smaller buildings (Gem 1988, 28–30), while apses were becoming distinctly unfashionable towards the end of the twelfth century. A date in its second or third quarters is therefore likeliest. Even if (as is possible, on present evidence) the apse is a later addition to an originally square-ended structure, the size of the nave and chancel and the thickness of their

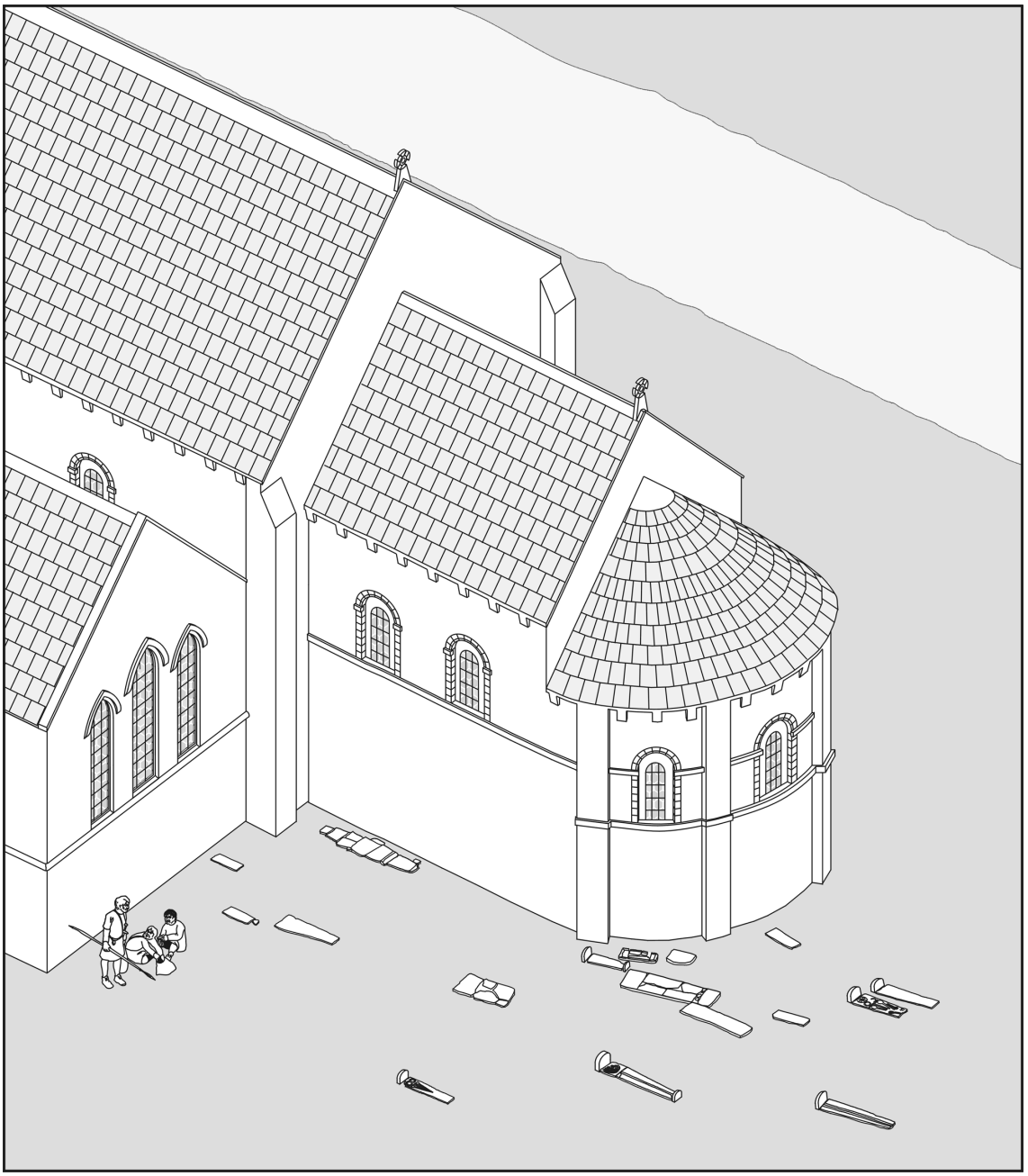


Fig. 8 Reconstruction of the eastern end of the church and graveyard as they might have appeared in the late thirteenth century.

walls would still suggest that these elements are Romanesque rather than earlier. If the apse is secondary, it thus probably represents an early addition. What is more, Ryder's dating of the *in situ* carved grave-slabs (see below, p. 54) may also indirectly suggest a date for the construction of the church, since there is no evidence that any phase of the cemetery pre-dates the structure, including the apse. If we then suppose that church and cemetery are to all intents and purposes contemporary, the fact that these slabs appear to date from no later than the mid twelfth century suggests that the earliest phase of the church (whatever that comprised) should probably be dated to its second quarter rather than its third. Finally, it is worth noting that, if the foundation **[60]** separating chancel from apse does indeed represent a secondary blocking of the arch between the two following the demolition of the apse, such a sequence has been demonstrated archaeologically at sites such as Barton Bendish in Norfolk (Batcock 1988, 101–2, fig. 73).

The archaeological context of the stone wall **[28]** running east-west down the centre of the nave and stopping short of its east end indicates that it may have served as the base of a partially glazed timber feature. The nature of this wall is clearly fundamental to understanding the function of the church, at least during the period following its erection.[4] The combination of re-flooring and extensive later under-floor burials means that little is known about the internal spatial organisation of smaller medieval churches. This element of the 21 Castle Terrace excavation is therefore of more than local interest. Comparative evidence suggests two possible interpretations. Firstly, something very similar occurs in a single phase (attributable to the later fourteenth or very early fifteenth centuries) of the remarkable sequence excavated at the parish church of St Mary, Tanner Street, in Winchester (Biddle 1969, 295–329; Biddle 1975, 295–337). This has been interpreted as the base for wooden benches, presumably matching comparable benching at the base of the outer walls.[5] The fact that the superstructure of the feature at Berwick appears to have incorporated glazing suggests that it may have been more substantial than what has been suggested for Winchester.[6] In that case it may be related to the comparable divisions which occur in hospitals. These are most frequently attested in dividing male inmates from female, but other explanations (separating permanent inmates from short term guests, the infectious from the merely frail, or inmates from parishioners in contexts where the hospital chapel also served a parochial function) are possible (Orme and Webster 1995, 55, 89). Though comparatively little is known about the range of architectural forms which might be taken by hospitals, especially before the thirteenth century, it should be noted that examples morphologically indistinguishable from that of a church, in which the structural nave served as the living accommodation and the chancel as the chapel, are attested: examples utilising three-cell Romanesque buildings similar in general form to that excavated at Berwick are known from Dunwich in Suffolk and Chatham in Kent (Orme and Webster 1995, 89, Fig 8).

The squarish annexe excavated at the east end of the south wall of the nave was demonstrably a later addition. Its likeliest function is as an early form of chantry chapel, with the disturbed (but clearly rectangular) internal feature near its east wall probably forming the base of an altar. A local example of such an arrangement can be found in the chapel at West Lilburn in Northumberland (Dodds 1935, 304).[7] The foundation west of the annexe is too fragmentary to be interpreted with certainty, but may indicate that a south aisle (extending westwards from and presumably butting the western wall of the annexe) was subsequently added to the nave, a sequence which can be parallelled in the region at Heighington in County Durham (Clack 1986, 74, fig. 1) and elsewhere.[8]

INVESTIGATION OF THE GRAVEYARD

Alan Williams

A total of 46 inhumations was identified to the north, east and south of the church; 20 beneath *in-situ* grave markers and a further 26 identified from the presence of a grave cut or the partial

or complete exposure of an articulated skeleton. No graveyard boundaries were found and burials extended to all edges of the excavated area. It would seem certain that there are many more burials within the graveyard than those identified.

Twenty grave markers were revealed *in situ* (see Ryder, below). These clustered to the east and south of the church. They ranged in form from multiple-stone covers with no ornament whatsoever, to single-piece slabs with simple chamfered decoration and on to elaborately carved pieces with a range of ornate motifs. A number of grave slabs also had accompanying head and foot stones. The only *ex situ* example recovered was the broken lower half of a large slab (the upper portion of which ***(19)*** lay in the 'aisle' of the church) which had been dragged to the eastern edge of the site by contractors during the 1998 development.

Two cist burials (constructed of unmortared green-sandstone slabs) with upper surfaces 0.6 m below the current (topsoil-stripped) ground surface (G14 and 15) were identified *c.* 11 m to the south of the church. There was no evidence for any associated surface grave markers with these cists, although they may have been of wood, in which case traces had not survived.

Two inhumations from the graveyard were excavated (S3 and S4). These were identified as at immediate risk from intended development work and had already been badly damaged by the cutting of trenches for house foundations. They would seem to have been interred within one grave-cut (G13) which also contained a disarticulated human skull.

GRAVEYARD MONUMENTS (figs. 5 and 9–11)

Peter Ryder

The Grave Slabs

The positions of the *in situ* monuments are shown on fig. 5. Slabs ***1***, ***2***, ***3***, ***4***, and ***5*** are illustrated individually on fig. 9. The following comments are made on the basis of a study of site drawings and photographs of the monuments because, due to the circumstances of the excavation, it did not prove possible to examine the stones themselves. All the monuments are of locally available sandstone. (The finds numbers 1–21 in the following list are the same as the slab numbers on figs 5 and 9.)

1. 1.1 m long, tapering from 0.4 m to 0.3 m, with the long sides chamfered. Broken away at base. It has an associated headstone, now no more than a broken stub. The design, partly incised and partly in relief, is quite complex. At the head is a simple splay-armed cross within a circle, and below this two rings, set above what looks like a Tau-(T-shaped) cross with its shaft flanked by two diverging motifs, rising to discoidal terminals. Lower down are two further motifs with drop-shaped heads containing incised crosses, and incised stems with a medial line. That on the right is set upside down, and the stem ends in a V-shape, almost as if the blades of a pair of shears (a common later medieval emblem) are being depicted; the base of that on the left is lost with the broken base of the stone. Below the emblem on the right is a small incised cross with some further lines which are difficult to interpret.
2. 1.56 m long, tapering from 0.38 m to 0.28 m, with the long sides chamfered, again with the broken stub of a headstone. The design is largely incised and has obvious affinities with that of slab ***1***. At the top is a triangle of three rings, two above, the third below, with a possible bud-like motif above and between the upper two. The shaft below has two branches, each branch and the shaft itself ending in a discoidal terminal exactly like those on slab ***1***. At its base the shaft rises from a triangular mount. The surface of the stone preserves original diagonal tooling.
3. 1.15 m long tapering from 0.39 m to 0.29 m, broken away at base. The slab is rather displaced to the left of a headstone. The design, partly incised and partly in relief, has obvious affinities with those of slabs ***1*** and ***2***. At the head are two rings, and below a central shaft flanked by two

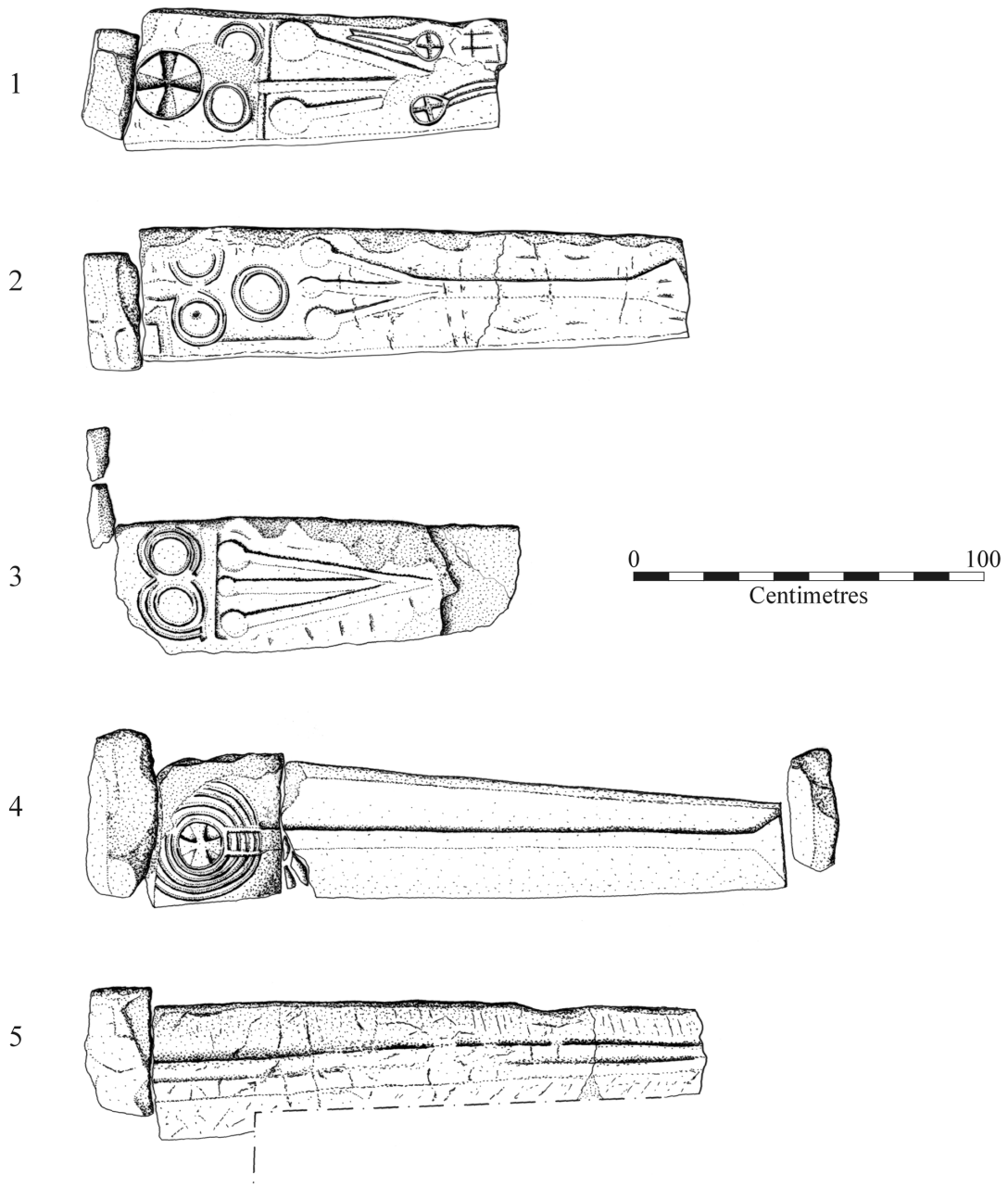


Fig. 9 21 Castle Terrace. Carved grave slabs. All the slabs have head-stones, and number 4 also has a foot stone. All of the slabs, to a greater or lesser extent, show the effects of plough damage. Scale 1:20. Catalogue numbers 1–5.

diverging branches, all ending in discoidal terminals, exactly as on slab ***2***. The base of the stone is damaged.

4. 1.82 m long, tapering from 0.42 m to 0.24 m, cracked near its head, and set between the stubs of plain head-and foot-stones. The design consists of a small splay-armed cross carved in relief within a sunken circle, bounded by a series of deeply-incised concentric rings. The cross shaft runs the full length of the stone,and is carved in relief; it rises from a simple triangular mount.

(Stones ***5*** to ***20*** shown on fig. 5)

5. 1.56 m long, tapering from *c.*0.39 m to *c.*0.24 m, with a plain headstone. The slab is of domed section, with a bold double roll moulding (largely broken away) forming the ridge.
6. 0.8 m long by 0.3 m wide. Slightly tapering and arched in section, with neat diagonal tooling.
7. 0.8 m long by 0.3 m wide. Small plain slab.
8. 1.6 m long by 0.4 m wide. Plain rectangular slab.
9. 2.1 m long by 0.65 m wide. Large rectangular slab, broken into six pieces, with diagonal tooling on surface but no motif other than a neatly-chamfered edge.
10. 0.8 m long by 0.3 m wide, broken into five pieces. The only motif is a chamfered edge.
11. 0.8 m long and tapering from 0.3 m to 0.2 m, with the remains of head and foot stones. Its surface does not appear to have any design.
12. 0.65 m wide. Broken into a number of pieces, lower end gone. The only motif is a chamfered edge.
13. 0.9 m long by 0.25 m wide. Fragmentary.
14. Nine stones defining an area *c.*2 m long and a maximum of 0.6 m wide, tapering inwards at both ends.
15. 1.4 m long by 0.5 m wide at top. Cracked, tapered-slab, plain except for a marginal chamfer.
16. 0.7 m long by 0.25 m wide. Plain sub-rectangular slab, with no design.
17. 0.65 m long by 0.25 m wide. Rectangular slab with neat chamfered edges and diagonal tooling but no design. Western end cut away by foundation of southern chamber.
18. 0.8 m long by 0.3 m wide. Composite marker, fragmentary slab, with no design.
19. Large plain slab, split into two pieces.
20. Probable grave slab cut by foundation trench for southern chamber.

Worked Stone (fig. 10)

21. 0.42 m long by 0.21 m wide (maximum). Small, damaged stone with roll-moulded edges. Grooved on top and scribed on base. Although originally considered to be a funerary monument, it seems more likely to be an architectural fragment (perhaps part of the base or capital of a small pair of shafts within an arcade) than of a sepulchral nature.

The Form of the Grave Monuments

The majority of the monuments are recumbent slabs or grave-markers, most but not all roughly the size of the grave beneath, and all oriented east-west in the conventional manner. Seven of the slabs are tapered, all from west to east, and six are accompanied by smaller upright stones, two with both head- and foot-stones and four with head-stones. Only four slabs bear carved designs, a further two are of unusual cross-section, and five have chamfered edges.

Carved Stones

Only four of the slabs found can be classed as carved stones; the three cross slabs ***1***, ***2***, ***3*** and ***4***. Their designs, and possible parallels, are here examined in detail, the crosses being considered first, followed by secondary emblems.

The Primary Emblem: The Cross

All four of the above slabs bear incised and relief-carved designs representing the full-length cross which is the primary motif on the

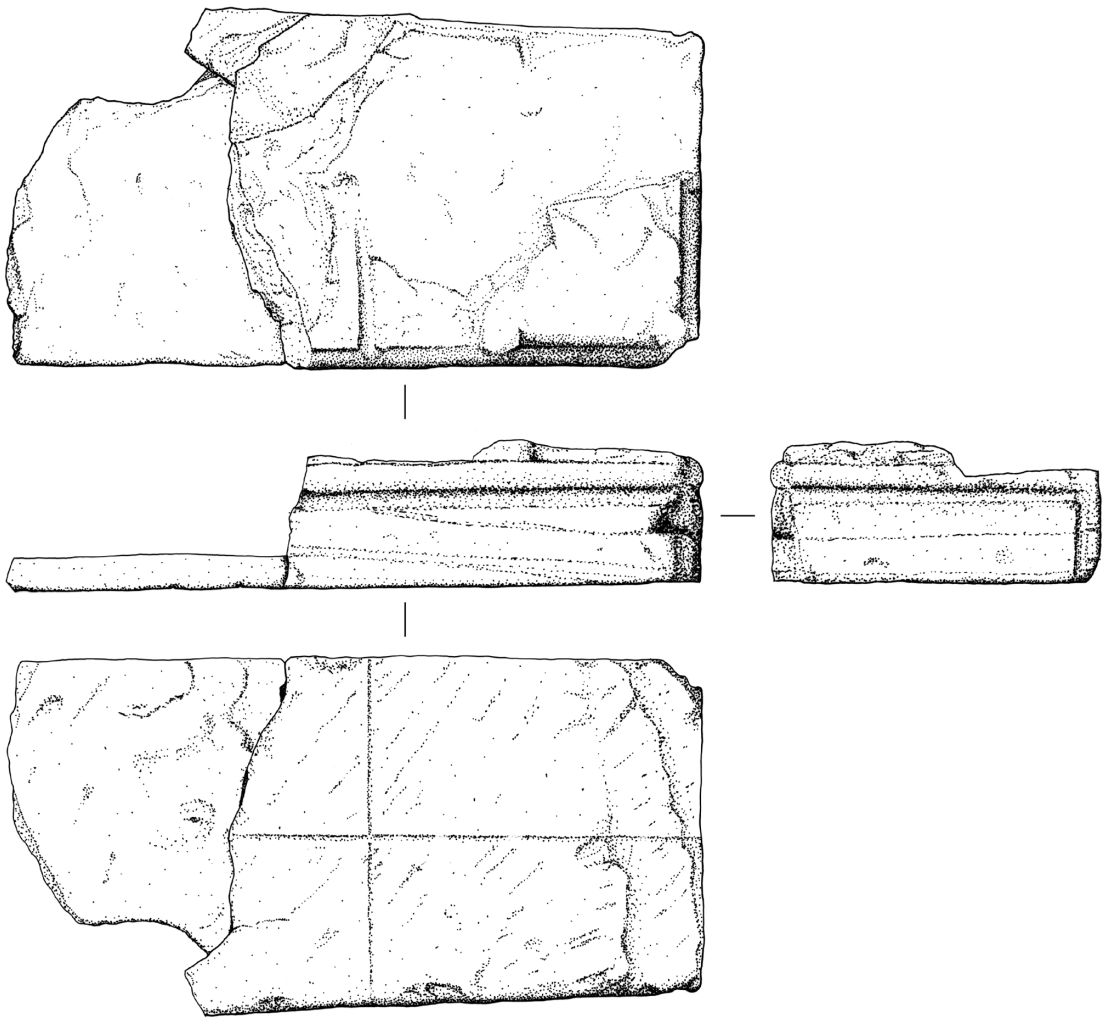


Fig. 10 Worked stone. Possible arcade base (catalogue number 21). Scale 1:5.

majority of medieval grave slabs. The head of the cross is set at the broad end of the stone, and the shaft runs its full length. However, only on slab ***4*** is the cross of relatively conventional form. Here, a small splay-armed cross is set within a series of concentric rings, its shaft rising from a triangular base. Such simple splay-armed crosses are common both on pre-Conquest and eleventh- and twelfth-century slabs. Both the cross and concentric rings on the Berwick slab are closely paralleled on a small stone (probably a head stone) from Bakewell, Derbyshire (Ryder 1997, 16) (fig. 11A). Slab ***1*** has a similar small cross, within a ring, but is accompanied by two further rings set below, whilst ***2*** simply has a triangle of three rings; in each case, the shaft is a detached element below. Slab ***3*** has only a pair of rings, side by side, at the 'head', and again a detached shaft below.

The use of ring-like motifs such as this is not uncommon, but they usually occur in a group of four, making a more obvious cross-like form, perhaps derived from the rounded-armpits of free-standing pre-Conquest crosses. Butler (1964, 115) termed this form the 'Pentrich type' and classed it with what he termed 'Early Geometric' designs, which he dated broadly to the first three quarters of the twelfth century. In some cases the four circles, sometimes expressed as sunk panels, alone represent the cross head (cf Darley Dale, fig. 11B) and in others they appear in conjunction with a conventional straight arm cross (as at Monkwearmouth). In a slab that lies in the churchyard at Doddington, 20km south of Berwick, the cross is indicated by four incised rings, with a sword below which effectively represents the cross shaft. Four-circle crosses like these are the obvious antecedents of the most common cross-slab designs of all, abundant in the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries, where the cross head is made up of four broken circles, or 'bracelets', set back-to-back.

Slabs ***1*** and ***2*** have not four, but three circles, set in the position on the slab at which one would expect a more conventional cross head, although admittedly on slab ***1*** the uppermost circle has a conventional cross carved within. Two quite early Derbyshire slabs, at Bolsover (fig. 11C) and Heath (fig. 11D), have four circles, arranged rather loosely on either side of a central slab; this combination gives a less-obviously cruciform appearance (although clearly intended to indicate the cross head), but the use of three rather than four circles does not seem to be paralleled elsewhere. The use of only two circles on slab ***3*** is again unique; is it possible that this may be a re-used broken stone that had lost the upper portion of its head?

There is another possible interpretation for the additional circles. Slabs at Keighley in West Yorkshire (Ryder 1991, 431) and Eyam in Derbyshire (Ryder 1997, 24) (fig. 11E) have a pair of roundels above the cross head, which may be intended to represent the sun and moon; a more obvious sun and moon occur on a brass-inlaid slab at Lastingham (North Yorkshire). These may relate to depictions in medieval art of Doomsday (the Last Judgment) in which the sun and moon are frequently shown standing above the cross in this manner.

Secondary Emblems

Slabs ***1***, ***2*** and ***3*** all have a central longitudinal cross shaft with two diverging branches ending in disc-like motifs; on ***2*** and ***3*** the central shaft also ends in a similar disc. It is tempting to see these as primitive forms of the foliage or buds quite often shown as springing from the shaft of later medieval cross slabs (sometimes termed the crossfleury or floriated cross); there are a number of good examples of late twelfth and thirteenth-century dates in Northumberland at Bedlington, Newbiggin (fig. 11F) and Old Bewick. More elaborate examples, in which vine scrolls flank the shaft, have been linked to the Persian 'tree of life' motif (Ryder 1986). All these may be an attempt to symbolise the Christian doctrine of the Cross, the tree on which Christ purchased man's redemption, and the Tree of Life in the eternal city (Revelation 22.2). There may also be a reference intended to the branches or leaves that may have been thrown onto a coffin at burial.

In addition, slab ***1*** bears two further motifs, each with a double shaft or stalk (slightly curved in the one on the left of the shaft) and a slightly drop-shaped head enclosing a small straight-armed cross; they are set on either side of the cross shaft. That on the right is placed with its head downwards, whilst that on the left has its head at the top. It is difficult to link these motifs with any of the emblems that become common on later medieval slabs, although the ending of the shaft or stalk of that on the right calls to mind the blades of a pair of shears (in the closed position). Shears are one of the most common emblems on later cross slabs, and almost certainly indicate the burial of a woman.

The 'Early Geometric' slab at Bolsover (see above) does have one emblem (along with a conventional pair of shears and a carpenter's square) that is in part reminiscent of those on slab ***2***; This Derbyshire carving has a similar oval end enclosing a small cross, but enlarges into a ring at the other end; it may be intended

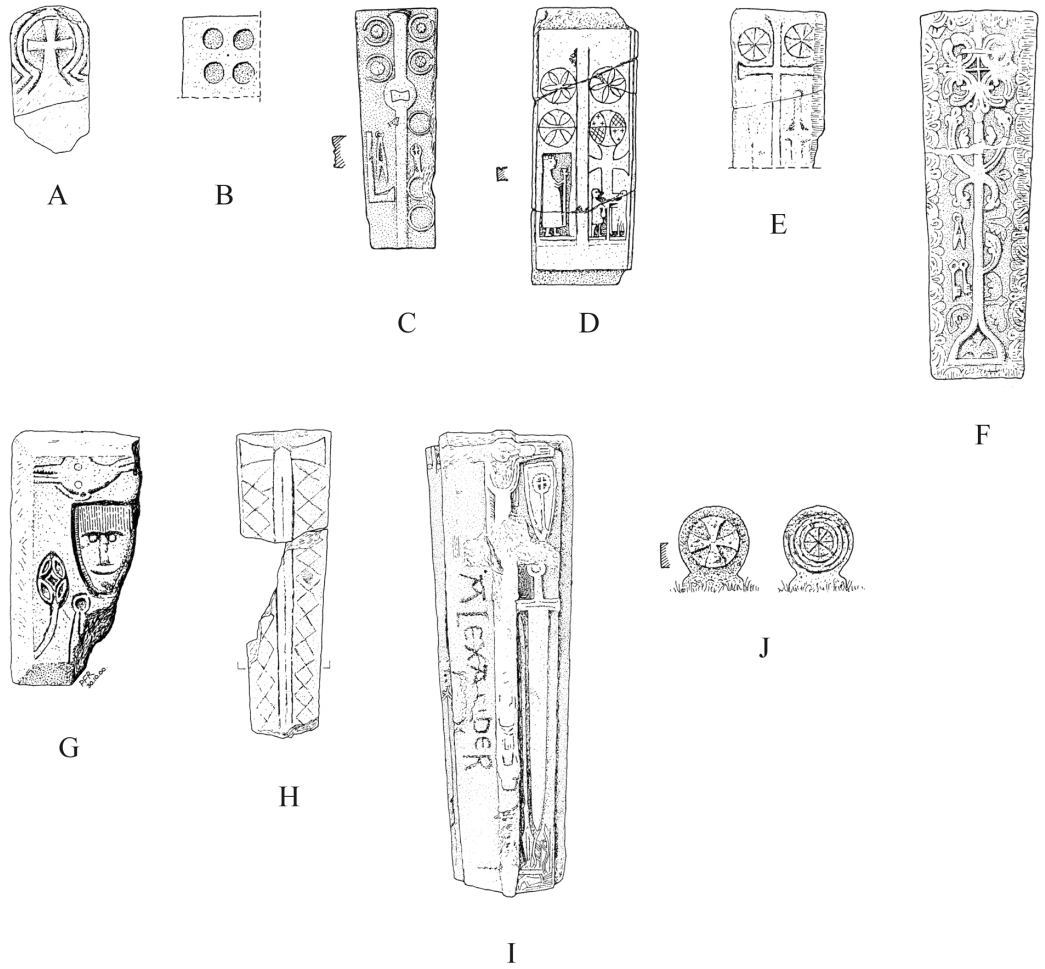


Fig. 11 Comparative illustrations of grave slabs, not to scale. A: ?Headstone, Bakewell, Derbyshire. B: Sunken panels representing cross head, Darley Dale, Derbyshire C: Grave slab, Bolsover, Derbyshire. D: Grave slab, Heath, Derbyshire. E: Grave slab, Eyam, Derbyshire. F: Grave slab, Newbiggin, Northumberland. G: Portion of grave slab, Stanwick, North Yorkshire. H: Grave slab, Kildale, North Yorkshire. I: Alexander slab, West Lilburn, Northumberland. J: Headstone, Darley Dale, Derbyshire.

to represent a spoon or baptismal ladle (Ryder 1998, 11). A closer possible parallel is on an intriguing slab at Stanwick, North Yorkshire (fig. 11G), which depicts a device quite similar to those on the Berwick slab, in conjunction with a rather bewildering set of motifs including the head of a figure in chain mail and a pair of shears. A rather similar motif, but with a straight shaft, occurs on the shield of the 'Alexander' slab at West Lilburn (see below).

Slabs ***2*** and ***4*** have their cross shafts rising from a triangular mount at the foot of the slab (the bases of slabs ***1*** and ***3*** are broken away). Stepped mounts or 'calvaries' are the commonest medieval form, but simple triangular (and semicircular) mounts are not uncommon,

especially in the case of 'early' (*i.e.* late eleventh- and early twelfth-century) slabs; there are several examples amongst the extensive collection of cross slabs at the twin churches of St Andrew and St Peter at Bywell, Northumberland (Ryder 2000, 85–88, figs. 7–10).

*Coped Slabs (**5** and **6**)*

Slab ***5*** is an example of a grave slab of coped section, in which the ridge is ornamented with a double roll; there appear to have been no further motifs carved on the stone, although its degree of damage makes this less than certain. Coped slabs in a variety of forms are not uncommon in the North East; there are several in the Cathedral Yard at Durham (Ryder 1985, 42–3) and others in the same county at Kirk Merrington (Lang 1974). It is thought they may have developed from pre-Conquest monuments such as the well-known Anglo-Scandinavian 'hogbacks'. There is a good example, with a grooved ridge similar to the Berwick slab, flanked by incised lozenge patterns, very typical of the 'Early Geometric', lying in the churchyard at Kildale, North Yorkshire (fig. 11H). This is probably of *c.*1100. The 'Alexander' slab at West Lilburn, Northumberland, 28 km south of Berwick (fig. 11I) is a more refined piece, again coped in section, with a bold ridge elaborated into a motif, now damaged, at the top of the slab. Rather later in date may be a steeply-coped slab, with a sword incised on one of the sloping faces, which was recorded from Newminster Abbey, Northumberland, which will be published in a future volume of *Archaeologia Aeliana*.

The small slab ***6*** with its arched cross-section, has the appearance of being a 'body' stone, which would have probably been set between head and foot-stones. It is superficially similar to a post-medieval (seventeenth and eighteenth-century) type that occasionally occurs in the area.

Head and Foot Stones

Composite monuments, made up of more than one stone, seem to have been common in medieval graveyards, the most frequent form being a recumbent 'body' stone accompanied by small upright stones at one or both ends. All the examples of these from the Castle Terrace graveyard (not individually numbered) seem to have been broken-off, almost certainly as the result of ploughing or cultivation since the abandonment of the church. Such upright stones were often either cut into a cruciform shape, or carved on one or both faces with a cross. Some sites retain collections of such stones, recognisable by their proportions and size: An 'Early Geometric' headstone from Darley Dale, Derbyshire (fig. 11J), provides a good indication of how a complete monument from the Castle Terrace site may have appeared.

Plain Slabs

The churchyard also contained a number of plain slabs, some tapered and some rectangular, either with or without chamfered edges. It is clear that most of these never carried any carved design. Some are accompanied by head- and foot-stones. Examples of plain tapered slabs were also found *in situ* during the 1993 excavation of part of the canons' graveyard at Hexham Priory (Cambridge and Williams 1995, 67).

Summary: The Graveyard and its Monuments

Almost uniquely, the graveyard at 21 Castle Terrace retained its surface and associated monuments in a clear stratigraphic relationship to a contemporary church building. The very rarity of this occurrence, however, means that there is no way of knowing just how typical the distribution pattern of those monuments may have been. The occurrence of numbers of plain as opposed to carved grave slabs may, nevertheless, give some indication of the position at other sites (see below). The fact that all the carved slabs appear to be broadly contemporary, both with each other and with the church with which they are associated, suggests that burial probably began almost as soon as the church was constructed and that early burials were presumably respected by any later phases of the cemetery's use. (No evidence of later

phases was located in the investigations, but this may simply reflect the fact that other areas of the graveyard were colonised in preference to intercutting earlier graves). As the early graves had secured the most prestigious burial locations adjacent to the church, their lack of disturbance by any later burials may imply that to disturb them would have broken a taboo sufficiently powerful to prevail over any desire to take over their locations. Of course, from the later thirteenth century, as burial within churches became more accepted, it may be that the social stratum represented by the twelfth-century grave covers at 21 Castle Terrace (and there is no way of knowing how restricted this may have been) was superseded by intra-church burial (for example, within the chapel added to the south east corner of the nave). Twelfth-century grave covers do survive *ex situ* elsewhere, but the number from this site suggests that they may have been more common than their general survival as relict features would imply.

The great majority of surviving medieval sepulchral monuments are cross slabs. Typically they will have been re-used as building material at some medieval or post-medieval date, then retrieved from the church fabric during a 'restoration', usually in the nineteenth century, and set in the wall of a porch or aisle as antiquarian exhibits, as, for instance, the extensive collection on display at Bywell, Northumberland (Ryder 2000, 85–88, figs. 7–10). Discoveries such as the Castle Terrace cemetery show that surviving slabs do not provide a representative sample of medieval monument types; remains of most plain slabs would either have not been recognised by the Victorian restorers, or might have been discarded as carrying no seeming antiquarian interest.

As far as a stylistic dating of the carved grave slabs is possible, it would appear that all the monuments could fit comfortably within the twelfth century, and probably within its first half. The only other similar sites to have been excavated within Northumberland are a small part of the cemetery of the Augustinian Priory at Hexham (Cambridge and Williams 1995, 63–71), a small area alongside the Castle Keep at Newcastle on Tyne (Nolan forthcoming); and an inadequate clearance of part of a cemetery associated with the castle chapel at Mitford, carried out by H. L. Honeyman on the eve of World War II (Honeyman 1955, 27–34) which revealed some very fine slabs, with headstones, of the same general period as those at Castle Terrace.

POTTERY (tables 1 and 2)

Jenny Vaughan

A full fabric catalogue detailing the pottery from the site is retained with the site archive. The following is a summary of results. All comments below are given with the proviso that the assemblage is small in terms of numbers of sherds and is also heavily fragmented. Few substantial parts of vessels could be reconstructed despite there being several recognisable sherd 'families' (fragments from one vessel). This meant that for the most part the material could only be ascribed to broad regional traditions rather than more closely defined local pottery types. The fragmentation also increases the possibility that parts of one vessel may have been catalogued under different numbers or names: indeed, it may be that only a handful of vessels is represented in the whole assemblage.

The assemblage of 450 sherds (3.87 kg) was sorted according to a system of 15 fabric groups devised by the writer for recording other Tyneside and North East assemblages (not all of the groups are present in this assemblage). The material was then catalogued by context, recording counts and weights and noting the presence of any form elements. Group identification numbers used below are primarily a cataloguing tool and may refer to traditions or broad groupings rather than individual pottery or fabric types. The names/descriptions used in association with the group numbers will allow concordance, where appropriate, with other published assemblages.

Nine of the identified fabric groups are medieval (420 sherds) and six post-medieval (30 sherds). Of the medieval sherds, 80% fall

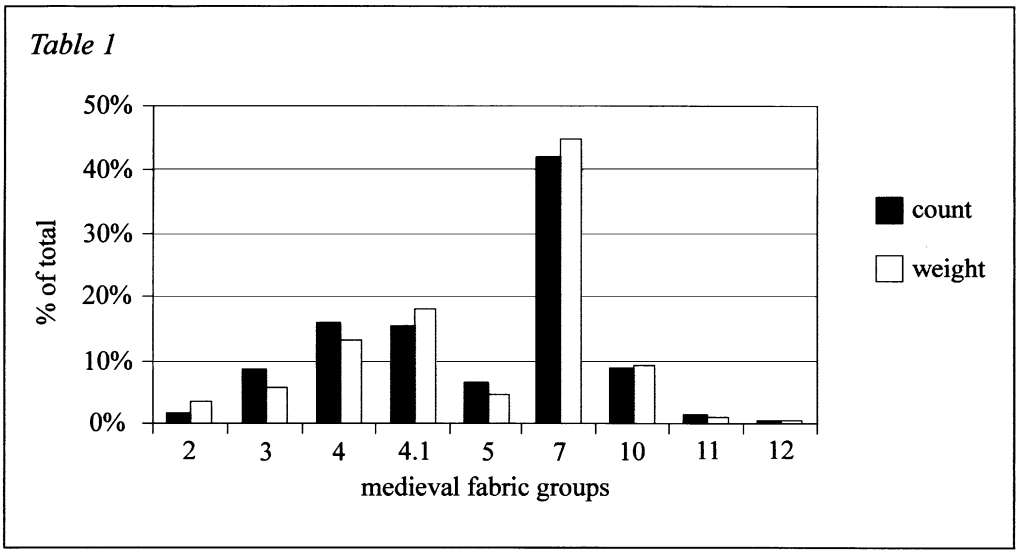


Table 1 Pottery: medieval fabric groups.

into just four groups (3, 4, 4.1 and 7). Table 1 shows each medieval fabric group as a percentage total of the medieval assemblage by sherd count and weight.

Group 2. Coarsely Gritted Early Medieval (Saxo-Norman) (6 sherds)

These types can be dated to the tenth to twelfth centuries. Some fragments from the assemblage are very similar to Newcastle Dog Bank Ware (Bown 1988). Only body sherds were present. Only a large sherd from **[11]** was stratified but cannot be more precisely dated than the range given above.

Group 3. Gritty Wares-Coarse (35 sherds)

Most of the sherds in this group are coarser gritted varieties of buff or white firing fabrics *i.e.* part of the East Coast White Gritty tradition.

Group 4. Buff Wares (67 sherds)

Buff or 'white' firing fabrics are widespread in the region. In Berwick the local types fit into the Scottish East Coast White Gritty tradition. Jar rims, similar to those illustrated from Oil Mill Lane, Berwick (Moorhouse 1982) are amongst the unstratified material from Castle Terrace. Only one stratified fragment, a body sherd from **[18]** has any recognisable features; this is a distinct carination as present on the Type 2 jars from Oil Mill Lane. Many fragments had spots or other traces of glaze said to be absent from the Oil Mill Lane Type 2 material (Moorhouse 1982, 113).

Group 4.1. Buff Green-Glazed (64 sherds)

A less iron-rich green-glazed type. Sandy light grey fabric with usually a buff internal surface. Many of the fragments (from different contexts) appeared to be from the same vessel – a jug with a rod handle. Two fragments with strap handles were also present, one with an applied central cordon.

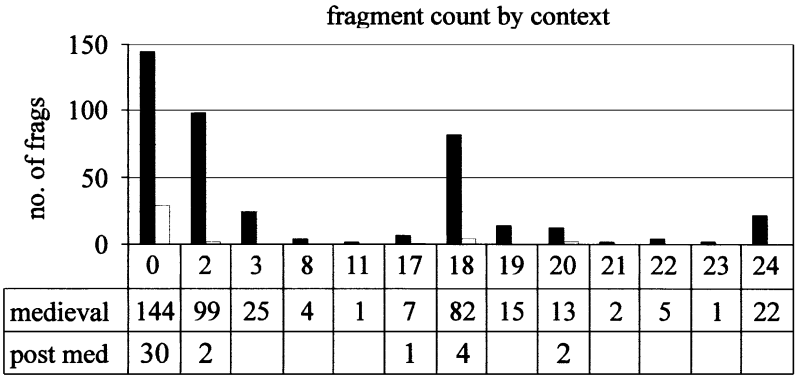
Group 5. Orange (27 sherds)

This group is used for orange or orangey-pink sherds which do not appear to be imported types. Two bases, one sooted, were present.

Group 7. Reduced Greenwares (176 sherds)

All green-glazed fragments in the assemblage have been catalogued under this number. Although fragments were small, the glaze cover on many was good suggesting vessels were dipped rather than 'splashed'. This group also includes a few unglazed iron-rich fragments, seven of which are from a

Table 2



	0	2	3	8	11	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
medieval	144	99	25	4	1	7	82	15	13	2	5	1	22
post med	30	2				1	4		2				

Table 2 Pottery: fragment count by context.

thumbed base from **[18]**. Another base fragment of a globular vessel was in a light reddish-brown fabric only thinly splashed with glaze. Three strap handles and one rod handle were present as well as four small rim fragments, all probably from jugs, as too were some fragments with applied vertical ribs and iron-stained strips. The group is broadly dateable to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, although in Scotland reduced green-glazed pottery is regarded as a post-medieval type and on Lindisfarne (Bown 1985, 62) it is thought to have continued in use into the seventeenth century.

Group 10. Other Medieval (37 sherds)

Unprovenanced medieval wares. This group includes some possible imports – three sherds of red fabric with white slip and copper-green glaze with rouletted impressions. Also, some fine oxidized (orange) fragments including one fragment from a tubular spout. Although this material could potentially have been catalogued as 'Scarborough Type' ware, its glaze – a yellowy green – was not typical of this fabric. Other fragments in this group include a fine white fabric. At Coulston, some of the products were 'so fine and white as to resemble 'South West French Pottery' (Brooks 1980, 366).

Group 11. Scarborough / Scarborough Type ware (6 sherds)

High quality jugs with lustrous green glaze are typical of this ware but only a small number of fragments were present here. There is some controversy over the dating of Scarborough ware. However, it is not thought to have been traded outside Scarborough before 1200 and possibly only as late as 1250 (Pearson 1982, 91–2).

Group 12. Saintonge Polychrome (2 sherds)

Two fragments of undiagnostic form within **[17]**. The date range of the type is mid-thireenth to mid-fourteenth century (Chapelot 1983).

Post-Medieval Types (30 sherds)

The small assemblage of post-medieval pottery types included Staffordshire type slipware, later redwares, creamware, stoneware, modern white-glazed whitewares and horticultural earthenwares. None of this material is any earlier than the early eighteenth century and the majority is of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. All of the material was unstratified or from topsoil or disturbed contexts.

Pottery Related to the Site

The pottery assemblage was largely recovered from deposits probably associated with dereliction or demolition of the church. As such, the material cannot be used to provide a sequence through the occupation of the site.

Table 2 shows the sherd count per context. Over 36% of the assemblage was unstratified (**0** in the table). Of the twelve numbered contexts which produced pottery, four included post-medieval material. These were **[2]** (two fragments), **[17]** (one) **[18]** (four) and **[20]** (two). Fragments in **[2]** and **[18]** could possibly be of eighteenth-century date. One fragment in **[20]** appeared to be early eighteenth-century Staffordshire type slipware, but the other fragment was most likely of nineteenth or twentieth-century date, as too was a fragment of a plate rim from **[17]**. If this modern material within the assemblage is interpreted as 'intrusive', the only (possibly) significant difference between contexts (apart from **[11]**) is that **[2]** contains a higher proportion of buff, white and coarsely gritted wares. All contexts, apart, again, from **[11]**, produced reduced green-glazed ware.

The coarse-gritted sherd from **[11]** is undoubtedly of eleventh or twelfth-century date, possibly the former. Group 7, the iron rich reduced green-glazed wares, is the latest medieval pottery group, present, as noted above, in all contexts apart from **[11]**. Glazing and one or two form elements indicate a late fourteenth- or fifteenth-century date but there were apparently no large cisterns present which might be expected in a late medieval assemblage. With such a small assemblage, of course, this absence cannot be statistically validated. Thus, the recovered pottery assemblage would indicate medieval activity on the site between the eleventh or twelfth and the fifteenth century.

Apart from the sherd from **[11]** the medieval assemblage could be seen as fairly homogenous with little to differentiate the context assemblages. The dating of the pottery provides a broad chronological indication of the medieval activity on the site rather than of specific events or phases. As noted above, however, the assemblage is small, fragmented and largely from later deposits and as such is of limited value for overall site interpretation.

COPPER ALLOY (fig. 12)

Lindsay Allason-Jones

22. Small oval buckle with narrowed, offset bar. The frame has a bevelled notched lip between two knobs. The folded plate is held by two copper-alloy rivets; a narrow rib runs across the plate below the first rivet hole. Such buckles are usually found in a date range from the late twelfth to the late fourteenth century (Egan and Pritchard 1991, 72–78; see in particular No. 295).
    Width across buckle: 16 mm, thickness of buckle: 2 mm, length of plate: 18 mm, max. width of plate; 8.5 mm. Unstratified **[0]** over church
23. Fragment of buckle plate, broken across a rivet hole at one end. A small copper-alloy rivet remains *in situ* at the complete end. Surviving length: 15 mm, max. width: 8 mm, length of rivet 3 mm. Unstratified **[0]** over church.
24. Rowel from a spur in the form of a seven-point star, emphasised on both faces by lines radiating from the central oval hole. Each spoke of the star rises to its centre line and the marks of the file used to produce this effect are still visible. It is rarely possible to date a spur by its rowel alone. By the mid to late fourteenth century the many-pointed wheel-rowel came into fashion but the small rowel with six or seven points seen on fourteenth-century brasses, appears to have remained popular, especially outside royal circles, throughout the period.
    Width: 35 mm, max. thickness; 2 mm, hole: 4 mm by 3 mm. Unstratified **[0]** over church.

OTHER FINDS (fig. 12)

Alan Williams

Iron

Twenty five exclusively iron objects were recovered from deposits associated with the church (**[3]**, **[17]**, **[18]**, **[20]**, and **[22]**). Twenty three of these objects are nails or fragments of nails; one is a small pivot from **[3]**, a layer of burning in the nave of the church; one a sickle blade from topsoil (probably modern and associated with the allotments which existed on the site from the 1940s). Apart from the pivot and eight nails which were recovered from **[3]**, adjacent to the spine wall **[28]** in the nave of the church, none of the material comes from potentially closely datable contexts. In addition to the above material, a further ten nails were recovered still fixed through the type of lead object described under catalogue numbers 26 and 27 below. Although all of the nails are very badly corroded, an examination of

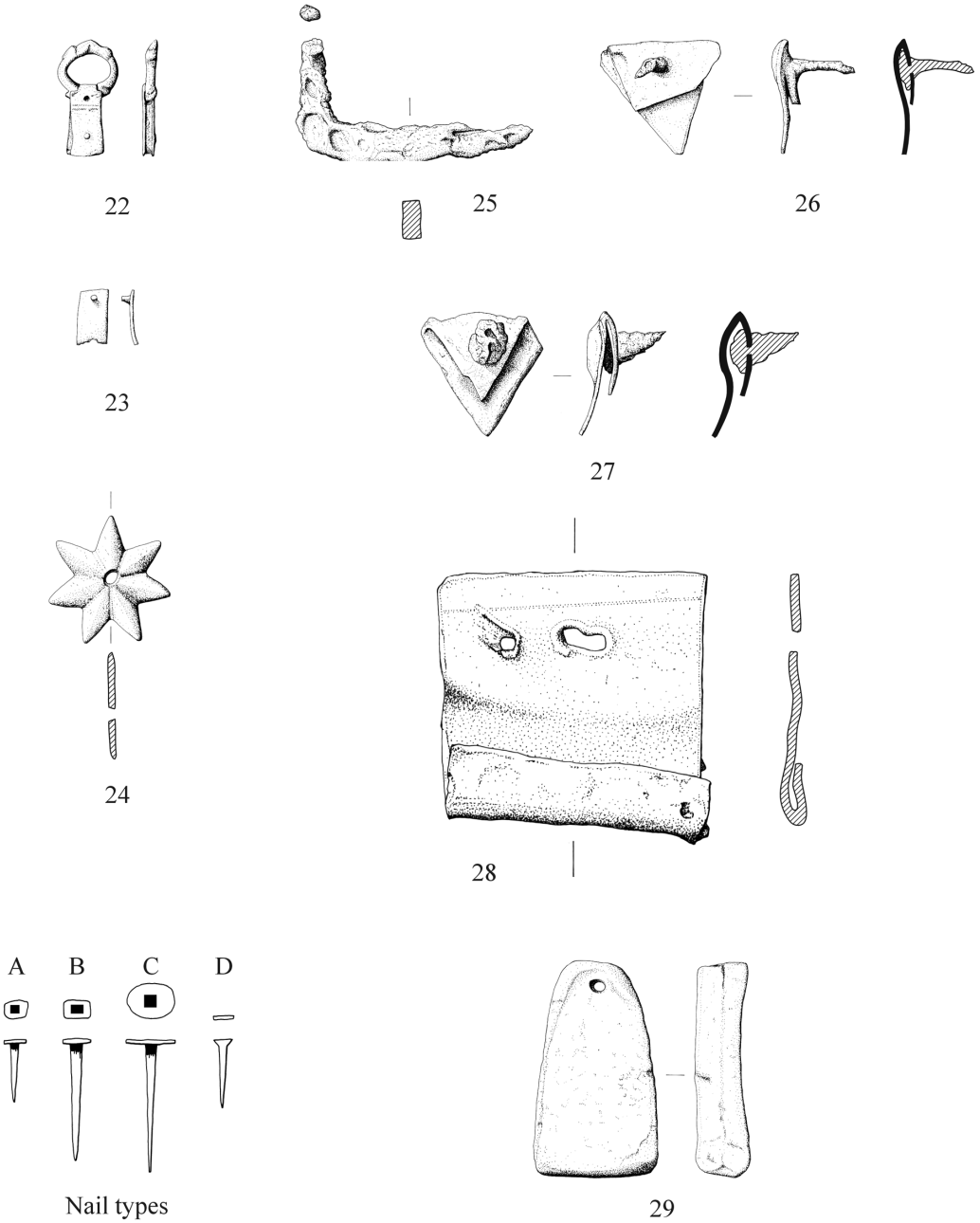


Fig. 12 21 Castle Terrace. Small finds. Numbers 22–29. Scale 1:2, apart from schematic view of nails which is 1:4.

the group has allowed a simple typology to be established (fig. 12).

Eight nails or portions of nails from the partially excavated **[3]** are presumably fixings from whatever structure sat on the wall. The nails from this context were types A (2 examples) and C (6 examples). A small pivot for a hinge was also recovered from this deposit (Catalogue no. 25) and suggests the presence of an opening or folding element within the structure.

25. Iron hinge pivot. Badly corroded. Length of arm: 66 mm. Max. rectangular cross section: 5 mm by 11 mm. Length of pin: 23 mm; diameter at top *c.*5 mm. From **[3]**.

Lead

Thirty lead objects were recovered during the excavation, all unstratified or from rubble layer **[18]** over the church. The majority of the objects are associated with either fixings or waterproofing presumably of the church roof.

The most frequently recovered object was an 'envelope' apparently used to cover externally exposed nails (12 examples, all unstratified or from **[18]**). Although the function of these objects is fairly obvious, their specific use on the church remains unclear; the associated nails were not much more substantial than tacks (type A, see above).

26. ''Envelope'' consisting of lozenge of lead sheet with iron nail still *in-situ* pierced through one flap of folded sheet. Width: 34 mm, length (straightened but incomplete): *c.*50 mm, thickness: 1 to 1.5 mm. From **[18]**.
27. ''Envelope''. As above. Width: 34 mm; length (straightened): *c.*60 mm; thickness: 1 mm to 1.5 mm. Unstratified **[0]** over church.

Two whole and one fragmentary 'clips' were also recovered from topsoil and rubble **[18]** over the church. These are not uncommon objects from medieval ecclesiastical sites (Hunter 1982, 88 and Williams, forthcoming) and although almost certainly used on the church roof are, again, not well understood.

28. 'Clip'. Width: 75 mm, length (straightened): *c.*90 mm, thickness: 2 mm. From **[18]**.
29. A lead weight, with a small oval piercing through the narrower end was almost certainly used on a fishing net but its historical context is uncertain.
    Length: 59 mm, max. width: 36 mm, thickness: 13 mm, hole: 4 mm by 3 mm. Unstratified **[0]** over church.

One musket ball 18 mm diam.) and three small lead shot (one 15 mm diam. and two 10 mm diam.) were also recovered from disturbed deposits over the church. The remaining pieces of lead are either offcuts from sheet or unidentifiable pieces. A notable absence from the assemblage was that of fragments of kame, used as the jointing for pieces of glass in traceried windows.

Glass

Six small fragments of window glass, all burnt, were recovered from the burnt deposit **[3]** around the spine wall within the nave of the church. Four of the fragments are almost certainly from the same piece. This glass is 3 mm thick and completely opaque with a thin coating on both faces, possibly a burnt paint residue, Two edges of the largest fragment of the four (30 mm across) are original. No colour is apparent. The two remaining fragments are of a similar thickness to the above and although both have opaque surfaces, one fragment is clear (a pale green) and the other a deep blue.

Slags

Ten pieces of slag were recovered from **[18]** and **[20]** or were unstratified **[0]**. They would all appear to stem from the processing of iron (possibly hearth slags). All pieces are more or less glassy and vesicular and incorporate oxidised components. The date and ultimate derivation of the material is unknown.

Coins

No medieval coins were found during the excavation. A silver 'token' sixpence of George III was recovered from topsoil.

HUMAN SKELETAL MATERIAL

Joy Langston

Methodology

Metrical analysis of the material followed the methodologies described in Brothwell (1981) and Bass (1987). Stature estimates have been calculated using formulae developed by Trotter and Gleser (1977). Sexing and ageing of adult material employed techniques described by Brothwell (1981), Krogman (1962), Lovejoy *et al.* (1985), Meindl *et al.* (1985), Russell *et al.*

(1993) and Webb and Suchey (1985). Ageing and (tentative) sexing of juvenile material used methods developed by Ubelaker (1978), Scheuer *et al.* (1980), Warwick and Williams (1978) and Schutkowski (1993).

Condition of Material

The condition of bone from the *in-situ* skeletal contexts was excellent with preservation of elements such as rib ends and vertebral processes being particularly noteworthy. The disarticulated material had suffered some abrasion and breakage with subsequent fragmentation and none of the disturbed skeletons are complete; indeed some individuals are represented by only a few bones and it is assumed that many skeletal elements of these contexts remain unexcavated.

Number of Individuals

There were four *in-situ* skeletons, all adults. The disarticulated material represents a minimum of another three adults based on a long-bone end count (in that there are three left proximal femora and three distal right humeri). However, if this material is examined more closely, the femoral heads all have a diameter of at least 4.9 cm, and Stewart (1979) states that a diameter of greater than 4.75cm is more likely to be male. Among the disarticulated material there are two bones of a small gracile nature (radius and tibia) that are almost certainly female and it is extremely unlikely that they belong to a skeleton whose femoral head diameter is large. This would therefore indicate that the disarticulated material represents a minimum of at least four adult individuals. lt is possible, however, that some of the skeletal elements in the disarticulated material were removed from the *in situ* burials and account for 'missing bones'. If this is the case one of the proximal left femora could belong to Skeleton 4 and the minimum number of individuals is reduced by one (i.e. three adults are represented by bones in the disarticulated contexts).

A number of infant and juvenile bones were recovered from the charnel and analysed for indications of age and sex (where possible). At least three infants are represented in this collection of bones as there are three left distal humeral elements. In addition, at least three 'older' children are represented within the disarticulated material, again identified by humeral elements. However, closer examination of pelvic elements indicates a further two children; there are two probable pairs of left and right ilia, a further left and right ilia which are not from the same individual plus a much smaller left ilium. It is therefore more accurate to say that the disarticulated material contains the partial remains of at least five children.

Sex

The *in-situ* skeletal contexts are of three males and one female; sex can be confidently assigned in all cases due to good preservation of sexually dimorphic bones. lf the minimum number of adults represented in the disarticulated material is accepted as four (i.e. skeletal elements are not put into *in situ* contexts) then the bones represent the partial remains of at least three males (from large femoral head diameters following Stewart's assessment of dimorphic traits (1979)) and one female (small, gracile bones). If it is felt that one of the femoral heads is part of a skeletal context then the material represents at least two males and one female.

Sexing of juvenile material is notoriously difficult, and held by some to be impossible. However, where the relevant bones survive techniques developed by Schutkowski (1993) using iliac and mandibular morphology have been applied. These suggest that, of the 'older' children, one was *possibly* a male and one *possibly* female – the sex of the others is unknown. No infant ilia or mandibles survive and the sex of the infants is therefore not known.

Age at Death

Due to good preservation of bones the *in-situ* adults could all be assigned age at death using a wide range of techniques (including dental attrition, skeletal development, and changes in

the sternal end of the fourth rib, auricular surface and pubic symphysis). Skeletal contexts 1 and 4 died in their early-mid 20s, whilst the other male (2) died in his mid/late 30s (and possibly survived to his early 40s). The female (3) died in her mid/late 30s. Of the adults in the disarticulated material, male pelvic fragments indicate death at *c*.25–9 years. There are two right mandibles with molar attrition consistent with death at 17–25 years; one of these could belong to Skeleton 1 but the other indicates death in the late teens/early twenties of a further individual. Age at death of the others is unknown but there is nothing to suggest survival to an advanced age

Juvenile dental remains indicate that three of the children died at *c*.8–9 years (possible female), *c*.6–8 years and *c*.2 years. Analysis of long bones using the growth tables in Bass (I987) and comparison with reference material of known age at death indicate death at *c*.2 years and *c*.6–8 years, whilst pelvic remains suggest one individual dying at an earlier age (*c*.2 years) and four individuals at around 6–8/9 years. One of the left ilia is slightly smaller than the others which may indicate that three of the children were at the middle/older end of this range and one at the younger (i.e. three children were aged *c*.7–9 years and one aged 6–7 years).

The infant bones are all of similar development and calculations on complete long bones using the formulae of Scheuer *et al*. (1980), indicates they are all of 39–40 weeks gestational age. Beischer and Mackay (1986) state that a normal pregnancy lasts from 37–42 weeks and therefore these infants were at full-term, although whether they were still-births or died shortly afterwards is unknown.

Summary

In-Situ Context	Sex	Age at Death
1	male	20–24
2	male	mid-late 30s (poss. early 40s)
3	female	35–39
4	male	early-mid 20s

Disarticulated Material

At least **4** adults	male	25–29
	male	17–25
	male	unknown
	female	unknown
At least **5**children	unknown	*c*.2
	possible female	*c*.8–9
	possible male	*c*.7–8
	unknown	*c*.7–8
	unknown	*c*.6–7
At least **3** infants	all unknown	all died at birth (c.39 weeks gestation)

Stature

The number of individuals represented here is too small to allow demographic statements to be made. However, two of the male *in-vivo* heights (Skeleton 2 – 172cm and 4 – 174cm) are in line with average values for the medieval period (as found at Blackfriars, Newcastle, Darlington, Guisborough and York where average male stature ranged from 169.3cm-174.1cm). Skeleton 1 – 178cm-180cm – is certainly taller than average but not to an abnormal degree. The female (Skeleton 3 – 168cm) is taller than the average for the medieval period where sites from the north of England record average stature ranges from 157cm-162cm, but again not to a degree to suggest abnormality of growth. Stature has not been assessed for the juveniles as these formulae are only accurate for adults.

Degenerative Joint Disease

Two individuals in the *in-situ* burials (the older man and woman – skeletons 2 and 3) show signs of degenerative joint disease. Skeleton 2 has minor degenerative changes in his feet, ankles and shoulder, and more marked changes in his spine. The thoracic and upper lumbar vertebrae (T3–9, 12 and LI) have minor osteophytosis which becomes more severe at T 10 and II with marked new bone formation on the

vertebral body rims. This man also had a scoliosis in the upper thoracic; the body of T3 is significantly narrower on the right side causing a lean to that side. The degeneration of the vertebral ends of the ribs may relate to this abnormality and marginal lipping is noted in the vertebral facets of left 1–4, 12 and right 9–12.

Skeleton 3 showed minor degenerative changes at the left shoulder and hip. Again, more marked changes were noted in the spine; T4–9 in the mid thoracic vertebrae have minor osteophytosis but severe degeneration is seen in the facets of C5 and 6, and T2 and 3 where the inferior and superior articular facets have altered morphology, marginal lipping, porosity and eburnation. The changes in the thoracic vertebrae are related to trauma (crush fracture of T3) which has altered the spinal mechanics and caused abnormal stresses and movement. There was also evidence of degenerative joint disease affecting the spine; some vertebrae and ribs were noted to have minor marginal lipping of articular facets but there were no severe changes.

Trauma

Three skeletons have evidence of trauma. Skeleton 1 has minor Schmorl's nodes affecting the lower thoracic and upper lumbar vertebrae (T 11–12 and L 1–3). These are traumatic lesions formed in adolescence whereby the intervertebral disc is subjected to stress (by heavy lifting for example) and ruptures in such a way that the nucleus pulposus protrudes and presses against adjacent vertebral bodies. As the bone is still plastic in adolescence it yields to the pressure and a small pit forms in the vertebral body known as a Schmorl's node (Knowles, 1983). Their presence in this individual probably indicates a heavy workload commencing early in life.

Skeleton 1 also showed a small lesion on the left tibia surrounded by striated bone; this may be due to a localised soft tissue injury or minor trauma, or could possibly be associated with infection.

Skeleton 2 has healed fractures of right ribs 4–6; healing is complete and there is no fusion of adjacent ribs or marked overlap. This individual also had an area of new bone growth on the lateral side of the right femoral shaft; this is almost certainly due to a severe blow to the thigh breaking the periosteum of the bone surface and stimulating new bone growth.

Skeleton 3 has a crush fracture of T3. This has caused compression of the bone at the front of the vertebral body and the normal height of the bone has been reduced by half. This, in turn, has caused the mechanics of the spine to change and has led to secondary degeneration of the joints of T2 and 3 (related to the injury and not age).

There was no evidence for trauma in any of the disarticulated material.

Other Skeletal Pathology

Two skeletons (2 and 4, both male) have abnormalities of the lower leg.

Skeleton 2 has marked 'lumpiness' and increased striation of the right tibial and tibular shafts, and Skeleton 4 has marked striation of both tibiae, the left being more severely affected. This bone also has a slight thickening and 'lumpiness' of the distal end. Both fibulae in this individual have a minor periosteal reaction visible on the medial surface at the distal end. The cause of these changes is unknown; they may relate to repeated minor trauma to the lower leg (possibly occupational), or they may be due to a persistent low grade infection which has caused surface changes to the bone but not led to the formation of severe osteomyelititc abscesses.

Skeleton 3 has evidence of such infection in the distal right fibula where there is an osteomyelitic cavity/sinus surrounded by bone showing a periosteal reaction and minor new growth. The shape of the fibula has not been significantly altered and there is no evidence of involucrum and it can be assumed that the infection was not long standing. There was no evidence of skeletal pathology or disease affecting the disarticulated bone.

Other Abnormalities

Skeleton 1 has minor spina bifida occulta affecting the lower part of the sacrum where the spinous processes of the bones have failed to close centrally. This would not be realised by the person and would have had no effect on their lifestyle; in present-day populations this condition goes unrecognised unless detected by X-ray and incidence is unknown. Skeleton 2 has fusion of the manubrium, sternum and ziphoid into one unit.

Dental Pathology

There were very few dental remains among this material. The skull of Skeleton 1 (in a very shallow grave) had been removed during the construction work on the site and *ante-mortem* loss was seen in both of the older individuals: Skeleton 2 had lost four teeth (out of 26 examinable positions giving a percentage loss of 15%) and Skeleton 3 had lost one tooth (out of 27 positions 3.7%). Loss is probably related to carious teeth as three of those lost were molars (the teeth most prone to caries and decay). One of' the teeth lost by Skeleton 2 was a lower incisor and this could be associated with trauma which is a more common cause of loss of anterior teeth; unfortunately the maxilla does not survive as this might have given firmer proof of violence, upper incisors being more frequently knocked out by fighting or accident.

Carious teeth were seen in Skeleton 1 (two maxillar molars) as well as very minor enamel hypoplasia (thought to be related to high temperature fevers in childhood affecting the developing dental enamel and causing defects, pitting and ridging: Neiburger, 1990). There was no evidence of dental abscesses although alveolar recession was noted in the two older individuals, who also both had extremely severe and asymmetric attrition. Calculus was seen in all three dentitions and was perhaps surprisingly severe in Skeleton 4 (early/mid 20s) with both maxillar and mandibular teeth affected. The heavy build-up of calculus in a younger individual probably suggests low levels of dental hygiene. The juvenile dental remains showed no evidence of disease or abnormality nor was there evidence of dental disease or abnormality in the teeth from the disarticulated material.

Conclusions

This collection of bones represents the *in-situ* remains of four adults, three males and one female, with ages at death ranging from the early 20s to the late 30s and possibly early 40s. These four individuals show a wide range of pathologies including degenerative joint disease affecting spinal and peripheral joints, dental disease, trauma, infection and skeletal abnormality.

The disarticulated bones represent the more partial remains of at least three and possibly four adults including at least two males and one female. There is little evidence of age at death due to the abraded and partial nature of the remains but it is probable that one male died in his mid-late 20s and an individual of unknown sex at 17–25 years.

Also represented in the disarticulated material are at least three infants who all died at or around birth; there is no evidence for premature birth. In addition, pelvic and other skeletal elements indicate the partial remains of at least five children; one (unknown sex) was aged *c*.2 years and the other four in the age range *c*.6–9 years. A possible female was aged 8/9 years. From dental development, two children (one possibly male) were probably aged at the later end of this range *c*.7/8 years, and one was probably younger *c*.6/7 years.

There was no evidence of any disease, trauma or abnormality in the juvenile bones, but they were somewhat abraded and fragmented. Absence of evidence for disease does not, of course, mean that these children were perfectly healthy, merely that no bones indicating otherwise have been preserved.

SUMMARY: USE AND ABANDONMENT OF THE CHURCH AND GRAVEYARD

Alan Williams

The archaeological investigations carried out in 1998 at 21 Castle Terrace literally only

scraped the surface of a site with immense archaeological potential for the understanding of medieval Berwick and its environs and certainly, due to the preservation of a largely intact medieval graveyard with its monuments, of national significance (see above). It is, therefore, impossible at present to provide anything more than an interim statement for the development of the site. The various strands of evidence for piecing together this history include: the structural remains of the church; the grave markers within the graveyard; stratigraphic evidence from foundation trenches cut through the site during the housing development; artefactual material from the site; and the results from the radiocarbon dating of a skeleton buried within the chancel of the church.

Although the small amount of surviving architectural evidence, notably the eastern apse with its pilasters, would suggest that the church was built within the second or third quarters of the twelfth century, only more extensive excavations could securely establish the presence, nature and chronology of earlier phases of construction. However, the modern foundation trench cut through the nave (fig. 6) does not suggest that there was any great duration of occupation or accretion to the structure at least in that part of the church. As to the function of the church, the spine-wall within the nave and the postulated settlement context of the structure (see Cambridge, below) may suggest that it was founded as a hospital – possibly the unnamed leper hospital known to have existed in the Berwick area. Of course, this function may only have been temporary and the nature of the establishment may have altered a number of times. The recovered human skeletal material, for instance, does not provide any evidence for the use of the site as a leper hospital; although a number of human frailties are represented within the assemblage, there are no particular recurring traits which would point to the use of the foundation in such a capacity and the presence of a number of child and neonate burials may also argue against any such identification. But the skeletons seen may not belong to the appropriate period, and the statistically very small sample considered would tend to negate any assumptions about the total population of the graveyard.

Chronologically, the 20 grave slabs, largely clustering around the south-east end of the church, would all fit within a twelfth-century context and there is no evidence for obviously stylistically later slabs. Of course, later funerary monuments may have focused elsewhere within the churchyard.

The analysis of pottery from the site, mostly from fairly superficial and disturbed medieval contexts, has provided a general insight into the date of the abandonment of the structure. Pottery as late as the fifteenth century was recovered from decay or destruction layers inside (or over) the church. Perhaps the most significant insight into the date of the abandonment of the church, however, has been provided by the radiocarbon dating of a skeleton buried in the chancel of the church (see note 2), whose grave was cut through a layer **[23]**, probably representing demolition or decay of the church. The results of this analysis suggested that the burial had probably been made in the very late thirteenth century.

D. THE CHURCH AT CHEVIOT HOUSE
(figs. 1, 13–14)

Alan Williams

The remains of a structure interpreted as a church were discovered on this site (figs. 1 and 13) during construction of Cheviot House, a substantial Victorian villa, probably in 1868 or 1869 (a clause in the conveyance of the plot of land specified that a house should be built on the site over these years: pers. comm. Mr A. Phillips, the present owner). Scott, who had visited the site when the remains were revealed, assumed that it represented the church of St Laurence, the parish church of Bondington, which he took to lie along Castle Terrace. He commented:

> It will be remembered that a few years ago, when Cheviot House, in Castle Terrace, was built, that the foundations of a church were laid bare, and the remains of a churchyard

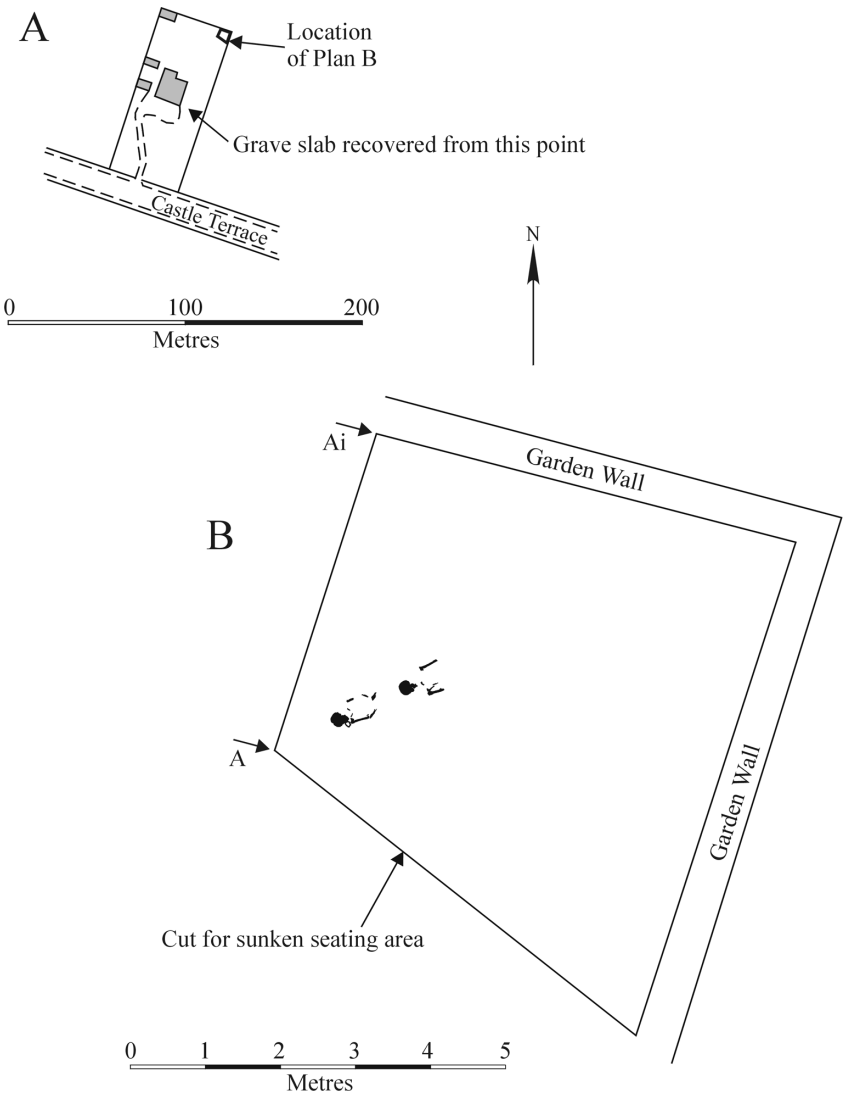


Fig. 13 Cheviot House. A: Along Castle Terrace B: Site of exposure of skeletons.

> (several graves in which I saw opened). The foundations of the church showed a building 90 feet in length, with a square tower at the western end, 25 feet square. . . (Scott 1888, 333).

Unfortunately, no plan of these remains has been located. There is, in fact, no reason to assume that a plan was ever drawn. It would, however, be a very reasonable inference that the church lay in the centre of the plot, in the area of the house, though questions of detailed location and interpretation remain: did the 90 feet (27.4m) length include the tower; did the structure have an apse or obvious divisions; and does the word 'opening' with reference to the graves suggest lidded sarcophagi?

Further light was shed on the graveyard at Cheviot House in August 2000 when

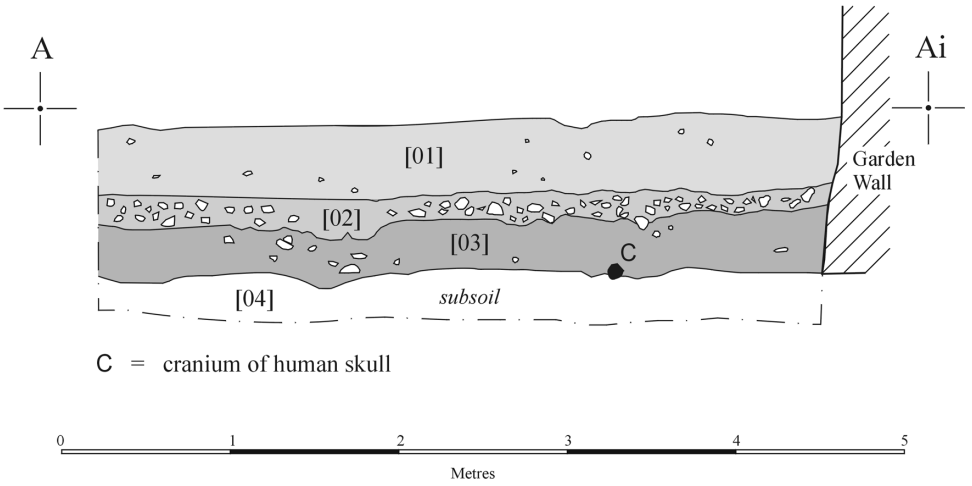


Fig. 14 East-facing section of cut made for sunken seating area.

groundworks for an open seating area in the extreme north-east of the plot (fig. 13) revealed two articulated human skeletons and an amount of disarticulated human bone (all reburied immediately after investigation of their context). Figure 14 illustrates the stratigraphy in the area which consisted of a sandy subsoil **[4]** overlaid by a brown sandy loam containing numerous fragments of human bone **[3]**. The latter was clearly a graveyard soil which, in turn, was overlaid by a construction deposit **[2]** for the high garden wall surrounding the plot and a dark brown loam garden soil **[1]**. The implication is that a relatively densely occupied graveyard extended from the church northwards to the edge of the plot (*c.*40m from the northern side of the house) and probably beyond into the field to the north.

In addition, an ornate *ex situ* grave slab was also located in the grounds of Cheviot House during this recording (fig. 15). If its original find spot, as noted by Mr Phillips, represented an *in situ* slab, it may also indicate where the south east corner of the church lay (all the ornate stones at 21 Castle Terrace lay in this general area in relation to the church there).

Previous archaeological evaluation at The Elms, a property to the west of Cheviot House, revealed little evidence for medieval activity other than a possible boundary ditch containing several sherds of medieval pottery (Bishop 1999).

THE GRAVE SLAB (fig. 15)

Eric Cambridge

The carved stone (fig. 15) is unusual in form, and in its present condition it is difficult to reconstruct its original shape. At first sight, the terminal projections look as though they might have formed the arms of a cross, but if the monument was originally intended to stand upright there are (unfortunately unintelligible) traces of carving on what would then have been the upper surface of the horizontal cross-arms, the position of which would make it impossible for there ever to have been an upper arm. What is more, one face is completely plain, and appears always to have been so, which suggests that it is more appropriately interpreted as a recumbent monument, in which the plain face formed the bottom. It is incomplete at one end, and damaged and abraded on the upper surface. Enough survives to suggest that the form of the main section was slightly bombé, widest in the middle and tapering towards either end. Further, the sides slope inwards and the ornament appears to have continued over the whole

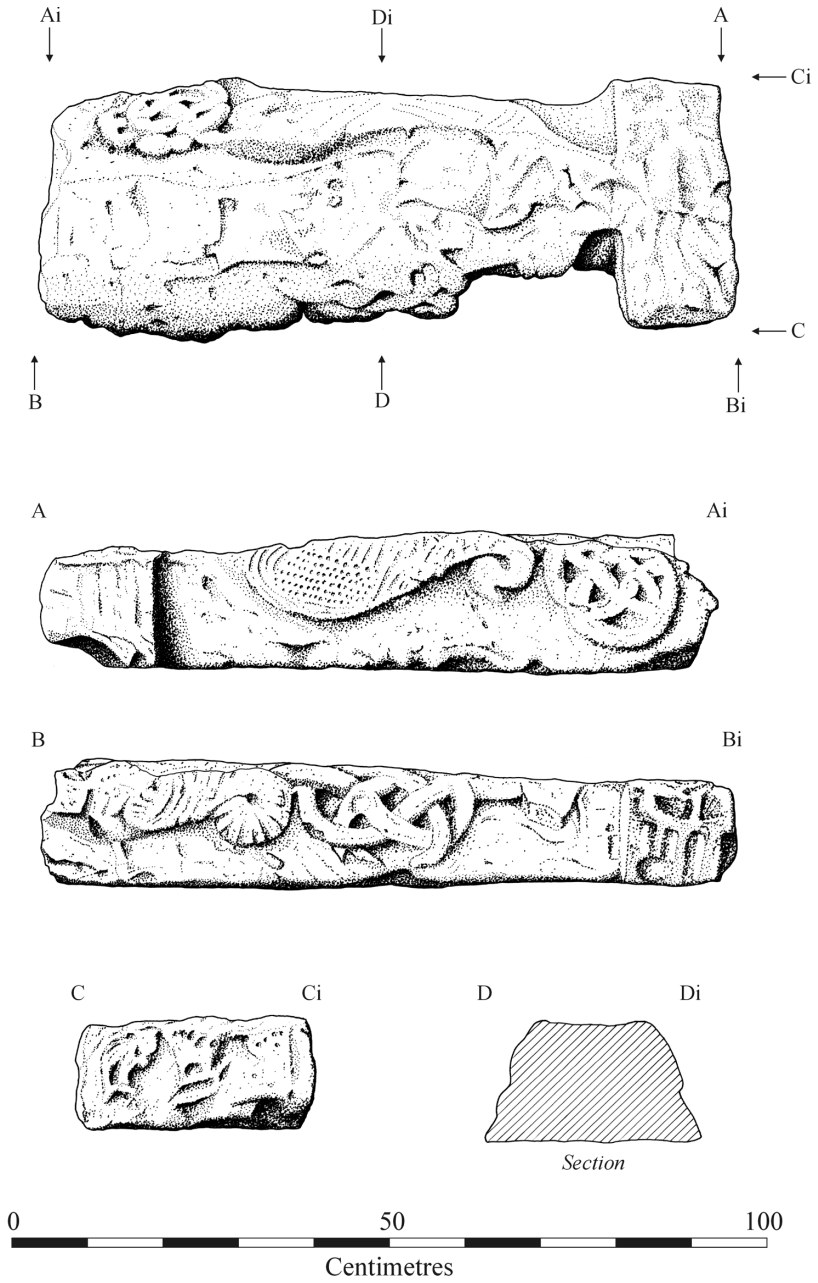


Fig. 15 Grave slab from Cheviot House.

of the top and sides without interruption or division into fields. The one surviving end appears to have been carved on its top, side and end faces. Presumably it was once matched by a comparable projecting feature at the other end.

The ornament on the top and sides appears to have consisted of plump creatures whose bodies loop in on themselves and then dissolve into thick, fleshy interlace. The one on the better preserved side is clearly winged, the wing being defined with parallel rows of sunken holes. The ornament of one end of the projecting terminal feature consists of a row of four plain baluster-like features; the other faces were clearly also decorated but are now too worn for comment.

The distinctive loop towards the rear of the animals' bodies and the thick, heavy stylistic treatment suggest a Romanesque context. Animals with similar looped bodies appear in Romanesque sculpture, for example, on a mid twelfth-century tympanum fragment from St. Augustine's Canterbury (Zarnecki 1984, 192, no. 160) and, closer to home, on the dragon in the centre of the tympanum from St Bees, Cumbria, of around the same date (Zarnecki 1984, 166, no. 124). Such beasts occur fairly frequently in the initials of Romanesque manuscripts; their origins can be traced back into late Anglo-Saxon manuscript art, for example, in the Tiberius Psalter of the mid eleventh century (Temple 1976, ills. 297, 310). The motif of animals whose bodies develop into interlace has an even longer history in Anglo-Saxon art, stretching back into the pre-Viking period. It continues to occur from time to time in manuscripts of the late pre-Conquest period, for example, in the illustrated Anglo-Saxon Homilies from Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, of the second quarter of the eleventh century (Temple 1976, ill. 254); it is not, however, characteristic of contemporary sculpture. Conversely, the motif reappears in twelfth-century Romanesque sculpture (albeit attached to bodies treated rather differently from those of their Anglo-Saxon precursors), though by then it seems to have dropped out of the ornamental repertoire of contemporary manuscripts, in which animals typically appear enmeshed by, and sometimes also terminating in, foliage. Quite why this apparently renewed interest in earlier forms arose, and what it might have signified to a twelfth-century viewer, has never been satisfactorily explained. At any rate, it does not appear to be explicable in terms of the continuation of a traditional repertoire in the medium of stone sculpture; given the poorer survival rate of other decorated media compared to illuminated manuscripts, however, it would be unwise to assume that the revival of these motifs by twelfth-century stone-carvers was necessarily manuscript-driven.

E. ST LEONARD'S NUNNERY (figs. 16 and 17)

Tim Gates

On 9 July 1976, at a time of severe drought, an air survey company based in Southampton, Cartographical Services Ltd., carried out a photographic survey of the proposed route of the A1 bypass around Berwick-upon-Tweed (figs. 1A and B). Some years later, when the photographs became available for examination, it was found that a series of parchmarks had been fortuitously recorded close to the site traditionally identified as that of a Cistercian nunnery dedicated to St Leonard, which is said to have stood outside the walls of the town.[9] As shown on the accompanying plan (fig. 16), the parchmarks represent three different buildings, the largest of which is cruciform in shape and can hardly be anything other than a church. Whereas the air photographs confirm this as a religious site written sources remain our best guide to its date and history. The recent discovery of another 'lost' medieval church at Castle Terrace in the same general area is further evidence of a well developed suburb on this side of Berwick. Be that as it may, any kind of extramural settlement next to Berwick would have become an increasingly hazardous place during the long period of warfare that followed the disaster of 1296.

The site traditionally associated with St Leonard's falls in what is now a featureless

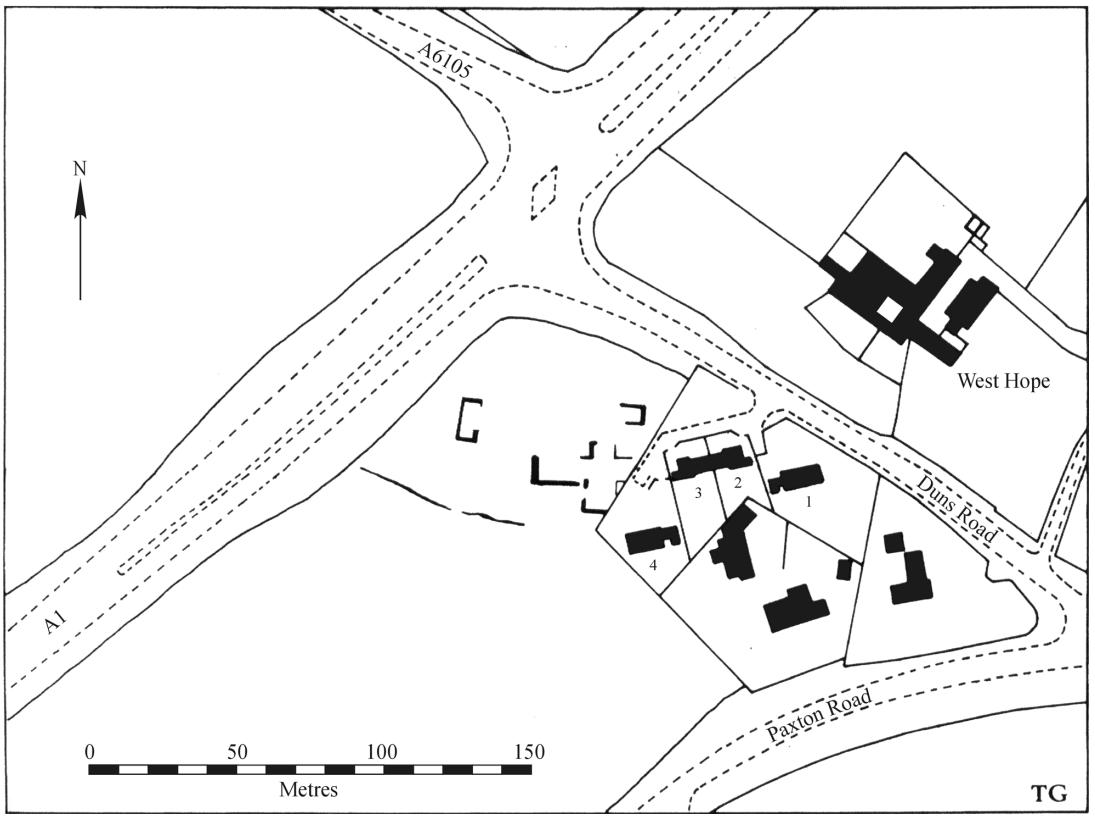


Fig. 16 Nunnery of St Leonard. Transcription of parch marks seen in 1976.

arable field which lies just inside the bypass on the west side of the A 6105 Berwick to Duns road and close to the foot of Halidon Hill, site of an historic battle fought between the English and the Scots in 1333. From this elevated spot above the town, the land slopes gently down to the south east in the direction of the twelfth-century castle which formerly stood about a kilometre from the nunnery on the line of Berwick's medieval defences.

As will be evident from figure 16, the church is the largest of the three buildings recorded in 1979. Although some elements of its layout, including the north wall of the nave, part of the north transept and the east wall of the presbytery, are not visible on the photographs this can readily be explained in terms of either stone robbing or plough damage. Assuming a square-ended chancel, conforming to the Bernardine plan generally adopted by the Cistercians, the overall length of the church can be estimated with a fair degree of confidence at between 32m and 35m and the width of the nave at about 10m. The centre point of the crossing is at NT 98460 54000 and the orientation of the building is almost exactly east-west. The apparent inequality in the size of the transepts could be accounted for if, for example, what looks like the enlarged south transept actually includes some other structure such as a sacristy, or even a slype if there were a cloister on this side of the church.

Two rectangular buildings are also evident in more or less close proximity to the church. One is situated 30m from the west end of the nave, and measures about 14m by 7m. The plan of the other, which lies just beyond the north transept, is not complete and though its

length cannot be determined, it seems to have been about the same width as the first. At this stage there is no way of knowing what the purpose of these buildings may have been but an infirmary and/or a guest house are likely possibilities.

As well as the buildings, the aerial photographs record a linear feature which can be traced for a distance of 60m through the same field. Even if this represents a man-made as opposed to a geological feature, its relationship to the convent remains questionable.

The supposed site of St Leonard's is marked on the 1862 OS six-inch map by an antiquities symbol which, as it now turns out, is centred within 20m of the church crossing. Quite how such a remarkable degree of accuracy was achieved, if not by chance, remains something of a mystery, particularly as years of cultivation must have erased all visible traces of the conventual buildings long before this date (see below). The most likely explanation is that the position of the church was pointed out by farm workers accustomed to hitting its buried walls with their ploughs. Indeed, a supposition along these lines is to some extent borne out by an entry contained in one of the few surviving Ordnance Survey Object Name Books for the area. Dated 1922, this records "The site of an ancient nunnery situated 31 chains north west of Castle Hills" and gives as its authority the name of an agricultural worker employed on a nearby farm.[10] Moreover, from enquiries made some fifteen years ago, it appears that recognisable fragments of sandstone masonry are still occasionally brought to the surface when ploughing that part of the field in which the church is situated.

St Leonard's is referred to in most of the printed histories of Berwick that have appeared since the end of the eighteenth century. The most informative of these accounts is that offered by John Scott who, in his *Berwick-upon-Tweed*, published in 1888, writes that "the traditional site of this nunnery was on the southern slope of Halidon Hill, in the Nunslees, on the opposite side of the road from Meadow House, which is said to be built of the stones remaining from the ruins of that nunnery. The name Nunslees lends an air of certainty to the tradition" (Scott 1888, 343). As the Berwick Tithe Map of *c.*1850 shows (fig. 17),[11] at about the time Scott was writing the Nunslees was a large arable field, of some 15 hectares (37 acres), and owned by the Corporation. Meadow House, now known as Meadow Hill, stands on the east side of the Duns Road, 250m further up the hill from the nunnery on the opposite side of the A1 bypass. Built of local sandstone, it has been much altered in recent years and external examination betrays no sign of re-used medieval masonry.[12]

At this point, mention should also be made of an incident which took place in January 1954 when workmen employed in building houses found human remains on land immediately adjacent to the site of St Leonard's. As reported in the local press,[13] the find consisted of two complete skeletons and possibly as many as four skulls. All the remains were said to have been found at a shallow depth and were passed on by the police to Dr J. E. Stephenson, a pathologist from Newcastle, who duly reported to the Berwick coroner that they were "between 500 and 600 years old". As one of the skeletons was apparently that of a man over six feet tall, and as a "steel tipped arrowhead" was found near the ribs of another, there was speculation that these were the bodies of soldiers killed in the Battle of Halidon Hill in 1333. Unfortunately, there is now no way of checking this assertion since both the bones and the arrowhead have been lost and the coroner's records for this period have likewise disappeared.

The land on which the bones were found is now occupied by the four houses numbered 1–4 Duns Road. A few years ago, when enquiries were made of the builder, Mr R. Pierce, he recollected that the skeletons were found while excavating a driveway close to the boundary of the site and about 25 yards from the main road. This would put the findspot at or near NT 98478 58410 and so very close to the presumed east wall of the presbytery (fig. 16); a position by no means unlikely for a monastic cemetery. Indeed, the implied existence of a cemetery in this area is further corroborated by local residents, including Mr Francis Cowe, who recall

that one or more stone coffins and a stone coffin lid were also discovered in 1954. This important detail is not contained in either of the press reports alluded to above. Nor is there now any sign of the coffins or their lids which, it is said, were broken up or re-buried in later years. Nevertheless, the reported presence of stone coffins is highly significant because it indicates that the cemetery contained high status burials, such as might befit a benefactor or visiting clergy, and was therefore more than just an improvised resting place for battle casualties.

The existence of a Cistercian nunnery dedicated to St Leonard, and situated somewhere on the outskirts of Berwick, is well attested in medieval documents. Useful summaries of the relevant evidence have been published (Easson 1957, 121). However, as will be clear to anyone who consults the various printed histories of Berwick, a difference of opinion has grown up over the years as to whether there were two Cistercian nunneries in the town or only one.

As reference to the relevant source materials will show, at the root of this problem is a misunderstanding of one particular entry in the Ragman Roll, a document which lists the names of more than 1500 landowners of Scotland whose fealties were presented to Edward I at the parliament held at Berwick on 28 August 1296, five months after he captured the town. Included in this rollcall of names are the prioresses of two convents which, it is generally agreed, had some direct connection with Berwick itself. Of these the first to appear is "Anneys, prioress of South Berwick", and there is no problem in recognising her as the prioress of a convent at Berwick itself (Bain 1884, 200). For, as Easson makes clear, in this context the term 'South Berwick' simply means Berwick-upon-Tweed, the point being to distinguish it from the town of North Berwick in East Lothian where there was also a Cistercian nunnery. The second named prioress, who appears somewhat further down the list, is referred to as "Mariorie prioress of Halistane *del counte de Berwyk*" (Bain 1884, 213). While it is evident that she represents a convent called 'Halistane', or Holystone, there is some doubt as to where this might be and certain historians have argued that it too was in or near the town of Berwick (Scott 1888, 343; Ellison 1976, 162). Whether this was so or not depends crucially on the meaning of the qualifying phrase "*del counte de Berwyk*", and the writer is grateful to Professor Geoffrey Barrow for pointing out its true significance.[14] For, according to Professor Barrow, this wording does not signify that Margery's convent was actually at Berwick, as some previous commentators have supposed, but rather that she owed an oath of loyalty to the King by virtue of the fact that her convent owned property in 'the county of Berwick', ie in Berwickshire. Once this is allowed there is no longer any difficulty in identifying the Halistane in question as the Augustinian convent of Holystone in Coquetdale, Northumberland which did indeed own land in Berwickshire (Dodds 1940, 462).[15] It follows that the Ragman Roll provides evidence for the existence of only one nunnery at Berwick. This being the case, there is no longer any problem in accepting formulas such as "the nuns of South Berwick", "the nuns near Berwick" and "the nuns of St Leonard's", which occur in other documents, as alternative ways of designating one and the same convent.

In the light of the above, it is worth noting a comment made by Scott that "there was founded of old within Berwick Bounds at Halystan, near Halidon Hill, a convent dedicated to St Leonard, for Cistercian nuns" (Scott 1888, 343). The implication of this passage, which is in fact a direct quotation from volume two of George Chalmers' *Caledonia*, is that there was actually a place called "Halystan" somewhere in the near vicinity of Berwick (Chalmers 1810, 345). Yet, as reference to Chalmers' original text will show, this assertion is based on the same misreading of the Ragman Roll as that alluded to above. Accordingly, and in the absence of any independent evidence to the contrary, we can safely disregard Chalmers' remark and take all references to "Halistan" or "Halistane" as meaning the nunnery in Coquetdale.

Cistercian houses are normally dedicated to Mary the Virgin and the dual dedication of the

one at Berwick to both Mary and St Leonard is somewhat unusual (although in the context understandable, as the saint had the reputation of a healer and was consequently a popular choice for the dedication of a hospital). But there is no reason to think it was not so named, and two identical late thirteenth-century references to 'the prioress and convent of St Leonard's, without Berewyk' confirms that a nunnery dedicated to this saint was indeed located somewhere outside the walls of the town (Macpherson *et al* 1814–19, I, 23; HMSO 1895, 186).

David I, who ruled as King of Scotland from 1124 to 1153, is named in two early fourteenth-century sources as the founder of St Leonard's. The documents in question record payments of 40 marks a year made to "the prioress and nuns of Berwick-upon-Tweed" and specifically mention David as the original grantor (Macpherson *et al* 1814–19, I, 267 and 416). Nor does this seem at all unlikely given that David is credited with planting religious houses "on a scale unmatched in any other period of Scottish history" (Easson 1957, 5). If it is accepted that David was its founder, then St Leonard's has a good claim to be the earliest Cistercian nunnery in Scotland, having been established less than 30 years after the order was first introduced across the Channel from France into England.

Nor was this the only mark of favour which David showed to the town, for it was he who accorded Berwick the status of a Royal Burgh in keeping with its growing importance as Scotland's premier port. Thereafter, and particularly during the century of relative peace which followed the Treaty of Falaise (1174), the town reached a peak of prosperity. However much, or little, the life of the nuns was affected by this commercial activity, there can be little doubt that it was the Cistercian preference for rural seclusion which ultimately had most influence on their fate. For, by dictating the choice of a site well removed from the town and the relative safety of its walls, the nunnery found itself in an exposed and vulnerable position on Berwick's landward flank when cross-border warfare again broke out in earnest in 1296. Over the course of the next three centuries, when the town changed hands on more than a dozen occasions, there must have been many times when the nunnery found itself sandwiched uncomfortably between opposing forces.

For the most part we remain ignorant about the fate of the nuns during these troubled times. There is, however, one occasion when they briefly enter the spotlight of history. This was when they found themselves caught up in the battle of Halidon Hill which was fought out somewhere close to St Leonard's on 19 July 1333. During this engagement, which followed a siege lasting more than three months, Edward III's army inflicted a decisive defeat on a relieving force of Scots with the result that the English were able to occupy Berwick on the following day; this also happened to be the feast day of St Margaret. Eight days later the King made a grant to "the nuns near Berwick" in recognition of the suffering they had endured during the recent hostilities (Macpherson *et al* 1814–19, I, 257). The text of this document makes interesting reading and specifically mentions that the conventual church and other buildings belonging to the nuns were "destroyed or damaged and burnt, and their moveable goods utterly consumed and exhausted". For the necessary repairs the nuns were awarded an annual payment of £20 in return for which they were to celebrate mass in their church, situated "near the place of the said battle", on the eve and festival of St Margaret for ever in commemoration of Edward's great victory. Interestingly, this sum was to be paid by the sheriff from the revenues of the town until such time as the nuns could be provided with land of equivalent value which was to be held in perpetuity by them and their successors.

In the light of subsequent events, it seems highly unlikely that the repairs ordered in 1333 were actually carried out, but whether they were or not it is evident that the nuns at Berwick never recovered from their misfortune. At least this seems to be the underlying reason why Robert III suppressed the nunnery in 1390, ordering that all its lands and revenues should be transferred to Dryburgh Abbey, on the

grounds that the nuns, reduced to only two in number, had engaged in dissolute and incontinent behaviour (Thomson *et al* 1852–1914, I, no. 832). Whatever truth there may have been in this, the legality of Robert's action was challenged, and the lands and possessions of St Leonard's continued to be the subject of protracted wrangling for the next 60 years.

The first sign of dissent came in 1420 when Agnes Bron (or Broun), a nun of St Bothan's petitioned the Pope for the possession of the nunnery of "St Mary of Sutberwyk" (Lindsay and Cameron 1934, 152–3). Claiming "all its rights and pertinents", valued at 15 marks sterling, she went on to say that the convent "is at present void and has been so long void that the true manner of its voidance is not certainly known". Although her argument seems to have been well founded, it did not produce the desired result and Dryburgh remained in possession of the disputed property.

Undeterred, nine years later Agnes Bron tried again (Dunlop and Cowan 1970, 30–1). This time she even travelled to Rome in person, braving "the greatest perils of roads and dangers of seas", to renew her petition to the Pope. In her new submission she stated that "with the passing of time the monastery [Suthberwyk], which is on the borders of England, became collapsed and ruinous through the constant wars and divisions and various other calamities which existed for a long time in those parts, so that the prioress and nuns were driven by necessity to go elsewhere", adding that they were "powerless. . .with regard to the repair of the said monastery". But again her efforts were in vain and Dryburgh was not dislodged.

Finally, in 1466, Andrew Lumsden, a priest from the diocese of St Andrews, made one last, forthright appeal to Rome (Kirk, Tanner and Dunlop 1997, 340–1). In this, he stressed the illegality of the existing situation, saying that Dryburgh had "violently occupied [South Berwick] without canonical title, and detained it while wars were raging, so they do at present". On the other hand, peace having now returned, he requested that administration of the property be given to him so that he could reclaim the goods and rights that had been wrongfully taken away and set about restoring the monastery buildings.

On this occasion the Pope did in fact order that Lumsden's petition should be granted with the proviso that half the proceeds should be assigned to the nuns, "if there are any", for their maintenance. However there is no reason to believe that the monastery was ever repaired following its suppression by Robert III and, reading between the lines, one suspects that it may have been the land belonging to the nuns of South Berwick which had been the real issue all along.

To conclude this short survey of St Leonard's, all that remains is to give a brief outline of the post-medieval history of the site and the land around it. According to the Berwick Tithe map, referred to above, the site of the conventual church and its associated buildings lay, in the mid-nineteenth century, at the southernmost extremity of a large tract of cultivated land known, somewhat misleadingly, as "Alder Bush Meadow". In this context, as Scott makes clear (Scott 1888, 280–6), the term 'meadow' has a specific meaning and harks back to ancient usage when the freemen and certain other citizens of Berwick exercised rights of common pasture over large areas of grassland on the fringes of the town. This land, including both Nunslees and Alder Bush meadows, was conveyed to the Corporation by a charter of James I in the early years of the seventeenth century. Soon afterwards, Scott continues, the ancient pastures were sub-divided into small parcels of land and rented out as separate lots to the Freemen or their widows.

Both the Nunslees and Alder Bush meadows are shown on the Tithe Map as consisting of numerous narrow strips (fig. 17). Each strip typically measures from 13m to 23m in breadth and upwards of 280m in length, with an area of a little more than one acre. Additionally there are one or two exceptionally large strips which are roughly double the size of the others and could have been produced by amalgamation. On plan the overall pattern looks not unlike that produced by ridge and furrow, an impression which is further strengthened by the curving alignment of certain strips within each of

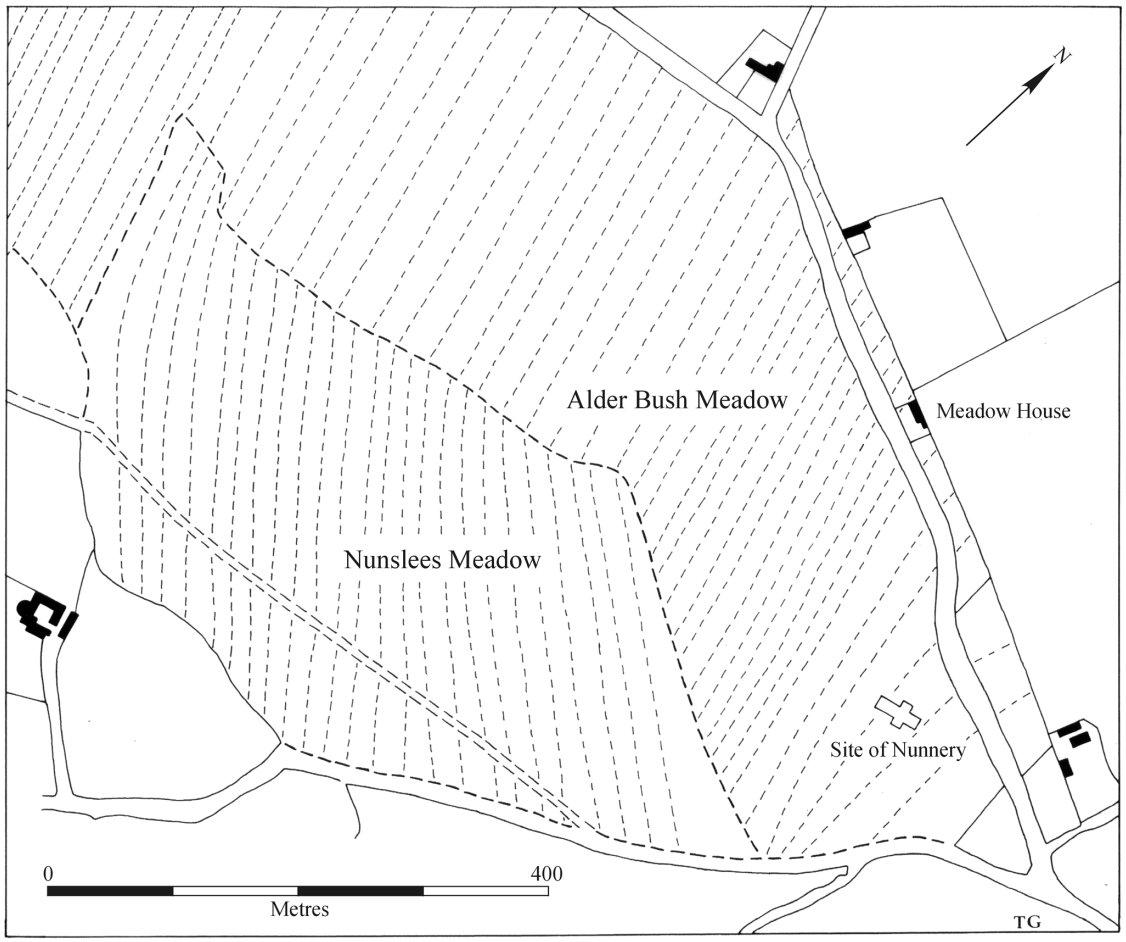


Fig. 17 Nunnery of St Leonard. Plan redrawn from the Berwick Tithe Map of c. 1850 showing the nineteenth century property boundaries and with the site of St Leonard's added. Original at a scale of 4 chains to the inch.

the two hypothetical 'furlongs'. It is perhaps legitimate to wonder whether the early seventeenth-century sub-division of the meadows may not have been at least partly based on arrangements originating in an earlier system of open-field agriculture. Such a conclusion would, of course, imply that at some stage during the middle ages most (if not all) of this land was under cultivation.

Be that as it may, it is clear from Scott's account that once they were under the control of the Corporation the 'Meadows' were gradually converted, or possibly put back, into arable use. In the case of the Nunslees and Alder Bush meadows, leases and rentals in the Berwick Archives show that this process had been completed by 1800.[16] The Corporation expected high standards of husbandry from its tenants and a printed schedule, dated October 1838, prescribes an eight or nine year rotation of grass, cereals and root crops together with liberal applications of lime and manure.[17]

Finally, it is worth pointing out that even after two centuries, or more, of intensive cultivation, substantial remains of the convent buildings continue to survive below ground

level. At the same time, modern ploughing undoubtedly constitutes a continued threat to these remains though the extent of this threat, and likewise the archaeological potential of the deposits, is something that could only be determined by excavation. Meanwhile a good case can be made for extending legal protection to the site and, possibly, for removing it from arable use altogether.

F. CHURCH PROVISION IN AND AROUND BERWICK AND ITS SETTLEMENT CONTEXT
(figs. 2, 18, 19 and 20)

Eric Cambridge

The identification of the site of St Leonard's nunnery and the location of the sites of at least two other unidentified churches in the same general area north-west of the medieval borough of Berwick points to an unexpected concentration of ecclesiastical activity in what at first sight might have been expected to be an unimportant marginal location (fig. 2). The distribution of these sites raises important questions about the nature of ecclesiastical provision both within and without the borough, and about the relationship between that provision and the settlement which it served. The answers to those questions may, in turn, shed some light upon the origins and development of medieval Berwick, particularly in the crucial years of its formation in the twelfth century.

The total number of churches which might once have existed in twelfth-century Berwick remains a mystery. Excluding the nunnery, two (those of St Mary and St Laurence) were certainly in existence by then, as they are mentioned in contemporary charters.[18] Holy Trinity is sometimes assumed to have been in existence as early as this, though it is not specifically documented until the thirteenth century; the same might be postulated of another church, St Nicholas, which is also not documented until that time.[19] To these must be added some at least of the chapels which must once have served the hospitals of the town. Of the five documented, only one (the *Maison Dieu*) was certainly founded later than 1200 (Cowan and Easson 1976, 171–2). It must be remembered that, in general, hospitals founded before *c.*1200 are probably significantly underrepresented in the documentary record, so that (as with the churches of Holy Trinity and St Nicholas) the attestation of these institutions only in the thirteenth century or later does not mean that they might not have been in existence earlier (Orme and Webster 1995, 35). There is simply no way of knowing whether there might not have been other churches, (whether serving parishes, or hospitals, or both),[20] of which we know nothing.

If either of the churches located north-west of Berwick were parochial in function, their identification would then need to take some account of the parochial organisation of Berwick and its environs. The evidence for this is itself far from easy to interpret, however. The conventional account postulates two parishes, Berwick itself (served by the church of Holy Trinity and containing the chapelry of St Nicholas), and Bondington, a medieval settlement name which cannot be located on the modern map (served by the churches of St Mary and St Laurence).[21] The evidence for the existence of these parishes as such needs to be carefully distinguished from that relating both to the location of the churches within each and to the identification of which of those churches might have performed parochial functions.

The only unequivocal evidence for the existence of a parish of Bondington comes from a reference in a mid thirteenth-century charter of the nuns of Berwick granting the tithes of their property in the parish of that name to the monks of Durham and their cell at Coldingham.[22] Bondington does not appear in the lists of Scottish parishes in late thirteenth-century papal taxation records, however.[23] A Kelso Abbey rental of *c.*1300 itemises the returns from that convent's properties at Bondington by reference to land adjacent to the churches of St Laurence and St Mary.[24] The fact that the dedications of the two churches referred to in the rental match those of the churches recorded

as having been granted to the monks of Durham in the twelfth century has been taken to imply that the same two churches are being referred to in each case, and that they had originally served separate parishes but had subsequently been amalgamated to form the parish of Bondington.[25] This hypothesis may be correct (though no positive evidence is adduced in its favour), but the case for identifying the two sets of dedications as referring to the same two churches is significantly stronger in the case of St Laurence, a dedication which, though by no means rare, is unlikely to have occurred twice in the same locality,[26] than in the case of St Mary, since it is clear that there were at least two churches with that dedication in Berwick and environs.[27] While the above evidence cannot be taken to prove conclusively either that church of St Laurence in the settlement referred to as Bondington was the one in the possession of the Durham monks, or that it lay within the parish of that name, there is a strong likelihood that this was the case. If so, those circumstances, when taken together with the fact that the monks of Durham also demonstrably had an interest in the tithes of the parish of Bondington, combine to suggest that a likely (and certainly the most economical) inference is that St Laurence was the parish church of Bondington.[28] Its absence from the late thirteenth-century papal taxation records might indicate that it had already ceased to be an independent parish by that time, though there may be other reasons for its omission from those documents.[29] In any event, as we shall see, there is other evidence which confirms that the parish had lost its independence, at any rate by the fourteenth century.[30]

Durham Priory also had an interest in the parochial provision within the borough of Berwick. Durham records consistently refer to only one church there, however. Though the church concerned is not always named in the references, from the early thirteenth century at least it must be identified with the one dedicated to the Holy Trinity, which had clearly been appropriated by the early 1240s and had probably been assigned from the outset (as certainly later) to augment the revenues of Durham's cell at Coldingham.[31] There is a puzzle here, however, for Holy Trinity is not referred to (or at any rate, is not identifiable by its dedication) in any twelfth-century sources, though it had presumably been in existence some time before its first occurrence in the documentary record in 1242, which refers to its reconsecration.[32] Cowan may well be right to suppose that it was of comparatively recent origin, perhaps (like St Giles at Edinburgh or Holy Trinity at St Andrews) founded as a new church to serve the rapidly expanding borough (Cowan 1988, 91), but (especially given the voluminous nature of the Durham archives) it is difficult to explain why there is no record of how it came into the possession of the Durham monks, and the later its foundation, the more uncomfortable that evidential lacuna becomes.

Besides the church of St Nicholas (which, as a dependent chapelry, one would not have expected to appear in the Durham archive) there also appears to have been a third church dedicated to St Mary within the borough which (at least at the end of the Middle Ages) was apparently parochial in function, since its demolition in the mid sixteenth century to make way for the Elizabethan walls was alleged to have been a major cause of the need to rebuild Holy Trinity nearly a century later (Scott 1888, 333; Ellison 1976, 157). If reports of the location of remains of its churchyard in the nineteenth century are accurate it apparently lay just east of the present Scotsgate, at the head of the street which still bears its name (fig. 2) (Scott 1888, 333–4). Presumably it had been another chapelry of Holy Trinity. Could this church be identified with the church of St Mary referred to in the twelfth-century grant to Durham? If so, it must be stressed that the thirteenth-century and later pre-eminence of Holy Trinity, and the presumptive subordination to it of St Mary, by no means imply that such a relationship was of any antiquity; examples of ancient churches later becoming chapelries dependent upon their more recent successors can be found elsewhere, and if Holy Trinity had usurped parochial functions originally appertaining to St Mary, it would then be possible to explain the otherwise mysterious

appearance of the former in the thirteenth century as the mother church of Berwick, the lack of evidence in Durham Priory's records as to how the monks acquired their interest in it, and the equally mysterious disappearance of St Mary from Durham records after the twelfth century.

Since there are no references to the parish of Bondington later than the thirteenth century, Cowan is probably correct to suppose that its parish was later amalgamated with that of Berwick;[33] presumably therefore (whatever its status *vis-à-vis* the independent parish of Bondington), St Laurence also later became a chapelry dependent upon Holy Trinity in Berwick. Given the abundance of the Durham archive, it would indeed be surprising if (exactly as in the case of St Mary) references to the church of St Laurence had not continued to occur had it either had (or at any rate retained) a separate parochial status into the later Middle Ages; but the silence of the Durham documents is entirely consistent with churches which were (or had been reduced to) the status of dependent chapels.

The implications of the documentary sources so far considered may be summarised thus: there are records of three churches serving parochial functions within the borough of Berwick (Holy Trinity, St Nicholas and probably also St Mary); at least one church in Bondington, St Laurence, also appears to have done so. The latter can probably be identified with the church of St Laurence, described in twelfth-century charters as in Berwick, which passed from the ownership of Kelso Abbey to that of Durham Priory in the later twelfth century. In contrast, there is no positive case for identifying the church of St Mary in Bondington referred to in the Kelso rental with the church of that dedication, again referred to as in Berwick in twelfth-century charters which record its grant to Durham Priory, while the disappearance of references to a *church* of St Mary in Berwick and the (otherwise unexplained) emergence of references to one dedicated to the Holy Trinity suggest that the former is more likely to have been the church of that dedication known to have existed within the borough. Nor are there any positive grounds for supposing that the church of St Mary referred to in the Kelso rental as being in Bondington performed any parochial function.

If the argument that the church of St Laurence described in twelfth-century sources as in Berwick and the one referred to in thirteenth-century sources as in Bondington are one and the same is correct,[34] it suggests that, wherever exactly Bondington was, it cannot have been far from Berwick in its modern sense. Further, if the un-named church in an early twelfth-century charter can be identified with the one later named as that dedicated to St Laurence, it was presumably also sited fairly close to the Tweed, since properties of Kelso Abbey are located in that document as lying "below the church as far as the Tweed".[35] This implies a general location for the settlement of Bondington immediately north-west of the borough, that is, the area within which lie the sites of the church recently excavated at Castle Terrace and the one located in the nineteenth century at Cheviot House (fig. 2). There may, of course, be more ecclesiastical sites in that area which remain unidentified. This inevitably introduces an element of uncertainty into any attempt at identification of the known sites with those referred to in the documentary sources as having been in Bondington. Even if the two churches for which we have references do indeed correlate with the two located sites, however, we are still left with the difficulty of identifying which is which. Here two pieces of evidence may be of assistance. Firstly, the nineteenth-century excavations at Cheviot House established that the church on that site had a western tower. Such a feature would be uncommon among chapels serving hospitals, but would not be at all out of place in a parish church. Secondly, the unusual longitudinal division of the nave at Castle Terrace (whether interpreted as implying a non-parochial function or a combination of parochial and non-parochial functions), is most probably to be interpreted as associated with the use of that building as a hospital.[36] Taken together, these considerations suggest that the Cheviot House site is more likely to be that of the church of St

Laurence.[37] In that case, the church at Castle Terrace may be identified with the church of St Mary referred to in the Kelso rental. It is worth noting in this context that its location, near the edge of a steep slope down to the Tweed, would plausibly identify it with the church there referred to, which is described as having a bank beneath it let out for grazing.[38]

If the recently excavated structure was indeed a hospital it is difficult to identify it with any confidence. Eliminating from the list of hospitals documented as having once existed in Berwick those which are either certainly founded after 1200 or identifiable with sites elsewhere in the town,[39] there remain a leper hospital (though, of course, there may have been more than one such institution associated with Berwick) and the hospital of St Leonard as potential candidates. Though neither can be demonstrated to have been in existence as early as the date of the church at 21 Castle Terrace, as we have seen, that by no means rules out a twelfth-century origin for either.[40] If the identification of the excavated church with the church of St Mary referred to in the Kelso rental is correct, however, it may be that this is to be identified with the church of the leper hospital referred to above (the dedication of which is not otherwise recorded), rather than with the hospital of St Leonard.

The foregoing analysis of the problems of identification and function raised by the church sites documented as located in Berwick and in Bondington also raises more general questions about their context: firstly, the relationship between the place-names by which those churches are identified in the documentary record and the way in which the extent of the physical reference of the two names apparently changed over time; and secondly, the origin and development of the settlement with which both churches and place-names are ultimately associated. It is only when an attempt has been made to understand each of these on its own terms that some insight can be gained which might explain why the churches of Berwick are sited where they are and how its parishes developed in the way that they apparently did.

The place-name Berwick, though first certainly attested only at the end of the eleventh century,[41] is likely to be much older. The name may simply have carried the meaning of its Old English components (most probably 'barley-farm') or, as Barrow has suggested, also have borne a quasi-technical sense of "dependent settlement" (Nicolaisen 1976, 78; Barrow 1976, 30). At any rate, it is at least clear that the name is indicative of a settlement of subordinate status. Bondington is apparently first attested as a place-name even later than Berwick,[42] and the date at which it was coined must remain uncertain.[43] It may reflect an Old Norse personal name combined with the generic *-ington* or, like Berwick, might have been understood in a quasi-technical sense of "the bondsmen's settlement" (Nicolaisen 1976, 114–5). Whether or not either or both names directly refer to the subordinate status of the settlements to which they were applied, the earlier those settlements came into existence the more likely it is that they functioned as outlying dependencies of a great early medieval estate whose centre lay further west up the Tweed valley (Barrow 1976, 30, map 3).

Whatever the precise meaning of the two place-names, it is possible that both names may have carried from the outset (or have come to acquire) a reference to a territory rather than to a specific settlement location, a reflection of the likelihood that the nature of the settlement to which the names originally related would have been dispersed rather than nucleated; further, the distribution of that settlement is likely to have shifted over time within its territory. It follows that (as often with early place-names) the precise locations of the pre-urban settlements which generated the names 'Berwick' and 'Bondington' are wholly uncertain and (particularly given the extensive and probably obliterating character of the later medieval development in the area) will probably always remain so. The relationship between high medieval settlements and their predecessors, whether urban or not, is still little understood.[44] Often the place-name itself might be the only relic of the earlier settlement. If there were any degree of continuity of site

between early settlements associated with Berwick and Bondington and the later medieval developments which inherited their names, however, it is the location of the churches which might provide a pointer to their sites,[45] though it must be stressed that, in our present state of knowledge, there are no grounds for postulating pre twelfth-century antecedents for any of the known churches, whether actually underlying their sites or by transference from elsewhere.

So far as the location of Berwick and Bondington in relation to one another is concerned, we have already seen that Bondington must have been located fairly close to Berwick and must also have been bordered by the Tweed.[46] The proximity of the two settlements is confirmed by a charter of Melrose Abbey referring to property in Bondington "beside Berwick upon Tweed" (Scottt 1888, 434; Anon 1836); indeed, if (as is beyond reasonable doubt) the property in the Kelso rental noted above which is described as being "in Bondington beside the church of St Laurence" can be identified with (or at least be presumed to have included) the ploughgate and toft granted to the abbey "in Berwick . . . beside the church of St Laurence" in the foundation charter of David I, King of Scots (1124–53) (Barrow 1999, 143 (no. 183)),[47] the implication is presumably that part at least of the area that later came to be referred to as Bondington lay within the scope of reference of the place-name Berwick, at least so far as twelfth-century usage is concerned. We have already seen that exactly the same is probably also the case with the references to the church itself.[48] This twelfth-century usage of the name Berwick to refer to a significantly wider area than that occupied by the borough is also implied by the charter of David I mentioned above, which refers to properties situated "in Berwick" and "in the borough" in a way which suggests that the usage of the name was not confined to the area occupied by the emergent urban settlement (Barrow 1999, 143 (no. 183)). Perhaps the most precise indication of the maximum extent of the territory which might be described by the name of Berwick is provided by references to the nunnery of St Leonard, which is apparently indifferently described as "of [South] Berwick", "outside Berwick" and "beside Berwick" (Cowan and Easson 1976, 145). As now identified by Gates,[49] the site lies more than a mile to the north-west of the likely extent of the borough in the twelfth century (fig. 18). It therefore seems that the term was used sufficiently widely to have incorporated or overlapped with areas which might also have had (or have later come to acquire) a more specific alternative appellation.

The comparative lack of archaeological excavation in the borough of Berwick,[50] and the absence of a detailed analysis of the surviving parts of its plan into its component morphological regions, an exercise which has shed much useful light on the morphogenesis of urban settlements elsewhere,[51] means that there is as yet no direct evidence for the process of urbanisation of the settlement. This lacuna is felt most acutely in what is likely to have been the period of its most intensive development, that is, in the century or so between, *c.*1130 and *c.*1230. The most that can be achieved presently is therefore to hypothesise a likely outline of that process based upon what can be gleaned from the site itself when seen in the light of recent work on comparable settlements of this period elsewhere. This immediately presents a major difficulty, however, for closely comparable settlements are hard to find. Unlike most important towns in Anglo-Norman England, Berwick did not lie on or adjacent to the site of a Roman town, nor was it adjacent to a cathedral or a major monastery, nor indeed (as we have seen) are its early medieval antecedents likely to have been urbanised at all. Other early Scottish boroughs, notably Perth, offer points of comparison, though none can have been as large or as wealthy as Berwick. On the whole, the two principal towns of North-East England, Newcastle upon Tyne, and Durham, offer the most illuminating analogies, even allowing for the obvious differences of function in the case of the latter, and for disparities in size and wealth.[52]

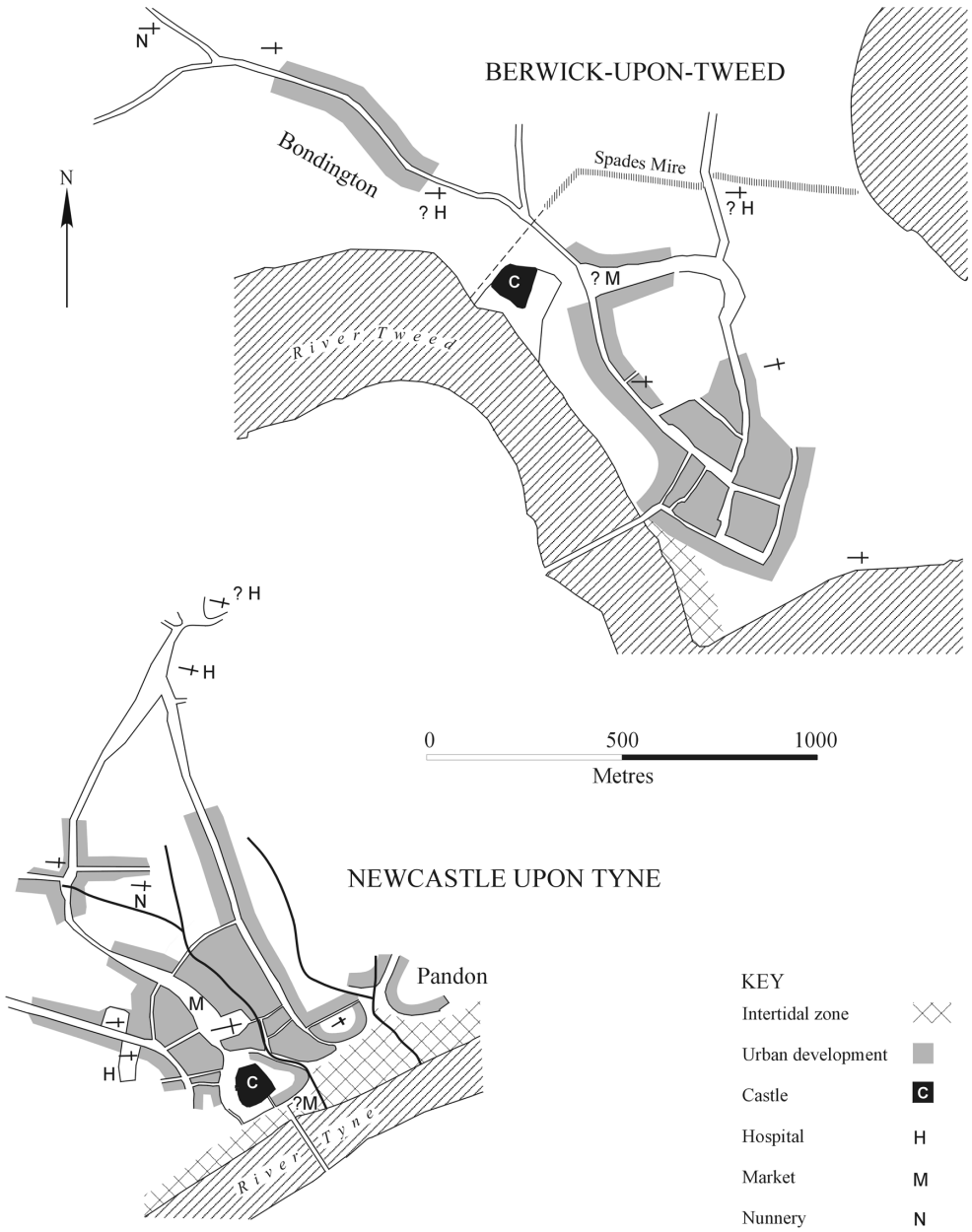


Fig. 18 Comparative plans of Berwick-upon-Tweed and Newcastle upon Tyne showing ecclesiastical sites and hypothetical extent of urbanisation in the later twelfth century.

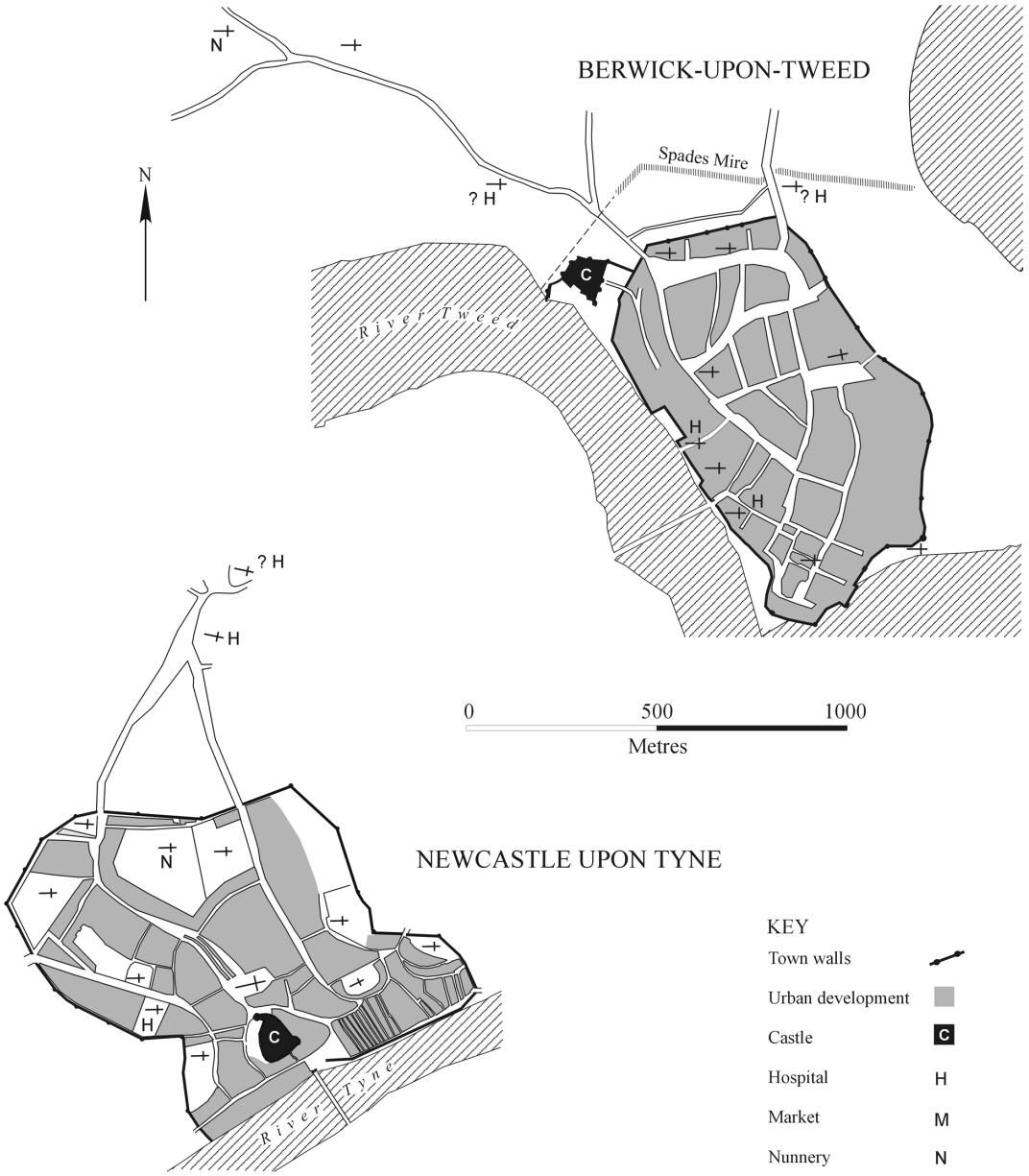


Fig. 19 Comparative plans of Berwick-upon-Tweed and Newcastle upon Tyne showing ecclesiastical sites and hypothetical extent of urbanisation in the early fourteenth century.

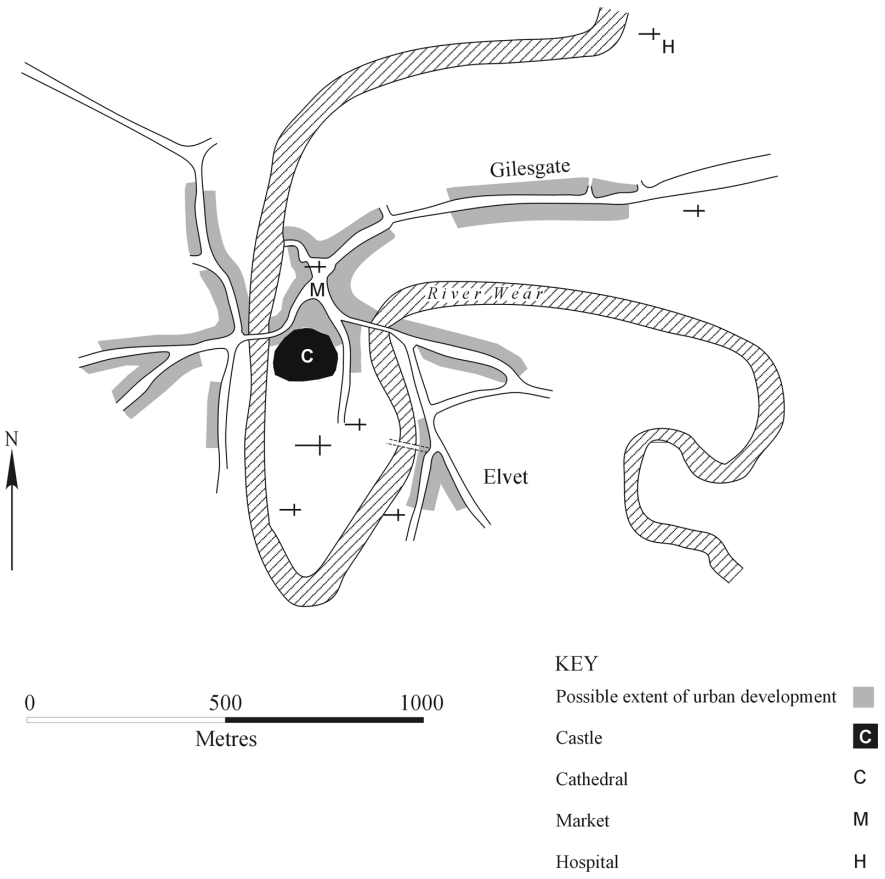


Fig. 20 Plan of Durham showing ecclesiastical sites and hypothetical extent of urbanisation in the later twelfth century.

Some clue to the possible total extent of the twelfth-century urbanisation of Berwick and its environs may be deduced from the location of dominant plan features which are characteristically located either on what were (at the time of their foundation at any rate) the margins of the settlements with which they were associated or in satellite locations, that is, clear of the margin of urban settlement yet still sited in relation to it. Hospitals (whether or not associated with infectious diseases) are one example, the locations of the Magdalene hospital at Berwick being a possible case in point (fig. 2(4)); castles are another, and the site of Berwick castle, first mentioned in the later twelfth century (Barrow 1971, 152–6 (no. 46)),[53] looks as though it may have occupied such a location, as at Perth or Dundee (Dennison and Spearman 1996, 458–9, 462). Parish churches might also be placed in peripheral locations, though successive accretions might mean that this initial context would be rapidly lost, as the examples of Perth or Dundee again demonstrate. As has already been noted, all known church sites in Berwick seem to avoid the likely core area of the medieval borough, and it may be that all three of its churches were originally located at peripheral sites of this kind, (fig. 18) though, as we have seen, in at least one case (that of St Mary (fig. 2(7)) this might be a consequence of settlement shift rather than deliberate placement.[54] In contrast

to the preceding examples, however, the nunnery of St Leonard is situated well away from the urban settlement of the borough (fig. 18). This contrasts with the position elsewhere, in which peripheral locations are often preferred (Gilchrist 1994, 64–5). Indeed, this appears to have been the position with the nunneries at both North Berwick,[55] and Newcastle, both of which lie in just such a peripheral location in relation to their core settlements (fig. 18). A different explanation for the location of the nunnery at Berwick is therefore evidently called for.

While the morphology of the borough of Berwick has yet to be subjected to systematic analysis, it is not unlikely that accretive processes played an important (perhaps even a dominant) role in its development. Other twelfth-century urban settlements also expanded in this way. The example of Perth has already been cited, and it may be that elements of the plan of Newcastle, such as the location of St John's church and of St Mary's hospital at the foot of Westgate (Harbottle and Clack 1976, 115, fig. 17), were initially located in relation to the periphery of the core settlement as at the time of their foundation (fig. 18). Aspects of the plan of the borough of Berwick suggest that comparable processes were indeed also at work there. The locations of properties owned by Scottish monastic houses in the borough of Berwick are likely to furnish some clue to the extent of the core area of the borough in the twelfth or very early thirteenth century. We have already seen that the locations of some of the parish churches at Berwick in relation to that core area thus defined suggests that they may have occupied marginal locations around it (Stevenson 1988, 102–3, fig. on 101).[56] In so far as their sites can be identified, the friaries of Berwick, like their better attested counterparts in Newcastle, may likewise help to define the margin of a later, early to mid thirteenth-century, phase of expansion of the core settlement (fig. 2).[57]

It is apparent, however, that successive accretion around the core of the borough of Berwick can scarcely account for the existence of three twelfth-century ecclesiastical sites, all located beyond its north-western margin, and including among their number at least one church performing parochial functions (fig. 18). The dates of foundation of those sites alone is difficult to square with such a hypothesis, for the parish church and the nunnery were certainly in existence by the mid twelfth century (that is, they are virtually contemporaneous with the founding of the borough), while the excavated church might also have been as early and can be no more than a generation later. It must also be borne in mind that the increasing dominance which the borough of Berwick is likely to have assumed within its settlement complex from about the early thirteenth century onwards may well be misleading as a guide to the morphological processes at work there during the twelfth. Comparison with the much better documented morphogenesis of twelfth-century Durham may shed useful light on the situation which may have obtained in and around Berwick at that time. Bonney's important analysis of Durham shows particularly clearly that a settlement pattern which might at first sight appear to suggest a process of suburban expansion from a central urban core in fact arose there in consequence of the founding, within two or three generations, of a number of jurisdictionally (and initially also physically) distinct satellite settlements around an essentially non-urban core (Bonney 1990, 41–9); only later did these coalesce into anything approaching an urban continuum, with the only settlement containing a market assuming the role of a core settlement.[58] Some of the Durham satellite settlements seem to have been generated by dominant plan features (for example, Gilesgate, which seems to have been dependent on its hospital) and sometimes acquired their own parochial provision. Their morphology is often distinctively linear, reflecting the fact that they are typically laid out as rows along the principal routes leading to the core (fig. 20), though they might also arise by accretion around pre-existing nuclei.[59] Bonney is right to stress that the term 'suburb' is particularly misleading in relation to these urban satellite developments, since that term carries implicit notions of chronologically later

expansion from a core settlement; her analysis has demonstrated that, on the contrary, the satellite settlements around Durham were broadly contemporary with (or, in some cases, apparently earlier than) the urban settlement at the neck of the Durham peninsula itself and, so far from accommodating overspill population from it, may in fact have accounted for the majority of the urban settlement of Durham (Bonney 1990, 39–49).[60] The term 'satellite settlement', reflecting a degree of functional dependence while avoiding inappropriate chronological or hierarchical implications, has therefore been preferred in the present discussion.

The accidents of topography and an unusually high degree of continuity of occupation have combined to ensure that the urban satellites of twelfth-century Durham remained particularly clearly identifiable into recent times; but in its twelfth-century context there is no reason to think that the urban morphology of Durham was unique in kind rather than merely in degree. For example, there are aspects of the history and topography of Newcastle which suggest comparable developments: Pandon (only formally incorporated into the borough at the end of the thirteenth century) may have been one instance of such a satellite; the topography of the streets around St Andrew's church (Harbottle and Clack 1976, 115, fig. 17) may hint at a second; while the presence of an early hospital on the main route north from the town, at Barras Bridge, suggests that a third might have been found along that route, perhaps extending along parts of what was later to be known as Northumberland Street (fig. 18) (Harbottle and Clack 1976, 118–9).

From this perspective, given that several of the church sites north-west of the core settlement at Berwick lie on or close to what was probably the main route into the borough from the west (fig. 2), it seems worth speculating that the locations of some at least of these might be explicable as the only surviving indications of the former existence of a comparable linear satellite settlement (or, more probably, of a complex of such settlements) which once existed there. If so, the comparatively remote location of the nunnery in relation to the borough of Berwick would thus become readily explicable as having been determined by its location on the periphery of the satellite settlement rather than (as with its counterparts at North Berwick and Newcastle) on the periphery of the borough settlements themselves (fig. 18). It is also likely that the church probably to be identified as that of St Laurence was situated on or near the outer limit of settlement, a location which can be parallelled by that of parish churches serving satellite settlements elsewhere.[61]

What then was the likely relationship between the outer edge of the borough of Berwick and the inner limit of its putative satellite settlement? It is impossible to be certain, but an indication may be gleaned from the location of the earthwork now known as Spades Mire but referred to in the Middle Ages as 'Bardyk'. By the early fourteenth century (and perhaps for long before) it had formed part of the boundary of the borough, effectively defining it as a peninsular site (fig. 2) (Duncan 1988, 437–40 (no. 163); Anon 1979). Whether it was specifically constructed for this purpose, as has sometimes been assumed, is uncertain (Barley 1976, 68);[62] it may represent an earlier feature reused.[63] In any event it is likely that the limits of the borough were marked physically in some way, for the guild ordinances (codified around the middle of the thirteenth century but probably incorporating significantly earlier legislation) include a prohibition of entry into the gates of the town by lepers, there being proper provision for them outside the borough (Scott 1888, 241–3, 467, no. 15). Given the general tendency for early hospitals to be located at or outside of the limits of the towns with which they were associated (Orme and Webster 1995, 41–8,[64] Figs 3–5; Gilchrist 1995, 14, 40) the apparent location of the putative site of the Magdalene hospital beside a gap in the Spades Mire may be significant, while the location of the church at 21 Castle Terrace not far outside the Spades Mire may be no less so, given that there are independent grounds for supposing that it had functioned as a hospital, as argued above.[65] It would

presumably have been founded on what was then open ground, with the church of St Laurence and any associated settlement beyond it to the north-west and the borough of Berwick to the south-east (fig. 18). This suggests a prominent linear component in the morphology of the settlement complex as a whole. Though it is not unlikely that these features were originally morphologically discrete, they may subsequently have coalesced in the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[66]

Satellite settlements, particularly those with a pronounced linear morphology of the kind here being postulated outside the borough of Berwick, are typical of later eleventh- and twelfth-century urban settlement morphology in Britain (Keene 1976, 76–7, 82). They appear to have fulfilled a range of functions. For example, at Carlisle, they housed communities of foreign merchants excluded from the adjacent borough (Blanchard 1996, 31–3, 36–7). Others accommodated the sites of fairs, as at Winchester (Keene 1976, 74–5),[67] or markets for commodities which could not be conveniently traded within the borough (such as timber, hay, or livestock), as at Coventry (Keene 1976, 73; Lilley 1998, 192–4, fig. 9.5). Satellites whose morphology took the form of parallel linear rows enclosing greens must have been particularly suited to accommodate functions of this kind. Others again housed the agricultural labourers who worked the town fields, as did the settlement called Newport outside the north gate of Lincoln (Hill 1948, 169–70).[68] Any or all of these functions might have been exemplified at Bondington, and it must be borne in mind that its description in this paper as a satellite settlement is by no means intended to imply either that it was single phase or devoid of morphological complexity; on the contrary, the morphological reality might have been every bit as complex as the sequence recently analysed by Lilley on the margins of Coventry, for example.[69]

If the above hypothesis as to the existence, location, extent, and likely functions and morphology of a satellite settlement north-west of Berwick is accepted, the probable association with it, at or near either extremity, of the church of St Laurence and (if correctly identified above) the hospital of St Mary, both of which are described as being in Bondington by *c.*1300, surely implies that the satellite settlement was none other than the place known by that name by the late twelfth century if not before.[70] If so, it is perhaps not too much to speculate that the very emergence of the name itself, largely displacing the usage of the name Berwick in its wider sense, may imply that the nascent satellite rapidly acquired a distinct identity of its own.

If it is correct to suppose that the Spades Mire marked the physical boundary of the borough from an early date, there remains to be considered the impact upon the peripheral and satellite developments of the early fourteenth-century fortification of the town, on a line (doubtless the result of expediency born of urgent military necessity) some distance inside that boundary. While the effect of fortification upon those parts of a settlement thereby excluded must generally have been adverse,[71] in the case of Berwick the probable linear nature of the satellite settlement presumably meant that the areas excluded might have been more extensive than was the case at some other towns, and the consequences of that exclusion more drastic.[72] Just as the further shrinkage of the walled circuit in the sixteenth century resulted in the depopulation of the part of the medieval borough which was thereby excluded, so the fourteenth-century fortification (fig. 19), combined with Berwick's role as a frontier town and a frequent subject of contention between the English and the Scots, must have had equally dire consequences for the settlement left unprotected. That the depopulation of this area might have been in large measure a direct consequence of the outbreak of war with England in 1296 is indirectly suggested by the complaint of the burgesses of Berwick to the English crown shortly afterwards that a substantial suburb had arisen east of the town. This development seems most readily explicable by supposing that there had been a flight from the existing north-western satellite settlement, lying as it did outwith the Spades Mire (which would have afforded the only available

protection prior to the construction of the fortifications), to the comparative safety of the area, presumably unoccupied hitherto, lying within that earthwork between the town and the sea (fig. 2). The duration of this suburb cannot even be guessed at, but its size was said to rival that of the town itself (Fraser 1961, 137–8).[73] Whatever survived of the old satellite settlement north-west of the town must have received a further blow within a generation, when Berwick (which had returned to Scots hands in 1318) was besieged by Edward III in 1333, and Bondington became the site of the English siege camp.[74]

Though it is not possible, as yet, to provide definitive answers to the questions posed at the outset of this discussion, some preliminary conclusions may be advanced. Firstly, one begins to see how the terms of reference of the place-names *Berwick* and *Bondington* may have been particularly fluid in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, that is, at precisely the period when urban development both in and around Berwick may have been at its most febrile. Secondly, what came to be thought of as Berwick may have been influenced not only by the accretive expansion of the borough but also by the more arbitrary redefinition later imposed by the course of its fourteenth-century fortification. Thirdly, if Bondington then found itself exposed outwith those defences, in the particular circumstances of late medieval Berwick it becomes all too easy to understand not only why it is no longer possible to identify that settlement precisely on the modern map but also why the parish to which it gave its name may simply have disappeared as the settlement it served declined (in all probability suddenly and catastrophically) in the years after 1296.

If Bondington came to a decidedly sorry end so far as its inhabitants were concerned, in archaeological terms its fate was posterity's unqualified gain. For just as the church at 21 Castle Terrace was thereby preserved, with its medieval internal fittings and contemporary cemetery surface (complete with funerary monuments) remarkably intact, so also, beneath the Victorian villas of Castle Terrace, must lie the satellite settlement, occupied for only a short period of two centuries or so, and probably also very largely free from the extensive intrusions which have so frequently compromised the archaeological potential of its equivalents elsewhere. Considered in its entirety, this remarkable site must surely rank as an exceptionally precious – and hitherto largely unrecognised – archaeological asset.

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Alan Williams would like to thank Mr John Romanes, the owner of 21 Castle Terrace in 1998, who allowed access to the site and was unfailingly helpful and courteous to the excavation team during trying circumstances. Thanks also to those who carried out the fieldwork including Philip Wood who recognised the site for what it was, and then supervised its excavation by Chris Lucas, Rhodri Jones, Louise Barker, Tony Liddell and Dr Alan Rushworth. Mairi Lees, then Assistant County Archaeologist for Northumberland, made sure that funding was available for the work as well as helping on site as did Paul Austen of English Heritage. Mr John Marlow is especially thanked for providing much background information on the site during the excavation and much informative information subsequently, as is Mr Phil Rowett. Members of the Borders Archaeological Society helped with reinstatement of the site subsequent to the excavation. Our neighbours during the excavation: Mrs Marjorie Hardie at No. 20 and Mrs Angers at No. 23, made the team feel very much at home and welcome.

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For their help and advice at various stages in the preparation of the description of the

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H. NOTES

[1] Some evidence did, in fact, exist in 1998 for the presence at 21 Castle Terrace of at least an early graveyard. I owe this information to Mr P. Rowett of Longridge Towers School, Berwick-upon-Tweed: a number of articles, two in the *Berwick Advertiser* (13/3/41 and 20/3/41), and two in the *Berwick Journal* (20/3/41 and 27/3/41) appeared in the local press in 1941 immediately after the Nation's "Dig for Victory" campaign had extended as far as dividing up the empty property for allotments. Cultivating the site led to the discovery of a total of four grave slabs, at least some of which were ornamented, as well as human bone. Other points of interest noted in the articles were that a human skull had been found during the construction of No. 23 Castle Terrace in the 1920s (this is the house immediately to the east of No. 21, which will overlie at least part of the western end of the church) and that a prehistoric stone axehead "beautifully shaped and smoothed" had also been found in the allotments at No. 21.

[2] Two samples of bone from skeleton 1 (OxA-9952 and OxA-9953) were submitted *via* the Ancient Monuments Laboratory of English Heritage for radiocarbon analysis at the University of Oxford Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit. OxA-9952 had a calibrated date of 1 *sigma*: cal AD 1280–1380; 2 *sigma*: cal AD 1270–1390. OxA-9952 had a calibrated date of 1 sigma cal: AD 1270–1300; 2 sigma cal: AD 1260–1380. As the two measurements are not statistically different, a weighted mean was taken of both results prior to calibration which gives a calibrated date range of cal 1270–1380. The probability distribution shows that within this range the skeleton is much more likely (88.1%) to date before cal AD 1300.

[3] Old Bewick – Bettess 1995, 227; Tuggall – Bateson 1893, 344, fig.; Dalmeny – RCAHMS 1929, 201–3, fig. 238; Tyninghame – RCAHMCS 1924, 129, fig. 170.

[4] See above, p. 38.

[5] For the date of this phase, see Keene 1985, 763, fig. 89, and for its likely function and appearance as excavated, Biddle 1967, 263, pl. XLVIIIa.

[6] Above, p. 38.

[7] For the erection of chantries attached to hospital chapels, see Orme and Webster 1995, 87.

[8] For example, at Harbledown, near Canterbury (Livett 1929, 295, fig. 21).

[9] The negatives are held by Cartographic Services (Southampton) Ltd.. Sortie no 760709. Contract no 591, frames 9512–3. Since 1976, parchmarks have been recorded on the site on two further occasions, in August 1984 and July 1992, but never with the clarity achieved in 1976.

[10] Information supplied by the Ordnance Survey, Southampton.

[11] There are copies of the Berwick Tithe Map in the Berwick Archives and the NRO (DT 40 L). The copy in the NRO is dated Dec. 1850. The accompanying schedule was signed by the Tithe Commissioners in 1847.

[12] A lease in the Berwick Archives (F7/1) records that a house was built on this site in, or shortly before, May 1835 and it may be that this was the house referred to by Scott. Whether this was the case or not, the existing structure appears to date from a somewhat later period.

[13] See the *Berwick Advertiser* and the *Berwick Journal* for 4 February 1954. I am indebted to Mr Francis Cowe for drawing my attention to these reports and for supplying copies.

[14] Professor G. W. S. Barrow, pers. comm.

[15] This refers to an undated petition to an unnamed King of England from the nuns of Holystone who were "possessed of seven marks yearly granted to them by Alexander [II or III?] . . .commodities issuing out of the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed". It is also stated that in the time of King David the nuns exchanged property in Berwick for an endowment of land in Roxburgh which they subsequently lost in the Scottish wars. For the seal of "Marjory prioress of Holystone" on a document of 1319 see Hunter Blair 1923, 165. For patronage of Holystone by David I, who endowed this nunnery with 8 merks out of the burgh ferme of Berwick, see also Barrow 1999, 165, (no. 245).

[16] Berwick Archives, F6/1, "List of Meadows etc" gives details of tenants and their holdings commencing in 1809.

[17] Berwick Archives, F9/1.

[18] St Mary: Barrow 1999, 78 (no. 52) (grant to God, St Cuthbert and his monks by David I, King of Scots, and his son, Henry (1136 x 1147, probably 1136)), Raine 1852, Appendix, 5, no. XVIII, both printing Dean and Chapter of Durham Muniments (hereafter DCD), Misc. Ch. 570; St Laurence: Barrow 1999, 143 (no. 183), (1147 x 1152). For the subsequent grant of St Laurence by Kelso Abbey to Durham Priory (1163 x 1178, probably 1173 x 1178), Raine 1852, Appendix, 83, nos. CCCCLIII-CCCCLV, printing respectively DCD Misc. Ch. 987**, 985, 987*.

[19] Wordsworth 1885, x, printing Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale fonds Latin 1218, fols 2–3 (fol. 2 reproduced in Ash 1976, pl. VIII) Raine 1852, Appendix, 88, no. CCCCLXXVIII, printing DCD Misc. Ch. 987†.

[20] The functions are not mutually exclusive (Orme and Webster 1995, 55); for the lack of morphological distinction between the principal buildings of twelfth-century hospitals and churches or chapels intended to perform a parochial function, see above, p. 46, note 6.

[21] Cowan 1967, 17, 20; *idem* 1988, 91, uncritically following Chalmers 1887–1902, III, 350. For St Nicholas, see above, note 19.

[22] Raine 1852, Appendix, 113, no. DCLI, printing DCD Misc. Ch. 1271.

[23] Dunlop 1939, 32–6 (archdeaconry of Lothian, 1274–5), 58–60 (deanery of Lothian, 1275–6); Raine 1841, Appendix, no. lxx.

[24] "*BONDYNGTON. Habent apud Bondingtona iuxta ecclesiam sancti Laurencii duas carucatas terre cum duobus toftis que solebant reddere per annum vj marcas. Habent ibi unum toftum iuxta ecclesiam sancte Marie et quandam bancam subtus ecclesiam ad herbagium.*" (Anon 1846, II, 467).

[25] Above, note 21.

[26] For examples of the dedication recorded in Scotland, see Mackinlay 1914, 392–8.

[27] The use of the term 'church' rather than 'chapel' in the Kelso rental to refer to each in a document intended to locate property by reference to ecclesiastical buildings as landmarks is an insecure basis from which to infer their precise status: parish church, parochial chapel, or hospital chapel, are all possibilities. For evidence of a church dedicated to St Mary within the borough, see Scott 1888, 333 and Ellison 1976, 157, and for the Magdalene hospital, below, note 39.

[28] That the church of St Laurence was already performing parochial functions before its acquisition by Durham Priory (for which, see above, note 18) is implied by the confirmation to it of the tithes of Kelso's property in Berwick by Bishop Robert of St Andrews *in ius parochiali* (alternatively *iure parochiali*) (Lawrie 1905, 148–9, no. CLXXXV (1147 x 1153)).

[29] The process of compilation of the Scottish assessments is less well understood than that of some of their English counterparts; for reasons for omission from the English assessment of 1291 which might also apply to the Scottish assessments, see Franklin 1985, 78. In the case of St Laurence, whether or not it had been appropriated to Durham and, if so, whether a vicarage had been ordained, may also be relevant factors. See now also Watt 2001.

[30] See below, p. 77.

[31] Raine 1852, Appendix, 88, no. CCCCLXXVIII, printing DCD Misc. Ch. no. 987†, datable to 1242 x 1245, in which the church is described as *matrix*, *parochialis*, and *in proprios usus* (compare *op. cit*., Appendix, 89, no. CCCCLXXX, printing DCD Misc. Ch. 944, where it is described as *parochialis*); Raine 1841, Appendix, cx, no. LXX); I am most grateful to Mr A. J. Piper for discussing this problem with me.

[32] Wordsworth 1885 (see note 19), xii ("Ecclesia sancte Trinitatis [de Berewych] reconciliata post effusionem sanguinis . . .."); see also Raine 1852, Appendix, 89, no. CCCCLXXX, printing DCD Misc. Ch. 944.

[33] Above, note 21.

[34] For the references, see above, notes 18, 28.

[35] Below, note 47; for other evidence as to the twelfth-century usage of the place-name *Berwick*, see below, p. 79.
[36] Above, pp. 38, 46.
[37] As suggested by Scott 1888, 333.
[38] Above, note 24. This might also explain the reference in a papal taxation return to the "portion of the chaplain of St Mary in Bendington" as referring to the endowment of the chaplaincy of the hospital (Raine 1841, Addenda, cx, no. LXX, printing part of DCD Loc. XVIII; see also Bain 1881–8, II, no. 839).
[39] The Maison Dieu, St Edward, and probably also St Mary Magdalene (Cowan and Easson 1976, 171–2); for the probable site of the latter, see Ellison 1976, 162. See fig. 2.
[40] See above, p. 75 and Orme and Webster 1995, 35.
[41] In the charter of Edgar, King of Scots, of *c.*1095 (Lawrie 1905, 12–13, no. XV; Raine 1852, Appendix, 2, no. VII, both printing DCD Misc. Ch. 559).
[42] In a charter of Prior Bertram and the convent of Durham, datable to 1189 x 1202 (Raine 1852, Appendix, 95, no. DXXVIII, printing DCD Misc. Ch. 981). Note that it is absent from Edgar's charter (see above, note 41). A lease of 1266 by the abbot and convent of Kelso of a ploughgate and other property in Bondington "*ex dono pie memorie David Regis Scotorum*" might imply that the place-name *Bondington* occurred in the grant of David I implied by that reference to his gift, and hence that the first recorded appearance of the place-name can be dated prior to the king's death in 1153. This is by no means a necessary inference, however; the document may simply reflect contemporary usage comparable to that of the Kelso rental (for which, see above, pp. 75–6 and note 24). Professor Barrow interprets this lease as referring to a lost grant of David I (Barrow 2001, 92), but it might equally well refer to the grant of the ploughgate recorded in the extant charters of that king (see notes 18, 47), in which the place-name *Bondington* does not occur.
[43] See below, note 68.
[44] For an illuminating discussion of these problems in the context of the North East, see Austin 1989, 164–7, and for the engulfing of earlier settlement by later urban development, Keene 1975, 76.
[45] For examples of church sites the marginal locations of which in relation to the Norman and later settlements which they served are probably explicable as the result of a settlement shift away from the site of their pre-Conquest predecessors, leaving the churches as relict features, see Rowley 1983, 103, fig. 22 (Clun, Shropshire), 108, fig. 24 (Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwickshire, and Thame, Oxfordshire). If the genesis of Berwick were in any way analogous to the above examples, it would suggest that the higher ground around St Mary's church, rather than the core area of the later borough nearer to the river margin, might be postulated as the location of the earliest settlement (fig. 18).
[46] Above, p. 77.
[47] The church was almost certainly in existence a generation earlier, however, since the context of the reference to a church in Berwick in an earlier charter of the future David I, datable to 1120–1 or 1123–4 (Barrow 1999, 58–9, (no. 14)), is so similar to that in no. 183 as to make it almost certain that the church of St Laurence is meant, though its dedication is not actually specified.
[48] Above, pp. 75–6.
[49] Above, pp. 68–71.
[50] For recent (though small-scale) excavations within the borough of Berwick, see Hunter 1982.
[51] In England most notably at Worcester (Baker and Slater 1992, in which the theoretical basis of the approach is also set out) and Coventry (Lilley 1998) and in Scotland at Perth (Dennison and Spearman 1996, 458–9).
[52] If the comparative evidence of its wealth is any guide to its physical size, Berwick must have been the largest urban settlement in northern Britain during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the late 1320s the value of its customs returns exceeded those of both Newcastle and Edinburgh (its nearest Scottish rival) by some seventy-five per cent; in its heyday in the later thirteenth century, before the outbreak of the Anglo-Scottish conflict, Berwick was very considerably wealthier than Newcastle (Fraser 1961, 141, 137). The relative sizes of Berwick, Newcastle, and Durham in the twelfth century are impossible to estimate, the value of the fee farms of the boroughs being, in varying degrees, less than a true reflection of that of the settlements as a whole, and providing only a very approximate guide to the likely size of the settlements. For what it may be worth, then, in the late twelfth century the bishop's borough of Durham was farmed for £40, and the borough of Newcastle for £50 (Britnell 1996, 56). While this may hint that those towns might have been less disparate in size than they later became, it is a not unreasonable guess that Berwick might already have begun to outstrip the other two.
[53] Printing DCD Misc. Ch. 602.
[54] Above, p. 78, note 45.
[55] For North Berwick, see Hall and Bowler 1997, 665–7, Illus. 2, 662.

[56] See above, p. 78, note 45.
[57] For the siting of the Newcastle friaries, see Harbottle and Clack 1976, 120, fig. 17, and for a general discussion of the phenomenon of religious institutions in marginal locations, see Platt 1976, 55.
[58] The process of coalescence might then be seen as analogous to that underlying the formation of cohesive polyfocal village plans (Roberts 1987, 128–34).
[59] The morphological similarities between the linear satellite settlements and some contemporary village plans is striking; an over-rigid distinction between 'urban' and 'rural' at this period is, however, likely to be misleading (Roberts 1987, 38–40). Austin makes the important point that both are best seen as different aspects of what is fundamentally a common process of nucleation (Austin 1989, 165–6).
[60] Especially 43 (drawing attention to the implication of the description of the borough west of the river, centred on Crossgate, as the 'Old Borough', in contradistinction to the 'New Borough' (an alternative name for the Bishop's Borough), which was focused on the Market Place at the neck of the Peninsula (fig. 19)).
[61] For example, at Winchester and Canterbury (Keene 1976, 78, figs. 44, 38).
[62] The case for supposing that the borough was responsible for constructing this feature is supported by the name itself, for Bardyk presumably derives from *burgh dyk* (*i.e.*, 'town ditch'), an appellation also used at the Lincolnshire towns of Boston ('Bardyke') and Grimsby ('Burdike') to refer to what are probably purpose-built earthworks erected by mercantile settlements similar to, and broadly contemporary with, the feature surviving at Berwick (Barley 1976, 60).
[63] It has also been claimed as later than the early fourteenth-century stone walls, presumably then representing some sort of outwork (White 1962–3, 360; MacIvor 1967, 27), but this seems unlikely as an (admittedly small-scale) examination of its fill found that it contained thirteenth-century pottery. The lowest strata were not excavated, so that this date is a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the feature (White 1962–3, 359, fig. 3).
[64] Especially 43.
[65] Above, p. 46.
[66] For an example of a hospital in a comparable marginal location which itself appears to have acted as a focus for a complex later satellite development, see St John's hospital at Coventry (Lilley 1998, 193).
[67] At Berwick there was a fair which, until the early fourteenth century, lasted from Easter to Michaelmas (that is, throughout the summer months) (Fraser 1961, 138).
[68] Is it possible that the place-name Bondington was in fact coined late and reflects a function of this kind? Compare, for example, the satellites called Bondgate at Alnwick and Ripon.
[69] Above, note 66.
[70] See above, pp. 78–9.
[71] For the creation of suburbs as a result of the exclusion of parts of a settlement from the circuit of later defences, see Keene 1976, 82.
[72] At Newcastle (where the walls were constructed over a long period, presumably allowing ample time for negotiation as to which parts of the existing settlement were to be included and which not), it is arguable that parts of Pandon (and perhaps also of Pilgrim Street and Westgate) were excluded, while the street pattern around St Andrew's church has also been interpreted as suggesting that the walls arbitrarily cut through a satellite settlement there (fig. 18; cf. Harbottle and Clack 1976, 111–131). At Durham the fourteenth-century fortifications did not even encompass the whole of the Bishop's Borough, let alone any of the remoter satellites (Bonney 1990, 250–1, fig. 7).
[73] Quoting P.R.O. Ancient Petitions, no. 1616.
[74] See also article by Shenton, this volume. The fate of the religious communities in Bondington tends to confirm the picture of decline: for the nunnery of St Leonard, see Gates, above, pp. 72–5; for the apparent disappearance of the Magdalene hospital from written record after the early fifteenth century, see Cowan and Easson 1976, 172.

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