

NUCLEAR AND DISPERSED MEDIEVAL RURAL SETTLEMENT IN SOUTHERN SCOTLAND

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Introduction

With this paper the question of to what extent rural medieval settlement in southern Scotland was dispersed or nucleated will be addressed. It will concentrate, as far as possible, on an examination of the medieval evidence. This takes the form of documentary sources and archaeological remains. Each of these will be examined in turn to assess what may be learnt of the pattern of settlement from these two sources. Unfortunately, as will be seen, there is often a dichotomy between the survival of archaeological sites and the location of sites referred in the documentation, which makes the development of a model difficult. The influence of medieval hunting forests on settlement will also be reviewed, using the same methodology. Before turning to the medieval evidence, a summary review of terminology and past attempts at syntheses will be presented, followed by a comment on some of the geographical factors that should be considered in any analysis of the pattern of rural settlement.

This paper, which is inevitably cursory, will range over much of Scotland, except for the areas of Norwegian settlement on the northern and western seaboard, although this does happen to be one of the few areas in which medieval rural settlements have been excavated, as at Jarlshof (*Fig. 1*). However, recent syntheses have covered the subject well (e.g. *Batey - Graham-Campbell 1998*). Much of the fieldwork referred to in the paper was carried by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS) during the 1990s, but some of the work in the Scottish Borders was done by the author, while employed by the local authority in the 1980s.

Definitions

The theoretical basis for this discussion of dispersed and nucleated settlement is well understood and I shall not waste space rehearsing it here (e.g. *Chisholm 1968*). However, to set the scene it is useful to look at how rural settlement has been described in the post-medieval period. In Scotland the clustered settlements that occur over much of the Highlands were often called 'toun' in Scots, or 'baile' in Gaelic. With Gaelic now restricted mainly to the Western Isles, 'baile' has not been widely used. Equally the use of the term 'toun' has not caught on, because of the confusion with the modern concept of a town as an urban settlement. The word township, a term that may also be applied to the whole territory of the farm, has often been used as an alternative, which encapsulates both 'baile' and 'toun', and will be used here.

In documentary terms it is often not possible to discern the difference between a farm containing a clustered settlement or a farmstead, and if there is an estate plan, the label 'toun' is quite likely to be applied

whatever the size of the settlement. The distinction between the 'toun' and the farmstead in Scotland is not clear, as they are generically part of the same thing, the settlement of the farm. The potential for confusion is increased when it is realised that there may be more than one settlement cluster in a township and that there is generally little sign of planning in the layout of the township buildings, except, perhaps, a common orientation determined by the topography (*Fig. 2*). To summarise, the settlements range in size from the individual farmstead to the township cluster, and that rural post-medieval settlement in much of Scotland was essentially dispersed.

This is not the whole picture, there are nuclear villages, as opposed to burghs and urban settlement, in the rural landscape of modern Scotland. Of those that exist, many are planned villages of the Improvement Period, but some are of greater antiquity and take the form of row settlements. The origins of this latter type of nuclear settlement may be medieval, comprising juxtaposed toft rows on either side of a street or green. This is a classic medieval style (*Fig. 3*) that may be recognised in other parts of the British Isles and northern Europe. Such a village model, with sub-divided fields held in runrig, appears curiously out of place when



Fig. 1. Aerial photograph of Jarlshof, Shetland showing the multi-phase settlement of Norse long-houses. Crown Copyright, RCAHMS, (photograph of John Dewar), SH 1780/CN.



Fig. 2. Aerial photograph of Easter Bleaton township in highland Perthshire showing the irregular sprawl of the farmsteads of the township along the edge of the valley bottom. Crown Copyright, RCAHMS.



Fig. 3. Aerial photograph of the green village of Midlem in Roxburghshire. Note the rows of houses and plots arranged around the green. Crown Copyright, RCA/HMS.

viewed against the irregularly clustered townships of the highland north and west of Scotland. Its distribution appears to be mainly confined to the lowland southern and eastern parts of Scotland. If row 'villages' are atypical, it begs the question as to whether or not they were all introduced, in the same way, for example, as the burgh, by the Norman French incomers of the 12th and early 13th centuries.

Early syntheses

How does this description of post-medieval settlement fit with that of previous authorities? The first attempt to produce a synthesis of rural settlement in Scotland was in 1961 when the School of Scottish Studies held a symposium on 'The Evolution of rural settlement in Scotland'. At that time Barrow argued for a pattern of villages in south-east Scotland, which was based partly on the notion that certain Anglian names denoted village settlement (*Barrow 1962*); this view that has since been thrown into question in both England and Scotland by the evidence of excavation (*Dixon 1999; Wrathmell 1989*). Highland settlements were classified as 'clachans' by Alan Gailey, based upon the Northern Irish definition, which identified them as a group of houses with no sign of planning in the layout and farmed on a runrig basis (*Gailey 1962*). This usage has been an unfortunate intrusion in Scotland, which was enshrined in the literature by Fairhurst and Dunbar in their synthesis of Scottish rural settlement in the seminal Beresford and Hurst volume on 'Deserted Medieval Villages' (*Fairhurst - Dunbar 1971*). As it was subsequently pointed out by Iain Crawford, this term was only used in Gaelic areas for a hamlet or village containing a church (*Crawford 1983*), and should not be used as a general word for a settlement. Fairhurst and Dunbar also adopted Adams definition of the basic lowland unit of settlement as the 'ferm toun' and classified it as comprising 'a small community of four to eight families of joint tenants who farmed in runrig' (*Adams 1967*). More recent approaches to settlement patterns in the lowlands have looked at the different variations in settlement, using cartographic and documentary sources, such as the Poll Tax returns of 1695, and later 17th- and 18th-century estate records, including plans, to develop a model that stretches as far back as the 17th century. This has its merits. Lockhart concentrated on the 19th-century nuclear settlements, planned villages, 'kirktowns', and fishing villages (*Lockhart 1980*). His analysis confirmed the modern pattern of occasional villages interspersed with farmsteads. Whyte (*1981*), however, has tried to look further into the past, but recognised the limitation of the approach, namely the lack of medieval graphic sources and accessible contemporary documentary evidence, and suggested that archaeology should provide some of the answers. He further observed that the distribution of settlement in Scotland is more complex than Adams' definition. Lowland settlement included single tenant farms, 'cottar touns' and 'feuer villages', not to mention the crofts that are so typical of Aberdeenshire, so that the classic 'ferm toun' defined by Adams only represents a small part of the distribution. Recent summaries of the nature of rural settlement in Scotland (*Bangor-Jones 1993; Corser 1993*) have adopted the flexible view that settlement units varied from the small croft or farmstead to the large township held either by co-tenants or sub-tenants.

Geography, transhumance and site survival

Before we go any further, it is important to understand something of the geography of the country. The Highland Massif divides Scotland into two major zones, highland and lowland. The highland areas are limited in their access to cultivable land and bear the brunt of the prevailing westerly weather. It is the eastern lowlands that provide the most extensive areas of well-drained agricultural land for settlement and the most suitable locations for nuclear settlement. In the north and west pasturage is extensive, though poor in quality. For

many settlements, the limited availability of arable and its poor quality led to a high level of dependence on the pasturage of sheep and cattle, and to the development of a transhumance system to enable the inhabitants to exploit their resources to the full. The movement of animals to the shieling-grounds during the crop-growing months of the year was a fact of life in most of north and west Scotland until the 18th century, and left its traces in the scattered groups of huts in the rough pastures (*Fig. 4*). However, shieling was not exclusive to the north and west, and evidence of it may be found in the south east, although the practice ceased earlier here.

The geography of Scotland has also shaped the pattern of modern land-use. In the eastern seaboard and across the central belt there is plenty of suitable land for cultivation, and most modern cultivation is centred on these areas. This has removed all trace of many medieval settlements from the modern landscape, apart from churches and burial grounds, and it is often only in the highlands, or the upland fringes of southern Scotland that the remains of medieval or post-medieval sites are to be found in any numbers. This is the major factor in the creation of the dichotomy that tends to be found in the evidence. Good medieval documentation occurs most frequently in areas that are subject to more intensive land-use, where the archaeology is poorly preserved or difficult to locate. Ideally, the settlement researcher would like to have some overlap between the two so that a trustworthy model can be developed. Sadly this is rarely the case.

Since most of the evidence for rural settlement is post-medieval in date, what form the medieval settlement pattern took is best addressed by examining the evidence of contemporary documentary sources and archaeological remains. To presume that the post-medieval pattern is the same as the medieval pattern is tempting, but rash without some justification, and the evidence is often lacking. In the remainder of my paper I shall attempt to find those elusive matches between the different forms of medieval evidence and to see how far a successful model can be built.

The evidence of medieval documents

The settlement pattern did not sit in a vacuum. Each settlement required land to cultivate and pasture to graze. Such units of land are referred to by a variety of terms in medieval documentation, such as *terra*, literally land, which is used more often in the north and west, or *villa* which may be translated as township in the sense of an area of land dependent on a settlement, commonly applied in the south and east. In both instances they produce rents and services for the landowner. Other terms such as *tenementum*, or *mansio* also occur, but the former terms are the most frequently encountered.

Since these terms refer to townships or farms, little of the nature of settlement can be determined. Within the *terra* or *villa*, there are many varieties of settlement. *Gibson (1990)* has shown that in highland Perthshire there may be many townships in one medieval *terra*, as revealed by a comparison of medieval deeds and 18th century estate records. In the Cheviot *villa* or *tenementum* of Mow in the Bowmont Valley, which belonged to Kelso Abbey, the following elements were listed in a rental of c. 1300: the Grange of Elisheugh; 14 cottages somewhere in the *villa*; a shepherd's house at Senegeside; and various pieces of cultivated land (*Liber de Calchou 1846*). These were spread over a distance of several kilometres to judge from a comparison of the medieval place-names with the modern map. This is one of those rare opportunities where an area that is well documented in the medieval period was converted to pasture subsequently, leaving much of the land untouched by the plough since the 18th century, if not before. Of the documented places, the site of Elisheugh Grange has been located, a small settlement at Mow itself including the site of a late medieval tower, and a row of buildings at Attonburn, which may account for some of the cottages. Similar instances of a dispersed pattern of settlement within a documented *villa* have been encountered at Coldingham in Berwickshire, where the outlying township of Lummesden from the late 12th century was divided into two parts and has produced field evidence for several small settlements (e.g. Dowlaw Burn, NMRS NT86NE 30 and 31).

In the light of this evidence for such a variety of settlement types, the question arises, is there good documentary evidence for nucleated villages in Scotland in the medieval period at all, and how extensive might it be? While the use of the term *villa* has to be treated with caution, some approaches are available in seeking a picture of the nature of medieval rural settlement. The term *villa* when combined with *territorium* may be used to differentiate land from property in the settlement. For example, a charter of Coldingham Pri-

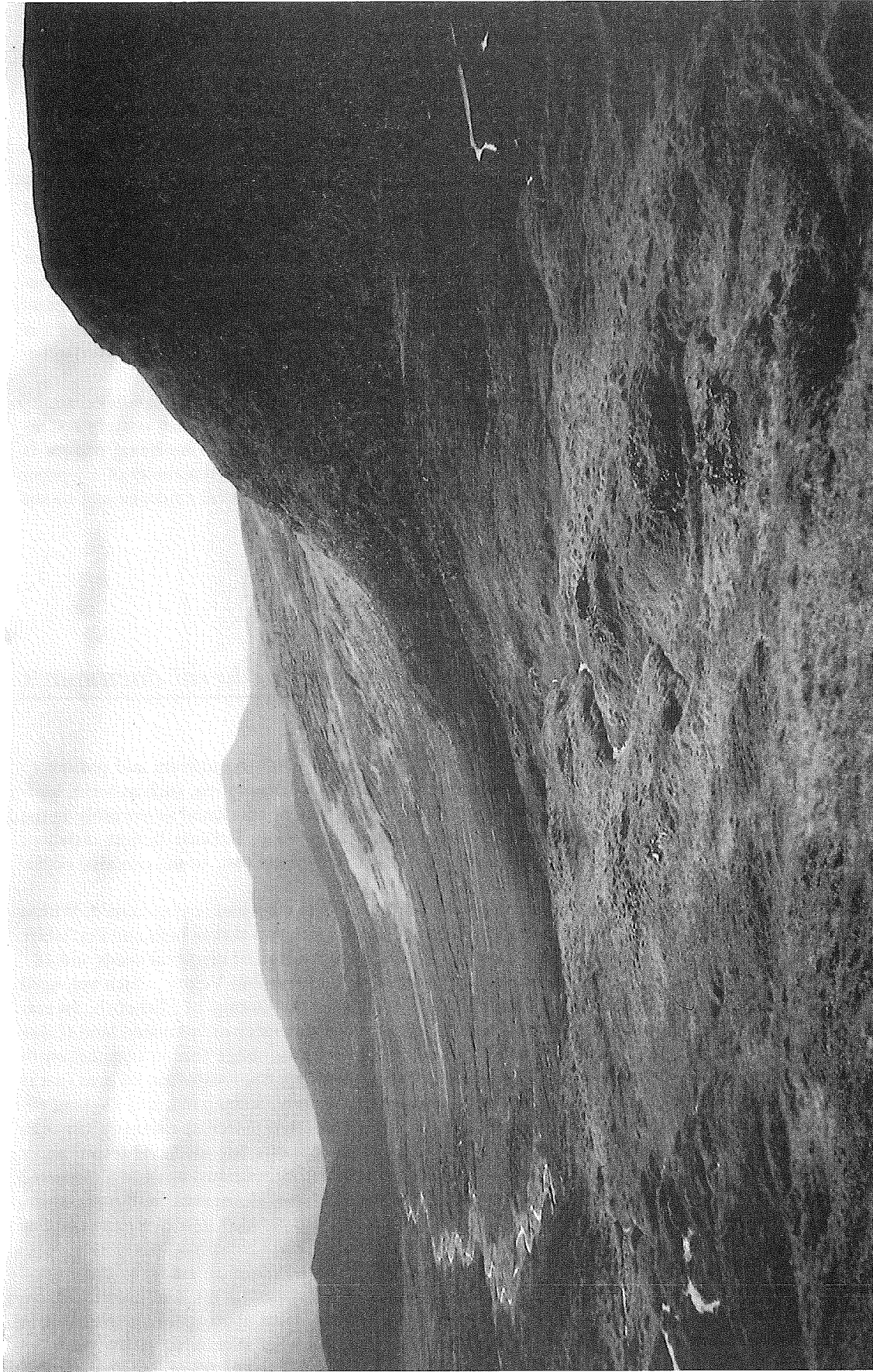


Fig. 4. A group of shieling-huts set high on a terrace (c. 750 m OD.) at Allt Bruthach an Easain, near Newtonmore, in the Monaliath mountains of Inverness-shire. Crown Copyright, RCAHMS.



Fig. 5. Excavations at the deserted medieval village of Springwood Park near Kelso. The row of houses shown here date to the early 14th century. The houses were probably constructed of clay on a footing of stone and at this period were levelled into the slope. Copyright Piers Dixon.

ory dated 1275 records the grant of 'a message with buildings in the east part of the township (*villa*) of Auchencraw between the house of the lord Robert of Blakburn on the one side and lord David of Paxton on the other and 20 acres of arable and meadow in the territory of the same township (*villa*)' (*Raine 1852*, App. CXCVI).

This appears to describe a row of houses and the description of the 20 acres of arable and meadow as located in the territory of the same township does suggest a nuclear settlement. The deeds of Coldingham Priory and other monastic cartularies describe similar juxtaposed tofts, suggestive of a row settlement. Examples of this occur in Berwickshire at Auchencraw, AuldCambus, Ayton Superior and Inferior, West Reston and Coldingham. Sometimes the deeds specifically refer to a row or part of a township (*villa*). Despite this, Coldingham, which has documented rows of tofts, also has several documented settlement dependencies, such as Scatby, which first appears in the rental of c. 1298 (*Raine 1841*, App. C), and Steel and Sutton listed in the rental of 1430 (Durham Dean and Chapter Library, Miscellaneous Charters, No. 6817), that are additional to the main village. Once again this indicates the complexity of settlement within the *villa*. The extent of the distribution of 'row' villages based upon the charter evidence still remains to be compiled and the author has only worked on the cartularies of the Border Abbeys.

Without corroborative evidence it is rash to presume too much from documentary evidence. It has been argued that those townships which contain a number of unfree tenancies of similar size, for example, *bondi*, husbandmen or *cottarii*, indicates a village settlement, as at Swinewood, Flemington, Renton, Prendergest or Bowden in the rentals of Coldingham Priory or Kelso Abbey. However, this is not proven. They could be allocated as crofts, which would produce a dispersed pattern of settlement.

Archaeological evidence

Turning now to archaeological evidence, the amount of excavation of rural medieval sites in Scotland is still pitifully small. During the 1990s there has only been one research campaign on a rural settlement and that is at Easter Raitts near Kingussie on a township of 18th- and 19th-century date (*Lelong 1997; 1998*; NMRS NH70SE 6.02). Prior to that the only excavations in modern times took place in the 1980s at Springwood Park near Kelso in Roxburghshire (*Dixon 1999*) and at the planned village and burgh of Rattray in Aberdeenshire (*Murray - Murray 1993*). Both Springwood Park and Rattray appear to have been row settlements and typify the richer end of the rural medieval settlement spectrum. Both had buildings constructed of largely perishable materials, although stone footings were used at Springwood Park (*Fig. 5*). In each case they appear to be newly planned settlements, of 12th and 13th centuries respectively, and were abandoned in the late medieval period. Their shortlived history indicates the impermanence of medieval settlement, both in the sense of re-planning and abandonment itself. As suggested earlier, this planting of villages and burghs may be an introduction of the Norman-French.

Even settlements that have persisted on the same site may have undergone many changes, and, such is perishable nature of the building materials, that it is only the presence of artefacts in the soil that is likely to be recognised on the surface, as was the case at Springwood Park. Yet, to date, only a smattering of pottery scatters have been located, most of them in the Borders and Fife.

Earthwork evidence suffers from being notoriously difficult to date and can rarely be placed in a medieval context with any confidence. Be that as it may, there is some field evidence for village sites that may in origin be medieval. A recently located example is a small two-row street-village found at Upper Chatto in the Hownam Valley of the Cheviots, with what may a small moated settlement nearby. Another lies at Hume Castle in Berwickshire, where on the terraces below the castle, there are the extensive remains of a village site, comprising building-footings and plots. Other more vestigial remains have been found elsewhere, such as those at Nether Ayton in Berwickshire (NMRS NT96SW 55) or Markle in East Lothian (NMRS NT57NE 3).

The medieval evidence cited above is from lowland Scotland. For much of the Highlands the larger proportion of the settlements encountered in field survey are post-medieval in date, abandoned not earlier than the mid-18th century and quite often as late as the mid-to-late 19th century. Excavations by Fairhurst in the 1960s failed to locate any buildings that could be dated before the post-medieval period at Rosal in Suther-

land, or Lix in Perthshire (Fairhurst 1969; 1971). In highland Perthshire, however, there has been some success in locating the remains of early medieval long-houses in the fringes of the post-medieval townships. These take a particularly characteristic form and have been called Pitcarmick-type houses after the type-site, where they were first encountered. Recent excavation by John Barrett and Jane Downes (Fig. 6) has dated one of these buildings at North Pitcarmick to the second half of the 1st millennium AD (Barrett - Downes 1994). It remains to be seen if this dating typifies the full currency of Pitcarmick-type houses. Even so, at the beginning of the medieval period there is a dispersed pattern of settlement in the margins of highland Perthshire.

With the medieval evidence so limited in highland Scotland, a *prime facie* case for many post-medieval settlements having medieval origins may at least be suggested on the basis of documentary sources. In areas as far apart as Sutherland and Perthshire, these indicate the longevity of the pattern of farms, if not the settlement within them (cf. Gibson 1990), but this is as far as the evidence goes.

One particular type of dispersed settlement of the medieval period that may be identified with confidence is the monastic grange, as at Elisheugh in the Bowmont valley and Colpenhope in the Halterburn valley, both properties of Kelso Abbey. Such sites are often relatively well-documented in the monastic cartularies. The barony of Bolden, which also belonged to Kelso Abbey, had five granges in the rental of c. 1300 at Faudon, Witemer, Witelaw, Haliden, and Newton (*Liber de Calchou* 1846). It is clear that these granges were separate entities from the townships (*villa*) within which they lie at Mow, and also at Redden and Witemer. Apart from the grange of Colpenhope, the site of which may be the large rectilinear ditched enclosure some 100 m across on the Halter Burn (Fig. 7), and the grange of Elisheugh, which does not take quite such a regular form, few granges have any surviving internal features. There is some potential for recognising them from cropmarks, as at Couper Grange in Perthshire (RCAHMS 1994a), where there is a rectilinear ditched enclosure containing a number of rectangular maculae that may mark the sites of large buildings.

Another type of dispersed settlement is the moated site. A scatter have been found, 94 *in toto*, mainly across the lowland parts of Scotland (e.g. Kirndeane, Roxburghshire; Fig. 8), but little is known of their date or status. Some are likely to be the sites of small castles or manorial establishments, such as that near Caerlaverock Castle in Dumfriesshire, currently under excavation, or Timpendean near Jedburgh. The 14th-century Hermitage Chapel appears to post-date the moated enclosure in which it lies, since it is offset within it, an unusual arrangement for an ecclesiastical site. Unfortunately there is no documentation that can shed light on its status, which might be that of a monastic cell or grange.

Hunting forests and settlement

Another element of the medieval pattern of settlement that may be recovered from field survey is the hunting forest. Hunting forests were introduced into Scotland by King David in the mid-12th century, first to the royal demesne, and second by licence to many of his barons. The forest grant enabled a baron to run hunting forests on behalf of the crown, whilst technically reserving large game to the crown. It allowed his feudal dependants to exercise the crown prerogative. Running a hunting forest, gave the Crown, or baron, control over all the economic activity in the forest since anything that affected the maintenance of the king's deer was an offence. In practice it does not appear to have prevented development, although it may have controlled the way in which it was carried out.

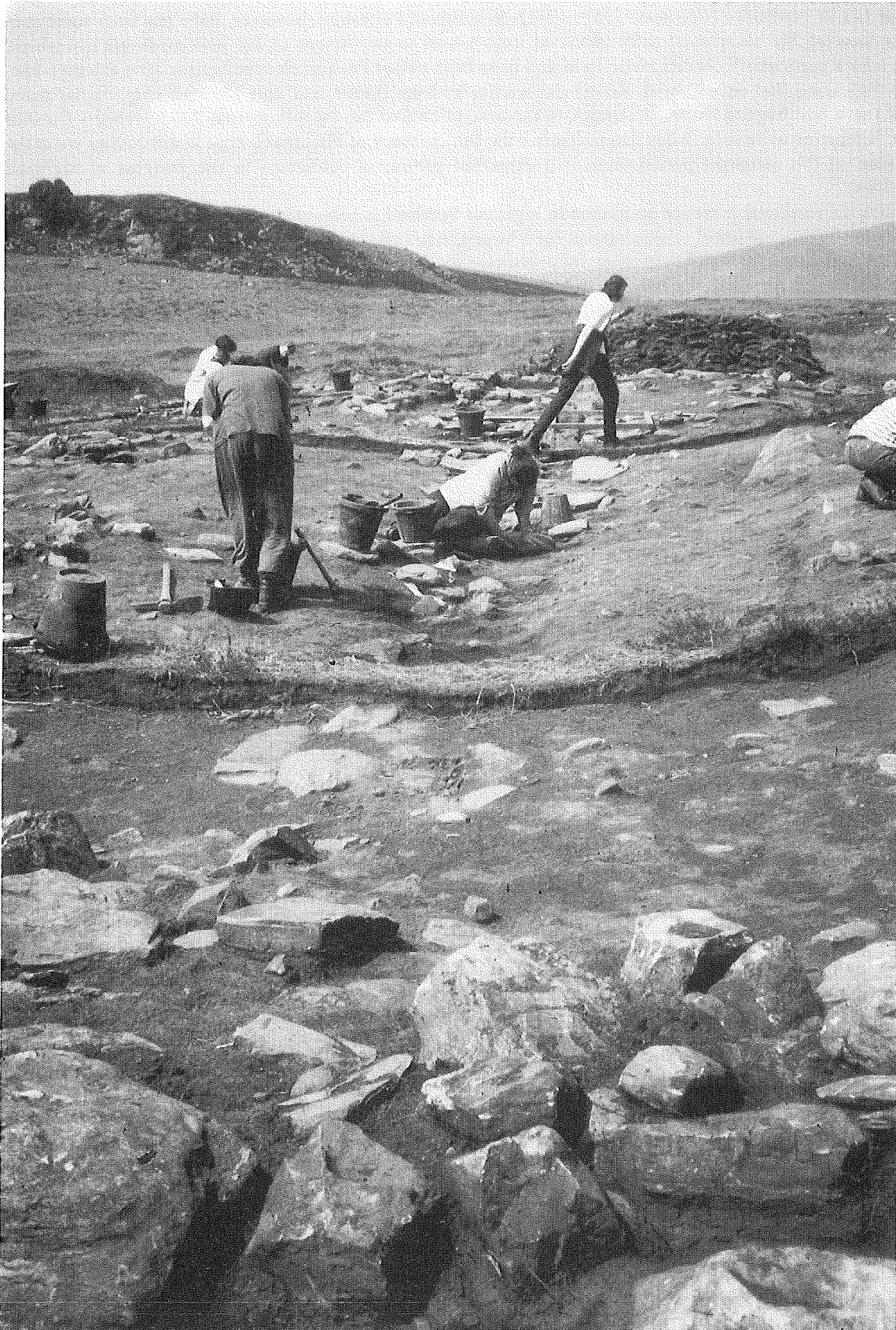


Fig. 6. Excavations in progress on an early medieval long-house at Pitcarnick in Perthshire. Note the hollow of the byre-drain and the banks of the turf-walls on either side. Crown Copyright, RCAHMS.



Fig. 7. The Grange of Colpenhope in the Halter Burn Valley of the Cheviots, Roxburghshire, comprising a large square enclosure about 100 m across. The grange was engaged in both sheep-farming and crop-growing. Copyright Piers Dixon.

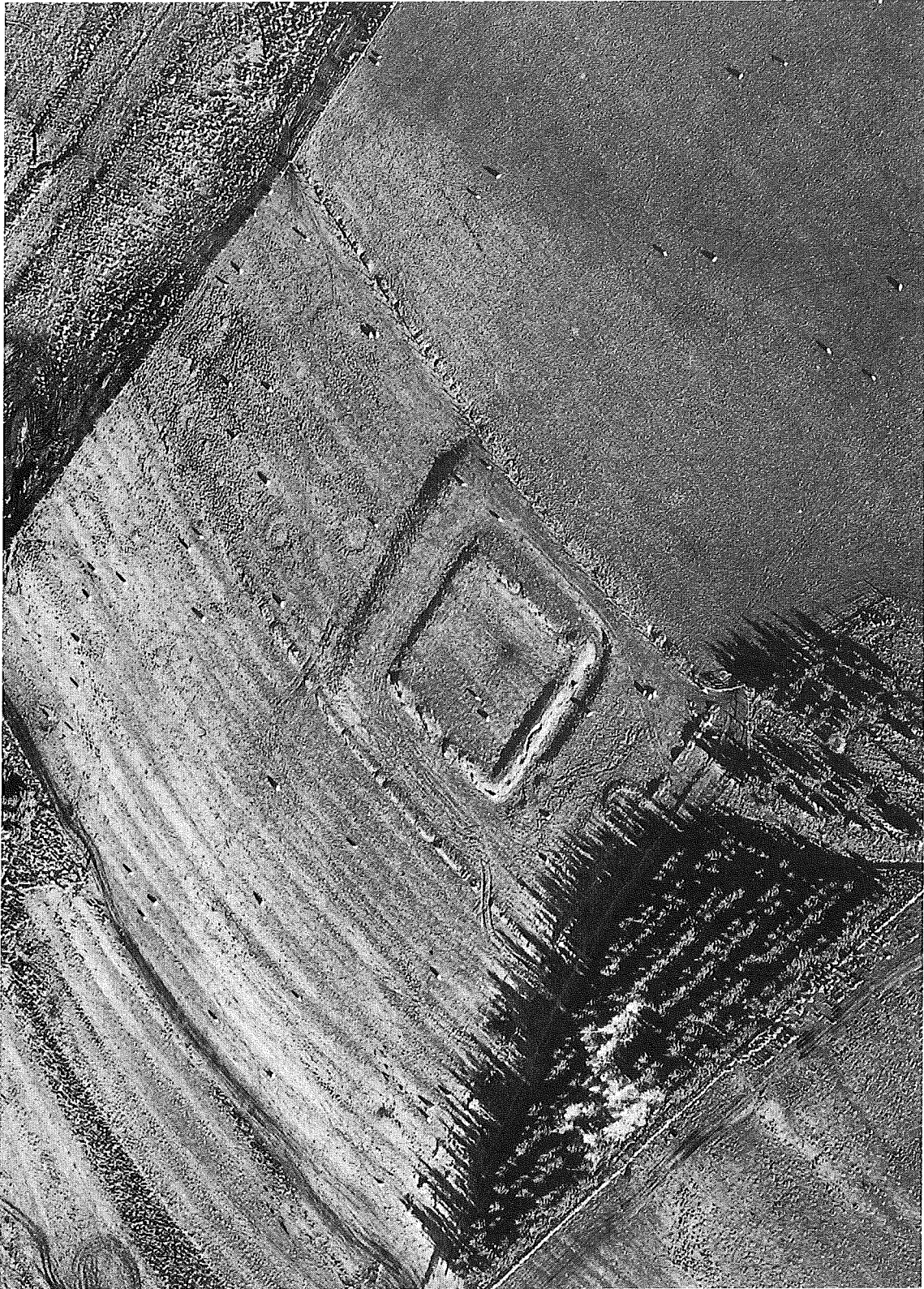


Fig. 8. An aerial view of Kimdean moated site, Newcastle, Roxburghshire. Crown Copyright, RCAHMS.

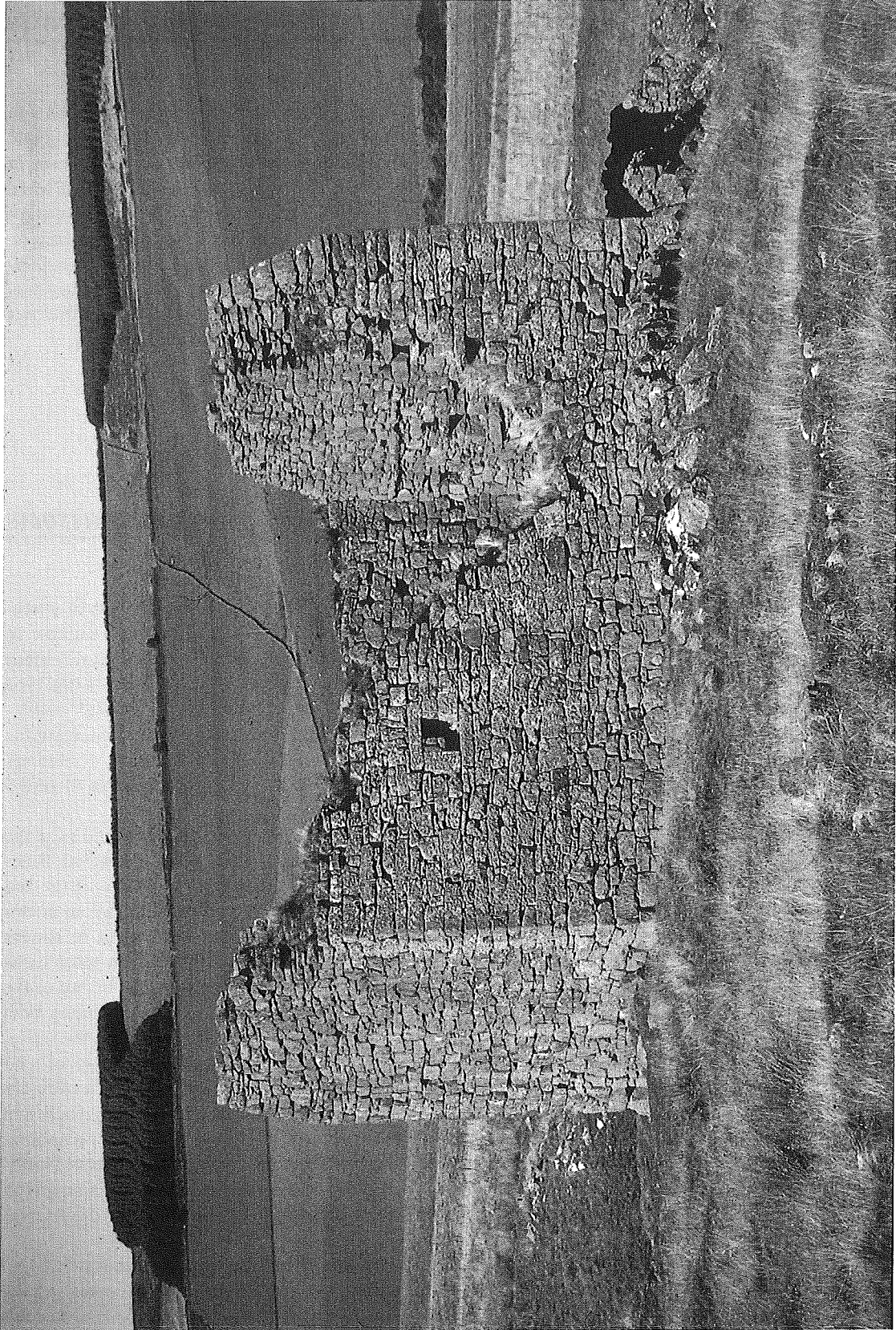


Fig. 9. View of Slack's Tower, Southdean in Roxburghshire. Note the massive walls, small window opening and the gabled roofline, typical of a strong house or defensible farmhouse on the Scottish Borders in the later 16th century. The footings of a number of other buildings lie around the house. Crown Copyright, RCAHMS.

Documentary evidence for forest assarts

A good example of the exploitation of land in a hunting forest comes from a study by Gilbert of the area to the north of Melrose (*Gilbert 1983*). Most of the area lay within the royal forest created by King David and was granted to Melrose Abbey in the 12th century. Here it is possible to model the assarts or enclosures of new settlements along the west side of Lauderdale. An important detail is that they are described as ditched and hedged where the boundaries do not follow obvious natural features, such as rivers. The new farms appear to have totalled between 150 ha and 900 ha, based upon the descriptions of the bounds in the charters. These are large townships, and Gattonside, the largest, appears to have become a village of some considerable size by the post-medieval period. Once again a model of settlement has been created based on the documentation, but unfortunately as this area is largely given over to arable or improved pasture, few earthworks survive to confirm the physical appearance of the enclosures or of the settlements that lie within them.

Archaeological evidence for forest assarts

The dichotomy between the documentary and archaeological evidence may be seen at its starkest in south-west Scotland, where the forest of Annandale was granted to the Bruce family. Here, there are a number of grants of assarts, all of which now lie in improved farmland and leave no trace, including one that describes how an assart was to be enclosed with hedges and ditches. At least one undocumented example of this type of intake has been recognised on the Corrie Water, in Annandale, and encloses about 60ha (*RCAHMS 1998*).

However, in two areas, Jedburgh and Liddesdale, a royal and a baronial forest respectively, there are the upstanding remains of rural settlement that are potentially medieval and of the enclosure dykes of what appear to be assarts. Both forests have some late medieval rentals that shed some light on the pattern of settlement.

In Jedburgh Forest, field survey was carried out by RCAHMS in 1991-2 on a strip of ground near the English border in an area called Southdean, which has been a separate parish since medieval times (*RCAHMS 1994b*). Here a pattern of farmsteads was recovered which extends along the banks of the Jed Water and its tributaries. The farmsteads range from small settlements, comprising a building and an enclosure, to others that have defensible stone buildings of 16th-century date, known as peel houses or towers (*Fig. 9*). Many of the locations of these latter sites were mapped by Pont (*Blaeu 1654*), and in most cases were abandoned by the late 18th century. However, some of the small farmsteads do not appear in any of the 16th-century and later documentation, and may be relics of an earlier phase of settlement. Surrounding both types of settlement, there are systems of enclosing dykes that encompass the cultivated ground and the settlements themselves. These take the form of a bank with an external ditch (*Fig. 10*), which often encloses a D-shaped enclosure with the chord of the D defined by a burn or river. The smallest of these lies on a tributary of the Jed Water called the Carter Burn. It is only about 7 ha in area and contains two small farmsteads and some rig and furrow cultivation. An additional 14 ha were subsequently added to this, by extending another bank and ditch along the contour as far as an adjacent assart. Larger enclosures, such as that around Northbank Tower, may total c. 30 ha or more (*RCAHMS 1994b*). Yet these enclosures are small in comparison with those identified by Gilbert in Lauderdale, and it is questionable whether the physical remains really represent the same thing.

In Liddesdale, surveyed by RCAHMS in 1996, there are 'assart' enclosures ranging from as little as 4 ha upwards, with the larger 'assarts' defined by dykes running over distances of up to 4 km, such as that on the slopes of Carby Hill on the east of the dale, or that on Kirkhill to the west of the dale (*Fig. 11*). These enclosures must encompass large areas, which in the case of Carby Hill may be in excess of 700 ha. Such a large area is comparable with those documented by *Gilbert (1983)*. Even if this enclosure was sub-divided, for example, by a burn that cuts through the dyke in the middle of its course, it does appear that large pieces of ground were enclosed in Liddesdale. Unfortunately there is no direct documentation for these enclosures be-

ing assarts. Frustratingly, there are documented assarts on the immediately adjacent English estate of Liddel (*Bain 1884*, 19), but these have been planted with conifers so that it is not possible to recover any physical remains. The question is whether assarts can be identified without supporting documentary evidence. I would argue that the Liddesdale enclosures are at least generically assarts in both date and form. It is possible that these are enclosures granted by manorial licence to unfree tenants, whose only documentation would be found in the lost account rolls of Liddesdale lordship. This may be plausible, but it is another example of the dichotomy in the evidence. In dating terms, however, it is possible to provide a *terminus ante quem* for the system of enclosures or assarts. It is evident that they were no longer in use by 1718, when an estate survey was carried out. By that time the farm boundaries run up and down the slope from valley bottom to watershed, rather than along the contour (*Dixon 1997*).

Dispersed Medieval Settlements in the Forest

In Liddesdale, as in Southdean, the settlements within the enclosures are farmsteads with rarely more than a few buildings, often turf-walled and of very slight profile (*Fig. 12*). Their floruit cannot be determined without excavation. However, of those that can be equated with documented farms in Liddesdale, some can be demonstrated to have been abandoned before 1718 when an estate survey was compiled, and there is a documentary basis for expecting some to have been abandoned earlier. The 1541 Crown rental lists one quarter of the farms as vacant. It is, of course, possible for them to be reoccupied, just as we have seen in the excavations at Springwood Park near Kelso. At one site, called Greenshiels, there are archaeological grounds for suggesting three separate phases of construction from the lay-out of the buildings and differences in their form. However, what is more certain is that 50 % of the farms listed in 1376 had disappeared by 1718 (*Dixon 1997*).

Conclusion

Rural settlement studies in Scotland suffer from a lack of excavation. Despite this, it may be concluded that the medieval settlement pattern of Scotland is complex and that there appears to be a mixture of settlement types in the south and east, including row villages, moated sites, granges and scattered farmsteads. Little is known of settlement in the Highlands, except at the beginning and end of our period, with dispersed settlements in the former case and a pattern of townships or hamlet clusters in the latter. The introduction of hunting forests has left a characteristic legacy in the enclosure pattern of assarts, referred to in the Melrose charters for the Lauderdale area, and found on the ground in Jedburgh and Liddesdale forests. The archaeology of settlements within these assarts suggest that their settlements were farmsteads, but these are in upland areas, whereas at Gattonside beside the River Tweed, a large village settlement has grown-up, perhaps because of the quality of the farmland. Hunting forests are no determinant of settlement patterns. To date, excavations of village sites indicate that they were planned settlements and underwent episodes of replanning. This and their late medieval abandonment is a confirmation of the impermanence of rural medieval settlements, which, in view of the perishable materials used in their construction, such as turf, clay and timber, may account for some of the difficulties in identifying them. Finally I should like to reiterate the dichotomy between documentary sources and archaeological remains. It is a fact of life. It may make it difficult to develop satisfactory models, but, in the absence of excavations, documents and field survey data will form the mainstay of the evidence available to students of rural settlement.



Fig. 10. View along the bank and ditch of an assart at Carter Burn in Southdean, Roxburghshire, that lay within the Royal Forest of Jedburgh. Crown Copyright, RCAHMS.



Fig. 11. Aerial photograph of Kirkhill near Newcastleton in Roxburghshire from the E. The churchyard of Etleton is visible as an irregular walled enclosure in the foreground. On the hill-top there is a fort. The course of two assart dykes may be seen. The one is visible as an interrupted ditch that leads uphill to the left of the churchyard and curves away to the right to disappear at the edge of a turf-banked field. The other cuts through the turf-banked fields in a great arc just below the hill-fort. Crown Copyright, RCAHMS.



Fig. 12. Aerial view of a farmstead on the E side of Kirkhill, Newcastleton, Roxburghshire. At least one of the turf-walled buildings of the farmstead is visible in the middle of the picture, as are some enclosures and some spade-dug rig. Crown Copyright, RCAHMS.

HABITAT RURAL MÉDIÉVAL "NUCLÉAIRE" ET "DISPERSÉ" EN ÉCOSSE MÉRIDIONALE: UN MODÈLE VALABLE?

La définition de l'habitat rural médiéval "nucléaire" et "dispersé" en Écosse méridionale est abordée à partir tant des sources documentaires qu'archéologiques. L'Écosse méridionale offre une certaine substance pour étudier les différences entre l'habitat "nucléaire" et "dispersé", ce qui est rarement le cas dans les Highlands où la plupart des vestiges datent de l'époque post-médiévale. Il existe de nombreux types d'habitat rural auxquels se réfèrent les sources documentaires à partir desquels un modèle d'habitat nucléaire et dispersé peut être développé. Les sources documentaires ne sont toutefois pas toujours explicites et il existe une dichotomie entre les sources documentaires et les vestiges archéologiques. Les sites auxquels se réfèrent les meilleures sources documentaires sont rarement les mieux conservés et vice versa. Cependant, les vestiges mis à jour par les fouilles et les études topographiques offrent suffisamment de preuves de l'existence d'une série de catégories d'habitat à identifier, allant de l'habitat en ligne, à la ferme et l'habitat individuel, en passant par les sites entourés d'un fossé. La concordance de ces catégories avec le modèle documentaire sera examinée par l'auteur ainsi que, compte tenu de l'énorme étendue de l'Écosse méridionale utilisée comme forêts de chasse à corne, le processus de déforestation comme facteur favorable au développement de l'habitat dispersé.

MITTELALTERLICHE GESCHLOSSENE LÄNDLICHE SIEDLUNGEN UND LÄNDLICHE STREUSIEDLUNGEN IM SÜDLICHEN SCHOTTLAND: EIN GÜLTIGES MODELL?

Die Definition von mittelalterlichen geschlossenen ländlichen Siedlungsformen und ländlichen Streusiedlungen im südlichen Schottland wird mit Hilfe dokumentarischer und archäologischer Quellen gegeben. Im Gegensatz zum schottischen Hochland, wo diese Unterschiede selten anzutreffen sind und ein Großteil der Beweise aus der post-mittelalterlichen Ära datiert, läßt der südschottische Raum eine Diskussion dieser Unterschiede zu. Die dokumentarischen Unterlagen weisen auf eine große Anzahl von verschiedenen ländlichen Siedlungsformen hin, aus denen ein Modell für geschlossene Siedlungen und Streusiedlungen entwickelt werden kann. Die Dokumentation ist jedoch nicht immer eindeutig auslegbar, und dazu kommt noch eine gewisse Dichotomie zwischen den dokumentarischen Quellen und den Funden aus Ausgrabungen. Die am besten dokumentierten Fundorte sind meist diejenigen mit den wenigsten Überresten und umgekehrt. Die Beweismenge von Ausgrabungen und anderen Felduntersuchungen ist jedoch ausreichend, um verschiedene Siedlungsformen zu identifizieren die von Reihensiedlungen und mit Gräben befestigten Ansiedlungen bis hin zu Gehöften und Einzelwohnhäusern reichen. Dieser Vortrag untersucht die Übereinstimmung dieser Beweise mit dem dokumentarischen Modell, und aufgrund der Tatsache, daß ein Großteil der Wälder im südlichen Schottland für die Jagd genutzt wird, diskutiert dieser Vortrag auch inwieweit der Rodungsprozess eben dieser Wälder als Treibkraft für die Entwicklung von Streusiedlungen wirkt.

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