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HISTORIC TOWNS

RESEARCH DIRECTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

EDITED BY E PATRICIA DENNISON

CBA Research Report 122

Conservation and change in historic towns

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Research directions for the future

edited by E Patricia Dennison

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1999

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Summary

This multi-author volume originates in a conference, based on the theme of 'Conservation and change in historic towns', run by the Centre for Scottish Urban History, Department of Scottish History, University of Edinburgh in September 1996. The conference attracted a wide audience, reflecting the interest and concerns of a varied spectrum of opinion, both professional and lay. It included historians, geographers, archaeologists, architects, planners, conservation officers, design consultants, construction engineers, civil servants, town councillors, students and the interested public. Such a variety of potential approaches to the problems associated with urban conservation in a necessarily changing world triggered lively discussion, not only during the two-day conference, but for some long time afterwards.

What began to emerge from this extended debate was a key question: 1997 saw the 25th anniversary of the report *Scotland's Medieval Burghs: an archaeological heritage in danger*, written by Grant Simpson and colleagues for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; it was of timely significance, echoing, for Scotland, much of the concern over irreplaceable loss of urban archaeology expressed in Carolyn Heighway's *The erosion of history*. The Scottish report had concluded with: 'we have a duty to hand on a heritage to the future. If Scotland's interest in her history is more than superficial, the rescue of our towns should command the support of every thinking Scot'. Had we, in the closing years of the century, succeeded or failed?

But as we talked with colleagues in England, Wales, Ireland and further afield, it became clear that we are, throughout Europe, facing similar problems in our aims to conserve what is good in our urban historic past, while accepting that towns are, of necessity, ever-changing. Our responses to the problems were not identical. Elements of good practice and less worthy tokenism could be found everywhere; and it became very clear that we had much to learn from each other. This volume is one contribution to that essential, on-going debate.

The volume is in six parts: an introduction to the contributions; an assessment of the European experience; the Scottish scene; examples of conservation strategies in Europe; a brief overview of changing perceptions; and a conclusion, drawing together the contributions and asking the vital question: where are we going from here?

Zusammenfassung

Dieser, aus vielen Verfassern zusammengesetzte Band, ist das Ergebnis einer Tagung zum Thema 'Denkmalschutz und Wandel in historischen Städten', organisiert vom Zentrum für Schottische Stadtgeschichte, Department of Scottish History, University of Edinburgh, die im September 1996 stattfand. Die Tagung zog eine vielfältige Zuhörerschaft an, die das Interesse und die Anliegen eines breitangelegten Meinungsspektrums von Fachleuten und Laien wiederspiegelte. Sie bestand aus Historikern, Geographen, Archäologen, Architekten, Planern, Denkmalschützern, Entwurfsberatern, Bauingenieuren, Beamten, Stadträten, Studenten und der interessierten öffentlichkeit. Solch eine Vielfalt potentieller Betrachtungsweisen zu den Problemen des Städteschutzes, in einer Welt, die sich zwangsläufig im ständigen Wandel befindet, löste eine lebhafte Diskussion aus, nicht nur während der zweitägigen Tagung, sondern noch für lange Zeit danach.

Was aus sich aus dieser erweiterten Debatte herauskristallisierte war eine Schlüsselfrage: 1997 sah das 25. Jubiläum des Berichts *Scotland's Medieval Burghs: an archaeological heritage in danger*, verfasst von Grant Simpson und Mitarbeitern der *Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (Gesellschaft für schottische Altertumsforschung)*; dieser Bericht war von zeitgemässer Bedeutung für Schottland, da er die Besorgnis über den unersetzlichen Verlust der Städtearchäologie reflektierte, die in Carolyn Heighway's *The erosion of history* zum Ausdruck kam. Der schottische Bericht kam zu folgendem Schluss: 'Wir haben die Pflicht unser Kulturerbe an die Zukunft weiterzureichen. Wenn das Interesse Schottlands an seiner Geschichte mehr als nur oberflächlich sein soll, muss die Rettung unserer Städte die Unter-

stützung eines jeden denkenden Schotten gebieten.' Waren wir am Abschluss dieses Jahrhunderts erfolgreich oder sind wir gescheitert?

Im Gespräch mit Kollegen aus England, Wales, Irland und anderen Ländern wurde klar, dass wir in ganz Europa ähnlichen Problemen gegenüberstehen, vor allem in der Zielsetzung, schützenswertes unserer Stadtgeschichte zu erhalten und gleichzeitig zu akzeptieren, dass sich Städte im ständigen Wandel befinden. Unsere Lösungen zu diesen Problemen waren verschiedenartig. Beispiele guter Praktiken und weniger wertvolle, symbolische Gesten wurden überall beobachtet; und es wurde ebenso sehr deutlich, dass wir viel von uns gegenseitig zu lernen hatten. Dieser Band ist ein Beitrag zu dieser notwendigen und laufenden Debatte.

Der Band besteht aus sechs Teilen: eine Einleitung zu den Beiträgen; eine Bewertung der Erfahrungen aus Europa; die schottische Szene; Beispiele von Denkmalschutzstrategien in Europa; ein kurzer überblick über die Veränderung der Wahrnehmung; und ein Rückschluss, der die Beiträge zusammenfasst und die Schicksalsfrage aufwirft: Welche Richtung werden wir in der Zukunkt einschlagen?

Résumé

L'origine de cet ouvrage auquel ont contribué plusieurs auteurs remonte à un colloque, sur le thème 'Conservation et évolution dans les villes historiques', organisé en septembre 1996 par le Centre d'Histoire urbaine du département d'Histoire écossaise de l'Université d'Édimbourg. Ce colloque attira un public très divers, reflétant l'intérêt et les inquiétudes d'une large gamme d'opinions parmi les spécialistes comme chez les profanes. S'y retrouvèrent historiens, géographes, archéologues, architectes, urbanistes, conservateurs des monuments historiques, conseillers en aménagement, ingénieurs en génie civil, fonctionnaires, conseillers municipaux, étudiants et membres du public intéressés par le sujet. Une telle diversité dans l'abord potentiel des problèmes liés à la conservation dans un monde nécessairement changeant déclencha de vifs débats, non seulement au cours des deux journées que dura le colloque mais longtemps après la fin de celui-ci.

Une question clé commença à se dégager de ces discussions approfondies. 1997 vit le 25ème anniversaire du rapport *Villes médiévales d'Écosse: un patrimoine archéologique en danger*, rédigé par Grant Simpson et ses collègues pour la société des archéologues écossais; un rappel opportun qui, en Écosse, faisait écho à un grand nombre des inquiétudes sur la perte irremplaçable de l'archéologie urbaine exprimées par Carolyn Heighway dans *L'érosion de l'Histoire*. Le rapport écossais concluait ainsi: 'Nous avons le devoir de transmettre un patrimoine aux générations à venir. Si l'intérêt que porte l'Écosse à son histoire n'est pas seulement superficiel, la sauvegarde de nos villes devrait avoir le soutien de tout Écossais capable de réflexion'. Avions-nous, durant les dernières années de ce siècle, réussi ou échoué?

Au cours de nos entretiens avec nos collègues en Angleterre, au Pays de Galles, en Irlande et plus loin, il devint évident que nous nous trouvons, dans toute l'Europe, face à des problèmes similaires pour conserver ce que notre passé urbain a de bon, tout en acceptant que les villes doivent nécessairement évoluer sans cesse. Mais nos réponses aux problèmes n'étaient pas identiques. Des éléments de bonne pratique et, moins dignes d'intérêt, des exemples de coopération symbolique étaient présents dans tous les pays; il était clair que nous avions beaucoup à apprendre les uns des autres. Cet ouvrage est une participation à ce débat essentiel toujours actuel.

Ce volume comporte six parties: une introduction aux divers articles; une évaluation de l'expérience européenne; la situation en Écosse; des exemples de stratégies de conservation; un bref aperçu des perceptions changeantes et, en conclusion, une synthèse des articles qui pose la question cruciale: quel est maintenant le chemin à suivre?

Achoimre

Is é a chuir tús leis an imleabhar seo ná comhdháil dar teideal 'Caomhnú agus Athrú i mBailte Stairiúla' a d'eagraigh Roinn Stair na mBailte nAlbannach san Ollscoil i nDún Éideann i mí Meán Fomhair 1996. Tháinig an lucht éisteachta ó chian is ó chóngar, rud a léiríonn suim an phobail in ábhar dá leithéid. Ina measc bhí lucht staire, tíreolaíochta agus seandálaíochta, ailtirí, lucht pleanála agus caomhnú, dearthóirí comhairleacha, innealtóirí tógála, státseirbhísigh, comhairleoirí baile, mic léinn agus an gnáth-phobal. Ní lia duine ná tuairim agus ba bhíogúil anamúil a pléadh na fadhbanna éagsúla a bhaineann le caomhnú cathrach sa lá atá inniu ann nuair atá an saol ag síor-athrú inár dtimpeall. Lean an díospóireacht ar feadh i bhfad i ndiaidh na comhdhála féin.

Ba léir ó imeachtaí na comhdhála go raibh ceist mhór amháin ag cur isteach ar a lán a bhí i láthair – cad a bhí i ndán don oidhreacht seandálaíochta cathrach in Albain? Tá cúig bhliain is fiche sleamhnaithe thart ó foilsíodh an tuarascáil dar teideal *Scotland's Medieval Burghs: an archaeological heritage in danger* (*Bailte Méanaoiseacha na hAlban. Oidhreacht Seandálaíochta i mBaol*), a scríobh Grant Simpson agus comhleacaithe leis do Chumann Arsaíochta Alban. Ba thráthúil anois smaoineamh arís ar an tuarascáil seo mar gurb é an téama céanna a luaigh Carolyn Heighway ina leabhar féin *The erosion of history* (*Creimeadh na Staire*), sin é chomh tubaisteach is a bheadh sé dá gcaillfí an oidhreacht seandálaíochta ins na bailte. Seo mar a labhair Grant Simpson agus é ag cur críoch lena thuarascáil: 'tá sé de dhualgas orainn ár n-oidhreacht a chaomhnú ó ghlúin go glúin. Ma tá aon suim dáiríre ag muintir na hAlban i stair a dtíre beidh ar gach Albanach machnamhach tacaíocht a thabhairt don iarracht a dhéanfar chun ár mbailte a shábháil'. Sí an cheist ar deireadh, agus sinn ar bhruach na mílaoise, an raibh éirithe linn nó an raibh teipthe orainn?

Ach dé réir is a bhíomar ag plé len ár gcomhleacaithe ó thíortha eile – Sasana, an Bhreatain Bheag, Éire agus áiteanna eile níos faide i gceín – cuireadh ina luí orainn go bhfuil na fadhbanna céanna maidir leis an gcaomhnú cathrach le feiceáil ar fud na hEorpa. Táimid go léir ar ár ndícheall chun na gnéithe stairiúla is fearr ins na bailte a shlánú ach ag an am céanna tá orainn glacadh leis go bhfuil na bailte féin ag síor-athrú. Ní bheadh an réiteach céanna ag gach éinne. D'fhéadfaí cleachtas macánta dáiríre agus cur i gcéill agus bréag-chaomhnú a fheicéail taobh le taobh pé áit a rachfaí. Tá sé an-soiléir dá bhrí sin gur mór atá againn le foghlaim óna chéile. Níl san imleabhar seo ach guth beag amháin san díospóireacht sin atá fós riachtanach.

Tá an saothar seo roinnte ina sé chodanna: réamhrá; meastachán ar imeachtaí san Eoraip; an caomhnú in Albain; samplaí de na polasaithe caomhnú san Eoraip; achoimre ar conas mar atá athrú ag teacht ar mheon an phobail; agus críoch ina ndéantar na páipéirí éagsúla a cheangal le chéile agus ina gcuirtear an phríomh-cheist: cá bhfuil ár dtriail amach anseo?

Crynodeb

Mae'r gyfrol hon, sydd yn waith sawl awdur, yn deillio o gynhadledd a oedd yn seiliedig ar y thema 'Cadwraeth a Newid mewn Trefi Hanesyddol' ac a drefnwyd ym mis Medi 1996 gan Ganolfan Hanes Trefol yr Alban, Adran Hanes yr Alban, Prifysgol Caeredin. Denodd y gynhadledd gynulleidfa eang, a oedd yn adlewyrchu amryw ddiddordebau a gwahaniaethau barn pobl broffesiynol a lleygwyr. Yr oedd yn cynnwys haneswyr, daearegwyr, archaeolegwyr, penseiri, cynllunwyr, swyddogion cadwraeth, ymgynghorwyr cynllunio a dylunio, peirianwyr adeiladwaith, gweision sifil, cynghorwyr tref, myfyrwyr, ac aelodau o'r cyhoedd oedd â diddordeb. Yr oedd y fath amrywiaeth o ddulliau posibl o fynd i'r afael â'r problemau sy'n gysylltiedig â chadwraeth drefol mewn byd sydd, o reidrwydd, yn newid, yn fodd i ysbrydoli trafodaeth fywiog, nid yn unig yn ystod y gynhadledd ddeuddydd, ond am gryn amser wedi iddi ddod i ben.

Yr hyn a ddechreuodd ddod i'r amlwg yn ystod y ddadl estynedig hon oedd cwestiwn allweddol: yr oedd 1997 yn flwyddyn dathlu 25 mlwyddiant cyhoeddi'r adroddiad *Scotland's Medieval Burghs: an archaeological heritage in danger*, o waith Grant

Simpson a'i gydweithwyr ar ran Cymdeithas Hynafiaethwyr yr Alban; gwaith amserol dros ben a oedd yn adlais, yn yr Alban, o gryn dipyn o'r gofid a fynegwyd gan Carolyn Heighway yn ei chyfrol *The erosion of history* ynghylch colli archaeoleg trefol am byth. Casgliad yr adroddiad hwn yn yr Alban oedd: 'mae'n ddyletswydd arnom i drosglwyddo treftadaeth i'r dyfodol. Os yw diddordeb Yr Alban yn ei hanes yn rhywbeth amgen na'r arwynebol yna dylai achub ein trefi fynnu cefnogaeth yr holl Albanwyr hynny sydd â'r gallu i feddwl'. Ym mlynyddoedd olaf y ganrif hon, a oeddem wedi llwyddo neu fethu?

Wrth i ni siarad â chydweithwyr yn Lloegr, yng Nghymru, yr Iwerddon, ac ymhellach i ffwrdd, un peth a ddaeth yn eglur oedd ein bod i gyd, ledled Ewrop, yn wynebu problemau tebyg i'n gilydd wrth i ni anelu at gadw'r hyn sy'n dda yn ein gorffennol hanesyddol trefol tra derbyniwn fod ein trefi, o reidrwydd, yn newid yn barhaus. Nid yr un oedd ein hymateb i'r problemau bob amser. Yr oedd elfennau o arfer da ac, yn llai derbyniol, rhyw wneud sioe o wella pethau i'w canfod ym mhob man; a daeth yn gwbl eglur fod gennym lawer i'w ddysgu oddi wrth ein gilydd. Y mae'r gyfrol hon yn un cyfraniad i'r ddadl hanfodol sydd ohoni.

Mae chwe rhan i'r gyfrol: cyflwyniad i'r cyfraniadau; asesiad o'r profiad Ewropeaidd; y sefyllfa yn Yr Alban; enghreifftiau o strategaethau cadwraeth yn Ewrop; golwg gyffredinol ar y ffordd y mae pethau'n newid; a chasgliad, sy'n tynnu'r cyfraniadau ynghyd ac yn holi'r cwestiwn hollbwysig: i ble'r awn i o'r fan hon?

Gearr-chunntas

Thainig an leabhar seo, anns a bheil iomadh ùghdar air a riochdachadh, a-mach a co-labhairt air a' chuspair 'Gleidhteachas agus Caochladh ann am Bailtean Eachdraidheil', a chaidh a chur air adhart leis a' Mheadhon airson Eachdraidh Cathaireil na h-Alba, Roinn Eachdraidh na h-Alba, Oilthigh Dhun Eideann, anns an t-Sultain 1996. Tharraing a' cho-labhairt luchd-eisdeachd farsaing, a' sealltainn an ùidh agus an cùram a bh' aig buidhnean eadar-dhealaichte anns a' chuspair, an dà chuid dreuchdail agus neo-dhreuchdail. Na luib bha eachdraichean, cruinn-eolaichean, àrceolaichean, ailteirean, luchd-planaigidh, oifigearan gleidhteachais, comhairlichean dealbhachaidh, innleadairean togalaiche, seirbheisichean-stàite, buill-comhairle, oileanaich agus sluagh poibleach. Seach gun robh na h-uidhir de bheachdan eadar-dhealaichte ann air mar a b' fhearr a dheiligte ri na duilgheadasan co-cheangailte ri gleidhteachas cathaireil ann an saoghal a dh' fheumas caochladh, thog iad deasbad inntinneach, chan ann a-mhain fad an dà latha mhair a' cho-labhairt, ach airson ùine mhòr na dhèidh.

Thainig aon cheist chudromach as an deasbad fharsaing seo: bha 1997 a' comharrachadh an 5mh bliadhna fichead bhon an nochd an aithisg, 'Scotland's Medieval Burghs'. Sgriobh Grant Simpson agus co-obraichean 'An archaeological heritage in danger' airson Comann Arsadairean na h-Alba: nochd e aig àm sonraichte, a' seaghachadh do dh' Alba mòran den uallach mun chall a bha a' tachairt a thaobh àrceolas cathaireil a chuir Carolyn Heighway an ceill le 'The erosion of history'. Chriochnaich an aithisg Albannach leis na faclan: 'tha e mar dhleasdanas oirnn ar dualachas a ghleidheadh dhan àm ri teachd. Ma tha ùidh Alba na h- eachdraidh gu bhith nas fhearr na ao-domhainn, feumaidh a h-uile neach an Alba, aig a bheil tuigse, an taic a chur ri oidhirp sabhailidh ar bailtean.' A bheil sinne, aig crioch na linne seo, air soirbheachadh no air failligeadh?

Ach mar a bha sinn a' bruidhinn ri co-obraichean ann an Sasainn, ´s a Chuimrigh, an Eirinn agus nas fhaide às, bha e soilleir gun robh na h-aon duiligheadasan againn, air feadh na Roinn Eorpa gu lèir, anns na h- oidhirpean a tha sinn a' deanamh gus na rudan is fhearr nar n- eachdraidh chathaireil a ghleidheadh. Aig an aon àm tha sinn mothachail gum feum bailtean caochladh. Cha robh na h-aon fhreagairtean againn dha na duilighdeasan. Bha eileamaidean de dheagh chleachdadh agus de dh' fhaoineas cuideachd rin lorg anns gach aite; agus bha e gu math follaiseach gun robh mòran againn ri ionnsachadh bho cach a chèile. Tha an leabhar seo na thabhartas mu choinneimh na deasbaid riatanaich mhaireannaich seo.

Tha an leabhar na shia earrannan: roi-radh air na h-aistean; measadh air tachartasan anns an Roinn Eorpa; an suidheachadh ann an Alba; eisimpleirean de roi-innleachdan gleidhteachais anns an Roinn Eorpa; gearr-shealladh air mar a tha beachdan ag atharrachadh; agus co-dhùnadh, a' tarraing nan aistean comhla agus a' foighneachd na ceist chudromaich: càit' a bheil sinn a' dol a-nis?

Preface *by Grant G Simpson*

On a chilly Saturday morning in the early spring of 1973, I met by arrangement my friend Colvin Greig, musician and archaeologist, at a demolition site on Broad Street in the centre of Aberdeen. The area had been under active surveillance for some months by interested local enthusiasts. But on that morning the levels visible beneath the now vanished buildings showed, as occupation strata, fragments of animal bone and pieces of medieval pottery. We realised that this had to be the first scientific rescue excavation of a medieval site in the ancient burgh of Aberdeen. Finance was provided by the Ancient Monuments Inspectorate of the Department of the Environment in Edinburgh; and a reasonably major dig was carried through between July and September, 1973. The directors were Catherine Brooks, John Dent and Colvin Greig. The results were of good quality, in both structures and finds. This was not the earliest urban rescue excavation in Scotland: smaller digs had already been conducted in Elgin, St Andrews and Linlithgow. But the Aberdeen effort truly caught the public imagination: when a series of evening lectures was mounted early in 1974, to report on the dig, the first lecture, on a bitter January night, was attended by about 300 Aberdonians.

When Scotland began to take action on urban rescue work in the early 1970s, the campaign was rather slow off the mark compared to continental and English operations. But in the context of an ancient kingdom, which commenced a process of true urbanisation in the 12th century, these archaeological activities were essential, vital and exciting. It is exceedingly unlikely that any extensive body of unknown Scottish medieval documents will ever emerge to amaze the scholarly world. But the archaeological finds made over the last 25 years or so have constituted an evidential revolution. More will yet come from the soil and much analysis of data is still to be carried through, especially in formulating broader conclusions about how the new materials affect our historical understanding of medieval urban existence.

As one of the midwives who assisted at the birth of Scotland's medieval urban archaeology as a modern discipline, I take great pleasure in welcoming and introducing the present volume. I am particularly glad that Scottish activity is here presented in a wide European context. Contributions from Ireland, England, Wales, Germany, Sweden and Switzerland provide specific comments, and continental overviews also help to raise our vision beyond burdensome national frontiers. In the Middle Ages, Scotland was a small country but also had a notably European outlook. That viewpoint deserves to be maintained and is so in what follows below.

PART I INTRODUCTION

1 Europe's historic towns: a future for their past?

by E Patricia Dennison

The seeds of this volume lie in a conference, based on the theme of 'Conservation and change in historic towns', run by the Centre for Scottish Urban History, Department of Scottish History, University of Edinburgh in September 1996. The conference attracted a wide audience, reflecting the interest and concerns of a broad spectrum of opinion, both professional and lay. It included historians, geographers, archaeologists, architects, planners, conservation officers, design consultants, construction engineers, civil servants, town councillors, students and the interested public. Such a variety of potential approaches to the problems associated with urban conservation in a necessarily changing world triggered lively discussion, not only during the two-day conference, but for some long time afterwards.

What began to emerge from this extended debate was a key question: 1997 saw the 25th anniversary of the report *Scotland's Medieval Burghs: an archaeological heritage in danger* written by Grant Simpson and colleagues for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; it was of timely significance, echoing, for Scotland, much of the concern over irreplaceable loss of urban archaeology expressed in Carolyn Heighway's *The erosion of history*. The Scottish report had concluded with: 'we have a duty to hand on a heritage to the future. If Scotland's interest in her history is more than superficial, the rescue of our towns should command the support of every thinking Scot'. Had we, in the closing years of the century, succeeded or failed?

But as we talked with colleagues in England, Wales, Ireland and further afield, it became clear that we are, throughout Europe, facing similar problems in our aims to conserve what is good in our urban historic past, while accepting that towns are, of necessity, ever-changing. Our responses to the problems were not identical. Elements of good practice and less worthy tokenism could be found everywhere; and it became very clear that we had much to learn from each other. This volume is merely one contribution to that essential, on-going debate.

The first key question is, of course, what exactly are 'historic towns'; how do we recognise, or mentally recreate, them – so that we can gain a meaningful understanding of our urban heritage? This theme is central to the volume. And it is not merely archaeologists and historians who wish to dig into the past; planners, conservationists, architects, geographers and civil servants place this search into a sometimes elusive urban culture high on their various agendas. For without this intimate understanding of the intrinsic value and purpose of the built form of past urban societies and their townscapes, and without a comprehension of the underlying urban values that informed the original, how can we possibly, with any confidence or legitimacy, plan for the future of historic towns?

This raises a crucial issue, one which is addressed by a number of the contributors to this volume: whose heritage is it, anyway, that we are trying to interpret and conserve? For whom are we doing it? How do we decide which features or parts of towns are to be conserved and which are to be destroyed or redeveloped? In Britain, almost nothing of local vernacular tradition has survived in industrial cities, whereas in central and eastern Europe this is not so. Much of this is a product of the slum clearance policies of the post-1945 years, which in themselves may be considered a virtue but, in reality, swept away much of our heritage. We do not, for example, have a single instance left, and these were by no means in slum condition, of the 'Dolly-town' houses, the prefabs set up in Rosyth, the naval base beside Dunfermline, to house the dockyard workers – a neat, and contemporary, solution to an acute need for homes and an intrinsic part of dockyard life in the aftermaths of two World Wars. In addition, the Welsh Affairs Committee considered views that Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments 'gives insufficient regard to the houses of the ordinary people', and consequently, there has recently been a renewed emphasis on Welsh vernacular buildings (as described in Chapter 16). Such is the momentum of change, however, that, for example, none of the once ubiquitous 19th-century 'courts' of small, often single-room, single-entry homes around a small courtyard, remains unaltered in Carmarthen.

Loss is exemplified dramatically in Dublin. The scale of destruction there has been stupendous; and one of the principal reasons for this, as shown in Chapter 15, was that almost no one who mattered politically or socially lived in the city centre; during the 19th century, the British and Protestant Ascendancy ruling élites abandoned the core of a once elegant city; in the 20th century, Irish republican and Catholic nationalist elements have hastened the processes of destruction by various means, both in the city centre and in the surrounding countryside. The past, of course, contains the seeds of its own destruction: in the case of Dublin, those seeds are deeply embedded in the city's colonial and post-colonial history (see Chapter 15).

This does, of course, link closely to the other big question for urban conservationists, and one raised forcefully in Chapter 2: what times do we value? –

and this question can become linked to political attitudes. Castles, for example, are a sensitive monument type in Wales, because they can challenge a certain view of national identity; they can be seen as ever-visible reminders of foreign conquest and displacement. As a result, Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments faces criticism from some quarters for an over-concentration of resources on these monuments. In Dublin, a process of revaluation is now taking place and the once-despised 'English' Georgian terraces are being conserved rather than demolished, although not yet scheduled or listed. Irish people are beginning to realise that these properties reflect the practical skills of Irish craftsmen and builders and that they are just as much part of Ireland's history as they are of England's. Even a cursory glance at Irish newspapers will reveal a plethora of on-going conservation and environmental controversies and debates (see Chapters 2 & 15).

Political attitudes and changes in political opinion inevitably impact upon the historic townscape. So does the economy, whether global or local. This is exemplified throughout Europe in the post-war years. The Second World War, in particular the bombing campaigns, resulted in the destruction of the historic centres of many European cities. Some cities, for example Arnhem (Holland), Bristol, Coventry and Voss (Norway), made little attempt to recreate or reconstruct their historic patterns; certain Cantons in Switzerland, although a small minority, display to this day a distinct lack of political will to accommodate the concerns of archaeology and conservation (see Chapter 17). Other cities, where differing political agendas operated and emotional attachments to the past were expressed differently, made genuine attempts to revive the old forms in an actual or approximate form, and to compare photographs of Augsburg (Germany) or Wurzburg (Germany) after bombing with their condition now, can, for many, inspire admiration. Equally distinctive has been the reconstruction of the war damaged centres of cities such as Warsaw and Poznań in Poland (see Chapter 2). Some of these towns are now archaeological deserts; this is certainly the case in medieval Stuttgart, the capital of Baden-Württemberg, and also in Friedrichshafen, situated on the Lake of Constance, and famous as the birthplace of the Zeppelin. Both, however, were more seriously damaged by redevelopment than by bombing. Indeed, in the state of Baden-Württemberg, out of a total of about 300 towns with medieval origins, some 250 have been involved in the huge programmes of redevelopment of their historic centres, with consequent great loss (see Chapter 11). The fate of many historic towns, in consequence, has been determined by political factors. In post-war Poland, reconstruction meant the celebration of Polish culture and language, as opposed to the hated Nazi agenda of destruction. And politics may still be seen at work to this day: Turkey's attitude to erstwhile Greek towns reflects as much long-term emnities as it does conservation policies.

Against this background, we need to address, with honesty, our achievements in the last quarter of a century or so. Have we handed on an urban heritage? Have we 'rescued' our towns in Scotland and the rest of Europe?

Firstly, all the contributions to this volume would suggest that it is fair to say that over these last 27 years there has emerged a greater awareness, in townscape management, of the need for conservation alongside a recognition of the inevitability of change; and, importantly, of the desirability of managing change rather than preventing it. In much of Europe, and in different ways, central and local government bodies have committed funding, not only to protect the archaeological heritage, but also to monitor urban development and raise public awareness of the value of irreplaceable facets of historic towns (see Chapter 19).

There has also been a certain shift of emphasis in the academic approach to urban studies. Towns are assessed more simply than in the past – not so much as institutions, but as places where people lived, worked, communicated, marketed and built their homes, churches and tolbooths. This changing attitude is reflected in other professional areas: planners, conservationists, architects and, even, many developers are increasingly aware of the necessity to set the historic town within its proper context – not as pastiche – but with a recognition of its historic setting that is constantly and inevitably changing (see Chapters 8, 9 & 18).

Towns, by their very nature, are mutable; and there needs, therefore, to be a considered balance between conservation and change. In attempting to achieve this balance, however, we need to recall that respect for tradition resulted in a fair degree of continuity. The historic townscape did not appear randomly; in Scotland and elsewhere towns were quite deliberately and formally laid out – open spaces, clustering of properties, vistas and urban landmarks, all had a purpose and meaning. There are many features of the townscape that retain their historic intrinsic importance which must not be lost to the lobby for change. As merely one example, the focus of urban vistas, the directions obtained, from spires glimpsed above rooftops in, say, Prague (Czech Republic), Kraków (Poland), Visegrad (Hungary) or Wurzburg (Germany) hold as much value today as in the past (see Chapter 3); and good modern design is constantly aware of the great damage that can be done to a 20th-century town by the removal of key buildings such as inns, meeting halls and churches, many of which have become vacant and are at risk. These are frequently older buildings of character; their loss would seriously affect the identity of the town and the integrity of its townscape, with a consequent adverse effect on public spaces and streets through a lack of definition and enclosure, as exemplified in Chapter 18. Vistas lose their purpose where landmark buildings are removed (see Chapter 3).

Legislation, both at national and international levels and through EC directives, also reflects this changing attitude (see Chapter 18). And a number of initiatives, established by either central government or local authority, have been established to reinforce this legislation and make it more available to planners, archaeological curators and the public at large (see Chapters 8 & 9, for example); examples of such initiatives in Baden-Württemberg (Chapter 11), Ireland (Chapter 15), Scotland (Chapter 5), Wales (Chapter 16) and England (Chapter 14) are outlined in this volume.

But how much have we achieved in raising public awareness? Initiatives such as that within the Heritage Management Section of Archaeoleg Cambria Archaeology, where there is a small heritage promotion wing presenting Roman Carmarthen through the 'evidence and discovery' theme, may be found in many towns, some successful, others pandering to the heritage industry, with suspect historical assumptions. The importance of local identity, is, however, a vital asset; and, in planning for its future, concepts, strategies, projects and management arrangements must be based on the aspiration of the community rather than conceived on the community's behalf by outside agencies.

Archaeological research, and, indeed, historical research, into our historic towns, as a preliminary to a conservation or regeneration programme, cannot make full impact if it is not adequately recorded (see Chapter 6). The 1972 report for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland stressed that 'there is something wrong when change involves destroying without any record a vital part of the heritage of the past'. A number of the contributors to this volume highlight how very much we have lost, in the past, without adequate record. The examples of Carmarthen, where frontage developments in the 1960s were carried out without any archaeological observation, and of Linlithgow town centre at much the same time (see below), are not untypical. This weakness is fully recognised; and much of this volume attests to the common desire to prevent such irreplaceable losses in future.

In spite of commendable efforts, lack of public interest and even local planning officers' personal preferences or taste have lost for us some significant aspects of the townscape. We have continued to some extent, for one reason or another, to lose much in the last 27 years; but we might have lost more. Dunblane Cathedral, for example, is set fittingly amidst old properties at the historic core of the town. These enhance the beauty of the cathedral; but there was a proposal, successfully thwarted by the local residents, that all these old properties should be demolished, in order to open up the vista of the cathedral – a total misunderstanding of the historic function of the cathedral and its associated manses. The nearby Allanbank House, a 17th-century, and possibly older, building was not so fortunate: it was removed in its entirety as it had been 'allowed to deteriorate beyond the point where a conversion or improvement would [have been] an acceptable proposition' (personal comment, Board of Health official).

The award-winning, 1960s-built flats at the Vennel in Linlithgow immediately to the west of the town's principal square are often greeted with expressions of disbelief, that a town of such well-defined urban structure and historic importance should have been so drastically altered, with the demolition of properties that included some of considerable architectural and historic interest; nor was there any archaeological investigation or systematic recording of the site (see Chapter 19). It might be argued that the scheme has to be seen within its wider social and historic context, when there was a contemporary desire to replace the 'old' with something modern and 'new', but it does reveal just how far attitudes to change in our historic towns have shifted in only a short time.

More archaeological material was lost in Dublin than is generally realised. For example, it has been estimated that only 24% of the Anglo-Norman deposits between the medieval city wall and the Liffey were excavated properly, when a unique opportunity arose (see Chapter 15). In York, also, on the site of the Queen's Hotel, Micklegate, there were irretrievable losses: there were few cellars on the site and the sequence of medieval and post-medieval deposits along the Micklegate frontage survived largely intact; Roman remains there dated from the mid 2nd to early 3rd century and clearly formed part of a large, important building in the *colonia*. Development, however, destroyed the upper levels on the site and the degree of archaeological recording was, despite the huge efforts made by the York Archaeological Trust, inadequate in the face of such pressure of destruction. Some 50% to 60% of these very important archaeological deposits were destroyed and the rest of the site rendered largely unintelligible for future excavations (see Chapter 14).

But is such vandalism a thing of the past? Resources are such, in most European countries, that archaeologists and planners alike can find their hands tied, as is indicated very clearly in Chapter 10. Inevitably, many conservation issues are resolved by funding or lack of funding, whether in Switzerland (Chapter 17), Sweden (Chapter 4) or Scotland. Funding mechanisms for conservation, including conservation staff, pose a problem everywhere (see Chapter 19).

So where do we go from here? What is the future for the past of our historic towns? The answer to this will depend very much on economics; for no matter how enlightened a policy may be in place, without the personnel on the ground, be they conservation officers, local authority archaeologists, historical advisers or on-site archaeologists, we will continue to lose more than we should (see Chapters 10 & 19).

Funding apart, it is, of course, the very nature of urban sites that prescribes rescue archaeology (see Chapters 7 & 9). A prime site in a town centre is a development opportunity; and there has to be a balance between heritage and commercialism. Our

major historic towns have experienced continuity of occupation, with shifts in the density or focus of settlement, over substantial periods of time. As such, they represent the largest and most complex of archaeological sites. And excavations are of necessity rescue-driven – not in all probability on the site that has great archaeological potential and, inevitably, under pressure of time. It must be recognised, also, that advances in the archaeology in any one town often proceed unevenly; bursts of activity can be followed by years of more piecemeal, or even negative, results; or even no archaeology at all! It is becoming more difficult for the professional 'contract' archaeologist, with the proliferation of independent archaeological units, to sustain a working interest in any one town, area or site type; and the tightly costed, individual pieces of contract work allow little time to assimilate background information or to work at placing results into meaningful contexts or permit specialism in any aspect of urban archaeology (see Chapters 16 & 5).

The contributors to this volume highlight the scale of forces acting on our towns. Some of these are global – particularly the economic forces. The pressures of the heritage tourism industry are also global, providing money for maintenance but also demanding inappropriate levels of access to many sites (see Chapter 2). There are economic and social pressures to create jobs, build new houses, and keep the streets safe. There are environmental pressures which put local and national considerations at the top of the political agenda: traffic, air pollution, safeguarding the natural environment, sustainability, and global warming. The tension between the modern and the traditional in the design of new work in historic towns will continue; as will an element of lip-service to conservation matters in certain quarters. The question as to whether we should leave selected sites for future generations with better methods and different questions will need to be resolved. There are pressures to manage towns in ways which will continue to attract visitors. We must insist on very careful tourism management; a control of traffic intrusion; enhancing of the built environment by such things as shop-front initiatives, appropriate signage and street lighting; and a sense that the scale of development must be appropriate to the scale of place (see Chapters 12 & 13).

The national economy, government at both national and local level, and pressures of industries, such as development and tourism, all have a part to play in the future of our towns. Much will depend on whether the conservation of our towns becomes a political issue. Will the new Scottish Parliament, for instance, leave the relative central and local government balance as at present, or will there be a shift in either direction (see Chapter 19)? What will be the political reactions in other countries? But, ultimately, it is the people of Europe who hold their urban heritage in trust.

In the future, we have very firmly to address two issues: what is the correct balance between conservation and change in our historic towns; and how do we ensure that the mistakes of the past are minimised (see Chapter 20)? Of course there has to be change, but it should be managed and thoughtful change, with a deep understanding of the meaning of the historic past of a particular town, and with full recording of that which is to be lost. And for that which will be preserved, as is stressed throughout this volume, ways must be found in which not just earlier buildings can be reused, but also lines of properties, streets, back lanes and all the minutiae of a townscape may be translated, wherever possible, into functioning modern areas that respect modern life and conventions, from cars and pedestrians to cinemas and superstores; and these reuses should be effected in high-quality materials reflecting not only sustainability but also an awareness of local traditions. This is a full agenda.

Notes

To help with the location of towns, three maps accompany this Introduction: Fig 1.1, towns in Scotland; Fig 1.2, towns in UK and Ireland; and Fig 1.3, towns in Europe and beyond. In the texts that follow, other than Scotland, Wales and England, the country is added in brackets, unless totally obvious. For further assistance, an appendix at p 212 lists all towns mentioned in the text in Scotland, Wales and England, with pre-1974 shire or county names and current, 1999, local authority.

With effect from July 1999, with the formal opening of the Scottish Parliament based in Edinburgh, all references to the 'Secretary of State' should be read as 'Scottish Ministers'. Similarly, all references to 'The Scottish Office' should be read as 'The Scottish Executive'.

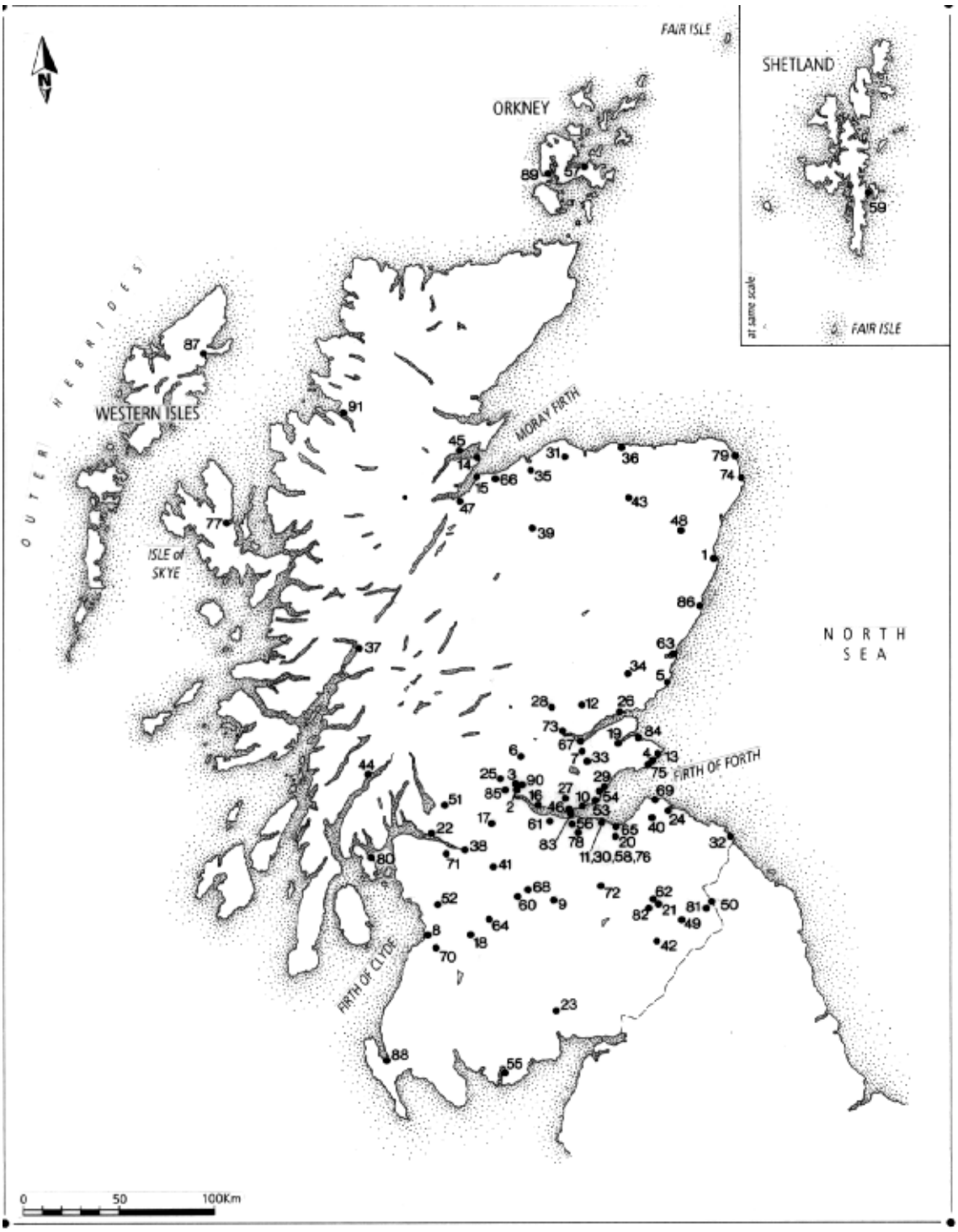

Figure 1.1 Towns in Scotland (courtesy of the author)

1. Aberdeen; 2. Alloa; 3. Alva; 4. Anstruther; 5. Arbroath; 6. Auchterarder; 7. Auchtermuchty; 8. Ayr; 9. Biggar; 10. Burntisland; 11.Canongate; 12. Coupar Angus; 13. Crail; 14. Cromarty; 15. Cullen; 16. Culross; 17. Cumbernauld; 18. Cumnock; 19. Cupar; 20. Dalkeith; 21. Dryburgh; 22. Dumbarton; 23. Dumfries; 24. Dunbar; 25. Dunblane; 26. Dundee; 27. Dunfermline; 28. Dunkeld; 29. Dysart; 30. Edinburgh; 31. Elgin; 32. Eyemouth; 33. Falkland; 34. Forfar; 35. Forres; 36. Fort George; 37. Fort William; 38. Glasgow; 39. Grantown-on-Spey; 40. Haddington; 41. Hamilton; 42. Hawick; 43. Huntly; 44. Inveraray; 45. Invergordon; 46. Inverkeithing; 47. Inverness; 48. Inverurie; 49. Jedburgh; 50. Kelso; 51. Killearn; 52. Kilmarnock; 53. Kinghorn; 54. Kirkcaldy; 55. Kirkcudbright; 56. Kirkliston; 57. Kirkwall; 58. Leith; 59. Lerwick; 60. Lesmahagow; 61. Linlithgow; 62. Melrose; 63. Montrose; 64. Muirkirk; 65. Musselburgh; 66. Nairn; 67. Newburgh; 68. New Lanark; 69. North Berwick; 70. Paisley; 71. Patna; 72. Peebles; 73. Perth; 74. Peterhead; 75. Pittenweem; 76. Portobello; 77. Portree; 78. Ratho; 79. Rattray; 80. Rothesay; 81. Roxburgh; 82. Selkirk; 83. North/South Queensferry; 84. St Andrews; 85. Stirling; 86. Stonehaven; 87. Stornoway; 88. Stranraer; 89. Stromness; 90. Tillicoultry; 91. Ullapool

Figure 1.2 Towns in England, Wales and Ireland (courtesy of the author)

1. Avoncroft; 2. Bath; 3. Belfast; 4. Bury St Edmunds; 5. Berwick-upon-Tweed; 6. Birmingham; 7. Bishop's Castle; 8. Blanchardstown; 9. Bray; 10. Bristol; 11. Caerwent; 12. Canterbury; 13. Carmarthen; 14. Chester; 15. Chipping Campden; 16. Clondalkin; 17. Clontarf; 18. Colyford; 19. Coventry; 20. Drogheda; 21. Drumconda; 22. Dublin; 23. Durham; 24. Exeter; 25. Galway; 26. Harewood; 27. Harrogate; 28. Hereford; 29. Hull; 30. Kildare; 31. Liverpool; 32. London; 33. Londonderry; 34. Lucan; 35. Ludlow; 36. Malahide; 36. Mullingar; 38. Navan; 39. Newcastle-upon-Tyne; 40. Norwich; 41. Pembroke; 42. Penrhyn; 43. Portmeiron; 44. Rathmines; 45. Rhydygors; 46. Richmond; 47. Ryedale; 48. Selby; 49. Sheffield; 50. Shrewsbury; 51. Southampton; 52. Swords; 53. Tallaght; 54. Tewkesbury; 55. Totnes; 56. Warwick; 57. Wells; 58. Wicklow; 59. Woodstock; 60. York

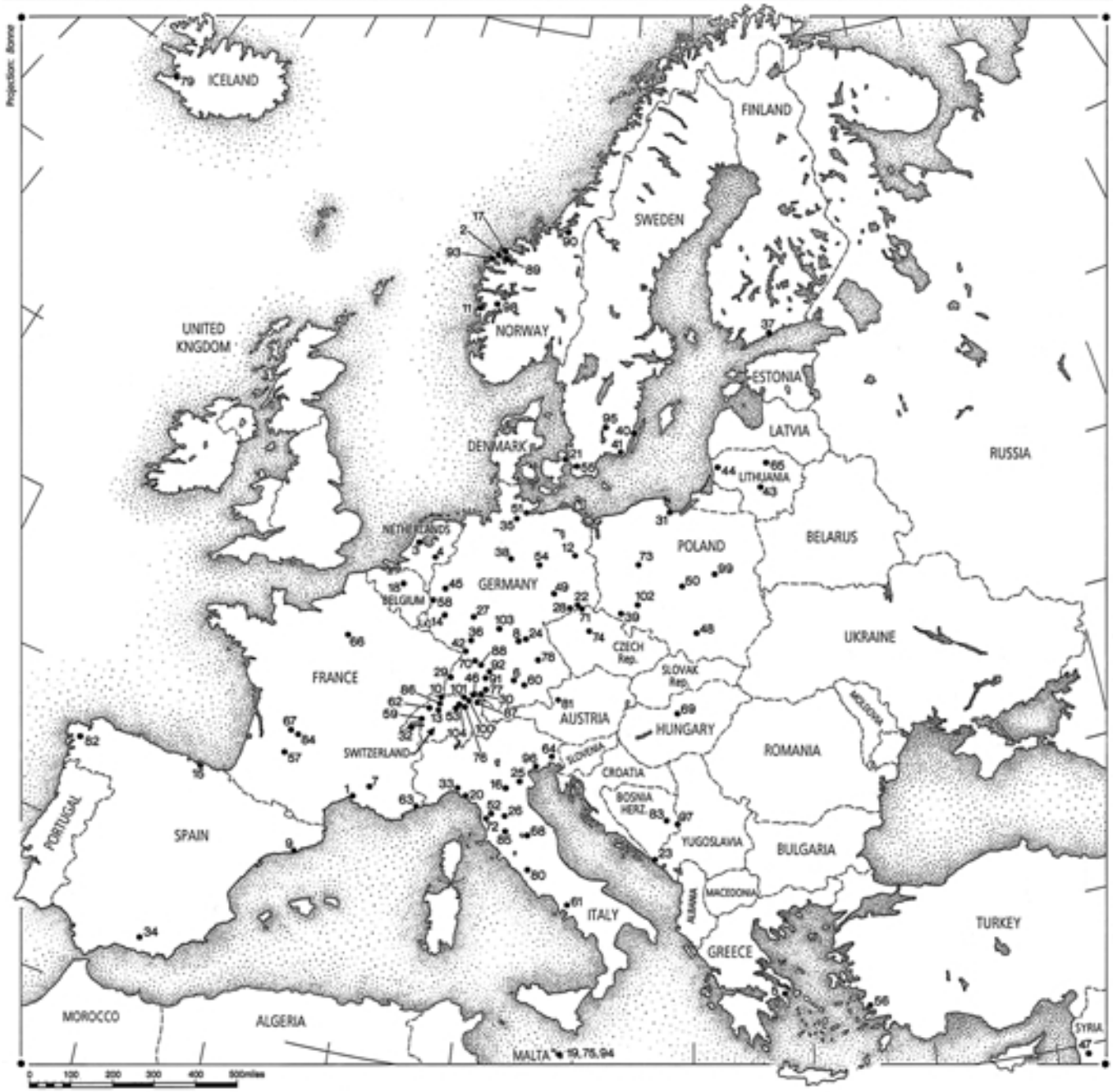

Figure 1.3 Towns in Europe and beyond (courtesy of the author)

1. Aigues-Mortes; 2. Ålesund; 3. Amsterdam; 4. Arnhem; 5. Athens; 6. Augsberg; 7. Avignon; 8. Bamburg; 9. Barcelona; 10. Basel-Stadt; 11. Bergen; 12. Berlin; 13. Bern; 14. Bernkastel; 15. Bilbao; 16. Bologna; 17. Brattvåg; 18. Brussels; 19. Burgo; 20. Chiavari; 21. Copenhagen; 22. Dresden; 23. Dubrovnic; 24. Erlangen; 25. Ferrara; 26. Florence; 27. Frankfurt; 28. Freiburg; 29. Freiburg-im-Breisgau; 30. Friedrichshafen; 31. Gdansk; 32. Geneva; 33. Genoa; 34. Granada; 35. Hamburg; 36. Heidelberg; 37. Helsinki; 38. Hildesheim; 39. Jelenia-Gora; 40. Kalmar; 41. Karlskrona; 42. Karlsruhe; 43. Kaunas; 44. Klaipeda; 45. Köln; 46. Konstanz; 47. Krak des Chevaliers; 48. Kraków; 49. Leipzig; 50. Lódz; 51. Lübeck; 52. Lucca; 53. Luzern; 54. Magdeburg; 55. Mälmo; 56. Miletus; 57. Monflanquin; 58. Monschau; 59. Moudon; 60. Munich; 61. Naples; 62. Neuenburg; 63. Nice; 64. Palmanova; 65. Panevezys; 66. Paris; 67. Perigeaux; 68. Perugia; 69. Pest; 70. Pforzheim; 71. Pirna; 72. Pisa; 73. Poznan; 74. Prague; 75. Rabat; 76. Rapperswil; 77. Ravensberg; 78. Regensburg; 79. Reykjavik; 80. Rome; 81. Salzburg; 82. Santiago de Compostela; 83. Sarajevo; 84. Sarlat; 85. Siena; 86. Solothurn; 87. St Gallen; 88. Stuttgart; 89. Sykkylven; 90. Trondheim; 91. Tübingen; 92. Ulm; 93. Ulsteinvik; 94. Valleta; 95. Växjö; 96. Venice; 97. Visegrad; 98. Voss; 99. Warsaw; 100. Wil; 101. Winthertur; 102. Wrocław (Breslau); 103. Wurzburg; 104. Zug

PART II EUROPEAN URBAN EXPERIENCES

2 Whose urban heritage? Character, managerialism and representation in conserving Europe's historic towns *by T R Slater*

Trying to gain a European perspective on the conservation of townscapes throws up a large number of questions; it is in trying to find answers to even quite simple questions that interesting differences between European countries are thrown into sharp relief. This chapter is intended to be a contribution to understanding something of the enormous variety in the ways of thinking about, and doing, urban conservation across the countries of Europe over the past twenty years. It is concerned with the geography and history of Europe's towns and the way variations in that geography and history produce differences in the character of towns; it is concerned to explore variations in conservation management, and it is concerned with the representativeness of the parts of towns which are conserved as against those which are destroyed or redeveloped.

The geography of difference

The first simple question to ask is why are towns in Scotland different from those in Norway? Norway from south-west France? South-west France from central Germany? Central Germany from Umbria? Umbria from Poland? Why do they have – to use that much-loved and little-understood word in conservation management – different 'characters' (Vallis 1994) and what is it that constitutes those characters? As an academic geographer with a special interest in urban forms, my first recourse in seeking out the causes of the particularities of local character is naturally to look to those themes first. Environmental determinism is deservedly deeply unfashionable, but that does not mean that local environments do not contribute to local character. The winter rain and the wind in Galway (Republic of Ireland) or Bergen (Norway) have produced a very different response from people in the buildings which they construct for the daily business of living and working, from the hot summer sun in a French bastide, such as Monflanquin, or in Tuscan Lucca. The character of Bern (Switzerland) or Durham, built on dramatic incised meander cores, of Edinburgh on its volcanic crag and tail, of Naples (Italy) overlooked by Vesuvius, or of Venice (Italy) in its sheltered watery lagoon is inevitably coloured by these dramatic physical landscapes, whilst the presence of the sea, marshland, a large lake, or a major river cannot help but influence our aesthetic appreciation of particular towns or be one of the things that gives them their particular identity.

A second theme in any answer to the question of why places are different must concern the economic basis by which the majority of the citizens of a town earn their living. Where the economy of a moderately-sized town is dependent upon the services it provides to a surrounding agricultural area – shopping, financial, marketing, legal, administrative, for example – this complex service economy generates and maintains an equivalent complexity of buildings to accommodate these uses. Many of those buildings will accommodate more than one use and can easily be adapted from one use to another. Scottish towns such as Elgin or Selkirk are typical market towns of this kind and have a varied historicity in their built fabric which remains attractive to visitors and residents alike. By contrast, a moderately-sized town whose economy is dominated by a single industrial use will be a very different sort of place. The Pennine textile manufacturing towns of northern England, for example, are dominated by two particular building forms, the factory steam-powered mill and industrial terraced housing (Caffyn 1986), neither of which is easily adapted to other uses and both of which are, today, effectively redundant economically.

These first two themes in the geography of difference might seem obvious (but that is no reason for not setting them down and keeping them in mind). The third theme is much less obvious and few people in the English-speaking world pay much attention to it; that is the difference of urban plan form. The sheer complexity of most European town plans resulting from their long historical development deters some commentators, or leads to simplistic analysis on the part of others. The usual representation of historical town plans is to show only the street plan (Morris 1995); the necessity is to represent the plot pattern and, sometimes, the block plans of buildings. In combination, the street-plan and the plot pattern can be 'read' as part of the character of places (Conzen 1960; 1968). The very long, narrow plots of the Bryggen harbour frontage of Bergen (Norway) (Herteig 1985) produce a fundamentally different townscape from the broad, shallow plots of Aigues-Mortes (France) and these places stand as representatives of two regional types: the early medieval Hanseatic port towns of the North and Baltic Seas and the high medieval bastides of south-west France. The subsequent evolution of the

Figure 2.1 Late medieval merchants' houses, Lübeck, Germany (courtesy of the author)

townscapes of these regions has been conditioned in part by these initial plot characteristics. In Scotland, the characteristic long, narrow burgages of a planned medieval Lowland town, such as Haddington, give a very different townscape to the irregular fishermen's cottage plots on the foreshore of the 'Seatowns' of Moray Firth fishing ports such as Cullen (Adams 1978, 36 & 70).

A further characteristic of some significance is the means of access to the interior of the plots. Urban streets where access to the plot is from the street frontage have very different characters from streets where access is from back lanes (Slater 1987; 1990). The Edinburgh Old Town 'wynds' are a distinctive townscape type that derives from passages giving front access to the rear of plots. Such plan characteristics are just as important to urban character as the degree of geometrical regularity of a planned street system. Even here, however, at this more general level of plan recognition, there is often a failure to distinguish the subtleties of medieval planning in places such as Southampton or Freiburg-im-Breisgau (Germany) and to accept only the geometrical regularity of late medieval Kraków (Poland) or 18th-century Erlangen (Germany) as evidence of a planned development in the past (Kalinowski 1972).

Finally, there is a geography of difference in the third dimension of towns: in their buildings. Leaving aside the particularities of dominant buildings in the townscape, which can easily become iconic in the identities of particular cities – Pisa's leaning bell tower (Italy), Granada's Alhambra Palace (Spain), or Edinburgh's castle, for example; in all towns, the characteristics of building forms, and building materials, and building elements are of crucial importance in local character. The gable-end-to-the-street houses in Lübeck (Germany), headquarters town of the medieval Hanseatic League, with their great attic stores six or more floors from the street level, steeply-pitched pantile roofs and early brick-built walls (Fig 2.1) (Fehring, 1991) are a European world away from the crossways-to-the-street courtyard houses, brick- and stone-built with shallow tile roofs, of Lucca (Italy) (Fig 2.2) or Dubrovnic (Croatia).

Study of the regionality of Europe's townscapes has hardly begun and it is not sufficient to say that the national map is all that is needed; the towns of north-east France are as different from those of south-west France as they are from those of northern Italy, whilst those of eastern Germany have much in common with towns in northern Poland. Within just one of these regions, south-west France, recent work has shown there to be at least five distinctive sub-regional plan types for the bastide towns and this categorisation applies only to the medieval period. It takes no account of later adaptations and extensions to the town plans, nor does it take detailed cognisance of the building fabric (Lauret *et al* 1988). If these towns are to be properly conserved, this regional plan distinctivness must be recognised by the planning system as worthy of preservation and enhancement; and some attempt made to include the key features of other morphological time periods and of building types. Almost no work of this kind has been undertaken in any of the regions of the United Kingdom.

What time are these places?

If geography produces one set of differences in European towns, then history provides another set of complex differentiations in plans and built forms. Nowhere is this made more plain than in Italy. Standing before the Etruscan Gate, in the city of Perugia (Fig 2.3), an observer is faced by a structure first erected 100 years or more before the birth of Christ, spectacularly refurbished in late Roman times, gated against city enemies in medieval times, surmounted with an airy Renaissance pavillion in the 15th century, and still used by modern traffic in the late 20th century to gain access to the city. How is that temporal span to be valued, conserved and presented today?

Figure 2.2 The shallow roofs of central Lucca, Tuscany (courtesy of the author)

Three themes on time can be noted as significantly affecting our appreciation of the character of European towns. First, though there are many common themes in European urban history, the ideas or the economies that gave rise to particular built forms arrived in different places at different times. The Renaissance may have begun in Florence (Italy) in the late 14th century, but, in the north European fastness of London, it did not really find urban expression until Inigo Jones designed the Covent Garden development for the Earl of Bedford in the 1630s (Borer 1967). That is a significant temporal difference which is reflected in buildings and urban design at every scale from townscape, through individual buildings such as churches, to the details of windows and even door knobs.

Reversing the temporal flow, urban industrialisation began in the United Kingdom in the mid 18th century and specifically (and usually unlovely) urban industrial townscapes were commonplace in British cities by the mid 19th century. Even in Germany, and still more so in France and Italy, such industrial townscapes are the product of the late 19th and early 20th centuries and have very different architectural expression and plan forms. The neo-classical and Art Nouveau styles of the 1870–1914 period reach their apogee in places such as Łódź (Poland) or Pest (Hungary) where industrialisation came very

Figure 2.3 The Etruscan Gate, Perugia, Italy (courtesy of the author)

quickly and towns needed to be adapted equally quickly (Koter 1990). One clear consequence of this economic variation through time is that in Britain almost nothing of local vernacular tradition has survived in industrial cities, whereas in central and eastern Europe this is not so. In Glasgow, for example, there are no remaining examples of tenements from the first half of the 18th century and very few from the second half (Worsdall 1989, 71), whereas in central Łódź there are still one or two of the original weavers' cottages of the first manufacturing settlement of the first half of the 19th century and an almost intact city centre of the second half of the century. Still more is this so in southern Europe, where the main thrust of industrialisation is a phenomenon of the post-Second-World-War years and industrial buildings and workers' housing have generally been suburbanised away from historic urban cores (Vilagrasa 1990).

A third major theme is the differences in political and social history between different parts of Europe. Conflict has been an endemic part of European urban history through to the present, and towns, as centres of political and cultural power, have been at the forefront of such conflicts: witness the recent destruction of Sarajevo in the ethnic and religious maelstrom of Bosnia. In central and northern mainland Europe, the Thirty Years War of the 17th century is

Figure 2.4 New Street signal box, Birmingham, UK (reproduced with the kind permission of G Dowling)

a defining presence in the form of towns; similarly the Eighty Years War of the previous century for the towns of the Low Countries. Even quite small places were heavily fortified with massive bastions, ramparts and moats and these fortifications remained in place and operational until the early 19th century at least (Duffy 1979). The necessity for clear fields of fire outside such fortifications led to the characteristic *Ringstrasse* zone of towns in these regions, into which institutions could be inserted in the 19th century and inner ring roads in the 20th century. There is also a characteristic temporal discontinuity between building styles within the fortifications, which are generally pre-1750, and styles outside the *Ringstrasse*, which are generally post-1870. By contrast, in England, only the dockyard towns and Berwick on Tweed had bastion fortifications and they did not survive in use into the 19th century. In Scotland, such defences are associated with the new military barracks built in the aftermath of the 1715 and '45 rebellions, such as Fort George near Inverness. The majority of British towns did not, therefore, have areas of open space into which new street systems could be inserted, nor are there the temporal discontinuities in 19th-century housing styles so common in central Europe. In Britain, the temporal discontinuity is a product of the slum clearance policies of the post-1945 years, so that inner Birmingham, for example, is now characterised by a ring of 1960s' local-authority tower blocks within a dualled middle ring road, whilst beyond are the redbrick terraces of the bye-law period (Whitehand 1996).

This, then, is something of the history of difference. The big question on this theme for urban conservationists is what times do we value? Are surviving elements of medieval townscapes most valued because they are the oldest to survive in modern towns? Or is it part of a cult of the picturesque point of view, of which seeing towns as 'townscape' (Cullen 1961) is very much a part? Or are medieval elements best because they make for good 'heritage' marketing? The medieval period sells in our consumerist culture and no-one dislikes it because it is so distant that it has become romantic (another point of view, of course). But, if we had lived in 18th-century Britain, Roman would have been the most favoured period of history; and classical design dominated everything because of the Enlightenment, particularly the new townscapes of fashionable Bath (Cunliffe 1986) or Edinburgh's New Town (Youngson 1966). The medieval world was regarded as 'primitive' and Gothic architecture was not understood. Now, in our classically untrained and classically undervalued world, the Roman is of antique value but is not central to our urban value systems (despite the fact that, as we have seen, in southern Europe, substantial elements survive from towns of classical times).

Why did it take more than 100 years, until the 1930s, before Georgian domestic architecture in Britain was revalued until it eventually became the epitome of refined English and Scottish domestic taste? In Dublin, that process of revaluing is taking place now and the despised 'English' Georgian terraces are at last being conserved rather than demolished (McCullough 1989). It is of interest to observe this process of revaluation going on, because it is part of a 'Europeanisation' of Ireland in general and of Dublin in particular. Irish people are at last beginning to realise that these terraces were built by Irish craftsmen and builders and that they are just as much part of Ireland's history as they are of England's. As that cultural transformation of values takes place, then so does the transformation of conserving the historical townscape. In Scotland, that revaluation was a less painful process, because most of the greatest architects and designers of the Enlightenment Georgian townscape were Scottish.

Another temporal question that can be observed taking place today is the 'trickle down' effect of such revaluations of history, art and architecture. Almost always they begin with the intellectuals of a society. This was certainly so with Georgian architecture in Britain; it is equally so with the unloved architecture and townscape of the 1960s. Why is it that the majority of people cannot appreciate the architectural value of Birmingham's New Street signal box (Fig 2.4) in all its Brutalist concrete magnificence? And is it right that it should be listed for preservation, as it was in 1996, given that level of public

antipathy? The same goes for 1960s' local authority estates such as Sheffield's Park Hill, which, again, was listed in 1996, or the 'new town' architecture of Cumbernauld. There are difficult time-based question marks here and not enough research has been done on the psychology of appreciating the urban temporal dimension as it is expressed in buildings (Hubbard 1993).

Managerialist perspectives

The history of the management of European urban conservation is a single theme with minor variations. Most countries began by deciding to preserve a few historical monuments as a result of the lobbying of élite pressure groups some time at the turn of the 20th century. In some countries the 'value' of these structures was in their antiquity, in others it was their aesthetic value, in others the people associated with those buildings (Larkham 1996). In most countries, aspects of all three themes come together to reinforce the case for state action to preserve buildings from the actions of individual decision-making. Systems of management that 'listed' historic buildings for protection, and which sometimes provided limited funds to ensure such preservation, have continued to be developed and enhanced until the present, but, in the 1960s, beginning in France, new ideas on the conservation of areas of historic townscape began to be developed. Indeed, the word 'townscape' entered the English language at this time as planners began to think in this area-based way (Cullen 1961; McWilliam 1975). In some countries this area-based conservation was the prerogative of the national state, in others regional government, and in others the local authority. Since the 1960s there has been much fine-tuning of these area-based systems of management and, in the United Kingdom, massive expansion of the areas deemed worthy of preservation or conservation.

The geography of urban conservation management shows much greater differences. In Great Britain, for example, the close links with the economy and culture of North America meant that Modernist functional rationalism, land-use-based planning, and a two-dimensional, drawing-board view of the town predominated. It was in reaction to this view of planning that Cullen's *Townscape* was published in 1961. This is not to say, however, that the British and American planning systems are similar. They are, in fact, fundamentally different because of differences of law. The British system is also a decentralised one, with most of the decisions on the creation of conservation areas (deriving from the 1967 *Civic Amenities Act*) and then their subsequent management, being taken by local authorities within a broad legal framework provided by the national government. Thus, to take one Scottish example: following a commissioned report from Lord Esher, the Corporation of the City of Glasgow appointed a conservation officer in 1972; devised a system of grant aid for historic building repairs in 1974; had designated twenty conservation areas by 1990, enclosing more than three square miles of the city; and had so transformed its historic building fabric that it was designated European City of Culture in 1990 (Martin 1993, 166–86).

The Modernist ideals which dominated British planning through to the 1970s had a strong tendency to plan for exclusive land-use zones. These planners saw town centres as commercial in character, whilst the property sector followed this lead and perceived single-use developments as more easily managed than multi-use buildings (Freeman 1986). Many local authorities are now beginning to reverse these policies and encourage residential uses back into town and city centres. However, almost all such attempts in Britain are characterised by gentrification of housing or the provision only of high-value houses for professional occupants. In central European towns this policy began much earlier, in the 1970s, and there was really no break in the tradition of living in the town centre. What is especially characteristic of managing the conserved townscapes of these town-centre residential areas in countries such as Germany is a concern with environmental quality. This is manifested in extensive traffic-calming measures and the planned provision of play areas for young children, of small green spaces, and the retention of services such as shops, nurseries and social facilities integrated into the conserved townscape (Millarg 1978). The conservation of the historic core of Regensburg (Germany) is one example of this distinctive type of management which saw the clearance of extensive back courts of 19th-century tenements to make space for such facilities behind the conserved street frontage buildings of earlier periods (Arbeitsgemeinschaft Bamberg, Lübeck, Regensburg, 1981).

In France, by contrast with Britain, the management of historic townscapes is a reflection of highly-centralised government systems and, until recently, local authorities have had little input. Consequently, there are a few areas restored to very high standards (Kain 1975). These *Secteurs sauvegardées* are impressive, as summer visitors to Sarlat (Fig 2.5) or Perigeaux, for example, can vouch. But the question is raised as to why these towns have been conserved rather than others, and why the particular areas of these towns rather than others? The answer, of course, is that the very high standards of restoration of the urban fabric which undoubtedly takes place in these cases have equally high costs, and therefore choices have to be made. More recently, decentralisation legislation of 1983 has enabled a few innovative local authorities to use the *Plan D'Occupation des Sols*, a legally-binding commune land-use plan which is part of the *Code d'Urbanisme*, to take control of the form of new building in historic urban areas and to establish parameters which enhance the existing local character of places (Kropf 1993).

The management systems of east European

Figure 2.5 Part of the secteur sauvegardé *of Sarlat, France (courtesy of the author)*

countries before the collapse of state socialism in 1989 were also centralised, as might be expected, but the decision making was devolved to the academy within a set of legal and political parameters. To the historians, architects and archaeologists who dominated the conservation offices of towns in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary the historic town became their research laboratory. This was to the considerable detriment of the inhabitants of these areas, since the research deemed necessary before work could begin on conserving historic townscapes for modern living was painstaking and time consuming (Zina 1986; Hammersley and Westlake 1994). It also ensured that the academics concerned were employed for equally long periods. This is not to say that some of the completed schemes were not extremely impressive, though they often suffered from poor quality materials. Most distinctive of all, of course, has been the reconstruction of the war-damaged centres of cities such as Warsaw (Poland) and Poznań (Poland).

Today, the problem in these countries is funding urban conservation at a time when their economies are being fundamentally restructured. However, it is noticeable that the long established concern for, and understanding of, the place of historic townscapes in the identity of these restructured nation states has enabled their governments largely to channel western investment into refurbishing existing buildings, rather than replacing the historical built fabric with new structures. Funding mechanisms for conservation, including conservation staff, are a problem everywhere to a greater or lesser extent. One interesting variant here is where a community pays for its urban conservation manager directly, as happens in some of the poorer countries of Europe. In Portugal, for example, central government will pay for a conservation architect to develop a framework urban conservation policy for a particular place for two years; thereafter, the community must take over the cost of employing such a professional itself. In many instances this happens because the conservation plans are effective in bringing new finance to insert modern facilities into historic buildings, enabling people to continue living there. They are also effectively linked to heritage management policies which bring visitors into these towns enabling businesses to develop and expand. Systems do have to be effective, therefore, for particular circumstances.

The big questions here are those to do with efficiency, efficacy and representation. Managers like efficient systems that run like clockwork, but urban conservation is generally messy and requires a lot of negotiation if the most favourable outcome is to be reached. It is a team effort amongst people with a wide variety of expertise. It is an arena in which the specialist holds sway and in which those without expertise, or the ability to pay for access to that expertise, can be effectively left unrepresented, especially in controversial cases which are decided in the law courts, and in all European countries it is the courts which are the final arbiters.

Meaning, theory, and conserved towns

Cultural historians and geographers, over the past decade, have begun to explore some of the meanings which are encoded into conserved or reconstructed places, including towns, and to provide theoretical underpinnings. This can be done at a national level, such as Graham's (1994) perceptive analysis of the Irish Nationalist mythologising of the Gaelic, rural, west of Ireland in preference to an English-speaking, urban, patrician east. The towns of Ireland were thereby Anglicised and denigrated, to the considerable detriment of their physical fabric over the past half century, as a consequence of a value-laden idea. In contrast, in post-Second-World-War Poland, towns were mythologised as the apogee of Polish culture, language and history over the previous 600 years. Their reconstruction in historicist mode was, therefore, a national priority after the destruction wrought by Nazi forces, despite the pressing problems of housing and industry after 1945 (see below).

Another meta-narrative of this kind is the continuing

exploration of the impact of colonialism upon current understanding of places. Jane Jacobs' (1996) analysis of the political struggle over the redevelopment/conservation of Mansion House Square and No 1 Poultry in the City of London, and of Spitalfields on its eastern fringe, is a brilliant exposition of the struggle between different interest groups for the urban places at the heart of the British Empire in our post-colonial world. Such struggles are also apparent in other European 'world cities', notably in Paris and Berlin, where prestige projects, backed by powerful élites or businesses with enormous financial resources, have displaced, or are displacing, more ordinary townscapes occupied and valued by people lacking such power and finance. At the next level of the urban hierarchy, too, these post-colonialist theories help to interpret what is happening to towns and their buildings. The economic disintegration of Liverpool's and Glasgow's port functions, for example, consequent on the end of Empire in the 1950s and '60s (because those functions had been based largely on sea-trade connectivity with the farthest reaches of Empire) left a legacy of buildings which were valued both locally and nationally. However, for many years they remained derelict because alternative uses could not be financed by fluid international capital resources which had moved on to invest in other places.

Yet a third meta-narrative comes from Marxist analyses of these conflicts between the flexible urban spaces of international capital and the lived experience of the people in the places affected (Merrifield 1993). Such analysis sees global space commanded by flows of information and money which need to be 'grounded' in particular places to realise their surplus value. If these places are 'defended' by groups who live or work there then political/social struggle, and often conflict, takes place. Such struggles are the very stuff of the managerialist planning process in most countries and the Spitalfields example noted above could easily be interpreted from this theoretical position too.

At a more local level O'Brien (1997) has provided an exploration of the waterfront regeneration of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, using the theory of semiotics to explore the resultant ahistorical nature of one of those townscapes where international capital flow has 'grounded'. Semiotics suggests that buildings and places have meanings encapsulated in 'codes'. These codes are neither universal nor stable; they have to be learnt. When those doing the encoding (financiers, architects, designers, planners) are physically, socially and educationally distant from those doing the decoding, then the physical townscape can be reduced to total incomprehensibility. Hence, perhaps, the lack of understanding of Birmingham's concrete New Street Signal Box noted above. O'Brien's examples include a converted warehouse whose external architectural code says 'warehouse' but whose internal use is now as a block of luxury flats, and an adjacent block with the same codes but which is entirely a simulation – a reproduction warehouse conversion, the very essence of playful, but confusing, post-Modernism!

Representation: whose towns?

Under all political systems, urban managers are ultimately answerable to politicians. They can, therefore, avoid questions of representation by saying that this is what the politicians are there for. Similarly, the vast majority of the very extensive academic literature on the conservation of Europe's historic towns is concerned to describe or analyse the variations in management policies and legal systems (Larkham 1992). Very little of this literature is informed by the theoretical writing deriving from cultural studies. Most of it, therefore, also ignores the key questions about representation. Why are we doing what we are doing in conserving historic towns? And who are we doing it for? Quite clearly the governing political groups and the managerialist planning systems are not conserving historical townscapes for people in the past; they are not conserving because it creates jobs for planners, architects and conservation officers; nor are they necessarily doing it because it makes good economic sense – sometimes it does, especially when international capital sources decide that it does, but frequently it does not. Rather, they are conserving historic towns and cities for people *now*, because our societies and economies have invested them with meanings and cultural and social values. These meanings and values are not fixed and unchanging, but are constantly being renegotiated and re-evaluated. The way in which Georgian, then Victorian, then inter-war buildings have been successively despised and then valued by succeeding generations in Britain is a simple example of this renegotiation and revaluing. In studying the phenomenon of urban conservation, academics and planners alike keep forgetting or neglecting to go back to this question of social value and social identity and the dissonances in the consequent conserved towns (Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996).

A few brief examples will illustrate some of the complexities here. They are posed as question and answer, although the answers are necessarily mediated by my own opinions (see Jacobs 1996) and perceptions of these complex matters. First, why did the totalitarian socialist post-war Polish state decide as a matter of priority to rebuild the cores of its historic urban patrimony destroyed by the retreating Nazi forces in places such as Poznań and Warsaw, a policy culminating in the reconstruction of the royal castle in Warsaw in the late 1970s? Answers to this question must explore the way in which Polish national identity had been tied in to these and other historic towns by both the inter-war Polish state and the very different post-war government. It must also understand the way in which these places were deliberately destroyed by the occupying German army as a way of breaking the Polish national spirit. One consequence of this playing out of nationalist

Figure 2.6 The rebuilt Wedekindhaus in Hildesheim, Germany (courtesy of the author)

identity in the historic townscapes of Poland is to be seen in the rebuilding which, in Poznań, for example, saw the deliberate decision not to rebuild those elements of the fabric which were derived from the period of Prussian government of the city through the 19th century. In the rebuilding, the city was deliberately made more 'Polish' than it had been previously (Kondziela 1971).

To remove a century's influence on the urban fabric was possible in Poznań, but in the province of Silesia, which became part of Poland in 1945 for the first time since the 14th century, a much more difficult conundrum for Polish urban conservation was produced. As a consequence, the restoration and conservation of the provincial capital, Wrocław (Breslau), proceeded much more slowly than did the equivalent policies in Poznań. In smaller towns in Silesia, restoration work proceeded hardly at all. In part this was a consequence of their essentially Germanic character which could not easily be erased or transformed, and in part it was a consequence of the new population of the region after 1945. They consisted mostly of poor peasant farmers moved from areas of formerly eastern Poland, ceded to the Soviet Union after 1945, who were unused to urban industrial living and did not value these places because they did not understand their encoded meanings at either national or local levels. Thus, to give just one example: the fine medieval planned town and 18th-century spa of Jelenia Gora at the foot of the Sudety mountains is now dominated by a highly polluting cellulose mill and huge estates of high-rise housing blocks, whilst its historic fabric has been neglected and demolished except for the main town square.

How, then, does the conservation of these Polish towns contrast with German cities which suffered extensive war-time damage from allied bombing? In Germany the post-war priority was to restore the economy and, consequently, war-damaged cities were rebuilt as quickly as possible in international modern styles using cheap materials. In part, this was an economic imperative, but it was also a consequence of war-time defeat and the policies of the occupying powers of Britain, France, and the USA. Planning advisers from these nations brought with them a preference for Modernism and modernist planning solutions which, in effect, further enforced a desire amongst many Germans to forget the deeply troubled past and move forward to a new age. However, by the late 1960s, in Germany, as elsewhere in the western world, a desire to conserve the best of the built fabric of the past began to manifest itself and plans began to be made to recreate the best of the destroyed past (von der Dollen 1979; Soane 1994). An example is the cathedral city of Hildesheim which, before the 1940s, was regarded as one of the most beautiful of German cities with its early Romanesque churches and medieval timber-framed buildings standing harmoniously around squares in an intricate urban fabric. Almost all of this was obliterated and, though the churches were meticulously rebuilt, the rest of the city was a classic piece of 1960s' system-built modernism. In the 1980s, work began on reconstructing the most famous of Hildesheim's town squares, in front of the city hall, to its pre-war appearance. This began with the rebuilding of the huge 16th-century timber-framed Wedekindhaus (Fig 2.6) and the 1490s' Tempelhaus, and concluded with the reconstruction of the Knochenhauer-Amtshauses, widely regarded as the most beautiful of all Germany's many timber-framed town houses. This desire to recreate the destroyed past is also manifest in the plans being made to rebuild the city centre of Dresden following the unification of the country (Soane 1994). In both these cases, a resurgent nationalism unencumbered by the guilt of the Second World War has led to the decision to recreate the old, despite the enormous expense of doing so, and international capital is prepared to meet these costs because of the perceived security of the German economy. However, the built history of those who created that economic security is being rejected and removed in both cities in consequence.

Closer to home, in Britain, commentators have often remarked on the class-based nature of the conservation policies of the majority of cities. Conserving

Figure 2.7 Inter-war suburban semis, School Road Conservation Area, Hall Green, Birmingham, UK (courtesy of the author)

the urban past is a middle-class preoccupation, so it is middle-class townscapes that are preserved. What, for example, is being conserved in unlovely Birmingham? To begin with, no example of the thousands of back-to-back courtyard dwellings which dominated working-class living experience in the city between 1760 and 1960 has been preserved. Two hundred years of history and millions of lives have been erased from the cityscape and forgotten about except in books, despite the fact that it is the lived experience of many of the city's older residents. If future generations are to know the three-dimensional character of such a court then one will have to be new-built in the future. In this respect, Glasgow has served its working-class memory somewhat better in its adaptation to modern living of some of the tenement blocks of the inner city (Martin 1993).

There have been other controversial decisions taken in conserving Birmingham's past, which partly redress the balance. The dominating residential experience of the 20th century in the city is the inter-war council, or speculatively-built, semi-detached suburban house. The city has a conservation area which encompasses a representative sample of such houses (one of the first such in the country). The professional managerialist world laughed, but this is a genuine attempt to capture the spirit of an important time for the development of this place (Slater and Larkham 1996). However, it is the middle-class private houses which have been captured within the bounds of the conservation area (Fig 2.7), not a council estate where, paradoxically, management might have been easier. A third example is a row of the 1940s' prefabs which were such a characteristic feature of the edges of parkland and open spaces in our cities until quite recently. Listed for conservation in 1996, the last standing in the city, a photograph of these buildings never fails to elicit responses from the audience at public lectures, and a prefab preserved in the Avoncroft museum of buildings is the most popular of all the buildings on display. In both cases, this is because it is a remembered experience, ordinary but valued, of living in our cities in the second half of the 20th century.

A brief final question is what of the losers in history? If even the past of the working-class winners of history can be wiped out by thoughtless managerial planning, then what hope is there that the experience of the losers will survive? For example, to return to Poland, Łódź was one of the great Jewish cities of the world until 1942. The vast majority of its citizens today have no interest in preserving the memory of that Jewish past. The vast, beautiful and deeply-moving Jewish cemetery lies largely neglected, hidden, and difficult to access and therefore unknown to most people. Paradoxically, it has been young Germans who

have encouraged German companies to provide small sums to begin work on the restoration of this special urban space.

Conclusions

European towns are intricately varied; they carry an enormous weight of social and cultural value for our societies. Their meaning is part of our identity and, therefore, of our well-being. If those meanings are not to be overwhelmed, or used for ill rather than good, then we in the academy and in the professions need to ensure that politicians and people are aware of the scale of forces acting on our towns. Some of those forces – particularly the economic – are global. If European national economies fall upon hard times our historic towns will be preserved, but they will not be maintained. If economies flourish, there is pressure to reconstruct and replace valued buildings. If we are lucky, the front façades may be preserved. The pressures of the heritage tourism industry are also global (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1990), providing money for maintenance but also demanding inappropriate levels of access to many fragile sites.

Other forces are European; large sums of money from the European Community are already being channelled into urban conservation, often in the guise of development grants to economically-deprived areas such as Ireland, Portugal, Greece and parts of Italy and Spain. However, if the cultural diversity of Europe gives meaning to Europe, then that diverse cultural heritage needs more money for its preservation, especially in those fringe areas, and still more in the newly-emergent states of eastern Europe where so much has been preserved for 40 years, but preserved in an increasingly poor condition. Such a call is a continuation of the economic redistribution of resources which has been the driving force of the European Community since its founding.

What is really needed, however, is a new mental map of Europe where nationalities recognise their differences but also their commonalities (Ashworth and Larkham 1994). To take an example: are we all sure what is uniquely Scottish about Edinburgh? What is a variation on the theme of urbanism in the British Isles? And what provides links to the common European urban heritage? Edinburgh's classical New Town plays this 'theme and variations' particularly well if educators and interpreters want it to, and from it an orchestral accompaniment can be provided from the scores of 18th-century replanned estate towns all over Scotland (Adams 1978). But these same places can also play an exclusive, nationalist tune if those interpreters and educators wish. We have to ask ourselves whether we wish to be Eurosceptic nationalists in our urban conservation, with all the dangers that creating 'others' and emphasising difference brings, or whether we can celebrate our commonality by seeing our heritage in a new light. We do have to choose.

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3 The evolution of the weather-protected city[1]

by Charles McKean

> 'In size and extent a city should be such as may enable the inhabitants to live at once temperately and liberally in the enjoyment of leisure' (Aristotle).[2]
>
> 'We have as our neighbours in a city, not the trees and the beasts, but fellow human beings. We can from them learn greater lessons and with them do greater deeds. We can become more human' (Canon Barnett).[3]

To what extent did weather influence the form of towns and cities in Europe? The city spaces – the squares, market-places, piazzas, plazas and campos – were the settings of city life in the pre-vehicular city (defined as a city whose layout was not originally determined by the wide orthogonal demands of wheeled vehicles). So the nature, character, shape and use of those urban spaces is as significant to our understanding of how the city worked as our knowledge of the buildings enclosing them. Before now, historic cities have been analysed predominantly in terms of defence, culture, economics or politics: cities, as it were, as studied art, the product of deliberate design embodying some cultural intent.[4] To study them as places where people do things;[5] and how they evolved to ensure maximum human comfort, is fundamentally different. Since 'every place is given its character by certain patterns of events that keep on happening there' (Alexander 1979, p x), the clues as to the extent of any deliberate climate-modifying will lie in the spaces, in the buildings enclosing them, and how they have changed. Conversely, a weather-focused study might illuminate previously dusky aspects of urban history. As wheeled vehicles began to predominate (in Italy by the late 16th century, in Scotland some 200 years later), conflict was inevitable and the nature, character, shape and use of those urban spaces began to change.

'First of all . . . a town quietly, and always with good reason, exploits its natural setting' (McWilliam 1975, 9). At the most elemental level, that implies protection from exceptionally inclement weather: for example, the houses in north-east Scotland's fishing villages huddle together, hunched shoulder to shoulder against the sea. That this pattern lasted perhaps two centuries implies efficacy, as much for the successful and thriving as for the less fortunate communities. We now tend to regard such things – those winding streets, narrow corners and enclosed squares, places, piazzas and courts that have survived the cleansing by traffic access – as picturesque; but this attribute is a retrospective perception. Until the 18th century, such places were unlikely to have been self-consciously designed to be 'picturesque'; they evolved for very practical, non-aesthetic reasons – someone will have desired to make them like that, and someone will have permitted them to happen. A creative genius might well have embellished the result. For example, look for those attractive oriel windows in the streets of France and Germany, and you may well have found the principal processional routes of that community. The focus here is to enquire into the extent that the form of cities and the direction of those routes may have been shaped by the desire to contain or control sun, rain and – in particular – the wind.

What has emerged in Scotland and England

Set on a volcanic ridge, usually compared to either Prague (Czech Republic) or Naples (Italy), in a climate in which the wind can sweep across horizontally, and the rain be driven upward, Edinburgh rarely suffers from an overdose of balm. The rock upon which it is built is notorious for wind; indeed, in 1778, the wind whipped the entire Leith Guard from the castle esplanade and cast the soldiers down the hill to their severe hurt. Yet the city's merchants preferred to continue to deal in the open air, in a High Street over half a mile long and 100ft (30m) wide (Fig 3.1), rather than to relocate to the new Exchange in the High Street which John and Robert Adam built for them in 1752. Furthermore, if William Creech, the 18th-century Edinburgh publisher, is to be believed, the centre of the Enlightenment was at the mercat cross rather than in the university across the Cowgate (Fig 3.2). The apparent incompatibility between the vibrant life of Edinburgh's High Street and its tempestuous location indicates that the built form must have evolved as a continuous shield against the wind.

By the early 17th century, Edinburgh's High Street had become a virtual stone bowl, enclosed by tenements normally six storeys tall, fronted in ashlar, with stout arcades at street level screening shops and booths behind. That these buildings had grown much taller than originally permitted by the limits of the 20ft (*c* 6.5m) high fire ladder was part of the maturing of the High Street into the urban forum it had become by the Renaissance. Blocked downhill by the Netherbow Port (gate) and at the top by the butter tron (weighing house), it had grown into a figure-of-eight, pinched just above the waist by later buildings called Luckenbooths beside the Kirk of St

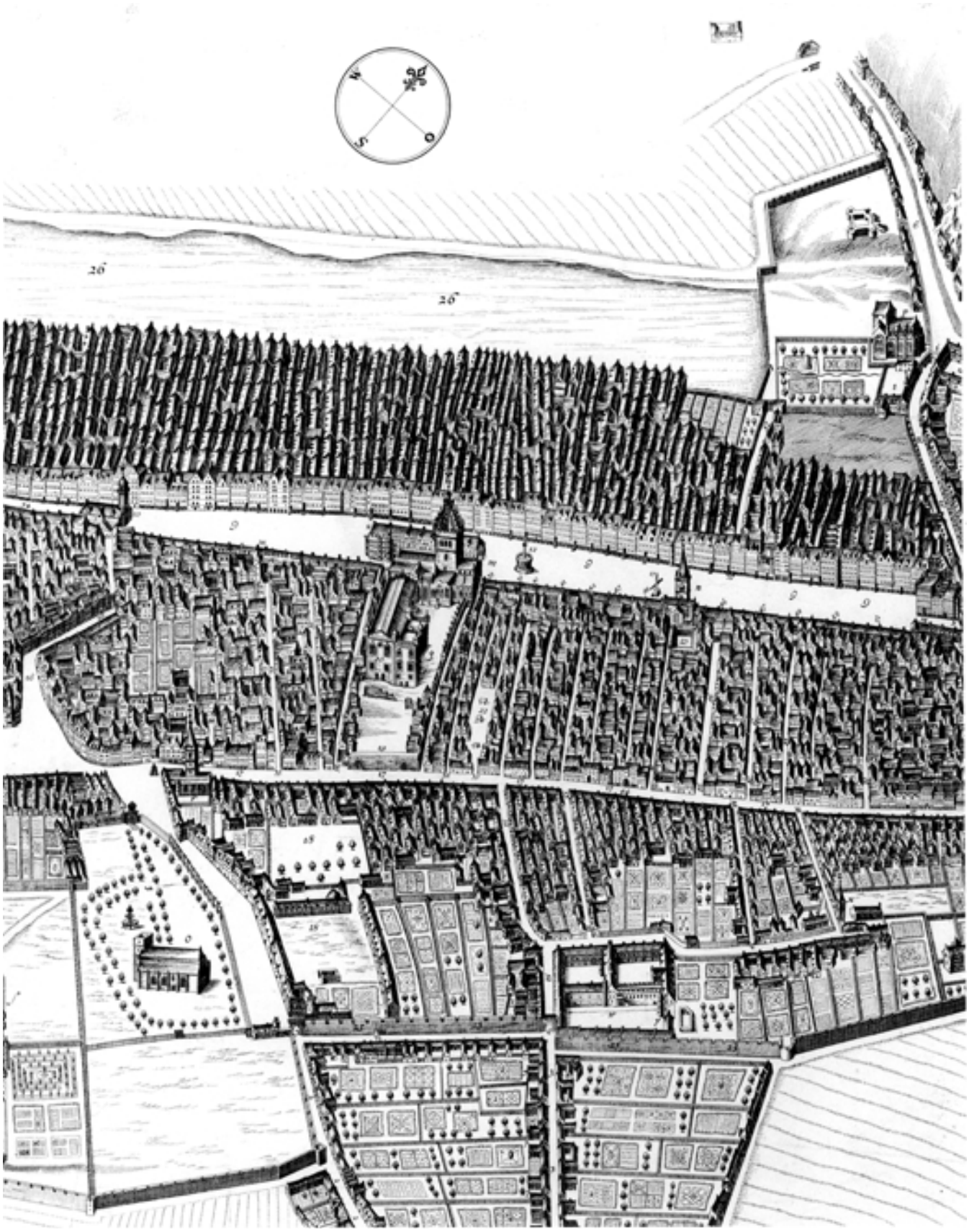

Figure 3.1 Gordon of Rothiemay: drawing of Edinburgh's High Street, 1647 (courtesy of the author). The enclosed, wind-protected nature of Edinburgh's High Street on one of Europe's windiest rocks is evident from Rothiemay's drawing.

Figure 3.2 Libberton's Wynd, Edinburgh, prior to its destruction to make way for George IV Bridge, drawn by Walter Geikie (courtesy of the author). It was in taverns down such closes that the intellectual activity of the Enlightenment took place.

Giles. (The same name – Luckenbooths – was given to a comparable range of buildings similarly encroaching into the fine market-place, likewise 100ft (30m) wide, of Dundee, implying some consistency of urban evolution.) English street-front houses, rarely more than two or three storeys tall, save in cases of the town houses of the grandest nobility, are, however, noticeably lower than their Scottish or European counterparts.

Some 31 royal burghs were designated between 1124 and 1386 by David I (1124–53) and his successors (Naismith 1989, 12); and from the similarities of design and planning, a common intention may be assumed. Naturally influenced by their topography, most prefer an east/west orientation to north/south, and where the topography itself does not provide shelter, the principal routes or axes are kinked. Even the largest Scottish towns do not have the several, distinct urban spaces so common in Europe. Its town plans are generally linear rather than centripetal, and in some towns – Glasgow, Perth and Montrose are good examples – a principal gate opens directly into the market-place. That is where the tolbooth (or townhouse), mercat (market) cross and the parish church are likely to be found. In his museum in Edinburgh, the pioneer of town planning, Sir Patrick Geddes, had 'on the opposite side of the room . . . a symbol of the market cross, which stood for the centre of its municipal life, of its ideals and independence of environment' (Geddes 1979b, 181): independence, in other words, of the weather and natural forces that controlled life outside.

Many of these over-large market-places became customised: in Montrose, the Raw (now vanished) was added down the middle, whereas a similar but deeper intervention in Haddington has created two spaces of very differing character. Given the spaciousness of the town layout (for example, there was empty land in Elgin's High Street as late as the 17th century) and the relative lack of military threat, it seems unlikely that pressure of space was the sole explanation of the colonisation of market-places. What happened was that these interventions made the market-places smaller, usually creating two, tighter, spaces. A tolbooth was often deployed to block one end of the principal space, creating a wind-protected enclosure, as used to exist in St Andrews. North St, St Andrews, which today seems completely open, was, as John Geddy's *c* 1588 plan shows (see cover),[6] once closed to the west by a gate, and to the east by a large house facing down to the gate. Generally, rain was addressed in Renaissance Scotland by providing shelter in arcaded buildings: most continuous in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Elgin, but also recorded in other Scots cities like Linlithgow and Dunfermline. When Glasgow was rebuilt in stone after a huge conflagration in 1652, the council laid down specific regulations for the width and material of its arcades, reserving the passageway beneath into the ownership of the council. Shelter was also provided beneath overhanging timber buildings, and this, as well as stone arcades, was the case in Dundee: 'Most of the houses in the Murraygate were wooden-fronted. The stone portions of these buildings were erected six feet back from the street line, and the wooden fronts were supported on pillars, making an open area like a piazza. In 1756, four or five of these houses adjoined each other and were then described as "affording a dry walk in wet weather"' (Lamb 1895, XLV1b). When Dundee's merchants themselves built a new Exchange in 1855, many refused to use it. So accustomed were they to dealing in the open air, they continued to do so, save that a top-lit, glass-roofed rain shelter was added some decades later.

Not all civic activities are compatible with each other, and, as towns developed, their new industries – tanneries, fish curing, soap making, brewing, rope making etc – were likely to be outside the core (Naismith 1989, 78). Horsemarkets and timber yards needed larger, flatter spaces, and fish and flesh markets drainage. The wind was welcomed, if not encouraged, through these new urban spaces, and it was not surprising that their locations moved toward river or shore. That was not possible in Scotland's largest such space, Edinburgh's Grassmarket. Here

Figure 3.3 View of Grassmarket, Edinburgh, by Henry Duguid 1831 (courtesy of the National Galleries of Scotland). The Grassmarket was Edinburgh's service centre, its underbelly, and location of some of the more noisome activities of the capital.

was the capital's urban underbelly or service centre – a place of brewing, horse fair, cattle market, slaughtering, executions and low inns: long, wide and set low beneath the shelter of the Castle Rock (Fig 3.3). In Dundee, the equivalent was the Shore, later to become the Fishmarket and Greenmarket, and equally politically suspect. In some Mediterranean towns, such as Miletus (Ancient Greece, now Turkey) or Nezzia (Nice, France), the entire market-place was on the shore, whereas in Dundee and Aberdeen, the dominant market-place lay in a tight urban bowl uphill from the shore, reached only through tortuous passages. The difference between the two essentially similar activities is likely to have been caused by the difference between the beneficient Mediterranean climate, and the gusty winds howling up the valleys of the Tay and Dee.

Occupations began to colonise certain parts of the city – candlemakers in Edinburgh's Candlemaker Row (on the road out of the city for fear of fire), and tinsmiths in the West Bow: 'one of the most noisy quarters of the city – the clinking of coppersmiths' hammers, the bawling of street-criers, ballad singers . . . the beating of drums' (Ballantine 1843, 174); and tanners to the north-west of Dundee's Murraygate. Street cleaners, midwives, the poor and others of ill repute were likely to have lived on the leeward side of a town, where noise and odours reduced the attraction for the better-off (Naismith 1989, 80).

Approximately 48% of towns in England and Wales were planned, some 120 of them in existence by 1297 (Beresford 1967, 14). A number were gridded; some were linear, such as Colyford, Penrhyn or Totnes; some of T-plan, as at Harewood or Bishop's Castle; whilst others were designed concentrically with rear lanes enfolding the market -place. Yet encroachment began early, as into the Bury St Edmunds' market-place (Beresford 1967, 157). Whereas only 38% of English towns and cities were fortified, and only 4% of those built in the mid 13th century, almost all English towns of occupation in Wales and France were both heavily fortified and laid out on a grid. So there was a double standard, with different rules back home. That towns like Warwick, Totnes, Bath or Tewkesbury were only lightly fortified, if at all, in comparison with similarly sized or even smaller communities in the paths of the great armies sweeping through Europe, underscores the relative peacefulness of these islands. In Europe, many a shrunken body survives today in an oversized suit of decaying armour. In contrast to Scotland, England's larger cities (for example, York, Chester, Shrewsbury, Bristol, Southampton and Norwich) were heavily fortified, and since their ramparts enclosed more than one parish, and sometimes monastic

establishments as well, there thus emerged multiple public spaces.

Weather protection in the smaller towns may simply have been achieved by a kink in the principal route, perhaps with the addition – as in Totnes – of pavements later covered by cantilevered buildings above. An alternative pattern, in Ludlow or larger towns like Shrewsbury and Norwich, was for market-places to lie to one side of the principal street, dignified by a market or guild hall, and often a church as well. The original spaces were frequently colonised later, as in Scotland; initially, perhaps, by a sole market hall, but sometimes thereafter extending to a complete urban block, as was the case in Chipping Campden. These market-places are rarely exposed to immediate access from the outside world. Rather, as in Durham and Richmond, they are reached through a tight urban neck, emphasising the sense of enclosure and protection. Market halls, butter markets and the like were usually raised upon columns, to provide cover beneath, and a number of them were provided with overlooking galleries to allow the town authorities to keep an eye on what was happening (Tittler 1991, 130–1).

There were normally larger or smaller gathering places in front of cathedrals, parish churches and monasteries, which emerged presumably as the combined result of ownership, of the desire to emphasise status, and the needs of ceremony. Monuments need space to breathe so that their majesty can be appreciated; conversely, therefore, it may be inferred, when looking at a city's skyline, that a tower or spire implies some urban space at its foot. Since many civic and religious ceremonies involved both civic and religious buildings, the routes between the two were particularly important. It may be significant that the market-place in York is almost equidistant between the castle and the cathedral.

The evolution of the European urban outdoors

> 'Not by accident did the mediaeval townsman, seeking protection against the winter wind, avoid creating such cruel wind tunnels as the broad, straight street' (Mumford 1966, 355).
>
> 'The pattern in the space is, precisely, the precondition, the requirement, which allows the pattern of events to happen' (Alexander 1979, 92).

European cities arose where they were permitted or encouraged, taking the best advantage of their topography. Yet considerations of weather, climate and thereby health figured in the minds of theorists from the earliest times. In the 5th century BC, Hippocrates advised that healthy cities should be laid out away from marshes and mists, the streets orientated to evade the summer sun and catch the cooling winds (Mumford 1966, 234). Aristotle recommended that cities should be laid out on south-facing slopes with an abundance of springs and fountains (Mumford 1966, 267), and advised a mixture of regular and twisting streets – although the latter appear to have been stimulated more by a desire to trap strangers than the wind. Several centuries later, the monastic architect Alberti also recommended streets winding up and down like rivers, not so much to control the wind as to confuse the enemy and make the city seem much larger and richer (Borsi 1986, 230). Alberti was also concerned about the city's hygiene and climate and ecology: 'air should be pure and free of fog'; sun, water and control of wind should be adequate; 'the place must be neither too damp as a result of too much water, nor afflicted by droughts, but be cheerful and temperate' (Borsi 1989, 227).

First choose your site, wrote the Roman architect Vitruvius, and then build your walls. Cold winds were disagreeable, hot winds and marsh breezes, alike, unhealthy. 'The town being fortified, the next step is the apportionment of houses, lots within the wall and the laying out of streets and alleys with regard to climatic conditions. They will properly be laid out if foresight is employed to exclude the winds from the alleys' (Vitruvius 1960, 24). Elaborate procedures determined the principal wind directions, and alleys were aligned to face the quarters between the winds, so that when the winds blew 'they may strike against the angles of the blocks and their force thus be broken and dispersed'. He further advised against too great an exposure to the south or west, which might lay the city open to excessive sun. One of the criticisms laid against the Roman Emperor Nero (AD 54–68), according to the Roman historian Tacitus, was that in his rebuilding of Rome after his inspired little conflagration, the emperor's wider streets 'made the city hotter, and therefore less healthy' (Kostoff 1991, 69). If some cities of the ancients followed those precepts, not much trace survives, and the plans of ancient Athens and Rome seem to have possessed as many irregularities and ad-hocisms as any medieval city.

European cities show few signs of having followed theoretical guidance over the next 1400 years or so; or, at any rate, not explicitly. Indeed, the geometry of orthogonally planned towns inherited from the Romans was almost wilfully subverted (Kostoff 1991, 48–51): wide straight streets becoming kinked or blocked, as, for example, the principal street in Rabat, Malta, where pressure of density cannot have been the cause. Perhaps generations later and softer than the Romans were less prepared to tolerate the stinging horizontal Mediterranean winds and wind-blown sand. Even in those half-occupied gridded bastides in France or Wales, the houses still clustered toward the centres of power – the church and the market-place – even though, theoretically, all stances within the walls would have been equally safe. This implies that there is a natural desire to congregate; and what governs 'organic' town developments are contiguity, convenience, converse and commerce.

Probably from a desire not to create unnecessarily large walled enclosures, plans of European cities are,

Figure 3.4 Tübingen, Germany (courtesy of the author). Note how the steeple acts as an urban indicator, and implies the location of an urban space.

generally, more centripetal than those of England or Scotland, with a dense, urban market-place at the centre where all streets meet but rarely face each other. Even though they may have differed tremendously in scale from their enfolding houses, churches and monasteries often form part of the street walls, and cathedrals could be stumbled across around a corner. Civic monuments are rarely placed as the focus of urban vistas; directions obtained, instead, from spires glimpsed above rooftops (Figs 3.4 & 3.5). The skyline citadels of, say, Prague (Czech Republic), Kraków (Poland), Visegrad (Hungary) or Wurzburg (Germany) were never part of the urban experience save as a reminder of where temporal and spiritual power resided. Valletta (Malta), despite its grid-iron streets, is, therefore, more of a medieval than Renaissance city, for its great civic monuments are concealed in tiny piazzas, or are discovered casually upon street corners.

Until the Renaissance, virtually all urban activities – exchange, trade, ceremonial or religious processions, royal and state events, the exercise of justice and its execution – took place out of doors. 'You will find everything sold together in the same place at Athens' observed the 4th-century Greek poet Eubolus, 'figs, witnesses to summonses, bunches of grapes, turnips, pears, apples, givers of evidence, roses, medlars, porridge, honeycombs, chick-peas, law suits . . . allotment machines, irises, lamps, water-clocks, laws, indictments' (Mumford 1966, 177). As cities existed primarily for exchange, the market-place (or places) was the principal open-air civic auditorium (Fig 3.6), signalled by the dominance of the town hall (Fig 3.7). Yet that same place was also the most likely to be the focus of civic disorder: 'there occurred here not only a good deal of the endemic disorder, but also almost all of the popular and unofficial festivities, including carnival, misrule, and other rites and rituals of mockery and social inversion, as well, of course, as the more officially sanctioned activities of medieval religious and folk literature' (Tittler 1991, 130–1). Often, these same outdoor rooms, because weather-protected, also acted as the stage for movement or processions to churches, cathedrals, seats of justice, or to palaces. In Wells, for example, the market-place occupies the space in front of the entry to both the cathedral precinct and the bishop's palace. 'The city as theatre' was achieved by building appropriate grandeur and landmarks as the routes unfolded: buildings facing them were customarily taller and better appointed than the norm, and were often adorned with galleries and viewing platforms. The two functions of popular meeting/exchange centre and high status ceremonial were frequently incompatible, and proved a source of tension.

Was the development of the organic plan simply a matter of civic and institutional functions fitted to topography and defence? Were these winding streets simply a consequence of squeezing linear passages within the constraints of enfolding walls? There is nothing in writing to support it, but the urban form often indicates an intuitive response to wind control. In Kraków, capital of Poland and seat of the Jagellonian dynasty, not only is there a squint street entering the huge, rigidly rectangular market-place, but a number of the straight side streets are blocked by a kink, a church or similar building placed at angles across the mouth. Likewise, many of the ancient streets in Burgo, Malta, and Bernkastel, Germany have a distinct twist so that one can rarely see from one end to the other (Figs 3.8 & 3.9).

Defence against the rain appears to be only incidental. Many countries enjoy little enough of it. The European urban tradition, in places as various as Chiavari (Italy) and Salzburg (Austria), was to line the principal streets with arcaded tenements, which could provide a stone umbrella when required. Arcades provide not just pedestrian shelter, but protection to stall holders and their goods; and are, therefore, generally found on shopping streets. Yet, whereas the arcades of Scotland and Germany provided shelter from rain, in streets nearer the Mediterranean, they offered coolness from the noonday sun (Fig 3.10). In some major fortifications – from Aigues Mortes (France) to Krak des Chevaliers (Syria) – the Cyclopean stone vaults and casemates were not always necessary for

Figure 3.5 Monschau, Germany (courtesy of the author). The steeple soaring above the roof tops again provides urban direction.

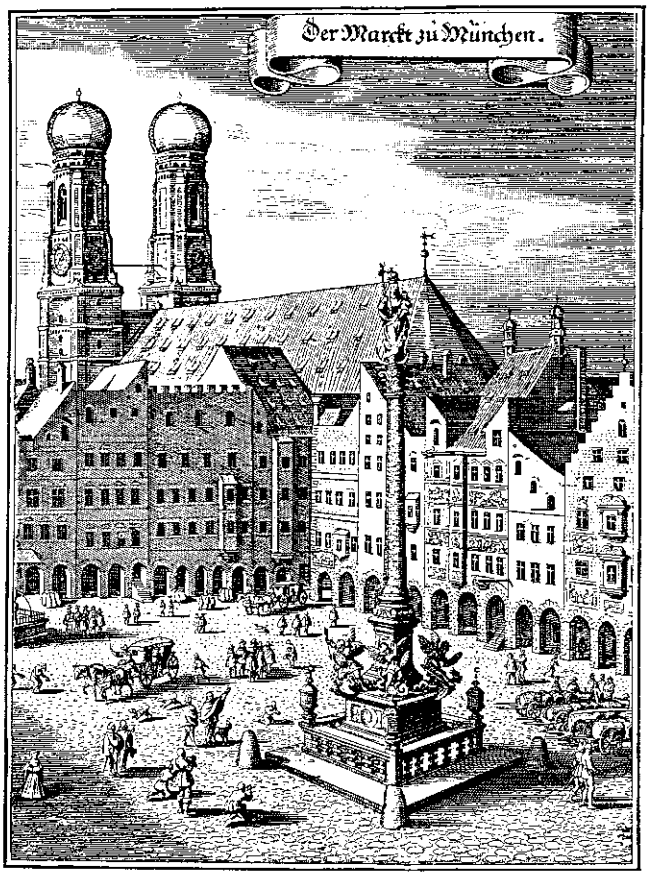

Figure 3.6 The market-place of Munich in the 17th century, from Grosse Bürgerbauten*, Leipzig, 1929 (courtesy of the author). A tight, arcaded space, right behind the cathedral.*

Figure 3.7 The market-place of Pirna in the 18th century, from Grosse Bürgerbauten*, Leipzig, 1929 (courtesy of the author). Shows the Rathaus, and buildings behind, colonising some of the space.*

Figure 3.8 Burgo, Malta (courtesy of the author). The narrowing, cranked or crooked street is widespread throughout medieval European towns, sometimes straight and just cranked at the end, and sometimes sinuous. Their universality far more implies customising and possession of the street than it does the preservation of ancient field patterns.

Figure 3.9 Bernkastel, Germany (courtesy of the author). Even in small rural towns, like Bernkastel, the crooked or winding, overhung street is the pre-18th-century norm.

military protection; and may also be explained in terms of providing a heat canopy. The squat, deep arcades facing the square in the bastides of southern France perform a similar function; and in some places where topography is more striking, it is possible to observe how the inhabitants hug that side of the street which appears to have evolved so as to provide shade (Fig 3.11).

Renaissance and order

The critical element in Renaissance town planning was that of the imposition of abstract ideas – particularly those of order, hierarchy, ceremony and status – upon the urban fabric. Siena (Italy), early off the mark, had an Office for the Embellishment of the Town by the 14th century (Norberg Schultz 1975, 214). Intuition and evolution was to be replaced by artistic self-consciousness, as theorists, returning to the ancients for inspiration, sought ideal forms for cities. Curiously, only one complete city – Palmanova (Italy) – was constructed to Vitruvian principles. Most Renaissance urban design is focused upon partial amendment to existing cities, and the ruler's motivation was primarily the politico-cultural one of outclassing his peers in architecture. If ever, consciously, it had been, weather protection was no longer an issue. The compensation in grand planning for the reduction in shelter would be the heightened drama of experience: more people had a better view of public executions.

Alberti recommended that approaches to large towns and fortified cities should be straight, 'to express greatness and dignity' (Rosenau 1974, 50). Plato had recommended a compact form for the city: 'The form of a city being that of a single dwelling will have an agreeable aspect and being easily guarded, will be infinitely better for security' (Mumford 1966, 221); which concept Alberti picked up and enriched: 'The city is like a large house . . . the hall, living room and other such rooms in a house should be like the market-place and large streets of a town' (Borsi 1989, 230). One implication is that, as in a house, moving from one room to the next should be a safe, genial and convenient experience; another is that since you live contiguously with but separately from your servants, so should the city segregate. Alberti also

Figure 3.10 The central square, Valletta, Malta (courtesy of the author)

advocated the functional adaptation of sites to needs. 'Cities should have large squares. In times of peace they will serve as markets and as places where the young may perform gymnastics . . . etc'. In times of war, they could be used for stockpiling materials. He suggested ideal proportions for colonnades, and thought that it would 'add greatly to the beauty of the town if the artisans' workshops are distributed in separate appropriate areas: the bankers, painters and goldsmiths ought to have their shops near the market-place . . . . Finally the dirty stinking trades, especially the evil smelling tanneries, will be hidden away in the outskirts, facing northwards, since the wind rarely blows from that direction towards the city.' (Borsi 1986, 228–31).

He left it up to his readers' judgement whether or not the residential areas of the rulers of the city should be contaminated by contact with the rabble. But by raising the question, social segregation was now on the agenda. In *L'Idea della Architettura Universale*, first published in 1615, Vincenzo Scamozzi (1552–1616) sought to winnow out all those mixed activities that occurred promiscuously together in the Athenian market-place. His objective was regularity and dignity (Rosenau 1974, 61). The 'Ideal City' should be divided into five open spaces, the largest square with the town hall at the centre, the purpose of each of the others defined – exchange and business, general market, sale of vegetables and fruit, and sale of wine and livestock.

The medieval city plans had controlled order implicitly: market-places, overlooked by town halls, surrounded by buildings, were difficult to escape from in a hurry. The city was usually uninterested in what was built beyond its limits, except in the cases where it sought to extend its domain over the new work. Renaissance thinking equated that with disorder. Order should be made manifest. In 1585, Pope Sixtus V began the urban transformation of Rome with majestic streets with obelisks at the intersections, to provide a new visible coherence that he thought the old city lacked. Streets would not only be finely paved and perfectly clean, but beautifully adorned with two identical rows of arcades and houses of the same height seeking to impose an ordered, antique or classical flavour to the jumbled medieval fabric. It was theatrically comparable to a film set. 'Old buildings were mutilated, "aligned" to conform to the new order. Then the genera and symmetry were applied in order to compose a thin slice of a building or even a two-dimensional epidermic wall' to screen the old city (Tzonis and Lefaivre 1986, 266). Underlying these fine cultural aspirations also lay a military agenda. Political control favoured wide straight streets similar to the military avenues of Italian Renaissance architect Palladio – to serve for the common use of all passengers, for carriages to drive upon, or for armies to march along (Mumford 1966, 422); which, 300 years later, Haussman would, likewise, carve through Paris for cannon to play. However, most large European cities remained bound by their defences long after cities in Scotland and England had spread out into the neighbouring countryside; and it was the opportunities created by the walls' removal in the 19th century that allowed cities like Kraków (Poland), Munich (Germany) and Geneva (Switzerland) to create a modern traffic system, thereby ensuring the survival of what lay within.

It is arguable that the abandonment of the weather protected space signalled the beginning of the abandonment of public life in the streets. For there was a coincident growth in semi-public or private space. From 1492, Ferrara (Italy) planned a unified geometrical extension to its north, the Addizione Erculea, designed by Biagio Rossetti. Crossing corners were identified by balconies and pilasters – for example, Palazzo dei Diamante (1493). Although public in one

Figure 3.11 Arcades in Florence, 1965 (courtesy of the author)

sense, these do not appear to be streets for the possession of the people. The huge rusticated battered base and limited openings of the palazzi would make the experience of walking down not dissimilar to that of a heavily overlooked canyon. Genoa's (Italy) gracious Renaissance avenue, the wide, straight Strada Nuova (now occupied by cars) is faced by six enormous palazzi, whose private – or at best semi-public – courtyards represent the new Renaissance enclosed space. The beautiful later terraces and gardens, which emerge once public domain activity becomes internalised, were public mostly only in name. They provided the ruling classes with opportunities to stroll, to see and be seen, in an echo of the former, but now abandoned, processions.

Carts, cars, social segregation and war

In the face of the inexorable pressures for increasing privacy amongst the ruling classes and the rational preference for order and increased trade, rectilinear extensions to ancient city centres became the norm. The public domain slipped downhill socially.

Down from Edinburgh's High Street ran numberless tight and vertiginously steep closes and vennels (alleys), in which the bulk of the population lived; and whose tenements, using the steep fall in the ground, could rise to fourteen storeys in height. Whereas the better-off occupied the middle storeys, and reputable tradesmen the top storeys, in the lower storeys hid the dispossessed: those attracted by the anonymity of the city, or the precarious survival it offered by contrast with a harsher countryside. This urban form proved ideal for civic disturbance. Demagogues had frequently summoned the Edinburgh mob from the 'vasty deep'; it would surge like sewage up a trap, to fill the High Street, imprison parliaments and threaten kings; and had dared to do so most recently in the Porteous Riot of 1736. That riot may have had a formative influence upon the plans for 'New Edinburgh' (as the New Town was initially called). 'New Edinburgh' it was not. The plan was for a segregated suburb on flatter ground for 'people of a certain rank and fortune' only; there was no marketplace – indeed no public space at all – in which to riot. As a consequence of its plan, the New Town fast earned a fearsome reputation for wind.

Yet Edinburgh had been laggard. Sir Christopher Wren's and John Evelyn's plans for the rebuilding of London after the Great Fire in 1666 – at least with the excuse of a virtual *tabula rasa* – consisted of great long streets linking new plazas (as had the 1622 bastide plan for Londonderry (Northern Ireland)). The design was intended to create formal axes focused upon major processional spaces and monuments, and lacked the careful wind control advocated by Vitruvius. In the climes of Northern Europe (as many a post-war new town has discovered to its cost), plans such as these offered the wind a mighty playground.

Throughout Europe, towns had also been refashioned as the consequence of war or fire. Repeated fires led to regulations widening streets and forbidding timber projections. The change was sometimes more apparent than real. In response to a disastrous fire, Copenhagen (Denmark) was rebuilt with wider streets and plain plaster or stone-fronted buildings; but as can be seen round the back, many are simple refacings to the earlier timber structures with a less inflammable overcoat. When Glasgow was rebuilt after the 1652 fire, the original timber-jettied houses were replaced with regular stone-fronted arcades that won the admiration of Daniel Defoe. In 1693, Heidelberg (Germany) was sacked by the French and burnt to the ground; and when rebuilt with a spacious regularity, it still retained the kinks in its

Figure 3.12 The widening and straightening of the Haupstrasse, Heidelberg, after the sacking and burning of the town by Louis XIV in 1693 (courtesy of the author). It has been regularised, although much ancient fabric remains behind later frontages, as is also the case in Copenhagen.

principal streets, and the narrowings of its side streets, as well as much masonry from its earlier buildings contained within the new, although they no longer had any timber frontages so characteristic of that region (Fig 3.12).

The pressure was less from the danger of fire than from social change; change which led to the growth of segregation in grid-iron planned suburbs, and new lesions – particularly bridges and ramps – in the old centres to allow access for carts. The more the quality left the city centre, the more squalid it became. Buildings were erected to house functions that used to take place in the open, and entry to them was largely controlled. Some of the new neo-classical urban spaces – the fine, tight enclosed squares of Glasgow, for example, which surround a civic monument rather than a garden (and uniquely so in Europe for the date) – would by no stretch of the imagination welcome the poor and dispossessed, or the *apachés* of Paris.

Those of Europe's ancient city centres that have survived have done so for two reasons: firstly, extraordinary good luck in avoiding destruction by war; and, secondly, an indifferent, if not poor, economy for most of the last two centuries. Prosperous communities improved and redeveloped; and

Figure 3.13 Contemporary uses: Perth High Street (courtesy of the author). We no longer use these spaces for their original or their evolved function. The High Street has been regularised and unblocked at both ends. Save on balmy days, it can now act as a wind-tunnel and militate against street life.

were rarely sentimental. Most public activities – even political meetings – now took place in public buildings, and the form and pattern of the outdoor spaces came to be governed, almost entirely, by the needs of vehicles.

But the Second World War, particularly the bombing, was the most destructive agent for many cities in Europe. Some cities, for example Arnhem (Holland), Coventry, Voss (Norway) and Bristol, made little attempt to recreate or reconstruct their historic patterns. The reasons for the historic plans being forgotten were that they were no longer seen as relevant, and at least part of the new agenda was based on a determination to build new cities that would not suffer the firestorms of the old. Wide rectilinear streets suitable for cars and lorries, or similarly scaled plazas separated banks of shops and offices. Other cities made creditable attempts to revive the old forms in an actual or approximate form, and to compare photographs of Augsburg (Germany) or Wurzburg (Germany) after bombing with their condition now, impels admiration. Yet Wurzburg is a good example of where the exact significance of the shapes of the historic urban spaces was inadequately appreciated, and the immediate post-war period was not the most appropriate time to plead ancient civic ceremonial. Earlier punctures for traffic or trams through the street walls were maintained (traffic was about to enter, after all, the period of its greatest expansion). Street corners were shaved off, streets and lanes widened, and there was good provision for car parking on land previously occupied by buildings. A lower scale and density in redevelopment was encouraged and sometimes enforced. Thus what has been achieved is more a distant echo of these taut spaces than their actuality. Neither spatial tension nor weather protection has been achieved.

Conservation and retrieval

'A building or town is given its character, essentially, by those events which keep on happening there most often and these patterns are particular according to its prevailing culture' (Alexander 1979, 66). Since a town's or a city's urban spaces were customised by its inhabitants to create reasonable comfort for the activities they wished to undertake, the specific shape and details should help identify its character. Many of those activities, however, are now historic. Marketplaces that become pedestrianised, but lack a market, like that of Dumfries, convey a desolate emptiness (Fig 6.2). It is now received wisdom that the social segregation and the abandonment of the public domain should be reversed: 'In spite of the utopias, the building booms, the functions of the street have only been modified not altered out of recognition in existing cities, however powerful the technological innovations: rail, motor car, elevator, television. The expectation of daily human contact which the street uniquely offers, and offers in a pattern of exchanges without which the community would break down, is inhibited at the risk of the increasing alienation of the inhabitant from his city' (Rykwert 1982, 104).

Districts abandoned over 200 years ago are being regenerated, and cafés emerge on pavements where they have not been seen in almost recorded memory. Throughout Europe, people are reclaiming urban space from the wheeled vehicle: the whole of central Kraków is barred to through traffic, and most towns and cities in Germany have pedestrianised and paved much of their ancient centres (Figs 3.13, 3.14, 3.15 & 3.16). Perhaps the single most comprehensive example is the way in which Copenhagen has linked together and paved a succession of approximate streets and squares into a primary pedestrian spine

Figure 3.14 Contemporary uses: Hunter Square, Edinburgh (courtesy of the author). Hunter Square, a late 18th-century insertion to make sense of the new South Bridge and its parallel Blair Street, has been largely pedestrianised, partially terraced with sculptures, and colonised by cafés. With the urban gaps now filled, and largely enclosed on all sides, there is successful café life for much of the year.

named Strøget. The extent to which our society now differs from that centuries ago is implied by Strøget's joining together the primary shopping streets rather than the primary ceremonial or institutional ones, which lie to either side. Is simple pedestrianisation enough? 'The street is human movement institutionalised', whereas a road suggests movement to a destination (Rykwert 1982, 105). Does it change its character once paved, if the preconditions and narrownesses that existed before it became a road are not reintroduced?

The conservation of towns and cities, therefore, requires an understanding of the underlying urban values that may have informed the original. 'If old environments are superior to new ones (sometimes they are, sometimes not), then we must study them to see what these superior qualities are, so that we can achieve them in a new way' (Lynch 1972, 56). That these issues can be subjective rather than objective, and depend upon cultural background, is illustrated by Kevin Lynch's North American perspective of Florence (Italy): 'The central city has distinct characters of almost oppressive strength: slot-like streets, stone paved; tall stone and stucco buildings, yellowish gray in color, with shutters, iron grills, and cave like entrances topped by the characteristic deep Florentine eaves' (Lynch 1975, 92). This emphasis on oppressiveness, defensiveness, being trapped and kept out, resembles fellow American Henry James' perception of Italy in *Portrait of a Lady* as blank, oppressive and exclusive.

Wind, however, may be a disturber in a city: welcome in a hot climate but not otherwise. A windy city is often an odourless city (a sense of smell can be central to the personality of a place). A hot city of blank walls and no shade can be uncomfortable and threatening. A well-tempered city environment is one that allows physical well-being and an absence of discomfort: one in which the spaces are reliable, easily understood and provide necessary shelter from rain, sun and wind; as well as being fit for whatever their purpose is, or was. Even now, if you walk along narrow, tall streets and perceive a break in the tunnel ahead – usually announced by light – your instinctive expectation is that the street will broaden out into a place of significance; and that one or more buildings in that place will be of requisite scale, quality and importance. If you pass down an ancient street, enfolded in its sense of enclosure and security (even oppressiveness), to find that the light gap ahead signifies nothing grander than the careless demolition of the street wall, the insertion of an out-of-scale roadway or a tower-and-podium, a building which transforms both scale and microclimate, your reaction is different. Whether or not the climate blasts you across the gap, you believe that it might. The sense of expectation has been traduced, and the feeling of security breached.

In their dissection of 'Collage City', Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter were not impressed by the concept of townscape, 'a cult of English villages, Italian hill towns and North African casbahs', since it was 'above all, a matter of felicitous happenings and anonymous architecture'. They were concerned that, in practice, townscape seemed 'to have lacked any ideal referent for the always engaging "accidents" which it sought to promote' (Rowe and Koetter n d, 33–6); and at the potential for artificiality which might result. Nobody other than the late Clough Williams Ellis at Portmeirion, ever set out self-consciously to build a happy accident; and for those who now do, there is the risk of copying forms for their own sake without understanding the underlying rationale.

Perhaps what has made the concept of 'townscape' so very popular is that, in addition to the historic undertones that appeal to something atavistic in our nature, it also conveys signals of physical comfort. If we examined the performance of those ancient urban spaces in relationship to human activity with as much care as we do the buildings, what might emerge is how man, over centuries, has customised his environment in the pursuit of comfortable and

Figure 3.15 Contemporary uses: Grassmarket, Edinburgh (courtesy of the author). Except for the Saturday flea-market during the Edinburgh Festival, markets have quit the Grassmarket, once Edinburgh's service centre. It has been split – a through road on one flank and a re-cobbled urban space on the other. Apart from the market and processions, street life tends to huddle for shelter against the north wall of buildings since this was the space into which wind was welcomed.

Figure 3.16 Contemporary uses: Piazza San Marco, Venice (courtesy of the author). Quite possibly the earliest European space to replace its original ceremonial functions with those of tourism and café society. It is always worth observing how the popularity of cafés (prices apart!) tends to vary with the location and strength of the sun or the wind. There are limits to acceptable discomfort even when upon Europe's premier urban stage.

suitable conditions for civic activities. As much in the open air rooms of the city as within his own dwelling, he sought to keep out draughts and damp, and maximise sun and light up to the point of comfort. The task for the future will be to consider how these outdoor rooms, crafted originally in the pre-vehicular city for purposes long dead, might be repossessed for contemporary life in the post-vehicular city. As may be seen from poorly patronised plazas, walkways and street cafés, pedestrian accessibility is not sufficient. Given the choice between comfort and discomfort, people choose comfort; and in the 20th century, that has been taken to imply a choice between indoors and outdoors. Yet control of climate, achieved by manipulation of the physical form, might be a more attractive and ecological approach than that of excluding the climate by the creation of shopping malls.

Notes

1 This study has developed from an exploratory paper given at the Fifth Walled Cities International Conference, Valletta 1995.
2 Quoted by Lewis Mumford, 1966 *The city in history*, 216.
3 'The ideal city', 55, in *The ideal city* ed Helen E Meller (Leicester 1979), 55–66. Barnett's vision of the 'ideal city' was obsessed with the ideas of community and memory: 'The citizen, as he walks the streets of the "ideal city", notes the odd names, turns by some twist, or catches sight of some tower, will feel himself encompassed by a cloud of witnesses, and will hear a voice telling him that the ground he treads is made holy by the toil of the city's fathers' (Barnett, in Meller 1979, 57). He later suggested the many different groups of people whom he envisioned might mingle simultaneously – workmen, those at a market, a civic procession, a procession of trades unionists, politicians, merchants and passers-by *ibid* 61); a somewhat nostalgic view of society, given that few workmen or trades unionists would now identify themselves as such in the public domain.
4 There are innumerable symbolic, political or economic based studies of cities, a good example of the study of urban history in symbolic terms being *Collage city* by Colin Rowe & Fred Koetter (Massachusetts n d).
5 For an excellent introduction to this approach, see Kostoff; for an introduction to how buildings evolve in parallel to cities, see Stewart Brand *How buildings learn* (New York 1994).
6 Manuscript map of St Andrews, *c* 1588, held in the Map Library, the National Library of Scotland. See front cover.

4 Why small is beautiful in Scandinavia
by Brian M Evans

This chapter examines current practice in Sweden and Norway in designing programmes for the development of towns and small cities which are sustainable yet competitive. The 'Moderate Town' programme in Sweden is reviewed and the cases of Kalmar, Ålesund and Bergen are briefly discussed.

The Nordic countries of Sweden, Finland and Norway are sparsely populated compared with other European countries. The northern lands are particularly empty and remote and will benefit from new EU structural funds to address these issues. The settlement pattern of Scotland has much in common with these countries, as compared to more populated parts of the United Kingdom and mainland Europe; and the remoter and sparsely populated parts of Scotland also qualify for this new EU programme.

The settlement pattern in Scandinavia, as elsewhere in Europe, is a product of history, culture, climate and economic geography. In Norway, the early settlement pattern was coastal, where towns were established as religious, administrative and trading centres. Towns like Bergen and Nidaros (Trondheim) are referred to in European literature from the 12th century and by the time of the Hanseatic league had grown into prosperous settlements (Bing *et al* 1997, 120–1). Sweden, in contrast, had a landward pattern of towns evolving from an agricultural economy. Traditionally, Scandinavian towns were constructed of wood, which made them susceptible to fire; this has affected nearly every Scandinavian city at some point in its history. In many places, rebuilding in stone, and later in concrete, was mandatory, with a resultant loss in the timber building tradition which nonetheless continued to flourish in the countryside where the risk of fire was much less. Today, the surviving timber heritage, together with the subsquent stone-built townscape, is carefully conserved. The concern to protect and enhance this heritage is evident in the substantial literature dealing with techniques of conservation of the built and cultural heritage and with design principles to encourage suitable future development, such as appropriate reuse and conversion of historic buildings.[1]

All Scandinavian countries have been late to urbanise and this has affected the settlement pattern until the present day. Sweden, for example, has one of the lowest percentages in Europe of cities of 100,000 or greater and has the highest proportion of settlements between 10,000 and 100,000. Today, 45% of the population still live in communities smaller than 10,000 (Engström & Johansson 1999, 1). As a consequence of this settlement structure, some towns and small cities house large national and international companies. However, many of these towns face skills shortages from net out-migration of young people to attend further education. Despite an ambitious programme of regional policy and an expansion of the public sector to maintain high levels of service during the 1970s and 1980s, out-migration to the metropolitan areas remains a problem. Sweden has turned to new programmes of urban-rural partnership, upon which to build sustainable programmes for the future (Engström & Johansson 1999, 2).

The 'Moderate Town'

In 1995, the Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning (Boverket 1995a) published a document entitled *The Moderate Town*, a phrase chosen to describe the large number of medium sized towns with special qualities. In Swedish, the word for moderate is *måttful*, a word which conveys a range of meanings, usually with positive connotations. *The Moderate Town* was a concept born out of a study of these medium sized towns, where the majority of housing was located in easy walking or cycling distance of the town centre, which in turn had a compact and thriving character with mixed retail and commercial uses, professional services, and cultural and recreational facilities. The Boverket research concluded that towns and small cities up to 70,000 of a population constituted a 'moderate town' (von Platen 1998, 125). Here, the transport system can allow the city to be relatively compact and, thus, efficient in use of energy and resources, yet be of a sufficient size to accommodate a reasonable labour market, transport system, vibrant town centre, a range of public and commercial services and a range of recreational facilities. In other words, the 'Moderate Town' represented a good balance from which to establish the critical mass of towns and cities in Sweden. Most of the county capitals fall into this range of population (von Platen 1998, 125).

The need for this work arose at the end of the 1980s, when many towns were threatened by proposals to build new shopping malls, or new high-rise business parks at the edge of town, close to major roads. Usually, these proposals were formulated in an effort to help the town compete in the marketplace for new high-technology industries. One of the principal effects of these proposals would be increased car use and pressure on the established town

centre, with the possible displacement of facilities from the centre to the edge, following the experience of the USA and much of mainland Europe. The Boverket research helped to identify the aspects of the general and historic character of these medium sized towns which could be lost if the edge-of-town projects were built. Thus, the very qualities that towns were intending to build upon could be lost through the pursuit of new proposals – a dilemma in planning terms. To do nothing would prejudice the future viability and competitiveness of the town; to build the market-driven, edge-of-town projects could fundamentally and irreversibly change the quality and character of the town in a negative manner.

In *Sweden 2009* (Boverket 1995b), the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning formulated a process to deal with the different conditions for development issues facing small settlements, medium sized towns and metropolitan cities, in respect of their type and regional context. The issues for medium sized towns raised by Boverket included sustainable development (in particular, conservation of fabric and resources) and greater accessibility to the national and international market-place. Linking settlements together in a network, supported by a partnership of public services and local business appeared to be a sound basis for tackling the problems of edge-of-town pressure in a constructive way, and also permitted a network or multi-centre response to the needs of the market rather than a single centre solution. Encouraging the concentration of functions on central urban areas supported urban renaissance within a regional network. The 'Moderate Town' programme was established to understand the ability of these places to withstand change and to be sustainable in the long term within the national and international market-place through the promotion of communications and business networks.

In Nordic countries, power in the public sector is decentralised, revealing a further parallel for Scotland in the period of establishing its national parliament. In Sweden, the state sets the framework for development programmes, but individual towns and cities have considerable freedom to act on local decisions in an independent manner. This, together with a powerful public sector, gives Swedish towns and small cities considerable autonomy in local decision making as compared to similar sized settlements in other European countries. The 'Moderate Town' programme has encouraged towns and small cities to enter into partnering arrangements with similar and nearby towns, particularly to deal with the implementation of programmes under Agenda 21 (the programme of environmental awareness and local accountability introduced following the World Summit in Rio) and in dealing with labour market issues. The programme is important in facing the consequences of pressure on public spending programmes, particularly in social programmes for which Sweden has historically been renowned and in helping towns and small cities to build a platform upon which to build a sustainable programme for the future through the establishment of a quality environment for business, culture and promotion. The consequences of this programme in terms of networking between towns, improved transport and communication networks and programmes of cultural development and promotion can be illustrated by reference to Kalmar in the south of the country.

Kalmar

Kalmar is an historic town in south-east Sweden on the Baltic Sea. In the 1300s, the town was the location for the ratification of the Kalmar Union, which united the Nordic countries for 100 years during the time of the Hanseatic League. Kalmar is located in the county of Småland on the south-east coast of Sweden opposite the large island of Öland, to which it is connected by a 6km bridge. Following a severe fire in the 1640s, the 17th-century new town was laid out to a regular grid on the island of Kvarnholmen. The 14th-century castle was rebuilt two centuries later and remains one of Sweden's best preserved Renaissance buildings (Fig 4.1) (Malmborg 1997, 106).

Today, Kalmar has a population of 60,000, making it one of the largest towns in Sweden. Much of the population is concentrated in the centre. Kalmar is a nucleus for local administration and supports other services including a university college with over 5000 students, who contribute greatly to the town's vitality and the range of cultural facilities available there. In recent years, a programme of regeneration has promoted the adaptive reuse of important older buildings, including the conversion of a former watertower and breweries to residential properties and also that of a former corn mill on the harbourfront to a concert hall and museum.

The size of Kalmar makes it vulnerable to change, since many of the important businesses in the town are branch plants of larger organisations with headquarters elsewhere. New technologies enter the town and the region in a secondary capacity, since the research and marketing functions of these businesses are located elsewhere. As a result, the town has reacted to trends, rather than being pro-active in its approach. Until recently, business leaders have been implementors, rather than creators of policy, and this has had a knock-on effect on civic life. However, the trend of delegation in industry, to encourage local responsibility for profit centres, means that business is becoming more pro-active in its relationship with, and promotion of, the town. Today, there is more emphasis on finding projects where the business sector, in partnership with concerted action from the local authority, can play a larger role in establishing programmes for integrated development, which involves business development, physical improvement and cultural

Figure 4.1 Kalmar town centre from the south, with the Renaissance palace in the foreground and the 17th-century new town beyond (reproduced with kind permission of C Carlquist)

promotion. Although these programmes are modest in comparison with other parts of Europe, Kalmar has recognised the need to diversify spending of the public budget from the traditional programmes of education, housing, welfare and technical services to embrace recreation, culture, including heritage, and marketing to promote the town as a business, residential and visitor destination, thereby contributing revenue, which in turn helps support the traditional programmes through the tax base (Malmborg 1997, 107).

The principal mechanism for promotion and marketing of the town adopted by Kalmar has been partnership and networking. The first stage involved the establishment of a network involving the local authority, the university college, local business and regional institutions, followed by the establishment of working relationships for programmes with the town's immediate neighbours to reinforce basic services, as well as marketing and tourism. The second stage involved the establishment of strategic projects at the regional level, such as the promotion of the 'coast to coast' services: the railway line and the improvement of the E22 arterial route to Mälmo. Longer term programmes involve cooperation on a regional level with the neighbouring cities of Karlskrona and Växjö to promote south-east Sweden within the Baltic Sea region of Europe by embracing the integration of airports and ferry services. The provision of good transportation and communications is an essential first step in developing a competitive region in Europe to address wider issues, such as access to markets, educational provision, labour supply, and so on. Other examples of cooperation include the establishment of a joint Agenda 21 programme (Linnaeus Environment Resource) and collaborative programmes with similar sized towns and cities in the Baltic States and Lithuania, in particular; Kalmar, Karlskrona and Växjö are working with their three sister towns of Kaunas, Panevezys and Klaipeda (Malmborg 1997, 108).

In Kalmar's regeneration programme, the first step has been intra-regional development, a programme of development in transportation and communication – roads, railways, airports and ferry services. The second step is inter-regional cooperation: within Sweden, in a network of small towns and cities in southern Sweden (SydSam), to carry out functions that the towns and cities cannot achieve on their own, such as representation at Brussels; and with other Baltic Sea cities within the Union of The Baltic Cities (UBC) with its headquarters in Gdansk.

Figure 4.2 Adaptive reuse of historic buildings in Ålesund, Norway (courtesy of the author). Former fish warehouses have been restored and converted to hotels and apartments.

Ålesund and Sunnmøre

The Sunnmøre region of Norway lies on the west coast between the cities of Bergen and Trondheim, the southern part of the county of Møre and Romsdal. Sunnmøre is a surprising region. The landscape and seascape are stunning and the area is home to strong and vibrant industries. The economy of fishing and fish-processing is supported by a fishing fleet which now operates globally, flying local crews as far as New Zealand and south-east Asia to boats from the local fleet. The fishing economy is supported by notable success in ship-building in the small communities of Bratvåg and Ulsteinvik. Recently, Ulstein, (which, together with Kværner, is the major ship-builder in the area) merged with Vickers and the new international headquarters of Vickers Ulstein Marine, a major international business, will be located in Ulsteinvik, a small town with a population of under 2000 people. More surprising is the strength of the region's furniture industry. Concentrated around the small fjord town of Sykkylven are a number of major furniture manufacturers who together produce 40% of the furniture built in Norway (Anon 1997, 10).

At the heart of Sunnmøre lies the town of Ålesund with a population of approximately 30,000. The original timber city burned down in 1904 and was largely rebuilt by 1907 by Norwegian architects working under the patronage of Kaiser Wilhelm II, and under the influence of the German *Jugenstil* movement. The town has carried out an on-going programme of conservation to these *Jugenstil* buildings, of which it is justifiably proud (Fig 4.2). This programme culminated in a festival in 1998 to celebrate 150 years of the town's life and heritage (Grytten 1997, 12–22).

The local business development agency (Sunnmøre Næringsråd) has used the opportunity of the anniversary celebration to promote interest in the region and has been successful in establishing two major projects as an initial starting point for a formal programme of networking between settlements and partnership between the public and private sector; this is designed to establish the Sunnmøre region as a city network in its own right – able to compete in the national and international market-place, while at the same time retaining its local distinctiveness and quality. The emphasis, in this case, is likely to be with partners around the North Sea, as opposed to the Baltic as in the case of Kalmar described above.

Two key projects are being developed. The first – 'the City of Sunnmøre' – is a convenient title to describe an integrated network of settlements

Figure 4.3 Adaptive reuse of historic buildings in Bergen, Norway (courtesy of the author). Surviving timber buildings have been restored and converted to shops and restaurants, retaining local character and contributing to the attractiveness and vitality of the city by day and night.

and business centres, supported by a modern intra-regional transport system to provide effective communications both throughout the region of Sunnmøre and also to external markets, through the construction of new bridges and sub-sea tunnels. The second – 'Gateway to Sunnmøre' – is a project which considers the development consequences arising from the growing regional airport on the island of Vigra, some 20 minutes from the centre of Ålesund by road and sub-sea tunnel. The Gateway project seeks to provide a visionary framework to accommodate development demands on the one hand, while promoting local identity and safeguarding intrinsic, cultural and historic qualities on the other – it is a programme to add value through constructive development and creative conservation.

In Sunnmøre, the new initiatives are the result largely of the visionary approach of the local business agency, which encourages public–private partnerships and networking between settlements, in order to make the region stronger as a whole.

Bergen

A different form of initiative is being pursued by the City of Bergen which lies in a dramatic setting between seven hills overlooking an archipelago formed by the mouths of fjords. The town was founded in 1070 by King Olav Kyrre; became the largest and most important town in medieval Norway; and from the 14th century a Hanseatic city and part of the European and Baltic trading network. Bergen first developed a German and later a Norwegian merchant class (Kalve & Smedsveg 1998, 48). Bryggen, on the northern side of the harbour, is the site of the original settlement of Bergen, and has retained an area of original wooden trading buildings on the waterfront which were originally constructed to a rigorous set of regulations covering height, width and depth of the buildings, as well as many operating principles for the businesses and the personnel employed there. This discipline has bequeathed to Bergen a fine area of wooden buildings which fortuitously escaped the city fire of 1702. Today, they have been subject to a careful programme of adaptive reuse. Well restored and thoughtfully converted, they now provide the city with an interesting area of shops, restaurants and bars (Fig 4.3).

The Bryggen area runs into Vågen, the head of the central harbour, where a vibrant local fish market has been retained and redeveloped as part of a programme of conservation and improvements to the public realm, with the purpose of underpinning its

modern business competitiveness. In 1991, Bergen established an ambitious programme to improve the quality of public space throughout the city, for completion by the year 2000. The principal spaces in the city centre, Torget and Torgalmenningen, have been redesigned by local architects 'Next to Nothing', with a modern interpretation based on careful understanding of the historical and cultural context. In particular, care was taken to follow a design language and use building materials which contribute to local identity (Kalve & Smedsveg 1998, 46).

These initiatives have helped Bergen secure participation in the EU cultural city programme for the year 2000. The importance of towns and small cities has been recognised by the EU in the decision to establish a network of cities to share the title of 'European City of Culture' for the year 2000. Brussels, Reykjavik, Helsinki, Prague, Kraków, Avignon, Bologna and Santiago de Compostela will share the title with Bergen and will establish a network of cultural cities for the Millennium (Mikalsen 1999, 41). It is interesting that this programme, which started with a celebration of the established cultural icons of Europe – Florence, Amsterdam, Paris – has matured to embrace regenerating post-industrial cities, such as Glasgow and Bilbao, and has now been further extended to embrace the importance and role of small historic cities.

Conclusions

It is clear in the countries of Scandinavia and northern Europe, which have a peripheral location, small population, but large land area with small settlements, that networking and partnership is widely recognised as offering a means to combine and utilise resources in a cost-effective manner. The key to the success of these programmes is the opportunity to 'add value' through combined action and economy of scale which could not otherwise be achieved. If a town abstains from the developing network, it runs the risk of becoming isolated and marginalised. On the other hand, participation seems to offer the opportunity to remain competitive into the next century. In learning from the Scandinavian experience, it would appear that towns and small cities can assist in developing a sustainable and competitive future by: retaining the essential qualities of their intrinsic character; developing better transport and communications links with larger markets; and working in cooperation with their near neighbours.

Underlying the networking programmes of both Kalmar and Ålesund is a recognition by smaller towns and cities that competition in the national and European market-place can only be achieved in partnership. In both cases, emphasis in the first instance is given to developing communications within the region to a level similar to a larger monocentric city of a similar size.

It appears that as towns and small cities prepare to join forces in local networks and work with international partners beyond the national boundary, they turn again by instinct and by design to the historical trading blocks which for centuries helped define their character and culture. Thus the west coast of Norway looks to Denmark, the Netherlands, Scotland and Ireland – the Nordic-Celtic fringe, and southern Sweden looks to the communities around the Baltic now that the 'superpower world order' of the mid 20th century has broken down and old historio-cultural links can be re-explored.

In the next century, European cities will no longer be able to rely on public sector support from national governments, as Europe competes with North America, South-east Asia and China in the 21st-century market-place. Communities, towns and cities will require to be attractive and competitive and will have to achieve this on their own. One of the best ways to achieve this will be through a 'home-based' network of partners. The Swedish concept of the 'moderate town' appears to offer an interesting model to achieve the aims of attractive town life, good communications and vibrant economy.

The importance of small towns and cities and support for their sustainability and development is becoming more evident at European, national and local level. This chapter has explored the evidence in Scandinavia and, in Chapter 18, the author examines research and national advice established to support the small town in Scotland and, in particular, the importance of recognising the context – the historical development of the town and the culture of its people as fundamental 'capital' upon which to design programmes for future development.

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Notes

1 On conservation of buildings, towns and their landscape settings, see, for example, Bing *et al* 1996; Boverket 1989, 1996; Bruun 1993; Forseth & Giljane 1986; Kyllingstad 1984; Norsk Form undated; Stange 1998; & Troedson 1995.

PART III THE SCOTTISH URBAN EXPERIENCE

5 Protecting the archaeology of Scotland's historic burghs *by Olwyn Owen*

Introduction

The archaeological record provides tantalising glimpses of settlements of urban character springing up in early medieval times, although Scotland's towns become visible to history only in the 12th century (Lynch *et al* 1988, *passim*). About fifteen burghs, including Perth, Edinburgh, Stirling and Dunfermline, can trace their historical foundations to the reign of David I (1124–53). These royal foundations were deliberate creations, part of a political and economic project aimed at the stamping of royal authority on a country of diverse peoples and varied geography.

Several of Scotland's historic burghs, most notably Perth, Aberdeen, Edinburgh and St Andrews, have been shown to contain exceptionally rich and complex archaeological remains (eg Bowler *et al* 1995; Murray 1982; Schofield 1975–6; Rains and Hall 1997). Other medieval towns in Scotland have demonstrated good potential for the survival of important archaeological remains – Arbroath, Ayr, Dumfries, Dunbar, Dunfermline, Elgin, Inverness, North Berwick and Peebles, to name but a few (Fig 5.1). Many of Scotland's historic burghs, despite shifts in the density or focus of settlement, have experienced continuity of occupation from medieval times. Buried archaeological deposits and features, formed over centuries, together with the surviving visible links with history, such as standing historic buildings, the physical setting of towns and their historic street patterns, form a nationally important resource for the study of the past and for understanding the origins, development and growth of urban centres.

Figure 5.1 North Berwick, East Lothian (courtesy of SUAT Ltd). This substantial late medieval malting kiln was found in 1993. Although the kiln walls stood up to 2.3m high, this was a completely unexpected discovery – the top of the highest standing section of walling was found underneath the topsoil. Many of Scotland's small towns may have similar archaeological potential.

Urban archaeology is a relatively young subset of archaeology. Indeed, as late as the 1970s, there was a level of ignorance about the value of urban archaeological deposits. A turning point came in 1972, with publication by Carolyn Heighway of *The erosion of history*. This national survey of Britain's historic towns drew attention to a 'crisis in urban archaeology', namely the unprecedented scale of major redevelopment of town centres from the 1960s onwards, often leading to the total destruction of urban archaeological deposits. In Scotland, in the same year, this concern was echoed in a report by the Society of Antiquaries, edited by Grant Simpson – *Scotland's Medieval Burghs: an archaeological heritage in danger*. Even as this was being written, plans were afoot to massively redevelop the heart of the royal burgh of Dumbarton.

These reports were milestones in changing attitudes, but the central problem remains with us today – in most towns the entire area of archaeological sensitivity lies beneath a living community with the myriad requirements of modern life. Any ground disturbance in the core of an historic burgh, whether major (like the demolition of a rundown block of buildings and its replacement by a shopping precinct, or the insertion of a whole new road system), or minor (such as digging trenches for the upgrading of essential services, inserting modern communication systems, or installing new street furniture and planting trees), or within standing buildings (for example, to reinforce the foundations or replace the floor), could encounter deposits of archaeological interest. The archaeology of Scotland's historic towns is highly vulnerable to damage and destruction. This is perhaps especially true of many smaller burghs, where the archaeology is in some ways more difficult to protect; their archaeological stratigraphy is often thin and, therefore, susceptible to damage from the slightest of disturbances. Against this backdrop, a presumption in favour of preservation, which is Historic Scotland's preferred approach to any important archaeological remains, may seem like so much whistling in the wind.

Scheduling and the urban archaeological resource

The main instrument for the legal protection of archaeological remains is the *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979*, which states that 'The Secretary of State shall compile and maintain a Schedule of monuments which appear to him to be of national importance'. Scheduling proposals are drawn up by Inspectors of Ancient Monuments within Historic Scotland, and approved by the Ancient Monuments Board for Scotland (an advisory body to the Secretary of State), before being added to the Schedule. Scheduling is by far the most effective way to protect monuments. Once scheduled, there is a presumption in favour of preservation in perpetuity. Any works which will lead to damage, demolition, or destruction of the monument, any works of repair, removal, alteration or addition, and any flooding or tipping can be carried out only with the prior written permission (known as Scheduled Monument Consent) of the Secretary of State.

This raises two important questions, however. How do we define an ancient monument; and what makes a monument of national importance? We tend to think of ancient monuments as discrete sites (prehistoric chambered tombs, Roman forts, medieval castles, and so on); but an ancient monument can be any site which retains direct evidence of past human action. Historic towns are good examples of what we could almost call indiscrete sites. As Carver (1993, 1) said, 'Each town creates its own version of its own history, and treads it underfoot. This is what constitutes the heritage we prize'.

One of the most important aspects of the archaeology of places with a long history, such as towns, is the potential they offer for the study of social and economic change over centuries, through the examination of superimposed layers of buried material. On Perth High Street, for instance, buried deposits up to four metres deep are not uncommon (Fig 5.2) (Bogdan & Wordsworth 1978, 14). In towns such deposits result from two main sources:

1 the disposal of rubbish. At Coppergate, in York, archaeologists believe that refuse dumping in the 10th century alone raised the level of the backyards of Anglo-Scandinavian buildings by about 2m (Hall 1984, 53);
2 superimposed buildings. Until recently, a town building was simply levelled when no longer useful, and the next building erected on top with little or no footings. This cycle of building, occupation, levelling and rebuilding could soon create a build-up of structural remains.

Other sources of build-up might be the dumping of rubble and other refuse to create level terraces for building or to combat flooding; or the import of soil for the development of backyards and gardens. These sources are augmented by natural processes, such as the accumulation of soil from decaying organic matter when urban areas are neglected or temporarily deserted; or the deposition of materials by floods.

Not all ancient monuments are obvious to the naked eye. In much of rural Scotland, long-term ploughing has removed the surface traces of ancient settlements, which can now be seen only from the air in certain conditions. In historic towns, although the historic street pattern and relict backlands may survive, layers of archaeological deposits and relict features are usually invisible, concealed beneath the streets and buildings, and normally they remain invisible, even from the air.

Often the only way to find and assess urban archaeological sites is to dig a hole, or watch someone else dig a hole. In towns, watching briefs and trial excavations, although often individually providing

Figure 5.2 Excavations in progress at Perth High Street, 1975–8 (courtesy of Perth High Street Excavation Committee)

limited archaeological evidence, are cumulatively very important. They are often the only way to assess the location, nature, depth and importance of the surviving archaeological deposits across the burgh, to locate important features of the early town and its boundaries, and to assess the varying impact of the natural (underlying) topography on the siting of the town and its component parts.

So how has Historic Scotland defined ancient monuments of national importance in towns up to now? The answer is that we hardly ever have. In Jedburgh, for instance, although a well-known historic burgh (Turner Simpson & Stevenson 1981) where more than ten excavations have taken place over the last fifteen years or so, there are only five scheduled monuments (Fig 5.3). Kirkcaldy, a burgh with a fascinating history and the first town to be surveyed by the new Scottish Burgh Survey, has none (Torrie & Coleman 1995, see fig 18). This is not unusual. Ever since Historic Scotland's predecessors first began to protect monuments in 1882, only the most visible and tangible urban archaeological features have tended to be scheduled – bridges, castles, monastic houses; Jedburgh is a classic example of this. This approach was a valid starting point, given that an ancient building still standing above ground is as much an archaeological site as its buried counterpart, and will repay careful archaeological study to uncover the sequence of its construction and alteration.

Archaeological research has advanced considerably since 1882, however, as has our perception of what it is desirable to record and protect. It is now commonly accepted that areas of archaeological deposits, as well as upstanding remains, call for protection. The 1979 Act defines a monument as 'any building, structure or work, whether above or below the surface of the land . . . ; and any site comprising the remains of any such building, structure or work . . . '; and archaeological remains as 'any trace or sign of the previous existence of the thing in question . . . '. It also says 'the site of a monument includes not only the land in or on which it is situated, but also any land comprising or adjoining it which appears to the Secretary of State . . . to be essential for that monument's support and preservation . . . '. At least in theory, then, the Act allows Historic Scotland (and its equivalent bodies elsewhere in the United Kingdom) to include within the Schedule much more of the 'history trodden underfoot' in our historic towns than used to be the case.

The Act also states, however, that 'The power of the Secretary of State to include any monument in the Schedule does *not* apply to any structure which is

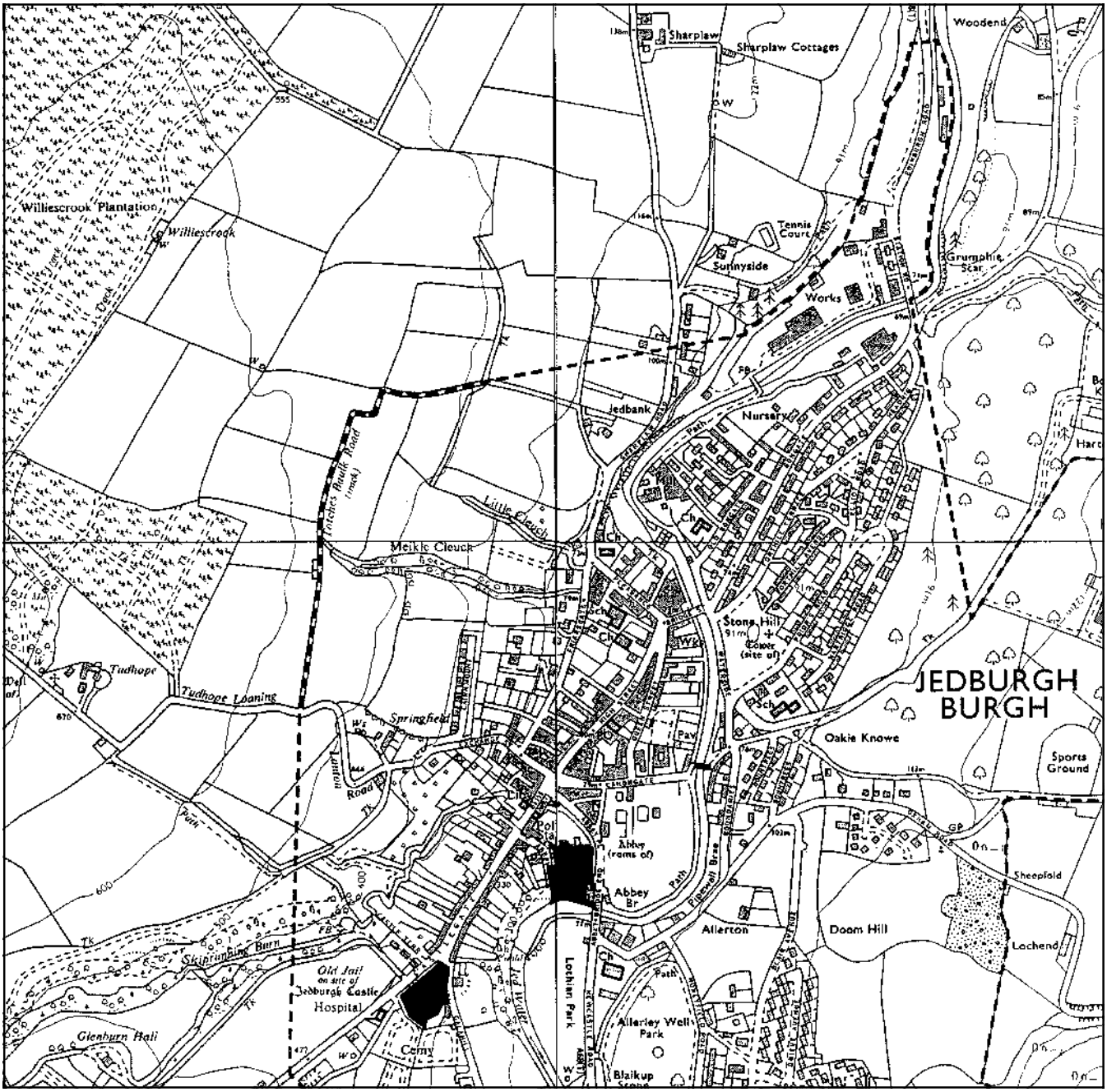

Figure 5.3 Scheduled ancient monuments in Jedburgh (courtesy of Historic Scotland). The five scheduled monuments are: Canongate Bridge, a 16th-century pedestrian bridge; an 18th-century gatehouse which probably occupies the site of the entrance to the abbey precinct; the old jail on the site of Jedburgh Castle; Queen Mary's House, a late 16th-century bastle housing a small museum (in fact a candidate for descheduling, since it is also an A-listed building); and, of course, Jedburgh Abbey, a property in the care of Historic Scotland. *In the event, this building was descheduled in December 1998*

occupied as a dwelling house by any person . . . '. Nor does it apply to a building in ecclesiastical use. Scheduling is generally applied to monuments which no longer serve their original function. Successful towns, almost by definition, comprise almost nothing but occupied buildings, as a result of which scheduling has rarely seemed a practical option. Practicalities, therefore, have often prevented attempts to schedule the archaeological deposits beneath these buildings; although Historic Scotland is now considering ways of extending scheduling to cover urban archaeological deposits, where they can be proved to exist.

Interestingly, a recent case may set a useful precedent. In Melrose, an extensive area, based on the line of the abbey precinct, which includes a built-up area of occupied buildings (with a minimum of 24 owners), has recently been scheduled. This case has established that the Act allows the scheduling of ancient monuments underneath occupied buildings

(excluding the standing structures on top), and demonstrates that there is great potential to improve the representation of urban archaeological sites in the Schedule.

This does not entirely circumvent, however, the dual problem of how to define what is under an urban building and how to prove it to be of national importance. Scheduling is a legal process. In order to schedule a monument, an Inspector has to mark the monument on a map with a definite boundary; and for legal protection to be effective, this boundary must be clear not only to Historic Scotland, but also to owners and occupiers of the site and, indeed, to members of the general public. In the case of Melrose, the approximate line of the abbey precinct provides such a boundary; but for sites that were never strictly delineated, sites which are important precisely because they encapsulate changes (a build-up of archaeological deposits and structural remains representing centuries of change), deciding where to draw the boundary is extremely difficult, and must be a pragmatic as well as an archaeologically-based decision. Sterilisation of a large part of the core of an historic town, through extensive scheduling, is rarely either a practical or desirable option.

Therefore, although there are no restrictions on the size of area which may be scheduled, in practice, scheduling has tended to be restricted to the key elements within any historic landscape. In urban contexts, these are almost always the above-ground key elements, even though we now recognise that in historic towns these are often the tip of an archaeological iceberg.

Historic Scotland accepts that the existing corpus of scheduled monuments in Scotland's historic towns is both incomplete and anomalous, partly as a result of the 'ad hoc' way in which monuments have been added to the Schedule over the last 100 years or more, and partly because of the practical difficulties encountered in scheduling monuments and deposits in towns. Equally, it accepts that there are some monuments and important archaeological deposits in Scotland's historic towns which deserve protection – in short, where there should be a presumption in favour of preservation. Scheduling can only ever be a small part of the answer for protection of the archaeology of towns but, given the acknowledged inconsistencies and lacunae in the present corpus, Historic Scotland has recently adopted historic towns as a scheduling 'theme'. As a first step, some twenty burghs will be selected for review. Some of the selected burghs will have seen several or many archaeological interventions in recent years, and some (not necessarily the same burghs) will have been subject to recent historical and cartographic research; in others, the archaeological potential is still largely an unknown quantity. The review will assess the nature and extent of any existing scheduled monuments on a burgh by burgh basis. It will identify those monuments which require re-scheduling to take better account of their curtilages and related deposits, and those monuments which should be de-scheduled (normally monuments scheduled many years ago which might be better protected today through listing (see below)). In addition, it will assess the scheduling potential of each town, identifying monuments or areas of archaeological importance where scheduling could be considered for the first time. It is anticipated that the review will lead not only to a consistent and enhanced scheduling programme being undertaken in those towns selected, but also to the production of an agreed set of principles for scheduling in towns, which can be applied in other burghs. At the same time, Historic Scotland will also be considering whether existing protective designations could be applied more effectively to areas of archaeological sensitivity in towns, for example, conservation areas (see below); and considering the need for, and possible scope of, a new area designation to be introduced in any new Ancient Monuments Act, or in any amendments to the existing Act.

Listed buildings and conservation areas

Protection measures are in place for the above-ground elements of historic towns. Some scheduled monuments are also listed buildings; but many more buildings of special architectural or historic interest within towns are listed (see below) than scheduled, precisely because derelict buildings and ruins in town centres (with some noble exceptions like Jedburgh Abbey) tend not to be tolerated for long, by either local communities or relevant authorities.

Many historic standing structures in use in towns have been extensively altered, but still retain the kernels of those stone buildings which once graced the late medieval townscape. Archaeological evidence is likely to survive both beneath and within these buildings, either as a sequence of floor levels, or as deposits which predate the construction of the buildings themselves, or as concealed features within the fabric of the upstanding structures. Indeed, the construction of these buildings is archaeological evidence in itself.

Tower houses of 16th-century date are found in some burghs. Some have survived relatively intact, such as the Castle of St John in Stranraer, now the town museum, built by Ninian Adair in about 1520 (Fig 5.4). Recent archaeological work in the cellars and main hall revealed a number of earlier features (Tabraham & Lewis 1979, 6, and Ritchie 1989, 15), and other hidden architectural detail can be expected elsewhere in the building. At Abbot House, Dunfermline (Coleman 1996), recent restoration work revealed the original front wall of the 15th-century abbot's lodgings; and beneath a later extension to the building were found the remains of part of the Maygate, the earlier medieval street, later subsumed within the extension. Keeping the main arteries of a town clear and passable for traffic is not a new preoccupation of local authorities: medieval

Figure 5.4 Stranraer Castle c 1810 (courtesy of Dumfries and Galloway Libraries, Information and Archives). Humble town dwellings surround the castle – small, thatched, single-storey houses separated by narrow wynds and closes.

Maygate was prone to potholes and had been repeatedly resurfaced. Beneath the oldest surfaces of the Maygate was the abbey precinct wall. Excavations within the building, and analysis of its fabric during restoration, recovered much information, both about the building itself and its changing relationship to the abbey and medieval burgh.

The legislation which protects Scotland's historic standing buildings is principally contained in the *Town and Country Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) (Scotland) Act 1997* and the *Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) (Scotland) Act 1997*. The Secretary of State is required to compile lists of buildings of special architectural or historic interest. All buildings erected before 1840, the character of which remains substantially unimpaired, are included, as well as a selection of later buildings of particular merit. The term 'building' is broadly defined to include fountains, sundials, statues, bridges, bandstands, and even telephone boxes.

Buildings are assigned to one of three categories:

I Category A: of national or international importance, whether architectural, historic, or fine, little altered examples of some particular period, style or building type;

II Category B: of regional importance; or major examples of some period, style or building type which may have been altered; and

III Category C(S): of local importance; or lesser examples of any period, style or building type.

Historic Scotland is responsible for the selection and categorisation of buildings to be listed, but, unlike the procedure of scheduling (where Historic Scotland informs the owner), the planning authority must inform the owner of a building that it has been listed; and the planning authority must deal initially with applications for listed building consent. The aim of listing is to protect the character of the heritage and to guard against unnecessary loss or damage. A listed building does not have to be preserved intact in all circumstances; but demolition must not be allowed unless the case for it has been fully examined, and alterations to exterior or interior must, as far as possible, preserve its character.

Whole areas of 'special architectural or historic interest, the character of which it is desirable to preserve or enhance' can also be protected. Planning authorities must select these areas and designate them as conservation areas. 'Special architectural or historic interest' might also encompass features of

archaeological interest, although rarely, if ever, have conservation areas been designated primarily on the basis of their archaeological interest. Generally, unlisted buildings in conservation areas cannot be demolished without conservation area consent (which is similar to listed building consent). Importantly, from an archaeological point of view, if consent is given to demolish a listed building or an unlisted building in a conservation area, the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland must first be given an opportunity to make a record of the building. Planning authorities also have the discretion to apply additional controls in conservation areas – for example, over the erection of sheds, porches or garages, over alterations to gates, and sometimes even over the colour of external paintwork.

All these measures are designed to protect the surviving buildings and areas of historic or architectural importance, as far as possible in the form in which they have been inherited. It is accepted that the protection afforded by listing extends to the cellars of a building, its foundations and any archaeological deposits within the building; but it does not extend to any remains of an earlier building, or potential archaeological remains below the upstanding listed structure. The archaeology beneath and within the fabric of listed buildings and conservation areas is implicitly protected, however, in that the level of disturbance of any remains is likely to be relatively low.

Since many listed buildings and conservation areas are located in the cores of historic burghs – areas which might be expected to have high archaeological potential – it follows that this level of local authority control does help to preserve archaeological evidence. The *actual* protection of the archaeological resource of listed buildings and conservation areas, however, also depends on local authority recognition of the potential survival of archaeological evidence. For instance, an authority might insist on insertion of a particular type of wall in order to preserve the character of a conservation area, but might not insist on archaeological monitoring of the digging of the foundations. During renovation of a listed building, it might insist on a particular type of window, but might not insist that a record is made of the interior of the structure which had just been stripped back to its original walls for the first time in 300 years. This is particularly pertinent in the aftermath of local government reorganisation in 1996. Many local authorities, faced with multiple demands on their resources, are unfortunately unable to employ the conservation officers and in-house archaeological officers that they might wish, which means that the quality of specialist advice available to planning authorities is variable. Moreover, individual listed building and conservation areas account for a relatively small proportion of the whole area of archaeological interest in our historic burghs. So how can we protect the rest?

Development control in towns

From an academic and archaeological research perspective, it could be argued that the historic burgh is a single archaeological site, its boundary being that of the historic core. If the site is the historic town itself, then by default it is almost impossible to preserve it, and certainly impossible to preserve it intact. Fossilisation is the death knell of towns. Economic prosperity and the very survival of a town depend on it constantly adapting, evolving and renewing itself. This is precisely why urban archaeology mirrors the dynamism of history: medieval and later towns are often the fulcrums of history. Wholesale preservation of a town at a certain point in time defeats the whole object. Towns change throughout their history and the archaeological strength of urban deposits lies in their ability to elucidate change.

Indeed, today – the late 20th century – is only a random point in a continuing process of change in the shape, form and functions of an historic town. Archaeology has a place in determining the future form of the town. In the designation of conservation areas, and in decisions about what types and scale of development might be appropriate to other parts of the historic town, archaeological considerations are essential. The preservation of a unique identity is often the crucial problem facing today's town planners (Worksett 1969). A successful solution requires a mature comprehension of the factors that shaped the town. This mature comprehension must be multidisciplinary, but depends crucially on the results of archaeological and historical enquiry.

Perhaps the most effective short-term way in which the urban archaeological resource can be protected is through the development control system. For some years, growing awareness of archaeological considerations has been a feature of many Structure Plans and Local Plans. Historic Scotland routinely comments on the drafts of these and other development plans to ensure that archaeology and the built heritage are adequately considered at the strategic level.

In January 1994, the government published its *National Planning Policy Guideline on Archaeology and Planning* (NPPG 5) and an accompanying *Planning Advice Note* (PAN 42). These crucially important documents place 'the preservation of our heritage of sites and landscapes of archaeological and historic interest' squarely within the context of the government's aim of sustainable development – that is, the aim to accommodate development without eroding environmental assets. These explicitly include Scotland's archaeological heritage.

Paragraph 18 of NPPG 5, quoted here in full, both encapsulates the essence of the guidance and refers to the difficulties of dealing with the archaeology of historic towns:

> The preservation *in situ* of important archaeological remains is always to be preferred, particularly in relation to nationally important sites. Where

Figure 5.5 Carmelite Friary, Aberdeen (courtesy of Aberdeen Arts Gallery and Museums Collections, Aberdeen City Council). A major excavation taking place within the modern city centre – dramatically demonstrating the difficulties of preservation of important archaeological sites in urban contexts.

this is not possible, an archaeological excavation incorporating the recording and analysis of remains and publication of the findings, together with the deposition of the artefacts in an appropriate museum and the records in the National Monuments Record of Scotland, may be an acceptable alternative. This is usually expensive and time-consuming, and is always less preferable from the archaeological viewpoint, even though important information may be recovered. In some circumstances, it may be possible to undertake new development so that it preserves underlying archaeological remains, or at least reduces damage to them, by the use of piled or rafted foundations at a much lower cost than excavations. This may be particularly applicable within historic burghs, where the density of archaeological remains, excavation costs and land value are all high.

The essential mechanism for implementation of this guidance is the application, by the planning authority, of an appropriate archaeological condition when granting planning permission. The PAN 42 recommended wording of such a condition is:

> No development shall take place within the area indicated [ie the area of archaeological interest] until the applicant has secured the implementation of a programme of archaeological work in accordance with a written scheme of investigation which has been submitted by the applicant, agreed by the Local Authority Archaeologist and approved by the Planning Authority.

What this means is that where there is a recognised potential for the survival of archaeological remains – and the word *potential* should be stressed, not just the confirmed presence of important archaeological remains – a planning authority can apply an appropriate archaeological condition to ensure an adequate archaeological response to any proposed development. Paragraph 25 of NPPG 5, moreover, suggests that there might be a requirement for prior evaluation of a proposed development site before the determination of the planning application, and that the evaluation might in itself establish the need for an archaeological condition.

NPPG 5 and PAN 42 are extremely important for all archaeological remains, but in particular for the urban archaeological resource, where the only threat is proposed development. Most of Scotland's historic burghs have seen, at most, one or two minor archaeological interventions; some none. In short, the potential for survival of archaeological remains in many burghs is still largely unknown. The application of an appropriate archaeological condition is the main mechanism by which a planning authority can ensure that archaeological watching briefs and/or trial excavations are carried out in areas of possible or probable archaeological sensitivity in historic towns. If important archaeological remains are identified, and their preservation *in situ* is not feasible, as is often the case in towns (Fig 5.5), this condition can also be used to ensure that the remains are properly excavated in advance of destruction, and the results analysed and published.

This sounds like a fail-safe system but, in reality, while undoubtedly representing a major advance, the issuing of NPPG 5 and PAN 42 has not solved all the problems. For instance, quoting NPPG 5 again: 'The first requirement of any policy aiming to protect and manage archaeological remains is a sound information base', in other words, a Sites and Monuments Record (SMR). Otherwise, how could the planning authority assess the likely archaeological implications of a development proposal and, therefore, know when to apply an appropriate archaeological condition? The creation, maintenance and regular augmentation of an SMR is a primary function of a local authority archaeologist (NPPG 5, Paragraph 8), but local authority archaeological cover across Scotland is patchy. Some parts of Scotland, exceptionally rich in archaeological remains, have never had a local authority archaeologist. In other areas, one archaeologist is sometimes not enough to cope with the development control workload. Few authorities have more than one.

Without a local authority archaeologist, many authorities would probably find it quite difficult to know what constitutes an adequate archaeological response in any particular case; and objective specialist advice from outside the authority can be hard to obtain. For example, did that trial excavation in the heart of the burgh really show that no further excavation was necessary (according to the hard-pressed developer); or did it show that the site should be preserved at all costs, and that the only remotely acceptable alternative would be a major and expensive excavation (according to the local pressure group objecting to the development)? Archaeology today is a commercial activity, undertaken mostly by private or university-based companies. The Code of the Institute of Field Archaeologists strongly, and quite rightly, advocates a separation of archaeological curator and contractor roles.

Lack of local authority access to adequate archaeological advice remains a problem for protection of the whole archaeological resource, but perhaps especially in historic towns – those indiscrete sites where almost nothing is protected by law, and where the quality and importance of the resource are often unknown.

Historic Scotland initiatives

Historic Scotland has introduced a range of complementary initiatives designed to help planning authorities responsible for historic towns to recognise when there might be archaeological implications to a development proposal. Firstly, colour-coded maps have been provided for a selection of historic burghs, based on information in the old series of the Burgh Survey (which Historic Scotland and its predecessors sponsored in the 1970s and 80s), supplemented where possible by updated archaeological information. Red areas are scheduled ancient monuments (if any); green areas are potentially archaeologically sensitive; and blue areas are unlikely to be archaeologically sensitive (blue areas have often been developed already). These maps are intended to show at a glance whether an archaeological response to a development proposal might be necessary and, therefore, whether the authority needs archaeological advice. They do not give details of what, exactly, might be present in any part of the town, nor why it might be important archaeologically.

Such maps can be produced easily only for burghs surveyed since 1978 as part of the Burgh Survey programme; and, normally, only with assistance from the local authority archaeologist, where one exists. To date, maps have been produced for 27 historic burghs. These have generally been welcomed by the authorities as an effective early warning device.

Secondly, for historic burghs where several episodes of archaeological work have taken place since the original Burgh Survey, Historic Scotland has commissioned archaeological updates to the original (Fig 5.6). Using the same colour-coding scheme, these describe the known monuments and features of the town, area by area, and the results of all archaeological work which has taken place. More detailed, colour-coded plans are produced for each area of the burgh. Finally, the surviving archaeological evidence is assessed against current development plans and the local Structure Plan. So far, sixteen burghs have warranted this treatment, including

Figure 5.6 Historic Elgin (courtesy of Historic Scotland). An extract from the archaeological update (1998) to the original Burgh Survey for Elgin (1982). Red means that the monument is scheduled (ie refer to Historic Scotland); green means that the area is likely to be archaeologically sensitive (ie seek archaeological advice); blue means that the area may be archaeologically sterile (ie no advice needed).

Arbroath, Dunfermline, Inverness, Montrose and St Andrews.

Thirdly, for Perth, rich in archaeological remains, and the subject of many excavations, Historic Scotland has commissioned a special *Development and Archaeology Study*. This important document will analyse the natural topography of the town: its underlying contours and geology, the influence of the River Tay and historically recorded floods on the town's development; and collate and analyse the cumulative results of all archaeological work from the last twenty years. The main aims are to:

I produce a model of the extent, depth and character of the archaeological deposits likely to survive

across the town, to enable more accurate assessment, at the proposal stage, of the likely impact of any development on archaeology, and the consequent costs;

II allow the planning authority and developers to consider alternatives, such as relocation to another site, or use of appropriate engineering techniques to minimise damage to archaeological deposits.

Perth, St Andrews, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and perhaps one or two others, are the only Scottish burghs to date where we have enough information to experiment with this kind of approach, and where the likely costs of archaeology in some central locations might encourage prospective developers seriously to consider mitigation strategies. In York this approach has been elevated to a high art. Faced with a development proposal in a sensitive area, the York City archaeologist uses the results of the English Heritage funded *York Development and Archaeology Study* to predict not only the depth and quality of the archaeological remains, but also the likely costs of full excavation and publication. He then discusses with the developers alternative development strategies aimed at avoidance of the archaeological remains, for example piled foundations or other techniques (see Chapter 14). Perth is the first attempt in Scotland to adopt a similar approach, but one which we hope might provide useful pointers for other Scottish burghs.

Fourthly, Historic Scotland has been making strenuous efforts to ensure that, wherever appropriate, the results of all individual urban excavations are published; and that the results of every archaeological intervention (no matter how small or apparently insignificant), in every historic burgh, are deposited in the National Monuments Record of Scotland and accessible in a consistent way.

Finally, there is the new Burgh Survey programme. In 1993, Historic Scotland consulted with every planning authority in Scotland to ascertain which burghs in their areas were most likely to experience development pressures in the foreseeable future. Advised by the Scottish Burgh Survey Working Group, in the intervening years Historic Scotland has selected sixteen burghs to be surveyed (including Aberdeen, Dumbarton, Musselburgh, Melrose and Stornoway). Extraordinary as it may seem, none of these burghs had been surveyed before. In 1996, however, two previously surveyed burghs, Linlithgow and Forfar, were included in the programme. This decision could open the way for re-survey of a number of other important burghs – those which continue to experience development pressures, and those where the original surveys are now very out of date and of limited usefulness.

Since the 1970s, the Scottish Burgh Survey has been the cornerstone of Historic Scotland's general approach to protection of the urban archaeological resource (Dennison & Coleman this volume, Chapters 8 & 9). Accurate assessment of the archaeological implications of development depends on the continuing collection and analysis of archaeological and historical data, which, in turn, contributes to a mature comprehension of the burgh – why the burgh is as it is, and what is important about it.

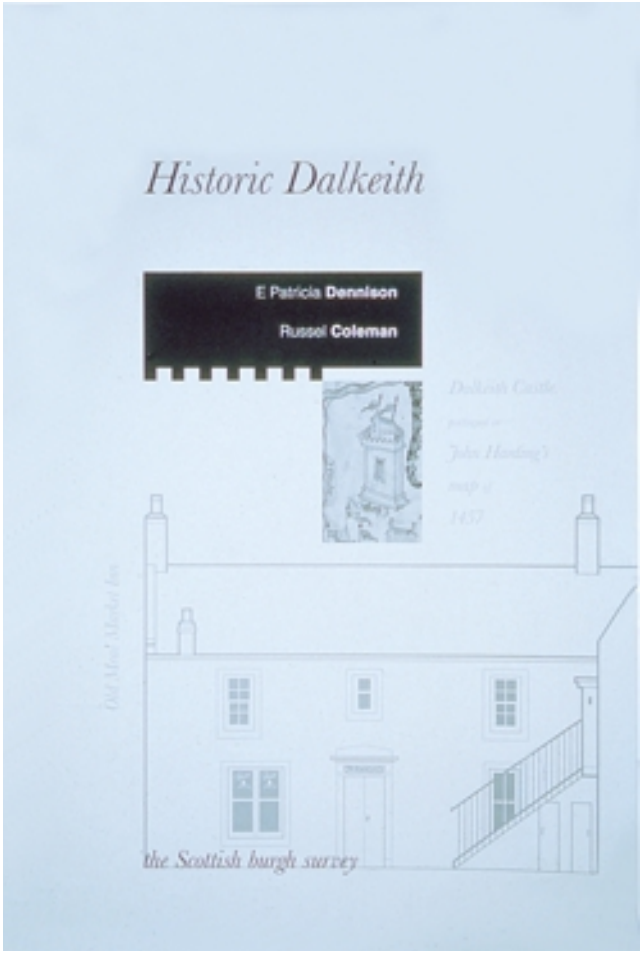

Figure 5.7 Historic Dalkeith, a newly published volume of the Scottish Burgh Survey (courtesy of Historic Scotland)

Urban archaeological evidence is complex and, in any single town, its interpretation must be an ongoing process. This is a different type of protection from scheduling and listing, and even mitigation strategies; this is what we used to call 'preservation by record'. In some circumstances, where we reluctantly accept that the physical archaeological evidence cannot be preserved, evidence is retrieved by controlled excavation and scientific recording of the results, complemented by ongoing historical, geographical, architectural and other appropriate analyses.

The example of a single historic burgh where there have been several opportunities for archaeological investigation over the last decade can illustrate this. Each time, fieldwork has taken place in response to a specific threat (invariably a development); and each time, an archaeological team (usually a different team) has carried out some archaeological investigation. What each investigation does is expose – in a

particular place, and at a particular time in our history and in the history of that burgh – a small part of a much larger and denser historical fabric. These excavations, even if successful in their own terms (for instance, they might have produced an important assemblage of pottery or evidence for medieval structures), produce only disjointed fragments of the past. Often, they cannot easily be fitted into a broad synthesis of urban history; or translated into a coherent account which contributes to a broader understanding of the origins and growth of the town (this is one reason why relatively few urban excavations have been published).

The Burgh Survey, therefore, aims to fulfil two equally important functions. For each town surveyed, it should:

I collate and present information in a way useful to archaeological curators and planning authorities faced with specific development proposals and the need to produce local development plans;
II provide a broad synthesis, a coherent account, and contribute considerably to a mature comprehension of a town's unique identity and of the factors that shaped it.

The importance of public awareness

Perhaps one of the most effective ways to protect Scotland's historic burghs in the longer term is to increase public awareness of the importance of the built heritage in all its forms.

As part of this drive, for the first time the new Burgh Surveys are being published (Fig 5.7), normally in partnership with the relevant local authorities, and launched locally. Usually, copies are distributed free to all relevant local authority departments, and to major local developers, enterprise companies, libraries, museums, conservation and amenity bodies and secondary schools, as well as to the national repositories. The remainder are sold, and the publisher particularly targets the local market. So far, sales, primarily to local people interested in the history of their town, have been very encouraging.

Tomorrow's town planners and vigilant town dwellers are today's schoolchildren. In recognition of this, Historic Scotland (with the Centre for Scottish Urban History) has produced a guide for teachers which highlights the value of the Burgh Survey as a source of information for local study, and provides useful background information and photocopiable illustrations showing life in a medieval burgh. Historic Scotland is also producing a poster on Scotland's historic burghs for use in schools.

Conclusions

The twin issues of sustainable development (including conservation of the built heritage) on the one hand, and the need to ensure the continued viability of historic burghs as dynamic centres of population on the other, have risen up the agenda. These must be viewed against the background of a growing shortage of housing, with the development of town cores and brownfield sites seen as a priority; and a growing crisis in traffic management in and around our towns and cities. Partnership between government agencies, local authorities and community bodies is recognised as a vital way forward.

The pressure on urban sites is intensifying again. The time is right for a radical and integrated review of how best to protect the archaeology of towns in its broadest sense. Understanding the origins and development of towns is not only important academically, but can also contribute to the debate about their shape and appearance in the future, ensuring survival of the urban community's cultural and visual roots. The archaeological and historical dimension has an important part to play in the consideration of conservation areas, town enhancement schemes, restoration and development schemes for historic town buildings, the character of new developments, and environmental improvements to the historic townscape.

The archaeological, architectural and visual qualities of our many historic burghs can make a considerable contribution to the quality of our environment – as long as we, as a society, realise their value and are prepared to take action to conserve them. This involves everyone – not only archaeological curators, town planners and architects, but everyone with eyes to see and the will to make their views known. Good planning and protective legislation can go a long way towards achieving all that is required; but vigilance and improved awareness may actually provide the best long-term protection for the standing buildings and townscapes of our historic burghs, as well as for their important archaeological deposits.

Note

All references to the 'Secretary of State' should be read as 'Scottish Ministers', with effect from 1 July 1999.

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6 Recording Scotland's urban buildings

by Geoffrey Stell

Archaeological and historical research into our historic towns loses much of its value if the buildings are not thoroughly recorded. This contribution analyses how Scotland has undertaken this work, and evaluates, in particular, the role of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS), including the National Monuments Record of Scotland (NMRS), through which RCAHMS makes the information accessible to all interested parties. A recording agenda for Scottish urban buildings in a wider European context is suggested.

Urban recording: the need and the challenge

Any building is a physical realisation of its creator's – and its creator's successors' – resources and intentions. However limited or ambitious these may be, they are usually revealed through the building's design, uses and chronology. Any building also embodies or reflects the constraints, values and aspirations – social, economic, political and cultural – of the age and the society in which it was produced or altered. So, quite apart from their obvious practical, aesthetic and amenity value, standing buildings constitute an important source of historical evidence which has both an independent and a contributory value, complementing and corroborating, or indeed sometimes contradicting and confusing, other sources of evidence. They thus deserve study, evaluation and interpretation, not only on their own account, but also as essential links between the evidence gleaned from archaeological excavation on the one hand and documentary research on the other.

Like a document or picture, the fabric of a building is a 'text' that is capable of being 'read' and 'edited' carefully, the resultant interpretation allowing us to arrive at an assessment of the building's form, function and date. The essential first step in this process of data-gathering involves the creation of a basic record of a building, or group of buildings, in as much detail as is appropriate and affordable, generally by a range of techniques involving photography, drawings, written description and documentary research.[1] A second stage – evaluating and interpreting that record – requires the application of techniques of analysis and synthesis, and the introduction of comparative material from other sites to bear on the intrinsic structural and architectural evidence. The overall aim is to establish the architectural history and development of the building(s) in question as clearly and as soundly as possible, thereby enabling the initial investigator – and others who may follow – to use, and perhaps later re-interpret, the evidence, given that each generation usually has its own questions concerning the historical or architectural 'meaning' of the building and its place in a number of wider contexts.

In comparison with almost every other category of historic architecture, urban buildings, especially urban dwelling-houses, are among the most difficult and challenging to record and understand. In general, the sites which they occupy and the internal spaces which they contain have been subject to much greater fluctuations, constraints and changes in usage than their rural counterparts. An inevitable consequence of such pressures is a legacy of urban buildings of 'hybrid' form and of complex functional and structural histories. As a result, although much urban recording work has been undertaken, particularly in the last three decades, general patterns and typologies of town houses and other forms of urban building and construction have been noticeably slower to emerge and have been less clearly elucidated or confidently defined (Lindsay 1938, 77–102; Dunbar 1966, 170–209; Stell 1980, 1–31; Stell 1988, 60–80).

Urban recording in Scotland to 1966

Scotland is no exception to this general rule. Here, as elsewhere, the pressures of redevelopment and the threat of demolition or substantial alteration have been the mainsprings for urban recording right from the very beginnings of such activity in the latter half of the 19th century. Much of the detailed recording of urban houses was undertaken by architectural associations and by practising architects, who, although mindful of the value of historic architecture, sometimes found themselves in unenviable roles as agents of destruction. At that period, however, it was still possible for architects to make practical use of the details that they recorded and to add them to their own repertoire of revival motifs. Most had a genuine desire to understand the old buildings that were then disappearing in some numbers from the urban scene, not just as part of large-scale slum clearance in major cities, but also in smaller towns such as Inverkeithing and Linlithgow (eg Peddie 1883–4, 465–76; Mears 1912–13, 343–8; MacGibbon & Ross 1887–92, 508–14;

MacGibbon & Ross 1878–9, plates 35–7). In Glasgow and Edinburgh descriptive records of such houses made a significant contribution to the local historical journals that were then newly emerging.[2]

The overall result was a series of *ad hoc* descriptions and measured drawings of confidence-inspiring standard and detail. Together with the work of artists such as Drummond in Edinburgh and Lamb in Dundee, and pioneering photographers such as Annan in Glasgow, such material has provided a foundation and model for all subsequent essays in Scottish urban recording (Drummond 1879; Lamb 1895; National Art Survey of Scotland 1921–33). However, almost all of the buildings that were the objects of this activity have vanished from the urban scene, so we have few means of validating the accuracy of these records and illustrations, except partially through archaeological excavation. In general, though, those who now, a century or more later, wish to understand the nature and construction of medieval and post-medieval urban building in Scotland have little alternative but to view the evidence through the eyes and lenses of 19th-century observers. Such is the scale of our indebtedness to the first generations of assiduous recorders of Scottish urban buildings.

However, comparatively speaking, urban buildings did not command the same level of attention that was given to churches, castles and rural houses, their recording and understanding being almost an incidental by-product of municipal welfare schemes. This pattern continued to prevail in the first half of the 20th century, although burghs of traditional Scottish character, often in a sorry, decayed condition, were progressively re-discovered, and their overall worth, both in terms of their overall 'townscape' value as well as their wealth of architectural detail, became much more widely known, recognised and recorded (now, for its own sake), again largely through the efforts of perceptive architects. The cases of Culross and Inveraray and the work of the architect–scholar Ian G Lindsay exemplify this trend (Lindsay & Cosh 1973).[3]

By the 1930s the survey programme of RCAHMS (1908–present) was beginning to provide systematic coverage of pre-1707 urban architecture in east central Scotland, and the extension of its terms of reference (to 1850) permitted greater scope for urban recording in Edinburgh and in the historic towns of the Border counties, Stirlingshire and Argyll (RCAHMS 1933; 1946; 1951; 1956; 1957; 1963; 1967; 1971–2). In the meantime, the Scottish National Buildings Record (SNBR), formed in 1941 in response to the airborne threat of destruction facing Scotland's historic buildings, carried out its own programme of measured and photographic surveys, maintaining a sharp focus on concentrations of urban buildings, which remained as vulnerable in the era of post-war redevelopment as during wartime (RCAHMS 1991).

Urban recording in Scotland since 1966

The records of the SNBR came to RCAHMS in 1966, forming one national body of survey and record and a single archive known as the National Monuments Record of Scotland (NMRS). Since 1966, the concept and practice of Threatened Buildings Survey, with its strongly urban emphasis, has also been developed by RCAHMS; the emphasis of this survey work has also naturally followed the incidence of the threat, buildings of 19th- and 20th-century date having tended to replace, although not entirely, those of earlier dates as the most vulnerable categories.

In the 1970s and 1980s such *ad hoc* recording work was undertaken against a background of increasing interest in – and emphasis on – urban archaeological excavations, the urgent need for which was first set out in a report prepared on behalf of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1972 (Simpson 1972). At the same time, programmes of burgh survey reports – now in a second, much-enhanced series – served to guide and inform this aspect of Scottish rescue archaeology by bringing together the historical and archaeological evidence in key historic towns.[4] These reports have also brought invaluable background information to the work of recording standing buildings.

Since the implementation of the *Town and Country Planning (Scotland) Act 1969* (reissued in 1997), architectural recording work in general has been carried out by RCAHMS against a progressively tighter legislative background, in which the Descriptive Lists of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest, compiled by Historic Scotland and its institutional progenitors, have served not only as an aid to statutory protection – their primary purpose – but also as a useful summary textual record.

Current and future availability of records

All records that have been generated by RCAHMS survey operations, together with those that have been inherited from its constituent bodies, are lodged in the NMRS in John Sinclair House, Edinburgh, where they are publicly available for reference. This public accessibility also extends to those categories of record material that continue to be regularly deposited, loaned or copied from many other sources, including the Historic Scotland Descriptive Lists referred to above. Computerised textual records which make up the large and rapidly growing NMRS database are available not only on site but also remotely through CANMORE-Web, a user-friendly system designed to provide access to the computerised records of the NMRS via the World Wide Web.[5]

Plans are in hand to further develop access to these records by utilising RCAHMS's well-tested Geographical Information System, and to enhance the quality of the on-line data by incorporating the

Figure 6.1 Sanquhar townhouse (Crown copyright; RCAHMS)

increasing numbers of graphic and photographic images that are being scanned and currently stored on CDs. Records of urban surveys, reports on individual buildings and on archaeological excavations all form a significant part of these holdings and of future proposals. The search mechanisms that are, or will be, in place will permit the ready identification and retrieval of such information on urban sites and structures, but policy and practice have shown that an integrated, apparently 'seamless' system, capable of accommodating information from a wide variety of origins – archaeological, architectural, historical – forms the best matrix for a national and integrated information service of this kind. Although, therefore, there is no intention to create a separate urban database as such within the NMRS (just as there will be no 'settlement' or 'landscape' databases), the records that would make up such a database will be clearly identifiable and capable of being retrieved and grouped together for discrete reference and study.

Trends in urban recording

Contrasting markedly with prevailing attitudes and experience in the post-war decades (to about 1970), there is now a noticeable collective wish to retain urban buildings of traditional character – and often of unspectacular appearance – because of their intrinsic interest and contribution to the urban landscape (McWilliam 1975; Harrison 1990). There is also a considerably greater desire to appreciate more fully the intimate details of their design, construction, uses and modifications, largely so that the 'personality' and development of the buildings can be better appreciated and any programme of conservation can be based securely on the fullest possible available data. Hence, for example, under the auspices of bodies such as the Scottish Historic Buildings Trust, some remarkably comprehensive dossiers have recently been prepared for individual domestic urban properties of post-medieval origin such as the merchant's house at 343 High Street, Kirkcaldy (Fig 8.3), the sizeable laird's house known as Drumlanrig's Tower which stands near the centre of Hawick, and the more modest but typically complex town house in Sandgate, Ayr (eg Scrymgeour 1993).

Detailed recording undertaken as an aid to conservation – as opposed to recording undertaken as a prelude to a building's demolition or substantial alteration – undoubtedly provides appropriate and positive incentives for thorough physical investigation, for the encouragement of discoveries, and for a disciplined approach to building analysis and synthesis, allowing provisional conclusions to be further tested and validated. Invariably, however, such case-studies usually also continue to demonstrate the considerable degree of structural and functional complexity that is characteristic of Scottish urban housing whose individual or local idiosyncracies often defy neat typological generalisations.

Another modern approach to urban recording has arisen out of documentary research, and although not directly related to the needs of conservation, clearly has much value in heightening our general understanding of urban properties and buildings. This approach is well exemplified by the work of John Harrison in the important burgh of Stirling where he has demonstrated among other things how town houses, designed to fit the space available, tended to encroach upon each other or upon the common thoroughfares, thus helping to explain some of the alignments and juxtapositions evident in the surviving structures.[6]

The scope of urban recording has also widened considerably in recent decades to embrace institutional buildings which mirror the resources and ambitions of the urban communities that they once served. When, for example, in the late 1980s, additional to its Threatened Buildings Survey commitments, RCAHMS moved from a topographical to a thematic basis for its systematic architectural survey work, the first two subjects in this new survey and publication programme comprised major urban building-types: early municipal buildings, tolbooths and townhouses (RCAHMS 1996) (Figs 6.1 & 6.2), and historic burgh schools, which is now in course of completion. The first of these programmes was in part prompted by changes in the structure of local government in Scotland.

Figure 6.2 Dumfries Mid Steeple and market-place, by A S Masson, c 1850

A Scottish urban recording agenda

Gathered in a variety of ways, information on Scottish urban buildings has an equal variety of purposes and uses, ranging from its practical application in conservation work to an academic understanding of the chronology and regional pattern of the urban built environment in Scotland, not only on its own terms, but also in relation to the rest of the British Isles and continental Europe. Whilst the continuous process of garnering detailed information on building materials, techniques of construction and architectural design will continue to produce local and practical benefits, particularly for conservationists, urban recording also needs a broader, academic strategy, particularly in relation to subject-areas where preliminary examination has revealed characteristics that appear – and may in fact be – distinctively 'Scottish'. In a recent study of Scottish medieval urban building traditions in a wider British context three such subjects readily suggested themselves: town defences; urban parish churches and chapels; and flatted tenement buildings (Schofield & Stell forthcoming).

Town defences

Contrasting markedly with the evidence from England and the European mainland, for example, there is a comparative lack of formal walled defences in Scotland (Mackenzie 1949, 38–44). Clearly, though, Pedro de Ayala, the Spanish ambassador to the court of King James IV, was exaggerating when he wrote in 1498 that 'there is not more than one fortified town in Scotland because the kings do not allow their subjects to fortify them' (Brown 1891, 47 & 19 n 4). So too was the otherwise reliable John Major, when he wrote (in 1521) that Perth was 'the only walled town in Scotland', by which he included towns 'even with low walls'. He went on to explain that in his view 'the Scots do not hold themselves to need walled cities; and the reason of this may be that they get them face to face with the enemy with no delay, and build their cities, as it were, of men' (Constable 1892, 29).

Edinburgh was certainly a walled town, but our knowledge of its pre-16th-century structures and circuits is based mainly on documentary record and a few excavated fragments.[7] The surviving physical traces are of the so-called Flodden Wall, put up at about the time Major was writing (and based on a murage toll of £5 Scots per burgess), and of the extension known as the Telfer Wall erected over a century later. Stirling, too, retains stretches of its town wall which in their existing form and circuit date substantially from the 1540s and later, possibly replacing earlier earthwork defences.[8] Berwick-on-Tweed preserves substantial visible traces of early

Figure 6.3 West Port, St Andrews (Crown copyright; RCAHMS)

defences of stone and lime, but these probably originated in English operations of 1297–8 (Colvin 1963, 2 & 563–71). Evidence of walls and gates can be adduced from other towns such as Peebles and St Andrews (which retains Scotland's only surviving early town gateway) (Fig 6.3 & cover), and it is also known that Inverness, Selkirk and Perth possessed defences comprising ditches, ramparts and palisades, with indications that at least one of Perth's gates may have been stone-built.[9] However, the overall picture is not impressive. For the most part, the boundaries of Scottish towns were demarcated by back garden walls, comparable to the rural head dyke, and the points of entry, described formally as ports, were mainly simple gateways designed as much for fiscal and social control as for military security. The simple economic fact is that formal urban defences of stone cost a great deal to organise, build and maintain, as the evidence from York, Hull and Coventry testifies (Turner 1971; RCHME 1972).

Urban parish churches and chapels

The single-parish burgh was also a distinctive institutional and architectural phenomenon of Scottish medieval urban life (Cowan 1988, 82–98). In some cases the burgh might not even possess a separate, purpose-built parish church, the need for a separate building being obviated by the provision of a parish altar within a cathedral or religious house within or near the town. For those urban communities that did possess a parish church building, the essential point is that they came to have only one each, with or without dependent chapels within the town and its suburbs (Stell 1988, 64–8; Stell 1977, 153–83).

The reasons for this development seem to reside partly in the relatively late creation of urban parishes in the 12th century, alongside the formation of the burghs themselves and a coincidental tightening of the system of appropriation of parish revenues. Whilst there may have been a choice of churches in the early days of a burgh, as, for example, at Dundee and Berwick, the eventual result was a single building that served as the head church of the burgh community.

In plan, if not in style or architectural detail, the great burgh churches of late medieval Scotland tended to conform to standard patterns of British late medieval ecclesiastical architecture. But when the attentions of wealthy individual or corporate patrons, anxious and able to endow altars or chapels, became focused upon just one building, the effects of the chantry movement became particularly exaggerated. The organic and mainly lateral growth of the medieval parish church of Edinburgh St Giles' reflects this process more fully than any other in the way in which it became grossly distended between

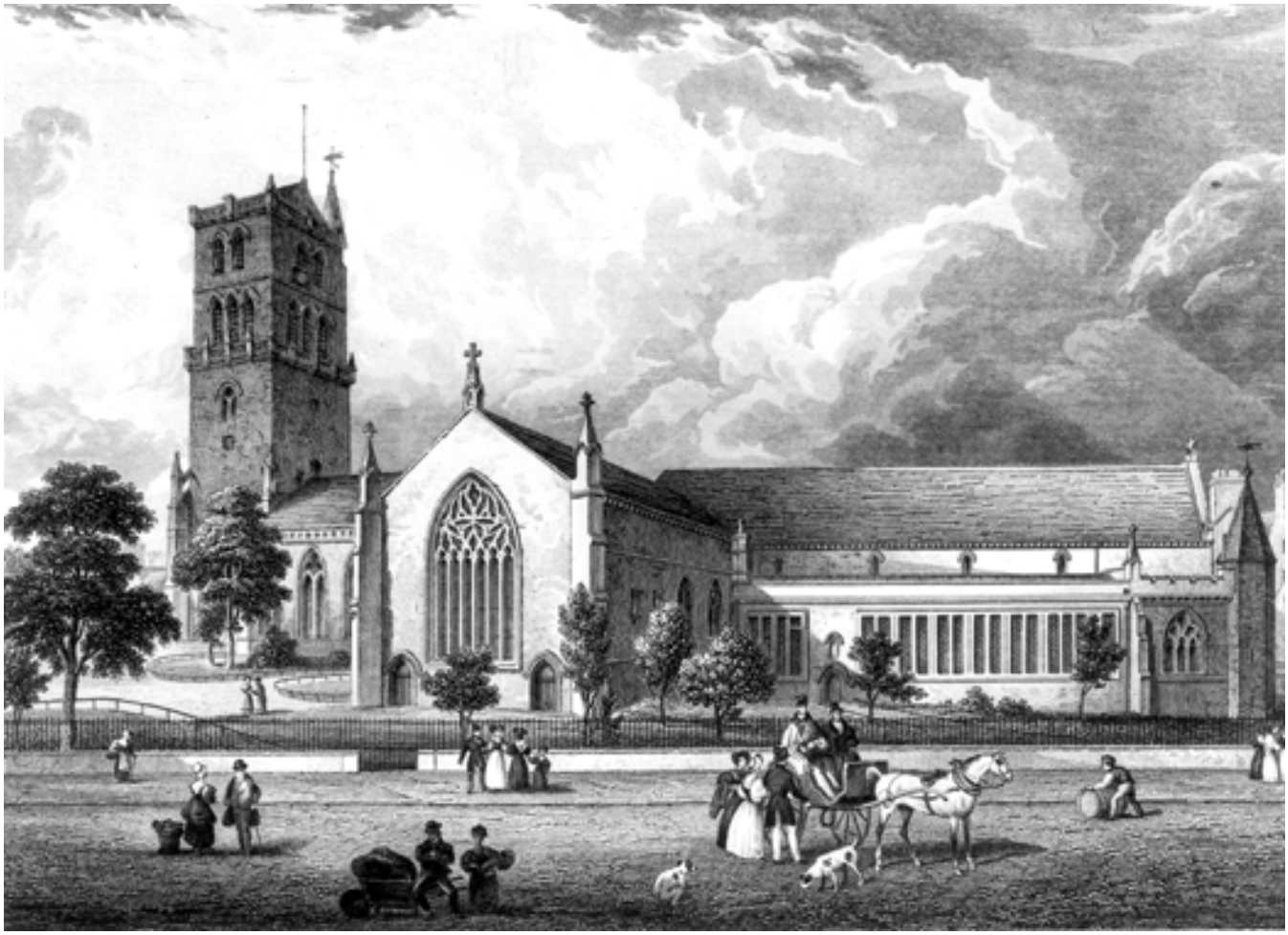

Figure 6.4 St Mary's parish church, Dundee, from C Mackie, Historical description of Dundee*, 1836*

1380 and 1560 (Hay 1975–6, 242–60; Stell 1977, 153–83). Although the overall outline of the church was reduced in the course of its restoration in 1829–33, enough survives to illustrate its late medieval growth, with chapels grouped mainly around the western limb and central body of the church. Outward growth was matched by pressure on internal space. By the Reformation, Edinburgh St Giles' contained about forty altars and, like St Mary's, Dundee (Fig 6.4), had grown to such an extent that it was capable of housing no less than three Reformed congregations. Most of the other large burgh churches accommodated two such congregations.

Beyond Scotland, there are, of course, many urban churches which demonstrate the complex effects of chantry endowments on their architecture and planning. But where in England would one find a community of the size of medieval Edinburgh (by 1707, it is estimated that there were about 30,000 inhabitants, more than any other town or city in Britain, other than London (Smout 1969, 343)) with only one parish church, a complete contrast in organisational scale from London, Bristol, York and Norwich? Much closer physically to Scotland, even St Nicholas', Newcastle, is merely one of four medieval parish churches which stood within the walls of that town.

Flatted tenement-buildings

Two-storeyed flatted or 'stacked cottages' with families living above and below have been a distinctive and characteristic feature of many regions of Scotland, most notably in east central districts around the Forth estuary. Similar forestaired types appear in the panoramic view of St Andrews which can be ascribed to about 1580 but probably refers to the pre-Reformation period (see cover).[10] From surviving and later examples of this building-type, the existence of a forestair can also point to any of several functional variations on the same basic design: examples include inns and ordinary dwellings above warehouses, stores or shops. Fig 6.5 shows a typically Scottish dwelling, with outside staircase giving access to the upper level.

What was especially startling to visitors to Scotland, however, was the multi-storeyed tenement-building, a veritable urban skyscraper which, by the later 16th century, commonly rose to four or more storeys in Edinburgh and other main centres of population. Sheer height was not their only special feature. Although some were self-contained dwellings in single ownership, others were clearly of multiple occupation and ownership, all above a

Figure 6.5 North Wynd, Dalkeith, demolished c 1937 (Crown copyright; RCAHMS)

single solum (eg Taylor 1903, 107; Brown 1891, 84, 93, 139–40, 204, 219 & 231).

Surviving structural evidence for original flatting, not just later subdivisions for tenants, can be detected in the disposition of original stairs, including forestairs, and in partitions and doorways. By the late 16th century the upper floors of the so-called 'John Knox's House' in Edinburgh High Street, formed a separate dwelling which was reached by its own newel stair in the front corner of the building. Although later usage makes it difficult to work out the original arrangements, Gladstone's Land in the Lawnmarket, Edinburgh, also conforms to the general pattern, Thomas Gledstanes, the builder, occupying one of its four houses after his acquisition and reconstruction of the property in 1617–20 (Fig 6.6).[11]

Historical evidence, too, shows how many buildings in central Edinburgh were subdivided into houses of various sizes, with rooms arranged over one or two floors and providing household accommodation for owner-occupiers and tenants alike. Such details emerge distinctly in a tax-roll of 1635 (which provides details of some 4000 households and 900 businesses), by which date such mixed arrangements were commonplace, at least in Edinburgh.[12] Pre-Reformation Edinburgh was already densely packed with buildings, but the extent to which they were designed and modified to suit divided ownership or tenancy is not clear. However, in notarial instruments recording three-way subdivisions of urban properties in early 16th-century Canongate, the divisions agreed upon by the co-parcenors appear to have been horizontal as well as vertical, much importance being attached to the forebooths and fore lofts.[13]

To suggest that such flatting resulted mainly from the pressures of overcrowding within the security of the town's defences is not sufficient (cf Robinson 1984, 52–64). It does not explain why similar and, indeed, more intense conditions in English walled towns did not provoke a similar response. Whether horizontally divided occupation has early roots in Northumberland where it was already flourishing in the early 18th century (Defoe 1724–6, 2, 693) has yet to be established. However, the buildings of Berwick-upon-Tweed, the leading burgh in Scotland in the 12th and 13th centuries, demonstrate very clearly how that town, lost finally to the English in 1482, moved away from Scottish built forms in terms of its ecclesiastical, as well as its social, background and architecture. Although its townhouse has affinities with those north of the Border,[14] Berwick's domestic architecture, going back to at least 17th-century timber-framed structures, appears to have developed along thoroughly English lines, and is now quite distinct from Eyemouth a few miles up the coast, where truly Scottish flatted tenements and fisher cottages can be found. The wider unanswered question is whether Scots custom and practice, as well as Scots law, have closer affinities with continental practice than with England, where 'flying freehold'

began to take hold firmly only from about the middle of the 19th century.

Conclusions

The items in this recording agenda are merely an illustrative selection and are by no means exhaustive, even for the medieval and early modern periods in Scotland to which they specifically relate. The buildings and layouts of modern urban Scotland – domestic, public, commercial and industrial – suggest an equal if not greater 'menu' of topics in which the physical evidence makes an essential contribution to our understanding of urban life. Even where the associated documentation is voluminous and apparently comprehensive – as it frequently appears – we ignore at our peril what the actual tenement buildings, council houses, tower blocks and suburban semis tell us. Likewise, for the earlier periods, without full reference to other indicators, we extrapolate, with equal risk, trends in urban 'decline' or 'progress' from the unilateral evidence which the buildings themselves may present. Evaluation of the physical evidence, especially in relation to the documentary record, is always a delicate and difficult task; but simply to acknowledge the co-existence of both dimensions – and the need for a reliable record of the built environment – is in itself a small but vital contribution to our understanding of towns and the quality of urban life everywhere.

Figure 6.6 Gladstone's Land, Edinburgh (Crown copyright; RCAHMS)

Notes

1 RCAHMS, *Recording Scotland's historic buildings* (1996). There is a growing literature on this subject: eg Terry Buchanan, *Photographing historic buildings* (1983); Peter Swallow, David Watt and Robert Ashton, *Measurement and recording of historic buildings* (1993); Jason Wood (ed), *Buildings archaeology, applications in practice* (1994); and David Watt and Peter Swallow, *Surveying historic buildings* (1996).

2 For example *The Regality Club* (1889–) and *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* (1908–).

3 Culross still awaits a detailed architectural and historical study.

4 For the first series of Scottish Burgh Surveys, see J C Murray, 'The Scottish Burgh Survey – a review', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 113 (1983), 1–10, and Elizabeth P D Torrie, 'The work of the Scottish Medieval Burgh Survey', *Review of Scottish Culture*, 4 (1988), 45–51. For the second series, see Pat Dennison, 'The Scottish Burgh Survey and the work of the Centre for Scottish Urban History', *Review of Scottish Culture*, 10 (1996–7), 91–101.

5 Accounts of these developments are contained in the series of RCAHMS Annual Reviews, *Monuments on Record* (see eg *ibid*, 1994–5, 32–4; 1995–6, 38–9; 1996–7, 37–41, 46–8; 1997–8, 48–9). In 1998 selections of images and records were incorporated into a CD-ROM, also entitled Monuments on Record, which was issued jointly by RCAHMS and its sister Commissions in England and Wales (RCHME and RCAHMW).

6 See John G Harrison, 'Wooden-fronted houses and forestairs in Early Modern Scotland', *Architectural Heritage*, 9 (1998), 71–83. For the physical effects of common services relating to hygiene, see also *idem*, 'Public hygiene and drainage in Stirling and other Early Modern Scottish towns', *Review of Scottish Culture*, 11 (1998–9), 67–77.

7 RCAHMS, 1951 Inventory of Edinburgh, pp lxii–lxvi, Nos 59–60; J Schofield, 'Excavations south of Edinburgh High Street 1973–4', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 107 (1975–6), 155–241.

8 RCAHMS, 1963 Inventory of Stirlingshire, 2, No 249.

9 RCAHMS, 1933 Inventory of Fife, No 469; 1967 Inventory of Peeblesshire, 2, No 544; and W M Mackenzie, *The Scottish burgh* (1949).

10 National Library of Scotland, MS Acc.2887; discussed by D McRoberts (ed), *The medieval church of St Andrews* (1976), 151–2.

11 RCAHMS, 1951 Inventory of Edinburgh, Nos 39 and 14; J Gifford, C McWilliam and D M Walker, *The buildings of Scotland, Edinburgh* (1984), 195–6 and 206–8; R Hurd, *Gladstones Land* (1966 ed), 6–9.

12 Edinburgh City Archives, MS Extent Roll for the Annuity Tax, 1635, used by C B B Watson, 'List of owners of property in Edinburgh, 1635', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, 13 (1924), 93–146, and discussed by W Makey, 'Edinburgh in the mid-seventeenth century', in M Lynch *et al* (eds), *The Early Modern town in Scotland* (1987), 192–218 at 206–15 and refs cited.

13 G Donaldson (ed), *Protocol Book of James Young 1485–1515* (Scottish Record Society, 1952), Nos 1120, 1251, 1388 and 1653. See also, Stell 'Scottish burgh houses', loc cit, at 4–6.

14 G Stell, 'The earliest tolbooths: a preliminary account', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 111 (1981), 445–53; RCAHMS, Tolbooths and town-houses, 1 and n, 202, No 3. The earliest reference to a tolbooth in a Scottish burgh relates to Berwick in the second half of the 13th century.

7 Twenty-five years of urban archaeology in Scotland's medieval burghs *by Derek Hall*

Introduction

This paper attempts to summarise current knowledge of the Scottish medieval burgh. Unlike the rest of Britain, where urban origins are often Roman, the concept of the burgh in Scotland is a 12th-century phenomenon and this serves to provide a uniquely different model for the development of the town. The vast database of archaeological information from the last 25 years will be assessed by highlighting those areas where our knowledge has been increased by the results of either excavation or the on-site monitoring of new developments. It is important to point out that all the sites mentioned in this paper were excavated in advance of redevelopment and were, therefore, driven by the needs of rescue and not research. It should also be made clear that this paper is very much a personal view based largely on projects with which the author has had some involvement, either with the Urban Archaeology Unit (UAU) or the Scottish Urban Archaeological Trust Ltd (SUAT Ltd), although notable projects by other organisations will also be discussed.

The threat posed to Scotland's unexplored urban medieval deposits had been highlighted by Grant Simpson and other members of the council of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1972, in a document entitled *Scotland's Medieval Burghs: an archaeological heritage in danger* (Simpson 1972). It was in response to this warning and to the results of excavations in Perth and Elgin (see below) that the UAU was formed by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in partnership with the Scottish Development Department (Ancient Monuments Division). At the founding of the UAU, the sole existing urban archaeological unit in Scotland was in Aberdeen, the only burgh where threatened archaeological deposits were being examined. The creation of the UAU allowed government funding of urban archaeology to be properly targeted for the first time: Perth and Elgin projects had already been undertaken as Manpower Services Commission (MSC) schemes; it is a salutary point that both still await full publication.

It is now some 25 years since the beginning of the two largest urban excavation programmes of the 1970s – the Perth High Street excavation directed by Nicholas Bogdan and the Elgin relief road excavations directed by Bill Lindsay. Along with the Queen Street and Broad Street excavations in Aberdeen in 1973 (Greig 1982, 20–6; Dent 1982, 20–34) and Nicholas Bogdan's and Nicholas Brooks' work in St Andrews in 1970 (Hall 1997, 5), it can be argued that the Perth and Elgin projects marked the beginning of urban excavation in Scotland. A large number of the people involved in these projects became staff members of the UAU which was formed in 1978. This became the Scottish Urban Archaeological Trust (SUAT Ltd) in 1982.

In the last 25 years urban excavation or monitoring has been carried out in many Scottish medieval burghs from Kirkwall in the far north to Dumfries in the south-west. As already indicated, the distribution of these projects reflects development pressure and not research priorities. It is the aim of this paper to assess what has been learnt from these many different opportunities.

Perth

The burgh of Perth has been the subject of a highly significant level of excavation and monitoring over the last two decades. Although Perth was founded as a royal burgh by David I (1124–53) in the mid 12th century, apart from the parish church of St John, there are no standing buildings of medieval date. There were certainly late medieval buildings surviving until the early 19th century, and in the case of the Earl of Atholl's lodging to the mid 1960s, but they were demolished and their sites redeveloped. It is not impossible, however, that some early buildings may have been integrated into later structures.

Luckily, illustrations and engravings of some of Perth's buildings still survive, such as the 19th-century view of Baxter's Vennel, which is very reminiscent of The Shambles in York. Until recently, the ground plan of the medieval burgh was preserved in the street pattern and plot layout of the modern town, very much as it is on Rutherford's 18th-century map of Perth (Fig 7.1). Modern development has now begun to remove this medieval skeleton, the area to the west of St John's Church, for example, now being occupied by a shopping centre, which also removed an entire medieval street (Meal Vennel).

Excavations in Perth began in earnest with the site at St Anne's Lane, dug in 1975 under the direction of Lisbeth Thoms. It was the excavation of this site that first identified the deep anaerobic midden deposits for which Perth is now so well known; the scale and nature of the burgh's archaeology was defined by the High Street excavations of the mid 1970s which took place in advance of the construction of a new Marks and Spencer store. This was the first and only time that such a large area of the medieval burgh, from High Street to northern defence line, was available for excavation. The High Street excavation located

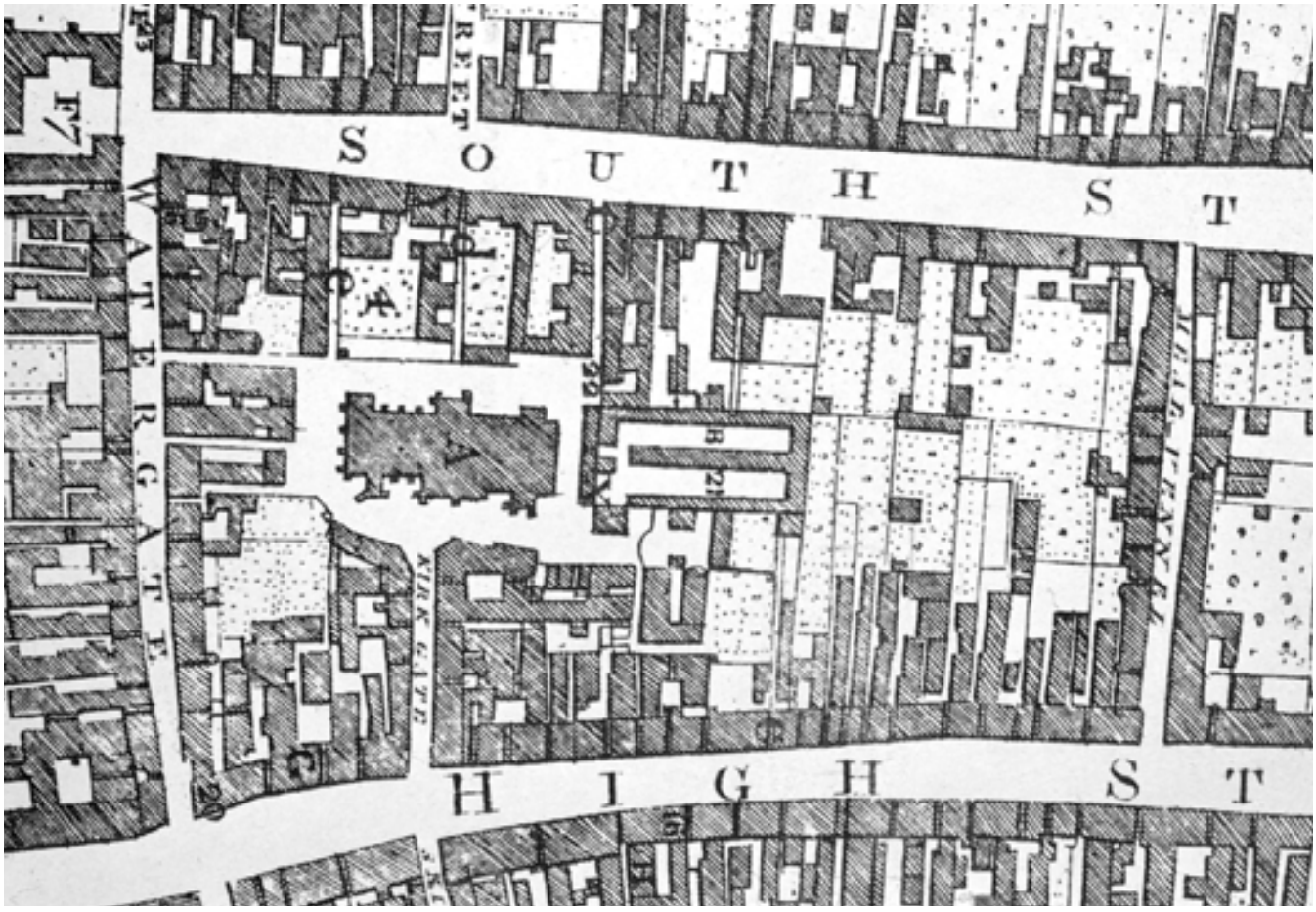

Figure 7.1 A Rutherford's map of Perth, 1774 (reproduced by kind permission of Perth Museum and Art Gallery)

midden deposits with remarkable preservative qualities up to 4m deep in places. They included, for example, an ornate Spanish silk hairnet (Fig 7.2), which, on the evidence of examples from Spanish grave sites, may be dated to the 14th century. Wooden artefacts, such as turned wooden bowls, stave-built buckets and spoons, as well as vast quantities of leather shoes, scabbards, belts and fragments of textile were likewise discovered.

Such remarkable preservation inevitably poses its own problems: for example, objects will be found that will be without parallel from other excavations. A small selection of artefacts from the High Street excavation proves this point (Fig 7.3): wooden bowls are easy to identify, but other objects are harder to classify, ranging as they do from what might be a pattern to cut out shoe soles, a piece of furniture or musical instrument, a wooden cog wheel, to possibly a porthole cover.

Perth's midden deposits have also preserved a wealth of evidence on the nature and construction of the burgh's buildings. Sixteen discrete structures were identified at the High Street, for which a typology was formulated by Hilary Murray. This was made possible by the survival of wooden sill beam foundations of differing types and, in some cases, upright wattle fencing surviving to about 1m high. Such a significant level of building detail has facilitated an attempt to reconstruct what these buildings may have once looked like.

Figure 7.2 Fourteenth-century Spanish silk hairnet, from Perth High Street excavation (reproduced by permission of SUAT Ltd)

Apart from the buildings, other remnants of the urban landscape have been recovered. These include wattle pathways and gravelled vennels at the High Street excavation, and linear ditches indicating property boundaries at the Canal Street II excavation (Spearman 1987, 58–83). Even in those parts of the burgh where middens have been destroyed by

Figure 7.3 Selection of wooden artefacts from Perth High Street excavation (reproduced by permission of SUAT Ltd)

later buildings, the deposits are sufficiently deep that structural remains may survive below the cellar floors, as at King Edward Street (Clark and Blanchard 1995, 931–8) and 80–86 High Street, where the medieval High Street surface was located some 3m below the level of the modern surface (Moloney & Coleman 1997, 707–82). Such material was usually amongst the earliest deposits recovered, the buildings at King Edward Street, for example, being found in association with an important group of 12th-century pottery, two bone combs and a bone ice skate. On other sites rather more basic and intimate objects have been recovered, such as a toilet seat with graffiti down one edge (Fig 7.4) from the Kirk Close excavations of 1979 (Ford 1987, 145).

Important remains of the industrial activities of the burgh have also been recovered. At Meal Vennel, for example, along with enormous quantities of iron slag and artefacts, there was a hearth and its associated anvil base (Cox *et al* 1996, 733–821). Corn driers have also been excavated and a malting kiln alongside its coble or steeping pit. Interestingly, these latter industrial features were already documented in the King James VI rental books – a rare collection of late medieval and post-medieval property records (Milne 1891).

There are, however, still features of the medieval burgh which are proving elusive – the town defences, for example. Perth is said to have had walls that 'were all of stane' (Douglas 1964, 220), but, to date, only the High Street excavation and a more recent project on the Skinnergate have located possible fragments of this defence (Falconer 1991, 72). Parts of the town ditch were revealed during the Mill Street excavation, which also located a flight of steps leading down into it and a group of stone balls in the ditch fill. These proved to be stone shot which would have been fired by a type of siege weapon known as an arbelist (Brann and MacGavin 1995, 918–30).

There has also been the opportunity to examine two important extra-mural institutions, the Carmelite and the Dominican friaries. At Whitefriars (Carmelite), in 1982, the remains of the east side of the church and cloister were excavated (Hall 1989, 99–110). Finds from this site included painted glass from the east window of the church and the official seal matrix of the friary (Fig 7.5). It is from the skeletal remains at both friaries that we are able to say something about the health and welfare of the burgesses (Cross and Bruce 1989, 119–41). Unfortunately, one inhumation from Whitefriars seems to have resulted from an unseemly end – the body had been thrown into the monastic drain (Fig 7.6). At Blackfriars (Dominicans), despite the wintry conditions, part of the cloister and cemetery were found, along with an apparently live burial – the position of

Figure 7.4 Medieval wooden toilet seat under excavation, Kirk Close, Perth, 1979 (reproduced by permission of SUAT Ltd)

the arms and legs implied a vain attempt to get out of the grave (Bowler and Hall 1995, 939–47).

Perth has thus proved that it possesses a rich set of deposits, the likes of which exist certainly in parts of Aberdeen and possibly in Edinburgh, but have yet to be definitely identified elsewhere in Scotland. The High Street excavation also produced the largest assemblage of medieval ceramics yet found in Scotland – 56,000 sherds, which, when linked with the dendrochronological sequence from the timber buildings, will greatly aid the dating of the native pottery industry.

Other burghs

How far has our understanding of life in other Scottish burghs progressed? In the far north, in Kirkwall, there has been limited work in this important early centre. In 1978, the UAU located evidence of extensive late medieval land reclamation

Figure 7.5 Matrix of Carmelite Friary seal, Perth (reproduced by permission of SUAT Ltd)

Figure 7.6 Articulated skeleton lying face down in Carmelite Friary drain, Perth (reproduced by permission of SUAT Ltd)

from the Peerie Sea, including traces of a stone wharf in front of St Magnus Cathedral (MacGavin 1982, 392–436). In Inverness, Jonathan Wordsworth located significant medieval deposits on Castle Street, which included information about types of buildings once extant in this northern burgh, even though the deposits had been badly damaged by later cellars (Wordsworth 1982, 322–91). More recently, a watching brief on the High Street of Inverness located medieval deposits, up to 1.5m deep, overlying a deposit of clean sand which sealed an earlier ground surface. The sand, perhaps deposited by a tsunami (tidal wave) in the Mesolithic period, was also identified on Castle Street, sealing deposits that included a sizeable lithics assemblage (Wordsworth 1985, 89–103). This is an important reminder that much older archaeological deposits may be encountered under some of our medieval burghs.

Early excavations also took place in Elgin, where the relatively poor survival of deposits is paralleled in other burghs such as parts of Dunfermline and Forres. These towns all sit on natural ridges, the tops of which – usually the locations of High Streets – have often been scoured of archaeological remnants. Pockets of deposits do sometimes survive, however, particularly down the ridges or under closes – for example, at the recent St Giles Centre excavations on the High Street of Elgin, although the site was so disturbed by later activities that to disentangle the full implications has proved extremely difficult. Occasionally, luck plays its part, as at 121 High Street, Elgin, where modern groundworks for a car park stopped just short of removing archaeological deposits which became deeper as the excavations progressed down the slope. Recent work by Scotia Archaeology Ltd, in advance of the pedestrianisation of Elgin High Street, also located surviving fragments of the tolbooth and medieval graveyard, and this has suggested that preservation on the south side of the High Street may be much greater than was at first feared (Perry *et al* forthcoming).

Similar deposits to those in Perth have been recovered in Aberdeen, so features such as wattle-lined pits and timber buildings are expected, and known, to survive. Some feel it unlikely, however, that deposits as early as those from Perth remain (C Murray pers comm). The results of the archaeological excavations in Aberdeen have been summarised in the excellent popular archaeological account of a medieval Scottish burgh, *A tale of two burghs* (Stones 1987).

Moving down the coast to Montrose, deposits are encountered which are similar to those that have been found in several burghs on both east and west coasts – wind blown sands. Such deposits often make it very difficult to identify when the real geological

strata have been reached. This raises the question as to whether the presence of such layers of sand can be used to discuss the climatic conditions in Scotland at the time of their deposition; there may even be the possibility of linking these deposits with recorded climatic events. In nearby Arbroath, there appears to be fairly good level of preservation on the High Street. The High Street seems to have been much wider in the medieval period, as was that of Montrose, probably reflecting its use as a market-place. The earlier street surface survives under the modern pavement and the building lines are set further back from the modern frontages. A similar pattern has also been identified in Perth, Dunfermline and Stirling and has implications for the survival of earlier street lines and buildings elsewhere.

In Dundee, recent work by SUAT Ltd, despite pessimistic appearances, suggests that significant levels of material have survived the redevelopment boom of the 1960s and that important information regarding the development of the burgh can yet be gained. At the former site of Green's Playhouse on the Nethergate, for example, deposits producing a tightly dated group of mid 14th-century pottery have been recovered (MacKenzie 1998, 179–201). Excavations around the city churches on the other side of the Nethergate located an early ditch line below the cemetery, which may indicate an early western boundary to the medieval burgh (Cromwell 1993, 98).

In Dunblane, Scotland's smallest city, substantial remains of the bishop's palace have recently come to light in front of the cathedral (Hall forthcoming). In Stirling, it was felt that little would survive because of the perceived proximity of bedrock to the modern ground surface; but, in the event, up to 1.5m of anaerobic midden was discovered in front of the tolbooth, possibly filling a sizeable cleft in the bedrock that runs under Broad Street (Hall 1994, 11).

On the west coast of Scotland, there has been little archaeological work, apart from the valiant efforts of the MSC teams of the 1980s in Ayr and Glasgow. In Ayr, wind blown sand sealed medieval levels; documentary evidence for this problem and the name of one of the main streets of the burgh, the Sandgate, already reflected this. Also, at the medieval parish church of St John, excavations located a bell-casting pit, which may finally help to date the church tower, which housed the church bell, and still stands to this day. In Glasgow, important evidences for the bishop's castle and for plot layout on the High Street were recovered. Until recently, apart from some excavation on Dumbarton Rock (Alcock 1990, 95–149) and small scale work in the burgh by Eric Talbot, medieval Dumbarton was poorly understood. Excavations by SUAT Ltd on the north side of the High Street have now located deep deposits and evidence of late medieval buildings and associated industrial activity (Coleman forthcoming). The ceramic assemblage from this site is important because it includes a different group of imported fabrics to those normally encountered on the east coast: material from south-western France and south-western England, the latter being represented by sherds of pottery from the Donyatt kilns in Somerset and dating to the mid 17th century (R Coleman-Smith pers comm). Such archaeological finds serve not only to illustrate the unpredictability of the survival of archaeological deposits in west coast burghs, but also to confirm the evidence for trading contacts that is already known from documentary sources.

The medieval burghs of Fife have been the subject of some important excavations in the last ten years. Work at the Abbot House, Dunfermline, for example, has shown that deposits do survive to some depth both inside the building and in its garden, which was formerly part of the abbey graveyard (Coleman 1996, 70–112). Unfortunately, as with Elgin, the location of the medieval High Street on a ridge means that deposits appear not to survive on its northern side. Further downhill, to the east of the town, the remains of an early ditch, probably delineating the Benedictine monastery precinct before its enclosure with walls slightly to the east, was discovered by Scotia Archaeology Ltd (Lewis 1995, 1023–44). In St Andrews, clues to its pre-burghal origins as the important early religious centre of Kilrimond have been recovered (Hall 1995b, 23–7) – for example, excavation by Jonathan Wordsworth on the cliff top at Kirkhill located part of a cemetery that included stone long cists and produced calibrated carbon dates of the 6th to 9th centuries AD (Clark and Wordsworth 1997). Excavations by Scotia Archaeology Ltd have also indicated 12th- or very early 13th-century dwellings along one of the first burghal thoroughfares, Swallowgait (Lewis 1996, 677). In the later medieval burgh, several excavations have located a distinctive dump of garden soil which seals earlier medieval features such as corn driers and ovens. This might seem to indicate the turning over of the burgh's backlands to cultivation; St Andrews was an ecclesiastical burgh and the appearance of this garden soil might relate to a change in the burgh's fortunes after the Reformation of 1559–60; but, on the other hand, associated artefactual evidence from these soils suggests an earlier date for their formation (Clark 1997, 141–3). Outside the burgh, to the south-east, some limited excavations of the medieval leper hospital of St Nicholas were undertaken, to date the only Scottish leper house to be excavated (Hall 1995a, 48–75). One building – probably a bakehouse – was fully excavated and the courses of the hospital's eastern and western boundary walls were traced, apparently forming part of an enclosure measuring about 3 acres. Unfortunately, a large part of the site was destroyed by the construction of the East Sands Leisure Centre and it was possible to record only the positions of other hospital buildings, while attempting to dodge the waiting bulldozers.

Across the Forth, in North Berwick, yet more wind blown sand deposits and, more importantly, organic midden deposits up to 4m deep in places have been located. Although opportunities for excavation here have so far been limited, an almost complete malting

Figure 7.7 Medieval corn drier, Forth Street Lane, North Berwick (reproduced by permission of SUAT Ltd)

oven or corn drier of medieval date was uncovered at Forth Street Lane (Fig 7.7). Here, there may finally be identified another burgh with deep archaeological deposits. Moreover, and very importantly, a small burgh's archaeology may give a more accurate picture of everyday life in a Scottish medieval town than does the archaeology of a large city. At Dunbar, the site of the Trinitarian friary was examined in 1981 (Wordsworth 1983, 478–89). Its church tower still survives as a dovecot and the church was found to contain a tiled floor. More recently, on the cliff top at Castle Park, a complex sequence of multi-period occupation was located, including part of the Dark Age *urbs regis*, which would have been the forerunner of the medieval burgh to the south (Perry forthcoming). The earliest Anglian phase was represented by distinctive trench-built timber halls, which were then superseded by stone-footed turf or timber structures. The timber phase was possibly of 8th-century date, on the evidence of parallels for a gilded buckle plate and a Woden monster sceatta retrieved from the site (Fig 7.8). The stone phase was possibly of 9th-century date and associated with two Northumbrian stycas.

Further west, recent excavations in Leith have indicated that there is good survival of archaeological deposits close to the Water of Leith, and an important assemblage of medieval pottery has been recovered (Collard and Reed 1994, 48). Surprisingly, there are no sherds of the early 11th- to 12th-centuries south-eastern English shelly wares which are so dominant in the first phase at the Perth High Street excavation and may be indicative of fish trading (M Collard pers comm).

Work has been ongoing in the Borders. Recent excavations at the Cuddyside, Peebles, in advance of sheltered housing, located the remains of substantial stone buildings of late medieval date. An industrial function for these buildings seems likely, given their position in the backlands of the High Street and close to a water source. When linked with the work of the Border Burghs MSC project of the 1980s, it is possible to make detailed comment about the economy and layout of this important Border burgh, particularly as one of the sites excavated by the MSC team was the medieval tolbooth in the Briggait, the only such building to be excavated so far in Scotland (Perry *et al* forthcoming).

Summing up and conclusions

This paper suggests that, although urban archaeology in Scotland is still a fairly young discipline, after 25 years of hard work we are now in a position to make some decisions about how to deal with this unique resource. It still seems likely, however, that urban archaeology will be rescue driven as the

nature of a thriving town is such that the opportunity for research excavation seems limited. This is where the work of Charlie and Hilary Murray at the deserted medieval burgh of Rattray really comes into its own (Murray and Murray 1993, 109–218). Perhaps consideration should be given to other deserted burghs. With this in mind, targets for further research may be suggested. Because Scottish burghs were very much a medieval phenomenon, we know very little of what sorts of settlement existed before the time of David I. It seems very likely that most towns would have existed in some form before they gained their foundation charters as burghs. One piece of limited evidence we have comes from Perth, where a wattle-lined ditch was discovered underlying and cutting across the lines of property boundaries on a High Street site. The wattle lining was carbon-dated to between 998 and 1039 AD, some time before the foundation of the burgh between 1124 and 1153 AD. This ditch may have formed a boundary around an early phase of St John's Church which stands just to the south of the site. More evidence for pre-burghal settlement in other Scottish burghs is required; and doubtless exists, awaiting discovery.

Although there is an invaluable resource in the archaeological deposits of Perth, because of the intense level of excavation, these findings may be giving a biased view of life in medieval Scotland. Perth was a thriving, cosmopolitan market and trading centre and would, therefore, have been subject to possible different influences and contacts from those experienced by many other Scottish burghs. It would be not merely of interest, but also of great significance, to examine a smaller burgh further away from the focus of trade and foreign influence. Such a place could give us a clearer idea of life in a more typical burgh – Auchterarder or Nairn, for example, might be suitable candidates.

Scottish urban archaeology now finds itself in a very different environment from that of the 1970s. The advent of competitive tendering means that the same organisation will not necessarily be carrying out all excavations in Scottish burghs. For this reason, it is important that research designs and priorities for all burghs are defined, so that new workers in the field may relate their results to previous findings in that burgh. The restarting of the Burgh Survey series goes some way to dealing with this problem and Historic Scotland has recently commissioned the preparation of a consolidation of the archaeological work (although not historical) on North Berwick, Elgin, Arbroath and Inverness. Moreover, the possibility of future work funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) may open the way for some of the unanswered research questions to be properly addressed. Given the experience of the problems of funding the post-excavation elements of MSC projects undertaken in the past, any HLF projects would have to be properly monitored to ensure that information retrieved is presented in a meaningful way to the archaeological community and to the public.

Figure 7.8 Danish Woden monster sceatta (AD 710–40) and Northumbrian styca of Eanred (AD 837–55), Castle Park, Dunbar (reproduced by permission of SUAT Ltd)

The ideal way forward is relatively clear, if future funding will permit; but, in summing up, it is fair to say that the last quarter of a century has given a much fuller picture of life in the medieval Scottish burgh and enabled a much more considered analysis of the preservation and management of these important archaeological deposits.

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8 The Scottish Burgh Survey and the Centre for Scottish Urban History *by E Patricia Dennison*

This paper intends to elaborate on the purposes, methodologies and progress of the Scottish Burgh Survey project, one of Historic Scotland's initiatives designed to help planning authorities to recognise where there might be archaeological implications to a planning proposal in a town. An overview of Historic Scotland's policy is given in Chapter 5 by Olwyn Owen. The following Chapter 9, by Russel Coleman, gives an insight into the role of the archaeologist in the process of producing a Burgh Survey. Chapters 8 and 9 should, therefore, be read very much in tandem. This paper goes further and summarises some of the work of the Centre for Scottish Urban History, which complements, through a variety of approaches, the central thrust of the Burgh Survey project.

Background

The Burgh Survey project was initiated as one of the direct responses to the warnings of the Medieval Urban Archaeology Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, in 1972, that Scotland was in danger of destroying one of its significant heritages – its historic towns (Simpson *et al* 1972, 29). The repository of evidence was not merely the documentary source, but also the archaeological inheritance; and while the former was in relatively safe hands, the latter was under serious threat – acceleration in the development of towns and redevelopment and upgrading of the townscape, essential though they might have been, were wiping out centuries of Scotland's past. With this in mind, in 1976, the then Ancient Monuments Division of the Department of the Environment initiated the Burgh Survey project; and over the next few years some 50 or 60 burghs were surveyed for archaeological and historical sensitivity and most of the reports, although not formally published, were made available to the relevant planning authorities.

Gradually, there emerged a greater awareness, in townscape management, of the need for conservation alongside a recognition of the inevitability of change; and, importantly, of the desirability of the management of change rather than the prevention of change. Central and local government bodies were committing funding, not only to protect the archaeological heritage, but also to monitor urban development and raise public awareness of the value of irreplaceable facets of historic burghs. There was contemporaneously a certain shift of emphasis in the academic approach to urban studies. The traditional, constitutional and legalistic, assessment of burghal institutions was, to some extent, being replaced by a methodology that saw burghs and towns more simply – as places where people lived, worked and communicated. As such, they were vibrant, living organisms that expressed themselves not merely through their charters, liberties and political organisations, but also through their skills and handicrafts, their church and values, and their built environments.

It was against this background that Historic Scotland, in 1994, established, and adopted the ideas of, a working group (which continues to function as an independent steering committee) to recommence the Burgh Surveys in such a manner that they, and the information in them, were more readily accessible than previously to both planners and the general public. One way in which this might be achieved, it was thought, was to publish all survey reports. It was also felt desirable that the Burgh Survey project should be based within a Scottish university, as indeed, it had been originally in 1976. Invitations to tender for the production of surveys were issued to a number of university history departments. The Scottish History Department at Edinburgh University was successful; and, as a result, it established the Centre for Scottish Urban History.

The Centre team that was set up consists of Russel Coleman as archaeologist (see Chapter 9), seconded from the Scottish Urban Archaeological Trust; Kevin Hicks as illustrator and cartographer, seconded from the Centre for Field Archaeology at Edinburgh University; and Dr Pat Dennison as Director of the Centre, and historian and coordinator of the preparation of the surveys. The work of this small team is reinforced by the research assistance of a number of postgraduates, with excellent palaeographic skills, from the Department of Scottish History. As Director, Pat Dennison is responsible to two people: Ms Olwyn Owen as project manager for Historic Scotland (see Chapter 5) and Professor Michael Lynch as Head of the Department of Scottish History (see Chapter 20).

The purpose of the Burgh Surveys

Burgh Surveys are working documents, designed principally with local authorities and archaeological curators in mind, although it was hoped that they would also have an appeal to the wider public – which has, in fact, proved to be the case. Their aim is to identify those areas of the present and historic burgh which are of archaeological interest and, therefore, require sensitive treatment; and to give guidance as to

when further specialist advice should be sought, in the event of a planning application, which might involve major change, such as demolition of a building, or merely minor repairs or ground disturbance.

In these new surveys, the first working tool for the planner is a colour-coded map (Fig 9.1). This instantly flags up areas that are archaeologically sensitive; those where the archaeological potential is thought to be more limited; and those that are likely to have lost all potential and to be, in effect, sterile. The maps use the colour codes specified by Historic Scotland. Red areas are protected by law: under provisions of the *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979*, all development proposals which affect them require the prior written consent of the Secretary of State (Scheduled Monument Consent) in addition to any planning permission required. Green delineates potentially archaeologically sensitive areas which are not scheduled, but are likely to retain significant sub-surface archaeological information. Blue areas denote parts of the historic burgh which are probably archaeologically sterile and where archaeological consultation is not necessary. In practice, however, there is rarely a hard dividing line between the blue and the green areas; and, ideally, gradual merging of green into blue areas would help to highlight this point.

In a survey, the town under review is organised locationally, by division into a number of discrete areas, in order to assist speedy consultation on any proposed development site. The commentary for each area is prefaced with a detailed plan of that area. Archaeological, historical, geographical and geological factors of particular relevance to the area are all discussed, and an assessment of the archaeological potential is made.

These area assessments are reinforced by further full analyses of the archaeological, historical, geographical and geological background to the historic town as a whole; a survey of the historic standing buildings, and what they can tell us of the town's past, is made; a list of street names giving basic historical information is added; there is a bibliography, a glossary and a comprehensive index. Given that any report of this nature cannot be definitive, and the time funded for research and writing is merely weeks, a series of archaeological and historical objectives for future fieldwork and research is identified and listed. The report is supplemented with extensive illustrative material, some specifically prepared for the survey by the Centre's cartographer and others being reproductions of important early maps and old photographs and illustrations that can reveal so much about the historic past of the town.

The production of a Burgh Survey

This process involves various levels of research and negotiation. One of the first steps is to make preliminary contact with local planners, engineers, regional archaeologists, museums and libraries, to assess the extent of the local source material and alert the relevant local people of the team's imminent arrival. This has turned out to be a very important procedure, as experience has shown that this first introduction results in contacts not only with curators of the town's source material, but also with local people who can have a deep knowledge of their area's past.

When making an initial field trip, the team bears in mind that the morphological development of the historic town can best be understood within its geographical and geological context; and it is essential to retain at least an awareness of the effect of natural phenomena on the built environment. Cumnock and Hamilton, for example, both developed at fording points and Stornoway at an excellent natural harbour, probably used from prehistoric times (Fig 8.1). The pre-urban nuclei for Edinburgh, Stirling and Dumbarton – impressive, defensible, volcanic outcrops – make strong statements on the impact of natural phenomena even to this day. Geography and geology predetermine the morphological progress of all medieval towns. A stroll up High Street in Dunblane immediately alerts the visitor to the fact that burgage plots on the east were considerably longer than those to the west; to the west, the land falls away sharply to Millrow Street, leaving little or no space for plots behind the street frontage; so it is immediately apparent, without any further investigation, that the better quality historic housing was sited on the east side of the street (Fig 8.2). Kirkcaldy High Street, also, is a graphic illustration of urban man's response to his physical environment (Fig 9.4). Experienced either on foot or viewed from above, its curving form appears to be somewhat perverse, until a close analysis of predetermining geological and geophysical features reveals that this medieval street, very logically, followed the line of the cliff-like raised beach which initially prevented expansion inland. This physical phenomenon gave the further effect of truncated burgage plots west of the street, compared to the east side, from which burgage plots ran down to the Forth; and, as in Dunblane, determined which side of the High Street was more desirable (see Chapter 9).

Note is also taken of remaining physical features of the historic town. Remnants of the townscape may remain in less obvious a guise. Many Scottish burghs were quite deliberately and formally laid out, for example Glasgow by one Ranulf, who had previously planned Haddington, and St Andrews by Mainard the Fleming, who had probably taken part in the planning of Berwick. Very often, although not exclusively, the Scottish plan was a single street with back lanes, although these back lanes might in due course become developed, forming a more complex town plan. Typically, running back in a herringbone pattern from the main street were the burgage plots. Burgh records reveal that a close watch was kept on the maintenance of street alignment and burgage plot boundaries by officials, the liners. This respect

Figure 8.1 Stornoway in 1819 (reproduced by kind permission of Edinburgh City Libraries)

Figure 8.2 High Street and Millrow, Dunblane (reproduced by kind permission of Dunblane Cathedral Museum)

for tradition resulted in a fair degree of continuity. In many towns, there still survive the remnants of the old burgage plots. The buildings that once fronted the burgage plots may not have survived, but many more newly built properties still respect the old burgage plot boundaries. Some burghs reveal market repletion, a clustering of development on a previously open market-place, when land in the town centre reached a premium. Others, however, may still retain their open market spaces, as is the case at Dalkeith and Musselburgh.

A number of towns are fortunate enough to have standing buildings that give clues to the town's historic past. Some of these buildings may be listed and consequently subject to listed building control. Where listed buildings contain, or may contain, architecturally or archaeologically significant building fabric, the planning authority is obliged to make efforts to ensure that this is preserved and not adversely affected by proposed building works (see Chapter 5). Virtually intact towns, such as Culross, are not the norm, but those that do survive have strong statements to make on the urban built fabric and form. Neither have medieval and early-modern buildings survived prolifically, but those that do can offer considerable information, as long as it is borne in mind that numerous alterations and additions have been made over the centuries, including, in many cases, both horizontal and vertical subdivisions. Moreover, many seemingly 'modern' buildings may hold within them remnants of structures from centuries previous. Such dwellings as the 'John Knox House' and Gladstone's Land in Edinburgh (Fig 6.6) are well known; but the George Hotel, Stranraer, an 18th-century coaching inn, with its classic frontage and rear access for horses and coaches, is a reminder of the town's centuries-old role as a staging post before crossing on the ferry to Ireland. Nos 339–43 High Street, Kirkcaldy, close beside the town's medieval harbour, but outside the town's northerly port, is likewise a fine example of quality housing, probably that of a wealthy ship-owner, a reminder of the 17th-century importance of this east-coast port (Fig 8.3). Forfar's elegant townhouse makes a strong statement about this small burgh's function, as a local and regional market-place, in spite of the attempts by nearby Dundee to dominate. Stornoway's Fishermen's Co-operative Building on North Beach, although now somewhat neglected, recalls the historic importance of the fishing industry for the town. Dalkeith's 14th-century collegiate church still stands in the High Street, across the road from the 17th-century tolbooth; and Musselburgh's 16th-century tolbooth and 18th-century Pinkie Pillars are all tangible links with these towns' historic pasts. And, sometimes, small but important clues appear quite unexpectedly. On the site of the precinct of the Cistercian monastery of Melrose, there is a quite poignant contact with the past. Plum trees, of a very old, medieval variety are still seeding themselves and growing as direct descendants of those in the monks' orchard hundreds of years ago.

Figure 8.3 Nos 339–43 High Street, Kirkcaldy (courtesy of the author)

There are, however, disappointments. One of the oldest standing buildings in Kirkcaldy has recently been demolished; although since the Kirkcaldy Burgh Survey highlighted its significance, it has been the subject of archaeological investigation, affording as it does a rare opportunity for a foreland excavation (see Chapter 10). In the same town, the early 19th-century Harbour House, once a most impressive building, is suffering extreme neglect (Fig 8.4), and it would be a great loss if it were to go the way of Dunbar's Harbour House – that of demolition. This is not to pick on Kirkcaldy as an example of a poorly served area – far from it – Fife is one of the regions in Scotland that can boast a regional archaeologist; but resources are such that archaeologist and planners alike find their hands tied (see Chapter 10). The situation of Kirkcaldy Harbour House is not untypical of properties in other historic centres. In Dumbarton, very little of the town's historic past has survived above ground, in spite of the specific warnings of the Society of Antiquaries' committee in 1972 that the town was under serious threat from proposed extensive inner-city development. The Black Bull Inn on the High Street was one of the few structures still retaining some character of the past to survive; but it, too, has now disappeared – blown up, according to the local people, as

Figure 8.4 Harbour House, Kirkcaldy (courtesy of the author)

an 'insurance job' – even though it was a listed building.

Although occasionally shunned, oral tradition can be important. Placed within an informed historical context, significant pieces of information may emerge on field trips from local people, which add to the overall, detailed, picture of an individual town. A fascinating tour round Dunblane, guided by members of the Civic Trust, revealed features known to exist, but difficult for the team to immediately locate, such as the site of a culverted stream and the foundations of the town mill, largely lost below the foundations of the gas holder, which has now, in turn, disappeared. In Coupar Angus, local people were able to locate the now filled-in old wells which are scattered throughout the town. In the study of Stranraer, also, it was necessary to know the precise dating of the completion of construction of a house, still standing, in order to assess development of suburbs in that area. The matter was resolved by a local man. The date was 1815. He recalled an oral tradition of an apprentice joiner working on the house. While on the final stages of this property, panelling a reception room, a colleague came bursting in with the news of victory at the Battle of Waterloo.

Perhaps apparently less significant, but in fact equally telling can be place or street names. They may not be the sole clue to an extinct feature, but can often help to pinpoint a particular site or structure. Charterhouse Lane in Perth, for example, is a reminder of the nearby Carthusian monastery founded in 1426; Castlegate in Aberdeen is the roadway leading to the long-extinct castle; Precinct Street in Coupar Angus is a strong reminder of the importance and extent of the wealthy Cistercian abbey that once dominated the small settlement at its gates, although now only part of the gatehouse survives; and the numerous Tannery Rows, Port Streets, Back Wynds and Mill Streets speak for themselves, as do the Little Irelands and the Dublin Streets. Back Rampart Street in Stranraer is an interesting reminder of the significance of the geophysical setting of all historic towns: the Back Rampart was a hill to the west of the town, and for centuries its physical dominance formed a natural boundary to the western limits of the townscape.

Important as these initial assessments made on field trips may be, this is often only the tip of the iceberg. Sometimes there is very little to go on – virtually nothing remains of the old part of Hamilton, for example. It is then necessary to turn to other source materials to understand, or recreate, the historic town. And this is where the work of the historian is important, in order that the archaeologist's assessments receive essential backup. In this new series of Burgh Surveys, the analysis of primary documentary sources has been recognised as a feature of primary significance. Early written records of Scottish burghs are scanty. There are the *Leges Burgorum*, reputedly of the reign of David I (1124–53); the statutes of William the Lion (1165–1214); and *Statuta Gildae*, the statutes of the gild of Berwick, the earlier part attributed to 1249 and the later specifically dated 1281 and 1294.[1] Some burghs possess early charters of privilege; but these are purely formal documents, often repeated in formulaic terms one from another, and intended to define the legal status of the burgh. The cartularies of associated religious houses, such as those of Lindores, Newbattle, Paisley, Coupar Angus and Glasgow Blackfriars do, however, give welcome additional information.[2] Although not their original intention, such sources give occasional insights into the urban setting and lives of the early burgesses. But an insight into Scottish town life increases considerably once burgh and gild court records are extant. Such documentation is rare before the mid 15th century. The earliest series of burgh records is that of Aberdeen, which begins in 1398, and of Newburgh – 1457.[3] There is also a small collection of dealings dating from the 1420s and 1430s drawn together by the notary public of Haddington; three folios give minimal information on the proceedings of the gild merchant court of Ayr from 1428 to 1432; Dunfermline's gild court book begins in 1433; Aberdeen's gild dealings are documented from 1441; the Perth 'Guildrie Book' dates from 1452; and a manuscript roll minutes some of the gild merchant affairs

Figure 8.5 Loretto Chapel, Musselburgh, the traditionally accepted site (courtesy of the author)

of Stirling and dates from 1462, but covers only approximately ten years.[4] Compared with the source materials available to many colleagues outwith Scotland, these are slight – but vitally important. All of these sources may be supplemented by the end of the medieval period with central government records, such as the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, the records of the Privy Council, Great Seal, Privy Seal and Exchequer Rolls and the accounts of the Lord High Treasurers of Scotland and the Royal Masters of Works. From the 16th century, there is an abundance of archival material, which includes, most importantly, protocol books, which record the sale and transfer of houses and other urban properties. This century and the next were to witness major political and religious upheavals that, together with substantial population increase in many of the larger towns, threatened the accepted foundations of urban communities. But there was also continuity, and there is much in the early modern townscape that reveals the medieval nucleus of settlement. This wealth of documentation is one of the basic sources for any study of a later medieval or early modern urban community. As research moves into more modern times, the proliferation of documentary sources can become almost overwhelming; and for Burgh Survey purposes, with necessary constraints on time-scale, the use of this material has to be selective.

It is for this reason that there is the enthusiastic 'assault team' of postgraduate researchers. The historical researchers, under the guidance of the

Figure 8.6 Loretto Chapel, Musselburgh? (courtesy of the author)

Figure 8.7 Pont [36], c 1590, portion of Linlithgowshire (enlarged) (reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland). The arcaded houses are lining the High Street, to the right of the illustration.

Director, work as a team to provide background information for the archaeologist. His task would in many cases prove to be a virtually impossible one, without the underpinning of these documentary researches. The research team trawls through the manuscript sources, both local and national. On occasion, the Centre has benefited from archives from further afield. The Penitentiary Records, housed in the Vatican, led to the conclusion that there are grounds for questioning the traditionally accepted site of Loretto Chapel, in Musselburgh (Fig 8.5). They suggested a location a little further south – and, intriguingly, when followed up by the Burgh Survey team, the remnants of what do indeed seem to have been an ecclesiastical building were found (Fig 8.6).[5] Dalkeith is a town which is relatively well served by secondary historical accounts. Yet, a 16th-century primary source[6] revealed previously unnoted information about the townscape: part of the medieval town had been assimilated into the grounds of Dalkeith Palace (Fig 9.6). Had the remit of the first Burgh Survey series been in place – that only secondary printed sources should be used by the historian – a vitally important facet of the town would have remained unknown and potentially at risk in the event of development.

Another important research tool is cartographic evidence. Timothy Pont's drawings, made in the latter decades of the 16th century, are a rewarding source, showing graphically his view of late medieval towns. Particularly when enlarged, important detail emerges, which is not always documented in the written sources nor illustrated elsewhere. His view of Linlithgow from the north, when magnified, shows clearly the prestigious houses, known from documentary sources to have stood on the south side of the High Street. Importantly, the enlargement reveals a hitherto little known fact – many of these dwellings were arcaded (Fig 8.7). Further evidence of this may still be found in standing historic properties, hidden behind the more modern façades, as at the 'Four Marys' restaurant (Fig 8.8).[7] This is not unique to Linlithgow – 339–43 High Street Kirkcaldy (Fig 8.3), for example, also gives little clue now to its once arcaded façade, still intact but now concealed within a more recent frontage.

Early maps can also illustrate how soon the basic street pattern was laid out in a particular town; Gordon's map of *c* 1630,[8] shows, by its detailing, that

Figure 8.8 The 'Four Marys', Linlithgow (courtesy of the author)

even in the early 16th century, Kirkcaldy was a 'lang toun'. An understanding of Stornoway was transformed by two pieces of cartographic evidence. The first, a contemporary ground-plan of the Cromwellian fort in the town (Fig 8.9),[9] enabled the Centre to suggest a location for the fort on the peninsula of Stornoway rather than further inland as has traditionally been argued. This, obviously, was to have a significant impact on the archaeologist's conclusions. The second was a 1785 plan in the keeping of Stornoway Library (Leabharlann nan Eilean) (Fig 8.10),[10] which gave a unique insight into the history of the locality. It revealed established settlement of 92 plots with houses on all but two, with attached crofts, at Goathill, on the outskirts of Stornoway. Eighteenth-century documentary evidence had given only clues to this settlement and no indication of its extent. By 1821, when John Wood surveyed the same area,[11] the settlement had gone, the victim of clearance – it was already, by the early 19th century, archaeologically sensitive. Redevelopment is not a modern problem; and that, too, had serious archaeological implications.

Town plans, such as those of John Wood compiled largely in the 1820s, and 19th-century ordnance survey maps are an invaluable source, indicating the layout of towns before major 20th-century developments destroyed earlier remnants. Following Conzen's method of stripping the town plan of its modern accretions (Conzen 1968, 113–30), it is possible in many cases to reconstruct the medieval or early town plan. A town plan, however, shows what is present at the time of illustration and takes no account of what may once have existed and later disappeared from the townscape. John Wood's plan of Hamilton, produced in 1824, for example, is detailed and accurate, according to the evidence in the vast cartographic archive on loan from the Duke of Hamilton to Hamilton District Library. But as a source material it has one flaw. It can take no account of the wholesale demolition of the old burgh effected over the previous century by successive Dukes and Duchesses of Hamilton as a result of their expansionist policy and desire to remove the old town from their doorstep. Thomas Barn's plan of 1781 gives quite a different picture, indicating settlement still clustering close to the palace. And two earlier 18th-century plans reveal that there was even greater development in the area around the palace that Wood's map shows to be vacant. But, to recreate the 17th-century and earlier town, the sole available resource was documentary evidence. Studies of cartographic sources of Dalkeith suggested that here, too, there was evidence of assimilation, over time, of town lands into the Dalkeith Estate, a hitherto unknown fact. This, also, was confirmed by the team's researches into 16th-century documentary evidence, as noted above. So, while accepting that a town plan is a statement in time and, as such, is limited, it is an invaluable source for the Burgh Survey team.

This highlights the necessity for a wide-ranging, inter-disciplinary approach to the Burgh Surveys.

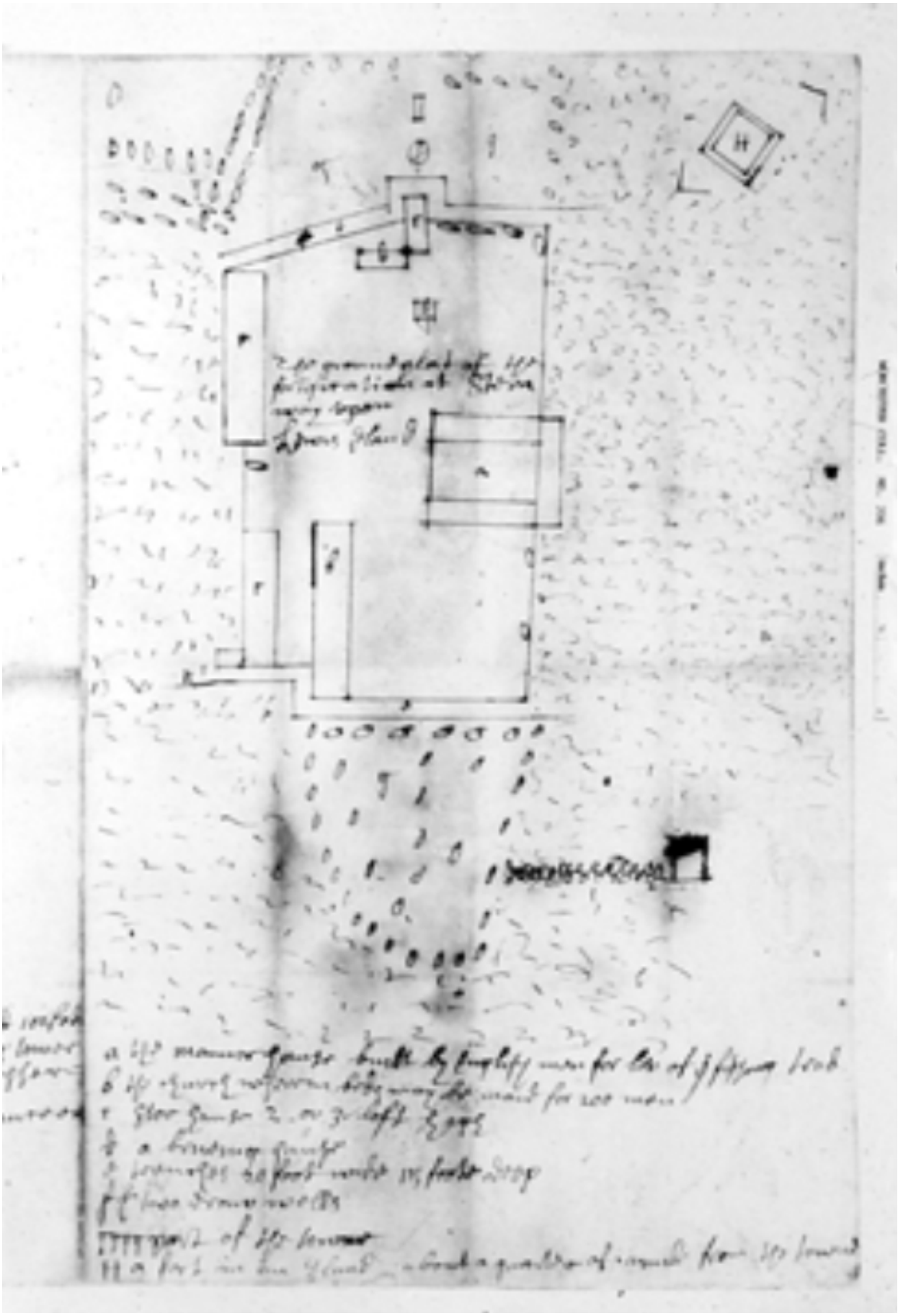

Figure 8.9 Plan of Cromwellian fort, Stornoway, c 1653 (reproduced by kind permission of The Provost and Fellows of Worcester College, Oxford)

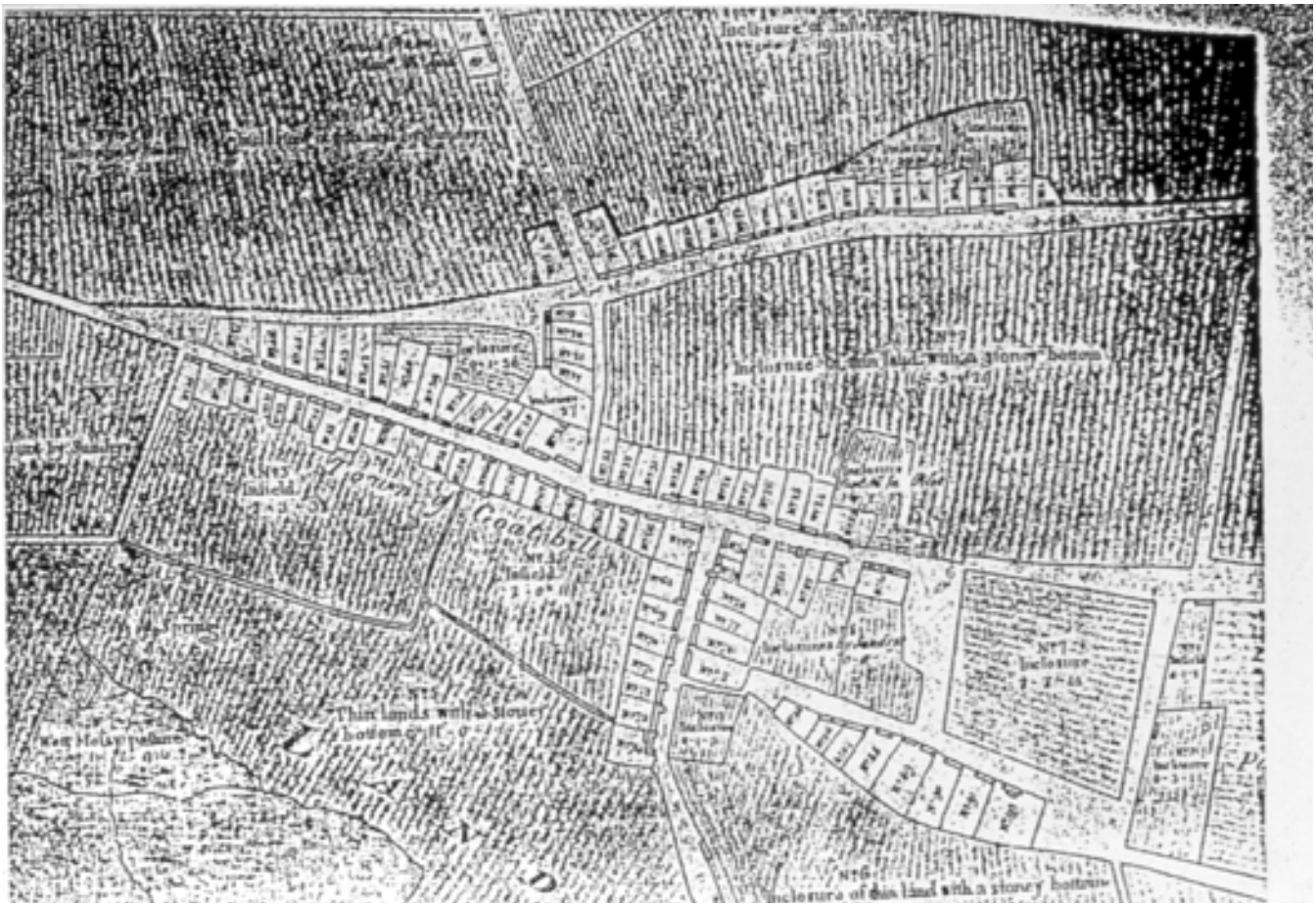

Figure 8.10 Goathill, Stornoway, 1785 (reproduced by kind permission of Leabharlainn nan Eilean Siat, Comhairle nan Eilean Siat)

Early engravings and paintings, in spite of artistic licence, can offer insights into past land use. A contemporary detailed depiction of the Battle of Pinkie in 1547 (Fig 8.11), drawn by an English observer and published in Holinshed's chronicle 40 years later,[12] gives not only information about the battle lines, but also the township of Musselburgh and its all-important bridge and the citadel of Leith. Johann Slezer's 17th-century works, in particular, merit attention, as do 18th- and 19th-century illustrations. A painting of Stranraer in the middle of the last century gives a splendid panoply of the town and – a key point – highlights the geographical separation of the once separate settlements of Clayhole and Hillhead from Stranraer proper. An early 19th-century picture of Stranraer, however, shows a less romantic side to the town, with its tiny hovels clustering around St John's Castle (Fig 5.4).

Photographs dating from the 19th century and even, on occasion, from the early 20th can tell much about the urban form prior to major industrialisation and modern re-development schemes; in some cases photography may be the only visual clues. There is no evidence now, other than memories and photographs, of the dissection of Coupar Angus into two halves by the 19th-century railway. North Queensferry, the small haven on the north side of the Queensferry Passage, has already lost most of the standing evidence of its important 20th-century role as a military station and barrage balloon base; villagers, however, have not only tales to tell, but documentation and photographs that speak proudly of North Queensferry's recent historic past.

In the case of totally extinct settlements, aerial survey can be an invaluable resource; and it is one that was used in the assessment of the now disappeared old Hamilton (Fig 9.7). This town is perhaps one of the most striking cases, where there was little or nothing to work on; and the reconstruction of the old town, by documentary and cartographic evidence, partially confirmed by aerial photography, was an essential prerequisite for the archaeologist's research (see Chapter 9).

Progress

Sixteen Burgh Surveys were completed by March 1997; and the publication process of all the surveys is scheduled to be completed by 1999.[13] The time lapse does inevitably mean that certain elements of the townscape may have changed in the intervening months. This is rectified as far as possible immediately

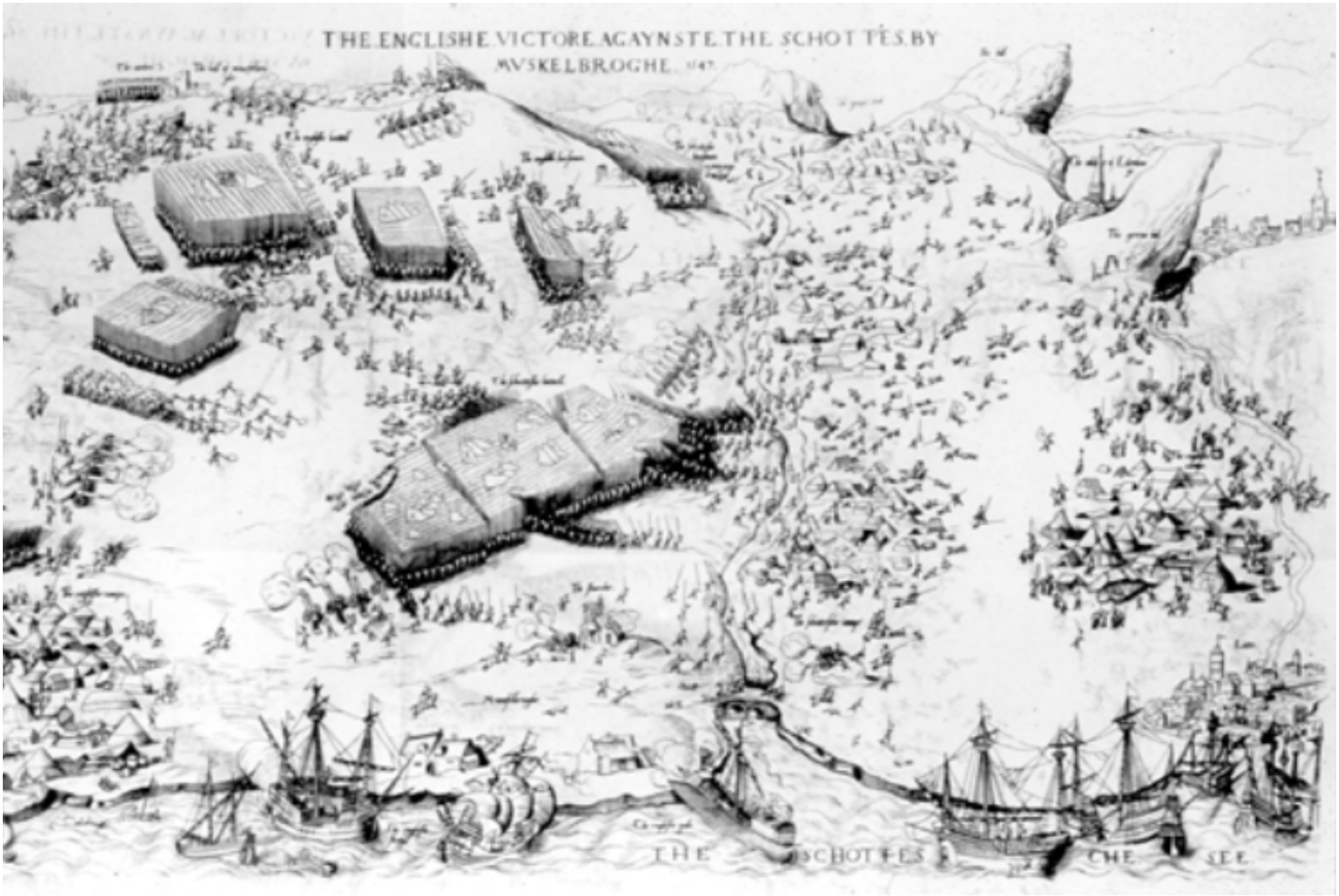

Figure 8.11 Battle of Pinkie, 1547 (G.A. Scotl. 4o 13 (10) opposite page 1) (reproduced by kind permission of Bodleian Library, University of Oxford)

before printing; but access to the unpublished report, while awaiting publication, is given to all interested parties. On publication, the surveys are made available to the relevant local authorities, many of whom assist Historic Scotland with funding towards the cost of printing the surveys of towns within their remit. The data accumulated during the preparation of the survey, along with all unpublished reports of small-scale excavations and watching briefs, are then housed in the National Monuments Record of Scotland (see Chapter 6). To date, the sale of the surveys suggests that local people have a keen interest in their own locality; and this has proved most encouraging. There has been, however, an element of concern, on the part of the production team, that the surveys were trying to reach two quite different markets: the professional, which uses the survey as a working tool; and the public who want to know more about, and have a pride in, their historic past. As the prime purpose of the surveys is to meet the needs of the former, there is, inevitably, an element of repetition within the text, to save planners and other professional users from undue cross-referencing. Such repetition would perhaps not be acceptable in a conventional volume on the archaeology and history of a town. The popularity of the surveys with the general public suggests, however, that this repetition is not unduly off-putting; but it is a factor of which the whole production team is acutely aware.

The Centre for Scottish Urban History

The work of the Centre goes further than the production of Burgh Surveys. As well as the post-graduates who assist with the research element of the surveys, certain undergraduates have had close contact with the surveys. An Honours course 'Scottish Towns 1100–1700', has drawn on the researches of the survey team, both in the Centre's growing archives and, in practice, while on field trips. A work-placement scheme, instituted by the Department in 1994, has resulted in further students being given access to research material held in the Centre. Three tangible results have been the production of a 'Stranraer Town Trail' pamphlet, to celebrate 500 years of burgh life there; a teachers' and pupils' guide pack to historic Musselburgh; and, following the success of the latter, Historic Scotland, with the assistance of the Centre, produced a teachers' pack to accompany the Burgh Surveys. This, too, was researched by one of our graduates. Russel Coleman and Pat Dennison are also in regular demand to speak, not only to towns which have been surveyed, but also to their neighbours – an encouraging comment on the interested commitment of local people.

Such initiatives begin to go some way towards meeting another point made by The Society of Antiquaries in 1972. They argued that 'the man in the street has come to appreciate the value and interest of archaeology for distant eras . . . But he has hardly yet realised that the street on which he walks may conceal equally vital information about more recent and more comprehensible times'. Is this still fair comment? Interest in towns has manifested itself in a variety of outlets: Historic Burghs Association of Scotland; Historic Buildings Trust; Old Town Renewal Trust of Edinburgh and in numerous local civic trusts and historical and archaeological associations, to give only a few examples. The Ancient Monuments Board designated 1998 the 'year of urban archaeology'; and the outcome of their deliberations will certainly raise the profile of our urban heritage.

There have been significant losses. In the 1960s, a major demolition in the historic core of Linlithgow resulted in the removal of 16th-century houses, without full recording. We do know, however, that many displayed quality features, such as fireplaces and ceiling coving reminiscent of and influenced by the details within the nearby palace. These exceptional properties, which may have housed the Spanish and French ambassadors, were replaced with modern flat-roofed blocks of flats (see Chapter 19 and illustrations). The seal of approval was given by the granting of a Saltire Society award for architectural merit! Linlithgow is not alone. The vandalism of the removal of two sides of George Square, Edinburgh, in the name of progress, is in the same category; and merely one further example of what we have irretrievably lost. Certainly, attitudes have changed since the 1960s and 1970s, but there is no room for complacency. In the future, we have to address more firmly the issue: what is the correct balance between conservation and change in our historic towns. There has to be change, but it should be managed and thoughtful change, with full recording of that which is to be lost.

The Centre has been invited, and commissioned, to be involved in numerous projects, both private and public. These have ranged from Lottery applications for upgrading the fabric of early 19th-century cemeteries and assessing their impact on contemporary society, advising on the historic roles of individual buildings such as Commendators' Houses, analysing the importance of old gardens, commenting on the removal of car parks from historic cores of towns, to cooperating with Headland Archaeology and SUAT in the assessment of the archaeology and history of the new Scottish Parliament site at Holyrood, Edinburgh.

The new insights resulting from the research made in the Burgh Survey project have reinforced this writer's views on urban history. Firstly there is increasing evidence that urban historians and archaeologists should dismiss the long-held theory that towns did not exist in Scotland before the 12th century. Latest research, and particularly dendrochronology, shows that this is no longer a tenable position; and with a combination of archaeology and historical research we could move to a fuller understanding of urban life in earlier times. Secondly, clearances of Highland communities have long been high profile in Scottish History; unresearched is the

same process that we now know to have faced some Lowland towns. Thirdly, the opportunity to study three towns in close proximity to Edinburgh – Musselburgh, Dalkeith and Linlithgow – highlights the networking essential to all urban societies polarising on a more dominant neighbour; it suggests that urban studies in the future could profitably analyse the functions of towns as networked groups, as well as, rather than merely as, individual communities. Finally, the understanding of the nature of 18th-century planned settlements has also been offered a fillip: the map discovered in Stornoway has now been recognised as that of a planned fishing settlement, possibly the earliest such map known to exist in Scotland (Fig 8.10). Perhaps further evidence, whether cartographic or documentary, still awaits discovery.

The work of the Burgh Survey and the Centre for Scottish Urban History has, also, reached beyond Scotland. Contacts have been set in train with urban historians, geographers and archaeologists in a number of other countries: Sweden, Norway, France, Germany and Switzerland on mainland Europe; and throughout the UK and Ireland. The Centre has, by means of British Council funding, established a working dialogue between itself and the Archäologischer Stadtkataster, Baden-Württemberg (see Chapter 11). Together, the two centres are pursuing a research programme into aspects of change and conservation within historic towns in Germany and Scotland. With Heinz Pantli (see Chapter 17), Andrea Bräuning and Pat Dennison are also producing a guide to good practice in the monitoring of development in historic urban settings in German speaking Europe. This volume, *Conservation and change in historic towns*, also attests to the increasing awareness of the necessity for sensitive treatment of urban development and regeneration, within Scotland, England, Wales, Ireland and beyond. All of this might suggest that Scotland has much to offer – as well as much to learn – as we now move into a fuller European agenda.

Conclusion

Much of the work of the Centre, whether production of the Burgh Surveys for Historic Scotland or its independent business, might be considered as falling within the realm of 'applied history'. This is perhaps true; but it is only with rigorous, multi-disciplined research that an understanding of the historic town can truly begin to emerge. And this understanding is essential; for without appreciating the past that formed the townscape and the lives of those who inhabited it, how can we, with any authority or legitimacy, plan for the future of the historic town?

Acknowledgements

Colleagues in the University of Edinburgh, Historic Scotland, the Map Library of the National Library of Scotland and the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland have been very supportive; but I would particularly like to thank Dr Elizabeth Ewan and Professor Michael Lynch for their constructive comments on this text.

Notes

1 These are included in C Innes (ed), *Ancient laws and customs of the burghs of Scotland* (Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1868).
2 *The chartulary of the abbey of Lindores*, ed J Dowden (Scottish History Society, 1903); *Liber Sancte Marie de Lundoris* (Abbotsford Club, 1841); *Registrum Sancte Marie de Newbotle* (Bannatyne Club, 1849); *Registrum Monasterii de Passelet* (Maitland Club, 1832); *Charters of the abbey of Coupar Angus*, ed D E Easson (Scottish History Society, 1947); *Munimenta Fratum Predicatorum de Glasgu* (Maitland Club, 1846).
3 WC Dickinson (ed), *Early records of the burgh of Aberdeen, 1317, 1398–1407* (Scottish History Society, 1957); St Andrews University Archives, MS.B54/7/1, 'Newburgh Burgh Records'.
4 SRO B30/9/1, MS. 'Court & council records, 1423'; SRO B30/21/11, MS. 'Burgh charters and miscellaneous documents'; SRO PA 5/2, MS. 'The Ayr manuscript'; E P D Torrie (ed), *The gild court book of Dunfermline, 1433–1597* (Scottish Record Society, 1986); Aberdeen City Archives, Ms. vol. v, ii, of 'Series of Council Registers', 1441/1465; Perth Museum and Art Gallery, 1/1, MS. 'the Guildrie Book', now edited by M Stavert, *The Perth guildry book, 1452–1601* (Scottish Record Society, 1993); Central Region Archives, PD 61/1, MS 'Stirling Gild Records'.
5 MSS 'Archivum Sacrae Penitentiariae Apostolicae', vol lxxxvii, 228.
6 *Laing Charters*, 170, no 653.
7 Timothy Pont's late 16th-century maps may be seen enlarged, on CD Rom, at the Map Library, National Library of Scotland (The Pont Project).
8 'Fife', by James Gordon, 1642.
9 Plan of Cromwellian Fort, *c* 1653, in keeping of Worcester College, Oxford.
10 Plan of the harbour, bay and town of Stornoway belonging heritably to Francis Humberston Mackenzie, 1785.
11 Plan of the town and harbour of Stornoway, by John Wood, 1821.
12 Plan of the Battle of Pinkie, 1547, in the keeping of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.
13 Scottish Burgh Surveys, *see* bibliography.

9 The Scottish Burgh Survey: an archaeologist's perspective *by Russel Coleman*

Introduction

This paper provides an archaeologist's perspective on producing a survey for the new series of the Scottish Burgh Survey; outlines the principal objectives, the sources and methods used, and some recurrent problems; and finally highlights some of the contributions the archaeological input has made to the survey.

The larger medieval burghs had already been, to a limited extent, surveyed by the Scottish Burgh Survey between 1976 and 1994; for example Perth, Dundee, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Stirling and St Andrews. The most recent series (1994 onwards) concentrated on smaller burghs: Coupar Angus, Cumnock, Dalkeith, Dumbarton, Dunblane, Hamilton, Kirkcaldy, Melrose, Musselburgh, Nairn, North Queensferry, Stornoway and Stranraer, towns perhaps more typical of medieval urban settlement in Scotland. Two earlier surveys, Forfar and Linlithgow, both published in 1981, have also been completely reworked.

The primary objective of the surveys has been to identify areas of archaeological potential within the towns under study and to assess the implications of development. The surveys also provide background information on the history and archaeology of each burgh to a variety of users, often busy professionals, such as planners and archaeological curators. By identifying further avenues for research and priorities for archaeological fieldwork, they also help to focus often limited resources both upon what is important about each individual town and also towards specific questions that archaeological curators, contractors or researchers should be addressing. The published surveys are also on sale to the general public and, therefore, in both writing them and publishing them, the needs of three different audiences have to be taken into account.

Essentially, the most important requirement for planners is a colour-coded map of each burgh (Fig 9.1), clearly defining the areas of known archaeological importance, with a concise step by step guide on what conditions to attach and how to commission the necessary work. As the information contained within the surveys may be used by archaeological curators, such as local authority archaeologists, in writing specifications for work to be carried out by commercial archaeological contractors employed by a developer, information on the topography of the medieval burgh, its origins, planning and growth to the present day, together with a Sites and Monuments Record (SMR) gazetteer of previous work, reported finds and a bibliography are essential.

The publication of *National Planning Policy Guideline 5* (NPPG 5) and *Planning Advice Note 42* (PAN 42) by the Scottish Office in 1994 introduced stricter planning guidelines to deal with archaeology and development; this resulted in a wider range of individuals, organisations and institutions using the Burgh Surveys. All will, potentially, have widely differing experiences of the planning process, of the archaeology of Scottish towns and of managing commercial archaeological contractors. If the published surveys are to be of value to these groups, and also to a wider public, they must be set out attractively with well-written information included.

Scottish Burgh Survey: 1976–94

The first series of the Burgh Survey was, as was its successor, aimed at planning authorities, but was also commissioned with a view to providing the necessary background information upon which to base a policy for planned urban research (Murray 1983b, 8). To test the hypotheses of the Burgh Surveys (first commissioned in 1976), the Urban Archaeology Unit (UAU) was set up in 1978, funded by the then Scottish Development Department (Ancient Monuments), now Historic Scotland (Murray 1983a, 6–8). The Scottish Urban Archaeological Trust (SUAT Ltd), formed in 1982, inherited many of the projects and staff of the UAU. Today, moreover, many, if not all, of the numerous independent Scottish archaeological units regularly work in the burghs.

These early surveys were low cost productions, prepared very quickly, with as many as fifteen volumes appearing in 1981 alone (Murray 1983b, 5). Essentially a basic data-gathering exercise, they were (and still are at times) frustrating to use, with, for example, no index. They remain, however, one of the few accessible sources of information on some aspects of the archaeology of the core areas of burghs, and in many instances they are the first modern account of the history of a burgh (Talbot 1984). The archaeological content, or input, has, however, attracted criticism. A review of the first 53 surveys, published in 1983 (Murray 1983b), found the historical account to achieve its basic objective, but pinpointed numerous problems with the archaeological content and the maps. Changes in personnel over the years, leading to marked changes in style, content and presentation, repetition between

Figure 9.1 Colour-coded map of the burgh of Dunblane (Stirling) (reproduced by kind permission of Historic Scotland)

Figure 9.2 Finds from the Roman fort and civilian settlement at Inveresk, Musselburgh, on the site of which the town's medieval parish church stands (reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland). The churchyard is still in use, and many of these finds have been unearthed by gravediggers.

sections, and statements too vague to be of any real value were specific criticisms. Moreover, had the reviewer been an historian, the assessment of the historical account would not have been so complacent. The historical researcher was specifically required to use only secondary source material – this factor and lack of time meant an inevitable superficiality in both the historical and archaeological content.

Recurrent problems

Many of the problems experienced by the archaeologists writing the first series of Burgh Surveys are still in existence today. Towns, in general, pose formidable problems to archaeologists attempting to predict what may survive and where. The most complex of all settlement types, with anything up to 1000 years of occupation concentrated within a relatively small area, each successive phase of occupation largely disturbs, or even completely removes, earlier levels. The decision as to whether to treat all areas within the historic or medieval core of the burgh as archaeologically sensitive, or whether to treat heavily disturbed areas as having been effectively redeveloped is a recurring problem.

Much of the major excavation work which has been carried out to date in Scottish medieval towns has been concentrated, in response to the demands of development, in relatively few burghs (Aberdeen, Perth, St Andrews, Elgin and Ayr, for example). On the other hand, in most of the burghs the new series of the Scottish Burgh Survey has studied, previous archaeological work has been infrequent, small-scale and often entirely inadequate. This is a major limiting factor for the archaeological input to the surveys.

One of the first decisions to be made during the production of a Burgh Survey is to define the limits of the study itself, and, even more difficult, the core of the medieval settlement. This is largely done with reference to the earliest detailed map of the burgh, often early 19th-century in date, but the limit of the area under study can be adjusted as research progresses and outlying features are identified. The aim is to cover at least the known extent of the medieval and early modern burgh, but this has, of necessity, to be balanced with what realistically can be achieved within the timetable of four weeks per survey.

Figure 9.3 One of five Bronze Age cist burials found in Kirkcaldy (reproduced by kind permission of Fife Council)

Sources

The archaeological input to the Burgh Survey series is primarily an exercise in data-gathering of easily accessible source material. The first main source is the National Monuments Record of Scotland (NMRS), held in the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS); and now available on the Internet ('Canmore'). This provides a record of any published archaeological work that has been carried out, any stray finds that have been discovered in and around the burghs, and a basic bibliography for further reading. The Royal Commission's aerial photographic collection has also proved valuable, particularly in assessing post-war redevelopment; highlighting developed areas, which are often areas where excavation has not taken place; giving a feel for the layout of the medieval town; and, in some cases, finding new features (see Dalkeith below) or rediscovering lost features (see Hamilton below).

Sites and Monuments Records held by local authorities, and local museums, are also useful in that they may hold the unpublished results of local research, or provide access to work currently in progress. The Council for Scottish Archaeology's annual publication *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland* also includes short abstract reports on all archaeological work carried out in that year.

Stray finds, artefacts picked up and handed in to local museums, can provide useful dating evidence, particularly for those towns where no archaeological fieldwork has taken place. Unfortunately, of those stray finds reported, most have no accurate location, and their use as indicators of archaeological potential is thus diminished. Interestingly, the pattern from towns is that stray finds are heavily biased towards the prehistoric and Roman (Fig 9.2), with surprisingly few medieval finds reported. This is particularly true of pottery, perhaps the most useful of all artefacts for the dating process. In virtually all of the towns the Burgh Survey has looked at, however, there has been evidence of prehistoric activity (Fig 9.3). Little work has been done on the prehistory of towns to date, and questions as to whether medieval High Streets, for example, perpetuated more ancient trackways, perhaps leading to fords which were later bridged, should be research foci.

Another source of information that can provide a glimpse of what may lie below ground is engineers' bore-holes. Where these records are easily accessible, for example those held by local councils, they are consulted by the Burgh Survey team, but most, in fact, are held by private companies. Their value should not be overestimated, however, as they cannot distinguish medieval from more modern levels, although they can provide a useful guide to the depth of potential archaeological deposit survival across a town, in the absence of even watching briefs.

Street frontages have generally proved most rewarding archaeologically, but are often greatly disturbed by continuous rebuilding, and, in particular, from the digging of cellars. In the past, cellar surveys have provided a useful guide to both the level of disturbance that the principal medieval thoroughfares have experienced, and also to the archaeological potential that remains for the future. Cellar surveys can, however, prove extremely time consuming and expensive to undertake.

In many Scottish burghs, tangible links with the medieval past are street patterns and backlands, where former burgage plots may have been fossilised in the modern town plan. A thorough walk around the burgh, therefore, is a useful source of information. In conjunction with cartographic evidence, this can provide additional insight into the local topography and the manner in which it may have influenced the development and layout of the burgh and the survival of its archaeological deposits.

Case studies

Kirkcaldy

Fifteen of the burghs in Fife were coastal ports, emphasising the strategic and commercial importance of these harbour towns on the North Sea

Figure 9.4 Physical setting of Kirkcaldy (reproduced by kind permission of Historic Scotland)

network, and reflecting the important trading links that these towns had with France, the Low Countries and the Baltic. Kirkcaldy, which lies on the south-east coast of Fife, was one of four burghs of regality dependent on Dunfermline Abbey, along with Dunfermline, Queensferry and Musselburgh.

The town plan of Kirkcaldy has in the past been a source of curiosity to urban historians and historical geographers. The High Street is unusual in that it curves slightly and has fairly short burgage plots to the west and much longer plots to the east. Plotting the town plan against the natural relief, however, showed a close correlation. A study of the local geology highlighted that a series of post-glacial, raised beaches stretches along this section of the Fife coastline; and it can be seen how this natural feature influenced the medieval town plan (Fig 9.4). High Street itself is now thought to have been laid out along the edge of one raised beach, with long plots extending some 100m down a gradual slope to the sea. To the west, however, a second, higher raised beach restricted the length of the plots to less than 50m; over the centuries this area has seen considerable terracing into the steep slope of the raised beach

in order to create a level platform for building. The identification of the upper raised beach may also provide a useful indicator of the extent of the medieval town, now contained within the boundaries of a much larger urban development.

Nairn

One of the earliest of the royal burghs in the north-east of Scotland, Nairn lies at the mouth of the River Nairn on the south shore of the Moray Firth. The burgh appears to date to the reign of William the Lion (1165–1214), who abandoned his castle and attendant burgh at nearby Auldearn in favour of Nairn. Unlike Auldearn, where the motte can still be seen, nothing survives of the castle he reputedly built at Nairn. Similarly, little remains of medieval Nairn, largely due to major rebuilding in the 19th century, in response to a booming tourist industry. Fishertown, however, a small enclave centred around the harbour, is a reminder that Nairn was once a busy fishing port.

A walk around the town can, however, provide clues to where notable features of the medieval townscape may have been sited; in areas where former burgage plots are preserved; in standing buildings which may have incorporated older structures; in the scale and impact of more recent development; and in gap sites and vacant properties. It also provides an opportunity to meet the local people. One chance meeting in Nairn High Street allowed access to a building which was in the process of being renovated. Known as the 'Town House of the Roses of Kilravock', it was here that the Duke of Cumberland stayed on the eve of the Battle of Culloden (1746). The Ordnance Survey assessors in 1961 described this block of buildings as entirely modern, but, in fact, much of the 18th-century, or earlier, structure, including a large and impressive cellar to the rear, has been incorporated within the more modern building (Fig 9.5). This reinforces the importance of not only rigorous site visits, but also of close contact with the local people.

Figure 9.5 Site of the Town House of the Roses of Kilravock, Nairn (reproduced by kind permission of SUAT Ltd)

Dalkeith

Dalkeith lies on a narrow wedge of land between the Rivers North and South Esk, approximately 10km south-east of Edinburgh and on the main route south from Edinburgh to the Borders. It was created a burgh of barony by Robert III (1390–1406) in 1401, under the superiority of Sir James Douglas, first lord of Dalkeith. The first mention of Dalkeith, however, occurs *c* 1143 when David I (1124–53) granted land at 'Dolchet' to Holyrood Abbey; but there was probably already a castle and settlement here, perhaps in the present Dalkeith Parks which lie to the east of the modern town.

Occasionally, previously unknown features can be discovered during what is essentially a desk-based exercise. A *c* 1770 map of Dalkeith shows the burgh, outlying fields and mills sited alongside the North and South Esk; and within the palace of Dalkeith grounds, two long boundaries enclose an area of land between the rivers (Fig 9.6). The National Monuments Record (record card NT36NW64) has little information on this feature, other than indicating that there was a deer park at Dalkeith in 1650. There are, however, references to a deer park at Dalkeith as early as 1369 (Gilbert 1979, 348), but at what point the deer park in the grounds of Dalkeith House was established is unclear. A site visit, as part of the Burgh Survey, noted that the western boundary of Dalkeith Parks is faced with an impressive stone wall, but the curving shape of the boundary and the presence of a substantial ditch and bank suggest, perhaps, that an earlier boundary may have been reused. A walk around the area also revealed extensive traces of possible broad rig cultivation within the deer park. What is suggested by both the archaeological record and the documentary sources is that land formerly cultivated by the townspeople later became enclosed within Dalkeith House's deer park and was, for the Burgh Survey team, a useful reminder of the necessity for the combined disciplines of both archaeological and documentary research (see Chapter 8).

Dumbarton

The royal burgh of Dumbarton is situated on the north shore of the Firth of Clyde, approximately 1km inland, and on the east bank of the River Leven. The medieval town, which received its burgh status from Alexander II (1198–1249) in 1222, is contained within a sweeping curve of the Leven, the crescentic High Street reflecting the course of the river. At the confluence of the Leven and the Firth stands Dumbarton Rock, the ancient stronghold of the Britons of Strathclyde. Documentary references to the site, which may place occupation here as early as the 5th

century AD, record frequent attacks on the site, culminating in a four month long siege of the site in AD 870 by two kings of the Norsemen. A royal castle in the medieval period, itself subject to numerous sieges throughout the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries, Dumbarton Rock subsequently became an artillery fortification guarding the approaches up the River Clyde.

Dumbarton was one of several important towns with development pressures identified by Simpson (1972). Two small excavations were carried out in 1973 (Talbot 1973, 24). Whilst confirming a level of archaeological potential for the burgh, the results were not published in any detail. A Burgh Survey had also been planned for 1984 (Talbot 1983, 11) but was not prepared until the current series in 1996. Since the early 1970s, Dumbarton has experienced considerable small-scale development, particularly in the backlands behind the street frontages, where much has already been lost, and, regrettably, this was effected without archaeological work being commissioned. The first major excavation was carried out only in 1997, 25 years after Simpson's report, and the results (Coleman forthcoming) suggest this is a burgh with great archaeological potential in spite of development damage and fears of a lack of survival.

Hamilton

Hamilton lies on the west bank of the River Clyde, 18km south-east of Glasgow. The first firm documentary reference to settlement at Cadzow, or Hamilton as it came to be called, is in the 12th century; and a church was in existence by 1150 when David I granted it to the cathedral of Glasgow. The motte at Nethertoun, to the north-east of the present town and close to the River Clyde, may have been the site of the original 12th-century royal residence around which a settlement grew. An early medieval sculptured cross, which hints at pre-12th-century origins for a settlement here, also stood nearby, before being moved to the present parish church in 1926.

The landscape, within which the medieval burgh and the possible pre-burghal settlement at Nethertoun was set, has changed dramatically in recent years, with the construction of a major motorway interchange, the creation of Strathclyde Loch on the east bank of the River Clyde and the use of the site of the burgh as the town refuse tip. The site of the medieval burgh of Hamilton is now in parkland to the east of the modern town, the burgh having been cleared (a gradual process) by the Dukes and Duchesses of Hamilton. The Royal Commission's aerial photographic collection has proved a valuable source

Figure 9.6 Map of Dalkeith c 1770. The original drawing is thought to be by John Leslie. A photocopy of a tracing of the drawing is held by the National Library of Scotland (Map Library), but the source and location of the original is unknown.

Figure 9.7 Aerial photograph of Hamilton taken in 1945 (reproduced by kind permission of the Ministry of Defence)

of information. A photograph taken in 1945 (Fig 9.7) proved particularly useful in locating Hamilton Palace within a flat and much disturbed landscape. Demolished in the 1920s, the outline of the palace can still be made out, along with the tree-lined 'Grand Avenue' which approached the palace from the north and south. As an extreme example of how dynamic towns can be, within two years of the publication of the Burgh Survey, much of the parkland in which the medieval burgh lies buried is destined for redevelopment. A programme of archaeological work is still in progress, at the time of writing, but the interim results show that much has already been disturbed, firstly by landscaping around Hamilton Palace and, after its demolition, by the subsequent use of this area as a refuse tip.

Melrose

Melrose is situated close to the south bank of the River Tweed. To the south lie the Eildon hills, on top of which one of the largest Iron Age hillforts in Scotland sits, and in whose shadow the Romans built one of their most important forts, Newstead *(Trimontium)*. This area was also the location chosen by David I for his four great abbeys, which all lie within a short distance of each other, at Kelso, Dryburgh, Jedburgh and Melrose. Cistercian monks from Rievaulx, near York, were encouraged to settle at Melrose; the abbey, which was to become one of the richest monasteries in Scotland, was founded in 1136. The small lay settlement which developed around the main gateway into the abbey precinct did not, however, receive its burghal charter until 1605.

In towns where little or no excavation has taken place, monitoring of service trenches – for gas, electricity and water – provides a useful opportunity to see what lies below the ground. A watching brief in Melrose was used to test the supposed route of the abbey precinct wall. This had been traced by James Curle in the 1920s, his plan (not illustrated) being based on documentary evidence and some limited digging by workmen when the abbey was being opened up to visitors (Curle 1936). No trace of the perimeter wall was found in a 100m long pipe-trench, suggesting that the boundary may lie either southwards nearer the abbey lade, or northwards towards the river.

In 1996, after the Burgh Survey of Melrose was compiled, a major excavation was carried out in the abbey, with further work being undertaken the following year (Ewart & Dunn 1996, 89; Ewart & Dunn 1997, 67). Investigating the results of a geophysical survey, the excavations revealed a sequence of three successive chapter houses and

numerous graves. A medieval lead casket, inside a lead cylinder, thought to contain the heart of Robert I (1306–29) provoked much interest. Fortunately, it proved possible to include the results of the excavations in the survey, as it awaited publication.

Summary

Even as a basic data-gathering exercise, archaeology has made a valid contribution to the Burgh Survey project and has complemented the work of the historian. As burghs grew up in strategic locations, a study of the natural environment is crucial to a wider understanding of their development. For example, the study of the local topography and geology contained within the new series of the Burgh Survey is an important element in the new series and has proved valuable in understanding the town plan, the layout of streets, the pattern of burgage plots and the siting of other notable features of the medieval townscape.

As a post-script, the way forward, as proposed by Murray (1983b, 8), still holds some fifteen years on. A great many burghs remain to be surveyed and, perhaps more importantly, syntheses on a regional or national basis have not yet been addressed.

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10 Urban archaeology in Fife 1989–99: policy and implementation *by Peter Yeoman and Sarah Govan*

This paper will review the development of urban archaeology in Fife as managed by the Regional Council's Archaeology Unit up to the time of local government reorganisation in Scotland in April 1996 and beyond, within the context of the creation of the new Fife Council Planning Service following local government reorganisation in Scotland.[1]

The background

The urban character of Fife is derived from its having some of the finest medieval and post-Reformation burghs in Scotland, with the most dense concentration of such towns in Scotland. It is true to say that the extensive and high quality above- and below-ground archaeology of these continues to experience significant development pressures, notably within Dunfermline, Kirkcaldy, Cupar and St Andrews. Around 4000 planning applications are lodged in Fife each year, the majority of these being in the historic burghs. Many of these burghs were important early creations of the 12th century, including Dunfermline, St Andrews, Inverkeithing, Crail and Kinghorn. Many more were formally granted burgh status in the later 15th and into the 16th centuries, including Falkland, Dysart, Cupar, Auchtermuchty, Pittenweem, Burntisland and Culross. In addition, Fife has the greatest concentration of 16th- and 17th-century street patterns and town houses surviving in Scotland outside of Edinburgh. Although about 90% of the population lived and worked in the countryside, no medieval Fife farmer lived more than one day's walk from the nearest burgh market. The great importance of the surviving upstanding structures is reflected below the ground by buried archaeological deposits, often up to 2m in depth; these contain the key to understanding the origins and development of the towns, along with the lives of the people who shaped the urban environments we live in today.

When the Regional Council's in-house archaeological capability was created in 1989, urban rescue archaeology had already been on-going for many years in Fife, being funded chiefly by Historic Scotland and its predecessors. The strongest archaeological condition which then could be applied to a planning consent was to enable time and access for rescue excavations to take place. The Scottish Urban Archaeological Trust Ltd (SUAT) enjoyed a national contract, funded by Historic Scotland, whereby SUAT monitored planning applications in burghs and carried out necessary evaluations and watching briefs, along with some larger scale rescue excavations. It is the case, however, that even as late as 1990 it was possible for sites in St Andrews, close to the great cathedral priory, to be developed and destroyed with an inadequate degree of archaeological investigation taking place. At that time, the Regional Council's archaeological role did not include the monitoring of urban planning applications. The new Burgh Survey did not exist at this time and, therefore, there was little being done in the way of strategic reviews of Fife burghs.

The next milestone came in 1992 when, by reviewing the 7000 or so records in the Fife Sites and Monuments Record (FSMR), the Regional Council established a formal list of Archaeological Sites and Areas of Regional Importance (ASRIs), using selection criteria originally developed by Ian Shepherd, the regional archaeologist in Grampian. The ASRI list was established partly as a reaction to the incomplete and unrepresentative schedule of ancient monuments of national importance; it contained less than 30% of the sites which fulfilled the criteria as being of national importance. This can be stated with confidence, following the completion of a project, funded by Historic Scotland in 1993, to identify all the sites of schedulable quality in order to create what is termed the *Non-Statutory Register*. The ASRIs list was published alongside the new Fife Structure Plan in 1992; this contained the policies regarding the conservation and investigation of ASRIs. These policies took into account best practice in England, which it was assumed would eventually feature in the Scottish Office National Planning Policy Guidelines, to be published two years later. So far as urban archaeology was concerned, the most significant feature of the ASRIs list was that each historic burgh in Fife features as an Archaeological Area of Regional Importance, with a clearly defined boundary marked around each historic urban core on maps printed and distributed with the list, chiefly to planners. There are 21 medieval burghs in Fife designated as Archaeological Areas of Regional Importance, eight of which had been included in the original Burgh Survey programme. Cupar has recently been updated (archaeologically, but not historically) and Kirkcaldy has been published under the new initiative. North Queensferry has been surveyed, and will shortly be published. Undoubtedly, the most effective means of conserving archaeological sites of great importance is scheduling, but for good legal and practical reasons it is unusual for Historic Scotland to make such a designation within a historic burgh, except in exceptional circumstances (see Chapter 5).

Figure 10.1 Abbot House, Dunfermline: the 15th-century abbot's lodging, with 16th-century addition in the foreground, the different phases of building visible in the west gable (reproduced by permission of Fife Council)

The publication of the Fife Structure Plan in 1992 saw the first steps towards effective developer funding in Fife, with the preferred result being preservation *in situ*. It is interesting to note that in 1992/93, the largest scale and highest investment in archaeological work to take place in any single burgh in Scotland was in Dunfermline. During this time, rescue projects costing in excess of £100,000 were instigated by the Regional Council. The projects at the Abbot House and at the Old Lauder Technical College site, both in important historic locations astride the junction of the burgh and the abbey precinct, served to turn around our understanding of the archaeological potential of this ancient capital. The archaeological works took place in advance of public sector developments, and benefited from generous grants awarded by Historic Scotland (Fig 10.1).

The quiet revolution

January 1994 saw the publication of documents providing the greatest step forward in the conservation of the historic environment of Scotland since the introduction of the first scheduling legislation more than 100 years before. *National Planning Policy Guideline 5* (NPPG 5) and the accompanying *Planning Advice Note 42* (PAN 42) on Archaeology and Planning, published by the Scottish Office, was widely welcomed by local authority archaeologists, in that for the first time archaeology was given considerable weight as a material consideration within the environmental planning process. This meant that it was now possible to successfully recommend to planning authorities that developers be required to implement mitigation strategies aimed at achieving either preservation *in situ*, or preservation by record, that is, watching briefs and rescue excavation, and that such requirements could be successfully defended in a public inquiry.

The publication of the NPPG resulted in Historic Scotland making a number of major policy changes, which had a detrimental effect on the operations of the Fife Archaeology Unit. All of a sudden, local authority archaeologists found themselves weighed down with the primary responsibility for the protection of the archaeological resource, especially urban. In many ways, this was to be welcomed, but not without at least transitional resources to manage change and increased workloads. This resulted in a very serious situation, which has determined per force the priorities of the Fife Archaeology Unit; these priorities were to be primarily NPPG planning casework.

The present

Following local government reorganisation in 1996, it is possible to make a mature assessment of the results of the implementation of the NPPG without associated additional resources from central government to local government, as follows:

(1) an increase in the use of archaeological consultants and contractors, and the commissioning of pre-application research for larger schemes and in the preparation of Environmental Statements;
(2) a considerable increase in the number of field evaluations, that is, scoping exercises aimed at establishing the presence/absence, quality and extent of buried archaeological deposits on the threatened site;
(3) planning conditions increasingly being imposed by planning authorities committing developers to funding investigations and associated post-excavation costs;
(4) NPPG related casework effectively doubling each year in each of the two years since introduction, resulting in a considerable increase in workload for the Archaeology Unit in negotiating with developers, preparing briefs and specifications for archaeological work, and in monitoring site investigations and reporting; and
(5) time-limited imperative NPPG casework being carried out to the detriment of other priority areas of work for the Archaeology Unit, including FSMR maintenance and enhancement, and heritage interpretation projects.

For those interested in the statistics – out of the 4000 planning applications monitored per annum by the Archaeology Unit, in 1994–5, 21 of these required responses to be made to the relevant District Council Planning Department, resulting in mitigation strategies being implemented and planning conditions being applied. In 1995–6 this rose to 43 cases, 75% of which were urban. These numbers do not include a very large body of work being required in response to engineering schemes and other works carried out by public utilities, especially new main drainage schemes currently being developed as major capital projects spread over a number of years, to comply with EC sewage water purity regulations. Such schemes are currently having a very major impact on Newburgh, St Andrews, Crail and Anstruther (Table 10.1).

Table 10.1 Archaeological responses to planning applications in Fife

Year	Archaeological response
1993/94	20
1994/95	21
1995/96	43
1996/97	32
1997/98	34

It can take a full week to properly research and produce a brief for a major development and it is at this point that the Burgh Survey becomes invaluable. As with any development proposed within a burgh for which a Survey has been produced, this will be the first port of call when preparing the response. The initial research has already been done to give a basic understanding of the site to be affected, along with a considered summary of the archaeological problems and the specific questions that need to be asked of the burgh. The site location within the burgh will inform the archaeological response depending on the potential for remains surviving beneath the surface, as indicated in the survey. In this way, a picture is given, true to the time of the original research, of the state of development within the burgh; this should enhance the data held in the Sites and Monuments Records to which most authorities now have access.

Although Kirkcaldy was the first of the new series of Burgh Surveys, it has not been well tested due to the limited number of proposals which will significantly impact on what remains of the medieval core of the town. Unfortunately, the redevelopment of the 1960s and 70s paid no heed to archaeology and we can presume that important evidence was destroyed. The demolition and redevelopment of an important complex of buildings at 219 High Street in 1998, however, does serve to reinforce the important contribution the Burgh Survey is now making to strengthen the case for preservation by record within the planning process. This important group of 18th-century buildings, incorporating elements of older structures, was highlighted in the survey, providing a solid foundation for Fife Council's requirement placed on the developers, to fund archaeological and architectural recording and salvage in advance of demolition (Torrie & Coleman 1995, 43).

By comparison with the earlier volumes, however, it is possible to assess the value of this new Burgh Survey; the design and structure are much more user-friendly, with a helpful index allowing speedy reference, along with many high quality illustrations and detailed maps. While the main structures of the old and new Burgh Survey documents are very similar, there is significantly more detail in the new surveys. The approach is much more holistic, considering the value of the physical site and setting of the burgh, with a succinct summary of geology and geomorphology. In previous volumes, little was made of the prehistoric context, with historical summaries starting at the point of origin of the medieval settlement. Notable sites and finds of prehistoric and Roman date have been identified in the past in and around Kirkcaldy, and the potential for further finds has not been ignored.

This detail is not simply of use in preparing the response to the planning proposal, but also supports the case for the archaeological response – it is easier to justify a requirement for expensive archaeological work when you have a good idea of what you might find, particularly when someone else is having to

Figure 10.2 Excavating the back rig of 339–43 High Street, Kirkcaldy: evidence of formal gardens related to the 17th- and 18th-century house (reproduced by permission of Fife Council)

pay! In Fife, the significance of the survey is demonstrated in the burghs which have not been covered, with responses requiring more time on the part of the Fife Archaeology Unit, searching for information not so readily to hand.

So can we fault them, or is this to be a paper to the praise and glory of the Burgh Survey? The recent archaeological update for Cupar demonstrated that the earlier tranche of surveys is now somewhat out of date. While still providing a firm base on which to build a case, over fifteen years have passed since they were first prepared. In this time, development may have destroyed areas considered to have potential, while more recent archaeology may have enhanced the potential of other parts. Although Historic Scotland have attempted to produce archaeological updates to the early series of Burgh Surveys, much of the information for recent developments was expected to come from the Archaeology Unit; and no account was taken of the time that this would involve. In Fife, it became an impossible task! Another general criticism is the lack of focus on the potential of standing buildings archaeology within the new Burgh Surveys.

The aim of the original Scottish Burgh Survey was to create an information base for urban research policy, while at the same time providing planners with the means of identifying archaeological potential. The old surveys, however, were produced at a time when there was no systematic response to urban development threats to the archaeological resource. The emergence of archaeology as a material consideration within the planning system, however, has in many ways increased the value of the Burgh Surveys. Staff time is more limited and the responses must be quick and more detailed. By having archaeologists working within the planning system, it is now possible to formalise the research framework. Development-related work can be placed within this framework, thus ensuring that while the archaeological data is preserved by record, if not *in situ*, it does not stand in isolation but contributes to the wider understanding of the Scottish medieval burgh.

The future

But what of the future of urban archaeology as managed by the existing local authority Archaeology Services? The wealth of the fugitive archaeological remains contained within apparently later post-Reformation buildings is of concern. There is no systematic approach taken to the recording of such buildings, and on the rare occasions when these have been examined in the course of redevelopment, some have been shown to contain late medieval features: in numerous instances in St Andrews and in other cases, such as the Abbot House, Dunfermline, and at 339–43 High Street, Kirkcaldy (Fig 10.2).

The rise of standing buildings archaeology is a

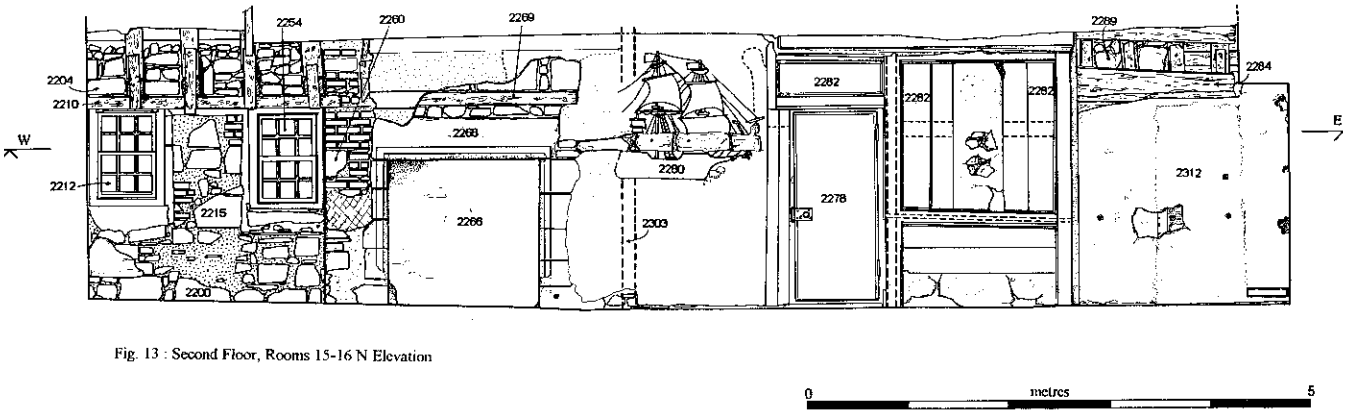


Figure 10.3 Nos 339–43 High Street, Kirkcaldy: palimpsest of late medieval and post-medieval features, including the mural painting of a vessel (c 1600), recorded in advance of renovation (reproduced by permission of Kirkdale Archaeology and Fife Council)

Figure 10.4 Byre Theatre, St Andrews: excavations in one of the oldest parts of the burgh, formally planned in the mid 12th century (reproduced by permission of Fife Council)

relatively new phenomenon in Scotland, and one which requires the development of policy, procedures and methodologies, to achieve universal implementation. The cases in Fife alone, outlined above, give a clear indication of the wealth of archaeological evidence which can survive above ground, but which is usually ignored during the multiplicity of internal renovation projects. One of the aims of the project at 339–43 High Street, Kirkcaldy, led by the Scottish Historic Buildings Trust, in partnership with the Fife Council and Historic Scotland, was to execute a total investigation of the property from the roof-ridge to bedrock, inside and out, in order to maximise the opportunities to produce a fully integrated record of the evolution of the building and of the site. This was successful in highlighting the potential of such an approach, while at the same time developing the methodologies for this kind of work (Fig 10.3).

Special status should be applied in the case of St Andrews, where an archaeological unit, with a

number of staff, should ideally be permanently established, preferably within the context of a university research institute. This suggestion, coupled with the kind of standing building survey work described above, has long been advocated by Edwina Proudfoot and Nicholas Bogdan, who, between them, have had decades of experience of investigating medieval St Andrews, above and below ground. The strategic policy basis for the creation of such a unit could be founded in the immediate preparation of an Urban Strategy Document, as already created for the City of York, and as referred to in Policy 3.6 of Historic Scotland's 'Urban Archaeology Policy Statement' (1994). Such a document has been commissioned by Historic Scotland for Perth (Bowler forthcoming), and is about to be published, at the time of writing. The high quality archaeology in St Andrews is of international importance and, therefore, a case should be made to attract European and national funding. The wealth of historic urban environments in Fife adds enormously to the quality of life of residents and is the main spur for tourism; but to achieve more than the current minimum of conservation, in terms of preservation by record and *in situ*, can be seen as an unfair drain on the resources of an over-stretched local authority.

A local authority archaeology unit, such as that in Fife, is ideally placed to produce such an urban strategy document, but the reality of the situation is that most local authority archaeologists are doing well to tread water and not drown under the deluge of imperative, time-limited NPPG casework. As a result of this, the Fife Archaeology Unit is having to consciously cut back on the number of positive responses being made to planning applications, especially on small sites, in order to reduce this casework burden. Another factor in reaching this unhappy decision was that recent cases of evaluations in some of the lesser burghs in Fife have produced data of only limited significance. We would wish to be pro-active, but we find ourselves forced by circumstances to be always reactive.

To step back from this very specific view, what comments can be made? On the one hand, Scotland can be seen as priding itself and selling itself as never before on the basis of a rich and proud heritage. But how can this be squared with the fact that the bulk of the work to conserve, record and protect, not only the unique urban heritage of Scotland, but also to manage tens of thousands of unscheduled field monuments, is done by less than twenty fairly lowly officials, spread across some, and by no means all, new local authorities (at the time of writing three Lothian councils, Dundee, and Perth and Kinross Councils remain without archaeologists). The Council for Scottish Archaeology has carried out a concerted, effective campaign which is still continuing, to convince local authorities of the importance of in-house Archaeology Units. Harsh prioritisation of local authority resources will ensure that in the short term this situation is not going to improve, unless legislation is introduced, for example, to make the provision of a sites and monuments record a statutory requirement within the environmental planning process.

Figure 10.5 Byre Theatre, St Andrews: rescue operations in progress, spring 1998 (reproduced by permission of Fife Council)

We are fortunate in that these unhappy circumstances coincide with a time of fairly limited economic growth, reflected in limited redevelopment of towns. This could well change, however, and the availability of considerable sums from the National Lottery may play a part in some developments finally emerging from the drawing board; such as the total redevelopment of the Byre Theatre in St Andrews, the largest development to take place within the core of the medieval burgh for years – now achievable as never before (Figs 10.4 & 10.5).

In short, without finding a substantial new source of external funding to create more local authority archaeology posts, the future of our archaeological heritage hangs in the balance.

Notes

1 The views expressed are the authors' own and do not necessarily reflect those of the Fife Council.

PART IV CONSERVATION STRATEGIES

11 Archäologischer Stadtkataster of Baden-Württemberg: problems, methods, first results and reactions[1] *by Andrea Bräuning*

General problems

This paper describes the action currently being taken in 'medieval towns' in Baden-Württemberg, south-west Germany, with the aim of identifying those areas of our historic towns, which are of archaeological interest and which, therefore, require sensitive treatment in the event of any proposed development or other ground disturbance (Fig 11.1).

Post-war

Before anybody in Germany thought of urban archaeology in the terms we do today (Jäger 1987; Lübecker Schriften zur Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte 1988; Stadtarchäologie in der Bundesrepublik 1988; Stadtarchäologie – Aspekte der Denkmalpflege 1993) two important reports had been published in the UK, one of which drew attention to British problems generally, the other to those in Scotland (Heighway 1972; Simpson 1972).

Coincidentally, 1972 was the year when the state law to protect archaeological and historic monuments (Denkmalschutzgesetz Baden-Württemberg, DschG) was enacted. Since then, all the sixteen states of Germany have instituted autonomous authorities for protecting their historic and archaeological monuments, either together with the Bau- und Kunstdenkmalpflege or independently (the Landesdenkmalamt of Baden-Württemberg has two branches: Bau- und Kunstdenkmalpflege, Archäologische Denkmalpflege), and in each case applying the protection afforded by the relevant state-law (DschG).

After the destruction of various settlements during the Second World War, only a few towns in the former German Democratic Republic (Magdeburg, Leipzig, Dresden, Frankfurt/O) and the Federal Republic of Germany (Köln, Hamburg, Lübeck, Frankfurt/M) seized the opportunity to set up an urban archaeology unit and to initiate successful archaeological excavations in towns. Indeed, in Baden-Württemberg there was no such activity, except for small-scale digs in Pforzheim (Roman settlement, medieval church) and Ulm. One reason for this might have been that the responsibility fell to medieval archaeologists who normally had no prehistoric background and continued their work with the same objectives as before the Second World War. They concentrated on the excavation of churches and castles, viewed as settlement nuclei, but displayed less interest in rural sites (deserted villages) or the general structure of settlement in towns. Unfortunately, in Baden-Württemberg, opportunities were missed not only in the first 'wave' of redevelopment of historic towns in the fifties, but also in the second phase in the late sixties and early seventies, when redevelopment was funded by generous subventions from government bodies (Bund, Land). This was doubly regrettable, as the wide-ranging programmes of redevelopment then undertaken (LSP, SE, WUP/PES,[2] Table 11.1) destroyed more archaeological sites than the earlier operations, because the ground-disturbances were now deeper and more extensive.

Although the 'emergency-brakes' were applied in the early eighties, out of a total of about 300 towns with medieval origins, some 250 had been involved in the huge programmes of redevelopment of their historic centres (Fig 11.1; Table 11.2). The first programmatic views of how to manage these destructive processes in historic towns in Baden-Württemberg have been described by Judith Oexle (Oexle 1988a; Oexle 1988b; Oexle & Schneider 1992).

The Baden-Württemberg example

The state of Baden-Württemberg is situated in the south-west of Germany on the borders of Switzerland and France (Fig 11.1). For comparison, the state of Baden-Württemberg occupies an area of 35,751km^2 (Switzerland 41,288km^2), with about 10.5 million inhabitants (Switzerland 7 million) living in four administrative districts (Regierungsbezirke) and with the administrative offices located in the towns of Stuttgart, Freiburg, Karlsruhe and Tübingen (Table 11.3). After the state of Bayern, Baden-Württemberg has the most archaeological monuments in any German state (60,000, of which 24,000 are listed), as well as 80,000–90,000 historic monuments (again, not all listed). Baden-Württemberg is also a region with numerous towns, but only those 300 which, in the medieval period, enjoyed the status of 'free cities' (Stadtrecht) fall within our remit. Most of them were founded in the 12th and 13th centuries, but some may go back even to Roman times (Fig 11.1).

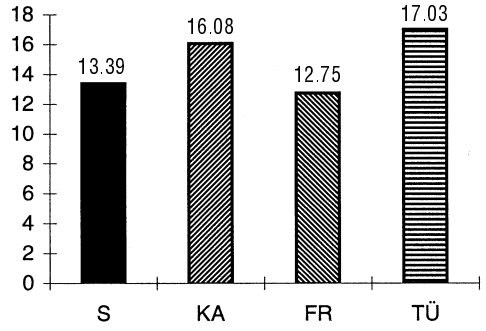
Work on the 'Archäologische Stadtkataster' started in 1988 under the supervision of J Oexle (Oexle 1988a; Oexle 1988b). The aim of the project was to minimise the conflict between the necessity for urban change or regeneration and a desire to

Figure 11.1 Medieval towns in Baden-Württemberg (courtesy of Historischer Atlas Baden-Württemberg)

retain permanently selected areas of urban conservation. It is true, of course, that both archaeological and historic monuments are protected by state-law (DschG Baden-Württemberg), but the protection of any monument requires knowledge of its character and extent, and, in the case of sub-surface monuments, as most of these historic urban structures are, this may not easily be acquired. To gain such knowledge, it may be appropriate to resort to remote assessment by aerial photography or geophysical investigation, but in all probability only archaeological excavations will produce the necessary degree of definition. To such excavations we owe the archaeological discoveries made in various towns, towns where our activities in urban archaeology have been concentrated in the past fifteen years. These include relatively undamaged medieval towns like Konstanz (Constance) in the very south of Germany bordering

Table 11.1 Investment spending per medieval town (Landesdenkmalamt Baden-Württemberg)

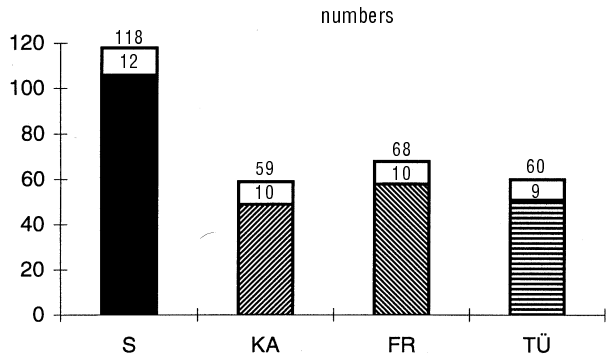
Administrative District	Number of towns with areas of redevelopment (LSP, SE, WUP/PES excluding village development)	Amount invested in thousands	Average amount invested per medieval town in thousands
Stuttgart	106	1 419 318.6	13 389.8
Karlsruhe	49	788 180.7	16 085.3
Freiburg	58	739 437.3	12 748.9
Tübingen	51	868 550.9	17 030.4

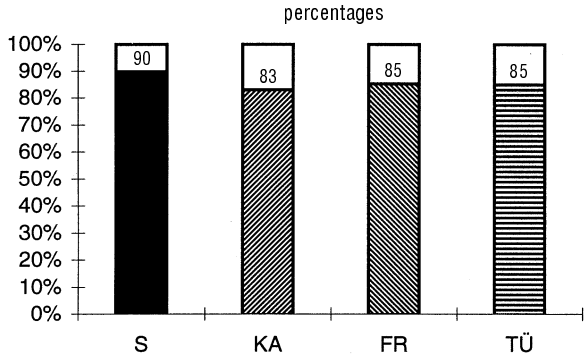


Key to tables

S	Stuttgart administrative district
KA	Karlsruhe administrative district
FR	Freiburg administrative district
TÜ	Tübingen administrative district

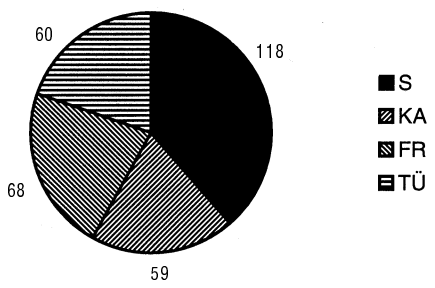
Table 11.2 Number of medieval towns in the four administrative districts of Baden-Württemberg, indicating the redevelopment programmes in the historic town centres (Landesdenkmalamt Baden-Württemberg)





shaded = with areas of redevelopment in the historic town centre
white = without areas of redevelopment

Table 11.3 Number of medieval towns in the four administrative districts of Baden-Württemberg (Landesdenkmalamt Baden-Württemberg)



Switzerland (its peripheral situation protected it from the bombs of the allied forces), as well as towns like Ulm which were largely destroyed in the Second World War and rebuilt in the fifties or redeveloped in the seventies. Some of these towns are now archaeological deserts; this is certainly the case in medieval Stuttgart, the capital of Baden-Württemberg and of about the same size as Edinburgh; as also in Friedrichshafen, a town of 70,000 inhabitants situated on the Lake of Constance (Figs 11.2 & 11.3), famous as the birthplace of the Zeppelin. Both were more seriously damaged by redevelopment than by bombing. On the other side of the state, however, near the border with Bavaria, the war-scarred town of Ulm shows that extensive archaeological resources

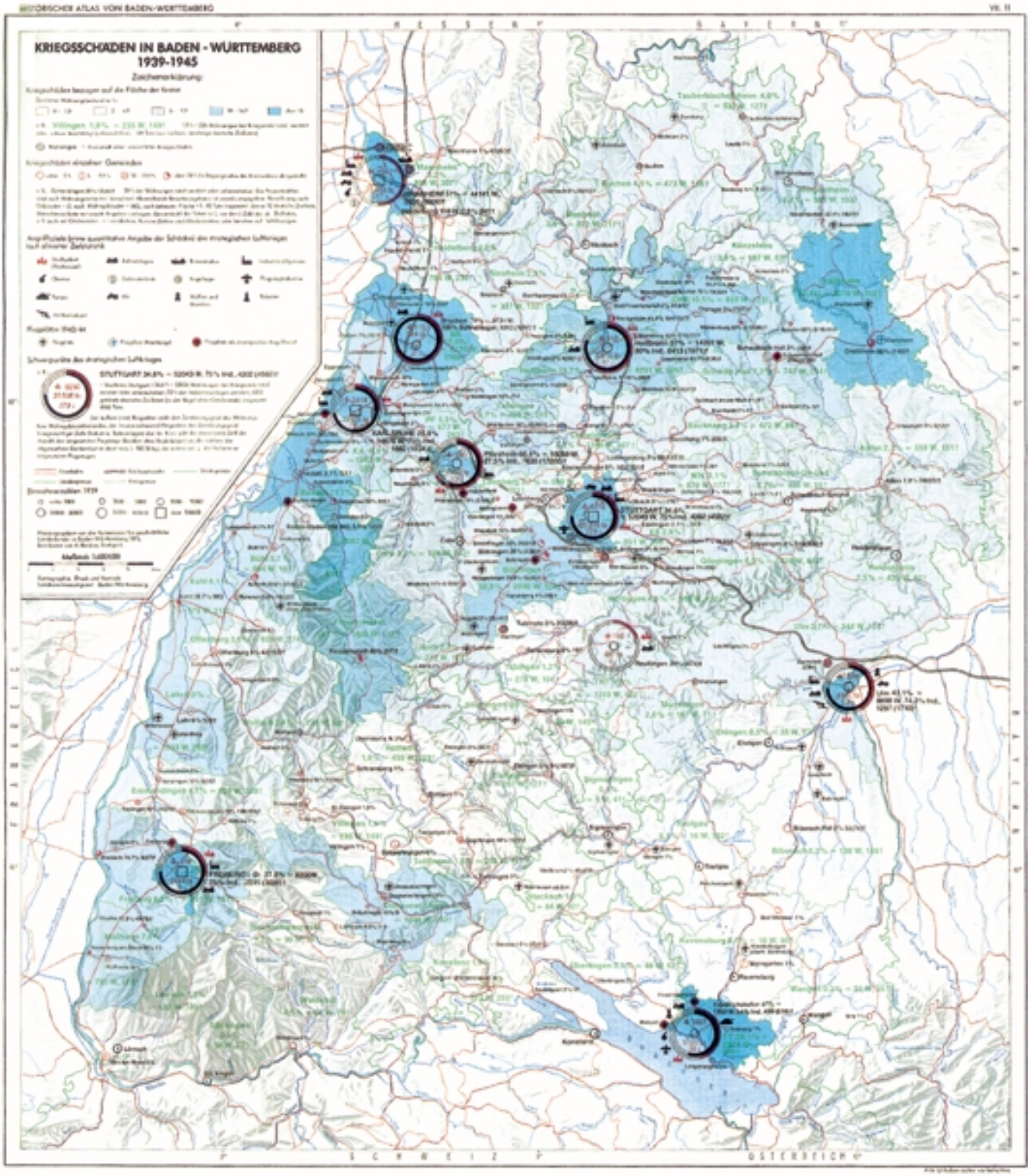


Figure 11.2 Kriegsschäden in Baden-Württemberg. The map shows the towns destroyed in the Second World War (courtesy of Stadtarchiv Friedrichshafen)

may survive even if upstanding historical buildings are few in number (Figs 11.4 & 11.5).

In other words, the absence or rarity of such structural indicators of a medieval origin as town walls, towers and churches, or even the conspicuously modern reconstruction of 'historic' buildings, does not preclude the existence of a rich and well-preserved 'subterranean' archaeology, often enshrining answers to questions as yet unasked. Indeed, since a town's hidden archaeological potential is normally much older than the written sources would lead one to believe, archaeology is frequently

Figure 11.3 Bomb-devastated Friedrichshafen in 1944; the church of St Nicolaus in the foreground; in the background the castle and the Lake of Constance (courtesy of Stadtarchiv Friedrichshafen)

the only means by which its earliest beginnings and growth may be recognised or understood. But is it possible to exploit this potential without actually excavating it? Should we put rather more emphasis on preserving sites in the ground than excavating them simply because the developer is footing the bill? And should we not ask ourselves if it is really necessary to excavate everything – especially when we compare the excavation methods of today with the methods our colleagues used 50 years ago? In other words, should we leave selected sites for future generations with better methods and different questions?

We simply cannot provide total protection, because life in a city is not static; it is a process. On the other hand, both the scale and extent of destruction must be rigorously controlled. We have to declare 'archaeological reservations' – areas of high sensitivity for permanent conservation – while accepting the necessity for urban change and regeneration in other areas. Under normal circumstances, both the 'archaeological reservation' and the rescue excavation possess a high potential for conflict with local authorities, city planners and developers, who see them as restrictions on their rightful activities. To minimise this conflict-potential, the 'Archäologischer Stadtkataster' is designed as a working manual for both sides: the local authorities and developers as well as the curators responsible for urban archaeology. The existence of areas formally identified as archaeologically sensitive means that planners must seek an early consultation with the regional archaeologist in the case of any development proposal or enquiry involving ground disturbance within these areas. The provisions cover not only such projects as

Figure 11.4 Ulm, virtually totally bombed, 1945, on the day of 'liberation' by the Allied (American) forces. View from west to east from the 'Hirschstraße' to the 'Münster' (courtesy of Stadtarchiv Ulm)

Figure 11.5 Historische Bausubstanz Ulm 1975. The surviving remnants (courtesy of Stadt Ulm).

car parks, road schemes, environmental improvements, landscaping and drainage schemes, but also the usual range of development and redevelopment proposals in built-up areas. The reason for this is obvious: sub-surface disturbance within standing buildings may also affect archaeological features surviving within their structures.

Methods

As a first step in any particular town, the areas of investigation were defined, and maps with rough sketches that mark the zones of archaeological interest within the town were sent to the local authorities (Fig 11.6). In most cases, this evaluative process was not limited to the medieval town centres, as defined by the city walls. Our interests ranged more widely, embracing not only the later suburbs but also pre-urban settlements and deserted villages, for it is well known that the earliest settlements do not necessarily lie within the surviving defensive circuits (Fig 11.7). Also marked on these maps were the extensive tracts of already disturbed ground and the areas under redevelopment. The accuracy of the evidence, however, was limited by the fact that only in-house archives and the data derived from the local authorities could be used, while the time factor imposed a significant further limitation.

In 1992, work commenced in several towns with better-structured and more detailed investigations (Bräuning 1994; Breuer & Bräuning 1995). The new criteria included the historic importance of each location, its scientific interest and the extent of planned ground disturbances, together with the number of unpublished archaeological finds and the estimated archaeological potential. In 1996, the project received considerable support from the responsible government body, the Ministry of Economy, which led in 1996/7 to a reorganisation of the unit 'inventarisation'. Because of the fact that, for more than half of the 300 medieval towns, information about archaeological potential was severely limited, efforts were first concentrated on coping with the data shortfall. Accordingly, a programme was devised that covered the 175 towns in this category; it was then discussed with the 'Regional archaeologists/curators' in the Department. The first outcome was an increase in personnel, the new 'Stadtkataster' team now numbering five persons instead of one and a half!

At this point it may be appropriate to give a more detailed account, with a step-by-step description of the team's archaeological-historical methods. To demonstrate this, three towns have been selected, all former 'Freie Reichsstädte', although the team also deals with small towns and deserted towns. The first, Ravensburg, is a town which was founded below a castle (Fig 11.7); Konstanz, the second, was an old episcopal seat on the shore of Lake Constance, with origins in Roman times (Fig 11.6); and Ulm, on the River Danube, was one of the most important 'Pfalzen' of the dynasty of the 'Staufer' (Fig 11.5). Within Baden-Württemberg these towns are classed as medium-sized centres – with between 70,000 and 100,000 inhabitants. In addition to a common status, they all boast a rich heritage of archaeological evidence, the analysis and interpretation of which have furnished us with clear but differing pictures of their early history and development.

Qualitative investigation

Step 1: 'Cellar-survey' maps showing the cellars and any kind of ground disturbance (Fig 11.8)

The first stage of the programme requires that both the depth of possible archaeological resource levels and the likely degree of their destruction are checked: how much is already destroyed by cellars, parking lots and so on. For this, all the available old and modern documents relating to the standing buildings – the planning applications in the local archives or planning offices (which go back to the end of the 19th century) – are consulted in order to try to verify if there are cellars and to note their size, type (whether vaulted or not) and age. Just one example will suffice to demonstrate the remarkable value of the sources which can be found in these local archives and which are so useful to the team's investigations: in 1995, on the 50th anniversary of the end of the war, cellar maps of the Third Reich were found in the local archives; these marked all the entrances and exits to the cellars used as air-raid shelters (Fig 11.9). With these maps one was able to glimpse the pre-war situation and acquire details of cellars which might now be obscured by infill.

Sometimes the archaeological evidence is inherent in the structure itself – discontinuities of wall lines, the presence of older fabric, or such other sub-surface features as extremely thick walls, possibly belonging to much earlier buildings, tower houses, for instance, or older city walls. Needless to say, a distinction is made between old cellars – which are historic monuments – and modern ones. The results are presented on a map, using different colours for features at different depths. Red, for example, indicates an undisturbed area, while yellow means that, because of total disturbance, the level is archaeologically sterile, as one might normally expect in the case of underground parking lots, swimming pools, or deep cellars for breweries.

Step 2: Overlaying together all the available cartographic maps (eg town plans) to reconstruct the earlier townscape

At the beginning of the 19th century, the then kingdom of Württemberg initiated a systematic 'ordnance survey', as the basis for the taxation of the king's subjects. The use of overlays to compare these plans, the so-called 'Urflurkarte' or 'Urkataster',

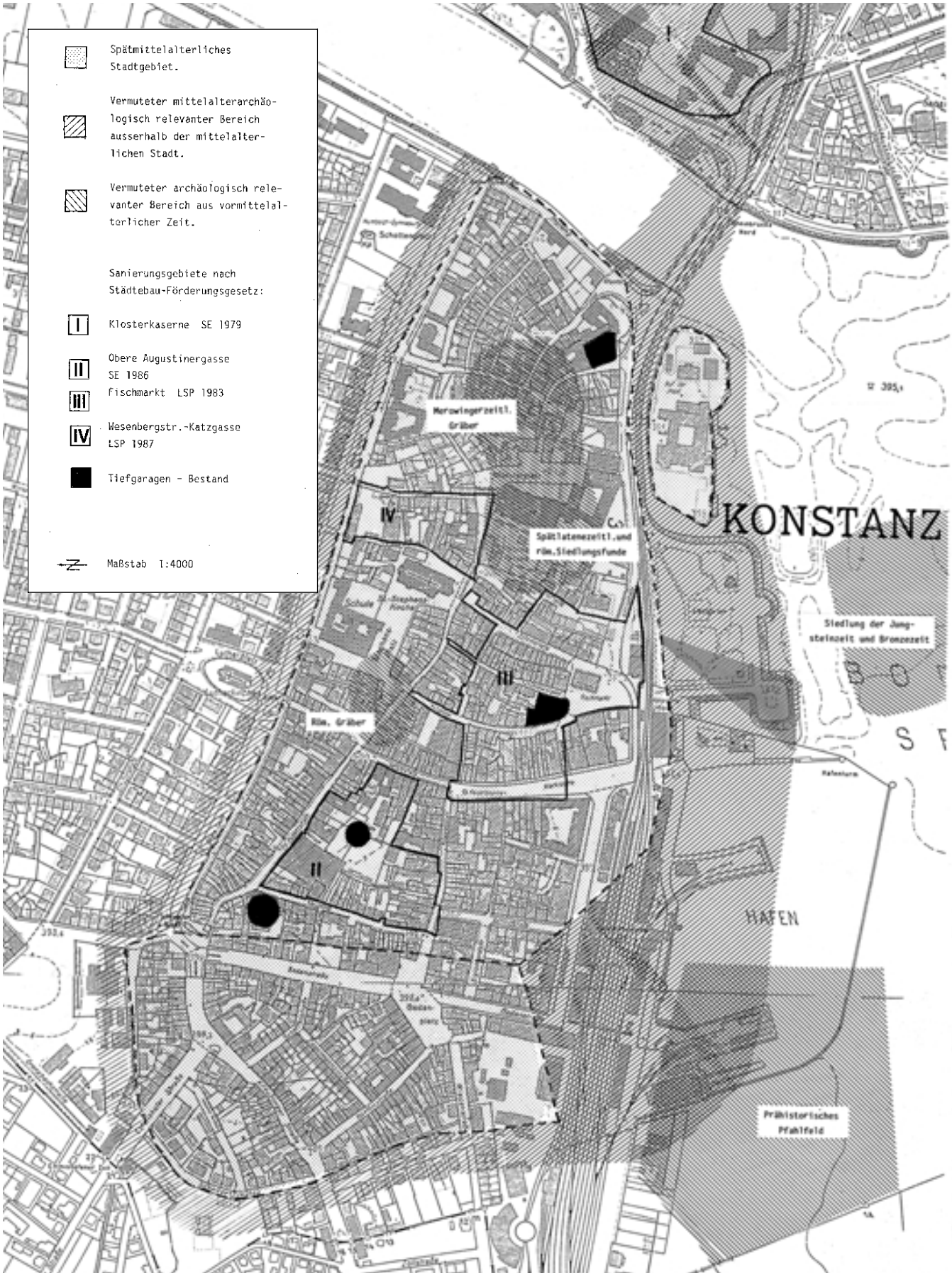


Figure 11.6 Konstanz: areas of investigation showing the already realised and the planned ground disturbances, and the areas under redevelopment (in Roman numerals) (courtesy of Landesdenkmalamt Baden-Württemberg).

Figure 11.7 Prospect of Ravensburg by David Mieser, 1625, showing the suburbs beside the medieval fortification walls (courtesy of Stadtarchiv Ravensburg)

Figure 11.8 Ulm (steps 1 & 2). Plan showing the degree of ground disturbance; modern map overlayed with the 'Schlumbergerplan' of 1808. Red indicates undisturbed area; blue, ground disturbance down to 2m; green, ground disturbance down to 3m; yellow, archaeologically sterile (courtesy of Landesdenkmalamt Baden-Württemberg).

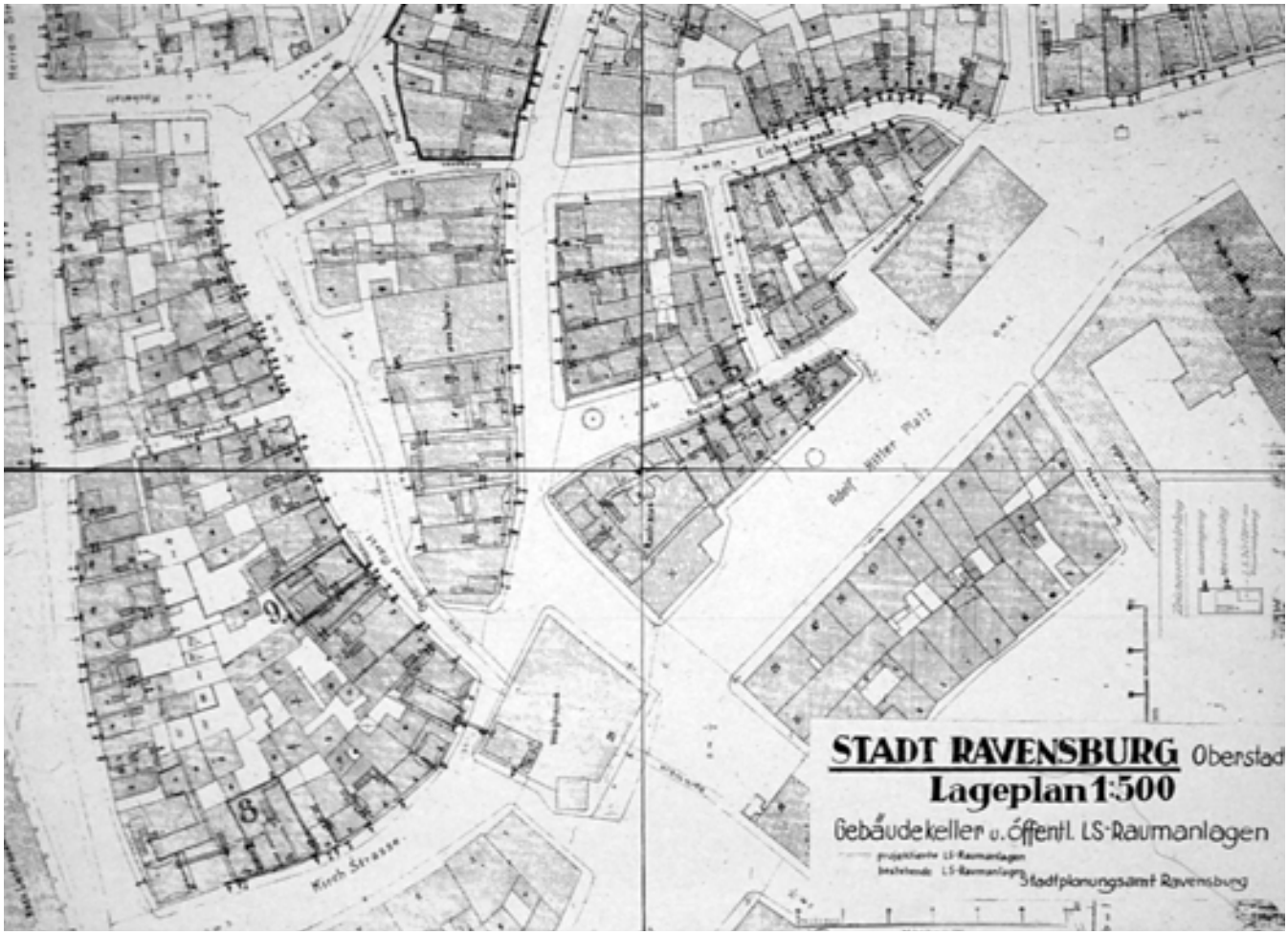


Figure 11.9 Ravensburg, map of air raid shelters, dating to 1942/43. Detail of the Kornhaus with the Marienplatz (former Adolf-Hitler-Platz) (courtesy of Stadtarchiv Ravensburg)

with modern ones enables the team to identify, at the very least, the changes that have taken place since the early 19th century. Nevertheless, although these maps depict the towns as they were at that time, it can be assumed that much of the evidence they contain may relate to the townscapes of the 14th and 15th centuries.

Step 3: Mapping the archaeological evidence – sites and finds

The last fifteen years have brought an increase in urban archaeology, although in many cases there has been no subsequent analysis or interpretation of the excavations. As a basis for future evaluation of the archaeological potential, all the scattered archaeological evidence from each town is collected, by checking the local depots, archives and museums, as well as by contacting private collectors, locals and amateur recorders who monitor changes in their town on behalf of the Stadtkataster team. In addition, the results of the numerous bore-holes sunk during geological investigations of the ground are combined with the stratigraphical data of the excavations to give information about the depth to which archaeological remains can be expected.

Step 4: Historical evidence – written and pictorial sources ('Historische Topographie')

Many of the documentary sources are unedited or underexploited for the purposes of research. By means of historical and cartographic research in archives and libraries, as well as on-site field work the team seeks to define topographical criteria for the development and growth of early towns (Fig 11.10). The surviving documentary sources – archival resources – seldom predate the 13th century, the time when most of the towns were founded. The few charters of older date are mostly purely formal documents and often attest to nothing more than the existence of a place. Although the former royal burghs (Reichstädte), for example, normally possess continuous urban archives, with tax records or burgess lists, the situation is totally different in the small towns (Kleinstädte, Kümmerstädte, Minderstädte), where such documents either did not exist or have not survived. As for the cartographic evidence,

Figure 11.10 Konstanz (step 4): Historische Topographie (courtesy of Historischer Atlas Baden-Württemberg)

the oldest city views or maps date to the 15th or 16th centuries, while more reliable material is available from the 17th, and maps in true (precise) scale begin to appear in the early 19th century.

By combining the 'lists' of historic monuments – the standing buildings – and the 'scheduled ancient monuments' with the archival research, the team again tries to reconstruct the early urban layout. The problem with the 'lists' is that they only contain already recorded monuments and standing buildings. Naturally, any structure not recorded in any source cannot be listed, but it does not mean that it did not exist. Moreover, lost buildings which are recorded in historic resources are not listed even if they can be roughly located, which means that the subsurface remains of some former historic buildings and sites are not marked. Finally, old buildings that survive in isolation run the risk of being taken out of their historical context, because the vanished subsurface relationships are not marked. It is for this reason that maps are produced where whole areas and not just individual architectural elements are marked.

Step 5: Results, commentary and map of potential urban archaeology

The preceding four steps combine to present as full a picture as the sources can offer. The synopsis includes an analysis and evaluation, with different gradation of the archaeological potential in each town. In a working manual with a coded map, the area of this potential is defined, distinguishing between archaeologically relevant, sensitive and highly sensitive areas, with the intention of trying to transform the latter into 'archaeological reservations'.

Summary and conclusion

Currently, about 30 manuals have been completed or are in the process of compilation. Usually the completion of a manual will be marked by a public presentation to the relevant town authorities. The reactions have been very positive, planners now being much readier to establish closer links with the regional archaeologists/curators, as one positive example may demonstrate: in Ulm we were able to halt the construction of a parking lot in a very sensitive area north of the Ulmer Münster, which had escaped the bombs of World War II. If built, this parking lot would have occupied the site of an historic yard with tiny gardens situated at the heart of an historic complex of surviving medieval buildings.

The main objective of our work is to strike an effective balance between the necessity for urban change or redevelopment and the desire for conservation of selective, but permanent, 'reservations'. Yet there is a second goal: to instil among the local authorities, planners and architects, as well as the wider public, an active commitment to the recording and, where feasible, the preservation of our historic and archaeological monuments. In the prosecution of both these aims, the working manuals and the processes described above will ensure that the curation of urban archaeology in Baden-Wurttemberg is at last securely founded.

Notes

1 Thanks are due to Professor M Lynch and Dr E P Dennison for inviting me to the conference, 'Conservation and change in Scotland's historic towns', in Edinburgh in 1996.

I am most grateful to Gordon Maxwell, formerly of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, for assistance with the preparation of the English version of this paper.

2 LSP Landessanierungsprogramm: programme of redevelopment funded by the 'Land'; SE Bund-Länder-Sanierungs-und Entwicklungsprogramm: Federal and 'Land' programme of restoration and development; WUP/PES Wohnumfeldprogramm überführt 1986 in Programm Einfache Stadterneuerung: residential precinct programme transferred in 1986 to primary town regeneration programme.

12 Developing a conservation strategy for Edinburgh *by William Garrett*

Conservation context

Edinburgh's historic centre, including the medieval Old Town and the Georgian New Town, was inscribed on UNESCO's List of World Heritage Sites in January 1996 (Fig 12.1). Two distinct townscapes, each of exceptional architectural and historic interest, create the city's nucleus. Their juxtaposition across a largely landscaped divide creates the city's urban image of world renown.

The Old Town originally developed as two separate burghs, that of Edinburgh spreading downhill from the castle and that of the Canongate climbing uphill from the Abbey of Holyrood. By the early 17th century, this linked roadway of the Royal Mile had assumed the role of the principal thoroughfare, with markets in its wider stretches. Prior to the development of the New Town, pressure for space within the Old Town's restricted physical boundaries resulted in a dense pattern of tall buildings aligning the Royal Mile, separated only by narrow closes. During the 18th and 19th centuries, significant improvements were carried out in the Old Town, in a manner which ensured the continuance of its original functions as both the core of the city and as a definable community in its own right.

Today the key elements of the Old Town's character are:

1 The survival of the original historic street layout: the 'fishbone' street pattern of narrow closes, wynds and courts leading off the spine formed by the Royal Mile, and the rhythm created by original plot widths. This is still clearly visible despite being overlain by major Victorian rebuilding and street improvements.
2 The height and density of buildings.
3 The mixture of uses, with residential tenements and major institutional and commercial buildings standing in close proximity.
4 The survival of a large number of 16th- and 17th-century merchants' and noblemens' houses.
5 The form of the traditional architecture and the use of traditional materials which result in the area's robust urban townscape character.

The New Town is one of the largest and least spoiled neo-classical city developments in the world. It extends to 318 hectares; almost all the buildings are listed for their architectural or historic interest and it is an outstanding Conservation Area. The regular pattern of streets, squares and crescents, interspersed by gardens, is laid out on ground which slopes northwards to the Water of Leith (Fig 12.2). The disciplined façades of local sandstone were designed by Scottish architects; terraces of houses and flats unified by 'palace fronts' followed the example set by Robert Adam in Charlotte Square.

Beyond these, Georgian, Victorian and Edwardian villa suburbs such as Blacket, the Grange, Greenhill and Inverleith, represented a change in settlement pattern, away from the communal city centre lifestyle to a more secluded environment with individual villas set behind stone walls within generous gardens. As each area was developed, strict feuing controls ensured a continuity of use, building height, building materials, and means of en closure. The result is a series of stone-built inner suburbs whose quality is unparalleled in other British cities of this size.

The villa suburbs were followed by late 19th-century tenements: bay-windowed and corner-turreted in a flamboyant Scots Baronial style in Marchmont and Bruntsfield; and plain and un-decorated in the industrial areas of Dalry, Easter Road and Leith. Notwithstanding the artisan nature of some of these industrial areas, the tenements remain today as a robust, enduring, stone-built symbol of Victorian workmanship and a continuation of the quality laid down by their predecessors.

This built heritage is protected through the listing process which covers some 12,000 separate buildings (including over 20% of Scotland's 'A' listed buildings) and the 38 conservation areas which are to be found within the city. Almost one in four people in Edinburgh lives within a conservation area.

It is interesting to speculate on exactly why Edinburgh has remained so intact and has managed to avoid some of the worst ravages of the 20th century. The Second World War was kind to Edinburgh's buildings and, for the most part, passed her by in favour of Glasgow's shipyards. The post-war enthusiasm for urban motorways and comprehensive redevelopment certainly existed and can be seen in the 1949 Abercrombie Plan which, as well as an inner ring road, recommended the total reconstruction of Princes Street in a series of neo-classical blocks. Prior to this, Furneoux Jordan had, in 1938, proposed Princes Street's reconstruction in glass and steel with a high level walkway – a concept which re-emerged twenty years later in the Princes Street Panel plan showing the reconstruction of the street with a first floor walkway. Little of this futuristic plan took shape. The St James Centre was

constructed in 1964, following the demolition of St James Square and some of the Princes Street Panel buildings were constructed. At around the same time, three sides of George Square, the first major residential square to be built outside the Old Town, were demolished to allow a new campus to be constructed for Edinburgh University. This act so energised public anger that it effectively put an end to any future attempts at comprehensive redevelopment or major new road construction within the urban fabric.

Why a strategy?

Prior to local government reorganisation in 1996, and following a review of conservation work in Edinburgh, it was considered necessary and useful to develop a conservation strategy for the city.

An increase in the number of listed buildings, along with a decrease in the level of grant budget, an awareness of Edinburgh's position as a key European tourist destination, and the designation of the city as a World Heritage site signalled a need to review the

Figure 12.1 Edinburgh. A World Heritage City with an outstanding built heritage which requires sensitive conservation (courtesy of the author)

Figure 12.2 New Build: completion of a New Town Georgian terrace in Glenfinlas Street (courtesy of the author)

structure within which conservation was carried out, as well as a need to reassess priorities. Added to this, there was a need to create a coherent process which the public could understand and in which they could participate.

Few would disagree that conservation is a valuable and popular process. But where conservation policies and proposals often come unstuck is in failing to make a direct link between, on the one hand, the necessary restrictions which are imposed on individuals and, on the other, the benefits of a protected historic environment, which can be achieved only through these restrictions. The purpose of a strategy was, therefore, to provide a mechanism for being pro-active in conservation as well as a mechanism which would facilitate an understanding of the various elements of conservation work in the city. Moreover, the process provides an opportunity to monitor progress towards specific stated objectives which would, themselves, be the subject of public consultation and involvement. In the current climate within which local government operates, where concepts such as 'best value' are espoused, a strategy which offers transparency, accountability, continuous improvement and ownership falls in line with broader political thought.

A further driving force for a strategy has been the changing face of public expenditure in historic areas. The traditional and cherished view is of tweedy, brogue-shoed conservation officers dispensing wisdom and grants for the loving restoration of vernacular architecture – conservation as a pure discipline. The reality in many cities is that, since local government reorganisation, with ensuing capital budget restraints, this picture has radically altered. The operation of the Local Enterprise Companies, the competition between cities as tourist destinations, and the availability of Heritage Lottery Fund grants are more likely to have a bearing on where local authorities spend money on the built fabric than any assessment of need based on a traditional conservation approach.

Urban regeneration has replaced urban conservation and, for better or for worse, the gimcrack approach to conservation of 25 years ago has been replaced by fast track renewal based on wider agendas and big budgets. This is not necessarily a bad thing. Indeed, in Edinburgh, major projects like the Royal Mile and South Bridge would never have progressed were it not for the presence of wider agendas and bigger budgets. Conservation is more likely to take place at the locality where different

Figure 12.3 New Build: the new Museum of Scotland building by architects Benson and Forsyth (courtesy of the author)

organisations with different objectives have an overlapping interest.

In all this, however, it is possible for conservation principles to be overwhelmed by the greater need. It is important, therefore, to have something in place that can reap the benefits of the bigger picture but, at the same time, protect the interests of the smaller detail.

The structure of the strategy

The strategy is made up of a series of objectives which define the city's conservation needs. If the objectives can be met, then all the mechanisms for the protection of the heritage will be in place and the conservation of the city should be assured.

Objective 1

To identify the principles that will ensure all conservation work and new building intervention carried out in Edinburgh is to an appropriate internationally acknowledged ethos.

The principles of good conservation are laid out in various international charters. The importance of this objective is to ensure that the process takes account of local cultural characteristics, at the same time as recognising international conventions with regard to conservation. It is also, of course, important to recognise that conservation does not operate in a vacuum and that Edinburgh is a thriving commercial and business centre. Buildings and districts must not be allowed to develop into theme parks or the original concept of conserving cultural value will be lost. There is a need to reconcile the pressures for development with the need to protect the built environment. However, once the quality of the built environment is recognised, development pressure can be positively channelled. Commercial colonisation of historic buildings can provide a prestige office for the user, as well as the necessary capital to ensure the building is well maintained. In the New Town, for instance, many town houses are excellently looked after by commercial users, who can make use of the original plan form of the building rather better than present day residential demand – which would generally seek to subdivide the property into flats.

With regard to the issue of new building

Figure 12.4 Comprehensive tenement repair work at York Place/South St Andrews Street funded by Edinburgh New Town Conservation Committee (courtesy of the author)

intervention, pastiche solutions have tended to dominate development opportunities, but there is now evidence of an emerging confidence in the use of modern architecture in parts of the city (Fig 12.3).

Objective 2

To harness resources to maintain Edinburgh's position as a city with an architectural heritage of international importance.

Various agencies operate in the historic built environment, providing differing levels of funding. The amount of money which the local authority has been able to allocate has been reduced over the last decade, and, as a result, it has become increasingly important to work in partnership with other agencies.

In Edinburgh, there are three key grant aiding organisations, all of which involve partnerships to a greater or lesser degree:

1 Edinburgh City Council

The city council's conservation grant is targeted at those areas outside the Old and New Towns. In the mid 1980s this amounted to over £600,000 annually, but it now stands at £160,000. Not surprisingly, demand for this grant outstripped supply, and priority areas for expenditure have been defined. Leith, the South Side and West End became priorities, leaving the inner Victorian suburbs to fend for themselves, along with the rural conservation areas such as Ratho and Kirkliston.

In those areas where a grant was given, it was typically a matter of putting together a package – in effect, a partnership for a single project. Historic Scotland and the Local Enterprise Company, the City Housing Department, Scottish Homes and the Church have all been partners in recent years. £160,000 does not go far, but with other funding partners it is surprising how many schemes can be made to work.

Part of this sum is ringfenced to fund the town

Figure 12.5 Partnership funded restoration work along South Bridge project managed by Edinburgh Old Town Renewal Trust (EOTRT) (courtesy of the author)

schemes in Portobello and South Queensferry. This has been operating for ten years now and runs along traditional lines, with the local authority providing £15,000, a sum which is matched by Historic Scotland. Value for money is always a critical issue and the townscheme scores well here. The £15,000 will generate a minimum expenditure of £100,000, almost all of which goes straight into the local economy.

2 Edinburgh New Town Conservation Committee (ENTCC)

In June 1970, Sir Robert Matthew, the Secretary of State's adviser on conservation matters presented to a conference entitled 'The Conservation of Georgian Edinburgh', a survey of the external fabric of the buildings of the New Town. It confirmed fears that the buildings were deteriorating at such an extent that repairs would soon be neither feasible nor economic.

A resolution was passed calling on the Scottish Civic Trust to set up the New Town Conservation Committee, with a remit to stimulate conservation schemes in the New Town and then coordinate applications for grants from both the then Edinburgh Corporation and the Government. It has operated with enormous success since that date, being funded on the basis of a 2:1 ratio between the state and the local authority. At present, the local authority gives £350,000, and £700,000 comes from Historic Scotland. The Committee allocates the money, which is spent almost exclusively on residential repair work. It has not only maintained the built fabric of the New Town, but also been invaluable in sustaining an inner city residential population. Since 1972, over £14m has been spent on the conservation of the New Town (Fig 12.4).

3 Edinburgh Old Town Renewal Trust

After the conference on the New Town, attention turned to the Old Town and the South Side of the city, where demolition of historic tenements was continuing. In 1974, the South Side was designated as a conservation area and the Crown Estate Commissioners agreed to undertake a pilot rehabilitation project in Nicolson Street. Edinvar Housing Association, assisted by grants from the District Council and Historic Buildings Council, began the difficult process of rehabilitating a number of key historic tenements.

Figure 12.6 New uses for listed buildings: the former Royal Bank of Scotland in George Street, now successfully converted to a bar and restaurant (courtesy of the author)

By the late 1970s, it became clear that a more comprehensive approach was needed and this led to the formation of the Edinburgh Old Town Committee for Conservation and Renewal. Like the ENTCC, this was funded by the local authority and the state, but this time on a 50:50 basis. In 1988, the Edinburgh Tourism Review highlighted priorities for action to ensure Edinburgh continued to benefit from income generated by tourism. The Old Town was one of those priorities and tourism became an issue for the Committee, which in 1991 became the Old Town Renewal Trust and found an additional funder in the Local Enterprise Company. The advantages of trust status are that it can attract a range of extra resources; it is politically neutral; it is close to the community and it can operate at arm's length from the local authority.

The arrival of the Enterprise companies in the early 1990s changed things considerably. The 1998 Tourism Review paved the way for Lothian and Edinburgh Enterprise Limited to support the local authority and the Old Town Renewal Trust in a variety of schemes including:

- improvements to the Royal Mile and its closes;
- comprehensive building, shopfront and streetscape improvements such as Cockburn Street (Fig 12.2), Victoria Street and Market Street;
- property redevelopment and repair along South Bridge (Fig 12.5).

Today there is uncertainty over the future of the long-term funding which has benefited Edinburgh over the years. The constant flow of funds into the New and Old Towns has allowed the sensible planning of a programme of repairs. Elsewhere in the city, the steady drip of conservation funds, annexed to a programme of tenemental repair promoted by the Housing Department, has maintained large sectors of the building stock. It is unlikely, however, that the next twenty years will see anything like the previous levels of public sector grants. The almost total collapse of Housing Department tenemental repair grants and the squeeze on capital budgets suggest a bleak future.

In response to this and to the emerging vision of city centre management, a review of the role of the Edinburgh New Town Conservation Committee and the Edinburgh Old Town Renewal Trust is being undertaken. It is proposed that a small organisation will evolve with jurisdiction over the entire World Heritage Site. This is considered to be the most effective way to ensure a continued stream of funding

and to maintain the commitment of the local authority and its partners to safeguarding the area.

Objective 3

To raise public awareness of conservation and design issues through improving information and participation.

The success of the conservation movement relies on the ordinary citizens of any town or city. Civic pride, at a local level, exists where a sense of belonging, identity and ownership can be fostered.

In Edinburgh, the local authority offices in the Old and New Towns have contributed significantly to awareness of conservation issues in the city. Links have been established between the universities and colleges and the conservation agencies. There are many public interest groups in Edinburgh and these are brought into the consultation process, not just

Figure 12.7 Streetscape improvements: Royal Mile resurfacing and pavement widening – another example of partnership funding (courtesy of the author)

when alterations to buildings are proposed, but also at the policy formulation level. The development of this conservation strategy is evolved through a consultation process with city-wide interest groups.

Objective 4

To ensure exemplary standards in the conservation of local authority building and monuments.

The new local authority owns over 700 listed buildings, ranging from single domestic houses to major educational establishments. Accommodation decisions made by the authority will have the potential to solve some building conservation problems. It is essential that the local authority should set a good example in its dealings with its buildings and monuments. To this end, a system has been devised which will flag up buildings with potential problems.

Objective 5

To ensure that neglected historic buildings are identified at an early date and that steps are taken to ensure appropriate use.

At present, the city is gathering information for the production of a Buildings at Risk register. This will identify historic buildings which are considered to be endangered and compile them into a register which will be available to the public. Anyone seeking a building for a particular use will be given the contact name of the owner and advice on restrictions. This document will feed into a national Buildings at Risk register.

While this will contribute to the reuse of certain types of building (Fig 12.6), for others, adapting to a new use is particularly difficult. Redundant churches present a particular problem and, although they are priority cases for grant assistance, new uses which respect the internal spaces are often difficult to sustain.

Objective 6

To ensure the street and landscape setting of Edinburgh's historic buildings and conservation areas is respected and enhanced.

In many parts of Britain, traditional street surfaces have been lost with a consequent adverse effect on adjacent historic buildings. In Scotland, there is a tradition of setted streets and stone paving. The last ten years have seen a revival of interest in this and policies have been put in place to ensure the retention of set paved streets in Conservation Areas.

Streetscape work to the Royal Mile was carried out in an exemplary manner, given the existing skill base and the current legislative framework (Fig 12.7). It is an award-winning project, and outstanding within the UK, but improvements could still be made when compared with similar work carried out in other parts of Europe. The day-to-day operations of the local authority in carrying out traffic management and traffic calming schemes, however, often produce disappointing results. Little thought has been given to the adverse effect which signage, bollards, mismatched materials and liberal use of brightly coloured surfacing will have on a traditional streetscape made up of a limited palette of matching materials. In order to improve standards, the Edinburgh Streetscape Manual has been produced, with a view to instilling a more considered approach into the minds of engineers and designers, by illustrating how new schemes could be carried out sympathetically.

Conservation areas themselves are protected by legislation, and additional controls have been added by the local authority in the form of Article 4 Directions which remove an individual's permitted development rights. A programme of conservation area character statements has been initiated to ensure that the development control process takes proper account of the special appearance of these areas. This will be followed by a series of enhancement schemes aimed at reinforcing the character of the conservation areas.

Conclusions

The above constitute the objectives for Edinburgh's conservation strategy. Another city will have a different set of objectives which will respond to its local needs.

The principle of establishing a conservation strategy with defined objectives is useful, particularly in terms of having a structure which people can understand. It provides a framework within which conservation policies and guidelines can be easily comprehended. It allows public access to the process and, by virtue of that, strengthens the arguments for proper funding of conservation work. It is also a useful tool within the local authority, where it can be used to raise the profile of conservation and demonstrate how it fits in with broader corporate objectives.

13 Conservation in the context of economic regeneration *by Kirsteen Thomson*

The 'Old Town' of Edinburgh is the historic heart of the city. Running down the spine of a ridge from the site of the castle on a volcanic rock to the Holyrood Augustinian priory (later a royal palace), the medieval settlement gradually spread into the Grassmarket and Cowgate to the south and, in later centuries, after the Nor' Loch was drained, settlement encroached northwards. Originally, this long street, which is now called the 'Royal Mile' and connects the castle and the palace, formed the High Streets of two burghs – that of Edinburgh and, to the east, that of Canongate. By the 17th century, Canongate came under the jurisdiction of Edinburgh. It was not until the 18th century that grand new schemes materialised in the classical 'New Town' of Edinburgh to the north. From this time, the 'Old Town' declined in both material and intellectual terms, the 'New Town' attracting the wealthier townspeople and intelligentsia to its elegant streets. Indeed, the seeming lack of status of the 'Old Town' was given physical expression by new roads – South Bridge and George IV Bridge – which passed right over the old historic core, so permitting the residents of the 'New Town' to move southwards without entering the earlier settlements.

The Edinburgh Old Town Renewal Trust was founded in 1991. It was a partnership organisation formed by incorporating the existing Old Town Committee for Conservation and Renewal and the Old Town Trust into a new organisation to be funded by the new local enterprise company, Lothian and Edinburgh Enterprise Limited (LEEL), and the local authority. This new organisation represented an opportunity to combine the social agenda of the Old Town Trust with the conservation strategy of the Old Town Committee for Conservation and Renewal and to enhance this with an economic remit to help regenerate and renew the Old Town (Fig 13.1).

The 1989 'Tourism Review' formed the basis for the key economic strategy to revitalise the Old Town as a tourism destination. In addition, a second economic strand was devised to support and enhance the social framework of the Old Town through a strategy to increase the number of residents and enhance the quality of life for existing residents.

It is hard in today's terms to think of the Old Town as being anything but the centre of the political, ecumenical and legal life of the Old Town. However, back in the mid 1980s things were very different. Planning blight and lack of investment meant that the Old Town had become very run down. There were many gap sites due to the demolition of poor quality buildings and those that were left were in a very poor state of repair. The lack of investment also meant that the residential population had fallen to just 3000 people. Many of these residents were elderly or unemployed and were unable to invest in the care and repair of their properties. It was in this context that the Renewal Trust emerged in order to champion the renewal and revitalisation of the Old Town with a holistic and strategic approach.

The Mission Statement for the Renewal Trust is

> 'To achieve long term sustainable improvements in the environment and economy of Edinburgh's Old Town by promoting a productive balance between the interests of residents, businesses and visitors. This balance is to be established through the active partnership between the local community and development bodies.'

From this Mission Statement follow the four guiding principles:

1 To improve the economy.
2 To improve the environment.
3 To sustain residential growth.
4 To pursue the creative balance.

The Trust is, therefore, responsible for driving a conservation-led economic regeneration strategy for the Old Town. The Trust's work falls into many parts, but the main theme of each is always to work in partnership.

By working in partnership the Trust can work more effectively by coordinating the resources and actions within each area. From this principle it is then easy to understand that to be effective the Trust will focus on areas rather than on individual buildings. Since 1991, the priority areas for investment have been the Royal Mile, Cockburn Street, the South Bridge, Victoria Street and the closes within the Old Town. In the future, the Cowgate, Market Street, Chambers Street, Holyrood Road and the Grassmarket will become more significant.

The Royal Mile

The Royal Mile was the first comprehensive area improvement. The conservation-led regeneration strategy was for the Renewal Trust to work with partners to improve the properties on the Royal Mile, whilst LEEL and the local authority focused additional resources on improving the public realm. The Royal Mile is one of the major destinations for visitors and pedestrians; it had become increasingly dominated by the large volume of vehicular traffic.

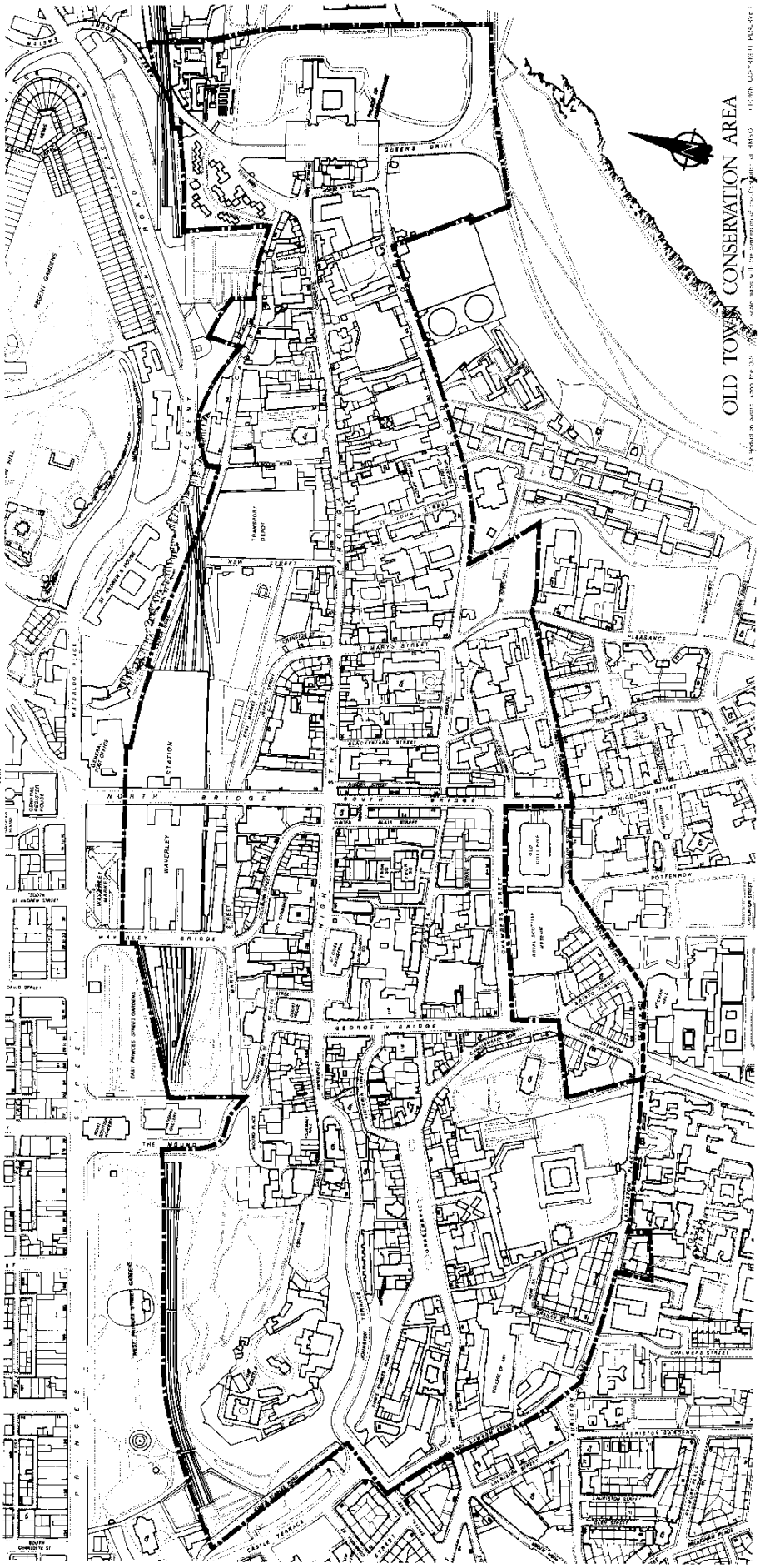


Figure 13.1 Edinburgh Old Town Conservation Area (courtesy of EOTRT)

Figure 13.2 Cockburn Street (courtesy of EOTRT)

This not only caused significant air pollution but also made the environment unpleasant and congested for pedestrians.

The historic pictures of the Old Town depict the Royal Mile as an area of open space within the town where people congregated to meet each other. However, with today's volume of traffic this was no longer possible. In order to recreate this atmosphere, it was decided that the pavements would be widened in order to create more space for pedestrians, either for people to stop and talk to each other or to browse at the shops without feeling jostled, or having the sense that they had to step into a busy street to move round other people.

The Royal Mile Improvements aimed to calm the traffic by reducing its speed and volume; its effect on the environment would be to increase pedestrian capacity as a way of increasing retail expenditure; and the intention was to ensure that the changes to the physical fabric were undertaken to the highest quality specification of both materials and workmanship.

The work was financed by the local authority and LEEL and undertaken in close consultation with businesses operating in the street. The area between George IV Bridge and St Mary's Street was re-laid with wider pavements in Caithness stone and the carriageway was then resurfaced with the original setts.

This work resulted in a high quality environment which has already achieved international recognition. In the summer the visitors linger in this area, restaurateurs have been allowed to place tables and chairs on the pavements and a new cafe society has sprung up. In addition, at the time of the International Festival the street is closed to traffic and the area becomes a lively performance venue for the many Fringe Festival performers. This further adds to the image of Edinburgh as a lively and vital city.

It is perhaps worth noting here that there are maintenance issues associated with these changes. A 'Maintenance and Management Manual' was prepared to address the issues of ongoing maintenance and management of the street. This was signed by all the funding bodies, committing them to the objectives and standards set out in the Manual. The City Council is planning further restrictions on traffic. During the International Festival there has to be effective management of both the traffic and the cleanliness of this area of the High Street which is heavily used by people.

Cockburn Street

Work had started in Cockburn Street prior to the Trust being created. The conservation strategy was to restore the fabric of the buildings in the street which had become very run down. This strategy was further strengthened by ensuring that the shopfronts

Figure 13.3 Cockburn Street; residential properties above retail outlets (courtesy of EOTRT)

Figure 13.4 10 Hunter Square (courtesy of EOTRT)

were improved and proper design and repair standards established. The road itself acts as a primary access route for visitors between the railway station and the Royal Mile. It was improved by widening the footpaths and making the road one way, in order to make the street more pedestrian friendly (Fig 13.2).

By working in close partnership with both the local authority and LEEL, this programme was successfully completed in 1996. The majority of the properties in Cockburn Street were residential properties above shops (Fig 13.3). This enabled a grants package to be set up which combined the Renewal Trust's conservation monies and Housing Improvement Grants from the local authority with financial assistance for business environmental enhancement from LEEL.

The South Bridge

The South Bridge Strategy was formulated in 1992. The main impetus of the regeneration of this street was two-fold. Firstly, it was recognised as comprising the largest collection of semi-derelict listed buildings in Scotland and, perhaps more pertinently, the City Council and LEEL had committed themselves to furbishing the Festival Theatre, which was to be opened in 1994 on South Bridge. The siting of this new theatre, which would form a new focal point within Edinburgh, was the key to bringing partnership funds together.

The South Bridge was a primary shopping street in Edinburgh until the mid 1970s, but the family department stores formerly operating in the area had gone into decline with the advent of more

Figure 13.5 Old Town shopfront (courtesy of EOTRT)

Figure 13.6 Renewed Old Town shopfront (courtesy of EOTRT)

commercial stores and the building of the St James Shopping Centre to the north-east of Princes Street. In consequence, many budget retailers had moved into the South Bridge with the main motivation of finding cheap properties in a good retail location. Their primary interest was turnover and not property investment. Many of these new budget retailers occupied only the ground and lower floors, leaving the upper floors vacant.

Improving the South Bridge was complicated. A conservation plan was agreed with the funding partners. The partners recognised the impossibility of a full restoration strategy and agreed on a plan to enhance the best of the original fabric whilst ameliorating the worst effects of later additions to the buildings. Many of the properties were vacant and many were zoned for commercial use; there was only one existing residential tenement in the area. A new operating partnership was formed with Scottish Homes and a strategy was devised to fund, through

Figure 13.7 New building in a gap site (Scandic Crown Hotel, now the Holiday Inn Crowne Plaza) (courtesy of EOTRT)

housing associations, the conversion of the vacant properties into new residential accommodation. Perhaps the most successful example of this was the conversion of 10 Hunter Square from a vacant and semi-derelict building, zoned for offices, into nine flats for social rent (Fig 13.4). Other significant achievements were the refurbishment of Thin's bookshop and, of particular note, the refurbishment of three tenement properties belonging to the retail store What Everyone Wants.

Once the major schemes were programmed it became evident that some piecemeal development might need to be supported, in particular the improvement of the shopfronts on one side of the street. The timing also coincided with similar discussions with shop owners in Cockburn Street and the Royal Mile. A Shopfront Improvement Strategy was devised and pamphlets produced in order to encourage quality improvements to shopfronts which would be good for the image of the Old Town and also good for business.

Shopfront improvements

The Shopfront Improvement Scheme now applies to the whole of the Old Town. The Renewal Trust has categorised every shopfront to give it a priority weighting, to ensure that those shopfronts in key areas which have poor quality shopfronts have the highest priority for allocation of the Conservation Grants. The Shopfront Improvement Scheme is run in partnership with LEEL. This provides a one-stop shop for accessing financial assistance. The Renewal Trust manages the programme on behalf of LEEL, by coordinating the quality of the design with the Planning Department, to ensure that the Trust offers grants for schemes which will also receive planning consent. Those shopfronts which are being restored to archive material will receive grants from the Renewal Trust, whilst those which are modern or are a modern interpretation of historic shopfronts will receive assistance from LEEL. The benefit of having one administrator is that there can be combinations of design without duplicating the administration; for example, the retention of the timber shopfront comprising the pilasters and cornice and fascia, but the window and door area opened up and glazed with modern detailing (Figs 13.5 & 13.6). Both LEEL and the Trust have allocated a similar budget for this purpose. Over time, further funding has resulted in a second phase of shopfront improvements, which is now in place with a new budget.

Figure 13.8 Former brewery, Holyrood Road (courtesy of EOTRT)

Figure 13.9 Modern housing, Holyrood Road (courtesy of EOTRT)

New Build within the historic fabric

There were many gap sites within the Old Town (Fig 13.7). The largest was the former brewery on Holyrood Road (Fig 13.8). This land is being developed by using a masterplanner who coordinates the overall urban design of the area. As a result of this process, the site has been divided into smaller plots which can then be developed with individual developers and architects, thus creating a variety in architectural styles, whilst recreating the traditional size of lets found in the Old Town. This way of undertaking the development also ensured that the correct mix of uses could be negotiated with the developer of each plot, thus achieving the appropriate variety of uses required by the Local Plan. This idea was further extended by encouraging local housing associations, through Scottish Homes, to become developers on specific projects. The Holyrood Road site has achieved a mix of housing use for both social housing, housing for market rent and also houses for sale (Fig 13.9). The development also includes hotels, a small supermarket and commercial and retail space. Once completed, this area will have new vitality and a viability of its own, bringing new life to the south-east end of the Old Town Conservation Area.

The Holyrood North development has also made a significant contribution to the increase in residents. The population of the Old Town has been substantially increased by this development and also by other small developments within the Old Town. The current population is now estimated to be 8000 people.

Summary

The renewal of the Old Town has been a true partnership venture in implementing a conservation-led, economic regeneration strategy. Where the historic environment has become depleted or is economically no longer functioning, conservation plays a major role in regeneration and affirming an area's identity. It is only by ensuring the quality standards of the overall urban design of each individual building and also the quality of detail for the public realm that the Trust can ensure that the Old Town retains its status as a World Heritage Site.

14 The experience of York *by John Oxley*

York, with its rich legacy of buildings of all periods and immense wealth and diversity of archaeological deposits, has been and will continue to be, a focus for much argument over the potentially opposed virtues of economic development and conservation. York is a city where politicians are determined to listen to and respond to the concerns of their electorate. There are economic and social pressures to create jobs, build new houses, and keep the streets safe. There are environmental pressures which put local and global considerations at the top of the political agenda: traffic, air pollution, safeguarding the natural environment, sustainability, and global warming. There are pressures to manage the city in a way which will continue to attract visitors. Some 30% of the working population is employed in the tourist-related industry (http://www.york.gov.uk/); but there is a great reluctance to see York as a living museum. The city is a living, developing, thriving place that wants to look forward to the next millennium (http://www.iib.gov.uk/).

In York, over the last fifteen years, conservation of the archaeological resource and the built environment has had to find its place within this political agenda. This agenda does not exclude conservation. Indeed, it recognises that the practice of conservation is at the heart of its ambitions to make York a city of the 21st century. People choose to come to York because it is an historic city, and because it is a well-preserved and well cared-for historic city. The effective conservation of these unique elements has to be central to an effective economic development programme.

Recently, this agenda has had to take account of the changes introduced by local government reorganisation in England. The administrative area covered by the City of York Council, created in April 1996 to replace the former York City Council and parts of Harrogate, Selby and Ryedale District Councils, now encompasses the historic core of the city and a large tract of suburbs and rural countryside beyond. This article sets out the ways in which the conservation of archaeological deposits has been incorporated into the political agenda within the city. It also maps out the ways in which this policy may develop over the next five years.

The path towards the adoption and implementation of a conservation-led archaeological policy and management process in York started in several different places at different times. One can point to the creation of the York Archaeological Trust (YAT) in 1972 as, perhaps, the key moment in the exploration and conservation of the archaeological resource of the city (Addyman and Rumsby 1971; Addyman 1975). Over the past 25 years, the York Archaeological Trust has conducted an archaeological exploration of the city which has revealed the immense wealth and complexity of the deposits preserved above and below the ground (http://www.yorkarch. demon. co.uk/secrets/index.htm). The ground-breaking work undertaken by the York Archaeological Trust during the Coppergate excavation and subsequently through the development of the Jorvik Viking Centre were two further key moments in this story (R Hall 1994, 55–72). During and because of this work at Coppergate, archaeology became a high-profile public activity both here in York and across the country.

These were moments of excitement and optimism. Yet both events, the creation of YAT and the excavation of the Coppergate site, were responses to development threats 'on an unprecedented scale' (Addyman and Rumsby 1971, 1). This underlines one of the main problems of archaeological work in the 1970s and 1980s – it was an almost entirely reactive process. The problems inherent in this reactive approach led to the development of a strong conservation-driven archaeological policy in York.

However, the various strands of the argument came together in the drama which was acted out at and around the site of the Queen's Hotel in Micklegate, York. As yet, there is no full account in print of the events which unfolded at this site in late 1988.

The site of the Queen's Hotel lies on Micklegate (Fig 14.1), within the *colonia*, the Roman civil settlement. It occupies a significant position on Micklegate, opposite one of the major churches of the city and close by the main Anglo-Scandinavian and medieval crossing point of the River Ouse. The Queen's Hotel was a large Georgian Inn which was demolished in 1974, on the grounds that it was in a dangerous condition. The demolition proposal was controversial and was opposed locally. Permission to demolish was refused by the Council but was granted by the Secretary of State for the Environment at appeal. Although the building was demolished, the site was to remain vacant and undeveloped for the next fifteen years.

These years witnessed a huge increase in the number of rescue archaeology projects throughout the United Kingdom. Archaeological excavations were carried out in response to construction projects which were likely to destroy archaeological deposits. This explosion in work was accompanied by an increasingly professional approach to excavation and post-excavation analysis. Improved methodologies, more stringent health and safety requirements, and demands for better pay, led to rapidly increasing costs of archaeological work.

Up to the middle of the 1980s the costs of

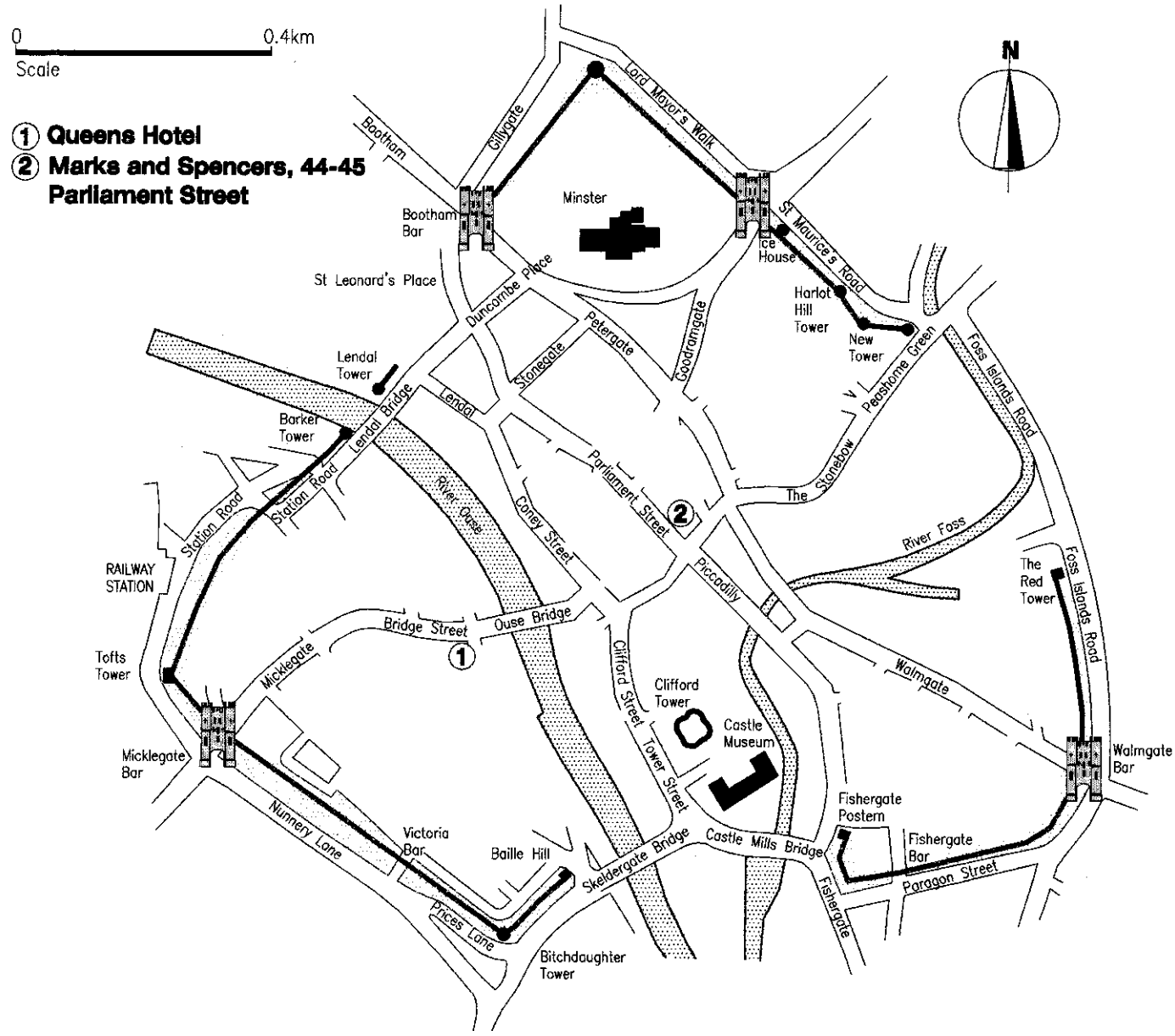


Figure 14.1 Central York: location plan showing sites mentioned in text (courtesy of the author)

archaeological work were met from a wide range of sources. Central government funded work, either through grants from the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments (which became the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission in 1984 and was latterly known simply as English Heritage) or through the many job creation and employment training schemes devised by successive governments to massage the unemployment statistics. Local government made contributions to archaeological projects within their areas. Sponsorship was used to provide either cash or help in kind. And developers sometimes contributed to the costs of archaeological work.

In London, most developers were able to make substantial contributions towards the cost of archaeological excavations. However, outside London and the south-east, most developers were unable to make such significant subventions to archaeological costs. There was an increase in the number of excavations but few of these were adequately resourced. So, although the quantity of archaeological material from excavations grew at an almost logarithmic rate, there was a general inability to follow a significant proportion of these projects through to full publication.

Alongside this growth in archaeological activity, there emerged a growing desire to preserve archaeological deposits *in situ*. This desire found expression in the Code of Practice adopted by the then newly established Institute of Field Archaeologists. However, in practice there was an almost complete inability to achieve preservation of archaeological deposits *in situ*. This inability to achieve preservation can be traced to the inadequate nature of the legislative framework for archaeology, particularly in England and Wales. The principal piece of

Figure 14.2 Queen's Hotel, York: overhead view showing Roman walls (copyright; reproduced by kind permission of York Archaeological Trust)

archaeological legislation is the *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act (1979)*. This makes provision for only those archaeological sites and deposits which have been defined as monuments and which have been entered onto the schedule of ancient monuments. Scheduled ancient monuments are defined as being of national importance. The Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport has defined six non-statutory criteria for determining whether an archaeological site or set of deposits is of national importance or not. Subsequently, a large taxonomic enterprise, the Monument Protection Programme, has been developed in order to try to make the schedule of ancient monuments representative of every element of our archaeological inheritance (http://www.eng-h.gov.uk/mpp/mppa.htm).

Figure 14.3 Queen's Hotel, York: late 2nd-/early 3rd-century Roman walls surviving to a height of 3.5m above their foundations (copyright; reproduced by kind permission of York Archaeological Trust)

The *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act (1979)* created a second level of supposed protection for archaeological deposits. Part Two of the 1979 Act introduced the concept of an area of archaeological importance (AAI). It allowed the Secretary of State to designate an AAI and to appoint an Investigating Authority for an AAI. In 1984, five AAIs were designated as an experiment: Canterbury, Chester, Exeter, Hereford and York. In York, the York Archaeological Trust was appointed as the Investigating Authority for the city. This appointment conferred certain statutory powers of access to development sites on the York Archaeological Trust.

Within an AAI, anyone intending to flood the ground, tip material on the ground, or disturb the ground has to serve notice on the Local Authority

of their intention to perform the operation. This notice – an operations notice – is then forwarded to the Investigating Authority for the AAI. Upon receiving an operations notice, the York Archaeological Trust has three courses of action: it can say it has no interest in the operation; it can indicate it wishes to observe and record the operation (that is, carry out an archaeological watching brief); or it can claim a period of up to four months and two weeks to carry out an archaeological excavation. However, the Act does not impose a duty on any party to pay for the costs which YAT may incur during a watching brief or in carrying out an archaeological excavation. Part Two of the 1979 Act is, thus, a flawed piece of legislation, in that, although it allows access to undertake an archaeological excavation or watching brief, it does not make any provision for dealing with the costs of such work. It is also based on an anti-conservation premise: that eventually all the archaeological deposits in an AAI will be either destroyed or recorded and that the AAI will then be de-designated. However, the provisions of Part Two of the 1979 Act have been largely superseded by the publication of *Planning Policy Guidance 16: Archaeology and Planning* (PPG 16, 1990). PPG 16 specifies a coherent set of procedures for dealing with archaeological issues in the planning process. It makes clear the arrangements for preservation by record, including the requirement for funding of such recording projects (PPG 16, 1990, paras 24–6).

In York, designation as an AAI created a polarisation of approaches towards the archaeology of the city: on the one hand, the City Council would consult the York Archaeological Trust about the potential effect a planning application might have on the archaeological deposits on a site; on the other, the City Council would not impose planning conditions on a developer or applicant, which would require an archaeological response. The City Council was content to let YAT resolve archaeological issues in the city through the exercise of its statutory powers under Part Two of the 1979 Act.

The potential conflict between these two approaches came to a head in 1988–9. Planning permission was granted for the redevelopment of the Queen's Hotel site. The approved scheme consisted of a building which covered the entire footprint of the site and included a 3.5m deep basement. The planning consent made no reference to archaeology; this was an issue YAT could sort out on receipt of an operations notice. The York Archaeological Trust was able to undertake two separate phases of archaeological recording on the site in November 1988 to February 1989 and June and July 1989 (Hall 1988, 2–4; Brann 1989, 3–16). This work took place alongside the construction work on the site.

There were few cellars on the site and the sequence of medieval and post-medieval deposits along the Micklegate frontage survived largely intact. A late medieval stone building was excavated at the rear of the site; and a large circular oven, 3.8m in diameter, was excavated towards the Micklegate frontage (Fig 14.2). However, because of time constraints and the requirement to work alongside the building contractors, excavation was done in spits removed by machine, and large areas of the site were reduced by machine to a depth of 2.4m below street level (Brann 1988, 7) with archaeological recording being undertaken in very difficult circumstances. At this level, very well-preserved organic deposits dating from the 10th and 11th centuries survived. Below this, the deposits were threatened by the construction of some 50 piles. Limited excavation on the sites of three of the pile constructions revealed a massive wall. This was investigated further during the second phase of archaeological work on the site in summer 1989. This work revealed that there were several phases of construction in stone during the Roman period. The walls of the later phase of activity were 'amazingly well preserved' (Brann 1989, 7), surviving for much of their length to a height of 3.5m above the tops of their foundations (Fig 14.3). In one place, the top of the walls survived to within 1.7m of the modern pavement level. The Roman remains date from the mid 2nd to early 3rd century and clearly formed part of a large, important building in the *colonia*.

The development destroyed these upper levels on the site and the degree of archaeological recording was, despite the huge efforts made by the York Archaeological Trust, inadequate in the face of such pressure of destruction. The development destroyed some 50% to 60% of these very important archaeological deposits and rendered the rest of the site largely unintelligible for future excavations. This destruction provoked an outcry at both local and national level; and a great deal of criticism was aimed at York City Council. The City Council, in its turn, was also concerned that this disaster would give the impression that York was not a conducive place for new development.

After the furore had died down in 1989, English Heritage and York City Council decided on a joint course of action. They commissioned a report from consultants to address the practicalities of developing sensitive archaeological sites within historic towns and they appointed an archaeologist to work within the Planning department of York City Council. This led to the production of the *York Development and Archaeology Study* by Ove Arup and Partners, and the formulation and implementation of an archaeological policy for the city.

The *York Development and Archaeology Study* (Arup 1991) presents an assessment of the archaeological resource in York and describes foundation methodologies which can allow construction to proceed on the most sensitive sites. It presents a predictive archaeological deposit model for York, and a research framework and agenda to guide future archaeological work in the city. Controversially, it demonstrates how it is possible to erect a new structure and destroy less than 5% of the deposits contained within the footprint of the building. In short, it suggests a means of preserving 95% of the

archaeological deposits on a site, while still allowing development to take place.

Thus, the Study has shown how, in locations with sensitive ground conditions such as at York, it is still possible to achieve both preservation and development. But, most important of all, it restores archaeological research as the prime mover in undertaking archaeological fieldwork. If it is possible to develop a site and destroy less than 5%, then the basis for rescue archaeology is taken away. The deposits are not threatened; they do not need to be rescued. The only reason for destroying deposits will be an archaeological one: to release the information they hold. It replaces the reactive approach to archaeology with a proactive archaeological agenda: *in situ* preservation, allied with archaeological research.

The archaeology policy – *Conservation Policies for York: Archaeology* – which York City Council formally adopted on 22 July 1992 (York 1992) and which has subsequently been incorporated in the *Deposit Draft Local Plan* (City of York 1998), takes these concepts and puts them in a form which will guide decisions taken by the local planning authority and will be defensible at a public inquiry. It gives archaeological conservation teeth. The policy document embodies all the principles contained within *Planning Policy Guidance 16: Archaeology and Planning* (PPG 16, 1990). PPG 16 sets out the policy of the Secretary of State for the Environment (now the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport) on archaeology. It was published in November 1990, and for the first time set out central government guidance on how archaeology should be integrated into the planning system in England. It established a presumption in favour of preservation *in situ* of deposits of national importance, whether scheduled or not, and their settings (PPG 19, 1990, para 7).

The adopted archaeological policy also sets out a clear set of procedures which developers are expected to follow when submitting planning applications. The City of York Council will not determine a planning application before it has the results of an archaeological evaluation. The archaeological evaluation is normally undertaken according to a written scheme of investigation prepared by the City of York (see, for example, http://www.york.ac.uk/depts/archaeol/yccweb/). This document is available to the developer and is often used as the basis for letting an archaeological contract by competitive tender. The successful archaeological contractor will produce a report on the results of the evaluation fieldwork within six weeks of finishing on site. The results of the evaluation are used to inform the production of a mitigation strategy to protect 95% of the archaeological deposits. Where a development is granted planning consent, the archaeological mitigation strategy will be formalised, either through a Section 106 agreement entered into by the applicant and the Local Planning Authority and governed by the 1990 *Town and Country Planning Act* (HMSO 1990), or through the use of a condition as suggested in Planning Policy Guidance 16; Archaeology and Planning, paragraphs 29 and 30 (PPG 16 1990).

The archaeological evaluation has two objectives: to give basic guidelines on the design of the new development so that 5% or less of the deposits are destroyed; and to capture archaeological data which (a) can be fed into the City of York deposit model and (b) may allow the research potential of the site to be determined. The research potential of the site is assessed by checking the evaluation results against the research agenda put forward in the *York Development and Archaeology Study*. This approach to archaeological resource management is different to the traditional 'sites and monuments approach' adopted by the English Heritage Urban Archaeological Databases programme. The York approach replaces the concept of monumentality and replaces it with the concept of archaeological value – as set out by Ove Arup and the University of York in the *York Development and Archaeology Study* and further developed by Carver (Carver 1996). Within this framework, archaeological value derives from the character of the deposit on the one hand and the research agenda on the other (Carver 1996, 53).

Where a site or area contains deposits which have the potential to meet the requirements of the research agenda, then the possibility of undertaking a research excavation will be raised with the landowner/developer, either by the local authority or by an archaeological unit/consortium. The mechanism suggested for undertaking a research excavation is quite complex. The landowner must agree to the suggestion. The site will have to be made available for a suitable period of time, say between three to five years. The project must be adequately funded and the archaeological consortium must be able to demonstrate to the local planning authority that it has either the necessary funds available or an agreed financial strategy in place. All work must be to the highest archaeological standards. A separate planning application for this research excavation will be required. If it is not possible to meet these criteria, then development will be allowed subject to only 5% or less of the archaeological deposits being destroyed, and that the development is constructed in such a way as to allow excavation at a future date, both within and under the new building. As yet, the archaeological community has not grasped the opportunities offered by this approach: research funding is difficult to identify and requires a high input of academic effort.

There will still be a small minority of sites where it is not possible to build a development without destroying more than 5% of the deposits. The York policy envisages that these proposals will be either refused planning permission or, where for other reasons the development is considered necessary, permission will be granted subject to the archaeological deposits being recorded prior to destruction. Several examples of this latter option have occurred in York since the policy has been in operation.

Excavations have been undertaken, for example, on the River Ouse frontage in North Street, where an 11m deep, 5.5m diameter pumping station has been constructed; in Lawrence Street on the site of the medieval leper hospital of St Nicholas; and in Layerthorpe on the site of the medieval bridge across the River Foss.

These policy procedures have been in operation since April 1990, although the policy was not formally adopted until July 1992. Since then, there have been 120 field evaluations (for summaries see Oxley 1997; Evans and Oxley 1998). In addition to these evaluations, there has been an increasing number of archaeological watching briefs undertaken throughout the city, as well as desk-top assessments and the recording of standing buildings. This represents a significant increase in the level of archaeological work being carried out in the city. Whereas in the past there was a small number of large set-piece excavations, there is now a large number of small keyhole investigations. Many of these yield useful and important archaeological information.

Two criticisms which have been aimed at this approach by certain respected commentators are that preservation is essentially anti-intellectual (Biddle 1994a, 9) and that we are fooling ourselves if we think that auguring piles through archaeological deposits preserves them (Biddle 1994b). In response to the latter criticism, it might be commented that the effect which piling has on archaeological deposits has been the subject of much debate, but with little scientific evidence to support either camp. Does the process of boring piles through these deposits introduce oxygen into anoxic deposits; intrude chemical contaminants which may adversely affect deposits; lower the water table and thus dry out waterlogged deposits; and destroy more than the notional 5%? This issue is central to the City of York archaeology policy. In order to provide some sound scientific data, a project has been underway at Marks and Spencer, 44–5 Parliament Street York, since July 1995 (Fig 14.1). The Marks and Spencer's Deposit Monitoring Project has been set up to characterise the deposits on the site and to track any changes in the ground conditions. In all, 21 monitoring points have been installed. Underneath the Marks and Spencer shop floor are thirteen soil moisture cells connected to two data loggers (at present configured to take readings every 30 minutes) and five porous cup water samplers. Outside the building in Parliament Street there is one dip-well and two neutron probe access tubes. These are designed to provide data along a transect through the building and out into Parliament Street. Water samples and neutron probe readings are taken every month, when data is also downloaded from the data loggers. The project has now been underway for three years and a full report on the project so far will be published in *Internet Archaeology* (Davis *et al* forthcoming). This is an innovative and exciting project which will provide the first systematic evidence on what is happening to archaeological deposits under new buildings in York. It underlines the commitment in York to both preservation and research.

The criticism that archaeological conservation is 'essentially anti-intellectual' misunderstands the management process. Conservation of the archaeological resource is not an end in itself, but merely a means to an end. The aim of the York policy is to ensure that archaeological deposits can be conserved for future research or made available to current researchers (Carver 1996, 54). The aim of the exercise is to curate the resource in much the same way that a librarian or documentary archivist conserves their collections. Sound curatorial practices in these areas are not seen as anti-intellectual; rather they are the basis for sound intellectual investigation.

The management of the archaeological resource in York is a conservation-led, research-driven exercise. Rigorous evaluation of sites leads to steps being taken to secure the preservation of deposits *in situ*. Attempts to facilitate research excavations now or in the future are coupled with limited rescue exercises on sites where *in situ* preservation is not possible. But has this not always been the case in York? Up to a point, yes. The York Archaeological Trust is and always has been a research-led organisation. However, it has never had any powers to demand trial trenches or to secure the *in situ* preservation of deposits. The much-discussed provisions of Part Two of the 1979 *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act*, which give YAT a statutory right to excavate within a designated Area of Archaeological Importance, are no more than a licence to destroy archaeology. The policy and procedures described above, however, give the local Planning Authority the rationale and the power to secure archaeological conservation.

Conservation archaeology in York is concerned with preserving archaeological deposits, in order to facilitate archaeological research. The present research agenda which is detailed in the *Development and Archaeology Study*, adopted by York City Council, may omit particular types of deposits; or the research agenda may contain proposals which are no longer considered relevant or a priority by the academic community. The York research agenda is intended to be a dynamic, democratic entity. Therefore, York City Council has set up the York Archaeological Forum to advise it on the content of the research agenda. The Forum provides a place where discussion on research and other archaeological issues in the city can take place. The research agenda will be adjusted in the light of these discussions and the results of post-excavation work, evaluations, and academic analysis.

These steps introduce a certain amount of bureaucracy into archaeology for a clear purpose: to ensure that deposits are not destroyed unnecessarily. Archaeological deposits are finite. They should be destroyed only after a very good *archaeological* case has been made to justify their destruction.

In 1989 York was faced with an archaeological

crisis. The Queen's Hotel, Micklegate development demonstrated clearly how sites of irreplaceable archaeological importance could wilfully be trashed; moreover, future developments were threatening to destroy significant portions of the archaeological heritage of the city. The City Council has, with the help of English Heritage, responded in an imaginative and positive way. Innovative foundation proposals, a clear policy framework, and unambiguous management procedures have been adopted. These have placed the issue of preserving archaeological deposits at the top of the development agenda. A coherent research framework has been adopted and a procedure for undertaking research excavations has been set out.

The research element is an essential part of this approach. Why are we preserving these archaeological deposits? Most of the deposits have no monetary or aesthetic value. They do not contribute to our enjoyment of the historic townscape – they cannot be seen. What value does a waterlogged anoxic cesspit have? Its value lies in its potential to answer archaeological questions; its value lies in its research potential. Preservation is, therefore, necessary to maintain that reservoir of research potential. At some point in the future, which may be tomorrow or may be ten years or more away, some of the preserved deposits will be destroyed in order to further archaeological research. These deposits will have been carefully selected and a properly constructed, financed, and validated archaeological research project will have been put in place. The reason for that destruction will be archaeological research. In York, archaeological research has been placed firmly in the public domain, so as to justify the stringent requirement placed on all developers, that all necessary steps be taken to ensure the preservation of archaeological deposits.

15 The city of Dublin and its satellite townships
by H B Clarke

British people naturally think of London as a big city, which indeed it is and has long been so. The metropolis is the dominant man-made feature in the south-eastern part of the island. Yet, comparatively speaking, London is nowhere near as dominant in the context of the United Kingdom as is Dublin in that of the Republic of Ireland. Roughly one third of the entire population of the country now lives in and around Greater Dublin. By world standards Dublin is still a relatively small metropolitan centre, but it has become considerably bigger than the traditional city immortalised by James Joyce, wedged between the two canals equidistant from the River Liffey, together with its 19th-century satellites such as Clontarf and Drumcondra towards the north and the Pembroke estate and Rathmines towards the south (Fig 15.1). Nowadays, the satellites include Blanchardstown, Bray, Clondalkin, Lucan, Malahide,

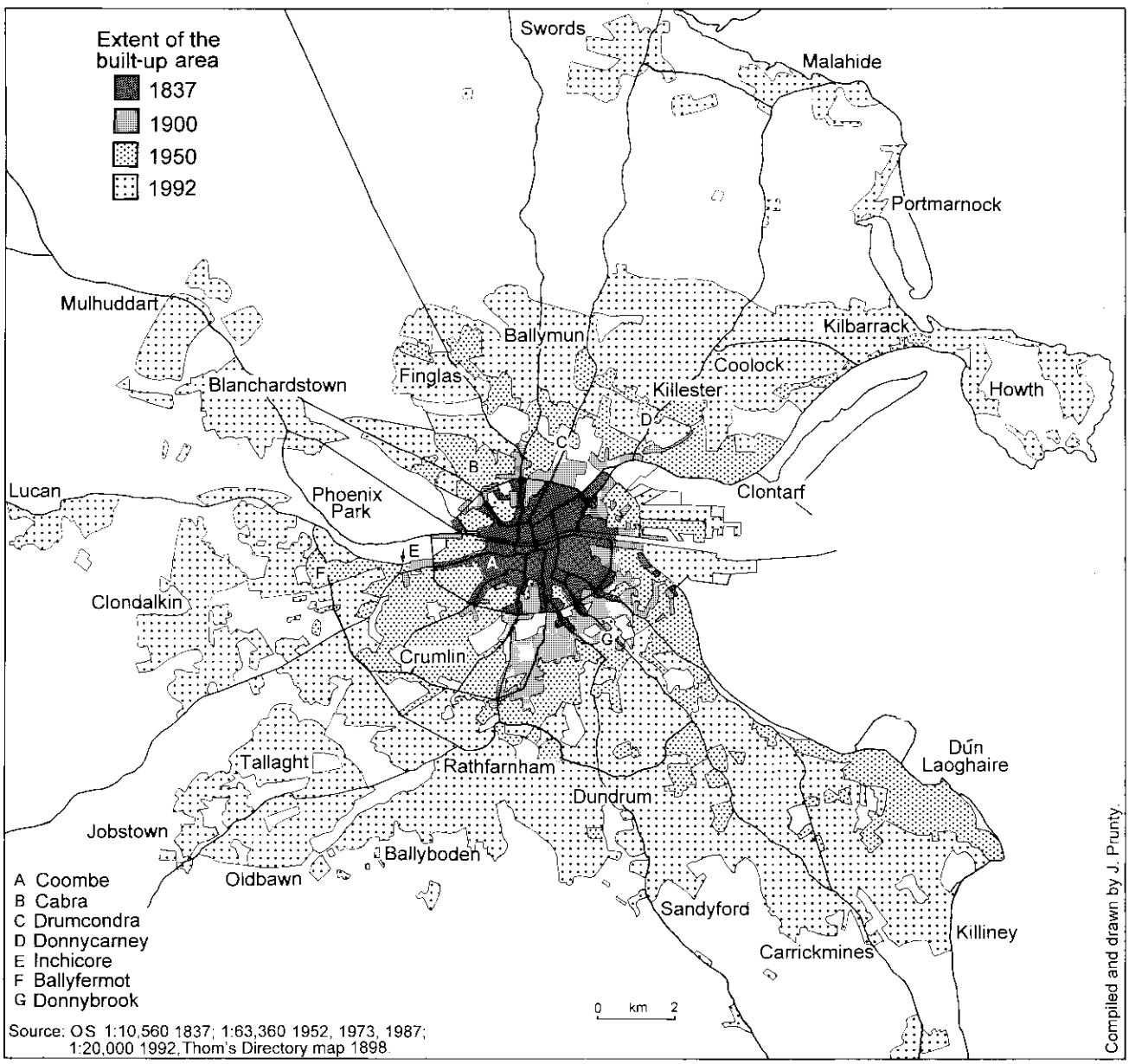


Figure 15.1 Growth map of Dublin in the 19th and 20th centuries (reproduced by kind permission of Jacinta Prunty)

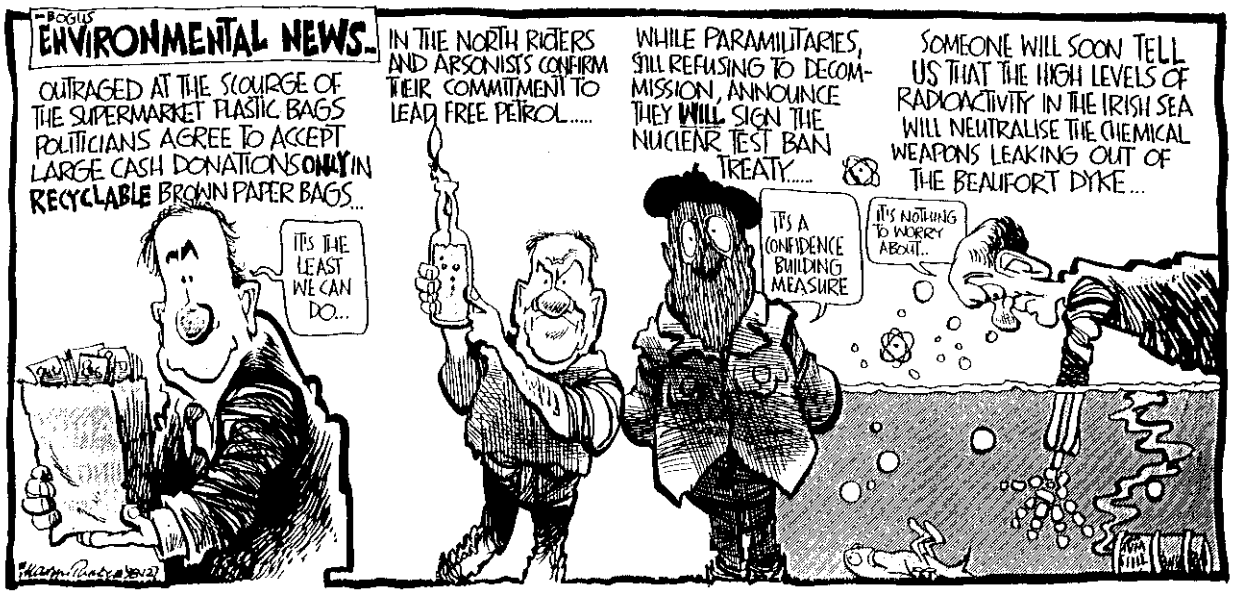


Figure 15.2 Cartoon linking planning scandals and environmental issues. In recent months munitions from Britain's dump in the North Channel have been found on Irish beaches (courtesy of Martyn Turner)

Swords and Tallaght – towns and townships accessible from the C-shaped M50, Dublin's equivalent of the M25. Beyond these places lies a vast commuter zone extending north to Drogheda, north-west to Navan, west to Mullingar, south-west to Kildare and south to Wicklow. Though not yet a megalopolis, Dublin has certainly developed into a metropolitan city (Bannon 1988; MacLaran 1993). Much of this expansion is very recent and coincides more or less with membership of the European Union and its earlier manifestations. In national terms, output per worker in the Republic has outstripped that of Great Britain, while the average standard of living is approaching that of the neighbouring island. Change on this scale and at such a rate has inevitably created economic pressures on all existing arrangements, not excluding the cultural heritage. Amid so much complexity and, indeed, drama only broad indications and some examples can be given in this essay. It is fair to add that the author writes as an English witness to these changes, with some involvement in conservation issues from time to time.

One of the striking aspects of the Republic of Ireland is the political currency of conservation and the environment. Nowhere has this topicality been better portrayed than in the acutely observed and brilliantly executed cartoons of Martyn Turner, a regular contributor to the country's newspaper of record, *The Irish Times* (Fig 15.2). Behind so many of these current and recent issues lurk the politicians, some local, others national. Among the political casualties of the planning process have been a lord mayor of Dublin and a minister for foreign affairs. Even a cursory glance at Irish newspapers in recent months will reveal a plethora of conservation and environmental controversies and debates. One prominent focus (as usual) has been the city of Dublin itself, where the battle for a crucial site near Trinity College featured a company founded specifically to 'assert and advance the environmental rights of the public' (Dillon 1998). The ultimate defeat of its legal action in this case drew attention to the country's failure to bring the architectural heritage within the ambit of the Environmental Impact Assessment Directive. Ironically enough, the owner of this prestigious site is one of the major clearing banks, which has sponsored the successful and entirely laudable Better Ireland competition for many years. On the opposite side of the Trinity College campus, however, conservationists won a stunning victory in an action to preserve an *unlisted* mid 18th-century building, along with what remains of the architectural integrity of an important thoroughfare. An irony here is that the would-be cultural vandal was none other than the National Gallery of Ireland, which requires much-needed additional space. Its mistake was 'to assume that it could demolish another remnant of Georgian Dublin' (McDonald 1998a). In the third example, a substantial part of the former town hall at Clontarf, one of the independent townships in the late 19th century, was demolished without prior notification by its owners, the Roman Catholic Church, despite the fact that the building was listed for preservation. The cultural loss included the very room in which the Irish Republican Brotherhood decided to authorise the Easter Rising against British rule in 1916 (McDonald 1998b). In other words, absolutely nothing in the Republic of Ireland is sacred where architectural conservation is concerned.

These three examples from Dublin, out of so many that could have been selected from the country as a whole, illustrate some common themes that surface

time and again in the general area of conservation in Ireland. The first case, involving buildings listed for preservation, confirms the widely held opinion that the listing system is all but worthless without far more stringent, legally enforcible conditions applicable to interiors as well as to exteriors. All too often, planning authorities take the line of least resistance, with the result that what is preserved is merely the front façade of a building. The second case highlights another persistent feature – that a great deal of cultural vandalism has been committed by official bodies and by public institutions, partly because state funding has been made available and partly because of what might be described as bureaucratic arrogance. The trend-setter in this context was the Electricity Supply Board, which not only broke up the famous vista of the 'Georgian mile' along Fitzwilliam Street, but also replaced the demolished buildings by a dreary frontage in the brutalist style of architecture. The third case is an instance of a universal phenomenon found in all countries – crass ignorance combined with devious opportunism. Behind this ignorance lies another factor that might at first appear to be at variance with the view of the Irish as 'a people reputedly obsessed with history' (Lee 1998). The truth is, as this astute commentator goes on to remark, that 'it is doubtful if any state in western Europe has provided such scant support for historical research as has ours since independence'. During the post-independence period, in fact, Ireland as a new country struggled to come to terms with the harsh realities of the mid 20th century and sought solace in a partly mythologised Celtic and early Christian past (cf Cooney 1997). A deeply rooted ambivalence permeated Irish life – towards such questions as the legitimacy of law, the morality of violence, the sanctity of marriage, and even the interpretation of history. Ambivalence towards the latter spilled over into the complex area of historical conservation above and below ground level.

Colonial and post-colonial decay

During the final 120 years of British rule in Ireland, between the Act of Union of 1801 and the negotiated treaty of 1921, the experience of Dublin was fundamentally different from that of other great European capital cities. At a stroke, the 1801 act created a 'deposed capital' (Daly 1984), whose erstwhile parliament building was converted into a bank. Post-Napoleonic economic depression combined with a failure to industrialise, apart from brewing and biscuit-making, led to further impoverishment of the inhabitants of the old city. As the aristocracy departed from the country and the middle class sought refuge in the more salubrious suburbs, the inner core underwent steady decay. Not a single public building of any note was erected by the city, as distinct from the independent suburban townships, in the 19th century (Daly 1984, 321). The Wide Streets Commission ceased its activities after 1801 and parts of the Georgian city were converted into tenements. Simultaneously, much of the medieval core fell into abject decrepitude: the Tholsel, for example, a late 17th-century building on the site of its medieval predecessor, had to be abandoned and subsequently demolished in *c* 1809 because it was unsafe. In this part of the city, what little progress there was took the forms of the restoration of the two cathedrals (funded out of the profits of brewing and distilling), and the construction of Iveagh Buildings and St Patrick's Park by a private trust. The apartments and recreational space replaced a notorious slum area situated between the two cathedrals, and pinpointed the fact that, by the early 20th century, Dublin contained some of the worst slums in Europe. The slum question is a complex one, revolving 'around a number of key issues: contagious disease, poor sanitation, tenement accommodation, overcrowding and moral degradation, vagrancy and homelessness, and the policing, control and relief of the poor by both state and charity organisations' (Prunty 1998, 1). In the context of historical conservation, what it signifies is that the colonial legacy in Dublin was little short of catastrophic.

Politically, the first stages of decolonisation were violent and accompanied by considerable destruction. In the period of insurrection, war of independence and civil war (1916–23), much of central Dublin's noblest architecture was either destroyed or severely damaged. In 1916, one of the casualties was the city's main thoroughfare, which was devastated by British gunfire. By 1923, three great classical buildings – the Custom House, the Four Courts, and the General Post Office – lay in ruins. Buildings can be reconstructed, of course, as these three were during the years 1925–32 (O'Connor & O'Regan 1987, 32). This was done, however, without due sensitivity to the original designs. At the Custom House, for instance, many of the internal features such as the grand staircase and the Long Room were not reinstated and the interior remains to this day a warren of offices devoid of architectural merit. At the Four Courts, as at the Custom House, internal walls were removed and replaced by lightweight partitions affixed to steel framework. The great dome of the Four Courts became a reinforced concrete shell and the plaster figures inside it were not reproduced. The front walls were set back so as to widen the pavement outside and, apart from the core structure, not much of this large assemblage of buildings was recreated in its original form. Like the two medieval cathedrals, therefore, these classical buildings, which feature so prominently on postcards and tourist trails, are to an important and little realised extent shadows of their former selves. Yet the greatest loss of all was not architectural but archival. The Four Courts complex had housed not only judges and lawyers, but also the public records. During the occupation by republican forces in June 1922, land mines were laid and were detonated as the rebels

surrendered. In the ensuing explosions and fire, the bulk of the country's archives were obliterated in a disaster mitigated only by the existence of calendars, duplicates and transcripts of some of the documents. Ireland shares with Bosnia the dubious distinction of having had its national archives deliberately targeted and destroyed in the course of a 20th-century civil war.

After independence, Ireland had to be reinvented. There was no pre-existing model for this process, for 'the Irish were the first modern people to decolonise in the 20th century' (Kiberd 1995, 5). It is vital to understand that colonialism was characterised by 'an accompanying psychology of self-doubt and dependency among the Irish, linked to the loss of economic and political power but also the decline of the native language and culture' (Kiberd 1995, 6). Thus, when it came to reinventing the city of Dublin, grandiose blueprints were imported from the erstwhile colonial mother country. Back in 1914, a competition had been held for a new town plan for Dublin and the winning entry, by Abercrombie and Associates of Liverpool, was eventually published in 1922 (Haworth 1984, 16–17). Such a scheme, based on a network of Parisian-style boulevards, would have been monumentally destructive of the old city, both architecturally and archaeologically. Fortunately nothing was done; the fledgling state had other priorities and inadequate finances. A second initiative in the late 1930s resulted in 1941 in the publication of a development plan produced by the *same* company predicated on much the same principles (Haworth 1984, 18–19). Again, fortunately, the times were too unpropitious to permit the authorities to engage in such megalomaniacal lunacy. Indeed, the only structure of monumental proportions to be erected in the capital city of the new state in the early decades of independence was the Irish National War Memorial. This was located in a garden setting on the south bank of the Liffey west of the central core. The architect was British, Sir Edwin Lutyens, and his scheme designed in 1931 achieved great dignity, yet on a human scale. Granite pavilions were linked by pergolas around a block of masonry called the War Stone; ponds, fountains and a stone cross were other features. Even this relatively modest project was not finished in accordance with the original design, for lack of funds (O'Connor & O'Regan 1987, 32). Down to *c* 1960, the rest of the old city continued to decay imperceptibly. The dominant political party in the Republic was dedicated to the preservation of an essentially rural lifestyle and the very idea of urban conservation would have crossed no one's mind.

Modernism and destructionism

For a people whose sense of national identity had been weakened for so long by self-interested exploitation and ruthless suppression by a more powerful neighbour, nationalism was an understandably powerful component in the mindset of independent Ireland. Unfortunately, economic nationalism, in the form of the pursuit of frugal self-sufficiency, failed to stem the flow of emigration to Britain and elsewhere. It has been argued forcibly that the new middle class comprised possessors rather than performers; there was a distinct lack of entrepreneurs and creative social thinkers by comparison with other small countries (Lee 1989). In any case, creative social thinking was strongly discouraged by the Roman Catholic Church. The argument has been well summarised in a gentle critique: 'economic nationalism [was] judged to have been sapped by emigration, lack of enterprise, cultural introversion, and the absence of a critical intelligentsia' (Kiberd 1995, 645). But, as in England in a different context, a wind of change began to blow in the early 1960s. Its political driving force was Seán Lemass, *taoiseach* (prime minister) from 1959 to 1966, and its primary aim was to turn the tide of emigration. In effect, 'the essence of the Lemass approach can be defined as the attempt to substitute the performance principle for the possessor principle in Irish life' (Lee 1989, 390). The economic wind of change, whose strength ought not to be exaggerated, had a cultural counterpart in the launch of a national television service in 1961 and a brief but dramatic transnational expression in the meeting of Seán Lemass and Terence O'Neill at Stormont in January 1965. A new, 'modern' Ireland was starting to be invented.

These developments may at first sight seem to be far removed from urban conservation, but they are of course central to the question of change. Since the inception of the state, the main changes in the physical fabric of Dublin had revolved round the provision of social housing. During the 1920s, conditions had actually deteriorated, with the result that on the eve of the Second World War there was more overcrowding than on the eve of the First World War (Daly 1984, 323). The Civic Survey of 1925 had depicted 'a desert of decay' in the central area (Prunty 1995, 119). Slums had continued to be cleared on a piecemeal basis, though what replaced them often took the shape of poorly designed, low-rise blocks of flats that are nowadays associated with social deprivation and drug-dealing. Other parts of the inner city had witnessed further decay. A telling illustration of that fact relates to the making of the film *The spy who came in from the cold* (1965). For the opening sequence at Checkpoint Charlie and for the closing sequence in the backstreets of East Berlin, the director wanted to replicate the menacing atmosphere and dilapidated condition of a communist city. These scenes were shot in central Dublin! This was the background to the 1963 Planning Act, another product of the Lemass era. The intentions were laudable enough: 'to make provision, in the common good, for the proper planning and development of cities, towns and other areas, whether urban or rural (including the preservation and improvement of the amenities

Figure 15.3 Cartoon showing the Irish prime minister contemplating political fallout from the activities of his former minister for foreign affairs, Ray Burke (courtesy of Martyn Turner)

thereof)' (McDonald 1985, 4). Regrettably, in the cultural and educational resources of the people in general, and more particularly of bureaucratic decision-makers and *nouveaux riches* developers, there was little or nothing to put them in mind of urban conservation. A combination of modernism in architectural style and destructionism promoted by native gombeen men, 'stroke' politicians (Fig 15.3), and uncaring foreign speculators (mostly British) had as its inevitable outcome 'the destruction of Dublin' (McDonald 1985).

This depressing saga has been chronicled in dramatic detail by Frank McDonald, the environment correspondent of *The Irish Times*, who has played an important role in bringing conservation and planning issues into the public domain. It is not necessary to be in full agreement with all of his value judgements to recognise this fact. The scale of destruction was stupendous (Gorham 1975) and one of the principal reasons for it was that almost no one who mattered politically or socially lived in the city centre. Members of the new middle class had aped their former colonial masters by entrenching themselves in fashionable inner and outer suburbs. Lemassian entrepreneurs of the new breed seized the opportunity to assemble adjoining sites, derelict or otherwise, and to erect on them 'crude investment vehicles for pension funds and insurance companies', in other words, office blocks (McDonald 1985, 4). At a remarkably early stage in the programme of destruction, a warning note was sounded by the foundation of the Dublin Civic Group in 1966, the year of Lemass's resignation and, incidentally, of the explosion that all but demolished Nelson's Pillar in O'Connell Street. The group's purpose was 'to investigate and warn against threats to the city's historical heritage and general environment' (Heffernan 1988, 27). One of the greatest of those threats came from Dublin Corporation itself, in the form of ambitious road-widening schemes. Unlike Abercrombie's grandiose proposals, those of the road engineers could be implemented piecemeal as and when land was acquired and funds became available. The result was widespread planning blight that afflicted whole streets and even whole districts. One of the latter was the ancient medieval core in the vicinity of the two cathedrals, which was targeted for extensive road widening and for intrusive arterial links, such as that (never realised) between High Street and the quays along the Liffey (Kelly 1976, 37–8; Fig 15.4). By the mid 1970s, an enormous number of streets had been earmarked for widening (Kelly 1976, 78–80). The class dimension is obvious: the winners would be middle class suburbanites commuting to their places of employment; the losers would be working class residents living in artisanal dwellings and corporation flats. In this regard, post-colonial Ireland was not so very different from colonial Ireland.

A defining moment: the Wood Quay campaign

In the end, the proposed treatment of part of the medieval core would constitute the most contentious ground for 'one of the most intense battles ever waged by the public to save any archaeological site anywhere' (Heffernan 1988, 1). During the 1960s and 1970s, a new dimension was added to the question of historical conservation in Dublin – the archaeological one (National Monuments Advisory Council 1989; Hyde 1993). Starting with the excavation of the cross-block site at Dublin Castle in the winter of 1961–2, there came into view not only layers of the medieval past but also a growing realisation that the anaerobic soil of the historic core possessed an

Figure 15.4 High Street, Dublin, in the mid 1970s with the Synod Hall of the Church of Ireland (now Dublinia, and Christ Church Cathedral in the background (courtesy of Pat Langan)

astounding capacity to preserve artefacts from that past. The proposal to erect civic offices at Wood Quay was an indirect result of Abercrombie's 1941 *Sketch development plan* for the city. Site acquisition was completed in 1968, by which time the archaeological potential of a 1.6ha plot situated between Christ Church Cathedral and the River Liffey was beginning to be understood (Fig 15.5). What happened thereafter is enormously complicated and has been the subject of two books, one a collection of essays written by some of the participants in the campaign and the other a monograph emanating from a detached observer from North America (Bradley 1984; Heffernan 1988). One of the reasons why the Wood Quay campaign was a defining moment is that members of the public were educated as never before about the nature and significance of medieval archaeology. Two of the directors of the National Museum of Ireland, Anthony Lucas and Joseph Raftery, were singularly unprepared and unwilling to use the archaeological discoveries to educate both decision-makers in particular and the wider population in general (Haworth 1984, 21–2; Heffernan 1988, 41, 58, 98–9). Accordingly, the educational role was assumed by a specialised study-group founded in 1976, the Friends of Medieval Dublin. Their leader, F X Martin, osa, was the professor of medieval history at University College, Dublin. He was in addition charismatic, courageous, resourceful and tenacious.

The Wood Quay campaign revealed not only crucial archaeological layers, but also attitudes that went backwards to the formative years of the Republic as well as forwards to the new Ireland. One retrogressive attitude was subservience to authority, a distant throwback to colonial times perhaps. Lucas, a fine scholar in his own field, was noticeably deferential to the corporation's wishes (Haworth 1984, 28, 30–1, 34, 36; Heffernan 1988, 29–30, 41). Both Lucas and Raftery saw the museum's role essentially in terms of discovering and preserving artefacts; the whole concept of using the dynamics of large-scale, open-area excavation to reconstruct the fabric and culture of an urban community seemed foreign to them, hence Raftery's dismissive phrase 'a few inches of wattle' (Haworth 1984, 27, 32; Heffernan 1988, 41). Equally dismissive was the senior Cork academic who referred to the site, in the high court, as 'this hole in Dublin' (Martin 1984, 39, 40; Heffernan 1988, 79). This disparaging remark was widely interpreted as a case of 'secondcityitis', for all attempts to identify Viking Age levels in Cork had failed. Another attitude was ethnocentricity, born of anti-Britishness, for at one stage the National Museum was prepared to sacrifice all of the Anglo-Norman levels outside the city wall in favour of the Viking and Hiberno-Norse levels inside it. Among the forward-looking, on the other hand, was Patrick Wallace, the director of excavations of the greater part of the Wood Quay site. Unlike his senior colleagues in the National Museum, he was fully attuned to the potential that existed to uncover 'a total town – streets, houses, the layout, the original city townscape, town planning' (Heffernan 1988, 43). A zone of archaeological potential, estimated from documentary sources, was marked clearly on one of the first publications of the Friends of Medieval

Figure 15.5 Aerial view of the Wood Quay archaeological site at Dublin, looking south. The zigzagging course of the inner north wall of the medieval city is highlighted (courtesy of Leo Swan)

Dublin, a large-scale map showing all known medieval sites superimposed on a modern background (Clarke 1978). Thereafter, architects, developers, landowners and planners should have been in no doubt as to where the medieval walled city and its extensive suburbs were located (west of the present city centre). At around the same time, an international conference was held in Dublin on urban origins and urban colonisation in non-Roman Europe. The resulting publication, reinforced at the publisher's suggestion by further material translated from German, Polish and Russian, placed Ireland firmly in an international academic context (Clarke & Simms 1985).

Having been declared a national monument in the high court, the Wood Quay site was 'demolished' subsequently through the loophole of a provision written into the 1930 National Monuments Act, to the effect that the commissioners of public works (a trio of senior civil servants) may authorise the demolition of any such monument. The framers of this legislation can hardly have had in mind a 1.6ha archaeological site; more likely it was envisaged that a structure such as a round tower might become unsafe and a danger to the public. The provision was seemingly cynically applied by the corporation and the government, using the legal device of a joint consent (Heffernan 1988, 80–90). In practice, more time was granted for further archaeology and the excavations ended, hurriedly and uncompleted, on 22 March 1981. The site had been lost in terms of conservation, but partially won in terms of priceless knowledge and public awareness of the importance of urban archaeology.

More archaeological material was lost than is generally realised. For example, it has been estimated that only 24% of the Anglo-Norman deposits between the medieval city wall and the Liffey was excavated properly (Clarke 1984, 181, n 33). A great deal of damage was done around the periphery of the site by the insertion of steel sheeting (truncating all of the Fishamble Street house plots), while part of the medieval city wall was demolished by unskilled workmen, by hand and by machine(!), and has not been reinstated (Heffernan 1988, 46–7, 56, 88–90, 94, 119–24). Most of what was recovered scientifically from Wood Quay was secured by public pressure in the face of obstructionism and outright

opposition by officialdom, including senior decision-makers. Yet, even now, there are people in official circles who will not admit to the truth of this. As Thomas Heffernan remarked (1988, 4), 'at one moment officialdom may cherish archaeological work and fund it, at another moment dismiss and obstruct it'. The names of the guilty men (there were no guilty women) are well known and their misdeeds, whether perpetrated by 'ambition, greed, ineptitude or short-sightedness', have been chronicled and reserved for the judgement of history (Clarke 1984, 153).

Post-modernism and constructionism

In the event only two of the projected tower blocks were built at Wood Quay. Their stark profile has been softened somewhat by a tall glass atrium linking them together, while the scheme has been completed with a low-rise building of some architectural merit and in the modern idiom along the river frontage. Directly south of Christ Church Cathedral stands a building in the post-modern idiom, a budget hotel of no great architectural distinction, yet which blends into the traditional Dublin streetscape because of its modest elevation and extensive use of brick in the façade (the rear is deplorably dreary). The conservation problem posed by this building, and by many others of recent vintage, is that it stands, on piles, on another prime archaeological site, the potential quality of which has already been revealed by (unpublished) excavations conducted by Breandán Ó Ríordáin in 1972–5. Once again, officialdom, including on this occasion the Office of Public Works, closed ranks and the rebuilding went ahead after preliminary investigation by a ground probe radar survey (virtually meaningless on an urban site with great depth of stratigraphy and a complex history) and by token excavation round some of the pile-caps (Hyde 1993, 60–4). Since the late 1980s, an enormous amount of redevelopment has taken place in the medieval core of Dublin, which must contain one of the biggest outcrops of post-modern architecture anywhere. The elevations are modest (generally of four storeys), while the variety of building textures and the amount of architectural detailing enable these newcomers to blend in relatively successfully with the scattered survivors of a bygone age. The drive to rebuild has been generated almost entirely by a government-sponsored tax incentive scheme (Hyde 1993, 113; MacLaran 1993, 217, fig 10.3). The price to be paid has been more archaeological than architectural. Piling, of course, causes total or partial destruction in the immediate vicinity of the piles themselves, but the long-term effects of the alkalinity of these intrusions into the acidic habitation levels of earlier generations are virtually unknown. Moreover, widespread recourse to contract archaeologists has run the not inconsiderable risk that the results of many of the small-scale excavations of recent years may never in practice be published.

One of the honourable exceptions to the generally unsatisfactory provision for archaeological conservation in the metropolitan area has been Temple Bar Properties, a state company charged with the oversight of urban renewal in Dublin's so-called 'cultural quarter'. This commendable initiative was launched in 1991, when Dublin held the title of European City of Culture in succession to Glasgow. The district in question lies between Dame Street and the Liffey and was defined under the Temple Bar Area Renewal and Development Act. Containing a mix of buildings dating from the late 17th century onwards, much of this district was in a dilapidated condition, partly because it had been reserved for a gigantic central bus station – a totally barbaric concept. The first declared aim of the company's programme is urban renewal, though the word 'conservation' itself is not mentioned. In phase 1 (1991–6), 'numerous buildings and sites were redeveloped', while phase 2 (1996–9) promises to combine new development with archaeological excavation and respect for the medieval street pattern west of Parliament Street (Walsh 1996, 4). During phase 2, the company has undertaken to liaise with conservation bodies respecting its approach to existing buildings, on the basis of an architectural inventory that has already been commissioned and implemented (Walsh 1996, 13, 20). Not everyone has been satisfied with this exercise in urban renewal. Some buildings of note have been demolished and an early 19th-century church has been desecrated in various ways, including the construction on a mezzanine level of a replica Viking ship whose mast-top disappears incongruously into a hole especially created in the 'restored' Regency ceiling. Part of the foundations of an Augustinian friary dating from the late Middle Ages was excavated, only to be destroyed except for a reinstated section of walling 'conserved' out of context in the basement of a new building (a restaurant). Admittedly this particular instance of bowdlerisation was sanctioned by the National Monuments Service (the successor to the Office of Public Works). On the other hand, Temple Bar Properties has arranged and funded vitally important excavations inside and just outside the eastern part of the medieval walled city; it has provided exemplary public viewing facilities for these excavations; and it has published full reports with admirable dispatch (Simpson 1994, 1995, 1996, 1999; Gowen & Scally 1996).

The mixed results achieved by Temple Bar Properties have been replicated in other parts of the city and its satellites. On the positive side, the state properties section of the Office of Public Works has taken some important initiatives, if at considerable cost to taxpayers. Among the most prominent has been the restoration of the castle after decades of official neglect. Conservation of the great courtyard and its buildings was prioritised, the new structures reinforcing the architectural forms and integrity of the old. A new entrance from Castle Street, involving a bridge over the recreated moat, has had the satisfying effect of completing the symmetrical design of the

Figure 15.6 Promotional literature for the Historic Heart of Dublin project, which includes a conversation centre in the medieval core at Castle Street (courtesy of the Dublin Civic Trust)

former Genealogical Office, whose 19th-century upper floor was removed in order to restore the 18th-century profile (O'Connor & O'Regan 1987, 94–9). Another major achievement has been a thorough restoration of the exterior of the Custom House, whose stonework had cracked extensively under the combined forces of intense heat followed by cooling. Some novel techniques were used in the process, including recourse to mine detectors to locate decayed ferrous metal rods embedded in the masonry (O'Connor & O'Regan 1987, 100–3). As the local planning authority, Dublin Corporation wields enormous influence. The outcome in any particular case is hard to predict because of tension between departments whose interests do not necessarily coincide: development, planning (including conservation) and road engineering. There have been some welcome changes in direction. For example, the first city archaeologist for Dublin was appointed in 1991, after years of campaigning for such a post (cf Cooney 1980). Two medieval wall-towers have been preserved in below-ground locations, although only one of these can be viewed by the public at present. A major series of archaeological excavations along the course of a drainage scheme was sponsored by the corporation through to publication (Walsh 1997). When late medieval floor tiles were exposed on a private development at St Thomas's Abbey, the corporation repurchased the site for preservation and ultimately excavation. Most recently, a joint venture with the Dublin Civic Trust has resulted in the Historic Heart of Dublin project, whose brief is 'to act as a catalyst for constructive change and innovative intervention by fostering partnership structures that record and protect the remaining historic fabric of the city' (Fig 15.6).

Millenarianism

The establishment of the Dublin Civic Trust in 1991 is an example of a happy outcome from the current fashion, not of course confined to Ireland, for 'anniversarianism'. It would appear that anything that can be commemorated is duly commemorated. Here, the driving force is international tourism, which may be in the process of overtaking agriculture as the Republic's biggest 'industry'. All over the country, heritage centres of various kinds have been opened during the last ten years or so, with the result that there is fierce competition between them and not all will survive. The application for European City of Culture status may be traced back to an earlier initiative by the city manager of that time – Dublin's so-called millennium in 1988. From a strictly historical point of view, this notion was fundamentally misconceived. The story is worth recounting briefly, because it represents the tokenism that still lies concealed behind official and semi-official displays of interest in the historical past. Dublin's 'millennium' originated in the foyer of City Hall, the dome of which features scenes from Irish history, painted in 1911. One of these depicts a king of Tara (high-king), Máel Sechnaill II, accepting payment of a tax imposed by him on the defeated Norse inhabitants. The documentary basis for this is a reference *sub anno* 988 in the *Annals of the Four Masters* (O'Donovan 1851, ii, 724–5) (and elsewhere), the corrected date being 989. This event was merely one among many incidents in the complex relationship between the Dublin Norsemen and Irish kings in the 10th and 11th centuries; it was not worthy of commemoration in itself and marked neither the beginning of Dublin as an urban entity (as a settlement it is much older), nor the beginning of any significant stage in its history. Nevertheless, Dublin's pseudo-millennium had positive consequences. Non-academic Dubliners will remember best the original Viking Adventure sponsored by an insurance company, where in the basement of a 19th-century church a Viking (better Hiberno-Norse) streetscape was recreated with the help of live actors. The reconstruction was executed with great care and was supervised by Patrick Wallace of the National Museum. In the same year, a set of specially commissioned historical essays was published (Cosgrove 1988), whilst in a more general sense modern Dubliners were encouraged to 'be proud' of their cultural heritage (Liddy 1987).

After decades of unconscious decay and conscious destruction, some people were prepared to be honest. In the preface to an important book written by a practising architect, we read that Dublin 'is no longer beautiful. This is deeply to be regretted, and there are many reasons why it is so, but I think most people, sensing that we are on the edge of great change, would prefer to ask how we should draw the threads of its identity together for the future' (McCullough 1989, 4). Some of those means of drawing threads together have already been mentioned: the appointment of a city archaeologist, the foundation of the Dublin Civic Trust, the establishment of Temple Bar Properties (all dating from 1991), and the Historic Heart of Dublin project (1998). Another commendable initiative was launched by the Medieval Trust. This body comprises a small number of concerned citizens from academic, commercial and financial backgrounds, who have set up a charitable subsidiary company for educational purposes focused on a visitor and research centre called Dublinia (one of several Latin forms of the name in the Middle Ages). Opened in 1993, this facility is devoted to the period 1170–1540 and it is a sign of cultural maturity, perhaps, that the early centuries of English dominance in Ireland can be portrayed successfully in the heart of Dublin. In some sections of the presentation six languages are available, including Irish. The setting is the former Synod Hall of the Church of Ireland adjacent to, and linked to, Christ Church Cathedral (Fig 15.4). Dublinia offers a view of the past that is authentic and honest, just like Niall McCullough's book published a few years before. Visitors can see a collection of finds from the 13th-century levels at nearby Wood Quay –

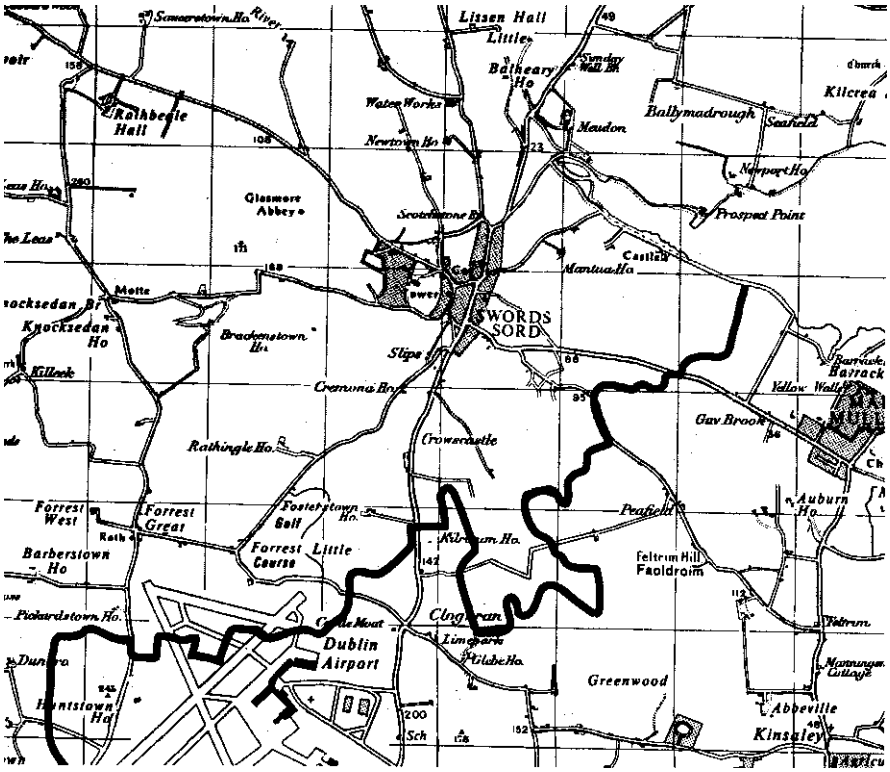
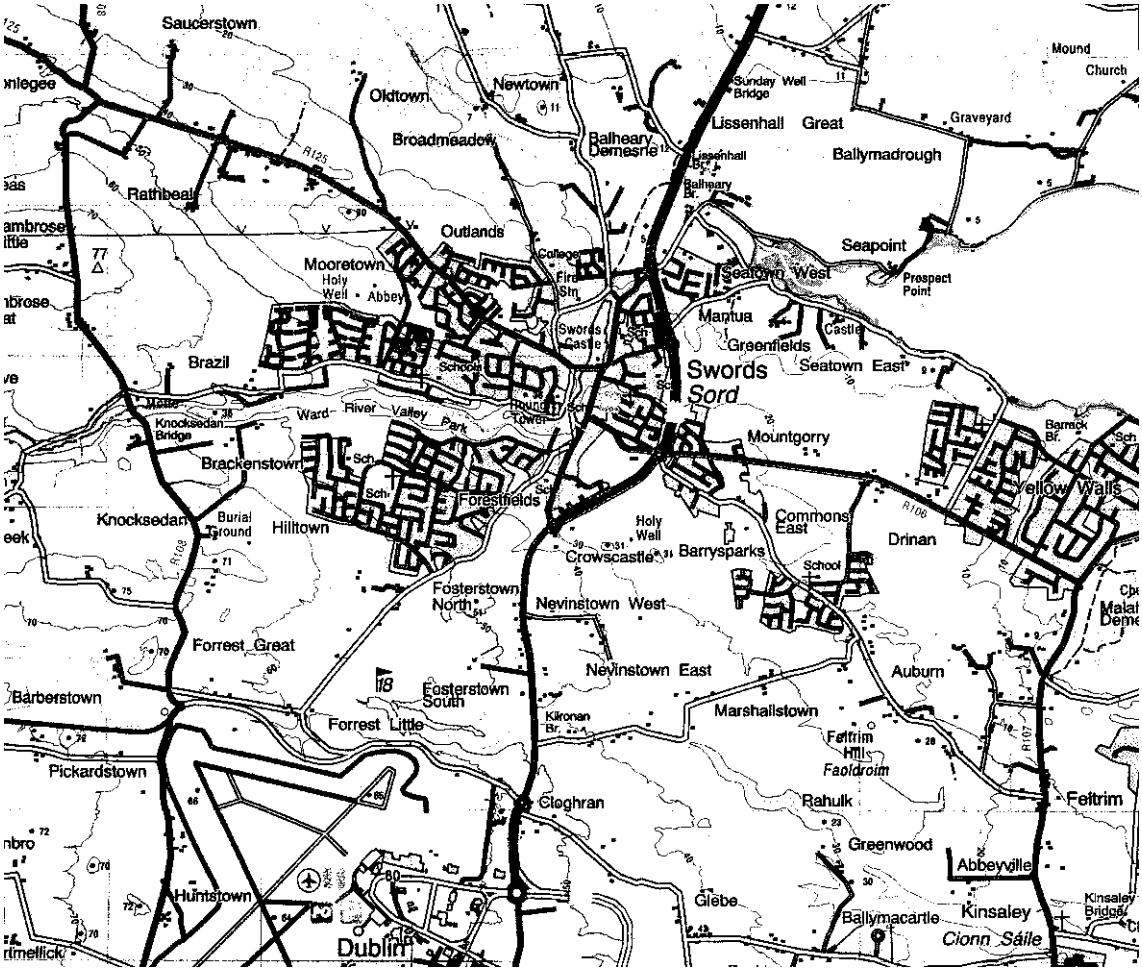
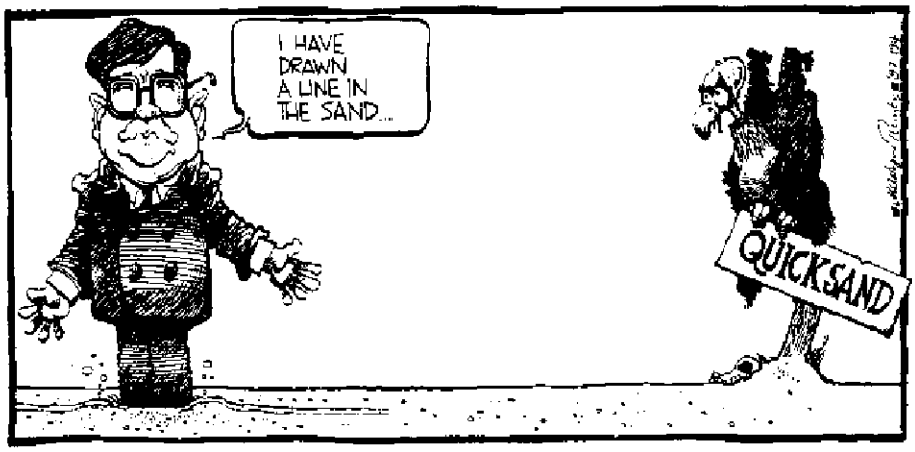


Figure 15.7 Swords, north of Dublin, in 1972 (left) and 1995 (below), showing its rapid and barely controlled expansion from village to suburbanised township. The house at the bottom right marked Abbe(y)ville is the private residence of the former prime minister, Charles Haughey (by permission of the Ordnance Survey Ireland)



MARTYN TURNER'S YEAR

JULY: Charles Haughey gives his evidence to the McCracken Tribunal



SEPTEMBER: There's sand and then there's sand

Figure 15.8 Cartoons satirising Charles Haughey and Ray Burke as representatives of Ireland's political culture. Both men are currently under investigation by government-established tribunals (courtesy of Martyn Turner)

finds that would not have been recovered for posterity if public opinion had not forced the National Museum's hand in the 1970s. The building itself, a neo-Gothic creation designed by the cathedral's restorer, G E Street, has been carefully refurbished with only minimal changes to accommodate its new-found function. It stands, symbolically, at the main crossroads in the medieval city and represents in its commanding position the 'great change' that McCullough forecast in 1989.

If it is true that a new climate exists in which urban conservation stands a better chance than before, it is equally true that a great deal of practical work remains to be done. In 1996, an official government report made legislative and practical recommendations for the conservation and preservation of the Republic's architectural heritage. Five years earlier, the National Inventory of Architecture had been started on a pilot basis by the Office of Public Works, pending the introduction of legislation to tie this in with a more effective system of listing buildings for preservation. By 1996, nineteen towns had been completed, but only seven inventories had been put into circulation and about 30,000 out of an estimated one million historic buildings had been recorded (Department of Arts, Culture and the Gaeltacht 1996, 139–40). Financially and legally, Northern Ireland has enjoyed a more favourable environment for listed buildings and conservation areas than the Republic (McDonald 1998c). In the latter, a serious weakness is an attribute of local 'democracy'. Professional planners produce development plans, but local councillors have the power to vary those plans, subject to certain constraints. The crux of the matter is land zoning by planners and rezoning by councillors, mainly in the direction of the residential category. Land zoned for housing development (mostly private) jumps in value overnight and the periphery of Dublin has witnessed an interminable series of such rezonings, usually promoted by members of

the two big centre-right parties and opposed by members of the smaller parties along with independents. The consequences can be seen in every direction except that of the sea itself and are well illustrated by the fate of Swords, an historic settlement due north of Dublin (Fig 15.7). From being a village (or small town in Irish usage) astride the road to Belfast, Swords has mushroomed into a chaotic, sprawling and suburbanised township – the seventh largest urban entity in the country. Growth occurred through successive rezonings of land for residential development, without any overall concept on the part of the councillors (as distinct from the planners) of what the end-product should be. So uncontrolled was this growth that the eastern bypass will itself have to be bypassed by the projected motorway, thereby threatening wildlife in the Broad Meadow estuary.

Two former very senior politicians are currently under investigation by judicial tribunals. The accusations that have been levied against them come down to old-fashioned corruption and venality. In a political culture dominated by men such as these (Fig 15.8), complex and sensitive issues such as urban conservation would have been low on the list of priorities. The abject failure of successive governments of all political shades to provide adequate legal protection for historic buildings and conservation areas is another clear sign of the immaturity of the Republic's political culture. The past contains the seeds of its own destruction: in the case of Dublin, those seeds are deeply embedded in the city's colonial and post-colonial history. During the 19th century, the British and Protestant Ascendancy ruling elites abandoned the core of a once elegant city; in the 20th century, Irish republican and Catholic nationalist elements have hastened the processes of destruction by various means, both in the city centre and in the surrounding countryside. What has been conserved owes its survival mainly to small pressure groups such as the Dublin Civic Group, the Dublin Civic Trust, the Friends of Medieval Dublin, the Irish Georgian Society, the Living City Group and An Taisce, together with a number of enlightened people with decision-making powers in the corporation and in state agencies. One of the latter administers an important site situated between the northern boundary of the city and Swords township – Dublin Airport. Observant passengers passing through the terminal building and the adjacent multi-storey car park will see examples of Ireland's and Dublin's cultural heritage on large display panels. Since 1994, the airport authority has been engaged in implementing a heritage programme in conjunction with a few committed scholars. Displays of this kind, over the course of time, may serve to educate natives as well as foreigners. It is possible that a more mature, less self-serving political culture will emerge and that the pernicious and pervasive influence of clientelism and cronyism will decline. The question is: how much of the Republic's cultural heritage, rural as well as urban, archaeological as well as architectural, will remain intact to be conserved?

Acknowledgements

I should like to thank my colleagues Professor Anngret Simms and Dr Joseph Brady respectively for obtaining copies of Figures 15.1 and 15.7.

16 Carmarthen *by Heather James*

Introduction

This paper summarises the principal results of archaeological and topographical work in both Roman and medieval Carmarthen since the late 1960s. Advances in knowledge, remaining problems and changing perceptions are discussed and the contribution made by archaeology to the specifically Welsh issues of conquest, co-existence and change in Anglo-Norman towns. Success and failure in the conservation of the historic fabric is assessed, together with ways of interpreting and promoting the historic resource in a bi-lingual culture. The need for continuing archaeological commitment is stressed.

Until the 1830s, when it was rapidly outstripped by the burgeoning industrial towns of south Wales, Carmarthen was the biggest town in Wales. It is also the oldest town in Wales. Unlike Caerwent, the only other formally constituted Roman town, it has probably been continuously occupied from *c* AD 75 to the present day. It was a town – indeed two towns – in the Middle Ages, whereas Caerwent has remained a village. Although it has, or has had at various periods in its history, the characteristics of other types of Welsh towns – 'castle-borough', 'planted settlement', 'county town', 'port', for example – its long history and combination of functions has made it unusual, if not unique. Near-continuous change and development have also meant that few of its medieval buildings have survived. It has lost much of its medieval castle, nearly all of its medieval priory and town walls, all of the town gates and all of its Franciscan friary. The present day appearance of the core of the town is very much dominated by late 18th- and early to mid 19th-century buildings.

Statutory protection and archaeological advice

Attempts in the early 1980s to secure Archaeological Area designations under the *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979* failed here as elsewhere and the Secretary of State for Wales formally announced that there would be no such designations in Wales. Despite the limitations of leaving areas below houses unprotected, remaining open areas within the Roman town and fort sites have been designated as Scheduled Ancient Monuments in addition to specific sites elsewhere in the town. Archaeological advice to Carmarthenshire County Council on the implications of planning applications within the town is provided by the Heritage Management section of Cambria Archaeology (Dyfed Archaeological Trust), grant-aided by Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments within the framework of *Planning Policy Guidance (Wales): Archaeology and Planning* explained by Welsh Office Circulars 60/96 *Planning and the Historic Environment: Archaeology* and 61/96 *Planning and the Historic Environment: Historic Buildings and Conservation Areas*. Carmarthen is the county town for the new unitary authority of Carmarthenshire County Council, and between 1974 and 1995 was county town for Dyfed County Council and for Carmarthen District Council.

At present, 219 of the town's 300 listed buildings lie within conservation areas. The last resurvey was in 1981, when many buildings proposed for listing were rejected; these are now within a list of 'Buildings of Local Interest' held in the county planning office. There are changing views on the type and numbers of buildings in Wales that should be listed. If they have survived demolition or serious alteration in the meantime, it is possible that some of 1981's 'rejects' would be listed today. In 1993, The Welsh Affairs Committee reported to the House of Commons on 'The Preservation of Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments' (HC 403). The Committee recommended, among other things, an acceleration in resurvey; and a completion date of 2005 has been set. A follow-up Report by the Committee considered views that Cadw 'gives insufficient regard to the houses of the ordinary people' and, in consequence, there has been a renewed emphasis on Welsh vernacular buildings. But in towns like Carmarthen, local authority conservation officers are still in active debate with Cadw to get individual workers' houses listed. Cadw will list only groups of terraced houses at present, but such is the pace of change that the possible groups available in the 1980s have been reduced by significant alterations and improvements to a handful of individual cases today. For example, none of the once ubiquitous 19th-century 'courts' of small, often single-room, single-entry houses around a small courtyard, shoe-horned into the side or rear of a larger dwelling, remains unaltered. The author of this paper now bitterly regrets the inadequate record made in the early 1980s of such buildings demolished on Priory Street, redevelopment being preceded by excavation of Roman levels.

When the Dyfed Archaeological Trust (DAT) was founded in 1975 as one of four Welsh Trusts formed by the then Department of the Environment for 'rescue archaeology' in Wales, Carmarthen was clearly the priority for any urban excavation and, indeed, a number of significant developments were already being planned. The Trust would have preferred not to have begun excavation before completing a full archaeological and topographical survey of the town, in order to construct a research strategy,

Figure 16.1 Air photograph of Carmarthen, looking east; DAT AP85–94.30 (reproduced by permission of Dyfed Archaeological Trust)

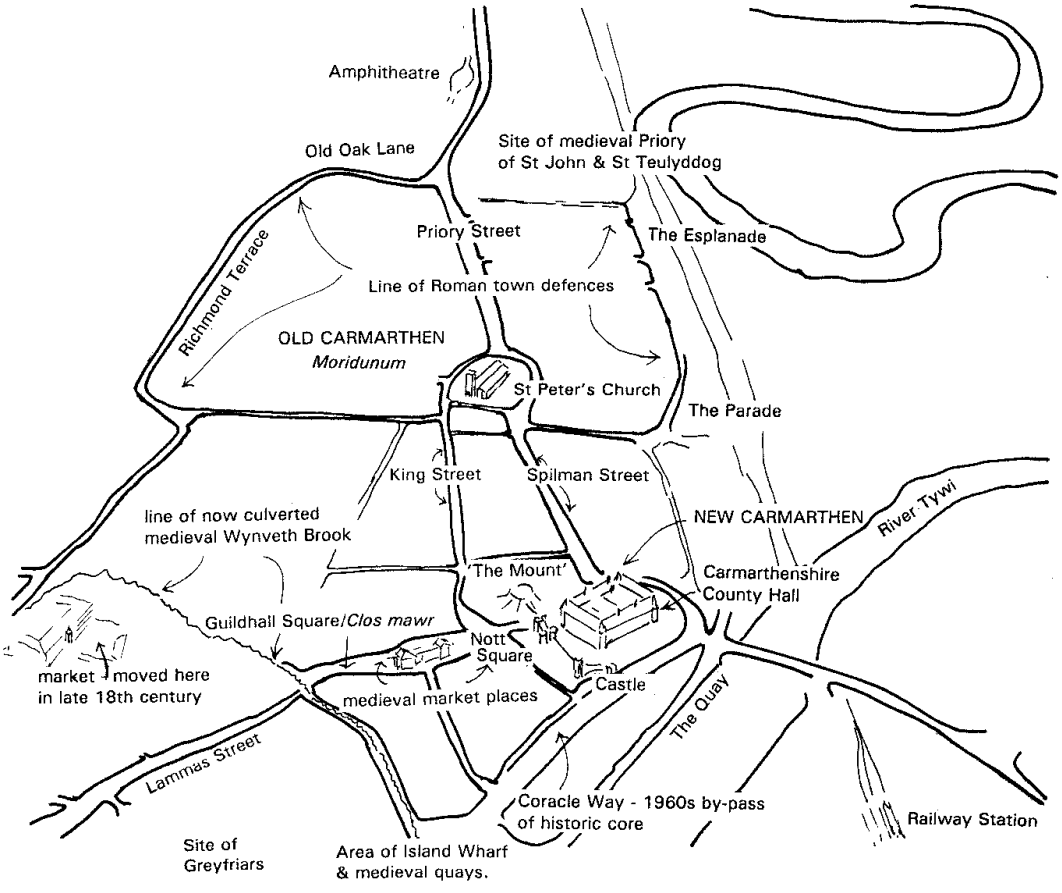


Figure 16.2 Outline plan of streets and buildings drawn as an overlay to the air photograph above (16.1) (courtesy of the author)

but excavations on a Roman site had to begin in 1976 and were continued in 1978. The archaeological and topographical survey was published in 1980 (James, 1980), but, by then, all the site information on which it was based had been registered at 1:2500 scale on a Sites and Monuments Record map, in a series of period overlays. The Trust registered SMR data in a computer database from the outset, despite the difficulties and processes that now, themselves, seem positively archaeological (punched cards using a Honeywell timeshare computer in Bristol linked to the US). Don Benson, the Director of the Trust, and Jo Jefferies, then of the Central Excavation Unit, continuing developments that they had pioneered at the County Museum, Woodstock, Oxfordshire, successfully adapted the Jefferies' Version 1 software from an excavation record to an SMR data structure. *Delilah*, a refined Version 1 programme, together with other software, is still used by the Trust today and has been used for some, though not all, of the large area excavations in the town in the 1980s.

Moridunum – Roman Carmarthen

First, a brief introduction to the location of the town: the historic core of Carmarthen is sited on the northern banks of the River Tywi, at about its tidal limits, some 12km from the sea. Geologically (and relevant of course to the nature and survival of its archaeology), the town is sited on a terrace of fluvio-glacially deposited gravels and earlier boulder clay. The bedrock of Ordovician shale is encountered only at considerable depths – there was no good building stone, therefore, immediately available. To the north, the town is overlooked by low rounded hills, but commands the river valley south to the sea and a natural east–west route corridor formed by the Tywi valley and its tributaries to the east. To the west are lowlands covered by glacial moraines. These physical junctions have, at different times in the town's history, been reflected in administrative and territorial boundaries and divisions.

A substantial hillfort – Merlin's Hill – lies 4km east of the town overlooking the Tywi valley, but there is no firm evidence as yet for any early or late prehistoric occupation in areas of the Roman and medieval towns. As early as the 16th century, the Elizabethan antiquarian William Camden identified the *Moridunum* of classical sources as Carmarthen on etymological grounds (*mor* = sea, *dunum* = fort). It is a fact of more cultural and historical significance than archaeological that the Welsh name of the town, *Caerfyrddin*, is derived from Merlin, the legendary magician and adviser of King Arthur (Jarman, 1986). Finds of Roman material at the eastern end of the town were made and recorded from the late 18th century onwards, but scholarly opinion varied as to whether the settlement was of a town or a fort – or both. Not until Barri Jones's excavations of the late 1960s and early 1970s was the significance of the shape of the street pattern at the eastern end of Carmarthen recognised. Richmond Terrace, Old Oak Lane, The Esplanade, The Parade and Parade Road form a rectangular shape which preserves the outline of the defences of the Roman town (Figs 16.1 & 16.2). These were sampled on the northern circuit by Jones and more extensively excavated near their south-west corner by DAT. A series of watching briefs and salvage recording have added information at other points of the circuit. The streets and their terraced lines of housing are mostly of 19th-century date. The earliest detailed town map of 1786 shows this shape to predate the streets themselves and be visible as property boundaries respecting still extant earthworks. The existence of Roman defences, the excavated evidence for at least two main phases of construction, and the size of the area enclosed (13.2ha, 33 acres) are all 'hard' evidence for a Roman town. Further area excavations (James 1992) that provided some evidence for a gridded layout of streets have further supported the identification of the eastern end of modern Carmarthen as the Roman town of *Moridunum* and the *civitas* capital of the *Demetae*, the Iron Age tribal group of west Wales. It must also be admitted that there is no other possible candidate.

We have tried, both through Dyfed Archaeological Trust and now Cambria Archaeology (renaming followed the local government reorganisation of 1995 in Wales), to ensure preservation *in situ* of as much of the remaining buried sections of the Roman town defences as possible. It has to be recognised that this has been a losing battle. Much was lost in the 19th century through the construction of the long lines of terraced housing, not so much perhaps of the body and rear of the rampart banks but of the second phase stone facing and, of course, any towers or gates. The contrast with Caerwent could not be more striking; here long lengths of walls, towers and gates are preserved as Scheduled Ancient Monuments. But with little visible trace of the monument above ground in Carmarthen, the local planning authority has not, for quite understandable reasons, felt able to turn down applications, large or small scale, for garages or two doctors' surgeries along the rear of the northern line of the defences and 'preservation by record' through watching briefs has been the response. Nor has scheduling in 1989 of the one remaining open length at the south-eastern corner of the Roman town been able to prevent some alteration to the surface levels and a loss by construction of brick walls of the visual impact of a sharp break of slope that indicated the position of the rampart.

Carmarthen does, however, have an upstanding monument from its Roman past – an amphitheatre sited some 250m east of the eastern town defences alongside today's A40 on the line of the Roman road. It is greatly to the credit of George Ovens, borough surveyor in the 1940s, that he recognised the oval-shaped hollow in the side of a steep slope as a probable amphitheatre and preserved the site from

incorporation within the pre- and post-war borough housing schemes in which he so strongly believed. The site was an area of rough overgrown ground until cleared for small scale trial trenching by Jones and Little in 1968 and 1970. They recovered evidence of wooden seating and an entrance into the arena with three layers of road surfacing. The excavators suggested, on the basis of what they recognised as a small sample, a possible maximum seating capacity of 5000. This has been taken as established fact and used as proof that the town must have been a tribal capital, since these numbers exceed the likely population of the Roman town itself. The excavated evidence from a small sample has also been used to justify rebuilding – or making anew – drystone walling encircling the oval arena and resurfacing the entrance itself in the early 1970s in a robust fashion, more untrammelled by close archaeological supervision, than would perhaps be thought appropriate today. Hopefully, no serious loss of archaeological evidence took place. A re-interpretation of the structure as a 'theatre-amphitheatre', and therefore its plan and mode of construction, has been put forward by the late G C Boon (Boon, pers comm); this might be tested in any future excavation of the site. The monument was part scheduled in 1968, but its full extent only in 1986, due to the difficulties of scheduling gardens. A flurry of activity at one stage during these eighteen years between 1968 and 1986 was necessary to avoid construction of houses on the unscheduled area. Half of the monument remains as private gardens; some interpretative panelling is in place, but it is generally agreed that the monument would benefit from better presentation, especially if the remaining half were brought into public ownership. Inevitably, therefore, in the present climate, lottery funding is seen as a possible way forward.

Moving from discussion of conservation to ways of presentation to the public, we return to the topography of the Roman town. The author of this paper, and colleagues, find that since so little is visible above ground, a guided walk around the circuit to explain the topography and gain a notion of the size of the town, imparts a sense of discovery and an understanding of archaeological techniques by looking at the 'micro-topography' of break of slope and angled turn of streets. This is combined with a visit to the amphitheatre and to the church porch of St Peter's, where the antiquarian find of a Roman altar base can be seen. Carmarthen Museum moved from the town in 1975 to more spacious buildings two miles away, where many more Roman finds can be viewed. Within the Heritage Management Section of Archaeoleg Cambria Archaeology, there is a small heritage promotion wing financed by commercial contracts for panels and leaflets. For a recent contract to provide eight large heritage panels for the whole town, it was decided to present Roman Carmarthen through the 'evidence and discovery' theme: 'How do we know there's a Roman town here?' being the main heading (Fig 16.3).

Two medieval towns: Old and New Carmarthen

The death in 1093 of Rhys ap Tewdwr, Prince of Deheubarth, the kingdom of south-west Wales, was seen by contemporary chroniclers as a catastrophe for the Welsh; the resulting political vacuum encouraged a series of Norman onslaughts (Davies 1991). A 'bridgehead' castle was established by William fitz-Baldwin at Rhydygors, a mile or so down river from the later town. Whilst Welsh counter attacks, and the political instabilities following the death of William Rufus, King of England (1087–1100), forced Norman retreat from many early gains, Rhydygors and Pembroke castles, alone in west Wales, did not succumb. A renewal of Norman attacks and more lasting conquests by both marcher lords and the English king came with the accession and rule of Henry I (1100–35). Under his orders, William of Gloucester built a new royal castle at Carmarthen in 1109 at the site of today's County Hall. Soon after its foundation, a small borough was constituted outside its gates in standard Welsh fashion peopled by incomers, many of whom were from Devon and Somerset across the Bristol Channel. Welshmen were excluded. But there was certainly a settlement at Carmarthen when the Normans arrived at the beginning of the 12th century, centring on the monastic community of St Teulyddog outside the eastern boundary of the former Roman town, the site also of the later priory of St John and St Teulyddog. The native Welsh settlement became known as Old Carmarthen and was under the governance of the prior – an Augustinian foundation being established on the earlier site after a short-lived attempt to impose the alien ecclesiastical disciplines of the Benedictines. Some element of compromise with the Welsh was thus reached, since the Augustinian rule was more suited to the native ecclesiastical traditions of *clasau* (monasteries or mother churches). It is even more significant that the site of the former Roman town – still physically evident as a defended *enceinte* and presumably part of the patrimony of Llandeulyddog – was avoided by the castle borough of New Carmarthen (Fig 16.4). These spatial arrangements, then, speak much of racial and political conquest and co-existence. They may well be the result of conscious policy by Henry I, since subjugation of the native princes was one royal objective, but control of his powerful marcher lords another. Some kind of accommodation with the native Welsh rather than outright dispossession may have been deemed prudent. Carmarthen remained a royal borough, the *caput* of the honour of Carmarthen, to become a core part of the Principality of South Wales with its justiciary and exchequer.

Any accommodation with native sensibilities was not to the detriment of military advantage, because the castle occupied a good defensive position directly overlooking what is still the main bridging point of the river. It is thought that rebuilding the early motte and bailey earth and timber castle in stone

Figure 16.3 (Part of) interpretation panel themed on the Roman town, at St Peter's Car Park, Carmarthen (reproduced by permission of Cambria Archaeology)

began as early as the 1180s, following several attacks and periods of control by the Welsh princes. Part-demolished during the 17th-century civil war, the castle was subject to further clearance in 1789 when John Nash built a new county gaol. This was in turn demolished in 1938 for a new quadrangular-shaped County Hall with four corner turrets in French chateau style. There has been piecemeal and intermittent excavation and recording work on Carmarthen Castle, accompanying structural consolidation grant-aided by Cadw. This has not yet been integrated into an overall interpretation. Some areas have been subject only to sketchy recording of upstanding masonry before repointing and repair. The work has accelerated in pace with the prospect of the Heritage Lottery Fund scheme, which will include provision for the synthesis and publication of all previous work at a number of levels. Evaluation of the shell-keep on the 'Mount' or motte of the castle has shown a complex and interesting structural history with a probable early round tower predating the shell keep – an important addition to British castellar history (Ludlow and Allen 1997). The masonry tower may be of Welsh build from the period 1215–23. The enthusiastic support of the local authority for the castle scheme has been fuelled by the demonstration that there is more of the medieval monument remaining – and therefore displayable as an attraction – than anyone had hitherto supposed. Castles are a sensitive monument type in Wales from a Welsh national point of view; they can be seen as ever-visible reminders of conquest and displacement (Davies 1990). Consequently, Cadw faces criticism from some quarters for an over-concentration of resources on these monuments. An emphasis on 'castles of the Welsh princes' has been one response. At Carmarthen, a 'third way' of presentation and interpretation is possible, with the twin functions of a medieval castle – judicial and penal, and administrative – being perpetuated in the two successor buildings of County Gaol and now County Hall.

The plan of the early defended borough is of the simplest form – an open market area outside the gates of the castle with four streets radiating from it (Fig 16.4). Since the names and location of the gates of the 13th-century defences of the town are known, James was able to draw a sketch map of the early borough *c* 1240 (James 1980). Later 13th-century surveys, especially that of 1268 listing names and holdings of burgesses, were used to document the dramatic growth of the borough in the 13th century, with extra-mural areas both to the west along Lammas Street and to the east along King and Spilman Streets up to the western boundary of the former Roman town. This latter area was enclosed

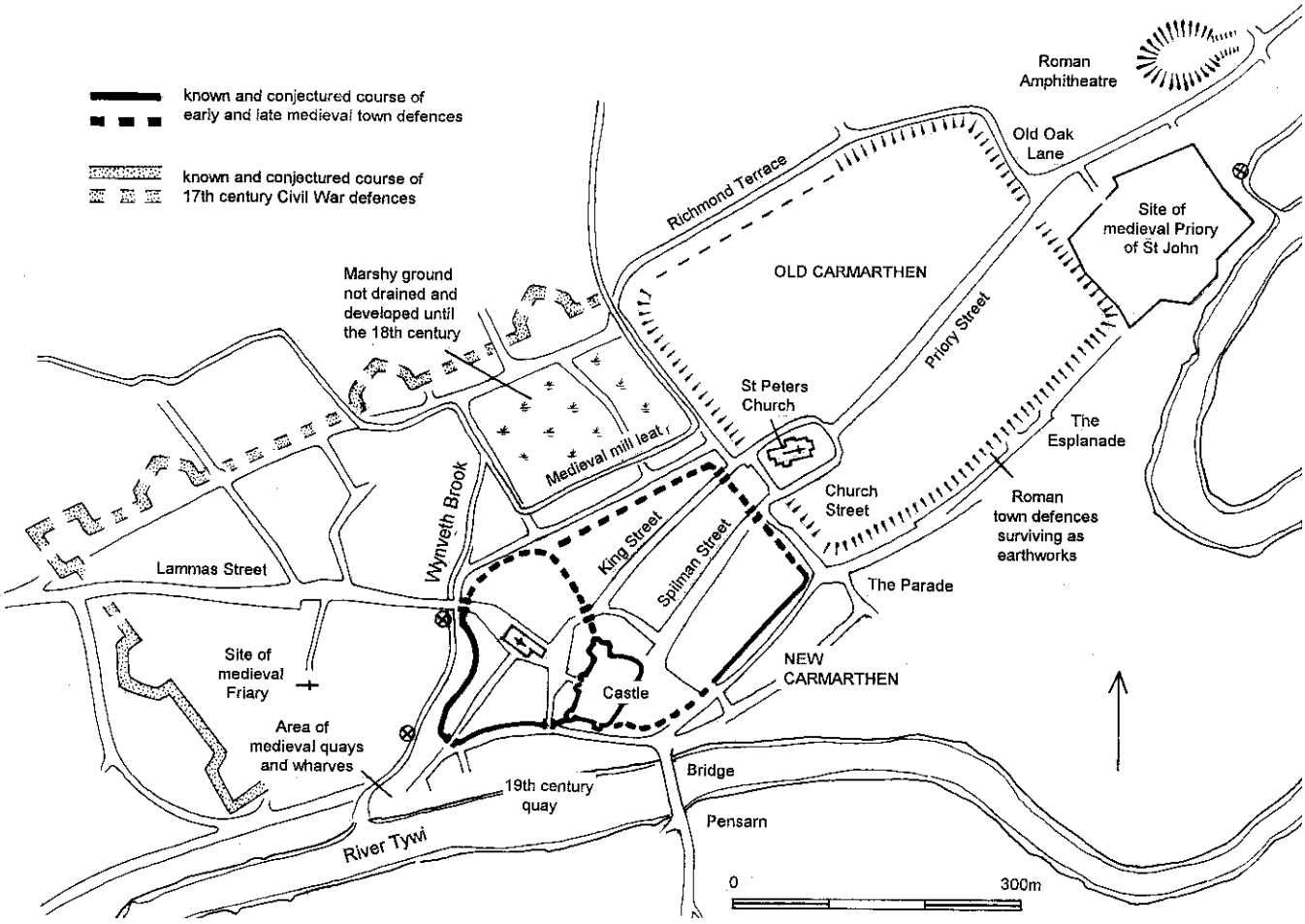


Figure 16.4 Map of Carmarthen, showing the course of Roman, medieval and 17th-century Civil War defences (reproduced by permission of Cambria Archaeology)

with walls as late as 1415, following the Glyndwr uprising and attacks on the town. An interesting feature of the surveys are the names and occupations of the burgesses and the indication that Welsh men and women were burgesses, holding burgages and enjoying the monopolistic trading privileges of the town, albeit as a minority. There has been little to add, either from new historical evidence or from archaeological excavation, to James's study regarding the origins and topographical development of the town. But we now have a clearer idea of the factors directing suburban extra-mural development, because a new Roman road extending westwards from Carmarthen into Pembrokeshire has been recognised (James 1990). Projecting the alignment back towards the town from the first securely identified length 5km to the west, it seems probable that the medieval Lammas Street, and possibly King Street also, must lie over the Roman road line. The Roman road is likely to date from the late 1st century, when a fort was established at Carmarthen. Discoveries like these on the environs of this town, and, the author would argue, any others are important prompts for rethinking and reconsidering earlier models of urban development.

Whilst there has been considerable attention paid to the evolution of street plans within urban areas in Britain, this has arguably not been sufficiently extended into the approaches to towns, part of a virtual blindness regarding the dynamic role of transport systems in settlement origins and evolution. But the position is changing. At Carmarthen, the linear, east–west route corridor function of the town has exerted continuing pressure for change to the street pattern of the early modern and present day town. This has resulted in a succession of new roads to bypass the enclosed medieval market-based core. A recognition that this linear character was already in existence in the early Middle Ages, at the time of the Norman establishment of New Carmarthen, also forces a shift in mental perceptions of where, how, and why defensive *enceintes* were built and maintained on either side of the route corridor.

There are still major gaps in our knowledge of the line and character of both phases of medieval town defences; only excavation can reveal the truth. Some of the exploratory trenches of the late 1970s were poorly recorded, but gave some indication of stone walls and possibly tower foundations. Better-funded work in other likely locations has drawn a blank. Yet the cumulative value of all these interventions is to provide data on how the original landform has been

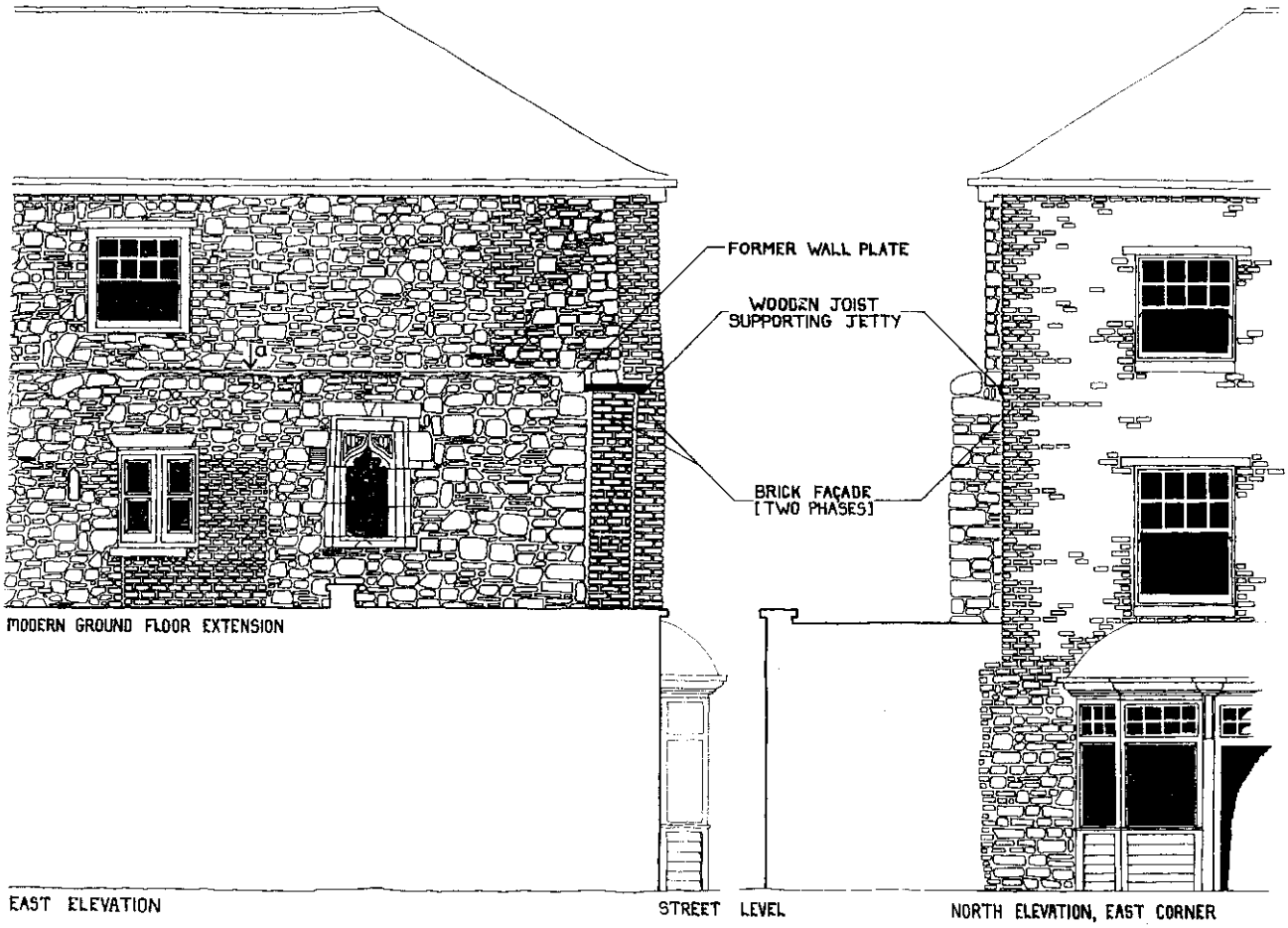


Figure 16.5 Elevation drawings of the 'Angel Vaults', Nott Square, Carmarthen (reproduced by permission of Dyfed Archaeological Trust and Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society)

modified, resulting in areas of accumulation of deposits and areas of denudation. Much of this information has still to be adequately mapped. Experience elsewhere in the UK proves the value of a GIS containing all these elements, both as an interpretative and predictive tool. We now know in some, though by no means complete, detail how a long ridge of clay and gravel was affected by the construction of a Roman fort across it. Medieval King and Spilman Streets, which may partly lie over Roman streets, fort defences or ditch lines, continued the process of making a level terrace of the former ridge. How much more convincing it would be to present this information in support of archaeological protection or recording as a terrain model!

It is disappointing that, as yet, in Carmarthen there has been no opportunity, or suitable site, for the investigation of a medieval burgage frontage – the key element after all of urban archaeology. This has partly been through lack of a suitable frontage redevelopment for which funds for archaeological work could have been made available or were required from developers. Frontage developments of the 1960s were carried out without any archaeological observation. But we have also now recognised that there are many key areas where the likelihood of stratified sequences of occupation levels surviving below later buildings is low. This is partly due to cellarage. The need to establish the extent of cellars, both still in use and infilled, was recognised at an early stage in James's topographical work; and a 'cellar survey' was carried out using pupils from the town's secondary schools taking round a pro-forma. Regrettably, this information has not been fully checked or utilised as other projects took their toll on time available. Inspection of cellars confirmed and re-examined earlier discoveries – a late medieval vaulted stone cellar below the undistinguished modern 'Ex-Serviceman's Club' in Bridge Street, for instance. It is only in the second half of this century that many of the large cellars have been filled in. The modifications of the landform alluded to above have led to subsequent building foundations and floor levels on street frontages steadily cutting down through earlier ones. However, deep deposits have accumulated to the rear of these frontages, particularly where retained or confined by defensive walls at the rear of properties. As a result, the archaeological traces of medieval houses may have been partly, if not wholly, destroyed, but the rear extensions of the medieval houses' burgage plot boundaries, domestic rubbish pits and traces of urban crafts and

Figure 16.6 Part of the choir of Carmarthen Greyfriars Church under excavation, 1988, showing the arrangement of graves that respect the flight of three wide, shallow steps leading up to the sanctuary step (reproduced by permission of Dyfed Archaeological Trust)

industries may be well preserved, buried below later garden soils.

It is likely that many of the Georgian and early 19th-century façades of town houses conceal earlier buildings. There have undoubtedly been losses, without any recording. The Royal Commission for Ancient and Historic Monuments (Wales) continues to record demolitions and has also managed to do some recording work on alterations. The fact that chance discoveries continue to be made shows the potential whenever buildings are stripped of plaster for re-rendering. One such case was 'The Angel Vaults' public house in Nott Square, the earliest medieval market-place of New Carmarthen, outside the gates of the castle (Fig 16.5). Behind the plaster was a finely carved stone window of late 15th- or early 16th-century date. This, it is thought, was originally either from the 'Rood Church' or the castle chapel and had been reused at 'The Angel Vaults'. Behind the later façade was evidence for a former two-storied jettied building, the first to be certainly identified in the town (James 1983).

The largest excavation in the medieval town has been that of Carmarthen Greyfriars (James 1998). The general location of Carmarthen's Greyfriars site was noted on the first edition OS 1:2500; and it was perfectly reasonable to assume that the walled grounds of 'Friars Park' delineated the site of the friary and that Friars Park House itself might contain elements of medieval build. Large, open-area excavations funded by Cadw, with substantial Manpower Services Commission support, discovered claustral buildings within the enclosure, although the church lay to the north, below post-medieval buildings and lanes. The first documentary reference to the friary is in 1282; its construction date may have been early to mid 13th century. Significantly, it was built on an essentially 'greenfield' site off Lammas Street and, therefore, had room to expand. It is also possible that it was of royal foundation. The original size of Carmarthen Greyfriars was surprising: two linked cloisters on the south side of the choir of the church (Fig 16.6) with a complex sequence of ranges to the east; a sophisticated system of water supply, particularly to the infirmary, and drainage of the site; and a church, only partly revealed but with an estimated length of 50m. The quality of architectural fragments, floor tiles, pottery and other finds, especially window glass, all amply attest to a building of the highest quality. Much of this was imported – but a total lack of any waterfront archaeology at the known sites of the medieval wharves and quays cannot as yet substantiate the 'supply side' of the Greyfriars building (Figs 16.7 & 16.8). The single 14th-century reference to the friary being of the king's foundation is borne out by the

Figure 16.7 'Duxberry's Warehouse' in 1963, part of a group of buildings at the lower end of Quay Street, demolished for the construction of 'Coracle Way' – a trunk road that divided the medieval core of Carmarthen from its waterfront (reproduced by kind permission of T A James)

Figure 16.8 Photograph of the Port of Carmarthen in 1904, at high tide. The SS Merthyr steams towards the camera, whilst the square-rigged Ruth, a Scandinavian timber carrier, is tied up alongside the sawmills. The conical tower in the background is the County Gaol, successor to the medieval castle on the site and precursor to today's County Hall (reproduced by permission of T A James)

high quality and grand design of the building. The excavator considers that either Henry III (1216–72) or one of his sons, Edmund or Edward, could be the founder. Marrying the archaeological and historical dating is important because of the political and religious significance of this munificent example of royal patronage to both Anglo-Norman aristocrats, English and Welsh townsfolk, and the Welsh *uchelwyr*, or gentry.

After the Dissolution of the monasteries, possible new uses were considered: a grammar school and, even more ambitiously, a re-siting of the cathedral church of St David's there by the Protestant Bishop Barlow. Neither succeeded. Though delayed, the stripping, robbing and eventual destruction and obliteration of the site was as thorough as any in Carmarthen's history. Fortunately, the southern part of the site remained open ground, although the church was built over.

More recently, watching briefs and salvage recording have been carried out as the long-awaited large-scale retail development forming the second part of reuse of the site has taken place. A policy of preservation *in situ* for part of the area and salvage recording of the remainder was recommended to the Local Planning Authority. This advice was based on the extensive information on depths and nature of deposits gained from the earlier excavations. The policy has been only partly successful, because, as the development proceeded, the inevitable changes, at a small scale in design engineering and planning terms but with high archaeological implications, have caused more disturbance than anticipated. Very many more burials from a more intensively used and extensively located Greyfriars cemetery than hitherto supposed have been retrieved for analysis and reburial. Useful additional evidence was forthcoming on pre-friary and 17th- and 18th-century uses of the Greyfriars site (Manning 1997).

Civil War 1642–9

To the west of the Carmarthen Greyfriars site is a scheduled length of bank and ditch with a bastion known as 'The Bulwarks' belonging to the 17th-century civil war period (Fig 16.4). A buried ditch system of the same date was investigated during the excavation of the friary; this showed these defences to have been far more extensive than was previously recognised (T James 1991). Their construction (of more than one phase) must have destroyed a large part of what survived of the Greyfriars buildings and explains how and why such a large site has disappeared so totally from the townscape. They also provided an explanation of how and why the northern circuit, at least, of the bank and ditch of the Roman town defences was preserved by reuse and incorporation into a wider system of 'mudde walls' that contemporaries record as encircling Carmarthen by 1645.

Conclusions

In the context of this present volume these discoveries prompt some reflections for the urban archaeologist. Firstly, it is dangerously easy to become confined in one's thinking to the 'historic core' (ie medieval and earlier) of a town and forget the factors in the former open areas around the smaller town that have conditioned the pattern of later expansion and development. Secondly, the way in which earlier forms of urban spatial organisation survive into later centuries is directly related in many cases to later uses and functions. We are all familiar with the remarkable persistence of property boundaries, but this paper has hopefully given some indications of how town defences of different periods can also affect later developments. In the dynamic world of a town or city, once these relict features cease to have any function they will be swept away – survival as 'fossils' is a telling indicator of urban economic decline or stagnation. It follows, therefore, that archaeologists must engage with civic trusts and conservation officers in finding ways in which not only earlier buildings can be reused, but also how lines of properties, streets, back lanes, backways and all the minutiae of a townscape may be translated, wherever possible, into functioning modern areas. Hopefully, the archaeologist of the future, untroubled by our possible aesthetic niceties, will find the full suite of 'heritage' artefacts: the interpretation panels, reconstructed of course from the two postholes and a chip of coloured reinforced plastic (resin fibre encapsulation process with an assured life of 1000 years plus!), benches and pathways over an earlier bank and ditch and the palaeo-botanic remains of exotic trees; all as much signifiers of urban attitudes as are 17th-century adaptations of a 1600 year old defence. In Wales, and particularly in Carmarthen, there is one further twist. The importance of placenames as sources for a town's history is generally recognised; the desire to sanitise the past threatens them with oblivion. What town today would allow its information centre to direct visitors to walk alongside 'Shitters Brook', a once ubiquitous urban placename? In Carmarthen, founded as an English town with a Welsh hinterland, but one where today more Welsh is being spoken in its streets than ever before, with a firm bi-lingual signage policy, the debate on names, old and new, and translation from one language to another is particularly passionate.

There have been significant advances in knowledge and understanding of Carmarthen's long history in the 25 years since the Dyfed Archaeological Trust came into being. The backlog of publications of the major excavations will soon be remedied, first by publication of the Greyfriars results (James 1998) and then of Roman Carmarthen (James forthcoming). Interim reports have been produced and are available for a local readership. Much also has been published from historical sources, but with a topographical and archaeological understanding. And yet there is a feeling (exacerbated by personal guilt!) that much of

the promise of the late 1970s and early 1980s has not been sustained. Writing now from a 'curatorial' standpoint within the Trust, funded by Cadw to provide archaeological information and advice to local authorities in west Wales, it must be a priority to register and thus develop all levels of existing information within a GIS system for Carmarthen. Being outside local authorities, the trusts, as yet, lack easy access to OS map data at a price that can be afforded. The intensive urban records developed elsewhere in Britain have shown what can be achieved. An urban archaeological GIS must then be the vehicle through which conservation decisions are made, as well as archaeological responses, and it must be available to the local planners and conservation officers themselves.

However, it must also be recognised that advances in the archaeology of a particular town often proceed unevenly – bursts of activity followed by years of more piecemeal, or even negative, results. It is difficult to maintain a sustained, consistent curatorial response, given the multitude of other demands. It is unfortunately becoming more difficult for the professional 'contract' archaeologist to sustain a working interest in any one town, area or site type and the tightly costed, individual pieces of contract work allow little time to assimilate background information or to work at placing results into meaningful contexts. It is unrealistic to expect that the full implications of all the latest archaeological knowledge will be at the forefront of planners' or even conservation officers' minds. We need to continually communicate and explain what is significant and why. There needs also to be continual renewal of interest in outstanding problems and in challenging established interpretations. In cities or urban areas with project teams this is easier. In a medium-sized or small town it is difficult, especially if there is no town museum with staff able to take an interest in on-going opportunities to enhance archaeological knowledge in partnership with archaeological colleagues in planning, contract or consultancy positions. From an archaeological viewpoint, a town is just one large archaeological site, but it is a dynamic and very complex one, which therefore needs a high level of ongoing personal commitment and interest to take advantage of opportunities, large and small, in a consistent and meaningful way.

Note

With reference to the sensitivity of castles as a monument type in Wales, see, out of much writing on the subject, J Davies' *Hanes Cymru* (A History of Wales) 164–5.

> *Gellir ystyried y cestyll yn gofebwaradwyddus i ddarostyngiad y Cymry – 'bathodyn godidog ein caethiwed' ys dywed Thomas Pennant. Serch hynny, o gofio fod angen gwyddor a chelfyddyd y pensaer milwrol ar eu mwyaf datblygedig i gadarnhau'r darostyngiad hwnnw, gellir eu dehongli fel teyrnged i wytnwch gwrthsafiaid y Cymry, fel tystiolaeth huawdl I anferthedd y dasg o dadwreiddio o Gymru reolaeth Gymreig.*
>
> The castles could be considered a mocking memorial to the conquest of the Welsh – 'the splendid badge of our servitude' as Thomas Pennant has it. However, considering the need to employ the most highly developed art and skills of the military architect to reinforce that conquest, they might be seen as a testimony to the determination of Welsh resistance, a remarkable testimony to the hugeness of the task in uprooting Welsh rule in Wales.

17 Conservation and archaeology in Switzerland's historic town centres *by Heinz Pantli*

Switzerland, with its richly varied natural features (Fig 17.1), is now home to four linguistic regions: around 67% of the population speaks German, 22% French, 10% Italian, and 1% Raetho-Romanic (Fig 17.2). The country consists of 26 independent Cantons and semi-Cantons; although the vast majority of its seven million inhabitants live in the central Swiss region between Lake Geneva and the Bodensee, the Alps and the Jura mountains (Fig 17.1).

It is estimated, from the records of burgh status, that *c* 1500 there numbered approximately 150 urban centres: cities, towns, former towns, and deserted towns. Around 70% of these are to be found in the central Swiss region between Lake Geneva and the Bodensee, 20% in the Alpine region, and 10% in the Jura. In addition to these urban centres, there were a number of market-places which had a town-like structure, but no physical defences – a prerequisite of a town in historic Switzerland. The largest intensity of urban settlement was in the Cantons of Bern, Waadt, Aargau and Thurgau, which between them contained about 65 towns. Half of these had a population of less than 300 persons. Only every fifth town had over 1000 inhabitants, and in only nine towns did the population exceed 3000. Swiss towns were essentially small.

Research and conservation measures

Swiss urban archaeological research has a distinguished past. The first archaeological digs in Swiss medieval towns are connected with the names of Louis Blondel, who was active in Geneva from 1923, Emil Vogt, who was responsible for excavations on the Lindenhof in Zürich in 1937, and Karl Heid who researched the deserted town of Glanzenberg in the Canton of Zürich from 1937 to 1940. In 1943, Hektor Ammann outlined the significant potential of applying archaeology to research studies of medieval Swiss towns. It was, however, to be a long time before archaeological research into Swiss towns went beyond individual enterprises.

It was only with the rapidly advancing changes in historic town centres, due to construction activity after the Second World War, that there emerged a greater public awareness of the necessity for protection of the historic town. Within only a matter of a decade, the construction boom of the post-war era was threatening to erase all witness to Switzerland's urban past. One representative example of this growing awareness was an initiative, in 1954, by a few concerned citizens of Zürich; they submitted a petition to the town council demanding the conservation of their historic town centre. Although overwhelming building activity did not fully take over in most urban centres, until the 1960s, the earlier experience of other towns alerted newly threatened towns to the necessity for concern for adequate conservation and the protection of historic town centres.

This growing awareness resulted in the establishment of legal provision to institute conservation bodies in individual Cantons. Before 1954, only seven Cantons had official conservation bodies. By 1970, only four Cantons did not yet possess such an institution. During the same period, below-ground archaeological investigation became part of the remit of public administration, prompted not least by the national road building programme begun in 1961. The Archaeological Office for Zürich and the Canton Archaeology Service Zürich, both founded in 1958, were amongst the first public archaeological services. By 1998, however, only seven Cantons did not have their own Canton Archaeology Service.

In summary, for about the last two decades, Switzerland has been provided with a well-developed conservation infrastructure in most of its Cantons. Where this is not yet the case, the underlying reason is either the small size of the Canton in question, or a lack of political will to accommodate the concerns of archaeology and conservation.

Legal provisions for conservation

Without proper legal provision, the best conservation infrastructure will be comparatively ineffective. In contrast to the political systems of neighbouring countries, Switzerland maintains a consensual democracy. The willingness to seek consensus is deeply ingrained in the population, and has its effect on the daily implementation of legislation, including that relating to the cultural heritage.

Nearly 40 years were to elapse for adequate legal and practical protection to cover not merely the historic town centres, as in the time of the Second World War, but also the cores of towns and villages. The authorities responsible for this protection are Cantons and other political communities, such as the Gemeinden.

The first laws dealing with conservation and archaeology appeared, however, at federal level as early as 1887.[1] Moreover, the Swiss code of civil law of 1907 contains a paragraph referring to the protection and conservation of archaeological monuments. Various additions to the code of civil law added

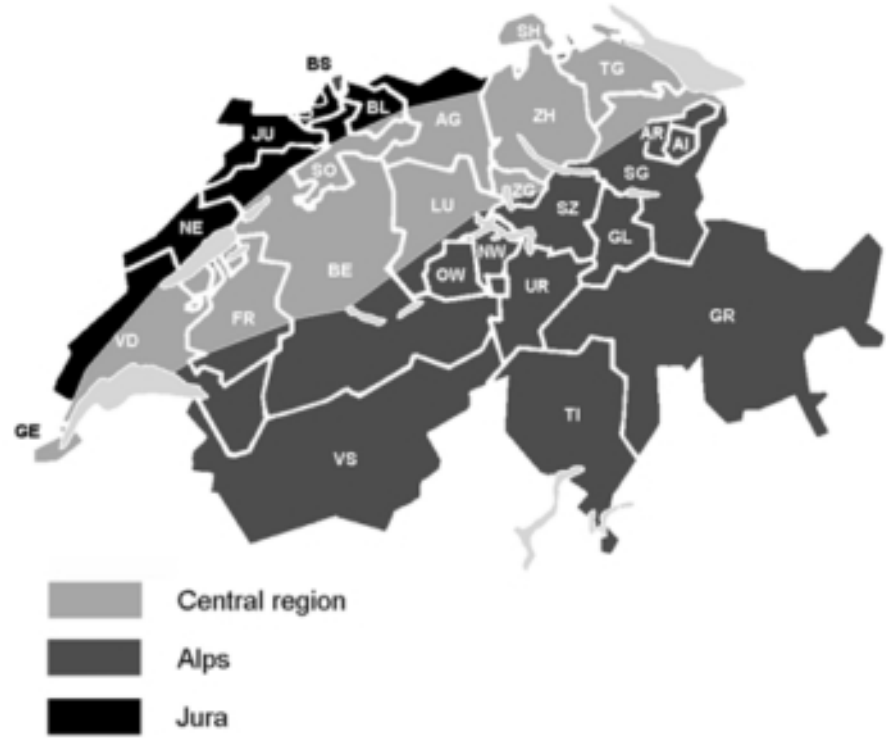


Figure 17.1 The constitution of Switzerland (courtesy of the author)

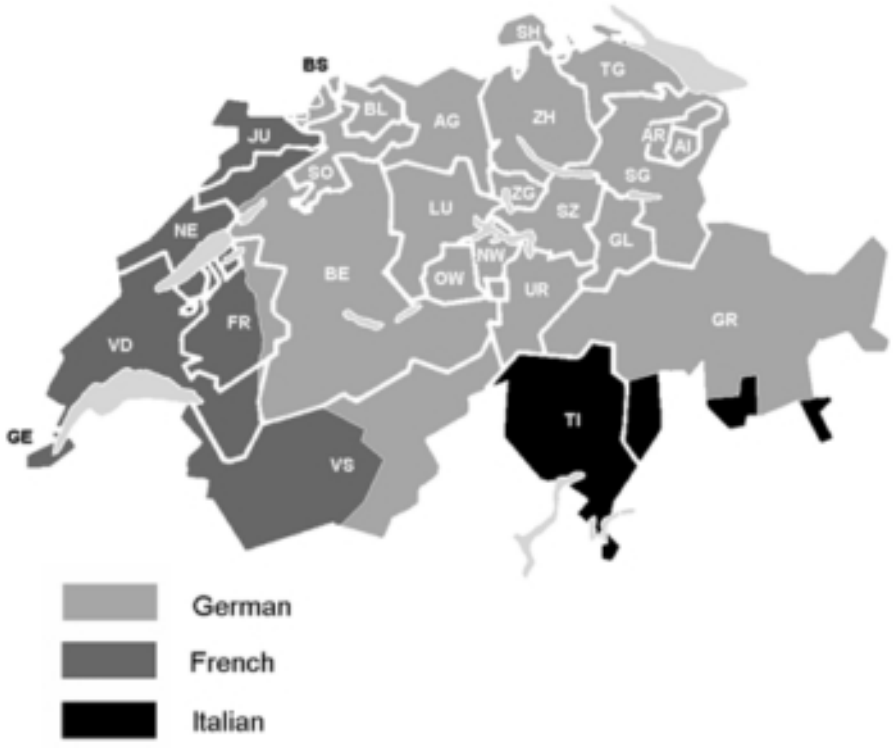


Figure 17.2 Languages spoken in Switzerland (courtesy of the author)

greater precision in 1954; the federal law regarding nature and heritage protection of 1966 reinforced this, and these were followed by the Canton law books, regulations and decrees. Moreover, in many places, Canton legislature is reinforced by regulations emanating from the Gemeinden.

The regulations cover a multitude of related matters: a definition of the term 'monument'; the fundamental principles of heritage conservation and protection; legislation to cover inspection processes; requirements on the report of new discoveries; procedures for obtaining protection; administration

of fees and guidance on finance; conservation bodies and their role; the manner of implementation of the regulations; legal rights and duties of the local political communities; and the areas of responsiblities of the Canton administration. In spite of the breadth of the legal cover and in tune with the consensus principle, a conscious decision was made to avoid too much detail in the legislative framework, so that the scope of action of those entrusted with the implementation of conservationist measures should not be unnecessarily circumscribed.

In the case of measures associated with cultural objects owned by the public – be it the Confederation, Canton, Gemeinde, parish, or similar entity – the respective body is liable for any costs incurred. Depending on its fiscal strength, support from the next higher public authority may be available. A similar system is in operation to support measures for the conservation of cultural objects in private ownership; but, although the public purse may support private efforts in the field of conservation, it is not required to do so by law. The principle that the party responsible is liable for any financial damages may, however, be invoked in cases of archaeological rescue digs, where these have been initiated by a private owner.

A prerequisite for obtaining consensus is a high level of communication between the administration and other involved persons. The conservation of cultural heritage is largely dependent on the powers of persuasion of those who represent conservationist bodies, both in the cases of monuments and of sites. For conservationist efforts to achieve long-term success, it is also desirable that administrative practice should show a high degree of continuity, in order to avoid restriction to merely local, individual, successful conservation stories.

Protection of monuments in the event of natural disaster or war is, in the first instance, the remit of the Gemeinde. The Swiss Confederation has in the last decade been increasingly engaged in providing training for the protection of the cultural heritage in case of civil damage. The insistence on the full recording of monuments and sites worthy of conservation is the responsibility of the Canton.

In spite of all these important initiatives, with the government's financial difficulties since 1994, a reduction of the political will to implement conservation measures, both above and below the soil, has been noticeable. Today, it is important to preserve the achievements of the past for the future.

Private involvement

Gesellschaft für Schweizerische Kunstgeschichte (Society for Swiss Art History)

The systematic academic survey of historical artefacts in Switzerland, in conjunction with efforts to conserve and care for historic town centres, began with the foundation of the 'Verein zur Erhaltung der vaterländischen Kunstdenkmäler' (Society for the Preservation of National Artistic Monuments) in 1880. Since its foundation, the Society, today called the 'Gesellschaft für Schweizerische Kunstgeschichte' (Society for Swiss Art History), has published 90 inventory volumes under the title of *The Artistic Monuments of Switzerland*. It plans to publish at least two volumes *per annum*. The volumes published post-1927 contain inventories of 37 cities and towns. The task of creating the inventories is financed by the Cantons, while the Society pays for the publication of the volumes.

Since 1973, the Society has been supplementing the inventory with the publication of the *Inventar der neueren Schweizerarchitektur* (Inventory of Modern Swiss Architecture). This covers the architecture of the period between 1850 and 1920 in the main towns of the Cantons, as well as towns of more than 10,000 inhabitants. The project, which is planned to run to ten volumes, is close to completion and contains inventories of 40 towns.

Schweizerischer Heimatschutz (Swiss Heritage Trust)

The 'Schweizerische Heimatschutz' (Swiss Heritage Trust) was founded in 1905. Its sections, based on Cantons, play an important role in the preservation of the character of towns and the conservation of individual objects. Due to a law allowing societies to bring complaints in most Swiss Cantons, the 'Heimatschutz' can intervene directly into planning permission procedures/VERFAHREN. Together with the 'Gesellschaft für Schweizerische Kunstgeschichte', this Society has probably played the greatest part in sensitising wide and varied sections of the population to the concerns of those who pressurise for conservation of the character of towns and their historic town centres. Without the support of the 'Heimatschutz', federal authorities with a specialism in conservation would have found it much more difficult to implement action, that reflected their underlying concerns, in the political arena.

Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Ur- und Frühgeschichte (Swiss Society for Prehistory and Early History)

This 'Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Urgesschichte' (Swiss Society for Prehistory), founded in 1907, was renamed Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Ur- und Frühgeschichte (Swiss Society for Prehistory and Early History) in 1962. For decades, the Society has been publishing reports on medieval archaeological excavations and discoveries both in its annual proceedings and in the quarterly *Archäologie in der Schweiz* (Archaeology in Switzerland). Since 1979, its publications also contain articles related to research into historic town centres.

Pro Patria

This foundation, which originated in 1909, was created by a federal donation. Its remit is to preserve cultural monuments and cultural and natural landscapes, and, complementary to this, to help support selected social projects. The population of Switzerland donates c 4 million Swiss francs per annum to this foundation. One example of its activities is the renovation of the historic town centre of Moudon. It also supports the publication of the quarterly journal Archäologie in der Schweiz (Archaeology in Switzerland) with a significant financial contribution.

Schweizerischer Burgenverein (Swiss Burgh Society)

The 'Schweizerische Burgenverein' (Swiss Burgh Society), founded in 1927, publishes the (now quarterly) members' journal *Mittelalter* (Middle Ages) as well as the series *Schweizer Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Archäologie des Mittelalters* (Swiss Contributions to the Cultural History and Archaeology of the Middle Ages). Both have, since the second half of the 1970s, been a platform for the dissemination of research results.

Schweizerischer Nationalfonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung (Swiss National Foundation for the promotion of academic research)[2]

Founded in 1952, this is an independent, private foundation which is subsidised primarily by the Swiss Eidgenossenschaft. Its main tasks are the general promotion of scholarship and the promotion of a new generation of academics. The National Foundation supports, in particular, innovative projects in the historic and methodological spheres of evaluation of archaeological digs, of cataloguing and of conservation.

SAM

The 'Schweizerische Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Mittelalterarchäologie' (Swiss Working Group for Medieval Archaeology), founded in 1974, has more than 100 members and promotes academic exchange and encourages the refinement of developing methodologies.

NIKE

The 'Nationale Informationsstelle für Kulturgüter-Erhaltung' (National Information Centre for the Preservation of Cultural Heritage) was founded in Bern in 1989. This institution is administered by a private society and facilitates the exchange of information in the field of preservation of both moveable and stationary items of cultural heritage in Switzerland. At present, 23 societies and organisations from the field of heritage conservation, including all archaeological societies in Switzerland, are active members. The NIKE bulletin, a quarterly publication with a print-run of more than 2000, addresses in the first instance professionals, academics, politicians and interested amateurs.

Swiss federal specialist authorities for conservation and archaeology

Eidgenössische Kommission für Denkmalpflege – EKD[3] *(Swiss Federal Committee for Conservation)*

In 1886, the Council of Ministers nominated the executive of the former Society for Swiss Art History to be the Swiss Committee of Experts. This committee gave its first grant to archaeological digs in 1895. In 1917, the Council of Ministers elected the Swiss Committee for Historic Monuments, which was given its present name in 1958. Since its foundation, the EKD has been of invaluable support in the development of archaeology in Switzerland. In frequent cases, research was made possible only through federal contributions; the same applies to the conservation of, and research into, Swiss towns.

Institut für Denkmalpflege (Institute for Conservation) at the EHT Zürich

The 'Institut für Denkmalpflege' (Institute for Conservation) at the Federal Technical University for Applied Science (EHT) in Zürich was founded in 1972. Archaeological research is practised as an independent discipline and as preparation for the restoration of medieval historical buildings. This institute, with its several sub-sections, is led by Professor G Hoisch.

Since many Cantons did not have their own Archaeology Service (not to mention a section specialising in medieval archaeology), even during the economically prosperous years of the 1960s and 1970s, the Büro Sennhauser, a branch of the Institute for Conservation, conducted numerous excavations of medieval sites and examinations of buildings, especially of churches and monasteries, all over Switzerland. During this time, under the leadership of Professor Hans Rudolf Sennhauser, the bureau developed methods of examination and documentation which were suited to the research material, and trained the necessary academic and technical personnel. Many of the medieval archaeologists, excavation technologists and illustrators who are today active in Switzerland received their training in the Büro Sennhauser.

Figure 17.3 The 'Water Tower', Luzern, built 1339 as a defensive structure, later housing the city archives and functioning as a prison tower (courtesy of the author)

Conservation and archaeology in the Cantons and Gemeinden

As a result of the federalist structure of the Swiss state, it is not possible to speak of homogenous conservationist and archaeological care for objects in need of protection throughout Switzerland. The differences from Canton to Canton are at times considerable. The following examples illustrate the current situation:

Canton Zürich

Area: 1,729km^2; Inhabitants: *c* 1.2 million

Canton Archaeology Service Zürich: 56 full-time posts (1998). Serves the entire area of the Canton (with the exception of the town of Zürich itself) including eight cities and towns. A medieval archaeologist was appointed in 1988.

Conservation Service, Canton Zürich: nine full-time posts (1998), serving the entire area of the Canton.

Archaeology Service of the city of Zürich: sixteen full-time posts (1996). A medieval archaeologist was appointed in 1976.

Conservation Office of the city of Zürich: twelve full-time posts (1996).

Conservation Office of Winterthur: two full-time posts (1998).

In addition to permanently employed staff, the official bodies employ a number of short-term personnel and also give contracts to specialist enterprises. In 1998, five enterprises dealing with archaeology and building investigation in the context of conservation were based in Canton Zürich.

In the city of Zürich, it is possible to speak of systematic research into the city centre from 1966 onwards; in Winterthur, the same applies from 1977; in other historic towns of the Canton after 1988.

Conservation and archaeological provision thus serves a total of nine cities and towns in the Canton.

Figure 17.4 Recent view of a medieval hospital in the city of Stein am Rhein, Canton Schaffhausen. The building in the centre is a granary built c 1550 (courtesy of the author)

Canton Aargau

Area: 1,405km^2; Inhabitants: *c* 0.5 million

Canton Archaeology Service Aargau: around 30 full-time posts (1993). The office employs no academically trained medieval archaeologist.

Canton Aargau Conservation: around ten full-time posts (1993).

Conservation and archaeological provision serves thirteen cities and towns in the Canton.

Canton St Gallen

Area: 2,014km^2; Inhabitants: *c* 0.4 million

Canton Archaeology Service St Gallen: two full-time posts (1998). In St Gallen, Rapperswil and Wil there are some first forays into research of historic town centres, on a voluntary or community basis. Occasionally, archaeological investigations are awarded to specialist contractors.

Canton St Gallen Conservation: around four full-time posts.

Conservation and archaeological provision serves twelve cities and towns in the Canton.

In 1976, the government commissioned the compilation of an inventory (ISOS) of Swiss towns with characteristics that merited protection and conservation. One of its aims was to support Cantons with a comparatively weak conservation infrastructure. This inventory focuses on aspects of town planning and records all permanent settlements with more than ten significant buildings in the 3022 Swiss Gemeinden, a total of 6000 sites (Figs 17.3 & 17.4). The inventory is intended to produce site records which can be assessed at a local level and coordinated with existing inventories held by federal or Cantonal conservation offices. The inventory is seen as an instrument for conservation and care of local, intrinsic, characteristics, in the sense that it provides a common basis for planning at federal, Cantonal or communal level.

In the last decade, a tightening of conservation regulations regarding historic town centres (Figs 17.5 & 17.6) has resulted in considerable efforts in the realm of conservation, particularly in the field of

Figure 17.5 Part of the historic town centre of Luzern. In the background can be seen one of the defensive towers of the city wall, c 1400 (courtesy of the author)

inventory. Inventories are the foundation of all conservation legislation pertaining to buildings. Consequently, a large number of towns have already provided comprehensive inventories of their monuments, which to some extent also take into account aspects of soil archaeology.

A further project, that of an Atlas of Swiss Towns, begun in the late 1980s in the Department of Urban Planning History at the Technical University for Applied Science in Zürich, has so far not progressed beyond the treatment of three minor towns.

From the start of the 1980s, information technology began to impact on Canton Archaeology and Conservation Services. By now, the vast majority of Cantons have recorded their experiences – both individual problems and solutions, so that it is now possible to realise common IT (information system) solutions for progress in urban archaeology and conservation.

But we are not complacent: there remains the underlying fear that factors such as inadequate funding or insufficiently stringent protection practice may yet have a detrimental effect on our Swiss cultural heritage. At present, however, comprehensive archaeological and conservationist care, which also does justice to the diverse problems of historic town centres, is available in the Cantons of Bern, Basel-Stadt, Freiburg, Genf, Graubünden, Luzern, Neuenburg, Solothurn, Thurgau, Waadt, Wallis, Zug and Zürich. In other words, *c* 80% of all medieval towns and deserted towns in Switzerland are accorded adequate academic/conservationist care (Fig 17.7).

Notes

1 *Archäologie der Schweiz*, Jg. 21, 1998, Heft 2, S. 36–7
2 *Archäologie der Schweiz*, Jg. 21, 1998, Heft 2, S. 43.
3 Hans Rudolf Sennhauser, 'EKD und Archäologie des Mittelalters', *Unsere Kunstdenkmäler*, 38, Jg. 1987/1, S. 33–6.

Figure 17.6 An old street in Stein am Rhein, Canton Schaffhausen (courtesy of the author)

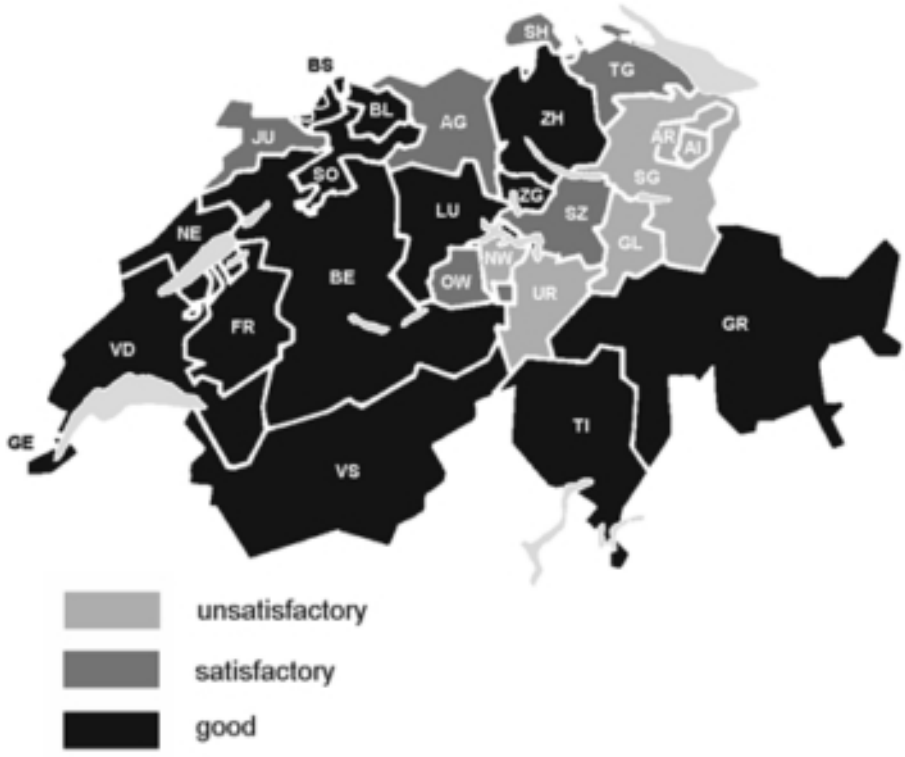


Figure 17.7 The quality of monument preservation and archaeological excavation in Switzerland (courtesy of the author)

PART V CHANGING PERCEPTIONS

18 Millennial burghs: Scotland's towns in the future *by Brian M Evans*

What will our towns be like in the future? How can we protect and enhance the best of the past, while at the same time providing the opportunities and the means for a sustainable and viable future? This chapter looks at the legacy of towns in Scotland and the pressures they face. It reviews research undertaken by Gillespies and discusses the Scottish Office advice which it informed. The chapter concludes with a methodology for preparing an integrated strategy for the future of a small town as developed and applied by Gillespies in a number of towns in Scotland.[1]

Legacy and pressure

The legacy

Small towns – the royal burghs, burghs of barony, planned towns and new towns – are an important and distinctive feature of Scotland's settlement pattern and provide the communities, the homes and the workplaces for many of Scotland's people.[2] They contain a wide range of facilities, more than half of Scotland's conservation areas and represent an important part of Scotland's appeal to visitors and inward investors. In terms of geographical distribution, many of the towns lie in the central belt within commuting distance of the main towns and cities, and there are also significant numbers in the Borders, Grampian and Highland Regions, many within easy reach of Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Inverness respectively. The remaining towns are located throughout the Scottish mainland and islands, with a number in considerable isolation (Scottish Office 1997 (PAN 52), 2 & Gillespies 1997a, 5).

There is a great diversity in the towns in terms of size, scale, location, climate, topography, landscape setting, town plan, materials and architecture; and in the character of local industry or agriculture. Most of Scotland's older towns were founded as medieval burghs. The characteristic medieval High Street widened in the centre to accommodate a market and narrowed at either end to control entry, and is a distinctive feature clearly visible in many towns today such as Montrose and Haddington (Fig 18.1). As towns expanded, the plans became more complex and parallel and cross streets were added, as in Crail and Kelso. In the 18th century, development of planned towns was more formal, as can be seen at Inveraray, Grantown, Ullapool and Stonehaven (Fig 18.2). In medieval towns, land was divided into strips or rigs running back from narrow frontages onto the street. Later, these rigs were broader and shorter. Building behind the continuous street frontage was a common response to expansion, resulting in a dense urban form of wynds and closes. These compact urban forms contain a rich texture of architectural quality and styles with fine buildings, urban spaces and many features of historical and archaeological importance. Some towns are affluent, others are less fortunate. Many are under threat from recent changes in Scotland's economic and social base (Scottish Office 1997 (PAN 52), 2; Gillespies 1997a, chapter 3).[3]

Population change and peripheral expansion

In the twenty years until 1991, a number of small towns in the central belt, Aberdeenshire and the Moray Firth experienced significant population growth. This was caused by economic expansion, commuter development, or by people moving from the cities in search of what was perceived to be a better quality of life. In some towns population growth has placed strains on the local infrastructure and community facilities, for example Portree, which has grown in population from 1400 in 1971 to 2100 in 1991 (Scottish Office 1997 (PAN 52), 5). In contrast, former mining towns have lost up to 25% of their population in the same period. This decline is often evident in the physical fabric of the town, which can appear run down and neglected.

Generally, small towns do not have a large reservoir of vacant land to accommodate growth, which, as a consequence, occurs at the town edge. Even towns which have not experienced major growth in population have, because of changes in household size and tenure structure, experienced expansion on the edge. Early settlements were defined by a clear edge, with delineating walls, estate boundary walls, topographical features or shelter woodlands. Current pressures threaten the definition of this edge by development on peripheral sites, without creating an appropriate landscape setting for the new perimeter. New arrival points are poorly signalled and landscaped – often merely a roundabout. The edges of towns today are characterised by poorly laid out, inadequately screened, detailed and maintained housing developments, industrial estates and caravan parks. Problems of expansion at the town edge led the Scottish Office to publish a Planning Advice Note and Design Manual (Scottish Office 1994 (PAN 44)).

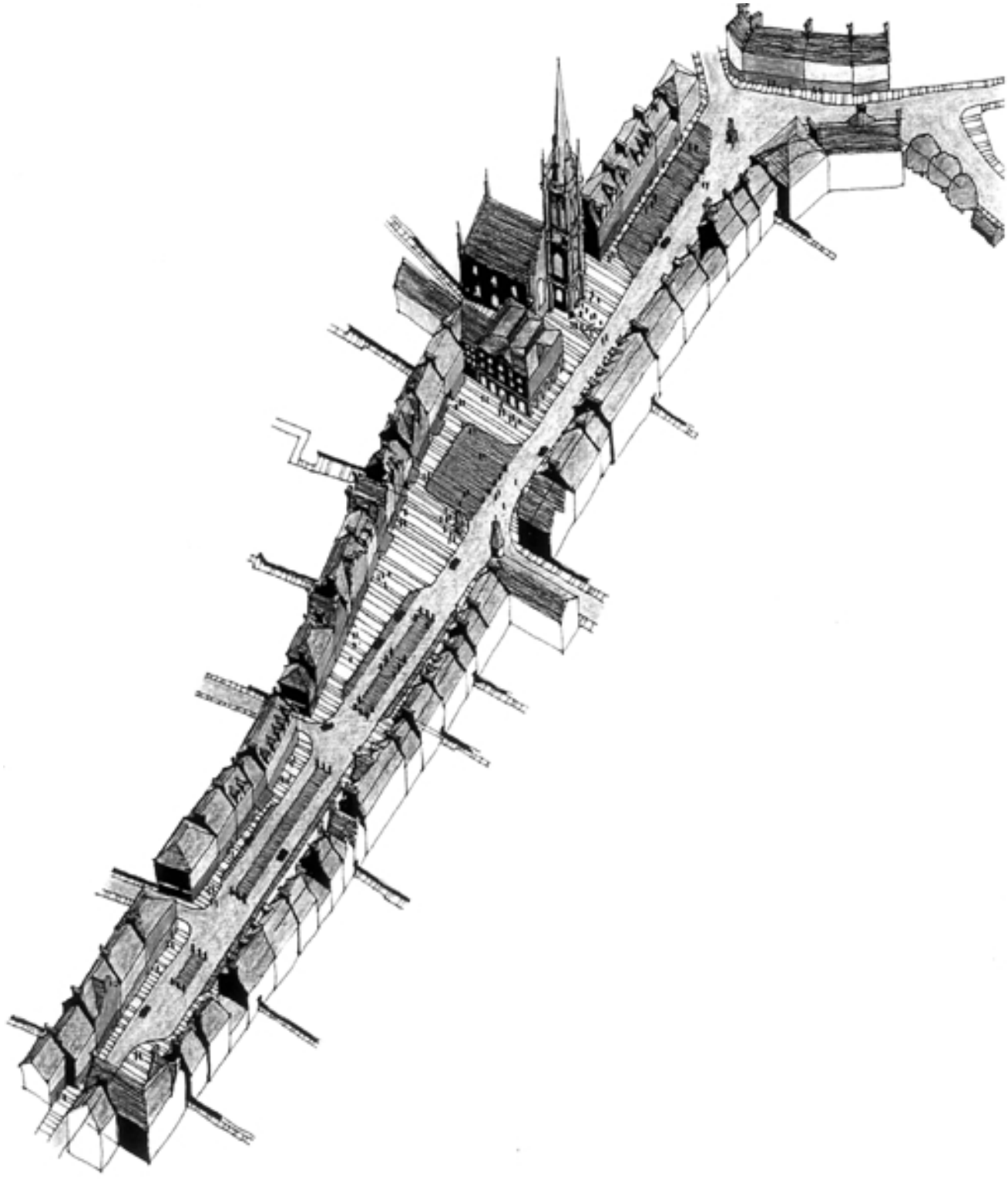


Figure 18.1 Montrose (courtesy of Gillespies)

Economic restructuring and employment concentration

The economy of small towns has undergone major change as a result of evolving markets, ease of travel and new technologies. The physical consequences of this economic change are visible in vacant industrial buildings due to the closure of uncompetitive businesses (Scottish Office 1997 (PAN 52), 6). Towns which owe their origins to agriculture (Kelso), fishing (Stonehaven) or boatbuilding (Montrose) are having to adapt to new roles as commuter or tourist towns. The end of deep-mining has had a major effect on Muirkirk; other towns such as Invergordon or Fort William have had to adapt to the closure of major employers. The changing nature of leisure and

tourism has had a significant effect on the economies of Clyde Coast towns which relied on Glasgow holidaymakers in the summer months. Unemployment has reduced prosperity and is characterised by a deterioration of facilities and young people seeking employment elsewhere. In the central belt and close to Aberdeen and Inverness, many towns such as Haddington and Inverurie have become dormitory settlements, but this option is not available to more remote communities like Huntly, Portree and Kirkcudbright which will continue to look to their immediate rural area to define their economic role (Gillespies 1997a, 15–16).

Although population has become dispersed from the cities to small towns, jobs and services have become increasingly concentrated in larger centres. Until the 1950s, the difficulty of transportation placed a high cost on the movement of goods and a major restriction on personal mobility. As a result, most towns had a lively internal market, a demand for a variety of skills and a varied labour force supplemented with itinerant workers and craftsmen. With increased ease and flexibility of travel, local trade has declined in favour of specialised urban workplaces. The major centres also exert a massive pull on shoppers. As a result, small towns have become less independent and need to rely more on major centres.

Town centre decline and traffic pressure

Town centres have traditionally been the heart of settlements – civic buildings, shops and businesses grouped around a public meeting place or High Street, where main routes converge – a centre bustling with life and vitality. In recent years, the desire to create larger ground floor areas for retailing has resulted in disruption of the original urban form by the extension of shopfronts across several buildings, thus altering the vertical character of street frontages and eroding the sense of place and identity. Petrol filling stations, with their aggressive brand image, frequently intrude upon sensitive locations, making no concession to context.

Vacant and boarded-up shops and buildings lower activity on the street and are subject to vandalism and poor maintenance. Some deteriorate to the point where they are demolished to become gap sites. Living accommodation above shops has become less popular, with the result that many upper stories have become vacant and suffer from lack of maintenance and collapsing roofs. Decreased prosperity has led to the decline in key buildings such as pubs, meeting halls and churches, many of which have become vacant and are at risk. These are frequently older buildings of character; their loss would seriously affect the identity of the town and the integrity of its townscape, with a consequent adverse effect on public spaces and streets through a lack of definition and enclosure. Vistas lose their purpose where landmark buildings are removed.

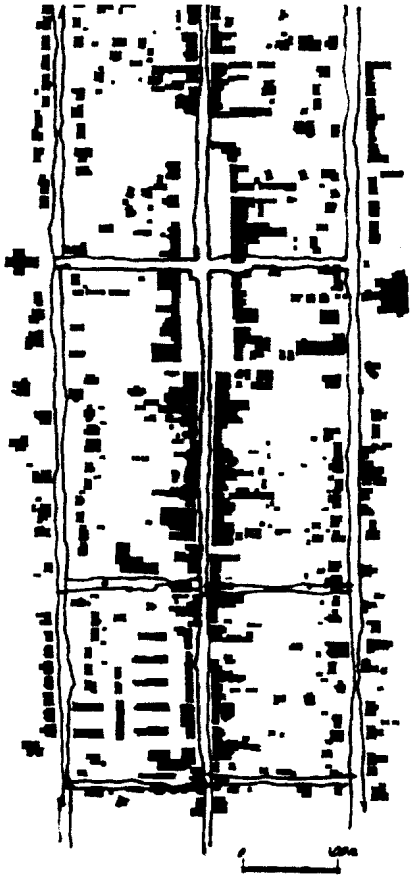


Figure 18.2 Grantown-on-Spey (courtesy of Gillespies)

Streets and public squares suffer from poor maintenance or inappropriate repair of street surfaces, street furniture and landscaping. Damage goes unrepaired, paintwork is neglected, litter and graffiti are not removed. In an effort to remedy the sense of malaise, money is sometimes spent on 'urban improvements' which are inappropriate and, because they are superficial and do not tackle the basic problem, may worsen the situation: the laying of concrete blocks in an historic square is one such instance. Sometimes, pedestrianisation schemes have been introduced which are too complex or cluttered with street furniture; they lower the level of evening activity to such an extent that personal security and town centre vitality are compromised. A 'bypass' can provide relief from through traffic, but this, in turn, can lead to an isolated town centre lacking in vitality. The problems of large service vehicles negotiating narrow streets are not removed by a bypass.

Recently, decline has been evident in all types of towns. Heavy reliance on the private car for transport has simultaneously removed the discipline of compactness and led to congestion of town centres. Modern road traffic has been superimposed onto traditional street networks, with little appreciation

of the consequences for the traditional structure of the town. Many of these streets were designed for the pedestrian and for horse-drawn traffic. The transition to motorised traffic has been inexorable, growing in parallel with the increase in car ownership, to a point at which many town centres have to tolerate unacceptable levels of traffic congestion. In many instances, solutions have been implemented which are car-oriented rather than people-oriented, and display little concern for improvement of the built environment, as in Alloa. Until recently, public transport has been a secondary consideration (Gillespies 1997a, chapters 3 & 4).

Current trends – threats or opportunities?

Change, however, is only a threat if treated passively or, worse, if ignored. The need for change presents opportunities for the future of a small town, through a sustained process of regeneration which accepts the challenge of change in a creative way. Small towns are therefore undergoing significant economic and social change. The scale of population growth in some settlements has undermined their identity, while new development has seldom been sufficiently attuned to the sense of place or character of the towns. Moreover, the traditional role of many of the towns has been altered by changes in the employment market, the local economy, and movement patterns. Collectively, these trends present a major threat to the environmental and economic legacy, the 'capital' of the small towns of Scotland – those intrinsic features which, if lost, will change their character irrevocably for the worse. In this context, the Scottish Office commissioned Gillespies to undertake research into the nature of these issues and to formulate means to address them (Gillespies 1997a, chapter 1).

Gillespies' research

The research undertaken by Gillespies used the 1991 census as a starting point to carry out a desk review of over 400 settlements within the population range of between 1000 and 20,000. Ten towns (Alloa, Kirkcudbright, Alva, Montrose, Grantown-on-Spey, Patna, Haddington, Portree, Kelso and St Andrews) were selected as a representative cross-section, on the basis of location, size, function, economic circumstances and built-form (Fig 18.3). Examination of these towns, along with knowledge derived from earlier studies of other towns, enabled the identification and clarification of the threats described above, together with factors essential to regeneration and examples of good practice. The research drew upon consultations, historical data, mapped information, aerial and ground photography, local literature and statutory plans. The information was analysed and synthesised using urban design methods to build up a comprehensive picture of the anatomy of the

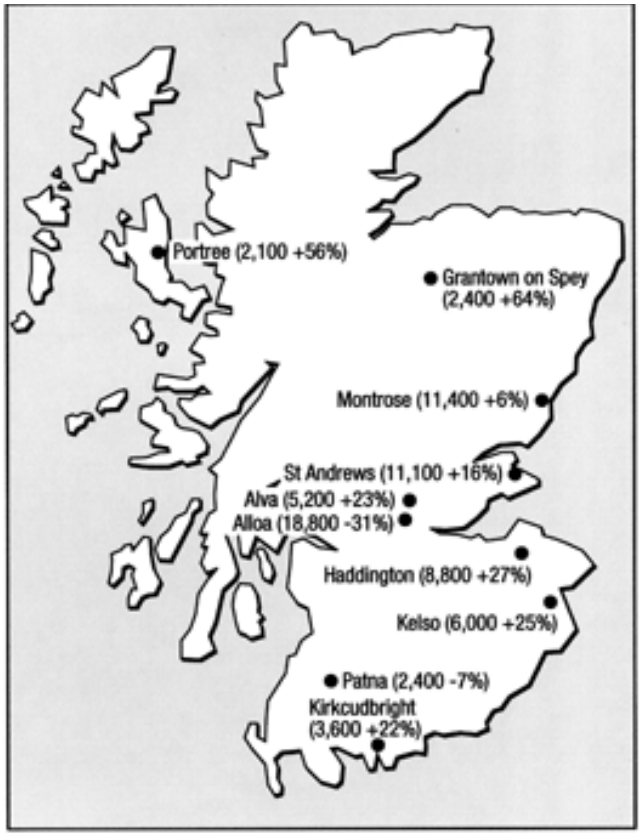


Figure 18.3 The ten towns selected for study in the Gillespies research (courtesy of Gillespies)

Scottish town. The research found that a number of key issues and characteristics are common to all towns:

Community involvement

A sense of community is one of the most distinctive characteristics of small towns. This is particularly true of smaller and more remote towns, where a recognition of identity, of belonging and of mutual interdependence is sometimes born out of adversity as a result of climate, depopulation or economic deprivation. Community spirit provides a support for those who live and work in small towns and is a powerful and attractive force for new inhabitants. The community in a small town provides a close-knit and informal network for people to raise issues and gain access to the decision-making process.

Understanding the structure and aspirations of communities in small towns, and engaging them in the process, lies at the heart of identifying and describing issues and in formulating solutions. The statutory requirements for consultation and participation can be a mechanical, uninteresting and arms-length process. 'Planning for Real' has offered communities in Highland Region the opportunity to engage with the planning process in an informal and intuitive manner. Experience in Lochaber, Skye and Ullapool has demonstrated the worth of the technique as a means to reach people, disseminate aims

and generate ideas. In Highland, the technique has proven its value from the sub-regional scale, such as the Black Isle/Moray Firth Coast, through area-wide local plans (for example in Skye), down to the detail of a specific town centre such as Ullapool, or for the design and construction of an individual building such as a supermarket.[4] It also gives the planning authority a clear picture of those participating and with a commitment to continue and, if possible, to extend the process. Agenda 21 (the programme of environmental awareness and local accountability, introduced following the World Summit in Rio) provides a further stimulus for the involvement of the local community in safeguarding the future of their environment, landscape and townscape.

With techniques such as this it is possible to generate concepts, strategies, projects and management arrangements based on the aspiration of the community rather than conceived on its behalf. The research has established that it is essential to formulate properly focused solutions for small towns, as opposed to urban solutions for urban problems which are merely scaled down and imported. The research has indicated that to reinvigorate small towns, to improve the quality of life and the environment, it is important to engage with local residents, businesses, politicians, officials and visitors. Positive change requires the support of the community and the active involvement of civic leaders of vision.

Economic development

For those who live and work there, small towns represent the centres of community through institutions such as the local church, school or community centre; they provide a wide range of services from health centres and retailing to local government offices, banks and building societies, and they give access to local professional services such as the accountant or the lawyer.

Prosperity affects the patterns of trading in a town. The quality and range of services underpin the vitality and attractiveness of the centre. It is therefore important to record the profile of indigenous industry in a town, together with the trends which influence the diversity of the economic base, the range and type of businesses and the skills of the workforce. It is also important to monitor these trends and to encourage the diversification of businesses, particularly those involved in indigenous employment. Small towns often have a narrow economic base and are highly sensitive to downturns in local industry, be it agriculture, fishing or mining. The quality of local products and local culture can offer important clues to opportunities for economic development.

The research concluded that, in spite of legislation enacted over the past 50 years, decline has been gradual and familiarity has led to undervaluing the historic but run-down nature of many small towns. Unemployment and poverty have drained investment, with the result that any offer of new employment and development opportunity has been welcomed uncritically, often to environmental detriment.

The economic, social and physical changes currently threatening small towns hold the key to their own solution – opportunity. Change usually implies economic development opportunities – new houses, adapted shops, improved roads, or regenerated historic buildings. In almost all circumstances, if a town is to survive, it must adapt to changing circumstances, but, as the research identified, the nature and rate of change are very significant and will need to be influenced, encouraged or controlled as circumstances dictate. The inherent adaptability of the town form can offer flexibility to the direction of change.

Environmental improvement

The environment of a town is governed by its landscape context, climate, air quality, liveability and, above all, its townscape – the element of delight created by the three dimensional perception of any settlement, as it is approached, walked and driven through, visited and lived in. When townscape quality is high, these factors will continue to create a town with memorable and satisfying identity – a delight to visit, to live in and to work in. The research established that many small towns in Scotland possess this quality in abundance, albeit often only in part of the town, usually the centre, as in St Andrews or Haddington.

Certain other towns do not enjoy such quality, or it may have been destroyed by unsuitable development, ill-advised improvements, dereliction (as in the centre of Patna), or the construction of inappropriate roads as in Alloa. Therefore, all future intervention – additional housing, reconstruction of a derelict site, road improvement – is an opportunity to enhance townscape quality or to erode it further.

The research concluded that consideration of environment should begin with identifying the character of the town – what is to be retained and enhanced in a strategy for regeneration first of all – before beginning to consider the means to address the developmental, economic and social needs.

The 'capital' of a town

The research concluded that the combination of the economy, community and environment of a town represents its 'capital' – the inherited investment – accumulated over centuries and through periods of varying decline and prosperity. The stewardship of this 'capital' requires understanding of the town and a balancing of the forces which affect it. Strength in one area needs to be accompanied by strengths in other areas. Weaknesses need to be identified and tackled in an integrated manner, considering effects

on, and opportunities for, economic, community and environmental development.

The planning system – *Planning Advice Note* (PAN 52)

The White Paper *Rural Scotland – People, Prosperity and Partnership* set out Government policy for rural communities and contained a specific commitment to issue advice on small towns (Scottish Office 1995). In 1997, the Scottish Office published a *Planning Advice Note* (Scottish Office 1997 (PAN 52)) which was informed by Gillespies research and was intended to encourage local councils, the enterprise network, Scottish Homes and other organisations (for example, major retail chains, supermarkets, etc) to work together in partnership with the local community and business groups to 'retain, restore and enhance what is best, and remove, improve or rehabilitate what is worst' (Scottish Office 1997 (PAN 52), 2). The purpose of the PAN is to focus the influence of the planning system to promote opportunities for positive change in helping to reinforce the character and identity of small towns. The document develops general principles which can be adapted to the requirements of individual towns and addresses four specific issues raised in the White Paper on Rural Scotland: regeneration and expansion; town centres; transport; and townscape quality (Scottish Office 1995, 39).

The *Planning Advice Note* recognises the importance of devising contemporary solutions based on a balanced understanding of the historical development and the importance of market forces and social trends. Three fundamental issues are identified: function; sense of place; and community (Scottish Office 1997 (PAN 52), 8).

Function

The functions of towns change with time; some have grown and prospered, others have stagnated and declined. Current prosperity will not guarantee prosperity in the future. A key role for the planning system is to assist communities to recover from the adverse effects of changes in the local economy. To be effective, planning authorities need to audit the current roles and identify future prospects for towns as a basis to build future development policy.

Sense of place

The importance of local identity is recognised as a vital asset and the PAN recommends that a townscape audit is used to understand the physical, architectural and historical attributes of identity. The townscape audit is a key input to the regeneration strategy described later in this chapter. The aim is to ensure that investment in development, environmental improvement and regeneration respects the character, local traditions and landscape setting in building form and design.

Community

The PAN recognises the fundamental importance of people to the town and therefore requires the regeneration and planning process to include early and regular community involvement. The PAN stresses that effective public involvement should lead to a better understanding of the consequences of action and inaction and a greater willingness to participate; and the importance of identifying those who can best represent and articulate community interest.

Development plans

A very important contribution of the PAN is to encourage Planning Authorities to introduce this approach into development plans, including:

- definition of a town's role in relation to the surrounding area;
- opportunity for national and local agencies to engage in formulating policies, identifying proposals and implementing projects in the regeneration process;
- provision of a framework for investment in regeneration and expansion;
- identification of priorities for action (Scottish Office 1997 (PAN 52), 8–10).[5]

It is important that commitment to partnership between local authorities and national agencies, in contributing to an integrated approach, has been given official recognition. The only aspect of this four point plan which might be questioned is the proposition that development plans can identify priorities for action. In reality, the development plan process of preparation, consultation and approval is so lengthy that priorities for action will have long changed in today's fast moving world, before the plan reaches final draft or approval stage.

Formulating a strategy for sustainable regeneration

In future, strategies must be sufficiently flexible as to grasp and encourage every suitable opportunity for economic growth and employment increase, so vital to a settlement's well-being. The formulation of a strategy for promoting sustainable regeneration, applicable throughout the full range and diversity of small towns requires to integrate: community, embracing the social and cultural factors which affect identity; economy, including town centre vitality; and environment – the quality and coherence of

Table 18.1 Stages in the process of preparing an urban design strategy (Gillespies)

STAGES IN THE STRATEGY

Examine the origins of the town, its history, prosperity and townscape pattern

Review the strategic context:

- economic development strategy (LEC & Pl.Auth.)
- rural and/or tourist development strategy
- major infrastructure issues
- areas in transition
- potential catalysts for change

Examine the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats (SWOT):

- economic benchmarking (unemployment, diversity and trends in indigenous industry)
- the physical environment (townscape, character and recent development)
- cultural issues, (tourism potential, range of attractions and current marketing strategy)

Formulate a strategy based on:

- the current status (the SWOT analysis)
- the need for action
- the identification of an over-arching concept and related themes:
  – community
  – culture
  – business
  – environment

townscape and the effects of traffic, and factors influencing expansion at the town edge.

Urban Design is the process which considers and enhances these qualities through a process of sustainable development by considering the town as a whole and in three dimensions.

The first step towards a strategy for the regeneration of a small town is to understand how the town works. If Scottish small towns are to successfully resist the threats which they currently face, and are to continue to offer a high quality of life, the way forward lies in a more enlightened approach to them as whole settlements. There needs to be a flexible framework to permit dynamic change, set within a mature comprehension of what the town is about. The key steps in the process are illustrated in Table 18.1.

Understanding and preparing a three-dimensional strategy for a town starts with the character and inherited townscape. An important part of this process is the use of drawing as a design and communication tool – a means of thinking out and expressing three dimensional concepts about the town – whether these be physical, economic or social. Drawing is a powerful means of communication. The process of preparing a strategy involves three interrelated areas of activity – desk-based study, site-based study and community consultation (see Table 18.2).

A key issue in successful participation lies in demystifying the planning and design process. It is hard enough for the professional players in the process to be able to predict the final outcome of projects, let alone lay people. Planners and urban designers need to further develop skills in communication, to explain ideas in clear and simple language as to what are the choices open and the solutions available.

Carrying out an audit of the town

Issues and their importance will vary from town to town. Nonetheless, examination of the following nine characteristics is essential. These are summarised in Table 18.3 (Gillespies 1997a, chapter 5).

(i) Local context

The study of local context will help to provide a broad overall understanding of the town. Strategic planning issues which may affect the setting or scale of the town should be examined. These will include consideration of traffic movement, housing expansion, tourism policy and the overall regional economy.

(ii) Setting

The relationship of the town with the surrounding landscape has a major influence on its identity and should be studied carefully. Any visual links between the town centre and surrounding hills, rivers and seas, together with the quality and colour of local building materials, be they granite, sandstone or slate, give Scotland's towns their unique quality. Many of Scotland's towns enjoy dramatic settings: between mountain and sea lochs, such as Fort William; on islands like Lerwick, Stromness, Portree or Rothesay; tucked below a range of hills like Tillicoultry or Alva; or on the banks of a river, such as Dunblane or Kelso (Fig 18.4).

(iii) Historic context

In order to plan for the future, it is essential to understand the past. Research into the origins of the town and mapping the preceding layers of development through the years will help to explain its urban form and provide a good foundation for understanding its physical, social and economic evolution.

Table 18.2 Principles for best practice in developing urban design strategies (Gillespies)

PRINCIPLES FOR BEST PRACTICE IN DEVELOPING URBAN DESIGN STRATEGIES

Desk Based Study

- examine statutory plans, design guidance and development proposals
- identify land uses and patterns of activity
- record focal points such as public buildings, shopping streets, parks and linkages
- assemble information and illustrations of good practice from other, comparator, towns
- draw up a list of community and business organisations and key individuals who should be consulted
- prepare a series of plans, diagrams and historical illustrations
- explain how the town has evolved over time and what its current assets are
- use three dimensional sketches, diagrams and photographs

Site Based Study

- use on-site analysis to build a fuller understanding
- use observation and interpretation to experience the town and absorb its atmosphere
- identify key features such as landmarks, views and vistas
- verify focal points and areas of activity
- prepare a photographic record of buildings, street scenes and spaces
- record details of colours and materials and the standard of maintenance
- prepare sketches and diagrams which analyse building massing, street proportions and pedestrian linkages

Community Consultation

- see the town through the eyes and experiences of its residents, businesses and visitors
- arrange meetings with the key consultees previously identified
- consider the use of focus groups to debate issues of concern to identify priorities
- use simple drawings and sketch perspectives for effective communication
- use simple coloured models of card or balsa to present a 3-dimensional representation of proposals
- comparator projects are invaluable tools to communicate the approach, but be aware that solutions can, without careful explanation, be imported rather than interpreted
- consider leaflets and newsletters at key stages in the process to alert people to what is happening
- use questionnaires and exhibitions to obtain responses but be aware that dialogue is restricted
- in preparing a design strategy for the regeneration of a small town centre a combination of techniques can be used:
  1. newsletter or feature in a local newspaper announcing the project
  2. series of focus groups to discuss context and to listen to community aspirations
  3. public opinion survey through sample interviews
  4. reconvene focus groups to discuss the potential options for action

Although old maps and engravings vary in scale and accuracy prior to the publication of the first ordnance survey maps in the 19th century, much can be revealed about the development of a town by preparing a consistent series of 'figure ground' diagrams to the same scale (Fig 18.5). In some circumstances it will be important to engage a specialist historical adviser if local events are to be interpreted in a way which assists the authenticity of future planning and design proposals.

(iv) Urban morphology

The pattern of town streets, buildings and open spaces has built up over years. These can be represented as a series of solids (buildings) and voids (open spaces). Black and white help to simplify and intensify the character and texture of the town layout. The preparation of such a 'figure ground' diagram will reveal the coherence of the townscape at a glance (Fig 18.5).

This type of simplified drawing is a good guide to understanding the hierarchy of buildings and town spaces and their sequence, from an important civic square or street to lanes and pends (Fig 18.6). The dramatic contrast between large streets and narrow closes adds to both the legibility and anticipation of the pedestrian experience. This also helps guide the scale of new infill buildings and suggests how proposals for the repair of the block and street pattern can contribute to the inherited layout of the town (Fig 18.7).

The plan arrangement of buildings and spaces is only one aspect of the character. The height of buildings, the alignment of their façades and their architectural character determine the enclosure of streets, in much the same way as walls enclose the rooms of a building. The layout and design of future building development and streetscape projects should recognise the scale, proportions and shape of street blocks and spaces.

Table 18.3 The key components of an urban design audit (Gillespies)

THE URBAN DESIGN AUDIT

Local Context

- hinterland towns and cities
- principal physical features
- major land uses
- population and economy

Setting

- surrounding landscape
- topography
- climate
- town edges

Historic Context

- town origins
- historical development pattern
- community perception

Urban Morphology

- pattern of streets
- hierarchy of spaces
- building enclosure

Quality of the Built Environment

- conservation
- shape of spaces
- local building character
- use of materials

Public and Open Space

- social places
- shelter
- use of landscape
- management and maintenance

Circulation

- approaches
- arrival points
- vehicular & pedestrian balance
- nodes and focal points
- linkages
- parking & servicing

Views and Vistas

- visual experience
- serial views and anticipation
- views in and out of the town
- skyline and landmarks

Character Zones

- built form and dominant uses
- neighbourhoods
- community organisations

(v) Quality of the built environment

All towns have assets to be conserved and respected. Important qualities often include less obvious features such as the shape and scale of the High Street, surviving from earliest times. In such cases, innocent and well intentioned changes, such as traffic calming and the reorganisation of street parking can be visually damaging.

Variety of detail and ornamentation of building façades, roofs and boundary walls adds greatly to the quality and character of towns. The study of such detail will provide valuable direction for the design of future improvements to buildings, streets and footways (Fig 18.8).

(vi) Public and open space

Public areas, which include streets, parks and footpaths, provide the social space within towns. The use and condition of open spaces, their linkage, and the overall contribution they make to the town needs to be recorded by site survey and by discussion with the local community and organisations which use them. Given the Scottish climate, the provision of shelter and the standard of maintenance applied to public spaces are particularly important aspects to be considered.

Within the town centre, the quality of the pedestrian environment needs to be assessed in some detail. This involves identifying meeting places and focal points where people congregate, studying their size, safety and shelter.

The role played by trees and green spaces needs to be studied carefully. These features are usually highly prized by local communities. Equally, few Scottish towns have a tradition of street trees and, where they have been introduced, little thought has been given to their ultimate size. The consequences are that important views or fine façades become screened. But, where appropriate, the use of street trees can help with pedestrian legibility. With care, they can be used to reinforce the hierarchy of streets and spaces.

(vii) Circulation – vehicles and pedestrians

First impressions are important when the driver or passenger is guided by a landmark such as a church spire, but second impressions can be equally telling. Poor edge of town expansion, inappropriate skyline landmarks, lack of definition in town gateways or simply the absence of a landscape framework to aid transition from country to town, are all matters to record and address.

Within the town, circulating traffic, parking and servicing, together with a proliferation of signing, exert a powerful visual influence. Traffic congestion brings pollution, vehicle speed and poor road geometry bring danger, and imbalance between the needs

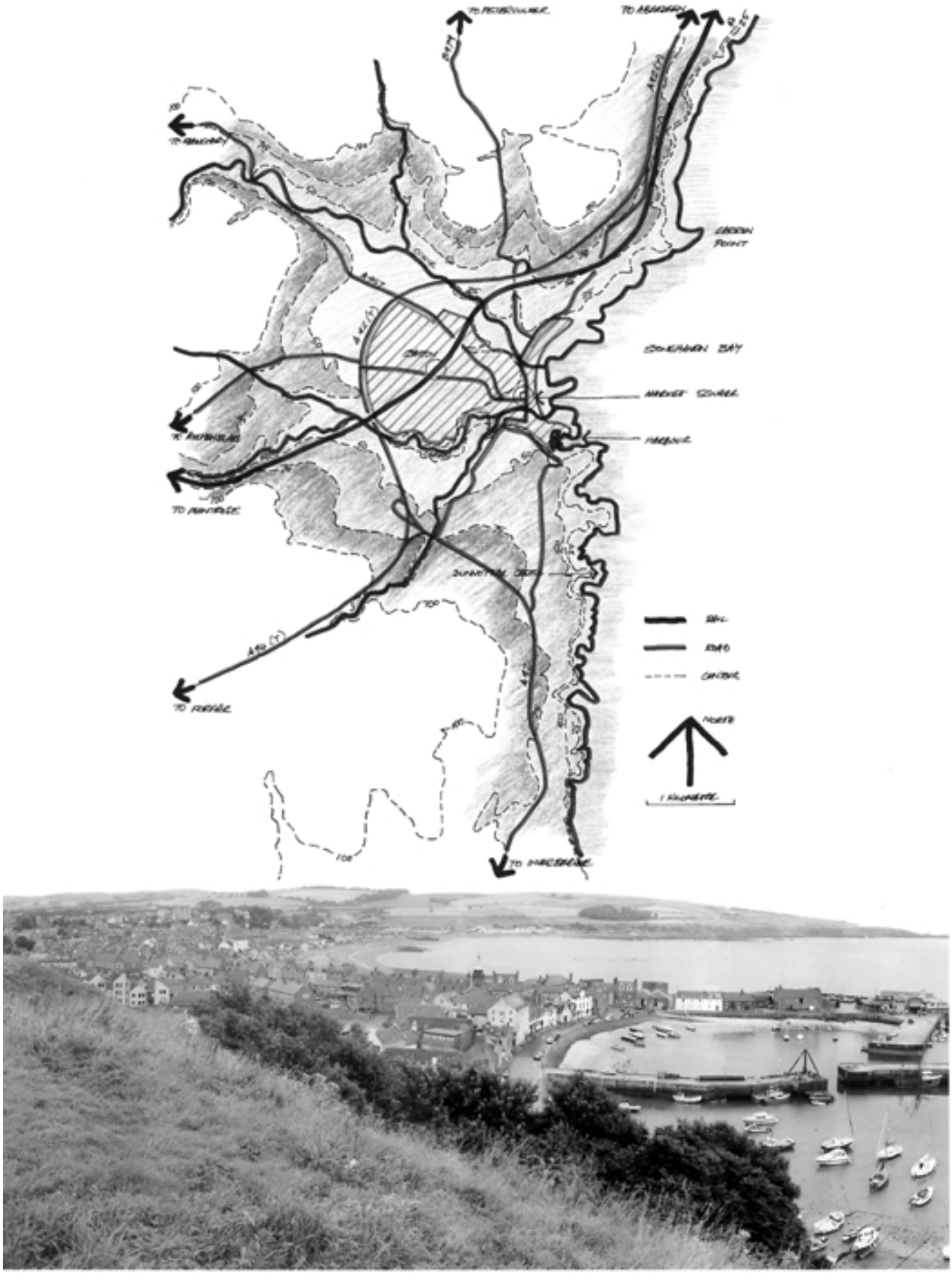


Figure 18.4 Stonehaven (courtesy of Gillespies)

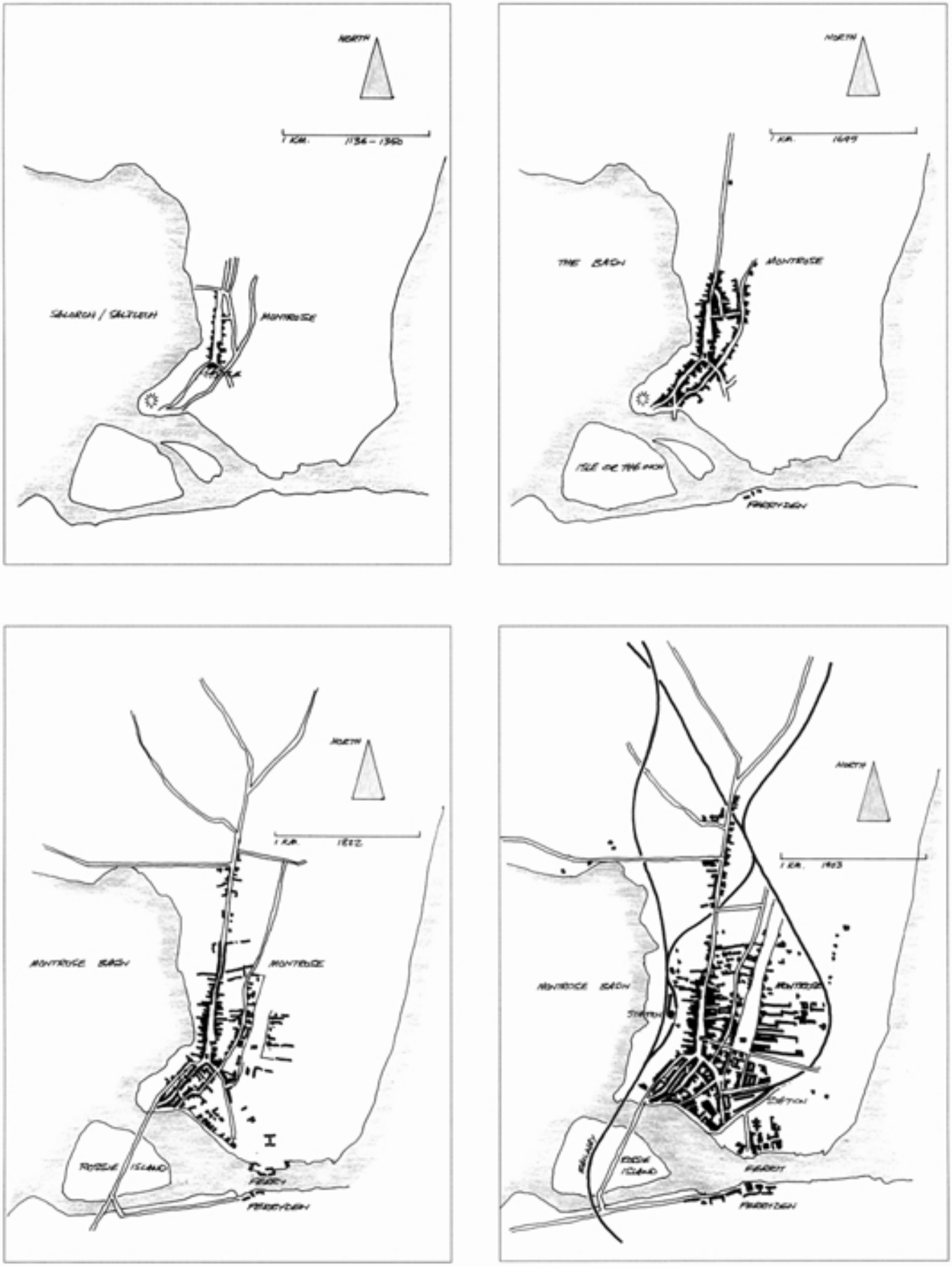


Figure 18.5 The evolution of urban form in Montrose (courtesy of Gillespies)

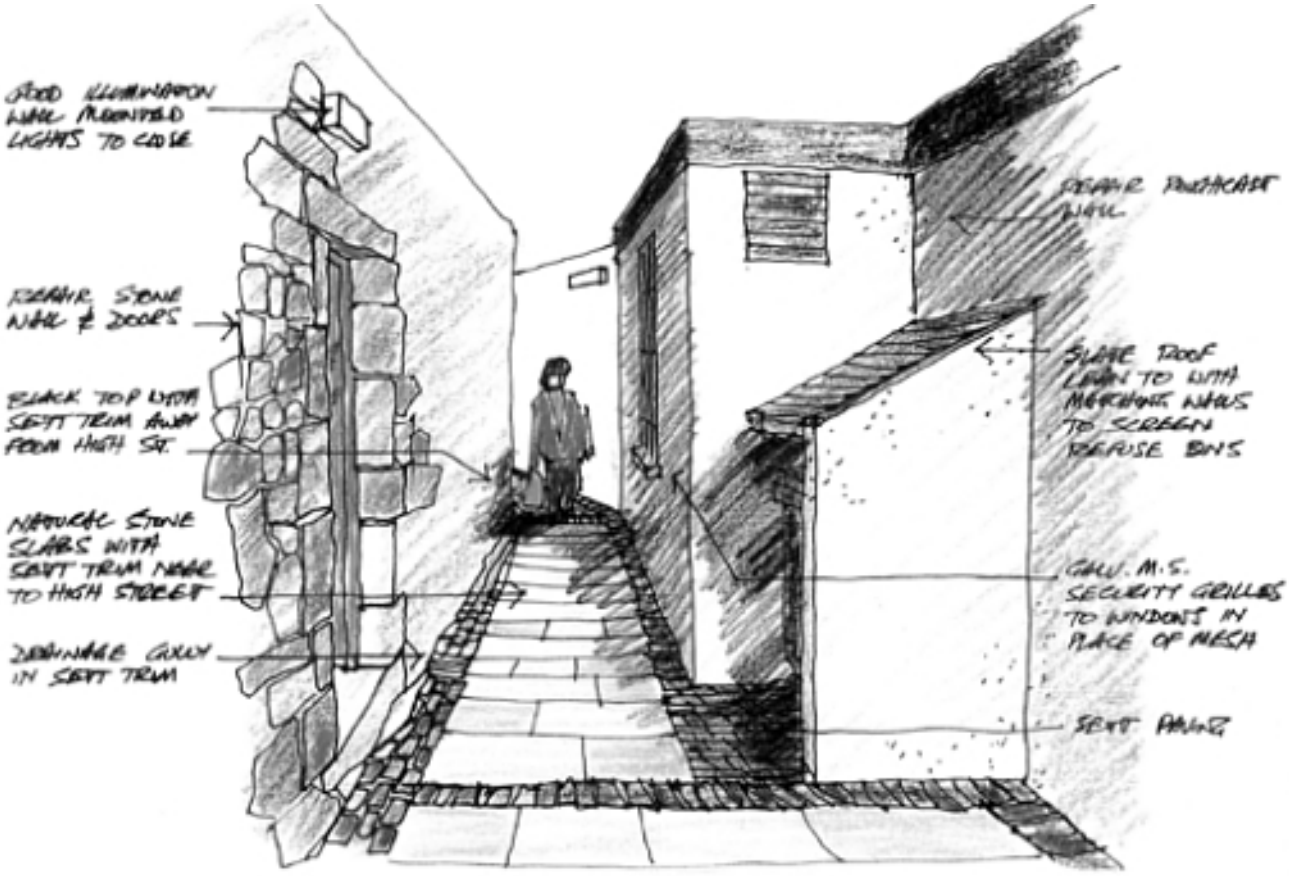


Figure 18.6 Sensitive, small scale improvements (courtesy of Gillespies)

of pedestrians and vehicles brings frustration which can lead to loss of trade and town centre vitality. A thorough understanding of traffic circulation and access requirements and the potential for their adjustment to better suit pedestrian and environmental needs is a fundamental part of analysis. Pedestrian approaches to towns are becoming more important as long-distance footpath and cycle routes are opened up. Pedestrians require clear directions and need to feel safe in walking, from arrival points to the town centre, whether it be from a public transport terminus or a car park.

(viii) Views and vistas

The quality of the visual experience of the town is at the core of urban design concerns. The principal attributes of the town, including familiar features, can often be revealed and interpreted in a new and stimulating way. The study should record the 'serial views' obtained from moving along a street, or from one place to another, as well as from fixed or static view points (Cullen, 1985; Lynch, 1960). The purpose is to reveal the essence of the town – its contrasts and textures, the visual tension of passing through spaces of dramatically different scales and the anticipation of the glimpsed view.

As well as identifying notable landmarks, it is important to record smaller features which add to the overall composition. Their individual loss sometimes passes unnoticed, but, collectively, small losses progressively erode the character of the town. The shape of the streets, the nature of corners and the edges of buildings together, with skyline landmarks greatly help pedestrians find their way about. Similarly, the introduction of new, seemingly small, features can have a major effect; for instance, altering the alignment of a carriageway or by installing traffic signs or street trees can have a serious effect on certain key views.

A view or vista can be broken down into its essential elements, those ingredients which must be preserved and those which could be enhanced. The sphere of influence of important landmarks and principal views into and out of the town should be mapped to allow the impact of new proposals to be assessed. The importance of a kirk spire as a town mark, seen from practically all directions, can act as a control on the height of all buildings in the town, and for some distance around.

(ix) Character zones

Most towns will have areas of distinct physical or cultural character. Boundaries between areas are often not well defined on the ground and may well

overlap. Some character zones will have developed as the town has evolved, due perhaps to topography, street patterns, predominant land uses or types and age and style of buildings or open spaces (Lynch, 1960).

The audit should identify social issues as well as physical features which add to the diversity and complexity of the town's character. These matters are often intricate to analyse and they need to be examined sensitively. It can be difficult to gather momentum for change or to champion many causes. If, however, the issues raised by the urban design audit are to be addressed, community support is essential. It is therefore vital that means are found to communicate the need for change and to cultivate a sense of ownership of the ideas put forward in the framework.

Putting it together: an urban design framework

An essential tool in the appraisal of economic factors is the 'SWOT' analysis – the examination of Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (Table 18.4). This technique also forms a useful basis for the examination of community and environmental factors, enabling an integrated and synoptic overview to be prepared as the basis on which to build a strategy. A SWOT analysis can be used to assemble and present the key issues arising from the audit process and the associated investigations. This provides a framework for discussion with clients, representatives of the community, and other organisations.

The examination of the local economy, the analysis of tourism in the area and close consultation with the community, combined with an audit of the town's physical characteristics, will enable an integrated social, economic and physical design framework to be promoted. The framework will deliver action through a series of projects which are mutually supportive, but can be pursued separately and incrementally, if necessary. Whilst it is appreciated that maximum economic and environmental benefits are more likely to be achieved by a holistic approach, projects have to be affordable and achievable in a pragmatic way. Particular attention will be given to action which is likely to have a catalytic influence and for which there is evident community support (see Table 18.5 & Gillespies 1997a, chapter 5).

Finally, an urban design framework and its component parts need to be evaluated in terms of beneficial effect on the local economy if the strategy is to be successful in attracting financial support from government organisations. An evaluation system will also help to monitor the future performance of projects against identifiable achievement targets, using criteria which cover those aspects of projects which are capable of direct measurement (Scottish Enterprise 1996). Table 18.6 and Fig 18.9 summarise the process overall.

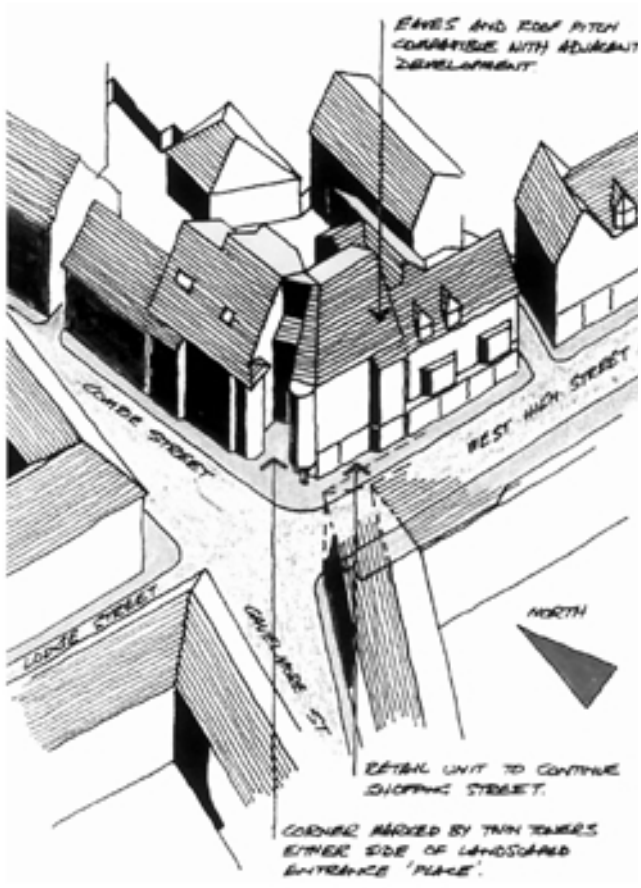


Figure 18.7 Scrimgeour's Corner, Crieff (courtesy of Nicol Russell Studies (bottom) and Gillespies (top))

Table 18.4 Components of a 'SWOT' analysis (Gillespies)

THE SWOT ANALYSIS

Strengths

Community

- stable, solid community

Economy

- diverse economy, strong and mixed retail sector

Culture

- representative coastal town with diverse attractions

Environment

- distinctive setting and townscape character

Weaknesses

Community

- lack of cohesive organisation

Economy

- needs greater flexibility

Culture

- poor promotion and lack of clear image

Environment

- town centre dominated by traffic

Opportunities

Community

- build civic awareness

Economy

- new small business workshops

Culture

- various new facilities

Environment

- new relief road

Threats

Community

- inertia

Economy

- inertia

Culture

- attractive competitors

Environment

- inappropriate improvements

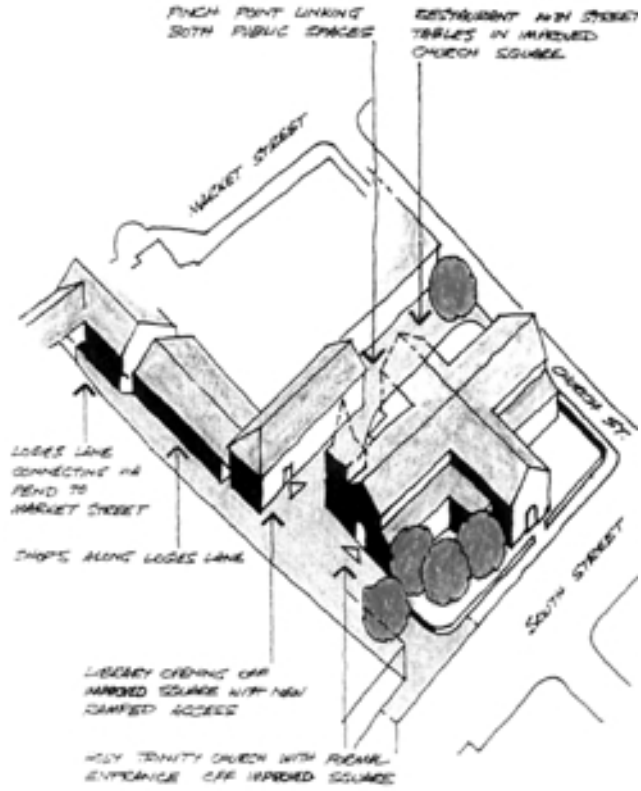


Figure 18.8 Logies Lane, St Andrews (courtesy of Gillespies)

Table 18.5 Key components of an urban design framework (Gillespies)

KEY COMPONENTS OF AN URBAN DESIGN FRAMEWORK

Community

Active community involvement is an essential component of positive and sustainable change:

- a forum for congregation and debate
- organisational structures including town management and self-help groups
- working closely with the community and focusing activity to generate public awareness and sustain civic pride
- consensus amongst interested groups
- civic awareness and pride through the visible improvement of the town to a high quality

example: the development of a community facility to act as a focus for local people and a 'shop window' for visitors.

Economy

Building an environment which is conducive to entrepreneurial development, through:

- encouraging the creation of new business associations and organisations
- emphasising the importance of training and area promotion to improve confidence
- providing appropriately scaled and equipped facilities and assistance for new businesses

Culture

Assets and attractions must be maximised:

- improving availability and convenience of information for visitors
- building new features and attractions
- interpreting local culture and heritage through events and festivals

example: a programme of festivals and events based on local themes in literature, music and religion.

Environment

Physical improvements should be in scale with, and build on, the town's inherent qualities:

- enhancing the landscape setting of and the approaches to the town
- protecting and enhancing the urban form as expressed in buildings, streets and spaces
- ensuring that new development respects the scale, massing, pattern and character of the town
- maintaining social and commercial vitality in the town centre whilst reducing the impact of traffic on pedestrians
- conveying a consistent sense of quality through the use of appropriate materials, colours, fittings and fixtures in buildings and public spaces
- conveying a sense of care for the environment by placing greater emphasis on the management and maintenance of buildings and public spaces

Table 18.6 The process of sustainable regeneration (Gillespies)

THE PROCESS OF SUSTAINABLE REGENERATION

Audit

- origins of the town
- strategic context
- economic benchmarking
- the physical environment
- cultural issues

Capital

- current status
- the need for action

Framework

- an overall concept
- development themes
- projects identified by theme
- environmental & economic impact

Implementation

- sources of funding
- programme & costs
- next steps & early action

Evaluation

- evaluation & monitoring

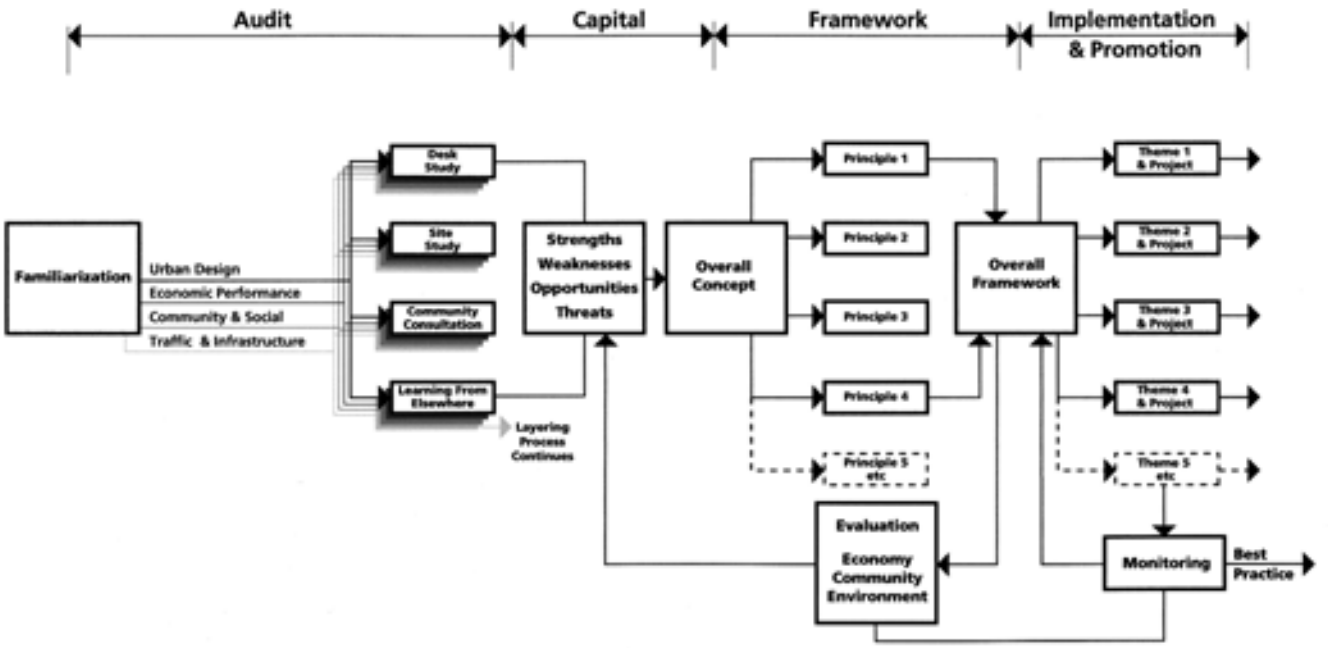


Figure 18.9 Preparing an urban design led strategy – the process (courtsey of Gillespies)

Conclusions

If Scottish small towns are to resist successfully the threats which they currently face, and are to continue to offer a high quality of life, the way forward lies in a more enlightened approach to them as whole settlements. The inherited character of towns is a combination of three vital elements: community, economy and the quality of their environment – the Geddesian triad of Place, Work and Folk. Identity adds a certain quality to the life of a town. History and environment help to make the town memorable, and its people confident. Where these factors can be identified, guidance must be directed towards their conservation and enhancement.

Greater emphasis needs to be given to urban design in the local planning process. This means carrying out an audit of the town's physical and visual characteristics and preparing a design framework to guide further regeneration projects. An urban design framework, and the audit upon which it is based, should be integrated with social, cultural and economic analyses to produce a wholly rounded strategy for the town.

The real value in urban design lies in the hands of the experienced, skilled designer, who will use the process to give tangible form to the aspirations of the community and the needs of business, in formulating strategies for regeneration. There is strong evidence to suggest that local residents and business people respond well to debate on issues when they are discussed in terms of three-dimensional concepts, rather than the two-dimensional plans conventionally used in the planning process.

The urban design framework consists of themes, principles, guidelines and projects covering a range of social, economic, cultural and environmental issues. Its purpose is to point to a vision of the future of the town which can be shared by the various sectors of the community, the local authority and other public bodies, by representing the way in which the town should develop and be cared for. An essential part of the process is clear and stimulating communication with visual aids (drawings, photographs, models) being used extensively.

Towns evolve socially and culturally and must do so physically as well. The application of principles and guidelines is not intended to inhibit development nor to be so prescriptive that solutions come to rely on pastiche or spurious historicism. They should be, however, helpful to planners and developers alike, by pointing out the intrinsic qualities of places so that they can be enhanced, not diminished.

Evolving practice, together with the research described above and the endorsement of the process in Planning Advice Note PAN 52, has been influential in encouraging initiatives such as the Aberdeenshire Towns Programme (Aberdeenshire Council *et al* 1998), which brings together the efforts of the local authority, the local enterprise company and Scottish Homes in a formal partnership with agreed objectives and a programme of investment for the towns of Aberdeenshire. In turn, the partnership has enabled the preparation of integrated strategies for the future of small towns such as Inverurie (Gillespies 1997), Peterhead (EDAW 1999) and Stonehaven (Gillespies 1999).

When successfully carried out, the true value of an urban design strategy may be summarised as: heightened civic awareness and civic pride; increased

economic activity and a stronger business community; an improved image for the town and an increased number of visitors; and improvement of the appearance, safety and comfort of the urban fabric and public realm.

Acknowledgements

Grateful thanks are due to Alastair MacKenzie, Jim MacKinnon and Alan Denholm of The Scottish Office Development Department and my colleagues George Mulvagh and Doug Stonelake at Gillespies who have all made a significant contribution to the work described in this chapter. I would also like to thank Dr Pat Dennison for her patient and encouraging editorial and all those who were consulted on the original research and on this chapter.

Notes

1 Gillespies is a multi-disciplinary design practice with offices in Glasgow, Oxford and Manchester.

2 There are over 400 towns with a population between 1000 and 20,000, home to nearly 38% of the population in 1991 – Census Data 1991.

3 See also I H Adams, *The making of urban Scotland*.

4 Based on discussions with officials from Highland Council.

5 The PAN clarifies what is expected of development plans for small towns in the future: structure plans are to set out a long term and integrated settlement and development strategy based on current performance and the scale and rate of change. A key task for structure plans remains the identification of opportunities for housing, business, industry and retail development which reflects national policy as set out in National Planning Policy Guidelines; local plans are to promote opportunities for development which increase economic, social and physical well-being of towns as well as guaranteeing the stability required for community, business and investment confidence (Scottish Office 1997 (PAN 52), 11).

19 Scotland's historic towns: a conservation officer reflects *by Stuart Eydmann*

Scotland's historic towns enjoy a high degree of protection through legislation, the local planning process and the watching eye of national and local amenity bodies. Individual buildings and their settings are protected by listing, whole sectors are designated as conservation areas, where it is not possible to demolish buildings without consent and where policies for preservation and enhancement of the area's character should be introduced by the planning authority. Local authorities employ specialist conservation and archaeology staff and grants are made available for preservation works. Areas of archaeological potential are identified in local Sites and Monuments Records and Burgh Surveys and planning conditions are applied to ensure their proper investigation and protection. Old buildings are rarely lost and new development, in most cases, expresses the designer's and client's genuine desire to rise to the challenge of combining the old with the new. There is a recognition that the character, vitality and accessibility of our historic towns are important elements in local enterprise, and that town centres are desirable locations for both residential and commercial development. Although the regime is occasionally criticised for restricting architectural expression and economic development (Gordon 1985, 241–2), there is a general public acceptance of the controls, and a consensus that conservation is a good thing.

This chapter gives a local authority conservation officer's view on how we have reached this level of 'conservation consciousness', identifying key moments in the shift from a culture of comprehensive redevelopment, which typified the approach to our towns in the decades immediately after the last war.

Figure 19.1 Linlithgow High Street looking west from the Cross c 1950. The complete range of buildings on the right was redeveloped (reproduced with permission of West Lothian Council)

Figure 19.2 The Cross, Linlithgow looking east from the High Street showing the new housing development as it neared completion (reproduced with permission of West Lothian Council)

In the day to day work as a local authority conservation officer, I receive many visitors to my office in the centre of Linlithgow. The award-winning, 1960s-built flats at the Vennel immediately to the west of the town's principal square, the Cross, never fail to attract comment, and even expressions of disbelief, that a town of such well-defined urban structure and historic importance should have been so drastically altered as recently as 40 years ago.[1] The development in question comprised the removal of a variety of tenements, town houses and industrial premises, some of which were of considerable architectural and historic interest (Fig 19.1), and their replacement with flat-roofed dwellings of a frankly modern appearance (Fig 19.2). It involved the widening of the principal street with the preservation of only a few existing structures and there was no archaeological investigation or systematic recording of the site (Fig 19.3).

How could the local authority have promoted, and the public welcomed, such a radical intervention in an important burgh? How could architecture of such an alien nature have been sanctioned? I always answer such questions by suggesting that the scheme has to be seen within its wider social and historic context, but this is rarely a convincing argument, as most observers fail to appreciate just how far attitudes to change in our historic towns have shifted in only a short time.

Although it is the sheer scale and perceived unsympathetic modernism of the new architecture which attracts most comment, it has much to commend it as an exercise in urban design. An analysis of the height and massing and its relationship to principal views within the town shows that the architects, Rowand Anderson, Kininmonth and Paul of Edinburgh, worked hard to introduce their modern buildings into the historic townscape. Colin McWilliam, a champion of the conservation cause, acknowledged this when he wrote: 'for once the gain has demonstrably outweighed the loss. The new work is well related to the roadway in front and the loch behind, and, indeed, to the important group formed by the town hall, church and palace' (McWilliam 1975, 181); and elsewhere when he recorded that it was 'severely and admirably consistent, with a proper urban scale' (McWilliam 1978, 304) (Figs 19.4, 19.5 & 19.6).

Also overlooked in knee-jerk reactions to the appearance of the new buildings is the large amount of restoration and infill development work which went on in the remainder of the town at the same time. The Council's consultant architects were also engaged in the conversion of existing premises, mainly tenements, the refurbishment of the Burgh Hall and the provision of terraced houses on smaller sites. While the conversion work would not stand up

Figure 19.3 The Cross, Linlithgow looking east from the High Street. This is the same view as Figure 19.2 and shows the site of the buildings in Figure 19.1 after demolition in April 1966. There was no systematic archaeological investigation of the site although a limited amount of salvage was undertaken (reproduced with permission of West Lothian Council)

to scrutiny against the standards and specifications of modern conservation, the number of buildings tackled would be impressive in any era.

Working to a pattern repeated throughout Scotland with varying degrees of emphasis and success, the local authority operated within the prevailing legislative and financial climate to deal with an acute housing problem, chronic traffic congestion on a narrow High Street, and general decay and abandonment in older property, in an attempt to give the town 'a new heart', while preserving the best of the rest. The Linlithgow redevelopment, with its extremes of radical intervention and sympathetic conversion and infill, can be seen as a working-out of the prevailing post-war tension in architecture and planning in Scotland between 'the traditionalist and modernist visions', visions which 'seemed in many ways opposed, but had in common a new ideological and moral intensity, focused on the reconstruction of the nation as a whole' (Glendinning *et al* 1996, 385). By the 1970s, the upper hand was gained by the traditionalists in a conservation-based coalition, which dictated that the main thrust in architecture in Scotland was a concern for old buildings and areas rather than the creation of the new.

Thus, only a decade after the completion of the Linlithgow Comprehensive Development Area scheme, the centre of the burgh had been designated a conservation area, statutory protection had been introduced for buildings of special architectural or historic interest, a specialist conservation officer was appointed by the Council and grants were on offer to assist with the preservation of listed buildings.

The origins of the post-1970 conservation consensus had roots which go back to the first decades of the century, in the tradition of 'conservative surgery' promoted by Patrick Geddes and in the work of contemporary architects who were 'among those who sensed a persistent national vernacular in the crow-stepped gables, turnpike stairs and solidly austere three-dimensional quality which for centuries had characterised the humbler buildings of nearly every Scots village and town' (Walker 1985, 125–6).[2] This work was carried on in public housing schemes in the 1930s by Ebenezer MacRae and Robert Hurd in Edinburgh, Frank Mears in Stirling, and others through restoration and infill work which contrasted with the more cavalier municipal slum clearance of the time.[3] The early initiatives of the National Trust for Scotland (founded in 1931) at Culross, Edinburgh, Kirkcaldy and Cromarty, and new local preservation trusts at St Andrews and Falkland focused attention on the preservation of the more modest buildings which made up the picturesque street scene. Within this early phase, the scale and 'organic' form of the burgh was admired as all that was best in Scottish urban life, from both a social and aesthetic viewpoint. Writing in 1938, the

Figure 19.4 The Town Clerk views a model of the proposed redevelopment of central Linlithgow with a member of the public, April 1965 (reproduced with permission of West Lothian Council)

architect Ian Lindsay made a plea for the preservation of the burghs and praised their 'fund of good sense and good manners' which could inform new development (Lindsay 1938, 100). Stirling, Elgin, Killearn and Crail were towns where the local communities attempted to follow his line. The 1930s also saw the first steps being taken towards the preparation of a national inventory of buildings of historic interest, and the foundation of a Scottish National Buildings Record.

The Saltire Society, which was founded in 1936, was also a key player. In seeking to 'preserve the best in Scottish tradition and encourage enriching new development' (Rutherford 1998, 3), the organisation introduced housing awards to recognise good work in the field, and an examination of these annual commendations gives a fair indication of prevailing attitudes, the early winners showing a concern for the traditional with an emphasis on enclosed space and human scale, while those of the subsequent decades recognised new forms of architectural expression as modernism in municipal architecture was in the ascendancy. High quality work in the traditionalist line was continued in the buildings of Robert Hurd in Edinburgh's Canongate (which involved both conversion of existing property and new build in sympathy with its surroundings) and Ian Lindsay's work for the National Trust for Scotland at Dunkeld, although the latter was criticised for using a replica rather a modern design for an infill building (McWilliam 1975, 200). Sensitivity to place also found expressions in the designs of other architects of the 1950s and 60s who, working in small towns from Lerwick to Dunbar, attempted an overlap between modern and traditional values in community housing developments which combined the best of Scottish vernacular character and scale with Scandinavian ideas of layout and space.

The National Trust for Scotland started its 'Little Houses Improvement Scheme' in 1960 (National Trust for Scotland 1974) and, soon after, a revolving fund was established to finance the project. The high profile achieved by the scheme's many successes in the villages of the east coast helped propagate the seeds of conservation in the public consciousness.

In many ways, the increasing interest in conservation

Figure 19.5 New housing at the Vennel, Linlithgow viewed from Linlithgow Loch, c 1970 (reproduced with permission of West Lothian Council)

in the 1970s was a reaction to the dramatic intervention which had gone before. Scotland's architects had demonstrated that they could produce good modern architecture but, for most, the 1950s and 60s had brought too much change too soon. A number of important losses of significant buildings also encouraged the cause of conservation. The Scottish Georgian Society (later, the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland), formed in 1956 as a reaction to the proposed redevelopment of George Square in Edinburgh, introduced a new pressure group into the planning process which was often able to provide a valuable, art-historical angle in any argument.

Government endorsement of the emerging attitudes came in the *Civic Amenities Act* of 1967 which attempted to introduce a 'change from negative control to positive planning for preservation'.[4] This act brought the concept of the conservation area, whereby whole sections of a town could be protected; and policies for preservation, enhancement and new design introduced by the local planning authority were, in theory at least, paramount. Among the Scottish local authorities, East Lothian was exceptional in its response to this new spirit by showing what could be done without necessarily adopting the 'Linlithgow approach'.

The Scottish Civic Trust was established in May 1967; this helped develop a growing awareness of an historic area as a total environment, in which all the buildings and spaces combine to create a complete ensemble. Under their influence, environmental improvements were promoted as being just as important to conservation as the proper repair and maintenance of the fabric of historic buildings. Early area improvement schemes were of the 'facelift' variety, involving coordinated external painting and stone cleaning. Although now no longer fashionable, such projects had a major impact on public perception and did much to promote a new popular appreciation of the architectural heritage of some towns and cities, but especially Glasgow. The Scottish Civic Trust was to have a direct involvement in several influential, area-based initiatives, including work in Biggar, Lesmahagow and New Lanark.[5] As students of planning in the early 1970s, we were encouraged to adopt this line by absorbing the extensive literature concerned with 'townscape' (Lynch 1960, Cullen 1961, Johns 1965, Sharp 1968 and Worskett 1969) and government guidance, such as the booklet *New Life for Historic Areas* (Department of the Environment 1972), which illustrated a number of successful case studies of pedestrianisation, traffic management, environmental improvement and other action schemes in historic towns.

Figure 19.6 Demolition at the West Port, Linlithgow, c 1960. All buildings shown, including the West Port Well, were lost (reproduced with permission of West Lothian Council)

The progress of the conservation movement was given further statutory status with the *Town and Country Planning (Scotland) Act* of 1972; this brought the introduction of statutory protection for listed buildings, the need for permission to demolish buildings within a conservation area, and new provisions for local authority grants. From this point on, the statutory basis of conservation was firmly based in the local authority. It also brought a new role for the amenity bodies who were able to directly influence decision-making through formal consultations and case work.

No Scottish town was included in the Government's special local conservation studies undertaken in the late 1960s,[6] but other moves were afoot in both Edinburgh and Glasgow. A conference on the conservation of Georgian Edinburgh, held in June 1970, had led to the establishment of the Edinburgh New Town Conservation Committee in September of that year (Matthew *et al* 1972), and Lord Esher's comprehensive report on the potential for conservation in Glasgow (Esher 1971) was crucial in its recommendations for the conservation of the city's fabric. Esher's report was comprehensive in its promotion of:

(i) conservation areas,
(ii) the introduction of additional planning controls, through the removal of normally permitted development rights, by the introduction of 'Article 4 Directions',
(iii) a register of buildings for preservation,
(iv) high standards of new build,
(v) highway improvement schemes aimed at protecting the environment,
(vi) an inter-denominational commission to look at redundant churches,
(vii) the need to look at the economics and social benefits of tenement conservation throughout the city,
(viii) the establishment of a special conservation scheme for Park Circus area,
(ix) the diversion of urban motorways away from sensitive areas,
(x) a townscape study of the city centre,
(xi) an economic assessment of the problems of conservation in the city,
(xii) the encouragement of public bodies and educational institutions to use historic buildings,
(xiii) the appointment of specialist conservation staff,
(xiv) the inclusion of conservation in the local planning process, and
(xv) approaches to central government stressing the need for enhanced financial support.

By the time of European Architectural Heritage Year in 1975, therefore, conservation had taken root in the

planning of cities as well as the smaller towns and villages. Local government reorganisation, also in 1975, saw the establishment or expansion of council conservation teams in the larger authorities and the appointment of individual officers in many of the smaller ones. Graduating in that year, I took up my first position in the Glasgow conservation team which worked quietly and steadily within the planning system, often in the face of overwhelming odds, towards a new attitude to the city's heritage.

Historic Scotland was encouraged to systematically expand the listed building coverage and a programme of conservation area designation was initiated. Attempts to come to terms with the scale and nature of the redundant buildings was addressed through a pioneering 'buildings at risk' register, and a liaison group to look at the pressing problem of vacant churches was established. Despite many losses, key buildings were fought for (often behind the back of the Director of Planning) and there were exciting architectural discoveries as Glasgow's true architectural wealth became widely understood for the first time. Stone cleaning continued to be tolerated, as it had a role in altering the image of the city, and guidelines to influence the design of shopfronts in the principal historic streets of the city centre were applied with gradual results. The retention and conservation of surviving historic buildings were promoted as building blocks of the Glasgow Eastern Area Regeneration programme and the first surveys of the Merchant City were carried out as the traditional commercial uses were moving elsewhere. In this wave of enthusiasm there was little reference to archaeology, which remained outwith mainstream conservation, although the Burgh Surveys were being advanced elsewhere.

The mid 1970s onwards also saw an expansion in the size and number of local amenity bodies and the abandonment of large-scale comprehensive redevelopment for housing was paralleled by the foundation of community housing associations concerned mainly with the rehabilitation of tenement dwellings. In the cities, this new centrality of the nurturing of the existing community rather than the creation of wholly new ones brought a new popular angle to urban conservation.

A growing recognition of the need to accommodate the motor vehicle saw some reclaiming of public space for pedestrians as part of major highway schemes, but little of the work on the ground had any sympathy for its historic context and traditional materials were rarely employed. Although the benefits of tenement dwelling were rediscovered, new commercial development in town centres continued apace, with precious few new buildings of lasting architectural worth. While some designers of new housing in historic towns continued the sensitive, vernacular-derived, picturesque tradition of the 1930s–50s, too often design slipped into the production of poor replicas, often in unsympathetic materials such as brick.

Taking up a conservation officer post in Edinburgh at the start of the 1980s, I learned that attitudes to conservation are locally determined and maintained. Unlike Glasgow, the capital already enjoyed a large conservation community, which included many rivalries and factions but possessed a general desire to do, and be seen to be doing, the right thing by old buildings and areas.

Outwith the New Town, where new build tended to mean replication of the Georgian, the tension between traditional and modern in infill development was being worked out mainly in the older parts of the city's South Side, Leith and the fringes of the Old Town, where decay and slow comprehensive redevelopment had left many sites available. Housing associations, which began to move away from rehabilitation into new build, and most private developers tended to prefer a pitched roofed, brick or blockwork architecture, drearily neither one thing nor the other. In response, competitions were held to generate ideas for the redevelopment of important gap sites and these stimulated debate. Even if the jury is still out on the success or otherwise of the projects as built, this led to a looser architectural eclecticism and the gradual discovery of decoration, but with a renewed concern for the local and national context.

The 1980s saw a rediscovery of the city as an ideal and brought a new celebration of style and variety combined with a new realisation that enterprise and image go hand in hand. Central to this were both the 'partnership' projects of local enterprise companies, local authorities and 'heritage' agencies and the developer-led, town centre renewal schemes, driven by a new breed of architect developers. In Glasgow's Merchant City and in Edinburgh's Leith, high profile initiatives were progressed through the cumulative effect of a number of unrelated new works and conversions. This phase included a better appreciation of the importance of public space in towns, and in Edinburgh we took the first tentative attempts at sympathetic re-paving – undertaken in the Grassmarket and University quarters using specially developed artificial materials; and, having shown that there was a way forward, a liaison group involving local planners and highways officials was established to research and employ traditional practices. Such schemes sought to humanise space, enhance the setting of the surrounding buildings, influence traffic behaviour by design, and respect the historical context of the area. The use of traditional, high-quality materials was driven by a recognition of best continental practice, a desire for sustainability and an increased awareness of local traditions.

With an end to large-scale redevelopment, the opportunity for grand projects was gone and the emphasis moved towards 'good manners' in change. The promotion of better shopfront design was taken up by many planning authorities, local design and conservation awards schemes became commonplace, and Historic Scotland's 'Town Scheme initiative' to work in partnership with councils in grant aiding high-quality repairs in the most outstanding conservation

areas was expanded. Some local authorities continued to follow up their conservation area designations through the publication of design guides and other material intended to influence the form and standards of new development in such areas.[7] Throughout this time, the National Trust for Scotland and a number of other building preservation trusts were tackling individual and small groups of buildings in historic towns.[8]

The 1990s brought a 'new urbanism' (Glendinning *et al* 1996, 494–501) based on a growing awareness of the best European urban design and planning. The transformations of Barcelona in the lead up to the 1992 Olympic Games had repercussions well beyond Catalonia, and was to become a point of reference for urban planners throughout the world.[9] This spectacular, imaginative approach to planning the town was picked up by the most aware Scottish architects and clients, their best schemes demonstrating dramatic attempts to recover spaces between buildings and the rediscovery of both stone and coloured render as part of the designer's palette. Again, little of this work trickled down from the cities to the smaller historic towns.

The Scottish Office, through *Planning Advice Note 35: Town Centre Improvement* (1989), attempted to outline the potential for improvement in existing town and city centres by setting out how planning authorities might work in partnership with other agencies to enhance their attractiveness, accessibility and economy. The subsequent urban design based *Streets Ahead* (Gillespies 1997) and the more conservation-oriented *Edinburgh Streetscape Manual* (Davis 1995) can be read as key texts in this new sensitivity to the spaces in our historic towns, although both promote a new aesthetic for the urban scene rather than proven traditional practice. Neither publication contains any real technical advice and this remains an area badly in need of research and publication.

Of a large number of partnership schemes for the enhancement of the more modest-sized Scottish towns, Kilmarnock has perhaps received most attention and is held as a paragon. The local council, with support from Enterprise Ayrshire, promoted this regeneration project which comprised several principal elements: building 'facelifts'; the rebuilding of the town's bus station as a 'gateway'; the restoration of the Laigh Kirk; and large-scale streetscape improvements that link the two (Park 1995). The scheme is characterised throughout by the use of high-quality, natural materials and has been commended for its attention to detail, particularly in the specially designed street furniture and civic art work. In Linlithgow, a similar partnership between the local council and the enterprise company undertook a town centre enhancement scheme, but here attempted to break new ground in the use of Scottish natural stone products employed in a traditional laying method, in keeping with the more academic approach to conservation (Eydmann and Hansvedt 1997; Eydmann 1997) which has recently come to the fore in the repair of historic buildings, (Fig 19.7).

In England, the last decade has seen a reassessment of the effectiveness of conservation area designation through a number of publications and studies. The Royal Town Planning Institute commissioned a report (Chesterton nd) which concluded that the conservation area principle remained a crucial aspect of environmental protection, although in need of more specific local policies and an extension of controls if it was to be effective. English Heritage (1993 and 1995) issued guidance to local authorities advising, among other things, that the time was right for a reassessment of the character and problems of each area, and the promotion of preservation and enhancement through a combination of increased controls (including Article 4 Directions), publicity and specific action within the context of an overall strategy. These publications were followed up by detailed guidance (1997) on the appraisal of the special architectural or historic interest of conservation areas.[10] The English Historic Towns Forum took this forward through the publication of a practical guide to conservation area management (1998) and conferences which placed further emphasis on the need for appraisals. Such surveys subsequently became a necessary component of any application to the Heritage Lottery Fund for funding for townscape improvements.

In a manner echoing the English Heritage advice, the Scottish Office has recently drawn attention to the need for greater sensitivity to small towns and has advised local authorities that they should undertake a 'townscape audit' of each historic town 'to better understand a town's physical characteristics, that is the features and details which give it its identity; it should serve as a major input to the management of change in a town' (Scottish Office 1997) (see Chapter 18). To date, only a few such audits have been undertaken.

Historic Scotland, as an agency of the Secretary of State, has offered comparatively little guidance in relation to the historic townscape, preferring to work through listed building control, contributions to town schemes and the work of inspectors in partnership with local authority conservation officers, rather than on paper. The *Memorandum of Guidance on Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas* (Historic Scotland 1998, 49–60), for example, contains only a few pages of general and rather obvious advice, such as the following, relating to conservation areas:

> In considering applications for development within a conservation area, it is suggested that the first priority should be to have regard to those special architectural and visual qualities which gave rise to the area's designation, thus any proposal, which, either in itself or if repeated elsewhere within the area, could erode these qualities may have to be refused.
>
> For example, in an urban area, the character of which is determined by tight-knit unified

Figure 19.7 The Cross Well, Linlithgow after repaving works, 1996 (reproduced with permission of West Lothian Council)

architecture, it might be potentially damaging to permit development at a lower density which does not closely follow the design and detailing of the existing buildings. Similarly, an area characterised by low density development and abundant mature landscaping may be seriously threatened by any proposal to increase the density and reduce public/private open space.

While of some use to a local authority in defending a planning decision at appeal, such advice is hardly likely to be of fundamental influence. Historic Scotland is good at producing technical advice publications relating to specific conservation techniques or building types, so perhaps the time is right for extending their lists to include more detailed guidance for local authorities in relation to the historic town.

Recent years have seen attempts to bring archaeology into the planning fold through published government advice (Scottish Office 1994 (PAN 42)) and national policy guidance (Scottish Office 1994 (NPPG5)), although the effectiveness or otherwise of this is better addressed by others in this volume. I would suggest that this guidance came at a bad time for local government resources and their application to heritage matters. The reorganisation of 1995 saw significant losses of experienced conservation staff, many of whom had been in post since the early '70s, and financial stringency has seen the reduction of conservation grant aid in most local authorities.

A Green Paper on conservation of the built heritage (Historic Scotland 1996) included a provision that local authorities undertake and publish a character appraisal of a potential conservation area before its designation, to act as a benchmark against which future proposals could be judged, and to act as a first step in formulating proposals for its preservation and enhancement. With the change of government, this never moved forward, but a draft *National Planning Policy Guideline* was issued in 1998.

The draft NPPG emphasises the need for 'a full and detailed analysis and understanding of our towns and cities' (Scottish Office 1998, 11) and promotes the undertaking of both townscape audits and conservation area appraisals. In striking contrast to the English Heritage advice, it urges a cautious approach to the introduction of additional planning controls through Article 4 Directions.

Given that conservation is now closely integrated into popular culture, it is unlikely that the control and restraint enshrined in the planning legislation will ever be easily undone without a fundamental shift in public attitudes. If anything, there is likely to be a greater demand for the protection of the historic built and archaeological heritage as development pressures increase, and with the lack of funds for grants, initiatives and staffing which has affected local government since reorganisation in 1995, this rise in public expectations will lead to a high degree of public frustration with the system. As a consequence, we will see more emphasis placed on negative controls through the planning permission and listed building consent procedures, rather than on the promotion of specific action, and the performance-related, control-based culture will result in a drop in overall standards in conservation work, with the market becoming the main mover of change in the historic environment. Partnership initiatives of the Kilmarnock or Edinburgh's Royal Mile type (see Chapter 12), which are able to maximise resources for the enhancement of the public realm, will become rarer and rarer and, although the work of building preservation trusts will continue to play a valuable role, their contributions to the overall problem will be slight. Similarly, the Heritage Lottery Fund will be no substitute for local authority and Historic Scotland funds for conservation work. Within such a climate, specialist staff will drift away without replacement and, in time, proactive building conservation and archaeology will be abandoned in some areas.

Much will depend on whether the conservation of our towns becomes a political issue and the concern of the Scottish Parliament. Will the Parliament, for instance, leave the relative central and local government balance as at present, or will there be a shift in either direction?

One way forward for those local authorities which still recognise the ideals and benefits of conservation might be to develop comprehensive heritage strategies which bring together all of the local authority interests, including the conservation of buildings and areas, archaeology, museums and education, and to position these within the currently fashionable area of sustainability. Such an approach might give a critical mass which will offer some protection.

The tension between the modern and the traditional in the design of new work in historic towns will remain, and there will be gains and losses on each side. New development in historic areas is unlikely to occur on the scale seen in the 1960s, but it is only a matter of time before we see a wave of proposals for the redevelopment of the less important buildings of the 20th century, as they come to the end of their useful lives. In townscape terms, this will offer opportunities to correct earlier mistakes and re-knit the fabric of our historic towns. It is, therefore, important that we do not take our eye off the target, and remain equipped to rise to the challenge.

Notes

1 The flats also attract local criticism on account of their poor construction. Several blocks were 'conserved' in the mid 1990s when problems of dampness, water ingress and timber decay were addressed.

2 Colin McWilliam (McWilliam 1975, 193–7) suggests that Edinburgh had a conservation orientated 'self-conscious architectural policy for redevelopment' throughout the 19th century and Maurice Lindsay (Lindsay 1981, 80) has written that urban conservation in Scotland originated with Henry Cockburn (1779–1854), the Edinburgh Whig and lawyer.

3 At a time when masonry skills were either on the wane or falling out of architectural fashion, E J MacRae in his 1930s Edinburgh public housing and J Walker Todd in his County Buildings, Linlithgow of 1935 made extensive use of natural stone with traditional detailing. Part of the agenda behind the design of these, and other such public works, was the deliberate attempt to alleviate unemployment in the stone trades.

4 Accompanying Circular, 1967.

5 Jeffrey 1975.

6 Covering Bath, Chester, Chichester and York (Ministry for Housing and Local Government 1968a, 1968b, 1968c and 1968d).

7 For example, City of Edinburgh District Council, 1981 and Renfrew District Council and Strathclyde Regional Council, 1987.

8 For example, 1–5 London Road, Dalkeith, by Lothian Building Preservation Trust and Drumlanrig's Tower, Hawick, undertaken by the Scottish Historic Buildings Trust.

9 See Canogar 1998 and Smaaland 1998.

10 'Townscape appraisals' were advocated by Worskett as early as 1975, as 'the best method of assessing a town's capacity for change' (Worskett 1975, 9). For other surveys of urban conservation in 20th-century Scotland see the following: J Gerrard, 'The Scottish Civic Trust' in L Borley (ed), 1998 *Dear Maurice. Culture and identity in late 20th-century Scotland*, East Linton; M Glendinning, 1997 *Rebuilding Scotland*, East Linton; M Glendinning & D Page, 1999 *Clone city*, Edinburgh; M Horsey, 1987 'The utopia of heritage: a history of architectural preservation in Scotland, Part I', *Journal of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland*; M Horsey, 1988 'The utopia of heritage: a history of architectural preservation in Scotland, Part II: the post-war years', *Journal of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland*; R MacInnes, M Glendinning & A MacKechnie, 1999 *Building a nation: the story of Scotland's architecture*, Edinburgh.

PART VI CONCLUSION

20 Towns and townspeople: prospects for the future *by Michael Lynch*

A useful measuring-stick to gauge the likely future for the issues of conservation and change in Scotland's historic towns might go back to 1972, when two sets of important yet partly contradictory trends first began to gather pace. On the one hand, the far-sighted report of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, *Scotland's Medieval Burghs: an archaeological heritage in danger* (Simpson 1972) pointed to the irreplaceable loss of urban archaeology, both above and below ground, and the fact that very few urban rescue excavations had taken place in any of Scotland's towns. From a different standpoint, the same year marked a clear road towards the future, in the shape of the *Town and Country Planning Act (Scotland)*, which brought about statutory protection for listed buildings, the requirement of permission being sought before buildings were demolished and an apparatus of local authority grants (see Chapter 19), as well as the beginning of a wave of publications on urban environmental issues such as *New life for historic areas* (Department of the Environment 1972).

The prospect of the future, like the view of the successes and failures of the past three decades, can be different for the archaeologist or historian and the conservation movement. There is now in place a raft of legislation which seems to offer a high degree of protection, including the mechanisms of listing and the affording of conservation area status. Yet some of the legislation, and especially that relating to conservation area status, is relatively inactive, at least compared with England and Wales. *The Forty-Fifth Annual Report* of the Ancient Monuments Board for Scotland (Historic Scotland 1999) took as its main theme the current state of urban archaeology, which it had last examined in 1992; it considered, in particular, whether there was a need for fresh legislation. While it was able to report on the successful implementation of a number of priorities recognised in 1992, it also pointed to the fact that there were significant areas of policy which had, in very recent years, been overtaken by events on a larger stage, and in particular the intensifying pressure on both town cores and brownfield sites. Even in high-profile historic towns, such as St Andrews where, as it recognised, 'a significant proportion of the medieval core' was protected, the *Report* pointed none the less to the need for some general 'new designation for areas of archaeological sensitivity in towns, based on the conservation area approach'.[1] Existing legislation tends both to overlap and to leave cracks in coverage. The processes of scheduling and listing, in cases such as St Andrews where the outlines of the medieval town are still clearly evident, will protect upstanding buildings, visible remains and frontages but is difficult to apply to backlands. The *Town and Country Planning Act (Scotland)* of 1972 has not been used in Scotland in any systematic way and there are no Scottish examples, even in acknowledged jewels such as St Andrews, of such pro-active monitoring as has been practised in York (see Chapter 14).

Other, less glamorous Scottish towns have far less of a useable past. Towns such as these have a less well-known history and often no local archaeology or history society or effective amenity lobby to argue for the protection of what remains of it. As the AMB *Report* remarked, 'vigilance and informed opinion' may provide better protection than legislation, whether effective or not.[2] There are cases, such as Cumnock, where the history of the town and, consequently, its settlement patterns were, until the publication of a recent Burgh Survey, little known (Torrie & Coleman 1995a). There are many other Cumnocks.

Some of these towns are of first-rank historical importance: one such is Dumbarton, ancient capital of the Britons, where settlement predated its 12th-century foundation, on a nearby site, as a royal burgh. Yet, as is also the case with Camarthen, the oldest town in Wales, there is virtually nothing left to see above ground (see Chapter 16). There are other cases where towns have only a fractionally realised past. One such is Arbroath, best known for its Tironensian abbey, in which the Declaration of Arbroath (1320) was drawn up. In sharp contrast to its southern neighbour, Montrose, which has a lively local history network (Jackson & Lythe 1993), Arbroath has an underdeveloped history and has had few if any recorded excavations done in it over the past 30 years, despite modest development in the town centre. Yet the eccentricities of its layout, with a distinct kink in its main street which suggests that it was probably wider in the past than it is now, are likely to indicate a distinctive historical development (Naismith 1989, 50–1). The temptation here is to describe the town in terms of the features which are visible or tangible. But the well-preserved remains of an abbey, even with a visitor centre, do little to explain the significance or distinctiveness of a relatively important medieval town, founded as an abbot's burgh in the late 12th century.

Scheduling and listing can be applied most readily to what can be seen or guessed at, such as bridges, castles, or the surviving remains of religious houses (see Chapter 5). Yet much of this approach, sometimes

known and partly caricatured as 'monumentalism', is misleading because it applies to monuments which were linked to but separate from burgh society – such as royal castles and religious houses – as well as those which were an integral part of it, such as tolbooth, market cross, ports and bridges. More important to the understanding of the town as a town – a working environment which has seen repeated development, expansion and contraction, and redevelopment over centuries as well as in modern times – is an understanding of its layout and settlement patterns and an appreciation both of the townscape and its wider setting in an historic landscape. In a search for understanding of the historic, working town, property lines and backlands are as important as frontages, as are the hidden, *former* frontages – still perhaps buried under modern street lines, as seems likely in Arbroath. The townscape is also vulnerable because it depends on distinctive vistas which have been planned over centuries and the loss through decay or redundancy of one or more key buildings, such as a church, can render meaningless a vista which was formerly redolent with meaning (see Chapters 3 & 18).

Towns were also placed where they were usually because of some compelling feature in the surrounding landscape – whether it was merely an obvious crossroads for trade, or at a natural fording or bridging point on a tidal river, or on land which was sustainable for development in a landscape which was originally speckled by marsh and bog. The approach to towns and the dividing line which separated them from rural hinterland, which would once have been obvious, is now often lost amidst industrial 'parks' or suburban residential sprawl, both of which mostly became a feature of urban development in Scotland only in the 18th century or later. Each of the layers of what constitutes an historic town – its half-hidden infrastructure of side streets, back lanes and backlands; its townscape vistas, which depend to a great extent on the preservation of street lines; and its wider setting in the surrounding landscape – need to be acknowledged and dealt with sympathetically.

Towns, it has been said, are the most complex of archaeological sites (see Chapter 9). They are also under the most intensive pressures. Even if a more effective legislative framework existed, it would still work only as well as the human resources needed to operate it allowed. It is here that the prospects for the future are most worrying. Since 1972, a whole series of urban excavations has taken place. Rescue-led archaeology, however, is by its very nature random in its geographical coverage and patchy in its overall impact because of the nature of the archaeological workforce it employs. Competitive tendering, as in Wales and elsewhere (see Chapter 16), introduced a world of temporary contracts, fragmented expertise and a lack of overall perspective. Historic Scotland has recently tried to remedy the resultant intellectual jigsaw in towns where there have been significant numbers of excavations; it has embarked on a policy of commissioning overviews, beginning with Perth, the most excavated town in Scotland. Laudable as this is, both for the understanding of individual towns and developing a template which may well inform analysis in a series of historic burghs, a research framework will be difficult to produce quickly in such circumstances. The skill base is both small and fragile. There are fewer archaeologists in Scotland as a whole than in Essex and Sussex. In 1972, three of Scotland's universities had an archaeology department; now there are two and, while they have expanded in size, neither has a particular specialism in urban archaeology. In Germany and parts of Switzerland, medieval towns have been assessed by medieval urban archaeologists (see Chapters 11 & 17). In Scotland, many working in the field have a background in English urban archaeology and have had to adapt on the job. Some of the independent archaeological units, as a result, have built up considerable urban expertise over the course of years, but this is a fragile resource, often dependent on a handful of individuals. Their future can never be guaranteed.

The infrastructure of local authority archaeologists, which should provide a more secure foundation than archaeological units which are, by their very nature, temporary constructs, is still incomplete, especially after a further bout of local government reorganisation visited on Scotland in the 1990s. A few authorities still have no archaeology service at all. A number of the new, smaller authorities buy in expertise from outside, but this can produce a feeling of alienation; one local museum in Argyll, in its advertising literature, refers to work being 'subcontracted to a Glasgow firm', meaning the former Strathclyde Regional Archaeology Service which until 1996 encompassed Argyll.[3] Where there is dedicated coverage, local authority archaeologists often find themselves hugely overburdened, as is made clear elsewhere in this volume (see Chapter 10). And nowhere is that pressure more intensive than in towns.

The repeated recommendation of the Ancient Monuments Board that Sites and Monuments Records, of a uniform quality, be made a statutory responsibility might partly remedy some of these problems, but only if extra funding came with it.[4] That recommendation lies in the in-tray of the new Scottish parliament, but there is as yet no sign that it is of much priority, despite the growing urgency of the problem because of the likelihood of further, irreplaceable damage to archaeology in towns as a result of a renewed emphasis by government on redevelopment in town centres rather than in out-of-town shopping centres. The placing of responsibility for heritage, both built and below ground, within the remit of Culture and Sport, rather than (as was expected by many) within Transport and Environment, threatens to pose new problems for those aspects of urban archaeology which are naturally aligned, above all else, to the planning process. Clear

lines of responsibility will have to be a priority of legislation, when it eventually emerges.

The future of conservation, in its many, varied aspects, in Scotland's towns is uncertain. As with other parts of Scotland's past, the heritage of its historic towns has many rival claimants. Planners, archaeologists, historians, conservation officers and specialist consultants of various kinds each have their own distinctive version of urban heritage. In towns which seldom have glittering medieval monuments – there are few Durham Cathedrals or York Shambles in Scotland's burghs – the understanding of what constitutes the urban heritage is often in dispute. Appropriate shop frontages have their place on most agendas but the choice of street furniture seems often to be based on foreign concepts of how Scotland's historic towns actually worked. A sense of 'community', more familiar to English market towns, is imported along with the street furniture. Yet relatively few Scottish towns had an open, large market-place; Edinburgh, for example, had fourteen separate markets located at intervals along its High Street in the late 15th century and Stirling's Broad Street, similarly, was a street which accommodated the town's markets rather than a market-place. The boundaries between rival urban concepts, however, are beginning to break down, encouraged by the formation of umbrella bodies such as the Historic Burghs Association of Scotland, which was initiated by planners and conservation officers. And a comprehensive heritage strategy depends, above all, on a mutual understanding of what that heritage is.

Here, the stakes, of course, are high and the temptations to embellish the past considerable. A recent survey of overseas tourists who visited Scotland revealed that no fewer than 83 per cent put 'heritage' above all other attractions as to why they came.[5] The resulting temptation for tourist boards, local authorities and local entrepreneurs is to go for the obvious tourist template, whether appropriate or not. Like Dublin, many of Scotland's towns, have succumbed to 'anniversarianism', both real and fake (see Chapter 15). Linlithgow celebrated its alleged 850th anniversary in the wrong year and Dundee was three years early with its 800th, when it claimed for itself the title of 'City of Discovery'. The real issue is not the assault of ghost walks, medieval monks and other exhibits of tabloid-style history which greet the innocent tourist. It is rather the manipulation of heritage by those from whom better should be expected. A series of historic royal burghs, including Dunfermline and Perth, have falsely claimed the title of 'ancient capital' of Scotland on flimsy grounds. In Stirling, a pedestrianisation scheme for Broad Street, the town's main market street, suggested moving the historic market cross; and the nearby redundant, late 19th-century military prison was re-opened as the 'town jail', which it never was. This kind of 'creationism' sits ill at ease with the careful conservation represented by the highly professional presentation by Historic Scotland of the Argyll Lodging, a 17th-century noble's town house, just yards from Broad Street in the other direction.

The future of the past shows promise. Certain things have undoubtedly improved in the course of the past 30 years, though often this has happened only in very recent times. Only after 1990, when planning applications came to be routinely monitored in Fife, could it safely be said, even of St Andrews, that valuable buildings in the town could not be swept away by random redevelopment. Yet the application of monitoring procedures remains patchy, as does the state of knowledge of the hundred or so Scottish towns which can usefully be said to have a significant historic past worth conserving or managing. Time will tell, especially with the new Scottish parliament which, it is hoped, should be more responsive to heritage issues. But for a good deal of that urban heritage, time, which is the most fragile of all resources, is also running out.

Notes

1 Ancient Monuments Board for Scotland, *The Forty-Fifth Annual Report* (Historic Scotland 1999), 8–11.
2 *Ibid*, 10.
3 *Kilmartin House Project Update* (May 1999).
4 Ancient Monuments Board for Scotland, *43rd Report* (1997), *44th Report* (1998), *45th Report* (1999).
5 Memo submitted by Historic Scotland to the Scottish Affairs Committee inquiry into tourism in Scotland, Para. 6.3 (based on 1996 figures).

Appendix: Towns in Scotland, England and Wales, followed by pre-1974 county or shire, and 1999 local authority

Scotland

Aberdeen; Aberdeenshire; City of Aberdeen
Alloa; Clackmannanshire; Clackmannan
Alva; Clackmannanshire; Clackmannan
Anstruther; Fife; Fife
Arbroath; Angus; Angus
Auchterarder; Perthshire; Perth & Kinross
Auchtermuchty; Fife; Fife
Ayr; Ayrshire; South Ayrshire
Biggar; Lanarkshire; South Lanarkshire
Burntisland; Fife; Fife
Canongate; Midlothian; City of Edinburgh
Coupar Angus; Perthshire; Perth & Kinross
Crail; Fife; Fife
Cromarty; Ross and Cromarty; Highland
Cullen; Banffshire; Moray
Culross; Fife; Fife
Cumbernauld; Dunbarton; North Lanarkshire
Cumnock; Ayrshire; East Ayrshire
Cupar; Fife; Fife
Dalkeith; Midlothian; Midlothian
Dryburgh; Roxburghshire; Scottish Borders
Dumbarton; Dunbarton; West Dunbartonshire
Dumfries; Dumfriesshire; Dumfries & Galloway
Dunbar; East Lothian; East Lothian
Dunblane; Perthshire; Stirling
Dundee; Angus; City of Dundee
Dunfermline; Fife; Fife
Dunkeld; Perthshire; Perth and Kinross
Dysart; Fife; Fife
Edinburgh; Midlothian; City of Edinburgh
Elgin; Moray; Moray
Eyemouth; Berwickshire; Scottish Borders
Falkland; Fife; Fife
Forfar; Angus; Angus
Forres; Moray; Moray
Fort George; Invernessshire; Highland
Fort William; Invernessshire; Highland
Glasgow; Lanarkshire (mainly) Renfrewshire (partly); City of Glasgow
Grantown-on-Spey; Morayshire; Highland
Haddington; East Lothian; East Lothian
Hamilton; Lanarkshire; South Lanarkshire
Hawick; Roxburghshire; Scottish Borders
Huntly; Aberdeenshire; Aberdeenshire
Inveraray; Argyll; Argyll and Bute
Invergordon; Ross and Cromarty; Highland
Inverkeithing; Fife; Fife
Inverness; Invernessshire; Highland
Inverurie; Aberdeenshire; Aberdeenshire
Jedburgh; Roxburghshire; Scottish Borders
Kelso; Roxburghshire; Scottish Borders
Killearn; Stirlingshire, Stirling
Kilmarnock; Ayrshire; East Ayrshire
Kinghorn; Fife; Fife
Kirkcaldy; Fife; Fife
Kirkcudbright; Kirkcudbrightshire; Dumfries and Galloway
Kirkliston; West Lothian; City of Edinburgh
Kirkwall; Orkney; Orkney
Leith; Midlothian; City of Edinburgh
Lerwick; Shetland; Shetland
Lesmahagow; Lanarkshire; South Lanarkshire
Linlithgow; West Lothian; West Lothian
Melrose; Roxburghshire; Scottish Borders
Montrose; Angus; Angus
Muirkirk; Ayrshire; East Ayrshire
Musselburgh; East Lothian; East Lothian
Nairn; Nairnshire; Highland
Newburgh; Fife; Fife
New Lanark; Lanarkshire; South Lanarkshire
North Berwick; East Lothian; East Lothian
North Queensferry; Fife; Fife
Paisley; Renfrewshire; Renfrewshire
Patna; Ayrshire; East Ayrshire
Peebles; Peeblesshire; Scottish Borders
Perth; Perthshire; Perth & Kinross
Peterhead; Aberdeenshire; Aberdeenshire
Pittenweem; Fife; Fife
Portobello; Midlothian; City of Edinburgh
Portree; Island of Skye; Highland
Rattray; Aberdeenshire; Aberdeenshire
Ratho; Midlothian; City of Edinburgh
Rothesay; Bute; Argyll and Bute
Roxburgh; Roxburghshire; Scottish Borders
St Andrews; Fife; Fife
Selkirk; Selkirkshire; Scottish Borders
South Queensferry; West Lothian; City of Edinburgh
Stirling; Stirlingshire; Stirling
Stornoway; Western Isles; Western Isles
Stonehaven; Kincardine; Aberdeenshire
Stranraer; Wigtownshire; Dumfries and Galloway
Stromness; Orkney; Orkney
Tillicoultry; Clackmannanshire; Clackmannan
Ullapool; Ross and Cromarty; Highland

England

Avoncroft; Worcestershire; Worcestershire
Bath; Somerset; Avon (Bath & NE Somerset after 1996)
Berwick-on-Tweed; Northumberland; Northumberland

Birmingham; Warwickshire; West Midlands
Bishop's Castle; Shropshire; Shropshire
Bristol; Gloucestershire; Avon (Bristol after 1996)
Bury St Edmunds; West Suffolk; Suffolk
Canterbury; Kent; Kent
Chester; Cheshire; Cheshire
Chipping Campden; Oxfordshire; Oxfordshire
Colyford; Devon; Devon
Coventry; Warwick; West Midlands
Durham; Durham; Durham
Exeter; Devon; Devon
Harewood; West Riding; West Yorkshire
Harrogate; West Riding; North Yorkshire
Hereford; Herefordshire; Hereford and Worcester
Hull; East Riding; Humberside (Kingston on Hull after 1996)
Liverpool; Lancashire; Merseyside
London
Ludlow; Shropshire; Shropshire
Newcastle-upon-Tyne; Northumberland; Tyne-on-Wear
Norwich; Norfolk; Norfolk
Penrhyn; Cornwall; Cornwall
Richmond; North Riding; North Yorkshire
Ryedale; North Riding; North Yorkshire
Selby; West Riding; North Yorkshire
Sheffield; West Riding; South Yorkshire
Shrewsbury; Shropshire; Shropshire
Southampton; Hampshire; Hampshire
Tewkesbury; Gloucestershire; Gloucestershire
Totnes; Devon; Devon
Warwick; Warwickshire; Warwickshire
Wells; Somerset; Somerset
Woodstock; Oxfordshire; Oxfordshire
York; North Riding; North Yorkshire (City of York after 1996)

Wales

Caerwent; Monmouthshire; Monmouthshire
Carmarthen; Carmarthenshire; Carmarthenshire
Pembroke; Pembrokeshire; Pembrokeshire
Penrhyn; Caernarvonshire; Gwynedd
Portmeirion; Merionethshire; Gwynedd
Rhydygors; Carmarthenshire; Carmarthenshire

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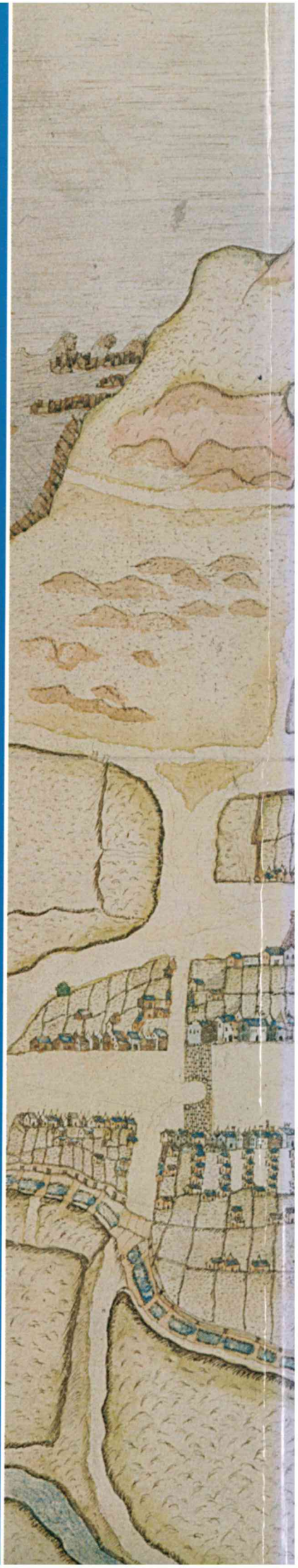
Conservation and Change in Historic Towns

RESEARCH DIRECTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

The origins of this multi-author volume lie in a conference, based on the theme *Conservation and change in Scotland's historic towns*, run by the Centre for Scottish Urban History, University of Edinburgh, in September 1996. The conference attracted a wide audience, reflecting the interest and concerns of a broad spectrum of opinion, and sparked a lively debate which raised many of the key issues discussed in this volume.

At the centre of these issues is the question of how to strike the correct balance between conservation and change – how to protect a town's heritage while allowing it to grow and progress.
The Scottish experience is set in a wider European context, and it is clear how variedly this problem is addressed in towns across Europe – although equally apparent are many common reactions.
It also highlights a number of other important considerations, for example, what exactly are 'historic towns'? Who determines what should be saved and what destroyed or redeveloped? For whom is this heritage being saved?

The volume is in six parts: an introduction to the contributions; an assessment of the European experience; the Scottish scene; examples of conservation strategies in Europe; a brief overview of changing perceptions; and a conclusion, which draws together the main themes. It is essential reading for anyone interested in the question: what is the future for the past in our historic towns?

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