

EXCAVATIONS AT LINLITHGOW PALACE, WEST LOTHIAN, 1966-7

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I THE EXCAVATIONS

DURING the period November 1966 to February 1967 rescue excavations were carried out by the Ministry of Public Building and Works in the sector of Linlithgow Palace Peel which lies to the W. of the Kirkgate. These excavations were carried out in advance of municipal building, and were conducted primarily with the hope of determining the nature and position of Edward I's peel which is well documented by historical sources.

In this they were disappointing. A ditch was revealed, about 20 ft. wide, which ran from E. to W. in the direction of the Loch but which did not go as far as the bottom of the slope. This ditch, which had a U profile, seems too small to have been that of Edward I's peel, even allowing for subsequent landscaping which has removed the upper part of it, and it should probably be interpreted as of a later date. It was back-filled probably in the eighteenth century.

Excavation also revealed two phases of cobbles which seem to be of late medieval date and which may represent the bridle path which ran parallel to the ditch down to the Loch from the old Watergate, the existence of which is documented in literary sources. Alignments of cobbles adjacent to this path may represent late medieval house footings.

The excavation produced a good stratified sequence of pottery from the thirteenth to the end of the seventeenth century.

The Site

Linlithgow Peel is a natural hill of Glacial Drift, consisting of a mixture of gravels, sands and clay, deposited on top of Middle Carboniferous Mountain Limestone. It is situated in the centre of the town, overlooking Linlithgow Loch which lies to the north. It rises to a height of 216 ft. O.D. (N.G.R. NT 774002). The top of the Peel, on which Linlithgow Palace stands, has been considerably built up on the N. side to flatten the top of the natural mound into a terrace.

Possibly this was originally done at the time of building the Palace in the fifteenth century, with earth from an earlier motte which is presumed to have stood on the site. Certainly further building-up operations were carried out at a later date and the surface features greatly altered – old window-levels in the Palace on the N. and E. side are now almost buried. The 'Bulwarks' on this side are similarly partially buried by accumulations of earth.

The level of the Loch was probably originally much higher, and the low ground at the foot of the Peel was marsh.

At some unknown date the side of the Peel which faces the Loch was cut into a series of flat terraces, and these are shown in John Slezer's engraving of the Palace

published in his *Theatrum Scotiae* in 1693. The site of the recent excavations was also fashioned into a series of terraces, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Historical Summary

Although no evidence for Roman occupation of the site was found during the course of excavations it would appear that there was some occupation on the Peel in the second century, as shown by mortaria sherds of Midland type datable to A.D. 160–210 found with an amphora rim to the N. of the Peel in 1862.¹ Another amphora rim was found in St Michael's Kirkyard.²

The earliest medieval occupation consisted of a royal manor house and stone church built in the twelfth century.³ Here Edward I decided to spend the winter of 1301–2 during his Scottish campaigns. The manor was repaired or rebuilt, and a peel or palisade constructed with an associated ditch.⁴

The indenture between Edward and Master James of St George, Master of Works, survives, and from this it is clear that the work was to be carried out chiefly in timber, and was to consist of an encircling ditch and peel, incorporating the church as part of the defences. A second ditch and palisade was to be constructed round the promontory to defend it from attack from the Loch, but these were to be of lesser dimensions. Judging by the accounts, however, some stonework was employed in the construction of the main defences.⁵

The peel appears to have remained in use until 1314, after which date it probably fell into decay, and the stonework and timber were robbed for local building.⁶

In 1650–1 Cromwell built new fortifications on the line of Edward's peel, but made a stone wall instead of a ditch and palisade. This was dismantled in 1663.⁷

The Excavation

The extent of the excavation in 1966–7 is shown in fig. 1. Two areas were involved, Area I constituting Cuttings I/V/XI (later amalgamated), III, IV, VI, XII, XIII and XIV.

Area I

The natural in this area consisted of fine white sand flecked with shale and with patches of orange clay and fine gravel. In Cuttings XIII and XIV natural was coarse brown sand.

The main feature in this area was a ditch, which was cut into natural and was traced in Cuttings I/V/XI, XIII and XIV. In Cuttings I/V/XI and XIV it was bottomed but in Cutting XIII left unexcavated.

In Cutting I/V/XI the ditch was 25 ft. wide and 8 ft. 9 in. deep. It had a U-shaped profile, the inside lip being rather more steeply inclined than the outside,

¹ Anon, 1862, 398.

² Curle, 1932, 353. These mortaria rims are of Gillam's type 261; see Gillam, 1957. A hoard of Roman coins was found near Linlithgow in 1781, see Waldie, 1868, 15; Macdonald, 1918, 258.

³ Ferguson, 1910, 258.

⁴ Stevenson, 1870, 441–3.

⁵ Discussed, with references, in Brown, Colvin and Taylor, 1963, 413. The original indenture is cited in Bain, 1882, ii, 302.

⁶ Ferguson, 1910, 30.

⁷ Richardson and Beveridge, 1948, 26.

and rising to a higher level (fig. 2). At the bottom was rubble fill, with one nondescript sherd of glazed medieval pottery and a fragment of clay pipe stem. The rest of the fill consisted of bands of sand, mixed sand and earth, grey silty soil and fine brown earth, and was the result of deliberate infilling. The inner lip of the ditch was disturbed by later digging, possibly in erecting a garden fence. The natural sand level was further disturbed by a number of features.

Among these was a large pit in Cutting IV dug in the seventeenth century in order to quarry sand and gravel for building. This measured 10 ft. in diameter at its greatest extent, and was 8 ft. 5 in. deep. It was filled with building rubble, in the upper part of which was a small quantity of thick green glazed ware including characteristic seventeenth-century flagon sherds and a clay pipe bowl of Oswald's Class 5 (1640-70).¹ Presumably this pit was dug to quarry sand or gravel for building, and seems to have been dug down to a layer of fine gravel.

Running across Cuttings I and III a foundation trench was encountered, 3 ft. 4 in. wide and 1 ft. 8 in. deep, in which fragmentary footings were still *in situ* in Cutting III. This wall is fairly recent, and is marked on a plan of the Palace published c. 1840.² In front of this wall was a 'berm' 12 ft. 6 in. wide, after which the natural ground surface sloped down unevenly to the lip of the ditch. On the 'berm' was built up a deposit of gravel which may have been natural but which equally well could have been dumped in front of the wall while it was still standing.

Above the level of the natural the ground surface had been built up into the existing terrace with tips of rubble, soil and gravel. The section of the W. face of Cutting I/V/XI is given in fig. 2 and shows the relationship between the foundation trench and the ditch.

There is reason to suppose that the whole terrace above the level of natural was constructed in the mid-nineteenth century, since the foundation trench for the wall was dug into natural and the fill is identical to the make-up of the terrace overlying natural at the N. of Cutting I/V/XI. As it would appear that the contour of the natural is marked on the mid-nineteenth-century O.S. map (6-inch) and as the wall was still standing until shortly before that date, it may be deduced that the terrace is mid- or late-nineteenth century.

In Cutting XIII the ditch was found to be only 19 ft. 2 in. wide at the top. The N. lip seems to have been revetted with an irregular tip of stones. Although these were not carefully laid as was the revetment in Cutting XIV, the nature of the dump suggests that it was deposited in order to strengthen the ditch and prevent subsidence rather than as make-up for the later terrace. At the S. end of the cutting, partly resting on natural and partly overlapping on the ditch fill, was a mound of fine black earth. Presumably this was a tip for the terrace make-up, but why it should take the form of a bank is puzzling, as the layers of the make-up are for the most part evenly distributed over the whole area of the Cutting.

In Cutting XIV the ditch was 15 ft. wide and 5 ft. 5 in. deep from the bottom to the crest of the inner face. As in Cuttings I/V/XI and XIII the inner scarp was more steeply inclined than the outer. The profile was again U-shaped. At the bottom of

¹ Oswald, 1955, 243-50.

² Collie, n.d., 10.

LINLITHGOW PALACE 1966 - 7
AREA I CUTTING I/V/XI WEST SECTION.

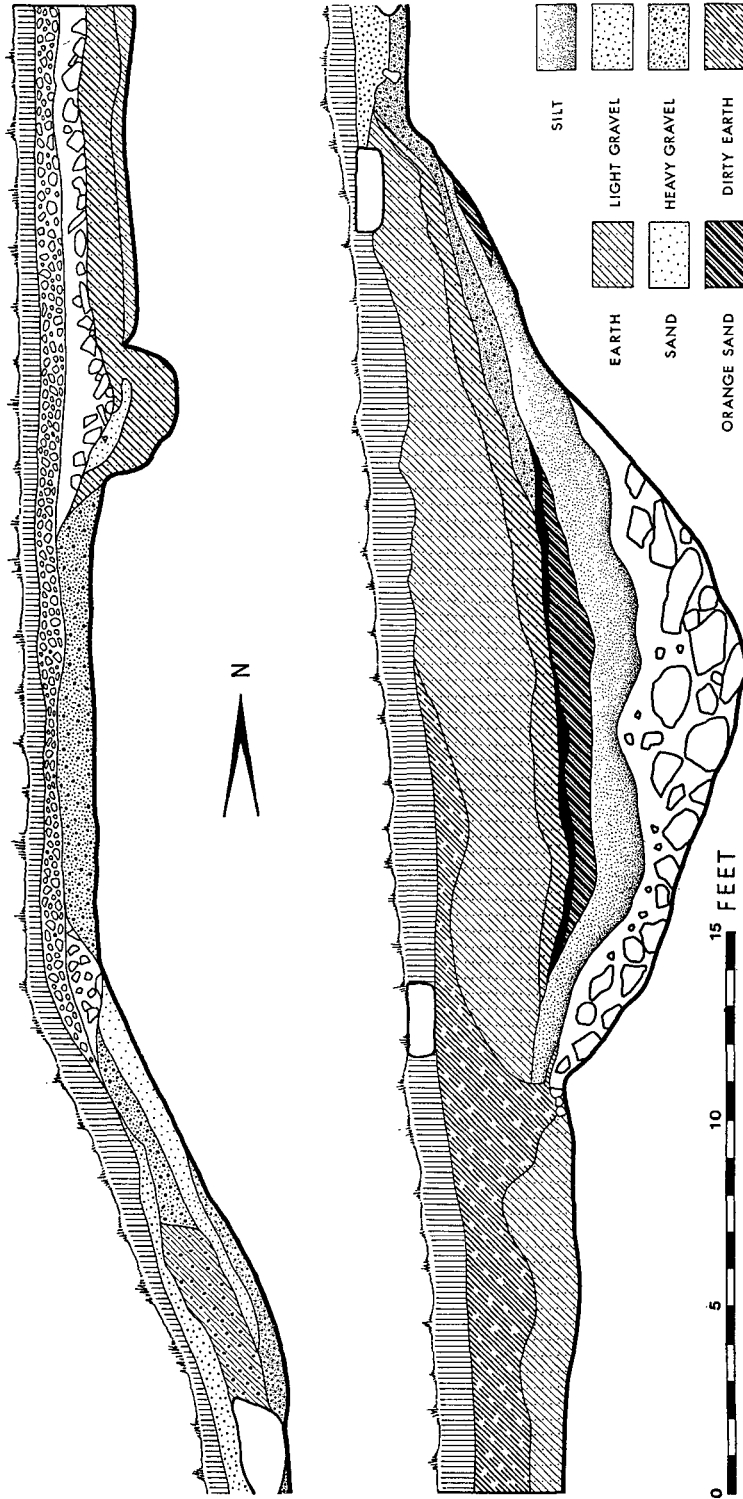


FIG. 2

the N. (i.e. the steeper) face a wall had been constructed resting directly on the natural and without mortar. Two courses remained. It was built of blocks with a roughly dressed outer face and an irregular inner face, the space between the blocks and the face of the ditch being packed with fine sandy silt. The wall was a single course thick with a few smaller packing stones, and stood to a height of 2 ft. It was about 16 in. wide. (Pl. VII, 2 and VIII, 1.) On the opposite lip of the ditch were laid large slabs of stone, which though undressed were fairly carefully aligned, the spaces between the slabs being filled with medium sized stones. This seems to have been a deliberate revetment to prevent subsidence.

At a distance of 12 ft. 2 in. from the N. lip of the ditch another wall was encountered resting on natural constructed of glacial, undressed stones set in clay. At its greatest extent this measured 2 ft. in height and 2 ft. in width. The clay seems to have extended from the wall to the lip of the ditch, and overlay thin layers of charcoal and lime. In front of the wall on top of the clay was a layer of black mixed soil which went up to the top of the wall but did not cover it, and which sloped down towards the edge of the ditch. Behind the wall was a fine, chocolate-coloured layer which dipped sharply in front of the stonework. The hollow that this formed was filled with the later terrace make-up. (See section, fig. 3.)

At the bottom of the ditch the fill consisted of a layer of mixed earth and gravel, which extended from the top of the revetment to a point about 7 in. up the face of the ditch wall. This was partly overlaid by a 'caespititious' layer which filled the S. sector of the ditch and partly by a thick layer of rubble presumably tipped from the N. lip of the ditch and filling the S. sector. This rubble had been tipped in at a time when the wall was already reduced to its present height. On top of these layers, and extending over the length of the whole Cutting, was the mixed earth of the terrace make-up (fig. 3).

Dating material from this cutting was not very helpful. Even in the rubble ditch fill, the finds included pottery of probably late seventeenth- or eighteenth-century date, and the upper layers of the fill of the ditch (the 'terrace make-up') included sherds of probably nineteenth-century dishes. The mixed black fill over the clay contained a few sherds of sixteenth/seventeenth-century green glazed jugs, and the chocolate fill behind the wall also contained a sherd of late green glazed ware along with a few sherds of earlier medieval date.

In Cutting VI a wall was revealed running from N. to S. immediately under the topsoil. Probing showed that this continued to run for some distance beyond the limits of the Cutting and its later extension. Below the level of this wall the Cutting remained unexcavated, except on the W. where a *sondage*, 6 by 5 ft., was dug to ascertain whether the stone revetment of the ditch in Cutting XIV continued as far over as the W. end of Cutting VI. A few stones were encountered above the natural but these were not very large and could have been spread from the revetment or were just fortuitous.

Area II

(Pl. VII, 1) The excavation showed that the existing terraces were entirely

LINLITHGOW PALACE 1966-67
AREA I CUTTING XIV EAST FACE OF SECTION

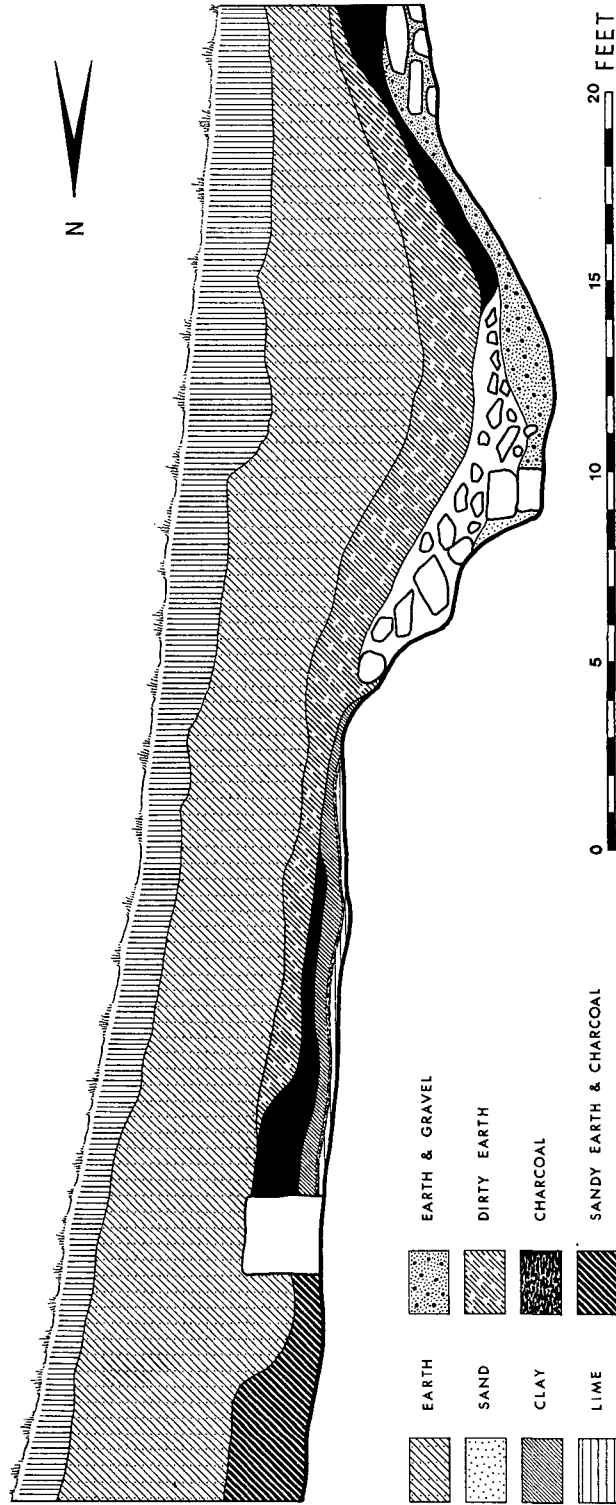


FIG. 3

LINLITHGOW PALACE 1966-67

AREA II COBBLES UNDER (4)

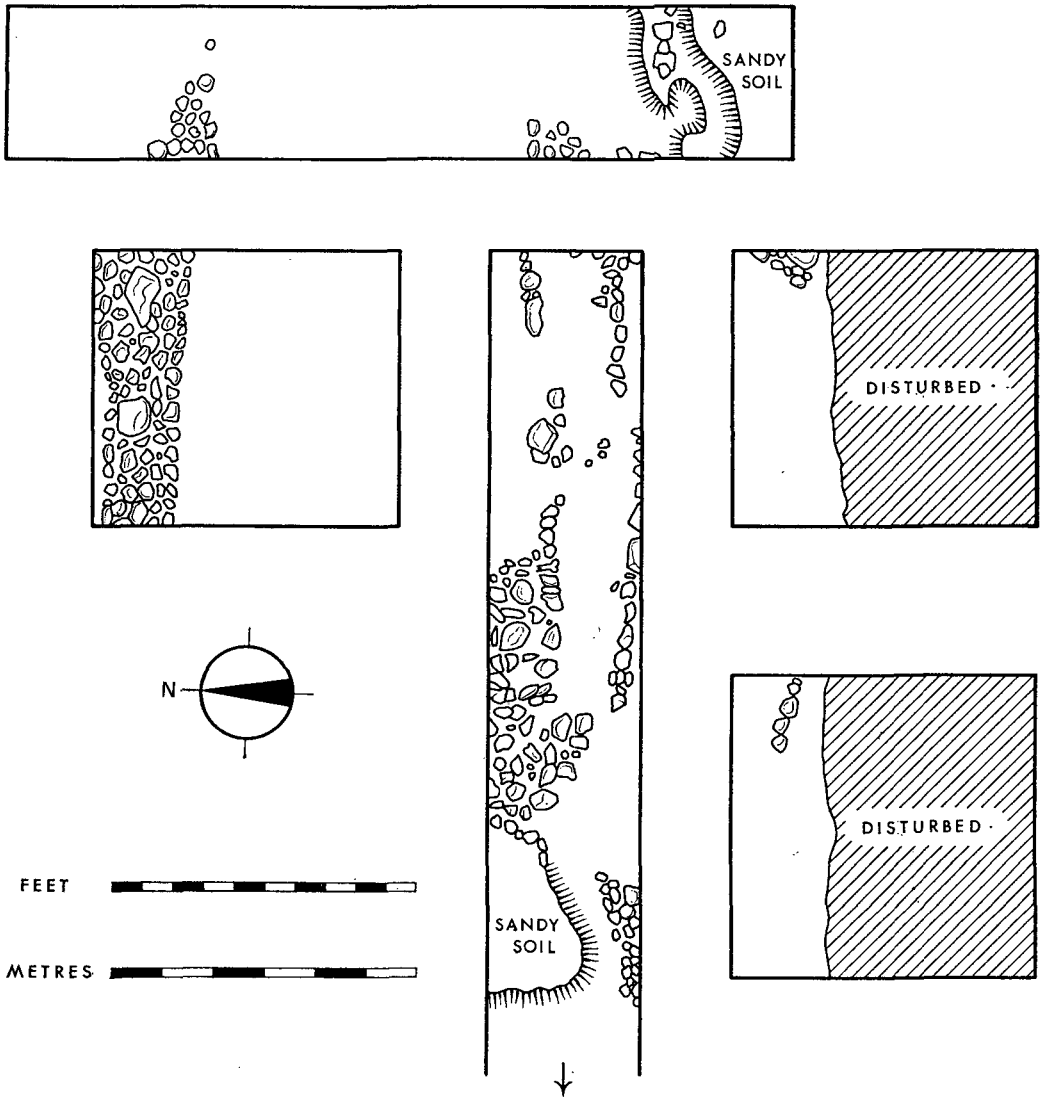


FIG. 4

artificial, and the natural ground surface had originally sloped down in a steady incline, the slope lessening towards the Loch. In most of the area the natural ground surface consisted of coarse orange gravel overlying white sand, but was very irregular and contained many hollows filled with sandy earth and orange brown sand. A few of those that were filled with sandy earth seem to have been artificial and presumably held the posts of timber structures.

These were only noted at the W. end of Cutting II, with the exception of one pit, probably almost 3 ft. in diameter and at least 2 ft. deep, in Cutting VIII, which could not be completely excavated as three-quarters lay under the intersection of the balks. There were no finds from any of the features (Pl. VIII, 2). Further excavation to determine the plan of these features was impossible due to the limitations of time and the depth at which they lay.

In Cutting XVI a band of cobbles was encountered about 2 ft. wide and set in a shallow depression about 6 ft. wide running at right angles to the line of the Cutting (Pl. IX, 1).

The same depression was noted with a scatter of stones in Cutting XV but due to the fact that it lay immediately below the topsoil seems to have been almost destroyed in antiquity, presumably in the course of gardening.

Beneath the cobbles in Cutting XVI was a shallow depression similar to those encountered in Cutting II, 2 ft. 5 in. in width and again lying largely under the balk. This could also be natural, or less probably a post pit.

Above the natural gravel was a deposit of fine sandy loam, which tended to be sandier with more stones nearer the natural. It contained an amount of medieval pottery, mainly in Cuttings XVI and VIII. Lying on top of this layer in Cutting XVI and under the overlying layer 4, which in Cuttings II, VIII and IX was separated from it by the layer of cobbles in grey sandy silt, layer 5, was the 'Cross-raguel' penny (see p. 125) which can be dated to the late fifteenth century. The layer of silt was irregular over the site, tending to be thicker to the E. Only thin patches were noted at the W. end of Cutting II, and none in Cutting XVI (fig. 4).

On the silt rested the cobbles, shown in fig. 5. Between and under the stones was a concentration of medieval pottery, bones and small pieces of orange clay. Many of the stones showed signs of burning, and in the overlying layer charcoal was present. In Cutting VIII a band of cobbles in the N. sector of the Cutting possibly represents a cobbled path. From the level of the cobbles in Cutting IX came the bronze buckle, the pot hook, and a plate bronze object in very oxidised condition which is possibly a lock (see below, p. 128).

Unfortunately it was impossible to obtain a plan of the whole cobbled area due to the fact that on the S. side the terrace had been cut away in the nineteenth century and faced with a revetment of building rubble containing sherds of Victorian pottery and part of a bottle. Extensive excavation was also impossible due to limitations of time.

Some of the alignments of stones seem to have been set in gulleys or 'foundation trenches' in the sandy silt – this was particularly evident at the S. end of Cutting IX, where the sandy silt was very thick.

LINLITHGOW PALACE 1966-67

AREA II CUTTINGS VII & VIII EAST SECTION

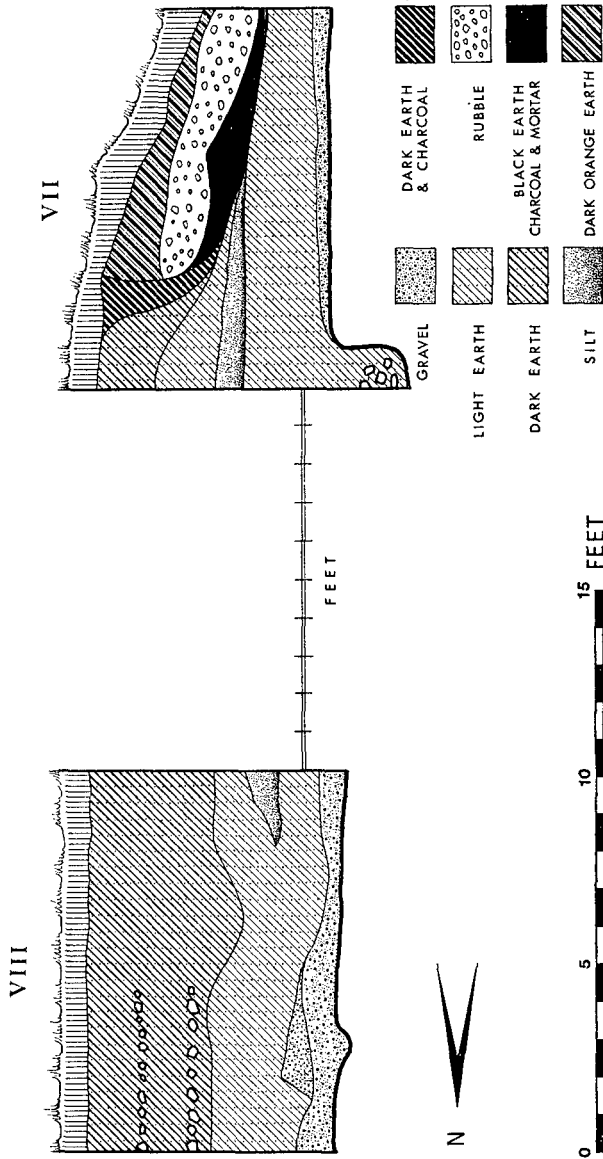


Fig. 5

LINLITHGOW PALACE 1966-67

FEATURES IN NATURAL

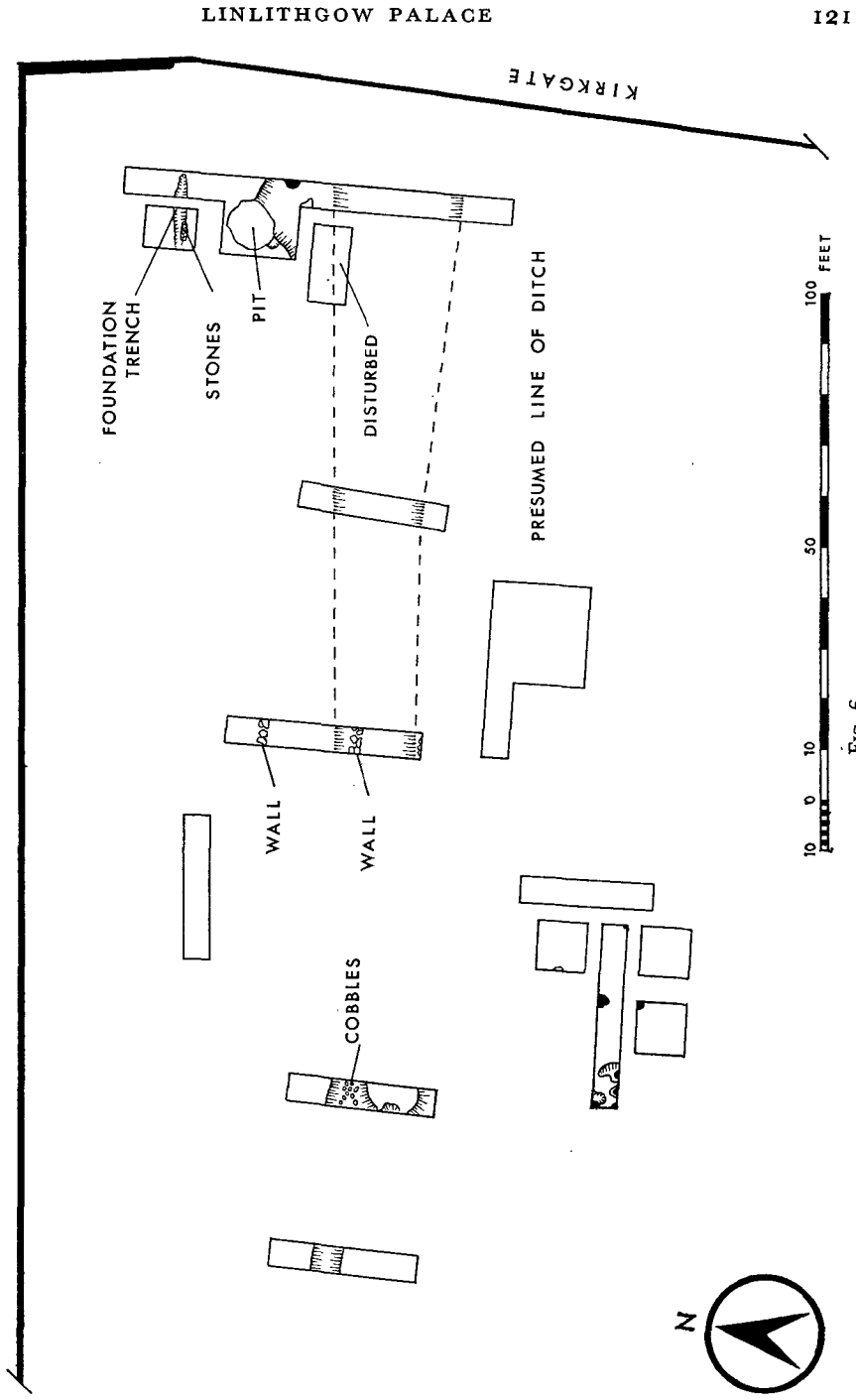


Fig. 6

Above the layer of cobbles was a fairly thick layer of fine brown chocolate sandy soil with flecks of charcoal. Although fairly uniform it tended to be sandier immediately above the cobbles. It yielded a quantity of pottery, the material from the lower part of the layer being of a generally late medieval character but towards the top being mixed with seventeenth-century pottery and fragments of clay pipes.

Cutting XVII presented a rather different sequence, being the highest of the Cuttings in Area II. Here above the level of the natural was a layer of clean brown sandy soil. This was either piled up or cut away to form a bank 3 ft. 2 in. high, which on the W. side was faced with a rotten limestone revetment, in front of which was a deposit of fine mixed rubble and earth. A mixture of rotten stone and earth crested the bank. Behind it was a fill of loose stony rubble and dirty earth overlaid by fine brown sandy soil with flecks of charcoal. Probing suggested that this bank ran in a straight line for at least 15 ft. to the S. of the Cutting and 5 ft. to the N. of it. Its purpose remains dubious, possibly it represents a revetment for a garden terrace. There is no dating evidence for the Cutting, except for the first few inches of fill behind the bank which contained seventeenth-century or later material.

A plan of the features in natural is given in fig. 6.

Discussion

The earliest feature on the site seems to be the band of cobbles in Cutting XVI, and the underlying 'post pit'. Probing suggested that this band continued for some distance on either side of the Cutting, and a shallow depression with a few stones was noted in alignment with it in Cutting XVIII. As it follows the line of the later lane from the Watergate, it is possible that this represents all that is left of a cobbled path down to the Loch. Although the band of cobbles was in itself narrow, the hollow in which it rested was about 6 ft. in width, which would be fairly reasonable for such a path. As the pottery from the layer above seems to be of thirteenth-century date it is very probable that the path dates from that time or a little earlier.

The date and purpose of the post holes are impossible to determine, though again a date in the thirteenth century might seem probable.

The overlying deposit of earth possibly represents a period of cultivation. The pottery from the upper part of the layer seems to be generally later in appearance, suggesting that the layer was deposited over a long period of time.

The 'Crossraguel' penny was lying on top of this deposit, suggesting a terminal date for it might be in the late fifteenth century. It is unfortunate that the coin was not stratified in a layer, but lay on the surface of the deposit. Due however to the character of the pottery from the upper level of the layer and the pottery from the level of the cobbles it is quite possible that it belongs to the period of the cobbles and the silt in which they were set.

The 'road' found at this level is probably the path from the Watergate down to the Loch. This path, which fell out of use in 1771, led from the Old Watergate (at a point now marked by the most northerly cottage in the Kirkgate, on the W. side) and ran down due W. to the hard beach at the bottom. It was used for the horses from the manor house and later as a bridle path from the Palace stables. The

associated alignments of cobbles are set back slightly from the path, as one might expect, and could represent wall footings of houses, presumably of one of two different periods of construction. It is noteworthy that more finds were made from this level than any other. The pieces of burnt orange clay may be pieces of daub, and signs of burning on the stones could indicate that the footings were for timber or partly timber constructions that were burnt down. Some of the cobbles seem to have been set in foundation trenches, most notably in Cutting IX.

From this level came the pot hook, the bronze 'lock' and the buckle, which could be from horse trappings. The pottery from the level of the cobbles and the underlying silt was mixed in character with some sherds of thirteenth- or fourteenth-century type, but sherds of later (sixteenth/seventeenth-century) wares were conspicuously absent.

The layer above contained a mixture of pottery, mainly medieval but with later wares as well (sixteenth/seventeenth-century). Early eighteenth-century pottery was absent, but possibly some wares taken to be seventeenth-century are in fact later. This layer contained the Westfriesland daaler.

In its present form the ditch seems too small to be Edward I's work and evidence for the associated palisade is completely lacking. The profile is also peculiar for a medieval ditch, which one might expect to be flat bottomed and very much wider. The ditch constructed under the direction of James of St George at Kildrumty, for example, was about 85 ft. wide and 20 ft. deep, and was 16 ft. wide at the bottom.¹ The ditch in its present form in Cutting XIV would hardly be adequate for the defence of a homestead, and is more of the character of a prehistoric ditch dug to prevent animals straying out of the farmstead enclosure. It seems very probable that at some stage or other, possibly in landscaping the slope of the Peel, a considerable amount of ground was sliced off the top of the ditch and what we have left is merely the bottom. This is not altogether unreasonable, in view of the nearness of the Palace, and it may have been felt that substantial earthworks marred the view. It is quite possible that as much as 10 ft. of ground has been removed in this area. Further down the slope this was probably unnecessary, and explains why the build-up overlying natural is quite different in Area II and presents a medieval sequence.

It is of course possible that there were earlier, pre-Edwardian defences on the site, and perhaps one or other of the two ditches is in fact pre-Edwardian. It is unlikely that the ditch encountered in excavation is Roman, though in dimensions and profile it is in keeping with a Roman fort ditch.

Such a programme of landscaping as this would of course remove any bank that may have existed and also any evidence there might have been for a palisade. The stone revetting on the lips of the ditch was possibly made at the time when the landscaping was carried out.

The wall at the bottom of the ditch in Cutting XIV is difficult to interpret. There are two possible explanations. The first is that it represents a facing wall for the inner scarp of the ditch, and in this connection it may be noted that the wall has a slight but definite batter. It is however unlikely that the wall would have been very

¹ Apted, 1964, 211.

high at any time, for the footings are too narrow and the absence of a foundation trench or the use of mortar would mean that it would be liable to fall forward into the ditch if it were more than about 8 ft. in height. It is therefore very unlikely that it represents a facing wall extending above the lip of the ditch and acting as a retainer for a bank of earth behind, as the pressure from such a bank would cause the wall to collapse into the ditch.

A second interpretation is that the wall represents one side of a drainage channel at the bottom of the ditch, and that there was originally a second wall against the opposite scarp which has since been removed. The bottom of the ditch is considerably harder than the scarps. If the ditch was water-filled such a wall at the bottom would probably be necessary to prevent the water seeping into the sandy soil of the ditch. It is strange that no evidence for a similar structure was to be found in Cutting I/V/XI, where the very sandy soil would have demanded such a feature, but this could have been robbed out.

The course of the ditch is also difficult to determine, since it was not located in either Cutting XVII or in Cuttings XVI or VIII. It is possible that it ends abruptly, or alternately ran down to the Loch and has been completely destroyed, but this seems most unlikely.

An engraving published in Grose's *Antiquities of Scotland*, ii, 231, in 1791 shows another ditch, running parallel to the one found in 1966-7 excavations, between the Outer and Inner Entries. The wall which until the last century ran from the extreme SW. corner of the Palace due S. to meet the wall running from the Outer Entry, thus forming the outer forecourt of the Palace, is shown actually resting in this ditch.

Although considerably more substantial than the ditch encountered during the excavations this second, inner ditch still hardly answers to the description of an Edwardian fosse.

Another short section of ditch, about the same dimensions as the ditch found in the excavations can still be seen to the E. of the Palace where the start of a turn is visible. This section is very close to the Palace walls, but it is not impossible that it is the same ditch as that which is shown in the 1791 engraving. This would indicate that if both are sections of the same ditch it encircled the top of the Peel, and turned just before it reached the Church, which would otherwise be built on top of it. The fact that the old Palace enclosure wall was set in it would point to it being in existence before the fifteenth century. There is no evidence of a ditch under the Palace wall in Collie's engraving of c. 1840, though the ground does slope down in front of the Palace.¹

Finally, there is the problem of the date of the terraces. It has already been suggested that the highest terrace is nineteenth-century in date (p. 114), and this is supported by a number of engravings of the nineteenth century. One of Collie's shows a building of apparently sixteenth- or seventeenth-century date standing on the site of Area I, though no evidence for such a building was encountered in the excavations.²

¹ Macdonald, 1932, 52, Fig. 15.

² Collie, n.d., 30.

It has also been pointed out that there is good evidence to suggest that the main terrace was also revetted during the nineteenth century. Certainly the terraces seem to have been still in use as gardens at that time, and some elderly inhabitants remember them in use as gardens earlier in this century.

Slezer's engraving would suggest that the area was partially built up with lands, the tofts running back to the old Palace wall and being divided with low walls in the customary manner. This suggests that in the seventeenth century these terraces did not exist, as they would have been represented as gardens in Slezer's engraving. Some of the fragmentary walls encountered in the excavations are probably the walls of such tofts.

Although there were alterations to the terraces in the nineteenth century the original formation of most of them date from 1771, when James Glen the hereditary Keeper of the Palace closed the Watergate and laid out gardens to the W. of the Kirkgate.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The excavation and associated work of photography, surveying, etc. was carried out mainly by the Ministry's staff, though I should also like to thank members of the Edinburgh University Archaeology Society for their assistance at various times during the excavation. I am particularly indebted to Mr T. H. McK. Clough who assisted in directing the excavation during the 1966 season.

The excavation was conducted by permission of the Town Council of Linlithgow. Mr G. Brown the Town Clerk and Mr E. J. Hutton, the County Planning Officer for West Lothian, were particularly helpful in arranging this.

The illustrations have been drawn by Mr T. Borthwick, also of the Ministry's staff.

In preparing the discussion which appears as an appendix to this paper I am indebted to numerous individuals and institutions. I particularly must thank the National Museum of Antiquities for allowing me to study and refer to medieval pottery in their collection, Mr A. E. Truckell and Dumfries Museum for allowing me to examine material there, and Miss D. M. Hunter for permitting me to study material in Dollar Park Museum, Falkirk. To Miss Hunter I am grateful for generous permission to refer to material from her excavations at Stenhouse and Linlithgow, of which the reports are forthcoming. Mr Norman Robertson of the Ministry of Public Building and Works in Edinburgh has offered much stimulating advice and information. I am also indebted to Professor A. C. Thomas for supplying me with information about his latest work on 'E' ware.

II THE FINDS

Coins

1. SCOTLAND, Æ 'Crossraguel' penny. Late fifteenth century. Class Ic. (Orb tilted downwards.) Obv. legend (c), rev. legend (c). Probably struck by Bishop Kennedy at St Andrews who authorised coining in 1452. There are a very large

number of different varieties of this coin and no satisfactory die-links can be established suggesting they were struck over a long period of time.¹ fair/near F.

2. LOW COUNTRIES, Westfriesland, *R daaler*, 1618. Obv. MO. ARG. PRO. CONFOE () WESTFRI. Knight, r. holding shield. Rev. CONCORDIA. RES. PARVAE. CRESCVNT. Crowned shield between 1618. fair.

Clay Pipes (fig. 7)

Bowls of over forty clay pipes were recovered from the site and stems of many more. As a whole the group is interesting as it gives a wide range of maker's stamps, none of which are paralleled from the substantial collection from Edinburgh Castle. Some of the makers, notably those using a castle stamp, by inference worked in Edinburgh. The rest are presumably Linlithgow or Stirling manufacturers. The star stamp (No. 2) is represented commonly at St Andrews, and pipes with this stamp may have been made there.²

Oswald Type 5 1640-70

The most commonly represented.

1. Incuse stamp on base ICG
2. Incuse mark on base star. (Broad rays.)
3. Incuse mark on base star. (Narrow rays.)
4. No mark on base. *Sinister I Dexter C*
5. Incuse stamp on base triple castle.
6. Incuse stamp on base thistle.
7. Uncertain incuse stamp on base. *Sinister M Dexter Y*
8. Pointed base, no stamp.
9. No stamp on base. *Sinister E Dexter R*
10. Uncertain incuse stamp. Lys?

Oswald Type 6 1650-90

11. Incuse stamp on base star. (Broad rays.)

Oswald Type 7b 1680-1710

12. No stamp on base. *Sinister I Dexter C*

Oswald Type 8a 1690-1720

13. Uncertain incuse stamp on base. Thistle?

Types Not in Oswald

14. Sharply carinated bowl. Akin to type 5? Incuse stamp EW
15. Unusually bulbous bowl with pronounced kink at outside junction between bowl and stem. Probably Type 5 mis-shape. Incuse stamp on base, thistle.

Stems

16. Broad incuse band with foliated ornament, between which tablet with relief band of pellets.
17. Thick stem with incuse band of ornamental annulet design across which legend COLHOWN in linear rectangle.

¹ For discussion see Stewart, 1955, 51-56. Earlier discussions in Macdonald, 1920, 20-44 and Stevenson, 1952, 109-13, where they were re-attributed to Bishop Kennedy. References are to legend varieties in accordance with an unpublished ms. in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

² References to Oswald, 1955, 243-50.

18. Similar but smaller, on thinner stem.

19. Stem decorated with floral design. Probably nineteenth century. Cf. *Guildhall Catalogue*, 1908, Pl. LXXVII, 23.

Miscellaneous, Pipeclay

20. Terminal of wig curler, early eighteenth century, stamped WB. Cf. Parsons, J. E. 'Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco Pipe in North-east England', *Arch. Ael.* 4, XLII (1964), 239, fig. 2, No. 40.

Small Finds

Bronze

1. Fragments of a bronze plated object, with traces of iron oxide. Possibly a lock.
2. Bronze buckle, with traces of tinning. Two holes in central bar (fig. 8, 1).

Lead

1. Small lead weight, possibly a spindle whorl (fig. 8, 2).
2. Uncertain fragment.

Iron

1. Hook, with flattened end pierced for attachment. Probably a pot hook (fig. 8, 3).
2. Uncertain object, probably a knife.

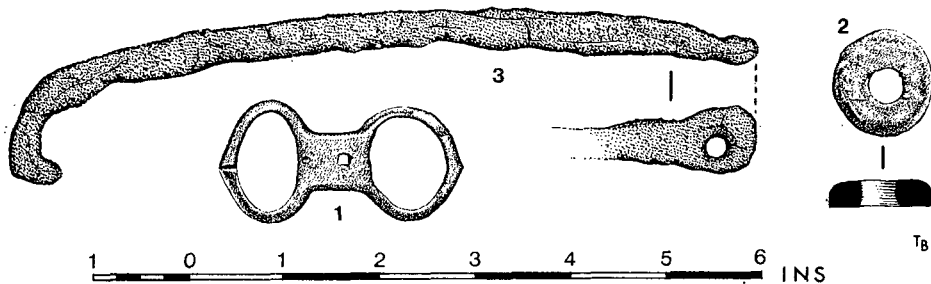


FIG. 8

Glass

A number of fragments of glass were found in the upper layers, including the stem of a seventeenth-century wine glass and fragments of green, seventeenth-century wine bottles.

Tile

Two pieces of glazed tile were encountered from topsoil, both probably sixteenth/seventeenth century, similar to those from the Presence Chamber in the Palace.

Stone

A number of fragments of dressed stone together with roof slates were recovered from the pit in Cutting IV.

Shell

Oyster shells were encountered in the rubble fill of the pit in Cutting IV. These had been used for pinnings.

Bone

A number of bones were recovered from different levels, all food refuse.

The Pottery

(* not illustrated)

Group I (fig. 9)

This group of pottery came from Area II, layer 6, and represents the earliest material from the site. Although some of the forms could be earlier, there seems no reason to doubt that the group as a whole dates from the end of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth. It is possible that the group as a whole can be associated with the period of Edwardian occupation at Linlithgow. Certain cooking pot forms represented here (e.g. Nos. 2 and 3) can be paralleled fairly well with pots associated with Edwardian coin hoards of c. 1300. These are discussed below (p. 143).

The wares from this group are characteristic. The glazed pottery is extremely fine and of hard pink or light coloured fabric. The glazes show none of the dark, heavy greens of later Scottish medieval pottery. It seems very probable that much of this pottery was not local in manufacture but imported from England. There is good evidence from literary sources to attest that Skinburness, the port of Carlisle, was supplying provisions for Scottish campaigns from the twelfth century, and we find in 1312 supplies from Ireland being sent through there to Lochmaben, Dumfries and other castles in that area.¹ The liking for white or light coloured fabrics seems to have been acquired in the North of England and Southern Scotland as a result of the importation of French glazed jugs, which occur at Glenluce, Wigtown² and at Castledykes, Kirkcudbright.³ These, like the French polychrome jugs, represented by one sherd from Castledykes, may be associated with a Gascon wine trade. Light coloured fabrics are a distinctive feature of the Chester kilns (from where the pottery was exported to sites like Carrickfergus in Ireland), and to a lesser extent of Carlisle.⁴ It is possible that one or two of the Linlithgow sherds are, in fact, French imports, whereas No. 13 may be SE. English (? Sussex). The combing and glaze of the body sherds of a pitcher (Nos. 9-12) are rather 'French' in appearance, though the fabric is rather grittier than the majority of the French wares.

1. Large bowl with bifid rim in gritty creamy ware with creamy external surface. Concave inner surface. Pie-crust fingering round rim. Similar to *Finchale Priory*, 111 and *Kirkstall*, fig. 12, No. 1. At Finchale it was dated to the early thirteenth century, but here probably is later.

2. Rim of cooking pot in orange sandy fabric with grey core. Squared rim with patch of orange-brown glaze. Rilling on upper part of body. This is a characteristic form and squared rim cooking pots seem to be derived from the earlier twelfth-century forms current in NE. England. They occur at *Durham*, 4-5, *Shilmoor*, (Jarrett & Edwards 1963, 92-98) and *Finchale*, 102-3 in NE. England, and in the NW. at *Carlisle*, 2 or *Brougham*, 10-13. In Scotland variants occur at *Hawick*, p. 20, *Kidsneuk*, p. 68, and *Kildonan*, 233 as well as being associated with a hoard of coins from *Ayr* dated to 1280-1300. (Thompson, 1956, No. 18.)

3. Cooking pot rim in pink, gritty fabric, slightly fumed on lip. Roll rim with concave inner surface (cf. *Castledykes*, 41). This type of rim also occurs at Whithorn and Darvel, Ayrshire.

4. Cooking pot rim in sandy grey ware fired to cream on the outer surface. It is similar to a pot

¹ *Cal. Pat. R.* 1301-7, 208.

² *Glenluce*, p. 185.

³ *Kirkcudbright*, 1959, p. 123.

⁴ *Joze and Hodges*, 1956, 93.

from Kinghornie, Kincardineshire, containing coins and deposited c. 1300. (Thompson, 1956, No. 218.)

5. Cooking pot rim with thickened lip, slightly everted. Hard gritty orange ware. The form can be paralleled from *Kidsneuk*, 68.

6. Rim of jug in sandy grey ware with cream white external surface. Spots of honey coloured glaze. Fairly common rim form, cf. *Bothwell*, 6, etc. and dated to the late thirteenth century.

*7. Rim of jug in gritty white ware, similar in fabric to 1.

8. Body sherd of jug, in hard fired grey ware with light green glaze. Decorated with repoussé band on which is impressed 'fern leaf' decoration, possibly done with a roulette. This sherd is from a late thirteenth or early fourteenth century 'baluster' jug broadly similar to *Bothwell*, 3, but with finer decoration. Similar jugs are recorded from Cambridge and York, but the technique of the stamp is more in accordance with that in use at the kiln at Colstoun, E. Lothian, or on a vessel from *Newcastle*, 77.

9-12. Body sherds of jug in gritty pink ware with light green glaze overlaid with patches of brown. The jug is decorated with comb ornament, seemingly in swags. This is best paralleled from *Deer Abbey*, 46.

13. Base sherd of jug in very fine pinky buff ware with translucent pale green glaze, speckled with dark green and shading off to honey colour. Spots of glaze underneath base. Thumbled.

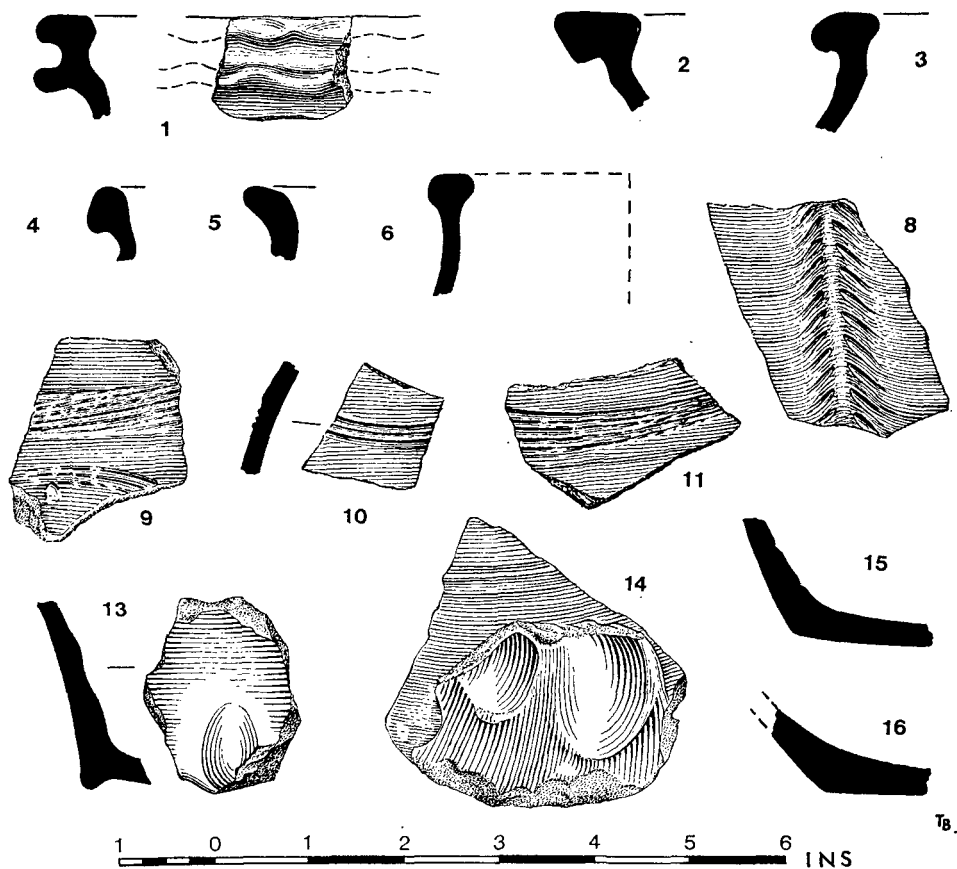


FIG. 9

14. Body sherd of jug in hard, well fired pinkish ware with honey coloured spot glaze. Girth groove, and handle attachment for strap handle.

15. Slightly sagging base of pitcher in grey ware with white external surface. Spots of light green glaze.

16. Sagging base sherd of pitcher in hard fabric varying from grey (interior) to orange (exterior). Spots of light green-orange glaze.

Group II (figs. 10 and 11)

The group for the most part comes from below the level of the cobbles in Cutting VIII, and comes from the upper part of the layer. Taken together with this are a few sherds of similar character which come from the same level in Cuttings II and XVI. In general they are later in character than the pottery of Group I, as might be expected, although one or two residual sherds seem to occur. For the most part the wares are coarser, the distinctive hard fired light fabrics giving way to grittier greys and oranges. These are probably local products. A date in the fourteenth century is very probable for the group – if the stratification of the ‘Crossraguel’ penny above this level is valid it gives us some kind of *terminus post quem* for the Group as a whole, but the dating afforded by this is not very valuable even if valid. Interesting features of the group are the occurrence of the typically northern (and especially Scottish) multiple handles, and the appearance of applied ‘Bovril’ coloured strips as decoration on jugs. Interesting too is the development of the squared rim cooking pots of type 2, which is here represented typologically more developed in No. 26, which has the late feature of glaze on both the inside and outside of the vessel.

One jug is distinctive, with a fine white fabric which has been well fired and with a translucent honey-coloured glaze. This is in keeping with the vessels from Group I, and is probably an English import (No. 34).

The group possibly covers a fairly long time span, but there is no reason to think that there is any hiatus between the early material in this group and the pottery from Group I.

17. Neck of three-handled pitcher with spout. Light grey fabric with variously coloured mottled glaze, ranging from yellow through light brown to green. Parallels for this kind of vessel exist from *Bothwell*, 11, and *Jedburgh*, 11, though neither vessel has an identical rim profile.

18. Rim of probably similar vessel with fluted strap handle.

19. Rim of jug in dark grey ware with dark green glaze. Strap handle.

20. Lip of jug with slightly thickened rim in hard buff ware with clear glaze.

21. Rim of vessel of similar form in grey ware with orange outer surface and dark green glaze.

22. Rim of jug in buff ware with terracotta coloured slip and orange green glaze. Slightly square thickened rim.

23. Rim of jug in well fired sandy grey ware with pinky buff external surface. Patchy dull green glaze. Thickened lip with swelling beneath. *Bothwell*, 4, etc.

24. Body sherd of jug in hard grey ware with dark green glaze. Decorated with appliqué strips of Bovril colour. *Jedburgh*, 26, etc.

25. Body sherd of pitcher in hard fired grey ware with pink internal surface. Orange yellow glaze. Incomplete stamp of leafy design, similar to *Inchcolm*, 61 or possibly No. 8 of this series.

26. Rim of cooking pot with straight everted squared lip, in dark grey ware with orange external surface. Patches of greeny yellow glaze inside and out. Cf. No. 2 for prototype.

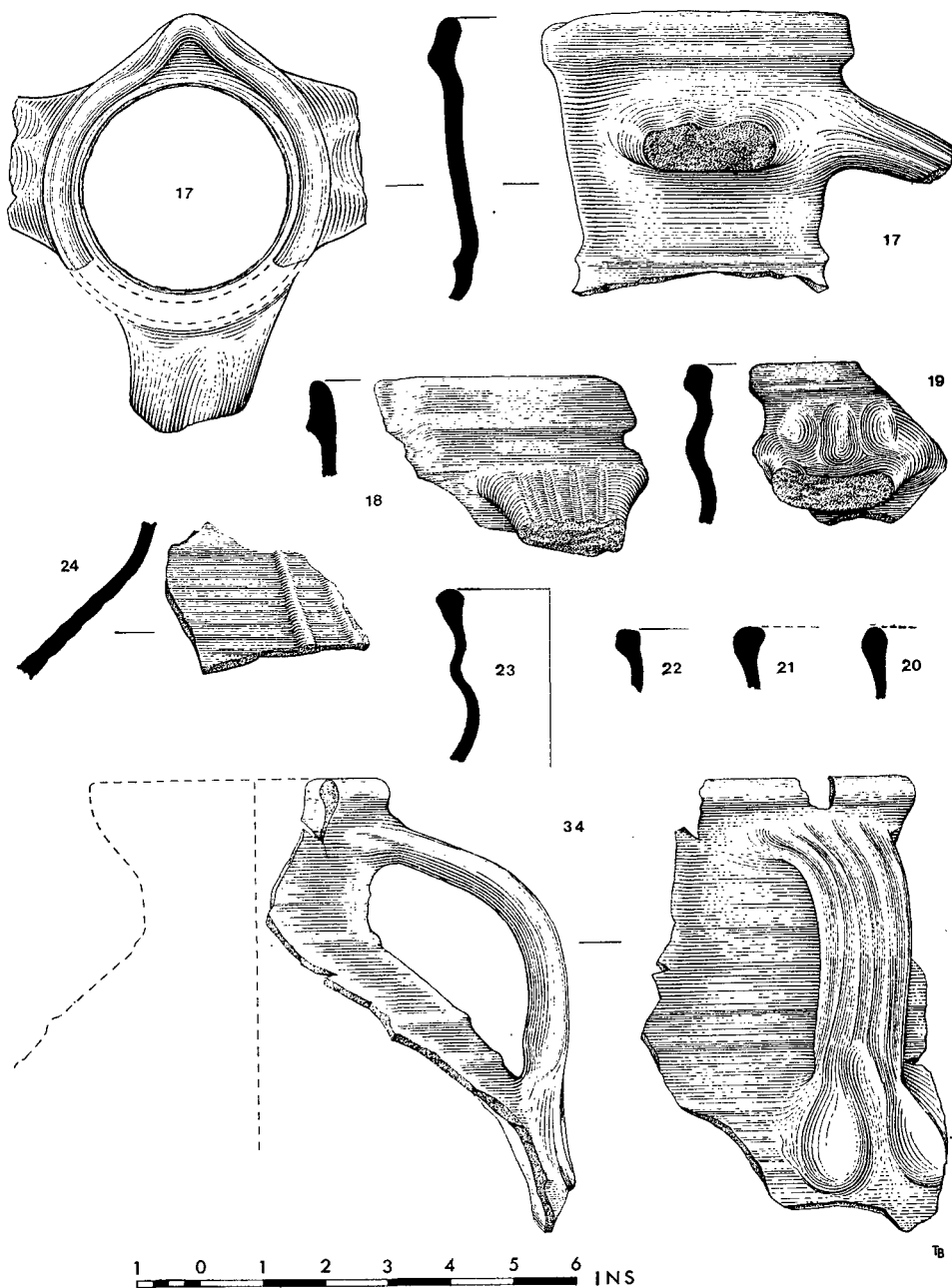


FIG. 10

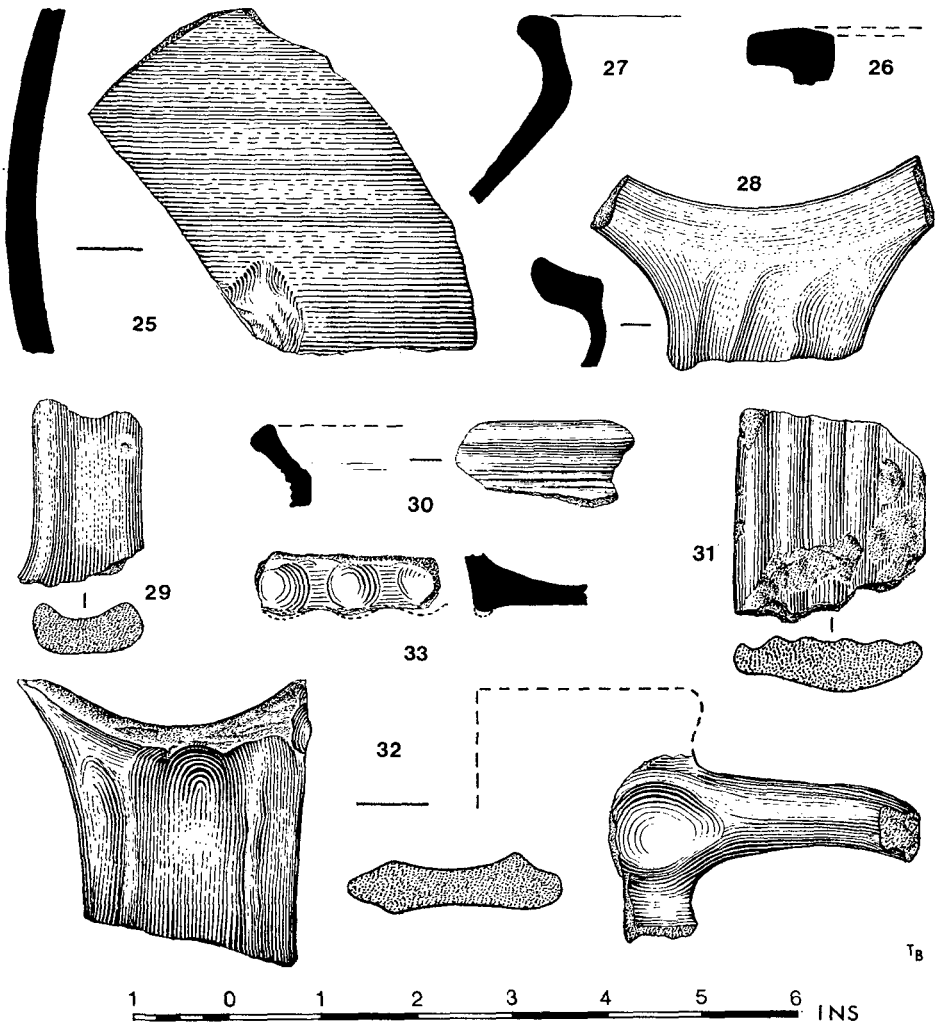


FIG. 11

- 27. Small cooking pot possibly of two handled type in grey fabric with orange external surface. Orange and green glaze (cf. *Eccles*, 74).
- 28. Rim and part of strap handle of similar vessel in creamy white ware with grits. *Inchcolm*, 59-60, etc.
- 29. Strap handle, probably from similar vessel, no glaze, orange sandy fabric heavily fumed.
- 30. Rim of cooking pot in creamy orange ware with fuming on lip. *Carlisle*, 8, etc. Grooving on lip. *Bothwell*, 60.
- 31. Strap handle in gritty white fabric with orange external surface, similar in ware to No. 1. Light green translucent glaze. Rilled decoration.
- 32. Strap handle of jug in grey ware fired to orange on outside with shiny dark green glaze.
- 33. Base of jug with thumbing, in grey ware fired to a lighter grey on the external surface. Light green glaze with brown flecks.

34. Jug in very fine white-grey fabric with honey coloured glaze. Globular profile, thickened lip but no swelling in neck. Rilled strap handle. Body decorated with cordons. This feature is rare in Scotland, but occurs on several vessels from Caerlaverock. For form cf. *Bothwell*, 1.

Group III (fig. 12)

The pottery from this group was all found in the silt underlying the cobbles in Area II. It is notable for a number of sherds with elaborate decoration. Wares are all light and well fired. The decoration might suggest an early date (i.e. late thirteenth century) but although seemingly earlier in character than Group II they are stratified above the Group II sherds and must therefore be later. A fourteenth-century date seems probable for the group.

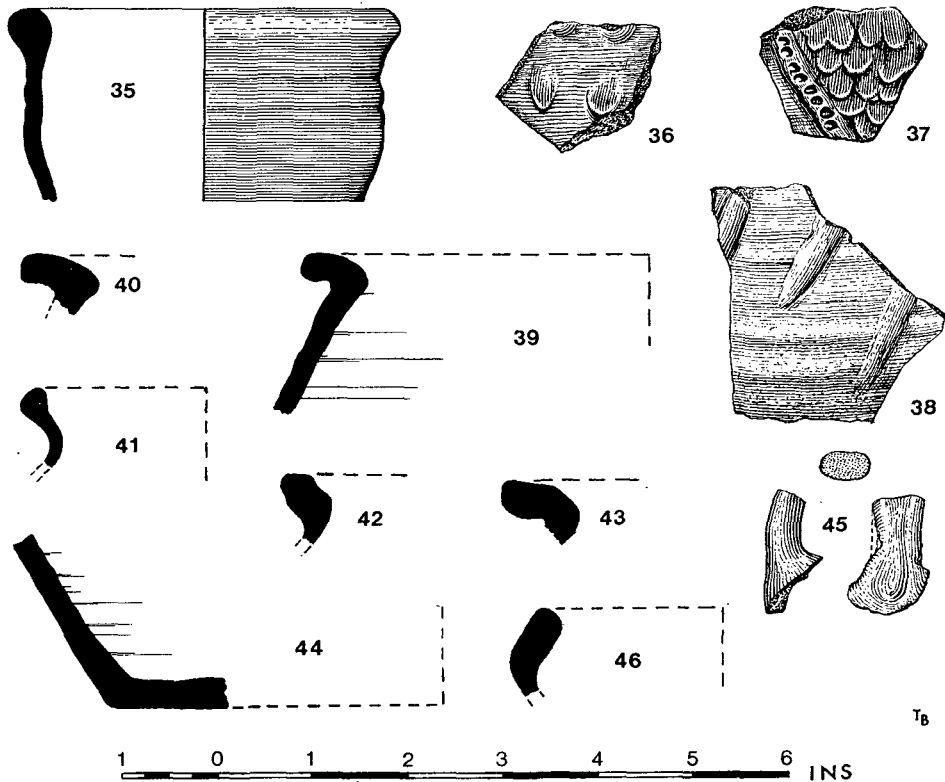


FIG. 12

35. Rim of jug in light brown sandy ware with patches of orange green glaze. Swelling below rim, typical of Linlithgow, *Bothwell*, etc.

36. Body sherd of jug in fine white ware with black slip on inner surface and very good yellow and orange glaze. Decorated with 'fish scales' after the manner of *Melrose*, 16 or *Deer*, 47.

37. Body sherd of jug in grey sandy ware with yellow surface on the inside and olive green glaze. Decorated with fish scales and appliqué strip with impressed dots. For the strip cf. *Jedburgh*, 25.

38. Body sherd of jug in well fired light grey ware with apple-green glaze and appliqué strip of Bovril colour. Similar to 24.

39. Rim of cooking pot in grey ware with orange external surface. Fumed. Straight everted squared rim, as on 26. No glaze.
40. Similar, yellow ware with orange exterior. One spot of orange glaze on outside of rim.
41. Cooking pot rim in sandy grey ware. Fumed (cf. *Bothwell*, 60).
42. Cooking pot rim in grey coarse ware fired white on outside. Internal concavity (cf. *Bothwell*, 60).
43. Rim of cooking pot in ware similar to 40 (cf. *Bothwell*, 60).
44. Base of flat based jug in dark grey ware with orange external surface. Apple-green 'rusticated' glaze, extending to the underside of the vessel.
45. Very small handle with patches of apple-green glaze. Orange fabric.
46. Rim of jug in light grey ware with orange external surface on inside of vessel. Dull apple-green glaze. Upright simple rim, with 'wallside' profile.

Group IV (fig. 13)

This group comes from between the cobbles in Area II. Except for one residual of probably thirteenth-century date (No. 47) the vessels should probably be dated to the late fifteenth century on account of the heavy ware, dark glaze and forms. The Crossraguel penny comes probably from this level. As a whole the material can be compared with the unpublished material from Ravenscraig Castle, Fife, which was not founded until 1460.¹ The wares from this group are characteristic of Scottish late medieval pottery, thick, with dark glazes.

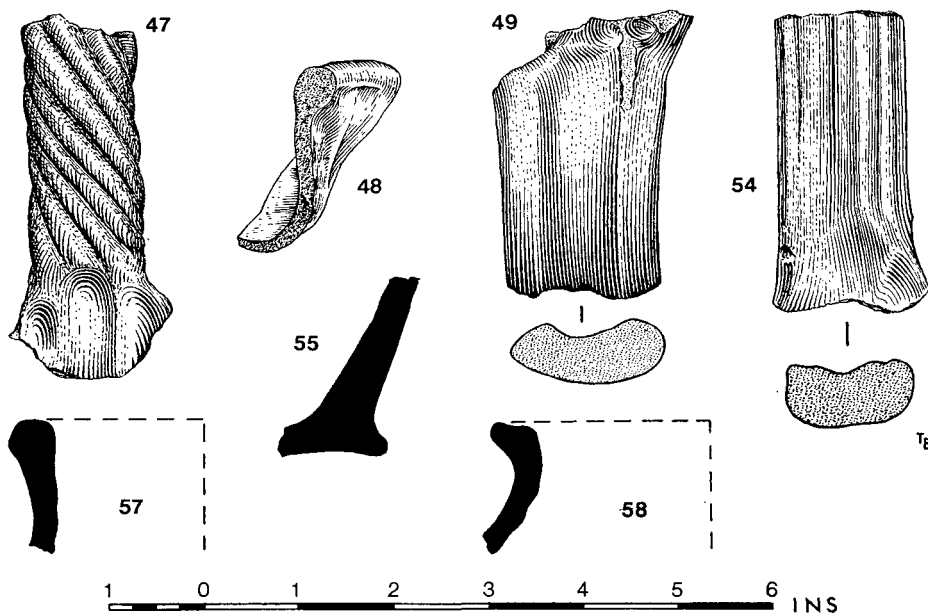


FIG. 13

¹ At present in the care of M.P.B.W., 122 George Street, pending publication in the near future.

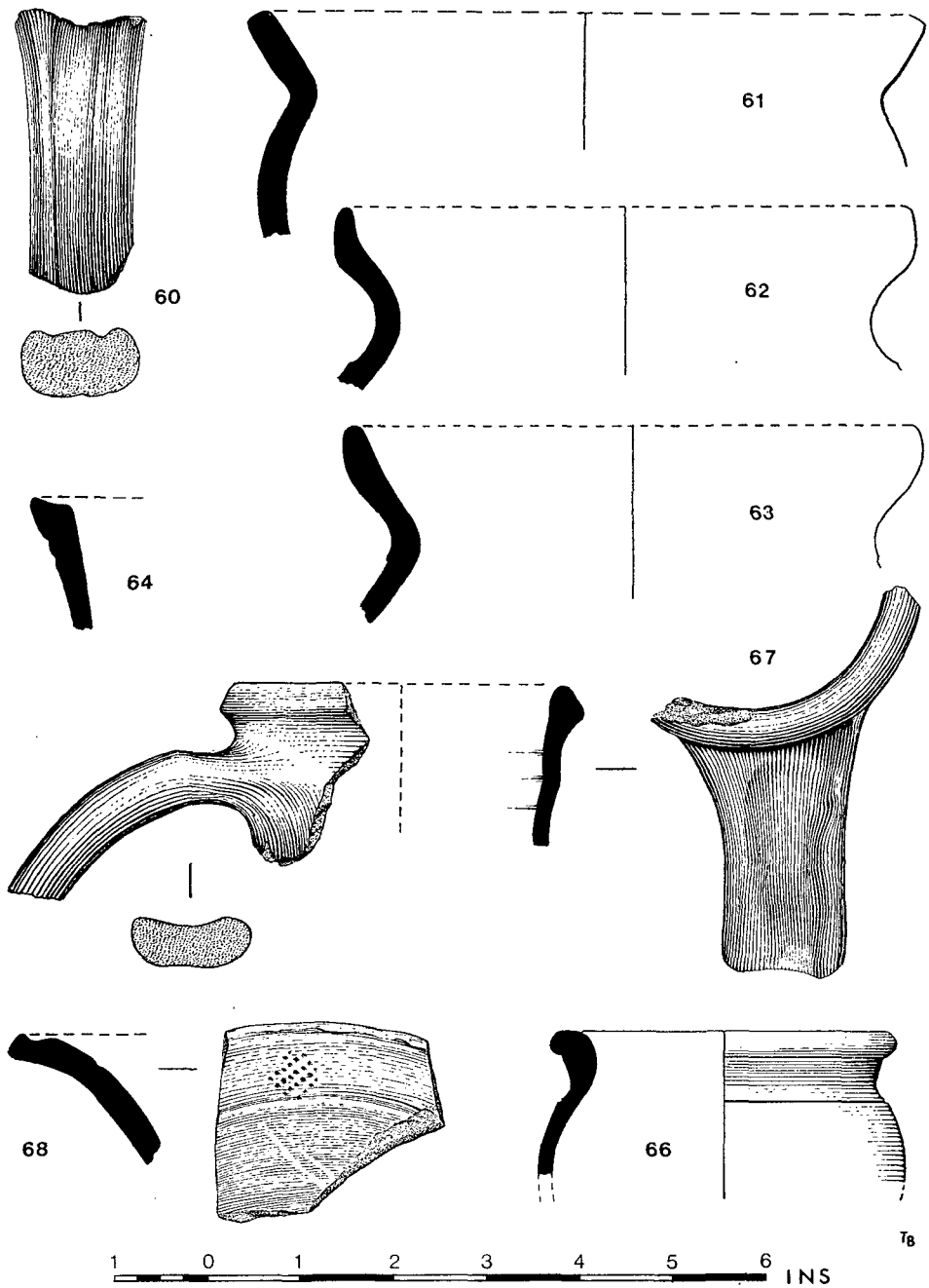


FIG. 14

47. Rope twist handle in buff ware with light grey core. Patchy apple-green glaze. *St Andrews Cathedral*, 56.
 48. Spout of jug in coarse grey ware with dark green glaze.
 49-53. Strap handles in coarse grey ware with dark green glaze.
 54. Bar handle in grey ware with orange external surface and apple-green and yellow glaze.
 55-56. Bases of jugs in heavy grey ware with dark green, almost brown glaze. Slight footing.
Melrose, 36.
 57. Rim of jug in orange sandy ware with terracotta external surface. Spots of green glaze.
 58. Rim of cooking pot in grey sandy fabric with purple glaze (cf. *Bothwell*, 60).

Group V (figs. 14 and 15)

This represents material from the upper levels all post-dating 1500 and extending down to the eighteenth century. One or two sherds (59-60) are probably residuals.

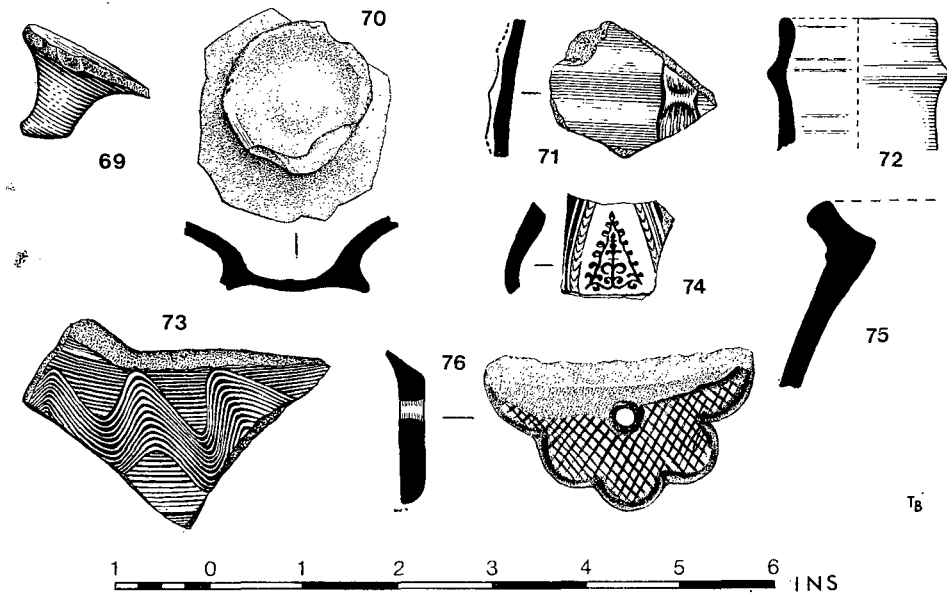


FIG. 15

- *59. Base of jug with thumbing in grey ware with buff surface and dull, light brown glaze.
 60. Rod handle in grey ware with dark green shiny glaze.
 61-63. Posset pot rims in grey ware fumed black on the outside and with apple-green glaze on the inside.
 64. Rim of dish in similar ware.
 *65. Rim of pot of similar form to 61-63 but in orange ware with green internal glaze.
 66. Small bowl in brick red well fired ware with orange internal glaze.
 67. Large pitcher in similar ware with greeny-orange glaze.
 68. Shallow dish in similar ware with similar glaze and lozenge of impressed 'chequer board' pattern on rim.
 69. Foot of tripod dish in similar 'flower pot' fabric and with orange internal glaze.
 70. Pedestal base of bowl in unglazed stoneware. Cresset lamp? Probably sixteenth-century French stoneware.

71. Body sherd of vessel in white ware with shiny olive green glaze. Decorated with cordon.
 72. Rim of stoneware jug with pink salt glaze. German.
 73. Body sherd, grey-brown glaze with wavy line decoration.
 74. Body sherd of German stoneware with blue ornament.
 75. Rim of salt glazed stoneware bowl with everted rim. French?
 76. Pierced lug of 'quaich' shaped vessel in white ware with blue paint imitating delft. Probably English.

Group VI (fig. 16)

This group consists of miscellaneous interesting medieval sherds from topsoil or other unstratified contexts.

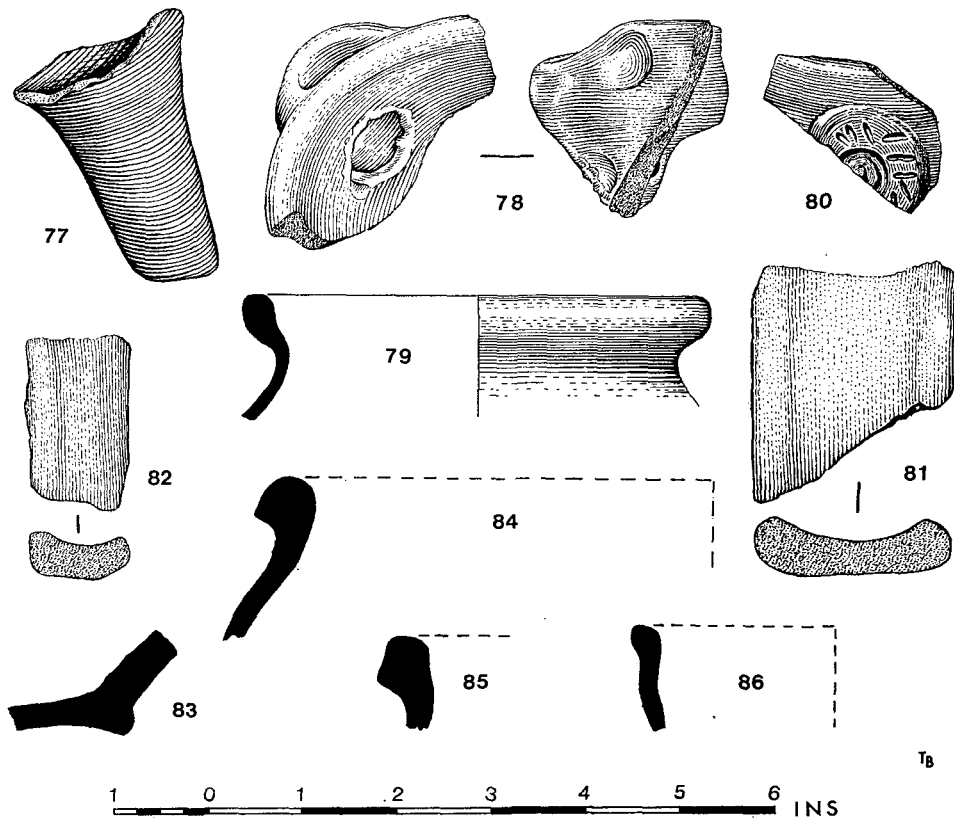


FIG. 16

77. Foot of large tripod bowl in grey ware with orange external surface. Apple-green glaze. Early fourteenth century? *Deer*, 34.
 78. Heavy jug spout in well fired grey ware with green-purple glaze. Thumbing round the edge.
 79. Rim of small bowl in sandy grey ware, fired to orange on outside and with spots of apple-green glaze.
 80. Body sherd of jug in sandy grey and orange ware with dark apple-green glaze. Decorated with appliqué roundel of wheel pattern with incised stamping.

81. Unglazed buff strap handle.
82. Strap handle in grey ware with terracotta surface and chrome yellow patchy glaze.
83. Base of jug in white gritty ware. *Bothwell*, 60.
84. Rim of cooking pot in gritty orange-buff ware.
85. Rim of cooking pot in grey gritty ware.
86. Rim of jug in grey ware with black surface. Cordon below lip?

APPENDIX

*Scottish Medieval Pottery – Some Current Problems
in the Light of the Linlithgow Palace Material¹*

In a recent study of medieval pottery in Britain Mr J. G. Hurst drew attention to the fact that as yet the classification and dating of different regional groups were at an early stage of development.² In many cases, too, what seem to be at first sight securely dated types are in fact much less clearly related to the chronology of medieval pottery as a whole than might be imagined.

If this is so for Britain as a whole it is particularly so for Scotland. There has been a tendency among students to believe that relatively little pottery was in use in Scotland during the Middle Ages, a preference being shown for vessels of leather or wood, as in the Welsh or Irish Iron Age. The important series of papers on Scottish medieval pottery by Mr S. H. Cruden, published in the period 1951–8, has shown quite clearly that Scotland had a thriving pottery industry in the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries, and produced many examples of outstanding medieval ceramic art.

With the exception of the discussion of the Bothwell Castle collection, these papers were primarily concerned with material from monastic sites, which in Scotland, in contrast to England, are rich in fine pottery. Medieval pottery, however, is not merely confined to religious foundations and castles, and finds are widely distributed from sites of all types.

One major problem that confronts the serious student of Scottish medieval pottery is the fact that until recently the subject was largely neglected. As a result of this much material has been lost, although since the last war, and especially in the last decade with the increase of interest in medieval archaeology as a whole, this situation has been remedied, and each year more material is coming to light. Unfortunately as yet new finds do not compensate for the loss of the old, and any attempt to make regional studies is still impossible due to the lack of field work in many areas.

A second problem lies in the fact that there is a very serious lack of dated groups of vessels, which might be used to build up a relative chronology and sequence. It is often not recognised that in Scotland the majority of finds of medieval pottery have been unstratified, consisting of surface finds, stray vessels without associations, or accumulations of pottery of different dates from moats, castle garderobes or drains. This is not only due to incompetent excavation, but also simply the accident of survival, a fact that is sometimes overlooked. The Bothwell Castle material came mainly from the moat and a garderobe pit, the Melrose Abbey finds from the reredorter pit and the finds from Caerlaverock Castle from a wet moat. Similarly the early pottery from Kidsneuk comes from a midden which could have accumulated over a long period of time, and the comparable collection from Hawick comes again from a moat, and likewise cannot be dated.

Excavations in recent years on a few sites in Scotland, such as Linlithgow or Slamannan, are beginning to provide small groups of contemporary vessels, but these as yet are too few to provide sound 'fixed' points even in a relative sequence.

For chronology then, we must rely for the most part on the unsatisfactory method of analogy with English, especially Northern English, material, or on internal typology. Our only absolute aids are a very few coin hoards which were contained in pots, but these in fact are of dubious value since most are very fragmentary.

¹ This brief discussion is not intended to be other than some interim thoughts on the subject, pending fuller publication. The distribution map (fig. 15) is far from complete, and is intended as a rough guide. I felt it inadvisable to delay the publication of this report pending fuller research on the Scottish medieval cooking pot, and hope to justify some of my inadequately documented suggestions in a longer study.

² Hurst, 1964, 135 f.

The hazards of a chronology built on this framework are of course obvious. We may be able to say that a particular type of vessel was in use at a given date, but how much earlier or later than that date it was also in use must remain uncertain. It is becoming more and more apparent that in Scotland there seems to have been a time lag in the use of pottery, certain types of vessels being in use later than in England and having a much longer survival. Many vessels which on comparison with English wares should be dated to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century are probably later, and vessels characteristic of this period in England (elaborately decorated jugs, etc.) may have continued in use in Scotland during much of the fourteenth century and possibly even the fifteenth.

The failure to allow for this possibility has led in the past to a rather uncomfortable hiatus between the early fourteenth century and the late fifteenth (the period when heavy dark wares with thick green glaze came into widespread use), with little material to fill it. The explanation should not be sought in a lull in the Scottish pottery industry but rather in a long survival of types.

The problem is clearly illustrated by the material from the Stenhouse Kilns near Falkirk, where we find not only apparently late thirteenth-century features in the pottery (such as face masks) but also types of vessels and glazes which should be late fifteenth-century, such as *pirlie-pig*, a distinctive type of vessel which does not appear in England until the late fifteenth century and which is unlikely to be much earlier in Scotland. This could at first sight be explained by the fact that the characteristically early and late vessels come from different kilns, suggesting a pottery industry on the site from the late thirteenth to the fifteenth century, but this does not explain the mixed character of the material from a third kiln.

There is another difficulty which is in fact related to the circumstances of discovery of the material. This lies in the dearth of complete or nearly complete vessels for study. When one has to depend on surface finds or accumulations of rubbish one must be content with series of rims or body sherds from which the reconstruction of pot profiles is impossible.

Finally, the lack of published material presents serious difficulties. As yet none of the important groups of pottery from kiln sites has been published, with the exception of Kinnoull (Perth),¹ though such sites are known in different parts of Scotland, the most notable being those at Colstoun (E. Lothian) and Stenhouse, near Falkirk (Stirling). The forthcoming publication of the large collection from the moat of Caerlaverock Castle (Dumfries) and the publication of the material in Dumfries Museum from some 70 sites will add much to our understanding of Scottish medieval pottery as a whole, as will the forthcoming report on the Stenhouse kiln excavations.

Dark Age and Viking Pottery

Dark Age imported pottery in Scotland has been discussed by Professor A. C. Thomas and others in a series of papers and their conclusions need not be summarised here.²

One group however is of special interest to students of Scottish medieval pottery on account of the fact that the fabric is very similar to that of the twelfth-/fourteenth-century Northern British cooking pots discussed below. This is Thomas' Class 'E' ware, which has so far been mainly found on the West coast of Scotland. Only a few East coast sites have yielded finds, notably Clatchard's Craig, Elie Links, Craig's Quarry and Abercorn. The sherds from Elie may in fact be of Northern British cooking pots rather than of 'E' ware – definitive rim sherds have not yet been found. 'E' ware appears to have been made in the neighbourhood of Bordeaux in the period A.D. 400–800.³

Hebridean Dark Age pottery, as exemplified by the finds from Dun Cuier, Barra, has little bearing on the study of the origins of Scottish medieval pottery traditions. It belongs rather to the Late Iron Age traditions of Hebridean pottery.⁴

Viking pottery is of greater importance in the medieval sequence, and can be studied from the material from Jarlshof, Shetland and Freswick Links, Caithness. The Jarlshof sequence suggests that until the mid eleventh century or later pottery was not used by the Viking settlers, who relied instead on steatite, a material widely used in Scandinavia. No pottery was associated with the ash

¹ Stevenson and Henshall, 1959.

² Radford, 1956, 59–70; Thomas, 1960, 89–111; Peacock and Thomas, 1967, 35–56.

³ Peacock and Thomas, 1967, 38.

⁴ Young, 1958, 303–15; Young, 1967, 54.

middens of the ninth to early eleventh centuries, but it first appeared in deposits overlying the latest midden, seemingly introduced in the twelfth century.¹

The pottery is coarse and hand-made, usually pitted from decayed vegetable matter, and generally shows affinities to Norwegian wares. Some of the later pots are of interest here as their profiles reflect the influence of 'Leuchars' ware cooking pots which were in fact imported to Jarlshof from further south. Fragments of imported 'Leuchars' ware are represented at Jarlshof in the late thirteenth- early fourteenth-century medieval farmstead.² It seems quite possible that the importing of 'Leuchars' pots inspired the local manufacture of pottery at Jarlshof, and the primitive nature of the most characteristic 'jamjar' vessels suggests that they are the products of potters working in a hitherto alien medium.³ At Freswick Links the Viking pottery was again associated with 'Leuchars' ware and again in profiles the pots showed its influence.⁴

Vessels of similar shape, but wheel-made, sometimes occur in the South – there are three vessels in fumed, gritty ware of 'jamjar' form from the Stenhouse kilns.

The Development of the Northern Cooking Pot

We may now turn to the first major group of medieval pots in Scotland. This group consists of a series of cooking vessels which are related to the general class of medieval pots which Jope has termed the 'Northern English Style'.⁵ The characteristics of these vessels are chiefly light coloured fabrics (usually cream or grey), pimply surface due to tempering with fairly coarse sand, relatively straight sides and a sequence of rim profiles which can be related typologically, of which the most distinctive stage of development is characterised by a 'club' squared lip.

The distribution of the group seems limited to Northern England and Scotland, its southern boundary not extending much beyond the Humber. In Scotland its distribution is mainly centred on the E. coast south of Perth, though outliers are found further N., including examples at Jarlshof. Probably all these, like the W. coast finds from Glenluce Sands or Ayr, are exports from the E. coast centres.

In England, S. of the Humber, a few regional groups of cooking pots with similar profiles or fabrics occur. Two in particular may be noted. The first is centred on the North Cotswold region, where straight sided vessels with club rims are to be found, some in a similar light gritty fabric. A group of vessels from Oxford with rounded rather than wallside profiles are in a fabric identical in appearance to that of Northern Britain – they include one vessel with a squared rim from Carfax and another from Radcliffe Square, both now in the Ashmolean Museum. Here they should probably be dated to the twelfth century. The distribution seems chiefly concentrated round Oxford itself.⁶

In the Midlands another group of vessels is to be found in the Nottingham-Leicester area with affinities to the Northern. These are clearly exemplified by several vessels of thirteenth-century date from the Jewry Wall site in Leicester,⁷ where the squared club rim and straight sided profile can be compared with the Scottish material.

Neither the North Cotswold nor the Nottingham-Leicester group of vessels can be considered as prototypes for the Northern. In the case of the Leicester vessels the forms most similar to the Northern are too late to be prototypes, and the earlier vessels from the region, those of the twelfth century, are not sufficiently similar in profile to be regarded as influential on the North British sequence. Both groups rather represent a parallel development.

The origin centre of the Northern British cooking pot seems to have been Yorkshire, where the distinctive, pimply fabrics were probably derived from Saxo-Norman York ware of the eleventh century.⁸ Behind these in turn lie Rhineland prototypes. The cooking pots do not appear in Yorkshire before the mid-twelfth century, but the early forms as well as fabrics show the influence of Late Saxon predecessors, especially forms of Thetford ware tradition.⁹ Some characteristic features, such

¹ Hamilton, 1956, 187.

² Hamilton, 1956, 192.

³ Hamilton, 1956, 187 and fig. 84.

⁴ Curle, 1939, 103.

⁵ Jope, 1956, 323.

⁶ Jope, 1948, 70-73; fig. 14, no. 2.

⁷ Kenyon, 1947, 234, fig. 66.

⁸ Dunning, 1960, 44; Hurst, 1961, 76-81.

⁹ For Rhineland origins of Thetford ware, see Dunning, 1960, 34 f. It was once supposed that two vessels from Whitby, belonging to an early stage in the development of the Northern cooking pot, were in fact 'Carolingian' vessels of Rhenish origin, see Peers and Radford, 1943, 82. These have been re-attributed by Hurst. (Hurst, 1960, 27.)

as thumbed, squared rims (fig. 17*a*) may show the influence of Stamford ware forms which continued at sites like Torksey, Lincs, until the twelfth century.¹

The sequence of developments in Yorkshire has been particularly well studied. Kirkstall Abbey has given us a pottery sequence starting with the foundation of the Abbey in the mid-twelfth century (1152) and continuing until after its dissolution. The gritty, distinctive ware seems to have continued in use at Kirkstall throughout the period of its occupation, though the shapes and decoration of later vessels are quite distinct. It does not however seem to have had such a long currency outside Yorkshire. Here it has been called 'Kirkstall A' ware.²

In Northern England cooking pots in this fabric have a fairly central distribution, but tend to be more concentrated on the East than on the West. They are mainly found N. of the Humber, but a few sites to the S. have also yielded sherds, notably Duffield Castle in the Trent basin,³ Alkington deserted village and Donnington Park (Derby).⁴ In 1960 a kiln site producing cooking pots in this ware as well as some glazed vessels was excavated at Upper Heaton, W. Yorkshire, and seems to have been in operation in the early fourteenth century.⁵ A group of vessels is here illustrated from Lindisfarne, showing the range of thirteenth-/early fourteenth-century rim forms current in Yorkshire,

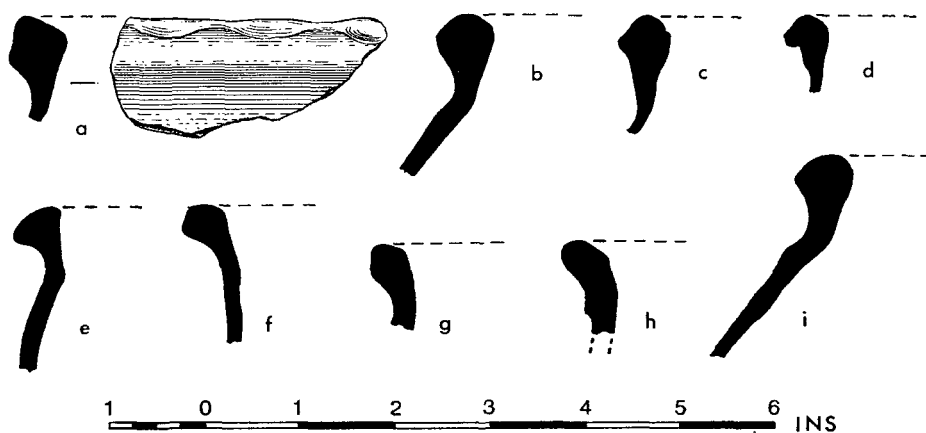


FIG. 17. Group of vessels from Lindisfarne

most of which can be paralleled from Upper Heaton, with the exception of fig. 17*a* which is possibly an earlier residual.⁶

Dating is not easy – the ware appears in twelfth-century contexts at Almondbury Castle⁷ and Knaresborough,⁸ where in the latter case there is a *terminus ante quem* of 1210. A further dating for the squared club rim is provided by Finchale, not founded until 1198.⁹ The Knaresborough types are typologically early, as are the fabrics, which are harder and more 'waxy' in appearance than the thirteenth-century developments.

Further examples of squared rim pots come from Budle Bay, the site of Waremouth, not founded until 1247.¹⁰

If we turn to Carlisle we find that the general type seems to become extinct by about 1240-50,¹¹ but as Jarrett has pointed out the Carlisle sequence follows a development which is slightly different from that of the East coast, and the absence of East coast types there after the mid-thirteenth century

¹ Dunning, 1960, 44.

² le Patourel, 1958, 94-95.

³ Brewster, *Derbys. Arch. J.*, LXXIX (1959), 14-15.

⁴ Manby, 1965, 70.

⁵ Manby, 1965, 70-111.

⁶ Now in the custody of M.P.B.W., 122 George Street, Edinburgh. These seem to have been found early this century, probably in consolidation work. No context was noted. Associated with the rims was one body sherd with spots of glaze, of late thirteenth-century character.

⁷ le Patourel, 1952, 20.

⁸ Waterman, 1953, 213.

⁹ Jarrett and Edwards, 1961, 255.

¹⁰ Jope and Hodges, 1956 *passim*.

¹¹ Jarrett and Edwards, 1961, loc. cit.

need not imply that they became extinct everywhere in the North.¹ In England, the only fairly well dated occurrence of a club rim cooking pot is at Kirkstall where it was ascribed to the second half of the twelfth century.²

The life currency, then, for the ware in England would seem to be from the late eleventh century until the mid-thirteenth and later, at least in Yorkshire.

In Scotland we are faced with the problem of finding a date at which the ware first appears. The vessels from the Hawick moat have frequently been cited as stratified with a coin of Henry II, but in reality no stratigraphy was observed or recorded and vessels of the Northern British variety were found with sherds of glazed jugs of the type that was found at Castledykes, Kirkcudbright, suggesting that the Hawick moat pottery extends from the twelfth century right down through most of the thirteenth century as well.³

On the other hand there is good reason to suppose that in Scotland the ware has a long survival. Two pots of the clubbed rim type have been found containing coin hoards. The first, from Penicuik, has been dated to *c.* 1320,⁴ the second, which comes from Ayr, has been dated to *c.* 1280–1300.⁵ From the site of the Blackfriars cemetery at Stirling come a few sherds including two fairly late 'evolved' rims. Although the material from this site covers a fairly wide period, none is likely to be earlier than the date of the foundation of the friary, *c.* 1245.⁶

It is fairly clear, then, that in Scotland the cooking pots of this gritty white ware continue certainly down to the end of the thirteenth century and probably well into the fourteenth century as well.

'Leuchars' Ware

Having traced the origins of the Northern British cooking pot in England we may say that it seems probable that in Scotland the general type spread to the SE. some time in the late twelfth or thirteenth century and continued to develop during the thirteenth century, dying out probably in the early to mid fourteenth. At this date we find in Scotland the appearance of another type of cooking vessel of globular shape, of which a typical example is *Bothwell*, 59. In the fifteenth century, metal vessels were used for cooking to a greater extent, as in England, but towards the end of the century new types seem to have come into use again, cf. *Linlithgow*, 58. Possibly the globular shape of the fourteenth-century pots is also due to metal skeuomorphism.

Reference has already been made to the ware of some of the Linlithgow pots as 'Leuchars' ware, and some justification must be given. The most important feature of these cooking pots in Scotland is their superior fabric. They are certainly finer than any of the contemporary cooking pots in the S. of England, the familiar 'straight everted squared top' and 'fingering on junction of neck and shoulder' vessels of twelfth-century Winchester and elsewhere. Even the Cotswold vessels are softer in fabric and less well fired. It has been pointed out that it would be quite impossible to produce vessels of this Northern sort with such thin sections and gritty fabrics on a wheel. Jarrett and Edwards have suggested that in fact the Northern English variants were hand-made and finished off on a wheel, like some Roman cooking pots.⁷

As yet no kiln sites for these pots have been found in Scotland. But a study of the distribution map (fig. 18) shows a dense concentration in the neighbourhood of Leuchars, Fife. Almost every field in the vicinity of Leuchars has produced a number of sherds, some even hundreds. Not a few seem to be wasters. A neighbouring site, Tentsmuir Forest, has yielded a similar quantity of pottery of this distinctive fabric. Trenching operations, too, in Tentsmuir during the First World War cut through a midden in which there was a considerable quantity of this ware; again some pieces were distorted and possibly wasters.⁸ To some extent the dense distribution may be due to more intensive field walking in recent years in this area than in others, but nevertheless the quantity of this type of pottery from the area, coupled with the comparative dearth of the later glazed wares, suggests that here was a centre of production.

¹ Jarrett and Edwards, 1961, loc. cit.

² le Patourel, 1952, 20.

³ Jope and Hodges, 1956, 87.

⁴ Anon, 1894, 239.

⁵ Thompson, 1956, no. 18.

⁶ Unpublished, in Stirling.

⁷ Jarrett and Edwards, 1961, 245.

⁸ Now in the National Museum of Antiquities. The evidence for this comes from a note associated with the sherds.

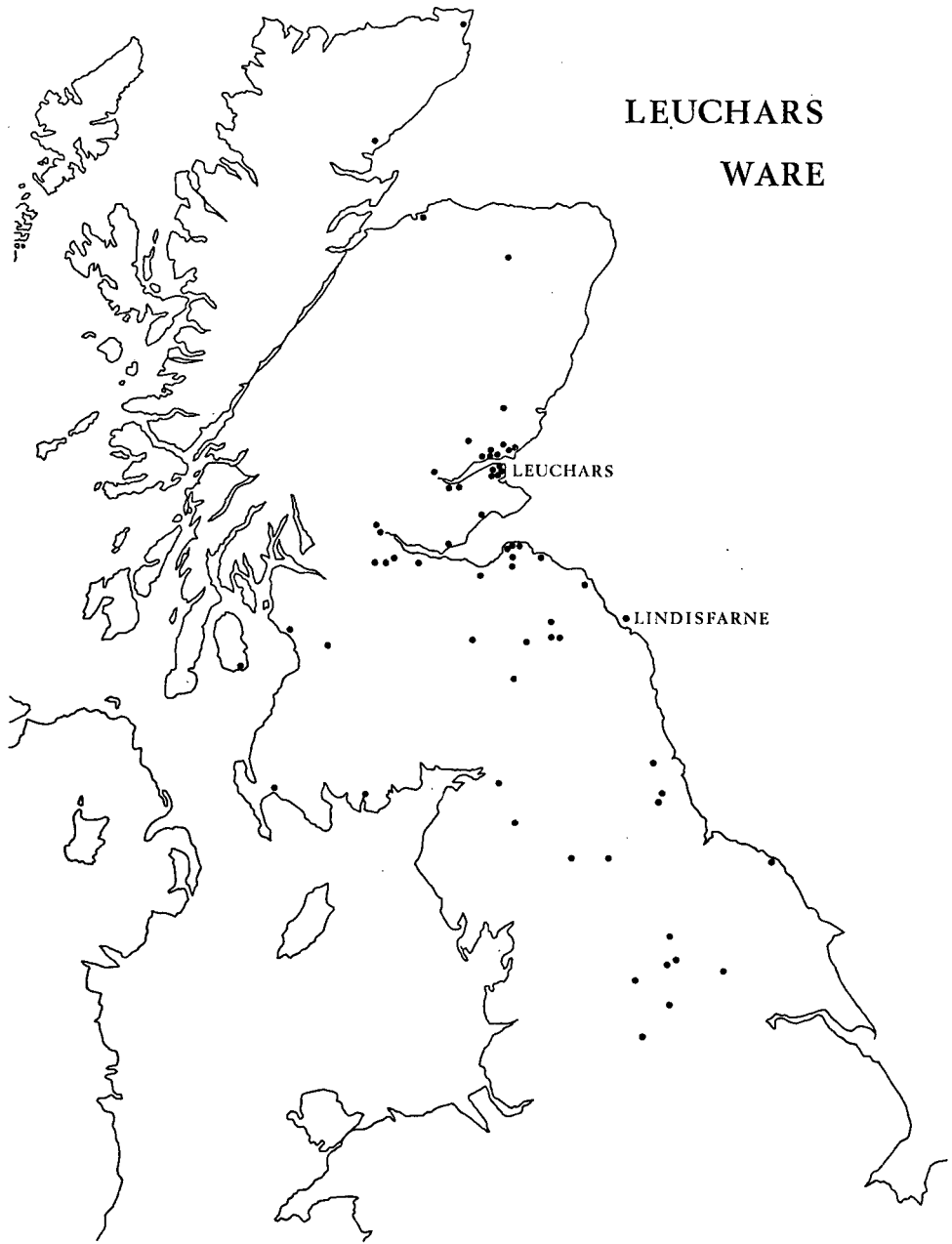


FIG. 18. Distribution map of 'Leuchars' Ware

It is for this reason that the name 'Leuchars' ware is used here to describe the fabric, since terms like 'Northern Style of Cooking Pot' give no indication of this distinctive ware and imply that it is confined to cooking pots only, whereas a range of vessels seem to have been made in the same fabric, including shallow bowls. Secondly, in Scotland at least, vessels with similar rim profiles occur occasionally in other fabrics.

Further investigation may show that there were kilns at Leuchars producing other characteristic vessels apart from cooking pots in this fabric, as a preliminary study of the Leuchars material might suggest.

We can possibly recognise two grades of 'Leuchars' ware, the one thin and fine, the other tending to be thick walled and coarse. No chronological distinction can be made between the two grades, the fine form occurring along with the coarse at Linlithgow. Fine 'Leuchars' ware occurs with late glazes spattered on the interior (as at St Andrews East Cemetery or Haddington)¹ while on other sites is found associated with late thirteenth-century jugs, as in the case of Linlithgow or Black Rocks, Gullane.²

It is possible to distinguish between an 'early' and a 'late' facies of the industry. If we can be guided by the Northern English parallels for the forms, the early group must start some time in the twelfth century, but certainly seems to continue well into the thirteenth, as typologically early vessels occur associated with thirteenth-century glazed pottery of fairly typical form. There are however a group of 'evolved' forms, which seem to be a thirteenth-century development, and among these are the bifid rims of the sort represented by *Linlithgow*, 1. Many of the forms in this group are without English parallels, and are seemingly a Scottish development.

Into the 'Early' group fall the squared club rims, the angular rims of beaded form, the overhanging rims and rims of triangular section, together with simple rims of thickened, everted type. (With the exception of the squared rim the main varieties can be seen in the Lindisfarne series, fig. 17.) The first development from this, still in the early series, is the elongation of the squared rim and a tendency towards concavity. These seem to be the most common form of rim current in the thirteenth century, exemplified in England by those from Knaresborough,³ but certainly they continue until c. 1300 in Scotland, as is shown by the Ayr hoard, contained in a pot with a rim of this form.

In the 'Late' group we find the occurrence of simple, straight everted rims, rather like the English twelfth-century Southern rim profiles, but presumably evolved from the squared club rim by way of intermediaries of the nature of *Linlithgow*, 2. Some have bifid rims (*Linlithgow*, 1) and occur at Leuchars, Brackmont Farm, Tentsmuir, Gullane and Kidsneuk.⁴ Where there is associated pottery it is of late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century character – the best associations are at Kidsneuk, where they occur in a midden with sherds decorated with a face mask and with scales, or at Black Rocks, Gullane, with a thirteenth-century strap handle. There is a less certain association with late pottery in the Blackfriars cemetery in Stirling. Another form, this time a bowl with straight sides and bifid rim, occurs at sites in both Scotland and England. It appears at Colstoun, dated to the late thirteenth/early fourteenth century, but does not appear to have been one of the types made there, and must be regarded as a stray. A bifid rim, seemingly from a jug in a ware allied to 'Leuchars' occurs at Peebles Castle,⁵ and there is another variant from Leuchars. To this second period too belong a variety of S-shaped profile rims, including some seemingly designed to hold lids, and variants of 'beaded' rims. A few jugs, of usual late thirteenth-century shapes, also seem to have been made in 'Leuchars' ware, the most notable being one from Kildonan.⁶

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ABBREVIATIONS

Arch. Archaeologia.
Arch. Ael. 4 Archaeologia Aeliana, Fourth Series.

¹ Unpublished.² Unpublished, in the National Museum.³ Waterman, 1953, 213.⁴ All unpublished, in the National Museum, except for the sherds from Kidsneuk. (See *Kidsneuk*.)⁵ Unpublished, in the National Museum.⁶ Fairhurst, 1939, 229.

<i>Arch. N.L.</i>	Archaeological Newsletter.
<i>Ant. J.</i>	Antiquaries Journal.
<i>Trans. D. G. A. S.</i>	Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society.
<i>Trans. C. W. A. S.</i>	Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society.
<i>Med. Arch.</i>	Medieval Archaeology.
<i>Oxon.</i>	Oxoniensia.

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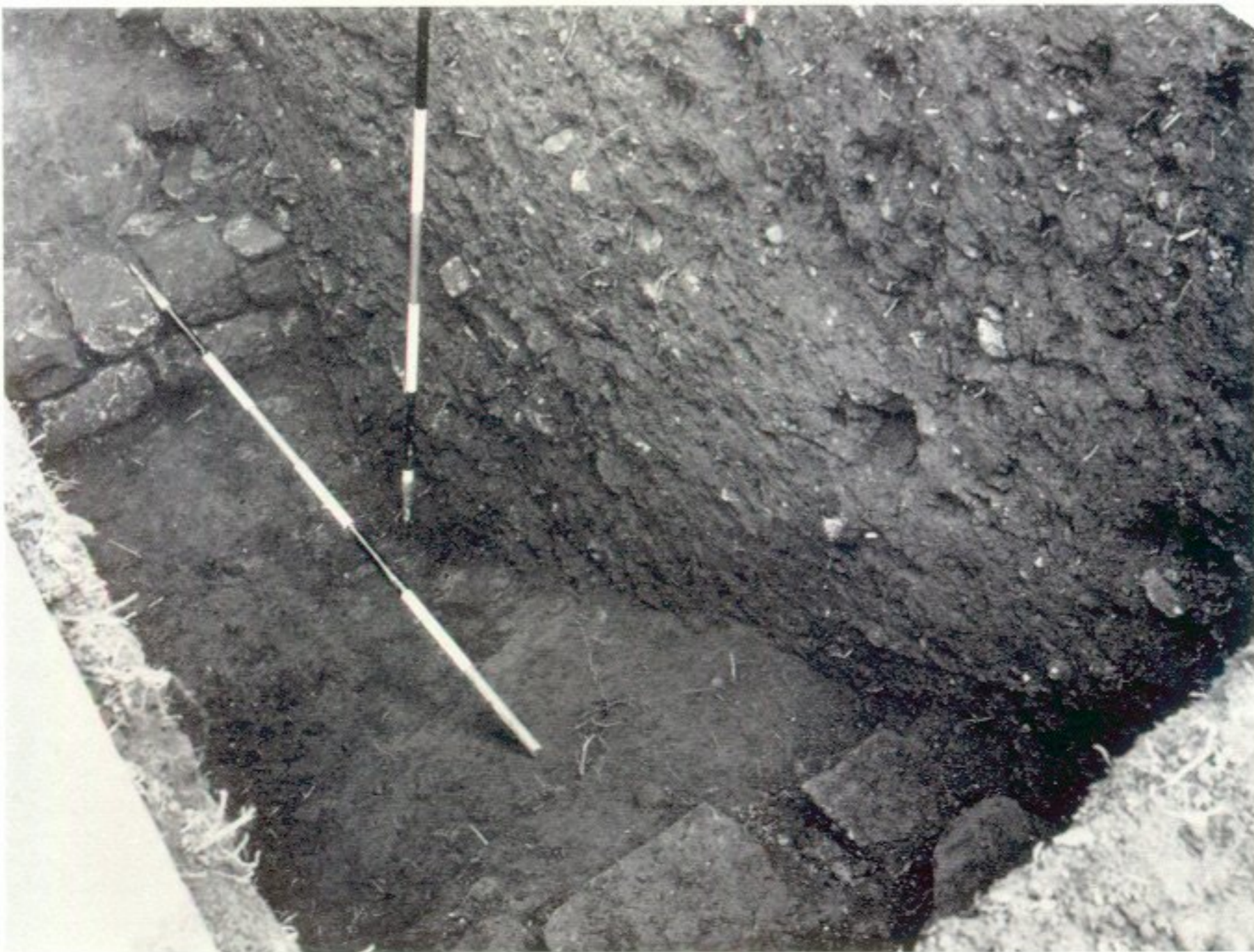
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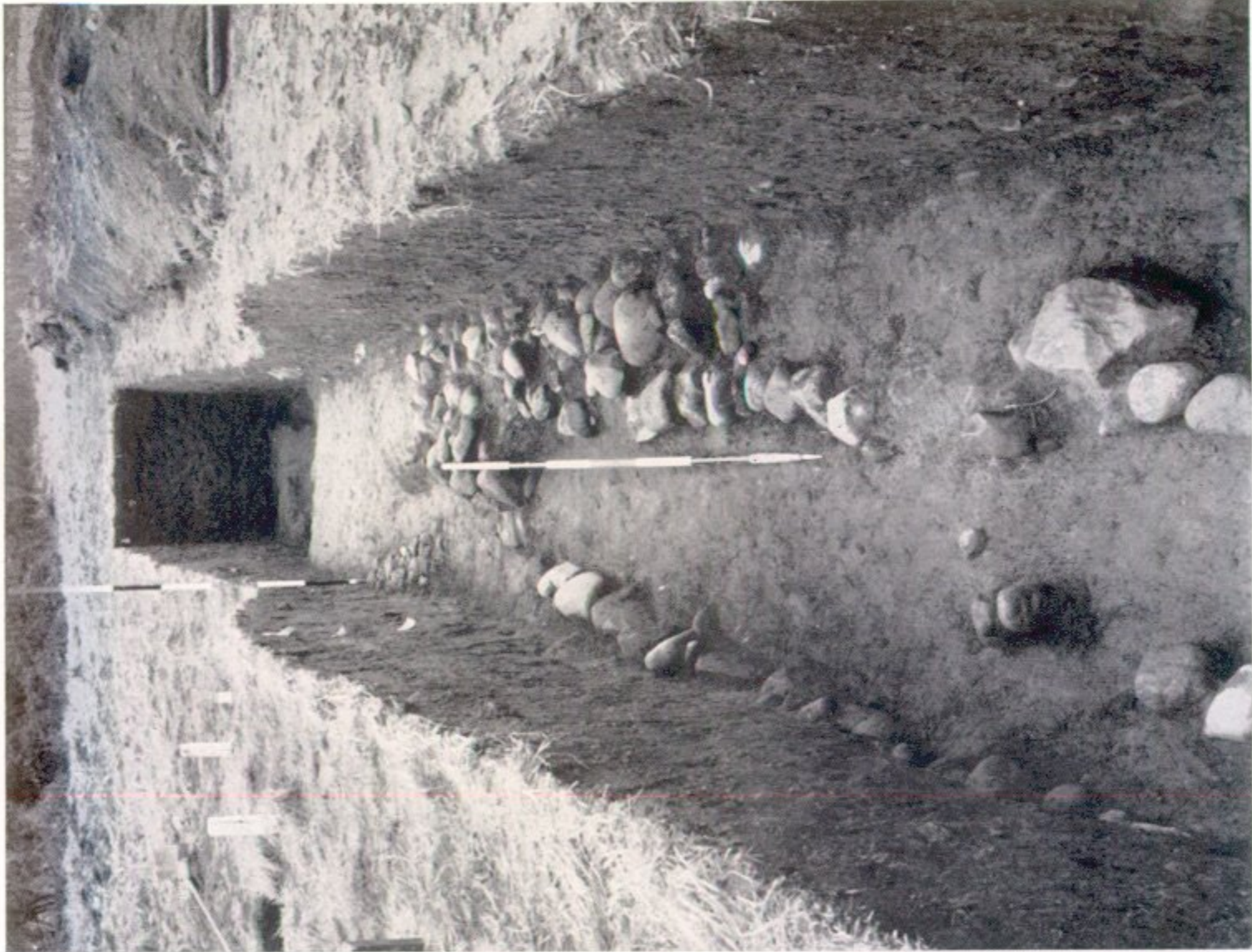
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2. Cutting II, W. end from N., showing features in natural



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