1

Introduction

1.1. Introduction and research questions

In 1136, King David I of Scotland took control of the city of Carlisle and its mint and began to produce the first native Scottish coinage. Coinage had been produced in England since the late Iron Age, and the production of a Scottish coinage from 1136 onward set in motion a complex and fluctuating monetary relationship between the two countries. The shifting monetary and political relationships between England and Scotland in the late medieval and early post-medieval periods impacted the people living in the Anglo-Scottish border regions. This study draws insights from Scottish and English coinage to explore the complex social and economic dynamics of the Anglo-Scottish border regions at this time.

The aim of this project is to define the role that these two currencies played in constructing cross-border ties, communication and identities. It will seek to explore the extent to which each of these were transformed after the outbreak of the Scottish Wars of Independence in 1296, and when the dual hegemony of the Scottish and English currency was broken after 1367.

This project aim is multi-faceted, and is achieved via the identification, characterisation and explanation of patterning of coin deposition in time and space. The specific questions addressed in this book are as follows:

1. What are the characteristic medieval and post-medieval coin deposition patterns of the border counties of Scotland and England, and how do they compare to national patterns?
2. To what extent was the numismatic relationship between Scotland and England in the Anglo-Scottish borders influenced by political, economic and social trajectories?
3. What was the social dimension of coinage and its role in constructing personal, ethnic, regional and national identities?

In order to answer these questions it is necessary to understand:

- Whether the pattern of coin use and deposition in the border regions is similar to that found on a national scale, and/or in non-border regional areas.
- The spatial distribution of single finds and hoards in the border regions, and their relationships with markets and ecclesiastical institutions as places where cross-border interactions took place.
- What spatial and temporal patterns can suggest about political influences (for example, royal authority and warfare) and monetary policies (for example weight standards, and legislation regarding the circulation of coins) of both countries.
- The significance of the iconography of coinage.

The rest of the book is structured as follows. After this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 will frame the academic and theoretical context of previous work on the borders in general, before specifically focussing on the Anglo-Scottish borders and the numismatic framework. A theoretical approach will underpin a critical examination of coins as cultural objects connected with national and personal identity, an important topic to explore as identities could have extra dimensions in borderlands where different cultures met (Colley 1998, 18).

The methods used to analyse both the single coin finds and hoards from the Anglo-Scottish border regions will be covered in Chapter 3. These methods will be shaped around the research questions, and developed and adapted from the studies reviewed in Chapter 2. Bias within the dataset is discussed, including issues such as the survival of coins in the archaeological record, modern day recovery, and secondary bias related to factors such as currency size and mint output.

Chapter 4 will provide a historical overview of the Anglo-Scottish borderlands, considering their development and the political implications of national and regional war and raiding. This information will provide the political backdrop against which the numismatic data can be interpreted. This chapter also provides an overview of the development of market centres and ecclesiastical institutions in the Anglo-Scottish borders, which were important hubs for cross-border interaction. Finally, an overview of the developments in both the Scottish and English coinages will place the data within their wider numismatic context.

The data are analysed across four chapters (Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8), which are arranged chronologically. Chapter 5 sets out the single find and hoards data from the Anglo-Scottish borders. The following three chapters are based on Scotland's entry into, and exit of, the sterling area, which saw English and Scottish coins minted to a common weight and standard. Chapter 6 covers the pre-sterling phase in the 12th century, Chapter 7 discusses the 13th and 14th centuries when Scotland joined the sterling area, and finally, Chapter 8 addresses the post-sterling phase of the 15th and 16th centuries.

Chapter 9 will analyse the patterns observed in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 in light of the themes laid out in the research

questions. This chapter will explore how coinage patterns can provide another dimension on themes such as power and patronage in the Anglo-Scottish borders. Finally, Chapter 10 will draw these themes together with the aim of shedding more light on society and cross-border connections in the Anglo-Scottish borders.

1.2. Geographical scope

The study area is focused on the Anglo-Scottish borderlands, consisting of the six post-1974 (England) and 1975 (Scotland) counties (see Figure 1.1).

Detailed descriptions of the landscape and pastoral-based economies of the border regions have been provided elsewhere (see, for example, Winchester 1987 and Armstrong 2020), so only a brief overview will be presented here. The natural landscape of the Anglo-Scottish borders is characterised by upland areas and fertile lowlands. In the late medieval period, upland areas such as the Lake District in Cumbria, the Cheviots in Northumberland and the Southern Uplands in Scotland supported both livestock and cereal cultivation (Tipping 1998; Winchester 2017). There has long been a perception that the Anglo-Scottish borders landscapes were bleak, and that movement was difficult because of the terrain. Writing in 1548, Sir Thomas Holecroft described the county of Kirkcudbrightshire in Dumfries and Galloway as 'so full of mountains and rocks that nothing can pass but upon a man or horse's back' (Murray 1962, 154). Despite this image of an inhospitable environment, some areas such as the Tweed basin and the Merse surrounding it were prime agricultural lands which were intensely exploited in the late medieval period (Gilbert 1983; Dixon 2003). The primary settlements and economic centres were located in low-lying areas, normally at major communication intersections. Many of the region's towns and market sites were founded from the 11th century onward, as Norman and Scottish control over the borders increased. Figure 1.2 shows the location of all sites in the Anglo-Scottish borders granted a market

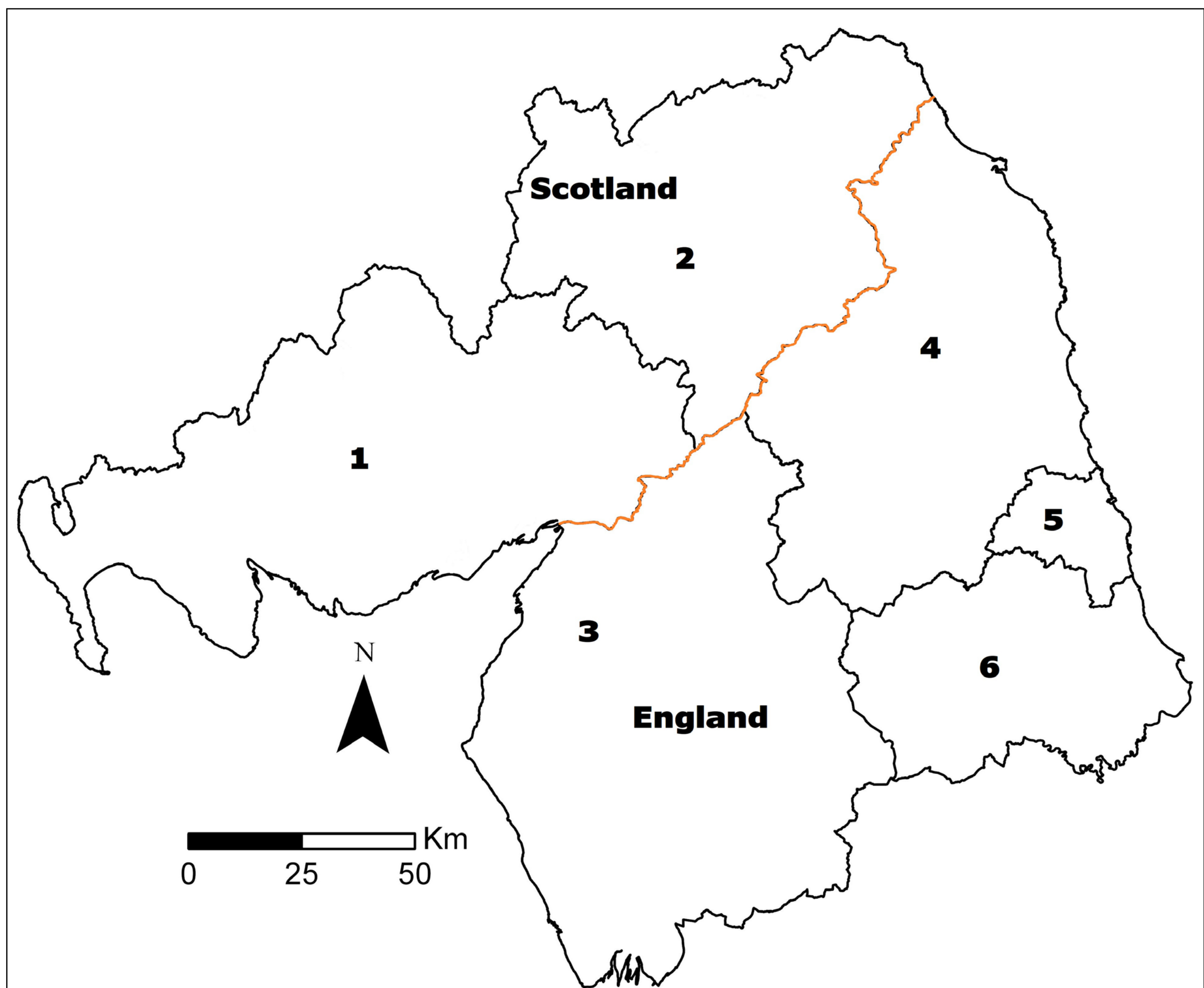

Figure 1.1. Map of the Anglo-Scottish borders with modern day counties. 1. Dumfries and Galloway (Scotland); 2. The Scottish Borders (Scotland); 3. Cumbria (England); 4 Northumberland (England); 5. Tyne and Wear (England); 6. County Durham (England).

or burgh charter in the late medieval period, demonstrating that the number of market sites was substantially greater in the English borders than in the Scottish border regions.

The numbers shown in Figure 1.2 are listed in order here.

England:

1. Carlisle; 2. Newcastle; 3. Berwick; 4. Appleby; 5. Corbridge; 6. Kendal; 7. Penrith; 8. Cockermouth; 9. Bewcastle; 10. Bootle; 11. Brampton; 12. Egremont; 13. Greystoke; 14. Hayton; 15. Ireby; 16. Keswick; 17. Kirklinton; 18. Kirkoswald; 19. Liddel; 20. Melmerby; 21. Millom; 22. Ravenglass; 23. Seaton; 24. Wigton; 25.Beetham; 26. Brough; 27. Heversham; 28. Kirkby lonsdale; 29. Kirkby Stephen; 30. Morland; 31. Orton; 32: Pooley Bridge; 33. Staveley; 34. Barnard Castle; 35. Bishop Auckland; 36. Darlington; 37. Greatham; 38. Hartlepool; 39. Norton; 40. Sedgefield; 41 Staindrop; 42. Stockton; 43. Durham; 44. Hexham; 45. Alnmouth; 46. Alnwick; 47. Bamburgh; 48. Barrasford; 49. Bolam; 50. Bolton; 51. Chatton; 52. Cramlington; 53. Elsdon; 54. Embleton; 55. Felton; 56. Ford; 57. Haltwhistle; 58. Harbottle; 59. Haydon Bridge; 60. Kirkwhelpington; 61. Mitford; 62. Morpeth; 63. Netherwitton; 64. Newbiggin; 65. Newbrough; 66. Newton; 67. Norham; 68. Ovingham; 69. Rothbury; 70. Wark; 71. Warkworth; 72. Whittingham; 73. Wooler; 74. Dalton; 75. Flookburgh; 76. Stainton; 77. Ulveston.

Scotland:

78. Roxburgh; 79. Dumfries; 80. Kirkcudbright; 81. Lauder; 82. Duns; 83. Annan; 84. Lochmaben; 85 Sanquhar; 86. Peebles; 87. Hawick; 88. Selkirk; 89. Galashiels; 90. Wigtown.

Like market towns and burghs, ecclesiastical sites also encouraged the cross-border movement and meeting of people, either for religious devotion (e.g. pilgrimage) or economic purposes. Some ecclesiastical sites such as Sweetheart Abbey and Whithorn (in Dumfries and Galloway) even saw small towns develop alongside the monasteries. Other religious institutions, such as

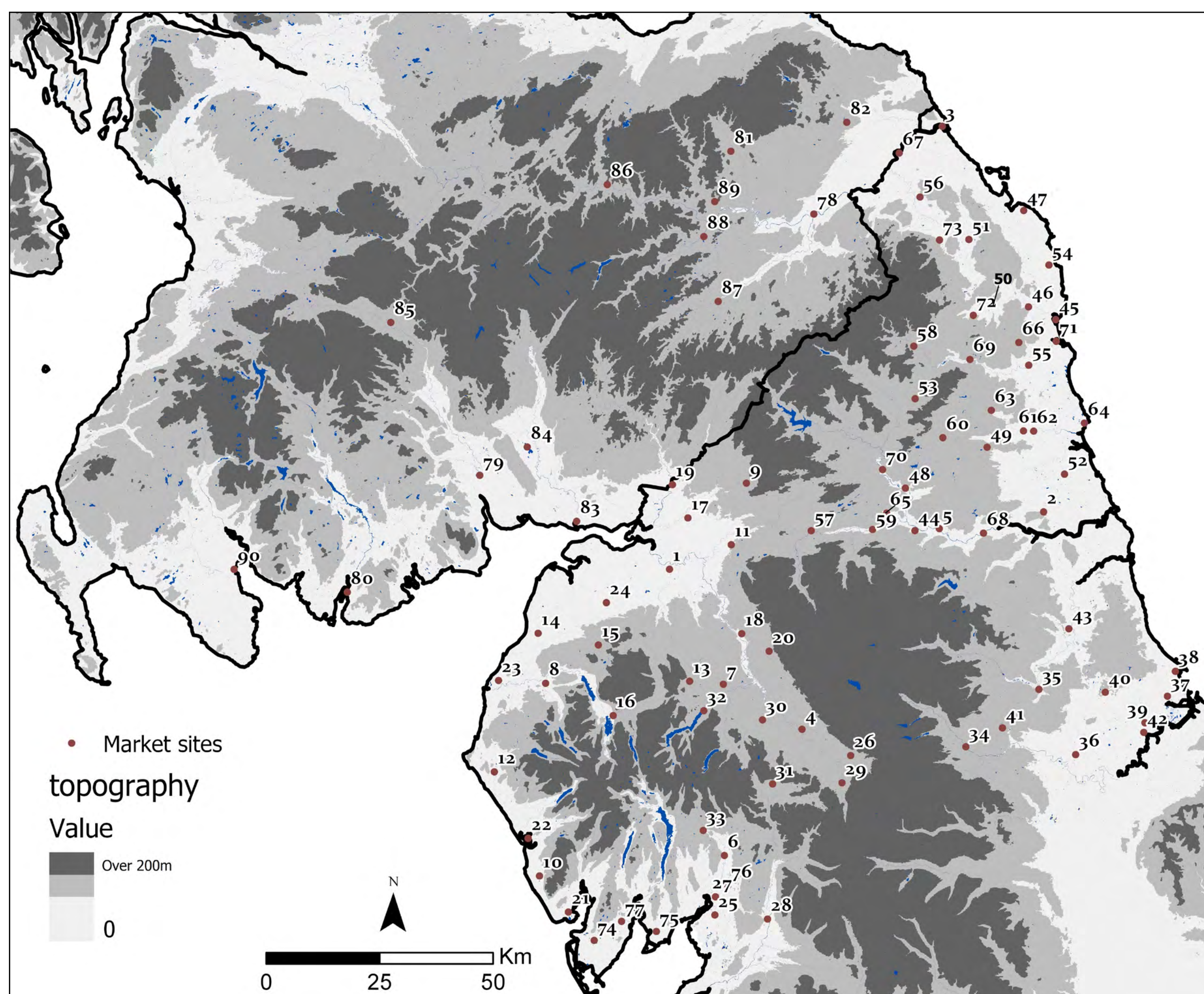

Figure 1.2. Locations of market sites and burghs in the Anglo-Scottish borders in the 12th–16th centuries (Source: Letters 2013; Pryde 1965).

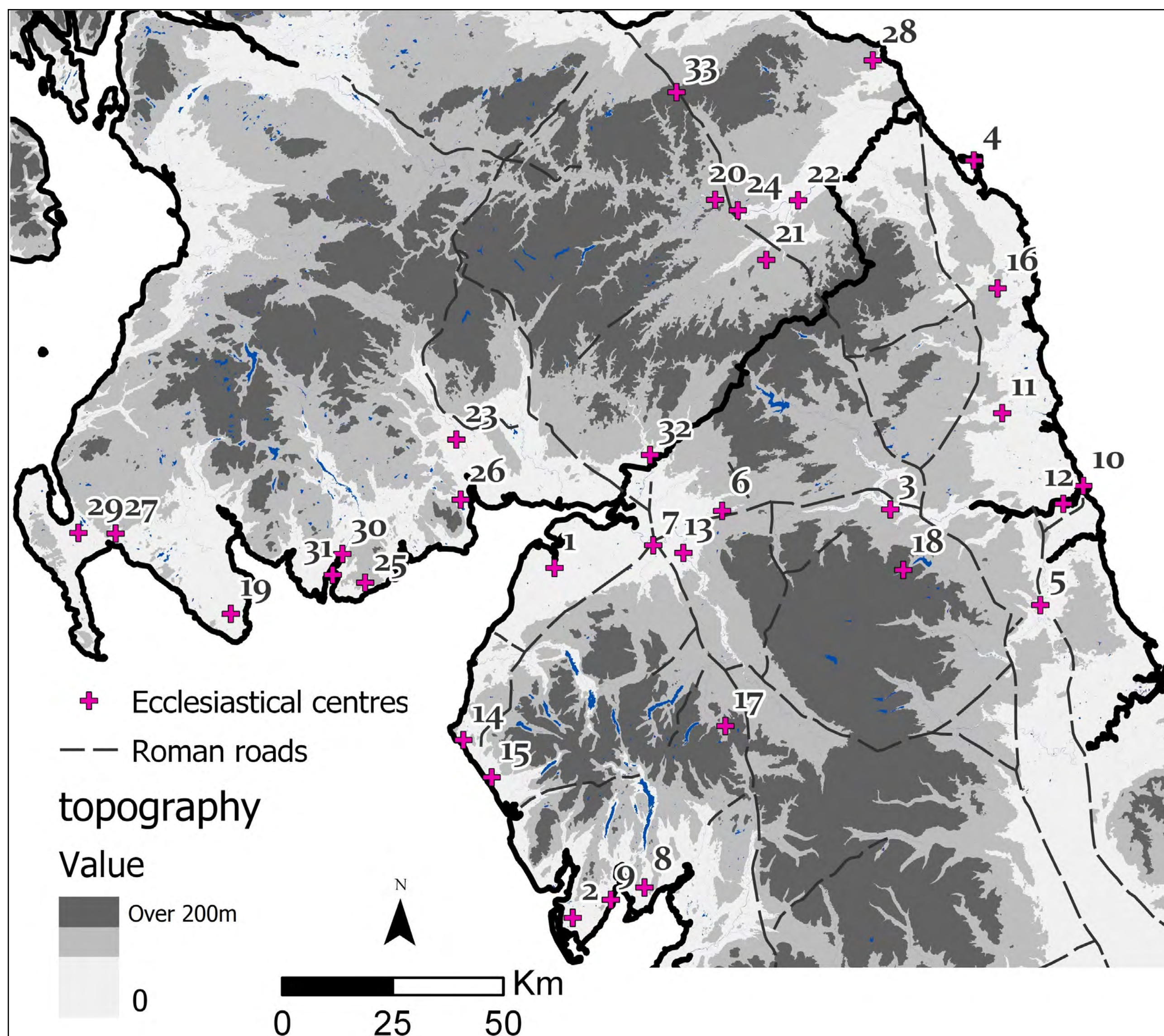

Figure 1.3. Ecclesiastical sites between 1136 and 1603 in the Anglo-Scottish borders (based on Burton 2017, 174, Figure 4.1).

Durham Cathedral, were located in major administrative centres. Figure 1.3 shows the location of all the major ecclesiastical sites in the Anglo-Scottish borders. It should be noted that the overall number of ecclesiastical sites is lower than market sites/burghs, but also that there are more ecclesiastical sites than burghs in Dumfries and Galloway. The Anglo-Scottish borders are also the location of three cathedrals: Carlisle, Durham and Whithorn.

The numbers shown in Figure 1.3 are listed in more detail.

England:

1. Holme Cultram Abbey; 2. Furness Abbey; 3. Hexham Abbey; 4. Lindisfarne Priory; 5. Durham Cathedral; 6. Lanercost Priory; 7. Carlisle Cathedral; 8. Cartmel Priory; 9. Conishead Priory; 10. Tynemouth Priory; 11. Newminster Abbey; 12. Jarrow; 13. Wetheral Priory; 14. St Bees; 15. Calder Abbey; 16. Alnwick; 17. Shap; 18. Blanchland.

Scotland:

19. Whithorn; 20. Melrose Abbey; 21. Jedburgh Abbey; 22. Kelso Abbey; 23. Holywood (Dercongal) Abbey; 24. Dryburgh Abbey; 25. Dundrennan Abbey; 26. Sweetheart Abbey; 27. Glenluce Abbey; 28. Coldingham Priory; 29. Soulseat Abbey; 30. Tongland Abbey; 31. St Mary's Isle; 32. Canonbie Priory.

1.3. Historical scope

The timeframe covered in this book stretches from 1136, when David I of Scotland began to mint the first Scottish coinage, up until the Union of the Crowns under James VI/I in 1603. The production of a Scottish coinage did not end with the Union of the Crowns, but continued on through the 17th century, only ending with the political Act of Union in 1707 which united England and Scotland as one state. Nonetheless, the unification of the crowns was the start of the process toward a national coinage across Great Britain and Ireland.