Rethinking Battlefield Archaeology: Campaign Landscapes and Liminal Journeys in Fourteenth Century Northern England and Southern Scotland

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINAL AUTHORSHIP

Declaration: I confirm that this is my own work and the use of all material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates medieval campaign landscapes by reconstructing the routes that soldiers used before battle, and then exploring how the soldiers perceived their journey by analysing the route from a phenomenological perspective. The thesis is built on the premise that the journey to battle was important to medieval soldiers in their liminal state, given previous research on medieval journeying and liminality, such as pilgrimage, which has demonstrated that the journey was an important spiritual preparation for the pilgrims. This study is thus a response to previous research on medieval battlefields, in the subdisciplines of battlefield archaeology and conflict archaeology, which often has failed to consider broader landscape contexts. In order to answer the research enquiry, a two-step methodology is developed which; 1) reconstructs the most likely route to battle by addressing interdisciplinary evidence and identifying route corridors in the landscape; and 2) explores the route and its landscape context from a medieval phenomenological perspective. The method is tested on three fourteenth century battlefields in England and Scotland that were part of the Anglo-Scottish wars (c.1296-c.1550), listed on Historic England and Historic Environment Scotland's *Register* and *Inventory* of historic battlefields. The results showed that the soldiers used both Roman roads, smaller paths and crossed the terrain, and passed places of spiritual, symbolic and folkloric meaning in the medieval imagination. It is argued that the journey was perceived by the soldiers as an interior and mental preparation for battle, which included engaging somatically with sites of spiritual, liminal, martial and chivalric values. The results also propose that regional and national differences shaped the soldiers' experience, for instance in saints' cults, the motivation of and conduct for war, and the regional sense of the area.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I dedicate this thesis to the Holy Mother of God. *Tota pulchra es, Maria.*

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

HE	Historic England
HES	Historic Environment Scotland
KP	Keys to the Past
NMAS	National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland
NMS	National Museum of Scotland
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland

LIST OF FIGURES

All images are attributed to the author unless otherwise stated in the captions.

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1. INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH RATIONALE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a study of medieval campaign landscapes which reconstructs and investigates the route that soldiers used before battle, within a theoretical framework of medieval journeying, movement, and liminality. Previous research on medieval battlefield landscapes has focused primarily on the battlefield itself and, consequently, detached it from its landscape context. In contrast, this study pays specific attention to the route and journey of the soldiers *to* battle, placing it within the cultural context of medieval metaphors of quests and journeying. The research approach is built on recent studies on medieval liminality and travelling, for example in relation to pilgrimage, which have emphasised that the landscape of the pilgrim's journey acted as an important 'anteroom' of experience, preparation and rituals to the goal (Ashley and Deegan, 2009; Maddrell and della Dora, 2013; Maddrell *et al.*, 2014). Similarly, research on medieval soldiers, especially crusaders and knights, has demonstrated that the time before battle included a preparation with rituals, such as the donning of armour, reception of a sword, confession, and the celebration of Mass (Bachrach, 2003a; Penman, 2011; Jones, 2013). These normally took place during campaign, which would suggest they were integrated in the journey to battle, in the landscape. This thesis proposes a new approach to medieval battlefield landscapes, encompassing a broader landscape context containing the journey to battle. It establishes the *campaign landscape* as the appropriate scale of analysis, arguing that medieval soldiers' journey to battle was important and meaningful to them, and included perceiving, interacting with and experiencing the landscape before battle. The campaign landscape also included the journeys after battle; once the fighting was over, the deceased soldiers were usually transported somewhere to be buried, and the survivors returned home. However, in order to limit the scope, this thesis will focus on the first journey; the aim of the thesis is therefore to develop an understanding of what the journey to battle meant to soldiers

during campaign, through their movement and sensory engagement with the surrounding landscape.

The thesis focuses on the medieval Anglo-Scottish wars as a testing ground for the research enquiry. This was a period of the extended conflict (usually seen as taking place between c.1296-c.1550), and started in 1296 with, what Scottish modern historians have named the 'First Wars of Independence'. The thesis focuses on the 14th century, which often has been identified as the century where Scottish national identity was shaped (Boardman, 1997). It was the 'golden age' of English chivalry, and has also been a well-addressed period for research into medieval warfare (Ayton, 1994a; Guard, 2016, p. 1; Bell *et al.*, 2017). The study area stretches from, roughly the south border of today's County Durham, by the River Tees, up to the Scottish counties of Midlothian and South Lanarkshire, near Edinburgh. Both Historic England (HE) and Historic Environment Scotland (HES) have conducted surveys in order to identify battlefields and listed them on inventories. Although their methods are critically assessed in the thesis (Chapter 1.2.2 and 2.3.2.2), their systematic investigations are an essential foundation for this research and are grounded in convincing evidence. Moreover, focusing on the Anglo-Scottish wars facilitates an 'inside' analysis of the landscapes, which will be explained more in Chapter 2.1.1.

This study responds to the research traditions of battlefield archaeology and the landscape branch of conflict archaeology. These disciplines have focused on battlefields, either as places of strategy and the event of battle, shaped by military history (Foard and Morris, 2012) or as a cultural place (Carman and Carman, 2020). Notably, these approaches detach the place of battle from the broader landscape of campaign and movement. In effect, the research traditions have not treated the landscape experience of medieval soldiers in a context of historic or culturally specific mentalities. Battlefield archaeology has frequently used the universal concept of 'Inherent Military Probability' to study a timeless 'military rationality' to understand how soldiers used landscapes (Foard and Morris, 2012, pp. 18, 21). Conflict archaeology, with some exceptions (Williams, 2015, 2016b), has used modern assumptions of past sensory experience without historical contexts to understand historic places of battle

(Carman and Carman, 2006, 2012). This thesis acknowledges the positive contributions of these two research traditions of identifying battlefields and paving the way for new theoretical approaches towards landscapes of battle. However, several shortcomings remain in these prevailing approaches towards the use of interdisciplinary sources and sensitivity to regional and historical specificities; for example, the medieval worldview of chivalry and cultural metaphors which incontrovertibly shaped medieval soldiers' behaviour have not been addressed in previous studies of medieval battlefields. This thesis argues that this failure results from the persistent assumption of a sacred/profane dichotomy in medieval thinking, a dual mentality which simply did not exist in the medieval period (Hamilton and Spicer, 2005; Gilchrist, 2020, p. 112). This dichotomy has been critiqued by historians and archaeologists who have demonstrated its flawed application to the medieval past, for instance on the bond between the martial and spiritual (Wheatley, 2004, p. 89; Allen Smith, 2008, p. 601, 2011). In the study of medieval battlefield landscapes, it is particularly clear in the application of the principle of Inherent Military Probability, which is to 'place' oneself 'in the shoes of every commander' in the analyses of medieval battlefields (Keegan, 1978; Burne, 2005, p. xx; Foard and Morris, 2012). When the past worldview is overlooked, it is, as Timothy Insoll has argued, 'a reflection of the archaeologist's viewpoint rather than past realities' (Insoll, 2004, p. 19). Previous research on medieval battlefield landscapes has thus ignored the medieval mindset in their approaches, and therefore separated the spiritual from the martial. In contrast, this study will argue that they were not necessarily separated but combined in the medieval soldiers' mentality, behaviour and movement in the landscape. Moreover, medieval military history, which used to be isolated similarly, has now been integrated into the broader field medieval history (see overview of research in Simpkin and King, 2012).

In order to address these gaps in the research, this thesis places a specific emphasis on the concept of the *journey*, 'the act of travelling from one place to another...'[1], understood from a medieval point of view, its relationship to landscape, and the sensory engagement with places along the route (Candy, 2007; Ashley and Deegan, 2009;

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[1] 'Journey' in Cambridge Online Dictionary,
https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/journey [accessed 06/07/20].

Nievergelt, 2012; Maddrell and della Dora, 2013; Lois González and Lopez, 2020). Practically, going on campaign for soldiers included leaving their quotidian habitat and setting out on a journey which encompassed marching or riding long distances and undergoing physical, spiritual, and mental preparation for battle. It often entailed a chase of their enemy, shifting emotions of danger, courage and fear, as they moved through the landscape. In a medieval setting, this separation from everyday life and acting in an 'unknown' space has been called *liminality*, a concept used in anthropology to understand, for instance, medieval pilgrimage (Lois González and Lopez, 2020). Liminality was experienced in various medieval activities and landscapes, such as hunting and quests, and was also invoked in beliefs about death, for instance purgatory (Chapter 2.1.1.1). Moreover, the focus on the experience of movement is also reflected in recent research on medieval route-networks, which has shown that roads were not only physical entities in the medieval mindset, but also spiritual and symbolic metaphors (Allen and Evans, 2016; Chism, 2016). One reason why the journeying element in the campaign landscape has been overlooked, is arguably because research on medieval battlefields has failed to address the sources with sufficient rigour; scholars have used medieval chroniclers as 'guidebooks' to understand where a battle took place (Foard and Curry, 2013). Medieval texts must always be read with caution, bearing in mind the authors might have used metaphors and intended a moral didactic purpose in their writings (Boardman, 1997; Given-Wilson, 2004). Several medieval chronicles portray campaign landscapes in relation to places and events, which demonstrates that the space of the battle included more than the battlefield itself. Rarely has the journey to battle been viewed as important, although, in fact, the soldiers almost invariably spent more time on the route than on the actual battlefield. This thesis therefore responds to the methodological and theoretical obstacles that have emerged in the disciplines of battlefield archaeology, which has focused only on the strategic and utilitarian use of landscapes, and conflict archaeology, which has often only focused on the battlefields themselves. Compared to other research on medieval landscapes (e.g. Astill, 2018; Gardiner and Kilby, 2018), research on medieval battlefield landscapes has developed in isolation from broader medieval research agendas, a gap which this thesis aims to address.

Against this background, the thesis is therefore built on the premise that the journey to battle was meaningful to medieval soldiers during campaign and that they engaged somatically with the landscape en route to battle. This premise will form the basis for the methodology (Chapter 2.2), which consists of identifying and reconstructing the physical route to battle and will subsequently explore the journey along the route from an experiential perspective. The methodology will be tested on three Anglo-Scottish battlefields in northern Britain from the 14th century. During the extended period of Anglo-Scottish conflict many returning, and regionally recruited soldiers would have become familiar with the border landscapes, which supports an analysis from an 'inside' perspective of regional and local perceptions, as developed by Karin Altenberg (Altenberg, 2001). The methodology consists of two steps: 1) the proposal of the most likely route the soldiers could have taken to battle; 2) which is then examined from a phenomenological perspective. These qualitative analyses will assess and compile historical, archaeological and topographical evidence in ArcGIS Pro, a digital mapping programme, following recent research conducted on reconstructing historic routeways (e.g. van Lanen, Kosian, Groenewoudt, Spek, *et al.*, 2015; Brookes and Huynh, 2018; van Lanen *et al.*, 2018) (Chapter 2.2.1.1.1). This will result in a map showing a *hypothetical route,* which will be the most likely route the soldiers could have taken. Then, the thesis will develop a conceptual landscape model for application to the reconstructed route (Figure 3). The model will consist of temporal and conceptual elements of the medieval journey during campaign, adopting the theoretical framework of phenomenology, which includes the study of the senses, perceptions and experience (Tilley, 1994). The phenomenological approach is tweaked to include an 'inside' perspective of liminality, which is applicable on campaign landscapes (Chapter 2.2.2). By applying this framework to the reconstructed route, we may gain an understanding of how the soldiers might have experienced and perceived their journey, a novel research enquiry.

The thesis is divided into five chapters, excluding this introduction. Chapter 2 explores the theoretical basis for the study and outlines the methodology to be applied on the case studies, 'tweaking' the theory of phenomenology by putting it in the context of medieval soldiers and military campaigns. It critically reviews scholarship on the Anglo-

Scottish wars, and then moves on to identify three case studies which fulfil specified criteria.

Chapters 3-5 are investigations of the three case studies, following the theoretical and methodological frameworks outlined in Chapter 2. Each chapter is divided into three sections: the first is an introduction to the battle, followed by an assessment of the historical and archaeological evidence of the battle. The following section combines and assesses evidence and reconstructs the routes that the soldiers took to battle. The final section explores the experiential journey of their movement to battle.

Chapter 6 is a discussion of the results from the case studies, pulling out the main results, and discussing themes which address the research questions. It places the research in the broader context of medieval warfare, journeying and battlefield and conflict archaeology. Finally, it proposes new avenues for research.

This chapter will critically assess the literature on historic battlefield landscapes within archaeology, and the sub-disciplines of battlefield archaeology and conflict archaeology, before reviewing how these research traditions have shaped research on medieval battlefields. The review will then lead to a proposal of a new research enquiry to address the shortcomings in existing research traditions, and how they can move forward, before listing the research aims for this thesis. It is followed by the definition of terms that will be used throughout the thesis. In order to avoid confusion, different terms will be used throughout this chapter: 'battlefield landscape' will be used as a broad term to denote previous research on landscapes where battles took place and 'campaign landscape' to denote this thesis's approach.

1.2 BATTLEFIELD LANDSCAPES: RESEARCH CONTEXT AND NEW POTENTIAL

Previous research on medieval battlefield landscapes has mainly been developed and conducted within the research traditions of battlefield archaeology and conflict

archaeology (see Carman, 2013), which have addressed the spatial location of battlefields, either as functional/strategic (Sutherland, 2005; Foard and Curry, 2013), or as a theoretical place (Carman and Carman, 2006). Conflict archaeology has also included analyses of more general landscapes of conflict (Raffield, 2013; Veninger, 2015; Creighton and Wright, 2016). According to John Carman, an advocate of conflict archaeology, this sub-discipline encompasses '[the] full aspect of conflict [...] not limited to sites of violence but extending to military encampments and bases [...] and the reburial of the dead from past wars' (Carman, 2013, pp. 41–42). Despite conflict archaeology's broader and more innovative theoretical applications, this literature review will argue that the chief problem and impediment in both traditions is that they have separated the battlefield from the larger landscape context, which has isolated the enquiry from other research on the same time period. The main research questions that have been asked are: *where did the battle take place* or *what did the place mean to the participants?* As we shall see, this perspective stems from military history, heritage conservation and the exploration of battlefields as a 'cultural place', a discrete space, which has promoted study of the battlefield in isolation from the campaign. Although one of conflict archaeology's aims has been to include historically and culturally specific worldviews and circumstances, its practitioners have failed to include historical perceptions of movement and journeying, despite the fact that campaigns leading to battle included periods of separation and travelling. In fact, rarely have landscapes of battle and campaign been approached theoretically or methodologically as landscapes of movement, save attempts, from utilitarian views, to speculate what routes soldiers used before battle (Tyson, 1992; Foard and Curry, 2013, p. 181); to locate the battlefield (Sutherland, 2005); and from a merely descriptive perspective to understand why the battle took place in a particular location (Fiorato, 2007, pp. 4–11; Kedar, 2015). These examples of route identifications have neither been underpinned by archaeological evidence nor contextualised by a deeper analysis of the complex meaning of journeying in the past.

Several historical examples indicate that the movement of soldiers in the landscape was shaped by spiritual perceptions, such as King Athelstan who, on his way north to battle with the Scottish, changed the direction to visit the shrine of St John at Beverley

(Sharpe, 2017, p. 279). This example illustrates both an 'unexpected' and non-utilitarian motivation behind the journey to battle; after all, it was a potential journey towards death. In sum, the idea of movement has only been studied in relation to access to the battlefield instead of analysing the social character of movement itself, placing it in a background of medieval perceptions of movement and travelling. In the parallel medieval context of pilgrimage, the landscape prior to arriving has been seen as an landscape of preparation for the goal (Maddrell *et al.*, 2014). This thesis argues that these shortcomings in current approaches have arisen from a failure to place medieval warfare and soldiers within the context of medieval belief, cultural metaphors of movement/liminality and other research traditions on mobility and landscape.

What follows below is a critical discussion of this research tradition. This section will first discuss the two parallel research traditions of battlefield and conflict archaeology, and then discuss in detail how they have shaped medieval battlefield landscape studies, followed by a proposal for how a new study can be developed.

1.2.1 Battlefield archaeology

1.2.1.1 Military history

Battlefield archaeology emerged from the academic discipline of military history, which had its 'breakthrough' in the 1980s, when it started to move away from the earlier dominance of military officers' personal experiences of war, such as General von Clausewitz' *On War,* written in the mid-19th century (Clausewitz, Maude and Rapoport, 1982) and Alfred H. Burne's in *The Battlefields of England*, first published in 1950 (Burne, 2005). Burne developed the concept of Inherent Military Probability, also used by John Keegan in *The Face of Battle* (Keegan, 1978), which is to 'place' oneself 'in the shoes of every commander' to understand the battlefield (Burne, 2005, p. xx). Historians have in recent years disputed this universal view of military 'rationalism' by arguing that the competence of military leadership is individual, depending on the individual's experience, memory, and also the battlefield terrain (Macdonald, 2012; Caldwell, 2016).

Their analyses of the historical sources have concluded that military behaviour was not always rational in the past (Macdonald, 2012, p. 264). This suggests that more in-depth analyses must be conducted rather than relying on a presumed cross-cultural behavioural pattern; it is inconceivable that military commanders and armies would act similarly across time and space. Equally, from an archaeological perspective, Tony Pollard has stressed that 'the archaeological study of conflict is capable of so much more than telling us which part of a field a particular regiment stood on at a particular time on one particular day' (Pollard and Banks, 2005, p. vi).

1.2.1.2 Battlefield archaeology

The military attitude towards landscapes has focused on how military commanders and their armies used the battlefield terrain for strategic and tactical purposes, and the operation of war in a specific terrain. This has further influenced and thus delimited the research aims and potential of archaeology in battlefield studies, where historic warfare has been perceived as a purely military phenomenon. This is evident in battlefield archaeology, which has predominantly circulated around one research question: *where did the battle take place in the landscape?* This research question was first formulated by amateur archaeologists and historians who were interested in finding famous historic battlefields. This, to some extent, hobbyist approach towards battlefields concerned only the identification of their location, often transforming them into semi-sacred sites, and not evaluating the broader landscape context. Battlefield archaeology was, in some ways, 'created' by the 1989 excavations of the American Civil War battle of Little Bighorn (1876), where metal detector surveys were conducted in order to localise the battlefield and deployments. The metal detector was undoubtedly a successful tool as over 5000 artefacts where found (Scott *et al.*, 1989). As a result, the use of archaeology has continued in the same formulaic way as a tool to illustrate military history, where the archaeological evidence has been consulted to establish the location of battlefields by using artefacts to reconstruct the military landscape and deployments (Scott *et al.*, 1989; Connor and Scott, 1998; Freeman, 2001; Greene and Scott, 2004; Bonsall, 2007). This

bias in how historical and archaeological evidence is used is not new; it follows the tradition that archaeology is merely the 'handmaiden' to history and a 'sub-discipline' without its own research agenda, an issue initially articulated by Ivor Noel Hume (Hume, 1964; Gerrard, 2003). It appears, therefore, as if the strong influence of military history has put archaeology in a subordinate position where it has emerged with a mere confirmative function of military hypotheses, and this has circumscribed the scope of archaeological interpretation. Whilst this thesis argues that identifying battlefields in the landscape is important and a significant component of battlefield archaeology, the question remains as to what we do with those sites once we identify them as battlefields.

This universal 'rationalism' has remained a fixed and unproblematised template of battlefield landscapes among archaeologists (Jones, 2011; Foard and Curry, 2013; McNutt, 2014). One example is Doyle and Bennett in *Fields of Battle: Terrain in Military History* (2002), in which they set out that humans engage in the 'terrain' either for strategic or tactical purposes during war (Doyle and Bennett, 2002, p. 1). Throughout the volume, several authors investigate various military approaches towards historic battlefields, including the role and impact of the geology and military strategy of the terrain. Most of the authors frame the landscape as a military zone of land to understand how battles played out, drawing on archaeological and historical evidence. The archaeologists Glenn Foard and Richard Morris have a matching landscape approach in their volume on historic battlefields, where they try to link the narratives in the historical sources with the reconstructed physical terrain of a battlefield (Foard and Morris, 2012, p. 1). This is also evident in Foard's methodology to identify battlefields in landscapes, which involves reconstructing the historical terrain and deploying historical sources and cartographic evidence, and then using battle archaeology to test his hypothesis (Foard, 2009, 2012; Foard and Morris, 2012; Foard and Curry, 2013). Foard acknowledges the historically diverse nature of evidence, but advocates an identical method towards any historic conflict, by using military history, historic landscapes and battle archaeology to identify battlefields and the armies' movements (Foard, 2012, p. 16). This principle is built on his claim that regardless of time-period 'there are certain fundamental principles in the deployment of men on battlefield in pre-industrial warfare that almost

inevitably recur for clear practical reasons from century to century', a re-phrasing of the principle of Inherent Military Probability (Foard, 2009, p. 141).

Scholars of battlefield archaeology have occasionally acknowledged that battlefields must be studied in larger landscape contexts; however, for instance in Foard's exploration of the route to the Battle of Edghill (1642) and Foard and Curry's study on Bosworth (1415), the landscape context has been addressed merely to understand deployment, battle array and as a complement to the battle archaeology (Foard, 2012, chap. 5; Foard and Curry, 2013, chap. 3). Battlefield archaeology's concern with the landscape context is thus seen only as a method to identify battlefields and deployments.

Recent research has demonstrated that the location of pre-modern battlefields is much more complex. Thomas Williams has drawn attention to the impact of mythological and ancestral monuments in relation to the locus of the Battle of Kennet in 1006 and argued that these landscape conceptions had a bearing on the location of battle (Williams, 2015). Furthermore, Alastair Macdonald has asserted that the movements of armies on the battlefield were frequently unanticipated, manifested for example in the emotions of fear experienced on the battlefield, which affected the deployment (Macdonald, 2013). Hence, while Foard's method (2009) has added new place-names to the list of potential battlefield sites, it does not yield methodological or empirical innovations that could be built upon further. Foard's scientific analysis is merely an extension of military history, rather than promoting innovative methodologies and fresh empirical insight by including evidence of historically local and regional variations. By curtailing both the manifold *meanings* and *temporality* of landscape in the past and the actual *physical land* as study area, landscapes in this formulaic research tradition have become 'lifeless' stages. Scholarship is limited to creating a chronological military narrative, set within an empty tract of landscape. It over-simplifies the human relationship to landscapes as it limits both the research questions and the interpretations of the archaeological evidence. The application of a rationalist model of military behaviour on landscapes does not in itself offer a nuanced framework for battlefield research, as it fails to consider the culturally specific social factors and

changes. In the absence of convincing physical evidence to support the assumption of rational behaviour, it appears as if the model of military rationalism has become a distanced and unchallenged assumption to fill this vacuum. Furthermore, modern understandings of a military rationalism applied to the historical past fail to include 'non-military' evidence, hence the approach appears anachronistic and uncritical, without understanding what was actually seen as rational in the past.

Unless these methodological and theoretical problems are addressed, battlefield archaeology will come to an intellectual dead end; the techniques for identifying battlefields have shifted into a circular reasoning fuelled by static military approaches. In order to resolve this predicament, other research questions must be put forward to localise fields of conflict, highlighting their historical and cultural idiosyncrasies.

It is this uncritical view of historic battlefield landscapes, as introduced by some military historians, which has partly hindered the subject to develop and thrive. It has created a wider gap between the study of battle, soldier and landscapes, which has consequently isolated battlefield archaeology as a discipline; it has become a static research field with little interest in cross-disciplinary methodologies. Two prominent names in battlefield archaeology, Tony Pollard, and Iain Banks, have rightfully argued that this is one of the major problems in battlefield archaeology (Pollard and Banks, 2005, p. vi). It has particularly influenced the methodology for identifying battlefields in the landscape, as we shall see below.

Figure 1. The battlefield of Halidon Hill (1333), near Berwick-upon-Tweed, listed on HE's Register of Historic Battlefields. This chapter argues that one of the chief issues with previous research on medieval battlefields is the methodological and theoretical approaches towards the landscapes which fail to consider the medieval mindset. Photo © Author.

1.2.2 Conservation of historic battlefields

One of the reasons why battlefield archaeology has remained a static discipline is due to its close link to conservation aims addressed in Historic England's, *HE, Register of Historic Battlefields,* and Historic Environment Scotland's, *HES, Inventory of Historic Battlefields* (HE, 2017; HES, 2019) (Figure 1). Their laudable objectives prioritise the preservation of battlefields; however, they fail to link conservation to research and interpretation. Naturally, conservation is important but should not be an end in itself. Several scholars have aligned their work with the inventories' objectives (Banks and Pollard, 2011; Foard and Morris, 2012). According to HE, a battle site must be a historically significant battle, 'securely identified' in the landscape and convincingly linked to battle-related remains, such as mass graves and strategic topography in order to be registered (HE, 2017, pp. 9–11). This attention from heritage organisations, coupled

with the popular interest among amateur historians, has developed battlefields into semi-sacred sites, as places of sacrifice and bloodshed (Banks and Pollard, 2011; Gilchrist, 2020, p. 14). Several battlefield visitor centres, such as Bannockburn, Bosworth and Flodden, encourage the public to visit, which adds extra pressure on establishing their actual location (Figure 2). HE acknowledges the challenges in satisfactorily defining an area of battle, but still maintains it is the focal criteria. Despite their good intentions to preserve significant historic remains, synchronising research on medieval battles with the aims of conservation is a flawed objective. Battlefields were interlinked culturally and topographically with non-military features which are not included in Historic England's criteria of a military landscape. Their heritage management aims have reduced the battlefield's physical nature solely to morphology and typology. Overall, the Register has received criticism for approaching battlefields largely as 'historical phenomena' instead of archaeological sites of study (Carman and Carman, 2012, p. 102), and their ignorance of the historic terrain, assuming the modern landscape is identical to the past (Foard, 1995; Carman, 2013, p. 44).

Figure 2. A modern monument of Robert Bruce, outside the museum commemorating the Battle of Bannockburn (1314) in Stirling. Bannockburn has received much attention from scholarly, heritage and public audience and has become a popular tourist destination. Photo © Author.

Furthermore, placing emphasis on a sole event without looking beyond its temporal frame isolates the event from history. One example is the Battle of Bannockburn (1314), which began with a skirmish and the following day ended in a pitched battle (Pollard, 2016, p. 76). These took place in roughly the same area; however, there are difficulties in adequately delimiting the section in terms of land. The value and importance of battlefields as imprinted by heritage organisations cuts off cultural and social ties, and therefore assumes battles were a purely military phenomenon. This approach separates a speculative area as the site of battle, detaching the battlefield from the historic

landscape and its historic environmental context. It is thus fair to say that certain problems arise by investigating historical sites with the primary aim of conservation; the attitude towards battlefields as semi-sacred sites is also problematic in terms of the perceptions and expectations of the contemporary heritage audience. It is particularly evident for battles in the Anglo-Scottish Wars, such as Bannockburn, which we will see in Chapter 2.3.1.

1.2.3 Conflict archaeology

The attitude of a military rationalism towards battlefields has not remained uncriticised but has given rise to a more theoretical discipline, namely conflict archaeology. As a response to the terrain-based view of landscapes, John and Patricia Carman created the Bloody Meadows Project, in which they conducted phenomenological analyses of battlefields across time and space (Carman, 2005; Carman and Carman, 2006, 2009b, 2012, 2020). Drawing on the phenomenological methods advanced by Christopher Tilley (1994), which include bodily experiencing the archaeological landscape, the Carmans have aimed to phenomenologically experience the 'kind of place' of historic battlefields and surrounding landscapes (Carman and Carman, 2006, pp. 22–24). They argued that we must see battlefields as a *place* of battle instead of the *event* of battle (Carman and Carman, 2020, p. 9). By comparing the natural and built environments of battlefields, their contention is that the oddities in the environments show the historical and cultural differences (Carman and Carman, 2006, 2012, p. 99). Their phenomenological method consists of several steps, the preliminary containing the structuring of research questions, such as whether the battlefield is on an elevated area and what landscape features played a part in battle (Carman and Carman, 2012, p. 100). This is followed by an analysis of the visual environments of man-made and natural features of several battlefields by walking in the landscapes; for example, in one chapter, the battles at St Albans (1455), Roundway Down (1643) and Corunna/Elvina, Spain (1809) are analysed (Carman and Carman, 2012). They later discussed the proximity and use of certain

landscape elements arguing that it can reveal historical particularities. One example that they used is sacred buildings, such as churches and monasteries, suggesting that medieval battlefields were located close to monasteries for utilitarian purposes, such as offering food and shelter, whereas in later warfare they formed 'merely another part of the battlefield space' (Carman and Carman, 2012, p. 109). Despite the Carmans' innovative idea to contextualise the historic battlefield as *place,* compared to the other 'terrain-based' empirical approaches, their study is overly subjective, without any supporting archaeological evidence. Their quantitative and comparative analyses tend to be without any underpinning evidence and a speculative method. Their approach does not consider the differencing experiences of soldiers; it would appear, for instance, that regional soldiers experienced and viewed the landscape differently from soldiers recruited from other parts of the country as research has shown that regional identity played an important part in the medieval soldier experience (Morgan, 1987; Thornton, Ward and Wiffen, 2017).

The Carmans' landscape approach follows the post-processual archaeological school which emerged in the mid-1980s and 1990s, to which phenomenology belongs, that stressed that landscapes are experienced differently depending on culture, time, and age and that the *practice* of place was important (Johnson, 2010, pp. 105–21). It has been argued that phenomenology must be used in conjunction with physical evidence and supported by a solid conceptual framework of its time (Widell, 2017, 2019); nevertheless, the Carmans' cross-cultural approach fails to address this and relies instead on assumptions about the past. The post-processual landscape approach has been heavily criticised by Andrew Fleming, who argued that it distances history from the physical evidence; he observed that to post-processualists 'history (including prehistory) is written in the present and, in that sense, only exists in the present, so that it is tempting to treat the archaeological project as more about performance or "cultural production" than investigation' (Fleming, 2006, p. 268). Fleming's critique could be aimed at the Carmans' landscape analyses, as historical contexts are neglected in their approach. Regardless of their methodological differences, similar structural attitudes towards historic battles are found both in deterministic battlefield archaeology and the Carmans' superficial approach to phenomenology.

In spite of the speculative element of the Carmans' work, their research has been an incremental advance towards a more non-functional view of battlefield landscapes and warfare, having argued that 'the way wars are fought is not grounded in rationality but in cultural beliefs' (Carman and Carman, 2009a, p. 48). This argument is also supported by historians who have stressed that historic warfare is embedded in societal values, religion and politics (King and Simpkin, 2014). This view is shared by archaeologists Oliver Creighton and Duncan Wright (2016) in their study of the 12th century conflict landscapes of the Anarchy (1135-1153) during King Stephen's reign in southern England. Their research questions concern the reciprocal relationship between conflict and society, the 'militarisation of society' (Creighton and Wright, 2016, p. 281), and included contextual sources of archaeological finds such as coins, objects and architectural evidence, with a major focus on siege castles, and historical evidence. Instead of seeing warfare as a purely military phenomenon, arguing that 'the place of war is not necessarily the battlefield' (Creighton and Wright, 2016, p. 1), they embrace the concept of war within a social framework by including various datasets in their analysis. Based on their contextual analysis, they argued that the siting of conflict was not often 'rational', noting that conflicts were often aimed at particular people and their territory, hence linked to perceptions of lordship (Creighton and Wright, 2016, p. 41). Although their study did not contribute to the investigation of battlefield landscapes *per se*, it has shed light on the role of important landscape features during conflict, for instance castles. Creighton and Wright's study thus emphasises the importance of qualitative analyses of individual sites in understanding medieval warfare.

A much stronger case for culturally specific battlefield landscapes was made by Thomas Williams, who has managed to combine both battlefield archaeology, with its focus on the strategy of battlefields, with the more theoretical and experiential conflict archaeology. In several publications, Williams has investigated the symbolic landscapes of Anglo-Saxon warfare, drawing on toponymic analyses, prehistoric monuments and myths (Williams, 2015, 2016a, 2016b). Contrary to Creighton and Wright's contextual methodologies, Williams used battlefields as *place* in literature and archaeological evidence, as the starting point for his study in historical sources and physical landscapes. His archaeological landscape analyses focused on individual battlefields'

landscape contexts and drew on evidence of landscape perceptions, supernatural agents on the battlefield and ancestral myths. Williams raised two significant points; first, he re-examined Anglo-Saxon perceptions of battle by comparing it to 'judicial killings', considering that they share the same justification and view of violence, and as a result, linked Anglo-Saxon perceptions of battlefields to those of execution sites (Williams, 2015, p. 348). By questioning past perceptions of violence and exploring its relation to place, Williams drew attention to the contexts from which those perceptions emerged. Instead of detaching battle from societal contexts, it was related to other cultural customs, since its motivation of judicial killings were similar. The second point is Williams' argument that Anglo-Saxon battles could function 'as rituals that take place in highly charged symbolic loci and which position actors within this myth-ancestral time – thus emphasizing legitimacy, tradition, right to rulership and king-worthiness on a deeply rooted psychosocial level' (Williams, 2015, p. 351). What Williams is suggesting is that the performance of battle must be seen in an appropriate cultural context, and that the locus of conflict must be framed by a broader temporal framework of cosmology, myth and the experience of soldiers. Furthermore, Williams' work has managed to combine both the functional and the spiritual, the sacred and the profane (Hamilton and Spicer, 2005). Williams' innovative analysis can be taken one step further by analysing the routes that the soldiers took to the battlefield.

1.2.4 Medieval battlefield landscapes

As stated earlier, research on medieval battlefields has been shaped by both battlefield and conflict archaeology. This section will discuss in more detail how these research traditions have shaped the discourse and identify their weak points. It will be argued that research on medieval battlefields has largely developed in isolation from other disciplinary studies on medieval soldiers and landscapes. It will propose a new perspective towards medieval battlefield landscapes, arguing that we could approach them as *campaign landscapes*, i.e. landscapes of movement and journeying, similar to research on medieval pilgrimage landscapes which has focused on the journey to the

pilgrimage site and interrogating the meaning of the journey. By this we may gain a deeper understanding of the identified battlefields and develop an interdisciplinary methodology which looks at the landscapes from a medieval worldview.

Research on medieval battlefield landscapes has included several key publications of rigorous analyses of historically significant battlefields, such as Bannockburn (1314) (Tipping *et al.*, 2014; Penman, 2016a), Towton (1461) (Fiorato *et al.*, 2007), and Bosworth (1485) (Sutherland, 2005; Foard and Curry, 2013). Battlefields where mass graves have been found, such as at Visby (Courville, 1965; Lewis, 2008), Towton (Fiorato *et al.*, 2007; Sutherland and Holst, 2014), and Albajurota (Cunha and Silva, 1997), have also received much attention. These have included broad explorations of the battlefield, the armour, mass graves etc. and contributed to our understanding of the medieval conduct of war and campaigns. Considering that these are studies of battles that have left large quantities of evidence and were historically important, it would seem as if they were therefore chosen due to their historical significance, available evidence and largely also for conservation purposes, as historically important battles are more likely to attract visitors, a concern which has been raised by Carman (Carman, 2013, pp. 58–59). This means that many identified battlefields have remained unexplored and few medieval battlefields have been rigorously studied that are listed on HE's Register and HES's Inventory.

This relatively low number of analysed battlefields is partly because few have been identified, but more specifically because the research questions merely focus on their identification; further research is not deemed 'necessary'. Another criticism of battlefield archaeology's approach is that its underlying assumption of 'universal military rationality' is ahistorical, excludes and neglects evidence, and creates modern biased approaches towards sources. One example is Glenn Foard and Anne Curry (2013), who have attempted to locate the battlefield of Bosworth (1485) through analyses of the terrain in historical sources, historic maps, place-names, and archaeological evidence. By considering earlier suggestions and including various perspectives, such as place-names and local legends of the battlefield's whereabouts, they have built an evidence-based foundation for an identification of the battlefield. Similarly, Tim Sutherland, who

has investigated the battle of Towton and the battle of Agincourt through archaeological investigations, has also applied the literary evidence of topographies on the physical landscape, and then conducted metal detector surveys of the area in order to locate the battlefield (Sutherland, 2005, 2007, 2012, 2015a, 2015b). However, he acknowledges the complexity of battle narratives, as with the battle of Towton which he claims, contrary to earlier scholars, included three conflicts instead of one major battle (Sutherland, 2010). Foard, Curry and Sutherland approach narrative sources in a very literal way, assuming that they directly reflect physical reality. The use of topographies in historical narrative must be read cautiously. For example, take Bede's well-known description of how the Bishop Germanus instructed priests on the battlefield to shout 'Alleluia' three times, which 'echoed' between the hills, scaring the enemy off, and when fleeing drowned in a nearby river (Bede, Collins and McClure, 1994, pp. 33–34). This narrative is not meant to convey an accurate literary description of the physical landscape; it is unlikely that the battle could be located in today's landscape by searching for hills and a river, without investigating the possibility that Bede used topographical metaphors to frame his spiritual view and interpretation of battle. Moreover, the 'harrowing experience' of battle plus the 'mask' of chivalry and morale might have limited and shaped the literary narrative (Boardman, 2007). Overall, landscape descriptions in medieval historical sources must be read cautiously and with the author's bias and potential symbolism in mind (Allmand, 2000; Lees and Overing, 2006).

Many chroniclers provide descriptions of the campaign, the places the armies visited and stayed at, which signifies that the battlefield was not isolated in the landscape, but part of a broader landscape of movement, preparation and journeying. Despite these descriptions in the historical sources, battlefields have rarely been studied in broader landscape contexts, usually only to identify battlefields, for instance through fieldwalking (Boardman, 2007; Sutherland, 2007). Few routes have been properly investigated and many scholars have assumed the location of roads without any underpinning evidence, such as at Bosworth (1485) (Foard and Curry, 2013, p. 181). But such identifications have not been supported by rigorous analyses and the journey itself has not been seen as important, apart from moving from a to b. Neither have they

questioned why the soldiers would have chosen particular routes and what they would have meant to them. Scholars have therefore struggled in constructing a nuanced approach towards medieval sources and failed to consider the evidence or landscape from a medieval worldview, i.e. in this context, how medieval soldiers perceived and experienced the journeys.

Analyses of broader landscape contexts and physical movement have been found in research on medieval pilgrimage; recent decades have seen a surge in the interest in the significance of the road and perceptions of movements in pilgrimage landscape (Frey, 1998; Dunn and Davidson, 2000; Candy, 2007; Ashley and Deegan, 2009; Maddrell and della Dora, 2013; Maddrell *et al.*, 2014; Wells, 2016; Hurlock, 2018). This trend is in contrast to earlier research which was only focused on the sacred goal (Turner and Turner, 1978), which will be discussed in Chapter 2.1-2.2. The journey to the pilgrimage site has been examined in terms of the symbolic, religious, ritual and 'preparatory' function prior to reaching the site (Maddrell and della Dora, 2013; Maddrell *et al.*, 2014). Moreover, the complex and multidimensional meanings of medieval journeys have been problematised; it was both a self-development (Campbell, 1993, chap. 2; Lansing Smith, 1997, chap. 2), a trial, linked to salvation and interior transformations (Gaposchkin, 2020), and could concern life and death (Zaleski, 1988). There are many similarities here with the soldier leaving for campaign, who also separated himself from the mundane, by donning armour (Jones, 2013), and leaving home, preparing for potential death. Furthermore, for soldiers who were acting in familiar areas, the journey through the landscape would have impacted them in other ways, as they would have been aware of the cultural resonances of places they passed. The idea of an 'inside' approach to experiencing the landscape was developed by Altenberg in her study on the Bodmin Moors (Altenberg, 2001). A similar framework which focuses on the inside perspective can reveal a more nuanced understanding of what journey meant for soldiers in a medieval campaign by studying the route and the surrounding landscape.

These examples illustrate how studies of medieval battlefield landscapes often have remained isolated from medieval research, by mainly focusing on the battlefield and not the landscape context and the journey to battle. We can address several overlooked

aspects of the soldier and his journey during campaign by analysing *campaign landscapes*. This means that perceptions of medieval belief, metaphors and other aspects must be taken into account in the movement, usages and perceptions of the battlefield landscape, including the route there and the battle itself.

1.3 RESEARCH AIMS AND QUESTIONS

The literature review has identified several weak points in previous approaches towards medieval battlefield landscapes. They can be summed up as follows: battlefield archaeology and conflict archaeology have addressed research questions only towards the battlefield, and not the broader landscape context, ignoring the route to battle and failing to address the sources from a medieval worldview. They have overlooked the location and meaning of the route to battle and struggled with combining interdisciplinary evidence in a rigorous manner. In a medieval research context, this is in stark contrast to recent research done on similar landscapes of movement and with a goal, such as pilgrimage, which has demonstrated that the journey itself was important and meaningful to the pilgrims (Maddrell and della Dora, 2013). The whole idea of journeying in the medieval mindset was associated with preparation, belief, liminality, and purification.

This thesis therefore proposes that we must develop a new research enquiry towards medieval battlefield landscapes by examining them as *campaign landscapes*. This is defined as the landscape of movement before battle, in addition to the battlefield itself, where the main research questions address what the journey meant to soldiers on campaign within a framework of the medieval worldview, associated with belief, preparation and meaning. This includes identifying and reconstructing the route taken by the soldiers to the battlefield, and then conducting qualitative analyses of the experience of medieval regional soldiers marching on the route and engaging with its surrounding built and natural landscape, to reveal the meaning and experience of their

journey. The interdisciplinary evidence must be addressed from the perspective of a medieval worldview, which can be reached by using the theoretical framework of phenomenology. It focuses on the senses, perceptions and experiences of landscapes and will combine both the functional/strategic with the symbolic/sacred, a pervasive dichotomy which this thesis also rejects.

Therefore, in order to test the premises, a new approach towards medieval battlefields must entail a larger landscape context. This requires a rigorous interdisciplinary methodology which explores both archaeological and historical evidence from battlefield landscapes. These principles will be tested on case studies of well-identified battlefields associated with Anglo-Scottish conflict.

1.3.1 Research questions

Five research questions have been formulated which will be investigated in the following chapters, of which the first acts as the main research enquiry for this thesis.

- What did the journey to battle during campaign *mean* to medieval English and Scottish soldiers, in terms of their perceptions, experience and preparation, by moving on the route and engaging somatically with the surrounding landscape?
  - How can an interdisciplinary methodology be developed which identifies the route that medieval soldiers used prior to battle?
  - Which are the most likely routes that the soldiers could have taken to battle in the case studies?
  - How can a conceptual landscape model be developed, built on phenomenology and medieval journeys, which can be applied to physical, reconstructed campaign landscapes?
  - How did the soldiers' journeys relate to broader medieval perceptions of journeying, chivalry, piety, belief, and ritual, what we might collectively term 'the medieval worldview'?
  - How did the soldier experience differ in terms of rank, nationality and regionality?

1.4 Terms and concepts

Several concepts will be used throughout the thesis which are clarified here, as they will contain complex meanings.

1.4.1 Soldier

The word *soldier* is used in the thesis to denote any man who is participating in campaign and battle for the purpose of fighting, participating in combat and wearing a particular armour/equipment for combat. This means that men-at-arms, knights, bannerets and other ranks, will be included. *Soldier* therefore acts as a collective term. Naturally, using an umbrella term for the same ranks is less than ideal but is necessitated by the nature of the sources available. The impact of rank will be discussed in Chapter 6.3.4.

1.4.2 Campaign landscapes

A *campaign* is 'a planned group of especially [political, business] or military activities that are intended to achieve a particular aim'[2]. In a medieval context, a military campaign would mean *all* activities, also the religious that were part of campaign. Battles have from an archaeology point of view, been studied in isolation of the campaign. As the introduction stated, this thesis develops a new approach to *campaign landscapes* to represent an identified battlefield, either by HE or HES, and its associated landscape, which was used, passed, or marched through during the campaign by the defending/attacking army. This term is therefore coined to embrace and place the battlefield in a larger landscape context, which takes into account the movement to the battle, and the journeys afterwards. It therefore extends beyond the military idea of campaign to include the spiritual quest. As mentioned, this thesis will concentrate on

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[2] 'Campaign' in Cambridge Dictionary,
 https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/campaign [accessed 04/08/20].

the journey *to* battle, and will argue that the route to battle was important, comparable to pilgrimage, and by using this term, we signal the importance of studying the 'corridor' leading to battle (Maddrell *et al.*, 2014, p. 2). The campaign landscape therefore constitutes the landscape of movement from the starting point to the ending point.

2. RESEARCH APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter is divided into two sections: the first explores the theoretical framework for this study and develops a methodology to be applied on the case studies (Chapter 2.1-2). The second provides a critical assessment of the literature on the medieval Anglo-Scottish wars and introduces three case study battlefields that fulfil criteria identified in the methodology. It also presents the interdisciplinary evidence that will be used in the analysis (Chapter 2.3.3).

The aim of the first section is to develop a methodology for addressing this thesis's research enquiry, which concerns the journey of the English and Scottish soldiers before battle, in terms of perceptions and experience of moving on the route through the landscape before battle. It will propose a two-staged methodology:

1) To identify and reconstruct the most likely physical route used by soldiers during medieval campaigns; and
2) to develop a landscape model including temporal and conceptual elements of the campaign journey, based on phenomenological landscape concepts and medieval liminality, journeys and landscapes.

The model will then be applied on the reconstructed routes of the case studies. The approach is built on recent research on medieval pilgrimage, which has placed a greater emphasis on the pilgrims' physical and spiritual journey to the goal and their itineraries, rather than solely the destination. Therefore, the methodology approaches campaign landscapes as landscapes of movement, including a physical and experiential journey.

The methodology is a response to the critique of the research traditions of battlefield archaeology and conflict archaeology as outlined in Chapter 1.2, which have studied battlefields in isolation from campaigns, and rarely investigated the route to battle in detail. The method will also address the sacred/profane dichotomy which has characterised research on medieval soldier agency and battlefield landscapes which has failed to merge both the strategic and spiritual sense of landscapes. To address this lacuna, the landscape methodology will evaluate the route to battlefields within the

medieval worldview, i.e. a 'medieval rationality', of how soldiers approached, used and viewed the landscape during campaign. In order to access this past worldview, the analysis is framed by the theory of phenomenology, which combines human experience and landscapes by focusing on perceptions and sensory engagement (Tilley, 1994). However, before applying such a view, it must be built on a contextual foundation of medieval perceptions, belief and soldier experience (contra Carman and Carman, 2006a, 2020). This chapter will therefore attempt to develop a defined phenomenological approach, in contrast to conflict archaeology (Chapter 1.2.3) where the theory has been applied without any underpinning evidence, by the Carmans.

The aims of the second section of the chapter are to establish criteria for the choice of case studies, place the study in its historical context and to assess the relevant evidence that will be used in the analysis. It will argue for the use of interdisciplinary sources and through the theoretical consideration discuss their strengths and weaknesses.

2.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1.1 Phenomenology

Approaches toward historic landscapes have for several decades been problematised and explored theoretically and methodologically; previously seen as 'static terrains', their culturally and historically specific meanings and contexts have since then been addressed to understand how people used, perceived and moved in landscapes (Bender and Winer, 2001). Scholars from various disciplines have argued that landscapes are influential actors in human experience and behaviour, and containers of human thought and practices (Nash and Children, 1997, 2008; Bender and Winer, 2001). The human-environmental relationship is reciprocal and interacts constantly, and therefore the human body becomes part of the landscape (Nash and Children, 2008, p. 2), and landscapes can be seen and studied as artefacts (Nash and Children, 2008, p. 3).

It was within this research tradition of landscape archaeology that phenomenological philosophy was applied to archaeology, exploring the subjective experience of the landscape through the senses; the anthropologist Christopher Tilley championed this idea (Tilley, 1994, 2010; Tilley and Bennett, 2004, 2016), and argued that we may gain an understanding of the past by moving in archaeological landscapes and experiencing the landscapes today with our bodies as mediums. He stressed that the 'knowledge of landscapes, either past or present, is gained through perceptual experience of them from the point of view of the subject' (Tilley, 2010, p. 25). Tilley's method was explored, as mentioned in Chapter 1.2.3, by the Carmans who followed his research design by walking the battlefield landscapes themselves and exploring them through their vision and experience (Carman and Carman, 2006), and tried to understand battlefields as places through their observations.

Although Tilley's method addressed overlooked aspects of archaeological landscapes and takes into account perceptions and experience, it has received heavy criticism, much due to the difficulty of applying it to prehistoric landscapes. Post-processual landscape archaeology has, overall, been attacked for being 'hyper-interpretative' where archaeologists go 'beyond' the evidence, contrary to processual landscape archaeology (Fleming, 2006). This critique is understandable, as phenomenology must be applied cautiously and with a solid historic contextual understanding. A medieval phenomenological study needs therefore to be framed by a medieval worldview. One successful example of a phenomenological study of medieval landscapes is Karin Altenberg's study on the Dartmoor and Bodmin moors in which she analysed how medieval people experienced and perceived the landscapes from an inside and outside perspective by reflecting on medieval mentalities (Altenberg, 2001). She developed her phenomenological analysis into two strands, consisting of 'inside' and 'outside' perceptions, where the 'inside' perspective concerned how local people perceived the landscapes. Altenberg's study illustrates the multi-variate perceptions and experiences of spaces depending on who is experiencing it. I have previously developed an approach towards early medieval monastic landscapes through a phenomenological reading of hagiography, defined by the mindset of early medieval monks (Widell, 2017, 2019).

Therefore, this thesis argues that a phenomenological study of medieval campaign landscapes must be supported by contemporary contextual evidence of the participating soldiers' mindset which would strengthen its credibility as an archaeological landscape method. It will therefore not adopt Tilley's method, but rather use a refined approach – an inside perspective of regional soldiers who participated in the campaigns. The chapter will now present and argue for three elements that will constitute the medieval phenomenological analysis, which will be developed into a model (Chapter 2.2.2), applicable on medieval campaign landscapes.

2.1.1.1. Liminality

It was argued in Chapter 1 that the medieval campaign landscape must be defined as a landscape of movement, including the route and goal, similar to pilgrimage landscapes. This type of activity in landscapes has been described by anthropologists, archaeologists and other disciplines as *liminal*, meaning living outside normal space and time (van Gennep, 1960; Gertsman and Stevenson, 2012). The word derives from the Latin *limen*, meaning 'subjective threshold' (Lois González and Lopez, 2020, p. 438), and was used by anthropologists Arnold von Gennep and Victor and Edith Turner to describe pilgrimage as acting in a threshold (van Gennep, 1960; Turner and Turner, 1978). Liminality to them was seen as to live in space not associated with time, free from norms and a 'space of spiritual opportunity and permeability' (Maddrell and della Dora, 2013, p. 1107). It can be seen as an 'experience [...] that takes us outside our customary routines and identities', where 'crossing the limen takes us into a different place, an altered state, or another reality' (Ashley and Deegan, 2009, p. 10). Liminality is therefore 'moments or periods of transition during which the normal limits to thought, self-understanding and behaviour are relaxed, opening the way to novelty and imagination, construction and destruction' (Thomassen, 2014, p. 1).

In the medieval period, liminality could be found in various forms and states, for instance in pilgrimage; life itself was perceived as an earthly pilgrimage. Humans were guests and *peregrini* on earth (Ladner, 1967; Bowman, 1983, p. 5; Dyas, 2004). The word

'pilgrim' itself means someone who leaves home, who has 'abandoned the comfort of home to literally "wander" through the fields (per agra) [...] pilgrims are foreigners [...] they separate themselves from the ordinary' (Maddrell *et al.*, 2014, p. 3). Pilgrimage was 'a symbol for the individual's journey through life and death' (Zaleski, 1988, p. 39). Liminality can therefore be linked to the medieval perceptions of journeying, penance, and belief in salvation (Gaposchkin, 2020).

Medieval liminality was not only applicable to pilgrimage but existed in other contexts of medieval life, imagination and literature: crusaders and knights in military orders entered liminality as they left their homelands and travelled to the Continent and Holy Land, and were both soldiers and religious (Gilchrist, 1995, chap. 3; Purkis, 2008). Monks and hermits who left the world to pursue a life of solitude and prayer lived in a liminal state; they were also often encountered by knights in medieval tales who were out on quests (Putter, 1995; Dyas, 2001, p. 207). Inspired by the Desert Fathers, the hermits lived in 'deserts' and other remote places (Coomans, 2018, pp. 18–19). Warriors were also seen as liminal, such as Robin Hood, who lived as an outlaw in the forest with his men, pursuing warfare (Pollard, 2004; Harlan-Haughey, 2016). Warriors were often associated with living in exile, in a physical and perceived wilderness with groups of followers (Keen, 2000; Melrose, 2017). Gaelic literature and folkloric examples of warriors, such as the Scottish warrior Fingal and his followers (the Irish Fionn mac Cumhaill), further explain how they lived and acted in desolate and marginal forests, caves and mountains, whilst pursuing hunts and quests (Nagy, 1986; Westwood and Kingshill, 2009, pp. 10–11). Another liminality, within the frames of chivalry, was hunting which was seen as a way for knights to avoid becoming idle. Riding, using weapons and potential death were preparations and practice for battle (Thiebaux, 1974; Gilbert, 1979; Cummins, 2001; Marvin, 2006). In general, what distinguished the liminal state was the activity, i.e. quests, warfare, and the landscape setting, which was often a wasteland devoid of human settlement but rich in physical and spiritual threats and danger. The medieval liminality and its associated wilderness was thus a place for both hermits and monsters (Pluskowski, 2006, pp. 57–58), and whilst being an outlaw was a legal term for a specific punishment, it was also an encouragement for 'growth both practical and spiritual' (DeAngelo, 2018, p. 12). Hence, in the medieval worldview, the liminal state was a

'pathway' to grow in virtue and the landscapes were a suitable setting for spiritual progress towards perfection. This can be seen in, for instance, the Anglo-Saxon St Gutlac's dwelling at Crowland in the Fenland, which he inhabited to grow in holiness but was also 'indicative of criminality associated with the margins' (DeAngelo, 2018, pp. 156–57).

This framework of medieval liminality intersects reality with the imaginary, the soldier with the ascetic, in landscapes of wilderness. They demonstrate that when soldiers left for campaigns, they entered a liminal state, which is reflected in the distinct landscape setting of a 'wilderness' and their activity of journeying. This can act as a framework for understanding how they engaged somatically with the landscape. The liminal element in the phenomenological analysis therefore means that we must approach the campaign landscapes as a perceived wilderness, in which the soldiers' liminal journey took place.

2.1.1.2. Place and space

The critique of Tilley was outlined earlier (Chapter 2.1.1) with the chief argument being that he proposed an almost timeless landscape approach of phenomenology which fails to include historically specific landscape perceptions. After all, phenomenology is intended here to be used as a means to understand how medieval people experienced, saw, and perceived things. One criticism of Tilley's method is the terminology, as landscapes were not seen in the medieval period as we see them today; in fact, the concept of 'landscape' is post-medieval (Lees and Overing, 2006, p. 2). What we perceive as landscapes today, i.e. a delimited piece of land as in a painting or a specific view differs from the medieval vision and how they saw landscapes (della Dora, 2013; Kern-Stahler, Busse and de Boer, 2016). Contrary to the modern, post-Enlightenment linear vision, which creates a physical and sensory distance between viewer and environment, in medieval times, the objects and landscapes were perceived as having agency when engaging somatically with them, and the five senses were part of 'knowing' (Woolgar, 2006). This will be explored in more detail below. In order to avoid the anachronistic term 'landscape', scholars have distinguished between *place* and *space* in analysing

historic landscapes, which are two spatial concepts that broadly together comprise the modern notion of landscapes (Tuan, 1990, 2005; Lees and Overing, 2006; Branton, 2009; Boulton, 2018). *Place* was in the medieval period a *topos* or *locus*; it can be described as the element of landscapes which has a meaning and memory attached to it, and 'an entire suite of behaviour that occur in that location or in reference to it' (Branton, 2009, p. 52). They also 'shape human activities by their physical construction and have their physical construction shaped by human activities' (Branton, 2009, p. 52). This is also taking into account that places had different meanings to different audiences (Ibid.). Tilley suggests places are defined and limited by human experience (Tilley, 1994, p. 15), and can also be described as 'the lived and local, the quantified and the created' (Boulton, 2018, p. xv). Place could be associated with familiarity and memory: 'awareness of the past is an important element in the love of place' (Tuan, 1990, p. 99), where long-term associations, memories and experiences have attached the meaning to the place (Tuan, 1990, p. 145). A medieval example to illustrate this is the institutions, including churches, castles, monasteries, which reused earlier places (e.g. Creighton, 2018).

Space is instead shaped by movement and mobility (Cassidy-Welch, 2010, p. 2), and can be seen as the space between places (Branton, 2009, p. 52), and 'the physical setting within which everything occurs' (Preucel and Meskell, 2004, p. 215). It has been described as 'the unknown, the unmapped and the unlived' (Boulton, 2018, p. xv). This could relate to the areas of movement, and those that do not contain a particular meaning or cannot be quantified (Boulton, 2018).

In a context of medieval campaign landscapes, these terms are arguably applicable to the study of the soldiers' movement through the landscape. The inside perspective allows the study of how the regional soldiers perceived their journey, as an interaction of *place* and *space*, moving through familiar landscapes and passing landmarks associated with regional memory and experience. In order to apply these concepts more rigorously on the soldiers' journey, they must be integrated in the landscape model to be applied to the physical landscape.

2.1.1.3 The medieval senses

The medieval senses of sight, smell, touch, and sound, and how they affected medieval people's relationship with landscape and objects, have received much scholarly attention; scholars in multiple disciplines have in the last decades emphasised the importance and impact of including the medieval senses, especially vision, in understanding how medieval people understood and perceived the world (Woolgar, 2006; Giles, 2007; Graves, 2007; Palazzo, 2010; Wells, 2011; Williamson, 2013; Kern-Stahler, Busse and de Boer, 2016, p. 2). The medieval person engaged and responded to the landscape and material through the senses, as the senses were instruments to reach 'higher truths' (Woolgar, 2006, p. 23). It was through the senses that 'people were considered to be able to encounter with the holy' (Sundmark, 2017, pp. 229–30). In medieval devotion, objects, images and monuments were beheld, touched and potentially kissed to encounter the holy. Sight was almost equal to touching (Woolgar, 2006), and based on the philosophy of Aristotle, and writings by St Augustine, was regarded as 'the highest sense, allowed truths about the divine to reach the soul' (Hurlock, 2018, p. 82).

This impact of the medieval senses has shaped the study of medieval pilgrimage (Wells, 2011; Hurlock, 2018, p. 82ff). It has been argued that sacred objects that pilgrims engaged with during their pilgrimage had a 'holy radioactivity' (Finucane, 1995, p. 26; quoted in Hurlock, 2018, p. 83), where the beholding of images, monuments, landscapes and architecture therefore created 'a physical connection' which influenced the beholding pilgrim (Hurlock, 2018, p. 85). One example is the medieval pilgrimage route of the Camino to Santiago de Compostela, where the apostle St James' relics were kept. Along the route, sculptures and stained glass narrating Biblical stories and saints' legends, which were familiar to the pilgrims, were engaged with somatically and prepared the pilgrims for their goal (Ashley and Deegan, 2009, p. 197). The touching and engaging with objects and images were therefore part of the spiritual preparation of the pilgrim. As Hurlock has argued: 'pilgrimage was driven by the need to touch the divine' (Hurlock, 2018, p. 83). What is interesting is the connection between the places along

the route with the goal itself; several sites along the route were associated with Charlemagne, who had converted those places with the help of St James (Ashley and Deegan, 2009, pp. 184–90).This meant that pilgrims prepared themselves for venerating the relics of St James (at the goal) by visiting places associated with miracles attributed to him. This allows the somatic engagement of soldiers during campaign to be seen in a broader temporal and more defined framework: it was preparatory for battle and linked to the medieval soldier perceptions of battle.

Within this context, the way medieval soldiers saw and perceived their environment whilst moving to battle was framed by the medieval perceptions of sensory experience; the natural landscape with its buildings, monuments, and objects, would have impacted them by seeing or touching them. The somatic engagement was also a way for them to express their belief and emotions, and the 'holy radioactivity' would have been part of their journey before battle, to interact with the divine. Often in medieval romance tales, the vision is described as having a strong impact on the knight's mood and spirit: Sir Gawain felt immediately more courage and hope after seeing an image of the Virgin Mary inside his shield during a trial (Sadowski, 1996, p. 113). This shows that vision was important to soldiers during campaign as they travelled and engaged with the landscape. Therefore, for soldiers on campaign, marching on the route and encountering and passing places impacted them through their senses. This means that by focusing on how the soldiers experienced their visual environment as they moved to battle – the *place* and *space* - through their medieval senses, we may gain insight into how they perceived their liminal journey.

2.1.2 Summary

The theoretical discussion above presented the theory of phenomenology as a suitable tool for accessing the medieval worldview, which was lacking in earlier studies of battlefield landscapes. However, it demanded a defined phenomenological approach from an inside perspective, which could be applicable in a medieval context of regional soldiers. It thus presented three components to suit the study:

1) it prompts us to approach the campaign landscape as liminal, of a wasteland of danger but also of spiritual growth;

2) it proposes use of the concepts *place* and *space*; these 'building blocks' of landscape allow consideration of medieval mentalities, experience, and meaning of landscapes, rather than projecting anachronistic, modern concepts of 'landscape'. Coupled with an inside perspective, the analysis enables an understanding of how regional soldiers experienced familiar landscapes;

3) it engages with the complexity of the medieval senses, including the meaning of vision, touch, smell etc. and how the senses were perceived in medieval times to interact with the divine. It argues that the meaning of the soldiers' journey can be understood by exploring how they engaged with place and space through their senses.

These themes of the place and space, liminality, and the medieval senses will be merged in the phenomenological analysis to reveal the meaning of their journey to the soldiers. Therefore, by combining soldier, landscape and movement, this study makes an original contribution to understanding where and how soldiers experienced the journey to battle and the landscapes they passed through.

2.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

In order to apply this framework to medieval campaign landscapes, it requires a new methodological approach which first identifies the soldiers' physical route to battle, which is then explored from a phenomenological perspective, including the soldiers' sensory engagement with the landscape as they moved on the route. The methodology must therefore be divided into two phases, where the theoretical framework equally can be applied (Figure 3).

The first step, termed *the hypothetical route* will aim to identify the likeliest route that the soldiers could have taken to the battlefield, by exploring the campaign landscapes

in the written sources, and the multi-disciplinary evidence of 'route corridors', i.e. terrain suitable for movement, in ArcGIS Pro. ArcGIS is a digital mapping programme which offers tools to map and analyse evidence, distances and topography. This will result in a *hypothetical route* that the soldiers are most likely to have taken.

The second part of the methodology, termed *the journey*, will examine the soldiers' perceptions and experience of their journey to battle on the *hypothetical route*, in terms of their sensory engagement with the landscape. The journey through the campaign landscape will be investigated by applying a landscape model (Figure 3) to the case studies, consisting of temporal and conceptual elements, merging the physical with the experiential.

2.2.1 Step 1. The hypothetical route

2.2.1.1 Introduction

The initial stage of the analysis is to compile and assess interdisciplinary evidence to reconstruct the most likely route that the soldiers took to battle by mapping evidence in ArcGIS Pro. The main research questions that will be answered in this step are: *how can an interdisciplinary methodology be developed which identifies the route that medieval soldiers used prior to battle? Which are the most likely routes that the soldiers could have taken to battle in the case studies?* In order to answer these questions, we must develop a methodology which takes into account various types of evidence, framed by an understanding of medieval routeways. It will begin by considering earlier approaches towards reconstructing historic routes.

2.2.1.1.1 Identifications of medieval routes

Identifying medieval roads is not without complexities: scholars from various disciplines tracing medieval road-systems in landscapes are frequently confronted by

difficulties in both finding relevant evidence to identify and in dating the roads. For instance, large numbers of roads used in the medieval period were built upon Roman roads and are today either covered by modern roads or have disappeared (Hindle, 2016, p. 35; Vletter and van Lanen, 2018). Furthermore, natural and built landscape changes have also made it more difficult to verify historic routes; attempts have been made to identify road-networks by addressing physical traces in the terrain, such as hollow ways and sunken roads. Recent years have seen fruitful attempts in ArcGIS to reconstruct road-systems by applying LiDAR data (Hutton, 2011; Verbrugghe, De Clercq and van Eetvelde, 2017), and other tools in ArcGIS (White and Barber, 2012; Verhagen, 2013), to discover suitable topographies or height distinctions to suggest former roads. Scholars have also turned to documentary and cartographic evidence, place-names, and royal itineraries (Hindle, 1976, 2001; Harvey, 2005). Due to the interdisciplinary evidence needed to reconstruct roads, Hindle has argued that in order to identify medieval roads 'one must begin in the library rather than in the field' (Hindle, 2016, p. 35).

Perhaps the struggles to identify medieval roads are because the medieval 'road was not a physical entity, a thin strip of land with definite boundaries; rather it was a right of way, with both legal and customary status, leading from one village or town to the next' (Hindle, 1982, p. 6). In fact, the word 'road' and the meaning attached to it did not exist until the 16th century (Allen and Evans, 2016, p. 3), which causes an issue in terminology, and what it is that we seek to identify. It prompts the analysis to approach landscapes of movement with another terminology to denote topographies used for travel. van Lanen *et al.* propose 'route' and 'movement corridors' to identify historic landscapes of movement, and argue that routes are much more like 'movement corridors', i.e. zones 'where landscape setting provides people with favourable connectivity options, e.g. route zones, to other places of interests, such as settlements, fortresses, mining areas' (Vletter and van Lanen, 2018, p. 4). They are 'spatially more dynamic than roads, but very similar in orientation' (van Lanen *et al.*, 2018, p. 1038). Routes are thus less 'fixed' and more dynamic than roads (Vletter and van Lanen, 2018, p. 1038). Focusing on the Netherlands during the Roman and early medieval period, van Lanen *et al.* explored various types of terrain data, coupled with archaeology, to identify 'movement corridors' in the landscape which they argued were used for travel. Scholars focusing on early

medieval and Roman roads have also employed network analysis, which includes studying the route system through the nodes and links, and the relationship between them (Orengo and Livarda, 2016; Brookes and Huynh, 2018). This type of analysis focuses on the *link*, i.e. the actual route, and on the *nodes*, that is, the sites that were connected by routes. This contrasts with studies that have mainly concerned the road as it instead covers the full landscape of movement.

The earlier studies on 'movement corridors' and network analysis of nodes and links in the natural and archaeological landscape can be built on for the reconstruction of the route that the soldiers used during campaign, instead of seeking to identify specific roads. It would overcome the problems inherent in identifying 'medieval roads' and would draw on topographies of movement (i.e. terrain that could be crossed, with few obstacles) and archaeological evidence that could signify where routes went, and the nodes that connected them. It also allows a more anthropological approach towards the materiality of routes, which considers *who* used the road and *why* (Allen, 2016; Sauer, 2016). Brookes and Huynh argue that this was important as one condition for the survival of roads was 'whether they led to where people wanted to go' (Brookes and Huynh, 2018, p. 483). The *nodes* can be studied as *places* – as those places mentioned in the written sources were part of the campaign, plus other sites between them that would have been connected by a route-system. The *links* could be approached as *space*, i.e. the topographical and archaeological evidence indicating a route. Therefore, by analysing the terrain coupled with layers of archaeological evidence, a 'layer-upon-layer' method can be applied which will help us propose a hypothetical route.

2.2.1.2 Analysis

2.2.1.2.1 Landscape approach

This thesis's method to identify the most likely route follows van Lanen *et al.* to detect 'movement corridors' in the terrain - in this study termed 'route corridor' - and a version

of network analysis of nodes and links in the landscape. This can be executed by a layer-upon-layer method of data gathering; first, by studying the places mentioned in the written sources were visited by the soldiers during campaign, then the topographical terrain and archaeological evidence of roads between them, followed by recognising points in the landscape that are likely to have been connected by routes through the application of layers of archaeological evidence.

Initially, key places in the soldiers' movements before battle must be identified, such as their starting point and ending point (the battlefield), in order to orient the landscape and to limit the length of the reconstruction. As mentioned earlier, medieval chronicles often provide information on the soldiers' mustering points before they set off. These fixed historical points of reference, here called *named places,* must be mapped as nodes to delimit the study area, and to orient the route to understand roughly between what sites the soldiers must have moved. They can be approached as *places*, as they were associated with events and memory. These must be analysed, by first identifying the named place of mustering and other places of events, in the context of their literary description and landscape location. Then their key built features will be assessed to understand their location in a route network and 'sense' of the region. The aim is to consider why a route was followed and to identify potential users and motivations behind their usage.

The second stage is to collect multi-disciplinary evidence that can reveal *where* the route went in the landscape *between* the named places, in the topographical and archaeological layer-upon-layer analysis. It will attempt to identify route corridors in the landscape by studying the topography and archaeological evidence as *space*. It will apply layers of archaeological evidence to identify places along the route which would have been passed by a route, drawing on earlier research, and results from evaluation of the named places. It therefore follows the anthropological approach, which focuses on the sites that would have been connected by routes, such as parish churches and towns, which often had visitors.

The overarching aim is to trace evidence of routes between the named places in order to create a *hypothetical route*; how the soldiers are likely to have moved from their

mustering point to the battlefield, estimated on the basis of the best evidence available. In order to keep the analysis to a manageable scale, a maximum of 25 miles will be reconstructed for each case study.

- *Named places*

The first stage in the reconstruction of the route is to identify the *named places* in the historical sources describing the battle which will be approached as *places* in the route-system. As will be seen below (Chapter 2.3.3.2), the historical sources for each case study mention sites that were events took place during the soldiers' journey. It is therefore proposed that the sites mentioned were accurate as they were important to the writers; nevertheless, their reliability will be assessed throughout the analysis. The aim of this step is therefore to map the named places in ArcGIS Pro, delimit the study area, and explore the associated archaeological evidence in relation to the literary descriptions. It will also explore the named places in relation to the broader context of the route network in the region. By studying them as *places,* albeit through a framework of communication and route-systems, we can understand their locations in a regional network setting, if there are any regional features or other distinguishing evidence that can indicate why the route went through there. The named places consist of the mustering point, battlefield and the potential places mentioned before battle where events happened. Each analysis of the named places will result in a map showing its key built features and landscape location. The analysis will also assist in those cases where there are large numbers of named places; in order to limit the scope, evaluations will be made, and some places might be combined or left out. The main mustering point will be chosen as starting point.

The evidence that will be explored consists of historical and archaeological evidence, from HE and HES records (see Chapter 2.3.3). These sources will be addressed to explore the following:

➢ *Literary description,* which will explore how the place was described as a *place* and what event happened there. It will also tell us *who* was there, which will provide information on what rank, role etc. the soldiers had.

➢ *Landscape location,* will reveal where the place is situated in a broader regional and communicative context, its connection to the route network in the area, and if it was located along any larger routes. It will also help us to delimit the study area and identify in what region the full campaign took place.

➢ *Key built features,* which can reveal the 'sense' of the place, why it would have been part of campaign and passed by a route, and by whom it was used.

▪ *Links*

The next stage of the analysis is to explore the physical terrain between the named places as *space,* to identify route corridors. This will enable us to detect areas of the landscape that would have been crossable, and to identify obstacles in the terrain.

➢ Topographical landscape

The area between the named places will first be analysed based on a DTM (Digital Terrain Model) downloaded from the Ordnance Survey (Chapter 2.3.3.3) for each case study. The DTM illustrates the height differences in the landscape and can potentially reveal opportunities and obstacles in the terrain for crossing. It will be applied onto the OS Topographical UK map as a background map in ArcGIS Pro (Chapter 2.3.3.3), which shows the topographical landscapes with heights, ridges and recesses, which can help to illustrate where it would have been possible for a route to go.

➢ Recorded historic roads

The digitised historic roads by HE and HES (Roman and medieval) that links the named places will be applied on a map to illustrate possible roads that the

soldiers could have used. As noted, Roman roads were often reused in the medieval period and were also often spacious enough to accommodate a marching army. Also, modern roads connecting the named places will be evaluated to discern whether they had a medieval or earlier origin as many medieval roads are still in use (Hindle, 1982, 2016). They will be analysed in relation to the route corridors identified in the topographical analysis above. Roads that are not digitised but known will be referred to, and those roads that are not digitised but their location established in the landscape will be digitised manually (i.e. by the author).

- *Nodes*

The following layer consists of archaeological evidence of nodes in the landscape. Drawing on the discussion of the previous research above, the archaeological evidence will identify the nodes between the named places, where there would have been a route system connecting them. Two categories, encompassing three archaeological layers each, consisting of data obtained from HE and HES, will be applied between the named places. They are chosen as they illustrate significant points which were likely to be connected by routes. The methodology will be responsive to difference in the data in the three case studies. Each layer will be applied successively, which ultimately will illustrate the density of evidence.

➢ Settlements, villages and towns

The first layer is to apply the settlements, villages and towns that existed at the time of battle, divided into three categories: *prehistoric and Roman settlements*, *(medieval) villages* and *towns*, between the named places, and to study them in relation to the topography and recorded historic roads from above. This category of evidence is chosen as settlements often were linked by roads; both Roman forts, such as the Binchester fort situated by Dere Street, and prehistoric features such as

hillforts were often situated by roads (Casey, Noel and Wright, 1992; Collins, Symonds and Weber, 2015; O'Driscoll, 2017). The road-system developed during the medieval period as the population grew and trade increased and frequent transport was needed between settlements (Hindle, 1993, p. 50ff.; Childs, 2006). Research on medieval villages has often mentioned their link to routes and accessibility and the pathways, byways and other routes that connected the villages (Taylor, 1982; Austin, 1989, p. 4). In sum, villages, towns, and prehistoric and Roman settlements can indicate where routes traversed in the landscape.

➢ Places of worship

The next category, consisting of *parish churches*, *chapels* and *holy wells* were common places of worship for medieval people and are therefore chosen as the next category as they would have been linked by routes. Many parish churches in northern England had large parishes, and they had to be accessible to the parishioners (Roberts, 1977; Lomas, 1996). It is therefore likely that parish churches in their villages were accessible via routes in a network. Other places of worship, for instance cathedrals and monasteries, will also be included should the case studies contain such places, as they also are indicative evidence for routes.

2.2.1.3. Presentation of results

The analysis will result in a map illustrating the *hypothetical route* between the named places in the landscape, with numbers to map the itinerary. As the term reveals, the route is hypothetical and is suggested based on the available evidence. It therefore the *most likely* route that the soldiers could have taken.

2.2.2 Step 2. The journey

2.2.2.1 Introduction

The second stage of the methodology is to probe in more detail the broad research question stated in Chapter 1.3.1, namely what the journey meant to medieval soldiers during campaign, in terms of sensory engagement with the landscape whilst moving. This is done by investigating the *hypothetical route* with a phenomenological framework of *liminality*, *the medieval senses*, and *place* and *space*. The analysis will be performed by applying a landscape model which consists of different temporal and experiential elements, that can be found in the liminal states of journeys (Figure 3). By applying the model to the hypothetical route, it will reveal how soldiers perceived their journey to battle. The analysis will address the criticism towards the sacred/profane dichotomy which has shaped research on medieval battlefields (stated in Chapter 1.1-1.2), by merging the seemingly 'functional' with the 'spiritual', i.e. studying both the soldiers' tactical movements in the landscape, integrated with their sacred and symbolic meaning of medieval journeying. Extending this argument, this thesis proposes that the route of the soldiers during campaign, in their state of liminality, reflected both their physical needs of suitable terrain, shelter and food, but also had a spiritual impact on them.

2.2.2.1.1 A phenomenology of medieval campaign landscapes

Scholars have in the recent decades focused on studying the journey of pilgrims, a response to the Turners, arguing that the journey to the goal was not necessarily profane but had sacred meaning too (Morinis, 1992; Eade and Sallnow, 2000; Coleman and Eade, 2004). As a response, the concept of pilgrimage has been widely debated and pilgrimage studies have embraced wider landscape contexts with focus on movement (Frey, 1998; Candy, 2007; Ashley and Deegan, 2009; Wells, 2016). The shift to focus on the journey itself and the contextualisation of pilgrimage has encouraged scholars to study both the

landscape of physical journeying but also the metaphorical and interior journeys (Dyas, 2004; Maddrell *et al.*, 2014). Studies have focused on the sensory experience of buildings, objects, the sound and other sensory experiences of the pilgrim as they used the route (Ashley and Deegan, 2009; Hurlock, 2018; Lois González and Lopez, 2020), sometimes with a chronological exploration of the route from beginning to end (Candy, 2007; Locker, 2015).

While medieval studies have addressed physical and metaphorical journeys, medieval soldiers' journeys to battle have rarely been studied or contextualised, although they, like pilgrims, moved through landscapes with a goal. One exception is the journeys of the crusaders (including English and Scottish crusaders), to the Baltic or the Holy Land (MacQuarrie, 1997; Guard, 2016). The topic has in particular been covered in three volumes by Werner Paravicini (Paravicini, 1989, 1995, 2020). The volumes discuss various dimensions of the campaigns and journeys to the Baltic, such as the geography of routes, motivation, financing, and preparations before campaigns. Although soldiers in the Crusades and the Anglo-Scottish wars shared the experience of marching long routes to battle, the scholarship on the Crusades will only be referred to occasionally henceforth, chiefly because this thesis adopts a multidisciplinary landscape approach, more often used in pilgrimage research. Some of the key analytical themes applied to the landscape, such as regional identity and motivation for war, differ sharply from the Crusades; the Anglo-Scottish campaigns were part of a civil war and an extended border conflict, motivated by regional and national identities (Grant, 1998; Macdonald, 2013; MacInnes, 2016). The campaigns were navigated in familiar, regional landscapes of memory, which are different from the landscapes of the Crusades, which often included foreign territories. Although it is very probable that the participation in the Crusades had a strong impact on some of the English and Scottish soldiers who participated in the Anglo-Scottish campaigns, the landscape analyses in this thesis do not benefit from an extended consideration on Crusade research.

Research on medieval physical and metaphorical journeys has noted both the conceptual and temporal elements of the journey; it included both a 'departure' and 'transformation' with different perceptions and experiences attached to them (Bowman,

1983; Campbell, 1993, chap. 1; Nievergelt, 2012, p. 23; Gaposchkin, 2013a). This is specifically evident in the medieval quest, known from the *chanson de geste,* which was characterised by the *departure* that took place in a certain space; knights were generally presented as having a meal in the great hall of castles when they were challenged with a quest (Thiebaux, 1974, pp. 28–33; Byrne, 2011). After having accepted the challenge, the knights set out from the castle, entering another realm, of danger and temptation. Scholars have used different concepts to describe the shifting experience of the two realms in medieval journeying: in a pilgrimage context, the terms 'sanctuary' and 'wilderness' have been employed to explain the two different spheres (Locker, 2017, p. 2). In a broader medieval context, they have been named 'culture', meaning the 'built' and 'cultivated', and 'nature' which denotes the 'wild' (Le Goff, 1988, p. 58). Eric Sadowski has in his study on *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* also divided Sir Gawain's quest into 'culture' and 'nature'; 'culture' being 'a system of values and modes of behaviour characteristic of the courtly and chivalric milieu' (Sadowski, 1996, p. 68), such as the departure point. 'Nature' was instead the landscapes that the knight entered after departure, where 'forces and phenomena that originate and operate in the realm beyond culture as opposed to it' (Ibid.). The importance of the departure and subsequent realm of movement is evident in other liminal activities listed earlier (2.1.1.1), where pilgrims and crusaders prepared themselves for departure by certain rites performed by priests in a church (Gaposchkin, 2013a), before setting out in the 'ante-chamber' (Maddrell *et al.*, 2014, p. 2). Overall, the two concepts suggest that the medieval journey included two spheres of separate and distinguished temporal and experiential values, both in literary and 'real' journeys.

The conceptual, experiential and temporal pointers of the journeys listed above can arguably be applied to the Anglo-Scottish campaigns; the soldiers' mustering point was practically their 'departure point'. This was a place where military leaders gathered, prior to sending out 'written or oral summonses', for armies to muster (Nicholson, 2004, p. 52; Rogers, 2007, p. 25). After the mustering, the soldiers moved through landscapes to chase or pursue their enemy and they also arrived at the place where battle took place. Therefore, the temporal and conceptual elements found in medieval literary and physical journeys can be integrated with the medieval campaign landscape, and applied

to the hypothetical route, which will enable us to understand how soldiers perceived their journey through the landscape. Furthermore, these examples collapse the sacred/profane dichotomy, taking into account that the campaign landscape was both a spiritual and warfare realm. What remains is to develop this into a landscape model, merged with the phenomenological elements presented in Chapter 2.1.1, of space and place, connected to liminal journeying and the medieval senses, which can be applied to the *hypothetical route*.

2.2.2.2 Analysis

2.2.2.2.1 Landscape model

The section above discussed the temporal and conceptual elements of medieval journeys which was argued can be applied on medieval campaign landscapes. By merging them with the three phenomenological themes of liminality, place and space, and the medieval sensory experience, these can be organised in a model, to be applied to the *hypothetical route*, which arguably can reveal how soldiers experienced their journey to battle. As reconstructed, the hypothetical route consisted of the *named places*, historic roads/paths or terrain that could be crossed, and *place*s along the route.

A landscape model has been created (Figure 3) which illustrates these elements and its relation to the hypothetical route. It includes three temporal components: *departure* which means the *named place* where the soldiers mustered and set out on the campaign. *Movement* is the liminal realm they entered after their departure and the *stages* are sites along the route that they would have encountered. *Arrival,* another named place*,* was the place of battle.

Each component of the journey is approached differently, following the phenomenological space and place discussed earlier (Chapter 2.1.1.2). *Departur*e was a place of order, as seen in the departure point of pilgrims and knights, which usually took place in churches and castles. It corresponded to medieval regional and local

perceptions of an 'ordered place', following that *places* were 'the lived, the local, the quantified and the created' (Boulton, 2018, p. 2). *Movement* was the liminal realm that they moved through after their departure; 'the physical setting within which everything occurs' (Preucel and Meskell, 2004, p. 216). It was therefore the 'unquantified' sense of the region, the theatre of the route, characterised by its history, landmarks and inside perceptions. It was also the 'nature', i.e. wilderness outside the ordered places (Sadowski, 1996, p. 68). The *stages* were other *named places* or other locales (villages, isolated buildings, prominent natural features etc.) from the reconstruction which are situated along the route that were encountered by the soldiers on the way.

Because of the inside perspective which this thesis adopts, the places identified in the hypothetical route as *departure, movement, stages* and *arrival,* can be approached by broadly asking, what did they mean to the soldiers and how did they engage somatically with them? The questions are answered by situating the place or space within a framework of medieval perceptions of journeying, chivalry, piety, belief, and ritual. This wider cultural package could be defined as 'the medieval worldview' (as stated in the research question in Chapter 1.3.1). As we shall see below (Chapter 2.3.1.3), soldiers in the Anglo-Scottish wars were often recruited regionally or often participated in several Anglo-Scottish campaigns. The inside perspective thus allows the analysis of how places could have a special meaning to soldiers familiar with the landscape, for instance, if it was a place of memory in the landscape, related to previous campaigns or deceased soldiers, or if it reflected the soldiers' liminal and martial identity. Moreover, examining both the medieval worldview and soldier experience shows the interconnections between religious belief and other aspects of medieval culture.

The analysis begins in each case study gradually by applying the model to the hypothetical route, commencing with the departure point. It then 'walks' the route, by first examining the *space* entered after departure, followed by the rest of the sites and arrival place, by placing them in the medieval mindset of spiritual, martial, symbolic or regional significance. The analysis will consist of the following steps:

- *Place of departure*

Setting out on a campaign included an act of departure, also found in medieval pilgrimage and crusades (Gaposchkin, 2013a, 2013b). The place of departure was a place of order and can often be found mentioned in the written sources as the mustering point.

- *Movement*

The following stage of the analysis is to analyse the movement, i.e. *space* after departure. It was the realm of the *hypothetical route* and includes the sense of the region and is termed wilderness as a metaphorical concept of the rural landscape of quest and liminality that the soldiers moved through.

- *Stages*
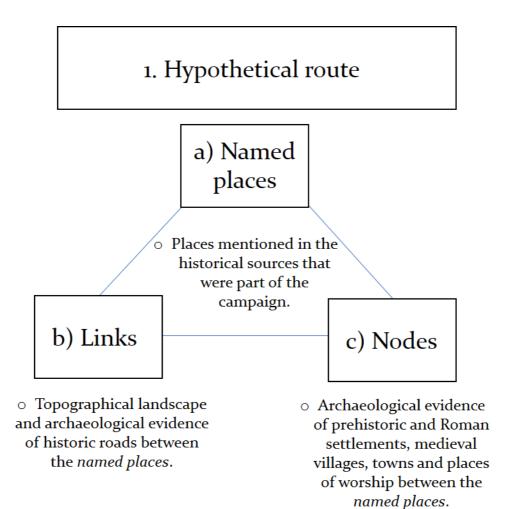
The *stages* are places along the route that soldiers encountered throughout the journey and could either be *named places* and other sites that emerge from the reconstruction.
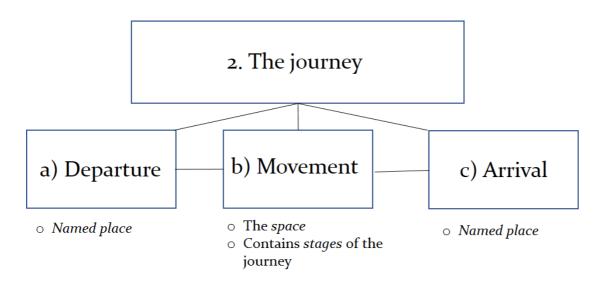
- *Arrival*

The final place is the *arrival*, which is where the battle took place. It was the culmination of the journey, where the soldiers encountered their enemy and fought.

2.2.2.3 Presentation of results

The analysis will finish with general discussion of the soldiers' perceptions of their journey, drawing out the main patterns and distinct features of the landscape surrounding the route. The three categories outlined above will be emphasised and will be discussed in Chapter 6.

1. Hypothetical route

a) Named places

o Places mentioned in the historical sources that were part of the campaign.

b) Links

c) Nodes

o Topographical landscape and archaeological evidence of historic roads between the *named places*.

o Archaeological evidence of prehistoric and Roman settlements, medieval villages, towns and places of worship between the *named places*.

2. The journey

a) Departure

b) Movement

c) Arrival

o *Named place*

o The *space*
o Contains *stages* of the journey

o *Named place*

Figure 3. Model of the methodology's two-steps: it first reconstructs the *hypothetical route*, examining the nodes and links in the topographical, written and archaeological evidence, to identify route corridors in the landscape. It then applies a model of temporal and experiential concepts, based on medieval quests and journeys, on the hypothetical route. Image © Author.

2.3 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND, CASE STUDIES AND SOURCES

This section will outline the historical context and critically review the scholarly literature on the medieval Anglo-Scottish wars, before introducing the case studies, selected on the basis of the criteria developed throughout the section.

2.3.1 The medieval Anglo-Scottish wars

The Anglo-Scottish wars were an extended period of conflict between England and Scotland during the medieval period. They have, from a Scottish perspective, often been called the 'Scottish Wars of Independence' (Barrow, 1976; MacInnes, 2016), but will here be referred to as the Scottish Civil wars or the Anglo-Scottish wars. In broad terms, the wars started due to disputes on who had the right to the Scottish throne; after John Balliol was named king of Scotland, after his claim was recognised in a court presided over by the English monarch, an invasion by Edward I followed in 1296 (Lomas, 1992). The subsequent centuries saw regular warfare, invasions and treaties between the countries.

2.3.1.1. The Anglo-Scottish wars: research history

The backbone of previous archaeological and historical research on the medieval Anglo-Scottish wars has conjoined traditional military history and battlefield archaeology approaches with an obvious nationalistic bias revived by a modern political interest. The wars have predominantly been analysed in terms of military strategy, formation of armies and logistics (Spiers, Crang and Strickland, 2014). There has been an emphasis on locating nationally important battlefields, with the aim of turning them into heritage sites of national importance (Brown, 2008; Cornell, 2009; Pollard, 2016). An example is the battle of Bannockburn (1314); after the 700th anniversary of the battle, the conference proceedings *Bannockburn 1314-2014, Battle and Legacy* were published, including

various interdisciplinary approaches towards the battle (Penman, 2016a). Despite its disciplinary mix, it indicates a strong political current as several authors draw parallels between the medieval battle and contemporary politics. Sarah Tolmie argued in her analysis of the 14th century poem 'The Bruce', by John Barbour about the well-known Scottish king Robert Bruce (d.1329), that the poem is still important to readers today as its message conveys that 'Robert Bruce can live to fight another day' (Tolmie, 2014, p. 151). Michael Penman illuminates the battle's political significance today in the introductory chapter, discussing how modern politicians use Bannockburn to legitimise their policies (Penman, 2016b). This strong focus on Bannockburn further confirms that historic battles often are chosen for research depending on their long-established national importance (Chapter 1.2.4), also noted by Carman (Carman, 2013, pp. 15–16, 18ff.).

Until recently, scholarship on the medieval Anglo-Scottish wars has tended to concentrate on a limited time-scale, namely the 'First Wars of Independence' (1296-1328), where research has involved important historical characters, such as Robert Bruce (McNamee, 2006; Penman, 2014), and Edward I (Prestwich, 1997; Watson, 1998); and individual battles, in particular the Battle of Bannockburn (1314) (see above). This selective temporal and topical framing can be argued is due to the political and ethnic influence that has characterised historical research, where battles or characters of political importance have been prioritised. Matthew H. Hammond (2006) has illuminated this problem, arguing that scholars have failed to account for several aspects of medieval Scotland. Hammond stressed that the dualistic, Celtic versus Teutonic/Norman focus on Scottish medieval history has made scholars since the 19th century selective in their research, especially evident in the research on 'law, kingship, lordship and religion' (Hammond, 2006, p. 1). Roberta Gilchrist argues a similar case for research on late medieval monasticism in Scotland where early medieval 'Celtic' monasticism has been prioritised by scholars over the late medieval European monastic orders (Gilchrist, 2020, chap. 2). This is evidently also the case in the study of the Anglo-Scottish battles, where for instance the 12th and 15th century battles have received comparably little attention, such as Battle of the Standard (1138) and the Battle of Piperdean (1436), both identified in the landscape and known from historical sources.

Therefore, the selection of battles for study based on their significance to national identity today, focusing on the Scottish Civil Wars (by modern Scottish historians called the 'First Wars of Independence'), has outweighed study of the later part of the war (by historians called the 'Second Wars of Independence', 1332-1357). There are few publications on the pitched battles of the period, for instance the Battle of Dupplin Moor (1332) or Halidon Hill (1333), both well-documented in historical sources and localised in the landscape (HE, 1995a; HES, 2011). This bias has been criticised by scholars, such as Stephen Boardman (1996), and Alastair Macdonald, who has argued that the battles from the late 14th century and early 15th, during the reigns of Robert II and III, have received little attention as they have been perceived as 'highly unglamorous subjects of study' (Macdonald, 2000, p. 1). This asymmetry has lately started to be addressed more comprehensively by historians; Iain MacInnes (2016) has produced a volume on these wars; *Scotland's Second War of Independence, 1332-1357*, in which he argues that this part of the war has been neglected by scholars partly due to its unattractive nature. He claims that this was allegedly an unstable period of history without a king, as David II was in exile in France, which made the Scottish resistance against the English neither successful nor organised (MacInnes, 2016). It is also likely that this period without any definite Scottish triumphs has been neglected by scholars due to contemporary policies on the nation's independence.

The political bias of research on the medieval Anglo-Scottish wars is also due to a comparative lack of interest from an English perspective. Andy King and David Simpkin have noted that the Anglo-Scottish wars have been researched predominantly from a Scottish perspective (King and Simpkin, 2014, pp. 3–5). Instead, the English focus has been centred on the Hundred Years War (1337-1453) against France (Kaeuper, 1988; Curry, 2003), which arguably also is associated with political identity. This research bias is problematic as basing research topics and questions on modern political aims does not guarantee a nuanced and accurate account of the past, but rather the opposite. The research questions in the Anglo-Scottish war context have, apart from concerning the location of battle, usually concerned what factors motivated battles. Scholars have thus claimed reasons such as 'revenge' (Grant, 1998, p. 21), or 'hatred of a traditional enemy' (Macdonald, 2013, p. 193), as prominent sources of motivation. As a consequence, battles

have been interpreted as a determining political pinnacle of national identity, and easily become distanced from their historical context. Such a dual view has been questioned by historians who claim that the categorical 'black-and-white' perspective of war is misguiding, and instead stress the cruciality of placing conflicts in broader contexts (King and Penman, 2007).

Recent research has attempted to approach the wars from a neutral perspective; King and Simpkin's edited volume *England and Scotland at war, c. 1296-c.1513* (2014) deals with the war across various disciplines and with a broad temporal frame. Additionally, the later wars stretching to the early 16th century have also been studied, without a national bias (King and Etty, 2015).

2.3.1.2 Previous research on Anglo-Scottish battles

Many of the Anglo-Scottish battlefields are included in HE and HES' inventories, and the research on them has been influenced by both battlefield and conflict archaeology. Primarily conducted by historians rather than archaeologists, the most common research questions on battles have been where and why the battle took place, by reconstructing the political and military actions leading up to a battle, and on some occasions, the consequences of battle. The existing archaeological record of battles has seldom been addressed and few of these battlefield landscapes have been selected for archaeological surveys. Instead, the most intensively studied Anglo-Scottish battle, Bannockburn (1314), has been chosen for research due to its iconic status to support Scottish independence, and not in terms of quantity of evidence or research potential (Penman, 2016a). Such a biased approach is, as we have seen, not without faults; it ignores historical evidence that there was friendship and exchange across the border (King and Penman, 2007, pp. 7–8; King and Etty, 2015, pp. 170–81). Moreover, Michael Penman has highlighted that the Scottish king David II sought closer alliance with England during his reign, which also argues for the complex view of battles (Penman, 2004; King and Penman, 2007, p. 8). There were supporters of Edward Balliol who entered the English allegiance, and figures such as William of Liddesdale and George

Dunbar, Earl of March, were also sometime in the English allegiance (King and Etty, 2015, pp. 21, 170–81). Furthermore, as argued earlier, battles cannot be studied as detached from their historical context; Anglo-Scottish battles have been perceived as events with influential and long-lasting legacies although the actual consequences sometimes were fragmentary. Ian MacInnes has argued that the actual outcome of Bannockburn has been exaggerated (MacInnes, 2016, p. 240). Hence, the outcome and importance of battles, on an individual level, must be questioned.

In sum, the historiography of the Anglo-Scottish wars has been biased, both in terms of neutrality and temporality: few studies have focused on the latter half of the 14th century. Equally, some battles have been forgotten due to their seemingly less political value today. Therefore, the methodology will be tested on three Anglo-Scottish battles that were part of the extended conflict in the 14th century. This time period has been chosen for several reasons: because there are a large number of battlefields from that century which have been identified, and also because it was a particularly intense period of the extended warfare (the Scottish Civil Wars stretched from 1296-1357). It will challenge the temporal bias by interweaving different decades of the Anglo-Scottish wars. As mentioned in the introduction, the Anglo-Scottish wars have been chosen due to the soldiers' familiarity with the landscapes, the extent of recorded evidence, and because it was often returning or regional soldiers who participated in the campaigns (Chapter 2.3.1.3). Moreover, the geographical area is suitable since maps and digitised data are available to use in ArcGIS.

2.3.1.3 Anglo-Scottish soldiers

Many studies have been conducted on the soldiers who were involved in the Anglo-Scottish wars. The documentary and historical sources have been addressed to examine the recruitment system, among other topics, which has been intensively studied from both English and Scottish perspectives (Ayton, 1994a, 1994b; King, 2002b, 2014; Macinnes, 2013; MacInnes, 2016, chap. 2). Studies on individual soldiers' careers have also been conducted (e.g. Dixon, 1998; Spencer, 2012; MacInnes, 2016, chap. 3).

There is scarce documentary evidence from medieval Scotland, apart from some charters, that can reveal how Scottish soldiers were recruited for campaigns (Macdonald, 2013; King and Simpkin, 2014; MacInnes, 2016). Studies have, nevertheless, showed that soldiers were recruited both regionally and nationally for campaigns. During the latter part of the 14th century, much of the warfare was conducted regionally in small territories, suggesting that the leadership and recruitment could be done on a regional level (MacInnes, 2016, pp. 60–61, 70). The leader was usually the king, a guardian, or earls, who were in charge of the troops (MacInnes, 2016, p. 68). Scholars have also emphasised the mutual national motivation for war among medieval Scottish soldiers, regardless of background, which united the army (Macdonald, 2013; MacInnes, 2016, pp. 60–61).

The recruitment system in Durham was largely ordered by the sheriff and in Northumberland, the Warden of the Marches was responsible to garner soldiers (Curry *et al.*, 2013). The role of warden had been appointed by Edward I, to keep the peace in northern Britain with soldiers, and to serve alongside the bishop (Emery, 1996, p. 13). Recruitment could be done through indenture, i.e. a type of legal contract or retinue, where a lord had a group of soldiers attached to him (King, 2012).

What both English and Scottish soldiers had in common is that they were men of different age and backgrounds. They had various ranks, such as knights, archers, and foot-soldiers, carrying different armours and weapons, which are often mentioned in the chronicles. The Scottish army consisted chiefly of foot-soldiers, which proved successful at Bannockburn (Prestwich, 2014, p. 136). Overall, the leadership, organisation and recruitment for war were often a regional affair, with several gentry families in the border area, such as the Nevilles, Percys, and Douglas, having leading positions. The 14th century has in general been seen as the period when the English gentry became more involved in the warfare with Scotland and France (Ayton, 1994a, p. 29; King, 2014). This thesis does not require an identification of exactly who participated in the case study campaigns; what is of importance before the analysis commences is that we can establish that many soldiers were familiar with the landscapes, either due to their regional origin or their return to fight as soldiers in the Anglo-Scottish wars.

2.3.2 Case studies

2.3.2.1 Case study criteria

Several requirements can be identified for the case studies drawing on the research history outlined above. First, the case study battlefields must be *i)* securely identified in the landscape. Therefore, three case studies will be chosen from HE and HES' inventories of battlefields, each of which meets the requirement as identified in the landscape and convincingly related to battle-related remains, such as mass graves and the terrain (HE, 2017, pp. 9–11). Furthermore, *ii)* they must have a sufficient wealth of historical sources describing the campaign to facilitate the analyses; and *iii)* the battles should have taken place in different decades in order to balance the temporal bias in research. They should also have taken place in different countries/regions (England, Scotland or the Border), to provide a comparative perspective.

2.3.2.2 Historic England and Historic Environment Scotland's Register and Inventory
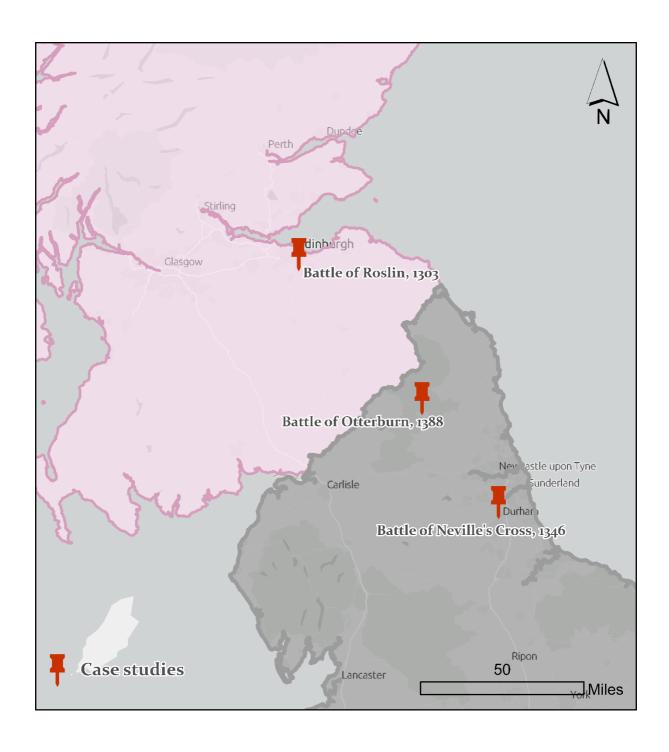
HE and HES' inventories were created to record historically significant battles, aligned with the growing public interest in visiting historic battlefields. As mentioned in Chapter 1.2.1, battlefield archaeology has strong links to the conservation aims of HE and HES; their objectives have prioritised the preservation of battlefields, instead of linking them to research and interpretation. This attention from national heritage organisations, coupled with the popular interest among amateur historians, has developed battlefields into semi-sacred sites. Although these sites have no religious meaning, they have become important in terms of memory and commemoration. Although HE and HES' methods have been criticised for not taking into account landscape changes (Foard, 1995; Carman, 2013, p. 44), their methodologies are sufficiently rigorous to identify rough estimations of battlefields' whereabouts. Therefore, HE and HES's identifications will be used.

2.3.2.3 Case studies

Three case studies have been chosen that fulfil the criteria established above (Table 1) (Map 1). The battlefields are listed on HE and HES' Register and Inventory, and took place in Scotland, England and the Border. They were mentioned in both contemporary and later chronicles and ballads. The dates of the campaigns stretch from the beginning of the 14th century to the end, covering a crucial century of the Scottish Civil war, and both the so-called 'First and Second Scottish Wars of Independence'. In order to have an inside perspective, each case study will be approached through the lens of the country where it took place, i.e. the case study in Scotland will be studied from the Scottish soldiers' perspective. However, the third case study, Otterburn, will be explored from both the English and Scottish perspective, seeing that it took place in the border, a 'metaphorical line', rather than a zone, between England and Scotland.

Name	When	Where	Listed on HE/HES Register/Inventory
Battle of Roslin	1303	Roslin, Scotland	Yes
Battle of Neville's Cross	1346	Durham, England	Yes
Battle of Otterburn	1388	Otterburn, Border	Yes

Table 1. List of the case study battlefields selected from Historic England and Historic Environment Scotland's Register and Inventory of historic battlefields. Each case study fulfils the criteria set out earlier in the section. Table © Author.

Map 1. The three case studies are situated in northern England, southern Scotland and the border. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic England 2020. Map created by author.

2.3.3 Sources

This section will present and assess the types of evidence that will be used in the analysis.

2.3.3.1 Archaeological evidence

The archaeological evidence is collected from two main national databases of recorded objects, monuments and features (HE and HES). Each find or monument has been digitised and georeferenced, including its spatial location, and has been downloaded from their webpages to be mapped in ArcGIS Pro. The evidence is used to analyse the named places, to identify the route corridors and will be explored phenomenologically in the second stage of the analysis.

- *National Heritage List for England*

Historic England's online National Heritage List for England, is an up to date inventory of historic buildings, features and finds which have been approved, analysed and registered by HE. The database has been downloaded as *shapefiles* which will be applied and analysed in ArcGIS Pro. Throughout the thesis, each registered site will be referred to as 'HE + List Entry Number' and are listed in Appendix B. The evidence will be used in both stages of the methodology.

- *Canmore*

Historic Environment Scotland's National Record of the History Environment, Canmore, is an inventory of recorded finds, buildings and monuments in Scotland. The database consists of *shapefiles* which has been downloaded and used in ArcGIS Pro. Each site throughout the thesis will be referred to as 'Canmore + ID number', and are listed in Appendix B. The evidence will be used in both steps of the methodology.

- *Antiquarian inventories*

Large numbers of sites in several northern English counties and southern Scotland are recorded in antiquarian volumes from the late 19th/early 20th centuries. These are consulted to complement the two databases but must be approached with caution as these records are not always underpinned by archaeological evidence and tend to be somewhat speculative. One large bonus is that they often record local knowledge and tradition which does not tend to be recorded in HE and HES databases. The sites are digitised manually (i.e. by the author) in order to be mapped in GIS.

- *Keys to the Past*

Some data will be accessed and digitised from Keys to the Past, an online database of buildings, archaeological finds and deserted villages etc., in County Durham and Northumberland[3]. The registered sites in the database are not always confirmed with Historic England's list and will therefore be critically assessed or verified by historical or archaeological evidence throughout the analysis. The sites are digitised manually before being used in GIS.

2.3.3.2 Historical sources

The historical sources are chiefly addressed to identify and analyse the named places, orient the campaign landscape and to understand what events took place in the places.

- *Chronicles*

Historical sources are addressed in order to reconstruct and analyse the *named places* in the soldiers' itinerary, and to orient the landscape analysis. They are accessed either via printed volumes with translations, such as the *Scotichronicon*, or via online copies with translations. As with any historic source, one issue with the chronicles is that the

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[3] http://www.keystothepast.info [accessed 01/07/19].

purpose, audience and way of reading must be understood prior to analysing their contents, in order to avoid an anachronistic reading, as their accounts could be politicised (Boardman, 1997). Prior to each case study, the historical sources will be discussed in order to construct an appropriate critical approach towards them.

- *Letters*

Two letters are included in Case study 2, which, similarly as with chronicles, must be read with the writer and audience in mind. The letters were written by one prior, Prior John Fossor, and one anonymous writer, Thomas Sampson. The purpose with their letters was to convey the news of the battle to friends and acquaintances. Both were written shortly after battle which make their accounts valuable. Their translations are found in a published volume on the case study (Rollason and Prestwich, 1998).

- *Ballads*

The case studies are mentioned in ballads, which were of a more fictional nature than the chronicles and letters. In fact, they emerged in the border culture, where the ballads were sung regionally and locally to commemorate the event (Reed, 1992; Perry, 2010). Therefore, their contents cannot be seen as 'factual', i.e. the events and the named places in the ballads cannot be seen as accurate unless there is strong evidence to support them. Instead, the ballads will help the development of an understanding of a regional liminal landscape as the ballads can tell us how the battle was perceived in a regional folkloric context.

2.3.3.3 Maps and GIS data

The maps and GIS data are mainly used to reconstruct the hypothetical route in the methodology's first step.

- *Ordnance Survey maps and DTM data*

Ordnance Survey backdrop maps will be used and accessed from ArcGIS Pro. The OS Grey Scale and the OS Topographical UK map will be used in various parts of the analysis to illustrate topography, features and routes. They are particularly suitable as they offer good backdrop maps to make the digitised sites clear and visible. The OS Topographical Map is used to emphasise the topographical landscape, by applying a DTM (Digital Terrain Model), downloaded from the Ordnance Survey[4], so that height differences of the topographical landscape more easily can be studied. The OS Grey Scale is less detailed and is used to illustrate longer distances and larger scales.

- *Data and application in ArcGIS Pro*

All maps and digitised data will be added, used and analysed in ArcGIS Pro. ArcGIS (ESRI) is a software system, Geographic Information System, which allows analysing spatial data and creating maps (Conolly and Lake, 2006). In this thesis, the version ArcGIS Pro 2.3. is used, which is a new version of the software ArcGIS. The programme is useful in this study in order to create layers of evidence, and to detect density and patterns of evidence.

The various datasets that will be used is the Canmore's Scheduled Monuments, Listed Buildings[5], and Canmore Mapping Area (includes battlefields from the Inventory)[6]. Both contain registered archaeological sites. Each database is regularly updated so the latest version possible has been used. HE's Registered Battlefields, Listed Buildings, Scheduled Monuments datasets will be used and were updated 28th Aug 2020[7]. The OS Strategi dataset[8] includes digitised historic roads but is no longer being updated. OS Boundary-Line datasets will be used to demonstrate and define the study areas[9].

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[4] https://digimap.edina.ac.uk/roam/download/os [accessed 05/09/20].
[5] http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/spatialdownloads [accessed 05/09/20].
[6] https://canmore.org.uk/content/data-downloads [accessed 05/09/20].
[7] https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/data-downloads/ [accessed 08/09/20].
[8] https://www.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/business-government/tools-support/strategi-support [accessed 08/09/20].
[9] https://osdatahub.os.uk/downloads/open/BoundaryLine [accessed 14/02/19].
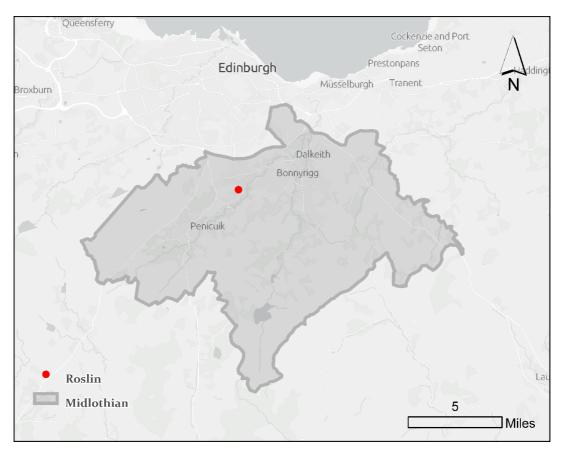
3. CASE STUDY 1. THE BATTLE OF ROSLIN, 1303

The aim of this chapter is to propose the most likely route that the Scottish soldiers used before the Battle of Roslin, hereafter *Roslin,* and examine what the journey meant to them as they moved along the route and engaged somatically with the landscape. The chapter is structured following the method outlined in Chapter 2.1-2., which first will construct the hypothetical route. The literary (named places), topographical and archaeological evidence for medieval routes will be compiled and assessed. The analysis then investigates the soldiers' perceptions and experience of moving on the route, which can reveal what the journey meant to them. Both layers of analysis will be divided into the spatial concepts of *place* and *space.* The chapter will start with an introduction to the historical context of the battle and discuss its archaeological and historical evidence, before leading to the investigation of the route.

Map 2. The battlefield of Roslin in situated today's Midlothian, c. 7.5 miles south of Edinburgh. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic Environment Scotland 2020. Map created by author.

3.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE CASE STUDY

The Battle of Roslin, or the 'Triple Battle', took place on 24th February 1303 in Roslin, a village in today's county Midlothian c. 7 miles south of Edinburgh (Map 2). This 'great and famous engagement' as described in the *Gesta Annalia* (Fordun, 1872, p. 325), resulted in a Scottish triumph on the battlefield. It took place five years into the Scottish Civil Wars (part of the modern historians' 'First Wars of Independence') and has been seen as a significant battle on Scottish soil (HES, 2012). The medieval chronicles describe that after the ending of a truce in 1302, King Edward I ordered the English Commanders Sir John Segrave, Sir Robert Neville, and Ralph Manton to invade Scotland. They crossed the border and camped in Roslin. Simon Fraser, a knight, and John Comyn, the Guardian of Scotland, heard of the English soldiers' whereabouts and headed with their army to Roslin (from Biggar, some miles west) and attacked the English. The number of soldiers in each army has been estimated, with approximately a few thousands on each side (Watson, 1998, pp. 171–72). Today's Midlothian, c. 50 miles north of the Border, was in the early 14th century known by other names and separated by other geographical boundaries but constituted largely of the area between the rivers Forth and Tweed. It had been known as *Laodonia* in the 11th century, and used to be part of the kingdom of Northumbria (Brown, 2006; Oram, 2011, p. 4).

Despite its significance, the battle has not received as much scholarly attention by archaeologists and historians, compared to other important Scottish battles, such as, the Battle of Bannockburn (Pollard, 2016). Although it has been included in HES' inventory, and therefore partly been explored from a battlefield archaeology point of view, no attempts have been made to reconstruct the route that the Scottish soldiers took to battle, and consequently the battle remains isolated from the wider campaign. The written sources mention only one place, Biggar, save the battlefield, which HES has not given any attention to explore further (HES, 2012). Nor has the battlefield been investigated as a cultural place, despite its location in a landscape of symbolic features. In terms of the evidence, the historical sources mentioning the battle have rarely been compared and studied in detail and their narratives of the campaign have not been

questioned or placed in the detailed context of archaeological surveys. From an archaeological viewpoint, the battlefield has not been subject to archaeological excavation, except HES's surveys to identify the battlefield, in order to add the battle to their Inventory of Battlefields. Perhaps this disinterest from a scholarly perspective is because no 'national hero' participated in the battle, such as William Wallace (d.1305) or Robert Bruce (d.1329), a tendency which has shaped Scottish research on the Anglo-Scottish battles (see Chapter 2.3.1) and more general research on battlefields (Carman, 2013, p. 18ff.). Some historical sources mention that Wallace participated in the battle, although HES has concluded that it was not likely, as Wallace was no longer Guardian of the realm (HES, 2012). Another reason why Roslin has escaped scholarly attention might be because the buildings that were built in the local area after the battle have received much more attention from both scholars and the general public; the famous Roslin Chapel, built in the 15th century, has been studied extensively in various disciplines, partly due to theories about the chapel's connection to the Templars (Grant, 1953; Turnbull, 2007). This public interest in the local landscape has likely also influenced HES's choice to include the battlefield in their inventory. Additionally, as argued elsewhere (Chapter 2.3.1.), several of the identified battlefields in both England and Scotland have remained 'forgotten' as the research questions of battlefield archaeology and the conservation purposes have been prioritised.

3.1.1 Sources

3.1.1.1 Historical evidence

The Battle of Roslin was a significant battle in the 14th century and is mentioned in several historical accounts: it was mentioned in the aforementioned *Gesta Annalia* (Fordun, 1872, pp. 325–28), which was the first attempt to write a Scottish historical account; the *Scalacronica* (Gray and King, 2005, pp. 45–47), written by the English knight Thomas Gray whilst imprisoned at Edinburgh Castle in the 1350's; George Buchanan's *History of Scotland* (Buchanan and Aikman, 1827, pp. 407–09), a 16th century

Scottish historian; and Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon* (Bower, 1991, pp. 293–97), a chronicle written by an abbot in the 1440's. Another account was by Walter of Guisborough, an early 14th century northern English chronicler, whose text is unfortunately only available in the original Latin, and Andrew Wynton's *Chronicle*, (Andrew of Wyntoun and Laing, 1872, pp. 352–60), from the early 15th century, a Scottish chronicler, writing in the Scots dialect of English. The campaign was also mentioned in (at least) one likely contemporary ballad (HES, 2012), and one recorded much later (Maidment, 1859, pp. 148–52). The sources contemporary with the battle are seemingly few, considering the battle's prominence and size, and the significance of the Scottish victory (HES, 2012). This could arguably be due to the meagre historical and documentary evidence that exists from medieval Scotland in comparison to England (King and Simpkin, 2014, pp. 7–8). Therefore, in the context of the limited sources from medieval Scotland, the mention of the battle in several accounts illustrates that it must have been regarded as important among medieval Scottish chronicle writers.

The sources provide similar narratives on how the battle proceeded; the English soldiers were ordered by Edward I to enter south-east Scotland, and once Simon Fraser and John Comyn were aware of the English soldiers' whereabouts, they left their abode, rode over and attacked them. The almost identical accounts might suggest that the authors copied each other over time; after all, there are few sources contemporary with the battle. Many medieval Scottish chronicles were written to highlight Scottish identity and their right to independence (Boardman, 1997). This can be seen for instance in the *Gesta Annalia*'s account of the battle, which is the longest, stating that the Scots 'chose rather death before unworthy subjection under the English nation' (Fordun, 1872, p. 327). Buchanan's narrative contains similar prejudices, how the English were 'overthrown with immense slaughter' (Buchanan and Aikman, 1827, p. 408). The English *Scalacronica* on the other hand, describes only briefly how the English entered Scotland and arrived at Roslin where the battle then took place (Gray and King, 2005, pp. 45–47). These examples illustrate the purpose of medieval chronicles to give a 'moral truth' and to present broader values of courage and discipline instead of a simple outline of events (Given-Wilson, 2004, p. 2) (Chapter 2.3.3.2). Equally, the ballad provides insight into how the battle could have been perceived in the region.

The sources were written in different locations; only the *Scalacronica* was written in the nearby region, in Edinburgh and Norham Castle (Table 2). The *Gesta Annalia* is the main oeuvre that mentions the battle and also the most contemporary; it was based on previous work which was also contemporary with the battle (Broun, 2007, p. 173). Moreover, only the *Gesta Annalia* and Andrew Wyntoun's *Chronicle* provide any information on how the Scottish soldiers moved to the battle; they mention Biggar, the place where Comyn and Fraser set out from to get to Roslin. This identification must be acutely assessed as Wyntoun could have copied the *Gesta Annalia*. Therefore, the landscape analysis below will critically analyse the named places' accuracy of being part of the campaign by addressing their landscape location and archaeological evidence, as outlined in Chapter 2.2.1.
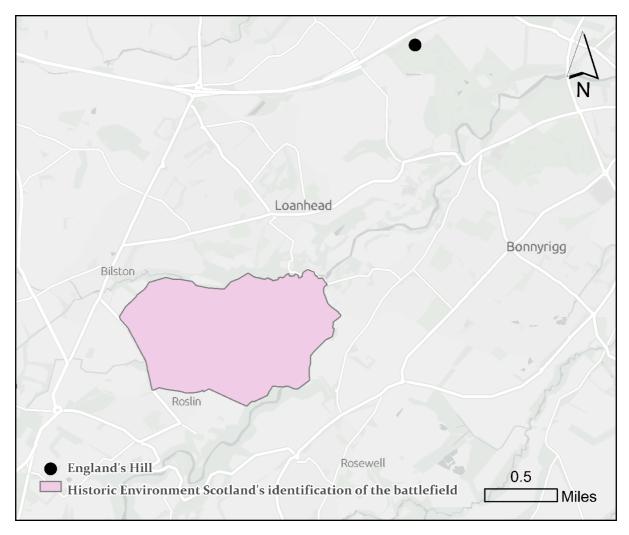
Name	Date	Author	Location	Type
*Gesta Annalia (*included in *Chronicle of the Scottish Nation)*	14-15th C	Unknown (*Chronicle of the Scottish Nation* is by John Fordun)	Aberdeenshire	Chronicle
Scalacronica	14th C	Thomas Gray	Edinburgh Castle/ Norham Castle	Chronicle
History of Scotland	16th C	George Buchanan	Edinburgh	Chronicle
Scotichronicon	15th C	Walter Bower	Incholm Abbey, Scotland	Chronicle
Chronicle	End 14-early 15th C	Andrew Wyntoun	St Andrews/St Serf Priory	Chronicle
Chronicle	14th C	Walter Guisborough	Gisborough Priory, Yorkshire	Chronicle
Ballad of the Battle of Roslin (several)	14th -19th C	Unknown	Scotland/ Border	Ballad

Table 2. List of all the historical sources mentioning the Roslin campaign. Table © Author.

3.1.1.2 Archaeological evidence

The battlefield of Roslin has been identified by Historic Environment Scotland and is consequently listed on their Inventory of Battlefields, which lists historically significant

battles (HES, 2012, 2019) (Chapters 1.2.2 and 2.3.2.2). As seen in Maps 1-3, the battle took place in southern Scotland, and the identified battlefield is located c. 7.5 miles south of Edinburgh, slightly north-east of Roslin village and south-west of Loanhead. The identified area is a roughly rectangular shaped zone covering c.1 x 2 miles, lying between the River North Esk and today's A701 (Map 3) (Figure 5). The terrain is comparatively flat and spacious, save the gorge and valley of the River North Esk. It is unclear how much the landscape has changed since the battle; nevertheless, large sections of the identified area are today covered by Dryden and Mountmarle Farms, woodland, crop fields and modern housing. The woodland in Roslin Glen, where the battle took place, has maintained its forests and remains today one of the most substantial 'ancient, semi-natural woodlands in the Lothians' (Turnbull, 2007, p. 2). The commemorative monument (Figure 4) was raised in the 20th century, and there is no evidence to suggest it replaced an older monument. HES used several place-names possibly associated with the battle in their identification method; such as Shinbanes Field, where allegedly many bones from the fallen were found, Mountmarle, Hewan Bog, and Kill Burn (HES, 2012). The place-names derived, according to HES, from the battle and HES has therefore partly addressed the cultural landscape and the question of how the battle survived in the local region's memory. Although, as Curry and Foard have noted, many antiquarians claimed to have 'found' bones from battles although they might in fact be of prehistoric date (Curry and Foard, 2016, p. 62). HES's surveys have therefore considered various layers of the landscape, including the cultural, which is aligned to their methodology. However, as mentioned in Chapter 1.2.2, HES's identification method more often fails to place the battlefield in its historic cultural and symbolic spatial setting; the research question 'where was the battle fought?' primarily concerns the actual place of battle, following battlefield archaeology's research methods. Consequently, the army's route to battle has not been investigated, nor has the symbolic meaning of the place been considered in relation to those who fought, i.e. the approaches developed in conflict archaeology. New archaeological finds have been retrieved after the identification; in August 2019, c. 200 coins were found by the battlefield from metal-detector surveys, by members of the public, some of them issued by Edward I (Edinburgh Evening News, 2019).

Map 3. HES's identification of the battlefield and England's Hill, another proposed location of the battle. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic Environment Scotland 2020. Map created by author.

Another location of the battle has been put forward, namely on England's Hill, north of Loanhead (Canmore ID 51701). This suggestion has not been underpinned by any convincing archaeological evidence; the suggestion is mainly due to the place-name and to the long cists, of a much earlier date, that have been found in the vicinity (Canmore ID 51697).

HES's investigation has primarily addressed the research questions of battlefield archaeology. Having identified the battlefield, no further questions have been asked that could lead the research on battlefields and landscapes forward. Nevertheless, the

surroundings illustrate that the old village of Roslin was located in Old Pentland, north-west of the battlefield and not where the current village is located, which was built in the 15th century during the reconstruction of Roslin Chapel. As we shall see below, a Roman road, leading eastwards, passed the old village. This suggests that the battlefield was located along a route and passageway, perhaps towards Edinburgh, and that it was an area of movement and travel. Moreover, places such as Wallace's Cave (near the River North Esk) and Wallace Camp which might have medieval origin (Canmore ID 18345), demonstrate that the battle took place near features of a symbolic meaning in the landscape. The relationship between caves and Scottish warriors is well known (see Canmore ID 67114) but has not been studied in relation to battlefields. The analysis below will therefore build on HES's identification but ask new research questions, as stated in Chapter 1.3.1, here abbreviated: what route could the soldiers in the Battle of Roslin have taken to the battlefield and what did the journey mean to the soldiers?

Figure 4. The commemorative monument raised in modern times of the battle. Photo © Author.

Figure 5. Parts of the Roslin battlefield facing north. The Pentland Hills can be seen in the background. Photo © Author.

3.2 PROPOSED ROUTE

The aim of this section is to propose a hypothetical route (the likeliest route) that the Scottish soldiers took to the battle of Roslin, by identifying route corridors in the landscape by assessing the historical, archaeological and topographical evidence in ArcGIS Pro. The route corridors can, briefly, be defined as topographies and archaeological evidence indicating movement, and archaeological evidence of settlements and places of worship, which were likely linked by routes. The modelling will start by identifying, mapping and analysing the named places, i.e. the sites mentioned in the historical sources, which reportedly were visited by the soldiers. They will be analysed in their landscape setting and archaeological evidence reviewed thematically in order to situate them in a broader route-network setting and in the campaign narrative. The analysis will also critically assess whether they were likely to

have been part of the campaign, by integrating the historical sources' narratives with the archaeological and topographical evidence. Then the topography, terrain and archaeological remains, consisting of the layers listed in Chapter 2.2.1.2, between the named places will be studied. The result will show a map with the hypothetical route.
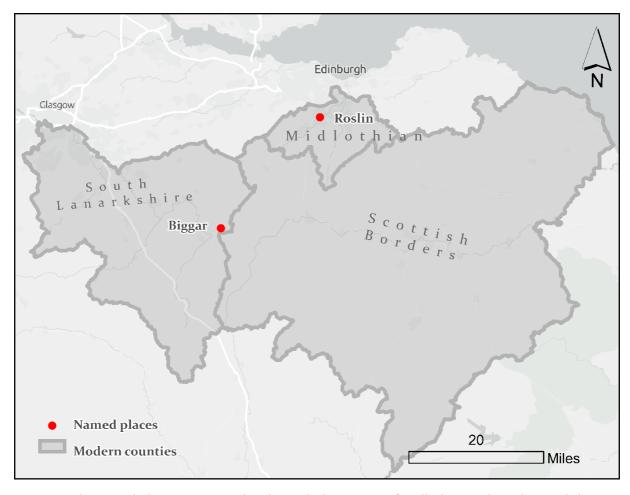
3.2.1 Named places

The first stage of the reconstruction is to explore the sites mentioned as part of the campaign in the written sources, to understand their role in the narrative, identify the study area, examine their part in the regional route network and identify who might have used the routes. They will be evaluated as *places* by their i) literary description; ii) landscape location; and iii) key built structures.

Table 3 lists the named places in the written sources and Map 4 displays them on a map. Notably, only two places are mentioned: Biggar, the departure point, and Roslin, where the battle took place. They are today situated within the counties of Midlothian (Roslin) and South Lanarkshire (Biggar) with a section of the Scottish Borders separating them (Map 4). The low number of named places might be a result of the chroniclers' limited knowledge of the soldiers' itinerary, or because there was no interest among them to mention other sites. Given the aim of medieval chroniclers' to portray moral truths, the *Gesta Annalia*'s claims that Comyn and Fraser with some men 'came briskly through from Biggar to Roslyn, in one night' (Fordun, 1872, p. 327), could have been rhetoric to convey their heroic speed to defend the country thus covering that they stayed the night somewhere along the route. Another possibility is that the soldiers did not stop at any other sites, which could be clarified by examining the distance between Biggar and Roslin. Furthermore, Biggar is only mentioned in the *Gesta Annalia* and Wyntoun's *Chronicle*, which also prompts the question of its reliability, as it is likely that Wyntoun, writing some decades later, copied the *Gesta Annalia*. This can possibly be verified by archaeological evidence in the analysis below.

Named place	Mentioned in	Amount of quotations in chronicles
Biggar	*Gesta Annalia (Chronicle of the Scottish Nation),* Andrew Wyntoun's *Chronicle*	2
Roslin	All	6

Table 3. List of the named places mentioned in the chronicles, associated with the Roslin campaign. References to the quotations can be found in the analysis below. Table © Author.

Map 4. The named places are situated within today's counties of Midlothian and South Lanarkshire, separated by Scottish Borders. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Environment Scotland 2020. Map created by author.

3.2.1.1 Biggar

3.2.1.1.1 Literary description

Biggar is only mentioned in the *Gesta Annalia,* and Wyntoun's *Chronicle* which describe how John Comyn and Simon Fraser were based in Biggar when they heard about the English attack, and from there set off towards Roslin. In the *Gesta Annalia*, it says that they were in Biggar and 'hearing of their [the English] arrival', they 'came briskly through from Biggar to Roslyn, in one night, with some chosen men [...] and, all of a sudden, they fearlessly fell upon the enemy' (Fordun, 1872, p. 327). The *Gesta Annalia*'s introduction to the battle describes the preceding events, and that Comyn and Fraser with 'their followers [...] did their best to harass and annoy' (Fordun, 1872, p. 326), which provoked the English attack. These portrayals suggest Biggar occupied a strategic point protecting the lowland region and that Fraser and Comyn either mustered or were staying in Biggar, during their 'harassment'. The 'chosen men' and 'followers' of Comyn and Fraser, might indicate that they were knights or foot-soldiers recruited through retinues, or were groups of supporters of Comyn as he was, after all, the Guardian of the realm. The descriptions also correspond to the territorial warfare which was common during this time among the Scots (Chapter 2.3.1.3). The 'chosen men' at Biggar might have been called up from different parts of the country, nevertheless, if we are to believe the *Gesta Annalia*'s account that they were already assembled at Biggar, it would suggest that most of them had been there for a while and plausibly become familiar with the region. It is also possible that there were soldiers who joined them along the route to Roslin, considering that there were allegedly a few thousand soldiers on the Scottish side (Watson, 1998, pp. 171–72).

3.2.1.1.2 Landscape location

Biggar is today located in the county of South Lanarkshire and was at the time of battle a village and medieval parish with a small stream, Biggar Burn running through the village (Map 5). It was established as a burgh of barony in 1450 (Smith Pryde, 1965, p. 51), meaning roughly that it was seen as a town, with privileges granted from a king or

Lord (Ewan, 1990). Situated near the eastern boundary of South Lanarkshire, it is approximately 72 miles north of the Anglo-Scottish border and c. 29 miles south-west of Edinburgh. It is located c. 2 miles east of the Clyde Valley, a large river valley stretching from Glasgow to the south, which since the early medieval period acted as a political boundary (Crabtree, 2001, p. 295). Immediately south of the village are chains of hills with River Tweed running through, which sheltered the village. Biggar was shielded to the east by Tinto Hill, and the river Biggar Water ran east of the village and was connected to River Tweed (RCAHMS, 1978, p. 1; Biggar Archaeology, 2020). Overall, its position suggests that Biggar was situated in a connecting position, linked to different parts of the Lowlands.

Biggar appears to have been a long-term nodal point in the region: immediately south-east of Biggar is a valley, Biggar Gap, connecting the village Broughton with Biggar, which has been interpreted as a Mesolithic route-way connecting the borders with the midlands (Biggar Archaeology, 2020). Biggar was situated in the crossroad of several Roman roads; one led northward towards Inverness. One Roman road linked Crawford (south-west of Biggar), Biggar and Hillend, possibly leading all the way to Inveresk (Margary, 1957, pp. 196–98). Road A702 west of Biggar is today known as the 'Roman Road'. The landscape setting of Biggar in terms of historic roads indicates that it occupied a strategic position, connecting different roads and directions and could have been visited and used during the Anglo-Scottish wars; Edward II is even said to have passed Biggar in 1310 after having moved through Selkirk forest from Roxburgh (*Origines parochiales Scotiae, vol 1*, 1851, p. 134), proposing that Biggar was en route from the west to the east. This would suggest that Biggar was an important village connecting the north and south, into the east, towards Edinburgh from the Clyde Valley. This evidence appears to correspond to the written sources' narrative that Comyn and Fraser 'went briskly' towards Roslin; the large network of Roman roads signifies Biggar's communicative setting in the landscape. The Roman road towards Inveresk could still have been in use and used to get to Roslin.

3.2.1.1.3 Key built structures

Biggar contains several key built structures which correspond to the literary description (Map 5). At the time of battle, there were at least two castles in Biggar. Biggar Castle was built by the Baldwins in the 12th century (Canmore ID 48647). Baldwin was the sheriff of Lanark and had been granted the land by David I (Hunter, 1867, pp. 464–65). Today there is only a motte left and no excavation has taken place to confirm whether the castle was in use at the time of battle.

The other castle contemporary with the battle was Boghall Castle, a medieval walled castle (Canmore ID 48645) (Figure 6). It was situated in a marsh and belonged to the house of Fleming, and is said to have replaced the motte in Biggar (Hunter, 1867, chap. VII). Today there are only three towers left of the castle. Little is known about the castle's history; several features have been retrieved in the surrounding area which suggests there were features that separated the castle and marked out its boundaries in the landscape, for instance a moat (e.g. Canmore IDs 361301 and 72372). The remains of what has been interpreted by archaeologists as a Roman road can also be seen in proximity to the castle, suggesting its accessible location (Canmore ID 73167). Either of the castles could have acted as a site for mustering; Edward II allegedly stayed at a castle in Biggar during a campaign (Hunter, 1867, p. 448), and Boghall was supposedly often visited by the Scottish kings, considering its strategic position in the landscape along the route south (Hunter, 1867, p. 127), highlighting the castles' military roles in the village.
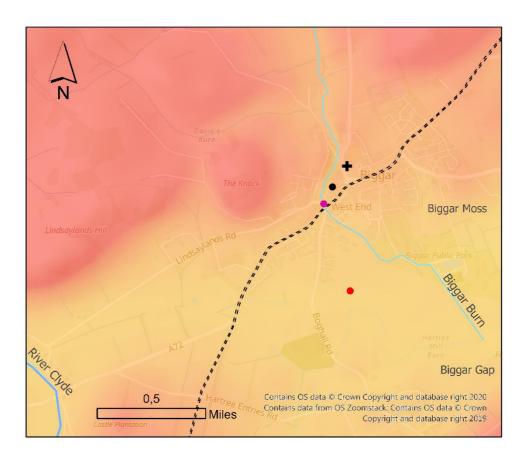
Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 6. An engraved view of Boghall Castle. Image © Courtesy of HES.

Other fortified sites in the area were Kilbucho, on the hill of Corscrine, where, according to legend, the English soldiers were camped before the Battle of Biggar (Hunter, 1867, p. 435). This battle, only known from 'The Wallace', a 15th century poem by Blind Harry, allegedly took place in 1297 between a Scottish army led by William Wallace, the well-known Scottish soldier and leader, and an English army (Hunter, 1867, chap. XX) (Canmore ID 48658) (see Chapter 3.3.2.2.1). Another feature associated with the battle in the village was Cadger's Bridge, related to William Wallace, who according to the legend, crossed the bridge before the battle dressed as a beggar in order to conceal his identity to the English (Canmore ID 48646) (Figure 7). Another key structure is the parish church, first recorded in the 12th century, with a post-medieval dedication to St Nicholas which belonged to the deanery of Lanark (Hunter, 1867, p. 165) (Canmore ID 48705). These features demonstrate that Biggar credibly was an important central village in medieval lowland Scotland, and that one of the castles could have been visited by Comyn and Fraser.

Figure 7. Cadger's Bridge in Biggar was according to legend crossed by William Wallace, dressed as a beggar to hide himself from the English during the battle of Biggar (1297). Photo © Author.

Legend:
- ● Biggar Castle
- ● Boghall Castle
- ● Cadger's Bridge
- ✚ St Nicholas Church
- - - - Roman road

Map 5. The key built features and landscape location of Biggar. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic Environment Scotland 2020. Map created by author.

3.2.1.2 Roslin

3.2.1.2.1 Literary description

The other named place is Roslin, where the battle took place. The *Gesta Annalia* describes that the English 'entered Scotland, and went about ranging through the land, until they, at Roslyn, pitched their tents, split up into three lines apart, for want of free camping room' (Fordun, 1872, p. 327). Gray's *Scalacronica* describes it similarly as:

> *John de Segrave [...] with any army, with many magnates from the English Marches [...] came to Roslin and quartered himself in the manor with his own battle around him. His vanguard was quartered a league further away, in a village* (Gray and King, 2005, p. 45).

Gray continues to describe how the advance guard was not aware of the Scots' first attack, and when they went there the following day, the Scots attacked them too. Buchanan gives a similar description, saying that the English 'proceeded [...] as far as Roslin, a place in Lothian' (Buchanan and Aikman, 1827, p. 408).

The sources reveal that the battle between the English and Scottish took place in Roslin, and that Segrave stayed at a manor there. The chroniclers give various impressions as to whether Roslin was a well-known place; Buchanan says that the English arrived at 'a place in Lothian' (Ibid.) suggesting that Roslin was not a well-known place. Although, both Gray and Fordun speak of Roslin without providing an explanation to where it was. It would seem as if the name was associated with a village.

3.2.1.2.2 Landscape location

Today's village of Roslin is situated in the modern county of Midlothian, c. 7.5 miles south of Edinburgh, and south of today's Bonnyrigg and Loanhead. It is in the wooded Roslin Glen, on top of the northern side of the steep river valley of the River North Esk. The medieval village of Roslin was today's village of Old Pentland, as today's Roslin was built in the 15th century for the Sinclair's to host the masons who built Roslin Chapel
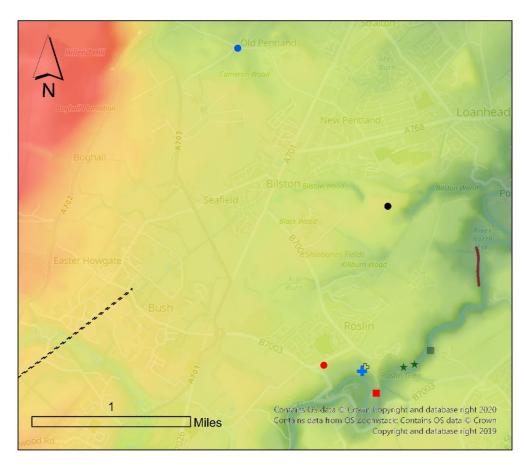
(Carrick, 1908, p. 254). The old village was sheltered by the Pentland Hills to the north. The largest settlements adjacent to the village were, apart from Edinburgh, the Cistercian Newbattle Abbey to the south-west, and Dalkeith south-east which belonged to the Douglas family. There are records of a Roman road towards Inveresk slightly south-west of the village which would have connected the village with the larger towns (Canmore ID 71722). Similarly, the River North Esk could have been used for travelling; there were several castles built along the river in the 14th -15th centuries, which might indicate that there was traffic on the river that needed guarding and control. Prehistoric rock carvings have also been found by the river, which might indicate that there were paths along the river in prehistoric times (Canmore IDs 73678 and 51823). A small hollow way leading along the North Esk near Roslin has even been recorded (Canmore ID 51845) supporting this. Roslin's position in the landscape seems to have been a remote location, at the same time well-connected considering its proximity to the River North Esk and the Roman road. It was surrounded by larger prominent settlements which indicates that Roslin might have been passed by travellers on their way to the settlements.

Figure 8. Roslin Chapel is situated near the battlefield and was built in the century after the battle.
Photo © Author

3.2.1.2.3 Key built structures

The historical sources' descriptions of Roslin as a place where the English pitched their tents and the battle took place correspond to the low number of key built features in Roslin and wide flat area of land, at the time of battle (Map 6). Roslin Chapel and Castle were mainly built in the 15th century (Figure 8), and only a lamp tower, dated to 1304, was built after the battle by William Sinclair (Grant, 1953, pp. 64, 89) (Canmore IDs 51811 and 51812). The lands had been given from Malcolm Canmore in c. 1100 to William Sinclair (Dickson, 1894, p. 142), which might suggest that there was some kind of fortified settlement there at the time of battle. Gray's *Scalacronica* also mentioned that Segrave quartered himself in a 'manor' which further supports this idea. Its closeness to the River North Esk might indicate that a defensive structure was there; a high number of fortified settlements were concentrated along the river, such as Brunston, Ravensneuk, Uttershill and Old Woodhouselee Castles. Evidence of medieval earthwork north of the battlefield (Canmore ID 51714), further suggests there was some type of settlement in the local area in the medieval period. The long continuity of fortified settlements stretches back to prehistoric times: just south of the battlefield are remains of a fort, probably of a prehistoric date (Canmore ID 51816). Apart from the possible fortified castle or tower that existed at the time of battle, there was also Old Pentland Church, located north of today's village (Carrick, 1908, p. 254) (Canmore ID 51681). Two sites associated with Wallace are also nearby (Canmore IDs 18345a and 51808).

Legend:

- - - - Roman road
——— Hewan Bog, hollow way
★ Prehistoric rock art
▪ Wallace's Cave
● Wallace's Camp
● Hillfort
■ Roslin Castle
● Old Pentland

Map 6. The key built features and landscape location of Roslin. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic Environment Scotland 2020. Map created by author.

3.2.1.3 Summary of named places

The analysis of the named places has highlighted new aspects of the campaign at Roslin. Biggar and Roslin are located in two different modern counties c. 23 miles apart, separated by another county. The written descriptions of the places in the sources revealed that Comyn and Fraser were dwelling in Biggar at the time and set off once that they had heard that the English had settled in Roslin.

The analyses of the landscape location and key built features of the two places corresponded largely to the landscape descriptions: Biggar was a gateway from the west to the east, as it was located along a Roman road, and near the Clyde Valley. It contained two medieval castles of which one could have been occupied by Comyn and Fraser and suited as a muster point. Equally, the literary descriptions of Roslin would propose that Comyn and Fraser got there somewhat easily from Biggar; Old Pentland village, north of the battlefield, was situated by a Roman road, leading towards Inveresk which could have been used. The key built features in Roslin were, nevertheless, chiefly built after the battle which signifies that the area at the time of battle was not very populated.

This leads us to the selection of route to be reconstructed in the following section: the distance between Biggar and Roslin is 23 miles, which is under the 25-mile limit (Chapter 2.2.1.2.1). The length challenges the claim by the *Gesta Annalia* that the Scottish soldiers travelled overnight from Biggar to Roslin; it would have taken a considerable length of time considering the number of soldiers, logistics and transport and the quality of the routeways. It is plausible to consider that the soldiers stopped at other places along the route.

3.2.2 Identification of route corridors

The aim of this section is to identify route corridors between the two named places, by analysing the topographical and archaeological landscape. It will identify sections in the terrain which would have been possible to move across, coupled with archaeological evidence of roads. The archaeological landscape will be studied in a layer-upon-layer
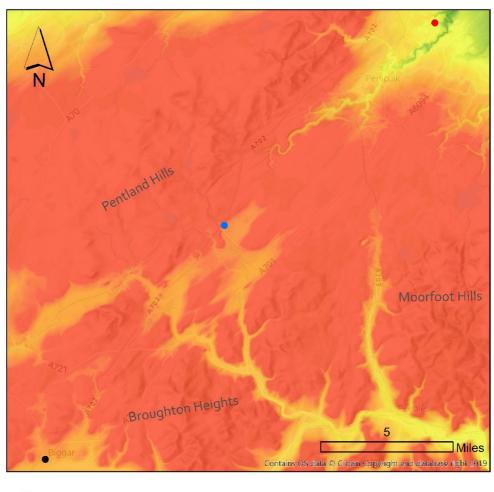
analysis, including various types of evidence (Chapter 2.2.1.2), which can reveal remains of nodes, linked by historic route-networks. Overall, the identification of route corridors will reveal the most likely route that the soldiers could have taken.

3.2.2.1 Links

3.2.2.1.1 Topographical landscape

Map 7 and Appendix A.1.1-2., with the applied DTM display the topographical landscape between the two named places. Map 7 is an overview of the whole landscape whereas Appendix A.1.1-2 shows the distance between Biggar, West Linton (the middle point between the named places) and Roslin in more detailed sections. Both Biggar and Roslin are situated in low-lying sections of the landscape (indicated by green or yellow) and are separated by a mountainous terrain (indicated by red). Biggar's low-lying position is a valley, probably Biggar Burn, which then intersects with the River Tweed south of Broughton Heights. A large part of the landscape between the named places includes the Pentland Hills, a hill chain which runs west of Edinburgh, the Moorfoot Hills, south-east of Roslin, and the Broughton Heights, north-east of Biggar. These created monumental obstacles in the landscape and would undoubtedly have been time-consuming and more difficult to cross. Areas of fewer obstacles can be found between the Moorfoot Hills and the Pentlands, which appears flatter, and the River North Esk running south of Roslin. Some smaller patches of yellow areas signifying less mountainous terrain can also found between Biggar and Roslin. There is also a yellow area west of the Moorfoot Hills towards Roslin.

Overall, two route corridors can be recognised in the topographical landscape: one follows a north-eastern line between Biggar and Roslin, following the foot of Pentland Hills and intersects with the River North Esk and can be called the 'northern' corridor. Another route corridor, although longer, is the area south and east surrounding the Broughton Heights, passing west of the Moorfoot Hills, called the 'southern'.

Map legend:

● West Linton
● Roslin
● Biggar

OS Terrain 5 DTM
Value
255
13

Map 7. The topographical landscape between the named places. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic Environment Scotland 2020. Map created by author.

3.2.2.1.2 Remains of roads

- Roman roads

There is comparatively substantial archaeological evidence of historic roads between the named places (Map 8); the Roman road towards Inveresk that passed Biggar and Roslin was part of a larger Roman road network in the area (Margary, 1957, pp. 196–98). HES has identified large sections of the road (Map 8) (Canmore IDs 69349, 71687, 71714, 71715, 149599, 71716, 108869, 149390, 71717, 71718, 149446, 50146, 71721, 51859, 71722), which runs almost parallel with the modern A702. The road follows the valley identified as a northern route corridor in the terrain above, created by the Pentland Hills to the north. There is also recorded evidence of a hollow way (recesses in the terrain which can indicate where an earlier road went) at South Slipperfield Farm (Canmore ID 344706), which is located c. 550 yards south of the Roman road, between Roslin and Biggar. This could signify that a road went there which might have been connected to the Roman road, and corresponds to the concept of 'route zones', i.e. the areas of long-term movement which are not strict roads (van Lanen *et al.*, 2015).

As mentioned, the Roman road appears to have followed the modern A702, however, at one point, after Candy Hill, the Roman road separates for the first time, and instead runs some yards east, before intersecting again at Melbourne. At Melbourne was a crossroad of the road from Biggar and another Roman road running north to south which likely existed at the time of the battle (Canmore IDs 48961 and 71561).
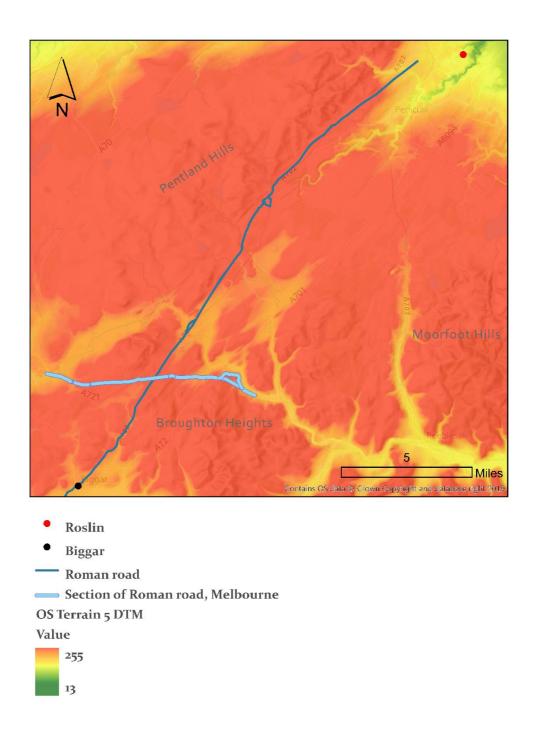
- Early medieval and medieval roads

There is sparse evidence of early medieval and medieval roads between Biggar and Roslin. One of the main medieval roads in the region, connecting Edinburgh with the south, Girthgate, was from the 11th century but could have been constructed earlier as it acted as a political and administrative boundary (Oram, 2017, pp. 316–17) (Canmore ID 110838). There was allegedly a drove road, used to move cattle from Skirling to Candyburn (RCAHMS, 1967b, p. 347) and one near West Linton (Canmore ID 343792).

However, no medieval evidence of roads has been recorded that links the two named places or that runs along the identified route corridors.

- Summary

The recorded archaeological evidence of historic roads illustrated that only remains of one Roman road linked Biggar and Roslin (Map 8). The Roman road follows the northern route corridor identified in the earlier section (Map 7). There was scarce evidence of medieval roads between the places. Based on this evidence, it would appear as if the Roman road was the most likely route between Biggar and Roslin.

Map 8. The registered and recorded historic roads between the named places. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic Environment Scotland 2020. Map created by author.

3.2.2.2 Nodes

3.2.2.2.1 Settlements, villages and towns

- Prehistoric and Roman settlements

There is rich evidence of prehistoric and Roman settlements between Biggar and Roslin which are predominantly situated by the identified route corridors: along the northern route corridor, there are remains of a temporary Roman camp and enclosure at Chesterless and Keir Hill, and a Roman signal station on adjacent Carmaben Hill, near the village Dolphinton (Canmore IDs 48851, 48814, 49995, 50026) (*Origines parochiales Scotiae, vol 1*, 1851, p. 130). Roman remains have also been found in relation to West Linton, by the northern route corridor: opposite the village are remains of a Roman fort, such as North Slipperfield (Canmore ID 144753), and a temporary camp (Canmore ID 72048).

North-east of Biggar, along the northern route corridor is Bizzyberry Hill, a prehistoric hillfort (Canmore ID 48683), and a smaller associated enclosure c. 55 yards east (Canmore ID 48674). Circa three miles further north-east is another hillfort, Castlehill, including an enclosure and several prehistoric weapons have been found there (Canmore ID 48950). Circa 380 yards west is another enclosure (Canmore ID 48941). In the vicinity was also Candyburn Castle, which was a two ramparted fortified settlement, and further up was another enclosure, Brownsbank (Canmore IDs 48927 and 48959). Near Penicuik, south of Roslin, is Braidwood, another prehistoric settlement (Canmore ID 50152).

There are less remains connected to the southern route corridor, but there is evidence of a Roman fort, Castlecraig, near Blyth (Canmore ID 50107) and Kaimhouse, south of West Linton (Canmore ID 81991).

- Medieval villages

HES has recorded some settlements and villages, although the landscape was not likely suitable for cultivation and farming, considering the irregular terrain, marshlands and forests (Turnbull, 2007, p. 3), which could explain the lack of interest in inhabiting the land. South-east of Biggar, near the southern route corridor, is Skirling Castle, which belonged to the Barony of Skirling (Canmore ID 48585), which might have been inhabited at the time of battle. In the vicinity, near the Roman road northwards via Melbourne, were other medieval villages, also situated in the same route corridor: Lochurd, Kirkurd, Netherurd, Blyth, and slightly further north, the village of Halmyre Mains (Canmore IDs 342235, 342233, 342234, 344747, 343862). In the same route corridor was Muirburn, a fort, allegedly used during the medieval period (Canmore ID 48929).

One of the larger settlements that would have existed at the time of battle and is situated along the northern route corridor is Dolphinton, c. 7 miles east of Biggar, situated on a hill, c. 1550 feet, and overlooked by Black Mount, a natural mound. It must have acted as a prominent settlement in the regional landscape, as it has, in comparison, clustered medieval remains and evidence of long-continuity settlements. In medieval times, there was a manor house in the village founded in the 12th century, by Dolfin, a cousin to the Earl of Dunbar, but with no surviving remains. The village of Dolphinton is not recorded on Canmore so it has been digitised manually.
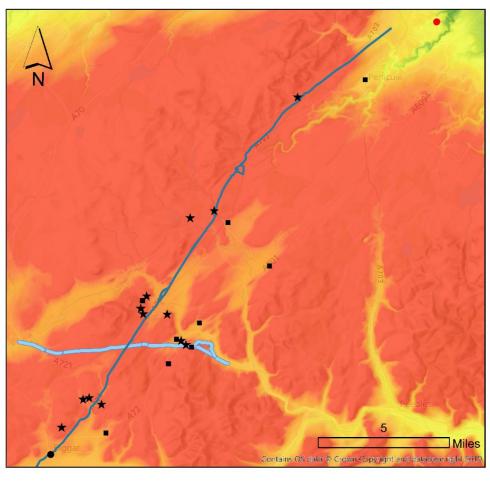
Another village in the same route corridor is West Linton, c. 4.5 miles east of Dolphinton which is located c. 0.5 mile from the Roman road, in the northern corridor (Canmore ID 98046). The village and associated land had been granted to the Comyns in the mid-12th century (Young, 1997, p. 16, 2005, p. 67). Another village was Penicuik, which is located closer to Roslin, between the route corridors. The village is not recorded on Canmore, so it has been digitised manually.

- Towns

No town is recorded in the area between Biggar and Roslin.

- Summary

The archaeological evidence of settlements, villages and towns and their relationship to Roslin and Biggar, and the route corridors can be seen in Map 9. A majority of settlements appear to be situated by the route corridors identified earlier in the section, predominantly along the northern corridor and the Roman road.

Legend:

★ Prehistoric and Roman settlements

■ Villages

● Roslin

● Biggar

— Roman road

— Section of Roman road, Melbourne

OS Terrain 5 DTM

Value

255

13

Map 9. The prehistoric and Roman settlements, and villages between the named places have been added to the previous layers. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic Environment Scotland 2020. Map created by author.

3.2.2.2.2 Places of worship

- Parish churches

There is a handful of recorded places of worship of medieval origin along the route corridors. There are few parish churches: the modern parish church in Dolphinton has medieval origins (Canmore ID 200691), and was a parsonage and part of the lordship of Bothwell (*Origines parochiales Scotiae , vol 1*, 1851, p. 130).

At West Linton was allegedly a church from the 12th century (Canmore ID 50264) which was replaced by the modern church dedicated to St Andrew. The church was dedicated to St Mungo and was under the patronage of the Comyns (Mackinlay, 1914, pp. 178–79). In Penicuik was a parish church dedicated to St Mungo (Wilson, 1891, pp. 72–73) (Canmore ID 51652), and nearby also a hospital, founded by Malcolm IV in 1164 (Penicuik Historical Society, 1979). One monastery was situated in the region, Cistercian Newhall Abbey, near the northern route corridor (Canmore ID 50148).

Along the southern corridor was a parish church in Skirling, dedicated to St Mary, with origins back to the 13th century (Canmore ID 48604). There is also a parish church in Kirkurd (Canmore ID 50132).

- Chapels
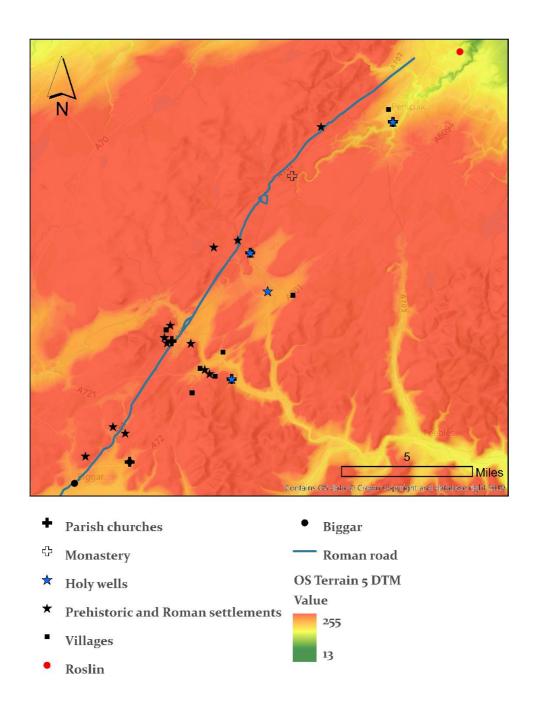
There are no recorded chapels of medieval origin between Roslin and Biggar.

- Holy wells

There are four holy wells situated adjacent to the route corridors, most of them associated with villages or churches. Two dedicated to St Mungo are situated by the northern route corridor; one is in West Linton (Canmore ID 50242) and one in Penicuik (Wilson, 1891, p. 72) (Canmore ID 51651). Another well can be found by the southern route corridor in Kirkurd, without a dedication (Canmore ID 50100). A well dedicated to St Paul near Romannobridge dated to the medieval period can be found along the southern route corridor (Canmore ID 49951).

- Summary

Most of the parish churches and holy wells are situated along the northern route corridor (Map 10). Considering the monastery's location near the same corridor, it would seem as if the northern corridor is the most likely route between the named places as it would have been in use in the medieval period.

Legend:

- ✚ Parish churches
- ⛉ Monastery
- ★ (blue) Holy wells
- ★ Prehistoric and Roman settlements
- ▪ Villages
- ● (red) Roslin
- ● Biggar
- — Roman road

OS Terrain 5 DTM
Value
255
13

Map 10. Registered places of worship between Biggar and Roslin have been added to the previous layers. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic Environment Scotland 2020. Map created by author.
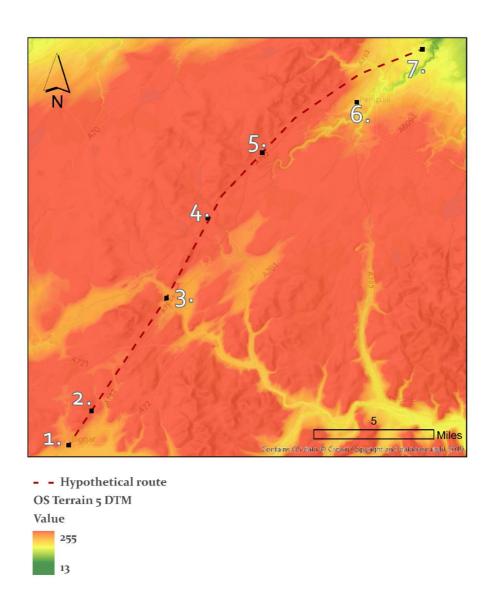
3.2.3 The hypothetical route

The analyses of the topographical and archaeological landscapes above identified two main route corridors in the landscape between Biggar and Roslin. The northern route corridor, following the bottom of the Pentland Hills, with the Roman road identified by HES, appears to have been the most direct link between Biggar and Roslin, and led almost all the way to Roslin. The adding of the next layers, consisting of settlements and places of worship, further strengthened this possibility, although both route corridors included medieval evidence; the southern contained several medieval villages and one large centre, Skirling, which was its own barony and contained a castle and a parish church. Other nodes along that route could be found in the area around Blyth, where most villages were situated, and the village of Kirkurd contained both a holy well and church. The northern corridor, following the Roman road, passed settlements of West Linton, Dolphinton and Newhall Abbey. Both Dolphinton and West Linton were nodes, with churches and holy wells. Looking at these, it is complex to determine which route the Scottish soldiers chose. However, the evidence along the Roman road in the northern route corridor weighs heavier in the analysis; many of the prehistoric features and hillforts were found along that route and could have been used as road-markers or situated near communicative routes (Casey, Noel and Wright, 1992; Collins, Symonds and Weber, 2015; O'Driscoll, 2017). Moreover, the Roman road was the easiest, shortest, and largest road possible for an army, and considering the abbey situated nearby, and the medieval villages scattered along it, proposes that it was in use in the 14th century. The English army often reused Roman roads which had been used by the Anglo-Saxons, during campaigns in the end of the 13th and early 14th century (Oram, 2017, p. 310). Choosing the Roman road, they would not have had to cross the River North Esk, which was an obstacle in the terrain.

Therefore, the route could be explained as follows (Map 11):

1) The Scottish soldiers left **Biggar,** and travelled on the Roman road, passing hillforts, such as **Bizzyberry**. They would have walked in a valley, surrounded by mountains and marched uphill.

2) After c. 5 miles, the soldiers passed **Melbourne**, where there was a crossroad of another Roman road.

3) Continuing on the Roman road, the soldiers passed the village **Dolphinton** after c. 2 miles.

4) After c. 4.5 miles they arrived at **West Linton**.

5) Then they came to **Carlops** and **Newhall Abbey**, after another 2.5-mile march. From there, they could see the **Pentland Hills**.

6) They followed the foot of Pentland Hills and passed **Penicuik** after c. 5.5 miles.

7) After crossing the fields and terrain for c. 3.5 miles, they arrived at **Roslin**.

Map 11. The hypothetical route between Biggar and Roslin. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic Environment Scotland 2020. Map created by author.

3.3 THE JOURNEY

This section will examine how the Scottish soldiers perceived their journey, by applying the landscape model on the hypothetical route (Figure 3). The analysis is divided into three temporal and conceptual sections, following the medieval model of the journey. Drawing on research on medieval pilgrimage routes, it is argued that this 'ante-chamber' (Maddrell *et al.*, 2014, p. 2), was the theatre for the soldiers' liminal state during campaign, and had an important spiritual and preparatory meaning to them.

Figure 9. The Scottish soldiers' journey took place in southern Scotland, characterised by its mountainous terrain and valleys. The photo is taken in the outskirts of Roslin. Photo © Author.

3.3.1 Departure

The medieval soldiers' journey to battle included an act of departure, which led to entering the liminal state (see Chapter 2.2.1-2). The soldiers' departure was similar to that in medieval pilgrimage and crusading, which included ritual preparation and took place in a specific *place* (Gaposchkin, 2013a). The analysis earlier identified Biggar as the Scottish soldiers' departure point in the Roslin campaign.

3.3.1.1 Place of departure: Biggar

The place of embarkation was, as a *place,* defined by 'an entire suite of behaviour that occur in that location or in reference to it' (Branton, 2009, p. 52). In medieval romance tales, knights were often gathered in castles when challenged with a quest before departure, such as *The Quest of the Holy Grail* (Lacy and Asher, 2010, pp. 7–8). In a medieval martial context, the departure point had thus a symbolic meaning for social order and chivalry, associated with 'culture', and was the main mustering point for the soldiers (Chapter 2.2.2.2.1).

The analysis of the key built features in Biggar identified two castles that Simon Fraser and John Comyn likely were staying at, namely Biggar or Boghall Castle, which arguably fulfilled this criterion as a muster point. Comyn was the Guardian of Scotland, whose military and political role would propose that he stayed in a fortified building, such as a castle. Moreover, the Comyn's family had at that time more power than 'any other family' in Scotland (Young, 1997, p. 170), which suggests that he would have stayed in a settlement associated with defence and authority. Both castles' landscape locations in the village and the broader landscape context suggest their main function was to be defensive points in the landscape; as the earlier analysis showed, Biggar was situated as a gate-way, connecting the east route to Inveresk with the Clyde Valley to the west and was an area of much movement. The castles would have had guarding purposes to control the land and movement. Although there are no excavations or plans for either of them that can reveal their architectural elements, it is likely that they had great halls,

chapels, inner and outer wards and other spatial elements which were typical for medieval castles (Pounds, 1994). A reconstruction of Boghall Castle, displayed at the Biggar and Upper Clydesdale Museum, suggests the castle contained a wall and moat (Figure 10), which partly been confirmed by archaeological evidence (Canmore ID 48645).

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 10. A reconstruction of Boghall Castle. Image © by kind permission by Biggar and Upper Clydesdale Museum.

Besides being invested with perceptions of protection and martial ideals, it would seem as if castles in the medieval Scottish imagination were associated with liminality and inaccessibility; several medieval Scottish castles were built on islands, by coasts or other inaccessible sites. Boghall Castle was, for instance, constructed in a bog and Biggar Castle on a mound. One of Comyn's family homes was located on an island in lake Lochindorb (Young, 1997, pp. 147, 151) (Figure 11). These locations might indicate that castles were deliberately built on sites perceived as liminal and inaccessible with a symbolic meaning beyond their defensive purpose. This symbolic dualism between liminality and defence is found in other Scottish monuments, such as the prehistoric crannogs, which were high-status settlements in shape of artificial lake-dwellings,

found in Scotland (both Lowland and Highlands), Ireland and Wales. They have often been ascribed a defensive purpose in their inaccessible landscape location, although more recent studies have emphasised their symbolic meaning, both the structure itself and the landscape location (Wickham-Jones, 2001, p. 35; Lenfert, 2013; Cavers and Crone, 2018, p. 236). As high-status settlements they can be linked to medieval castles. The liminality of castles can also be seen in that they were not only the locus for soldiers; Eileen Donan Castle in the Highlands, was transformed from having been a Pictish fort, to the home of the hermit St Donan, and then became a castle in the early 13th century (Canmore ID 11823), which demonstrates that the sites of castles often were occupied and shared by soldiers, hermits and other liminal social groups.

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 11. Lochindorb Castle, owned by the Comyns, illustrates medieval Scottish castles' secluded landscape locations and was connected to spiritual landscape of liminality. Image © Ian Ralston.

Scottish medieval castles could therefore be perceived as 'mental islands', with a landscape location of both spiritual and strategic purposes. I have argued earlier that

islands in the early medieval Scottish imagination were not necessarily physical, but could be mental islands (Widell, 2017, 2019), where its meaning was created by its relationship to the space outside, a perception which may have survived into the 14th century. These perceptions stemmed arguably from the Irish influence on medieval Scottish national identity before the Scottish Civil Wars (Broun, 1999b; Turpie, 2015, p. 20), in whose medieval culture and imagination islands had a prominent role (Wooding, 2001). The perceptions of the castle as being an island is therefore contrasted by the outside realm; at Biggar, the outside space was a contested landscape of warfare. The Battle of Biggar, which according to Blind Harry took place only six years prior to Roslin, exemplifies Biggar and Boghall Castles' location in a contested landscape. It is also supported by several prehistoric objects found in the alleged moat of Boghall castle, such as a gold ring (Canmore ID 48637) (Figure 12) and an axe-head (Canmore ID 296343), which could have been deposited. A medieval sword was allegedly also found in the potential moat, with the inscription 'Mini' written four times on each side of the blade (Hunter, 1862, p. 59; NMS, 2020). Although no detailed study has been made on the sword and its inscription, it is possible that the text was a short abbreviation of an invocation, often found on medieval swords, perhaps 'IN NOMINE DOMINI', which was a common inscription (Wagner *et al.*, 2009; Worley and Gregor Wagner, 2013). In an Irish context, prehistoric objects, such as axe heads, were often deliberately deposited to protect buildings, from thunderstorms, illnesses and evil (Dowd, 2018). They were often placed outside the homes, such as in outbuildings, as there appears to have been a 'fear' to keep them indoors (Dowd, 2018, p. 465). The finds in the potential moat at Boghall suggest that the moat was perceived as an outer boundary which separated the castle from the outside space. These finds might indicate that the objects could have been placed there previously to protect the castle's inhabitants from illnesses or even conflicts, considering the region's contested history.

The literary descriptions of Biggar as Comyn and Fraser's departure point can also shed light on the perceptions of it as a place; the *Gesta Annalia* emphasised that their cause for leaving was to defend the realm (Chapter 3.2.1.1). The Scottish soldiers' incentive for the Anglo-Scottish conflict has generally been argued was aimed at 'furthering national strength and security', and independence (Macdonald, 2000, p. 161). Many Scottish

soldiers were recruited because they voluntarily wished to join the 'army of Scotland' (MacInnes, 2016, pp. 60–61). This national motivation for war has therefore been argued by scholars was an element of Scottish medieval chivalry, in terms of politics, nationhood and kingship (Edington, 1998; Stevenson, 2006, chap. 1; Mainer, 2010, chap. 1). Objects, such as the Bute Mazer, a drinking cup associated with the chivalric, communal meal, was allegedly used by the Stewart of Bute in a gathering with Robert Bruce, possibly at Rothesay Castle (NMAS, 1982, p. 38). In an inventory of the Scottish royal treasury from the late 15th century, four mazers are recorded to have belonged to Robert Bruce, which had been inherited (Michalski, 2018, p. 168). It further emphasises the link between medieval Scottish chivalry, the motivation for war and the promotion of national identity. The utilisation and symbolic meaning of these objects also highlights the link between the Irish influence on Scottish identity pre-Civil War, as drinking cups and vessels were part of Irish inauguration rites and mythology (FitzPatrick, 2004, pp. 9–10).

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 12. A Late Bronze Age 'lock' ring, found in the moat of Boghall Castle. Image © National Museums Scotland.

The relationship between departure, chivalry and national identity can also be found in the medieval Scottish perceptions of swords; Scottish medieval legends tell that James III carried Robert Bruce's sword to Battle at Sauchieburn in 1488 (Michalski, 2018, p. 168). It has also been argued that the use of ancient or older objects in battle was prevalent among Scottish soldiers, such as prehistoric weapons used by soldiers at the Battle of Flodden in 1513 (Knight and Cowie, 2019). At the departure from Biggar, the soldiers, regardless of rank, were likely preparing their equipment. At least those of higher rank, of which Simon Fraser and John Comyn were part, would have carried swords, which thus likely had a symbolic meaning to them. The castle became therefore a symbol of this motivation of national identity, chivalry and kingship as a departure point, and became part of the departure rites. At the departure, the soldiers prepared their equipment and these examples suggest that the 'donning of armour' was also linked to national identity.

3.3.2 Movement

Following the model in Chapter 2.2.2, the soldiers' journey continued by entering liminality and moving through the 'wilderness' after departure. This space was 'the physical setting within which everything occurs' (Preucel and Meskell, 2004, p. 216), therefore constituting the sense of the local area and landscape context of their journey.

3.3.2.1 South Lanarkshire, Scottish Borders and Midlothian

The reconstruction in the former section showed that Biggar and Roslin were situated in South Lanarkshire and Midlothian, separated by Scottish Borders (Figure 9). The area was located immediately north of the Scottish Marches and the *Gesta Annalia* refers to the area as that 'south of the Forth', showing how the Forth, c. 15 miles north of the battlefield, was a distinct mental and physical boundary at the time (Fordun, 1872, p. 326). The general perceptions of this area, in particular Lothian, were characterised by its history of disloyalty and historic conflicts, which would have been known by Comyn,

Fraser and the soldiers: as mentioned, Lothian was originally part of the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria, and St Cuthbert's had lived at Melrose (Hodgson Hinde, 1857; Brown, 2006, p. 8; Oram, 2011, pp. 3–4). The area continued to be populated by English-speaking Scots and supported the English during the Anglo-Scottish wars (Gledhill, 2012). In the mid-14th century, the Scottish Earl Moray apparently spent time in the area to win back the Scottish support (MacInnes, 2016, p. 110), as the people in the area were prone to swear loyalty to the English (Brown, 1997, p. 9).

The contested nature of the region can also be seen in the gentry families who owned land there and in their involvement in Anglo-Scottish battles: the Sinclair family who owned Roslin, were involved in the battles of Dunbar (1296) and Loudoun Hill (1307). Apart from the region being occupied by families who were active in the war, the area was also connected to campaigns and devastation; Barrow has argued that Lothian was the worst affected part of Scotland by the Anglo-Scottish war (Barrow, 1976, p. 170). The devastation of landscapes was a common conduct of war among the English and the Scottish, and left landscapes uncultivatable, poor, and deserted. The area's exposure to conflict and invasion the years surrounding the campaign (until 1296, there had not been any actual Anglo-Scottish conflict since 1216), would have survived in the local and regional memory.

These perceptions of the area plausibly shaped the Scottish soldiers' experiences when they set out from Biggar. The reconstruction in Chapter 3.2. showed that the route constituted of marching in a mountainous valley sparsely occupied during the medieval period but contained many prehistoric hillforts and settlements (Figure 13). It would thus have been an immediate visual change and sensory impact of leaving the castle, and entering into this landscape, a parallel to the 'transition' argued by Locker which took place when pilgrims left the city for the rural landscape (Locker, 2017).

In a broader medieval setting, rural landscapes were in pilgrimage perceived as 'deserts', which served a purpose for trials and purification (Le Goff, 1988, p. 47 ff.), where the piety of the pilgrims increased as they moved across wild terrains (Locker, 2015, p. 114). Scottish monastic landscapes were experienced as deserts due to their seclusion, vastness and prehistoric features, where the archipelago in the Atlantic in western

Scotland became in the early medieval period the 'desert' for monks who settled in caves and islands (Widell, 2017; Coomans, 2018). In a medieval warfare setting, apart from the increasing piety, also courage and other chivalric ideals might have been the spiritual aspirations whilst moving through deserts and rural terrains. In Thomas Barry's poem on the Otterburn campaign (Chapter 5), included in the *Scotichronicon*, he expressed after the battle: 'let such suffering constitute a full everlasting remission of sins' (Bower, 1996, p. 441), signifying the medieval belief that suffering on earth could shorten the time for the soul in purgatory. The discomforts, dangers and lengths of medieval travel were thus not necessarily perceived as impediments, but were 'precisely the point of the exercise' (DeAngelo, 2018, p. 22). This proposes that the hardship of travelling long distances with its discomforts through wild landscapes was an expected part of campaign, not seen only as a practical means to travel from a to b, but rather was a way to strengthen one's courage and bravery. Crossing the space of wilderness and its associated hardship was thus part of preparation for potential death. Therefore, for the Scottish soldiers, the space included thus the landscape of a valley chiefly devoid of medieval settlements, and its history and sense of disloyalty and conflict.

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Figure 13. The wilderness of the campaign consisted of a topographical terrain with mountains and heights. The Broughton Heights sheltered the route from the south. Image © Iain Russell / Wikimedia Commons.

3.3.2.2 The stages

3.3.2.2.1 Bizzyberry Hill

After leaving Biggar, the soldiers would have entered the rural landscape of South Lanarkshire, crossing Scottish Borders and then moved into Midlothian. After only c. 1 mile on the Roman road, the two hillforts Bizzyberry Hill and Candyhill appeared to their left, whose monumentality as landmarks would have been a familiar sight to local and regional soldiers (Figure 14).

Two sites within Bizzyberry hillfort, named Wallace's Seat and Well (Canmore ID 48670), suggest that the hillfort might have been in use, or at least temporarily occupied in the medieval period. Studies conducted on Scottish hillforts have showed that some of them were reused in the medieval period (Laing, 1975, pp. 23, 28; Oswald *et al.*, 2006, pp. 114–15). Hillforts and features named after Wallace and Bruce were often integrated into Scottish medieval conflicts, known from both archaeological and written evidence. One example is Barra Hillfort, where John Comyn and his men purportedly were stationed before the Battle of Barra (1308) (Canmore IDs 19668 and 18759). A stone originally located on the hillfort has been named Robert Bruce's Seat, where Bruce allegedly sat whilst commanding the battle (HES, 2020) (Canmore ID 18054). Two hillforts near Stirling were also connected to Wallace (Maclagan, 1875, pp. 55, 61). The association with Wallace at Bizzyberry could thus be connected to his participation in the Battle of Biggar (1297), mentioned by Blind Harry (Chapter 3.2.1.1.3). Wallace is said to have drunk water from the well after the battle (Hunter, 1867, p. 65). Harry's account, from the late 15th century, is not entirely reliable, however, given the folkloric evidence and the naming of features after Wallace indicate that some kind of conflict must have taken place in the vicinity around that time (Hunter, 1867, p. 445).

The connection between Bizzyberry and Wallace could also be explained by that hillforts often were associated with perceptions of kingship in medieval Scotland, such as Forteviot, a Neolithic site which allegedly was reused in the early medieval period to indicate the deep historical roots of Scottish kingship (Aitchison, 2006; Noble and

Brophy, 2011). Medieval Scottish perceptions of the past landscape were thus part of shaping their identity and kingship, which might also explain why so many features were named after Wallace.

At Bizzyberry, beads of jet and amber, and flint arrowheads have been found (Canmore ID 48694). Amber and jet beads were in medieval Scotland perceived as having healing powers (Gilchrist, 2020, pp. 114–15). Bronze Age flints have been found among pilgrim souvenirs in Perth indicating the symbolic value of prehistoric objects in medieval Scotland (Hall, 2011). The context of the finds at Bizzyberry might suggest that ancient objects and objects of healing were brought to the Battle of Biggar, a parallel to the prehistoric weapons brought to battle mentioned above (Chapter 3.3.1.2). They would have been an accompaniment to reliquaries, such as the Monymusk reliquary which allegedly contained the relics of St Columba (Caldwell, 2001), often brought on campaign. A Bronze Age hoard, including an axe head, found in Invernesshire is said to have been brought by a colonel to the Battle of Culloden (1746), attached to his flagstaff (O'Connor and Cowie, 1995, p. 355). Given Bizzyberry's monumentality in the landscape, the soldiers' familiarity with the terrain and the region's history of disloyalty, it is likely that the memory and perceptions of the hillfort and the surrounding landscape influenced the soldiers' experience of the journey, being associated with warfare, kingship and the Scottish cause for war.

Image removed due to
copyright restrictions

Figure 14. Bizzyberry Hill, one of several hillforts that the Scottish soldiers passed on their way. The Roman road (today's A702) can be seen behind the hillfort. Image © Crown Copyright: HES.

3.3.2.2.2 Melbourne

After passing several prehistoric monumental features, the soldiers passed Melbourne, which was a crossroad of two intersecting Roman roads. There is no evidence to suggest that there were any settlements there at the time of battle, but prehistoric evidence has been found (Ward, 1998) (Canmore ID 140922). It was hinted at earlier that not all soldiers were already gathered in Biggar when Comyn and Fraser set out as there was probably a few thousand soldiers involved on the Scottish side (Watson, 1998, pp. 171–72) (Chapter 3.2.1.1), and thus likely that joining troops were encountered somewhere on the way. The crossing could have functioned as a meeting place and muster point, connecting both Peebles in the south and Glasgow in the north. George Douglas has suggested that a majority of the soldiers came from (the historic counties of) Lanarkshire and Tweeddale (Douglas, 1899, p. 155), which suggests that they could have

assembled at Melbourne. Therefore, Melbourne offered an opportunity as a mustering point considering its nodal point, linking routes and directions.

3.3.2.2.3 Dolphinton

Passing Melbourne, the Scottish soldiers continued marching or riding through the valley on the Roman road, surrounded by a mountainous terrain. After a 7- mile long stretch of road, the soldiers arrived at their first settlement, Dolphinton. The place-name, meaning 'Dolfin's town', relates to the village's connection to the Dunbar dynasty, as Dolfin was the brother of the first Earl of Dunbar in East Lothian (Eyers, 1983, p. 27). The Roman remains in the village, such as the fort Keir Hill (Chapter 3.2.2.2), suggest it was a continuous place of fortifications and protection. Black Mount, the highest mountain in the region shelters the village from the west and contains evidence of prehistoric activity (e.g. Canmore ID 198694). Entering the village would have included another 'transition' between realms, leaving the wilderness for an 'ordered place', 'culture' and 'sanctuary' (Chapter 2.2.2.1.1).

Several features identified in the reconstruction constituted this sense of Dolphinton as place. Today's church might have replaced an older one, which is likely considering that Dolphinton as a manor must have been a prominent site in the area. The church, which would have been encountered first as it is situated outside the village, could have offered a wayside church to pray in or for the sacraments, which were part of the soldier preparation for battle (Bachrach 2003). Dolphinton could also have had other memories associated with it: the parson of the church swore fealty to the English King Edward I in 1296 (*Origines parochiales Scotiae, vol 1*, 1851, p. 130), which reflects the area's contested history. This feasibly influenced the soldiers' perceptions of the village as it would have remained in recent memory.

Opposite the village, on the other side of the Roman road, is Wallace's Chair, a stone feature where Wallace is said to have rested one night on his way from Tantallon to Lanark (Ordnance Survey, 2020). This association with Wallace is only one of few in the region which might not be too surprising as Wallace lived and was active in this area

around the same time as the battle (Barrow, 1976, p. 155). He used the nearby Selkirk Forrest as an 'operational base' in 1299 and a 'theatre of war' in 1304 (Barrow, 1976, pp. 159–60), and was hiding there before the Battle of Falkirk in 1298 (Brooke, 2000, p. 241). Most legends about Wallace derive from the accounts by Blind Harry, Andrew Wyntoun and the *Gesta Annalia*, which prompts us to take a sceptical view of these dedications to Wallace, as they might not have existed at the time of battle (Morton, 1998; Fraser, 2002). Nevertheless, it is likely that many soldiers would have been familiar with Wallace, the former guardian, who was alive at the time of battle, and was a leader of many campaigns in which soldiers might have participated. Therefore, the area which was used by Wallace during warfare made the landscape a theatre of outlaws and 'guerrilla warfare', i.e. a mobile warfare technique, including hiding and attacking with few fixed settlements.

The date of the naming of the stone as Wallace's Chair must be scrutinised, as it may have been given the name much latter than the battle. What is notable, however, is that similar 'chairs' were prevalent in Gaelic mythology connected to saints and other liminal activities: St Patrick's Chair in Struell Wells, Northern Ireland, a stone with prehistoric cup marks, was part of a penitential landscape for pilgrims to prepare themselves for the pilgrimage goal, based on the life of St Patrick (Harbison, 1991, p. 140; McCormick, 2009). The rites had pre-Christian roots, linked to inauguration rites; the chair was situated by the oldest pilgrimage road in Ireland, Tochar Phadraig (a prehistoric road), which led to 'the Reek', a mountain which was the seat for prehistoric kings (Harbison, 1991, p. 139). What this example might imply, is that the Wallace's Chair had another meaning and association in the landscape before it became linked to Wallace, as one part of another type of ritualised movement, kingship, and with a spiritual meaning. Another Scottish example is St Fillan's Chair, situated on a hilltop (Canmore ID 24876) (Figure 15), west of Perth, which was a pilgrimage site associated with healing. It might indicate that Wallace's Chair might have originally been a site of spiritual meaning, associated with pilgrimage. As argued in Chapter 2.1.1.1, medieval liminal identities were often were merged, where the outlaw inhabited similar environments as hermits and soldiers. The prehistoric association of stone chairs with inauguration may also have

influenced the dedication to Wallace, given that the Scottish motivation for war has been interpreted as a national cause.

Figure 15. Another famous chair in Scotland is St Fillan's Chair, which pilgrims visited to seek healing. Image © Crown Copyright: HES.

3.3.2.2.4 West Linton

After passing Dolphinton, it would have been a 4.5-mile march in a similar terrain as earlier, following the Roman road. This would have been another 'transition' between nature/culture and order/wilderness. The soldiers continued through the valley and reached the next settlement, West Linton. Its place-name derives from 'pool or stream

town' (Eyers, 1983, p. 19), which might relate to the river Lyne Water which runs through the village.

The Comyns had been granted the land of West Linton already in the 12th century (Young, 1997, pp. 16, 23, 2005, pp. 66–67), so the village might have had a special meaning to Comyn and the troops. It was also the birthplace of Bernard of Linton, Chancellor of Scotland and Abbot of Arbroath, who penned the Declaration of Arbroath, a letter written in 1320 to the pope, signed by several Scottish noblemen emphasising Scotland's right to independence (Munro and Gittings, 2006, p. 479). The village of West Linton contained a church and well dedicated to St Mungo (St Kentigern), the patron saint of Glasgow and Clydesdale, whose relics were kept in Glasgow Cathedral. The south-eastern Lowlands were in general associated with the saint (Mackinlay, 1914, pp. 178–79), with wells dedicated to St Mungo in nearby Lanark and Peebles (Canmore IDs 46626 and 51449). Although no date for the well's origin has been established, it seems feasible that it was in use in the medieval period considering the saint's popularity in the area, which can be traced back to the 12th century (Owen Clancy, 2002, p. 405). The church itself had been there since at least the 12th century (RCAHMS, 1967b, p. 217).

The common dedication to St Mungo in the region suggests the saint would have been familiar to the regional soldiers. Devotion to saints was, as explored by Penman, popular both among medieval Scottish knights and the common soldier (Penman, 2011, 2013), and praying to local and regional saints for help and cures were part of medieval devotion in Scotland (Gilchrist, 2020, p. 77). A record by the English chronicler Thomas Walsingham in 1379, suggests the Scots used to bless themselves and invoke the saint's name to protect them from the plague when travelling to England (Owen Clancy, 2002, pp. 406–07; Penman, 2011, p. 299). Saint were perceived as being the well's guardian and could through the place perform miracles or other supernatural qualities (Mackinlay, 1893, p. 186). Wells were perceived as having healing power for disabilities and illnesses and therefore became pilgrimage sites, often associated with topographical features, such as St Fillan's stones and pool, north-west of Stirling (Perriam, 2015). Given the common devotion to saints among medieval Scottish soldiers, Linton's connection to

the Comyn's and St Mungo's link to the region, the church and well at Linton could therefore have appealed to soldiers, and could have been engaged with to pray for success in battle by washing or drinking its water. Water could, as mentioned, be perceived as holy, and was used for baptisms, sprinkling of holy water etc. (Rivard, 2008, pp. 62–69). It could be linked to the 'holy radioactivity' mentioned earlier (Chapter 2.1.1.3).

Devotion to saints during campaigns was also linked to national and regional identity; research on Scottish kings, such as Robert Bruce and David II, suggests their devotion to saints could vary depending on political and personal choices (Penman, 2002, 2006, 2011, 2013). Penman has argued that Bruce's choice of saintly devotion was motivated to gain local and regional support (Penman, 2013). Saintly devotions were also part of the personal devotion, such as Bruce's dedication of a chapel to St Fillan north-west of Stirling, which according to tradition was a thanksgiving for having survived the Battle of Methven (1306) (Penman, 2013, p. 1040). Sometimes the devotion was opportune due to the region's dedication to a particular saint (Ibid.). It is unclear how linked St Mungo was to national identity; it seems as if he was more linked to the border identity, as his cult started growing rapidly after the Bishop of Glasgow promoted the saint in the 12th century (Turpie, 2015, p. 24). Perceptions of the well and church dedicated to the saint could therefore have been linked to the lowland and border identity. Fraser had been the High Sheriff of Tweeddale, and was at the time of battle sheriff of Peebles (HES, 2012), which were both regions where devotion to St Mungo was prevalent. Several of the castles and estates owned by the family were located in the border region where devotion to St Mungo was widespread; it is therefore credible that the well and church were engaged with somatically for spiritual reasons as the soldiers passed.

3.3.2.2.5 Carlops, the River North Esk, and Newhall Abbey

After passing Linton, the soldiers would have continued walking on the Roman road. The landscape was slightly flatter until after c. 2.5 miles, when they reached modern day Carlops, where they would have seen the Pentland Hills against the horizon. Carlops was allegedly a Roman settlement (RCAHMS, 1967b, p. 33; RCAHMS, 1978, p. 32), and
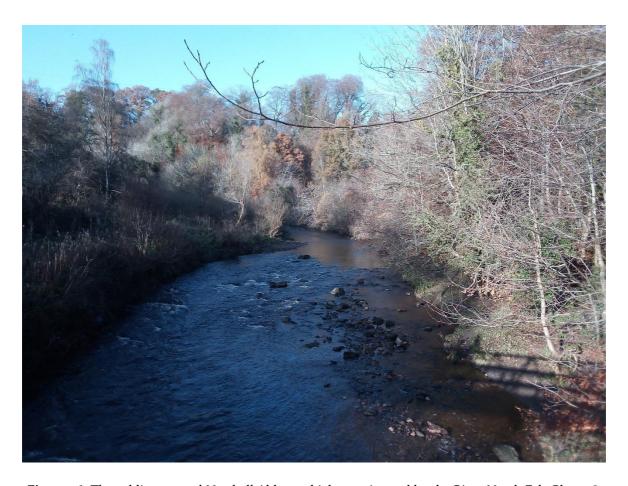
situated by a pilgrimage route as it was allegedly crossed by pilgrims who were going to Whithorn, in Galloway (Murray Neil, 2012, p. 13).

After Carlops, the soldiers crossed the River North Esk, which was the largest river in the region, connecting the Pentlands with Roslin (Figure 16). Newhall Abbey, one of two Cistercian monasteries in the broader region, was situated south of the river, near the Roman road. Several place-names surrounding Newhall are associated with the monastery, such as 'Habbie's How', i.e. Halbert's Hollow, a glen which was associated with Halbert, a monk (Murray Neil, 2012, p. 13). An early medieval cross base in the Pentlands could have marked out the route leading to Newhall from Queensferry, a medieval crossing point to St Andrew's for pilgrims approaching from the south (Anderson, 1926, pp. 88–89; Crumley, 1991, p. 48) (Canmore ID 50169). There is also another early medieval cross-base further east, called Cross Sward (Canmore ID 50373), which indicates that people crossed the hills. Other place-names in the hills such as Monk's Burn, Monk's Rig, Monk's Haugh, and Friarton (Anderson, 1926, pp. 52–53), further link Newhall Abbey with, possible, pilgrims crossing the mountains. This was thus an area of movement of pilgrims, monks and others associated with the monastery.

The adjacent place-name of *Spittal* suggests a leper hospital, monastic infirmary or a hospice for the travellers and pilgrims (D. Hall, 2006a, 2006b; Murray Neil, 2012, p. 13). Hospital for lepers were often situated outside city walls and other marginal places (Gilchrist, 1992; Harvey, 2006, p. 169). In medieval Scotland, there was even a law that lepers had to be at secluded locations (Richards, 2000, p. 50), which suggests that this part of the route was perceived as marginal. Leper hospitals were often built in landscapes of spiritual healing, often near water as bathing was seen as an important physical cure (Marcombe, 2003, pp. 137–38). For example, in medieval folklore, Robert Bruce was healed of leprosy after washing several times in a well and in thanks built a leper hospital, today's Kingcase or Bruce's Well in Ayrshire (Love, 2011, p. 49). This adds another layer to the landscape, as it explains the hospital's relation to the River North Esk and the abbey, and how this section of the landscape was associated with physical and spiritual healing; it was thus a 'therapeutic landscape' (Gilchrist, 2020, pp. 75–78).

Crossing the monastery's land, the River North Esk, and passing the leper hospital, would have been experienced by the soldiers in a particular way, as places of healing were essential to the medieval soldier. Treatment of wounds and trauma were part of their everyday life: it has been suggested that most soldiers had 'basic knowledge' of wound treatment during the medieval period (Rogers, 2007, p. 224), and honey, often used for wound repair, was often stored in castles for military armies (Krug, 2015). Wounds, medicine and healing were a common part of the soldier experience. Apart from the severe battle wounds they were about to experience, medieval perceptions of wounds and trauma were also spiritual, as found in the retired soldier Henry of Lancaster's (c. 1300-1361) *Le Livre de seyntz medicines* (Hebron, 1997, pp. 148–49; Yoshikawa, 2009), where he describes his internal, spiritual wounds after years of military campaigns. Overall, the suffering and wounds were part of the medieval soldier identity, in particular, the crusaders who associated their suffering and physical and spiritual wounds with those of Christ (Purkis, 2005, 2008).

For soldiers passing through this 'therapeutic landscape', the presence of the Cistercian monastery and aspects and perceptions of physical and spiritual healing might have influenced them. The monastery and hospital might have provided medical care in earlier campaigns, considering the conflicted history of the region.

Figure 16. The soldiers passed Newhall Abbey, which was situated by the River North Esk. Photo © Author.

3.3.2.2.6 Pentland Hills

The soldiers moved along the foot of the Pentlands, whose history and monumentality in the landscape suggest it was a familiar sight to them. The name, Pentland, first recorded in the 11-12th centuries, could derive from *pen llan*, meaning head or top end of 'church or enclosure' (Chalmers, 1810, pp. 807–08). The hills became known as the setting for legends about disharmony and lawlessness; they were connected to myths about King Arthur, and Robert Bruce and Lord Sinclair of Roslin, who used the mountains as the hunting ground for a white deer, as it was a royal hunting forest (Dicks, 1875, pp. 437–40). This could have been linked to some sections of the Pentlands that were owned by Holyrood Abbey, after the knight Henry de Brade in 1230 granted

the monastery sections of the moorlands belonging to Bavelaw Castle, an old hunting seat for Scottish royalty (Wilson, 1891, p. 33). In the 17th century, legends about the Covenanters arose linked to the Pentlands, where Roger's Kirk was one of their secret meeting places and it was also the place of the Battle of Rullion Green (1666) (Munro, 1966). These examples of various dates illustrate the mountains' long-term sense of inaccessibility. The hills constituted a large part of the landscape whose character as *place* was created by its physical, folkloric and archaeological landscape.

In medieval Scotland, mountains were part of landscapes both in literary and 'real' campaigns. In the Gaelic Tale of Fingall (Fionn mac Cumhaill), the warrior Fingall slept in a hill along with his warriors; the location is sometimes identified as Tom-Nahurich (southern Highlands) or Glenorchy (Argyllshire) (Westwood and Kingshill, 2009, pp. 10–11). It was noted earlier how Scottish soldiers acted in liminal places; Wallace allegedly lived in forests and mountains after his victory at Stirling Bridge in 1297 (Keen, 2000, p. 66). According to Barbour's 'The Bruce', hills were used as a hiding place by Robert Bruce and his men in relation to the Battle of Methven (1306): they '[...] went as outlaws many a day; on the bare mountains they would dine on hunter's fare uncheered by wine' (Barbour and Macmillan, 1914, p. 62), and 'thus on the mountains lived the Bruce; his followers' clothes with constant use were torn to tatters; shoes they made of hides of beasts that they waylaid' (Ibid.). Mountains were therefore common dwelling places for Scottish soldiers throughout campaigns, and were perceived as 'deserts', being inaccessible and lacking food and shelter, making the Scottish soldier an 'outlaw'. It was a topography of wilderness associated with the distinct guerrilla warfare tactics used by William Wallace and other Scottish soldiers, and is reflected in the area's history, as seen in Chapter 3.3.2.

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copyright restrictions

Figure 17. The Scottish soldiers walked along the foot of the Pentland Hills, which was the setting for many medieval legends about hunting, hiding and isolation. Photo © Wikimedia Commons.

The Scottish soldiers could therefore have experienced the Pentlands as walking along a shielding natural feature in the landscape, that might have been familiar from earlier campaigns (Figure 17). Some legends might have existed, linked to its inaccessibility and its role as suitable hiding place, given its character in later legends. It is also possible that joining troops of soldiers could have crossed the Pentlands to join Fraser and Comyn, considering the several cross-monuments and paths which were used to cross the hills from the north. Perhaps Comyn, Fraser and their men even were prepared to use the mountains during the campaign, as they did not know how events would proceed.

The Scottish soldiers continued marching or riding c. 7 miles along the Pentland Hills. The reconstruction proposed that they either used the Roman road or followed the River North Esk to Roslin, where the English were camped. Both routes could have been used if the troops separated, nevertheless, it is plausible that the large company of soldiers would have been accommodated more easily on the road.

The soldiers would then have turned and passed Penicuik, which was a larger settlement, first recorded as *Penikok* in 1250, meaning 'Hill of the Cuckoo' (Mills, 2011, 'Penicuik'). It was situated by the River North Esk. The reconstruction showed that the village contained a church and holy well dedicated to St Mungo (Chapter 3.2.2.2.2) (Figure 18). The connection between Scottish soldiers, the region and saintly devotion was explored above. The church and holy well would have offered opportunities for prayer and their dedication to St Mungo could have attracted many soldiers, akin to the well and church in West Linton.

The recorded Roman road finished before the soldiers reached Roslin, and it is unclear whether it passed Penicuik. The soldiers may have crossed the terrain or followed smaller paths, which emphasised the sense of wilderness and the outlaw's dwelling in the margins. This is also emphasised at Penicuik by the dedications to St Mungo, whose life itself was linked to liminality and wilderness; Mungo is said to have visited the 'wilderness' of Tweeddale (previous Peeblesshire) (Cowan and Henderson, 2011, p. 265). The saint lived in liminal landscapes, as reflected in the late 12th/early 13th century *Life of St Kentigern* by Jocelyn Furness:

> *What shall I say concerning his bed? I hesitate whether to name it a bed or a tomb. He slept on a rock hallowed out like a grave, having a stone in place of a pillow under his head, even as another Jacob* (Forbes, Aelred of Rievaulx and Jocelin of Furness, 1874, p. 57).

This demonstrates the bond between the liminal state and ascetic landscapes of Scottish soldiers and monks/saints. It is also evidenced by a 14th century epitaph about Robert Bruce, included in the *Scotichronicon*, which says that he 'left his old sweet life for a bitter regimen. Cold he suffered, and for sleep he lay in dens of wild beasts, while for

his food he did not refuse the fruit of acorn-laden trees' (Owen Clancy *et al.*, 1998, p. 306). It was the same type of journeying as the outlaw who 'has not set home. Pursuit, and the requirements of living off the land, make constant movement necessary' (DeAngelo, 2018, p. 15). Therefore, the dedications to St Mungo were not only opportunities for asking for intercession, but the soldiers shared the liminal state and life in the wilderness with the saint himself.

Figure 18. Today's church in Penicuik which replaced medieval St Mungo's Church. Photo © Author.

3.3.3 Arrival

3.3.3.1 Roslin

After passing Penicuik, the soldiers moved across the land and ultimately encountered the English at Roslin. The identified battlefield, a section of land was situated between the Roman road and the River North Esk.

The reconstruction showed that there was little archaeological evidence of medieval origin within or adjacent to the identified area; most changes to the landscape appear to have happened after the battle, such as the building of Roslin Chapel. Equally, St Matthew's church and well, cannot be dated earlier than the 15th century (Canmore ID 51857). Larger medieval settlements that existed at the time of battle were situated miles way, such as Dalkeith and Newbattle Abbey. This Cistercian abbey was founded in the 13th century in the vicinity, c. 5 miles north-east of Roslin. The Cistercians at Newbattle were large landowners, sometimes endowed by the Sinclair family, who owned land in the area (Turnbull, 2007, p. 8).

Roslin was situated in Roslin Glen, a park-like environment on top of the cliff with the River North Esk running below. At the time of battle, the area was covered by forests and inhabited by deer and other animals (Grant, 1953, p. 2). It might best be explained as a medieval forest, an area governed by particular laws (Wilson, 2015). This gives an idea of how the landscape was perceived before battle, as a separate and delimited land. It suggests that the place of battle itself was a 'non-place', i.e. it did not become a place associated with memory until after battle.

Some evidence indicates there was some kind of fortified structure where Roslin Castle now is, which might explain why the English had camped there (Chapter 3.2.1.2.3). Overall, the evidence suggests it was an area of protection and guarding, associated with conflict. The parson of Pentland Church, is said to have sworn fealty to Edward I in 1296 (Carrick, 1908, p. 254). On the other side of the Esk are two caves, Wallace's Cave (Canmore ID 51808) and another below Hawthornden Castle which was associated with Bruce and warfare (Canmore ID 51805). Whether they were used during the campaign

or after battle is unknown, nevertheless, they emphasise both Roslin's history of conflict and the symbolic topography of medieval Scottish warfare.

3.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has identified the most likely route that the Scottish soldiers used to the Battle of Roslin and considered their experience of journeying with a medieval cultural context. The reconstruction identified, based on the evidence, the most convincing route corridor between the named places as being the Roman road leading from Biggar towards Inveresk, passing, among others, the villages of West Linton, Dolphinton and Penicuik. Then they crossed the terrain before arriving at Roslin.

Several patterns emerged from the analysis of the soldiers' journey; many sites were associated with Scottish medieval liminal identities, kingship, healing and places linked to the Anglo-Scottish wars. This is not surprising, considering the region's long history of cross-border warfare; the area was exposed to warfare, raids and was also known for their disloyalty to the English. Both the soldiers' departure point Biggar and the prehistoric Bizzyberry Hillfort were associated with previous wars and Scottish/Gaelic perceptions of kingship. The hillfort contained dedications, of unknown origin, to William Wallace. Finds of amber and jet beads, which could have been brought to the earlier Battle of Biggar (1297), were found within the hillfort, and were compared to prehistoric weapons that allegedly were brought to early modern battles by the Scottish, with a healing and protective function. Parallels were drawn to earlier finds of prehistoric objects in Scottish medieval contexts (Hall, 2011). The interpretation was made that prehistoric features could therefore have been perceived as symbols of kingship in the landscape, tied to the Scottish motivation for war and their claim of the landscape, also in light of the disloyalty that existed in the region.
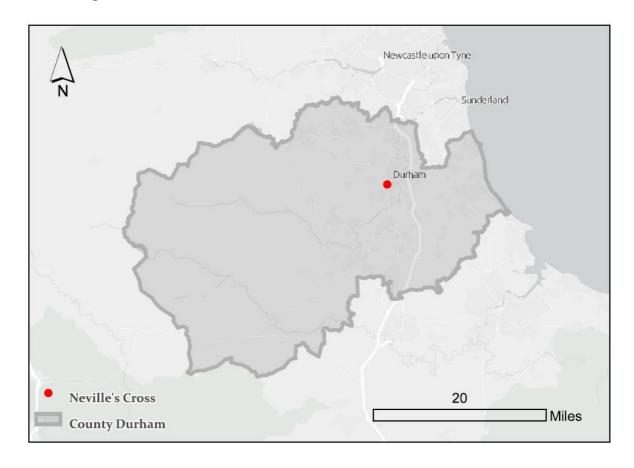
The analysis identified three places linked to St Mungo, the patron saint of Clydesdale. The churches and wells offered opportunity for spiritual and sacred acts and devotion.

Moreover, resemblances were noted between the saint and the Scottish soldiers' mutual liminal state; written accounts of both the saint and Scottish warriors, such as Wallace and Bruce, describe them similarly as living in liminal and ascetic environments. One stretch of land, surrounding the River North Esk, contained evidence of a hospital and a Cistercian abbey, which was perceived as a therapeutic landscape.

How did the soldiers then perceive their journey? It would seem as if both the space and places were linked to their motivation for war, the region's history and other liminal identities that were associated with that area, such as prehistoric places that had been used to proclaim kingship, the regional St Mungo and the natural landscape of mountains and hilltops often used during guerrilla warfare. Just as in pilgrimage, the places that the soldiers encountered and might have engaged somatically with on their journey, were a spiritual and mental preparation for battle, linked to salvation, penance, and a preparation for death. Other types of preparation for battle, such as battle speeches, have been said were to boost the morale of soldiers before battle (Bliese, 1989); engaging somatically with the landscape before battle could similarly have acted as a motivation for them. Moving through landscapes with a rich history of warfare, campaigns and disloyalty impacted them also likely with their inspiration for war; by beholding places linked to Scottish kingship, regional saints and the natural terrain that was familiar to them and their conduct of war, would have spurred and encouraged them. The journeying experience was integral to the physical guerrilla warfare conducted by the Scots at this time, of hiding, mustering, attacking with few fixed settlements. Therefore, the journey of the Scottish soldiers had a complex but rich meaning to them, in terms of its spiritual, mental and regional value.

4. Case Study 2. The Battle of Neville's Cross, 1346

The purpose of this chapter is to reconstruct the most likely route that the English soldiers used during the campaign at Neville's Cross, and subsequently investigate how they experienced and perceived their journey based on the methodology developed in Chapter 2.1-2. The physical route will be identified by combining interdisciplinary evidence to identify route corridors in the landscape, framed by the theoretical spatial concepts of *place* and *space.* This will result in the *hypothetical route*. Then, the route will be explored from a phenomenological perspective of medieval journeying, based on the model in Chapter 2.2.2.2, including their somatic engagement with the environment as they moved to battle. The chapter will first critically assess the historical and archaeological evidence of the battle.

Map 12. The Battle of Neville's Cross took place in today's County of Durham. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic England 2020. Map created by author.

4.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE CASE STUDY

The Battle of Neville's Cross, hereafter *Neville's Cross*, also known as the Battle of Durham, took place west of Durham on 17th October 1346 between a Scottish army led by King David II and an English, led by the Archbishop of York, William de Zouche, ending with an English victory (Maps 12-13) (Rollason and Prestwich, 1998). The medieval written sources explain that the battle occurred after the French king had encouraged the Scottish forces to attack England when King Edward III was in France with his army. The battle was part of a phase of Anglo-Scottish warfare in the mid-14th century named, by modern Scottish historians, the 'Second War of Scottish independence' which resulted in a peace treaty in 1357 (MacInnes, 2016). The campaign took place within the County of Durham, which at the time of battle was a Liberty (a territory which was ruled by an administration separate from royal government), which was, technically, within the county of Northumberland (Neville, 2008). The Liberty was under the rule of the Bishop of Durham, whose seat was at Durham Cathedral and Priory.

The battle has received much scholarly attention over the years; after its 650th anniversary, a substantial conference volume was published (Rollason and Prestwich, 1998). The volume presents an interdisciplinary discourse of the battle, from traditional recreations of battle narratives (Grant, 1998; Prestwich, 1998), to reconstructions of the landscape (Lomas, 1998), and analyses of the post-battle monument (Drury, 1998; Roberts, 1998). The dualistic version of events of historic battles is explored in the two initial chapters, including the English perspective and the Scottish; Michael Prestwich places the battle in an English context by describing the events in light of the victory at Crecy in 1346 (Prestwich, 1998). Equally, Alexander Grant relies on several chronicles such as the *Scotichronicon* to analyse the Scottish version of events (Grant, 1998). The clear distinction between the English and Scottish accounts of the events is also obvious in Grant's comparison with the battle to modern politics (Grant, 1998, pp. 19–20), corresponding to the criticism outlined earlier of bias in research on Anglo-Scottish warfare (see Chapter 2.3.1). Other reconstructions of the battle narrative have been published in articles by C.J. Rogers (1998) and Michael Penman (2001).

The research questions in the volume illustrate broad research interests in the battle, compared to more narrow enquiries on other medieval battles, perhaps because of its location close to Durham, its famous post-battle monument and the relative wealth of medieval written sources. Notably, no further detailed study on the battle has been published and no metal detector survey has taken place, a method which is often employed in battlefield archaeology. Perhaps this is because the battlefield already has been securely located, and, as argued in Chapter 1.2, many identified battlefields have been 'forgotten'. Moreover, the research has been shaped by conflict archaeology as the post-battle monument in particular has been explored (Drury, 1998). However, in general, few attempts exist that have traced the English soldiers' routes prior to battle; most scholars have merely mentioned the cited places in the chronicles to understand their rough movements (Drury, 1998; Prestwich, 1998; Burne, 2005, pp. 179–80).

4.1.1 Sources

4.1.1.1 Historical evidence

Neville's Cross became an iconic battle in the medieval Anglo-Scottish wars, largely due to its circumstances and outcome, and it was mentioned by both contemporary and later chroniclers (Table 4). It was covered by both regional English and Scottish chroniclers; it features in the *Lanercost Chronicle* (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998d, pp. 138–41), the *Anonimalle Chronicle* (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998b, pp. 142–46), and the *Meaux Chronicle* (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998g, pp. 147–48), which were written in the nearby regions of Yorkshire and Cumbria, whereas the *Chronicle of Geoffrey le Baker* (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998f, pp. 149–51), was written in Oxfordshire and Henry Knighton's *Chronicle* in the Midlands (Knighton and Martin, 1995, pp. 69–73). The *Scotichronicon* by Walter Bower (Arvanigian and Leopold, 2004, pp. 152–55), and Andrew Wyntoun's *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland* (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998a, pp. 156–62), were composed in Scotland. The *Gesta Annalia* (included in Fordun's *Chronicle of the Scottish nation*) was written in Scotland (John of Fordun and Skene, 1872, p. 358).

Name	Date	Author	Location	Type
Lanercost Chronicle	14th C	Franciscans	Franciscan Priory, Carlisle, Lanercost Priory, Cumbria[10]	Chronicle
Anonimalle Chronicle	14th C	Benedictine monk	St Mary's Abbey, Yorkshire[11]	Chronicle
Meaux Chronicle	14-15th C	Thomas de Burton (d.1437) Cistercian monk	Meaux Abbey, Yorkshire	Chronicle
Chronicle of Geoffrey Baker	14th C	Geoffrey le Baker	Swinbrook, Oxfordshire	Chronicle
Henry Knighton's Chronicle	14th C	Henry Knighton, Augustinian canon	Abbey of St Mary de Pratis, Leicester	Chronicle
Scotichronicon	15th C	Walter Bower	Incholm Abbey, Scotland	Chronicle
Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland	14-15th C	Andrew Wyntoun, Prior St Serf's Inch	St Serf Inch, Loch Leven	Chronicle
Gesta Annalia (included in *Chronicle of the Scottish Nation)*	14-15th C	Unknown (*Chronicle of the Scottish Nation* is by John Fordun)	Aberdeenshire	Chronicle
Thomas Sampson's letter	14th C	Thomas Sampson,	Unknown, but probably Durham	Letter
Prior John Fossor's letter	14th C	John Fossor, Prior Durham Cathedral Priory	Durham	Letter

Table 4. List of all the historical sources mentioning the Neville's Cross campaign. Table © Author.

The battle was also mentioned in two letters; John Fossor, Prior of Durham wrote about the battle in a letter to the Bishop of Durham, Thomas Hatfield, who at the time of battle was in France with Edward III on campaign (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998e, pp. 132–33). Thomas Sampson, an unknown writer, also wrote a letter to some acquaintances (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998h, pp. 134–37). Importantly, of all the written accounts, Prior Fossor's letter is the only eyewitness account as he supposedly was standing on the nearby prehistoric mound, Maiden's Bower, at the time of battle, together with some monks from Durham.

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[10] See debates about *Lanercost Chronicle's* location below.
[11] See discussion on *Anonimalle Chronicle's* authorship and location below.

The texts provide similar narratives of how the battle proceeded with few contradictions, although differing in detail, which suggests the authors copied each other and that the story developed over time. The mutual narrative is that King David II of Scotland entered northern England with an army whilst King Edward III was away in France. David then proceeded towards Durham, encountered the English at Sunderland Bridge and Merrington, before clashing in a field west of Durham. A general theme (from both English and Scottish perspectives) throughout the texts is that the English triumphed due to King David's pride and his attack on St Cuthbert's land, mentioned by the *Lanercost Chronicle*, the *Meaux Chronicle*, and the *Chronicle of Geoffrey le Baker* (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998d, pp. 138–41, 1998g, pp. 147–48, 1998f, pp. 149–51). These interpretations of the battle illustrate the importance of contextualising the sources and understanding the motivation behind them. Medieval battles were often described with a didactic purpose and aimed to give a narrative of moral truths (Given-Wilson, 2004, p. 2). This could be one of the underlying reasons why writers emphasised specific sites that the armies passed, that they had a special 'moral lesson' in the narrative.

Furthermore, the origins of the sections on the battle and the chronicles themselves must be approached with caution: the *Lanercost Chronicle* was first written by Franciscans at Carlisle, then at Lanercost and the section on Neville's Cross seems to have been added from another source (Gransden, 1982, p. 102; Offler, 1984). Equally, the *Anonimalle Chronicle* was a French translation of the Latin Franciscan chronicle which was the source of most of the *Lanercost Chronicle* (Gransden, 1982; Offler, 1984). The *Gesta Annalia*, was perhaps the earliest Scottish account of the battle, influenced the *Scotichronicon* and was included in Fordun's *Chronicle*, although presumably not written by him (Boardman, 1997; Broun, 1999a). Equally, the letters would have been written with a bias to portray the battle in a particular light. Given these organic developments of copying and translating the texts, the analysis must approach the written accounts critically, and possibly be verified by archaeological or topographical evidence.
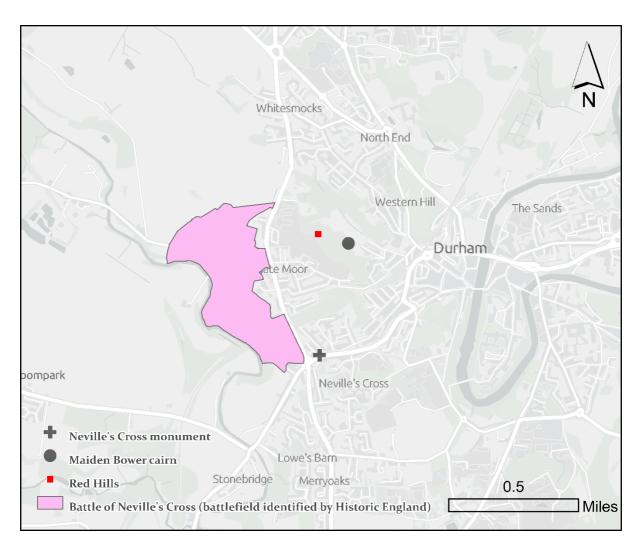
Another aspect to consider is the geographical origins of the sources as this would have affected the chroniclers' knowledge about the campaign landscapes. The two letters are useful (whilst bearing in mind the source criticism mentioned above) as they were written shortly after battle, by one alleged eyewitness and another who was credibly living in the area. Seeing that the *Lanercost Chronicle* is the most substantial account, written in or near Carlisle and also, its account corresponds largely to the letters, it would seem as if the places it cites are accurate. The *Anonimalle Chronicle* was a straightforward translation of the Franciscan chronicle written at Carlisle, so it reflects a border outlook. Nevertheless, as mentioned in Chapter 2.3.3.2, the historical sources are primarily addressed to understand the soldiers' campaign landscape and does not require a full textual analysis.

4.1.1.2 Archaeological evidence

The battlefield of Neville's Cross is part of Historic England's Register of Historic Battlefields which lists historically significant battles, that are securely identified in the landscape by topographical surveys and documentary sources (HE, 2017). The identified area is a roughly shaped polygon, measuring c. 0.70 miles in length and 0.25 miles in width at its longest. It has been identified c.1 mile west of the Durham peninsula, sandwiched between the modern A167 and the River Browney and comprises a comparatively flat pastureland (Maps 12-13) (Lomas, 1998). The Red Hills, which antiquarians have associated with the battle, are located north- east of the battlefield, where also the prehistoric mound Maiden's Bower is located, mentioned in Prior Fossor's letter. The related monument, Neville's Cross, is situated south-east of the identified area. The surrounding landscape has over the centuries remained relatively unchanged and the battlefield has continued to be a site on the fringe of the city (Lomas, 1998). However, sections of the battlefield are today covered by modern housing and the railway runs east to west across the land (Figures 19-20) (HE, 1995b; Drury, 1998).

Archaeological finds have also been found within the campaign landscape of Neville's Cross, recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme (such as NCL-266517 and DUR-52475D). Nevertheless, without further surveys and evidence, it is impossible to link the finds with the battle or the soldiers' journey. Moreover, some finds and archaeological sites recorded in Keys to the Past's database (such as KP D3791) within the campaign landscape, cannot be confirmed or looked into further, as visits to county archives are not permitted at the time of writing, due to COVID-19.

Interestingly, the location of the battlefield has remained undisputed, perhaps due to the many topographical references in the written sources which have narrowed down the options; both the Neville's Cross monument (Figure 35) and Maiden's Bower give clear indications that the battle must have taken place west of the city. C.J Rogers merely suggests that the Scots chose the siting, based on his reading of the historical sources (Rogers, 1998, p. 61). The Scottish soldiers were supposedly stationed at Bearpark, which belonged to the Priory (Scott, 1981), north-west of the identified battlefield along the River Browney, which also has helped the identification. The River Browney running south-north has also been used as a boundary marker to limit the possible locations of the battlefield. These are references that HE has relied on in their assessment of the battlefield's location in the landscape. As mentioned, there has been little interest in reconstructing the route to battle; scholars have instead relied on the places mentioned in chronicles to understand the rough movements of the soldiers (Drury, 1998; Prestwich, 1998; Burne, 2005, pp. 178–80). Lomas reconstructed the battlefield's surrounding landscape, with the aim of understanding the landscape where the battle took place, but did not propose routes that the soldiers took (Lomas, 1998, pp. 76–77). Although HE's assessment criteria are reliable, as argued earlier (Chapter 1.2.2. and 2.3.2.2), their emphasis on the military landscape divorces the cultural landscape layer and its spatial communicative setting. The place of battle, following the Carmans's research method of seeing battlefield landscapes as cultural places has neither been studied. These examples, plus others can arguably grasp a more nuanced understanding of the larger campaign landscape.

Map 13. Historic England's identification of the battlefield is situated west of Durham, and they used several built and topographical features to identify the battlefield. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic England 2020. Map created by author.

Figure 19 and Figure 20. Sections of the Neville's Cross battlefield today. The battlefield can be seen behind the houses. Photo© Author.

4.2 PROPOSED ROUTE

The aim of this part of the analysis is to propose the most likely route that the English soldiers used prior to the battle by investigating the archaeological, historical and topographical evidence in ArcGIS Pro. Based on the methodology outlined in Chapter 2.2, the analysis will attempt to identify route corridors in the terrain by applying layers of evidence on maps. The first section will map and thematically analyse the named places in the written sources as *places*, in order to place them in contexts of communication and route-networks. Then, the landscapes between the named places will be explored as *space*. First, the topographical landscape and archaeological evidence of historic roads will be evaluated as links to identify route corridors in the landscape. Then the archaeological layers, outlined in Chapter 2.2.1.2.1, will be added one by one in order to continuing identifying nodes between the named places. The results will be displayed in a map showing the soldiers' *hypothetical route*, based on the evaluation of evidence.

4.2.1 Named places
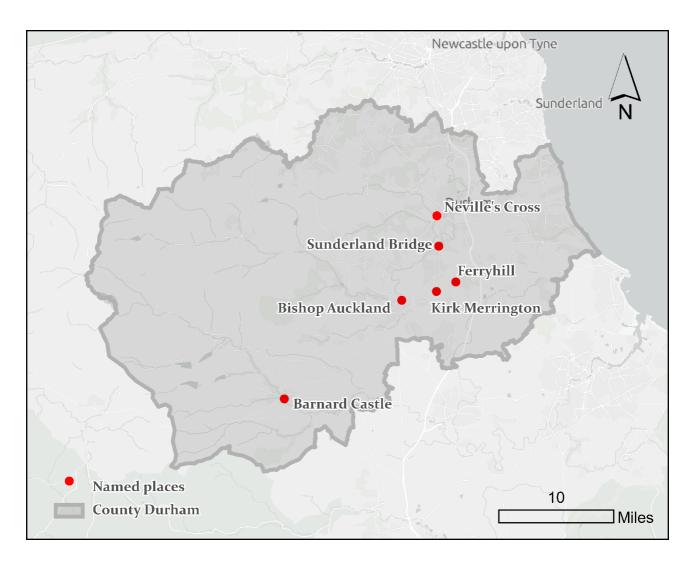
The first step in the analysis is to study the places that the written sources mentioned were part of the campaign. The aim is to explore the landscape location and archaeological evidence of the named places in order to clarify what route-network the places could have been part of. The analysis will assess their literary description, landscape location and key built structures. These elements can help to reconstruct the landscape setting, the distance between them, what happened there during campaign and what route system might have linked them.

As can be seen in Table 5, both English and Scottish sources mentioned seven places visited by the English soldiers (Map 14). The first mustering point of the English was at Richmond, which is a c. 29-mile distance from Neville's Cross. Considering the reconstruction's maximum length of 25 miles, and that Barnard Castle appears to have

been the main mustering point (see literary description in Chapter 4.2.1.1.1), Richmond will be excluded. Only the *Scotichronicon* and Andrew Wyntoun's *Chronicle* mentioned Sunderland Bridge and Ferryhill. These are notable exceptions which must be considered in the analysis below. Moreover, given Merrington and Ferryhill's close spatial relationship, they will be analysed in parallel to limit the scale of the analysis.

Named place	Mentioned in	Amount of quotations in chronicles
Richmond	*Anonimalle Chronicle,* Thomas Sampson's *Letter*	2
Barnard Castle	*Anonimalle Chronicle,* Thomas Sampson's *Letter*	2
Bishop Auckland	*Scotichronicon,* Thomas Sampson's *Letter, Anonimalle Chronicle, Chronicle of Meaux Abbey*	4
Merrington	*Scotichronicon, Lanercost Chronicle, Anonimalle Chronicle*	3
Ferryhill	Andrew Wyntoun's *Chronicle, Scotichronicon*	2
Sunderland Bridge	Andrew Wyntoun's *Chronicle, Scotichronicon*	2
Neville's Cross	All	10

Table 5. List of the named places mentioned in the chronicles, associated with the Neville's Cross campaign. References to the quotations can be found in the analysis below. Table © Author.

Map 14. The named places that will be included in the analysis are located in today's County Durham. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic England 2020. Map created by author.

4.2.1.1 Barnard Castle

4.2.1.1.1 Literary description

Thomas Sampson wrote in his letter that on the 14th October, 'great men with lands in the north', and 'other nobles and bannerets' mustered at Richmond, then marched towards Barnard Castle where they assembled (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998h, pp. 134–35). The *Anonimalle Chronicle* provides a similar account where William de la Zouche, the Archbishop of York went to Richmond 'with a small number of men at arms, monks, canons, priests and clerks', and then the archbishop and lords who had previously

assembled in other parts of the region mustered at Barnard Castle (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998b, p. 143). The chronicler then described how the following day, they 'assembled in an open field and there counted their number [...] men at arms numbered 800 [...] the hobelars and archers and common soldiers 10,000' (Ibid.). After having stayed two days at Barnard Castle, the Archbishop and the lords with their retinues moved towards Bishop Auckland, which is located c. 14 miles north. This description suggests that Barnard Castle acted as a mustering point for most of the soldiers, that they used an open space to gather and that the town was situated en route north. The accounts also propose that the battle was a regional affair considering its leaders were local men, such as the Archbishop of York and northern noble families, for instance Lord Percy and Neville. It also reveals that troops of soldiers had mustered earlier 'in other parts of the region'. Michael Prestwich has noted that the recruitment had started earlier the same year of 'all men between the ages of sixteen and sixty capable of bearing arms' in Yorkshire, Northumberland and Durham, as a Scottish attack was expected (Prestwich, 1998, pp. 3–5), which might explain the *Anonimalle Chronicle*'s description. The authors also reveal that the soldiers were of many different ranks.

4.2.1.1.2 Landscape location

Barnard Castle was a medieval market town, situated on the northern shore of the River Tees, marking the south border of the Liberty of Durham (Map 15). It was separated from the county of Yorkshire by the river, connected by a bridge (HE 1201056), and framed to the west by the North Pennines which sheltered the town. It was in the medieval period the largest town in the local area and developed into a nodal point with a market and castle (Austin, 2007a). The town was part of a historic road network, evidenced by the fact that Edward II and III stayed several nights there after expeditions in Scotland in 1322, 1323 and 1333 (Austin, 2007a, p. 111). There is evidence of a Roman road leading north of the town towards Bishop Auckland, and possibly from the south, as reconstructed by Austin (Austin, 2007b, p. 672). The town also featured in other campaigns and seems to have been a deliberate target (Maxwell, 2010, p. 257),

suggesting it occupied a strategic location in the landscape. Barnard Castle therefore seems a feasible mustering point before the battle for knights and their retinues travelling from various directions in the county, as the town acted as a nodal point in the region and was arguably accessible by road-networks.

Figure 21. The ruins of Barnard Castle. Photo © by kind permission of Andy King.

4.2.1.1.3 Key built features

Barnard Castle was originally a Roman settlement which later was developed by the Balliol family in the 11th century when Guy Balliol built a timber castle at the current castle's location (Austin, 2007a) (HE 1007505). The castle was the main feature in the town, also revealed by its place-name (Figure 21). The estate descended to John Balliol, who became King John of Scotland in 1292, and was forfeited by Edward I in 1295. In 1300, the castle and estate became the property of the Beauchamp earls of Warwick. At the time of battle, it was owned by Thomas de Beauchamp, who at the time of battle was in France with Edward III (Holford, 2010, p. 116).
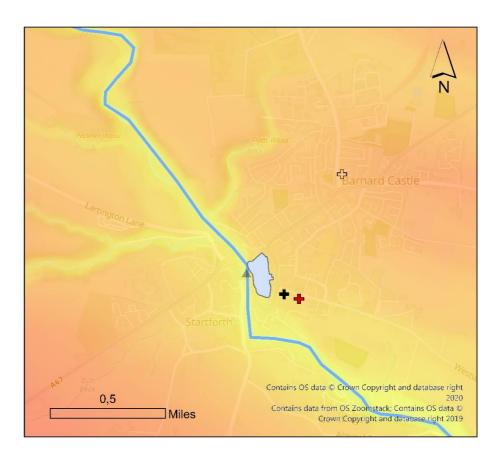
The castle is strategically located on a high cliff overlooking the River Tees. At the time of battle, it was separated from the county of Yorkshire by the river and required crossing a bridge (HE 1201056). Several excavations have taken place at the castle over the years, mainly directed by David Austin (Austin, 1980, 2007a, 2007b). The excavations have revealed the castle's growth over decades and that at the time of the battle it consisted of a moat and Inner Ward, which could have hosted some of the mustering soldiers (Austin, 1980).

The castle was a constant place of conflict; it was both part of the debate between the King of England and the bishopric of Durham (Austin, 2007a, p. 73) and also central to the Anglo-Scottish wars as it was owned by John Balliol who became King of Scotland in 1292 (Beam, 2008). This recent memory would have been known among some of the soldiers who mustered there. John's son, Edward, was still recognised as the king of Scots by Edward III (Beam, 2008). It was also a disputed place as the Balliols had politically chosen to support broader European monastic orders, such as the Cistercians instead of the cult of Cuthbert (Austin 2007, 114). Therefore, the building of the castle was not purely strategic in military terms, but also tapped into the region's social and economic dynamics (Austin, 2007a, p. 652).

Several other buildings were also part of the townscape. Apart from the castle chapel, dedicated to St Margaret and founded in the 12th century (HE 1007505), a stone-throw away from the castle near the marketplace was the parish church, St Mary's, built in the 12th century, with a tower added in the mid-13th century (HE 1218277). This church acted as the main place of worship which served those who lived in the town. It was dedicated to St Cuthbert until 1200 when it was rededicated to Mary (Pevsner and Williamson, 1983; Austin, 2007a, p. 116), which perhaps might indicate Balliol's preference for national and international saints' cults instead of the insular (Austin 2007, 114). In the vicinity was also a hospital, dedicated to St John, allegedly founded in 1230 by the Balliols (Page, 1907, pp. 117–18). South-east of the town Egglestone Abbey was located where some of the soldiers allegedly stayed overnight (Prestwich, 1998, p. 4) (HE 1322741). There was also a medieval chapel, named Bedekirk, in the town (Fordyce, 1857, p. 16).

Interestingly, Streatlam Castle (HE 1310307) and Raby Castle (HE 1338625), both situated within a 7-mile radius north-east of Barnard Castle, are not mentioned in relation to the campaign, despite being prominent sites in the medieval landscape. However, they will be considered further below (Chapter 4.2.2 and 4.3.2).

Overall, the analysis reveals that the English soldiers' mustering point was on the border of the Liberty, and that it was a prominent medieval town in the region. It would have been connected by several roads; the market, parish church and castle likely attracted travellers. The literary description further emphasises that it was situated on a route north, considering that soldiers had mustered at Richmond first, and also that it was a mustering point for regional soldiers. It had a suitable 'open space' for mustering, which either could have been in the Inner Ward of the castle or in an open field.

Map 15. The key built features and landscape location of Barnard Castle. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic England 2020. Map created by author.

4.2.1.2 Bishop Auckland

4.2.1.2.1 Literary description

The next place mentioned by the writers was Bishop Auckland, which is the most cited place in the sources (Table 5). Thomas Sampson described in his letter how the archbishop and the lords with their retinues moved from Barnard Castle 'to the castle at Auckland, where they camped in the park' (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998h, p. 135). The *Anonimalle Chronicle* described a similar scenario where they 'marched towards Bishop Auckland to meet the enemy together, and they pitched their tent in a pleasant wood near the town and rested there all night at their ease' (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998b, p. 143). The *Scotichronicon* revealed how 'many other churchmen with armed men and foot-soldiers [...] had been assembled for the purpose in the Park of Auckland [...] were secretly stationing themselves during the night' (Arvanigian and Leopold, 2004, p. 153). It appears that Auckland was a place that offered shelter, described with different words than Barnard Castle, being 'pleasant' and contained a 'park'. It also suggests that they gathered in a large structure, hosting many soldiers.

4.2.1.2.2 Landscape location

Bishop Auckland was, like Barnard Castle, a medieval market town, c. 10 miles south of Durham which occupied a strategic point in the landscape, overlooking both the River Gaunless and River Wear (Map 16). It was one of the largest towns in the area and the town contained the main country residence of the Bishop of Durham, which included a large hunting park (Drury, 2017). The estate was framed by the two rivers, and the area was populated in the Roman times, evidenced by the Roman fort Binchester, situated slightly north-west of the town, by Dere Street (Hutton, 2011, p. 113).

4.2.1.2.3 Key built features

The main stronghold of the town was the castle; it had been granted to the See of Durham in the 11th century, by King Cnut (Raine, 1852, p. 3; Richley, 1872) (HE 1196444) (Figure 22). Bishop Puiset established a manor house there in the 12th century, and Bishop Bek developed it into a castle(MacDonald, 1937, p. 4). The chapel associated with Auckland Castle was dedicated to St Peter and is from the 1660's (Cunningham, 1990). It had replaced Bishop Bek's chapel which was built in the early 13th century and existed at the time of battle (HE 1196446). The chapel was found after recent excavations conducted by the Auckland Project, including the Department of Archaeology at Durham University (Durham University, 2020). Besides being a protective walled building, the castle also functioned as a hunting lodge (Rollason, 2017). Perhaps most striking was the large park belonging to the castle; it was one of ten parks belonging to the Bishop. He also owned parks in, for instance, Evenwood, Stanhope and Wolsingham, of which Auckland, Stanhope and Wolsingham were the largest and oldest (Drury, 2017, p. 142). In 1109, King Henry I gave to Ranulf Flambard (the Bishop of Durham), some forests which were situated between the Tyne and Tees, of which the Forest of Weardale was the chief area, and Auckland Park was part of it (Drury, 2017, p. 142). These features correspond to the literary descriptions of Auckland as a place where the soldiers 'camped in a park' by the castle.
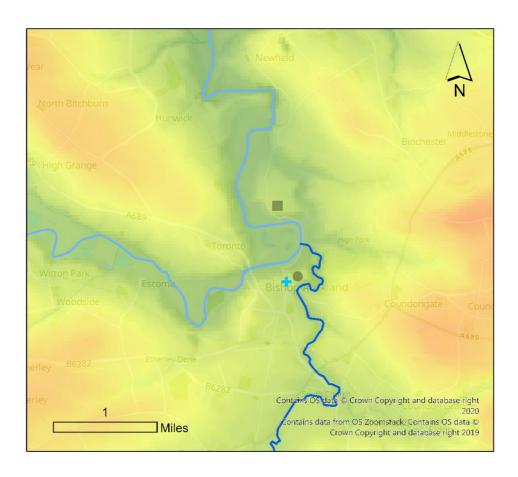
The estate and park influenced the layout and format of the town, and the park itself changed in size over the centuries. Unfortunately, no surviving maps or surveys from the 14th century exist that can reveal its size. In 1619 it was c.652 acres (Drury, 2017, p. 142). During the 15th century, there were wild animals living in the park such as cattle and oxen (Drury, 2017, p. 146). There were also fishponds, a swan pond, St Anne's Pool, and rivers in the park (Drury, 2017, p. 150). The Boldon Book, an episcopal survey from the 12th century, reveals that the park was used for hunting and had wild deer, and employed keepers (Raine, 1852, p. 5).The park was also used for growing timber, features that J. Linda Drury has suggested the soldiers could have used while stationed there (Drury, 2017, pp. 147–48). Documentary evidence of the manor's expenses from 1337-

1338, reveals that there was an orchard in the grounds, and that they sold herbage (Raine, 1852, pp. 25–27). It is feasible that this was the park that the chronicles mentioned that the soldiers mustered in, considering its size and prominence in the town. Furthermore, the literary descriptions of 'pleasant wood' might also suggest they camped in the park.

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Figure 22. Entrance to Auckland Castle. Image © Philip Barker / Wikimedia Commons.

Another key built features in the medieval town that reveals how Bishop Auckland related to the route-network is the chapel of St Anne, formerly located on the same spot as the modern church, by the marketplace (HE 1292201).

Map legend:

- ■ Binchester Roman fort
- ✚ Church of St Anne
- ● Auckland Castle and Park
- — River Gaunless
- — River Wear

Map 16. The key built features and landscape location of Bishop Auckland. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic England 2020. Map created by author.

The analysis suggests therefore that Bishop Auckland was situated by a route-network considering its role as a bishop's palace and would have been linked with Durham. Being a market town, it would have required larger roads for transport. The two rivers 'frame' the town which also would have directed the traffic and made the town a passageway to get to the north/south. Moreover, its landscape location and key built features confirm the literary descriptions of the soldiers gathering there on their way north.

4.2.1.3 Merrington and Ferryhill

4.2.1.3.1 Literary description

The next named places are Merrington, today's Kirk Merrington, and Ferryhill, situated c. 2 miles east of Merrington. At Merrington, the English encountered a small group of Scots led by William Douglas, whom they 'quickly attacked and defeated [...] and killed a great number' (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998b, p. 143). At Merrington, the chroniclers also describe how King David was surrounded by fog and bad weather that stopped him from attacking Durham (Ibid.). The *Scotichronicon* suggests there was a hill that was being used: 'seeing a hill near Merrington, which they reckoned suitable for this clash, they climbed it' (Arvanigian and Leopold, 2004, p. 153). The descriptions suggest that the meeting at Merrington was accidental, and that for some reason the fog appeared which stopped King David's attack. It also proposes that the clash took place on a hill.

The English soldiers encountered the Scots again at Ferryhill; Wyntoun's *Chronicle* describes how William Douglas went out with his men for foraging 'at the ferry of the hill them met' where they met the English (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998a, p. 160). The English then chased Douglas and his men. Wyntoun's description reveals that it was an accidental meeting at Ferryhill and might suggest that the English used scouts to trace the Scottish soldiers' whereabouts.

4.2.1.3.2 Landscape location

The medieval villages of Merrington and Ferryhill are located respectively c. 4 and 6 miles slightly north-east of Bishop Auckland. Both villages were situated on a ridge which connected them, surrounded by moorland and other villages and hamlets (Rushworth *et al.*, 2005, p. 3). This landscape, east of the Magnesian Limestone plateau running between Barnard Castle and Bishop Auckland, consisted to some extent by common pasture and was a more densely populated area of the County (Rushworth *et al.*, 2005; Roberts, 2008, pp. 24, 45, 50–52, 153). The villages were linked by Merrington Road, allegedly of Roman origin (Map 17) (Nixon, 2018, p. 20). It has been suggested that Ferryhill was situated near a the Great North Road, which passed the village (Harper, 1922, pp. 110–12; Nixon, 2018, p. 20), however, whether the road went there in the medieval period is uncertain. The Great North Road was in the medieval period the main route from London up north, and passed allegedly Durham (Morley, 1961; Given-Wilson, 1996, p. 34; Drury, 1998, p. 78). It also 'reused' Roman roads, such as Ermine Street (Given-Wilson, 1996, p. 34). Next to Ferryhill was Ferryhill Gap, a natural gap in the terrain where the medieval River North Skerne ran, which according to tradition people used a ferry to cross (Austin, 1989, p. 1; Rushworth *et al.*, 2005, p. 3; Nixon, 2018, p. 15). Today, parts of the Gap are crossed by the railway (Austin, 1989, p. 4).

Their landscape locations on elevations could have had a strategic function as a look-out post in either direction (Arthur, 2009, p. 47), and their locations might indicate the hill that was mentioned in the *Scotichronicon*. The possible proximity of the Great North Road suggests Ferryhill was situated in a strategic position connecting the north and south, leading to Durham. Further south-east was Bishop Middleham, another of the bishop's palaces (Smith *et al.*, 2017), which, plausibly, could have been linked to the Great North Road to Durham. Overall, the clashes between the English and Scottish at Ferryhill and Merrington appear thus to have been opportune, which further supports the idea that Ferryhill was situated near the Great North Road.

4.2.1.3.3 Key built features
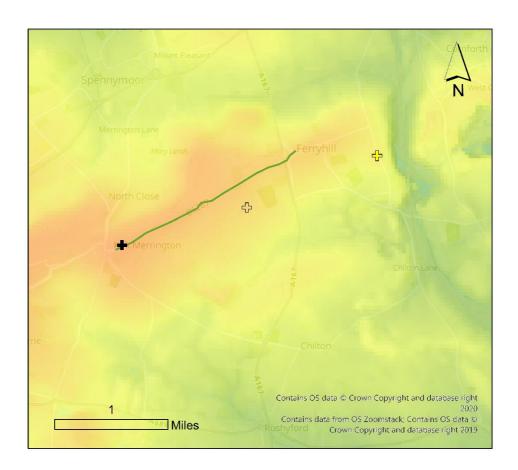
Merrington and Ferryhill were typical medieval villages, which consisted largely of two rows of buildings with a green or road between them (Rushworth *et al.*, 2005; Roberts, 2008, p. 8). Both villages contained manor houses at the time of battle; manors stemmed from the Latin word *manerium*, meaning a residence, and the land which was owned by the lordship was called the *demesne*, which was land that could be used by the lord himself or rented out to tenants (Bailey, 2002, pp. 2–3). The demesne land of Merrington belonged to the Benedictine monks in Durham and a bailiff lived in the manor house to supervise (Arthur, 2009, p. 25). The village had been granted to the Priory of Durham by William de Carilepho in the 12th century (Hutchinson, 1823, p. 392). No remains exist today of the manor.

One of the main features in Merrington was the parish church dedicated to St John the Evangelist which plausibly was Norman in origin (HE 1310889). The church is most famous for being fortified under a siege in 1143 by the Bishop of Durham in his feud with a baron, who also built a ditch surrounding it and lived inside the (Lomas, 1992, p. 36). Inside the church is a cross-slab with a sword and cross inscription (Ryder, 1985, p. 101). The grave is according to local legend the burial of Roger Ferie, who rose to fame after having killed the Boar of Brancepeth, a dangerous boar which was threatening the locals (Westwood and Simpson, 2006, pp. 226–27). Ferie's association with the boar can also be seen on his family's seal which depicts images of a boar (Dodd, 1897, p. 5).

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copyright restrictions

Figure 23. The remains of Cleeve's Cross which was put up where Roger Ferie allegedly killed the Boar of Brancepeth. Image © Mr Bob Cottrell. Source: Historic England Archive.

Ferryhill contained some key built features: it allegedly contained a medieval chapel (although not registered by HE), dedicated to St Ebbe and St Nicholas which was supposedly inhabited by some monks from Durham (Sykes, 1833, p. 266). Another religious feature is the Cleeve's Cross, a memorial marking where Roger Ferie killed the Boar of Brancepeth (HE 1310946) (Figure 23). Like other stone monuments, Cleeve's Cross could also have acted as a road-marker.

Church of St John the Evangelist

Ferryhill chapel (possible location)

Cleeve's Cross

Merrington Road

Map 17. The key built features and landscape locations of Merrington and Ferryhill. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic England 2020. Map created by author.

4.2.1.4 Sunderland Bridge

4.2.1.4.1 Literary description

The next named place in the narrative is Sunderland Bridge, where the English and Scottish soldiers encountered again. The exact narrative of what happened at Sunderland Bridge is obscure; the *Scotichronicon* describes how the English waited there for the Scots to battle: 'the Scots [...] before they realised where they were, they were a long way away from the place where the business had begun, and thus they moved by slow stages to Sunderland Bridge' and that 'Judging that another hill near these bridges were suitable for them to join battle, the leaders gathered there to discuss themselves whether they should remain there to await the Scots' (Arvanigian and Leopold, 2004, p. 153). Wyntoun's *Chronicle* says that a small skirmish took place there after their encounter at Ferryhill: 'In too great haste they took to flight, and they eagerly after them, and so great slaughter of them made, that both there and at Sunderland, five hundred died through blows by hand' (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998a, p. 160). The descriptions suggest that Sunderland Bridge was situated near Ferryhill and that there must have been a route between them. It also proposes that there was at least one bridge where they ran into each other.

4.2.1.4.2 Landscape location

Sunderland Bridge is located by the intersection of the River Wear and the River Browney, c. 3.5 miles south of Durham (Map 18). The rivers run in a north-south direction and lead up to Neville's Cross and Durham. Two Roman roads framed Sunderland Bridge, one leading from Binchester and the second from Sedgefield, towards Chester-le-Street. It has been suggested that the bridge itself was the crossing point of the Great North Road which ran from the south-east (Harper, 1922, pp. 115–16) (KP D6793). The road ran allegedly via a wasteland, from Sunderland Bridge in the north down to Ferryhill in the south.

The landscape location suggests that Sunderland Bridge acted as a crossroad at the time of battle, connecting various roads. It was one of few crossing places in the region over River Wear, and its location immediately south of Durham suggests it was en route towards the town, thus received more traffic. Overall, the landscape location corresponds to the literary description as might have related to Ferryhill and Merrington by the Great North Road, and the medieval bridge there. Seeing that it was such a heavily trafficked area, it was an obvious opportune meeting point between the English and Scottish before they clashed.
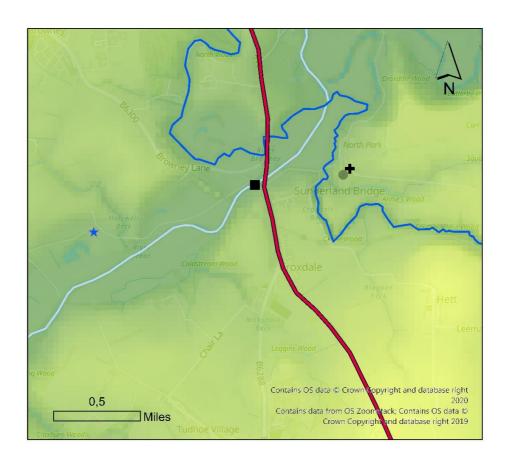
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Figure 24. Today's Sunderland Bridge. Image © Malcolm Tebbitt / Wikimedia Commons.

4.2.1.4.3 Key built features

The bridge crossed the River Wear (HE 1120699) (Figure 24), but Sunderland Bridge was neither a village nor settlement in the mid- 14th century. Instead, it appears to have been linked to neighbouring Croxdale, a manor which was recorded to have existed in 1299, given by Bishop Bek to Walter de Robiry in 1299 (Fordyce, 1857, p. 390). It might have included Croxdale Hall, which is located immediately north-east of Sunderland Bridge, which belonged to the Salvin family from the 15th century onwards (HE 1159140). The current manor dates from the 18th century.

Another key structure near Sunderland Bridge is the chapel dedicated to St Bartholomew, built in the 12th century but refurbished in the 14th (HE 1019820). It acted as a chapel of ease to St Oswald's Church in Durham (Fordyce, 1857, p. 390), which the laity could attend when they could not reach the parish church (Pounds, 2004, p. 81). Today it contains the base of a medieval cross-monument, which might have acted as a road marker (HE 1019820), pointing out the direction towards Durham, perhaps for pilgrims who were walking towards the cathedral. West of Sunderland Bridge was Holywell (KP D1383), a sub-manor to Brancepeth (Liddy, 2008, p. 36), which included a holy well associated with the relics of St Cuthbert, which were kept there before they ended up in Durham Cathedral (HE 1120764). East of the site, further up the River Wear and after the bridge, was another holy well but with salt water, associated with St Cuthbert (Page, 1928, p. 155). The key built features surrounding Sunderland Bridge illustrate that it was not a settlement at the time of battle but contained a bridge and was linked to Croxdale.

■ **Sunderland Bridge**

✚ **Croxdale medieval chapel and cross-base**

⬤ **Croxdale Hall**

★ **Holy Well, St Cuthbert's**

━━ **Great Northern Road (sections of)**

━━ **River Browney**

━━ **River Wear**

Map 18. The key built features and landscape location of Sunderland Bridge and its landscape location. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic England 2020. Map created by author.

4.2.1.5 Neville's Cross

4.2.1.5.1 Literary description

The final named place is Neville's Cross, where the battle took place. It is described in the sources either as an open space, or with references to adjacent features: the *Scotichronicon* says they 'took up their position on the same moor at a certain place near Durham beside the cross which is called Neville's Cross' (Arvanigian and Leopold, 2004, p. 153). The *Anonimalle Chronicle* describes it similarly, that King David rode 'towards Neville's Cross, near Durham' (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998b, p. 144). Prior Fossor's letter portrays the site as 'the [...] moor, next to our [Bearpark] park' and also as a place 'sited between the City of Durham and a certain hill called Findon' (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998e, pp. 132–33). The *Chronicle of Meaux abbey* describes it as 'the moor between Durham and Bearpark' (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998g, p. 147). Geoffrey le Baker named it 'the place called Neville's Cross' (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998f, p. 150). The dramatic events that took place were described as 'wounded men shrieking, and troops crying out, arms shattered, heads split open' (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998d, p. 140). It suggests that Neville's Cross was not a 'place' prior to the battle but was only perceived as the location of battle, referenced through its spatial relation to other sites, or that it was previously unknown by the writers.

4.2.1.5.2 Landscape location

Neville's Cross was, according to the writers, associated with the cross-monument and the moorlands. The area is situated c. 1 mile west of Durham, outside the city wall near Framwellgate Bridge and Crossgate (Map 19). It is framed by the River Browney to the west.

The area is situated in the intersection of several roads; the Neville's Cross monument itself is said to have replaced an Anglo-Saxon cross which acted as a road-marker leading travellers to Durham (HE 1016622) (Drury, 1998). Through Crossgate, one road went

towards Brancepeth, and Framwellgate (earlier Milneburngate), towards Chester-le-Street and Newcastle (Bonney, 1990, p. 59; Emery, 1996, p. 77). The roads leading up to Durham would have been used by pilgrims going to the Cathedral, and the city had several lodging houses for pilgrims (Bonney, 1990, p. 36). Drury's reconstruction of the road-system in relation to the Neville's Cross monument also demonstrates its communicative setting (Figure 25). The battlefield's location near a complex set of roads seemingly correspond to the narrative in the chronicles, which give an account of the almost chaotic movement and chase between the English and Scots. Furthermore, the other skirmishes at Sunderland Bridge and Ferryhill and Merrington also took place by roads, indicating that these places could have been accidental.

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Figure 25. Drawing by J. Linda Drury of the Neville's Cross monument in the landscape (in Drury, 1998, p. 80).

Figure 26. The River Browney runs near Neville's Cross. Photo © Author.
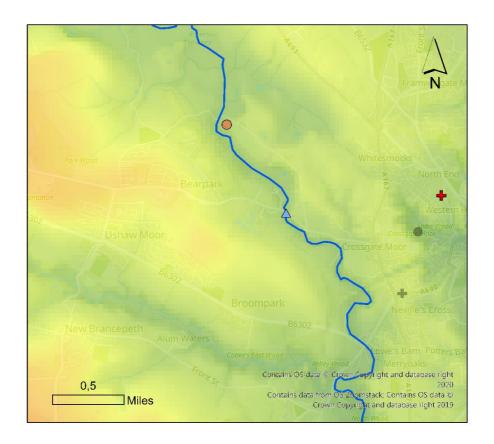
4.2.1.5.3 Key built features

The literary description of the battle reveals that the place was associated with the Neville's Cross monument, which used to be an Anglo-Saxon monument directing pilgrims towards Durham Cathedral (Drury, 1998). It has been suggested that pilgrims touched the cross when approaching and leaving Durham (Drury, 1998, p. 83). Maiden's Bower, a prehistoric mound, was also mentioned as the place where Prior Hatfield together with some monks were stationed and brought relics of St Cuthbert during the battle (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998e; Penman, 2004, p. 131) (HE 1008843).

Another feature in the vicinity was the Aldin Grange Bridge between the battlefield and Bearpark, by the River Browney, which tradition tells was the place where King David hid after the battle (Dodds, 2005, p. 76) (HE 1323214). Furthermore, a hoard of coins

likely deposited in the end of the 14th century was found near the battlefield (Evans, 1846; Drury, 1998). Several hospitals were also situated in the vicinity, such as St Leonard's Hospital, a medieval leper hospital founded in 1292, known for being a burial place of criminals who had been executed (Page, 1907, p. 123), and Sherburn leper hospital (HE 1311049).

Overall, the literary descriptions and key built features in the named place give the impression that the 'place' did not exist previously, or that the site was associated with the cross-monument. Prior Fossor, who had knowledge of the area, described the site as the 'moor, next to our [Bearpark] park' (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998e, pp. 132–33), which further emphasises this.

Legend:

- ✚ St Leonard's Hospital and Chapel
- ✚ Neville's Cross
- △ Aldin Grange Bridge
- ⬤ Bearpark
- ⬤ Maiden Bower cairn
- — River Browney

Map 19. The key built features and landscape location of Neville's Cross. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic England 2020. Map created by author.

4.2.1.6 Summary of named places

The investigation above identified six named places that were part of the campaign at Neville's Cross. All were situated within the Liberty of Durham and Barnard Castle was the mustering point. The analysis of their literary description, landscape location and key built features demonstrated that they were both urban and rural places, and had different perceptions attached to them. The literary descriptions differed, for instance, between how Bishop Auckland was perceived as a place of peace, whereas most of the others were associated with physical combat.

Notably, all of the named places were situated near or by a larger road: Barnard Castle and Bishop Auckland were allegedly connected by a Roman road, and Ferryhill and Sunderland Bridge might have been linked to the old Great North Road. This is also reflected in the literary descriptions of the pursuit, chase and smaller skirmishes between the English and Scottish as they must have moved on known routes to have encountered each other unexpectedly. Moreover, Bishop Auckland as a bishop's palace was connected to Durham by routes. The monument at Neville's Cross suggests that there were movements of pilgrims in the region, going up to Durham. Other important features that stood out are those associated with St Cuthbert and the Bishop of Durham. It would, overall, suggest that the route-network was partly connected to the Bishop of Durham's residences, pilgrims and larger roads leading to Durham. The route identified is estimated to be from Barnard Castle to Neville's Cross, which is a c. 23.5-mile journey, including both the departure point and arrival.

4.2.2 Identification of route corridors
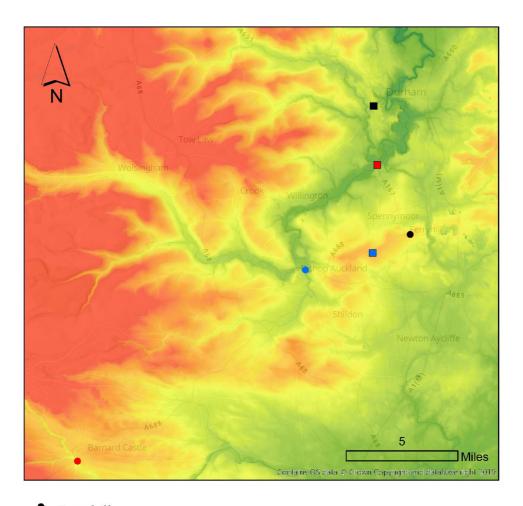
The next step of the reconstruction is to analyse the archaeological and topographical landscape between the named places as *space*, which includes applying layers of evidence onto maps of the region in ArcGIS Pro. The purpose is to identify route corridors between the named places, which will result in the most likely route to battle.

First the topographical landscape and archaeological evidence of historic roads will be analysed, as links, to identify obstacles and crossable terrain. Then, the archaeological evidence, following the layers described in Chapter 2.2.1.2.1, will be applied one by one and analysed as nodes. The results will produce the most likely route that the soldiers could have taken, *the hypothetical route*, which will be presented in Chapter 4.2.3.

4.2.2.1 Links

4.2.2.1.1 Topographical landscape

Map 20 illustrates the topographical landscape between the named places. Appendix A2.1-2, shows the same area but divided into more detailed sections: Barnard Castle to Bishop Auckland (the middle point) and Bishop Auckland to Neville's Cross. The whole area is sheltered by the North Pennines to the west, which is the highest elevation in the region (indicated by red). The landscape is lower (yellow/green) in the east, separated by a river valley south of Neville's Cross and north of Bishop Auckland. This corresponds to research conducted on the physical landscapes of medieval county Durham which has shown that the west part was the most unfertile area, whereas the land south-east of Durham was fertile and suitable for arable land (Lomas, 1992; Liddy, 2008, p. 31). A brief look at the terrain would suggest that there are possible route corridors between the places, but that the rivers and irregular terrain could interfere with the crossing.

- ● Ferryhill
- ■ Neville's Cross
- ● Bishop Auckland
- ■ Sunderland Bridge
- ■ Merrington
- ● Barnard Castle

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Value

255

0

Map 20. The topographical landscape (DTM) of the named places and the region. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic England 2020. Map created by author.

The area north-east of Barnard Castle is a gentle slope before it rises again (Appendix A2.1). It then connects to a river valley south of Bishop Auckland, which leads up to the town. The area between Bishop Auckland and Neville's Cross appears to be less elevated (Appendix A2.2). The area linking Merrington with Ferryhill is elevated, possibly by a ridge between them, and the area between them and Sunderland Bridge appears to be less elevated. Sunderland Bridge itself is situated in a river valley. The flatter area continues all the way up to Durham.

Overall, the landscape does not indicate any particular obstacles between the named places, save the rivers that needed crossing and the uneven topography between Barnard Castle and Bishop Auckland. Considering that large parts of the landscape consisted of moorlands (Lomas, 1998, p. 68), there would have been opportunities to march across the landscape, thus with many possible route corridors.

4.2.2.1.2 Remains of roads

- Roman roads
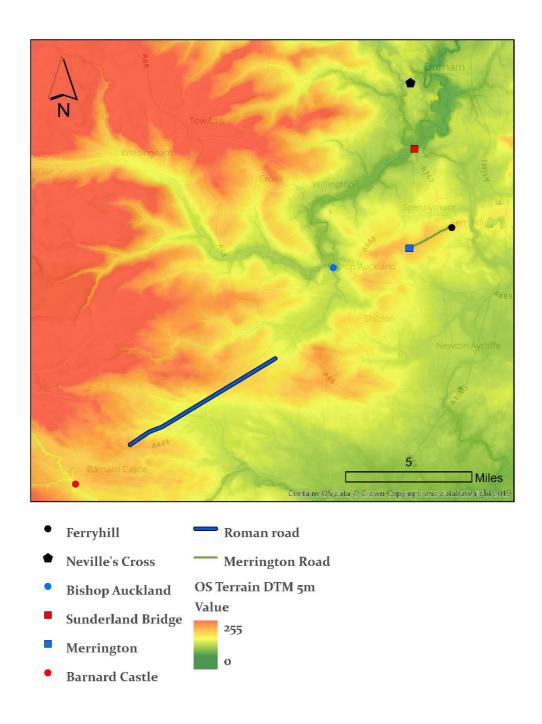
There is relatively rich evidence of historic roads in the area between and surrounding the named places; there are traces of the Roman road-system which was still in use in the medieval period, such as Dere Street, near Bishop Auckland and another connecting Bowes with Bishop Auckland (Margary, 1957, pp. 167–71, 1973, p. 436). A smaller road, Merrington Road, linking Merrington with Ferryhill, had Roman origins (Nixon, 2018, p. 20), which has been digitised manually between the places. Another Roman road has been identified by HE linking Barnard Castle and Bishop Auckland, which was one of the key roads in the county (Margary, 1973, p. 167; Liddy, 2008, p. 31). As can be seen in Map 21, the road follows to a certain extent today's road A688, which connects the two towns and thus indicates a route corridor between Barnard Castle and Bishop Auckland, in the more elevated section identified as an obstacle above.

- Early medieval and medieval roads

The main historic road from the medieval period that might have existed between the named places is the Great North Road, which acted as the main route connecting the north and south (Harper, 1922; Given-Wilson, 1996, p. 78; Drury, 1998, p. 78; Nixon, 2018). HE has not digitised any remains, but it can be speculated in whether it passed Ferryhill and Sunderland Bridge, considering their strategic locations south of Durham and near the bishop's other palace, in Bishop Middleham (Chapter 4.2.1.3). The road might stipulate a route corridor linking several of the named places.

- Summary

The evidence demonstrates that there was an active road-system between and surrounding the named places in the medieval period, that could indicate several route corridors. These consisted largely of Roman roads, Merrington Road and possibly the Great North Road. Map 21 shows how the roads connected the named places. The Roman road linking Barnard Castle and Bishop Auckland offered a solution to the obstacle identified in the topographical analysis, as it crosses a more elevated terrain.

Map 21. The main historic roads between and surrounding the named places. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic England 2020. Map created by author.

4.2.2.2 Nodes

4.2.2.2.1 Settlements, villages and towns

- Prehistoric and Roman settlements

There are notably few Roman and prehistoric settlements between the named places. The main Roman fort was Binchester (HE 1002362), situated along Dere Street north-west of Bishop Auckland.

- Medieval villages

There are several medieval villages situated between or surrounding the named places. Many of them are known from the medieval inventories and surveys made by the Bishop and the church, such as the Hatfield Survey, an account of the See of Durham's possessions (14th century), and the Boldon Book, an episcopal survey (c.1183). Symeon of Durham's *Libellus* (early 12th century), a historical account, describes how several villages were donated by King Cnut to Durham Priory after his pilgrimage to the Cathedral, around the year 1000 (Rollason, 2000, p. 167). Several of the villages are either recorded by KP or HE. KP's registration of villages is, however, somewhat uncertain as they have used the medieval inventories to speculatively place the village in the landscape.

One of the larger villages in the Liberty was Streatlam which contained a manor hall (built in the 13th century, rebuilt in the later medieval period and demolished in the 20th century) owned by the Bowes family, situated north-east of Barnard Castle, near the Roman road identified earlier (Emery, 1996, pp. 138–39) (HE 1310307). Other important villages and settlements were Staindrop and Raby Castle (HE 1338625), which had belonged to the Neville family from the 13th century.
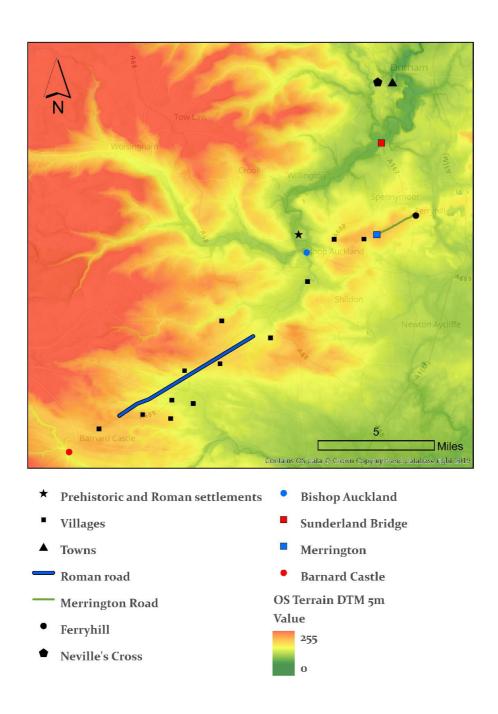
Most of the settlements are situated around the Roman road, and near Bishop Auckland and are located in both elevated and flatter areas. Overall, the area displays the region's long continuity of settlements (Roberts, 1977).

- Towns

The only recorded town between or surrounding the named places is Durham, by Neville's Cross. It was founded in the end of the 10th century, according to legend, when monks from Lindisfarne brought St Cuthbert's relics to be kept there. Durham developed into an influential town in medieval northern England and contained a cathedral, priory and was important in the trade (Liddy, 2008).

- Summary

Map 22 illustrates the settlements between and surrounding the named places. There are clusters of settlements between Barnard Castle and Bishop Auckland, near the Roman road, which suggests that the land there was more fertile and suitable for settlement. Judging from these, it strengthens the argument that the Roman road was part of an important medieval route corridor. Notably, few villages were located in the areas between Bishop Auckland, Merrington, Ferryhill, Sunderland Bridge and Neville's Cross. However, considering the prominence of Durham, there would have been northbound route corridors linking the named places to the north. This means in sum, that we can continue to concentrate on the corridors of the Roman road and consider the potential corridors north of Ferryhill. It also means that some evidence of settlements outside the corridors can be removed from the analysis in the next stage, to focus more fully on the identified corridor.

Map 22. The settlements, villages and towns between and surrounding the named places have been added to the previous layers. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic England 2020. Map created by author.

4.2.2.2.2 Places of worship

- Parish churches

There were five parish churches of medieval origin registered between the named places, in relation to the route corridors. One of them is the parish church in Staindrop, dedicated to the Virgin Mary (Lipscomb, 1888, p. 3) (HE 1338594). It was originally dedicated to St Gregory, and contains remains of the Anglo-Saxon church (Durham City Council, 2012, p. 12). Quite near, slightly north-west of the Roman road, is St Mary's, Cockfield (HE 1121827), and further up St Helen's Church, West Auckland (HE 1196602). South-east of Bishop Auckland, by the River Gaunless, is St Andrew's Church which had replaced an Anglo-Saxon church (Dinnick, 1991, p. 6) (HE 1196458). These are all situated by or near the route corridor of the Roman road linking Barnard Castle and Bishop Auckland. Additionally, near Merrington is Whitworth parish church, which was built on a medieval site (KP D8994 and HE 1121448). In Durham was also the Cathedral, the predominant place of worship in the region (HE 1000089).

- Chapels

KP has recorded one chapel in Stainton, north of Barnard Castle (KP D6890), and St Mary's Field outside Staindrop (Hadcock, 1939, p. 204) (KP D1714), which supposedly existed at the time of battle.
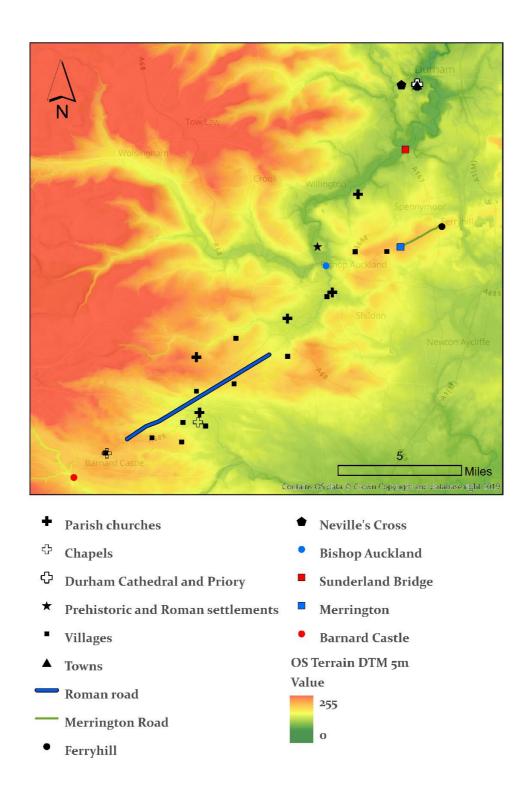
- Holy wells

No holy well is recorded in the area between the named places.

- Summary

Map 23 illustrates the number of places of worship between the named places. It appears as if most of them are situated along the route corridor linking Barnard Castle and Bishop Auckland, with four of them being near the Roman road. Three of the churches are situated north of the Roman road, and only Whitworth Church is located near Merrington and Ferryhill. This layer of archaeological evidence has thus strengthened

the argument that there was a medieval route corridor between Barnard Castle and Bishop Auckland. It has also indicated possible route corridors in the gap between the Roman road and Bishop Auckland.

Legend:

- ✚ Parish churches
- ⛭ Chapels
- ⛭ Durham Cathedral and Priory
- ★ Prehistoric and Roman settlements
- ▪ Villages
- ▲ Towns
- ▬ Roman road
- ▬ Merrington Road
- ● Ferryhill

- ⬟ Neville's Cross
- ● Bishop Auckland
- ■ Sunderland Bridge
- ■ Merrington
- ● Barnard Castle

OS Terrain DTM 5m Value

255

0

Map 23. The places of worship have been added to the previous layers. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic England 2020. Map created by author.

4.2.3 The hypothetical route

The topographical and archaeological layers have given us an estimation of the route corridors between the named places, which will reveal the most likely route that the English soldiers used. As mentioned earlier, the high number of named places oriented and delimited the landscape and provides rough estimations of the major movements of the soldiers.
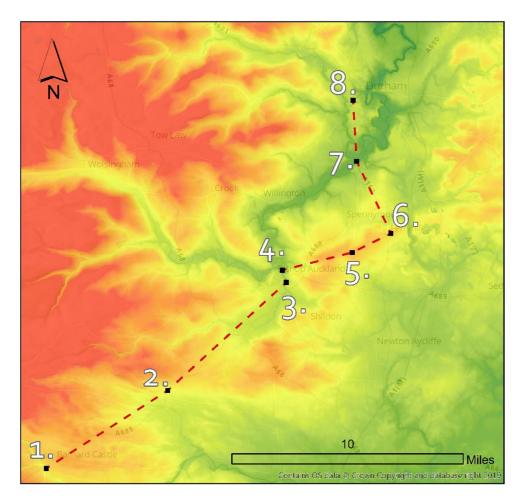
The topographical landscape was both flat and elevated between the named places but contained rivers that needed crossing. Overall, there were many opportunities for crossing the terrain, and few distinct route corridors could be recognised. The archaeological layers of historic roads were more telling: one prominent historic road, the Roman road connecting Bishop Auckland and Barnard Castle (digitised by HE), would have been the most direct route between the first two named places. The digitised road starts some miles north of Barnard Castle, but it is likely that it started in the town; the village Stainton, situated just north of the town, was first recorded as *Staynton* in 1150, which in OE means 'farmstead by a paved road' (Mills, 2011, 'Stainton'), suggesting its proximity to a road. Moreover, the digitised road finishes at Evenwood, south of Bishop Auckland, but it has been suggested that the road continued south of Hummerbeck, then along north of Hummerbeck Lane towards Bishop Auckland (Margary, 1957, p. 168). St Andrew's Church, situated between the end of the Roman road and Bishop Auckland, also indicates that a route could have passed it. The smaller Merrington Road, linking Merrington with Ferryhill was digitised manually, and proposes that the soldiers might have used it.
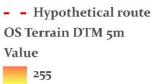
The analysis could only vaguely speculate in potential route corridors between Ferryhill and Sunderland Bridge; there were no digitised historic roads, prehistoric or Roman settlements, villages, towns or places of worship between them that could suggest a potential route. What might be helpful here is to reconsider the possibility that the Great North Road connected Ferryhill with Sunderland Bridge, which has been suggested elsewhere (Harper, 1922, pp. 110–12; Nixon, 2018, p. 20). This suggestion is strengthened by the fact that Bishop Middleham, a palace belonging to the bishop, was
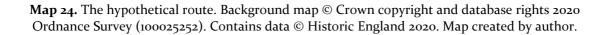
situated south-east of Ferryhill which would have required a direct route with Durham. Moreover, the skirmishes of the English and Scottish soldiers at Merrington, Ferryhill and Sunderland, would suggest that the villages were situated by routes, which led the armies to 'accidentally' clash with each other, or that scouts could have tracked each other's movements. Either way, it is a likely scenario that the places were situated by routes, possibly the Great North Road, that the soldiers used.

The English soldiers' itinerary can therefore be traced as follows (Map 24):

1. The English soldiers mustered and departed from **Barnard Castle** and followed the Roman road, passing Stainton.
2. Continuing marching on the Roman road, after c. 6 miles they would have passed the village of **Staindrop** and **Raby Castle**.
3. After moving on the Roman road, and possibly crossing the terrain, alternatively following River Gaunless south of Bishop Auckland, the soldiers reached **St Andrew's Church** which is a c. 8-mile walk.
4. The soldiers then reached **Bishop Auckland,** where they stayed the night.
5. The following day, they moved eastwards towards **Merrington** which was a c. 4 miles journey. No route corridor has been identified between the two places.
6. After Merrington, the soldiers continued on the Merrington Road towards **Ferryhill**, a c. 2.5-mile trip.
7. The soldiers then moved, possibly on the Great North Road, all the way up to **Sunderland Bridge,** a c. 4-mile journey.
8. Crossing the river, they continued to **Neville's Cross**, c. 3 miles.

Map 24. The hypothetical route. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic England 2020. Map created by author.

4.3 THE JOURNEY

This section will explore how the English soldiers experienced and perceived their journey as they moved to battle on the *hypothetical route* (Figure 27). The analysis will be based on the phenomenological framework outlined in Chapter 2.1 of an inside perspective, consisting of three elements: liminality, place and space, and the medieval senses, which together shaped the landscape approach. It will consist of an application of the landscape model (Figure 3), which included temporal pointers of departure, movement and arrival, which encompassed the soldiers' journey.

Figure 27. The English soldiers' journey took place in the Liberty of Durham, characterised by rural terrain with moorlands and its association with St Cuthbert. The photo is taken somewhere between Neville's Cross and Bearpark. Photo © Author.

4.3.1 Departure

The landscape model in Chapter 2.2.2 argued that each campaign and march to battle included a departure, akin to the medieval quest and journeying (Sadowski, 1996; Gaposchkin, 2013a) (Figure 28). The departure place was important both functionally and symbolically, as it was where commanders would have discussed their strategical moves and could be the place where soldiers were summoned to (Nicholson 2004, 52). Its symbolic meaning was linked to a perceived 'ordered place' (Chapter 2.2.2.2). The analysis above identified Barnard Castle as the departure point (Chapter 4.2.1.1), and the analysis corresponded to the literary description as it was a nodal point, on the border of the Liberty and contained a castle which could have acted as the place of departure.

4.3.1.1 Place of departure: Barnard Castle

Thomas Sampson wrote in his letter that 'great men with lands in the north', and 'other nobles and bannerets' assembled in Barnard Castle after having marched from Richmond (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998h, pp. 134–35). The *Anonimalle Chronicle* further explains that the day after, 'the lords with their men [...] assembled in an open field' (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998b, p. 143). Although the written sources do not reveal where the soldiers assembled, it is a likely scenario that some of them (perhaps the lords mentioned by *Anonimalle Chronicle*) mustered in the castle considering its protective purpose and open space (Austin, 2007a). Although Egglestone Abbey has been suggested as the muster point (Prestwich, 1998, p. 4), the castle was a likely option; knights were usually gathered in castles in medieval *chanson de geste* when they were challenged with a quest, such as Sir Gawain (Armitage, 2007, pp. 40–42). This was not only a strategic location, but research has emphasised the close bond between mythological, allegorical and physical castles, and that the perceived boundary between imaginary and reality was non-existent (Reyerson and Powe, 1984; Whitehead, 2003; Wheatley, 2004). Once again, this demonstrates that the sacred/profane dichotomy is inappropriate for application to the medieval culture context. Castle archaeologists

have in recent decades changed its research agenda to consider castles' symbolic and social functions (Creighton, 2005) and their symbolic landscape locations (Jamieson, 2019, 2020). As an 'ordered place', the castle reflected the chivalric mindset where the castle architecture 'inspired wonder, awe and admiration' – it was the 'architectural face of chivalry' (Saul, 2011, p. 261). Reconstructions of the layout of the castle at Barnard Castle has shown that it included a great hall, which was the focal point of medieval castles (Figure 29). These were often rooms of grandeur, ornament and chivalry (Morris, 2016). David Austin has argued that the great hall in the castle at Barnard Castle had similar symbolic connotations as when entering a church, as 'a place of respect, honour and authority' (Austin, 2007a, p. 665). Barnard Castle and its great hall as a mustering point was therefore 'the place of ideal and idealised action' (Austin, 2007a, p. 664), and corresponds to medieval chivalric perceptions of places of departures in campaigns as an 'ordered place'.

The landscape location of Barnard Castle on the border of the Liberty is important for understanding the soldiers' departure point; the town acted as a mental boundary in the landscape with the bridge over the River Tees. The town was called *Castellum Bernardi* in 1200, meaning 'Castle of a baron called Bernard' (Mills, 2011, 'Barnard Castle'). The place-name refers to Bernard of Balliol, a former owner of the castle, who fought at the Battle of the Standard in 1138 (Kenyon, 1999, p. 14). It emphasised the town's continuity (apart from John Balliol's forfeiture of the castle in 1295) as an important stronghold in the landscape, associated with the Anglo-Scottish conflict and just have therefore also have symbolised protection and a stronghold to the regional soldiers. The town itself was thus a visual symbol of the protection of the Liberty.

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Figure 28. The departure of soldiers for campaigns was perceived as a 'transition' and moving between realms. It can be seen in this manuscript illustration, with the knight fully armoured, leaving the castle for the wilderness, from La Queste del Saint Graal. France, N. 1st quarter of 14th century. Image © British Library, Royal 14 E III f. 21.

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It is not certain what armour or weapons that the soldiers at Neville's Cross were equipped with, however, one extract from an Account Roll reveals that there were both men-at-arms, knights and mounted archers at the campaign (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998c). These would have carried swords, spears, bows and, at least the knights, wore armour. The crusading departure rites involved the blessing of swords and standards which often took place in a church, in order to protect from physical and supernatural foes (Gaposchkin, 2013a). Medieval pilgrim departure rituals also included having their staffs and badges blessed by priests in a church (Rivard, 2008, p. 136ff.). These reflect the element of 'becoming' and 'transforming' in medieval journeys, which can be found among soldiers too; the armour and weapons had symbolic meanings to medieval soldiers, and the armouring itself was perceived as a ritual, both in medieval romances and in real life (Jones 2010, 114). It was a symbol of 'the warrior's personal transition from peace to war' (Ibid.). The English soldiers' mustering and preparing for set off at Barnard Castle would presumably have experienced their preparation with armours and

weapons in similar terms. According to *Knighton's* chronicle, the English '[...]having full faith in the sign of the Cross, which was carried before them with their other standards [...]' (Knighton and Martin, 1995, p. 69). This account signifies that other objects than weapons and armours were brought to battle to invoke God's aid. We are not told whether they brought a banner of St Cuthbert, although it is likely as it was often used by the English in the Anglo-Scottish wars (Sharpe, 2017, p. 255). It was also perceived as having miraculous powers; a medieval description by Reginald of Durham shows how the banner had the same status as a relic as it protected a person in a fire (Sharpe, 2017, pp. 245–46). The castle as a departure point could therefore have been used for the blessing of banners, standards and swords. This prepared the soldiers for the coming ordeal and battle, since, as soon as they left the castle, they entered the wilderness of the liminal state. The castle therefore offered the physical and spiritual environment for the initial stage of the transition into 'becoming' soldiers.

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Figure 29. A drawing of the plan of Barnard Castle. The different wards were part of the chivalric architecture of the castle. Image © Crown Copyright. Historic England Archive.

4.3.2 Movement

The following part of the journey has been defined as 'movement' in the landscape model (Chapter 2.2.2). As 'the space between places' (Branton, 2009, p. 52), it was the realm of the soldiers' liminal journey.

4.3.2.1 The Liberty of Durham

After leaving Barnard Castle, the soldiers left the safe refuge of the castle and town, and marched into the wilderness, on the Roman road reconstructed above. Their movement

took place in the Liberty of Durham, an area stretching from the River Tees to the Scottish border (apart from the liberties of Norhamshire, Islandshire and Bedlingtonshire, located in modern Northumberland). It was under the authority of the Bishop of Durham whose main stronghold was Durham Castle. This semi-regal institution owned most of the land and villages in the Liberty and was the most powerful establishment in the area (Roberts, 1977). The Liberty was connected to St Cuthbert, whose relics had been transferred from the Holy Island to Durham Cathedral in the 12th century which developed Durham into a popular pilgrimage site. The anonymous *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* from 11th century, reveals how several places in the county were tied to the saint, either to his relics on their journey to Durham Cathedral, or villages that were given as donations to the cathedral (Johnson South, 2002). Thus, the surrounding landscapes of Durham Cathedral, where the saint's relics were kept, became an 'anteroom' to the cathedral that the soldiers on their way to battle moved through. The saint himself had been associated with the wilderness; he withdrew to Holy Island and Farne Island off the Northumbrian coast in the 7th century. A later example was Godric (d.1170) who made his dwelling at Finchale outside Durham, in a perceived wilderness (Le Goff, 1988, p. 50). The cult of St Cuthbert influenced how the battle was described and interpreted by the medieval writers; St Cuthbert appeared in a vision to someone and prophesied the place of battle (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998g, p. 148). The soldiers' liminal journey took therefore place within a realm connected to the cult of St Cuthbert, and the regional perceptions and sense of the Liberty.

The change of realms, from the enclosed castle to the rural landscapes of the Liberty was akin to the pilgrims' 'transition' of moving from urban to rural (Locker, 2017). The landscape that the Roman road crossed, constituted wild moorlands, with villages and settlements (Roberts, 1977). Marching through these rural areas corresponded to the separation and liminal state where the pilgrim 'abandoned his traditional milieu for a limited time in order to travel to a particular place' for divine intervention' (Geary, 1984, p. 265). The idea of a 'wilderness' had developed in Christian through, originating from Christ's dwelling in the desert (Geary, 1984; Locker, 2015). For pilgrims, the concept of the wilderness included acting in landscapes of trial, penance and purification (Locker, 2015, pp. 50–52), and was linked to suffering and death (Eade and Sallnow, 2000, pp. 21,

23; Sumption, 2003). The wilderness was a domain of threats from both animals and humans (Pluskowski, 2006). The realm of wilderness in a campaign setting included a pursuit and fear of encountering the enemy, which the literary description of the named places revealed: there were several unexpected encounters between the English and Scottish soldiers before the actual battle. Similar to the wilderness in medieval romance, such as in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight,* which included a theatre of spiritual, moral and mental trials (Sadowski, 1996, p. 52; Rudd, 2013), the Liberty could have an equivalent impact as a space of penance for regional soldiers where their bravery and chivalric ideals were tested.

4.3.2.2 The stages

4.3.2.2.1 Staindrop

The soldiers moved on the Roman road, and passed the village of Stainton Grove, Streatlam Castle, and the village of Snotterton, which had been donated to the Priory of Durham by King Cnut after his aforementioned pilgrimage in the mid-11th century (Lipscomb, 1888, p. 1). The army moved across moorland until they reached Staindrop, 7 miles from Barnard Castle, which also was part of King Cnut's donation (Lipscomb, 1888, p. 1). At the time of battle, Staindrop was a village with a green, cottages and crofts, and became a market town in 1378 (Durham City Council, 2012, p. 12). This was the first larger settlement the soldiers would have encountered.

Staindrop's place-name, *Saen-throp* meaning 'stoney village' in OE (Mills, 2011, 'Staindrop'), illustrates its early origin. The village, having been donated to the Priory of Durham, highlighted St Cuthbert's influence in the rural landscape in the Liberty. The village reflected the regional identity of the people living in the village and within the Liberty, as they perceived themselves as the *haliwerfolc,* the holy people of Cuthbert who were under his protection (Aird, 1998, p. 5; Liddy, 2008, p. 198). Several barons and nobles claimed themselves to live in 'the land of St Cuthbert – *terra beati Cuthberti* (Liddy, 2008, p. 25). The cult was widespread and on the saint's feast-day, a fair was

arranged that several villages in the county brought items to. Many regional soldiers would have been associating themselves with these terms and been fully aware of the saint's influence on the landscape.

One feature in Staindrop which might have impacted the soldiers is the parish church dedicated to the Virgin Mary (HE 1338594). It has Anglo-Saxon remains and was originally dedicated to St Gregory (Durham City Council, 2012, p. 12). Three years before the battle, Lord Ralph Neville, who participated in the Neville's Cross campaign, was given permission by the Prior to build three new chantries, of which one was the Lady Chapel (Lipscomb, 1888, p. 7). Research on devotions during medieval military campaigns has emphasised that saintly intercession was important (Penman, 2002; Bachrach, 2003b), and sacred places such as churches and holy wells offered such an opportunity. Therefore, by passing this church it was also a way to ask for the Virgin Mary's intercession in the battle. In the medieval mindset, the dedication of churches to particular saints was to consecrate a building for sacred purposes, under the particular saint's intercession, and the saint or angel was perceived as having a particularly strong presence in the area (Orme, 1996, p. 1).

Dedications to the Virgin Mary, and St Michael, were particularly numerous in the north-east (Gregory, 1885, p. 271), and both were believed to provide intercession during warfare. Devotion to Mary was central to medieval English chivalry; Edward III had a loyal devotion to her (Ormrod, 2011, chap. 11), and the mid-14th century wall paintings of St George, the warrior saint, in St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, show how he commends the royal family to the Virgin (Saul, 2011, p. 208). Sir Gawain turned to her for help when he was walking in the wasteland: "Then at that time of tiding, he prayed to highest heaven. Let Mother Mary guide him, towards some house or haven' (Armitage, 2007, p. 38). By invoking the Virgin, saints and angels, they were present and interceded during the battle, which was also part of the spiritual journey of the soldier, to prepare for battle. After Neville's Cross, the writer of the *Lanerost Chronicle* exclaimed that the English victory was thanks to the intercession of Mary and St Cuthbert (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998d, p. 140), which might suggest that the Marian associations of the landscape had been significant to the soldiers.

4.3.2.2.2 Raby Castle

Slightly north of Staindrop was Raby Castle, which had belonged to the Neville family since the 13th century (Figure 30). It was allegedly built on the site of an Anglo-Saxon manor house given by Cnut to Durham (Fordyce, 1857, p. 109). The current castle was built in several phases across the post-medieval period, with fragmentary evidence from the 14th century, and it was granted license to be crenelated in 1378 (Emery, 1996, p. 130). It would have been surrounded by a moat (Fordyce, 1857, p. 109).

Figure 30. Raby Castle today, owned by the Neville family and passed by the English troops on their way to battle. Photo © Author.

The Neville's were one of the most prominent and powerful families in the Liberty of Durham; they were parliamentary peers and owned large tracts of land, estates and churches, such as Brancepeth, Sheriff Hutton, Staindrop and Middleham (Emery, 1996, p. 133). Large sections of the fertile land were owned by them, near Raby and

Brancepeth, and also sub-manors, such as Holywell, Tudhoe and East Brandon (Liddy, 2008, p. 36). Ralph Neville participated in the Neville's Cross campaign, and the cross near the battlefield was named after the family. The Neville family had originally been appointed to guard the shrine of Cuthbert, and their lands were therefore part of their duty to guard and defend the land of the saint. Their protective role is also evidenced by the Neville Screen in Durham Cathedral, which separates St Cuthbert's relics from the congregation and serves as a physical and spiritual barrier between the saint and the world. It was given by the Neville's to the Cathedral after the battle (Young, 1996, p. 117). This role of protecting the saint's land could be linked back to the 12th century, when the Bishop Hugh Puiset had granted land to families who became known as 'barones et fideles sancti cuthberti' (Aird, 1998, p. 184). This motivation for war arguably survived into the 14th century as there is even a report that in 1300, noble families in the county refused to fight 'beyond the Tyne and Tees' as they were 'St Cuthbert's Folk' (Spencer, 2011, p. 105). The jurisdictional separation of the liberty from royal government would have emphasised this. These examples emphasise that the Liberty's soldiers perceived their role and motivation for war as protecting the saint's land within the territory. For Neville and many of the soldiers, Raby Castle would have been perceived as a monumental mnemonic of their duty to protect and guard the shrine.

The castle would have invoked experiences of medieval chivalry with its austere and towering architecture (Figure 30). As noted in Chapter 4.3.1., the great hall in medieval castles was often linked to perceptions of awe, ceremonies and grandeur. If visited by the soldiers, the great hall at Raby Castle could prompted a similar experience. The chivalric identity of the soldiers in the Liberty can also be seen in two late 13th/early 14th century knight effigies of the Neville's family, in Coverham Abbey, which had been granted to the family (Figure 31) (HE 1130897). Both of them contain rich imagery of medieval chivalry with swords and crossed legs (Harris, 2010). One of them has a detailed ornament of a chase, which was a visual narrative strongly connected to medieval chivalry (see Chapter 2.1.1.1) and in this context might signify the Liberty's knights' role of pursuing, defending and protecting St Cuthbert's land from evil forces.

To soldiers passing Raby Castle, it would have appeared as a visual reminder of their motivation and cause for war, to protect St Cuthbert's land from the invasion, coupled with medieval perceptions of chivalry. The architecture of the castle, although we do not know its exact 14th century layout, tapped into the chivalric architecture of the time. The castle was therefore linked to the Neville's role and duty, as guardians of the shrine, and arguably also the other regional soldiers who participated.

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Figure 31. Two effigies of knights of the Neville family, dated to 14th century, in Coverham Abbey, Yorkshire. The one to the left contains details of a hunt. Image © Mr David H. Brown. Source: Historic England Archive.

4.3.2.2.3 The River Gaunless and Evenwood

The reconstruction of the route in Chapter 4.2 indicated that the army continued moving on the Roman road through moorlands and crossed the River Gaunless prior to reaching Bishop Auckland. In the medieval imagination, crossing rivers had multiple meanings; on a practical level, rivers were partly associated with fear of drowning, as seen in medieval pilgrim accounts (Candy, 2007, pp. 77–78). In a literary context, rivers also symbolised danger; in the 12-13th century poem about the knight Sir Owain's visit to purgatory, he crossed a bridge over a river of fire which was hell (Le Goff, 1988, p. 90). The water in rivers could also have healing and transforming purposes; they symbolised Christ's baptism in the River Jordan by St John the Baptist (Ross, 1996, p. 30). In the more specific study area, legends about rivers were associated with monsters, such as the legend of the 'Lambton Worm', a huge worm that a crusader named John of Lampton caught in the River Wear (Monaghan, 2004). The legend of Peg Powler, a monster in the River Tees, dragged people into the river who were walking too close (Gomme, 1909, p. 74). The obstacles that rivers posed in the terrain likely influenced their perceptions in the medieval mindset, and in the soldiers' journey.

The soldiers would also have passed the village of Evenwood, which also was one of the villages donated by Cnut to Durham Priory as part of his pilgrimage to the shrine (Hutchinson, 1823, p. 417; Lipscomb, 1888, p. 1). At the time of battle, Evenwood belonged to Lord Ralph Neville, who had been given the village in 1331 by the Bishop Beaumont (Fordyce, 1857, p. 607). Passing Evenwood would have been another experience of marching through St Cuthbert's land, and reinforced the identity of being the defender of his land.

4.3.2.2.4 St Andrew's Church

Prior to arriving at Bishop Auckland, the soldiers passed St Andrew's Church, situated on a small hill overlooking the River Gaunless on a semi-peninsula. The church was first mentioned before the 12th century by Symeon of Durham mentioning two Aucklands,

'Alclit ii', belonging to St Cuthbert (Calvert, 1984, p. 554). The exterior is mainly from the late 12th and early 13th century (Dinnick, 1991, p. 14). The church had two chantries, one dedicated to the Virgin Mary and the other St John the Baptist (Hutchinson, 1823, p. 405).

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Figure 32. The cross monument at St Andrew's Church, Auckland, depicts allegedly the martyrdom of St Andrew. Photo © by kind permission of Judith Calvert.

Beholding the church could have impacted the passing soldiers on multiple levels: as a parish church, it was a place of worship in the landscape, where sacraments and devotions would have taken place. The dedication to St Andrew likely appealed to the regional soldiers, as the devotion to the saint was popular in the Liberty; the coffin of

St Cuthbert had depictions of both St Andrew and St Peter on it (U. Hall, 2006, p. 81). St Wilfrid dedicated the church in Hexham to the saint, and Bede was originally buried at St Andrew's monastery, which he had founded (Crook, 2011, p. 101). St Andrew's cult started to grow among the Anglo-Saxons with several dedications from the 7th and 8th centuries (U. Hall, 2006, pp. 76–77). A chapel dedicated to St Andrew was also built by Elvet Bridge in Durham in the 13th century (HE 1121355). Therefore, considering the broad devotion to St Andrew in the Liberty and his historic connection with St Cuthbert, the church would have impacted the soldiers. Moreover, the noble families and knights would perhaps have been familiar with the saint's martyrdom as portrayed in the *Golden Legend,* dating from c. 1250-80 (Jacobus De Voragine, 1998).

One liminal feature is the cross-monument outside the church, dated to the 10th to 11th century, which has been interpreted as showing either Christ's crucifixion or the Passion of St Andrew (Calvert, 1984) (Figure 32). Above the head of the crucified are the letter *PAS* and on the left side of the cross bar *AND* (U. Hall, 2006, p. 138). Regardless of whether the cross is of Christ's or the saint's crucifixion, it reflects the liminal state of medieval soldiers as potential martyrs (Chapter 2.1.1.1), a spiritual theme especially found among the crusaders (Purkis, 2008; Allen Smith, 2011, p. 158). Being a soldier during the medieval period did not solely entail a duty to provide defence or attack by bearing arms and engaging in violent acts against an enemy; instead, it was a role invested with spiritual duties, a set of ideals, and expected behaviours. In effect, soldiers were perceived as having both military and spiritual roles (Allen Smith, 2008, 2011). The monument therefore emphasises the motif of Christian martyrdom, which could have become part of the experiential journey. It has been noted that the monument was located near the monasteries of Hexham, Wearmouth and Jarrow (Calvert, 1984, p. 554), suggesting that the church was situated near a road or pilgrimage routes. If the soldiers had been familiar with the church previously, or visited it during campaign, it would have been a reflection of their soldier identity and what awaited them.

Another monument related to the soldier identity and liminal state is an effigy of a cross-legged knight in full armour, inside the church, in the north-west corner of the aisle, from c.1340 (HE 1196458). It is a three-dimensional monument, illustrating a

knight, holding his hand in a praying position, with his feet resting upon a boar or lion. Medieval effigies were not purely aesthetic pieces but had their own agency; they 'marked the site where the world of the living intersected the world of the dead' and were therefore also liminal places between earth and the divine (Dressler, 2004, p. 60). Their inscriptions, shape and symbols were meant to engage the senses of the beholder (see Chapter 2.1.1.3). Through the sensory engagement, effigies and other commemorative monuments, such as brasses, encouraged the beholder to pray for the deceased's soul to shorten their time in purgatory (Saul, 2002, 2011, pp. 296–98). It has been suggested that the knight effigy represents someone from the Pollard family, after the legend about Richard Pollard who slew a boar that had been pestering the locals (Richley, 1872, p. 71; Liddy, 2005). The legend says that the bishop promised Pollard that as a reward, he would be granted the land which he managed to ride through before the bishop finished his dinner. Pollard rode around the castle and came back. Therefore, large sections of the surrounding land are called 'Pollard's land' (Liddy, 2005, pp. 79–81; Westwood and Simpson, 2006, p. 223). This established legend would have been known to the soldiers, given the naming of the land, their mutual vocation as soldiers, and the recency of the legend. Considering that the deceased person could have been familiar to soldiers participating in the campaign, the effigy also taps into another theme in medieval chivalry and warfare, namely the element of mourning and commemoration. A recurring theme in romance tales of knights and their quests is mourning and commemorating the fallen, such as Roland who mourns his friends in the *Song of Roland* (11th century) (Cook, 2019, p. 92), also demonstrated by a manuscript illustration from the *Quest of the Holy Grail* (Figure 33). In the English 14th century *Stanzaic Morte Arthur*, Sir Bors also says after battle:

> *Full hendely Sir Bors to him spake,*
> *And said: "Welcome, Sir Ector, iwis;*
> *Here lieth my lord Launcelot du Lake,*
> *For whom that we have morned thus*
> (Benson and Foster, 1994, p. 122).

It is possible that the knight effigies could have had a similar function when beheld by soldiers during campaign and prompting them to meditate on life and death, and to commemorate their earlier fallen friends. The role of emotions has been investigated

recently in terms of how it affected the soldiers' behaviour, somatic experience and usage of places and objects (Downes, Lynch and O'Loughlin, 2015; Brandsma, Larrington and Saunders, 2018; Spencer, 2020). Thus, the effigy could have impacted the soldiers somatically and emotionally, invoking feelings of grief and mourning. It must be remembered that mourning was not seen as something to be avoided in the medieval period, but was in medieval piety part of a 'curative' and transforming experience (Ross, 2014, chap. 1).

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Figure 33. Detail of a miniature of knights grieving over the dead on a battlefield, from *La Queste del Saint Graal*. France, N. 1st quarter of 14th century. Image © British Library, 14 E III f. 159.

The motifs of lions and boars, as found on the effigy, were common motifs on effigies throughout England and symbolised bravery and courage (Kent, 1949; Downing, 1998; Walker-Meikle, 2012, p. 75). The boar appeared in tales from northern England (see Chapter 4.3.2.2.5), but their symbolism originated from the early medieval period; it was a common motif on Anglo-Saxon helmets and featured in stories, such as Beowulf, symbolising courageous warriors and kingship (Speake, 1980, pp. 78–81). They therefore

represented the virtues that were essential for a soldier to nourish and maintain during campaign, namely of bravery, patience and concentration which, in the circumstance of a campaign, could have inspired the soldiers.

4.3.2.2.5 Bishop Auckland

After passing St Andrew's Church, the soldiers reached Bishop Auckland, either via smaller paths or by following the River Gaunless, as reconstructed in Chapter 4.2.1-3. The literary description of the campaign confirms that the soldiers stayed at Bishop Auckland, and that it was 'in a pleasant wood [...] and rested there all night at ease' (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998b, p. 143). The analysis of Bishop Auckland as a named place identified the castle and the bishop's park as the place where the soldiers gathered (Chapter 4.2.1.2).

The bishop's palace contained in the mid-14th century a large park and garden for hunting, cattle and cultivation (Creighton, 2013, p. 127). Similar to the castles in Barnard Castle and Raby, Auckland Castle was built to protect and guard certain tracts of land and therefore held a strategic position in the landscape. Its importance as a nodal point is also evidenced by that bishops' palaces were sometimes also used for judicial meetings and decision-makings (Miller, 2000, p. 30).

It is plausible that the palace had a symbolic meaning to the soldiers as in the literary descriptions, as it was distinguished as a place of peace and harmony. Perhaps this is not surprising as bishops' palaces often were an enclosed swathe of land with animals, vegetation and flourishing wild life (Rollason, 2017). Usually, their garden was a space where they grew herbs and other vegetables (Miller, 2000, p. 30), similar to the monastic gardens which were also connected to healing, contemplation and peace (Touwaide and Dendle, 2008; Creighton, 2013, pp. 45–52). It was a place to be enjoyed, rest and safety, as parks were either for pleasure, both for hunting, and a more 'passive' enjoyment, such

as an 'admiration of landscape' (Pluskowski, 2006, p. 63). In comparison with the space outside, Auckland illustrated a harmonised and peaceful place, an enclosed 'taming' of the wilderness (Sandidge, 2012). This related to the monastic 'taming of desert' which meant, roughly, to make desolate landscapes fruitful and growing (Burton and Kerr, 2011, pp. 15, 56–58). This 'taming' was particularly found in medieval stories about saints (Crane, 2012). The medieval soldier had a similar task, for instance in Pollard's hunt and slaughter of the boar (Chapter 4.3.2.2.5), a way to keep the landscape tamed. At Bishop Auckland, the landscape was already tamed and was in the medieval mindset, a *locus amoenus,* a place associated with paradise (Miller, 1986; Howe, 2002, pp. 210–12), and biblical places, such as the Garden of Eden (Meyvaert, 1986, pp. 50–51). Its place of order, harmony, peace and protection meant that the soldiers could remove their weapons and rest. Auckland Castle and park therefore created a symbolic dwelling for the army as they stayed there, the opposite to the *locus horribilis* and the wilderness, as the extensive moorland they had passed earlier. It would have been well-known among the regional soldiers, considering it was one of the bishop's oldest parks (Drury, 2017, p. 142), and the town was a nodal place in the region.

The *Anonimalle Chronicle* and the *Lanercost Chronicle* reveal that it was here that 'the English confessed themselves, knelt and devotedly prayed for God's aid, and took Holy Communion' (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998b, p. 143). Occasionally priests accompanied medieval armies, and we are told in the *Anonimalle Chronicle* that the Archbishop of York was part of the troop (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998b, p. 143). The bishop and potential accompanying priests could have administered the sacraments which usually were part of the spiritual journey to battle (Bachrach, 2003b, 2003a). The sacraments were central to medieval beliefs about salvation and the afterlife (Rubin, 1991), and were an element in the knighting rituals, which included making a confession before attending Mass (de Charny 2005, 91). In Jean le Bel's chronicle, he describes how the English made confessions before battle, during the border campaign in 1327: 'each man made confession and his last testament, knowing he would live or die that day, and the king ordered many masses to be said to give communion to those so inclined' (Le Bel and Bryant, 2011, p. 45).

The sacraments administered at Auckland were in this context likely performed to prepare the soldiers for death; the Eucharist was 'the heavenly food of his [Christ's] own body' (Kaeuper, 2001, p. 56). The confessions were made to confess sins and to reconcile with God. Sir Gawain felt a 'sense of relief' after he had made his confession (Putter, 1995, p. 37), emphasising the spiritual and mental importance of it. The events at Auckland were substantial elements of the soldiers' interior preparation for battle, and potential death.

4.3.2.2.6 Merrington and Ferryhill

After refreshing themselves physically and spiritually at Bishop Auckland, the soldiers continued slightly north-east, towards Merrington. No connecting roads of medieval origin has been traced, which might suggest that the soldiers crossed the moorland on smaller paths or the fields. Leaving this place associated with peace, to crossing rural moorlands would have been another physical, emotional and spiritual transition. The area between Merrington and Sunderland Bridge was a wasteland (Dodd, 1897, p. 2; Lomas, 1998, pp. 73, 68), which might explain the place-name of Merrington which allegedly derives from 'estate associated with a man called Mǣra', or from the OE *mǣring* meaning 'conspicuous place', or 'boundary place' (Mills, 2011, 'Kirk Merrington').

Merrington and Ferryhill were both named places and described as the locations of smaller skirmishes between the English and Scottish soldiers. They were also mentioned to have a symbolic intent. *Lanercost Chronicle* describes that:

> *[...] while the Scots were ravaging the town of Merrington, bad weather and thick fog suddenly descended upon them. Hearing the noise of horses and the sound of armed men, there fell on them such terrible dread that William and those with him were unsure which way to turn* (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998d, p. 138).

The reference to bad weather usually had a rhetorical function in medieval literature, often to mark a stage of transition (Wiseman, 2009, p. 75; Byrne, 2015, p. 163). However,

in this context of the campaign, it might be interpreted as a result of St Cuthbert's intervention in the battle: medieval writers claim that the saint intervened in the campaign, for instance when he appeared and prophesied where the battle was to take place (Arvanigian and Leopold, 1998g, p. 148). Another, although earlier, English legend told that St Cuthbert caused a fog to prevent William the Conqueror's men to discover the murderer of a Norman earl (Marner, 2000, chap. 2). These examples suggest that it was believed that Cuthbert had the powers to influence the weather for protection and perhaps that the saint protected Merrington from the Scottish attack. The neighbouring Ferryhill was one of Durham Priory's townships and had earlier been granted to the Community of St Cuthbert (Rushworth *et al.*, 2005, p. 160), which further highlights the link between the area and Cuthbert.

Both Ferryhill and Merrington were nucleated villages, which were common in medieval County Durham (Roberts and Wrathmell, 2002, p. 95; Roberts, 2008) Ferryhill was situated near the Great North Road, which linked the village with other parts of the country. The legend about Roger Ferie and his killing of the Boar of Brancepeth, remembered both in Ferie's burial and the Cleeve's Cross in Ferryhill, further explain the medieval sense of the villages, as populated nuclear settlements in a rural landscape.

4.3.2.2.7 Sunderland Bridge

After leaving Ferryhill, the soldiers used, potentially, the Great North Road, a journey of c. 3.5 miles, before reaching Sunderland Bridge, where there was a small skirmish between the two armies (Arvanigian and Leopold, 2004, p. 153). As mentioned, the area leading up to Sunderland Bridge was a large wasteland, stretching from Sunderland Bridge to Merrington (Lomas, 1998; Arthur, 2009, p. 42). This is also evidenced by the place-name of Spennymoor, meaning 'thorny moor' which was nearby (Mills, 2011, 'Spennymoor'). The Great North Road itself was perceived as being located in uncultivated lands: the road was the place of a robbery in a Robin Hood tale, although further south, near Doncaster (Melrose, 2017, p. 210). Travelling was perceived as dangerous and associated with many physical and spiritual dangers in the medieval

period. For the soldiers marching there, the landscape of 'fear' became part of their liminal experience.

The mentioning of Sunderland Bridge in the written sources (see Chapter 4.2.1.4), suggests that the authors referred specifically to the bridge, as Sunderland Bridge was not a village itself yet. Instead, the nearest village was Croxdale, to the east. Croxdale was first recorded in the 12th century as *Crokesteil* meaning 'Croc's piece of land', but another legend is that the place-name comes from the cross that was put up there (KP D6776) (Dodd, 1897, p. 6), due to the need to sanctify the ground. The cross might be the cross-base found in St Bartholomew's Chapel. Near Croxdale Hall was a small rivulet without sunlight, which was believed to harbour evil spirits (Dodd, 1897, p. 6), which reflects the general perceptions of the area of a large wasteland.

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Figure 34. Detail from The Queen Mary Psalter, showing two devils pushing a sacristan off a bridge and the Virgin Mary rescuing him. England, between 1310-1320. Image © British Library, Royal 2 B VII f. 213v.

In the medieval imagination, bridges and crossing-points were seen as liminal and associated with rituals of passages, transformation or as metaphors for trials (Figure 34).

In the 12th century *Chevalier de la Charrette,* the knight Tristan had to cross over a bridge in order to reach the Land of Gorre (Hibbard, 1913). The bridge itself was shaped as a sword and symbolised his trials and bravery in crossing it. In medieval texts, 'the bridge is both purgatorial as well as an infernal symbol; it suggests both the possibility of a passage to safety and the potential for a downfall' (Zaleski, 1988, p. 68). These cultural perceptions of bridges can also be found in the archaeological evidence of bridges: intentional deposits have been found near bridges (Lund, 2005), and chapels were often built next to bridges. The chapels underscored the spiritual and emotional significance of crossing bridges, where the priest could offer blessings or Masses for the travellers (Steane, 2014, p. 112). Occasionally hermits lived at bridges and were responsible for their maintenance, highlighting the liminal meaning attached to them.

Crossing a bridge could thus be seen as an act of transition (Locker, 2017), moving from one space to another. It was particularly evident at Sunderland Bridge as the soldiers would have arrived in another parish and moved closer to the sacred place of Durham after crossing: north of the bridge was the parish of St Oswald, whose parish church was in the city of Durham. Moreover, the fact that a fight took place there could also signify that it was a meeting place, or that the crossroad connected many roads from different directions which accidentally led both armies there. Bridges were often used as meeting places; a later example is the Kershope Bridge which was a meeting point for the Wardens of the Marches during several occasions during the 14th – 15th centuries (Mack, 1926, p. 163). Crossing at Sunderland Bridge acted as an important rite de passage, marking the boundary between the 'outer' side and Durham's precinct where it was one of the last 'obstacles' before reaching the Durham peninsula.

There is other evidence in the locality which has a 'preparatory' element, similar to the bridge. A well where Cuthbert's relics once had been kept was located at Holywell, west of Sunderland Bridge on the Neville's land. In the medieval period, holy wells were perceived as having miraculous or purifying powers. Another well in the Liberty dedicated St Cuthbert outside Bellingham, Northumberland, had miraculous affects; Symeon of Durham describes in the *Libellus*, how a paralysed girl was healed there (Hope, 1893, pp. 104–05). In the regional context, its patron saint Cuthbert, and local

people and pilgrims' association with him, further underscored Holywell's importance in the landscape and the impact it would have had on people. Considering the well's close proximity to the potential Great North Road, it might have been a preparatory site for pilgrims to engage with, and in this case, for the soldiers, to venerate and seek healing before next clash with the Scottish. This 'preparatory' site aligns with pilgrim rituals which were performed before reaching the goal; there are many records of how pilgrims experienced St James' protection as they walked on the pilgrimage routes to Compostela, where St James' relics were kept (Ashley and Deegan, 2009, p. 193). Hence, for the soldiers, engaging somatically with a well dedicated to St Cuthbert, through washing or drinking its water, was a devotional act to invoke the saint's aid in the coming battle, remembering that the saint's presence and power within the Liberty was strong.

4.3.3 Arrival

4.3.3.1. Neville's Cross

After having crossed Sunderland Bridge, the soldiers continued marching or riding on the Great North Road, which crossed moorlands, until they encountered the Scots outside Durham. The literary descriptions of the *place* showed that it was perceived as an open space outside Durham: the *Scotichronicon,* for instance, describes that they 'took up their position on the same moor at a certain place near Durham beside the cross which is called Neville's Cross' (Arvanigian and Leopold, 2004, p. 153). The archaeological evidence shows that it took place near Crossgate, which indicates that it was situated near a gate through the city wall. Durham Cathedral and castle and their associated areas had mainly been enclosed by the 12th century wall but the Market Square was not enclosed until likely 1315, after a petition, as a consequence from a Scottish attack in 1312 (Creighton and Higham, 2005, p. 96). Town walls often provided separation and exclusion, but did not necessarily protect the town in its entirety, rather only some parts of it (Creighton and Higham, 2005, p. 214). The zone outside town gates was often seen as an 'outside space'; gates were often seen as marginal in the medieval

concept of walled towns and they were often the location of gaols and executions (Creighton and Higham, 2005, p. 171).

The archaeological evidence in the nearby area includes Sherburn leper hospital, situated to the east of the hypothetical route, north of the city was Keiper Hospital, and Dryburn Hospital were also executions took place. In the vicinity of the battlefield was also St Leonard's Hospital, a medieval leper hospital founded in 1292, famous for being a burial place of criminals who had been executed (Page, 1907, p. 123). Another feature adjacent to the battle was Maiden's Bower, a prehistoric mound, where a group of monks brought Cuthbert's relics and a pyx during the battle.

Figure 35. The remnants of Neville's Cross today. Photo © Author.

The place of battle appears to have taken place in a landscape directly opposed to the 'order' of the town. It shared the same space as hospitals, which were usually situated in 'marginal' places (Gilchrist, 1992; Harvey, 2006, p. 169). Therefore, it was not a known place already, save its brief association with the cross-monument, which was the Anglo-Saxon monument directing pilgrims (Figure 35). It also shows that the battle took place

in a non-place, i.e. it existed only in relation to other archaeological features in the landscape.

4.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has had two aims: to propose the most likely route that the English soldiers used before the battle of Neville's Cross, and to examine how they perceived their journey. The analysis resulted in that the soldiers used a Roman road, smaller paths/crossed the terrain, and possibly the Great North Road, between the named places before battle.

The journey took place in the Liberty of Durham, and the campaign started at the Liberty's southern boundary at Barnard Castle. The inhabitants of the Liberty perceived themselves as the *haliwerfolc*, the holy people of St Cuthbert, and several writers mentioning the battle also saw the Scot's defeat in battle as a result of attacking the saint's land. The sense of the region was also linked to the soldier identity of being guardians of St Cuthbert's land, evidenced by the record of gentry in the Liberty who refused to fight outside the Liberty's border in 1300 (Spencer, 2011, p. 105).

Most of the sites that the soldiers passed were associated with St Cuthbert: several villages had been donated to Durham Priory by King Cnut after his pilgrimage there in the mid-11th century. The Neville family was a prominent family, owning land south of Durham, who had been appointed to guard St Cuthbert's shrine. Moreover, many of the roads that the soldiers used were utilised by the bishop, moving between his palaces, and pilgrims, making their way to the cathedral. These examples further emphasise the impact St Cuthbert had on the soldier experience of the journey.
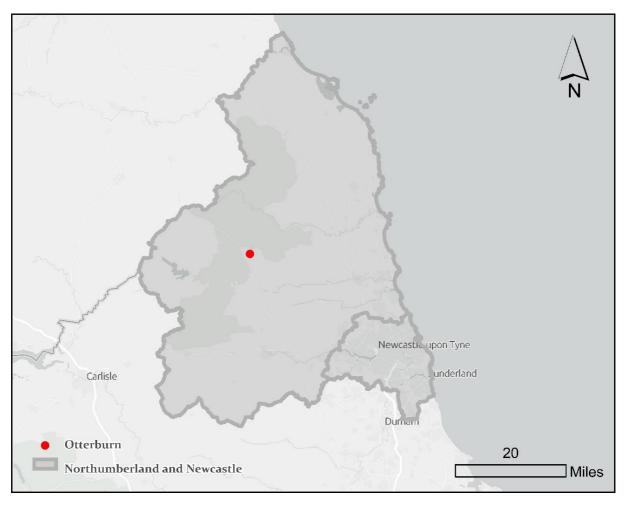
Other important places that the soldiers passed were associated with the soldier identity of chivalry, martyrdom and commemoration, popular among the crusaders and the English medieval chivalry: the soldiers would have engaged somatically with the St Andrew's cross-monument, a knight effigy and the Boar of Brancepeth monument. They

passed places imbued by different meanings: at Bishop Auckland, the bishop's palace was described as a place of peace with both Biblical and symbolic meanings. At Merrington and Ferryhill, archaeological, folkloric and historical evidence suggests the landscape was associated with fear and danger. Overall, the places illustrate the different realms that soldiers moved through.

Therefore, the results suggest that the meaning of the soldiers' journey could be linked to their incentive for war, i.e. to guard St Cuthbert's land, and their regional and broader medieval soldier identities as *haliwerfolc*. The journey encompassed a physical, mental and spiritual preparation by invoking Cuthbert's aid, perhaps by engaging with St Cuthbert's well, and the sacraments. The soldiers' sensory engagement with the landscape was shaped by motifs of chivalry, martyrdom and saints. The 'transitions' between different realms, such as from the peace and harmony of Auckland Park to the threats and dangers at Merrington and its surrounding wasteland, were opportunities for penance, growth in chivalric virtues of courage, and were part of the experience of journeying. Therefore, the soldiers' conduct and motivation for war, together with their knowledge of the region, shaped their perceptions of their journey.

5. Case Study 3. The Battle of Otterburn, 1388

The aim of this chapter is to examine the meaning of the journey to the Battle of Otterburn to the soldiers, by reconstructing their route, and investigating their perceptions of the landscape as they journeyed on the route. Based on the methodology in Chapter 2.2, the analysis will propose the most likely route by compiling written, archaeological and topographical evidence to identify route corridors in the landscape. Then the analysis will explore how the soldiers experienced their journey through the landscape, from a phenomenological perspective of liminality, place and space, and the medieval senses. Contrary to the other case studies, this analysis will focus on both the English and Scottish soldiers' respective routes and experiences. The chapter will start by presenting the historical context of battle and critically assessing the evidence.

Map 25. The case study is situated in today's county of Northumberland. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic England 2020. Map created by author.

5.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE CASE STUDY

The Battle of Otterburn, hereafter *Otterburn,* took place in Otterburn in Northumberland, sometime in August in 1388 (Maps 25-26). Its exact date has been disputed; both 5th or 19th August have been suggested, although the 5th is most likely as Douglas, the leader of the Scottish army, had already passed away on 18th (Macdonald, 2000, p. 107; Lomas, 2007, p. 59). The village of Otterburn was located in the Liberty of Redesdale, a lordship separate from the royal administration of the county of Northumberland (Stringer, 2010), which in turn was situated in the medieval Middle March. The March was founded in 1381, after the death of the last Umfraville, Earl of Angus, whose family had held the whole of the liberty of Redesdale since after the Conquest (Neville, 1998, p. 69). It covered Redesdale, Tynedale and Hexham and some land between Newcastle and Roxburgh (Neville, 2008, p. 69). The battle happened after the ending of an Anglo-Scottish treaty, which had resulted in several cross-border skirmishes in 1385 (King and Etty, 2015, pp. 57–59). In 1388, the Scots took advantage of the political instability in England and launched three attacks: in one of the invasions, according to various chronicles, Earl Douglas and 6,000 men moved towards Durham, and on their return Sir Henry Percy with his men met them at Newcastle. After withdrawing northward from Newcastle, the Scots attacked Otterburn Tower, and were there attacked by the English later. One of the written sources, Froissart's *Chronicle,* gave rise to the legend which has come to shape the popular and chivalric perceptions of the battle: the legend claimed that the Earl Douglas stole Percy's pennon from his lance at Newcastle, which Percy vowed to take back (Froissart and Brereton, 1978, p. 339). Percy pursued Douglas until Otterburn, where the battle then took place.

The battle is one of the most researched Anglo-Scottish battles largely due to its famous dispute between the Douglas and Percy families, the multiple written accounts of the battle, the folkloric tales related to chivalry and the border culture, and because of the few pitched battles that took place along the border (Addleshaw, 1952; Fowler, 1966; Goodman, 1992a, p. 4; Armstrong and Walsh, 2006). In 1992, a volume was published edited by Goodman and Tuck (1992), which, although not entirely focused on the battle, does include several chapters relating to the battlefield's location, the political and

historical circumstances of battle and the legends that arose afterwards. It has therefore received attention, from both an English and Scottish scholarly perspective. The battlefield location has also been much debated and several suggestions of its location have been proposed (Wesencraft, 1988; Tyson, 1992; HE, 1995c; Armstrong and Walsh, 2006). Notably, the soldiers' route to the battle has been mentioned by scholars, nevertheless, no rigorous analysis has been conducted to understand why they chose a particular route. The current suggestions have mainly been based on assumptions without any supporting evidence; the attempts have relied heavily on the named places in the historical sources and each other's accounts (Wesencraft, 1988; Tyson, 1992; Armstrong and Walsh, 2006). This chapter will first discuss and assess the sources and evidence of the battle, followed by the two-staged analysis.

5.1.1 Sources

5.1.1.1 Historical evidence

The battle was mentioned by several authors from both English and Scottish perspectives which indicates that the battle must have been well-known in the region (Table 6). The lengthiest account of the battle is Froissart*'s Chronicle* (Froissart and Bourchier, 1816, pp. 632–58; Froissart and Brereton, 1978, pp. 335–48), written by Jean Froissart, from Hainault in the Low Countries, then part of the Empire, who allegedly interviewed participants on both sides after the battle and then composed his account (Burne, 2005, p. 193). Froissart gave a detailed and long description of the events leading up to the battle, notably the theft of the pennon, and both armies' movements. The Scottish sources consist of the *Scotichronicon* (Bower, 1996, pp. 415–19), and Wyntoun's *Chronicle* (Andrew of Wyntoun and Lain, 1879, pp. 35–39). The English versions are Thomas Walsingham's *Chronica Majora* (Walsingham *et al.*, 2003), the *Chronicle of John Harding* (Hardyng *et al.*, 1812, pp. 342–43), the *Chronicle of Henry Knighton* (Knighton and Martin, 1995, pp. 505–07), and the *Westminster Chronicle* (Hector and Harvey, 1982,

pp. 347–51) (which was a continuation of Higden's *Polychronicon*). The *Scotichronicon*, and several other accounts were written almost contemporary with the battle. As usual with medieval chronicles, it is probable that writers copied each other's accounts, which is apparent in the similar narratives of the battle: Earl Douglas and his men arrived at Newcastle, then withdrew, and Percy with his men followed and then attacked them near Otterburn.

Apart from the chronicles, at least two ballads were composed about the battle, such as the ballad by Thomas de Barry, 'The Battle of Otterburn', which is included in *Scotichronicon* (Bower, 1996, pp. 421–43). Another ballad but from an English perspective, the 'Chevy Chase', stemmed from the early 15th century (Perry, 2010). Scholars have partly consulted the ballads to reconstruct the soldiers' routes (Wesencraft, 1988). Nevertheless, it must be remembered that the ballads do not represent historical facts but rather convey 'the atmosphere and spirit of time and place' (Sitwell, 1948, p. 56). Therefore, the ballads will not be considered in the proposal of physical route below, but in the subsequent section on the phenomenological route.

As mentioned earlier, medieval chronicles must always be studied cautiously, taking account their bias, time-period and intended audience (Boardman, 1997; Given-Wilson, 2004). Some of the chronicles were written long after the battle, however, Froissart's *Chronicle* was written by someone who had interviewed surviving soldiers of the battle, although we must not rely too heavily on his account which scholars previously have warned about (Tyson, 1992, p. 89). Other chronicles that were roughly contemporary with the battle were John Harding's *Chronicle*, Knighton's *Chronicle*, and partly the *Scotichronicon*. However, the purpose of employing the written sources in this study is to reconstruct the soldiers' itinerary, and not to perform thorough textual analyses. Therefore, the details we seek to extract from the sources will be analysed in light of supporting archaeological evidence.

Name	Date	Author	Location	Type
Jean Froissart's *Chronicle*	14th C	Jean Froissart	France and England	Chronicle
The Chronicle of John Harding[12]	the 1450s and 1460s	John Harding	Northern England	Chronicle
Scotichronicon	15th C	Walter Bower (plus ballad by Thomas de Barry, Glasgow canon of Bothwile)	Incholm Abbey, Scotland	Chronicle
Henry Knighton's *Chronicle*	Second half of 14th century	Henry Knighton, Augustinian Canon	St Mary of the Meadows, Leicester	Chronicle
Westminster Chronicle	End 14th century	Unknown	London	Chronicle
Chronica Majora	14th century	Thomas Walsingham, Benedictine monk	St Albans Abbey	Chronicle
Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland	14-15th C	Andrew Wyntoun, Prior St Serf's Inch	St Serf's Inch, Loch Leven	Chronicle
Ballad of Chevy Chase	Early 15th century	Unknown	Northumberland	Ballad
The Battle of Otterburn	14th century	Thomas de Barry	Scotland	Ballad
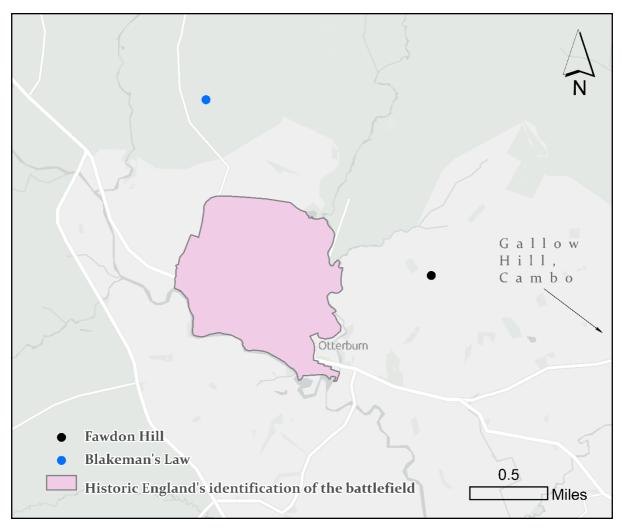
Table 6. List of all the historical sources mentioning the Otterburn campaign. Table © Author.

5.1.1.2 Archaeological evidence

The battlefield of Otterburn is part of Historic England's Register of Historic Battlefields and has been located c. one mile north-west of today's village of Otterburn (Maps 25-26). HE's assessment was based on both archaeological and literary descriptions of the battle, although, as acknowledged by HE, the descriptions of the exact location are sparse (HE, 1995c, p. 1).

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[12] Harding was born c.1378 but did not write his chronicle until the late 1450s/early 1460s. He wrote two versions, a 'Lancastrian' version, intended for presentation to Henry VI, and a revised 'Yorkist' version, for presentation to Edward IV, though both cover Otterburn (see Summerson, 2004).

Map 26. Historic England's identified battlefield is situated west of Otterburn. Other suggestions of the battlefield's location are in the vicinity. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic England 2020. Map created by author.

The identified area is positioned slightly north-east of today's road A696 and the River Rede, measuring a roughly circular area c. 1 mile in diameter (Map 26). The area covers the River Rede, which runs north-south through the landscape, and is framed by the Otter Burn to the east. It is bordered by the Cross Plantation to the north and Holt Wood to the west (HE, 1995c, p. 8). Overall, the area is surrounded by hills and marshy terrain and situated a good distance from other contemporary settlements (Figure 36). The nearest larger village is Elsdon which is c. 3 miles away.

Historic England based one part of their identification process on the Percy Cross, a monument stemming from the battle, which allegedly marks the place where Percy was

captured (HE 1044864) (Figure 37). The current monument consists of the reused socket of the original Battle Stone, which was located c. 150 yards away (Sitwell, 1948, p. 56). HE also used the detailed textual descriptions of the battle, the attacks and strategy, to reconstruct where the battle took place.
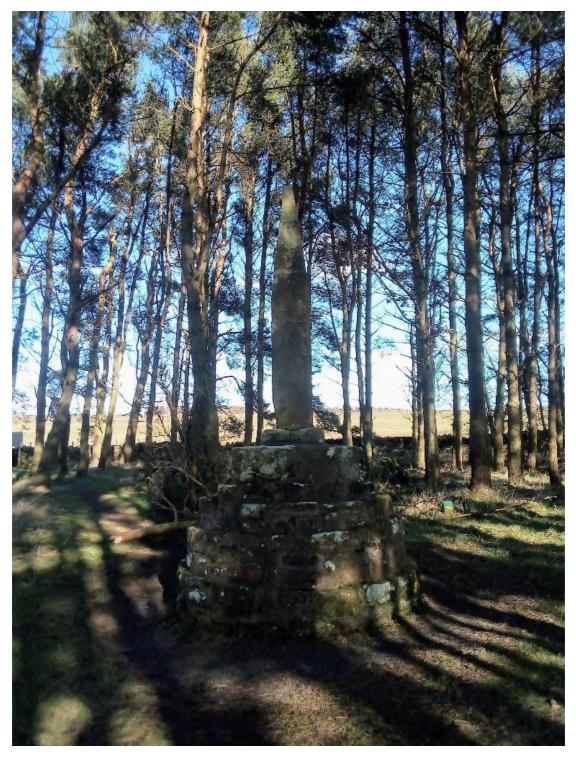
Scholars have suggested other battle locations using similar methodologies as HE (Map 26): C.F Wesencraft argued that the battle did not take place at Otterburn at all, but at Gallow hill, Cambo, over 10 miles south-east, and that the Scots in fact attacked Cambo Tower (Wesencraft, 1988, pp. 9, 17). Furthermore, Peter Armstrong argued that the battle took place slightly north, in the slope of Blakeman's Law (Armstrong and Walsh, 2006, p. 92). R.H Walton proposed that the battle took place by Fawdon Hill, north of Otterburn where there is a prehistoric hillfort (Walton, 1961). Another proposition, which corresponds to HE's, was made by Colin Tyson, who after critically assessing previous attempts, suggested that the English and Scottish soldiers' route must be analysed in order to understand where the battle took place. He proposed that the battle location is north-west of Otterburn, similar to HE's identification (Tyson, 1992, pp. 76–77). Despite suggesting that the route to battle can reveal a better understanding of the battlefield's location, Tyson did not spend too much time analysing the soldiers' actual route; he only listed some of the main settlements in the campaign landscape. He argued that they passed Cambo, Steng Cross and Belsay (Tyson, 1992, p. 76). Other scholars proposed alternative routes; according to Wesencraft, the soldiers used a route by Ponteland, Belsay, and Wallington (Wesencraft, 1988, p. 13), then arriving to Cambo Castle where he argues the battle took place (Wesencraft, 1988, pp. 9, 17). He further argued that the English used another route which went north-east of Newcastle towards Elsdon (Wesencraft, 1988, p. 17). Peter Armstrong suggested that the armies went between Ponteland, Belsay, Scots Gap and Elsdon (Armstrong and Walsh, 2006, p. 54).

These suggested routes are all plausible, considering that the villages were main points in the region; however, none of the authors used any archaeological or topographical evidence to underpin their suggestions. Neither has the route been studied within the context of medieval journeying and how the soldiers might have experienced the journey, although the historical sources indicate a link to a hunt, with Douglas's theft

of Percy's pennon. It shows that previous research has largely been shaped by battlefield archaeology's objective to identify battlefields in the landscape. Therefore, despite the substantial research interest in the battle, there has been no investigation of the battlefield from a novel perspective of a context of medieval journeying. Previous studies have failed to connect the archaeological landscape of campaign with the literary and experiential sense of campaign as a hunt. The criticism presented in the literature review (Chapter 1.2), applies to Otterburn, which as a consequence requires a new investigation of the campaign landscape.

Figure 36. Photo of the battlefield, facing slightly north-west from the Percy Monument. It demonstrates the flat and hilly terrain in the surroundings. The Scottish border is behind the horizon. Photo © Author.

Figure 37. The Percy Cross, allegedly marking the site where Percy was captured. Photo © Author.

5.2 PROPOSED ROUTE

The purpose of this section is to propose the likeliest route or routes that the English and Scottish soldiers used prior to battle, by analysing the historic, archaeological, and topographical evidence in ArcGIS Pro. First, the named places will be identified and analysed as *places* following the three themes outlined in Chapter 2.2.1.2. The next step is to identify route corridors in the terrain, i.e. parts of the landscape that indicate the possibility of mobility, as *space*, by studying the archaeological and topographical evidence between the named places. The analysis will result in a map showing the *hypothetical ro*ute, the most likely route or routes the soldiers took.

5.2.1 Named places

The first step in the analysis is to analyse the named places, i.e. the sites mentioned in the historical sources that were part of the campaign (only chronicles, not ballads). These are fixed points in the soldiers' movements and will act as the foundation for the reconstruction of the route. The places will be analysed in order to first, identify and orient the study area of the campaign and select which part of the route can be reconstructed. The second aim is to understand what kind of route-network they could have been part of, and what usages/what users might have used routes leading there (e.g. trade, pilgrims). Therefore, they will be analysed in terms of their literary description, landscape location, and key built structures.

The list of named places mentioned in the sources can be seen in Table 7 and Map 27. Due to the rich number of written accounts of the battle, and also considering that both the English and Scottish armies will be considered here, some preliminary comments must be made on the approach. As mentioned, Froissart's *Chronicle* mentions five sites: Jedburgh, 'Zoden', Newcastle, Ponteland and Otterburn. Jedburgh was the first mustering point for the Scottish soldiers, before they gathered at 'Zoden'/'Zedon'. What Zodon stands for has been interpreted differently (considering Froissart's difficulties with the language), with Southdean Church being a strong suggestion (White, 1857, p.
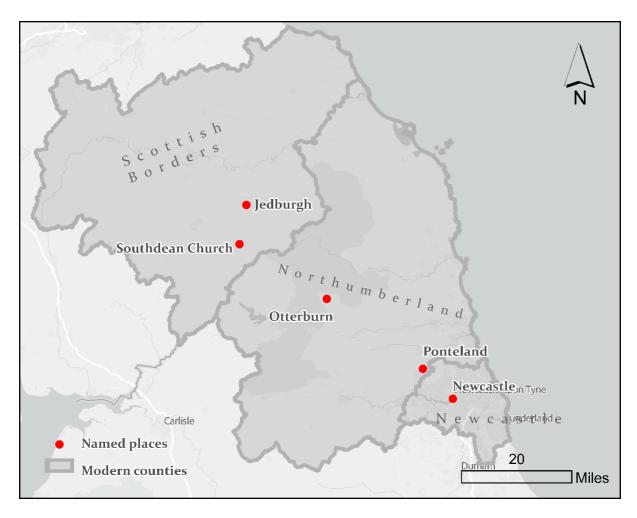
23; RCAHMS, 1956, pp. 419–20; Armstrong and Walsh, 2006, p. 34). It is also known as 'Souden' (RCAHMS, 1956, p. 419). Kirk Yetholm has also been suggested (Froissart and Brereton, 1978, p. 336). This thesis will argue that Southdean is a much more likely option, considering its name and strategic location (Chapter 5.2.1.2). *Scotichronicon* and *Westminster Chronicle* mention Newcastle as the English soldiers' mustering point and where the Scottish attacked, and they also mention Otterburn as the place of battle. Only Froissart mentions Ponteland where the Scottish attacked the tower. The distances between these five places are long because of their locations in Northumberland and the Scottish Borders. However, the analysis requires that the departure point is included to grasp the full meaning of the medieval journey (Chapter 2.2.2). Therefore, the analysis will consider Southdean, as the last (known) Scottish mustering point, and then Newcastle, Ponteland and Otterburn.

Named place	Mentioned in	Number of quotations
Jedburgh	Froissart's *Chronicle*	1
Zoden (Southdean Church)	Froissart's *Chronicle*	1
Newcastle	Froissart's *Chronicle*, *Scotichronicon, Westminster Chronicle, Wyntoun's Chronicle,*	3
Ponteland	Froissart's *Chronicle*	1
Otterburn	All	7

Table 7. List of the named places mentioned in the chronicles, associated with the Otterburn campaign. References to the quotations can be found in the analysis below. Table © Author.

Another question concerns whether the two armies used different roads. Froissart describes that the English 'left Newcastle in the late afternoon and set out in good order on the same route which the Scots had taken to Otterburn' (Froissart and Brereton, 1978, p. 340). This suggests that the English soldiers followed the Scottish footsteps, which is probable in light of the limited number of routes in the region. This question will be discussed throughout the analysis, likewise whether Ponteland, only mentioned

by Froissart, could have been passed on the way. The study will below focus on the four named places Southdean Church, Newcastle, Ponteland and Otterburn.

Map 27. There are five named places associated with the campaign, referred to in the chronicles. Considering the scope of the thesis, Jedburgh will not be included. Southdean will instead be studied as the Scottish soldiers' departure point. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic England and Historic Environment Scotland 2020. Map created by author.

5.2.1.1 Newcastle

5.2.1.1.1 Literary description

Froissart describes in his *Chronicle* that 'the three Scottish earls [...] halted outside Newcastle for two days. There was skirmishing during most of each day' (Froissart and

Brereton, 1978, p. 338). The *Westminster Chronicle* reveals that the Scots 'reached the gates of Newcastle, where they launched a spirited attack upon our forces' (Hector and Harvey, 1982, p. 347). The *Scotichronicon* writes that Sir James Douglas 'led his army in burning and ravaging as far as Newcastle', where they 'made an assault' (Bower, 1996, p. 415). It was also the place where the English army gathered, led by Sir Ralph Percy, the younger son of the Earl of Northumberland, before they followed the Scots to Otterburn. Froissart's *Chronicle* says: 'the English assemble their forces at Newcastle. Their leader, the Earl of Northumberland, sends his two sons there, Henry Percy the younger (Hotspur) and Ralph' (Froissart and Brereton, 1978, p. 338). The *Scotichronicon* declares that 'inside Newcastle all the armed levies of Northumbria from the city of York (northwards) [...] were waiting under Sir Henry Percy' (the Earl of Northumberland's eldest son) (Bower, 1996, pp. 415–17), and the *Westminster Chronicle* says that Sir Henry Percy was 'in Newcastle at that time' (Hector and Harvey, 1982, p. 347). A 16th century translation of Froissart's *Chronicle* writes that 'all the English knights and squires of the country of York and bishopric of Durham were assembled at Newcastle' (Froissart and Bourchier, 1816, p. 638). The literary descriptions reveal that Newcastle was a deliberate target of the attack of the Scots, and that the English also mustered there. Overall, the descriptions suggest that the campaign was a regional affair as several Scottish and English gentry families from near the border participated.

5.2.1.1.2 Landscape location

Newcastle is located c. 9 miles off the east coast in central Northumberland, by the River Tyne, which runs through the city (Map 28). It is framed in the south-west by the North Pennines and north-west by the Kielder Park. The place-name comes either from Robert Curthose, William I's oldest son, who built the castle (Graves and Heslop, 2013, pp. 100–01), or from the Latin *Novum Castellum* meaning 'New castle', first recorded in 1130 (Beckensall, 1992, p. 40). Newcastle was a nodal point in the Northumberland landscape at the time of battle, due to this central location, which was well-connected via the river,

and several road-systems. Reconstructions of the medieval town demonstrates that it was framed by a wall, with several gates that connected the town with roads (Graves and Heslop, 2013).

It was feasibly connected by roads to Scotland; Froissart mentions that the Scottish earls decided that Earl Douglas with his men 'will take the Newcastle road' (Froissart and Brereton, 1978, p. 338), suggesting there was direct road between Newcastle and Jedburgh. Inside the town, Pilgrim Street was one of the largest streets (*vicus peregrinorum* mentioned in 1230) (Harbottle and Clack, 1976, p. 118), and has been suggested was used by pilgrims as they made their way to Durham, St Andrew's in Scotland or the shrine of Our Lady in Jesmond (Webb, 2000, pp. 229–30). Newcastle was the fourth wealthiest town in England during the 14th century and developed into an important trading town, trading wool, lead and coal (Arvanigian, 2006; Graves and Heslop, 2013; Palliser, 2014, p. 11), which might explain why the town was a target for the Scottish attack. Compared to the rural and less inhabited landscapes of Northumberland, Newcastle was an urban environment and northern fortress. Before Otterburn, it was involved in the border conflict, as both the Earl of Northumberland, and King David I of Scotland had occupied the town over time (Purdue, 2012), and it was attacked several times, such as in 1342.
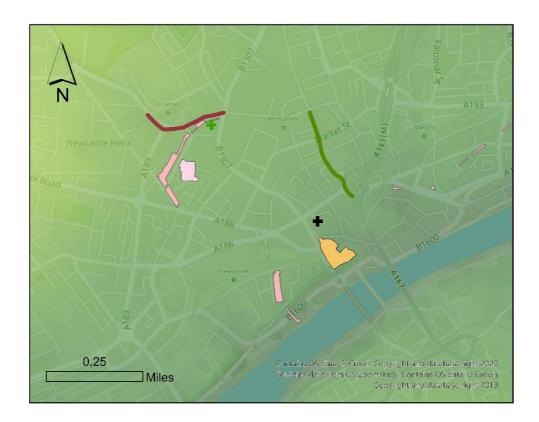
5.2.1.1.3 Key built structures

The key built features of Newcastle at the time of battle can be seen in Map 28. Historic maps and reconstructions illustrate how the town of Newcastle has developed over time and the features that existed at the time of battle. Reconstructed maps from the medieval and post-medieval period show how only the core of today's city constituted the medieval town, illustrating that today's outskirts of the city were then rural and not part of the town (Middlebrook, 1968).

The main structure at the time of battle was the castle which was refortified in stone in the 12th and 13th centuries (Harbottle and Clack, 1976). Built on top of the Roman fort

Pons Aelius, it was a rectangular feature and in the mid-13th century, a barbican and the Black Gate (in 1247-50), a gatehouse, were built, and was linked by a bridge (Harbottle *et al.*, 1981, pp. 83–84; Graves and Heslop, 2013, p. 108). No remains of the castle exist apart from the towers (HE 1320005), the gatehouse and one of the postern gates, with a short stretch of wall. The wall surrounding the town was started in 1265 (Nolan *et al.*, 1989), notably at a time when Anglo-Scottish relations were relatively harmonious, with no threat of hostility. Fragments can still be seen today, which is one of the key built features (HE 1186222). Two gates to the town existed: by Pilgrim Street, leading north-east, and by St Andrew's Church, leading along Gallow Gate. The castle acted also as the base for the sheriff of Northumberland, who had charge of it, and used it to hold sessions of the county court. The defensive structure of the castle illustrates the prolonged conflict and warfare that the town was involved in; during the early medieval period, the town was under threat from the kingdom of Bernicia and in the later medieval period, it was often under threat from Scottish invasions.

Other key built features that were part of the urban landscape of Newcastle was the Cathedral of St Nicholas (HE 1355309) and several monastic institutions, such as the Carmelites, Dominicans, Franciscans, and an Augustinian friars (Austin Friary) within the town walls (Harbottle and Clack, 1976). There were also several churches in the town that existed at the time of battle, for instance St Andrew's Church, near one of the gates (HE 1104887). At least two hospitals existed; the Hospital of St Mary (HE 1107920) and the Hospital of St Edmund, King and Martyr at Gateshead, first mentioned in 1315 (Mackenzie, 1827, p. 753).

Cathedral of St Nicholas

Church of St Andrew

Remains medieval city wall

Remains Dominican friary

Motte and bailey castle

Gallowgate

Pilgrim Street

Map 28. The key built features of Newcastle. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic England 2020. Map created by author.

5.2.1.2 Southdean Church

5.2.1.2.1 Literary description

Southdean Church is mentioned by Froissart, as having been the second muster point for the Scottish army in the beginning of the campaign. Froissart describes that:

> *In order to decide more exactly which way they would go and how they would proceed, these barons, who were the commanders of the rest of the people, fixed a day to meet in a church on a moor above the forest of Jedburgh, known locally as Zedon* (Froissart and Brereton, 1978, p. 336).
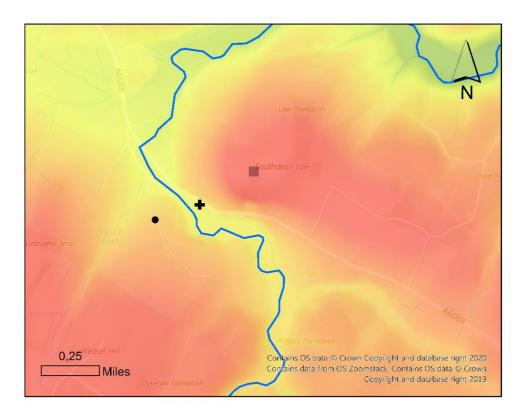
He then goes on to say that an English spy had managed to enter the church and participate in the meeting, before his identity was revealed and chased. After having been interrogated, Earl Douglas and the others made the decision on which route to take into England. The discussion reveals that Southdean was the Scottish soldiers' mustering point and that it comprised only a church building, rather than a town or village, in contrast to Newcastle above. Froissart's account gives the impression that the earls gathered inside the church to make decisions.

5.2.1.2.2 Landscape location

Southdean Church is situated c. 8.5 miles south-west of Jedburgh and 4.5 miles north of Carter Bar, the entry point to England (Map 29). It was framed by hills and was the first settlement to be encountered after crossing the border, following the route from Carter Bar northwards to Hawick (Brooke, 2000, p. 202). Southdean was located in the Jed Forest which belonged to the Douglas family, and by the Wheel Causeway, a route from England (Brooke, 2000, p. 203).

5.2.1.2.3 Key built features

The church contains remains from the 13ᵗʰ century, such as the tower (RCAHMS, 1956, p. 420) (Canmore ID 56816). It is located by the river Jed Water and in a landscape with sparse archaeological remains; the main feature in the local area is Southdean Law (Canmore ID 56826), a hill with prehistoric hillforts, and Dykeraw Tower (Canmore ID 56815), a later medieval tower which might have existed at the time of battle. Southdean was the first (or last) village to be encountered, from the English Border. The archaeological evidence of the church includes a portable altar with cross inscriptions, which also has been interpreted as a slab containing relics (Fawcett, 2002, p. 248). Earlier interpretations dated this to the 15ᵗʰ century; however, it is likely to be of an earlier date (Canmore ID 56816). This illustrates Southdean Church's continuity as a religious place in an area with few sacred buildings.

- ● Dykeraw Tower
- ✚ Southdean Church
- ■ Southdean Law
- —— Jed Water

Map 29. Southdean Church and its landscape context and surrounding key built features. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic Environment Scotland 2020. Map created by author.

5.2.1.3 Ponteland

5.2.1.3.1 Literary description

The next named place is Ponteland, which according to Froissart's Chronicle was attacked by the Scottish on their way back towards Scotland from Newcastle. Froissart notes that the Scots:

> *[...] started on the road back to their own country. They came to a place called Ponteland, governed by Sir Raymond Delaval, a good Northumbrian knight. They halted there [...] they prepared to assault it and attack with such vigour that they captured the castle [...] they burnt down the castle and the town [...]* (Froissart and Brereton, 1978, p. 339).

Interestingly, Ponteland is only mentioned by Froissart, perhaps because participating soldiers revealed this incident to him. The literary description suggests that there were fortified buildings in Ponteland and that it was located on a northern route towards the Border. It is a probable scenario that the English also passed Ponteland as they were chasing the Scottish.

5.2.1.3.2 Landscape location

Ponteland is located c. 7.5 miles north of Newcastle and was at the time of battle a village (Map 30). It is strategically located by the River Pont, a tributary of the larger River Blyth which runs westwards from Blyth on the coast, north of Newcastle. The natural environment surrounding the village consisted of marshes, which existed until early 19th century (Brooke, 2000, p. 138). Considering its proximity to Newcastle, the village would have been passed by people travelling to and from the town, and its landscape location also suggests that it was passed by the soldiers on their way, as it is situated between Newcastle and Otterburn.

The modern road A696, which runs through the village was originally a turnpike linking Newcastle and Jedburgh and opened in 1776 (White, 1973, p. 133; McCord and

Thompson, 1998) (HE 1371456 and 1041271). However, manors owned surrounding land in the neighbourhood, such as Darras Hall, and several, now deserted, medieval villages were located in the nearby area (Lomas, 1996), indicating there were some type of infrastructure linking them.

5.2.1.3.3 Key built features
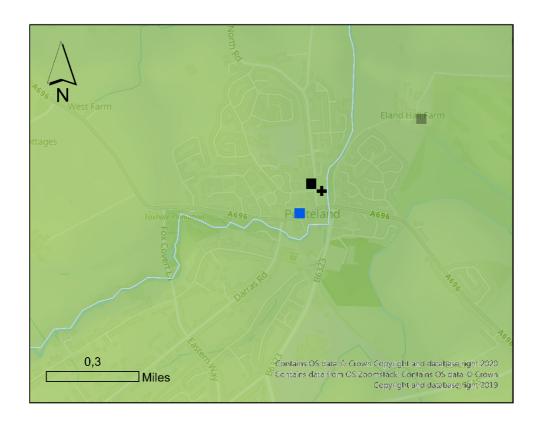
Froissart mentions that the Scots attacked a tower or castle in Ponteland, 'governed by Sir Raymond Delaval, a good Northumbrian knight' (Froissart and Brereton, 1978, p. 339), which was one of the key structures in the village. The only remains of the tower or castle are today's Blackbird Inn, a guesthouse (HE 1042690) (Figure 38). The tower was first in 1256 a 'capital messuage' of Bertrams of Mitford, then in 1262 it came under the ownership of the Earl of Pembroke and in 1324 it passed through marriage to David, Earl of Athol (Salter, 1997, p. 91). At the time of battle, Sir Aymer de Athol held property in Ponteland (Dodds, 1926, pp. 446–47, 456). The Treaty of Newcastle (1244) was decided at Ponteland, which also suggests it had an important military and diplomatic function, and would likely have been signed in castle or a manor house; Ponteland was during the 13th century part of the manor of Eland, together with Great and Little Eland (Wrathmell, 1975, p. 374). Associated remains might be Eland Hall, slightly north-east of Ponteland with a well of unknown date (HE 1370713, KP N10999 and N19474).

Nearby is Vicarage's Tower, which was first recorded in 1415, but could possibly have replaced an earlier tower (HE 1042721). The tower was one of many Northumberland tower houses which were introduced in 14th century (Emery, 1996, p. 25). The towers were usually three-storeys with a lower ground-floor entry (Emery, 1996). Another important building was the Church of St Mary opposite the Blackbird Inn, built between the 12th and 15th centuries (HE 1370736). Considering the relatively small number of parish churches in the area, it would also have acted as a spiritual nodal point for the region. Furthermore, it has also been suggested that the church had a defensive function given its solidly built architecture and closeness to the former tower (Blackbird Inn) (Brooke, 2000, p. 139). The evidence does not, however, confirm Froissart's claim that

the Scottish burnt the whole town; the church appears to have been unaffected. Overall, the key structures illustrate that Ponteland had a defensive role in the landscape, reflecting its strategic situation near Newcastle and role as manor in the region. The parish church suggests it was also a larger settlement in the region.

Figure 38. Today's Blackbird Inn, former Ponteland castle or manor, that the Scottish soldiers attacked on their way back from Newcastle. Photo © Author.

Eland Hall

Blackbird Inn

Vicarage Tower

St Mary's Church

River Pont

Map 30. The key built features and landscape location of Ponteland. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic England 2020. Map created by author.

5.2.1.4 Otterburn

5.2.1.4.1 Literary description

The last identified named place in the chronicles is Otterburn, mentioned by most of the writers as where the battle took place. Froissart describes how the Scots 'went on to the town and castle of Otterburn [...] where they halted and took up their quarters', whereas the English 'left Newcastle in the late afternoon and set out in good order on the same route which the Scots had taken to Otterburn' (Froissart and Brereton, 1978, pp. 339–40). The *Westminster Chronicle* does not name the place first but says that the Scots 'withdrew and pitched their tents some little way off' (Hector and Harvey, 1982, p. 347). The chronicler continues to say that Percy with his men attacked, first mentioning the site 'the calamity that befell our country-men on this occasion at Otterburn' (Hector and Harvey, 1982, p. 349). The *Scotichronicon* describes that the Scots 'were returning to their own country' and 'encamped at Otterburn in Redesdale [...] were sitting down to have supper' (Bower, 1996, p. 417). Knighton's *Chronicle* says that Henry Hotspur 'fought with them in Elsdon, near Newcastle-upon-Tyne' (Knighton and Martin, 1995, p. 507), suggesting Otterburn might not have been a well-known place, or that the connection between Elsdon and Otterburn was close. The descriptions suggest that Otterburn was located on the route back to Scotland, and that there was a fortified building that the Scottish attacked. They also propose that the battle took place in vicinity of the tower, and that the place might not have been well-known.

5.2.1.4.2 Landscape location

Otterburn is located in the Redesdale Valley, framed by today's Northumberland National Park, c. 16 miles south of the Scottish border and 31 miles north of Newcastle (Map 31). At the time of battle, it was situated in the Liberty of Redesdale, and in the northern part of the Middle March. The land surrounding Otterburn was granted by Henry I to Robert Umfraville, as part of the Lordship of Redesdale. Many of his
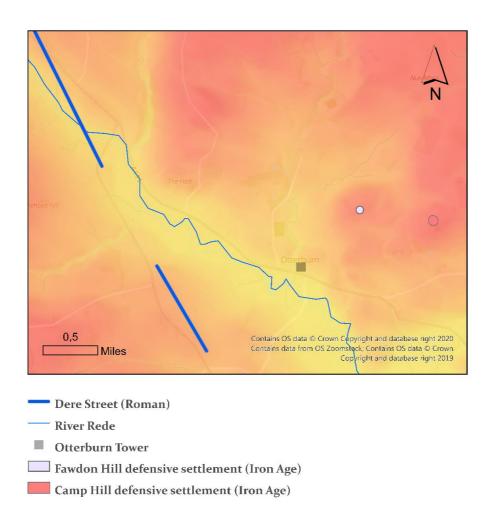
descendants were patrons of the Cistercian monks of Newminster by Morpeth (Charlton, 1996, p. 39). The River Rede runs from the north towards the south, passing Otterburn, and intersects there with the Otter Burn. The village is shielded on both the east with the Cheviot Hills and the west by mountains. The natural landscape consists of moors, peaks and marshes. The mountainous and shielded area would suggest that Otterburn was inaccessible, however, several historic routes connect the village; some miles north of the village was Carter Bar, one of few crossing places along the border. Dere Street, originating from Hexham, passed Otterburn and led towards Carter Bar. This situates Otterburn in a broader communicative setting as it must have been passed regularly by people crossing the border; for example, Lord Dacre's brother stayed at Otterburn Tower on his way back from a raid in Scotland in 1513 (Hodgson, 1827, p. 112). The route was one of few in the central country where you could pass and move southwards (Hardie, 1942, p. 26). North of Otterburn was Elishaw, where the Umfravilles, who kept the Liberty of Redesdale, had established a hospice for travellers before 1240 (Fraser, 1978, p. 48; Stringer, 2010, p. 379). A wayside cross near Dere Street also indicates a routeway (HE 1017596). These illustrate that Otterburn was situated in a landscape that was a 'passage way', despite its mountainous terrain (Stringer, 2010). It would have been a familiar route for the Scottish as they withdrew from Northumberland.

Apart from the routes leading to Carter Bar, there were also drove roads that would have connected Otterburn, crossing the Cheviot Hills (Charlton, 1996, p. 125). They were likely of prehistoric origin but became drove roads in the 13th and 14th centuries (Ibid.) There were also cross-dykes, which existed to help drovers moving cattle and sheep (Charlton, 1996, p. 126). The modern road A696, connecting Otterburn with the south, was opened in the 18th century (White, 1973, p. 133; McCord and Thompson, 1998).

5.2.1.4.3 Key built features

There is little archaeological evidence of built features in Otterburn which would have existed at the time of battle. The literary descriptions revealed that the Scottish attacked

the tower and also camped there on their journey back. Otterburn Tower is situated by the Otter Burn and is today a hotel (HE 1156191). There is no evidence that can reveal what it looked like at the time of battle, nevertheless, it is plausible that it had similar appearance to other towers in Northumberland. Scholars reconstructing the battle have also suggested that some prehistoric features were reused, such as a prehistoric fort utilised by the Scottish (Tyson, 1992, p. 77). Several Roman farmsteads are found in the vicinity of the area of the battlefield, as identified by HE (e.g. HE 1007528 and 1009377), and prehistoric fortified settlements, such as Fawdon Hill and Camp Hill Iron Age hillforts (HE 1007527 and 1007526). It is feasible that the prehistoric and Roman features were built for a defensive purpose considering their close distance to the border. The strong presence of earlier fortified structures and the dearth of medieval fortifications might suggest the area was not considered to be in a risk zone at the time of battle, or that earlier structures were intentionally reused in the medieval period for defence.

Legend:

- **Dere Street (Roman)**
- **River Rede**
- **Otterburn Tower**
- **Fawdon Hill defensive settlement (Iron Age)**
- **Camp Hill defensive settlement (Iron Age)**

Map 31. The key built features and landscape location of Otterburn. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic England 2020. Map created by author.

5.2.1.5 Summary of named places

The analysis of the named places has resulted in several insights into the Otterburn campaign. The two muster points of the English and Scottish were identified and located in separate regions: Southdean Church near the border and Newcastle in southern Northumberland. All sites apart from Newcastle and Southdean were in the Middle March, an administrative area stretching from north-west of Newcastle, along the Scottish Border, which was framed to the east by the coast, and to the west by Kielder Forest Park. Moreover, Otterburn was located in the Liberty of Redesdale, held by the Umfravilles (Stringer, 2010).

Apart from the starting and ending points of the campaign (Newcastle, Southdean, and Otterburn), only Ponteland is mentioned, which is located c. 7.5 miles north of Newcastle. The analysis noted the concern that only Froissart's *Chronicle* mentions the site but argued that it was still a likely place to have been passed considering its location on route north.

The named places illustrated rich variety, from Newcastle being one of the wealthiest towns in northern England in the medieval period, to the three rural villages. Newcastle was clearly a nodal point in the region, connecting different roads that were used by pilgrims, merchants, royalty etc. and acted as a portal to the route north towards Scotland. Southdean was situated between Jedburgh and Carter Bar and was a plausible crossing place for travellers crossing the Border. Ponteland was on the route north, and its fortified structures also signify that it was guarding the area. Otterburn, on the other hand, appears to stand out, being remotely situated near the Border. Although Otterburn must have been passed by travellers crossing the border at Carter Bar, the Roman road which passes the village, and then continues north, did not link Otterburn with the other named places.

The route that can be reconstructed in the next stage must now be limited. As mentioned, a maximum of 25 miles will be reconstructed due to the limited scope of the thesis (Chapter 2.2.2). The distance between Newcastle and Otterburn is c. 31 miles, which is beyond the scope of this thesis. In order to limit the scope, the analysis will

focus on the route between Ponteland and Otterburn, c. 23 miles, instead of starting at Newcastle. Ponteland was, as argued above, visited by both armies. Newcastle and Southdean will be considered in the next section on the journey, as they were the soldiers' departure points. What follows is to explore the topographical and archaeological landscapes between the named places to identify route corridors between them.

5.2.2 Identification of route corridors

This stage will compile and assess evidence of route corridors between the named places (Ponteland and Otterburn), in order to propose the most likely route that the soldiers took to battle. This will be done by examining the topographical landscape and applying the archaeological layers (outlined in Chapter 2.2.1.2), between the named places, in ArcGIS Pro. Initially, topographical maps and the archaeological evidence of historic roads will be analysed as links to identify route corridors. The archaeological evidence will then be applied, layer-on-layer, which will be used to identify nodes that would have been linked to by routes. The reconstruction will result in the *hypothetical route*.
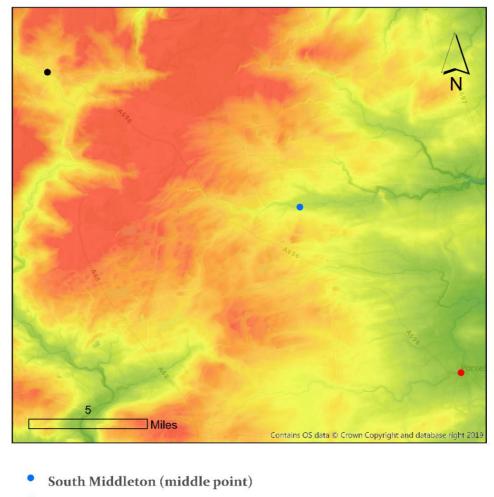
5.2.2.1 Links

5.2.2.1.1 Topographical landscape

The topographical map (Map 32) shows the topographical contour of the landscape between the named places. The landscape is divided into two sections, with the village of South Middleton as a middle point (HE 1017738) (Appendix A.3.1.-2). As can be seen, the landscape is comparatively flat from Ponteland and slightly north-west (green/yellow), followed by a slope uphill towards Otterburn. There appear to be several route corridors in the terrain.

The section north of Ponteland is flat with some minor elevations to the west (Appendix A.3.1). The River Wansbeck, the valley by South Middleton, creates the only visible

obstacle. After South Middleton, however, the topography becomes more elevated and would have required walking uphill (Appendix A.3.2). Otterburn is situated in a valley which continues south-west. The two mountainous areas framing Otterburn, today's Northumberland National Park to the east, and Kielder Forest Park to the west, also posed limitations on the mobility in the landscape. The topographical landscape therefore does not indicate major route corridors but only shows that moving to Otterburn from Ponteland required moving uphill.

Map 32. The topographical landscape between the named places. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic England 2020. Map created by author.

5.2.2.1.2 Remains of roads

- Roman roads

As can be seen in Map 33, the area surrounding Ponteland and Otterburn contains some evidence for historic roads that might have been in use in the late 14th century, digitised by HE; Dere Street ran west of Otterburn, passing Woodburn and Rochester, crossing the Cheviot Hills and then into Scotland (Margary, 1957, pp. 212–14). Another Roman road, Devil's Causeway, ran across the landscape, towards Berwick-upon-Tweed, passing Belsay and Wallington (Margary, 1957, pp. 206–09). It then passed through the village of Bolam, and Shaftoe Crags, a group of naturally weathered and human inscribed boulders, which today is in the middle of a field (HE 1013757). Neither of the Roman roads are situated in the area between Ponteland and Otterburn.
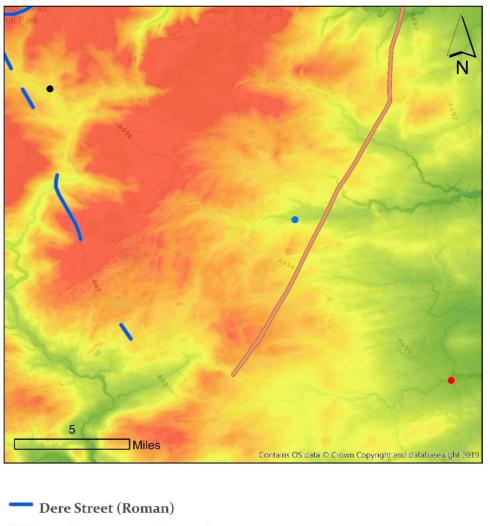
- Early medieval and medieval roads

Apart from Roman roads, typical for this area were the drove roads, which were used to move cattle (Roberts, Carlton and Rushworth, 2010). They often followed watersheds and valleys, such as along the Coquet and Rede watersheds (Roberts, Carlton and Rushworth, 2010, p. 11). There were also several drove routes and paths crossing the Border; over 40 were registered in 1597 (Mack, 1926, pp. 242–46; Frodsham, 2004, p. 101). A post-medieval road which might have earlier origins is a road connecting Cambo with Simonside in today's Northumberland Park (Hedley and Quartermaine, 2004, p. 347). One drove road ran along the foot of Northumberland National Park towards Elsdon, mentioned by Tyson and Armstrong (Tyson, 1992, p. 76; Armstrong and Walsh, 2006, pp. 38–41). Its date is uncertain; however, considering that drove roads were in use already in the medieval period, it is plausible that the road existed at the time of battle. Moreover, the name 'Salter's Nick', a Roman farmstead by Shaftoe Crags, was allegedly given its name because the passing road was used to transport salt (Newton, 1972, pp. 214, 218). This could be the drove road mentioned by Tyson and Armstrong, and also by John Hodgson who claims it went via Gallow's Hill, Elsdon, Shaftoe Crag to Otterburn, called the 'Salter's Way' (Hodgson, 1827, p. 349). In the region were also, although

unrecorded, cross-dykes and boundary dykes (Roberts, Carlton and Rushworth, 2010, p. 14). Catcherside, north of Kirkwhelpington, was particularly known in the early modern period as a resting place at the tavern for those who transported cattle (Rowland, 1973, p. 147). Most of these are known orally and, unfortunately, not digitised or recorded as archaeological remains but will still be considered in the hypothetical route below.

- Summary

The archaeological evidence of historic roads in the local area includes no evidence of historic roads between Ponteland and Otterburn (Map 33). As mentioned, the current road A696 which connects them was not constructed until the modern period, and the Roman Dere Street and Devil's Causeway went far from Ponteland and would have required a long detour to use. Moreover, there is no historical mentioning of roads between Ponteland and Otterburn. The undigitised Salter's Way, and drove road passing Elsdon might have been accessible from Ponteland. Overall, the evidence suggests the soldiers must have moved either east or west from Otterburn. Due to the lack of digitised remains of roads, the identification of route corridors can only assume that the region contained several roads used at the time of battle, which created a network of corridors.

Map 33. Registered and digitised historic roads between the named places. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic England 2020. Map created by author.

5.2.2.2 Nodes

5.2.2.2.1 Settlements, villages and towns

- Prehistoric and Roman settlements

The archaeological landscape reveals traces of long occupation in the region: two large Roman forts can be found in Rochester, north of Otterburn (Bremenium), and in Woodburn (Habitancum) (HE 1044837 and 1008561), which were situated by Dere Street. Roman and prehistoric settlements are also found in association with Otterburn (Chapter 5.2.1.4). Overall, they are mainly concentrated in the northern part of the area between Ponteland and Otterburn.

- Medieval villages

The medieval remains of villages are relatively plenty, including both still existing and deserted villages, densely located towards the north-east of Ponteland, towards Morpeth. Many of the villages are known from the Lay Subsidy inventory from 1296 (Fraser, 1968), although, a large number of them were deserted or shrunken (Wrathmell, 1975), evidenced by aerial photographs, and other landscape surveys (Newton, 1972, p. 108). One of them is West Whelpington which was devastated by the Scottish after Bannockburn (1314), but rebuilt at the end of the 14th century (Evans, Jarrett and Wrathmell, 1988; Frodsham, 2004, p. 95). Many of the villages to the north-west were associated with Hexham Priory, such as Melbourne and Matfen, whereas villages north-east were associated with Newminster at Morpeth. Notably, there are few villages north of Kirkwhelpington, and south of Elsdon and Otterburn. Population density was greater in the south nearer Newcastle, as the land in the north was not suitable for grazing (Brooke, 2000, p. 91). In fact, the area was in the medieval period 'one of the most under-populated counties in England' (Lomas, 1996, p. 71).

Several villages were of a more fortified nature: Belsay had earlier been a prehistoric hillfort but was transformed into a fortified tower in the medieval period motte (HE 1042837), demonstrating that it was an important strategic site for centuries. Another

fortified village was Bolam, slightly north-east of Belsay which acted as a military stronghold, and became a market town in 1305, granted by Edward I (Brooke, 2000, p. 142).
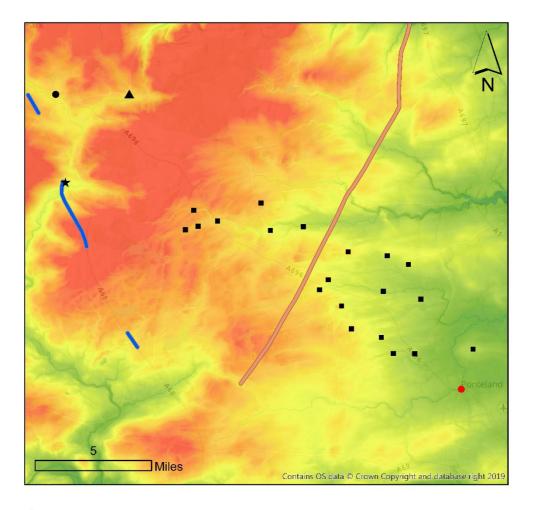
It is notable that many of the villages contained fortified structures, and occupied strategic locations, such as Bolam and Ogle, south of Bolam, of which the latter was another settlement with a castle on a moat (Brooke, 2000, p. 140). Another place was East Shaftoe Hall, which originally was a late 13th or 14th century tower (HE 1154609). The fortified buildings demonstrate how the region was affected by the Anglo-Scottish wars.

- Towns

The only town in the area between and surrounding Ponteland and Otterburn was Elsdon, situated near Otterburn, which was a core point in Redesdale at the time of battle (Brooke, 2000, pp. 121–24). It became a market town in 1281 following a charter from Edward I (Taylor, 1970; Wesencraft, 1988, p. 8), and was the economic centre of the Cheviot Hills. It contained a tower which was built either in the late 14th or early 15th (Brooke, 2000, p. 124).

- Summary

The areas between Ponteland and Otterburn contained at the time of battle several villages, of which many are now deserted or shrunken (Map 34). As can be seen in Map 34, most villages were situated in the southern part which was not as mountainous as the north. Moreover, they indicate route corridors in the south but not in the northern section; only Elsdon appears to have been a larger populated settlement there. The major settlements in the area were Belsay, Ogle, Bolam, and Elsdon.

★ **Prehistoric and Roman settlements**

▪ **Villages**

▲ **Towns**

⬭ **Devil's Causeway (Roman)**

━ **Dere Street (Roman)**

● **Ponteland**

● **Otterburn**

OS Terrain DTM 5m

Value

255

0

Map 34. The layer of prehistoric and Roman settlements, villages and towns have been added to the earlier layers. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic England 2020. Map created by author.

5.2.2.2.2 Places of worship

- Parish churches

As can be seen in Map 35, there is a small number of churches in the region in comparison to the number of villages. Most of the churches are situated in the southern area. Notably, only one parish church exists in the northern parts, in Elsdon. This is because the population was much sparser in the north (Lomas, 1996; Brooke, 2000, p. 91). In the end of the 13th century, there were only 63 parishes in the entirety of Northumberland (Lomas, 1996; Brooke, 2000, p. 92). The paucity of parish churches is because not many were built and some have disappeared (Lomas, 1996, p. 115). The low number of parish churches could also be explained by that the fact that parishes were large and often included several townships (Lomas, 1996, pp. 108–10).

One of the churches, the Church of St Andrew, in Bolam, was the main parish church for Belsay and other villages in the nearby area (HE 1304102). The church has a west tower which likely is Anglo-Saxon in origin (Brooke, 2000, p. 141). The Church of St Cuthbert, in Elsdon, is located on a natural mound, surrounded by a burn, opposite the tower (HE 1155072). The church was probably built around 1400, on the site of an earlier church building, showing signs from the Norman period (Brooke, 2000, pp. 121–24). St Bartholomew's Church in Kirkwhelpington would also have existed at the time of battle, with its 12th and 13th century remains (HE 1044915).

- Chapels

Apart from the churches, there were also some chapels situated between the named places. There was a chapel in Cambo (KP N10401), near Hartington Hall, evidenced also by the place-name Chapel Hill, near the modern church Holy Trinity (HE 1154139). The current church in Cambo replaced an older one which was the chapel of ease of the church in Hartburn (Brooke, 2000, p. 137). Another chapel was in East Shaftoe (KP N10567), allegedly first mentioned in sources in 1378. Chapels were mainly used as 'outposts' for the parish churches and were smaller in size, which demonstrates the large size of the parishes (Pounds, 2004, p. 81). Circa 100 chapels were built in the 12th and 13th
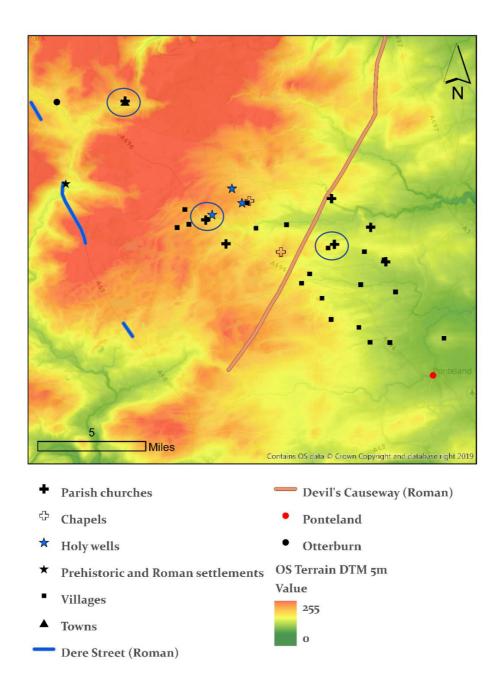
centuries to reach the parishioners living on the fringes of parishes (Brooke, 2000, p. 92), however, only a few are recorded today.

- Holy wells

There is a holy well in Cambo of unknown date, known as Jemmy's Well (KP N17575). Two are found in Kirkwhelpington, dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St George (KP N10484).

- Summary

There are few parish churches and chapels in the area; the major churches are in Elsdon and Bolam, which also contained evidence of settlements seen earlier (Map 35). The results strengthen the proposal that Elsdon and Bolam were two important settlements at the time of battle.

Map 35. The places of worship between the named places have been added to the earlier layers. The key clusters are highlighted with blue circles (see discussion below). Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic England 2020. Map created by author.

5.2.3 The hypothetical route

The analysis of the evidence and route corridors between Ponteland and Otterburn has not been without complications; the analysis of the links, i.e. the topographical landscape and archaeological evidence of historic roads, resulted in several potential route corridors in the southern part, with its both flat and elevated terrain. Moreover, there is almost no evidence of any historic roads that links the two places; the current road A696 was built in the 18th century. If we assumed that the soldiers only used Roman roads in the region, they would have left Ponteland, turning west until Hexham and then moved northwards on the Roman road towards Otterburn (Map 33). This, however, would be a lengthy and time-consuming choice which does not fit the chronicles' narrative that the Scottish soldiers withdrew and returned home. Despite not being recorded and digitised by HE, the drove road running east of Elsdon is a likelier bet and was argued as being medieval in origin; however, it is not linked to Otterburn or Ponteland.

Instead, the patterns from the archaeological layers of nodes seem to propose other solutions, that there were route corridors in the terrain linking different settlements and places of worship. Considering the lack of evidence of roads and the topographical map's multiple route corridors, i.e. the *links*, we can turn to the density of evidence in the region, the *nodes*, to try and establish the most possible route that the soldiers could have used.

As seen in Map 35, the main concentration of evidence can be found east of today's A696, including the remains of settlements and places of worship which suggest it was a trafficked landscape. The densest concentrations and places with most buildings are Bolam, Elsdon, and Kirkwhelpington, marked with circles in Map 35 (Elsdon, the most northern, Kirkwhelpington, the middle, and Bolam, the most southern). These clusters of evidence suggest that they were connected by some kind of routes, and the drove road mentioned above also linked Elsdon and Bolam. The cluster north-east of Kirkwhelpington, with both a chapel, holy well and village, is Cambo but is not listed

among the densest concentrations as it did not contain a parish church, which would have made it a more prominent settlement.
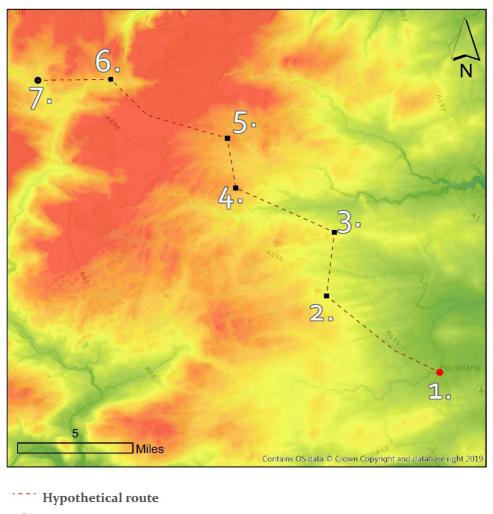
Additional evidence can be considered which could aid the reconstruction: there are two medieval cross-monuments between Ponteland and Otterburn that could have acted as road-markers; at Belsay, now located in the grounds of Belsay Castle, but credibly was located in the village in the medieval period (HE 1015518), and the Steng Cross, outside Elsdon (HE 1041241), situated by the drove road (Salter's Way), which could also have been a road marker. That Belsay was situated by a northern/southern route is also evidenced by that Edward I stayed at Belsay in 1278 during one of his journeys (Hodgson, 1827, pp. 351–52). These remains strengthen the proposal that Elsdon, was situated along main routes, and that Belsay also was connected by larger routes.

More evidence can also be evaluated in the reconstruction of the hypothetical route. The analysis of the settlements noted that many of them contained defensive structures, which suggests that several of them were situated within route corridors. In Northumberland, specifically, towers were built with a protective purpose (Emery, 1996). Their strategic locations indicate that they were constructed by important routeways in the region, to guard large tracts of landscapes and routes. Apart from Belsay Tower, was Shortflatt Tower, which was one of the first to be crenelated (Emery, 1996, p. 137; Salter, 1997, p. 7). Shortflatt was attacked by the Scots in 1311, 1312, and 1314 (Dodds, 1999, p. 265), which suggests it had a protective and guarding purpose in the landscape and that the area was at risk of attacks. It is situated between Belsay and Bolam.

Gathering and summarising these results, the analysis of the archaeological layers and the route corridors, coupled with the additional evidence, would suggest that the soldiers passed Belsay, Bolam and Elsdon, and that they would have used Salter's Way, which connected the latter two. Kirkwhelpington is located some distance from the places associated with Salter's Way, so the village was not likely passed by the soldiers. Besides, as can be seen in the topographical landscape, it would have required a lengthy march uphill from Kirkwhelpington to Otterburn or Elsdon, and there is no

archaeological evidence between them that could signify a node in a route network (Map 34). Therefore, the results suggest the following route (starting at Ponteland) (Map 36):

1) The Scottish and English soldiers left **Ponteland** – the Scottish first with the English pursuing them. The scarce evidence of roads suggests they either used roads that have disappeared or crossed the terrain.

2) After 6 miles marching north-west, they arrived at **Belsay**.

3) The soldiers continued north-east, by crossing the River Blyth. A possible crossing point could have been by the deserted medieval village of Harnham (KP N17891) where there is a footbridge, although it is not possible to determine its origin. They arrived after 3.5 miles at **Bolam.** The drove road of Salter's Way started there.

4) After Bolam, the soldiers marched northwards, crossed the River Wansbeck, and arrived at **Cambo**. There are no remains of any medieval crossing points, but it is likely there was one either at Middleton deserted medieval village (HE N10588). Salter's Way led through Cambo.

5) Continuing northwards, the soldiers followed Salter's Way, north-west. Further up was the **Steng Cross**, a medieval cross base which allegedly was a road-marker.

6) The soldiers then arrived at **Elsdon**, c. 13.5 miles from Bolam, a nodal point in the region.

7) After Elsdon, the soldiers turned slightly south-west and arrived at **Otterburn,** c. 3.5 miles.

Map 36. The hypothetical route between Ponteland and Otterburn. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic England 2020. Map created by author.

5.3 THE JOURNEY

This aim of this section is to explore how the English and Scottish soldiers perceived and experienced their journey through the campaign landscape, by analysing the hypothetical route from a phenomenological perspective (Figure 39). It seeks to understand how the English and Scottish soldiers perceived their journey through their engagement with landscape on route to battle. The analysis will be performed from an inside perspective, by applying the conceptual landscape model from Chapter 2.2.2, including the temporal elements of departure, movement and arrival. Having suggested that the English and Scottish soldiers took the same route to Otterburn from Ponteland, the analysis will explore their journeys in parallel. They will be compared in Chapter 5.4 and Chapter 6.

Figure 39. The English and Scottish soldiers' journey took place in the Middle March, characterised by its wide and desolate moorland and mountainous terrain further north. The photo is taken south of Otterburn. Photo © Author.

5.3.1 Departure

5.3.1.1 The places of departure

The soldiers' journey to battle included a place of departure (Chapter 2.2.2). As a place, it was defined by 'an entire suite of behaviour that occur in that location or in reference to it' (Branton, 2009, p. 52). It was argued that this place corresponded to medieval perceptions of an 'ordered place', shaped by martial and regional values, and was the opposite to the wilderness that was entered after departure.

At Otterburn, the English and Scottish soldiers departed from different places; the Scottish soldiers gathered at Southdean Church in Scotland near the Border, whereas the English assembled at Newcastle, a consequence of the Scottish assault.

5.3.1.1.1 Newcastle

The *Scotichronicon* reveals that 'inside Newcastle all the armed levies of Northumbria from the city of York northwards were waiting' (Bower, 1996, pp. 416–17). John Bourchier's 16th century translation of Froissart's *Chronicle* likewise wrote that 'all the English knights and squires of the country of York and bishopric of Durham were assembled at Newcastle' (Froissart and Bourchier, 1816, p. 638). The town's economic and administrative importance (seen for instance in its key built structures, Chapter 5.2.1.1), in the north, plus its strategic landscape location by the Tyne, demonstrated its suitability as a muster point.

It is plausible that Sir Henry and Ralph Percy and the other knights gathered in the castle prior to departure; it offered an 'ordered place' where they sought to organise troops and decide on movements as castles were in medieval literary contexts symbols of strength, order, and harmony (Wheatley, 2004). As *culture*, they represented 'a system of values and modes of behaviour characteristic of the courtly and chivalric milieu' (Sadowski, 1996, p. 68). The castle in Newcastle held, as we saw, an important

administrative and symbolic position in the landscape and it was also the sheriff of Northumberland's base, highlighting its role of authority and defence. The castle's architectural features, spaces and its framing by the wall could thus be perceived as a suitable mustering point of order and protection. The Great Tower (although renovated in the 19th century), that was once part of the town wall, illustrates these features with its height, thickness and austerity (Figure 40). The castle mirrors the medieval 'chivalric architecture' (Creighton and Higham, 2005; Saul, 2011), in reflecting the chivalric culture of honour, courage and virtues. King has similarly argued that in the architecture of protection 'comfort and ostentation were as important considerations as defence' (King, 2007, p. 379).

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 40. The Great Tower in Newcastle, one of few remaining features left of the medieval town wall. Photo © Historic England Archive

The interior also underscores the chivalric space of the castle as it, for instance contained a great hall (Graves and Heslop, 2013). These were often ornate and spacious

rooms to invoke wonder in the beholder, and a usual venue for feasts and other gatherings. Great halls are also common in medieval romances, where they have been associated with the departure point for knights before quests (Armitage, 2007, pp. 40–42). Moving inside the castle ostensibly was linked to chivalry, grandeur and large spaces, as Graves and Heslop have argued on the great hall at Newcastle: '[...] on entering the castle garth through this gate, the hall structure must have made a very great visual impression. The hall was aisled, supported by columns, with a main entrance in the north wall [...]' (Graves and Heslop, 2013, p. 109). The castle also appears to have had a causeway, over the moat with a bridge, similar to other Northumberland castles, such as Warkworth and Alnwick (Conzen, 1960; DeVries and Smith, 2012, p. 264; Graves and Heslop, 2013).

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 41. A harness pendant with the Percy family crest, with the lion, d. 1200-1400. The pendant would have been worn by horses and is a display of chivalry. Image © Portable Antiquities Scheme/ West Yorkshire Archaeology Advisory Service.

The architectural display of chivalry also reflected the identity of the gentry families of the north, such as the Nevilles and Percys, who held important positions of earls, wardens etc. in the north, and thus also their motivation for war (Figure 41). Henry Percy, who participated in battle, was the oldest son of the Earl of Northumberland.

Many castles were built by the families, such as Alnwick and Warkworth Castles held by the Percy family, which were built to protect the land from Scottish invasions (Emery, 1996, pp. 36–39). The chivalric architecture therefore reflected the broader northern noble identities of being protectors against Scottish invasions. This can be seen not only in the architecture but also in their landscape locations; Newcastle, situated on the border of the Middle March, illustrate how the soldiers sought to defend the March and Northumberland. The northern military identity is also evidenced by a 14th century poem on the Neville's Cross campaign, where Henry Percy was noted for his bravery and virtue, more than anyone else, and how the Scottish had 'discovered the northern land (*terram boream*) full of virtue' (Ruddick, 2013, p. 93).

The literary sources describe the departure and campaign as a hunt; apart from Froissart's account on Percy's stolen pennon (Chapter 5.1), the English ballad 'Chevy Chase' is divided into sections such as 'Departure' and 'The chase' (Perry, 2010), demonstrating how the battle was commonly remembered as a hunt through the region. The hunt was a medieval liminal activity (Chapter 2.1.1.1) and included a mustering point (Figure 42). In a well-known medieval hunting manual, *Le Livre de la Chasse,* translated by Edward, Duke of York (d.1415), he describes how all men should gather in an assembly place at the start of the hunt: 'and the place where the gathering shall be made should be in a fair mead well green, where fair trees grow all about, the one far from the other, and a clear well or beside some running brook' (Edward of Norwich, 2005, pp. 163–64) (Figure 42). Edward then explained that whilst in the assembly place, the hunters received instruction on where to go from someone of a higher rank. These perceptions of the muster and departure place as an 'ordered place' and of instruction correspond with the castle in Newcastle; soldiers usually received instruction at muster points during campaigns (Nicholson, 2004, p. 52; Rogers, 2007, p. 25), so it is likely that Henry Percy or another leader of the English army gave instructions whilst assembling at Newcastle. The castle within the city walls thus became the hunters' place of gathering, of 'fairness' and instruction.

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Figure 42. Detail from manuscript page in *Livre de la chasse*, by Gaston III, count of Foix, showing the initial mustering before the hunt. Paris, France, ca. 1406–1407. Image © The Morgan Library, MS M.1044, fols. 3v–4r.

The commemoration of the campaign as a chivalric event in the centuries afterwards is highlighted by the historian David Hume, in his 17$^{\text{th}}$ century account, who wrote that:

> [...]'*albeit his* [Douglas', author's comment] *Army was defeated, and himself made a prisoner, yet lived long after this battell with praise; for it was no reproach to him to be overcome, nor so great a blot to have been put to the worse, as it was honourable to have so contended' (Hume, 1648, p. 102).*

The description shows the broader cultural perceptions of the campaign, that the participation in battle and demonstrating chivalric virtues were more important than winning to the soldier.

In sum, these chivalric investments in both hunting and battle made the English soldier both a huntsman and a soldier during the campaign of Otterburn. When the soldiers, after having gathered, left Newcastle, they would have experienced the 'transition' between rural/urban (Locker, 2017), including leaving the city walls, crossing the bridge and entering into exile.

5.3.1.1.2 Southdean Church

The Scottish soldiers' departure took place some days before the English departure. Froissart says they gathered at 'Zoden', which has been interpreted as the church of Southdean, ten miles south-east of Jedburgh by the border and c. 20 miles north of Otterburn (White, 1857, p. 23; Armstrong and Walsh, 2006, p. 34) (Figure 43). Froissart describes how the Scottish earls, after having mustered at Jedburgh, moved to the church 'on a moor above the forest of Jedburgh' where they made further decisions on their movement (Froissart and Brereton, 1978, p. 336). The literary source further revealed that the meeting took place inside the church.

The Scottish departure point as an 'ordered place' differs notably from the English soldiers at Newcastle: the isolated church in a forest was a simple architectural structure, and probably included, like other medieval churches, a chancel, nave, and possibly a transept (Fawcett, 1985, 2002; Fawcett, Oram and Luxford, 2010). They were often rectangular buildings, in an east-west direction (Fawcett, 2002, pp. 23–24). Unfortunately, the church does not contain any evidence that can reveal its former interior ornament; however, it is not likely to have been a wealthy church as the majority of Scottish churches from late 12th and 13th century were plain buildings (Fawcett, 2002, p. 36). However, the visual architecture and environment inside the church with devotional images, chancel, sculptures etc. that often were found in medieval parish churches would have impacted the soldiers, as 'churches offered a foretaste of the joys of heaven to the faithful' (Fawcett, 2002, p. 321). One parallel with the castle is the architecture of 'transition': instead of the causeway that links the castle with the world, the decorative doorways of the church acted as the point of transition (Fawcett, 2002,

pp. 92–108), separating the sacred place with the wilderness outside (Fawcett, 2002, p. 92).

The medieval Scottish perceptions of churches as an 'ordered place' can be found in other contexts: several important political and royal activities took place in churches. The so called 'forest kyrk' (Kirk of the Forest) was a church in Selkirk where William Wallace ostensibly was made Guardian of Scotland (Brooke, 2000, p. 241), and shares a similar landscape location as Southdean, being situated near Jed Forest. The Cross Kirk (Canmore ID 51476) near Peebles, was not in a forest, but in a marginal setting in the outskirts of Peebles. It was given the name after the Scottish King Alexander III found relics of a wooden cross and a martyred bishop, and subsequently built a church there (Penman, 2011, p. 301). In 1333, a Scottish army assembled by the church in Fordun (Mearns) prior to an attack on Berwick (MacInnes, 2016, p. 65).
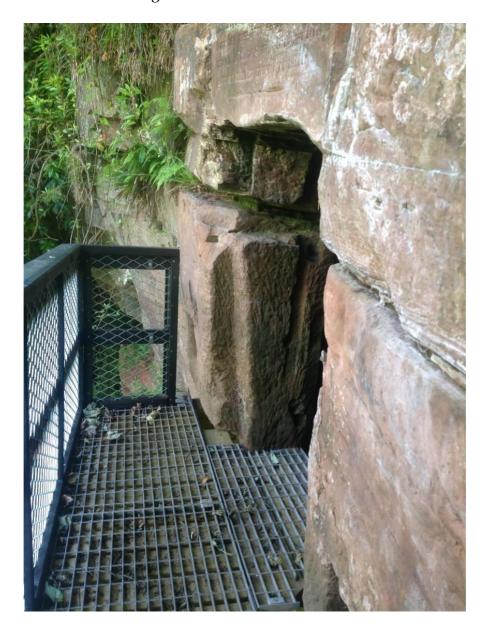
Figure 43. Photo of the medieval church in Southdean, from the east. The architectural plan can still be seen. Image © Crown Copyright: HES.

The 'ordered place' of Southdean Church was in stark contrast to the surrounding Jed Forest; the forest was situated by the border where there were few settlements and was a 'no-man's' land. Overall, forests in the medieval period were perceived as marginal spaces. The word likely deriving from the Latin *foris,* means 'outside' (Saunders, 1993, p. 1). Medieval forests were not necessarily woodlands, but instead legally defined lands, often held by royalty and used for hunting (Gilbert, 1979). Forests often appear in relation to Scottish campaigns; Jed Forest acted as a hiding and dwelling place for Scottish soldiers (White, 1857, pp. 16–17; Smout, MacDonald and Watson, 2005, p. 40). It had been cut down in 1316 and in 1385 by English soldiers to reveal Douglas's hiding place (Smout, MacDonald and Watson, 2005, p. 40). Another large forest in the same region, Selkirk (Ettrick) Forest was perceived as a liminal setting too, which can be seen in the post-medieval border ballad 'The outlaw Murray'. It describes the outlaw living in the forest (Reed, 2003, pp. 82–93). Bruce and his soldiers allegedly prepared for battle and hided in New Park, near Stirling, during the Bannockburn campaign (Gilbert, 1979, p. 32). The forest landscape setting of many of the Irish and Scottish warrior cults were associated with wilderness (Nagy, 1986; Newton, 2009). This cultural heritage was maintained over the medieval period, evidenced by the post-medieval song, named 'Flowers of the Forest', which commemorates the fallen soldiers of Flodden (Stevenson and Pentland, 2012). This might suggest that either the laws pertaining to Scottish forests, or the legends associated with them motivated the Scottish soldiers' use of them as hiding places during campaigns.

Perhaps the experience of the soldiers departing from the church can be seen as a parallel to the Scottish soldiers' departure point at Roslin (Chapter 3.3.1); it was argued that their departure point, a castle in Biggar, was perceived as a spiritual and mental island in the landscape. Southdean was situated in a forest, perceived as liminal. The medieval Scottish 'ordered place' for departures was thus a mental island, separated and distinguished by its landscape context. Parallels can be found in other natural features occupied by Scottish soldiers, such as similar to Bruce's caves were, in their isolation, he found courage and enthusiasm for his cause for war (Canmore IDs 18564 and 67114) (Figure 44). This might relate to the Irish and Scottish warrior cults which dwelled in forests (Nagy, 1986; Newton, 2009), and the Irish influence on Scottish medieval identity

(Broun, 1999b; Turpie, 2015, p. 20). This interpretation can arguably also be applied to Southdean Church considering its location in a forest.

Figure 44. The entrance to a cave outside Dumfries, one of many caves that has been associated with Robert Bruce. Photo © Author.

5.3.2 Movement

The following stage of the journey in Chapter 2.2.2, included the *space* in which the movement took place, entered after departure. The wilderness was associated with the

soldiers' liminal state, which meant, practically, that the soldiers, after having mustered and received instruction, left their mustering point and set out pursuing their enemy through the rural landscapes.

5.3.2.1 The Middle March

The space was the liminal area of soldiers' movement on the hypothetical route, where it all 'took place' (Chapter 2.2.2). As mentioned earlier, the soldiers' journey took place within the Middle March. The March, created in 1381, consisted of the Liberty of Redesdale, North Tynedale, Upper Wansbeck and Coquetdale, framed by the East March in the Tweed and the West March in Cumbria. Each March was supervised by a warden of the march (Brooke, 2000, p. 91). John, Lord of Neville, became ward of the West March, and Percy of the East March in 1383 (Macdonald, 2000, p. 75). The capital centre of the Middle March was Alnwick, held by the Percys.

Compared to the other Marches, the Middle March was in the medieval period known as a 'buffer zone' (Charlton, 1996, p. 41), a 'no-man's land', and for being lawless (Taylor, 1970, p. 4). These perceptions stemmed back to the 11th century when William the Conqueror had granted Redesdale to Gilbert Umfraville in order to 'defend […] from enemies and wolves' (White, 1857, p. 13). The rumoured lawlessness of the area survived into the late medieval and early modern period (Goodman, 1992b, pp. 260–61); the Bishop of Durham is in 1498 reported to have said that there were 'only reivers and cattle-lifters' in the area (Brooke, 2000, p. 123). These experiences and perceptions of the region would certainly have prevailed among the English and Scottish soldiers as they left their departure point and entered the rural landscapes of the Middle March as it would have been a familiar area to them. Apart from the lawlessness, during the later Middle Ages, it became very much a 'frontier society' instead of a border society characterised by its feuds between England and Scotland (Goodman, 2007; King and Penman, 2007; Turpie, 2011). The Scots had, for instance, invaded the east and west marches in 1385 and 1386 (Neville, 1998, p. 67), and the castle in Mitford, near Morpeth, was captured by Scottish King Alexander II in 1217 (Brooke, 2000, p. 147). The terrain

was familiar to many of the soldiers, especially Percy and Douglas who were responsible for keeping the peace in the region.

The Middle March was the theatre for the hunt that took place; Froissart describes that Douglas said to Sir Henry Percy, after having stolen his pennon: 'come and get your pennon back tonight. I will plan it front of my tent and we will see if you can take it away from there' (Froissart and Brereton, 1978, p. 339). The legend, continuing into modern age, said that Douglas threatened to put up the pennon at the family castle in Dalkeith (Mills, 1826, p. 48). One Scottish ballad, 'The Battle of Otterburn', illustrates the sense of a hunt, where Earl Douglas said to Percy:

> *Yet I will stay at Otterbourne,*
> *Where you shall welcome be;*
> *And if ye come not at three dayis end,*
> *A Fause lord I'll ca thee*
> (Child, 1956, p. 300).

The ballad demonstrates how the battle was recognised as a chase in the region, which is not surprising as the area often was the setting of disputes between the border families (Macdonald, 2000). Although scholars have warned not to place too much emphasis on the chase between Percy and Douglas (Lomas, 1999, p. 67; Macdonald, 2000, p. 104), the events leading up to the battle justly reminded of a hunt where the English soldiers chased the Scots as they were withdrawing back to Scotland. The sense of the Middle Marsh landscape of 'lawlessness' was therefore also of a hunt.

The lack of larger roads, as reconstructed in the earlier section, suggests that travelling across the landscape was difficult. Nonetheless, the hardship was an expected part of campaign, and was a way to strengthen ones' courage and bravery; the route was a trial of faith, an opportunity to increase piety and linked to penance and suffering, as has been argued in the previous case studies. Entering into the liminality of the Middle March, the Scottish and English soldiers would have experienced this as they marched through the region and engaged somatically with the landscape.

5.3.2.2 The stages

5.3.2.2.1 Ponteland

The first place that the soldiers passed was Ponteland, known from the written sources. Froissart's description mentions that the Scots attacked the tower on their way back and rested there. Its place-name could derive from the OE *ealand* meaning 'land surrounded by marches as well as of an island' (Mawer, 1920, p. 159), or 'an island in marsh', or 'newly-cultivated land by the River Pont' (Beckensall, 2016, p. 67), suggesting that the medieval village was perceived as an isolated settlement. This could reasonably be so, as in the medieval period it was surrounded by marshes and an inaccessible terrain (Dodds, 1999, p. 274). In medieval romance tales, encountering settlements whilst on their quest was often associated with a sense of joy, as it was part of civilisation and offered food and shelter. As the first larger settlement to be encountered after leaving Newcastle, it would have could have been experienced similarly here. It is not unreasonable to suggest that Ponteland was known among the soldiers; it was the place where the Treaty of Newcastle was signed in the 13th century after the English and Scottish armies met there (Brooke, 2000, p. 138). Furthermore, the knight Sir Raymond Delaval, who lived in the tower, might have been known by the soldiers.

According to Froissart, the Scottish soldiers attempted to siege the tower, today's Blackbird Inn (Figure 38). Sieges were the most common conduct of war in medieval Britain (Jones, 1999, p. 164) (Figure 45); several took place in the Anglo-Scottish war, such as the Siege of Berwick in 1319 and 1333 (Fraser Purton, 2005, p. 114), and perhaps most famously, the Siege of Caerlaverock Castle, 1300, Dumfries, known from a poem (Prestwich, 1997, p. 487). A siege consisted roughly of attacking and taking over fortified structures, such as towers or castles, until those occupying it surrendered or fell (Bradbury, 1992). It was used to take over areas, and was a popular method in civil war (Prestwich, 1996, p. 281). Skeletal remains found buried under the floor of a chapel at Stirling Castle showed 'extreme blunt-force trauma' from a siege, demonstrating the physical and cultural effects of sieges and the length of them, as the dead would normally have been buried in a local church (Yeoman, 2014, pp. 134–36).

In the medieval mindset, sieges meant more than a method of war; in literature, sieges were allegories of the 'temptations and tribulations of the soul' (Hebron, 1997, p. 3), an opportunity for spiritual growth and practising chivalric virtues of courage and heroism. In medieval literature, the leader of the siege was often portrayed as equally pious and a good strategist (Hebron, 1997, chap. 2). The fortress that was being besieged had spiritual and physical meanings; it was perceived as the body, such as in the penitent knight Henry of Lancaster's (c. 1300-1361) *Le Livre de seyntz medicines* (Hebron, 1997, p. 149; Yoshikawa, 2009), and as the spotless womb of the Virgin Mary who carried Christ (Hebron, 1997, p. 149). The falling city, i.e. the place being besieged, was connected to being fallen in sin (Hebron, 1997, chap. 6). The 'siegefield' (Harrington, 2005), was from both an attacker and defenders' perspective connected to allegories, which suggests that the Scottish attacking Ponteland castle or manor house perceived it similarly. The Scottish soldiers, with Earl Douglas as leader, would have experienced the attempted siege at Ponteland as an opportunity for chivalry, courage and heroism.

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 45. Detail of a miniature of the siege of Acre. *Chroniques de France ou de St Denis* (from 1270 to 1380). France, Central (Paris). Last quarter of the 14th century, after 1380. Image © British Library, Royal 20 C VII f. 24v.

The siege and attack did not include St Mary's Church, which was situated just opposite the castle or manor house (Figure 47). It has been proposed that the church usually was used as protection for the people in Ponteland, considering its fortified nature (Brooke, 2000, p. 139). The early date of the church demonstrates that it had long been a place of worship and might therefore have been familiar to the Scottish soldiers. The church's dedication to the Virgin Mary presumably appealed to the Scottish soldiers as Marian devotion in 14th century Scotland was widespread (Boardman and Williamson, 2010; Turpie, 2015). Evidence of inscriptions and dedications of the Douglas family expressed devotion to her, with examples contemporary with Otterburn, such as the chapel in Dalkeith Castle from 1384: 'Out of reverence for the Divine Name and of Mary his mother, and of St John the Baptist in whose name and honour the chapel in Dalkeith Castle, Lothian, diocese of St Andrews, is founded' (University of Edinburgh, 2020a). Also James Douglas (7th Earl of Douglas) appears to have had a devotion to the Virgin, in 1390: 'James Douglas, Lord of Dalkeith, commends his soul to God and the Blessed Virgin Mary and to all the saints, and his body to be buried in the Monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Newbattle' (University of Edinburgh, 2020b). The intercession of the Virgin was also sought during the border campaigns; in 1385 she had appeared in a vision to confound a Scottish besieging force at Carlisle (Goodman, 1992b, p. 256). The devotion to saints has by scholars been agreed was widespread regardless of rank (Penman, 2011, 2013). Overall, saintly intercession and devotion constituted a large part of the spiritual life of soldiers during campaign, among different ranks, as Penman has shown. The church could therefore have impacted the Scottish soldiers by being a spiritual place, with its dedication to the Virgin Mary.

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Figure 46. Detail of the Annunciation in the Percy Psalter, a prayer book used by the Percy family. 4th quarter of the 13th century, England. Image © British Library Add MS 89379, f. 26r.

The written sources give the impression that the Scottish soldiers had already left Ponteland when the English arrived. Arriving to an assaulted and attacked village likely impacted their experience, perhaps with a sense of grief and anger (Macdonald, 2013; Downes, Lynch and O'Loughlin, 2015). The church as an enduring spiritual beacon, and its dedication to Mary, may have impacted the English soldiers too. Church dedications to Mary were the most popular in Northumberland with at least 19 churches dedicated to her (Gregory, 1885, p. 371). The Percy family also venerated her; the Percy family Psalter, dated to the 13th century, included Hours of the Virgin (British Library, 2019) (Figure 46), and in 1448, the Earl of Northumberland received a 'licence to establish a chantry at Alnwick [...] to be called Blessed Mary of Alnwick' (Hartshorne, 1865, p. 94). As argued in context of the Scottish, there was also a lay devotion to her in medieval Northumberland, evidenced by the many church dedications and the various medieval feast days that were celebrated (Gregory, 1885, p. 371).

Figure 47. The church of St Mary, Ponteland, situated opposite today's Blackbird Inn, which used to be a castle/manor. Photo © Author.

5.3.2.2.2 Belsay

After Ponteland, the English and Scottish soldiers followed the hypothetical route towards the north-west which included crossing moorlands, with only a few settlements. This desolate landscape was characterised by the violent nature of the region with border warfare. Many raids emptied the landscapes of booty (Nicholson, 2004, p. 3), which impacted the local sense and perception of them. The 'scorched earth' technique adopted by the Scots at the end of the 14th century impacted by the devastation of the land (Macdonald, 2000, p. 79), sometimes all the way down to the Tyne (Macdonald, 2000, p. 94). A couple of decades before Otterburn, in 1346, the King

had allowed towers and houses to be crenelated without any licence in Northumberland, which proposes that there was a dire need to protect against attacks (Lomas, 1996, p. 55). The war-stricken landscapes therefore became the 'wilderness' that the soldiers moved through. Apart from the border conflict, something that feasibly strengthened the sense of wilderness of the region was the demographic consequence of the Black Death and the plague in 1350-1500 which, it has been estimated, reduced the population in Northumberland by 30-50 % (Frodsham, 2004, pp. 94–95).

The soldiers then passed Belsay, which was a long-term site of defence dating back to prehistoric times (Chapter 5.2.2.2.). Belsay contained at the time of battle only a tower under ownership of the Middleton family (HE 1042837) (Simpson, 1969, p. 128). The tower was built in c. 1370. In the 14th century, Belsay was held by John de Middleton, until it was forfeited for rebellion in 1317. It was later taken over by Sir John de Strivelyn (Stirling) in 1335 (Simpson, 1969, p. 128). The Middleton's recovered it after Strivelyn's death in 1378. The tower at Belsay which now survives is that built by the Middletons (or possibly by Sir John de Strivelyn), and the tower itself is very much as it would have been at the time of the battle, though it almost certainly had a medieval attached hall, replaced by the Jacobean hall which now survives.

The tower feasibly had a similar appearance to the other towers in Northumberland and was occupied by a small garrison (King 2007). The architecture of towers in Northumberland mirrors chivalric ideals, with their austere and fortified appearance (see Figure 48). In such a way, Belsay Tower's chivalric architecture was symbolically and visually linked to the castle and town walls in Newcastle that the soldiers recently had visited. Its architectural display would have impacted the approaching soldier, as King has explained: 'it was carefully designed so that the south side, towards which visitors would have approached, presented the most visually impressive face, with the four-light first-floor hall window, and the moulding all around the showily machicolated crenellations [...]' (King, 2007, p. 384). It is likely that both the English and Scottish soldiers passing the tower, would have experienced the building similarly as a building of power and defence. Of course, the experience would have differed considering that the tower was within English territory, and therefore a likely target of

attack by the Scottish. Nevertheless, the architecture and location of the tower would have impacted both.

Figure 48. Belsay Castle today. Photo © by kind permission of Andy King.

The tower might well have been known to many of the soldiers, especially those of higher rank as members of the Middleton family, who held the tower, had participated in border warfare and was a prominent family in Northumberland (Dodds, 1999, p. 272). The tower and other fortified buildings reflected their own identity as protectors of the north. The architecture would have impacted by beholding it, such as by Percy as his role as earl and warden.

The medieval cross in Belsay acted as a road-marker in the village for travellers, indicating Belsay's prominent role in the region, and that it was situated in route-network. The cross-monument could also have had the intended purpose of sanctifying the village and landscape. For beholders, the cross-monument could have acted as a

reminder of salvation, and the opposite of the conflicted landscapes. Recent studies on medieval stone monuments have focused on the stimulating relationship between beholder and monument (Crouwers, 2015; Murrieta-Flores and Williams, 2017), which means that beholding the monument would have impacted both the English and Scottish soldier. Medieval pilgrimage studies argue that pilgrims crossing rural landscapes perceived them as spaces of temptation, fear and evil (Locker, 2015). The cross, situated in the 'lawless' Middle March, was in a landscape of spiritual temptation, with soldiers tested in the wilderness of marches and grazing land surrounding Belsay.

5.3.2.2.3 The River Blyth and Bolam

After Belsay, the English and Scottish soldiers continued north-east towards Bolam. The natural landscape along the route was similar to that between Ponteland and Belsay; moorlands with smaller hills. Shortly after Belsay, they crossed the River Blyth, one of the main rivers in the region. As noted earlier in the thesis (e.g. Chapter 4.3.2.2.3), rivers acted as both physical and mental boundaries in the landscape. There is no recorded folkloric evidence relating to the river, however, it might have been perceived as an administrative boundary or a way of transport. Both Belsay Castle and Ogle Castle, held at the time of battle by the Ogle family, were situated immediately south of the river, suggesting they were guarding it. Rivers, in general, had a twofold meaning in the medieval imagination, shared by both the English and Scottish, as argued in the earlier case studies; one was associated with fear as medieval accounts by pilgrims often included rivers as places of danger of drowning (Candy, 2007, pp. 77–78). The second meaning was the purifying function of water, and miracles (Ibid.); knighting rites included, for instance, bathing in water (Rivard, 2008, p. 159). It could also, as a crossing point, be seen as a 'transition' in the landscape (Locker, 2017).

Once they had crossed the river, they would have passed Shortflatt Tower, which similar to Belsay Tower, would have invoked perceptions of protection, chivalry and authority in the landscape. It is not known who inhabited the tower at the time of battle – it might

have been held by the Reymes family (Brooke, 2000, p. 142); nonetheless, it is plausible to assume that it was at least occupied by a garrison.

The soldiers then reached Bolam, another large settlement between Ponteland and Otterburn. Bolam was a barony, in 1168 was held by Gilbert Bolam who held as one knight's fee[13] (Hodgson, 1827, p. 332). In the early 14th century, the family Reymes purchased the barony (Brooke, 2000, p. 142). The village flourished and in 1305 was granted a fair and market by Edward I and contained 200 houses (Hodgson, 1827, p. 336; Rowland, 1973, p. 43). According to Lomas, there was also a hospital in the village (Lomas, 1996, p. 133), however there is no archaeological record of such place.

Bolam became another place along the soldiers' route, of memory, meaning and experience linked to defence and the northern martial identities of protecting from Scottish invasions. The parish church was given to the abbot and convent of St Albans in 1204 (Hodgson, 1827, p. 338). In 1359 it was given to Blanchland Abbey by Bishop Hatfield (Hodgson, 1827, p. 338; Lomas, 1996, p. 118).

The Church of St Andrew might have had a protective function, similar to other churches in the region (Brooke, 2000). However, it might also have been perceived and used for its spiritual purposes, like St Mary's Church in Ponteland, due to its dedication. As seen in Chapter 4.3.2.2.4, medieval devotion to St Andrew was common in northern England, and in lowland Scotland; St Andrews was a popular pilgrimage site in Scotland, and the early medieval legend of the Scottish flag, consisting of a vision of St Andrew's cross, feasibly inspired the devotion to the saint in the 14th century (U. Hall, 2006). St Andrew was also associated with the Scottish motivation for war as he was one of the patron saints of the Scottish Civil Wars (Turpie, 2015, p. 28), and interceded to during campaigns. After the battle of Stainmore in 1298, Bower wrote in the *Scotichronicon*: 'the entire Scottish army, dismounting and throwing themselves to the ground, glorified God and St Andrew and the holy confessor St Cuthbert' (Penman, 2011, p. 303). For the English, the cult of St Andrew and his martyrdom had developed with the Anglo-Saxons in Northumbria with St Andrew's Church, in Hexham, founded by St Wilfrid in 670s

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[13] This means an estate of sufficient value to support the service of one knight, owed to the lord from whom was held, i.e. a military obligation, rather than a financial one.

(Coatsworth, 2000; Fraser, 2013, p. 7). As argued above, the church in Bolam and its dedication to St Andrew originated back to the early medieval period, suggesting the church might have been known to both the Scottish and English soldiers.

Figure 49. The view north from St Andrew's Church, Bolam. Photo © Author.

One issue concerning all the case studies is that there is no evidence that can prove that the soldiers visited any of the churches. The circumstances of the campaign need to be considered; the chase and active pursuit to find and catch up with the enemy, would reasonably have influenced their speed. However, given the detailed descriptions of campaigns, such as by Jean Le Bel (see Chapter 6.3.1), and the 'medieval rationality' that this thesis argued for in Chapter 1.2.4, of a religiously motivated behaviour, it would not be unreasonable to consider the possibility of the soldiers stopping, resting at or visiting wayside churches. As Nigel Saul has argued: 'chivalry, far from being romanticised fantasy separate from the knight's everyday experience, was absolutely central to it' (Saul, 2011, p. 153), which further emphasises the importance to take into account that

the soldiers' behaviour in campaign landscapes was motivated by chivalry. Moreover, St Andrew's Church was situated on a small mound and offered a good view of the landscape (Figure 49), suggesting that it could have been used as a look-out post, which would have been useful during the chase. Drawing again the parallel to the medieval hunt, the huntsman's meetings with other people or places during the hunt were crucial and could often change the course of action (Rooney, 2003, p. 61). Perhaps this framework can be applied on the places along the route for the soldiers during campaign; places of a deeper spiritual value could change the mood, morale and interior disposition of the soldiers which probably was important during campaign. Thus, paying visits to churches could have been important during campaign.

Inside St Andrew's Church is an effigy of the knight Ralph Reymes, dating to the 14th century (Hodgson, 1827, p. 342; Rowland, 1973, p. 43; Sugden, 1991, p. 94) (Figure 50). The Reymes family owned Aydon Castle, west of Newcastle, and Ralph fought in Scotland in 1315 (Emery, 1996, p. 40). There is also evidence to suggest that Nicholas Raymes, esq., of the same family participated in the Otterburn campaign (King, 2002a, p. 274). The effigy demonstrates the region's militarised society and chivalric fashions and represents, albeit in the shape of a monument, the attitudes and martial ideals found in Northumberland towers and castles (King, 2007). As mentioned earlier, scholars have argued that medieval effigies had more than funerary and aesthetic functions; they acted as devices to stimulate certain emotions and marked places of supernaturality (Dressler, 2004, p. 60). Beholding an object or monument was part of the medieval ritual experience where vision was not merely a linear but an inward vision (Graves, 2007). This is also emphasised by the fact that effigies did not necessarily contain the deceased's body but instead referenced Christ's rising from the dead, and the bodily restoration at the Last Judgment (Barker, 2016, p. 130). The effigy of Ralph Reymes shows the knight clasping his hands in prayer with his sword in its sheath, which would have encouraged the beholder to persevere in prayer, and the knightly duties of protection. Moreover, as argued in Chapter 4.3.2.2.4, literary scholars have recently investigated the role of emotions that are often found in romance tales, crusader accounts etc. which also could be applied to the commemorative monuments of knights. The effigy would have been a monument of tribute, mourning and grief to a

deceased Northumberland knight, especially to his family members participating in campaign, but also other soldiers. Beholding the almost life-sized knight was a preparatory ritual of their hope after death, as in a couple of hours they would see similar knights, wounded or dead on the battlefield. Other monuments with chivalric symbols have been found in the area, such as the East Shaftoe slab (KP N10619), and in Cambo (Boutell, 1854, pp. 88, 94), which further highlight that the soldiers' campaign took place in a heavily militarised area and where, presumably, many soldiers had been buried.

Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 50. Effigy of Sir Robert Reymes, St Andrew's Church, Bolam. Image © Jonathan Oldenbuck/Wikimedia Commons.
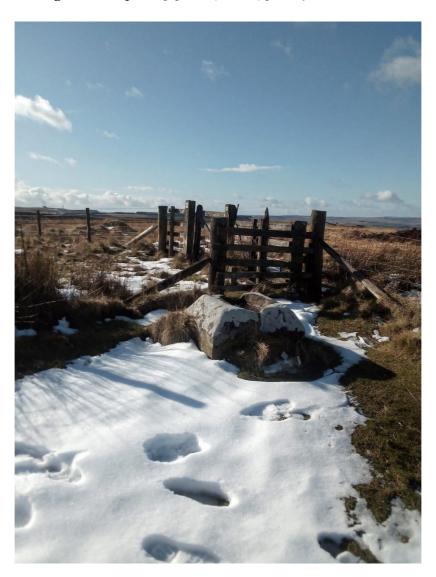
5.3.2.2.4 The River Wansbeck

After Bolam, the soldiers crossed the Roman road which ran across the landscape north-west of Bolam, and the clustered prehistoric stones and features might have marked out the road. They crossed the River Wansbeck, perhaps at the village at Middleton (HE 1017738). Crossing the river would have been another liminal and transitional experience as bridges and other crossing points were seen as 'rites of passage'; the archaeological evidence of deposited swords in rivers underlines the meaning of crossing in the medieval mind (Lund, 2005; Raffield, 2014). Moreover, rivers were also medieval topographies of fear and purification. In a Gaelic context, monsters were perceived to be living in rivers which sought to pull down people into the river (Mackinlay, 1893, p. 159; Bateman, 2009, p. 146), and in pilgrimage narratives they could be linked to miracles (Candy, 2007). There is no recorded folkloric evidence of how the river would have been perceived in the medieval period. Its name, recorded as *Wenspic* in 1137, has an unknown origin (Mills, 2011, pt. 482, 'Wansbeck'). Nevertheless, the perceptions of crossing could very plausibly have corresponded to the medieval perceptions listed above.

5.3.2.2.5 Cambo

The hypothetical route suggested that the English and Scottish soldiers continued northwards, on smaller roads, paths or via crossing the moorland and passed the village of Cambo. The visual environment surrounding the route is similar to the earlier places, characterised by moorland, but which required marching uphill. Cambo was a small village or hamlet whose place-name could mean either 'hill spur with a crest', from the OE *Camb-hoh* (Beckensall, 2016, p. 52), or 'camp on a hill' which can be seen in its location on a hill (Hodgson, 1827, p. 278). Its connection to warfare can also be seen in the neighbouring village place-name, Scot's Gap (Reed, 1992, p. 104). As mentioned in Chapter 5.2.2.2, Cambo contained a chapel-of-ease, which were built for people who lived too distant from parish churches (Pounds, 2004, p. 81). The chapel was demolished

centuries ago, nevertheless, some of the medieval grave slabs have been reused in the modern parish church (HE 238414). A few have inscribed swords (Boutell, 1854, pp. 82–83; Ryder, 2002, pp. 78–79), and bear strong resemblance to grave covers in the chapel at Newcastle Castle (Boutell, 1854, p. 83), and the types found in Bolam, of similar chivalric and martial symbols. Cambo was compellingly affected by the border warfare, and the grave covers might indicate soldiers' burials, emphasising the martial identity of the region. Beholding them could have had a similar emotional impact as the effigies. Two holy wells are likely to have existed at the time of battle, Our Lady's Well and Jemmy's Well, which could have been used for ritual purposes, as the both the earlier case studies have argued (Chapters 3.3.2.2.4 and 4.3.2.2.7).

Figure 51. The base of the Steng Cross, a medieval cross and road-marker near Elsdon. Photo © Author.

After Cambo, the English and Scottish soldiers continued marching uphill until they came to a crossroad where they turned left to follow the recorded drove road. A place-name nearby, 'Gallow Hill', indicating a historic execution place, suggests that the area was perceived as peripheral, considering that gallows often were located at fringes of regions, associated with the unliving (Coolen, 2013). The drove road went along today's Northumberland National Park. This area of mountains and hills which was inaccessible which gave rise to many legends, some due to prehistoric features (Oswald *et al.*, 2006, p. 33). One legend was about the dwarf Duergar who attacked travellers (Hedley and Quartermaine, 2004, p. 348). There is little archaeological evidence of medieval origin in the Park, however, it has been argued that it was seasonally inhabited during the medieval period for keeping cattle or sheep (Frodsham, 2004, pp. 85–86). Place-names such as Davyshiel, and *-hope* suffixes (meaning 'blind valley'), such as Birdhope, Cottonshope and Spithope, demonstrate the temporary occupation of the land for grazing purposes (Frodsham, 2004, p. 86). The mountains acted as a boundary which separated England and Scotland, and shielded the border; after all, Carter Bar further north was one of few places where you could cross the border, which also became a customary venue for March Days, i.e. a place where English and Scottish wardens met to solve disputes. This was so in 1575 at Carter bar (Frodsham, 2004, p. 93). The soldiers familiar with the landscape and region would have experienced the sense of a frontier and, on a fringe, being only temporally used for grazing. The soldiers would have continued through this landscape and after a couple of miles passed the Steng Cross (Figure 51). Similar to the cross at Belsay, it would have acted as a road-marker and a monument to sanctify the landscape.

Figure 52. View of Elsdon, from the direction that the soldiers may have travelled from. Elsdon can be seen in the background. Photo © Author.

After following the drove road, the soldiers arrived at Elsdon, which was the largest town situated along the hypothetical route, and was the capital of Liberty of Redesdale (Frodsham, 2004, p. 85). It would have been visible to the soldiers as they moved down the valley along the route, with the church and tower particularly visible, as both were built on a mound (Figure 52). Elsdon derives from the OE *Elli's denu* meaning Elli's valley (Beckensall, 2016, p. 57). It was one of the largest settlements close to the border and would have been perceived as a 'border town'; the area was part of the border region whose own identity emerged, being sparsely populated and peripheral to both English and Scottish larger towns. This resulted in the emergence of an Anglo-Scottish border culture, with distinctive customs and cultures (Bruce and Terrell, 2012). It is particularly

clear in the parish church, which is dedicated to St Cuthbert. The church had indisputably a special meaning to people in the region, as the saint's relics had been kept there before ending up in Durham Cathedral AD 875 (White, 1857, p. 128). Other dedications to the saint are the 12th century church St Cuthbert's in Corsenside, c. 7 miles south-west of Elsdon, and a miracle took place in nearby Mitford associated with Cuthbert's relics, where there is also a well (Hodgson, 1827, p. 64). St Cuthbert, who was venerated on both sides, has been seen as a 'disputed saint' as he was claimed by both the Scots and English (Lomas, 2005; Turpie, 2011; Crumplin, 2013). He was originally a monk at Melrose Abbey in Scotland (then the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria, and so was not then part of Scotland), but then lived on the Holy Island in Northumberland. As seen in Chapter 4, the landscapes in County Durham were seen as a sanctified ground, where its inhabitants were the *haliwerfolc* (Liddy, 2008). The region's history was imbued by legends of the saint's apparition during times of war (Bliese, 1998). Nevertheless, his cult was also one of the largest in southern Scotland in the medieval period (Turpie, 2011; Crumplin, 2013); veneration to Cuthbert has even been argued was a 'natural part of lordship in the region' among the border noble families of Douglas and Dunbars (Turpie, 2011, p. 60). He was also mentioned in late medieval Scottish psalters and breviaries (Turpie, 2011, p. 65ff.). If it is accepted that the church's dedication to particular saints affected the soldier experience of the church and place, St Cuthbert's in Elsdon could have been perceived as a sacred place by both the English and Scottish and used for spiritual purposes.

Elsdon had long been a nodal point in the border; the village grew up surrounding the motte and bailey castle that was built by the Umfravilles in the 11th century (HE 1007524). The family later built a castle at Harbottle, but by the 15th century, the Elsdon Tower was built in the village for protection (HE 1371439). Harbottle Castle was built to protect the route from Scotland via the River Coquet (Brooke, 2000, p. 116), which suggests that Elsdon Castle had the same purpose, although the route might not have been in use at the time of the battle. The church is traditionally believed to have acted as a mustering point for soldiers in post-medieval Northumberland, where they 'whet' their weapons before leaving for raids. This is evidenced by marks from them having scratched their swords inside the church (Sitwell, 1948, p. 55; Taylor, 1970, p. 10). The church was also a

possible refuge for people during raids in the area (Brooke, 2000, p. 124). The village continued to be a nodal point in the region as it in the post-medieval period the meeting place for clans, in the church/parsonage. In the 19th century, a large number of male skeletons were found in the church which were claimed to be the dead from the battle of Otterburn (Robertson, 1882; Brooke, 2000, p. 124). The skeletons were found outside the north wall of the church, and had been placed in a manner suggesting that they had been buried at the same time (Robertson, 1882, p. 508). No osteological analyses have been performed, which makes it difficult to ascertain whether it is a grave from the battle. The tower could have conveyed an impression similar to the other towers earlier along the route, such as Belsay, of chivalry, protection and defence (Figure 53).

Figure 53. Today's tower in Elsdon. Photo © Author.

5.3.3 Arrival

5.3.3.1 Otterburn

Both the English and Scottish armies continued along the route, being shielded by the area now comprising Northumberland National Park, and then ended up in Otterburn. Few key built features were identified earlier (Chapter 5.2.1.4); the tower, which the Scottish attacked, appears to have been the main feature. However, Otterburn's location near the border near Carter Bar, in the intersection of the Otter Burn and the River Rede, and by a Roman road illustrates its strategic and frontier position. The location fits the narrative, with the Scottish withdrawing home from their invasion of Northumberland. A similar narrative took place at nearby Humbledon Hill, 1402, where the Scots had raided Northumberland down to Newcastle, and were on their way home (Frodsham, 2004, p. 91). It suggests that Otterburn was situated in an area which largely was perceived as a 'passageway', i.e. a landscape of transit, for the Scottish as they invaded.

As argued in Chapter 1.2, contrary to the approaches of battlefield archaeology and conflict archaeology which both detach the battlefield from its landscape context, the analysis must evaluate it in its landscape context. Otterburn was situated in the Liberty of Redesdale, which was part of a medieval hunting forest, belonging to the Umfravilles (Marsden, 1990, p. 36; Frodsham, 2004, p. 80). The place-name received its name from *Otter* and *burn* in OE, first recorded in 1217 suggesting it might have been located in an area used for hunting (Mills, 2011, pt. 356, 'Otterburn'; Beckensall, 2016, p. 66). This is another parallel to how the battle was perceived in border folklore as the 'Chevy Chase', referencing Percy chasing Douglas through the Cheviot Hills (Maxwell, 1852; Goodman, 1992a, p. 7; Bruce and Terrell, 2012), and, what this chapter argues, also by the soldiers themselves. Place-names in the area surrounding Otterburn suggest that the region was associated with wolves and hunting: Wolf's Crag was a place south of Ottercaps, where allegedly the last wolf in England was slain (Pease, 1924, p. 125). Other place-names related to wolves in the area existed, such as Wooler, and several on the border (Aybes and Yalden, 1995, pp. 208–12). This corresponded to the Middle March's reputation, as

wolves in medieval times were 'predominantly associated with physically and conceptually marginal landscapes' (Pluskowski, 2006, p. 194). Coquetdale, north-east of Otterburn, was also the place of many legends about outlaws and other marginal people (Maxwell, 1852). The local area of a hunting forest thus emphasised the experience of the campaign as a hunt, and the archaeological evidence suggests that it was a sparsely populated place at the time of battle, largely shaped by its landscape context of a wilderness and hunting, and the prehistoric and Roman fortified remains.

5.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has identified the most likely route that the English and Scottish soldiers used during the campaign of Otterburn and examined how they perceived their journeys to battle. The results demonstrated that the soldiers moved northwards from Ponteland, possibly on smaller paths, a drove road or terrain, until they reached Otterburn. Due to the lack of evidence of historic roads, and the many route corridors identified in the topography, the analysis had to rely more heavily on the archaeological layers of nodes, which resulted in that the route likely passed Belsay, Bolam, and Elsdon among others. The analysis proposed that the two armies used the same route.

The soldiers' journey took place in the Middle March, which was associated with lawlessness, hunting and border feuds. It was an area beyond government control and a place where allegedly beasts and wolves lived, evidenced by place-names, archaeological evidence, and ballads. It was also a dwelling place for criminals, outlaws and was often exposed to raids. This can be seen in the low density of settlements, the fortified structures, funerary monuments of soldiers, and lack of larger roads. It was an area of raids and combat and Ponteland itself was an important place where a truce between the two countries had been made previously.

The patterns that emerged from the analysis of the places along the route differ largely from the other case studies as this campaign had a strong emphasis on a chase and

different departure points. The Scottish gathered at Southdean Church near the Border. It was argued that Scottish churches could have a function of an assembly and mustering point, experienced as a 'mental island' in their landscape context of a forest. For the English, their mustering point was Newcastle, a town surrounded by a wall and contained a castle. This demonstrated that the departure point was tied to regional perceptions of chivalry and order, and the northern motivation for war to protect the north from Scottish attacks. Both the English and Scottish soldiers passed sites with chivalric architecture, and it was noted that many settlements contained fortified structures. They passed three churches, of which one was dedicated to Virgin Mary, one St Andrew and one St Cuthbert – dedications that would have appealed to both Scottish and English soldiers. It was noted that there is no evidence that the Scottish attacked the churches on their way, perhaps because of their sacred value.

The results show that the movement of the soldiers was shaped by the medieval idea of a hunt and the feud between the two border families, represented by Earl Douglas and Earl Percy. The way they engaged somatically with the places were shaped by this; the Scottish, for instance, attacked the tower in Ponteland and were planning on attacking the tower at Otterburn. Sieges were, as explained in the chapter, linked to medieval ideals of courage and chivalry, whereas the English purpose was largely to protect them. With suitable departure points linked to their conduct of war, they moved through landscapes that were difficult to cross and perceived as marginal and 'lawless', evidenced by place-names linked to wolves, the hunting ground and warfare. This shaped their experience and somatic engagement with the places.

6. Discussion and Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

The aim of this study has been to explore the meaning of the journey to battle among English and Scottish medieval soldiers, by testing a two-stage methodology on three case study battlefields. The thesis began by providing a literature review, arguing that battlefield archaeology and conflict archaeology have failed to successfully include larger landscape contexts in their studies on medieval battlefields, and that neither of the research traditions has situated the soldier experience within its historical context, i.e. of medieval quests, chivalry and journeying. The only time when larger landscape contexts have been studied has been in order to understand soldiers' deployment and strategical uses of landscapes (Foard, 2012, chap. 5; Foard and Curry, 2013, chap. 3). This thesis proposed that the battlefield landscape must be approached as a *campaign landscape*, which includes the route to battle and its surrounding landscape, and developed a new research framework asking: *what did the journey to battle during campaign mean to medieval English and Scottish soldiers, in terms of their perceptions, experience and preparation, by moving on the route and engaging somatically with the surrounding landscape*?

The research enquiry was developed into a two-staged methodology and tested on three 14th century Anglo-Scottish battlefields and the results demonstrated that the route to battle included passing, among others, places of medieval sacred, symbolic, and commemorative meaning. The results suggested that the soldiers' perceptions of their journey and their sensory engagement with these places were closely related to their motivations and perceptions of war, medieval belief and imagination, together with a sense of the regional landscape. At Roslin, it was argued that the journey was associated with a liminal state of guerrilla warfare, defending the realm, and regional identities of warfare, kingship, and outlawry. At Neville's Cross, perceptions of the journey were connected to the soldiers' spiritual and martial identity of protecting St Cuthbert's land and acting within his territory; whereas at Otterburn, the experience of the journey was

likened to a chase in the 'lawless' Middle March, near the Border. There were regional and national differences in, for instance, saints' cults, with St Mungo in Roslin and St Cuthbert in Durham, and the topographies reflected their regional conduct of war, such as the mountains and forests of the Scottish soldiers' places. These perceptions were reflected in and nuanced by the soldiers' somatic engagement with the natural and built landscape, in a similar way to how pilgrims engaged with sites connected to their goal and their identities as pilgrims during their journey (Ashley and Deegan, 2009; Garton, 2018). The results therefore showed both national and regional differences in the soldiers' experience of the journey to battle.

This chapter will first give a summary discussion of the main results and explain how the thesis addressed and answered the research questions. It will then discuss the results in relation to broader research frameworks and propose further avenues for future research.

6.2 SUMMARY DISCUSSION

The research enquiry for this thesis was tested on three 14th century, Anglo-Scottish battlefields, previously identified by HE and HES and listed on their inventories. Each battlefield was selected from different time periods of the Anglo-Scottish wars, in different geographical areas and analysed individually from each experiential perspective (English, Scottish, both English and Scottish). The first research questions that were asked were: *how can an interdisciplinary methodology be developed which identifies the route that medieval soldiers used prior to battle?* And *which are the most likely routes that the soldiers could have taken to battle in the case studies?* In order to be able to answer these, a methodology was devised in Chapter 2 which used written, archaeological and topographical evidence to reconstruct the soldiers' route to battle. Starting by identifying the *named places* in the written sources mentioning the battle, their key built features and landscape location were analysed, to orient and define the study area and to select which part could be identified. Another aim was to determine their place in regional road networks, and critically assess their reliability as being part

of the campaign. The three case studies contained different numbers of named places; Neville's Cross contained the most, with seven named places that could be mapped in the landscape. Roslin, however, contained only two, of which one, Biggar, was mentioned by only two sources, one of which was written in the 15th century. Here, the analysis of Biggar's key built features, landscape location and literary description enabled us to establish that it had been part of the campaign, since it was a nodal point in the region, connecting multiple historic roads, and acted as a gateway between Clydesdale and the east. It contained several fortified buildings, from Roman times and onwards, and a parish church. Therefore, it was argued to be a very likely dwelling place for Fraser and Comyn, as Comyn was the Guardian of Scotland at the time. Otterburn was a similar case with only three named places; equally here, the analysis strengthened their credibility, as, for instance, Ponteland was situated on route north (cf. Chapter 5.2.1.3) thus a likely 'stopping place' along the route.

The reconstruction then continued by assessing the topographical evidence between the named places, in order to trace possible routeways and route corridors (van Lanen *et al.*, 2015). At Roslin, the topographical landscape was characterised by mountains to the north and south, and a valley stretching from Biggar towards the east, sheltered by the Pentland Hills and connecting Biggar with Roslin, could be tracked. Based on the topographical evidence, the valley was the most direct and likely route with fewest obstacles, from Biggar to Roslin. A large portion of a Roman road linking Biggar with Inveresk, had been identified and digitised by HES, running along the dale. At Neville's Cross, the topographical analysis showed a comparatively flat landscape but with large rivers that created obstacles. A large part of a Roman road was identified between Barnard Castle and Bishop Auckland, a main road in the county (Liddy, 2008, p. 31). Moreover, the evidence suggested that they continued by using smaller roads, heading east-wards, perhaps towards the Great North Road which might have passed Ferryhill, leading up to Durham. Likewise, Otterburn showed an even topography with major elevations further north east of the battlefield, today's Northumberland National Park. Few obstacles and many route corridors could therefore be identified. There were no remains of larger roads between the named places which could be verified for the medieval period. This posed several challenges, which only could be aided by analyses

of archaeological evidence of route networks and showed the value of the archaeological evidence and the importance of the route corridor method.

The analysis then turned to the archaeological evidence, as outlined in Chapter 2.2.1.2. At Roslin, few medieval settlements were situated in between the named places, but the presence of several prehistoric hillforts could indicate a historic road-system. By examining the surrounding terrain, coupled with the archaeological evidence, it was argued that the Scottish soldiers used the Roman road, plus crossed sections of Roslin Glen, to get to Roslin. At Neville's Cross, the archaeological evidence was not as useful as in Roslin, considering the high number of named places in the landscape, and the digitised archaeological evidence of historic roads.

Otterburn presented another difficulty: the topographical survey illustrated many route corridors and few obstacles, and there were no digitised historic roads. This meant that the archaeological analysis had to be conducted differently, by studying the density of the four archaeological layers to identify nodes (from the network analysis). The analysis therefore suggested that the hypothetical route either included using a possible drove road linking Cambo and Elsdon, and smaller roads connecting local villages and parishes, or by crossing the wild moorland. The question was posed too, as to whether the English and Scottish soldiers used the same route. The analysis could not provide a satisfactorily answer but based on the evidence and the lack of alternative routes, suggested that both the English and Scottish used the same route.

The second part of the analysis concerned the experience of moving and engaging with the landscape along the identified route. The main research questions were, first: *how can a conceptual landscape model be developed, built on phenomenology and medieval journeys, which can be applied to reconstructed campaign landscapes?* In order to answer this question, Chapter 2.2 proposed a methodology which constituted a conceptual landscape model based on a defined phenomenology (Tilley, 1994), encompassing liminality, place and space and the medieval somatic experience. By building a theoretical framework of phenomenology, it identified the concepts of *place* and *space*, and the quest's *departure*, *movement* (*stages*) and *arrival* as key built features of the

model like that of a quest (Campbell, 1993; Sadowski, 1996; Nievergelt, 2012), covering both the temporal and spatial phenomenological landscape of medieval campaigns.

The next research question was: *how did the soldiers' journeys relate to broader medieval perceptions of journeying, chivalry, piety, belief, and ritual, what we might collectively term 'the medieval worldview'?* This was answered by applying the model on the reconstructed routes at Roslin, Neville's Cross and Otterburn and analysing their environments within contexts of medieval belief, regional and soldier identities. Roslin's departure point was identified as one of the two castles in Biggar, potentially Boghall Castle, whose symbolism was interpreted as an 'ordered place' in the Scottish medieval imagination and was linked to islands. The departure point at Neville's Cross was also a castle, Barnard Castle, although its symbolism was interpreted differently: being situated on the border of the Liberty, it acted as a mental boundary separating the Liberty, and also had a chivalric meaning in terms of architecture and space. Otterburn's two departure points corresponded to the former case studies: the Scottish soldiers gathered at Southdean Church near the Border, situated in the Jed Forest, which was argued also was perceived as an island. Parallels were drawn to Forest Kirk, where William Wallace was appointed guardian in 1297, suggesting isolated churches had a symbolic meaning in medieval Scotland as places of political assemblies and kingship. Another parallel is the medieval church in Hirsel, near Coldstream by the Border, which was occupied by medieval soldiers for a certain period time and might have acted as a meeting place (Cramp and Burke, 2014). The English soldiers assembled at Newcastle, which was a large town, with features corresponding to the chivalric ideals, with several fortified structures, such as the great hall in the castle.

Several patterns emerged from analyses of the soldiers' journeys in the case studies: all soldiers would have passed churches with saintly dedications that were both nationwide, such as the Virgin Mary and St Andrew, but also regional, such as St Mungo. These would have offered opportunities for saintly intercession, confession and communion, the significance of which has been researched by earlier scholars (Bachrach, 2003a). It was argued that some of the churches' dedications at Otterburn would have appealed to both the English and Scottish soldiers, which also might explain

why they were not attacked. At Roslin, a parallel was drawn between the several dedications to St Mungo and the soldier identity of the Scottish soldier in guerrilla warfare, considering their shared liminal state and mutual dwelling in ascetic landscapes. Several of the sites, such as Cleeve's Cross (Ferryhill), Pentland Hills and the Middle March, were associated with legends and folklore, which shaped the perceptions of the local landscape. The soldiers crossed parish boundaries and other places associated with medieval rites of passages, such as bridges. All case studies further demonstrated that the soldiers moved through both rural and urban places, between places of order and wilderness, that would have impacted them similar to the pilgrim's experience of the journey (Locker, 2017). Overall, it was argued that the soldiers' motivation in war and their soldier identities shaped their experience and sensory engagement with the places along the route.

The next research question asked *how did the soldier experience differ considering rank, nationality and regionality?* The analyses illustrated that the places along the route and the route itself would have prompted both unifying and dividing experiences among the soldiers, in terms of ownership of land and devotions. As stated in Chapter 2.2.1, the medieval route 'was a right of way, with both legal and customary status, leading from one village or town to the next' (Hindle, 1982, p. 6), which diversified the perceptions of the journey; for instance, the English soldiers crossed Neville's land which would have been experienced differently by Neville and other soldiers. Likewise, at Roslin, West Linton was a village that belonged to the Comyns which probably impacted John Comyn but not necessarily the common soldier. The Middle March was both beyond Percy's land, who was the Warden of the East March, and that of Douglas, who owned land north of the Border. Perhaps this can explain the sense of a 'chase' of both armies' journeys; the 'lawlessness' of the area could have acted as a unifying experience as it was more unfamiliar to all of them. Sites associated with saints could however have been unifying experiences as they were linked to the regional and liminal identities of the soldiers, such as St Cuthbert and St Mungo (Liddy, 2008; Penman, 2011).

6.3 FROM BATTLEFIELD LANDSCAPES TO CAMPAIGN LANDSCAPES

The discussion will now move on to place the research questions and results within broader frameworks of medieval scholarship and themes discussed in the literature review. It will also propose future avenues of research.

6.3.1 The identification of routes to battle

Chapter 1 critically assessed previous research on battlefield landscapes and argued that both battlefield and conflict archaeologies have failed to convincingly include larger landscape perspectives in their research. In those cases where the battlefield has been analysed in relation to its surrounding landscape, it has mainly concerned the deployment and movement of soldiers from a strategic perspective and not included a rigorous use of the available evidence (Foard, 2012, chap. 5; Foard and Curry, 2013, chap. 3). The first stage of the analysis therefore reconstructed the route that the soldiers used during campaign prior to battle. The results that arose from the analyses demonstrated the strengths of using an interdisciplinary methodology for reconstructing routes, albeit with some limitations in terms of the availability of evidence. Moreover, it further showed the methodology's benefits of focusing on how a particular social group used the route in the 'inside' perspective, and its link to the battlefield, in terms of the conduct of war.

In general, the research questions in this thesis differ from those previously directed towards the reconstruction of historic routes: this study has reconstructed routes used within a limited time-scale and by a particular type of user, whereas other scholars have attempted to identify larger road networks in particular areas in *longue durée* perspectives (Hutton, 2011; Brookes and Huynh, 2018; Vletter and van Lanen, 2018). In cases where routes have been reconstructed on a smaller scale, for a specific purpose, their methods have mainly concerned limited types of evidence, such as itineraries, archival studies, lidar data, historic maps and aerial photographs (Harvey, 2005; Hutton,

2011; Maio *et al.*, 2013; Svobodova and Hajek, 2017; Verbrugghe, De Clercq and van Eetvelde, 2017). Scholars within battlefield archaeology have, on one hand, identified the road used by a group of people at a precise time, although, they have not addressed a broad range of evidence, mainly historic sources and maps, and neither have they situated the idea of travelling in a historic mindset (Foard, 2012, chap. 5; Foard and Curry, 2013, chap. 3). They have often assumed that the roads that soldiers chose, were only due to their strategic location. Moreover, the route to battle has rarely been explored in connection with the Anglo-Scottish battles. Therefore, the analysis and methods in this thesis have contributed to the broader field of research by focusing on the use of routes at a certain time, the motivation behind those who used them and by addressing multiple types of evidence, and placed them within a historical context.

The results displayed both strengths and weaknesses of the method's interdisciplinary focus: the first challenge was that the available written evidence for each case study was different in its accessibility and scope; for instance; Neville's Cross and Otterburn included several written sources, whereas Roslin only a few. This was a concern stated earlier in the thesis, namely the limited number of Scottish medieval written sources (Chapter 2.3) (King and Simpkin, 2014). The most substantial challenge concerned Roslin, where there were two named places, of which one was only mentioned by two written sources. To overcome this, it was proposed that the written accounts could be verified by archaeological evidence: this was an attempt to combine the interdisciplinary evidence to assess the place's credibility as having been part of a campaign. Although the analysis of the archaeological evidence could strengthen the argument of credibility, the conclusions were based on a subjective assessment of likelihood.

Another challenge was the analysis of the *links*, which sought to identify route corridors in the landscape through topographical evidence and archaeological remains of historic roads (van Lanen *et al.*, 2015). This *link* analysis proved especially useful at Roslin, as there were distinct topographical differences, and a valley linking the two named places which could be recognised as a topographical route corridor. There was also a digitised Roman road running through the valley. In the other two case studies, the terrain

contained few obstacles, but Neville's Cross contained several historical roads between the named places which could be identified as links. The lack of evidence of links at Otterburn prompted the analysis to rely more on the archaeological evidence of nodes applied later. It can be concluded that this part of the analysis is therefore more effective in certain types of terrain and where there are few historical sources noting named places. Scholars have used various GIS-data and spatial analyses, in particular, the least cost path analysis, which 'allows the modelling of the costs of traversing a landscape subdivided into grid cells on a map' (Verbrugghe, De Clercq and van Eetvelde, 2017). This method is useful in the identification of historic routes, although as Vletter *et al.* have noted, it does not include cultural and environmental factors which is problematic (Vletter and van Lanen, 2018). Therefore, this sort of formalist approach is not reconcilable with the phenomenological approach taken in this thesis.

Source limitations were also encountered in the archaeological evidence of the archaeological layers of *nodes* at Otterburn. To overcome this, a 'density' analysis of the archaeological layers was performed to produce the likeliest route, of smaller roads and suitable terrain. This was, of course, not without weaknesses, and the suggested route could not be as detailed as the other case studies, and not as reliable. Perhaps these weaknesses can be addressed by turning to the anthropological study of roads which focuses on the *subject* and their relation to the route (Sauer, 2016). The Middle March, known for its 'lawlessness' and the sparseness of the medieval population could explain its lack of evidence/existence of historic roads. As Oram has argued: 'The presence of a road subtly alters perceptions of the land it traverses' (Oram, 2017, p. 303). Therefore, seeking to identify explicit routes used by soldiers might not be entirely appropriate to this region; instead, one might focus on identifying areas of movement, which could have been used.

The richer written and archaeological evidence of Neville's Cross pointed out the importance of considering the 'unexpected' behaviour of soldiers in the reconstruction method: as noted in Chapter 4.2.3, the swift turn towards the right from Bishop Auckland towards Merrington was in the wrong direction; a more direct route towards Durham, near where the Scottish soldiers were, would have included using Dere Street

and passing Brancepeth. An account by Jean Le Bel, a canon of Liege Cathedral and eye witness of a campaign with the English in Scotland in the 14th century, described how: '[his] whole army rode all day through this mountainous wilderness without direction, guided solely by the sun, finding no road or track or any town, walled or otherwise' (Le Bel and Bryant, 2011, p. 42). Le Bel's testimony underscores the unplanned movements of soldiers during campaigns, which must be taken into account when reconstructing soldiers' routes. At Neville's Cross, the English soldiers' pursuit of the Scots, motivated and shaped their movements in the landscape. The conduct of war must also be considered in the reconstruction in terms of scale and movement: the Scottish departure point at Otterburn took place outside the study area, as it was a mustering point before an attack. This also indicates that the methodology could focus on one country or smaller scales. Moreover, it could also be said that the methodology might not be as effective in some types of warfare; soldiers conducting guerrilla warfare did not really have 'real' departure points as they were almost always on the move.

Despite the limitations of the evidence, this thesis has successfully combined written, archaeological, and topographical evidence and proposed three routes that soldiers used during campaign. The approach is therefore contrasting previous approaches towards medieval written sources mentioning battles: they have often been approached anachronistically as 'guidebooks' to understand the historic landscape in order to trace where the battle took place (Foard and Curry, 2013) (for criticism see Chapter 1.2.4). Instead, this thesis has problematised the narratives of written sources and used them in conjunction with other evidence to understand the soldiers' behaviour in the landscape and the battle's relation to the campaign. One example where a nuanced reading is required is in the *Gesta Annalia* (included in Fordun's *Chronicle of the Scottish Nation*), which proposed that Comyn and Fraser with their men rushed from Biggar to Roslin over one night, which the hypothetical route suggested was not feasible considering its length (Chapter 3.2.3). Coupled with archaeological evidence, it has therefore proved a novel approach to reconstruct routes that soldiers used before battle. The results propose that future research on the reconstruction of historic routes could focus on interdisciplinary evidence and the route-user and their motivation behind movement. The idea of 'road' must be defined in its correct historical context, as the

word 'road' was not coined until the 16th century (Allen and Evans, 2016, p. 3). Moreover, the soldiers' mobility was shaped by several aspects, for instance their conduct of war, variously a pursuit or attack, which means that the shortest, most accessible route to battle as not always the one taken by the soldiers during campaign.

6.3.2 Battlefields and landscapes of movement

One impetus behind this thesis was to place battlefields within larger landscape perspectives. To counter previous research traditions, this thesis argued that we should consider the route to battle of identified medieval battlefields and situate the meaning of the journeying within the medieval worldview. The results of the case study analyses demonstrated that the link between the reconstructed routes' relationship to the identified battlefields, depended on the soldiers' movement throughout the campaign, their conduct and perception of war. At Roslin, the Scottish soldiers' movement was instigated by a 'chase' to find the English and they attacked them near Roslin after travelling on the Roman road. At Neville's Cross, the connection between route and battlefield is also nuanced by the evident mutual pursuit of both sides, as told in the chronicles; the English soldiers moved irregularly by first moving north, then east and then north again, which suggests that they were tracking the Scottish's location. At Otterburn, the route's location in relation to the battlefield appeared somewhat obscure, as the reconstruction suggested both the English and Scottish soldiers used smaller roads, before the English attack at Otterburn. The analyses therefore placed the identified battlefields in a new landscape context of mobility and movement. The results both correspond with and challenge earlier arguments made by scholars on medieval battlefields' locations: Morgan has, for instance, argued that battle locations often were 'accidental' (Morgan, 2000, p. 35), and it has also been proposed that they were by 'meeting places' (Benham, 2005, p. 64). The results illustrate that the route had a strong impact on the location of battle, as it was the use of road or terrain, motivated by certain behaviour, conduct and perceptions, that led them to that specific location. The battle would not have taken place in that particular location without the route travelled.

A more in-depth analysis of the connection between battlefield and its landscape context of mobility has rich research potential and has started to be addressed in terms of the burial of the dead (Curry and Foard, 2016). As noted by Curry and Foard, the historical sources rarely mention where the deceased soldiers were buried, and there have been almost no mass battle graves found from the 14th century at all (Curry and Foard, 2016, p. 62). They argue that the landscape location of battle impacted the soldiers' burial: 'where there was a neighbouring church or monastery, we would expect it to play a role in burials. Where soldiers came from the neighbourhood then there was a good chance of their being taken to their home church' (Curry and Foard, 2016, p. 71). The need for focus on the route in relation to burials has been noted in an Early Modern setting too in relation to study of the Battle of Dunbar (1650) and burials: 'the archaeology of conflict should also extend to sites at some distance from the battlefield itself [...] more graves related to events at Dunbar may lie along the route of the march to Durham' (Gerrard *et al.*, 2018, pp. 14–15).

Another promising approach to medieval battlefields and their relationship to landscapes of movement is in terms of commemoration. Important archaeological features identified in the case studies are the two crosses erected after battle at Neville's Cross and Otterburn, which are regarded as commemorative or linked to significant events during the battle (Drury, 1998; Roberts, 1998). Research has shown that monuments sometimes were built to commemorate the event of battle (Morgan, 2009; Atherton and Morgan, 2011). They were largely built in situ and were connected to medieval beliefs in life after death and praying for souls in purgatory (Atherton and Morgan, 2011), and were also related to the naming of battlefields (Morgan, 2000). Most research on the commemoration of battles has focused on historical sources, and regional or local memory (Atherton and Morgan, 2011; Stevenson and Pentland, 2012; Boardman, 2018; Bartlett, 2020), and there has also been a surge of interest in general medieval commemoration (Brenner, Franklin-Brown and Cohen, 2013; Cassidy-Welch, 2016; McFarland, 2016; Ní Mhaonaigh, Naismith and Rowe Ashman, 2020).

The post-battle landscapes of commemoration often continued to develop after the battle, linked to religious belief and chivalry, such as the building Roslin Chapel. One

perspective towards these landscapes of commemoration which has not been investigated yet is where the commemorative landscape became a landscape of pilgrimage, linked to the soldiers' own memory who returned to the battlefield. A modern example is WW1 and WW2 battlefields, where returning soldiers, their families (including subsequent generations) and other tourists seek to walk the same road as earlier soldiers, to prompt mourning, commemoration and remembrance (Winter, 2013). The popularity of revisiting battlefields from the World Wars has developed into 'battlefield pilgrimage' or 'battlefield tourism' (Lloyd, 1998). There are medieval examples of soldiers returning to battlefields too: after the Battle of Agincourt (1415), one count returned to explain the battlefield, known from a chronicle: 'And afterwards they came by Agincourt and he [Arthur, Count of Richemont] explained to those who were there how the battle had been, and showed them where he had been, and his banner, and all the great lords, and where their banners had been, and where the king of England had lodged' (translation Andy King) (Le Vavasseur, 1890, p. 126). After the battle of Grünwald (1410), soldiers who had participated in the battle returned to the chapel nearby to commemorate their fallen friends (Jučas, Everatt and Strunga, 2009, p. 87). Moreover, the place where Simon de Montfort (d.1265) was killed during battle became a pilgrimage site (Maddicott, 1994; Ambler, 2019, p. 331).

Investigation of commemorative landscapes of battle is particularly suitable for the medieval Anglo-Scottish wars, given it was an extended conflict in the same limited region, which would have meant that the same soldiers returned to the same landscapes of conflict often, plausibly over generations. Bearing in mind the folkloric evidence of ballads about battles which were narrated by people in the region throughout centuries, it seems likely that soldiers themselves had ways to remember the battles too. This adds another analytical layer of 'commemoration' to the identified battlefields: monuments such as Neville's Cross and Percy's Cross could have had such meaning for returning regional soldiers. Wallace's Cave near Roslin could also have been such a place of memorial: there was an association between caves and warriors in Gaelic tradition, such as the Cave of Cruachain, where rites took place connected to dead warriors (Waddell, 2014, p. 86). In general, caves in Gaelic mythology were often re-used over a long time and show ritual activity for centuries (Dowd, 2015). This research enquiry would also

link to research on medieval pilgrimage, which has shown that shorter pilgrimages to local and regional sites became popular in the late medieval period (Duffy, 2002), suggesting that short distanced travel to places of sacred or symbolic significance was part of the medieval life and mindset. Is it possible that local pilgrimage included the commemoration of regional battlefields?

This new research enquiry is strengthened by the analyses of the battlefields in this thesis, which demonstrated that they were before battle 'non-places', with no distinct features or memory tied to it (Chapters 3.3.3, 4.3.3 and 5.3.3). This explains why battlefields were named after near-laying features, such as the 'Battle of Durham' (Burne, 2005, p. 178). It was not until after battle that the place of battle became a battlefield, i.e. a place with cultural resonance and memory. Before the battle, the journey through the (often) familiar landscape was important and included a spiritual preparation. The battlefield itself was the culmination of the journey and its experience intensively linked to that of the journey. This might also explain why medieval armies brought relics, banners and other sacred objects to the battlefield, to sanctify the ground (Caldwell, 2001; Sharpe, 2017). Thus, the place of battle did not have a symbolic meaning to the soldiers that distinguished it from the rest of the landscape, until after the battle. It was not just because lives had been lost here, but because the battlefields were regarded as places of spiritual intercession; in their liminal state, they represented a threshold between life and death, this world and the next. Therefore, by studying the preparatory route and its landscape before battle, the analysis also identified that the place of battle did not become a battlefield until afterwards.

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Figure 54. Martin Roberts's reconstruction of the Neville's Cross monument (in Roberts, 1998, p. 105).

6.3.3 Identities, emotion, and devotion

The second theme investigated throughout the thesis was the soldiers' perceptions of the journey, i.e. of travelling on the hypothetical route to battle. The results have shown that the soldiers encountered several places of meaning to them linked to medieval belief and imagination, and their regional and soldier identities along the route. These would have been part of the preparation and shaped their perceptions of the journey and were linked to the sense of the region and their motivation and conduct of war as soldiers. It was argued that the soldiers' sensory engagement with the places was shaped by their role, identity and their goal, i.e. battle. These places were mainly built features, such as buildings and monuments situated by the route, but also natural features and places associated with legends.

All three case studies included the soldiers passing churches, which had dedications appealing to both the English and Scottish soldiers: dedications to the Virgin Mary were found in all case studies, and to St Andrew at Neville's Cross and Otterburn. Some churches and holy wells also had dedications to more nationally and regionally specific saints: dedications to St Cuthbert were found near the border in Otterburn, and in the whole study area of Neville's Cross. Dedications to St Mungo were found in Roslin, with two churches and one holy well. Overall, the churches and chapels would have offered opportunities for the Eucharist and confession, which written sources often describe as part of the campaign (Bachrach, 2003a). Moreover, the buildings themselves were sacred focal points in the landscape, especially in the more rural areas where the parish church was at the centre of settlement. It was argued that some of the churches' dedications (the Virgin Mary and St Cuthbert) at Otterburn appealed to the Scottish soldiers, which perhaps explains why they were not attacked. The case studies also illustrated that the saintly dedications reflected both the soldier and regional liminal identities: at Roslin, it was argued that St Mungo mirrored the soldier identity of the Scottish soldiers' liminal state in their guerrilla warfare and dwelling in the wilderness. For the soldiers at Neville's Cross, the dedications to St Cuthbert were strongly related to the soldiers' motivation, conduct and perceptions of the war as protecting his land, being part of the *haliwerfolc*. Therefore, the saintly dedications corresponded to both

broader medieval pieties, and the soldier's martial and regional identities. The dedication of the parish church at Elsdon to St Cuthbert also reflected the mutual border identity, of being a saint venerated and 'claimed' on both sides (Lomas, 2005; Turpie, 2011; Crumplin, 2013).

Another pattern that emerged from the analyses is that there were various monuments situated along the routes of a commemorative or mnemonic purpose; both the soldiers at Neville's Cross and Otterburn passed churches containing effigies of knights. It was argued in the analyses that the effigies had a commemorative meaning to the medieval beholder, they 'marked the site where the world of the living intersected the world of the dead' (Dressler, 2004, p. 60). One example was the effigy of Ralph Reymes, in St Andrew's Church (Bolam, Otterburn), who had fought in Scotland in 1315 (Emery, 1996, p. 40), and was likely a well-known family name among the soldiers. Scholars have in recent years placed a specific emphasis on the role of emotions among knights and the crusaders, including fear, sorrow and anger (Downes, Lynch and O'Loughlin, 2015; Brandsma, Larrington and Saunders, 2018; Spencer, 2020). It often included mourning for the fallen soldiers, and weeping itself was seen as a ritual in the medieval west, connected to humility and compunction (Nagy, 2004; Spencer, 2020, p. 119), a 'remorseful weeping' (Spencer, 2020, p. 122). This could be applied to medieval soldiers in the case studies too, seeing that they acted in familiar landscapes and regions of warfare where their fellow soldiers previously had fallen. The effigies therefore had a commemorative and mnemonic meaning which invoked emotions. Of course, it is not likely that thousands of soldiers visited the churches, nevertheless, the knowledge of the effigies' locations would have impacted them. It is also strengthened by recent research which has emphasised the mnemonic meaning of medieval stone-monuments, which has argued that their iconography, location and visibility impacted the beholder (Crouwers, 2015; Murrieta-Flores and Williams, 2017). This is also linked to this thesis's argument above, that the post-battle landscape could have become a pilgrimage site for the participating soldiers, where monuments, such as Neville's Cross, became a monument reflecting their soldier identities that they engaged with somatically.

The cross-monuments also possessed specific meanings, found in Auckland, St Andrew's Cross and two in Otterburn, at Belsay and Steng Cross, near Elsdon. These would have impacted the beholding soldier in another way, relating to the broader medieval soldier identities: chivalric and Christian values were entwined, for example knights on crusades also identified with Christ in his suffering (Purkis, 2008; Allen Smith, 2011; Saul, 2011, pp. 198–99). This was linked to medieval affective piety, which focused on Christ's Passion, where Christians sought to experience the same sufferings and follow his footsteps. In particular, the monument of St Andrew, depicting the apostle's martyrdom could have had such a mnemonic meaning of martyrdom. The monument at Neville's Cross (Figure 54) could also be seen from this perspective, extending the argument above that it could have been part of a post-battle landscape of commemoration. Similarly, the cross-monument displaying the Crucifixion scene would have both appealed to medieval affective piety and the soldiers' self-identification with Christ's sufferings. Moreover, in a landscape setting, the location of the monument was important too (Gillings, 2015); usually, monuments showing the crucifixion of Christ were placed so that they could be experienced as a Golgotha (Crouwers, 2015, p. 169). St Andrew's Cross was arguably situated between different monasteries (Calvert, 1984). In this context, it would seem as if the monuments' locations were 'reinterpreted' and became important to the traveller, here the soldier, who saw the monument on his way to or after battle.

As noted, no 'commemorative place' as such could be found at Roslin; the archaeological evidence of cross-monuments or similar, was relatively little. Some places would have had a special meaning, such as the sites associated with William Wallace, as argued in Chapter 3.3.3, although their dates have not been confirmed. Perhaps this is due to the Scottish guerrilla warfare, which was less organised and included irregular attacks, raids etc. which made the soldiers less 'fixed' in the landscape. They might have had other ways of commemorating the fallen soldiers instead which suited their conduct of war.

The places that the soldiers encountered in all case studies reflect the medieval perceptions of 'the other'; they reveal that the soldiers in their liminal state shared the landscape with non-human forces, evidenced by Cleeve's Cross, which represented the

soldier duty to protect against evil forces. The communication with 'the other' has been labelled 'cohabitation' and is often found in medieval stories about saints, meaning that the saints worked 'along the frontier between settlements' (Crane, 2012, p. 38), in a sense, 'taming' the wilderness. The command over this landscape can also be found in a legend of St Mungo's (St Kentigern) whose 'physical control of the wolf reflected his spiritual success' (Pluskowski, 2006, p. 173). In this sense, by moving through the landscape during campaign the soldier fulfilled the saints' role by cohabiting and restoring the lived environment by their presence. This also means that the very *act of moving* was an important 'semi-devotion' – by seeing and engaging with their senses changed the sense of landscape.

How do these results then relate to broader research on medieval soldiers' devotion and spiritual experience during military campaigns? Devotion among medieval soldiers is not a new topic, but has been the subject of several studies (Bachrach, 2003a, 2003b; Penman, 2011, 2013) and has been referred to throughout the thesis. One theme found in these studies is that the army's devotions have been considered as propaganda, ideology or with a political purpose, especially in the crusades: for example, Christoph T. Maier, frames his research on crusading preachers in the Holy Land and Europe during the crusades, in terms of propaganda (Maier, 1994, 1997, 2000, 2018). M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, who in a series of publications studied crusader rituals of departure (Gaposchkin, 2013a, 2013b; Shagrir and Gaposchkin, 2017), studied documentary sources and compared them to the broader context of devotions, such as the pilgrim rituals of departure. She shares the same viewpoint by approaching the rites as both linked to a spiritual consciousness and also to crusader propaganda, calling the liturgy of war a 'devotional ideology' (Gaposchkin, 2017, p. 4). This is something that has been ascribed to soldier devotions in general, that they were 'ideological' and not devotional: having been seen through the prism of military ideology, the depth and meaning of these devotions have been overlooked and their setting in a broader context of belief has not been evaluated. In contrast, this thesis proposes that their devotions were integral to the meaning of the journey, were part of their interior preparation for battle, by engaging with *places* along the route. As explained in Chapter 2.1.1.2, places were defined by memory, meaning and purpose. The analyses have showed that the places

passed by the soldiers were both linked to the administration of sacraments, saintly dedications, and commemoration, and also places of medieval allegory, such as bridges. This thesis proposes that engaging with them was part of the military campaign, where the *place* had meaning in terms of the spiritual, physical and mental preparation for the battle. In a broader soldier context, this can also be seen for instance in research on sword inscriptions and cross-pendants that soldiers wore, and sword deposits intentionally placed in water (Wagner *et al.,* 2009; Worley and Gregor Wagner, 2013; Raffield, 2014). These examples show a deep spiritual consciousness and agency among medieval soldiers during campaign. They can be seen within the framework of *lived religion*, meaning the laity's devotion in their everyday lives, with relation to devotional material culture and bodily practice, such as gestures and body language (McGuire, 2008; Sundmark, 2017, p. 220), which was a complement to the church's liturgy (Duffy, 1992; Sundmark, 2017).

This thesis has also added a landscape perspective: how soldiers engaged in unique campaigns and settings at a certain time, framed by medieval perceptions of journeying. It has situated archaeological features within new landscape contexts of journeys and military campaigns. Similarly, the meaningful places along the route's landscape location prepared the soldiers mentally and spiritually for battle. This is a unique and novel approach towards medieval soldier's and their religious behaviour during campaigns.

6.3.4 Multidimensional experience of soldiers

One of the research questions stated in Chapter 1.3.1 concerned how the soldiers' rank, and national and regional identity shaped their experience of the journey. The case studies' differences in time, place and nationality illustrated the national and regional differences. Throughout the thesis, the term 'soldier' has been used to denote any fighting man in battle, as an umbrella term to cover all ranks (as stated in Chapter 1.4). Previous research has focused on the role of rank, social class in terms of soldier experience and religious devotions (Penman, 2011). These nuances are more easily

approached through historical sources and are challenging to address through the archaeological sources and phenomenological approach.

In general, the analyses have shown that the journey and its *places* and *spaces* could be both unifying and dividing experiences among soldiers regardless of rank or background: the sacraments of mass and confession have been emphasised as a unifying factor (Bachrach, 2003a; Penman, 2011, 2013). It is illustrated in *Lanercost Chronicle* at Neville's Cross, that the English soldiers attended mass and made confession. At Southdean Church was a portable altar which signifies that it was expected to be mobile (Chapter 5.2.1.2). All case studies' landscapes contained churches or other suitable places along the road which could have been appropriate settings. Clergy sometimes accompanied the armies too, such as at Neville's Cross, where the written sources mention how the bishop and clergy partook in the campaign. This was also related to the role of the medieval army chaplain who provided the sacraments to soldiers (Bachrach, 2003b, 2004).

Penman (2011) illustrated the medieval Scottish common soldiers' pastoral care, how saintly devotion was both a unifying and dividing devotional act among soldiers of different ranks. General research on saintly devotion has also shown how it was a unifying symbol which created a mutual identity (Turpie, 2015) and was sometimes used politically (Penman, 2013). The three case studies, as explored above, showed both regional and national saints, in different locations and usages. At Roslin, the soldiers would have passed churches associated with St Mungo, the saint in Strathclyde. Passing sites associated with a regional saint would have been 'expected' among the regional soldiers. At Otterburn, as the analysis showed, the landscape was the same for both the English and Scottish soldiers, however, their experience was possibly different: after all, it was the English soldiers who chased the Scots. The churches they passed have different saintly dedications: the Virgin Mary, St Andrew and St Cuthbert. These cults would have attracted soldiers on both sides: the Virgin Mary was venerated in both countries, and similar to St Andrew, St Cuthbert was also a 'disputed saint' (Lomas, 2005; Turpie, 2011).

The campaign landscapes also included places of folkloric memories and traditions, which together created the *place* (cf. Chapter 2.1.1.2). Many of the folkloric tales were communicated orally, and likely not recorded in writing, but the analyses identified several in each case study. In the Gaelic tradition, oral tales were conveyed and would have been familiar to soldiers regardless of rank (Lynch, 2007, p. 465), if they shared the same geographical background. This means that for Scottish soldiers passing places such as Pentland Hills, would have appeared as a topography of fear, and also Biggar as a place of battle. A similar case can be found in Neville's Cross, where folkloric evidence mainly concerned the slaughter of beasts such as the Boar of Brancepeth. The cross-monument, Cleeve's Cross, was placed where the slaughter took place. Otterburn contained few places of distinct legends and folklore – the place-name evidence of Scot's Gap, and the many names incorporating 'wolf', propose that places of previous combat and 'beasts' would have been familiar to soldiers. Considering that 'legends express the collective values and beliefs of the group to whose tradition they belong' (Lindahl, McNamara and Lindow, 2004, p. 587), and were often associated with particular locales and people (Lindahl, McNamara and Lindow, 2004, p. 589), the experience of folkloric places could have been shared by many of the soldiers.

Naturally, the soldiers' rank would also have affected their experience: as mentioned above (Chapter 6.2), the ownership of land, such as Neville's land surrounding Raby and Sunderland Bridge, would have divided the soldier experience. Moreover, the equipment, armour and way of transport which depended largely on rank influenced the way soldiers experienced the journey too. The various ways of burial and dealing with dead soldiers further illustrate differences (Curry and Foard, 2016), with effigies mainly marking the burials of high ranked soldiers. However, what the results have highlighted in the inside perspective is the regional identities, which played a large part in the soldier experience (Guard 2016, 127). In medieval warfare, some weapons were regional (Goodman, 2005, p. 145), and guilds were often formed which connected regional soldiers and gave them a Christian burial (Curry and Foard, 2016). At Roslin, it might be seen in the soldiers' conduct of war, which was regional in the recruitment and organisation. It can also be seen in the soldiers' motivation to defend the region, as a large component of their incentive was those who voluntarily wished to join the 'army

of Scotland' (MacInnes, 2016, pp. 60–61). The regional framework for the soldiers at Neville's Cross could be seen in the cult of St Cuthbert, and for the soldiers at Otterburn, their mutual experience of a chase in the 'lawless' Middle March.

In sum, using the concept of 'soldier' as an umbrella-term to study the solder experience of journey before battle has its advantage and disadvantages. This is something future research could address in more detail, which is beyond the scope of this thesis.

6.3.5 The medieval soldier journeys

Chapter 1 argued that the soldiers' journey to battle could be compared with the medieval pilgrim, who also undertook a journey of spiritual and physical preparation to reach a goal. In this journey, the pilgrim 'experiences a continuous state of instability - between earth and heaven, between movement and place, between a process and its outcome' (Maddrell *et al.*, 2014, p. 3). The preceding chapters in this thesis have studied medieval military campaigns within such a framework of journeying, by moving through the *space* and engaging with *place*s along the route in the landscape.

The meaning of medieval travel has received much scholarly attention (Sauer, 2016; Skousen, 2018; Gaposchkin, 2020), but never in the context of medieval soldiers on campaign. This thesis has therefore contributed to a new understanding of medieval travel and journeys, namely by exploring the phenomenological landscape of journeying during campaign, from an inside perspective of medieval soldiers. The results have illustrated how the soldiers, by engaging with the sites of spiritual, commemorative, martial or symbolic meaning, prepared themselves for battle, which 'became' their journey. The results have challenged two prevailing notions on medieval travel: first, it has focused on a 'profane' setting, namely soldiers on campaign, whereas research on medieval travel has predominantly focused on sacred travel, such as pilgrimage, processions etc. Nevertheless, as argued earlier in this thesis, the sacred/profane dichotomy which often is applied to the medieval past is misguided. This thesis has showed how the soldiers' engaged with places and just as travelling in the medieval period 'was nasty, brutish, and long' (Legassie, 2017, p. 1), it was not seen as something

negative but part of the penitential meaning of moving, similar as for pilgrims. The results demonstrated that the journey had a preparatory meaning to soldiers, with sites reflecting their identities as soldiers. The thesis has successfully challenged the sacred/profane dichotomy by identifying how important the sacred was to the 'profane' context of battle.

The second aspect is that it has bridged another dichotomy which has been addressed in research, namely the 'imaginary' versus the 'reality': scholars have, for instance, studied how medieval society and culture influenced romance tales and vice versa (Cooper, 2008; Purdie and Cichon, 2011; Rouse, 2011; Byrne, 2013; Perkins, 2015; Chism, 2016). It was done here by merging the medieval literary idea of quests and journeys with the physical and 'real' landscape of military campaigns. Parallels between the knight, who in romance tales, departed from castles for quests and encountering places on the way, were found in all the case studies. Another parallel can be found between the Scottish soldiers' conduct of war and the medieval Irish (and also Scottish) *imrama* tales (meaning 'rowing about'), which depict protagonists rowing around in a boat, visiting islands which give them moral lessons, until they return home, having transformed interiorly (Friedman *et al.*, 2000, p. 274; Owen Clancy, 2007). The Scottish guerrilla warfare was also a form of 'rowing about', not being fixed but moving through landscapes, without a fixed goal. This links the literary with the physical medieval perceptions and motivations of travel and movement.

What the results have shown is that the perceptions of journeying were associated with the soldiers' motivations for war, regional identities, framed by medieval belief and imagination: the Scottish soldiers' motivation to defend the realm and their guerrilla warfare, the English soldiers' roles as protectors of St Cuthbert's land, and the English and Scottish soldiers' role in a chase in the Middle March, were reflected in the way that they used the landscape during their journey. The *space*, i.e. the history and sense of the landscape with its disloyalty (Roslin), 'ante-chamber' to St Cuthbert's relics (Neville's Cross), and the 'lawless Middle March' (Otterburn) and their contested histories contributed to their experience of the journey. Their motivation in war was therefore linked to their experience.

The analyses showed that the soldiers' movements were often unanticipated, and the itinerary spontaneous. However, the structured marching and the sensory experience of campaigns can also be seen as parallel to the medieval procession, where groups of people marched together for a specific purpose, such as Corpus Christi with the laity walking behind the clergy, carrying banners and candles etc. (Ashley, 2001). Similarly, the mobile aspect of the procession had a strong meaning and it included sensory experience of incense and bells. During campaigns, soldiers also carried banners, reliquaries etc. to battle, which relates to research done on the sensory experience of battle among soldiers (Jones, 2010; Sharpe, 2017). This would suggest that the soldiers' journey of marching along a route was a structured choreography with a strong sensory experience, both in terms of smell and vision, which could be linked to the structured medieval procession. The structured movement could also be reflected in the medieval Stations of the Cross, which included meditation on Christ's suffering, walking in his footsteps. The purpose was to 'unite with the Divine', through a 'mystical union with Christ' - the *via crucis* (Mecham, 2005).

6.3.6 Conclusion

The analyses and consequent results of this thesis have introduced a new research topic, namely medieval soldiers' experience of journeying to battle in a regional setting. It has shown that the journey consisted of moving through *space*, shaped by the regional history and sense, and engaging with *places* along the route, linked to medieval belief, devotion and the soldiers' martial, spiritual and regional identities. Contrary to earlier research on medieval soldiers' spiritual agency, which has seen it as ideological, this thesis has approached the soldiers' devotions and perceptions as being part of their lived experience of preparing for battle, framed by medieval belief, imagination, piety, and the experience of movement. Following the research done on the mental preparation for battle, such as battle speeches (Bliese, 1989, 1991; Macdonald, 2013), it can thus also be argued that the journey filled a function of preparing spiritually and mentally by

engaging somatically with the sites. The landscape perspective of the analyses showed that the soldiers' experience of journeying was linked to a broader medieval context of belief, their conduct of war and regional and local soldier identities. The thesis has therefore contributed methodologically and proposed a holistic view of the medieval landscapes, by merging the soldier experience with the regional landscape.

The thesis has contributed to research on the Anglo-Scottish wars with new insight into the routes that soldiers took to battle during campaign, their devotion and piety and also how the conflicted landscapes were perceived during the 14th century. The thesis has balanced the temporal bias in research, where predominantly the first part of the Scottish Civil Wars has been studied (see Chapter 2.3.1). Another topic for future research would be to explore different types of warfare in the region: this study has focused on pitched battles, including two sieges, but, as mentioned throughout the thesis, a large part of the conflict consisted of raids, devastation of lands and the 'scorched earth' techniques, one of the most common methods of war at the time. Some examples were given throughout the thesis linking the devastation of lands with the medieval perceptions of wilderness. However, in order to broaden the study of the soldier experienced of the Anglo-Scottish conflict, different types of conducts of war must be studied more rigorously.

What are the implications then for this research? Future research could perform and develop these analyses, which will enable us to compare the regional, national and international differences between the routes and the soldiers' experience of journeying. It would also be interesting to conduct research to determine more how 'planned' these places where, if they could have been passed and encountered in earlier campaigns.

The research questions and methodology used in this thesis, plus the proposed future avenues of research, can only be directed at battlefields that have been securely identified in the landscape. However, by performing additional analyses, a more substantial understanding of the link between route and battlefield could be developed. The results, patterns and differences could be extended and developed into a model which could assist in identifying battlefields in the landscape. Therefore, in relation to battlefield archaeology, this study's implications could help to identify landscapes

where battles took place, by using the written sources coupled with archaeological evidence to identify named places, and their road-networks. Conflict archaeology's focus on the cultural idea of place (Carman and Carman, 2006), can also benefit from this research; by studying the meaning of actual journeying, and the road's link to the site of battle, we might gain insight into the medieval idea of place and its relationship to the route.

This thesis has opened up for studying the *route* as a cultural artefact or object. It has also situated the battlefield in the post-battle landscape of movement by suggesting that a new research enquiry could look more explicitly into the pilgrimage aspect of the landscape after battle. It has proposed an in-depth study of the experiential journey to battle of campaign landscapes, linking the battlefield more broadly, temporally and spatially, with the surrounding landscape– a more nuanced understanding from a soldier perspective.

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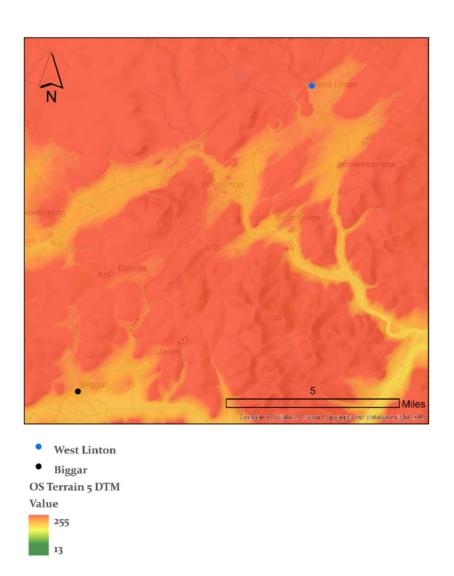
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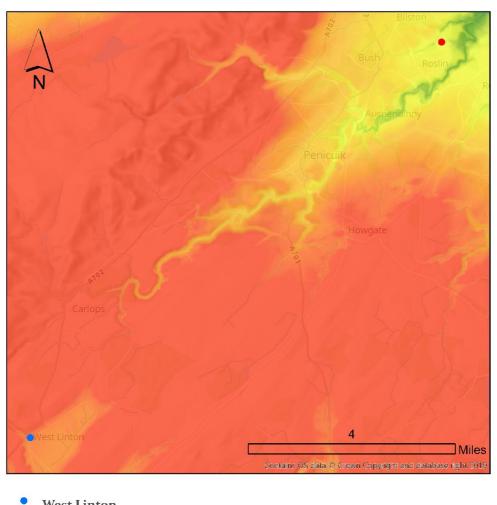
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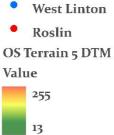
Appendix A – Topographical maps

Appendix A1. Case study 1.
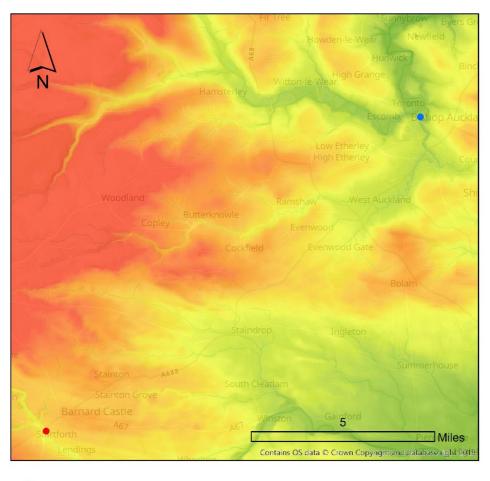
Appendix A1.1. Biggar to West Linton. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic Environment Scotland 2020. Map created by author.

West Linton
• West Linton
• Roslin
OS Terrain 5 DTM
Value
255
13

Appendix A1.2. West Linton to Roslin. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic Environment Scotland 2020. Map created by author.

Appendix A2. Case study 2.
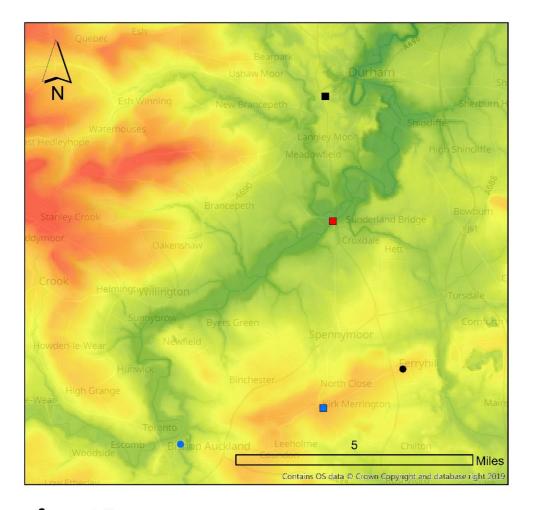
Appendix A2.1. Barnard Castle to Bishop Auckland. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic England 2020. Map created by author.

- ● Ferryhill
- ■ Neville's Cross
- ● Bishop Auckland
- ■ Sunderland Bridge
- ■ Merrington

OS Terrain DTM 5m

Value

255

0
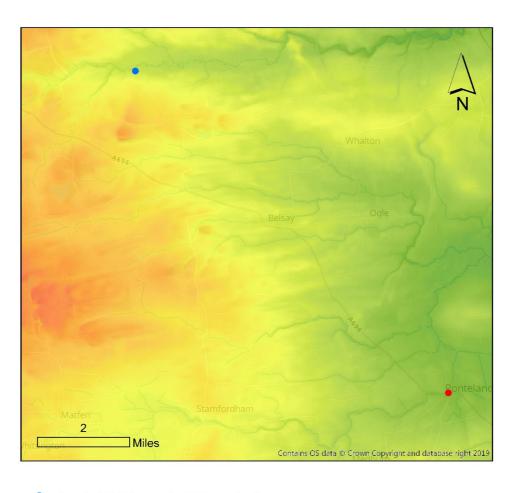
Appendix A2.2. Bishop Auckland to Neville's Cross. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic England 2020. Map created by author.

Appendix A3. Case study 3.

● South Middleton (middle point)
● Ponteland
OS Terrain DTM 5m
Value
255
0

Appendix A3.1. Ponteland to South Middleton. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic England 2020. Map created by author.

• **South Middleton (middle point)**

• **Otterburn**

OS Terrain DTM 5m

Value

255

0

Appendix A3.2. South Middleton to Otterburn. Background map © Crown copyright and database rights 2020 Ordnance Survey (100025252). Contains data © Historic England 2020. Map created by author.
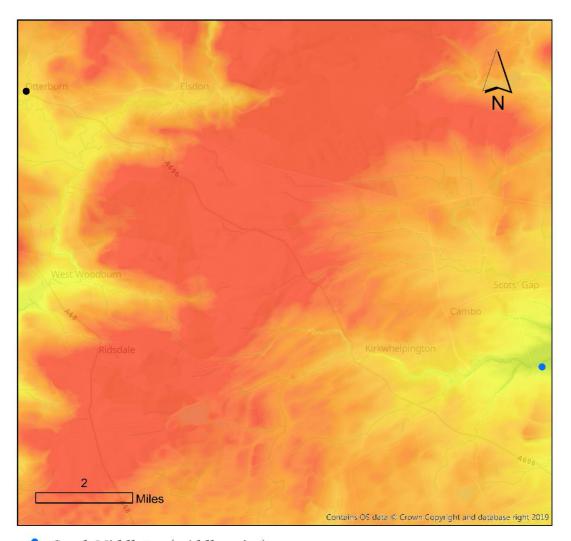
APPENDIX B - DATA RECORDS OF CASE STUDIES

Appendix B.1. Case study 1.

Site name (Canmore)	Canmore ID	Classification (Canmore)	Named place	Category
Biggar - Castledykes	73167	Roman road	Biggar	Named places
Biggar	48647	Motte (Medieval)	Biggar	Named places
Boghall Castle	48645	Castle (medieval)	Biggar	Named places
Boghall Farm	361301	Field Boundary (Post Medieval),	Biggar	Named places
Boghall	72372	Enclosure (Period Unassigned)	Biggar	Named places
Battle of Biggar	48658	Battle Site (Period Unassigned)	Biggar	Named places
Biggar, Cadger's Bridge	48646	Footbridge (Period Unassigned)	Biggar	Named places
Rosebank Cottages	73678	Rock Carving (Period Unassigned)	Roslin	Named places
Roslin Glen, Carved Stone	51823	Carved Stone (Period Unassigned)	Roslin	Named places
Hewan Bog	51845	Road (Period Unassigned)	Roslin	Named places
Roslin, Roslin Chapel	51812	Chapel (15th Century)	Roslin	Named places
Roslin Castle	51811	Castle (Medieval)	Roslin	Named places
Mavisbank House	51714	Earthwork (Medieval)	Roslin	Named places
Roslin	51816	Fort (Period Unassigned)	Roslin	Named places
Gorton House, 'Wallace's Cave'	51808	Cave (Period Unassigned)	Roslin	Named places
Wallace's Camp	18345	Natural Feature (Period Unknown)	Roslin	Named places
Biggar Church	48705	Collegiate Church (16th Century), Pillory (Post Medieval)	Biggar	Named places
Old Pentland, Burial Ground	51681	Burial Ground (Period Unassigned), Church (Period Unassigned) (Possible), Wall(S) (Period Unassigned), Watch House (Period Unassigned), Unidentified Pottery(S)	Roslin	Named places
Dolphinton Parish Church And Churchyard	200691	Church (Period Unassigned), Churchyard (Period Unassigned)		Places of worship
West Linton Old Church	50264	Church (Period Unassigned), Churchyard (Period Unassigned)		Places of worship

Newhall House	50148	Castle (Medieval), Country House (18th Century), Monastery (Medieval)		Places of worship
Skirling Parish Church	48604	Church (18th Century)		Places of worship
Kirkurd Old Church	50132	Cell (Medieval), Church (Period Unassigned), Vault (Medieval)		Places of worship
West Linton , St Mungo's Well	50242	Well (Period Unassigned)		Places of worship
Penicuik, St Mungo's Well	51651	Holy Well (Period Unassigned)		Places of worship
Kirkurd Church	50100	Holy Well (Period Unassigned)		Places of worship
Penicuik, St Kentigern's Church And Churchyard	51652	Burial Ground (Period Unassigned), Church (Period Unassigned), Churchyard (Period Unassigned)		Places of worship
Paul's Well	49951	Well (Period Unassigned)		Places of worship
Border - Crawford - Inveresk	69349	Roman road		Remains of roads
Border - Crawford - Inveresk	71687	Roman road		Remains of roads
Border - Crawford - Inveresk	71714	Roman road		Remains of roads
Border - Crawford - Inveresk	71715	Roman road		Remains of roads
Border - Crawford - Inveresk	149599	Roman road		Remains of roads
Border - Crawford - Inveresk	71716	Roman road		Remains of roads
Border - Crawford - Inveresk	108869	Roman road		Remains of roads
Border - Crawford - Inveresk	149390	Roman road		Remains of roads
Border - Crawford - Inveresk	71717	Roman road		Remains of roads

Border - Crawford - Inveresk	71718	Roman road		Remains of roads
Border - Crawford - Inveresk	149446	Roman road		Remains of roads
Border - Crawford - Inveresk	50146	Roman road		Remains of roads
Border - Crawford - Inveresk	71721	Roman road		Remains of roads
Border - Crawford - Inveresk	51859	Roman road		Remains of roads
Border - Crawford - Inveresk	71722	Roman road		Remains of roads
Peebles - Castledykes - Loudoun Hill - Irvine (?)	71561	Roman road		Remains of roads
South Slipperfield Farm	344706	Hollow Way (Period Unassigned)		Remains of roads
Peebles - Castledykes - Loudoun Hill - Irvine (?)	48961	Roman road		Remains of roads
Peebles - Castledykes - Loudoun Hill - Irvine (?)	71561	Roman road		Remains of roads
Girthgate	110838	Road (Medieval)		Remains of roads
Main Drove Road	343792	Road (Period Unassigned)		Remains of roads
Kirkhouse	48851	Temporary Camp (Roman)		Settlements, villages and towns
Chesterlees	48814	Enclosure (Period Unassigned)		Settlements, villages and towns
Keir Hill	49995	Enclosure(S) (Period Unassigned), Fort (Period Unassigned)		Settlements, villages and towns
Carmaben Hill	50026	Signal Station (Roman)(Possible)		Settlements, villages and towns

Tocherknowe	72048	Fortlet (Roman)		Settlements, villages and towns
North Slipperfield	144753	Temporary Camp (Roman)		Settlements, villages and towns
Bizzyberry	48683	Fort (Period Unassigned)		Settlements, villages and towns
Bizzyberry Hill	48674	Enclosure (Period Unassigned)		Settlements, villages and towns
Braidwood	50152	Settlement (Prehistoric)		Settlements, villages and towns
Castlehill, Candybank	48950	Fort (Period Unassigned)		Settlements, villages and towns
Candybank	48941	Enclosure (Period Unassigned)		Settlements, villages and towns
Candbyburn Castle	48927	Fort (Prehistoric)		Settlements, villages and towns
Brownsbank	48959	Ditch (Period Unassigned), Enclosure (Period Unassigned), Mortuary Enclosure (Neolithic)(Possible)		Settlements, villages and towns
Castlecraig	50107	Temporary Camp (Roman)		Settlements, villages and towns
Kaimhouse Lodge	81991	Temporary Camp (Roman)		Settlements, villages and towns
Skirling Castle	48585	Castle (Medieval)		Settlements, villages and towns
Lochurd	342235	Village (Medieval)		Settlements, villages and towns
Kirkurd	342233	Village (Medieval)		Settlements, villages and towns
Netherurd	342234	Village (Medieval)		Settlements, villages and towns
Blyth	344747	Village (Medieval)		Settlements, villages and towns

Site name	(HE) List Entry No	Classification	Named place	KP	Category
Halmyre Mains	343862	Village (Medieval)			Settlements, villages and towns
Muirburn	48929	Fort (Iron Age), Fort (Medieval), House Platform(S) (Iron Age)			Settlements, villages and towns
Dolphinton village	No Canmore ID				Settlements, villages and towns
West Linton, General	98046	Village (Period Unassigned)			Settlements, villages and towns

Appendix B.2. Case study 2.

Site name	(HE) List Entry No	Classification	Named place	KP	Category
Barnard Castle: ringwork, shell keep castle, chapel and dovecote	1007505	Castle	Barnard Castle		Named place
Church of St Mary	1218277	Church	Barnard Castle		Named place
Egglestone Abbey	1322741	Abbey	Barnard Castle		Named place
Barnard Castle Bridge (that part in Barnard Castle Civil Parish) and attached wall to southeast	1201056	Bridge	Barnard Castle		Named place
Auckland Castle	1196444	Castle	Bishop Auckland		Named place
Church of St Anne	1292201	Church	Bishop Auckland		Named place
Binchester Roman Fort (Vinovia)	1002362	Roman fort	Bishop Auckland		Named place
Church of St John the Evangelist	1310889	Church	Merrington and Ferryhill		Named place
Cleeves Cross circa 10 metres	1310946	Monument	Merrington and Ferryhill		Named place

north east of no 28					
Sherburn hospital gatehouse, office wing, lodge and wall	1311049	Hospital	Neville's Cross		Named place
Sunderland Bridge	1120699	Monument	Sunderland Bridge		Named place
Croxdale Hall	1159140	Building	Sunderland Bridge		Named place
Croxdale medieval chapel and churchyard cross base	1019820	Chapel	Sunderland Bridge		Named place
Holywell Hall and West Wing	1120764	Building	Sunderland Bridge		Named place
Holywell		Holy Well	Sunderland Bridge	D1383	Named place
Ferrhill Chapel		Chapel	Merrington and Ferryhill	D1339	Named place
Neville's Cross	1016622	Cross-monument	Neville's Cross		Named place
Maiden's Bower round cairn	1008843	Cairn	Neville's Cross		Named place
Aldin Grange Bridge	1323214	Bridge	Neville's Cross		Named place
Church of St Mary, Staindrop	1338594	Church			Places of worship
Church of St Mary, Cockfield	1121827	Church			Places of worship
Church of St Helen, Manor Road	1196602	Church			Places of worship
Church of St Andrew, Crown Street	1196458	Church			Places of worship
Whitworth parish church	1121448	Church		D8994	Places of worship
Stainton Chapel		Chapel		D6890	Places of worship
St Mary in the fields		Chapel		D1714	Places of worship
Durham Cathedral	1000089	Cathedral			Places of worship
Binchester Roman fort (Vinovia)	1002362	Roman fort			Settlements, villages and towns

Staindrop		Village		D1688	Settlements, villages and towns
Stainton		Village		D1998	Settlements, villages and towns
Snotterton		Village		D1633	Settlements, villages and towns
Cleatham Shrunken Village		Village		D1635	Settlements, villages and towns
Alwent		Village		D7711	Settlements, villages and towns
Raby		Village		D1689	Settlements, villages and towns
Wackerfield shrunken settlement		Village		D15866	Settlements, villages and towns
Evenwood		Village		D4375	Settlements, villages and towns
Lutterington Deserted or Shrunken Medieval Village, West Auckland		Village		D1665	Settlements, villages and towns
Deserted Medieval Village, Henknowle, St. Andrew's Church, South Church		Village		D1464	Settlements, villages and towns
Whitworth deserted medieval village		Village		D39678	Settlements, villages and towns
Middlestone Deserted Medieval Village		Village		D1331	Settlements, villages and towns
Durham		Town		D44406	Settlements, villages and towns

Appendix B.3. Case study 3.

Site name	List Entry No	KP	Canmore ID	Classification (Canmore)	Category	Named place
Town wall with Durham Tower	1186222				Named place	Newcastle
The Keep	1320005				Named place	Newcastle
The Barbican Walls between the north gate of castle and black gate	1116305				Named place	Newcastle
The Black Gate	1024936				Named place	Newcastle
Cathedral of St Nicholas	1355309				Named place	Newcastle
Hospital of St Mary	1107920				Named place	Newcastle
Southdean Church and Kirkyard			56816	Burial Ground (Medieval), Church (Medieval)	Named place	Southdean Church
Southdean Law			56826	Fort (Prehistoric), Settlement (Prehistoric)	Named place	Southdean Church
Dykeraw Tower			56815	Tower House (Medieval)	Named place	Southdean Church
Milestone circa 1000 yards south of Blaxter cottages	1371456				Named place	Ponteland
The Blackbird Inn	1042690				Named place	Ponteland
Eland Hall	1370713	N10999			Named place	Ponteland
Well near Eland Hall		N19474			Named place	Ponteland
Vicarage Tower	1042721				Named place	Ponteland
Church of St Mary	1370736				Named place	Ponteland
Medieval wayside cross,	1017596				Named place	Otterburn

200m NNW of Brownrigg						
Otterburn Tower	1156191				Named place	Otterburn
Romano-British farmstead, 550m south-east of Shittleheugh	1007528				Named place	Otterburn
Romano-British farmstead 500m north west of Garretshiels	1009377				Named place	Otterburn
Fawdon Hill defended settlement, 900m north-west of Closehead	1007527				Named place	Otterburn
Milestone Circa a quarter of a mile west of Raylees, A696, Elsdon	1041271				Named place	Ponteland
Defended settlement, 700m north of Overacres	1007526				Named place	Otterburn
Habitancum Roman fort and medieval settlement	1008561				Named place	Otterburn
Church of St Cuthbert (Elsdon)	1155072				Places of worship	
Church of St Andrew (Bolam)	1304102				Places of worship	
Church of St Bartholomew (Kirkwhelpington)	1044915				Places of worship	
Church of St Wilfred (Kirkwhelpington)	1370499				Places of worship	
Church of St Mary Magdalene (Whalton)		N11257			Places of worship	

Church of St John the Baptist (Meldon)		N11258			Places of worship	
Church of St Andrew, Hartburn (Hartburn)		N10451			Places of worship	
Cambo Chapel		N10401			Places of worship	
East Shaftoe chapel		N10567			Places of worship	
Jemmy's Well		N17575			Places of worship	
St George and St Mary's wells		N10484			Places of worship	
High Rochester Roman fort	1044837				Settlements, villages and towns	Otterburn
South Middleton medieval village and open field system	1017738	N10588			Settlements, villages and towns	
Berwick Hill		N10954			Settlements, villages and towns	
Riplington		N11247			Settlements, villages and towns	
Trewick		N10933			Settlements, villages and towns	
South Milbourne		N10933			Settlements, villages and towns	
Bitchfield		N10252			Settlements, villages and towns	
Bradford		N10249			Settlements, villages and towns	
Harnham		N10592			Settlements, villages and towns	
Ogle Castle and village		N10923			Settlements, villages and towns	
Higham Dykes		N10930			Settlements, villages and towns	

West Whelpington		N9556			Settlements, villages and towns
Middle Newham		N10928			Settlements, villages and towns
Ogle Village		N10925			Settlements, villages and towns
Belsay		N10248			Settlements, villages and towns
Bolam		N10586			Settlements, villages and towns
Kirkwhelpington		N29425			Settlements, villages and towns
Horncastle		N9568			Settlements, villages and towns
Herpath		N9448			Settlements, villages and towns
Deanham		N10498			Settlements, villages and towns
Cambo		N10412			Settlements, villages and towns
Mote Hills motte and bailey castle (Elsdon)		N9744			Settlements, villages and towns