
4 ABERDEEN CARMELITE FRIARY

4.1 THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE RM SPEARMAN

INTRODUCTION

The surviving documentary evidence of the Carmelite friars of Aberdeen (Ill 1) is considerable. Over 300 separate documents or book entries have been preserved. These are almost all calendared along with documents for the other Aberdeen friars in Anderson's *Aberdeen Friars*. The survival of such a large body of evidence is mainly the result of George fifth Earl Marischal's endowment of his college with all the possessions of the Carmelites and Dominicans of Aberdeen (*Aberdeen Friars*, 112); many of the original documents are in the Aberdeen University Archives. There are, in addition, a significant number of references to the Carmelites in the Aberdeen Council Registers and the Registers of Sasines held in the City of Aberdeen Charter Room. A further small number of important references occur in the public records, the majority of which are in print. The documentation is almost wholly concerned with the financial and property holdings of the friars.

The work of two early 18th-century historians, John Spottiswoode (1666-1728) and Marianus Brockie (1687-1755) also provides evidence about Aberdeen and other Carmelite houses. The former wrote an *Account of the Religious Houses in Scotland at the Time of the Reformation* which was reprinted in Keith's *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops* (Keith, *Bishops* 1824). Brockie was a Benedictine monk who worked on many documents relating to the Scottish monasteries with the intention of producing a 'Monasticon Scoticon' but died before this was complete. There are many problems in assessing Brockie's work: some of his manuscripts are thought to be genuine transcriptions of documents which have since been lost, while others are patent forgeries (Docherty 1965).

Despite the large number of references to both rents and land holdings of the friars the surviving documentation is not a complete record of the friars' property interests. Evidence for the 13th and 14th centuries, in particular, is scarce and must be regarded as patchy. The records improve considerably during the course of the 15th century.

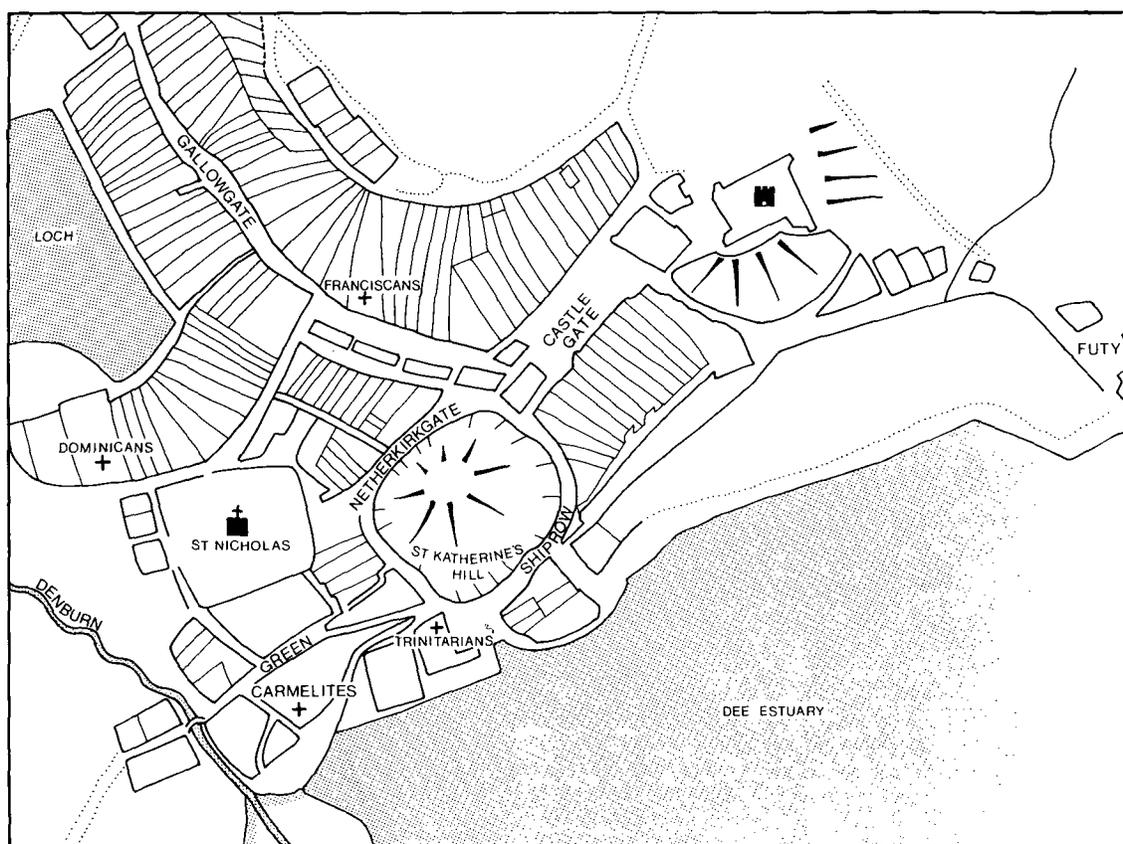
Preservation of the records must have suffered considerably as a result of the two 'destructions' of the friary. It is difficult to judge what effect Edward III's raid on Aberdeen in 1336 had on the friars' cartulary. So few documents survive for that period that there are no identifiable gaps. However, the numerous confirmations of now missing charters given by David II in the 1360's attest to an attempt by the friars to reorganise their charters once peace had been re-established. The destruction of the friars' deeds as a result of the Reformation is more easily reconstructed. Many papers were lost and lands alienated between 1559 and 1593 when the various remaining charters came to rest with Marischal College. At times title deeds would have been transferred with their relevant land. On other occasions lands were illegally alienated and writs conveniently or otherwise lost. In general, loss of documentation is more easily detected for lands in and around Aberdeen. For these, the evidence is more abundant and cross references with the burgh records and later Marischal College rentals are sometimes possible. Further away from Aberdeen, land holdings of the friars tended to stand in isolation from one another so that no references in any other documents exist to indicate lost lands or rents. Where evidence has survived the lands in question have usually been legally or illegally alienated in the years following the Reformation. If any other such lands were alienated with loss of their charters then nothing would now be known of them.

In addition to the charter evidence a rental of the friars' property compiled for Prior John Christesoun in 1542 is also extant (MCC, i, 9) (Table 1 mf, 1: A4). The number of 'lands' involved in this rental is very much as the charters indicated although the rental shows no income from Netherkirkgate where at the end of the 15th century there had been two 'lands' owned by the friars. The major difference between the charters and Christesoun's rental is that the latter also indicates an income from fourteen houses located in various parts of the town. It would seem that these were also owned by the friars but that they were not substantial enough to merit separate charters.

SITE LOCATION

The earliest references locate the Carmelites in Aberdeen in the Green (Ill 4). However there was some ambiguity in the definition of the Green during the medieval period. In particular the boundary between the Green and Denburn areas varied as certain borderline properties often changed from one district to the other (Milne 1911, 33). No specific descriptions of the friary's location in the Green have survived, but some information can be gathered when the friary was used as a landmark in the descriptions of other properties. It is, therefore, not until such site descriptions become more common at the beginning of the 15th century that the site of the friary can be identified, on the S side and

near the W end of the Green. The friary gate opened into a vennel which extended between the Green and an inch by the river (MCC, xi, 53): this vennel may have approximated to the modern line of Rennie's Wynd (Ill 6). Other references show that the friary was E of this vennel (MCC, xii, 30, 38, 39). The lack of earlier references to the friary location make it uncertain whether it had moved between the late 13th and early 15th century. The friary is known to have acquired several parcels of adjacent land and some changes in layout may have taken place but it seems unlikely that once established the friary was ever transferred to a completely different site on the Green.



ILL 4 : Aberdeen. Location of lands in or near the burgh owned by the Carmelites or providing income through rent, and mentioned in Chapter 4.1

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE OF LAND HOLDINGS AND ANNUAL RENTS

The Carmelites received cash income from the land in two basic forms. The most common source was money gifted to the friars in perpetuity and paid as annual rents out of specified properties. The land involved remained the property of the benefactor and his or her heirs. Less commonly the friars acquired full title to lands. These they made use of themselves or leased out for further rents. Such lands came to the friars in a variety of ways. Occasionally non-payment of gifted rents meant that a benefactor's heirs parted with the land in question, or a portion of it, rather than the accumulated rents. This was the case in 1399 when Alice Pynchast parted with certain lands in the area of the Denburn which were unable to pay annual rents gifted from them by her father Mathew (MCC, xii). Gifts of land from benefactors were often extensions of earlier gifts of rents. The principal reason for gifts of both rents and land was to ensure that the friars would pray for the souls of the benefactors and their families. Many such gifts may also have been in recognition of religious services and educational assistance. Frequently, therefore, these grants indicate the districts of the town where the friars were most active. Where the rentals of land were at some distance from the town some of the connections between the town and its hinterland can also be recognised. The record is very much one of money. Through-

out the period there are no extant records of payments in kind to the friars, although such gifts might be expected at least from the farm land and crofts. Either the money economy had become firmly established in and around Aberdeen or there is a specific gap in the record. The wide range of surviving documents makes it unlikely that a whole type of income could be missing. Moreover there are very few references in *Aberdeen Friars* to any other friary receiving rents in kind.

Management of such a large estate led not only to rentals such as that of 1542 but also to the appointment of friars as rent collectors and procurators. From the second half of the 15th century pursuit of rent arrears became an ever increasing feature of the friars' public dealings. Where necessary, cases were brought by the friars before the burgh court and at times they even went on to recover rents forcibly or seize land. Many of these disputes were concerned with land or rents from within the burgh, but there are also records from a forty-seven year long dispute between the friars and the Leslie family over their occupation of lands in Ardune (? Ardoyne, c 25 miles NW of Aberdeen) and Stainbrig (location not known) (MCC, xiii, 7; Aberdeen Sasines, viii, 28 July 1553).

STRUCTURAL HISTORY

The earliest evidence for the Aberdeen Carmelite friary survives only in a confirmation charter of 1336 in which David II, King of Scots, re-affirmed a number of earlier grants to the friars (*RRS*, vi, nos 260, 262). Both of the reconfirmed charters originally date to 1273, but one was itself a confirmation of an earlier charter.

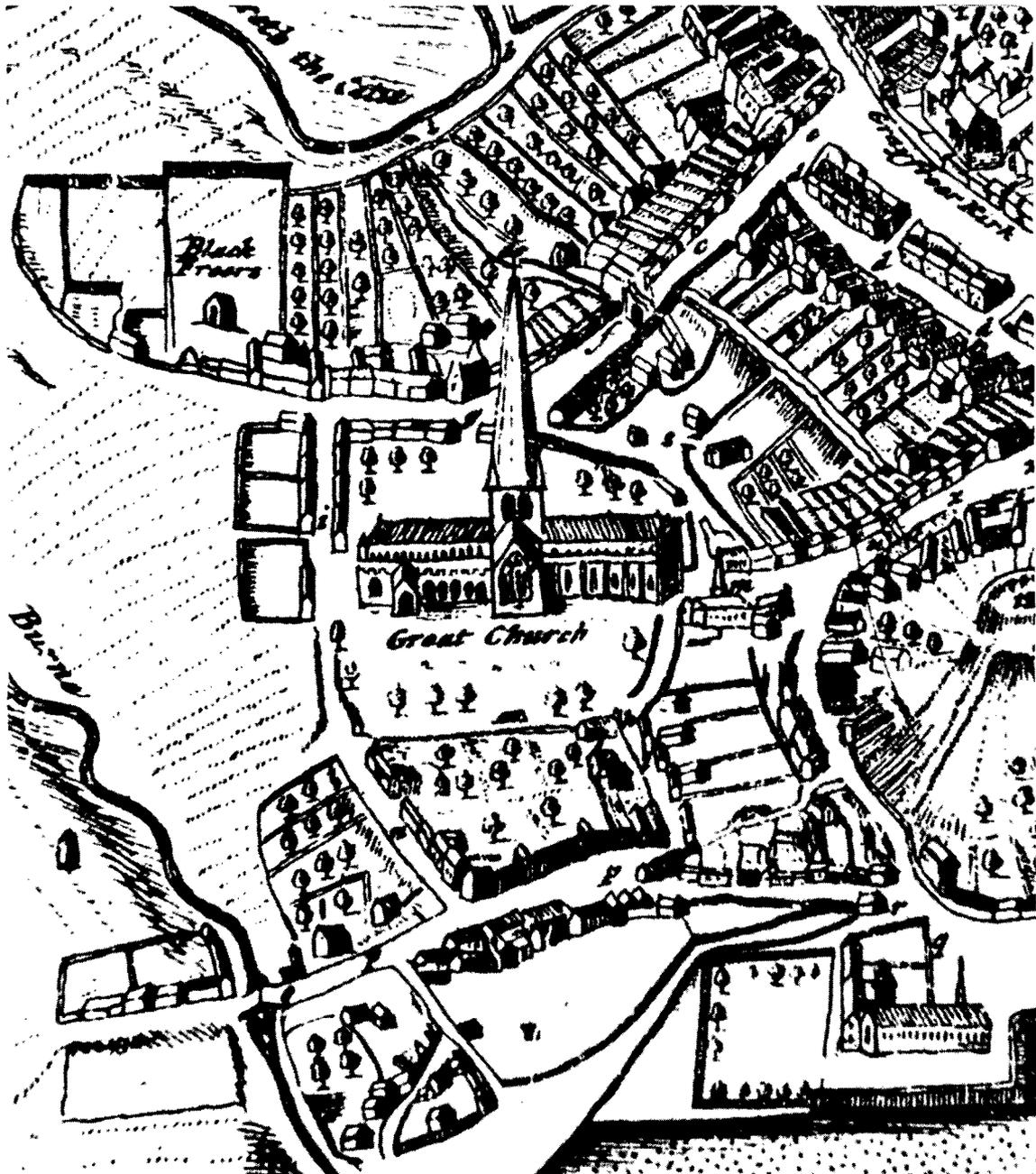
This first confirmation had been given by Friar Laurence de Dalery with the Trinitarian friars of Aberdeen and elsewhere after a meeting at Fontem Scocie (Scotlandwell by Loch Leven in Kinross-shire). In this early confirmation the Aberdeen Trinitarians stated that they had been witnesses to the granting of land called the 'madderyard in the Green' to the Carmelite friars in Aberdeen by Thomas le Bouer, a burgess of that town. Le Bouer's gift must have been made between the establishment of the Trinitarians in Aberdeen and the meeting at Scotlandwell in 1273. This is the first firm reference to the Trinitarians in Aberdeen. The popular belief is that they were sent to the town by William I, c 1211 (Milne 1911, 75), but the origin of the story is Hector Boece and not reliable (Bellenden, *Chronicles*, 218). There are no references to a church or any other buildings in le Bouer's grant and this would seem to have been the Carmelites' first land holding in Aberdeen.

The second charter of 1273 refers to a gift by Reginald le Cheyne the elder (pater) of eight marks (£5 6s 8d) annual rent specifically for the friary buildings namely its church, cloister, refectory, dormitory, infirmary and kitchen. The charter makes no provision for land on which the convent was to be built. Clearly the Carmelites must already have had some in their possession and it would seem that a gift of land, such as the 'madderyard' must have pre-dated le Cheyne's own 'foundation'.

Involvement of other burgesses soon followed, providing rents of a mark or even just a few pence from other lands in the Green (*RRS*, vi, no 260) and in 1277/8 the friars were able to purchase land immediately to the E of their own property (*RRS*, vi, no 260). This expansion must almost

certainly mean that at this stage the friars had begun the building programme initially funded by Reginald le Cheyne. However le Cheyne's part in the War of Independence and the war itself must have made it difficult for the friars to progress very far with the building. In 1324 Robert I endowed the friars with an annual of ten marks (£6 13s 4d) from the burgh ferm to help pay for the construction of their church. These payments continued until the end of Robert's reign in 1329. In 1327 there was also an additional gift from the king of 40s (*ER*, i, 60, 61, 90, 155, 308). It is possible that Robert was funding an extension to the Carmelites' church but given the problems of the preceding twenty five years of war it seems more probable that his grant was to help in its completion. With Robert's death in 1329 relations between Scotland and England deteriorated and renewed warfare led to the substantial destruction of Aberdeen by Edward III in 1336. Any buildings that the friars had been able to erect by that time may well have been destroyed during the battle for the town which according to Andrew of Wyntoun, writing in 1420-4, actually took place in the Green (*Chron Wyntoun* (Laing), ii, 422-3). Fordun's chronicle, written prior to 1384, also records that Aberdeen was sacked by Edward III although he does not provide details of the battle site (*Chron Fordun*, i, 360). The Exchequer Rolls record that only the adherents of Edward III were left in the town and that the burgh ferm for Martinmas 1336, a set tax to the crown, had to be abandoned (*ER*, i, 472).

The Exchequer Rolls also provide some suggestion that the friary, and in particular the friary church roof, had been damaged. In 1340 the ten marks from Aberdeen's burgh ferm previously provided from 1324-9 were again being made available to the friars. This money was now to be used not only on the church fabric but also on its roof. Indeed in 1341, 1342 and 1343 the money was solely for the church roof (*ER*, i, 455, 456, 471, 480, 528). It was not until 1349/50 that new rents were again gifted to the Carmelites. Moreover these new rents were not normally from land in the Green. When



ILL 5 : Part of Parson James Gordon's map of Aberdeen (1661) showing positions of Dominican, Franciscan and Carmelite friaries, and of the Trinitarian house. The Franciscan (Greyfriars) church is marked top right, the Trinitarian church appears below the letter q (bottom right). One small building is still standing at the Dominican (Blackfriars) site (top left). The site of the Carmelite friary lies below the letter p, which marks the Green. The 'freer killne', mentioned by Parson Gordon (16) as the last vestige of the Carmelite friary, has not been identified on the map

Mathew Pynsach did include a rental for the Green in his larger gift of 1350 the portion from the Green had to be spread amongst a number of plots. His principal tenement there had been burnt and laid waste while others were vacant (RRS, vi, no 260; MCC, viii, 2).

In 1350, burgesses such as John Crab, Mathew Pynsach and Alexander Constable provided substantial annual rents from elsewhere in the burgh (RRS, vi, nos 260, 344). In 1360 David II gave a gift of ten pounds to the friars and in the following year agreed to continue the payments from the burgh ferm granted by Robert I. The proviso that the money was to be spent on the church fabric was, however, withdrawn. Presumably the Carmelites' church was finally fully repaired (RRS, vi, no 261; ER, ii, 103ff).

Amongst the benefactors of the friary in the mid-14th century was Philip Arbuthnot whom both Spottiswoode and Brockie, writing in the 18th century, acclaimed as the actual founder of the convent (Spottiswoode 1824, 455; Brockie, 1549). While this was obviously not the case it would seem that he was involved in the rebuilding of the friary after Edward III's sack of the town. The only extant charter of Philip Arbuthnot relating to the friars gives an annual of one mark towards the refurbishment of their church from his lands at Arbuthnot in the Mearns. There is some difficulty over the date of this charter. In the Register of the Great Seal it is dated 25 April 1355, but in an inspection charter of 1366 from David II the same document is dated 15 April 1304 (RMS, i, no 259; RRS, vi, no 358). The 1304 date seems unlikely. The Arbuthnot family history is not precise for this period but there was only one Philip to hold the title. Philip was married for the second time in the 1370's to Margaret Douglas, daughter of Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith and subsequent founder of the Carmelite friary at Linlithgow. Philip's heir from this marriage, Hugh, had succeeded by 1404 when he appeared as a witness to a charter (*Scots Peerage*, i, 276-7). It would seem unlikely therefore that Philip held the title or was even alive in 1304 and the 1355 date is preferred here.

Philip Arbuthnot's gift of one mark annually would not have been enough to lead Spottiswoode and Brockie to believe that he was the friary's founder. The problems over the dating of Arbuthnot's charter may, however, have been part of an attempt by the friars to increase his standing and cast him as the convent's patron. Such a date change involving both day and year is unlikely to have been simply a scribal error and the friars would seem to have deliberately changed the date. In 1366 it may have been felt that it was unwise to be too closely associated with the Cheyne family who had sided with the English during the earlier wars. For whatever reason, the story of Philip Arbuthnot's patronage of the convent became established. It may well be, though, that Arbuthnot gave other gifts to the friars which are unknown and this was the explanation adopted by Brockie. To support his belief that Arbuthnot was the convent's founder, Brockie produced a further 'charter' from Philip dated 1354 (Brockie, 1548-51). Brockie is the only source for this charter which is almost certainly spurious. Its phraseology is comparable to Brockie's own passages and unlike genuine foundation charters of the 14th century. The charter purports to be an agreement by Philip Arbuthnot to fund the construction of a new convent as previous pious work had been destroyed by war and fire. The charter names a number of individuals whose existence is otherwise unknown. Friar Elias Bizzet is supposed to have supervised the new building work and Friar Elias Collison is described as provincial of the order in Scotland. We do not know who held these posts in 1354. Philip Arbuthnot is described as constable of Aberdeen. This is likewise unconfirmed but would appear to be a contrivance of Brockie's to connect an earlier benefactor of the friars, Alexander Constable, with Philip. Alexander Constable, son of Roger Constable, burgess of Aberdeen, provided the friars with a rental of four marks from his lands in Castlegate in

1350. Brockie was aware of David II's confirmation of this gift but changed the date of the original gift to c 1364 and the name of the grantor to Alexander Arbuthnot son of Philip (RRS, vi, no 344; Brockie, 1551). Brockie clearly believed that the friary had in effect been refounded in the 1350's and was providing a spurious history of those events. There may however have been other gifts by Philip Arbuthnot.

The fortunes of the friary continued to improve over the next hundred years with a steady flow of new annuals and occasional gifts of land. In the second half of the 15th century the friars began to acquire land adjacent to their convent. In 1451/2 Andrew Sprinct 'gifted' to the friars his land on the S side of the Green bounded to E and W by the friars' land (MCC, xii, 48). No new building work is recorded and it seems likely that the friars were simply consolidating their extensive land holdings in the Green. In 1467 they had also acquired five particates of land on the opposite side of the Green (a particate is a strip of land approximately eighteen to twenty feet wide).

During this period the friars also profited from James IV's many gifts to religious houses. From 1497/8 they regularly received alms from the king along with the other friars in Aberdeen. They were normally given the same amount as the Blackfriars, usually about thirteen shillings (TA, i, 373-4, ii, 75, 255, 265, 266, iii, 66).

No evidence for any structural changes is known of during the 16th century until the Reformation. On 29 December 1559 Thomas Menzies, provost of the council announced that: 'The Mearns men and Angouss men conuent in congregatioune ar to be in this toune this present day to destroy and cast down the kirkis and religiows places thair of, under colour and pretence of godlie reformatioun' (*Aberdeen Counc*, 325-6). The burgh council was far from pleased with the actions of the men of Mearns and Angus but they were powerless to stop the following day's events. On 4 January 1559/60 (note: in the Spalding Club publication cited above, pagination and date wrongly imply that the year was 1558/9) the burgh registers continue: 'sum nichtbours and induellaris of the burght, hes enterit to the blak freirs and quhyt freirs of this toune and spulzeit their places, and takin away the gere and gudis of the same, witht the tymmarwark and insicht, togidder with the leid of the kirkis and ar enterit upoun the ruiifs of the kirkis and biggins and takand away the sklayttis, tymmir and stanis thair of' (*Aberdeen Counc*, 315). Obviously not all the townfolk shared Provost Menzies' scruples. Considerable damage was being done to the fabric of the friaries. The plate had presumably been removed and the friars evicted by the men of Mearns and Angus. The burgh council, recognising that they could do little to prevent the robbing of building material, claimed it for the common good and proceeded to repossess it from the townfolk and organise a more systematic gutting of the buildings (*Aberdeen Counc*, xxiii, 256).

In the confused years after the Reformation the lands and convent of the Carmelites in Aberdeen were granted to a number of individuals and organisations. In many cases this was in conjunction with the property of other Aberdeen friars—in particular the Dominicans. In 1561 Queen Mary gave the lands of the Dominicans, Carmelites and Franciscans under licence to Duncan Forbes of Monymusk. In the following year Forbes endeavoured to sell the lands of the Dominicans and Carmelites to the town but was refused (*Aberdeen Friars*, 98-9). Very little activity by any of the friars is recorded after the Reformation and the friary church was clearly not in use. We know of only four friars receiving 'wages', or a stipend, from the collectors of Thirds of Benefices in 1563 (Donaldson 1979, 219). One of these was Friar John Crystesoun, who, as provincial of the order in Scotland, gave Friar John Fulford, the last prior of the Carmelites in Aberdeen, permission to grant the friars' lands in Easter Glensault (in the Mearns, c 40 miles SW of Aberdeen) to James Keith of Drumtocher (MCC, vii, 8). This

charter was given in 1565 and was the last known act of the Carmelites in Aberdeen. Friar John Fulford was not one of those listed as being in receipt of money from the collectors of Thirds of Benefices.

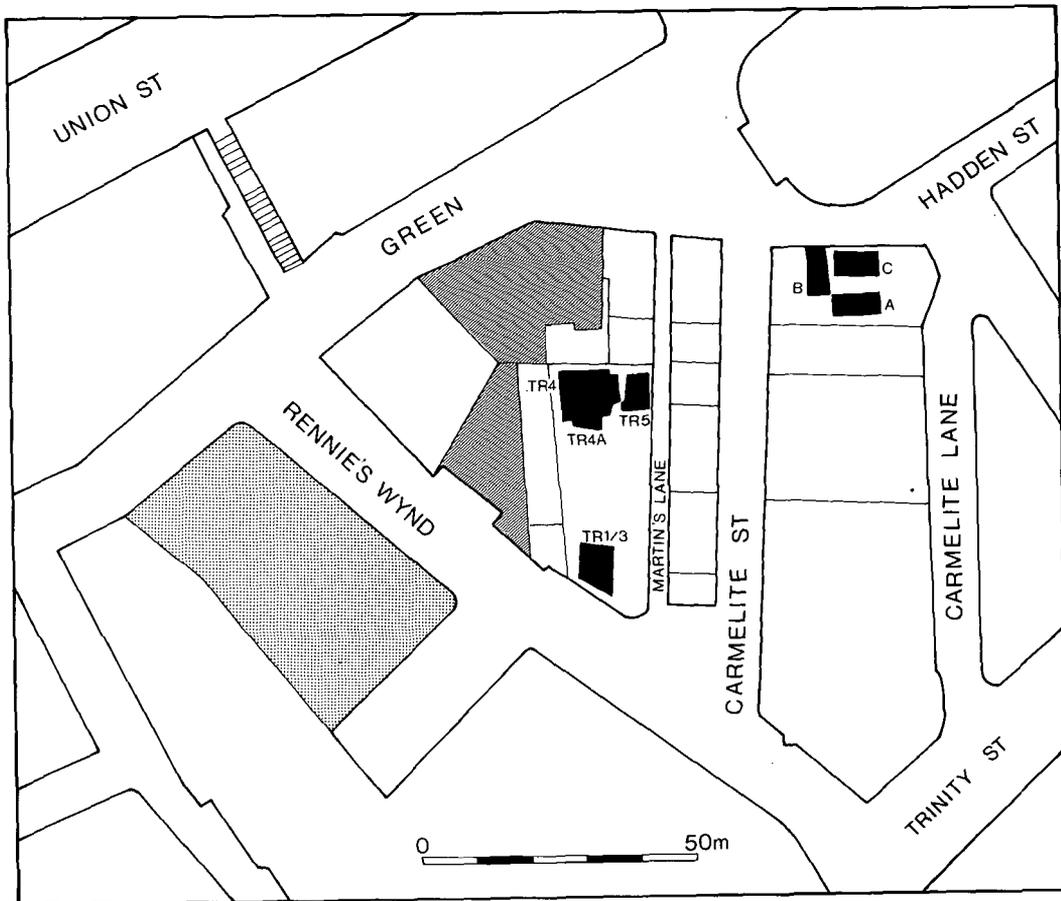
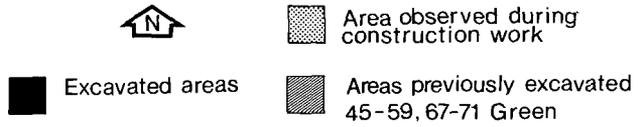
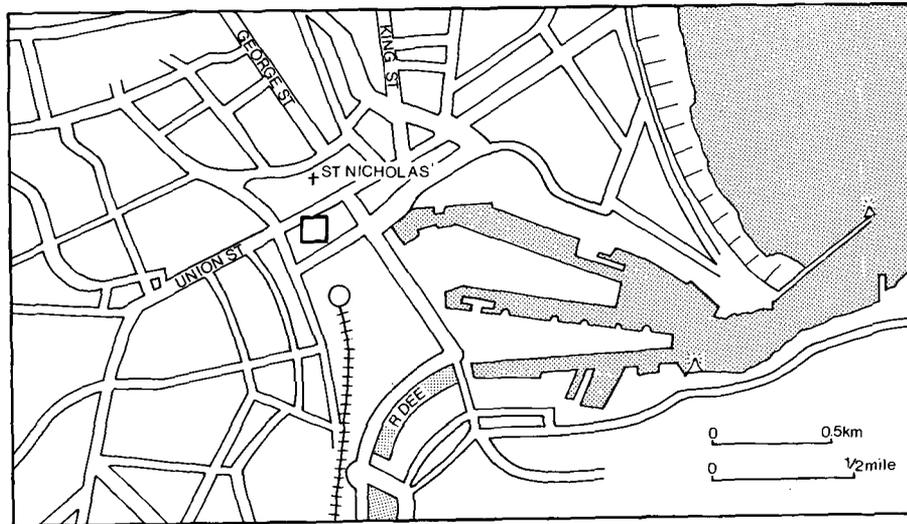
In 1565/6 Queen Mary transferred the lands of the Dominicans and Carmelites to Captain Hew Lauder. Included in the grant was 'the ground quhair the places (that is the actual friary sites of the Dominicans and Carmelites) stude, housis, yairdis and biggins thair of togidder with all and sundrie utheris housis . . .' (*RSS*, v, pt ii, no 2638). The burgh tried unsuccessfully to resist this grant believing that these lands should have been for the common good (*Aberdeen Friars*, 99-100). In 1571 James VI transferred a number of lands to Captain Andrew Chisholme including: 'the dwelling place formerly pertaining to the White friars, lying within the said burgh, with gardens, barn, malt-house, kiln, cobill and other buildings lying together in the friars' Green' (*RSS*, vi, no 1322). On Chisholme's death the following year these lands passed to his daughter, Janet (*RMS*, iv, no 2088). In the next few years the lands of the friars were broken up, passing variously to Janet's second (?) husband James Rattrie and to the son of her first (?) marriage, Walter Ogilvie (*Aberdeen Friars*, 102). The lands of the friars were then held by various parties but it is not until 1585 that the history of the site of the friary itself is again located. It was then that the magistrates of the town, who had gained control of the friars' land in 1583, granted the place of the Carmelites to William Menzies the elder, a burgess of Aberdeen (*Aberdeen Friars*, 196).

Finally, in 1587, the lands of both the Carmelites and Dominicans came to rest with George fifth Earl Marischal (*RMS*, v, no 1309). After assessing the lands remaining the Earl Marischal used them in 1593 to endow Marischal College (*MCC*, iii, 56). The endowment makes no specific mention of the place of the Carmelites as it deals generally with: 'all and sundrie the lands, crofts, roods, rigs, orchards, barns,

dovecots, tenements, houses, buildings, yards, acres, annual rents, feu duties, kilns, officers, . . . belonging to the Preaching and the Carmelite Friars of Aberdeen' (*Abdn Recs Marischal Col*, 62). That at least part of the Carmelites' site was included in this grant is indicated in the rentals of Marischal College where there are also limited details as to what was remaining.

Principal Robert Howie's rental of the College, drawn up between 1593-8, would suggest that little of rentable value remained. The only mention is of certain ancillary buildings 'in' or 'at' the Whitefriars. These included a smithy, barn and kiln (*Abdn Recs Marischal Col*, 93). It is not clear which if any of these buildings were formerly part of the domestic and industrial ranges of the friary. Of the same period there is an entry in the rental books dated 2 September 1595, recording the lawful warning of Robert Menzies and William Logie for non-payment of rents. The property involved was bound on the W by the 'Quhyt freirs kirkyard' (MC 56, fol 32v). That the churchyard did not appear in any of the rentals on its own account would strongly suggest that no income was forthcoming for it and that it had ceased to be used for official burials. An indication that something of the church itself may still have been visible comes from an entry in another rental in which William Mitchell's land is described as 'lying contigue to the old Carmelite church' (*Abdn Recs Marischal Col*, 240). Although this entry appears in the 1640 rental, it was extracted from an earlier rental of unknown date.

By 1661 when Parson Gordon produced his plan of Aberdeen there was no sign of the Carmelites' church or kirkyard (Ill 5) and Gordon claimed that only a single vault called the 'Freer Killne' remained (Parson Gordon, 16). Finally in 1794 the area known only as the 'Friars' garden' was feued out by Marischal College for the construction of Carmelite Street (*Abdn Recs Marischal Col*, 238).



ILL 6 : Location of Aberdeen friary sites

4.2 ABERDEEN : THE EXCAVATIONS JA STONES

INTRODUCTION

The excavation at 12 Martin's Lane, Aberdeen (NGR NJ941060) was completed in two periods between June 1980 and April 1981. In the autumn of 1986, the demolition of 19-25 Hadden Street (NGR NJ941061), a group of buildings which were considered dangerous at the junction of Hadden Street and Carmelite Lane, gave an opportunity to explore another area thought to be within the confines of the Carmelite friary. The excavation archives and the finds from both sites are in the care of Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museums Department, Schoolhill, Aberdeen.

Both sites (Ill 6) lie within the part of the city which is known as the Green. This area has sometimes been thought of as the earliest nucleus of the medieval burgh, although two excavations at 45-59 and 67-71 Green (Murray 1982, 85-95) produced little to support such a theory. The main approach road to Aberdeen from the S ran through the Green right up until the construction of Union Street to the NW in the early 19th century. By the late 13th century, the Green had become the focus of two major religious orders. The Trinitarians (Ill 4, 5) are thought to have occupied approximately the area bounded to the N by Trinity Street (Ill 6) and Trinity Lane and to the S by Trinity Quay. Although the site of the Whitefriars' convent had long been known to be somewhere in the area of Carmelite Street and Carmelite Lane, the exact location had never been ascertained. The excavation at 12 Martin's Lane was undertaken firstly in the hope of adding to the rather enigmatic evidence retrieved from the two previous excavations in the Green, and secondly in the slight expectation of finding some trace of the Carmelite friary.

12 MARTIN'S LANE

The total area of the site was 600 sq m. Because of a delay in the start of demolition, and because previous excavations in the area had produced unpromising results, two trial trenches were excavated through the concrete and cobbled floor of the existing removal firm's premises. Trench 1, at the S end of the site, covered an area of c 10 sq m, while Trench 2, at the N end of the site (Ill 8), was only 1.10 m square. Both these exploratory trenches, and in particular Trench 1, produced enough medieval deposits to make further excavation seem worthwhile.

After the completion of demolition work, attention was first paid to the area at the S end of the site where Trench 1 had produced positive results. Trench 3 was thus an extension to the N, W and S of Trench 1. When workmen excavating by machine at the N end of the site (in the area between Trenches 4 and 5: Ill 14) discovered a quantity of human remains it was clear that further excavation would also have to take place in that area. Thereafter excavation was concentrated at the N end of the site, and time ran out before the total available area of the site could be excavated. At the time of writing the site is still being used as a car park, and it is hoped that future developments in the area may allow an opportunity to investigate it further.

The excavation was considerably hampered by the prevailing weather conditions, taking place as it did during one of the most severe winters in recent memory. A scaffolding and polythene superstructure was erected over Trenches 4 and 5 to allow excavation to continue during the worst

of the frost, but this tended to restrict the area available for excavation, and made general photography difficult.

Preservation of material on the site was rather mixed. Much of the human bone was in a remarkably good state of preservation, and partly for this reason an excellent series of children's and immature skeletons was found. Coffins were apparent in a few graves, but only in the form of dark outlines and the remains of nails. Metals did not survive well, as is generally the case on sites in Aberdeen city. The quantities of pottery and small finds recovered were relatively small, reflecting the fact that no domestic areas were encountered.

The stratigraphy of the site was not particularly deep. The average depth of deposit was c 1.50 m. Natural estuarine clay was reached at a level of OD + 3-3.50 m.

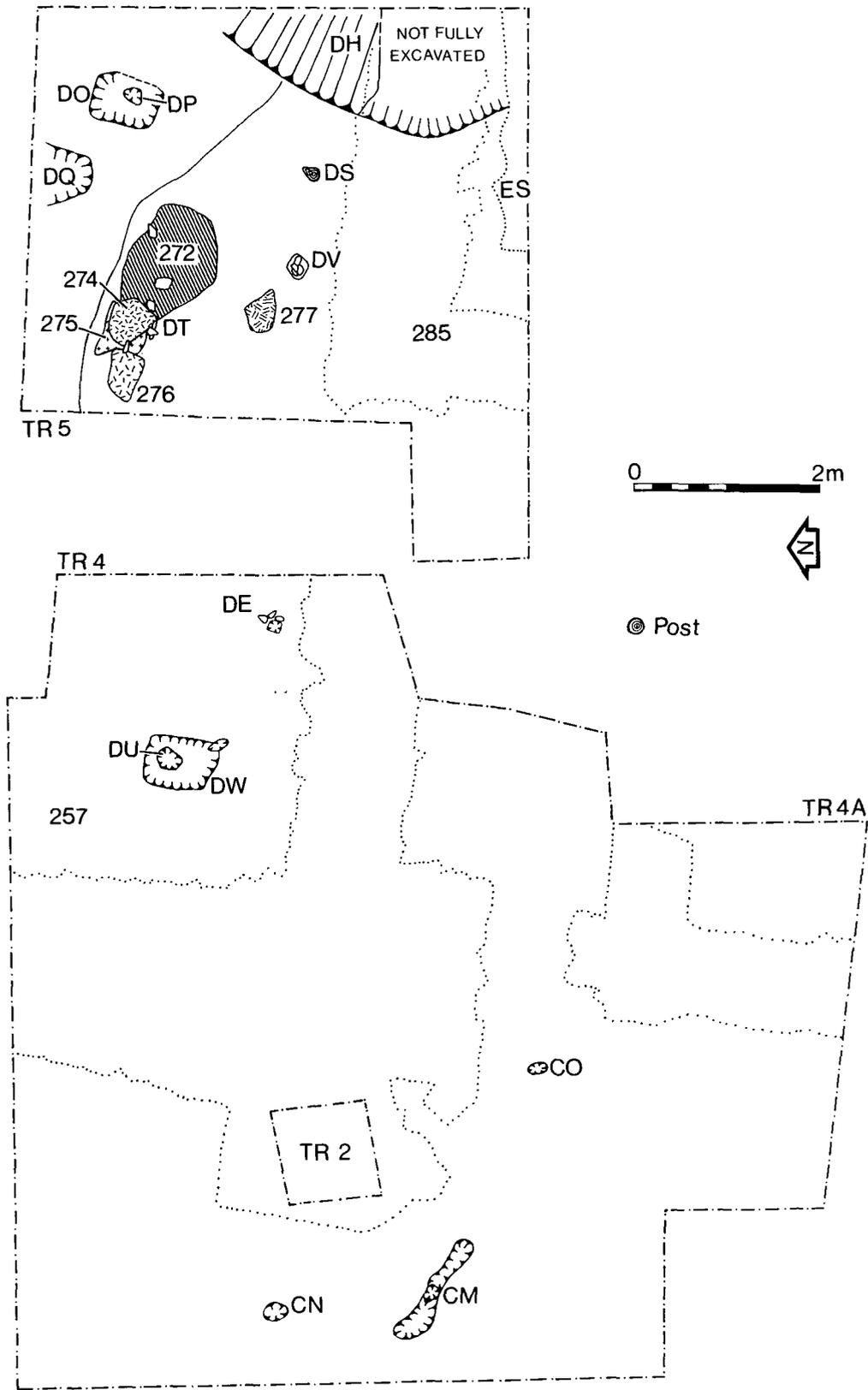
The site can be divided into four main periods. The links between trenches were not always clear, with the result that some sub-divisions have been made in the periods but in general the first two cover pre-friary and friary activity on the site, while the latter two reflect the demolition of the friary buildings and utilisation of the site into modern times. Because of their proximity and close stratigraphic relationship, Trenches 4, 4A and 5 will be described as one unit, while Trenches 1 and 3 will similarly be jointly discussed. The position of Trench 2 is marked on Ill 8 but no other plans of it are presented, as it cannot be separated from Trench 4.

EXCAVATION: TRENCHES 4, 4A AND 5

Note: Layers marked * are not numbered on the published illustrations, but their location is indicated in the text. A key to all plans and sections is available as a fold out opposite p 106.



ILL 7 : The site at 12 Martin's Lane during excavation



ILL 8 : Aberdeen, 12 Martin's Lane. Trenches 4, 4A and 5. Plan of Period 1

PERIOD 1 (III 8)

This is the period of medieval activity prior to the construction of the stone building (Building 1) (III 9), which may be the church of the Carmelite friary. However, it is probable that some, if not all, of the features may belong to the actual construction period of this building.

Pits and hearth

A number of pits (DO, DQ and DW) formed a particularly uniform group among these pre-friary features. All three were carefully cut and straight-sided, and in the case of DO, vertically sided. DW and DO were each 0.23 m deep, while DQ was 0.44 m deep. Both DW and DO had a smaller, shallower hole in their upper levels. DP was approximately half the depth of DO while DU was also 0.12 m deep. DO and DW both had similar fills (268*, 284*), generally a redeposited natural sand mixed with clayey organic earth, although DO also had a lower fill (269*) which was much more organic. DQ was only partially excavated because of its proximity to the N baulk of Trench 5, but it showed similar characteristics and had a similar fill to DO and DW. The status of these features is difficult to assess except to say that they predate Building 1. DW and DO must have held wooden posts now seen only in shadow as DU and DP.

DS was the remains of a wooden post c 0.10 m square. There was little sign of a pit, but the post (c 0.06 m remained in depth) was sitting on layer 285 which was probably the old soil surface prior to the construction of Building 1. DE was a shallow post-hole cut into layer 257. DV was a post-hole 0.15 m deep and cut into the natural sand. A few stones lay in the bottom of it, but there were no wood remains. However, above the stones lay a small patch of burnt orange clay and one of charcoal. These layers were identical to layers 254 and 274 associated with feature DT. Possibly the post which had occupied DV had been removed before the fire was lit at DT. DT had severely reddened the natural sand and the remains of the soil surface above it while some of

the lower layers occupied by burials included traces of burnt material. A few stones lay scattered on the natural in the burnt area, but not really sufficient to suggest that a formalised hearth had been in use. The removal of layer 272*—a hard burnt red sand—left a distinct hollow up to 0.10 m deep, but this effect was probably created merely by the fact that this was the most intensively burnt area.

A pit, DH, at the extreme E side of Trench 5, could not be fully excavated, but was obviously very substantial.

DISCUSSION

The post-pits DO, DQ and DW, the post-holes DE and DV and the post DS may belong to structures pre-dating the friary Building 1, but it is perhaps more likely that they are associated with its construction, as supports for the scaffolding which must have been necessary.

The burnt deposit DT may represent no more than a fire lit to keep workmen warm during the construction of Building 1. At some other ecclesiastical sites, for example the friary at Hartlepool (Daniels 1983), ovens have been found within the area of the church where lead for roofs and windows was prepared. There is no evidence for such activity at the present site. However, the finding within the burial soils inside Building 1 of a few lumps of fired glazed clay, often associated with the tilemaking process, along with the fact that a number of very crudely made floor tiles were recovered from destruction levels (see Chapter 9.3 mf, 12: C11-D7), might indicate that DT was the remains of a very primitive tile kiln.

This period is dated to the 13th century by the presence of two pieces of highly decorated Scarborough ware jugs (1, 2).

Associated pottery: 1-4

Associated finds: Lead waste piece 103, iron swivel hook 148. Catalogue of features: Table 2mf (1: A5-B9).

PERIOD 2 (III 9)

Building 1

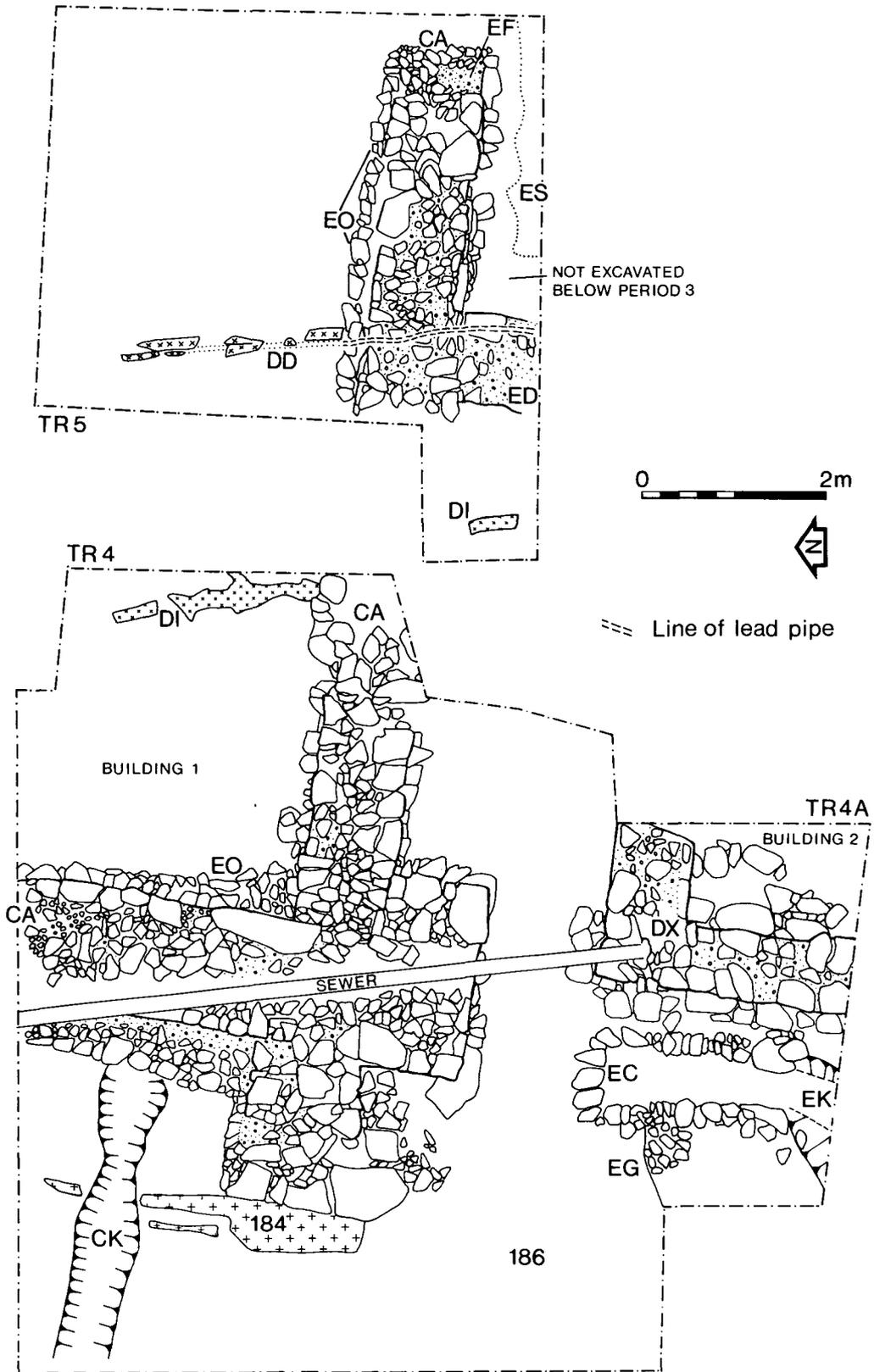
In this period Building 1 was constructed. Two walls of the building (CA) were encountered in Trenches 4 and 5. Where the walls joined at the SW corner of the building were the foundations of two buttresses. The lower courses of the wall foundations were bonded with pink clay, the upper with whiteish lime mortar. The wall foundations were extremely substantial; the maximum depth was 1 m and they were composed almost entirely of granite boulders with a few pieces of sandstone.

A few dressed and moulded stones had been re-used in the construction, but as some of these have been stylistically dated to the 15th-17th century (see Chapter 9.3 mf, 12: C7-C11), their presence may suggest that parts of the foundations were repaired or rebuilt during the Period 4 use of the building. At the extreme E end of the excavated area, at EF, it was apparent that CA had begun to collapse because of the presence of the Period 1 pit DH below it, and had been repaired, using smaller boulders and a more crumbly mortar than in the original structure. This repair, however, may have taken place at any point between Period 2 and Period 4.

The width of CA was c 1.30 m, but towards the base of the foundations it was stepped out to a width of c 2 m. This stepping occurred both internally and externally, although it was at its widest on the outside of the N-S portion of CA.

Water pipe

One notable feature associated with Building 1 was a lead water pipe. This first became visible as a line of yellow clay, DD, which ran approximately N-S across the E portion of Building 1, lying very near the natural sand (III 11). Upon further excavation, it became clear that this had once supported a lead pipe. The portion of the pipe which crossed the interior of Building 1 had been removed before any burials had been placed in that area. However a length of pipe c 2 m long survived where it ran through CA in a specially prepared culvert and continued below the wall ED (see Chapter 9.3 mf, 12: D7-8). It is not clear from the limited area excavated whether ED was the wall of another building, a boundary wall or simply a structure built to contain and protect the lead pipe.



ILL 9 : Aberdeen, 12 Martin's Lane. Trenches 4, 4A and 5. Plan of Period 2



ILL 10 : Aberdeen, 12 Martin's Lane. Trench 4. Mason's mark on a stone used in construction of Building 1

Building 2

A small portion of wall, DX, may have formed the NW corner of another structure, Building 2, which stood 1.35 m S of Building 1. The layers to E of DX were so disturbed, and the area so small, that it was impossible to judge their nature. DX was of a similar construction to CA, although narrower and slighter.

Feature EC

Adjacent to DX and obviously constructed at the same time was feature EC (Ill 12). This was a linear construction, associated with a pit EK at its S end. The walls of EC were composed of mixed large and small rough boulders and they stood on the natural sand. The N end of EC was bonded with pink clay. The W side included some pink clay, but was mainly bonded with a grey clay similar to the layer immediately above the natural sand.

DISCUSSION

Some characteristics of Building 1—its E-W orientation, its substantial construction, the presence of burials within it and the fragments of window glass found in its destruction levels (Period 3)—tend to lead towards an identification as a church. As such a small proportion of it was excavated, it is difficult to make a definite statement about its function. However, two pieces of evidence hint that the position may be more complicated than it at first seemed.

Feature EO (Ill 13), the internal stepping within Building 1, had something of the appearance of a scarcement for

supporting a wooden floor, but it is difficult to reconcile that with some other aspects of the building, for example its use as a place of burial. Some of the burials were placed partially or completely over this scarcement, so clearly if it did represent a floor level, then the floor had gone out of use before those burials were made. Similarly, the water pipe which had run through Building 1 had been removed before burials were made within the building.

The function of feature EC is uncertain. The layers which filled it, dumped organic material (314*), a small patch of burnt material including animal bones (320*) and a layer of gravel (323*), did not belong to the period of its original use, which perhaps may have been for storage, possibly of fuel, with a turf roof. The location of such a feature so close to the friary church, does, however, seem unlikely.

The small group of pottery from this period includes some 13th-century Scarborough type ware. However the presence of some later wares, including a body snerd of a 15th-century Siegburg pedestal drinking vessel, suggests that the construction of the friary buildings may have been an extended process.

Associated pottery: 5-7

Associated finds: Window glass 6, 13, architectural fragments 19, 20, floor tile 47, peg tiles 56-58, ridge tile 87, lead piping 99, lead waste piece 104.

Catalogue of features: Table 2mf (1: A5-B9).

Errata

ILL 11: Aberdeen, 12 Martin's Lane. Trench 4A. Feature EC

ILL 12: Aberdeen, 12 Martin's Lane. Trench 4. Interior of Building 1 at close of excavation, showing feature EO

ILL 13: Aberdeen, 12 Martin's Lane. Trench 5. Clay base for water pipe with opening to culvert through wall CA



ILL 11 : Aberdeen, 12 Martin's Lane. Trench 5. Clay base for water pipe with opening to culvert through wall CA

PERIOD 2c (Ill 14)

This represents the period during which the interior of Building 1 was being used for burials. As will be seen, the earliest burials may date from the late 14th century, but the area seems to have been used for burials after the Reformation as well, despite the fact that the friary itself would no longer have been in existence.

Burials

Within Building 1, the most striking feature was the number of burials. A total of 122 were recorded, but this does not closely reflect the actual number of individuals, as a large number of disarticulated bones was also present, among the considerable degree of overcrowding and disturbance of earlier burials by later ones. The minimum number of individuals present is 93 (see Chapter 7.5), but it is likely that the true number is nearer 200.

Radiocarbon sampling of four burials, two (SK 119, SK 120) thought to be among the earliest, and the other two (SK 40, SK 43) towards the end of the burial sequence, has provided the following data:

SK 119 (GU—1850)	1395 ± 50ad
SK 120 (GU—1848)	1460 ± 50ad
SK 40 (GU—1849)	1560 ± 50ad
SK 43 (GU—1847)	1610 ± 50ad



ILL 12 : Aberdeen, 12 Martin's Lane. Trench 4A. Feature EC

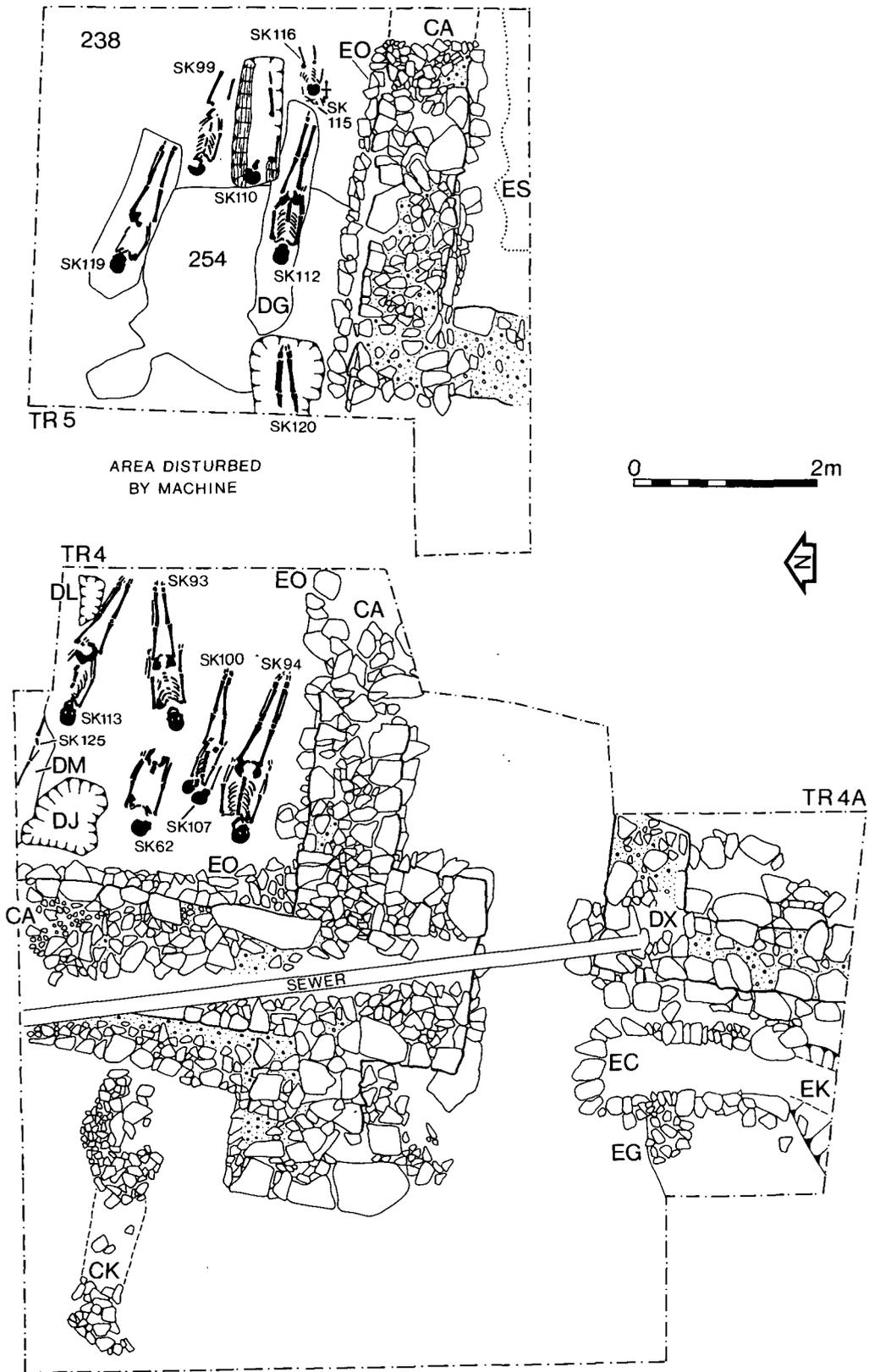


ILL 13 : Aberdeen, 12 Martin's Lane. Trench 4. Interior of Building 1 at close of excavation, showing feature EO

DISCUSSION

The results of the radiocarbon sampling tend to suggest a date range of later 14th to mid 17th century for the burials within Building 1. This is probably a more reliable indication of date than the pottery and coins found in the burial soils, which cover c 13th-16th century range. Although it would be foolish to place too much stress on the fact that two of the radiocarbon dates (SK 40, SK 43) may spread into the period following the Reformation of 1560, the severe overcrowding of the burials perhaps indicates that a number of them were placed there after the Reformation brought the Carmelite house to an end.

There is no independent evidence to suggest how late burial may have continued at the friary, as there are no documentary references to post-Reformation burial at the site. In 1794, Carmelite Street was laid out in the area known as the 'friars garden', so we can assume that by that date all traces of the friary had disappeared or been removed (see Chapter 4.1). Parson Gordon's map of 1661 shows empty space at the friary site and his commentary states that all that remained above ground was a single vault known as the friars' kiln (Parson Gordon, 16). An entry in a Marischal College rental book of 1595 refers to a property bounded on the W by the 'Quhyt friars kirkyard' (MC 56, fol 32v), while the 1640 rental describes a property 'lying contigue to the old Carmelite church' (*Aberdeen Recs Marischal Col*, 240), although this entry is extracted from an earlier rental of unknown date. As R M Spearman states (see Chapter 4:1), the fact that the churchyard does not appear in any of the rentals in its own account would strongly suggest that no income was forthcoming from it and that it had ceased to be used for official burials. However, it is possible that as a place with sacred associations it continued to be used as an official burial place after the Reformation, perhaps for certain sections of the community, or in cases where large numbers of deaths occurred over a very short period. In 1647, Aberdeen was struck by a serious outbreak of plague, while



ILL 14 : Aberdeen, 12 Martin's Lane. Trenches 4, 4A and 5. Plan of Period 2c

in the years 1695-99 a severe famine caused many deaths in Aberdeen and the surrounding countryside. Both these events would have created the need for additional burial space. It seems unlikely that plague victims would have been buried so near to the centre of population as the Carmelite friary. In fact it is known that a number of them were interred on the links, where some remains of a few of them were recently discovered (Stones and Cross 1987, 17-18). However, a famine was a different matter and it is possible that the site of the Carmelite friary, being at that time relatively open land, was commandeered as an emergency burial area at that time. During the famine years there are entries in the Aberdeen Kirk and Bridge Work Accounts covering burials in St Nicholas Churchyard only, but it is clear that fairly substantial numbers of dead were being buried elsewhere (Tyson 1986, 40). At Old Machar, also, some dead were buried in places other than the parish churchyard, and as Tyson points out (1986, 41) at the height of the crisis the Commissioners of Supply for Aberdeenshire ordered that the poor should be buried where they fell. Clearly it was a period when every available burial site would have been utilised.

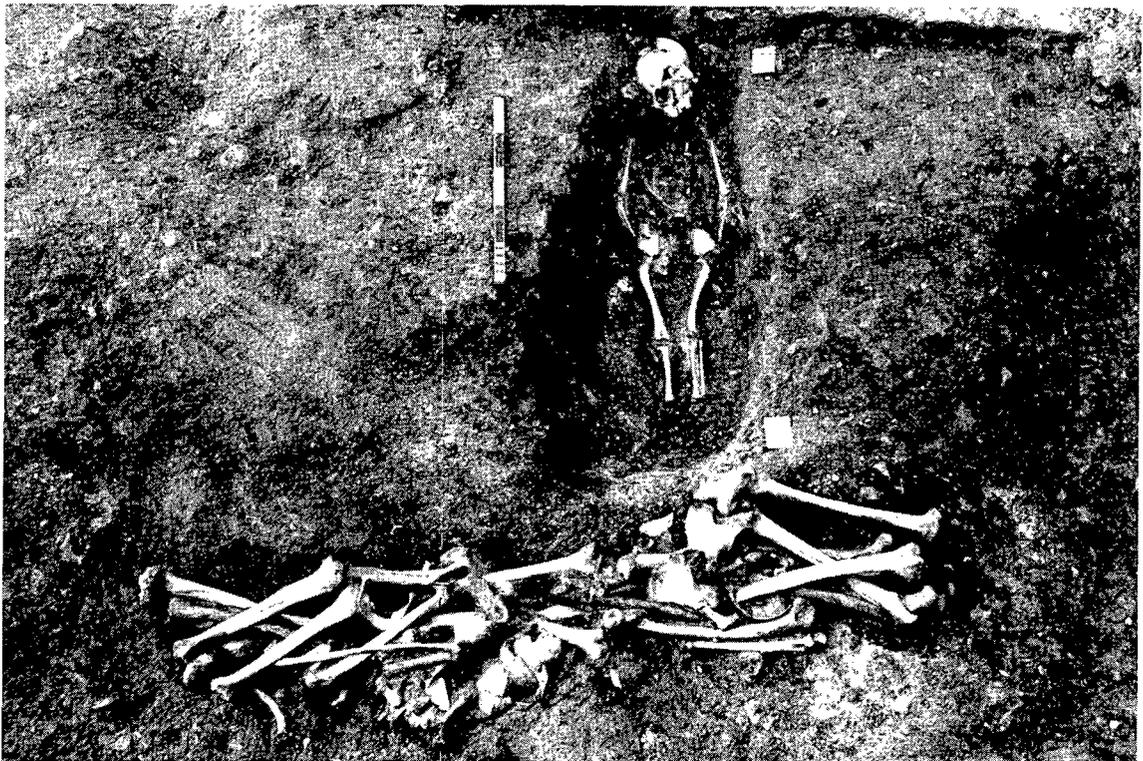
It is apparent that among the burials which are stratigraphically the latest there is a high proportion of children. It is conceivable that some of these may have been unofficially interred after the Reformation in an area with particular family associations. Notable among these is SK 18, a 3-5 year old child, buried in such a shallow grave that its head lay only c 0.15 m below the uppermost level of the foundation of Building 1 (Ill 15).

Burials: SK 1-SK 126

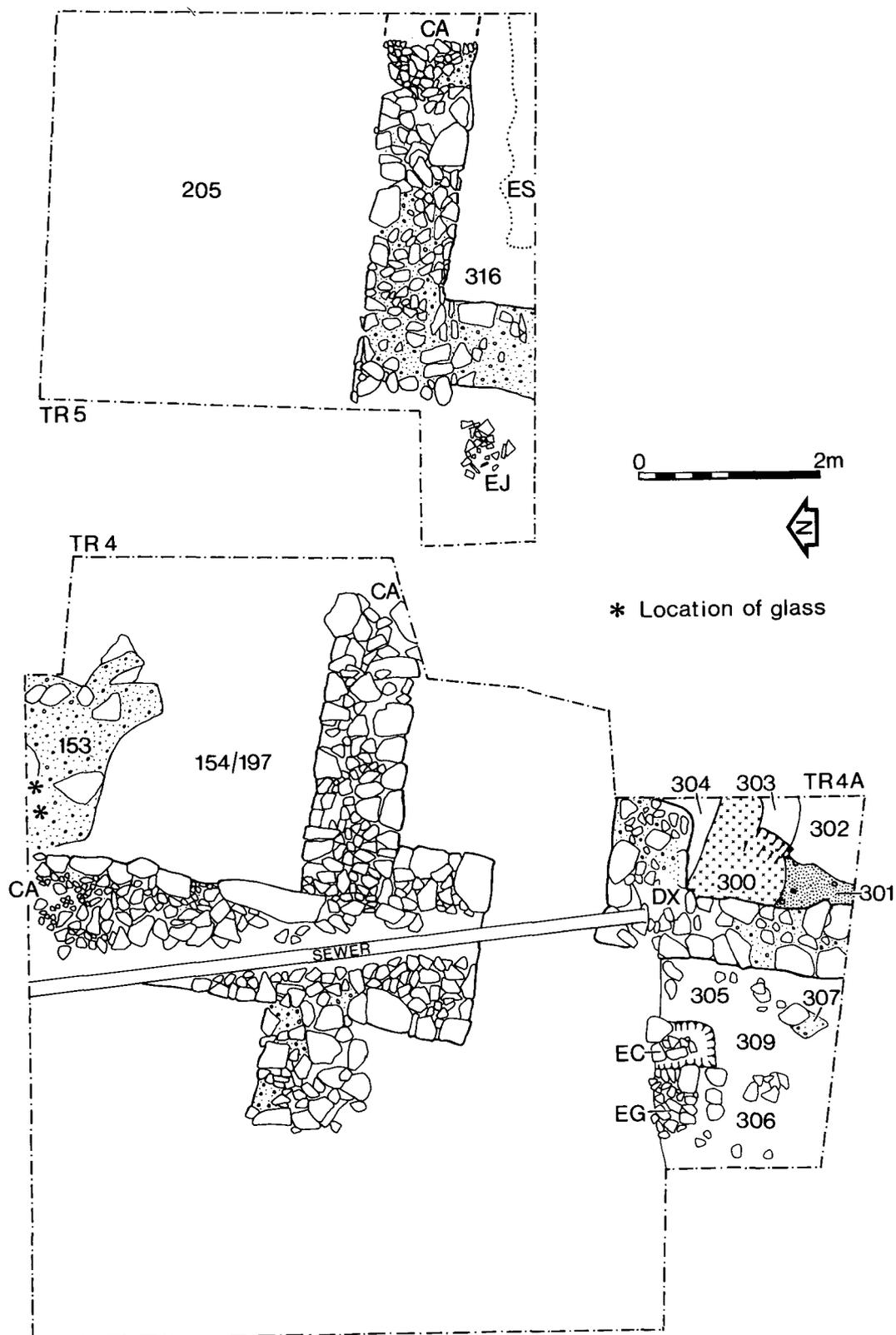
Associated pottery: 11-22

Associated finds: Window glass 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, roof slates 22, 24-29, 32, stone spindle whorl 36, stone weight 37, floor tiles 50, 53, 54, peg tiles 59-61, pan tile 95, window came 98, lead piece 101, lead waste pieces 105, 107, copper alloy book fittings 110-112, copper alloy lace-ends 113-120, copper alloy pins 122, 128-131, copper alloy clasps 132, 133, copper alloy bracelet 134, copper alloy ring 135, copper alloy sheet 144, copper alloy buckle 146, copper alloy staple 147, copper alloy objects 150-152, bone whistle? 155, bone point 156, coins 158-160.

Catalogue of features: Table 2 mf (1 : A5-B9).



ILL 15 : Aberdeen, 12 Martin's Lane. The post-Reformation burial of a young child, SK18, and disturbed bones reburied during Period 4



ILL 16 : Aberdeen, 12 Martin's Lane. Trenches 4, 4A and 5. Plan of Period 3

PERIOD 3 (Ill 16)

During this period, Building 1 ceased to exist as part of the friary. In Trench 5, layer 308* contained a number of fragments of broken roof slates, while layer 316, the layer immediately below, included pieces of plain window glass. At EJ was a considerable number of broken ceramic roof tiles. The slates and roof tiles may not have come from Building 1, although their location may imply that they did.

Above a thin (c 0.02 m thick) layer of mortar (153), perhaps all that remained of a mortar floor (see Period 2), lay a cluster of fragments of window glass, some of them painted (5, 11, 12).

DISCUSSION

Documentary sources tend to suggest that although the friary buildings were looted at the Reformation in 1560, and timber and slate removed, the immediate destruction was not wholesale (see Chapter 4.1). Excavation has produced indications of the end of the friary's activities, but it is not possible to distinguish between destruction and decay.

Whether the broken roof slates are the result of active demolition of the roof of Building 1 or any other building, or had simply fallen off during a period of post-Reformation decay cannot be ascertained from archaeological evidence.

However, the fact that slates and roof tiles were not found in any great quantity would tend to confirm the fairly definite statements in the Town Council Records that slates were systematically removed and put to other purposes (*Aberdeen Counc*, 315).

The group of window glass fragments lying above layer 153 had the appearance of lying where it fell after a window (perhaps a large W window) was smashed and the bulk of the glass removed for re-use as cullet. Fragments of window glass were also found at random in the burial layers. This tends to give weight to the suggestion (discussed more fully elsewhere) that burial continued within Building 1 after the Reformation brought friary activity to an end, and that glass scattered from broken windows was distributed downwards during grave digging.

Associated pottery: 23

Associated finds: Window glass 5, 11, 12, roof slates 23, 35, floor tiles 39-42, 44-46, peg tiles 62-82, 88, 89, pan tile 96, window came 97, lead rectangle 100, lead strip 106, lead waste piece 108, copper alloy pin 123, copper alloy needle 140, bone peg 153.

Catalogue of features: Table 2 mf (1: A5-B9).

PERIOD 4 (Ill 17)

Cobbled courtyard

During this period Building 1 seems to have been re-used for some purpose although no longer related to the friary. A well-constructed cobbled courtyard was placed around the building and some repairs may have been made to the walls of the building. As there was a distinct slope N-S on the surface of this courtyard, drains were constructed to channel rain water through a duct CJ in the surrounding wall CF, which along with CG, was built at this time. CF covered over and included in its length the N end of feature EC, which had been filled in during Period 3. It is not certain whether the interior of Building 1 was being used for burials at this point, but at some time during this period the construction of a

N-S wall CU brought this activity to an end. During the construction of CU a number of burials were disturbed and the limb bones re-buried with some care in layer 168* (Ill 15).

The pottery associated with Period 4 tends to indicate that the period did not last beyond the 17th century.

Associated finds: Window glass 8, floor tiles 48, 49, 52, 55, peg tiles 83-86, ridge tile 90, chimney pots 93, 94, copper alloy vessels 136, 137, copper alloy dividers 138, copper alloy wire 143.

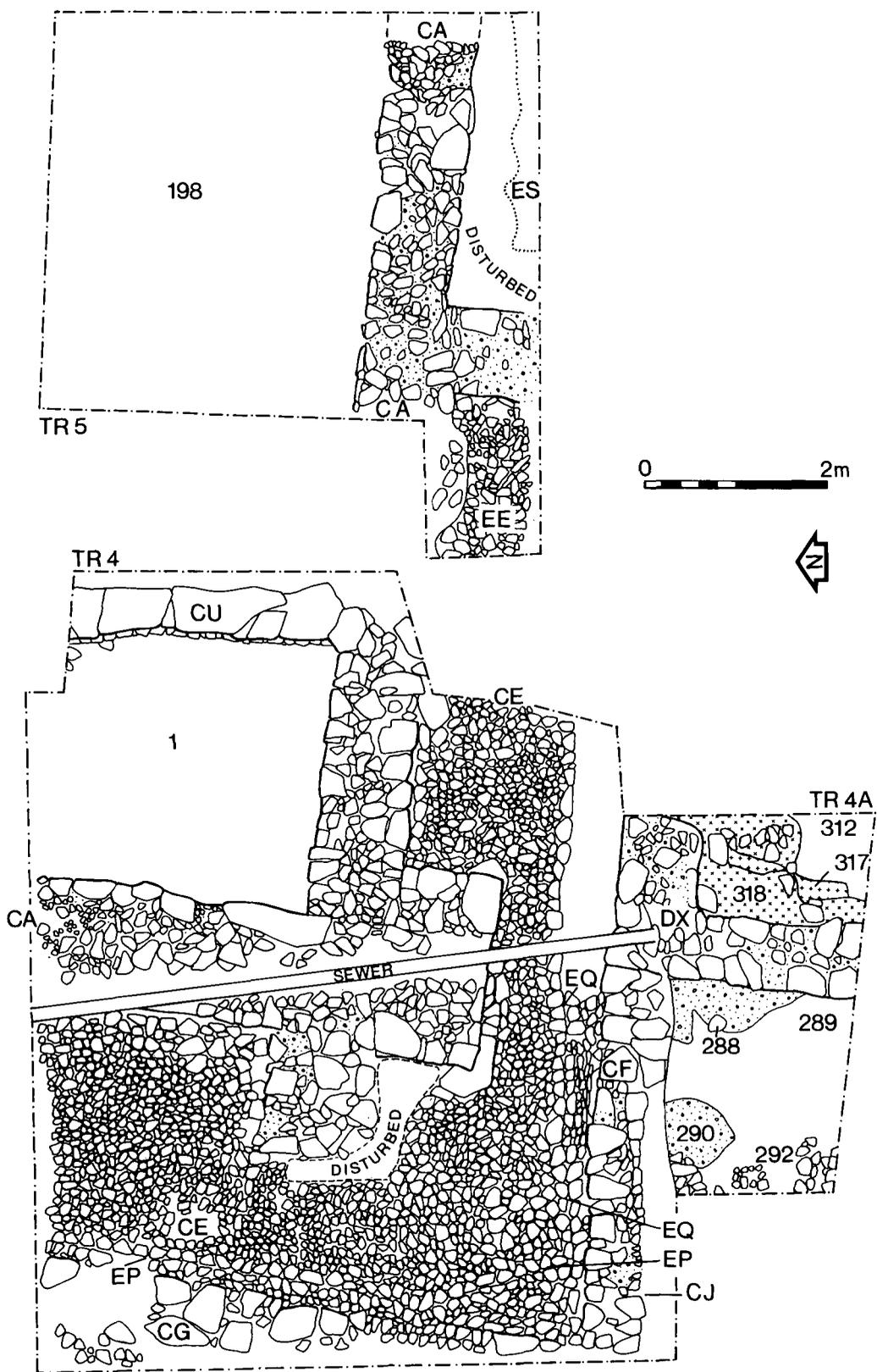
Catalogue of features: Table 2mf (1: A5-B9)

PERIOD 5

In this period the later use of Building 1 and its cobbled courtyard came to an end. The courtyard was filled with a closely packed layer of mortar and stone rubble presumably from the demolition of Building 1. The walls CF and CG were slighted and covered over with this same rubble.

Associated finds: Window glass 1, vessel glass 14, 16, architectural fragments 17, 18, 21, roof slates 30, 31, 33, 34, floor tiles 43, 51, peg tile 91, copper alloy pins 121, 124-127.

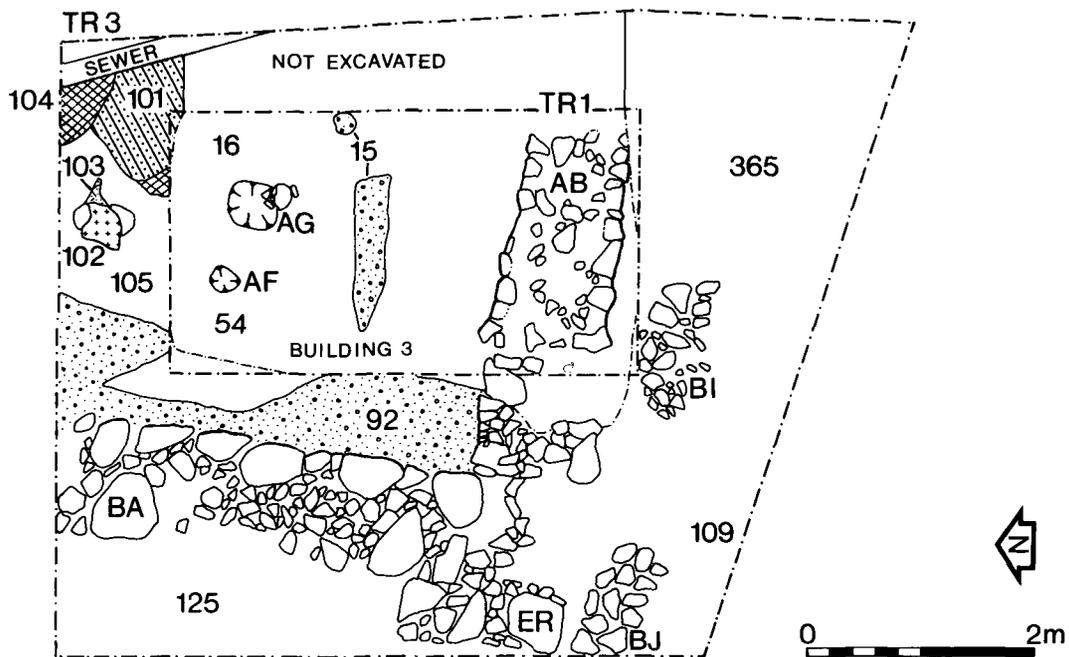
Catalogue of features: Table 2 mf (1: A5-B9).



ILL 17 : Aberdeen, 12 Martin's Lane. Trenches 4, 4A and 5. Plan of Period 4

EXCAVATION: TRENCHES 1 AND 3

Trench 1 was the first area to be explored on this site, and was a small trial trench excavated through the floor of the premises of the removal firm which stood there until 1980. This area was extended when the whole part of the site became available in 1981. However, when human burials and associated buildings were discovered at the N end of the site the area of Trench 3 was completed but not extended further, to allow the limited time available to be devoted to Trenches 4 and 5. As a result, although a portion of a building, defined by walls AB and BA, was discovered, no attempt was made to discern its full extent.



ILL 18 : Aberdeen, 12 Martin's Lane. Trenches 1 and 3. Plan of Period 2a

PERIOD 2a (Ill 18)

Building 3

The walls AB and BA seemed to form the SW corner of Building 3. AB and BA were of very similar construction to walls CA and DX in Trenches 4, 4A and 5. They were bonded with a similar lime mortar and each had the same characteristic wider foundation. Building 3 was the only structure on the site to show any indication of a floor surface, in the form of a mortar spread (92) which may have been preparation for a tiled floor. Much of the surface had disappeared, although a further patch of it remained in layer 15. The line of AB was continued W by ER, which although bonded in with BA was of a different character, equally substantial but totally devoid of bonding either of clay or mortar.

This period is thought to correspond broadly with Period 2 in Trenches 4, 4A and 5, and is dated to the 13th-14th centuries.

Associated pottery: 8-10

Associated finds: Vessel glass 15, peg tile 92, lead waste piece 102, copper alloy book fitting 109, copper alloy spring 139, copper alloy disc 142, copper alloy sheet fragments 145, lead curved sheet 149, coin 157.

Catalogue of features: Table 2 mf (1: A5-B9).

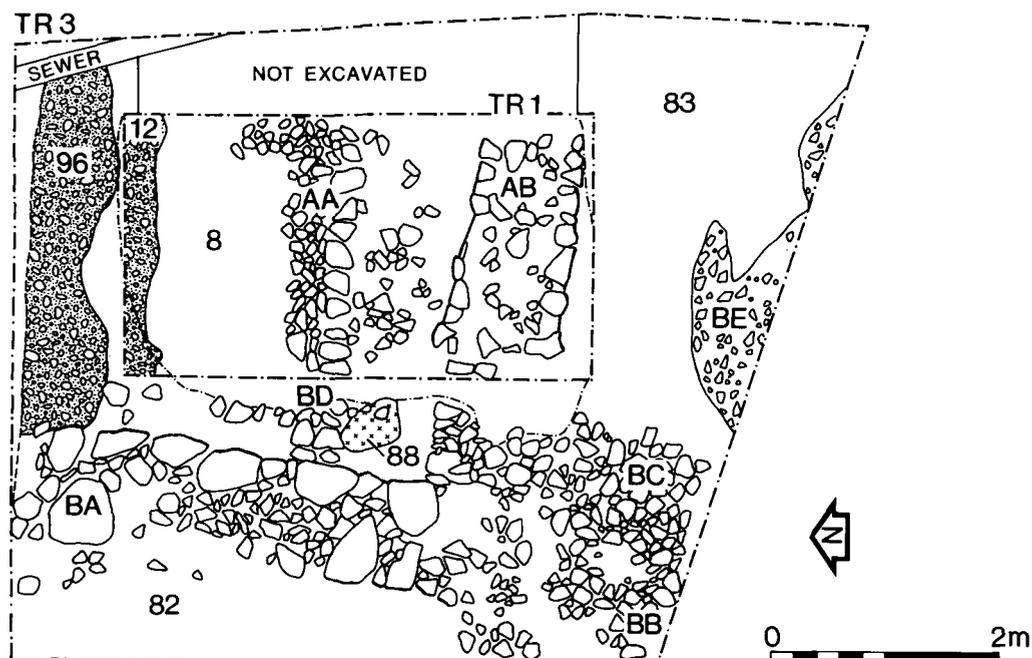
PERIOD 3a/4a (Ill 19)

This is the period in which the primary use of Building 3 came to an end, and seems broadly to coincide with Periods 3 and 4 in Trenches 4 and 5, although unlike Period 4 it seems to have continued into the 18th century. It is probable that portions of AB and BA may still have been standing during this period as some layers and features (96, 12 and BD) seemed to respect their lines.

Associated pottery: 24, 25

Associated finds: Copper alloy disc 141, bone peg 154.

Catalogue of features: Table 2 mf (1: A5-B9).



ILL 19 : Aberdeen, 12 Martin's Lane. Trenches 1 and 3. Plan of Periods 3a/4a

19-25 HADDEN STREET

Note: Detailed plans of this excavation are available in archive.

Three areas, A, B and C (Ill 6), were examined, although only one of these produced any archaeological information. It was thought from observation of the buildings standing on the site, before and during demolition, that all of them had been at least partially cellared. A possible exception was the former Zena's Fish Cafe at 19-21 Hadden Street. By the time demolition took place here, much of the interior of the building had collapsed, so it was difficult to see how extensive the cellaring had been. However, the excavation of Area C, on the site of Zena's, indicated cellar backfill consisting of quarry dust and rubble, which extended down c 2.45 m and lay directly upon natural gravel subsoil. Area B was excavated to check the cellaring in another area, but was abandoned after 2 m of quarry dust had been removed.

AREA A

Area A was placed to cover the site of a small courtyard, measuring c 8×6 m, which had lain at the rear of the buildings. The position of this courtyard was identified on the ground and then excavated. Below c 1.10 m of concrete, rubble and mortar associated with the courtyard was 1.25 m of garden soil (layers 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24). This was very similar to the friable stone-free garden soil found elsewhere in excavations in the Green area at 45-59 Green and 67-71 Green (Ill 6). The lowest garden soil layers, the last 0.70 m overlying the natural, were interspersed with lenses of pure dark brown organic material (17, 19a, 20a, 20b). These layers lay over the natural subsoil, which was pure yellow-grey sand at the E end of the trench, and sloped upwards to a layer of gravel at the W end. The garden soil layers contained a small number of very decayed human bones (see Chapter 7.8). Portion of four individuals were identified, each extremely fragmentary, and three out of the four were children. The only adult was represented by a single cranial fragment.

DISCUSSION

The garden soil layers produced pottery and other finds ranging in date from post-medieval (16th-18th century) to

13th century. Layers 13, 14, 18 and 19 produced exclusively medieval (13th-15th century) pottery. Layers 20-24 contained no finds except a few flints (not included in this publication). Layers 7, 8 and 9 contained a mixture of medieval, post-medieval and modern material extending at least into the 18th century. This evidence would suggest that this area was undeveloped from the 13th century until the 18th, which would tend to fit in with what is known of the history of the area from other sources. It seems reasonable to suppose that we are here dealing with an area which from the 13th-16th centuries was within the confines of the Carmelite friary, but was neither occupied by buildings nor was part of the area set aside for burials. The depth of garden soil and the organic layers 19a, 20a and 20b (possibly the result of dung-spreading) would suggest that this area was under cultivation during the period of the Carmelite settlement.

Burials: Hadden Street SK 1-5

Associated pottery: 27-31

Catalogue of features: Table 3 mf (1: B10)

CONCLUSIONS

The two sites at 12 Martin's Lane and 19-25 Hadden Street have begun to make sense of the enigmatic Green area of the city. They must be regarded in the light of all previous excavations and discoveries in that area over the last 100 or more years (Ill 6, 20). Since at least the late 19th century, notice has been taken of the discovery of evidence of the Carmelite friary during building work in the Carmelite Street/Carmelite Lane area. Unfortunately, in most cases the exact location of these finds cannot be pin-pointed. However, the following summary can be made.

In 1891 the 'lower stage of . . . a buttress of the church . . . of Morayshire sandstone' was uncovered while rebuilding a house adjacent to 12 Carmelite Lane. To the SE of this a large number of human burials were found at the same time (*Aberdeen Ecclesiol Soc*, 65; *Aberdeen Journal*, 20 June 1891, 5). In 1908, five or six skeletons appeared during alterations to a house in Carmelite Street (*Aberdeen Free Press*, 12 Nov 1908, 4; Fraser, Notes, 30A, p113). Neither of these find spots can be precisely located. Around 1904 during the reconstruction of a cellar at Cruickshank and McIntyre's warehouse between Carmelite Street and Carmelite Lane further skeletons were recovered (D M McIntyre, pers comm), while a human leg bone was discovered far below the pavement outside 10 Carmelite Street in 1924 (Fraser, Notes, 53, p28).

These 19th and early 20th-century findings, however vague, seem to tie in broadly with the results from the archaeological excavations. If Building 1 really is the church, as has been supposed, then we would seem to have an E-W orientated church, centrally situated in the precinct of the friary (if we can see that as the area bounded approximately by Rennie's Wynd, Green and Carmelite Lane) (Ill 20). Some burials took place within the church, but the main burial area may have lain to the E of the church. The cloister, or whatever domestic buildings the friary had, probably lay S of the church and may in some way be represented by Building 3 in Trenches 1 and 3. It is even possible that the wall ER is all that remains of a precinct wall around the friary. We know that the friary gate opened into a vennel which is possibly equivalent to the modern Rennie's Wynd (Ill 20). The rather negative results showing merely garden soil and little or no medieval occupation at 45-59 Green and 67-71 Green (Murray 1982, 85-95) indicate that these areas were within the friary precincts but probably used as orchards or gardens, while at 19-25 Hadden Street a similar situation prevailed, except the comparative closeness to the cemetery meant that a few scattered human remains were found within the garden soil layers.

A cautionary note must be added to the interpretation just given. Only a small portion of Building 1 was excavated, and its identification as a church is based on four factors: its E-W alignment, its substantial nature with buttressing at the corners, the presence of burials within it, and the finding of a group of glass fragments, including painted glass, apparently where they collapsed from a window. None of these features need imply a church (some painted glass was also found in Trench 3) and the possible existence of a wooden floor in Building 1 at its earliest stage may imply that Building 1 was not the church but was simply used for burial after its primary use was ended. A change in the use of friary buildings may also be inferred from the fact that the lead water pipe (Ill 9) ran through Building 1 but had been removed before some of the earlier burials were made within the building.

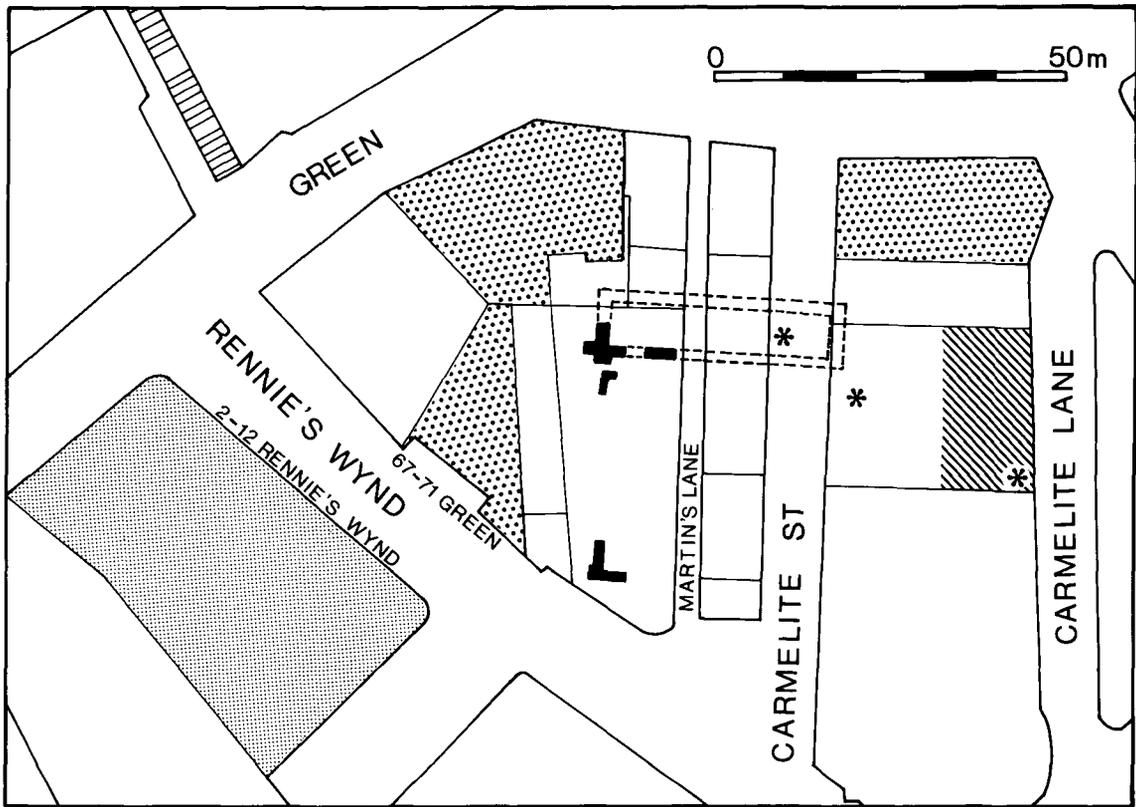
In considering whether Building 1 is the church, it is also important to recall the buttress of Morayshire sandstone uncovered in 1891. It is difficult to see how that could conceivably be the same building as Building 1 (Ill 20), and if not, could this be another candidate for a church building?

The dating evidence for Building 1 and the two or possibly three other buildings is ambiguous. Within the wall AB in Trench 1 was found a cut halfpenny of Henry III (157), which could have been lost as late as the 1280's, but is more likely to represent a loss in the 1250's or 1260's. This could dovetail quite closely with the earliest grants to the friary of 1273, although there is no indication from documentary evidence that any buildings were in existence as early as that.

The pottery evidence for Building 1 and the documentary evidence suggest that the construction of friary buildings at Aberdeen took place over an extended period. Pottery associated with the construction and use of Building 1 (Period 2) covers a date range from the 13th-15th centuries, while documentary sources give the impression that construction of the church was still underway in 1324, fifty-one years after the original grant of the land, and the first documentary reference to buildings (see Chapter 4.1). Twelve years after that, the burgh was attacked by the army of Edward III, and it has been suggested that it was nearly thirty years before the Green area of the town recovered (see Chapter 4.1). Evidence in the Exchequer Rolls tends to indicate that the church roof at least was damaged, and it is possible that the friary buildings suffered quite severely at that time (see Chapter 4.1). In 1343 the friars were still engaged in repairs to the church roof (see Chapter 4.1) but by 1361 this work seems finally to have been completed. Clearly there cannot have been much time in the first 100 years of the friary's existence when building and reconstruction work was not underway.

The pottery and coin evidence associated with the burials within Building 1 cover a 13th-16th century date range, but in the poor stratigraphic conditions of burial the radio-carbon dating evidence, which suggests an earliest date of c 1385 (GU-1850 (SK 119)) is perhaps more reliable. It is possible, therefore, that there was a hiatus between the completion of the church, perhaps as late as 1360, and the use of the excavated portion of it for burials. This would fit in with the slight archaeological evidence of changes during the lifetime of Building 1, indicated for example by the removal of the lead water pipe before the building was utilised for burial.

At the Reformation of 1560 both archaeological and historical evidence confirm that some destruction of windows and internal fittings took place and that re-usable commodities such as timber and slates were removed. Thereafter the friary buildings (or at least the church) seem to have stood empty for a while, long enough to have figured as a landmark in a post-Reformation rental, and used for burials perhaps until the mid-17th century. But by 1661, when Parson Gordon's map was produced, little trace remained of friary buildings as such (Ill 5). Indeed the area seems to have been little developed until the 18th century and was still known as the Carmelite friars' garden when it was feued out for the construction of Carmelite Street in 1794 (see Chapter 4.1). The evidence from other sites in the Green, and particularly from 19-25 Hadden Street, would suggest that much of the area remained as open (even cultivated) land right through from the medieval period until the late 18th century. However some of the friary buildings, and even Building 1, seem to have been partially exploited for various secular uses.



 Cultivated or open land
 Land subject to flooding



Approximate location of reported finds from
 19th-early 20th century construction work

* Human bone
 Sandstone buttress

ILL 20 : Aberdeen Carmelite friary. Summary of evidence from excavations and stray finds in the Green area. The dotted outline of Building 1 (see Ill 9) is purely conjectural, based on its possible dimensions as a church. The land at 2-12 Rennie's Wynd was observed during redevelopment in 1977: waterlaid deposits indicated that this area was estuarine during the medieval period, to the extent that it may have been the site of an earlier bed of the Denburn, now culverted c 100m SW (Murray 1982, 108). Opposite at 67-71 Green, garden soil over similar waterlogged deposits suggested that the N margin of the estuary was being reclaimed by c 13th century