
5 LINLITHGOW CARMELITE FRIARY

5.1 THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE RM SPEARMAN

INTRODUCTION

By comparison with the sources available for both the Aberdeen and Perth houses there are very few surviving documentary references to the Carmelite friars of Linlithgow (Ill 1). Of the approximately sixty references which do survive the vast majority are the result of the post-Reformation re-distribution of the friars' lands. From these it has at least been possible to gain some idea of the extent of the friars' landed interest. Moreover by a pleasing chance survival the foundation charter of the convent has survived amongst the Earls of Morton Papers. Other charters relating to these friars survive amongst the Laing Charters and there are references to the friars' activities in the Linlithgow burgh records. A number of cash grants to the friars were made by the Scottish crown and these are recorded in the printed records of the royal accounts. Information on the friars' former property occurs in the Beverage Papers and Henderson Papers and of course in the Register of the Great Seal of Scotland. In addition some information on the early chapels of Linlithgow parish, of which this site may be one, occurs in the Register of the Priory of St Andrews. Finally there are a number of spurious references providing an alternative history among the records of the 18th century historians Brockie and Spottiswoode.

STRUCTURAL HISTORY

The first acceptable documentary evidence for a Carmelite friary beside the burgh of Linlithgow comes in the form of an indenture between James Douglas of Dalkeith and William Cockar prior provincial of the Carmelite order in Scotland, dated 18 May 1401. This was followed six days later by a charter from James in favour of the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin and the Carmelite order celebrating Divine Service there (*Morton Registrum*, ii, nos 210, 211). The two documents are very similar in content and make it clear that there was already a chapel on the site which the Carmelites were to use, and may indeed have already begun to do so. The charter is the more specific of the two documents, locating as it does the Blessed Virgin's Chapel 'near Linlithgow on its south side'. The convent was not, however, in existence and four acres of land around the site of the chapel together with the chapel were gifted to the order on which to lay out their convent. In particular an acre of land 'known as the hermitage acre' immediately on the S side of the Blessed Virgin's Chapel was gifted for the purpose of building the 'frater, dorter, cloister, kitchen and other necessary buildings and for a garden'.

Clearly this was intended to be a substantial convent although the details of its financing by the Douglasses of Dalkeith are left obscure. The family was a powerful and ascending branch of the Douglasses. James's divers estates were assessed in 1377-8 as providing an annual rent of about

£1000, a very considerable sum for that period (*Morton Registrum*, i, p lxi). The estates recorded only include the main holdings of the Douglas family and do not mention any lands adjacent to Linlithgow. However, it is known that this branch of the Douglas family did hold a number of lands in Linlithgowshire including Blackness during the 13th and 14th centuries (*Scots Peerage*, vi, 337-8). Whatever the family connection with Linlithgow, James of Dalkeith's personal reasons for endowing such a convent were primarily to secure votive masses for his predecessors, himself and his heirs. There can be little doubt that the foundation of the convent is securely dated to 1401. What remains less clear is the date and use of the Blessed Virgin's Chapel which was apparently present on the site by that time. Place name evidence would imply that the area had been associated with the church for some time. The 'hermitage acre' is referred to in the original grant by James, while an adjacent town was known as Prestoun or Preost Tun by the 14th century (MacDonald 1941, 63). The existence of various chapels around Linlithgow which were subordinate to St Michael's, the parish church of Linlithgow, was repeatedly attested to in the confirmations of St Michael's to the priory of St Andrews. These confirmations survive from the mid-12th century but the parochia of Linlithgow, to which they belonged, is believed to be of considerably greater antiquity (*St Andrews Liber*, 51, 54, 57). A brief note on some of these chapels is given

by Ferguson in his *Ecclesia Antiqua*. They include Binning (13th century), Auldcaithie (1198), Ochiltree (1285), Tartraven (1246), Torphichen (1168), some of which became separate parishes at a later date (Ferguson 1905, 130-9; Cowan 1967). A number of other minor chapels are also known to have existed, but these are less well documented and dated. It is clear from the foundation charter of the friary that one such chapel existed at the site of the friary by 1401. Given the dedication of that chapel to the Blessed Virgin and the place name evidence, it seems likely that the actual foundation date of the chapel may be expected some time in the 12th or 13th centuries.

Before the construction of the Carmelites' convent there in 1401 the chapel of the Blessed Virgin was most probably under the control of a lay patron. There is, however, a tradition that the Carmelites were established on the site as early as 1280 by the citizens of Linlithgow. The only traceable evidence for this belief comes from a supposed letter from the provost, baillies and the community of the burgh to Henry Hann of Brunham described as provincial of the Carmelite order in England and vicar provincial in Scotland 'transcribed' by Brockie (Brockie, 1540). This is a spurious document (Docherty 1965). Not only is it most unusual for any such foundation to be made by a king's burgh at this time, but the wording is also peculiar and even suggests that Brockie had read the documents of James Douglas's foundation of the friary. Moreover there are inexplicable changes in Brockie's 'transcription' of the burgesses' letter to the Carmelite provincial in England. The provincial was first named as Cyrel Blunt and this is scored out and replaced with the name Henry Hann of Brunham. Neither of these individuals are known, and the prior general in England at the time was a Pierre de Millaud (Knowles 1948, 199). Spottiswoode (1824, 455) also states that the friary was established by the burgesses of Linlithgow, giving the date as 1290. He does not however give any source for this statement. The existence of a tradition of burgh involvement in the friary seems clear, and Brockie may simply have been 'substantiating' that tradition. There is however no real evidence for an early convent on the site, although it might be wrong to rule out the possibility of friars—Carmelite or otherwise—operating from the chapel before 1401. Proven burgh involvement with the convent dates to the 16th century. The numbers of friars and their financial affairs during the 15th century are unfortunately obscure. Royal interest in the convent was restricted to small gifts of alms. The Queen Dowager, Mary of Guelders, made an initial gift of 8s in 1461, followed in the same year by a further gift of 16s. However in 1464, it is made clear that the latter gift of 16s, which appears in the Exchequer Rolls, represents a waiving of rents from lands occupied by the friars. This gift continued until at least 1468 (*ER*, vii, 49, 66, 254, 534). From 1488 to at least 1507 regular payments 'to the friars of Linlithgow' were made through the Lord High Treasurer by the King. It seems likely that these were payments to the Carmelite friars, as occasional payments to other orders temporarily at Linlithgow were detailed in the same series of entries as 'to the black friars' or 'to the Augustin friars' (*TA*, i-iv). By the end, the payments average 14s per year and their regularity may suggest that the order was again holding land in the area against rents.

The 16th-century picture of the friary's affairs is more detailed, but the situation is complicated by the effects of a general monastic decline and the Reformation. The convent is thought to have had a minimum income in 1561 of £33 (Cowan and Easson 1976, 135). However the sources for the convent only really pick up in the 1530s and it may be that even by then some of the friary's lands had been feued out. The friary had certainly retained lands immediately adjacent to the convent which extended down the hill to the rear of the burghage plots (*Prot Bk Johnsoun*, no 372 dated 1555). The relationship between the friary and the burgh of Linlithgow in the years leading up to the Reformation seems

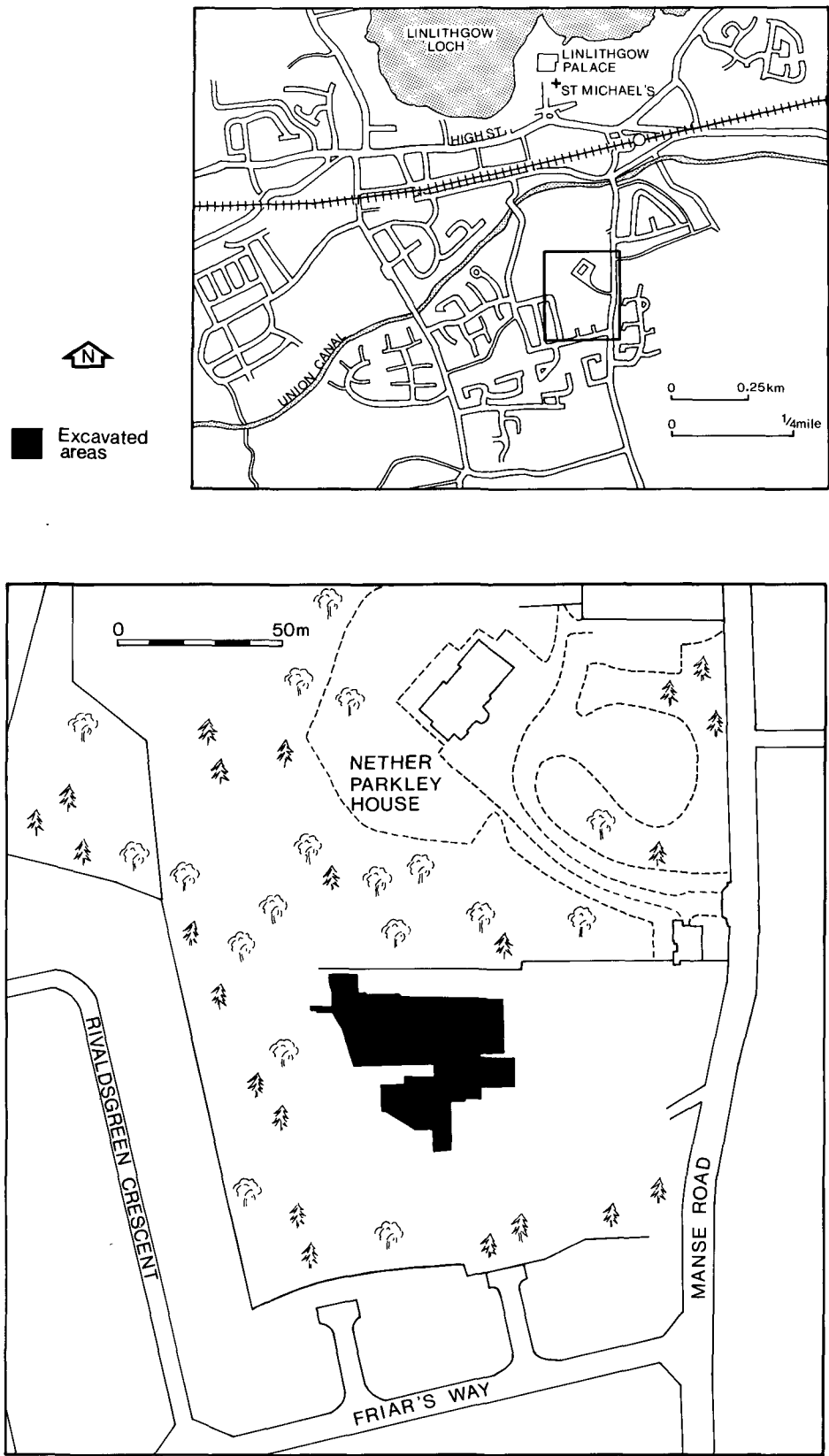
to have been a very close one, extending to far more than just religious matters. In 1531 the prior was made a burgess of the town without the need to pay the usual fees (Ferguson 1905, 333; SRO, B48/7/1, 20 October 1531). The commercial implications of this privilege are further underlined by references to the friars' burghage plot at the SE end of the burgh (*Prot Bk Foulis*, nos 60, 62, dated 1561, 1562). Shortly after the prior becoming a burgess we find the convent being used by the burgh court to hold disputations (SRO, B48/7/1 23 February 1540), and for judicial oaths (*Prot Bk Johnsoun*, no 253, dated 1541). Involvement of the burgh in the convent lands is attested in 1542 when Henry Forrest, provost of Linlithgow, acquired two acres of the Carmelites' lands at the rear of his own burghage plots in feu for nineteen years (*Laing Chrs*, no 490). Thus the burgh seems to have had considerable interest in and use of the convent. This involvement of the burgh should also be seen in the light of what was happening to the church of St Michael. By the mid-16th century the burgh court also exercised very considerable control over the activities of the vicar and chaplains there (Ferguson 1905, 38-55). Burgh control of the friary may have been equally strong, and it is probably from this period that the tradition of the convent being founded by the burgh derives.

The convent is normally thought to have been destroyed (Lesley, *History*, 274) at the Reformation. Lesley, Bishop of Ross, in his *History of Scotland, 1436-1561* notes that Huntly, Bothwell and Crawford paused at Linlithgow in 1559 'quhair they caused pull down the frearis'. Lesley could not, however, be described as an impartial witness and while some destruction and certainly disruption probably took place, total demolition seems unlikely. If the convent was regarded by the burgesses as part of their own holdings, they would have been unlikely to have provided the sort of rampaging mob which destroyed the religious houses at Perth. The influence of the old order was not entirely destroyed by the actions of the Reformers. In October 1559 we find Friar Hopper witnessing a sasine of Alexander Livingston (*Laing Chrs*, no 707). The following year Henry Forrest's two acres were confirmed to his son by Prior Hopper and witnessed by one of the friars recorded in the original lease of 1545—John Blyth (*Laing Chrs*, no 715). Then in 1563 it is clear that another two acres had been feued some time previously to the Gibbons, but that the land was still regarded as belonging to the friars (SRO, GD76/116/1). It is not until 1567 that any significant changes took place. In April of that year the lands surrounding the convent were leased to James Wetherspoun of Brighous. They included lands known as Laverokmure which lay around the convent, bounded on the S by the lands of Prestoun, and on the W by the said lands of Prestoun and those of Littlekettlestoun known as the Poldrait. On the E lay the road to Riccarton (the friary road) and on the N lay the lands of Lord Donybate in Kettlestoun. In addition there was an acre in Mountjoy and an acre in Lord Donybate's land (SRO, E14/1/269). The grounds of the convent itself were not, however, leased to the Wetherspouns until February 1569/70, at which time they were described as 'the church, burial ground, houses, buildings, greens, orchards and crofts, within the walls and ditches of the same' (*Prot Bk Johnsoun*, no 563). Significantly, unlike the previous lease of 1567 which was made by Prior Hopper with the consent of the provincial general of the Carmelites in Scotland, the second lease to the Wetherspouns was confirmed, 'on the ground by William Estoun, burgess of Linlithgow'. James Hopper does not appear in any later documents, and it may be that the last prior of the convent had died. Some ten years after the Reformation therefore the substantially intact buildings and grounds of the convent passed into lay hands. The church may have been out of use for some years and the incumbents had been left to live out their years in the domestic ranges of the convent. The crown made several attempts to ensure that religious houses such

as the friaries continued to serve their local communities as hospitals and schools (*RSS*, i, no 2: *RMS*, v, no 1304). However, this does not appear to have been the case at this convent. Instead the lands of Laverokmure were confirmed to John Bruce, grandson of Alexander Bruce of Airth in a royal charter of 1597. John Bruce may have been related to the Wetherspouns by marriage (*Scots Peerage*, v, 429, 437; vi, 448).

Sir John Bruce did not keep the lands of Laverokmure intact, and in 1609 sold $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of 'land called the Carmelite

friars' to Nicholas Bell, baker burgess of Linlithgow (SRO, GD76/116/1). Then in 1624 Bruce sold the remaining lands of Laverokmure, along with much of his inheritance, to Alexander Earl of Linlithgow. These included the 'place of the Carmelite friars' which was separately valued at 6s 8d (*RMS*, viii, no 1022). At such a price it is very unlikely that much if anything of the building remained and it may well be that Bruce had already sold the stone for building material.



ILL 21 : Location of Linlithgow friary site

5.2 LINLITHGOW: THE EXCAVATIONS

WJ LINDSAY

INTRODUCTION

In the autumn of 1983 and the spring of 1984, excavations were undertaken by the author and a team of c 12 excavators in advance of proposed development. The excavation records are to be deposited in the National Monuments Record of Scotland, Melville Street, Edinburgh.

The site (NGR NT003765) (Ill 21) lies c 370 m S of the medieval burgh of Linlithgow on a plateau overlooking the town. It now forms part of the garden of Nether Parkley House, which was built in the late 19th century. In the early years of this century J Henderson, the then owner of the property, located and planned walling associated with the church and E range of the Carmelite friary (Ferguson 1905, 332-4). D Hunter carried out limited excavations in 1953, which provided more detailed evidence and which proved that significant archaeological remains were present in some areas (Hunter 1953, 18).

It was thought that comparatively small-scale excavation of a key area would quickly indicate whether or not there were sufficiently deep and meaningful archaeological horizons worthy of more extensive investigation. Fortunately, it was possible to identify the positions of some of the trenches dug by Miss Hunter in 1953 because the type of vegetation in these areas was quite different from that growing elsewhere on site. It was therefore relatively easy to lay out a c 20 × 15m trench to include the E end of the church and the N part of the E range. When significant archaeological remains were encountered at a depth of c 1.10 m it was decided that, because so few excavations of Scottish friaries had been undertaken, as much of the complex as possible should be investigated in the time available. The initial trench was extended S and W to the limits shown on Ill 21 and 23.

At an early stage trenches associated with the two known earlier excavations were located. These have been included in Ill 23 and those dug by Miss Hunter have been given their original site numbers. With a few notable exceptions, the c 1900 investigations had caused much less damage than had been feared because, for the most part, only the surviving tops of walls or their edges had been exposed. Miss Hunter's trenches had been cut to greater depths, sometimes into natural, but many structural features of interest had been left undisturbed and had been carefully reburied.

Major disturbances had been caused by the cutting of several relatively modern field drains and a sewer which ran E-W down the centre of the church (Ill 23). As the sewer was still in use it could not be removed. Tree roots, animal burrows and ploughing mostly towards the S and W sides of the excavated area had also damaged archaeological deposits.

For the purposes of this report archaeological contexts have been divided into four periods:

- 1 Prehistoric occupation, much of which is likely to relate to the neolithic period.
- 2 Medieval use of the site from the 13th century until the construction of the Carmelite friary church in the first half of the 15th century.
- 3 The construction and occupation of the friary complex in the 15th and 16th centuries.
- 4 The destruction of the friary in the second half of the 16th century and subsequent use of the site.

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It was impossible to phase prehistoric features satisfactorily but fourteen phases of medieval activity were identified. Many of these deal with the construction, rather than the use, of buildings because uncontaminated flooring and occupational deposits were seldom found. Although evidence of pre-friary use of the site was extensive, it was decided that the wall lines of the friary church and the E range were of sufficient interest and were substantial enough to be left in the hope that they might not be totally destroyed by the development or could be incorporated into it.

From contexts ranging in date from the 13th-17th centuries and associated with Periods 2-4, a large number of burials were recovered. In the present chapter these are mentioned in the relevant period or phase, but because of problems of scale they do not appear on any of the site plans. Archaeological aspects of their deposition are discussed in Chapters 7.1 and 7.2 mf, (1:B12-D5), while they are fully included in the analysis of the skeletal remains from all three excavations (Chapters 7.5, 7.6 mf, 1: E5-G3; 7.10 mf, 5:F1-10:F12).

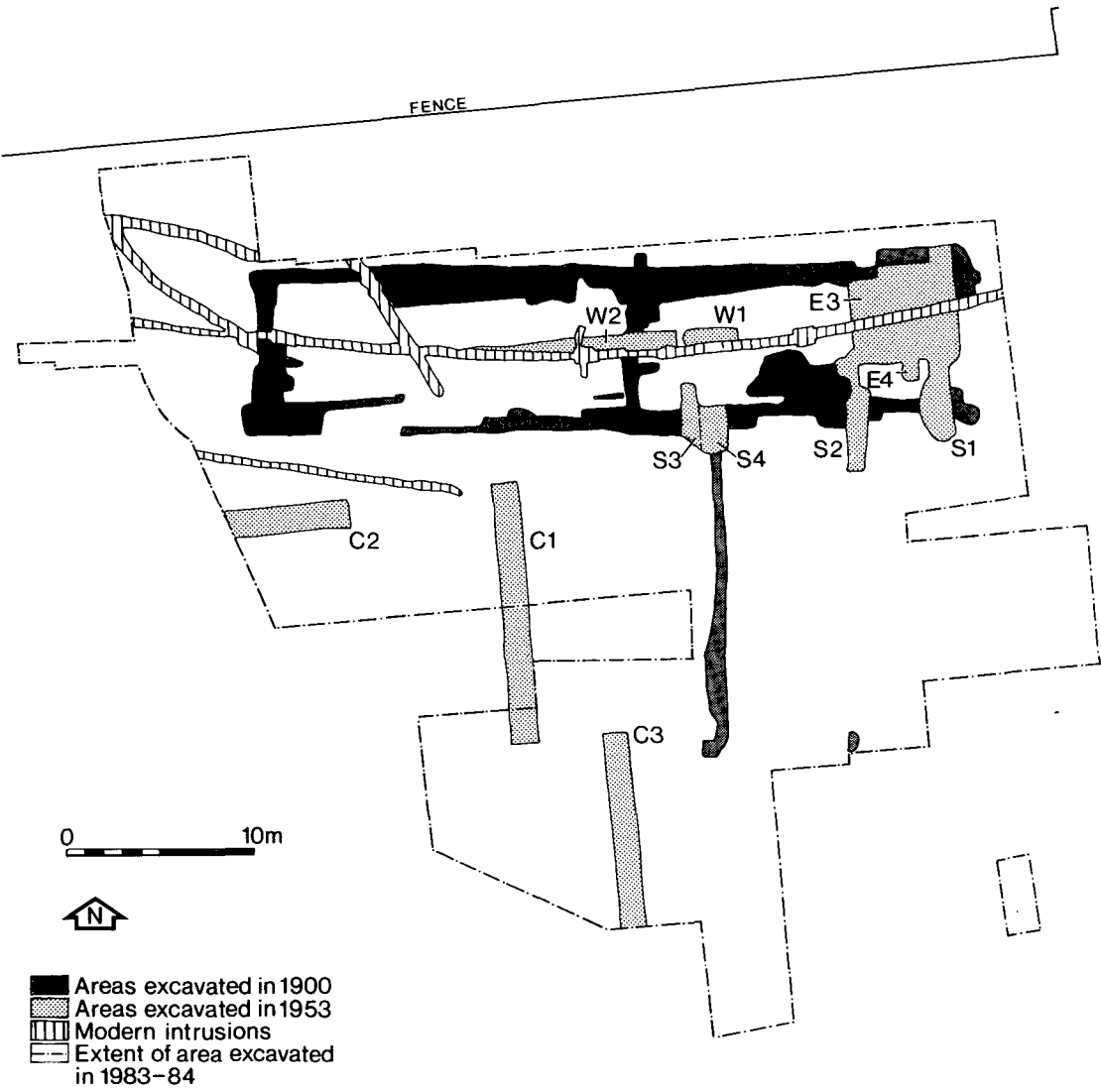
EXCAVATION

Note: Contexts marked* are not numbered on the published illustrations, but their location is indicated in the text.

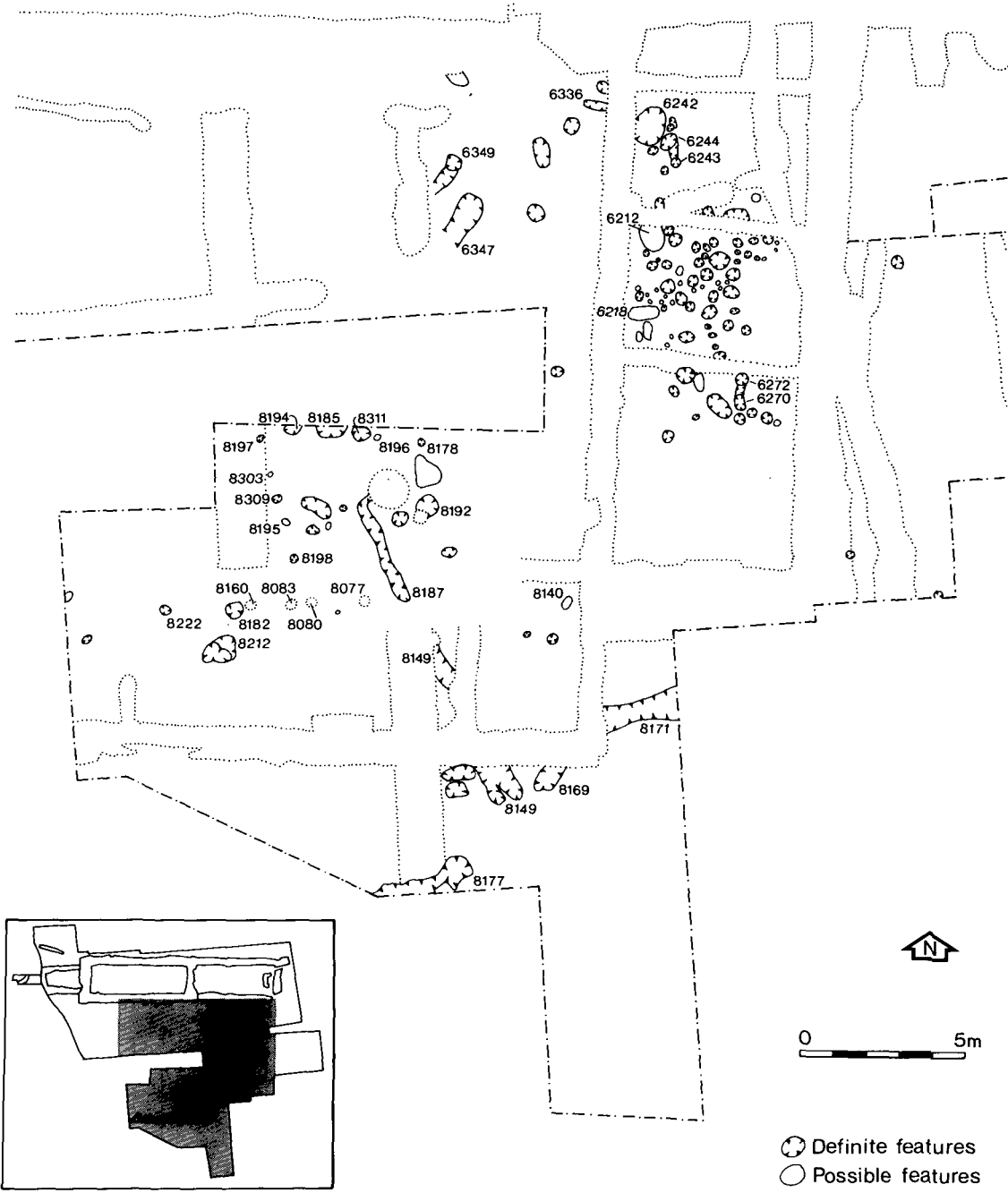
Natural consisted of flaky basalt which was overlain in some areas by brown to grey clay and gravel. This deposit contained doleritic boulders, many small rounded pebbles and unidentified black particles. The nature of this layer made the identification of early features such as post-pits difficult and was responsible for some of these being overcut.



ILL. 22 : Architectural fragment probably from Linlithgow friary, built into wall of Nether Parkley House, Linlithgow, above a window lintel 0.84m long. Decorated head or canopy of an aumbry or sedile wrought from a single block of sandstone. Probably of late 15th or early 16th century date



ILL 23 : Linlithgow. Excavations and intrusions prior to 1983



ILL 24 : Linlithgow. Plan of Period 1. Prehistoric pits and gullies

PERIOD 1 (Ill 24, 26)

The clearest evidence of Period 1 use of the site consisted of two concentrations of cut features and several areas of apparently associated cobbles which lay on a gentle incline up to the SE corner of the excavation (Ill 24, 26). Ground further S, where natural rock lay at a higher level, did not appear to have been utilised to any great extent at this time, probably because it would have been easier to dig features into the clay and gravel deposits which overlay basalt on the lower slope. The location may therefore have been chosen with some care.

There were c 100 cut features in the E group and others may have been destroyed by intrusive medieval cuts or have underlain Period 3 friary stone walling which was not removed (Ill 25). On excavation, twenty-five of the Period 1 features, those illustrated without hachures (Ill 24), proved to be of doubtful origin but the remainder, mostly small pits and stake-holes, seemed to have been made by man. The pits had average diameters of c 0.35 m and depths of c 0.30 m. They are probably best regarded as having been dug to extract posts rather than as post-pits because no post-pipe evidence was identified in the amorphous brown to grey brown sandy or clayey fills. However, a few rounded pebbles present in the fills may once have secured posts. As well as the single examples there were two pairs of pits, 6243 and 6244, and, 6270 and 6272, which were connected by short shallow U-shaped slots. There was little differentiation of fills within the associated features except that there were more stones in the slot joining pits 6243 and 6244 than in the pits themselves. No pits were found in association with a third short shallow slot, 6336, the E end of which had been cut away by a Period 3 intrusive feature.

In spite of the large number of features located it could not be established conclusively whether they were contemporary or had been dug over a period of time. Perhaps the former possibility is more likely because practically none of the features intercut. Even when feature sizes and fill types were considered no totally satisfactory structural alignments were suggested.

The possible pits 6212 and 6218 and pit 6242 were larger than the others and may not have been robbed post-pits although no alternative interpretations of their functions were indicated by their forms or fills. At the W side of the E group of cut features there were two shallow gullies, 6347 and 6349, which seemed to be aligned NE-SW. They were c 0.16 m deep at their NE ends but became progressively shallower to the SW until they disappeared, so it is likely that they had once been longer and had been truncated by later activities. It was not possible to deduce what function the features might have served from their shapes and silty clay fills.

Apparently related to the main E concentration of cut features were overlying patches of rounded cobbles which were set in a c 0.10m deep brown soil, 6238, 6251 and 6252 (Ill 26). Parts of some underlying pits were first identified at this level although their full extents were not ascertainable until the stoney deposits were removed. It is therefore likely that the cobbled spreads had been laid as Period 1 surfaces and that stones from them had been disturbed and pulled over the cut features when the area was cultivated at a later date, probably during Period 2. The stoney spreads may originally have been more extensive but been stripped when the area was scarped in Period 3.



ILL 25 : Linlithgow. Some of the Period 1 cut features present within the chapter house, which was constructed during Period 3, Phase 10. Looking W



ILL 26 : Linlithgow. Plan of Period 1. Neolithic stone spreads

The second spread of early pits and gullies lay SW of the first group. Because medieval and, in some places, later use of the site had disturbed and truncated deposits in this area some pits were to all intents and purposes unstratified. Therefore it is possible that some of the features included in this section have been wrongly attributed to Period 1. Little helpful dating evidence was provided by the few finds recovered. Particles of shell and mortar, present in a few apparently Period 1 stratified features, are likely to have been brought down by worms and roots from overlying medieval horizons which contained large quantities of these materials.

Eight of the possible pits, those without hachures on Ill 24, must be regarded as being of undetermined origin because either they were so shallow that they may have been no more than irregular dips in the surface of natural or their edges could not be defined satisfactorily. The others were similar to those in the E group and, with one exception, seemed to have been dug to extract timber posts. They varied in size and depth considerably and had sandy silt and clay or silty clay fills. Grey ash and burnt stones were also present in four, 8182, 8185, 8192 and 8194. Evidence of the sizes of posts was restricted to the composite post-pit feature 8212 which was c 1.50×0.40 m in plan and up to 0.28 m deep. The positions of three posts were indicated by circular to subcircular inner fills of charcoal and soil, 8213*, 8214* and 8219*. These had diameters of c 0.25, 0.18 and 0.22 m respectively and, although truncated by a cut, 8220*, which had presumably been dug to remove charred posts, fills survived to an average depth of 0.08 m. The relationship of fill 8213* in which a sherd of beaker was found had been destroyed by the intrusive feature but 8219* clearly pre-dated 8214*. Charcoal from fill 8219*, identified as being mainly *Quercus* with c 5% *Corylus*, has provided a radiocarbon date of 3315±55bc (GU-1875).

Of the more credible alignments suggested by robbed post-pits, three are worthy of some comment. The first consisted of pits 8198, 8195, 8309, 8303 and 8197, which were all small subcircular features with diameters of up to 0.20 m and depths of 0.06–0.13 m. Two, 8195 and 8303, were not wholly convincing, the former because it was only 0.06 m deep and the latter because it was of irregular shape. The second possible alignment was suggested by pits 8194, 8185, 8311, 8196 and 8178, three of which lay partially outwith the excavated area. The features were of various sizes with diameters between c 0.20 and 1 m and depths between 0.10 and 0.30 m but two, 8185 and 8194, were similar in that there were heat shattered stones and lenses of ash in their fills. The third possible line is the most striking but the least secure. Pits 8077, 8083, 8182, 8222, 8080, 8160 and possibly 8140 formed an apparent E-W alignment with the centres of the first four lying 2 m apart. Unfortunately, this area was much truncated and disturbed so several of the features could be of later date. Pits 8077, 8080, 8083 and 8160 were identified at higher levels than the others and should possibly be better regarded as being medieval features. In addition 8077, 8080 and 8083 possessed stone packing which was not present in the others but was found in some Period 3 post-pits (see Phase 11). It is therefore possible that much of the apparent line had been created fortuitously and that only pits 8140, 8182 and 8222 are of Period 1 date.

There were two linear features, represented by six separate gully lengths, in this area. The first, 8149 and 8187, had been cut by medieval features, notably foundation trenches associated with a Period 3 building, and by Trench C3 which had been excavated in 1953. The feature measured c 10×0.40 m to 0.80×0.13 m and was roughly aligned N-S. The N length, 8187, had a V-shaped profile, while the S end of 8149, had a more rounded and bifurcated base suggesting that this length may have been recut. Nevertheless, only a single sandy silt fill was identified. Its silty nature suggests that the feature was probably a drain and the slope indicates that it had run N. However, it is possible that it

may have housed a timber sill which had been removed and that the resulting void had then silted up.

The second linear feature was approximately aligned NE-SW and was slightly S-shaped in plan. It was composed of three discrete gully lengths 8169, 8171 and 8177, which were separated by a Period 3 cut and by an outcrop of rock. The feature was traced for c 11 m and was up to 0.60 m wide and 0.15 m deep. The sandy silt fill showed that the feature is likely to have been the basal remains of a ditch. Period 2 ploughing may well have been responsible for destroying upper ditch fills. As it lay S of the main concentration of cut features, in a position which more or less mirrored that of the interface between natural clay and rock, the feature is probably best regarded as having served as a S boundary ditch.

Quite an extensive area of cobbles, 8022, 8151, 8221 and 8226, similar to the E spreads, overlay many of the W cut features (Ill 26). However, as in the E area, parts of underlying cut features were first identified at this level although they could not satisfactorily be excavated until the stoney layers had been removed. The stones lay within a c 0.10 m deep brown soil but were not as firmly embedded as were the E cobbles. It is thought that they had once formed Period 1 laid surfaces but had been dislodged and spread over the fills of cut features when an overlying medieval soil, 8157*, 8164* and 8180*, was cultivated in Period 2.

The only feature apparently associated with the cobbles was a circular, c 1 m diameter, and slightly concave setting of doleritic stones, 8017. It had been constructed within a shallow hollow which cut into the N end of gully 8187. The stone feature is unlikely to have been used as a hearth because there was no evidence of burning, even in the form of charcoal fragments in the interstices between stones. The setting is therefore more likely to have been a large post-pad. But for it apparently being a Period 1 feature, the position and construction of setting 8017 might be suggestive of its being the base of a Period 3 lavatory at which the friars would have washed their hands before entering the refectory in the S range for meals (Ill 41).

Not all the site was excavated to natural levels so Period 1 deposits may have existed elsewhere. Although only sampled in a small sondage trench at a late stage in the excavation (not illustrated), there was some indication that the NW corner of the area may have been used during this period. Here a c 0.25 m deep ploughsoil, 7229*, overlay natural clay. Within it there was a c 0.05 m layer of dark brown soil, 7228*, which contained many charcoal fragments and a flint flake (167). Regrettably, it was not possible to interpret the deposit from the small area investigated. Nevertheless, it is clear that the horizon related to early use of the site as do pieces of flint recovered from disturbed overlying levels within the small exploratory trench and in the NW corner of the excavation generally.

DISCUSSION

Few of the features included as Period 1 could be dated adequately but the radiocarbon date of 3315±55 bc (GU-1875), obtained from the charcoal sample from the fill of 8219*, together with the few sherds of pottery from other Period 1 features indicate that much of the occupation is likely to be of neolithic date (see Chapter 8.3 mf, 11 : G9-10). Unfortunately, there were insufficient stratigraphical relationships to determine if more than one neolithic occupation was represented. What is clear is that some of the features included as Period 1 are likely to be of late neolithic/early bronze age date, judging by the beaker sherd that was recovered from feature 8213 (41) and part of a flint petit tranche derivative arrowhead (163) found in a Period 4 context (see Chapter 9.4mf, 12: E7-10). The picture of pre-medieval use of the site is augmented by the recovery

of part of a bronze ring (168) datable to the 9th or 8th centuries bc and a few pieces of jet (164-167), which indicate that a basic jet ornament industry was operational nearby during the later prehistoric period. Even a sherd of Roman pottery was found (42).

It is worthy of note that a late neolithic 'thumb' scraper or a flint for a 'flint-and-steel' was found beside a skeleton during D Hunter's excavation in 1953 (D Hunter, pers comm). A bronze socketed spearhead of the bronze age from a modern feature was also recovered, but at that time the excavator believed that it could well have been brought on to the site in the early 20th century (D Hunter, pers comm). The only known casual find is a quern stone found prior to

1983. The stone has been identified as being chloritic schistose-grit, almost certainly of Dalradian age. It can be matched with specimens from Loch Lomond-side, just N of Balmaha (further details in archive).

From the evidence of various finds it is clear that the elevated site overlooking Linlithgow Loch and the Forth Valley was much used at various times during the prehistoric period. In many ways it is regrettable that medieval and more recent use of the area had so destroyed and truncated earlier deposits, especially as at least some of the neolithic occupation appears to be among the earliest so far identified in Scotland. Associated pottery: 32-41

Associated finds: Flint 161, chert 162

PERIOD 2

PHASE 1 (Ill 27)

Gullies

The earliest evidence of medieval use of the site consisted of a number of approximately parallel gullies which seemed to have been dug through a truncated soil horizon. The cut features, which were aligned N-S, have been interpreted as being field boundaries and drainage channels.

Overlying natural and sealing Period 1 features in some areas was a layer of orange silty loam variously numbered 6188*, 6210*, 6234*, 6298*, 8157*, 8164* and 8180*. The horizon was c 0.10 m deep and is likely to have been the basal remnants of a truncated cultivated soil. Apparently cutting this deposit were several shallow gullies which could only be adequately excavated after most of the soil had been removed. It is therefore likely that the soil had been pulled over the gullies by cultivation activities of a later date; a process which may have contaminated extant deposits and had clearly removed upper feature fills. The gullies, which were between 0.60 and 1.05 m wide, survived to varying lengths and penetrated natural clay and, in some places bedrock, to a maximum depth of 0.20 m. The orange silty fills were of similar appearance to the soil horizon through which the features had been dug.

The most easterly gully indeniably of this phase was 6284 but only part of it, c 7.50 m, lay within the excavated area. Near the S limit of the excavation the feature appeared to have been recut but the digging sequence could not be ascertained because of the similarity of fills in the two channels. At the N end there was a 0.15 m high vertical face which extended c 2.80 m along the E side of the feature. Four stakeholes lay against this edge and nine others continued the alignment within the S part of the gully. The stakeholes probably indicate the position of a wattle revetment set in the feature to slow down the rate of silting. Although disturbed and not excavated, a N-S linear spread of stones, 6103 to the N may well have been an upper fill of gully 6284. Approximately 1.60 m of another gully, 6147, was excavated to the W of the stoney fill. It may have been part of gully 6292 which lay to the SW. A Period 3 foundation trench cut across the N end of the excavated length of gully 6147 and no trace of the latter was found in the disturbed area N of the intrusive feature.

Some 4 m W of gully 6284 a series of three gullies had been dug. The earliest appeared to be gully 6292, c 4 m of which lay within the excavated area. The feature is likely to have once extended much further S but this section of it seemed to have been cut away when gully 6287 was dug. Some 10.40 m of this presumably replacement feature were excavated. The most recent of the succession of gullies in this area appeared to be 6191/5150, c 25 m of which was located.

Like 6147 to the E, its N end had been cut by the Period 3 foundation trench, but unlike 6147, part of it, 5150, was identified, albeit slightly offset from the main alignment, within a building constructed during Period 3. An associated E-W length, 6199, which ran c 1.10 m W from gully 6191, appeared to have been cut in this direction merely to avoid an outcrop of bedrock.

Parts of yet another gully, 6659 and 7076, lay c 10 m to the W of gully 6191. The two lengths of this feature extended c 10.30 m and the S section, 6659, was readily identifiable as it had been cut into bedrock to a depth of c 0.20 m rather than into clay as the others had been. Almost certainly, the feature had once extended much further S, but had been destroyed by later activities, in particular those associated with Period 3, Phase 12 levelling to form the friary cloister. The surviving N part of gully 6659/7076 was definitely cut by Period 2, Phase 2 and later features.

The gullies can only have been ditches which had been truncated by later use of the site. The lengths and relative positions of the three main alignments indicate that the features had been dug to define the limits of fields or properties. The natural slope to the N, the silty nature of the basal fills and the probable presence of wattle revetting along the side of one of the gullies, 6284, show that they had also acted as drainage channels.

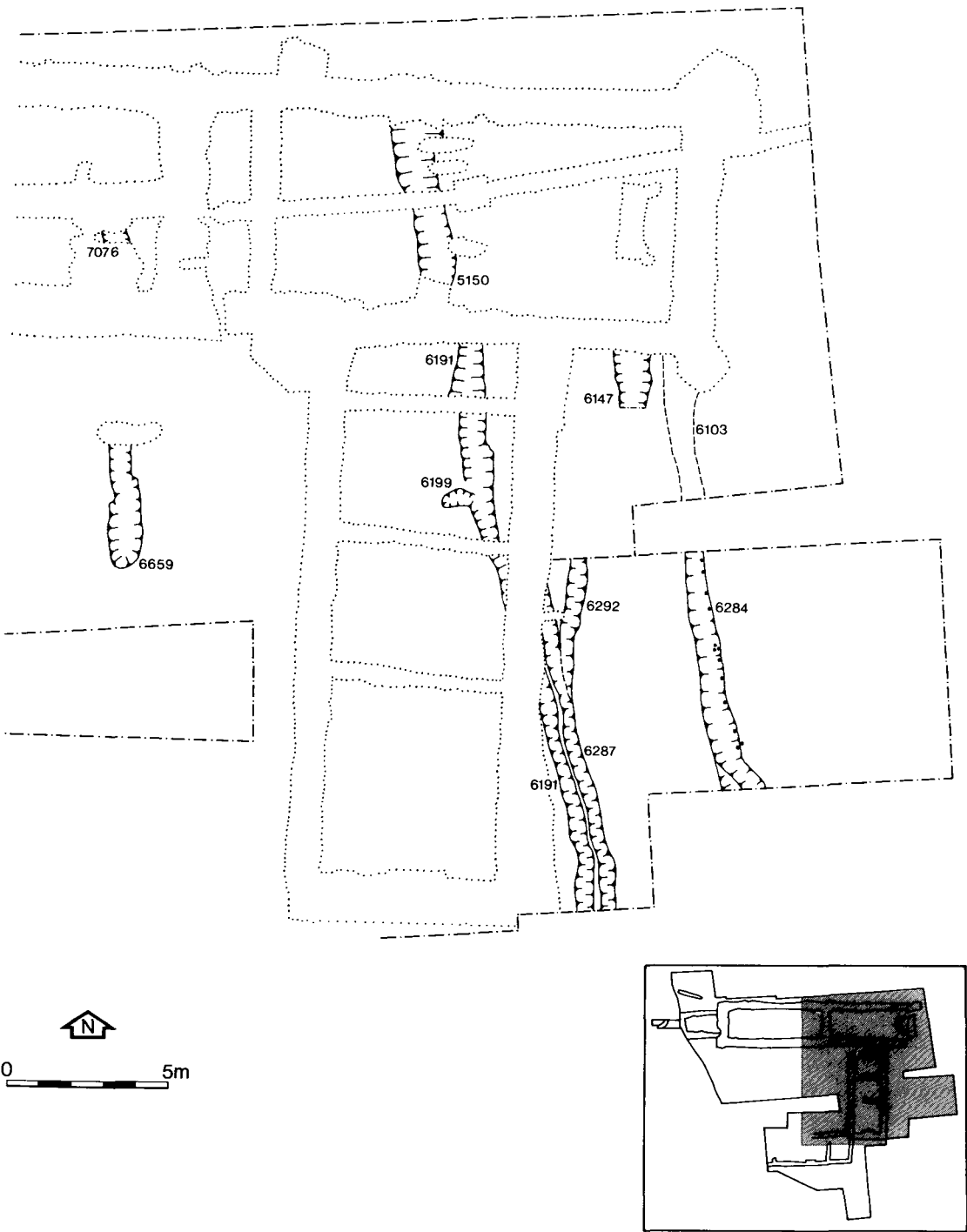
DISCUSSION

To judge by the pottery recovered, the three main alignments appear to have been adhered to during the 13th century. However, as one gully, 6659/7076, was clearly overlain by a Phase 2 feature, they were probably in use during the first half of the century supposing that Phase 2 is of mid 13th-century date. Because only basal feature fills survived there were few signs that the alignments had been renewed apart from the series of cuts associated with the central demarcation. Nevertheless, this evidence alone is probably sound enough to suggest that the boundary alignments may have been respected for some time, possibly from the 12th century. It is possible that the central and E field or property boundaries continued to be used during the remainder of Period 2.

As the ground lies just S of Linlithgow (Ill 21) the fields may have been burgh property or been owned by burgesses, although it is equally possible that they could have been part of a country estate.

PHASE 2 (Ill 28)

During this phase a major stone building, which has been interpreted as being a chapel, was constructed. To the W were



ILL 27 : Linlithgow. Plan of Period 2, Phase 1

a few features believed to have been associated with constructional activities and some way to the S an E-W ditch may have been dug in this phase as a S boundary to the chapel property.

Construction of chapel

The earliest stone building was aligned E-W and lay in the N part of the excavated area, where the ground sloped naturally down towards the W. As the building overlay 7076, part of a Phase 1 property demarcation, it would appear that the location could have been specifically chosen because of the slight incline. No attempt had been made to level the ground prior to construction and it did not seem that the enclosed area had been levelled up after the building had been erected. It may have been a conscious decision to have the E and more important end at a higher level than the W one creating a more imposing interior than otherwise.

The building measured c 20.80 × 8.40 m externally but only the basal courses of c 1.40 m wide walling and slightly wider foundations survived. The foundations were substantial, consisting of often massive doleritic boulders which had been packed into trenches cut into natural clay to depths between 0.20 and 0.30 m. The stones could have been obtained locally, some even during the digging of the trenches. The external faces of the end foundations were slightly but distinctively concave along their lengths. This 'flared' appearance must have been deliberately created although it can have served no obvious purpose. Indeed, the SE extremities of the corner were of quite slight construction and would not have directly borne any significant weight. However, elsewhere the foundations were sufficiently strong to have supported a vaulted superstructure but nowhere did walling survive above basal courses. Short lengths, notably 7002, to the W of a 6.50 m long robbing cut of the S wall, showed that the inner and outer faces had been constructed using roughly squared yellow sandstone blocks of local origin. Wall cores were composed of small pieces of angular stones, mostly sandstones, bound together with large quantities of grey mortar. To judge by otherwise unexplainable linear disturbances and a foundation cut associated with the central section of the W wall 7013, it is likely that major rebuilding of this wall was carried out, probably in Period 3, Phase 6.

This possibility appears to be borne out by the ground plan which apparently shows that the end wall, 7013, could have been inserted between the ends of the N and S walls, 7001 and 7002. However, this may be illusory as the W wall did not survive to the same height as its neighbours. The water table is believed to have risen dramatically in this area during Phase 4, possibly causing structural damage to wall 7013, when an underground spring was tapped and a well constructed. The high water level certainly made excavation difficult in 1983 and 1984.

Within the building the only Phase 2 feature found was a roughly rectangular setting of large doleritic boulders, 7025, which measured c 1.25 × 0.90 m. It had been built against the inside face of the N wall, 7001, towards its W end in a foundation pit, 7109*, which survived to a depth of 0.25 m. Because of its solidity, the feature would have supported a considerable weight such as that of a stair to an upper level. Alternatively, as the building is believed to have been a chapel, it may have served as the base of an unusually positioned side altar although a less substantial build would probably have sufficed for such a purpose. As the W end of the building almost certainly lay at a lower level than the E one, the feature may merely have been a foundation for steps leading down to the floor from a doorway in the N wall. Unfortunately, the area N of the wall was not excavated to this level so it is not known whether or not there were external features such as pebbled or trampled deposits which would have provided further indications of there having been an entrance at this point. Though much disturbed, just such a

compacted and pebbled surface, 6618, existed outside the S wall but it cannot be confidently assigned to this phase. Within the building a spread of sand, 7094, extended into the core of the W wall. Although the layer is likely to have been pulled across the foundation during later reconstruction activities, it is possible that its presence could indicate the position of an entrance to a stair at the SW corner.

The presence of a considerable number of burials and the recovery of finds such as decorated window glass from overlying deposits were the two main indications that the building had been constructed as a chapel or church. Because of a modern sewer it did not prove possible to adequately investigate the central area at the E end where the main altar is likely to have been sited. Indeed, apart from the stone setting 7025 described above, there was no other evidence of constructed features such as partitions or floors within the building.

Features W of chapel

Immediately W of the chapel a number of Phase 2 features either directly overlay or were cut into otherwise undisturbed prehistoric levels. The exposed surface of the Period 1 soil had been compacted and contained charcoal fragments together with lenses of incinerated orange gravel soils. A scatter of thirteen features, consisting of five post-pits, two short slots and two stakeholes together with four similar features of uncertain origin, were found in association with the surface. The only other feature assignable to this phase was a burnt bowl-shaped hollow or pit, 7201, which had been partially destroyed by 7211 and 7202, two of the man-made features mentioned above. The feature (7201) appeared to have been roughly oval in plan, c 1 × 0.60 m, and survived to a depth of 0.15 m. The steeply angled sides had been scorched orange in colour but the mixed charcoal and burnt bone fill appeared to have been dumped into the feature rather than having been associated with its use. The hollow is likely to have been a hearth but no finds indicative of any special function were obtained from it.

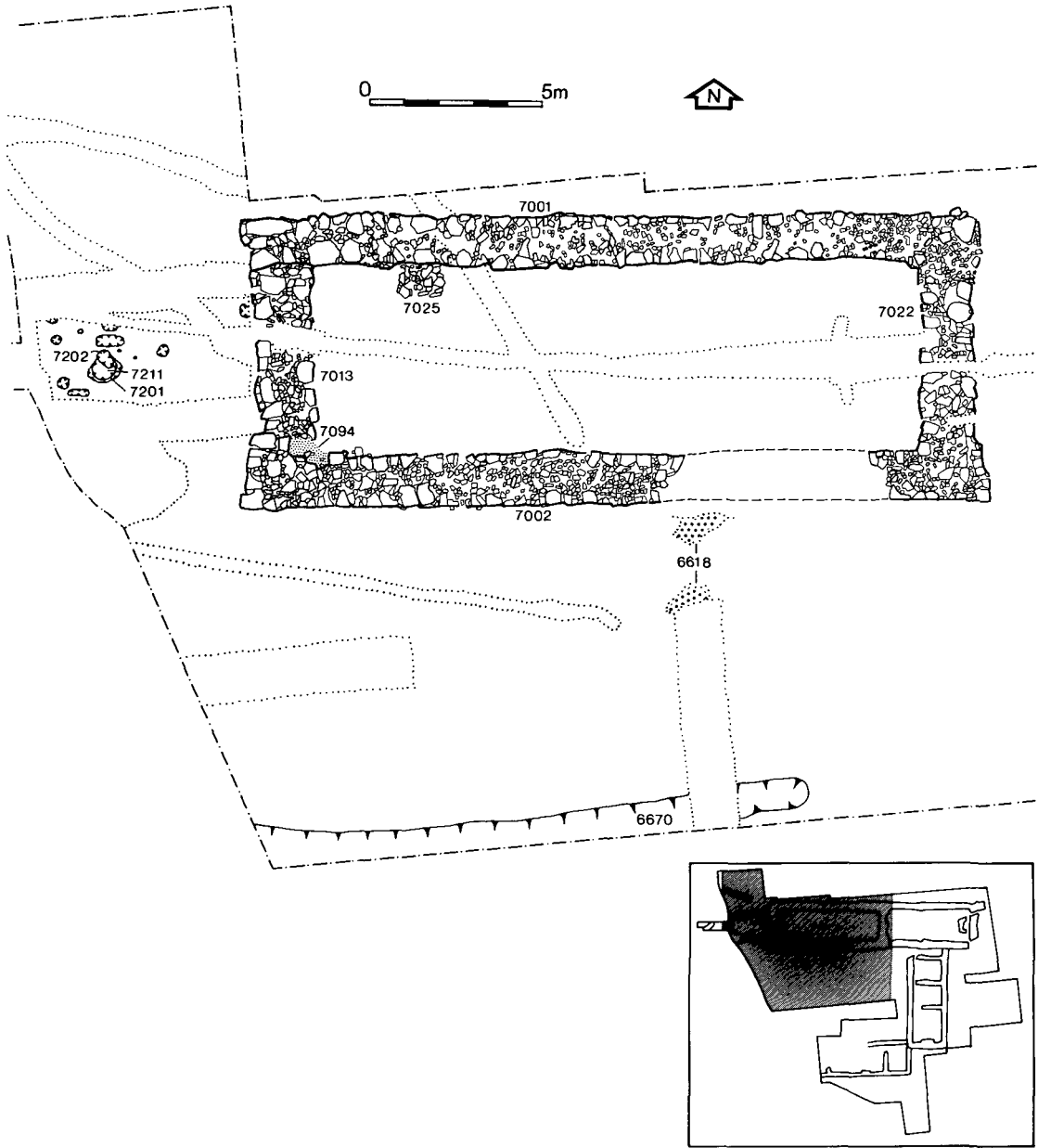
The cluster of features is likely to represent a small part of either an open work area or, perhaps even, a temporary building of timber construction used by workmen while the chapel to the E was being erected.

Property boundary

Some 8.50 m S of the chapel an E-W gully, 6670, lay along the S limit of the excavation. Although c 16 m of the feature was excavated, its full length was not determined as it continued W beyond the investigated area. Because it lay against the S section it is not possible to be certain, but it appeared to be c 1 m wide and c 0.15 m deep. The feature had been cut through a silty loam and natural clay and rock. Its orange silt fill was similar to those of the Phase 1 gullies but it contained a larger number of broken doleritic stones because more of the feature had been dug into bedrock.

Gully 6670 is probably best regarded as being a truncated ditch which had been dug to define the S limit of the chapel grounds. The main reason for considering that the gully, or some earlier form of it, had originated in Phase 2 is that all the Period 2 and 3 graves in this area had been dug to the N of it as if respecting its presence. Nevertheless, it cannot be confidently attributed to this phase on stratigraphical grounds and most of the pottery finds from it would seem to argue that it was of considerably later date. Although no recuts were identified, it is thought that the feature may have been first cut in Phase 2 but had continued in use till the beginning of Phase 12 in Period 3 when the ground was levelled and a building constructed above it.

Although perhaps unlikely considering the pottery recovered, it is possible that the N part of the latest in the



ILL 28 : Linlithgow. Plan of Period 2, Phase 2. Pre-friary chapel

succession of central property boundaries 5150 and 6191 (Ill 27), discussed as a Phase 1 feature, could have continued to be used in this phase as an E boundary to the chapel land.

DISCUSSION

The few pottery sherds recovered indicate that the chapel was built sometime during the 13th century, and to judge by pottery finds from subsequent phases, this is likely to have occurred in the middle part of the century. Several chapels were established in and around Linlithgow during the 13th century, some as foundations subordinate to the church of St Michael in the burgh. The excavated chapel is perhaps unlikely to have been one of these and, as R M Spearman suggests (Chapter 5.1), is more likely to have been founded by a local laird. At any rate documentary evidence shows that by the early 15th century it was in the possession of a private individual, James Douglas of Dalkeith, to dispose of as he wished. As has been seen in Chapter 5.1, there is an apparently unfounded belief that the Carmelites arrived in Linlithgow as early as the late 13th century. However, there was no indication of conventual occupation of the site during

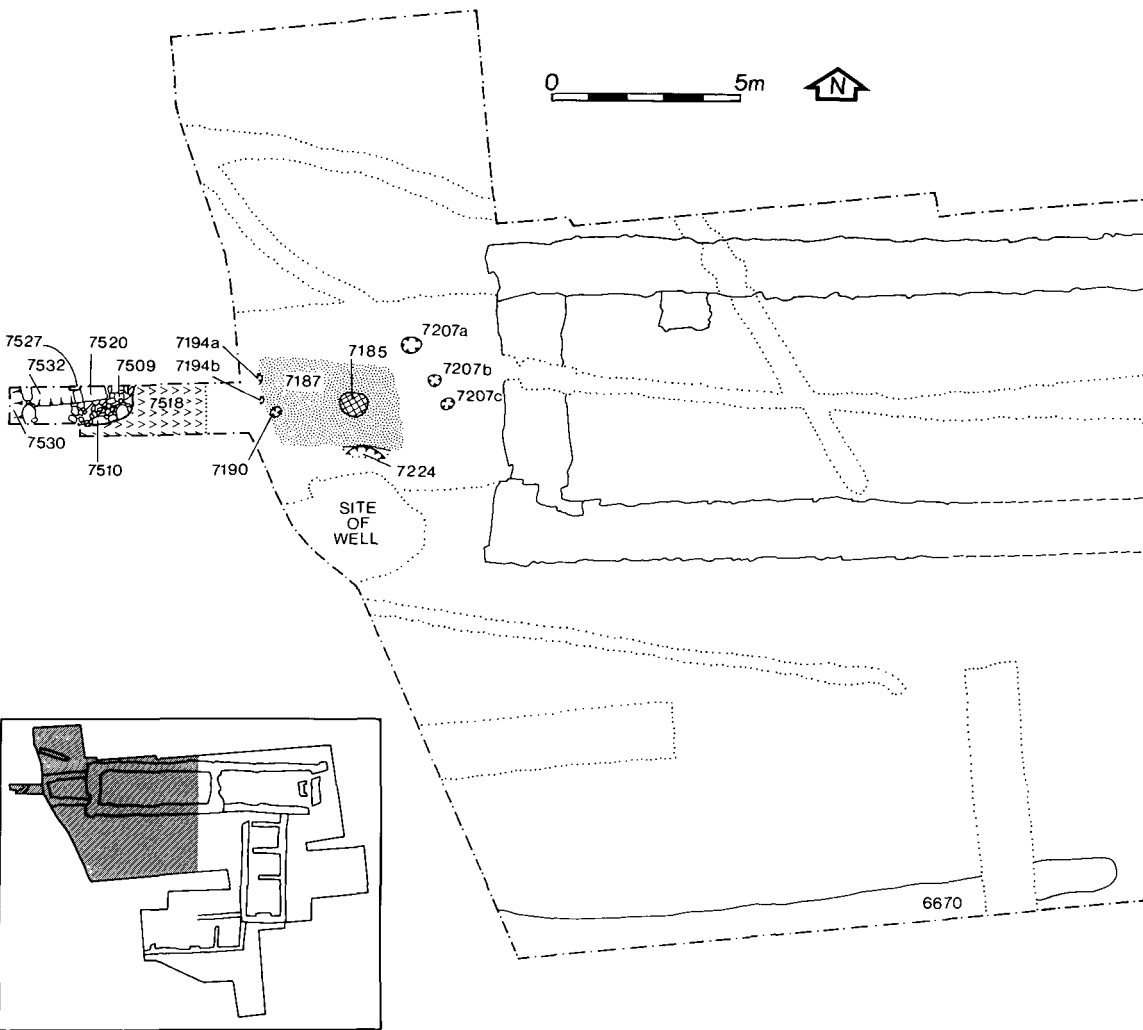
Period 2, Phase 2. The misconception may merely have arisen in the post-medieval period because a 13th-century chapel, dedicated to the Virgin, had been gifted to the order in 1401.

PHASE 3 (Ill 29)

Included in this section are the primary group of burials within and outwith the chapel, the construction and early occupation of a timber building to the W of the chapel, the digging of a well to the S of it and the construction of a latrine even further to the W. It was not possible to relate all these diverse activities one to another but because of general site stratigraphy they are likely to be more or less contemporary. The similarity among the small groups of pottery finds recovered from the four areas would appear to corroborate such a conclusion.

Burials

The Phase 3 chapel inhumations are discussed in Chapter 7.2 mf (1: B12-D5).



ILL 29 : Linlithgow. Plan of Period 2, Phase 3. Building 1

Building 1

W of the chapel, Phase 3 horizons directly overlay Phase 2 features. A series of five firm iron-panned orange or grey fine clayey sand deposits, 7197*, 7198*, 7195*, 7193* and 7187, were separated by thin layers of charcoal and ash. Because of their nature and the finds recovered, these deposits can only be regarded as being flooring and occupational horizons associated with a building (Building 1). Related to floor surface 7187 was a burnt area, 7185, which measured 0.76 × 0.70 m. It formed a slight, c 0.03 m deep, hollow which had yellow and grey clay at its base. The fill was made up of red and yellow ash. A thin associated spread of charcoal, 7188*, extended W to occupy an area 1.30 × 0.70 m. The cut feature can only have been a hearth but no finds indicative of any specific use were recovered. The flooring layers did not occupy an extensive area, only c 3.40 × 2.10 m maximum, being cut away to the N, S and W by foundation trenches of a later stone building (Building 2).

These foundation trenches are likely to have mirrored and, as a result, destroyed the earlier wall lines of Building 1 because two post-pits, 7194a and b, were seen to have been cut by the W one and because other Phase 3 deposits and features lay further W and to the S of the S wall line. The Phase 3 floors did not extend as far as the W wall of the chapel. Instead, the lower ones terminated at an ill-defined c 0.10 m deep linear cut, 7192*, which was aligned N-S. The surface of the clay fill, 7186*, was subsequently used as flooring. Feature 7192* could be considered to have been a robbed out timbered E wall and three other post-pits, 7207a, b and c which formed part of a more obliquely angled alignment may have fulfilled the same function at a later time. However, it is strongly suspected that these and 7190, a post-pit at the W end of the building, were temporary internal features and that the probably timbered building had once extended further E, and been supported by the W wall of the chapel. Activities, believed to have been associated with the rebuilding of the W wall of the chapel in Phase 6, are likely to have destroyed Phase 3 flooring deposits in the area immediately W of the wall.

Well

Evidence of a well immediately S of Building 1 consisted of the foundation shaft which could only be partly investigated because of the lack of time, the amount of water present and the danger involved in its excavation. The shaft, 7224, appeared to be roughly circular in plan at the top, c 3.80 m, tapering to a diameter of c 0.90 m at the bottom. It had been cut through natural clay and volcanic bedrock to a depth of 0.58 m where it had broached an underground stream. This natural feature was still active and a small pump had to be used throughout the day to control the flood of water entering the well from the E. The well had been almost completely rebuilt during Phase 8 which had destroyed all evidence of early deposits within it together with the original Phase 3 lining although some of the original clay and stone rubble backfill, 7225*, did survive. The amount of water entering the feature makes it certain that excess water must have been run off to the W but by what means is not known because the area involved was heavily wooded and was not excavated. However, the water may well have cleansed a latrine.

Latrine

A small extension trench was excavated in the wood W of Building 1, its position, size and shape being dictated by nearby trees. Natural sloped gently to the W and consisted of grey clay which was heavily iron-panned, doubtless because of the prevalent waterlogged conditions. This deposit was overlain by layers of sandstone fragments and clay, 7523*,

7522* and 7518 which appeared to have been laid to create a flat and stable surface which may have been inside or outside a building. Because of the narrow width of the excavated trench either alternative must remain equally possible. Set into natural and associated with these horizontal layers was a huge flat-faced volcanic boulder, 0.97 × up to 0.33 m, which lay at an angle of c 22° to the horizontal, sloping towards the W. Although only the S part of the stone lay within the excavated area it obviously formed some of the base of a small tank-shaped stone structure, 7520, as it was bounded to the S, E and W by clay bonded walling, 7509, 7510 and 7527 which survived in places to a height of 0.25 m. The feature can only have been a latrine, with the walls having supported a platform or seat over the tank. Water, probably excess from the well, would have washed waste down through an exit in the SW corner into another sloping compartment, 7532, which was probably a chute. This in turn led into a N-S linear feature, 7530, only part of which lay within the confines of the excavation. However, as its E side was edged with boulders, it is likely to have acted as a drain leading off to the N. No internal deposits relating to primary or later use of the latrine were recovered no doubt because of the efficiency of the system.



ILL 30 : Linlithgow. Detail of decorated wooden handle of knife (247) found in occupation layer within Building 1

DISCUSSION

Phase 3 must have started with the completion of the chapel construction in Phase 2, probably during the middle of the 13th century, and some indication of its length is provided by pottery finds. Sherds of Scarborough ware were present in Phase 4 and later features but not in earlier ones suggesting that Phase 3 ended prior to the late 13th or early 14th century. Unfortunately, such a conclusion is based on only a small number of sherds. Should the evidence be reliable then Phase 3 is unlikely to have lasted as long as eighty years.

Because of its close proximity to the chapel, Building 1, which continued to exist in Phase 4, is probably best regarded as having served as accommodation for some ecclesiastic, probably a priest. Documentary and later excavation evidence shows that the Carmelites did not construct their friary buildings on the site till the 15th century but the presence of the somewhat sophisticated water-cleansed latrine structure could be argued as having been part of just such a complex. Although only a little of what was probably a much more extensive Phase 3 layout was excavated the writer believes that the investigated features relate to a manor rather than a friary. It is suspected that only the E end of this hypothetical complex was excavated and that the main part of it lay in the wooded area to the W. Only further excavation would clarify this matter.

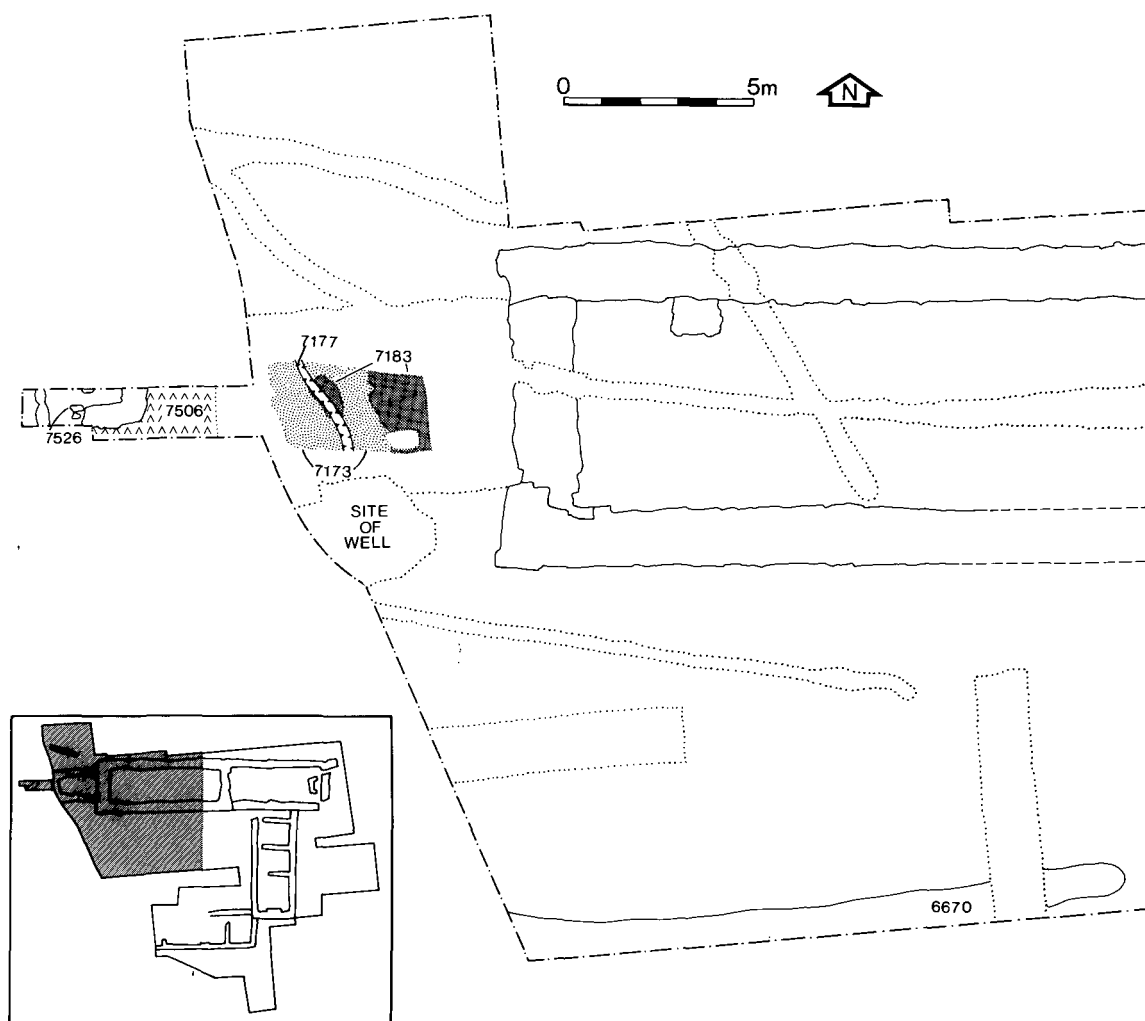
PHASE 4 (Ill 31)

Occupation of Building 1 continued with a drain or piped water supply being laid. New approach surfaces were deposited to the E of the latrine which showed slight evidence of having been repaired. A second group of chapel burials

was found to have been deposited during this time. These are described in Chapter 7.2 mf (1: B12-D5). It is notable that only babies and children had been interred within the building during this time.

Building 1

A c 0.03 m layer of grey silt, 7184*, directly overlay the Phase 3 flooring and occupational deposits within Building 1. The compact horizon measured c 3×2.10 m and contained small patches of charcoal fragments and some orange and yellow flecks, probably of ash. These inclusions may have been disturbed from the Phase 3 hearth, 7185, which lay below. Rather than having been a deliberately laid layer, 7184* appeared to have slowly accumulated as if the building had been little used for a time. This possibility seems to be substantiated by the total lack of finds from the horizon. However, the building must have still been in a useable condition because new flooring, 7183 and 7173, had been laid over the grey silt. These deposits were made up of layers of sand, clay and sandstone fragments which occupied areas up to 4×2.60 m.



ILL 31 : Linlithgow. Plan of Period 2, Phase 4. Building 1

The only internal feature associated with the uppermost floor was a c 0.20 m wide cut which ran diagonally across the W end of the building. The feature, 7177, had a c 0.08 m deep grey sandy fill and appeared to have been a drain or a robbed out pipe-line for a water supply. The simplest and most probable explanation of the feature is that the floor of Building 1 was now sufficiently waterlogged, because of the nearby well, to warrant the cutting of a drain. However, as the N and S ends of the linear feature had been cut away by the same intrusive foundation trenches which are believed to have destroyed most of the wall-lines of the building it is not known what relationships may have existed between the N and S walls, the well-head and feature 7177. Therefore it is possible that water from the well-head could have been brought into the building in a pipe or drain. The feature may even have had no direct association with the use of the building, have simply been cut through it on its way to some other destination. This possibility was not proved because the area to the N of the N intrusive foundation trench was not excavated.

Latrine

Although there were no internal deposits associated with the use of the latrine some repair work and maintenance appears to have been necessary during this phase. Two stones, 7526, were added to the end of the S wall of the latrine tank, 7510 (Ill 29), possibly to prevent erosion of the wall-end or to better direct the flow of water. To the E of the feature several clay, gravel and clay and gravel layers, 7517*, 7516* and 7515*, had been deposited above the Phase 3 trampled horizon 7518 (Ill 29). These deposits raised the approach to the latrine by c 0.30 m which was no doubt necessary because of the high water-table already noted with regard to Building 1. The topmost layer in the series was 7506. It was c 0.06 m thick, compacted and was composed of red sandstone fragments. Although obviously yet another trampled surface similar to those of the previous phase, it is not known whether the deposit lay within a building or not. The only indication of surface wear was a small hollow, 7511*, associated with 7506.

Burials

By far the most interesting aspect of the phase is that only youngsters had been buried within the chapel during this time. This phenomenon is discussed in Chapter 7.2 mf (1: B12-D5) but no totally satisfactory explanation for the presence of only babies and children can be provided.

DISCUSSION

The clearest dating evidence for the phase was obtained from the grave fills and soil horizons within the chapel. Pottery finds include a few sherds of Scarborough ware suggesting

a date in the late 13th or early 14th century. Overlying some of the Phase 4 graves, but included in the phase, was a red brown clay soil, 7054, from which a silver penny of Edward III, 1351?-2 (257), was recovered. In addition, a silver penny of Edward II, 1307-11 (256), was obtained from a probably equivalent soil horizon 7032. As the earlier coin is quite worn but the other much less so, it is likely that both had been lost by c 1375. It would therefore seem likely that Phase 4 lasted between 50 and 100 years ending roughly with the deposition of the coins.

The wet ground conditions, doubtlessly created by the cutting of the well into bedrock in Phase 3, appears to have been responsible for many of the remedial activities undertaken in the NW area of the site during this phase. It was probably because of dampness that Building 1 had been so little used compared with the previous phase. Now quite unsuitable for habitation it is likely to have lain empty and neglected for lengthy periods. When used, it would probably have been only suitable for the storage of non-perishable goods.

PHASE 5

Some of the activities associated with Building 1 and the latrine included in Phase 4 may have been undertaken during this phase. However, this possibility could not be proved archaeologically. Although no evidence in the form of destructional debris was found, the timber building must have been demolished either towards the end of Phase 5 or more probably at the beginning of Phase 6.

The clearest evidence of Phase 5 was a small group of burials in the SE of the chapel although three Period 2 graves to the E of the building may also have been dug at this time.

DISCUSSION

As the inhumations are considered in Chapter 7.2 mf (1: B12-D5), discussion in this section is restricted to dating evidence. Of this little can be said because, apart from a few sherds of Scarborough ware which are likely to have been redeposited from Phase 4 deposits, no other indication of date was provided by finds. Nevertheless, as Phase 4 is likely to have ended c 1375 and as the work associated with Phase 6 in Period 3 can only have been undertaken in the early 15th century, Phase 5 can only have lasted a maximum of fifty years.

Associated pottery: 43-46

Associated finds: Jet fragment 167, bronze ring 168, silver brooch pin 186, copper alloy book fittings 194, 196-198, 200, 201, 203-205, copper alloy ring 232, copper alloy buckle 244, iron knife 247, horseshoe 253, coins 254-257.

PERIOD 3

Period 3, Phases 6-14, deals with the construction and occupation of the Carmelite friary in the 15th and 16th centuries. Although most of the structural activities could be phased relatively easily, it did not prove possible to assign many of the occupational deposits, especially those within buildings, to particular phases. For this reason evidence of related occupational horizons has been included in the various sections dealing with constructional activities.

PHASE 6 (Ill 32)

During this phase the original chapel structure was adapted and extended to form the Carmelite friary church. In this section some reference has had to be made to features of later date because of their relevance to Phase 6 contexts (see Ill 41).

Friary church

The original chapel was retained as the nave and an extension, measuring c 15.70 × 8m, was added to its E end to form the chancel of the now c 36.50m long friary church.

Chancel

The chancel foundation walling, which had been constructed within trenches, was between 1.10 and 1.30m wide. It had been built to a height of c 0.45m with large doleritic boulders bonded with mortar. Because the E c 4.70m of the surviving length of the S wall 5010 was of less massive construction than elsewhere, it was suspected during the excavation that the chancel had originally been shorter and extended at a later date. However, there was no evidence, such as a robbed out E end wall, to substantiate such a possibility. Only short lengths of basal walling survived. These were faced with roughly squared yellow sandstone blocks and had stone rubble and mortar cores. The lower edge of internal mortar wall facing associated with the E length of the S wall 5010 respected the level of flooring N of it.

An external semi-circular stone feature, 5007, butted against the NE corner of the chancel. It measured c 2.50 × 1.30m and only its basal course survived. It had been previously exposed during the c 1900 and 1953 investigations of the site when it was interpreted as being a base to support a stair (D Hunter, pers comm). Little can be added, except that it is likely to have been a primary feature because the N wall of the chancel, 5005, appeared to have been deliberately built beyond the end of the E wall, 5006, to accommodate it. There was considerable evidence that a thorough search had been made in 1900 for a similar feature at the SE corner of the building. Whether or not this investigation had been responsible for the removal of walling in this area can only be guessed, but it may be significant that the plan produced after this excavation (Ferguson 1905, 332-4), does show a complete squared corner which was not present in 1983.

Buttresses

The rectangular foundations of two opposed external stone buttresses, 5129 and 5050, lay against the N and S walls towards their W ends. The S one measured c 1.20 × 1.50m and was clay bonded but, as it had been examined in 1900, most stratigraphical relationships had been destroyed. However, the N one, which was c 1.50 × 1.20m and mortar bonded, was overlain by burials considered to be of friary date. It would therefore seem that the feature became redundant and had been removed to foundation level at some time later during Period 3, probably during Phase 10 when much reorganisation of the chancel was undertaken. The S one, 5050, is likely to have been slighted at the same time.

Rood screen and choir screen

The central portion of the E wall of the old chapel had been breached during Phase 6, to provide access into what had now become the nave of the friary church. Too little survived to indicate to what extent the wall on either side of the c 2m wide entrance had been removed but it could have been considerably lowered and a rood screen constructed in its place.

Part of the foundation course of a slight, c 0.80 to 0.90m wide cross-wall, 5045, survived c 1.20m E of the line of the proposed rood screen. It was the only internal division within the chancel and its N-S alignment and position indicates that it probably supported a choir screen.

Walking place

The space between the two possible screens must have served as a narrow N-S walking space similar to those associated with the English Carmelite churches at Aylesford and Hulne (Ill 3, 41; Braun 1951, 50-6). It is likely that there were entrances at both the N and S ends of the passage although only slight evidence of the S one survived. Small stones, 7057*, had been packed with clay in this area to provide support at an entrance and external projecting stones, 6324, bonded to the wall may have been associated with a door sill. A few features S of the church may be associated with the proposed S entrance but these have been included in Phase 8 (Ill 35) because of the lack of definitive stratigraphical evidence.

Flooring

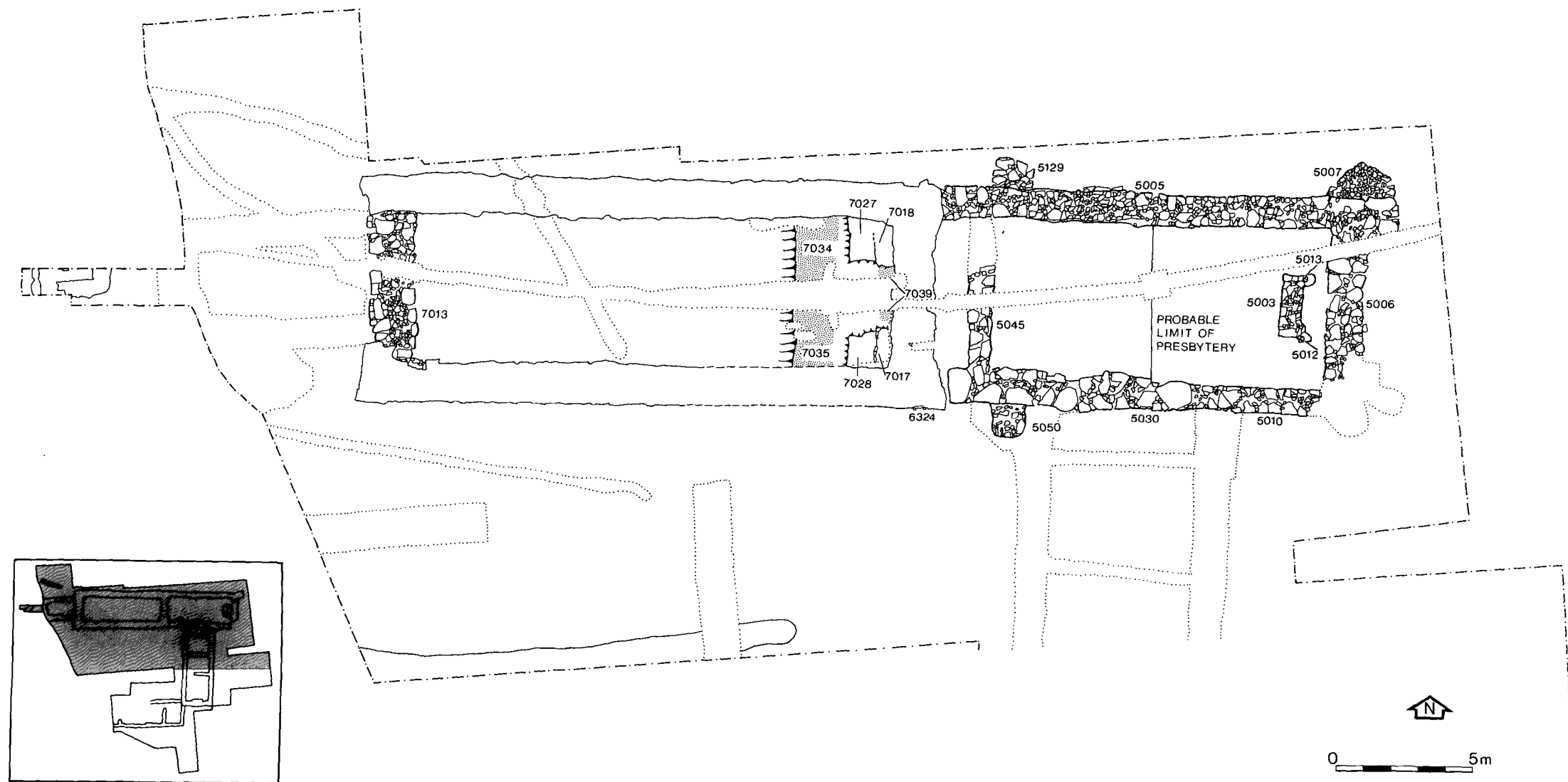
Evidence of flooring within the chancel consisted of rectangular yellow sandstone slabs, up to 0.80 × 0.45 × 0.15m but often considerably smaller, which were set in a c 0.08m thick layer of sand. The stone used is a known local type. Considerable doubt exists as to how much, if any, of this flooring is contemporary with the construction of the friary because several Period 3 burials were apparently sealed by the bedding sand horizon. The presence of a coin (266), later in date than might be expected for the construction of the church, in a layer under flooring levels but not disturbed by burials, would appear to confirm the hypothesis that if the slab floor was original then much or all of it had been relaid. This was probably carried out in Phase 10 when the E range of buildings was added (Ill 36).

Presbytery

Surviving flooring within the chancel lay at two levels, with the E end being c 0.30m higher than the remainder. This difference can only represent the areas of the presbytery and the choir. The elevated area of the presbytery extended c 3.90m W from the E wall and was indicated by flooring slabs 5033 (Ill 33, 36), set in sand 5034*, and the impressions of robbed slabs. To judge by the scarping of constructional and underlying deposits, it would seem that the presbytery had originally been longer, occupying approximately half of the chancel. A distinctive N-S break in the pattern of flooring slabs within the choir provides additional credibility for this alteration having occurred. Although the evidence is slight, it is believed that this shortening of the presbytery was undertaken in Phase 10 so that the W edge of the presbytery would align better with an entrance into the E range.

High altar

The only constructed feature within the presbytery lay c 1m from the E wall. It was aligned N-S, measured c 2.30 by 0.80m and was built with stones bonded with clay. The feature, 5003, which had been set into natural clay and survived to a height of c 0.40m, can only be regarded as being the base of the high altar. Socketed stones at the NE and SE basal corners were not part of the primary build but they may not have been added significantly later. The sockets can only have held supports for a retablo above the altar. Unfortunately, it was not determined whether the altar was a Phase 6 or a later feature although there was no evidence to suggest that there had been an earlier one.



ILL 32 : Linlithgow. Plan of Period 3, Phase 6. Friary church

Choir

Evidence of flooring within the choir, 5016 and 5061 (Ill 36) was identical to that in the presbytery but had been more disturbed by the insertion of Period 3 burials. In its final form the chancel was c 10.50m long but, as discussed above with regard to the presbytery it is believed to have originally extended only c 5.80m E of the line of the choir screen.

Nave

As has already been mentioned in earlier phases it is believed that the cutting of the well had raised the water-table at the W end of the site causing substantial structural damage to the W wall, 7013, of the pre-friary chapel. Because of later robbing activities which had been more devastating with regard to the end wall than its neighbours it is not absolutely clear whether or not it had been totally or partially rebuilt when the chapel was converted into the nave of the friary church. Nevertheless, there were several indications that this had taken place after Building 1 of Period 2 had been demolished. The surviving foundation cut, 7142*, for the central section of wall 7013 seemed to have been dug from a higher level than those abutting it suggesting that most of it had been rebuilt. In addition, the foundation did not appear to have been as carefully aligned or laid as the other three and looked as if it had been inserted between the N and S walls. Yet, as has already been discussed, this impression may have been exaggerated by the wall having been more excessively robbed than the others. Near the SW corner a layer of Period 2 sand, 7094 (Ill 28), extended from inside the building into the wall-core as if it had fallen or been pulled over the wall during renovative work which had removed upper courses. It has already been remarked in Phase 2 that the sand could indicate the position of a stair, but its irregular shape is more suggestive that it had been accidentally

deposited when the wall was being rebuilt. The absence of flooring deposits associated with Building 1 of Period 2, which lay immediately W of wall 7013, may well have been caused by a stepped trench having been dug for renovative work on the wall.

There was some indication that pre-friary deposits in the W three-quarters of the nave had been truncated during Phase 6 modification of the interior. The Period 2, Phase 4, child and baby burials were generally very shallow in relation to the level of 7036*, an overlying thin spread of construction mortar which is believed to have been deposited during Phase 6. Graves would have been unlikely to have been dug to only c 0.20m below the original Period 2 surface and it would seem probable that some overlying material had been removed. Traces of sand and a few disturbed sandstone slabs indicate that flooring the same as in the chancel is likely to have been present.

Altar bases

The E c 3.50m of the nave had been raised by dumping 7044*, a c 0.20m mixed deposit of soil, decayed mortar and stones. Some of these materials could have derived from the deposits believed to have been truncated immediately to the W. Built upon the elevated area were 7018 and 7017, two stone edged features situated on either side of the entrance into the chancel. The rectangular features had been constructed in the NE and SE corners against the E wall over a bedding of orange sandstone fragments. They measured c 1.80 x 0.60m and, although they only survived to a height of c 0.17m, they can only be regarded as being altar bases. Associated with them were layers of yellow brown sand, 7027 and 7028, c 1.40m wide and c 0.10m thick, which extended c 1m W from the altars. The S one, 7028, was better preserved than the other and the impressions of what have been interpreted



ILL 33 : Linlithgow. E end of friary church, constructed in Period 3, Phase 6, with most intrusive features removed. In the foreground is the high altar with socketed stones at NE and SE corners to support a retable. Looking W

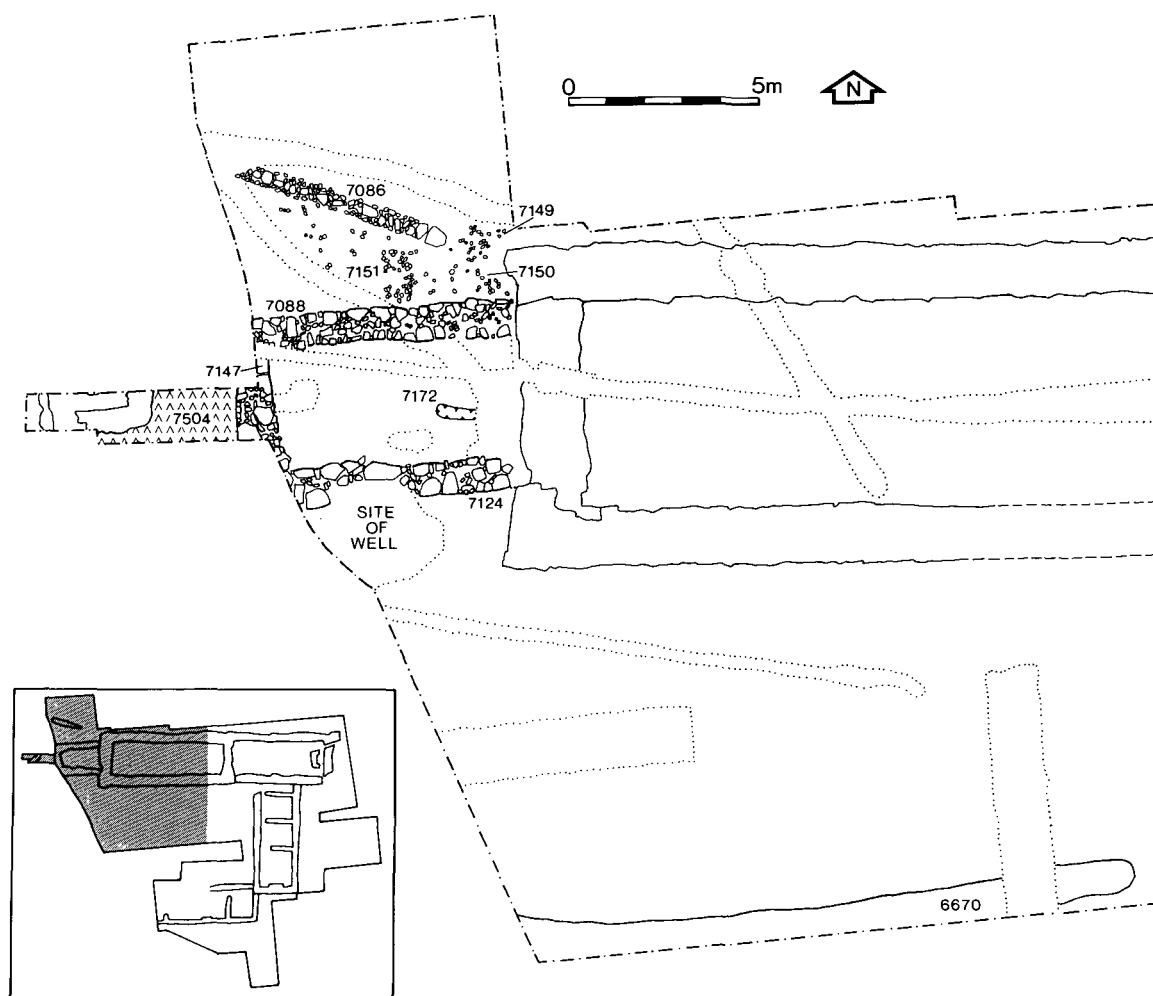
elsewhere as being flooring slabs were identified. The other area is likely to have been similarly floored although the evidence did not survive. It is possible that the two raised surfaces represent the areas occupied by small chapels, which may have been enclosed in some way, because Period 4 demolition roofing debris did not overlie them as it did elsewhere in the nave, suggesting that they had been protected by some kind of superstructures. Sand, 7034, 7035 and 7039 had been laid to the W of the two raised areas and in the hollow between them to level 7044* and to bed flooring slabs although none of the latter survived *in situ*.

DISCUSSION

Documentary evidence shows that the chapel was given to the Carmelite order in 1401 (see Chapter 5.1) but it is less clear when the building was converted into the friary church. It is possible that the friars could have utilised the old chapel for some time before embarking upon the major building programme involved in adapting and extending the building in Phase 6. Few finds were recovered from constructional features and most of these were pottery sherds which are likely to be residual. However some indication of date is given by the relationship of the church with later conventual buildings immediately to the S and W. Coin evidence indicates that,

S of the building, the S range was occupied in the third quarter of the 15th century. Perhaps a more precise indication is provided by a single coin find (259) from a constructional feature associated with a Phase 8 building to the W of the church. It would appear that this building may have been erected by 1430 so there may have been little delay in starting work on the friary church if it had been completed by this date. Nevertheless, dating based on a single coin find cannot be regarded as being conclusive however conservatively the evidence is believed to have been treated.

The conversion of the existing chapel into the friary church at Linlithgow does not appear to be an isolated example because the Carmelites at Tullilum near Perth also appear to have been gifted an earlier chapel or church (see Chapter 6.1). In addition, the Franciscans may have utilised an old chapel in Ayr during the 15th century (Lindsay 1985, 201-2). The final size of the friary church at Linlithgow, c 36.50 x up to 8.40m, was, to a major extent, pre-determined by the dimensions of the pre-friary chapel, so direct comparison with the plans of the two most complete Scottish Carmelite churches at Luffness and South Queensferry is likely to be unwise. Even the relative proportions of chancel to nave differ considerably (Ill 3). However, the plan of the Linlithgow church does bear comparison with the English ones at Hulne and Aylesford (Ill 3: Braun 1951, 50-6). Although smaller than these, the



ILL 34 : Linlithgow. Plan of Period 3, Phase 8. Building 2

church is similar in layout in that the choir and nave are separated by a throughway or walking space bounded to the E and W by what are likely to have been the choir and rood screens. Whether or not a small and narrow bell-tower surmounted the area is open to debate. At Hulne the positions of nave altars on either side of the E entrance closely correspond with those at Linlithgow (Hope 1890, 115). At Aylesford there are three 15th-century altars in this area, with the third lying in a central position. As there seems to be considerable continuity in the internal planning of the Carmelite churches, the N and S Linlithgow altars may have been dedicated to St John the Baptist and St Thomas the Martyr respectively as were the ones at Aylesford (Braun 1951, 53, fig 4). Be that as it may, the main altar in the presbytery can only have been dedicated to the Virgin in accordance with Carmelite custom.

The size and internal design of the church is such that it would appear that the chancel alone would have been large enough for the religious services of the friars. This would seem to conform to Carmelite custom with the nave, set out as a church within a church, being used by the laity. The right to use the nave does not seem to have extended as far as burial within it because none of the graves in this area can be considered to be of Period 3 date. It is open to debate whether the decision to forbid burial within the nave had been taken because of religious reasons or because the interior was believed to be already overcrowded.

Although smaller than the major English churches at Hulne and Aylesford, the Linlithgow one is perhaps larger than might have been expected, being longer than those at Luffness and South Queensferry. The apparent intention to build a friary complex on quite an ambitious and grand scale was to continue into later phases when the E, S and possibly W ranges were added.

PHASE 7

Burials

The only features of this phase are a few burials S of the church. Others within the chancel as well as some N and E of the church may also be of this date although the probability could not be proved definitively. These are discussed in Chapter 7.2 mf (1: B12-D5). As has already been remarked with regard to Phase 6, the lack of graves dug within the nave during Period 3 is noteworthy. For stratigraphical reasons the Phase 7 inhumations are likely to have been dug prior to the second half of the 15th century and probably by the end of the first twenty-five years.

PHASE 8 (Ill 34, 35)

Building 2 was added to the W end of the friary church during this phase. It did not prove possible to adequately phase flooring and occupational deposits within the building so these have been included in this section although they probably represent Phases 8 to 14 of Period 3. Shortly after the building had been completed a small cobbled area, bounded by a wall, had been laid immediately N of it. The well structure is likely to have been re-built and its N side keyed into the S wall of Building 2 at this time. The latrine is likely to have continued in use although no structural work can be assigned to this phase.

It is possible that a group of features, interpreted as being evidence of a screen or part of a porch on the S side of the church, may be of this phase although, being divorced stratigraphically from Phase 8 features in the NW corner of the site, they may be of earlier date. Several features in the SE area of the site have also been included in this section

although they too cannot be confidently assigned to the phase. Some appear to be associated with roads or paths.

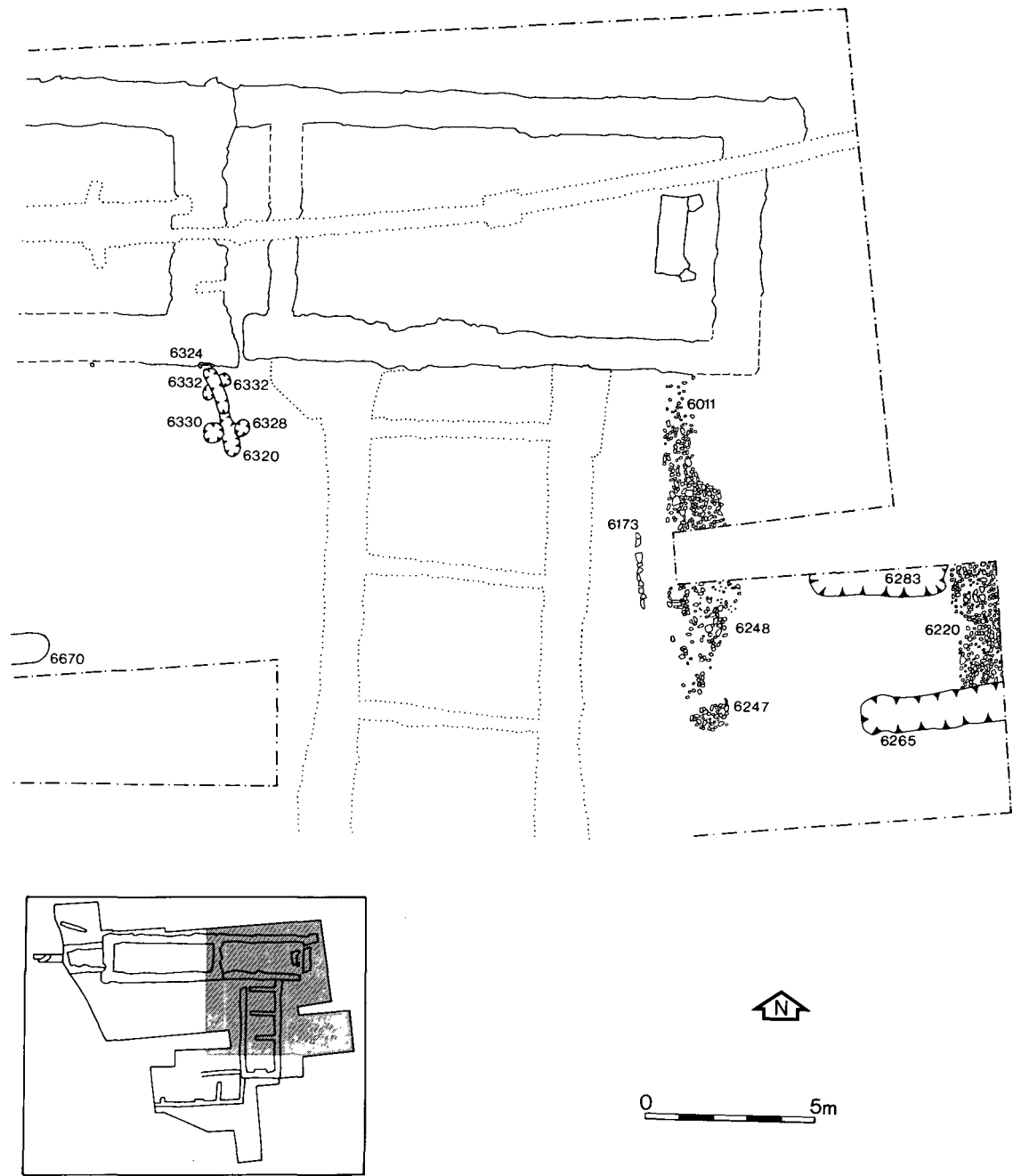
Building 2

Building 2 had been constructed against the W wall, 7013 (Ill 32), of the church. It was rectangular in plan and enclosed an area c 6.50 × 3.20m. The basal remnants of c 0.90m wide walling lay in 0.16 to 0.50m deep foundation trenches. The walls had been constructed using doleritic and roughly faced sandstones which held cores of rubble and earth in place. The N wall, 7088, had been built first because its foundation trench was cut by the L-shaped one in which the S and W walls, 7124 and 7147, had been constructed. The W part of the cut, 7167*, had also been dug through the Phase 4 laid and trampled horizon 7506 (Ill 31), associated with the latrine. Robbing for stone, which had totally destroyed any facing that the wall may have possessed in this or earlier phases, had also removed any relationship which may have existed between it and the S wall of the building. However, the positions of the two features and the shape of the Period 4 robbing cut strongly suggest that the well had been re-built and keyed into the S face of the wall during Phase 8. Traces of mortar on the inside face of the S wall and lumps of the same from overlying Period 4 horizons show that the walls of the building are likely to have been lined with this material.

There were few indications of the positions of entrances into Building 2, although the Phase 4 surface, 7506, just W of it appears to have continued to be used in this and later phases. The presence of a large flat doleritic boulder, possibly a sill, and an irregularly aligned inner face towards the S end of the W wall may be suggestive of there having been a doorway in this area leading to the latrine. A build-up of atypical deposits in the NE corner of the building is perhaps indicative that a doorway, giving access to a small cobbled area to the N, may have existed at the E end of the N wall.

Within the building were a number of layers and spreads of coal, 7181*; compact silty loam, 7170*; sand and clay, 7169* and small fragments of sandstone, 7154*. Many of these are likely to have been laid during the construction of the building although some may represent truncated early flooring deposits. The only internal cut feature, 7172, had been partly destroyed by an intrusive feature. Nevertheless, it was c 0.30m wide and survived to a length of c 1.20m. Its brown sandy fill was c 0.15m deep and the feature is probably best regarded as having housed a timber or timbers used as temporary supports while the building was in the process of being erected.

Overlying these features and horizons were a number of flooring and occupational deposits which, apart from the uppermost, could not be related satisfactorily to other Period 3 features elsewhere on the site. As a result the deposits represent occupation of the building from Phase 8 to Phase 14. The earliest layer, 7156*, which was c 0.05m deep, consisted of a compacted brown soil containing charcoal flecks and a few small stones. The material may have been deposited merely to raise the level within the building although its trampled appearance suggests that it had been used as a floor. Over this lay a spread of charcoal fragments, 7155*, which occupied the central area of the building. Sand floor 7144* had then been added and subsequently patched with sand, 7160*, together with sandstone fragments and gravel, 7161*. The topmost floor was a c 0.10m layer of red brown silt, 7137*, which was sealed by Period 4 deposits. Its surface was very silty and some of its depth may have accumulated through exposure to the elements at the beginning of Period 4. None of the flooring deposits extended as far as the W wall of the church and it is thought that intrusive features of Period 4 date had been dug in this area to remove Period 3 structural features worthy of robbing.



ILL 35 : Linlithgow. Plan of Period 3, Phase 8. E range

Courtyard 1: Burials

Although not fully excavated, all the area N of the church and Building 2 appeared to contain graves. Those immediately N of the building are likely to pre-date Phase 8 because they seemed to be sealed by cobbles and sandstone fragments, 7149, 7150 and 7151. It has been assumed that the area had been surfaced soon after Building 2 was completed, mainly because the postulated doorway in the N wall would have led on to it. It can only have been a small roughly triangular shaped courtyard because the area was bounded to the N by the c 0.40m wide foundation course of a wall 7086 which had been constructed in a shallow foundation trench. The wall survived to a length of c 5.60m but is believed to have continued further W although evidence of it in this area had been destroyed. However, the c 1.60m gap between its E end and the NW corner of the church is likely to have been an entrance, as it was cobbled. The wall did not seem to be strong enough to have been associated with a building and probably only separated the courtyard from the graveyard.

Latrine

There was no evidence that any structural alterations had been carried out to the latrine during this phase. However, it is likely to have continued in use because the associated laid and trampled horizon of Phase 4, 7506, seems to have been utilized during Phase 8. In addition, an overlying stoney silt layer, 7504, is likely to have been deposited during this phase and been used throughout the remainder of Period 3 and even perhaps during the early part of Period 4.

Cloister area (Ill 35)

Immediately S of the friary church were several features which may be of this phase, although, because they were isolated from other Phase 8 features, they could be considered to be of Phase 6 date. Nevertheless they had been cut through some graves attributed to Phase 7 into bedrock and natural clay and were overlain by burials which have been attributed to Phase 9. Both constructional and destructional activities may have been involved but there appeared to have been two post-pits, 6328 and 6330, and a double one, 6332, which bounded a c 2.70 × 0.38 × 0.20m linear slot, 6320. Near the N end of the N-S slot were the stones, 6324, which have already been mentioned in Phase 6 as a sill support at a possible S entrance to the church. The four cut features probably indicate the position of a length of timber screening at the W side of the postulated doorway into the church. Such a barrier would have provided a small area sheltered from the prevailing and often strong W wind and may even have been part of some type of porch. Should the features be of earlier date, possibly Phase 6, then the directly underlying graves included in Phase 7 must relate to chapel rather than friary use of the site.

Features in SE area

There were several features in the SE area of the excavation which could not be assigned to a specific phase with any degree of confidence. Although comparison of pottery finds with groups from elsewhere on site suggests that the features are unlikely to have originated earlier than Phase 8, it is equally feasible that they are of later Period 3 date.

A thin, c 0.03m, spread of compacted small sandstone fragments, 6280*, occupied an area c 2.50 by 0.90m adjacent to the E section. Although only part of it lay within the investigated area, the deposit appeared to be a laid and consolidated surface. It was overlain by a c 3.60 × 1.00m area of closely packed rubble, 6220, which seemed to have been damaged by ploughing of more recent date.

The stone spreads were bounded to the N and S by gullies 6283 and 6265 respectively, of which 6265 extended beyond

the limits of the excavation. Some 4m of the N feature and 4.25m of the S one were investigated. Gully 6283 lay partly under the N section and was in excess of c 0.75m wide and c 0.33m deep, although it was considerably shallower to the E. The S one, 6265, was c 1m wide and c 0.38m deep. Both features possessed orange silt fills in which were some stones doubtlessly disturbed from the stoney spreads.

Because only parts of what may have been quite extensive features were excavated in the SE corner of the site, interpretation must remain tentative. However, stone spreads 6280* and 6220 are probably best regarded as being yard or road surfaces. A road going E from this location would have joined the main thoroughfare leading S from Linlithgow (see Chapter 5.1 and Ill 21). The two gullies, 6283 and 6265, appeared to have been cut through these layers but this impression is likely to have resulted from the gullies having been recut. Evidence of this having happened was more obvious with respect to gully 6265 where several cuts were identified. The silty nature of the fills indicates that the features may have acted as drains.

Further W there were several other stoney features. Two spreads of doleritic stone rubble, 6247 and 6248, measuring c 1.18 × 0.80m and c 2.83 × 2.20m respectively seemed to have been somewhat randomly deposited on the ground surface. They are likely to have been associated with a similar but unexcavated scatter of stones, 6011 to the N and with a line of doleritic stones, 6173, which lay c 0.90m to the W. The latter feature appeared to have been carefully laid and, although separated from the stone spreads, may once have formed a western edge to them. Compatible and contemporary deposits between it and the stoney horizons are likely to have been destroyed by ploughing of post-Period 4 date.

The group of features probably represent the slighted remains of a path or road which, on the evidence of pottery finds appears to have been constructed in Phase 8 or sometime later in Period 3.

DISCUSSION

It is not known exactly how soon after the completion of the friary church Building 2 was constructed but some indication is provided by a coin from the fill of the foundation trench dug to take the N wall 7088. The coin (259) is a Robert II groat (1371-90) and, even allowing for it having been made towards the end of the reign, it would seem to have been lost by 1430. Although the coin may merely have been redeposited during Phase 8 constructional activities, it is equally possible that it had been lost while Building 2 was being erected. A construction date of c 1430 or perhaps a little earlier would seem to be acceptable because a billon penny of James I or II (1424-60) was recovered from 7137*, the uppermost of the series of flooring deposits within the building.

The recovery of a number of copper lace-ends, wire twists and pins from internal occupational horizons may indicate that Building 2 was used as a mortuary should bodies have been sewn into shrouds. However, these common objects could equally have served more everyday purposes. As it appears to have been constructed before the S, E and W conventual buildings it may have housed the friars till Phase 10 and then the prior alone. Alternatively it may have served as visitors' accommodation for a time, although the poor quality of flooring and the absence of a fireplace would seem to argue against such a possibility.

Whatever the function of the building it continued in use along with the well and the latrine till Period 4 when the friary was destroyed. The features in the SE corner of the site, which may have been associated with a courtyard or road, are also likely to have been utilised and renewed throughout the remainder of the friary period. However, the

two stoney spreads, 6247 and 6248, which may have been lengths of paths, and the screen or porch feature S of the church are likely to have been used for a short time only.

PHASE 9

Burials

The only features which can be assigned to this phase are a group of burials which lay S of the church. They are discussed in Chapter 7.2mf (1: B12-D5).

DISCUSSION

From general site stratigraphy it would seem likely that the Phase 9 graves had been dug prior to the construction of the E and W ranges of buildings in the third quarter of the 15th century. The likely time involved in the burial cycle depends on whether the screen S of the church is a Phase 6 or 8 feature. If the former, then the inhumations were probably carried out in the first half of the 15th century but, if the latter, they are likely to date to the second quarter of the century.

PHASE 10 (Ill 36)

During this major phase, the E range was constructed. As elsewhere Period 3 occupational and flooring deposits could not be satisfactorily phased so they have been included in this section although they represent Phase 10 to 14 activities. It is believed that some reorganisation of flooring levels within the chancel was undertaken during Phase 10 so that they would relate better to the new ones of the E range. It is also believed that the Phase 6 rood screen was replaced at this time.

East range

Overlying Phase 7 graves but underlying some activities associated with the construction of the E range were patches of sand and a firm spread of mortar, 6185* and 6197*. The horizons appeared to have resulted from the area having been used as a mixing floor. It is believed that the layers had been deposited after the ground had been scarped in preparation for the construction of the E range. The mortar spread could conceivably be of earlier date and relate to the building of the chancel in Phase 6. However, it would seem more likely that the scarping and terracing was carried out in Phase 10 so that the most northerly flooring level in the new building would better correspond to that of the chancel. The only located cut which may have been associated with such an activity was 6142*, the edge of which was identified on the S side of the range. Unfortunately, it is possible that the S wall may have been rebuilt later in Period 3 and that feature 6142* was the foundation trench associated with the original wall. Should the scarping have occurred in Phase 10 then it would appear that the area of the proposed building had been cut to too great a depth immediately S of the church, because the mortar surface was overlain by a c 0.07m layer of brown sandy loam, 6174*, which appeared to have been deposited to raise and level flooring. The foundation trenches for the new building had been cut through this deposit. Because of the scarping the trench for the E wall was c 0.60m deep externally but only c 0.10m internally.

The E range consisted of a single building, c 17.50 × 7.20m, which had been constructed against the S wall of the chancel. In the main, doleritic boulders formed the basal courses of walls, while roughly faced sandstones had been used at higher levels. Wall cores had been packed with earth and small angular pieces of sandstone rubble.

The construction sequence seems to have started with the building of the E and W walls, 6005 and 6004, because their foundation trenches had been cut by those of cross-walls. Although the N end of the W wall had been destroyed, the remainder of it and all of the E one survived. They were between 0.80 and 0.90m wide and the better preserved E one, 6005, was up to three courses high, c 0.80m.

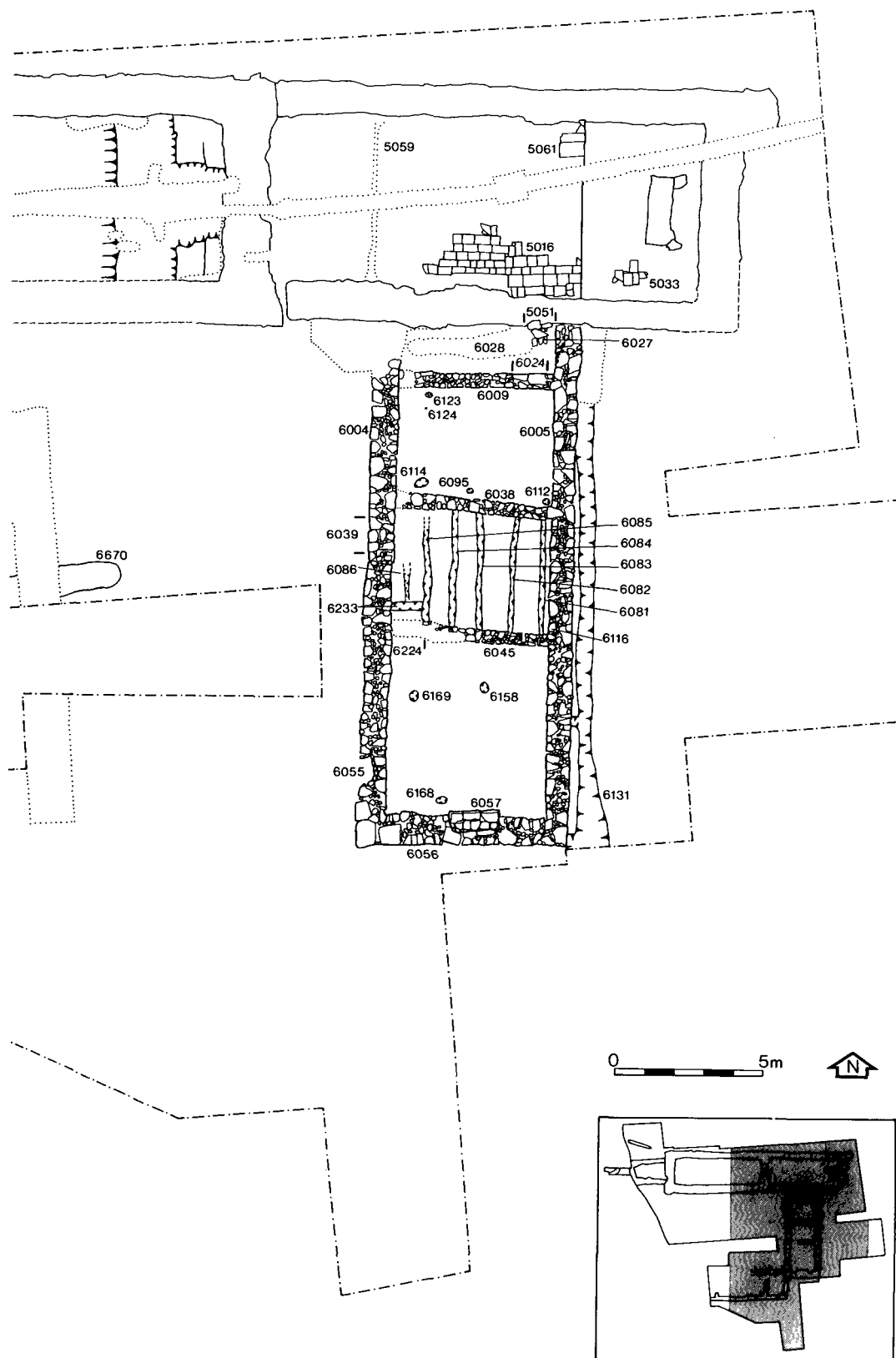
The walling was of similar size and construction to that of Building 2 in Phase 8. Both walls of the new building had included part of the S wall, 6056, in their construction because the corners had been completed before the central length was added. Nevertheless, this appearance may be misleading because, as already mentioned, it is possible that most of wall 6056 could have been subsequently rebuilt. Inwardly projecting stones had been included in an upper build of the E wall 6005 so that the E-W internal dividing walls, 6009 and 6038, could be keyed into it at a later stage. Robbing to a greater depth is likely to have been responsible for the absence of stones projecting from the W wall 6004 and of keying-in evidence for the third dividing wall 6045. Immediately E of the building a shallow gully, 6131, had been cut into the foundation fill along the outside face of the E wall to a maximum depth of 0.26m. The feature is likely to have been dug as a drain to remove water that had seeped into the building while it was being constructed. It appeared to have been backfilled within a short time.

The dividing walls 6009, 6038 and 6045 were much less substantial than the others, being only roughly half their width, c 0.45m. All had been built in foundation trenches but only the S sides of these survived showing that some secondary terracing and levelling for flooring had been undertaken once the cross-walls had been constructed. The walls divided the building into four discrete areas which have been notated Rooms 1-4 in this report.

Room 1 (Ill 36, 41): Room 1 lay immediately S of the chancel and measured c 1.70 × 5.20m internally. One of the two associated doorways, 5051, had been cut through the S wall of the chancel in the NE corner of the room while the other, 6024, lay opposite it at the E end of the S wall, 6009. The sill foundations for doorway 6024 had been built and slabs, 6027, laid within a cut prior to the construction of the S wall. Significantly, only the area between the two doorways was compacted. A Period 4 E-W robbing cut, 6028, which measured c 4.20 × 0.75 × 0.13m, lay to the W occupying much of the remaining area.

The feature appeared to have been dug to extract a substantial Period 3 horizontal timber which could have helped support a staircase. The enclosed nature of a stairway would explain why deposits N and S of the cut showed no evidence of having been consolidated or trampled and why no layers associated with friary occupation, other than those between the doorways, were found in the narrow area. A stair in this position would have led up to above the chancel or more probably to an upper floor in the E range where the dormitory may have been located, as it was in many friaries. It may therefore have been the night stair which would have given friars access to the church for nocturnal services without having to go outdoors. The room cannot be regarded as having been a passage from the cloister, a slype, because there was no indication of there having been a doorway in the E wall at this time and because only the area between the N and S doorways showed evidence of being compacted.

Room 2—Sacristy (Ill 36, 41): Room 2 lay immediately S of Room 1 and measured c 3.50-3.90 × 5.20m internally. The difference in length is probably best explained as having been caused by keying-in stones in the main walls 6004 and 6005 not having been accurately aligned to each other prior to the construction of the S wall 6038. However, as already mentioned, only a stone projecting from the E wall survived.



ILL 36 : Linlithgow. Plan of Period 3, Phase 10. E range

Access to the room from Room 1 was provided by doorway 6024.

A c 0.07m deep internal spread of construction debris, 6093*, was overlain by a brown sandy loam of similar depth, 6067*, which is probably a Period 3 occupational deposit although it may have been contaminated by Phase 4 activities. Cut into these deposits and sealed by Phase 4 layers were four possible post-pits and a stake-hole which are likely to have been associated with internal fittings, such as benches, erected after the walls had been constructed. Other features within Room 2 are more probably of Period 4 date although they were overlain by deposits of this later period.

As 6093* is the only deposit which can be totally regarded as having been contemporary with friary use it is perhaps likely that more substantial and possibly better quality flooring had overlain the horizon but had been removed in Period 4. Room 2 must have been associated with church rather than domestic activities because the single doorway gave access to the choir *via* the area notated Room 1. For this reason and because of its position in the E building the room was probably used as the sacristy.

Room 3—Chapter house (Ill 36, 41): The third room in the E building measured c 3.50 × 5.20m. It was much the same size as Room 2 but was slightly parallelogrammic rather than rectangular in plan because the cross-walls, 6038 and 6045, had not been built at right angles to the main ones. The S wall, 6045, had been more comprehensively robbed at the W than at the E but sufficient survived to show that a c 1m wide doorway, 6224, had existed at this end. Another doorway, 6039, in the W wall, appeared to be an integral part of the wall's construction. The area immediately inside this entrance had been levelled by dumping a deposit of sandstone fragments, 6096*.

Cut into two other constructional debris spreads, 6097* and 6193*, were six parallel slots, 6081-6, which ran N-S at intervals across the room. They were c 0.15m wide and c 0.10m deep and, judging by the large number of iron nails present in their earthy fills, they can only have been dug to take flooring joists which seem to have ultimately rotted *in situ*. Another short feature of the same type, 6233, lay at right angles to the others immediately N of doorway 6224 in an area where a joist would have provided additional and probably necessary support for flooring. Much of the inside faces of walls 6005, 6038 and 6045 were covered with a c 0.05 to 0.10m layer of shelly mortar, the bottom edges of which appeared to respect the level of the timber floor indicated by the joist slots. The mortared surfaces had been painted with what is likely to have been a single application of whitewash (Ill 37).

At the junction of walls 6005 and 6045 there was a small recess, 6116 (Ill 37), which measured c 0.60 × 0.27m and survived to a height of c 0.24m. However, it was not clear whether it was a constructional or destructional feature. The mortar facing on wall 6005 had been cut through during its creation so, should it be of Period 3 date, then it must have been a post Phase 10 addition. Alternatively it may have been a Period 4 robbing cut. Should it be of this later date it can only be speculated whether a solid feature or facings of an existing recess had been removed.

Evidence of Period 3 occupation of Room 3 was slight. As has already been discussed the earthfast joists are believed to have decomposed *in situ* and the associated flooring may have similarly decayed rather than having been removed although no evidence of it was identified. A number of finds, including four coins (264, 268, 270, 271) were recovered from joist fills and from the interface between Period 3 and 4 deposits. Many of these may have fallen through gaps between the floor boards during the friary period.



ILL 37 : Linlithgow. Detail of SE corner of chapter house constructed during Period 3, Phase 10. The S ends of two joist slots, mortar facing on the inner surfaces of the walls and a possible recess (6616) in the E wall are visible. Looking W

From its position in the E building and its better quality finish, Room 3 would seem to have been the chapter house. The coin finds are suggestive that it may also have acted as the treasury although the presence of a wooden floor is merely likely to have caused a greater number of coins to be lost here than elsewhere.

Room 4—Parlour (Ill 36, 41): Room 4 was the most southerly and largest in the E building. It measured c 5.80-6.00m x c 5.20m. The only entrance into it was from Room 3 *via* doorway 6224. However, there was a small, c 1 x 0.45m, external recess, 6055, towards the S end of the W wall, 6004. *Although its basal fill of mortar fragments is likely to have been deposited during Phase 12, the feature may have been constructed in Phase 10. The niche is unlikely to have been a doorway but it could be indicative of the position of a window feature such as a seat. Perhaps it is more likely to have been associated with a drain or garderobe chute from an upper storey but no deposits consistent with either of these functions were present.*

Before the central length of the main S wall had been constructed, sandstone slabs had been laid to form the base of a fireplace, 6057. However, as has already been discussed, there is a possibility that much of the surviving part of this wall may have been rebuilt so it is not known whether or not only Phase 10 features are involved in the relationship. The bed of the fireplace measured c 1.75 x 0.68m and projected c 0.20m from the face of the wall. The feature was edged by a simple rounded moulding which formed a low kerb. The faces of the c 1.60 x 0.48m recess and the walls themselves were covered with a 0.02m layer of mortar which was similar to that used in Room 3. The inner back face of the chimney, which survived to a height of c 0.50m, was vertical for only c 0.25m before sloping dramatically backwards as if to create a strong updraught.

The low level at which the face of the fireplace recess was angled back is perhaps indicative that the chimney stack was not of sufficient height to prevent smoke blowing back down it but is equally suggestive of there having been another fireplace using the chimney at first floor level. In spite of the lower internal chimney surfaces having been lined with mortar (*parge*), heat had caused the faces of the sandstones used in the construction to decompose to a considerable extent. The effect of heat on sandstone and the slimness of the wall behind the fireplace may have been why the S wall and the chimney may have had to be rebuilt.

The surface of natural appeared to have been used as a floor although a better quality one of stone may have existed in Period 3 and been removed early in Period 4. It is therefore possible that the floor and occupational levels found relate to early post-Reformation rather than to friary use, although the nature of some of the finds is perhaps suggestive that the deposits are of friary date. In front of the fireplace there was a shallow depression, 6160*, which appeared to be a worn area of natural clay flooring. A trampled area, 6157* was overlain by similarly compacted deposits, 6154* and 6128*, on the E and W sides of the room respectively. Both the latter horizons contained occupational debris in the form of charcoal fragments, fish remains, animal bone and shells. The only cut features were two shallow scoops, 6168 and 6169, and a post-pit, 6158.

The position and size of the room together with the presence of the fireplace indicates that Room 4 was probably the friars' warming room or parlour. The food debris in deposits 6128* and 6154* is perhaps suggestive that it may have been used as a cooking and eating area towards the end of Period 3. Should these horizons be of Period 4 date they could still conceivably relate to use of the building by friars because it is possible that one or two may have continued to live in part of the friary into Period 4. It is perhaps

significant that Prior Hopper was still in a position to lease lands surrounding the convent in 1567 and it was not till 1569/70 that the friary itself was leased to a layman (see Chapter 5.1).

Alterations within chancel

As has already been indicated in Phase 6, it is believed that some reorganisation of flooring levels within the chancel was carried out when the E range was built in Phase 10. It is thought that the original presbytery had once extended c 2.50m further W and that it had been cut back in Phase 10 so that its W edge would align with the inner face of the E wall, 6005, associated with the new building (Ill 32, 36). One of the main indications that this may have occurred was the absence of Phase 6 constructional debris deposits immediately W of the step up to the presbytery as if the area had been lowered, removing deposits of Phase 6 date. An apparent N-S break in the layout of surviving flooring slabs, 5016, which roughly coincided with the proposed W limit of the original presbytery, appears to give some added support for the alteration having been undertaken.

It is likely that it was at this time that the Phase 6 rood screen, represented by cross-wall foundation 5045 (Ill 32), was replaced and buttresses 5050 and 5129 demolished. Although any evidence of when the S buttress had been removed had been destroyed during the c 1900 investigation of the site, the other two features had clearly become redundant during Period 3 as they were overlain by features and horizons of this date. The most likely time for this having occurred would have been when the chancel was being reorganised to accommodate the E range during Phase 10. A Phase 4 robbing cut, 5059, which was aligned N-S across the chancel, lay some 1.50m E of the Phase 6 wall-line 5045. It is thought that the c 0.15m wide and c 0.08m deep feature probably represents a robbed out timber sill-beam which would have supported a Phase 10 replacement rood screen although any such feature must have been of relatively slight construction.

DISCUSSION

The only dateable find from constructional features associated with the E range was a James III coin of 1465-6 (265). It is therefore likely that the building was constructed in the third quarter of the 15th century because seven other coins of James III and IV (263, 264, 267-271) with a maximum production date range of 1465-1510, were recovered from flooring deposits within Rooms 2, 3 and 4. The range appears to have been used throughout the remainder of Period 3, Phases 10-14, and much of it continued to be occupied during the early post-Reformation period.

The building seems to have been similar to many other E ranges of friaries in that it appears to have been used for church, administrative and domestic activities. The outer walls would have been strong enough to have supported an upper floor but whether or not there was one has not been satisfactorily resolved. Its existence relies almost completely on the interpretation of Period 3 and 4 features and deposits as being indicative of there having been a stair rather than a slype in the area called Room 1. Possible interpretations of two other features, the external recess 6055 and the angled chimney walling at the back of fireplace 6057, could also be regarded as being suggestive of there having been an upper storey. However, should the recess have been associated with a chute of some description, and this is only one possible explanation of the feature, then it is more likely to have carried rain water from the roof as opposed to waste from a dormitory garderobe on an upper floor because no related organic deposits were found. The low level at which the rear

face of the chimney started to be angled back could indicate that a fireplace on an upper floor had used the same chimney or merely that a strong updraught was required to prevent smoke blowing back into the room.

The only significant find deposited during the reorganisation of flooring levels within the chancel was a "black" farthing of James III (1465-6) (266) which was recovered from apparently undisturbed sand bedding for sandstone flooring. It would therefore appear that the chancel alterations are likely to have been carried out when the E range was built in Phase 10 and that the construction of the latter had not been fully considered when the chancel was added to the original chapel to form the friary church in Phase 6. Assuming that the chancel was built within the first thirty years of the 15th century, as seems likely, there would have been a significant lapse of time between its completion and that of the E range in the third quarter of the century. This considerable break in the building sequence may account for the apparent lack of forward planning.

PHASE 11

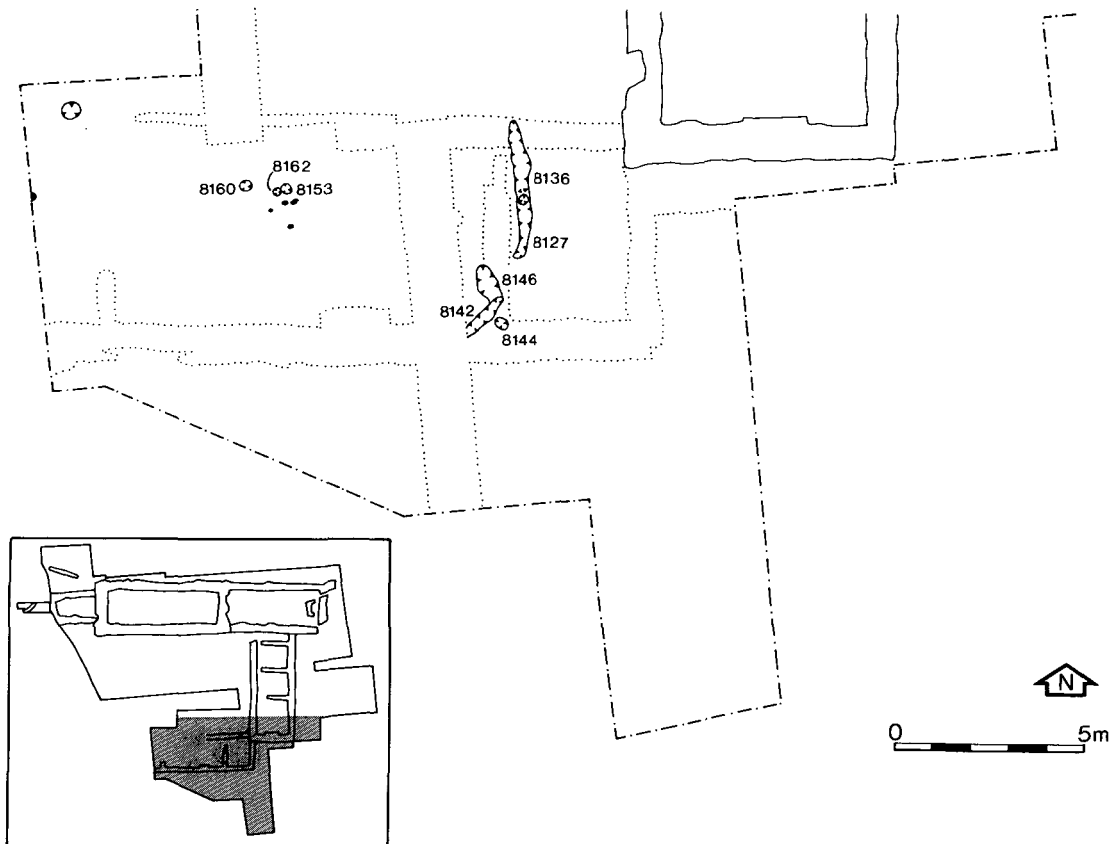
The S range was built during this phase. However, because it had been more thoroughly robbed than the N and E ranges and because deposits had been considerably damaged by modern ploughing, few undisturbed constructional features were located. Little evidence of flooring or occupational

deposits survived and the best of these probably relates to Period 4 rather than to friary use of the building. A number of medieval features, which are likely to pre-date the construction of the range in Phase 11, have been included in this section because they could not be assigned to any site phases.

Pre-Phase 11 medieval features (Ill 38)

Features, which can be considered to pre-date the Phase 11 building include a scatter of fifteen post-pit and stake-hole like features, many of which were only between 0.02 and 0.05m deep. The origins of these must therefore be regarded with some suspicion. Nevertheless, four had been dug into the Period 2 and probably early Period 3 soil which existed in this area but the others were not identified until this layer had been removed. These may also have been dug from the same level as the others but had been truncated by Phase 11 scarping and, in some cases, by modern ploughing. A few, such as 8160, which was c 0.30m in diameter and c 0.12m deep and was seemingly aligned with three stone packed post-pits associated with the S range, may even have been truncated by Phase 11 features. No adequate interpretation of the other features can be provided.

Other pre-Phase 11 features include robbing cuts 8127 and 8136 which had been dug to a maximum depth of 0.29m into Period 1 stoney deposits in an area where Period 2



ILL 38 : Linlithgow. Plan of pre-Phase 11 medieval features. S range

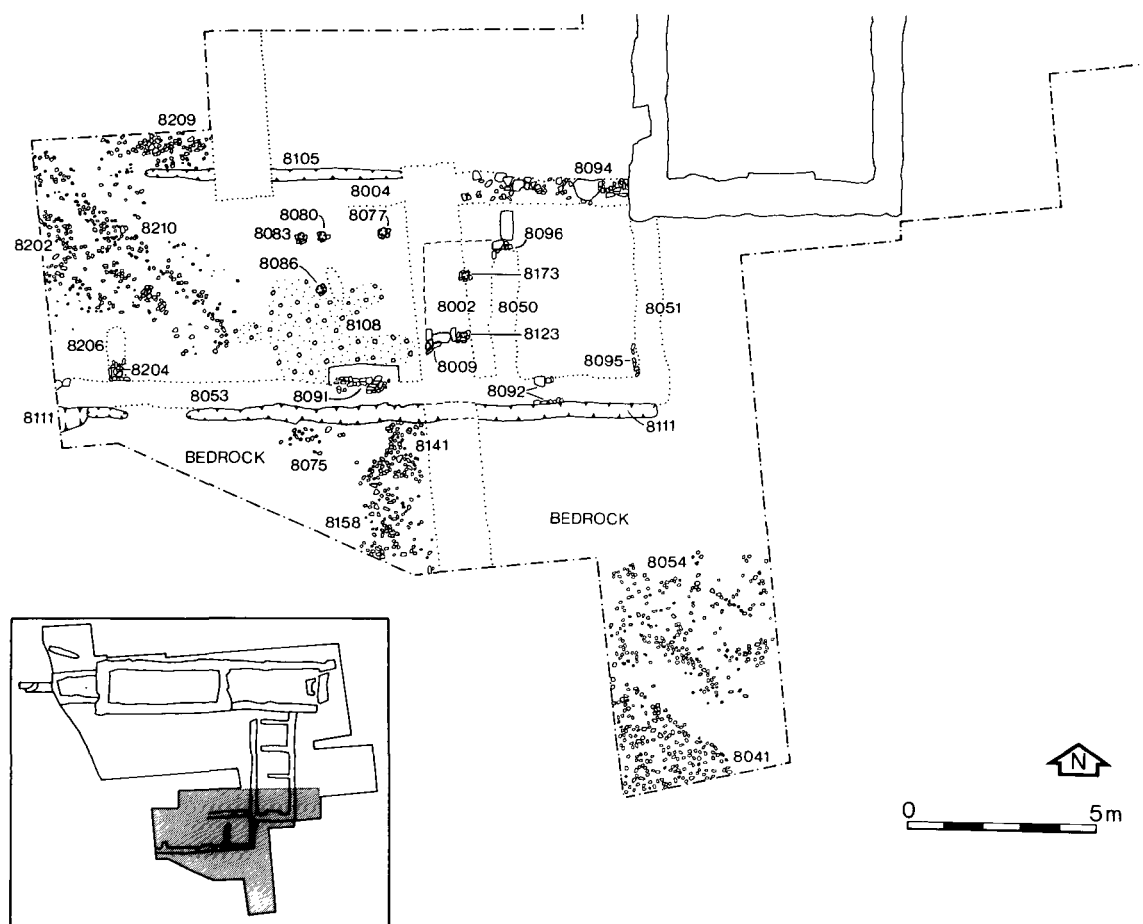
horizons had not survived, probably because they had been scaped away. The two linear features had been dug to remove the contents of a slightly bow-shaped feature and had totally destroyed it. The N cut (8136) which measured $c 2 \times$ up to 0.29m , had been dug and then in-filled with a mixed deposit of grey sand, gravel and mortar fragments, immediately prior to the construction of the N wall of the S range in Phase 11 and was overlain by it. The S cut (8127), which measured $c 1.75 \times$ up to 0.30m , had not been dug and back-filled until at least the foundation course of a Phase 11 cross-wall had been laid. Within the robbing cut, at its N end, there was a post-hole, the mixed mortar and stone rubble fill of which could not be differentiated from that of the main feature. Another cut (8142), which survived to a length of $c 1.40\text{m}$, was $c 0.22\text{m}$ wide and $c 0.11\text{m}$ deep. It appeared to continue the slightly curved alignment of 8127 and 8136 and may have been associated with them. It also seemed to be a robbing cut and had been back-filled with stones and mortar flecked grey sandy silt prior to the construction of S range walling, as had a $c 0.25\text{m}$ deep pit (8146), which appeared to be a robbed post-pit. The stone fill (8068*), of this feature extended over that of 8142 forming part of the foundation make-up for a Phase 11 wall. To the S lay another pit (8144) which had been cut to a depth of $c 0.20\text{m}$, no doubt to extract another post. The similarity of the fill with those of 8142 and 8146 and its position under a Phase 11 wall indicates that it had been in-filled at much the same time as the other features in this group.

The function of the original features, the positions of which were shown by the robbing cuts and pits, remains obscure. There were no other features or horizons, such as flooring levels or occupational spreads, in this vicinity which could be regarded as being contemporary with them. Nevertheless, they had obviously once housed a slightly curved line of timbers which had been dismantled just prior to and during the construction of the S range. The posts are likely to have been too substantial to have been simply a fence line, although no other interpretation can be suggested. It is even possible that some, notably those robbed by cut 8127, could have been retained and used as scaffolding supports while the S range was being erected.

South range (Ill 39)

The Phase 11 S building was aligned E-W and had been constructed against the SW corner of the Phase 10 E building. It was $c 5.80\text{m}$ wide externally but its full length was not determined because it extended beyond the W limit of the excavation. Nevertheless, $c 16\text{m}$ of its length was located.

Prior to the construction of the range, roughly horizontal terraces had been cut into the SE-NW slope in much the same fashion as had been done for the E building. Layers of cobbles had then been laid over many of the earlier medieval features such as 8136, 8142 and 8146, to level the area. Foundation trenches for the N, S and E walls had then been cut into the slight incline which continued to exist in spite of the levelling



ILL. 39 : Linlithgow. Plan of Period 3, Phase 11. S range

activities that had been undertaken. In some places the trenches were virtually non-existent with their bases lying at much the same height as flooring levels within the building although their S and E up-hill faces survived to depths of c 0.20m. The walls had been comprehensively robbed during Period 4 and only slight traces of foundations (8094, 8092, and 8095), were found. The scant remains consisted of mainly small doleritic stones and sandstones bonded and faced, both internally and externally, with mortar. As only short lengths of c 0.15m high foundation walling survived, it is open to question whether the above-ground outer faces of walls had been clad with this material or whether only basal walling within foundation trenches had been treated in this way.

Distinctive spreads of fragmented stone and mortar, which were present within the building, must have been deposited while it was being constructed. At the E end, two of these layers extended into the foundation trench of the E wall indicating that it had lain open during some of the early construction work. In contrast, part of the S trench and much of the lengths of trenches associated with two N-S dividing walls (8096 and 8204) had been cut through building debris deposits. It would therefore seem, as might have been expected, that construction of the building had commenced at the E end so that new walling could be related to that of the Phase 10 E building.

Although the internal walls (8096 and 8204) had been as thoroughly destroyed as the others and although most of the W one (8204) had been removed by modern ploughing, enough evidence survived to indicate that these can have been little narrower than the main ones. They divided the building into three rooms which have been notated 5-7 for the purposes of this report (Ill 41).

Room 5 (Ill 39, 41): Because of robbing activities it is not possible to be absolutely accurate but the E Room 5, must have measured c 3.10 × 4.50m internally. A doorway, whose presence was indicated by a large sandstone sill at the N end of the W wall (8096) provided access into Room 6. There were no internal or external deposits to suggest that there may have been other entrances into the end room.

Evidence of occupation within Room 5 was minimal consisting of a compacted, no doubt trampled, layer of sandy silt, which extended through the doorway from Room 6 into the NW of the room. However, it is believed that this deposit post-dates friary use of the range. The original function of the small room during Period 3 is uncertain although its situation is perhaps suggestive that it could have been used as a store or pantry.

Room 6—Refectory (Ill 39, 41): Although only a short length of the base of the W wall (8204) survived, Room 6 appeared to have been roughly 9.70 × 4.50m. The only definite doorway was the one that linked it with Room 5 but an otherwise inexplicable c 1.50m gap in an external drain (8111) which ran along the outer face of the S wall, is indicative that another may have existed in the SW corner of the room. A doorway at this point would have led on to the surface of natural rock which lay at a high level in this area and may have been used in conjunction with cobbles 8075, 8141 and 8158 to the SE which had been laid as a path, road or yard in Phase 11. It is likely that such a major room would have had an entrance in the N wall to allow access from the cloister area but no evidence of one was found in this disturbed area.

The basal remnants of a fireplace (8091) extended c 0.40m from the S wall. The feature was c 0.75m long and part of its burnt base, which had been built with rounded doleritic cobbles, survived. However, to the N only the impressions of kerb stones and hearth slabs were located but these were sufficient to suggest that the fireplace is likely to have been of similar construction and design to that of the fireplace (6057) in the parlour in the E range.

Within the room there were several substantial post-pits (8077, 8080, 8083, 8086, 8123 and 8173). Unfortunately, only the last three can be confidently assigned to Phase 11. These were between 0.22 and 0.55m deep and posts within them had been packed with stones. The others (8077, 8080 and 8083) had been similarly packed but had been destratified by modern ploughing. However, allowing for some truncation of upper fills their depths were comparable with those of the other features. Therefore they are probably of Phase 11 date although, just conceivably, they may be of pre-Phase 11 medieval date or even be part of a Period 1 alignment. Timbers within the six post-pits appear to have been between 0.13 and 0.22m wide at their bases and may have been of squared construction. This impression of size and shape was given by the flat inner faces of some of the packings. However, these may have been fortuitously created by the shapes and sizes of stones used rather than by the posts they had supported. No traces of wood were found in the robbed inner fills.

Should all the post-pits have been of Phase 11 date then the timbers within them can only have helped support roofing or been associated with internal furniture. The latter possibility appears more likely with regard to post-pits 8123 and 8173 which related to a raised flooring area at the E end of the room.

This slightly elevated feature may not have been a primary one because much of it was made up of mortar and gravel (8002), which had been dumped to a depth of c 0.10m over compacted occupational or constructional spreads (8122* and 8125*). The materials had been deposited around the posts contained by post-pits 8123 and 8173 and the upper post packing of 8123 had been made level with that of a small paved area of sandstones, (8009). These slabs had further raised the level by c 0.10m and although few had survived robbing they appeared to form part of the edge and W side of what is likely to have been a c 1.80m wide paved platform which extended across the room at least as far as the S side of the entrance in the E wall (8096).

An area of cobbling (8202), at the W end of the room and a clay spread, (8108) in front of the fireplace may originally have been flooring or constructional deposits but these, more obviously 8202, had been devastated by modern ploughing. Slab flooring, similar to that associated with the E raised platform is unlikely to have been laid above these horizons because no evidence of bedding materials was found. Nevertheless, it is possible that they had once existed but had been destroyed by the ploughing which had so disturbed deposits 8108 and 8202.

It would appear that occupational layers 8062* and 8121*, which overlay the make-up for the stone flooring associated with the raised area at the E end of the room, could only have been deposited during Period 4 after the slabs had been removed.

The position and large size of the room indicate that it had been used as the refectory. No doubt much of the elevated platform at the E end would have been occupied by the high table and it would have been surmounted by a canopy. The latter feature may well have been supported by the posts contained in post-pits 8123 and 8173 and by beams that would probably have projected from the wall behind. There was no evidence for there having been a pulpit associated with the S wall, as in many friary refectories, although some of the other post-pits within the room may have been associated with a wooden one from which religious texts would have been read during meals.

Room 7 (Ill 39, 41): Only c 1.50m of the E end of Room 7 was investigated. The associated length of the N wall and most of the E one had been totally robbed in Period 4 and cobbling, (8202) within the room had been disturbed and pulled over wall-lines by modern ploughing. As has been

discussed above, this contaminated deposit is believed to have been laid during the construction of the building or as flooring in Rooms 6 and 7.

There was no archaeological indication of the function of Room 7, although its location is perhaps suggestive that it may have been a kitchen.

External features (Ill 39, 41)

The ground level S of the building appears to have been lowered at much the same time as the terraces had been cut for the building itself. In some places the comparatively smooth surface of rock had been exposed. In others the truncated remains of the Period 2 soil had been revealed and a series of cobbled horizons (8041, 8054, 8075, 8141 and 8158) laid. Some of the mostly doleritic stones were firmly embedded in a brown clayey matrix suggesting that they had been deposited to form a path, road or yard. Unfortunately, certain areas, notably 8054, had been severely damaged by the ploughing which had so disturbed deposits in the S part of the excavation generally. Because of this contamination it is impossible to be certain but most of the laid horizons and possibly the exposed rock surfaces may have been utilised from Phase 11 in Period 3 till early in Period 4. A similar stoney layer, found in a small exploratory trench c 11.80m to the E, may also have been deposited at this time although it could not be related stratigraphically to the other spreads.

The S drain (8111) which ran along the outside face of the S wall, had been cut through cobbles (8141) and, towards its W end into bedrock. As has been mentioned in connection with Room 6 a break in the feature may show the position of an entrance. There was an equivalent drain (8105) along the N face of the N wall but only c 6.70m of its length survived. As the W part of the feature appeared to have been cut into a cobbled cloister surface of Phase 12 or later date it cannot be regarded as being a primary S range feature. The basal fills of the two drains consisted of silts and gravels but the upper ones were made up of destruction debris showing that the drains had remained operational until Period 4.

DISCUSSION

No definitive dating evidence was recovered from constructional or occupational levels but the stratigraphical relationship of the S range with the Phase 10 E range and apparently with some claustral features, which are thought to be of Phase 12 and later date, indicates that the S range is likely to have been built in the late 15th century. Unfortunately, the association of the building with most claustral features is tenuous because of Phase 12 scarping that had been undertaken immediately to the N.

There was no indication from the excavated length that more than one building was involved or that it had been significantly altered structurally after Phase 11. To judge by the shallowness of the foundation cuts and the c 0.70m widths of Period 4 wall robbing trenches, the investigated part of the building must have been constructed on a less massive scale than the E one. It is therefore possible that it may have been of partially timbered construction although the presence of pieces of stone window mouldings, no less substantial than those from other areas of the site, in overlying Period 4 destruction levels would at first sight appear to argue against such a possibility. However, it should be borne in mind that the stone rubble found above the S range need not necessarily have derived from that particular building. It could have been brought to this area as levelling material from other parts of the site during Period 4. It is doubtful whether or not there would have been a need for an upper storey or if the slight walls constructed in shallow to non-existent foundation trenches would have supported one.

The layout and size of Room 6 appears to be sufficiently diagnostic to show that it had been the refectory and as a result that the building as a whole is likely to have been used for the storage, preparation and consumption of food, like so many S friary ranges.

PHASE 12 (Ill 40)

During this phase the cloister was made roughly level by lowering deposits along the S length of the E range and the N side of the excavated part of the S range and by raising the low lying NW area to a comparative height. It was upon some of these dumped deposits that the postulated W range may have been built in Phase 13. Little further organisation of the claustral area, apart from the laying out of walks, appears to have been undertaken either during or after Phase 12.

Claustral area

Throughout the excavation difficulty was experienced in stratigraphically relating features and deposits within the claustral area to the surrounding buildings because of the removal and truncation of horizons that had occurred from time to time and because of the number of graves present S of the church. It could not be ascertained whether or not the N claustral area had been utilised to any great extent earlier in Period 3, other than as a graveyard. Some small intermittent, seemingly trampled, patches of pebbles may have been the remnants of Period 2 or pre-Phase 12 Period 3 surfaces although the possibility could not be proved. To judge by the heights of comparable deposits within the E range and immediately W of it some truncation of the ground level in this area of the cloister had been undertaken when the range was constructed in Phase 10.

Further scarping during Phase 12 had truncated the S part of the outer foundation fill of the W wall associated with the E range and had lowered the ground surface so that it lay nearly level with the basal wall course. N of the S range, Phase 12 scarping had removed deposits to such an extent that the base of the foundation course associated with the N wall lay c 0.10m higher than the new surface in the cloister.

In conjunction with the Phase 12 lowering of the ground level elsewhere within the cloister a number of clayey silt and fine sandstone rubble layers had been deposited in the lower lying W c 6.50m of the excavated area. These horizons overlay the fill of the S boundary ditch (6670) (Ill 34) which had been infilled just prior to or at the beginning of Phase 12. The dumped layers were deepest, c 0.50m, at the W limit of the excavation and their deposition had produced a relatively level surface which extended as far as the E range. Much of the tipped stoney materials seemed to be waste from constructional activities but a coin of Edward I (258) and some of the pottery finds indicate that considerable redeposition of earlier archaeological deposits had also occurred.

It was upon the W part of these dumped deposits that the postulated W range may have been built in Phase 13 but little further work, apart from the laying out of walks, appears to have been undertaken within the c 20×16.30m area of the cloister.

PHASE 12-14 CLAUSTRAL FEATURES (Ill 40)

The earliest claustral features include a number of stake-holes and associated spreads of sand, charcoal and marine shells which lay in the SE corner of the area. These were overlain by a c 0.25m deep mortar surface (8020) which appeared to have been created by mortar having been mixed there rather than by fragments of the material having been deposited there. Piercing this surface were seven other stake-holes and on it there were four large concretions of incompletely mixed

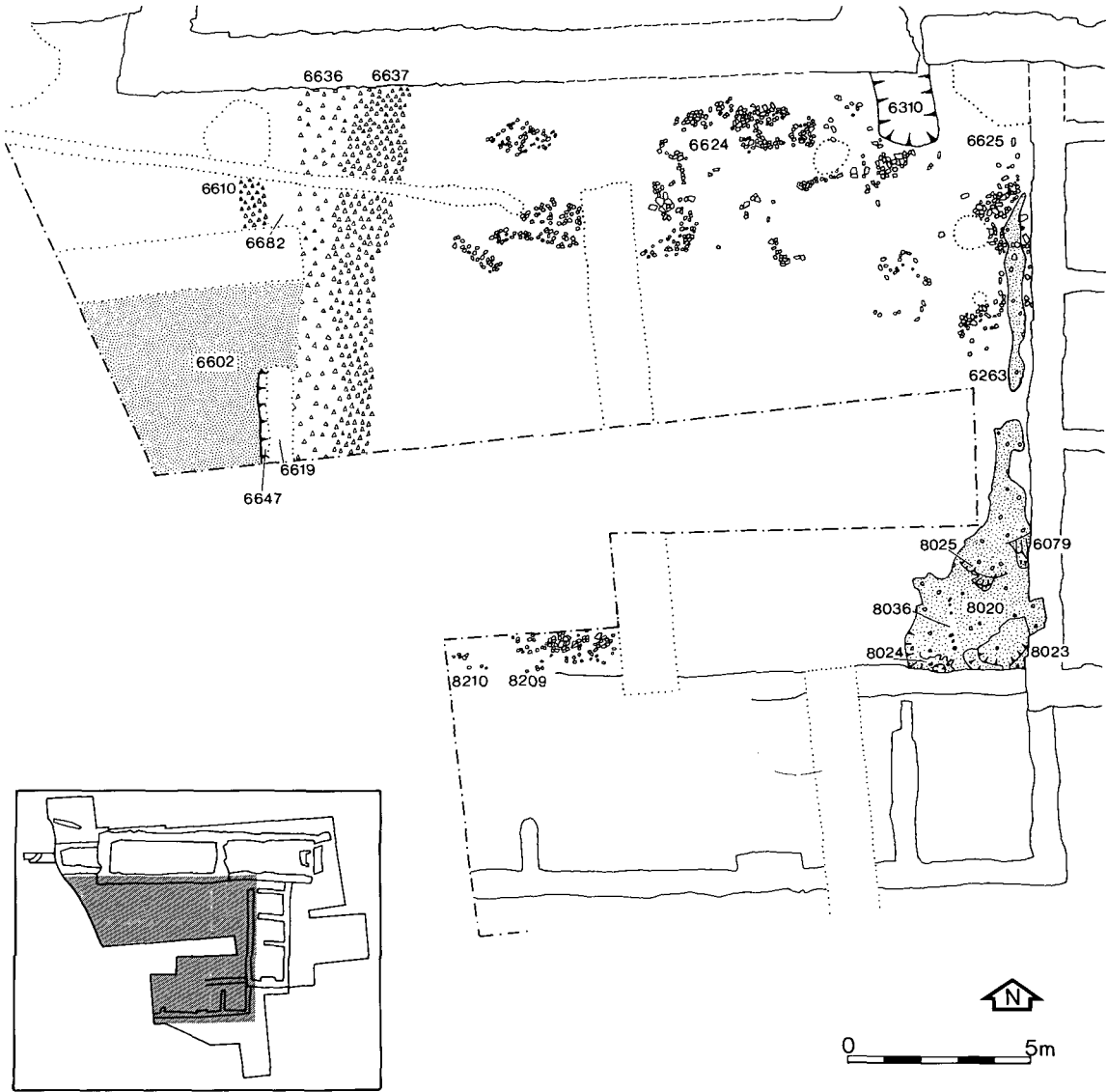
shell mortar (6079, 8023, 8024 and 8025). These lumps varied in size and possessed roughly bowl-shaped 'inner' faces. One of the clearest examples (8023) was c 0.35m high and its 'internal' diameter was c 2m. In spite of their concave faces, the features seemed to be the unused parts of mortar heaps as opposed to being the remains of mechanised mixers.

It would therefore appear that the SE corner of the cloister had been used after Phase 12 but during the friary period as a builders' work area. The stake-holes may have formed small compartmentalised areas against the N wall of the S range where raw materials such as sand and shell were stored prior to being converted into mortar.

To the N there was a contemporary c 0.07m deep compacted mortar spread (6263) which extended c 5.50m along the W side of the E range. The deposit appeared to be a trampled horizon and may simply have been created by accidental spillage of mortar while it was being transported from the mixing area to the S. Alternatively, its location is suggestive that it may have been deposited while the W wall of the E range was being repointed or even clad with mortar.

The former of these two possibilities would seem to be more credible because, apart from slight indications associated with the scant remains of S range walling, there was no evidence elsewhere that external wall surfaces had been coated with this material. It is even possible that mortar 6263 may have been intended for internal use in the E range and some of the finds, including a coin (260), could have been swept or shovelled out of Rooms 3 and/or 4, along with surplus mortar, *via* doorway 6039 (Ill 36).

A N walk may have existed at some time during Period 3 because the area just S of the church was very stoney and there were a few isolated, c 0.50 x 0.50m, patches of apparently laid cobbles. Much of the general stoneyness had clearly derived from constructional activities and the cutting of graves into natural rock and whether or not the resultant deposits of fragmented basalt had ever formed laid surfaces could not be ascertained. However, there was one definite feature in this area. It consisted of a shallow depression (6310) which measured c 1.90 x 1.68 x 0.14m. As it lay immediately S of the doorway into the church, the feature is likely to have



ILL 40 : Linlithgow. Plan of Period 3, Phases 12-14. W range and claustral area

been a worn hollow and its stoney fill had probably been deposited in order to provide a more substantial and lasting surface at the entrance. The only possible indications of a walk in the NE corner were a few apparently cobbled areas (for example 6624 and 6625). Evidence of there having been a S walk was restricted to an area of compacted doleritic cobbles and sandstone fragments (8209 and 8210) which lay W of a 1953 excavation trench. Only part of the horizon, c 1 × 4.50m, was investigated as it extended N and W beyond the excavation. The stones had been laid on the base of the terracing cut which had truncated pre-Phase 12 deposits along the N side of the S range and as a result the surface was at a lower level than the basal course of the N wall. A larger area, c 2.70 × 10m, of what has been interpreted tentatively as being a W walk was excavated. It consisted of c 0.06m deep firm stoney clay deposits (6636 and 6637) which overlay the dumped levelling horizons of Phase 12. To the W, layer 6636 butted against a short length of what is considered to have been possibly a Period 4 trench dug to rob the Phase 13 E wall of the W range. The exact date and deposition of the stoney deposits was therefore not determinable although they must have been laid sometime between Phase 12 and 14.

DISCUSSION

It is likely that the cloister was levelled towards the end of the 15th century, a date which does not conflict with that suggested by a very worn billon penny of James I (1424-51) (260) which was recovered from the Phase 12-14 mortar spread 6263 at the E side of the area. Other coins of James I to IV including a forgery (262, 278, 280) together with a jetton of the 16th century or later (292) are likely to have been deposited within the claustral area during Period 3. However, most of these were recovered from mixed deposits of Periods 3, 4 and later date which also contained four coins of the 17th century (281, 282, 286, 289).

From the excavation evidence it is clear that the cloister could only have existed in the simplest of forms; an approximately flat area bounded by buildings. The cobbled areas of Phases 12-14 at the S and W had the appearance of having been laid as interim surfaces rather than as permanent walks. Were slabbed walks to be laid, for example along the S and W sides of the cloister, then these would have raised the height of these areas to be more compatible with flooring levels in adjacent buildings. However, the most obvious indications of the unfinished nature of the cloister were the waste deposits associated with mortar mixing in the SE corner and the mortar spread (6263) to the N. The small number of graves believed to have been dug in the cloister between Phase 12 and 14 may suggest that the area was considered to be less suitable for burial at this time, perhaps because further constructional operations were planned. Nevertheless, no refinements, such as enclosed walks or an inner court, were to be built. As the cloister would have been one of the last areas of the friary complex to be finalised, the Reformation may have occurred before work within it could be completed. Although not proven by excavation it is perhaps possible that much of the sheltered area may have been used as a garden during the latter part of the friary period.

PHASE 13 (Ill 40)

Evidence of the W side of the cloister having been enclosed by walling or a building was slight. Considerable destruction had been caused by post Period 4 ploughing, which had not only truncated Phase 3 horizons but had mixed them with those of later date. In addition, disturbances by tree roots and burrowing animals had contaminated archaeological layers of interest.

West range

The most convincing Period 3 horizon was a c 0.04m layer of sand (6602) which lay S of a 1953 excavation trench, C2 (Ill 23). The deposit measured c 5 × 4m, and although clearly disturbed by more recent activities, could have once served as flooring or as bedding for stone flooring. Some of the materials contained in an overlying but ploughed spread of small stones, sand and fragments of what appeared to be roofing slabs (6608*) may also have been associated with flooring although the possibility could not be proved. Flooring further N may have been represented by a c 1.50 × 0.60 × c 0.02m area of clay and stones (6610). The deposit may originally have been more extensive but been destroyed and mixed with overlying deposits.

The S deposits were bounded to the E by a N-S linear cut 6619, which survived to a length of c 2.20m and depth of c 0.10m. It was c 0.74m wide and appeared to have been dug during Period 4 in order to rob what may have been the E wall of the building. Only a c 0.05m wide part of what could have been a Phase 13 foundation trench (6647) was located along the W side of the robbing cut. The line of trench 6619 was continued to the N as far as the church by a negative feature 6682, the existence of which was only shown by the limits of claustral cobbles (6636) to the E and by the possible flooring deposit 6610 to the W. Evidence of a wall was therefore minimal.

It is to be regretted that the above features were so disturbed and were neither diagnostic nor substantial enough to be absolutely certain whether or not they were associated with a W building. Indeed, it is possible that they relate to a simple claustral boundary wall and a walk, with the W range, should one have existed, being located further W beyond the limit of excavation.

Finds obtained from deposits associated with the possible construction and occupation of the W range are certain to have been contaminated by intrusive features and activities.

DISCUSSION

Although two coins were recovered from the disturbed deposits associated with the possible W building, one, a half-groat of Edward III (1356-61) (277) is likely to be a redeposited find while the other, a turner of Charles II (1663) (287) can only be regarded as being intrusive. However, general site stratigraphy indicates that, should it have existed, the range had been constructed in the late 15th or early 16th century and that it had been used till Period 4 when all the friary complex was destroyed.

Should the putative wall, whether it was a claustral boundary feature or part of the W range, have extended as far as the church, some provision for access to the well from the cloister must have been made either as a doorway or a passage although no evidence of these was found. Similarly no traces of a N wall or of cross-walls were located in the area which may have been occupied by a W range and none were identified by D Hunter in Trench C2 during her excavations of 1953 (D Hunter, pers comm).

In spite of being disturbed, the possible sand flooring or bedding for flooring in the SW corner of the excavation was more reminiscent of that on which the stone slabs had been laid within the church than of deposits in other buildings. It is therefore possible that a building in this position would have been an important one. Its location suggests that it could have been used either as accommodation for guests or as storage. Should it have originally possessed flooring similar to that of the church then the former use would seem more probable and it may not be fortuitous that the associated W walk (6636 and 6637) which led towards the church was better defined and of slightly better quality than in other claustral areas. A building set aside for lay purposes would have been

ideally suited to house meetings at which secular disputes are known to have been resolved at the friary in the mid 16th century (see Chapter 5.1).

PHASE 14

This phase represents the occupation of the friary complex from the completion of the possible W range in the late 15th or early 16th century till its destruction at the Reformation in the later 16th century. Unfortunately, although the friary clearly continued in use during this time, no evidence specifically assignable to Phase 14 was found. Some of the occupational deposits within Building 2 and the E and S ranges together with some of the burials are likely to be of this last friary phase but there was no good dating evidence to confirm such a possibility. It is worthy of note that of the forty coins found during the excavation eight could be considered to be of 16th-century date but only one from Room 3 in the E range, a James IV billion penny (probably

c 1500-10) (270), was recovered from a sealed Period 3 context. Admittedly, some of the others lay in contaminated Period 3 deposits and others may have been disturbed from horizons of this date but the general lack of securely stratified coins is suggestive that the 16th century was a time of deterioration in the fortunes of the friary. Just such a decline would explain why the claustral area, levelled in Phase 12, had not been laid out and finished in the manner of other friary cloisters.

Associated pottery: 47-53

Associated finds: Architectural fragment 182, silver book fitting 185, window came 188, copper alloy book fittings 202, 206, 207, copper alloy lace-ends 213, 215, 216, copper alloy pins 217, 218, copper alloy twisted wire rings 220-222, copper alloy ring 231, copper alloy vessel 235, copper alloy ferrule 241, iron knife 250, coins 258-266, 268, 270, painted plaster 296.

PERIOD 4

During this period, which can only be of early post-Reformation date, the friary gradually fell into decay and was then systematically and comprehensively demolished. Burials undertaken at various stages during the period are discussed in Chapter 7.2. Although similar sequences of deposits were identified within the friary buildings, apart from the putative W range, where Period 4 horizons were scant and much disturbed, these have not been phased because of the lack of continuous stratigraphy across the site. Site numbers have not been used because the period has not been illustrated. However, use of the general site plan (Ill 41) should enable the reader to identify areas of interest.

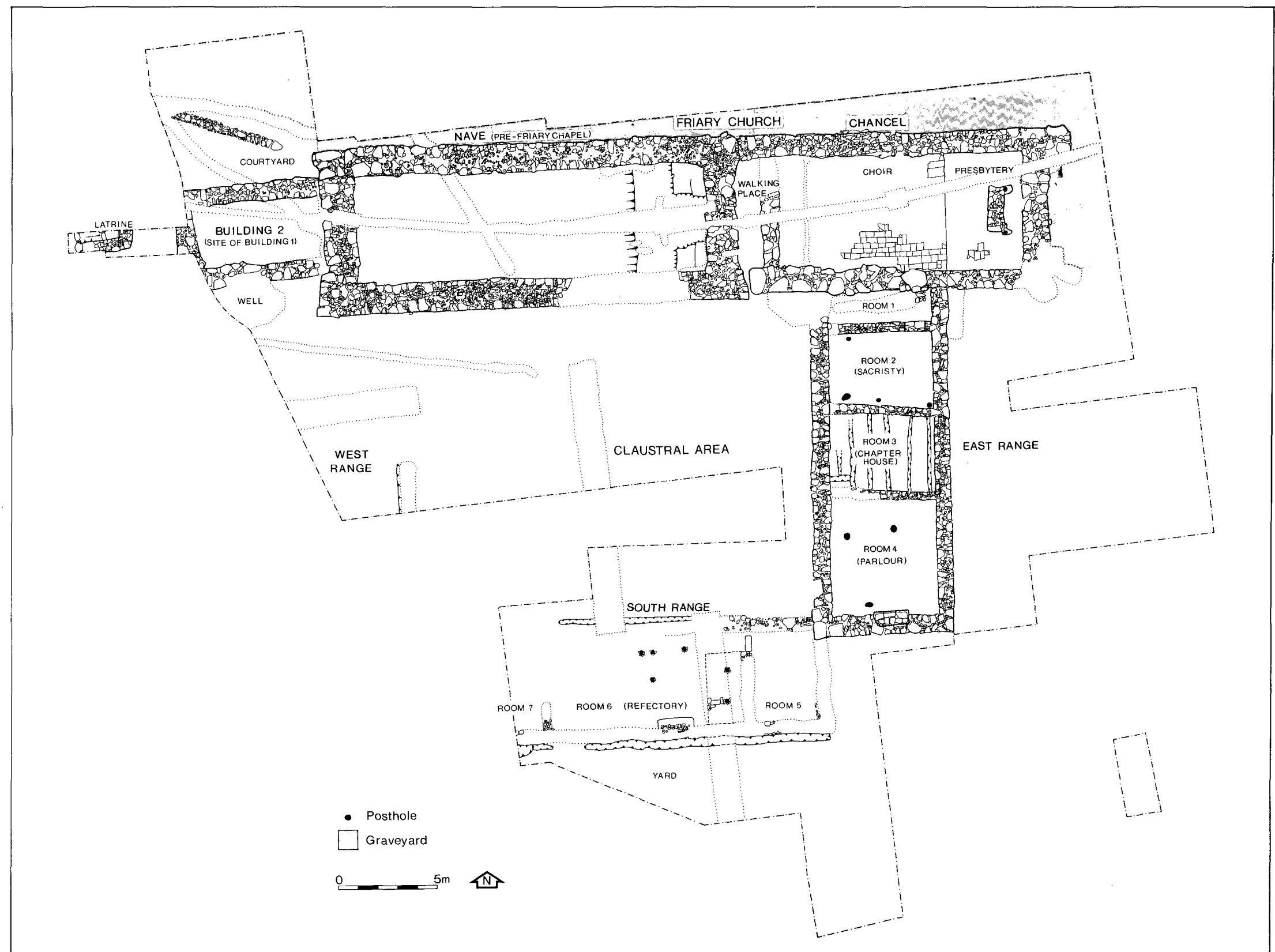
Friary buildings

Reference has already been made in appropriate Period 3 sections to some possible Period 4 horizons and to the compacted trampling and likely contamination of friary occupational deposits within Building 2 and the S and E ranges at the beginning of Period 4. With the removal of most of the church flooring at an early stage in Period 4 similar firm surfaces were also produced there. Only one sizeable area of stone slab flooring in the chancel had been left *in situ* just N of the entrance into the E range (Ill 41). However, no interesting overlying deposits survived because the area had been exposed during the c 1900 investigation of the site (Ill 23). The surviving slabs appear to have been retained undisturbed in front of the doorway because the E range continued in use. With the early Period 4 demise of the stairway in Room 1 the N end of the W wall of the range is likely to have been breached because compacted layers of coal fragments seem to have extended from Room 2, through Room 1 into the NE corner of the cloister. Unfortunately, intrusive features at the N end of this wall had removed any stratigraphical relationship between the horizons so it is impossible to be absolutely certain whether or not a single coal deposit was involved. However, the layers were sufficiently deep in Room 2, formerly probably the friary sacristy, to show that it had been used as a coal store near the beginning of Period 4. Within the room, sealed by the coal layers, there was a c 0.88 × 0.50 × 0.15m hollow against the E wall. Associated stake-holes and the ash-lensed fill of the feature indicate that it is likely to have been an ash rakeout pit below a brazier. Signs of burning on the wall face but none on the ground seem to support such an interpretation. A similar feature was found near the N wall of the room.

There was no indication that a doorway had been cut between Rooms 2 and 3 during this period so Rooms 3 and 4 must have remained separate from the rest of the range as they had been during the friary period. To judge by occupational deposits within Rooms 3 and 4, especially the latter, they appear to have continued to be inhabited during this time. Evidence of similar on-going use of Rooms 5 and 6 in the S range consisted of some repairs to the fireplace and a burnt area of flooring within Room 6.

Whether it was friars or others who continued to live within Rooms 3-6 can only be speculated, but it is interesting to note that Friar Hopper signed legal documents after 1559 and that at least some of the land was still seen to belong to the friars as late as 1563 (see Chapter 5.1).

The probably brief Period 4 occupation of some of the friary complex was followed by a time of abandonment, decay and vandalism, represented by single c 0.05m layers of silt present in parts of all the buildings except the W range where Period 4 deposits were much disturbed. The main finds from the silts were substantial quantities of broken window glass and, from some areas, iron nails. The next layer, common to the three ranges, was made up mostly of broken roofing slabs and some fragmented mortar. Although occasional small pieces of roofing had been present in earlier Period 4 deposits it would seem that it was only at this stage that the roofs were removed. This activity seems to have been carried out with some care, with whole slabs being taken away because only one or two relatively complete examples were recovered during the excavation. Clearly owls now had ready access to the church because owl pellets were recovered from the roofing deposit in the chancel (see Chapter 10.2 mf, 13: F1). A spread of iron nails in the NE corner of the cloister suggests that rafters and other major timbers were stripped and stored here prior to being removed from the site. It was from the roofing slab level that the walls of the S range had been so completely robbed. This contrasts with the N and E ranges, where the slabs were overlain by single c 0.10m deep deposits of fragmented mortar. Much of it was faced and often painted so had certainly derived from the surfaces of walls and perhaps ceilings. The effects of frost, wind and rain together with the extraction of internal fittings are likely to have created these deposits. The topmost destruction level in the N and E ranges varied in depth between c 0.10 and c 0.45m. It was made up of general rubble, doleritic stones, sandstones, mortar and a few pieces of roofing materials.



ILL 41 : Linlithgow. General plan of friary in the later Middle Ages

Much of it had certainly derived from the demolition of walling because parts of window mullions and other shaped stones of architectural interest were found in the deposits (see Chapter 9.5 mf, 12:F1-13:B6). A similar layer was present above the S range where it overlay the earlier Period 4 wall robbing cuts. The absence of large pieces of rubble and squared stones in all these deposits shows that anything worthy of reuse had been removed, like the sandstone flooring, the roofing slabs and timbers earlier in Period 4. It was from this level that the walls of the N and E ranges had been robbed in a final effort to recover even more stone for use elsewhere.

DISCUSSION

A coin, a Francis & Mary billon lion/hardhead (275), was recovered from a S range destruction horizon. It is dated to 1559 but can hardly be regarded as having been deposited during that year, the first year of the Reformation, because it shows slight signs of wear. Period 4 could well cover the sixty-five years between 1559 and 1624 when the 'place of the Carmelite friars' was sold for 6s 8d (see Chapter 5.1). The price paid shows that anything worthy of recovery is likely to have been taken away from the site by this date. It is of considerable interest that there was no evidence to support the commonly held belief that the friary had been wantonly destroyed by rampaging fanatics in the early days of the Reformation (see Chapter 5.1). Instead the demolition activities that followed the Period 4 occupation of the site appear to have been undertaken in a planned, controlled and systematic fashion so as to recover as much of the reusable building materials as possible in the same way that demolition contractors would approach the task today.

Some insight into the appearance of friary buildings and, to a much lesser extent, the original chapel, is provided by various materials present in the Period 4 demolition deposits. The faced mortar fragments confirmed that the inner surfaces of walls in the N, S and E ranges had been clad with this material and that the friary church and most of the rooms had been painted white or off-white. Traces of colour on some mortar fragments from the nave indicate that the pre-friary chapel had probably been much more decorative in earlier times (see Chapter 9.5, 295, 296, 297 mf 13:B1-6). Some evidence of wall painting in the S range might readily have been expected in Room 6, believed to have been the refectory, but no evidence of this was found. A painted canopy above the high table may have sufficed. In spite of the apparent lack of wall colour during the friary period it should be remembered that oyster shells and pieces of pottery containing

traces of pigments were recovered from Period 2, Period 3 and Period 4 levels. Therefore some wall painting somewhere within the buildings may have been done although obviously the colourants may have been used for many other purposes. Glass finds from the chancel show that colourful windows would have contrasted well against the austerity of the white walls and would probably have complemented a highly decorated retable above the altar. A coating of what has been interpreted as being whitewash on a few painted glass fragments from the nave indicates that at least some of the original chapel windows were not reglazed when the building was converted into the friary church. These early windows may have been blanked out either because their content was not regarded as being suitable for the nave of a friary church or because Period 3 reorganisation of the area, mostly the E end, may have rendered the positions of some windows redundant. Light in certain parts of the redesigned building may not have been required or even been desirable. Painted and ordinary white glass quarry fragments show that plain windows with geometric borders of 15th-century style existed in the E range. In contrast, glass from Room 6 suggests that the windows of the S range had not been decorated in any manner. The small numbers of worked stones found above the N, S and E ranges came from more mixed deposits than did the mortar and glass finds so it is less certain whether they derived from their immediate surroundings or had been transported some distance from their original locations. The general impression provided by the stone finds is that the decorative architecture of the complex does not appear to have been ostentatious but relatively simple and well suited to the proportions of buildings and rooms.

Associated pottery: 54-57

Associated finds: Flint 163, jet armband 165, window glass 169-180, architectural fragments 181, 183, 184, window came 187, copper alloy binding strip 210, copper alloy casket fitting 211, copper alloy lace-end 214, copper alloy pin 219, copper alloy buckle 223, copper alloy fitting 229, copper alloy bead 234, copper alloy rivets 237, 238, iron key 243, iron buckles 245, 246, iron knives 248, 251, coins 267, 269, 271-275, painted plaster 295, 297, 298, shell pigment containers 299-301, pottery pigment containers 302, 303, pigments 304, 305.

POST-PERIOD 4

Little can be said of post-Period 4 activities because most of the relevant deposits were removed by machine. However, it is noteworthy, that the Period 4 layers of destruction did not extend beyond the limits of friary buildings as if the site had been made tidy either at the end of Period 4 or shortly afterwards. Small parts of post-Period 4 horizons excavated by hand, the interpretation of main sections and plough damage done to Period 4 and earlier deposits show that, after the deposition of soil, the site had been used for agricultural purposes from the 17th century until late Victorian times when it was planted out as an orchard.

Associated finds: Lead saddle bar or stanchion support 190, lead cast plug 191, copper alloy book fittings 193, 209, copper alloy casket fitting 212, copper alloy buckle 223, copper alloy strap end 228, copper alloy pendant 230, copper alloy vessel 236, copper alloy rivet 238, 239, copper alloy thimble 240, iron candleholder 242, iron knife 249, coins 276-278, 280-282, 286, 289, 291, 292, 294.

5.3 LINLITHGOW RADIOCARBON DETERMINATION

In microfiche 1: B11