

Introduction

Abstract

Since the publication of the Dundee Burgh Survey in 1988, much archaeological work has taken place in Dundee. This has added to our knowledge of Dundee's medieval life and raised questions about the traditional view of Dundee's history, especially its origins. Indeed a new view of Dundee's origins is suggested. In particular, an almost forgotten medieval cemetery has been

located, the town's defences investigated, medieval timber and stone buildings found, and evidence of the medieval burgh's trades and industries has been recovered. Rather more archaeological evidence survives in the city than used to be thought. The preparation of this paper was entirely funded by Historic Scotland.

Notes to the reader

Italicised letters in brackets in the text refer to Illus 4.

Italicised numbers in brackets in the text refer to the Gazetteer and Illus 21.

Before 1600, the new year started on 25th March; dates are given here based on the new year starting on 1st January, unless otherwise stated.

With the advanced pace of urban redevelopment threatening Scotland's historic towns in the 1970s, the Ancient Monuments Inspectorate of the Scottish Development Department (later Historic Scotland) established the Scottish Burgh Survey, then based at the University of Glasgow, to assess the historic development, archaeological potential and development threats in Scotland's historic burghs. Some 56 burghs were assessed between 1978 and 1990, Dundee being among the last to be considered (Stevenson and Torrie 1988). In 1994, after a brief hiatus, a second series of the Scottish Burgh Survey, based at the University of Edinburgh, to assess more burghs was funded by Historic Scotland.

Since the publication of the Dundee Burgh Survey in 1988, archaeological investigations in the city have shown that considerable depth of deposits can survive, consequently giving cause to reconsider the traditional view of the burgh's origins and history. This work was largely carried out by the Scottish Urban Archaeological Trust, now SUAT Ltd, although GUARD carried out important excavations on the summit of Dundee Law, clarifying the occupation of the earthworks there (Driscoll 1995). The results of all these investigations are summarised in this paper, along with an assessment of their effect on the accepted view of Dundee's history.

The traditional view of Dundee's history and development—that its development began in Seagate and shifted westwards—seems to have originated in the 18th century (Millar 1923, 141, 181). This was followed in

the works of 19th-century local historians, like John Beatts, Alexander Maxwell and James Thomson. These historians also made use of the burgh records as a source of information, quoting extensively from them in their works. While these Victorian histories were a useful source for the present study, it can now be shown, as a result of archaeological investigations, that their conclusions were wrong on matters such as the burgh's origins in Seagate, the lines of the town walls, locations of the town ports (gateways), and the supposed burial place of General Monck's victims at St Mary's Tower (the Steeple).

Re-assessment of various aspects of Dundee's later history is currently underway at the University of Dundee. For example, Professor Charles McKean has been re-assessing and rediscovering Dundee's architectural history (McKean and Walker 1993; McKean 1999). The University's Department of History, through its 'History of Dundee' project, has re-assessed Victorian Dundee (Miskell et al 2000), with the intention of carrying research back into the 18th century. A new comprehensive assessment and account, similar to research in Aberdeen (Dennison et al 2002), is, however, needed for medieval Dundee, to expand on Torrie's work published in 1990. This paper, with its reassessment of Dundee's archaeology and its suggestions for further historical research, is offered as a contribution to the promotion and encouragement of future research into Dundee's past.



Illus 1 Location of Dundee

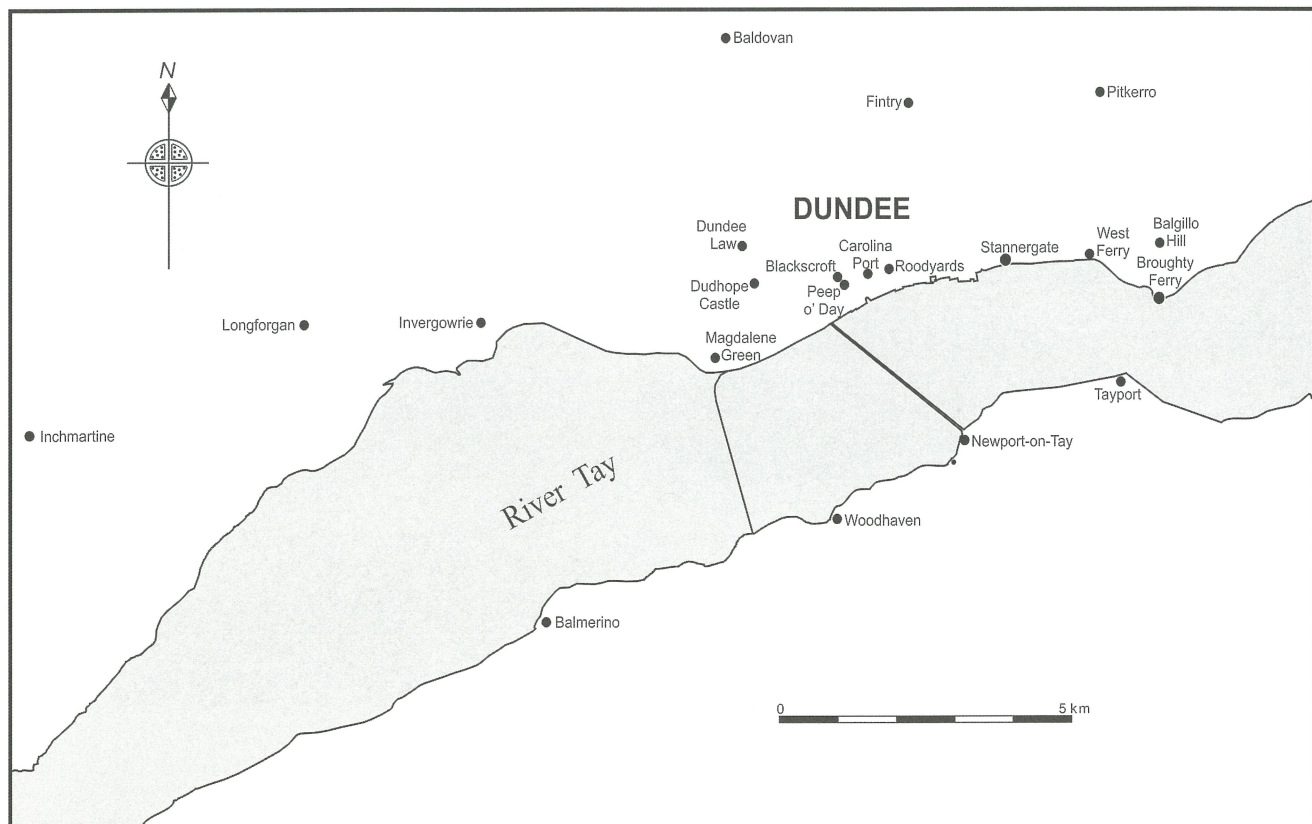
Location and topography

Dundee lies at the north side of the mouth of the River Tay. The burgh has expanded way beyond its medieval limits since the late 18th century, but before this expansion it occupied a terrace at about 30 m above sea level, overlooking a sheltered natural harbour between Castle Hill, the site of the castle (*S*), and St Nicholas Craig (*UU*). At the eastern end of the burgh the ground slopes down to form Seagate, formerly beside the shore, and up to form Wellgate. On the north side of the terrace, shelter was provided by the high ground of Corbie Hill (*BB*), an unnamed ridge of high ground to the east of that hill, and the high ground of Hilltown. The whole situation was overlooked by Dundee Law.

The comparison of the burgh to a human body (McKean and Walker 1993, 10–11) extends back at least to the late 16th century (Illus 9a). Nethergate and Overgate formed the arms, the Steeple and parish church the head, Marketgate (now High Street) the chest, the Shambles or flesh market (where the skinners worked) the bowels, Murraygate and Seagate the legs. The burgh's properties or rigs extended back from the street frontage. The frontage, certainly by the 16th or 17th century, would have been occupied by booths or shops, with living accommodation above. Behind would have been other buildings for housing servants or workers, stables, byres, workshops, as well as yards and gardens

for keeping animals or growing vegetables, herbs or fruit. Access to the backlands was provided by vennels or closes. Because of the splayed layout of the streets, there is no discernible regularity in the lengths of the rigs, which varied considerably in size. The longest rigs were on the north side of High Street and Overgate.

By the 16th century a network of vennels and wynds linked the streets, harbour and outskirts of the burgh. Access to the harbour was provided by Couttie's Wynd and the former Tindal's Wynd. The former Long Wynd and the former Thorter Row connected Overgate and Nethergate near their west and east ends respectively, while the former School Wynd (later South Lindsay Street) linked them on the west side of St Mary's Church (*HH*). Burial Wynd (also called Friars' Vennel; now Barrack Street) provided access to the Greyfriars monastery (*N*) and to the burgh's common land to the north. Horse Wynd linked Murraygate and Seagate, while Sugarhouse Wynd (formerly Our Lady Wynd) linked Cowgate and Seagate. It is possible that Seagate began life as a back lane to the rear of the properties on Murraygate, before being developed as a street in its own right. Cowgate originated as a back lane to the rear of the Seagate properties, and was still largely undeveloped east of Sugarhouse Wynd as late as the 18th century. Yeaman Shore, the former Fish Street and the



Illus 2 Environs of Dundee and places mentioned in the text.

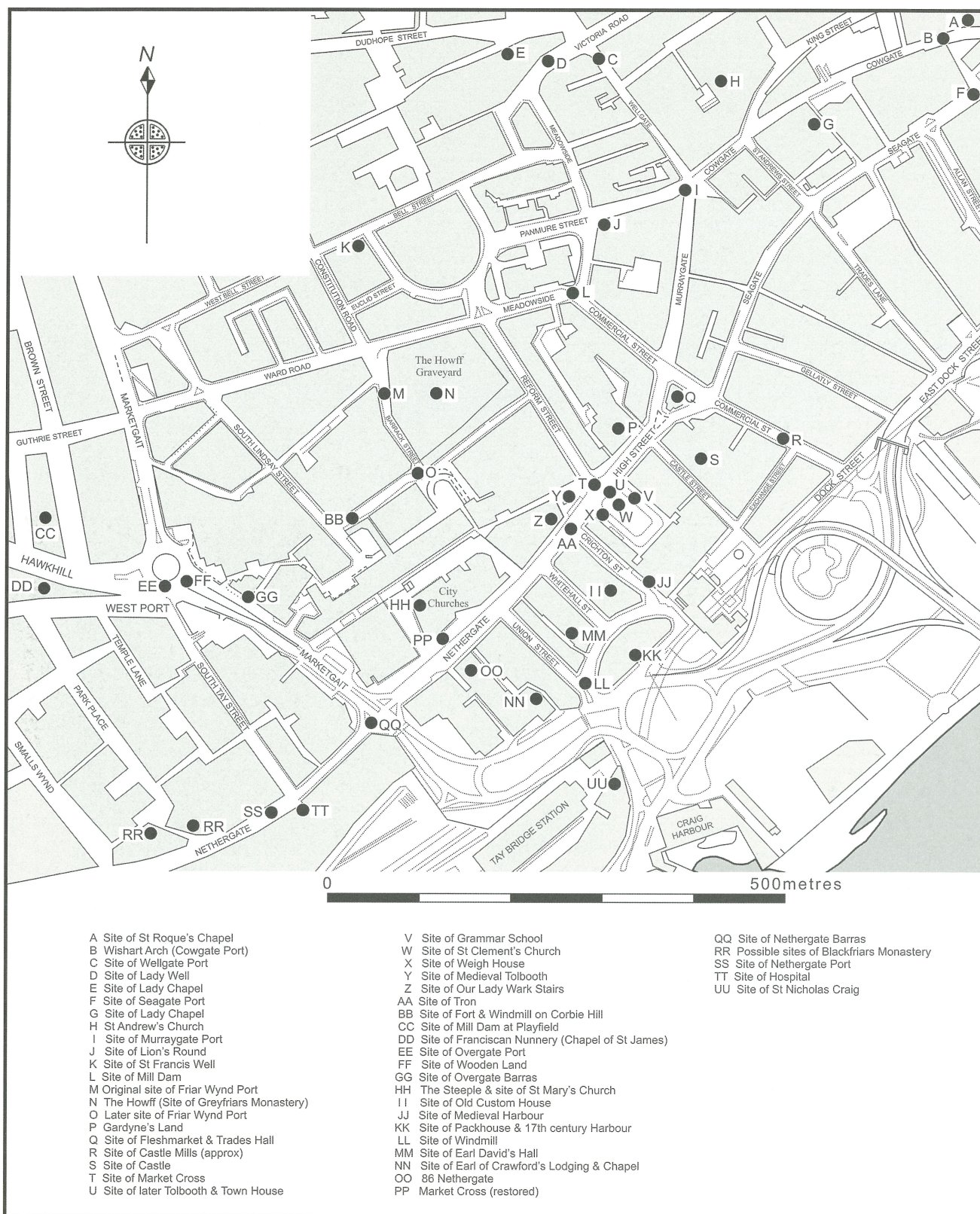
former Castle Lane formed a back lane on the south side of the properties on High Street and Nethergate. No back lane developed to the rear of the properties on the north side of High Street and Overgate. This was due to the presence of the Greyfriars monastery, and of marshy ground along the Castle Burn or Scouring Burn, which flowed eastwards on the north side of the burgh before turning southwards into the Tay, on the east side of Castle Hill.

Redevelopment as a result of urban expansion and industrialisation in the late 18th and 19th centuries led to the introduction of several new streets into the medieval townscape (eg, Crichton Street, Union Street, Reform Street, Castle Street, Commercial Street, Panmure Street), and to land reclamation from

the Tay to accommodate the railways and a new harbour area (Illus 5). In the 20th century, two of the main medieval streets, Overgate and Wellgate, have disappeared from the townscape beneath new shopping centres. A third medieval street, Cowgate, has been disrupted by the creation of an inner city ring road, Marketgait (not to be confused with the medieval street of Marketgate, now High Street). This ring road has also cut through the western side of the medieval burgh, where it has replaced Long Wynd. The creation of City Square led to the loss of Tindal's Wynd, a former access to the harbour, Castle Lane and the 'Vault' (a collection of wynds and closes behind the Town House (U), originally forming an access to the harbour).



Illus 3 Dundee city centre in 1964 from the west, during the early stages of the Overgate development. (Reproduced by permission of The Courier, Dundee)



Illus 4 Dundee: historic sites and monuments.

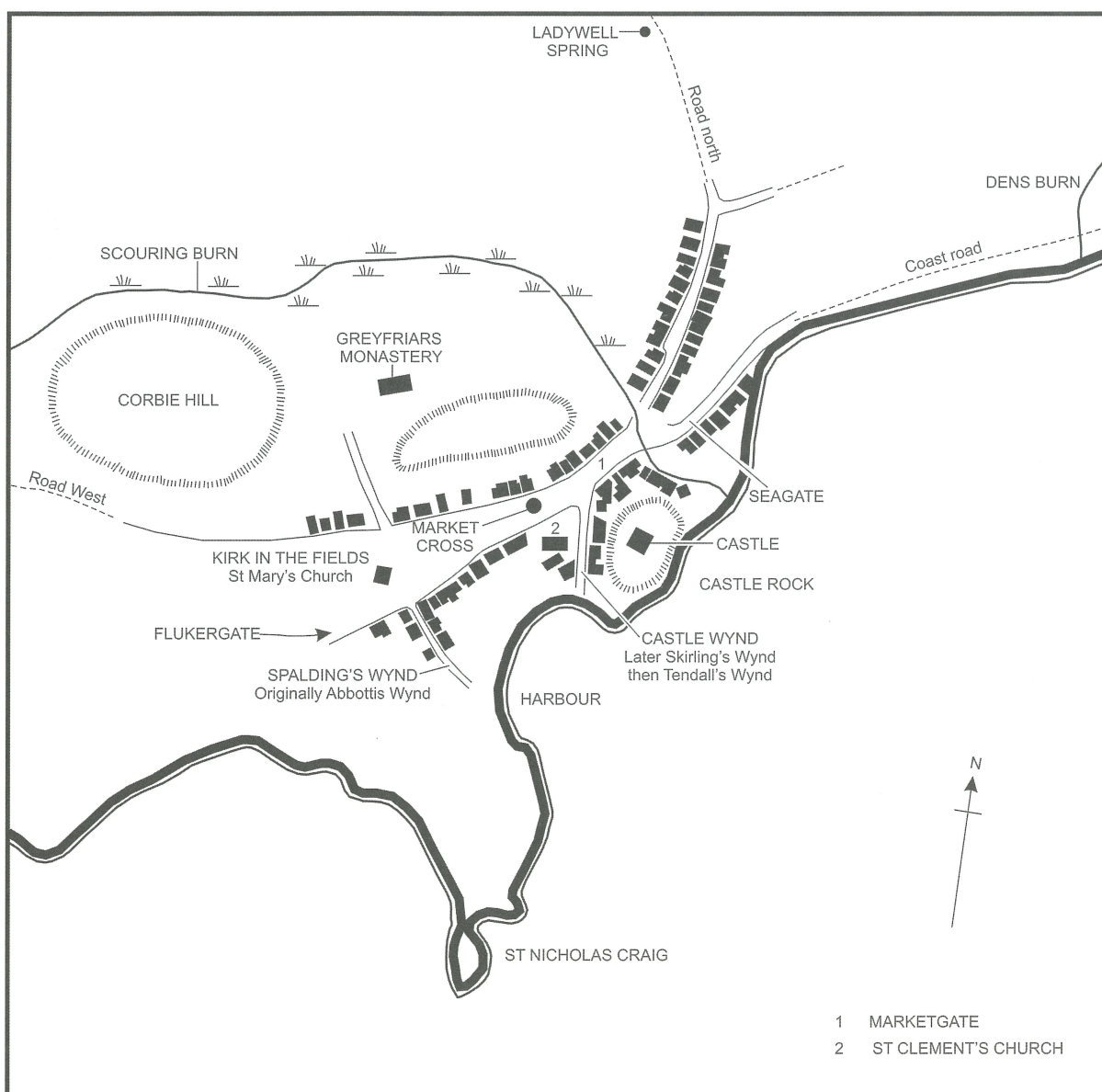


Illus 5 Dundee harbour in 1956 from the south. (Reproduced by permission of The Courier, Dundee)

Pre-burghal settlement

The origins of the burgh are obscure. Dundee may have existed as early as the mid 11th century, when Malcolm Canmore landed there to attack Macbeth (Lamb 1895, 2, 11). The dedication of one of Dundee's two parish churches to St Clement may indicate Danish influence or even a Danish settlement in Dundee in the 11th century. The cult of St Clement was strongly associated with the Danes, and elsewhere in Scotland and England churches and chapels dedicated to St Clement can be linked to the Danes (Crawford 1999, 109). A reference to 'Dundee shire' in the 1170s (RRS, ii, no 149) implies that Dundee was or had been the centre of a pre-feudal shire or multiple estate, that is, a lord's estate centre with a number of lesser settlements dependent on it. As such it would have had a hall, where the lord dwelt and collected and consumed his rents, paid in kind by his tenants, who

would also have provided labour services. Such an estate centre of the kings of Northumbria was excavated in Dunbar (Perry 2000). Dundee was presumably an estate of the early kings of Scotland, as it was granted by King William the Lion to his brother, David, Earl of Huntingdon about 1180 (RRS, ii, no 205). It is also claimed that King Edgar died in Dundee in 1107 (Skene 1872, ii, 217). The location of the early hall is unknown. Recent excavations on the Law, while revealing the remains of two periods of prehistoric occupation in the Early Iron Age and the Roman period, did not provide any evidence of occupation between the Romans and the 12th century (Driscoll 1995). While any such occupation may have lain outwith the excavated areas, it is more likely that the Law was abandoned in favour of lower ground, nearer the shore, possibly on Castle Hill,



Illus 6 Conjectural plan of Dundee in the 13th century. (After E P Dennison)

the site of the castle (S). (The Iron Age promontory fort and Northumbrian royal hall at Castle Park, Dunbar, were also situated beside a natural haven.)

The royal hall would have attracted an early community of settlers. Craftsmen and servants would be needed to process the rents in kind (grain and animals) into food to eat and drink for the king, his courtiers, servants and guards. They would also have processed the by-products of the rents into finished articles for sale. Traditionally the site of the pre-burghal and early burgh settlement lay in Seagate (Torrie 1990, 15). However, a charter in 1414 refers to land on the south side of Seagate that was bounded by the sea-tide to the east (*flumen maris ad orientalem*) (DCA, TC/CC14/5). This implies that part at least of the south side of Seagate itself must have been occupied by the shore, covered at high tide. Given the low-lying nature of the Seagate and its exposure to the sea, this must be considered an unlikely place for early settlement. Recent archaeological work in Dundee (5, 14) has indicated a possible alternative site for the burgh's original nucleus. Trial trenching

at Gardyne's Land (14) in High Street and excavation at the corner of Murraygate and Panmure Street (5) provided evidence of occupation dated by pottery to the 12th or 13th centuries, the very earliest period of the burgh. This indicates that the early burgh may have developed northwards from Castle Hill and the nearby St Clement's Church (W) along High Street (formerly Marketgate) and Murraygate (Illus 6, 7). Dundee, perhaps, grew up along a route north from a sheltered harbour in the protection of a castle at the northern end of a crossing point of the Tay. Several routes radiated from this crossing point: north-west along Overgate to Perth and Coupar Angus, north along Murraygate and Wellgate to Forfar, Brechin and Aberdeen, and east along Cowgate or Seagate to Arbroath and Montrose. Nethergate in the medieval period was not a route to Perth, only to Magdalen Green: land to the west of burgh in the 15th and 16th centuries could be described as bounded between 'Argyllsgate' (probably the present Hawkhill) and the sea-tide (*Brechin Registrum*, i, no 53; *RMS*, v, no 1055).



Illus 7 Conjectural plan of Dundee in the late 15th century (after E P Dennison).

The burgh

Dundee was erected into a burgh before 1195 by William the Lion (1165–1214) in favour of his brother, David, Earl of Huntingdon. In that year at the latest, the king confirmed Earl David's grant to his newly founded Abbey of Lindores of property in 'the burgh of *Dunde*' (RRS, ii, no 363). It is unlikely that Dundee had been a royal burgh before being granted to Earl David, despite Dundee's claims in a charter of Robert I (1306–29) in 1328. This confirmed to the burgesses 'all liberties and rights which they held and possessed in the time of William, King of Scots, of good memory, before the same King William conveyed the said burgh to his brother David' (RRS, v, no 336). However there is no evidence that Dundee was a royal burgh before being granted to Earl David, and the claim to being a royal burgh in William's time was probably invented to offset the known royal status of Dundee's rival on the Tay, Perth (Stringer 1985, 74, 289n83). Dundee presumably reverted to the Crown on the accession to the throne in 1292 of John Balliol, the senior heir of Earl David.

After the wars of the first half of the 14th century, Dundee prospered as a market town and seaport, largely at the expense of its neighbours. This prosperity enabled it to secure feu-ferme status from David II in 1360 in return for a fixed annual rent of £20 sterling to the king (RRS, vi, no 230). In 1328 Robert I granted the burgesses of Dundee a trading monopoly in wool and hides over the sheriffdom of Forfar, although the rights of other burghs in the sheriffdom were reserved (RRS, v, no 336). This reservation was to lead to disagreements with the existing royal burghs of Forfar and Montrose, as well as with the merchants of Brechin (whose burghal status is unclear before its confirmation as a royal burgh by Parliament in 1447). In 1352 David II (1329–71) prohibited markets at the monastery of Coupar, the town of Kettins, the church of Alyth and the town of Kirriemuir to the detriment of the burgesses of Dundee (RRS, vi, no 121), a prohibition confirmed by James II in 1458 (RMS, ii, no 614). In 1360 David II also granted to the burgesses of Dundee freedom to buy all manner of merchandise in the town of Cupar in Fife, and to take it away as freely and without impediment as in the times of his predecessors (RRS, vi, no 230). However, in 1370 David confirmed to the merchants of Brechin freedom of entry to the River Tay for their ships and goods, prohibiting the burgesses of Dundee from interfering with the merchandise of the Brechin merchants (RMS, i, nos 308 and 312).

Dundee's position as a seaport at the mouth of the Tay brought it into conflict with the older royal burgh of Perth, which claimed jurisdiction over the entire Tay from the sea to Perth. The competing claims were not helped by the regular grant by the Crown to both burghs of jurisdiction over the mouth of the Tay. Not until 1602 was the dispute settled, when Perth was

granted jurisdiction over the Tay west of Invergowrie, while Dundee was granted jurisdiction east of Invergowrie (Maxwell 1884, 122). As well as disputing control of the Tay, Dundee and Perth also quarrelled over precedence in Parliament and the Convention of Royal Burghs. Perth's claim of precedence over Dundee was challenged by Dundee in the late 16th century. Dundee had overtaken Perth as a trading port by 1333 (McNeill and MacQueen 1996, 242), and was paying almost twice as much as Perth in taxation by the end of the 16th century, being the second burgh in importance in the kingdom (Stevenson and Torrie 1988, i, 43–4). Precedence, however, was confirmed to Perth in 1602 (Maxwell 1884, 122).

Dundee suffered from the presence of an English garrison at Broughty Castle from 1547–50. The town itself was twice occupied by the English. In December 1547, they first seized the town, but were forced to withdraw in January 1548, when the Steeple (*HH*) was burned along with the images in the church. Soon afterwards they returned and planned to fortify Dundee, but in November 1548 they abandoned and destroyed their fortifications and burned the town, kirk, tolbooth, steeple, almshouse and other common houses (*ibid*, 28, 578–80). The effects of the English assault were felt long after, as the burgh claimed relief from taxation in 1582 on account of the ruin done to the burgh by the English (*ibid*, 28). Nevertheless the burgh was able to launch a programme of public works after 1560, presumably to repair the damage caused by the English. A new tolbooth (*U*) and flesh market (*Q*) were erected in 1562 on the south side of Marketgate, on what is now the north side of City Square, and on an island at the junction of Seagate and Murraygate with Marketgate respectively. A new market cross (*T*) was built in 1586 near the new tolbooth, the shaft and head of which still survive, although not in the original position (*PP*), and a new grammar school (*V*) was built on the east side of St Clement's kirkyard in 1588–9. Repairs and improvements, including a stone pier, were made to the harbour (*JJ*).

In the Civil Wars Dundee again suffered the effects of war. In 1645 the Marquis of Montrose's army stormed the town and looted it, and General Monck's army did the same in 1651, although Monck prohibited looting after a day under pain of court-martial, and issued two later proclamations as well (Firth 1895, 13, 324, 325). The extent of the damage and slaughter on the latter occasion are disputed. Estimates of the dead vary from 400–500, or 800 (*ibid*, 12), or 1,000 of the inhabitants and garrison, including 200 women and children (Maxwell 1884, 547). Its long-term effects are also unclear. In 1655–6 the signs of Monck's assault were still very evident, while in 1689 a visitor could write that 'the buildings are such as speak the substance and riches of the place' and it had considerable trade



Illus 8 'Plan of the Town and Harbour of Dundee with the adjacent Country' by W Crawford, 1777.
(Reproduced by courtesy of Edinburgh City Libraries)

(Hume Brown 1978, 171, 208–9, 287). Dundee seems to have entered in a period of economic decline from the mid-17th century, although this has been questioned (McKean and Walker 1993, 8–9). That economic decline did occur is evident from Dundee's paying about 11% of the country's tax assessment before 1645, but only about 4% in 1705, when it was ranked fourth equal with its rival Perth (Stevenson and Torrie 1988, i, 47). The causes of this decline may have been varied, not necessarily the result of the civil wars. Trade with the Netherlands was interrupted by Anglo-Dutch wars in the second half of the 17th century, and trade with France also declined for the same reason after 1689. The growth of trans-Atlantic trade brought prosperity to the west coast, especially Glasgow, the west coast also benefiting from the growth of the Lanarkshire coalfields. Dundee's harbour (KK) also was affected by silting and storm damage, although it was repaired in 1675 (*ibid*, ii, 34). Despite economic vicissitudes, its shipping doubled from ten vessels in 1656 (Hume Brown 1978, 172) to some 20 in 1692 (McNeill and MacQueen 1996, 275). Its purchase in 1697 of the adjacent rival burgh of barony of Hilltown does not seem to have offset the decline (Whatley *et al* 1993, 62).

Nor are the effects of the Act of Union clear. Claims of damage caused by the Union (*ibid*, 62) are offset by

visitors' reports. Defoe (1971, 651) in the early 18th century described Dundee as 'one of the best trading towns in Scotland, and that as well in foreign business as in manufacture and home trade', although it did have an 'indifferent harbour'. It was 'full of stately houses, and large handsome streets'. In 1758 Sir William Burrell described Dundee as 'a town of extensive trade' (Dunbar 1997, 113).

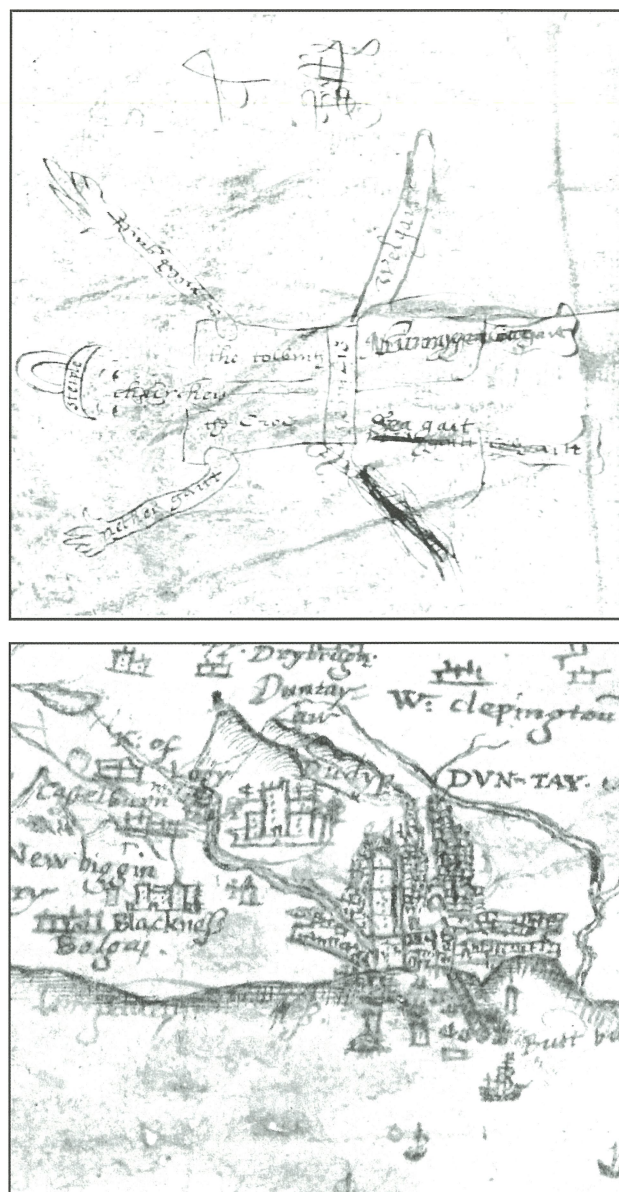
Certainly by the mid-18th century Dundee had recovered and was prospering: it was able to commission a new town house (U), the finest in Scotland, from William Adam in 1731 (McKean and Walker 1993, 9). This prosperity continued into the late 18th and 19th centuries, leading to the construction of new public buildings—the Trades Hall (Q) and St Andrew's Church (H)—the insertion of new streets into the medieval street plan, the removal of the medieval ports—except the Wishart Arch (B)—and market cross as obstacles to traffic, and the reclaiming of land from the Tay to form new docks and the railways. In the early 19th century Dundee was confident enough to exploit the newest technology: a steam ferry was introduced on the Tay in 1814 (to Perth) (Whatley *et al* 1993, 82) and one of the earliest public railways in Scotland was that between Dundee and Newtyle, opened in 1831 (*ibid*, 111).

Townscape

Until the clearance of the old buildings from the city centre as a result of improvements in the 19th and 20th centuries, Dundee possessed a number of old and historical buildings, former burgess homes and town houses of local landowners, reflecting the town's commercial past. A record of many of them was made in the 19th century (Lamb 1895), but only one now survives, Gardyne's Land (P). This is a five-storey, rubble stone merchant's house, built around 1600 on dendrochronological analysis of oak timbers from the building (Crone unpublished). Its main facade, the west gable, faces Gray's Close, an opening off the north side of High Street. It is pierced by a two-storey archway, and carries a shallow corbelled bow, which once contained a timber spiral stair, while the main apartments are corbelled out in the manner of jettied timber buildings (Tayside Buildings Preservation Trust 1996, pt i, 10). The building was extended to the street frontage in the mid 17th century. Trial excavation (14) in 1995 at Gardyne's Land revealed that its south wall was set on a foundation over 1 m deep, while its west wall was set on a foundation 0.66 m deep. Imported pottery from Yorkshire, France and the Low Countries, dating from the 12th–14th centuries, indicate that the property was probably owned by a wealthy merchant long before the construction of the present building. A second pre-18th century town house may survive at 86 Nethergate (OO) (Stevenson and Torrie 1988, i, 20).

It is likely that the earliest buildings in the burgh were of timber, although only at one site, at the corner of Panmure Street and Murraygate, has evidence of possible timber structures been found (5) (Brown and Roy 2000). These structures were two successive wattle and daub buildings fronting onto Murraygate, although very little of the walls survived, apart from a few slots and stakeholes. No trace of external walls of the earlier structure was found, but its clay floors and organic occupation layers (Plate 1) extended at least 4 m N/S by 3 m E/W. This structure was replaced by a second structure, whose front wall survived as a slot, which had been re-cut. The wall line was set back some 3 m from the present frontage. Again, the floors were clay. The earlier structure was dated to the 12th century from the pottery recovered, the very beginning of the burgh, if not pre-burghal. The second timber structure produced similar pottery. It was replaced by a stone building in the 14th century, with a frontage set back some 2 m from the present frontage, and a later extension into the backlands.

North of this sequence of buildings was another stone building, possibly gable-end on to the street. Its entrance was in the south wall (Illus 10), approached by a paved pathway (no entrance was visible in the east wall, which survived to a height of eight courses and fronted Murraygate). At least two phases of occupation



Illus 9 Two contemporary views of Dundee, c 1590. a (above) Sketch in the Protocol Book of Alexander Wedderburn, 1589 to 1592 (Reproduced by permission of Dundee City Archives)

b (below) Detail from Pont's plan of lower Angus and Perthshire, east of the Tay (Pont 26). (Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland)

were apparent, a possible partition wall dividing the earlier phase into two rooms. The interior of the building was floored with clay and cobbles. Drainage problems, possibly caused by the marshy ground of the Meadows to the west, necessitated a culvert running the length of the building, opening through the east wall into Murraygate (persistent water seepage was a problem



Illus 10 Entrance to the 14th-century stone house at 72–78 Murraygate, towards the north. (© SUAT Ltd)

during the excavation). The east wall was set back some 2 m from the present street frontage. This building produced pottery dating from the 13th–14th centuries. It was replaced in the 14th or 15th century by another stone structure, which re-used the east and south walls of its predecessor. The earlier drainage problems seem to have worsened, three stone box culverts being constructed within the building.

North of these buildings was the east or frontage wall of another stone structure, like those to the south set back some 2 m from the present frontage. It dated to the 13th or 14th centuries.

A variety of roofing materials was used. Thatching (or flooring) with heather and sedge may have occurred, remains of which were found in environmental samples. Thirteen glazed ceramic roof tiles were recovered from phases dated to the 13th–14th centuries, and a possible decorative ceramic roof finial, as well as stone roof slates from the 13th–15th centuries. The ceramic tiles may have been selectively applied to thatched roofs for decorative effect. Two stone roof slates were also recovered at Green's Playhouse (4), one of which was medieval in date. Three stone roof slates were recovered from Gardyne's Land (14), probably from an earlier building on that site, and another was re-used to line a posthole at Cowgate (10). Apart from the floors of clay and cobbles (and possibly heather), only one ceramic floor tile has been found, in the cemetery of St Mary's Church (3). This tile may have come from the church, rather than a secular building, although ceramic floor tiles from secular sites have been found in Perth. Among the material recovered during the development of the Overgate in the 1960s was a collection of 19 glazed floor and roof tiles (Hall 2003, 92–3).

That these stone structures were set back from the present Murraygate frontage confirms Lamb's (1895, XLVIb) observation that in the middle of the 18th century most of the houses in that street were set six feet back from the street line, with wooden fronts jettied out and supported by stone pillars. The present frontage line dates to the re-building that took place in the 19th century, when the arcaded space below the timber fronts was incorporated into the new buildings. Most

of the buildings in Dundee appear to have had timber fronts jettied out and supported on pillars (Maxwell 1884, 147). A timber building survived in Overgate until 1876 called the Wooden Land, a late 15th-century timber-framed building, jettied at the first floor (Lamb 1895, XLI).

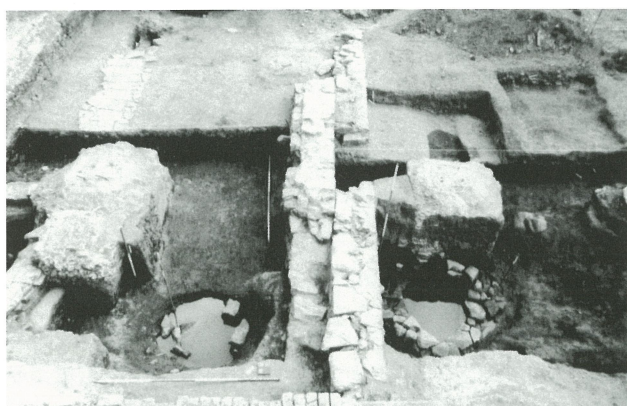
Encroachment on the street went back a long way. In 1381 Robert II granted Patrick de Invirpeffre, burgess of Dundee, an area 52 feet in length and 14 feet in breadth of the king's road touching and near his tenement in the *vicus major* (Marketgate [Torrie 1990, 50]) (RMS, i, nos 691 and 779). It is probable that the site for a tolbooth and prison (Y), granted by Robert I in 1325, 80 feet in length and 40 feet in breadth, between the water lade to the west and the market cross to the east (RRS, v, no 282), was in the broad market area to the east of St Mary's Church (HH). Other buildings came to be built in the western end of the market area. Among them was 'Our Lady Warkstairs' or 'Our Lady Wark Stairs' (Z), which lay immediately to the west of the old tolbooth and was demolished in 1879. This was a large, double-gabled, timber-fronted structure, dating from the mid 15th century, which had a row of stone pillars supporting the upper storeys (Maxwell 1884, 148; Lamb 1895, XXII; RCAHMS 1992, 9, 11) (Illus 11). Its name suggests that it may originally have been a building connected with St Mary's Church.

The excavations at Panmure Street/Murraygate (5) revealed that the roadway of Murraygate was of stone from the earliest occupation of the burgh, and was successively re-surfaced in stone over the centuries. In one of the surfaces a drain was found. Licences to householders to erect forestairs on the street, to reach the upper storeys of their tenements, could be granted by the council, which could also order their removal. This happened in 1768 when the council was seeing to the paving of the streets: stairs on the streets were causing a problem (DCA, Council Minutes, 5 Sept 1768). In 1566 the council ordered Cowgate to be paved from the east end as far as Our Lady Wynd (now Sugarhouse Wynd), with provision for the taking down of the proprietors' head dykes that had been built on the roadway (Maxwell 1884, 219–20). Trial excavations around the Wishart Arch in Cowgate (10) revealed two former surfaces of crushed sandstone fragments, underlying the wall at the north end of the Arch (the wall was part of a building erected between 1776 and 1793).

A water supply was an important element of a medieval burgh, for supplying drinking water, powering mills and disposing of industrial and domestic waste. A number of public wells were situated around the town: St Clement's Well in St Clement's Churchyard (W), Our Lady Well (D) near the south end of Wellgate, St Francis' or Friar Well (K) near the Greyfriars (Maxwell 1884, 165–6) and the Cross Well in Marketgate (Torrie 1990, 84) (not to be confused with the supposed 'Cross Well' in Seagate). In addition to the public wells, there were private wells in backlands, similar to those found at Green's Playhouse (4) (Illus 12), Gardyne's Land (14) and 152–154 Nethergate (15) (Illus 17). The wells at the



Illus 11 Our Lady Warkstairs. (Reproduced by permission of City of Dundee, Department of Planning and Transportation)



Illus 12 Two medieval wells at 106–110 Nethergate (13th-century to the left, 14th–15th century to the right), towards the southeast. (© SUAT Ltd)



Illus 13 The excavations at 106–110 Nethergate, towards the southwest. (© SUAT Ltd)

first two sites had gone out of use and been filled in before the 16th century; that at the site of the Hospital, in 1721.

The burgh's main source of water power was the Scouring Burn or Castle Burn, which ran eastwards round the northern edge of the town, before turning south round the east side of Castle Hill, where it powered the town's mills (R), to enter the Tay. The burn crossed the south end of Murraygate, where the flesh market or shambles was built in 1562, acting as a sewer to take away the waste. The site of the flesh market was

formerly the middens and a scald (skin) market (Maxwell 1884, 53). Elsewhere, at the back of the Argyllsgate properties, the skinners or glovers were polluting the burn from lime pits, where they washed their skins with lime. After the council ordered them to desist in 1597, the skinners constructed new pits at the Dens or Butter Burn beyond the east end of the town (*ibid*, 101). The presence of a water lade in 1325, by implication near the market, is unexplained. Pont shows the Castle Burn, so named, flowing into the town by St Mary's Church (Illus 9b) in the late 16th century. This may have been

the water source for a mill at the western end of the town, near the Overgate Port (*EE*), where there was a mill dam at the Playfield (*CC*) for a malt mill (*ibid*, 170).

In addition to the Playfield, which lay outside the Overgate Port, on the north side of the road, Dundee had two other recreation areas, known as 'ketchpeills'. These were courts for a ball game resembling tennis.

One was 'biggit' in the centre of the town on the north side of High Street, to the west of St Salvator's Close (Maclaren 1874, App, xix, no 78); the other lay on waste ground on the north side of Nethergate, to the west of Long Wynd (*ibid*, xv, no 27). What archaeological remains of these survive?; and how would they be recognised?

Economy and society

The main purpose of a burgh was to serve as an economic centre through which internal and external trade could be controlled so as to maximise the revenues of the lord of the burgh. Despite its primary purpose as a trading centre, a burgh was not expected to exist solely on the profits of trade. Around the burgh was an area of common land where the inhabitants could grow crops and pasture livestock (Torrie 1990, 85). The produce of this land could be brought to the weekly market and sold. A fair was granted to attract foreign merchants to the burgh. Dundee originally had a single fair, presumably the Lady Fair on 15 August, but by 1438 Dundee seems to have had a second fair (McCraw 1994, 11). However in 1458 James II granted (or confirmed) a second fair on 13 November, which in 1491 was transferred to the feast of St Clement (23 November) (Hay 1880, Inventory, iv, nos 35, 42). In 1669 two further fairs were granted by Parliament, on the first Tuesdays in July and October, and in 1698 another fair was granted on the first Tuesday of June (*ibid*, Inventory, ix, no 106; x, no 122). The Scrymgeours, who were hereditary constables of Dundee from 1298, seem to have established another fair on the Nativity of Our Lady (8 September, later changed to 19 September) (Whatley *et al* 1993, 37).

For the first century or so of its existence, Dundee was a non-royal burgh, in the hands of David, Earl of Huntingdon and his descendants. Its trading privileges would not, therefore, have been as extensive as those of a royal burgh. Any charters granting the original rights and liberties of the burgesses of Dundee may have been lost during the Wars of Independence, but a commission, consisting of the Chancellor and the Chamberlain, was appointed in 1325 to investigate Dundee's liberties. It reported that the burgesses in the time of Alexander III (1249–86) and his predecessors had the right to a market, a fair, a free port with access of ships, and the loading and unloading of them, as well as a merchant guild (RRS, v, no 278 and n). These privileges would have belonged to it as a non-royal burgh and were of limited scope. The control of the Tay from Drumlay (Abertay sands) belonged to the royal burgh of Perth, and ships were only allowed to unload at Dundee if they carried the goods of the residents of Dundee, or during Dundee's fair; otherwise they were required to unload at Perth (RRS, v, no 117).

Robert's charter of 1328 confirmed Dundee's earlier privileges, and granted new ones, probably at the instigation of Dundee to secure its position against its rival, Perth. The burgesses were to be free from tolls and other dues throughout the kingdom, except the new custom or maltolt. The inhabitants of the burgh, who dealt with the burgesses in the market, were to

share in the king's taxes and other burdens. All attending the market or fair were to enjoy the king's peace and protection, and they were not to be unjustly accused under penalty of forfeiture. The burgesses were granted a monopoly on buying wool and hides in the sheriffdom of Forfar, and no stranger merchants were to buy any merchandise in the sheriffdom or burgh except from the burgesses of Dundee, although the privileges of the other burghs in the sheriffdom were reserved; any merchant so doing was to be detained at the king's will and his goods forfeited to the burgesses. No stranger merchant was to anticipate the exposure of goods for sale by a merchant in the burgh. Stranger merchants could only weigh their merchandise for buying or selling at the burgh's tron, and they could only sell in bulk and at the customary times. A burgess could only be distrained for debt, security or fine if he was the principal debtor or surety (RRS, v, no 336).

To secure a burgh's prosperity, it was granted a monopoly over a hinterland. Dundee's trading area was probably originally Earl David's barony of Dundee, although the burgh doubtless served as the economic centre for his nearby estates at Longforgan, Inchmartine, Newtyle and Lindores, in the fertile farming lands of the east end of the Carse of Gowrie, Strathmore and Fife respectively. Privileges granted by King John of England in 1199 and 1207 to the burgesses and merchants of Dundee show that Earl David used his influence to their and his own advantage (Torrie 1990, 31). The latter privilege, shared with Perth, concerned the goods of Arbroath Abbey, showing that the newly founded burgh had already established itself as a regional economic centre. Dundee's importance as a major port in the first half of the 13th century is clear from its inclusion on Matthew Paris's map (Perth is not shown) (Hume Brown 1978).

The most important inhabitants of the burgh were the merchants, who bought and sold goods at markets and fairs and engaged in overseas trade. They were organised in a merchant guild from at least the reign of Alexander III (1249–86). The guild controlled admission to burgess-ship, with its rights to the freedom of the burgh and its trading privileges. The actual goods that were bought and sold were made by the craftsmen. Although there is little evidence of discrimination between merchants and craftsmen before the 15th century, conflict between the two groups in the late 16th and early 17th centuries led to the claim of the craftsmen to be represented among the burgh's commissioners to parliament, and to a greater say in the town council (Maxwell 1884, 185, 353). The merchants controlled the town council, which was elected

by the outgoing council, both bodies then meeting jointly with the deacons of the crafts to elect the officers of the town (*ibid*, 29). In support of its claim for precedence over Perth, Dundee claimed to be 'more civillie governed' because all of its councillors were

merchants except for two craftsmen, whereas half of Perth's council were craftsmen (*ibid*, 121–2). Soon after, disputes between the council and the crafts over craft representation on the town council led to a third craftsman councillor being elected (Smith 1995, 70).

Trade and industry

The creation of the burgh led to the development of various crafts, whereby the produce of the burgh's hinterland could be converted into products for sale in the market. Farming provided most of the raw materials: wool and woolskins, hides, meat, dairy produce, grain, lint or flax. By the middle of the 16th century Dundee had nine incorporated trades, each with its own deacon—baxters or bakers, cordiners or shoemakers, skinners or glovers, tailors, bonnetmakers, fleshers, hammermen, websters or weavers, and waulkers, who together formed the Nine Trades (Smith 1995). In addition there were various unincorporated trades—litsters or dyers (who were recognised as a trade in 1590 and united with the waulkers in 1693 [*ibid*, 169]), masons, wrights and slaters. The latter three trades eventually united as the Three United Trades. The trades met in the former Greyfriars yard (N), from 1564 the public burial ground, giving it its name of the Howff (*ibid*, 63), until the opening of the Trades Hall on the site of the former shambles or flesh market (Q) in 1778. Each trade regulated the affairs of its members and exercised quality control over the goods manufactured. The trades comprised three groups: masters, journeymen (servants or feemen) and apprentices. Admission as a master was a long process, after five years of apprenticeship and one year as feeman or servant, followed by examination by the deacon and other masters of the craft. The right to set up a booth was restricted to masters, who had been admitted freemen of the 'gude toun' (RMS, iii, no 435; iv, no 410).

Unfortunately the products of most of these trades have left little archaeological trace. Organic preservation, other than bone, is poor in Dundee and wood, leather, cloth and seed remains do not generally survive except when charred. Occupation on Dundee Law, dating to the Early Iron Age, produced charred remains of barley and oats, as well as cultivation weeds (fat hen, common hemp-nettle, grass, persicaria and dock) and bracken (Driscoll 1995, 1102). The site at Panmure Street/Murraygate (5) is important in that it showed that waterlogged remains do occasionally survive in Dundee, although the waterlogging was insufficient to preserve any but the more robust seeds. Oats, wheat, barley and rye were all grown in the surrounding countryside (along with weeds of cultivated soil). Peas also were cultivated, possibly within urban backlands: common weeds, such as chickweed, stinging nettle and henbane, suggest backland cultivation. Heather and sedge may have been used for roofing, flooring or fuel. Hazel-nuts may have supplemented the diet. A single flax seed is evidence for the manufactured cloth industry for which Dundee was a centre by 1500. A few leather scraps and offcuts are the only trace of what must have been an important craft industry, providing shoes,

boots and clothing for the inhabitants of the burgh. Other leather fragments were found during the Overgate development, mainly in wells (Stevenson and Torrie 1988, ii, 31).

A carpenter's iron axe, found at Murraygate/Panmure Street (5), is the only evidence for wood-working, another important craft in the burgh, providing houses, furniture and ships. Timber was arriving at the harbour in 1447 (Maxwell 1884, 104), and was being imported from the Baltic in the late 16th century (Torrie 1990, 36). In the late 17th century timber was being imported from Norway to provide building materials, because of the difficulty of transporting home-grown timber to Dundee (*ibid*, 71). Woodyards were located near the harbour in the late 18th century (Illus 8).

Dundee's situation on the Tay, near the sea, made it a fishing centre from early on. The importance of fishing for Dundee is evident in the former name for Nethergate: Flukergate is supposed to derive its name from fluke or flounder. Small bones of fish are rarely evident in archaeological excavations, except when recovered by sieving. Fish bones recovered from Green's Playhouse (4) were pollack and/or ling, possible cod and ray fish. Both freshwater and marine fish were recovered at Panmure Street/Murraygate (5). The Tay was renowned for its salmon fishing, and fisheries were granted to nobles or religious houses from the 12th century. Marine fish were herring and white fish (haddock, cod, pollack, dab, plaice and ling). The white fish were a burghal monopoly, controlled by the Laws of the Four Burghs, each burgh regulating the price, quality and selling of the fish as well as the building of boats, harbours and provision of salt and wood for barrels. The fish market was held near the harbour, and fish could be sold fresh or dried.

In addition to fish, other marine products were utilised. Sea shells have provided a source of food since the Mesolithic period, as evidenced from a kitchen midden at Stannergate, where mussel, periwinkle, whelk, cockle and limpet shells were discovered (Mathewson 1879). In addition to these shells, oysters have been found in medieval Dundee (3, 5), as well as dog whelk and spindle shell, the latter two not likely to have formed part of the human diet. In the mid 18th century a whaling industry was established in Dundee, which in the 19th century became a major whaling port, whale oil being used in the jute industry (Whatley *et al* 1993, 90). Before then, beached whales would have been scavenged to provide oil or blubber for lamps, or bones to be made into artefacts. The finding of a whale vertebra, possibly shaped into a disc, on Dundee Law, from occupation datable to the Roman period, shows that this resource had a long tradition in Dundee (Driscoll 1995, 1101).

The most common economic resource found in excavations in Dundee is animal bone, providing evidence of diet. Cattle bones predominate in the medieval phases at Green's Playhouse (4) and Panmure Street/Murraygate (5), over 50%, with sheep/goat next and pig a poor third. This is in keeping with evidence from other eastern Scottish burghs, where the high frequency of cattle and sheep/goat is attributed to the dependence of the medieval Scottish economy on the by-products of these animals, such as hides, wool and woolfells. Most cattle and sheep/goat had reached adulthood before being culled, their by-products of milk and wool being valuable, while pigs were usually culled when still young since they had no useful by-products. Other domestic animals were horse (which could provide meat), cat and dog (whose skins were utilised). Wild animals present in the archaeological record were fox, mouse, brown rat, common shrew and brown hare. The brown rat is a relatively recent introduction to these islands and is not to be confused with the black rat, whose fleas carried the plague. The finding of rat and mouse bones hints at the unhealthy living conditions of medieval and post-medieval urban life. One bone at Gardyne's Land (14) had been gnawed by a small rodent. Birds also supplemented the diet of the inhabitants of the burgh: domestic fowl, goose, grey partridge and wader being recovered from medieval deposits, and turkey and red grouse from modern levels.

In addition to meat, milk, wool, hides and skins, which supplied most of the diet of the inhabitants and sustained the local economy, animals also provided another useful resource: their bones, which could be worked into tools. This was more likely a domestic industry, rather than a commercial craft in the medieval period. Horn cores have been found only occasionally in Dundee, a concentration being noted at 71–75 Murraygate (11). At Green's Playhouse (4), a dog bone from a garden soil dating to the 14th–15th centuries had been used to stir mortar. Bones could also be turned into handles, pins, needles, etc.

An important industry in medieval Dundee was the slate industry. The finding of stone roof slates has already been mentioned. Slates were being exported from Dundee for use in the king's palace at Linlithgow in 1427–8, and in 1555 St Giles Church, Edinburgh, was supplied with 3,900 Dundee slates (Lamb 1895, 26). In 1556 the council banned the export of slates from the burgh because of the need to repair houses after the English sack of the town in 1548 (Maxwell 1884, 65–6). One source of slates was the 'Sklaithheuchs', to the east of the burgh, which was also the site of the Chapel of St John of the Sklaithheuchs, or the Roodyards (see below). In 1414 John Sclatter held a tenement on the north side of Murraygate, and John Patrickson, called Sclatter, held a tenement on the south side of Murraygate (DCA, TC/CC 14/5). In 1610 the town council granted a special privilege to a widow, Merrone Forrester, to carry on her late husband David Cokburn's business, in buying, selling and transporting slates to and from the burgh, as she had furthered the common works of the burgh, shared

in the burden of taxation imposed on the burgh, provided slates at her own expense for the repair of the tolbooth and promised to continue to provide them for that purpose free of charge during her lifetime (Millar 1898, 178).

Another interesting occupation referred to in 1414 is that of John Bel, called Glassinwricht, ie glazier, who had a tenement on the west side of Murraygate (DCA, TC/CC 14/5). It is unlikely that he was actually making glass, as there is no record of glass manufacture in Scotland before the early 17th century (Turnbull 2001, 62–3); it is more likely that he was working with glass panes imported from the Continent or from England. Glass would have been an expensive commodity, and the presence of a glazier in Dundee in the early 15th century is evidence of the wealth of the burgh's inhabitants. Despite the enthusiasm with which Dundee children broke windows in the parish church in the 16th century (Maxwell 1884, 76), it is unlikely that a glazier could have carried on his business dependent solely on providing windows for the church. It is likely that he was providing windows in merchants' houses and the town houses, and possibly country houses, of local lairds. In 1562 the town council regulated the manner in which windows could be inserted into gables overlooking a neighbour's property (*ibid*, 152–3). In 1643 the town council contracted with Katrine Man, widow of Patrick Hunter, glazier, for her to supply all glasswork required for the public works (*ibid*, 258). Katrine took two other successive husbands into her business. Glassmaking in Dundee was certainly being practised in the 18th century when a glass factory was built to the east of the town at Carolina Port.

In 1414 and 1429 other occupations or surname/occupations were Tincter (litster or dyer), Chepman (itinerant merchant), Masoun, Webstare (weaver), Wricht, Taillour, Lorimere (maker of small metal-work, particularly horse trappings), Scissor (tailor) and Faber (smith) (DCA, TC/CC 14/5, 14/6).

The town's two mills, called Castle Mills (R), were situated on the east side of Castle Hill, and powered from the Castle Burn, with a mill dam (L) where Albert Square is now. The mills were granted to the burgh in 1360 by David II (RRS, vi, no 230). The inhabitants were thirled to the mills, ie they were legally bound to have their grain ground at the town's mills despite efforts to avoid this burden (Maxwell 1884, 178). The Castle Burn did not have sufficient power to drive the mills, so new mills were acquired outside the burgh at Pitkerro in the 16th century and at Baldovan and Fintry in the 17th century (*ibid*, 170, 177, 178). There was also a windmill (LL) near the harbour (*ibid*, 160). It may have been built as a result of James IV's confirming to the burgh in 1512 the right to build water and windmills (RMS, ii, no 3717). This windmill was abandoned when the new mills were acquired in the 17th century (Stevenson and Torrie 1988, ii, 33). Its site lies at the junction of Union Street and Whitehall Crescent. In the 18th century another windmill was built on Corbie Hill (BB), which acquired the name Windmill Brae (Crawford 1793).

While the products of the animal-based trades and industries of medieval Dundee may not often survive in the archaeological record, remains of their manufacturing process could still be extant. This is particularly so of the tanning pits of the skinners at the back of the tenements on Argyllsgate, near the course of the Castle or Scouring Burn, near North Lindsay Street, as well as of their replacements by the Dens or Butter Burn. Similarly the dying vats of the litsters or dyers may survive. Dyers Close between Murraygate and Seagate is supposed to have been the site of a dyeworks (Stevenson and Torrie 1988, ii, 32). Such pits should survive as features cut into the ground. In 1776 (Illus 8) there were three tanneries on the west side of Wellgate, one of which now lies under Panmure Street, although by 1793 only one is shown there, a new tannery having been opened on the Scouring Burn to the north-west of the town (Crawford 1793). Remains of ovens, bakehouses, kilns for drying grain or malt, or metalworking smithies have as good a chance of survival in Dundee as in Perth (Brann and McGavin 1995; Coleman 1996; Middleton and Perry forthcoming), North Berwick (Cromwell 1993), or Inverness (Wordsworth 1982). The only known kiln or oven was located at 62–68 Murraygate (2) and comprised a roughly circular area of re-used stone slabs (some of which had a chamfered edge) blackened with heat, above which was a possible

collapsed superstructure of burnt clay and stones. The oven was located in the backlands of a burgage tenement and, therefore, was probably a bread oven.

Evidence for a local pottery industry has been found in the form of possible kiln furniture among pottery recovered during the development of the Overgate in the 1960s (Hall 2003, 92–3). The kiln material comprises six complete or fragmentary glazed bricks and a glazed floor tile, which may have been used as a ‘stacker’ in the kiln. A roughly squared fragment of sandstone, found in St Mary’s churchyard (3), had patches of green glaze on it, suggesting that it had been used as a kiln spacer. There is no record of a pottery kiln in medieval Dundee, but the finding of these kiln fragments indicates that in all likelihood one existed, probably at the west end of the town. This area was open fields before the 15th century and would have been a safe location for such a hazardous industry. Few medieval pottery kiln sites have been located in Scotland, and those that have are rural (Colstoun in East Lothian, Stenhouse near Falkirk and Rattray, Aberdeenshire). No burghal kiln sites have been located, despite the finding of kiln furniture, ‘wasters’, and ‘local’ pottery fabrics at excavations in many burghs (Hall 1998, 171). The Dundee kiln site may have been located to the west of the Steeple or in backlands on the north side of Overgate, and its identification is a priority for archaeological investigation.

The market area

A market place was the essential focus of a burgh, where weekly markets could be held under the control of the burgh magistrates. Dundee's market place lay to the east of St Mary's Church, where Marketgate widened. It was there that the three essential parts of the market were situated: the market cross (*T*), the tolbooth (*Y*) and the tron (*AA*). The market cross is first recorded in 1325 (*RRS*, v, no 282), in 1586 it was rebuilt, and in 1777 it was cleared away from the street as an obstruction (Maxwell 1884, 247). The cross, as rebuilt in 1586, was an octagonal structure approached by steps. From the roof of the structure rose a shaft surmounted by a unicorn bearing a shield with the royal arms. This shaft, with the date 1586, the town's coat of arms and motto, and the unicorn, were preserved after the demolition and have been set up near the Steeple (*PP*).

In 1325 Robert I granted to the town of Dundee an area 80 feet in length and 40 feet in breadth, between the water lade to the west and the market cross to the east, to be a tolbooth and prison (*RRS*, v, no 282). In 1363 David II granted an additional space, of similar length but six feet wide, adjacent on the north side (*RRS*, vi, no 292). The tolbooth was the civic centre of a burgh, where market dues and customs were paid, where the town council meetings and the burgh court were held and where prisoners were detained. The tolbooth was damaged by the English in 1548 and a new one was built by 1562 on the south side of Marketgate. The new building had vaults or an undercroft, which were feued out as shops, with the main council offices on the first floor, approached by an external forestair (Maxwell 1884, 148–9). The new tolbooth was replaced on the same site in 1731 by a Town House (*U*) designed by William Adam. This building, known as the Pillars, survived until 1932, when it was demolished to make way for City Square (Stevenson and Torrie 1988, ii, 27). Foundations of this Adam building were uncovered when pits were dug for planting trees during environmental improvements to High Street in 1995 (27) (Plate 2). This discovery is significant as it means that foundations of the earlier tolbooth, of the market cross or of the islands of buildings to the east of St Mary's Church, could still lie under the present street surface.

The tron, or public weigh beam, was erected by 1363/4 in Marketgate (Torrie 1990, 27). Traders seeking to

sell goods in the market were required to have them weighed here before sale. In 1560 a weigh house (*X*), where the burgh weights and measures were kept, was built on the west side of St Clement's Church (Beatts 1878, 191). It had a timber gallery on its front providing access to the upper storey. The weigh house was removed shortly before 1884 for an extension to the Town House (Maxwell 1884, 61).

In earlier times there appears to have been no differentiation between goods brought to market, but by the 16th century specialised markets are recorded. The meal market, which had been held at the west end of Marketgate, was transferred in 1569 to the Overgate in front of St Salvator's Close, before being transferred back to the Marketgate east of the 'cuck-stule' (Maxwell 1884, 136–8). In the mid 18th century the meal market was transferred to behind the Town House (Beatts 1878, 221). In the late 16th century the wool market was ordered to be held in the causeway to the east of the stairs of the new tolbooth, although wool merchants had used the former St Clement's Kirk (Maxwell 1884, 48–9). The fish market was held near the harbour at various sites over the centuries: Fish Street (now under Whitehall Crescent) in the 16th century (*ibid*, 140); on the site of the later Greenmarket in the late 18th and early 19th century (Crawford 1777; Wood 1821); on the north side of Dock Street by 1836 (Leslie 1836; Edward 1846); and on the site of the former fleshmarket in the late 19th century (Beatts 1878, 222). In 1560–2 a flesh house or shambles (*Q*) was built on the site of a scald or skin market at the south end of Murraygate, on the west side of the Castle Burn, with stones from the Greyfriars monastery. The building contained 12 booths on three sides of the ground floor, eight having lofts; at the east side there were two seats and a shop (Maxwell 1884, 53–4). The site became the Trades Hall, opened in 1778, and was later occupied by a bank. In 1776 a new flesh market was opened by the harbour, with a slaughter house at St Nicholas Craig (Stevenson and Torrie, ii, 32). In 1883 the flesh market, which had been deserted by the butchers in favour of individual shops (Beatts 1878, 222) and become converted to butter and fish markets, was removed to make way for Whitehall Crescent. In 1813 an egg and poultry market was located on the west side of the flesh market (Neave 1813).

The harbour

As a port Dundee goes back to at least 1199, when King John of England granted the burgesses of Dundee freedom from toll and custom in all English ports except London. The original harbour was a natural haven situated between Castle Hill and St Nicholas Craig. The first mention of man-made works comes in 1447. On account of the Port of Dundee being unsafe, thereby threatening to cause shipwrecks, James II granted to the town the right to build and repair the harbour, so that large and small ships could enter and leave in safety. To achieve this the town was granted power to levy tolls on goods and vessels using the harbour. The goods listed were wool, skins, hides, corn, meal, salt, coal, lime, bear (barley), meal, herring, tar and timber (Maxwell 1884, 103–4). The original harbour (*JJ*) lay in the area of the former Greenmarket, now the southern end of Crichton Street. By the mid 16th century the harbour was built of stone with two timber bulwarks in the river to act as breakwaters (*ibid*, 105). Storm damage (which occurred regularly) and rough usage by ships caused damage to the harbour works, which were repaired in the later 16th century. The bulwarks were repaired with stone ballast and a long pier extended into the river on the eastern side of the harbour (*ibid*, 106) (front cover and Illus 9b).

Shortly before 1644, reclamation of land from the river was undertaken by the construction of the New Shore (*KK*) (now the western part of Dock Street). The river bed behind the shore was infilled with ‘slaik’ (clay or mud?). On top of the reclaimed land was constructed the packhouse in 1643, still standing in 1884 (Maxwell 1884, 472–3). Monck’s assault on the town in 1651, when there were variously 60 ships in the harbour or 190 (Firth 1895, 12), storm damage in 1658 and natural silting all damaged the harbour, but in 1675 the harbour was reconstructed and rendered usable again (Lamb 1895, 20–1). By the late 17th century there was a sea wall extending along the shore of the Tay from the harbour to Seagate with the ground level on the landward side raised up (Illus 14).

In the early 18th century Defoe (1971, 651) described the harbour as ‘indifferent’, although the Tay was large and safe with good anchorage. There was considerable trade with England, particularly in linen, and corn was exported to both England and Holland. Trade was also conducted with Norway and the Baltic. Iron, copper, tar, pitch and timber were among the imports from Sweden. Further improvements were made to the harbour, which by 1759 could be described as one of the best ports for trade in all Scotland (Whatley *et al* 1993, 76). In 1758, when its shipping amounted to £20,000, Dundee was exporting £45,000 in manufactured linen and £3,000 in other commodities, while importing flax from the Baltic, iron and timber from Sweden, and English goods from London (Dunbar 1997, 113).

In 1745 Dundee’s inward tonnage was 1,280 tons, its outward tonnage was 500 tons and coastal tonnage was 3,000 tons. In 1791 these were 10,520, 1,276 and 20,055 tons respectively (Stevenson and Torrie 1988, ii, 34–5). Improvements were made to the harbour, which was tidal, by John Smeaton (Maclaren 1874, 276). These included a scouring basin to counter the effects of silting. However, not until the early 19th century did work start on a dry dock (the West Graving Dock, opened in 1823) and a wet dock (the King William IV Dock, opened in 1825) to designs of Thomas Telford, on land reclaimed from the Tay. The eastern part of the 17th- and 18th-century harbour was converted into the Earl Grey Dock, opened in 1834. Further wet docks, envisaged by Telford, were begun in the 1830s but not opened until 1865 (Camperdown Dock) and 1875 (Victoria Dock). Another dry dock (the East Graving Dock) was also constructed at the same time. Expansion of the harbour continued into the 20th century to accommodate the increased import of jute from India (Kenefick 2000, 42–3).

The end of Dundee’s jute industry has led to a decline in Dundee Harbour. The King William IV Dock was partially infilled before the Second World War. The rest of this dock and the Earl Grey and West Graving Docks were infilled in the 1960s to allow the construction of the approach roads to the Tay Road Bridge. The harbour area is an outstanding example of a Victorian industrial and harbour complex, containing 11 listed buildings and has undergone and is currently undergoing redevelopment. Nevertheless, remains of the harbour infrastructure still survive, including the West Graving Dock (18, 34).

In addition to being a seaport, Dundee was also a ferry port for crossings to Fife. The main, and shortest, ferry route in the medieval period was between Broughty Ferry and Tayport, although Dundee was the destination of ferries from Sea Myles (Newport-on-Tay) and Balmerino; the former was controlled by the barons of Naughton, the latter by the abbots of Balmerino. In 1641 Dundee town council acquired control over these, and all ferries, when it was granted the office of the Admiralty over the Tay from the Duke of Lennox, Admiral of Scotland (Weir 1988, 99). In 1713 the ferry crossing to Fife expanded with the construction of a new pier at Newport, and the development of the Woodhaven ferry, although the opening of Smeaton’s bridge at Perth in 1772 caused a decline in the ferries (*ibid*, 100, 106). Steam was introduced to the Tay ferries in 1821 (Whatley *et al* 1993, 83). Dundee’s ferry terminus was at the Craig pier on the western side of the harbour, constructed about 1776 (Stevenson and Torrie 1988, ii, 8).

The extent to which remains survive of the medieval harbour and its successors in the 17th and 18th centuries is difficult to determine. However, in 1883, when the Old Custom House or Provost Pierson’s lodging (*II*),

built about 1600 (McKean and Walker 1993, 13), was demolished, running through the centre of the foundation of its south-west stair tower was a clay-bonded wall; a similar wall, 'protected with clay on the south side, with the north face built with square dressed stone', was found about 30ft (9.14m) south-west of the west gable of the Old Custom House during drain laying in east Whitehall Crescent in 1890–1 (Lamb 1895, XLVIIIId). Both walls were considered to have been part of the 16th-century 'narrow harbour'. There is thus a strong possibility that further remains of the medieval harbour (*JJ*), including waterlogged timbers, survive underneath the late 19th-century laying out of Whitehall Crescent and the south end of Crichton Street. The sites of the New Shore and packhouse (*KK*) now lie underneath the western approach roads to the Tay Road Bridge, and may have been destroyed by the construction of the railway tunnel carrying the East Coast Main Line to Aberdeen. Trial work (*18*) at the site of the West Graving Dock, part of Telford's harbour scheme, has revealed that it survives in good condition. Other remains of Smeaton's and Telford's harbours may therefore survive beneath the road network.

In addition to the land reclamation in the 17th and 18th centuries in connection with the harbours, reclamation from the Tay took place further east. This had probably been going on since the medieval period. Land reclamation on the south side of Seagate is evident from a reference to a property being bounded on the east in 1414 by the river (*flumen maris*), while in 1429 it was bounded by the waste particates of the burgh (DCA, TC/CC 14/5, 14/6). Until the mid 17th century Castle Hill rose sheer from the river, but reclamation from the river pushed the shore line further south. The well-constructed stone vaults discovered on the north side of Exchange Street (*19*) (Plate 3) were possibly built as harbour storage cellars during dock extensions in the late 18th or early 19th centuries. Similar vaults are known on the south side of Exchange Street under the former Exchange Coffee House (McKean 1999, 246–7). Vaults somewhere in the vicinity of Castle Hill were also discovered during building work in the 18th century, when their origins were unknown (Millar 1923, 145). They seem to have been located on the north side of the hill and are, therefore, unlikely to be the same as the ones discovered in Exchange Street.

The castle

Dundee had a castle (S) by 1290 at the latest, when Edward I of England appointed Brian FitzAlan as its custodian (Torrie 1990, 50). References to Norman de *Castello* or de *Vico Castellano* (Castle Wynd), burgess of Dundee in the 13th century, indicate its existence before then (*Balmerino Liber*, no 55; *Lindores Liber*, no 12). A property in Nethergate was known as 'Erle David Huntlentoun Haw' (MM) (Stevenson and Torrie 1988, App 3, no 14), indicating that David had another residence in the burgh apart from the castle. In 1298 the office of constable of the castle, along with land at Dudhope, was granted by William Wallace, Guardian of Scotland to Alexander Scrymgeour. The castle was probably demolished after the Scots captured Dundee from the English. It was certainly gone by 1318 when Robert I granted in free burgage to Nicholas Scrymgeour 'the hill with pertinents on which the castle of Dundee had been sited' (RRS, v, no 129). That the constable held courts on the site from 1384, to judge on cases arising during the fair, implies that they must have had a hall there (Maxwell 1884, 21). Any such hall must have gone by 1644, when the constable was permitted to use the burgh's tolbooth (*ibid.*, 463). The Scrymgeours resided at their castle of Dudhope to the north-west of medieval Dundee. Dudhope Castle dates from the late

16th century, but was restored in 1989 (McKean and Walker 1993, 114–15). Observation of environmental improvements on the site of the castle revealed remains of earlier courtyards, a stone culvert and possible remains of the foundation of an enclosing wall round the courtyard, but no trace of medieval occupation (Cachart 1992).

The site of Dundee's castle was the rock on which St Paul's Episcopal Cathedral now stands. Originally the rock rose sheer from the tide, but land reclamation by the late 18th century had pushed the sea back from the rock (Ireland 1796). The rock also extended westwards towards Tindal's Wynd, but the west side of the rock was quarried away when Castle Street was constructed. Slezer's view in the late 17th century shows the summit of the rock bare of buildings (Illus 14), which was also the case into the early 19th century, although a statue stood on the summit from the late 17th century to the late 18th century. It is doubtful if any remains of the castle will survive the redevelopment of the hill that has taken place since the 18th and 19th centuries. Only a garden area to the rear of 26–28 Castle Street seems to have escaped building development and may be of archaeological interest (Stevenson and Torrie 1988, ii, 1–2).



Prospectus Civitatis AODUNI ab Oriente. The Prospect of y^e Town of DUNDEE from y^e East.

39.

Illus 14 John Slezer, 'The Prospect of the Town of Dundee from the East'. (Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland)

The churches

Dundee seems to have been unique in medieval Scotland in having had two burgh churches, St Clement's (W) and St Mary's (HH). Their origins and the relationship between them are not recorded. That both were important to the burgh is evident from both St Mary and St Clement appearing on the burgh's common seal. Unfortunately the earliest dated charter with the seal still affixed is very late, dating to 1556, and is little help in determining the saints' seniority. It may be relevant that St Clement's image faces the reader of the document, with St Mary on the reverse. The same seal was used on a charter in favour of the Bonnetmakers Craft in 1526, where the image of St Clement is again facing the reader. (The reverse of the seal is not visible as the document is contained within a frame.) The Bonnetmakers have an earlier charter, dated 1496, where the burgh's 'common seal of cause' depicts the burgh's coat of arms: a shield with a pot of lilies (representing St Mary), flanked by two wyverns.

That Dundee as an ecclesiastical centre must long pre-date the foundation of the burgh in the late 12th century is evident from its forming part of the medieval diocese of Brechin. Scotland between the Rivers Tay and Dee consisted for the most part of the diocese of St Andrews (38 parishes in Angus, 14 in Kincardineshire), with the diocese of Brechin comprising only 19 parishes in Angus and 4 in Kincardineshire; there were also four outlying parishes in Angus of the diocese of Dunkeld (McNeill and MacQueen 1996, 348–9, 352–3). Dundee was part of the diocese of Brechin, surrounded by parishes in the diocese of St Andrews, which implies that it had been granted to Brechin before the re-establishment of the diocese of St Andrews by Alexander I in 1107. Brechin was an ecclesiastical centre certainly in the late 10th century, if not earlier (Cowan and Easson 1976, 46–7).

Earl David granted 'the church of Dundee', and a toft there, to Lindores Abbey before 1195. That 'the church of Dundee' without a dedication is mentioned in early documents implies that there was only one parish church, although which of the churches is referred to is not certain. The following account is an attempt to disentangle the evidence. It starts with Pope Innocent IV's statement in 1250 (*Lindores Chartulary*, no XCIX), that the (un-named) bishop of Brechin, with the assent of his chapter of Culdees, granted the revenues of the church to Lindores Abbey *in proprios usus* (for its own use) after Earl David had granted to the abbey the patronage of the church of Dundee. In 1239 Pope Gregory IX took under his own protection the abbey of Lindores and its possessions, especially the church of Dundee, granted by the bishop of Brechin, to whom it belonged, with the consent of his chapter (*ibid*, no XCVIII). Between 1219 and 1226 Gregory, Bishop of Brechin confirmed to Lindores the grants made by his

predecessors, Turpin, Ralph and Hugh, bishops of Brechin, of the church of Dundee and its chapels, lands and all just pertinents; and himself granted, with the assent of his chapter, free corporal possession, while assigning £10 sterling annually to the vicar (*Lindores Liber*, no 17). Bishop Turpin was presumably the bishop at the time of the foundation of the burgh, as he died between 1189 and 1198. All these references seem to be to the same church, an un-named parish church in which a vicarage was established. In 1256 the vicarage is clearly stated as being at St Mary's, when Pope Alexander IV confirmed the bishop of Brechin's taxation of the perpetual vicarage of the church of St Mary of Dundee, held by Master William Mydford. Mydford had been admitted as vicar of Dundee in or before 1252 by the bishop on presentation by the monastery of Lindores (*Lindores Liber*, nos 7 and 11). This implies that by the middle of the 13th century St Mary's was already regarded as the parish church.

St Clement's, on the south side of High Street, is believed to have been the original parish church of the burgh, and its dedication to St Clement may indicate a Scandinavian influence in pre-burghal Dundee (Torrie 1990, 61). St Clement's seems to have had only one major chaplainry attached to it, that of St Mary the Virgin. The churchyard extended from High Street to the former Castle Lane and from the present Crichton Street to the former Tindal's Wynd and served as the burial ground, along with St Mary's churchyard, until replaced by the Howff in 1564. The manse of St Clement, presumably the toft of St Clement and the toft of the vicar of Dundee mentioned in the 13th century (*Lindores Chartulary*, nos XIX and LXXXIX), lay on the south side of the churchyard, with St Clement's Well in the churchyard. The latter was rediscovered in the 19th century, covered by a stone carved with a mitred bishop's head (Beatts 1878, 193). Soon after the Reformation the churchyard was encroached upon to build a weigh-house (X) in 1560 on the west side, a new tolbooth (U) in 1562 on the north side (allegedly on open ground between the church and Marketgate) and the grammar school (V) in 1589 on the east side. The fate of the church itself is unrecorded. In 1581 it was referred to as 'George Lowell's heirs land, some time callit Sanct Clement's Kirk' (Maxwell 1884, 49). That the grammar school was built on part of the site would suggest that the building was at least partially demolished or ruined by 1589. However, in 1592 there is reference to 'the buiths and lofts possesst be [wool dealers] within the bounds of St Clement's Kirk—quhilk is tryit to be maist improper for that traffic' (*ibid*, 49). The presumed foundations of the church were found about 1874, when the Town House, on the site of the tolbooth, was extended backwards (*ibid*, 49). The site of the church and churchyard now lies beneath City

Square. It is unclear whether any remains survive but, given the sloping ground that lay behind the Town House, there is the possibility that they may have been preserved under levelling up for the square.

St Mary's Church (*HH*) is supposed to have been founded by Earl David in thanksgiving for his surviving a storm at sea, but there is no reliable evidence for this. Of the medieval church only the west tower, known as the Steeple, survives, dating to the 15th century. This tower is unique in its design in Scotland. Its telescopic design shows the influence of the Low Countries, with which Dundee had trading links (Fawcett 1982, 491–2). Of Earl David's church, only a few fragments survive, found during the 19th-century restoration of the tower, and placed in one of the tower rooms. Other stones, removed during the restoration, include a rose window (Plate 4), presently in Balgay Park. The church had been cruciform in shape, with nave, transepts and chancel. The church and the religious images were burned by the English in 1548, but the chancel was repaired and used after the Reformation as the parish church or East Kirk. The tower was repaired in the 1560s and used as an artillery platform for a time (the glazier contracted to repair the windows of the church in 1565 was also the master gunner), and again in 1644. In 1651 the garrison of the town took refuge in the tower during Monck's assault, but was overwhelmed and the governor of the town, Lumsden, was killed. The south transept was repaired in the 1580s as the Cross Kirk, while the north transept, although roofed, was used for burials. Not till the mid 18th century was the north transept fitted for worship, becoming the Cross Kirk, the former Cross Kirk becoming the South Kirk. The nave was quarried and remained vacant until rebuilt as the Steeple Church in 1789. A disastrous fire in 1841 destroyed the chancel and transepts, new churches being built to replace them (Maxwell 1884, 76, 210–14, 248–59, 547; Stevenson and Torrie 1988, ii, 10–12).

St Mary's was formerly surrounded by a churchyard, although it was not believed to have been used as a burial ground. Nevertheless, burials within the church did occur (Torrie 1990, 88). Skeletal remains found in the 19th century were regarded as the victims of Monck's assault. These had been found when the buildings on the south side of the churchyard were cleared away early in the 19th century to widen Nethergate (here called Ladygate), also during the restoration of

the tower in 1872, and again under the floor of the Steeple Church about 1884 (Maxwell 1884, 548n2). Several medieval graveslabs were also found during the reconstruction of the East Kirk in 1842 (RCAHMS 1992, xi). The cemetery of the parish church of Dundee is referred to in 1527 and the cemetery of the parish church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Dundee in 1529 (*RMS*, iii, nos 494, 762), but presumably it ceased to be used when the Howff was granted to the burgh as a burial ground by Queen Mary in 1564.

In 1992–3 and 1998 burials were excavated during environmental improvements and the digging of service trenches around the City Churches (3). The nature of the burials (their carefully laid, supine, E/W alignment, with the head at the west, and the disturbance of earlier burials by later ones) showed that they were the result of burial over a long period of time, not the result of a single massacre. The earliest feature found in the excavation was a possible ditch (Plate 5), re-cut once, 4.5m across and 1.5m deep, aligned N/S. No dating evidence was recovered, but it pre-dated the burial ground, and its alignment would have carried it under the City Churches. It may have marked a western defensive limit of the pre-burghal or early burghal settlement, before the foundation of St Mary's. The burials in the cemetery dated to the 12th–16th centuries and give an indication of the health and social conditions of the inhabitants of medieval Dundee, although few complete skeletons were recovered and many bones were disarticulated. In general the Dundee sample resembled comparable samples from elsewhere in Scotland. There was a high (28.4%) mortality rate for under-18s and few (9%) reached the age of 46. Where sex could be determined, males were living longer than females. The average heights of medieval Dundonians were shorter than today's population, but of comparable range with other medieval samples, indicating that medieval Dundonians were probably sufficiently well nourished to achieve their full growth potential. Both males and females showed evidence of strenuous labour in their upper arms and shoulders, through lifting, pushing or pulling, while their lower limbs showed evidence of walking over rough ground. While evidence of disease and trauma was found on the bones and teeth, no evidence of vitamin deficiency was noted, suggesting that medieval Dundonians had access to a reasonably healthy diet that included fresh fruit and fish.

Chapels

The number and location of Dundee's medieval chapels is not certain. Confusion has arisen from the misinterpretation as actual chapels of tenements used to endow a chaplainry or altar in the parish church (Stevenson and Torrie 1988, ii, 17). This is the case with the alleged St Paul's 'church' between Murraygate and Seagate (RMS, ii, no 1339; Stevenson and Torrie 1988, i, 17); St Blaise's 'chapel' in Thorter Row (RMS, ii, no 2112); St Margaret's 'chapel' on the south side of Nethergate (RMS, ii, no 873); St Salvator's 'chapel' on the north side of Overgate (RMS, i, no 831); and in all probability St Mary's 'chapel' on the south side of Nethergate. The chapels and other religious foundations in and near Dundee were burned by the English in 1548.

Dundee did have at least seven chapels. A reference in the early 13th century to the 'church of Dundee with its chapels, lands, and pertinents' may either be a stock phrase or refer to chapels in the parish outside the burgh (*Lindores Liber*, no 15). The first recorded chapel is Our Lady's Chapel in Cowgate (G), founded in or shortly before 1414, when its foundation charter was confirmed by the Duke of Albany, Governor of Scotland (DCA, TC/CC 14/5). This was founded by David de Abirkerdore, burgess of Dundee, on six burghal virgates of waste land bounded by Cowgate, Seagate and 'the common vennel' (later Our Lady Wynd, now Sugarhouse Wynd) to the north, south and east respectively, and endowed with land and annual rents from several tenements within the burgh. An indenture was concluded in 1429 by the founder and town council as patrons of the chapel (there called 'of the Holy Trinity') with the Trinitarian Order (DCA, TC/CC 14/6). The indenture provided that any resident Trinitarian friar of the convent of Berwick-upon-Tweed was to serve a daily mass in honour of the founder and his family. All other resident Trinitarian friars were to perform matins, high mass and vespers there on the five festivals of the Annunciation, Conception, Nativity, Assumption and Purification of the Virgin. In addition the Minister of the House of Berwick undertook to pay £16 Scots from his rectory of Kettins for two additional Trinitarian friars, who were priests and residing there, to celebrate daily divine service in honour of himself, his parents, his successors and the benefactors of the Order. Provision was made that the Minister of Berwick was to have the custody, governance and presentation of the chapel, but the right of patronage was to remain with the town council, and the then perpetual chaplain, William Scot, was to retain the chaplaincy and its revenues during his lifetime. If the Minister or his successors failed to keep the terms of the indenture, the chapel was to revert to being a secular chapel. Despite the residential qualification imposed on the friars, the chapel is not called a monastery, and no mention is made of the hospital or almshouse in

Dundee granted to the Trinitarians of Berwick around 1390 (see below). Presumably the friars failed to keep the terms of the indenture as the chapel was a secular chapel at the Reformation, and the Trinitarians were not listed among the monasteries whose properties were granted by Queen Mary to Dundee in 1567 (see below).

By 1527 the Earls of Crawford had the right of patronage of two separate chapels at their residences in Dundee: a chapel at the Earl's Inn or Lodging or Hospice (NN) on 'the south side of the cemetery of the parish church of Dundee', and St Nicholas Chapel at their fortalice on St Nicholas Craig (UU), a rock within the tidal flow (RMS, iii, no 494). Either could be the chapel of the mansion of the Earl of Crawford mentioned in 1443 (Dunlop 1950, 73n4). In addition to the Lady Chapel in Cowgate, there was also a Lady Chapel (formerly St Anthony's Chapel and Hospital, see below) in Wellgate (E), which had been burned and destroyed by the English and was still waste in 1565 (NAS, GD 137/3811, /3890). A Chapel of St James the Apostle (DD), situated near the Argyllsgate or Overgate Port (EE), belonged to James Fotheringhame, burgess of Dundee, who granted it to the Grey Sisters or Franciscan nuns in 1502 as a perpetual place for them (see below) (RMS, ii, no 2637). A Chapel and Hospital of St John the Baptist, mentioned in 1443 (*Brechin Registrum*, i, no 53), would appear to be a reference to the Hospital or Almshouse of Dundee in Nethergate (TT) (see below). There was a Chapel of St Roque (A) at the east end of Dundee, outside the Cowgate Port (B), in 1529 (RMS, iii, no 765). In 1600 the site of St Roques's Chapel contained barns, a kiln, coble and malthouse. The name of the chapel survives in St Roque's Lane, the former 'common gate by the Den side'.

In addition to the seven chapels in Dundee, there were a further three 'near Dundee'. The Chapel of St John of the Sklaiteheuchs lay to the east of the burgh, beside the cemetery still called the Roodyards (Maxwell 1891, 177) (Illus 2). It is not clear whether it was the same as, or distinct from, the Chapel of the Holy Cross in 1540 (Hay 1880, 30, 35 and 38). There was a Chapel of St Mary Magdalene near the 'north ferry' beside Dundee in 1491 (NAS, GD 137/3809). The chapel is presumed to have been situated near Magdalen Green (Illus 2) to the west of the town, at the end of Step Row where sculptured stones were found early in the 19th century (Maxwell 1884, 242). However, West Ferry, to the east of the town, was also called 'North Ferry' on 17th-century maps (Laing 2002, Illus). The chapel may, therefore, have been located there. If this is so, it is not clear how it related to the hospital founded by the Earl of Angus at Portincraig (Broughty Ferry) around 1200 (RRS, ii, no 456). The hospital seems to have failed (Cowan and Easson 1976, 188) and the chapel may have been its successor.

A chapel was founded in honour of St Anthony by William Farquhar, burgess of Dundee in 1490, who was also founding an altar in his honour in the parish church (*RMS*, ii, no 1935). The location of the chapel is not clear. A reference in 1560 to the lands between Saint Anthony's Kirk and the East Port has been taken to locate the chapel in Seagate (Maxwell 1891, 51), but the chapel could as easily be located outside the burgh as inside. It is reputed to have been situated on the north side of Seagate, to the east of Sugarhouse Wynd. However, a rental of the Hospital Master of Dundee of 1581 mentions eight properties on the north side of Seagate between Our Lady's Wynd (now Sugarhouse Wynd) and the Seagate Port as either paying rent to the hospital or as adjacent (Maclaren 1874, App, xxv–xxvi, nos 145, 146 and 149); St Anthony's Chapel or yard is not listed. In the 18th century the hospital was receiving rents payable to the altar of St Anthony (in the parish church) from property in Seagate (DCA, Hospital Accounts, 1707–1745). It is, therefore, possible that the altar and chapel have been confused. In 1569 the chapel was described as having been destroyed by the English in Broughty Craig (NAS, GD 137/3902).

No trace of any of these chapels has been found, either during construction works or archaeological investigations. The sites of St Roque's Chapel (*A*) and the Lady Chapels in Cowgate (*G*) and Wellgate (*E*) are built

over, and the supposed site of St Anthony's Chapel in Seagate has been partially cleared for the inner city bypass and partially developed for housing. Investigation at sites in Cowgate (10, 12) has revealed that pockets of archaeology still survive despite building work in the 18th and 19th centuries, which in many cases has resulted in the destruction of any archaeological remains (7, 8, 12, 17). It is not certain, therefore, whether remains will survive of these chapels, or of the kiln and coble and other buildings at St Roque's. However, the finding of a kiln and coble at Canal Street in Perth (Coleman 1996) and of kilns and pits under the Pullars factory in Perth (Middleton and Perry forthcoming) is an indication of what can still survive despite 19th-century building work. The site of St Nicholas Craig (*UU*) may either lie buried under levelling for land reclamation from the river in the 18th and 19th centuries or it may have been obliterated when the Taybridge Station and railway tunnel were constructed. The Earl's Inn or Lodging (*NN*) was demolished in the early 19th century and the site has been redeveloped as the Nethergate Centre. The site of the Chapel of St John of the Sklaiteheuchs is within the Roodyards burial ground, a Scheduled Ancient Monument, and, therefore, not available for development, but several courses of masonry were dug up in the 19th century to the north-east of the mausoleum of the Kyds of Craigie (Maclaren 1874, 228).

Religious houses

The monastery of the Franciscans, Greyfriars or Friars Minor (N) was supposedly founded by Devorgilla (died 1289), Lady of Galloway and senior heiress of Earl David, although there is no evidence for it. The Greyfriars church was the site of an assembly of the Scottish clergy in 1310, which declared its support for Robert I. The monastery was burned in 1335, but not apparently in 1385 as claimed by Froissart. It was sacked in 1543 by the reformers and burned by the English in 1548. In 1560 the town council ordered the stones of the Greyfriars monastery to be used in the building of the new flesh house, and what was left of the buildings were presumably removed then. In 1564 Queen Mary licensed the town council to use the Greyfriars yards as the burial place for the inhabitants of the town, the churchyards in the burgh being full. In 1567 she granted the lands of the Greyfriars, and other religious houses and property in the burgh, to the town council to support the ministers of the parish church and the poor of the town (Cowan and Easson 1976, 125–6; Stevenson and Torrie 1988, ii, 14–15; Maxwell 1884, 53).

The monastery was situated in the burial ground known as the Howff on the north side of the burgh, to the east of Friars Vennel, now Barrack Street. No trace of the buildings survive, although parts of the west wall of the Howff date to 1601–4 when they were rebuilt. The southern wall was incorporated into the town wall and included gun loops at the top, which was higher than the other cemetery walls (Maxwell 1884, 207–8). Although isolated fragments of masonry were found along the east side of the Howff in the 19th century (Stevenson and Torrie 1988, ii, 16), no such traces were found during recent works there (28, 31). The graveyard was closed to burials in the middle of the 19th century but contains an important collection of 17th- and 18th-century gravestones. Until 1778 the Howff was the meeting place of the Dundee Trades, and their meeting stone, a small pillar, still stands in the graveyard. Each trade had its own meeting place in the Howff, usually the gravestone of a former member (Smith 1995, 63). It is possible that foundations of the medieval precinct walls survive underground, similar to those found in 1997 in the Greyfriars cemetery in Perth, where successive replacements of the wall, as the ground surface rose inside the burial ground, were noted (Cachart 1997c).

The Blackfriars or Dominicans or Friars Preachers were very late in coming to Dundee, and their stay was short. Their monastery was founded between 1517 and 1521 by Andrew Abercrombie, Burgess of Dundee. The buildings were sacked by the reformers in 1543 and burned by the English in 1548. On 17 November 1560 the stones of the Blackfriars kirk and house were sold for 127 merks by the town council to John Flescher, with the town reserving for its own use at the harbour 18 score of the finest and best ashlar from the kirk (DCA,

Burgh Head Court Book). The Blackfriars property was conveyed by Queen Mary, with the other religious property in Dundee, to the town in 1567 (Cowan and Easson 1976, 117–18; Stevenson and Torrie 1988, ii, 16).

The traditional site of the monastery on the west side of Friars Vennel, now Barrack Street, is wrong and may have arisen from an error for the Greyfriars. The Wedderburns had land on the north side of Argyllsgate, bounded on the north by ‘the lands of the late Friars Preachers, commonly called the ‘the freir yairdis’ to the north’; later sasines refer to the ‘yard of the Friars Preachers, now the burial place’, or the ‘commounne buriall’, ie the Howff, formerly the Greyfriars yards (NAS, GD 137/16, /21, /24). The monastery actually lay on the north side of Nethergate (RSS, vii, no 1344), probably near the Nethergate Port (SS), which was sometimes called the ‘Freiris Predicatores Port’ (NAS, GD 137/3201). The Blackfriars are said to have held land within the town on the west side of Long Wynd (Innes 1860, 145, 148), but no land is recorded there paying rent to the Blackfriars in the Hospital Master’s rental of 1581 (Maclaren 1874, App, xv, nos 22–31). Trial trenching at a suggested site on the west side of Long Wynd revealed no trace of the monastery (13). The monastery (RR) may have been situated further west, outside the Nethergate Port, where the Blackfriars had land (Maclaren 1874, App, xxix, nos 189–190). The ‘Blackfreiris zeard’ (*ibid*, no 188) is unlocated, but Innes’ (1860, 148) identification of it with a yard on the west side of Friars Vennel is wrong.

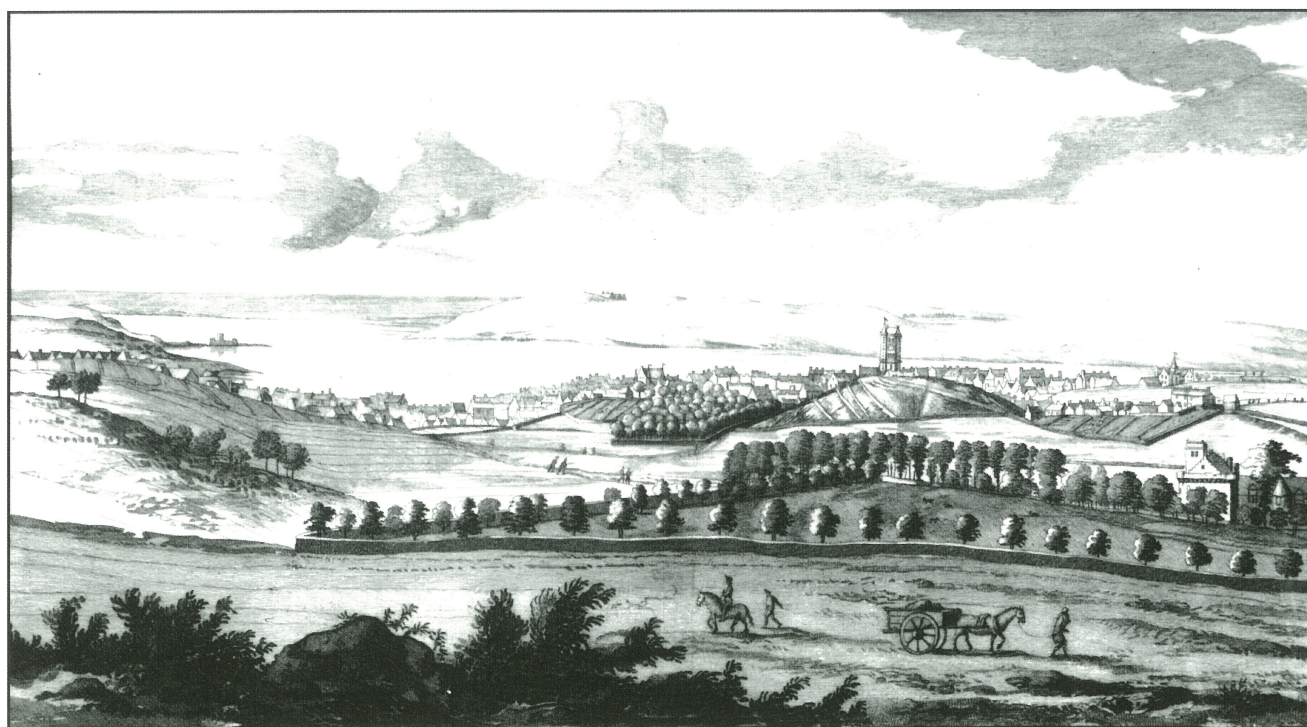
The Franciscan nuns or Grey Sisters were brought to Dundee in 1502 by James Fotheringhame, Burgess of Dundee (RMS, ii, no 2637). They were given the Chapel of St James (DD) with an adjacent croft situated at the western boundary of Dundee beside the Overgate Port (EE). The nunnery no doubt suffered the fate of the two friaries, and in 1560 the town council controlled the property. In 1567 the nunnery’s property was included in Queen Mary’s grant of religious property to the town. The claim that the nunnery was in the town centre between Overgate and the Howff is false. The now demolished building known as the ‘Nunnery’ was in fact a substantial town house dated 1621 (McKean and Walker 1993, 9). No nunnery property is listed in the Hospital Master’s rental of 1581 in the town centre, only the ‘Grey Sisters Acre’, which lay beyond the Overgate Port, between the roads to Perth and Coupar Angus (Maclaren 1874, App, xxix, no 192). The latter situation fits the description contained in Fotheringhame’s grant.

Despite two attempts to found a Trinitarian house in Dundee, by Sir James Lindsay at a hospital at his tenement (TT) about 1390 (see below) and by David de Abirkerdore at his Lady Chapel in Cowgate (G) in 1429 (see above), the Redfriars do not seem to have succeeded in establishing themselves in the town.

Hospitals

Sir James Lindsay gave his tenement in Dundee to the Trinitarians (or Redfriars) around 1390 for a hospital and house of God (RMS, i, no 838). The location of the tenement is unknown, but is presumed to have been where the later Almshouse or Hospital of Dundee (TT) was located from the mid 16th century to the 18th century: at the west end of Nethergate, on its south side by the Nethergate Port (SS). If this assumption is correct, then it would imply that by that date, Dundee had already expanded to its western medieval limit. There is no definite reference to the Hospital between its foundation and a grant in 1544, referring to the 'house of hospitality of the poor and sick of Dundee situated near (*prope*) the port of Flucargate on the south side of the same' (Innes 1860, 2–3). In 1443 land stretching southwards from Argyllsgate (Overgate) to the sea was partially bounded to the east by the lands of the Chapel and Hospital of St John the Baptist (*Brechin Registrum*, i, no 53). This has been assumed to refer to the supposed hospital at the Chapel of St John of the Sklateheuchs or the Roodyards (see above) to the east of the burgh (Cowan and Easson 1976, 174). However, there is no further reference to a hospital at the Roodyards (*ibid*, 174), and as the land in question was located at the west side of the burgh, it is probable that

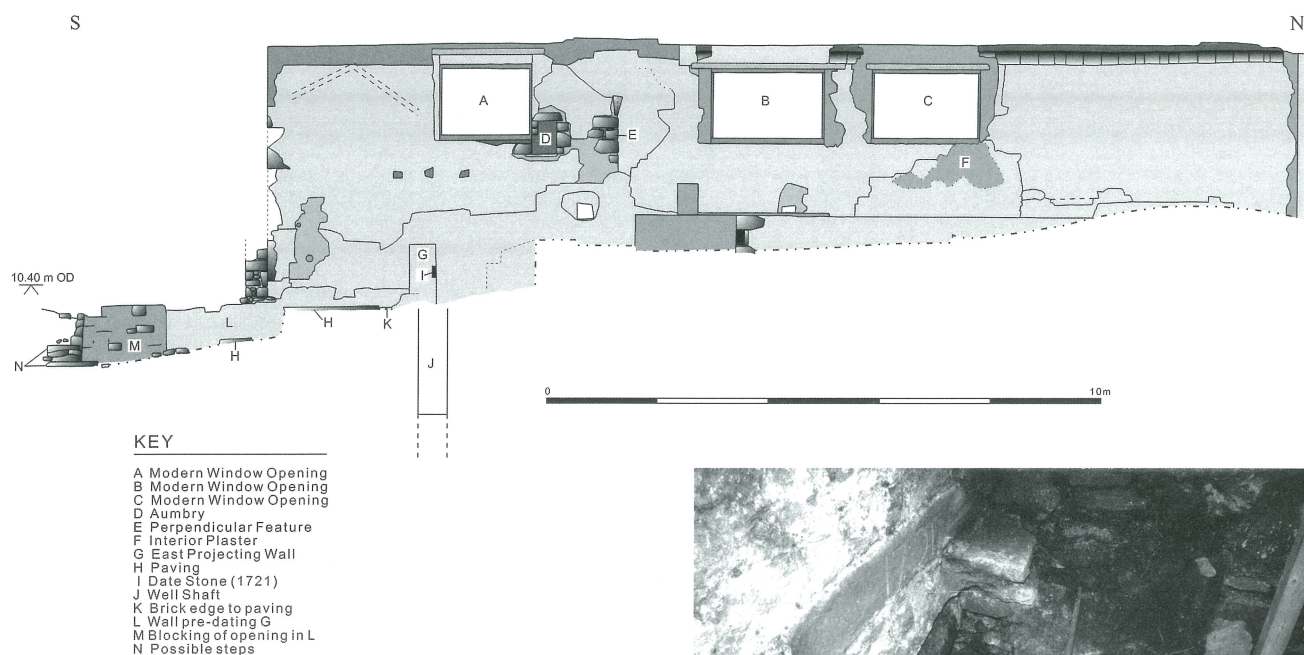
the reference is to Lindsay's foundation. If so, it is apparently the only mention of the Hospital between its foundation and the mid 16th century, and the only reference to its dedication. How long the Trinitarians held it is unknown, and the Hospital is not referred to in the grant of the Lady Chapel in Cowgate (G) in 1429 to the Trinitarians (see above). By the mid 16th century, the Hospital was managed by the town council, who appointed the Hospital Master from at least 1563 and audited his accounts from at least Martinmas 1557 (Innes 1860, 71, 75). Following Queen Mary's grant in 1567 of the religious property in the burgh to the town for maintaining the reformed ministry and the poor, the town made over the property to the Hospital in 1570 (Beatts 1878, 304–6). The building was burned by the English in 1548, and by the Marquis of Montrose in 1645. On the latter occasion there were nine men in residence (Innes 1860, 174). The Hospital was rebuilt in 1678 and survived until at least 1793 (Crawford 1793), although it had ceased to be used as a hospital in the mid 18th century (McKean and Walker 1993, 13). It is depicted at the far right of Slezer's view of Dundee from the north as a two-storey building comprising a central block, topped by a spire, with two wings on each end (Illus 15). The hospital site was sold in 1830



Prospectus Civitatis TAODUNI. The Prospect of y^e Town of DUNDEE.

38.

Illus 15 John Slezer, 'The Prospect of the Town of Dundee'. (Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland)



Illus 16 (above) Elevation of boundary wall at 152–154 Nethergate. (Niall Robertson; © SUAT Ltd)

Illus 17 (right) Well and date stone at 152–154 Nethergate, towards the southwest. (© SUAT Ltd)



(Innes 1860, 148) and is now occupied by Dundee Contemporary Arts and St Andrew's Roman Catholic Cathedral. The funds of the Hospital are still managed by Dundee City Council, although the office of Hospital Master was abolished as an anachronism by the Town Council in 1964.

During the recent redevelopment of the site of a former garage as Dundee Contemporary Arts, archaeological investigations revealed no trace of the Hospital (15). The southern backlands, including land reclaimed from the Tay, had been levelled up by the importation of soil and demolition rubble containing disarticulated human bones, of unknown origin, but possibly from 19th-century redevelopment around, and rebuilding of, the City Churches following the fire of 1841 (see above). The western boundary wall of the site, on the site of the Town Wall (see below), proved to be a complex structure incorporating a well, capped by a stone lintel dated 1721 (Illus 16, 17). Parts of the wall predating 1721 would be the remains of the western boundary wall of the hospital yard, which also served as the western defensive wall around the town, while other parts related to the buildings erected in the 19th and 20th centuries. In 1828 the town council noted that the representatives of Alexander Riddoch (former Provost of Dundee), who owned the land on the west side of the wall, had repaired the wall, which had recently fallen down (DCA, Town Council Minutes, 2 April 1828). In 1720 the town council authorised the Hospital Master to 'make such reparations and regulations about the

Hospitall yeard as he shall think necessar' (DCA, Council Book, Dundee 1716–1742, 28 Dec 1720). On 2 May 1721 he was paid £320 14s 2d for 'reparation and buildings in the hospital yard' (DCA, Hospital Accounts 1707–1745).

In addition to the hospital site on the south side of Nethergate, the Hospital had a large block of land on the north side of Nethergate, both within and without the town wall, known in the 18th century as the Hospital Gardens (Crawford 1793). Part of this was known in 1581 as the Almshouse Yard (Maclaren 1874, App, xv, no 29), on the east side of South Tay Street. Archaeological investigations in the area have revealed no trace of medieval occupation (9, 13, 25, 29). The child's skeleton, found under an 18th-century building (29), is possibly related to the nearby Hospital, although no graveyard is known in this area.

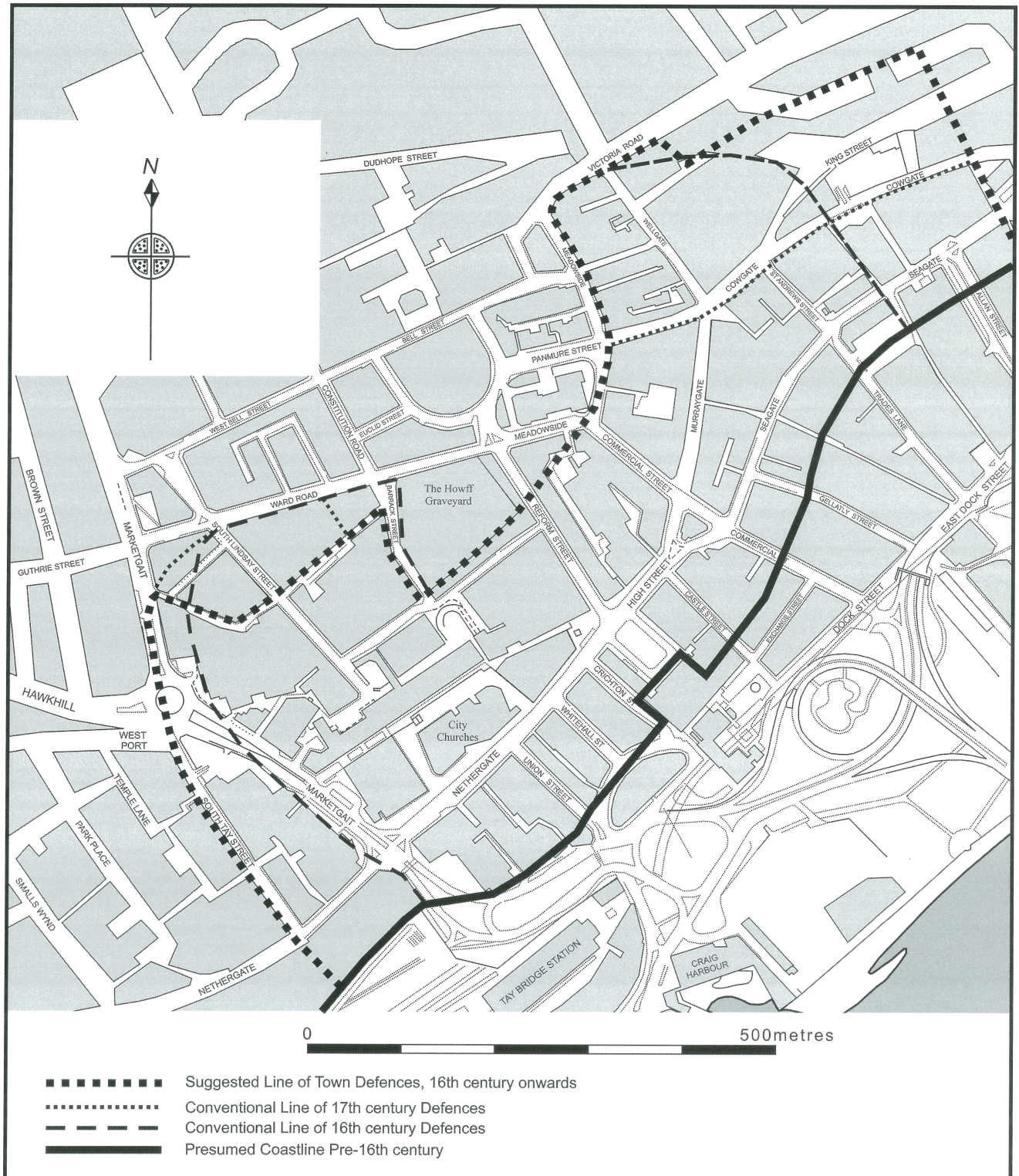
In 1443 an attempt was made by Andrew Gray, lord of Foulis and John Scrymgeour, Constable of Dundee to found a hospital with six beds at 'the church of St Anthony near Dundee, founded beside the well of St Mary'. The hospital, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St Anthony Abbot and All Saints, was to be administered by the Canons of Vienne of the Order of St Augustine, who were to build a hospital house within seven years. The chapel was endowed with eight acres of land called 'Loweldalis' and pasture for three cows with young under one year of age (NAS, GD 137/3716; the reference GD 137/3809 in Cowan and Easson (1976, 174) is wrong). The foundation failed and in 1491 the

chapel had been refounded by James Scrymgeour, Constable of Dundee as the 'chapel of the most glorious Virgin Mary (*E*) near the well of the same Virgin Mary (*D*)' (NAS, GD 137/3811) (see above).

In addition to the Hospital at the west end of the town, there was a leper hospital on the road between the east end of the town and the Chapel of St John of the Sklateheuchs (Maxwell 1891, 16). Its alternative name of the Sickmen's Yards locates this hospital at the east end of Blackscroft, to the west of Hare Craig and below the town of Craigie (Maclaren 1874, App, xxx, no 195; Hay 1880, 30, 35 and 38; Maxwell 1884, 375). It was in existence by 1498, when an endowment was made to the lepers and the house of lepers of Dundee (RMS, ii, no 2446). The hospital was presumably destroyed by the English in 1548, as in 1552 the town council granted the revenues of the leper hospital to the Hospital or Almshouse Master until the leper hospital

could be repaired. In 1556 the town council ordered that the leper house, described as decayed, should be repaired and 'biggit with sufficient houses for hospitalitie to the leper persons that beis admittit thereto', and that all the revenues of the lepers be restored to their use so that a leper could be admitted. This order may never have been carried out, as in 1564 the lepermen's yards or sickmen's yards were leased for agricultural purposes (Maxwell 1891, 68). During the outbreak of plague in Dundee in 1606–8 the infected were housed at the Sickmen's Yards (Maxwell 1884, 375). The exact location of the leper hospital is unknown, but it presumably lay near the former gas works at Peep o' Day (Illus 2).

As part of a recent Historic Scotland-funded medieval hospitals gazetteer, Dundee's hospital sites were visited and an assessment prepared of their validity and the implications of any further redevelopment proposals (Hall and Cachart 1998).



Illus 18 Dundee: town defences. (After S Stevenson)

Town wall and ports

Traditionally Dundee is said to have been enclosed by a defensive wall only at the end of the 16th century, when the town council ordered a wall to be constructed in 1592. However, the mention of the town wall or town's wall in the rentals of 1581 (Maclaren 1874, x, nos 18, 22; xxix, no 187) hints that the town was already enclosed by something more than back walls or head dykes at the end of each property rig. Ports or gateways within the walls, at each road into the town, served not only as defence against attackers, but also as collection points for the payment of tolls on goods entering the burgh for sale at the market. They could be closed during outbreaks of plague. The inadequacy of the defences was revealed in 1547–50, when the English occupied Broughty Castle and twice seized the town. During their occupation of Broughty Castle, the English fortified Balgillo Hill and may have been responsible for the late earthwork fortifications on Dundee Law. These last comprised a rectangular enclosure surrounded by a rampart and ditch, with bastions at each corner (Driscoll 1995).

The town wall was built, strengthened or repaired under the supervision of William Duncan in 1592 (Whatley *et al*, 1993, 17). Its inadequacy is demonstrated by the ease with which the armies of the Marquis of Montrose and General Monck stormed Dundee in 1645 after one day, and in 1651 after three or four days, despite repairs and strengthening with ditches, the construction of a platform on Corbie Hill (BB), and the removal of buildings outwith the fortifications (Beatts 1878, 257, 258, 259–60). The myth of a long siege by Monck needs to be dispelled: Monck summoned the town to surrender on August 26, by August 29 his siege guns were in position, the bombardment commenced on August 30 and the town fell on September 1 (Firth 1895, 9–12). After its capture Dundee was garrisoned, the garrison still being present in 1653, but by 1657 the garrison had been withdrawn (Firth 1895, 35, 336; Firth 1899, lii). In 1657 Monck ordered the destruction of the 'workes' of the town as the soldiers, quartered in the town, were being withdrawn (Beatts 1878, 211–12; Hay 1880, 94). However, the wall around the east end of the town was still standing when Slezer drew his view (Illus 14), and the order may not have been carried out, or at least not completely. Any remains of the town wall were largely cleared away by the late 18th century, no wall being apparent on Crawford's plan of 1776 (published 1777). The only elements that survived into the 19th century were along the south side of the Howff, and these were cleared when Bank Street was developed (Stevenson and Torrie, ii, 4).

Dundee had seven ports and three barrasses (timber barriers) to control entry to the town (Millar 1923, 143–4). All the ports pre-dated the wall of 1592 and all are mentioned in the rentals of 1581 (Maclaren 1874,

App, viii–xxx). The locations of the ports and the course of the town wall have been the subject of much comment, most of it bogus, misleading and confusing. The accepted theory is that the 16th-century town wall extended northwards from the shore at Sea Wynd to Nethergate, along Long Wynd, at either end of which were the Nethergate and Overgate Ports, to Overgate, and on to the Castle or Scouring Burn, then turned east round Corbie Hill to the head of Friar or Burial Wynd (now Barrack Street), south to the foot of that Wynd, then eastwards along the south side of the Howff, before turning northwards towards the Lady Well, then south-east to the top of Sugarhouse Wynd, at either end of which were the Cowgate and Seagate Ports, then southwards to Seagate and down to the Tay. Under this theory, in 1650 the walls were extended east from Sugarhouse Wynd to the Wishart Arch/East Port line and westwards from Long Wynd to South Tay Street (Beatts 1878, 210–11). The evidence for this theory is nowhere cited, and, where the theory can be tested against documentary or archaeological evidence, it is either wrong or questionable.

The rentals of 1581 establish that the Nethergate Port and town wall were not at Long Wynd but further west. Ten properties can be identified between Seres Wynd (now Long Wynd) and the town wall/Nethergate Port. Similarly the Seagate Port was not at Sugarhouse Wynd (formerly Our Lady Wynd) in the 16th century, but further east: the laird of Glaswall's land adjacent to Our Lady Wynd is not the same as the land of Alexander Mathow adjacent to the Seagate Port (Maclaren 1874, App, xxv, no 145; xxvi, no 150). Given that these two ports were wrongly located, it is very likely that their related ports, the Overgate and Cowgate Ports are also wrongly located. For the Overgate Port, this is implied by the town council's decision in 1648 to transfer the Overgate Barrass from an unknown site to the top of Fleming's Wynd (formerly Seres Wynd, now Long Wynd) (Beatts 1878, 74). There is no mention of the Overgate Port, supposedly on this site until 1650. The order was not apparently carried out, as the council repeated it in 1668 (*ibid*, 277). For the Cowgate Port, it is implied in the western boundary of the lands of St Roque's Chapel (A). In 1600 the boundaries of the chapel lands were the lands of the heirs of Thomas McKie to the west, Tods Burn or the common mill [lade to the north, the commo]n gate by the Den side to the east and the common gate passing in and [through the Cowgate P]ort to the south (NAS, GD 137/3199; Ms partially cut away, words in [] are restored; 'gate' = street). In the Hospital Master's rental of 1581 the land of James Makie lay adjacent to the Cowgate Port (Maclaren 1874, App, xxv, no 143). If St Roque's lands extended from the Den Burn to Sugarhouse Wynd, it would have had a larger endowment than the



Illus 19 The medieval drain (to left), robber trench (rear right) and cobbled surface (front right) near the Wishart Arch, towards the east. (© SUAT Ltd)



Illus 20 Possible town ditch at East Port, towards the east. (© SUAT Ltd)

parish church of St Mary's, which is clearly nonsensical. The only definite reference to the re-siting of any port is the order for the removal of the Friar Wynd Port from the north end of the Wynd (M) to the line of the southern wall of the Howff (O) (Maxwell 1884, 217). It is quite possible that, with the expansion of the medieval burgh, the positions of the ports were moved to encompass the newly settled areas, but this would have happened long before the 16th and 17th centuries, and probably before the 15th century. If Long Wynd was the vennel between Argyllsgate and Flukergate in 1331 (Hay 1880, 23), then the burgh had expanded at least that far west at that date, if not as far as the Hospital of Dundee (TT), founded around 1390, on a burghage tenement beyond Long Wynd (see above).

The Nethergate or Flukergate Port (SS), recorded in 1544 (Innes 1860, 2–3), lay on the west side of the Hospital. The Overgate or Argyllsgate Port (EE), recorded in 1502 (RMS, ii, no 2637), lay at West Port. The Murraygate Port (I) lay at the south side of the junction of Murraygate, Wellgate and Cowgate. The Wellgate Port (C), recorded in 1533 (RMS, iii, no 1311), lay at the south side of the junction of Wellgate, Hilltown and Bucklemaker Wynd (now Victoria Road). The Cowgate Port (B) and the Seagate Port (F) stood at the east end of these streets.

The ports had been removed by 1776, except for the Nethergate Port and the Cowgate Port (Crawford 1777). The Nethergate Port had been removed by 1793 (Crawford 1793). The Cowgate Port, or Wishart Arch, still survives today, preserved because of its traditional association with George Wishart (Plate 6). In 1544 the reformer preached to the inhabitants of Dundee from the East Port, identified with the Cowgate Port, during an outbreak of plague, the sick being outside the town, the healthy inside. The Arch has been dated to the 17th century on the assumption that it was built in 1650, when the town wall was moved east from Sugarhouse Wynd, but, as the assumption is groundless, the Arch could be earlier. The Arch, a Scheduled Ancient Monument, was twice restored in the 19th century, and again

in the 1990s as part of the landscaping around the extension of the inner city bypass.

The Nethergate Barrass (QQ) and the Overgate Barrass (GG) lay at either end of Long Wynd (the Overgate Barrass being moved there in 1668) and the Seagate Barrass lay 'a little to the east of its cross' (Millar 1923, 143). All three barrasses are mentioned in 1644 (Beatts 1878, 257). The town wall linked the ports, although Maxwell (1884, 223) claims that the wall followed Cowgate from the Murraygate Port, thereby excluding Wellgate. However, the property on the west side of Wellgate, immediately north of the Murraygate Port, had the town wall bounding its west end (Maclaren 1874, App, x, no 22), indicating that the wall extended north from Murraygate. The wall had one tower or blockhouse, the Lion's Round (J), mentioned in 1621, to the west of the Murraygate Port (Maxwell 1884, 223). This tower was still standing in 1776 (Crawford). The origin of the tower's name is unknown, but John Lyoun had the property, where the tower was situated, in 1581 (Maclaren 1874, App, xxiii, no 115).

Archaeological investigation at the Wishart Arch (10) revealed that it was on the line of a medieval property line. This line comprised a robber trench for a wall, 0.29 m deep and 0.52 m wide, too narrow to be the town wall, through which a stone drain carried water to the town's common land between the Butterburn (or Den Burn) and the Cowgate and Seagate Ports (Maclaren 1874, App, x, no 24). On the west side of the wall line was a stone surface, presumably a yard or path (Illus 19). Further south, near Seagate, trial trenching (12) in advance of the inner city bypass, revealed a ditch, about 4 m wide and 1.2 m deep, lined at the base with flagstones and clay (Illus 20). The ditch was interpreted as medieval from the pottery and animal bone recovered from it, although a ditch was ordered around the eastern end of the town in 1646 (Beatts 1878, 64). It is likely that the eastern line of the medieval town defences were the same as those of 1650.

For the western defences, no trace of a ditch was found on two sites near Long Wynd (9, 13). During

street-draining operations in 1857 at West Port, however, a wall and an outer ditch were discovered, although their alignment is not noted (NMRS, Ordnance Survey Old Name Book, bk 34, 29). The claim that they were part of defences erected about 1547 by the English or French was considered erroneous (Stevenson and Torrie, ii, 4). Now it seems likely that they were indeed part of the western defences of the town, although they may have been earlier or later than 1547, and their situation is comparable to those found near Seagate (12). No definite evidence of the defences was found during the trial work at the site of the Hospital, although the western boundary wall probably incorporated elements of the town wall (15).

The finding of segments of ditches and walls at the eastern and western ends of the town suggests that similar remains may survive elsewhere along the course of the defences, including the northern end of the town, where a ditch was ordered in 1645 to be dug close along the dykes to the south of the town lade (Castle Burn or Scouring Burn) (Beatts 1878, 259). Excavation adjacent to the Wishart Arch (10) revealed that the road surface has been raised by at least 0.7 m, indicating that the foundations of the Arch and presumably of the other ports may survive preserved under the present road surface, just as the foundations of the Town House (U), built by William Adam, lie under High Street (27) (Plate 2).

Conclusions

The traditional image of Victorian Dundee, as a city dominated by the jute industry, abandoned by its wealthy middle class and characterised by social strife and architectural ugliness, has recently been challenged. Instead, a picture of a city enriched and enhanced as a result of the 18th-century linen industry, with a strong sense of civic pride, has been presented (Miskell *et al* 2000). This paper attempts to show that the reappraisal of Dundee's history needs to be extended further back into the medieval and early post-medieval periods.

The archaeological investigations that have taken place in Dundee since the publication of the Dundee Burgh Survey in 1988 (Stevenson and Torrie 1988) have demonstrated that the assessment that 'it is unlikely that archaeological deposits of any considerable depth or extent survive beneath modern Dundee' (*ibid*, i, 3) is over-pessimistic. Archaeological deposits do survive, although their quality and quantity is variable. As in other towns, occupation levels have built up to a considerable depth in some places, although 19th- and 20th-century redevelopment has led to their piecemeal and sometimes wholesale destruction. In Murraygate, for example, deposits up to 1.3 m in depth survive in places (11), while elsewhere in the same street there are no medieval archaeological remains (21–23). Even on the street frontage very important archaeological remains can survive (5), or none at all (23). In Seagate and Cowgate the construction of warehouses and factories in the 19th century has left isolated pockets of archaeology (10, 12), as well as evidence of a former watercourse, running parallel to Cowgate (and possibly infilled to create that route) (7, 8); while elsewhere (17) any medieval remains were removed during 19th-century development. Even the construction of the Overgate Centre in the 1960s did not totally destroy all archaeological remains, isolated pockets surviving in places (16, 30). In Nethergate, too, archaeological remains (4) can exist alongside none (6). The only work in Wellgate (1) revealed nothing earlier than the 18th century. An almost forgotten medieval town centre cemetery survives at least on the south and west sides of the City Churches (3), and possibly on the east and north sides as well. The insertion of new streets and the widening of others since the 18th century have resulted in former building lines now lying under the street surface. Elsewhere, particularly along the former shore lines, levelling and reclamation from the Tay can lead to the burial, and thus preservation, of archaeological features and deposits beneath the modern surface. It is possible that timber and stonework of the medieval and early modern harbours of Dundee survive under the lower end of Crichton Street/Whitehall Crescent and the approaches to the Tay Road Bridge. Monitoring of environmental improvements in the town centre has re-

vealed that remains of these buildings, of earlier street surfaces and other features can survive in Dundee (24, 26–27) as in Cupar (Anderson 1999), Dunfermline (Perry 1999) and Perth (eg Bowler 1998). It is almost impossible to predict where archaeological remains survive in these circumstances. Any future developments in Dundee, including renewal of street services, will need to be individually assessed to ascertain the extent of any surviving archaeological remains.

As well as proving the archaeological potential of Dundee, the field work that has taken place in Dundee since the Burgh Survey has provided enough evidence to challenge accepted views on the origins and development of the burgh, and of its defences, and to offer alternatives in their place (Illus 6, 7, 18). The finding of settlement remains at the north end of Murraygate, dated by pottery to the late 12th century (5), and of occupation at the site of Gardyne's Land on the north side of the market area, dating to the same period (14), suggests that the original layout of the burgh was on the main road to the north from the ferry crossing, rather than in Seagate as previously thought. This is especially likely given that part of the south side of Seagate was occupied by the tidal estuary of the Tay in 1414 (DCA, TC/CC 14/5). It seems that Seagate was thought to be the original settlement site of Dundee from the belief that the market cross and tolbooth originally stood here, before being moved westwards to Marketgate (now High Street) (Millar 1923, 141, 181). However, this is based on an erroneous reading of Robert I's charter of 1325, where 'market cross' was misread as 'cross well' (RRS, v, no 282). The medieval wall line near the Wishart Arch (10) and the ditch near Seagate (12), of possibly medieval date, show that the 16th-century line of the town wall is more likely to have been much further east than previously suspected. Again documentary evidence supports this (see above). No evidence of the western town defences was found near Long Wynd (9, 13), although a wall and ditch were found further west at West Port in the 19th century, suggesting that the medieval western town limits also lay further west.

Archaeology has provided evidence of Dundee's medieval buildings, including an early (13th-century) transition from the use of timber to stone at Panmure Street/Murraygate (5) – this may have been due to the problem of water draining from the nearby marshy Meadows, or it may have reflected the wealth of the early burgh. This use of stone in building is earlier than has been excavated in Perth (early 14th century, Bogdan 1980, 20), Peebles, at Bridgegate (early 14th century) and Cuddyside (15th century) (Dixon *et al* 2002), and in Arbroath (early 14th century, Falconer 1995). The finding of the first waterlogged organic deposits in Dundee at Murraygate (5) has contributed to information about diet and economy. Cereals—wheat, barley,

oats and rye—grown in the countryside supplemented a meat diet of beef, mutton and some pork. Peas, possibly grown in urban backyards, and hazelnuts were also available. A wide range of fish, both freshwater and marine, was available as an alternative to meat: salmon, haddock, cod, ling, pollack, herring, dab and plaice, together with other marine resources: oysters, cockles, mussels, wulks, buckies and periwinkles. Private wells provided a source of fresh water in addition to public wells. Skeletal remains from the medieval cemetery of St Mary's Church (3) showed that medieval Dundonians were probably sufficiently well nourished to achieve their full growth potential, and no cases of scurvy or rickets were found, implying no deficiency of vitamins C and D. Nevertheless, the population led a life of hard physical labour.

While archaeology has made an important contribution to the study of medieval Dundee, more needs to be done, both by archaeological investigation, building survey and documentary research. Little has been found of the industrial sites that contributed to medieval Dundee's wealth and prosperity. Remains of the skimmers' pits may still exist to the rear of the Overgate properties, near North Lindsay Street, as may those of their replacements near the Den Burn, the latter continuing to be used into the 18th century (Mudie 1822, 138). A maltbarn, kiln and coble are mentioned in 1600 at St Roque's Chapel (A) (NAS, GD 137/3199). A barn, kiln, coble and smithy outside the Nethergate Port, on the south side of the road, are mentioned between 1568 and 1671 on land held of Lindores Abbey (NAS, GD 137/38, /2366, /2396, /2398, /2413, /2457); the site is now the Clydesdale Bank, formerly Provost Riddoch's town house (McKean and Walker 1993, 67). Documentary research should identify other industrial sites within the burgh. The town mills (R) were on the east side of Castle Hill, by the Castle Burn, although their exact location is not clear. They were fed by a mill dam (L) at the Meadows, now under Albert Square. The malt mill outside the Overgate Port was fed by a dam and lade at the Playfield (CC) near Brown Street (Maxwell 1884, 170). Mention has already been made of the possible location of a medieval pottery kiln near the Overgate to the west of St Mary's Church. Archaeological remains of these features may survive, especially if cut into the ground, and waterlogged deposits may preserve organic remains.

In addition to excavation, Dundee's standing structures merit attention. Behind the street façades lie fragments of much earlier buildings and courtyards,

eg Gardyne's Land (P) and 86 Nethergate (OO). The recently restored Sea Captain's House, on the north side of Seagate and east side of St Andrews Street, contains thick walls, possibly dating to the 16th century, as does the adjoining mid-Victorian calendar works (McKean 1999, 247). Below ground vaults have been discovered during redevelopment at Exchange Street (19) and under Constable Street, the eastward continuation of Cowgate (A Zealand, pers comm). Other vaults were discovered in the 18th century in Burial Wynd (now Barrack Street), when the weight of carriages caused the road to subside, and during the construction of the Town House (U) in 1732 (Millar 1923, 138). The latter presumably once belonged to the tolbooth on that site. A survey of cellars and buildings in the town centre and down the closes and wynds leading off the streets would, probably, lead to the identification of remains of earlier structures incorporated into later buildings. Collating the results of previous site investigations and boreholes during redevelopment in the town centre would help identify areas of potential archaeological survival. Dendrochronological analysis of timbers in buildings can also provide dating evidence for buildings or the re-use of earlier timbers in later buildings, as at Gardyne's Land, Dundee (Crone unpublished) and a house in Brechin (Crone *et al* 2004).

Stevenson and Torrie (1988, i, 4) highlighted the need for a reappraisal of documentary sources available in the burgh archives, some of which were published by 19th-century historians. The Scrymgeour–Wedderburn papers in the National Archives of Scotland form another invaluable source. While largely relying on these earlier historians from lack of time and resources, this study was able to use easily accessible published sources (the 1581 rentals, the Innes Appendix, *Register of the Great Seal*, etc). These were sufficient to question and contradict accepted views of the 19th-century historians on specific problems, like the town walls and ports, chapels and hospitals. The only new documentary 'find' in this study is the 1429 indenture concerning the Lady Chapel in Cowgate (G) (DCA, TC/CC 14/6); the 1414 charter (DCA, TC/CC 14/5) was known to Beatts (1878, 208), but not to Maxwell (1891, 52). Alongside continuing efforts to record and interpret the archaeological evidence, the documentary sources remain a rich seam to be tapped. Medieval Dundee deserves a new history based on original archival research, especially on the origins and development of Seagate, and the extent of land reclamation there since at least 1414, the locations and number of chapels, and the relationship between St Clement's and St Mary's Churches.

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