

RECONSTRUCTING TWELFTH- AND THIRTEENTH-CENTURY DUNDEE

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In any reconstruction of a medieval town it is essential to establish the physical environment of the site. In the case of Dundee, the physical landscape has undergone profound changes, and although the broad parameters are well known, the detail so important for defining precise locations, has never been adequately researched. This paper attempts to redress the problem before examining the nature of the settlement in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The Geological Background

Some three hundred and fifty million years ago, the Tay Valley did not exist. South Angus and North Fife was a region associated with the laying down of Devonian sandstones and conglomerates in semi arid conditions at the same time as intense volcanic activity was taking place, with the outpouring of extensive spreads of andesites and dolerites which make up much of the Sidlaw and Ochil Hills today (McGregor 1968; Armstrong 1985). Later, folding created a domed structure stretching from the Sidlaws to the Ochils, the central part of which was ultimately downfaulted to create the Tay graben. Riverine, and particularly glacial erosion, over-deepened the Tay Valley by several hundred metres as well as smoothing the contours of the volcanic hills on either side. Along the Tay estuary late and post-glacial fluctuations in sea-level have created a series of raised shorelines (Cullingford and Smith 1966), which have become important sites for settlement, including that of Medieval Dundee (Fig. 1).

The structural and glacial features provide the broad physical environment for the Dundee region, where the volcanic outcrops of the Sidlaws provide shelter from the north, and consequently a more favourable climate than in much of South Angus. Smaller volcanic features are characteristic of the city landscape, notably Dundee Law, rising to 570ft (174m), and Balgay Hill, which attains 479ft (146m). Most of these ridges clearly show the smoothing effect of huge masses of ice moving from west to east leaving trails of unconsolidated glacial deposition on the eastern sides of the volcanic crags. Structural and glacial influence is also clear in the generally west to east trend of the smaller streams in the area, particularly the Dighty and the Scouring Burn.

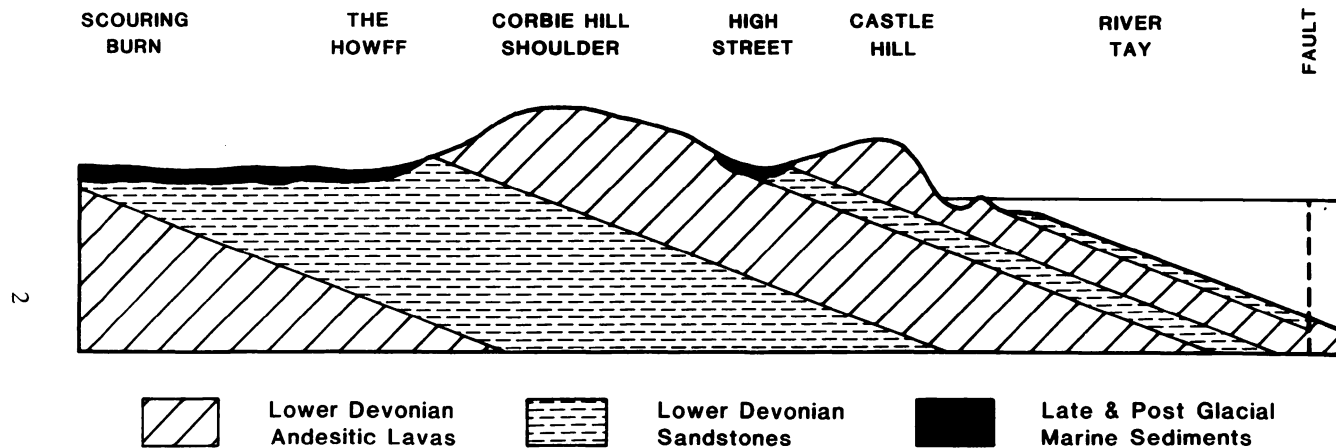


Fig. 1. Schematic relationship between geology and medieval landscape features.

The Physical Environment of Dundee

The early medieval settlement of Dundee developed around the mouth of the Scouring Burn at a sheltered site 9 miles (15km) upstream from the mouth of the estuary. This site had considerable advantages in terms of marine accessibility and defensive capabilities compared to those sections of the coastline to the east and west. The detail of the early coastline is masked by the extensive areas of reclaimed land used by the modern docks, railway land and other developments. Northwards from the shoreline, the relatively flat topography of the raised shorelines was interrupted by two andesitic masses. Castle Hill, to the west of the Scouring Burn, has been partially quarried and otherwise modified over the centuries. Corbie Hill and its long shoulder, lying to the north of the City Churches, was completely removed in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Lamb 1895, *liv*). Regrading associated with modern building and street construction has significantly modified even the lesser slopes. A third environmental element relevant to the medieval town which has completely disappeared is the area of marshland developed on the late glacial sands and gravels around the present-day Albert Square area. The Scouring Burn flowed into the marsh before draining southwards to the estuary. The medieval environment of Dundee therefore requires the establishment of the original coastline, the recreation of the quarried hills and definition of the marshland area.

Several historical maps, the most useful of which is Crawford's Plan of the Town and Harbour of Dundee (1776), show the coastline in varying degrees of accuracy. Using these maps in conjunction with field survey, the suggested coastline has been produced (Fig. 2). The possibility of coastal erosion and deposition in post-medieval times was considered, but it is not believed to have radically altered the line being favoured.

Few of the historical maps show Castle Hill and Corbie Hill in adequate detail, frequently only representing them by symbolic drawings or hachures, which give little indication of height or slope. However, Collie's map (Collie 1851-4) is crucial because it allows the linking of the pictorial and cartographic evidence much more precisely in that it ties them to a known street plan. Several prints and pictures of Dundee showing the hills and St Mary's Tower exist from the late seventeenth century onwards. The most well-known are Slezer's Prospects (Slezer 1693). Comparison of the various pictures allows the elimination of artistic licence and some indication of slope angle. Field work could usually ascertain the artist's precise viewpoint, the height of which could be established, even though modern buildings obscure the sight lines. As the dimensions of St Mary's Tower are known (Scott (c.1871), St Mary's Church. DDARC, Town Charter Chest, Box 2, no. 230/1/-16. Ground Plans and Elevations, no. 230/9/1-3), the heights of various points on the Corbie Hill and Castle Hill could be accurately calculated on a print. The technique can be justified by the fact that the Tower is a focal feature in the landscape and an artist would almost certainly have related other detail in his drawing to it. Furthermore, calculations based on several different prints give the same results. With a selection of spot heights and pictorial evidence of the gradients of some of the slopes it was now possible to create a draft contour map of early Dundee. In order to

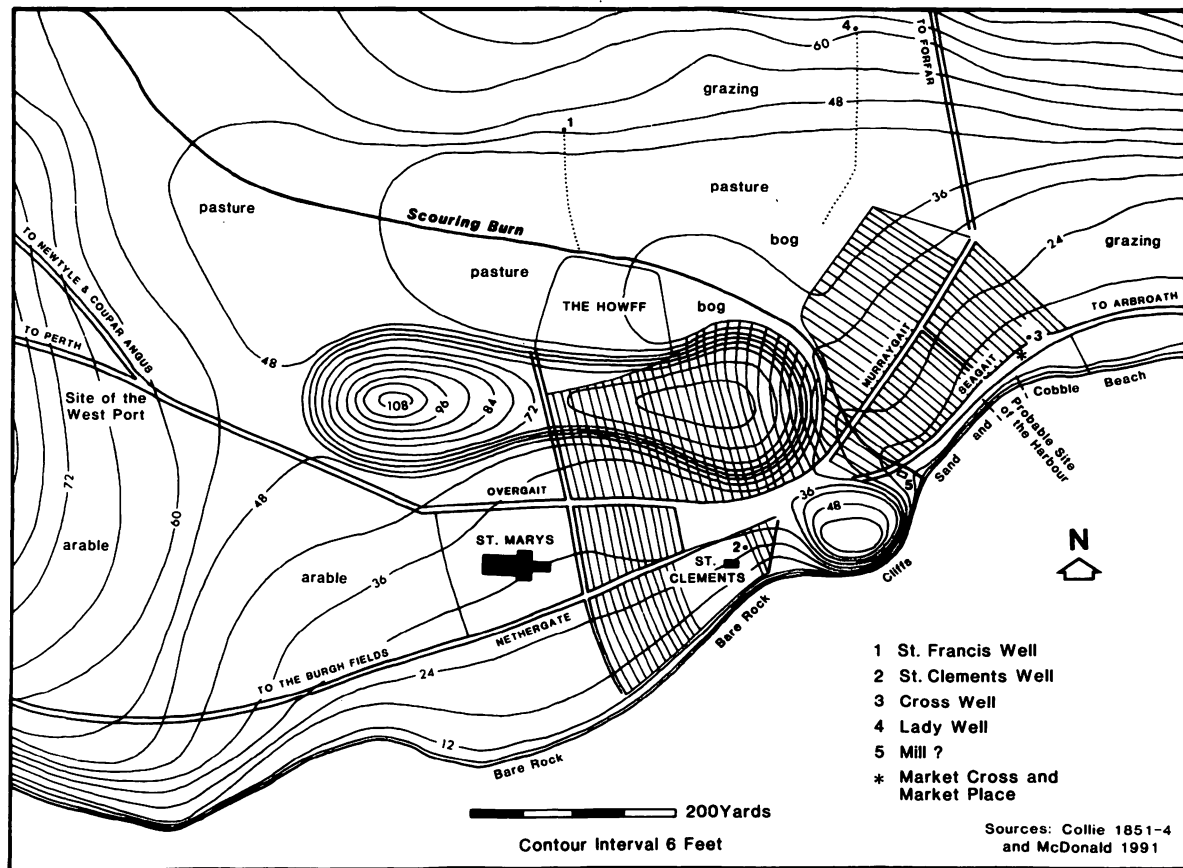


Fig. 2. Reconstruction of Dundee in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Source: McDonald, R.J., 1991, DDARC GD/X249).

obtain accuracy, a very large scale of 1:500 was used, and contours were drawn at three feet intervals. Modifications were then made to this draft contour map in the light of other information available. For example, Slezer's Prospect of Dundee from the east clearly suggests that some levelling had taken place to the top of Corbie Hill prior to the construction of defensive works. Finally, the draft map was reviewed in the light of the broader physical geography of the area (Scarath 1968; McDonald 1991, Map Reconstruction based on Collie (1851-4) and other sources. DDARC, GD/X249).

Corbie Hill and its related ridge have a figure of eight configuration rising to a maximum height of 109ft (33m) at the western end and 80ft (24m) at the eastern extremity, with a marked dip in the central section. Both the higher points represent the exposed upturned edges of the eroded dolerite beds on the south slope of the Sidlaw anticline (Fig. 1). In immediate postglacial times there would have been a considerable tail of unconsolidated material, particularly to the east of Corbie Hill in the dip area. This unconsolidated material would have been subject to marine erosion when the postglacial sea inundated the surrounding lowland. Erosion would have been greater on the exposed south side than on the north, as is demonstrated by the depth of the embayments in the central area. The form of Castle Hill, which rose to 51ft (16m) also suggests a crag and tail feature, similar to Dundee Law but on a much smaller scale. The unconsolidated material associated with this feature was probably removed either by the high postglacial sea-level or by the Scouring Burn during the late and immediate postglacial periods.

With the contour map completed, definition of the marshland area was relatively simple and confirmed in places by a number of section records.

Dundee-shire

Archaeological evidence indicates human occupation of South Angus and North Fife from the Mesolithic period onwards (Lacaille 1954), although it is impossible to confirm continuous use of the Dundee region throughout prehistory. Dundee was not created a burgh until the late twelfth century (RRS, ii, no. 363; Lind Cart, no. 2), but a good case can be made for the existence of a pre-burghal administrative, economic and political centre within an area recorded as Dundee-shire. Current wisdom holds that a structure of shires, more often called thanages, north of the Forth, was common throughout Lowland Scotland as a mature system by the twelfth century (Barrow 1973, 40, 53) and undoubtedly pre-twelfth century in origin (Driscoll 1991, 92-3). Dodgshon has suggested that they represent a complex interlocking system of territorial order and that the individual shires or thanages constituted units of lordship (Dodgshon 1981, 60). The lordship could be exercised by tribal chief or king and its management left in the hands of an appointed thane.

Dundee-shire fits well into this model and the system of shires that appears to have existed in Angus and Gowrie, which included the known shires of Longforan (RRS, ii, nos. 28, 110), Tealing (RRS, ii, no. 418), Forfar (ERS, i, 6-7; Duncan 1975, 358), Arbroath (RRS, ii, no. 197; Arbroath Liber, no. 1) and Monifieth (Warden, ii, 281).

Further examples may be added. The tendency to equate shire boundaries with those of parishes needs to be handled with great caution. Although the exact extent of Dundee-shire is unknown, present evidence suggests that it incorporates parts of more than one parish. The shire probably included the entire parochia of Dundee, which included Craigie as far as Pitkerro and Claypotts (Lind Cart, no. 2).¹ The lands and settlement of Fintry formed an outlier of the shire (RRS, ii, no. 149; St Andrews Liber, 224–5). Logydunde parochia (RRS, ii, no. 276), which probably included the lands of Balgay and Blackness as well as ground to the east of these, is problematic. It seems likely to have been part of Dundee-shire (Warden, iv, 173, 178). The lands of Hadgillen lay within Dundee-shire, but their location is unknown (RRS, ii, no. 149; St Andrews Liber, 224–5).

Within the shire the rural settlement pattern can only be glimpsed through the medium of those place names recognisable as being of pre-thirteenth-century origin (Fig. 3). It follows, therefore, that this represents only part of a much larger pattern as several names recorded in the documentary sources can no longer be located. Two names containing P-Celtic elements survive – the *tref* suffix in Fintry and the *Pit* prefix in Pitkerro, a name which Nicolaisen suggests represents the fourth part of something larger (Nicolaisen 1976, 152). The Q-Celtic *Bal* element, which Nicolaisen claims to date to the period AD 800–1000, is represented by Balgay, Balgray, Balfield, Baldovie, Ballunie and Balgillo. If Dodgshon's suggestion that the *Bal* names represent large estates is followed (Dodgshon 1981, 46), this would point to Dundee having an extensive agricultural hinterland. All the surviving pre-1200 place names are in areas of good land suitable for arable cultivation. Arable land, however, would only have formed a small part of each estate with large tracts of rough grazing, forming an integral and essential part of the economy. A dominance of pasture over arable continued to be a feature of the agricultural system as it had been in prehistoric times. This is probably reflected in Dundee-shire by surviving place names such as West Moor (NLS G41), Fairmuir and Craigie Muir (Warden, iv, 134). It certainly would not have been an entirely subsistent economy and some surplus wool, sheepskins and hides, and even possibly grain, are likely to have been available for trade and export. If, as seems likely, trade was water-borne, Dundee is the most logical point of exit. In addition, the fact that William the Lion granted the inhabitants of the shiretown of Dundee privileges before it was made over to Earl David in the second half of the twelfth century points to some trading activity (DDARC, CCI, no. 16).

The rural settlements within a shire or thanage were subordinate to the *caput* in this case, as the shire name implies, Dundee. Given the thane's administrative, military and legal responsibilities, this would suggest a substantial building being required, but its location is unknown, though it is tempting to suggest Castle Hill with its dominating defensive location overlooking the natural landing-place. No thane is actually mentioned in any of the documentary sources relating to Dundee, but Barrow indicates that thanes were always associated with shires (Barrow 1981, 54–6). The role of the shiretown of Dundee may not, however, have been completely unchallenged, in that Fintry appears also to have had a high status, apparently being

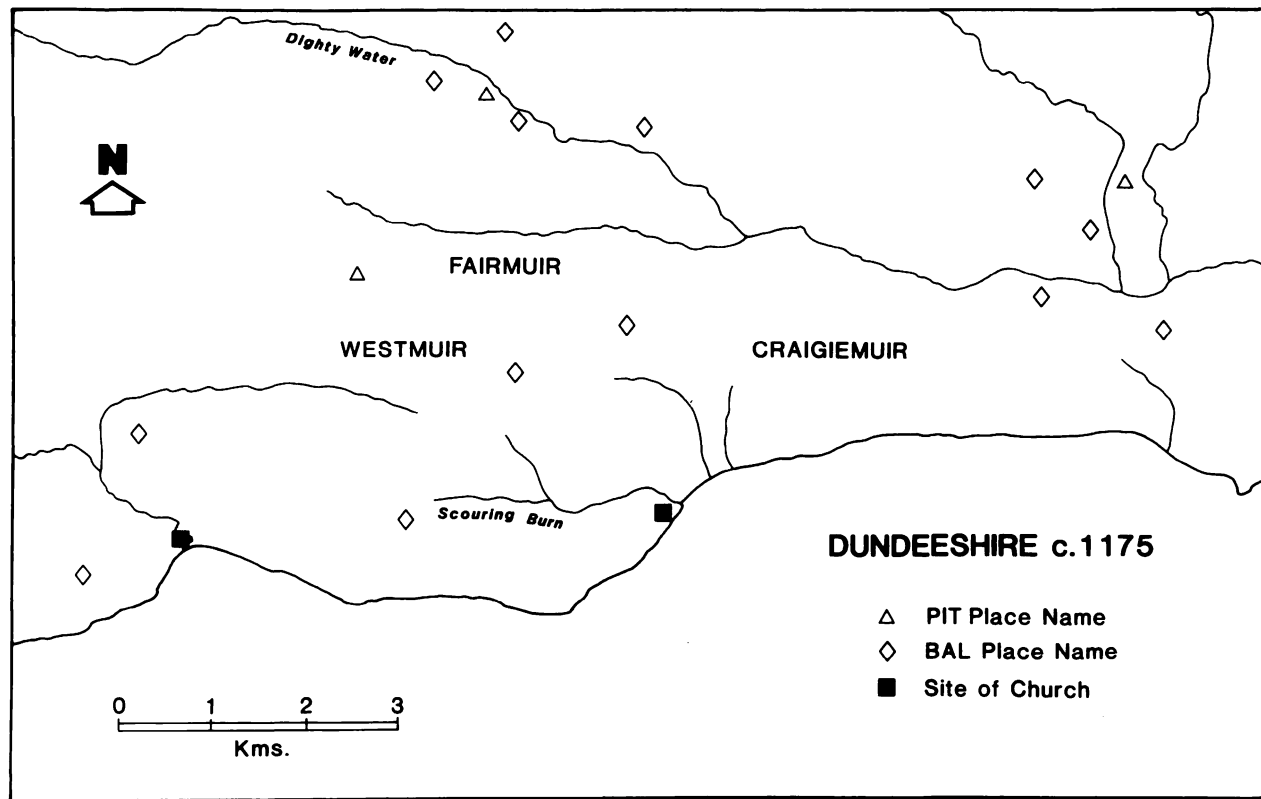


Fig. 3. Dundeeshire c.1175.

the meeting-place of shire courts with full powers to sentence execution by hanging and drowning (RRS, ii, no. 149; see also Barrow 1981).

A church would have been an essential component of the shire town and it is very tempting to see St Clements fulfilling this role. The arguments in favour are very circumstantial and are neatly summarized by Elizabeth Torrie (Torrie 1990). Overall, the evidence would point to a significant but small settlement on the site of the later town in the pre-burghal period. While nothing is known of its layout, the environmental factors indicate that its core was likely to be around the mouth of the Scouring Burn, with an outward spread onto the lower raised beach in the area which is now Seagate, and perhaps even to the land to the west of Castle Hill.

Feudal Inroads and Burgh Status

Dundee-shire, and in particular the settlement at Dundee was, therefore, particularly well-placed when mercantile feudal inroads began in the latter decades of the twelfth century. King William, who is known to have granted some privileges, presumably trade-related, to the inhabitants of Dundee later granted the lands of the shires of Longforan and Dundee to his brother Earl David of Huntingdon 1178x1182 (RRS, ii, no. 205). The shire structure had been partly dislocated earlier by grants of land to the Church, notably the church and pertinents of Logydunde, which had been granted to the Bishop of St Andrews and later made over to Scone Priory (RRS, ii, no. 276) and Hadgillen, which had gone to Hugh Giffard by 1178 (Stringer 1985, 83) either by royal grant or possibly through Earl David (RRS, ii, 50 and no. 149).

Within the rural area a scatter of *ton* place names (Fig. 4), including Gotterstone (NLS G41), Cleppington (NLS G41), Wariston and Ferriton (Warden, iv, 129) represent some of the new settlements established in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. These signify a major infilling of the settlement pattern in areas which were suitable for arable cultivation. The role of grain in trade from the area is problematic. With the little climatic optimum in place, there may well have been significant surpluses in good years, while in others some import may have been required. However, the predominance of pasture over arable remained, and as Duncan suggests, from c.1195 to 1295 sheep grazing was probably intensified in Angus and Gowrie to meet the needs of the Flemish cloth industry (Duncan 1975, 336). As at least some of the personal names included in the nomenclature are incomers, it follows that Earl David seems to have been attempting to increase the agricultural potential of his lands, and thus his income. While rental income in kind was important, the development of trade was probably also significant as a revenue generator and in this respect full burgh status and extensive trading rights was an essential prerequisite. Dundee seems to have acquired this status c.1191, and its good harbour facilities enabled it to handle goods from not only the old Dundee-shire, but from a wide area of Angus and Gowrie including the monastic houses as they developed.

The new order would have required institutional reorganisation within the estate,

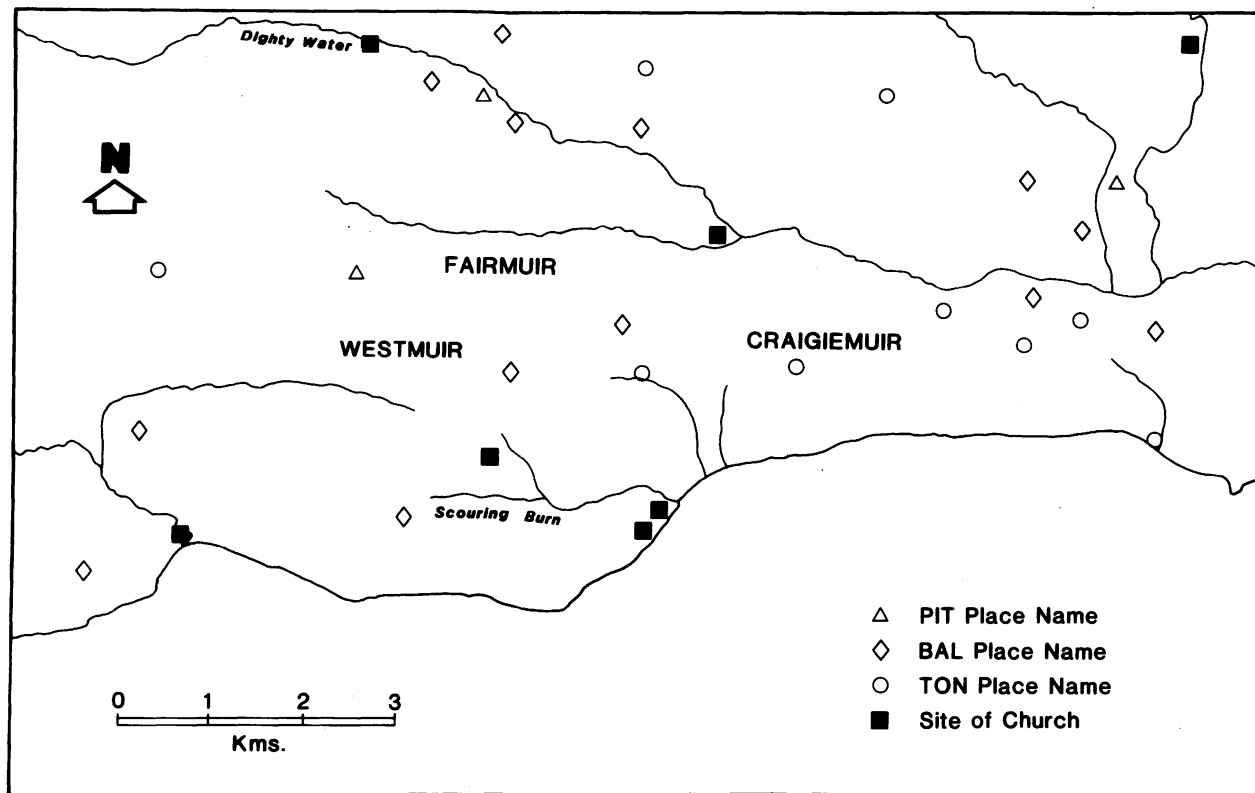


Fig. 4. Dundee area in the thirteenth century.

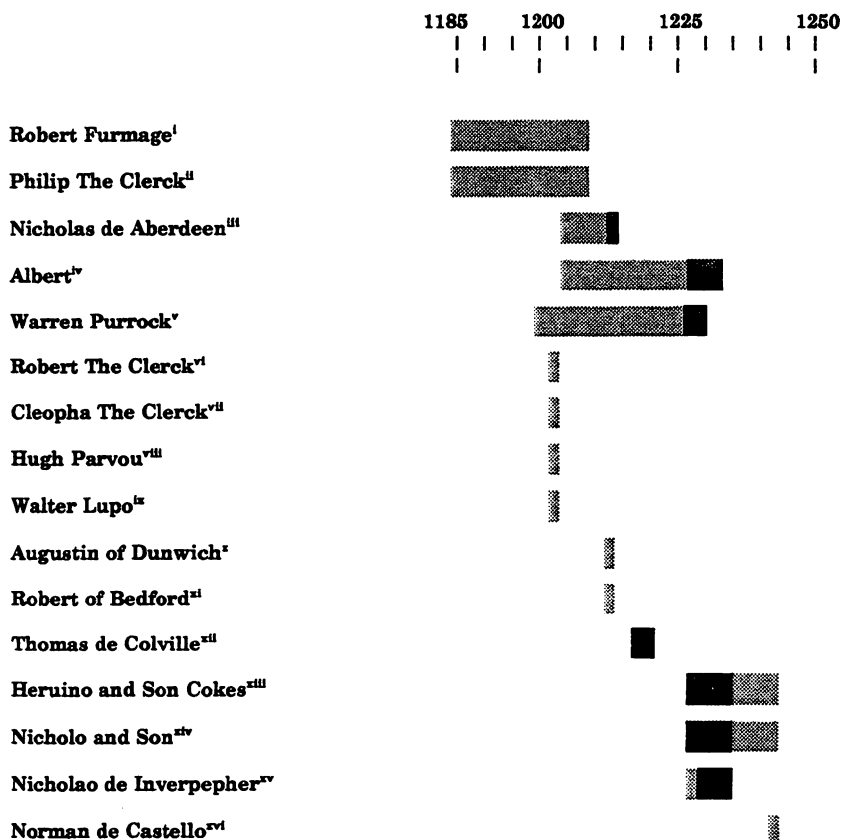
and although there is no documentary evidence of a castle at Dundee until 1291 (CDS, ii, 121, no. 497, 12 June 1291), Keith Stringer has rightly argued that there almost certainly was one from fairly early in Earl David's superiority (Stringer 1985, 74). The Dundee estates were second only in importance to his estates in the Garioch and he built a castle not only there, but also possibly at Inverbervie and Brechin (Stringer 1985, 69). It is logical to see Castle Hill as the site. One Saer de Tenes (Tenys), whose base was in the English honour of Huntingdon, has been identified as a possible constable of Dundee castle, having been chief witness to Earl David's charter granting a knight's feu at Fintry to Hugh Giffard in 1173x1185 (SRO GD28/4). Philip the Clerk is mentioned as steward of the Dundee estates in the early thirteenth century (Stringer 1985, 233, no. 24). He held a toft in Dundee, and had kinship with Robert Furnage (NLS MS Adv. 34.4.2, fo.82r; Lind Cart, nos. 37-8), again suggesting English origins. At no point is the office of thane mentioned, which suggests that the old order had disappeared and reorganisation on the Huntingdon model was going forward at a rapid pace.

New settlers within the young burgh were not limited to officials. Of the burgesses known to be established before Earl David's death in 1219 (Table 1),² the name of Augustine of Dunwich implies an East Anglian origin (CDS, i, no. 558), while Richard of Bedford (CDS, i, no. 558) and Thomas de Colville (Balmerino Liber, no. 31; Anderson 1922, ii, 437) were probably drawn from the Huntingdon estates. Stringer (Stringer 1985, 75) postulates a French descent for Robert Furnage (Arbroath Liber, no. 135), while Nicholas of Aberdeen (CDS, i, 558) may represent a merchant who moved south. Interestingly, Nicholas of Aberdeen was also known in Yarmouth (Mem. Roll 10 John, 111), confirming the links with East Anglia. It is not possible to identify the origins of others, including Warin Purrock (Porrok), Walter Lupus, Hugh Parvus, Albert, or Cleopha the Clerk (Arbroath Liber, i, no. 136; Balmerino Liber, no. 32). Some of the latter group may well be of local origin because, as has been shown, Dundee was a thriving trading settlement before Earl David's superiority and there was no reason for him to replace established merchants. The pattern established during David's lifetime continues in the late thirteenth century (Table 2),³ with names such as Roger del Wend (Balmerino Liber, nos. 32, 55), Henry (Balmerino Liber, no. 31), Galfridus dominus de Venali (Panmure Registrum, i, 151) and Simon de Venella (Balmerino Liber, no. 34) appearing. Some movement from the local area into the burgh also took place. Nicholas de Inverpepher (Balmerino Liber, no. 31) and Andrew de Monogrun (Monorgan) (Balmerino Liber, no. 32) imply local origin, while Hervey de Douney (Balmerino Liber, 32) may well have been settled from Old Downie, Monikie, where a motte suggests a twelfth or thirteenth-century fief (Talbot 1974, 54).

Not only are there regional groupings within the early burgesses, but also undoubted kinship groups. This argues for a strong close-knit community which, along with the office of prepositus (provost), the burgh court, and the guild, would have facilitated incoming settlement and fostered co-operation in trade and commerce. While the early burgh may well have had the appearance of a pioneering settlement, it very quickly became established and well known at both the national and

TABLE 1

DUNDEE BURGESSES MENTIONED BEFORE 1250



Note: The solidly shaded areas are uncertain

TABLE 2
DUNDEE BURGESSES MENTIONED AFTER 1250



international level, figuring on Matthew Paris's map in the mid-thirteenth century (Chron Majora; Mitchell 1933), when it also received further privileges from Alexander III (DDARC, CCI, no. 16). Clearly there was local pride in the success of the town with the burgesses styling themselves 'of Dundee' by the mid and later thirteenth century. The wealth being generated can perhaps be exemplified by Ralph of Dundee being able to purchase the wool-producing estate of Balruddery from William Maule (Panmure Registrum, i, 151, 154; see also Barrow 1976).

The nucleus of educated men associated with thirteenth-century Dundee may be regarded not only as a factor in its success, but also as an indicator of the existence of sound educational facilities. Hervey (Balmerino Liber, no. 44; Barrow 1976; Anderson 1922, ii, 536), Thomas (Balmerino Liber, no. 31; Barrow 1976, 377), Ralph (Balmerino Liber, no. 33; Ragman Rolls, 126; Panmure Registrum, i, 151) and Michael (Ragman Rolls, 164), all styled as 'of Dundee', studied at the University of Bologna. Thomas achieved magnate status when he became bishop of Ross. Hervey, a canon of St Andrews (Barrow 1976, 379), was bishop-elect of Caithness when he died in Rome (Anderson 1922, ii, 536 note). Ralph, a substantial burgess, who was a relative of Thomas, held the post of clerk to Alexander III (Barrow 1976, 114, 377). Indeed, he may have served in that capacity when that monarch held court in Dundee (Balmerino Liber, no. 53; CDS, ii, no. 252).⁴

The trading rights of Dundee were extensive. In 1199 the burgesses of Dundee were granted the right to trade free of toll and custom in all English ports except London (PRO C53/1, Mem.2, 26 October 1199, Chancery Court Roll). While the existence of charter rights do not necessarily mean that much trade actually occurred, this certainly does not apply in the case of Dundee, which seems to have become the pre-eminent port in south Angus. Dundee not only had the output of its immediate hinterland to export, but also that of the wider region, including the significant produce of the rapidly expanding religious houses in the area. A charter of King John of England dated 1207, which gives Arbroath Abbey similar trading rights to Dundee, states that the merchants and ships of Dundee and Perth were to receive the King's protection as the main carriers of the abbey's goods (Duncan 1975, 505). This use of Dundee may well be a response to the difficulties of finding a safe anchorage at Arbroath at this time when boats had to edge into the mouth of the Brothock Burn across a rocky wave-cut platform. By the thirteenth century, Coupar Angus Abbey was one of the richest Cistercian houses in Scotland (Torrie and Stevenson 1988), and its trade was also orientated through Dundee. It is also likely that the trade of the two important religious houses on the south shore of the Tay estuary also passed through Dundee. Earl David himself founded the Tironensian house at Lindores in 1191,⁵ granting it several tracts of land, and the pertinents of a number of churches. Documentary evidence also suggests links between the Cistercian house at Balmerino and the growing burgh (Balmerino Liber, nos. 31-4, 44-5).

All four abbeys, along with the Augustinian priory at St Andrews, became significant landholders within the burgh. Earl David granted tofts to Lindores (Lind Cart, no. 2), Arbroath (Arbroath Liber, nos. 135-7) and St Andrews (St Andrews Liber, 238-9), which were confirmed by his successor, Earl John (Arbroath Liber,

no. 137; Lind Cart, no. 15), who gifted a toft to Balmerino (Balmerino Liber, no. 31). Also in the thirteenth century, Dundee burgesses gifted tofts to Balmerino (Balmerino Liber, 32–4, 44–5) and Coupar Angus (Balmerino Liber, nos. 31, 34). These burgh tofts probably provided both a base for trading activities in the burgh and, in some cases, a rental income for the religious house.

For the inhabitants of the burgh, opportunities for worship were available at two places. The shire town church of St Clements sited to the north-west of and close to Castle Hill, with its burial ground running southwards to the shore, continued to be significant and did not go out of use until the sixteenth century (Torrie 1990, 60–61, 77). In the 1190s Earl David founded a new church, assigned to St Mary, on open ground (it was known as the kirk in the field) to the west of the built-up area (Lind Cart, nos. 2, 138). With a lack of adequate documentation, the relationship between the two churches through time is unclear. However, St Mary's did ultimately become the parish church and may have been a factor in encouraging the westward extension of the settlement.

In the late thirteenth century, the influence of the church in the burgh was further increased by the establishment of a Franciscan friary in the south-west corner of what is now the Howff (Easson 1957, 106). This would have lain to the north of the Corbie Hill ridge and was probably outside the early burgh boundary. This house was particularly important in the later development of Dundee as Moir Bryce describes it as 'by far the most wealthy Franciscan community in Scotland' (Bryce n.d.).

The other important fixed points within the emerging burgh would have been the market, the tron and the tolbooth, all of which are likely to have been in the Seagait area. It has been suggested that Dundee may not have had a tolbooth till Robert I granted a piece of land in the Seagait for its construction (Dundee Burgh, no. 15). However, there is good evidence for an earlier structure, in that an English garrison was ejected from the Tolbooth Well area in 1301 (CDS, v, no. 492). It is unlikely that a well would have been so named if a tolbooth did not exist.

By the end of the thirteenth century, Dundee had many of the features common to the larger Scottish burghs. While the commercial emphasis lay on trade, local, national and international, it would also have acted as a regional centre and provided homes for a range of craftsmen required to meet the needs of the local community. By analogy with other Scottish burghs, one can assume blacksmiths, leatherworkers, carpenters, weavers, tailors and butchers among others, operating within a guild system. Dundee's guild was among the earliest to be established in Scotland sometime between 1165?x1214 (Torrie 1990, 34).

Although Earl David died in 1219, the burgh continued to be an economic asset to his descendants, the superiority changing hands several times in the thirteenth century until it passed ultimately to King John Balliol in 1292.

Relationship to the Physical Geography

It is only on circumstantial evidence and geographical logic that it is assumed that the early harbour or beaching area was around the mouth of the Scouring Burn.

Boats could have been edged into the mouth of the stream or beached on the shelving shores on either side, with only a short overland transit of goods to the market in Seagait. The available beaching area on the western side of the Scouring Burn would have been very small between the craggy slopes of Castle Hill and the stream. However, on the eastern side of the stream the beaching area parallel to the Seagait stretches for the whole of its length and only some 22yds (20m) from it.

As the settlement expanded, the small craft used by an individual were probably pulled up as close to the owner's toft as possible, and therefore other sites to the west would have come into use. Torrie argues that the main harbour had also probably moved to the embayment between St Nicholas Craig and Castle Rock by the mid-thirteenth century (Torrie 1990, 36). This is a difficult argument to sustain with no documentary evidence, as the main market throughout the thirteenth century remained in the Seagait. There is a tendency to exaggerate the scale of shipping involved, with Dundee described as a major thriving port. This description is only relevant to the scale of the time, and the number of larger vessels coming into the harbour would have been very small. As a charter of King John of England to Arbroath Abbey in 1207 (Duncan 1975, 505) confirms, however, Dundee merchants did own vessels capable of trading with English ports, but it is difficult to argue that overcrowding of the Scouring Burn foreshore and its proximity to the Seagait would have forced a move westwards by 1300, particularly as the area to the west had some physical disadvantages. A more likely scenario is that vessels used whichever area was most convenient for their purpose.

The urban morphology of the developing town was controlled by two factors – the system of roads or tracks which had become established, and the relief pattern. The road from the east can be assumed to have followed the Seagait using the flat raised beach some 20–55yds (20–50m) from the shore. Tofts were probably laid out on the north side of the Seagait at an early date, although the earliest documented example is from 1281 (Balmerino Liber, no. 33). Long tofts on the south side were not possible due to the close proximity of the beach. The main track continued westwards, ascending slightly before being forced to pass between Castle Hill and the eastern extension of Corbie Hill. The reconstruction of the relief suggests that this gap may have been considerably narrower than previously thought, markedly affecting the amount of repletion which was possible in later times on the tofts on the northern side of the eastern end of Marketgait. Along the Overgait the track followed the break of slope between the andesitic intrusions and the flat surface of the raised beach. This accounts for the slight northward curvature of the street line and, as Crawford's map (Crawford 1776) clearly demonstrates, how the later building patterns were constricted and reflect the embayment and rising ground described earlier.

Although the Overgait track is clearly demonstrable by the early cartographic evidence to have been the main route to Perth, a second axis following Nethergate may well have had earlier development of settlement. A toft on the Nethergate next to Abbots Wynd, later to become Spaldings Wynd, approximately on the line of the present Coutties Wynd, was given to Arbroath Abbey by Earl David in 1202x1204 (Arbroath Liber, i, 135–7; ii, 99, 195). This represents a considerable western spread

of the burgh layout at an early date. Another link between Marketgait and the shore was Castle Wynd (Torrie and Stevenson 1988, 84, no. 56), later Tyndall's Wynd, following the western side of Castle Hill, which was certainly in existence by the thirteenth century. Other narrow paths may also have provided access to the shore and linked up with a shore track linking Abbots Wynd to Castle Wynd, which would have served as a back lane to these tofts. Access from the Overgait/Marketgait to the area north of the Corbie Hill ridge appears to have been Friar's Wynd (Torrie and Stevenson 1988, 66, no. 4) (the modern Barrack Street), a route which precisely follows the lowest part of the ridge. It is likely that the most southerly part of Murraygait would have been laid out during the thirteenth century along the line of the main road to Forfar and in order to avoid a circuitous route from the north to the market in Seagait, Peter Street was probably punched through on the south-east side of Murraygait at a very early date, though there is no documentary evidence to support this.

Conclusion

The transition from shiretown to medieval burgh in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries marks a major development in the process of the growth of Dundee. At that time, the physical environment was a far greater limiting factor than it is today and therefore a more precise definition of the physical landscape is essential to fully comprehend the human decisions which led to the patterns which emerged. This study has attempted to establish these physical parameters more accurately than earlier studies, and see them in relation to the political, economic and social factors at play in the development of the medieval town.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

Abbreviations

Arbroath Liber	<i>Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc</i> , 2 vols. (Bannatyne Club, 1854–6).
Balmerino Liber	<i>Liber S. Marie de Balmorinach</i> (Abbotsford Club, 1841).
CDS	Bain, J. (ed.), <i>Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland</i> , 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1881–8).
Chron. Bower	<i>Joannis de Fordun Scotichronicon cum Supplementis et Continuatione Walteri Bower</i> , ed. W. Goodall (Edinburgh, 1759).
Chron. Majora	<i>Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora</i> , 7 vols. (Rolls Series, 1872–3).
DDARC	Dundee District Archive and Record Centre.
Dundee Burgh	<i>Charters, Writs and Public Documents of the Royal Burgh of Dundee 1292–1880</i> (Dundee, 1880).
ERS	Stuart, J., Burnett, G. and others (eds.), <i>The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland</i> (Edinburgh, 1878–1908).
Lind Cart	<i>Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores</i> (Scottish History Society, 1903).
Mem. Roll 10 John	<i>The Memoranda Roll for the Tenth Year of the Reign of King John</i> (Pipe Roll Society, 1957).
NLS	National Library of Scotland. Edinburgh.
Panmure Registrum	<i>Registrum de Panmure</i> , ed. J. Stuart (Edinburgh, 1874).
PRO	Public Record Office. London.
Ragman Rolls	<i>Instrumenta Publica . . . AD 1291–96</i> (Bannatyne Club, 1834).
RRS	Barrow, G.W.S. et al., <i>Regesta Regum Scottorum</i> (Edinburgh, 1960–).
St Andrews Liber	<i>Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia</i> (Bannatyne Club, 1841).
SRO	Scottish Record Office.
Warden	Warden, A.J., <i>Angus, or Forfarshire the lands and people, descriptive and historical</i> , 5 vols. (Dundee, 1881–5).

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¹ The pertinents referred to would have included parochial rights to the parish.

² Sources for Table 1: (i)–(ii) Arbroath Liber, nos. 135–6. (iii) Arbroath Liber, no. 136; CDS, i, no. 558; Stringer 1985, 75. (iv) Balmerino Liber, no. 31; Arbroath Liber, no. 136. (v) Arbroath Liber, no. 136; Balmerino Liber, no. 32. (vi)–(ix) Arbroath Liber, no. 136. (x)–(xi) CDS, i, 558. (xii) Balmerino Liber, no. 31. (xiii)–(xiv) Balmerino Liber, no. 31; Lind Cart, no. 40. (xv) Lind Cart, no. 31. (xvi) Lind Cart, no. 55; Lind Cart, no. 40.

³ Sources for Table 2: (i) Lind Cart, no. 40; Balmerino Liber, no. 33. (ii) Balmerino Liber, nos. 22, 30. (iii) Balmerino Liber, nos. 31, 33. (iv) Lind Cart, nos. 13–4. (v)–(vi) Balmerino Liber, no. 32. (vii) Balmerino Liber, nos. 32–3. (viii) Balmerino Liber, nos. 32, 55. (ix) Balmerino Liber, nos. 32, 34. (x) Balmerino Liber, nos. 33–4. (xi) Balmerino Liber, no. 33; Ragman Rolls, 126; Panmure Registum, i, 151. (xii)–(xvii) Balmerino Liber, no. 33. (xviii)–(xx) Balmerino Liber, no. 44. (xxi) Ragman Rolls, 164. (xxii) Ragman Rolls, 17. (xxiii) Panmure Registum, i, 151. (xxiv) Panmure Registum, i, 151. (xxv) Ragman Rolls, 164. (xxvi) Balmerino Liber, no. 55. (xxvii)–(xxviii) Balmerino Liber, no. 34. (xxix) Barrow 1976, 377.

⁴ Alexander III held court in Dundee in 1284 and 1285 on both occasions conveying his will by written documents.

⁵ John of Fordun’s date of 1178 (Chron. Bower, Bk. viii, chap. xxv) is not acceptable. Stringer discusses the evidence (see his references, Stringer 1985, 93–5).