

The Distribution and Significance of 'Bordland' in Medieval Britain*

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MODERN Ordnance Survey maps of Scotland mark over forty places called Bor(e)land, of which over twenty can be shown to be derived from 'bordland', a term which is fairly common in late medieval and early modern Scottish sources and is also found, as a descriptive term and field-name, in England and Wales. Etymologists and place-name scholars encountering 'bordland' have been far from unanimous in their interpretation of the term and it is, perhaps, a sign of the individuality of the academic traditions in the three countries that Scottish, English, and Welsh scholars have explained 'bordland' in very different ways.

The Scottish tradition is almost unanimous in translating the term as 'table land', that is, demesne land which supplied victuals for the lord's table.¹ As will be shown, such a meaning is clearly indicated by the fairly substantial body of, mainly, fifteenth- to seventeenth-century references to the term in Scotland. It is also consistent with the statement by the English lawyer, Henry de Bracton, in the thirteenth century that 'that is demesne which a person has for his own table and as property, such as are Bordlandes in

English'.² Welsh scholars agree that 'bordland' was a type of demesne land and, by way of explanation, see the term as a 'literal translation of *tir bwrdd*, the term applied to the Welsh king's mensal land at his court'.³ The implication is that the term is very ancient in origin and that Welsh 'bordland' certainly predated the English penetration of Wales.

In contrast, English authors have largely ignored both Bracton's definition of 'bordland' and the use of the term across the Welsh and Scottish borders. The *Oxford English Dictionary*, while acknowledging Bracton's statement, prefers to interpret the term as meaning 'land held by a Bordar in bordage tenure' and the *Dictionary's* definition has been followed by most editors of the English Place-Name Society's publications when they have encountered minor place-names and field-names derived from 'bordland'.⁴

The etymologies offered by the two schools of thought differ in that the one sees 'bordland' deriving from the OE *bord*, 'a plank or board' and by extension 'a table', while the other places it with Bordar in containing the OF *borde*, meaning 'a wooden hut or cottage'.⁵ Other suggestions have included Professor Cameron's that OE *bord* might have the sense of 'a boundary' when

*I should like to thank Mr A D Mills, editor of *The Place-Names of Dorset*, for providing details of references to 'bordland' in that county; Mr P H W Booth for passing on references to the term in Berkshire and Cheshire; and Dr D Waugh for advice on the Borlum names of Caithness. An earlier draft of this paper was read by Professor G W S Barrow, Dr B Crawford, Dr G Fellows-Jensen, Dr I Fraser, Dr M Gelling, and Professor W F H Nicolaisen, each of whom made helpful comments and pointed me in new directions. I alone am responsible for any shortcomings or misinterpretations which remain.

¹ Eg W C Mackenzie, *Scottish Place-Names* (1931), p 214; E Johnson-Ferguson, *The Place-Names of Dumfriesshire* (Dumfries, 1935), pp 6, 25, 44, etc; W M Alexander, *The Place-Names of Aberdeenshire* (Aberdeen 1952), p 24; J S Clouston, 'The Orkney Lands', *Proc Orkney Antiq Soc*, II (1923-4), 61. Cf *Dict of Older Scot Tongue*, sv Bordland.

² T Twiss (ed), *H de Bracton, De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliæ* (1881), IV, p 197.

³ G R J Jones, 'Post-Roman Wales', *Agrarian Hist of Eng & Wales* I part II, ed H P R Finberg (Cambridge, 1972), p 338. Cf W Rees, *South Wales & the March 1284-1415* (Oxford, 1924), p 139; A N Palmer and E Owen, *A History of Ancient Tenures of Land in North Wales and the Marches* (priv printed; 2nd edn, 1910), p 106; D Jenkins (ed), *Llyfr Colan* (Cardiff, 1963), pp 173-4.

⁴ See vols for counties of Berks, Cumb, Dorset, Glos, Oxon, Yorks (WR). Detailed refs are given in Appendix II.

⁵ See *Oxford Eng Dict*; *Middle Eng Dict* (sv 'bordland'); S P J Harvey, 'Evidence for settlement study; Domesday Book', *Medieval Settlement: Continuity and Change*, ed P H Sawyer (1976), pp 197-9.

used in compounds such as 'bordland' or 'bordwood',⁶ and Professor Nicolaisen's conjecture that the Scottish 'bordlands' and Borthwick (OE *bordwic*) may use *bord* in the sense of 'wood' rather than 'table'.⁷

These conflicting interpretations raise questions concerning the significance of the occurrence of 'bordland' in a particular locality. First, and most obviously, is it possible to decide between the two derivations outlined above? Or did the term have more than one meaning? If the Scottish tradition and the evidence of Bracton are accepted, how, if at all, did 'bordland' differ from other demesne land to which the term was not applied? A second question concerns the antiquity of the term. The identification of 'bordland' with the Welsh *tir bwrdd* suggests an ultimate origin in the tenures of pre-feudal, Celtic Britain. If that is the case, does the presence of 'bordland' point to the antiquity and stability of the land so called as demesne? I have used the suggested link between 'bordland' and *tir bwrdd* in another paper when arguing the antiquity of estate structures in Cumberland.⁸ On reflection, a broader examination of the use and distribution of 'bordland' in Scotland, England and Wales seemed to be called for. The evidence from each country is examined in turn below.

I

A survey of selected printed sources has yielded references to 'bordland' at fifty-five locations in Scotland from Galloway to Orkney.⁹ Of these, twenty-three can be

identified with farms named Bor(e)land¹⁰ on the modern map, with a further three appearing as Borlum.¹¹ As well as these certain references to the term, modern maps name a further nineteen Bor(e)lands and two Borlums for which corroborative evidence of derivation from 'bordland' has not been found. Finally, the survey found mention of a further eleven instances of the names Bo(a)rland, Borlum, and Broadland (the last documented as a variant of 'bordland' in eastern Scotland) for which the form 'bordland' was not recorded. Thus, thirty-two possible 'bordlands' may be added to the fifty-five substantiated occurrences of the term in Scotland. Details are given in Appendix I and the distribution is mapped on Figure 1.

Before turning to consider the meaning and origins of the term, it should be noted that it is possible that not all the modern Bor(e)land names derive from 'bordland'. The form 'bordland' continued to be common in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century sources, yet there are some instances of Bor(e)land where the medial 'd' is not found, even when the name is recorded in the fourteenth century. The Borelands in Caerlaverock and Dumfries parishes, Dumfriesshire, appear as 'Bour(e)land' in fourteenth- to sixteenth-century sources¹² and the form 'Borland' is recorded at Clackmannan in the mid fourteenth century.¹³ Noting the early forms in Dumfriesshire, Dr Williamson suggested that the specific might be OE *būr* ('bower'), rather than *bord*.¹⁴

Even if the doubtful Bor(e)land names are excluded, however, it is clear that 'bordland'

⁶ K Cameron, *Place-Names of Derbyshire* (EP-NS, vol 29, 1959), iii, p 716.

⁷ W F H Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names* (1976), p 78. Prof Nicolaisen has indicated in correspondence (1981) that he now believes he was too sceptical in not accepting the 'home farm' interpretation of these names.

⁸ 'The Multiple Estate: a framework for the evolution of settlement in Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian Cumbria', in J R Baldwin and I D Whyte (eds), *The Scandinavians in Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1985), pp 89-101.

⁹ The principal sources consulted were: OS 1" Maps (7th series), sheets 1-70, 72-6, 79-81; L R Timperley (ed), *Dir of Landownership in Scotland c 1770*, Scott Rec Soc (ns), 5, (Edinburgh, 1976); *Inquisitionum ad Capellam Regis retormatarum Abbreviatio* (Rec Com, 1811-16) (hereafter cited as *Retours*); *Reg of Great Seal of Scotland*, i-v (1306-1593); *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, v (1437-54).

¹⁰ That number includes the sole example of retention of the form 'Bordland', at Newlands, Peeblesshire (NT 15 46).

¹¹ Namely at Dores and Urquhart (Inverness) and Knockando (Moray).

¹² E Johnson-Ferguson, *op cit*, 6; *Reg Gt Seal*, iii, no 815.

¹³ *Reg Gt Seal*, i, p 581 (no 1026).

¹⁴ M G Williamson, 'The Non-Celtic Place-Names of the Scottish Border Counties' (unpub PhD thesis, Edinburgh University, 1942), p 195. I am grateful to Dr Gillian Fellows-Jensen for this reference. Compare the suggestion (*P-N Devon*, I, p 202 (EP-NS vol viii)) that Bowerland (Devon) derives from OE *būrland*, 'land occupied by peasants'.

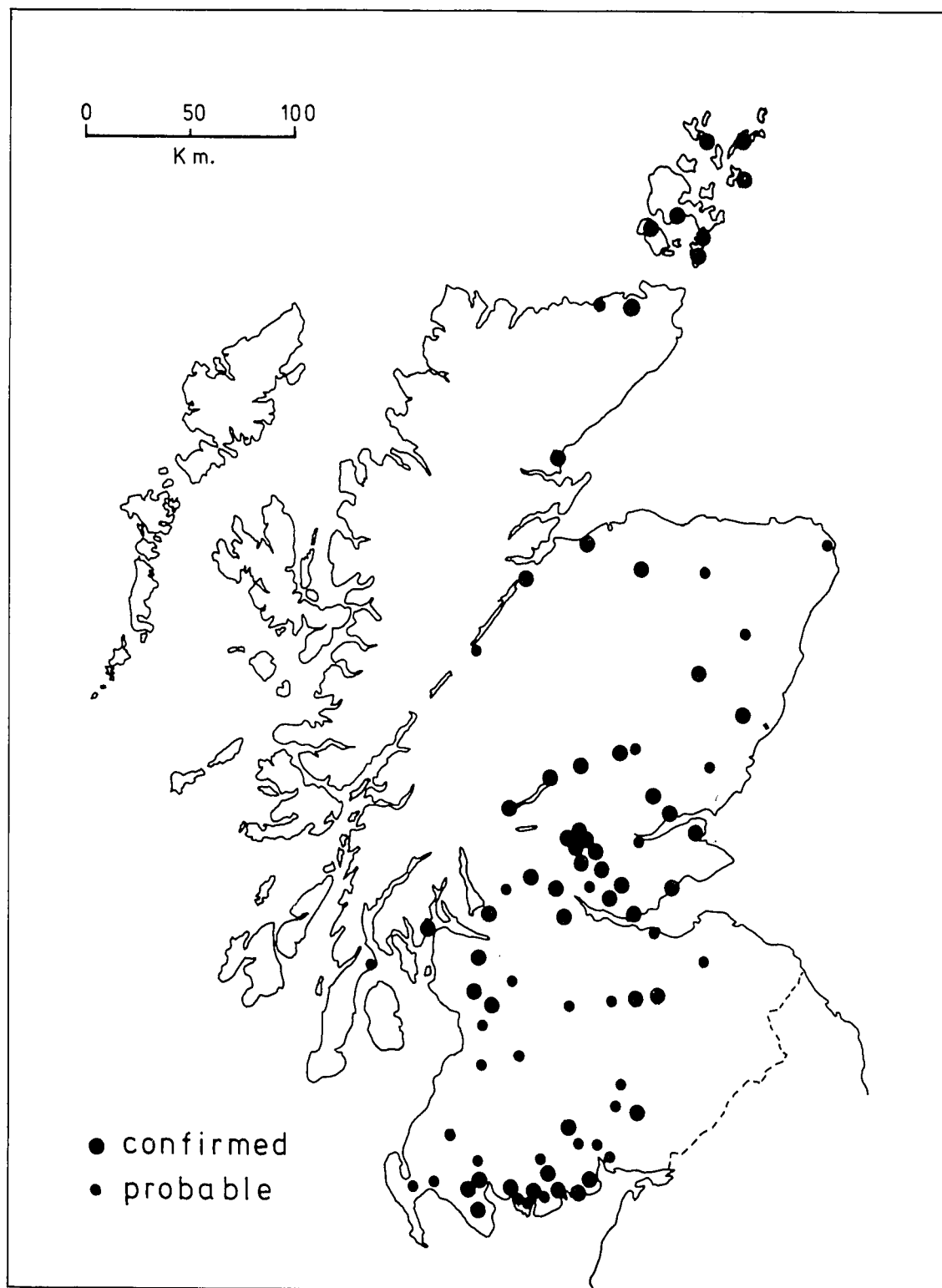


FIGURE 1
Distribution of 'Bordland' in Scotland

was a term of fairly frequent and widespread use in Scotland between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries. Its meaning is made explicit in such references as that in 1648 to 'the demesne lands of Twynholm [Kirkcud] called Bordland of Cumpstoun'¹⁵ and in the equation of the names Bordland and Mains recorded at Cardross [Perth] in 1637 ('lands of Bordland alias lie Maynis of Cardrois').¹⁶ Similarly, it is well established that the 'bordlands' of Orkney were the earl's ancient demesne.¹⁷

As demesne land, 'bordland' often lay close to a lordly seat. This is particularly clear in the close association between 'bordland' and the royal castles of Dunoon and Urquhart: the 'lands of Bordlande' in Cowal were granted with the keepership of Dunoon Castle in 1473 and 1526,¹⁸ while the description in 1509 of 'the 12 merklands of Bordlaund of Urquhart with the castle and fortalice of the same'¹⁹ implies that the two elements were almost inseparable. Similar associations occur in Wigtownshire, where Bordland of Penninghame passed with the manor house in 1561,²⁰ and at Kincardine where, in a grant of the Bordland there with the castle and park in 1443, the motte (*viridis mons*) 'within the said Bordland' was reserved to the grantor for the holding of courts.²¹ The impression that the 'bordland' was a core of demesne attached to and physically adjacent to the lord's seat is strengthened when the location of 'bordland' place-names is examined more closely on the modern map. The pattern at Urquhart [Inverness], where Borlum lies immediately west of the castle, is repeated in the juxtaposition of Bor(e)land names and the castles of Cleish [Kinross] and Snade

[Glencairn par., Dumfries], and in the proximity of such names to mottes, as in the Galloway Borelands of Kirkcowan, Anwoth, Borgue, Kelton, and Colvend, for example. With the motte and the castle, 'bordland' is thus to be interpreted as a legacy of feudalism in the Scottish landscape, a compact block of demesne land which, often leased later as a single, large farm, retained the name which recorded its origin.

Although in fairly common usage by the fifteenth century when the recording of minor names becomes widespread, no reference to 'bordland' in Scotland has been noted before the later fourteenth century.²² This is almost certainly a reflection of the nature of the sources consulted and a different approach must be taken to establish the antiquity of the term. The national distribution of the term has been plotted in Figure 1 to permit comparison with other place-name distributions in an attempt to assign 'bordland' to one of the layers of Scotland's place-name assemblage. It is found in a wide band down the length of the country from Orkney to Wigtownshire, with marked concentrations in Perthshire and Galloway; but it is absent from most of the Western Highlands and Islands and from the south-east corner of the country. The distribution compares most closely with that of 'X of Y' place-names (e.g. Water of Leith, Burn of Boyne) which Professor Nicolaisen has interpreted as reflecting the spread of the Scots language into formerly Gaelic- and Norn-speaking areas during the Middle Ages.²³ If it is accepted that the names date from that period, two possible hypotheses present themselves. On the one hand, following the suggestion that 'bordland' in Wales is a translation of the Welsh *tir bwrdd*, the Scottish 'bordlands' could perhaps represent translations from a Gaelic equiva-

¹⁵ *Retours*, Kirkcud, no 250.

¹⁶ *Retours*, Perth, no 466.

¹⁷ J S Clouston, 'The Orkney Lands', *Proc Orkney Antiq Soc*, II (1923-4), p 61; A Fenton, *The Northern Isles: Orkney & Shetland* (Edinburgh, 1978), pp 28-9; F W L Thomas, 'What is a pennyland?', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 18 (1884), 254.

¹⁸ *Reg Gt Seal*, ii, no 1100; iii, no 345.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, ii, no 3390; iv, no 204.

²⁰ *Ibid*, v, no 187.

²¹ *Ibid*, ii, no 281.

²² The earliest references noted are in the rental of Newlands barony, Peeblesshire, in 1376 when 'Bordlande' was listed among holdings set to farm (J W Buchan & H Paton, *Hist Peeblesshire* (Glasgow, 1927), pp 8-9) and the mention of 4 bovates 'in le Bordland' at Longforgan, Perthshire, in 1377 (*Misc Spalding Club*, V, 250).

²³ W F H Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names* (1976), pp 57-64.

lent of *tir bwrdd*. Alternatively, 'bordland' may be seen as an English term which accompanied the spread of the Scots language.

The evidence suggests that the latter hypothesis is to be preferred. First of all, no evidence has been found for the use of a Gaelic equivalent of *tir bwrdd* in place-names: it might be expected that such an equivalent would have survived in those areas free from Scots penetration. Secondly, the corruption of 'bordland' into 'Borlum' along the Gaelic fringe from Caithness, through Inverness and Moray, to Argyll, perhaps stresses the foreignness of the term to the Gaelic-speaking population of those areas.²⁴ Finally, the distribution of 'bordland' compares closely with the occurrence of that most tangible legacy of the feudalism which brought the Scots language in its wake, the motte. Although mottes are absent from Orkney, Caithness, and Inverness, and extend further into the south-east than 'bordland', the distributions of the two features are otherwise very similar and include a concentration in the south-west.²⁵

The association between 'bordland' and motte, both at a national level and in their not infrequent proximity to one another on the ground, is perhaps the key to dating the origins of 'bordland' in Scotland. The mottes are usually interpreted as being a legacy of the spread of feudal tenure and 'English' landholders north and west, particularly in the mid and late twelfth century under Malcolm IV and William the Lion.²⁶ Like the motte, 'bordland' seems to be a reminder of the imposition of foreign institutions, lordship, and language as the Scots kings established control over the outer parts of their realm. It is suggested, therefore, that in Scotland 'bordland' was imported as a term to describe the demesne land associated with the new pattern of

lordship and lordly seats created by twelfth-century feudalization.

II

In marked contrast to Scotland, the modern map of England contains very few place-names derived from 'bordland': only Birtlands Grove [Brimpsfield, Glos.] and two doubtful names, Boreland Hill [Woodford, Wilts.] and Bawdlands [Clitheroe, Lancs.] have been noted.²⁷ 'Bordland' does occur, however, as a descriptive term in fourteenth- to seventeenth-century sources from counties as far apart as Dorset and Northumberland. As such, the term has been treated as a field-name in some of the English Place-Name Society's county surveys, but it is impossible to gain a clear impression of its national distribution from published sources alone.²⁸ The twenty-seven instances of the term which are noted in Appendix II should not be considered in any way a complete distribution.

Most of the English examples have been interpreted by the Place-Name Society editors as referring to 'land held by bordage tenure', that is by the class of cottagers termed *bordarii* in Domesday Book. Indeed, the editor for Dorset has linked the 'bordland' at Coombe Keynes to the fact that *bordarii* were recorded there by the Domesday survey,²⁹ and, at a broader level, it is striking that Berkshire and Dorset, the two counties with the greatest number of recorded 'bordlands', are among the scatter of counties with a very high proportion (over 40 per cent) of the population classed as *bordarii* in 1086.³⁰

Dr Harvey has shown that the people called *bordarii* in Domesday Book were a far

²⁴ I am grateful to Prof Nicolaisen for help on this point.

²⁵ G Stell, 'Mottes', pp 28-9, 128 in P McNeill and R Nicholson (eds), *Hist Atlas of Scotland* (St Andrews, 1975).

²⁶ *Ibid*; G W S Barrow, *Kingship and Unity: Scotland 1000-1306* (1981), pp 45-9.

²⁷ *P-N Glos*, i, p 146 ('Bordland' in 1494); *P-N Wilts*, p 373 (earliest reference to Boreland Hill is 1773); Bawdlands, Clitheroe, does not appear to be recorded before the nineteenth cent.

²⁸ All EP-NS vols have been checked, but only those published since 1950 (vol 20 onwards) contain full lists of field-names recorded in pre nineteenth-century sources.

²⁹ A D Mills (ed), *P-N Dorset*, i, p 120.

³⁰ S P J Harvey, 'Evidence for settlement study', pp 197-9.

from homogeneous group.³¹ All were smallholders or cottagers, but the term seems to have been used in three distinct senses: first, of smallholders living near the lord's court and working on the demesne; second, of undertenants of the villein population; and third, of cottagers on the margins of settlement, actively colonizing woodland and waste. Indeed, she has argued that OF *borde*, the root of *bordarius*, has the double connotation of 'a cottage made of wood' and 'the edge' and suggests that the *bordarii* may have been so-called because they lived on the edge of the settled area. The first group of *bordarii* were clearly associated with the demesne: Dr Harvey cites as examples those at Evesham who were described as *servientes curiae* and at Tewkesbury, who lived and worked around the lord's court. It is thus conceivable that they and the term 'bordland' (meaning 'demesne land') might be connected, but it is less easy to see a semantic link between 'bordland' and the more numerous *bordarii* in the second and third groups.

A closer examination of the English references to 'bordland' suggests that, in some cases at least, the term did, indeed, mean 'land providing victuals for the lord's table'. For example, in three of the instances of 'bordland' in Cumberland it is clear that the land in question was demesne and lay close to an important estate centre. The 'bordland' of Upperby, recorded in 1360 and 1457, was part of the royal demesne attached to the city and castle of Carlisle, a mile to the north.³² At Egremont, *caput* of the barony of Copeland, over 70 acres of the demesne was described as 'bordland' in 1338,³³ though then and in 1578 the sources make it clear that there was other demesne land around the castle and town which was not so labelled.³⁴

Finally, 120 acres of 'burdlandes' at Dockray, near Wigton, appear to have been the demesne not of the owner of Dockray, but of his feudal superior, the lord of Wigton barony: in 1334 it was stated that corn grown on the 'burdlandes' was to be ground at Wigton mill free of multure, while multure was to be paid at the normal rate on other corn grown at Dockray.³⁵ Although I have argued elsewhere that elements of the pre-Conquest pattern of land tenure may have survived in Cumbria, it must be admitted that a Norman origin similar to that postulated for the origins of 'bordland' in Scotland would not be inconsistent with what is known of the early history of the three estates in question. The conquest of Carlisle by William Rufus in 1092 was followed immediately by the establishment of the castle there as an important royal centre and by the deliberate settling of southern peasants in the vicinity.³⁶ Both the baronies of Copeland and Wigton were ostensibly created c. 1100 as a result of grants to Norman settlers.³⁷ Even if the imposition of Norman control involved the remodeling of pre-Conquest estates, it is possible that the disposition of demesne land dated from the Norman period.

Most of the references to the term in other parts of England yield little information other than that a particular piece of land was known as 'bordland'. In a handful of instances, scattered widely across the country, it is clear, however, that the term was used of demesne land. At Deddington [Oxon.] the demesne arable land, leased to tenants by 1422, was known collectively as 'Bordlond'³⁸ and the term was used similarly of leased demesne land on the Dorset manors of Coombe Keynes (in 1445-7) and Winterborne Came (in 1564).³⁹ In 1479 the demesne on which the bond tenants of Salton

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Originalia Rolls*, II, p 253.

³³ In 1338 the 'bordland' was at 'Blakestanfie' (apparently near the modern Ehenside, 2 miles S of Egremont), Carleton (1 mile SE of the castle) and 'Collaneleye' (unident): *Cal Close Rolls* 1337-9, pp 476-7, 486, 494.

³⁴ Cumbria RO (Carlisle), D/Lec/301, Percy survey, ff 88-92.

³⁵ Cumb RO, D/Lec/314/16.

³⁶ *VCH Cumb*, I, p 308; *Anglo-Saxon Chron*, sub anno 1092.

³⁷ *VCH Cumb*, I, p 308; *Reg Priory of St Bees* (ed J Wilson, Surtees Soc 1912), p 531.

³⁸ PRO, DL43/8/16.

³⁹ Dorset RO, D10/M 128, mm 3-5; D1/10, 635.

[Yorks., N.R.] performed their labour services was referred to as 'le Burdland'.⁴⁰ The impression gained from these late-medieval examples is that, as implied by Bracton in the mid thirteenth century, 'bordland' was a vernacular name for the lord's demesne in many parts of England. Where it is found as a field-name on a copyhold estate in late medieval or early modern sources (as at Appleford [Berks.]⁴¹ and Stour Provost [Dorset]⁴²) 'bordland' probably preserves the memory that the land in question was formerly demesne.

III

As noted earlier, 'bordland' in Wales has usually been seen as the translation of the Welsh *tir bwrdd* ('demesne land at the lord's court'), which, it is claimed, was an ancient element in the native landholding pattern.⁴³ When an attempt is made to sift from the published sources those references which specifically mention 'bo(a)rdland', rather than *tir bwrdd*, the former are found to be apparently very few in number and restricted in distribution to the Marches and Glamorganshire, both feudalized, English areas (see Appendix II). That Welsh 'bordland' was demesne is made clear in a reference to it at Newton Nottage [Glam.] in 1272 when parts of the demesne arable land there were called 'Westbordland' and 'Estbordland'.⁴⁴ Demesne status is also recorded for the 'bordlands' at Miskin [Glam.]⁴⁵ and Chirk [Denb.]⁴⁶

It is difficult, from printed sources alone, to disentangle the relationship between 'bordland' and *tir bwrdd*, but it is unlikely that the former is simply a literal translation of the

latter: *bwrdd* itself is considered to have come into Welsh as a loan-word from OE *bord*⁴⁷ in the same way that the Irish Gaelic *buid* (used in the sixteenth century in the phrase *fearann buid*, 'mensal land'⁴⁸) has been identified as a borrowing from English.⁴⁹ The concept of land providing food for the lord's table is clearly common to all three terms, but, as far as the terms themselves are concerned, since OE *bord* seems to lie at the root of them all, it is more plausible to argue for the spread of an English-language word into Ireland and Wales than to suggest that 'bordland' is a translation of a native, Celtic term. This does not, of course, affect the accepted conclusion that 'mensal land' was a native Celtic concept. The impression given by the restricted distribution of 'bordland' (as opposed to *tir bwrdd*) in Wales is that the term was introduced with Norman feudal settlement in the twelfth century.

IV

The evidence discussed above points to the conclusion that, as Bracton stated, 'bordland' was demesne land that provided food for the lord's table, and that it was a Middle English vernacular term which was carried, on the crest of the wave of feudal settlement in the twelfth century, to English areas of Wales, to Cumberland, and to the outer regions of the kingdom of Scots. The scepticism of the *Oxford English Dictionary* in rejecting Bracton's statement has, perhaps, confused the issue by linking the term too strongly to the *bordarii* of eleventh-century England. When 'bordland' originated in England remains obscure: Bracton's use of the term in the mid thirteenth century seems to be the earliest on record, and the word does not appear to have been known in Old

⁴⁰ J Raine (ed), *Priory of Hexham*, ii, 76 (Surtees Soc Vol 46, 1865).

⁴¹ *Cal Proc Chanc Eliz I*, III, p 112.

⁴² King's College Cambridge MSS, C36, manor ct, 13 Oct 1442.

⁴³ For *tir bwrdd* see T Jones Pierce, *Medieval Welsh Society* (Cardiff, 1972), pp 138-40, 315; A D Carr, *Medieval Anglesey* (Llangefni, 1982), pp 134-5, 139; D Jenkins (ed), *Llyfi Colan* (Cardiff, 1963), pp 173-4.

⁴⁴ G T Clark (ed), *Cartae et alia munimenta quae ad dominium de Glamorgancia pertinent*, III (1910), p 768.

⁴⁵ G R J Jones, 'Post-Roman Wales', p 338.

⁴⁶ Hist MSS Comm, *App to 2nd Rep* (1871), p 67.

⁴⁷ T H Parry-Williams, *The English Element in Welsh* (Cardiff, 1923), 35 (Cymmrodorion Rec Ser, X).

⁴⁸ D Comyn (ed), *G Keating's History of Ireland Vol I* (Dublin, 1912), pp 110-113 (Irish Texts Soc, IV).

⁴⁹ M Carney and M O'Daly, *Contrib to a Dict of the Irish Language: B*, (Dublin, 1975), sv *bord*.

English.⁵⁰ An origin as a literal translation of native Welsh *tir bwrdd* can probably be ruled out and the most likely explanation is perhaps that it came into being in late Anglo-Saxon England as the manor developed its full feudal characteristics, among them the clear separation between lord's demesne and tenant land.⁵¹

The fact that 'bordland' is a relatively uncommon term in England perhaps makes it unlikely that it was used indiscriminately of all demesne land. Indeed, in one example cited above (at Egremont, Cumberland) it is clear that it was used only of parts of the demesne, 76 acres out of a total of well over 500 being so called in 1338. It is not immediately obvious how 'bordland' differed from other demesne land, but, on the evidence of the name itself, it is possible that a distinction was drawn between land on which crops were grown for direct consumption by the lord's household (the 'bordland') and other demesne which was farmed for profit.

The lifespan of 'bordland' as a living term in England was probably cut short by the cessation of demesne farming on many

manors in the fourteenth century: most of the recorded instances of 'bordland' in England postdate the leasing of demesnes and give the impression of being field-names recording an obsolescent term. In Scotland, where it survived in many places as a farm name, the memory of its original meaning lingered on. The contrast between the survival of 'bordland' as a place-name in Scotland and its disappearance into obscurity in England reflects another aspect of the history of demesne farming in the two countries. On the classical English manor the demesne lay scattered in strips through the open fields and one at least of the English references to 'bordland' reflects such an arrangement: at Deddington [Oxon.] in 1422 the 'bordland' lay dispersed across the open field furlongs in twenty-seven different parcels.⁵² In contrast, the feudal settlement of Scotland often involved the creation of a compact block of demesne land close to the lord's seat. Maintained as a discrete unit over the centuries, that block of 'bordland' in many cases emerged as one or two large farms which appear on the modern map by the name of Bor(e)land.

⁵⁰ T Northcote Toller (ed), *An Anglo-Saxon Dict* (Oxford, 1954) and *Supplement* (Oxford, 1955).

⁵¹ T H Aston, 'The origin of the manor in England', *Trans Royal Hist Soc* (5th ser), VIII (1958), 59-83.

⁵² PRO, DL43/8/16.

APPENDIX 1 'Bordland' in Scotland

a) Locations where form 'bordland' is recorded			
County	Parish	Grid ref (a)	Earliest ref to 'bordland'
Aberdeen	Glentanar	NO 49	1725: <i>Antiq Aberd & Banff</i> , II, 34
Argyll	Dunoon	NS 17	1473: <i>Reg Gt Seal</i> , II, no 1100
Ayr	Dunlop	NS 34	1452: <i>ibid</i> , II, no 583
	Kilmarnock	NS 44	1492: <i>ibid</i> , II, no 2116
Caithness	Murkle	ND 16	1527: <i>ibid</i> , III, 106 (no 475)
Dumbart	Kilmarnock	NS 48	1573: <i>Hist MSS Comm, Rep on Laing MSS</i> , i (1914), 24
Dumfries	Glencairn	NX 88	1582: SRO, GD 28/836
	Hutton & Corrie	NY 19	1608: <i>Retours</i> , Dumf, no 58

APPENDIX 1 — *Continued*
'Bordland' in Scotland

a) <i>Locations where form 'bordland' is recorded</i>			
County	Parish	Grid ref (a)	Earliest ref to 'bordland'
Fife	Dysart	NT 39	1546: <i>Reg Gt Seal</i> , III, no 3275
	Inverkeithing	NT 18	1459: <i>ibid</i> , II, no 742
	Leuchars	NO 42	1473: <i>ibid</i> , II, no 1139
	Saline	NT 09	1541: <i>ibid</i> , III, no 2307
Forfar	Kettins	NO 23	1485: <i>ibid</i> , II, no 1617
Inverness	Dores	NH 63	1507: <i>ibid</i> , II, no 3140
	Urquhart	NH 52	1509: <i>ibid</i> , II, no 3390
Kincard	Fordoun	NO 67	1443: <i>ibid</i> , II, no 281
Kinross	Cleish	NT 09	1505: <i>ibid</i> , II, no 2820
Kirkcud	'Alddystone'		1659: <i>Retours</i> , Kirkcud, no 284
	Anwoth	NX 55	1536: <i>Reg Gt Seal</i> , III, no 1608
	Balmaghie	NX 76	1592: <i>ibid</i> , V, no 2214
	Colvend	NX 85	1507: <i>ibid</i> , II, no 3095
	Kelton	NX 75	1530: <i>ibid</i> , III, no 927
	Southwick	NX 96	1507: <i>ibid</i> , II, no 3095
	Twynholm	NX 65	1648: <i>Retours</i> , Kirkcud, no 250
	Knockando	NJ 14	1623: <i>ibid</i> , Elgin & Forres, no 37
Moray	Auldearn	NH 95	1430: <i>Reg Gt Seal</i> , II, no 174
Orkney	Burray	ND 49	16th: J S Clouston, <i>Proc Orkney Antiq Soc</i> , II, 61
	Hoy	ND 29	1503: <i>Orkney Rentals</i> , I, 18
	Orphir	HY 30	c1500: Clouston, <i>op cit</i>
	Sanday	HY 64	c1500: <i>ibid</i>
	Stronsay	HY 62	1595: <i>ibid</i>
	South Sandwick	ND 48	16th: <i>ibid</i>
	Westray	HY 54	<i>ibid</i>
	Eddleston	NT 24	1639: J W Buchan, <i>Hist Peeblesshire</i> , II, 454-6
	Newlands	NT 14	1376: <i>ibid</i> , I, 8-9
	Auchterarder	NN 91	1539: <i>Reg Gt Seal</i> , III, no 1895
Perth	Blackford	NN 80	1507: <i>ibid</i> , II, no 3126
	Crieff	NN 82	1444: <i>Exchequer Rolls</i> , V, 171
	Grandtully	NN 85	1452: <i>Reg Gt Seal</i> , II, no 564
	Glendevon	NN 90	1512: <i>ibid</i> , II, no 3706
	Kenmore	NN 74	1495: <i>ibid</i> , II, no 2271
	Killin	NN 53	1509: <i>Dict Older Scott Tongue</i>
	Kincardine-in-Mentieth	NS 79	1539: <i>Reg Gt Seal</i> , III, no 1895
	Kirkmichael	NO 05	1510: <i>ibid</i> , II, no 3450
	Longforgan	NO 33	1377: <i>Misc Spalding Club</i> , V, 250
	Muthill (Balloch)	NN 81	1444: <i>Exchequer Rolls</i> , V, 171
	Muthill (Drummond)	NN 81	1493: <i>Reg Gt Seal</i> , II, no 2169
	Muthill (Strageath)	NN 81	1495: <i>ibid</i> , II, no 2269
	Port of Mentieth	NN 60	1637: <i>Retours</i> , Perth, no 466
	Kilbarchan	NS 46	1540: <i>Reg Gt Seal</i> , III, no 2124
Renfrew	Denny	NS 88	1539: I B Cowan & P H R Mackay (eds), <i>Knights of St John of Jerusalem in Scotland</i> , Scott Hist Soc, 4th ser, 19 (1983), 8
Stirling			
Sutherland	Skelbo	NH 79	1456: <i>Misc Bann Club</i> , III, 98
Wigtown	Kirkcowan	NX 35	1500: <i>Reg Gt Seal</i> , II, no 2520
	Kirkinner	NX 34	1498: <i>ibid</i> , II, no 2391
	Penninghame	NX 46	1581: <i>ibid</i> , V, no 187

APPENDIX 1 — *Continued*
'Bordland' in Scotland

b) <i>Other names possibly derived from 'bordland'</i>				
County	Parish	Grid ref (a)	Form (b)	Date and source (c)
Aberdeen	Cairnie	NJ 44	3	OS cf J Macdonald, <i>P-N West Aberdeen</i> , 76
	Cluny	NJ 61	3	1540: <i>Reg Gt Seal</i> , III, no 2100
	Crimond	NK 05	3	1458: <i>ibid</i> , II, nos 625, 639
Argyll	Skipness	NR 95	4	17th cent: <i>Scott Hist Rev</i> , 50 (1971), 6-7
Ayr	Colmonell	NX 28	1	OS
	Craigie	NS 43	1	OS
	Dalrymple	NS 41	1	OS
	Old Cumnock	NS 51	1	OS cf <i>Dir Landownership c 1770</i> , p 63
Caithness	Reay	NC 96	1, 3, 4	OS; <i>Dir Landownership c 1770</i> , p 92; <i>Retours</i> , Caithness, nos 5, 7, 22 (dated 1604-5, 1644)
Clackmannan		NS 99	1	temp David II: <i>Reg Gt Seal</i> , I, p 581 (no 1026)
Dumfries	Caerlaverock	NX 97	1, 2	OS; 1529: <i>Reg Gt Seal</i> , III, no 815; 1325, 1342: Johnson-Ferguson, <i>P-N Dumf</i> , p 6
	Dumfries	NX 97	2	1440, 1660: <i>P-N Dumf</i> , p 25
	Kirkpatrick Juxta	NY 09	1	OS; 1652: <i>Retours</i> , Dumf, no 205
	Moffat	NT 00	1	<i>P-N Dumf</i> , p 96
East Lothian	Humbie	NT 46	5	Field-name at Blegbie: information from Dr I Fraser (1981)
Forfar	Rescobie	NO 55	3	1542: <i>Reg Gt Seal</i> , III, no 2741
Inverness	Abertarff	NH 30	4	OS; <i>Dir Landownership c 1770</i> , p 167
Kirkcud	Borgue	NX 65	1	<i>ibid</i> , p 191
	Girthon	NX 55	1	<i>ibid</i> , p 195
	Kirkcudbright	NX 56	1	OS
	Kirkpatrick-Irongray	NX 87	1	OS; <i>Retours</i> , Kirkcud, no 369
	Minigaff	NX 36	1	OS; <i>Dir Landownership c 1770</i> , p 199
	Parton	NX 67	1	<i>ibid</i>
Lanark	Libberton	NT 04	1	OS
	Lesmahagow	NS 84	1	<i>ibid</i>
Midlothian	Cramond	NT 17	1	1690: <i>Retours</i> , Edin, no 1319
Perth	Alyth	NO 16	1	OS
	'Keloure'		3	1522: <i>Reg Gt Seal</i> , III, no 229
	St Madoes	NO 12	3	1542: <i>ibid</i> , III, no 2810
Renfrew	Eaglesham	NS 55	1	OS; <i>Dir Landownership c 1770</i> , p 290
Stirling	Drymen	NS 59	1	OS
Wigtown	Inch	NX 05	1	<i>ibid</i>
	Old Luce	NX 15	1	<i>ibid</i>

Notes:

(a) The National Grid reference is given in italics where Ordnance Survey One Inch maps (Seventh Series) give the name Bor(e)land or Borlum in the parish in question.

(b) The recorded forms are:

- | | | |
|---------------|---------------|------------|
| 1 Bor(e)land | 3 Bro(a)dland | 5 Boarland |
| 2 Bour(e)land | 4 Borlum | |

(c) Undated references where the source is cited 'OS' indicate that the name is given on Ordnance Survey One Inch maps (Seventh Series).

APPENDIX II
'Bordland' in England and Wales

County	Parish	Grid Ref	Date	Source
Berks	Appleford	SU 59	Ed VI	<i>PN Berks</i> , II, p 401
	Arborfield	SU 76	1508	<i>Berks Archaeol Jnl</i> , 46 (1942), 85
	East Hendred	SU 48	1551	<i>PN Berks</i> , II, p 485
	Hinton	SU 39	1391	PRO, DL 29/652/10542, m1
Cheshire	Gt Caldy	SJ 28	17th cent?	<i>Cheshire Sheaf</i> , Mar 1903, p 24
Cumb	Cummersdale	NY 35	1318	Cumb RO, DRC/1/1, p 526
	Egremont	NY 01	1338	<i>Cal Close R</i> 1337-9, 476-7, 486, 494
	Upperby	NY 45	1360	<i>Originalia Rolls</i> , II, 253
	Wigton (Dockray)	NY 24	1334	Cumb RO, D/Lec/314/16
Derbys	Brackenfield	SK 35	1480	<i>PN Derbys</i> , II, p 219
Dorset	Coombe Keynes	SY 88	1445	Dorset RO, D10/M 128, mm 3-5
	Dorchester	SY 69	1345	PRO, SC 11/802, m1
	Iwerne Courtney	ST 81	1555	J Hutchins, <i>Hist & Antiq of Dorset</i> (1778 edn), p 318
	Shapwick	ST 90	1468	PRO, SC6/832/13, m3
	Stour Provost	ST 72	1442	King's Coll Cambridge MSS, C 36
	Warmwell	SY 78	1466	Dorset RO, D10/M139, m3d
	Winterborne Came	SY 78	1559	Dorset RO, D1/10634
Durham	Darlington	NZ 21	1608	D A Kirby (ed), <i>Parl Surveys of Bprie of Durham</i> (1971), I, pp 99, 105
Glos	Brimpsfield	SO 91	1494	<i>PN Glos</i> , I, p 146
Lancs	Clitheroe	SD 74	1844	OS 6" Map, Lancs sheet 47
Middx	Isleworth	TQ 17	14th cent	Hist MSS Comm, <i>App to 6th Rep</i> (1877), p 233
Northumb	Horsley	NZ 19	1359	<i>Cal Inq PM</i> , X, 524
Oxon	Deddington	SP 43	1422	PRO, DL43/8/16
	Kirtlington	SP 51	1422	<i>Ibid</i>
Yorks (NR)	Salton	SE 78	1479	<i>Priory of Hexham</i> , II, p 76 (Surtees Soc, 46, 1865)
Yorks (WR)	Nether Thong	SE 10	1462	<i>PN Yorks WR</i> , II, p 288
	Wakefield	SE 32	1315	<i>Ibid</i> , II, p 171
<i>Wales</i>				
Denbigh	Chirk	SJ 23	17th cent	Hist MSS Comm, <i>App to 2nd Rep</i> (1871), p 67
Flint	Marford & Hoseley	SJ 35	?	A N Palmer, <i>Hist of Anc Tenures of Land in Marches of N Wales</i> (1885), 61-5
Glam	Miskin	ST 08	?	Jones, 'Post-Roman Wales', p 338
	Newton Nottage	SS 87	1272	G T Clark (ed), <i>Cartae . . . Glam</i> (1910), iii, p 768
Montgom	Llansantffraid yn Mechain	SJ 22	?	A N Palmer & E Owen, <i>Anc Tenures of Land in N Wales & Marches</i> (1910), 106