Location and description (Illus 1)
The lie of the land has largely shaped the development of medieval Dunfermline. Overlooking the Firth of Forth, with an excellent view across to Edinburgh, it stands on rising ground, some 5 km inland from the Firth of Forth. The main streets extend along, and connect with, a series of narrow terraces that grade from the north down to the abbey in the south, and beyond. High Street, the main thoroughfare of the town, occupies the central terrace, with Maygate skirting along the terrace below. The Abbot’s House still stands in the shadow of the great abbey and is the oldest surviving secular building within the town (Canmore’s Tower is older, being 14th century or earlier in date, but lies just outwith the town in Pittencrief Park). Situated on the south side of Maygate, it fronts directly onto the street. Here, Maygate appears to curve around the house, perhaps deliberately, hinting at the complex relationship between these, two of the oldest surviving features of the medieval townscape.

The outward appearance of the building is of a late 16th century private dwelling house, the walled garden to the south and west of the house backing directly onto the cemetery of the abbey. Formerly, the house would have stood at the edge of the medieval abbey precinct, which, since the Reformation, has gradually been infilled. In its existing form, the house stands as the end product of several phases of building, spanning five centuries, the most recent of which is the newly opened Abbot House heritage centre.

The development
The conversion of the house from a doctor’s surgery and temporary home of the local Tourist Information Board to a heritage centre prompted an archaeological response. Planned refurbishment works on the ground floor of the house comprised the reduction of the existing floor levels to accommodate wheelchair access, a new damp-course and under-floor heating system and the insertion of new services. As a result, up to 0.5m of archaeological deposits were under threat. Similarly, landscaping was to affect c 0.5m across the garden. Financial constraints focused archaeological work on those areas directly at risk, but there was an opportunity to excavate slightly deeper in the garden.

In conjunction with the excavation, a standing building survey was carried out by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland and research into the history of the Abbot’s House was undertaken by the Dunfermline Heritage Trust. The archaeological work was funded by Fife Regional Council, Historic Scotland, Carnegie Dunfermline Trust and Dunfermline District Council, with grant aid from the European Regional Redevelopment Fund.

Early history of the Abbot’s House (Illus 2)
Documentary research by the Dunfermline Heritage Trust has revealed that the name Abbot’s House was only given to the property in the 19th century (Torrie et al 1994, 19). The earliest reference to the property dates to 1550, when the house was in the ownership of William Coupar, Burgh Treasurer. It was in 1570, however, when James Murray of Perdieu purchased the property, that the first of many phases of building alterations and additions was recorded. This late 16th century
Russel Coleman

house appears to have taken the form of a small Z-plan tower-house, though not strictly speaking a tower-house, comprising Areas 3 and 4 with stair-towers at the north-west and south-east respectively. By the early 17th century, the property was in the ownership of the Earls of Dunfermline, and referred to as the ‘Great Ludging’. One of the few stone buildings in the town, its thick stone walls and slate roof saved it from a fire which swept Dunfermline in 1624 and which largely destroyed the rest of the town. The later seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw various additions to the house, extending it westwards, eastwards and northwards along and eventually out onto the Maygate itself.

Early history of the abbey and burgh of Dunfermline (Illus 1)

Malcolm Canmore (Malcolm I, 1058-1093) married the Saxon Margaret, sister of Edgar the
Atheling ('prince'), who had fled to Scotland after William I had taken control of northern England (Lynch 1992, 75). The wedding took place no later than 1071, probably in Dunfermline (Duncan 1975, 119). By this time, Dunfermline already appears to have been an established royal centre. The remains of a fortified enclosure (NT 0877 8731, not illustrated) perched on a rocky outcrop in Pittencrieff Park (Canmore’s Tower) is traditionally thought to have been Malcolm’s royal residence, though recent excavations there could attribute a date no earlier than the 14th century (DES 1989, 16). On Margaret’s request, three Benedictine monks were sent to Dunfermline from Canterbury to form the core of a small priory, perhaps based at an existing church (Fawcett 1990, 4). The priory that Margaret had founded was extended and elevated to the status of an abbey by the youngest of her six sons, David I (1124-1153), who, from Canterbury, brought Geoffrey in 1128 to become its first abbot (ibid, 6). By now the abbey had also become a royal burial place. One of the greatest of the...
religious houses, its wealth and status greatly increased in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The granting of burgh status to Dunfermline remains incompletely understood. The earliest settlement is thought to have been sited close to the royal residence in Pittencrief Park, on the western side of the Tower Burn, but was probably no more than a small huddle of timber huts during Malcolm and Margaret's time (Torrie et al 1994, 6). Whether it was this settlement that received David I's 'royal' burgh status is unclear, as there is evidence to suggest that there was a second settlement in place during the 12th century on the eastern side of the Tower Burn, clustered around the boundary walls of the abbey precinct. The earlier of the two settlements appears to have failed by the end of the 12th century, for perhaps two reasons (Duncan 1975, 472-3). Firstly, the abbatial settlement, fuelled by providing goods and services to the increasingly wealthy abbey, prospered at the expense of the earlier settlement, and secondly, Inverkeithing's market, at the junction of routes from Perth and eastern Fife to the Queen's Ferry, proved the more attractive of the two.

The core of the abbatial settlement is likely to have been concentrated along present day St Catherine's Wynd, Maygate and Kirkgate. As it grew, however, the extensive land enclosed by the monastic community forced settlement up onto a series of narrow terraces to the north. By the 15th century, the town plan was much as it is today, with Hiegait or Causegait (now High Street) the principal street. Unusually, Dunfermline had a linear, rather than an open market, because of the narrowness of the terrace, the market cross itself standing approximately midway along its length (Torrie et al 1994, 8). The tolbooth stood at the western end of Hiegait. Maygate together with Abbot Street and Canmore Street (formerly known as 'in between the wa's') mark the former northern boundary of the abbey precinct.

Archaeological background

Small-scale trial excavations were carried out by SUAT Ltd in the garden of the house in 1988. The wall-footings and floor surfaces of a Victorian building were found adjacent to the west gable wall of the house, and the discovery of fragments of disarticulated human bone in the southern area of the garden suggested that the abbey cemetery may have once extended as far north as the house. Medieval pottery was also recovered from the garden soils, and the quantity of iron slag retrieved indicated possible metal-working in the area. A
further opportunity for trial work, in early 1992, revealed a substantial, east to west aligned stone-built drain 1.8m below the existing ground surface in the south-eastern corner of the garden.

At approximately the same time, refurbishment work inside the house exposed a previously unknown, east to west aligned facade wall, complete with windows and doorways at ground level, which, on closer inspection was also found to contain a distinctive, traceried window on first floor level. It thus appeared that the documented late 16th century building works had incorporated the shell of the earlier building, known to have been standing, albeit in poor condition, in 1550. The architectural style of the first-floor window dates this facade wall to the late medieval period, probably the 15th century. More importantly, perhaps, the ecclesiastical style of the window, similar to those found in churches and abbeys, suggests that this building could after all have been the house of the Abbot of Dunfermline, as the Victorians had suggested.
The excavation (Illus 3)
The principal objectives of the excavation were to
investigate the structural development of
the building and its relationship to the
Maygate street frontage;
identify any pre-Abbot’s House activity;
confirm whether the presence of human
remains related to changes in the northern boundary of the abbey cemetery;
use the results of the excavation to complement the restoration work.

Initially, work began in March 1992 as a watching brief with limited excavation. A full excavation was then carried out over a period of 19 weeks from April to September that same year. A watching brief and some limited excavation were subsequently carried out in late October and early November in 1993 and again in March 1994.

In all, eleven separate areas were excavated to varying depths. Site-wide phasing has been attempted but proved difficult for two main reasons. Firstly, the precinct wall of the abbey physically and stratigraphically divided the site in two, and secondly, unconnected trenches, excavated to varying depths, with data retrieved from a combination of controlled excavation, watching briefs and test-pits proved difficult to integrate. Nevertheless, there were enough links to identify six broad phases of activity, the earliest of which dated to the 12th or 13th century.

For the purposes of this report, the building on the Maygate frontage is referred to as the Abbot’s House throughout its constructional history.

The archaeological sequence, Phase 1: pre-Maygate levels and workshops (Illus 4)
In the final weeks of the excavation, only a small area within the main trench in the garden (Area 11) was available to examine the very earliest levels (the burials were left in situ). It was enough, however, to provide a tantalising glimpse of the inner workings of the abbey precinct as it stood in the 12th century. Stone features, a wall, a clay floor, and metal-working debris all indicate that this area, at the extreme northern end of the precinct, was a hive of activity three centuries before the building of the Abbot’s House.

Beyond the abbey precinct lay the town. The earliest recorded levels on the frontage (Area 10) pre-dated the Maygate itself, and indicate that, early on in the development of the burgh, there was settlement immediately around the precinct boundary. Whether these features lay within the backlands of properties that fronted onto the High Street or Kirkgate or whether they in fact pre-date these streets is unclear.

The pottery assemblage indicates a pre-13th century date for this, the earliest phase of activity on the site (see Hall below). The more diagnostic finds from this phase (see Cox below) include an iron padlock mechanism (86) and a leather shoe sole (184).

The abbey precinct

Workshop 1. Within the precinct the earliest features comprised a linear, east to west aligned cut and a similarly aligned rectangular sandstone structure (Illus 4). Both features were left in situ. The upper fills of the cut, which measured at least 4.5m in length, contained clay and rubble and, in particular, significant quantities of both charcoal and slag. Fragments of slag were also present in the disturbed natural into which the feature was cut. Lying just to the north, the stone feature, bonded with clay, measured 1.65 by 0.56m. There was no evidence that it stood to any more than a single course in height or that it extended any further to the east or west. In such a case, it would appear to represent the base of a structure, rather than the remnants of a wall or floor. The relationship between these two features remains unclear, but the presence of slag suggests that they were fixtures and fittings within a metal-working complex.

Workshop 2. An extensive layer of clay sealed Workshop 1, the clay forming a rough floor surface of a second workshop (Illus 5). An iron padlock mechanism was recovered from the top of this...
layer. Defining its eastern edge was a north to south aligned wall, of which only the rubble foundation survived. An L-shaped setting of stones, comprising three flat, sandstone blocks, may have formed the base of some internal structure, which lay just inside the wall. No waste products were found to have accumulated over the floor to suggest a function for what may have been a second workshop.

Abbey precinct boundary
The precinct of the abbey was demarcated by a substantial stone wall at least by the 14th century (Phase 2), if not earlier, but the exact date of its construction was not proven. Equally, it must have replaced an earlier boundary, a wall or possibly ditch. It is perhaps this first, unseen boundary that the features and deposits found in the earliest levels on the frontage respect.

A sequence of loamy soils and midden represent the earliest activity in this area, and predate the establishment of the Maygate as a thoroughfare. Quantities of sandstone rubble were mixed in with some of these deposits, suggesting that other structures, abandoned or recently constructed, lay nearby. The presence of midden here also suggests that this area may formerly have lain within the backlands of properties that extended south from the High Street, or alternatively, eastwards from Kirkgate. This may be confirmed by a fragment of butchered horse bone recovered from the midden. A knife cut on the bone is evidence of skinning, a typical backland activity. A leather shoe was also recovered from the midden.

Wall, pathway and drain
Laid out directly on top of the midden were three contemporary stone features (Illus 4). A flagstone pathway, aligned east to west, was bordered to the north by a stone wall. Surviving only as a single course, the wall was bonded with clay and overlay the flagstones. Both the path and wall appear to have been robbed out to the east and west. An arrangement of roughly shaped stones, aligned east to west, lay a short distance to the east of the pathway. Grooves worn into the upper face of two of the stones suggest that they formed part of a crude drain.

At the end of this phase, midden deposits started to accumulate in between and against the stones, and concentrations of rubble were found directly in front of the wall. Pockets of silt in these layers suggest they were open to the elements for some time and that this process of deterioration was gradual.

The archaeological sequence, Phase 2: Maygate and workshop (Illus 6)
This phase marks the establishment of the Maygate, the medieval street which skirted around the northern perimeter of the precinct. Whether it was laid directly over existing properties is uncertain, but nevertheless it represents an important, if not radical, change in the development of the town plan. The precinct wall itself is also probably attributable to this phase, though robbing in the 19th century obscured much of its constructional detail. Within the precinct, a possible pathway around the inside of the perimeter wall and a third workshop were also identified. The sacking of many of the buildings within the precinct by Edward I in 1303 is a notable event in the history of Dunfermline, and appears to be archaeologically attested at the close of this phase.

The pottery retrieved from Phase 2 deposits indicate a 13th to 14th century dating bracket (see Hall below). Finds associated with this phase (see Cox below) include a copper alloy mount (13), tweezers (35), a bone ear scoop (116) and more than 30 small fragments of window glass (138).

The abbey precinct
Workshop 3. The extensive clay loam deposited at the beginning of this phase sealed Workshop 2 and formed a bedding or levelling for a series of deliberately laid surfaces for a third workshop (Illus 6). This bedding layer also contained a pair of tweezers. The first of these surfaces, comprising clay, overlay the earlier stone wall. A post-hole cut through it contained packing stones and, more interestingly, a bone scoop (see Cox below). Two more surfaces, both slightly uneven, one predominantly of stones, the other mortar, were then laid. Post-holes had been cut through them but formed no real pattern to suggest any particular function. Though contemporary, the surfaces appear to define two separate working areas. This sequence of floors represents the third or fourth successive workshop on this same spot, but the lack of any waste products, such as charcoal, ash or slag, is significant and in marked contrast to Workshop 1.

Levelling over workshop (not illustrated)
The workshops were abandoned, and an extensive clay layer was laid down, sealing the floors below. A layer consisting almost purely of sandstone, and including quantities of worked stone and fragments of glass, was then dumped and levelled. The inclusions are particularly important as they may represent demolition debris from the sacking of the abbey buildings. A small deposit of garden soil, from which a copper alloy mount was recovered,
accumulated on this surface before more rubble was dumped. All three of these dumped layers may have formed surfaces in their own right, but the absence of any silts suggest they were not open to the elements, but were laid down to deliberately seal earlier activity, before the establishment of a cemetery in the next phase.

The Maygate and precinct wall

This phase marks the establishment of the Maygate as one of the main thoroughfares of the town, and the translation of the abbey boundary from perhaps a ditch into a stone wall. A long sequence of metalled surfaces, dating from the 13th century, was uncovered in those rooms at the front of the house (Areas 7 and 8/9) as well as on the frontage itself. These early surfaces nevertheless abutted the lower courses of what later became the facade wall of the late medieval house. This important relationship confirms that the facade wall had in fact been built directly on top of the earlier precinct
Comprising compacted sandstone fragments, the construction of the Maygate is datable by the many fragments of pottery (animal bone was also present) contained in a bedding layer of sand within which the stones were set. On the frontage, the first of the Maygate levels incorporated the earlier stone structures from Phase 1 into the metalled surface. Directly overlying and sandwiched between successive street surfaces were extensive spreads of midden, containing large quantities of pottery, bone, and oyster, together with wood, twigs and leather fragments. Interestingly, a slab of whale bone was also found lying on the first of the Maygate levels. The quantity of midden suggests that domestic rubbish was being dumped by those tenants on the north side of the Maygate, rather than just accumulating naturally.

Dry-stone wall on Maygate
Several features were found to have been contemporary with the earliest of the street levels, including a narrow drain or gully cut against the foundations of the precinct wall and a line of stones which may have formed a southern kerb. Of the features associated with the street levels, perhaps the most significant was a linear, single-course, drystone wall, stretches of which were found in both Areas 7 and 8/9 (Illus 6). Although set on a roughly east to west alignment, it skewed significantly away from the line of the precinct wall as it continued westwards. The strange angle of this wall may provide the key to its function.

Pathway within the precinct wall
Excavations within the house revealed it to have
been built directly over features which had formerly lain within the precinct. A cobbled surface, uncovered in Area 4, appears to have formed a pathway around the inside of the precinct wall (Illus 6). Silts accumulated over the cobbles before thick dumps of rubble, mortar and clay were deposited. The quantity, extent and depth of this rubble represents a significant effort and perhaps a deliberate attempt to level the area.

The archaeological sequence, Phase 3: cemetery, courtyard and 'Abbots House' (Illus 7, 8 & 9)

At the end of the previous phase, rubble layers were deposited over the workshops. The area was then set aside as a cemetery, albeit short-lived, but was essentially a northern extension of a cemetery that was already in existence. Features found in lower levels of the house, which may have been contemporary with the cemetery, include a stretch of wall with a gate, connecting two cobbled areas. Though only glimpsed, these features suggest that the area was planned and laid out, and an element of design incorporated into the landscape.

The cemetery was, however, relatively short-lived and the latter part of this phase saw a conscious decision to abandon the cemetery in preparation for the construction of the house. The function of this building is not certain, but its position, at the interface between the abbey and the burgh, would tend to support its interpretation as the abbot's lodgings. Built against the back of the existing precinct wall, into which the walls appear to have been keyed, it was sited directly on top of a series of ornamental features.

Pottery recovered from this phase indicates a 14th to 15th century date (see Hall below), with the cemetery being abandoned in, perhaps, the mid-15th century in advance of the construction of the house. An iron buckle (76), lead alloy window came fragments (59 and 61), several coins, one of a type never found before in Scotland (179), and a French jetton (181) were among the more
diagnostic finds retrieved from this phase of activity (see Cox and Holmes below).

Cemetery and burials

The rubble layers not only sealed the earlier workshops but also prepared the way for the establishment of a cemetery (Illus 8). The widely dispersed nature of the burials and the lack of any intercutting graves suggest that the cemetery here was either in use for a short time or that its location at the extreme north end of the precinct meant it was used infrequently. Garden soil appears to have been deliberately brought in, implying that this was a planned extension to the cemetery rather than natural growth. The absence of graves in the pre-construction levels of the house suggests that a boundary existed between the cemetery and the precinct wall, perhaps on the line of the present day south wall of the house.

All ages and both sexes were represented in this small group of nine burials. Three are of particular interest: grave 687 contained two young children, no doubt relations, one aged c 8-10 years (686), the other c 5-8 years (698). The most northerly grave (730) contained the remains of a cripple. An adult male, he had been laid on his left side on a bed of stones, his deformed condition probably preventing him from being laid out in the traditional supine position. Burial 704 was also of interest. This adolescent male was buried wrongly orientated (with the head to the east), and the ankles also appeared to have been bound together.

Pins were found throughout the graveyard soil and in direct association with two graves, indicating that some of the bodies, at least, may have been buried wrapped in shrouds (see Cox below). One exception was grave (728), a very young child aged c 2 years, who, from the presence of corroded iron nails or fittings around the body, seems to have been buried in a coffin. An iron belt-buckle lying on the pelvis of the adult male in grave 710 represents one of the few surviving examples of clothing or dress adornment other than lace tags (see Cox below). Other finds from the graveyard soils include fragments of lead alloy window cames.

End of the cemetery

Extensive spreads of garden soil with the occasional patch of rubble sealed the graves and mark the end of the cemetery. The pottery, and in particular two coins and a French jetton (see Holmes below) recovered from these layers, date the abandonment of the cemetery to around the early to mid-15th century.

Court yard and pathway

Silts had begun to accumulate over the rubble that had been deposited at the end of Phase 2 before a series of ornamental features transformed the appearance of the area. A stone wall, in places three courses high and bonded with clay, enclosed an area of cobbles (Mus 7). Access was through a gate in the wall, and a series of kerb stones, bedded in clay, defined the eastern limit of what appears to have been a small courtyard. The gate stood at the southern end and was constructed of large, re-used chamfered stones. Partly robbed out, two stones survived in situ, one set horizontally, forming the sill, the other vertically. Another re-used dressed block, into which the gate-post would have been set, had been displaced but lay immediately to the east. Three sockets had been carved into it, one with a lead plug still in situ.

To the west of the wall, and perhaps contemporary with it, were the remnants of two more cobbled surfaces. Probably evidence of a pathway around the perimeter of the precinct, they appear to have been more crudely constructed.

Towards the end of this phase, the cobbled surfaces between the cemetery and the precinct wall had fallen into disuse. Clay and midden, containing roughly worked stone and roof tile fragments, were strewn over the cobbles, and in Area 4 a small pit was dug through the cobbles and back-filled with rubble, slag and coal. Within the rubble layers were two cat skeletons, a good indicator that the area was lying open and semi-derelict in appearance.

Maygate

Whatever function the dry-stone wall constructed in Phase 2 performed, it had clearly failed, and, having fallen into disuse, it quickly became incorporated into the fabric of the next series of street surfaces (Illus 7). Midden, including a fragment of butchered horse bone, and silts then accumulated, and on the frontage a large rut, which may also have doubled as a crude drain, continued almost uninterrupted across the street.

The Abbot's House

A sequence of thick, rubble, clay and mortar layers spread around Area 4 sealed the earlier ornamental features and marked the construction of the house at the very end of this phase. Although some of this material may represent the actual constructional debris from the building works, it was 'eft in situ to level the area in preparation for the floors.

The earliest phase of the house took the form of a rectangular block, at least two storeys high (Illus 9). This had been built directly against the existing
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**Fuse 3  The Abbot’s House**

![Illus 9. The Abbot’s House.](image)

precinct wall, which had now been rebuilt and raised as a facade wall, complete with doorways and windows fronting onto the Maygate. The internal wall between Areas 1 and 2 appears to have been a later insertion as it abuts the facade wall, in contrast to the others which are keyed in. The ground floor thus comprised three rooms (Areas 1 and 2 combined and Areas 3 and 4).

Once the cemetery had been abandoned, the area may then have been set aside as private ground for the newly constructed abbot’s lodgings. A boundary, perhaps on the line of the modern day garden wall, may have re-defined the northern limit of the abbey cemetery.

The archaeological sequence, Phase 4: industrial activity (Illus 10)

The earliest levels associated with the house comprised a complex sequence of working floors, cut by hearths and post-holes, and over which extensive spreads of charcoal, ash and slag had accumulated. The evidence indicates semi-industrial activity, probably smithing, throughout the house (see Cox and Harrison below). Although later activity has undoubtedly disturbed earlier features, it would appear that the ground floor had never been used as living quarters (perhaps due to flooding) but as cellars or workshops.

Towards the end of this phase, two stair towers were added to the house, one onto the facade wall and attached to the south-eastern corner of the building. This, the second major phase of building, probably undertaken by James Murray of Perdieu in or around 1570, marks the beginning of a process of gradual encroachment northwards onto the Maygate.

The pottery assemblage associated with this phase indicates a 15th to 16th century date (see Hall below). The more diagnostic finds (see Cox below) include an iron horseshoe fragment (80), a knife blade (85) and a pair of shears (89).

The Abbot’s House

Some time after the construction of the house in the late medieval period (possibly the mid- to late 15th century), but before the second phase of building in the later 16th century, the internal wall between Areas 1 and 2 was inserted. The nature of even the earliest deposits clearly show the use to which the ground floor of the house was put.

**Area 1 - floors, culvert and post-holes.** Of all the rooms in the house, this suffered the least disturbance from later activity. Therefore, it offers the clearest insight into the occupational history of a single room within a building altered over many centuries.

Six superimposed layers of pure charcoal were strewn across the room, the variety in colour and texture of which suggests that the room was in use as a smithy (not illustrated). A small bowl-shaped hearth, filled with slag, in the north-western corner...
of the room may have been the source of this material. It was directly over these deposits that the first identifiable floor surface had been laid. Comprising cobbles and flagstones set in a sand bedding, it covered the northern half of the room and again showed signs of burning. To the south, a patch of mortar floor in the south-eastern corner of the room was kerbed to the south by a row of sandstone blocks aligned east to west. A mixture of humic, occupation layers and light rubble then accumulated, from which an iron horseshoe fragment was recovered, before another mortar floor was laid down. This was extensive across the southern end of the room, and secondary patches of mortar overlying it may represent repair work. The straightness of the northern edge of the floor suggests that a partition existed across the middle of the room. North of this partition were dumps of charcoal and slag, which perhaps reflect a separate working area. All the floors appear to have had a short life-span.

The final floor level of this phase (illus 10)
comprised sand and extended across much of the room. Small post-holes were cut through it, but with no discernible pattern to suggest a function. A substantial stone-capped culvert, built against the west wall of the room, cut through the sand floor. Constructed of sandstone blocks, including some re-used worked stone, it was laid over a narrow, linear cut. A small, irregular ash-filled pit was cut against the face of one of the capstones. Silt then accumulated over the sand floor, through which more randomly dispersed stake holes were cut.

Though metal-working was undoubtedly a core activity, the animal bone assemblage recovered from floor surfaces indicate butchering as well (see Smith below).

**Area 2 - floors.** This room was heavily disturbed by later activity, and only one small island of stratigraphy survived in the north-west corner of the room. A late 19th or 20th century corridor, designed to provide internal access on the ground floor, has since separated the northern end of the room. Despite the degree of disturbance there are enough similarities between the sequences in Areas 1 and 2 to suggest that in this phase they were originally undivided, and that the internal wall between them was a slightly later addition to the building.

Traces of a possible cobbled surface similar to the one found in Area 1 were found at the north end of the room, in the area now within the corridor. A thick midden-like deposit sealed the cobbles before a new floor was laid down. The first extensive floor was of sand, with patches of coal overlying. More sand and mortar floors were then laid down, with clay and rubble levelling sandwiched between. Fragments of coal and charcoal were present throughout the sequence. One of the sand floors (Illus 10), for example, was truncated by four small cut features. Filled with coal and burnt rubble, they were again sealed by further deposits of coal, ash and charcoal.

**Area 3 - hearths.** Sealed below the late 16th century fireplace (in the south-western corner of the room) was a sequence of four hearths (only the last two are illustrated). The earliest of these (hearth 1) was constructed of clay over a stone base. Burnt deposits appear to have been raked out from the hearth and spread to the north. A short length of wall immediately to the north of the hearth, and aligned east to west, may have defined this corner of the room as a metal-working area. Extensive deposits of charcoal, crushed coal and slag were dumped across the room. A pair of shears was recovered from one of these layers. A crusty skin on the surface of these layers suggest that they were strewn around whilst still hot.

A series of shallow pits, back-filled with clay and rubble, truncated this burnt horizon, and more charcoal, ash and slag were spread around, suggesting that the hearth was still in use. Soon after, however, the wall defining the hearth area was partially robbed out, and the rubble from it used to level the immediate area. In the central part of the room a second group of shallow pits was back-filled with rubble and sealed with mortar in advance of the laying down of an extensive clay floor. Three more hearths were then constructed in the same corner of the room as the earlier hearth, cutting through the newly laid clay floor (Illus 10). The first and largest of this second group (hearth 2) was constructed of large stones set around the edge of an oval cut with a clay base. After a period of use another hearth (hearth 3) was then laid directly over hearth 2. Smaller in size and roughly square, it was constructed in the same way. Ash filled the bowl of the hearth and a large stone in the upper fill marks the end of its use. Immediately to the north was a third hearth (hearth 4) defined by an area of burnt clay with ash overlying.

**Area 4 - Furnace and culvert.** An extensive mortar and crushed sandstone layer was the first of a sequence of floors in this room. Three cut features, including a possible cess-pit, truncated the floor, and a mixture of clay and rubble was dumped over it. The largest of the many hearths found in the house was constructed in the north-eastern corner of this room and two phases of use could be identified (Illus 10). The cut for the hearth or furnace formed a smooth bowl-shaped base, with a maximum depth of c 0.30m. The edge of the hearth was defined by roughly shaped sandstone blocks, bonded with clay and surviving in places up to three courses high. Clay was packed in the gap between the cut and the stones and also in the gap between the hearth and the walls of the room. Layers of ash separated a sequence of floors within the hearth and spilled out westwards from the mouth of the hearth. In a second phase of use, a large stone was placed in the centre of the hearth, over which more ash and charcoal accumulated. A concentration of slag deposited to the south-west of the hearth was perhaps waste product from the hearth. When the hearth fell into disuse at the end of this phase, it was plugged with clay.

A culvert (not illustrated) was built against the west wall of the room, the gap between the two packed with mortar. Constructed of sandstone blocks bonded with mortar, it was set on a north to south aligned foundation cut. Large flagstones formed the base, with a retaining wall to the east. The western side of the culvert was formed by the main west wall of the room, with the capstones mortared onto the wall face itself.
The Maygate, north tower and enclosure
This phase saw the last of the street levels found on the frontage, as later features removed all traces of the post-16th century Maygate. Three surfaces in all, comprising cobbles and pebbles, were identified. A drainage cut defined the southern edge of the last of the street levels, and an area of broken flagstones was laid directly on the street surface, possibly as repair work. Contained within the midden that had been dumped or accumulated gradually over the Maygate was a fragment of dog bone bearing a knife cut compatible with skinning (See Smith below).

In the later rooms to the north of the facade wall, a number of cut features and a wall truncated the midden that had accumulated over the Phase 3 Maygate levels. This would tie in with the addition of the stair tower on to the front of the facade wall, which effectively forced the Maygate to shift northwards. The wall, aligned north to south, was found immediately to the west of the stair tower and would appear to be the remains of a barmkin...
or enclosure wall around the tower. Constructed of sandstone blocks, bonded with mortar, it was dressed on both ices with a rubble core.

Garden

Extensive layers of rubble were spread across the garden at the beginning of this phase, the sheer quantity of which suggests that they were debris from the construction of the house itself. An iron knife was recovered from one of the rubble layers. Garden soil was then brought in and dumped over the rubble.

Few features appear to have been contemporary with this first phase of garden, but the eastern edge of an apparent stone structure was visible, extending westwards beyond the section. It comprised two separate areas of mortar-bonded sandstone, set parallel on a north to south alignment. No foundation cuts were visible and despite similar alignments they did not seem to join up. If it was merely a denser concentration of demolition rubble then it too became incorporated into yet more dumps of mortar and rubble which were again spread across the garden.

The archaeological sequence, Phase 5: private garden (Illus 11)

Virtually all traces of late 16th and 17th century activity within the house, and on the frontage, appear to have been removed by later features. Only a stone tank in Area 7, and a cultivation area, a wall and pathway in the garden, could be attributed to this phase. Towards the end of this phase two additional rooms were attached onto the front of the house, Areas 7 and 8/9, enclosing the north tower and further encroaching onto the Maygate.

There were few finds in general from this penultimate phase of activity. The pottery assemblage was broadly similar to Phase 4, indicating a 16th century date (see Hall below). Other finds (see Cox below) included a copper alloy pin (23) and a stone roof slate (109).

The Abbot’s House

Area 7 - stone tank. Cut into the silts overlying the former Maygate was a small tank, constructed of limestone slabs and brick (Illus 11). Built directly against the facade wall, it comprised a flat base slab with four vertical slabs forming the sides. Cut by a modern pipe trench, only the south and east sides survived. Contained within a foundation cut, packed with bricks, the whole structure was then mortared together. Silt and sand accumulated inside the tank before it was back-filled with rubble and then mortared over. Whether this stone tank pre-dates the construction of this room, and the silting in the base suggests it may have, is still unclear.

Garden

Despite the possibility that this area had been private ground attached to the house for some 200 years, it was only during this phase that the first real evidence of use can be seen. A series of six cultivation slots, lying diagonal to the house, indicate that vegetables were being grown (Illus 11). Of the few finds attributable to this phase, two were recovered from the cultivation slots: a copper alloy pin and a stone roof slate. A wall and pathway defined the eastern boundary of the vegetable patch and shows that the garden was to some extent planned and laid out. Both the wall and pathway were partially robbed out, but enough survived to suggest that the wall stood to at least three courses in height.

Culvert

A substantial, east to west aligned, stone-built culvert was observed during trial work immediately to the south of the main trench in the garden (Illus 11). The chamber of the culvert measured c 1.20m in height, and running water still flowed westwards. A Kirk Session Record of 17th April 1660 minutes a decision to start a collection for ‘a gutter under the graves’. This was to resolve persistent flooding in the kirkyard, caused by overflow from the abbey fish pond situated in the north-east corner of the precinct. A displaced skull was found on top of the capstone, no doubt disturbed during its construction.

The archaeological sequence, Phase 6: out-buildings and drains (Illus 12)

Encroachment out into the Maygate at the end of Phase 4, and through Phase 5, offered the opportunity to also expand westwards, and it was here that out-buildings were sited in the 18th and 19th centuries. Within the house itself a complex network of drains and culverts, leading out into the garden and beyond, characterised this phase. Floor levels survived only in Area 1, and again evidence suggests that the ground floor was still being used, though perhaps not as intensively as in Phase 4, for semi-industrial activity. The further development of the house appears to comprise a block of rooms in front of the south tower c 1700 and an extension to the east of the building c 1770.

The pottery assemblage recovered from buildings and garden soil reflects an 18th to 19th century date for much of the activity associated with this final phase of activity on the site (see Hall...
below). Some of the more diagnostic finds (see Cox below) include two iron keys (81 and 83) and a stone hone (91).

The Abbot’s House

Area 1. The patchy remains of a possible late 18th century mortar floor were truncated by 11 stake holes and two small rubble-filled pits (Illus 12). A second, rougher mortar floor was then laid down. Extensive spreads of charcoal over this floor, and covering virtually the whole room, may have been shovelled out from an oven built in the west wall, the function and date of which were unclear. An iron key was recovered from one of the charcoal layers.

Areas 12 and 13 - Corridor. Originally the north tower provided access only to the upper floors. A corridor was subsequently driven through the northern ends of Areas 2 and 3, probably during the 19th century, and perhaps at the same time the barrel-vaulting was robbed out in Area 2. The original wall footings for this corridor were visible in the north-western corner of Area 2 and were constructed of sandstone (Mus 12). The upper sections of brick may be a later addition or rebuild.

Area 4 - cess-pit, culvert and drains. The 18th and 19th century sequence in this room is marked by the digging of a small cess-pit, possibly timber-lined (not illustrated), and spreads of rubble. More extensive layers of rubble and clay together with ash, charcoal and slag were then dumped, sealing the cess-pit. A stone hone was recovered from one of these layers. In turn, these were cut by up to five pits of varying sizes. These were back-filled with clay and rubble, with occasional fragments of slag and coal before a large stone built culvert was dug (Illus 12). Originating from the Maygate, or beyond, it entered the room at the north end, neatly dividing it in two, before exiting through

Illus 12. Outbuildings and drainage system.
the main south wall and out into the garden where it was traced for a further 6m. Constructed of mortared sandstone blocks, it had a flagstone base, side slabs and large roughly shaped capstones. A tributary in the north-western corner fed into a small stone basin. A long and complex sequence of silts filled the culvert, and finds retrieved from them attribute an 18th or 19th century date to the final silting of the main channel.

Areas 3 and 7 - drain and flagstone floors. A narrow trench cut hard against the walls of Areas 3 and 7 contained a 19th century field drain. Comprising short, unconnected sections of clay pipe, it was designed to carry away the excess water that had collected around the wall foundations. Starting in the north-western corner of Area 7, it snaked around the east wall, then continued into Area 3, before exiting through the main south wall and out into the garden (Illus 12). An iron key was recovered from the fill, together with a large smashed but virtually complete plate.

An extensive flagstone floor survived in Areas 3 and 7 but the date at which it was laid remains uncertain (Illus 12). A complex of drains, culverts and modern pipes sealed below it suggest that it has been uplifted on a number of occasions. The floor in Area 3 comprised mainly large flagstones, predominantly sandstone with occasional slates, bedded in a thick layer of sand. In Area 7 the floor was mainly fired clay tiles, with occasional concrete repair work.

Out-buildings, alleyway and precinct wall

Two contemporary 18th century buildings were situated in the gap site to the west of the house. One had been attached to the west gable wall of the Abbot’s House, with the other perhaps to the adjacent building to the west of the house (Illus 12). The precinct wall, which was still standing at this point, appears to have provided a convenient south wall for both structures. The eastern building comprised a single coursed, north to south aligned sandstone wall with an extensive mortar floor. A socket set in one of the stones marks a gate or doorway into the building. No construction cut was visible for the wall, and the whole structure lay almost directly on top of the last of the former Maygate levels. The north-east corner of the western building survived as a single course within which two re-used, worked stones had been incorporated. Though the absence of any deposits within these structures renders them difficult to interpret, the lean-to nature of the eastern building suggests that it was used as a shed or stable. The western building was more substantially constructed, but too little of it was exposed to suggest a function. A narrow alleyway between the two buildings, surfaced with mortar, provided access from the Maygate. Trampled soil accumulated in the alley before a second mortar surface was laid down. Eventually, the alleyway and the western building were abandoned and a new wall built, which partially overlay both (not illustrated). The gap between this new wall and the standing east wall was then plugged with plaster, mortar and a large, smashed, but almost complete 19th century jug to form a double-skinned wall. The original mortar floor of the eastern building appears to have continued in use.

A barn and stable were known to have been constructed in the gap site to the west of the house c 1848, after the demolition of a ‘ruinous building’, and these are shown on the 1856 plan of the town. Woods’ plan of the town, however, shows a gap site here in 1823, indicating a lapse in time between the two phases of buildings on the frontage.

Immediately to the south of the precinct wall, probably robbed out by this time, were traces of another, later out-building (not illustrated), cut into the garden soil. Only partially exposed, it had been attached to the west gable wall of the house, and comprised a mortar-bonded wall with roughly worked faces.

The robbing out of the precinct wall, sometime in the 19th century, was the final chapter in the history of a boundary that had been in place since perhaps the 12th century. Thick dumps of garden soil, up to half a metre thick and packed with Victorian pottery and glass, were then dumped on the frontage and across the garden. Brought in some time during the second half of the 19th century, it was an attempt to raise the ground level and to turn more of the area over to garden.

Garden

Other than the field drain and the stone culvert (Illus 12), no identifiable features were found in the garden. The path and wall which defined a cultivation area in Phase 5 were partially robbed out some time in the 19th century and thick dumps of garden soil were deposited, as on the frontage, to raise the overall ground level. The 1856 map of the town shows an ornamental garden but, disappointingly, no trace of this survived. It has, however, been recreated in the newly opened Abbot House heritage centre.

Interestingly, the Victorian workmen who built the culvert disturbed and then reburied one of the medieval graves. Other burials include those of two dogs, one of which was remarkably large in stature. Measuring c 0.86m at the shoulder (the head was missing), it was probably of wolfhound or deerhound breed.
The pottery

Derek W Hall

East Coast White Gritty ware (Illus 13)

Previous reports on excavated assemblages from St Andrews (Hall forthcoming) have identified a regional subtype in this fabric reflected in the sort of vessel forms present. The two-handled cooking pot and the frilled bifid rim were identified as Fife types and they are well represented on this site. This assemblage includes the first definite proof that the frilled cooking pots had handles (Cat nos 4 & 6). Frilled rims are only present in Phases 1 to 4.

The production centres for this ware have been tentatively identified in eastern Fife near Leuchars, Tentsmuir and Balchrystie. It is not known if any existed in the western part of the county. It seems that lacustrian deposits were the most likely source of clay for this pottery industry and their distribution may suggest the location of kiln sites. There is only one sizeable source of such clay close to Dunfermline; this lies to the west of the burgh and extends to the east of the village of Torryburn. There have been no recorded find spots of pottery wasters from this area and this theory remains unproven.

Gritty Stoneware

This fabric is present in five of the seven phases of this site. It is commonly grey-brown in colour and is highly fired with large unidentified white inclusions. Its external surface has traces of a green-brown wash which give it an appearance that is very similar to the Rhenish stonewares of Siegburg and Langerwehe. All the sherds apparently come from jugs, although there is a frilled rim from Phase 3 which might be from a cooking pot.

This fabric has not been identified in previous assemblages from eastern Fife so may be local to Dunfermline. The frilled rim would certainly seem to suggest a Fife origin for this fabric. If this is an example of the Fife potters copying the styles of imported German stonewares then it would date this fabric from c 1350 onwards (Hurst 1986). If this is true then it might provide a useful indicator for dating groups of white gritty pottery. Further work is required to prove this theory and a close eye should be kept on any future assemblages of medieval pottery from Fife to see if they contain sherds of Gritty Stoneware.

East Coast Redware (Illus 14)

This fabric belongs to the identified Scottish East Coast tradition of producing Redware pottery from the 13th to 15th centuries. Such fabrics have been identified as local products at Perth, Aberdeenshire and possibly Stirling (Scott 1983; Murray 1981; Hall 1994). It seems likely that its presence in Dunfermline represents casual importation from these areas.

Reduced Greywares (Illus 14)

This fabric has long been identified as a late 15th/early 16th century tradition (Haggerty 1978) that replaced the White Gritty and Redwares as a native product. It is only present in Phases 4 to 7 of this excavation.

Imported Wares (Illus 14)

There is a small group of imported material from this excavation. There are eight sherds from Yorkshire ware vessels dating from the 13th or 14th centuries in Phase 2. Nineteen sherds from Rhenish stoneware vessels dating from the 15th and 16th centuries are present from Phase 3 onwards. There is a single sherd of Rouen ware from Phase 1 and a single sherd of Low Countries Redware from Phase 4.

Conclusions

This assemblage provides further information regarding one of medieval Scotland’s major local pottery industries. A new gritty stoneware variant has been identified and a slightly tighter dating chronology has been suggested for the White Gritty wares. The discovery of such large assemblages of pottery from the surfaces of the medieval Maygate indicate that although archaeological deposits on Dunfermline High Street appear to have been destroyed, significant information may still be gained from the artefacts dumped in the rubbish to the rear of the High Street properties.
Table 1. Pottery distribution

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Abbreviation | Fabric          | Abbreviation | Fabric          |
-------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|
WG           | White Gritty    | YK           | Yorkshire       |
GS           | Gritty Stoneware| RhS          | Rhenish Stoneware|
ECR          | East Coast Redware | Ro           | Rouen          |
RG           | Reduced Greyware | LCR          | Low Countries Redware |
Unid         | Unidentified    | Mod          | Modern          |

**White Gritty Ware**

1. Rim and strap handle junction from a cooking pot. Unglazed.
   Context 50; Phase 4
2. Frilled rim from a cooking pot. Unglazed.
   Context 50; Phase 4
   Context 50; Phase 4
4. Frilled rim and strap handle junction from a cooking pot. Unglazed.
   Context 56; Phase 3
5. Rim and strap handle junction from a cooking pot. Unglazed.
   Context 184; Phase 3
6. Frilled rim and strap handle junction from a cooking pot. Unglazed.
   Context 651; Phase 3
7. Rim from ajar. Unglazed.
   Context 725; Phase 3
   Context 726; Phase 3
   Context 56; Phase 3
10. Fragment of a horizontal looped handle. Light green glaze.
    Context 50; Phase 4
11. Fragment of a handle; Unglazed.
    Context 579; Phase 4
12. Twisted rod handle from a jug. Green-brown glaze.
    Context 873; Phase 2
    Context 725; Phase 3
    Context 50; Phase 4
15. Base sherd from a jar. Internal yellow-green glaze.
    Context 632; Phase 5
16. Base sherd from a jar. Internal yellow glaze.
    Context 774; Phase 2
17. Two joining sherds from the base of a bowl. Internal light green glaze.
    Context 695; Phase 2
18. Fragment of a skillet handle. Light green glaze.
    Context 56; Phase 3
    Context 733; Phase 3
20. Rim and handle junction from a dripping pan.
   Unglazed.
   Context 724; Phase 2
21. Fragment of a curfew with a patch of green glaze.
   Context 725; Phase 3
22. Two joining sherds from a possible curfew. Unglazed.
   Context 774; Phase 2
23. Fragment from a possible lid. Green glaze.
   Unstratified
24. Two joining sherds from a possible alembic. Unglazed.
   Context 50; Phase 4
25. Strap handle and rim from a cooking pot. Green-brown glaze.
   Context 814; Phase 4
   Context 242; Phase 4
27. Pedestal base from a jug. Light green glaze.
   Context 620; Phase 6
28. Body sherd from a jug with a fragment of a stamped
   Reduced Greyware
Artefacts from the excavation are reported on below by material type. Discussions of the artefacts have been summarised, and only a selective catalogue has been presented. A full finds report, including a full catalogue and a range of quantification tables, is available in the archive, which has been deposited in the National Monuments Record of Scotland.

Copper alloy objects

Adrian Cox

The 55 copper alloy artefacts from the excavation include a range of costume fittings, items of textile equipment and personal accessories.

Two buttons were recovered from Phase 6. 1, found in a deposit overlying a mortar floor surface in Room 1, has a plain, circular face and an eye. The other example has painted surfaces and four stitch holes. Both buttons are of 18th- or 19th-century date.

1. Button. Diameter 12mm; thickness 8mm
   Button with a plain, circular face and a circular eye.
   Context 80; Find No 00809; Phase 6

Ten lace tags all came from Phases 3-5. Three examples (8, 11 and 12) are from the fills of graves. 11 and 12 came from a single grave, apparently of an adult male, in which two pins (including 31) and an iron buckle (76) were also found. These may all represent costume fittings associated with the burial; the pins possibly used to secure a burial shroud. A further two tags (9 and 10) came from garden soil deposits overlying the cemetery.

Some variation is evident in the construction of the lace tags in this assemblage. At least two of the...
lace tags (9 and 11) incorporated a small rivet near the wider end to secure the lace or thong within the tag. This rivet survives in one of the more fragmentary tags (11), and 9 is perforated to accommodate a similar rivet. In these two tags, the long edges of the sheet overlap, whereas in most examples they form an edge-to-edge seam. In one of the later tags (4, from Phase 5), the long edges of the sheet were folded inwards before the tag was closed. In this way, the lace or thong was gripped all along its length, making a rivet unnecessary. The surface of 4 bears a decorative, stamped latticework pattern. Stamped decoration has also been noted on a lace tag from an excavation at 115 High Street, Elgin (Cox forthcoming b) and on an example of 16th- or 17th-century date from Northampton (Oakley and Webster 1979, 263, No Cu288). These lace tags were either deliberately decorated or, alternatively, may have been fabricated from previously decorated sheets.

In all except two of the tags a small fragment of the lace or thong survives.

4. Lace tag. Length 23mm; max. diameter 3mm
Lace tag made from a rolled sheet. The surface is decorated by a stamped or embossed pattern of latticework. The tag encloses remains of the lace or thong which it terminated. (Not illustrated)
Context 635; Find No 00827; Phase 5

8. Lace tag. Length 15mm; max. diameter 3mm
Fragment of a lace tag, made from a rolled sheet. The tag encloses remains of the lace or thong which it terminated. (Not illustrated)
Context 674; Find No 00881; Phase 3

9. Lace tag. Length 32mm; max. diameter 2mm
Lace tag made from a rolled sheet. There is a small, circular perforation at the wider end which would have accommodated a pin or rivet to secure the lace or thong within the tag.
Context 682; Find No 00877; Phase 3

10. Lace tag. Length 38mm; max. diameter 3mm
Lace tag made from a rolled sheet. It possibly encloses remains of the lace or thong which it terminated. (Not illustrated)
Context 707; Find No 00862; Phase 3

11. Lace tag. Length 28mm; max. diameter 3mm
Fragment of a lace tag, made from a rolled sheet. There is a small perforation at the wider end which contains a small copper alloy rivet to secure the lace or thong within the tag. The tag encloses remains of the lace or thong which it terminated. Heavily corroded. (Not illustrated)
Context 709; Find No 00863; Phase 3

12. Lace tag. Length 28mm; max. diameter 2mm
Lace tag made from a rolled sheet. The tag encloses remains of the lace or thong which it terminated. (Not illustrated)
Context 709; Find No 00840; Phase 3

A small, sheet metal mount (13) was recovered from a deposit of rubble in the garden area in Phase 2. The function of this artefact is undoubtedly decorative, and it has a small perforation near its finished terminal to accommodate a rivet or pin for attachment perhaps to wood or leather. Decorated sheet metal strips were sometimes used to embellish wooden caskets or the covers of books. The design on 13 is of a standing human figure in classical style dress, with the leafy branches of a tree depicted above and behind the figure, against a lightly cross-hatched background. The mount is broken across one end (the lower end, as illustrated), but the design appears to be a repeating one. The pottery assemblage from Phase 2 indicates a 13th- or 14th-century date.

13. Mount. Length 26mm; width 9mm; thickness 1 mm
Mount with parallel long edges, with a circular hole near to one end to accommodate a rivet. It has broken across a second hole at the other end. The mount is decorated by a design, in relief, of a standing figure in possibly classical dress, with foliage above and behind. The background is lightly cross-hatched. The design may have been repeated below, as the upper part of the foliage pattern appears above the broken end. The mount shows evidence of differential wear, one long edge being more worn than the other.
Context 695; Find No 00871; Phase 2

Two needles were found in the garden area of the excavation. 15, made from a tightly rolled sheet and with its eye cut in a countersunk groove, was found in an extensive garden soil in Phase 4. A needle of similar form, though broken across its eye, was found in an unstratified context at Kirk Close, Perth (Ford 1987,125, Illus 60, No 17).

15. Needle. Length 91 mm; width at eye 4mm; thickness at eye 2mm
Complete needle made from a tightly rolled sheet, with a subrectangular eye set within a countersunk groove. The needle terminates in a point above the eye. It is bent at mid-shaft.
Context 657; Find No 00805; Phase 4

Of 18 pins found during the excavation, a majority (13 examples) are from Phases 3 and 4. Several of the pins are from the garden area, three of them (including 31) from grave fills in the cemetery. The close association of these three pins with inhumations may indicate that they had been used to secure clothing or burial shrouds. Most of the pins in this group are of a type made from drawn wire, with the head made from a small coil of wire wound approximately twice around the top of the shaft and attached either by
an adhesive substance or by soldering. Additionally, the head was often pinched, slightly dis- 
sorting its cross-section. Fine linear grooves, 
produced by the wire-drawing process, are some-
times visible on pins of this type and they occur
on two examples in this group, both from Phase 4.
23 (the illustrated example) is among the most
complete and least distorted of the pins found.
One of the earliest pins in the group, 32, from a
Phase 3 graveyard soil, is of a different type, with a
hollow, spherical head made in two pieces. This is
likely to have functioned as a dress pin.

23. Pin. Length 29mm; width at head 2mm; diameter of
shaft 0.8mm
Complete pin with a wire-wound head and a
circular cross-sectioned shaft.
Context 636; Find No 00825; Phase 5
31. Pin. Length 30mm; width at head 2mm; diameter of
shaft 0.9mm
Complete pin with a wire-wound head and a
circular cross-sectioned shaft. (Not illustrated)
Context 709; Find No 00866; Phase 3
32. Pin. Length 22mm; surviving width at head 4mm;
diameter of shaft 0.6mm
Pin with only part of its head surviving. When
complete, the head was probably roughly spherical
and was made in two halves, only the lower of
which survives. The shaft is of circular cross-section.
(Not illustrated)
Context 725; Find No 00838; Phase 3

A seal matrix found in Phase 6 (34) represents
a personal accessory, probably owned and used by
an individual of moderately high status. Its form
and size suggest that it was likely to have been
suspended from a chain, perhaps worn around
the neck or suspended from a belt. An example of
similar form and size in the Museum of London
collection (accession no. 84.266/2) is suspended
from a chain. In a slightly smaller seal matrix from
Leicester, traces survive of an iron pin used to
suspend the matrix from a chain (Clay 1981, 137,
Fig 49, No 37).

34. Seal matrix. Length 24mm; diameter of base 17mm
Seal matrix made from cast metal, with a conical
handle and a lobate terminal, perforated for
suspension. The hole is circular and lightly counter-
sunk. The handle flares out towards the base, which
bears an incuse design, central to which is the
figure of a stag. The inscription surrounding this has
been rendered illegible by corrosion.
Context 321; Find No 00923; Phase 6

A pair of tweezers (35), recovered from a loam
deposit in the garden area in Phase 2, is among the
artefacts which provide an insight into people’s
daily lives and personal habits. Its presence, in this
13th- or 14th-century context, is an indicator of
peoples concern about personal hygiene.

The simplest forms of medieval tweezers,
exemplified by finds from Goltho (I H Goodall 1975,
93, Fig 44, No 35) and Kings Lynn (Geddes and
Carter 1977, 289, Fig 130, No 30), were made from
a folded copper alloy strip. 35 represents a more
elaborate design, which combines tweezers with
an earscoop. These were made in a variety of
forms in the 13th and 14th centuries.

35 was made from a narrow strip of copper
alloy, approximately 66mm in length and tapering
in width from 10mm at one end to 4mm at the
other. The narrower end would have been shaped
to form the rounded terminal of the earscoop, and
the strip would have been cut part way along its
central axis from the wider end to form the
tweezers arms. The strip, thus modified, would
then have been folded in two and the part between
the scoop and the top of the tweezers arms soldered
in place to form a shank.

35. Tweezers. Length 61 mm; width of arms 5mm;
thickness of arms 1 mm
Tweezers made from sheet metal, with rectangular
cross-sectioned arms, which are angled inwards and
each of which terminates in a straight, bevelled
edge. At the opposite terminal, separated from the
tweezers arms by a narrow shank, is a small, elong-
ated scoop or spoon. The sides of the tweezers arms
are decorated by bands of opposed, punched
squares and triangles. Filemarks are visible on the
edges and near the terminals of the arms.
Context 797; Find No 00796; Phase 2

A fragment of a rectangular buckle frame (36)
was found in Phase 4. This object was probably
made by casting and its rough edges subsequently
finished by filing. Of later date, a small, rect-
angular loop from Phase 6 (40) was made from
a single strip, with an edge-to-edge seam. This object
may have served as a sliding retainer, for example
on a leather strap.

A nail or tack (41), found in the garden soils
overlying the cemetery in Phase 3, may have
served a decorative purpose as well as a functional
one, as it has been finely made with a thin, broad
head and a slender shaft. Items such as this may
represent coffin fittings or components of other
funerary accessories associated with the cemetery.

36. Buckle frame. Length 29mm; width 15mm; thick-
ness 1 mm
Fragment of a buckle frame with rectangular sides
and right-angled corners. Filemarks are visible
on the upper surface. A small indentation on the
inside-facing edge of one side probably represents
the resting position of the tip of the buckle pin.
(Not illustrated)
Context 262; Find No 00793; Phase 4
40. Loop. Length 15mm; width 6mm; thickness 8mm
Rectangular loop, made from a single strip, the ends of which butt together. (Not illustrated)
Context 617; Find No 00950; Phase 6

41. Nail or tack. Length 18mm; width of head 13mm; width of shaft 3mm
Nail or tack with a broad, flat, roughly circular head and a rectangular cross-sectioned shaft. The shaft is broken. (Not illustrated)
Context 667; Find No 00823; Phase 3

Lead alloy objects
Adrian Cox

Pieces of medieval window glass were joined together and supported by narrow lead alloy strips called cameas. A total of six came fragment (eg 59 and 61) was recovered, all from Phase 3. Two fragments are from grave fills in the cemetery, one is from the graveyard soil, and the remaining three were found in the garden soil deposits sealing the cemetery. Only 61 was found in a context which also produced window glass (see 137, below).

59. Came. Length 47mm; width 5mm; thickness 2mm
Window came fragment. Distorted. (Not illustrated)
Context 689; Find No 00883; Phase 3

61. Came. Length 39mm; width 4mm; thickness 3mm
Window came fragment. (Not illustrated)
Context 709; Find No 01148; Phase 3

Five offcut sheet fragments were found (eg 62), the stratified examples coming from Phases 2 and 3. A small number of once-molten pieces of lead alloy waste was also found.

62. Offcut. Length 55mm; width 10mm; thickness 4mm
Offcut sheet fragment bearing several knife cuts. (Not illustrated)
Context 688; Find No 00874; Phase 3

Lead alloy seals like 67 were used on bales of flax in the 18th and 19th centuries. The stamped legends on this example are only partly legible. A close parallel in the Henderson collection bears the date 1799, and 67 is likely to be of a similar date.

67. Seal. Max. diameter 20mm; thickness 5mm
Roughly oval seal with two voids running from top to bottom. Both sides bear circular stamps containing cyrillic lettering, partly obscured by corrosion. (Not illustrated)
Context 58; Find No 00850; Phase 6

Iron objects (Illus 15 and 16)
Adrian Cox

The excavation produced a variety of iron artefacts, including costume or harness fittings, household ironwork, horse furniture and tools.

Both the iron buckles from this site are incomplete and very heavily corroded. 76, with a rectangular frame, was found in close association with the inhumation of an adult male in the cemetery. Its position in relation to the burial, along with its size and form, indicates that it probably served as a belt buckle. Also associated with this inhumation were two copper alloy lace tags (11 and 12; see above) and two pins (including 31, above).

76. Buckle. Length 29mm; width 26mm; thickness 4mm
Rectangular buckle with one side of the frame missing. Heavily corroded. (Not illustrated)
Context 709; Find No 01012; Phase 3

79. Handle and plate. Length 114mm; width 57mm; thickness 18mm
Sub-rectangular plate with rivet holes at each corner and in the centre, with a circular cross-sectioned, crescent-shaped handle attached to one face. A layer of pitch or similar material adheres to the reverse face. (Not illustrated)
Context 608; Find No 01162; Phase 6

The single horseshoe fragment from the excavation (80) came from Phase 4. Approximately half of the shoe survives, its form and that of the accompanying horseshoe nail being consistent with a 15th- or possibly 16th-century date.

80. Horseshoe. Length 109mm; max. width 29mm; thickness excluding nails 7mm
Horseshoe fragment. Three oval or rectangular nail holes, one of which contains part of a rectangular cross-sectioned nail, are visible. (Not illustrated)
Context 254; Find No 01138; Phase 4

Two keys (81 and 83) were found, both in Phase 6. Traces of copper alloy plating, possibly serving both a decorative and protective function, survive on the bit of 81.

81. Key. Length 95mm; depth of bit 38mm; max. diameter of shaft 12mm
Part of a key with a circular cross-sectioned shaft and a broken, rectangular bit with a possibly cruciform ward cut. Traces of copper alloy plating survive on the bit. The bow is missing.
Context 069; Find No 00895; Phase 6

83. Key. Length 121 mm; depth of bit 21 mm; max. diameter of shaft 19mm
Key with a broad, circular cross-sectioned shaft.
Parts of the bow and bit survive, the latter set off centre on the shaft.
Context 608; Find No 00964; Phase 6

Both the blades recovered are straight-backed and of slender form. The earlier of the two knives (85) was found in a rubble deposit in Phase 4. The other knife was recovered from rubble in Phase 6.

85. Knife. Length 87mm; width 16mm; thickness 7mm
Knife blade and part of tang. The blade widens near to its junction with the tang and has a straight back. The tip of the blade is missing. (Not illustrated)
Context 662; Find No 00979; Phase 4

Padlocks of the type represented by 86 were in almost universal use during the medieval period (Goodall 1981, 60). This fragment, which is one of the earliest finds from the excavation, represents part of the locking mechanism from a padlock and includes a small fragment of its casing. Both the casing and the internal mechanism had been plated with copper alloy, a measure taken to protect the iron from corrosion by the elements as well as enhancing the aesthetic appearance of the object. More complete examples of this type of padlock mechanism, in both copper alloy and iron, were recovered at Meal Vennel, Perth (Cox forthcoming a). 86 was found above a possible floor surface in Phase 1.
Padlock mechanism. Length 58mm; width 14mm; thickness 12mm

Fragment of a padlock, representing the spring component of the locking mechanism, with a small fragment of the upper part of the padlock casing attached. Traces of copper alloy plating survive on approximately one third of the surface area of the object.

Context 820; Find No 01076; Phase 1

87, found on a floor surface in Phase 4, is part of a lock, consisting of a keyhole plate with part of the internal locking mechanism attached. The other components of the mechanism are missing. A key inserted into the keyhole would have thrown the toothed, sliding bolt, and thus opened the lock. The lock appears to have been deposited in the locked position, as the bolt projects beyond the edge of the key plate. Locks with sliding bolts are known from other medieval sites, for example Goltho (Goodall 1975, 84, Fig 39, No 65), although some were probably used on chests or boxes, whereas 87 probably functioned as a door lock.
Larger forms of shears such as 89 were used in the medieval period for shearing sheep and napping cloth. This pair, from Phase 4, are probably of 15th- or 16th-century date. The relatively wide span across the diameter of the sprung handle bow implies that a strong cutting action could have been attained.

89. Shears. Length c 287mm; width across blades c 48mm; max. width across bow 70mm; max. thickness 24mm
Nearly complete pair of shears in four conjoining fragments. The shears have a circular bow with rectangular cross-sectioned sides. The handle arms are also rectangular in cross-section. The blades are triangular and the full length of one survives. The other blade is broken.
Context 497; Find No 01143; Phase 4

In addition to the artefacts discussed above, a small number of iron bar and strip fragments, most of which probably represent fragments of broken objects, was recovered, along with a quantity of nails. The very small assemblage of bar iron is not, by itself, sufficient evidence to indicate smithing activities on the site, however.

Stone object (Illus 16)
Adrian Cox

Hones, such as 91, from a rubble deposit in Phase 6, would have been hung in workshops and used to sharpen knives and other tools. 91 is perforated near its upper end so that it could be hung from a hook or nail or suspended by a cord. Smaller hones would have been worn about the person.

The surfaces of 91 bear numerous small scratches, some of which probably represent post-depositional erosion. Although not heavily worn from use, the object bears some diagonal striations adjacent to its long edges, probably caused by the sharpening of knives or other bladed implements. A series of small indentations along one edge, now chipped across, may have been caused by the sharpening of points such as the tips of pins or needles.

91. Hone. Length 196mm; width 47mm; thickness 18mm
Complete, rectangular cross-sectioned hone with a circular hole for suspension at the upper end. The object widens steadily towards the lower end. Both ends are slightly bevelled and curved, whereas the long edges are flat. All the surfaces are scratched. There is some evidence of wear from use.
Context 233; Find No 00847; Phase 6

Stone building material
Adrian Cox

Several fragments of building stone, mostly of medium-grained sandstone, were found, mainly in rubble deposits in the garden area representing demolition debris and/or levelling deposits. 95 is a fragment of a moulding from a Phase 4 levelling layer. 96 is a small fragment of D-shaped cross-section from Phase 6. 97 came from a layer of rubble sealing the Phase 3 cemetery.

95. Building stone. Length 136mm; width 98mm; thickness 59mm
Medium-grained sandstone. Fragment of a moulding with a curved and angled profile. (Not illustrated)
Context 214; Find No 01119; Phase 4

96. Building stone. Length 44mm; width 56mm; thickness 36mm
Medium-grained sandstone. Fragment of D-shaped cross-section, broken at both ends. (Not illustrated)
Context 608; Find No 01115; Phase 6

97. Building stone. Length 121 mm; width 110mm; thickness 62mm
Coarse to medium-grained sandstone. Fragment of a rectangular block, with tool marks on the surviving face. (Not illustrated)
Context 679; Find No 01117; Phase 4

Roof slates
A total of 28 stone roof slate fragments and a single complete example (109) was recovered from the excavation. A majority came from Phases 4 and 6, although the earliest representative is a single fragment from Phase 3.

The slates vary quite widely in thickness, from 13 to 24mm. They would have been hung from wooden laths, and in several examples a single, circular peg or nail hole survives, although the slates are sometimes broken across this hole. The holes, which vary in diameter from 7 to 16mm, appear to have been made by drilling or boring, sometimes from one side only, but from both sides in the case of the thicker slates. 111 appears to have broken across a hole, part of which survives on the broken edge, and a second hole has been drilled c 40mm below the first. This probably represents a repair to a broken slate, which was presumably reused with this modification.

108. Roof slate. Length 190mm; width 185mm; thickness 23mm; diameter of hole 7mm
Slate fragment with a circular hole near the upper
edge. The hole is countersunk on both faces. Almost the full width of the slate survives. The slate has laminated at one broken edge. (Not illustrated)
Context 608; Find No 01113; Phase 6

109. Roof slate. Length 239mm; width 151 mm; thickness 13mm; diameter of hole 13mm
Complete slate with a circular hole near the rounded upper edge. The hole is lightly countersunk on both faces. (Not illustrated)
Context 636; Find No 01169; Phase 5

111. Roof slate. Length 130mm; width 125mm; thickness 13mm; diameter of hole 11 mm
Slate fragment with a circular hole, lightly countersunk on the upper face, lying c 40mm below what appears to be a broken, original hole on the upper edge. (Not illustrated)
Context 655; Find No 01124; Phase 4

**Illus 17. Lion footrest fragment (no 113, scale 1:3).**

**Fragment of a lion footrest (Illus 17)**

Richard Fawcett

It seems probable that this fragment was part of the footrest of a tomb effigy, and a broken area at the left shoulder appears to be where one foot of the effigy abutted. Lion footrests are most commonly - though by no means exclusively - found associated with armoured aristocratic effigies.

Animal footrests are extremely difficult to date in isolation, particularly when they are as fragmentary as in the present case. In Britain they came into increasingly wide use by the early 13th century, and continued to be carved well into the 17th century. The earliest examples were often highly stylised, as in the effigy of a knight of
around 1200 from the Temple Church in London (RCHME 1929, Vol 4, Plate 183). Later there was a tendency to greater naturalism as the anatomy of such creatures came to be better understood.

In Scotland insufficient effigies have survived to allow the establishment of a chronology for lion footrests with confidence, particularly since few are firmly dated. Many of the surviving Scottish effigies are illustrated - albeit rather badly - in Brydall 1894. One of the earliest is probably that of the feet of the Frosterley marble effigy at Arbroath, which is traditionally said to represent King William the Lion, but which probably dates from the mid-14th century. However, the fine surface finish and low relief encouraged by the polished Frosterley stone used at Arbroath resulted in a style of carving very different from that of the fragment at Dunfermline. In the rows of tight mane curls of the Dunfermline carving there are rather closer analogies with the footrests associated with two related Fife effigies at Ceres and Cupar, which probably date from the first half of the 15th century on the evidence of the plate armour. The treatment of the fur is more finely handled in the Dunfermline fragment, and the spine and ribbed hair on the flank are rather different, though this is likely to be due more to differences in the competence of the carvers than to major differences of date. None of this is enough to suggest a firm date for the Dunfermline fragment; all that can be said is that, on balance, such comparisons suggest a date in the 15th century is more likely than anything earlier.

It would clearly be absurd to attempt to identify the tomb from which this footrest came. But it should be remembered that Dunfermline was one of the most important burial places of the Scottish royal house; the likely sites of some of the earlier royal burials are marked on the plan in the Burgh Records of Dunfermline (Eeles 1917), and even as late as 1602 Prince Robert, the infant son of James VI, was interred at the abbey. Such an important burial place naturally attracted many members basking in posthumous reflected glory, other important families, who had hopes of their own, and several of the earls of Fife had the abbey church as their last resting place as did representatives of less august houses. From the quality of the carving there would be nothing inconsistent with the fragment having been part of a tomb of high importance, but that is as much as may be safely ventured.

### Bone and antler objects (Illus 15)

**Adrian Cox**

species identification by Catherine Smith

The bone and antler artefacts found at this site represent a range of functional categories, including costume fittings, personal accessories and a possible gaming piece. The artefacts exhibit a range of manufacturing and decorative techniques.

Evidence of antler working on or near the excavation site is revealed by the presence of a red deer antler offcut bearing numerous saw cuts in Phase 6. Derived either from bone or from antler, a circular button, possibly of 19th-century date (115), exhibits clear evidence of having been turned on a lathe, having a small central indentation between the stitch holes on its concave face and a series of concentric striations on its convex face.

116 is an earscoop of a type common in the 13th and 14th centuries. This example is of a simple functional design, in contrast to the more elaborately carved earscoops from toilet sets of the 16th century onwards. A copper alloy earscoop, combined with tweezers, was also found in Phase 2 (see 35, above).

A needle or pin, derived from a pig fibula (118), was found in Phase 4. Pig fibulae require relatively little modification to produce pins of this type, which were probably used to secure articles of dress. This example is broken at both ends.

A perforated upper canine of pig (119), possibly used as a decorative pendant, was found in Phase 6. A cattle phalange from Phase 5 (121) has been perforated twice. It also has a number of additional modifications, including the removal of projections from the proximal articular surface and two grooves cut into the anterior part of the shaft. A similarly perforated cattle phalange from Dokkum in the Netherlands, dating from c 1600, is interpreted as a type of gaming piece known in Dutch as a koot. In the Netherlands such koten were used to play a game resembling miniature skittles, the holes in the phalange being filled with lead to add weight (Van Gelder-Ottway 1979,111-2). Though in some respects similar to the Dokkum example, 121 may alternatively represent an unfinished artefact of some other type.
In addition to the above, a further two worked bones were recovered. A sheep or goat tibia shaft and another large ungulate long bone shaft, both from Phase 3, have been quite extensively trimmed with a knife and may represent unfinished artefacts or makeshift items used for only a temporary purpose.

115. Button. Diameter 17mm; thickness 2mm
Derived from mammal bone or antler. Circular, concavo-convex button with four circular holes around the centre. The holes are lightly countersunk on the concave face. Turning marks are visible. (Not illustrated)
Context 545; Find No 00845; Phase 6

116. Ear scoop. Length 51 mm; width 5mm; thickness 2mm
Derived from mammal bone. Object carved to form a scoop or spoon at the broader end. The narrower end is blunt and rounded, bearing numerous knife-trimming marks.
Context 799; Find No 00855; Phase 2

118. Needle or pin. Length 70mm; width 6mm; thickness 3mm
Derived from a pig fibula. Needle or pin with an oval cross-sectioned shaft and a broken eye. A groove runs from the eye along the length of the shaft on one side. There are knife-trimming marks on the shaft. (Not illustrated)
Context 579; Find No 01095; Phase 4

119. Perforated canine. Length 43mm; width 14mm; thickness 10mm
Derived from a pig upper canine. An irregular hole has been made in one side of the tooth, possibly with a saw. Linear toolmarks are visible bordering the hole. The tooth is otherwise unmodified. (Not illustrated)
Context 608; Find No 00843; Phase 6

121. Worked bone. Length 49mm; width 30mm; thickness 27mm
Derived from a cattle phalange I. A roughly circular hole (diameter 10mm) has been bored in the proximal articular end in an antero-posterior direction and a smaller, circular hole (diameter 3mm) bored in the anterior part of the shaft near to the distal end. The proximal articular end has been trimmed. Two grooves have been cut in a medio-lateral direction on the anterior part of the shaft near to either end. In the mid-shaft area there are a further six shallow knife cuts. (Not illustrated)
Context 636; Find No 01160; Phase 5

The glass
Adrian Cox

Both vessel and window glass were recovered from the excavation. The vessel glass is all from Phase 6, whereas the window glass was found in Phases 2 and 3.

Vessel glass

Most of the fragments are from blown wine bottles. Elongated vesicles, resulting from air bubbles trapped in the glass and stretched by the blowing process, are numerous, particularly in the bottle neck fragments.

In the late 17th and 18th centuries, some wine bottles were sealed by loose-fitting, wedge-shaped corks, tied down to a ‘string ring’, a band of glass encircling the neck below the lip of the bottle. Neck fragments 129 and 131 appear to incorporate this type of feature. Wine bottles of this date also had high kick-ups in their bases. These indentations were produced by pressure being applied to the pontil rod, which was attached to the base of the bottle during its manufacture, while the lip was being formed. 124 incorporates a highly kicked-up base and bears a pontil scar.

123 is a base fragment from an egg-shaped mineral water bottle, a type introduced in 1814 by William Hamilton. The type was not in general use until around 1840, but then continued in use for many years, even after flat-bottomed versions of this bottle were introduced. 126 represents the neck and shoulder of a small, vertical-sided bottle in pale blue glass. This bottle was made in a mould and may have been used to contain medicine or poison. 125 is also a fragment of a vertical-sided bottle; an eight-sided example in very dark glass.

123. Bottle base. Surviving depth 107mm; max. diameter 62mm
Base from an egg bottle of green colouration. The surface is scratched but there is little sign of surface deterioration. (Not illustrated)
Context 7; Find No 01156; Trial Trench

124. Bottle base. Surviving depth 67mm; max. diameter 91 mm
Circular bottle base in green glass, with a kick-up. There is some external and internal surface deterioration, producing a thin, flaking, iridescent layer. (Not illustrated)
Context 411; Find No 01155; Phase 6

125. Bottle base. Surviving depth 62mm; max. width 84mm
Base of an eight-sided bottle in dark, brownish-green glass. The base is slightly concave and scarred. There is little sign of surface deterioration. (Not illustrated)
Context 783; Find No 01159; Phase 6

126. Bottle neck. Surviving depth 38mm; external rim diameter 24mm; internal rim diameter 15mm
Neck and part of the shoulder of a small, rectangular-sided bottle of pale blue colouration. There is little sign of surface deterioration. (Not illustrated)
Context 12; Find No 01158; Trial Trench

129. Bottle neck. Surviving depth 96mm; external rim diameter 31 mm; internal rim diameter 21 mm
Cylindrical bottle neck of green colouration, with a narrow collar below the rim. The neck widens towards the shoulder. There is some surface deterioration, producing a thin, flaking, iridescent layer. (Not illustrated) Context 411; Find No 01157; Phase 6

131. Bottle neck. Surviving depth 79mm; external rim diameter 33mm; internal rim diameter 22mm Cylindrical bottle neck in green glass with a projecting collar below the rim. There is little sign of surface deterioration. (Not illustrated) Context 747; Find No 01151; Phase 6

Window glass

A select catalogue of the window glass fragments has been presented below (134-8). The catalogued examples are all of medieval date. Window glass fragments of later (early modern) date were also found.

All of the fragments are relatively small and all have been altered and discoloured due to weathering. Weathering has caused them to become opaque and the surfaces to have a brown or black colouration. In some cases, individual fragments have laminated. 137 represents part of a glass fragment which has laminated and broken across its thickness.

138 represents 32 glass fragments found in very close association within a rubbly deposit in Phase 2, and which may therefore be from a single window. A further fragment was recovered from the same context, but was spatially separated from the others.

134 represents three fragments found together within a grave fill. They are of a similar width and each has roughly parallel long edges. Although they do not conjoin, they may be fragments of a single pane. A further fragment was recovered from the same grave fill.

135 and 137 bear shallow, linear scars near to an edge. In the case of 135, the edge survives intact, whereas in 137 only part survives. The scars may be a consequence of cutting out individual panes or may have resulted from the insertion of these edges into lead alloy cames like 59 and 61 (see above), which were used to join and support pieces of glass within a window. A single came fragment (61, above) was recovered from the grave fill which produced 137.

134. Window glass. Length 34mm; width 25mm; thickness 4mm Three fragments of window glass found in close association and interpreted as possibly being from a single pane or set of panes. The fragments are of a similar width and thickness and each has surviving, roughly parallel, long edges. One of the fragments has a third surviving edge. All surfaces are discoloured and the fragments are now opaque. The broken edges reveal the glass core, which is crystalline. (Not illustrated) Context 674; Find No 01165; Phase 3

135. Window glass. Length 43mm; width 30mm; thickness 4mm Two conjoining fragments of window glass with possibly three surviving edges. The surfaces are discoloured and the fragments are now opaque. The broken edges reveal the glass core, which is crystalline. There are small fractures along the edges of the glass and one edge bears a linear scar. (Not illustrated) Context 682; Find No 00861; Phase 3

137. Window glass. Largest fragment: Length 39mm; width 35mm; thickness 3mm Thirty-two fragments of window glass, recovered in close association. Some fragments have surviving edges. The surfaces are discoloured and all of the fragments are now nearly or completely opaque. Where the glass core is visible, it has become partially crystalline and is laminated. (Not illustrated) Context 774; Find No 00734; Phase 2

Ceramic objects (Illus 15)

Adrian Cox

Ceramic counters such as 144 and 145 are often interpreted as gaming pieces. Further examples of counters in White Gritty fabric from Fife include those recovered from excavations at Cinema House, Auction Hall and St Nicholas Farm, St Andrews (Maxwell forthcoming; Cox 1995, 66, Illus 11, No 24) and an example in Perth Local fabric was found at Mill Street, Perth (Ford forthcoming). The glazed counter (145) raises the possibility that sherds from a broken, partially glazed vessel such as a jug might have been used to produce both glazed and unglazed counters, which could have served as different sets for gaming purposes.

144. Counter. Diameter 35mm; thickness 7mm Roughly circular counter or disc, derived from a sherd of White Gritty pottery. It has a slight curvature. Context 289; Find No 01144; Phase 4

145. Counter. Diameter c.39mm; thickness 5mm Fragment of a roughly circular counter, derived
from a sherd of White Gritty pottery with a patchy, green glaze on its upper surface. It has a slight curvature. (Not illustrated) Context 804; Find No 01164; Phase 3

Ceramic building material
Adrian Cox

Floor or hearth tiles
Several fragments of ceramic tiles were found, mostly associated with hearths and nearby floor surfaces. At least some of these may have formed parts of hearth surrounds. The tiles are generally of a moderately coarse, reddish fabric and they vary quite widely in thickness, from 17 to 35mm. Four fragments (including 154) have traces of a glaze on their surfaces.

154. Floor or hearth tile. Thickness 35mm
Floor or hearth tile corner fragment in a moderately coarse, reddish fabric with linear voids. Inclusions in the fabric include broken tile fragments. Two very small patches of brown to black glaze survive, at the corner and on one edge of the tile. Mortar is attached to the underside. (Not illustrated) Context 464; Find No 01105; Phase 4

Roof tiles
Twenty-five fragments of ceramic roof tile were recovered, all coming from Phase 6. The fragments are all from curved tiles, in a moderately coarse, orange to buff fabric with a mixture of rounded and angular inclusions. One fragment is nibbed.

Brick
Twenty fragments of brick were recovered, all from Phase 6 with a single exception from Phase 5. Three fabric types were identified. The first, of which the Phase 5 fragment is an example, is a fine orange fabric with occasional large, rounded pebble inclusions. The other two fabrics are more highly fired and reddish purple. One is considerably denser than the other.

Mortar and plaster
Small pieces of mortar and plaster were recovered from a range of contexts. One large fragment (156) was recovered from the fill of a pipe trench in Phase 6. It has a smooth plaster surface, upon which some of the original paint survives. Underneath the fine surface layer is an irregular block of coarser mortar. Traces of an orange to pink paint or pigment occur on much smaller and finer plaster fragments found in a pit fill, also in Phase 6.

156. Mortar and plaster fragment. Length 202mm; width 130mm; thickness 65mm
Substantial fragment with one smooth, painted plaster surface. The paint is of pinkish-brown colouration. (Not illustrated) Context 624; Find No 01108; Phase 6

Clay pipes
Adrian Cox

A total of 18 pieces was recovered. The assemblage consists of three bowls, one of which is an incomplete example, and 15 stems. A full catalogue is available in archive.

Coins and a jeton
Nicholas M McQ Holmes

The excavation produced six coins and one jeton, all but one of which were fully identifiable. Of the four Scottish coins, the half-groat of Robert III (175), although not a particularly rare coin in itself, is worthy of note as a site-find. Most excavated specimens are from hoards, and individual finds of coins of higher denomination than a penny from the late medieval period are few, indicating that these coins are unlikely to have been used much in everyday transactions. Allowance must be made, however, for the greater zeal likely to have been demonstrated in searching for lost specimens of these higher-value coins. This particular coin seems likely to have been lost during the first quarter of the 15th century, approximately. The three turners of Charles I found on the site are of extremely common types and represent the everyday small change of the mid- to late 17th century. The 14th-century Brabantine silver coin (179) belongs to a type apparently unrecorded among previous Scottish finds, although not perhaps particularly unexpected, given the trading links between the east coast of Scotland and the Low Countries. The coin is so dissimilar to any contemporary Scottish or English type that it would not have been accepted into circulation in this country, and it was presumably lost by a foreign merchant or tradesman. It was found in the same context as the Robert III half-groat. It displays a little more in the way of wear than does the groat, and if it had been minted during the later part of its period of issue, i.e. after about 1370, a date of loss in the first quarter of the 15th century would be quite acceptable. A second foreign coin from the site is really too fragmented and corroded for any useful comment to be made about it, but it may belong to the large series of French base metal issues of the late 15th and 16th centuries, examples of which have been found elsewhere in eastern Scotland.
The French jeton (181) belongs to a fairly common type manufactured in the late 14th and throughout the 15th century, both at the royal mint in Paris and by the prolific jeton-makers of Toumai.

175. ROBERT III, silver half-groat of Edinburgh, heavy coinage, 1st issue (1390-1400). Diameter 20.5 x 21.0mm; weight 1.40 g; die axis 4.5. obv: ROB RTVS D I G R X S OTO[ ]; crowned bust facing in 7-arc tressure; trefoils of pellets on cusps. rev: D S P/T TO/RmS] [L/IB TO;VILL/ D/I B/VRC; single long cross; 3 pellets in each angle. Both sides very slightly off-centre; some flattening; mostly moderate wear. (Not illustrated)
Context 318; Find No 00771; Phase 2

183. Sole. Length 145mm; max. width 82mm; max. thickness 5mm
Forepart of a left sole with a pointed toe. Part of the edge is torn. Stitch length c 8-9mm. (Not illustrated)
Context 842; Find No 00784; Phase 1

179. JEANNE and WENCESLAS, silver tourelle of Louvain (1355-83)
Diameter 21.5 x 22.0mm; weight 0.93 g; die axis 9.5.

181. French jeton, latten, late 14th or 15th century.
Diameter 26.0mm; weight 3.79 g; die axis 2.0. Obv: VEm RI GR I PI; crown, with three pellet trefoils across body. rev: triple-stranded cross fleury within tressure; Vm in spandrels, each letter between two crosslets, cf Mitchiner 1988, 462-5. Both sides very slightly off-centre; green patina; slight to moderate wear. (Not illustrated)
Context 707; Find No 00815; Phase 3

Metal-working debris
Adrian Cox and Paul Harrison
An assemblage amounting to approximately 37kg of iron-rich slag was recovered from throughout the stratigraphic sequence, with a particular concentration in Phase 4. The slag mainly came from rubble deposits interpreted as levelling material, and therefore may not all necessarily be derived from activity within or in the immediate vicinity of the Abbot’s House, although at least some may be derived from activities associated with the hearths and furnace identified within the house. The relative absence from the finds assemblage of bar iron does not equate with smithing activity on an industrial scale.

The material exhibits a wide range of fragment sizes and varying degrees of vitrification. Given the difficulties of distinguishing smelting from smithing slags, less than half of the assemblage could be assigned with confidence to one category or the other, but almost all of the identified material appears to be smithing slag. Some small fragments of possible hearth base material were also identified among the Phase 4 assemblage.

Animal bone
Catherine Smith
A full version of this report, including a statement of the methods used and tabulated data of anatomical measurements, is contained in the archive.

The animal bones found at the site came mainly from domestic mammals: cattle, sheep/ goat, goat, pig, horse, dog and cat. Wild mammals also occurred: red deer (Cervus elaphus), roe deer (Capreolus capreolus), hare (Lepus capensis), rabbit (Oryctolagus cuniculus), rat (Rattus sp) and whale.
although even less popular than pig, also seems to have been eaten, as it had been in Scotland since the earliest times. However, evidence for the consumption of dog meat is less conclusive than that for horse; a knife cut on a dog bone, while suspicious, is more likely to have arisen during skinning of the animal for its pelt, rather than food preparation. Dog skins were indeed documented in the seventeenth-century Scottish Customs Books as an export to France (Smout 1963, 218).

Butchery practices varied remarkably little throughout the life of the site. The main implements used for fleshing in both the medieval and post-medieval periods seem to have been cleavers or axes, employed in dismembering and disjointing carcasses, and metal knives, used to remove the meat from the bones. Saws were used only infrequently in everyday butchery, saw marks on bones being uncommon even in the most recent phase of the site, although valuable parts of the carcass such as horns or antlers (like the example from Phase 6) were often sawn off in order to minimise damage to them.

In Phase 4 several discrete contexts in Room 1, which was also being used as a metal-working workshop, yielded large quantities of so-called butchers' chips - small chopped bone slivers which had clearly been struck from long bones during butchery with cleavers. Some of these bone fragments were recognisable as slices of cattle tarsals and carpals and would have been produced during removal of the relatively meatless lower limbs. It is assumed that this process took place in the workshop itself, since such small bone fragments are unlikely to have been swept from the floor but instead became embedded in it.

Wild animals do not appear to have been an important food resource at the Abbot’s House. As at other Scottish urban medieval sites, red and roe deer occurred only infrequently, while wild birds such as partridge, gull and wader species were only rarely found. Although partridge and birds of the wader family, which includes snipe and woodcock, are still considered as game species, fit for eating, the perception of the edibility of gulls has changed somewhat since the medieval period; whilst once they were ordered for the table of the earls of Northumberland, sometimes having been captured alive and fed on buttermilk to get rid of the fishy taste (Percy 1905; Smith n.d., 114), gulls are nowadays viewed as nuisance birds and blamed in part for outbreaks of salmonella, due to their habit of scavenging on rubbish tips.

Further evidence of the use of wild animals came from the slab of whale bone found in the first Maygate street level (Phase 2); it was not possible to say for certain whether the fragment had been worked, but it is likely to have been an offcut from the manufacture of an artefact.

Abnormalities noted among the bones found at
Table 2. Numbers of animal bones (including teeth) by phase.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Phase 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>464</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1004</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep/Goat</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>565</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goat</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pig</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dog</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cat</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>95</td>
<td></td>
<td>71</td>
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<td>Red Deer</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Roe Deer</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hare</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabbit</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cetacean</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rat</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fowl</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>45</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goose</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duck</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partridge</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gull sp</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wader sp</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indeterminate Bird</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish</td>
<td>122</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>123</td>
<td></td>
<td>45</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub Total</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>464</td>
<td>997</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>2054</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large Ungulate</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Ungulate</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indeterminate</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>878</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1365</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub Total</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>1199</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 183 652 925 2196 80 4036 448

Phase 6 is modern (18th-20th century) and only a sample of the bones is recorded here. The figures for Phase 6 are not included in the total.

Table 3. Percentages of food forming mammals from eastern Scottish urban sites (based on fragment count).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Cattle</th>
<th>Sheep/Goat</th>
<th>Goat</th>
<th>Pig</th>
<th>Horse</th>
<th>Deer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Bank Street/5-7 Townhall Street, Inverkeithing</td>
<td>13th to late 15th century</td>
<td>78.4</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phases I-I1, Cinema House, St Andrews</td>
<td>up to late 13th or 14th century</td>
<td>60.2</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Periods I-IV, 134 Market Street, St Andrews</td>
<td>medieval</td>
<td>61.1</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Street, Perth (PHSE)</td>
<td>medieval</td>
<td>63.5</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbot's House</td>
<td>12th-15th century</td>
<td>63.2</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Sheep and goat are expressed as one figure
Abbot's House ranged from small congenital malformations which would have had no effect on the health of the animals (for example a reduction in the numbers of teeth in the jaws of cattle), to the symptoms of osteoarthritis in a possible draught ox, which most definitely would be detrimental to the animal's well-being.

The animal bone assemblage from the Abbot's House has provided an opportunity to study domestic livestock from the period of so-called Agricultural Improvement, very little bone from this watershed in agricultural history having, to date, been excavated in Scotland. Data from the Dunfermline animal remains has served to reinforce the view gained from other, albeit small, post-medieval assemblages in Perth and Dunbar (Cox et al, forthcoming) that the effects of Improvement, as shown by in increase in livestock stature, was not much in evidence until the early 19th century. Although documentary evidence tells us that a small number of pioneering lairds began their work of improving methods of rearing Scottish domestic livestock as early as the last decade of the 17th century (Lenman 1977, 23-4) it is clear from the Abbot's House material that domestic animals of the post-medieval period were indistinguishable in stature and probably in appearance from their medieval forebears, and would remain so until relatively recently.

The shell
Adrian Cox

The assemblage of 1,020 shell fragments recovered from the excavation consists almost entirely of marine molluscs, the exceptions being three shells of Helix aspera (garden snail). Tables showing the distribution of mollusc species by context and by phase are available in archive.

The most abundant shells are those of the European or common oyster, Ostrea edulis, which are present throughout the stratigraphic sequence and account for 86.3% of the total number of shell fragments recovered. The European oyster is the only species of oyster native to the coasts of northern Europe (Christensen and Dance 1980, 52). It inhabits very shallow water in tidal stretches and can be cultivated in artificial beds.

Other edible molluscs, including Littorina littorea (edible periwinkle), Mytilus edulis (mussel), Buccinum undatum (buckie) and Pecten maximus (great scallop) are also represented.

Over half the shell fragments (525 fragments) came from Phase 4. Their relative abundance in Phase 4 may be partly explained by the relatively large number and volume of deposits in this phase. A significant accumulation of shell fragments was, however, present in deposits of midden material overlying the Maygate street surfaces. Several species found exclusively in Phase 4 (including Littorina obtusata, Mya sp, Chlamys varia and Cerastoderma edulea) may represent incidental inclusions if oysters were being harvested in large quantities. Limpet species, which form only 0.5% of the assemblage, were possibly used as fishing bait.

Botanical remains
Alan Fairweather

A total of seven samples from the excavation was selected for analysis. Three of these produced no identifiable plant remains. The remains present in the other four samples are described fully in archive.

Discussion (Illus 18 & 19)

The unusual position of the house at the interface of the precinct and the burgh offered a rare opportunity to study the parallel development of both. The excavation revealed a long and complex history of occupation on this site with the earliest activity dating back to the 12th century. The six phases of activity identified testify to a townscape which, continually changing, charts the early development of both the burgh and the abbey precinct, and reflects the dynamic nature of medieval towns (Illus 18).

From the earliest phase onwards, and virtually continuous through to the 19th century, semi-industrial activity, probably small-scale metalworking (the absence of off-cuts suggest repair work rather than manufacturing, see Cox and Harrison above), was an important feature of this area. First represented by a series of workshops of 12th century date, work then appears to have been transferred to the ground floor of the house. Intensive activity throughout the 15th and 16th century may have been halted, albeit temporarily,
by the Reformation. Although 17th century deposits were absent from the house, 18th and 19th century levels suggest that the ground floor continued to be used as workshops rather than domestic accommodation. Concentration of specialist activity is a common feature of medieval towns, for instance leather-working and grain drying in Perth (Spearman 1988, 139-42), so perhaps Maygate was the traditional centre for metal-working in Dunfermline. Documentary research may reveal more about this industry in this part of Dunfermline.

It may therefore be no coincidence that the first recorded tenant of the house in 1550 was William Coupar, Burgh Treasurer at the time, formerly principal Deacon of Crafts (1542) and, most importantly, himself a master blacksmith. When the second major building programme began in c 1570, the house was described as ‘ruenous in syndrie partis’. Metal-working would seem a rather dangerous activity to be engaged in on the ground floor of a two or three storey house, and we can perhaps assume that the upper floors were largely unoccupied when William Coupar was the
occupant and the house had begun to fall into disrepair.

The wall, paving and drain exposed on the frontage have important implications for the development of the town. Though their function remains unclear, they appear to be evidence of a settlement which huddled against the abbey boundary in whatever form it existed. Timber and clay would have been the typical building materials of the day, and the use of stone here is unusual. The underlying assumption has been that this area was outwith the precinct and that the boundary has not moved south. Recent excavations at New Row in 1993 (Torrie et al 1994, 30-38) similarly exposed a stretch of the abbey precinct wall (also with areas of paving around the inside of it), which replaced an earlier ditch, possibly a natural stream bed, as the precinct boundary. Here, the boundary had moved, in this case slightly further eastwards enlarging the precinct rather than reducing it. If the same pattern is repeated at Maygate, then the stone features exposed must have lain outwith the precinct, in the town.

If burgage plots were in place in the 12th century, prior to the establishment of Maygate as a main thoroughfare, it raises the question of whether these plots extended south from High Street or east from Kirkgate to the precinct boundary. This is extremely important to the understanding of the development of the burgh. Monitoring of the pedestrianisation of High Street in 1993 (SUAT 1993) indicated that archaeological deposits have not survived to date settlement here. If settlement extended back from Kirkgate, rather than High Street, then High Street will have been a later addition to the town plan, rather than a primary feature as in most Scottish medieval towns. It would also prove that the earliest settlement clustered around the abbey boundary,
with perhaps the granting of burgh status going hand in hand with the establishment of High Street at a later date. In this context, the establishment of Maygate over this settlement must then be seen as a radical example of medieval town planning.

The greatest disruption to life within the precinct must have been caused when Edward I sacked the abbey in 1303 (Fawcett 1990, 19). Though claims that he destroyed the entire complex, sparing only the church, may have been exaggerated, it is clear from the rebuilding of 1329 that the monks were left without much of their living quarters. The extensive spreads of rubble found in the garden (Phase 2), which contained worked stone and fragments of window glass, would seem to fit this historical framework. Undoubtedly demolition rubble, it does not appear to have come from buildings sacked on this site, but to have been brought here from elsewhere within the complex. Though little can be said about this material, and from where it came, it proved useful in other ways. As it seals the last of the workshops and underlies the burials, it provides the earliest date possible for the establishment of the cemetery (early 14th century), the coins sealing the graves providing the latest date for its abandonment (mid-15th century).

The navel of the church served as the parish church for the people of Dunfermline until 1821. The townsfolk, therefore, shared the abbey cemetery with the monastic community, but may have been allocated a separate area within the cemetery. The burials from the 14th/15th cemetery, now within the garden of the Abbot's House, reflect a general cross-section of society in terms of age and sex, suggesting this was part of the towns burial ground. Unfortunately, the infrequent use of the cemetery and its relatively short life span means little can be said about diet and health. The importance of the cemetery, however, lies not in the burials but in the decision first to extend the existing cemetery northwards over what had been workshops, and then, a century or so later, to abandon it in order to build the abbot's lodgings. This sheds some light on the development of the abbey grounds within the precinct, an area hitherto little understood. Further work, where opportunities arise, will hopefully define the extent of the cemetery, identifying the possible existence of a physical boundary to it. Interestingly, two further burials were uncovered during a watching brief on the site in 1994 very close to the main south wall of the Abbot's House and overlying an area of cobbles (SUAT 1994). As no burials were identified in the lowest levels of the house, or on the frontage, the south wall of the Abbot's House may mark the line of, or have reused as foundations, an existing northern boundary to the cemetery.

According to the teachings of St Benedict, the abbot should live in common with his brethren, and in most orders the upper floor of the west range served as his quarters (Greene 1992, 9). As the leaders of the greater monasteries were expected to play an increasingly active role in the running of the state, this became impracticable (Fawcett 1994, 108). The siting of the abbot's residences was thus to become a balancing act between providing fitting accommodation that also appeared to be part of the main monastic complex.

The position of the Abbot's House within the precinct of Dunfermline Abbey is rather unusual. If it was constructed as the abbot's lodgings then it stands some distance away from main claustral complex (south of the abbey), across the graveyard and the burn that fed the fish pond as well as fronting onto a main street (Illus 2). Despite the great variety in the siting of abbot's residences within the overall layout of religious houses, which were as much planned around the availability of a water supply as other considerations, there are, however, some parallels for the Abbot's House at Dunfermline. At Melrose Abbey, for example, the Abbot's Hall and the later Com- mendator's House stand on the south bank of the lade but to the north of the great main drain and away from the main claustral range (Wood and Richardson 1949,21-22). The hall was built in 1246 and the Com- mendator's House some time in the 15th century. At Balmerino, the cloister also lay to the north, rather than to the south of the church, and here again the abbot's residence was to the north-east of the main complex. The best preserved example of an abbot's residence is, undoubtedly, at Arbroath (Fawcett 1994, 110). Positioned at the junction of the east and west ranges, it originally comprised a first-floor hall linked with the monks refectory, thus preserving the spirit of communal life, but was also close to the main gateway into the precinct. By about 1500, this had developed into a more imposing residence.

Balmerino is also interesting in that the abbot's house may also reflect a renewed late medieval enthusiasm for building grand residences for abbot's, or for the commendators who were replacing so many of them (ibid, 111). Abbot Hunter of Melrose is thought to have built a new house there in the mid- to late 15th century, replacing the 13th century residence. Similarly, at Crossraguel, a new tower was built to contain the main chambers of the abbot's residence some time in the late 15th century, attached to which was the first-floor hall of the earlier residence. The Abbot's House at Dunfermline would appear then to be a good candidate for a late medieval abbot's or commendators residence, but it remains unclear why, or for whom, it was built.
Though the initial fervour of the monastic community had probably waned well before the Reformation, it was not until the late 1550s that the Reformation affected the abbey (the lion’s head footrest may have been removed from its tomb at this point, see Fawcett above). The buildings were sacked in 1560 and as early as 1563 the eastern parts of the church and the nave were falling into ruin (Fawcett 1990, 25). The Abbot’s House, however, constructed sometime in the 15th century, was by 1550 already in the possession of William Coupar.

It is worth considering an alternative interpretation for this building given its unusual position, its relatively short life-span, and the use of the ground floor as workshops from very early on its history and there are three features of interest.

Firstly, there seems little doubt that the precinct wall continues through the house and was later rebuilt as the facade wall. It does pose a problem, however, in that its alignment, if projected eastwards, would cut across the middle of Maygate to the north side of Abbot Street/Canmore Street. There may therefore be a hidden feature to the east of the house around which the wall may skirt, a boggy area perhaps. If this was the case it is perhaps no surprise that the decision was made to build the abbot’s lodgings at this particular spot. A kink in the precinct wall here would have provided two ready made walls for the house, and if there had been a boundary to the cemetery, possibly a third. Secondly, the alignment of Maygate would also appear to respect this kink in the precinct wall. To the east of the house it curves southwards before terminating. From here it continued eastwards as a narrow vennel, known at various times as ‘in between the wa’s’ and Foul Vennel, which followed the line of the precinct wall.

Thirdly, the absence of burials recorded during trial work and watching briefs to the east and south-east of the house (D & E 1990, 13) suggests that the standing cemetery wall which runs north to south from the rear of the house could be the ‘fossilised’ eastern boundary of the medieval cemetery. All three features, the kink in the precinct wall, the curve of Maygate and the eastern limit of the cemetery appear to lie on a common north to south alignment, passing just east of St Margaret’s Shrine (Illus 19). Perhaps what we are seeing or more accurately not seeing is an entrance through the precinct wall immediately to the east of the house. Could it be that this gateway allowed pilgrims access through the precinct to visit the shrine of St Margaret, whose body was moved to a shrine in the new eastern chapel in 1250 (Fawcett 1990, 16). Pilgrims were undoubtedly coming to Dunfermline in great numbers but how did they gain access to the shrine? The popularity of St Margaret’s shrine as a place of pilgrimage was so great that further works were carried out on the eastern chapel in 1348, when stones for it were brought from London, and perhaps the offerings from pilgrims may have paid for the Lady Chapel on the north side of the choir (Fawcett 1990, 16).

Where does this leave the Abbot’s House and Maygate? If there was a pilgrim’s entrance here, the Abbot’s House is more likely to have been built as a gatehouse, especially large because this was a ceremonial entrance to one of the great pilgrimage centres of the British Isles, rather than as the abbot’s lodgings. If so, Maygate must therefore have been a processional way for pilgrims through the town.

Further opportunities for archaeological excavation, particularly along Maygate, together with documentary research (the name itself is of interest), may shed more light on Dunfermline as one of the most important centres of medieval pilgrimage.

Acknowledgments

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The Trust would also like to thank Fife Regional Council’s Archaeological Service, and in particular, Peter Yeoman, for their role in designing and managing the project.

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Abstract

The conversion of the Abbot’s House to a heritage centre afforded the opportunity to examine an area which lay both on the fringes of the medieval abbey precinct and within the burgh. The evidence recovered indicated a long history of semi-industrial activity on the site, probably metal-working, which continued through the medieval and post-medieval periods despite major changes in the use and ownership of the land. The garden to the rear of the house was found to have been established over the medieval abbey cemetery, which in turn had been laid over a sequence of possible workshops. After the cemetery had been deliberately sealed, the first substantial building was erected in the late medieval period, probably in the 15th century. Possibly constructed as the abbot’s lodgings, it became a private town-house soon after the Reformation. A stretch of the abbey precinct wall was also exposed near the street frontage, abutting which were the medieval levels of the Maygate. Lying considerably further south than its present position, the Maygate was found to have been built over an earlier flagstone path and wall. The project was ended by Fife Regional Council, Historic Scotland, Carnegie Dunfermline Trust and Dunfermline District Council, with grant aid from the European Regional Redevelopment Fund.

Key words: Dunfermline Abbey, Abbot’s House, Maygate, medieval