

**MARLIN'S WYND:  
NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND  
DOCUMENTARY RESEARCH ON POST-  
MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT BELOW  
THE TRON KIRK, EDINBURGH**

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# 1 ABSTRACT

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The 17th-century Tron Kirk, on the High Street, Edinburgh, is built over the remains of tenement buildings that were pulled down to allow its construction. The re-development of the building provided an opportunity to complete the earlier excavations carried out between 1974 and 1983 and a more complete footprint of the tenements emerged, together with a fragment of the old High Street. The archaeological investigation has been

complemented by documentary research which has populated the tenements with colourful occupants as far back as the late 15th century. The artefact assemblages from both the recent and earlier excavations contain only material of 16th- and 17th-century date, which suggests that the tenements had been redeveloped during the late 15th/early 16th centuries, thus removing all but a trace of the earlier medieval settlement.

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## 2 INTRODUCTION

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The Tron Kirk, a Listed Building (Listing Number 27552), occupies a prominent position on the High Street, lying within the medieval limits of the burgh (illus 1). Since its partial dereliction in the 1950s, the building has been subject to a series of archaeological investigations (for example Lawson 1996; Kirby 2003), the most comprehensive being the 1974 and 1983 excavations undertaken by Mr Nicholas Holmes, of the City of Edinburgh Archaeology Service, in advance of a proposed programme of redevelopment (Holmes 1975; 1986). These identified the post-medieval remains of Marlin's Wynd, the remnants of a series of tenement cellars and various internal architectural features including

internal drains, door jambs and springs, aumbries, fireplaces and decorative plasterwork.

The 1974 excavation was restricted by engineering constraints which required certain areas to be left unexcavated; these unexcavated areas comprised the periphery of the kirk where the wall foundations stood, and the foundations for the cast-iron gallery columns (see Holmes 1975, Fig. 2). The subsequent decision to display the significant historic remains of Marlin's Wynd and associated tenements led to a second phase of works in 1983 which involved further works comprising the removal of material underlying the gallery (Holmes 1986, 297).

In 2005 new proposals by the City of Edinburgh



*Illus 1 Location map of the Tron Kirk*



Council were drawn up to conserve both the kirk and its underlying archaeological remains and provide a new historic visitor attraction and restaurant. The programme of works comprised the re-excavation of earlier excavation trenches, the excavation of the peripheral areas and a 3D survey of the interior of the Tron Kirk (to be used in future interpretation boards

and for architectural purposes). The project also offered the opportunity to reinterpret the artefact assemblages recovered from the earlier excavations in the light of more recent research. Documentary research was undertaken into the history of the site prior to its demolition in the 1630s, considering the occupants of the street and their role in society.

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## 3 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

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The Tron Kirk was established to provide a church for the dispossessed congregation of St Giles', which had previously been converted to a cathedral by Charles I (Holmes 1975, and see **Documentary Evidence** below). It was built between 1637 and 1655 (Holmes 1975, 137). Between 1785 and 1787 the east, south and west wings of the church were removed to aid the construction of the South Bridge and Hunter Square, forming a more rectangular building. A heating chamber and a timber gallery were added to the interior in the 19th century. As a result of subsequent phases of development within the building, the only surviving elements of the

original structure are sections of the south wall, north façade, tower and the hammer beam roof.

At the time of the construction of the Tron Kirk, the High Street still retained its medieval layout, with long, narrow burgage plots lying at right angles to the main thoroughfare (Coleman 2004; Tait 2006). The decision to build the Tron Kirk would therefore have required the demolition of a series of closes and wynds and their associated tenement buildings, and the earlier excavations in the Tron Kirk substantiated this, revealing a series of buildings on either side of a narrow passage, subsequently identified as Marlin's Wynd (Holmes 1975; 1986).

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## 4 DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE, by *Morag Cross*

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This report is partly based on original and unpublished source material, and includes probably the earliest known mention of Marlin's Wynd by name, as well as contemporary evidence for the contents of 16th-century shops and booths, and for women's roles in the transmission of assets and businesses.

In the mid-18th century, William Maitland (1753, 166–7) recorded 'Opposite to the church, in the middle of the High Street, is interred the Corpse of one Marlin, a French Paviour, who, according to his desire, was there inhumed, probably in commemoration of his being the man, as 'tis said, who first paved the said [High] street'. Despite this statement, Maitland contradicts himself by correctly naming two Frenchmen as among the first to lay paving, in 1532. He admits the stories conflict: 'were it not prevailing tradition' that Walter Merlioun had placed stone setts there (ie even earlier than the Frenchmen; Maitland 1753, 12; *Edinburgh Recs* II, 57–8).

This burial tradition was so enticing that it was uncritically repeated by successive historians, despite its inherent implausibility (Chambers 1824, 209; Wilson 1891, II, 54). It was probably invented to explain an unusually-shaped, but otherwise insignificant, stone setting at the wynd head, which resembled 'the form of a lid of a flat coffin, of the length six feet' (Maitland 1753, 167). The story was convincingly deconstructed by Harris (1996, 397) – in any case, Merlioun was dead by the mid-1520s, and the only approved municipal burial-place was the churchyard of St Giles'. In addition, Merlioun's 'latter will', which would have recorded his personal wishes for his burial, does not survive (not recorded on [www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk](http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk), accessed 29 May 2012). Not surprisingly, neither Holmes (1975, 138, 140) nor Cook (2007) found evidence for the 'grave', and none was found during the present project.

The Tron Kirk's construction was the consequence of Edinburgh's acute church accommodation crisis, caused by a burgeoning population (McNeill & MacQueen 1996, 457). In the 1580s, St Giles' had been subdivided by partition walls to serve two of the burgh's four congregations (Marshall 2009, 69, 79, 81). This meant that the Town Council, which acted as the heritors, or the corporate body maintaining the church fabric, had to rehouse the remaining two parishes' worshippers. Marlin's Wynd was located in the new parish of the south-east burgh quarter, which contained 1,998 potential church-goers in 1592 (Lynch 1984, 7). This was too many for the alternative buildings to cope with, and from 1598 the south-east parish moved back to a further subdivided St Giles' (Marshall 2009, 69–70).

In 1633, Charles I insisted that St Giles' internal

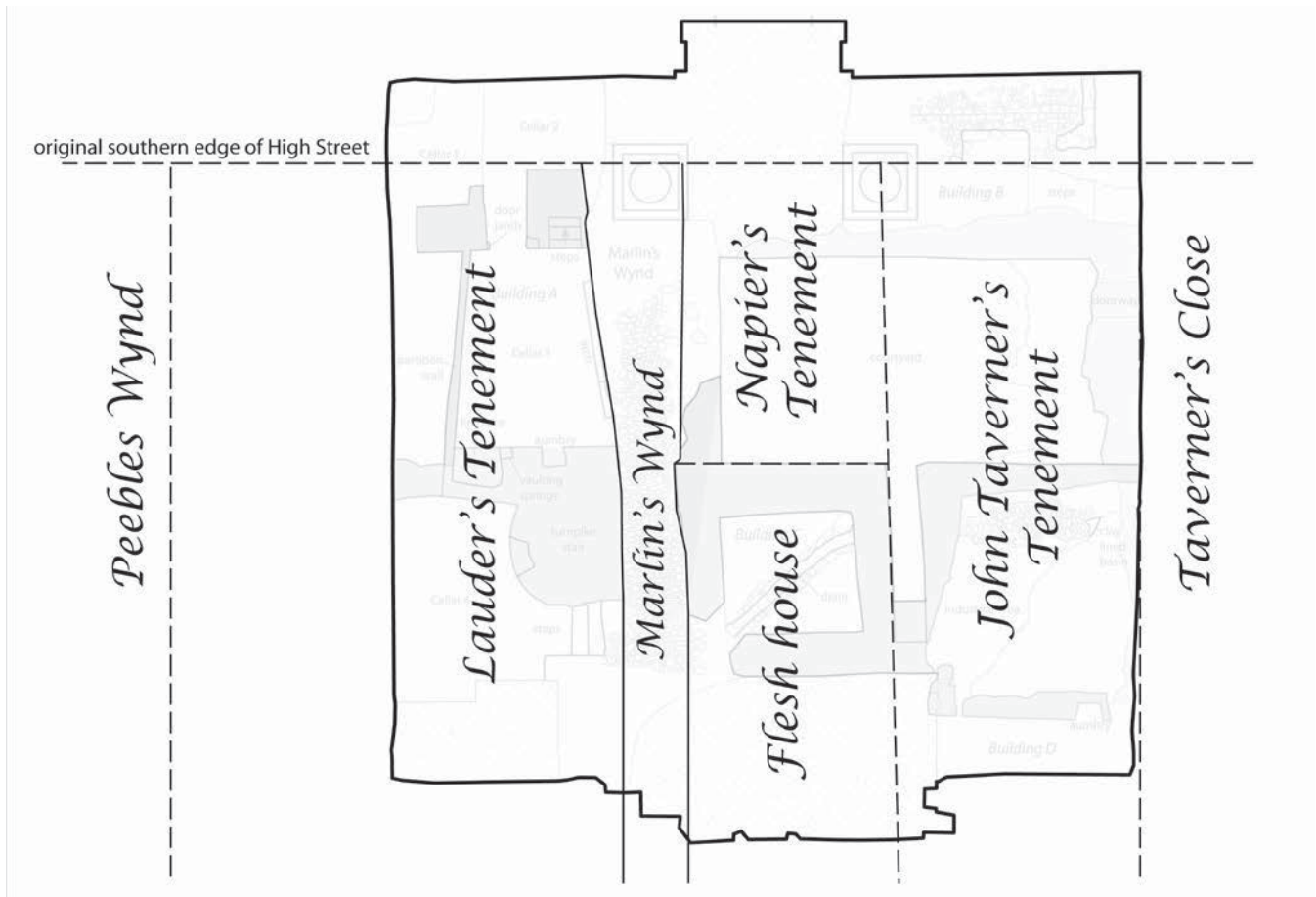
partitions be removed, to form a suitably impressive metropolitan cathedral, as befitted the nation's capital (Marshall 2009, 80–1). One source, the Council's 'housemails' book (defined in the 17th-century text quoted below as a tax to pay ministers' stipends) shows that by 1635, Edinburgh's households had increased by 74% since the 1590s (McNeill & MacQueen 1996, 456). Two new churches were mooted, but only that for the seriously overcrowded south-east quarter was actually built – Christ's Kirk at the Tron. It was begun in 1637, and opened for worship, albeit unfinished, in 1641 (Stewart 2006, 83).

After much procrastination, the Council chose to site the new Tron church within 'the boundis lyand betwixt umq[ui]ll Alexr Clerk his ludging and the tenement perteing to the aires of umq[ui]ll Richard Doby ... according to the breid thairof' (ECA, SL1/1/14, p747, 15 Feb 1636). The tenements were burgage plots, long strips of land running down to the Cowgate, which lawyers referred to by the names of long-dead proprietors, the property transactions or sasine registers thereby forming an 'archaeology of ownership'. The Council compulsorily purchased the four buildings running west from the head of Taverner's Wynd as far as the east side of Peebles Wynd (ECA, SL1/1/14, p755, 1 Apr 1636) (illus 2). The Court of Session was asked to adjudicate the level of compensation for each building demolished, but despite searching legal records (eg, NAS, CS15/239–40, CS7/486–9), the court processes have not yet been located. The relevant judgments are not, for instance, in the Protocol Books of the notaries Guthrie (NAS, B22/1/77–9) nor in sasine and other registers (NAS, B22/8/29–31, RS25/24–8, RD1/492). The court decision and ownership history are here discussed in chronological order.

### 4.1 *Taverner's Close*

Holmes (1975, 138) identifies Taverner's Close as lying between Marlin's and Niddry's Wynds, and being subsumed into the dog-leg turn of the rerouted Marlin's Wynd junction with the High Street, after 1636. By 1493, Adam Halkerston had bought (or otherwise acquired) the land (ie house) of John Taverner, which lay on the west side of the close junction with the High Street (*RMS* II, No. 2154). Taverner, a burgess, was dead by March 1495, when an annual income from his property went to a chaplainry in St Giles' (*RMS* II, No. 2238).

Taverner's Close is quoted as a 'wynd' or public way, in 1488 (Harris 1996, 551). Even so, in every other mention the name of this close ('Tavern-



Illus 2 The current footprint of the Tron Kirk superimposed with the approximate positions of the wynds and closes, and the associated tenement buildings which were demolished to make way for its construction

er's') is either entirely omitted (eg in 1504, *Prot Bk Foular I* (contd), No. 101), or it is described merely as 'the passage of the said tenement' (as in 1525, *Prot Bk Foular III*, No. 614). Holmes (1975, 138) suggests that the close extended only part of the way towards Cowgate, and this may be borne out by the existence of the 'great mansion of ... George Halkerston (NAS, B22/1/18, No. 157, f113r–115v), and/or Walter Bertram on the west side of Niddry's Wynd. From before 1495 to after 1556, this building, or buildings, probably extended east–west across several tenements, possibly cutting off the southern course of Taverner's Close (*RMS II*, No. 2245; *Prot Bk Foular I* (contd), Nos 323–4; NAS, B22/1/18, No. 157, f113r–115v). Alternatively, the 'flesh-house' or slaughterhouse in Marlin's Wynd (qv) could have blocked the close.

At some time after 1560, 'the tenement and waste land of the heirs of the late George Halkerston' (NAS, B22/1/20, f165r, 20 Aug 1560; also *Prot Bk Foular I*, No. 204; III, No. 614) was sold to Sir Alexander Clerk of Balbirnie, provost of Edinburgh 1579–84 (*Edinburgh Recs IV*, 577–8). It may have remained in his family until the 1620s, when it was described as having 'once belonged to the heirs of the late Alexander Clerk' (NAS, B22/1/73, f149r; also, NAS, B22/1/37, f101r).

In 1635, 'for valuing of the hail maillis of the housses within this burgh', a list of all the property owners in Edinburgh, and their tenants, was compiled for the levying of a tax 'to settell the ministrie in their yeirlie stipends in all tyme cu[m]ling' ('for valuing of the whole mails or house-rents of the houses within this burgh', the housemails book was compiled, 'to give the ministers their yearly stipends, or salaries, in all time coming'; ECA, SL1/1/14, p677, 1 May 1635; Boog Watson 1924, 93–5). The Tron Kirk site formed part of the south-east quarter in the housemails book. However, the 'addresses' given in the original house list are described by forestair and turnpike, and floors within buildings, so the locations can be very ambiguous. Either James Logie, or William MacMath ('Makmath') owned what was probably Taverner's and Clerk's tenement (ECA, *HTB*, pp 355–357). The housemails book does not mention Taverner's Close, which suggests its relative insignificance. (Holmes 1975, 138, confuses Niddrie's Wynd, which is specifically named in the housemails book, with Taverner's Wynd, which seems to be omitted.)

MacMath's house had a turnpike stair linking two houses or flats, with a 'laiche fore hous or sellar', opening off the street, and either two, or three 'heigh fore weaster boothes east of th(e)r(e) next w(i)thout

the former turnpike foote' (ECA, *HTB*, p357). These were probably wooden shops in galleries at first floor level, tenanted by shopkeepers, one of whom bears the name of a bookseller, Thomas Lawson, who died in 1645 (NAS, CC8/8/61/328). If the two are identical, Lawson supplied religious literature to ministers, lawyers and schoolmasters all over Scotland from his 'librarie and ... booth', including Carluke, Crieff, Blair, Stewarton, Forgandennie and 'St Jonstoune' (NAS, CC8/8/61/328–30).

#### 4.2 *Marlin's Wynd*

'The name affords splendid ground for phonetic excursions', but, as discussed above, it is consistently associated with Walter Merlioun (Boog Watson 1923, 77). Indeed, in 1557, it is called the 'little vennel', or wynd, of 'the late Walter Merlioun' (NAS, B22/1/18, f152r). He was one of several relatives employed as master masons and quarriers on the Royal Works during the 15th and 16th centuries, including the gateway of Holyrood, and Stirling and Dunbar castles (Fawcett 1994, 190, 317). In 1503, Merlioun owned three contiguous properties on the west side of the wynd, situated at least four houses south of the High Street (*Prot Bk Foular* I, No. 214; I (contd), Nos 615, 675). Between 1508 and 1512, Merlioun gifted annual payments from the two southern houses, which were rented out, to the masons' and wrights' chaplainry in St Giles', but continued to live in the northern house himself (*Prot Bk Foular* I (contd), Nos 447, 615, 697, 815). Merlioun had died by 1521, and his widow, Margaret Robison, finally sold her home in 1527 (*Prot Bk Foular* III, Nos 186, 855).

Although the early protocols (property transfers) for this area mention Merlioun, they do not identify the lane as either Marlin's Wynd, or as any other public thoroughway. When his widow resigned her share of her house in 1527, its location is given as 'within the tenement of the late Robert Lauder on the west side of its passage' (*Prot Bk Foular* III, No. 855). Nonetheless, by the 1550s, it had acquired its modern name, among its earliest occurrences being its use by the lawyer Alexander King, in 1555, 'vinella dict(a) m(er)lionis wynd' (NAS, B22/1/18, f9r, 4 Jul 1555, No. 12; *ibid*, f113r, 3 Sept 1556, No. 157). By 1557, it is explicitly cited as a public way, 'vinella quond(am) Wa(l)teri M(er)lionii ... publica(m) via dict(am) vinella' (NAS, B22/1/18, f152r, 13 Feb 1556/7).

Holmes found that the wynd surface 'had apparently suffered only little wear and tear', and was lined with a gutter to the east (1975, 140). Some idea of the expense of this recently laid paving, which was soon to be demolished for the Tron Kirk, can be seen in the contemporary repairs in neighbouring Peebles Wynd. The church-building work seems to have damaged the drains: 'June 2, 1637, ten scoir pend staines to the gutter in peibles wynd, becauss the wattirgaitt wes sett down that way from the kirk; and the wynd ordanyt to be reparit ... xli; ...

sex odger pend [ogee-shaped voussoirs] to cast over the gutter ... xxiiii sh' (ECA, *Treas Accts*, p28, 2 Jun 1637).

#### 4.3 *Marlin's Wynd east side*

The long, narrow plot adjoining the west side of John Taverner's burgage strip was known as John Napier's tenement, but only the northern, excavated lands are discussed here. Although William Napier appears in 1493, there were at this time probably two, related, John Napiers – one, a chaplain and the other, an uncle of Archibald Napier of Merchiston (*RMS* II, Nos 2154, 2245; *Prot Bk Foular* I (contd), No. 464). In 1508, Archibald inherited the various parts of the tenement, which included the chaplain's land beside the Cowgate, two parcels of wasteland, and the foreland where his uncle John Napier's widow resided (*Prot Bk Foular* I (contd), No. 464). Marlin's Wynd is not mentioned under any guise. The tenement remained within the Napier family, but for over a century was to pass through the female line, both by inheritance and as part of the tocher, or marriage portion.

In 1510, the current John Napier began to develop the property, and bought a land near the south of the tenement, with a neighbour's garden to the north. He also purchased the right to build a glazed window overlooking the garden, suggesting that he valued comfort and amenity, whether of light or of a view of something other than walls (*Prot Bk Foular* I (contd), No. 623).

'The importance placed on the burges property qualification is emphasised by the appointment of ... "liners", [men] whose responsibility was to measure land and property boundaries' (Connor et al 2004, 8). Such burghal officials convened on site when Napier felt he was entitled to more ground than he presently possessed and he protested that his building plans would otherwise be constrained (*Prot Bk Foular* I (contd), No. 639). Depending on the interpretation, he owned a strip 23 ells (70ft 11ins) long, rather than his preferred four roods (80ft), if 'a ... ro[o]ld of 20 foot was ... used in the burghs' (Connor et al 2004, 85–6). This early description of Marlin's Wynd (still unnamed in the sources) says that Napier cannot encroach upon 'the clois of the said tenement' with either his yard dyke, or forestairs, other than those presently existing (*Prot Bk Foular* I (contd), No. 639).

By 1528, Napier's widow, Margaret Preston, had become a sister of the Dominican Convent of the Order of St Katherine of Siena (Sciennes Convent). Accordingly, she renounced her share in the property in favour of her married daughter and son-in-law, William Adamson. Unusually, four of her six daughters had also joined the order of St Katherine, so their vows of poverty meant that Adamson inherited everything (*Prot Bk Foular* IV, No. 41). Whether this was excessive familial piety, or a pragmatic means of securing their own futures, it

had the effect of consolidating the womens' property instead of splitting it seven ways (*Prot Bk Foular* IV, Nos 42–44, 49). As token compensation, the convent received £10 from the foreland fronting the High Street (*Prot Bk Foular* IV, No. 45). Adamson, one of a numerous Edinburgh merchant burgh family, put his capital to use by purchasing Craigcrook estate in 1542, and building part of the still-extant tower house (Boog Watson 1929, 21; *RMS* III, No. 2887; MacGibbon & Ross 1892, IV, 8).

According to Grant (1883, V, 118), Adamson died at the Battle of Pinkie in 1547. His son William inherited their numerous properties (they also possessed Cramond Regis, Bonally and Clairbarston; *RMS* III, Nos 1811, 2353, 2638). It is often difficult to distinguish between members of the Adamsons, many of whom shared the same names. Despite this, in 1560 John Adamson, probably the son or grandson of the casualty of Pinkie, and his wife Katherine Thomson obtained the foreland beside Marlin's Wynd (NAS, B22/1/20, f165r, 20 Aug 1560).

The contents of a cousin's merchant booth show the extent of the family's trading activities, and the kind of commerce which would have been conducted in the excavated property. In 1582, another John Adamson, a cloth merchant, had in stock three stones of sewing worsted, a pound of black silk (worth £8), four ounces of coloured silk, ten pins of 'cunterfit gold', ells of canvas, velvet, gauze, and 'thre steill glasses', each costing ten shillings (NAS, CC8/8/11/323–4). The silk may have come from northern Italy, a centre of the European silk trade. He also sold a wide selection of millinery, including 'knapskall bonnets ... mantiane bonietts ... pan hats ... heich toppit hats and pot hats', while letting property to other traders, including William Adamson, a flesher (NAS, CC8/8/11/323–4).

The family's steady social ascent became apparent when James, brother of the foreland-owning John, leased the 64-acre arable farm of Cowthrople near Prestongrange (*RMS* V, No. 1307). Despite his, or possibly his son and namesake's, eviction for non-payment of debts (NAS, GD40/2/12/6), both Jameses continued to use the gentrified style 'of Cowthrople' (NAS, CC8/8/29/452). James Senior's second son, Walter, inherited his uncle John's tenement (NAS, B22/1/37, f100r–101r, 23 Jan, 7 Feb 1594–5, several protocols to Walter). Additionally, as a gesture of paternal affection, James Senior bequeathed property to Walter far beyond that to which he was legally entitled, and asked his elder son and heir not to interfere (NAS, CC8/8/29/456–7).

Walter was a business associate of another cousin, John Adamson 'younger', and Walter both borrowed money from him and advised John's widow on her investments (NAS, CC8/8/27/201–2). Again, the importance of the family's kinship and trading networks is seen. John invested money in two 'venture(s) to flanders w(i)t(h) ane littill packet of guds', as well as stocking high-value imported luxury items. These included nine barrels of powdered almonds (from Spain or further east), nine pounds

of pepper (from India), 'ane gade [bar] of dansken [Danish] irne. [and] swadyin irne' (Swedish), cinnamon (usually from Sri Lanka via Egypt) as well as blue dye, alum for curing skins, and sporting equipment – 53 dozen golf balls, pen balls (filled with feathers), and 24 rackets (NAS, CC8/8/27/200–1). Allen records two tennis courts (caitchpells) east of Marlin's Wynd, either for the use of such rackets, or for hand tennis (2006, 275, 294).

As with the relationship with the Napiers of Merchiston in an earlier generation, Walter had married into another celebrated family. His wife was the niece, or great-niece (her surname, 'Kircaldye' appears in NAS, B22/1/37, f101r, 1594–5) of Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange, Queen Mary's governor of Edinburgh Castle, who was hanged by Regent Morton in 1573 (Bonner 2004). Adamson appears in several charters concerning his (probable) brother-in-law William Kirkcaldy around 1600, and styles himself 'of Little Barnbogle' (*RMS* VI, Nos 830, 1221; VII, No. 37). This was a property owned by the Moubrays, among whose number were the stepmothers of James 'the Admirable' Crichton (Agnes Mowbray), and of the mathematician (and Walter Adamson's distant relative) John Napier of Merchiston. The executed Sir William's sister had married John Mowbray (Famous Scots Archive 2007, Agnes Mowbray entry).

Although he had 'bairnes' (NAS, CC8/8/46/363) Walter used the Marlin's Wynd property as the tocher, or dowry, for the marriage of Marion Adamson (probably the daughter of his late brother James) to Patrick Hepburn of Smeaton in the early 17th century (ECA, AGI 16, P Hepburn, 16 Feb, 1 Apr 1608; related transaction, AGI 17, P Hepburn, 9 Nov 1609; NAS, CC8/8/56/225). In turn, in 1626, as part of her marriage contract with Dr William Scott, Helen Hepburn inherited the foreland. By now sounding like an ancestral recitation, it was described as 'that tenement of land once belonging to John Adamson, merchant burgh of Edinburgh, then to Walter Adamson, now to Master Patrick Hepburn of Smeaton ...' (NAS, B22/1/73, f149r).

William Scott, 'doctor of the physicte' (ECA, SL1/1/15, 95) and landlord, seems to have known, by the time the housemails book was compiled in 1634–5, that some of his properties were due to be demolished. He allowed one building to be only partially occupied, and others to lie empty. These premises were a 'baikhouse east of the joyning w(i)thout Marlin's Wynd head', which had no tenant, and two 'little chope(s)', one untenanted. The 'former old baikhou' (ie bakery, not back-house), entered from the High Street, appears to have been subdivided into two shops (ECA, *HTB*, pp356–7). Scott also had a cellar entered from Marlin's Wynd, immediately north of the flesh-house, occupied by the aptly named John Boucher (ECA, *HTB*, p354).

Although in reading the housemails book, Allen (2006, 263) suggests possible confusion between 'bak' (back) and 'baik' (bake), these words are used consistently and are still pronounced differently by modern Scots. A more informative study of differ-

ential usages would be that between the two types of stairs implied in the housemails descriptions. These are firstly forestairs, which project into the street, with cellars entered from beneath the treads, and secondly, turnpikes, with flats on each landing. Evidence for burning was found in Holmes's investigations of the south-east building, suggested as an area of industrial manufacture, which might have been a baker's oven (Holmes 1986, 298).

The buildings above the entrance pend (covered passageway), or 'ovir Marlin's Wynd head', belonged to James Logie, a lawyer, who also owned some backlands on the west side of the wynd (ECA, *HTB*, pp355–6). He let 'a laiche [low] sellar joyning the fors(ai)d stair foote', an arrangement understandable when looking at the interconnected excavated cellars, only some of which ('fore cellars') open directly off the street, and others down steps, as in excavated Cellar 3 (Cook 2007, 5; ECA, *HTB*, pp355–6). Allen (2006, 268–9) suggests that shops were 'less substantial' than booths, and immediately on the street front. Certainly in Logie's building there was both a 'heigh fore booth' (let to George Wauchope) and a 'heigh fore chope', suggesting some shops, like booths, were up forestairs. But some shops are indeed qualified as 'little', like Janet Henrisone's 'little chope', though again, there may have been small booths too (ECA, *HTB*, p356; Allen 2006, 269).

George Wauchope was probably a cloth merchant or draper, who boasted several local lairds and the Earl of Haddington among his clientele (NAS, CC8/8/66/177). He was apparently willing for his daughter, Margaret, to lead an independent life as a single woman. He made a rare and intriguing provision for her, far exceeding any statutory requirement (his family being provided for). In 1652 he bequeathed 'that dwelling house ... in alexr king his clos to fall and belong to mar(gare)t ... my eldest dochter as also jaj (1,000) marks scots money and that as the reddiest of my moveabill goodes to her schee being and abyding without marriage ...' (NAS, CC8/8/66/180).

Dr William Scott's tenement can be identified partly due to the proximity of the 'flescheous', formerly the wasteland of James Halkerston, immediately to the south (ECA, *HTB*, p354; *Prot Bk Foular* IV, No. 41; NAS, B22/1/37, f101r). The abbatoir/butchery was there from at least 1560, when one property lay beside 'the flescheous to the south' (NAS, B22/1/20, f165r, 20 Aug 1560). As it lay downhill, its effluent may not have troubled Scott's tenants, but there would still have been the smell and noise accompanying the slaughter of animals, and with it loss of what Scots municipalities called 'good neighbourhood'.

#### 4.4 Marlin's Wynd west side

The tenement on the west side of Marlin's Wynd was called after various members of the Lauder family

from Berwickshire. In 1501, both the backland and the foreland on the High Street belonged to Thomas Graham, a furrier (*Prot Bk Foular* I, Nos 26, 33, 44, 80, 256) who was conflated with Thomas Gray, a rag merchant (*Prot Bk Foular* I, No. 80; I (contd), No. 13).

Thomas Hathaway had begun acquiring the right to collect annual rents from the property four years before he actually purchased the building itself from Graham's heir in 1508 (*Prot Bk Foular* I, Nos 256; *Prot Bk Foular* I (contd), Nos 28, 462). Two features suggest the land was commercially attractive – Hathaway was persistent in his pursuit of ownership, and it was capable of generating sufficient surplus income to support its heavy burdens, or encumbrances. These burdens were annual rental payments gifted to chaplainries, and were often traded separately from the actual house or shop. Hathaway's land carried several such dues (eg. *Prot Bk Foular* I, Nos 26, 33, 44, 80, 139, 256; I (contd), Nos 444, 611, 830). Hathaway, who had a booth in 'Buithraw', beside the Tolbooth, was probably a skinner, as he appears in two protocols associated with their confraternity and altar of St Christopher in St Giles' (*Prot Bk Foular* I (contd), Nos 392, 925).

From 1505 the land south of Hathaway's belonged to the burgess Alan Flucar (*Prot Bk Foular* I (contd), Nos 127, 746, 770). It is not clear whether this was the backland which had become separated from Hathaway's foreland, or a separate property. Anthony Brusset took it over in 1519 (*Prot Bk Foular* I (contd), No. 746; III, Nos 6, 67, 538). In 1510, Sir Alexander Lauder of Blyth, provost of Edinburgh, endowed the chaplainry of St Gabriel, which he had founded in St Giles', with an annual rent from 'the late Robert Lauder's Tenement' (*Prot Bk Foular* I (contd), No. 669). As was common with chaplains serving altars, David Lauder, the priest, was related to the founder.

Walter Merlioun had sold his lands on the west side of Marlin's Wynd to William Lauder (*Prot Bk Foular* I (contd), Nos 615, 675), and it was William who purchased the foreland on the High Street from Thomas Hathaway's heirs, in the late 1520s (*Prot Bk Foular* III, Nos 578, 787; IV, No. 177). What was possibly the backland, in separate ownership, appears in 1532–3 yielding an annual rent to Anthony Brusset. He would thus have owned the third house in the wynd, heading south from the High Street (*Prot Bk Foular* IV, Nos 379, 475). Brusset's brother-in-law, Walter Maloney, the abbot of Glenluce, inherited the land and disposed it all to Brusset, in accordance with his monastic vows (*Prot Bk Foular* III No. 6; IV, No. 516). Marlin's Wynd itself had, by now, begun to be referred to as 'William Lauder's tenement ... the transe thereof' (*Prot Bk Foular* IV, Nos 475, 476, 516).

'In examining the [protocol] books of Alexander King, I was much struck with the frequent occurrence of the words "vasta et combusta per Anglos", in the instruments from 1548 to 1556 ... it seems ... the houses burnt during the invasion of the Earl

of Hertford in May 1540 [*sic*] were not rebuilt for many years' (Thomson 1864, 163). The invasion of 1544, the so-called 'rough wooing', was intended to hasten the betrothal of the infant Queen Mary to Henry VIII's son, Edward, and much of the town on the south side was burnt, including some buildings on the west side of Marlin's Wynd.

Both the foreland and backland, 'terra anterior et posterior', of Lauder's buildings seem to have been destroyed, 'vast(a) p(er) anglos' (NAS, B22/1/18, f9r, No. 12, 4 Jul 1555). In 1555, the foreland is described as 'tenementa sive t(er)ra anteriore nu[n]c vast[a] et combust[a ... ]', suggesting it had not yet been rebuilt (NAS, B22/1/18, No. 11, 3 Jul 1555, Pro Andr Bell). In 1560, John Taverner's tenement (formerly Halkerston's) is similarly 'terram vastam' (NAS, B22/1/20, f165r, 20 Aug 1560). Nevertheless, by 1586, Alexander Lauder's foreland was reoccupied. This is implied by Lauder's properties' both being described as 'once waste and burned by the English', and now another adjacent land in the same ownership is described as 'edifacate', ie built, with a gallery (NAS, B22/1/32, f143v-144r, 29 Nov 1586).

In 1555, part-ownership of the fore and backlands passed from Lauder to William Paterson, a baker, along with an annual rent dedicated to St Gabriel by the son of Sir Alexander Lauder of Blyth, the former provost (NAS, B22/1/18, ff8-9, Nos 11-12, 3 and 4 Jul 1555). Paterson was one of a dynasty of baker burgesses, in professional partnership with baker John Crichton (NAS, B22/1/20, f165r, 20 Aug 1560). Crichton's daughter Margaret had married Paterson's son by 1586 (NAS, B22/1/32, f143v, 29 Nov 1586). Yet there is no evidence that this particular building was itself used as a bakery, as the business is known to have owned another bakehouse in Peebles Wynd (ECA, AGI 4, Crichton and Paterson, 29 Nov 1586).

The street-front property had been rebuilt after the fire of 1544 with at least two storeys of two booths per floor, situated side by side. Paterson let the upper western booth to his brother, another baker, in 1589, and ten years later it passed to Thomas Bannatyne (ECA, AGI 6, T Paterson, 13 Nov 1589; AGI 12, T Bannatyne, 16 June 1599). Paterson died c 1607, and it was his daughter Janet, and her husband William Melrose who eventually possessed the foreland (ECA, AGI 16, W Paterson, 23 Jan 1608; AGI 19, Melrose and Paterson, 27 Apr 1613 pp203-206).

Janet was probably much younger than Melrose, as she considerably outlived him, and remarried (ECA, SL1/1/15, p95, 9 Mar 1638). Melrose was Deacon of the Incorporation of Wrights (ECA, AGI 12, W Melrose, 8 Apr 1600), and later worked with his elder son David: 'warkmanschip wrot be him ... for ane bed heit ... at his directis to david son houswritt ...' (NAS, CC8/8/49/268). He died in 1616, heavily in debt, and as he wanted to leave his five other children 1,000 merks each, he wrote 'I ordaine my foirland and the backland thairto at the trone to be sauld' (NAS, CC8/8/49/269). Among his debts was

one to Thomas Bannatyne, who rented Melrose's booth.

Another of Melrose's creditors, Janet Graham, had married a lawyer called Patrick Oliphant as her second husband, and he seems to have pushed to get the outstanding debts settled, although by now it was 1629. David Melrose surrendered the back and forelands to them 'in satisfioun ... of the soume of ane thowsand sevin hundreth and ffourtie merkis' (NAS, B22/1/74, 188, 20 Oct 1629). Oliphant lived in the top flat reached by turnpike stairs on the west side of the wyndhead, in Lauder's and Paterson's original foreland. This property consisted of two storeys, a cellar and two floors of booths opening onto the High Street (ECA, *HTB*, pp355-6). Oliphant, who died shortly after the housemails list was compiled, left his wife with the four daughters of her first marriage, and his own four sons. The widow was to be advised by his friends, who were another lawyer, and the principal of the College of Edinburgh (NAS, CC8/8/52/244; CC8/8/58/63-5).

The housemails book of 1635 lists many of the same names in occupation, among them Thomas Bannatyne, younger, in what is probably his father's old 'fore booth', above a cellar (ECA, *HTB*, p355). Thomas was a confectioner, and an inventory of his stock from 1635 shows he carried 'casnit sugar ... certane coinseits [conceits] and sueit meits ... of peuper in hail rymes and brokin [whole reams and torn for wrapping] ... twa gros of cairts [further packaging] ... wecghtis and buistis [small box for sweets and spices] ...' (NAS, CC8/8/57/383). This suggests that he realised the importance of the presentation of goods, and confectioners were among the first to arrange products artfully, and to use specialist shopfittings for merchandising and display (P Graves, pers comm). He had also imported high-value luxury produce from 'samuell small conseit maker citiner of londoun' (NAS, CC8/8/57/384).

#### 4.5 Peebles Wynd east side

Lying contiguous to Lauder's Tenement was the westernmost land to be demolished, which formed the east side of Peebles Wynd (illus 2). Part of it belonged to the altar of St Mary Magdalene, in St Giles', although no such dedication is listed among the chaplainries there (*St Giles' Reg*, xciv-v; R K Marshall, pers comm). In spite of that, a chaplain at such an altar in the collegiate church of Kirk o' Field is recorded in 1509 (*Prot Bk Foular* I (contd), No. 601). This is presumably the tenement of William Dobie, whose name appears only very sporadically in records.

#### 4.6 Compensation and missing papers

Having informed the heritors that the Tron Kirk was to be built on top of their houses, the Council submitted their suggested compensation to the Court



of Session for arbitration, settled 'be decreitt of the lords daittit the last of march 1636' (ECA, SL1/1/15, p85, 19 Jan 1638; p95, 9 Mar 1638). Originally only 'the relict [Janet Paterson] of the ... umq(uhi)ll Williame [Melrois] wha is lyifrefter.. of the maist pairt of the saids landis and Johnne Bannatyn(e) w(r)ytter heritour of an hous and buith thair ... and doctor Scott for the baik hous', had been due compensation (ECA, SL1/1/14, p755, 1 Apr 1636). However, by the time payment was made two years later, the number of claimants had doubled, adding 'James Logye now hir [Janet Paterson's] spous ... and david melross ... sone ... to the said umq(uhi)ll Williame ... Thomas bannatyn merchant johnne bannatyn(e) sone to johnne bannatyn(e) wrytter john fynne ... sone to umq(uhi)ll Thomas Ffynnie taelyeour Janet Grahame relict ... Archibald Olyphant ... sone to umq(uhi)ll Patrik ... ' (ECA, SL1/1/15, p95, 9, Mar 1638). Dr Scott received £1,000 all to himself, but the Court of Session (rather trustingly) left it up to 'the

said persounes to decinde themselffis of ther rig(h)ts' to the sum of 10,000 merks, to be split between all the rest of them (ECA, SL1/1/15, p95, 9, Mar 1638).

Curiously, the court judgement does not seem to be recorded anywhere outside the Council Minutes, and nor does the purchase of the lands, and the sale price paid by the burgh is omitted from the Council's financial records. As has been discussed above, searches of relevant court papers (eg, NAS, CS7/486-9), burgh records (eg NAS, B22/8/29-31) and archives have so far proved fruitless. The accounts for the building of the Tron Kirk, quoted by Rev. Butler in his church history (Butler 1906, 131-8) have not been located, and it may be that they contain the sasines of the purchased tenements. It seems a fitting irony that Thomas Bannatyne, whose widow was compensated for losing her house to build a church, left the considerable sum of 4,000 merks 'to the biging of ane new kirk in Ed(inbu)r(gh) as ane help to that guid work' (NAS, CC8/8/57/385).

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## 5 THE EXCAVATION

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The 2005 excavation of the Tron was completed by hand, the material removed comprising a homogeneous demolition layer of undiagnostic building debris, with a few inclusions of animal bone and pottery. The degree of survival of the remains was dependent on the depth of bedrock present; where the bedrock was low, or had been excavated to create cellars, structures and deposits survived to a depth of up to 2m. The recent excavation has revealed the fragments of four main buildings, A, B, C and D, two sections of road (Marlin's Wynd and the High Street), a courtyard and an area of possible industrial activity (illus 3). These features are described below.

### 5.1 *Building A*

Building A was represented by the foundations of a two- or three-storey tenement aligned north to south, which fronted onto both Marlin's Wynd and the High Street, forming the north-west corner between the two streets. The west of the building would have backed onto tenements located on Peebles Wynd. The known excavated extent of the building measured 14m north to south by 5m east to west. The footprint of the building was defined by four rock-cut cellars, the three cellars in the northern half of the building all being interconnected; door jambs still survive in the doorway between Cellar 2 and Cellar 3. Entry to the building was through at least three points: both Cellars 3 and 4 were accessed via rock-cut steps, while a turnpike staircase gave access to the upper floors of the building. In Cellar 3 there was a fireplace, an arch, an aumbry and vaulting springs. A flimsy partition wall divided Cellar 3, suggesting some re-modelling. The location of Cellars 1 and 2 suggests that both would have underlain the High Street. Occupation debris comprising burnt material, household rubbish such as shells and fragments of pottery were recovered from the rock-cut floor level. Oyster shells identified at various points within the cellars would have been used for pointing the mortar. The material assemblage was relatively poor, comprising a mixture of local and European ceramics, glass, clay pipes, roof tiles and eight coins. The coins, which were all recovered from the floor surface of Cellar 2, represent a selection of low-currency 17th-century examples in use at the time of demolition (see **Holmes** below). A fragment of a bowl from a pedestal stem goblet was recovered from Cellar 3 (illus 19). This type of goblet, which dates to the earlier portion of the 16th century, is normally only found on relatively

high-status sites although they are more common in the Low Countries and northern France, where they were probably produced (see **Wilmott** below).

### 5.2 *Building B*

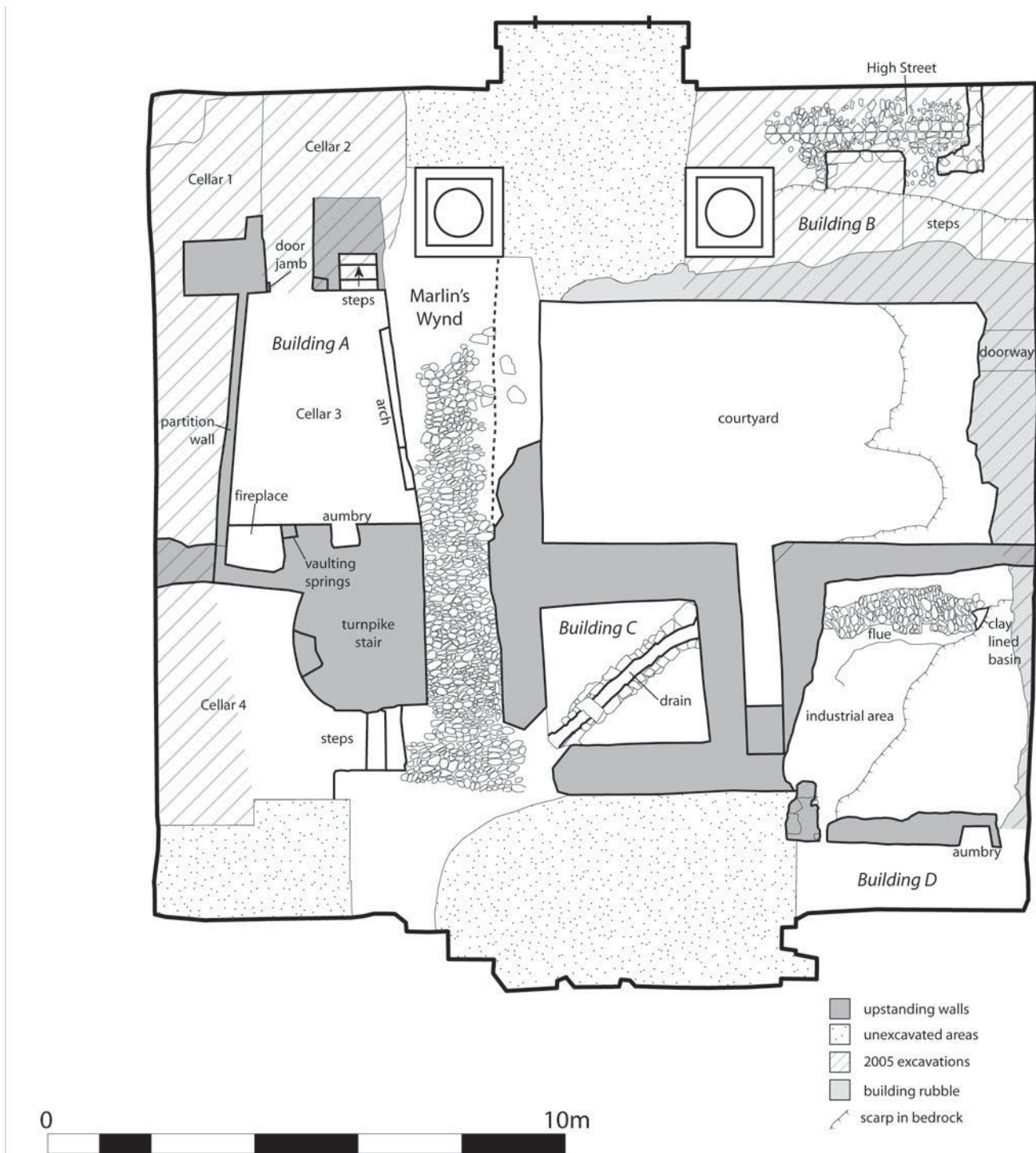
Building B was aligned east to west, parallel with the High Street. Very little of the actual structure survived, its footprint being inferred from the position of a plinth of an arched booth which extended out into the High Street (illus 4), and the northern edge of the courtyard, suggesting a building approximately 4m wide from north to south. The building probably formed the north-east corner of the High Street and Marlin's Wynd. As the northern foundation of the building was built almost directly onto bedrock, no cellars would have been present. The building would probably have been accessed through an external stair on the High Street. A set of extremely worn rock-cut steps was identified under the proposed location of the building, perhaps allowing access to the courtyard, but it is unclear whether the two features are contemporary. The stone plinth at the front of the building suggests a shop or booth (for example see Fig. 2, Allen 2006).

### 5.3 *Building C*

Building C comprised a square building, 7m by 7m, on the east side of Marlin's Wynd, to the immediate south of the courtyard. The building contained a single room/cellar, accessed through an entrance in its south-west corner. A succession of floor levels, including two clay deposits and a stone level, were found to overlie a slab-covered drain. The drain, which was accessed through a chute in the east wall, drained into the sewer under Marlin's Wynd. A larger drain identified in the west wall also allowed access to the underground sewer under Marlin's Wynd.

### 5.4 *Building D*

Building D comprised the remnants of a rock-cut cellar which was truncated to the east, south and west. Only the northern wall survived and was built up hard against the cut bedrock. The wall, in contrast to the other examples, contained a double skin, with a rubble core, inferring some degree of architectural development. An aumbry was also present. An occupation layer overlay a cobbled floor surface, which itself overlay up to 1m of a foundation deposit.



*Illus 3 Plan of the excavated features*

### 5.5 Marlin's Wynd

Marlin's Wynd, fully excavated but left in situ by Holmes, comprised a north to south aligned section of well-laid irregular cobbles, 9.2m long and up to 1.3m wide (illus 5). A V-shaped drain, constructed by tilting two adjacent rows of cobbles, ran along the eastern edge. The buildings around Marlin's Wynd contained relatively sophisticated drainage systems, providing a direct link to the underlying sewer. A selection of pottery recovered from the drain underlying Marlin's

Wynd comprised locally produced Scottish Post-Medieval Oxidised Ware (illus 9) found in association with single shards each from a Beauvais dish of double and single Sgraffito (illus 10), of mid 16th-century origin (see **Haggarty & Lawson** below).

### 5.6 The High Street

A previously unexcavated section of the High Street was exposed to the north of Building B. It comprised



*Illus 4 The section of the High Street which lies under the Tron Kirk. The plinth of an arched booth which forms part of Building B is visible just behind the drain.*



*Illus 5 Work in progress in the Tron Kirk. Marlin's Wynd is the cobbled street running from the foreground north towards the High Street.*

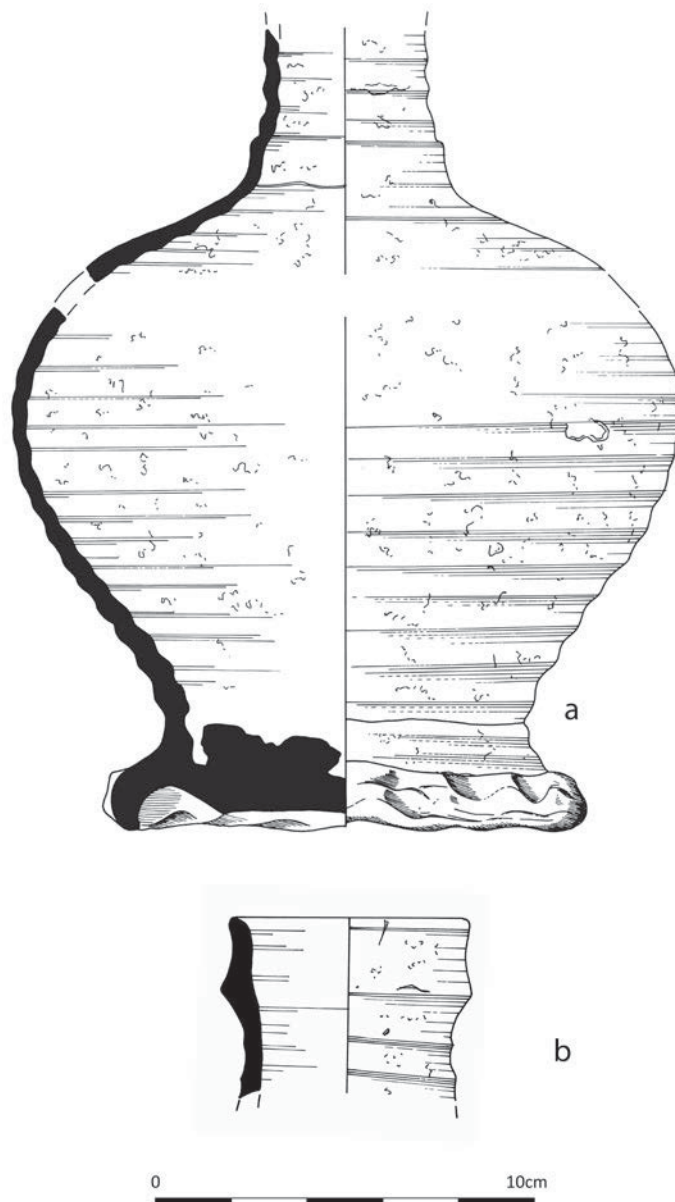
a 3.6m long cobbled surface running east–west with a drain constructed in a similar fashion to that along Marlin’s Wynd (illus 4). The road lay approximately 1m above the existing High Street, indicating the lowering of the existing road. A set of rock-cut steps may have provided access to the High Street from Building B, but the area between the two features was so severely truncated that it is impossible to establish the relationship between the two. The road was truncated to the north, east and west by the construction of the Tron.

### 5.7 The courtyard

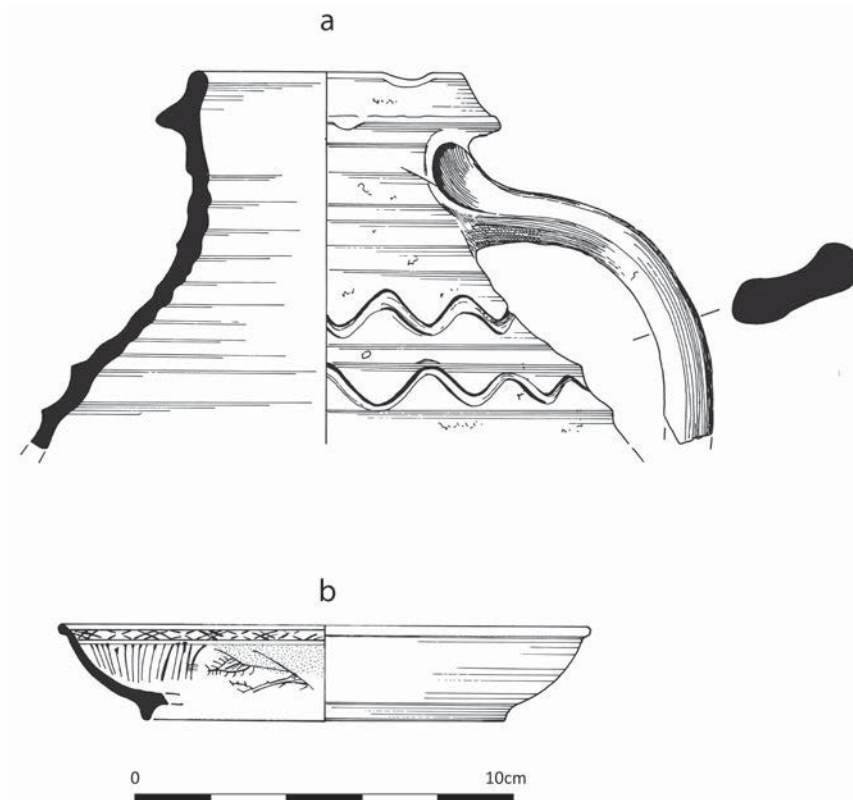
A cobbled courtyard measuring 8.5m east to west and 4.75m north to south was located between Buildings B and C, and to the east of Marlin’s Wynd. The structure appears to have been formed by occupying

an empty space between buildings (Coleman 2004, 298); it is bounded to the west by a wall running parallel with Marlin’s Wynd, and by the northern walls of Building C and the walls bounding the industrial area. Access to the courtyard was via the rock-cut steps on its northern boundary and a doorway to the east, which may have led directly into Taverner’s Close (illus 2). A pit identified in Holmes’ original excavation within the courtyard contained fragments of both a Raeren Stoneware bottle (illus 6a) of the late 15th/early 16th centuries and a Scottish Redware jug (illus 7a).

A rock-cut corridor/tunnel runs south from the courtyard, between Building C and the industrial area, both of which were built on to the natural bedrock. The feature, which was originally covered by slabs, contained material suggesting that it had silted up naturally before being filled with the demolition rubble from the construction of the Tron. The



Illus 6 a) Raeren Stoneware bottle; b) Raeren Stoneware



*Illus 7 a) Scottish Medieval Redware jug; b) Chinese porcelain*

north and south parts of the feature were truncated by later development of the Tron, hampering interpretation and its relationship to the courtyard.

### 5.8 The industrial area

An area of exposed bedrock contained a series of truncated structural elements, comprising a rock-

cut flue and clay-lined basin. Both negative features were filled with a deposit of silt which contained frequent inclusions of bone and slag. A rubble wall built over the natural may have defined the northern edge of the area. The area, previously excavated by Holmes, was so truncated as to make interpretation impossible, although an industrial use is suggested. A huge amount of slag and iron nails was recovered in both excavations (Holmes 1975).

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## 6 SPECIALIST REPORTS

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The following specialist reports are edited versions. The full texts, drawings and appendices are stored with the rest of the site archive in the National Monuments Record of Scotland (RCAHMS). Building material, animal bone, metal artefacts and a piece of leather were also catalogued and archived but are not included in this report.

### 6.1 *The coin assemblage, Nicholas Holmes*

The eight coins recovered are all examples of the small change which would have circulated in Scotland in the 1630s. The earliest is an example of the last copper coinage of James VI, a twopence of the second post-Union issue, minted in 1623. No example of the very similar first issue of Charles I (1629) was recovered, but the overall pattern of Scottish finds shows far fewer of these than of the previous or subsequent issues.

From the same site context as the James VI coin came six specimens of Charles I's second issue of turners/twopences, minted during the period 1632–9. Those which are sufficiently well preserved for the degree of wear to be assessed display very little, and on this basis a date of loss in the 1630s would seem highly probable. Furthermore, the fact that all these six coins, and the James VI issue, were found within a very small area might suggest that they represent a small hoard, possibly lost from a purse or pocket. Two further specimens of the 1632–9 issue were recovered from other areas of the Tron Kirk site during earlier excavations (Holmes 1986, 297–8).

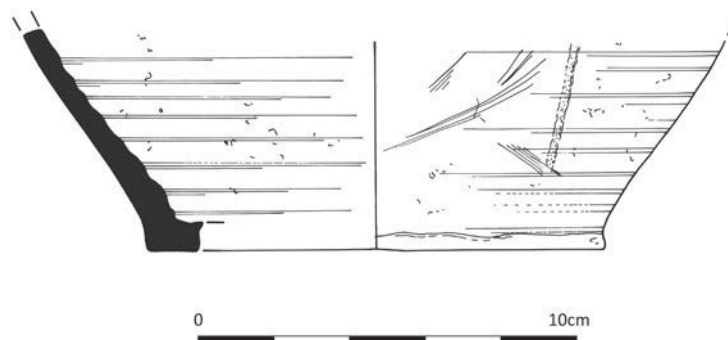
A slightly more unusual find is a broken half of an English royal farthing token of Charles I, dating from the period 1625–34. These issues were not legal tender in Scotland, although there have been occasional previous finds from Scottish soil, and the fact that they are of similar size and general appear-

ance to the 1632–9 turners suggests that some may have circulated unnoticed. Although this specimen comprises almost exactly half of the coin, it would be unwise to believe that it had been deliberately cut in order to provide smaller sums of money. There is no evidence that this treatment was ever applied to Scottish copper coins of the period, which were of very low purchasing power anyway.

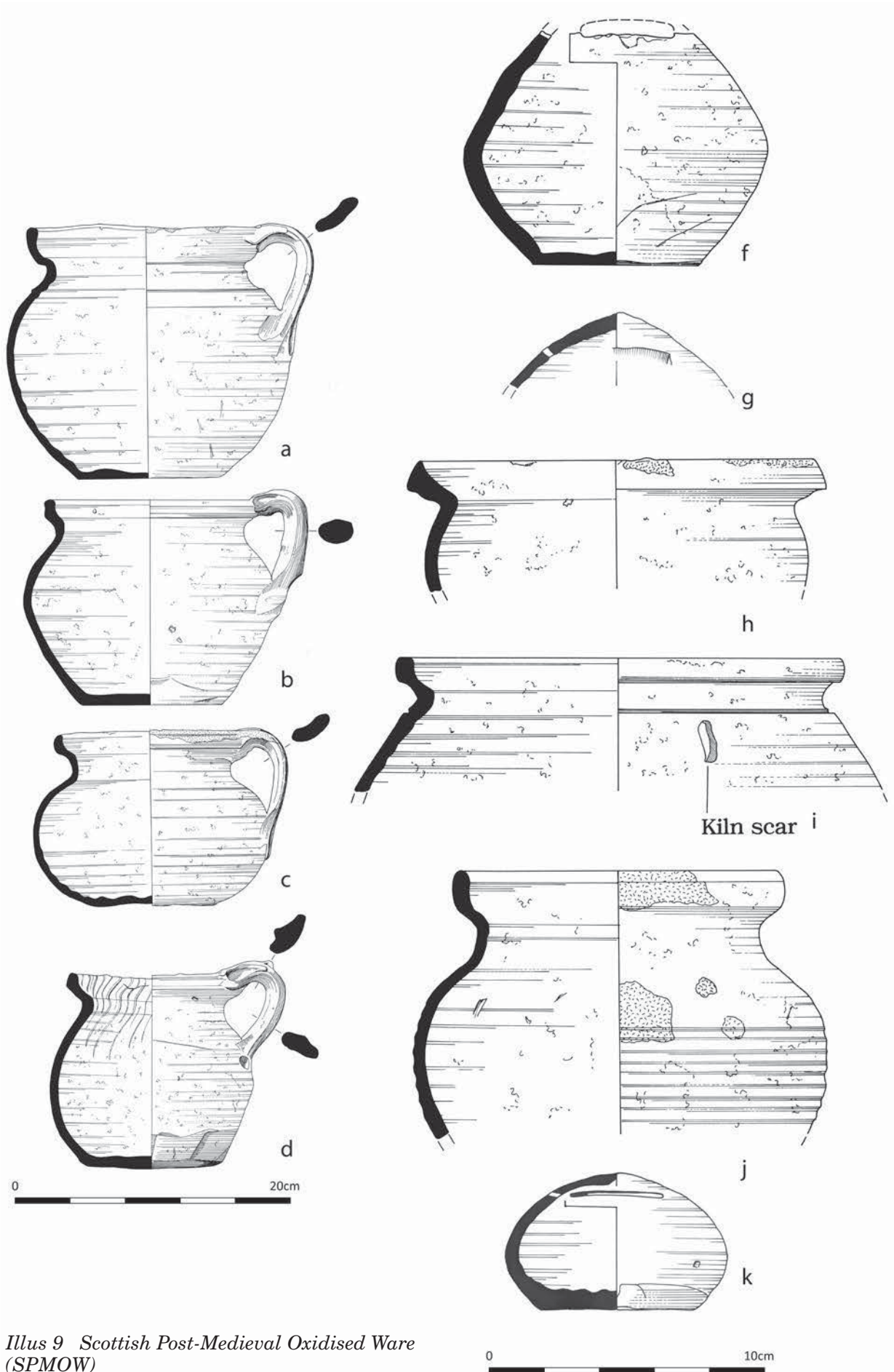
### 6.2 *The pottery assemblage, George R Haggarty & John A Lawson*

The excavations within Edinburgh's Tron Kirk have provided a rare and important opportunity in Scotland to examine a tightly dated group of local and imported pottery with a *terminus post quem* of 1637. One of the major research aims of the most recent programme of work was to reassess the ceramic assemblage from the earlier two excavations undertaken by the City of Edinburgh Archaeology Service in 1974 and 1983 (Holmes 1975; 1986), in particular the imported material, much of which had been misidentified, including the reputed Werra ware noted by Hurst and Gaimster (2005, 288).

The assemblage supports the idea that the site had been significantly redeveloped during the 15th and early 16th centuries, with the newly constructed tenements removing the majority of the earlier urban deposits. The only surviving medieval feature was the small pit, excavated in 1974 in the south-east corner, which had been truncated by a later cellar (Holmes 1975, 143, fig 2). However, the authors have not been able to reassess the pottery from this feature identified by Holmes (1975, 148) as belonging to the 13th/14th century as these shards have subsequently gone missing. Nevertheless notes taken at the time by one of the authors shows the pit contained a shard of Saintonge Mottled Green Glaze (Haggarty 2006, Word File 41, 8), dating to

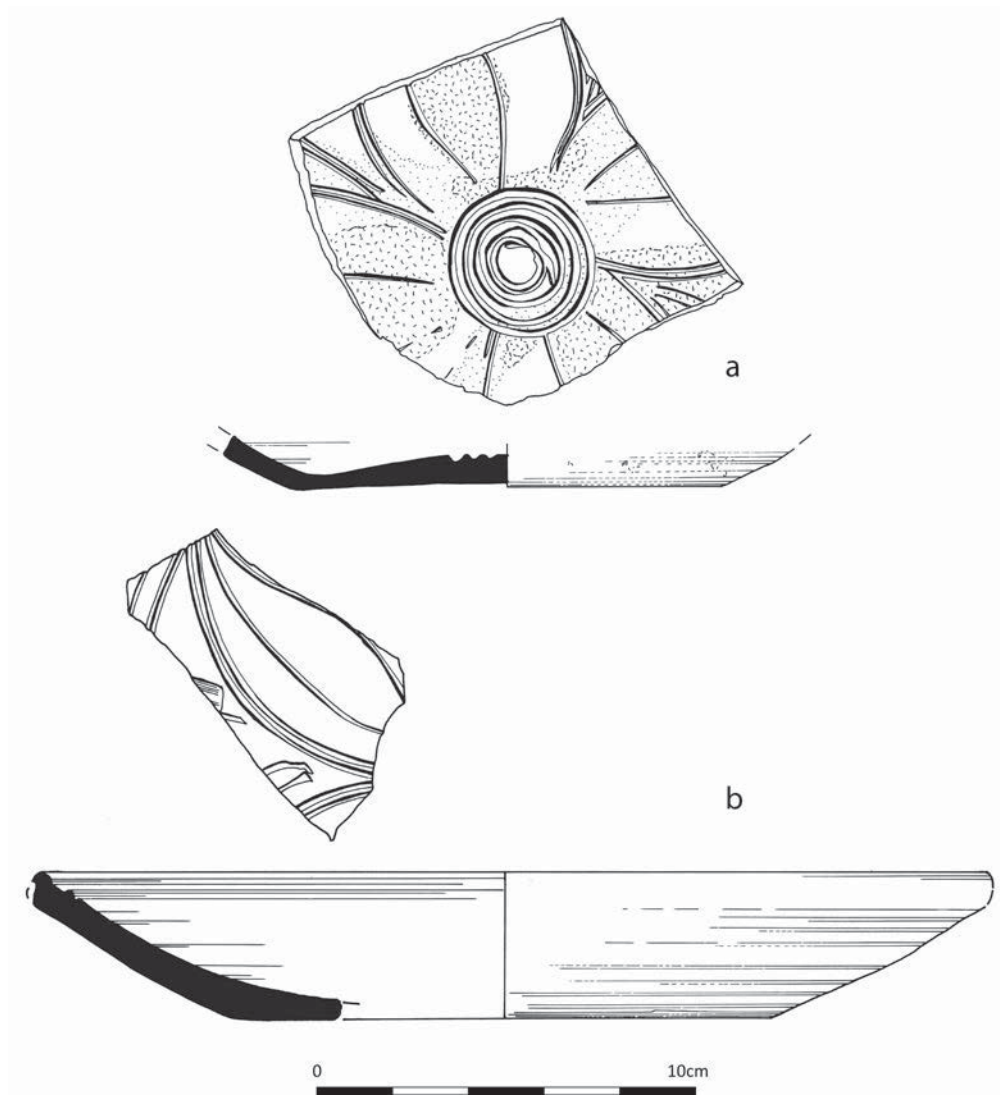


*Illus 8 Mid-French-type chafing dish*



*Illus 9 Scottish Post-Medieval Oxidised Ware (SPMOW)*





*Illus 10 a) Beauvais dish of double Sgraffito; b) Beauvais dish of single Sgraffito*

the late-13th/14th century, which supports the published date.

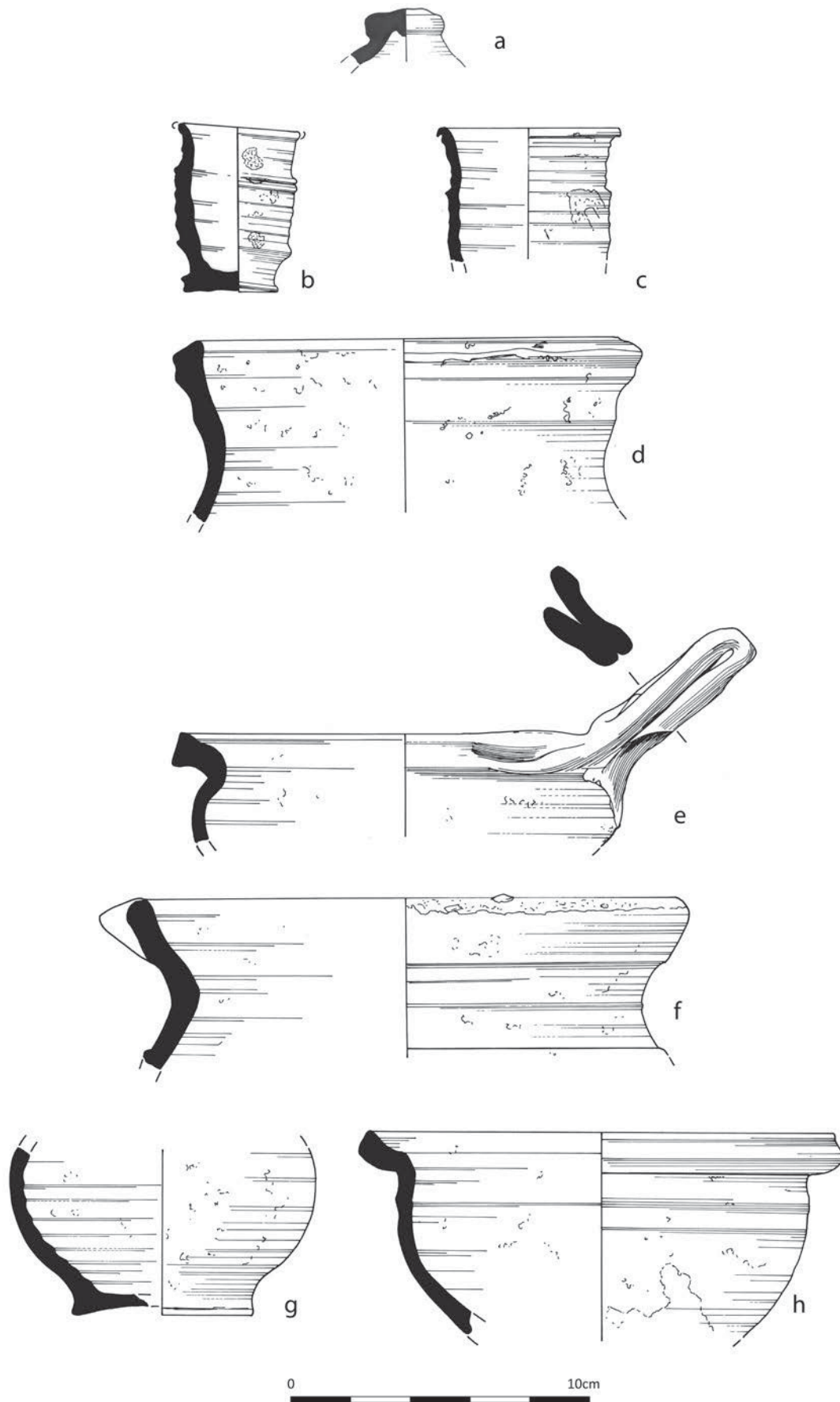
There is also a small assemblage of stratified material deriving from a series of later small pits excavated in 1983. These underlie both the cobbled courtyard (Holmes 1986, fig 1, 298–300) and the floor of Cellar 4 (ibid, 298). Pit 1 in the cobbled courtyard contained fragments of both a Raeren Stoneware bottle (illus 6a) of the late 15th/early 16th centuries and a Scottish Medieval Redware jug (illus 7a). This jug is probably from Aberdeen and of a slightly earlier date. The reassessment of this material has newly identified three conjoining shards from what would seem to be the bottom of a Mid-French-type chafing dish of 16th-century date (illus 8). It was recovered from a shallow pit, F11, in the south-west cellar.

Of particular significance in terms of dating are examples of locally produced Scottish Post-Medieval Oxidised Ware (SPMOW) (illus 9) recovered from the drain underlying Marlin's Wynd during both the 1974 and 1983 excavations. This material was found in association with two shards from Beauvais

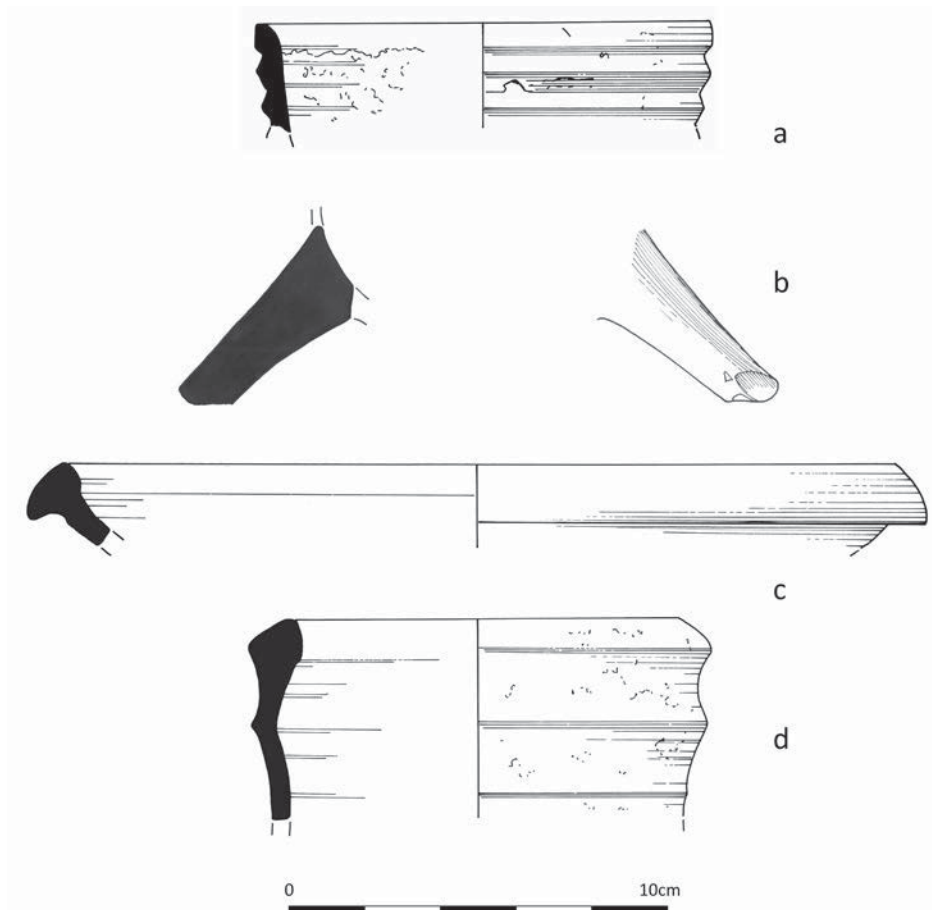
dishes, one with double and one with single Sgraffito decoration (illus 10). Traded Beauvais Sgraffito pottery has a wide Scottish distribution (Haggarty 2006, Word File 26), and is generally thought to date to the mid-16th century (Hurst et al 1986). Neither of these shards was recognised as Beauvais in the original reports and their proper identification has enabled us to provide a more secure framework for a number of SPMOW forms.

The large range of imports recovered from the demolition of the tenements prior to the beginning of the construction of the Tron Kirk in 1637 helps with our dating of SPMOW (illus 11a and d–h) and its reduced ware variant (SPMRW), by providing a fixed date for this material to be referenced against. The imports cover the following types and can be broken down into the following broad types (un-illustrated unless stated) and their geographical areas:

- A: Germany & Low Countries: including – Low Countries Red Earthenware (illus 15a–e); North Holland Slipwares (illus 13b); German/



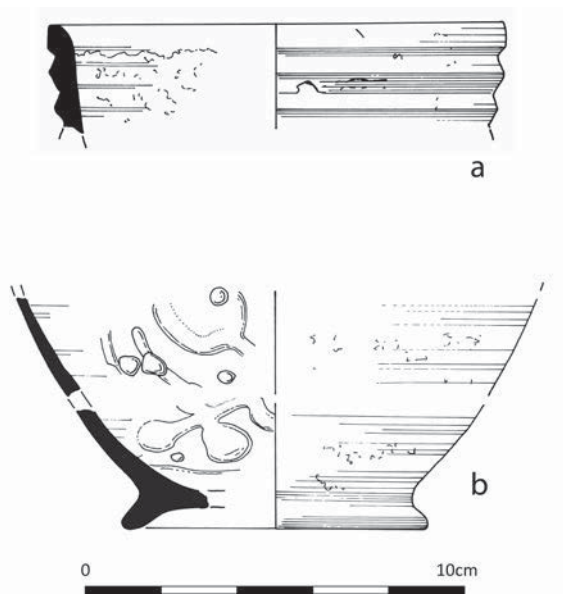
*Illus 11 Scottish Post-Medieval Oxidised Ware (SPMOW)*



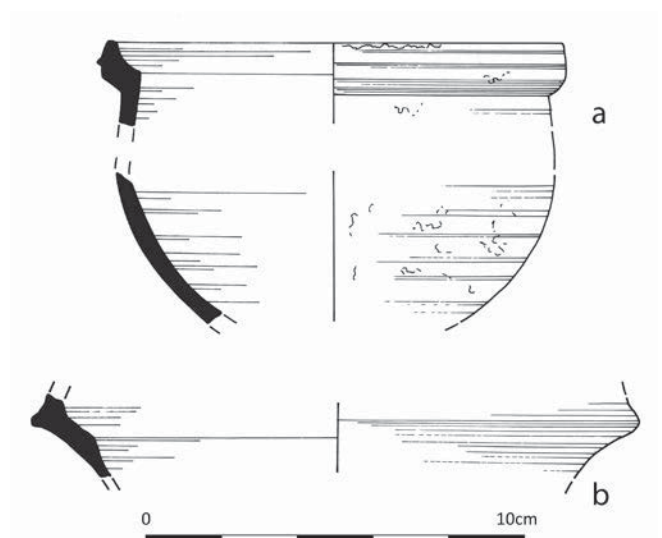
*Illus 12 North German Earthenwares*

Low Countries White-Ware (illus 14); North European Redwares (illus 12a-d; illus 16b); Raeren Stoneware (illus 6b) and Malling Type Tin-Glazed Earthenware.

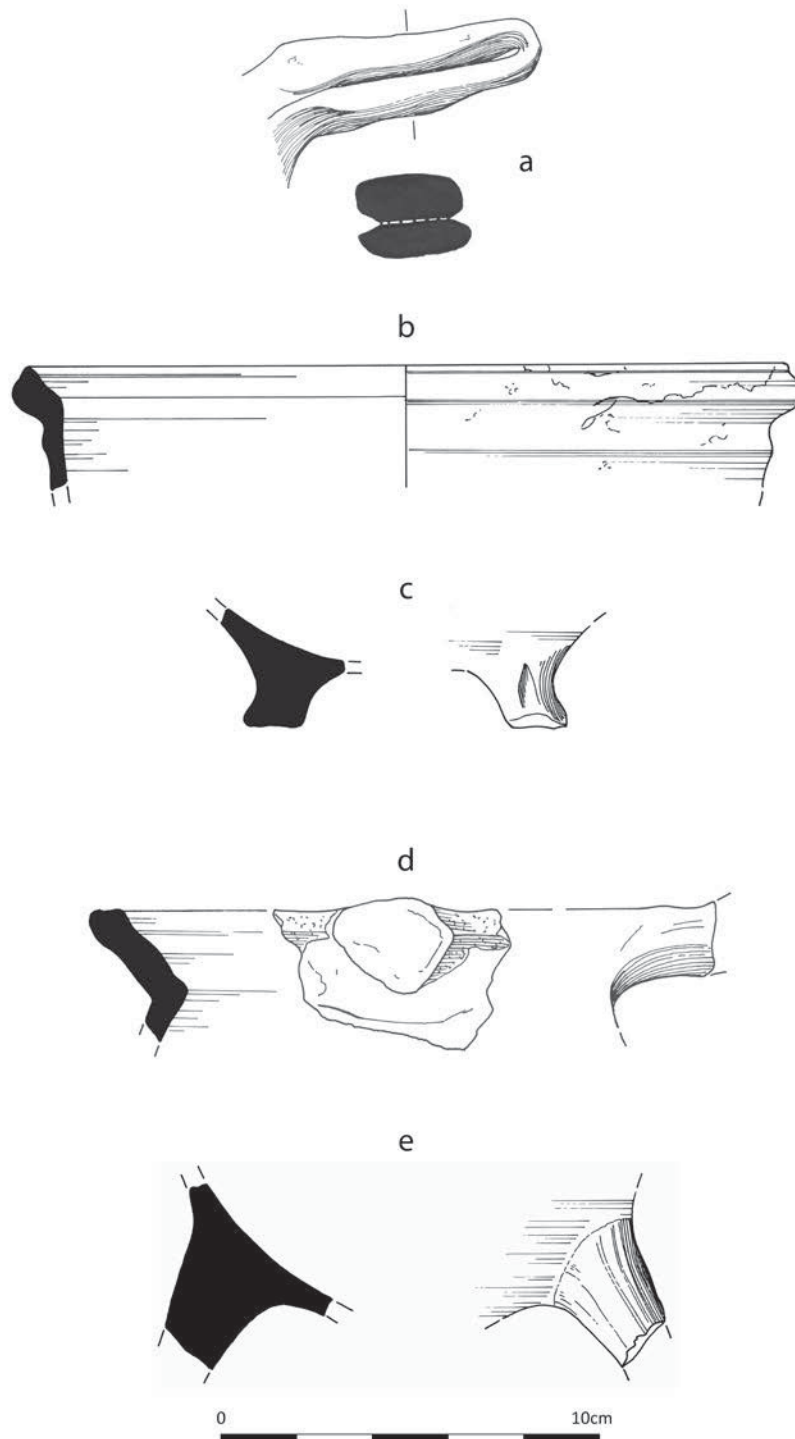
B: France: Saintonge – Mid-French-type chafing dish (illus 8) and Loire Type jug (illus 16a).  
 C: Iberian: a Cantaro shaped vessel (illus 17).  
 D: Chinese Porcelain (illus 7b).



*Illus 13 a) North European Earthenware; b) North Holland Slipwares*



*Illus 14 German / Low Countries White-Ware*



*Illus 15 Weser: Low Countries Redware*

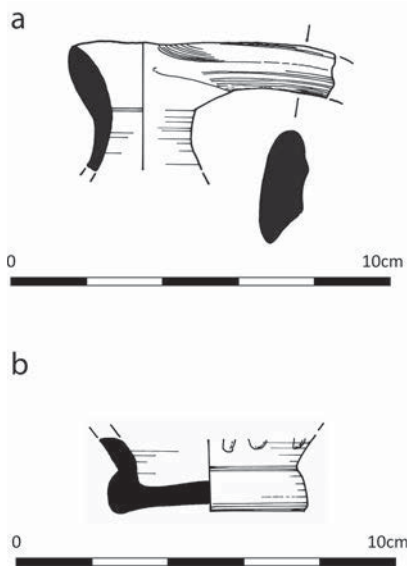
### 6.3 Wares

#### 6.3.1 Scottish Post-Medieval Oxidised Ware (SPMOW) & Reduced Wares (SPMRW)

Characteristically in the late 15th and early 16th century in Scotland both white and red gritty fabrics began to disappear and potters, for reasons not yet fully understood, began to produce pottery which was much smoother to the touch. This change may be the result of cultural factors, but it is just as likely

to be due to the introduction of new technology, for example the use of larger kilns and the exploiting of new clay sources. This could be in part due to large-scale peat extraction of the carse-lands, allowing new and sometimes extremely thick estuarine clay beds to be utilised.

It is these same iron-rich clays which under oxidisation fire red, forming the fabric known as Scottish Post-Medieval Oxidised Ware (SPMOW), whilst under reduction the same clays fire to a dark grey forming Scottish Post-Medieval Reduced

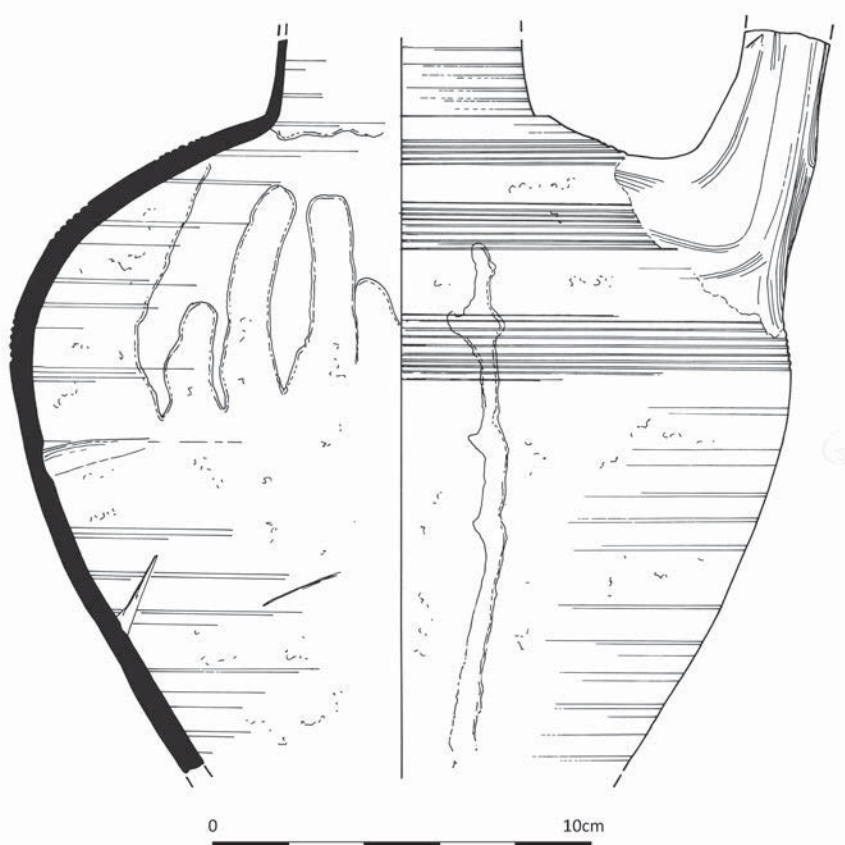


*Illus 16 a) Loire jug; b) Unknown Slip Decorated*

Ware (SPMRW). Fully reduced shards recovered from excavations would seem to be almost exclusively from large jugs, which by the 17th century nearly always had multiple wavy grooving on the shoulder just below the neck and are covered with a thick dark olive-green lead glaze. Oxidised shards are normally from a range of much smaller jugs, skillets, flanged bowls, drug pots, etc (Haggarty

1980a, 40–4; Haggarty 1980b, 45–64; Caldwell & Dean 1992, 11–22). These forms are often extremely hard to identify from body shards alone. It is worth noting that a great number of the oxidised shards have reduced light grey cores or patches of reduction on the surface. Where there has been no deliberate attempt to reduce the pottery it has been classed by default as SPMOW. Often the oxidised shards are covered with a thin red coating. This random glaze effect is almost certainly caused in the kiln by the iron in the clay body being drawn out then re-deposited back onto the surface.

Both SPMOW and SPMRW have a ubiquitous distribution within Scotland, and a long date range. The evidence would suggest that this industry started somewhere in the late 15th century (Haggarty 1980a, 36–46), and continued into the third quarter of the 18th century (Haggarty 2004). It had previously been suggested that there was a production site for this type of pottery in 17th-century Glasgow around the Old Calton area (Quail 1982, 1–3), and somewhere in the vicinity of Stirling Castle (Haggarty 1980a, 37). Archaeology has subsequently proven both assumptions to be correct. Ongoing work both by FIRAT Archaeology Services and AOC Archaeology has recovered substantial amounts of as-yet unpublished ceramic waste material at the Gallowgate, Glasgow, while work funded by Historic Scotland has since confirmed a large and important 17th- and early 18th-century production site for this type of pottery centred on



*Illus 17 Cantaro shaped vessel*

Throsk, a few miles to the east of Stirling (Caldwell & Dean 1992, 2–7).

In the last few years a pilot programme of Inductively-Coupled Plasma Mass Spectroscopy (ICP-MS) analysis has been carried out on a range of Scottish Post-Medieval iron-rich pottery from known production localities over a wide geographical area (Chenery et al 2001, 45–54; Haggarty et al 2011). The extremely exciting results obtained from this study strongly suggest that this industry was more complicated than we had previously believed and that there are many more Scottish production sites using iron-rich clays still awaiting discovery.

In the light of the ICP results evidence of ceramic production in the Edinburgh area has been sought. This has been borne out by research on the Edinburgh documents, which show at least seven potters working just outside the city wall, in the area of Potterrow in the first half of the 17th century (Haggarty et al 2011, 16). It is likely therefore that most of the SPMOW and SPMRW pottery recovered from the Tron Kirk and Edinburgh was produced locally. Over the last few years a number of well-dated groups from excavations have been published, ie Uttershill Castle, Penicuik (Haggarty & Alexander 1998, 1017–46) and Stirling Castle (Haggarty 1980a, 36–46). It was however the important excavations at Throsk which have contributed most to our understanding of the later chronology of this industry (Caldwell & Dean 1992, 1–46). Most writers on Scottish ceramics have in the past referred to the SPMOW single-handled, internally-glazed vessels as chamber pots. However, as chamber pot suggests a specific function, we will use the term jar, in line with the Medieval Pottery Research Groups guidelines.

### 6.3.2 North European Earthenwares

A number of abraded shards were recovered from the excavations which almost certainly come from a range of vessels produced in northern Europe and probably from sites situated in the area of the North German Plain (Kaufmann 1979, 8). It has been postulated that in excess of 100 kilns may have been producing these slipwares in various centres between the Weser and Werra rivers and that it was exported in some quantity, between 1590 and 1620 (ibid 49). At least some of this trade, in export terms, may have had its heyday between 1585 and 1623; it may have been interrupted during the turmoil of the Thirty Years' War, and it is thought to have stopped completely from 1622–25 (ibid).

North European Earthenwares are common on sites in Shetland and are generally recovered in contexts dating to the late 16th or 17th centuries, where they are recovered with Cologne/Frechen stonewares (Crowley & Mills 1999, 206; Lindsay 1983). Shards from the Tron Kirk occur in pre-1637 demolition and earlier occupation deposits. There are two upright pipkin rims with three grooves on their external faces and internal green glaze,

a form which was the most common type present in the Scalloway assemblage, with 63 shards (Lindsay 1983). These wares are also frequently now being identified especially from 17th-century deposits from excavations in Leith and Edinburgh (Haggarty forthcoming). Recent excavations on the Isle of May also produced a number of slip-decorated shards in various forms from which the white slip decoration has often flaked (Will & Haggarty 2008, 145).

Not illustrated is a shard from a Weser Wavy Band Dish of a type decorated with wavy, green and red lines (1974: AW) and a small redware shard (1974: AU).

### 6.3.3 North Holland Slipware

This orange sandy fabric has a glossy lead glaze over white slip and decoration highlighted with touches of green. These vessels are generally thought to cluster in the early 17th century, with a number having been recovered from the site of the Ursula monastery, Pieterstraat, in a general context dating to 1575–1625 (Hurst et al 1986, 165).

### 6.3.4 Beauvais Sgraffito

Amongst the high-quality Beauvais White Earthenwares recovered in Scotland are a fair number of both single and double Sgraffito decorated wares, in the form of large flat-based dishes with sloping sides (Haggarty 2006, Word File 26). A large quantity of double-fired Sgraffito wasters (including bisque examples), dating to the first quarter of the 16th century, were recovered from the French kiln site at Le Détroit. Although made throughout the 16th century, the classic types are datable to the first half of that century.

Sgraffito went out of fashion in the 17th century, when it was replaced by yellow-trailed decoration on a red slip background. Beauvais Single-Slipped Sgraffito Earthenware has a red slip over a white body, through which the decorative motifs were scored or incised. The clear lead glaze, which is then coated over the upper surface, appears yellow over the white exposed clay and brown over the red slip. On double-slipped Sgraffito examples the white body was first covered with a red slip, over which was laid a second covering of white slip. The incised or combed decoration found on both types includes concentric circles, large flowers, leaves and rosettes: there are also often mottos and proverbs incised around the body just below the rim. There is no doubt that the potters who produced Beauvais Earthenwares, especially the polychrome decorated double Sgraffito wares, created some of the nicest late medieval ceramics in western Europe. Employing as they did a judicious and proficient use of incised decoration, coupled with a clear lead glaze, enhanced with patches of blue

and green, they produced a very arresting and high quality product.

From the Tron Kirk there are two shards from two vessels, one a small double Sgraffito rosette dish not identified in Holme's excavation report (1986, 301 fig. 2, no. 4). The second is a base shard from a large single Sgraffito rosette bowl in an off-white fabric covered with a red slip which Holmes originally published as German slipware (1975, 145 fig. 4, no. 8). (For a catalogue and summary of Beauvais pottery found in Scotland see Haggarty 2006, Word File 26.)

### 6.3.5 Late Saintonge

The archaeological evidence in England clearly demonstrates that the medieval trade in pottery from the Saintonge area continued, although in reduced quantities. Through the 16th and into the 17th centuries (Watkins 1983, 31) trade in Saintonge pottery apparently increased with what may be interpreted as renewed vigour with the introduction of many new ceramic types and forms, many of which are illustrated in Hurst 1974 (221–255). These late Saintonge pottery vessels are generally thrown with a thick body and include tubular-spouted, rounded pitchers with narrower necks and single pulled-handles. Cooking pots – often with lids – and small jugs are also still reasonably common in the English archaeological record but are scarce in Scotland.

At the same time also making an appearance are Saintonge Pégau-style vessels, with their large, very broad pouring-spouts and three basket-handles attached to the rims. These types are also uncommon in Scotland, although there is a group of what may be four examples from what is thought to be a 17th-century midden in Tower Street, Leith (Julie Franklin, pers comm).

Not illustrated is another late Saintonge shard (1974: AW).

### 6.3.6 Loire-type narrow-necked jugs

The so-called Loire-type narrow-necked jugs found in Scotland come in a variety of fabrics, including one which is hard, slightly micaceous, creamy/off-white fabric, often with tiny inclusions which may be flint. Another is a softer fabric type with abundant mica and small red inclusions, probably haematite. These jugs come in a variety of different sizes, but no correlation can be readily identified between size and the fabric types (Haggarty 2006, Word File 32). Frequently Loire-type jugs have on their exteriors small spots of a yellow, amber or rarely a green lead glaze, apart from which they are undecorated. The source of these vessels has yet to be confirmed and the assumption that they come from the Loire valley should be treated with some caution (Hurst et al 1986, 99). At least one recent French publication (Lecler & Calderoni

1999, 61, fig. 184) suggests that there may also be a Seine valley source for jugs in this form, but gives no date for them.

Recent research (Haggarty 2006, Word File 32), suggests that Loire narrow-necked jugs have an even wider distribution within Scotland than was previously thought and are being under-reported as it is generally only the distinctive neck rims and handles which are being recognised. By far the most reliable Scottish dates are for the shards recovered from a deposit at Stirling Castle dating to 1594 and a c 1630–40 deposit in Pittenweem. In addition, a shard was recovered from 16th-century debris at Whithorn, while other shards from St John Street in Ayr, Carrick Castle, Edinburgh, Perth and a number of other sites all date from the 16th, or more often, the early 17th century (ibid). All these dates fit well with the vessels recovered from the Tron Kirk excavations.

### 6.3.7 Mid-French-type chafing dish

The handles of the more common Saintonge chafing dishes do not normally spring from just above their bases (Hurst 1974), so it is probable that this example comes from central France. Shards from three or four similar examples were recovered at Mid Shore in Pittenweem, Fife by Colin Martin (Haggarty 2006, Word File 34, figs 1 & 2). There may be some confirmation of a central French source for these chafing dishes and help with their dating. The Mid Shore shards were recovered along with fragments of at least five Loire-type narrow-necked jugs from a deposit which it is suggested may date to between 1630 and 1640 (Martin 1979, 7). It is also the opinion of the excavator that this pottery had been brought back to Scotland by a sea captain from Elie, and that it reflects his involvement in the French wine trade. A similar chafing dish was found in Amsterdam within a context dated to 1575–1625 (Hurst et al 1986, 80, fig. 36, 106).

### 6.3.8 Malling-type jug

Tin-glazed earthenware jugs of so-called Malling type are named after the Kent church of West Malling in which one was found, and are known speckled in both purple and blue. Malling-type jugs were produced in Flanders and possibly by immigrant potters active in London by around 1580. This jug was listed as a continental product, due to the evidence for the importation of tin-glazed earthenware in the Leith port customs documents, which show that at this period it comes mainly from Flanders. Perhaps the earliest identified English vessel with similar ornament in manganese is a London Southwark mug with its rim inscribed 1628 ELIZABETH BROCKLEHURST (Lipski & Archer 1984).

Not illustrated: Malling-type jug (1974: AA).

### 6.3.9 Cantaro Shaped Redware?

One large fragment of an Iberian Cantaro shaped vessel in a red sandy fabric under a dark red skin or heat sheen, surviving round handle fragment and groups of fine horizontal cutting (illus 17). The jar is covered with a thick lead glaze on the bottom of its interior, which has run towards its neck during firing. There are also traces and glaze runs on exterior from what looks like splashed bib glazing. This vessel was published by Holmes (1975, 147 fig. 5, no. 13), where he suggested that it was an import from either England or Holland; however, inspection of its fabric and its form clearly suggests an Iberian source.

### 6.3.10 Chinese porcelain

Fragment from a Chinese porcelain dish of probable Late Ming date (illus 7b). Shards of Chinese porcelain from Scottish archaeological deposits which can be dated before 1700 are still extremely rare in the literature, partly because it is only recently that post-medieval deposits in Scotland have been given the same treatment as their earlier counterparts.

### 6.3.11 German/Low Countries Whiteware

One rim and two body whiteware shards from what may be a well thrown and delicate small pipkin and bowl covered with a clear lead glaze with what may be a few tiny specks of iron on their interiors (illus 14).

### 6.3.12 German/Raeren Stoneware

Fragments of three Raeren stoneware vessels were recovered (illus 6) and, not illustrated, a base shard (1983: AB). Raeren is situated ten kilometres southwest of Aachen in Belgium, just one kilometre from the present German border.

### 6.3.13 Conclusions

The Old Town of Edinburgh was constructed on a classic crag and tail geological formation leading

down from the volcanic plug on which the castle sits. It was this natural layout which forced the medieval builders to create terraced platforms on either side of the side slopes for their buildings. Most archaeological debris is predominantly now to be found within the deep midden-rich soil deposits situated across the foot of the Old Town valleys or in truncated pits to the rear of the terraces. It is therefore of no real surprise that the small amount of medieval pottery recovered from the Tron excavation came from a single small truncated pit to the rear of the site and that the vast majority of ceramic material recovered came from what we believe were 16th-century drains and early 17th-century demolition deposits (and which importantly is backed up by the coin evidence – Holmes this paper). This reinforces the late dating for the so-called French Loire narrow-necked jugs which have a wide Scottish distribution (Haggarty 2006, Word File 32).

Although omnipresent on most excavated Scottish sites of the period, large Scottish Post-Medieval Reduced Ware jugs are represented here by only a few shards from what is almost certainly only one vessel. Post-medieval oxidised forms are limited, mainly to what is probably chamberpots, with pirlie pigs, folded-handled skillets and small drug pots making up most if not all of this assemblage. Contemporary documentation, eg wills and inventories, shows that very large numbers of these chamberpots were to be found in higher-status houses of this period.

Imports from the 17th-century deposits include a number of north German slipwares, which are now being recognised in increasing numbers from archaeological excavation in Leith and Edinburgh. These dishes, often with hammer-headed rims, are almost certainly coming in as an adjunct to the increased demand by local coalmine owners for pit props, fuelling the expansion of the Baltic timber trade. At this time there was also an increasing Scottish market for Baltic iron. These German wares along with the French, Iberian, German and Low Countries imported ceramic types reinforces the impression given by the documents that the status of the inhabitants of the pre-Kirk tenements was towards the upper end of the social scale. However, one can only speculate whether it was the by-product of the trade in luxury and high value items like powdered almonds and pepper by John Adamson which brought the unusual Iberian pot to Edinburgh.



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## 7 CATALOGUE OF ILLUSTRATED AND IMPORTED CERAMIC MATERIAL

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Key ceramics are catalogued below with the following information in the title line: Fig. no; ceramic type; year of excavation; context.

### 7.1 Ceramic material from demolition rubble

Illus 11a; SPMOW; money box; 1983; AR

One knob and top from a SPMOW money box or 'pirlie pig' covered with a thick olive green glaze.

Illus 11b; Drug pot; 1974; BP

Complete profile from a small drug pot in a pale grey sandy fabric with slightly oxidised surfaces and patches of green lead glaze over its exterior. The paste has sparse inclusions, including haematite, quartz and black lumps in what looks somewhat like a Late White Gritty. Published as a possible inkwell by Holmes (1975, 147 Fig. 5 No. 14).

Illus 11c; Drug pot; 1974; AK

One rim shard from a small drug pot in a high-fired fine quartz-rich paste with oxidised surfaces and a reduced core. This pot, which is covered on both surfaces with an iron-stained lead glaze and has heavy rilling, has been well thrown (Holmes 1975, 147 Fig. 5, No. 10).

Illus 11d; SPMOW; 1974; AX

One rim shard from a large SPMOW storage vessel covered on both surfaces with a thick green glaze reduced dark grey core with light grey oxidised surfaces (Holmes 1975, 147 Fig. 5, No. 12).

Illus 15a; Low Countries Redware; 1983; AB

One folded strap-handle from a Low Countries Redware frying-pan or skillet with a thick green-brown lead glaze on upper surfaces and slight traces below (Holmes 1986, 301 Fig. 2, No. 8).

Illus 11e; SPMOW; 1974; BP

Three rim and folded strap-handle shards from a SPMOW skillet with a thick olive green lead glaze on upper surfaces and heavy sooting on exterior (Holmes 1975, 147 Fig. 5, No. 11).

Illus 11f; SPMOW; 1983; AB

Two conjoining rim shards from a SPMOW globular storage vessel covered with an internal olive green glaze with a finger-pinched spout (Holmes 1986, 301 Fig. 2, No. 5).

Illus 15b; Low Countries Redware; 1983; AC

One rim shard probably from a Low Countries Redware skillet covered with a lead glaze on its interior and sooting on its exterior.

Illus 15c; Low Countries Redware; 1974; AR

One leg and body shard from a Low Countries Redware skillet covered with a lead glaze on its interior and sooting on its exterior.

Illus 15e; Low Countries Redware; 1974; AR; demolition rubble

One rim shard with handle scar, from a Low Countries Redware frying-pan whose interior is covered with a thick lead glaze.

Illus 6b; Raeren Stoneware jug; 1983; AD

One grey stoneware rim shard from a Raeren jug covered with a patchy grey/brown glossy glaze, late 15th or early 16th century. Not illustrated: a base shard (1974 BX).

Illus 16b; Loire jug; 1983; AB

One rim and neck shard from a Loire narrow-necked jug in a buff sandy fabric with sparse mica and red haematite grains, published in Holmes (1986, 301 Fig. 2, No. 7). Not illustrated: Loire jug shard; 1974; AR

Illus 14a; German Whiteware; 1974; AG

One rim and two body Whiteware shards from what may be a well thrown and delicate small pipkin with a clear lead glaze with what may be a few tiny specks of iron on its interior.

Illus 14b; German Whiteware; 1974; AA

One well potted, carinated, body shard in a white fabric decorated on its exterior with a bright glossy green glaze and on its exterior with pale yellow.

Illus 7b; Chinese Porcelain; 1974; BF

Two rim shards from a small blue and white Chinese Porcelain dish of probable Late Ming date.

Illus 17; Iberian; 1974; AJ

Six conjoining body shards from a jar in a red sandy fabric under a dark red skin or heat sheen, surviving round handle fragment and groups of fine horizontal cutting. The jar is covered with a thick lead glaze on the bottom of its interior which has run towards its neck during firing. There are also traces and glaze runs on exterior from what looks like splashed bib glazing.

Illus 12a; North European Earthenware; 1983; AB

One rim shard in a red fabric tempered with quartz sand. The exterior has deep horizontal grooves and the interior is covered in a brown lead glaze. Published by Holmes (1986, 301 Fig. 2, No. 9). The fabric is grittier than the normal North European Earthenware Redware recovered in Scotland and we cannot suggest a source.

Illus 13b; North Holland Slipware; 1983 AR

Six shards from a North Holland slipware bowl with a developed footrim.

Illus 12b; North European Earthenware; 1983; AB

Two unglazed shards conjoining to form the leg from a pipkin in a red fabric tempered with fine quartz sand. Published by Holmes (1986, 301 Fig. 2, No. 6). The fabric is grittier than the Low Countries Redware vessels recovered in Scotland and we cannot suggest a source.

Illus 12c; North European Earthenware; 1974; AG

One badly abraded hammer-headed rim shard in a reddish-brown slightly micaceous fabric decorated on its upper surface with traces of white slip under what looks like a degraded very light green lead glaze. It is hard to be sure but it looks as though thin concentric Sgraffito bands were cut through the white slip before the glaze was applied.

Illus 12d; North European Earthenware; 1983

One rim shard from what is probably a large jug in a reddish sandy fabric with traces of reduction mainly on its exterior. The exterior is also covered in a nasty brown glaze and it is possible that this shard has been subject to later burning.

Illus 16b; Unknown Slip decorated; 2007; 006

One base shard from a slip decorated vessel in a hard red-brown sandy fabric covered on both surfaces with a brown lead glaze. Only slight traces of the white slip decoration survive all around its exterior, and there is purple heat sheen on its base. This is not

a local slipware but we are at a loss in suggesting a source.

## 7.2 Ceramic material from sewer/drain fills

Illus 9a; SPMOW; jug; 1974; BB

One almost complete and restored SPMOW jug with a rim diameter of 160 a base diameter of 105 and a height of 185mm. Traces of a mottled green/brown lead glaze on its exterior and knife trimming around base (Holmes 1975, 145 Fig. 4, No. 4).

Illus 9b; SPMOW; jug; 1974; BB

One almost complete and restored SPMOW jug with a rim diameter of 143 a base diameter of 100 and a height of 148mm. Suggestion of soot on its exterior and traces of a brown lead glaze over its rim and exterior (Holmes 1975, 145 Fig. 4, No. 5).

Illus 9c; SPMOW; jug; 1974; BB

One almost complete and restored SPMOW jug with a rim diameter of 126, a base diameter of 90, and height of 124mm. Thick bright green lead glazes on its interior and over rim and handle (Holmes 1975, 145 Fig. 4, No. 3).

Illus 9d; SPMOW; jug; 1974; BB

One almost complete and restored SPMOW jug with a rim diameter of 121, a base diameter of 90, and a height of 140mm. For some reason Holmes only illustrated the top half of this jug (1975, Fig. 4, No. 6).

Illus 9f; SPMOW; money box; 1974; BB

One shard comprising almost two thirds of a SPMOW money box or 'pirlie pig' with a base diameter of 60mm and covered with a red-brown lead glaze on its exterior. There is an indistinct maker's or owner's mark incised on its base (Holmes 1975, 145 Fig. 4, No. 7).

Illus 9g; SPMOW; money box; 1974; AS

One shard from a mammiform SPMOW money box or 'pirlie pig' with degraded green glaze and surviving top lip of cut slot.

Illus 9h; SPMOW; chamberpot?; 1983; BB

One rim shard from a SPMOW jug, with a rim diameter of 142mm (Holmes 1986, 301 Fig. 2, No. 1).

Illus 9i; Unknown; jug; 1983; BB

One rim shard from a jug in an unknown fabric and with a rim diameter of 120mm, Holmes states in his report that the fabric of this shard is smooth grey fired reddish-brown on surface, greeny-brown glaze on interior, decayed remains on exterior and soot blacked (1986, 301, Fig. 2, No. 2). However on close inspection the fabric is more reminiscent of a Scottish White Gritty and the pot has been much better thrown than most SPMOW vessels of the period.

Illus 9j; Unknown; jug; 1983; BB

One rim shard from a jug in an unknown fabric and with a rim diameter of 120mm. Holmes (1986, 301 Fig. 2, No. 3) states in his report that the fabric of this shard is grey, fired red on surfaces and has brownish-green glaze on interior and part of rim exterior and blackening on exterior. However on close inspection the fabric is similar to illus 8 and the pot which has extensive rilling and has been well thrown. In his report Holmes suggested that this vessel may have had a handle (ibid), but we can find no evidence for this assertion.

Illus 9k; SPMOW money box; 1974; BU/BO

One substantial shard from a mammiform SPMOW money box or 'pirlie pig' covered with green lead glaze. The very thin money slot survives intact. Published by Holmes (1975, Fig. 4, No. 2) who suggests that a hole in

the bank was used to hang a cord from. This strikes us as unlikely as the hole is tiny.

Illus 10a; Beauvais Double Sgraffito bowl; 1983; BB

One base shard from a small 16th-century Beauvais double Sgraffito rosette bowl in an off-white fabric covered first with a red slip over which a layer of white slip has been laid (Hurst 1986, 113 Fig. 52, No. 1620). A Sgraffito design has then been executed by cutting through the white slip showing red petals and a central spiral which has then been covered with a lead glaze highlighted with patches of green and very pale blue. Holmes published this shard without a source (1986, 301 Fig. 2, No. 4). For a catalogue and summary of Beauvais pottery in Scotland, see Haggarty 2006, Word file 26.

Illus 10b; Beauvais Single Sgraffito bowl; 1974; BB

One base shard from a large 16th-century Beauvais single Sgraffito rosette bowl in an off-white fabric covered with a red slip. A Sgraffito design has then been executed by cutting through slip showing white petals, which has then been covered with a lead glaze. Holmes published this shard as German Slipware (1975, 145 Fig. 4, No. 8). For a catalogue and summary of Beauvais pottery in Scotland, see Haggarty 2006, Word file 26.

## 7.3 Ceramic material from occupation layers

Illus 11g; SPMOW; 1974; BN

One basal angle shard probably from a SPMOW money box or 'pirlie pig'.

Illus 11h; SPMOW; 1974; BL

One rim shards from a SPMOW skillet with a degraded olive-green lead glaze on its internal surface.

Illus 15e; Low Countries Redware; 1974; BL

One leg and body shard from a Low Countries Redware skillet covered with a lead glaze on its interior and sooting on the exterior.

## 7.4 Ceramic material from fill of pit F11

Illus 8; French; 1983; AE

Three fairly thick shards, of which two conjoin in an off-white body with red inclusions, probably haematite and a run of green glaze and handle scar just above its base. 16th century. The handles from Saintonge chafing dishes do not normally spring from just above their bases (Hurst 1974), so it is probable that this example, which has a handle scar, derived from central France. Not illustrated: one shard of Saintonge Plain; 1974; AW

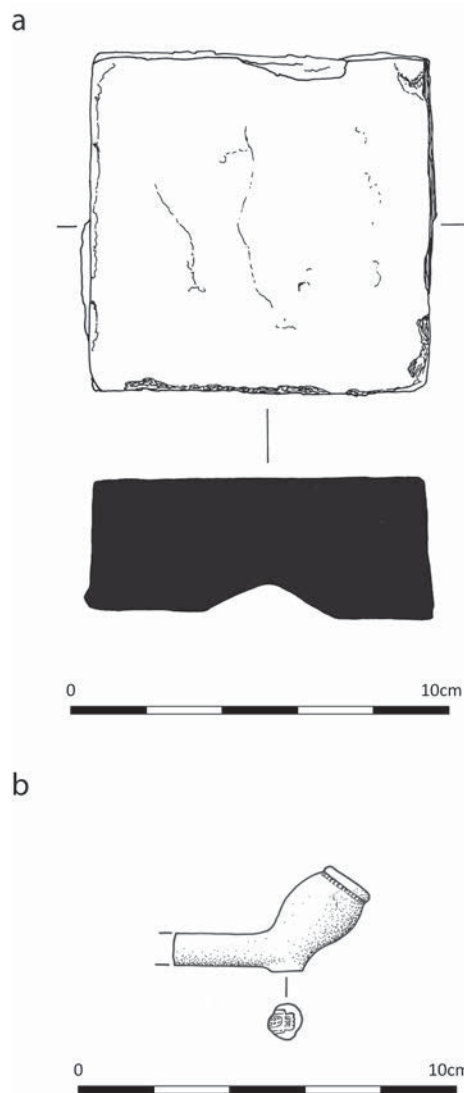
## 7.5 Ceramic material from pit 1

Illus 6b; Raeren Stoneware bottle; 1983; AQ

Twenty-one stoneware shards mostly conjoining to form a large fragment from a Raeren Stoneware bottle with frilled, splayed footrim, although this example also looks similar to material published from Aachen, late 15th, early 16th centuries. This material was published as probable Langerwehe (Holmes 1983, 299).

Illus 7a; Scottish Redware; 1983; AQ

Fifteen shards which conjoin to form the rim, shoulder and handle of a jug in a red sandy fabric decorated with two shoulder cordons alternating with wavy horizontal bands. This jug fragment was recovered in association with a large portion (illus 5), of a Raeren Stoneware



Illus 18 a) Floor tile; b) William Bank clay pipe

bottle of late 15th- or early 16th-century date. A similar jug fragment has been recovered from the ongoing excavations at the Scottish Episcopal Palace at Fetternear in Aberdeenshire.

#### 7.6 Ceramic material from Tron Kirk construction trench c 1637

Scottish White Gritty; 2007; Context 043

Two conjoining green glazed rim shards in a light-grey fabric, probably from a jar with an everted rim. This fabric is thought to be the tail-end of the Scottish Medieval Whiteware industry and the dating of these shards helps confirm this. They have been recognised from a number of sites around the Forth estuary but predominantly from Leith, Edinburgh and Inverkeithing.

#### 7.7 Clay pipe and tile report, George Haggarty & John A Lawson

Of the four medieval floor tiles recovered from the site, only one, the complete example illustrated in

Holmes (1975, 148, Fig. 1) can now be found. This tile (87 × 85 × 40mm) (illus 18a) was extensively denuded of the lead glaze on its upper surface, suggesting a long period of use. It was recovered from the demolition rubble and has a hemispherical depression in its base, 11mm deep. This feature is thought to have aided bedding into a wet mortar floor and can be seen on a number of examples which are thought to have been produced locally, during the mid-13th century at Newbattle and Melrose Abbeys (Richardson 1929).

A small number of clay-pipe fragments were recovered from the 2007 excavations, of which only one bowl warrants publication (illus 18b). As a group this material corresponds extremely well with the 44 fragments thought to date from between 1620 and 1650, recovered during the 1974 excavation and which were published by Lawson (1975, 150, Fig. 7). The only Edinburgh manufacturer who marked his pipes at this date was William Banks, whose firm appears to have had the monopoly in clay pipe production in Edinburgh during the early part of the 17th century.

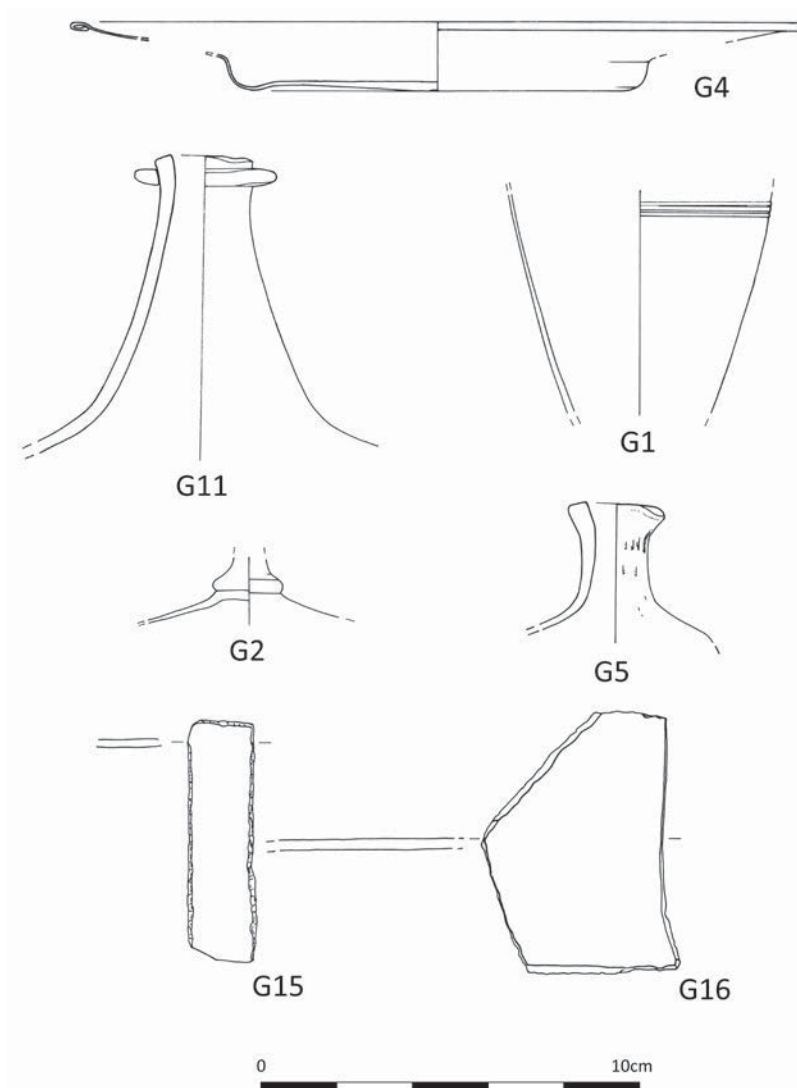
#### 7.8 The glass report, Hugh Willmott

A small assemblage of glass, consisting of 60 fragments from a minimum of 25 vessels and windows, was recovered from the excavations conducted between 1974 and 2005. As might be expected, all is probably post-medieval, and most pre-dates the beginning of the construction of the kirk in 1637. Although some is weathered quite heavily, all the fragments were stable and required no specialist treatment. The glass can broadly be divided into two categories, vessels and windows, and is catalogued in detail at the end of this report.

##### 7.8.1 Vessel glass

Fragments from approximately 14 different vessels were recovered from a variety of contexts. Whilst the majority are portions of simple containers, four come from tablewares. The first, G1, is a very fragmented bowl from a pedestal stem goblet (illus 19). Such vessels are blown from a single bubble, or parison, of glass and then folded to form the final shape. This particular example has a small section of surviving opaque white trailing which is typical for this form, and usually only used to decorate the upper portion of the vessel. This type of goblet, which dates to the earlier portion of the 16th century, is normally only found on relatively high-status sites although they are more common in the Low Countries and northern France, where they were probably produced (Willmott 2002, 70).

The remaining three tablewares, made in a good quality clear glass, are all late 16th, or more probably early 17th-century in date, and likely to be English in origin. Although there was an



*Illus 19 Vessel glass (G1, G2, G4, G5 & G11) and window glass (G15 & G16)*

established glass industry in Scotland from 1610 onwards, and one known to have been producing vessel glass, the character of its early output is unknown archaeologically (Turnbull 2001). The tablewares are all types typical of known Mansell-era production in England between 1615 and 1645. G2 is the most recognisable of these, being the lower portion of a stemmed goblet (illus 19) that mirrors waste fragments found at Mansell's furnace on Broad Street in London (Willmott 2005, 100–01). Much more fragmented, but probably from a similar vessel, is the lower portion of a thin tapering goblet bowl, G3, decorated with a single fine horizontal trail. More complete is the fragmented, but still reconstructable, profile from a small dish or saucer, G4 (illus 19). This has a flat base, low side and broad rim and again is a typical early 17th-century find (Willmott 2002, 96).

The remaining vessels are all from containers of various forms made in a green potash-rich glass. The earliest are fragments from six different phials or small case bottles with a square cross section. These

vessels were used for holding all types of domestic liquids, medicines and perfumes and are frequently found on sites of all statuses. G5 is the complete rim and shoulder of an early example dating to the beginning of the 17th century (illus 19), whilst G6–G7 are different low pushed-in bases from similar examples. Slightly later, somewhat larger and made in a better quality glass are the fragments from a more capacious case bottle, G8, which dates to the late 17th or 18th century. There are also two very small body fragments, G9–G10, from other case bottles, but these are too small for more accurate identification.

Given that wine bottles are one of the most ubiquitous of post-medieval finds, it is not surprising that there are fragments from four different examples in the assemblage. The largest and most diagnostic, G11, is the complete neck and upper shoulder from an onion or bladder-shaped bottle dating to the very end of the 17th or early 18th centuries (illus 19). The remainder, G12–14, are less indicative, being small fragments of body, although they all appear to come

from late 17th- to early 19th-century examples that are cylindrical in shape.

### 7.8.2 Window glass

A small but interesting assemblage of window glass was also found during the excavations. Five of these definitely predate the redevelopment of the site in 1637, being late 15th or 16th century in date based on their thickness and the quality of the glass, and as such must have come from a relatively high-status building that occupied the area prior to the construction of the Tron Kirk. Two of these fragments retain portions of their grozed edges allowing for a reconstruction of their original

shape. G15 is a narrow rectangular quarry and probably came from the border of a window, whilst G16 was originally triangular and would have been used in conjunction with diamond-shaped quarries to form the glazing pattern (illus 19). The remaining three, G17–G19, have no edges surviving and are therefore less diagnostic, although of the same date.

The remaining window glass is somewhat later. Only one piece, G20, can be broadly dated to the 17th century, and therefore might derive from the first glazing of the kirk. The remainder, G21–25, are 18th or even 19th century in date. All these later pieces are colourless, or have an unintentional tint to them, except G25 which is a deliberate light emerald green.

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## 8 DISCUSSION

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Analysis of the Tron Kirk excavations has benefited from the abundance of historical maps, prints and documentary evidence such as the housemails book of 1634–5, available in such a richly recorded burgh. The documentary evidence records that at least four tenements were compulsorily purchased, from the western block along Taverner's Close, through to the eastern side of Peebles Wynd (illus 2). Unfortunately, Marlin's Wynd was the only close actually identified, so little can be said about the width of the burgage plots. The building works would have destroyed all four tenements, but the surviving footprint of the Tron covers only portions of those buildings on either side of Marlin's Wynd, the remaining tenements lying under the now absent east and west wings of the church. The analysis of the housemails book suggests that the footprint of the church covered the partial remains of three tenements, generally referred to as Napier's, Lauder's and Taverner's Tenements. New documentary research has made it possible to identify some of the owners of these tenements, and also some of the functions to which the buildings were put. This work has been complemented by the material assemblage recovered from all phases of excavation, which comprised ceramic, glass, coins, iron, coarse stone, leather and animal bone (Holmes 1975). The finds confirmed the basic conclusions one would expect from a post-medieval settlement (*ibid*), but the high-status glass also demonstrated the general wealth of at least some of the inhabitants of the wynd. The re-analysis of the early 17th-century ceramic assemblage includes a number of north German slipwares, along with a range of French, Iberian, German and Low Countries imports, while the glass assemblage included an early 16th-century goblet from the Low Countries, a vessel type normally only found on relatively high-status sites in Britain. Unfortunately, all the material was found in the demolition layer and so none of it can be associated with specific buildings or occupants. Clearly, the systematic 'evacuation' of the site prior to its demolition enabled all but a few objects to be removed, the material assemblage possibly representing already broken and useless goods.

The general lack of a wider range of *in situ* deposits made the original dating and chronology of the site difficult (Holmes 1975, 161). Artefactually, the ceramic assemblage consisted of material dating to the 16th and early 17th century, demonstrating that later activity had removed the earlier medieval occupation. Ultimately, an approximate date of 1600 attributed to a pair of moulded door-jambs within Lauder's Tenement was used to date the whole of the site (*ibid*). However, new documen-

tary research suggests a probable construction date in the latter half of the 16th century, following its destruction through fire in 1544, and suggests that Napier's Tenement had a far earlier origin, being occupied from at least 1508, and possibly as early as 1493. The origin and date of Marlin's Wynd itself is similarly problematic. It seems most likely that wynds were laid out at the same time as burgage plots, being used to mark the boundaries between land parcels (Coleman 2004, 297; Tait 2006, 306). A 1477 reference to both Niddry's and Peebles Wynds implies that Marlin's Wynd may date to this period (Tait 2006, 305), although the name is not used until 1555.

The recent excavations have provided a more extensive plan of the structures, while the new documentary evidence provides a more comprehensive record of the inhabitants of the buildings, their careers and social status. In the following discussion the documentary and archaeological evidence is drawn together to form a narrative of sorts for each building. Analogy with both existing buildings and cartographic records provides evidence for the layout and form of the structures excavated within the Tron. Buildings of similar age elsewhere along the High Street generally have at least four or five storeys, with either shops or booths to the front, and accommodation above accessed through the booth front or up a set of external stairs. Access to the backlands would have been through either the larger wynds or the closes.

### 8.1 *Building A (Lauder's Tenement)*

Building A was located on the north-west corner of Marlin's Wynd and the High Street, and represents the fragmentary remains of Lauder's Tenement, a building constructed to replace those burnt down during the invasion by the Earl of Hertford in 1544, when much of the town on the south side was destroyed. Only partially investigated by Holmes, the remaining building was excavated to reveal more of the rock-cut cellarage. The actual occupancy of each part of the building is difficult to establish, but by the publication of the 1635 housemails book a series of wealthy occupants had lived in the building, including Thomas Bannatyne, a confectioner. Generally, confectioners were among the first merchants to realise the importance of presentation and this is reflected in Bannatyne's inventory list, which included imported high-value luxury produce from London. The identification of high-prestige glassware from the tenement, while not necessarily associated with Bannatyne himself, certainly

reflects the status of at least some of the people who lived there. The building overlying Marlin's Wynd comprised a combination of shops, booths and cellars all accessed off the High Street. Despite the northern part of Napier's Tenement being owned or inhabited by, among others, a writer and a cloth merchant, no evidence, perhaps unsurprisingly, was identified of their occupation of the site.

### 8.2 *Building B (Napier's Tenement)*

Napier's Tenement was located on the north-east corner of Marlin's Wynd and the High Street from at least 1508. Despite truncation, the front of the building and a fragment of the High Street were revealed in the recent works, providing new evidence for the alignment and construction of the street. By 1626, the front of the building, a former bakehouse, appears to have been sub-divided into two shops, accessed via the High Street. It is unclear from the documentary evidence whether the shops occupied the ground or first floor areas but the stone plinth facing onto the High Street confirms that an arcaded booth lay along the ground floor frontage. There is no archaeological evidence for a bakehouse, but both the courtyard, an open area traditionally associated with craft activities (Coleman 2004, 298) and the industrial area beyond it could have served as preparation areas for the bakehouse. The material assemblage from the industrial area, together with the presence of a possible flue and basin, are more indicative of iron working (Holmes 1975, 161), but

it is possible that this industry superseded the bakehouse.

### 8.3 *Buildings C (Napier's Tenement) and D*

Building C, an isolated structure to the immediate south of the courtyard, was also located within Napier's Tenement. The building appears independent of any other structures, the courtyard and industrial area fitting around it. Though the possibility exists that it represents an independent tower-like structure, the lack of any other such feature in the historical maps argues against this. Alternatively, the building may form the northern part of a T-shaped tenement, a common design in medieval and post-medieval Edinburgh (illus 2 and 3). Truncation has removed any stratigraphic relationship that may have existed between the northern wall of Building D and the southern wall of Building C; it seems possible that the two were contemporary. The recent documentary evidence demonstrates that Dr Scott, a later owner of Napier's Tenement, also owned a cellar to the immediate north of a fleshhouse accessed directly from Marlin's Wynd. This description of course matches Building C, suggesting that the fleshhouse exited in the now truncated area to the immediate south. The incorporation of the drains into the building further demonstrates the owner's incentive to provide amenity to the building and occupants, which was previously demonstrated by Napier's attempt to provide more windows in the building.

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## 9 CONCLUSION

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The proposed re-development of the Tron Kirk building has prompted a more thorough investigation and subsequent interpretation of the site. Overall, the recent excavations have complemented the original, more extensive excavation, while answering some remaining queries. A more comprehensive plan of the site has been established, with new evidence for the construction of the buildings on site. However, it is only with the huge expansion and development of Scottish medieval and post-medieval archaeology since the publication of

the first excavation results that we are now able, using recently published analogies and syntheses (Coleman 2004, 281; Tait 2006, 297), to contextualise the evidence. The re-interpretation of the glass and pottery assemblages has also benefited from recently published research programmes (Turnbull 2001; Haggarty 2006). Together with a new study of the available documentation, it all confirms the dating and importance of the site, along with the occupations, social and economic statuses of its occupants.



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- NAS, CC8/8/46/362–4 TTI\* of John Adamson, Registered 4 Aug 1610.
- NAS, CC8/8/49/267–70 TTI\* of William Melrose, wright, Registered 20 Jul 1616.
- NAS, CC8/8/52/244–6 TDI\* of Thomas Finnie, tailor, Registered 15 Dec 1623.
- NAS, CC8/8/56/225–229 TTI\* of Patrick Hepburn of Smeaton, Registered 12 Apr 1633.
- NAS, CC8/8/57/383–6 TTI\* of Thomas Bannatyne, merchant burghess, Registered 18 Oct 1635.
- NAS, CC8/8/58/63–5 TTI\* of Patrick Oliphant, writer, Registered 19 Nov 1636.
- NAS, CC8/8/61/328–331 TDI\* of Thomas Lawson, Registered 29 May 1645.
- NAS, CC8/8/66/177–180 TTI\* of George Wauchope, Registered 8 Sept 1652.
- NAS, CS7/486 Register Acts and Decrees, Court of Session, Jan–Mar 1636 (Hay).
- NAS, CS7/487 Register Acts and Decrees, Court of Session, Jan–Jul 1636 (Scott).
- NAS, CS7/488 Register Acts and Decrees, Court of Session, Acts, Jan–Dec 1636 (Scott).
- NAS, CS7/489 Register Acts and Decrees, Court of Session, Mar–Jul 1636 (Gibson).
- NAS, CS15/239 Court of Session, Extracted Processes, 1636.
- NAS, CS15/240 Court of Session, Extracted Processes, 1636.
- NAS, GD40/2/12/6 Lothian Muniments, Grant by Mark, Lord Newbattle of lands of Cowthroppill, formerly pertaining to James Adamson and escheated for non-payment of certain bonds, 20 Feb 1604.
- NAS, RD1/492 Register of Deeds (Scott's Office), Vol. 492, Feb–Jun 1636.
- NAS, RS25/24 Particular Register of Sasines, Burgh of Edinburgh Jul 1635–Apr 1636.
- NAS, RS25/25 Particular Register of Sasines, Burgh of Edinburgh, Apr 1636–Mar 1637.
- NAS, RS25/26 Particular Register of Sasines, Burgh of Edinburgh Mar 1637–Dec 1637.
- NAS, RS25/27 Particular Register of Sasines, Burgh of Edinburgh Dec 1637–Feb 1639.
- NAS, RS25/28 Particular Register of Sasines, Burgh of Edinburgh Feb 1639–Aug 1640.
- \*NAS, Testament Testamentary and Inventory = TTI
- \*NAS, Testament Dative and Inventory = TDI