
6 PERTH CARMELITE FRIARY

6.1 THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE RM SPEARMAN

INTRODUCTION

The surviving documentary evidence for the Carmelite friary at Tullilum, near Perth (Ill 1), consists of a very mixed collection of some 150 references. The majority of these references are from crown, episcopal and burgh records. The royal records are mainly concerned with payments of alms to the friars and are printed in the various accounts of the exchequer and treasurer. A major source of structural information about the friary and episcopal residence at Tullilum are the early 16th-century rentals and accounts of the diocese of Dunkeld kept by Alexander Myln (*Dunk Rent*). There are also a number of entries in the Burgh Court Book and Burgh Register of Deeds recording some of the property and rental arrangements of the friars both before and after the Reformation. These burgh records are held in the Perth and Kinross District Archive (SRO, B59).

Very few of the friary's own records survive; those that do were transferred to the King James VI Hospital which was established on the site of the Carthusian monastery at Perth in 1569. The Hospital was funded from the ancient income of the religious houses of Perth, but by the time of its foundation much of the revenue and lands of these houses had been subverted and their associated charters conveniently lost. Those Carmelite documents that do remain have been listed along with the Hospital's other records by the Scottish Record Office where the majority of them are kept (SRO, GD79). A number of friary records which are now lost were read by Fittis who records their substance in his *Ecclesiastical Annals of Perth* (Fittis 1885). The Rental Books of the King James VI Hospital survive and are in print (Milne 1891). They record something of the struggle to recover control of the various rents which had theoretically passed from the religious houses to the Hospital. They, therefore, record several rents from lands within and around Perth which were known to have belonged to the Carmelites but for which all other records were lost.

SITE LOCATION

The first surviving reference to the place of Tullilum is in a charter of Malcolm IV, dated 1157×60, granting to Dunfermline abbey the church of Perth with its various lands including "Tullilum, aliud Tullilum"—which Barrow takes to mean Meikle and Little Tullielum (*RRS* i, no 157). Such lands may have had attached chapels which were part of the early church within the shire of Perth which was later centred on the parish church of the town. The second element in the

place name Tulli-lum may support this suggestion. The "Tulli.." element of the place name is derived from the Gaelic *tulach*, a hillock or ridge (Nicholaisen 1976, 147). The "...lum" element is, however, poorly understood. Suggestions include, *G. leum*, a leap (Edwards 1910, 75), *G. luim*, bare surface (Johnston 1976, 245). In this particular context a more likely derivation may be *G.* and Welsh *lann* meaning church lands (Mackinlay 1904, 61-4).

STRUCTURAL HISTORY

There are no surviving contemporary documents which relate the transfer of this chapel to the Carmelite friars. The usual explanation of the convent's foundation is that the Carmelites

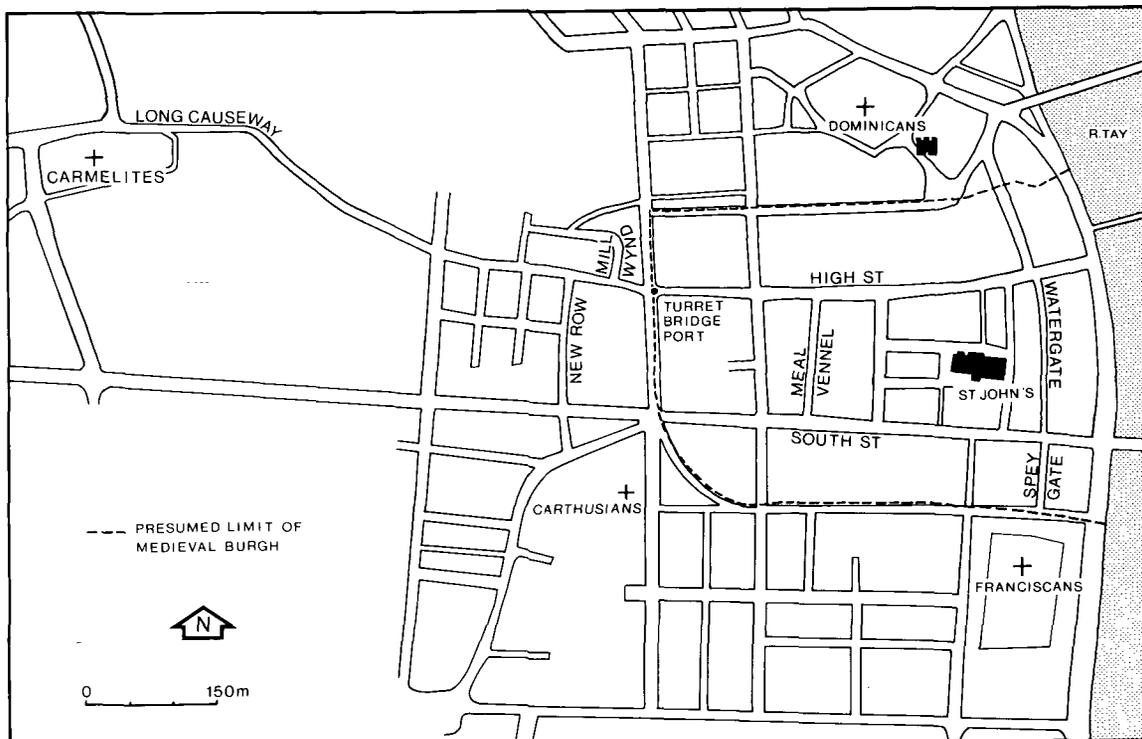
came to Scotland in 1260 and that two years later they were provided by Richard, bishop of Dunkeld with their first chapel in the country, at Tullilum near Perth, and that the

bishop decorated it for them with rich work. The earliest known source of this explanation is Walter Bower's *Scoticronicon* which is an extended version of John of Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*. Fordun's original chronicle was completed shortly after 1385. It comprised five books of consecutive annals covering the period from the start of the history down to the death of David I in 1153. Bower's expansion of Fordun's history was written between 1441 and 1447 (*Chron Fordun*, xi-xiv; Webster 1975, 49-57). The passage concerning the Carmelite friars of Tullilum was, therefore, written by Bower in the 1440s, and although conceivably based on sources now lost or information gathered by Fordun years previously, nevertheless represents an historical interpretation of the mid-15th century. By that time the Carmelite friars were indeed well established at Tullilum, but the first firm evidence of this connection is not in fact until 1365 when Thomas of Inchyareth, prior of the Carmelites of Tolylom, appears as a witness in a charter of the abbey of Inchaffray (*Inchaffray Chrs*, 130, no cxxv). Although there are no surviving records it is possible that an early chapel at Tullilum was transferred, at some date between c 1160 and 1260/2, from the possession of the abbey of Dunfermline to that of the bishop of Dunkeld who in turn gave it to the Carmelite friars. However, the few fragments of information we do have about these Carmelites before 1365 associates them simply with Perth, not Tullilum. The first firm documentation for the presence of the Carmelite friars at Perth is not until 1327 and 1328 when the Exchequer Rolls record their receipt of the sum of five merks (£3 6s 8d) annually from the crown out of the ferm of Perth (*ER*, i, 66, 88). How long the friars had been in receipt of this annual is not known but it is noteworthy that the established practice of entry was simply to the "friars of Mount Carmel" with no mention of their location at Tullilum until 1384 in the third volume of the Exchequer Rolls (*ER*, iii, 131). These two forms of entry may reflect no more than a change in

accountant's shorthand, but it may also suggest that either the association of the friars with Tullilum was a new one or, perhaps through building and land ownership, that the friars had gradually come to be associated with Tullilum.

Further evidence that the picture is not as tidy as that which Bower has passed on to us was collected by the Carmelite historian McCaffrey (McCaffrey 1926, 464-5). He provides two enigmatic references which may suggest alternative founders but which unfortunately involve listing of documents which are now lost or of unknown source. Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy's *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland* contains an unreferenced entry for one Thomas Leicht who is described as a writer about whom little is known other than that he introduced the Carmelite order into Scotland and founded a monastery near Perth. He wrote a tract *Pro Rege Alexandro ad Papam* and another *De Immunitate Ecclesiastica*. Leicht is said to have died in 1231 (Hardy 1871, 76, no 145). The other reference uncovered by McCaffrey is to an "English Knecht Hollat of St Johnstoun" who he says appears in a charter catalogued in the *Register of the Great Seal (RMS, i, no 1381)*. This is from the lists of "lost" charters in Appendix 2 Index B (no 32) of the register and would seem to be one of several such charters issued in 1361. This charter is recorded as being a confirmation by David II of past grants to the Whitefriars of St Johnstoun and to the Whitefriars of Luffness but no mention is made in the register about Hollat of St Johnstoun (*RMS, i, no 1381*).

Whatever the full explanation of the friary's foundation it was Bower's description of events which was followed by Myln in his *Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum* and John Major in his *History of Greater Britain*, both written at the start of the 16th century (Myln, *Vitae*, 46; Major, *History*, 188). These two sources give the date of the establishment of the Carmelites in their chapel as 1262. It is this latter date which became the accepted line of the two



ILL 42 : Perth. Location of lands in or near the burgh owned by the Carmelites or providing income through rent, and mentioned in Chapter 6.1

early 18th century church historians, John Spottiswoode and Marianus Brockie (Spottiswoode 1824, 278; Brockie, 1536).

Other than Fordun's claim that the chapel of Tullilum was decorated with rich work by Bishop Richard there is no other indication of the early convent's appearance. There is however, an intriguing reference to the gardens and orchards of the convent recorded by Brockie and supposedly dated to 1335. Brockie's referenced source for this information is a list compiled by Alexander Baillie, abbot of Ratisbon in 1646. Baillie is known to have taken an interest in his own abbey's history but in effect Brockie was referencing a completely unverifiable source (Dilworth 1974, 239-41). Given Brockie's penchant for constructing history (Docherty 1965), this may have been a deliberate smoke-screen, but the claims of the reference are so minor that there seems little point in fabricating them and they may well have had a basis in truth. It may be that one Guiliem Galgathy, burgess of Perth, gifted the friars two roods of land by a leat and adjoining the friar's garden to augment their orchard. His is also supposed to have provided a ditch and stone wall around the orchard and garden. The friars' gardens had not apparently been producing enough vegetables and these measures were intended to help the growing of fruit and herbs, as well as timber and other useful wood (Brockie, 1536-7). From the end of the 14th century firmer information survives concerning both the actual convent at Tullilum and the use of the friars' church by the bishop of Dunkeld. In 1392-3 the abbey of Cambuskenneth was in a serious dispute with the bishop of Dunkeld, which eventually led to the excommunication of the bishop. The act was undertaken by the bishop of Glasgow in the church of the Carmelite friars of Tullilum in the diocese of Dunkeld. That the convent was an important centre of the diocese by this date is confirmed during the litigation that took place before the excommunication. In this the bishop was instructed to submit wherever he was with specific mention of his accustomed place of residence and the church of the friars of Tullilum (*Cambuskenneth Registrum*, 97-8, 104, 106). A further glimpse of the bishop of Dunkeld's use of the friary comes from Myln's *Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum*. In this Myln described how in 1457 Bishop Thomas Lauder had brought the land to such peace that he was able to hold his synod in the church of Dunkeld instead of Tullilum, where it had long been wont to meet owing to the violence of the "caterans" or highland robber bands. Moreover Bishop Thomas founded a daily mass for the repose of souls at the convent (Myln, *Vitae*). The practicalities of such an episcopal connection must have meant that the bishops of Dunkeld kept a residence and store houses at Tullilum. The details of this residence become clear from Myln's accounts which cover the period 1505-15. In addition to town houses in Perth, Edinburgh and Dundee, the bishop of Dunkeld had rural residences at Dunkeld, Cluny, Kinwaid and Tullilum. By the time of these accounts Dunkeld was once again the centre of episcopal activity, but Tullilum remained the bishop's main centre of business with more accounts being rendered there than at Dunkeld. In terms of financial upkeep the Tullilum residence matched and at times exceeded the cost of the bishop's main fortified residence at Cluny (*Dunk Rent*, 60-9).

It is not wholly clear to what extent the bishop's residence at Tullilum was integrated with the convent. The relationship between the friars and the bishop of Dunkeld was clearly one of two separate institutions. The friars received from the bishop various material gifts such as meal, candles and a horse for the prior (*Dunk Rent*, 195-9, 201-2, 206, 245-70). Even the friars dining at the bishop's table were costed over and above the bishop's household (*Dunk Rent*, 203-5). There must at the very least have been separate kitchens and larders. At the same time, however, the bishop clearly regarded the establishment as under his control with for instance a member of the Balbirnie family, which provided the bishop with both a subchanter and sarjeant of Dunkeld, also being placed as

prior of Tullilum (*Dunk Rent*, 27; Watt, *Fasti*, 118). The bishop also paid for two Carmelites to go to Aberdeen to study (*Dunk Rent*, 222-7).

The many constructional works undertaken by Bishop George Brown included improvements to both the bishop's residence at Tullilum and the convent. Major refurbishment of the residence in Perth began in 1507 with numerous purchases of materials. The Tullilum residence profited from this work, with the roof there being repaired by the same slaters as were engaged for the town house (*Dunk Rent*, 203-5). Work at Tullilum began in earnest in 1509 with further repairs to the roof of the residence and the bishop's stonemason Thomas Fotheringhame "hewing" stone provided by the bishop for the church of Tullilum. Quantities of coal and lime were also transported to Tullilum for the building work as well as "hardin", or coarse linen made from waste flax, for the bishop's chamber there (*Dunk Rent*, 211-2). Repairs to the place of Tullilum in 1510 cost a further 12s 6d and in 1511 masonry, iron and timber were purchased for a turnpike stair and window which were added to the bishop's chamber (*Dunk Rent*, 222-7). Work continued at Tullilum through 1512 with £64 11s 11d being spent on masons, slaters, carpenters and sawyers as well as their materials, lime, clay, sand, timber and nails (*Dunk Rent*, 229-32).

In 1513 Patrick Mason was paid £4 5s for stone and wood work for the greater window in the hall at Tullilum while smiths were paid £1 11s for iron work for the window and the granary above the larder at Tullilum. Glass work for the window cost £1 17s 8d while sawing wood for the granary cost a further 2s 4d (*Dunk Rent*, 227-8). In this year the building work explicitly extended to the convent church, with wood being cut at Rannoch for the church (*Dunk Rent*, 129-30). The cost of conveying this timber appears in the following January's accounts where it is described as for the nave, W gable of the church and the gallery on the S of the church above the cloister. In the same accounts some 14,000 "Cathness slates" were purchased for the church at a cost of £49 and carried there in "the Bontay"—which is perhaps the name of the ship involved. Nor were internal fittings neglected for an altar of the Holy Blood was constructed with a painted reedos. However, this work was not completed before Bishop George's death. It is stated, though, that the accounts kept by "Sir" John Davidson, a friar of Tullilum, prove that the Bishop's executors did complete this work. It is not clear what role Davidson had within the friary, but he would seem to have been retained by the bishop to oversee the work there (*Dunk Rent*, 233-9). Building work at Tullilum continued then for at least a further year. In 1514 John Wiys, stone cutter, and Bodock, slater, were paid for work on the kitchen at Tullilum, while saws were purchased for the pantry, iron bars and nails for the W and E windows of the hall, as well as four spars for the stair (*Dunk Rent*, 232-3). The accounts rendered in 1515 also record work during the previous year on the church roof costing 40s and a further payment to Friar John Davidson of 26s 8d, presumably for supervising the remaining work at Tullilum (*Dunk Rent*, 265-6). It is possible that building repairs and extensions continued after this date but this detailed source ends at this date.

The final reference to the fabric of the convent before the Reformation comes in 1551 when Prior Alexander Thompson pledged annually five bolls of the friars' income of produce, half beir and half meal, to John Gray in return for the sum of £30 which was needed apparently to the friars' "great necessity and the furnishing of the said place of Tullilum" (SRO, GD79/3/22). Fittis says that the debt was paid off in full in 1555 but his source is unknown (Fittis 1885, 207). The realities of their needs remain unknown as repair to buildings was being used as a common pretext for the raising of cash which then went on the 'friars' great necessity' rather than their deteriorating building fabric (Donaldson 1979, 21).

The Catholic Bishop Lesley in his *History of Scotland* describes the action of the Perth burgesses against their religious houses in 1559 with considerable melodrama: "... and without any forder stay [they] past to the gray and black freirs, and to the Carmelites' place callit Tullielum and thair pulled thame all three downe to the erd with sic rage and furie of the people, that scarslie was thair left ane stone standing apone another; and all the freris put furth of thame and spulyeit of all they had; . . ." (Lesley, *History*, 272). Bishop Lesley, writing in exile, was in any case hardly an impartial historian. An alternative account is provided by Lindsay of Pitscottie who describes the Reformers going: "... to the greyfreiris and blakfreiris and to the freirs of Tullielum and cast thame all done except the freis of Tullielum quhilk the Lord Ruthven saiffit be his moyane [intervention], but abolischit the freirs thair of . . ." (Pitscottie, *Historie*, ii, 146). Pitscottie, writing in the 1570's, was a supporter of the Reformers and not without his own bias; however, from 1542 he was often a witness to the events he described and his account is generally thought to be reliable. The suggestion of Ruthven's intervention to save the convent is indeed highly plausible, for his family had connections not only with the see of Dunkeld, where his son George was precentor in the

years before 1571, but also with the Murrays of Tibbermuir who were related through marriage (*Scots Peerage*, iv, 259, 261-2). It was the Murrays of Tibbermuir who benefited most directly from Ruthven's intervention. In 1560 Prior Robert Richie placed the friary lands of Unthank, Dawghach and Crawhill in feu at favourable terms to Patrick Murray (SRO, GD79/6/24). Eight years later Patrick Murray had gained feu of Upper and Nether Tullilum and the convent precincts (Fittis 1885, 208-9).

The state of the convent in the years following the Reformation is unknown, although the Carmelite friars' "place" was still providing the King James VI Hospital with a recognised feu-ferm in 1619 (Milne 1891, 181). There is no indication of the fate of the bishop of Dunkeld's residence and it does not seem to have been distinguished from the convent in these later feu-ferms. The lands and site of the friary subsequently underwent several changes of ownership and were acquired in 1692 by the Glover Incorporation. About 1740 the grounds of the friary were converted into a garden by Robert Comb, and in the process of levelling, several images and coins are said to have been dug out of the rubbish (Fittis 1885, 211).

FRIARY PROPERTY, RENTS AND INCOME

So few of the friars' charters have survived that it is impossible to gain more than a crude picture of the friars' material possessions and rights. The evidence that does remain, or that can be pieced together from post-Reformation rentals, is biased through preferential survival towards properties and rents in and around Perth (Ill 42). That the friars had connections with lands at some distance from Perth is indicated by two charters from the Campbells of Loch Awe. These date to 1430/1 and 1432 and provide the friars with annuals of 6s 8d and 13s 4d respectively. The later annual was specifically to be derived from the Campbell's lands at Wester Dowllell and Monedie at Port of Mentieth west of Stirling (SRO, GD79/3/3&4). There are no other surviving grants from land away from Perth, but as the more complete records of the Aberdeen friars show, such far flung connections were not unusual. Nevertheless the friars' main sources of income were almost certainly Perth and its surrounds. As noted above, the first surviving record of the Carmelites in Perth was of an annual payment to them of 5 merks (£3 6s 8d) in 1327/28 (*ER*, i, 66, 88). This payment was to continue with considerable regularity through to the Reformation after which £3 6s 8d of former Carmelite income was paid to the King James VI Hospital by the provost and baillies of Perth out of the ferm of the town mills (*ER*, i-xx *passim*; Milne 1891, 12-13, 184). In addition the friars received various gifts of alms from the king of which we have records between 1381-6 and 1496-1505 (*ER*, iii, 83, 661, 668, 684: *TA* i, 323; *TA* ii, 252, 264-6; *TA* iii, 65-9). The king also supported the friars in 1427 by issuing a royal precept instructing his officers in Perth to ensure that all those in their jurisdiction paid their dues to the Carmelite friars at Tullilum (SRO, GD79/3/2). What these dues were we have unfortunately no means of knowing for in fact this is also our first surviving reference to Carmelite holdings in Perth.

A reasonable picture of Carmelite rents and properties in and around Perth at the end of the medieval period can, however, be built up from later 15th and 16th-century grants and rentals. The main holdings of the friars were undoubtedly the farm lands around their convent. These included the land of Upper and Nether Tullilum, Unthank, Dawghach and Crawhill (SRO, GD79/6/24). In addition the friars also held lands in Fordy or Fordale [Fordell, Fife?] which the friars

let to the bishops of Dunkeld (*Dunk Rent*, 49-51). The friars enjoyed approximately thirty rentals from the burgesses of Perth from lands which were also to the W of the town above the Turret Bridge port and along New Row, Mill Wynd and the Long Causeway (Ill 42). The majority of these plots and crofts had been committed to pay a few shillings each year in return for prayers for the souls of their former owners. In a few instances the friars had come to wholly own the properties and these they let to burgesses for substantially higher rents. Within the burgh proper the friars had similar rentals from: certain yards in the Speygate, a tenement in the Watergate, two tenements on High Street (one of which they owned), a tenement they owned in South Street and between two to four tenements in Meal Vennel.

The overwhelming wealth of the friars was, then, in their farmland around Tullilum which, as we have seen, Patrick Murray of Tibbermuir acquired after the Reformation in return for a paltry feu-ferm. This makes it doubly difficult to assess the wealth of the Carmelites in comparison with the Dominicans, Carthusians, and Franciscans. It is misleading to take the comparative Hospital rental of 1619 at face value, for although it provides a complete picture of the Hospital's post-Reformation income it is as much a reflection of the number of rents that had been lost as of the house's original income (Milne 1891, 181-91). The Carthusian income of £200 6s 6d was the largest and also the least subject to alienation of property. The Dominicans were contributing £131 19s but their titles had in fact suffered less than the Carmelites who were only contributing £57 17s 8d. The Franciscans provided no income to the Hospital. They appear to have survived through begging and occasional larger gifts of alms but their records, if any, are lost. Without taking any of these figures as complete, it is probably fair to place the Carmelites as a poor third to Blackfriars and the Charterhouse both of which enjoyed considerably greater royal funding than did the Whitefriars of Tullilum. The use of Tullilum as a major residence by the bishops of Dunkeld must, however, have considerably reduced this apparent distinction with, as has been observed, major building work being funded by the bishop, not just the friars.

6.2 PERTH: THE EXCAVATIONS DW HALL

INTRODUCTION

The excavation at Whitefriars Street, Perth, took place between April and August 1982 in advance of a factory units development by the Scottish Development Agency. The site archive is held by the Scottish Urban Archaeological Trust Ltd at Perth and the finds deposited at Perth Museum and Art Gallery.

The site (NGR N0107238) (Ill 43) lies ½ mile W of the medieval burgh of Perth and is bounded by Whitefriars Street to the S, and to the N by Long Causeway, the former main road into Perth from the W. The excavation was undertaken to determine whether the Carmelite friary of Tullilum lay in the development area. The location of Tullilum had always been placed as somewhere in the area of the development known formerly as 'The Doucatland' (Dovecot Land). However the exact position of the friary complex had always been uncertain due to the lack of accurate documentary and cartographic evidence.

A total area of 3600 sq m was under threat. As the resources were not available to excavate such a large area fully a series of machine trenches was cut in a grid pattern across the site in an attempt to locate structural remains. Evidence of stone buildings was found at the W end of the site and an area of 40×20m was opened up. This main trench was designated Area A.

The site can be conveniently divided into four periods. The first two periods relate to the construction and occupation of the buildings excavated. Periods 3 and 4 describe the demolition of the buildings and subsequent post-friary activity.

Preservation on site was generally very good with wooden coffins preserved in the waterlogged estuarine clay.

The major problems encountered during the excavation of the site included the tendency of the natural clay to bake hard and crack when exposed to long periods of sunshine. This made the location and excavation of any soil marks well nigh impossible. The limitations on the depth of excavation imposed by the site developers meant that none of the walls exposed could be excavated. In the subsequent development parts of the friary buildings which lay below the developers' limit were destroyed. The natural yellow estuarine clay was reached at OD +9.70m.

EXCAVATION

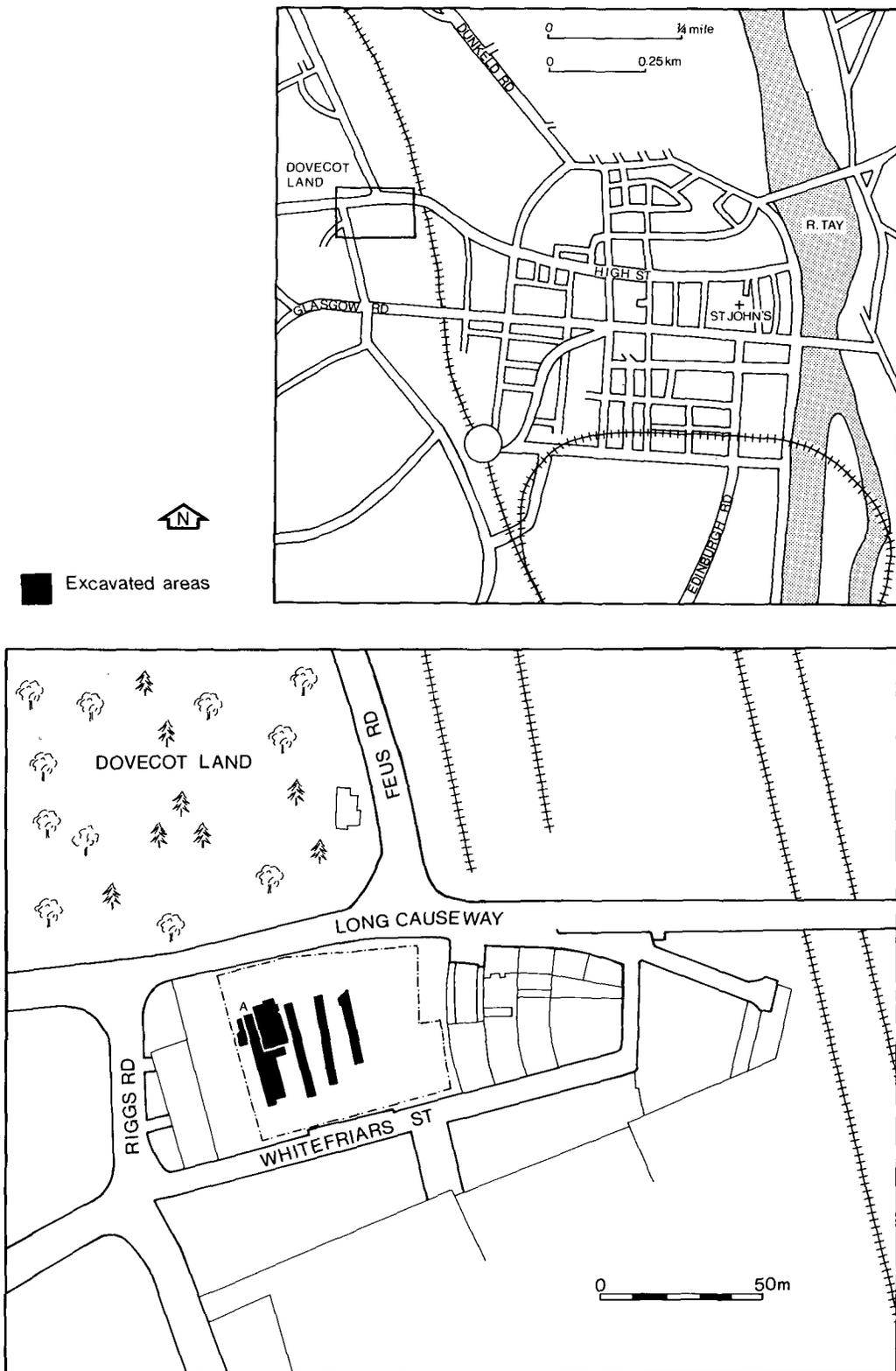
Note: Contexts marked * are not numbered on the published illustrations, but their location is indicated in the text.

PERIOD 1 (Ill 44)

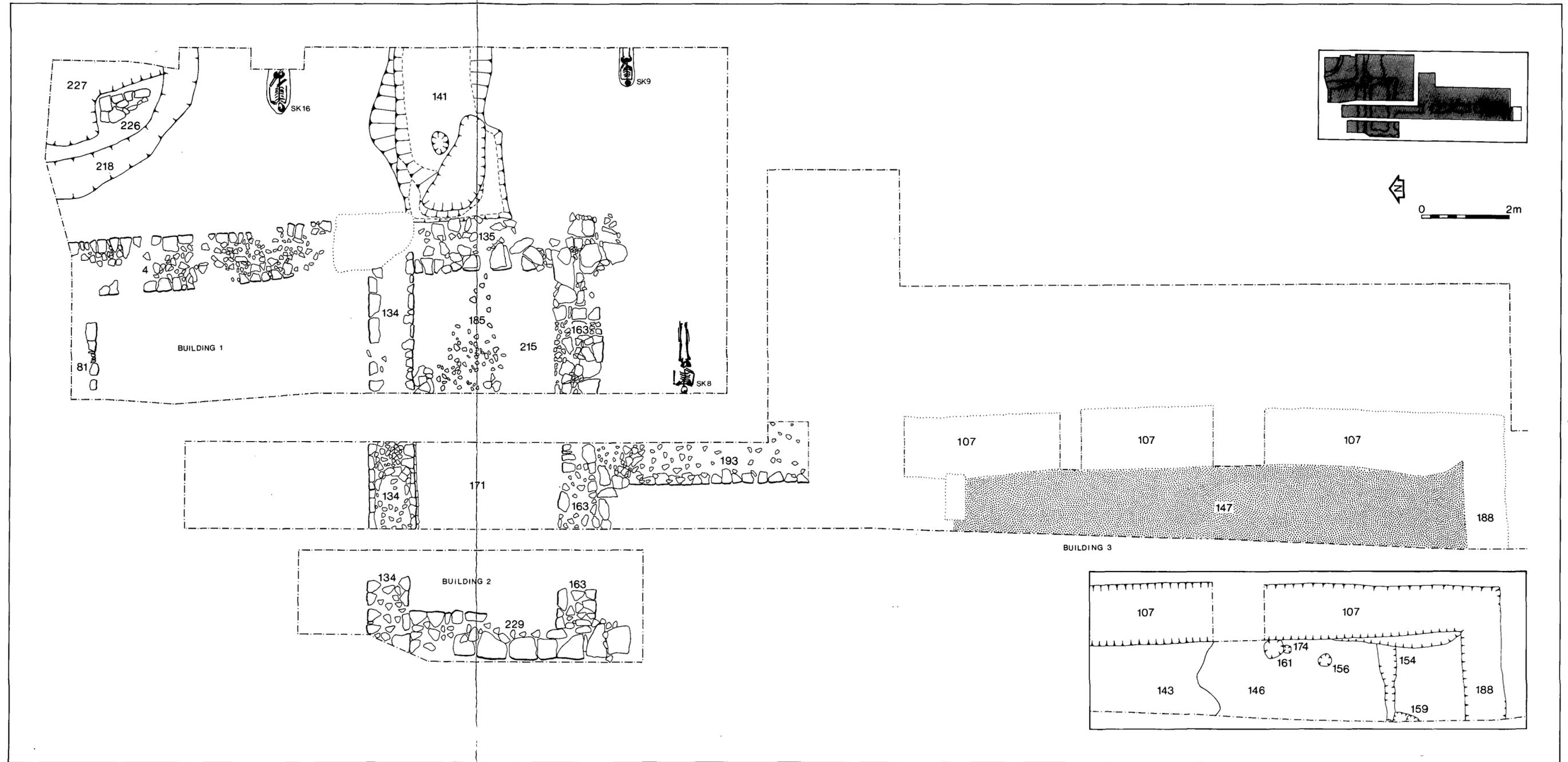
The E end of a stone building containing eleven burials and bedding layers for floor surfaces was located. Fragmentary remains of a cobbled surface were found to the S of this structure.

Building 1

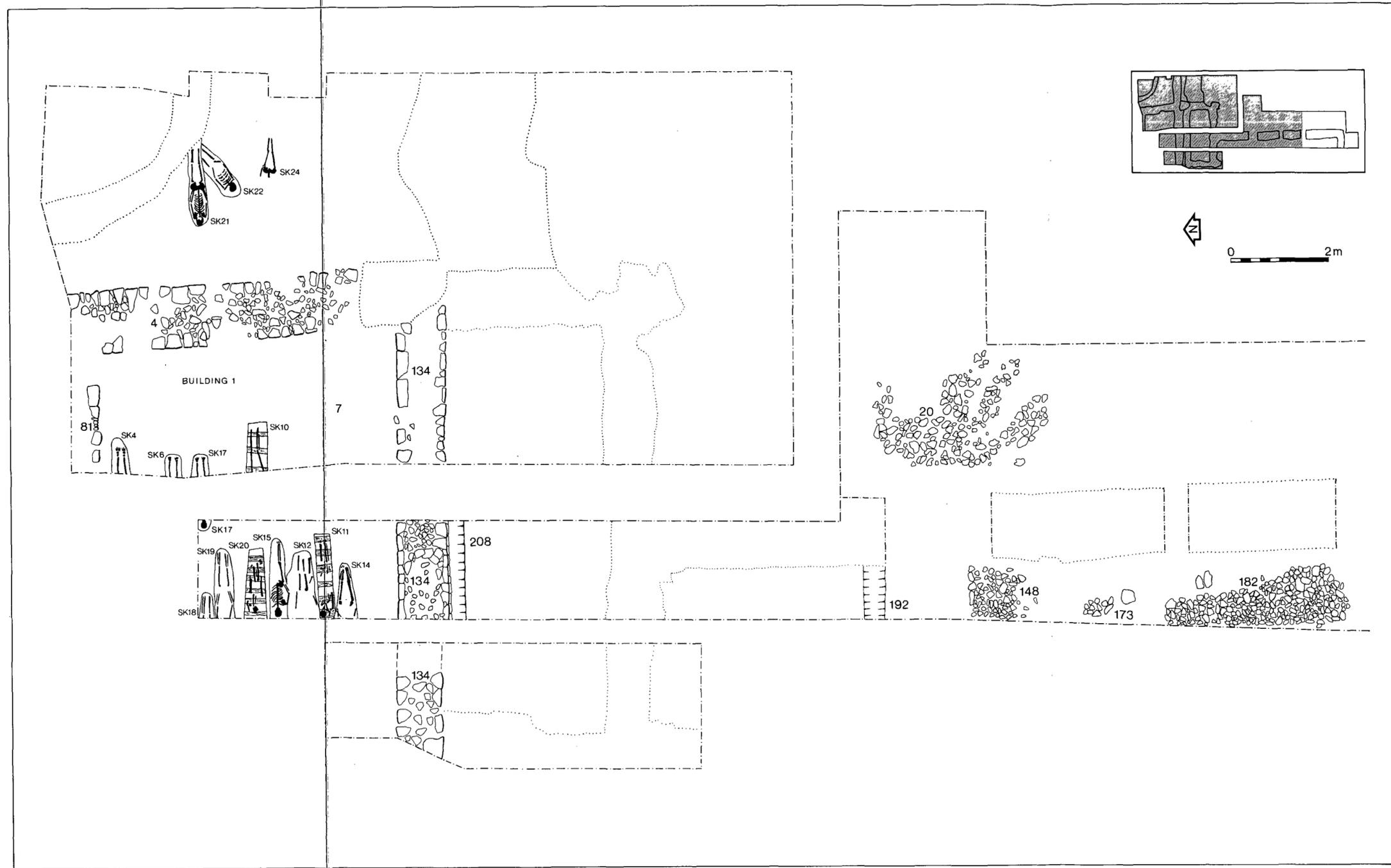
The E end of a stone building (Building 1) was found at the N end of Area A. This building was formed by walls 4, 81 and 134. Its W wall lay outside the excavated area. The walls



ILL 43 : Location of Perth friary site



ILL 46 : Perth. Plan of Period 2



ILL 44 : Perth. Plan of Period 1

were bonded with yellow clay and each had a rubble core contained by facing stones. The walls were c 1m wide, stood to a maximum surviving height of 0.20m, and were cut into natural yellow estuarine clay. Wall 134 had a shallow linear feature (208) running against its S face. This appears to have been the foundation trench for the wall, and was the only foundation trench located. Building 1 was 6m wide N-S and extended 6m E from the main W section. Within Building 1 a 0.02m thick layer of iron-panned mortar (7) was found laid on top of the natural clay, and probably represented the remains of bedding for an internal floor surface. To the E of Building 1 the remains of a layer of mixed ash and charcoal (130*) were excavated, but this layer was so badly truncated by later features that no relationship could be established between it and Building 1. To the S of Building 1 the remains of a laid stone surface (20) were excavated. This feature was composed of rounded stones c 0.25m in size pressed into the top of the natural clay. Similar surfaces, 148, 173 and 182, were located to the W of 20 under Period 2 Building 3 and to the S of Building 1. All these surfaces may be the badly damaged remains of a cobbled courtyard associated with Building 1. A linear slot, 192, running E-W, was located to N of 148. This slot was filled with mixed brown silt 125* which also overlay 208 and 182, and it may have been a boundary to the cobbled surfaces.

Burials

Eleven burials were discovered within Building 1. All the graves had been cut through mortar layer 7. The complete inhumations lay with their heads to the W and were buried in two rows running N-S. Three of these burials, SK 10,

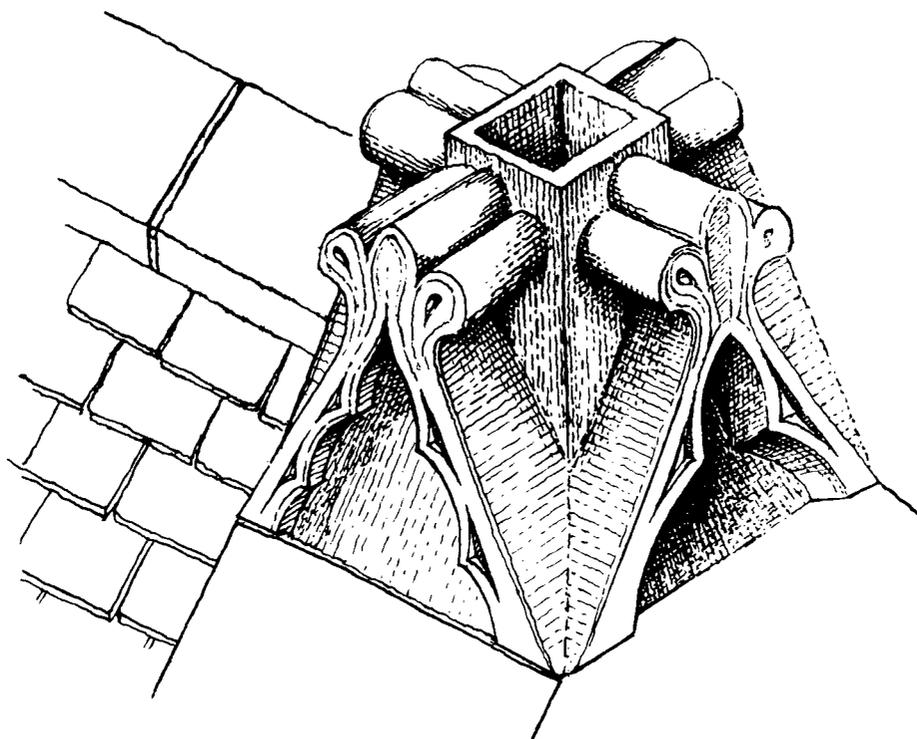
SK 11 and SK 20, were buried in plank-lined graves. All the graves respected the presence of the walls of Building 1. Three other burials, SK 21, SK 22 and SK 24, were located to the E of the building. All were cut into the natural clay and did not contain coffins.

Grave furniture

Three of the Period 1 internal burials, SK 10, SK 11 and SK 20 (coffin 207, Ill 52) were buried in graves lined with wooden planks. The plank lining appeared to have been inserted across the bottom of the grave, followed by the side and end boards. The body was then laid in the grave and a plank lid placed on top (see Chapters 7.3, 7.4 mf, 1:D6-E4).

DISCUSSION

The nature and function of Building 1 is uncertain because such a small part of it was recovered. However, it may have been the end of a much larger building, possibly the friary church, or it may have been part of the chapter house. Its identification as part of the church would seem more likely as fewer internal burials would be expected in a chapter house. The decorated finial (385 Ill 45) may have been a feature of this building. The cobbled areas to the S were not directly related to Building 1 and may have been pre-friary features. Dating of the Period 1 building and associated features is difficult because of the few finds from the occupation layers. No pottery was recovered from the internal layers of Building 1. Pottery was present in ash dump 130* and included sherds



ILL 45 : Perth. Reconstruction drawing of the ridge finial base 385 found during the watching brief E of Building 1

of Perth local and S Scottish White Gritty wares of a 13th-century date.

The internal area of Building 1 was used as a burial area and the burials seem to have been laid out in two lines running N-S. There was a 2m gap between the last row of burials and the W face of wall 4. It is possible that this may indicate the position of the altar which was subsequently removed. The internal human burials represented an equal mixture of adult males and females. The mix of sexes may suggest that these represent the burials of important members of the friary community or its benefactors. The selective use of a plank lining for three of the burials may indicate the graves of

especially important people. No jewellery or grave goods were found associated with the internal burials.

Burials: SK 4, SK 6, SK 10-12, SK 14, SK 15, SK 17-22, SK 24.

Associated finds: Window glass 372, copper alloy tweezers 418, copper alloy sheet fragment 421, iron strip 429, iron knife 435.

PERIOD 2 (III 46)

The E ends of two stone buildings added on to the S side of Building 1 were located. The larger of the two buildings, Building 3, contained stratified occupation layers and floor surfaces. Three external graves and two ditches associated with these structures were also excavated.

Buildings

A small rectangular building (Building 2), formed by walls 135, 163 and 229, was added on to the S side of Period 1 Building 1. The internal dimensions of this building were 3.25m N-S and 7.50m E-W. The S corners of 135/163 and 229/163 were strengthened by buttresses measuring 1 × 0.50m. Building 2 was butt-jointed on to the S wall of Building 1 (134) and its E wall 135 ran at a slightly different N-S angle to the E wall of Building 1 (4). The walls of Building 2 were 1m wide and survived to a maximum height of 0.20m. Building 2 contained no internal burials. Inside Building 2 mortar and gravel spreads 171, 185 and 202*, at the N end of the structure, were the remnants of bedding for floor surfaces; at the S end of the building was a layer of compacted brown sandy silt (215). Mortar and gravel layers 185 and 202* overlay 208, the Period 1 foundation trench for the S wall of Building 1. Both 185 and 215 were overlain by 121*, a layer of brown silt. At the same time that Building 2 was constructed, Building 3 was keyed into the S side of 163. This building was 21m long and was delineated by internal floor levels and the almost completely robbed out lines of its E and S walls. Its W limit lay outside the excavated area. A 4m length of the E wall of this building (193) was preserved to a height of 1.20m. This surviving length of wall was built of clay bonded sandstone blocks with a rough stone face on its W side (internal face). Building 3 contained seven stratified occupation layers. The earliest of these, 225*, comprised several patches of burnt clay and mortar c 1.50m in size on the natural clay at the S end of the structure. Overlying 225* was a layer of grey brown clay silt 224*. This in turn was sealed by 147, a 0.05m thick layer of crushed green sandstone. Layer 147 was sealed by trampled black silty clay 168*. A 0.10m thick layer of yellow clay, 146, overlay 168* and was sealed by a layer of grey silt 177*, and a layer of yellow sand, 176*. Layer 176* was sealed by crushed greenstone layer 143.

Three postholes (156, 161 and 174) and two slots (154 and 159) were cut into the top of clay dump 146 (see insert to III 46). These features and greenstone layer 143 were sealed by 48*, a layer of grey to black sand and silt.

Burials

Three burials were found associated with Buildings 2 and 3. SK 8 lay on the S side of wall 163; SK 9 lay to the E of

Building 2; and SK 16 lay to the E of the N end of Building 2. None of these external burials had been buried in wooden coffins or plank-lined graves.

Ditches

To the E of Building 2 a large flat bottomed ditch, 141, was located. This ditch ran on an E-W alignment and its W end terminated against wall 135. Ditch 141 was 0.80m deep and 2.40m wide and a 3.50m length was excavated. Another ditch, 218, lay to the E of Building 1. This ditch ran in a curve SE from the main N section of the excavated area, and may have been part of a drainage ditch running into 141. To the E of this ditch a shallow feature 227 and a small mortar-bonded group of stones 226 were located.

DISCUSSION

The function of Building 2 is very difficult to define. From its location it may have served as a chapel or sacristy on the S side of the putative church (Building 1). The wall foundations recovered did not survive high enough to preserve former doorways so no information about access to Buildings 1 and 2 was available. Another possibility is that Building 2 was the friary reredorter, as the large ditch (141) was probably contemporary with the occupation of the building. However, this hypothesis has certain flaws. If ditch 141 was the reredorter drain some remains of human faecal material would have been expected in its fill. Soil analysis failed to detect the presence of any such material in the ditch fill.

However, 141 seems to have been filled in at the time of the friary's demolition and if during its period of use it had been kept clean by a flow of water then no human faecal material would remain. As no natural water source was located, any flow of water into 141 would have had to come from a piped supply and no sign of any such supply was found. If Building 1 was the friary church then it would be unusual for the reredorter to be sited so close to it. However its position may have been determined by the topography of the site. Neither of the two hypotheses for Building 2 can be proved without further excavation of the site. As the W part of the friary lies adjacent to Riggs Road under a joiner's shop the opportunity for further excavation exists depending on any development proposals.

The function of Building 3 is more certain. From its position and size it seems likely that it represents the E side of the E range dormitory block of the friary. The internal layers of Building 3 suggest that it was in constant use, while a room division may be represented by postholes 156, 161 and 174 and slots 154 and 159 at its S end. Layers 224* and 225* may represent the initial construction surfaces for the building. Greenstone floor 147 was laid over these surfaces

and a layer of occupation material 168* built up on its surface. To the N another greenstone floor, 143, lay 0.25m above 147 and there may have been a step down from 143 to 147. Floor surface 147 seems to have gone out of use and the whole area was levelled up by clay dump 146. This brought the whole floor surface of this building up to the same level as 143. The three buildings excavated make up a substantial part of the E side of the friary. The pottery recovered from Buildings 2 and 3 indicates that they were all standing by the late 13th or early 14th century. The lack

of later occupation material in the buildings may suggest that it had been removed by later levelling of the site in the 18th century.

Burials: SK 8, SK 9, SK 16.

Associated pottery: 58, 59

Associated finds: Window glass 382, peg tile 397, window came 413, iron candlestick 423, iron spoon bit 426.

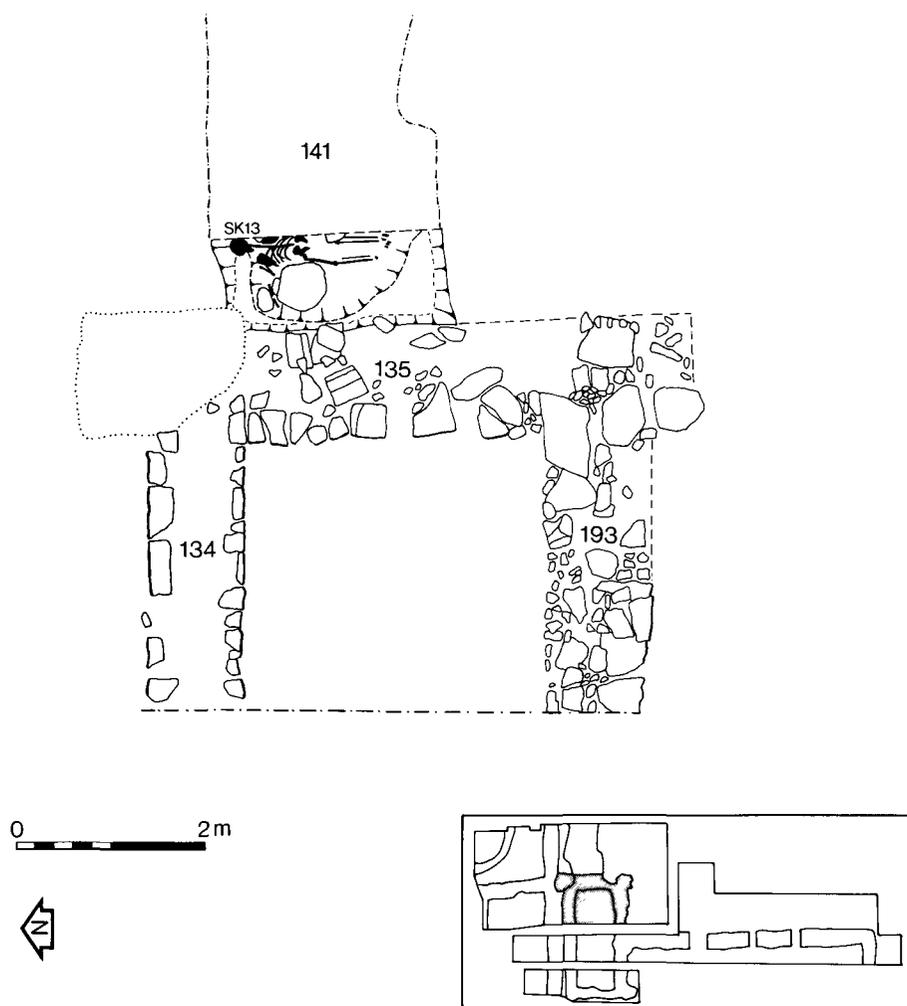
PERIOD 3 (Ill 47)

The demolition of Buildings 1, 2 and 3 took place during this period. Ditches 141 and 218 were both backfilled and a skeleton was deposited in the terminal of 141.

Demolition of buildings

Demolition rubble was confined to the area of Buildings 1 and 2. The E wall of Building 1 was overlain by a layer of

mortar and rubble (3*). The internal area of Building 1 was sealed by silt layers 30* and 31*. To the E of Building 1 lay a layer of large sandstone blocks mixed with clay loam and mortar lumps (39*). The E wall of Building 2 was overlain by rubble (136). Its interior was filled with brown clay loam and sandstones (122*). Building 3 was filled with orange brown clay and stones (49*). The internal burials in Building 1 were sealed by green grey silty clay (139*).



ILL 47 : Perth. Plan of Period 3, showing SK 13

Burial

The skeleton of an adult male (SK 13) was found lying face down N-S across the terminal of ditch 141. It was not in a coffin and no grave cut was discernible.

Backfilling of ditches

Ditch 218 was backfilled with 219*, a blue grey silty clay. Ditch 141 was backfilled with a layer of blue grey silty clay with a high wood content (142*).

DISCUSSION

The date for the demolition of the Carmelite friary of Perth is given as May 1559 (Fittis 1885, 208). The small amount of primary demolition rubble associated with the three buildings excavated makes the absolute dating of this event difficult. The dearth of demolition rubble may be due to the later levelling of the site, particularly the landscaping carried out by Robert Comb in 1740 (Fittis 1885, 211).

The backfilling of ditches 141 and 218 seems to have taken place very quickly as they both had homogeneous fills. The material used to fill in ditch 141 contained pottery of a wide date range, 14th-16th centuries. This may be explained if the material used to backfill the ditch included waste from the kitchens. Soil analysis of the lower ditch fill identified the presence of several plant species known for their supposed medicinal powers. These included hemlock, burdock and parsley piert, while elderberry seeds were also present in the ditch fill (see environmental report in archive). All these plants

would have thrived on the habitat provided by the ditch and may have been harvested by the friars for medicinal purposes. The ditch fills also contained a large amount of animal bone and a whetstone (394).

The presence of the skeleton in the top filling of ditch 141 may be interpreted in two ways. It is possible that during the demolition of the site a fresh burial was exhumed and then thrown into the ditch or that the skeleton is that of a murder victim who was thrown into the top of the ditch and then covered over. In the former suggestion it may have been a burial from a wall grave recess such as those at Luffness Carmelite friary (see Chapter 7.1) and the Dominican friary, Newcastle (see Chapter 7.1). SK 35 from the Linlithgow friary may represent a similar action (see Chapter 7.2 mf, 1: B12-D5).

The small amount of demolition rubble recovered during the excavation may suggest that the destruction of the friary was not as complete as historical references suggest. It is possible that only the roof was removed from the friary at the Reformation leaving the standing buildings to be gradually robbed for building stone. The surviving archaeological horizons in this period were not stratigraphically secure enough to date the demolition of the friary.

Burial: SK 13

Associated pottery: 60, 61, 62

Associated finds: Window glass 315-324, 347-371, 376-381, window mullion 388, whetstone 394, floor tile 396, peg tiles 398-403, ridge tiles 408, 409. window came 412, lead disc 414.

PERIOD 4 (Ill 48)

The walls of Buildings 1, 2 and 3 were robbed for building stone. Fourteen graves were dug into the demolition levels at the N end of the site.

Robbing of buildings

The S edge of a linear feature (70*), was found following the line of the N wall of Building 1, (81) (Ill 45). This feature was 0.35m deep and was filled with crushed green sandstone and brown silty clay (68*). A linear trench (106) was located following the line of 163, the S wall of Building 2 (Ill 46). The SE junction of walls 4 and 134 in Building 1 was completely removed by trench 183, presumably to extract the larger corner stones; the rest of walls 4 and 134 remained relatively untouched. The E wall of Building 3, apart from a 4m length, was removed by trench 107 (Ill 46). The S wall of Building 3 had been completely removed by trench 188 (Ill 46).

The fragmentary remains of a stone wall (113), were located running E-W across the site. It was 1m wide and was clay bonded with facing stones and a rubble core. 113 cut through the N edge of Period 1 wall (134) (Ill 44) and the line of 113 was traced as a robber trench (149), running across the site. A layer of clay (6*) overlay mortar and rubble (3*) which overlay Building 1.

Pits

Feature 115 was cut into the top of backfilled ditch 141. This pit was stone-lined and included a re-used architectural stone

on its W face (387) and a large flat stone resting at an angle into the pit on its N face. This pit did not relate to any of the other features found on site and its purpose is unknown. Six small pits (66*, 110*, 112*, 117*, 126* and 132*) were dug into the demolition levels over Building 1 (30*, 31* and 104*) and were probably rubbish pits.

Burials

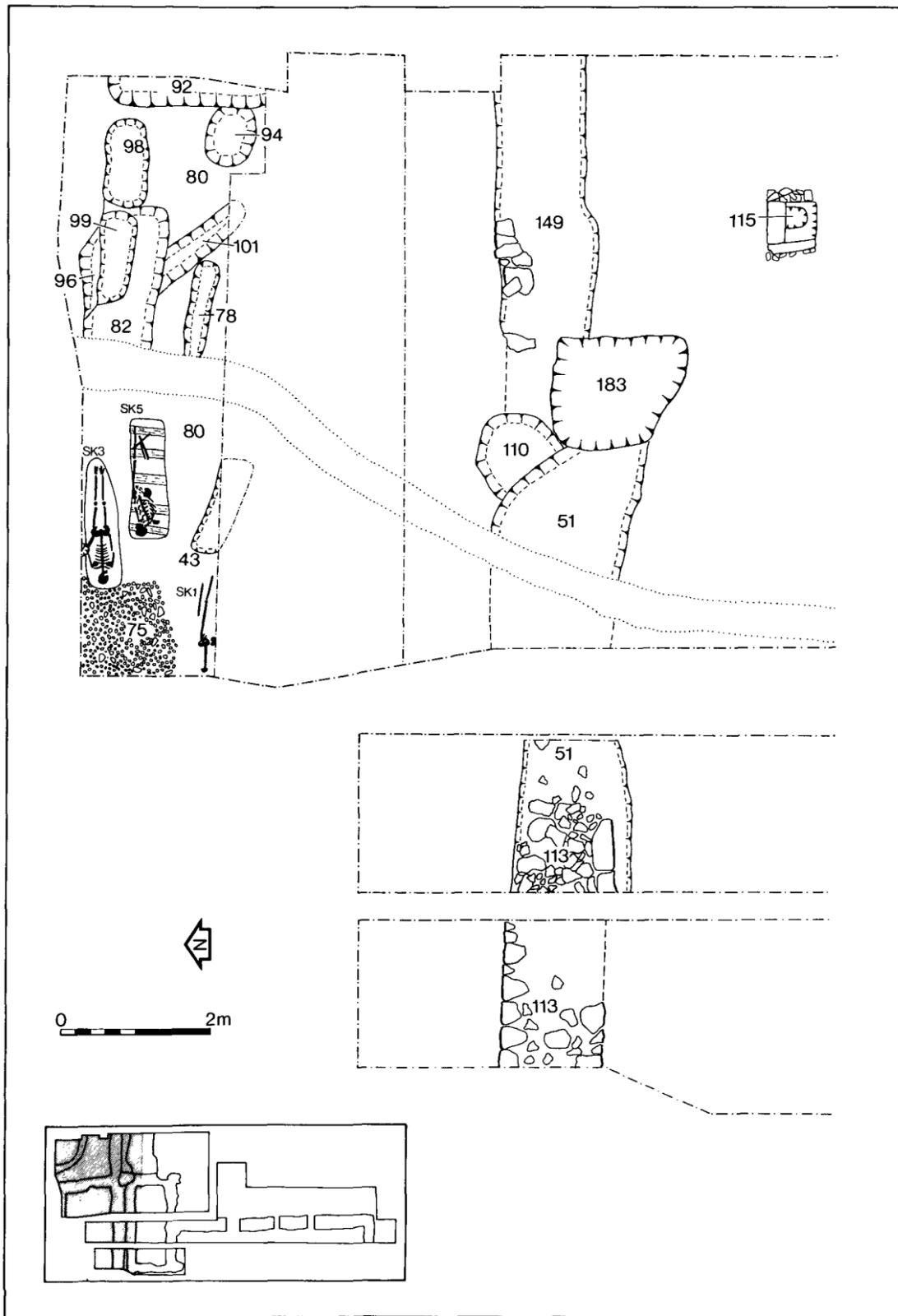
Fourteen graves were located at the N end of the site cut into the top of demolition layers 8* and 80. Only five of the graves contained articulated skeletons; these were SK 1, SK 2, SK 3, SK 5, SK 7. Two of the skeletons (SK 5, SK 7), were in coffins. The remaining nine graves were either empty or contained disarticulated human bone.

Grave furniture

Burials SK 5 and SK 7 lay in nailed plank-lined graves (see Chapters 7.3, 7.4 mf, 1:D6-E4).

DISCUSSION

Finds recovered from the fillings of the robber trenches suggest a date in the late 17th or the first half of the 18th century for the robbing of the friary walls. The derelict friary buildings would have provided an ideal quarry for building stone. This robbing may explain the small amount of demolition rubble on site, other than the moulded stones which would not have been reusable.



- | | | |
|------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| + Parish Church | Feature active in given period | Doorway |
| ⊕⊖⊕ Railway | --- Trench boundary | SK Skeleton |
| ■ Site of castle | Intrusion | Woodlined grave |
-
- | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| ■ Sand | ■ Burnt natural |
| ■ Burnt sand | ■ Charcoal |
| ■ Crushed green stone | ■ Charcoal & ash |
| ■ Small pebbles | ■ Organic |
| ■ Clay | ■ Gravel & stones |
| ■ .. | ■ .. |
| ■ .. | ■ Sandstone fragments |
| ■ .. | ■ .. |
| ■ Burnt clay | ■ .. |
| ■ Clay & stones | ■ .. |
| ■ Mortar | ■ .. |
| ■ Clayey mortar | ■ .. |

ILL 48 : Perth. Plan of Period 4 and key to maps and plans

The presence of the fourteen graves dug through the primary demolition levels of Building 1 is hard to explain. The pottery associated with the later graves suggests a late 17th to early 18th-century date for their deposition. There are historical references to the Perth Blackfriars site being used as a burial ground for plague victims in the 17th century (Peacock 1849, 480) but it might be considered unusual for plague burials to be laid out in such an orderly fashion. Stone wall 113 may represent a S boundary to these post-friary burials, which may suggest that they were part of a graveyard. The present cemetery of Wellshill which lies to the N of the site is of Victorian origin but there may have been an earlier version, which included part of the former friary site. The empty graves may be a result of the levelling work carried out by Comb in 1740 (Fittis 1885, 211) or the digging of the gardens behind the tenements which used to stand on the Long Causeway frontage. There are reports of human bones being dug up by occupants of these buildings (Perth.OS record card no 12, SW7).

Robber trench 183 contained the friary seal matrix (417) in its fill. This important find must have been disturbed from its original location which may have been in the flooring deposits of Building 1. Unfortunately this find cannot be dated by association with the finds from the robber trench.

Burials: SK 1-3, SK 5, SK 7

Associated pottery: 63-67

Associated finds: Window glass 326-346, 373-375, glass bead 384, rybat 387, stone counters or lids 389, 390, stone mortar? 392, stone bowl 393, floor tile 395, peg tiles 404-407, pan tile 410, window came 411, lead sheet 415, copper alloy seal matrix 417, iron key 424, iron buckle 425, iron file 428, iron socketted point 430, iron knife 434, horseshoe 436, horseshoe nail 438, iron bar 439, iron strip 440.

MACHINE TRENCHING

The initial machine trenching of the site to the E of the main excavation area revealed very little archaeological evidence. The only possible feature associated with the friary was a layer of mortar and rubble, 19*, which lay 45m E of Building 1. 19* ran at a NE-SW angle to the line of Long Causeway

and contained a small lead spoon, possibly of medieval date. As this feature lay below the level to which the proposed development would reach it was not fully excavated. Associated finds: Lead spoon 416.

WATCHING BRIEF

During the development work a watching brief was carried out mainly in the unexcavated areas to the W and N of Area A. The removal of a 5m strip to the W of Buildings 1, 2 and 3 revealed the stone wall, 229, belonging to Building 2 (see Period 2, Ill 46). As this wall lay against the machined section

it was not possible to establish whether it was an internal or external wall. The decorated stone ridge finial base (385 Ill 45) was discovered during the cutting of foundation trenches c 6m E of Building 1. Associated finds: Ridge finial base 385.

CONCLUSIONS

The excavation at Whitefriars Street, Perth, located the site of the Carmelite friary of Tullilum. Prior to the excavation the exact position and size of the friary complex was not known.

Building 1 was almost certainly the E end of the friary church. It appears from the archaeological evidence that this was the first building constructed on the site followed by the addition of the two conventual buildings. It is possible that this first building on the site may represent a chapel, which passed to the Carmelites and became the friary church (see Chapter 6.1). Such a hypothesis can only be proven by further excavation of the site.

The artefacts found in association with Building 1 seem to support the interpretation that it was the friary church. The major concentration of painted window glass fragments was in the demolition material over the E end of the building. This building also contained eleven burials inserted through its floor surface.

Building 2 was added on to the S side of Building 1 and both of its S corners were strengthened by buttresses. The function of this building is not clear but ditch 141 to the E appeared to be contemporary with its occupation. The apparent relationship between the ditch and the building may suggest a possible function. Building 2 may have been the reredorter block of the friary with 141 its associated drain. The base of ditch 141 had a depression in its W terminal end adjacent to wall 135. This depression may have been caused by water flowing out of Building 2, falling into

the ditch and flowing away E. During its period of use 141 was kept clean; there was no silting, and analysis of the ditch fills failed to detect the presence of digested grain indicating human faecal material. Normally the reredorter was kept well away from the main friary buildings although the topography of the site may have influenced its position. If Building 2 was not the reredorter then it may have been part of the friary church, possibly a chapel or the sacristy.

Building 3 was built at the same time as Building 2 and was the only building excavated for which a function can be suggested with any degree of certainty. From its position and size it must have been the E range of the friary. This structure was the only one which contained stratified occupation levels and surviving floor levels. These surfaces were composed of well-laid crushed green sandstone. Two floor levels were located within this structure. The full E-W width of this building could not be established and if it was the E range then the cloister garth and other conventual buildings must be to the W under the present standing buildings.

From the location of the buildings in the excavated area it appears that the friary complex was built on the highest available part of the site, in the area to the E of the junction of Long Causeway and Riggs Road. The area to the E of this seems to have been marginal, marshy land at the time of the construction and occupation of the friary. The complex seems to have fronted on to the Long Causeway, which entered the town at the Turret Brig port (Ill 42) (NO 115236). Tullilum was situated approximately half a mile to the W of the medieval burgh and was the only one of the Perth friaries not built close to the town walls.

Some idea of the nature of the buildings can be gained from the building materials recovered from the site. All three buildings were constructed from the local green sandstone and were bonded with a lime mortar. Historical references suggest that at least part of the friary was roofed with stone roofing slabs from Caithness (see Chapter 6.1). However the roofing slabs recovered during the excavation have a more local origin (see Chapter 9.6). Building 1 and possibly Building 2 had glazed leaded windows containing painted and coloured window glass. Tile fragments from the backfill of ditch 141 and the demolition levels suggest that parts of the roofs may have been tiled. The architectural stones found in the demolition levels give some impression of the architecture of the buildings. As these fragments were found in demolition rubble outside the buildings it is difficult to link them to one particular structure. However it is very likely that the elaborately carved ridge finial base (385) (Ill 45) sat on the E gable end of the church.

The demolition of Tullilum is supposed to have taken place in 1559 shortly after John Knox had preached on the evils of the papacy in St John's Church, Perth. Although later historical descriptions survive of the demolition and vandalism carried out at the Dominican, Franciscan and Carthusian houses at this time, references to the fate of Tullilum are ambiguous (see Chapter 6.1). The relatively small amount of demolition rubble recovered during the excavation would seem to suggest that the stone of the demolished buildings had been removed from the site. Alternatively, only slight damage was done to the friary buildings at the Reformation, which were left standing and were gradually robbed over a period of time. This period of the friary's demise is a very uncertain one due to the lack of surviving documentary evidence.

The post-friary activity on the site was represented by the insertion of fourteen graves into the demolition levels over Building 1. These graves were all dug on an E-W alignment and seem to have been contained by a stone boundary wall (113) to the S. Reasons for the presence of these late burials are uncertain. It is possible that the former friary site was used as a burial ground for plague victims: however, the formal laying out of the graves and inhumations makes this interpretation unlikely. The graves and boundary wall may relate to an earlier version of Wellshill cemetery, which is of Victorian origin and lies to the N of the site.

The pottery from the excavation was predominantly in the local Perth fabric. Those imported wares that were recovered came from the occupation levels within Building 3. The imported wares represented included Scarborough ware, Low Countries Grey ware and a sherd of Valencian lustreware (see Chapter 8.6 mf, 12: A11-B12).

The excavation at Whitefriars Street was the first investigation of an ecclesiastical site associated with the medieval burgh of Perth. A clearer picture of the position and layout of the friary complex has been gained but further excavation is needed to answer some of the unresolved questions posed by this excavation.