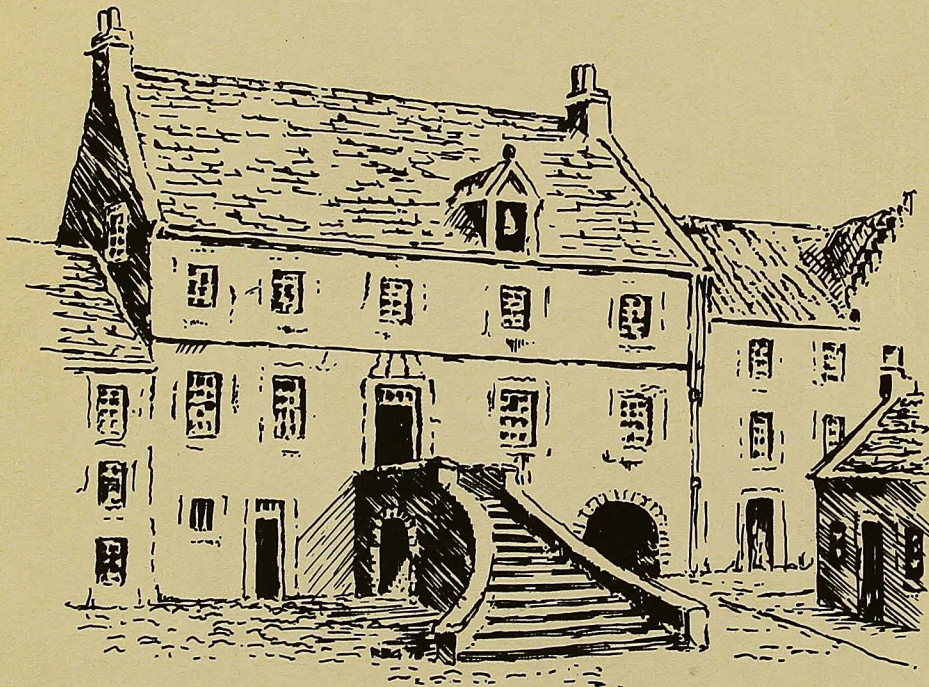


Historic

DUNFERMLINE

the archaeological implications
of development



Robert Gourlay
Anne Turner

Scottish Burgh Survey
1978

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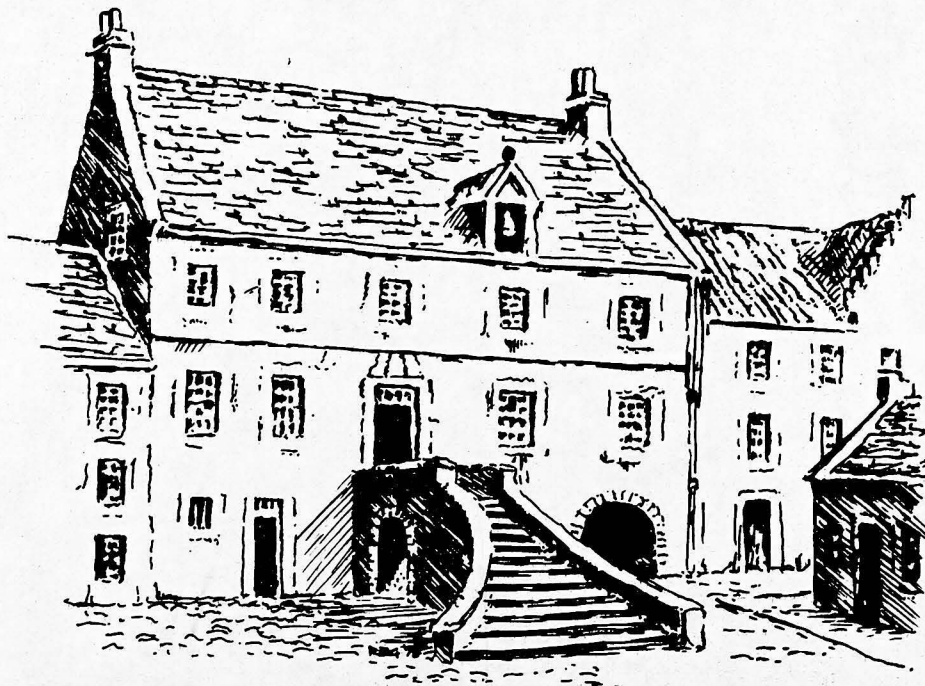
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Robert Gourlay
Anne Turner

Scottish Burgh Survey
1978

Department of Archaeology, University of Glasgow

PREFACE

This report on the history and archaeology of the former burgh of Dunfermline is one of a series of such reports on the historic towns of Scotland. The reports have been commissioned by the Ancient Monuments division of the Department of the Environment with a view to providing the necessary background information upon which to base a policy for urban research in the future. The reports are also aimed at providing local authority planning departments with the historical and archaeological information necessary to enable them to assess the archaeological implications of any planning applications.

Each report contains an historical report compiled by Anne Turner, with a short archaeological report and a series of illustrative plans compiled and drawn by Robert Gourlay. The reports attempt to identify those areas within the burghs which were developed at various periods of their history up to approximately 1800, and to locate within those areas sites which are of particular historical importance. Areas of 19th century growth and modern suburbs have not been examined.

The survey team would like to acknowledge the assistance of Dunfermline District Council Planning Department; the staff of the Reference Department, Dunfermline Library, Mr. John Edwards and staff of Dunfermline Museum; the Historic Buildings Section of the Scottish Development Department; the staff of the Archaeology Division of the Ordnance Survey, Edinburgh and Professor A. A. M. Duncan, University of Glasgow. A special mention must be made of Mr. Eric Simpson of Moray House College of Education, Edinburgh, who read the historical draft and offered valuable comments.

Cover: The old tolbooth of Dunfermline, removed in 1769 to make way for Bridge Street.

History

'In general, the people are strong and abundantly quick in learning mechanical employment. Many are remarkably ingenious, industrious and frugal. Such persons enjoy the necessaries and comforts of life and are happy in their present situation. It must be acknowledged that there are also many idle, factious, discontented persons, who are greatly divided in their political, moral and religious sentiments. In gratifying their capricious humour and supporting their respective parties, they sometimes involve themselves in unnecessary expense and defraud their just creditors. Their expense in dress, furniture and living too often exceeds their income. Increasing trade, manufactures and the rapid circulation of money have had an unhappy influence on their morals.'

(Allen MacLean and John Ferrie, 1793)

INTRODUCTION

Site: The town of Dunfermline overlooks the Firth of Forth and lies three miles (4.8km) inland. It is situated on rising ground some 270 feet (82 m) above sea level, providing an excellent view of Edinburgh sixteen miles (26km) away to the southeast. The Town Loch, situated one mile (1.6km) northeast of the town, is the source of the Tower Burn which skirts the western boundary of Dunfermline.

Further to the south of the town flows the Lyne Burn.

Place Name: Nicolaisen could not offer a complete explanation of the place-name Dunfermline. The first element 'dun' signifies fort, but the second element has never been satisfactorily explained (Nicolaisen, et al., 1970, 85).

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Burgh Status: Dunfermline's burgh status is not an easy question to handle. Dunfermline was identified as burgo meo early in the reign of David I (Lawrie, 1905, 3), but by Robert I's time it appears to have been one of four burghs dependent on the abbey (Pryde, 1965, 3). Although it would be logical perhaps to deduce that David's 'royal' burgh was granted to the abbey sometime between 1153 and the early fourteenth century, there is no charter granting it to the abbot and it 'is inconceivable that so important a grant should have been omitted from the Register of the Abbey' (Dunf. Ct. Bk., 1953, 14). There is evidence that there were in fact two twelfth century burghs, an abortive royal burgh which failed by the end of the century (Duncan, 1975, 472) and the abbatial burgh which prospered. The exact location

of David's royal burgh is unclear. In a charter in which an outlying part of that burgh was granted to the Abbey, Dunfermline was described as citra aquam in qua eadem ecclesia sita est (Dunf. Reg , 1842, i, 2). This wording has led Professor Duncan and others to place the location of the abortive royal burgh across the Tower Burn from the Abbey (Dunf. Ct. Bk., 1953, 16). The abbatial burgh developed initially as a suburb of the royal burgh, but the attraction of the abbey meant an increasing number of settlers and in time the 'suburb swallowed up the burgh' (Dunf. Ct. Bk., 1953, 16).

The problem of Dunfermline's burghal status does not end with the abbatial suburb swallowing the king's burgh. Confusion reigns over the question - when did Dunfermline become a royal burgh? No charter of confirmation survives. It was included in the stent of 1535 and sent a representative to the Convention of the Royal Burghs in 1555 (RCRB, i, 514, 115), yet it was presumably in the possession of the Abbot, not the Crown. A 1588 charter of James VI to the Earl of Huntly has often been taken for a charter of confirmation of Dunfermline's royal status, but this is not so. That charter was a crown confirmation of the commendator's charter of 1549, which in turn confirmed two fourteenth-century grants by the abbots to Dunfermline burgesses of the common muir and feu-ferme tenure (Pryde, 1965, 3). Dunfermline, then by the time of the 1588 charter was a burgh of regality held by Huntly. Three years later the temporal lordship of Dunfermline, including the burgh, was granted by the King to Queen Anne. As well as the confusion over the charter of 1588, the fact that the regality was granted to a 'royal' in 1592 has led some to suppose that this automatically guaranteed Dunfermline royal burgh status. That possibly was the case. On Queen Anne's death the regality would presumably have reverted to the crown and on that occasion Dunfermline might have become a royal burgh. It is a vexed problem, not an easy one to state and certainly not an easy one to answer.

Medieval: Dunfermline was possibly at the junction of trade routes which led from Celtic lands in the north to the Anglian lands in the south (Masterton, 1962, 21). It was apparently a royal centre by the time of Malcolm Canmore who, according to the chronicler, Fordun, celebrated his wedding to the English princess, Margaret, at Dunfermline in 1070 (Chron. Fordun, i, v, c: 15). Turgot, Margaret's confessor and biographer, relates that she had a 'noble church' built in Dunfermline dedicated to the Holy Trinity (ES, 1922, ii, 65). Her 'noble church' was in fact a Benedictine priory, the first of its kind in Scotland. Margaret was interred in the church at

Dunfermline in 1093, her husband some time later. David I, who spent much time at Dunfermline, had the status of Margaret's church raised to that of an Abbey, bringing a number of monks there from Canterbury. David, along with his brother, Alexander I, his grandson, Malcolm IV, and Alexander III were all buried at the Abbey which since St. Margaret's time had supplemented Iona as the burial place of the royal family. The wealth and status of Dunfermline Abbey mushroomed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and by the period of the Wars of Independence it was one of the premier monastic settlements in the kingdom. King Edward I was in Dunfermline a number of times: in 1291, 1296, 1303, wintering there until the spring of 1304. His sojourn of 1303/4 resulted in the construction of a ditch around the burgh (Dunf. Ct. Bk., 1953, 16) and in the destruction of the abbey buildings, sparing only the church (Chalmers, 1844, 262).

Edward's destruction of the abbey property did not damage her status. In 1329 Robert I granted aid to help in the rebuilding of the rectory, and in the same year was interred in the Abbey church (RCAHM, 1933, 114). The abbey was again burned in 1385 after the monks had extended hospitality to the English monarch, Richard II (Ferne, 1815, 232). Ten years later, the abbot placed the town, which had also been burned in the 1385 campaign, in feu-ferme tenure'. . .with all their conveniences, rights, privileges, and easements whatsoever that belong in any way. . .as freely in all things and through all things as our lord the king holds. . .' (Henderson, 1879, 143).

The generosity of the abbot in the granting of feu-ferme status ensured prosperity for the burgh. Instead of paying a rent of fivepence for every household, the bailies paid the abbey a fixed lump sum while their revenues increased (Dunf. Ct. Bk., 1953, 21). Fifteenth-century Dunfermline could boast of markets and fairs and it seems that these institutions were established in the burgh at some period after the granting of feu-ferme status (Dunf. Ct. Bk., 1953, 25). Dunfermline in 1500 was thus a mildly prosperous burgh, boasting a wide variety of tradesmen, ranging from litsters (dyers), fullers and bakers to masons, tailors and shoemakers (Henderson, 1879, 81).

Early Modern: On the stent roll of 1535 Dunfermline was taxed at a rate of just over £33, compared to Edinburgh which paid £833 in tax and St. Andrews which was stented at £100 (RCRB, i, 514). The 1550 stent found Dunfermline paying a tax of eighteen crowns while Edinburgh paid six hundred and St. Andrews seventy-two crowns (RCRB, i, 519). The destruction of the abbey in 1560 and confiscation of its

property does appear to have affected Dunfermline's position on the stent rolls. In 1587 she was stented at only eighteen shillings, while up-and-coming Kirkcaldy was taxed at a rate of thirty shillings (RCRB, ii, 10).

The Reformation did not rob Dunfermline of its claim to be a popular royal centre. James VI often visited the burgh, residing in the palace he had built hard by the abbey grounds. His son, Charles I, was born here. James did not, however, grant lands to the burgh out of the immense demesne of the abbey 'which would have rendered it a thriving town', but only confirmed through his charter of 1588 privileges which the townsmen formerly possessed (Mercer, 1828, 90).

A fire which swept Dunfermline in the spring of 1624 destroyed most of the burgh. It was started, in the words of a contemporary, by a young boy shooting a gun in which 'a littel peece of lunt flieth upon a thache hous which kindled. . . burnt the whole town, some few sklat houses excepted' (Chalmers, 1854, ii, 278). The town was obliged to apply to the Convention of Royal Burghs for aid, and a memo in the Aberdeen burgh records relates not only its contribution of 1600 merks but that 220 tenements housing 287 families were destroyed (Chalmers, 1844, 270). This entry in the Aberdeen records provides a population estimate for the town of 1400 people (Chalmers, 1844, 327).

The 1692 report to the Convention of the Royal Burghs displayed for Dunfermline a total common good of £1106 17s 10d Scots, including the income earned through the rental of various houses, the shoe market customs and also customs of various fairs. The compt of annual rents, salaries and fines and so forth paid out of the common good yearly totalled £1154 16s, which embodied the salaries of the master and doctor of the grammar school, the fees of the town's drummer and piper as well as 'incident chairges and debursements', including the keeping of the church and tolbooth, highways, 'charitie to the poor', and the cost of sending commissioners to the burgh conventions (RCRB, iv, 622-4). In that same year, Dunfermline had been stented at sixteen shillings while neighbouring Kirkcaldy paid a tax on £2 11s (RCRB, iv, 121). While that stent had proved to be an increase for Kirkcaldy from the stent of 1649 when she was taxed at a rate of £2 8s, Dunfermline had declined, but only by one shilling (RCRB, iii, 333). Her population had increased, however, from an estimated 1400 in 1624 to 1900 in 1690 (Chalmers, 1844, 327).

Eighteenth Century: Dunfermline's position on the stent rolls remained stable in the opening years of the eighteenth century. Although the stent of 1705 brought a decline for Dunfermline of two shillings down from 1692, the drop for Kirkcaldy was

striking, down from £2 11s to £1 10s (RCRB, iv, 121, 371). For the years 1730 and 1737, however, Dunfermline tied with Jedburgh for fifteenth place on the rolls out of a total of over sixty-six burghs that were stented (RCRB, v, 196, 630).

After 1740 manufactures in the burgh increased steadily. Two success stories in eighteenth century Dunfermline were coal mining and fine loom weaving. Coal mining in the area dates back to at least the late twelfth century. In 1291 the Lord of Pittencrieff gave the abbot and convent of Dunfermline permission to mine coal on his estate (Masterton, 1962, 7). Early in the eighteenth century, however, Dunfermline complained to the Convention of Royal Burghs about the lack of coal in the area and received from them a small amount of aid (RCRB, v, 335). Coal was not exploited on a large scale in the Dunfermline area until the end of the century when the reporters in the Statistical Account noted the presence of 184 colliers living in the parish (Sinclair, 1793, xiii, 438). 1740 marked the introduction of the Society of Weavers into the burgh and by 1768 Dunfermline linen had found its way to the London markets (Anon, 1845, 391). Improvements to machinery followed and by 1788 Dunfermline could boast a total of 900 looms, a figure which jumped to 1200 in 1792 (Ferne, 1815, 19).

Population was increasing steadily in the eighteenth century from an estimate of 2000 in 1698 to 5484 in 1801, the year of the first official government census (Chalmers, 1844, 285). To serve the needs of the ever-increasing population, the Bank of Scotland opened an office in Dunfermline in 1781 (Chalmers, 1844, 185). The Statistical Account report for the parish related that in addition to ten brewers, there were seven officers of excise and 101 ale houses (Sinclair, 1793, xiii, 438). A police officer superintended the cleaning of the streets, attended to fish and butter markets, supervised weights and dismissed vagrants from the streets. His salary was twenty-five pounds per annum which, our reporters insist, from his care and diligence 'he well deserves' (Sinclair, 1793, xiii, 435).

BURGH MORPHOLOGY

Street Layout: (Masterton, 1962, 31-2) proposed the thesis that Dunfermline lay initially on a north-south route, leading to Queensferry, and that once Kinghorn became a more important direct route across the Forth instead of Queensferry, Dunfermline lost some importance and the burden of traffic shifted from Collier Row (Bruce Street) to an east-west direction along the High Street. In that way, the burgh of Dunfermline served as a link between Stirling and the towns of the east coast of

Fife. It is debatable whether Kinghorn ever replaced Queensferry as an important crossing point on the Forth; however, the shift in traffic from Collier Row to High Street is a possibility.

The High Street of Dunfermline is situated along rising ground and was the commercial centre of the burgh which housed both the Tolbooth and Market Cross. It was the only street in fifteenth-century Dunfermline which was paved with causeway stones (Robertson, 1973, 11).

Beyond the East Port which terminated one end of High Street was a road known as the Gallowgate, which led to the Town Green. In the west High Street was met jointly by Collier Row, now called Bruce Street, and Kirkgate. Collier Row, which as a street name appears in the fifteenth-century town records, might indicate the presence of a coal mining fraternity in Dunfermline at an early date.

High Street was hemmed in by two back rows. To the north lay Rottenrow (Rattan Row), a street known today as West Queen Anne Street, while its continuation in the medieval period was called simply 'The Back Side'. To the south of the High Street was the Maygate and its continuation dubbed 'In Between the Wa's,' both routes forming a northern boundary to the abbey precinct. St. Catherine's Wynd was a narrow continuation of Kirkgate, which swept alongside the western boundary of the Abbey. The Cross Wynd pushed north from High Street and intersected the Back Side and Rottenrow. The New Row intersected the High Street at the East Port and provided a south-bound exit from the burgh. A small suburb, Netherton, known also as Villa Inferior, lay to the south of Dunfermline on a plain.

To accommodate the expanding population of eighteenth-century Dunfermline the Town Council undertook the planning and development of a great number of streets. Bridge Street as a continuation of High Street was formed after the construction of a bridge over the Tower Burn in the 1770s. Monastery Street, formed in 1762, and St. Margaret Street, laid out the following year, both went unnamed until early the following century (Henderson, 1879, 481). Guildhall Street had been planned by the council who, in 1752, bought a property in High Street in order to build 'a new street southward from the cross which would be a great ornament to the town and would encourage people to build on the opposite sides thereof ...' (Henderson, n.d., 59). In order to complete both Guildhall Street and St. Margaret Street as well as the extension to Maygate, Canmore Street, the Town Council levied two pennies on a pint of ale to raise extra revenue (Henderson, 1879, 481). Knabbie Row, which was later renamed Carnegie Street, was laid out in the latter half of the century in

anticipation of another bridge being built across the Pittencrieff Glen (Mercer, 1828, 187). Chalmer's Street, Pittencrieff Street and Woodhead Street were all begun in their present form in the late eighteenth century (Henderson, 1879, 194).

Market Area: High Street was the commercial centre of the burgh. Here were located the markets for flesh and meal, the cross and tron, and the Tolbooth, a symbol of the corporate unity of the burgh. By the early seventeenth century the meal and bread market was a covered market (Shearer, 1951, 102), which had to be refurbished the following century (Henderson, 1879, 436). A new flesh market with a slaughter house incorporated was built not far from the meal market in 1786 (Ferne, 1815, 19). The Market Cross is first mentioned in 1494 (Beveridge, 1917, no. 55). In 1620 the cross was replaced with one which contained a small house about twelve feet (3.66m) in diameter and ten feet (3.05m) high, the cross with the pillar adding another ten feet (3.05m) (Henderson, 1879, 292). Denounced as having 'a bad aspect' for the town, the Market Cross was removed in 1752, the same year Guildhall Street was laid out (Henderson, n.d., 65). The ground on which it stood was levelled, but the cross shaft was preserved and is now re-erected near where it stood anciently, surmounted by a lion rampart holding a shield on which is the cross of St. Andrew (Mercer, 1848, 183). The tron, first mentioned in 1549, stood at the south-west end of High Street (Ordnance Survey, Record Cards, Reference NT 08 NE 17).

Ports: Dunfermline had a number of port sites. The East Port, first mentioned in 1488, blocked the eastern entrance to High Street and was ordered to be removed in 1752 (Henderson, n.d., 65). In that same removal notice was one directed at the port spanning Cross Wynd, which had been built across that thoroughfare in 1499, a plague year (Beveridge, 1917, xxii). A port in Collier Row, often called the Mill Port, was first mentioned in 1478 (Henderson, 1879, 165) and was dismantled in 1754 (Ferne, 1815, no. 11).

The West Port stood in St. Catherine's Wynd and received its first notice in a 1326 charter which alluded to an almshouse dedicated to St. Catherine which stood outwith that port (Henderson, 1879, 123). There was reputedly a port in Rottenrow erected in 1607 (Henderson, 1879, 264), while the Nether Yett of the abbey is mentioned twice in fifteenth-century council records (Beveridge, 1917, xxii). The Tolbooth Port, situated at the foot of Collier Row, consisted merely of an archway under a large stone stair which provided access to the middle floor of the tolbooth.

Bridge: Access to the town from the west for years was only by a small bridge situated deep in the glen. A new bridge was erected in 1767-1770 in direct line of the High Street and provided a much easier access to Dunfermline (Mercer, 1828, 95-6).

BUILDINGS

Malcolm Canmore's Tower: Tradition has assigned the remains of a rectangular structure located at the top of a rocky precipice some 180 yards (164m) west of the abbey to Malcolm Canmore. Fordun noted that the wedding of Malcolm and Margaret was celebrated at a place 'by nature strongly fortified in itself being surrounded by a dense forest and fortified in front with very precipitous rocks' (Henderson, 1879, 3). Although Fordun did not mention any tower, belief has sprung up that remains to the west of the abbey were those of a tower of Malcolm III. The Ancient Monuments Commission in its report on Fife refused to date the remains, whose walls measure thirty-three feet (10.1m) by twelve-and-a-half feet (3.7m), as facing stones had been removed, thus giving no indication of its period (RCAHM, 1933, 122).

Abbey: Dunfermline was a Benedictine house founded by St. Margaret. The Abbey church was subsequently built overlaying the foundations of an earlier church founded by Queen Margaret (RCAHM, 1953, 100, 106). The plan of Queen Margaret's church was laid bare during excavations in 1916 and consists of a nave with a square tower; a choir and apse appear to have been added later but at a slightly different angle. (Ordnance Survey, Record Cards, Reference NT 08 NE 1). That church's foundations have been traced along the floor of the nave which covers it. The nave of the church, measuring 186 feet (56.7m) by 55 feet (16.8m), dates largely from the twelfth century and is 'one of the finest surviving examples of Scoto-Norman monastic architecture', although it is incomplete (RCAHM, 1933, 107). Today, the nave is in use as the vestibule of the parish church which dates from 1821, having been built over the site of the monastic church choir.

Of the conventual buildings, primarily only the upper buildings of the dormer and reredorter remain to the south of the graveyard which now occupies the site of the cloister and most of the east range (Ordnance Survey, Record Cards, Reference NT 08 NE 2). These buildings are all fourteenth-century, the earlier conventual buildings having been destroyed by Edward I in 1303/4. On the south these buildings are separated by a terrace crossed by a late fourteenth-century guest house. That guest house, transformed into a royal palace under the direction of James VI, also provided a

dwelling for his consort (Ordnance Survey, Record Cards, NT 08 NE 2).

King James VI also ordered work to be carried out on the remaining church structure, for the reformers had despoiled the conventual buildings. A steeple was substituted for a bell tower, while a porch was also built, a gable refurbished and the 'uncouth buttresses' were constructed in the same period (Henderson, 1879, 234-5). By the end of the eighteenth century, the reporter in the Statistical Account lamented 'a stranger may well be surprised to find the church of a town so prosperous and thriving, and which was externally so grand in appearance, so miserably fitted up within' (Sinclair, 1793, xiii, 454).

Chapels: In addition to the Abbey and church which was, of course, the chief ecclesiastical institution of Dunfermline, there were a number of chapels and hospitals in the area. St. Catherine's chapel lay to the northwest of the abbey church, while another chapel, St. Ninian's founded in the late fifteenth century, stood between High Street and Rottenrow. St. Mary's chapel stood on the south side of Nethererton, the last vestiges having been removed in 1814 (Beveridge, 1917, xxix). St. Leonard's hospital dates to at least the late sixteenth century and was located outside Nethererton on the road to Queensferry. Vestiges of this hospital were reputedly still visible in the eighteenth century (Chalmers, 1844, 453). An almshouse existed in Dunfermline in 1488 'which stood without the east yett on the north side of the causeway' (Chalmers, 1844, 449).

Tolbooth: The Tolbooth of Dunfermline was first mentioned in 1488 (Ross, 1864, 14). It is believed that the Tolbooth suffered damage in the 1624 fire which swept the burgh (Chalmers, 1844, 270). It was removed in 1769 to make way for the opening up of Bridge Street. A large stone stair which descended fan-shaped onto the street and under which a cart loaded with hay could pass was a central feature of that structure (Henderson, 1879, 487). The building also had three storeys, two of stone, a third of timber. The new Town House finished in 1771 had council offices on its first floor, a town hall on the second and the prison 'considered too small for that purpose' was located on the third floor (Ferne, 1815, 18).

Houses: There were at least three pre-Reformation references to slated roofs in Dunfermline: 1489, 1499, 1506 (Beveridge, 1917, xxi, no. 13). By the eighteenth century, however, it was reported that most of the houses were partially of timber construction with heath and furze roofs and 'uncouth stone stairs' which projected so far into the streets that 'they nearly met in some places', thus providing a traffic hazard (Henderson, 1879, 369).

Wells: Among the wells which surrounded Dunfermline was the now unused 'Wallace Spa' well located at the foot of Tower Hill, the site of Malcolm Canmore's Tower (Ordnance Survey, Record Cards, NT 08 NE 5). A well stood near the tron in the south west end of the High Street (Chalmers, 1844, 196). The Town Council in 1688 granted permission to have a well sunk in waste ground outside the East Port (Shearer, 1951, 289).

Mills: An early reference to a mill at Dunfermline occurs in an 1150 charter of confirmation of David I which granted a tenth part of the mill to the monks (Lawrie, 1905, 169). Many mills lined the banks of the Tower Burn by the eighteenth century. Pennant during his travels in 1772 recorded five mills; three for corn, a fourth for flax, and the fifth for beating iron (Skinner, 1966, 188). Chalmers noted the presence of a flour mill erected in 1784 or 1787 which until 1819 had been water driven (NSA, 1845, ix, 891).

Archaeology

PREVIOUS WORK

In 1916, the then Ministry of Works uncovered the foundations of two earlier churches below the nave of Dunfermline Abbey. In 1974, excavations in the Pend/Monastery Street area revealed foundations of the gatehouse, frater and palace block ...' and '... a quantity of medieval pottery was recovered' (Robertson and Williams, 1975). With these exceptions, no archaeological excavation has so far been undertaken within the historic core of Dunfermline.

A number of finds of interest are, however, noted from the burgh.

1. Kiln: During recent excavations in the High Street, at the corner of New Row, the almost intact remains of a kiln were uncovered at considerable depth. The top of the kiln lay c. 2.0m beneath the roadway, while the kiln itself was about 1.0m high and 2.0m deep. It was recorded photographically by Mr. John Edwards of Dunfermline Museum, who also supplied the details given here. An extract from Sasine, also supplied by Mr. Edwards, identifies the kiln as belonging to one Arrock's Smithy, which projected into the present widened High Street at this point, sometime before 1807. The most important factor here, however, is the depth to which these structures survive, which suggests that other remains will be preserved in similar locations along the High Street.

2. Assorted material, Bruce Street. A number of objects were recovered by the writer from a black occupation soil revealed by foundation trenches for the extension of the old Drill Hall presently under construction in Bruce Street. Most of these, including pottery, glass and clay pipe fragments were of eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century date, although a single potsherd may date back to the thirteenth century. The occupation soil is probably redeposited, perhaps from the street frontage when the Drill Hall itself was built, and only occurs on the southern side of the site. It does indicate, nevertheless, that such material may survive elsewhere in this area where unaffected by deep foundations. The finds have been passed on to the Dunfermline Museum.

3. Brooch: An octagonal silver brooch, $1\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter and complete with pin; inscribed in panels on both sides, the entire inscription reads IHESUS NAZARENVS

REX IVDEORVM. Found under the floor of the Abbey. (Callander, 1924, 168, 171, 176, and fig. 4.4).

4. Crucifix and other objects: A cast lead crucifix, a Crossraguel penny and two French jettons, from the Frater sub-croft of Dunfermline Abbey. ('Donations', PSAS, lxxiii, 334).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

Certainly one of the most pressing archaeological problems in Dunfermline is the identification of the site of the failed Royal Burgh. What little evidence there is suggests that this lay on the right or west bank of the Tower Burn (above, pp. 1-2), and probably within the policies of the present Pittencrieff Park. A possible location is suggested on the historical plan. Clearly, the identification of this site - all of a single, brief period and probably undisturbed by any later activity - could be of immense historical and archaeological importance to the study of Dunfermline in particular and to Scottish burgh studies in general. Further consideration is given to this problem below.

The church and abbey of Dunfermline is much better understood, although further clarification of the layout would be desirable. Excavation and documentary research would go a long way towards this, although as a guardianship monument, the site is under no threat.

In more general terms, but with specific reference to the abbatial burgh, a number of problems emerge which are common to the bulk of Scottish towns. Firstly, little is known of the materials and methods of construction used in the various domestic, public and industrial buildings of the burgh particularly in the earlier phases. We do know, however, that they were, with a few more robust exceptions, sufficiently combustible to allow the greater part of the town to be destroyed by fire in 1624 (above, p.4). Only by archaeological methods can the actual materials used be determined. At the same time, valuable information might be extracted which would establish the ground plan and size of the buildings together with artefactual evidence for the domestic possessions of the Dunfermline burghers, their industries and their trade. Scientific analysis of the structures and objects recovered would go a long way towards understanding social conditions: housing, diet and health.

Other more specific problems exist. It would be of immense benefit to recover the course of the ditch dug around the burgh on the orders of Edward I (above, p.3) as this would identify the size of the burgh in the early fourteenth century. By relating

definable boundaries to datable episodes in Dunfermline history, the expansion of the burgh could be much more accurately reconstructed than is attempted here. In addition, this might assist in the solution of the question of the shift of emphasis from a N-S axis to an E-W one, discussed at length above. Elsewhere, the medieval street pattern appears to be relatively simple and essentially preserved in that of the present day with the exception of a few additional thoroughfares such as Guildhall Street and Bridge Street. A few important individual sites also require investigation, such as the location of the Cross Wynd and West Ports; St. Cuthbert's Chapel; the almshouse, and St. Mary's Chapel, Netherton.

A further problem concerns the enigmatic structure known as Malcolm Canmore's tower (above, p.8). Although these remains are not threatened in any way, clarification of their date through archaeological investigation would be both useful and desirable.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL POTENTIAL

With the exception of those chance discoveries outlined above, little is known of the survival or otherwise of archaeological deposits within Dunfermline. What little can be inferred from such discoveries is, however, encouraging. There seems to be a strong likelihood that a considerable depth of undisturbed remains exists along the southern side of the High Street, where undisturbed by later cellars. Nevertheless, the extent of buildings with cellars marked on the plan comes only from observation from street level and it is likely that many more exist which are not readily detectable. Even so, the very deeply buried remains of the kiln described above might suggest that early deposits may survive at sufficient depth to have missed destruction from this direction, although later deposits will undoubtedly have been swept away.

In Bruce Street, the remains exposed in the foundation trenches had been previously disturbed, and existed in depth only on the southern side of the site. It is possible, however, as these deposits contained mainly very late material, that earlier occupation debris, too deeply buried to be disturbed by the construction of the drill hall, still survives. Sites in this area should be regarded as possibly productive.

Elsewhere in the town information is not forthcoming at present, and the issue is further clouded by extensive terracing in all areas. It is likely that survival will be sporadic, but on sites levelled up for terracing, and not cut into, deposits of early material should be considerable and well-preserved. However, further investigation

is necessary before an accurate assessment can be made.

With regard to the early King's burgh, tentatively located on the other side of Pittencrieff Glen from the Abbey, the lack of subsequent development suggests that survival ought to be good if the site indeed lies in that area. It is possible that an analysis of aerial photographs might help in locating the site, as of course might careful search through documentary sources. Although this area is not threatened by redevelopment, the importance of the location and examination of this site surely justifies further research.

FUTURE REDEVELOPMENT

The greater part of the larger scale redevelopment currently proposed for Dunfermline lies outside the medieval heart of the town, notably in the area north of James Street. At present, little is firmly proposed for the historic centre itself, although in view of a number of unused or derelict buildings, particularly in the Chapel Street / Queen Anne Street area, such redevelopment will no doubt take place in the foreseeable future. The immediate threat, however, appears to be low.

Outwith the central area itself, demolition of seventeenth and eighteenth century suburbs has gone on apace. Large areas have already been cleared, although in many cases these are now occupied by car parks or very welcome and beautiful garden areas. Hopefully, the archaeology on these sites remains intact, at least for the present. The most serious threat to the archaeology of this later period lies in Netherton, where extensive changes have already taken place and more are to follow in the near future.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A significant portion of the medieval core (roughly enclosed by Bruce Street, Kirkgate; Maygate, Abbot Street, Canmore Street, New Row, Bonnar Street, Queen Anne Street and Chapel Street) has been already redeveloped, mainly for new retail shopping premises, while a few sites are presently under construction. Within the remaining area further sites will inevitably be redeveloped in the future to meet changing urban requirements. It is on these sites that the best opportunities for archaeological investigation will arise. As sites are cleared, time must be allowed to permit such investigation to proceed before redevelopment, in the first instance to decide whether such sites are likely to be archaeologically productive. This primary stage would ideally take the form of small-scale test excavations. On the basis of the findings from these, discussion should take place on the need for further

investigation on sites in the immediate vicinity. In the event of considerable survival, a decision must be reached amongst those interested parties as to the viability of major excavations taking place. If development contracts for sites within this core area include a time-tabling clause to allow for preliminary investigation, delay and inconvenience can be kept to a minimum. This course of action should apply to all sites within the area defined above, particularly street-front sites, until the extent of survival throughout the centre has been established when more specific archaeological needs can be defined.

Conservation areas in Dunfermline are extensive and comprehensive. It is suggested here, however, that on archaeological grounds, Area C on the plan could profitably be slightly enlarged to include the unit bounded by Bonnar Street, James Street and East Port. Early settlement, just outwith the town port, is likely in this area.

Dunfermline is one of the most interesting of our historic burghs. It lies in the rich farmlands of Fife, and in one of the most important industrial areas of Scotland. It was, moreover, an early Royal centre, and enjoyed the patronage of the crown over considerable periods. Despite this, much of its history is obscure, and it is therefore of vital importance that research be carried out to establish the position held by the burgh in its local, national, and international contexts, its physical development, and the social conditions in which these occurred.

Archaeology, with the corresponding documentary research, constitutes the primary method by which information relating to the past development of our historic towns will be extracted in the future. Every effort should be made to allow such investigation to proceed as and when the opportunities arise.

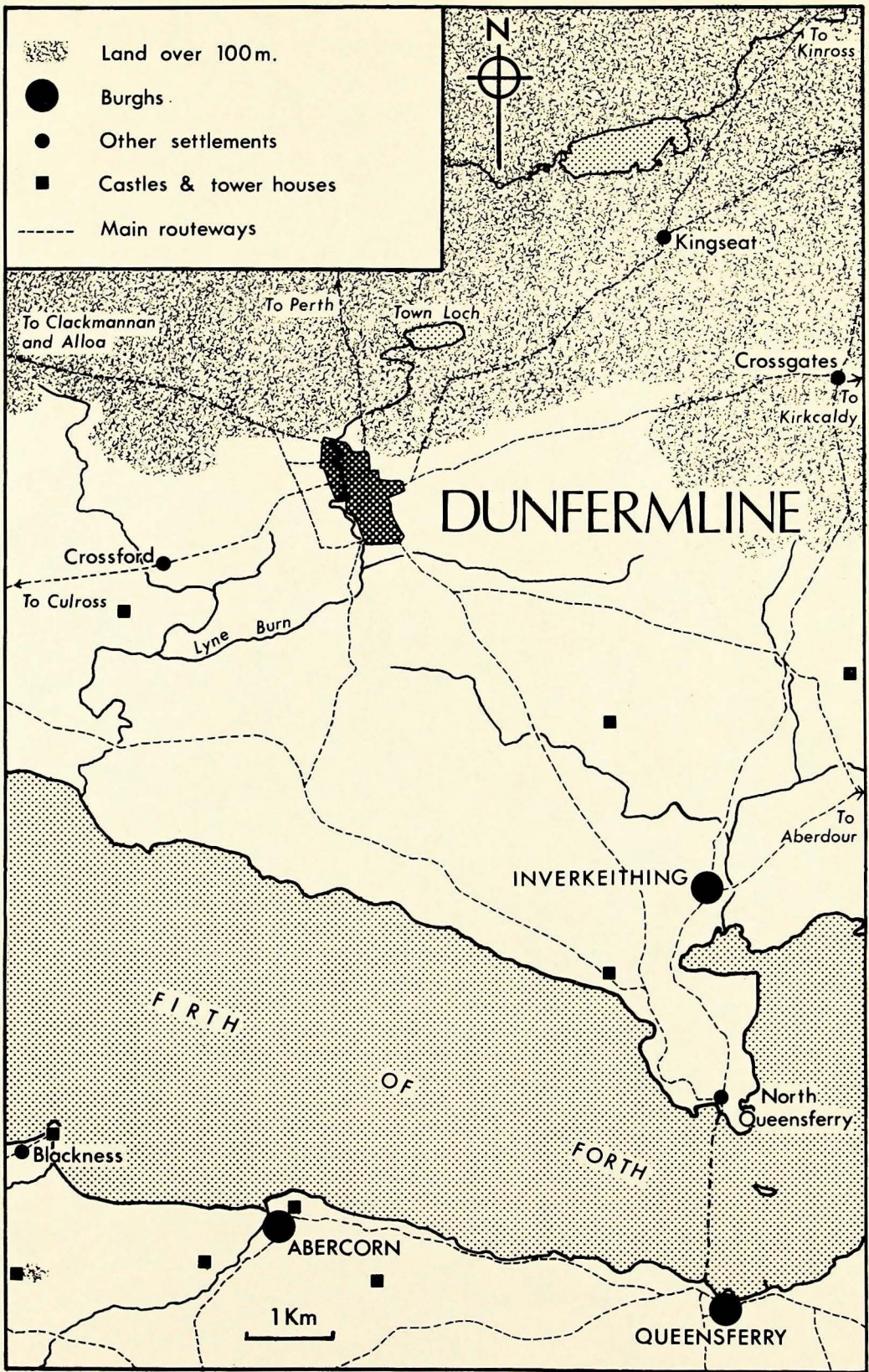
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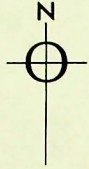
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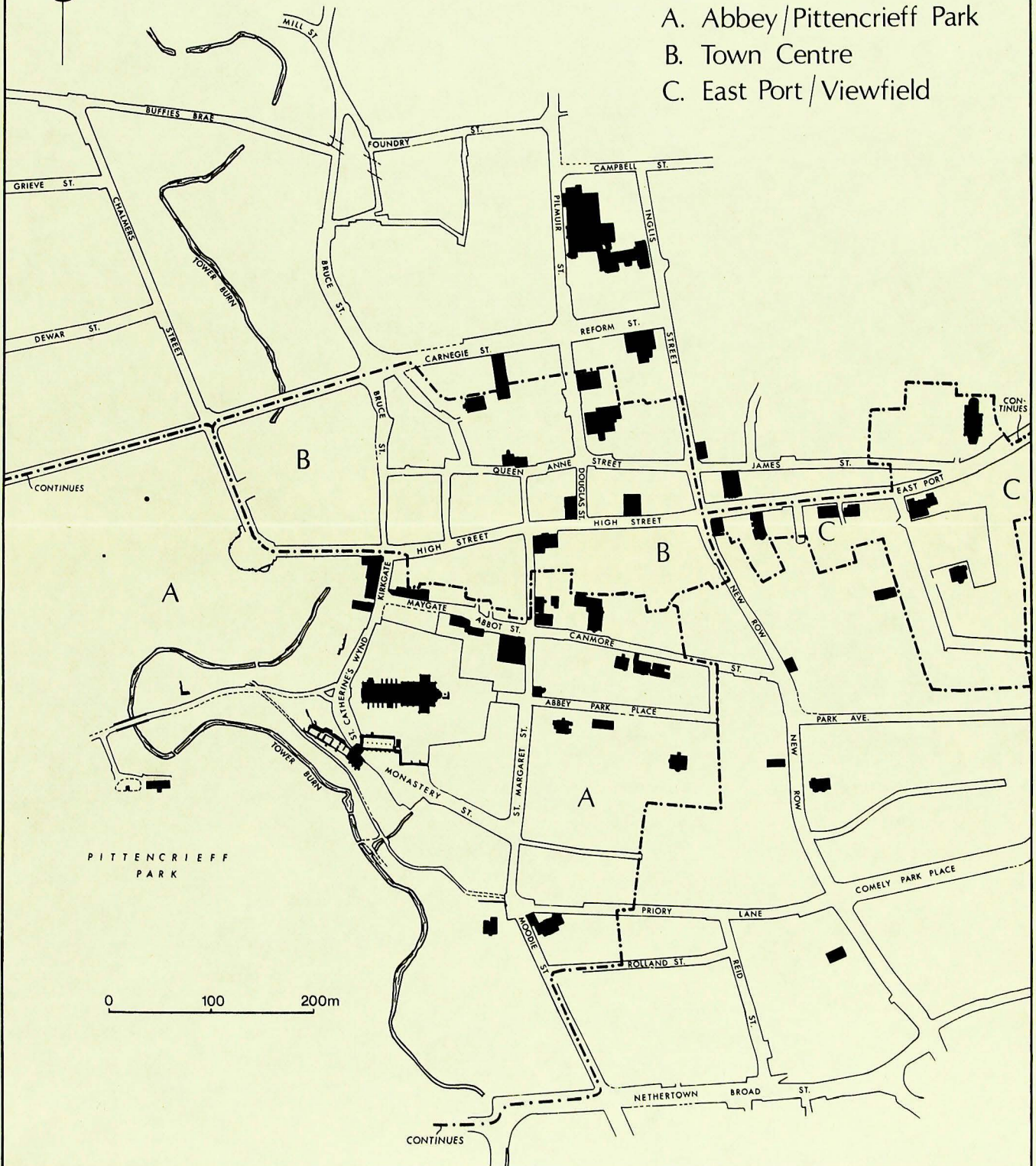
■ Listed buildings – all categories

--- Conservation Areas:

A. Abbey/Pittencrieff Park

B. Town Centre

C. East Port/Viewfield



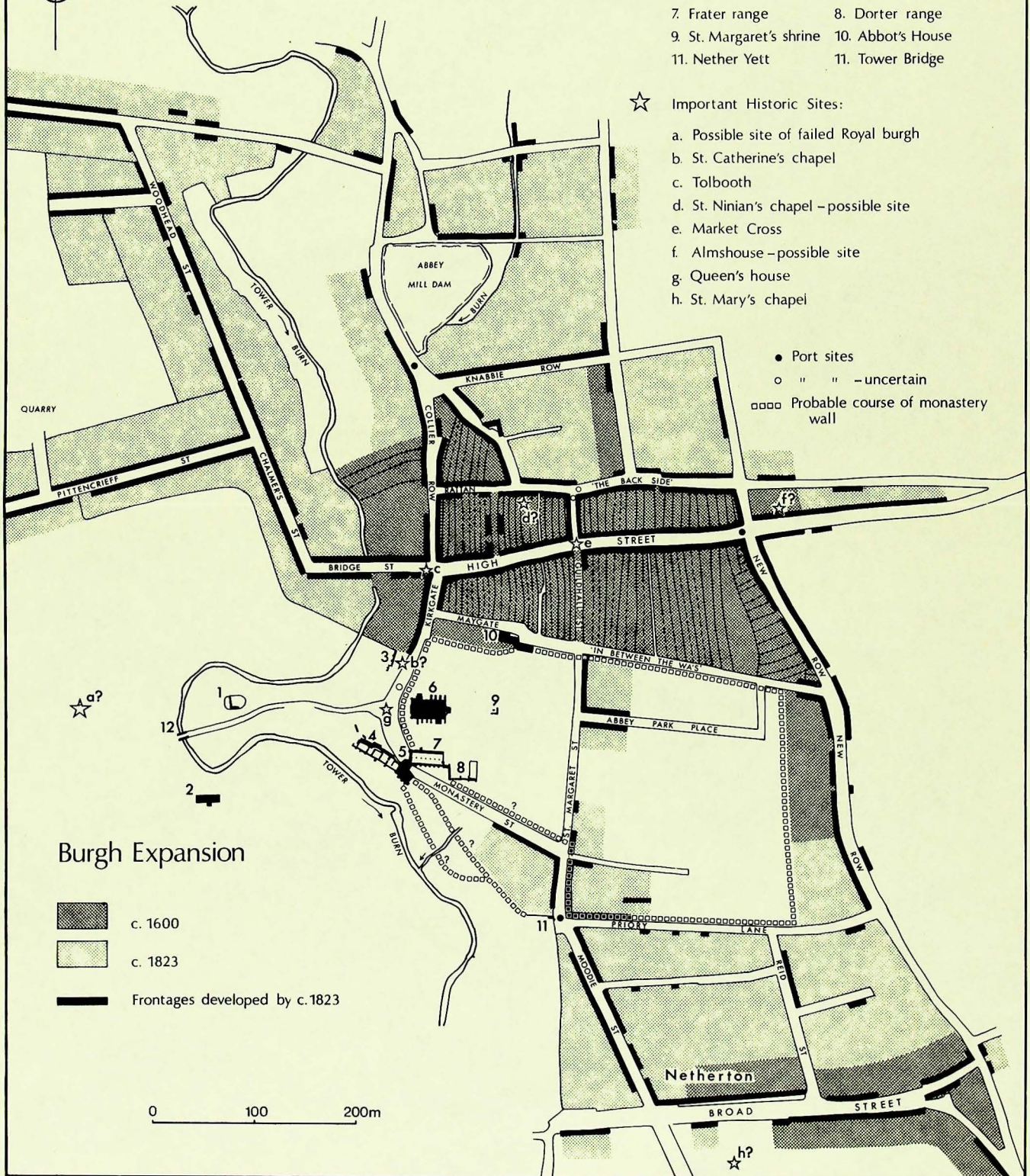
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- Extant Historic Buildings:
- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. 'Canmore's Tower' | 2. Pittencrieff House |
| 3. Abbey-fragments | 4. The Palace |
| 5. 'The Pends' | 6. The Nave |
| 7. Frater range | 8. Dorter range |
| 9. St. Margaret's shrine | 10. Abbot's House |
| 11. Nether Yett | 11. Tower Bridge |

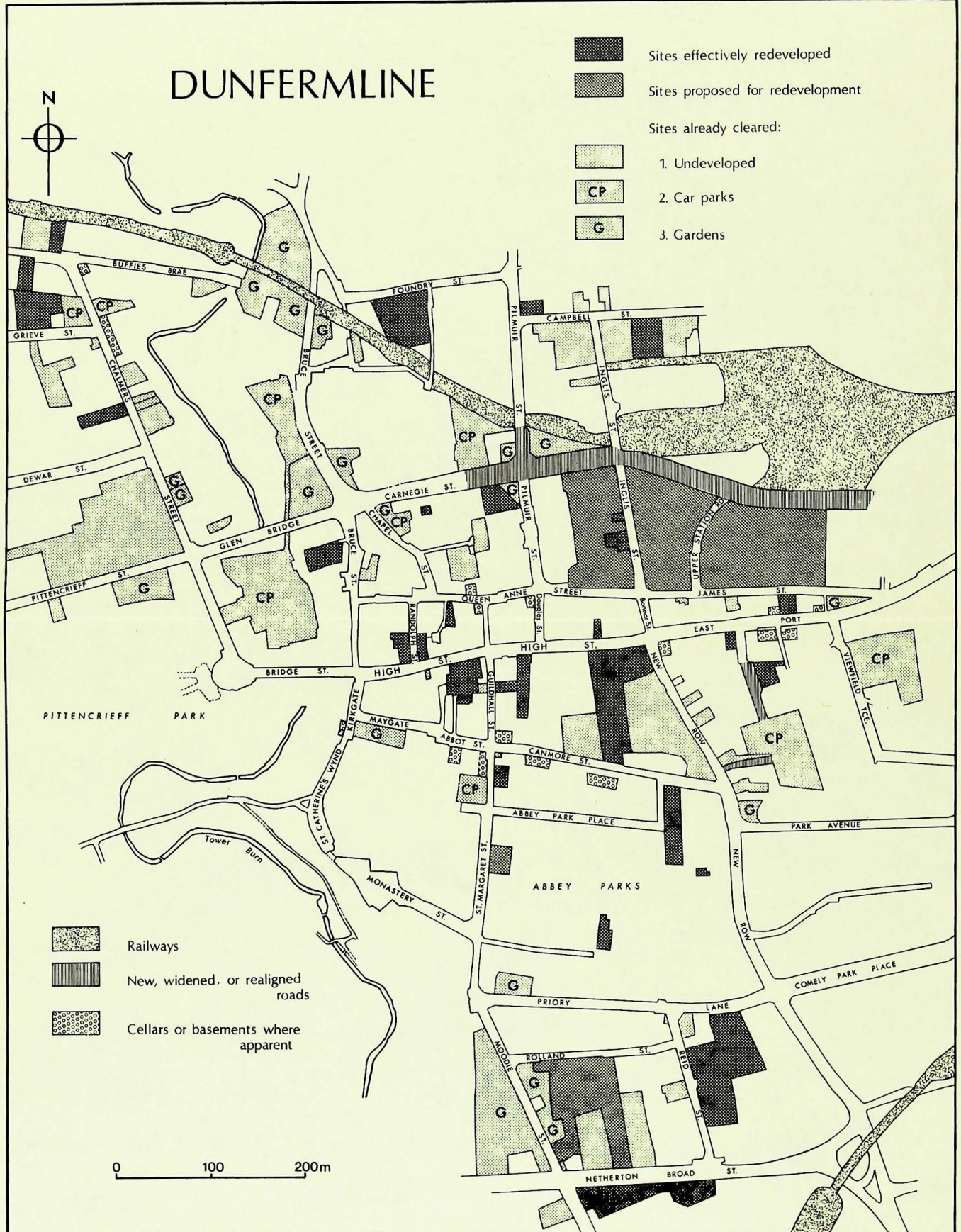
- ☆ Important Historic Sites:
- a. Possible site of failed Royal burgh
 - b. St. Catherine's chapel
 - c. Tolbooth
 - d. St. Ninian's chapel - possible site
 - e. Market Cross
 - f. Almshouse - possible site
 - g. Queen's house
 - h. St. Mary's chapel

- Port sites
- " " - uncertain
- Probable course of monastery wall



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