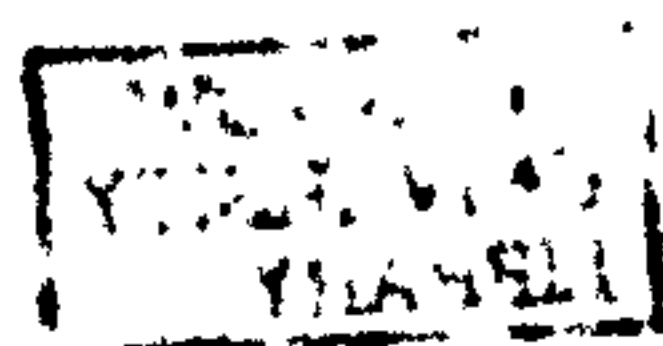


A social interpretation of the castle in Scotland.

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ABSTRACT.

Space is not something just out there. It is a human construct, to which architecture can give lasting form. Taking this as a premise, this thesis has investigated the castellated architecture of Scotland, not as a military fortress or an expression of architectural genius, but as a structure where people lived and which influenced how they lived.

In achieving this aim, certain techniques of spatial analysis have been used. access analysis and planning diagrams, alongside a more experiential approach to the castle. The combination of these techniques have helped in providing an engagement with the material culture, which would not have been possible singularly. This engagement has been made all the richer for the extensive use of documentary sources to provide a context for the multitude of spatial relations which took place in and around the castle.

The castles which form the case-studies are Dirleton (East Lothian), Bothwell (Lanarkshire), Tulliallan (Fife), Morton (Dumfriesshire) and Elphinstone (East Lothian). The selection thus encompasses curtain wall castles, hall houses and tower houses.

The analysis has brought about a greater understanding of the individual case-studies. However, the conclusions reached about the nature of space within the castle has been widened out by relating the findings to other castles. Most interestingly, the analysis has suggested what one could call the 'privatisation of space' in late sixteenth century Scotland. This change in material culture coincided with dramatic religious, political and social changes.

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1. INTRODUCTION — ESSPY SPEIK FVRTH AND SPAIR NOTHT/ CONSIDDER VEIL I CAIR NOTHT'

1.1 AIMS OF THE THESIS.

The quotation in the title of this thesis — *'Esspy speik fvrth and spair noht/
Consider veil I cair noht'*¹ — is from an inscription above the main vaulted passageway or pend of Mar's Wark, the remains of the enigmatic town house built for the Earl of Mar in Stirling. The inscription is inside the pend and can only be viewed once one enters the building. Two other inscriptions, in plain sight, on the exterior of the structure complement it: *'The moir I stand on oppin hitht/ my favltis moir svbiect ar to sitht'*² and *'I pray al lvikaris on this lvging/ vith gentil e to gif thair ivdging'*.³ The contradiction in these statements ideally demonstrates the one among many of the contradictions one finds in almost all castles. This thesis will explore all the contradictions, for it is the contradictions that make the study of the castle so interesting. The greatest contradiction is that despite the large number of books and articles written concerning the castle in Scotland and despite the castle's enduring popularity and identification with Scotland, it remains poorly understood. It is this contradiction which this thesis seeks to correct.

The inscription on Mar's Wark also suggests several of the themes explored in this thesis. It makes the point very clearly that every castle, tower, or semi-fortified town house was a visual statement by its owner, no matter if it was the grandest palace embellished with a riot of heraldic devices and inscriptions or if it was the meanest and bleakest pele house. As in the case of Mar's Wark, statements that at first hand may seem obvious, can be misleading and open to multiple interpretations. Through the inscriptions, heraldic panels, human and animal sculptures, the earl of Mar was very clearly expressing certain facets of his own identity, and all castle and towers express identity through their very presence and the associations they have with certain people and certain families. Finally, the explicit contradiction in the inscription, the earl's joke, makes clear the conceptual difference between inside and outside, the interior and the

¹ Espy, speak forth and spare not, consider well I care not.

² The more I stand on open height, my faults more subject are to sight.

³ I pray all lookers on this lodging, with gentility give their judging.

exterior. The exterior of the castle was very much its public face, free to be interpreted anyway the onlooker wanted, despite the intentions of the lord. Once inside the castle, movement and meaning was strictly controlled, there is a clear sense that this was now the lord's space.

This study does not have one big question to be addressed. Instead it will provide a number of different way to explore the castle in Scotland. Thus, there are a number of aims for the thesis. The first is to re-ignite interest in the Scottish castle, not as a romantic ruin or as an interesting piece of architecture or even as brooding backdrop to historical events, but as a dynamic and active element in the built environment of medieval Scotland. Thus, the castle will be approached as a building where people lived, rather than as a piece of architecture which is studied to identify styles, influences and origins. To achieve this aim, the study will move away from the traditional architectural-historical approach to the castle and instead will seize upon theoretical concepts developed by archaeologists working in other subject areas and other periods. These concepts shall demonstrate that castles were shaped by individuals in society and that castles were an element of material culture which in turn shaped the actions of a great many more individuals. Castles had to work as buildings, not just in a pragmatic sense but also as a series of differentiated social spaces where people lived and worked as part of larger social groupings. In an attempt to explore the topics mentioned above several methods of formal spatial analysis will be used and an important part of the study will be to gauge the effectiveness of a formal analysis of standing remains in a historical period.

1.2 THE STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS.

This thesis is partly inspired by the writing of other scholars in this field especially the comprehensive scholarship of MacGibbon and Ross (1887-92). This inspiration takes two forms. The first has been the creation of an undying interest in the form, function and symbolism of the castle in Scotland. The second is the belief that so much more can be done with this fascinating form of material culture, than has so far been achieved by scholars of working in this area. Chapter Two investigates the various approaches of previous commentators discusses the achievements and problems of these approaches. Many of these works have given great impetus to this study but have also

create a desire to achieve a distinctive approach to the castle. This distinct nature of the thesis is in part due to the acceptance by the author that human relationships with material culture are not simple. The castle is not an easy structure to comprehend. To attempt an understanding of the possibilities of meaning one has to formulate a theoretical position which encompasses the range of relationships that people have with material culture. As spatial layouts are a vital element of the material culture under discussion, Chapter Three, while setting out a theoretical stance which is applicable for all material culture, concentrates on approaches to architecture and space. For reasons that are explained several different methodologies — some informal, some formal — were used to investigate the spatial layouts of the castles used as case studies. The second part of Chapter Three discusses why the methodologies were chosen, their problems, both with their underlying concepts and the actual application. It also discusses exactly how they were used in the thesis: how they were adapted by the author and how they were used in conjunction with each other.

As the study is text aided, Chapter Four discusses various sources, most of them documentary, that are related to the castle. Documentary sources are often used by scholars to date castles and to provide building histories. However, in this study a wide range of different sources is used to create a social context for the castle. More specifically it offers an understanding of the castle that cannot be achieved simply through investigating physical remains. Thus, sources such as licenses to crenellate and heraldry, provide some insight into the mechanisms by which the castle was an expression of identity and lordship. Other sources, such as inventories of castles and records relating to the household and following of the king and other lords, help demonstrate the possible social relations which occurred within the castle. More importantly, this material demonstrates that these social relations were ordered through the spatial arrangements of castles. This helps suggest how other similar, undocumented, structures may have functioned.

The following three chapters consider the case studies chosen to investigate a spatial approach to the castle. In the first two chapters the case study consist of two castles paired together, that are of a similar form and a similar date. Thus, Chapter Five investigates two large thirteenth century curtain wall castles, Dirleton and Bothwell, and Chapter Six studies two late thirteenth/early fourteenth century hall houses/castles,

Tulliallan and Morton. The paired studies allow a degree of comparison and a more in-depth study of particular types of castles. In Chapter Seven the structures changes with only a single castle used as a case study, Elphinstone. This change is purely pragmatic, a question of time and word count. It was initial proposed to have a total of five case-studies covering a wider range of castles, but to have included them all would have made this study excessively long. The conclusions gained from the nascent case-studies have been used in the conclusions, while the access and planning diagrams are include in appendix A.

The actual case studies within the main text are divided into different types: curtain wall castles, hall houses and tower houses. Geoffery Stell has commented that such distinctions are modern constructs:

'by the nature of their approach, military and architectural historians alike have created a trend towards the classification and subdivision of the castle 'genus', hence the appearance of 'species' such as 'enclosure-castles', 'courtyard-castles', 'shell keeps', 'keep-gatehouses', 'tower-houses' and 'hall houses' when medieval man appears to have references only to castles, towers, fortalices and manor-places' (1985, 195).

While Stell is correct in down playing the search for typologies and classifications, it cannot be accept that the medieval mind would not have distinguished between castles, in more subtle way than Stell suggests; many of the terms Stell used were used to describe a single castle. When Sir Robert Kerr advised his son to keep the battlements on his castle, it was partly to distinguish it from a mere pele:

by any meanes do not take away thr battlement ... for that is the grace of the house, and makes it look lyk a castle, and henc so nobleste, as the other would make it look lyke a peelee' (Bannaytne Club, 1875 65, cited in RCAHMS 1956 vol II, 485).

For Sir Robert not all fortified structures were alike. The differences in form are real and why these changes took place require some explanation, and the classification of castles into descriptive terms is a convenient shorthand.

The process of selecting Bothwell, Dirleton, Tulliallan, Morton and Elphinstone as case studies has not been particularly methodological or had any overriding principle. It is certainly not suggested that the castles chosen provide a representative sample of

Scottish castles. The justification for not providing such a sample is that it would simply be far too large and the criteria used would themselves be totally subjective. Not even geography links the case studies. The castles are not in a discrete geographic area, although they are all roughly in the lowland area of Scotland. Why they have been chosen comes down to personal and pragmatic reasons. The personal reasons are very simple: I am fascinated by, and enjoy the castles that I have studied, both the buildings themselves and where they are situated. The pragmatic reasons are more numerous.

Most importantly the fabric of the castle had to be in a reasonable condition to allow interpretation and to allow a reason degree of access to as many parts of the castle as possible. Standing castle remains are numerous and thus taking a practical approach we can dismiss most of the more fragmentary castles. This is justifiable in the context of a study in which the central approach is spatial. With such an approach it is vital to be able to identify the full extent of the building as much as possible and to be able to identify features such as doorways, windows, staircases and fireplaces. At Elphinstone, where the tower has been demolished, specific reason for its choice are discussed in the case study itself. As this study emphasises the use of spatial analysis, almost as important was the availability of satisfactory architectural plans. It could be argued that new plans should be drawn up for the study. However, this would have been overly time consuming and ineffectual when plans already existed, although in the case-studies some elements of the plans has been reconstructed. A criticism of this approach is that it follows an agenda set down by the Royal Commission. This agenda concentrated on the large, impressive and well preserved castles rather than the small towers which are the majority. This may be a valid criticism but in justifying the approach, larger castles lend themselves more to the techniques of spatial analysis and require the techniques far more than a small and simply planned tower, where social space may have been distinguished through more ephemeral means. At a more general level the larger castles provide a reasonable test to the appropriateness of a spatial approach is to castle studies. The complex castles used as case studies are multiphase buildings, apart from Morton and Elphinstone, which allows changes through time to be traced. The final pragmatic reason for the choice of castles is access: all the castles chosen are in the care of Historic Scotland or owners who allow access. Again, this may skew the choice towards larger and more impressive castles. However, as already stated this suits the purpose of this study. Moreover, detailed architectural studies of Scottish castle have a tendency

concentrate upon post-reformation tower houses, rather than the earlier castles.

The final chapter, chapter eight, of the thesis draws the various threads of the thesis — the methodological and theoretical, the contextual and the case-study material — together with a series of conclusions. As there is no one question asked in this thesis there is not a single answer. As we shall through out this study, the castle is too complex a building, too interesting a building, to ever be summed up in a single question and answer.

2. SCOTTISH CASTLE STUDIES – THE LEGACY OF MACGIBBON & ROSS.

2.1 INTRODUCTION.

Few historical topics have created so much popular interest as the castles of Scotland. Perhaps, even more than England, Wales or Ireland, Scotland is perceived as a land full of romantic castles and bleak tower houses. Popular publishing has done much to foster such an interest, with numerous ‘coffee-table’ volumes published on the topic of Scottish castles and country houses with atmospheric photographs of well known ‘castles’ such as Culzean, Drumlanrig and Eilean Donnan, literary successors to articles of *Country Life*, described as ‘quintessentially English, elitist and eccentric’ (Haynes 1998). Even gazetteers with brief descriptions of castles and towers have been popular especially Tranter’s *The fortified house in Scotland* (1962). A recent volume in this genre is Martin Coventry’s *The castles of Scotland* (1997) which lists castles alphabetically, with short and not always accurate descriptions and histories, maps, family links, facilities and opening times. Although of little academic merit, adding nothing to our understanding of the castle in Scotland, Coventry’s book has been popular with ‘castle baggers.’ Academic books on Scottish castles have mostly been accessible to the general reader, usually consisting of a general overview of the development of the castle in Scotland. However, while one must congratulate scholars for the accessibility of their work, this popularity has been at the expense of more theoretical approaches to the castle. Even the titles of these works are surprisingly similar: *The Medieval Castle in Scotland*, *The Scottish Castle*, *The Castles of Scotland*, *The Fortified House in Scotland* and most recently *Scotland’s Castles* (MacKenzie 1927; Cruden 1960; Lindsay 1986; Tranter 1962; Tabraham 1997). The recent theoretical stagnation of Scottish castle studies may ironically be the result of the incredible intellectual achievement of the five volumes of *The castellated and domestic architecture of Scotland from the twelfth to the eighteenth century* (MacGibbon & Ross 1887-92 5 vols.).

2.2 THE WORK OF MACGIBBON & ROSS.

Much of the popularity and information contained in popular and academic works is due to the monumental achievement of two Edinburgh architects, David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross, who armed with bicycles and railway timetables, visited, drew and planned a huge proportion of the castles, towers and fortified houses of Scotland. Such was their achievement that today, when most of the branch lines they travelled have long since closed, no one has

equalled their achievement in either breadth or depth.

In addition to the mammoth task of cataloguing, describing, drawing and planning, they were the first to establish an approximate chronology and typology for castles in Scotland. This was based on four broad periods of castle building with changes to the form of castles linked to social and technological changes in Scotland and also to outside influences:

- First Period — 1200–1300: Timber and earthen work fortifications, Norman keeps (of which no example survives) and large enclosure castles (MacGibbon & Ross 1887-92 vol. I, 61-3).
- Second Period — 1300–1400: Due to the impoverishment of Scotland after the wars of independence and the still uncertain political climate the nobility holed themselves up in simple keeps. The simpler the plan, the earlier the structure:
'It may always be assumed ... that the presence of numerous apartments (particularly when a distinct kitchen can be discovered) indicates that the building ... is not amongst the early examples' (MacGibbon & Ross 1887-92 vol. I, 145).
- Third Period — 1400–1542: Simple keeps continue to be built, but with greater accommodation and services amenities. The courtyard or quadrangle form comes to the fore and the advent of artillery begins to influence the design of castles (MacGibbon & Ross 1887-92 vol. I, 222-4).
- Fourth Period — 1542–1700: *'A transition period, in which the earlier Scotch style is gradually transformed into the fully developed Renaissance of the seventeenth century'* (MacGibbon & Ross 1887-92 vol. II, 3) The Reformation and the secularisation of church lands saw a building boom. Simple rectangular and L-planned tower continued to be built but other forms such as the Z-planned, E-planned and T-planned also appeared. The Z-planned developed out of the need for effective defence. The T-planned and E-planned generally preceded the Z-plan as Scottish society became more peaceful. The wall heads lost their parapet walks and open corner rounds, and were replaced by dormer windows and enclosed corner turrets. At the same time courtyard castles continued to be constructed and Renaissance features began to predominate (MacGibbon & Ross 1887-92 vol. III, 364-70).

One can criticise MacGibbon & Ross's typology and chronology on various grounds. There are many interpretative and dating errors, such as the dating of Tulliallan, Morton and Rait to the fifteenth century and the concept that brochs provided some inspiration for tower house construction, and others which maybe tenuous such as the link between Norman keeps and Scottish tower houses. More damning perhaps is the fact that the categories are very broad, each

stretching over a period of a hundred years or more, making the chronology of limited value. However, the errors of interpretation and the problems of diffuse categories are nothing compared to the simple cause and effect explanations MacGibbon & Ross use to elucidate the developments in Scottish polite architecture. Typically for a chronological and typological account, the explanations are based upon an evolutionary view of society.

Thus, MacGibbon & Ross believed that society evolves through time, becoming more 'civilised', and in the case of medieval Scotland more peaceful, a necessary prerequisite for 'civilisation'. With the development of society, castles also develop with improvements in the technology of fortification, and a changing emphasis upon the domestic and military aspects of castle design. Thus, the Anglo-Normans brought a greater degree of 'civilisation' to Scotland, of which the castle was an important element: *'it was doubtless hoped that their [the Normans] culture and skill in arms would prove useful in defending and developing, and in civilising the inhabitants'* (MacGibbon & Ross 1887-92 vol. III, 5). The castle was used by the crown to 'civilise' those areas, the north west and the south west, still not under its control. The Wars of Independence almost saw a retardation of 'civilisation' and one consequence was the less impressive simple tower houses in comparison to the great castles of enclosure. After the Wars of Independence Scotland is perceived as becoming gradually more peaceful, more civilised, although true civilisation and peace only comes with the Union of the Crowns which *'had an enlightening and civilising effect on Scotland generally, and in this way many improvements were gradually imported from the south into the domestic arrangements and architecture of the country'* (MacGibbon & Ross 1887-92 vol. III, 5). As a result castles gradually become more domestic in character and open to outside influences from France and later England, becoming less and less tower like. Thus, MacGibbon & Ross's concept was to trace the 'evolution' of the castle from its early military beginnings into the early modern house: *'the gradual progress of architecture from an early and rude epoch to modern and refined times, as the growth of our national life and manners'* (1887-92 vol. I, vi).

Such a view of Scottish society and its relationship to the castle and tower is naive and simplistic. According to this view the form of the castle at any time merely reflects the competing needs of defence and comfort, with the added complication of foreign influences. When domestic issues are discussed, it is in evolutionary terms: there is a gradual movement towards increasing privacy. When the discussion turns to military and defensive features it is again in terms of an evolutionary progression: timber castles are replaced by masonry castles, timber hoards are replaced by masonry machicolations, arrow slits are replaced with gunports.

In each case the changes are seen as the result of a natural progression through which society improves and becomes more civilised and more technically advanced and over which the individual has little control.

Despite these problems MacGibbon and Ross's work is an incredible achievement. It is very much a work of its time, constructing a chronology and a typology, and viewing the development of the castle simply as an evolutionary progression, with the Normans as the inspiration. However, it established Scottish castle studies as a discipline and more importantly a discipline that did not ignore the social aspects of the castle. In Scottish castle studies, although military aspects have always been to the fore, they have never dominated the subject to the extent one finds in English castle studies. This may be the result of the different nature of the castle in Scotland, but the role of MacGibbon & Ross, in establishing the castle as a residence as well as a fortress, cannot be denied. In this respect, this study builds upon the foundations laid by MacGibbon & Ross.

2.3 THE SUCCESSORS OF MACGIBBON & ROSS.

The work of MacGibbon & Ross established the subject of castle studies within Scotland and rescued it from the more outlandish musings of antiquarians. In this respect all those working in the field are the successors of MacGibbon & Ross. Perhaps because of the influence of their work, it is surprisingly difficult to categorise the different approaches to the study of the castle in Scotland. The theoretical approach, the manner that the historians or architectural historians have thought about the buildings are essentially very similar. Where they differ is through their particular interpretations, informed by individual implicit theories and concepts of architecture and/or medieval society rather than an explicit theory on the nature of existence and the relationship people have with material culture.

One of the most powerful trends is to study the castle as a piece of architecture, rather than a piece of material culture, created and lived in by human beings. This has grown out of MacGibbon and Ross's background as architects, which so informed their work. It is no surprise that many of the scholars working in this field are architects or architectural historians. Whereas most scholars working in this field are influenced by this trend, it is often tempered with a more general approach to the topic. Thus, the discussion will be divided into 'Typological–Chronological and Approaches', 'Historical-Architectural Approaches', 'Archaeological Approaches', 'Functionalist Approaches' and 'Social–Contextual Approaches.'

These categories are rather fluid and several commentators will appear in two or more of them.

2.3.1 Typological–Chronological Approaches — Zuene.

This trend has sought to categorise castles and most importantly to date the structures and is the closest to the original concept of MacGibbon and Ross. The castle is treated as if it were something outside or set apart from the social world which created it and in which it played such a vital and active role. Instead of investigating the social nature of the castle there is a desire to create an accurate building history, to identify outside influences and to draw analogies with other structures, often for the purpose of creating typologies and chronologies. Where documentary sources are used they serve to provide evidence with which to date the structure. Other features such as heraldry are also used to date structures rather to investigate the questions of identity, status and display.

The most recent proponent of this approach is Joachim Zeune (1991a, 1991b, 1992). This author has written extensively on later medieval tower houses within Scotland. Most of Zeune's thesis concentrates upon the methods of dating of castles rather than trying to offer insights into the social life of the castle and into the impact that castles had upon society, much as MacGibbon & Ross had done a century earlier. In addition there is a general summary of the domestic architecture of later Scottish castles (1992). However, the main tenet of Zeune's thesis was to disprove the so-called 'long pause'— the concept proposed by Cruden that after Flodden non-Royal building stagnated in Scotland (Cruden 1960) — by re-dating and re-interpreting the building histories of many tower houses to the early and mid-sixteenth century (Zeune 1992, 310). From this stance Zeune goes on to state that complex, intricate and sophisticated tower house developed in the mid-sixteenth century, a statement which appears not to have considered the achievement of the masons who built Borthwick and Elphinstone a century earlier (Zeune 1991a, 27).

While accepting the validity of many of Zeune's conclusions on the 'long pause', one must also recognise that it is of limited significance to our understanding of the castle in Scotland, and remains mostly of interest to the architectural historian. What Zeune has done is to refute another scholar's argument, rather than adding much new to our understanding of the role of the castle in Scotland. He has pushed some dates forwards and pulled other back. Much of Zeune's work involves creating chronologies, typologies and categories of tower houses and gunloops, in which to place undated towers. Thus, towers can be described as RT, L0, L1, L2, L3, L4, Z1,

Z2, Z3, L/Z, T1, T2, C1 and C2. Having categorised these structures Zeune goes on to state:

'as becomes very evident in Scottish castellology, any attempts at typological-chronological dating run the risk of losing sight of the individual history of a particular building, and of failing to recognise any more complex architectural history. This demonstrated only too well by MacGibbon and Ross' (Zeune 1991b, 27).

Zeune's criticism of MacGibbon & Ross appears remarkable as his own approach is rather similar, and it is interesting that much of Zeune's criticism is pointed at the incorrect dates MacGibbon & Ross gave to various castles, rather than the approach taken (1992, 15). Like MacGibbon & Ross, he also created chronologies, making statements such as:

'the creation of the Z-shaped tower house can be understood as the logical step (after the L-plan tower) in a continuing endeavour towards providing extra accommodation' (1991b, 14).

Zeune also relies upon typologies of mouldings and gunloops for the dating of structures. The quotation also demonstrates his main interest in investigating tower house; to create building histories, to establish their date and the exact sequence of accretion and demolition. Moreover, the explanations for the developments Zeune has identified are based upon the changing dichotomy of defensive requirements and domestic needs.

Although Zeune notes that the Z-plan increases accommodation space he also states: *'the castle could now be fully flanked with minimum extra effort'* and that *'because of the military advantage of the round tower, type Z1 [a Z-plan with two round towers] dominated quantitatively over Z2 and Z3 [Z-plans with one or two square towers]'* (1991b, 14, 27; 1992, 243). While many of the Z-planned tower houses are well provided with gunloops, such as Claypotts which has twelve wide mouthed gunloops situated on the ground floor, it is simplistic to propose the Z-plan came about to provide flanking fire for greater defence. One can point to Z-planned towers, such as Drochil, which have relatively few shot holes. Samson has pointed out that the two towers at Claypotts provide an extra ten chambers in addition to the main block and suggests that this is the real reason for the Z-plan. He is dismissive of the concept of flanking fire, noting the inconvenience of several of the gunloops at Claypotts — one was inserted into the back of the kitchen fireplace and another behind a turnpike staircase — and has questioned the whole concept of wide mouthed gunports low down at basement level which would only be effective once the attackers were within the barmkin (Samson 1990, 236). To be fair to Zeune, he does note that some gunloops would have been ineffectual and suggests that

'the construction of truly effective gun loops very likely remained in the domain of much sought-after and hence expensive specialists. For this reason it seems not at all absurd

that at times the psychological effect prevailed over the practical, or functional one' (1992, 93).

However, still implicit in this explanation is the concept of defence, one keeps attackers away by the threat of the gunfire, even if the gunfire was ineffectual or non-existent.

There may be some truth to this suggestion, but again it is simplistic although perhaps hinting at a more satisfactory explanation. As shall be discussed in more detail in forthcoming chapters the gunloops and firearms had become a symbol of lordship and a sign of a lord's willingness to protect his rights and honour and the rights and honour of his kin and followers. The existence and positioning of gunloops along with the flanking effect of the Z-planned tower was a demonstration of a sophisticated knowledge of the theory of fortifications and the ability to employ expensive specialists, just as the corbelled out upper chambers at Claypots was a demonstration of a sophisticated knowledge of building and an ability to employ good masons. Notland Castle clearly shows the great desire to overwhelm the onlooker by the number and scale of gunports. Zeune rightly describes it as looking like a battleship, and again suggests a defensive explanation for its profusion of gunports:

'Sir Gilbert Balfour ... an ambitious, cunning and insidious individual, greedy for power, who doubtless raised this terrifying fortalice because he foresaw conflicts with local lords as well as state authorities' (1991b, 22).

However, the whole castle appears over the top both internally — the newel of the main turnpike is a case in point — and externally. The gunloops are an essential feature of a masterly demonstration of wealth and knowledge, both of fortification and building techniques. In total there are seventy-six gunloops surviving, far too many to ever be manned by the household. Confirming this view is the fact that the castle was seized on several occasions, its many gunloops providing little effective defence.

While standing remains must be described, surveyed, planned, drawn and photographed, description should be a means to an end not an end in itself. Likewise, the dating of a structure, a detailed building history and making analogies can all aid interpretation, indeed may be seen as a prerequisite to informed interpretation, but it too should not be seen as the total outcome of the study of castles. This alone does not encapsulate all the possible meanings that the site may hold for us and did hold for those who once lived there. Rather such information has to be placed within its social context, and some understanding of why changes occur and what these changes may mean for people has to be developed.

2.3.2 The Historical-Architectural Approach — Mackenzie, Cruden and Tabraham.

Much of the work on Scottish castles has been of a general nature, readable both by academics and the amateur enthusiast, with general summaries of the development of the castle within Scotland. While still concentrating upon the architecture, this approach tries to place the castle much more within its social and/or political historical context, rather than discussing castles only in terms of other castles. However, this approach still owes much to the typological-chronological approach; often there is a great deal of description and the creation of chronologies, although it is not as blatant as the typological-chronological approach, with some interpretation of the motivations of the builder.

Of the more general books it is especially striking that not only do they all have very similar titles but all have a very similar structure which discusses such topics as: early earth and timber castles, the rise of the great stone castles, the influence of the Wars of Independence, the development of the tower house, the coming of gunpowder, the long pause and finally the decline of the castle. It is of course difficult, perhaps impossible and unwise to break out of a chronological structure but the point to be made here is the lack of theoretical development one finds in many of the general surveys despite their informative nature. The three authors mentioned above—Mackenzie, Cruden and Tabraham—represent various developments in the generalist approach and are milestones in Scottish castle studies.

W.M. Mackenzie's *Medieval Castle in Scotland* (1927) was the first general volume on the topic of Scottish castles. It was written very much from the perspective of a historian with much of the discussion relying upon documentary sources, and thus provides an excellent summary of documentary sources related to castles. Compared to the normal emphasis on architecture, this can be refreshing. Also refreshing is the emphasis upon the domestic aspects of the castle — although Mackenzie treats them as individual features rather than looking at a structure as a whole — and the recognition that many of the defensive aspects of castles were designed more to impress than repel attackers. He was also one of the first historians — along with Armitage and Oman — to reject the notion put forward by G.T. Clark and A.H. Thompson that Norman keeps were nothing but last ditch refuges used only in times of siege, instead emphasising the domestic character of these structures (1927, 231). Despite these triumphs, Mackenzie's reliance upon documentary sources to date castles and his own inclinations on the nature of thirteenth century Scotland led him to some serious errors in interpretation. Specifically he

suggested, incorrectly in many instances, that most thirteenth century masonry castles were substantially later than first thought.

Almost as a contrast to Mackenzie's volume — a military historian — was the work of Stewart Cruden, an architect and architectural historian. As one would expect, Cruden's approach concentrates far more on the architecture of the castle than its history and often describes structures in terms of an architectural aesthetic, which is perhaps not wholly applicable to the structures in question. The aim of Cruden's *The Scottish Castle* was not to 'offer a series of descriptions of Scottish castles. It attempts to explain them, and ventures some criticisms' (1960, v). Unfortunately the explanation is very much based upon an investigation of the process of re-negotiation between military and domestic needs, a struggle between the needs of comfort on the one hand and defence on the other, in which defence gradually loses out to increasing demands of privacy and comfort. As with Mackenzie, Cruden explores the different facets of the castle, through looking at numerous different castles. He does not investigate any castle as a single building, looking at how it worked as a single structure.

The most recent general volume on Scottish castles — *Scotland's Castles* — was written by an archaeologist, Chris Tabraham (1997). The three different disciplines of the author of these general volumes reflects the trend of Scottish castle studies from a subject identified with history, then architecture and finally archaeology. This trend is to be welcomed. The castle is much more than just a backdrop to historical events nor should castles be used merely to provide material examples for documentary sources. A castle is also more than just a piece of interesting architecture, but is a vital element in the material world of medieval Scotland. As a piece of material culture it is appropriate that an archaeologist should investigate the castle. It is very disappointing then, that Tabraham brings little of an archaeologist's understanding of material culture to the subject, apart from an extensive knowledge of excavations of castles. Tabraham, much in the tradition of MacGibbon & Ross, Mackenzie and Cruden, states that in the sixteenth century:

'defensive considerations were noticeably exercising the minds of builders less and less as they contrived to improve on those aspects touching on comfort and domestic convenience' (1986, 66).

The importance of *Scotland's Castles* does not depend upon any theoretical leaps forward or change in approach but the way it has combined historical, architectural and new archaeological evidence, especially as the author has managed to access excavation reports which have not been published.

Tabraham may have provided new information about castles in Scotland but it is disappointing then that he did not go beyond the conventional wisdom and provide a new vision of the castle in Scotland. This is especially true for his discussion of early castles in Scotland. These chapters are both the strength and the weakness of the work, for although he provides information on non-Norman castles such as Norse Towers and sites which have a long history and perhaps continuity such as crannogs and iron age duns, which are used as castle sites, Tabraham does not dare mention the word continuity and instead keeps with the orthodoxy that castles were introduced by the Normans and that the native Scots had nothing approaching this type of structure with similar functions.

Each of the volumes discussed above have their particular strengths and weaknesses, and each has made an important contribution to the field of Scottish castle studies. What makes them disappointing, though, is their lack of imagination when it comes to approaching the subject. Many other commentators could be also be placed in this category — Maxwell-Irving (1981; 1987; 1997), Gordon-Slade (1967; 1983) McKean (1995), MacIvor (1977, 1978, 1981), Caldwell (1972) and Simpson (1920, 1921, 1924, 1925, 1928, 1937, 1952, 1959) — for although they may have published articles on single castles and have their own geographic and subject bias — Maxwell-Irving the south west, Gordon-Slade and Simpson the north east, and MacIvor artillery fortifications — they all use a similar historical-architectural approach. The architecture is described and summarised, with some attempt at providing analogies — native and more importantly foreign — building histories are recreated and dates are given, both through documentary sources and architectural parallels.

2.3.3 Archaeological Approaches.

The first modern archaeological excavations of castles in Scotland, appear to have been carried out by Douglas Simpson in the 1920s and 30s. Previously castles had been cleared of debris to establish the positions of walls, but Simpson was the first to attempt to properly record the results of excavations. (1920, 1924, 1936, 1944). Simpson was more interested in architecture and most of his excavations were merely wall chasing exercises, uncovering architectural details and hidden elements of the castle's plan. In his excavations at Kildrummy and Coull his work force comprised of Boy Scouts, and one must really consider them amateur excavations (1920: 1924, 55). This trend has continued with the excavation and subsequent consolidation of Lochwood Tower undertaken by a work force under the auspices of the

Manpower Services Commission. Maxwell-Irving, the author of the report stated that *'regrettably, no professional archaeologist was available either to supervise, or to record, the work on a systematic basis as it progressed'* amply demonstrating the woeful state of medieval archaeology in Scotland at the time (1990, 93 note 2).

Although excavations of castles have become far more professional in the last twenty years and excavation is now an important element in our understanding of the castle in Scotland, it is difficult to gauge its impact upon our overall understanding of the castle in Scotland. This is because most archaeological studies of the castle have taken the form of single site excavation reports which often are not research excavations, but are ahead of restoration, consolidation or development. Thus, the excavations are often limited in scale, mere keyholes. Excavation is usually limited to recording what maybe destroyed. A prime example is the excavation of the gatehouse at Bothwell. This was ahead of building work associated with visitor facilities, and because of this motivation, a limited area was excavated (Lewis 1984). These problems are exacerbated by the number of important castle excavations, such as those at Portencross, Dundonald, Finlaggin and Stirling, that still await full publication.

Thus, there is no general survey of the archaeological findings from Scottish castle excavations in the manner of *Medieval Fortifications* by Kenyon (1990). This book, although looking at a few Scottish examples, concentrates on castles south of the border and is uninspiring. As Matthew Strickland has noted *Medieval Fortifications* reads rather *'like a somewhat dry list of feature simply arranged chronologically site by site'* (1995; 202). The castle is not seen as a whole but as a series of individual features which can be studied separately. What is more disturbing, for an archaeological approach, is that there is a notable absence of people in the study. Despite the problems of Kenyon's work at least there exists a general discussion of the archaeology of the castle which attempts to synthesise disparate excavation reports into a meaningful discussion of the archaeology of the castle. In the context of Scotland, two recent studies — Peter Yeoman's *Medieval Scotland* (1995) and Chris Tabraham's *Scotland's Castles* (1997) — present the totality of the synthesis of castle excavations in Scotland. Both are popular books and in the case of Yeoman's work castles are a minor element in the discussion, while Tabraham's work discusses relatively few excavations. They are important book for although they go into little detail they have at least been able to bring out some of the findings from some of excavations which have yet to be published.

Despite the problems and limitations of the archaeological approach in Scotland it has

added to our knowledge of the castle. The excavations at Threave and Smailholm have been especially important in altering our perception and in adding to our knowledge of the tower house (Good & Tabraham 1981a, 1981b, 1988; Tabraham 1987, 1988). Excavations at both sites revealed extensive building remains contemporary with the towers, which would have provided additional accommodation, including a hall, for the household and for guests. These excavations banished the stereotype of the isolated pre-reformation towerhouse, standing grim and alone, surrounded by only a few farm buildings and stables, where the lord and his family would hole themselves up. Rather, the castle continued as it had done, a bustling community, the tower at its centre surrounded by subsidiary, but still prestigious buildings. These excavations led Tabraham to publish an important article on Scottish tower house — '*The Scottish medieval towerhouse as lordly residence in the light of recent excavation*' (1988) — which brought out the fact that we miss a great deal when we only look at the standing remains of the castle that we study.

The power of the excavation evidence from Threave and Smailholm has been so great as to make the view of tower houses surrounded by halls and kitchens, itself a stereotype, which may not work in every case: Tabraham's thesis is largely based upon some basic floor area comparisons in addition to excavations at two sites. However, the influence that the excavations have had is due to nature of the excavations: both were large scale research excavations which set out to answer a single question.

Thus, archaeology has had an uncertain influence upon archaeology. Excavations have provided more information on the nature of the castle in Scotland, but so far that is all they have done. Archaeology has gathered information and evidence but there has been little synthesis or interpretation. Even more frustrating is that archaeology has had limited effect upon the way that castles have been perceived, interpreted and discussed. Medieval archaeology within Scotland has technically and professionally greatly moved on since Simpson's first excavation at Kildrummy but in terms of its theoretical stance little has changed.

2.3.4 Functionalist Approaches.

The first author to really challenge the dominant evolutionary, military versus domestic view of the castle in Scotland has been Geoffrey Stell. The first of two articles dealing with castle was entitled *Architecture: the changing needs of society* (1977). Of greater importance was an article entitled *The Scottish Medieval Castle: Form, Function and 'Evolution'* (1985). In

this article Stell characterised former approaches to the castle as romantic, which is still very much alive in 'coffee table' volumes, military, an approach typified by Simpson in Scotland but which was much stronger in England especially during the interwar period, and the evolutionary which views the development of the castle as a progression from semi-fortified structures to the early modern house encompassing writers such as MacGibbon & Ross, Mackenzie and Cruden (1985, 196).

In challenging the last of these trends, Stell points out that in the later sixteenth century, when many towers were losing their military appearance and '*real improvements*' were being made to domestic arrangements; '*paradoxically, these developments ... were accompanied by intermittent warfare of an unprecedented scale and intensity*' (Stell 1985, 196). Stell suggests that this may explain the continuation of the tower building tradition well into the seventeenth century, but goes on to state that this is by no means certain, and likewise, towers with '*pacific*' features do not necessarily reflect more peaceful condition: '*the indications are that architectural behaviour in these in these respects is at best a somewhat uncertain, confused and erratic barometer of contemporary conditions*' (1985, 197).

Stell is in no doubt correct in that the relationship between architecture and human action and motivations is a complex one. However, he unfortunately does not take up the challenge to explore the question further. He does not explore the other meaning these structures could have had to contemporaries (1985, 197). Instead, Stell retreats into functionalism: '*one of the principal areas of reassessment is in the relationship between form and function* (1985, 197). Thus, in his rejection of purely defensive considerations for the siting of castles — '*where castles occupy commanding but overlooked sites ... or stand on mounds of dubious tactical advantage, it is difficult for us to believe that defence was the exclusive, or even paramount, concern of the builders*' — Stell goes on to explain the siting in terms of another form of functionality: '*firm and relatively dry rocky outcrops, natural terraces and sloping ground offered constructional benefits for wall foundations and drainage, as well as providing workable tracts of associated agricultural land*' (1985, 198). Thus, according to Stell, castles share many of the same site criteria as later eighteenth and nineteenth century farmsteads — situations close to a water supply and land capable of good cereal or livestock production — and where one finds continuity with later structures added on to earlier castles, it is due to the '*eternally desirable and adaptable sites*' on which they stand (1985, 199). These explanations may appear totally logical and sensible but also ignore other explanations which will be explored in this thesis.

2.3.5 Socio–Contextual Approaches

The final approach to the castle I wish to discuss and to which this study belongs, could be described as being socio-contextual: there is a desire to look beyond the architecture, to place the castle into its context and to say something about the wider society of medieval Scotland, even if it is largely restricted to the household within the castle. One could suggest that in even in the typological-chronological and historical-architectural approaches a wider view of society is expressed: the evolution in castle design reflects a change in Scottish society. However, this is often implicit rather than explicit, and is a general conclusion based upon a concept taken from evolution rather than the result of in-depth analysis of castles and towers.

Ironically, the first commentator to use the spatial arrangements of the castle to say something about the social structure of the household, is now universally criticised for his conclusions. Simpson, in studying the castle was informed by the concept of '*bastard feudalism*': the idea that in late medieval England — and according to Simpson, in Scotland — a lord was dependent upon mercenary armed retainers to support his position in society and to enforce his will on the locality. While these retainers, wearing the lord's badge, were a necessity they were also a threat to the lord and his family, willing to betray him to better paymasters or when conditions became unfavourable (Simpson 1946). With this view of late medieval society in mind, Simpson then went on to identified castles which seemed to seemed support the concept. Thus, the gatehouse at Doune, Morton and Tantallon, the great donjon at Bothwell, and the squat tower house at Cragneithan, are all seen as attempts by the lord to isolate himself within a self-contained residence, protected from his untrustworthy followers. At Doune, Morton and Tantallon, there is the added *frisson* that the lord could control the main gate of the castle himself, thus ensuring his retainers could not betray him and let attackers into the castle. It should be immediately apparent that both as an explanation for the form of these castles, and as an interpretation for the social structure of the household, the concept of '*bastard feudalism*' is extremely simplistic, and what is more it is simply incorrect. As we shall see, the social structure of the household within Scottish castles depended upon kinship relations and relationships between the lord and his tenantry, rather than a purely financial arrangement between a lord and mercenaries. Moreover, in Doune and Morton — prime examples of the influence of '*bastard feudalism*' according to Simpson (1938, 32-4: 1939) — the lord was not isolated in a self-contained residence from the rest of the castle. Rather, the lord's apartments communicated directly with the great hall of the castle. Simpson's premise coloured much of

his otherwise valuable work.

Simpson's work can only be described as socio-contextual if one is willing to stretch the term almost to breaking. His work was very much informed by the context of the interwar period, and it is not surprising that his work emphasised the military aspect of the castle. For a truly new approach to the castle in Scotland, one has a long and almost fruitless search. It is only with the work of Ross Samson, an archaeologist whose background is not in castle studies, does one find a truly contextual approach, which treats the tower house as something more than a building, something more than an interesting piece of architecture.

Although Samson has only produced one article on post-reformation tower houses — *'The Rise and Fall of the Tower-House'* (1990) — his work is included in this survey because of the imaginative manner the material in question was discussed, and the influence it has had upon this study. Samson forcefully rejected any suggestion that the post-Reformation tower house was built with defence in mind, despite Stell's assertion that:

'no one could pretend that the architectural evidence could support a completely revisionist view of lawlessness and disorder in medieval and post-Reformation Scotland' (1985, 197)

Samson has indeed presented a revisionist view and has done so with a degree of success. In contrast with Stell's functionalism, Samson suggests that such separation of the functional and symbolic features of architecture is not helpful and that we should recognise *'that symbolism has important social functions and that it may be expressed in functional forms'* (1990, 210). This is an extremely important core concept which has been recognised and has informed this present study. It is not unusual for scholars to have emphasised the symbolic and lordly functions of a castle. However, many authors seem to assume that this aspect to the castle is self evident and that they do not have to discuss what it is about a castle that inspires such emotions. It is assumed that it is enough to point out the castle's massive bulk and high walls; the mere description of a castle is explanation enough.

Samson also states: *'this sophistication is fortunately more necessary of the thirteenth century lordly architecture than of the sixteenth, when many defensive features are no longer functional'* (1990, 210). Samson has dismissed almost every defensive feature as purely symbolic and an element of display. Specifically, Samson suggests the gunloops were part of an overall architectural scheme, an architectural grammar for post-reformation towerhouses, which emphasised the wall head of the tower and made a clear distinction between the ground floor

and the upper floors. Thus, gunloops are found on the ground floor distinguishing this area from the upper floors. Samson goes on to explain the tower house in the context of the late sixteenth century, and suggests that the popularity of the tower house in the post-Reformation period was the result of aggressive social climbing by *parvenus*, made rich through the reformation, who took on the trappings of lordship by building themselves towers (1990, 236-7). The decline of the tower house was the result of increasing royal authority and the Union of the Crowns, which saw a change in the architecture of power and authority in Scotland. English Jacobean and neo-classical forms now replaced the tower house (1990, 197, 240).

Certainly, there is an element of truth in this explanation. There was a building boom in the post-reformation period, with figures such as John Strachan, owner of Claypotts Tower benefiting enormously from the feuing of monastic lands. It must also be welcomed that the polite architecture of early modern architecture is being viewed as a potent symbol of political authority. However, Samson's explanation still appears rather simplistic: late sixteenth century Scotland was undergoing social, political and religious convolutions, and to explain the changes in the tower house form, and its eventual decline, simply in relation to the Union of the Crowns appears almost as naive as to suggest it was the result of the domestication of the tower house. The decline of the tower house must have been the result of multifarious changes in society. One must also query Samson's discussion of gunports in castles. Samson states that gunports were kept low down to emphasis the contrast between the ground floor and the upper floors (1990 208-9). However, Cakemuir Tower does have wide mouthed gunport high up in the wall, as does Notland, Hermitage, Kinneil and Craignethan. It also ignores the large number of small shot holes found beneath windows. While Samson is to be congratulated for offering an alternative to the normal functional explanations for the popularity of the gunport in tower house architecture, a totally aesthetic explanation is also misguided, and represents a misunderstanding of post-Reformation society and the relationship between material culture and symbolism. The gunport, as with the rapier and hagbutt, was a material expression of a lord's willingness to defend his and his kin's position. The gunport had to have some reality, if it was ever to be an effective symbol of lordship.

2.4 CONCLUSION.

Despite a lack of theoretical development Scottish castle studies remains a vital and interesting field in which to work. Tabraham's excavations at Threave and Smailholm have demonstrated what archaeology can achieve and what a deprived picture we have of the castle.

Despite its problems, Samson's work has shown how a contextual and social approach, opposed to a typological-chronological approach, can change perceptions of the castle. However, this work is extremely limited in scale, restricted as it is to post-reformation tower houses, a period in Scottish tower house building which attracts a disproportionate amount of attention. This study, although influenced by Scottish castle studies, has also looked to English castle studies such as the work of Charles Coulson (1979, 1994), Philip Dixon (1978, 1979, 1990), Grahame Fairclough (1982, 1992), and P.A. Faulkner (1958, 1964), whose work will be discussed in later chapters. English castle studies have been consistently more interpretative and imaginative than the equivalent in Scotland. This study plans to move Scottish castle studies forward by taking a truly contextual approach to the topic, using documentary, architectural and archaeological approaches. However, it is the way that this evidence is used, rather than the type of evidence, that will make this study stand out from what has gone before.

3. THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO SPACE AND ARCHITECTURE

This chapter will be divided into two sections, the first setting out the theoretical stance of social space of the castle and the second investigating the methodology used to support the interpretation informed by the theory.

PART ONE – THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In chapter four it will be clearly demonstrated that the social life situated around and within the castle had a spatial basis. The documentary sources will show just some of the multitude of possible ways that architecture, in shaping space, could be involved in the everyday mediation of social relations. It is therefore the effect of castle and tower house architecture on such social relations which form the central concern of this thesis. This thesis is about people, people who lived in these buildings under discussion, and from the buildings they lived in we shall glimpse the possibilities of their unknown lives. The aim of this thesis is to generate ‘everyday biographies’ of the occupants, the visitors and those whose lives were bound up in the existence of the castle. The real lives of these people we want to uncover have long passed. As a result the biographies produced will be possibilities, limited in scope, and for substance will rely on interpreting architecture and the spaces created by the architecture.

3.2 DEFINITIONS — ‘SPACE IS TRANSFORMED INTO PLACE AS IT ACQUIRES DEFINITION AND MEANING’ (TUAN 1977, 136).

Before such ‘virtual’ biographies can be through the investigation of architectural remains there are two concepts central to our understanding of the role of architecture in human existence: space and place. The definitions of these concepts will have a profound effect on the interpretation of architecture.

3.2.1 Space.

The definition of space may seem obvious: it is just out there, surrounding us like the atmosphere, enveloping us but with no effect. If we are positioned in space, all this means is

that we have a precise location on the surface of the earth; space is objective, space is measurable, space is geometry, space is not active,

'There is only one space, conceived by common sense as the ideal receptacle that everything is in, and by scientific minds as the co-ordinates system whereby everything is related' (Langer 1953, 95).

This interpretation of space was central to the New Geography and the New Archaeology of the 1970s and 1980s (Tilley 1994, 9). Space is considered merely as a blank veneer where actions take place; its influence on action is just a result of measurable factors such as distance, gradient, and access that create 'friction' in movement of individuals, peoples, armies, goods, innovations and ideas (Tilley 1994, 10).

This interpretation of space as something 'objective' I wish to reject. There is more to space than just the x, y, and z co-ordinates which make it reducible to a series of measurements. The view of space I wish to put forward is phenomenological in its outlook (Relp 1976, Tilley 1994, 10). Space is an active medium which we primarily experience through our bodies. Merleau-Ponty describes the essential physicality of space and makes it clear the body is not a container for intellect but is the fundamental way by which we experience the world (Thomas 1993, 74);

'far from my body's being for me no more than a fragment of space, there would be no space at all for me if I had no body' (Merleau-Ponty 1962, 102 cited in Tilley 1994, 14)

It is only through the experiences and activities of human beings that space, or more properly spaces, can be said to exist. As a result space is not something which is just 'out there' but is produced socially (Moore 1986, 107-20);

'space has no substantial essence in itself, but only has a relational significance, created through relations between peoples and places ... it [space] can have no universal essence. What space is depends on who is experiencing it and how' (Tilley 1994, 11).

Spaces, as meaningful entities, come into being through the everyday activities of people as they live their lives (Tilley 1994, 10). The implications of this realisation are considerable. Most importantly a space will be polysemous; it will have as many meanings as there are people experiencing it, more in fact as an individual will themselves attach multiple meanings to a space. A consequence of multiple meanings is that spaces are fundamental to the everyday power relations of life; they become a battlefield of conflicting claims, assertions and interpretations of ownership, identity, knowledge and authority. These conflicts or interpretations are continually reworked through repeated encounters within spaces, entrenching old meanings and creating new and varied ones. This unceasing discourse between individuals

and the spaces in which they dwell is necessary to social reproduction. How material culture is involved in the reproduction of society will be discussed in a following section. At the moment it is sufficient to recognise that space is an active component in structuring human relations.

3.2.2 Place.

As Tuan's quote at the beginning of this section demonstrates, space and place are linked, space becomes place through human experience: *'if space allows movement, place is pause'* (Tuan 1977, 6). Anywhere can become a place, or a dominant locale (Giddens 1981, 94), as soon as it is given significance or meaning by someone. When we talk of a specific space, often we would be better talking of a place. Tilley defines the difference between place and space;

'knowledge of place stems from human experiences, feeling and thought. Space is a far more abstract construct than place. It provides a situational context for places but derives its meanings from particular places. Without places there can be no spaces, and the former have primary ontological significance as centres of bodily activity, human significance and emotional attachment' (1994, 14).

The difference between space and place is one of definition; space is the general, place is the specific. Space is the wider landscape, while place is the specific site of activities where meaning is concentrated. Appearance often contributes to place; place is immediately describable in a way that space is often not (Relph 1976, 30). Both space and place are socially constructed but the meanings which spaces are given are more nebulous than those given to places. The difference between space and place is a subtle one, and if we accept that meaning is polysemious it should be recognised that for some, places will be spaces, and for others spaces will be places.

A place does not have to occupy the same space. Langer points to the example of the nomadic camp, which although it may move around always remains the same camp;

'literally we say a camp is in a place, but culturally it is a place' (1953, 95).

The medieval peripatetic household of a great lord could be seen in a similar light. Although the household may have stopped at a series of houses and castles as it travelled around the lords estates and to and from the Royal court, i.e. it moved to and from important places or locales. There is a sense then, that the household itself was a place, a socially important construct whether the lord was in his main residence or camping while travelling or hunting; *'people are their place and a place is its people'* (Relph 1976, 34). A sense of place and the importance of that sense to people does not diminish because people are constantly on the move. Although on

the move for considerable periods, the household would be travelling familiar roads and stopping at well known residences, where a feeling of 'being at home' would be quickly instilled by remembering previous visits and by being surrounded by familiar people, artefacts and spaces.

Architecture helps create identities. In the broadest sense, it changes the nature of a place by introducing immediately recognisable human elements into the seemingly natural landscape. If a place or a dominant locale is a setting for repeated actions and meanings, then architecture creates a sense that those activities and meanings are contained and isolated from the majority of undifferentiated spaces and meanings (Thomas 1993, 76). This helps to single it out as something different, providing it with an identity which may correspond to a personal identity. An important component in this process is the manner in which architecture establishes an interior and an exterior, isolating what is going on inside from the rest of the world.

Architecture is also often involved in a process of naming which accentuates the associations with individuals or groups. The naming of sites or buildings is an important means by which places are created and known and by which identities are reinforced. Naming, architecture is a method through which people show and know that a space is in fact a place. It makes clear that a site is special and contains meaning for certain people or groups of people: naming '*acts as mnemonics for the historical actions of individuals and groups*' (1994, 18). Through the process of building places and locales become associated with people, families and groups. This is particularly true of the castle. In the previous chapter we saw that there was a strong sense of personal and family identity attached to the castle, accentuated through a process of building in association with naming, re-naming and licensing. With a castle, the architecture makes obvious that it is a place, its name often directly creating associations with the wider estate and a particular family, while the license advertised these associations within a wider context. Renaming a castle or building a castle on an existing site can be seen as an appropriation of previous historical actions which in effect is an appropriation of authority. Giddens suggests that the creation of places or dominant locales act as '*stores of authoritative and allocative resources*' which bind time and space together (1981, 94), an ideal description of a castle.

3.2.3 Conclusion

The two concepts of space and place as active mediums in human relations obviously have implications for the study of architecture. If space was a mere container for action, the task would be relatively simple. However, having rejected this stance difficult questions need to be asked: by what method do we interpret architecture and what theoretical stance should be taken in guiding the methodologies used? To answer this question any investigation will have to follow two related themes central to any interpretation of past architecture:

- What can we realistically say about societies from their architecture?
- If architecture can add to our knowledge of societies, what process or understanding do we have to develop, to gain this knowledge when we are investigating a past society?

3.3 READING ARCHITECTURE?

The manner in which we view space and place will influence the way that we understand past landscapes and past buildings. We have investigated some of the general concepts through the definition of two terms: space and place. The next section will look at the implications of accepting these definitions and begin to look at the specifics of interpreting architecture and spatial configurations.

3.3.1 The importance of architecture — the spatial nature of existence.

Langer has stated that architecture '*creates the image*' of the culture from whence it developed: architecture is

'a physically present human environment that expresses the characteristic rhythmic functional patterns which constitute a culture' (1956, 96)

Langer's words reveal two important related concepts. The first, the idea that space is merely a container for action and does not influence behaviour; '*buildings are not active beings in themselves, but only permit people to carry on activities in them*' (Langer 1956, 94). The second, a consequence of the first, is that architecture is a mere reflection, or image, of the society which created it. If we accept the view of space as a container in which action takes place but which has little or no influence upon that action, the built environment becomes little more than an artefact in which activity takes place; it simply reflects the activities which take place in the building. However, as stated above this thesis rejects such a concept of space and as a consequence rejects such a notion of architecture. If space is an active medium in the reproduction of society, then architecture as a technology which structures space is a material

representation of space which must be active in itself; space becomes transformed through architecture.

Architecture is material culture, and like any piece of material culture it is created through peoples' actions, becoming part of their lives. However, material culture is not only a product of contextualised human existence; it is central to the creation, re-creation and transformation of the social conditions of that existence. In other words it is taken as a given that material culture is a central component in peoples lives according to structuring principles, already touched upon in the previous section, laid down in the theory of structuration, whereby

'all human action is carried on by knowledge agents who both construct the social world through their action, but yet whose action is also constrained by the very world of their creation' (Giddens 1981, 54).

This theory helps reconcile the concept of structure with that of the actions of individual agents by recognising the duality of structure. Previously, structures had been regarded as geographical, ecological and societal forces working outside the knowledge and influence of the individual but which nevertheless constrain their actions. The agent was a passive figure swept along by the underlying structure. However, structuration offers the viewpoint that although supposed structures such as class may appear to function outside the actions of individuals they are actual *'something which in fact happens ... in human relationships'* (Thompson 1968, 9, quoted in Barrett 1994, 36). Individuals create the social structures which form the context for their existence and which in turn limits the individuals ability to break free of the expectations of their social milieu.

One must recognise that there is an obvious duality in this concept and Giddens has been criticised for circularity;

'the duality of structure seems to us to involve a vitiating circularity ... social structures are constituted by human agency as well as simultaneously being the medium of such constituted ... action is taken as a (prior) necessary condition for structure and structure as a (prior) necessary condition for action, so that we are forced into an impossible circle' (Smith & Turner 1986, 127, quoted in Barrett 1988, 8).

For Giddens this 'chicken and egg' problem is apparently circumvented through memory;

'action draws initially upon, and is guided in anticipation by, the subjects memory of previous experience' (Barrett 1988, 8).

However, an individuals own personal experiences is only a partial and short term explanation; it does not resolve the problem of what in turn informed their initial experiences. What Giddens

has failed to recognise, or at least to make clear, is that the material world within which social activities take place has an extremely important role to play, acting as locales which structure action, action in turn maintaining and carrying forward the material world. Barrett has correctly pointed out that material culture is an extremely important mechanism in informing the individual of a *'practical knowledge of "how to go on"'* (Barrett 1988, 8) or just the thinking knowledge of how to act appropriately in specific circumstances. Material culture serves as a mnemonic for action, acting as an important part of the acculturation process;

'inhabited space — and above all the house — is the principle locus for the objectification of the generative schemes; and, through the intermediary of the divisions and hierarchies it sets up between things, persons and practices, this tangible classifying system continuously inculcates and reinforces the taxonomic principles underlying all the arbitrary provisions of ... culture (Bourdieu 1977, 89).

Material culture does not hold up a mirror to the society that created and used it, rather it is an essential and active component in its production and re-production. The material world is architecture (space and boundaries) and the world is perceived through movement architecture through time. It is from this material world that people receive their understanding of their daily life. The continued existence of an element of material culture, for instance architecture, leads to the perpetuation of dominant authorities, this association then encourages the replication of that architecture. This hypothesis of the formulation of human societies goes some way towards explaining both stability and change.

Architecture is a central component in the everyday social life of people; *'architecture ... fuses space and time in the creation of places which structures the activities of life by representing fixed points in the fluidity of existence'* (Richards 1993, 148). Richards is pointing to several important characteristics of architecture — and by architecture we are referring to the built environment — which means that it is especially influential as a force for production and reproduction. Architecture structures and controls spaces, creating new spaces by building boundaries. It structures human existence, again by constructing boundaries, by creating an inside and an outside, by allowing or denying movement, by isolating and controlling meaning and knowledge and by structuring the manner in which people meet. The very nature of architecture ensures that it creates its own internal spatial context as walls enclose spaces and access is achieved only through carefully constructed spaces (Grahame 1995, 1). Through architecture, space can be easily manipulated in a multitude of ways to create an appropriate context, a context which includes all elements of the lives which are involved in the building; functional, ritual, symbolic and spiritual or any combination of these. Architecture exists in

time as well as space. Not only does it structure space but it also structures time; it takes a certain amount of time to move through a space and architecture can be used to manipulate time. Architecture also has a temporal dimensions as it often has a degree of permanence. This makes it especially important as a force for structuring society.

3.3.2 Concepts of past material remains.

Our understanding of the manner in which architecture is involved in social life is vital to our interpretation of any single building. However, we are investigating a past society, through its architecture and spatial layouts, not a contemporary society. Before proceeding to interpret buildings, it is vital that a clear methodological statement concerning the relationship between past societies and archaeological evidence and the nature of our relationship to that evidence is laid out. This is a difficult task that often results in uncomfortable conclusions for the archaeologist or historian who believes that they can ever know 'the past', rather than engaging with the physical realities of 'a past'.

Archaeological evidence has been regarded as a record of past existence, which has had important ramifications for the way we understand archaeological remains. This record itself is thought of in different ways, usually either as fossil record or as a text (Barrett 1988, 5-6). The first views the archaeological problem in the partial nature of the record. If everything but the people had survived, as in some neutron bomb disaster, understanding of the material remains would be a simple matter. The solution to the partial record is to make it less partial; excavate more and use ever more sophisticated sampling techniques (Barrett 1988, 5; Leach 1973). Such a view point is of course simplistic, relying as it does on a direct relationship between the archaeologist, past material culture and the society which left those remains. This relationship is acultural and ahistorical; it does not depend upon understanding the context of a specific time and place, but understanding supposed general rules for the organisation of human societies (Barrett 1988, 6). The second approach uses text as an analogy for material culture; just as writing is a technology which imparts knowledge so is material culture (Moore 1986). The task of the archaeologist is to 'translate' this language of things.

It is this second approach, and the responses to it, I wish to investigate more closely. This theory has had especial prominence in previous discussions of spatial layouts, but interestingly it uses the same language and concepts for discussing the built environment as traditional architectural historians have employed to analyse architecture. Thus, Matthew Johnson in a

theoretical discussion on the changes material culture in early modern England describes the ease in which the spatial layout of a castle can be 'read'

'once one is aware of the main elements of medieval castle design, one can "read" the layouts of most such buildings quite readily. Like fields, the ability to "read" the layout of the castle or house is true both of the contemporary historian and the medieval person' (Johnson 1996, 127, author's emphasis).

The idea of 'reading' the archaeological record or standing remains has long been common place. For example, in a descriptive survey of Castle Tioram carried out by the Royal Commission in 1926, the architectural historians stated that only once vegetation had been cleared could the development of the defences be properly 'read' (SRO MW 1/458, 2). For architectural historians it is possible to 'read' the history of a building through its masonry: it is a palimpsest of building activity, each episode identifiable through changes in the fabric, blocked apertures and strange wall alignments. With a tradition of relating the interpretation of buildings to the reading of a text already in place, it is understandable why archaeology and architectural studies have seized upon the philosophical stand points which confirm and support this already existing viewpoint.

3.3.3 Text as an analogy for Material Culture.

The theoretical basis of using text as a way to understand material culture derives from Ricoeur's theory of language, which has been taken by anthropologists and archaeologists to account for the relationships between meaning and material culture. As conceived by Ricoeur, text is not a series of individual signs, each of which is interpretable by the reader. Rather it is a complete and irreducible discourse; understanding is not achieved through the breaking up of a text into sentences or individual signs but comes from the totality of the composition, the genre and the style of the discourse (Ricoeur *trans.* Thompson 1981, 51; Tilley 1991, 118-119). A vital concept in Ricoeur's concept of the text is the four-fold distancing of the text. This states that (1) the text fixes meaning in a material form, (2) it is distanced from the attentions of the author; the text has a meaning which goes beyond that intended by the author, (3) the text goes beyond the socio-historical conditions of production, allowing unlimited readings, and (4) text is not situated in relation to ostensive references whereby misunderstandings can be cleared up through dialogue.

These factors have several implications for understanding discourse. Firstly, the discourse does have an inherent meaning although this may be different than that which was intended by

the author and it is this meaning which is inscribed in writing. To understand a text we cannot return to the supposed intentions of the author. Rather meaning is created through interpretation. This does not allow for unlimited meanings although it allows for unlimited interpretations. Not all interpretations will have equal status and through argument and discussion the relative merits will be discovered. The fact that text can become decontextualised makes the text useful for the historian: Ricoeur states that meaning is accessible to anyone who can 'read' and that *'the interpretation by contemporaries has no particular privilege in this process'* (Ricoeur 1981, 205 cited in Thomas 1981). Ricoeur went beyond a theory of language and text, and posited that action could be seen as a text, as it can be seen in a way that embodies the four forms of distanciation and actions are interpreted in the same way as a text (Tilley 1991, 120). Both of these characteristics of Ricoeur's theory of the text have attracted archaeologists. However, the question to be answered is how far do material remains fit into this textual analogy.

The concept of material culture as text demands a sophisticated relationship between the archaeologist, material culture and the individuals who created the material culture. The individual does not just passively read the material text of their existence but actively creates and changes the texts by the very acts of writing and rewriting, reading and rereading, and are changed themselves by those acts. Meaning is read into the material text rather than being read from the text; it is an act of interpretation which depends upon the context of the reader, quite out of control of the author. After the initial moment of creation the author is absent and what becomes important are the interpretations of the text (Barrett 1994, 37; Fraser 1996, 56). In the terminology of Ricoeur, the text becomes distanciated.

While other archaeologists and anthropologists — such as Henrietta Moore (1986) — have used this textual analogy taken from the theories of Ricoeur, Mark Grahame's study of Pompeian houses directly addresses the interpretation of past spatial layouts (Grahame 1995). A vital notion to Grahame's interpretation of past architecture is Ricoeur's discussion of text and speech. Grahame has used these concepts as a metaphor for the relationship between the fleeting spatial episode of a social encounter and the relatively enduring spatial event of architectural boundaries (1995, 58). Text and speech are two different but valid modes of realisation of discourse. The difference between them is temporal. Writing — or in the case of spatial layouts, constructing architectural boundaries — involves characteristics which distance the text, or the architecture, from the social and historical context of the production of the speech utterance or the social encounter. Text is envisaged as a technology which preserves

knowledge as expressed in speech. A spatial layout made relatively permanent through architecture is a technology which preserves spatial and social knowledge which was initially expressed through bodily movement. Social encounters and architecture are seen as different realisations of the same set of principals, or discourse, that guide people in their interactions.

So far this theory of text has only touched upon the relationship between the social actor and the material culture, it does not comment upon the problem of the archaeologists relationship with the material culture which was created by past societies,. For Grahame this relationship appears to be quite simple; *'because architecture can be seen as conditioning social life, it follows that we should be able to read social life from any surviving spatial layout'* although *'not of course at the detailed level of reconstructing the individual activities that took place in any space, but rather at the more general level of understanding patterns of social interaction'* (1995, 26). Thus, by reading architecture Grahame sees himself as engaging in the same discourse that was expressed through the social encounters he is seeking; the speech part of the discourse has gone and what remains is the text distanced from its historical context. He seems to suggest that as we are all social beings we should be able to empathise with past people through the material remains which survive and that there are certain general rules of human behaviour which are knowable. However, only at the most extremes of physical form can one create general rules which shape our existence, and these are so general that they are almost intuitive and add little new to the interpretation of a building. At a finer level of interpretation, the treatment of space has to be culturally specific and dependent upon a wider context.

For Grahame, Barrett's question *'how can we read these exotic texts?'* (Barrett 1988, 6) poses no problems as the texts are not particularly exotic, due to shared experience of being human. Reading the past is not a theoretical problem but a methodological one; *'to do this we obviously require a method of reading spatial layouts'* (1995, 26). Grahame accepts that an archaeologist will experience a building in a very different way from the original occupants, who will have experienced the building by moving through and within it in particular recurring ways. He argues that it is impossible for an archaeologist to replicate such everyday movements and understandings. Consciously and unconsciously the occupants know how to respond and act in certain spatial layout through a process of enculturation. This knowledge Grahame believes is unattainable. Instead he wishes to investigate the social significance of the layout. However, if we cannot even suggest how the spatial layout worked in everyday life how can we approach the question of social significance? What Grahame seems to suggest is that particular

methodologies can offer a way to translate the spatial texts, but in a way that is unrecognisable to the original occupants.

It could be argued that the worth of the textual analogy is not that it provides a method by which we can 'read' meaning from past material culture as Grahame and others have suggested. Rather it provides us with an analogy by which we can understand the process of reading meaning into material culture, and makes us aware of the implications this has for our understanding of past material culture (Fraser 1996, 57). The textual metaphor presents us with an understanding of the relationship between material culture and the social actor which is not easy, it is full of multiple, ambiguous and contradictory meanings and interpretations. However, it does not present us with a theory which allows us to account for this fact when we create an archaeological discourse.

Matthew Johnson appears to have a similar concept of interpreting a spatial layout. As noted above, Johnson suggests that once an understanding of a building competence has been reached, then the archaeologist can read a building in the same way as the original inhabitant (Johnson 1996, 127). However, Pamela Graves has shown that there is much more to understanding a building than discovering a competency accounting for the variety of form. Graves discusses churches, a type of building whose form is constrained by a very tight competency. Yet Graves has shown that while one can quickly grasp the layout of a medieval church and understand how the space was used — helped by our continuing use of such buildings as places of worship — the social practices and discourses which went on and were played out through the fabric of the church were extremely complex with multiple and competing meanings, which may have only been partially appreciated by most contemporaries (Graves 1989). In such circumstances the archaeologist should be wary of simply viewing a building as a text to read, once having learnt the 'language' of the spatial layout from experiencing a variety of similar buildings.

The archaeologist and anthropologist would appear to have a similar task, if both past and present material culture can be read as text. It is then alarming to find that some anthropologists have rejected the whole basis of the textual analogy. The problem with the textual analogy when applied to anthropology is not the difficulty of translating one text — the experiences of peoples lives — into another text — the interpretation of those lives by an anthropologist. Instead the problem is translating into a text something — material culture and structure — that is not one

(Bloch 1992, 129). This rejects Ricoeur's theory that action is like a text. Actions are human events which cannot be decontextualised or distanced from the socio-historical conditions of their production (Tilley 1991, 121; Ricoeur *trans.* Thompson 1981, 126). What is more, action is not like a text as action is not created through language:

'the knowledge organised for efficiency in day-to-day practice is not only non-linguistic, but also not language like in that it does not take a sentinel logical form'

(Bloch 1991, 190).

This sentinel logic model for the mind is analogous with the semantics of a natural language. However, as a theory of knowledge it fails to explain the speed and expertise with which humans can perform everyday tasks and respond to new ones. Instead knowledge of day-to-day practice is created through day-to-day engagement with those very routines.

However, Tilley has suggested that while action, as a series of human events, cannot be understood as a text, material culture can be. Therefore meaning in material culture can be decontextualised. Not only does this seem to reduce archaeology to the study of mere objects rather than human actions it allows, but the actual concept of material culture as text can be challenged. This viewpoint seems to rely upon Ricoeur's idea that the contemporary reader of action has no advantage over any other reader, thus our interpretations are of equal value. This of course is nonsense: as Thompson has noted, we all have the ability to interpret but there will always be *'problems concerning the relation between the everyday descriptions of lay actors and the theoretical accounts of external observers'* (Thompson 1981, 127). We have come back to the problem of context and Barrett's *'exotic texts'*. If we must use a textual analogy for material culture, perhaps Derridas's concept of the text as constituted by individual signs to which meaning is given with every new reading dependant on context, is more appropriate. This ensures meaning is contextualised but makes the understanding of actual texts problematic. Past material culture has no inherent meaning as the discourse through which meaning was created has not survived.

3.4 GOFFMAN AND GIDDENS — THE PHYSICALITY OF LIFE.

Having rejected the concept that both the past social actor and the present archaeologist simply read a spatial layout, we must search for an understanding of human actions which emphasises day-to-day practices and routines within the physical world. There are many such approaches in the field of built environment/behavioural studies. In fact several theoretical stances which fulfil such a task have already been briefly mentioned; Bourdieu's *Habitus* and

Giddens's *Theory of Structuration* (Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1984). It is the work of this final author, especially his critique of Goffman's work on physical encounters, that we will shall discuss more fully. As we shall see what makes this study of social interaction important for the understanding of architecture and spatial layouts is that encounters take place in space and in time, and architecture is one method by which encounters are organised, contextualised, regionalised and bracketed.

Goffman, and in turn Giddens, have pointed to the importance of the 'encounter' and the ways in which people position their bodies in such encounters to the nature of human social life. The encounter is only one, although the most important, of various forms of interaction. The forms of interaction can be divided into (1) gatherings which are moments of informal and transitory interaction, and (2) social occasions, or formalised interaction involving a number of individuals which '*provides the structuring social context in which many gatherings are likely to form, dissolve and re-form, while a pattern of conduct tends to be recognised as the appropriate and (often) official or intended one*' (Goffman 1963, 18 cited in Giddens 1984, 71). During such social interaction the agent can be either involved in unfocused interaction or in focused interaction; the unit of focused interaction is described as an encounter (Giddens 1984, 72). All these forms of interaction take place under varying degrees of co-presence which means agents

'sense that they are close enough to be perceived in whatever they are doing, including their experiencing of others, and close enough to be perceived in this sensing of being perceived' (Goffman 1963, 17 cited in Giddens 1984, 72).

Thus, not only are the social actors aware of themselves and others but they are aware of other peoples awareness.

Although an awareness of this mutual surveillance may exist in all these circumstances it is only in the encounter — focused, face-to-face interaction of two or more individuals co-ordinating their activities through bodily posture and facial expression and sustained through talk — that the full force and range of bodily and facial cues comes into play. When such encounters take place, co-presence still includes those outside the encounter. However, in such circumstances bodily position does create a sense of enclosure, making it difficult for those outside the encounter to monitor those engaged in the encounter, and making it difficult for those engaged in the encounter to monitor what is happening around them. Encounters also help to break up or 'bracket' the activities of the day, which otherwise would be a continuous flow and the context of a space can help initiate an encounter (Giddens 1984, 73).

There are several important implications resulting from this view of the basis of everyday human relations. Firstly, social relations should not be seen as a series of static events but a discourse expressed in time-space through bodily positioning (Grahame 1995, 16). Secondly, encounters are vital to the reproduction of society. Typically, encounters occur as routines turning a seemingly trivial passing instant into something far more important and vital to social reproduction (Giddens 1984, 72). Giddens points out that these routines '*did not just happen but were made to happen*' to create and support a sense of ontological security — the belief that the natural and social world are how they appear to be — among the agents involved (1984, 72, 375). This brings us back to the duality of structure which posits that the structures of society are created by social agents who themselves are constrained by those structures. The routines, the habitual day-to-day activities of knowledgeable agents create the structure of social life. In turn architecture allows these routines to be regionalised in time-space. Activities become equated with particular spaces and particular times, while space can be equated with certain times such as a bedroom with night time or a hall with meal times. Architecture helps fix these routines for the agent and means that the routines will become even more routine.

The spatial circumstances of interaction are described by Giddens as a 'locale', a bounded area which helps to concentrate the interaction by providing a setting. This in turn creates the contextuality of the interaction by which is meant '*the situated character of interaction in time-space*' (1984, 118, 373, 374). However, the locale does not just distinguish an area as a setting for interaction, it is not just a stopping place as described by Tuan (1977) and nor is it to be identified only through physical properties. Instead the locale has an active role in the interactions; '*the features of setting are also used ... to constitute the meaningful content of the interaction*' (Giddens 1984, 119). The setting and the architecture of a locale will effect the sense of co-presence and the agents' sense of ontological security which is created out of the freedom to act within predictable circumstances. Importantly, encounters involve the spacing of bodies in relation to each other and within time-space. The shape and size of the locale, as created by architectural boundaries can influence if a face to face encounter will take place and how successful it will be.

Architecture, in its broadest sense, is a technology which alters space and our perceptions of space. Architecture does this through creating boundaries and providing access through thresholds. Movement from one space to another via a threshold creates changes in experience and perception. However, this is much more than just a demarcation of particular spaces:

'boundaries create a series of disjunctions and these influence the social characteristics of each locales in that they may be seen to be more or less "private" in comparison to others' (Grahame 1995, 25).

Interior and exterior space are described as *'two opposing domains of experience'* (Grahame 1995, 20). However, it is not just the movement from interior to exterior spaces that is important but any movement through boundaries: all boundaries create discontinuity which alter the contextuality of a space (Grahame 1995, 20). For instance, by demarcating spaces through boundaries architecture can create a sense of seclusion and real physical isolation. In part this can facilitate focused encounters between people in those spaces by stopping unwanted disturbance which may also influence the length of the encounter by making it less likely for others to interrupt. However, by providing seclusion and isolation boundaries can also make encounters less likely by reducing the chance of interaction in the first place. In the terminology of Giddens the spaces will have a low 'presence-availability' — the degree to which agents are available for an encounter — and can be associated with sense of privacy (1984, 121). A place with a high 'presence-availability' is one where there are a number of people available for meetings. This makes it more likely that an encounter will take place but these may be short lived and unfocused due to surveillance from others within space. Spaces with high 'presence availability' are associated with the lack of privacy or being a public space.

The size, form and elaboration of a threshold can accentuate the sense of a changing context. At the most general level a threshold can be a powerful deterrent to unwanted disturbance not only because access can be barred through doors and gates but at a conceptual level. Boundaries create the need for access through them, but the very existence of boundaries suggests that access through doorways is controlled. The degree to which a person feels restricted by a threshold will depend greatly upon the context of the situation. However, the size, form and decoration of doorways can act as powerful cues to inform the actor, consciously or unconsciously on the appropriate behaviour which is expected or demanded. Thus, the impressive and formal defensive gateway to a castle could have created a sense of awe or fear in the person approaching, especially as this entrance could be associated with the payment of rents and the doling out of justice. However, a back entrance, for instance a postern or service doorway into the same castle, may have none of the elaboration and none of the associations, consequently approaching this doorway may have been easier. An entrance can deny movement but its real purpose is to allow movement between spaces. A means of access acts as a focus for movement. A movement through the confines of a threshold into a wider space provides a way in which encounters and social occasions are bracketed through time-space. An encounter can

be seen to begin when the individual crossed the threshold and entered the presence chamber of a lord, a feast could be seen to have begun once the lord had entered the hall.

The situations of low and high 'presence-availability' can be associated with particular spatial forms. Grahame states interior space provides the '*objective conditions that we normally associate with being the subjective experience of being private*' while exterior space provides the '*objective conditions that we normally associate with being the subjective experience of being public*' (1995, 20-21, author's emphasis). Exterior spaces contextualise interaction in a different way to interior spaces; interaction in these circumstances lack the structure and bracketing provided by the boundaries of interior space. As a result interaction will be less focused, and take the form of gatherings rather than social occasions. Encounters, although perhaps more likely to happen through greater 'presence-availability', do not have the spatial circumstances to sustain them. However, the correlation of interior space with privacy and exterior space with public occasions is rather simplistic. There are of course many interior spaces which are public, and one can seek privacy and isolation on a deserted hillside. Interior space and exterior space create a greater disjunction than can be explained merely through privacy or lack of privacy. An interior space allows a manipulation of the senses. The movements of the individual are controlled and constrained by walls, ceiling and doorways. Sight can be impinged upon and controlled through walls, partitions, fenestration and artificial lighting, and by overwhelming the onlooker with magnificent and colourful visual displays. Hearing can be manipulated through the acoustic design of the building: voices can be accentuated, sounds can be muffled.

The discontinuity produced by boundaries also creates a sense of distance: focused interaction cannot take place between bounded spaces apart from at entrance to each (if not closed off). This makes entrances important locales, places where the individual passes '*from one domain of experience to another*' (Grahame 1995, 18). The sense of distance that is created through boundaries can, on occasion, relate to social distance; the private chamber of the lord in a castle for instance. The seclusion of a figure will reinforce the sense of social distance, while the social distance already in place would have deemed the physical seclusion appropriate, thus the architecture would act as a means to reinforce such spatial segregation although reflecting a social reality. The context and the seclusion of the locale will have an effect on the encounter; it may make the encounter less likely to happen, and heighten the impact of crossing the threshold, formalising the encounter when it occurs. An authority figure maybe secluded but this seclusion is through choice. A sign of authority is the ability to go where others cannot. The

ability to freely move around a spatial layout, when others have restrictions, is rightly described by Grahame as a power resource which allows *'the authority figure the flexibility to engage or disengage in encounters at will'* (1995,19).

The sense of public and private spaces will influence the behaviour of the individual. The concept of a persons sense of public and private can be seen to correspond to Giddens's 'front' and 'back' regions. These aspects of the self need to be regionalised in time-space if the agent is to sustain ontological security (Giddens 1984, 125). Front regions are those where the agent is in a context of co-presence which makes it difficult to break away from the perceived social constraints that the social actor learns through acculturation. In back regions, there is a sense that the agent perceives these constraints less and may feel able to exhibit a behaviour that the agent would deemed inappropriate for a front region. Bodily posture may allow an agent to feel that they are in a back region — turning one's back to belch for instance — but a more secure method is using physical barriers. This does not mean the agent is isolated from others but just isolated or sheltered *'from the ordinary demands of the monitoring of action and gesture, whereby "infantile" types of conducts are permitted'* (Giddens 1984, 129). Giddens posits that the social agent requires episodes to build trust with those they are close to, and to get rid of *'tensions deriving from the demands of tight bodily and gestural control in other settings of day-to-day life'* (Giddens 1984, 129). The sense of being in a front or back region is encouraged by architecture and the form of spaces: spaces with a high 'presence availability' can be thought of as corresponding to 'front' regions where the social actor is under the gaze of others, in an area of low 'presence availability' on the other hand, it may be easier to retreat to a 'back' region.

The work of Giddens and Goffman has shown that social interaction, and therefore the social life of the agent, is inseparable from the spatial context of the interaction, of which the built environment is one of the largest components. However, there is a qualification to this general statement on the nature of interior and exterior space. The spatial divisions provide a context for social action, it may be an active component in behaviour but it does not determine that behaviour. The knowledgeable agent has the ability to subvert the prevailing social circumstances by acting in ways that are contrary to those suggested, through acculturation, by the zoning of space-time. Challenges to particular authorities can be made by claiming access or control of particular spaces at particular times. It is in this way that space and time are involved in power relations.

The spatial context of the encounter has to be taken into consideration. It may be thought that a small, intimate space would help facilitate an encounter but if that space had a figure outside the encounter, the threat of eavesdropping may be too much and conversation ceases (Giddens 1984, 75). Alternatively, a large crowded open space may be thought a less appropriate place for an encounter, but sheer numbers of people can produce a sense of anonymity allowing people to exclude the co-presence of others almost entirely. Some spaces are so designed that gatherings, social occasion and encounters, can take place in the same space, perhaps at the same time. One example of such a space is the medieval hall in Scotland, which although a large and open space designed for social occasions, often could accommodate encounters by the creation of more intimate spaces, the window embrasures with or without seats. The use of these spaces for private conversations and the exploitation is alluded to in Castle Fraser where a 'lairds lug' or listen tube eavesdrops on a window embrasure with seats (MacGibbon & Ross 1887-92, vol. II, 230-231). Although one wonders if this device may have been more affectation than anything: the hall was a locale of high 'presence availability' but which still included secluded spaces of low 'presence availability' which could allow subversive discussion. However, due to the lairds's unlimited ability to move around the whole structure and the power resource which was a greater knowledge of the buildings layout, he was able to spy upon any such conversations.

3.5 BARRETT'S 'FIELDS OF DISCOURSE.'

The work of Giddens and Goffman provides us with another way of looking at spatial layouts which does not resort to an analogy to explain the spatial basis of human relations. Instead it roots the theory in the everyday physicality of life: the different types of human face-to-face interaction. However, both the work of Goffman, and Giddens' critique of his work, is based upon the study of actual people today. Thus, we have returned to the question of how do we relate this work to an archaeological context.

John Barrett has developed the concept of '*fields of discourse*', with concepts drawn from Giddens' Structuration, Bourdieu's habitus, time-geography and his own theories on the relation between the archaeologist, the material culture and the past social actor, in an attempt to understand the social practices that were maintained and also created by the material realities of life (Barrett 1988, 11). All these theories accept the importance of linguistics in society but accept that there are many non-linguistic knowledges through which we know the world and emphasis the significance of the practical character of daily activities and routines often learnt

through non-linguistic means. Thus, Barrett rejects the text and replaces it by the discourse. This refers to communications that

'draw upon and reproduce particular structures of knowledge, thus also reproducing relations of dominance between individuals and collectives' (Barrett 1988, 11; Bourdieu 1979).

As stated before, at its simplest social life depends upon the interaction of people with other people and with the physical reality of the world they live in. In pre-industrial societies this interaction will be characterised by *'highly localised, face to face co-presence of the participants'* (Barrett 1995, 72) — in other word encounters. To carry out such a discourse, which in such cases would be talk and the positioning of the body, requires a pragmatic understanding of the language, both linguistic and of the body, and of the context of the meeting. The relationship between the discourse and archaeological evidence is that the archaeological evidence is the remains of a past material culture which, by providing a context, guides particular forms of discourse (Barrett 1994, 19). The field is where such discourses take place. It is not just an area, but an area in space and time, and these fields contain the material conditions which structure action and are structured by action.

Thus, the field of discourse situates the actor in the time and space where encounters will take place. The space in which this happens will not be neutral but will constrain the actor. The social being will try to manipulate the encounter through such techniques as bodily posture — is the person facing you, are their backs turned on you — facial expression and tone of voice, and will use the physical demarcation of space, through architecture, to try and accentuate these factors during the encounter. Depending on the balance of power-relations one party may be able to dominate these resources to the best effect. The theory of time-space geography envisages life as a series of encounters; the individual agent has to work out a *'practical allocation of time-space to engagements between people and resources, as well as the allocation of time to the movement between each locale'* (Barrett 1994, 73). This allocation is the means by which people create, organise and view their own world, using the resources available to them (Barrett 1994, 73). This allocation is done recursively with previous encounters shaping future ones. The archaeologist cannot discover all these allocations but can suggest what possible allocations could have taken place given the material conditions.

Barrett suggests that archaeologist must go beyond the simple re-reading of archaeological evidence advocated by Grahame and others, even if the problems of the validity of that re-reading could be reconciled. Instead archaeologists should attempt to understand the recurrent

social practices, the practical routines of life, that create those remains while at the same time providing the conditions which allow those social practices to function. The concern of the archaeologist has moved away from an attempt to uncover meaning, as meanings are not inherent within the material culture but are interpreted through previous experiences and go on to create new experiences. Instead of searching for meanings in the material, archaeology should be a process of engagement with the material. Barrett sets the task for the interpretative archaeologist as to understand '*what may have been possible within certain material conditions*' (1994, 73, authors emphasis). Fraser goes even further, suggesting '*that our desire should be not so much to read the material cultural and spatial text as to "get a feel for it"*' (1996, 58, author's emphasis). This is not pure speculation; as with previous social actors, the archaeologist is constrained by the very material that they study;

'interpretative archaeology's endeavour to build workable pasts; pasts that are internally consistent and constrained by given material and historical conditions and so are potentially liveable' (Fraser 1996, 299).

Ultimately there is no body of information out there, no matter if it is documents or material culture, that constitutes 'the past'. Instead the past is of our making, a prejudiced interpretative process through our interaction with the material, influenced by our own expectations and experiences.

Graves has used '*fields of discourse*' as a device to investigate the inherently spatial quality to medieval Christian worship as practised in the English medieval parish church. Although Graves studies the fabric of parish churches, she does not do so for its own sake. Instead Graves is using the parish church to investigate the social practices that were played out within the church and through the actual fabric of the church. The architecture of the church by constraining movement not only reflected the concerns and motivations members of society, both individually and collectively, but through the spaces created in the church, became an active medium through which members of society constructed, maintained, and transformed social relations through practice. The repeated actions of humans within time and space, within a field of discourse, is what characterises a society and, to an extent, the constructs of space maintains society;

'spatial division, ease or constraints of access, the temporal location and frequency of practice, and any material objects used, all become imbued with cultural meaning through that practice, forming media through which people recognise their own status relative to others. Thus, the individual becomes socialised within the culture of the group,

whilst at the same time the group and its cultural values are reproduced' (Graves 1989, 299).

Those interest groups or individuals who were able to advance a specific understanding to the exclusion of any other interpretations were those in positions of power and authority, while those on the wrong end of the power relations often tried to alter the dominant material culture in an attempt to improve their position (Barrett 1988; Gilchrist 1994, 16). Graves believes that the discourse of authority established by the church, through the control of certain spaces and the exclusion or inclusion of the laity during the central Christian observance was a reaction against interference in the religious discourse from the laity; the laity were perceived to be invading the space of the church through patronage. Certain powerful individuals or groups, including laity and clergy, were able to establish their interpretation of the knowledge being expressed through the church, by excluding other groups from spaces both physically and through representations.

3.6 TEXTUAL EVIDENCE AND MATERIAL CULTURE.

The approach of Graves demonstrates the power of the '*fields of discourse*' as a theoretical device concentrating on the uncovering of social practices rather than meanings; it emphasises the processes by which meanings were created rather than the uncovering of the actual meanings. Graves's work is important as it takes an avowedly theoretical position in its treatment of material culture from an historical period and does not shy away from using textual evidence alongside archaeological. Graves uses documentary evidence, such as liturgical tracts, to illuminate the particular forms of movement which would take place within the space of the church, especially those of the priest during mass. His actions during the mass were vital to the progress of the discourse of the mass and in doing so, he reinforced his own position within the dominant power relations. With his body, the priest was able to include or exclude the congregation from the ritual; the priest demonstrated his mediation between the laity and God by talking to God and the congregation in turn, altering the position of his body as he did so (Graves 1989, 308).

The existence of written sources have a dramatic effect on our ability to understand past social practices from the material culture which was once actively created by those social practices and was active in creating them. The theoretical developments which have occurred within the discipline of archaeology have been generally restricted to pre-history and have not considered the role of documents in our ability to understand past social practices through past

material culture. However, the 'fields of discourse' is a device or a way of understanding material culture and as such the main precepts of the theory are not altered through the existence of textual evidence. Rather than negating the usefulness of theories such as 'fields of discourse', Graves's work demonstrates that documentary sources add an extra dimension to our understanding of past social practices. Contemporary documents offer contemporary concepts of what social practices were possible within certain material conditions. This can be clearly seen in Graves's study of the parish church; without a knowledge of medieval Christianity and liturgy this study would have been very different, lacking a degree of depth. Graves is able to discuss the actual physical actions of a medieval priest and how his bodily movements and the architecture of the church created a discourse of power only because of the existence of liturgical tracts which describe the role of the priest.

Archaeological evidence may be unhelpful in answering historical questions, just as historical sources are unhelpful in answering archaeological questions. However this is not something inherent in the evidence but is the fault of the archaeologist. If both types of evidence are to be used in conjunction they have to be conceptualised in a different manner. Just as material sources are no longer thought of as a record but as material remains created by social practices and active in the reproduction of social practices, written sources can also be used to demonstrate social practices. Barrett's comment that '*historical analysis is more than a simple re-reading of the surviving fragments*' is as true of textual evidence as it is of material evidence. Written sources cannot be ignored as some archaeologists, such as Grahame, have advocated. Grahame suggests that the only sources that are of any use are those that refer directly to the spatial layout that is being studied (1995, 6). Graves, of course, was in the fortunate position to have just this, good architectural evidence and good documentary evidence. However, this is an exceptional case, usually there is no correspondence between the material and textual evidence. However, if we were to ignore all the sources that did not deal directly with the spatial layouts we were concerned with, we would fooling ourselves that it had not already influenced our expectations of the material. This would also ignore the role of written sources in providing us with a context for material culture and constraints on our speculation. Written sources can also allow us a degree of understanding of the meanings that material remains would have had to individuals; textual evidence gives us a means through which we can translate the language of past material culture (Barrett 1988, 6; Deetz 1977; Glassie 1975; Leone 1984).

This brings us back to the question of meaning. What is being said here is that there is a different quality to both textual evidence and material evidence; material evidence is not a text and it does not preserve knowledge in the same way as a text does. Material evidence is far more ambiguous with so many more interpretative possibilities than any text (Fraser 1996, 56). We have made a distinction between the theories of Derrida and Ricoeur, accepting Ricoeur's analogy for text when dealing with actual text but preferring Derrida's more ambiguous metaphor when looking at material culture. A historical text has come from the past and seems to talk to us directly from the past. It has an ability to break away from the author and the context of its production, floating free in time. There has to be a process of interpretation both of the meaning in the text and of the context of authorship.

3.7 CONCLUSIONS

Having explored some of the issues and problems of studying past material culture and especially spatial layouts and buildings in a historical period, this section will come to some conclusions, setting out the theoretical basis for this study.

In the introduction to this chapter it was stated that possible biographies of those living in and around the castle would be created. The above discussion has considered problems which must be address if we are to answer the question, 'how are we to know these past social actors who inhabited the castle?' To an extent the fact that we are referring to 'possible biographies' points out that we will never truly know the people we wish to get close to. However, through interpreting material culture, including spatial layouts, an understanding of the social practices of people can be approached, we can 'get a feeling' for those possible lives, liveable within those material conditions, and at least possible within the general socio-historical context provided through historical documents.

In the built environment the voice of the builder or architect or patron, the author, may seem to speak loudest. Their intentions and desires — informed by the society they lived in — were consciously and unconsciously express through the architecture and the spaces they created or had created. The authorship of a building may seem obvious, we may have a name to ascribe the building to, but the actual act of authorship or creation is a complex issue. The actual process of design and building is not well understood: the role of the patron and the master mason in the overall planning and design of the castle is unclear. Thus, in addition to the search of the possible intentions of the builder or patron we are also looking for the possible

social relations which may have taken place within those buildings. The designed functionality of a building is an important aspect of peoples' lives but these everyday aspects of a building all have cultural and social significance beyond utilitarian functions. How people lived in buildings — the nature of how they entered the building, the characteristics of where they cooked, where they ate, where they slept and the nature of how they moved around the building — can tell us as much about how people related to one another as it does about the liveability, the comfort and the defensive capability of a building.

This moves beyond looking at the building to interpret the individual motives of the builder or architect or patron, but looks at human relations, or social practices, and a person's understanding of '*knowing how to go on*'. We shall investigate how the routines of life were possibly zoned in space-time and how architecture through structuring routines, was a force in ordering social life. To do this we will exploit both the material culture, the actual castles themselves, and the context provided by documentary sources. The material culture provides the specifics of the study, the biographical material; the spaces created by the routines and which then sustained the routines. However, the actual specific nature of the social relations and the routines of life will be suggested by documentary evidence. We will not give the documentary evidence primacy, and where the spatial evidence does not correspond with the documentary alternative possibilities will be suggested.

PART TWO — METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES.

3.8 INTRODUCTION — WHY USE SPATIAL ANALYSIS?

The preceding part of this chapter has discussed the ways in which human existence is constituted in time-space and how architecture, as a method of zoning time-space, has an active role in shaping human actions while itself being created and reproduced by those routine actions. Having discussed the concepts which have shaped the understanding of the ways human societies are structured, the ways in which people relate to material culture and the built environment and what role it plays in human existence, and the ways that we as archaeologists and historians relate to past material culture and documents, it is now vital that the methods of interpretation used to illuminate these relationships should be clearly explained. From this basis, the choice of the most appropriate of these methods can be assessed. The study proposes to investigate the spatial layouts of Scottish castles, using both formal and informal, or experiential, methods of analysis. Partly this will provide information on the pragmatic aspects

of castle planning such as the integration of different phases of building and defensive arrangements, and the domestic aspects of living in castles such as food preparation, accommodation and service arrangements. However, alongside these everyday aspects, the more ritualistic monement in life will also be investigated. Using the term coined by Bourdieu, the '*habitus*' of the castle will be investigated.

3.8.1 Experiential approaches.

This thesis uses formal methods of spatial analysis to assist in what is an interpretative process. The formal methods employed will be restricted to various diagrammatical representations of the castles intended to reduce the complexity of a building plan and emphasis various features such as access and form. These formal methods will be combined with a thorough knowledge of the buildings. Before discussing the formal methodologies in detail we have to addresses the question of why use formal methods at all — why not have an experiential or even a phenomenological approach to the study? Such approaches may seem more in tune with the theoretical stance that has been set out above, while approaches advocating formal methods of analysis have been associated with more deterministic concepts of the role of architecture in social life; form follows function, so by investigating form we can understand function. What is more the very representation of the built environment in diagrammatical form can be said to be problematic.

Archaeological site plans, floor plans and even photographs of historic buildings are often regarded as objective representations of a physical reality, when in fact they are products of an interpretative and abstractive process (Fraser 1996, 52). Rather than getting us closer to past social actors, we engage with the remains of the material world they inhabited with yet another layer of abstraction in place. An archaeologist will attempt to 'know' a site or a building its floor plan, in a way unrecognisable to the original occupant. The original occupants understood the building through having been brought up in it, living in it and experiencing it, inhabiting those spaces. Fraser, in her study of neolithic chambered cairns in the northern British Isles, presents a '*methodology of inhabiance.*' This involves an intense physical engagement, visual and bodily, with the material, both in the wider landscape and up close, seeing how it constrains the body, enables or restricts movement, all working together to create a workable and liveable neolithic in the present (1996, 62). This methodology may result in the stating of what seems obvious. However, it is often the obvious that is overlooked by the archaeologist, what is obvious is often everyday routine of life (1996, 64).

3.8.2 Formal approaches.

To return to the initial question, why should this study then not dispense with diagrammatical representations of space altogether and take on board a truly experiential or phenomenological approach? The use of the more formal methods of investigation does reject the experiential critique: instead a middle course can be steered which takes on board the advantages inherent in informal and formal methodologies. Grahame, in advocating a formal analysis of Pompeiian houses, tries to circumvent the problem of using methods that create a very different type of understanding to that of the original inhabitants by pointing out that we are asking very different questions of the spatial layout. The original inhabitants understood the buildings through living in them, an experience we cannot replicate. However, this study argues that we should try and approach an everyday understanding of the castle; we are attempting to know how people possibly could have lived within the constraints of their material world, we are trying to uncover the obvious and routine.

The role of the formal methods of analysis in this study is to support an experiential understanding of the castle rather than replace it. The analyses are deemed necessary because of the spatial complexity of the castles. The chambered cairns investigated by Fraser are comparatively simple structures: they are readily described and it is easy for both the archaeologist and the reader to think themselves familiar with the workings of such monuments. However, even in Fraser's study certain visual representation were used to aid both the author and the reader. Castles, compared to cairns, are a far more complicated series of discrete and intercommunicating spaces not only in physical terms but in their functional complexity. As a structure, the castle was involved in a whole range of domestic and ritualistic routines that formed the whole world of a great many people. The complexity of the material world that was a castle is difficult to describe and requires graphical aids. It is also difficult for the reader to gain a degree of familiarity through written description alone. Thus, graphic representations have at least three roles: firstly, to provide a structure for the initial analysis and interpretation of the castle; secondly to help structure the discussion of the castle and thirdly to aid the reader in following the discussion.

One could suggest that a simple floor plan would suffice and that there is no need for further abstractions in terms of formal spatial analysis. However, the techniques used in this study simplify the representation of the spatial layouts even more than a plan, therefore helping

interpretation and understanding. The analyses also emphasise particular aspects of the layout, such as access, form and routes of communication. These factors, among many, constrain how people operate within the buildings and must be taken into account in any interpretation. These characteristics are especially important for the investigation of the more pragmatic and everyday aspects of building use, rather than the ritual or symbolic. The reduction of the built form to basic components — access and communication — allows seemingly very different buildings to be compared. Comparison can be very difficult if relying purely on the experience of a building, and becomes more difficult as the building becomes more complex. Finally, as we will see in Chapter Four documentary sources demonstrate that some rooms within Scottish Royal Palaces and some Scottish castles were arranged in a sequential pattern with increasing restrictions on access. Thus, investigating the organisation of rooms and the access arrangements of those spaces is not looking at the buildings in a way that the original occupants would have thought strange; rather it is more likely it was considered the obvious way to arrange rooms. Looking at the access arrangements of castles may be one way of seeking out the context and meanings behind castle design and form.

3.9 THE PROCESS OF ANALYSIS.

This study will use two forms of analysis: access analysis, based on the work of Hillier and Hanson (1982) and planning diagrams, first developed by Faulkner (1958) to provide a formal method for investigating the planning arrangements of castles. Each method will be discussed separately in terms of their developmental history, their theoretical background, the practical application of each method and the problems involved. The final section will briefly discuss composite analysis which borrows elements from both access analysis and planning diagrams. However, before looking at each of the analytical methods to be used, we will investigate shape grammar. This is very different form of spatial analysis from the graphical ones used in this study, but which has been used both in historic building and archaeological contexts and whose theory has had wider influence. Shape grammar will not be used here, and the reasons why it is deemed inappropriate will be explained.

3.10 SHAPE GRAMMAR.

Shape grammar is both a descriptive and an interpretative process, and the fullest use of shape grammar in a historic building context has been made by the folklorist Henry Glassie in his study of middle Virginian folk housing (1975) and in an archaeological context by Robin Boast in his study of megalithic tombs in Orkney (1987). Each study employed shape grammar to different ends: Glassie tries to use it to get into the mind of the middle Virginian farmer-builder, or in his own words as '*a compassionate attempt to explain the structure of alien thought*' (1975, 40), while Boast uses it to explain a typology of a series of particular monuments in Orkney.

Equally both authors chose shape grammar for different reasons. Glassie was informed by structural linguistics and the belief that speech and the manufacture of artefacts and architecture were the result of the same cognitive processes. As a result artefacts or architecture can be studied in similar terms to linguistics by looking at the generative grammar and creating an architectural competence (Glassie 1975, 18-19). These rules are unconsciously held by the farmer-builder, who learns the rules through experiencing the architecture around him (Glassie 1975, 41, 67). In the words of Glassie, the farmer-builder '*is not a copyist but a fluent practitioner*' (1975, 67). Boast's use of shape grammar is grounded in an alternative theoretical tradition. He does not make the same connection between language and the creation of rules but emphasises the importance of understanding the context in which an object is used. He believes that the reduction of a spatial layout to either its form or its relational aspects fragments such an understanding. According to Boast, if we are to view a structure as a social construction we have to produce a methodology which integrates both elements. He has gone on to point out that it is often the relational aspects of the built environment that are emphasised in formal graphical spatial analyses, with form being either ignored or treated as a mere addendum. He concludes that by providing a method of representing both the access arrangements of a structure and the form of the access and of the spaces which create the structure, shape grammar produces the best fit between relation and form. However, this does not fully integrate these elements; they are both regarded as important but still distinct, as relations result from the form of the structure (Boast 1987, 465). Both authors, however, point to the thoroughness of the method and its ability to show that changes and similarities were real, rather than the imagined. To discuss shape grammar further, we will first see what the process entails and then look at the work of each author and the relative success and failure of the method.

At its simplest shape grammar is a process by which rules which determine the basic constructional building units of the structures are described in their simplest terms. These units

can then be arranged in a variety of ways to create whole structures. Thus, although several buildings may seem very different, they can have the same underlying grammar, or competence. The single rules are combined together to make a variety of structures as one would make a variety of sentences using words and the rules of grammar. For convenience the rules of a grammar are expressed in a mathematical notation; in the case of Middle Virginian housing Glassie has shown that the architectural base structure was limited to X , Z , XY_2 , XY_1 , XX , XY_3X , where X is either a square, or a square plus or minus one half a unit, Z a square plus a unit or plus a unit and a half. Y is a square minus a unit, Y_2 square minus two units and Y_3 is a square minus two and a half or minus three units. There are in total eight rule sets which cover all the different possibilities to be found in the 156 houses surveyed by Glassie indicating the base structure, the positioning of the doors, windows, chimneys, stairs and extensions. The rules of competence are viewed as the steps taken to design the actual houses and one can measure the degree to which actual houses fulfil the design criteria of the competency (Glassie 1975, 43). Innovation and change within the architectural competence occur by various mechanisms; there will be constant and minor variations in the practice of the competency by the farmer-builder which will bring about small changes, while in the true structuralist mould larger changes result from wider changes in society (Glassie 1975, 67, 89).

Boast's discussion of the chambered tombs of Orkney is perhaps a rather more understandable example of the use of shape grammar. He has produced a graphic representation of the Orkney megalithic grammar which consists of one initial shape, a square, and a series of eleven transformational rules which translate the square into the all of the forms and access arrangements found within Orkney megaliths. From these rules, each tomb can be described as a rule sequence, for example the tomb of Quanterness has the rule sequence $2[2[5'14][5'14][4]+[2[5'14][5'14]5'14]]$, while Midhowe has a sequence $(51)^{13}$ (the numbers in bold are those which signify points of access) (Boast 1987, 461). The rules are put together to create the form of the building in such a way that access between the different spaces can also be identified. Thus in the simplest of the tombs, Midhowe, has a rule sequence $(51)^{13}$. This means that **5**, a means of access made of two facing orthostats is succeeded by **1**, a simple square space made up of orthostats and this sequence is repeated 13 times to create the overall structure of the tomb (Boast 1987, 461).

The use of shape highlights particular problems in interpreting standing remains, such as difficulties in measuring architectural change and in achieving valid comparisons between buildings of differing dimensions, while going on to offer ideas towards solving these problems.

There is no overall scale in any of the notations, thus the concept of the grammar allows any similar structures of any dimension to be compared. Shape grammar emphasises the primacy of the basic form of the house, with decoration and additions stripped away. Again this allows superficially different buildings to be compared and to identify real changes and differences in the structures, rather than those created by architectural decoration and embellishment (Glassie 1975, 116).

Turning to the conclusions reached in these two studies, Glassie points out that housing and other domestic structures are not merely buildings which fulfil various environmental and functional criteria, and rejects functionalism. Glassie has noted that the housing in Virginia gradually became less effective in moderating the harsh climate of the region: roofs became lower, doors narrower, windows smaller, while porches came and went and dormers in the attic eventually disappeared, all of which trapped heat within the buildings. Houses were situated along and facing the road no matter the exposure and the prevailing winds. Thus, there was obviously more to the structure of the house in Middle Virginia than mere functionalism.

Glassie employs shape grammar to show that actual change took place within the competence and then relates these changes to the historical context of the period. He uses the tendencies he believes the architecture demonstrates, to create the changing world view of white male late eighteenth century Middle Virginia. In particular he emphasises the manner in which house forms move from architectural extensiveness to intensiveness combined with an increasing emphasis on symmetry. He sees this as demonstrating an increase in control and as signs of stress in Tidewater society in this period: conflict with England, declining tobacco prices, religious and intellectual uncertainties and a growing black slave population. The rich in society could deal with and prosper in such conditions, they had the wealth to employ more slaves and still make a profit from tobacco and it was they who seized political control after the British had left. The majority of Virginian farmer-builders were in a far less secure position. Their livelihood was under attack, nothing was certain, the rich were richer and black slaves were helping destroy their world. The house as a mediator between the farmer and the rest of society was used as a buttress against these changes; the house frontage was a mask giving little information on the human occupants, while the similar house types and the lack of decoration disguised differences in social status; a poor Virginian may have had a smaller house than another, but by employing what was in effect a '*partial representation*' of the type which could be later expanded to create a full representation, a pronouncement of hopeful improvement in the owners social and economic position was made. As the world became less certain a place,

the middling Virginian farmer-builder sought to try and keep their way of life intact through control, thus we find the emphasis on symmetry, enclosure and artificiality in the housing types (Glassie 1977, 187).

In theoretical terms Glassie's work may at first sight remind one of Bourdieu and Giddens, with his farmer-builder as a *'fluent practitioner'*, his assertion that architecture is more than just a reflection of social realities and that the farmer-builder could elicit change through small variations (Glassie 1975, 115). However, Glassie is still constrained by the structuralist straight-jacket: he does not explain how the structure is initially created and his farmer-builder can hardly be considered a knowledgeable agent. Rather than acknowledging the knowledgeable agent he instead tries to provide an all encompassing world view, so that *'all the old houses down in middle Virginia were products of the same mind at work'* (Glassie 1975, 40). Glassie goes no further than recognising this stress and its causes, and the belief that the new house forms were a means of easing or disguising the tensions in society. He says nothing of how ideologies work in the recreation of the social structure in every day life, how power and control were manifest and how such authority could have been reinforced or challenged. Glassie is so confident in his knowledge of Tidewater society that he can state;

'How did the farmer-builder treat his wife and children?... The most informed guess paints an unpleasant scene. We do know how he treated nature and we do know how he treated his own energies: he held them both under fearful control' (Glassie 1977, 162)

In this statement Glassie destroys any individualism and freedom of action the Virginian farmer-builder may have had even in the most intimate of his relationships; his family, those he loved. Finally, while Glassie rejects simple functionalism, he himself can be accused of explaining the changes that his methodology demonstrated in a simple cause and effect manner between historical events and resulting changes in architecture (Scot 1990, 164).

Turning to Boast's work, it is difficult to work out why he actually used shape grammar rather than using an experiential approach. His sample consisted of only three simple tombs, all of which could have been easily described and experienced, without going into the complexities of shape grammar. The features he describes such as the segregation of the internal spaces of the tombs and the treatment of the dead could have been pointed out without the use of shape grammar.

If we turn from the actual use of shape grammar to discuss why this method has been rejected in this study, the reasons will hopefully already be apparent within the context of this

chapter. To begin with, the process of shape grammar cannot be used in an experiential study as shape grammar is a search for unwritten rules which create structure. These method emphasises the building of the structure rather than the experience of living in the structure. One cannot even say that it is an attempt to get in the mind of the author, the builder, as the rules are not those of the individual but of society as a whole, which are somehow mysteriously contained within the structure of society.

As important as the theoretical problems are the difficulties associated with the actual process of shape grammar. The process is nothing if not complex with none of the benefits for understanding that one gets from a map or graph; it certainly does not aid the reader in understanding architectural space. The three worked examples used by Boast are all simple tombs with only a few differentiated spaces all on one level, yet the notations are still confusing. Even the most simple tower will have far more complex architectural spaces repeated on several different levels. A huge list of rules would be required to deal with all the different forms of space and access. It is also not clear how one would produce a transformation which would take into account a straight stair or a newel stair. The method may take into account access but seems to ignore the main advantage of access analysis; it is impossible to compare the depth of spaces within a building using shape grammar. In spite of the complex methodology of shape grammar one suspects that the conclusions made by both authors could have been produced without it.

The process, thus far, seems too cumbersome for the investigation of castles. It also appears that much of the information that Boast deems important in the grammar could be included within more accessible forms of diagrammatic representation. In the transformational rules for the megalith the differing forms of access — orthostats or lay passages — are defined by simple symbols (Boast 1987, 459). There seems to be nothing to stop a graphical representation of differing forms of access with a system of symbols and keys. This appears to be the best solution despite Boast's argument that such a course of action is

'the old cartographer's trick of representing qualitative data on an otherwise quantitative map ... relation is all important in any map and form can only 'colour' the representation' (Boast 1987, 460).

I believe that it is preferable to resort to this *'old cartographers trick'* to try and bring congruence between form and relative access, rather than use an analysis which relies upon two levels of abstraction, the last one being numerical. The discussion will now move on to examine techniques that are map like, their form designed to help both the investigation of the spatial

layout and the reader to follow the investigation. The first technique is access analysis, a relational mapping system, the second involves planning diagrams which map both form and communication between spaces. These methods include symbols which show the nature of access and the amenities of the spaces.

3.11 ACCESS ANALYSIS.

Access Analysis was formulated by Hillier and Hanson in the early 1980s as part of a growing emphasis on the use of graph theory in the fields of environmental/behavioural studies and architecture and design to help in the representation of buildings and especially the spaces within buildings.

3.11.1 Graph Theory.

Graph theory brought about essentially relational or topological representations of spaces within structures. By this it is meant that a 'real' map, such as an architect's plans, are simplified to produce graphs or diagrams which exhibit the relationships between elements in the spatial structure whether it be adjacency or access. The form of the spaces are reduced in the graph to dots or vertices, while the relations between them are represented by lines or edges (Steadman 1971, 242). The most widely known relational diagram or map is that of the London Underground; this shows the various routes to stations in the network but has no regard for the distance between the stations or the layout of the stations themselves. Such a diagram only represents the various routes one is able to take to and from the various points (the train stations). This is a very simple use of graph theory but underlies much of the work done in the field. Nonetheless it suggests one main use for such diagrams; identifying circulation patterns not only round a network of stations but also around a building.

3.11.2 Theoretical Basis of Access Analysis.

The main development in graph theory as an interpretative tool in the study of architectural space is Hillier and Hanson's gamma-analysis, more commonly known as access analysis (Hillier & Hanson 1984). The use of graphs in this case appears to have developed after the establishment of the theory of space syntax which is described as

'a set of techniques for the representation, quantification and interpretation of spatial configuration in buildings and settlements ... The theory of "space syntax" is that it is

primarily – though not only – through spatial configuration that social relations and processes express themselves in space’ (Hillier et al 1987, 363)

There are several important elements in this statement which must be clarified. Firstly, Hillier *et al* emphasis spatial configuration rather than spatial relations and make the point that the former is much more complex than the latter. Configuration does not just express a relation between two spaces but also takes into account a third space and therefore the rest of the network. Secondly, the concept of space is rooted in a theoretical understanding emphasising social relations; spatial arrangements are not just seen as a mathematical or architectural conundrum. Rather spatial configurations are seen as inherent in the social world. It is this emphasis which has made access analysis a popular tool amongst archaeologists and architectural historians such as Foster (1989), Fairclough (1990), Grahame (1995), Markus (1993), and Scott (1990) as it offers a formal method of looking at standing remains or even just plans, as long as doorways are more or less intact. Hillier and Hanson offer the opportunity to interpret the social relations contained within the remains archaeologists study. However, as we will see, most of the archaeologists who have used Hillier and Hanson’s methodology have done so partially, rejecting the theoretical basis which guided the methodology. The problems inherent in Hillier and Hanson’s theoretical stance will be discussed prior to an investigation of whether their methodology can be used if the theory has been rejected. Finally, the methodology and its problems will be described.

While one must agree that spatial layouts relate in some way to social action and social relations, the manner in which Hillier *et al* go about this task initially seems simplistic, deterministic and reflective. The starting point for space syntax was the ‘discovery’ or formulation of a morphic language. Neither natural language nor mathematics alone were deemed appropriate to the study of space organisation and social structure (Hillier *et al* 1976, 152). Their answer according was to create a language which borrowed elements from both but discarded those which were deemed to be inappropriate (Hillier *et al* 1976, 149; Hillier & Hanson 1984, 49). As a result of this combination the morphic language emphasises syntax above anything else as patterns provide meaning and meaning

‘is only the abstract structure of the pattern. Morphic languages are the realisation of abstract structure in the real world. They convey ‘meaning’, not in the sense of representing something else, but only in the sense of constituting a pattern’ (Hillier et al 1978, 152).

There are distinct similarities between Glassie’s and Hillier and Hanson’s work. Both come from a structuralist background accepting a link between language and society and emphasising

what one could call grammar or syntax; the combinational rules of language. The linguistic theory of Saussure describes one element of language as a series of signs, made up of a signifier (sound image or graphic equivalent) and a signified (a concept or meaning). The relationship between these is arbitrary and determined by the conventions of society. Thus meaning depends on a sign being different from other signs rather than the inherent meaning in the sign (Saussure 1960). Hillier and Hanson, in accepting this, have moved to another element of language to get around the problem of arbitrary meaning; thus meaning has become a search for patterns in order to identify syntaxes. However, rather than searching for patterns of words and the rules which organise them into sentences, Hillier and Hanson, in a similar fashion to Glassie, are searching for the combinatorial rules by which architecture organises space.

From the syntactic rules Hillier et al produced eight levels of syntax and these were identified with actual anthropologically known societies (1976, 180). The lowest level related to tribal societies and as settlement patterns 'evolved' the syntax increases until level eight where space has become extraordinarily controlled (e.g. a prison or a lunatic asylum) (Hillier *et al* 1976). At this stage space syntax borrowed much from Durkhiem's theory of mechanical and organic solidarity. This states that societies are divided into those which rely upon physical proximity for a sense of being — organic — and those which have an artificial bond — mechanical — such as belonging to a specific religion, guild, kinship or political party and can be geographically a wide and disparate group of people (Hillier *et al* 1976, 180-181). Space syntax directly relates to Durkhiem's duality; the odd numbered syntaxes are considered to be distributed, where every element plays an equal part in the construction of the pattern. At the lowest distributed syntax, 1-syntactic level, the settlement pattern is dispersed, yet the society is extremely integrated through kinship, or religion — mechanically solidarity. At the highest distributed syntax, 7-syntactic level, the settlement pattern is now a compact urban street pattern where society is integrated not through symbolic means but physical proximity — organic solidarity. The opposite is found when non-distributed settlement patterns are investigated; the even syntaxes. In non-distributed patterns there is always an element of outside control which prevails over the total system; a boundary which in a sense contains the spaces. The lowest level of non-distributed syntax, 2-syntactic level, consists of a closed cell; on an individual level it could be a room. Within such an area there will be social integration through proximity — organic solidarity. The opposite is true of the highest non-distributed syntax; level eight. In such circumstances as in a prison a complex social order is replaced by spatial control. In between each of these extremes, the balance between the social (mechanical) and the spatial (organic) will vary to encompass a huge variety of spatial configurations (Hillier 1976 *et al* 181-184).

This appears to be rather simplistic; if the whole of human settlement is to be reduced to eight classifications will these classifications become so broad that they are in effect meaningless. Leach in his critique of space syntax notes that 3-syntax level is identified with multiplex societies: small and spatially integrated with a great deal of daily interaction between community members in a wide variety of situations. As such this syntax level covers a whole variety of urban settlement patterns from a wide range of different societies, including parts of London (Leach 1978, 387). This is a prime example of the blunderbuss strategy Hillier et al go in for. However not only do they oversimplify but in the case of multiplex relationships they have misinterpreted the original meaning of the phrase used to denote

'the characteristics of a face to face society, where the same individuals interact in many different roles' (Leach 1978, 387).

Such societies are common throughout the anthropological record, and according to Leach, have no relationship to any of the space syntax levels set out by Hillier *et al* or to Durkheim's mechanical or organic solidarity. More importantly it appears that the relationship between societies and spatial layouts is envisaged by Hillier *et al* as a purely reflective one: the *'social is reflected in the spatial'* (Grahame 1995, 52; Leach 1978, 387-8).

Grahame accepts that Hillier *et al* had a problem in explaining how the spatial order represented by the syntaxes came into being, a failing already identified in Glassie's work. However, in his defence of Hillier and Hanson's theory and method, Grahame puts this failing down to *'work in progress'* (1995, 53). Most of the criticisms have been levelled against their early work and do not take into account its full fruition in *'The Social Logic of Space'* (1984) probably because of the impenetrability of this work. In this publication the eight levels of syntax were dropped and more emphasis was placed on space syntax as a system of rules which place restrictions on the way space can be but do not determine every aspect of the specific spatial layout. Thus, spatial layouts may appear superficially different, yet may be organised by the same underlying rules. Thus, just as Glassie identified one particular space grammar underpinning seemingly different spatial layouts in eighteenth century middle Virginian houses, Hillier and Hanson have identified a space syntax that explains the variety of layouts found in different hamlets in the Vaucluse area of France (Hillier & Hanson 1984, 61).

In explaining space syntax Hillier and his colleagues borrowed concepts not only from linguistics but from genetics, in particular the concept of the self replicating and mutating gene. This saw a move away from attempting to describe spatial layouts as the outcome of structure

and towards the genetic demand to account for the origins of such structure and its reproduction (Grahame 1995, 52). According to Hillier and Hanson work, it is vital to the understanding of how structure arises, to recognise that the global form of a layout could be created by the application of rules locally. Returning to the biological analogy of Hillier and Hanson, the genotype (or the organising rule or principle) produces the overall form of the spatial configuration, or the phenotype, the actual physical realisation of the rule. However, the genotype works locally, structuring the addition and removal of elements to the existing structure, thus reproducing the genotype and hence the overall global form. All the principles which make up the genotype may not be found in every phenotype and thus individual structures will demonstrate the dominant genotype to differing degrees, allowing variation within the layout. Any phenotype, or layout, is only one of a number of possible outcomes that could be generated by the genotype (Hillier *et al* 1987, 381-382; Grahame 1995, 53).

The genetic analogy also informs Hillier and Hanson's concept of how a society is reproduced. This adapts the concept of the biological genotype so that, rather than containing a transmissible description of the system, it has a mechanism which permits it to retrieve a description of the system; it becomes an '*inverted genotype*' (Hillier & Hanson 1984, 45). According to Hillier and Hanson this retrieval system is vital as

'rules only exist when an abstract "description" is retrieved from an event and then re-embodied in another such event. The fundamental concept is consequently "reproduction" and not the "rule"' (Grahame 1995, 54).

The information retrieved is not somehow internal to structure but lies in the physicality of the real world (Hillier & Hanson 1984, 44). This suggests that a society, or a discrete system, would constantly reproduce itself in its own image; society and the spatial layouts created by society would remain stable. This is in part accepted by Hillier and Hanson who seem to argue that a society is ahistorical; *'it tends to conserve the present and have no regard for the past'* (1984, 44). They suggest that the stability of the structure lies in the fact that it is reproduced *'through an enormous number and variety of real spatio-temporal behaviours by its individual members, including those ordering space itself'* (1984, 44). Rather than suggesting stability, this seems to suggest a mechanism for change. Constant reproduction will tend to result in small but significant changes, something which Hillier and Hanson seem to refute; *'an inverted genotype must be constantly re-embodied in social action if it is not to vanish or mutate'* (1984, 45). Change only occurs because of outside influences or because of the deliberate and conscious actions of individuals (1984, 44). The individual can read structure and go on to *'re-invent it'*, they have the ability to interpret the structure (1984, 206).

Despite their concept of the nature of structure — which is problematic as the mechanisms for reproduction still appear simplistic and deterministic: it nevertheless has '*internal laws*'. The premise of their work remains that spatial order must equal social order — the irreconcilable problem in all of Hillier and Hanson's work is that they believe that there is a knowledge inherent in material culture; '*cultural ideas are objectively present in artefacts as much as they are subjectively present in minds*' (Hillier et al 1987, 363). By employing access analysis they believe that they can objectively 'read' this knowledge, the knowledge of the organising principles which lie behind the spatial layout. From preceding arguments it should be obvious that this notion is rejected in this study; there is no meaning inherent in a spatial layout, rather multiple meanings are created through the interpretation of individuals. The search for a genotype or space syntax is of doubtful benefit and is theoretically unsound. The problem of using language as an analogy for action has already been raised, and Fraser has noted that a working understanding of a language does not really depend upon a thorough knowledge of syntax or vocabulary '*so much as the practice of language in context*' (1996, 58). Rather, interpretation should be an attempt to come to an understanding of how people lived within a building and how that building was active in guiding the social relations. Having discussed the theory behind space syntax it is not easy to see how the discovery of genotypes actually helps in investigating this aspect of social relations from spatial layouts. To see the connections we will investigate a case study by Hillier *et al* on Normandy farmhouses. In doing so, it will be demonstrated that access analysis can be used in an experiential manner rather than in a search for genotype. As a result the mapping element can be legitimately used without the theoretical background proposed by Hillier and Hanson.

In a study of seventeen Normandy farmhouses Hillier *et al* identified two genotype tendencies or organising principals. The first, and most prominent, was based around a highly integrated *salle commune*, a multi-functional living room. When this genotype was exhibited this room was the most integrated space, although, in general, there was a high degree of integration internally between living space and working space. This was combined with a high degree of integration between exterior and the interior: there was more than one entrance to the house. The vestibule or lobby was central to the configuration of the other genotype, creating greater internal segregation and isolating the exterior from the interior (Hillier *et al* 1987, 379).

The two genotypes were discovered through access analysis, in conjunction with a variety of statistical measures which appear rather redundant since patterns identified are clearly visible in

the access graphs. However, how does the identification of the genotype lead Hillier *et al* to formulate any conclusion on the nature of social relations? In the discussion of Normandy farmhouses the link is made in a section entitled '*interpretative speculation*' (Hillier *et al* 1987, 382). Despite their claims for an objective reading of spatial layouts, they go on to it is recognise that an understanding of its social significance is an interpretative process which is informed by an understanding of the context of the layout. In this section, Hillier *et al* go beyond the genotype and use access analysis to investigate experiential concepts of space, particularly those generated by movement through a building and the impact of the intervisibility of different spaces. The spatial information gained from the access graphs would be illuminating in the context of understanding buildings and the routines of life within particular buildings; there is no need to create a genotype. It appears possible then to separate access analysis from the theory of space syntax. Access analysis can help explicate routes of movement through structures, barriers to such movement, the distance between different spaces, measured in spaces; this creates a picture of the spatial context in which human interaction may take place within a built environment.

3.11.3 The Process of Analysis.

Access analysis produces graphs made up of vertices and edges; the vertices represent space by dots with connecting edges, or lines, to represent access or permeability between these spaces; in other words doorways or hatchways. Figure 3-1 shows the plan of a simple building. Figure 3-2 shows the translation of the spatial layout to an access diagram. The spaces have been divided into normal spaces (the solid circles) and transition spaces (the empty circles). A transition space is a space primarily used for moving between spaces, whereas a normal space has a function apart from one of communication between other spaces. Access analysis differs from a purely relational diagram by the fact that it is weighted; the diagram is drawn while taking into consideration a particular point relative to all the others. This point is described as the carrier space and is represented by a circle within a circle. This space is usually not within the boundary of the building but rather is the outside; the rest of the surface of the globe not included within the boundaries of the particular space being studied. It is not necessary to have the carrier space outside the building and it can occur at any point within the graph. Moving the carrier space can create very different representations of the same spatial arrangements.

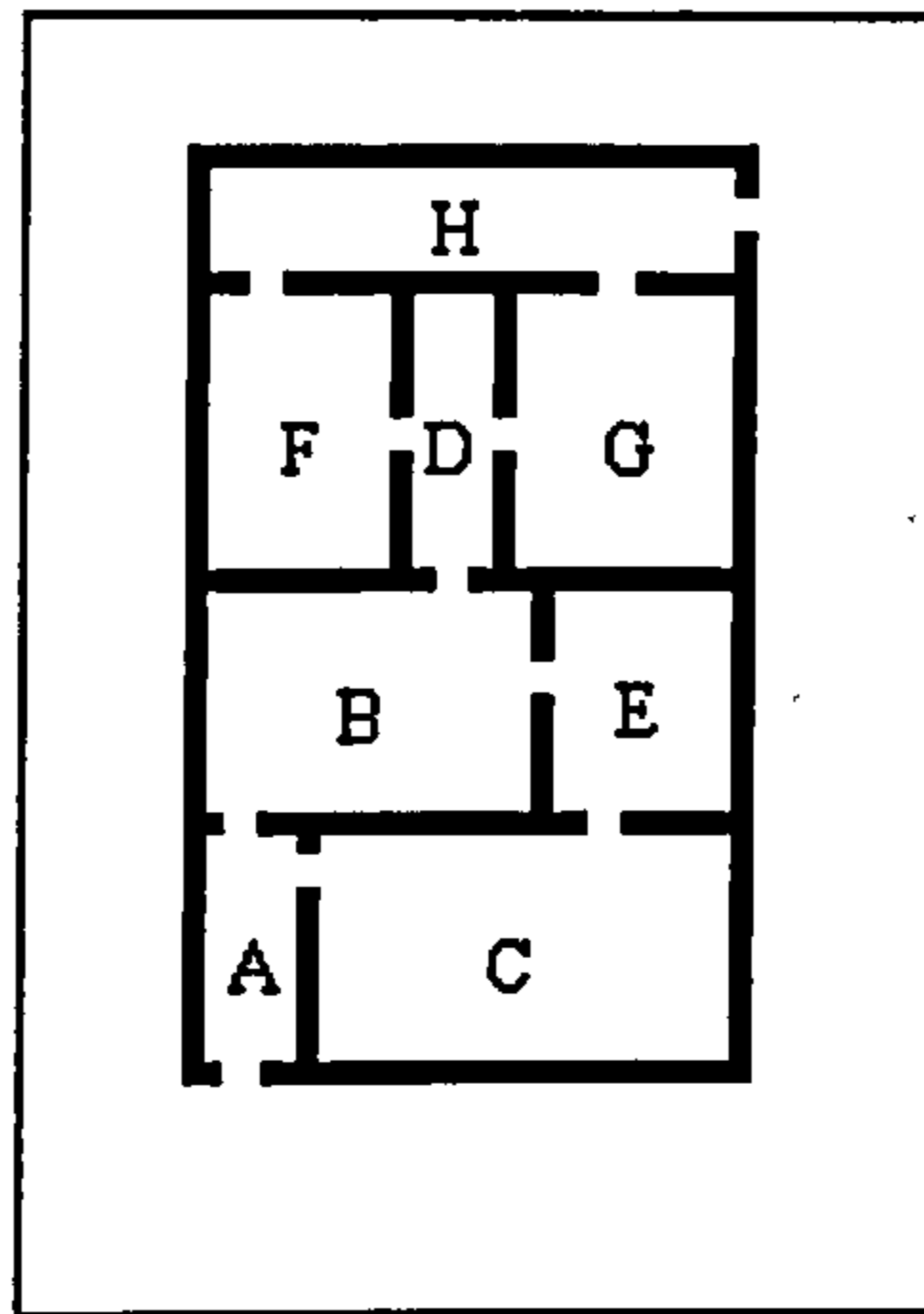


Figure 3-1 Conjectural plan of simple building.

By weighting the graph it is then possible to measure two properties of the structure; depth and choice (Hillier 1987, 364). Depth depends on the number of spaces, or vertices, one has to travel through to reach a particular point, while choice depends on the availability of different route to get to a particular space. The graph can then be used to identify these important elements of relative distance, depth and choice of routes. The degree of choice will be represented to two ways:; distributed (or ringy) and non-distributed (or tree-like). Figure 3-3 is a ground plan which is non-distributed (tree-like) as demonstrated by its access graph, while figure 3-4 shows a distributed (ringy) plan with its access graph. The more ringy a graph is the

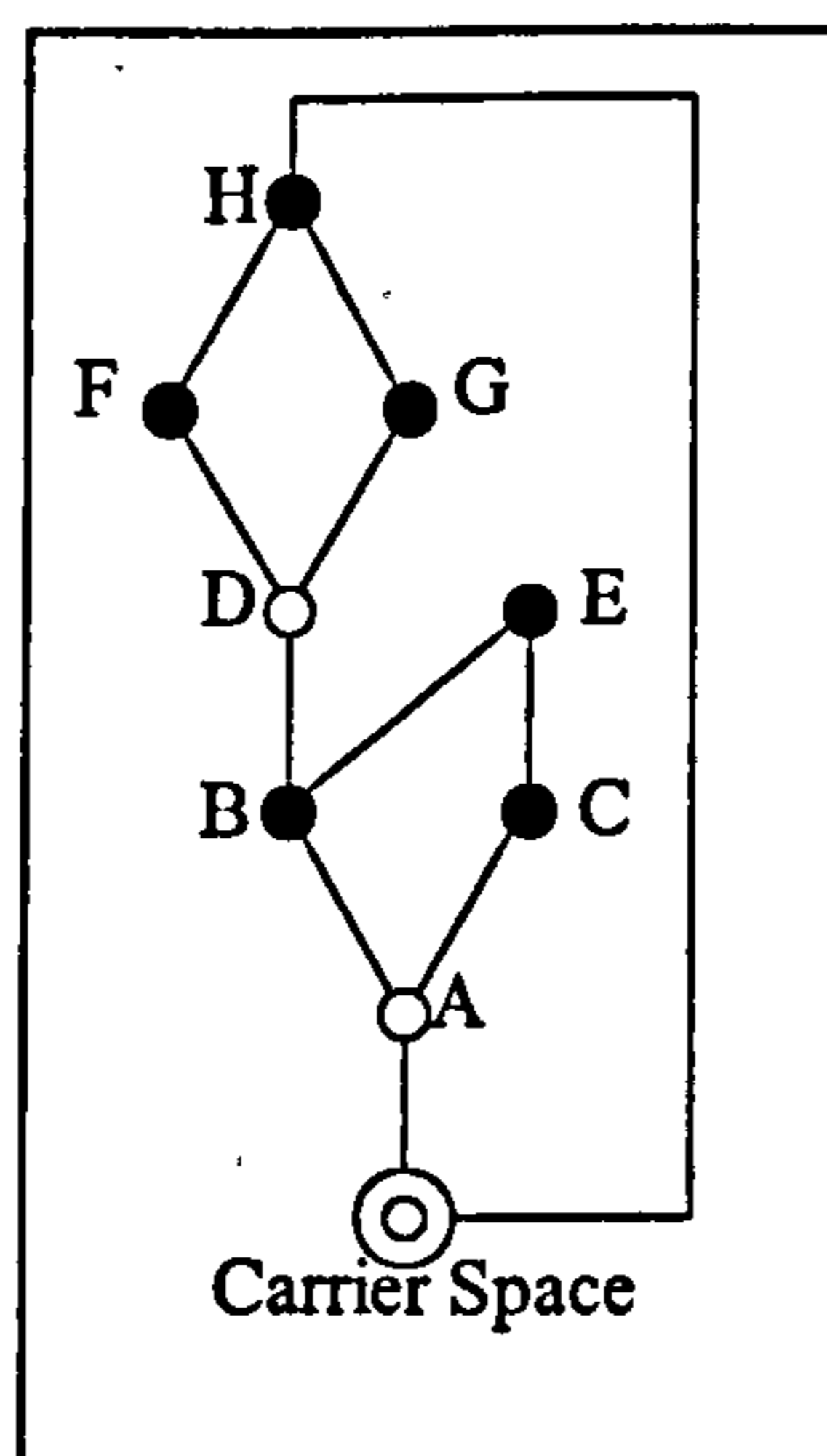


Figure 3-2 Access diagram of conjectural building.

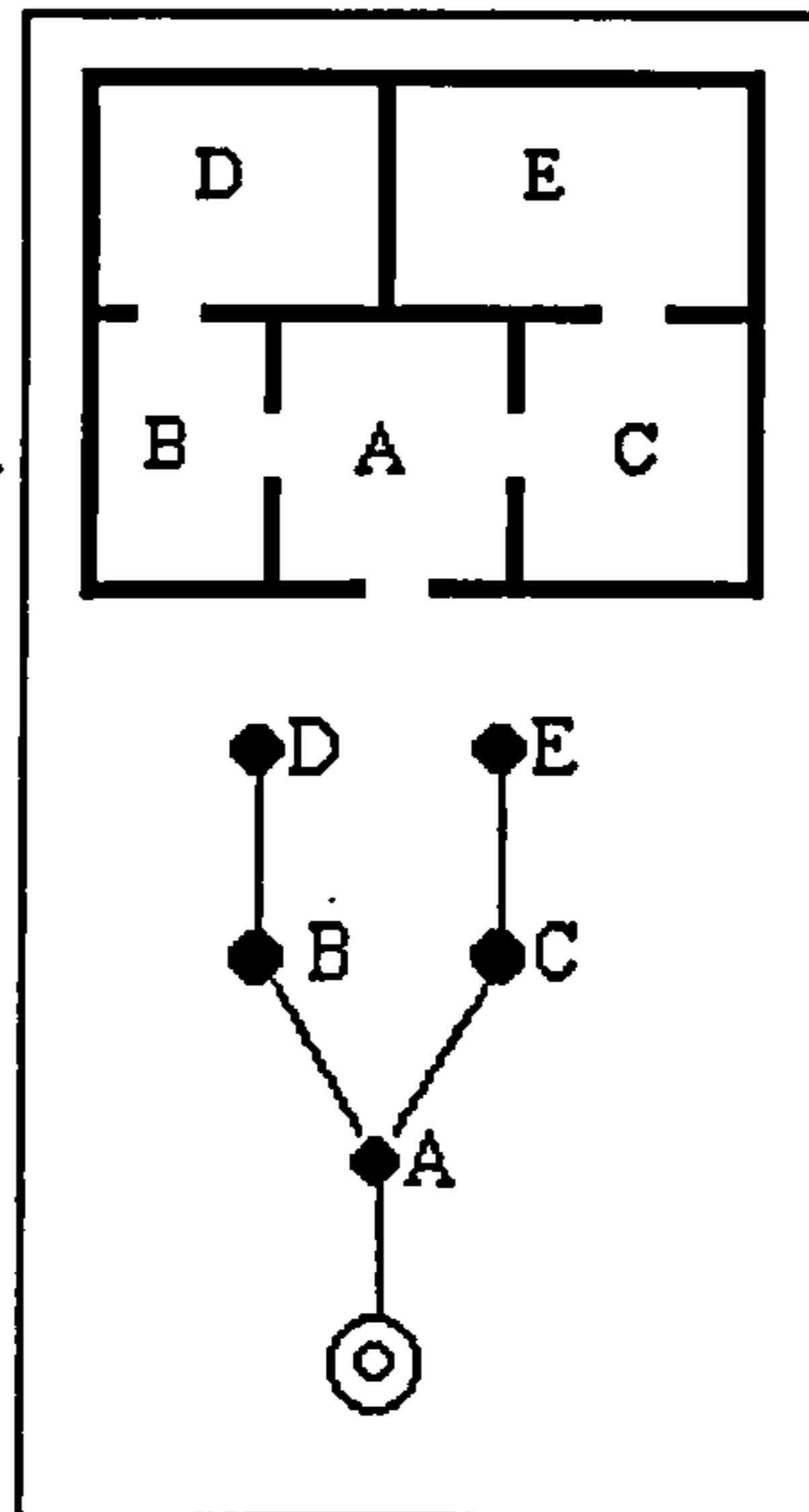


Figure 3-3 Non-distributed ground plan with Access graph.

greater the number of routes to a specific space. Conversely, if the graph is very tree-like there will be a limited number of routes to each space (Hillier & Hanson 1984).

From an access graph the reader should be able to gain an understanding of the physical progression through a building, the depth of each space relative to the exterior and the choices that a person moving through the spatial layout can make. These are obviously important elements in the understanding of how a building works, is used and is viewed. Hillier *et al* stress

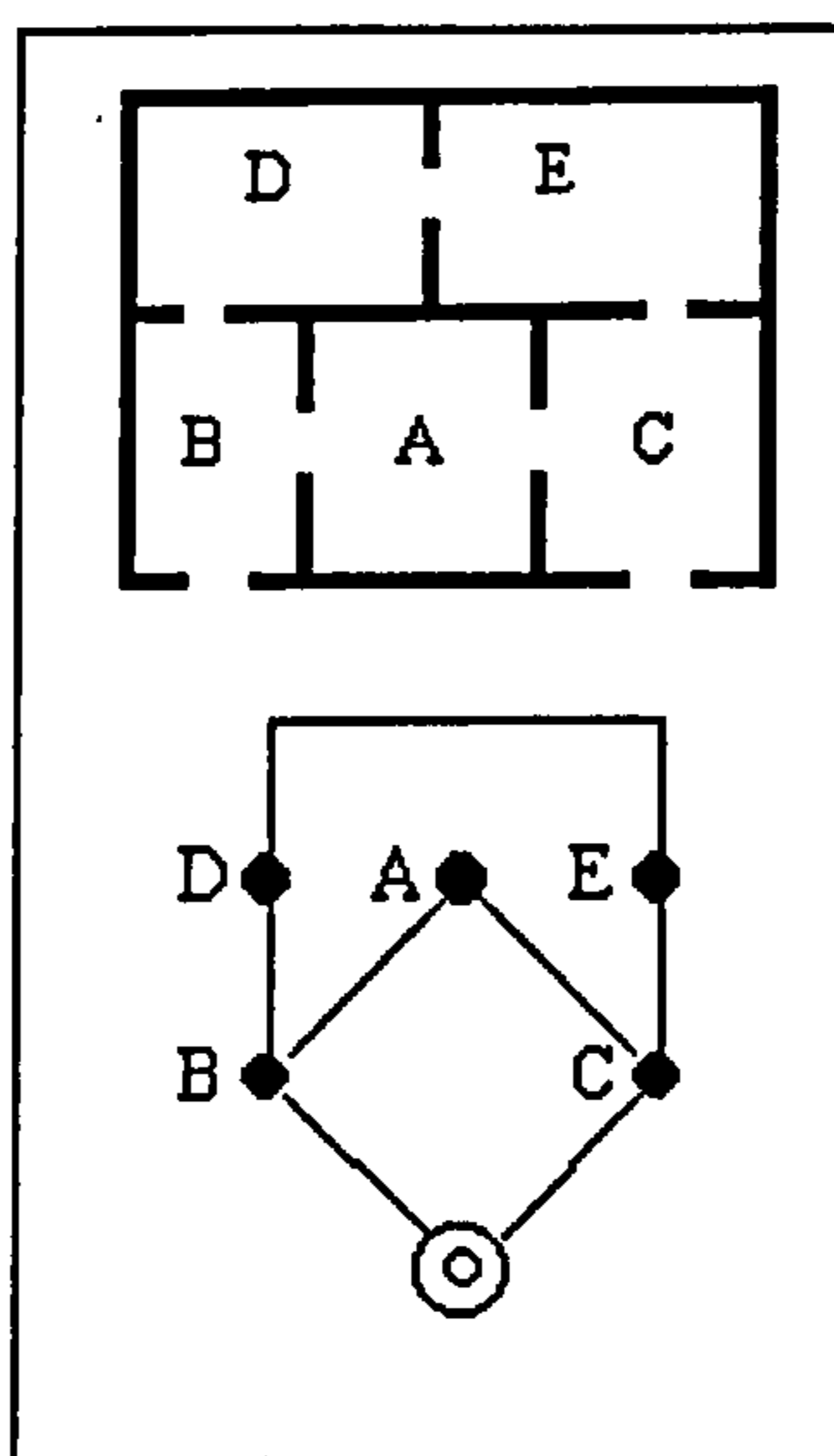


Figure 3-4 A distributed plan with Access graph.

the usefulness of the analysis in shedding light on the relations among the inhabitants and between inhabitants and outsiders (Hillier & Hanson 1984, Hillier *et al* 1987, 383).

3.11.4 Limitations of the Method.

From this description drawing an access graph appears a simple process. However, there are various problems associated with the production of the graphs, especially for complex, multi-floored buildings such as castles. It will also become clear that drawing an access graph is not an objective procedure but is in itself an act of interpretation from which a greater understanding of the building can be gained, even before the actual interpretation of the graph begins. Several problems were encountered in the construction of the graphs for the various case-studies, but are common to most historic built environment contexts. The solutions offered to the various problems or ambiguities with identifying relationships between spaces are not the only ones, but are those which appear most appropriate.

In many cases the condition and nature of the evidence, rather than the specifics of access analysis will create problems. In most of the examples used in this study complete plans were not available since the the upper floors were often unplanned. To make this situation worse these floors are often those where physical access is impossible, with some upper floors having been demolished. As a result floor plans have been re-constructed from section drawings, existing floor plans, aerial photographs and personal knowledge of the buildings.

In many respects the form of the spatial layouts available for interpretation can be deceptive. Some spaces which appear to be large and undifferentiated could and were divided into two or more spaces by timber partitions. In some instances, due to the form of a space or the access arrangements to a space, it is clear that a partition existed. In others, the remaining fabric only offers the possibility of a partition. Even if it is clear that a partition existed, it is often not certain that there was access through it; the thresholds which access analysis relies upon do not exist. There is no real solution to this problem. Where partitions are known to exist access will be shown as a possibility. Where partitions may have existed, different maps will be drawn showing the effects of their existence and non-existence.

The problems of the survival of evidence are compounded when a building has undergone various phases of rebuilding. Ideally it would be possible to produce diagrams of each phase so the changes in the access arrangement could be assessed. This is possible where alterations were

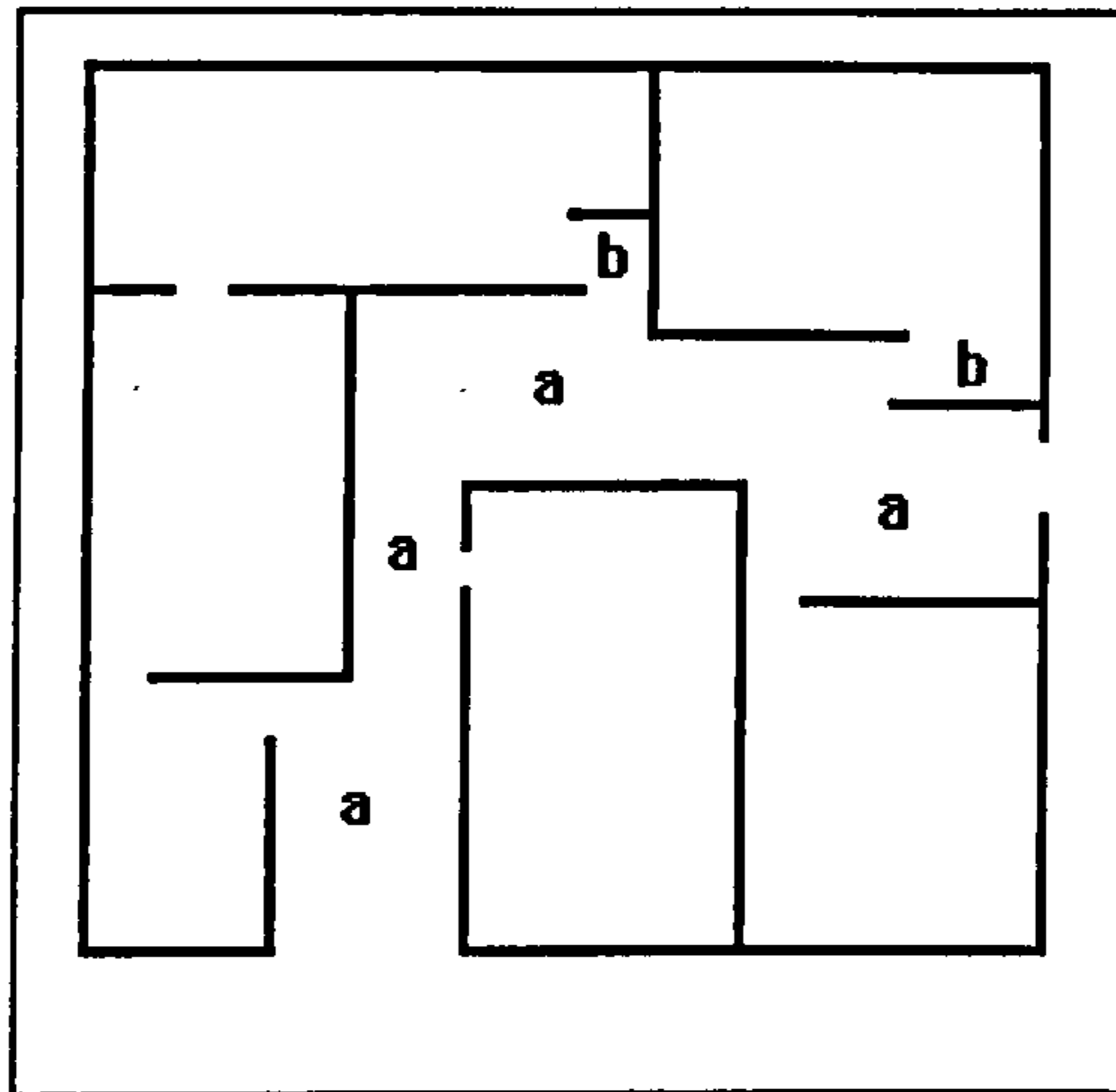


Figure 3-5 Bounded Space, after Grahame 1995, 55.

merely additions to the overall structure. However, where major rebuilding of existing structures has taken place, rather than the addition of new floors or blocks, it is often impossible to reconstruct the original. Where archaeological evidence suggests the presence of a structure which has been demolished, the nature of the building can be suggested. Where some reconstructions is possible, the different phasing of the building will be shown through colour coding the access graphs.

Most of the problems relating to the actual methodology of access analysis concerns the definition of discrete spaces. This may at first appear obvious; an architectural space will be defined by its boundaries and access by the existence of a threshold. However, as figure 3–5 demonstrates, this simple definition is not without its problems. Using the concept of the bounded space the series of corridors labelled a would be considered as a single space since they are within the same boundary and have no thresholds to restrict movement. In addition, the small lobby type spaces (labelled b) would not be considered discrete spaces but part of the larger spaces which they lead into. Intuitively, this feels incorrect and when translated to an access diagram it would create a misleading sense of the spatial layout, missing much of the fine grained but important detail (Grahame 1995, 55). For example, in figure 3–5 the lobby spaces, although open, may serve as important distancing spaces. Thus, it appears that the bounded space criteria does not work in more open spatial layouts which do not possess clear architectural boundaries (*Ibid*). Grahame makes the distinction between socially constructed spatial configuration and spatial layouts constructed through architecture; even without walls there can be a spatial configurations, the problem arises in identifying such indistinct, often purely conceptual boundaries in archaeological contexts (*ibid*).

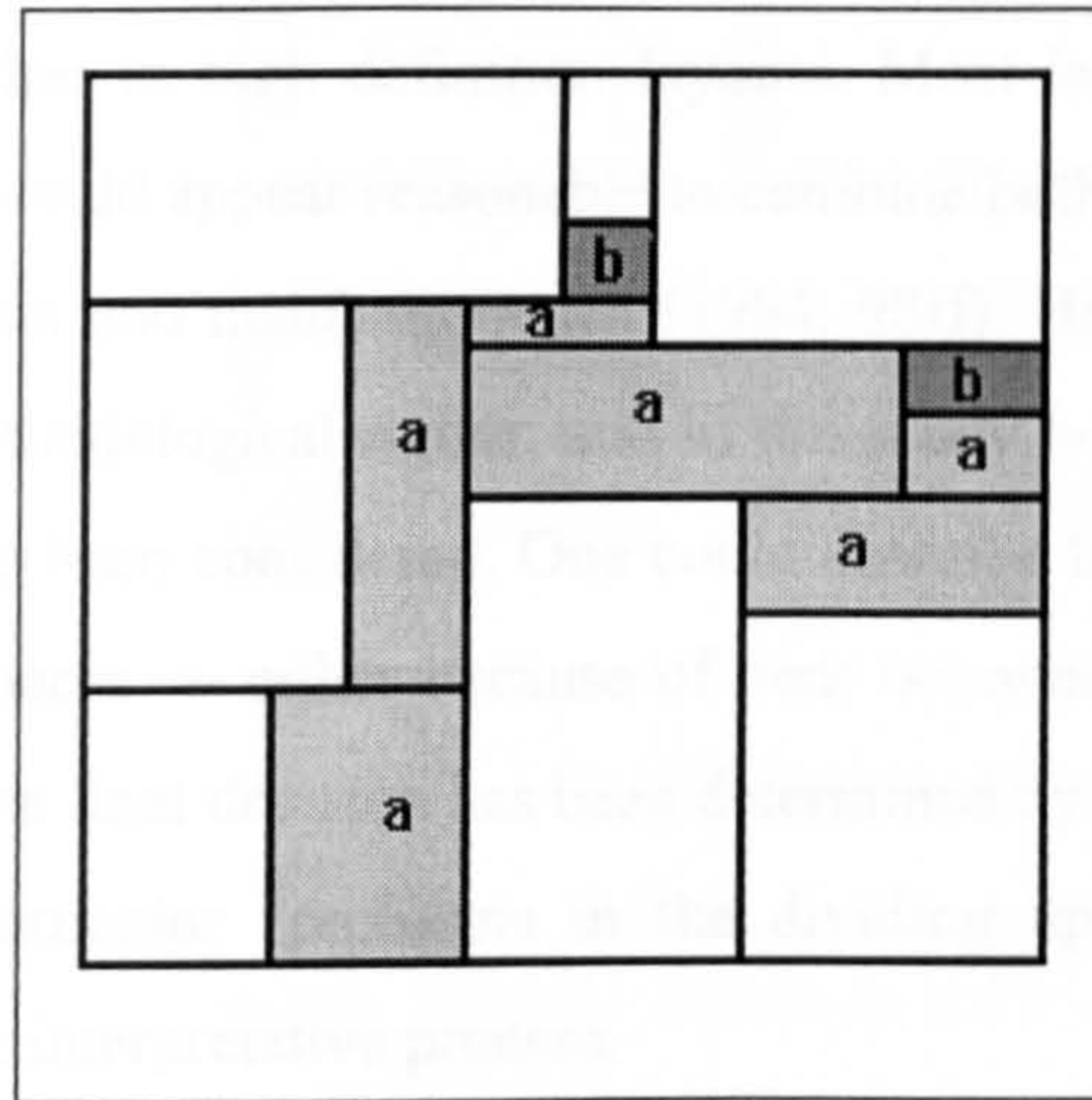


Figure 3-6 Convex Spaces, after Grahame 1995,
56

An alternative to dividing up a spatial layout into bounded spaces is to divide up it into the fewest number of convex spaces possible. A convex space is one where a

'straight line can be drawn from any point in the space to any other point in the space without going outside the boundary of the space itself' (Hillier & Hanson 1984, 97).

In practice, this means that a spatial layout is divided into the fewest number of rectangles possible (Markus 1993, 14). Figure 3-5 has been divided up in this way and the results are shown in figure 3-6. The greatest effect on the diagram is to turn the single space **a** into six separate spaces, which when translated to an access graph gives a far greater sense of progressing around the building than when this corridor was treated as a single space (Grahame 1995, 68). The small lobby spaces **b** are also now treated as separate spaces. This method has the advantage that the plan is divided up in a formalised and regular way. It also takes account of the fact that the built environment is not just made up of simple rectangles but also involves re-entrant angles and changing dimensions which alters views, alters the direction of movement and create a sense of moving from one space to another (Markus 1993, 14). It is not only the existence of a threshold or doorway that tells you that you moving from one space to another. However, as with the bounded space method there are difficulties associated with dividing layouts into convex shapes, as can be seen in diagram two. While the bounded space method has a tendency to reduce the number of discrete spaces, the rule of convexity has tendency to increase the number of spaces, creating segregation where there is none. The convex space method is often too rigorous, creating artificial boundaries, especially in layouts where spatial differentiation is well defined (Grahame 1995, 68).

Thus, each of the two methods each has its own problems; one works well in low definition spatial layouts, the other in high definition layouts. Most layouts of course often contain a mixture of the two. It would appear reasonable to combine both methods but Hillier and Hanson warn against such a mix and match approach (1984, 98ff). However, there seems little reason for this apart from methodological rigour, and in this study both of these aspects of what may constitute a space have been considered. One could describe this as an intuitive method where spaces that feel like spaces — either because of their boundedness or convexity — have been described as spaces. The final decision has been determined by the actual physical experience of the layout and any particular problems in the dividing up of the various castles will be discussed as part of the interpretative process.

The final problem to be addressed concerns the representation of staircases in access diagrams. In reply to Leach's criticism that access analysis is only applicable to the horizontal plane and ignores the fact that buildings are three dimensional, Hillier *et al* do state that multi-storeyed buildings can be studied using access analysis. In all buildings the three dimensions are always translated into two by the use of stairs, ladders or lifts (Leach 1978, 397; Hillier *et al* 1978, 403) However, to an extent Leach is correct when he writes:

'Hillier et al write as if the only space that is occupied by buildings is at ground floor level; their exemplification's are all concerned with ground plans as on a map. This is deceptive' (Leach 1978, 397).

This is indeed deceptive and although Hillier *et al* do say that their method is suitable for multi-storeyed buildings they show no examples of such in any of their work, concentrating on single storey buildings or ignoring the upper floors of multi-storeyed buildings, nor do they give any indication of the methodology which should be used (Hillier & Hanson 1984). Other proponents of the method such as Fairclough and Foster, do use slightly more complex buildings but in these cases they do not provide detailed plans so that one can follow their method (Fairclough 1992, Foster, 1989). Markus, on the other hand does study multi-storey buildings and does give adequate plans so that one can follow his methodology. However, there are some questions about his particular method of representing a staircase.

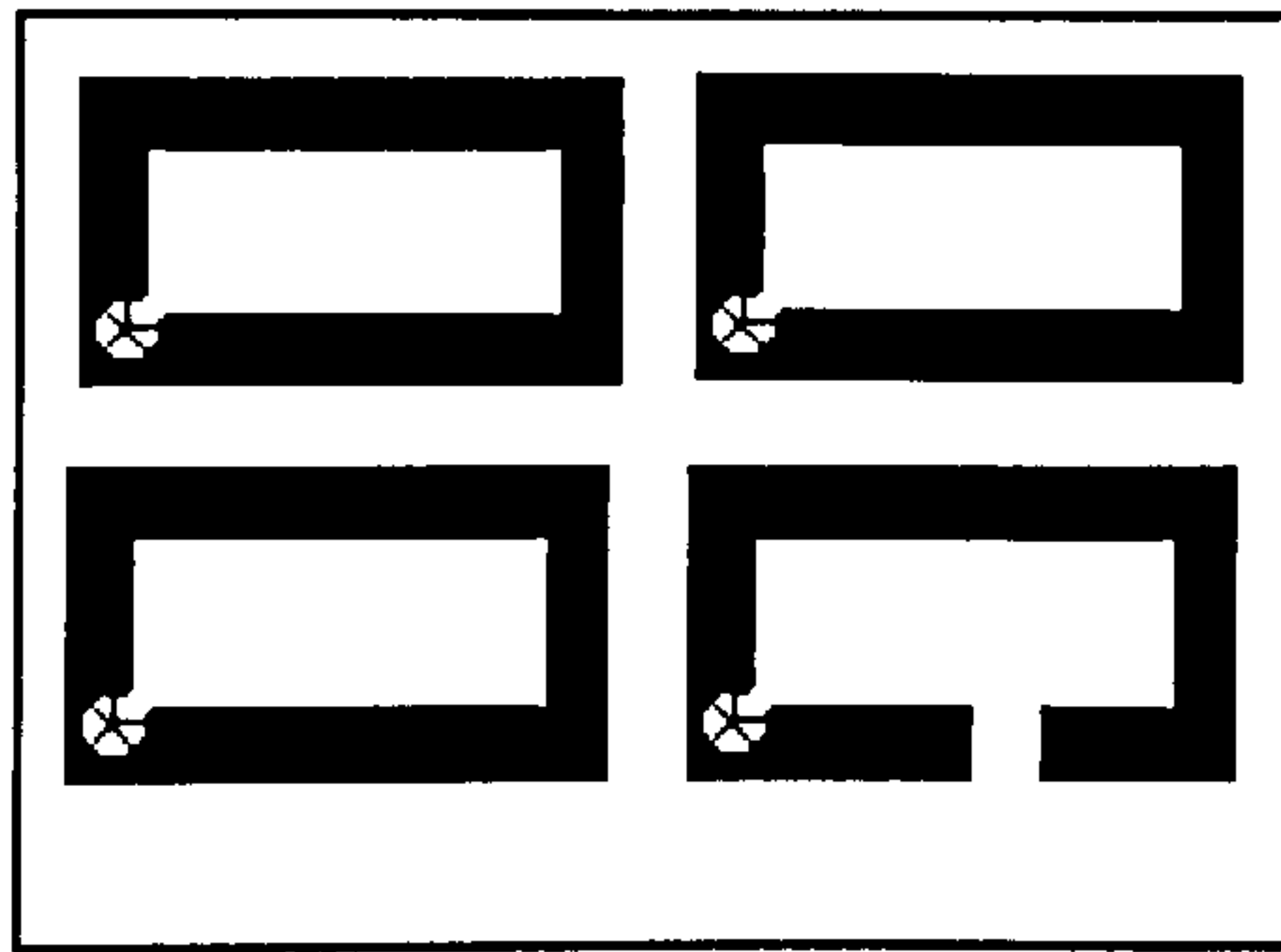


Figure 3-7 Plan of simple tower house.

The problem with representing stairs is essentially only of concern when a flight serves several floor levels. This is of course typical of castles and tower houses. The representation of such vertical movement in a two dimensional diagram is difficult; the question really comes down to how one regards a staircase in spatial terms and what you are trying to achieve from Access analysis. In the diagram of the proposed St Patrick's Hospital, Dublin, Markus illustrated three flight of stairs, each serving a separate floor level. In illustrating the stairs Markus divides up each of the staircases by floor. This means that the staircase is treated as three spaces instead of one. However, if one thinks of a staircase as a vertical corridor our view of it is changed. In access analysis a corridor is represented as single space, a transition space, from which other spaces can be accessed a staircase could be treated in a similar manner. Figure 3-7 shows a simple towerhouse plan consisting of four floors accessible from a newel staircase. Figures 3-8 and 3-9 represent the access arrangements for this building shown in figure 3-7. However, figure 3-8 the staircase of the tower as a vertical corridor, while figure 3-9 employs an adaption of the methodology set out by Markus.

From the two diagrams, it is clear that the different methods produce differing diagrams of the same plan and could therefore lead to widely differing interpretations of the building. In figure 3-8, the staircase is regarded as a single space, a vertical corridor; therefore each of the rooms which come off that staircase are on the same level, disregarding the different floor

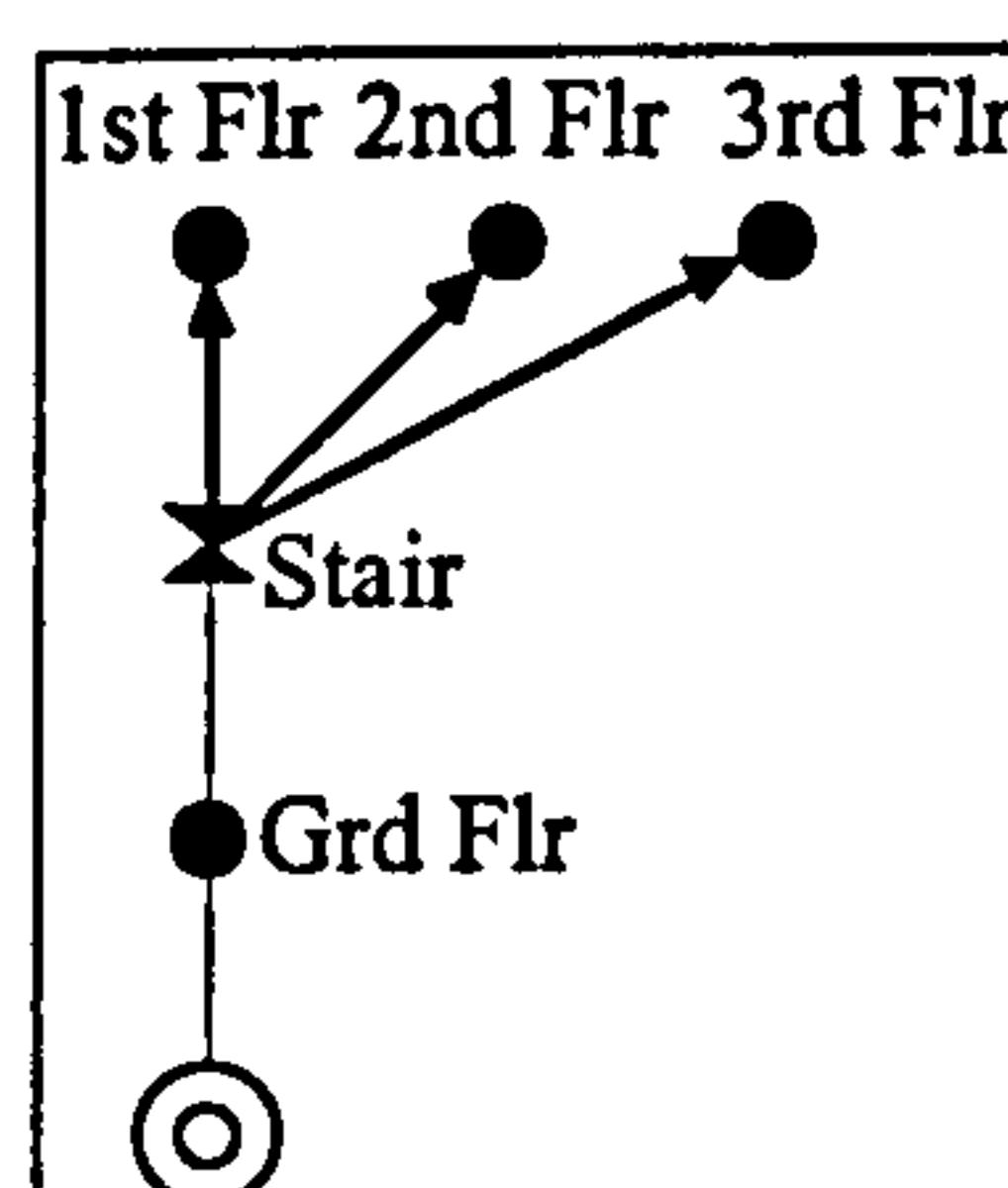


Figure 3-8 Access graph of tower house.

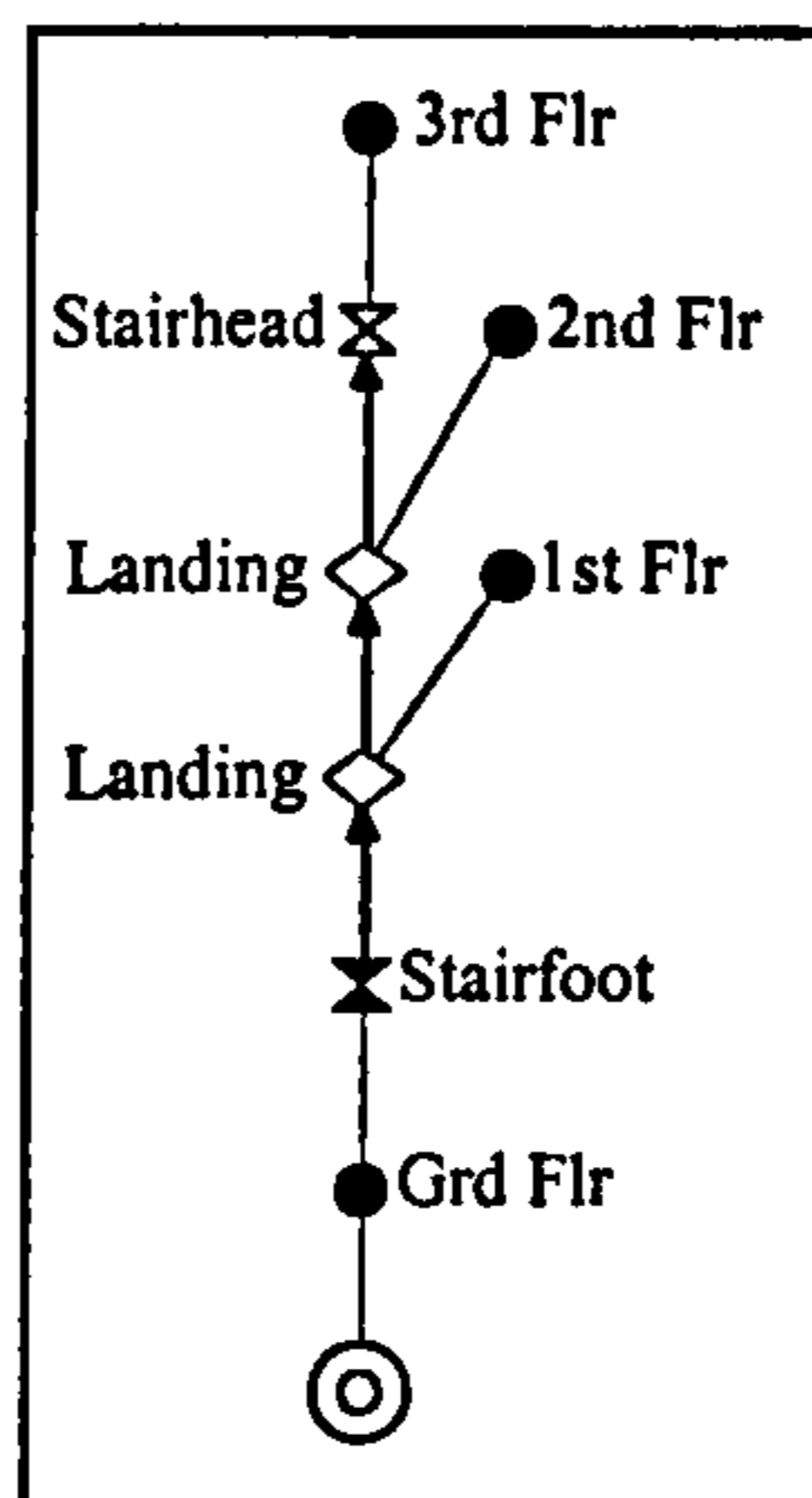


Figure 3-9 Access graph
of tower house

levels. If this is not the case the depth of the building, as measured by access analysis, will be incorrect. This can be clearly seen when the two access diagrams are compared. It is obvious that figure 3-9 is a representation of a building which appears to possess with far greater depth than the building shown in figure 3-8. However, in this study access analysis has not been used in these terms; instead it has been employed to give a sense of the movement through a building. In light of this it may appear that figure 3-9 is the more satisfactory representation of the plan, since it suggests the depth created by ascending the stairs. Again this demonstrates the interpretative quality inherent in access analysis, something which does not fit well with the formal mathematical model which was envisaged by Hillier, Hanson and their colleagues. Figure 3-9 is not incorrect but it does represent a staircase in a different way. A staircase can be thought of as a vertical corridor, but height has a different quality than distance; to ascend or descend a staircase is not the same as walking along a corridor. The vertical position of a space is an important element in how such a space would have been regarded. It is too simple to say that the higher the position of a space is, the greater the social standing the occupant of that space has, but it does have some impact. Height should be given recognition in the access graph rather than being treated in the same manner as a horizontal space. What figure 3-9 recognises is the change from vertical to horizontal movement, on leaving a stair, and the change from horizontal to vertical on entering a stair. Thus, the graph represents every area, however small, where there is a horizontal/vertical transformation as one of a number of special types of transformation spaces; stairfoot, landing and stairhead. Every stair will have a stairfoot and a stair head, but only those which serve more than one upper floor will have landings.

3.12 PLANNING ANALYSIS

Having looked at the theoretical and practical application of access analysis we will now investigate another form of diagrammatic spatial analysis: planning diagrams. It is important to note that while there are similarities between the methods, each is concerned with distinct features of architectural space. Access analysis is a specialised form of relational map and as such, much of the detail is stripped away. According to Hillier *et al* and Glassie this 'stripping back' of the inconsequential superstructure reveals the essence of the structure (Glassie 1976; Hillier & Hanson 1984). However, rather than discovering such fundamentals some authors have suggested that this stripping back results in the loss of essential information (Boast 1987, 452).

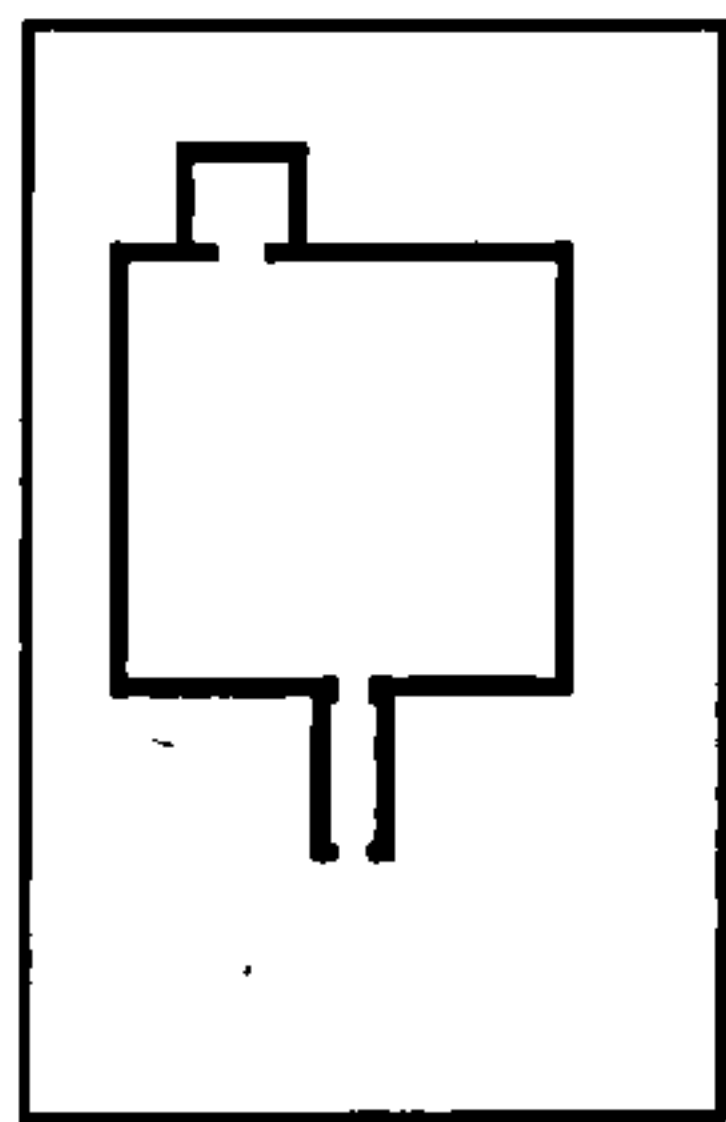


Figure 3-10 A
simple structure.

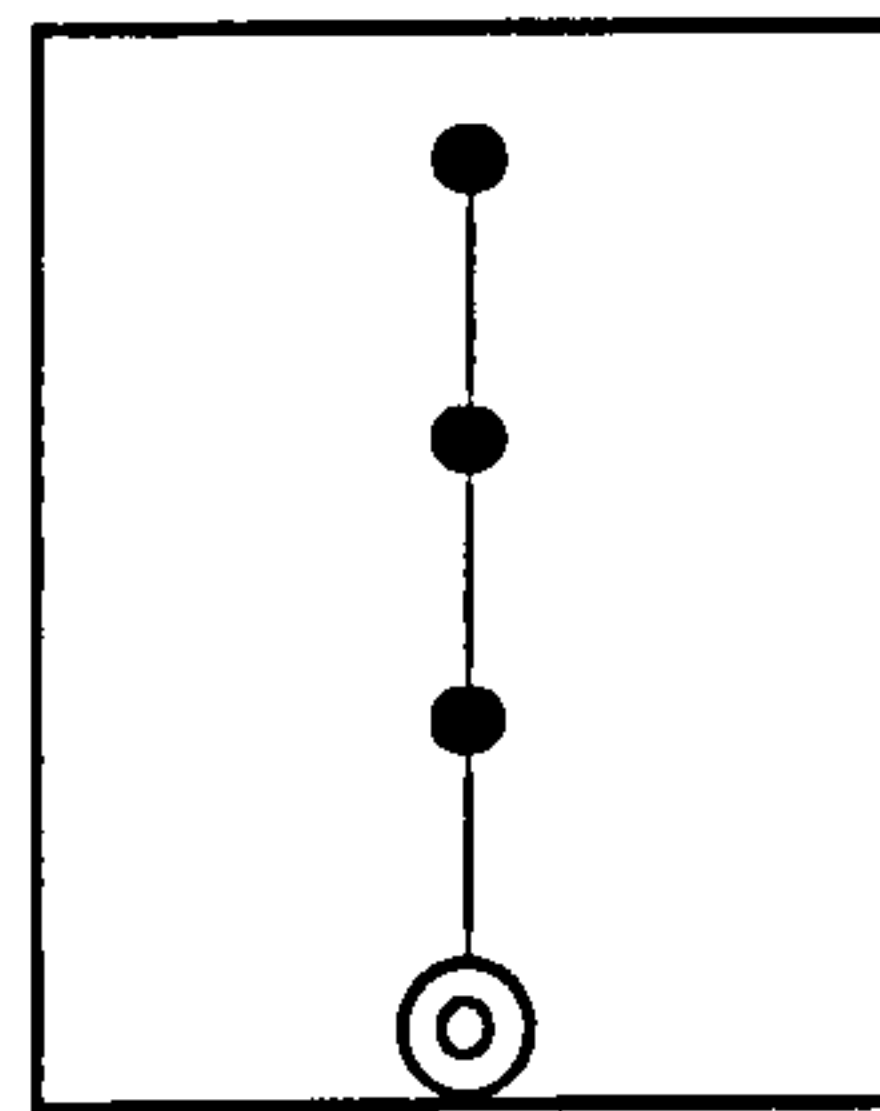


Figure 3-11 Access
graph of simple
structure.

As we have already seen, several authors have criticised access analysis and other relational representations for ignoring form as an element of architectural space (Fairclough 1992; Boast 1987; Brown 1990). Figure 3-10 represents a simple structure made up of three cells of differing sizes each accessed from the previous space. An important factor in how an individual would experience this spatial configuration as a whole is the changing scale of the rooms as they passed from one to another, but as can be seen in figure 3-11 the access graph for this structure gives no indication to this experiential component; instead we have a series of three simple, equally sized and spaced dots. Architectural form is obviously an important element, perhaps the most important element, in an individual's perception of space. However, access analysis was only designed to graph access and routes of a collection of spaces, not the form of those spaces. It is very difficult to combine information on both form and relations within a building. Therefore, to criticise access analysis on these grounds is rather unfair. Instead, we should be seeking to compliment access analysis with other techniques so a whole range of information on the use and perception of a building is available. One such technique is planning analysis. While this again is a relational technique it — like access analysis — also retains the form of the architectural space.

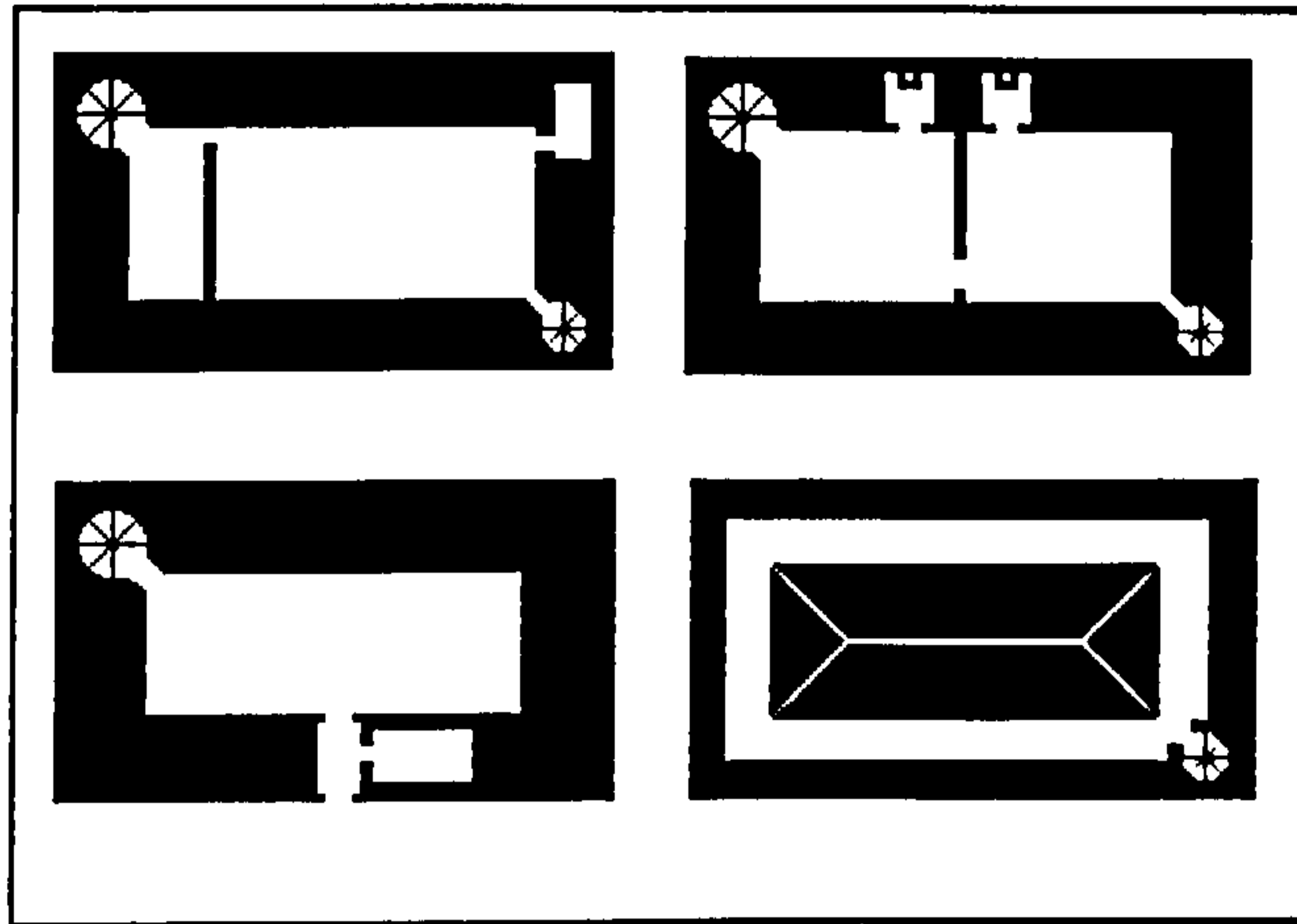


Figure 3-12 Conjectural plan of a tower house.

Planning diagrams are quite different from access analysis and were generated by a different tradition, architectural history. The method was first used by Faulkner to study the planning arrangements of fourteenth century English castles and as a result the method is of more than just passing interest to this study (Faulkner 1963). The method has been used in a number of castle studies to shed light on spatial arrangements, although in several cases (for example Dixon 1978) planning diagrams seem to have been added as an afterthought and in every example the studies have all been of a limited scale (Dixon & Borne 1978; Fairclough 1992; Hislop 1992; Gilyard-Beer 1977). However, this is a reflection on the individual studies rather the technique itself. Indeed, several of the studies have been very innovative in their application of planning diagrams in a castle context, albeit on a small scale. Before discussing these examples any further, we will first look at what planning diagrams entails.

To some degree a planning diagram is a far a simpler concept to understand than access analysis. There are no complex sociological, anthropological or theoretical underpinnings to the technique unlike access analysis. Rather than trying to discover the underlying 'truths' about human settlement patterns planning diagrams are primarily a means to understand buildings in a more precise way and to note underlying similarities and differences between buildings. At his most theoretical explicit Faulkner only goes as far as stating that a building's plan exhibits

'the mode of living of those for whom the building was designed' (Faulkner 1958, 150).

While Faulkner should be applauded for emphasising the importance of everyday activities in the production of spatial forms, it is implicit in this statement that the relationship between society and the architecture it produces is merely reflective. However, the lack of an explicit theory lying behind the production of planning diagrams, leaves this method open to a variety of

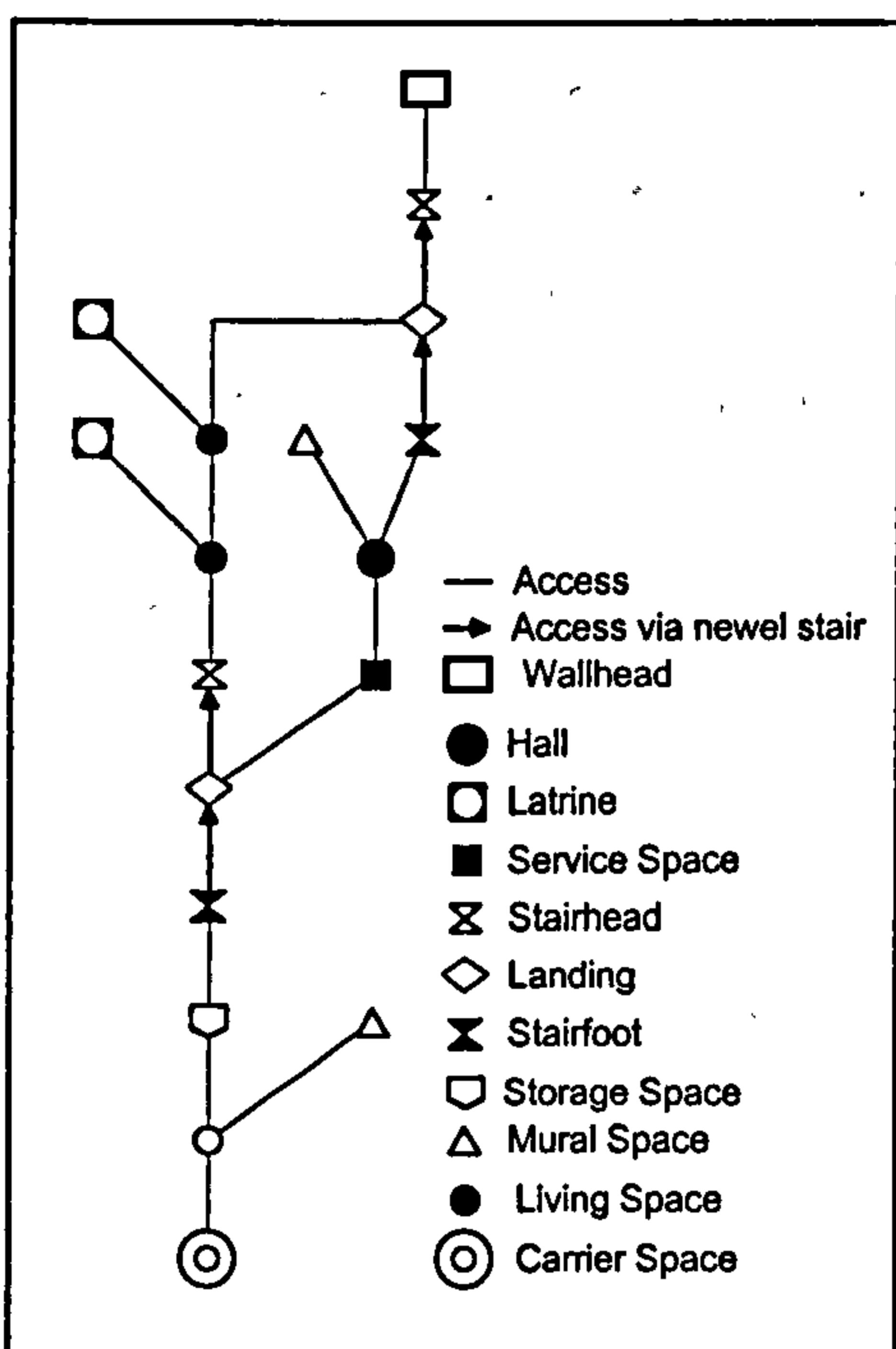


Figure 3-13 Access graph of conjectural tower house.

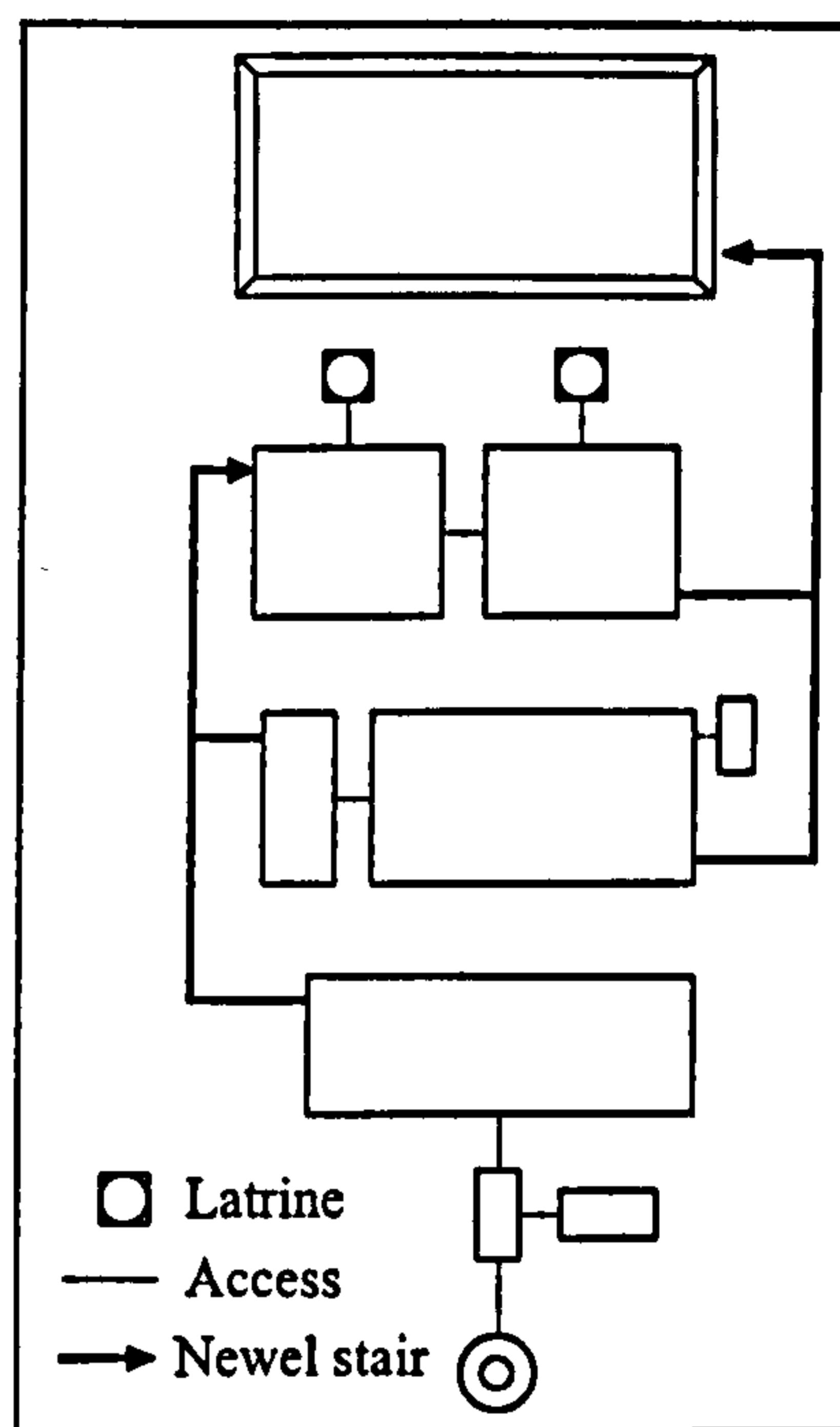


Figure 3-14 Planning diagram of conjectural tower house

uses. As will be demonstrated the technique has several benefits over Access analysis especially in communicating the general nature of a spatial layout.

The conceptual differences between access analysis and planning diagrams relates to the very different academic fields they were developed in: environmental/behavioural studies on the one hand and architectural history on the other. Figure 3-12 shows another simplified plan of a three storeyed tower house with a parapet walk. As can be seen from figures 3-13 and 3-14 the planning diagram of the tower house is far more recognisably a representation of a building, than the access diagram. This is the great benefit of planning diagrams: they are neither too abstract nor do they deviate too much from the conventions of floor plans that they are unrecognisable as representations of buildings. One could suggest that they show little more information than conventional floor plans. Yet from a planning diagram one can discern the various routes around an aggregation of spaces and also study the form or shape and scale of these spaces. In essence a planning diagram is a very simplified plan with access routes between rooms stressed. The rooms are reduced to simple rectangles and are to scale with each other. Small rooms (such as latrines) in goings and recesses may be ignored or are reduced to symbols. The access routes between rooms are drawn although not to scale. Unlike access analysis the various access ways are not relative to a single point. One cannot see the depth of the rooms in a building from a planning diagram but it is possible to distinguish floor level.

Faulkner's original intention of when creating planning analysis was to discern groupings of particular rooms. It was employed as a comparative technique to demonstrate the growing number of households and sets of lodgings within castles during the fourteenth century. It attempted to identify different households with the various possible positions of authority found within the castle; constable, chamberlain, owner, king, observing factors such as size of rooms, detail of decoration and access to and from the space. Faulkner goes on to suggest that this development was a common theme in English castle planning throughout the fourteenth century and into the fifteenth.

The technique is not exclusively a comparative one. Gilyard-Beer's study of De Irebey's Tower, Carlisle Castle, concentrated on a single building (1977). After archaeological investigation and restoration, planning diagrams were used to elucidate the original arrangements of De Irebey's tower, which had been hidden or lost through over five hundred years of continual occupation. A comparison was made, not with actual building but with the description of the building requirements for the tower set out by the patron (Gilyard-Beer 1977). Thus, planning analysis has been used to dual effect; as a comparative technique and as means of to studying and recreate the planning arrangements of castles. This study will push the methodology of planning diagrams further by using them to help elucidate social relations within castles: they will be used as a visual aid for interpretation and for communicating that interpretation to the reader. Fairclough has emphasised that by pointing to the functional relationships between spaces in a building, rather than just spatial arrangements, planning analysis is a more appropriate representation of the experience of the insider. This contrasts with access analysis which is often seen as an experiential measure from the outsiders or strangers viewpoint (Fairclough 1992, 351). To an extent this is merely a consequence of the different ways the two techniques have been used. However, as planning diagrams retain the form of the building they are perhaps more approachable to the reader and provide an easier way into understanding the building.

3.13 COMPOSITE ANALYSIS.

Of interest to this study is the work of Grahame Fairclough who has developed another technique of spatial analysis, and has employed it to study the spatial arrangements of castles. In an attempt to produced a mapping technique which combines form and relation, Fairclough resorted to the simple if crude method of combining planning analysis and access analysis. Unlike both planning analysis and shape grammar, this composite diagram can be justified so

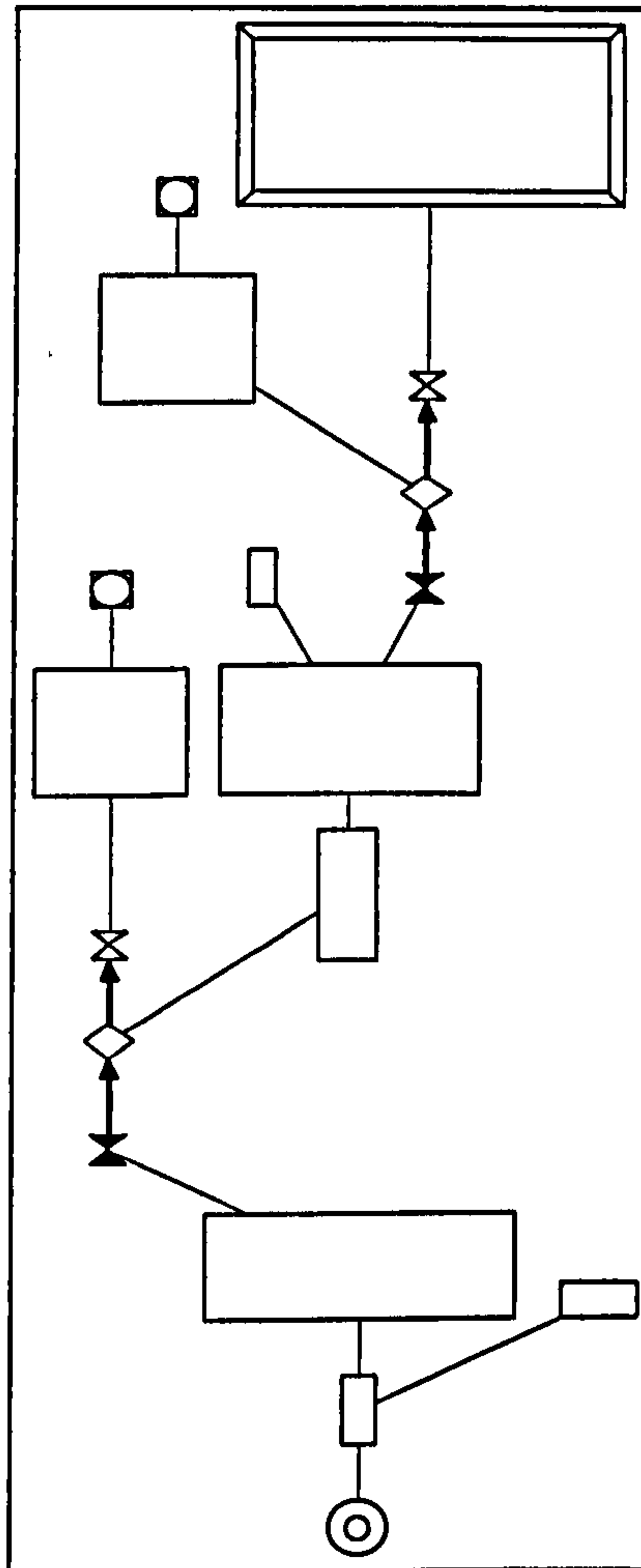


Figure 3-15 Composite diagram of conjectural tower house.

that all the points on the map are related to one space, as in access analysis. Once access and planning diagrams are produced, the process of creating the composite diagram is a simple one of transposing the formal element of the planning diagram on to the access diagram (Fairclough 1992, 462). A diagram is created which supposedly has the advantages of both methods; it can be justified so as to identify permeability, choice, and control but also the general shape and scale of the rooms are represented, along with other details such as fireplaces, latrine and perhaps the form of access, as can be seen from figure 3-15, a composite diagram of the simple tower represented above.

However, Composite analysis has its limitations. These limitations are those of the individual methods which it is based upon. As in access and planning analysis, the castle has to be divided into discrete spaces, an interpretative process which is open to challenge. A specific problem of composite diagrams is the transposing of one analysis on to the other. This is a

challenge because each technique produces diagrams of differing types and with differing number of spaces. This is especially true for the staircases which are treated very differently in each of the diagrams. In an access diagram the staircase is treated as a number of specialised spaces from which other spaces can be accessed. In planning diagrams staircases are represented pictorially as routes linking rooms, their form and scale are ignored, and as a result feature quite differently than in access analysis. When one transposes the formal elements from the planning diagram to an access diagram layout, one runs into the problem of how one represents the form of the staircase. Fairclough not thoroughly explain his technique and appears to represent the staircase in composite analysis merely as a link between spaces. However, as we wish to justify the diagram the solution used here is to keep the notation used to represent staircases in access analysis, so there is consistency throughout the study. Thus, the composite technique requires compromises to be made so that elements of two diagrams can be combined into one. The resulting diagram could be thought to be rather complex and confusing: one has moved away from the abstract simplicity of the access diagram and at the same time have lost the familiarity of the planning diagram. As a result, this technique, although investigated, was not used in the final thesis.

3.14 CONCLUSION

While the thrust of this thesis is to investigate social relations as mediated through the architecture of the Scottish castle and tower house, a secondary purpose is to show the worth of formal methods of analysis in the study of complex buildings. In this section of the chapter we have looked at the advantages and problems relating to each of the methods and these problems will continue to be discussed throughout the case studies. In applying the methods, it has been it has been accepted that they analyses do not produce a truth about the built environment. Rather they are to provide different methods of studying and representing castles that moves away from the simple plan.

It has also become clear that the stripping away of the superstructure of a building and reducing it merely to communication routes reduces the building to a mere shadow of the real experience of that building. It is important to notice where windows are situated, it is important if a room has a fireplace or a cupboard or a garderobe and it is important to notice decoration and building materials. Composite analysis and planning analysis are an attempt to overcome this failing and additional features have been overlain onto the spaces to try and give more

information. However, this of course will always be two dimensional. This can only come from a detailed knowledge of the actual building.

In the case studies, the actual access graphs and planning diagrams are presented as small daigrams embedded in the text. These are labelled and at times only sections of the overall graph or diagram will be shown. Large scale diagrams are also presented, at times colour coded.

4. THE CASTLE IN ITS SOCIAL SETTING

4.1 INTRODUCTION—DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE AND ARCHAEOLOGY.

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the way social relations were mediated through the architecture of the castle. This chapter will investigate the nature and possibilities of these social relationships as seen through documentary sources.

The most difficult of all tasks when investigating a component of a society's material culture is to comprehend the meaning and emotions people layer upon such inanimate subjects. In the historic period of Medieval Scotland this task is made somewhat easier as individuals have left us their thoughts on the castles they inhabited or gazed upon. Personal musings over individual castles may be rare, but they are reinforced by the many references to castles in a variety of documents from which the archaeologist/historian can explicate the perceptions of the medieval Scot. Evidence is contained in everything from poems to the dry legalese of Licenses to Crenellate and from Arthurian Romance to the carvings on a tomb. What links all these 'texts' together is that they furnish us with contemporary portrayals of the castle. The multifarious character of the evidence in part alludes to the diversity of meaning the castle had for their contemporaries. When the archaeologist proposes many disparate meanings for the castle they do so with some confidence, for it is manifest that in the medieval mind the castle did not have a single purpose: it was not purely for defence, nor purely a residence. Instead, perceptions of the castle were tightly bound up with family histories, concepts of honour, the ideals of nobility and the projection of authority, lordship and social standing.

The approach taken may seem elitist; the sources are in the main from members of the lairdly and lordly classes. There are no sources which give a voice to the vast majority of Scots. Their feelings for the castles and towers that dotted the land they worked and which they sustained through their labour are hidden to us. It is all too easy to view the castle as a symbol and a force of repression, whether it is the repression of a nation by an exterior enemy or the repression of a people by an elite. The former concept is inappropriate for Scotland, while the latter is debatable. Much would depend on the individual relationship between the lord or the lord's chamberlain or baillie and the tenant. As we will see, due to the nature of Scottish kinship relations, and the mechanisms which expanded such categories to include others only distantly related — even unrelated — there was a sense in which many of the inhabitants of the barony or

regality could identify in a positive way with their lord and his family. If this was so, the images they held of the castle or tower may not have been as negative as one would imagine. The castle or tower was a material element in a diverse social network which included the nobility of both church and state as well as the lowliest cottar and farm servant. As a focus for social relations the castle could, and did, work on many levels and both its external appearance and internal arrangements were equally important factors.

4.2 THE CASTLE AS A SYMBOL OF IDENTITY.

4.2.1 The image of the Castle in Medieval Scotland.

THY TOUR AND FORTRESS, LAIRGE AND LANG,
 THY NEIGHBOURS DOES EXCELL;
 AND FOR THY WALLIS THICK AND STRANG;
 THOUGH GRAITLY BEIRS THE BELL.
 THY GROUNDIS DEEP AND TOPIS HIE,
 UPRISING IN THE AIR,
 THY VAULTIS PLEASING ARE TO SIE,
 THEY ARE SO GREIT AND FAIR.

GREIT WAS THE WORK TO HOUKE THE GROUND,
 AND THY FOUNDATION CAST;
 BOT GREATER IT WAS TO FOUND,
 AND END THEE AT LAST.
 I MARVEL THAT HE DID NOT FEIR,
 WHA RAISED THEE ON HICHT,
 THAT NE FOUNDATION SHOULD THEE BEIR,
 BOT THOU SHOULD SINK FOR WECHT. [SIR RICHARD MAITLAND]
 (MACGIBBON & ROSS 1987-92, VOL. III, 262-263)

On reading these words describing the tower of Lethington (now Lennoxlove) (East Lothian), it is apparent that to poet and politician Sir Richard Maitland his tower was not just a piece of architecture or even just his home. It embodied a great deal more; it was a projection of family and personal identity, a symbol of position in the social landscape of medieval Scotland. The poem demonstrates some of the recurring themes expressed on the idea and reality of the

castle by those who lived in and around them. Sir Richard Maitland knew exactly what material elements made a castle a castle: its great size, thick walls, a deep basement, great vaults (a reference to the hall as well as the basement) and high roofs '*uprising in the air*' (see also Samson 1990, 211). There is also an emotional component to his description, bound up in the physical form of the castle. There is constant reference, most notably in the second stanza, to the sheer mass of the tower. There is a sense that Maitland wishes to emphasize the permanence of the castle.

The approbation given to the unknown builder accentuates the history of the castle, while also hinting at past family glory and daring. The poem is addressed to some distant ancestor who had the audacity and skill to build such an immense structure, a structure which now Sir Richard Maitland is the most visible sign of Maitland family pride and honour, a visible reminder of the past and a symbol for the future. The castle was not only stones and mortar to Sir Richard. It was a particular form of structure with particular physical attributes that were easily transmutable in the psyche into physical representations of abstract conceptions of family, personal position and security. Lethington was a place of protection, not only from crude human violence but also from storms: political, religious, economic and natural. Its stout walls, also provided a public face for the family, an obvious expression of its greatness of which Sir Richard believes his neighbours should be suitably impressed and envious.

The concepts identified above were also communicated through the fabric of the castle. Lethington has armorial plaques over the two ground floor entrances, a highly decorative rendering of the Maitland coat of arms with their motto, and a panel which reads:

QUISNAM E MÆTELLANA STRIPE FUNDMENT LECE
 RIT QUIS TURRIM EXCITAVERT, INDIDA CELAVIT
 ANTIQUITAS:
 LUMINARIA AUXIT, FACILOREM ASCENSUM PRÆEBUIT ORNA
 TIOREM REDDIDIT IOANNES MÆTELLANUS LAUDERIÆ COMES
 AN. ÆRÆ CHR. MDXXVI.

'Who of the race of Maitland laid the foundations, who raised the tower, envious antiquity has concealed. John Maitland, Earl of Lauder, increased the lights, provided an easier stairway and made it more handsome in the year of the Christian era 1626'
 (RCAHMS 1924, 45)

As with the poem by Sir Richard Maitland, there is an obvious allusion to the greatness of the unknown member of the Maitland family who originally built the tower. As if to make sure that 'envious antiquity' did not obscure John's work the plaque clearly sets out his improvements to the castle, for everyone to read when they enter. These would have been costly, adding much to the convenience of the tower and the impression it gave to those who visited. Part of John's building programme may have been the rebuilding of the wall head with open corner rounds, gargoyles in the form of monstrous animals and a high cap house. These upper works emphasised the height of the tower and again added to its visual impression.

The theme of the castle as an expression of personal and family status is a strong one, identifiable in the sources with repetitive regularity. The romance *Roman de Fergus* (Tabraham 1997, 19), illustrates that the castle was perceived as something more than a utilitarian stronghold as early as the twelfth century. The text emphasises certain structural features such as drawbridges, the gates of castles, postern gates, halls, battlements, ramparts and great stone keeps. All these elements are extremely visible attributes of the castle relating both to its defensive capabilities and lordly functions. These components are identified as the essential symbolism of the castle. Guillaume also goes beyond the physical symbolism and provides clues to more hidden meanings. The castle is invulnerable, and again this is linked to family pride and prestige. The castle of Soumillet belonging to Fergus's father is described in depth;

'On the road out of Galloway, in a castle down a valley lived a peasant of Pelande very close to the Irish Sea. He had his dwelling splendidly situated on a great rock, encircled by clay and wattle walls. The hill was topped by a tower that was not made of granite or limestone: its wall was built high of earth, with ramparts and battlements ... If he looked out he could see for thirty leagues all round. Nobody inside could feel threatened by any maker of siege equipment or from any assault, the rock being high and massive'

(Tabraham 1997, 19).

One gets an impression that the castle stood above the landscape dominating it, imposed upon it. The castle is thought to have been Cruggleton, seat of the Lords of Galloway, in which case the peasant of Pelande was a ancestor of Roland, Lord of Galloway or Roland himself. The sense of power one gets of the castle is a complement to the power of Roland and his family. The castle was identified with the personal power of the peasant of Pelande and Roland, Lord of Galloway.

The concept of the castle as a centre of chivalry, Arthurian romance and family honour continued well into the sixteenth century. The celebrations of the baptism of the future James VI/I in 1566 demonstrates the popularity of these ideas even at the highest levels of society. They took place at Stirling Castle, one of the foremost royal castles in Scotland and an ideal backdrop for the embattled Mary to reinforce herself, her son and the royal house of Stewart in full view of the Scottish Protestant and Catholic nobility and foreign representatives including the Protestant English Ambassador. The celebrations seized upon the whole gamut of Renaissance and Arthurian imagery, with Mary hosting a feast around a round table. The dramatic set piece of the festivities was a siege of a mock castle. This was attacked by a splendid collection of assailants including moors, '*lanceknights*', devils and '*wild hieland men*' armed with cannon and fireballs. In the context of Mary's political insecurity, it is not difficult to suggest the possible messages Mary and her advisors were trying to communicate by exploiting powerful and prevalent perceptions of the castle (Lynch 1990). Again the castle was seen as capable of defence from a whole variety of exotic antagonists, many of whom could be identified as enemies of Catholicism, with Islamic Moors, hellish devils and Protestant lanceknights. Moreover, the castle would have been identified with the Mary and the house of Stewart, its impregnability was the house of Stewart's impregnability.

The image of the castle was deeply embedded in the minds of the medieval Scot. Not only did real castles and towers surround them in their everyday life but they impinged upon them in literature, entertainment and magnificent ceremony. These glimpses into medieval perceptions of the castle have several common themes. The most important of these themes was the identification of the family and individual with the castle. The castle was a physical expression of the status, position and power of the family. Thus, the castle was not a grim tower in the medieval mind but a towering edifice, symbol of family power, wealth and self-confidence. The importance of the castle was as much in its symbolic defiance of aggression — physical or otherwise — as in its real ability to withstand an assault.

The same themes of family and impregnability that have been identified in these fictional and fantastic sources can also be seen from more prosaic references, including material such as licences to crenellate and the documentation surrounding changes in the names of castles.

4.2.2 Licences to Crenellate

Licences to Crenellate are documents which appear to provide royal permission to build a fortified residence or adapt an already existing residence. Some licences provide glimpses of the defences planned for the castle or tower and the supposed motivations behind the construction. The abundant nature of this documentation in England has led commentators to suggest that there was strong royal control over the building of fortified dwellings (Armitage 1912, 377-8; Cathcart King 1983, 43-44; 1988, 20-27; Pounds 1990, 29-32, 102-6, 141-6). Where explanatory clauses include the reason for instigating construction these have been generally accepted by scholars without question. Charles Coulson has pointed to the danger of accepting such documentation at face value — as some '*sort of medieval planning permission*' (1994, 89) — even though they seem to be transparent official documents. The most glaring example of officially sanctioned misinformation, enthusiastically accepted by historians, is to be found in the licence for Bodiam Castle (Sussex). This licence stated that the castle was near the sea and valuable for local defence in case of French invasion. However, Coulson has convincingly shown that the castle was a considerable distance inland and that its defences were minimal despite an impressive military air (1992). Coulson argues that licences were a non-essential adjunct to the process of building a castle — rarely would a castle be destroyed if the owner was without a licence. The licence did not represent central government control — the licences were not a major source of income — but rather they were for the patron of the building work, whether he was a lord, bishop, abbot, baron or burgess. As Coulson states

'the king's right as overlord to licence was a right to grant, not to refuse, permission to crenellate' (1994, 70).

The licence was a status symbol in itself, not because it allowed you to build a fortified dwelling. Such building activity was open to anyone with the appropriate resources. However, the gaining of a licence implied that one had royal favour or at least approval, adding further prestige to an already prestigious activity.

In Scotland the situation is not comparable to that in England. Licences issued solely as Licences to Crenellate are scarce, amounting to less than 30 documents compared to 460 from England.¹ This list of Scottish licences does not include the large amount of non-specific building licences contained within royal feu charters which allow or demand the building of a mansion, house or hall (Zeune 1992, 115). These ambiguous terms are rarely clarified by the wording of the feu — there is seldom any mention of specific defensive features to inform the

reader if the planned structure was to be fortified or not. The scarcity of licences that specifically mention the building of a castle or tower with the appropriate symbol of an embattled wall head has led to the view that royal control of fortified building was lax, if anything the crown encouraged such building rather than restricted it (Mackenzie 1927, 215-29). However, this explanation only accounts for the lack of licences, not for the existence of the few that we do have. In fact it makes the existence of those which we do have even stranger, if a licence was not required why go to the trouble and expense of getting one.

Mackenzie and Zuene both suggest that the crown used licences to encourage private individuals to build fortifications for reasons of national defence (Mackenzie 1927, 219; Zeune 1992, 113). In support many authors point to the 1535 Act '*For bigging of strenthis on ye Bordouris*'² which demanded that

'evry landit man in ye Inland or upon ye bordouris ... sall bif ane sufficient barmkyn ... of Stane and lyme ... for defenss of him his tennentis and the gudes in trublous tyme wyt ane toure in the sami for him self he thinkis it expedient' (APS, vol II, 346).

This act did not appear to have helped twelve years later during the Rough Wooing and one suspects that the act was mostly propaganda, rather than providing any impetus for tower building as suggested by Maxwell-Irving (1996, 866)³.

A number of towers that received licence to crenellate to protect the coast from pirate raids, have been treated in a similar manner: they were built for national defence. These include Largo on the Fife coast (licence granted 1491); Wardiehow, probably somewhere near Leith (licence granted 1499-1500) and Little Cumbrae on the Firth of Clyde (licence granted 1515) (Mackenzie 1927, 225-22; Zeune 1992, 113-114). There are also licences which give permission to build a castle for the ambiguous reason of increasing the '*policy*'⁴ (Mackenzie

¹ The only published list of Scottish Licenses is contained within W. Mackay Mackenzie's '*The Mediaeval Castle In Scotland*' (1927). This list is by no means extensive or comprehensive. There are several important omissions to the list and none of the licences are printed to their full extent.

² Government policy was never fixed: in 1528 the Council ordered the demolition of a partially built tower near Coldingham '*sen it it stands so nerr the bordouris of inland and may turne this rellm to hurt and damage*' (Acts of Lords of Council, 277, quoted in Maxwell-Irvine 1996, 877). This is an extreme rare example of the crown stepping in to prevent tower building.

³ The 1428-9 Act of the Irish Parliament demonstrates how ineffectual medieval governments were in encouraging or discouraging castle building. This act provided a £10 subsidy for those building a tower houses and gave dimensions for the tower (20ft x 16ft x 40ft). No tower has been identified with the £10 subsidy and an Act of 1449 removed the subsidy. In comparison, the Scottish Parliament's efforts appears feeble, and probably were even less successful.

⁴ Examples of this terminology can be found in several licences for castles such as Kineward (1509), Urquhart (1509). It is also found in the charter creating the burgh of Barony of Largo in 1513.

1927, 141) of the kingdom or as a method of *'protection from the invasion of foes and evildoers'* (Zeune 1992, 114).

Both writers have accepted the explanations given in the licences without question. However, the licences may not be quite as simple and transparent as they first appear. One must wonder who the tower on Little Cumbrae was protecting and who were the *'personis that waistis the samyn'* (Zeune 1992, 113). The island is six kilometres square of marsh, crag and rough grazing. If the island had a strategic role, then this small, well planned and very domestic tower seems ill suited, despite its four wide mouthed gun loops. The castle overlooks the Fairlie Roads rather than the Firth of Clyde itself, and its rocky shore could provide only limited areas for the harbouring of a fleet to intercept any sea going raiders.

The licence for Wardiehow is one of the hardest to accept. This states that Sir John Towers of Inverleith was allowed

'to big a tour and fortales upon his landis of Werdihow upon the sey coste for the defens of his landis, placis and gudis fra the invasion of Inglishmen in tyme of were' (Mackenzie 1927, 226).

The language of the licence seems full of exaggeration. In this case the licence is not talking of an occasional piratical force but of a full scale waterborne invasion. This seems ridiculous; a small tower, or even a mighty castle, could have had only limited effect on the landing of an invasion force, even if it was only designed to protect the property of Sir John and his tenants. Of all the Scottish licences, this one is most reminiscent of the equivocal, if not deceitful, licence of Bodiam.

Other licences give credence to the theory that much of the phraseology employed is nothing more than administrative devices eagerly grasped by those receiving licences. A licence issued in 1556 to an Edinburgh Burgess called Patrick Edzear gave permission to

'allair and battaill the south syde of his tenement and land resisting of the violence of wynd and wedder and conservation of the sclaits and thak upoun his said hous and tenement' (Mackenzie 1927, 226).

Similarly in 1508, John Elphinstone in the burgh of Glasgow had a licence

³ The licences for Haining, Tushielaw and Ladhope, all in Selkirkshire and all granted in 1507, contain this phrase (Zeune 1992, 114).

'to byg and erect his fore hous in his land and tenement liand within the said ciete in the hiegate thairof, etc., With batteling, machcoling and all uther maner of defens and munitioun necessar for savite (saftey) and profitt of his said hous and thak thairof fra invasion of fyre, wynd and uther ways' (Mackenzie 1927, 227-229).

Mackenzie believes that the measures taken were *'purely a matter of structural advantage or convenience'* (1927, 223). He does not explain why an embattled wall walk was a necessary defence against the wind or the threat of fire. Nor does it appear that a license was a requirement for building a fortified residence in a burgh. At the end of the sixteenth century the burgh of Maybole (Ayrshire) had twenty eight lairdly residences, all without licenses, on its main street⁶ (Tranter 1962-72; MacGibbon & Ross 1887-92 vol. III, 498). From the two which still exist it is clear that they took the tower house form. It seems obvious that these were bogus explanations in order to make the licence sound as impressive as possible. It is conceivable that such explanations, especially those alluding to the public good, would provide greater status than just an ordinary licence. The licences also officially personalised the building programmes by explicitly mentioning the patrons name and often referring to his heirs, thus involving the wider family.

What purpose then did the licence have? I would suggest the situation was very similar to that in England. The licence, as much a crenellated or machicolated wall head, was a symbol of lordship eagerly grasped upon by up and coming men or those with connections to the crown. The career of Andrew Wood demonstrates that licenses were not issued for reasons of national defence but were pursued by individuals wishing to gain status. A sea captain from Leith, he was involved in James III's trade with Flanders and served the king at sea against the English gaining as a reward for his loyalty and service a nineteen year tack of the lands and town of Largo. Wood became a royal familiar and for his continuing service at sea, in trade and war, the tack was converted to a grant in feu-ferm. He continued to serve the king in the crisis of 1488 taking an active role in the conflict. With the accession of James IV, Wood managed to hold on to his former positions. He continued as a royal favourite and commander of various royal vessels, receiving rewards such as conformations of his lands, a license to crenellate a tower at Largo in 1491, a knighthood, and a licence for a free burgh of barony at Largo established to increase the *'policy'* of the kingdom. (Mackenzie 1927, 138-139, Nicholson 1974, 441, 515, 527, 532, 540, 592). It would appear that he had been assiduous in using Royal favour and

⁶Visitors to Edinburgh also commented upon the number of towers in the city. Fynes Moryson a student from Cambridge said of Edinburgh; *'this city is high seated, in a fruitfull soyle, and wholesome aire, and is adorned with many Noblemens towers lying about it'* (Hume Brown 1978, 83).

patronage to build up his lands and using crown licences to increase his status. It seems perfectly obvious that with such a background, his license to crenellate would mention protecting the coast from pirates.

All of these themes can be found in the circumstances and language of a single licence, that for Druminnor (Aberdeenshire). The licence states that James II gives his

'well beloved kinsman, James Lord Forbes' permission to 'construct and build the tower or fortalice called Druminnor ... in the lordship of Forbes ... and to fortify and encompass the same tower or fortalice with walls and ditches and to strengthen and furnish it with doors of iron, and to build it up to a great height and at the top thereof to prepare and embellish and ornamental and defensive superstructure' (Slade 1967, 150).

The significant phrase in this licence is *'ornamental and defensive superstructure.'* This refers to the wall head of the castle, which before firearms was the main fighting platform of the castle. Even when the wall walk had lost this function, it remained for a while the most elaborate part of the exterior facade of the castle. The Forbes licence makes it clear that concerns of architectural display were already current from the early fifteenth century. The licence all but states that the wall head had a decorative and symbolic purpose, it demonstrating the lordly power of the occupant.

The context of the Forbes Licence is rooted within local conditions in the north east, specifically the relationship between the Forbes and Gordons which has been characterised as a cold war interspersed by occasional thaws and outright war and feud (Wormald 1981, 34). The castles of both families were essential components in this long running power struggle. It was not so much their actual military worth that was significant but their very existence as conspicuous physical expressions of family power.

The castles of Druminnor and Huntly, as the respective seats of the two families were fundamental in this competition. Gordon Slade has suggested that Druminnor was built earlier than Huntly and indeed earlier than the licence itself, which merely regularised previous building work (Slade 1967, 151). However, this explanation presupposes that there was stringent royal control of castle building, which simply did not exist. It is with the relationship between the Gordons and the Forbes and with the power of the castle as both symbol and reality

⁷ This phrase appears in several other licences including one issued for Borthwick castle (Midlothain) in 1430 (Mackenzie 1927, 224).

of lordship that we should look for possible explanation. Although the period when the licence was issued saw a temporary thaw between the families, neither were likely nor able to lower their defences totally. At this time the Gordons received the title of the earls of Huntly, and it was also when Huntly Castle was being rebuilt, on a similar plan to Druminnor, although on a larger scale (Slade 1967,150). With such aggressive social climbing and building work taking place nearby, Forbes may have felt the need to entrench his position. He was unable to rebuild or rise to the status of earl but by receiving a royal licence he legitimised not only his building programme but also the Forbes Lordship in the area.

Thus, despite the dry, straight forward nature of licenses to crenellate everything is not as it seems. The acceptance of such documents at face value by historians and architectural historians is informed by their bias towards military and defensive explanations for the form of castles and towers. However, by looking at the circumstances and language of many of the licenses it is clear that the motivations behind their issue is more complex. Many of them appear to have been sought for personal and family advantage. They also demonstrate the areas of the castle that were deemed important as symbols of lordship, the most visible area of the castle: the wall head (Samson 1990, 211-2).

4.2.3 The Naming of Castles.

Another significant element of licences relates to the naming of castles. Men became known through the lands they held and the castles they owned, for example the Kerrs of Ferniehurst and the Kerrs of Cessford. Such identification with a physical space must have helped to establish the family and give it a 'history' in the locality. However, some families went further and sought to rename their castles with their own family name; Castle Gloom became Castle Campbell, the Motte of Lochorwart became Borthwick Castle and the Motte of Strathbogie became Castle Huntly (Mackenzie 1927, 224; Cruden 1994, 6; Simpson 1960). In each case this was not a simple matter but involved variously a royal licence, an act of Parliament and, in the case of Huntly, a confirmation of lands and then a recapitulation of the charter.

The specific circumstances of the renamings have some similarities but in each case there were different motivations. In the case of the Campbells, their Clackmannan residence was far from their Loch Awe powerbase. The rebuilding of Castle Campbell and its associated renaming may have helped establish the new earl of Argyll in the lowlands, part of a continuing

process distancing himself and his family from their Highland roots. In the case of Borthwick, the renaming occurs when the Borthwicks exchanged their lands in Catcane (Midlothian) with those of the Hays at Borthwick, and is associated with lavish rebuilding. This was all part of a campaign of family betterment that reached its climax with the creation of William Borthwick as a lord of Parliament. At Huntly the renaming coincided with the completion of the new palace and with the continuing dominance of the Gordons in the North East. In each case by renaming the castle with their own family name or title, the Campbells, Borthwicks and Gordons not only emphasised their link with the castle and surrounding lands, and therefore legitimised their lordship, but were claiming a history far longer than their actual occupation; by renaming they appeared to have always occupied these sites, whose long standing significance was obvious to all⁸.

At Huntly, the physical configuration of the castle also creates a sense of history, intensifying the sense of place. At the end of the final major phase of building, there were three main identifiable parts to the castle — the original motte some 24m in diameter, a large fifteenth century L-shaped tower, and the sixteenth century palace. Castle Campbell and Borthwick castle were also built on the sites of pre-existing mottes. However, in these instances the masonry castle almost completely obliterates the motte, as if there was an attempt to disguise the fact that the masonry castle had not always stood there.

4.2.4 Heraldry.

By the sixteenth century the ownership of a castle or tower was often declared openly for all to see through heraldry at the gateway to the courtyards and at the main doorway of the structure, a place of pause and reflection before entering. Lethington, as we have seen, had armorial plaques above both doors. Another armorial plaque, now situated inside the tower, would probably have been placed above the gateway into the courtyard of the castle. Inside the tower, seventeenth century plaster work carries on the heraldic theme. Thus, having entered Lethington one could not avoid the constant armorial references to the Maitland family and those families they had pulled into their orbit through marriage. Heraldry most often commemorates or proclaims the identity of the family who own the castle and the person who

⁸ The opposite could also be true. When the Ruthven family suffered forfeiture after the Gowrie conspiracy in 1600, the name of Ruthven was abolished. As part of this act of destroying the Ruthvens an act of Parliament '*ordained the baronie and place of Ruthven to be changeit and callit in all tyme coming the place and baronie of Huntingtoun*' (Pringle 1996, 9). Thus, from having once been the symbol of family pride, the castle was taken into the hands of the Crown, and its name was reduced to describing its function: a Hunting Tower or lodge.

was responsible for the building of the castle or for subsequent smaller building programmes.⁹ At Scalloway Castle (Shetland) below three armorial panels, containing the royal arms with those of Patrick Stewart and his wife, is the inscription:

PATRICIUS STEURDUS ORCHADIA ET ZETLANDIAE COMES I.V.R.S.

CUJUSFUNDEMEN SAXUM EST DOMUS ILLA MANEBIT

LABILIS E CONTRA SI SIT ARENA PERIT.

'Patrick Stewart, earl of orkney and shetland, James V[?] King of Scots. The house whose foundation is rock will stand/ But will perish, if built upon shifting sand' (RCAHMS 1946, 120)

The rather enigmatic biblical reference has caused some discussion due to earl Patrick's subsequent downfall. However, Patrick may simply have been comparing his family's position to that of a new strong house, once again the castle and family become a single entity.

Heraldry could be used to express more than just family identities: it expressed family, political and religious loyalties. Where the family had royal connections, as at Craigmillar, where the Prestons held the castle from the crown, the arms of the family or individual are often presented alongside the royal coat of arms (Pringle 1996, 15). At Carnasserie Castle, built by John Carswell, rector of Kilmartin, superintendent of Argyll and future bishop of the Isles, the large and impressive armorial plaque above the entrance to the tower. The plaque includes a coat of arms for Archibald Campbell, 5th earl of Argyll and his first wife, Jean Stewart, a natural daughter of King James V. Below the panel is the inscription DIA LE UA NDUIBHINE — 'God be with O' Duibhne'. Duibhne refers to the head of the Clan Campbell. Thus, instead of commemorating himself and his building achievement, John Carswell used his new castle to celebrate earl Archibald. It is not difficult to understand why this was the case: John held the land from Archibald as *'his familiar servant'* in blenchferm (Argyll Castles 1997, 71-76). Carswell was using his castle to demonstrate his connections, loyalty and gratitude to Archibald Campbell.

Huntly Castle provides the most magnificent proclamation of ownership of any Scottish residence, telling the viewer much about the character of the owner. In the seventeenth century a magnificent frontispiece was added to the palace block through which the 6th earl of Huntly proclaimed — in an ascending hierarchy of power and authority — his Gordon ancestry, his

⁹ On occasion the heraldic representation of a family took a peculiar form: at Craigmillar castle an ornamental pond takes the form of a 'P' for the Preston family, while an armorial plaque over the gate to the west garden includes the Preston arms and a word play on the family name: a press and a tun (Pringle 1996, 4).

elevation to the title of Marquis, his loyalty to James VI/I and his Queen, Anne of Denmark, and his devotion to Roman Catholicism (Simpson 1960, 22). In this case all the physical elements of the castle stood together, a physical demonstration of over four centuries of continual occupation and lordship.

4.3 THE CASTLE AS A SYMBOL OF POWER.

4.3.1 A militarised society

In the previous section documentary sources demonstrated that the castle and towerhouse instilled a potent symbolism in the minds of medieval Scots. This symbolism was of course martial and was so through-out the medieval and early modern period. That such a martial symbol was used as a symbol of lordship in Scotland is not surprising. However, this militarised society with the towerhouse at its core did not just appear. Rather it could be argued that its appearance can, at least in part, be ascribed to certain historical events. It has been recognised by Philip Dixon, that in the decades immediately before the Wars of Independence, the English side of the border was relatively unfortified apart from a few great baronial stone castles and early earthwork castles (Dixon 1992, 107: 1993). Castles such as Norham, Haughton, Aydon, Edlingham and Langley all began life as relatively unfortified halls; it was only with the Wars of Independence that each of these castles was extended and fortified (Dixon 1992, 103).

A similar development can be identified in Scotland. Watson has noted that in the ancient Scottish earldoms castle building was limited in its extent and often carried out by Anglo-Norman settlers rather than the earls themselves who retained their own symbols of power. It was only with the Wars of Independence that the earldoms became dotted with castles (Watson, *pers. comm.* 1997). This view is supported by archaeology. It has been noted that the distribution of mottes throughout Scotland is very uneven; there are large concentrations in Galloway and Moray where, in the twelfth century, the crown was attempting to enforce its authority through the settlement of Anglo-Norman incomers. The rest of the landscape of early medieval Scotland relatively free of castles (Tabraham 1997, 22). However, the tally and distribution of mottes may not represent a true picture of castles, pre-Wars of Independence. This is because many small Scottish mottes were not built in the eleventh or twelfth century, but rather date the Wars of Independence. Mottes are considered to be an early form of castle, constructed when the need arose for a strongly defensible, yet cheap and quick to erect structure. Such a need was as acute during the Wars of Independence as it was during the

Norman conquest. The concentration of mottes not only fits in with those areas outside crown control in the twelfth century, but also with the areas which saw the bitterest conflict in the early fourteenth century. The excavation of Roberton Motte in Upper Clydesdale, established that the motte was built in the early fourteenth century and raises the possibility that many other mottes date from this period. Therefore, prior to the Wars of Independence Scotland may have been even less populated by castles than was previously thought (Haggerty & Tabraham 1982, 60-64; Tabraham 1997, 64).

The Wars of Independence were a catalyst not only for building earthwork castles but also for changes in the design of castles and the fortification of previously unfortified residences. Hall castles such as Morton, with its impressive gatehouse may be a sign of the increasing militarisation of the homes of the nobility. The concept of the large hall as a central feature of the lords accommodation remains at Morton, but this is combined with an overtly military gatehouse. Other comparatively lightly defended halls such as Lochranza (Arran) and Craigie (Ayrshire) were subsequently refortified as towers, while at Duffus (Morayshire) the timber defences of the earlier motte were replaced by a masonry tower (Tabraham 1997, 67).

After the Wars of Independence the form of aristocratic residences in Scotland changed from the large enclosure castle and the unfortified hall, and the tower house became the ubiquitous symbol of lordship. Various theories have been put forward for the popularity of the tower form (Cruden 1960, 105-115; MacGibbon & Ross 1887-92 vol. III, 17; Tabraham 1997, 67):

- It was inspired by Norman keeps.
- It was a relatively cost effective method of fortification for the financially drained aristocracy of Scotland.
- It required fewer men to defend than an enclosure castle with large stretches of curtain wall.
- It reflected a decline in the size of households
- It was a reaction against the large enclosure castles which had failed to provide effective defence against siege.

In addition, castle building may have descended the social ladder; lords and landholders who previously did not have the resources to build a large enclosure castle or did not feel the need, had made do with semi-defended halls or a timber castles. However, with the Wars of Independence the basis of lordship in Scotland had been severely shaken, as a result becoming overtly militaristic in nature. In such an unstable atmosphere the defensive capabilities and the military symbolism of the tower house may have become irresistible.

All of these factors may have had an influence on the prevalence of tower building, and all point to the militarisation of the aristocracy of Scotland during and after the Wars of Independence. In an atmosphere of continuing conflict it is not surprising that lordship began to be presented in an overtly militaristic fashion. Scotland had been at total war for more than a decade, it had become a combative society where expressions of power and lordship took on a martial inclination. The Wars of Independence did not create the tower house — Drum Tower is believed to pre-date the Wars of Independence — but rather it provided the conditions where the military symbolism of the tower house could flourish.

4.3.2 Continuing violence and feud.

Even after the Wars of Independence, medieval and early modern Scotland remained a violent society. War with England remained a constant possibility, and often erupted into reality. The Anglo-Scottish border was a continual flashpoint. When it suited their own political aims each government encouraged the surnames or clans in cross-border conflict and raiding, only to rein them in when the situation changed, or when the raiding was turned inward, Scot against Scot or Englishman against Englishman (Watson 1994, 20). However, endemic violence and raiding was not the inevitable outcome of a border situation. Along the Swedish/Danish border local communities did their utmost to avoid conflict between neighbours across the border despite the actions of their belligerent rulers. The concrete expression of this desire for peace was local treaties between the communities which had nothing to do with central government (Anders Andrén *pers. comm.*). In Scotland and England such treaties are unknown; local treaties that were concluded were usually between antagonists and often were motivated by the desire to extort payment from local communities. There was a degree of cross border co-operation between certain surnames, such as the Croziers and Elliots and the Carletons and Armstrongs these were alliances of mutual need which served only to perpetuate the violence (Watson 1994, 115). There was never any concerted effort to bring about a semblance of peace and security. The rebellion of the northern nobility against Edward I's Scottish policy can be seen as the last remnants of cross border understanding. However, their defeat, subsequent Scottish incursions and the general bitterness of the wars polarised those living on the border into opposing camps. In such a context it is unlikely that the generally peaceful situation in Sweden and Denmark could prevail.

Even if external and border relations are ignored, Scotland still appears as violent country where blood feud was a reality. This fact was recognised by contemporaries. In the mid-sixteenth century David Calderwood wrote of 'much blood shed, and manie horrible murders committed' in Scotland (Brown 1986, 13). Governmental and personal accounts are full of reports of casual violence; the diary of Robert Birrel, a citizen of Edinburgh, records events such as 'Robert Cathcart slaine pisching at the wall in Peiblis wynd heid be William Stewart, sone to Sir William Stewart' (Brown 1986, 13). Violence was not restricted to simple murder in the streets. Keith Brown, in contrast with Jenny Brown/Wormald, has shown that there was always the likelihood that rather than bringing about settlement, kin and dependants could be dragged into a spiralling cycle of ever worsening violence (Brown 1986, 12-33; Brown 1977, 62; Wormald 1980, 55). When conflict arose, men were rarely alone but would be accompanied by servants and supporters; in a dispute over the collection of teinds a large force led by the earl of Cassillis was confronted by the laird of Bargany and several hundred armed horsemen, hagbutters and a number of cannon (Brown 1986, 114). In such circumstances a simple dispute could end in a full-scale battle; a long running feud between the Maxwells and the Johnstones over the control over the west wardenry resulted in open war in the south west and the battle of Dryfe Sands which involved several thousand men (Brown 1986, 74; Watson 1994, 147). In a society where almost every man was armed it was easy for disputes to end in violence. In the late sixteenth century, an agent of Lord Burghley reported that in Scotland '*it is the accustimable fassyon of this contry, [and] specyally amonge the best sort, to styk or shoot with a pece or pistoll such as the Chance[lour] if he give them cawse of offence ...*' (Brown 1986, 114).

Lordship was in part conditioned by violence, and expressed through violence and the material culture of violence, which included arms and the tower house with its embattled parapet and gunloops. In the case of the tower house, its defensive features may have become no more than symbols by the late sixteenth century but such martial symbols and displays were vitally important. A lord or laird had to show a knowledge of the martial arts and a willingness to use them. When Francis Stewart, earl of Bothwell killed Sir William Stewart in a duel 1587 — because of a personal insult — he was not only defending his personal honour but was protecting his powerbase (Brown 1986, 24). To not respond would have meant loss of support, respect, manpower, and ultimately power. For effective lordship, the lord had to be able to protect his dependants and tenants and ensure peace within his orbit, a fact which may have necessitated the use of violence.

Within this atmosphere of conflict stood the castle or tower house — a symbol of the lord's power and authority. It may have meant oppression to some but to others it provided a physical representation of the worth of kinship and bonds of manrent. Not only was towerhouse architecture a suitable means by which a militarised elite could demonstrate their identity, but was also a process which helped generate such identity. It is social relations rather than defence which underlies this process. In a society where violence was prevalent and where effective lordship was still dependent to a large extent on how effectively one could wield violence — or more importantly the threat of violence — the inherent social pressure was to display a military ethos both in actions and in material terms: the wearing of weapons and living in fortified residences. Failure to do so would leave oneself open to challenges. This was not a closed cycle, for the laird could break away from the steamroller of social conformity if he so wished. However, several elements worked against this: there was too much to lose in terms of power, status and, in a society where private violence was always an option, perhaps even life. The physical nature of architecture also had an effect — the very permanence of stone stopped sudden change in the material expression of society which in turn sustained those elements in society which had created it.

4.3.3 Symbols of Power.

Individual elements of castle architecture symbolised lordship and these were almost wholly militaristic. The fortified wall head of a castle, as has already been pointed out in relation to licenses to crenellate, was of prime importance both as symbol and reality of military lordship. The treatment of the wall head has been seen as a progression from the utilitarian timber hoard, to the more sophisticated and impressive but still functional stone machicolations and then to false machicolations, chequer-wise corbelled wall heads and string courses which were merely symbolic, although there are problems with such a typological and evolutionary approach. However, the distinction between the symbolic and the functional may not be as clear cut as it appears (Samson 1990, 210). The large and permanent timber hoard overhanging the curtain wall would have been as much a symbol of lordship as a false machicolation. The description of the siege of Caerlaverock, the *'Roll of Karlaverock'* describes the use of a hoard but also demonstrates its fragility when attacked by a siege engine:

'Moreover on the other side he was erecting three other engines, much larger ... Nothing resists his blows, bretasche nor great timber. Yet they did not flinch, but held upon their

defence, those within, until the roof fell in on all sides, whereby the stones entered'

(Tabraham 1996, 56).

After the collapse of the hoard the defenders surrendered which seems rather surprising as the water filled moat and the curtain wall appear to have remained intact. The siege almost appears to have taken a ritual form with the defenders holding out as long as the greatest symbol of the castle's strength, its wall head defences, were damaged. The use of stone machicolations in the fifteenth century may appear to be a functional progression which saw the strengthening of wall head defences. However, in many cases the machicolations may have served primarily as an expression of lordship: part of the elaborately constructed machicolated crown on the south-east tower at Bothwell covered the roof of the chapel (Mackenzie 1927, 210). Although primarily symbolic these defences were not constructed merely because of fashion. Rather it was vital that the lord or laird could demonstrate an effective knowledge of military matters and an ability to put these in to practice. An obvious method of achieving this was through the architecture of their residences.

With the introduction of firearms defence moved away from the wall head and as a consequence the architectural emphasis of the wall head lessened. This may appear to confirm the functionalist explanation for wall head defences but the decline in emphasis on the wall head was a gradual process, tending to suggest that the symbolic meaning was so great that elements of its form were retained after they had ceased to be the most up to date military technology, and continued to be a purely symbolic representation of lordship (Samson 1990, 203-6). With its replacement — the gunloop — a similar development can be seen (Cruden 1960, 224; Samson 1990, 204-5). Such impressive demonstrations of fire-arm defence as can be seen at Noltland (Orkney) re-call the impressive displays of machicolations at fifteenth century castles such as Craigmillar and Crichton. Again in many cases there is the suggestion that the defences are designed as impressive demonstrations of military knowledge and resources. At Dunottar (Kincardineshire) the visitor walking along the entrance pend is confronted by four wide-mouthed gunloops arranged in a square. However, these gunloops are checked for glass (Cruden 1960, 222) ! At Craignethan, described by Tabraham as the '*last great private fastness built from scratch in Scotland*', one can clearly identify the desire to express a working knowledge of the most up-to-date castellated architecture. In the case of the builder, Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, master of the king's work, there was a professional pressure to show his erudition when it came to modern artillery defence (McKean 1995, 1082-3). Yet it appears that the mere demonstration of this knowledge was enough rather than its effective application. This can be clearly seen in the castle's most unusual feature, its caponier. This vaulted stone gallery,

pierced with gunloops, is situated in the great ditch and was designed to sweep the ditch clear of attackers. However, the caponier only has three gunloops in each side all with an extremely limited field of fire. Even more enlightening, the caponier would have quickly filled with smoke and fumes, rendering it useless (MacIvor 1993, 23).

The appearance, proliferation and endurance of the fortified residence was not inevitable, but rather was in part the material expression of a militant elite polarised through war. Once established as a symbol of lordship, the very existence of such structure may have perpetuated the conditions and perceptions which allowed them to exist. The fortified residence became a symbol of lordship and part of lordship was the ability to muster men to defend those rights. The towerhouse with its martial face was a physical representation of the lords ability and willingness to confirm this.

4.3.4 Ubiquity of Form.

One can also recognise the power of this symbolism through built features in the Scottish medieval landscape. The ubiquity of castellated forms in the architectural grammar of medieval Scotland reflects how fundamental these symbols of power had become. Perhaps surprisingly castellated forms often adorned religious buildings, churches, as well as the dwellings of the clergy. Dysart Church (Fife), Cross Church (Pebbles), and Kilmun Church (Argyllshire) are notable for their fortified towers (MacGibbon & Ross 1897 vol. III, 437, 482, 390; Samson 1990, 214). Writers suggest that these towers were built to provide protection for the church and its goods and the goods belonging to the local population situated in exposed geographic positions (MacGibbon & Ross 1897 vol. III, 437). They are found on both sides of the Anglo-Scottish border as at Cross Church and Edlingham Church (Northumbria). Dysart Church could have been exposed to raids from the sea, as may have been Kilmun on Holy Loch. However, defence may not have been the only motivation. The very idea of building a tower on to the church for safe guarding goods seems to be of questionable wisdom, creating nothing more than an extremely visible target.

At Dysart, the tower is of fine workmanship, with numerous windows piercing its walls, with tall lancet windows marking the position of the belfry of the tower. The tower consists of eight floors, the lower two being vaulted and attic floor having the only fireplace in the tower. The edifice is surmounted by a cap house and a plain parapet with decorative corbel work and water spouts. The tower at Kilmun was less ornate, with only one entrance into the tower from

the nave (MacGibbon & Ross 1896, vol. III, 390). The tower consisted of three floors and an attic. The second floor has a fireplace and a decorated window reminiscent of ecclesiastical architecture and is thought to be the residence of the provost of the college. Unfortunately the upper section of the tower is ruined and it is impossible to say how the tower was finished, although a parapet is likely. In each case the tower only offer passive defence through the strength of its walls; the parapets are likely to have been ornamental more than anything.

It is difficult to believe that these extremely costly and impressive structures were nothing more than safe deposit vaults. At Annan the burgh's parish church was used as a place of strength during the 'Rough Wooing' in 1547. However, the details of the incident demonstrate that this was a desperate and ultimately unsuccessful attempt at *ad hoc* defence. Although the church had been reinforced with earthen banks, it was quickly taken by English troops who went through the body of the church after their attack on the embattled steeple was repulsed. The site of the church was then used for a towerhouse ensuring a higher degree of security (Neilson 1896, 177; RCAHMS 1997, 248). During the constant raids of the 'rough wooing' any stone building would have been pushed into service as a place of defence and was a possible target; two years before the destruction of Annan, Kelso Abbey was attacked. Its defenders, including twelve monks retreated to the steeple but the abbey was no real defence against cannon (RCAHMS 1915, xxiii). Again, the defence of the church was a last ditch desperate measure and no way explains the prevalence of castellated features found in many ecclesiastical buildings.

The towers seem to have had various functions including living space, a demonstration of wealth and status and occasionally defence and safe keeping. However, it would have been possible to build structure with these functions without resorting to the symbols of secular lordship. The towers were not a mere consequence of a outside threats, but rather was the result of conscious decisions to build in this manner. Clerics and their patrons chose to build churches with castellated features which have no clear no defensive purpose. At Torphichen Church (Linlithgowshire), once belonging to the Knights Hospitallers, the central tower has the appearance of a massive towerhouse and yet it is an integrated part of the church which could not be defended — the ground floor of the tower was the open crossing of the church, while the other parts of the church would have interfered with any parapet defence. The upper floors of both the tower and transepts were seemingly used for living accommodation. The military ethos, central to the order, may help explain the overly martial style of architecture. However, a

great many other churches display castellated features, yet have no military associations. It is almost always the tower that comes in for attention; Stirling parish church (Stirling), Pittenweem Church (Fife), Dunfermline Abbey (Fife) St. Salvators (St Andrews) and St Machar's Cathedral (Aberdeen) amongst others, have a the very plain exterior with heavily corbelled machicolated parapets, so reminiscent of tower house architecture (Samson 1990, 214).

That such building features were identified as secular symbols of lordship by the clerical authorities is clear. The symbolism was often chosen for buildings and other architectural structures which acted as buffers between the clerical and the secular. The walls of cathedral and monastic precincts were crenellated and in the fifteenth century fortified gate houses, such as at Arbroath (Angus) — where the gatehouse is associated with the regality courthouse and a guest house — and Crossraguel (Ayrshire), were built (MacGibbon & Ross 1887-92 vol. I, 561; vol. III, 385; Samson 1990, 214; Coulson 1982). The gatehouse has an obvious role as a transition area between the secular and the spiritual, and is the obvious location for architectural elaboration. It would be here that the outside world and the monastery met and where the monastery had to communicate in the language of secular lordship. The residences of bishop's and abbot's may have had a similar function. The princes of the church also had the secular position of the community to uphold and could be seen as the intermediaries between the community and the outside world. This is demonstrated forcefully at Arbroath where access to the conventual buildings is strongly controlled by a very impressive gatehouse and then by the abbots house (Oram 1997, *pers. comm.*).

Other institutions adopted also castellated architectural styles to help legitimise their own position in society. Thus toll booths, the seats of municipal administration and the expression of burghal pride often resemble a tower house such as at Elgin (Moray), Tain (Ross and Cromarty), Forres (Moray), Musselburgh (Midlothian) and Maybole (Ayrshire) (MacGibbon and Ross 1887-92 vol. V, 98-99, 99-101, 101-102, 109-111, 115-116). Other institutional buildings such as Heriot's Hospital (Edinburgh) and King's College (Aberdeen) also demonstrate aspects of Scottish castellated architecture (MacGibbon & Ross 1887-92 vol. V, 138-155) At King's College a large tower house like structure was built as late as 1658 to provide accommodation for students (Samson 1990, 214). The towerhouse had become a halls of residence!

The symbol of the castle, especially the tower and the crenellated parapet, had gone beyond any functional usage. Its power came not from any threat of a shot from behind a crenelle but rather from what that crenelle represented — a visible, and immediately identifiable, demonstration of authority. The symbols which had gone to create the castle had become the dominant material expression of power relations. The declaration of secular private lordship through the architecture of the castle and tower house was relentless. A fortified aspect, although only in stylistic terms, remained in polite Scottish architecture long after its practical functions had become redundant; not only had private violence ceased but the basis of lordship had also changed. Yet the symbolism of the castle was such, that aspects of Scottish tower house architecture continued long into the seventeenth century not only in domestic buildings but in the buildings of the new elites — universities, hospitals, schools and municipal buildings.

4.4 THE CASTLE WITHIN THE LANDSCAPE.

The previous section demonstrates how the castle was a potent symbol of identity and authority which penetrated all levels of society, both secular and religious. The symbolism concentrated on details of castle design. However the castle was part of a wider network of social relations centred within the agricultural landscape.

4.4.1 The castle and the barony.

The architecture of the castle or tower heightened the sense of ownership, not only of the castle, but of the land around it (the manor or barony): the main baronies of the thirteenth century Comyn lordship, all had a Comyn castle as a *caput* (Young 1994, 189). The castle, the manor and the lord were subsumed in a single identity. An outcome of this place making was the coalescing of identities between the land, the castle and the individual — Robert Kerr of Cessford, known as Cessford, held the barony of Cessford and had his residence at Cessford Castle, the *caput* of the barony. This identification with the land appears to have continued down the social scale to encompass those who lived and cultivated the barony, the *sucken*. This is demonstrated by an expression used by the clerk of the barony court of Urie; '*the laird with consent of his haill grund ...*' (Sanderson 1982, 14). Although the barony, the castle and the individual all derived their name from the land, it was the castle that provided the most obvious focus and symbol of the barony. The castle provided a locus for the estate and a physical expression of this shared identity.

Scottish rural settlement rarely took the form of the nucleated village with the castle and parish church acting as dual foci for the settlement (Yeoman 1991, 115), although there are examples such as Direlton in East Lothian, Lochmaben, Annan, Torthorwald and Staplegordon in Dumfriesshire, and Rattray in Aberdeenshire (Whyte 1981, 13-15; RCAHMS 1997, 197-200, Yeoman 1995, 117). The concept of the village or burgh, with its green, parish church and nearby castle is essentially a northern English settlement plan.¹⁰ The examples cited above reflect the impact of Anglo-Norman settlement and the influence of their ideas on indigenous nobility. In the later medieval period small settlements grew up around some castle and towers, often becoming burghs of barony at the behest of the lord or laird. For example, in 1497 Alloa was raised to burghal status in favour of Lord Erskine, with the settlement situated around Alloa Tower. Rather than a completely new settlement, this probably represents the regularisation of existing arrangements which Lord Erskine could then easily control and profit by. Alloa had a harbour and was involved in the coal industry. Many other burghs would have been similar in scale to Rattray (Aberdeenshire) — rural hamlets with a few craftsmen servicing the needs of the castle (Murray & Murray 1993, 109, 207-8; Yeoman 1995, 116; Wormald 1981, 50).

Although the castle or tower could be a focus for limited nucleated settlement, it does not follow that this was a prerequisite for the castle to act as a central place within the context of a dispersed population. It was at the castle and at the castle gates that some of the more important events of the rural year would have taken place. The barony court probably had most impact on peoples lives, dealing not only with judicial matters such as slaughter and theft but also the day to day conflicts of a small farming community. It also had a fundamental role to play in the organisation and regulation of the land by which mechanism the lord also ensured that he received his due (Sanderson 1982, 14). It was in the barony court held in the lord's castle or at its gates, that the community would come together; at Druminnor the barony court was held in the '*Great Hall*', '*Old Hall*' and the '*Tower*', ceasing when the hall was subdivided; and at Eglinton Castle (Ayrshire) the barony court met, amongst other locations, at the '*forth-ludging*' or gatehouse of the castle¹¹ (Slade 1967, 155; Eglinton muniments, GD 3, Barony

¹⁰ The dispersed nature of the Scottish rural settlement appears to have been of long standing, and was one element in Scottish society little altered by the introduction of feudalism. In the pre-feudal thanages the major land division was a *pett*, a rough equivalent to a manor or estate, administered by a minor lord resident in the principal farmstead. In some cases these residence would have had some form of architectural elaboration such as at Aberargie and Dalpatrick which consist of simple ditched enclosures, which in the case of Dalpatrick may have surrounded a timber hall (Driscoll 1991, 95). Rather than clustering around this farmstead, other settlement was scattered through out the *pett* (Driscoll 1991, 90-99).

¹¹ As will be discussed, Royal practice was similar with the Court of the Verge being held in the king's hall or at the castle gates (Bateson 1904, 10).

Court book, quoted in Sanderson 1982, 12). At Castle Tioram judicial execution appears to have taken place directly outside the '*utter gate*' of the castle (Campbell 1984). Other, less brutal, legal activities occurred at the castle gates: in 1467 a sasine was issued at the gates of Cessford Castle and in 1456, Robert Dalzell of the Ilk presented himself at the gates of Morton Castle to receive a sasine from the baron of Morton (RCAHMS 1956 vol. I, 131). When Elizabeth Stewart, countess of Arran was forced to transfer her castle of Newton to Wallace of Burnbank, she received the instruments to quit '*at the utter zett of the said castell of Newton*' (Paterson 1863 vol. I, 167-8). The castle was also involved in the agricultural seasons with the rents, both in kind and in money, being brought by the tenants to the caput at Whitsunday and Martinmas (Sanderson 1982, 38).

At Mauchline, a small and unusual fine late fifteenth century tower was the administrative centre for the extensive barony of Kylesmure, a far flung estate of the abbey of Melrose. In the sixteenth century it provided accommodation for the chamberlain of the estate, under a bailie, Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudoun. The account books kept by the chamberlain for the years 1527-1528 demonstrate the degree to which this tower, because of the administrative functions centred within it, was the hub of the barony (Sanderson 1975). The settlement of Mauchline grew up around the monastic grange which by the fifteenth century had the tower as its headquarters. In 1430 the barony became a regality and in 1510 the settlement of Mauchline became a burgh; the tower was the focus of all these various jurisdictions, the barony, regality and burgh courts may all have met there. The tower would not only accommodated the chamberlain but the bailie and the abbot when they were in the locality. It is to the tower or the structure which surrounded it (barns and granaries) that the tenants of the barony brought their cheese in June and their marts in October in payment of rent, and where, in 1528, the miller brought the multures, the tax on grain ground in the barony mills (Sanderson 1982, 32, 38, 148). The tower and its occupants were also a source of income for the locality; the chamberlain employed the few craftsmen of the burgh, to provide household goods such as new brass bound pots from the potter and a rake, spit and trugs from the smith. He also bought provisions for the household from the local merchants and tenants; capons, beef, fish, salt, flour, ale, honey, candles and soap, and paid servants to work the mains farm. Repairs to the abbot's chambers in the tower in 1528 brought in workmen from the locality and from further afield, again helping the burgh's economy and, for a brief period, ensuring that the tower was even more prominent in the burgh (Sanderson 1975, 90-93). Thus, the castle was meeting place, a place to be seen at, a place to journey to and from, a place to avoid.

Surrounding the castle were various elements which, with the castle, made up the administrative landscape of the estate. At the aforementioned barony of Morton, various place and topographical names help to re-create this medieval world. Two hundred metres to the north of the castle is a farm called Morton Mains, a name which refers to the original 'home farm' of the castle. This land would have supplied some of the food needs of the lord's household and was often kept under the control of the lord or his officials and tended by his servants, his tenants or hired workers (Sanderson 1982, 21). The mains would have been a focus for population, with a farmtown to accommodate those working the land (Sanderson 1982, 124). Close to Morton Mains was the lord's mill, which has left us the place name Millers Close. The mill was of central importance to the inhabitants of a barony and to the lord: all grain grown in the barony had to be milled at the barony mill and the lord and the miller received a portion of the ground meal. The mill was often a source of conflict in the barony. The lord and miller were anxious to stop grain being milled illicitly at home by the occupants of the barony, while the occupants were suspicious that the miller either adulterated the meal or took more than his allotted *knaifship*. On occasion, barony courts were held at the mill to deal with disputes concerning the mill.¹² At Morton, there were other sites where the lord's judicial rights of '*pit and gallows*' would have been dispensed: Gallowflatts, Hangingshaw and Judgement Thorn. The siting of a gallows near to the castle established a visual reminder of the lord's ultimate power. The barony of Morton also contained the local parish church. However, this was over a mile away from the castle, and would have become an alternative focus for settlement. The existence of such a settlement can be identified through the modern farm-name Kirklands. This farm is situated near the site of the parish church, and takes its name from the lands originally held by the church, for its upkeep. These lands may have been leased and later feu'd, creating another focus for settlement. In this instance, the castle retained its predominance over the church as the central place; this was undoubtedly accentuated by the fact that the teinds and revenues of the parish church were appropriated by Kelso Abbey in Roxburghshire, too distant to challenge the lord's authority.

Although spread about the barony all these elements (apart from the church) were associated with the lord in his castle. The produce of the mains were taken to the castle, the multures from the mill were taken to the castle, and the prisoner before his execution or judgement would probably be imprisoned in the castle. The fact that settlement was disparate would have increased the prominence of the tower and castle in the landscape. A tower would

¹² The court of the earl of Strathearn, met in a mill in the thirteenth century, (Watson pers comm) while the Urie

not stand alone, but would have been surrounded by other lesser buildings, such as a hall, a kitchen; extra accommodation and stables, all included within the outer circuit of defences, the barmkin; a low bank and ditch, perhaps with a timber palisade (Tabraham 1997, 80-82). All these elements are present in a description of Lochwood Tower (Dumfriesshire), caput and estate centre of the Johnstones from 1547;

'it was a fair large tower able to lodge all our company safely with a barnekin-hall, kitchen and stables, all within the barnekin' (Maxwell-Irving 1990, 94)

Although greatly ruined, the tower still dominates the complex of buildings. The clutter of other structures does not detract from the view of the castle. Along with the parish church, in a landscape of scattered settlement, the castle was an obvious focus.

4.4.2 The siting of the castle.

The ease with which the castle and tower created a sense of place is an obvious consequence of its architectural form. In an insubstantial world here is something that is solid and real. The height of the tower would have made it one of the most obvious and impressive elements in the landscape. This is often accentuated by the site upon which the castle or tower sits. The motivation for choosing an elevated site for a castle is usually thought to be defence (c.f. Stell 1985, 197, for an alternative functionalist approach). This rationale cannot be rejected, but parallel explanations, such as visibility, should not be discounted.

In some cases visibility may have been of primary concern. At Crichton (Midlothian) the castle stands high above the Tyne Water dominating much of the river valley and sits high above the north and south approaches, giving an impressive impression of strength. Yet the castle is directly overlooked by high ground from the east giving any besieger who held this ground a distinct advantage. The desire for visibility and confidence in the castle's defences outweighed any concerns about the defensibility of the site. Crichton is not unique. At Craignethan (Lanarkshire) the castle is an impressive sight from the steep valley of the Nethan and Mylneburn which surround it. At first sight the topography of the large natural promontory on which the castle sits, gives the impression of impregnability (McKean 1995, 1071). However, as at Crichton, the castle is overlooked by high ground, a defensive shortcoming when the present castle was built in the mid sixteenth century. Just as at Crichton, the

topography of the site may not have been considered a hindrance to the overall concept of the castle. This vision was not only driven by defensive considerations. The topography was used creatively in conjunction with the architecture of the castle to create a stunning setting for the castle. The approach to the castle was interspersed with various visual set pieces — the castle towering above the spectator in the valley, then disappearing as the ascent of the river bluff begins, to suddenly appear again, this time squatting low beneath the spectator, obscured to a greater or lesser extent by a great inner rampart (McKean 1995, 1077; MacIvor 1993, 22) The architecture of the castle continued this theme of movement interrupted by physical and visual barriers. In as sense, the approach becomes a processional way. Only after passing through these obstacles the great mass of the tower could finally be encountered close and unobscured.

4.4.3 The castle as polite architecture.

The capacity of the castle to create a sense of place was all the more powerful because of the contrast between the permanence and scale of the castle and the ephemeral nature of vernacular domestic architecture in Scotland. Even from the seventeenth century the contrast between the residences of the lairds and of the great mass of the population struck visitors to Scotland. An English Cromwellian soldier notes that in Scotland there were

'few or no trees, either for fruit or shade, unless it is about a great lairds house; these lairds have indeed large and spacious houses built of stone; they have few or no window glasse and these they have wooden shutters below and glass above. There recreation is hunting and drinking; the poorer sort live in low thatcht cottages full of smoke and noisome smells, in many of the places their families and cattle live under one roof' (Gardiner 1894, 134-140).

Even such substantial dwellings as the longhouses excavated at Springwood Park (Roxburghshire) or the fourteenth-century clay-walled structures at Rattray (Aberdeen) (Yeoman 1995, 115-117), would visually have paled into insignificance when compared with even a small tower-house. The visual effect would have been heightened if one were to compare a tower or castle with a building constructed of turves and thatch such as those described by an Englishman called Lowther at Langholm in Dumfriesshire, who stayed *'in a poor thatched house the wall of it being one course of stones on other of sods of earth [and] had a door of wicker rods'* (Lowther 1894, 11-12). Dwellings such as the 'platform buildings' of Eskdale, which are partially excavated into the slope and lie along the contour, would have faded into the

horizon, their turf walls and thatched roofs blending into the surrounding vegetation, so they must have appeared almost organic in shape and colour (Hooper 1997, 73).

In contrast, the masonry castle or tower stood out from the landscape, an obviously manmade structure. There was nothing organic about the masonry castle. Even when surrounded by a low barmkin wall or a tall curtain the tower still managed to stand proud. The castle or tower was not sited for protection against the elements, but was often in the most exposed and visible position, relying on its structure rather than topography to protect it from the weather. It was a structure that stood in spite of topography rather than working with it. The castle was also distinguished by the material used in its construction. These may have been derived from nature but had been transformed by the work of man into something quite unnatural. Thus the walls were of stone, a symbol of strength, permanence and immortality. By building in stone the builder or patron was ensuring the permanence of himself and his family. The stone used was often no ordinary stone but was cut, dressed and polished ashlar, which was fitted together with most unnatural precision. Where the stone work was rubble masonry, the quoining would be dressed, creating precise and sharp edges. The important architectural features of the castle — the openings and most importantly the wall head — would be picked out in dressed stone, emphasising the stark regular geometry of straight lines and rectangular forms. The unshaped boulders and stones of rubble masonry could be and were hidden behind the artificial uniformity of lime harling, turning a tower a dazzling white, or an ochre yellow or a dusky pink depending on what additives were mixed with the lime, and leaving only the dressed stone unhidden. Specific areas of the castle would have been decorated further. Heraldry, armorial devices and mottoes above doorways would have come in for special attention. These would have been decorated with gold and bright primary colours. Such colour schemes may have been extended to include window surrounds and the wooden shutters at the windows.¹³ All these colours would have stood out against the greens and browns of the landscape. The tower would have been roofed with slates or flags, again rectangular and regular, a glossy black or grey, only gaining a patina of green through time. Finally, and paradoxically, the gardens and trees which surrounded a tower or castle picked out such a place

¹³The Accounts of the Master of Works certainly demonstrate that Royal castles were extensively decorated with gold and painted (See Paton 1957: 79, 86, 95, 99, 128, 170, 190, 215, 224, 298, 342. Imrie and Dunbar 1982: 77, 78-9, 81, 256, 348). The evidence for such colour schemes in non-royal castles is far less evident. However, it is inconceivable that such a work as the great heraldic frontispiece at Huntly Castle would not have been painted especially when it is known that in 1617 John Anderson, an Edinburgh painter who had worked at the Edinburgh Castle and Falkland Palace, was employed at the castle, painting the interior (Simpson 1978: 18).

as something different, something special and unusual, in the treeless landscape of lowland Scotland.¹⁴

The only buildings to approach, and on occasion, surpass the scale of castles were churches, abbeys and cathedrals, architectural statements of spiritual rather than earthly lordship. However, parish churches such as Keith (East Lothian), St Palladius', Fordun (Kincardine), Old Girthon, (Kirkcudbrightshire), Invergowrie (Angus) or even a collegiate church such as at Maybole, would lack the visual impact in the landscape of a tower or castle. All the churches mentioned above are less than twenty metres in length and eight metres in breadth, at mostn one and a half storeys in height and none of them had towers. Although there were many tower-houses with smaller ground floor areas, their height would have given them a far greater visual impact than a long and low parish church. Even a minor burgh would find it difficult to compete with the visual impact of the castle and tower.

The great churches did contain elements of castle symbolism in their architecture, but they could never compete with the sheer number of castles and towers which peppered the Scottish land and townscape. The great church certainly created a sense of place, a sense of place that went beyond the geographical, but it was through the castle that a place became associated strongly with a living individual and their family. However, individuals were able to use the church to create an identification with a place. This was achieved through the building of collegiate churches, where a college of canons were established by an individual to pray for that persons' soul and those of their ancestors and family. Such foundations did not establish families in an area but reinforced their position on lands that they were already intimate identified with, and on lands that they had already built a castle. A prime example of such a development can be seen at Crichton. In the fifteenth century, with the advancement of Sir William Crichton to the Chancellorship of Scotland, a major building scheme was undertaken. The original tower complex was expanded into a courtyard castle with a new hall and additional service accommodation. At the same time the local parish church was endowed as a collegiate church, served by a provost, nine prebendaries, and two singing boys, no doubt financed by other churches on Crichton lands (MacGibbon and Ross 1897 vol. I, 248). It seems likely that the original structure was demolished for the building of a far larger church, more in keeping

¹⁴The treeless nature of Scotland was much commented on by visitors from other parts of Europe. This was noted by Jean Froissart c.1385; Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II) in the fifteenth century and by Sir William Brereton in 1636. Fynes Moryson describes Fife as a '*Plaine Country, but it had no Woodes at all, only the Gentlemens dwellings were shaddowed with some little Groves, pleasant to the veiw*' (Hume Brown 1978; 13, 26, 86, 150). Ponts manuscript maps confirm this view showing parks around castles, towers and large houses (Stone 1986).

with its new collegiate status and the rising fortunes of the Crichton family. The church and the castle are intervisible with each other; two prominent focal points in the landscape. However, the close juxtaposition of the two structures clearly points to a single owner. The theme of common ownership is accentuated by the architecture of the two buildings. Built around the same time and probably using the same masons, the nature of the stone work is similar. Even more noticeable are similarities in architectural detailing especially the corbelled out parapets seen in both buildings. The combination of castle and church was a powerful symbol of the lords authority over all aspects of life in the barony, both worldly and spiritual.

4.4.4 Conclusion.

The activities which took place in and around its walls ensured that the castle was the hub of the barony. The architecture of the castle was a physical expression of this fact, and in achieving this, helped both create and maintain this. The site on which the castle was located may have had meaning already attached to it. The large number of castles and towers situated near gallows-hills suggest that some castles were built on or near pre-feudal judicial sites and meeting places (Driscoll 1991; 98). Castles such as Cruggleton (Dumfriesshire) and Dun Lagaighd on Loch Broom (Wester Ross) demonstrate a degree of continuity with pre-feudal lordly fortified sites (Ewart 1985, 18-20; Tabraham 1997, 32). Thus, the sites chosen for many castles, especially in the early feudal period, may have already had pre-feudal lordly significance. By building on the site, with something as visible and permanent as a masonry castle, with its obvious and well known symbol of authority — the crenellated parapet — any existing significance would be heightened and reinforced. The fact that as a residence of the lord, the castle would become a setting for important administrative and judicial activities, helped create a sense of place, which in turn made the castle the essential setting for such activities. The general isolation of the castle from other settlement also created and emphasised the lord's separateness from the other inhabitants of the barony. Castle architecture was uniquely placed to allow existing authorities to be reproduced, and to help create and re-create new ones.

4.5 THE CASTLE AS A HOUSEHOLD.

The preceding sections have all concentrated on the castle as an exterior object, concerned with how people perceived the castle, how it impinged on wider social networks such as the barony. The following sections will focus on the social relations within the castle as

demonstrated through documentary sources and the mechanisms by which such relations were structured by the architecture of the castle.

The medieval household in Scotland has an obscure and fleeting presence in the documentary sources. The largest amount of material concerning the day to day running of a household, over the whole period, refers to the royal household. However, the royal household was unique; it was far larger and had greater resources. It may have been more peripatetic and was initially influenced far more by Anglo-Norman models. More importantly the royal household was intimately involved in government. Government was where the king was, and his intimate circle of household servants acted as his administration. In comparison, any discussion of the baronial household in Scotland is hampered by the lack of sources. Descriptions or documents relating to the running of a baronial household are few, especially before the sixteenth century. As a consequence many authors have extrapolated evidence from English examples, with the justification that before the Wars of Independence there was a shared aristocracy between Scotland and England (see Tabraham 1997, 45-8). Although, this may provide a model for Anglo-Norman households within Scotland it ignores the existing indigenous aristocracy's own, undocumented, household organisation. A discussion of Scottish baronial households has to recognise that there are a number of possible influences on their development. It is questionable to assume that English evidence can illustrate Scottish circumstances. In recognition of this problem, this discussion will concentrate upon the few Scottish sources that are available, and this includes the royal household. Despite important differences, the royal household remains illustrative of general themes, serving as a blueprint for the aspiring nobility.

4.5.1 Definitions.

The household is usually taken to incorporate the domestic and administration services which surrounded the lord and his immediate family. This body of people made up the lord's essential support services. They would have been accommodated in the various residences of the lord, necessarily influencing the design and layout of castles. The core of the lord's following was this travelling household, but the wider retinue was far greater in size and with a transient population. The lord would be joined at various times by councillors, supporters, associates, clients and important tenants, all with their own servants. This group is far more

difficult to define and often impossible to distinguish from the household itself, but they also would have had an effect, albeit more subtle, on castle planning.

4.5.2 The structure of the royal household.

The documentation concerning the royal household is considerable and only an overview can be given here. The early development of the royal household can be seen in the acts of Malcolm IV and William I and from a manuscript held by Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, which describes the household in detail at the end of the thirteenth century (Barrow 1960, 1971, Bateson 1904). These documents outline the responsibilities of the officers of the household and demonstrate that the royal household followed a distinctly Anglo-Norman model.

Of central importance was the chancellor who controlled the chancery, oversaw Parliament, councils and the great seal (Bateson 1904, 38). Filled by a cleric, this post supervised the King's Chapel, the incipient chancery (Barrow 1971, 31; Nicholson 1974, 21). The chamberlain was the chief financial officer in all aspects of the king's activities, both state and private; the exchequer and household accounts were treated as one (Bateson 1904, 7). The chamberlain collected the feudal dues owed to the king, as well as administering the king's demesne lands and burghs, receiving payment from the baillies of those lands. He was also the chief officer when it came to matters of the king's dwelling and was responsible for supplying the household by purveyance as it travelled around the kingdom (Bateson 1904, 38).

The other three great offices of the royal household were the steward, constable and marshal. By the thirteenth century these positions had become hereditary and deputies carried out the duties (Bateson 1904, 8). The steward or *seneschal* was a position created by David I as the senior household officer responsible for the domestic aspects of the household. Before the introduction of Anglo-Norman models, the rough equivalent seems to have been the *rannaire* or distributor of food. This essentially native office survived up to the late twelfth century demonstrating the transition from an insular model to a continental one (Barrow 1971, 32). In adopting such a model, the royal household would have been at odds with the native elements in the nobility. In the new model the Steward may have been the principal officer in the twelfth century royal household but by the compilation of the Cambridge manuscript this post appears to have become a rather redundant, if an honoured figure. According to the manuscript the

steward was to '*order the household of the king*' and yet at the same time the chamberlain was to '*regulate the king's dwelling*' and oversaw its provisioning (Bateson 1904, 9).

The constable, or his deputy, had rather more obvious responsibilities which the Cambridge manuscript discusses in detail. He was responsible for the safety '*kings body and dwelling if he lies in a fortress*' (Bateson 1904, 39). Under the constable's authority was the king's porter who commanded the gate of the castle (Bateson 1904, 39). The constable was also president of the Court of the Verge which took place in the king's hall or at the gate of the castle; the two great ceremonial and judicial foci of the castle. The constable also commanded twenty four sergeants or doorwards. Their duties consisted of guarding the hall door, with the ushers of the hall, and guarding the king's private chamber, till vespers. After vespers the whole guard would watch over the king's chambers, apart from those guarding any prisoners (Bateson 1904, 15). The marshal controlled the hall where he kept order and arranged the seating according to precedence (Bateson 1904, 16).

There were other officers who were less prominent but were just a vital in the smooth running of the household. The Clerk of the Provender had overall control over the expenditure of the Clerk of Liverance, Clerk of the Wardrobe and the Clerk of the Kitchen. He also had responsibility to record those who were in the kings retinue and ate in his hall. This recording took place at the door of the hall (Bateson 1904, 40). The Clerk of Liverance saw to the provisions belonging to the king and oversaw the apportionment of food to those supported by the king's hall. The ushers of the door and those officers dealing with victuals were responsible to the Clerk of Liverance (Bateson 1904, 41) The Clerk of the Wardrobe was described as '*loyal and familiar*' to the king.¹⁵ This was obviously a more intimate office than the other administrative clerks and was responsible for the personal effects of the king found in the hall, the chamber and chapel of the king.

The household did not remain static but underwent development and growth over the centuries and particular positions such as the steward were superseded by other officers such as the master of the household. One very important development was the establishment of parallel households for the king and queen. This development may have occurred as early as the thirteenth century, when John De Vaux was appointed steward to Marie de Coucy, Alexander

II's Queen. By the late sixteenth century the queen's household had its own officials, artisans and menial staff. A document entitled '*The estate of the King and Queen's Magesties Household Reformit, Begynnand on Mounday the first day of Febuary, 1590*' lists over fifty individuals in the household of Anne of Denmark. (Bannatyne Club 1828, 23-38). The parallel households are reflected in the architecture of Scottish royal palaces where one finds duplicate suites of rooms for the king and queen, consisting of hall, outer chamber and inner chamber (RCAHMS 1963 vol. I, 200).

4.5.3 The structure of the baronial household: the twelfth century.

Although rarely approaching the size and complexity of the royal household, it will be shown that baronial households shared some of the features identified in the royal household. It will also be shown that the social structure of Scottish baronial households underwent considerable change throughout the medieval period.

The charters of Earl David of Huntingdon, brother to King Malcom IV and King William the Lion, provide a glimpse of a Scottish nobleman's household and following in the twelfth century. However, Earl David was hardly a typical Scottish baron: grandson and brother to kings, his most important lands were in the Midlands of England. As an Anglo-Scottish magnate, his household only represents one possible type of household which existed in Scotland at that time. The evidence from the charters suggests that Earl David's household and estate administration was organised on Anglo-Norman lines and with mostly Anglo-Norman personnel (Stringer 1985, 174). The familiar job titles of steward, constable and marshal appear in the charters and witness lists. However, the stewards appear to have administered the earl's estates rather than his household. Both constable and steward were tied to their own particular locality, and would therefore only be brief members of the earl's household. The specific duties of the earl's marshal are unknown but he may have been in command of the household knights (Stringer 1985, 150).

It appears that by the late twelfth century that the division between estate management and household management had occurred in Anglo-Norman baronial households in Scotland.

¹⁵ The relative importance of servants was at least partially determined by their position relative to the king: James V's Usher of Inner Chamber Door was the laird of Cragy who was described as '*primus hostioriorun regis*' (Acc. Lord High Treasurer Scot. 1907, xxxiv).

The officer who appears to have taken on the household duties has the title of *'food-bearer'* (Stringer 1985, 150). This terminology is reminiscent of the title *rannaire* or distributor of food which may have been a survival from before the Anglo-Norman settlement of Scotland (Barrow 1971, 32). As in the royal household, Earl David's household may have retained some aspects of pre-Anglo-Norman household organisation. Only a few other domestic servants are recorded in the charters of Earl David: a butler, a falconer and a porter. None of these functionaries appear to have been of any particular social standing, but were rather the necessary servants of a great lord. The size and complexity of the household is hinted at by the existence of Robert, an *alutorius*, or leather dresser (Stringer 1985, 151).

Despite the indications that David's household was large and self-sufficient, the evidence is too meagre to demonstrate the existence of a household organisation based on domestic departments (Stringer 1985, 150). However, it is possible to identify broad divisions of function within the household: religious, clerical or secretarial, military and domestic. The military wing consisted of the household knights, landless and dependent on Earl David for their maintenance and advancement. Stringer suggest that some knights may have been given small feus near to Inverurie Castle, allowing the household knights a degree of apparent independence through land holding — they were no longer dependant on the lord's hall — yet they were still available to Earl David. The religious element of the household consisted of Earl David's chaplains, the earl's spiritual preceptors. Their position and duties made them the most intimate of advisors. This is reflected in their prominence in the witness lists of David's charters (Stringer 1985, 151). Other clerics served David but in an administrative function. Thus, there was a distinction between the earl's sacred and secular business.

These men, and many more who are unidentified, along with the earl's immediate family made up the core of Earl David's household. This body provided the earl with his support network as he travelled between estates, where he would be joined by other officials and servants. As such the household was rather fluid, with people constantly joining and leaving the household, as Earl David moved around country. In addition to the main household there was an even more fluid body, made up of members of the earl's wider family, his advisors and followers. This following, along with the more stable and utilitarian household, provided the earl with advice, companionship and a visible demonstration of his authority and a means to enforce it. In turn Earl David offered protection and the prospect of advancement through his own resources or through his connections with the Scottish Court.

4.5.4 The structure of the baronial household: the sixteenth century.

As with the royal household, baronial households, retinues and their wider affinities changed and developed with time. The nature of the later medieval household and retinue can be demonstrated through the writs and charters of Cardinal Beaton (Sanderson 1986; Tabraham 1997, 113-115).

As with the other households described, the personnel employed by Cardinal Beaton could be split into those involved in estate management and those involved domestic management and services of his residence. A further complicating factor in the household was Beaton's position as a prince of the church and a great landowner and magnate. This resulted in a larger affinity than perhaps was usual, with, in effect, parallel retinues looking after the different aspects of the Cardinal's patrimony (Sanderson 1986; Tabraham 1997, 114). However, such a distinction should not be pushed to far. Although the Cardinal's men may have served him in different capacities, they were all bound together through their service to him. It is also impossible to differentiate between those close associates of the Cardinal within the household and retinue and those without. At some stage most of his advisors and associates would have attached themselves to the household, even if only as guests for a short time.

In the domestic sphere, the Cardinal had a whole phalanx of servants. There are over one hundred recorded individuals in the household, not including the garrison of St Andrews castle. The principal domestic officers appears to have been the master of the household, the household steward, and the chief provisor to the household (Sanderson 1986, 132). In 1540 the posts of steward and chief provisor were respectively filled by Sir James Auchmowty, who was also a provisor, and Alan Coutts (Sanderson 1974, 37; 1986, 134). Coutts was responsible for provisioning all the Cardinal's residences and keeping diet books, and would have also made sure that the household was supplied whilst on the road. In addition he worked outside of the domestic confines of the household, undertaking tasks as varied as collecting grain rents destined for consumption by the household, carrying messages from the Cardinal to the earl of Argyll and accounting the expenses of the suffragan bishop (Sanderson 1986, 134). Auchmowty, as steward, oversaw the general running of the household but he too had extramural duties including distributing alms, selling victual rents at Dunbar harbour and collecting fees for the privy seal (Sanderson 1974, 37). The disparate activities of these two

men, which involved household, estate and archdiocesan business, demonstrate the futility of making rigid distinctions between the different aspects of a great lord's affairs.

Other major officers included the master of the horse, who had a staff of a deputy, a muleteer and stable servants, and would form a specific department. The kitchen had a large staff with a head cook, Alexander Jardine, and three lesser cooks each with specific responsibilities: '*the capon and poultry*,' the silver vessels and '*the hall and pewter*' (Sanderson 1986, 136). They were assisted by two scullions, Troillus and Rutledge, and by a baker and a brewer. The Cardinal had his own personal servants, many of them French. These include a personal cook, Gabriel who had his own servant, Claud the barber, Amand Guthrie the chief page, Stephen the tailor and John the upholsterer who saw to the furnishing of the Cardinals own chambers. Other servants included the Cardinal's bodyguard, two apothecaries, a tailor for the members of the household, several musicians and a fool (Sanderson 1974, 41; 1987, 131, 136).

Many of the servants mentioned above would have been members of the travelling household of the Cardinal. His major residences — St Andrews Castle, the manor of Monimail, the abbots house at Arbroath, a lodging in Edinburgh, and two private houses at Ethie and Melgund — would have been the major stopping points for the retinue. However, the residences had a permanent staff. At St Andrews Beaton's nephew, John Beaton of Balfour had overall command of the castle. As captain of the castle he had the duties and responsibilities of a constable in leading and controlling the castles garrison, overseeing its defences with the masters of works, engineers and gunners and supervising general security along with the castle's porter or '*keeper of the great gate*,' Ambrose Stirling, and watchman David Smith (Sanderson 1986, 132, 139). A specific provisor was employed ensuring that the castles permanent staff were supplied with fuel and food. This post was held, for a time, by Mr William Young, one of the two chaplains in the castle's private chapel (Sanderson 1986, 134). Thus, the spiritual and the physical well being of the castle's staff was looked after by the same person, a development not identified in Earl David's Household, where chaplains only had religious duties. There would also have been kitchen staff, perhaps some of the lesser cooks remaining while the travelling household moved on. John Mitchell cared for the kitchen garden which produced vegetables for the table, while '*the widow of Fallisdale*' brewed beer in the castle grounds (Sanderson 1986, 136).

There was yet another group in the Cardinal's retinue which one would have expected in any great lord's; the sons of lords and gentlemen who were attached to the retinue for their education and training. The farming out of children especially boys to relatives and superiors to learn the arts of living, was a common feature of medieval aristocratic life. However, relations between the Cardinal and some of the young gentlemen in his retinue may not be as simple as at first thought. Perhaps not all would consider such a position an honour or an opportunity; the '*yong laird of Kellie in Angus*' James Ochterlonie may have ended up in the Cardinal's service due to a legal dispute between his father and the Cardinal. The presence of such men would help assure their families political acquiescence if not outright support but could also have been a sense of shame and anger; Patrick, Lord Gray was a member of the household in accordance with a bond of manrent but was to go on to be a powerful enemy of the Cardinal (Sanderson 1974, 43).

4.6 RELATIONS WITHIN THE HOUSEHOLD.

4.6.1 Kinship versus Feudalism.

The nature of the baronial household underwent considerable change throughout the medieval period. Although there is little information on actual officers of the baronial household, the wider affinities of lords are better understood through sources such as witness lists. From such evidence it is clear that the affinities of the thirteenth century cross border lords was of a very different nature to those of the great Scottish magnate of the sixteenth century.

From witness lists it is apparent that Earl David's following was not a homogenous body of men, but included men of widely differing geographic and social backgrounds reflecting his extensive lands and connections. At times the retinue included important ecclesiastics such as the Bishop of Aberdeen and equally important magnates such as Hugh Gifford, Lord of Yester. These men were themselves great lords with extensive responsibilities and would have only have joined the entourage occasionally, augmenting it with their own households (Stinger 1985, 160). Earl David's most intimate and constant advisors came from much more lowly social backgrounds. His natural source of manpower and support came from his tenants, mostly in the English Midlands where he was trying to entrench his lordship (Stringer 1985, 163). He could offer far more to such men than he could to large landholders and tenants-in-chief. They in turn provided David with support where it mattered, in his own patrimony.

The formal relationship Earl David had with his personal following was based on the obligations inherent in feudal land holding. In these relationships the wider kin group appears to have been unimportant to Earl David. It was from his immediate family that he sought and received support; all of David's bastard sons were frequent witnesses in their fathers charters. In contrast, of his sons-in-law, all powerful magnates, only Malise of Strathearn witnessed his charters with any great frequency (Stringer 1985, 155). This, in part, may relate to geography. Malise was based relatively close to David's Scottish lands, while the other two, Robert de Brus and Allan of Galloway, had their lands in the south west, far from David's north eastern domain. However, it perhaps reflects the weakness of the kin group in feudal relationships, that David would seek husbands for his daughters so far outside his own family connections and sphere of influence. This contrasts with the close family ties that are typical of Anglo-Norman nobility such as the Comyn earls of Buchan and Mentieth, who integrated far more in to the native nobility (Stringer 1985, 155).

It appears that it was the existing kin based model for an affinity, rather than the imported feudal example, that survived throughout the medieval period. In contrast to Earl David, Cardinal Beaton's most trusted officials, advisors and counsellors were all relations or close friends from his Fife power-base. The Cardinal's safety and security was in the hands of a trusted relative, with the captaincy of St Andrews castle filled by his nephew John. His deputies in the archdiocese of St Andrew, the archdeacons, were both relatives, his cousin George Durie and his brother Walter Beaton. Another cousin, this time a layman, Archibald Beaton of Capildrae, took care of much of the Cardinal's lay business occupying the positions of auditor, graniter, chamberlain of the Archbishopric, and bailie and steward of the regality of St Andrews, at various points in the 1540s. The employment of family members was not restricted to close relatives and more distant relations and men from his Fife powerbase were employed. Mr Bernard Bailie, a distant relative and parson of Beaton's home parish of Lamington (Lanarkshire) carried out much of the Cardinal's business as well as holding various official posts (Sanderson 1974, 38). Andrew Oliphant, the Cardinal's '*weel belovit clerk*,' was originally employed by his uncle, James Beaton, Archbishop of St Andrews (Sanderson 1974, 38).

Cardinal Beaton's reliance upon close kin as well as his connections with the locality contrasts with Earl David's extensive use of minor tenants. Beaton was not unusual in his

reliance upon kin. The Hamilton family provides a parallel demonstration of the importance of kin relations in the wider affinities of Scottish noble families. A remission granted on the second of June 1566 '*to all retainers and dependants of the ancient house of Hamilton*' included James Hamilton, 2nd Earl of Arran and Duke of Châtelherault, his sons John, David and Claud, his cousin Gavin, commendator of Kilwinning Abbey, twenty nine members of his household, including his half-brother John Hamilton of Clydesdale and his chamberlain, John Johnstone, a hundred and thirty five persons called Hamilton, thirty eight of their retainers, seventy three tenants and James Lambe, bailie of Hamilton, representing the people of the town (Finnie 1985, 7). Scottish society had remained kinship-based despite the introduction of the two generation feudal family in the twelfth century. The lord or laird may have relied on his relatives for an easily obtainable trustworthy work force but his relatives were also relying on him to support them. Men served the lord but were not kin were often linked to the lord through bonds of manrent — contracts of mutual support — creating an artificial kin group (Wormald 1985, 76).

4.6.2 Women in the household

A significant element of the general population missing from the documents and charters relating to households are women. In the case of the royal household and Cardinal Beaton's household women are only mentioned in any number at the upper level of the household. In the royal household, Anne of Denmark had a number of ladies as her personal attendants and confidants. In the Cardinal's household Agnes Anstruther, wife of John Beaton is one of very few women who is known to have been a permanent member of the household, accommodated within it. She may have been joined by the wives, mistresses and families of the senior members of the retinue as well as her own female servants. Although Beaton and many of his clerical servants lived in open concubinage, their mistresses may have only been occasional and furtive visitors; on the night of David Beaton's murder his mistress, Marion Ogilvy, was seen leaving the castle via the postern gate (Sanderson 1986, 226). At the lower end of the social scale, there was only one female servant mentioned in the account who was actually working at the castle in St Andrews — '*the widow Fallisdale,*' a brewer. During the imprisonment of Queen Mary in the lairdly household of Sir William Douglas at Lochleven Castle, the only women mentioned by Claude Nau, Mary's secretary, were the family members of Sir William — his mother, wife, daughter and niece — and Mary's two chamber maids. Even the laundress, often one of the few resident women servants to appear in household records, was in this case a non-resident (Burns-Begg 1887, 103).

Although in general the castle appears to have an unremitting maleness to it, there are several factors which may have mitigated against this. One of these factors is the pivotal role of the lady of the castle or house in its domestic economy and management. The role of the wife of the lord or laird as his most intimate advisor should also not be underestimated. In his testament from 1599 George Dundas of that Ilk gives some idea of the role his wife played in his life;

'Seeing it cannot be denyit be na honest man but that be the marriage of Dame Katherine Oliphant my second wife, now my spous, not onlie I got ane honorabill partie, being the dochter of the lord Oliphant and the widow of the knight, but also I have had be hir ane gret rent and living be the commoditie therof, and be hir gaid service, consall and travel tane upoun hir for me in the affairs tending to the help of my hous ...' (Sanderson 1986, 179)

Medieval marriage has often been treated as if it were nothing but a financial agreement which treated the woman as a commodity, a part of a land deal. To an extent the testament supports this view; Dundas recognises that his marriage to Katherine was advantageous in terms of his social position and his landed wealth. However, his words give a sense of the partnership between this couple, with Katherine looking after his household and giving him counsel on matters relating to it. Katherine may also have deputised for her husband in a similar manner to Agnes Leslie, wife of the Laird of Lochleven who, in the 1580s, travelled to her husband's northern lordship of Auchterhouse in Banffshire to see to the affairs of the estate (Sanderson 1986, 171).

Another mitigating factor may be suggested by the case of Marion Ogilvy leaving St Andrews Castle; there may have been a floating population of women in and around the castle that was not recognised as an official part of the household. In England the medieval household has been identified as being actively hostile to the few women servants in the household such as the laundress;

'By removing women from the household, particularly unattached women of lower social status lords sought to preserve a private vision of a decorous and orderly following which would redound to their credit, and within which life would be quiet and contained, undisturbed by the sexual intrigue which a man's world saw to be caused by women' (Mertes 1988, 55).

How much this desire was an ideal is difficult to say. In reality invisibility rather than non-presence may have been the obvious solution to the desire of the lord or lady to run a seemly house.

The invisibility of female servants may also relate more to their invisibility in the documentary sources rather than in actual households. The households for which records are generally available are often atypical, either royal or in the higher echelons of the baronial hierarchy. The records are also relatively few and could easily skew our perception of the medieval household. The prevalence of employing female servants within lairdly and lordly households may also have fluctuated depending upon the wealth and social status. The will of John Strachan of Claypotts provides a glimpse of an altogether different household to Cardinal Beaton's. Not only was it much smaller with only three domestic servants but all these were women. His other servants were agricultural, four ploughmen and a shepherd. Cardinal Beaton and John Strachan were of course at opposite ends of the social scale; John was a minor laird who before the Reformation was merely a lay tenant of the abbey of Lindores.

4.6.3 Servants within the household.

The word servant today has rather pejorative connotations. However, the status of servants was very different in Scotland during the medieval and early modern period. This has implications for the gender profile of households. While it is difficult to generalise on the nature of the relationship between master and servant considering the huge variation in social position of servants within households and between households, servants were not considered to be of servile status. Service in a great lord's household demonstrated one's status and could be a source of social advantage (Wormald 1985, 95). Sanderson has noted that even someone of such menial status as Troillus the scullion in Cardinal Beaton's household moved or was headhunted from the royal household (Sanderson 1974, 42).

The high status of servants was partly due to the fact that children of lord and lairds would leave their families to spend their early adolescence as servants in the houses of their social equals or superiors. The fact that even close relatives could act as officials, advisors and even servants would also have had an effect on the master/servant relationship. In 1583 John, Lord Herries left the care of his illegitimate son, James, to his lawful son William, to be William's servant. Thus, the relationship was not merely one of employer and employee but of dependence and mutual loyalty. Not only were relatives employed as servants, but, as shown

above, some servants would almost have become part of the kin group. Another aspect of the relationship which would have accentuated the standing of servants was that in instances of conflict, servants often made up a considerable and valuable source of manpower. Both concepts are alluded to by Bishop Leslie in the late sixteenth century:

'Gret families they feed and that perpetuallie, partlie to defend thame selves from thei nychtbouries, with quhome oft the have deidlie fead, partlie to defend the Realme'

(Mackenzie 1927, 123).

Servants would fight for their lord. When the Patrick, Earl of Bothwell fought a duel with Kerr of Cessford they were each assisted by their own personal servant (Brown 1986, 24). An attack on a man's servant was an attack on the man himself; the Kennedy chronicler said that if any of the earl of Cassillis's servants suffered a loss, *'my lord thocht the samin done to him'* (Brown 1986, 19). The relationship between master and servant was not one sided, the master had a responsibility for his servant almost in the same way as he had a responsibility for one of his kin (Brown 1986, 24). This system of mutual obligation and protection between a lord and his servants was seen as having the weight of feudal law behind it, according to the lawyer Sir Thomas Craig of Riccarton, as long as the cause was *'rightous'* (Brown 1986, 19). A servant would expect his lord to protect him from the law and any threats from other families, especially if the dispute or feud had resulted from the business of the lord. The responsibility of the lord on occasion continued after his servant's death; after killing his enemy's servant the laird of Ardincaple stated that he lived in fear as his enemy *'daylie awaitts all occasioun to revenge the same'* (Brown 1986, 28).

In a society where a servant was also expected to be an integral part of his lord's armed retinue, female servants had fewer opportunities of employment. The contrast between the household of Beaton and that of John Strachan, noted in the previous section, not only reflects the differing status of the two men but also the chronological gap between their lives. John Strachan was living in a period of reduction in the status of servants in Scotland with women begin employed far more. It is perhaps not surprising that at a time when other long standing forms of social interaction such as feud, bonds of manrent and retinues were all under attack¹⁶

¹⁶ In the late sixteenth century various governments attempted to reduce the size of retinues due to the threat they posed to the good governance of the country. Laws were issued ascribing the maximum number of servants that an earl, lord and baron or knight could be accompanied by. They were to be unarmed, licenses were to be obtained before they could enter Edinburgh and any crimes committed by them would be the responsibility of their lord. Such laws were issued in 1579, 1581, 1583, 1590, 1591 and 1600. The number of occasions on which these laws were passed demonstrates not only the effort put in by the crown to diminish the power of the retinues, but also the resistance that there was to such measures from the nobility (Brown 1986, 252).

that the status of the servant was reduced, the need for them as a fighting force was gradually being eroded becoming nothing more than domestics.

4.6.4 Feasting within the household.

The hierarchical arrangement of the royal and noble households also influenced eating arrangements. In a document relating to the household of James VI, a description of the dining arrangements of the royal household emphasises the distinct nature of the king's and queen's households and demonstrates that hierarchy was exhibited through the place where one ate and the amount and type of food and drink one was given (Bannatyne Club 1828, 23-38; Gibson & Smout 1988, 33-34). From the document it appears that there were three separate kitchens; one serving the king, another for the queen and a more general court kitchen. The households did not eat together, but in several different locations within the royal palaces. The king would probably have eaten in his chamber, perhaps with his queen, and a number of senior household servants included in *'the table for the Duke of Lennox and the Master of Household'* and *'the table of the Queen's Ladies and Gentlewomen'*. Lesser household staff would have eaten in other halls including *'the Queens Master's Householder's hall'* (Bannatyne Club 1828, 34; Gibson & Smout 1988, 34). This hall is the only one specifically mentioned in the text, again emphasising the separateness of the households of the king and queen. There is little doubt that the king's hall would have been another location for members of the king's household. Those servants not included in the formal messes would have eaten in the kitchens or other service areas (Gibson & Smout 1988, 34).

It was not only the location of where one took your meals but the actual food and drink one was supplied with that created a clear hierarchy. The actual amount of food provided was as important as the type. Both the king and queen had gargantuan portions, the king receiving twelve and a half wheaten loafs; ten Scots¹⁷ pints of wine and ten of ale; about eight to ten pounds of beef; two pieces of roast mutton, two pieces of boiled mutton, two quarters of lamb, three pieces of veal, four pieces of game, two of poultry and six chickens (Bannatyne Club 1828, 36; Gibson & Smout 1988, 34). In comparison, the queen had a similar amount of food but with greater variety, with items such as beef tongue, geese, capons, doves, salmon and eggs. It would seem that the meals and menus were sexed, with the queen having rather more delicacies than the king. (Bannatyne Club 1828, 34; Gibson & Smout 1988, 34). The formal and

hierarchical dining arrangements set out in the document must of course be an ideal. The dishes mentioned are probably the basic everyday minimum, which would perhaps be supplemented with dishes in season.

The royal couple was not expected to consume all the food and drink. Instead a large proportion was passed down to the households in a strict hierarchy, first to the King's gentlemen servants and the Queen's first Master householders who received wine, then to their attendants who only received ale. It is likely that there was an informal arrangement where those servants who only received a bread and ale allowance could eat what was left, perhaps then passing the scraps on to those who were given no allowance (Gibson & Smout 1988, 34). This created an elaborate and very visible hierarchy. The large amounts of food and drink which initially would have gone to the king and queen demonstrated the vast resources which they controlled and their ability to consume excessively, if they so desired. By passing down their leftovers, their status not just as the heads of the household's but as the providers for the household would have been reinforced. It also confirmed the individual diners position within the households.

There were members of the household who were of such a status that they were not expected to eat the leftovers or rests of the king and queen but received their food direct from the kitchen. These included the king's most senior servants such as the Chancellor and the Master of the Household, and the Queen's Ladies. This group was also distinguished by a ration of wine. Interestingly this most favoured group also included the master porter and four viola players, whereas the almoner, the cup-bearer, the carver and swear were relegated to eating the king's rest although they too received wine. Gibson and Smout have suggested that those senior servants who consumed the king and queen's rests were more closely identified with their Royal master and mistress, an identification reinforced by the eating of the Royal leftovers. Those who were fed direct from the kitchen such as the Duke of Lennox may have been royal servants, but were important personages in their own right and did not depend on royal favour for their position (Gibson & Smout 1988, 34). Four other tables of courtiers and servants also had their food direct from the kitchen. However, at these tables inferiority was shown by the provision of ale only.

¹⁷ A Scots pint being equal to three Imperial pints.

In all one hundred and forty two individuals in the royal household were entitled to victuals. It has been estimated that the amount of food actually served would have easily fed over two hundred (Gibson & Smout 1988, 37). It appears that an indeterminate number of menial staff, not entitled to a formal provision of victuals, were fed in an *ad hoc* fashion. The excess of food also allowed guests and visitors to be accommodated without any undue re-arrangement of routines (Gibson & Smout 1988, 36).

The one space where the castle community would have come together was in the hall during meal times. As in the Royal household the arrangement of meals were extremely hierarchical and this hierarchy was expressed through the positioning of bodies within space. At Castle Dounie the lord:

'kept a sort of court, and several public tables, and had a very numerous body of retainers attending. ... At the long table at Castle Dounie the guests and the viands had a corresponding progression downwards. At the head of the table where there were neighbouring chiefs or distinguished strangers, claret and French cookery graced the board. The next department was occupied by Duihne vassels, who enjoyed beef and mutton, with a glass of some humbler wine. The sturdy commoners of the clan would occupy the next range, feeding on sheeps heads, and drinking whisky or ale. In further progress the fare degenerated with the feeders, and clustering on the castle green in sunshine, or cowering in the outhouses in foul weather, were congregated the ragamuffins of the clan to gnaw the bones and devour the other offal' (MacGibbon & Ross 1887-92 vol. II, 573).

Similar descriptions can be found in lowland contexts. Fynes Moryson, an English traveller in the late sixteenth century, noted that:

'the gentlemen reckon their revenewes, not by rent of monie, but by chauldrons of victuals, and keepe many people in thier Families ... My selfe was at a Knights House, who had many servants to attend him, that brought in his meate with their heads covered with blew caps, the Table being more then halfe furnished with great platters of porredge, each having a little piece of sodden meate: and when the Table was served, the servants did sit downe with us, but the upper messe in steede of porredge, had a Pullet with some prunes in the broth' (Hume Brown 1978, 88).

Both feasts seem to have been structured along similar lines to the dining arrangements of the royal household. Different standards of food and drink were served according to the status of the diner which was reinforced through their position within the hall. It seems likely in each that

the leftovers of the superior messes were passed down the hall, reinforcing the hierarchy of the household and the position of the lord as its head by being seen as a munificent host and master. Not only does the latter account show that large households, provisioned through rents in kind, continued in lowland Scotland into the late sixteenth century but it also demonstrates the superior position of servants in Scotland: the English guest was surprised when the servants sat down to eat with their lord.

The importance of hospitality as a feature of lordship can be seen in an account relating to the visit of Mary of Guise to Huntly Castle. When she was shown the extensive cellars of the castle containing huge quantities of victuals and was told that a force of hunters kept the household supplied with fresh provisions everyday, Mary was advised to clip Huntly wings (Simpson 1922, 156). Huntly had become a threat as he controlled vast resources and as a consequence could support a large number of retainers and supporters.

4.7 THE SPATIAL BASIS OF THE HOUSEHOLD — ‘*SOME MEN ARE IN THE CHAMBER, SOME IN THE HALL, SOME ON THE THRESHING FLOOR, SOME IN THE PRISON*’ (CARNICELLI 1967, 77).

The Scottish household took a particular form, with an emphasis on scale and kinship relations. This must have influenced the nature of the social and spatial relations within the fabric of the castle. Through documentary sources it is possible to see how important the internal spatial arrangements were to the everyday interplay between people within the castle or towers. Some of these spatial arrangements are identifiable through the physical arrangements of these building. Other spatial arrangements described in the sources utilise far more subtle cues than walls and doors such table arrangements, heraldic devices and the relative positioning of people within a space. The quote above by Alfred the Great neatly sums up the spatial divisions encountered in the castle: the lord in his private chamber, the lords retinue in the common hall, the domestic servants sleeping where they work and the criminal secured in the prison. Contemporary sources have been examined in order to elaborate upon these basic categories and to explore the intricacies of the spatial layout of the Scottish castle.

4.7.1 Accommodation within the royal household.

The accommodation of the king and queen is often the most readily identifiable, both through architecture and in the documentary sources. Architecturally, ceremonial

accommodation is the most prominent. In the palace block at Stirling, there are duplicated suites of rooms described in the early eighteenth century as the King's Guard Hall, King's Presence Chamber and King's Bed Chamber, with the queen's rooms described in a similar manner.

The development of the tripartite arrangement of rooms, which was to become popular in baronial towers during the sixteenth century, can be identified at Holyrood. The core of the royal accommodation was a free standing tower house built in the first half of the sixteenth century. The accommodation within the tower consisted of two superimposed suites with an outer chamber and an inner chamber, and two smaller turret chambers (Dunbar 1963, 247). The first and second floor chambers are respectively known as Lord Darnley's Audience Chamber, Lord Darnley's Bedroom, Queen Mary's Audience Chamber and Queen Mary's Bedroom. The entrance to the tower was via a doorway protected by a yett and a drawbridge, and led into the first floor outer chamber (Dunbar 1963, 247). Thus, initially the tower provided the royal couple each with inner and outer chambers and a number of smaller chambers and garderobe closets. The outer chambers of the royal suites were linked by a large turnpike staircase, while the more intimate spaces of the bedrooms and turret chambers communicated via a narrow private straight stair.

The bipartite arrangement soon developed at Holyrood, where the free standing tower house was quickly subsumed into a larger building programme, which saw the addition of an extensive range of a forework and chapel, against the southern wall of the tower. This produced a complex progression of rooms, with a chapel, a guard hall, a presence chamber, and a wardrobe or privy chamber in the new range, and an outer chamber and inner or bed chamber in the tower (Dunbar 1963, 243). This arrangement the tripartite and bipartite plans worked together: the guardhall, presence chamber and privy chamber appear to have been the public chambers of the king, while the chambers in the tower remained the private chambers of the king and queen. As one moved through the various chambers from the guard hall the level of privacy increased, especially when one entered the tower accommodation. Significantly, the tower retained an exterior structural identity despite being part of a large scheme of accommodation. There is a sense that the private royal accommodation was set apart from the other parts of the palace.

Despite the designation of specific rooms as the king's bed chamber, these spaces were large and also had ceremonial functions as the king would have received guests on his formal bed of state. In all of the palaces, the king and queen each had additional accommodation where

they would sleep. Thus, at Stirling, the King's closet was accessible from the King's Bed Chamber and as we have seen at Holyrood, the tower provided extensive private accommodation with a linking staircase between the king and queen's chambers. The small turret chambers, entered from the bedchambers may have provided the most intimate spaces of the king and queen. This is suggested by the designation of the second floor turret chambers as Queen Mary's supping chamber and dressing chamber.

A description of the embassy of Sir Ralph Salder to James V gives additional information about the king's day-to-day activity and how the various rooms at Holyrood Palace were used. Sir Ralph first met the king in the chapel royal which was '*full, aswell of noblemen and gentlemen, as bishops, monks and priests and others*' (Sadler 1720). It was in the chapel that the king and Sir Ralph began their discussions. After these were over the king left to dine in his chamber. The following day Sir Ralph attended on the queen, again in the chapel, although in this case the chapel was predominately filled by ladies and gentlewomen: therefore individual spaces became gender specific at various times. During the meeting the king requested Sir Ralph's presence in his privy-chamber, where '*his grace took me apart in a window*' (Sadler 1720). Two days later Sir Ralph was again in the presence of the queen in the chapel, and was then taken to see the king. During this meeting

'came in the master-household, and told the king that his dinner was on the board. Where with his grace went for to his dinning chamber, washed, and sat down and forbade the lords take me with them to dinner. The Cardinal took me by the arm, and had me to a chamber where the lords used to dine ... After dinner they brought me again to the king in his privy-chamber who, as soon as I came took me apart into the window (Sadler 1720).

This account demonstrates various ways in which space was used. The constant audiences in the chapel royal suggest that it was not only a sacred space but also a place where business was carried out: it was a convenient semi-public space close to the royal apartments and may have been a neutral space. The other interesting part of the account is the constant reference to windows: it appears that much of the private discussions between Sir Ralph and James took place in the embrasure of the oriel window of the king's privy-chamber — the most private of his public rooms — away from his officers of state.

In Jacobean court politics presence in the '*chamber*' of the king gave courtiers access to patronage and influence. The clamour within the James VI's chambers was so great the Privy Council tried to restrict those who had access to the king's bedchamber: noblemen, their eldest sons and privy councillor's all had free access to the king's presence or outer chamber, but

'nane presume to enter in the cabinet quhill he be callitt for be his Majestie' (Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, vi 186, quoted in Brown 1986, 862).

If we now turn to those who served the king, the description provided in the Cambridge manuscript of the thirteenth century royal household shows that certain spaces in the residence or the castle were associated with the particular departments and officers. The gate was the preserve of the constable and his staff of porters and doorwards, and because of their role as castle security they also were at the door of the king's hall and at the door of the king's chamber. The constable's association with the gate went further than the gate being his area of authority. From the accounts of the master of works it is clear that the captain of Falkland Palace had a suite of rooms contained within the gatehouse or forework: the account for 1539-41 mentions the *'new towre to the capitaneis sowtht est cunye (corner) of his foir chalmer'* (Paton 1957, 180). The kitchen on the ground floor of the adjacent range may have served the constables accommodation (RCAHMS 1933).

The hall was the other centre of activity for the household, with the door to the hall of vital importance. Not only was this guarded by twelve doorwards and a number of ushers, but was also where the Clerk of the Provender recorded the names of those in the retinue being fed, with the help of the valet marshals and the ushers of the door. The Clerk of Liverance may also have been involved in this activity. Inside the hall it was the marshal who held sway, but other officers such as the butler and the pantler were involved too. The king's table, which was almost a separate space in its own right, raised up on a dais, was not the space of the marshal but of the steward and the constable. Only the marshal and the Clerk of Wardrobe had roles specifically involving the king's chamber. Finally officers such as the Clerk of the Kitchen, the butler and the pantry, would have controlled the vital spaces of the kitchen, the pantry and the wine and cask store.

The presence of the large households of the king and queen created the need for multiple halls for serving meals. However, there would also have been a demand for living accommodation from the multitude of household officers and servants. In a Royal residence senior household staff and courtiers would have required formal accommodation. Evidence for such accommodation appears in the *'Accounts of the Master of Works'* and inventories of royal residences. The *'Accounts of the Master of Works'* record that in 1531 repairs were made on the chambers of the Earl of Argyll, the Master of the Household; at Holyrood between 1529-1615 the accounts record repairs to rooms occupied by Doctor Arbuthnot, Mr James Ayton,

Lord Balmerino, Gyrie Bowey, Mr George Buchanan (James VI's tutor and keeper of the Privy Seal), Mr John Craig (possibly the Master Porter at Holyrood), Lady Drummond, Sir Thomas Erskine (secretary to James V), the Bishop of Galloway, Sanders Hay, Sir George Hume (James VI's Master of the Garderobe), Andrew Hutton, William Inglis, Lord Lennox (perhaps Esmse Stuart, the Captain of the Royal Bodyguard and a favourite of James VI), Lord Mar, Sir Patrick Murray, William Murray (valet to James VI), Earl of Rothes, the Lord High Treasurer and Sir Peter Young (Almoner to James VI) (Paton 1957, 404).

What is not clear from this bald list is whether any of these senior members of the household kept their own establishment within the palace. From the description of the household dining arrangements of James VI it appears such establishments within the royal household did exist. Sir George Hume and his wife both had positions within the household, he as the Master of the Garderobe and she as a companion to the queen. Their household consisted of at least a serving woman and a laundress. The Mistress of Ochiltree, another of the Queen's ladies, also had her own staff consisting of a serving man, a serving woman and a page. Several other members of the Queen's household, such as the Master of the Queen's Household, the Queen's Carver and the Queens cup bearer, also have their servants specifically mentioned in the document (Bannatyne Club 1828, 38). These personal servants were probably accommodated within their masters and mistresses chambers on folding or truckle beds. These beds could be hidden away during the day and frequently appear in household inventories.

At the other end of the social scale there is mention of the '*barnes chalmer called the woeman house*' at Holyrood which suggests a nursery and perhaps an attempt to enforce segregation amongst the household staff (Paton 1957, 340). At Stirling Castle an inventory of furnishings and munitions compiled in 1584, mentions several chambers: one belonging to Maidlane Livingstone, a former maid-of-honour, another for the minister and the '*violaris chalmer besyde the greit hall*' which contained '*tua schort buirdis: ane sait fesinit in the wal, tua letill furmes, thre stand beddis, ane auld kist, with ane auld buird in ane letill vther hous thair besyde*' (Hist. Mss. Comm. 1884, 185-6).

The document relating to the dining arrangements of the household demonstrates that the viola players were of some standing within the household (Bannatyne Club 1828, 39). Their accommodation may reflect what was expected by middling servants within the households. Unfortunately, this space cannot be identified on the ground although from the description it appears that a number of musicians (four viola players and a servant were to share a table in the

document dealing with meal arrangements) shared a main living/sleeping room and a smaller room. At the lower end of the household hierarchy sleeping arrangements were probably even more *ad hoc* than dining arrangements, with few members of the household having specific accommodation. Many members of the household would have slept where they could. As such, the need to accommodate large numbers of menial staff may have had little impact on the architectural record. This group in the household may only appear through their surviving workplaces; kitchens, pantries, larders, and cellars.

At Linlithgow Palace (West Lothian) it is possible to identify the results of the desire to accommodate an element of the household, court and following within royal palaces. The northern range, rebuilt in the early seventeenth century, consists of fourteen two roomed suites, over cellarage and lesser one roomed accommodation, with an incorporated dining room or long gallery on the first floor. Access to this accommodation was via a central turnpike serving central corridors (RCAHMS 1929, 221-224; Pringle 1996, 19). The range is connected, through the dining room, to the king's bedroom, the most secluded and private of the royal apartments, on the west and to the great hall on the east. The positioning of the range provided easy access for the king to his most important courtiers and household officers and gave them easy access to the great hall. Although built to accommodate the enlarged court of James I/VI, the range provides a general demonstration of the growing accommodation requirements of the royal household during the sixteenth century. The position of the range relative to the Royal apartments and general standard of the accommodation, which originally appears to have consisted of two rooms, an inner and outer one, each supplied with a dry closet and a fireplace, suggests that this accommodation was for senior members of the household and court. The ground floor accommodation is not of the same standard. It is made up of three single rooms each with a fireplace but no dry closet. Their close proximity to the cellars suggests that these may have accommodated less senior officials with duties associated with the cellars. In 1648 an inventory of the palace describes the accommodation of the Earl of Linlithgow, the hereditary keeper of the palace, as situated '*in the third trance of the new werk of the Palace of Linlithgow*' which appears to refer to the first floor of the north range (RCAHMS 1929, 222). Although the internal arrangements appear to have been considerably altered from the original concept, this part of the palace continued to accommodate senior household officers

The royal household was a large and complex institution whose hierarchical and department based organisation had a spatial component. The material needs of its members, however meagre these were deemed to be, had to be accommodated. The roles of those in the

household were often, partially at least, defined by the space in which they worked — Master Usher of the Queens Chamber, Clerk of the Wardrobe, Clerk of the Kitchen, Master of the Stables, Keeper of the Master of the Households door. The spatial arrangements also helped to structure and support the hierarchies of the household. The segregation of eating areas is an obvious and simple example of how spatial arrangements reinforced peoples own identity within the household: such spatial arrangements did not encourage people of widely differing social groups to meet apart from on a professional basis and at their workplaces. However, it did encourage a degree of social cohesion amongst those of a similar standing by bringing them together at meal times. The fact that whereby a sizeable proportion of the household ate the leftovers of those in senior social and professional positions would have had a powerful impact on all those concerned. It was clear demonstration of the relative social position of members of the household.

4.7.2 Accommodation within the baronial household.

'His own constant residence, and the place where he received company, and even dined constantly with them, was in just one room only, and the vary room wherin he lodged. And his lady's sole apartment was also her own bed-chamber; and the only provision made for lodging, either of the domestic servants, or of the numerous herd of retainers, was a quantity of straw, which was spread overnight on the floors of the four lower rooms of this sort of tower-like structure; where the whole inferior part of the family, consisting of a great number of persons, took their abode. Sometimes about 400 persons, attending this petty court were kennelled here...' (MacGibbon & Ross 1887-92 vol. II, 573)

This description from the mid-eighteenth century of the household of Simon, Lord Lovat at Castle Dounie, brings up many of the themes to be addressed: the nature of lordly accommodation, gender segregation and the nature of the accommodation for a large number of retainers. The castle or tower was at the centre of the relations between servant and master, retinue and lord, a place where relationships could be negotiated and re-negotiated through time, the architecture itself playing a mediating role in the constant interplay between knowledgeable agents. That this mediation took place is a certainty, but how one quantifies the role of architecture in the process is less obvious. It is easy to populate the castle with its lord, it is far more difficult to identify his servants. The importance of the castle architect was not only to demonstrate the power and authority of the lord to those outside its walls or to those visiting

the castle but also to members of the lords own retinue, whether they be advisors, gentlemen of the retinue or servants.

As with the royal household, the presence of advisors, officials and servants within the baronial household will have had an effect on the planning of the castles, towers and houses in which it was accommodated. From the witnesses lists of Cardinal Beaton it is apparent that many of his senior officials were continually in his presence. Men such as George Durie, Walter Beaton, Archibald Beaton, John Beaton, John Lauder, and Andrew Oliphant were not occasional visitors or guests, attending only when required, but formed the inner circle of the Cardinal's retinue. As such they would have been frequent residents in the Cardinal's castles and houses and would have to have been accommodated. John Beaton with his responsibilities as captain of St Andrews Castle had lodgings for himself and his wife. As a laird, with his own lands, such accommodation would have to be of an appropriate standard and would have to accommodate not only his family but his own household. At the very least the captain would have required a suite of rooms and as with, the captain of Falkland and the hereditary Campbell captain of Dunstaffnage, it is possible that he was accommodated within the fore tower of the castle, his area of special responsibility.

However, as with the royal household, documentary sources demonstrate that in architectural terms the lord should be the most easily identified individual. In Castle Dounie the lord had a single room for most of his private activities but in the context of a simple tower this could be identified merely because private rooms would be rare. Other baronial castles were more sophisticated. The palace block at Huntly Castle (Aberdeenshire) presents us with an arrangement of lord's rooms very reminiscent of the sequential positioning of rooms found in Royal palaces. These rooms are partially described in a treatise entitled '*the Maner of the Erle of Huntlies Death*' which describes the 5th Earl of Huntly's death in 1576. The rooms of the earl consisted of a hall, then '*the grit chalmer*' or '*Chalmer of daice*' and then '*his owin chalmer ... quhilk ... was and round (ie beyond) the grit chalmer*' (Simpson 1960, 22). The sequential arrangements of the rooms is designed as much for accentuating the visitors trepidation or sense of anticipation and privilege as it was about the lord's privacy. The arrangement of rooms outlined above were of course just one option which had a degree of prevalence by the sixteenth century, and which was clearly seen as an appropriate layout for royal and lordly accommodation. The fact that this arrangement is easily identified today suggests that when in use its significance would have been immediately obvious.

4.7.3 Female space within the household.

In the description given above of life at Castle Dounie, the Lady Lovat clearly had her own room: *'And his lady's sole apartment was also her own bed-chamber'*. As in the royal household gender segregation within castles seems to have been commonplace even between the lord and his wife. At Huntly the lord's rooms are thought to have been on the first floor of the palace block. The second floor has an identical layout. Analogy from far better documented Royal residences would suggest that these rooms made up a suite belonging to the countess. The architecture of the palace also suggests that this was the case; a staircase rises from the earl's *'grit chalmers'* giving access to both the great chamber and the inner chamber of the second floor. Although the apartments posited to be the countess's are entered off of the main stair, they are deeper within the palace than the earl's. Not only did the lord and lady have separate accommodation but the lady's accommodation was rather more isolated from the rest of the household. This can be seen at the sixteenth century palace block at Stirling. Here the queen's apartments are situated to the south of the king's apartments and away from the noise and bustle of the great hall and the castle courtyard (RCAHMS 1963 vol I, 200).

When women were included in the household the architecture of the castle was used to attempt to enforce order at least between household servants;

'it was one of the duties incumbent upon the lady of a house to protect the morals of her maidens and female servants and to see that no temptation came their way, so sleeping quarters would be provided for them well away from the men and under the supervision of an older woman' (Labarge 1965, 35).

Such spatial segregation at the lower levels of the household can be identified in a Scottish context through documentary sources. The diary of Patrick, first earl of Strathmore, describes his considerable building alterations to Glamis castle carried out in the late seventeenth century. Part of his re-organisation involved the creation of rooms out of the roof space of a wing of the castle, while easier access to these rooms was provided through heightening a staircase;

'so that these rooms now above added not a little to the convenience of our present dwelling lodging the younger children, and such of the women servants as are of best account who have private access by a back stair to these rooms my wife makes use of herself' (Strathmore 1890, 38)

It is evident that the attic rooms of the east wing served as a nursery. This space could be identified as a female space; it was served by its own staircase, was isolated from the rest of the household and could be supervised and accessed quickly by the lady of the house. It is also

apparent that the female servants were treated with some apprehension with only specific servants allowed into the space.

This general apprehension about women in the castle can be identified through sources which specifically mention the term 'women's house'. This can be found in royal documents such as the mention of a '*barnes chalmer called the woeman house*' at Holyrood Palace (Paton 1957, 340) as well as in documents relating to baronial and lairdly residences such as Rowallan Castle (Ayrshire). In this case a '*women's house*' is mentioned in a genealogical tree drawn up in 1597 which records that

'Johne Muire third of yat name delytit in polycye of plantein and bigging, he plantit ye oirchzarde and gairdein, sett ye vpper bank and neither bank ye birk zaird befoir ye zett, he bigit ye foir vark from ye grounde ye bak wall and vomanhous' (Historie and descent of the house of Rowallane, Sir William Mure, 1657, quoted in MacGibbon & Ross 1887-92 vol. II, 385)

The site of the women's house is believed to be in the western portion of the house. It consists of an upper room with a fireplace and a mural chamber served by its own staircase. The room does not communicate with any other part of the castle although there was the opportunity to connect it with an upper hall (MacGibbon & Ross 1887-92, vol. II, 385). Thus, the space is isolated from the other parts of the structure, an ideal space for segregating part of the household. However, its exact function, who it actually accommodated, is unknown. At Glamis Castle, Patrick, reported that his father

'built also the brewhouse and womanhouse q^{ch} now is and the barne which stands in the northwest corner of the stackyard without so much as a closs or court, so that the first landing or lighting was at the verie entire gate' (Strathmore 1890, 35)

At Glamis the women's house was not part of the main building but a subsidiary building situated in a service yard in the environs of the castle. The close proximity of the brewhouse to the women's house suggests that the women may have worked there; a hypothesis suggested by the fact that brewing was one occupation where women dominated. These women would have been considered very differently to those living in the castle. They were segregated from the male servants in the household and from the house and its occupants.

Without documentary evidence it would be very difficult to categorise a free standing building associated with a castle as a women's house. However, through looking at the access arrangements of rooms within castles — their depth and associations with other spaces —

along with analogies from documented castles it may be possible to identify probable gendered spaces.

4.7.4 Servants space within the household.

Castellated architecture had to accommodate both the workplace and living areas of retainers and servants. Architectural evidence in the form of cellarage, kitchens and other service areas give some idea of at least some of the workplaces of servants. At Portincross Castle (Ayrshire) there is evidence within a baronial castle of segregated cooking and eating arrangements. Portincross is a rather enigmatic towerhouse which is believed to date from the late fourteenth century. It seems specifically designed with feasting and entertaining in mind. It has two forms of access: a first floor entrance which accessed its high vaulted hall, and a ground floor entrance which gave access to the cellarage, service areas, and a staircase to the upper floors of accommodation. It was thus possible to enter the hall and leave without entering any other area of the tower. However, the most unusual feature of this tower is that it has two kitchens, one a very cramped ground floor chamber and the other a slightly larger first floor chamber with a service hatch into the hall. The most likely explanation for the two kitchens is that the lower kitchen was a retainers kitchen, while the upper kitchen served the hall. Why the decision was made at Portincross to provide two kitchen may relate to the castle's royal connections: it appears to have been a favourite stopping point for the early Stewart kings as they progressed around the country and across to Bute and Rothesay Castle. As such Portincross may have required more extensive catering facilities than other towers of its size. However, many towers, such as Craigmillar (East Lothian) did have segregated cooking arrangements, with the lord and his immediate family being served from a kitchen within the tower and the majority of the household being served from in the great hall from the common kitchen.

To identify where servants lived within the castle is far more difficult. The living space for this element of the community often appears unrecognisable or even non-existent. The documentary sources which exist for some castles again provide us with possibilities and analogies for those that do not. The documents do not provide much evidence of particular accommodation designated for servants. Examples that are found are women's houses, mentioned above, and porters accommodation; in an inventory of Caulder castle, the porters lodge contained a bed and also a candle chest to supply nocturnal visitors with candles to light their way (Bevaridge & Russell 1920, 101). Instead the documentary sources give the impression that many of the inhabitants slept where they could. The description of life at Castle

Dounie presents us with the possibility that in many castles servants would have slept in the hall of the castle. A similar scene is painted by Tobias Smollett in his description of a 'fictional castle' which is likely to have been based on Dunstaffnage castle;

'The great hall, paved with flat stones ... serves not only for a dining room, but also for a bed-chamber to gentlemen-dependants and hangers-on of the family . At night half a dozen occasional beds are ranged on each side along the wall.' (Smollett 1771, 96-8 in Lewis 1997)

Inventories often give the impression that castles and houses were full of beds, with most rooms apart from the hall and specific service rooms such as the kitchen, having a bed. An inventory of Caerlaverock Castle, taken in 1640, includes *'twentie uther beds for servants, consisting of fedder bed, bolster, rug, blanketts'* (Fraser 1873, vol. II). These beds consisted of a feather mattress, a cover and blankets, and could be laid down anywhere at night and taken up during the day. Personal servants were accommodated within their masters and mistresses chambers on folding or truckle beds. These beds could be hidden away during the day and frequently appear in household inventories: an inventory of the Caulder House in 1566 mentions *'Ane tornit bed with ane drawbed under'* (Bevaridge & Russell 1920, 100).

The architecture of the castle did more than just contain the lord, his family and servants but contained and controlled the interaction between the different populations. The example of Claypotts tower demonstrates how a knowledge of the form of a household can explain the form of architecture. As Tabraham has pointed out late sixteenth century towerhouse such as Claypotts were self-contained — *'they were the "be all and end all" of the lairdly residence, more akin to a private home than a public place of lordship'* (Tabraham 1997, 122). The architecture of this tower also meant that servants were seen less and less with back stairs to allow them to move around the residence unseen (Tabraham 1997, 122). The fact that the tower was becoming far less a lordly residence and more of a home for those with new money may have accentuated the declining status of servants, with their relationship becoming one of employer and employee rather than one of reciprocal responsibility between lord and servant. The fact that the household of John Strachan consisted entirely of women supports this view. As Claypotts was not a *'public place of lordship'* the need for a large male retinue, as another demonstration of lordship, was unnecessary.

This interpretation of Claypotts depends on consideration of the structure as a whole and what is known about its owner and the household contained within. Similar architectural features such as backstairs can be interpreted differently in other castles. At Huntly Castle, the

earl's bedchamber is linked by a private stair to a ground floor living chamber of similar size and with similar facilities. The private nature of the link between the two rooms implies that the lower chamber quartered a senior official of the household, perhaps the earl's steward or master of the household. Here then the private stair can be seen in a very different light despite its association with servants; this stair circumvented the public access arrangements allowing seemingly unrestricted movement to the core of the palace, the lord's chamber. However, the presence of a number of apertures which pierce the wall into the lord's chamber from the head of the stair may complicate this interpretation. One is a peep-hole looking into the lord's chamber, presumably allowing the official or servant to see if it was an appropriate occasion for him to enter the chamber, an inversion of the usual surveillance arrangements. The other openings are thought to relate to a bell pull. This too places a different emphasis on the arrangement of the rooms, suggesting a more recognisably modern servant/master relationship. Huntly castle was occupied up until the mid-seventeenth century and the bell pull may be a later addition perhaps as a result of the changing status of servants (c.f. Samson 1990, 209).

4.7.5 Visual spatial cues for social relations.

The descriptions of social relations available from documentary sources demonstrate the vast number of ways in which individuals could be differentiated through architecture. This creates problems when all that remains are the bare walls. Space could be differentiated in many subtle ways that do not survive or that cannot be fully appreciated today. The original inhabitants and visitors did not have to think about how they should interpret a building, they had an intimate knowledge of all the visual cues which triggered their emotional and intuitive responses; they knew how to live in such buildings. Architecture may seem to play a small role in the arrangements of the feast at Castle Dounie, but it of course gives the principle setting to the feast and could have shaped the seating arrangements giving subtle signs which everyone would have understood. The head of the table where the lord, or laird, and his principle guests sat could have been given architectural distinction with fireplaces and windows, and perhaps a raised platform, the dais. Other signs would have been less obvious and more ephemeral such as wall paintings and hangings, floor coverings and perhaps the form of the roof. Archaeological excavations have suggested that the great hall of Stirling Castle was subdivided according to status and function, through different treatments of the floor. Thus, the dais area, the main body of the hall, and the service area, were distinguished by differing alignments of the flagstones. These subdivisions conform to the main functional and social areas of the hall. However, the dais and main body of the hall were further divided longitudinally along a central spine,

suggesting that not only was there an upper and lower opposition, but also an east and west opposition (Fawcett *pers. comm.*). The ceiling or vault of a hall would have provide many opportunities to provide visual cues. Vaults could have been painted, while open timbered roofs could have been carved with decorative and symbolic embellishments. The fourteenth century hammer-beam roof of the great hall of Darnaway (Morayshire) is richly decorated with carvings of animal and human figures. It is perhaps not surprising that the figure of '*a lustful male, with a twinkle in his eye and an erect penis, gazing across the hall into the doleful eyes of the welcoming sow opposite*' is to be found at the lower end of the hall (Tabraham 1997, 74).

It was not just in the hall that such visual cues would have existed. Perhaps the most powerful site for a visual prompt was at the entrance of a particular space, a zone of transition, where people were forced to pause, even if only momentarily. As noted earlier armorial devices were a common method by which the ownership of a particular building or space could be declared. As at Huntly, the ownership of many castles, towers and houses was proclaimed in heraldry above their entrances, an obvious point of transition to be negotiated by every visitor. However, heraldry was extensively used within buildings as well as without. At Melgund Castle, built by Cardinal Beaton, the internal heraldry makes it clear that this building was built initially built for Beaton and his mistress, Marion Ogilvy, despite Tabraham's suggestion that the castle was built for Beaton's son David, the proprietor of the estate (Sanderson 1986, 143; Tabraham 1997, 113). The heraldic motifs in the castle consist mainly of the couples combined coat of arms. In contrast, at the foot of the staircase which gives access to the apartments in the tower at Melgund there is the simple monogram of Marion Ogilvy. As the tower portion is the most private part of the castle it is likely that the apartments contained within were Marion's private chambers (Sanderson 1986, 143). The monogram is proclaiming ownership of specific spaces within the castle at a point where movement slows and changes direction. To a servant or visitor it may have signified '*go no further*'.

In Cassillis castle (Ayrshire), there is an even more obvious example of a visual cue designed to influence behaviour. Painted on a wall next to the entrance of the lord's chamber is a figure of an armed doorward in front of a door with the slogan '*Come not near master porter.*' The painting is thought to date from the mid fifteenth century (Cantlie 1997, 144). If this is the case, and the painting is not a piece of antiquarian graffiti, it shows that the surviving record of the material expressions of interpersonal relationships centred within the castle is woefully incomplete. The painting also offers an insight into the master/servant relationship, which is seemingly at odds with the picture gleaned from the documentary sources. It suggests that

rather than integrated members of the household, servants were unwelcome and were restricted to certain spaces. This is hardly surprising, the sign was meant for a specific audience; servants whose responsibilities did not involve the bedchamber. Just as in the Royal households where real doorwards guarded the king and controlled access, the earl of Cassillis had a visual representation of a doorward controlling access. The motto seems to be saying do not enter by orders of the master porter, an official who was responsible for the security of the house.

The most obvious visual cue and actual obstacle for movement through a building is of course a closed door — the wall painting described above was an added deterrent to the curious. It is clear from inventories and architectural evidence that interior doorways also came in for elaboration and were seen as important fixtures of the castle. An inventory for Newton Castle (Ayr) lists all the gates and doors found in the castle complex:

'in the quhilk castell, tour and fortalice ar sex double greit zettis and twa lokkis, twa keyis and tua Irne slotis to every ane of thame. And ane of thame ane irne zett, And tua of thame appernand with twa leiffis. And five of the said zettis of aik, ffourty durris of the quhilk xii ar double durris, and the Remanent singill durris of aik, with lokkis, keyis, bandis, slottis, snekkis, ringis and likewiss efferand to every duir (Mackenzie 1990, 25).

It appears that some rooms were given greater security or greater elaboration by using double doors. These do not seem two leafed doors, as this terminology is used in the inventory. Rather, they appear to be inner and outer doors. The inventory for Barcaldine castle similarly lists the doors found in the tower and suggests that the hierarchy of spaces was reflected in the method of securing the rooms. The main entrance to the tower was secured in the normal fashion, *'at the entrie of the plaice ane irne yet with ane sloitt and a greit irne bar, ane tymer yet with the lok and key of auld irne'*. The hall was secured by a *'tymer fir dour at the end of the hall bund with bandis and ane tymer slott'*. The principle chamber or *chamler des* and the chamber above the principle chamber were both secured by *'dowbill dour with lok bandis and key'* as were the kitchen and a cellar (RCAHMS 1975, 180). All the other doors in the tower are single. Thus, it appears that the principle chambers, both in the jamb and each with only one point of access was given the extra security and elaboration of double doors. The kitchen and the single cellar secured in this manner may have contained valuable foodstuffs or wine.

4.8 CONCLUSION.

The above chapter is designed to provided an everyday social context for the castle in Scotland both in the wider landscape of medieval Scotland and internally within the castle.

These two aspects are not mutually exclusive but were in constant interaction with one another. In each case the concept of space is an important one. The castle or tower was a central element in the spatial world of even the most lowly Scot, a constant feature in their mental and geographic landscape. Internally the architecture of the castle, its spatial disposition and its embellishments played a mediating and organising role between the various communities which inhabited its spaces.

The various documented examples and descriptions of households and the relationships between the members of these households demonstrate the nature of their organisation and of the social interaction which took place within the castles. Some of the social relations outlined, may not appear to have immediate relevance to the castle, but in trying to understand it and the social relations within it, we require a broader picture of the social structures of medieval Scotland. In the following case-studies the conclusions gained from looking at these sources will be used as a guide to the interpretation of the structures. The grammar of Scottish castellated architecture was broad enough to encompass numerous variations in the household which changed, not only with the scale and status of the household, but also with time. In many castles and towers, perhaps the single residence of a minor laird, each space may have been multi-functional contrasting with the royal household with its vast army of servants of multiple departments and where each room may have had a very specific use. Yet residences such as Claypots are still recognisably of the same ilk as the great baronial and royal castles of St Andrews and Linlithgow.

5. CASE STUDY ONE — DIRLETON CASTLE (EAST LOTHIAN) AND BOTHWELL CASTLE (LANARKSHIRE), THIRTEENTH CENTURY ENCLOSURE CASTLES.

Dirleton Castle and Bothwell Castle are two of the finest thirteenth century masonry castles in Scotland. Both castles remained major baronial castles and residences for almost four hundred years and underwent constant modification throughout the whole of their seven hundred year histories. These changes to the castles provides both opportunities and difficulties. The continual alterations offers insights into the changing military and domestic priorities of the occupants. More importantly the changes to architecture may elucidate the mechanisms of social change. The downside of such change is that, by its very nature, it obscures what has gone before. Thus, as with all archaeology the task of interpreting Bothwell and Dirleton is one of conjectural reconstruction.

5.1 BACKGROUND HISTORIES.

5.1.1 Dirleton Castle

As it stands today Dirleton consists of a cluster of thirteenth century towers, a fourteenth/fifteenth century hall and tower block and a sixteenth century lodging. These three main phases are associated with three different families who came into possession of the castle. The succession of building programmes, subsequent damage or neglect and then rebuilding, either swept away what had gone before or amalgamated older fabric with the new.

The original castle, built by the Anglo-Norman De Vaux family in the mid thirteenth century, consisted of a courtyard surrounded by a curtain wall with five projecting towers (plan 1). The three southern towers, which are clustered together around a small close, still stand to the height of several storeys. The other towers, to the south east and the north east, each stood alone, and have been reduced to their bases. Dirleton was taken and retaken by both sides during the Wars of Independence, and was finally slighted by the Scots. Rebuilding has disguised the full of extent of the demolition and may have made it look worse than it in fact was. At Dirleton the southern group of towers, the main lordly accommodation, survived almost intact although the nature of the northern part of this complex is now obscure, perhaps by slighting in the thirteenth century or perhaps due to re-building in the sixteenth (or a combination of the two) (plate 1). The upper works of the towers have been severely truncated. It is unclear when this destruction took place. The large drum tower was used as an artillery

stance in the mid-seventeenth century when the castle was active in the civil war, but it may have been truncated before this date, perhaps a consequence of the Wars of Independence.

The south eastern and north eastern towers of the castle have been reduced to their bases and the western and northern stretches of the curtain walls only survive as foundations. The dilapidated condition of this part of the thirteenth century castle could be explained by the slighting but again the fourteenth and fifteenth century rebuilding of the castle may have been partially responsible. A large section of thirteenth century curtain wall, with an original postern, is contained within the exterior wall of the fourteenth/fifteenth century hall block, between the two ruined towers. It seems peculiar that the trouble would be taken to destroy the towers almost to their foundations and yet leave a large section of curtain wall intact. However, in the context of building the hall block, the semi-ruined towers would have to have been demolished, while the stretch of curtain wall could be easily incorporated into the overall building plan.

The history of the castle and barony until it passed into the ownership of the Halyburtons in the mid-fourteenth century is relatively unknown. Originally a minor Berwickshire family, the Halyburtons gained influence at court and made several advantageous marriages. The family reached its apogee in the mid fifteenth century with Walter Halyburton being appointed Lord High Treasurer in 1438. Later in the century the barony was made a lordship (Grove 1995, 26). During this period the Halyburtons demonstrated their social advancement through building a splendid hall and tower block with an impressive gatehouse (plate 2). As shall be shown this was an integrated plan, although the building programme stretched into the fifteenth century and occurred in two distinct phases (plan 1). The constrained nature of the site may have enforced this need for concentration on planning and led to the reduction of the south eastern and north eastern towers.

Despite the problems of the site, the building programme did respect the southern cluster of thirteenth century towers. These towers survived relatively unscathed, but rather than just exploiting existing buildings, the decision to keep the towers must have been motivated by more complex reasons. There may have been a sense that by keeping the thirteenth lordly accommodation, the up and coming Halyburtons were bolstering their own position. They put their own very definite stamp on the castle, but maintained a sense of continuity of lordship by retaining the older symbol of this power, the thirteenth century towers. As accommodation, the towers may have been down-graded, but they remained a powerful representation of lordship to those who viewed the castle from the exterior.

In the early sixteenth century the castle became the property of the powerful and ill fated Ruthven family, whose main sphere of influence was centred upon Huntingtower in Perthshire. This family also made additions to Dirleton, once again improving the standard of accommodation by building a Renaissance block and planting extensive gardens in the policy of the castle (plate 5). As with the Halyburtons, the Ruthvens appear to have respected previous building work, although by abutting the new work against the towers, an opportunity was taken to improve the access arrangements (plan 1). At the same time the back wall of the gatehouse was rebuilt. There is some evidence that these changes may have destroyed thirteenth or fifteenth century work which created the northern range of the inner close. Originally there must have been a building at this point and the Ruthven block is constructed from re-used stone (Grove 1995, 4). It seems unlikely that with the large amount of building in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, this area of the castle would have remained ruined until the sixteenth century. Whatever the interior changes, the exterior facade of the thirteenth century towers remained intact. The ruined condition of the castle dates to the mid seventeenth century when it was besieged, bombarded and then dismantled by Cromwellian troops (Grove 1995, 30).

5.1.2 Bothwell Castle.

In its present form the castle consists of a large enclosure with a series of towers projecting from the curtain wall: at the western extent of the curtain wall stands the partially demolished thirteenth century donjon with its adjacent prison tower to the south west (plate 8), a latrine tower along the southern wall and a large round tower at the south east angle built in the fifteenth century although the foundations were probably laid out in the thirteenth century (plan 2) (plates 14&10). At the north east angle is a rectangular tower of a late fourteenth century date, although again on foundations laid out in the thirteenth century (plate 13)(Simpson 1947, 104-5). The castle's main entrance was through the north wall but the late fourteenth century gatehouse — a large gabled structure shown in a drawing by John Slezer 1693 — was demolished, along with the north east tower, in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. The interior contains the remains of a kitchen built against the northern curtain wall, a large first floor hall over cellerage along the inside of the north eastern curtain wall, a first floor chapel in the south east corner and a range of buildings along the southern curtain wall (plate 10&11).

As originally planned in the thirteenth century — demonstrated by the excavation of a series of foundations — the castle was intended to be even larger and more imposing than is

visible today (Simpson 1925, 171-3). As planned the circuit of walls was supposed to enclose an area twice as large as the present one, with curtain walls running northward to a large gatehouse consisting of two round towers flanking an entry trance protected by stone lined pit (plate 6). There were three additional towers: a large circular one at the north east angle of the extended courtyard and two small latrine towers, suggesting the intention of having ranges along the east and west curtain walls. Excavation has indicated that the plan was never completed (Simpson 1947, 102-104)(plan 2). This is confirmed by documentary sources: two descriptions of the siege of Bothwell in 1337 describe the castle as the tower of Bothwell (Simpson 1947, 101-102). It appears that during this period all that existed of the masonry castle was the great donjon, protected by its own moat, and its accompanying prison tower.

Due to the excavated foundations something of how the initial phase of building progressed can be understood. The castle seems to have been planned as a single building programme: the outworks of the castle enclose the extended courtyard and must have been dug with the grander plan in mind. The castle may have been laid out as a single entity but the building did not progress in such a fashion. The huge donjon, the prison tower and their connecting wing wall, were completed or nearly completed before work on the other parts of the castle moved beyond the digging and building of the foundations. Thus, the residence of the lord with its connected prison tower — perhaps a symbolic link representing the lord's person as a source of justice — took precedence over building the defensive aspects of the castle's masonry. The lesser towers also took precedence over the curtain wall itself. The final peculiarity of the initial plan is the rectangular western tower. The foundations of this tower are believed to date from the primary building phase (Simpson 1947, 104), yet this large rectangular tower appears very incongruous when set against the others which are all circular in plan (apart from the small latrine towers). If the rectangular tower was indeed planned in the thirteenth century, it would have provided a striking contrast to the great round donjon.

The destruction of the western half of the donjon (Fordun 1871, vol. I, 362) in 1336 when it was *'thrown to the ground'* by Andrew Moray, regent of Scotland and actual owner of the castle, appears almost as a symbolic act. The demolition rendered this part of the castle indefensible and importantly uninhabitable as a lordly residence. The destruction of only a part of the donjon would have been simpler than demolishing the whole structure yet this allowed the possibility of re-fortifying the tower, as took place in the late fourteenth century. Leaving the greater part of the donjon standing may also have been motivated by the desire to leave a physical symbol of the destruction of a symbol of the English occupation of Scotland. Although

the castle was owned by Andrew Moray, it had been an important base for the English occupation of Scotland from 1301 to 1314, when it was the residence of Amyer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, Warden of Scotland, and again from 1336 to 1337 when it was the headquarters of Edward III (Simpson 1925, 169).

The castle appears to have lain unoccupied until the barony of Bothwell came into the hands of Archibald 'the Grim' third Earl of Douglas and Lord of Galloway in 1362 (Simpson 1993, 8). Considering the castle had been slighted and had stood for thirty years with little or no care, it must have been in a ruinous condition. Yet Archibald chose to re-occupy the thirteenth century *caput* of the barony rather than building anew. The site of the castle although strong was not so prominent that it explains Archibald's decision to rebuild the castle. The shattered, although impressive, remains of the great donjon must have remained potent a symbol of lordship for Archibald to choose to rebuild this site. The presence of the large ruined tower also provided Archibald with a link to the site's history still relatively fresh in peoples' minds. Archibald was an important lord but he had acquired the barony through marriage and his own lands were concentrated to the south in Galloway and the eastern marches. In such circumstances Archibald may have felt that it strengthened and legitimated his position in his new barony to take over what was still the visible centre of lordship.

Not only did Archibald take over the site of the ruined castle, but he appears to have continued elements of the original building programme, although abandoning the northern portion of the defences. The large donjon was again made partially inhabitable and for the first time the courtyard was enclosed by a stone curtain wall with a gatehouse midway along the north wall. The southern, eastern and north western stretch of the walls must have followed the line of the proposed thirteenth century curtain, while the south east and north east towers are seemingly built on thirteenth century foundations. The Douglas's also built the main domestic and ceremonial accommodation which included a kitchen, hall and chapel. It is interesting to note the degree to which Archibald and his successors allowed themselves to be constrained by the initial thirteenth century plan. It is striking that the great donjon was repaired in a haphazard fashion. It seems probable that the repair was never fully carried out leaving a half demolished and half repaired donjon as the exterior visual focus of the castle. The rather obvious repair again may have been done purposefully to provide a visual reminder of the history and age of the castle.

The development of the castle continued with further accommodation built against the southern curtain wall in the fifteenth century and then reorganised in the sixteenth century. This range has since been demolished although the general outline of the structures can be identified from the scars on the inside of the south curtain wall. During this period the castle underwent numerous changes in ownership. In 1669 Bothwell was acquired by Archibald Douglas, first Earl of Forfar. Under his ownership the gate-house, the north west tower and perhaps the southern range were dismantled for building stone, utilised in the construction of a more suitable residence of Bothwell House, a Palladian mansion (Simpson 1993, 9).

5.1.3 Summary.

The association of building phases with changes in ownership or improvements in status identified indicate that building was an important expression of lordship. The act of construction was a clear demonstration to the locality and wider world of the importance of that particular family. It was used to create and reinforce identities, although the retention of older, sometimes ruined features, created associations with previous phases of occupation.

5.2 GEOGRAPHIC AND TOPOGRAPHIC SETTINGS.

5.2.1 Dirleton Castle.

The small barony of Gullane and Dirleton was extremely wealthy lying as it does on the fertile coastal plain of East Lothian, an important route of communication between Scotland and England, Edinburgh and the south east. The castle itself lay beside the road leading from North Berwick with its Cistercian convent and hospice for pilgrims travelling north to St Andrews. The first castle of the De Vaux's appears to have been situated on the island of Fidra, just off the coast of Dirleton and visible from its battlements. The other important element of the twelfth century barony, the parish church, was built at Gullane. The building at least was a new foundation, as demonstrated by a fine chancel arch of distinctively Norman style. The move from Fidra to the present site is associated with the advancement of the De Vaux family through court connections: John De Vaux, builder of Dirleton, became Steward to Alexander II's queen. The move from the isolated island of Fidra to Dirleton in the centre of the barony certainly marks a degree of growing confidence by the De Vaux's (Grove 1995, 19).

The site of the castle has obvious defensive qualities and the present thirteenth century masonry castle may have replaced an earlier timber castle: a castle is first mentioned in a charter dating from 1225, but this may refer to an earlier timber building. The castle stands on top of a rocky crag, from which it seems to grow, constraining its form and extent. The summit of the rock is a rough quadrilateral with sheer sides to the north, west and south and with a more gentle slope to the east. These natural defences were augmented by a dry ditch which surrounded the north, east and south sides of the castle. This ditch was filled in on the north and east side during the Halyburton occupancy of the castle leaving a fifteen foot deep ditch at the south side, the main approach to the castle. The crag, although not particularly high, raises the castle above the flat coastal plain providing views of the Firth of Forth — including the Island of Fidra and therefore sustaining the De Vaux link with this site, which they had gifted to the Dryburgh Abbey and on which two canons were to celebrate mass. This view would encompass the flat arable lands of Lothian and the Lammmuir, from which they would receive much of their wealth in the form of arable produce and livestock. The ditch which surrounded the thirteenth century castle would have emphasised the height of the crag and the towers of the castle. This all served to increase the prominence and visibility of the castle, although at the expense of a rather cramped site.

The village of Dirleton appears to have grown up around the castle and a village green in the classic Anglo-Norman settlement pattern. There is evidence that the actual street plan of the village is of long standing, with elements at least dating from the late sixteenth century. The castle lies to the south of the main settlement concentration and is isolated from the village by extensive grounds which by the sixteenth century had been developed into formal gardens. To the south of the castle lies Castle Mains, the farm kept under the control of the lord and charged with providing the household with its victuals. The one peculiarity of the settlement plan is the fact the parish church is the several miles away at Gullane.

5.2.2 Bothwell Castle.

The barony of Bothwell, situated within the fertile valley of the Clyde, must also have been wealthy. The barony and the castle are in a central position within Scotland, close to major communication routes: the Clyde was navigable at least as far as the castle, and the main north/south route in the west of Scotland passed close by the barony. The earliest castle within the barony is thought to have stood next to the Norman parish church, on the site of the present

Manse of Bothwell typical of an Anglo-Norman settlement structure. Around these dual foci the settlement of Bothwell grew (Simpson 1985, 5).

In the thirteenth century, the decision was made to move the barony's caput to the present site of Bothwell Castle on the banks of the Clyde, more than a kilometre to the north west of the original timber castle and the Norman parish church. This decision does not appear to have been taken for reasons of defence, as the suggested site of the timber castle is a strong one. Rather it is probable that the original site was too constrained, while the new site offered the large and relatively flat piece of land required for the planned building programme. The site of the castle does offer some defensive advantages: the deep ravine of the Clyde bounds the site on the south and west and the site has been artificially strengthened to the north and east with a series of banks and ditches.

One should not discount aesthetics as a motivation for building on this site. Approaching the site from the north, the visual impact of the castle is lessened by the woods which surround the castle today, and by the slight slope of the land down to the river gorge. Originally, the area around the castle would have been devoid of trees for defensive reasons, and the original plan of the castle with its two large drum towers would have brought the visual impact of the castle forward. However, there is a sense that the castle was to be viewed from the opposite bank of the Clyde, from the direction of Blantyre Priory which was founded in 1240, by the Earl of Dunbar (Tabraham 1997, 48). From this direction the full height of the great donjon can be appreciated unencumbered by moats, ditches, and with the curtain walls disappearing into the background.

Bothwell Castle does not appear to have become a focus of settlement. Rather, settlement continued to grow around the parish church and the medieval crossing point at the site of Bothwell bridge. The parish church was supplemented, perhaps almost superseded by a collegiate church founded by Archibald Douglas in 1398. The landscape of lordship was completed by a deer park, its date and extent is unknown.

5.2.3 Summary.

Dirleton and Bothwell stand on two very different sites: whereas Bothwell has a large flat site, Dirleton is constrained by the rocky crag upon which it stands. This fact has implications for the eventual form of the castles: even in its truncated state Bothwell remains very open with

considerable space for interior buildings; in contrast the topography at Dirleton created considerable problems for later builders. The move to a new site at Bothwell and the continued occupation of an old one at Dirleton had other implications. At Bothwell there was a degree of separation from the settlement which served it, while at Dirleton the settlement continued to grow with the castle at its heart. Thus, lordship was expressed differently in each case; by separation and segregation at Bothwell and by presence and domination at Dirleton. In spite of these differences both castles appear to have been built with an aesthetic in mind.

5.3 THE CONCEPT OF THE ENCLOSURE CASTLE.

Both Dirleton and Bothwell can be described as enclosure castles or a castles of enceinte. These are castles whose main feature is a curtain wall surrounding a courtyard, with ranges along the internal face of the curtain walls. Such castles are on a large scale, accommodating a large household and most of the services required by the lord and his household. In many courtyard castles all that remains are the curtain walls, the original interior timber buildings and ranges having perished. However, at Bothwell, Dirleton, Caerlavarock, Hailes (East Lothian) and Kildrummy there were significant masonry elements — donjons, towers and gatehouses — which are thought to have functioned as lordly accommodation. Importantly they broke up the visual homogeneity of the blank curtain walls, turning the lord's accommodation, a focus of authority, into the visual focus of the castle. It is hardly surprising that the lord's accommodation was the first to be fossilised. Stone buildings require a much greater commitment of time and resources than timber ones. If the castles mentioned above are regarded more as an appropriate residence of a great lord than as military strongholds, the building in stone of the lord's accommodation makes sense. This is of course very apparent at Bothwell, where the building of the lord's accommodation clearly took precedence over all other parts of the castle. This may have also taken place at other castles, but it is only because of the obvious cessation of building at Bothwell that it can be identified.

Despite the survival of masonry components, enclosure castles have been denuded of their original timber courtyard accommodation, such as halls, chapels, kitchens, stables and smithys. The masonry buildings surviving at Bothwell and Dirleton, which probably replaced timber predecessors, give some impression of the crowded nature of the medieval courtyard: Dirleton even has the foundations of auxiliary service buildings within its rather cramped courtyard.

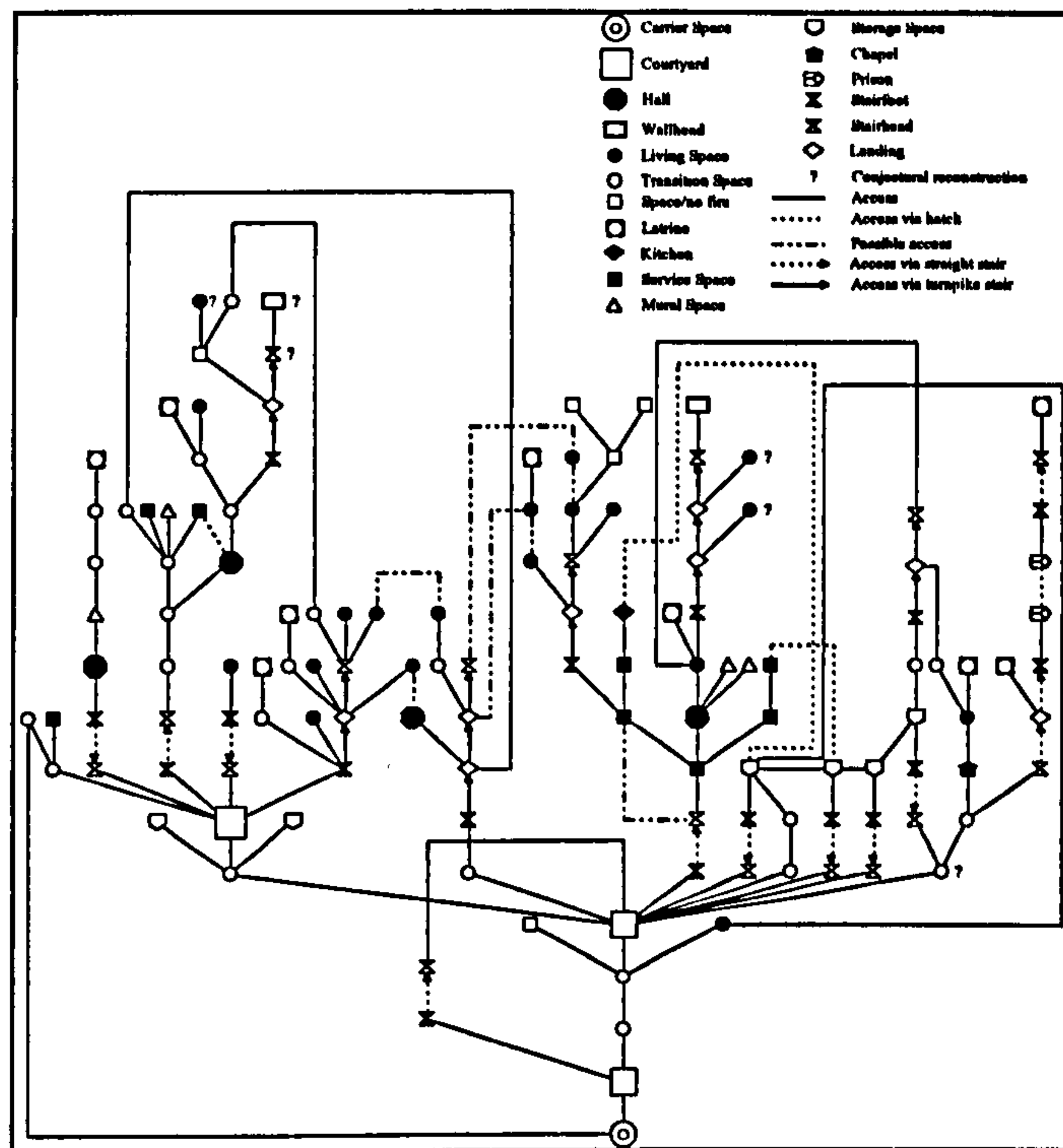


Figure 5-1 Access graph of Dirleton c. 16th century

5.4 INTRODUCING THE SPATIAL DIAGRAMS OF DIRLETON CASTLE AND BOTHWELL CASTLE.

Dirleton and Bothwell are both complex multiphase structures and the access diagrams and planning diagrams are colour coded to demonstrate this phasing (diagrams 1,2,3 & 4). The benefit of presenting the structures in this manner is that — more than a colour coded plan — one can see how the different phases are integrated, not merely in terms of structural adjacency, but more importantly in terms of communication between the different phases of the castles.

The immediate impression one receives from the access graphs (figure 5-1 & 5-2 & diagrams 1&3) for Dirleton and Bothwell is one of confusion and complexity. This is not a problem generated by the diagrams, but presents reality: these buildings are complex. If it is difficult to navigate around the map, this again reflects a reality: for the first time visitor, or even an attacker, navigating around the actual building would have been confusing, even with the visual cues contained within the fabric of the structures themselves. Apart from their complication, the most obvious characteristic of the access graphs are their tree-like, or non-distributed, forms. This demonstrates that there are few alternative routes between spaces. Where alternative routes — rings — do exist, these are usually at the upper levels of the

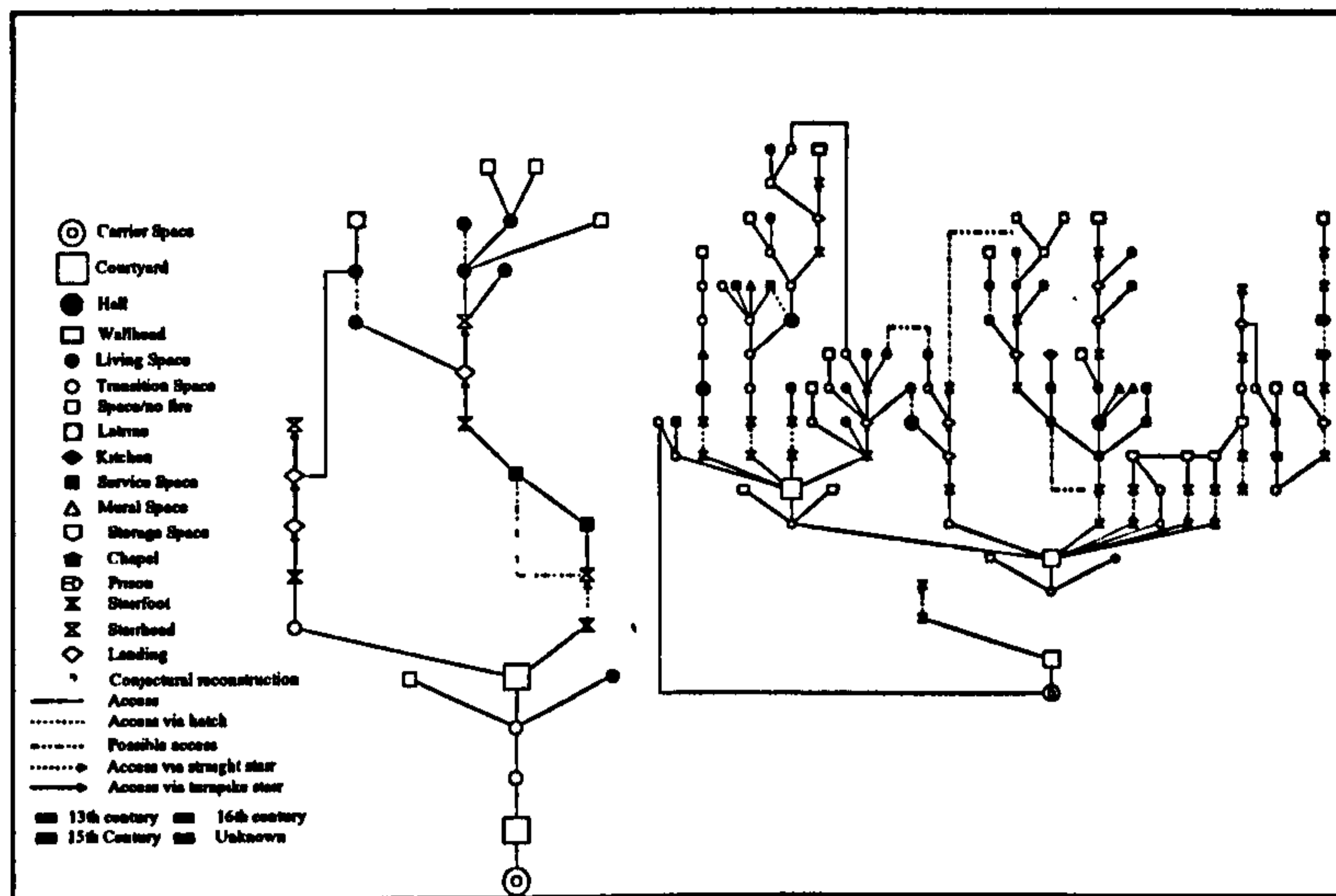


Figure 5-2 Access diagram of Gatehouse, Dirleton c. 16th century

diagram. At Bothwell the curtain wall-walks provide possible alternative routes, such as between the north east and south east towers. At Dirleton these rings do not exist but this is maybe due to the destruction of the wall heads. In the remaining masonry of the tower complex there are no signs of access to the curtain wall and thus by the wall walk to the other towers. The possibility remains that an upper floor did give access to a wall walk. Even if a wall walk did communicate with the towers this form of access would have been extremely specialised creating a giant ring at the very upper levels of the access diagram, where access would be restricted.

The tree-like structure of the graphs will be replicated in most of the case studies. This may seem predictable in a structure such as a castle, where defensive considerations play a role in planning. Limiting the possible routes around a castle is an obvious security concern. An example can be found in the fifteenth century gatehouse at Dirleton Castle. The two chambers which controlled the mechanism for portcullis and the drawbridge are both deep within the access graph. There are two staircases by which one could reach these spaces providing two alternative routes. However, as can be seen from figure 5-3, one of these staircases dates from the sixteenth century when the gatehouse was subdivided. It is therefore likely that originally the portcullis chamber and the drawbridge chamber could have been reached from one staircase allowing only one route to these spaces. Thus, if there was treachery within the castle or if a besieger managed to infiltrate the castle, the vital areas of the drawbridge and portcullis mechanisms could not be reached easily without detection. However, in recognising the existence of defensive requirements, one should not forget that a castle was the headquarters of an estate, a courthouse, a prison, a political centre, a symbol of a families status, power and

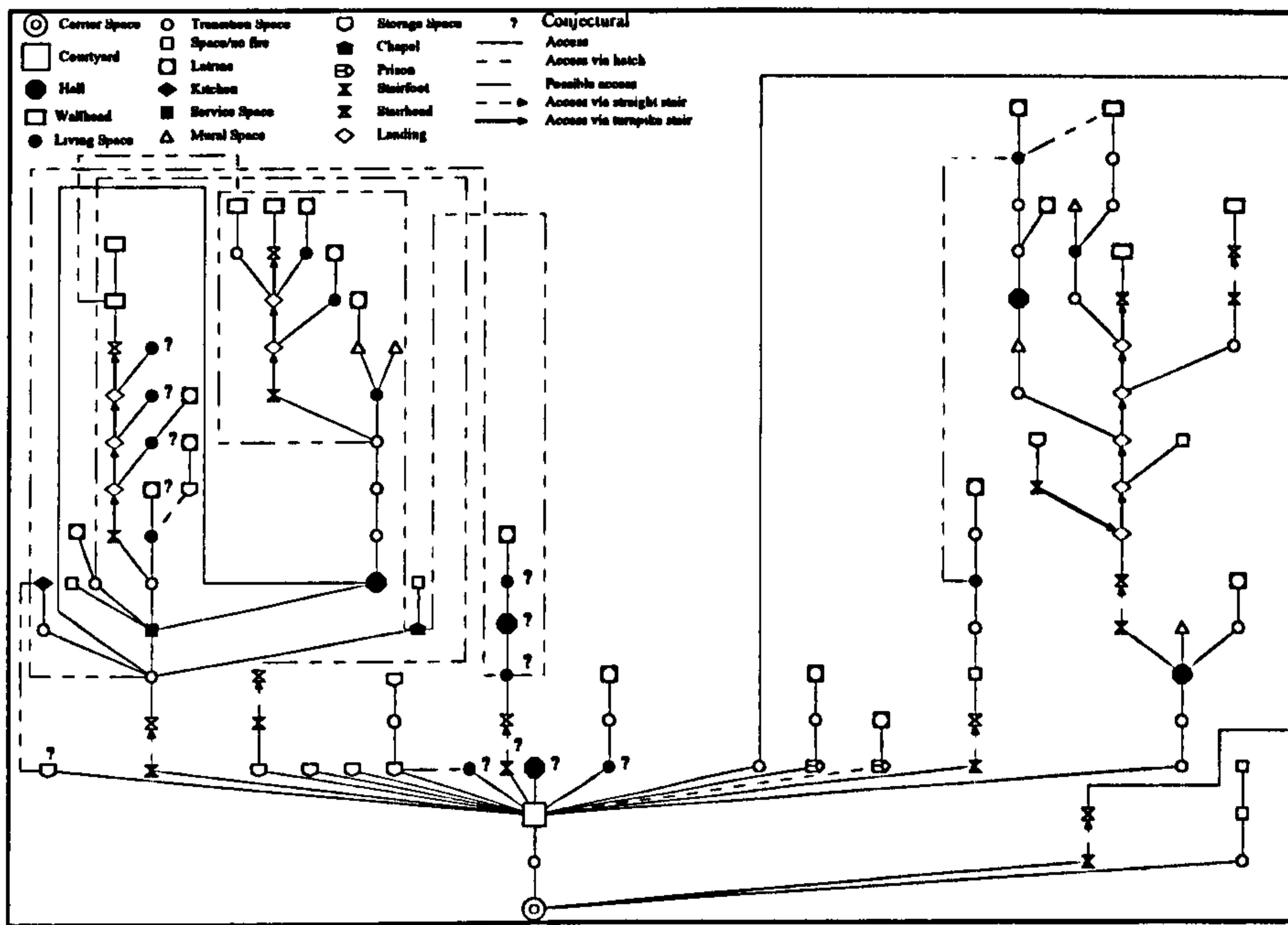


Figure 5-3 Access graph of Bothwell c. 16th century

wealth, and last but not least a home, not just for one family, but for an extended family of servants, retainers and perhaps kinsmen. Thus, spatial arrangements will necessarily be bound up with all these social requirements and not only with defence. Thus, the tree-like structure of the graphs may have other explanations such as concepts of privacy.

At both castles, the courtyard acts as a central node for communication, with all spaces accessed through the courtyard from the exterior. The main courtyard is one of the most integrated spaces in the castles. Each of the courtyards is an integrated space controlling access to one or more of the major branches which make up the graph. The outer courtyard, formed by the barmkin is the root, or trunk of the whole tree, but the complexity of the graph is only apparent from the main internal courtyard. Although treated as a bounded space, a courtyard must be recognised as a different type of communication space than a true interior transition space (e.g. a corridor). When the courtyard is used for access there is a sense of leaving the confines of the built environment although still being within a bounded space: access across a courtyard is different from access via a corridor. This is a characteristic of an enclosure castle, which can be thought of as a series of semi-independent buildings, linked together by the existence of an enclosing wall and communicating with each other via the courtyard.

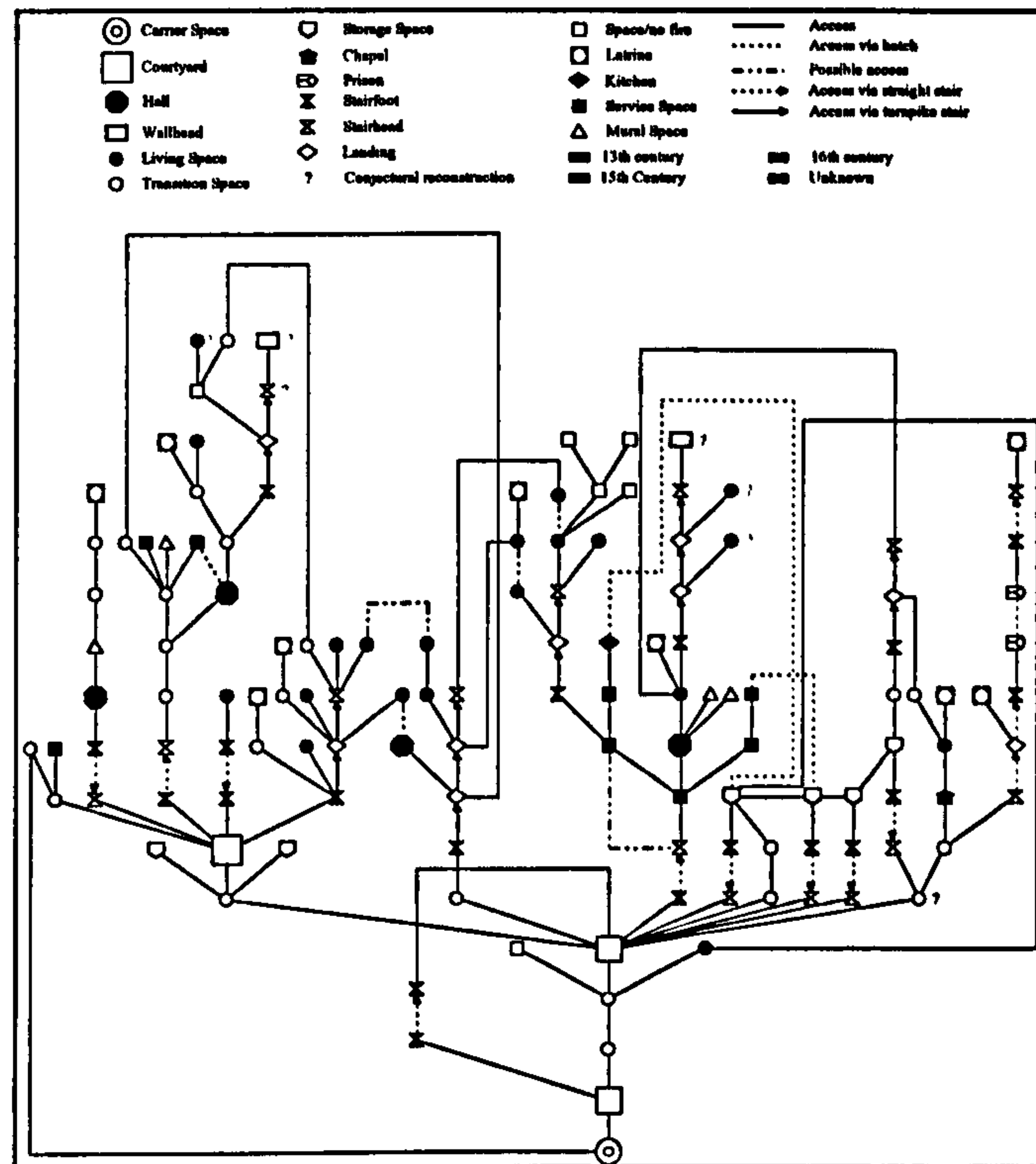


Figure 5-4 Phased access graph of Dirleton c. 16th century

5.4.1 Dirleton Castle.

As is clear from the phased access and planning diagrams of Dirleton Castle (diagram 1&2) the different building phases were well integrated in the final late sixteenth century form of the castle. As can be seen from the figures 5-6 and 5-7, it may have been possible — depending on the existence of access through various partitions in the gatehouse and the Ruthven block — to travel from the thirteenth century block, through the sixteenth work, or the Ruthven block, by a large turnpike which serves both the sixteenth work and the fourteenth/fifteenth century gatehouse. This staircase creates a possible internal route through the whole of the castle allowing each space to be reached, (apart from the ground floor of the large circular tower and the square tower) without the recourse to the courtyards.

This sixteenth century staircase must have become one of the most important communicative spaces in the final phase of the castle. The access diagram demonstrates this fact by showing that this space or spaces immediately accessible from the stair are linked to

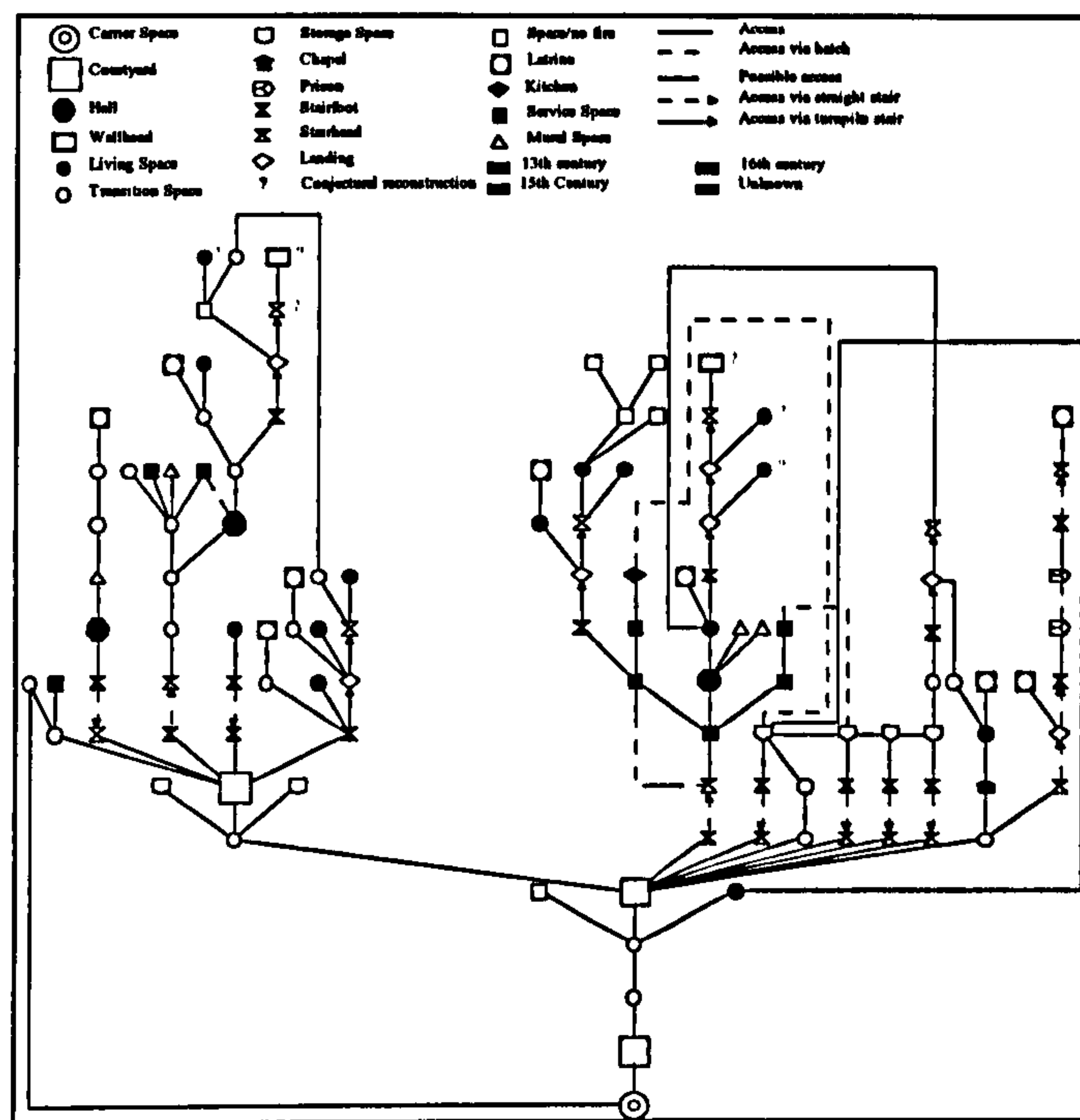


Figure 5-5 Access graph, Dirleton c. 15th century

several other branches by rings. The fourteenth/fifteenth century hall complex makes up an architecturally coherent whole — although the current form of the hall block is the result of two building programmes — from which a clear idea of the structure can be developed, despite the ruination of the upper floors. This area of the castle also seems to stand alone: the key components of cellarage, service, kitchen, gatehouse, hall and bedchambers are all represented. This phase has little internal communication with the other phases of the castle; only the sixteenth century staircase entered from the courtyard provides an internal link between the fourteenth/fifteenth century castle and the thirteenth and sixteenth century phases.

This has consequences for the access arrangements of the fifteenth century castle. Unless the late sixteenth century block replaced a very similar thirteenth or fourteenth/fifteenth century block — which is very possible — the thirteenth and late fourteenth/fifteenth century accommodation only communicated through the courtyard, as is shown in figure 5-6. What makes this all the more strange is the adjacency between the thirteenth and fourteenth/fifteenth century work: the thirteenth century towers are connected physically to the fourteenth/fifteenth century gatehouse. It would have been possible to create internal access between these two areas of the castle. The lack of communication may be the result of sixteenth century changes to the gatehouse and the building of the staircase serving both the Ruthven block and the gatehouse. However, this seems implausible as the floor levels of the thirteenth and fourteenth/fifteenth century works do not coincide. Thus, it would appear that despite the ease

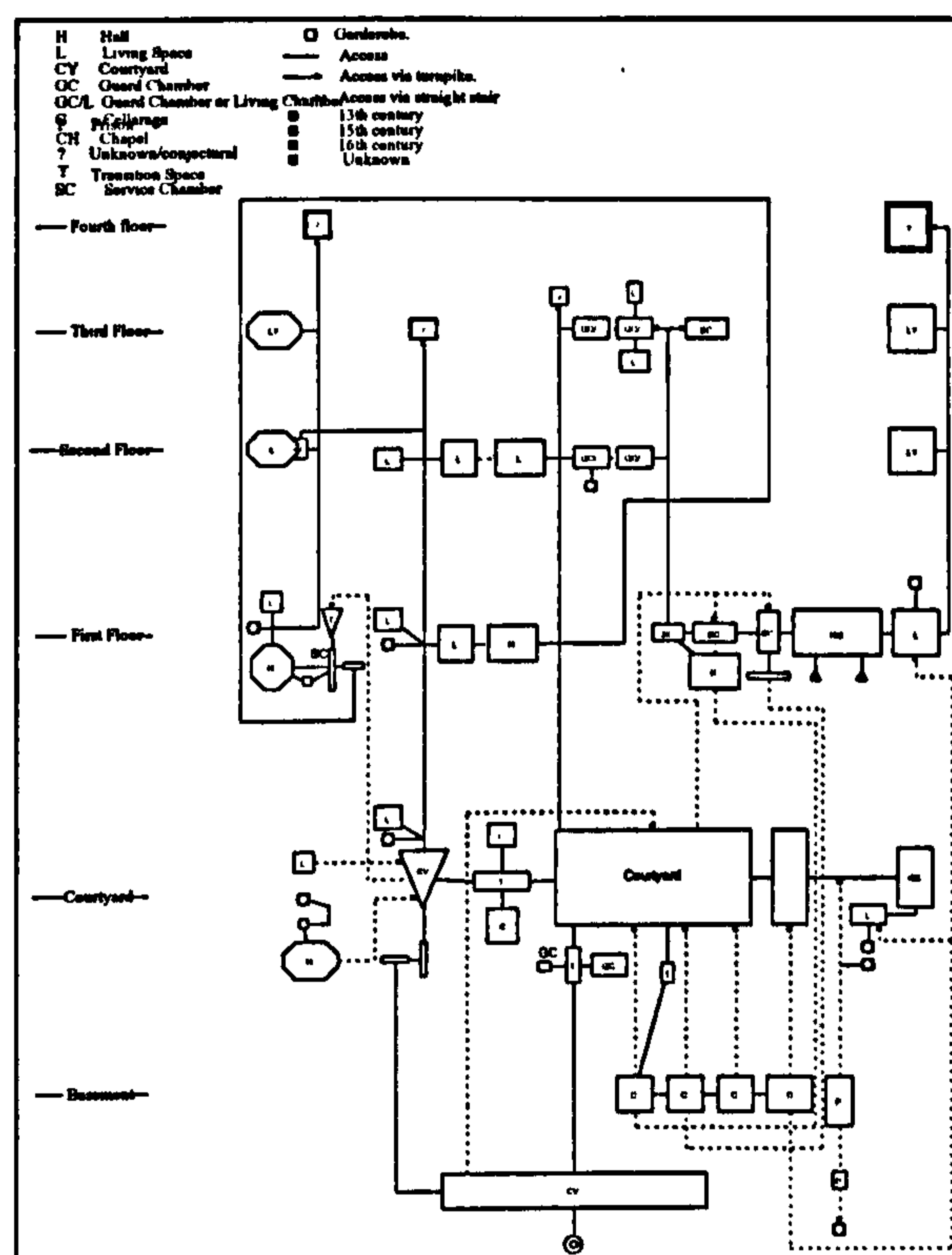


Figure 5-6 Phased planning diagram of Dirleton c. 16th century.

with which communication could have been created, the fourteenth/fifteenth century gatehouse was segregated from the thirteenth century towers. In the thirteenth century, the segregation would have been more pronounced with each of the towers and any timber buildings, communicating solely via the courtyard, and perhaps the wall head.

5.4.2 Bothwell Castle.

At Bothwell, the thirteenth century donjon and prison tower do not communicate in any way with the later phases of the castle, apart from via the courtyard (figures 5-7 & 5-8 & diagrams 2&3). If the other elements of the planned castle had been built, these would have also been isolated, communicating only via the courtyard and the wall head. At Bothwell it is clear that such wall head communication was intended — the prison tower communicates with the donjon via the wall head as well as an internal passage — although it is unclear but how extensive, this form of communication was intended to be. For instance it is impossible to determine whether the wallheads provide a single route right around the castle or were simply stretches accessible from individual towers, but which did not necessarily communicated with other towers.

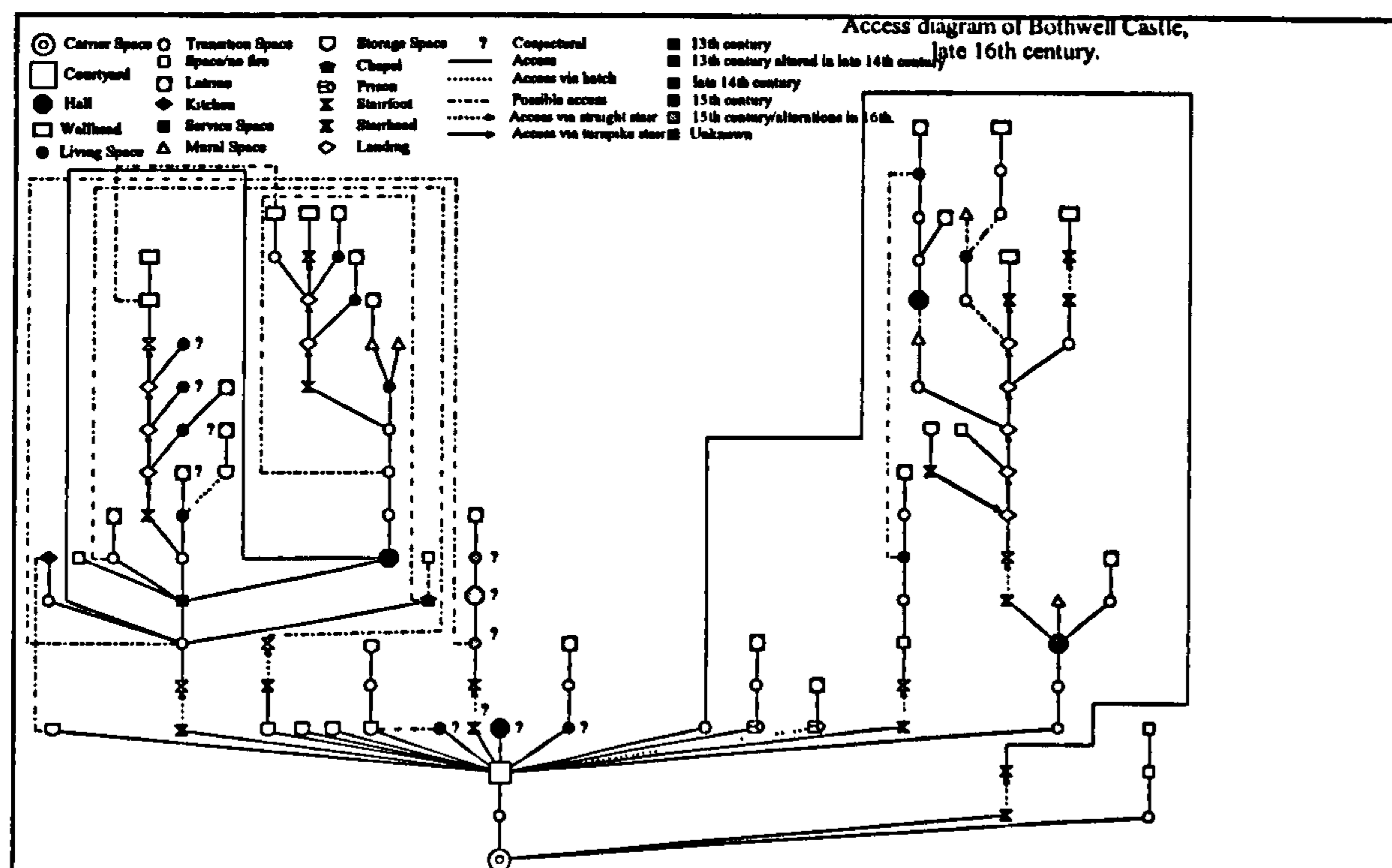
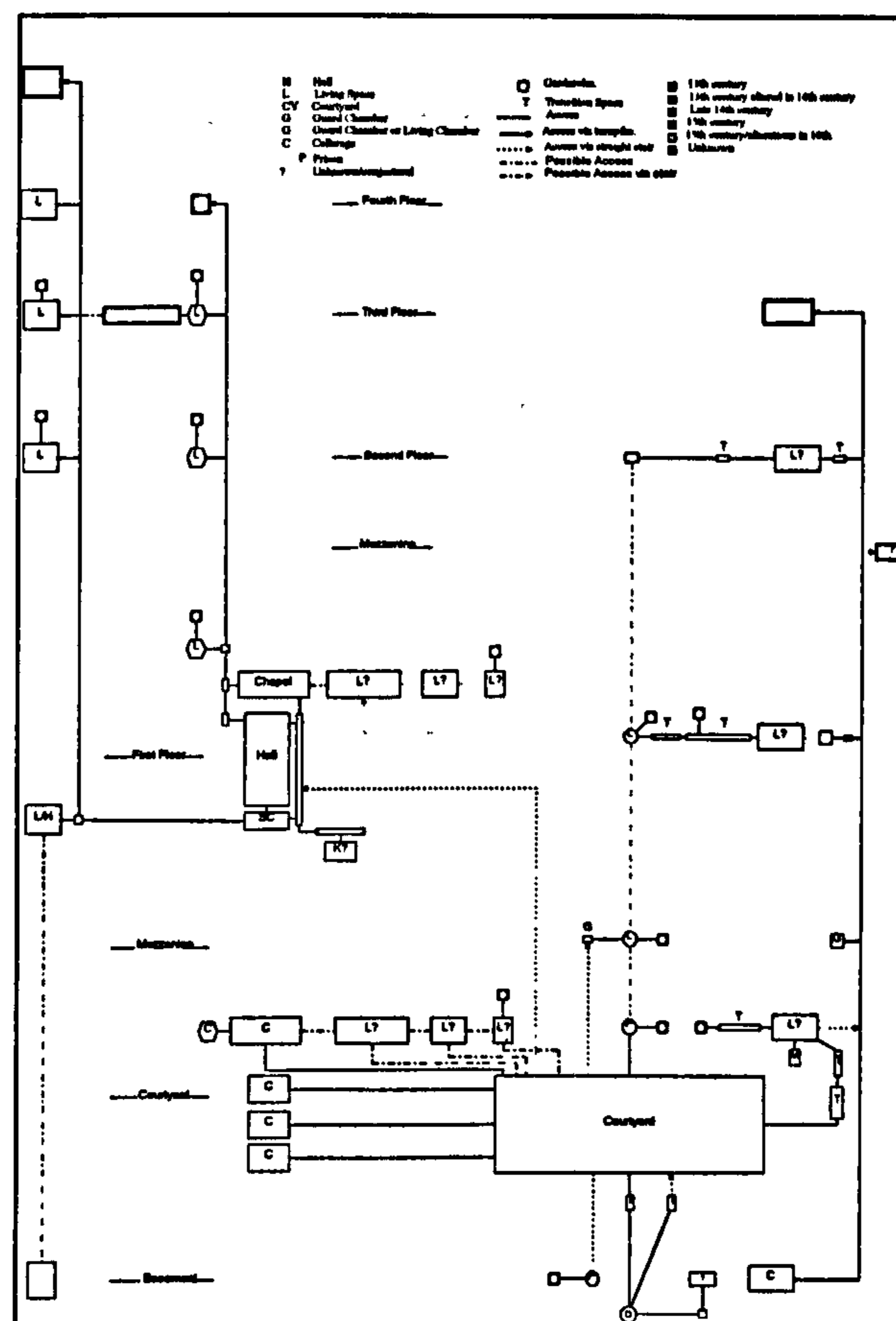


Figure 5-7 Phased access graph of Bothwell c. 16th century

The rebuilding and completion of the castle, although it saw the partial repair of the donjon, only saw its integration into the overall scheme in as far as it was included within the circuit of curtain walls. By the late fourteenth century the focus of the castle had moved from east to west. The structures of the other two main building phases at Bothwell — the north west tower and the hall and chamber block — are far more integrated with each other than they are with the thirteenth century phase (figures 5-7 & 5-8, and diagrams 3&4). However, unlike Dirleton, where the hall block gives a sense of being of a single phase, the fourteenth and fifteenth century structures at Bothwell give the impression of a haphazard accumulation of buildings, whose communication with each other almost appears fortuitous. In the castle's present form, the donjon appears very isolated from the other structures, with the majority clustered at the east end of the courtyard. As will be discussed, this isolation was part of the original conception of the castle, visually expressed by the rock cut dry moat separating the donjon from the rest of the courtyard. This served to separate — visually, physically and symbolically — the lord from the rest of the castle. In a later phase of occupation, when the focus of the castle had moved to the east end of the castle, a screen wall appears to have been constructed, further isolating the donjon. However, whereas the moat left the elevation of the donjon unobscured, the screen wall may have been a storey high, disguising this part of the castle and obscuring the view of the castle from the huge and impressive ground floor window in the donjon.



5.4.3 Summary — Increasing Integration

From a general overview of the case-studies it is apparent that the castles became more coherent through time, with internal communication supplanting the courtyard as the main route between individual structures. In the thirteenth century, the wall head may have been an alternative to the courtyard. However, this must have always been a specialised and perhaps restricted method of moving around the castle. At Dirleton, although the fourteenth/fifteenth century gatehouse/hall block has an elegant sense of cohesion, it appears to have remained distinct from the thirteenth century towers. It was only with the building of the sixteenth century Ruthven block that communication through out the whole structure became possible. At Bothwell, although the hall, kitchen, chapel and accommodation towers were integrated, visually they were kept distinct. The donjon remained isolated. Despite the growing degree of internal communication, the courtyard must have remained an important area for communication, with perhaps the internal routes between spaces restricted to certain individuals, although the presence or absence of partitions may well have affected this.

5.5 ENTRY INTO THE CASTLE — THE PUBLIC AND OUTER FACE OF THE CASTLE.

The gatehouse was one of the most obvious places for architectural and decorative elaboration. Entrances concentrate and channel movement making them prime sites for self-advertisement in the form of armorial plates. As gateways are breaks in the curtain wall, points of weakness, the architectural elaboration at gatehouses and the methods of securing entrances are often ascribed to military need. However, as we shall see other motivations may have informed such building.

5.5.1 Dirleton Castle.

The method of entry into the castle changed with each phase of rebuilding. The initial thirteenth century gateway probably pierced the wall in the same position as the fourteenth/fifteenth gateway but all traces of this gateway were swept away when the castle was rebuilt. Although the fourteenth/fifteenth century gatehouse is still extant, it underwent a number of changes in the sixteenth century.

The gatehouse complex and an outer barmkin wall and gate adds overall depth to the access graph (figures 5-7 & 5-9). The gate complex of the castle in fact consists of a drawbridge over the dry ditch, an iron yett, an outer wooden door, a portcullis and an inner wooden door (Richardson 1982, 16). In the access graph, the bridge and the trance through the gatehouse have been treated as two separate spaces for although together they may seem to be a single route of communication, the move from the bridge to the entrance pend involves the crossing of a threshold. The pend itself could be divided up into several transition spaces, each created by the thresholds of the closed drawbridge, gates and portcullis, generating an even greater sense of depth. The pend has been treated as a single space in the diagrams as the gates create such small spaces. However, the person moving through the gateway may have had a feeling of progressing through a series of obstacles as they crossed each of the thresholds, making them very aware of the strength of the castle. Other aspects of the architecture of the gateway are clearly designed to impress and overwhelm those entering. The length of the pend is effectively increased by the massive solid stone jambs or piers which project the gateway beyond the face of the curtain wall (plan 1 & plate 2). This in part provides added protection by setting the gates back from the curtain wall, but also ensures that the gate far more prominent

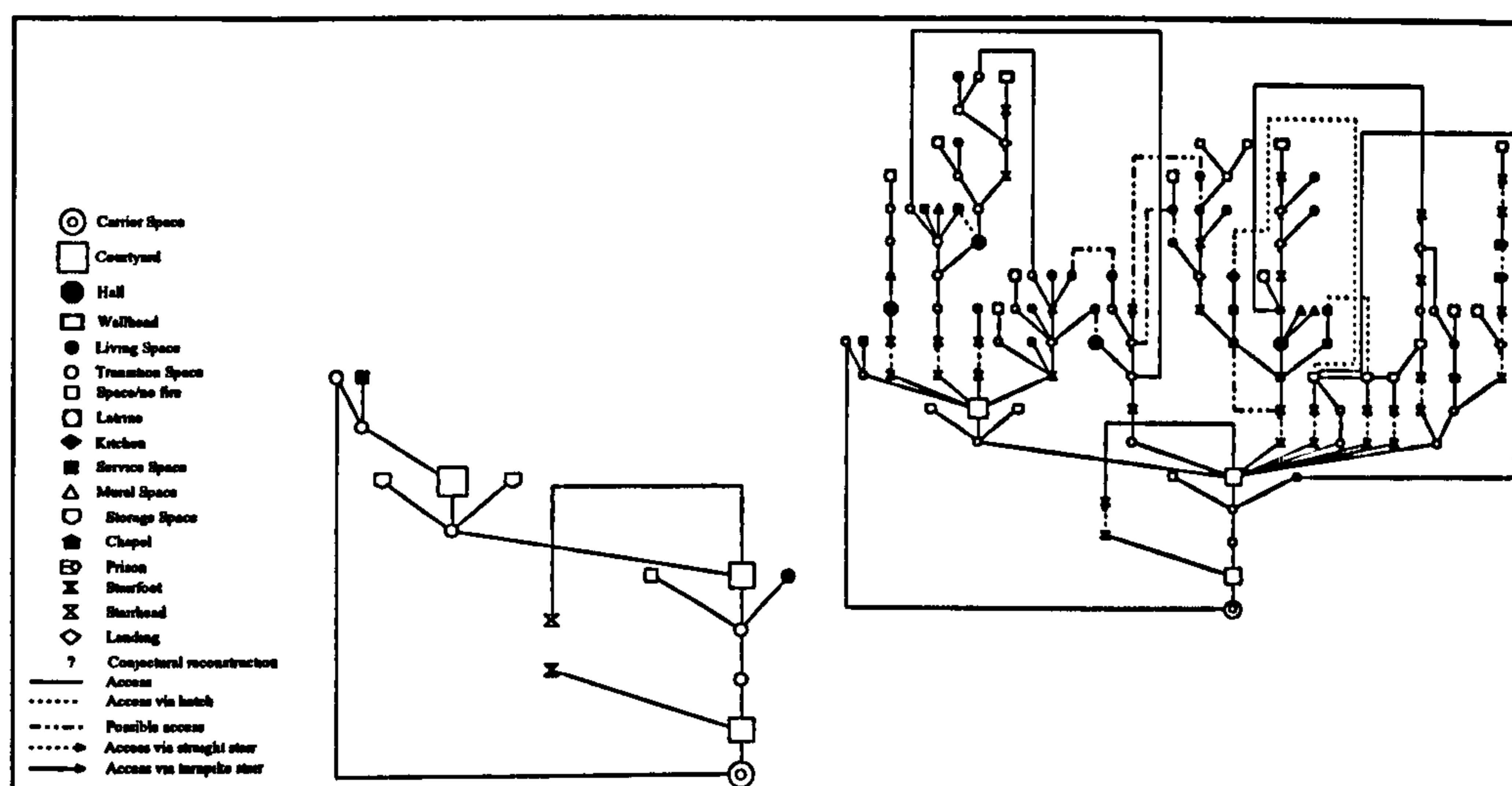


Figure 5-9 Access graph showing exterior access at Dirleton c. 16th century.

than if it had been flush with the exterior face of the curtain wall. The stone piers were surmounted by corbelled-out roundels or turrets with machicolations to protect the base of the piers. The initial tall pointed arched opening of the gatehouse accentuates the scale of the gatehouse and draws the eye up to the heraldic panel high above the true entrance pend. One would have moved from the bridge, beneath the high pointed arch and then through a far more constricting round arched opening, protected by a murder hole, and then into the dark entrance pend, where one would be under the constant surveillance from the two porter lodges on either side. Having negotiated these obstacles the visitor or outsider would have emerged into the light of the castle's bustling, although constricted, courtyard, where he or she would face another series of confusing choices.

The gate complex contained accommodation but was not a self-contained residence: there is no suggestion that the lord and his family were isolated from the rest of the castle in this gatehouse controlling access to the castle. It also seems unlikely that this area of the castle quartered the constable of the castle and his retinue. Rather, the fifteenth century gatehouse accommodated the mechanisms for the drawbridge and portcullis. The main first floor chamber — labelled A in figures 5-10 & 5-11 — contained the portcullis mechanism and when raised the portcullis was suspended in this room. The drawbridge was raised from a small chamber — labelled C in figure 5-10 & 5-11 — set between the two projecting jambs of the gatehouse. Space C was reached from space B which itself was accessed from the stair (figure 5-10). Both A and C are deep within the access graph, with the drawbridge chamber two levels deeper than the portcullis; as stated previously, the later could only be reached by following one route. Access to the portcullis and drawbridge chambers was achieved via the ante/service chamber

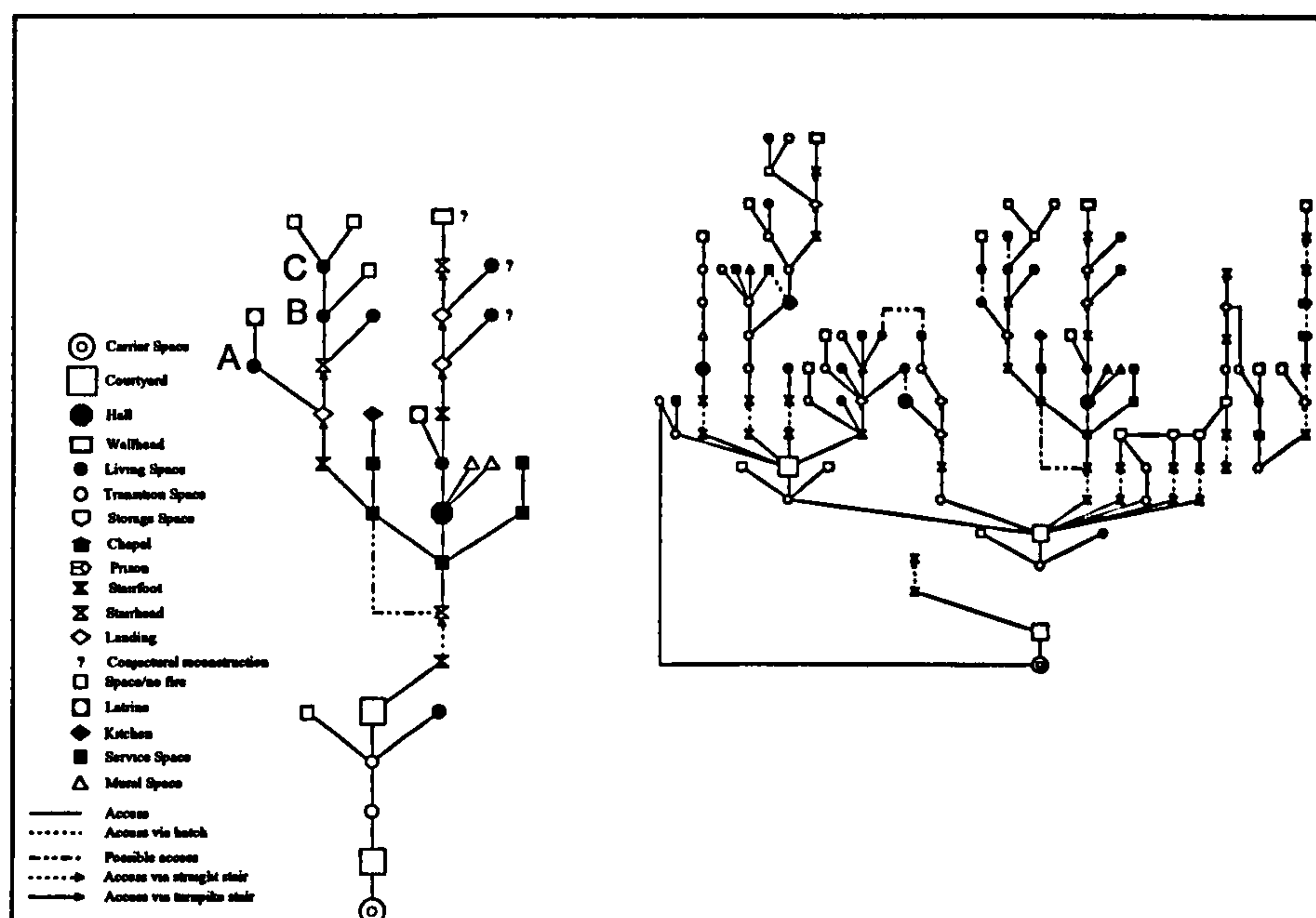


Figure 5-10 Conjectural Access diagram of 15th century gatehouse, Dirleton.

which, as well as providing access to the turnpike leading to the gatehouse complex also provided access to the fifteenth century hall, kitchen and service areas. As can be seen from figure 5-10 and plan 1, all communication to and from the hall and kitchen had to pass through this space. This demonstrates the integrated nature of the whole hall block and gatehouse which, although connected to the thirteenth century towers, may not have communicated with them. Such access arrangements may be related to security. The portcullis and drawbridge chambers are deep within the graph and are only accessible from busy areas of the castle, such as the entrance to the hall and kitchens and the foot of the stair to the gatehouse itself, which may have also been guarded.

The arrangement of the gatehouse chambers in connection with the service area of the fifteenth century castle, accrued the additional benefit of providing easy access to the kitchen for those operating the gate. The spaces accommodating the gate mechanisms may have been multi-functional, also housing those who worked the machinery. As can be seen from figure 5-10 and plan 1, the spaces A, B, and C are all heated — they are designated as living spaces in the diagram — and space B has a latrine. The latrine is clearly contemporary with the initial construction phase of the gatehouse. Some of the fireplaces are sixteenth century insertions, but it is possible that the chambers A, B and C were heated providing for the needs of those who worked the gate mechanisms. The provision of such amenities may show that these chambers

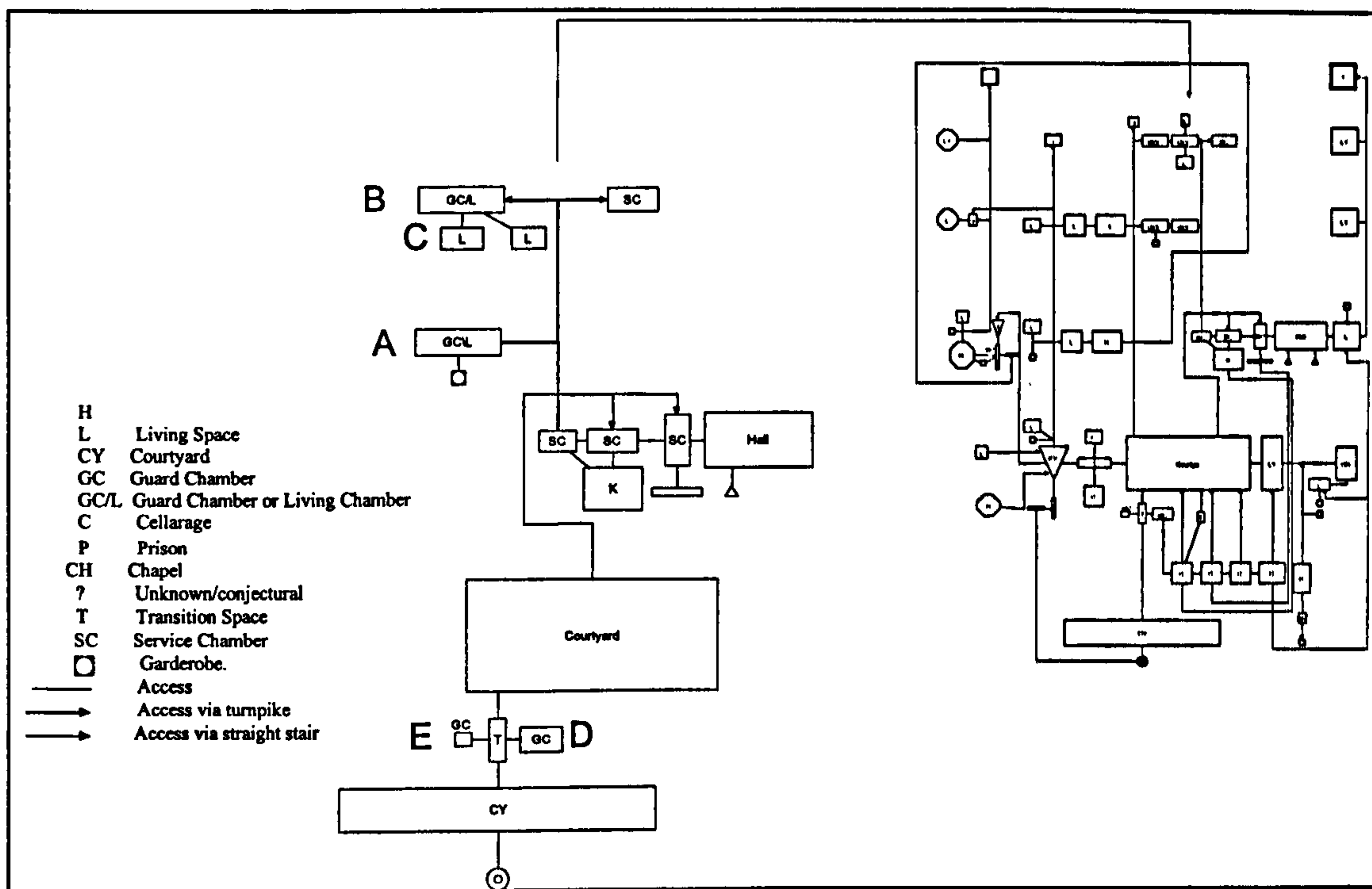


Figure 5-11 Conjectural planning diagram of 15th century gatehouse, Dirleton.

were not only work places, but also provided accommodation for those who worked there. Therefore, these chambers may not have been living chambers in the usual sense of the term.

The gatehouse may have had further accommodation of a similar nature at courtyard level. Flanking the entrances are two spaces (D & E) which served as porters' lodges (figure 5-11 and plan 1). These spaces are very different in size and, in addition, space D, the larger of the spaces, is supplied with a fireplace and a slops drain. It would seem that the smaller of the lodges would have acted almost as a sentry post, while the larger lodge would have accommodated the porters when not on duty. In this space the porters would have taken their meals, thrown their slops down the drain and slept between their shifts on the gate.

The gatehouse underwent considerable change in the sixteenth century when, associated with the building of the Ruthven block, the northern wall of the gate area was rebuilt (RCAHMS 1924, 16, plan 2). As can be seen from figures 5-12 & 5-13 the spaces A and B in figures 5-10 & 5-11 were each subdivided into two separate spaces (A & B and C & D). Evidence for this subdivision comes from the dual fireplaces and the dual staircases, one of which dates from the sixteenth century. The back wall of the portcullis chamber has a double window and this point seems to be the obvious place to divide the chamber, providing each chamber (A & B in figures 5-3 & 5-12) with a window. The subdivision of the portcullis

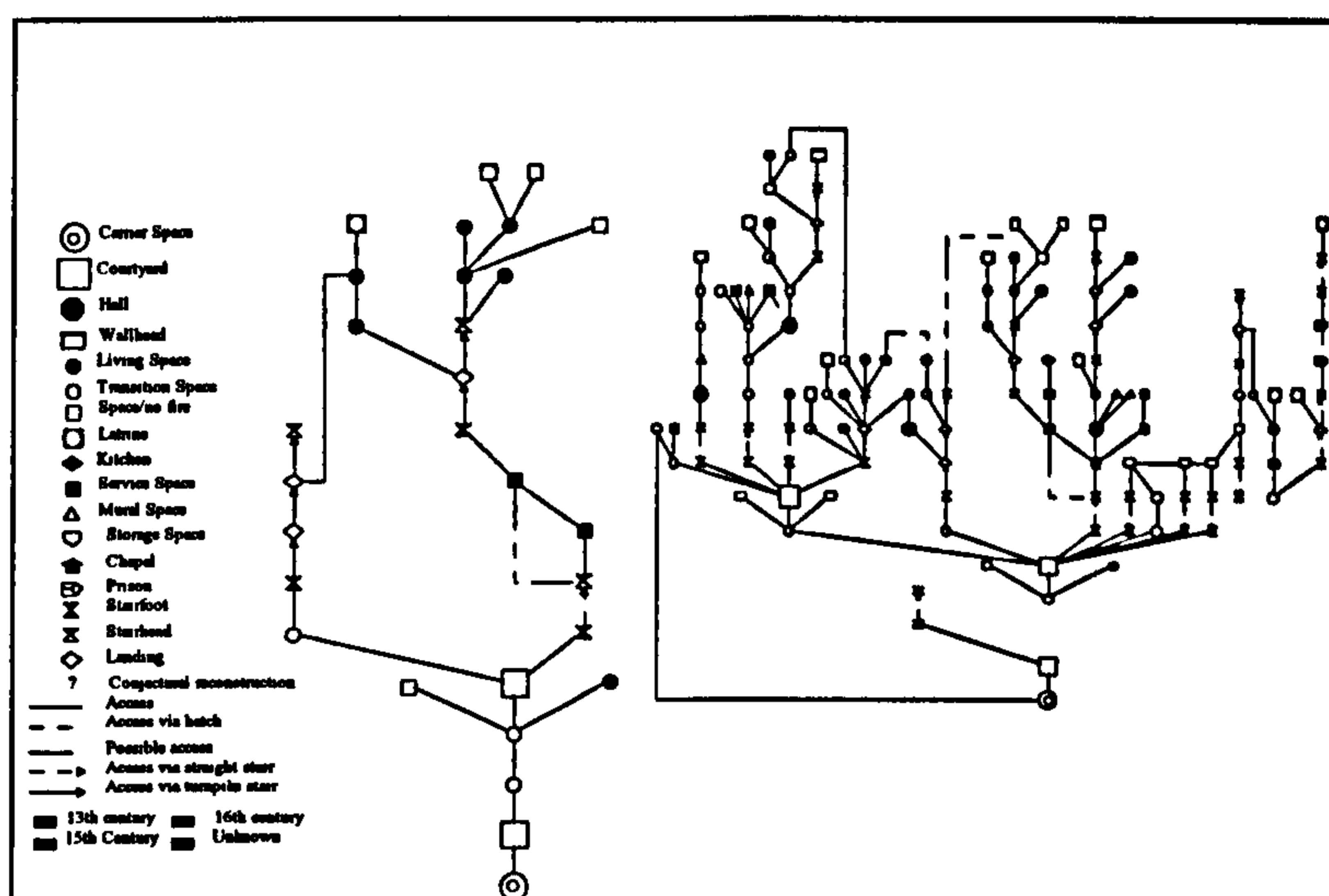


Figure 5-12 Access diagram of 16th century gatehouse, Dirleton.

chamber would have required a wooden partition across the width of the space suggesting that the portcullis would have gone out of use. The partition may not actually have fouled the portcullis, but the domestic nature of these chambers would appear to preclude the use of the portcullis. It is perhaps too much to say that defence had become less of a priority in the sixteenth century — as the castle was still protected by a series of gates and probably a drawbridge — but the need for accommodation do seem to have overridden defensive considerations.

The chamber above the portcullis room (space B in figures 5-10 & 5-11) also has two fireplaces and from the sixteenth century was accessible from two staircases (plan 1). It is unclear to which phase the fireplaces belong: the latrine suggests that the gate appears to have had some accommodation associated with it from the beginning, but the portcullis chamber would have been one large room rather than two. In the sixteenth century with the building of the Ruthven block and its associated staircase the transformation of the portcullis chamber was repeated in the floor above, producing two chambers (C & D) each with a fireplace. This repeats the pattern found in the Ruthven block itself. With staircases serving each chamber, the spaces A, B, C and D functioned as single self-contained chambers or lodgings. However, the northern second floor chamber (D) takes a different form to the other chambers in the gatehouse. This chamber, accessed from the narrow fifteenth century turnpike, has no latrine although it does have a fireplace. More importantly, although a living chamber, it was used to access other chambers at this level: the drawbridge chamber, (E in figures 5-12 & 5-13) which by the sixteenth century was supplied with a fireplace with a proper chimney, suggesting that it no longer served as a drawbridge chamber but was a living chamber and another chamber (F),

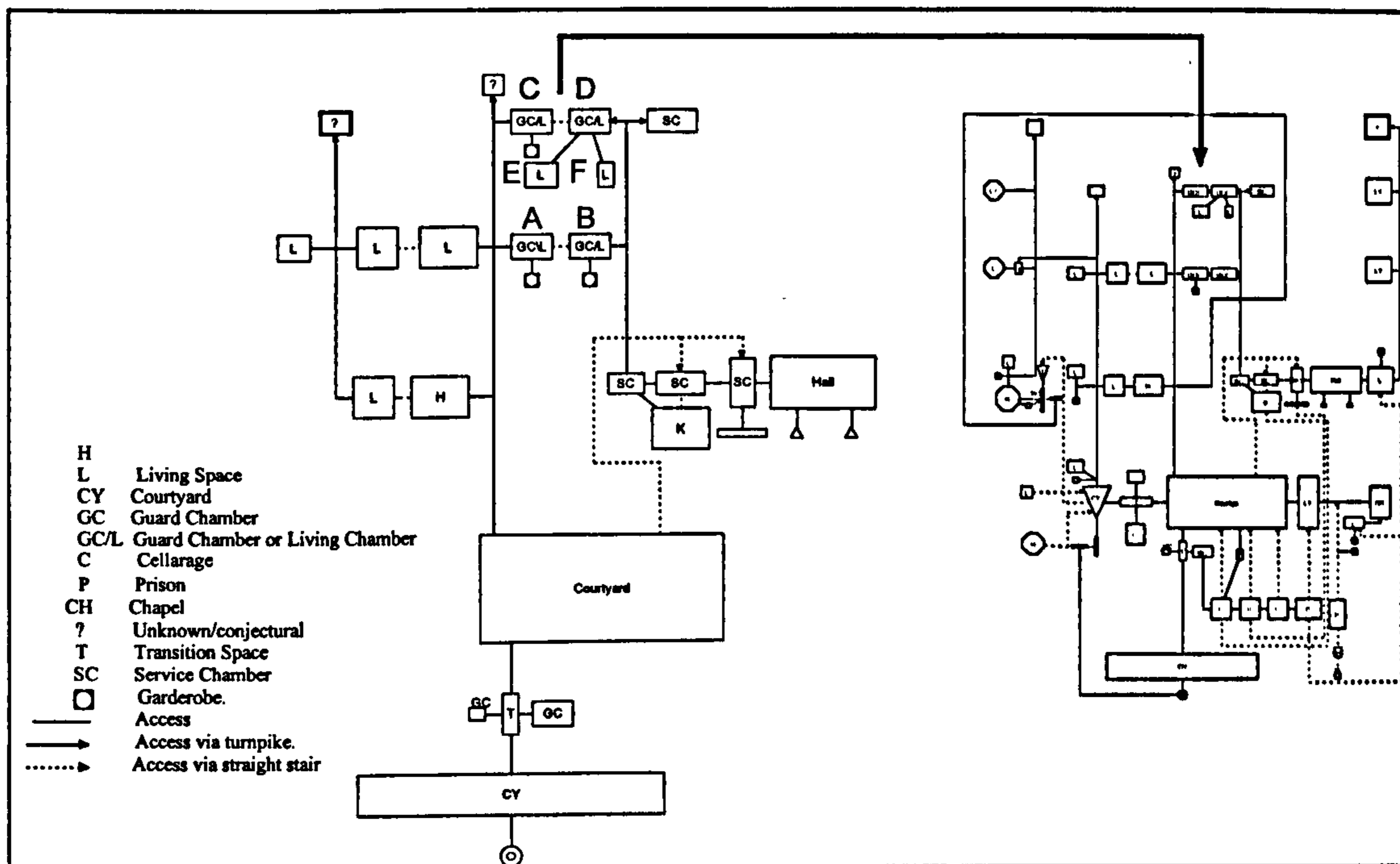


Figure 5-13 Planning diagram of 16th century gatehouse, Dirleton.

created out of the roof space of the kitchen. This seems to make the chamber **D** unsuitable as a private living chamber unless these rooms were used together as a suite, which seems unlikely, or were used by minor servants and retainers, who had to accept a degree of privacy the lord and his more senior officials accommodated within the other gatehouse lodgings would find unacceptable. The sixteenth century requirements seem to have generated a multiplication of accommodation. This new accommodation was all heated with proper fireplaces. The smoke from the numerous chimneys would have been one symbol of the wealth and power of the lord of Dirleton, a continual demonstration of his control over, and consumption of, resources and his large and well quartered retinue.

In addition to the main entrance there were a number of secondary gates to the castle. In the thirteenth century castle, there appear to have been two minor entrances, the first — labelled **B** in figure 5-9 — is a very small postern (plate 1&2), which is accessible from the thirteenth century inner close, and the western gate, accessible from the main courtyard. The postern (**B**) opens above a steep scarp which forms part of the ditch protecting this part of the castle and was protected by two doors secured by draw bars. To leave or enter this gate a ladder would be required and then one would have to scramble along the bottom of the ditch. It is obvious that this entrance would have only been used occasionally by the occupants and certainly not by visitors or strangers. Thus, the importance of this alternative route is probably less than at first

glance. The other thirteenth century entrance to the castle was subsequently built up in the rebuilding of the castle. The entrance can still be identified within the fabric of the east wall of the fourteenth/fifteenth century cellarage, below the hall, as it survives as a brazier stance (plate 4). This entrance, again secured by a draw bar, is considerably larger than the other postern, and may have been a secondary gate (rather than a true postern) through which goods and supplies were brought into the castle, away from the main lordly accommodation.

The final secondary entrance — C in figure 5-9 — is perhaps more significant. As can be seen from figure 5-9, this entrance allows access from the outer courtyard or barmkin, via a flight of stairs to an entrance through the western curtain wall and into the main courtyard avoiding the main gate (plate 5). This entrance is a sixteenth century addition and unfortunately there is no evidence of how it was secured. It gives the impression of being a private entrance: it is at the rear of the castle away from the main approach and entrance leads down to the gardens situated below the sixteenth century Ruthven block. Although this method of communication offers an easy descent via the stairs, it would be impossible to carry bulky goods up them. The fact that this back stair and entrance was a late development in the castle's building history perhaps confirms the suggestion that in the late sixteenth century defence has become less of a priority at Dirleton and the requirements of comfort and convenience (which had always existed) became paramount.

5.5.2 Bothwell Castle.

Both the thirteenth and the late fourteenth century gatehouses at Bothwell Castle are only known through excavation (Simpson 1925, 171-173; 1947, 103-9; Lewis 1981, 125-8). The thirteenth century gatehouse was never finished, while the late fourteenth century gatehouse, was demolished in the seventeenth century. This reduces our knowledge of the gatehouses to the general form of access: it is impossible to discuss the accommodation contained within either gatehouse. However, although the primary gatehouses at Bothwell have been destroyed, there are two secondary entrances which have survived and will be discussed.

In contrast to the thirteenth century castle at Dirleton, which probably had a very simple gate and drawbridge, Bothwell's thirteenth century gatehouse consisted of two large projecting round towers flanking the entrance pend, which was protected by a stone-lined pit (plan 2 & plate 6). This pit would have been spanned by a drawbridge lowered from the gatehouse. The gatehouse would have projected an overtly military aspect and image at the initial point of

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access to the castle. One could argue that as the largest gap in the castle's defences, it is only natural that the main gate would be strengthened by the addition of towers and drawbridges. However, the fact that such an important element in the defences of Bothwell castle was never completed, while the great accommodation tower was, brings such overtly militaristic explanations into question.

The towers flanking the main entrance to Bothwell created an long entrance pend, setting back the gates from the wall face. This provides added protection but also impinges upon the senses when moving through the pend: the visitor would have gone from the light of the exterior into the long dark pend and then re-emerges again into the light of the courtyard. Thus, the pend effectively maximises the sense of crossing a threshold and the movement through the pend becomes a liminal experience: it is a place of transition and negotiation, a place where the visitor would give up some of their freedom of action and conform to the rules of the owner of the castle.

The gatehouse would have contained a considerable amount of accommodation, unlike the fifteenth century gatehouse at Dirleton. The gatehouse at Bothwell is of a comparable scale to that at Caerlaverock which contained the main private accommodation of the lord of the castle, with a small private hall or chamber. The gatehouse at Bothwell could have been similarly equipped providing separate accommodation for the constable and his household. Despite Simpson's statement that Bothwell and Kildrummy are the only two enclosure castles in Scotland where the donjon really dominates the other parts of the castle, the large gatehouse at Bothwell would have competed with the donjon for visual dominance (1925, 174). The gatehouse and donjon may have acted as twin visual representations of different aspects of the lord's power and authority. The first element of his authority was in the personage of the constable of the castle, who in the lord's absence would have overall control of the castle including its military and judicial role. As we have seen the barons court often took place at the gate of the castle and perhaps in the hall of the gatehouse. Thus, the judicial authority of the lord become represented by the constable and was represented architecturally by the gatehouse, his place of work and his accommodation. The ultimate authority in the barony was the lord himself, again represented through the architecture of the castle in the form of the donjon, his private accommodation, and the largest tower within the castle.

The form of the late fourteenth century gatehouse is even less certain than its predecessor. Evidence for this structure comes from an engraving by John Slezer drawn in 1693 (Slezer 1693;

Lewis 1984, plate 2). This engraving shows a squat rectangular tower mid-way along the north curtain wall. Today there is a large gap in the curtain wall where the original entrance is thought to have stood and it seems likely that the tower shown on the engraving functioned as a gatetower perhaps in a similar fashion to the late fifteenth century gatehouse tower at Newark (Renfrewshire). At Newark the gatehouse consisted of an entrance pend with a porter's lodge on the ground floor and with accommodation on the upper floors — a hall and a chamber — which may have accommodated the constable or keeper of the castle. From the apparent scale of the gatehouse tower in Slezer's engraving, it seems likely that it would have associated accommodation.

Excavation of the proposed site of the gatehouse tower has uncovered structural remains which, although perplexing, may represent the entrance into the castle (Lewis 1984). They suggest an unusual mode of entry into the gatehouse, with traffic entering through an entrance in the east wall and then making a right angled turn within the confines of the entrance pend. The excavator dismisses such a explanation as it would create difficulties for the majority of traffic, and suggests it may have been a drawbridge pit. However, the thirteenth century castle of Auchens (Dumfriesshire) has such an entrance, as does Kinclaven Castle (Perthshire). Such entrances are thought to have restricted the movements of potential attackers, stopping them rushing the door. However, they also effectively lengthen the pend and, equally if not more importantly, would have confused and disorientated all visitors.

There are two secondary entrances to the castle, both dating to the thirteenth century — there are no postern entrances related to the later phases of the castle, although it is possible that the now demolished north east tower had a postern. Of the two thirteenth century posterns, one gives access through the northern wing wall projecting from the donjon. This allows access to a space beneath the drawbridge pit from which the moat is accessible. This may have been a purely functional arrangement allowing the moat to be occasionally cleaned out, but it may also have served those within the donjon as a sally port. The other secondary entrance is rather more significant as it would have provided more than just occasional access to the castle. Instead it was an alternative entrance circumventing the main gate. The entrance was approached via a flight of stairs and was protected by a portcullis and a gate secured by a drawbar. The gate was decorated with an armorial plaque (plate 7). Both the interior and exterior entrance to the pend were protected by overhanging timber hoards, the corbelling of which still survives. Once through the gate another short flight of stairs led up a slope to the main courtyard. This entrance, positioned near to the River Clyde, may have served riverine traffic, although the

steep slope down to the river and the stairs up to the gateway may have been an obstacle for the carriage of heavy goods. The position of the gateway adjacent to the prison tower would have allowed easy access to the prison from the exterior, thus reducing the amount of disruption to the castle as a whole.

5.5.3 Summary.

As the initial point of contact between the castle occupants and the outside world one can well understand why this area of a castle came in for architectural elaboration. However, the evidence from Dirleton and Bothwell is confused due to demolition and rebuilding. Although the main thirteenth century entrance to Dirleton has been swept away, the blocked up secondary entrance — unless this was the main gate — suggests that it may have been quite a simple gateway. Certainly, several thirteenth century enclosure castles — for example Inverlochy — had simple openings secured by a gate and a portcullis. This contrasts with the thirteenth century plan at Bothwell — a plan replicated at Kildrummy and Caerlaverock, amongst others — where the gatehouse presented a very aggressive and military face, pushing the entrance forward almost as if to meet the visitor. As with the donjon, the planned gatehouse could have functioned as a residence for a separate household for the constable. However, what is interesting is that the gatehouse was not constructed, with the donjon taking precedence over all other building programmes. Thus, the symbolism of the donjon and the domestic comfort it provided for the lord was judged more important than the aggressive military symbolism of the gatehouse. It was only in the fourteenth century when both castles were rebuilt/re-occupied that each was provided with an impressive gatehouse. This may represent a reaction to the Wars of Independence, especially at Dirleton where the gatehouse was not residential.

The secondary entrances at Bothwell and Dirleton contrast greatly with the main entrances of these castles (c.f. plates 2&4 and 6&7). While the main entrances are accentuated both to create a visual prominence and long pends along which the visitor would travel, the secondary entrances have no such elaboration. The main entrance is of course where most visitors and guests would have entered the castle, while the secondary entrances — less prominent, with shorter pends and simply but effective defences — were probably used by inhabitants.

5.6 THE GREAT HALL — THE HEART OF THE CASTLE.

At both Dirleton and Bothwell there were a number of spaces which could be described as a hall. However, this section will discuss what one would call the great hall. The other halls will be discussed in the following section on accommodation. The great hall was of central importance to the public life of any castle, as it acted as the main ceremonial and ritual space. It was here that the lord was on display during such occasions as the barons court and feasts. If the principal gate was an area of theatre, it was a mere prelude to the events which took place in the hall. It was the space with which outsiders and guests would have been most familiar. The hall was also where a large portion of the castle's household would have come together for meals and — as we have seen in chapter three — perhaps slept.

5.6.1 The great hall at Dirleton Castle

The central feature of the late fourteenth/early fifteenth century phase of building at Dirleton was the great hall, the largest single interior space — some 8 m by 17 m — in the whole castle (plan 1). It will be shown that this hall was fully integrated into a much larger scheme of accommodation and service spaces. A similar sized building, although constructed in timber, would perhaps have been situated within the main courtyard of the castle in the thirteenth century.

As can be seen from figures 5-14 and 5-15 the hall — labelled C — is a relatively shallow space which can be reached from several different functional spaces. The main, and only direct, access route to the hall was via a staircase from the main courtyard and would have been used by strangers and visitors to the castle on ceremonial occasions. As the area most visited by outsiders access to the hall was not difficult: on entering the main courtyard, the stone or timber forestair stood to the person's right, drawing them up and into the hall, away from other more sensitive and private areas of the castle. However, as the only direct access route to the hall, members of the castle's household would also have had to use this entrance.

The landing of this forestair may have originally given access to two doorways: the main and larger of the doorways, sadly now ruined, leads to the hall, and could be secured by a drawbar. The second and smaller round headed doorway is now blocked — but it is included in the diagram — although its dressed sandstone surround can be clearly seen from the interior of the vaulted service passage — labelled A in figures 5-14 and 5-15 — which communicates

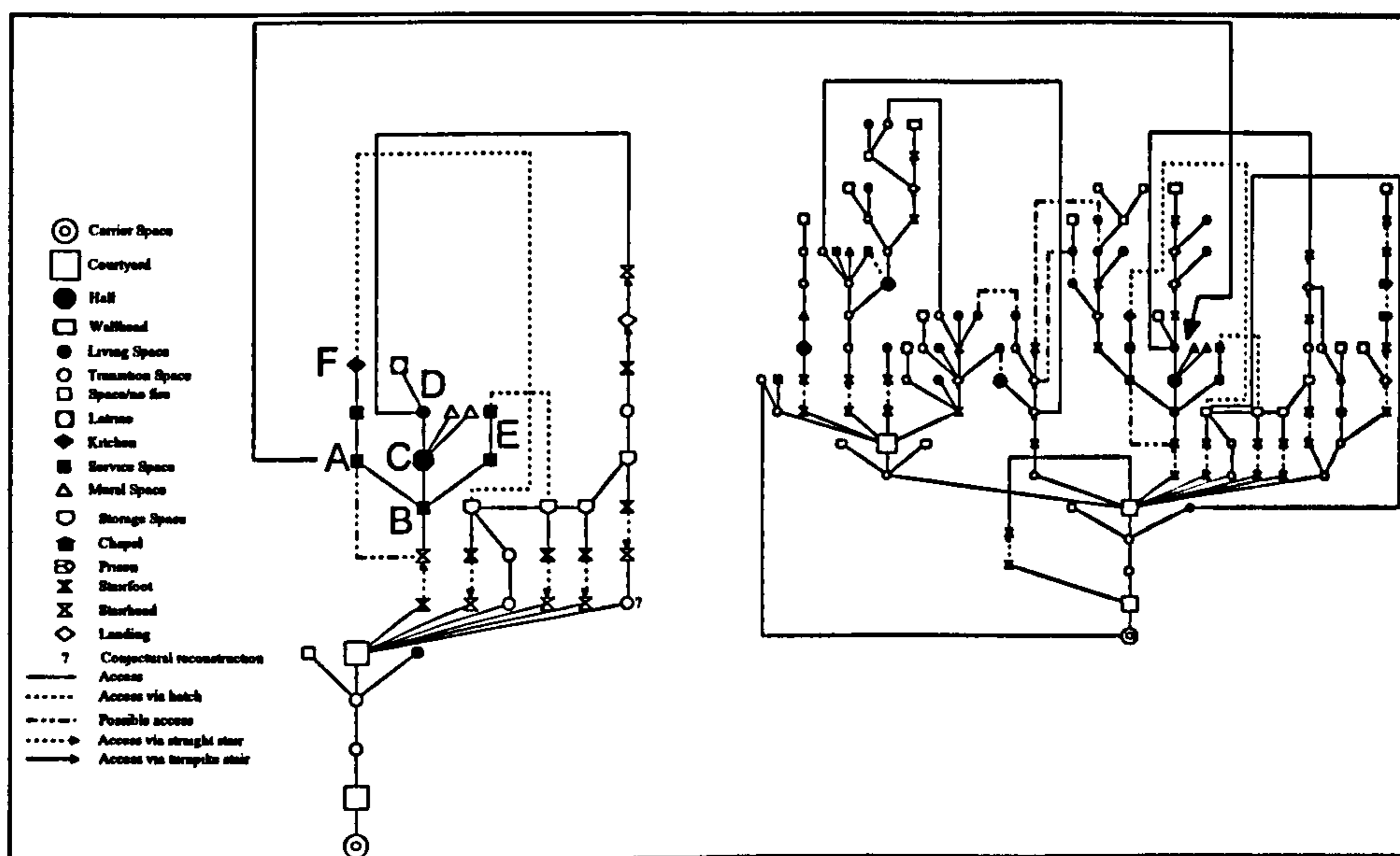


Figure 5-14 Access graph of Hall block late 14th/15th century, Dirleton.

between the kitchen and the hall. From the exterior one can also identify the blocked doorway although it has no dressed surround. Richardson suggests that the doorway led to a small chamber built within a jamb over the main entrance to the cellars (1982, 22). This may explain why the doorway is dressed only on the interior elevation. If the doorway was an entrance from the forestair one would expect it to be dressed on both sides. However, if the door led to a small chamber, perhaps an office for an official who oversaw the kitchen and servery, it makes sense that the entry to this space from the work area was given a degree of formality and elaboration to emphasize the importance of the space and the official within. Moving from the office into the service area such elaboration was unnecessary. However, such an office would have interfered with the forestair which is thought to have been partially supported by the vaulted entrance to the cellars. Furthermore, the exterior wall of the hall block shows few signs of the proposed chamber. The blocking also suggests the demolition of the office while the hall was still in use, which seems unlikely.

More likely, the dressed stone surround was robbed out when the doorway — functioning as a small service doorway — was built up. The service doorway would have allowed servants to enter the service area without entering the hall and causing congestion at the hall doorway. The arrangement of two doorways at the top of the hall stair may seem rather unusual as service personnel would have rubbed shoulders with those entering the hall. If the doorway was not a service doorway, but was an interior doorway to a small chamber, the circumstances remain the same: the main access to both the service area of the fifteenth century hall block and the hall

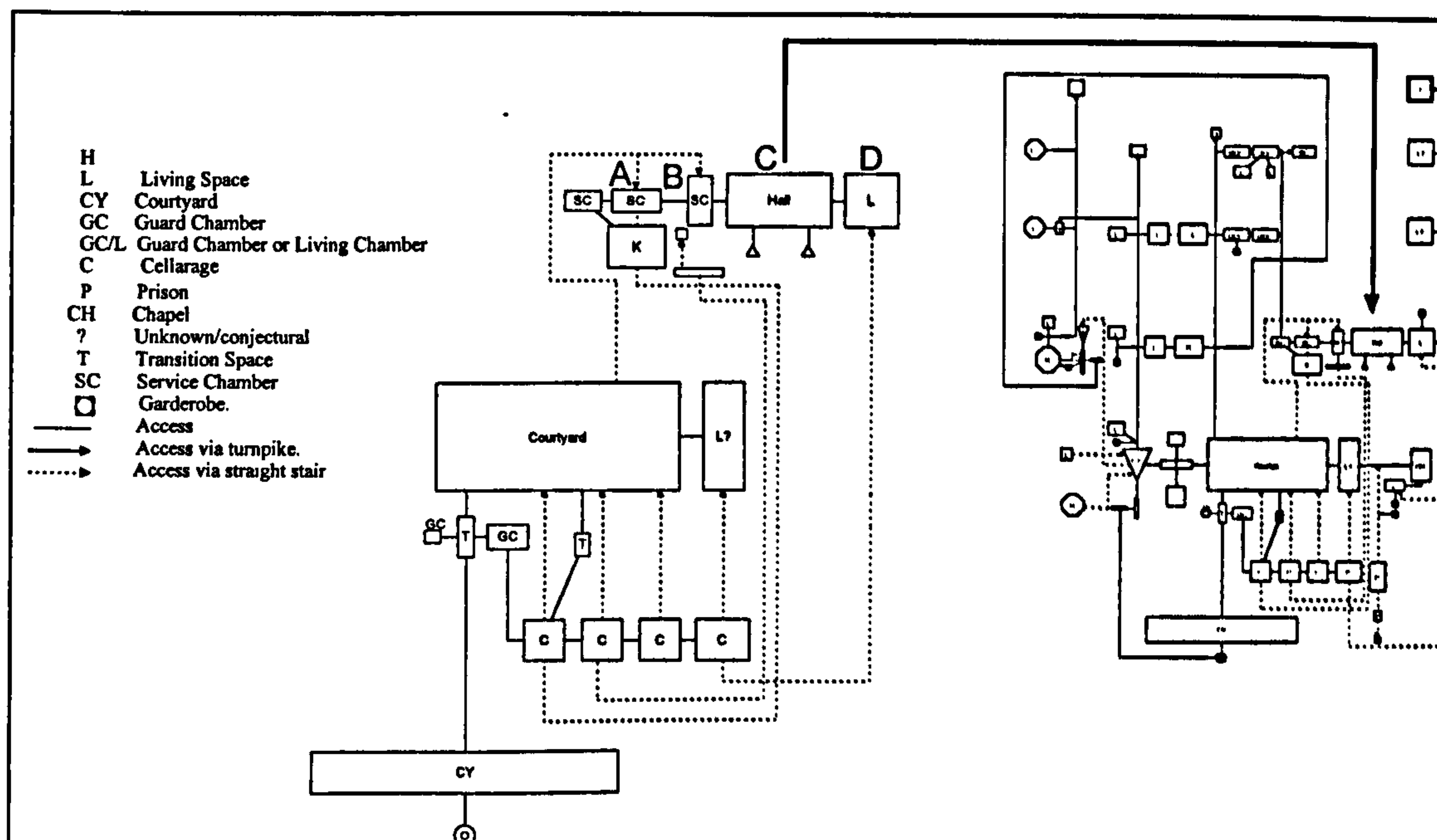


Figure 5-15 Planning diagram of late 14th/15th century hall, Dirleton.

itself from the courtyard and from there, to the cellars, was via the same doorway. These arrangements perhaps reflect — and would have reinforced — the position of servants as valued members of the household rather than servile lackeys hidden from sight. Their presence also demonstrated the size of the lord's retinue.

However, as can be seen from figures 5-14 and 5-15 the access situation is rather more complex than it first appears. The need to use the main staircase by servants was partially circumvented, not by a service staircase, but by two hatches which allowed the kitchen (F) and the servery (E) to communicate with the cellars. It is likely that goods for immediate consumption, such as wine and bread, would be brought up from the cellars to the servery from where they could be dispensed to the hall immediately, while raw goods would be hauled to the kitchen to be prepared. Thus, this opens up the possibility that some servants, such as those who worked in the cellars, were hidden from the public gaze, remaining for much of the time within their places of work, not needing to use the main staircase to move goods. Apart from these specialised forms of access the only internal communication with the upper hall block is via the staircase leading from the cellars to the retiring room and the priest chamber and hence to the chapel. This shall be discussed more fully in a later section.

Having ascended the stairs to the landing, those attending the hall would pass by the proposed service door, catching a glimpse of the frenzied activity of the kitchen, the stone shelf

in the service passage loaded with food to be taken into the hall, and with the smell of the food cooking in the huge kitchen drifting up to them. From the top of stair the hall itself could be entered. Initially entry may have been into a screens passage with a minstrels gallery above, as presented in the diagrams (Grove 1995 26-27). The screen passage (B) acted as an antechamber which would have created a sense of separation and distance between the hall (C) and the service area (A, E & F). The original purpose of a screens passage was to link a free standing kitchen and hall, in effect a precaution against fire (Thompson 1995). At Dirleton this situation does not arise as the kitchen (F) and the hall (C) are all one unit, connected by the stone service passage (A) (plan 1). Architecturally there are no signs of a partition. One would expect a screen to leave some mark upon the stone work and, although much of the hall at Dirleton is ruined, the back wall of the hall is intact. One would also suspect that a screen across the lower end of the hall would obscure the fine carved stone buffet which is the most distinguished feature of the south wall of the hall. A screen would detract from the visibility of the buffet and, as this would display some of the lord's plate and hence his wealth, this would be undesirable. Richardson has noted that the position of the buffet '*seems wrong as such furnishings were placed within the dining part of the hall*' yet he does not go as far to say outright that it is an insertion or that there was no screen passage to begin with (Richardson 1982, 22).

The arrangement of the service area also suggests that there was no screens passage. Most obviously, the service area at Dirleton is missing an element of the usual tripartite arrangement of pantry, buttery and kitchen. Instead there is the kitchen and a small service chamber which may have doubled as the pantry and buttery, for although it is not large enough to store bread, beer and wine, even for immediate use, it is in direct communication with the cellars. However, even more significant is the layout of the kitchen and the service passage. The service passage (A) lies along the side of the kitchen, thus, providing the same distance between the hall and the kitchen as a screen passage, while also concealing the kitchen from the hall. The service passage has a stone shelf where platters could be placed after they were passed through the serving hatch from the kitchen and before they were taken into the hall. Thus, the stone vaulted service passage (A), separating the kitchen from the hall, fulfils the function of a screens passage. The effect is to reduce the access map by one space. This would mean that the hall was a level shallower and that once through the gateway access to the hall was almost immediate.

Entering the hall, the doorway and the lower end of the hall would have been congested, with people entering the hall from the forestair and serving staff entering from the service passage. The focus for the lower part of the hall would have been the buffet. Contained within

the design of the buffet was the arms of the Halyburtons, clearly demonstrating the ownership of the castle and the plate. The hall was lit by four windows, two in each axial wall, lighting the upper and lower ends of the hall, the main foci of activity (plan 1). The windows in the eastern wall of the hall, the exterior wall of the castle, have embrasures supplied with window seats. These spaces may encouraged face-to-face interaction within the more public space of the hall. The actual bench seating forces those seated to face each other, creating ideal circumstances for intimate conversation, although such actions may have been surveyed from the hall. The windows piercing the western wall of the hall were of a different form. The west wall of the hall is considerably thinner than the eastern, and as a consequence does not have large embrasures with window seats. The lack of window seats may relate to the view from the windows. The western windows look down into the main courtyard, and if this space was used for domestic activities it may have been deemed unsuitable. The eastern window would have looked out towards the East Lothian countryside, with the Lammimuirs in the background and the fields of the mains farm in the foreground.

The space of the hall would have appeared immense because of the height of the roof. The walls of the hall no-longer give a sense of the scale of the hall as they now only stand about a metre high. However, the hall was probably the same height as the adjacent kitchen, whose vaulted ceiling is 9.7m high. Thus, the hall must have been a lofty space designed to impress. However, with only four windows lighting the lower level of the hall, the space appears under fenestrated. It is possible that there may have been higher windows or even a clerestorey piercing the western wall to supplement those towards floor level and to light up the roof space. If this was not the case the roof space would have been lost in darkness and the details of the open timber roof would have been obscured. However, a dark roof space may have accentuated the sense of space, with the roof disappearing into the darkness and providing only a limited sense of a bounded space. This may have been even more impressive and intimidating than a finely carved timber roof.

The upper area of the hall rather oddly lacks any particular architectural focus. The lord's table would have been raised up on a dais and this was well lit by windows piercing the axial walls. However, the windows lighting the dais do not come in for any particular architectural or decorative elaboration — the upper window piercing the east wall is smaller than that in the lower area of the hall — while there is no evidence of a fireplace anywhere within the hall. It has been assumed by most commentators that a fireplace would have been situated against the north wall of the hall — the upper end of the hall — with perhaps an open brazier in the centre

of the hall. However, there is no evidence for the posited fireplace and it is possible that as at Bothwell and Doune, the main form of heating was a central hearth supported on the stone vaulted floor and with a louvre in the open roof to allow out smoke. A central hearth is quite different from a fireplace at the upper end of the hall. A central hearth concentrates attention at the centre of the hall rather than focusing on the lord's position.

This perhaps reflects and reinforced relationships within the medieval household. Even by the fifteenth century, the Scottish noble household cannot be characterised simply as consisting of lord and servant relationships. Rather, the household may have been perceived as an extended family: servants were often seen as children — many of them were — or were minor and distant related relatives with the lord acting as a paternalistic father figure over the whole household. The relatively undifferentiated nature of the hall may have kept up this perception, although other aspects of the architecture and spatial layout of the castle may have provided a contradictory picture of the lord as isolated and aloof (when necessary).

The presence of the chamber which leads directly from the hall — labelled D in figures 5–14 & 5–15 & plan 1 — may have been an expression of the flexibility of the castle in providing various spatial environments in which interpersonal relations could be played out. This shall be discussed more fully in a later section, but at this point it is enough to say that this space would have served as a withdrawing room or chamber of the lord. As can be seen from figure 5–15 this chamber is very large, some 7m by 11m, suggesting a semi-public rather than a private function. Thus, the hall may have been relatively undifferentiated as the lord and his guests dined in the chamber. The idea of the household as a large extended family at Dirleton may have only been very superficial, the lord keeping up the pretence by occasionally dining in the great hall with his household.

5.6.2 The great hall at Bothwell castle.

The building history of the hall is complex, and contains fragments from various periods. The first hall on this site may have dated from the Edwardian occupation of the castle in 1336–7. The partial remains of this hall — which was probably never completed — consist of a lower section of walling within the northern curtain wall, which the current hall now abuts. The most obvious feature of this hall would have been the double fireplace with shoulder headed arches which now lies considerably lower than — and obscured by — the floor level of the fifteenth century hall. A built up turnpike in the basement may also date from this period and may have

functioned as a service stair providing access between the cellarage and the hall, and perhaps also the wall head.

The fragmentary hall brings up several interesting issues. The form of the hall is impossible to determine, but the position of the fourteenth century fireplace suggests that the early fourteenth century hall was conceived as a ground floor hall with a raised timber floor. This contrasts with the later hall which is situated over cellars of a considerable height. The circular service stair may belong to a later phase and its blocking was the result of the secondary insertion of the vaults. The location of the fourteenth century hall fireplace suggests that the position and alignment of the early fourteenth century hall corresponds to the existing hall, although the orientation of upper and lower ends appears to have been transposed. Again, the extent to which the later builders of the castle felt constrained by earlier work is striking. Finally, and most interestingly, is that the English, whose position in Scotland in 1336-7 was tenuous, felt able to begin building a stone hall of some splendour within the earthwork defences of Bothwell castle. This demonstrates extreme confidence and obviously Edward III expected a more satisfactory outcome to his Scottish expedition than was the case. It also shows that even in a war situation, the ritual and domestic aspects of a castle were not neglected. In such circumstances a fine hall may have been deemed even more necessary: in a situation where lordship was being challenged, the material expressions of that lordship would have been all the more important.

At Bothwell the fifteenth century hall complex has many similarities with Dirleton. However, whereas at Dirleton the hall, service spaces, chapel, cellarage and accommodation were all built as a coherent self-contained block, at Bothwell, the hall and the various spaces serving it retain their separate visual identities (plan 2). Thus, the hall, kitchen, chapel and accommodation were under different roofs and were built at slightly different times (plate 10). As is shown in figure 5-17, the hall — labelled A — chapel and kitchen are thought to have been linked by a gallery at first floor level which would have stretched across the western frontage of the hall. Unfortunately there is no positive structural evidence for the gallery such as corbels, joist holes and roofs lines along the western wall of the hall. However, two corbels in the interior of the northern curtain wall are the possible remains of the gallery linking the kitchen and the service end of the hall. It is also clear that the chapel had a first floor entrance adjacent to the south west corner of the hall, which could be accessed from a gallery running along the western front of the hall (MacGibbon & Ross 1885, 106-7). Further support for the existence of the gallery, comes from the windows and doors piercing the western wall of the

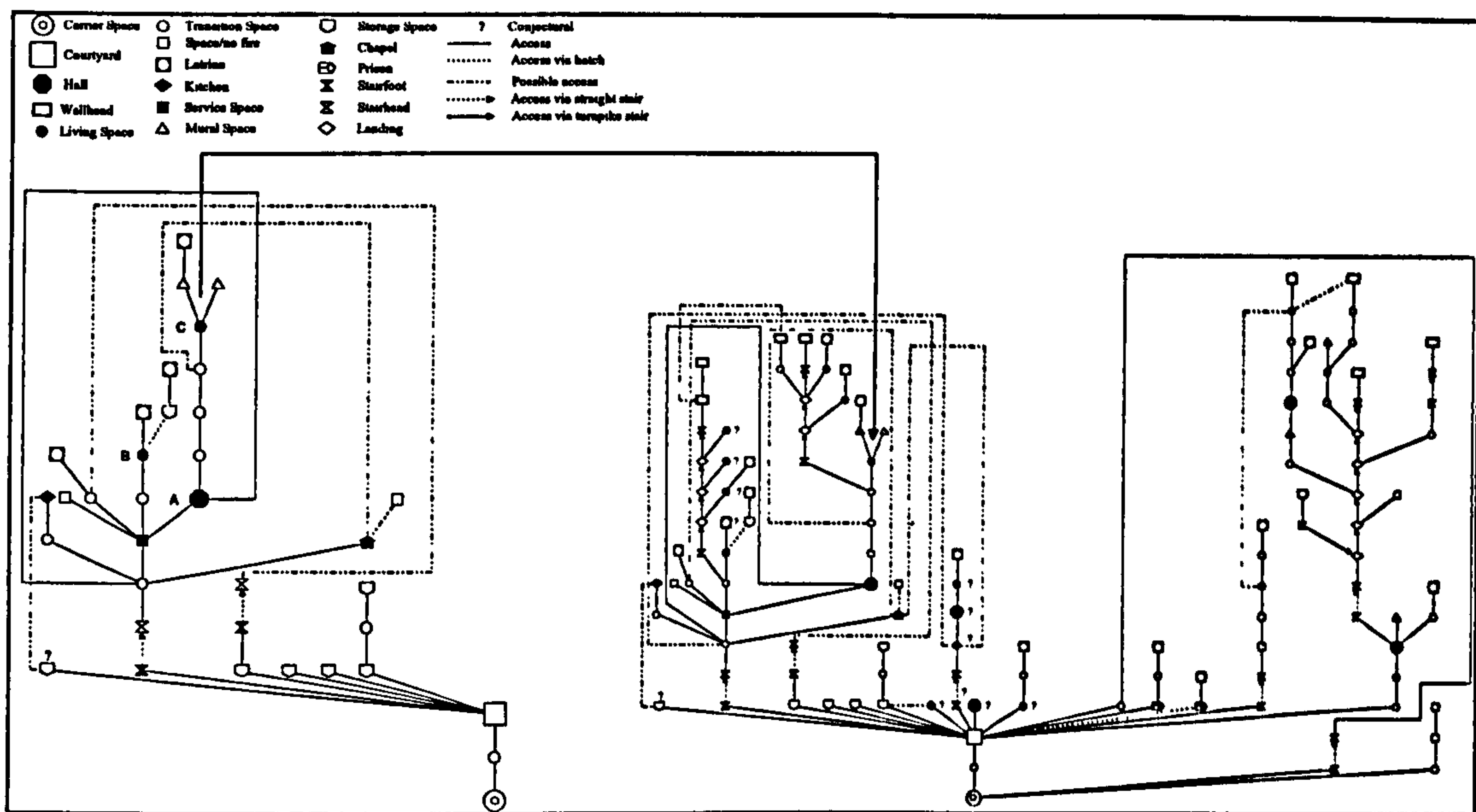


Figure 5-16 Access graph of late 14/15th century hall, Bothwell.

hall. This wall has ten windows — apparently later insertions (Simpson 1985, 27) — set high up, as if they were avoiding a gallery. The hall has two entrances, one at the service end and another at the upper area of the hall, next to the chapel and the door to the chapel. With such access arrangements it would make sense to have a gallery serving the various doorways, rather than having up to four separate forestairs serving the different functional spaces. However, it seems probable that another stair accessed the gallery at the upper end of the hall and chapel. The gallery would be a very important transition space within the castle, especially as it would allow food and drink to be carried from the kitchen to the hall, without having to descend stairs and then climb another set of stairs. As an important transition space, it may have become rather congested and, as a result, necessitated other possible routes of communication between the hall and chapel.

The fifteenth century hall (A) is a first floor space built over three vaulted cellars. It was easily accessible from the courtyard: the depth of the hall in the diagram (figure 5-16) is due to the gallery and the screens passage. These transitional spaces where one could be challenged or forced to pause, increasing the anticipation of entering the hall itself. The hall at Bothwell, as at Dirleton, was an impressive space. Again it was the largest single space within the castle, and was of an impressive scale: at 22.5 m by 10 m it is larger than the hall at Dirleton. The hall is a considerable height above ground level, in contrast with the fragmentary fourteenth century hall (plate 11). To reach the doorway of the hall one would have to have climbed a long, perhaps steep, flight of stairs. One reason for the height of the hall is the need

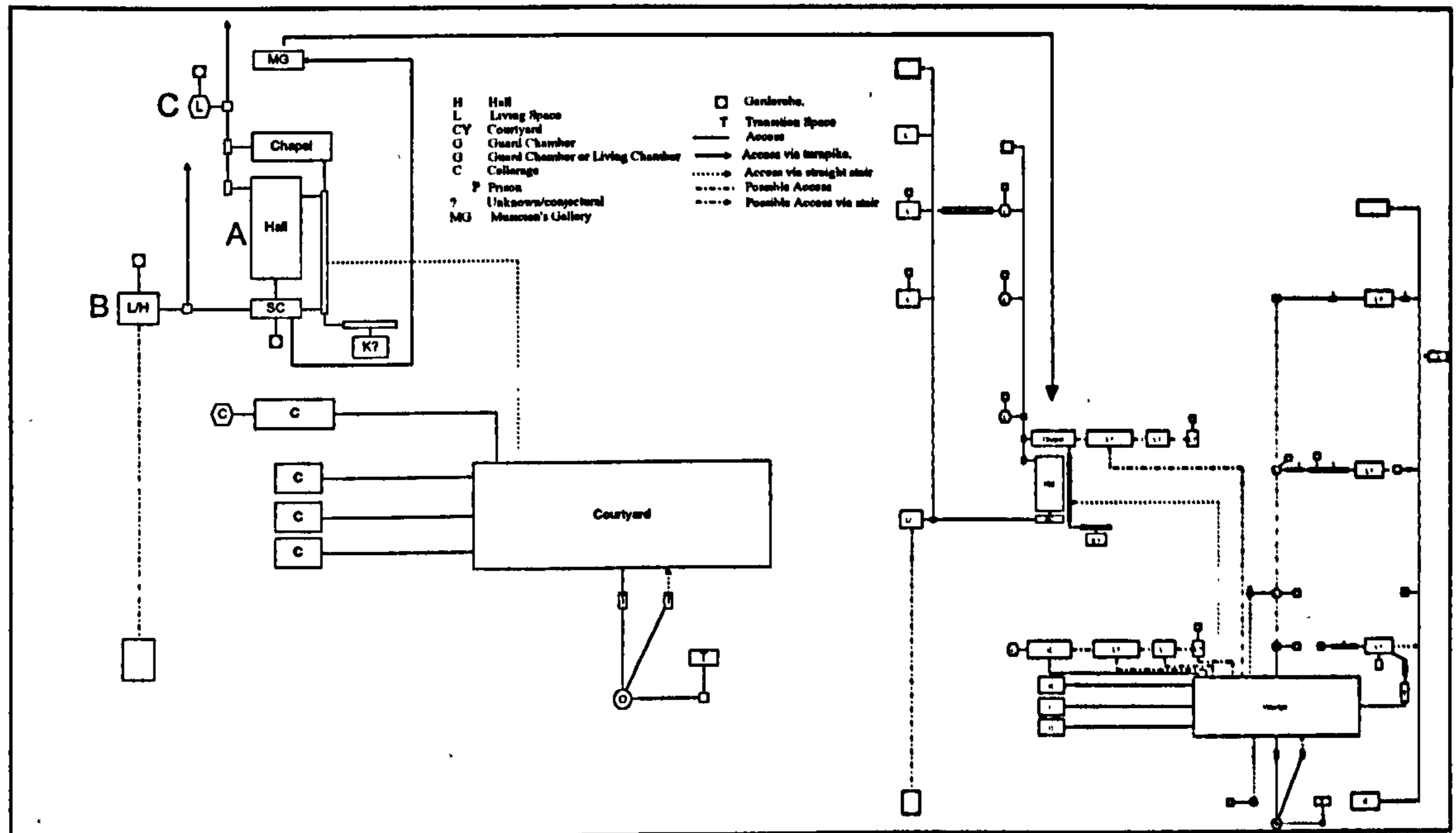


Figure 5-17 Planning diagram of early 14th/15th century hall, Bothwell

accommodate the cellarage below. However, the design of the hall, with its high windows appears to accentuate the perception of height. Thus, when approaching the hall one's eyes would have been drawn upwards to the hall, especially when mounting the forestair. The space was also well fenestrated with the numerous high windows — again creating a sense of height — lighting the whole length of the hall and the timbered roof. These windows are thought to be sixteenth century insertions (Simpson 1985, 27). What they replaced is impossible to tell but it demonstrates the continuing role of this space in the castle's social life during the early sixteenth century.

The hall was divided into various functional and symbolic spaces, as at Dirleton. However, at Bothwell these divisions are more readily apparent in the architecture, spatial layout and access arrangements of the hall. The hall is divided into lower or service area, the main body of the hall, and the upper or dais end. Each of these areas are demarcated through architecture and access.

The position of the screen passage can be identified through the joist-holes which originally supported the screen. Access to this space is a large round headed doorway confirming that this as the main entrance into the screens passage and then the main body of the hall. As at Dirleton, the door to the hall would have been congested, and again visitors and members of the household had to move through what was effectively a work space. However, at Bothwell

servants from the cellarage had access to a separate stair accessing the screens, although this was blocked at some point. From analogy with the royal household officials may have been situated at the screens to guard the hall and to record the names of those in the retinue being fed.

The main body of the hall was distinguished by the high clerestorey windows and by a low fixed stone bench along the interior of the eastern and western walls of the hall. The stone bench did not extend either into the lower or the upper areas of the hall. This stone bench¹ does not appear to be related to dining or feasting: the bench is too low and medieval dining arrangements usually consisted of trestle tables and wooden benches positioned so servants could move around the hall and behind the diners. The bench does, however, define the body of the hall and formalises seating arrangements for important occasions, perhaps when it acted as a council room, when the lord was attended by important officials and tenants. Alternatively the bench may relate to the legal functions of the hall. The barons court would have been attended by tenants and perhaps household officials and the benches may have accommodated them in the body of the hall. Both these suppositions place a group of some authority within the hall with their own space demarcated through architectural fixtures, and in this context the low level of the bench may have been an architectural method of confirming the lord's dominant position. The lord may have been the only person within the hall seated on an actual chair, placed on the dais and perhaps further emphasised by a canopy of state. Thus, those sitting on the low, uncomfortable stone bench would have been forced to look up to the lord and their uncomfortable seating would have contrasted with the lord's own position. The benches may also have had their own hierarchy, with important tenants or advisors situated close to the lord at the upper part of the bench.

The dais end of the hall was distinguished through access and fenestration (plate 11&12). The dais was accessed from a separate doorway and, as previously discussed, this doorway may have been reached from a separate staircase serving the upper area of the hall and the chapel. Thus, the actuality of the separation of the lord and the perception of this segregation was created and reinforced by the access arrangements of the hall, with the lord able to mount his own stairs to the hall and enter through his own doorway. The doorway to the dais area of the hall is considerably smaller than main doorway to the hall, suggesting it was intended to be relatively private (plate 11). The dais was further emphasised through the architecture of the hall. The dais was lit by a very large window of two trifoliated lights with a quatrefoil set in the

¹ Such stone benches are very rare in Scottish castles but not unique. A similar bench can be found in the hall of Craignethan castle (Lanarkshire) which dates from the mid-sixteenth century.

pointed arch (Simpson 1925, 183). This gave the upper end of the hall architectural distinction and would have flooded the dais with light, especially in the mornings. The window emphasised the dais area of the hall both from the exterior and the interior. It reaches almost from floor to roof level, and is so large it may have given those in the courtyard a view of the dais and the lord, while giving those on the dais a view of the courtyard (plate 13). This of course contrasts with the main body of the hall where the high windows only light the hall; they do not offer a view either into or out of the hall. One focus not used to emphasise the dais was a fireplace. As at Dirleton, the hall at Bothwell was heated by a central hearth and again the central hearth may have created a sense of cohesion within the hall.

As can be seen from figures 5-16, 5-17, 5-18 & plan 2, the hall at Bothwell communicated with a number of different spaces. At Dirleton there was an obvious progression from the hall to the lord's chamber. At Bothwell there is no such easy progression to be identified. As can be seen from figures 5-16, 5-17 and 5-18 there are two living spaces with which the hall communicates: the first floor of the north east tower (B) and the first floor of the south east tower (C). However, because of the nature of access arrangements to these spaces — to reach B one has to travel through the hall and screen passage and to reach C one has to travel along a series of corridors — and because of their size neither are convincing as a semi-public lord's chamber. The lack of such a chamber, contemporary with the hall, suggests the hall remained the principal space where the lord carried out his business. However, in the fifteenth century the building of the southern range, a wide scheme of accommodation was created (to be discussed in a future section).

5.6.3 Summary.

For much of the medieval period the great hall was the centre of castle life. The ruined nature of the hall at Dirleton makes it difficult to assess the full impact of this space. However, at Bothwell the extant hall makes it clear that this was a very carefully designed space with the overriding purpose of emphasising the person of the lord. The lord in his full splendour would have been visible from the courtyard of the castle, as well as from the hall itself. As with many of the spaces within the castle, the hall had an element of theatre about it. At Bothwell one had to climb a considerable flight of stairs up to the hall — very much in contrast to the early fourteenth century English hall — and on entering the hall itself the great chair of the lord would be sat, almost as if on a stage at the far end, lit by the great south window. The whole of the hall is very exposed, and there would have been no opportunity to retreat into a 'back

space', the hall with its benches is laid out so that everyone is on display. At Dirleton, the window embrasures may have offered some escape from the public nature of this space. In both cases, the lord would have been able to retreat into semi-public or private quarters, an opportunity probably not open to many others.

At Dirleton and Bothwell, the hall appears to have had an unchanging quality about it. The hall at Dirleton remained relatively unaltered from the fourteenth to seventeenth century, while at Bothwell, the hall may have been renovated with new fenestration but its overall form remained remarkably consistent. However, as we will see in section 5.7, it does not follow that the lord's presence within the hall followed similar patterns.

5.7 ACCOMMODATION AND SEGREGATION.

Before discussing accommodation, the term should be given some definition. It may be thought simply to refer to bedchambers, and indeed some of the spaces described as accommodation would have been bedchambers. However, the term also refers to spaces which may have had a semi-public role but were not on the same scale as the great hall. Bedchambers themselves cannot be seen as rooms merely for sleeping, but were very much multi-functional chambers where guests may have been received and food was eaten.

5.7.1 Thirteenth century opulence and confidence: Dirleton.

The surviving thirteenth century castle at Dirleton consists of a group of three towers to the south of the site which served as the main accommodation complex for the castle (plan 1 & plate 1)). Although the upper floors of the towers are extensively ruined and the sixteenth century Ruthven block has obliterated the northern side of the close. It appears that the general layout of the thirteenth century tower complex did not alter much, particularly where methods of access, were concerned. The remaining thirteenth century masonry points to the existence of a courtyard and the pend flanked by two chambers (See RCAHMS 1924, fig 55, Richardson 1982, plan, plan 1). The pend probably was the only access to this part of the castle, isolating it from the rest of the castle. However, a vaulted passage — labelled **D** in figures 5-18 & 5-19 — at first floor level which now connects the thirteenth century works to the sixteenth century staircase entered from the courtyard, also dates to the thirteenth century. It has been implied that this passage may have led to a thirteenth century turnpike accessed from the courtyard (RCAHMS 1924, 19: Cruden 1950, fig 8: Tabraham fig 14). If such a staircase did exist it

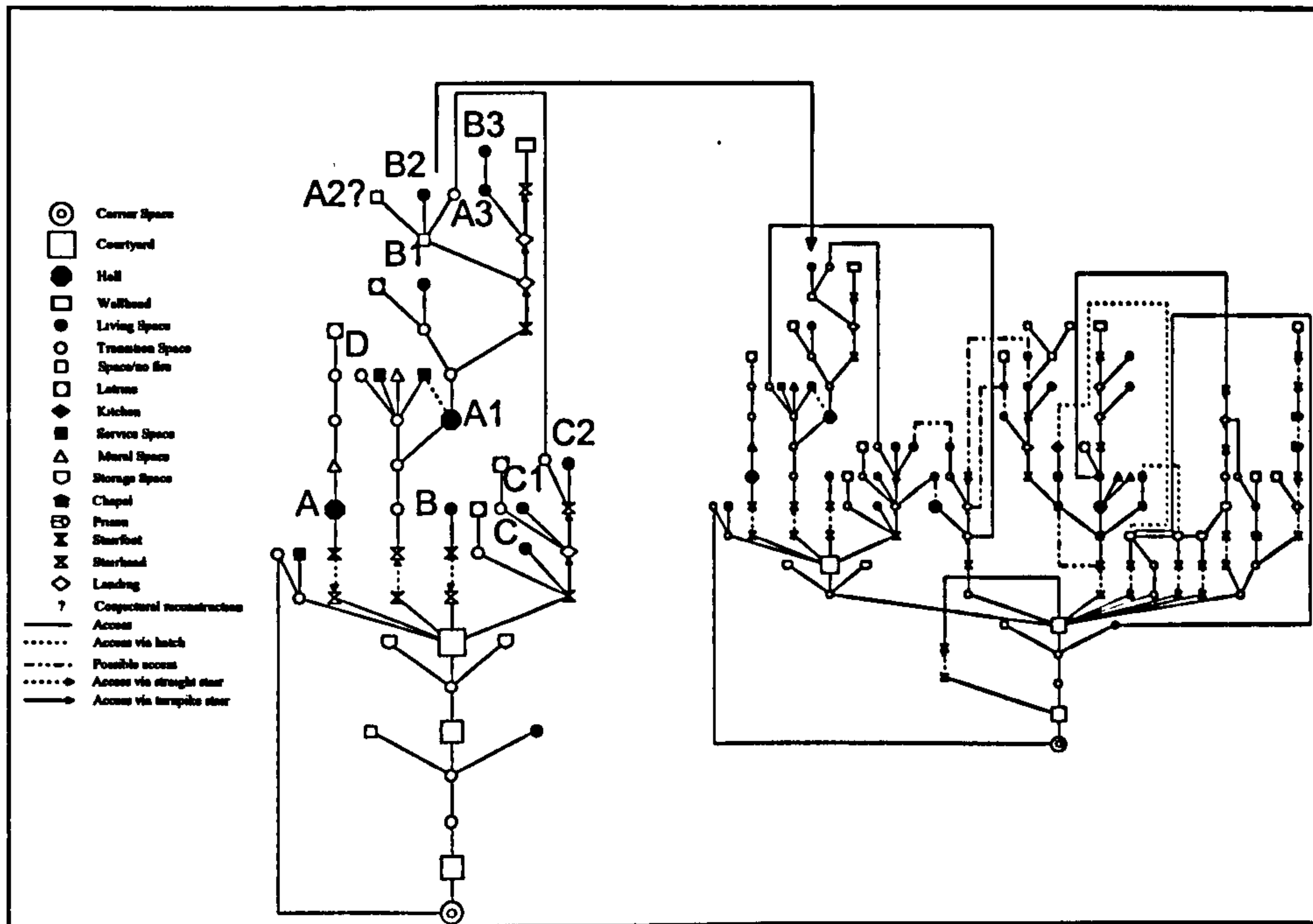


Figure 5-18 Access graph of 13th century accommodation, Dirleton.

would have drastically altered the access arrangements of the tower complex and would have destroyed the sense of separateness created by the pend and courtyard. The relationship of the passage with the sixteenth century staircase may suggest that the thirteenth century arrangements were similar, but this remains conjectural. The passage could have led to a staircase but one that was not accessed from the courtyard or it could simply have led to the first floor of the northern range.

Entering the pend there is a sense of claustrophobia which does not lessen when one reaches the inner courtyard. This is small space, made to feel smaller by the surrounding towers, which block out all but a patch of sky. The feeling of being in a room with no roof is accentuated by the partial vault covering the eastern part of the court. The pend and the court creates a sense of isolation and remoteness for this part of the castle: in terms of access they represent two further spaces to negotiate before reaching any accommodation. However, it is not just access which creates the sense of isolation, more importantly the length of the pend and the size of the inner courtyard which forms a sense of distance between the outer and inner courtyard and means that little could be seen of the outer courtyard. The tower complex seems totally outward looking: only two small windows look into the inner courtyard, suggesting that there was at least a three storey building there the sixteenth century block now stands. All of the other thirteenth century windows look out from the castle to the Lammimuir to the south and to the west, again accentuating the isolation of this part of the castle: once

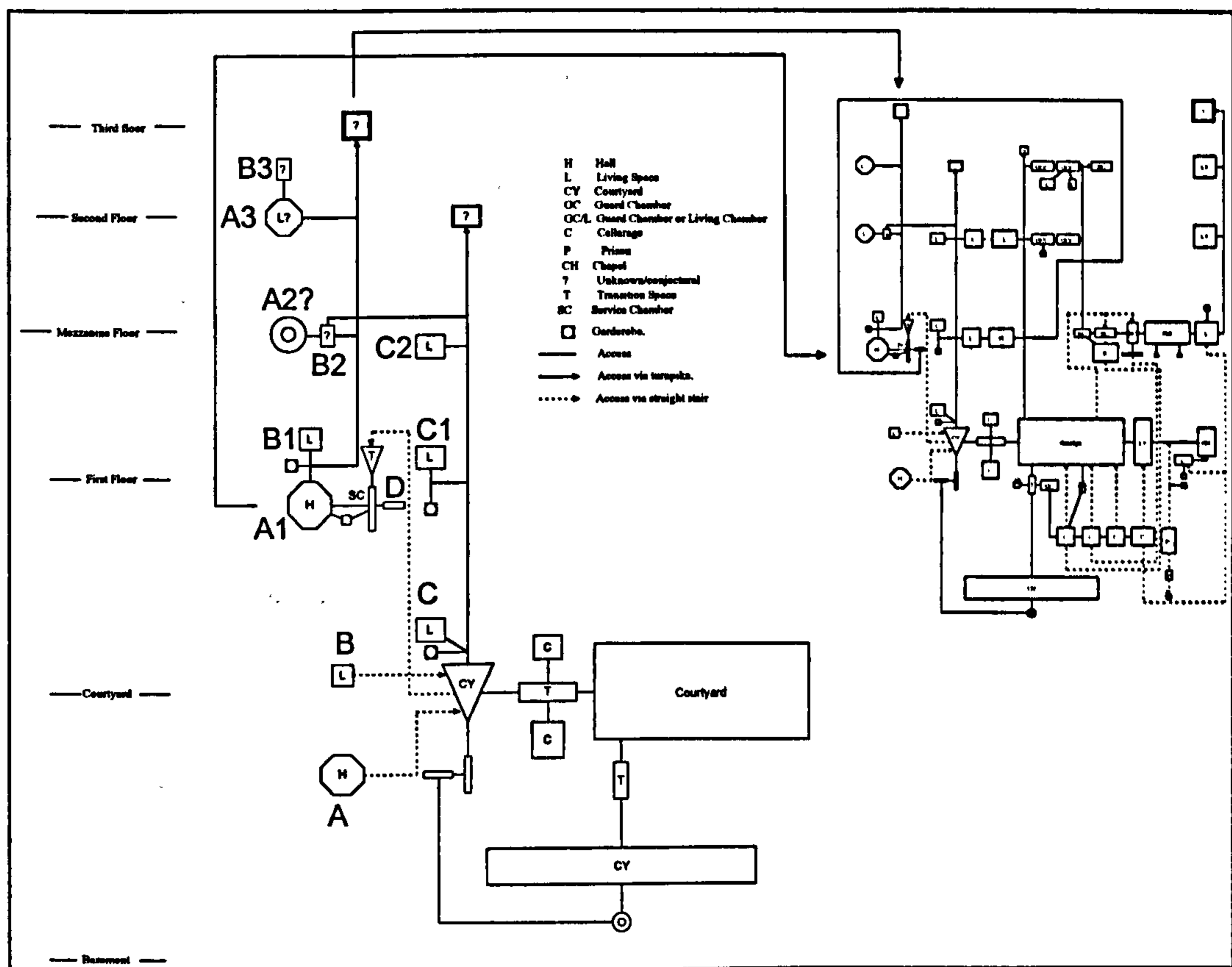


Figure 5-19 Planning diagram of 13th century accommodation, Dirleton .

within the tower complex the sights and sounds of the rest of the castle could be shut out. This physical isolation seems to confirm that the tower complex provided the main accommodation for the lord. This very visible isolation would have helped to create and reinforce the lord's status and authority. Isolated, almost in a castle within a castle, the lord would have been a distant figure. Few visiting the castle would have been allowed into the inner court or the chambers accessed from it: the actual pend would probably have been guarded. Yet the conglomeration and mass of masonry would make it clear that the tower complex was the accommodation of the lord. The separateness of the inner courtyard is further emphasised by the fact that the one could enter and leave this area of the castle via the small postern gateway without travelling through the outer courtyard and main gateway. It is difficult to conceive of this gateway as anything but an occasional means of access to the castle, perhaps in times of war. However, any form of separate access would have been a powerful symbol of the lord's control over the castle and those within it, and his own unique position.

The sense of distance created by the pend and the courtyard may also have been important for the ground floor chambers. These were living spaces rather than storage space and it may

have been to counteract the sense of openness and vulnerability resulting from the ground floor position of these chambers that the inner courtyard was built in such an enclosed manner.

The tower complex consists of three linked towers: a large drum tower dominating the whole castle, a small rectangular tower and a larger round tower. The spaces in the large drum tower (A&A1) appear to have been of higher status than the spaces within the smaller rectangular (B&B1) and round tower (C&C1). This is expressed partly through the methods of heating the spaces. While the chambers in the large drum towers had large fireplaces, the fireplaces in the chambers within the smaller towers are all insertions. The original arrangements for the smaller towers are found in the first floor chamber in the rectangular tower (B1). This chamber has no fireplace and still retains its original brazier flues (Richardson 1982, 19). It seems probable that the fireplaces in the other chambers in the smaller towers may have replaced braziers which originally heated these spaces. As both chambers within the large round tower (B&B1) were probably semi-public and the other chambers were private, the function of the rooms seems to have determined its heat source. The fireplaces would have been important visual features in the public rooms, but the expense and difficulties of construction may have restricted their use to those rooms where they would have the greatest impact with braziers used elsewhere to create and reinforce social distinction.

The ground floor chamber of the large circular tower (B) is a space of some splendour and distinction. The access graph (figure 5-18) shows that this chamber was not immediately accessible from the courtyard but is reached by a short flight of stairs which lead down into the chamber. The entrance to these stairs is covered by a vaulted canopy which almost creates a lobby before one descends to the chamber. One entering the chamber, one is confronted by a low and dark space. However, it is apparent that the chamber was of some importance. It is an irregular six sided room with three of the sides containing a slit window with a wide internal splay. The other three sides contain a mural chamber which leads to the latrine, a large fireplace and the entrance to the chamber. The ceiling was dome vaulted with false ribs, an architectural characteristic that is found in all of the thirteenth century chambers. The interpretation of this room is troublesome: its form and decoration point to it being a chamber of note but the ground floor position and comparisons with other chambers in the tower detracts from such notions of grandeur. These seemingly contradictory features have led to two differing interpretation for this space — as a kitchen and alternatively as a lower hall (Grove 1995, 9-10).

If the lower chamber (A) was a kitchen serving the tower complex, this area would have been even more remote from the rest of the castle. It would have been a self-contained dwelling of the lord of the castle. However, of these interpretations, that of kitchen would appear to be the weakest. The chamber does have a fireplace but this is small in comparison to the fifteenth century fireplaces found in the kitchen of the hall complex. There are few other features which would suggest that this space was a kitchen: there is no slops drain, there are no storage areas nearby and there would have been no reason for the false ribs on the ceiling. Another peculiarity of the space, if it was a kitchen, is the associated latrine. These spaces are rarely found in close proximity to each other in medieval castles with a dichotomy between what was clean and wholesome and what was unclean and noisome. However, the access graph (figure 5-18) makes it clear that to reach the latrine from the space (A) one has to travel through a number of transition spaces. On the ground, these transition spaces comprise a mural chamber from which leads a corridor, which takes a number of right angled turns. This long corridor with the change of angles may have been designed to create a distance between the clean and the unclean and may have helped to keep the smell of the latrine from spreading through the rest of the building. However, this argument does not only hold true for a kitchen, but could be equally desirable for a living chamber. The latrines serving the chambers within the smaller round tower are also accessed from angled corridors (plan 1).

The interpretation of this space as a kitchen appears to rely upon its adjacency with the lord's chamber directly above (A1). The chamber was reached from a forestair leading up to a small landing created by vaulting over part of the close. From this landing the hall could be entered, passing first through a short trance. A small narrow servery with a hatch opened into the entrance passage of the hall, confirming that the lord's chamber functioned as a semi-public space where food and drink would be consumed. However, the fact that the chamber is near a hall and a servery and has a fireplace does not mean that the space was a kitchen.

The route from the proposed ground floor kitchen (A) to the servery, was via the forestair, past the entrance to the lord's hall or chamber and then into the servery where the food and drink could be dispensed (plan 1). This seems rather convoluted, and it is noticeable that the vaulted passage (D) leads both to the servery and the entrance to the hall. One could suggest that rather than the lower chamber of the large round tower (A) functioning as a kitchen, the kitchen was situated off of this corridor, either where the sixteenth century building stands, or a separate kitchen within the outer courtyard. This revisits the problem of access to the tower complex from the outer courtyard. If a kitchen was situated within the outer courtyard, there

would have to be a service staircase rising from the outer courtyard. In such circumstances the pend, courtyard and forestair may have created a public demonstration of the isolation and separateness of the lord which was actually circumvented by the service arrangements. Thus, there may have been an official ceremonial entrance to the tower complex, which almost replicated the entry into the castle: one travelled through a guarded pend, into a courtyard and then would ascend a forestair to reach the lord's hall or chamber.

The interpretation of the ground floor chamber (A) as a lower or laigh hall is perhaps the most satisfactory explanation. The duplication of the general layout and decoration in the upper and lower chambers is significant in this interpretation: the duplication may not only have been of the decor and plan but also of function. In relation to this it is noticeable that the lower chamber is not quite so splendid: the ceiling is not so high, the windows are not as wide, they do not have seats, there are no elaborate service arrangements, the fireplace, although large, is quite ordinary. Most importantly, of course, the room is situated on the ground, not the first floor. Thus, although the function of the chambers may have been similar, the varying status of the two chambers is expressed through the different height of the chambers, the effect that the extra height has upon access and the slightly different standard of decoration.²

As a lower hall, the chamber may have served the needs of important guests or the officers of the castle. These in turn may have been accommodated in the smaller of the round towers, which provided three single lodgings or bedchambers (C, C1 & C2) each with a fireplace and a latrine (plan 1). One would presume that these rooms, with the features described, would have been prestige accommodation within the castle. The demolished towers in the main courtyard may have contained similar accommodation but the position of this tower within the inner close of the castle, near but distinct from the dual halls, points to their greater importance and status.

The lord's chamber was an irregular octagon with each of the walls containing a feature: four windows, three of them with seats, and one which appears to be a later addition created from a slops drain; the entrance; a fireplace; the entrance to a corridor leading to another chamber and an aumbry. Again the ceiling is vaulted with false ribs. The ceiling is far higher

² At Tantallon castle there is a hall block consisting of two separate halls, one on top of the other, built in the mid-14th century. As at Dirleton, the upper hall was the most splendid with an open timbered roof, a musicians gallery and an impressive moulded fireplace. The lower hall was of similar dimensions but was a much darker space with smaller windows and a much lower ceiling (Tabraham and Grove, 1994). Both halls were used in conjunction with each other, the lower one acting as an overflow and a method of social segregation during feasts and meals (Tabraham and Grove 1994, 11). The lower hall could also have been used as a guest hall, providing a dining area and perhaps sleeping accommodation.

than that of the chamber below giving a greater sense of space, light and importance. The whole effect would have been heightened by black and white chevron decoration. The fireplace is also much more splendid, with an impressive hood and mouldings, compared to the plain surround in the chamber below.

These features pick this room out for special attention even more than the lower one. However, at around six metres by five metres, it is too small for the great hall of the castle (plan 1). With a large hall in the outer courtyard there was no need for a great hall within the tower complex, yet a room of some size and splendour was deemed necessary. It would seem inconceivable that the lord, having spent immense resources upon his new, state of the art castle, would have had no where within its masonry where he could have expressed his wealth and power. The first floor room in the large tower would fulfil this role with its splendid decoration, its large fireplace and the three windows all lighting the opposing walls where the important elements of the room were situated; the fireplace, in front of which the lord would have sat, the entrance to the chamber from the inner court and the entrance to a corridor which leads to the latrine, another chamber and a small mural staircase leading to the upper chamber.

The other spaces within the upper floors of the large drum tower and the small rectangular tower would have completed the lord's accommodation. The chamber in the small rectangular tower (B1) is linked by a short corridor to the larger tower. Considering its size in relation to the lord's hall or chamber (A1) (figure 5-19) this space appears to be wholly private. Due to the corridor, which again is angled — it is represented as two transition spaces in the access diagram — the space feels quite separate from the hall. The entry to the corridor has a pointed arched canopy, emphasising the threshold into this corridor, and perhaps demarcating this space as being private. The room may have served as a withdrawing room or a bed room, a back space where the lord would retreat from the gaze of his officials and guests. A latrine and a narrow newel staircase, giving access to the upper floors, are also entered from the corridor. This upper floor is almost totally destroyed and little idea can be gained of the original arrangements. It is thought that the large round tower had at least one other floor (A3). As can be seen from the access diagram this room would have been one of the deepest in the castle. It is tempting to suggest that we have a tripartite arrangement of rooms within the tower: with a common hall at the bottom (A), then the lord's hall (A1) and then at the top the lord's chamber or bed chamber (A3). However, this does not take into account the other spaces connected to the tower, such as B1, which appears to have been a small living chamber. An alternative suggestion posits that the upper floor duplicates the first floor arrangements with a main chamber (A3) and a smaller

chamber accessed from it and contained within the small rectangular tower (B3). This floor may have made up a female space isolated from much of the castle, but with easy access to both the lord's hall and the lord's bedchamber via the turnpike staircase.

If the interpretation of lower and upper halls within the large drum tower is correct the presence of a large timber hall in the outer courtyard used for large public occasions — feasting, administration and the law — has to be proposed. The identification of a lower hall might make this hypothesis appear less likely. However, the upper and lower halls at Dirleton are both small and oddly shaped, unsuitable for the large feasts which lay at the core of the lords hospitality and authority. The lower hall would appear to have had a very similar role to the upper hall; it was a semi-public hall or chamber, access to which was limited to specific castle occupants or guests. The duplication of semi-public halls similarly appear to relate to social segregation, but within the semi-public arena of the castle. The upper hall served the lords needs while beneath him a quite separate hall served perhaps his constable or other important officers, the household of the castle when the outer hall was not used, or as the accommodation of an important guest who's position demanded the lordly requisite of a hall.

In the castle there would have been three levels of distinction between the halls. The most accessible would have been the timber built hall in the outer courtyard used as a feasting area and courtroom. This space could be reached relatively freely after negotiating the entrance to the castle. The two semi-public halls would have been much more difficult to access with the visitor required to negotiate the pend and the inner court. The upper hall would have been the deepest of all the halls due to its first floor position and the single staircase access. However, access was not the only method employed to define the varying status of the three halls, although the contrasting access arrangements between the timber great hall and the two seem-private halls, would have been especially powerful. It has already been seen that the slight but important differences in the form and decoration of the two tower halls may relate to differences in status. A timber hall would also have been regarded in very different terms to that of the inner halls due to the difference in building material, size and perhaps symbolism.

5.7.2 Thirteenth century opulence and confidence: Bothwell

At Bothwell the main lordly accommodation was contained within a single tower or donjon. This emphasised the isolation of the lord in a rather different way than at Dirleton. At Dirleton, the impact of the large tower is lessened by the other smaller towers surrounding it

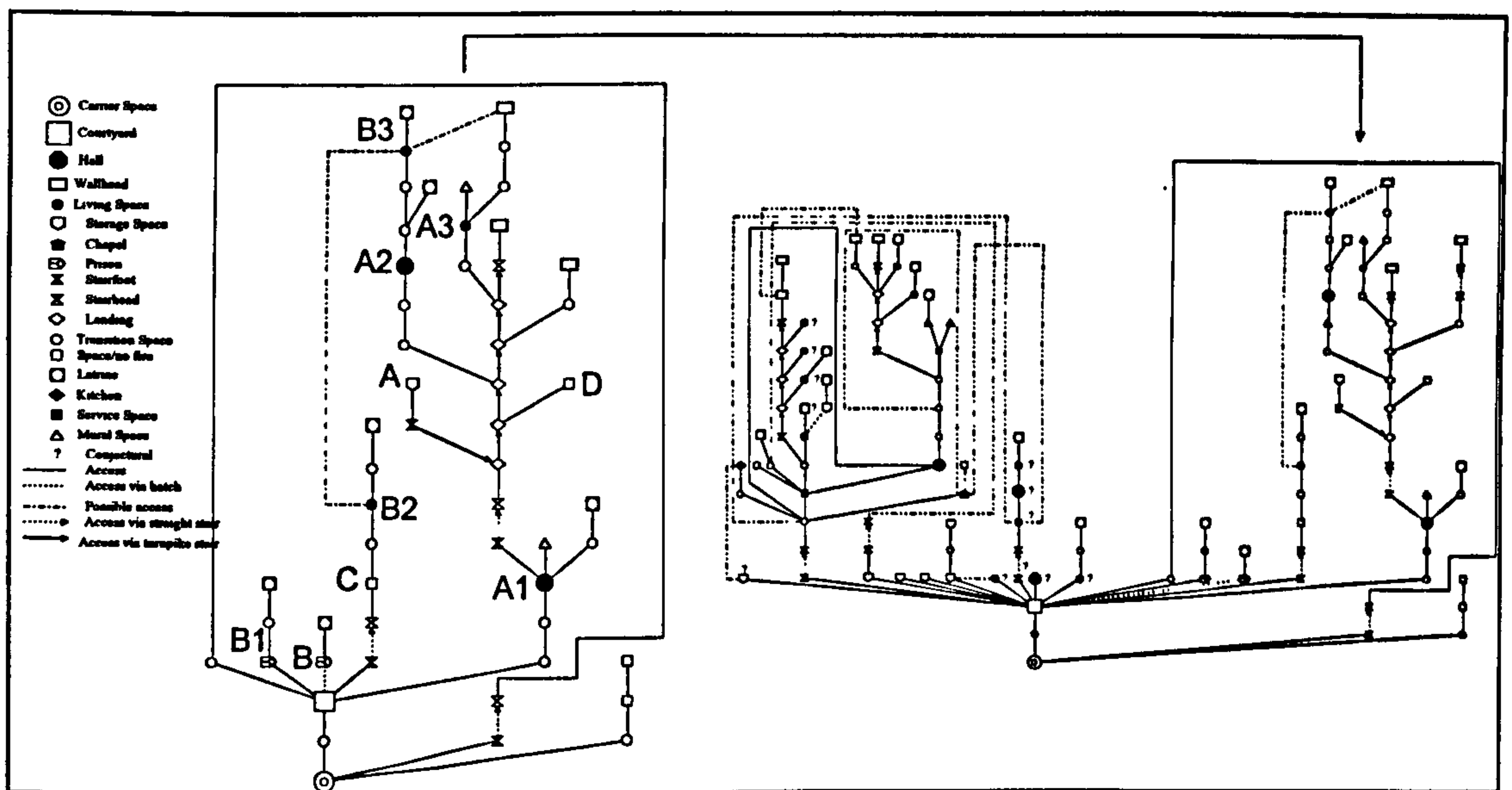


Figure 5-20 Access graph of the 13th century Donjon and prison tower, Bothwell

and with which it competes for dominance. At Bothwell there is a certain purity in the design of the single isolated tower standing as if alone (plate 8). Although, the donjon is connected to and can be accessed from the small prison tower by a stretch of curtain wall, the distance between the towers and the difference in size, ensures the visual dominance of the donjon. The isolation of the donjon is all the greater when viewed from the exterior as the majority of the tower projects beyond the curtain walls. This is also true of the great round tower at Dirleton where the buildings to the north of the tower would have obscured it when viewed from the interior of the castle: the great towers at both Dirleton and Bothwell were built to be viewed from the outside.

The great donjon at Bothwell, as with the tower complex at Dirleton, functioned as a castle within a castle. In each case they may have acted as defensive retreats, although at Dirleton this seems less likely. More importantly, the castle within a castle concept translated as a residence within a residence. Again, as with Dirleton, the entrance to the donjon was given special emphasis and was used to create distance between the donjon and the rest of the castle. The most obvious and effective structural feature designed to achieve this outcome is the moat, physically separating the donjon from the courtyard (plan 2). However, elements of the actual entrance also create a sense of distance. The first element is the beak, which strengthens the wall pierced by the entrance pend and turns the entrance to the donjon away from the courtyard. It also ensures a flat surface for the drawbridge to close against and contains the portcullis

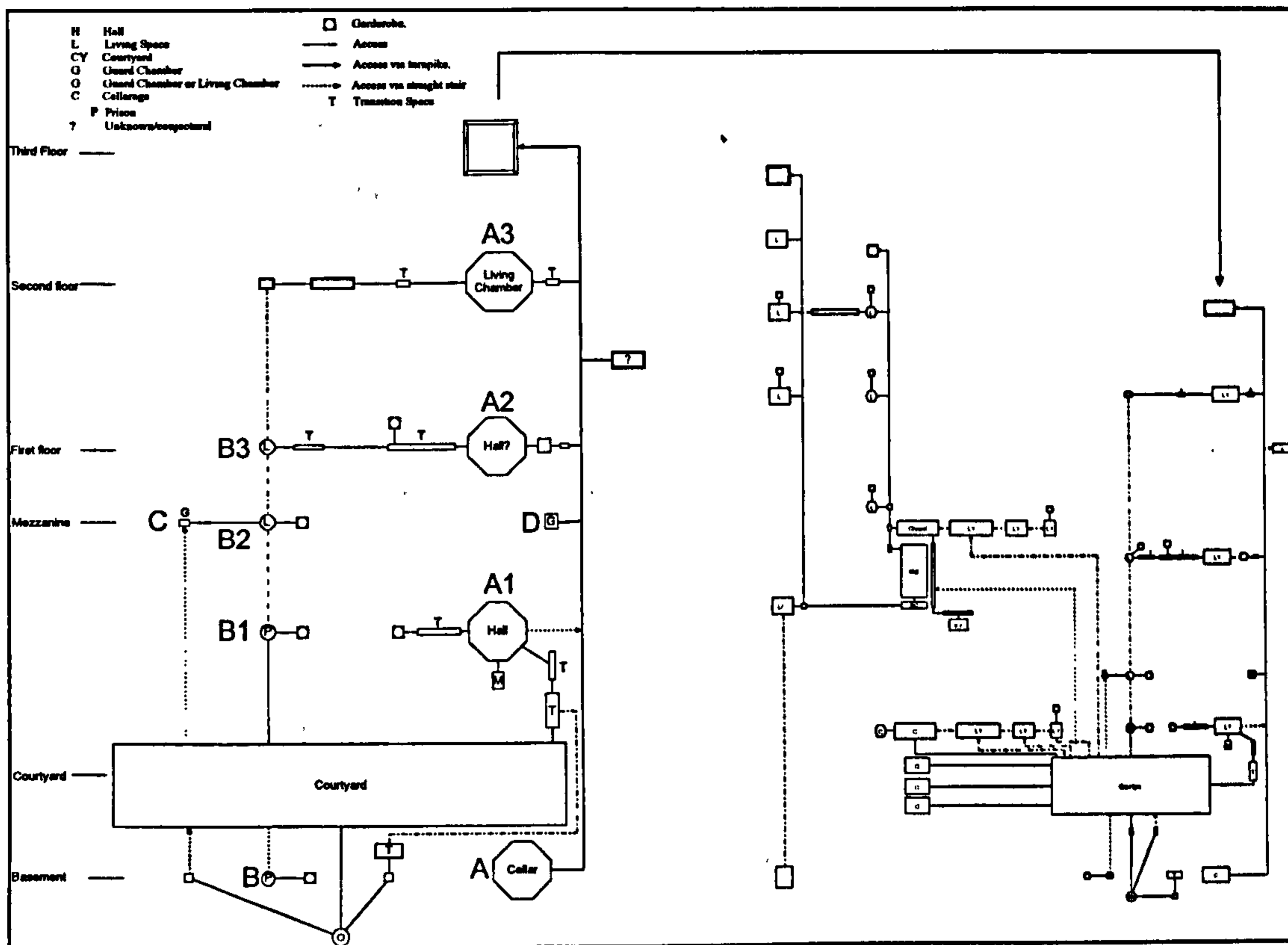


Figure 5-21 Planning diagram of 13th century donjon and prison tower, Bothwell.

chamber (Simpson 1925, 178: 1982, 24). It also ensures the entrance pend itself changes direction sharply.

These features have been seen in terms of defence: Simpson suggests that the beak, by turning the entrance away from the courtyard, made it more difficult to batter down the door, while the zigzag entrance pend would disrupt an attackers rush into the donjon. However, these supposed defensive features also have the effect of creating barriers and distance between the donjon and courtyard. The entrance with its various forms of defence — the moat, a drawbridge, a portcullis, crosslet arrow-slits and a timber machiolation — may have the effect of intimidating those approaching (plate 9). The moat clearly separates the donjon from the rest of the castle. The beak effectively lengthens the entrance pend and by turning the entrance away from the courtyard it makes the entrance less obvious. The zigzag pend has a similar effect: the zigzags again lengthens the pend and stops those travelling along it from viewing the chamber within clearly till the last moment. This last feature of the pend would have increased the impact of the chamber. The extensive efforts of distancing the donjon from the courtyard may have been partly motivated by the fact that the primary chamber — labelled A1 in figures 5-20 & 5-21 — of the donjon is at courtyard level. However, there is also an element of theatricality

about the arrangements. To reach the interior of the donjon, the visitor had to negotiate the gatehouse, cross the open space of large courtyard, before encountering the defences of the donjon. It would have been very clear that interior of the donjon was a special place and the occupant was a person of power and authority to whom few would have access.

The impact of the chamber (A1) would have been considerable. After walking through the short pend, the visitor was confronted by an octagonal space some 10.8m in diameter and over 6m in height. The space had a high rib vaulted ceiling constructed in wood and supported on a central stone pier rising from the basement. The vaulting sprang from corbels in the angles of the octagon and were partially supported by a channel cut above pointed arcading of moulded wall-ribs (Simpson 1982, 22). The chamber was well lit by at least one huge window with elaborate tracery and a extremely large embrasure with benches on two levels. The window would have allowed those within the donjon to survey the courtyard and allow those in the courtyard to glimpse the inner splendours. There may have been additional windows piercing the now demolished western wall, which probably also contained a fireplace. Contained within the wing wall was a long stone vaulted passage leading to a latrine. The length of the passage and its offset doorway ensures the occupants privacy and distances the clean from the unclean. The opportunity was not taken to extend the corridor connecting the donjon to the small prison tower at this level.

The stair to the upper and lower floors of the donjon was reached from the ground floor or courtyard level chamber (A1), although it would have been possible to create communication between the entrance pend and the stair. However, as can be seen from figures 5-20 & 5-21 the arrangements of the donjon meant that anyone wishing to move around it had to enter the hall, where they were likely to come under surveillance, before they could access the stair.

Various interpretations have been given to the arrangements of the chambers contained in the donjon but the general organisation has been described as cellar, lord's hall, retainers' hall/garrison chamber and lord's chamber (Simpson 1982, 24). The interpretation of the first floor chamber (A2) as a retainers' hall or garrison quarters appears questionable but Simpson based this interpretation on analogy with Coucy in France and because the space '*was plainly fitted up*' (Simpson 1925, 177). However, as only half the structure survives this appears a rather sweeping statement based on the fact that the chamber does not have a window piercing the courtyard elevation. The entrance into the chamber appears to first access a large window

embrasure, opening up the possibility that the demolished part of the wall contained windows and a fireplace.

The disposition of rooms suggested above appears unlikely in terms of access arrangements and the concept of status represented through height. Due to the arrangement of access to the staircase, to gain access to the common or retainers hall (A2) one would have to travel through the splendours of the great hall. It also seems strange when one considers the emphasis on height in Scottish building during this period that the common hall would be situated above the lord's hall — the exact opposite arrangement is found at Dirleton, Tantallon and Dundonald. There are several other possible arrangements of rooms. The treatment of the ceiling and the arcading around the courtyard level chamber (A1) suggest that this was a public chamber designed to impress. The ceilings of the upper chambers used a similar construction technique, although without the elaborate vaulting or arcading, implying that they were either more private chambers or had less status. It seems unlikely that these rooms had less status and the access arrangements suggest that they were indeed private. The access diagram (figure 5-20) shows that the first and second floor chambers (A2 & A3) were of a considerably depth from the courtyard, far deeper than the courtyard chamber — partly this reflects the height of the donjon. Thus, the donjon have comprised an incredibly impressive public hall or audience chamber on the courtyard level (A1) — the lack of any service arrangements perhaps makes the audience chamber more likely — a semi-public chamber on the first floor (A2) and a semi-public bedchamber/living chamber on the second (A3). The upper chamber (A3) has direct access to the wall head providing fresh air and views of the Clyde well away from the courtyard, while the extremely large window which overlooks the courtyard is a two light traceried window. However, despite the access arrangements, the form of the two upper chambers appear most unsuitable as private bedchambers. There are no small chambers, such as those found at Dirleton, which could have served as the actual bedchamber of the lord. The size of the upper room suggests that it may have served as a semi-public bedchamber where the most intimate of the lord's associates and advisors could have had an audience with the lord. Yet it appears unsuitable for a room in which to sleep.

The only small room to be entered from the donjon is the first floor chamber within the prison tower (B3). As is shown in figures 5-20, 5-21 & plan 2 this chamber is reached by travelling along two corridors contained within the wing wall: the first corridor accesses a latrine and a narrower corridor which leads to the prison tower. The corridors would distance the prison tower from the donjon. However, it seems unlikely that this chamber served as the

lord's bedchamber as it is accessed from the first floor of the donjon rather than the second floor chamber. Furthermore, the chamber would have been disturbed both by the prison chambers below and the gate to the east. The relationship between the prison tower and the donjon is difficult to gauge. There is communication between the first and second floors of the donjon and upper floors of the prison tower. Yet the distance between the towers makes it unlikely that the chambers within the prison tower could have served as bed or wardrobe chambers. Rather, the first floor chamber in the prison tower may have quartered a senior official, who could oversee the secondary gate and also had access to the semi-private first floor chamber in the donjon.

5.7.3 Fourteenth/fifteenth century rebuilding: Dirleton.

The rebuilding of Dirleton castle in the late fourteenth/early fifteenth century comprised two major phases. The first involved the construction of the gatehouse, the kitchen and services, the hall and an octagonal tower which was built on top of the thirteenth century tower (Richardson 1982, 15). The later phase of building saw the demolition of the octagonal tower and the extension of the hall block northwards over the thirteenth century ditch (Richardson 1982, 15). The extension took the form of a tower (figure 5-23) with a pit prison (A), a prison chamber (A1), a chamber (A2) and a chapel (A3). Only one living chamber (A4) now survives above the chapel level. However, a turnpike in the north west angle suggests that the tower had at least one, perhaps two, upper floors (A5 & A6) (plan 1). This would be necessary to raise the level of the tower above the roof level of the hall and kitchen, emphasising the space contained within and balancing the thirteenth century tower block. The demolition of the octagonal tower and the rebuilding of the northern section of the hall with its integrated tower, would have extended the length of the hall and created additional accommodation. The rebuilding brought Dirleton up to date with current Scottish approaches to castle design by containing the lord's accommodation within a rectangular tower house-like structure.

The first floor chamber in the tower (A4) would have served as a semi-public chamber for the lord, with bed chambers above at the deeper levels of the access graph (figure 5-22). Thus, the fifteenth century accommodation takes the form of a hall, a semi-public chamber (A4) and then bedchambers (A5 & A6). The privacy and separation of the semi-public chamber and the bedchambers from the hall is accentuated through the architecture of the accommodation block. It should be noted that the chamber is at a slightly higher level than the great hall. Partly this is due to the presence of the chapel and prison beneath the chamber, but it appears significant that one had to climb a few steps to reach the chamber as this emphasises the act of crossing the

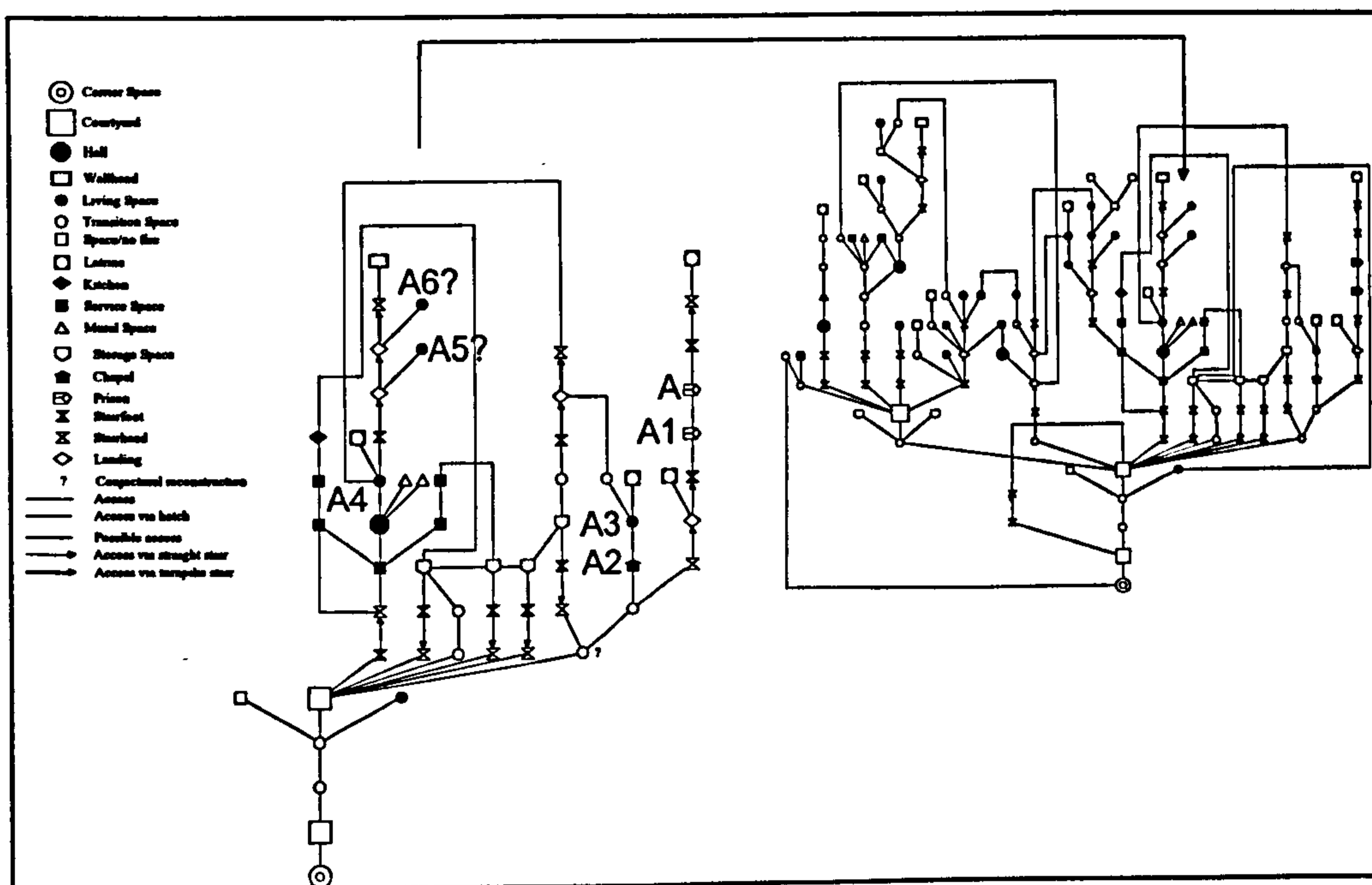


Figure 5-22 Access diagram of late 14th/early 15th century hall and tower block, Dirleton.

threshold into the space. The use of height to differentiate status was common in medieval Scotland and the act of climbing, first the stair to the hall, then another stair to the chamber to lord's presence chamber, reinforced his position of dominance. The lord would have accessed the hall from his chamber, emphasising his separateness: he would move from the restricted space of his chamber, which may have been guarded and to which few may have got access, to the public space of the hall.

By raising the tower above the roof level of the hall, the chamber and bedchambers are given a separate identity. However, the access arrangements underlie the integration of the hall and tower. The access diagram (see figure 5-22) depicts the upper floors of the tower (A4, A5 & A6) on the same branch as the hall and kitchen; this area did not have separate access to the courtyard. The access graph also shows the chapel and prison on a separate branch with direct access to courtyard. However, the graph also shows a ring linking the seem-private chamber A4 with the living chamber A2 adjacent to the chapel. This ring takes the form of a staircase which links both these spaces with the cellarge. The planning diagram (figure 5-23) and the alternative access diagram (figure 5-24) — which is drawn emphasising the vertical links with the chapel level and cellarge rather than horizontal communication with the hall — presents this area of the castle in a more tower-like form than figure 5-22. The upper levels of the tower can be reached from three separate routes: direct from the hall, from the chapel and through the cellarge ascending the turnpike staircase. However, no matter which route one travels to the

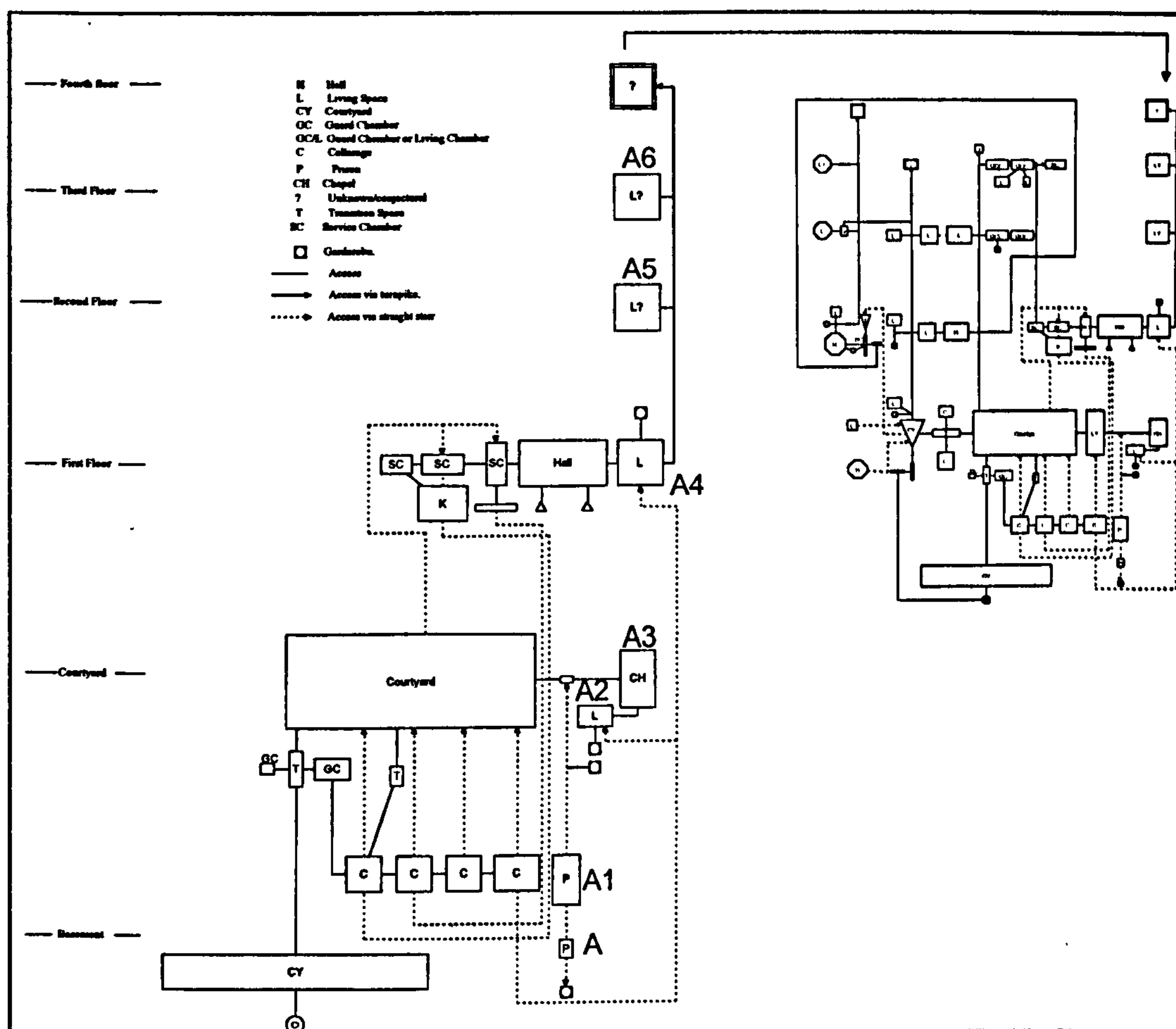


Figure 5-23 Planning diagram of late 14th/early 15th century hall and tower block, Dirleton.

upper levels of the tower, these spaces are always deep within the graph, isolating the occupants from the rest of the castle.

The alternative routes to the upper levels of the tower may reflect certain aspects of life within the castle. The lord's accommodation communicates with the most important areas of the castle. The connection with the hall has already been discussed and this would have been necessary if the chamber on the first level (A4) served as a withdrawing room or semi-public chamber of the lord. The route from the cellars may have been functional, a service stair allowing communication with the cellarage. However, one would expect most food and drink to be brought to the lord's chamber (A4) from the kitchen or servery via the hall. This route could appear rather fortuitous, as the staircase, or part of the staircase, was incorporated from one of the earlier towers was incorporated. This explains why the staircase is accessed from the cellar by a long corridor. However, this suggests a considerable amount of effort was expended on

retaining the staircase and it was considered important that access was created between the cellarage and the upper level of the tower

The communication with the chapel would have allowed the lord and his family to attend services without having to leave the hall block and enter through the courtyard entrance with the rest of the castles occupants. From royal examples it is clear that in larger households the chapel was a focal point for the lord's activities, serving both as a place of worship and a meeting place where business could be conducted. The special access arrangements for those within the tower would have set them apart from the other members of the household entering from the courtyard entrance. The only problem with this interpretation is that to access the chapel one has to travel through a living chamber (A2) — it has both a fireplace and a latrine — which due to its position adjacent to and accessible from the chapel has been interpreted as the accommodation of the priest (plan 1). It seems rather unusual that the priest's room would have acted as a through route to the chapel. However, in the confined area of the tower, the privacy of the priest may have been sacrificed for the need of the lord and his family. The connection with the priest's room and the lord's accommodation may reflect the important position of the priest as the lord's spiritual advisor and confessor and also perhaps as his clerk and secretary. The upper floors of the tower may have been a predominately female space with the women of the castle being restricted to the tower with private dining arrangement and a private entrance to the chapel. The priest's room (A2) also communicates with the cellarage via the same turnpike which serves the upper chambers, providing a private service route.

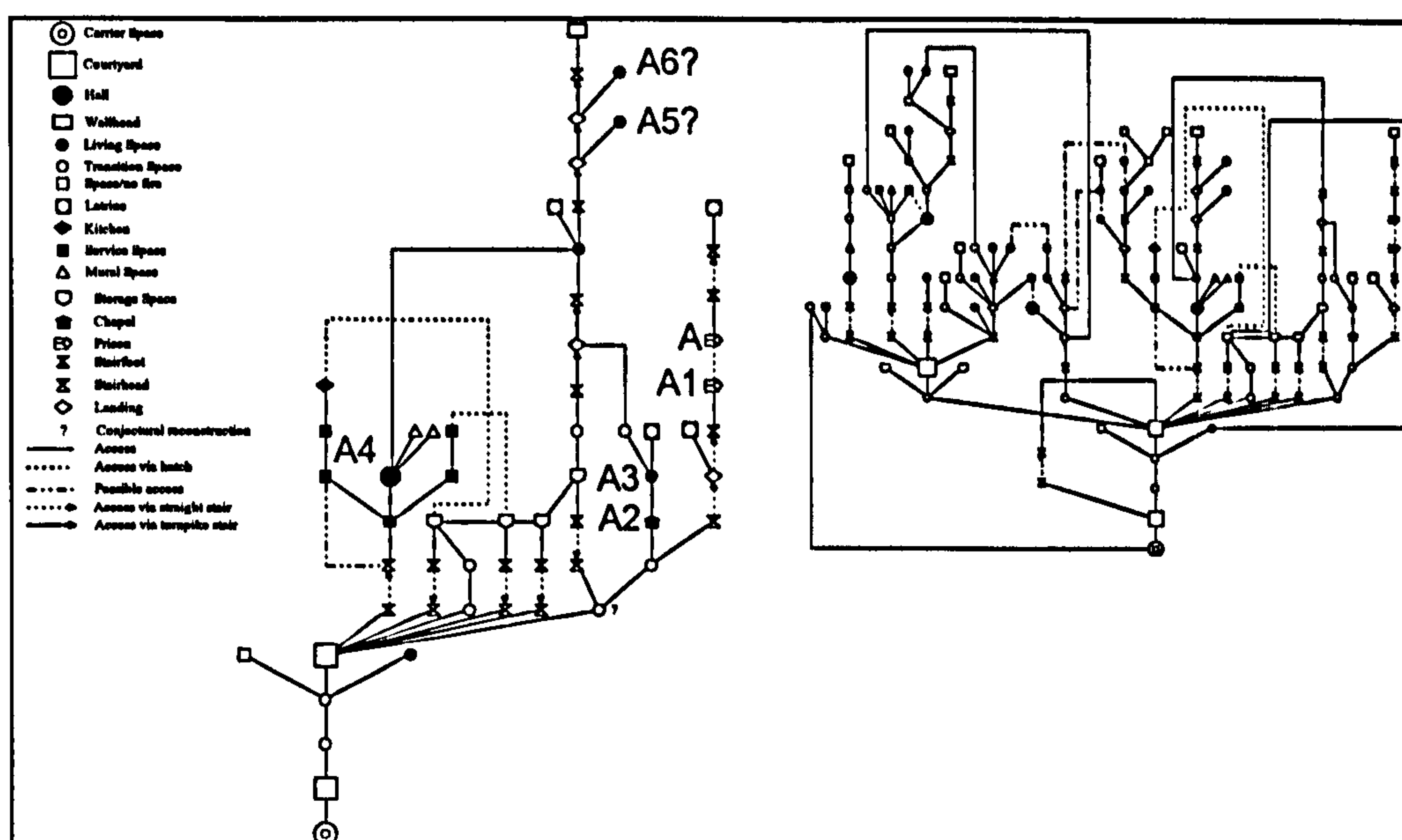


Figure 5-24 Alternative access graph of 15th century hall and accommodation block

The thirteenth century tower complex probably continued to function as an accommodation block: perhaps at this time the windows of the first floor hall in the large round tower were altered, demonstrating that there was continued interest in and use of these buildings. The tower complex must have become subordinate to the hall and tower block and may have been reduced in height. The thirteenth century accommodation may have served a separate household within the castle, continuing as a prestige area of the castle. The most likely occupant may have been the constable or keeper of the castle. When the lord was not in residence, the tower complex may have been the main activity area of the castle, with the great hall and tower effectively mothballed until the lord was once again in residence. The first floor hall of the tower complex would have been a suitable space to hold court or receive rents. The fireplace in this chamber shows evidence that it was used for cooking — slots in the inner side of the fireplace jambs probably supported an iron brace on which hung pots (Richardson 1982, 19) — suggesting that the chamber was downgraded at some point in its history. It is impossible to say when this took place, but it is not unreasonable to suggest that it may have occurred in the fifteenth century and was associated with the use of the tower complex to accommodate a separate self-contained household, which when the castle was run on a skeleton staff could provide for their needs. Thus, the huge kitchen in the hall block could be closed down when the lord was not in residence.

5.7.4 Fourteenth/Fifteenth century rebuilding: Bothwell.

Unlike Dirleton, where an integrated hall and tower block replaced the earlier thirteenth century accommodation, at Bothwell a series of towers and ranges was built during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century (plan 2). It appears that the large rectangular north east tower, now almost completely demolished, — labelled A in figures 5-25 and 5-26 — dates to the late fourteenth century (plate 13)(Simpson 1985, 17). The south east round tower — labelled B in figures 5-25 and 5-26 — with its fine machicolated crown, dates to the early fifteenth century and was probably contemporary with the chapel — labelled C1 in figures 5-25 and 5-26 (plates 10&14)(Simpson 1985, 25-27). The southern range — labelled D, E and F in figures 5-25 and 5-26 — has again been almost completely demolished, only the windows piercing the southern curtain wall and the scars in the interior elevation of this wall — showing the position of partition walls — give a notion of the form of this range (Simpson 1985, 19). This range probably dates to the fifteenth century and Simpson suggests that it is contemporary with the chapel and south east tower. On heraldic grounds, the chapel is believed to have been begun after 1409 and finished before 1424 (1985, 26). The range was then altered in the sixteenth century. The great thirteenth century donjon — labelled G in figures 5-25 and 5-26 — continued to be used although it was severely truncated.

The large north west rectangular tower (A) may have succeeded the great donjon as the lordly accommodation within Bothwell castle. The nature of this accommodation is difficult to describe as little of the tower now survives. In Slezer's engraving the tower dominates the castle and is an obviously massive structure: it appears to be taller than the south west round tower so it may have been five storeys high. Although lofty, the remains give the impression that the tower would have been rather claustrophobic and dark internally, with a floor area of about 6.5m by 6.5 m. This does not compare with the great donjon where the floor area is almost twice as large but does compare with the many tower houses of the period, particularly it has a first floor entrance. It would appear that the Douglas's built their new accommodation as an up-to-date tower house, although incorporated into the curtain wall of the extant castle. However, unlike most tower houses, the tower at Bothwell has a square plan rather than the almost ubiquitous rectangular floor plan. This may reflect the fact that the castle would contain further accommodation outwith the tower, including a hall. Thus, although the tower may have shared some features with tower houses, it was not a self-contained residence.

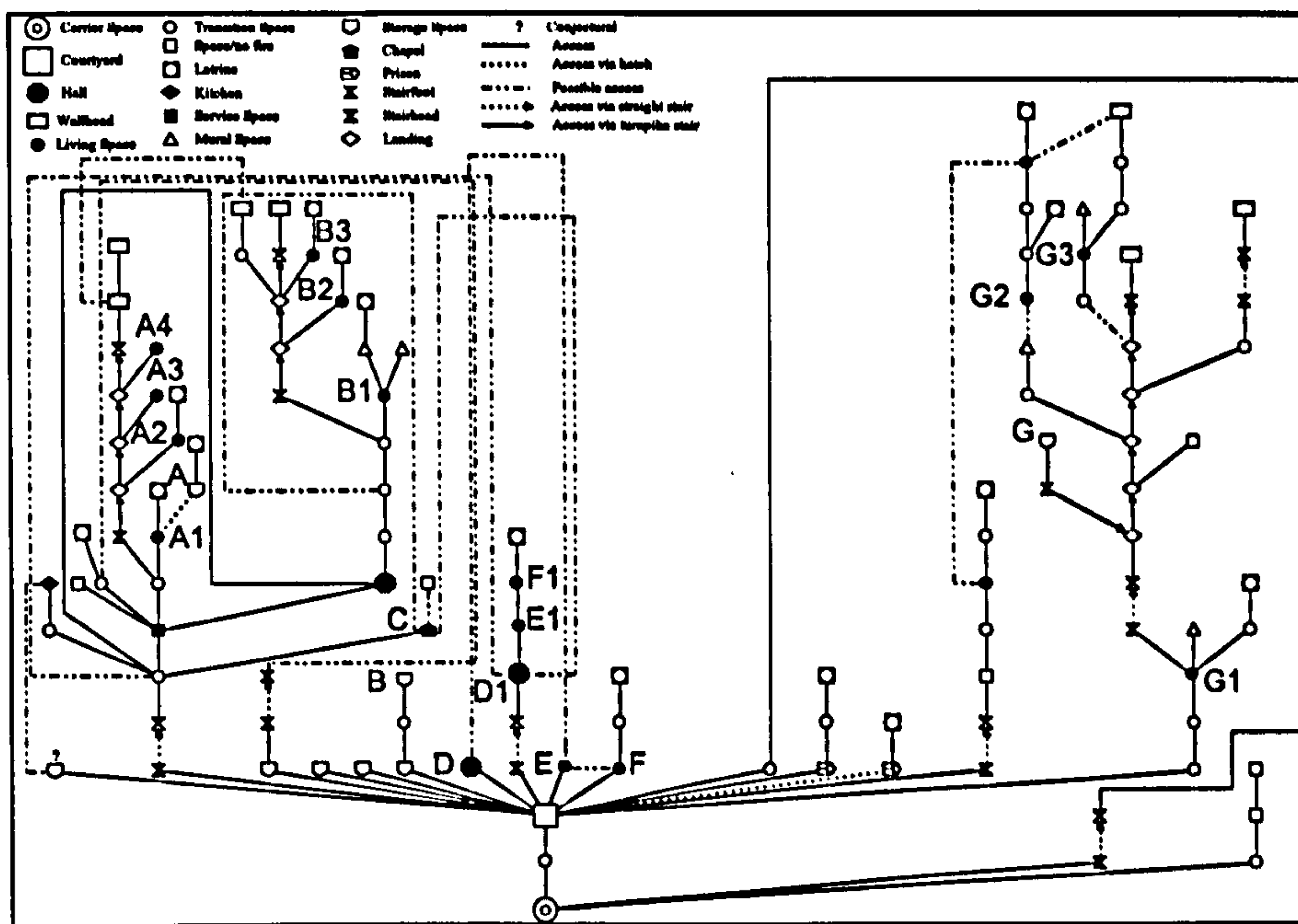


Figure 5-25 Labeled access diagram of early 14th/15th century accommodation, Bothwell.

The inward looking and closed nature of the tower is emphasised by the drawbridge which protected the entrance of the tower. This entrance has a distinctly military aspect reinforced by the parapeted wall head shown in Slezer's engraving (Lewis 1984, plate 2). This drawbridge, which due to its design was very visible, was a symbol of the lord's isolation in his private residence. As with the thirteenth century donjon, the drawbridge of the tower could be closed against the rest of the castle and the castle's occupants. When the hall was built against the tower in the fifteenth century, the drawbridge must have gone out of use; yet it appears that the chase of the drawbridge was left visible, a continuing symbol despite its functional redundancy.

On entering the tower, one accessed a small lobby which in turn either led into a first floor chamber (A1) or to a turnpike stair leading to the upper floors (A2, A3, A4, and A5). One did not have to go into the main first floor chamber, to access the upper floors. This suggests that none of the chambers within the tower had a particularly public function, especially as access to the chambers was undifferentiated apart from the depth created by the height of the staircase. Thus, on accessing the tower one did not have to go through another living space to gain access to the upper rooms.

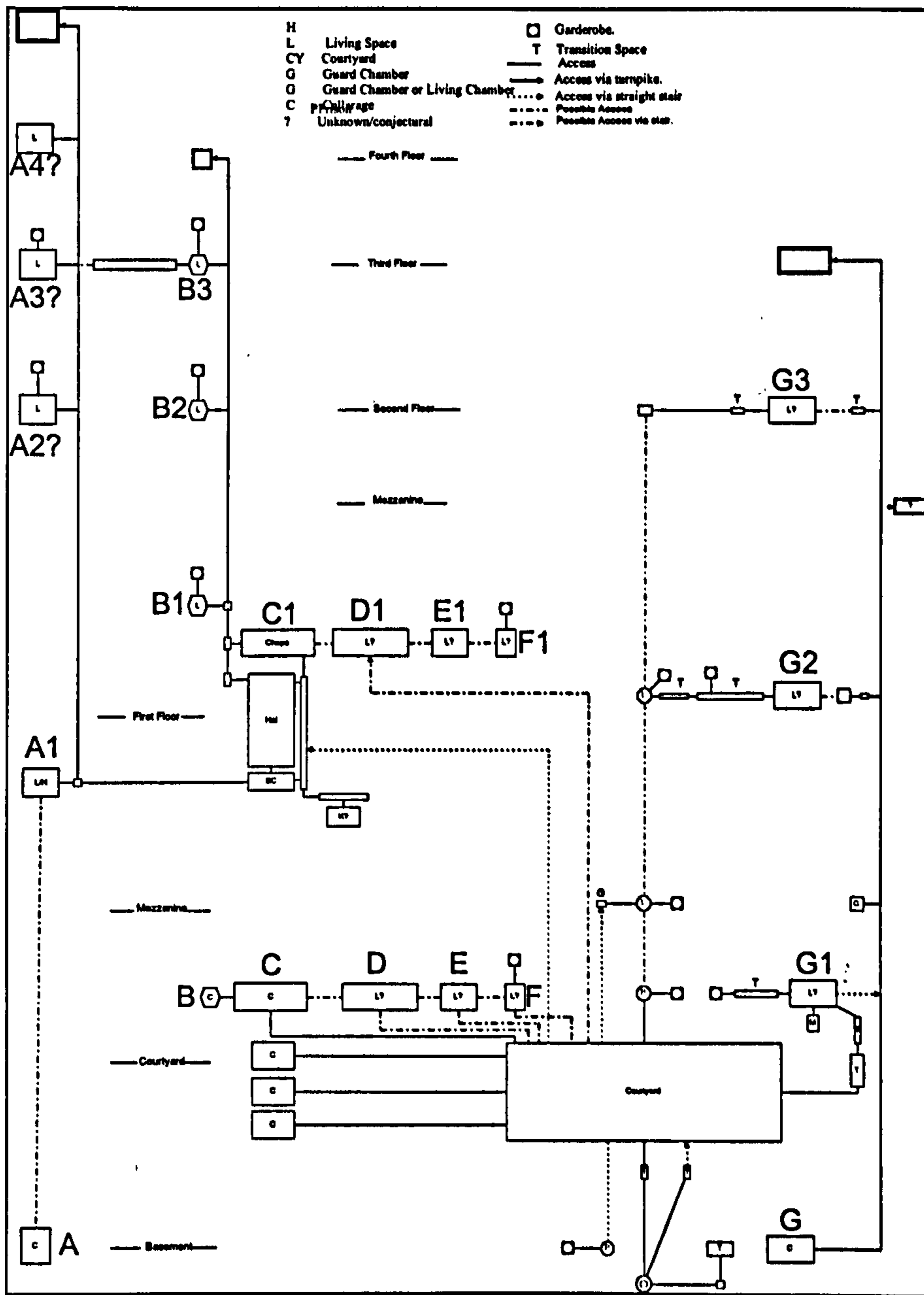


Figure 5-26 Labelled planning diagram of late 14th/early 15th century accommodation, Bothwell.

The tower has some peculiarities which, in its incomplete form, are difficult to explain. The first problem is the function of the ground floor chamber (A). In most tower houses such a chamber would be given over to cellarage. However, this chamber has a latrine which one reached by ascending a short flight of stairs. Such provision is unusual for a cellar and instead suggests that it was some form of living chamber. Again, going on analogy with other tower houses and castles, the vast majority of ground floor living chambers were prisons. Its access arrangements are uncertain, but there remains no sign of a stair connecting the ground with the

first floor, suggesting access was by way of a hatch. This also implies that the chamber may have served as a prison. However, at Bothwell, the two lower floors of the prison tower already fulfilled such a role so the ground floor chamber may have had some other function. In its role as the accommodation of the lord, one would expect the first floor of the tower to serve as the principle chamber, and it seems unlikely that in such circumstances the floor immediately below would have served as a prison.

The first floor itself has its own peculiarity: its floor level. The floor level is represented by several architectural features: a line of round joist holes, the position of the door into the chamber, and the position of the doorway for the floor above (plate 14). What is interesting is that the level of the joist holes does not correspond with the position of the door, the floor level appears to have been considerably lower than the door — perhaps as much as 2m — so when one entered, one would have to descend a flight of stairs. The joists do not seem to relate to a mezzanine floor, since the correspondence of the floor level with the doorway is confirmed by the relative positions of the doorways to the first and second floor chambers. The arrangement of the doorway and floor level seems to have been necessary to raise the first floor doorway above the courtyard level: the western wall of the tower is built on top of the break of slope, with the ground sloping steeply to the east. If the doorway and floor level corresponded with each other, the ceiling of the cellar would either be very high, or the first floor courtyard entrance would have been more like a ground floor entrance. Defensive priorities may have motivated this architecturally unsatisfactory arrangement deeming it necessary to have a first floor entrance. However, it may have been the need to demonstrate such military symbolism that made a first floor entrance necessary for a lordly residence. The arrangement of the first floor is hardly ideal for the primary floor of the tower: the door to this space is also smaller than that of chamber above. In this tower it is possible that the first floor chamber was subordinate to the upper chambers, perhaps serving as a guard chamber. This also makes it rather more likely that the ground floor was a prison.

The south east tower (B) has similar internal access arrangements with entry into a small lobby, which gives access to the first floor chamber and to a turnpike staircase which served the two upper floors. This acted as a vertical corridor from which the chambers were accessed. The three upper chambers (B1, B2, and B3), display little differentiation; all have latrines and fireplaces. It seems likely that these rooms functioned as a series of single lodgings. Its position, adjacent to and accessible from the chapel, suggests that this tower accommodated the clergy serving the chapel: it is likely that there was more than one priest. The entrance to the tower,

unlike that of the north east tower, is not protected by any sophisticated gate arrangement. However, as the tower was built along with the chapel and with hall already in place, it is deep within the access graph and did not require any particular emphasis of its threshold to create distance between the exterior and the interior (plate 15).

Connected to the south side of the chapel is the south range — labelled **D**, **G** and **F** figures 5-25 & 5-26. This accommodation takes a very different form from that contained the towers, partly because it has ground floor accommodation. This is perhaps the most interesting accommodation block within the castle but is also the most enigmatic. The range was altered in the sixteenth century with a reorganisation of the fenestration. However, the layout of the spaces behind these windows appears to have remained the same. The arrangement of the ground floor is demonstrated by the scars on the wall and although the arrangement of upper floor is not as clear, the fenestration is comparable, suggesting that the spaces were similarly organised (plate 10). The arrangement can be clearly seen in the planning diagram (figure 5-26). The range probably should include the chapel, so the first floor disposition of the rooms appears to be from east to west; the chapel (**C1**), a large long space, lit by three windows through the south wall (**D1**), leading to a smaller chamber lit by one window (**G1**), and finally to a much smaller room (**F1**) which has access to a latrine contained within the latrine tower. The floor below has a similar arrangement (**D**, **F**, **G**) although there is no connection with the chapel and space **D** has a balcony or oriel window projecting from the southern curtain. The arrangement of these rooms is strongly suggestive of two superimposed suites, consisting of a guard hall, a chamber and a bed chamber, in a linear progression, the rooms becoming smaller as they become more private (figure 5-26). The superimposed suites may reflect a gender segregation with the lord and lady having duplicate accommodation with the lord's on the ground floor and his wife above. The first floor suite has the additional space of the chapel, which may have made up the suite, providing another public or semi-public space. It also ensured easy access for the lord or lady to the chapel, something which also applied to the great hall, which could be reached either from the forestair or by the internal route through the chapel.

The final area of accommodation within the castle was the original thirteenth century donjon. An attempt was made to repair the donjon by building a screen wall across the huge rent in the once mighty tower. In the courtyard level chamber, the screen wall was pierced by two windows flanking a fireplace, giving the impression that there was a desire to recreate a splendid chamber in the donjon. However, it appears that the repair was never completed, and it

is not certain if the donjon was ever re-occupied. If it was re-occupied, this applied only to the lower three floors, the upper floor would have stood as stark walls above the shed roof.

5.7.5 Sixteenth century additions: Dirleton.

In the late sixteenth century the castle was brought up to date with the building of a Renaissance dwelling of greater comfort and privacy (plate 5). The verticality that one finds in the tower houses of the period continued to be emphasised with a two storeyed house over cellarage. This structure has a symmetrical facade with decorative string courses and an armorial panel above the pend giving access to the inner close. The walls of the structure are very thin, and the only defensive features in the sixteenth century building are small shot holes beneath all the main windows, even those which face into the small inner court (plan 1). These appear to more decorative and fashionable than anything else. This, along with changes to the modes of access to the castle, all suggest that with the building of the Ruthven block there was less emphasis upon the defensive qualities of the castle and more of an attempt to build a comfortable and impressive mansion within the walls of the existing castle.

The Ruthven block did not present a particularly impressive or prominent outward face: from the main approach to the castle, it was hidden from sight by an earlier phase and it could only really be seen from the garden (plate 5). Even then it was probably mostly hidden by the curtain wall. Thus, the Ruthven block was the first block built to be viewed from the interior of the castle, not the exterior. Thus, it was perhaps designed to impress the lord's peers, who when visiting the castle could appreciate his knowledge of architectural styles.

Throughout the Ruthven block there is a bipartite division on each of the floors. On the ground floor there were two vaulted chambers, perhaps additional storage space, divided by the pend into the inner courtyard. The two cellars (A&B) were of unequal size and this unequal division was repeated on the upper floors. The upper floors were originally divided by wooden partitions. These partitions no longer exist but their presence is confirmed by the two fireplaces found in each floor and by the twin latrines on the upper floor. Their location is indicated more precisely by the relative positions of windows, doors and the two staircases.

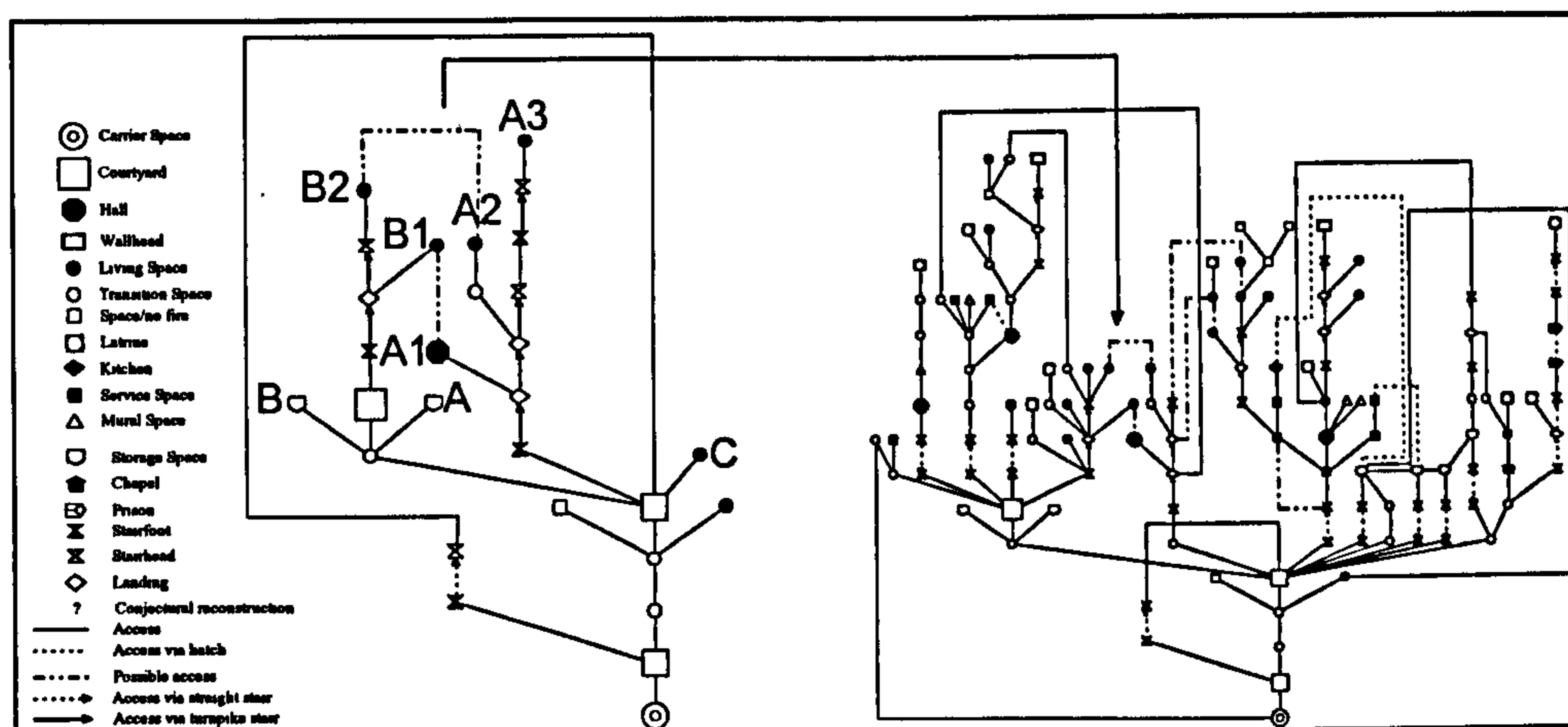


Figure 5-27 Access diagram of 16th century Ruthven Block, Dirleton.

It is presumed that each staircase served one of the rooms and that the partitions would respect the windows and would not block them. In each case the partition would have created a slightly unequal division of the floors with the largest room to the east (figure 5-29). This difference in size is paralleled in the staircases; the easternmost staircase is the slightly wider of the two and served the larger rooms.

The staircases create two branches in the access graph (figure 5-27). The wider of the two staircases can be accessed from the outer courtyard, while to reach the narrower of the staircases one has to travel through the pend to the inner courtyard. This has an important effect upon the comparative depths of the chambers in the Ruthven block. If one ignores for the moment the probability that there was direct access between the partitions, the first floor eastern chamber (A1) is several levels shallower than that on the western side (B1), although the eastern chamber on the second floor level (A2) is only one level shallower than that on the western side (B2), because of a small vestibule or lobby.

All of these factors suggest that the physical division found in each of the floors reflects a functional and social difference. The access diagram suggests that the westernmost part (B) of the block was the most private, with the eastern side (A) having a more public role. The access diagram is of course only telling part of the story; the depth of the western part of the block, which could perhaps be seen as indicative of privacy, would have been heightened in reality by the passage through the pend with the Ruthven coat of arms displaying the specific ownership of this area of the castle, the presence of the claustrophobic inner close and then the necessity of climbing the narrow stair. The opposite is true of the eastern half of the block as entry to the staircase serving this area of the castle is just inside the main gate of the castle. Thus, when

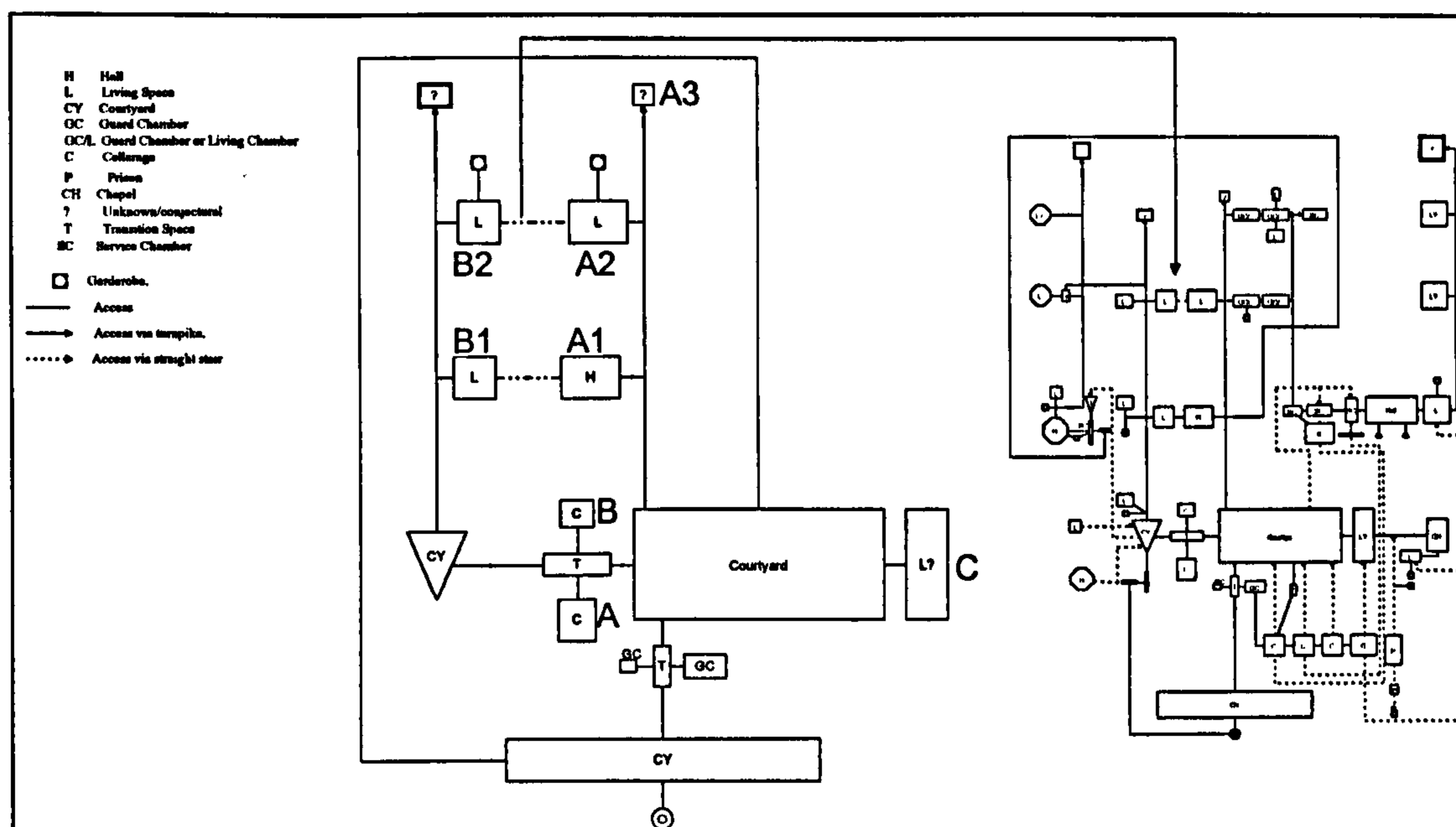


Figure 5-28 Planning diagram of 16th century Ruthven Block, Dirleton.

entering the castle one is immediately drawn to the staircase by a broad stair and a shallow lobby. This stair rises up to the first floor where it immediately enters the eastern chamber (A1). This room was a public room, probably the dining room of the family. The room is well lit, with one more window than the chamber to the west. One large window looks to the north and two very large windows look into the inner court. The inner windows may have been overshadowed by the thirteenth century towers but the towers would have afforded protection to the Ruthven block and allowed large windows in this comparatively thin walled block. Thus, the eastern chamber (A1) is also distinguished from the western room (B1) by the number and size of the windows. The room also has a large shelved cupboard for displaying the plate of the family in a prominent position near the doorway. In this a sense it was similar to the other halls in the castle: the thirteenth century lord's hall has an aumbry and the fifteenth century hall has a very impressive buffet. However, in form the chamber is very different from any of the other halls.

The sixteenth century hall or dining room (A1) is far smaller than the fifteenth century hall: around 6.5 m by 4 m in contrast to 18 m by 9 m. The sixteenth century hall also has a different layout to its fifteenth century equivalent. Although both share many of the same elements; fireplace, windows and cupboard/buffet, these are in different positions. The fifteenth century hall had a series of foci: the lower area of the hall with the entrance and the buffet; the fireplace, which was probably a central hearth or brazier, and the heid buird or head board at the upper

end of the hall. Many of these foci are given extra emphasis by the windows which lit the lower and upper ends of the hall. In the sixteenth century hall these different features are, present but its small size means that architecturally they do not have the same impact as in the earlier hall; the fireplace tucked away in a corner. The windows of the chamber appear to be concentrated at the western end but these do not emphasise any particular feature such as the cupboard, the entrance from the staircase or the fireplace.

The small size of the 16th century dining chamber bears a far greater resemblance to the two small halls in the thirteenth century drum tower than to the fifteenth century great hall. The thirteenth century halls were of course very different due to their shape but this difference maybe superficial, disguising similar functions and similar symbolism. This difference maybe superficial, disguising similar functions and similar symbolism. However, the extraordinary shape of the thirteenth century halls, especially the upper hall with the three window seats looking towards the fireplace, has a certain resonance even today which the sixteenth century dining area does not have. However, it is interesting to note that in the thirteenth century there were two halls of a similar size to the sixteenth century dining chamber. The latter is best regarded as a semi-public room where the family and personal guests would dine and entertain; a similar function has been suggested for the thirteenth century halls. Architectural historians have regarded the development of castles as an evolutionary progression where, amongst other elaborations there was an increase in privacy demonstrated by an aggregation of chambers, rather than a single hall with multiple functions (Grove 1995, 29). However, at Dirleton the thirteenth century castle displays a sophistication of planning and a degree of segregation of activities that was similar to the sixteenth century block. The sixteenth century saw a return to the south west of the site as the focus for the castle. However, unlike the original thirteenth century tower complex, the new renaissance block was far more outward looking with its large windows overlooking the courtyard and newly laid out garden. This is also reflected in terms of access: a new back entrance was created to the castle, ensuring that the Ruthven block does not create much depth in the graph. This hall (A1) is the shallowest hall in the whole diagram (figure 5-27).

Beyond the dining area (A1) is a smaller chamber (B1) again supplied with a fireplace (plan 1). This room could probably be reached from the dining area and the adjacency of these rooms has led to the latter's identification as a withdrawing room or drawing room (Grove 1995, 29). From the access graph it does appear that this room was more private than the eastern room. Even when the direct link between the two rooms is taken into consideration the smaller

of the rooms is still a level deeper than the dining room. The relationship between this room and the dining room would negate the use of the room as a bedchamber. It is also unlikely that the room would have had a service function: there would be little need for the fireplace or the two large windows, one overlooking the garden below the castle, and another looking into the outer courtyard which, again, may have contained a garden (the original castle garden) (Grove 1995, 29). The western staircase may have been narrower than the eastern but it is still impressive rather than utilitarian such as one might expect from a service staircase. What is more, the stair does not lead to any recognisable service area. The differences in size seems to relate more to privacy than to service and, of course allow separate communication to this area of the castle, thus bypassing the dining room. To speculate further, the association of this room, and the room above with the garden of the castle, alongside the element of privacy, perhaps suggests that this area of the castle was a female space.

The two second floor chambers in the Ruthven block follow the pattern of the lower floor. The floor has two fireplaces in the opposing short walls and two dry latrines in opposing angles, again suggesting that the space was divided into two spaces and again like the floor below it was an unequal division. The second floor chamber accessed from the eastern staircase (A2) is two levels deeper than the chamber below, the dining room (A1). This depth is created by a right-angled lobby with a window looking onto the outer courtyard and accessing A2. As the walls of this phase of the castle are particularly thin, the builders had to increase the thickness of the wall, internally and externally, so that the corridor could be built. It would have been far easier, in structural terms, to have duplicated the first floor arrangement; a simple doorway straight off the main staircase. This solution would also have meant that the facade of the sixteenth century castle would have been flush and symmetrical rather than having an odd projection on one side. Considerable trouble has gone into the building of this small space which has no other purpose apart from providing communication between the stair and a living chamber. It would seem that the distance that this landing provided was deemed very important, perhaps because it increased the level of privacy of this room, especially as it was just below a public or semi-public room. Thus, the three upper rooms (A2, A3 and B2) — A3 is a small caphouse chamber — built in the sixteenth century all exhibit some method of creating greater privacy through architecture. This all suggests that the upper rooms are bedchambers.

5.7.6 Summary.

Of all the areas of the castle in question, it was those which accommodated the lord and his family that underwent continual change and adaptation. At Dirleton the development of the lord's accommodation is relatively easy to outline. The thirteenth century tower complex was supplanted by the large rectangular tower attached to the hall, this in turn was supplanted by the Renaissance mansion. In each case the older residence was retained, but was probably downgraded, quartering other members of the household. These changes provide a good example of the alterations in the nature of accommodation from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. Partly the changes may have been influenced by fashion: the circular donjon is supplanted first by an octagonal tower and then a rectangular tower. This is succeeded by another tower-like structure, but this is of a far less substantial form and does not possess the military symbolism of the previous century, such as a parapeted wall walk. Instead other features are prominent, such as shotholes and crow stepped gables.

However, these alterations were more than just fashion, the changes helping to power social change, as well as being a reaction to such change. What is perhaps surprising is the complexity of the thirteenth century accommodation and its isolation from the rest of the castle: the lord and his close associates could eat in some comfort in the hall in the drum tower. This does not appear to fit in a kinship based society and household structure and perhaps relates more to an Anglo-Norman model of household organisation. In the fourteenth/fifteenth century the accommodation tower seems less isolated and more as an integral part of the hall block. The lord could still eat in his chamber, but just beyond the door was the bustling hall. The late sixteenth century again saw changes. One of the most notable was that the Ruthven block, unlike the thirteenth and fourteenth/fifteenth century towers, was designed to be viewed, not from the exterior of the castle, but from the castle's courtyard. The earlier phases of the castle may have been judged a sufficient expression of lordship, and any efforts to create a new outward face of the castle too difficult and expensive. However, it may have reflected, even created, a more introspective type of lordship. Certainly, the lord seems to have left the communal hall and the everyday service areas behind him, isolating himself within the new mansion.

At Bothwell, there is no easily identifiable development of lordly accommodation. The thirteenth century donjon, the single tower separated by the wide moat and reached by a drawbridge, is again demonstrating the isolation of the feudal lord. With the destruction of the

donjon, the development of the lord's accommodation is confusing. The situation is further complicated by the destruction of the gatehouse, the north east tower and the south range. The gatehouse and north east tower appear to demonstrate the popularity of the rectangular tower house form. If the north east tower was the principal accommodation of the lord, the cramped tower soon gave way to the more extensive south range. There could not be any greater contrast than between these two structures: a high tower house protected by its own drawbridge and a long low range with no defensive features, ground floor accommodation and large windows through the curtain wall. The fifteenth century form of the range has been obliterated by sixteenth century alterations and eventual demolition. However, enough remains of the sixteenth century south range to suggest that it may have taken the form of two superimposed suites consisting of a hall, an outer chamber and an inner chamber with a latrine. The lord again seems to be isolating himself from the other main communal area of the castle, the great hall. To reach the lord there may have been a ceremonial route through the chapel, through the guard hall, outer chamber and finally into the lord's bedchamber.

5.8 SERVICES — DISPLAYS OF CONSPICUOUS CONSUMPTION.

At Bothwell, the service areas have not survived: all that remains of the kitchen is an oven and the flue of a fireplace rising within a section of the northern curtain wall. The kitchen was at first floor level and connected to the hall by a gallery, providing an easy method of communication between the site of production and the site of consumption. Due to the poor state of survival of the services at Bothwell, the following discussion will concentrate on the arrangements found at Dirleton.

The service areas of the castle are not restricted to any single branch, but radiate out from the main courtyard (figure 5-29). From there one can access a series of cellars or undercrofts obviously used for storage purposes. Each of the cellars (H, I, J and K) has a separate entrance to the courtyard and each communicates with its neighbour (plan 1).

Cellarage is often taken for granted when discussing castles. The needs of large households meant that cellarage is omnipresent. However at Dirleton the sheer size of the cellars makes them noteworthy. Not only do they cover a large area, around about 168m² but they are also of a huge volume because of their 7m high vault (plate 3). It is clear that they were built to provide for a large and splendid household and retinue and to store large amounts of rent and dues in the form of grain and salted meat. The height of the cellars may be in part due to the topography of

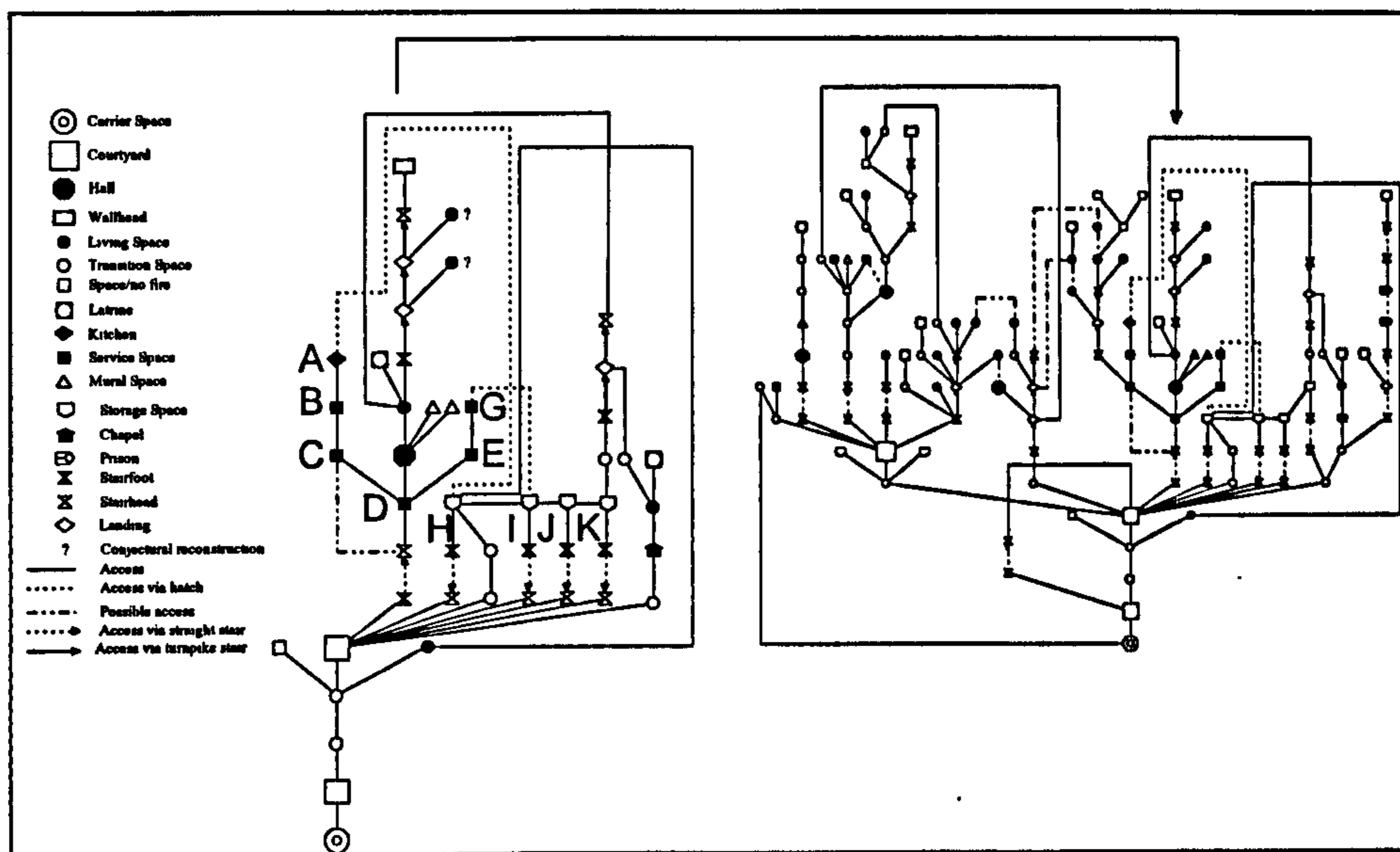


Figure 5-29 labelled access graph of services, showing connections to hall, Dirleton.

the land upon which the cellars and the hall stands (Grove 1995, 27). The land is very uneven and slopes steeply down to the east. The entrance to cellars is at the courtyard level 1.5m higher than the level of the floor of the cellars. To provide an entrance into the cellars from the courtyard level, the cellars had to be built with a high vault. The latter was also required to give the hall its height above the courtyard.

However, on a practical level, it is not the most efficient use of space. The cellars are so high that only a limited volume could be used. Originally, the cellars were subdivided into four separate spaces by partition walls, less than half the height of the vault. These partition walls would perhaps have helped in the storage of foodstuffs. Wine, beer, wheat, oats, meat and other essentials would have been stored in heavy sacks and barrels which could be stacked against the partitions and walls. However, not all the space within the cellars would have been used. There is a maximum height to which heavy sacks and barrels can be stacked before it becomes dangerous and impractical to move them. If the walls were used to retain stored items, the maximum height for storage would have been about two to two and half metres leaving about five metres of the vault unexploited. It would also be difficult to hang goods from the ceiling such as joints and sides of meats. This was done in some castle cellars as can be seen from the large iron hooks which still survive in some castle and towers, such as Greenknowe, (Roxburghshire) and Saltcoats (East Lothian). The solution to the problem of high vaulted cellars was solved in many castles by the inclusion of a wooden mezzanine floor. This divided the vault into two floors allowing a more efficient use of the storage space. However, in

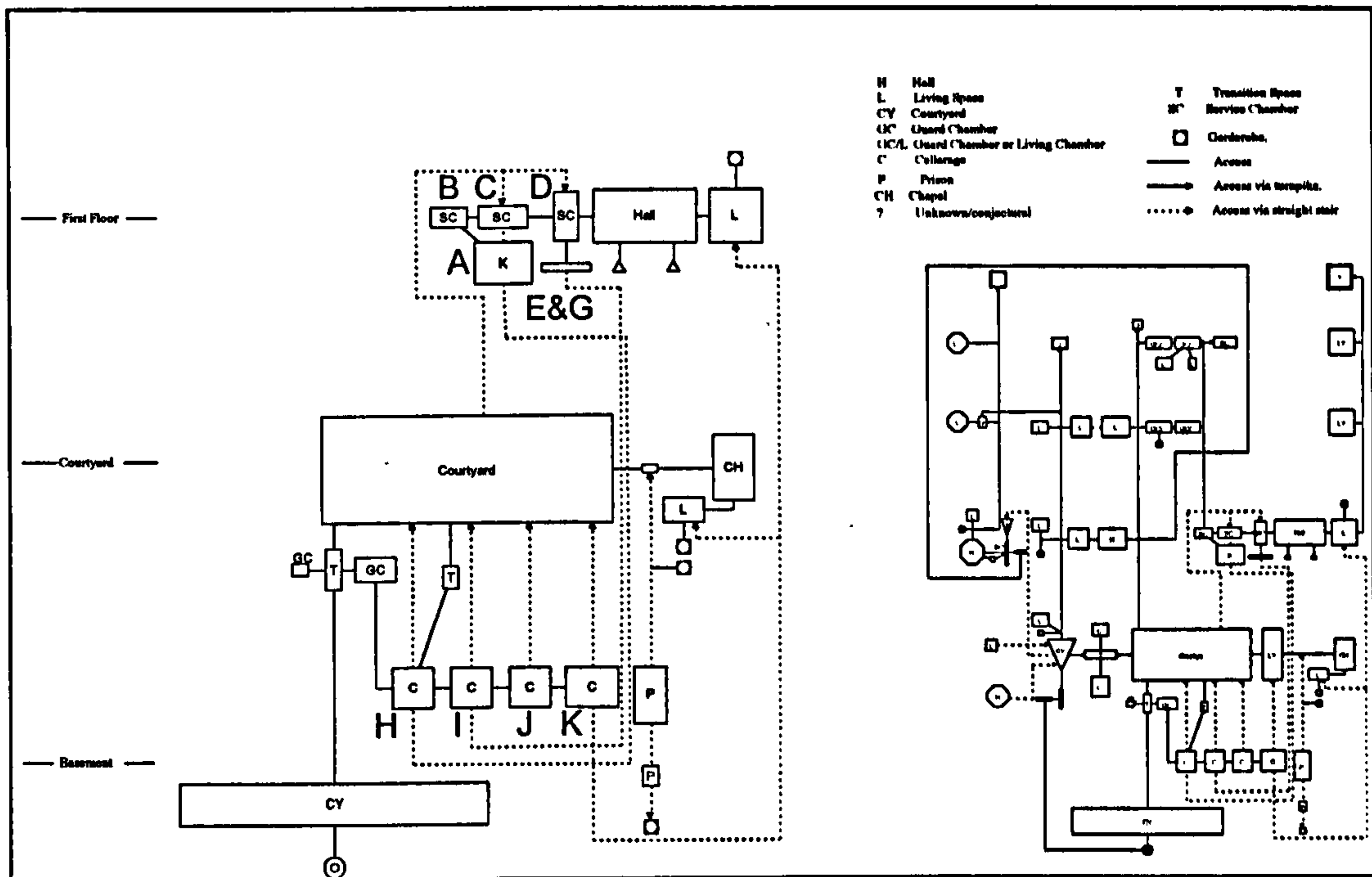


Figure 5-30 Planning diagram of services, Dirleton c.16th century.

Dirleton there is no evidence of a mezzanine floor. The only other way of supporting a floor would have been on the partition walls which would have given just enough height for a person to walk around beneath the floor. However they are too far apart to support a floor.

There is no particular reason why an entresol was not built: in the northern part of the hall complex the vertical space was divided up by several vaults. This suggests that there were other motives behind the building of the vast cavernous cellars. Several factors suggest that the vaults were purposefully designed to create an impressive space, rather than being merely for storage. The half partitions would have allowed the full scale of the space to be appreciated by those viewing the cellars. The cellars are also well lit with numerous windows and doorways providing easy access and giving the cellars a shallow position in the access diagram (plate 3). The vastness of the cellars may have been regarded as an indication of the wealth, power and the hospitality of the lord. In a society where shortage, hunger and even famine were common such an expression of wealth and plenty would have been a powerful symbol of lordship. The windows and numerous doors would allow visitors to glance into the cellars: there is even a window which allows the cellars to be viewed from the chapel. An extremely large and deep window at the opposite end of the cellar would have lit the whole of the space.

Although there were multiple forms of access into the cellars and all inter-communicated, entry was controlled. Four of the main doors of the cellarage still have sockets which would have contained draw bars to secure the doors from the inside. Cellar I has the most intact doorway clearly demonstrating that it had double doors, the inner ones secured from the inside by drawbars while the external doors were secured from the outside. The entrance to the chapel and prison had a similar arrangement and although the other doors to the cellars are less well preserved it seems probable that these too had double doors. To have an outer door as well as an inner door secured by a draw bar in the cellarage could be regarded as rather excessive; the doors had no direct access to the exterior of the castle. However, such strong security may have been a symbol of lordly ownership.

One effect of the double doors is that the separate doors protected by draw bars would have to be secured from the inside. Once the individual cellar doors were closed, there were two routes out of the cellar. The first accesses the southern cellar (H) past the main guard accommodation for the gate. The doorway is badly damaged and it is difficult to ascertain how the door was secured but it is clear that there was no drawbar. The security of this door does not seem to have been left only to locked doors. Surveillance must also have played a role: the doorway is overlooked by the guard chamber. The second route begins in the northern most chamber (K) travelling along a corridor to a staircase that gives access to both the chamber adjacent to the chapel and the lord's chamber above. In this case, access to these important part of the castle must have been controlled. Thus, it appears that the cellars would be locked down, the cellarer either travelling up to the lords apartments, perhaps to hand over the keys, or leaving past via the guard chamber. This may be one reason for the intercommunication between all of the cellars.

However, the cellars may have doubled as servant accommodation making such elaborate locking arrangements superfluous. The cellars are well lit and some were heated. In the southern chamber there was a bakery, which would have kept that part of the cellar warm and in the next chamber a recess with a flue accommodated a brazier. One could suggest that the servants who worked in the bakery slept within it, warmed by the ovens and close enough to attend them. However, it is perhaps more likely that these features represent another side of the cellars: as a place of work. The cellars would have to be kept replenished and would have to be re-organised as stores were used. The cellars may also have had a role in the preparation of food.

The other main service area of the castle was where the food and drink stored in the cellars, were prepared; the kitchen (A). The access graph shows that the cellars of the hall block has numerous means of communication with the upper hall block: these are ringy in nature. These connections does not allow people to move between the two areas using these routes, but rather the intercommunication is through hatchways which would allow stores to be hauled up from the vaults to the kitchen or the servery. It is most likely that goods for immediate consumption, such as wine and bread, would be brought up from the cellars and the bakery to the servery from where they could be dispensed to the hall immediately, while raw goods would be hauled to the kitchen to be prepared. Apart from these specialised forms of access the only internal communication with the upper hall block is via the staircase leading from the cellars to the lord's chamber and the chamber adjacent to the chapel; any other route necessitated going through the main courtyard.

The kitchen of the castle was very large with two massive fireplaces in which the cooking would have taken place (plan 1). The kitchen is well designed with a very high conical shaped roof which today has a sky light at its apex and there is also a large and deep window to provide light. The high roof would have provided an escape for the heat of the kitchen and may have been capped by a louver. This would prevent the worse of the weather from entering the kitchen while allowing heat and smoke out and some additional light in. The louver may also have had a further purpose as described by Alexander Neckham in the 12th century, '*so passers-by might smell the odour and vapour of the kitchen*' (Pounds 1989, 195). As Pounds states '*even smells could be a status symbol*' (1989, 195). The whole kitchen at Dirleton could be seen in this light, its sheer size and height, over ten metres, and the magnitude of the two fireplaces all smack of the conspicuous consumption of food, drink and fuel — and of the large workforce required to produce this.

The service area of the castle was built in association, not only with the hall, but with other rooms. The kitchen appears to have incorporated accommodation for at least some of those employed in this area of the castle. From the planning diagram it can be seen that the service passage staircase gives access to a chamber lying directly above it. Although the chamber is surrounded by service rooms it is unlikely that this space had such a function. The change in floor level, the increased depth and the small fireplace and dry latrine signify a living chamber. However, the position of the chamber above the service passage and adjacent to the kitchen suggests that this was not a prestige chamber. This chamber would be constantly disturbed by the noise and smells from the service area and access from the chamber to the outside would

have been through the service area of the castle. The proximity of this chamber to the kitchen and the other service rooms does suggest some connection between the spaces and it seems probable, therefore, that this room accommodated perhaps the steward, cook or several other members of the kitchen staff.

Other accommodation was created in the kitchen area by roofing over the space which lies to the south of the kitchen and which is accessed from the kitchen by a short flight of broad stairs. It is thought that this area of the castle was at one time a small court which was later roofed in (RCAHMS 1924, 20). It is not clear if this means that the court was open to the sky or just had a very high ceiling with a sky light. If it was the latter the kitchen would have been a very light space with adequate ventilation. Whatever the original arrangement of this space, the court had a ceiling put in, now represented by joist holes, and the space thus created was accessed from the upper portcullis room. This space would have been rather dark and it has no fireplace although it may have been heated by the various flues which run through two walls. It also has a small window at floor level looking into the kitchen. The room was designed to provide more accommodation for the upper portcullis room but the visual link with the kitchen also suggests that it may have accommodated a member of the kitchen staff.

5.8.1 Summary.

The service arrangements within castles are often simply discussed, if discussed at all, in terms of the domestic economy of the castle. As much as the hall, gatehouse and chambers, the service areas were vital in the functioning of the castle as a lordly residence. It could be described as the foundation on which the superstructure of expressions of lordly conspicuous consumption and magnificent munificence rested. Yet the symbolic power of the service areas themselves should not be ignored. At Dirleton the interior of the cellars would have been visible to guests from various places: the courtyard and the chapel. The kitchen would not have been open to view, but the service corridor would have been very visible when they entered the hall. However, the description of the Earl of Huntly showing Mary of Guise the cellars at his castle, suggests that a lord would 'display' such features of his residence to peers. From the exterior the activities of the kitchen would be visible as the smoke issuing forth from the chimneys.

5.9 CHAPELS WITHIN THE CASTLES — THE SACRED VERSUS THE PROFANE

5.9.1 Dirleton.

The space labelled as the chapel — A3 in figure 5-24 & 5-25 — has been identified as such because of the ecclesiastical furniture still in existence; a credence (a shelf for the Eucharistic elements before consecration), a piscina towards the east end of the chapel and a benatura or holy water stoup situated at the western end (RCAHMS 1924, 17). The altar would have been at the eastern end of the room but because of the room's strange shape — necessary to allow access to the spiral stair which rose from the cellar — the altar would not have stood against the wall (plan 1). The chapel space is well lit, with four windows in all; one in the west wall, two in the northern and one in the southern. The latter is an internal window looking into the cellar. The window piercing the west wall and the eastern window in the north wall give special emphasis to the altar. However, the largest window giving the most light is the western window in the north wall.

As a consequence of the identification of this space as a chapel the adjoining room — labelled A2 in figures 5-22 & 5-23 — which contains a fireplace and a latrine is believed to have been the accommodation for the priest (Richardson 1982). It may also have doubled as the sacristy for the chapel, where the priest would have prepared himself before the mass. Such an arrangement is unusual but not unique in Scottish medieval churches. The priest's chamber is deeper in the access diagram than the chapel itself (diagram 5-22). This mirrors churches generally where the sacristy is usually one of the deepest areas in the church (Gilchrist 1989, 60). The chapel space itself is quite shallow within the access graph (diagram 5-22). Until the sixteenth century it was accessed directly from the courtyard via a small intervening lobby. As with the hall, at least part of the chapel was a public space.

However, there are several features in the chapel which do not relate to holy worship; in the north west corner of the chapel there is a fireplace with a seat and a book cupboard above, while the window in the north wall is also supplied with seats. These features appear to be contemporary with the ecclesiastical features, but are out of place in a chapel and are more suggestive of a living space. MacGibbon & Ross suggested that this space was the lord's private suite — obviously ignoring the ecclesiastical fittings — the window into the cellars allowing him to supervise this aspect of domestic economy. It is difficult to explain why these features were included within the chapel space. This incongruity has been ignored by some

commentators who just see the fireplace as a place for members of the castle congregation to warm themselves (Grove 1995, 19). However, the fireplace is tucked away in one corner and is hidden from view from many parts of the room especially the east end where the mass was said. The window seats are in an analogous position: one of the seats looks to the east end but the other looks to the west, away from the altar. It seems unlikely that these seats were designed to accommodate members of the congregation during services. Rather, the arrangements are more reminiscent of a sitting room where the priest could have warmed himself by the fire while reading.

These two functions, religious and domestic, are not mutually exclusive. In a castle the constraints brought about by the needs of defence meant that space was often at a premium. As a result some rooms within castles often had multiple functions: from analogy with royal examples, the use of the chapel for secular business and meetings, is not unknown. A room could have been used as a place of worship and as a living space. At Borthwick, Lochleven (Kinrosshire) and Doune (Stirlingshire), window embrasures in living chambers were used to contain altars, while at Affleck Tower (Angus) a chamber contained within the jamb or wing off of the lord's private chamber served as a small chapel (Tabraham 1997, 82).

However, in most of these cases the chapel was private, probably serving the lord and his family. At Dirleton, the chapel seems to have been specifically designed as a place of worship for a large element of the household. The chamber, although nowhere near as large as the hall, is larger than one would expect from a private chapel for the lord and his family. The door of the chapel is recessed so that people crowding around the door could see in. Further, the window which looked down into the cellar, while it may have allowed borrowed light down into the cellar but it may also have allowed those in the cellar, probably those who worked there, to hear the service (plate 3). It should be noted that the parish church of Gullane and Dirleton was a considerable distance from the castle. As with dining in the hall, the occasions where the household came together to say mass may have created a sense of unity among the castle's occupants.

Although the chapel at Dirleton does contrast with the chapels mentioned above in terms of scale and in the potential size of the congregation it served, it is similar in that it appears that the builders creating the chapel space felt constrained by the castle form. The chapel is not a particularly impressive space; it is not particularly high and the ceiling is a simple barrel vault. Carving and finished stone work is restricted to the ecclesiastical fixtures and fittings and

despite the numerous windows, the space remains dark. The chapel also makes no impact either from the exterior of the castle — it would have been impossible to identify the chapel — or even from the interior — again the visitor would have found it difficult to identify this space from the courtyard, especially since the entrance lobby to the chapel was shared with the prison beneath the chapel.

However, the chapel may not have been undifferentiated in terms of access or spatial segregation. The altar space could have been divided off from the area used for accommodation. This would have created the ubiquitous two cell space of a medieval Christian church. A screen, curtain or hanging could have been arranged east of the two opposed windows to create a sacred space separate from the living area. Both of which would have had their own windows. It is interesting to note that the discordant secular elements within the chapel are at the west end away from the sacred area of the altar. There is no architectural evidence within the castle to suggest such arrangements but screens were essential fittings in all churches at this time to separate the sacred altar space from the profanity of the laity within the nave. Therefore, such an arrangement is not out of place within late medieval Christian worship. One could perhaps go further and suggest that, along with the priest, perhaps only the lord and his family and most important retainers would be allowed to go beyond the curtain into the altar area. This space if it did exist would of course be deeper, in terms of access, than the rest of the chapel.

If such a sacred area was created this would have resultant consequences on movement around this part of the castle. Although movement through this area would not be forbidden it would probably be restricted to certain individuals. The priest staying in the attached chamber would certainly be allowed to move between these areas. The whole of the chapel could be considered the priest's space, perhaps suggesting that the western end of the chamber would have served as a sitting chamber despite the unusual access arrangements through the more sacred east end. As has already been discussed, access could be gained from the upper accommodation — labelled A4, A5, and A6 in figures 5-22 & 5-23 — in the tower rising above the chapel via the stair within the western wall. This would have allowed those in the chambers above, the lord and his family, access to the chapel via the priest's chamber. Other members of the household would have accessed the chapel from the courtyard and some may not even have had access to the chapel, either standing just outside the door or beneath the chapel window in the cellar.

5.9.2 Bothwell.

The chapel at Bothwell — labelled C1 in figures 5-25 & 5-26 — provides a strong contrast to that at Dirleton. Although both spaces have similar access arrangements, the chapel at Bothwell is a far more impressive space and certainly does not have comparable domestic features. As at Dirleton, the size of the chapel and its access arrangements — the western end of the chapel, the nave or space for the laity, is directly accessible from the courtyard via a forestair (figure 5-25) — suggests that it accommodated a considerable section of the household for services. The lord could have easily gained access to the chapel, either from the dais end of the great hall or from the accommodation in the south range. The south east tower also communicated with the altar end of the chapel suggesting that this tower accommodated the clergy (plan 2).

As mentioned earlier the chapel must have been a splendid space and one where space was highly segregated by architectural means. The space consists of three bays each lit by a tall lancet window. The positioning of these window ensures that the chapel would have been filled with light and that it could be clearly identified as such from the exterior of the castle. Internally, the chapel may not have been so obvious as it is sandwiched between the great hall, the curtain wall and the southern range. As with other aspects of the castle, the exterior impact of the chapel was designed to be greater: those within the castle could, after all, view the chapel's interior. The three bays divided up the chapel into ritual and functional spaces. The divisions were accentuated by the stone stellar vaulted ceiling which was supported on clustered corbelled-shafts and would have been as high as the hall roof (Simpson 1982, 27). The vaulted ceiling appears only to have covered the two eastern bays, the more sacred area of the chapel. The westernmost bay contained the entranceway and had the ubiquitous holy-water stoup for those entering the chapel. This bay had an upper gallery — the joist holes survive — probably accessed by a wooden stair (Simpson 1982, 26). This may simply have increased the usable space of the chapel or may have been a gender or socially segregated space for the ladies of the household or for the lord and his lady. It is unfortunate that the access arrangements for this gallery are not clearer but one could posit that the stair rose to the chamber from the south — labelled D1 in figures 5-26 & 5-27 — allowing those within the first floor south range to access the chapel without mixing with those in the main body of the chapel. Such an arrangement is thought to have existed at Linlithgow Palace, where the royal pew was located in an upper gallery, reached from the royal apartments.

The two eastern bays acted as the chancel of the chapel and here ecclesiastical fixtures and fittings still survive: the piscina and sacrament house. Along the southern wall is a stone bench. At the eastern end the bench is raised, forming a sedilla or seats for the officiating clergy. The bench continues down the length of the chapel providing seating for those attending the service. Thus, the clergy's space was well defined by the architecture, as was the lord's position, high above everyone, in his gallery.

5.9.3 Summary.

The chapels at Dirleton and Bothwell provided contrasting impressions. At Dirleton, the chapel is very much an integral part of the accommodation tower both in terms of adjacency and access. This chapel feels as if it was a utilitarian space, a space that was deemed necessary, but came in for little elaboration, apart from a few details. The security of the castle was not jeopardised for the sake of providing a fabulous chapel, nor was the space specifically set aside for worship. Instead a series of compromises were made; the space could be used for a largish congregation, but it was also used as a living space. This space would not have been used as a semi-public meeting place. At Bothwell, the exact opposite was true. The chapel was a dedicated place of worship which would have competed with the great hall in terms of splendour. The windows which pierce the south curtain wall take little account of defence. What makes the magnificence of the chapel all the more surprising is that a decade earlier, in the late fourteenth century Archibald the Grim, lord of Bothwell, established a collegiate church at Bothwell. In 1399 Archibald Grim's daughter was married to the Duke of Rothesay in the church and at Archibald's death his body was interred in the church. About ten years later the decision was taken to build the chapel within the castle. The collegiate chapel would still have continued to function, the clergy praying for the souls of the Douglasses and the inhabitants of the castle buried there. However, the building of the chapel within the castle may reflect a growing isolation of the lord from the locality or, perhaps more likely, the changing nature of religious practice with the lord being increasingly expected to have continual access to his priest and a place of worship. This desire can also be seen at Dirleton, where the upper floors of the tower communicated with the priest's room.

5.10 PRISONS WITHIN CASTLES — THE MOST UNWELCOME GUEST.

5.10.1 Dirleton.

The lower portion of the fifteenth century accommodation tower, below the chapel, is given over to a prison complex made up of two main chambers (labelled A and A1 in figure 5-22 & 5-23). The larger chamber is a heated room, slightly smaller than the chapel, and is lit by two windows. It has access to a latrine on the stair leading to the entrance into the courtyard and to the chapel. Beneath this room is yet another chamber which can only be reached through a hatchway in the floor of the upper chamber. The chamber or pit is partially hewn out of the surrounding rock and is equipped with a latrine at the end of a short flight of stairs and a flue to provide ventilation. It seems certain that this is a space designed to be occupied but the conditions and restrictions on free movement suggest that it was not a space one would voluntarily stay in. It is almost certainly the prison of the castle and the more comfortable chamber above either served as a less severe place of confinement or as the guardroom for the pit below. The former suggestion is probably more likely as the door to the prison would have been locked from the exterior, while the hatchway to the lower prison is rebated for a hatch so it could be locked from the outside. Thus, the prisoners in the pit would be in total isolation. The latrine accessed from the stair also suggests that the upper chamber served as a prison. If the stair had been anything more than an occasional method of putting in or taking out of prisoners, the latrine would not offer the privacy required. However, as a flight of stairs only occasionally used, they would have created distance between the prison and the latrine. The prison is accessed almost directly from the courtyard, although it shares a small lobby with the chapel. As could be expected the prison creates its own branch with no ring or intercommunication with any other part of the castle and with the pit prison and its latrine at the deepest point (figure 5-22). In terms of actual position, the prison is deep within the castle complex. To reach the prison one would have had to travel across the whole length of the courtyard.

In spite of the isolated access arrangements to the prisons, they were structurally a part of the lord's tower. This may have reflect and reinforce the lord's role in justice. At Dirleton the prison complex forms its own branch in the access graph and in terms of access the only important area which the prison is near is the chapel and the priests chamber. In terms of actual position the chapel is directly above the two prison chambers. Thus, the chapel acted as a buffer between the lord's chamber and the prisons. However, one can push the spatial relationship between the chapel and the prisons further. One is tempted to suggest that the

relative position of the chapel above the prison is a spatial allegory of heaven and hell; heaven being the chapel and hell the dark rock cut cell offering little chance of escape. This may be stretching the spatial evidence, yet it is probably not unlikely that the pit was indeed seen as some sort of hell, with hell as the ultimate symbol and reality of wrongdoing and punishment.

5.10.2 Bothwell.

The thirteenth century prison at Bothwell — labelled as B and B1 in figures 5–21 and 5–22 — took a similar form to the fifteenth century prison at Dirleton. It was a double prison with the upper chamber entered from the courtyard and the lower prison entered from a hatch in the courtyard. Both have latrines but neither appear to have been heated. The prison was situated well away from the main gateway, as at Dirleton, but was situated next to the secondary gateway through the southern wall. As access to the prison chambers was directly from the courtyard, prisoners could be brought directly to the prison chamber from the southern chamber without having to cross the main courtyard. Justice was often associated with the gate of the castle and, as a demonstration of justice, the prison was a potent symbol. However, it seems doubtful that the prison and gate were symbolically linked at Bothwell. If such a symbolism did occur, it would be far more powerful if the prison was linked to the main gateway of the castle. Instead the connection between the donjon and the prison tower may have held greater significance, again emphasising the lord's association with justice, while creating spatial segregation between the lord's accommodation and the prison. The prison must have been deemed of primary importance, as it was the only other structure to be completed along with the donjon.

5.10.3 Summary.

The arrangement of double prison — seen both at Dirleton and Bothwell — was not an uncommon feature in Scottish castles and has been interpreted as demonstrating social segregation. In discussing the thirteenth century prison tower at Bothwell, Tabraham states

'we assume that the prison itself was for the freeman in society and the pit for the serf class. Those of noble birth would normally have been held under permanent guard in one of the officials' apartments' (1997, 50)

Thus, the social hierarchy was reflected and reinforced through the different methods of imprisoning wrongdoers. There is certainly some truth in this interpretation. At Blackness Castle, used as a state prison as early as 1449, a central tower provided three apartments in

which mainly political prisoners, such as Cardinal Beaton and Archibald Douglas, sixth Earl of Angus, were incarcerated (MacIvor 1993, 20). Each of the chambers, one on each floor, is provided with a fireplace and a latrine closet. However, in addition to these 'cells' further prison accommodation was found in the stem tower. This took the form of a double prison and perhaps served as the prison for the barony, as distinct from the state prison. The castle still remained the centre of the barony. The prison is very similar to that at Dirleton: the upper prison has a fireplace and a window, while the pit prison below is particularly miserable with no latrine and the added discomfort that it becomes partially flooded with the incoming tide slopping out the chamber (MacIvor 1993, 20). MacIvor explains the arrangement in a similar way to Tabraham, but because the castle was built in the fifteenth century rather than the thirteenth, there is no mention of serfs or freemen, but just the '*lower orders*' (1993, 20).

One wonders how much social division would have been recognised or represented in a rural barony such as Dirleton and Bothwell, particularly after the death of free and unfree status: might a tenant be imprisoned in the upper prison while a sub-tenant or cottar would find himself in the pit prison? Perhaps, as well as social segregation, the double prison may reflect the nature and severity of the crime committed with those in front of the barony court for relatively minor transgressions of the law relating to their agriculture responsibilities, while the lower prison may have been restricted to those involved in serious property crime and crimes against the person.

It is interesting that the double prison as a structure survived from the mid-thirteenth century (Bothwell) to at least the mid-fifteenth century (Dirleton) and castles and towers continued to be built with pit prisons well into the sixteenth century. The social structures which Tabraham suggests created the double prison had of course changed from the thirteenth century to the fifteenth century, yet the double prison continued. The barony court gave the laird or lord the rights of pit and gallows and, as shall be demonstrated this was taken quite literally, with prisons taking the form of pits. The act of throwing someone in a pit was a image of the lord's authority and the pit itself would have been a powerful symbol of wrong doing and of punishment.

5.11 CONCLUSIONS.

Both Dirleton and Bothwell are extremely complex and difficult structures to understand. The access and planning diagrams immediately brings this out, and without these analytical

tools the task of investigating the use of space would have been far harder, and the results less intelligible to the reader.

The most remarkable feature of these castles is the continued occupation of and use of earlier, sometimes ruined, phases of the castle alongside brand new and up to date structures. At Bothwell the situation is more remarkable as later builders appear to have partly followed the foundations of the never completed thirteenth century castle. However, the relationship between the and the later phases of the castle are difficult to interpret.. At Dirleton, it is very possible that the proposed destruction during the Wars of Independence was less than is often suggested, and that the thirteenth century towers remained a functioning residence during the construction of the hall and its tower, and a continuing symbol of lordly power and authority well into the sixteenth, even seventeenth century. Despite the building of the prominent gatehouse and the large rectangular tower attached to the hall, the thirteenth century tower complex remained the most aggressively prominent area of the castle.

At Bothwell, the extant remains influenced the form of the later phases by their very existence, but how they were used and why they were utilised is more difficult to assess. The repairs to the donjon in particular present a very confusing picture. While spectacular, it almost seems perverse to retain the shattered remains of the thirteenth century donjon as such a prominent part of the castle. The repairs to it, although the exterior result is very ugly, are of good workmanship and it is very possible that the original motivation behind the repairs was to reinstate the great donjon as the principal residence of the lord within the castle. Repairing what had been torn asunder in defence of the kingdom would have allowed Archibald Douglas, to exploit all of the powerful symbolism and history of the castle,

The survival of these fragmentary thirteenth century castles and their subsequent re-use has been fortuitous for the discussion of the development of castles in Scotland. At Dirleton, the development of the accommodation is particularly clear. In each case the structures exhibit an incredible complexity of planning. The means by which the thirteenth century tower complex functioned as a series of inter-related ceremonial and living spaces will never be fully understood. However, it is clear that there was a large degree of social segregation within the towers. The fourteenth/fifteenth century tower, with its prisons, chapel, semi-public chambers and private bedchambers, is a magnificent adaptation of the tower house form. Instead of having the various elements of the castle disjointed and scattered around the rock, the opportunity was taken to integrate the structures into one elongated complex. Within this block,

the different aspects of the castle retained an exterior and interior identity. From the exterior the various areas were distinguished by differences in their roof lines: the lord's tower rose high above the hall, as did the high doomed roof of the kitchen, while the gatehouse was identified by its gaping mouth and projecting piers. Internally, the different areas were defined by doorways and changing floor levels. Thus, to reach the lord's chamber from the hall, one had to climb a few steps and then pass through a doorway. To reach the kitchen from the hall, one would have to access the service corridor, while the gatehouse lay at the top of a flight of stairs leading from the same corridor. The general form of the hall block, with the residential tower at one extreme, the kitchen at the other, and with the hall in the middle, is strongly reminiscent of Doune, which was also built at the end of the fourteenth century. However, in contrast to Doune — where the lord's chambers were situated over the gate — the gatehouse at Dirleton is far from the lord's tower. Even where the overall form is similar subtle but important differences can be present. At Doune, the lord's control of the gate would be a powerful reminder that the castle was under his control; to enter was to place yourself in his power. The tower at Dirleton is far more secluded, as far away from the gate as possible. Of the various main building phases, it is ironically the late sixteenth century Ruthven block which presents the least complex and unsophisticated use of space, consisting of little more than a subdivided box. The other feature of this structure, is its lack of an exterior impact. It is very prominent from the courtyard of the castle, but from outside the castle it makes no architectural impact.

At Bothwell, similar trends can also be identified. The earlier accommodation, which again consists of several tower house like structures — the north east tower and the gatehouse — as well as the south east round tower, were all extremely visible, providing a focus in an otherwise blank curtain wall. The south range provided little vertical emphasis to the curtain wall. Instead, it would be identifiable by its many large windows, perhaps creating an impressive visual display at night if the rooms were all lit. However, in spite of the opportunities for such light effects, the southern range was probably designed to be viewed from the interior. As one entered the castle, one would be immediately confronted by this range.

Both Dirleton and Bothwell clearly demonstrate the visual power of the castle as a symbol of lordship. This desire to dominate the surrounding landscape with lofty and massive towers could be said to be of less import in the late sixteenth century, yet the continued occupation of existing sites probably made new expressions of lordship unnecessary.

6. CASE STUDY TWO — TULLIALLAN CASTLE (FIFE) AND MORTON CASTLE (DUMFRIESSHIRE), LATE THIRTEENTH/EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY HALL CASTLES.

Both Tulliallan and Morton Castle have been described as hall houses or hall castles. These terms will be discussed in a later section. However, despite being classed under a single term Tulliallan and Morton are very different structures and would have perhaps been perceived as such by their inhabitants. This will demonstrate that the hall castle as a concept could accommodate a number of structures that, from the exterior, appear to be very different from each other.

6.1 BACKGROUND HISTORIES.

Tulliallan and Morton were both occupied over a period of four centuries, from the late thirteenth/late fourteenth century to the mid-seventeenth century in the case of Tulliallan and the early eighteenth century in the case of Morton. Despite this extensive period of occupation, the history of each castle is not well documented and their dating is uncertain.

6.1.1 Dating.

Tulliallan and Morton are believed to have been built roughly at the same time, although as Tulliallan is a multi-phase structure, some elements are a great deal later in date. Each castle shares many similarities in plan and architectural details such as shoulder-headed lintels and hooded fireplaces. Although it has been widely recognised that the castles are contemporary, the chronological dating of the structures has been far more controversial. The structures were initially dated to the first half of the fifteenth century by MacGibbon and Ross on typological grounds:

'At that period plans with quadrangles were being adopted, and these plans are modifications which combine some of the features newly introduced with those of the ordinary keep plan, so general during the preceding century. They are, in short, intermediate between the two designs of plan (the square keep and the courtyard plan), and in this respect remind us of the plans of Hermitage and Crookston. They have the enlarged keep of the "courtyard plan" without the extended buildings surrounding the courtyard (1887-92 vol. II, 550).

The Royal Commission followed MacGibbon and Ross in their dating of Morton castle, suggesting that the structure was built after the barony of Morton was acquired by James Douglas of Dalkeith in 1440 (RCAHMS 1920, 178; also see Reid 1925, 255-7). When discussing Tulliallan Castle, the authors of the Commission were more cautious, perhaps because there was no clear documentary evidence. Thus, Commission admitted that the initial

building phase is difficult to date and elements of the lower portion of the structure are reminiscent of fourteenth century architecture. However, they concluded that the overall plan of the castle was characteristic of fifteenth century castles. However, they do not state which castles they are using to compare Tulliallan with: it is possible that Rait and Morton, themselves incorrectly dated, were used as dating comparisons (RCAHMS 1933, 275-276). Simpson, likewise, initially dated Morton Castle to the mid-fifteenth century using architectural parallels with the plans of supposedly contemporary castles and on architectural detailing from other buildings. Thus, the doorway providing entry to the first floor hall has similarities with the doorway accessing the fifteenth century hall at Bothwell Castle. The general plan of Morton castle was also thought to be comparable with late fourteenth or early fifteenth century castles. However, in this case Simpson produced his comparisons: Doune (Stirlingshire) and Sanquhar (Dumfriesshire), going as far as suggesting that the same mason was responsible for the work at Sanquhar and Morton. Simpson suggests that these castles presents features which were the result of the appearance of '*bastard feudalism*', where the lord was constantly under threat from his own retainers. As a result the lord felt it necessary to isolate himself and his family from the rest of the household, within a self-contained gatehouse which controlled entry into the castle. This theory has little to commend it, but it provides one explanation for Simpson's placement of Morton in a fifteenth century context. For Simpson the gatehouse is the most important part of this castle and its presence informs his interpretation of the castle's design as well as its date (Simpson 1939, 33-34).

Although many scholars have suggested that the structures were built in the early or mid fifteenth century, the situation is not as transparent as it may first appear. The typology of MacGibbon and Ross is interesting as it compares Tulliallan and Morton with Crookston, Hermitage and Dundonald. Hermitage may be similar to Tulliallan and Morton, but it initially began as an early fourteenth century hall house. As for the similarities with Dundonald and Crookston, MacGibbon & Ross fail to explain the lack of verticality that one find at Tulliallan and Morton in comparison to these structures. The development at Hermitage from a hall house to a tower house may suggest there was a typological link with between these buildings but not as envisaged by MacGibbon & Ross. Simpson's use of Doune and Sanquhar as parallels of course only works for Morton and ignores Morton's similarities with Tulliallan and Rait.

MacGibbon & Ross's typology and the comparisons made by the Royal Commission and by Simpson also ignore or dismiss documentary and architectural anomalies that suggest that the structures are earlier than first suggested. There is mention of a castle at Tulliallan in 1304 when Edward I ordered Sir William Bisset to strengthen the walls of 'Tolyalwyn.' This early fourteenth century account has always been considered as a reference to an earlier castle on the site (Dunbar, no date). However, some of the architectural details in the castle recall English

work of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. In 1402, the barony passed from the Douglasses who themselves had acquired the barony in the 1330s, into the hands of Sir John Edmonstone of that Ilk. In 1410 the castle is specifically mentioned again when the lands of Tulliallan with the '*forslete of that Ilk*' were granted to Sir John Edmonstone by Archibald, Earl of Douglas (RCAHMS 1933, 279). It would seem certain then that the castle existed before 1410, and perhaps was built as much as a century earlier.

There are also early references to Morton Castle. The castle or site of the castle is linked to the Gallowegian Dunegal, Lord of Nithsdale, who may have had a stronghold on the site in the twelfth century (MacGibbon and Ross 1887-92 vol. II, 550). The present castle does not date from this period, but the site may have had long associations with lordship, perhaps even pre-Norman lordship. Through marriage, the barony came into possession of Sir Thomas Randolph, Bruce's nephew. The documents of this period mention the manor of Morton but not a castle on the site¹. However, by 1357 such a structure did exist. In the treaty that saw the release of David II from English captivity, a condition was the destruction of a number of castles in Nithsdale, including Morton Castle (Simpson 1939, 28: Forduni Scotichronicon, BK XIV, chap 18). This charter has led scholars to believe that the present castle could not possibly date to the early fourteenth century. However, the mention of demolition does not preclude the survival of an early fourteenth structure. The demolition of a castle was a difficult task involving considerable effort and often only certain parts of the castle were destroyed. This may have been what happened at Morton. The western tower of the gatehouse has been razed to its foundations, while the outer half of the eastern corner tower has been demolished, in a similar fashion to the great donjon at Bothwell² (plate 21). Although it was reported in 1794 that '*a great deal of the stones have been carried away at different times, to build houses and dykes in the neighbourhood*' (Old. Stat. Acc. 1794 Vol. X, 151), it is possible that the much of the destruction that we see today dates from the slighting of the castle in 1357. It maybe significant that the ruined areas both reduced the castle's defensibility and were very visible, suggesting a purposeful destruction. Furthermore, the charter which granted the barony of Morton to James Douglas of Dalkeith in 1440 states that the grant included '*the barony of Morton with the castle thereof.*' This suggests that the present castle was not built by the Douglasses as proposed by the Royal Commission (Simpson 1939, 28). Simpson suggests that the mention of a castle in the charter may be '*a piece of fossil legal phraseology, referring to the waste site of the older fortalice, destroyed in 1357*' (1939, 28). However, as Simpson was to later accept, the

¹ In 1307, Thomas Paynel petitioned Edward I to grant him 'le manoir de Morton en vall de Nith'; later there is a claim by Gilbert Latimer to part of 'Morton q. Feust a Mons. Thomas Randolf' (Simpson 1939, 28).

² The destruction to Coull castle is strikingly similar to Morton, with one half of the gatehouse completely destroyed and the towers of the castle rendered indefensible by pulling down the exterior projection.

architectural evidence suggests that the early fourteenth century castle was not destroyed and the 1440 charter refers to the present structure.

Throughout the descriptions of both Tulliallan and Morton, the various commentators noted that elements in the architecture suggested an early fourteenth century date. Simpson goes so far in his description of Morton castle as to suggest that the jambs of the hooded fireplaces were so Edwardian in style, that they may have been re-used from an older building; by implication the castle destroyed in 1357 (1939, 31). It has already been noted that the Royal Commission recognised that elements of the architecture at Tulliallan resembled fourteenth century work. MacGibbon and Ross also pointed out that a hooded fireplace in a ground floor chamber at Tulliallan shows '*a character so decided Early English as at first sight to lead one to imagine that the building belonged to the thirteenth century*' but goes on to state that '*when the other mouldings of the vaulting are examined, and when the other features of the castle are compared with similar buildings in Scotland, it becomes clear that Tulliallan must be classes with Morton and Rait Castles as belonging to the fifteenth century*' (1887-92 vol. I, 554). Other architectural evidence which suggests a late thirteenth or early fourteenth century date is the existence of shouldered headed lintels at both castles. Also known as Caernarfon arches due to Edward I's extensive use of this style of lintel in his Welsh castles, they are unusual in a Scottish context. Their use in these castles perhaps points to English workmanship, as do the moulded lamp-brackets flanking the ground floor fireplace at Tulliallan (plate 16). Similar lamp-brackets are found at Rait Castle. It may be no coincidence that all three castles appear to have been in the hands of supporters of Edward I's occupation of Scotland in the early fourteenth century.

Thus, despite a considerable amount of architectural and documentary evidence for an early date for both buildings, this was initially largely ignored by scholars. However, from the 1960s the interpretation of hall houses have been subject to considerable revision and the evidence which always existed for an early fourteenth century date has now been recognised (Simpson 1959, 10-4; Cruden 1960, 91-99), although some authorities still suggest that Morton Castle was built post-1350 (Stell 1982, 73).³ Thus, Morton and Tulliallan are both likely to be early fourteenth century castles, although Tulliallan has undergone a number of major alterations throughout its history. As early fourteenth century castles, Tulliallan and Morton are important structures to our understanding of the development of the castle in Scotland.

³ In relation to Morton Castle, Stell states that '*the closest regional and social parallels for its layout and details suggest a balance of probabilities weighted in favour of a post-1350 date*' (1984, 73). Yet Stell does not set out his evidence for such a suggestions merely mentioning that '*the results of this most recent architectural and historical enquiry will be set out in detail in a forthcoming issue of these Transactions*'.

6.1.2 Later History.

At Morton if the destruction of the western gatetower and the eastern corner tower relates to the slighting of the castle in 1357, it would appear that the structure was not rebuilt but continued to operate as a place of strength without these visual foci and obvious symbols of lordship. In 1440 James Douglas, Lord of Dalkeith resigned the barony and in turn received a new crown infefment to hold the land as a regality (Ramage 1876, 78). Sixteen years later it reported that Robert Dalzeil of that Ilk presented himself at the outer gates of Morton Castle to receive a sassine for a portion of land⁴ (Ramage 1876, 7). The barony of Morton remained in the ownership of Douglasses of Dalkeith, earls of Morton, with a few breaks, until 1680. However, after the turn of the sixteenth century they took little interest in the barony which was far from their estates and residences of Dalkeith and Aberdour. They leased it whole to the Douglasses of Drumlanrig, a powerful local family. The barony and castle appear to have been of secondary importance to the Douglasses of Drumlanrig. It never acted as the primary residence of the family, and in 1554 Patrick Douglas, son of Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig, received, as part of a marriage contract, a tack for the Mains of Morton, the lands of Quhitfailed, and a lease for the castle of Morton, where he was to live with his wife and retinue. Despite being subleased the castle remained the centre of the barony. Patrick served as baillie, its senior judicial official, officiating over the barony court when the lord was not in attendance. It is noticeable that the Mains farm of the castle had remained under the direct control of the occupier of the castle.

In 1588 the castle was burned by James VI during a campaign against Lord Maxwell who had acquired title for the castle when the Regent Morton had been deposed and executed. However, it is possible that the castle was still occupied by the Douglasses of Drumlanrig, long time supporters of Lord Maxwell (RCAHMS 1920, xxvi-xxvii). Thus, although the castle may have been slighted more than two centuries earlier, it remained a powerful enough symbol to be almost ceremonially destroyed. The following year Morton, along with Caerlaverock, Threave and Mearns were taken into royal control (Simpson 1939, 29). The castle appears to have soon reverted to the Douglasses of Dalkeith and the damage done in 1588 does not appear to have been serious. At some point in the castle's history a cottage or a house was built inside the walls of the castle — the roof line can still be identified — and it may be tempting to suggest that it dates from this period, after the castle had been fired by the crown. However, such a

⁴ The mention of the outer gates of the castle does bring into question the theory that the damage which is visible today dates from the slighting of the castle in 1357. Simpson reports that he was informed that there existed a seventeenth century silver bowl, owned by the Morton family, is engraved with a view of Morton Castle showing the gatehouse at its full height. Unfortunately, Simpson was not able to trace the bowl (Simpson 1939, 32). The slighting of the castle could have been even less severe than first thought, although the areas that have been destroyed do suggested a purposeful destruction, rather than simple stone robbing.

development seems unlikely as the Douglasses of Drumlanrig remained in possession of the castle in the seventeenth century. In 1607 the daughter-in-law of Patrick, made her will, '*done at the castle of Mortoun*' (Ramage 1876, 60). In 1653 a sasine was recorded which infest William Douglas of Morton,

'as heir to his said father in the £5 land commonly called the Mains of Mortoun, comprehending the castle, tower, fortalice, manor place, houses, yards and pertinents, the lands called the maynes, the lands called Quhytfauld, the lands called Peithill, with houses, yards, woods, pasturage, and pertinants in the barony of Mortoun ... with power to cast and win peits and other fuels in the moors and common ... the loands are held in feu for £20 yearly only and the duties of personal service and with thirlage to the mill of the barony of Mortoun' (Ramage 1876, 141).

Thus, it appears as late as the mid-seventeenth century that the castle with its associated lands still functioned as an estate and remained as a manor place.

The later history of Tulliallan is rather more uneventful but structurally it underwent considerable alteration to its fabric. The main alterations appear to have taken place in the late fifteenth century when the barony came into the possession of Sir Patrick Blackadder, through his wife. To an extent this may have been a case of a new proprietor stamping his identity upon the structure and the wider barony. However, prior to this the building appears to have changed little for almost two centuries, the alterations may have been simply an updating of the accommodation, reflecting changing social priorities. The alterations continued throughout the sixteenth century and it remained as the principal house of the Blackadders until the early seventeenth century, when due to financial difficulties it was sold to Sir George Bruce of Carnock. After this it gradually fell into disuse.

6.2 GEOGRAPHIC AND TOPOGRAPHIC SETTINGS.

6.2.1 Tulliallan Castle.

The hall house is situated on the north bank of the Forth, a mile or so, north west of Kincardine and the Kincardine bridge. Although now in Fife, traditionally the parish and barony of Tulliallan, which were coterminous, belonged to Perthshire. The area was fertile, but the financial basis of the barony did not only rely upon agricultural production. A large proportion of its income was generated from coal-mines, salt-pans and fisheries situated along the Forth. The Forth would also have acted as a corridor for communication bringing Edinburgh, Stirling and much of the Fife and East Lothian coast within easy reach of Tulliallan. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, nearby Kincardine was the site of a ferry, and it may have been so in the medieval period.

The hall-house would have functioned as the estate centre of the barony and had judicial functions. As late as 1619 it was reported that a man was imprisoned, and starved to death, in the pit of Tulliallan (RCAHMS 1933, 279). A village of Tulliallan existed in the seventeenth century but the growth of Kincardine has obliterated any trace of the settlement. Place-names cannot be traced as the nineteenth century estate within the locality took the name of Tulliallan, and the name was widely used throughout the estate. The medieval church serving the parish has been swept away and was replaced by a church built c.1675, half a mile to the south west of the castle and close to Kincardine which by that time had attained burgh status (Pryde 1965, 72). On the site of the old medieval church now stands a family mausoleum surrounded by the remnants of a graveyard. Among the seventeenth century funerary monuments in the graveyard is a hogback stone (c. eleventh century) suggesting that a church existed long before the castle was built. This is confirmed by the relative positions of the church and the castle which are over a mile apart. Thus, the castle and church were not built together to create a settlement plan of castle, church and village. It seems likely that the village of Tulliallan originally grew around the church, rather than the castle, the latter remaining isolated even today from Kincardine (see plate 15).

The land on which the hall house stands is extremely low lying, situated upon the flood plain of the Forth: the land continues to be rather marshy. In the medieval period the Forth may have been considerably closer to the castle and the land surrounding the structure even more marshy. This would have leant greater protection to the castle. The hall house itself is built on top of a small outcrop of rock, although nowhere is it more than three metres in height (RCAHMS 1933, 275). This provides a stable platform for the foundations of the hall house and also slightly raises the structure above the low lying flood plain making it more visible (plate 15).

Surrounding the hall house is a D-shaped enclosure surrounded by inner ditch, which is on average thirty feet in breadth, and an outer bank. This enclosure was entered from the south west through a narrow entrance corridor. The enclosure appears to have been strengthened by the construction of a strong stone wall along the inner rim of the ditch, a fragment of which can be identified in the south west corner. It is tempting to suggest that this wall was the result of Edward I's request for strengthening the walls of Tulliallan, but there is no evidence to support or deny this. Uneven ground in the north-east corner of the enclosure may conceal the foundations of an outbuilding. Near by within the ditch, a fragment of masonry may represent a drain, perhaps suggesting that the outbuilding was a kitchen, brewery or laundry.

6.2.2 Morton Castle.

The site of Morton Castle is very different from any of those studied so far. It is quite an unusual site for a castle, for the site chosen does not increase the castle's visibility in the landscape, and is actually overlooked by hills. Stell describes Morton as having a '*lurking quality*' (1985, 197). Yet the visual backdrop to the castle is impressive and the landscape may have been manipulated to create a certain aesthetic (plate 18).

The castle stands isolated within the bleak hills and moorland of upper Nithsdale, a considerable distance to the east of the Nith valley. This valley was a busy north south route, a corridor linking Ayrshire to Dumfriesshire and the Solway Firth. When climbing the valley side and crossing the high moor the castle only appears at the last moment: it is not visible from the valley. Nearing the castle, one first passes a farm called Mains Farm. The place-name and its appearance in the documentary sources confirms this site, or a site close by, was the Mains or home farm of the castle. This was kept under control of the occupier of the castle and would have supplied it with a large proportion of the grain and meat required to sustain the household.

The castle is approached from the north by a wide well worn path (plate 20). Travelling along this path one only captures glimpses of the upper reaches of the castle until one reaches the crest of the low eminence which overlooks the castle (plate 19&21). From this point the whole castle is open to view below the onlooker. The path continues down the hill, and one can make out the traces of a ditch in front of the castle. The path appears to cross the ditch and enter a outer courtyard. Thus, there appears almost a processional route to the castle, designed to create the greatest possible access (plate 19, 20 & 21).

The castle is situated on a triangular spur projecting out into a small loch. The east and west sides are lapped by the waters of the loch, while the main frontage of the castle is built facing the landward (south) side, thus isolating the spur from the mainland (plate 18). This southern side had further protection from a bank and ditch again isolating the spur. The spur slopes steeply down towards the loch, and although the main frontage of the castle lies along the break of slope, the castle gives the impression of sloping down towards the loch. The topography of the site accentuates one aspect of the castle's frontage: the gatehouse (plate 20). The gatehouse provides frontal mass to the castle, with the other elements of the structure remains much less obvious to the viewer as they slope down to the loch side. The initial impact generated by Morton has therefore been very closely controlled.

The loch that provides the castle's immediate backdrop appears to be an artificial feature: it is created from a small river valley which at some point has been dammed. The Reverend Peter

Rae, Minister of Kirkconnell, describing the parish of Morton in the early eighteenth century, noted that the local burns and streams were controlled and dammed to feed the loch for the defence of the castle (Adams 1875, 15). Simpson in his description of the castle is more cautious when commenting on the relationship between the castle and the loch, and notes that even without the loch, the spur remains a strong site on which to build a castle (Simpson 1939, 26-27). Simpson appears rather dismissive of Rae's description of the water defences. However, as the castle had remained habitable into the late seventeenth century, it seems likely that the loch did exist in conjunction with the castle. Even if the loch existed before the building of the castle, it must have been maintained to stop it silting up or to prevent the dam collapsing. Thus, although one cannot be sure of the nature of relationship between loch and castle, it seems certain that some relationship did exist.

If the loch did come into existence when the castle was built, it would appear to have been an aesthetic decision. As Simpson states, due to the steeply sloping sides of the spur there was little need to flood the river valley to protect the northern approach to the castle (1939, 27). The dam is not close enough to the castle to fall under its protection, and would have been vulnerable to attack during a serious siege. It could have been easily breached, thus denying the castle its water defence. However, defence may not have been the main motivation behind the creation or maintenance of the loch. Rather, the loch may have provided an appropriately impressive and dramatic landscape in which to place the castle. From the hills above the castle, where a deer park was established in the early fourteenth century (Macfarlane 1906-8 vol III, 208), the lord, his guests and attendants would have been able to view the castle against the watery backdrop of the loch (plate 21).

In contrast with Tulliallan, the barony of Morton was isolated and poor. The Reverend Rae states that the parish of Morton consisted of moorland and moss from which the inhabitants of the parish gathered peat. Rae also states that the moor provided good grazing for cattle and sheep, and that the townships each had a '*good sprinkling of corn*' (Rae, quoted in Adams 1875, 17). Thus, the barony was a typical upland estate with a number of townships practising mixed farming, probably with an emphasis upon livestock production. If Morton was indeed a middling upland rural barony relying, the existence of a castle on the scale and quality of Morton is all the more surprising. This again perhaps suggests that the castle was indeed built in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century by a figure such as Sir Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, Lord of Annadale and Nithsdale, who had extensive local connections and land holdings in the south west, rather than James Douglas of Dalkeith to whom Morton must have been an distant barony. For Sir Thomas Randolph it may have been a necessity to have an appropriate architectural symbol of his authority within the region. However, for James Douglas and his successors the castle may have only been an occasional residence, perhaps used it as a hunting

lodge and a local judicial centre. By the sixteenth century it had become so marginal to the Douglasses of Dalkeith that they leased it to the Douglasses of Drumlanrig. This may also explain why the damage done when the castle was slighted was never repaired. After this, the subsequent owners of the structure no longer had a special interest in the barony or the castle, apart from as an occasional residence for themselves and perhaps a permanent residence for their baillie.

In addition to the agricultural produce of the mains farm and the rents in kind from the barony, the household's diet would have been supplemented by game taken from the deer park. The deer park was a visible symbol of the lord's control over resources and land and his ability to restrict movement through the landscape. As has already been discussed, clustered around the castle were a number of other symbols of the lord's authority. Some of these related to control over resources such as the deer park, the mains farm and the mill, others reflected control over people and place-names such as Gallowflatts, Hangingshaw and Judgement Thorn provide ample evidence of the lord's judicial power. The above mentioned sites are all found in proximity to the castle and would doubtless have provide additional visual reminders of the lord's judicial role.

The other focus for the barony was the church. At Morton this probably pre-dated the castle, and stood on the south western edge of Morton Moor. In the early eighteenth century this was described as the most populous part of the parish, and was a mile away from the castle (Rae, quoted in Adams 1875, 20). It would appear that as with Bothwell and Tulliallan, Morton Castle was sited some distance from the main centre of population within the barony.

6.2.3 Summary.

Tulliallan and Morton present us with two hall castles situated in very different rural baronies. Tulliallan, although a small barony, was wealthy with its income derived from mining and salt panning as well as agricultural produce. The historical evidence suggests that with the Blackadders Tulliallan became the family's principal residence. Morton appears a very different type of barony. For income the barony relied upon the agricultural rents and dues produced from upland mixed farming. In the favourable climatic conditions of the late thirteenth century, more of the hill land around the barony may have been suitable for arable farming. However, as the climate worsened in the fourteenth century and with the effects of the Black Death, much of the hill land in the barony must have become marginal. Thus, the barony throughout much of the medieval period was probably not very wealthy. This is reflected by the fact that it was held by a series of families, was leased by the Douglasses of Dalkeith and then was subleased by the Douglasses of Drumlanrig to a younger son.

6.3 THE USE OF SPACE IN TULLIALLAN AND MORTON.

6.3.1 The concept of the Hall Castle.

Tulliallan and Morton stand out against the ubiquity of curtain wall castles and tower houses. Both have been labelled hall houses or hall castles, and when described by MacGibbon & Ross — alongside Rait Castle — they were treated as a special and unusual group showing affinity only with each other. However, more recent scholarship has demonstrated that the hall house was a far more common type of early castle than was recognised (Cruden 1960, 91-99). The past invisibility of the hall castle as a form is partly due to the rebuilding or conversion of hall castles, creating the more recognisable tower house, as at Craigie, Lochranza, Alloa, Aberdour, Loch-an-Eilean, Hermitage and to a lesser extent Tulliallan (Apted 1996, 4, 16; Bryce 1991, 15; Cruden 1960, 91-99). The fragmentary remains at Borhem, Portincross, Hestan and perhaps a grass covered structure on St Abbs Head have only recently been identified as hall castles (Bryce 1991, 17; Cruden 1960, 93; Yeoman 1995, 96-7). Other hall castles appear to have been ignored because they are situated in remote places such as Aros on Mull, which as it was within the lordship of the Isles was deemed to be outside the mainstream of Scottish architectural development.

The main feature of a hall house is of course the hall, and as a result the structure is elongated, longer than it is tall. Bryce has drawn up a number of criteria for a hall house.

'(i) an undercroft or ground floor chamber, usually unvaulted and lit by small windows. (ii) a hall occupying most if not all the first floor, generally with an open roof space. (iii) an undercroft and hall provided with separate entries, in 'early' examples the latter reached by a ladder and equipped by a drawbar. (iv) additional tower(s) to provide a private chamber(s) or defensive gateway' (Bryce 1991, 13).

Bryce believes that a hall house should have several of these features although a structure does not have to have all to be a hall house. A similar list of features is given by McNeill for Irish hall houses:

'interior dimensions ... all approach proportions of 2:1 of length to breadth. [Most] have first-floor doorways, marked by the presence on the outside of two large beam holes below the door jambs, to support a timber platform reached by an external timber stair. This links with two other features. The first is that the windows of the first floor are always clearly larger ... than this of the ground floor. None of the buildings have a stone division of the first floor: although a timber division might have existed, it does seem as though was are dealing with a single room, a hall. If we compare the buildings with the later tower-houses, there is a contrast between them and towers, which have lesser rooms

on most floors ... The most obvious difference between them and the tower-house lies in the presence of a vault ... it is usually absent among the halls' (1997, 149)

Essentially the most important of these criteria is the second one, the provision of a large first floor hall. One should perhaps also add what a hall house is not: it is not a tower: the main block of the building is usually only two storeys high, maintaining the proportions of the hall house as being longer than it is tall.

Bryce goes on to explain what he believes to be the functional difference between a hall house and a castle:

'the function of a hall house was to provide a large chamber with lightly defended walls: a fortified residence like its more elaborate cousin, the castle, but one where the role of dwelling place was always paramount' (1991, 13).

One can perhaps query this functional difference between the hall house and the castle. The hall house should be recognised as a type of castle — as is clear by the term 'hall castle' used by Tabraham — possessing many similar functions (Tabraham 1997, 55).

The recognition of the hall castle as a particular type distinct from curtain wall castles or tower houses is an important development in Scottish castle studies although it remains a controversial one. However, Stell has continued to suggest that the separate hall house classification, and the dating of these buildings to the late thirteenth century or late fourteenth century, maybe unwarranted (1981, 23-4; 1985, 203). Stell's argument against the separate classification of the hall house or castle is based on three points. The first is that the hall was a prevalent feature in medieval castle building: free standing halls can be found at curtain wall castles such as Bothwell and Kildrummy. Other structures, in particular Crookston Castle (Renfrewshire) and Dundonald Castle (Ayrshire), have been classed as tower houses but are dominated by their halls. At Dundonald, the structure consists of two superimposed halls over an unvaulted undercroft. Stell makes the point that *'the distinction between a hall and a tower is a fine matter of degree, if not wholly imperceptible'* (1985, 203). The second part of his argument is that although some of the structures described as hall houses pre-date 1350, a structure which exhibits the characteristics of a hall house is not necessarily a pre-1350 building, again pointing to Dundonald (late fourteenth century) Crookston (late fourteenth or early fifteenth century), and Finlaggan (Islay)(fourteenth century)(1985, 23-4). Finally, Stell also makes the point that the contrast between military towers and domestic hall castles, as made by Bryce, is too simplistic and that at the fifteenth century tower at Mauchline one finds a tower built seemingly for purely domestic purposes (1981, 24).

Stell's arguments have to be taken on board. In particular one has to accept that the hall castle form is not a fool proof diagnostic for a pre-1350 building and that one cannot push the

domestic or non-domestic contrast to far. The definition of hall castle can be difficult. An example is Coull Castle (Aberdeenshire). This castle consists of an independent gatehouse, a large hall with two attached towers and a large independent tower, all connected by curtain walls (Simpson 1933). This castle has much in common with Morton, but it has been classed as a courtyard or curtain wall castle. Thus, despite using terms such as curtain wall castles, hall houses and tower houses, it is recognised that it is difficult to place many castles in a particular classification. However, one also cannot ignore that with the recognition of the hall house/castle form we are recognising a form that is different from either a curtain wall castle, a courtyard castle or a towerhouse. MacNeill, noting the difference in proportions between the hall house and tower-house remarks that *'although "the distinction between a hall and a tower is a fine matter of degree, if not wholly imperceptible" it is a distinction which we must explore'* (1997, 149, in response to Stell 1985, 203). The distinction is indeed important but unfortunately he merely notes the differences between the two forms rather than exploring why these may be of significance. A long low building is perceived differently from a narrow tall building. A long low hall house blends into the landscape (plate 21), while the tower stands apart from the landscape. Approaching a low building is also far less intimidating than peering up at a tower; a tower is closed up, distance is created by the height of the building. In contrast hall castles tend to feel more open, with numerous windows and often with several entrances. The elongated nature of the hall castle allowed a hall that was a far more suitable size for communal occasions than the cramped and dark spaces one finds in many tower houses (plate 16). In the tower house, the tower form constrains the individual spaces especially the hall, and the hall becomes subsumed into a grander plan of accommodation and defence. In the hall house, the dominance of the hall creates a certain purity of design, where the whole building acts as a structure to support the hall. In the hall house, the hall is easily identified from the exterior, but in the tower house it becomes sandwiched between cellarage and accommodation.

That there was a perceived difference between the hall house and the tower house identified in the medieval period is demonstrated by the large number of hall castles that were extensively rebuilt as tower houses. This change has also been identified in the border counties of England, and points to the militarisation of border society after the Wars of Independence (Dixon 1992, 105-7). This is not to say that the tower house was a predominantly military structure or that its function as a dwelling was of less importance than in a hall house. The tower house retained the hall as the main social space but contained it within a structure that presented a more explicit militaristic persona. These structures may have been a more obvious expression of the lord's authority over his patrimony. Thus, the tower house in the fourteenth century gradually became the dominant architectural form for lordly accommodation and a potent symbol of lordship. Structures such as Dundonald and Crookston may have been a compromise or a hybrid between the hall castle and the tower house. They retained the

elongated form of the hall house that allowed for a large communal hall within the structure. However, they also built upwards to provide extra accommodation and to add a sense of height. It is at this time that the latter was becoming so important in the building grammar of the Scottish elite.

6.3.2 Summary.

The recognition of a separate hall house/castle form prevalent, although not exclusively so, in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, is an important development in Scottish castle studies for a number of reasons. Firstly, the hall castle fills a gap in our knowledge of castles which predate the Wars of Independence. Large thirteenth century curtain wall castles such as Bothwell, Dirleton, Kildrummy, Caerlaverock, Inverlochy (Invernesshire) and Rothesay (Bute), were the exception rather than the rule. Castle building on such a scale was restricted to a royal and baronial elite. However, below this elite there was a large number of middling barons and lesser land holders who still needed to demonstrate their authority and social position through their residences, but who did not have the resources to construct a castle on the scale of Bothwell. The residences of lesser barons and lairds would have taken several forms: motte and bailey castles, such as Rattray (Aberdeenshire), ring works, moated homesteads and hall houses/castles (Tabraham 1997, 51-55).

Both Tabraham and McNeill describe hall house/castles as lesser castles (Tabraham 1997, 51; McNeill 1997, 149). Strictly this may be true but the workmanship and scale of hall houses such as Morton, Tulliallan and Rait, illustrates that the hall house was seen as an appropriate architectural form demonstrating lordship even for a figure such as Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray, lord of Annandale and Nithsdale. Even some of the more basic hall houses such as Skipness, were still considerable buildings due to the fact they were constructed in stone. The recognition of the hall castle is also important as it demonstrates the extensive cross border links that existed before the Wars of Independence, with hall houses found in the northern counties of England and in Ireland. The seeming decline of the hall house after the Wars of Independence with many converted into tower houses and the general growth in popularity of the tower house, demonstrates one reaction to the Wars of Independence. The grammar of Scottish and Northern English baronial building now followed divergent paths with the militarisation of society and the overt use of military symbolism to reinforce lordship. In the south, the courtyard castle became prevalent, in the north a new emphasis was placed on the tower form (Dixon & Lott 1993, 96).

6.4 INTRODUCING THE SPATIAL DIAGRAMS OF TULLIALLAN CASTLE AND MORTON CASTLE.

Tulliallan and Morton are both classed as hall houses/hall castles. However, as shown on plan and in the spatial diagrams, the two structures appear very different from each other (plans 3&4) and figures 6-1, 6-2, 6-3 and 6-4). Partly this is due to the considerable rebuilding of Tulliallan in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that altered the spatial organisation of the structure and moved the structure away from the original hall house concept. In contrast Morton remained remarkably unchanged. However, even as initially planned, the structures still present a number of contrasts to each other. As first built both would have fulfilled the basic criteria of a hall house. The main block of both structures was two storeys high with the first floor taken up by a large hall. At Morton more private accommodation was contained within the gatehouse and south tower, while at Tulliallan two jambs projecting from the northern elevation of the main block, may have served a similar function. However, both have elements which are unusual for a hall castle. At Tulliallan the ground floor is ceiled with an elaborate vault and communication between the floors is via turnpike staircases (plan 3 & plate 17). At Morton, the most spectacular feature is its gatehouse (plan 4 & plate 21), which despite an inclusion in Bryce's criteria, is extremely unusual within the context of hall castles. If the gatehouse had been detached from the hall block, one wonders if it may have been called a curtain wall castle rather than a hall house. The gatehouse at Morton creates the greatest contrast with Tulliallan. In investigating Tulliallan and Morton one could say that we are in effect looking at a hall house in Tulliallan and a hall castle in Morton.

6.4.1 Tulliallan — a hall house.

The exact building sequence at Tulliallan is confused by rebuilding and by the fact that many of the changes were extremely minor. Figures 6-1 & 6-2 presents a reconstruction of the access arrangements and the form of spaces within Tulliallan, representing the initial phase of use (see also diagram 5&6). The earliest form of the structure was a two storeyed building, with two short wings projecting from the northern elevation of the main block. These wings may not have been part of the original plan of the castle: the original concept of Tulliallan may have been a simple rectangle with two semi-hexagonal projections from the south west and north west angles, containing turnpikes (RCAHMS 1933, 276). The ground floor was divided into two unequally sized chambers — labelled A & B in figures 6-1 & 6-2 — each with an stunning rib vaulted ceiling supported by three pillars. This vault creates three bays creating rooms of the proportions 2:1. The upper floor, reached by either staircase may have contained a single space: the hall — labelled A1 in figure 6-1 & 6-2.

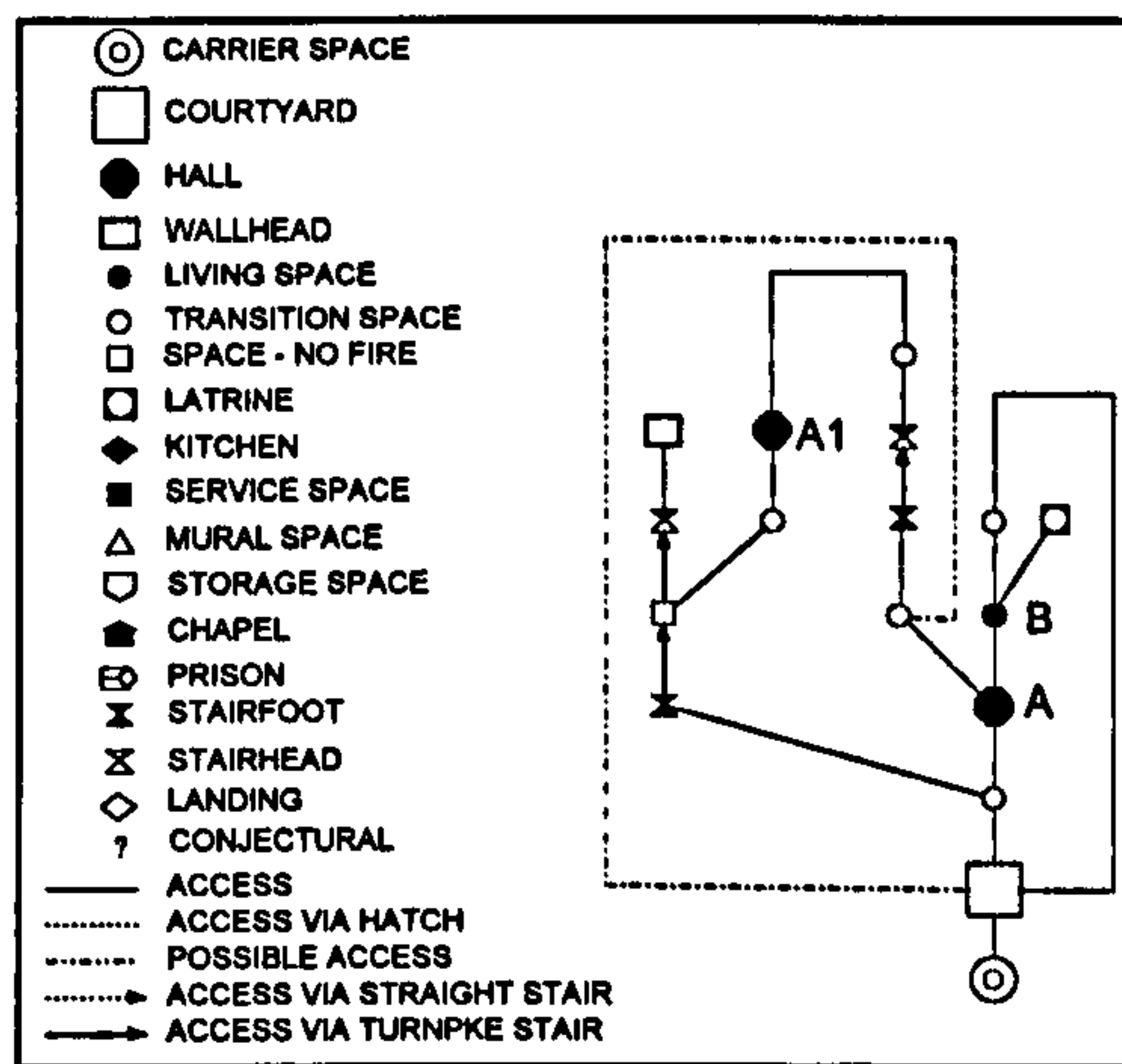


Figure 6-1 Access diagram, Tulliallan c. late 13th/early 14th century.

The spatial diagrams for the initial phase of the hall house immediately demonstrates the simplicity of the original plan, emphasising the importance of the hall and the purity of the hall house concept. The whole structure gives the impression of being built just to accommodate the hall. Also immediately noticeable is the high degree of circulation around the building created by the numerous ground floor entrances. This shall be discussed in more depth later, but it is one of the principle reasons why one could describe the structure as a hall house rather than a hall castle. It creates a very domestic feel to the structure. The access graph is not particularly tree-like but rather gives the appearance of a series of large rings, demonstrating that there were a number of routes around the castle. This is unusual for a castle: a limited number of routes thus adding to a sense of security and privacy.

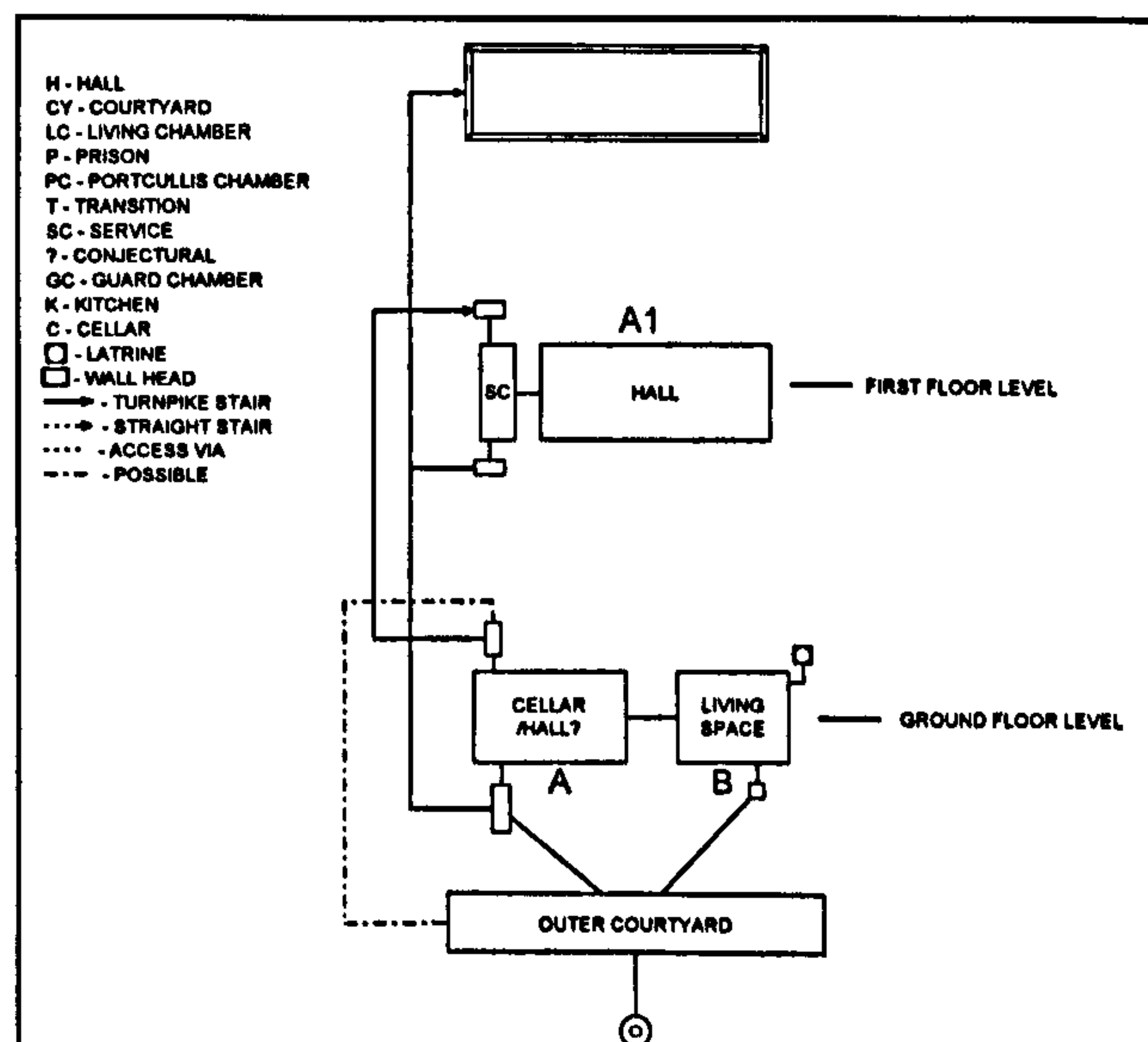


Figure 6-2 Planning diagram, Tulliallan c. 13th/early 14th century.

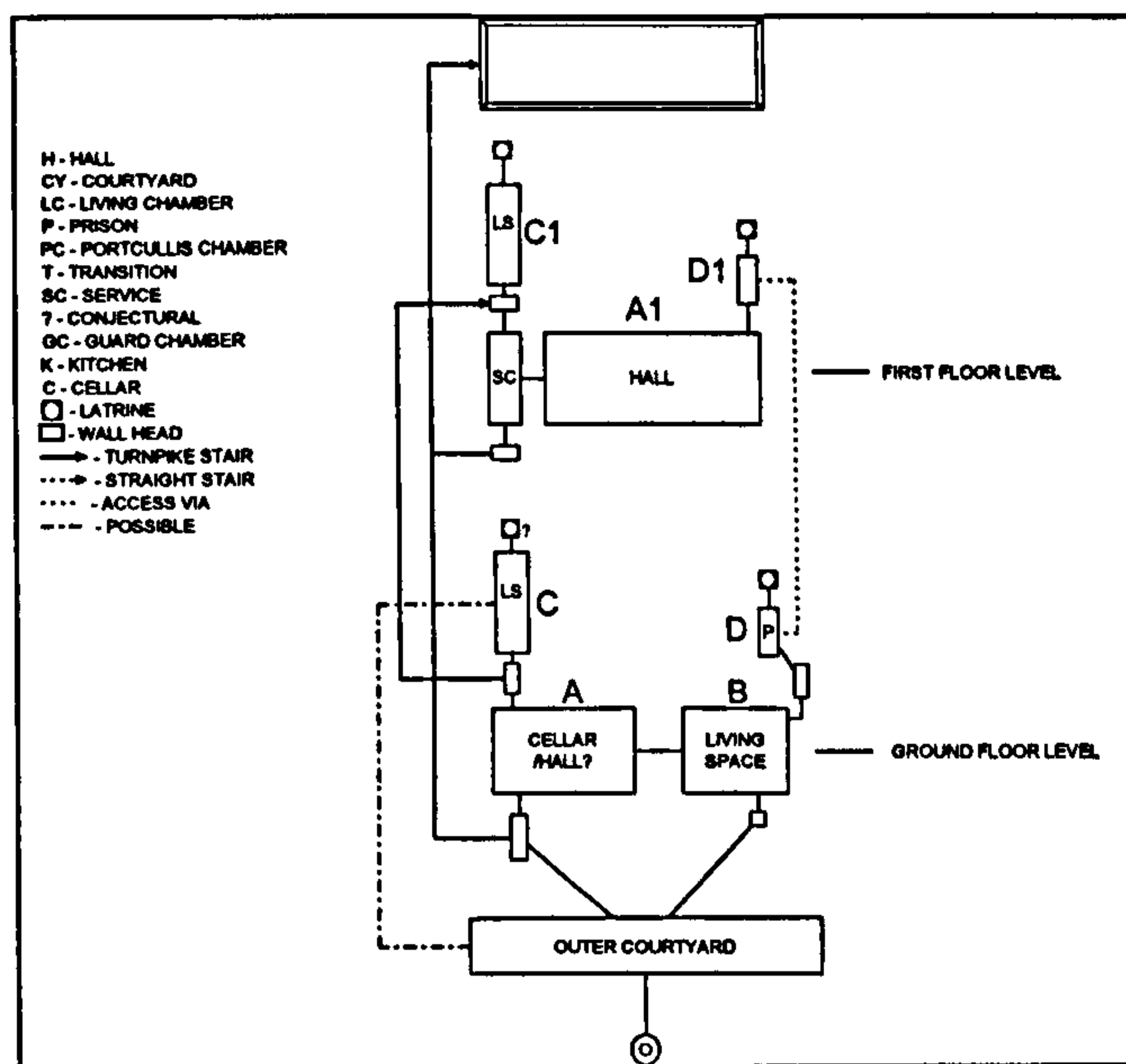


Figure 6-3 Planning diagram, Tulliallan with first additions, early 14th century.

The addition of the wings — labelled C, C1, D, & D1 in figures 6-3 & 6-4 — detracted from the simplicity of the original plan, but may have been deemed necessary to provide additional accommodation (diagrams 5&6). The addition of the wings to the back or northern facade of the hall house meant that they did not interfere with the southern facade and therefore the main approach to the hall house. The wings do not appear to have altered the access arrangements: the western wing (C) has a ground floor entrance, which in its present form, has

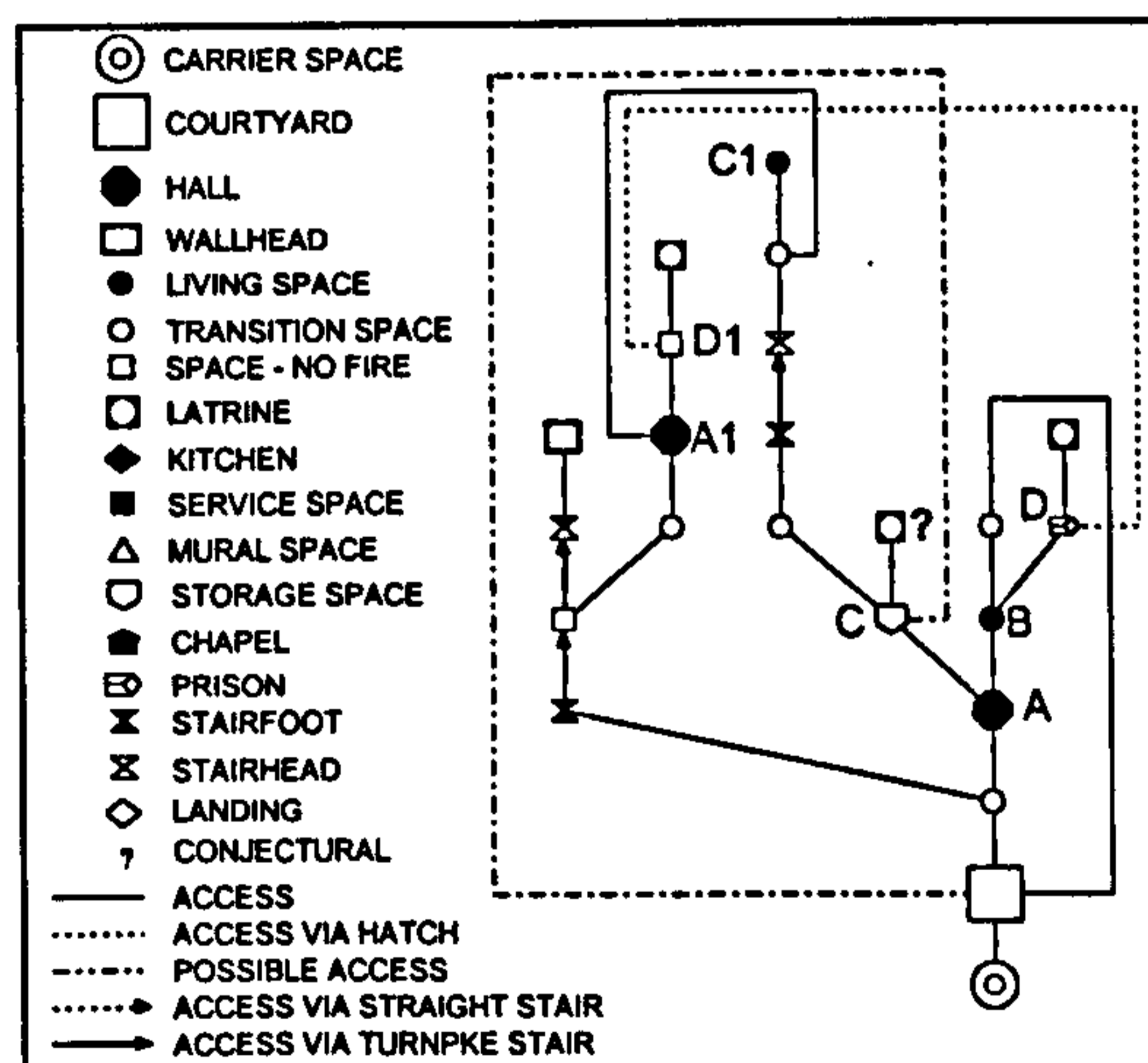


Figure 6-4 Access graph, Tulliallan with first additions, early 14th century.

the appearance of being modern but for reasons that will be discussed later, it is possible that there was always an exterior threshold at this point. As a consequence, the access arrangements

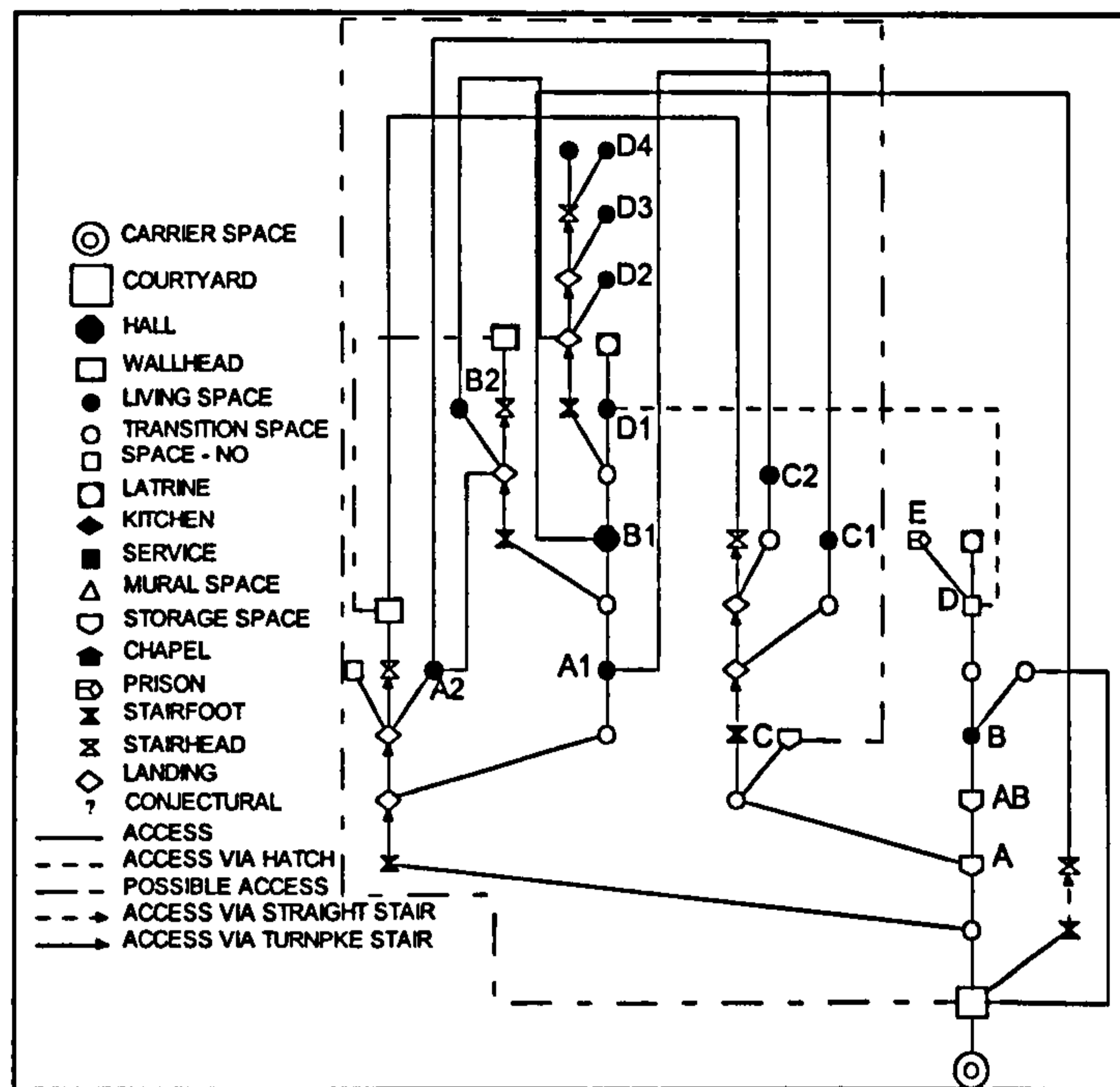


Figure 6-5 Access graph, Tulliallan c. late 16th century

would continue to give a number of choices to the actor moving around the structure: the access graph continues to be ringy.

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the coming of the Blackadders saw the greatest changes to the structure. The hall house was heightened creating new accommodation and altering the spatial layout of the structure. This is immediately discernible in the spatial diagrams. If one compares the access diagrams for the various phases — see figures 6-1, 6-3 & 6-5 — the structure becomes suddenly complex and confusing in the fifteenth or sixteenth century. The nature of the access diagram has changed in other ways: it has far more tree-like elements but there was still a degree of choice as shown by the large number of rings in the graph (diagram 5). Comparing the planning diagrams — figure 6-2, 6-4 & 6-6 and diagram 6 — clearly the structure underwent a transformation: one is struck by the degree to which each floor had become subdivided, resulting, in particular, in a much smaller hall — labelled B1 in figure 6-6. The full implications of these internal changes will be addressed when we discuss the hall in more detail.

One is also impressed by how tower-like the planning diagram — see figure 6-2, 6-4 & 6-6 and diagram 6 — becomes for the fifteenth and sixteenth century structure. This is mainly the result of adding an extra floor to the main block of the hall house but other changes to the exterior detailing of the castle would have accentuated this effect. Although an additional floor had been built, the roof level for this upper floor was not uniform, with a smaller, higher, western portion, and a longer, lower, eastern portion. The treatment of the wall head also

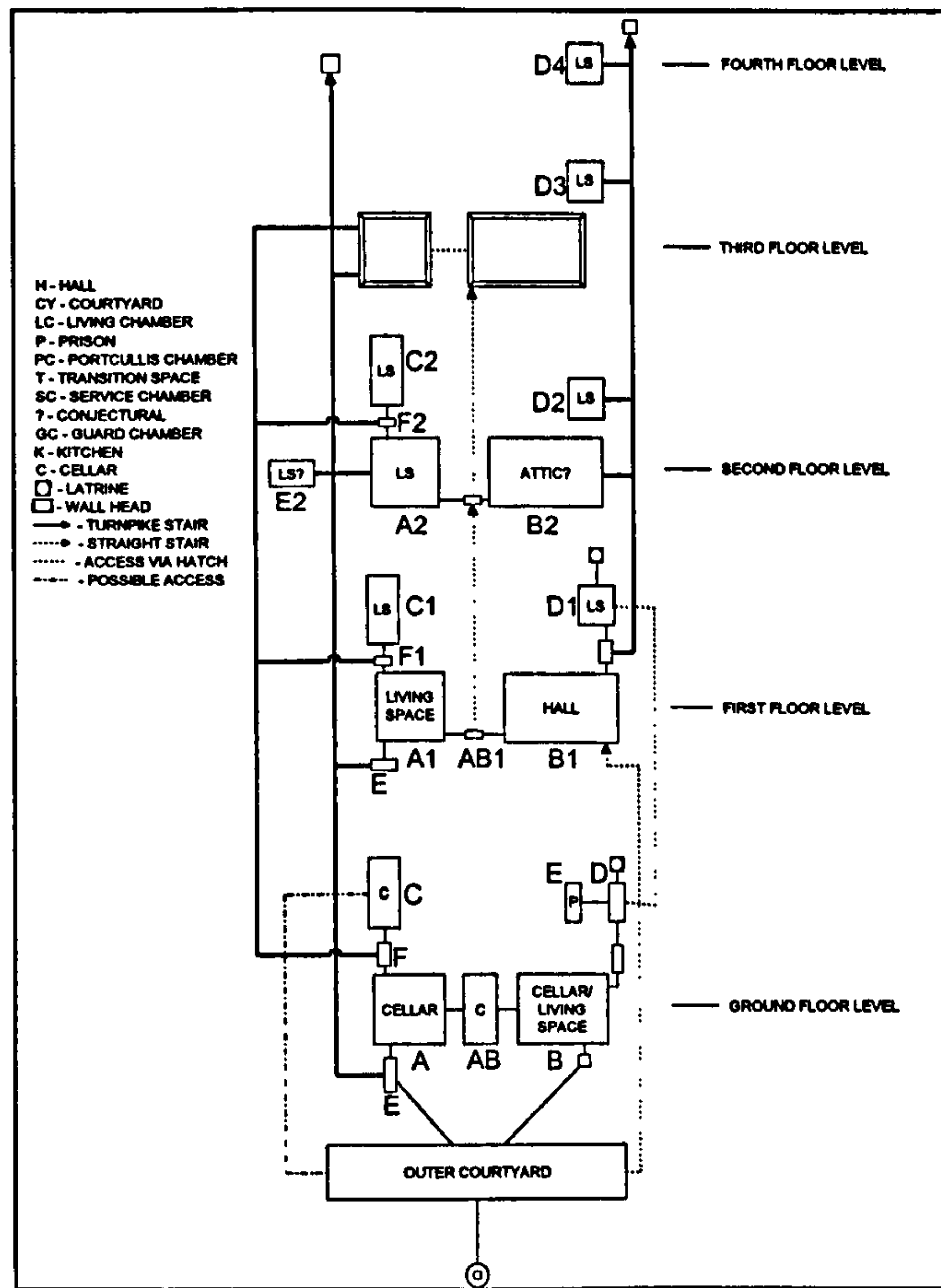


Figure 6-6 Planning diagram, Tulliallan c. late 16th century

appears to have been different with the western section having bold corbelling suggesting an open stone machicolation while the eastern section merely has a corbelled wall walk. The profile would have helped create a building which looked like an elongated tower house or an integrated hall and tower block (plate 16). This was a form popular in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, as seen at the palace block at Huntly Castle (Aberdeenshire), Melgund Castle (Angus) and Carnasserie Castle (Argyll). Thus, as well as increasing accommodation within the structure the Blackadders may have wished to give their residence a more up-to-date appearance. The structure was no-longer a hall house: its purpose was not to provide a suitably impressive structure containing a large first floor hall. This transformation into an elongated tower house form was easily.

6.4.2 Morton — a hall castle.

Morton Castle is a single phase structure. Its lack of structural development may be due to the slighting of the castle in 1357 and the subsequent marginality of the barony (diagrams 7&8). The original form and spatial layout of the castle is uncertain because of demolition and

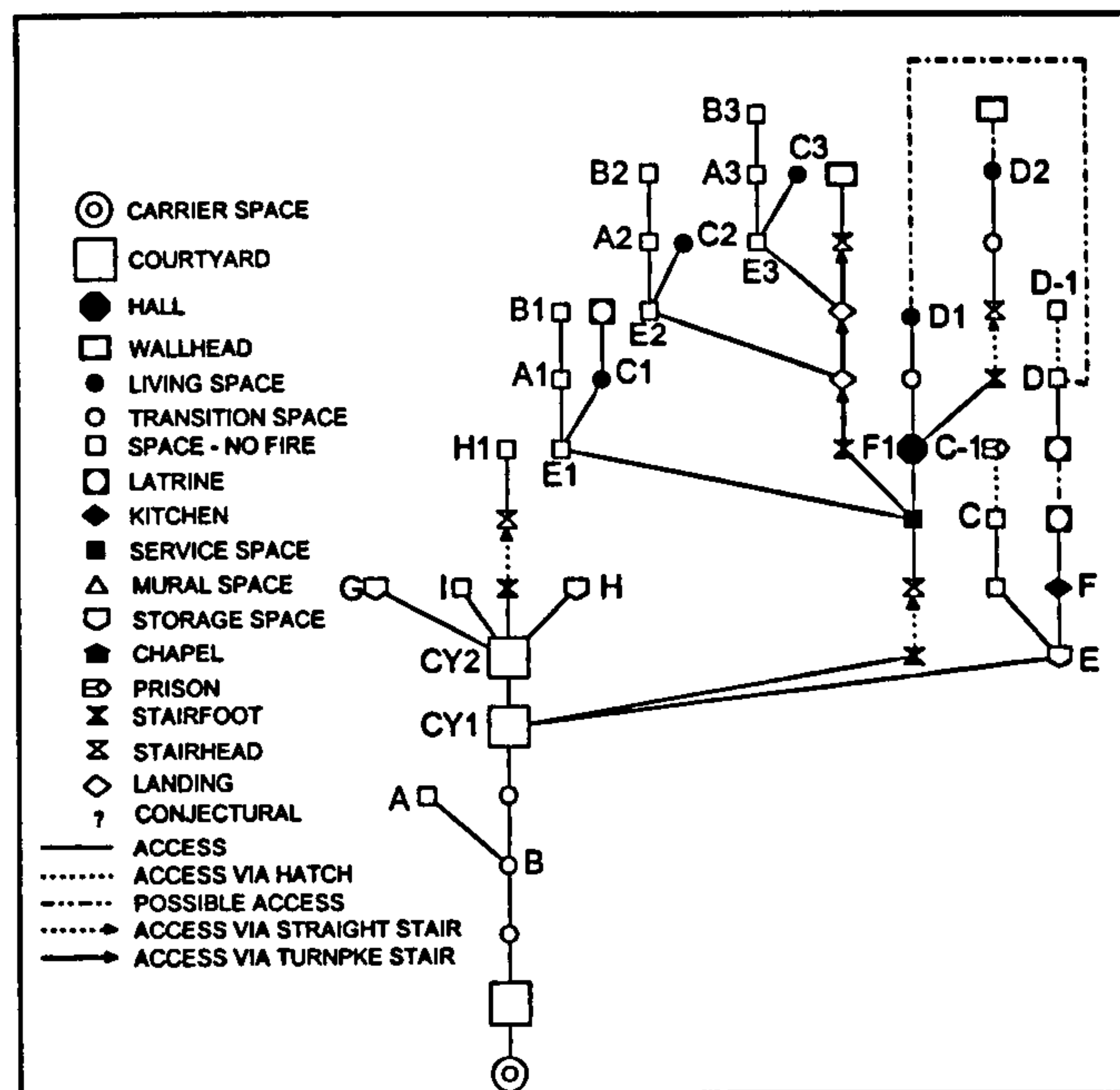


Figure 6-7 Access graph, Morton late 13th/ early 14th century.

ruination (plate 21&22). In broad terms, the structure consists of a two storeyed hall block, with a tall gatehouse integrated into the western end and a round tower projecting from the south east angle of the block (see plan 4). The gate house has been extensively destroyed, only the foundation of the western D-shaped tower — labelled A, A1, A2 and A3 in figures 6-7 & 6-8 — survive. As a consequence the reconstruction of the gatehouse is very conjectural, as is the reconstruction of the south east angle tower — labelled D-1, D, D1 and D2 in figures 6-7 & 6-8 (plan 4). The hall block forms one side of a triangle, with the other two sides make up a curtain wall which almost completely encloses the spur projecting into the loch. The curtain wall is now almost completely ruined but its foundations and the possible foundations of a small round tower — labelled I — at its northern apex can be identified from aerial photographs (plate 18). The curtain wall would have created a triangular courtyard, which appears to have been divided into two unequal parts by a cross wall effectively creating two courtyards — labelled CY1 & CY2. Abutting the northern wall of the main block are two lean-to structures. Both are completely destroyed but the scars, joist holes and roof lines in the masonry of the hall block demonstrate that the western lean-to was a single storey structure — labelled G — and the eastern chamber was two storeyed structure — labelled H & H1 (plate 22).

One of the most interesting features of the spatial diagrams for Morton is that the access graph is totally without any rings (see figure 6-7 & diagram 7). Thus, one has no choice of route to reach particular spaces. This may reflect several factors. Firstly the lack of rings may be illusionary, the result of an incorrect interpretation and reconstruction of the standing fabric. However, other reconstructions would probably create a more branched diagram rather than one that had more rings, that is the spaces would be more controlled. Secondly, it may reflect the

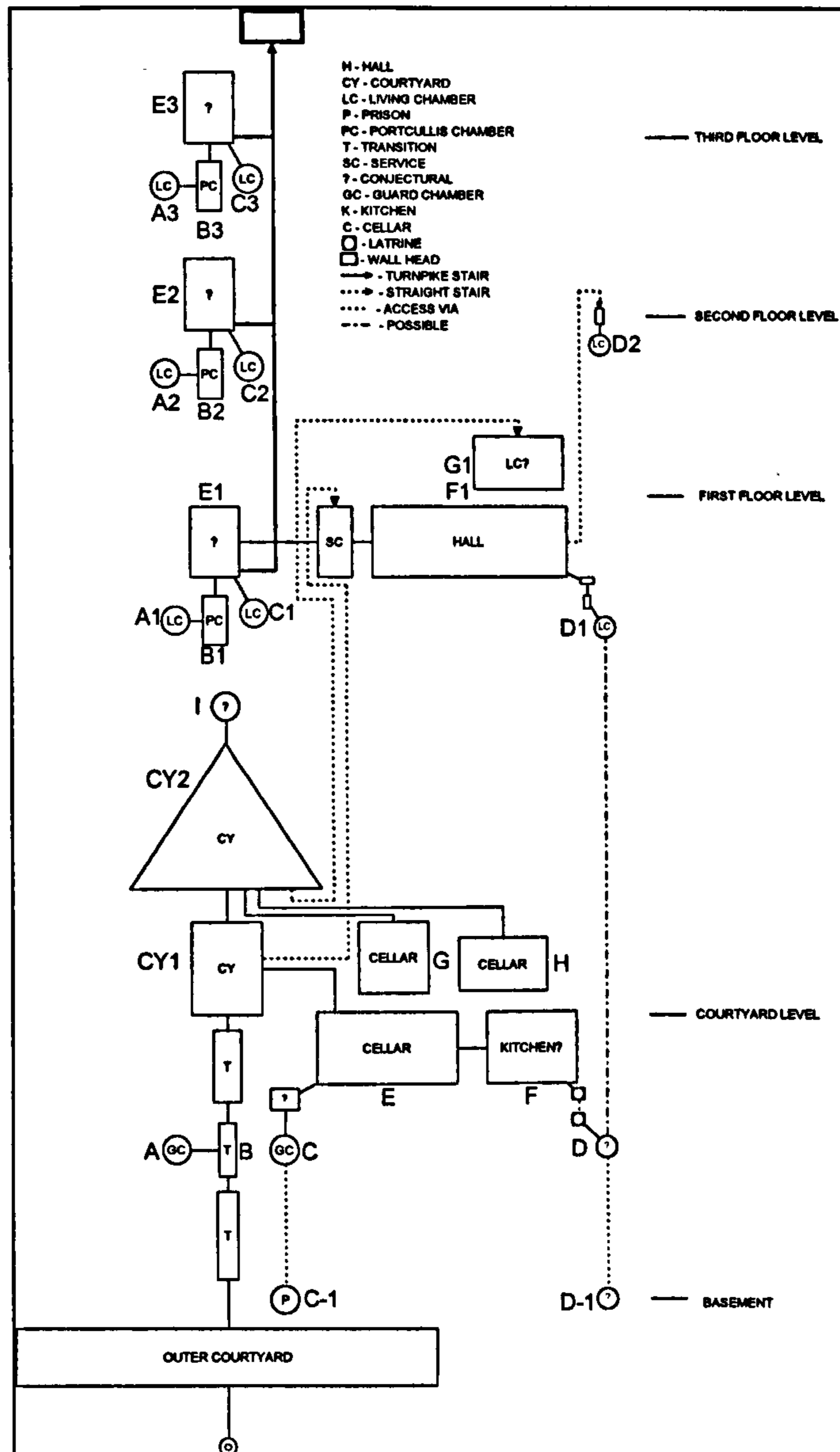


Figure 6-8 Planning diagram, Morton c. late 13th/early 14th century.

fact that the castle was not rebuilt or altered. At Bothwell, Dirleton and Tulliallan many of the rings in the access graphs were created when new ranges, towers, or chambers were added to the castles. Morton presents the original conception of the late thirteenth century castle builder. Thirdly, it demonstrates that at Morton, unlike Tulliallan, there was a greater emphasis on control of movement in the castle. As stated earlier, this may reflect a greater emphasis on defence at Morton, but also perhaps a greater need for privacy and for controlled social interaction. That on defensive concerns might have been paramount at Morton is emphasised by the impressive gatehouse, the single entrance to the complex and the controlling nature of access in and around the castle. Thus, one should perhaps consider Morton to be at the hall castle end of the hall house/castle continuum.

Also apparent from the spatial diagrams, and partly responsible for the branched nature of the access graph — see figure 6–7 — is the importance of the courtyards within the castle as a transitional spaces, a space where one could access a variety of different spaces; the trunk from which a multitude of branches sprouted (diagrams 7&8). As stated earlier the courtyard appears to have been divided into an inner (CY1) and an outer courtyard (CY2). From each of these courtyards, several spaces can be reached. The ground floor chambers — labelled E & F in figures 6–7 & 6–8 — and the first floor chambers — labelled F1 etc. — of the main block could be reached separately from the inner smaller courtyard. The two lean-to structures (G, H, H1) and the possible corner tower (I) were reached from the outer courtyard. The manner in which the courtyards are used as transition spaces is of course very similar to the great curtain wall castles of Bothwell and Dirleton, and is very unlike Tulliallan. At the latter there was indeed a courtyard, but this was just a space in which the structure was situated encircled by its outer defences. Theoretically one could reach all the different spaces within the hall house at Tulliallan without using the courtyard. This was not the case at Morton. In this respect Tulliallan is more like a free standing tower house than a curtain wall castle although it is of course possible, and indeed likely, that there were other free standing buildings within its courtyard.

6.4.3 Summary.

Thus, the general impressions one receives from the spatial diagrams is that Tulliallan is self-contained, but with a relatively open internal structure in which the individual had a large degree of choice in terms of movement. At Morton one finds the exact opposite the complex of spaces are linked by the courtyards and space is controlled: there are few choices to be made once within the structure. The differences between these two examples demonstrate that even within a classification created by scholars on the basis of structural similarities there is the immense potential for variability: castles are not simple buildings to understand. The distinctions identified through comparison of the spatial diagrams for Tulliallan and Morton may reflect a chronological difference: Morton appears to fit more comfortably into the world of the pre-1296 large curtain wall castles, where as Tulliallan fits more comfortably into the early fourteenth century and the transition to the tower house. This contrast of course is accentuated through time as Tulliallan was altered and became more like a tower house. However, the contrast maybe more of a reflection of differing perceptions of the need for defensive attributes and security. Thus, at Morton, movement is controlled both thorough the spatial layout and visually through the impressive gatehouse.

6.5 ENTRY TO THE CASTLE.

The contrast between the two structures, which has been summarised for convenience as the contrast between a hall house and a hall castle, between a lightly fortified manor house and a structure which presents itself as being far more aggressive, will be a central component to the discussion of the two castles. As has been alluded to, the visual form of the entry to the structures is the most immediate, most important, method by which the builder and patron communicated their intended message. The architecture of the threshold can reinforce or expose the lie of this message presented by the exterior view of the gatehouse.

6.5.1 Tulliallan Castle — a house of many doors.

The main entry to Tulliallan is visually impressive, although not anywhere comparable in scale to Morton. The main entrance to the hall house — labelled A in figure 6-9 & 6-10 — was contained within a semi-octagonal jamb projecting slightly from the south west angle (plan 3 & plate 16). This jamb thickens the wall for the entrance. This thickening is needed for several reasons. The entrance is protected by a drawbridge, a portcullis, and a doorway secured by a drawbar. The projecting jamb was required to give room for these doors before one moved into a small lobby, in reality the same space, giving access to the main staircase. The jamb also allowed a small first floor chamber — labelled E in figures 6-9 & 6-10 — from which the drawbridge and portcullis could be worked (plan 3). As can be seen from figures 6-9 & 6-10 this chamber is reached simply by climbing the main stair accessible directly from the main hall. It should also be noted that the entrance does not include any guard or porters chamber. Again, access appears quite free and unsupervised. This of course may be an illusion and the now demolished outer defences may have provided all the security and screening that was deemed necessary. However, one would expect the hall house, the focus of the castle, to have been a restricted space.

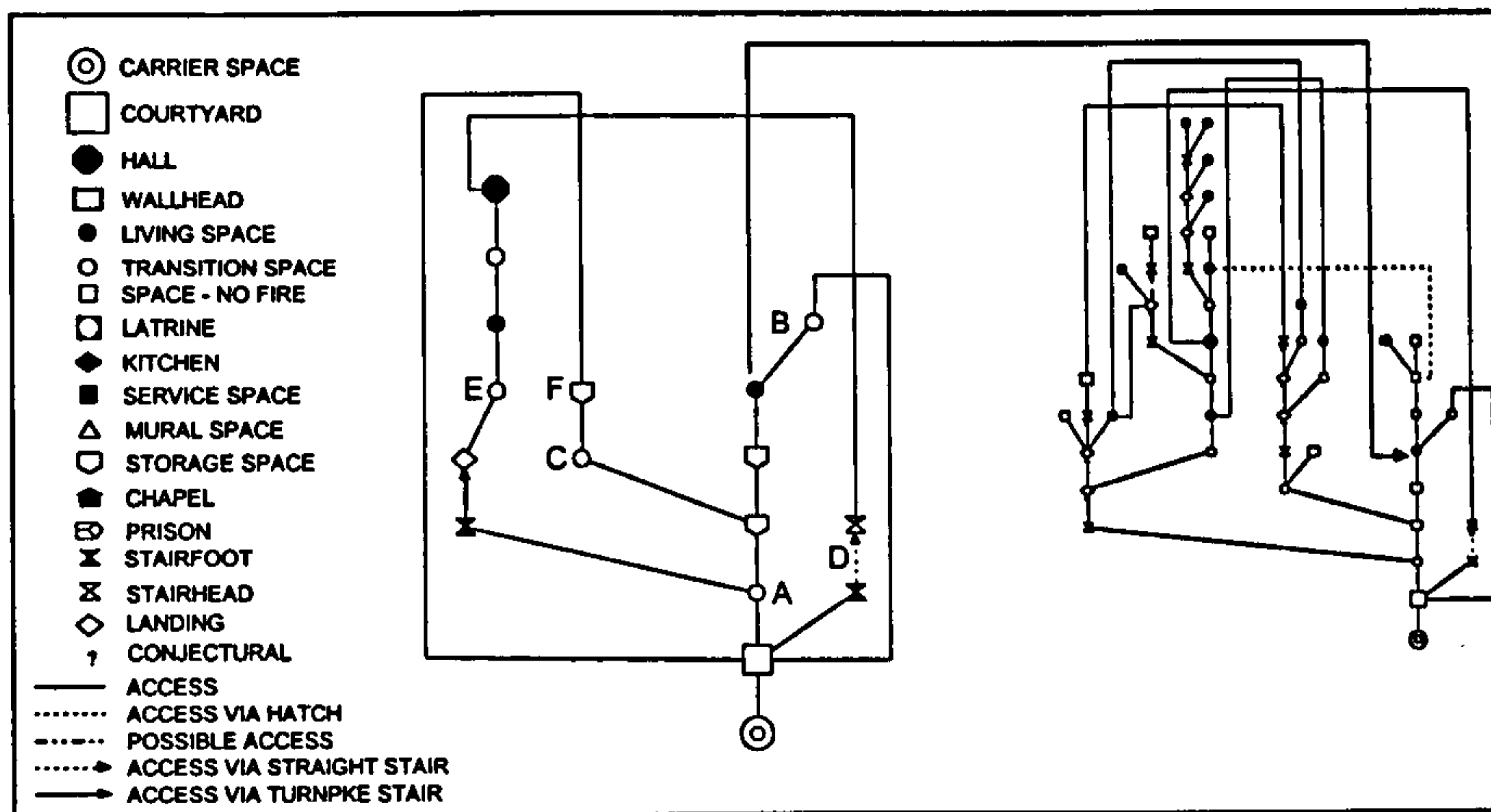


Figure 6-9 Access graph, Tulliallan, showing exterior access.

The drawbridge as a method of securing the main entrance to the building, formed an extremely visible part of the entry to the castle (plate 16). The mechanism — also used at Bothwell almost a century later — chosen to raise and lower the drawbridge was especially visible with the renaire cut into the stone above the doorway. An alternative method would have been to use simple chains and a windlass but this would not be as visible. The sophistication of the drawbridge mechanism belies its apparent uselessness. There is no sign of a ditch surrounding the building and unlike Bothwell, the entrance is not protected by height as it is a ground floor entrance. The only likely chasm bridged by the elaborate drawbridge was a small pit fall. What makes the drawbridge seem even more superfluous is that the structure had two other entrances on the ground floor (plan 3). The number of ground floor entrances is one reason why the access graph exhibits so many possibilities. The extra entrances were an obvious security risk, allowing attackers three different points of entry.

The other entrances were not as important as the south western one, yet neither are they postern doorways in the true sense of the word. They appear to be secondary entrances, used continually and for purposes different to that of the main, ceremonial entrance. The most surprising entrance to the structure is the south east entrance — labelled B in figures 6-9 & 6-10. This doorway directly accesses a living space, the implications of which will be discussed later. However, at a simple level the second doorway through this facade appears to compete with the main entrance although it is smaller and does not possess such visual defences (plate 16). The Royal Commission state that this doorway was also protected by a drawbridge (RCAHMS 1933, 276). There appears no evidence for such a claim. Rather the south eastern doorway was protected by two doors secured by drawbars and in addition there is a movable shutter sliding in an opening formed in the soffit between the double doors (RCAHMS 1933, 276). Thus, the defences create or reinforce a hierarchy and point to a functional difference. The main entrance with its obvious drawbridge was the public doorway, designed to impress visitors

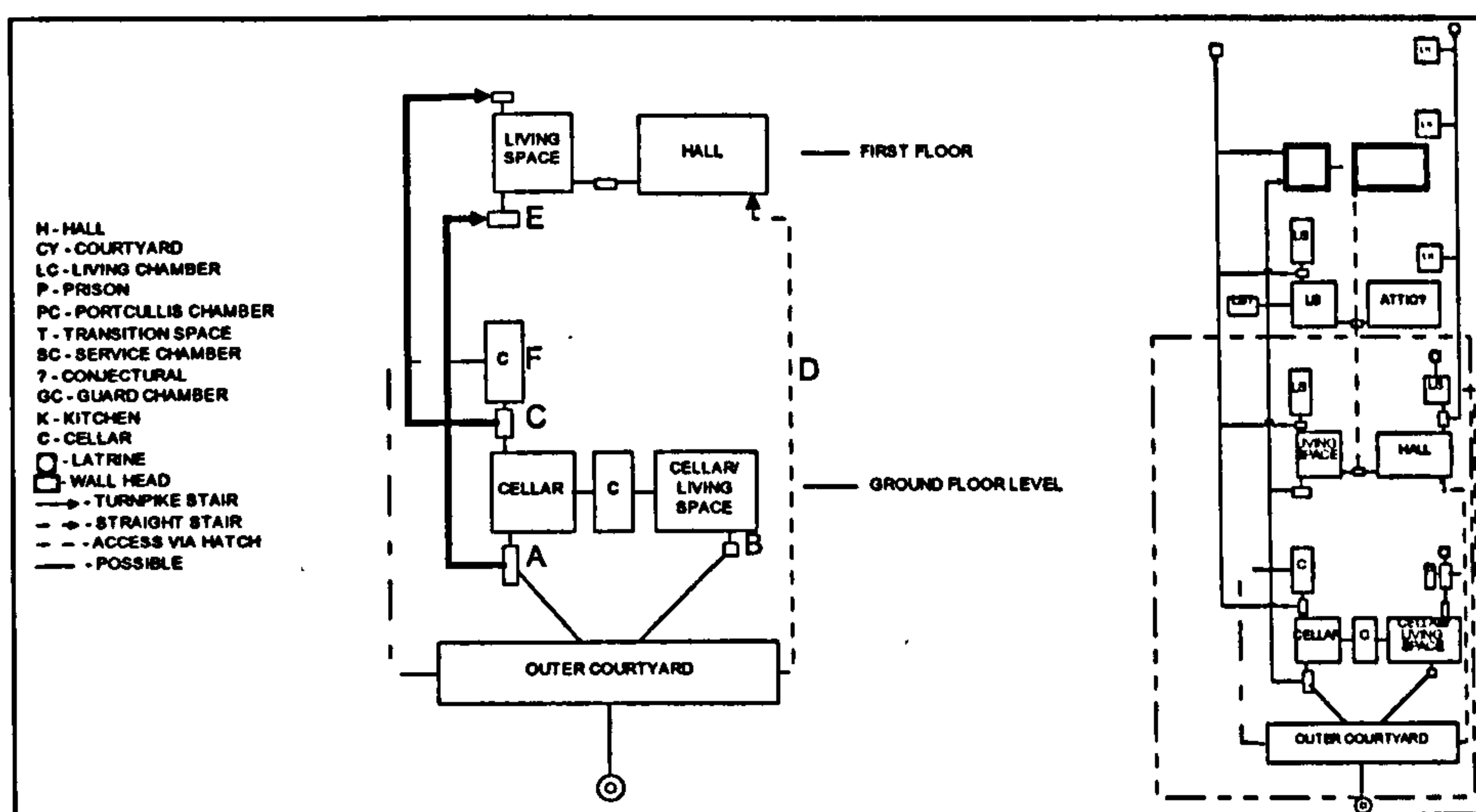


Figure 6-10 Planning diagram, Tulliallan, showing exterior access.

moving up into the hall above and to demonstrate the degree of military knowledge possessed by the builders and the occupants, while the south eastern, smaller doorway may have been more private, for the sole use of those within the castle, specifically those who occupied the living chamber B.

In the case of the other ground floor doorways — labelled C & F in figures 6-9 & 6-10 — F is believed to have superseded C when the wing was built during construction. C is believed to be an exterior doorway as it has doubled doors secured by drawbars although the arrangement of the doors and the bars perhaps suggests a more complex interpretation is necessary (RCAHMS 1933, 276). Entrance F although it appears to be modern may date to the initial construction of the wing (Dunbar, no date). This is suggested by the fact that as originally conceived the north eastern doorway (C) may have served as a private, service entrance, accessing a private service stair within a small entrance lobby (plan 3). If there was no doorway accessing this wing, service arrangements would have been severely curtailed.

In the fifteenth or sixteenth century yet another doorway — labelled D in figures 6-9 & 6-10 — was pierced through the south wall of the structure, at first floor level, almost directly above the south east ground floor entrance (plate 16). This was the only first floor entrance to the structure. The lack of such a first floor entrance when the structure was initially built, is one of the unusual features of this first phase. Most other hall houses had a separate first floor entrance reached by a forestair, and the lack of such an entrance at Tulliallan emphasises the domestic and undefensive nature of the structure. It is also unusual that a first floor entrance was constructed in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, when ground floor entrances were coming much more to the fore. The motivation for the entrance was a thorough re-organisation of the first floor which necessitated drastic changes to access arrangements as well.

As will be shown, this entrance would have become the main public and ceremonial entrance to the structure.

6.5.2 Morton — the gatehouse.

The access arrangements for Morton are very different to those found at Tulliallan. The most obvious, and perhaps important difference is that there is only one method of accessing the castle, rather than the four at Tulliallan. From the very beginning, access arrangements were more strictly controlled. It is possible that there was a postern through the now ruined stretches of curtain wall which enclosed the spur of land. However, as the spur is surrounded on two sides by the loch this seems doubtful.

The other great contrast with Tulliallan is the scale and power of the gatehouse itself (c.f. plates 16&20). It is far more reminiscent of the planned gatehouse at Bothwell and the actual gatehouses at Kildrummy, Coull and Caerlaverock, rather than the sham defences of Tulliallan. The gatehouse, probably four storeys in height and a basement, would have been an extremely impressive feature, acting as a visual focus for the castle (plate 20). Thus, even more than at Tulliallan the gatehouse, the symbol of defence and military power, was emphasised for the consumption of those who viewed the castle from the exterior. The more everyday functions of the castle as represented by the hall were not given such emphasis.

However, even at Morton the gatehouse may have been more a symbol of military knowledge and power rather than being truly defensive. From the plan (plan 4) it can be seen that the gatehouse consisted of two D-shaped towers placed back-to-back and pierced by an entrance pend. The profiles of the tower provide lateral but no frontal salience (Simpson 1939, 30). Thus, the main frontal elevation was covered by both the eastern tower of the gate house and the eastern corner tower. This eastern corner tower flanks the adjacent curtain wall and the western flanks the western curtain wall. However, despite these flanking towers, there is no evidence for offensive methods of defence: the towers do not have any arrow slits to take advantage of the flanking effect; the castle relies upon passive defence (Cruden 1960, 96). The fact that the outer wall of the hall is an exterior defensive wall also creates problems: it is pierced by several windows and the roof, even if it was protected by a crenellated parapet wall, would have been vulnerable (Cruden 1960, 96).

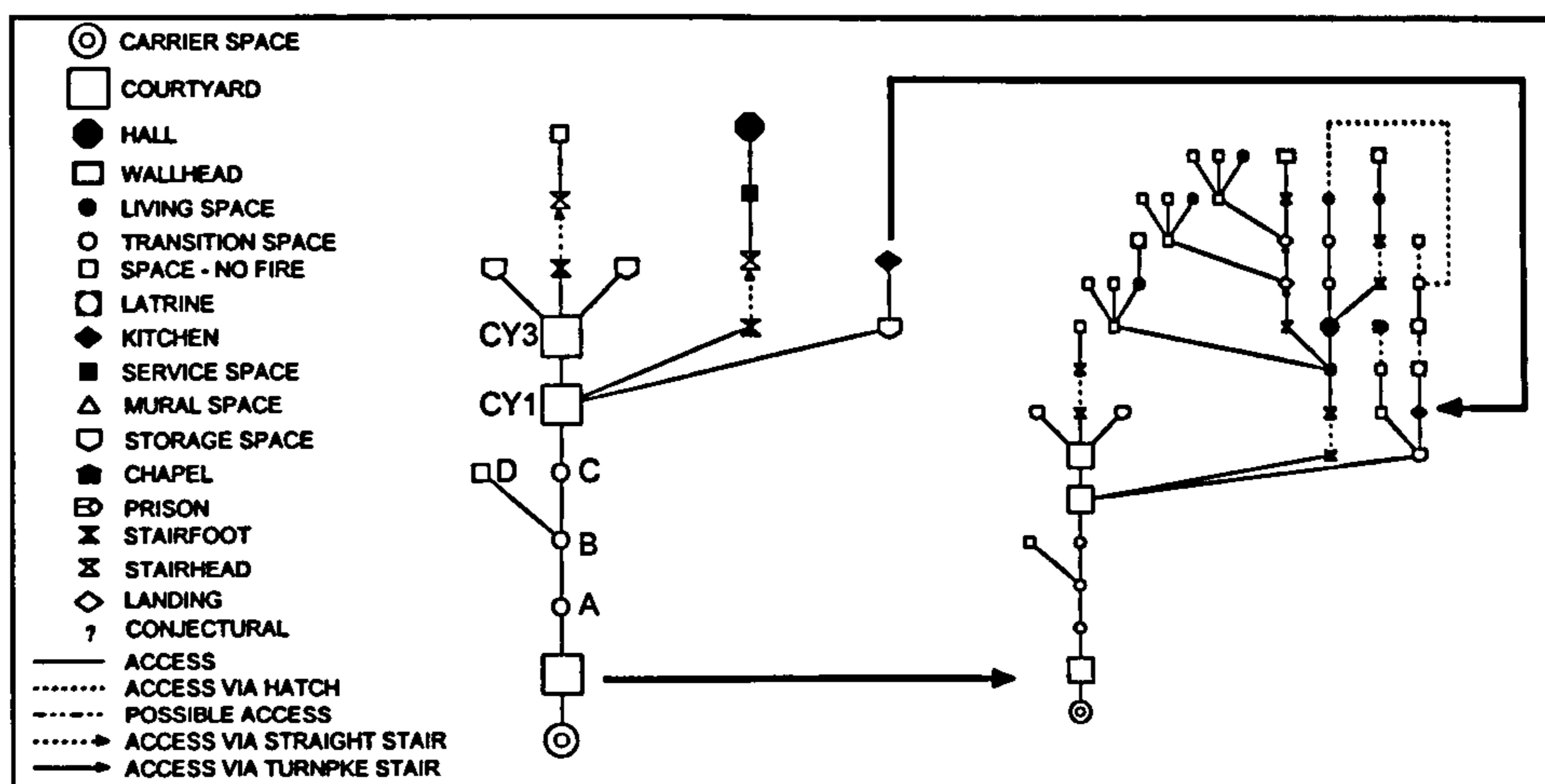


Figure 6-11 Portion of access graph, Morton, showing gate arrangement.

Due to the lie of land, the floor of the entrance was several metres higher than ground level, thus the drawbridge would be inclined upwards toward the gatehouse, and those entering the castle would have to climb through the gaping dark opening formed by the entrance passage itself. The entrance was protected by a drawbridge which bridged a pit and provided a ramp up to the gate. There was then a set of folding doors, opening outwards so that this gate had to be closed when the drawbridge was raised. Beyond this was a portcullis and then another set of folding doors secured by an inner drawbar. These defences all occur one after another within a space less than 2m in length. Directly above the gates is a chamber from which the various mechanisms for the drawbridge and portcullis would have been worked. Having negotiated the various barriers to movement, the visitor would enter a pend from which a guard chamber in the western tower (D) was probably accessed. Nothing now remains of the tower but this is the only conceivable method of access and function for the space. The chamber in the eastern tower was not accessible from the pend but a narrow squint allowed visual surveillance.

The entrance passage has been divided in two in the access and planning diagrams — the two elements are labelled B & C in figures 6-11 & 6-12 — as the initial part of the pend (B) was distinguished by a wooden ceiling supported upon stone ribs. The second part of the pend was wider and may not have been ceiled. This division emphasises the length of the pend, which is extremely long (30m) as it extends under the whole width of the main block: from the threshold of the gate to the end of the pend is over 17m long. The actual length of the pend is further increased by the barbican — labelled A in figure 6-11 & 6-12 — which stands before the gatehouse (see plan 4 & plate 18). The barbican has been demolished but its foundations remain. It takes the form of two walls projecting out from the gatehouse elevation and ending in two rounds. A similar barbican was built as an addition to the great fore-tower at Tantallon in the late fourteenth century (Simpson 1939, 31). In this case the barbican was roofed over and

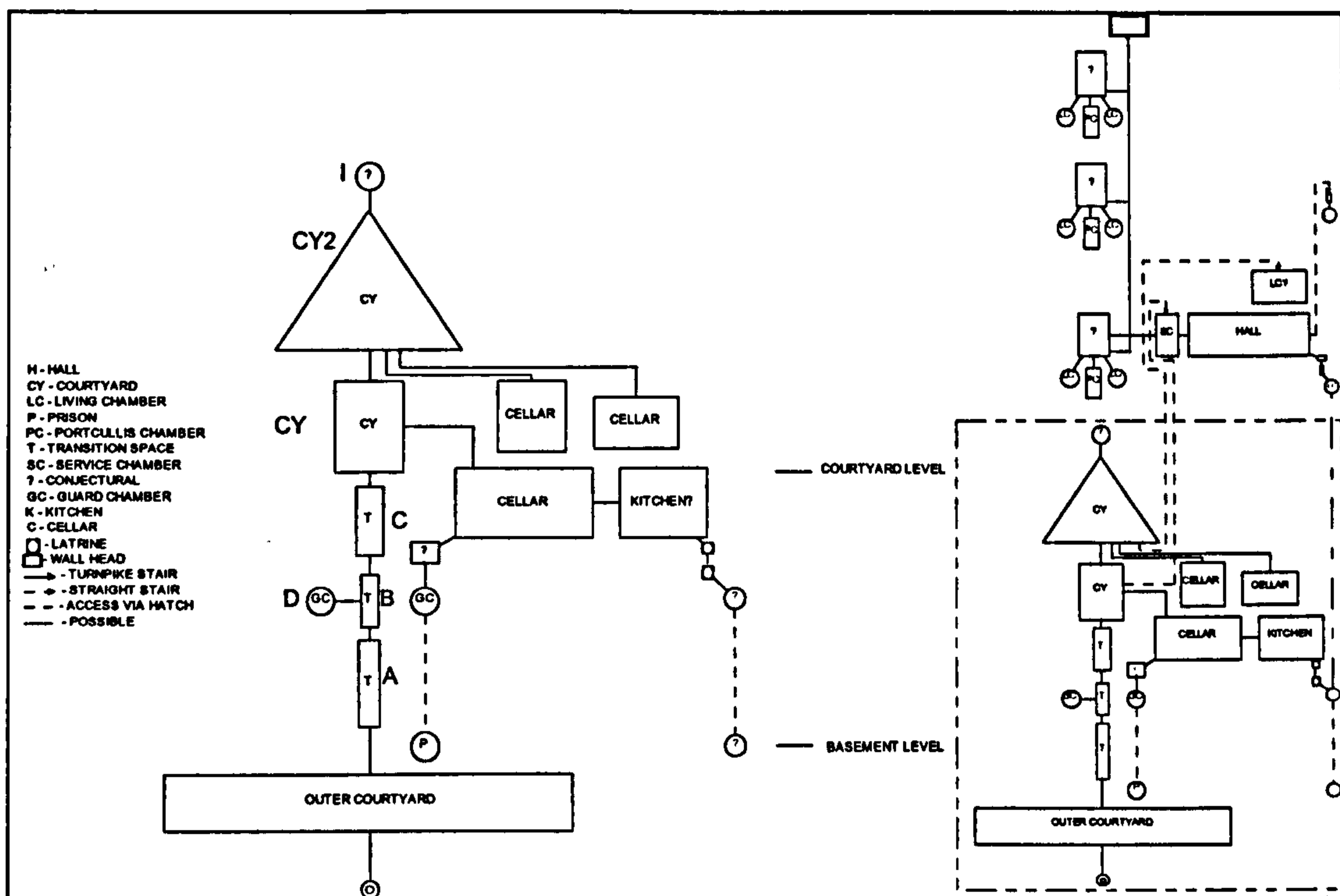


Figure 6-12 Portion of planning diagram, Morton, showing gate arrangement.

may have had its own drawbridge (Tabraham & Grove 1994, 2). The barbican at Morton also seems likely to have been an addition — there are no scars on the remaining gatetower — but the barbican could not have been roofed as it would interfere with the drawbridge although it is possible that the barbican had its own gate. Visually the barbican provides further accentuation for the gatehouse, by bringing the mass of the castle forward. It also meant that the entrance pend was lengthened by another 10m or so. Thus, the entrance through its visual appearance, the various methods of securing it and the length of the entrance pend and its division into a series of transition spaces, very effectively distanced the exterior from the interior.

6.5.3 Summary.

The main gateway at Tulliallan and the only gateway at Morton both come in for architectural elaboration. However, there is considerable difference in the degree of elaboration, which helps give the structures their particular characters. The form of these structures not only influences those experiencing the building in visual terms but also in the manner in which they impinge upon bodily movement. At Tulliallan once one had negotiated the drawbridge, portcullis and inner doorway access to the living space of the hall house was immediate. Access was even more immediate if one entered the structure through one of the alternative entrances. Both the south east entrance — labelled B in diagrams 6-9 & 6-10 — and the entrance to the wing — labelled F in diagrams 6-9 & 6-10 — were more lightly defended than the main

entrance and the south east entrance (B) led directly into a living space, something probably also applicable to the entrance into the wing (F).

The opposite is of course true for Morton where movement was channelled first by the open barbican, then by the long, dark pend. After travelling the length of the pend one finds oneself in an inner courtyard — yet another transitional space — rather within a building. None of the chambers initially accessed from the courtyard are living chambers but were either service chambers or communal spaces. Thus, at Morton there was a great deal of attention paid to distancing interior spaces from the exterior. It is unclear why the distinction is so great, why it is that at Tulliallan so little attention was paid to distancing living spaces from the exterior but as will be discussed when we address the accommodation within the structures, it may reflect and reinforce the status of those within those spaces in a number of ways.

6.6 THE HALL — THE CORE OF THE HALL HOUSE

As in most other castles, the hall was the centre of activity in the hall house/castle. However, more than in other type of castles, the hall was the essence of the hall house. In some hall houses such as Portincross, the structure really only consisted of a hall. At Rait, although a more finely finished and sophisticated building, again one finds little more than a hall, in this case over an undercroft and with a round tower, acting as a chamber for the lord, at the higher end of the hall. In these examples, the hall must be seen as the principal living space within the structure, a multi-functional room where a sizeable proportion of the household effectively lived and where the wider barony could come together for court or at rent time. At Tulliallan and Morton, the buildings are very much more complex than either Rait or Portincross suggesting that social relations were delineated far more through spatial arrangements and architectural detailing than the almost egalitarian undifferentiated arrangements at Portincross and the almost tyrannical arrangements at Rait where only the lord had a private chamber. However, at the core of Tulliallan and Morton remains the great hall and this space would have functioned in a similar manner to those in Portincross and Rait. In investigating Tulliallan there is the added advantage that the castle underwent alterations in the late fifteenth/early sixteenth century, help in demonstrating changing attitudes to the communal spaces within the castle.

6.6.1 Tulliallan

The great hall at Tulliallan was situated on the first floor of the structure, its height emphasising the lord's position. Unfortunately this floor has been greatly altered, having been sub-divided and the fenestration changed (plan 3). Thus, its original form has almost been obliterated. However, in terms of layout and access arrangements the form of the earliest castle

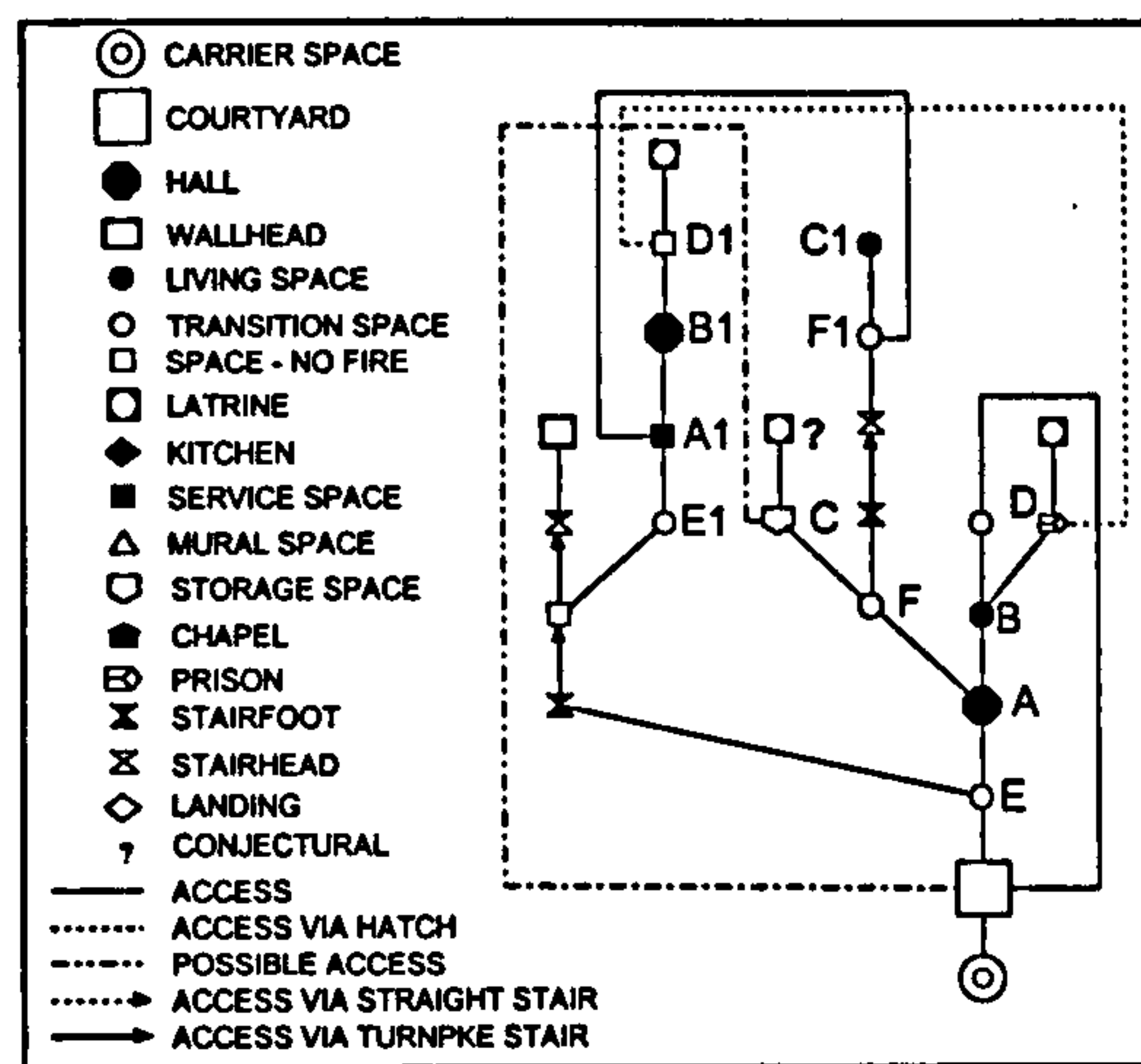


Figure 6-13 Access graph, Tulliallan, c. early 13th/late
14th century.

can be suggested. The main approach to the hall was of course through the main south west entrance. Having negotiated the defences, which made it clear that the visitor was entering a space where access was restricted, the visitor would enter a small lobby — labelled E in figures 6-13 & 6-14 — and then be drawn to the left towards the main staircase of the structure. Movement into the ground floor chamber, also accessible from the lobby (E) — labelled A in figure 6-13 & 6-14 — could be discouraged and barred a door into the ground floor chamber which could be secured with a drawbar from the inside. The turnpike stair is of a reasonable width and allows easy movement upwards to the hall and, above that to, the wall head.

Before entering the main space of the hall there were two transition spaces to be negotiated. The first was a small lobby, containing an ingoing where the mechanisms for the portcullis and drawbridge were situated. This could be viewed as a security risk with visitors to the hall having easy access to the gate mechanisms. From the lobby the main space of the hall was entered, but again this space may have been more isolated, with a screen creating a small service area at the lower end of the hall. This screens passage would be accessible from both the south west and the north west stairs — labelled E1 and F1 in figures 6-13 & 6-14 — and would create one entrance to the main body of the hall. The existence of a large window with seats perhaps makes the existence of a screen passage less likely but this window was probably enlarged in the late fifteenth century when the hall arrangements were drastically altered, and when this part of the first floor no-longer served as a hall. The alternative route to the hall was via the north west staircase which also accessed the screens passage from a small lobby (F1). Those using this staircase probably came from the undercroft (A) or from the exterior via the back entrance in the wing (C). The staircase is slightly narrower than the main staircase, this combined with its connection with possible service areas and the exterior, suggests that it was a service staircase. It may also have functioned as a private stair for the inhabitants of the castle.

The hall itself retains few original features but it appears to have taken up most of first floor of the main block — at 20m by 7m this space is comparable with fifteenth century halls at Dirleton and Bothwell — although it is possible that the space may have been partitioned to create a chamber at the eastern end of the space, replicating the arrangements found on the ground floor. However, this would have severely curtailed the open space of the hall, especially if there was also a screens passage reducing the importance of the space.

It is not clear how the hall was heated. The two fireplaces within the space originally encompassing the hall are both insertions, one within an inserted partition wall and the other blocking an original window. Thus, the hall was probably heated by a central hearth, supported on the vaulted floor, the smoke issuing out of louver in the open timbered roof. The space would have been lit mainly by windows within the unobscured south facing wall and from the east wall, where the dais would have been situated. This ensures that the dais would have been well lit and that the whole room received as much light as possible. The design and layout of the hall, especially if it took up the whole of the first floor, continue the impression that Tulliallan was open and accessible, at least in its earliest phase.

The first floor of the structure is immediately identifiable as the hall of the castle. However, it is possible that Tulliallan had a further hall on the ground floor. The whole of the ground floor is magnificently ceiled with quadripartite vaults partly supported on pillars (plate 17). Originally the space was divided into two unequal rooms. The eastern of these chamber (B) appears to have been a living space: it has an elaborate fireplace and window seats (plate 17). The adjacency to a ground floor living space and the incredible vaulting suggests that the larger western chamber (A) was more than just cellarage, and may have served as a lower hall in conjunction with the western living chamber (B). It may be significant that the vaulting in each chamber was slightly different, confirming that the ground floor was originally conceived of as separate chambers. The eastern living chamber (B) had a slightly more elaborate vault with two-ribbed quadripartite vaults, with ridge and wall ribs, whereas the western chamber had single-ribbed quadripartite vaults without ridge and wall ribs. In addition, the supporting pier in the living chamber (B) has a moulded capital contrasting with the two piers in the western chamber. The windows of the two chambers also contrast with each other, with the windows in the western chamber (A) lit by windows with wide internal embrasures and stepped breasts but with small square external openings, very like those lighting the ground floor of Morton Castle. The windows in the eastern chamber (B) are far larger, some even have window seats.

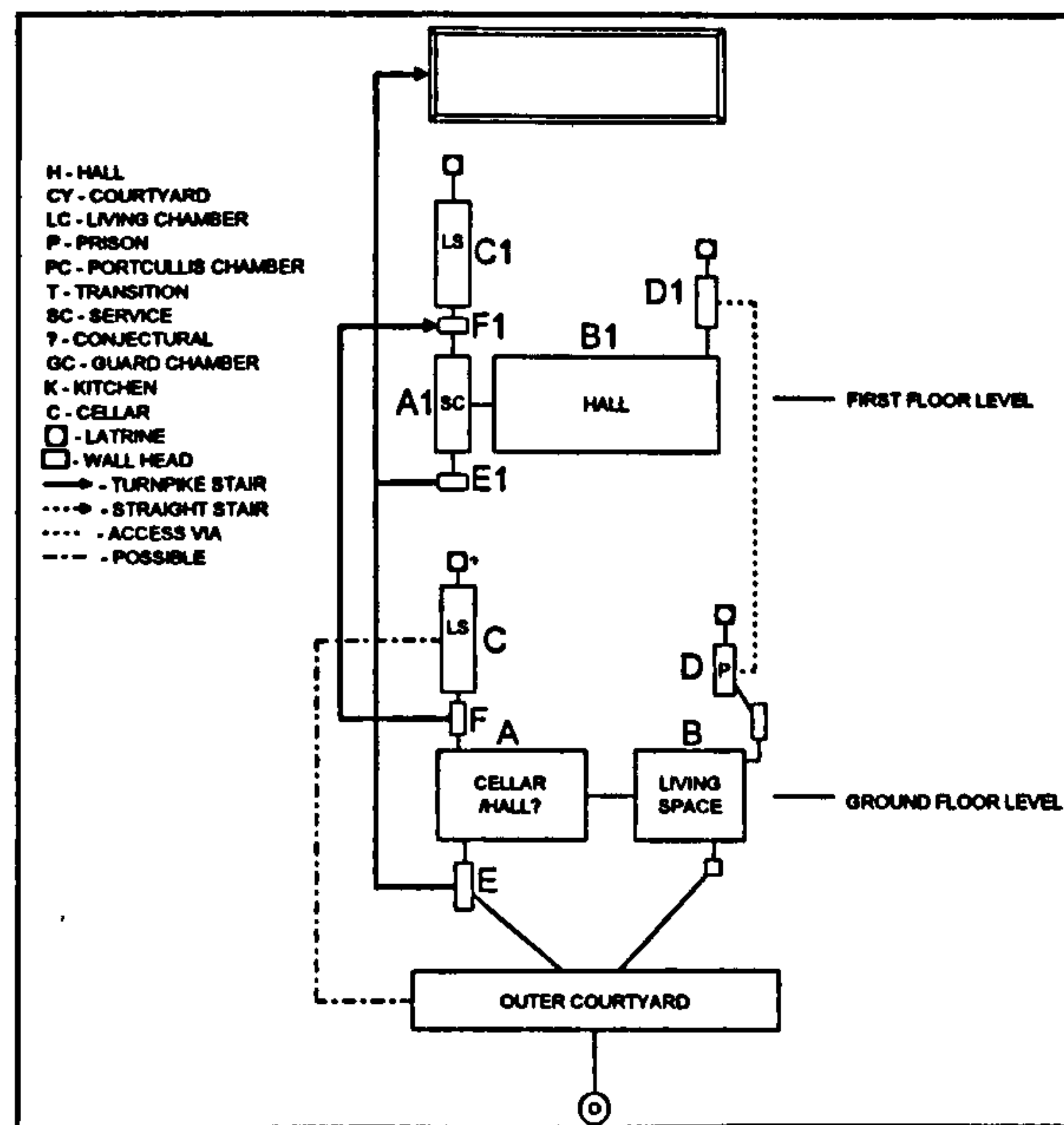


Figure 6-14 Planning diagram, Tulliallan, late 13th/early 14th century.

It is clear that the eastern chamber (B) was treated more elaborately than the western chamber. However, it is not clear whether these small architectural details merely reflected and reinforced the functional difference between a living space and a service/storage space or whether they signify a linking of the spaces with the western chamber functioning as a hall and the eastern chamber serving as a more private chamber, the status of the occupant demonstrated by the more sophisticated architectural detailing and the more expansive fenestration. If it was a hall it would have been entered through the main entrance, but because of the arrangements of the small entrance lobby, those accessing the upper hall would have had little chance to view

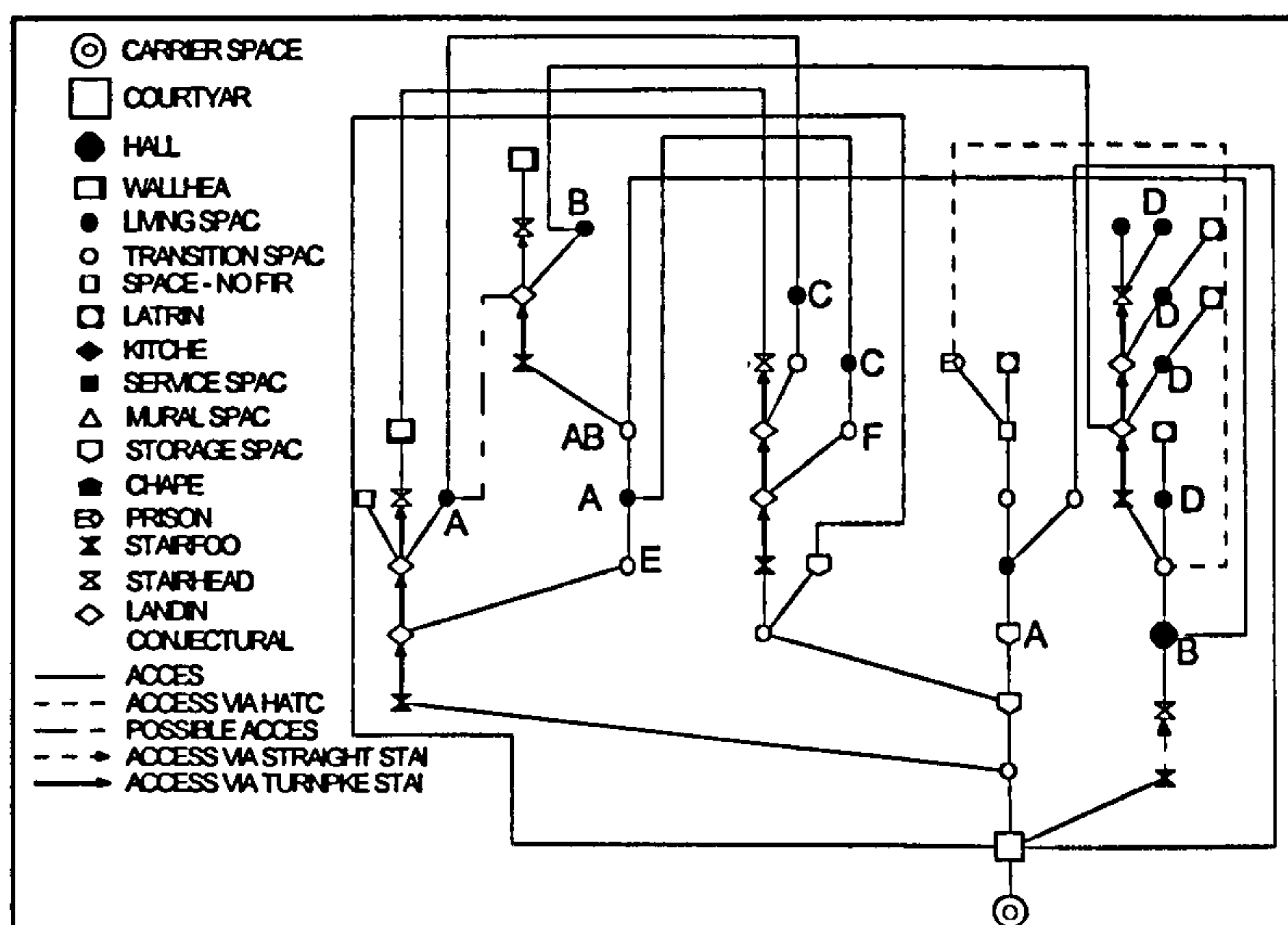


Figure 6-15 Access graph of Tulliallan, late 15th/early 16th century, drawn from the perspective of the hall.

the lower hall and its splendid vaulted ceiling.

Double halls are of course not unknown but those dating to the fourteenth century, such as at Dundonald, Tantallon and Doune, are found in castles of a far larger scale than Tulliallan. Evidence suggesting that the chamber was not a hall is provided by the well, which could be secondary, or covered during the use of the space as a hall, and the subsequent use of the space as cellars. Further, the space was unheated and very badly lit. Yet the incredible vaulting, unique in a medieval secular building in Scotland, and surprising even in a lower hall, is very out of place in a cellar. Thus, one cannot be certain of the initial function of this space. If this space was not a storage space, there is no other suitable space in Tulliallan which could have served this purpose. This would have important implications for the interpretation of the building.

In the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century the upper floors of the structure were almost totally rebuilt and the structure was heightened. As a consequence of these alterations, the arrangement of the first floor hall changed, as indeed did the arrangements of the lower 'hall'. The first floor hall space was divided into two unequal parts by a considerable cross wall, with the western chamber — labelled A1 in figures 6-15 & 6-16 — half the size of the eastern chamber — labelled B1 in figures 6-15 & 6-16 (plan 3). This wall necessitated the building of a supporting wall on the ground floor. Thus, the new arrangements of the first floor meant that the western ground floor chamber — the posited hall — was now divided into two — labelled A & AB in figures 6-15 & 6-16 — by an ugly partition which obscured the vaulting and encased one of the supporting piers. This rules out the possibility that the western ground floor chamber continued as a ground floor hall, if this space indeed ever functioned as such, and further suggest that the now divided western chamber (A & AB) was merely used for storage. Thus, the ground floor may have been downgraded to storage, ensuring the hall house as a whole conformed far more closely to the ubiquitous arrangements of the Scottish tower house, than in its previous form (diagrams 6&7).

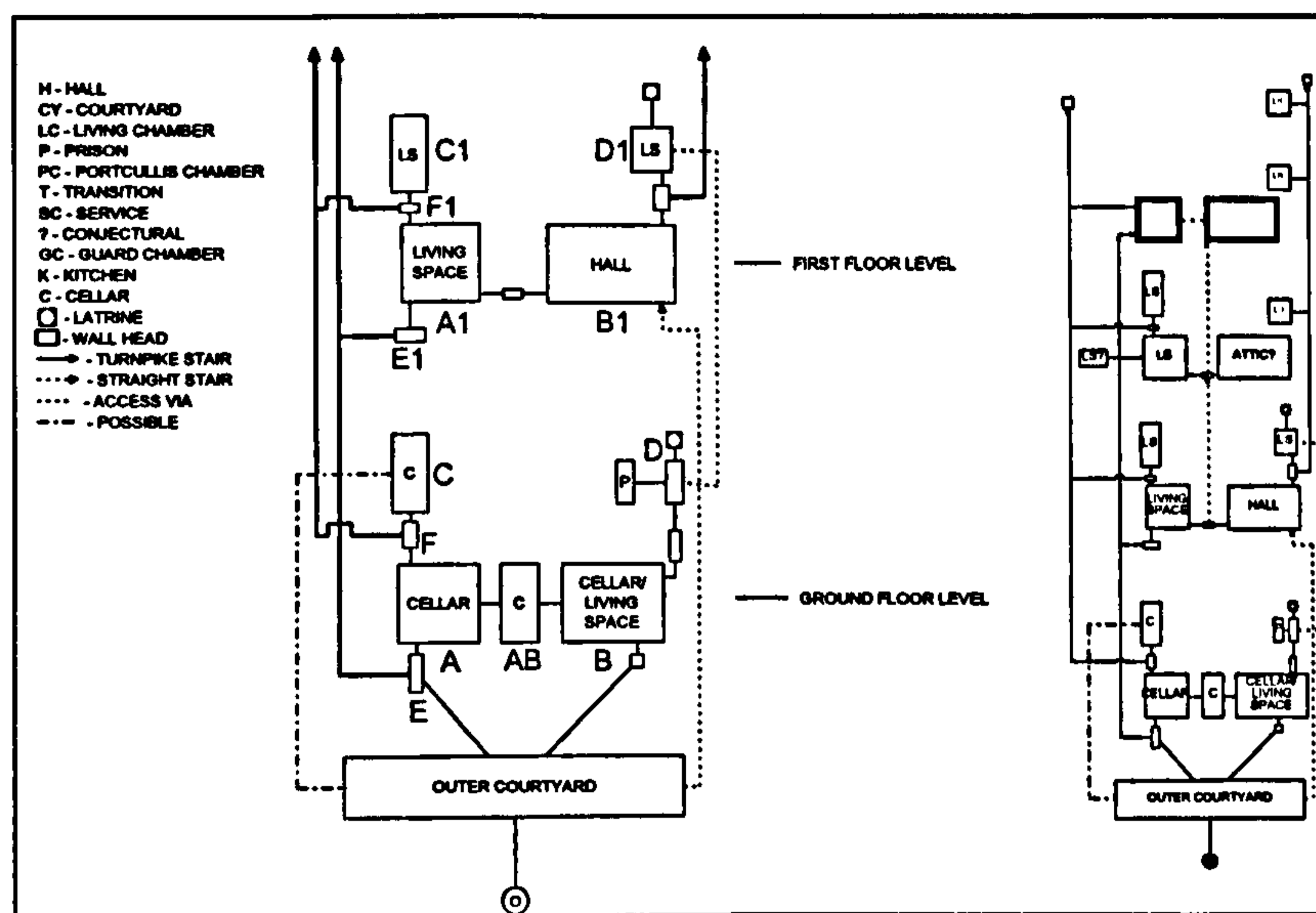


Figure 6-16 Planning diagram , Tulliallan, showing changes to arrangements of the hall
late 15th/early 16th century

At the same time as the ground floor was being downgraded, the changes to the first floor had a similar effect on the upper hall. With the partitioning of the space the hall was reduced in size almost by a third. As an extra storey was built the posited open timber roof was swept away, and was replaced by a ceiling. The cumulative effects of the changes was to drastically reduce the splendours of this space, by creating a much small dark room. The hall also had the addition of a rather small fireplace, probably for the first time, in the northern longitudinal wall. This small fireplace would have hardly competed with the central hearth, or have provided the feeling of communion that gathering round the central hearth may have created. The access arrangements also changed. The visitor to the castle now no-longer entered via the main entrance protected by the draw bridge. Rather they would enter the new first floor entrance, secured by a draw bar, which would be reached from a timber forestair.

The new arrangement would have several effects. Firstly, it is clear from the access graphs (compare figures 6-13 and 6-15) that the original hall was considerably deeper than the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century hall. Thus, in late fifteenth or early sixteenth century visitors could be brought up directly to the hall without entering any other space within the castle, and without even giving them any other choice or chance to deviate from this route. The hall no-longer appears to have been central to the social life of the household but rather it seems almost detached from the rest of the castle. The fifteenth/sixteenth century hall may have been a shallower space than the thirteenth century hall, but it was more distant from the other spaces within the structure. From the hall (B1) other spaces could be reached, including the chamber beyond the hall (A1). However, access to this chamber would be controlled and, as will be

discussed in the section on accommodation, the hall house appears to have had a bipartite plan based on public/private, occupant/guest divisions. Secondly, the status of the guest or visitor to the castle appears to have been reduced: the space for the visitor, the hall, had been reduced in size, the 'guest' entrance almost appears adhoc and does not come in for any architectural elaboration. The obvious separate entrances would have reinforced the division between occupant and guest: conformation of status whether you climbed the external stair or entered through one of the ground floor entrances would have been very visible. Thirdly, with the reduction in status of the hall, it would seem that the communal aspects of life within the castle household were being reduced, which may have had wider implications on social relations within the barony. The hall may have been used rather more as a family dining room, no longer serving as a public and communal hall.

To conclude, the initial spatial layout was relatively open and communal which may have reflected and reinforced a similar household structure. With the major rebuilding in the fifteenth century, the hall house became more closed, with greater compartmentalisation of space: this may have reflected and reinforced an emphasis on the individual, particularly the lord and his family.

6.6.2 Morton Castle.

Any interpretation of the hall spaces at Morton runs into similar problems as at Tulliallan. Again the question of whether a ground floor hall, which could have served the general household, existed is paramount. As presented above in figures 6-17 & 6-18, the ground floor space within the main block is shown as two spaces function as cellarage (E) and a kitchen (F). This follows the works of MacGibbon & Ross and Simpson (1887 vol. II, 546; 193, 31). However, such an interpretation is by no means certain and is partly informed by the Scottish proclivity for ground floor cellarage, which MacGibbon & Ross and Simpson would certainly have recognised.

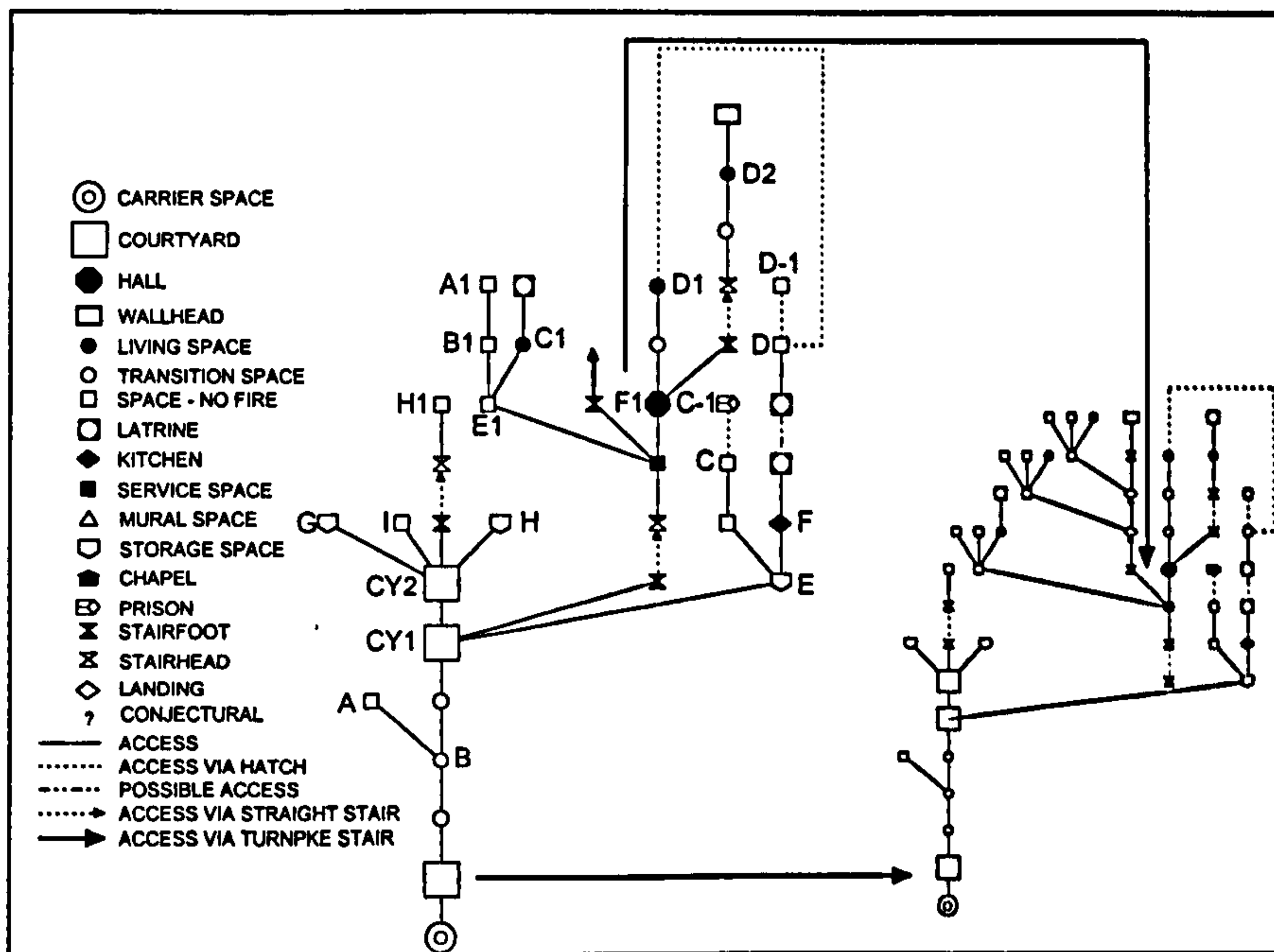


Figure 6-17 Access graph, Morton, late 13th/early 14th century.

The structural evidence in support of the interpretation is equivocal. There are three slops drains which issue through the walls, two in the space described as a cellar and one in the posited kitchen. The slops drain within the kitchen is contained within a window embrasure flanking a large hooded fireplace situated in the east wall. There is also evidence from foundations that the ground floor space was unequally subdivided creating two spaces: the cellar (E) and the kitchen (F). However, this evidence and its interpretation can be challenged. The foundations suggesting a dividing wall are clearly secondary as there is no sign of a partition wall bonded into the main longitudinal walls. The foundations in fact could relate to a much later phase in the castle existence when a cottage was built within its walls: the roof line for the cottage roughly corresponds to the foundations. Furthermore the slops drain associated with the fireplace may also be an insertion, while the fireplace was large with a hood, similar to those found in the rest of the structure. Thus, the ground floor may have been originally conceived as a very large single space — 28.3m by 9m — with a large and impressive fireplace (plate 24). It would have been reasonably well lit by a series of seven windows in the southern wall and two windows in the east wall, flanking the fireplace. Internally the windows have reasonably large embrasures and shouldered lintels but the breasts are stepped so that actual openings to the exterior are merely small square holes. The form of the space is thus, very like a hall and the existence of the two slops drains does not preclude this interpretation, as they could be used during meals: slops drains are often found in the screens area of halls such as at thirteenth century hall at Dirleton, the fourteenth century hall at Dundonald and the late sixteenth century hall at Newark Castle (Renfrewshire).

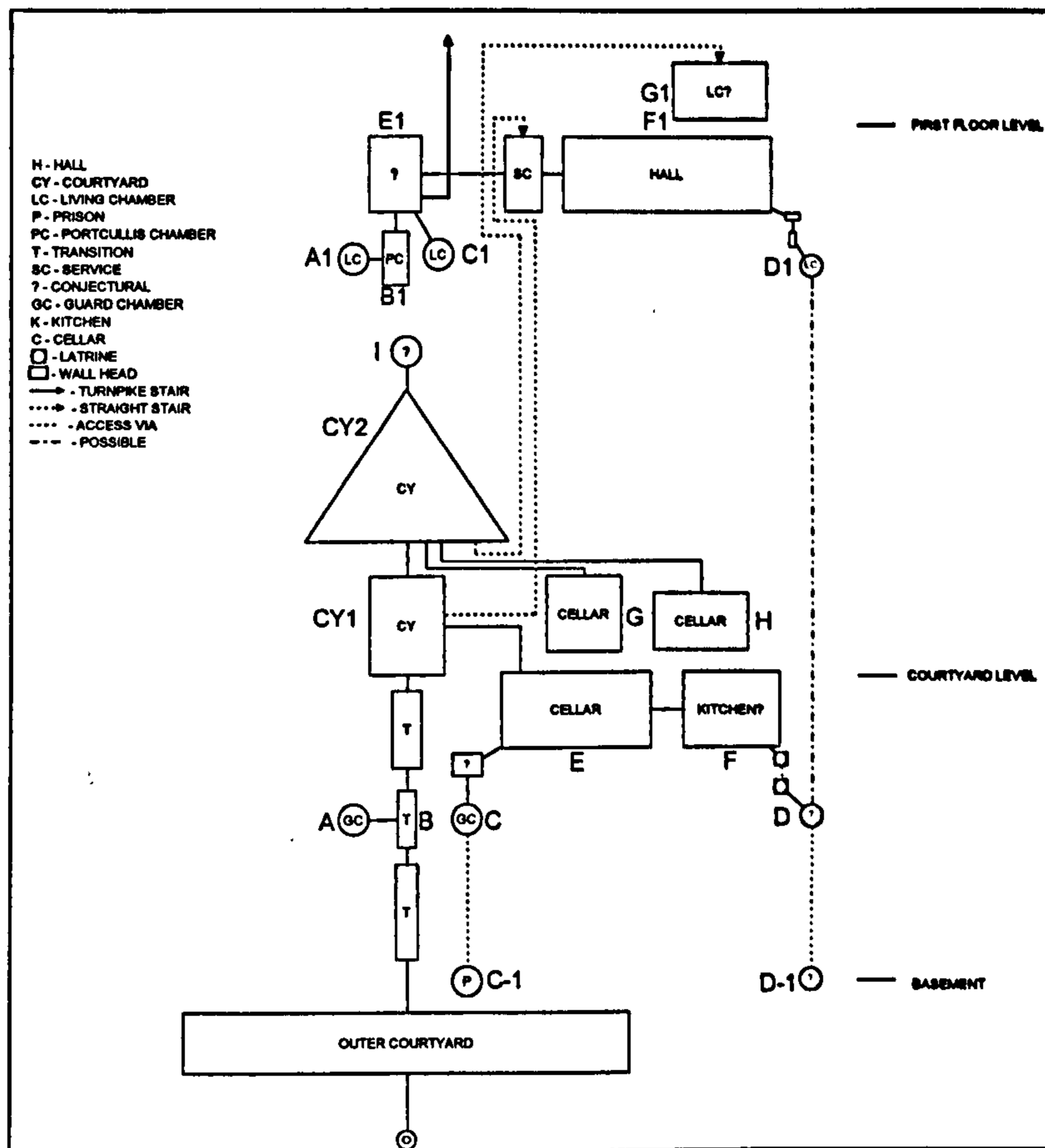


Figure 6-18 Planning diagram, Morton, late 13th/early 14th century.

The great hall of the castle (F) was situated above the posited lower hall. It was reached from a substantial forestair — the putlog holes for the landing and the hand rail can still be identified (RCAHMS 1920, 178) — situated within the inner courtyard. Entry into the hall itself was through a large and impressive moulded doorway flanked to the west by a shouldered headed window. The exact size and form of this upper hall is difficult to ascertain due to the destruction of the western end of the castle. However, the remains of a window, west of the window which flanked the main doorway, suggests that the first floor continued over the entrance pend (See plan 4 & plate 23). It seems unlikely that the hall stretched the whole length of the structure but instead mirrored arrangements below with the hall beginning east of the entrance pend. The space above the pend is thus considered to be part of the gatehouse, with the ruined window lighting this space. There are problems with this reconstruction, especially the placing of the cross wall, which if extended up from the ground floor appears to interfere with the turnpike serving the upper floors of the gatehouse, and which would have blocked the aforementioned window. However, other reconstructions appear even more unfeasible.

With this reconstruction the great hall would have been a similar size to the chamber below, some 30m by 10m. Its arrangements would then appear quite normal. The existence of a screens passage is suggested by the window flanking the doorway which would have lit such a

space and a similar arrangement is found at Rait Castle (plan 4). The fenestration suggests that the main focus of the hall was the upper eastern end which is lit by three large mullioned and transomed windows in the south wall, two windows in the east wall, one of which was mullioned and transomed and a single window in the north wall. Also at the upper end of the hall, within the south wall, was a hooded fireplace. The fireplace is not large, perhaps suggesting that this heated the dais and other forms of heating, such as braziers, were used to heat the rest of the hall. It was probably ceiled with an open timbered roof as demonstrated by a few surviving corbels which would have supported such a roof. The upper end of the hall also communicated with several spaces within the south east corner tower. The arrangement of the upper area or dais end of the hall, in fact the whole hall, at Morton almost replicates arrangements found at Rait.

6.6.3 Summary.

One of the most startling, if obvious, facts that has come out from studying Tulliallan and Morton is how large their halls probably were. At 20 m long, Tulliallan is comparable with the halls at Bothwell, Crichton, Dirleton, Doune, and Tantallon, while at almost 30m, the hall at Morton was considerably longer than any of the halls in the castles mentioned above and was only slightly smaller than the fifteenth century great hall at Linlithgow palace. In this context it is interesting to note that Rait, a hall house of a similar date, has a hall of c. 18m by 7m. The hall spaces at Tulliallan, Rait and Morton may have differed in one way to the castles mentioned above: their ceilings do not appear to have been so high, although in both cases this is difficult to confirm, and thus may not have had such an impression of scale. The halls at Morton and Tulliallan are so large one wonders if the spaces were further subdivided into hall and chamber. However, there is no evidence for such subdivision and the arrangements and elements at Morton appear very coherent. The large size of the halls may demonstrate the importance of communal occasions within the household in the late thirteenth/early fourteenth century. As we have seen the spatial layout suggests that the importance of these occasions lessened at Tulliallan in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (diagrams 5&6) . The size of the halls also bring into question the classification of these structures as secondary. They were obviously built to cater for similar numbers of people as the halls at Bothwell and Dirleton, but not in the context of a large curtain wall castle. This is especially true of the very domestic Tulliallan.

6.7 ACCOMMODATION.

Hall houses, especially examples such as Tulliallan, Rait and Portincross, appear to contrast with the earlier mid-thirteenth century curtain wall castles in the amount of semi-public

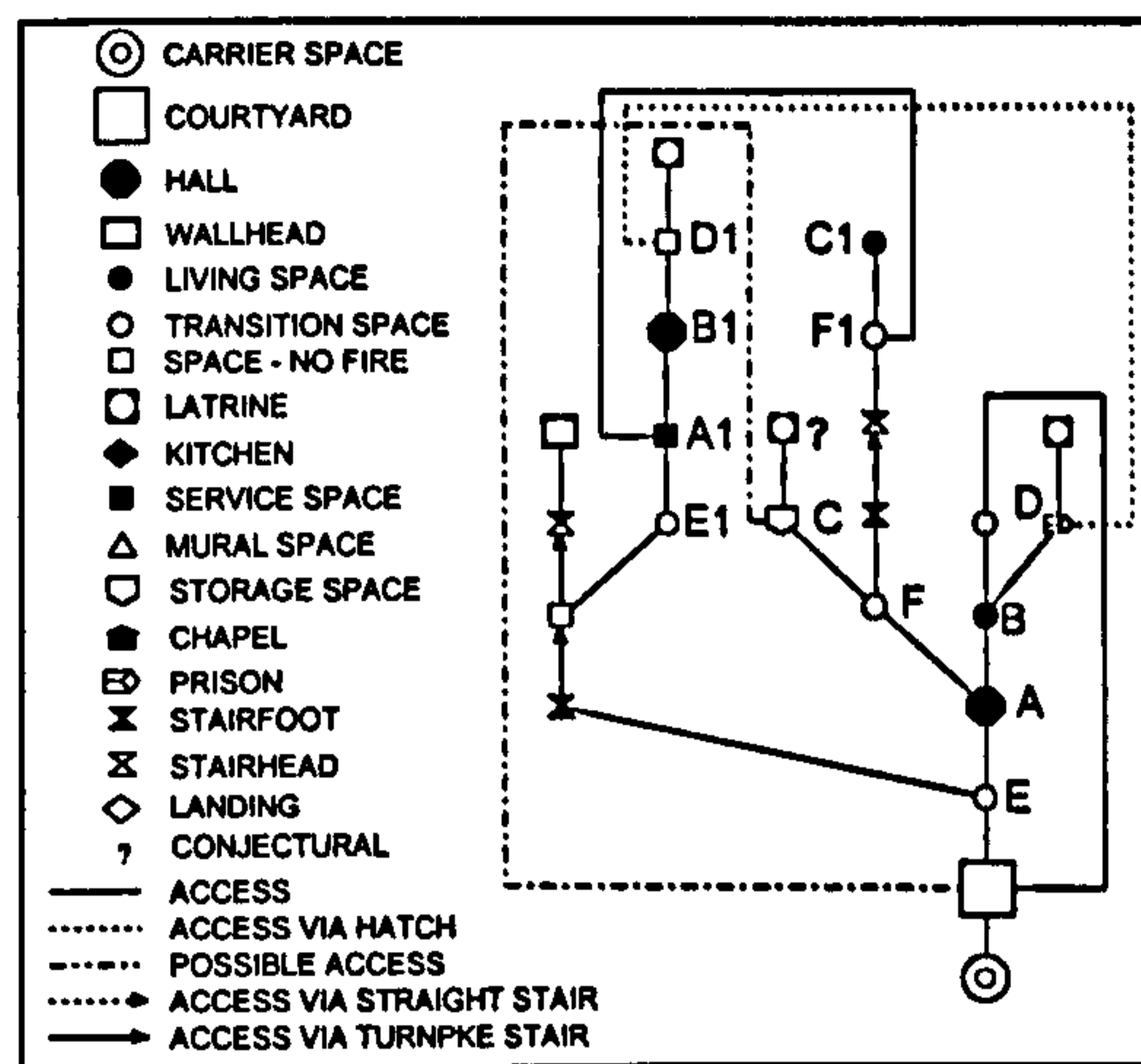


Figure 6-19 Access graph, Tulliallan c. late 13th/early 14th century.

and private accommodation contained within their walls. The great donjon at Bothwell and the tower complex at Dirleton contain a considerable amount of semi-public and private accommodation, while the great halls at these castles are believed to be less substantial timber structures. At Tulliallan, and to a lesser extent at Morton, the exact opposite is true. The hall appears to dominate the structure, and accommodation is secondary. One could also say that in this manner the hall house also contrasts with the tower house. Although the hall may be literally at the core of the tower house, it is usually sandwiched between cellars and accommodation.

6.7.1 Tulliallan – a house of many staircases.

As alluded to above, accommodation within Tulliallan is difficult to recognise in the initial phase. The only chamber which fulfils such a function is the smaller of the ground floor chambers — labelled B in figures 6-19 & 6-20. As already described this chamber has a fabulously vaulted ceiling. It was heated by a large hooded fireplace with decorative lamp brackets, rather awkwardly sited in the north west angle of the space (plate 17). This is the only original fireplace in the whole structure and may have been the only fireplace in its first phase. The chamber may also have included a latrine: the doorway to the eastern wing appears to be an original feature — it has a shoulder headed lintel — and suggests that a chamber did lead off from this doorway, probably to a latrine within the buttressed wall. The latrine was excavated out creating a passage leading to the jamb (D), with its latrine. The living chamber (B) is well lit for a ground floor chamber and in comparison with its western counterpart (A): each of its exterior walls has a window, with those in the south and east walls having seats. The windows were secured with shutters closed from the interior, thus providing a degree of security.

The Royal Commission suggest that the eastern space (B) was the hall of the castle but this is nonsensical as they also state that it is likely that the whole of the first floor functioned as a

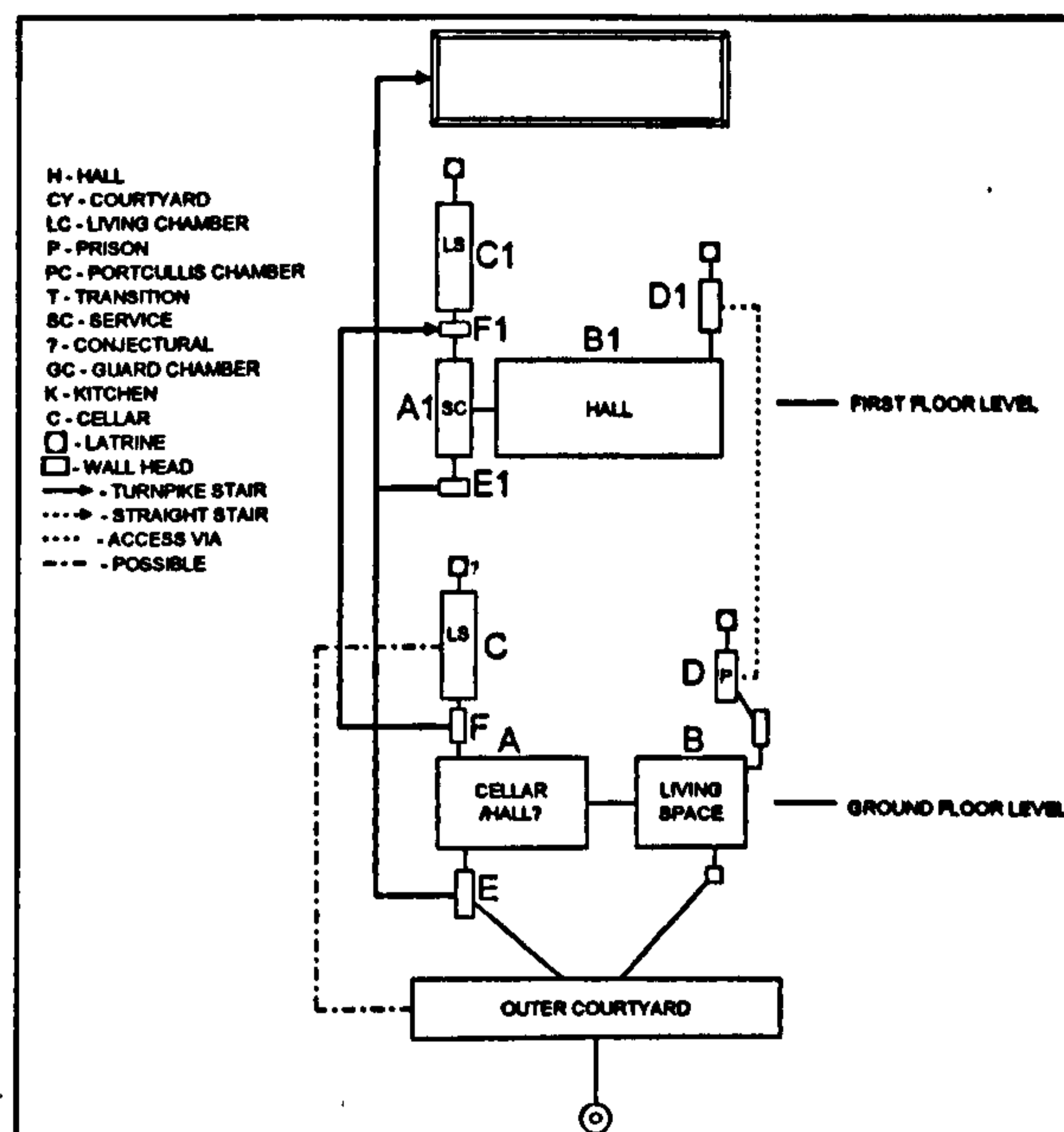


Figure 6-20 Planning diagram, Tulliallan c. Late 13th/early 14th century.

hall, and ignores the larger western chamber (RCAHMS 1933, 278). The chamber appears too small to have been a hall, especially when there were several other candidates for this role (plan 3). Instead it must be seen as a private or semi-private chamber. As such, its position is extremely unusual in the context of Scottish castellated architecture, as it has direct access to the exterior, the only depth being created by the small transition space or mural lobby. As a consequence the space (B) is extremely shallow in the access graph (see figure 6-19), a rather unsuitable position for an impressive living chamber and a great contrast with later tower houses where living accommodation is usually deep within the graph, on the upper floors of the structure. The access arrangements almost contradict the fabulous vaulting and plentiful amenities of the chamber. These suggest a chamber of some importance which accommodated a occupant of high status. Yet the access arrangements suggest the exact opposite; one would expect the lord to have had a relatively private chamber, certainly not on the ground floor. This contradiction suggests that the chamber was occupied by a senior official (probably the constable, steward or master of the household) within the household who could be trusted to have their own exterior access. In this interpretation access to the exterior is identified as a method of reinforcing the status of the occupant: their movements were not controlled or supervised by those attending the main entrance to the hall house. The separate entrance suggests a separate existence from the wider household, and a certain degree of independence and freedom yet who was still subordinate to lord

The occupant of the living chamber (B) may have had a role in the larger western chamber (A). If the western chamber (A) was a hall, it may have been under the control of the constable

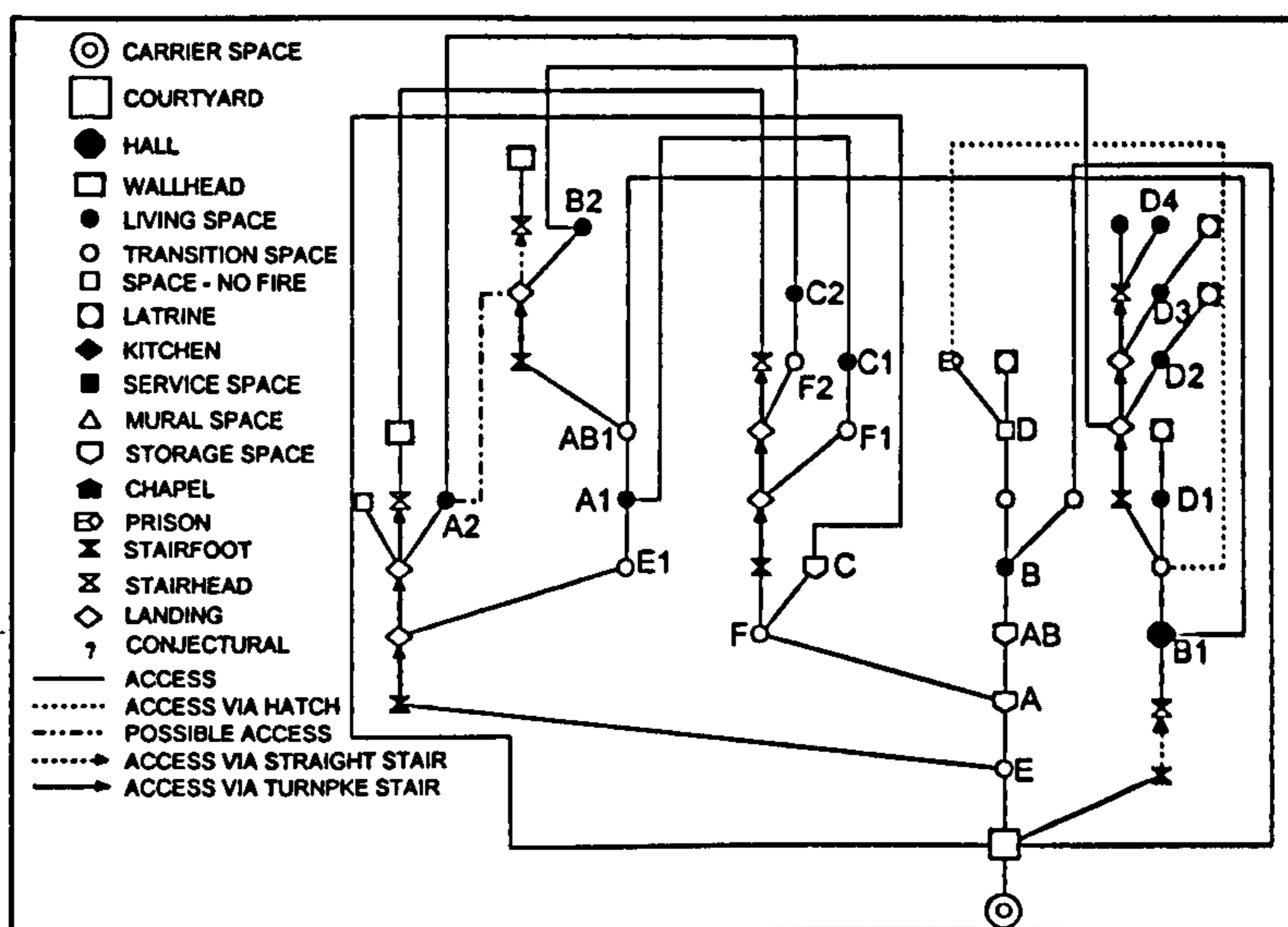


Figure 6-21 Access graph, Tulliallan, late 15th/early 16th century.

or steward — who occupied the communicating eastern chamber (A) — and have served the household. Alternatively, if the western chamber was a cellar then the steward or constable may have had a supervisory role over the activities within this space. The eastern jamb (D) which communicates with the chamber (A) may have served as a prison and this may reflect the judicial and security role of the occupant, suggesting it was the constable. It is not clear if the wing initially served as a prison before its extension in the late fifteenth/early sixteenth century, or if the space originally served the main chamber (B) as a latrine and a wardrobe chamber: a more secluded back space for the occupant, deeper within the access graph, the depth created by the convoluted form of the passage way (see figure 6-19).

Further accommodation within the first phase hall house is difficult to identify, adding weight to the theory that the first floor was sub-divided into a hall and chamber/solar. There is no structural evidence for such a reconstruction, but a chamber at the east end of the first floor would replicate the arrangement on the ground floor. The Royal Commission suggest that the north west angle of the space contained a latrine within a mural recess (1933, 279). As with the floor below, when the wing was added the mural chamber was cut through to provide access. Originally this floor of the wing (D1) also contained a latrine. The wing chamber (D1) may have functioned in association with a hall stretching the length of first floor, providing a retreat from the front space of the hall, and the use of the latrine. A similar latrine wing is found at Rait Castle and was also accessed from the upper end of the hall. Equally it could have provided these facilities if it was connected to semi-private bedchamber/living space as in the example of the ground floor chamber (B).

However, other spaces within the structure may also have provided more private living spaces, in particular the ground and first floors of the north west wing (C & C1). Believed to

have been an addition to the initial plan, the north east wing is almost twice as large as the north west wing, at 10m by 3m. As with the north west wing, both floors have evidence of a latrine chute. The ground floor chamber has been interpreted as a service space due to its exterior doorway and access to the smaller north western staircase. As noted earlier, access to the staircase is protected by double doors. However the doors do not function as one would expect. One of the doors secures access from the wing (C) or the exterior if the wing had not been built, but the other door secures the lobby (F) from the main western chamber (A) (See plan 3). Thus, the lobby may have two doors, but only one prevents access from the exterior via the wing. This suggests that the smaller north west staircase may have been more important than simply a service stair (plan 3). As will be discussed, the upper floor of the wing (C1) appears to have served as a prestige living chamber in a later phase. It is possible that it functioned in a similar manner from the very beginning and: consequence the occupants needed to be able to secure the room from the ground floor.

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw an explosion in the amount of accommodation within the hall house, and there appears to have been a greater emphasis on the importance of these spaces, as the hall itself was downgraded (diagrams 5&6). The subdivision of the hall created a large chamber to the west — labelled A1 in figures 6-21 & 6-22 — roughly the same size as the eastern ground floor chamber (B). The first floor chamber was a central space within the structure communicating with the south west staircase, the north west staircase, the first floor of the west wing (C1), the staircase within the inserted cross wall and the hall (B1) itself (see figure 6-21). The numerous means of accessing this space would suggest that the chamber (A1) was not a private room.

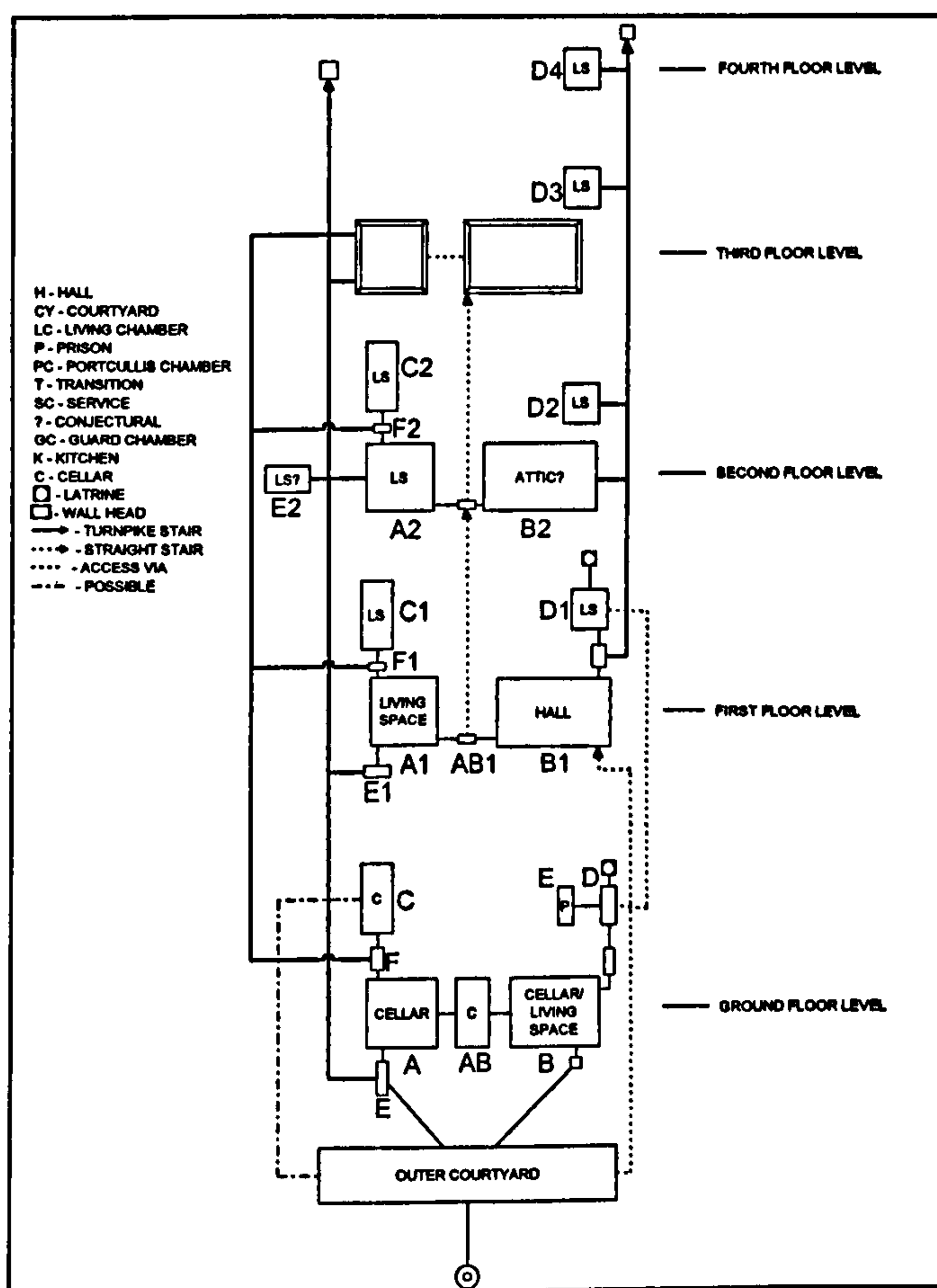


Figure 6-22 Planning diagram, Tulliallan, early 15th/late 16th century.

The access arrangements give a good idea of how this space may have functioned as a semi-public space and how the whole of the first floor functioned as a suite of rooms, with hall, chamber and bedchamber. As the arrangements of the hall (B1) had become transposed, the chamber (A1) was accessed from the upper or dais end of the hall, where the lord would sit, thus giving easy access to the chamber and the new upper floors via the straight staircase within the cross wall (plan 3). The thickness of the partition wall creates a small lobby (AB1) which allows access to the stair within the partition, and forms a transition space between the hall and chamber. When the hall was not being used, the laird or visiting guests could access the chamber (A1) via the main entrance and then the south east turnpike. The two forms of entrance may have created a hierarchy amongst those attending the hall (B1), with most accessing it from the first floor entrance, and with those close to the laird accessing the hall house view the main entrance and then through the chamber with the laird. The laird, his family and personal servants may have used the smaller and more private north east turnpike, which as it no longer communicated with the hall (B1) would not have had a such an important service function. This stair also accessed the chambers within the north west wing. This space (C1), with its access from the private staircase and the first floor chamber (A1) may have served as a bedchamber. The spaces within the wing were of course smaller and also lower than the main chambers,

creating accommodation that would have been easier to heat and which also perhaps felt more secure and comfortable. The small lobbies between the wings and the main blocks (F1 & F2) would have created some distance between the semi-public and private. The western window of the first floor wing (C1) was altered, perhaps at this time, to create a wooden orial window projecting out beyond the wall face. The positioning of the orial window is reminiscent of one constructed of stone at Linlithgow palace in the king's private bed chamber.

Other accommodation space was created with the heightening of the structure. As previously mentioned, the heightening was not uniform throughout the building. The western end, containing the lord's accommodation, was heightened a full storey (A2 & C2) emphasising the importance of this part of the castle and the lords accommodation (plate 16). With the heightening of this area of the castle, a chamber was constructed out of the entry projection (E2) at the level of the second floor. The eastern section appears to have been raised only slightly, creating an attic space (B2), lit by small square windows almost at floor level. A narrow straight stair was contrived out of the thickness of the transverse partition wall, providing access to the new upper floors. The partition and the staircase are now ruined and as the western chamber (A2) was accessible from the main turnpike staircase and probably accessible from the smaller north western stair⁵ as well, it is not clear if the straight stair gave access to both the attic (B2) and the chamber (A2), or just the attic. The upper accommodation mirrors the arrangements of the first floor, with a large chamber in the main block (A2) and a chamber in the western wing (C2). These upper chambers are deeper within the access graph and although they have similar features such as windows with seats, the chambers would not have been as impressive as the floor below: the windows are not as large and the chamber within the wing did not have an orial window. The chamber within the entry projection (E2) has a stone vault and may have functioned as a study for the lord. The stone floor and the stone vault would have rendered the chamber relatively fireproof to protect the lord's charters. It was also relatively inaccessible at the top of the stair which was a common site for studies within Scottish castles. From analogy with other castles, this upper floor may have accommodated the wife of the lord, in a similar if more isolated and private suite of rooms: the north west turnpike would have provided an easy, and perhaps private route between the two bedchambers (C1 & C2).

Two alternative interpretations of the straight stair are informed by the conjectural reconstruction as gendered floors. The first is that the straight stair did give access to the upper chamber (A2) allowing the occupant access to it hall (B1) without having to go through the lower chamber (A1). This would then suggest that the attic and the upper chamber were

⁵ The diagrams are drawn showing access also from the smaller north west turnpike. Unfortunately, due to the ruined condition of the upper part of the turnpike this cannot be confirmed. A masonry lift clearly demonstrates that the stair was extended when the western portion of the castle was heightened. It seems implausible that the stair was only served the wall walk and did not access the second floor.

connected. This in turn suggests that the attic space may also have been a female space, accommodating the female servants of the household under the supervision of the laird's wife, within the second floor chamber. The second opposing solution is that the straight stair did only give access to the attic, and the laird's wife was isolated within the western portion of the castle with no communication with the attic chamber (B2) and having to reach the hall through her husband's chamber (A1). This would suggest that the laird's relationship with his wife was one of dominance and that the laird's wife had fewer responsibilities within the household.

It would appear that the access arrangements to the attic (B2) were not satisfactory as when the north east tower was raised (D1, D2, D3 & D4), a route was created between the attic (B2) and the stair tower. This may suggest that the straight stair served both upper spaces, an arrangement which was seen as unsatisfactory perhaps because of traffic interfering both with the upper chamber (A2) and the lobby (AB1) to the lower chamber (A1). Thus with the heightening of the tower and the building of the stair, the opportunity was taken to improve the access arrangements.

The creation of the north east tower (D1, D2, D3 & D4) took several stages (plan 3). However, because of the limited impact many of these changes had on the overall access graph they are not all shown in the diagrams. The wing appears to have been initially widened and heightened, when the rest of the castle was heightened, creating two chambers of a reasonable size accessed from the first floor, although the precise access arrangements are uncertain (D1 & D2). In the late sixteenth/early seventeenth century the wing was again heightened by the addition of an extra storey and a garret (D3 & D4) (RCAHMS 1933, 276). This necessitated the building of a turnpike staircase with a small caphouse, which gave access to the upper floors of the tower (D2, D3 & D4) and the attic in the main block (B2). Each of the chambers had a fireplace and a dry garderobe. Thus, the structure appears to have been an accommodation tower consisting of individual small bedchambers, rather like the fifteenth century accommodation tower at Crighton Castle. This may have served as guest accommodation or as the lodgings of important officials within the barony, or as a mixture of both.

The transverse partition wall appears to have created a strong public/private division within the structure, with the spaces to the west of the wall consisting of the chambers associated with the laird and his family (A1, A2, C1 & C2). The chambers to the east were of a more public character with the hall and guest accommodation (B1, B2, D1, D2, D3 & D4). With the conversion and subdivision of the western undercroft (A & AB) from a possible hall to cellage, the eastern ground floor living chamber (A) also must have become more isolated from the family accommodation in the western part of the castle. In this context it is significant

that the doorway through the inserted partition wall was secured by a draw bar (see plan 3), which meant that the access to the western, private side of the castle could be controlled and indeed denied. The occupant of the eastern chamber could be barred from entering any other parts of the castle, and because of the exterior doorway did not have to enter any other parts of the castle.

The many staircases serving the two halves of the castle reflects and reinforces the apparent division of the structure. It is also reinforced by the castles external appearance with the western half that much higher than the eastern. The access diagram demonstrates this division as the hall (B1) and accommodation tower (D1, D2, D3 & D4) are all on one branch of the graph coming off the exterior stair to the hall (see figure 6-21). This branch has only two rings; the first represents the link to the chamber (A1) and the second represents the link with the attic space, also in the eastern half of the building.

6.7.2 Morton — A multitude of possibilities.

This section is entitled '*a multitude of possibilities*' for two reasons. The first stems from the fact that the accommodation is so ruinous that it can be reconstructed in a bewildering number of ways (plan 4). Secondly, the various towers offer a number of possible foci for the lord's suite. The two main area of accommodation were the gatehouse (A1, B1, C1 & E1) and the south east corner tower (D-1, D, D1 & D2). The upper floor of the eastern wing (H1) and the chambers of the posited northern curtain wall tower (I) may also have provided extra living space. If the castle was slighted in 1357 this would therefore affect these proposed arrangements significantly. It has been suggested that this act resulted in the destruction of much of the gatehouse and the corner tower. If this indeed occurred, it is uncertain which part of the castle would have been used for accommodation.

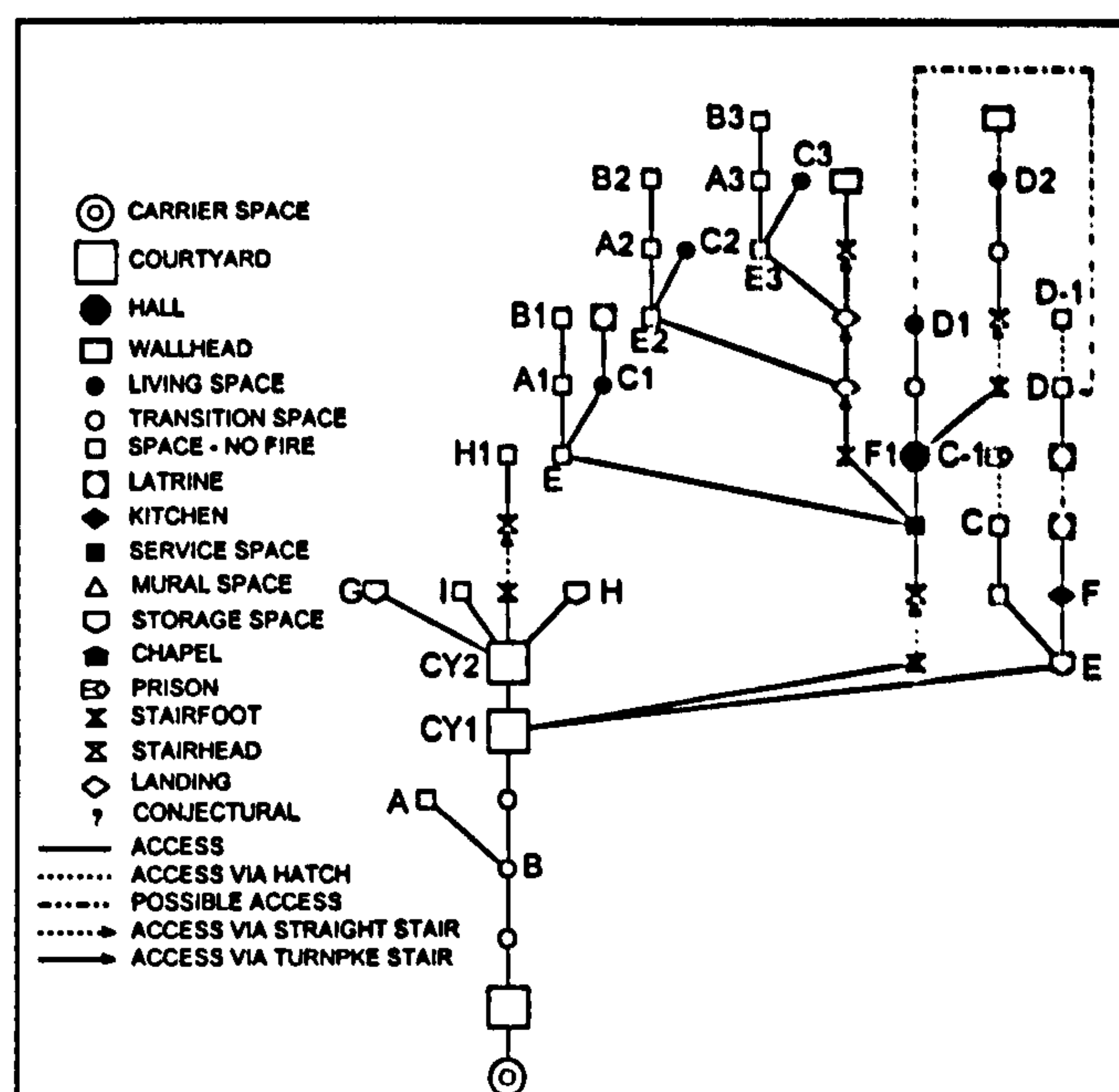


Figure 6-23 Access graph, Morton, c. late 13th/early 14th century.

The largest amount of accommodation was contained within the gatehouse area. As can be seen from the reconstructed plan and the planing diagram the gatehouse comprised several chambers (plan 4). The two projecting D-shaped towers would have provided numerous small chambers — probably six in total — suitable for small living and bed chambers. The chambers within the surviving western tower present a hierarchical arrangement of spaces, each space distinguished by height and amenities. The first floor chamber (C1) was clearly of most consequence: it had a higher ceiling than the chambers above, a hooded fireplace of Edwardian type and a latrine chamber accessible from the eastern ingoing of a large window in the southern wall which had a seat in its western ingoing (RCAHMS 1920, 177; Simpson 1939, 31-32). The chamber is also lit by a window in the south west wall. The chamber above (C2), reached from the turnpike stair within the angle between the gatehouse and the hall, had a fireplace but the ceiling was lower, its single window although with a seat was smaller and the chamber was without a garderobe. The topmost chamber (C3) is now ruined and has no identifiable features. The other tower (A1, A2 & A3) may have had similar arrangements.

The other elements of the gatehouse consist of a chamber lying between the two towers on each floor (B1, B2 & B3?) and the space to the north of the towers (E1, E2, & E3?). The first floor chamber between the towers (B1) contained the drawbridge and portcullis mechanisms. It was lit by a large arched southern window, the eastern jamb of which still survives, from which those within could view those approaching the gate. Such a large window in the main frontal elevation of the gate would appear to have been a security risk, but this window may not have

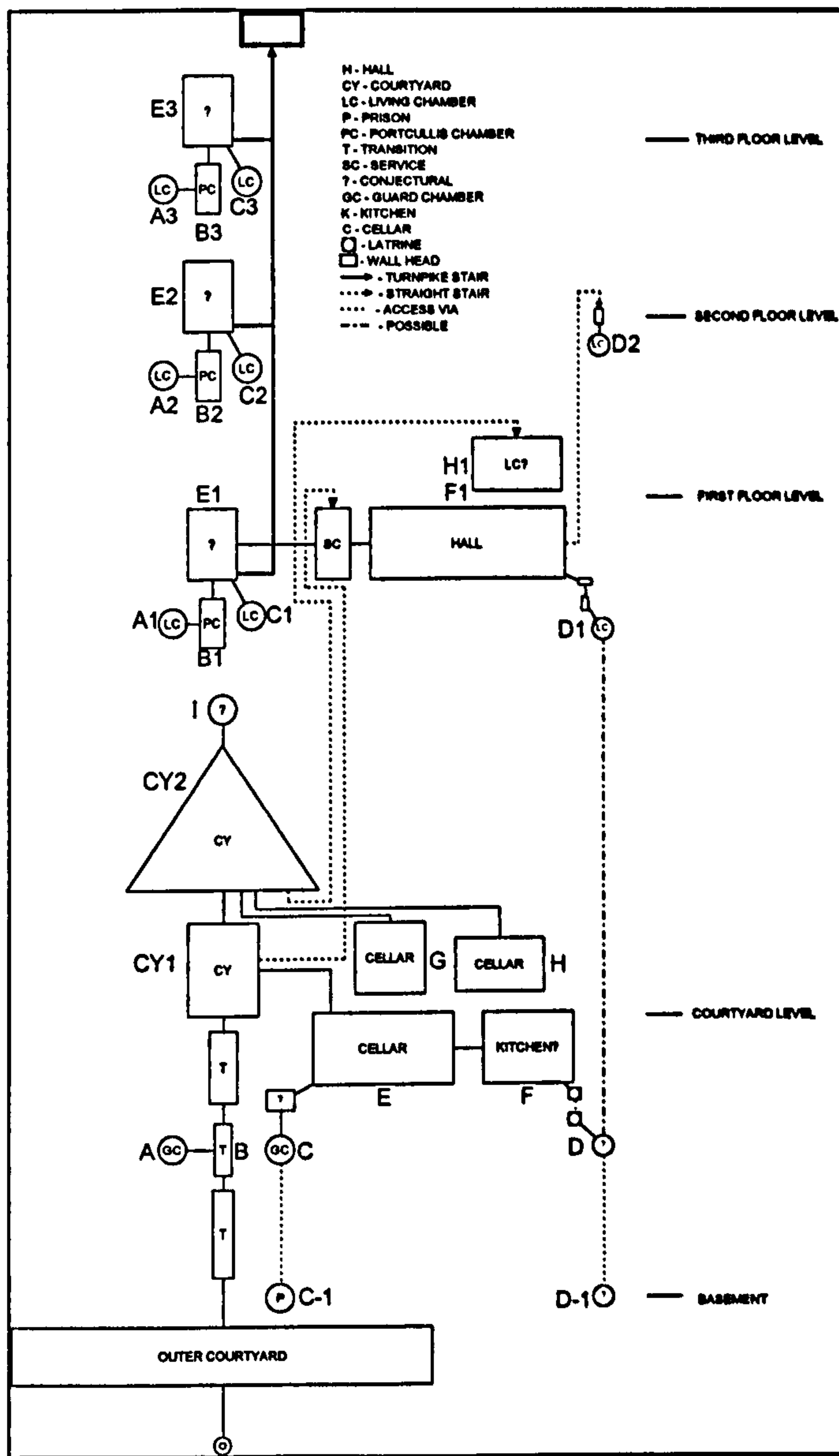


Figure 6-24 Planning diagram, Morton C. late 13th/ early 14th century.

only lit the portcullis chamber but also the chamber to the north. People approaching the castle may have been challenged from this room before they were allowed into the castle. Thus, spaces B1, B2 & B3? may have functioned merely as an enlarged window embrasure, lighting the larger spaces beyond (E1, E2, & E3?). This embrasure probably communicated with the western gate tower, and thus it is presumed that the whole of the gate tower was at least three storeys but perhaps four storeys high. The space north of the towers overlying the entrance pend must have been divided from the main hall, as the gatehouse rose several storeys higher. The dividing wall has been drawn between the turnpike stair and an area of walling lying between two windows (see plan). There are problems with this interpretation as the partition wall, as drawn, is very narrow. However, there are no other suitable positions for a wall and foundations do exist in this position although if the actual line and thickness of the foundations were

extended upwards it would slight the western most window. The spaces created by the dividing wall (E1, E2 & E3?) were irregular quadrangles and the largest space within the gatehouse on each floor.

The role of the gatehouse accommodation within the household structure is extremely difficult to interpret: not only does only a small part of the gatehouse exist, and that is mostly inaccessible, but there is also the south west corner tower to consider in any interpretation. Simpson suggests that the gatehouse

'forms a self-contained residence for the lord of the castle, having the entrance under his own control, and cut off completely from the rest of the building' (Simpson 1939, 32).

As with much of Simpson's work, this interpretation has been informed by his theories on *'bastard feudalism'* and *'livery and maintenance'*. However, there are problems with his interpretation of the gatehouse as well as his theories on social relations within the household. Although Simpson is accurate in stating that the occupant of the gatehouse controlled access to the whole castle, he is of course wrong in stating that the gatehouse was completely cut off from the rest of the castle. To reach the gatehouse one had to travel through the main body of the castle. Unlike Doune Castle, with which Simpson draws his parallels, Morton shows no evidence of having a separate entrance to the gatehouse. Although the concept of a castle designed to protect the lord from his own retainers can be dismissed, analogy with other gatehouse castles such as Doune and Caerlaverock may elucidate the arrangements at Morton. At Doune and Caerlaverock the gatehouses provided the private accommodation for the lord and his family, consisting of a hall, or halls superimposed on one another, and smaller chambers contained within projecting towers functioning as private chambers and bed chambers. An inventory of Caerlaverock written in the mid-seventeenth century, by which time the castle had two ranges of lodgings and a large hall and withdrawing room, makes clear that the lord's accommodation was still to be found in the gatehouse (Mackenzie 1929, 127). At both Doune and Caerlaverock the portcullis was worked from a small chamber or window recess accessible from the hall, rather like the arrangement at Morton. Thus, from these analogies it would appear that the gatehouse at Morton could have served as the lord's accommodation.

However, in one important detail the arrangements at Morton differ from those at Doune. At Doune, where the great hall is also attached to the gatehouse, the upper, or dais end of the hall leads directly to the lord's hall. At Morton the opposite arises (plan 4). This may appear a small detail but at Morton for the lord to reach his accommodation in the gatehouse, he would have to walk the length of the hall, through the service passage to the gatehouse and his accommodation. This is of course unnecessary as further accommodation space was available within the south west tower accessible from the upper area of the hall.

Only the western portion of this tower now survives and what is left demonstrates that it was comprised of three main storeys and a basement. None of the spaces have any fireplaces and there is only one surviving window but it is conceivable that such features were within the eastern and now destroyed half of the tower. The access arrangements of the tower are difficult to reconstruct: the structure does not appear to have had any stairs providing communication within the tower — although again it is possible that a turnpike was contained within the eastern wall — but rather each of the spaces in the tower appears to have communicated directly with the floors in the main block. The ground floor chamber (D) appears to have communicated with the lower hall/kitchen (E) by way of two latrine chambers and the basement of the tower (D-1) must have been reached by a hatch in the floor of chamber D.⁶ The first floor chamber (D1) communicated directly with the hall (F1) and is very reminiscent of the arrangements found at Rait Castle. At both castles the upper end of the hall was in communication with a circular chamber in a corner tower. The chamber is reached through a small lobby within the thickness of the wall, and both have small cupboards/windows in the walls of the lobby. Again each chamber was lit by at least one window with seats. At Rait, in absence of any other accommodation, the chamber must have served as the private chamber of the lord, and this analogy may serve well for the arrangements at Morton Castle. The upper chamber of the tower (D2) also appears to have been in direct communication with the hall (F1) via a window embrasure whose stepped breast acted as staircase. These arrangements are not certain because of problems of access, ruination and rebuilding, but it appears that the staircase continued within the thickness of the wall, accessing a small lobby which led to the upper chamber. Due to these access arrangements this chamber is deeper within the access graph (see figure 6-24) and may have provided accommodation for the lord's wife or family.

Thus, the south west tower at Morton would have functioned rather like the donjons at Bothwell, Kildrummy and possibly Coull, providing private accommodation for the lord's family away from the busiest part of the castle, the gatehouse and courtyards. In contrast, at Doune the lord's accommodation is contained within the gatehouse. In this interpretation, the gatehouse may have served to accommodate the full time administrative staff of the castle: the steward, baillie or constable and their household. Thus, as with Tulliallan and at Doune, there may have been a division between the lord's chambers and guest accommodation, with the hall acting as a transition space distancing the various areas of the castle (see plan 4).

One could have expected the lord's accommodation to have been the most architecturally significant and impressive feature of the castle as with the donjons at Bothwell and Kildrummy.

⁶ In the late nineteenth century a description states that these chambers did not communicate with each other but thirty five years later when the Royal Commission visited the latrines formed a passage to the ground floor of the chamber (MacGibbon & Ross 1887 vol. II, 548: RCAHMS 1920, 177).

At Morton, this would have been the gatehouse of the castle, rather than the south west tower. However, Simpson has demonstrated that Bothwell and Kildrummy are unusual in their overwhelming emphasis on the lord's private accommodation — although at both castle the gatehouse would still have competed with the donjons — and at other thirteenth century castles such as Inverlochy, Kirkcudbright and Dunstaffnage, the donjons were only slightly larger than the other towers, while at Coull the surviving gatehouse tower was slightly larger (Simpson 1925, 174).

The final possible accommodation space within the castle was the upper chamber of the eastern courtyard chamber (H1). Little can be said of this chamber as all that remains are scars, corbels and joist holes within the north wall of the main block but it would have had to be reached from an external stair (plan 4 & plate 22) . The most interesting feature of the space is the window which provides the only communication between the chamber (H1) and the hall (F1). This window has deeply splayed ingoings and shouldered lintels on the north and south sides, although the northern side is slightly more elaborate with a double shouldered lintel. The window is too small to have functioned as a doorway. The Royal Commission suggests that the window allowed supervision of the outbuildings from the hall (1920, 178). However, one could suggest the opposite was true and the window allowed those within the chamber to view the upper area of the hall, the main activity area. The elaborate treatment of the window especially on the northern side, suggests that the room was not a mere office or service chamber. The lack of other forms of access to the public space of the hall (F1) from the chamber (H1) suggests a desire to segregate the occupants or occupant from the more public arena. Although not particularly deep within the access graph (see figure 6-24) the space H1 would have been isolated within the castle, accessible only from the outer courtyard (CY2) which one would not enter unless one needed to: all the most important areas of the castle were reached from the inner courtyard (CY1). One is tempted to suggest that this too may be a female space, allowing female members of the household to view the activities of the hall but not to physically take part.

6.7.3 Summary.

At first sight both castles appear to have copious amounts of living space. However, in the case of Tulliallan this is in part an illusion created by the passing of time (see diagrams 5&6) . The first phase of this structure has suprising little accommodation and the nature of the accommodation is peculiar, with the largest identifiable living chamber situated on the ground floor. It was only with the renovation or rebuilding of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that the castles accommodation expanded. Not only did it expand but it became more varied in nature with accommodation suites for the lord and his family and a small tower comprising

single lodgings for retainers/guests. These changes also saw a more rigid division between public and private aspects of the structure and a more tower house like appearance.

Even in its initial phase Morton had extensive accommodation, and in this respect it contrasted with Tulliallan and even Rait with which it shares so many similarities. Again, this difference is mainly a result of the gatehouse at Morton. Thus, the main reason behind this structure may not have been the benefits of flanking fire or the creation of a salient projection from the facade of the castle, but to provide extensive accommodation, in the most aggressively military way possible. The gatehouse may have accommodated a more permanent part of the household and elements of the extended household when the lord visited Morton. If this was the case the hall may have acted as a buffer between the lord in the south west tower and his large household within the gatehouse. The lord would have been relatively isolated in the south east tower. Thus, from the very beginning Morton had a division between the lord's accommodation and other guest or retainer accommodation. Tulliallan does not appear to have had such a division until its rebuilding in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

The scenario where the lord's accommodation was in the south east tower, is the exact opposite to Simpson's concept of the lord and his family accommodated within a self-contained gatehouse constantly afraid of betrayal or worse from their own retainers. Instead it presents a social structure where the lord may have been isolated not for security reasons but to demonstrate his authority, that he was effectively different from those in his entourage and those in the wider community. Although isolated the relations within the household were certain enough for the lord to leave matters of security to others. The interpretation of the relationship between the gatehouse and the south east tower is of course conjectural and with some problems: the tower would not have provided further accommodation such as semi-public chambers unlike the gatehouse where the chambers E1, E2 and perhaps E3 could have fulfilled such a function. However, as the castle of a great lord such as Sir Thomas Randolph, the lord may have only been an occasional visitor, perhaps to take advantage of the hunting in the park created by Randolph. As a temporary residence, the lord may not have required an extensive suite of accommodation. However, an official such as the constable or bailie may have wished to oversee the activities of the gatehouse and especially those wishing to gain access to the castle.

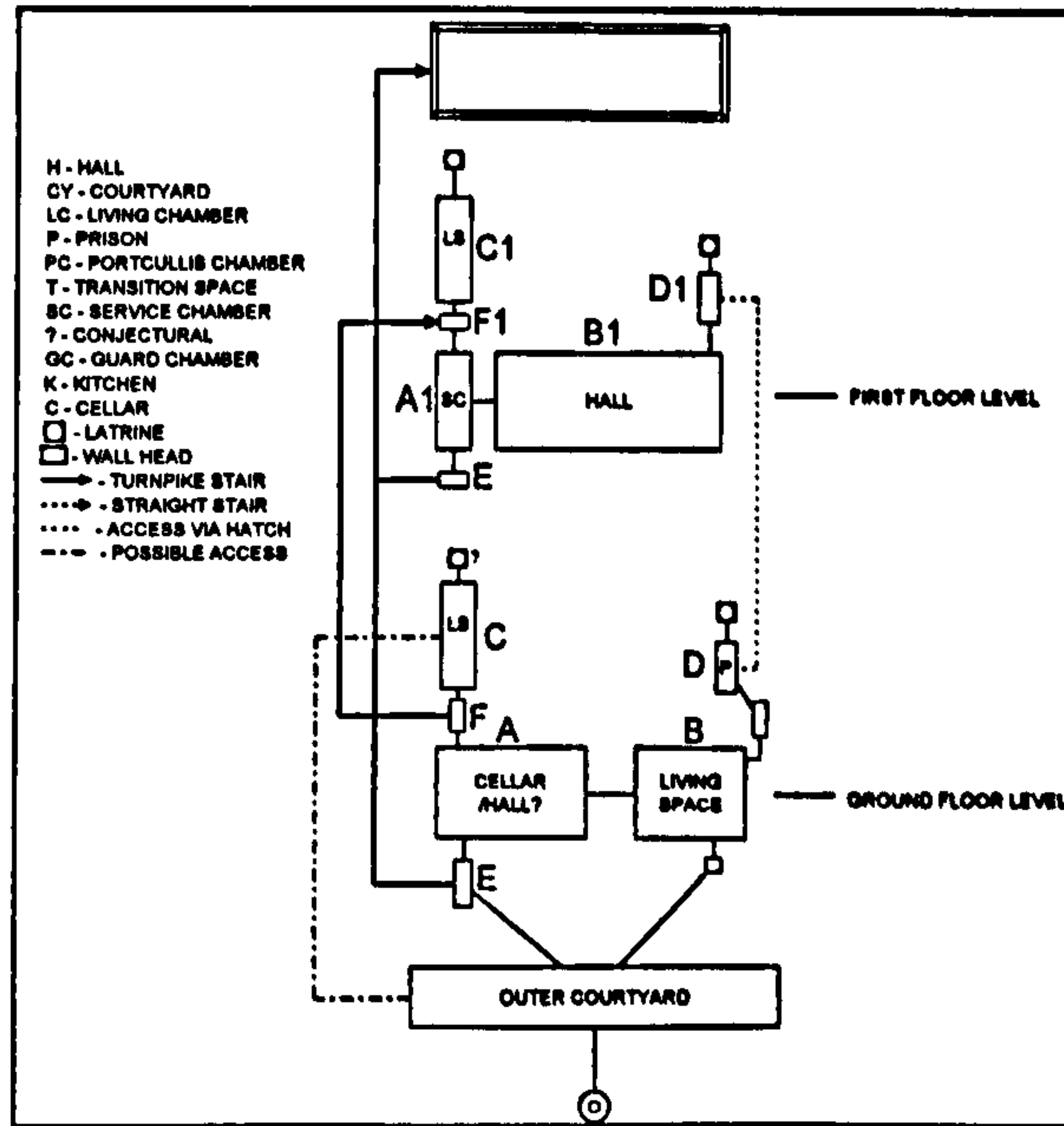


Figure 6-25 Planning Diagram, Tulliallan, late 13th/early 14th century.

6.8 SERVICES — AN ENIGMA.

At both Tulliallan and Morton the more mundane and necessary aspects of life appear to have been overwhelmed by the ritual, public and communal. The services are prominent by their absence and although there are spaces which have been interpreted as service spaces — cellars and kitchens — none of them are particularly convincing in this role.

6.8.1 Tulliallan.

At Tulliallan the only possible service space is the western ground floor chamber (A) which may have originally functioned as a cellar and well room, and certainly was to become so when the space was subdivided in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. It has been suggested that the lower floor in the north west wing (C) functioned as a service room with possible access to the exterior and access to the smaller turnpike staircase and the possible cellars (Dunbar, no date). However, the wardrobe in this chamber perhaps suggests otherwise: it would be unusual for a wardrobe to be so prominent within a service space, and it may have created an unacceptable mix of clean and unclean. If the western ground floor chamber (A) functioned as a hall, the arrangement of the ground floor replicated the arrangements of the upper floor. The possible lack of cellars and services space — apart from the screens passage — emphasises the status of the structure uncluttered by these everyday domestic concerns.

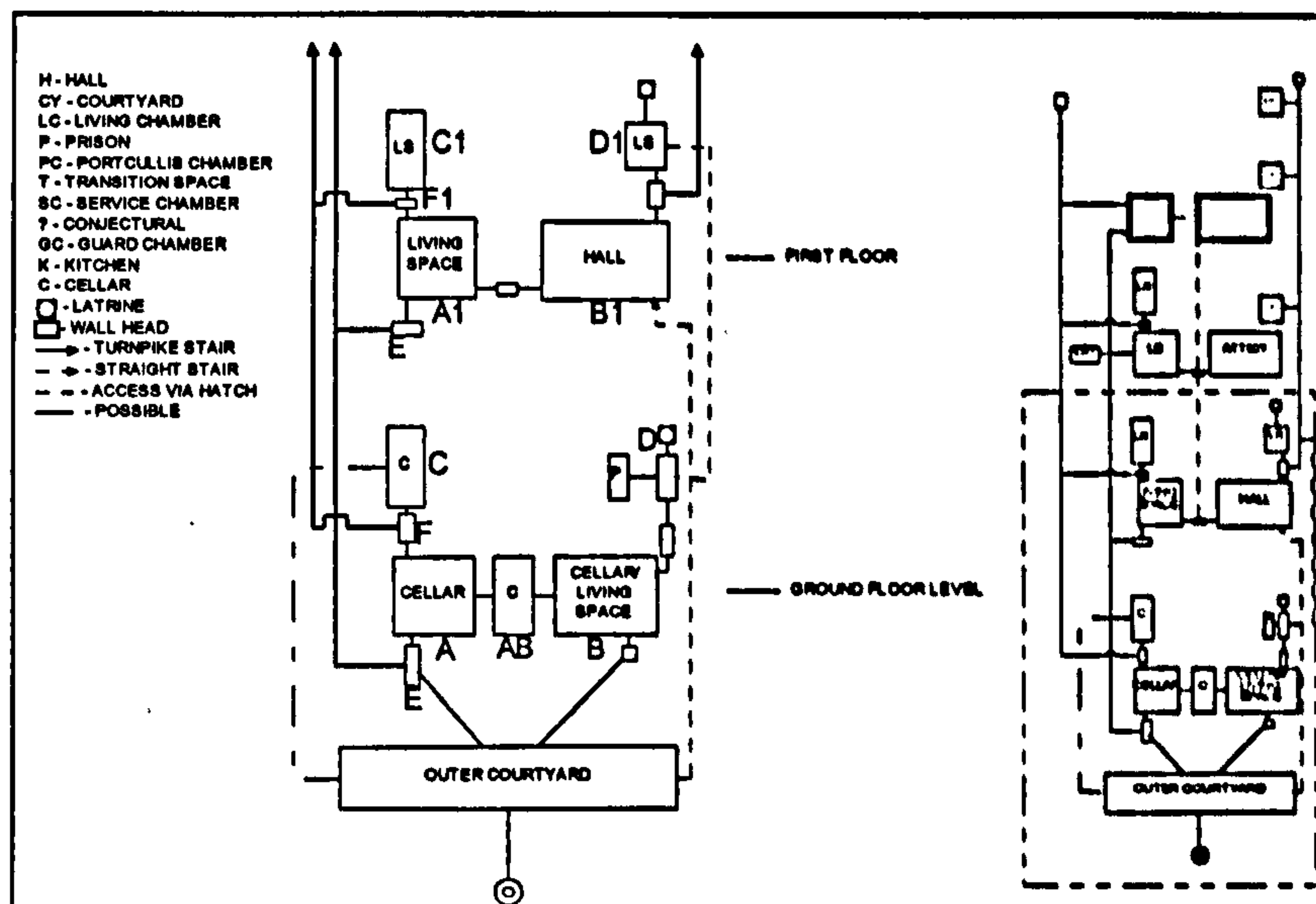


Figure 6-26 Planning diagram, Tulliallan, late 15th/early 16th century.

With the subdivision of the lower floor and the definite creation of cellaring space in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, the spatial arrangements began to conform to the general tenor of Scottish building traditions, making the hall complex resemble far more closely a self-contained towerhouse than the most important component of a much larger castle complex. The service area which is of course missing from the structure is a kitchen. As with the earlier phases of the structure's occupation, cooking may have taken place in an exterior kitchen. However, one other possibility remains. The eastern ground floor chamber (B) contains a large fireplace, which could have been used to cook upon. In the original phase of occupation this appears unlikely: the chamber was a living chamber of some importance and the fireplace, with its lamp brackets, was clearly too splendid to have been initially used as a kitchen fireplace (plate 17). However, with the subdivision and downgrading of the western ground floor chamber (A&AB) the eastern chamber may also have been downgraded, with the fireplace occasionally used for cooking, perhaps just for the occupant of the chamber or perhaps to complement an exterior kitchen.

6.8.2 Morton.

At Morton a similar problem applies to the discussion of service arrangements. The main ground floor space of the castle has been identified as a storage/service space (E) and a kitchen (F). As with Tulliallan the details of the ground floor space, particularly the extensive fenestration, the large hooded fireplace, and the fact that it was originally probably a single, very large chamber suggest that it may have served as a lower hall. There is also evidence which suggests that the chambers were not used as cellarge or a kitchen. Firstly, directly accessible from the kitchen (F) is a latrine which has no corridor to separate the clean from the unclean. Secondly, the access arrangements for the kitchen are hardly convenient with food having to be carried the whole length of the ground floor, through the service chamber/cellar, out of the main block and up the forestair to the first floor hall. Finally, there is only one doorway of a normal size accessing the ground floor, quite unsuitable for carrying in large and bulky items. Thus, if these spaces were a service/kitchen areas the arrangements were not well thought through.

However, as with Tulliallan, it appears that at some time it was deemed necessary to have

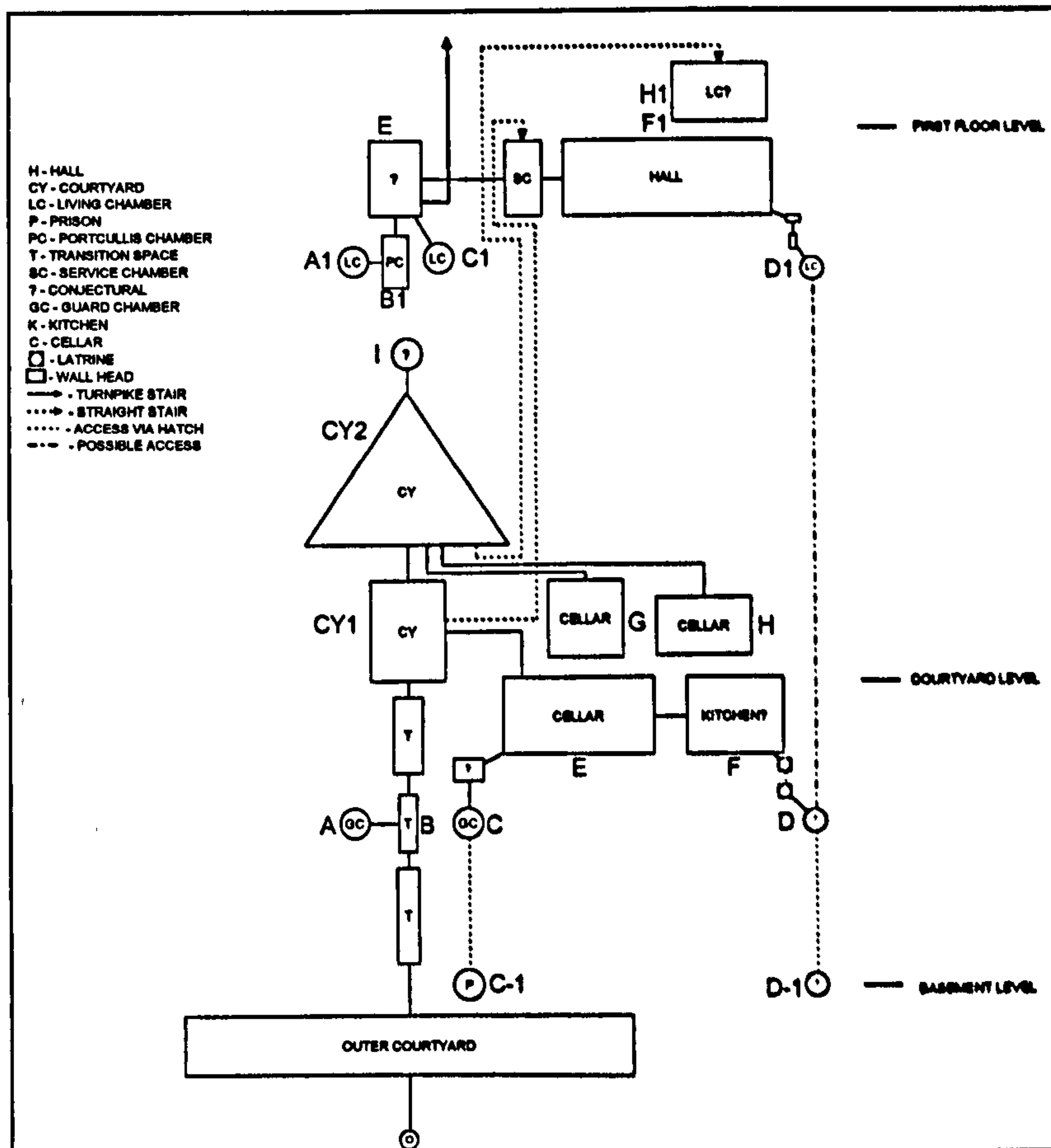


Figure 6-27 Planning diagram of ground and first floors, Morton, late 13th/early 14th century.

some cooking facilities within the structure of the hall house. The fireplace at the eastern end of the space, does appear to have been used as kitchen fireplace during some stage in the castle's history, as a slops drain was inserted into a window embrasure flanking the fireplace. This may relate to a later stage of the castles history when it no longer served as a principal residence of a lord, but as the centre of a relatively poor upland rural barony administered by a baillie who rented the castle and the Mains farm.

6.8.3 Summary.

The interpretation of both the castles has suggested that the main area of the castle — the hall house itself — may have had little storage space. In the case of Tulliallan we can be certain that there was no kitchen and the same may have been true of Morton. Thus, the main structure in both castles was used specifically for accommodation and as a hall/s. The service buildings required to serve a household must have been situated elsewhere within the castle complex. At Rait Castle, it seems likely that the ground floor chamber functioned as cellarage: there is no fireplace in either the main chamber or the small round chamber to suggest otherwise, nor are the chambers elaborated by extensive fenestration or impressive vaulting. More interesting than the contrast Rait provides, is the fact that the hall house is situated within a courtyard. Around the courtyard are the vestiges of a number of outbuildings. One may have been the chapel of St Mary, but the others would have functioned as services spaces: a kitchen, cellarage and other offices such as a bakery and a laundry. A similar situation must have existed at Tulliallan and Morton. At Morton the western lean-to structure (G) and the ground floor of the eastern lean-to (H1) probably functioned as offices of some description. Other offices may have existed in the outer courtyard (CY2) although the steep slope may have hindered construction. At Tulliallan, the hall house is contained within an extensive enclosure which could have accommodated the service buildings of the castle, surrounding the hall house.

6.9 PRISONS.

6.9.1 Tulliallan.

At Tulliallan the existence of a prison is confirmed by a reference to the '*pitt of Tullieallane*' where a poor unfortunate '*throw want of intertenement, he famischet and deit of hunger*' (RCAHMS 1933, 279). The prison was probably situated within the smaller eastern wing. This wing was an addition, thus originally the hall house was planned without such a chamber. It is also not clear if the original phase of the wing (D) served as a prison, as suggested by the Royal Commission, or if it was only with the extension of this wing (G) that the castle had a prison, as suggested by Dunbar (see plan 3)(RCAHMS 1933, 277: Dunbar, no date).

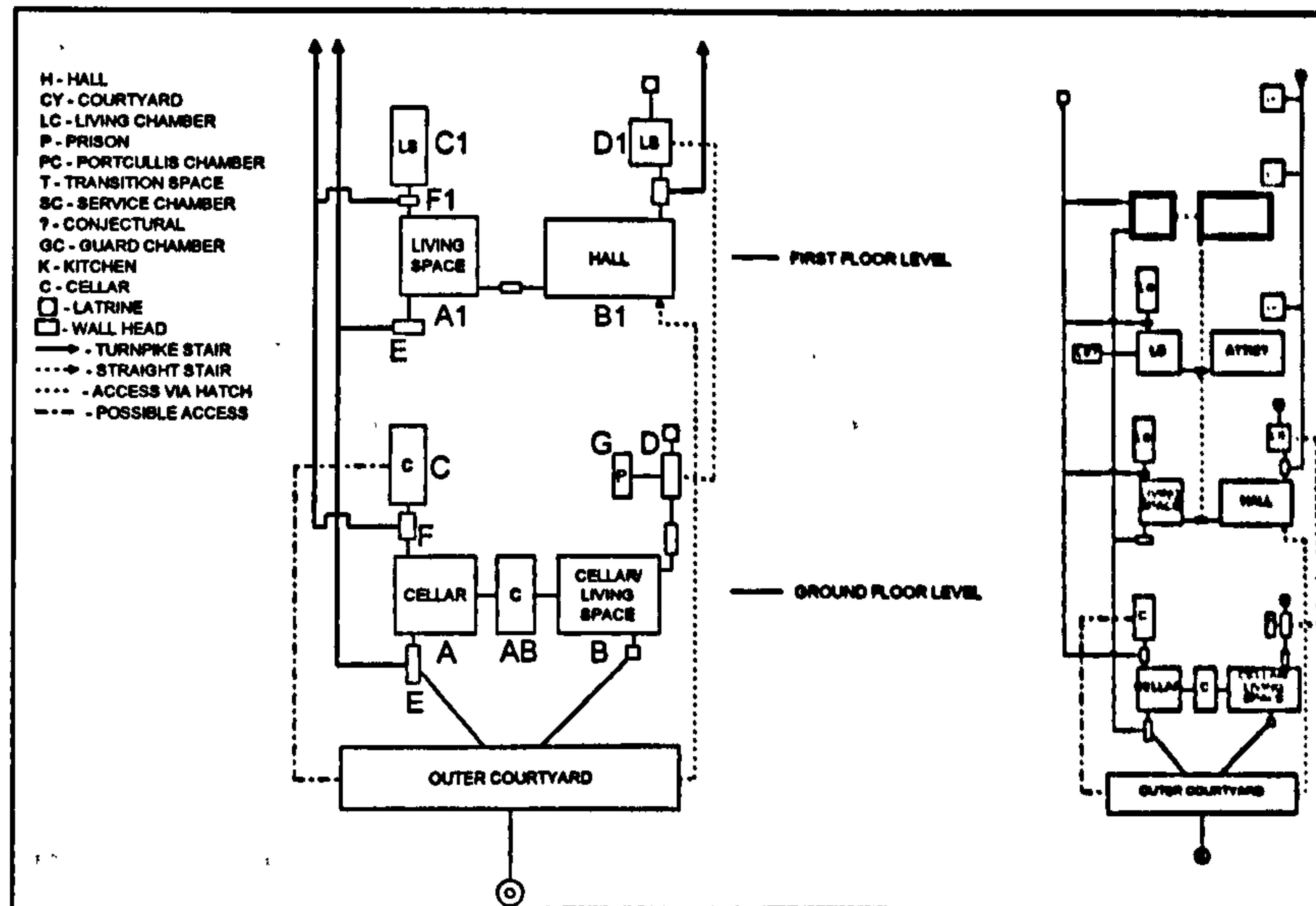


Figure 6-28 Planning diagram showing prison, Tulliallan, c. late 15th/early 16th century.

Both chambers appear unusual as prisons in the context of Scottish castle building. In the initial phase of the wing, the chamber would have communicated directly with a living space (B) and as it had a garderobe one could suggest the wing chamber merely served this living chamber. The space could also be accessed from the chamber above (D1) via a hatch. This is a peculiar arrangement as a latrine seems an unlikely place to haul goods up from or to. It is tempting to suggest that the hatch was for placing prisoners in the space below (D), although at slightly more than 2 ft across it may have been rather a tight fit. The question remains why, when there was a corridor providing easy access to the chamber D, there was also a hatch down which prisoners could be thrown. It may have been the pit form, which was so popular in Scotland, and the act of throwing a prisoner down into the pit, that was an important, almost symbolic, element in the handing out of justice. This of course does not explain why access was also provided from the main chamber. It may represent a change in use from a latrine/wardrobe chamber attached to the living chamber (B) to a prison.

The wing was extended in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century by the addition of chamber of a similar size to the initial one (G) (plan 3). This chamber could have also served as prison but again if it was a prison it has a strange relationship with the living chamber B: the large window through the north wall of chamber B looks into the proposed prison chamber II and shows no sign of ever having been blocked. This would the occupant to survey the occupants of the prison but, in return, would have allowed the prisoners to impinge on the occupants, if not by sight, certainly with noise. The relationship with the other space in the wing is also ambiguous: was there an inner and outer prison? was it a simple extension to increase

the size of the prison? or did it allow the living chamber to regain the use of the latrine chamber?

The association of the prison with the living chamber in the main block may reflect the role of that occupant in the dispensing of justice and ensuring the security of the castle. Alternatively, if the use of the wing chamber as a prison represents a change in function, this change may reflect the downgrading of the ground floor, seen also by the subdivision of the western chamber (A) discussed above.

6.9.2 Morton.

At Morton, the best candidate for the prison is the basement chamber in the eastern tower of the gatehouse (C-1). This chamber has no features apart from a vent through the wall, which provides a little light and some fresh air. Access to the prison must have been through a hatch in the wooden ceiling. These arrangements correspond with a late seventeenth century description of the prison:

'a dungeon sixteen steps of a stair underground, where there was no light of day, and the ground being so wet and unwholesomes of the pit almost choked him ...' Adams 1875, 162).

To reach the ground floor chamber in the tower (C) from which one could access the prison one would probably have to go through the lower chamber of the main block (E). The

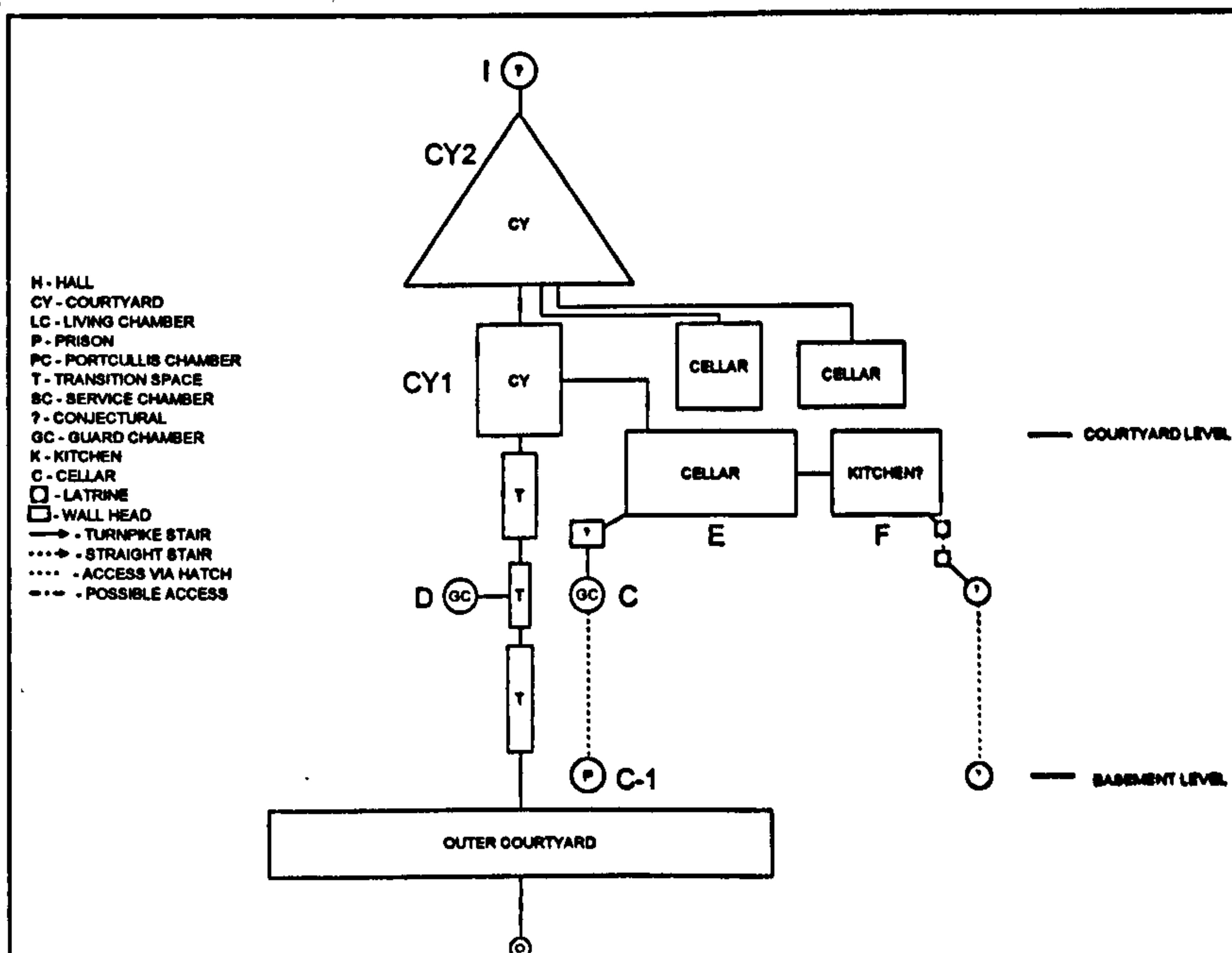


Figure 6-29 Planning diagram showing prison, Morton, c. early 13th/late 14th century.

fact that the ground floor chamber (C) does not communicate with the entrance pend could suggest that it and the basement chamber (C-1) may have functioned as a double prison. The fact that the prison was in the gatehouse, rather than the corner tower or elsewhere within the castle complex may reflect the association this area had with justice, confirming its possible function as the residence of the constable or other judicial officers.

6.9.3 Summary.

The prison appears to have been an essential component of aristocratic dwellings. At Morton a certain amount of thought and resources went into prison. At Tulli Allan the prison may have been a secondary development although it may have occurred soon after the castle was built. Although at both castles there would have been scope within the wider castle complex to build a prison away from the hall house the decision was made to accommodate possibly disruptive elements within a space in the building which contained the hall and the lord's accommodation. It may have been important that the prison, a physical representation of the lord's judicial role, was linked to the lord's residence, which acted as an architectural representation of the lord himself. Further, it was connected to the building containing the hall, perhaps the main location of the barony court. At Morton there was the added symbolism of siting the prison within the gatehouse.

6.10 GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

The ground floor accommodation at Tulli Allan, along with the posited ground floor hall and the numerous ground floor entrances gives Tulli Allan a very 'English' feel and one cannot help make comparisons to northern English semi-fortified manor houses such as Dally, Haughton, Edlingham and especially Aydon Castle (Northumbria), all built at the turn of the thirteenth century. Aydon was a more complex structure but demonstrates similar architectural details such as the use of shoulder-headed lintels. More importantly there are certain planning arrangements where one can find parallels; these include a ground floor servants' hall and a ground floor chamber. At Aydon the ground floor arrangements were replicated on the first floor, but it appears that, when originally conceived, the ground floor chamber acted as the most private space. Although at Tulli Allan the ground floor living chamber (B) is the most splendid chamber in the castle, the access arrangements make it clear that this did not serve as the lord's or as family chamber.

The greatest similarity between the structures is the existence of narrow wings serving as latrine chambers. The larger wing at Tulli Allan (C) is of similar size and proportion to the wing which was access from the chamber block at Aydon. Moreover the initial phase of Aydon

appears to have consisted of the chamber block and latrine wing, producing a very similar plan to Tulliallan. The hall at Aydon was built very soon after and created a hall, chamber and private room arrangement of spaces. The initial phase at Tulliallan does not appear to have taken this form, but was simplified with a hall and small private chamber. It is possible that the hall at Tulliallan was subdivided with a chamber at the upper end of the hall. Such a chamber would have accessed the smaller wing (D) which was too small to function as a bedchamber, and is rather more reminiscent of the latrine wing accessed from the upper area of the hall at Rait. No direct architectural link is suggested by the comparison with Tulliallan and Aydon — Tulliallan has some features such as the turnpike stairs not found at Aydon, and which were to become very common in Scottish tower houses — but there are enough similarities to suggest that both castles fit into a tradition of semi-fortified manor houses existing at the end of the thirteenth century in England and Scotland.

At Morton this tradition is more difficult to identify, for although it has a large first floor hall similarly arranged to the hall at Rait, and a possible hall on the ground floor, the castle appears dominated by its gatehouse, an aspect which seems more in keeping with the larger and more impressive courtyard castles of Kildrummy, Caerlaverock, Coull and Bothwell. One could almost see Morton as a hybrid, an attempt to produce a military impressive structure, while retaining the most important elements of the simple hall house.

At Tulliallan, the English nature of the structure is demonstrated by the changes later wrought by the Blackadders in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries (diagram 5&6). These changes produced a more vertical structure with less emphasis on the ground floor and a more tower house like structure overall. Similar transformations occurred at other Scottish castles. At Craigie (Ayrshire) the ground floor hall had extra floors added on top of the wallhead. At Portincross, another ground floor hall was abandoned and a tower house was built to replace it in the fourteenth or fifteenth century. At Bothwell, the incomplete English-built hall was probably a ground floor structure and was replaced by an extremely high first floor hall. At castles such as Tulliallan, Craigie, and Dundonald, we can perhaps see the conflict between the tower house and hall, in which the hall house lost out. One could also suggest that such structures demonstrate the possible 'evolution' of hall house into the tower house — even though Drum tower supposedly dates to the late thirteenth century — with its beginnings in ground or first floor halls, but the militarisation of the Scottish aristocracy and barons resulted in a concurrent militarisation of their accommodation. Partly this change in the nature of their residences may reflect this militarisation, yet more aggressive structures such as these would have had reinforced in turn the movement to more aggressive representation of lordship.

However, the alterations to Tulliallan are not only significant in that they show a hall house becoming more tower like, but as an example of a relatively open and undifferentiated structure becoming more and more divided into smaller spaces, with a clear division between the public and the private. It should be remembered that the initial structure may simply have been the main block, minus any wings. At Morton such developments never appear to have taken place. This maybe due to the extensive gatehouse accommodation which could have quartered the wider household. Thus, at Tulliallan the increasing subdivision of the castle may represent a need to accommodate an increasing retinue. However, the enclosing of the structure must represent and must have been a force in an altering social structure, a social structure where privacy was more and more desired and created through spatial arrangements.

Tulliallan and Morton have certain similarities: they are contemporary with each other, they are of a similar status, they are of a similar size and they have structural details in common; the main element of the castle is a first floor hall. However, despite these similarities they initially projected very different identities, and through time the differences became more and more apparent. Thus, despite the pressures of society, castle building was an activity which remained individualistic.

7. CASE STUDY THREE — ELPHINSTONE CASTLE, A FIFTEENTH OR SIXTEENTH CENTURY TOWER-HOUSE.

The plain exterior and simple oblong plan of Elphinstone Castle belies its extremely complex internal arrangements. The space within the walls of the structure were exploited to the full, with the creation of a honey-comb of mural chambers, to provide extra accommodation. It is ironic then, that the very features which make the structure so interesting has literally led to its downfall: the land on which the tower stood suffers from subsidence as a result of coal mining, and the many mural chambers made the tower so unstable that it was demolished to its ground floor c. 1963 (Maxwell-Irving 1996, 871). Thus, unlike the other case-studies, the actual castle could not be physically experienced. However, the tower was extensively described and planned by MacGibbon & Ross and by the Royal Commission, and an extensive photographic record was completed before demolition (MacGibbon & Ross 1887, vol. I, 236; RCAHMS 1924, 236). These resources formed the basis of this study and have been used to create the spatial diagrams. It was because of these unusual circumstances that Elphinstone was chosen as a case study. Archaeology is reconstruction, and the interpretation of Elphinstone is the toughest test for the various methods of formal spatial analysis. Not only do the graphs and diagrams have to create a sense of moving through a the tower for the reader but they also have to do this for the author, who then has to translate this into text.

7.1 BACKGROUND HISTORY.

Almost all of the major commentators have suggested that the structure was built in the mid to late fifteenth century (MacGibbon & Ross 1887, vol. I, 236; RCAHMS 1924, 122; Cruden 1960, 128; Fawcett 1994, 245). The date of the castle depends partly upon heraldry and partly on analogy. A series of heraldic shields over the hall fireplace include the arms of Johnston of Annandale, suggesting that Sir Gilbert Johnston, the first Johnston laird of Elphinstone c. 1435, built the tower (MacGibbon & Ross 1887, vol. I, 236; Maxwell-Irving 1996, 874). The extensive use of mural chambers and the sophisticated planning has led to comparisons with Borthwick Castle (Midlothian), which is securely dated to c. 1430 by a licence to crenallate, and with Comlongon (Dumfriesshire), also dated to the mid-fifteenth century on the basis of its similarities to Borthwick (Cruden 1960, 128; Maxwell-Irving 1996, 874).

Despite the general consensus among commentators, Maxwell-Irving has recently challenged the orthodox view of the date of the Elphinstone Tower, along with that for

Comlongon (1996). Maxwell-Irving has pointed out that the heraldic scheme is incomplete and that the shield of Johnston of Annandale may represent Gilbert's son, Sir Adam Johnston of Elphinstone. He goes on to suggest that due to litigation over his wife's inheritance of the barony, Gilbert would have been unable to afford such an expensive building project. Finally, along with Comlongon, Maxwell-Irving suggests that analogies for Elphinstone, should be sought amongst a group of castles in Ayrshire and Argyll — Little Cumbrae, Fairlie, Law, Skelmorlie and Saddell — all which have kitchens attached to the lower end of the hall. Of these castles Skelmorlie and Little Cumbrae can be dated by documentary evidence to the early sixteenth century. On these grounds Maxwell-Irving has suggested that Elphinstone and Comlongon date to a similar period (1996, 877).

The change in date by some fifty to seventy-five years is a rather minor detail in understanding Elphinstone Tower. However, Maxwell-Irving's attempt to link Elphinstone with Little Cumbrae, Fairlie, Law, Skelmorlie and Saddell, is incorrect. While Comlongon is similar to the west coast towers, the planning arrangements of Elphinstone are different enough to suggest that other analogies which are needed. In particular access from the ground floor to the hall at Comlongon and the sixteenth century west coast towers is via large turnpike stairs, while at Elphinstone access is via a narrow straight stair. Moreover, at Elphinstone the first floor great hall, as well as the ground floor, was ceiled by a lofty, slightly pointed, barrel vault, while at Comlongon and the west coast towers, only the basement is vaulted. Although one can find vaulted halls in the sixteenth century — Craignethan, Corgarff (Aberdeenshire) and Scotstarvit (Fife) for instance — they were becoming uncommon by this date, but are often found in earlier tower houses. Maxwell-Irving also points to the ground floor entrances at Elphinstone and Comlongon stating that this feature '*is more typical of 16th-century work*' (1996, 876). It is certainly true that earlier towers often have first floor entrances, one can find several important fourteenth and fifteenth century towers with ground floor entrances such as at Neidpath (Peebleshire), Lethington (East Lothian) and Craigmillar (Midlothian), while others such as Portencross (Ayrshire) and Newark (Selkirkshire) have both a ground floor and a first floor entrance with a stair communicating between the ground and first floor.

Maxwell-Irving suggests the link between all the castles is the kitchen arrangement at the lower end of the hall, an arrangement copied from Comlongon and Elphinstone by the west coast towers. However, this arrangement is also found at Newark Castle (Selkirkshire) where the kitchen is an addition but probably dates to 1478 (RCAHMS 1957, 64). Newark shares other features with Elphinstone, not found at Comlongon or the west coast towers, such as the straight

stair from the ground floor to the hall and kitchen. Elphinstone also shares features with Sauchie Tower and Clackmannan Tower, both castles with extensive fifteenth century work. All these towers have numerous mural chambers; in particular Clackmannan has a mural gallery, very similar to one found at Elphinstone (RCAHMS 1933, 310, 317). Thus, these analogies suggest that Elphinstone does indeed date from the mid-fifteenth century. If so it should not be linked to Comlongon, Little Cumbrae, Fairlie, Law, Skelmorlie and Saddell, although it could have been one possible source of inspiration for the arrangements at these towers. The pronounced cluster of towers with similar planning arrangements along the west coast in Ayrshire Argyll and Renfrewshire, one could suggest that we can identify the style of a particular mason.

The tower at Elphinstone was built long after the barony of Elphinstone was established. Its construction seems to relate to the Johnstons of Annandale acquisition of the barony through marriage to Agnes Elphinstone, daughter of Sir Alexander Elphinstone of that ilk, who was killed at Piperdean in 1435 (Maxwell-Irving 1996, 874). The acquisition of the barony does not appear to have gone smoothly, as there was a legal challenge from Sir Alexander's brother, Henry, which led to the estate being divided between the parties in 1476. This compromise granted Elphinstone itself to Agnes and her husband Sir Gilbert Johnston of Annandale (Maxwell-Irving 1996, 874; Fraser 1897, vol. I, x, 14). The construction of the tower, either by Sir Gilbert or his son Adam, may have been a response to this long running legal dispute. It was a material proclamation of their success in taking possession of the main estate centre, Elphinstone, while also consolidating Elphinstone's position as an estate centre. It would have established Gilbert Johnston in the locality since it was far from the south west where the Johnston family had their powerbase. This may have been all the more critical for Gilbert as part of the Elphinstone estate was in the hands of Henry Elphinstone, who was possible antagonistic to the Johnston possession of Elphinstone.

The Johnstons remained in possession of the barony and the tower into the late seventeenth century when Sir James Johnston, third baron of Elphinstone, had to part with the estates (RCAHMS 1924, 122). In the seventeenth century two extensions were built on to the tower. The first, constructed in 1637, by the Johnstons as part of their policy of up-dating their tower, begun earlier in the sixteenth century by rebuilding the parapet with decorative cable moulding and cannon gargoyles (M'Neill 1884, 181). The second extension was built in 1697, probably by the new owners of the tower, again up-dating it and increasing the accommodation of the castle. These structures were demolished in 1865 but a painting by J Drummond in 1847 shows the form of the two extensions. The extensions were attached to the southern elevation of

the tower, leaving the entrance to the tower clear. Internal communication between the tower and the extension appears to have been via a single doorway slapped through the southern wall of the tower into its basement, although another doorway may have accessed the first floor of the tower. If the access route through the cellarage, was the only route, it seems to suggest that the extensions were not well integrated with the tower. These extensions may have superseded the tower as the main accommodation at Elphinstone, yet the tower was not demolished to provide building material. It seems to have remained the symbol of lordship despite the fact that it may no-longer have served as the principal accommodation of the laird of Elphinstone. The painting by J Drummond shows the mass of the oblong tower physically dominating the extensions, which appear very domestic in comparison.

7.2 GEOGRAPHIC AND TOPOGRAPHIC SETTINGS.

The barony of Elphinstone, situated between the coastal plain of the Forth to the north and the Lammermuir Hills to the south, was contained within the parish of Tranent. The barony was wealthy, as is demonstrated by the size, complexity and quality of the tower of Elphinstone. The soil around the barony is a rich fertile loam ideal for cereal production, which alongside livestock production, would have been the main source of income for the lairds of Elphinstone. In addition the barony was rich in mineral resource, and it is likely that the laird of Elphinstone would have had mineral rights supplementing the income received from the barony.

The tower was built upon high ground which rose from the coastal plain and continued up to Soutra Hill and the Lammermuirs. The tower would have been extremely visible from the surrounding countryside especially from the settlement of Elphinstone, which lay half a mile to the north east, and was considerably lower than the tower. The tower is most prominent from the east: from the wall head of the tower the whole of the barony could have been viewed. Thus, the dominance of the laird over the other occupants of the barony was demonstrated and reinforced by the position of the tower in relation to the settlement and the barony.

Surrounding the tower were other elements which completed the laird's residence. A description of the grounds of Elphinstone by Sir Dick Lauder (1784-1848) written c. 1830 suggest that the tower had extensive gardens:

'We ourselves recollect not a great many years ago, that it [Elphinstone tower] was associated with a grove of magnificent old trees, but these were most mercilessly subject to the axe. Before our time, however, the grounds to the eastward of the building were

laid out in a quaint and interesting old pleasance, where beside the umbrageous tress that sheltered it, all manner of shrubs grew in luxuriance, the ground being laid out in the straight terraced walks, squares, triangles, and circles: and in short, all manner of mathematical figures, with little bosquets, labyrinths, and open pieces of shaven turf (M'Neill 1884, 187).

It would appear that Elphinstone had at one time an extensive parterre garden. This may have been created in the seventeenth century along with the building of the extensions to the tower. The tower also appears to have been surrounded by a grove of trees. Thus, Elphinstone fits in with the picture created by Pont's map of Scotland which shows towers and castles surrounded by gardens and stands of trees, in contrast to the treeless landscape of the rest of Scotland (Stone 1989). Thus, the tower and its occupants were set apart from the others in the barony by the boundary created by the trees and garden. This separation was not merely visual, the trees created a spatial segregation and demonstrated the lord's control of a precious and scarce resource: good quality timber.

The other components of the estate centre comprised the Mains farm and the out-buildings surrounding the tower. The Mains farm has survived in the place name 'Tower Castle Farm'. To the east of the tower, and towards the settlement of Elphinstone, was situated a chapel yard which continued as a burial ground for the occupants of the village into the late nineteenth century. A chapel, which no-longer exists, was attached to the burial ground although it did not have parochial status. M'Neill suggests that the chaplain officiating at the chapel would have been the household chaplain of the tower and that the burial ground would have served the lairds of Elphinstone (1884, 188). Although such a relationship is supposition, it seems probable that the laird of Elphinstone would have had considerable control over the chaplain and the chapel, turning the chapel into a family place of worship and burial ground, especially as the parish church was situated at Tranent, some distance from the Elphinstone.

7.2.1 Summary.

At Elphinstone, we are presented with a small but wealthy barony less than 10 miles from Edinburgh. The barony has the various features one would expect: a tower, a chapel with a burial ground, a home farm and a settlement. The tower was an extremely visible feature in the landscape of the barony, situated on high ground, and dominating the settlement of Elphinstone. The situation and the mass of the tower would have set it apart from the rest of the barony, as would the trees and gardens surrounding the tower.

7.3 THE USE OF SPACE AT ELPHINSTONE TOWER.

7.3.1 The concept of the tower house.

Any discussion of the spatial arrangements of castles cannot ignore the tower house form, which so dominated all aspects of polite architecture in medieval Scotland. Although it is thought that Drum Tower may date to the late thirteenth century, the tower house form really grew in popularity after the Wars of Independence; even the personal residence of the king on Castle Rock, Edinburgh, in the fourteenth century — David's Tower — took the form of large L-shaped tower house. It has been suggested above that the prevalence of the tower form was a consequence of the militarisation of the upper echelons of Scottish society. The tower projected a more obvious and powerful military countenance than a hall house or moated homestead, an effect achieved with less resources than would be expended upon a large courtyard castle (cf. MacNeill 1997, 225).

The tower house was an essentially a self contained-residence of a lord or laird, with ground floor cellarage (almost always vaulted) a first floor hall over the cellar (also often vaulted) above which would be a varying number floors for accommodation over the hall. In addition the tower may have had a kitchen, a prison, an oratory and any number of mural chambers. The excavations at Threave (Dumfriesshire) and Smailholm (Roxburghshire) have demonstrated that although the tower would have stood out as the principal element of the castle complex, towers were often surrounded by extensive outbuildings, including halls, and at Smailholm, an exterior kitchen (Good & Tabraham 1981a; 1981b; 1988; Tabraham 1987; 1988; 1997, 68, 81). In addition, smaller and later towers — estate centres such as Lochwood Tower (Dumfriesshire) — would have been surrounded by lesser buildings accommodating other elements of the household and services such as kitchens, stables and accommodation. Other towers such as Crichton (Midlothian) — and of course David's Tower — demonstrate the progressive development of the tower house. It began as a late fourteenth century tower house surrounded by a barmkin, perhaps with timber out buildings. Soon after the construction of the tower, a two storeyed hall block was built with ground floor cellarage and a first floor hall. Ranges were then built creating a courtyard castle, which continued to develop into the late sixteenth century, by which point the tower was appears to have been ruined, no longer serving as the principal residence of the lord.

The excavations at Threave and Smailholm, and the standing remains at Lochwood and Crichton clearly demonstrate that towers at either end of the social ladder were often a small part of the castle complex. However, we should be wary in assuming that every tower took this form. McM'Neill has pointed out that in the mid-fifteenth century the structures at Threave were demolished to make way for artillery fortifications and a clear field of fire (1997, 221). Thus, by the fifteenth century the extensive accommodation outside the tower could be sacrificed for reasons of defence. Borthwick Castle has so much communal space, accommodation space, storage space and services that one can visualise it without secondary outbuildings. At Craignethan (Lanarkshire) the mid-sixteenth century tower was the only substantial building in the castle complex, the corner towers were ancillary buildings made to look like defensive features, other ancillary buildings were effectively hidden, and the outer courtyard with its lean-to buildings was a later addition. The same is perhaps true of Elphinstone, which although not of the same scale, is very self-contained with cellarage, a kitchen, service spaces, a hall, and accommodation. Tabraham is correct in trying to alter current perceptions of towers such as Threave as an isolated free-standing structure, suggesting instead that the towers were the lord's private lodgings — and final redoubt in times of siege — situated amidst a complex of halls and ancillary buildings. This should have been apparent from standing remains at castles such as Crichton, Craigmillar and Spynie (Aberdeenshire), although one could challenge the concept of the tower serving as final defensive position. However, this new orthodoxy has perhaps gone to far. As can be seen from structures such as Borthwick and the later phases at Threave, not every tower, especially those dating later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, would have been surrounded by extensive and substantial buildings.

7.3.2 Summary.

The tower house form became a powerful symbol of authority and power in Scotland, a role that extended beyond its mere use as a lordly or lairdly residence. The self-contained nature of the tower and the austere exterior visage of fourteenth and fifteenth century towers such as Drum, Hallforest, Threave, Crichton, and even Elphinstone, appear to be more introverted and passively aggressive when compared to the great curtain wall castles with their thrusting gatehouses, extensive courtyards and specialised halls. However, the discovery of extensive accommodation surrounding towers such as Threave creates a different impression. The towers may still appear inward looking but this may not be true of the castle complex as a whole. In this respect the tower house becomes rather more like the donjon of a great curtain wall castle;

it provides extensive accommodation for the lord which could be isolated from the rest of the castles inhabitants.

With tower houses functioning as self-contained residences, unlike most donjons, the sense of difference between those who lived and worked in the tower and those who lived and worked in the secondary building would have been accentuated, perhaps creating and reinforcing hierarchies within the household. At curtain wall castles a similar sense of difference may have been created by the donjon. However, there is a sense in which the curtain wall of the castle would have united the household within it. Tower houses without lesser buildings surrounding them such as Borthwick and Elphinstone, and perhaps the later phase at Threave, would have appeared isolated and aloof. In either case, the growth in popularity of the tower house in the fourteenth century may represent an initial lack of confidence, as well as a militarisation, of the elite of Scottish society after the Wars of Independence. The blank exterior of the tower and the closed nature of the building could be seen as a retrenchment of the position of the aristocracy following the uncertainties of the early fourteenth century

7.4 INTRODUCING THE SPATIAL DIAGRAMS OF ELPHINSTONE TOWER.

Elphinstone tower is essentially a single phase structure (plan 5), which remained relatively unchanged until its demolition in the twentieth century. Alterations to the tower took the form of extensions or wings which simply abutted the tower itself. The exterior of the tower is extremely plain: the walls are bare ashlar, pierced by numerous irregularly placed windows, only the sixteenth century parapet walk with decorative corbelling and cannon gargoyles providing a modicum of relief from the austere facade of the tower. The contrast between the plain walls and the decorative wall head draw the eye skywards, emphasising the height of the tower, which might otherwise have appeared rather squat.

It is immediately noticeable from the access diagram of Elphinstone tower that the structure is very tree-like or non-distributed (figure 7-1). This would be expected from a defensive building and a building where access would have been strictly controlled. The diagram is made up of three distinct trees, each of which is accessed from the main entrance lobby (A1) joined together to create the whole. The graph should probably be deeper than is shown as it is very likely that there would have been a barmikin around the tower. The first tree consists of the ground floor spaces (figures 7-1 & 7-2 & plan 5): the entrance lobby (A1) the main ground floor chamber (A2), probably a storage area, which is reached by descending a short flight of

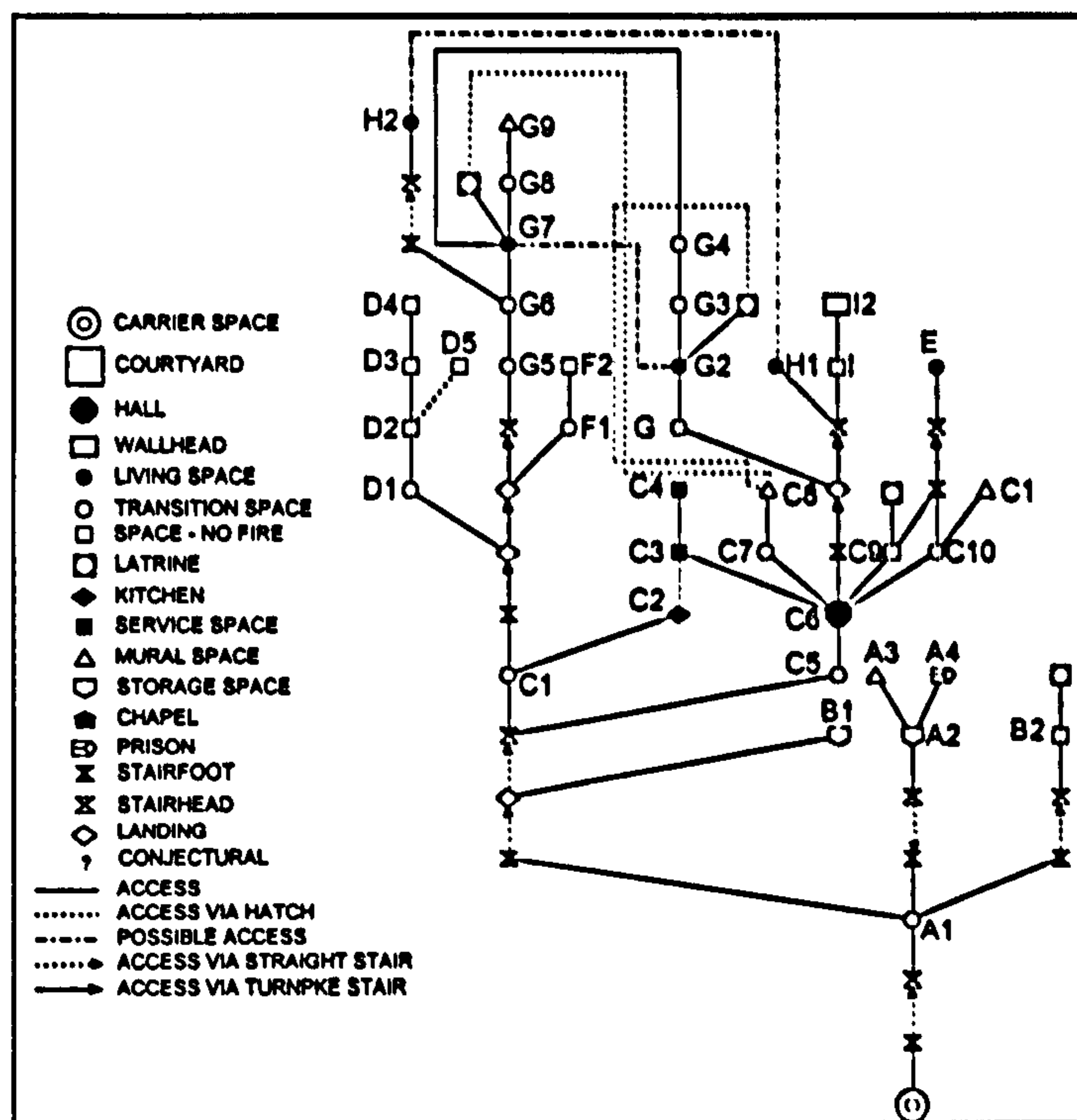


Figure 7-1 Access diagram, Elphinstone, mid-15th century.

steps and several mural chambers (A3 & A4) accessed from the main space (A2). This branch also includes the entresol floor (B1) directly above the main ground floor chamber and a chamber accessed via a short flight of steps from the entrance lobby (A1).

The other two 'trees' branch off from each other at the top of the main straight staircase: the left hand tree comprises the kitchen (C2) and a narrow staircase which leads up to the upper storeys of the tower (G7 & H2). This includes several entresol chambers above the kitchen (D1, D2, D3 & D4) and contained within the haunch of vault which ceiled the hall (F1 & F2). The other branch leads off to the hall (C6) where one finds a multitude of mural chambers (C7, C8, C9, C10 & C11) and two newel staircases, a narrow one which only gives access to more entresol chambers (E1 & E2) and a very wide one which leads to all the upper floors (G2 & H1) and the wall head (I2) but does not give access to the entresol floor. Thus, as will be discussed further and as can be more clearly seen from the colour coded access graph and colour coded planning diagram (diagrams 9&10), from the top of the main straight stair the tower becomes compartmentalised into two sections communication between which is restricted. At the top of the straight stair one has a choice between ascending the stair or entering the hall. The service chambers (C3 & C4) also acted as a link between the kitchen (C2)

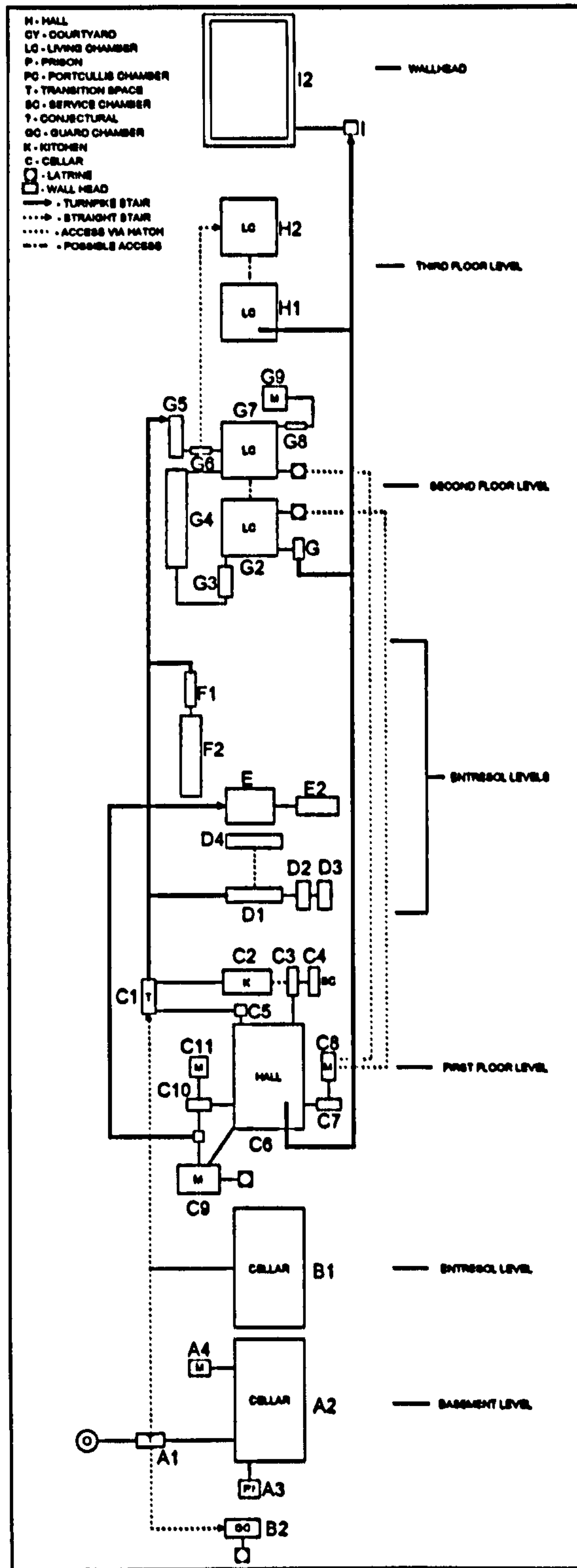


Figure 7-2 Planning diagram, Elphinstone c. mid 15th century.

on one branch and the hall (C6) on the other, but access between the kitchen and the service rooms was restricted, taking the form of a service hatch allowing dishes to pass but not people.

One only finds significant rings, and they are few, at the upper levels of the tower, deep in the interior of the tower. These rings are created by the division of the main space in the second floor and the attic floor into two by partition walls (G2, G7, H1 & H2). From the photographic record, the tusing stones — part of the partition — can be clearly seen, suggesting that it was a substantial masonry cross wall. The attic floor would probably have had a timber partition. It is assumed that on each floor access would have been allowed through the partitions. This of course need not have been the case as each half of the castle was served by its own staircase. If there was no communication through the partitions, the only access between the two sides of the tower was between the two main second floor rooms (G2 & G7) via a mural chamber (G3) to a corridor or gallery (G4) on the northern side of the tower. Thus, there may have only been a single ring connecting the two sides of the tower. The implications of these access arrangements will be discussed in the accommodation section, but partly it reflects the unaltered nature of the tower and a desire to keep control tight control of access to certain spaces. The other rings present in the access graph link the upper garderobes with a mural chamber (C7) accessed from the hall and will be discussed later.

The planning diagram of Elphinstone Tower is at once recognisable as a representation of a tower, although it also shows that Elphinstone does not conform to the view that each floor of a tower house should occupy the whole plan area (figure 7-2 & plan 5)(Cruden 1960, 138). The form of the tower is retained in the planning diagram and consequently there is a greater emphasis on the horizontal divisions which can become lost in an access diagram. Although both analyses represent a structure in two dimensions, access analysis exhibits a greater loss of verticality. The planning diagram does confirm and indeed emphasise several of the features recognised through access analysis. It is clear from the diagram that the spatial arrangements of the building only become complex from the first floor. This is of course the first main living space, those below being used for storage. Thus, spatial complexity is only a factor in areas of the castle where social interaction between important individuals was to take place. Even in the storage areas social interaction would have taken place between those working there but this deserved none of the spatial complexity that was the preserve of the upper floors occupied by the lord and where the functions of lordship took place.

Not only are the horizontal divisions clearer and the contrast between the storage areas and the living areas more apparent, but the diagram also confirms the partition between the eastern half of the tower and the western (diagram 10). The positioning of the three staircases make it very obvious that they were intended to serve different parts of the castle. They emphasise the

distinctness of the two sides the castle especially on the second floor and the attic. The staircases seem to link the rooms far more than any of the doorways between rooms on the same floor. Also apparent is the role of the gallery or corridor (G4) linking the two second floor chambers. This space would seem strangely redundant if there was access through the cross wall linking the two rooms.

7.4.1 Summary.

Both the access graph and the planning diagram demonstrate the complexity of the structure. The only exterior signs of this complexity are the numerous windows piercing the exterior walls. As will be discussed, this complexity would have had a very real role to play within the life and social structure of the household. One could also suggest that the tower was a purposeful demonstration of the sophistication of the master masons craft and, concomitantly, the wealth and knowledge of the patron. As at Borthwick, the guest or stranger at Elphinstone would have been presented with a confusing multiplicity of doors and staircases, many of them leading to chambers contained within the thickness of the walls. The contrast to the exterior would have been remarkable, and may have been designed to create just such an impression.

7.5 ENTRY TO THE TOWER — AN UNASSUMING DOORWAY.

Of the various castles investigated as case studies, Elphinstone Tower has by far the simplest form of entry: a simple and unadorned doorway with a round headed arch reached by ascending a short flight of steps (figure 7-3 & 7-4 & plan 5). Photographs of the entrance show that it was secured by double doors, probably with a wooden outer door and inner iron yett (RCAHMS 1924, 121). Apart from these doors the entrance had no special defences: it was a ground floor entrance and there were no gunloops to rake the approach with fire, which one would expect from a sixteenth century tower house (c.f. Maxwell-Irving 1996, 874). Nor was there any complex drawbridge or portcullis arrangement as at the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century hall castles of Tulliallan or Morton or as at the late fourteenth century tower house Bothwell. Tulliallan is especial important in this respect, as while one can argue that the gatehouse arrangements of Morton Castle (late thirteenth or early fourteenth century) and Dirleton Castle (early fifteenth century) represent very different concepts in castle design, the ground floor entrance giving direct access to the interior spaces of the structure at Tulliallan is reminiscent of the simple doorway into Elphinstone. Yet at Tulliallan (while there were less strongly defended entrances) the main gate has complex defences, which in addition were

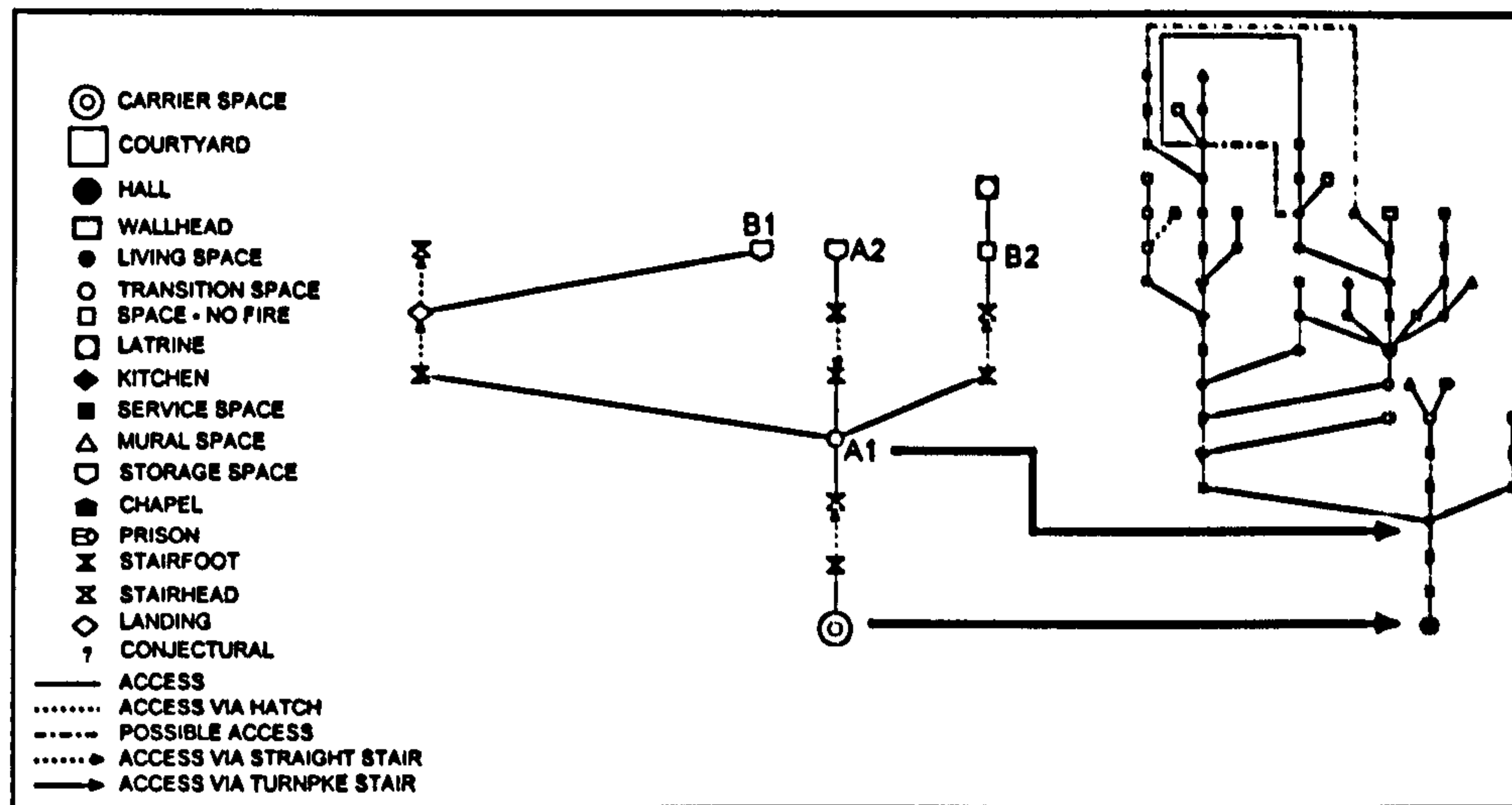


Figure 7-3 Access graph, entry to Elphinstone, mid-15th century.

partially visible to the onlooker. At Bothwell, the defences are similarly highly visible, with the additional features that it was inside a curtain wall castle and it was a first floor entrance.

It appears that at Elphinstone and other fifteenth century tower houses the emphasis on the defences of the main entrance to the structure had lessened: it is notable that the first floor fifteenth century entrance to Tulliallan is very lightly secured and at Bothwell no later structure came in for such elaborate treatment of the entrance. Most towers were protected by a timber doorway and an iron yett. Yet the wooden door was always external, hiding the main strength of the doorway, the iron yett or gate. By the sixteenth century any defensive elaboration around the gateway took the form of gunloops: the unwanted guest was no-longer discouraged from approaching the castle by the intimidating sight of strongly barred gates, but by the sight of ominously gaping gunloops which could quickly deliver violent death. Thus, one could argue that there was a change from passive defence to aggressive defence.

However, the gateway or doorway was not just about defence, but as the point of transition between the exterior and the interior, it was a space of almost ritual significance, where in castles such as Tulliallan, Morton and the Bothwell, both as planned in the thirteenth century and with the tower house, the architecture of the gate was used to maximise the sense of theatre and occasion. It is therefore rather surprising that the entrance to Elphinstone Tower, indeed many towers, was treated in such a restrained manner. It gives the impression of closed structures reflecting and reinforcing the reality of a less expansive ruling elite living more secluded lives than their thirteenth century forebears.

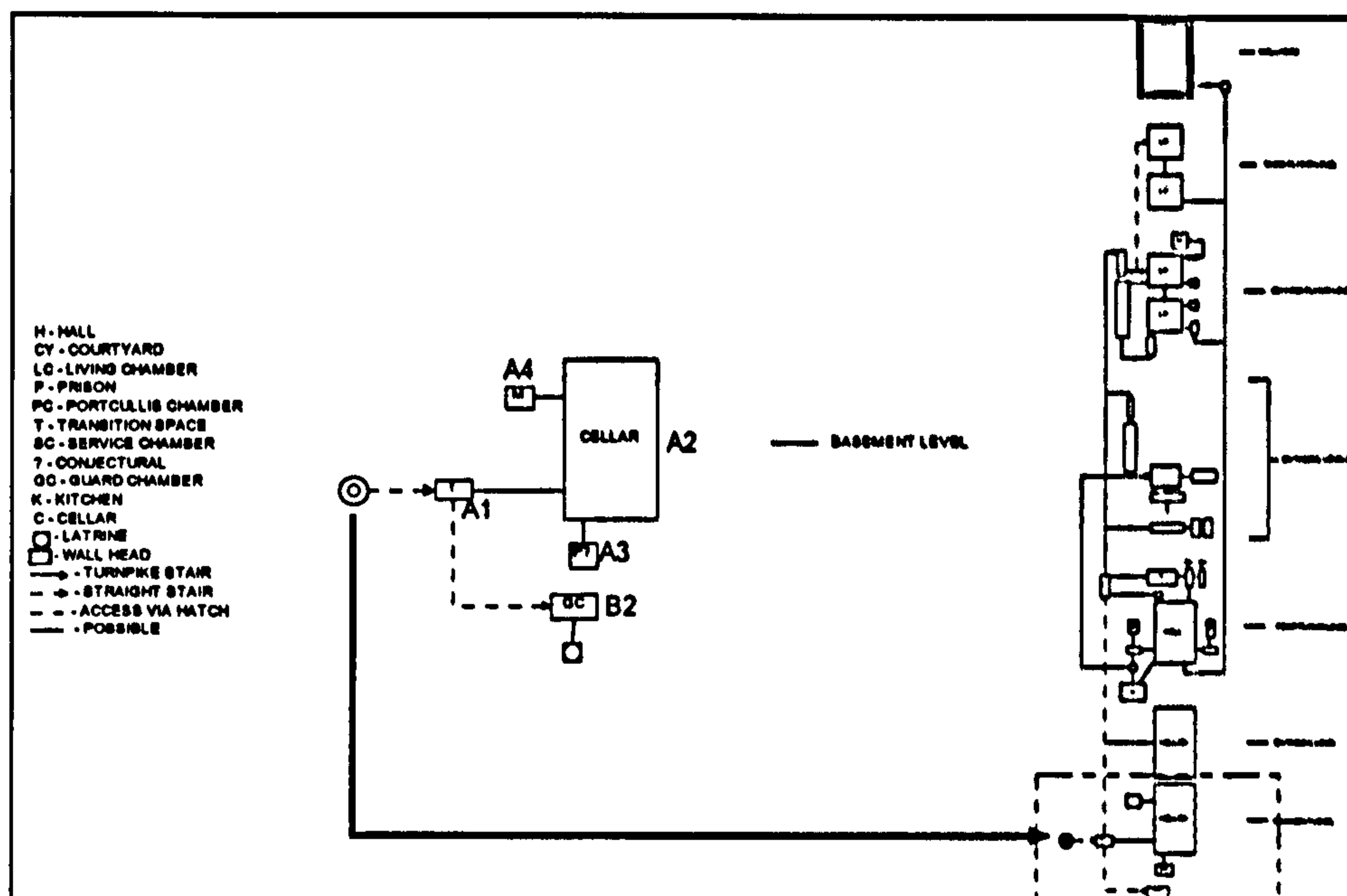


Figure 7-4 Planning diagram, entry to Elphinstone, mid-15th century.

Having ascended the steps and crossed the threshold at Elphinstone, one enters a small entry lobby — labelled A1 in figures 7-3 & 7-4 & plan 5). From this lobby (A1) three flights of stairs can be accessed: straight ahead is a short flight down to a cellar (A2), to the left is the main straight stair rising to the first floor and the hall, and to the right is a narrow, short, straight stair which accesses a mural chamber (B2) with a small cupboard or lamp recess and a latrine. This chamber almost certainly served as a guard chamber or more properly a porter's chamber, accommodating an official who was responsible for the security of the door and who would screen those wanting to enter the tower. Interestingly, the chamber did not have any windows facing the approach to the castle; thus the occupant, the porter, was unable to survey those approaching the castle. Whereas the gate at castles such as Dirleton and Morton may have been open throughout the day watched over from flanking guard chambers, the gateway continually manned — as demonstrated by the scars in the masonry where the guards have sharpened their weapons in moments of boredom — at Elphinstone one suspects that the door to the tower was often closed to the outside world, and the outside world had to knock on the door to be let in by the porter.

7.5.1 Summary.

The entrance to Elphinstone Tower is remarkable by its very unremarkable nature. The simple doorway would not have acted as a visual focus, unlike the gatehouses at Dirleton or Morton, or even the main entrance to Tulliallan Castle with its very obvious drawbridge

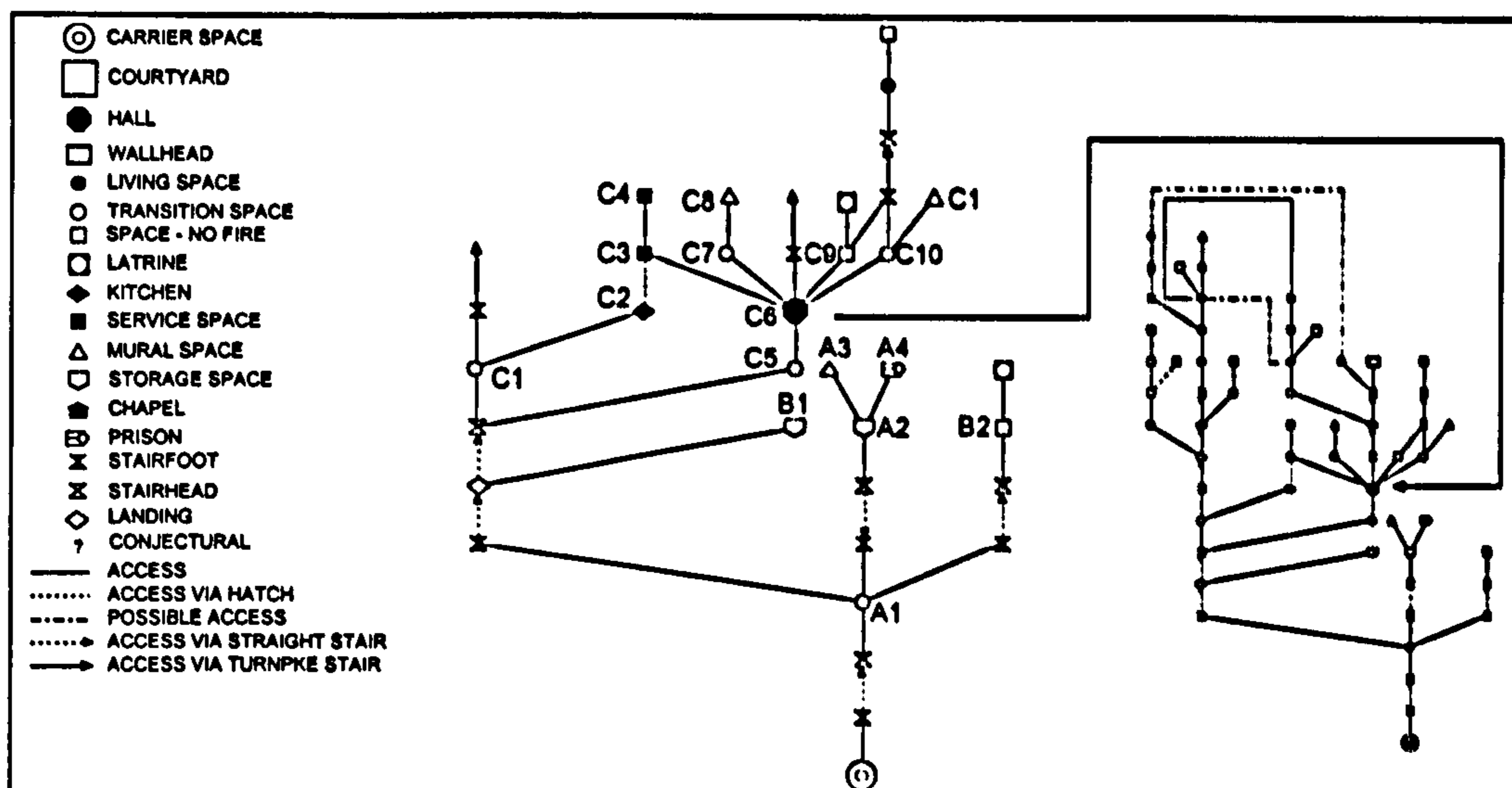


Figure 7-5 Access graph showing hall at Elphinstone, mid-15th century.

mechanism. This lack of a focus would have emphasised the plain grey ashlar exterior of the tower, only broken by the windows which were secured by iron bars and stanchions. As noted by Samson, this exterior would have emphasised the wallhead of the castle, the main fighting platform of the tower (Samson 1990, 207). All these features emphasise the closed nature of the tower in contrast with a more open curtain wall castle or even a hall house.

7.6 THE HALL — THE MEAT IN THE SANDWICH.

As with all castles, the hall was the most important single space within Elphinstone Tower. However, unlike curtain wall castles and hall castles, the hall in the tower house was not an independent structure — although a great hall may have existed within the wider castle complex. The hall was included in a greater planning scheme which included many of the features required in a self-contained residence: cellarage, services and accommodation. This must have detracted from the hall as one of the main visual symbols of the lord's authority to be viewed from the exterior. It had been overtaken and subsumed by the entity of the tower. However, internally the hall could still be a hugely impressive space designed to create the most effective setting for the lord to be seen and to be seen carrying out his responsibilities and duties.

At Elphinstone the hall (C6) was reached by ascending the straight stair to first floor level. At the top of the staircase the treads of the stair were designed to lead one up to the hall which is to the right, in preference to carrying straight on to a landing (C1) which gave access to the

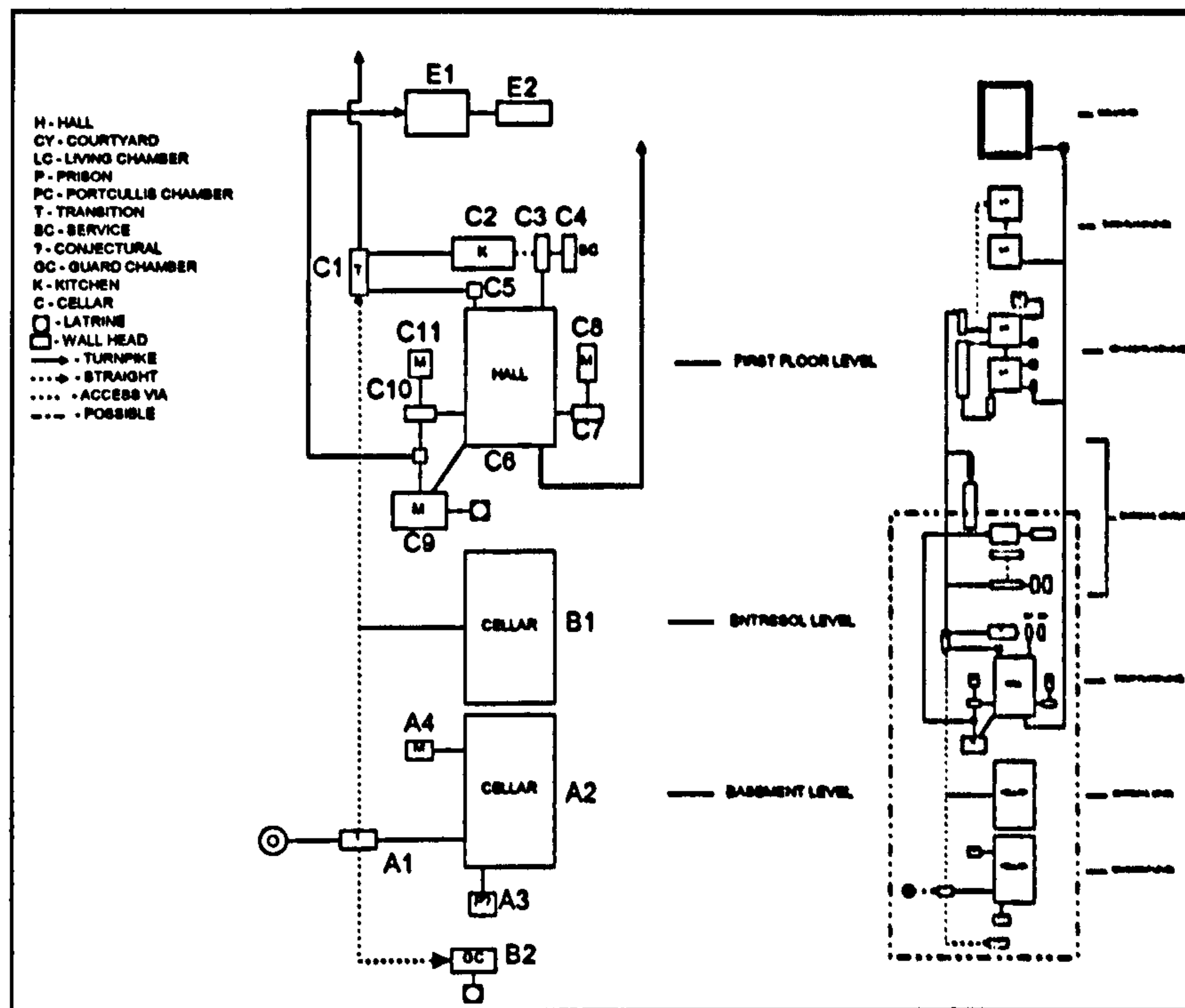


Figure 7-6 Planning diagram showing hall at Elphinstone, mid-15th century.

kitchen (C2) and a turnpike staircase. Both the entrance to the hall and the landing were well lit by two windows in the north wall. The visitor to the tower would have been able to see the activity of the kitchen and perceive its results, just as they entered the hall (plan 5). Entry into the hall proper may have been immediate, as there is reason to suggest that there was no screens passage. Instead of a screens passage, there may have been a small ante-chamber or transition space at the entrance to the hall.

In terms of access the hall is a relatively shallow space (figure 7-5). Once entering the tower, the hall could be very quickly reached simply by ascending the stair. The only spaces which are shallower, the cellars (A2 & B1), the guard chamber (B2) and the postulated prison (A3) can all be viewed as non-living spaces. None of these chambers were occupied or if they were, were occupied by atypical members of the household. When people went to the storage areas they were there to work and in the unlikely event anyone did sleep in the cellar or mezzanine they would have been the most lowly members of the household. The porters lodge with its latrine may have been constantly occupied, but it was essentially a work space. Moreover the porter, although a figure of great responsibility, had duties that distanced him from the rest of the household. The prisoner is of course an outsider, an unwanted stranger. The landing at the top of the straight stair (C1) is strictly a transitional space. Thus, the hall (C6) is the first occupation space to be reached as one moved through the castle. Of course, like the

spaces on the same level, it is an unusual space; it acts as the main public space, where business matters of the barons court and the estate would have been undertaken, and where munificence would have been expressed through feasts. It is an area where the occupants would have interacted with strangers and visitors, and as a result it is not surprising that it is a shallow space.

The hall of Elphinstone would have been an extremely impressive space internally (plan 5). Having entered one would immediately have a sense of space, with a chamber nine metres long and six metres wide, with an a vault seven metres high at its apex. The walls of the chamber would have been plastered, the plaster itself decorated with painted designs which were still visible when MacGibbon and Ross described the structure (1887-92 vol. I, 237). The chamber was designed with the eastern end as its focus. At this end was an extremely large fireplace with a massive lintel and moulded jambs with moulded bases and capitals. Above the fireplace is a series of heraldic shields representing the arms of the Setons, the Edmonstones, the Maitlands, the Douglasses, the Menzies, the Johnstons, and the Elphinstones. The Royal Commission suggest that the *'heraldry seems to be purely decorative in significance'* (1924, 122). However, the inclusion of the Johnston and Elphinstone arms, as well as that of Seton — one of the most important local families in the area and connected through marriage to the Johnstons of Elphinstone — suggests that the heraldic scheme, was advertising ownership and family connections. The fireplace and the shields would have functioned as a visual focus which was accentuated by the fenestration of the hall. The hall was lit by four main primary windows: two very large windows with seats flank the eastern or dais area of the hall, bathing the seated figure of the laird in light. The other two windows were also contained within the longitudinal walls at the eastern end of the hall but were high up in the wall. With the window lighting the stairhead and the two high windows in the longitudinal walls, the lower end of the hall with the entrance from the stair and the doorway from the service rooms, would have been the best lit space after the dais area. A further window in the west wall lit the rest of hall. This window pierced the chimney flue, receiving borrowed light from an exterior window. This strange arrangement — designed to provide extra light for the whole hall — may have been secondary as the window appears to slight the armorial plaques (Maxwell-Irving 1996, 775).

The original fenestration created a distinct hierarchy among the activity areas within the hall, with the main emphasis on the dais end of the hall. This upper area of the hall was also significant area for intercommunication, and would have been closely controlled by social convention as well as through physical means. It had a number of mural chambers and window

embrasures which would allow varying degrees of privacy for those at the upper end of the hall, whereas those within the main body of the hall remained under constant mutual surveillance. The large window embrasures (C7 & C10) would allow face-to-face interaction with a modicum of privacy without the need to leave the hall. If greater privacy was required, there was a number of wall spaces (C8, C9, C11 & E1) accessed from the upper area of the hall, in most cases via the window embrasures, producing a greater sense of privacy and distance from the main hall. Of these, the most significant were probably the wall chamber in the north eastern corner (C9) and the entresol chamber directly above it (E1). This upper chamber is reached from the hall by a narrow turnpike which exclusively serves the chamber. The stair could be accessed either from the window embrasure (C10) or the lower chamber (C9), which as well as being accessible from the hall via the bottom of the stair, had a separate entrance opening directly into it from the upper end of the hall (plan 5 and figures 7-5 & 7-6).

The importance of these chambers is demonstrated by their size — they are some of the largest mural chambers in the tower — by their access arrangements — the upper chamber (E1) is served by its own staircase and the lower chamber (C9) could be entered directly from the dais end of the hall — and by their facilities — the upper chamber (E1) has a fireplace, while the lower chamber (C9) may have had a latrine chamber and both had windows through the north and west walls. One peculiarity of the upper chamber is that next to the fireplace in the southern wall is a doorway which accesses a large window embrasure (E2) in the west wall of the tower. This window provides the hall with borrowed light through a window in the chimney breast. Access to the window embrasure would enable the occupant to view the activities of the hall, although it would be a rather smoky eyrie from which to survey the hall (MacGibbon & Ross 1887-92 vol. I, 233: RCAHMS 1924, 122). As mentioned above, this arrangement may have been secondary, and its real purpose may have been to provide extra light for the hall. However, effort was expended creating a doorway through to the embrasure, and the possibility that it was used to view the hall unobtrusively, has to be taken on board in any interpretation of this space. It is also worth mentioning that a mural chamber — labelled D4 in figure 7-1 & 7-2 — high up within the east wall of the hall, may also have had an opening looking into the hall: in the Royal Commission photographs there is a noticeable blocking in the centre of the east wall. This may have lit this rather strange chamber but it also would have provided another viewing room looking into the hall. These entresol chambers shall be consider more fully in the section of accommodation.

The other mural chambers at the upper end of the hall (C8 & C11) do not appear to have been living chambers but may have been used for storage or service purposes. The mural chamber (C8) within the southern wall accessed from a window embrasure (C7) is perhaps the strangest space within the tower. The entry to the chamber gives the impression that the chamber was of some importance. The jambs and lintel of the door surround had a edge roll and hollow moulding, in contrast to the majority of the doorways in the tower which appear to have been very plain. Internally the chamber is quite narrow with two windows piercing the exterior wall. Photographs show rebates for a series of shelves along the walls, as if the chamber was used to store napery for use in the hall. However, in the ceiling of the chamber there are two openings. These opening are the flues for the latrines in the chambers above. Waste from the latrines would have issued from the flues and into awaiting receptacles. The shelves within the chamber may have supported these receptacles or were used in some other way relating to the sanitary arrangements. A similar arrangement is found at Borthwick Castle, and is a slightly more sophisticated version of a cesspit latrine, where waste would travel down a flue to the base of the wall where it would remain in a cesspit until the '*grund-wa'-stane*' was removed and the cesspit could be cleaned out (Cruden 1960, 135). These latrines were an advance on chute latrines as they reduced draughts in living accommodation and did not cover the walls of the castle in human excrement. The receptacle arrangement at Elphinstone and Borthwick has the added advantage that it made cleaning easier and less unpleasant. However, the arrangements at Elphinstone are odd as the entrance to the chamber comes in for such detailing, which seems almost to contradict the purpose of the chamber. Moreover, the downside of this arrangement at Elphinstone is that there would have been a bucket full of human waste in a mural chamber not far from the dais end of the hall, and just opposite a window seat. To empty the receptacles they would have to be carried through the hall and down the main straight stair.

7.6.1 Conclusion.

The greatest contrast between the hall at Elphinstone, a tower house, and the halls at Bothwell and Dirleton, curtain wall castles, and the halls at Tulliallan and Morton, hall houses, is size. At 9m the hall at Elphinstone is less than half as long as the halls at Dirleton, Bothwell and Tulliallan, and a third of the size of the hall at Morton. It is interesting to note that with the fifteenth century subdivision of the hall at Tulliallan, at time when the structure was becoming more tower-like, the hall was shortened to about 10.5m, and therefore comparable to Elphinstone. Other halls within fourteenth and fifteenth century towers are also comparable to Elphinstone: Borthwick c.15m, Neidpath (Peebleshire) c. 12m, Cessford c.12m, Lethington

(East Lothian) c.11.5m, Crichton c.10m, Craigmillar c. 10m, Cardoness 8.5m and Lochleven c. 8m. In several of these towers additional halls were later added to the complex. However, the smaller halls in the towers do suggest greater segregation amongst the household, especially in comparison to hall houses.

Despite the small size of the hall at Elphinstone it was still a space carefully designed as an impressive communal space — rather than a semi-public lord's hall. Thus, the hall was ceiled with a high pointed vault creating a greater sense of space and openness, unlike later tower houses and unlike the late fifteenth century hall at Tulliallan, which were timber ceiled. If considered functionally the design of the hall is not an efficient use of space or resources, since the height of the vault wastes space. At Elphinstone the extensive use of mural chambers and mural chambers which allowed a view of the hall, exploited some of the wasted space of the vault. However, it is clear that although the mason and his patron were anxious to create as much utilizable space as possible, this desire was put aside when it came to the hall. It would have been possible to add an extra floor within the height of the vault — as at Scotstarvit and Craigmillar — yet this would have severely detracted from the overall effect of the hall, which was accentuated by the positioning of the windows and details such as the large fireplace and wall painting.

The hall was a communal space where activities such as feasting and the baron's court took place, but also a space where the laird was attended by advisors, clients, and tenants. Thus, the hall was a multi-functional space and Elphinstone tower reflects this fact, with several spaces at the upper end of the hall such as the window recesses and perhaps the larger mural chambers, which could function as spaces where business could be carried out away from the glare of the open hall. It is noticeable that the lower section of the hall, where more lowly members of the household or less important guests, clients and tenants sat, would not have access to such spaces. Partly, this was due to the position of the staircase within the northern wall of the tower but it may also have reflected and reinforced social relations, with those within the upper area of the hall having the opportunity to discuss matters in semi-privacy, and those in the lower end denied such opportunities.

7.7 ACCOMMODATION — BIPARTITE SEGREGATION

Elphinstone tower has extensive accommodation spaces within its walls. The accommodation is contained within the main space of the tower and within mural and entresol

chambers, two possible living chambers have been discussed above. The different access arrangements, size and amenities of the chambers reflect and reinforce the social structure of the household, with accommodation not only for the lord and his wife but also for important retainers, and perhaps even unimportant servants. It will become apparent that the spatial divisions could be based upon several types of social relation and social difference: gender, status and concepts of public and private space.

Due to the complexity of the building and the difficulty this creates in structuring description and interpretation, the discussion will be divided up into several sections: staircases, entresol chambers and main chambers. However, the various accommodation spaces cannot be interpreted in isolation and constant reference has to be made to the other spaces within the structure.

7.7.1 Staircases.

Each of the staircases rising from first floor level functioned as vertical corridors serving a series of distinct accommodation grouping, ensuring that the living spaces were not used as through routes and thus ensuring privacy. The nature and access arrangements to the staircases is extremely important in the interpretation of the spaces they serve. The spaces (C9 & E1) served by the narrow turnpike rising from the north west corner of the hall have already been briefly discussed in the section above. However, the point should be made again that the staircase serving the upper room (E1) is the most restricted staircase: this stairfoot is the deepest within the structure (figure 7-7 & plan 5) and only serves one chamber (E1). In contrast, the narrow north east turnpike leads on almost directly from the straight stair rising from the ground floor. It is thus easily accessible from the exterior and the lower area of the hall and the kitchen. Importantly it does not require the occupant to travel through the main hall, the public area of the castle, unlike the other two staircases. This kitchen staircase serves a number of entresol spaces on two levels (D1, D2, D3, D4, F1 & F2) and the eastern second floor chamber (G7). It also accesses a small straight staircase which leads to the eastern attic space (H2). The final staircase rises from the south west corner of the hall. Its position, rising from the upper end of the hall, and the fact that it is by far the widest and most impressive staircase in the tower, suggests that the chambers it served were among the most important in the tower. This staircase only served the western second floor chamber (G2) and the western attic space (H1). Interestingly, this staircase appears to have been the only one that accessed the wall head (I2) via a small caphouse (I1).

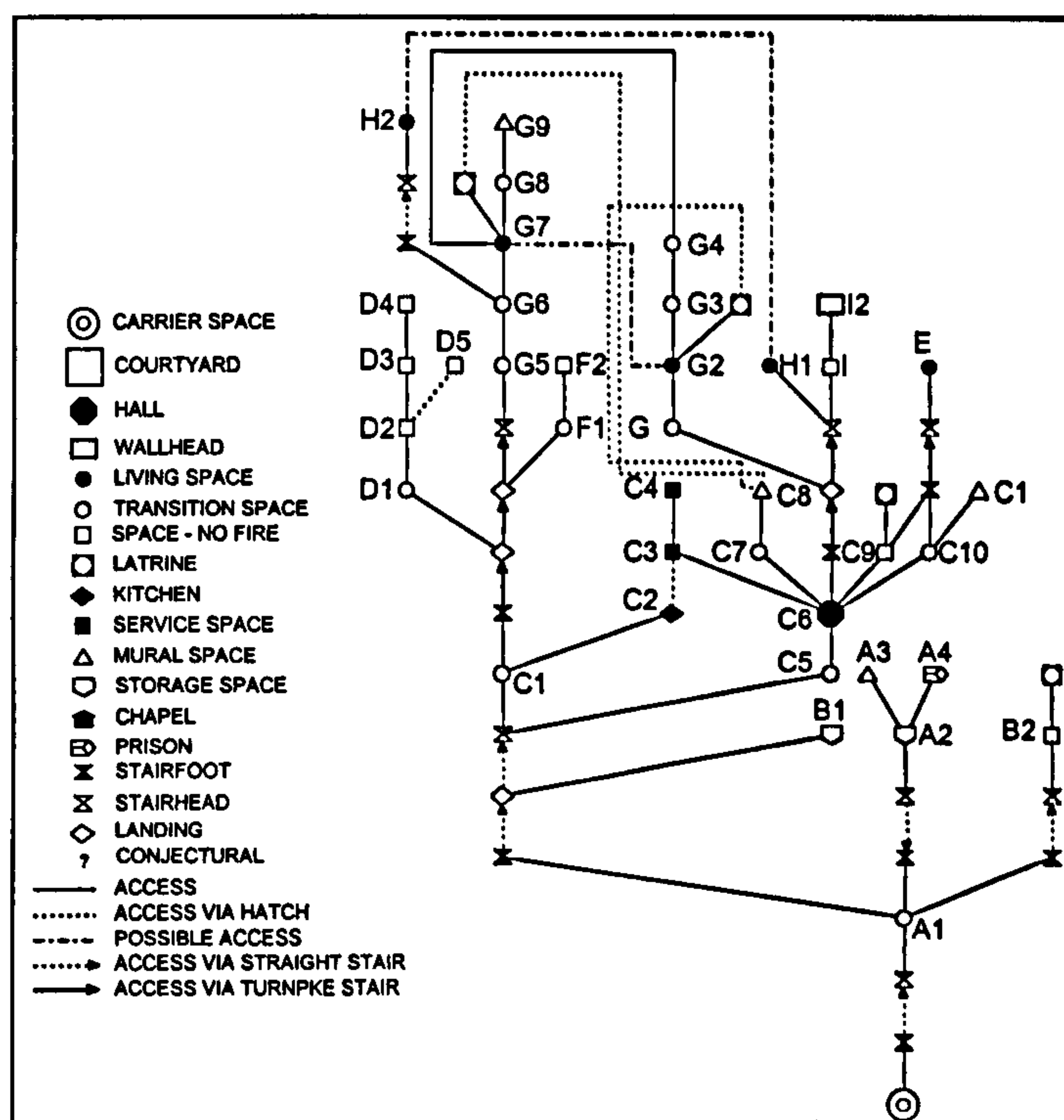


Figure 7-7 Access graph, Elphinstone, mid-15th century.

Thus, the kitchen staircase served the eastern half of the tower and the main hall stair the western. The staircases alone would suggest that the western chambers were the more important and perhaps more public spaces within the tower. The western staircase was larger, was accessed from the hall and served relatively few chambers. In comparison, the eastern staircase was narrow, accessible from the straight stair and the kitchen, served a multitude of chambers and was associated with the service areas of the tower.

7.7.2 Entresol chambers.

When interpreting the two large mural/entresol chambers accessed from the upper area of the hall (C9 & E1) the linking staircase and their similarities make it clear that the rooms should be considered together (plan 5). MacGibbon and Ross label the lower room (C9) '*lord's rooms private*' and the upper room (E1) '*lady's room private*' (1887-92 vol. I, fig. 192, 234). However, they do not provide any reasoning for such an assertion. One must accept that due to the size, the facilities and the access arrangements, the chambers must be seen as private spaces. It is also possible that the chambers may have been gendered, with the lord's chamber (C9) more easily accessible from the hall than the lady's chamber (E1). The lord would be able to access his wife's chamber directly from his own chamber via the newel stair case. He would

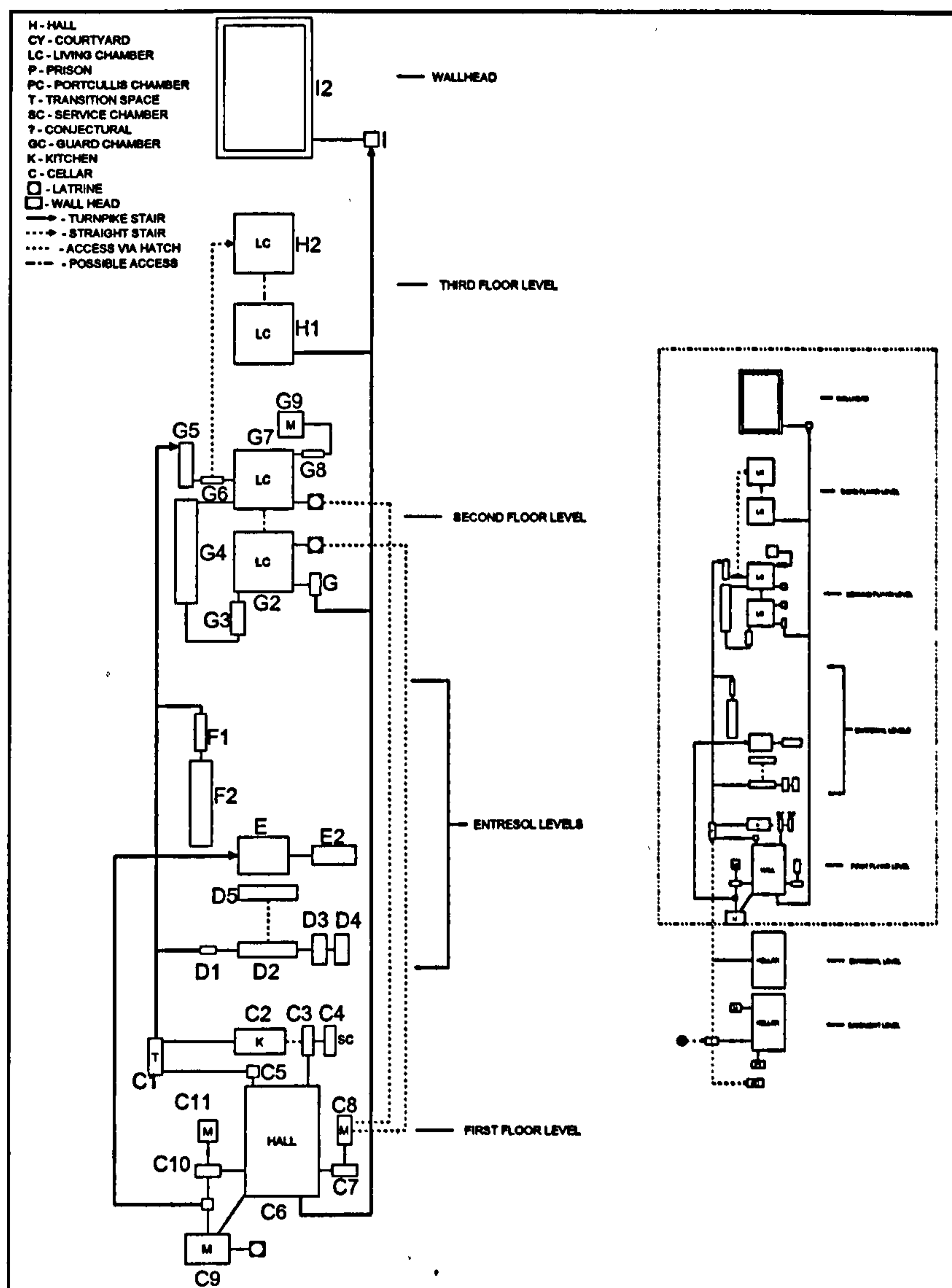


Figure 7-8 Planning diagram, showing accommodation, Elphinstone c. mid-15th century.

also be able to control access to his wife's chamber as he would have been aware of those ascending the stair. The arrangement of the stair would also allow the upper chamber to be accessed from the stair with minimal disturbance to the lower chamber. The upper chamber would have isolated the lady of the house from the hall but would still allow her to view the activities of the hall from the upper window.

Although the interpretation of MacGibbon and Ross is plausible, there are other possibilities. As there is intercommunication between the two large mural chambers via the narrow newel stair, it seems possible that the upper chamber may have another withdrawing chamber or study, especially as this room has a fireplace. Thus, it is possible that we have two

withdrawing chambers paired together. The upper one is the most private as defined by access and seems to be the most comfortable due to the fireplace, and of course has the added element of surveillance from the window. This seems to suggest that the upper chamber is a withdrawing room of considerable prestige, perhaps to accommodate the lady of the castle, equally possible to accommodate the lord of the castle, with the lower chamber acting as an ante-chamber for less private occasions, but still away from the public gaze of the hall.

Both of the interpretations above have considered the two large mural chambers (C9 & E1) along with the hall but do not take into account other accommodation spaces within the tower. As will be demonstrated in the following section on the main accommodation spaces there are other spaces more suitable as accommodation for the lord. Although well fitted out, neither room is convincing as the semi-public withdrawing room of the lord. It is possible that the chambers functioned as private dining areas next to the hall but it is also possible that the rooms were a suite, consisting of a withdrawing room and a bedchamber. At Craignethan Castle (Lanarkshire) a similar suite of two superimposed rooms exist, although each has a fireplace and a latrine, entered from the upper area of the hall. In this case they are not true mural chambers, but like Elphinstone there is a private staircase rising from the entrance of the lower chamber, serving the space above, and again, like Elphinstone, the chamber is an entresol space, below the level of the main living accommodation. MacIvor has interpreted this suite as the private accommodation of the lord of the castle, Sir James Hamilton of Finnart (1993, 19). Although illuminating, Craignethan cannot be used as a straight analogy. At Elphinstone other factors have to be considered, especially the large turnpike accessible from the upper hall, and leading to the western second floor chamber (G2). At Craignethan, other candidates for the lord's accommodation are limited, but this is not the case at Elphinstone. An alternative suggestion for the superimposed chambers is that they did provide a suite but not for the lord. Rather they provided flexible accommodation — the disposition of the staircase enables the chambers to be used as a suite or independently as lodgings — for a small household within a household, perhaps belonging to a senior member of the lord's retinue, or a guest. In support of the latter interpretation is the sense that these two chambers are relatively independent from other accommodation spaces: the chambers only communicate with the hall and form their own branch on the access graph (figure 7-5). Thus, the suite would allow the occupant or occupants to access the hall independently of any other accommodation. The upper area of the hall may have presented an interesting hierarchy of accommodation, with the second floor chambers accessible from the larger of the staircases, and the possible guest accommodation accessible from the upper area of the hall but from a less obvious entrance.

From the kitchen staircase one has access to rooms on two entresol floors lying between the hall floor and the second floor (plan 5). The first entresol floor lies directly above the kitchen and service chambers (C2, C3 & C4) and the chambers take a similar form to those below, with a long narrow chamber (D2) accessing two other chambers (D3 & D4), one entered off the other. Above the long narrow chamber (D2) is another chamber (D5) of similar dimensions which may have had a window looking into the hall. This space could have only been reached by a ladder from the chamber below. The second and higher entresol floor is contained within the northern haunch of the vault, and again is accessible from the kitchen staircase. The floor consists of two, rather odd spaces; a narrow corridor (F1) leading to a long chamber (F2) lit by two windows through the north wall.

The rooms are difficult to interpret. Most would have been rather dark and were inconveniently shaped, suggesting that they merely exploited the space available within the extremely thick walls and had to take account of structural features such as chimney flues and the structures above. Despite the awkward nature of the spaces, there is evidence that at least some of the chambers were living chambers. Space D3 has a fireplace with its flue issuing into the main kitchen flue, and as space D4 is accessed from this chamber, one could perhaps suggest that the rooms were linked together as a suite. The narrow space accessing these chambers from the turnpike may have functioned as a corridor, simply to provide access to the two chambers in the south east angle and the space directly above (D5): however it could have also accommodated less important servants, who would have been kept warm by the kitchen chimney. A similar explanation may hold for the chamber above (D5), which could only be reached by a ladder. This space may have been a sleeping loft, which although it was not heated, again would have received heat second hand from the large kitchen flue. The upper entresol floor (F1 & F2) remains somewhat of a mystery. The main chamber (F2) was unheated and was only lit by two small windows. These factors and the chambers' long and narrow form seem to preclude its use as a living chamber (plan 5). Instead the long, narrow entresol chamber may have been a storage space, but for items more valuable than the food and drink items stored in the ground floor chamber and the mezzanine floor. The chamber was vaulted and contained within the haunch of the vault, well away from any chimney flues. Thus, the chamber was relatively fireproof and situated off what might be considered a private staircase in a relatively domestic area of the tower. These facts suggest that the chamber may have been used to store the family charters and records. A similarly planned chamber at Neidpath is believed to have

fulfilled this function, although in this chamber the presence of aumbries adds more weight to the interpretation (RCAHMS 1967 vol. II, 254).

It is obvious that although some of the chambers may have served as accommodation spaces (D3, D4 & D5), the entresol chambers were very much of secondary importance within the hierarchy of accommodation within the tower. The manner in which the chambers are heated, the lack of light, the relative isolation from the rest of the tower — the entresol floor forms two branches off the main kitchen branch in the access diagram — and the easy access to and from the kitchen, perhaps suggests a role for the rooms in the domestic and service life of the tower. It is possible that these chambers would be used to accommodate those servants and retainers who were essential to the everyday running of the domestic facilities within the tower and especially the kitchen. Thus were housed in close proximity to their places of work. Within the servant population there was an obvious hierarchy partly played out through the varying standards of accommodation: the person accommodated within the suite of two angle chambers (D3 & D4), must have been of higher standing than those within the postulated sleeping loft (D5) and the corridor (D2).

7.7.3 The main chambers.

The entresol chambers, including those accessed from the small hall staircase (C9 & E1) only account for a small amount of the total accommodation space within the tower, and were secondary to the two large second floor chambers directly above the hall (G2 & G7). Both chambers were served by a separate staircase, and communicated with each other through a vaulted gallery (G4) running east west, along the north wall. Each chamber had a fireplace and a latrine chamber, and the eastern chamber had a large mural chamber (G9) within the south east angle. Thus, each chamber could function independently, with separate access arrangements and matching amenities. MacGibbon and Ross treat these chambers in such a fashion, labelling the western one as the solar (G2) and the eastern one as a guest room (G7) (1887-92 vol. I, 234). These classifications originate from the perceived significance of these two chambers. The chambers are apparently more private than the hall, as a result both of differences in size and their height within the structure. They are more comfortable than the attic chambers because of the inclusion of the garderobes and simply because they are not attics. Thus, the chambers are defined as prestige spaces; the solar and guest accommodation.

The use of the solar covers many possibilities but suggests a prestige space, probably the chamber accommodating the lord and his wife, while the second is self explanatory. The use of the term solar seems rather anachronistic in this context. While it may be strictly correct to refer to the room as a solar, since as it is an upper room and is entered from the upper area of the hall, the term is suggestive of castles, manors or towers comprising of a hall and a single upper room, rather than one room in a whole palatial complex of four main rooms and several mural chambers. To classify the eastern chamber as guest accommodation can also be challenged. First, the chamber may indeed have accommodated guests at some point but it seems unlikely that it would be set aside especially for such an eventuality. It seems much more likely that such rooms would be multifunctional and when important guests were to be accommodated, living arrangements would be reorganised to suit the relative status of that visitor. Second, the eastern chamber (G7) was in the private and service area of the tower, unsuitable for guest accommodation.

A more satisfying interpretation of the chambers can be gained from considering the two chambers together, especially in terms of their access arrangements and the relationship between the chambers and the other spaces within the tower. From the access graph it is clear that the eastern chamber (G7) is several levels deeper than its western equivalent (G2). This depth is partially created by the L-shaped corridor, which is considered as two spaces (G5 & G6) in the access diagram. Depth is also created by the number of landings required as a result of the two entresol floors accessed from the kitchen space. Thus, there is a contradiction in these arrangements: the chamber may have been deep and within a private area of the household, but the staircase itself would have been a busy with those within the household but not with outsiders. Anyone wishing to use the staircase would quickly come under surveillance from a member of the household, while the L-shaped corridor help distance the occupant of the second floor chamber (G7) from those in the lower entresol chambers.

Access to the western chamber was also controlled as those wishing to access it, would have usually have done so from the main hall staircase, and thus would have to enter the hall, the main public space of the tower, and cross the hall to the stair. From the wide main stair, one reached the second floor chamber (G2) with no intermediate chambers to detract from the stately progression from hall (C6) to chamber (G2). Access from the stair was not immediate, with distance created between the stair and the chamber by a small lobby (G1). Thus, the western chamber (G2) can be considered more public due to its shallow position in the access

graph (figure 7-7 and diagrams 9&10) and the fact that it is accessed direct from the hall, the ritual and ceremonial hub of the tower.

How then are we to interpret the spaces. Two options suggest themselves. The first is to view the hall (C6), the western chamber (G2) and the eastern chamber (G7) as an integrated accommodation scheme, based on the common arrangement of hall, outer chamber and inner chamber. The outer (G2) being the more public and formal of the chambers, accessed from the main staircase rising from the dais end of the hall, the end associated with the lord, with status, with munificence and with justice. The inner chamber (G7) is more private and is slightly smaller than the outer chamber (G2). It was also served by a private service stair, the kitchen stair. The link between the two chambers is the gallery space (G4), which was accessed from a deep and narrow window embrasure (G3). The gallery would have provided a suitable impressive method of moving from the outer chamber to the private chamber. It would have created distance between the two chambers and continued the idea of a stately progression through the various spaces. Thus to reach the inner chamber (G7) from the hall one had to traverse the length of the hall (G6), ascend the wide turnpike staircase, enter the outer chamber (G2) from the small lobby (G1), and travel along the gallery (G4) having entered it from the window embrasure (G3). The gallery (G4) may have been almost a ceremonial route to the inner chamber (G7), with immediate access between the rooms through the cross wall. This would have allowed servants and the occupants of the castle to move between the rooms quickly and easily, while the corridor was used on formal occasions.

There are some features within the two second floor chambers (G2 & G7) which support the interpretation that they functioned as outer and inner chambers. The first of these features is a shallow arched recess in the western chamber (G2). The recess is situated in the centre of the north wall, directly facing a very large window through the south wall, and may have been the setting for a great formal chair or bed of state. Thus, those entering the outer chamber from the small lobby would be immediately confronted by the sight of the laird sitting in his chair of state, lit from the south and west. The position of the recess also means that the laird would have easy access to the window recess leading to the gallery and thus to the inner chamber, and privacy. The second feature in support of the interpretation is the large mural chamber in the eastern chamber (G9), accessed from a small lobby (G8). This space may have served as a small bedchamber or wardrobe where the laird would have actually slept, or merely where the lairds clothes and other items were stored.

The second interpretation of the second floor chambers is that they should be considered as gendered spaces. This returns to the interpretation that the chambers had an independent function, with the larger, more public western chamber accommodating the laird, while the slightly smaller, more private, and deeper eastern chamber accommodated his wife. The deep corridor then can be seen as the main method of intercommunication between these two rooms: a more dignified and perhaps subtle way for the lord to visit his wife than passing through the cross wall. The corridor would also have allowed the wife to use the main staircase when the occasion demanded, and may have been an area for recreation, an area for strolling and viewing the estates and gardens surrounding the tower from the large windows?

In support of this interpretation is the eastern chambers position in relation to the other spaces of the tower. If the entresol chambers accessed from the north east staircase did accommodate retainers, does this interpretation alter the suggestion that the tower could perhaps be gendered? It would perhaps be thought that the female part of the tower, if there was indeed one, would be the most isolated from the possibly disruptive influence of servants and retainers. However, as Labarge has pointed out that the lady of the castle, in England at least, controlled the running of the household, while her husband oversaw the estate. If one looks to the household account of Grizzel Hume in the later 17th century one can see a similar situation in Scotland although in a rather later period (Labarge 1965, 40; Kelsall 1994). Even more interesting is the description of the building programme carried at Glamis by Patrick, first earl of Strathmore. Part of the building programme created chambers in the roof space which,

'lodged the younger children and such of the woman servants as are of best account who have private access by a back stair to these rooms makes use of herself' (Strathmore 1890, 38).

Although the description of Glamis dates from the seventeenth century, it provides a rather convincing analogy for the spatial arrangements found at Elphinstone, and also suggests a use for the eastern attic chamber: to accommodate female servants and any young children of the laird and his wife.

Thus, the view that the eastern half of the castle was a female domain may be supported by the domestic function of the chambers below. From the bedchamber on the second floor the wife of the laird could quickly get to kitchen to the oversee preparation and cooking, she could also oversee the servants and retainers in their entresol accommodation. However, as each of these areas has its own distinct branch from the staircase there would have been some privacy, social distance demanding spatial separation. The lady of the castle would also have been in

easy reach of the store room, as could the servants, from the main straight staircase without disturbing the events in the hall. The arrangements of the top of the straight stair are quite clearly planned to allow one staircase to serve two very different parts of the tower; the service area and the ceremonial, judicial and formal area of the hall with as little intrusion as possible. Thus, although the female space may have been a deeper space, than the equivalent male space, this does not suggest strict control of the laird over his wife, but that the laird and his wife had different responsibilities within the tower and household, partly reflected and reinforced by the spatial disposition of their chambers.

Thus, we have two plausible explanations for the spatial layout of the accommodation spaces in the tower. Although at first sight, the interpretations may appear mutually exclusive, the reality may have been a combination of both, or a third way. This third way accepts that there the tower was divided, but rather than simply being a division between public and private, the division is between the domestic and the public, ritual and ceremonial sphere of the tower. The access graph demonstrated that in terms of depth, the eastern half of the tower was the deepest and perhaps least public spaces (figure 7-7). However, does this necessarily equate with it also being the most private or controlled space. As we have seen to reach the main hall staircase one had to traverse the length of the hall. In this case surveillance would have helped ensure that access to the main stair was controlled. However on plan the turnpike staircase which rises from the kitchen seem very much like a continuation of the main straight stair with little to stop access straight up to the upper floors. Thus, the division may not have been private public, but domestic/public.

In this interpretation, the hall and the second floor chambers may have been arranged as hall, outer chamber and inner chamber, with the outer chamber associated with the hall and the laird, and the inner chamber more embedded in the domestic area of the castle and was associated with the laird's wife, although both the laird and his wife would have used each chamber. The posited safe room or charter room (E2) would have been in this domestic area of the castle, away from intrusions of guests but accessible from the private chamber of the laird and his wife.

The gender, domestic/public division identified may have continued into the attic spaces. The western staircase gave access to the western attic space (H1) and the wallhead (I2) the main fighting platform of the tower. Those lodged in the attic may have been associated with the laird, the hall and the wallhead: in other word the male retainers of the laird. The eastern

staircases appears to have given access to the eastern attic space but not the wall head. Those lodged in this attic space were associated with the domestic sphere of the tower, the kitchen and the lady of the house. Thus this space may have been a female space, accommodating the few female servants, who served the lady of the house and perhaps the children of the laird and his wife until they were fostered out in service to another lairdly or lordly household. Due to the separate staircases it is quite possible that the spaces did not communicate with each other.

The western attic chamber (H1) and the wall head (I2) are both very shallow, especially considering that both are the highest parts of the tower. It is possible that the shallowness of the wall head was a defensive feature; quick access to the only fighting platform in the tower may have been regarded as a necessity. The shallowness of the attic chamber is more puzzling; There is a possibility that this attic room could have been for visitors and guests. The guest would have had the honour of ascending the large wide main stair case to the attic chamber above, which did have a fireplace but not a garderobe, without having to pass the kitchen and the service areas. The glimpse of the large fireplace of the kitchen when first entering the tower, being impressive enough, without having to inspect it at too close quarters. Thus, the guest would be in quite shallow space, isolated from the rest of the castle by the lack of intercommunication.

7.7.4 Summary.

The nature of the accommodation spaces within Elphinstone Tower, and especially how the space related with each other and would have worked together is extremely complex. The hierarchy of the accommodation spaces was created through size, access arrangements, facilities, and the position of the space within the tower: was the chamber situated on a main floor or an entresol floor, and was the chamber in the western or eastern side of the tower. The numerous variations within the accommodation spaces may have been related to the complex social structure within the tower, which likewise had a hierarchy based upon numerous factors: status, position within the household, gender, and if one was a member of the household or guest. This final category appears to have informed the builders concept of the tower, with a strong east/west division related to a public/domestic division in the activities of the tower. We have seen at Tulliallan such a division may also have existed. At Elphinstone the gallery space makes the division especially clear, the building of the gallery appears rather contrived, as a simple doorway through the cross wall would have sufficed, and the space used taken up by the gallery could have been to extend the chambers or create mural bedchambers or closets (diagrams

9&10). Thus, the decision to build the gallery demonstrates the great need to create distance the two spheres of the tower, yet also have a link between them.

The overall impression one has of this tower is of extreme compartmentalisation within the tower form. At grouping of accommodation rooms is on its own branch of the access graph, ensuring a degree of privacy. It is difficult to argue that this development in architecture demonstrates a desire to hide away servants from the gaze of the laird and his wife — it is possible that some servants still slept in the hall — but rather suggests senior officials required more suitable and private accommodation. It also suggests a more closed social structure within the tower, especially when it came to relationships with outsiders and visitors. Again this is reminiscent of the later phase of Tulliallan castle, as is the method to achieve these complex spatial arrangements: numerous staircases, acting as vertical corridors.

7.8 SERVICES AND THE PRISON.

The self-contained and compartmentalised nature of the tower is emphasised when one investigates the mundane and everyday aspects of life within the castle: the services. The tower has extensive cellarage on two levels, consisting of the main ground floor chamber (A2) and an entresol above (B1), contained within the same vaulted space (plan 5). The entresol floor made best use of the relatively high vaulted chamber, effectively doubling the usable floor space for storage. The ground floor chamber (A2) would have been accessed from the small entrance lobby (A1), via a short flight of steps. As a storage and a work space, the entrance to the ground floor is inconvenient as the low entresol floor would have necessitated a trapdoor arrangement. The entresol floor also made the ground floor an extremely low space, with barely any head room. The entresol (B1) was accessed from the main stair, and was a more suitable working area with greater head room and wider windows lighting the space.

Accessed from the main ground floor chamber were two mural chambers. The smaller of these chambers (A4) was contained within the north wall and was later knocked through to create communication with the seventeenth century extensions. The interior doorway to the space is gablet checked to receive a timber door, an original feature which suggests that the space may have been used as a more secure store for expensive culinary items such as spices. The larger of the mural chambers (A3) has been described as a prison by MacGibbon and Ross and the Royal Commission and will be discussed later in the section (1887 vol. I, 233, RCAHMS 1924, 121).

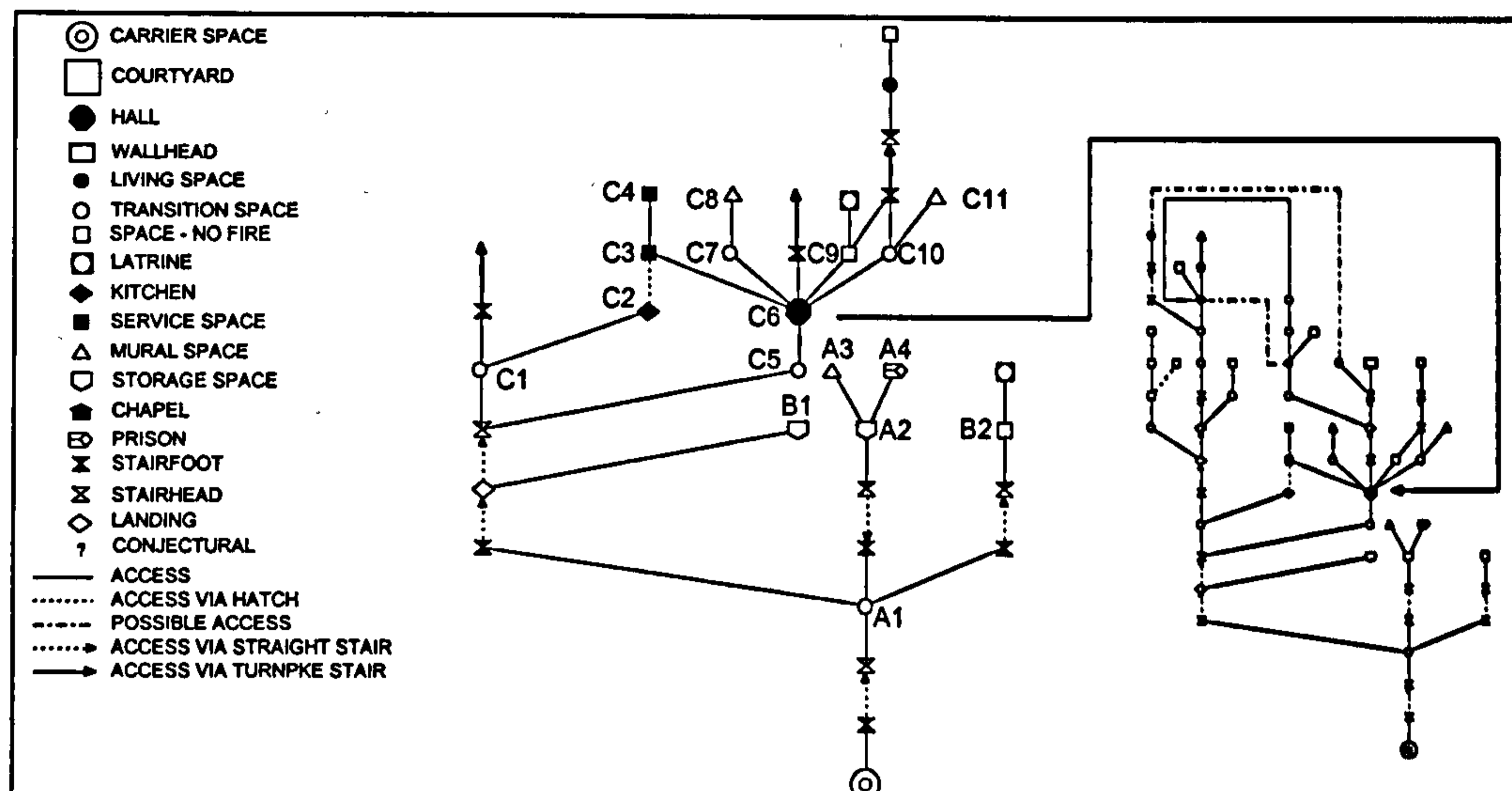


Figure 7-9 Access graph showing cellarage, services and hall at Elphinstone Tower, mid-15th century.

Thus, the cellarage arrangements are not particularly noteworthy in the context of Scottish castle studies. What is surprising, when one considers the complex planning of the castle as a whole, is the awkward method of communication with the upper floors. Any items for use in the hall or kitchen would have to have been carried up the main staircase, as used by everyone entering the tower, there does not even appear to have been a hatch through the vault so that bulky items could have hauled up to the kitchen or the hall. Thus, the main stair would have been a congested route within the tower. The only concession to convenience occurs at the top of the straight stair which as already stated is planned to allow one staircase to serve two very different areas of the tower: the kitchen and the hall. Even here the stair may have become congested with servants trying to reach the kitchen, while others would be waiting to enter the hall.

The kitchen (C2), although conveniently arranged to be both close to the hall and the cellarage, would have been an unpleasant work area (plan 5). It was a small, cramped and low space, with half its area taken up by the large fireplace, which must have served as a work space with cooks working around the fire within the chimney. The space would have been hot, smoky and dark, lit only from the doorway, which was opposite from a window, and from a window through the back wall of the fireplace. The kitchen did not communicate directly with the hall, instead prepared dishes would be passed through a serving hatch into the service room (C3) and then into the hall. Drink, bread and napery for the hall may have been stored in the slightly larger service chamber (C4).

As stated earlier, it is unclear if the hall had a screens passage distancing the hall from the kitchen, service rooms and the straight stair. Any screens passage would have reduced the size of the hall and moreover, the arrangements of the kitchen and the service rooms may have made this unnecessary. The kitchen, although adjacent to the hall was isolated from it, only communicating with the service areas of the hall through a service hatch. The service area could be regarded as a screens passage played out in stone with the two small rooms adjacent to the kitchen containing the buttery and pantry (Cruden 1960, 138).

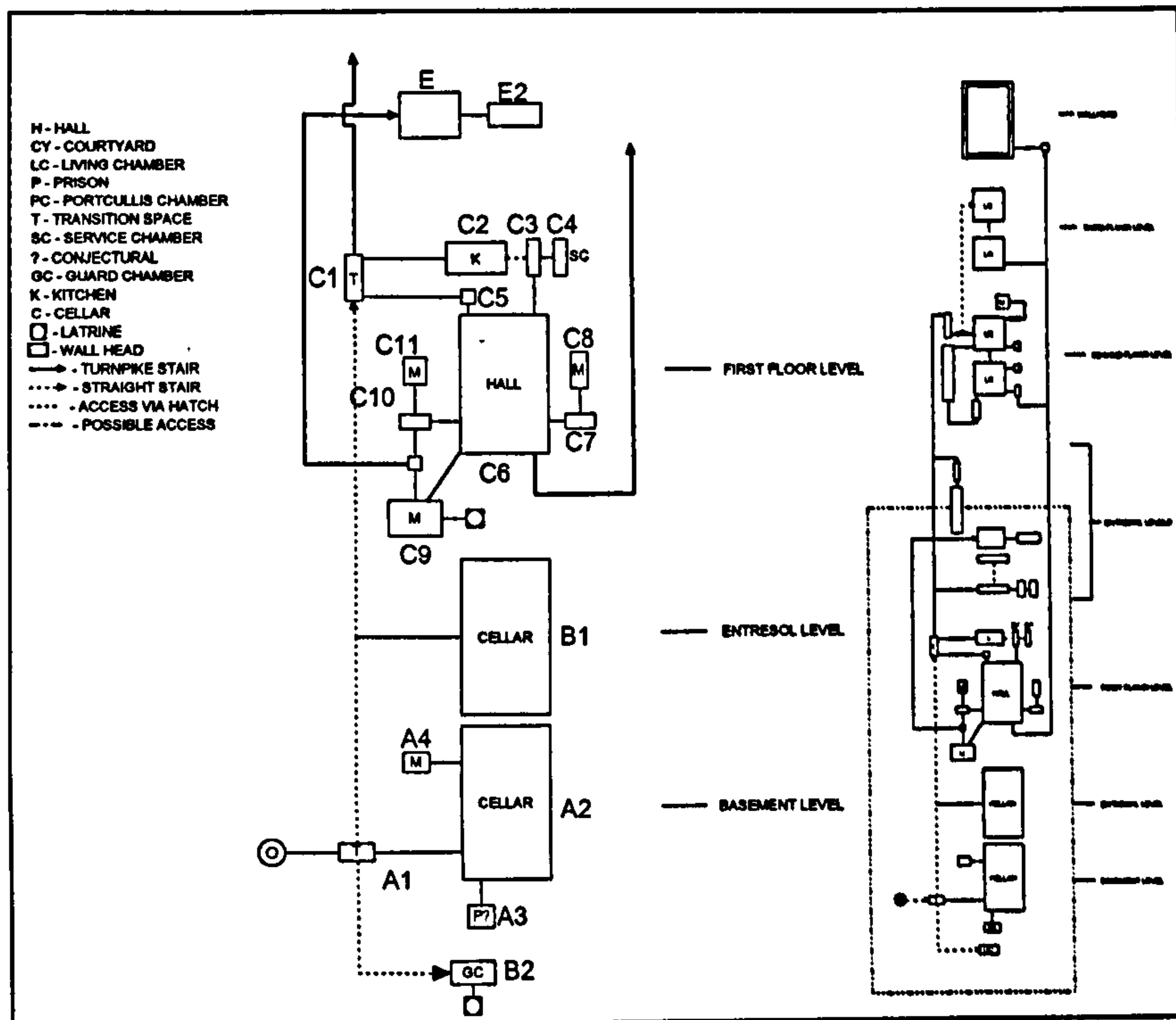


Figure 7-10 Planning diagram of cellarage, services and hall, Elphinstone Tower, mid-15th century.

The final 'service' within the tower is the postulated prison (A3). This space is a small mural chamber accessed from the ground floor cellar (A2) and lies directly beneath the guard chamber or porters lodge (B2). It is the association with the porters lodge that is the most convincing argument for this space to function as a prison. Considerable effort went into the construction of the mural chamber which meant that the porters lodge above, had to be reached by a flight of stairs. If the mason and the patron had only desired a mural chamber within the cellarage it could have been built within one of the other angles, which would have meant that the porters lobby could have been at the same level as the entrance lobby. The chamber is totally without features, it has no window or ventilation and no latrine, common enough facilities in medieval prisons. Nor is the prison accessed from a hatch in its vaulted ceiling,

providing a secure method of confinement, but rather access takes the form of a simple doorway from the main cellar. A medieval prison did not have to take the form of a pit, for example, Tulliallan Castle, but in a Scottish context this departure from the pit prison is unusual. The mural chamber If the space under discussion was planned as a prison, it could have been easily built as a pit prison. A hatchway from the chamber above, the porter's chamber, could easily have been created and the entrance need not have been constructed. This would have the added advantage that the porter, an important figure concerned with the security of the tower, would have also served as prison guard from his chamber. Even with the arrangement as it exists, the porter could still have had this role, although the planning arrangements would have made his surveillance less immediate and effective. The only other function for the chamber would have been as a secure storage space.

The space (A3) is relatively shallow in the access graph (figure 7-9). The shallowness of this prison is interesting as in modern prisons one finds the cells in the deepest part of the structure. This is of course a reversal of the usual way of things; in most structures the deepest space is occupied by those with most control. In prisons due to security those with least control are in the deepest areas, the convicts, while those in control, the guards occupy the shallower spaces (Markus 1993). If we accept the room as a prison what possible reasons are there for its positioning? The shallowness of the chamber, and its lack of ventilation and sanitary arrangements, could be explain by the fact that it was probably only used for short periods at a time. Incarceration was not a punishment usually resorted to. Prisons in castle would usually only be used to hold people until the barons court was held and punishment was meted out. As a result perhaps security was not taken so seriously nor the prisoners comfort. The area although shallow was probably quite secure because as it was in the main storage area, servants would be present most of the time, some perhaps sleeping there, or just above this area on the mezzanine floor. The prison was also close to the only entrance into the tower which would always have been guarded by porter from the porters lodge. Another reason for the position of the prison perhaps becomes apparent if we think of the prison as a space for strangers, not just strangers but unwelcome ones at that. In this light it is perhaps not surprising that miscreants would be kept in shallow space, an area for strangers, and away from the deepest space, the household living area, where they could have caused disturbance.

7.8.1 Summary.

The services which attended the hall at Elphinstone take a similar form to those at Dirleton, and many other Scottish castles, for example Portincross Tower, Comlongon Tower, Little Cumbrae Tower, Doune Castle, Crichton Castle Urquhart Castle (Inverness-shire) and Castle Campbell. The arrangement of the kitchen at one end of the first floor and the dais at the other, presents an interesting dichotomy of a working space at one end and a prestige space at the other. Closeness to the kitchen and service spaces, as well as distance from the dais accentuated the inferior position of those within the lower end of the hall. Furthermore, the visitor would have passed close to or through the service area at the lower end of the hall. The occupants, especially the laird would have entered the hall from one of the staircases at the upper end of the hall, emphasising the contrast between the occupant and guest.

The kitchen/dais opposition found at Elphinstone and other towerhouses such as Portincross, Little Cumbrae, Fairlie, Crichton, Comlongon and Law, would have distinguished these towers from others such as Cardoness, Carsluith and Smailholm (Roxburghshire), which did not have internal kitchens. Tabraham suggest in towers without kitchens much of the cooking would have been carried out on the hall fireplace within the tower, with more formal feasts taken place in adjacent free-standing halls served from free standing kitchens (Tabraham 1997, 82). Evidence for such a view comes from salt boxes beside hall fireplaces, such as at Cardoness and Carsluith — although in some towers the retention of salt boxes may have been a symbol of hospitality rather than a necessity for cooking — and excavation of an outer hall and kitchen at Smailholm (Grove 1996, 18, 23; Tabraham 1988). A hall where the cooking was carried out front of the fire, the main focus of the hall, and a hall with a self-contained kitchen at the opposite end from the dais, are very different spaces, and provide two very different pictures of the use of the hall, concepts of what could be done in the hall, the position of servants within the household and even the general nature of the household. Where cooking was done in front of the hall fire, the hall would appear to have been a far more domestic space, where the household may have come together everyday to have their meals almost as a family, and where servants and cooks, perhaps female, did not have to hidden away and isolated. Where the tower includes a kitchen, it suggests that the hall within the tower was the only hall within the castle complex, although at Portincross the two kitchens within the tower suggest that there was a separate retainer hall perhaps situated close to the tower, and at Crichton it seem clear that there was free-standing masonry hall, built soon after the tower itself was constructed. It also appears to suggest that these halls were more formal spaces, than those where cooking was

carried out, and that there was a greater division between the domestic sphere and the formal sphere. What is more, in the towers with kitchens there appears to have been a desire to distance, even hide cooks and some servants from the hall, suggesting a more clearly hierarchical structure to the household. The internal kitchen also emphasised the isolation of the lord or laird within the tower.

Although the kitchen within the tower at first floor level was a opportune organisation of space in relation to hall, due to the constraints of space the kitchen was a difficult space to work without amenities such as slops drains, water inlets and ovens, and may have created problems of communication with the lower floors. These problems would not have occurred in castles such as Dirleton, where space was available to build large kitchens which would have made the cooks task rather more pleasant. Thus, the desire to be create a self-contained residence within the simple tower form would have created a number of problems for those working in the tower, and perhaps the whole tower as smells and noises would have permeated the structure. The desire to have a kitchen within the tower was a strong one, with towers such as Crichton having even smaller kitchens, in even more restrictive, unpleasant and difficult spaces, than at Elphinstone. In these cases the comfort and convenience of the lord or laird and his family, far out-weighed the well being of the kitchen staff. Furthermore, it is tempting to suggest that the kitchen within the tower was a status symbol, a demonstration of a sophisticated building knowledge, which can be seen throughout Elphinstone Tower.

One must accept that the small mural chamber within the north west angle of the ground floor cellar (A3) served as a prison despite its unusual form. As the caput for the barony, it would be unusual for the tower not to have a prison. The association of the chamber with the porters lodge confirms this view. This is another example of imprisonment and the exercise of justice identified with the gate or entrance to the castle or tower and with those officials who ensured the lord's or laird's security within his residence. Again, the residence of the lord or laird was physically connected to the actual exercise of justice.

7.9 CONCLUSIONS.

The discussion of Elphinstone Castle has brought several themes to light. Most importantly is the recognition of complex functional divisions within the tower form: storage, domestic and public spheres were played out through spatial arrangements. These divisions themselves have underlying social significance which may be related to gender, the need for a splendid public

side of the castle, and the desire to isolate the more domestic aspects of life yet to keep them within the walls of a single structure. By containing all these aspects of lordly or lairdly life within one structure, it emphasises the closed in nature of the tower house, yet while still demonstrating an outward appearance of confidence through the verticality and mass of the tower. A confidence in the abilities of the abilities of both mason and designer, a desire to demonstrate this confidence and knowledge appears to have informed the whole building process.

At Elphinstone it is possible that the tower was arranged in the hall, outer chamber and inner chamber plan that was to become so common in the sixteenth century, but have had its roots in the fifteenth century or earlier: in chapter six it was apparent that this plan was to be found in late fifteenth century additions at Bothwell Castle. The plan does not appear to have had the sophistication of the south range at Bothwell, or the palace block at Huntly or the various Royal Palaces, where there were multiple suites, one for the lord and another for his wife. These suites were also arranged in a linear fashion on a single level unlike at Elphinstone. The differences between the arrangements at Elphinstone and the other castles and palaces mentioned, is due to the scale of Elphinstone, the profile of the structure which remained as a vertical tower rather than adopting the elongated form as at Bothwell and Huntly, and the resources of lairds of Elphinstone: it may have been a wealthy barony but its resources were not comparable to the Douglasses or to the earls of Huntly. Within the physical and financial constraints of Elphinstone tower, the tripartite plan was used but in a limited and adapted form, only allowing a single suite of chambers, over two levels. Such an arrangement may have been relatively common, it can also be seen at Craignethan Castle (Lanarkshire) (mid-sixteenth century) where the lord's accommodation took the form of two superimposed chambers accessed from the upper area of the hall (MacIvor 1993, 18).

The larger scheme of accommodation within the tower, was one way of emphasising the importance of the physical presence of the lord or laird. Where the hall was free-standing and relatively independent of other accommodation, there is a sense that the communal activities of the hall were paramount: the free standing hall was an inclusive space. When the hall, no matter how impressive, was part of a suite of rooms its importance was lessened, on some occasion serving as a simple ante-chamber to the lord's or laird outer chamber. Those who were restricted to the hall would have felt excluded once the lord or laird retired to his chamber, with certain guests and household members who were attending him.

As the tower was not large enough to accommodate a second suite of rooms, the laird's wife would have been accommodated in the inner chamber. This probably explains the existence of the gallery, a most unusual space in the context of Scottish tower house, which must have created a considerable buffer between the semi-public outer chamber and the private inner chamber, a back space where the laird and his wife would have slept and relaxed. This may have been deemed more necessary because one was entering a partially a female space. The extra distance created by the gallery would have been created by the greater inaccessibility of the second suite, in a dual suite arrangement. The wide turnpike from the from the hall to the outer chamber would also have create distance from the public space of the hall and the semi-private western chamber. The association made with the domestic sphere of the castle, concepts of privacy and the laird's wife may appear glib and patronising, yet it is supported through the documentary evidence. The wife of the laird did have an important role within the household and that included overseeing the running of the laird's residence.

The sophisticated concept of the lord's or laird's identity which informed the complex planning arrangements at Elphinstone, were common in late medieval Scotland. Elements of the planning arrangements found at Elphinstone can be found at other castles and towers in Scotland. The self-contained nature of towers such as Elphinstone should not only be seen as desire to improve facilities — it could be argued that the construction of very small kitchens within towers would have create more difficult conditions for those working there — but was partly a status symbol and partly a part of a movement to enclose the household within the tower. Elphinstone, then should not be regarded as an oddity. Its honey-combed walls may have been an over-the-top demonstration of the masons art, but generally the tower fits into the mainstream of the Scottish tower house building tradition.

8. CONCLUSIONS — ‘THE MOIR I STAND ON OPPIN HITIIT / MY FAULTIS MOIR SVBJECT AR TO SITHT’

8.1 INTRODUCTION.

This study of Scottish castles and towers was not intended to answer a single simple question. Rather its aim was to implement a series of different approaches to the study of the castle, emphasising it as an active determining element of material culture. This approach was designed to provide intellectually and emotionally more satisfying descriptions and interpretations of the castle as a component of a peopled world. In other words, the thesis sets out the proposition, how can we study castles more effectively and more imaginatively, and in a manner that recognises the role of the knowledgeable agent?

In an attempt to fulfil these criteria, a clear theoretical and methodological position has underlain this study. The first two parts of this conclusion — ‘A Theoretical Success’ and ‘Methodological Madness’ — will be an attempt at self-criticism, addressing how far it has been possible to investigate material culture in the shape of the castle through the theoretical background and the methodology employed. The final part — ‘The Spatial Nature of Life in Scottish Castles’ — will discuss how this analysis has informed our understanding of the role of the castle in society, both at the level of the individual household and in the context of wider social relations.

8.2 A THEORETICAL SUCCESS ?

The theoretical position set out in Chapter Four was intended to inform the whole of this discussion. The setting out of an explicit theoretical stance is important if this thesis is to break free of the legacy of MacGibbon and Ross. At its core is the concept that material culture is an essential component in the creation, reproduction and maintenance of social structures. This is linked to the belief that the agent was at least semi-aware of the role of material culture as a mechanism in the continuation of existing power relations. Thus, the spatial layout of a castle or tower was not a mere reflection of the society that built it, demonstrating the nature of relationships between the inhabitants of the structure and between the inhabitants and those exterior to the structure, but was also involved in the reproduction of that society. Challenges to social structures or sources of authority, whether the state, a corporate body, a kin group or an

individual and, concomitantly, demonstrations of authority were played out through material culture, in this case through the architecture of the castle.

A second element of the theoretical stance adopted here was the concept or device of writing '*virtual biographies*' of the castle. These were intended to provide an outline of possible relations within the structures, an attempt to create a narrative not merely of stones and chambers but of the everyday existence of their inhabitants. In Part, this concept has been informed by Graves' study of the use of space in English parish churches (Graves 1995). Graves, taking her inspiration from Chaucer, structured her narrative as a series of 'tales'. Having studied all aspects of the use of space within Scottish castles could we also create such narratives: 'the laird's tale', 'the porter's tale', and 'the tunbroiche's tale' ? The answer, as demonstrated by the absence of such narratives in the case-studies, is probably no.

The failure to produce such narratives is a direct result of the limited nature of the evidence available for this study, and the constraints imposed by the academic disciplines of archaeology and history.

- First, although the discussion has been text aided, this has only provided a general context in which to work. There are few, if any documents which directly relate to the individual castles, and even the history of the buildings are unclear. There is certainly nothing approaching the liturgical tracts which informed Graves work and which provide, for example, descriptions of the exact movements of the priest during mass and the ordering of processions. From the brief descriptions of the disposition of tables within the household of James IV and at Castle Dounie, one gains the impression that movements within the hall at a castle could almost have been as prescribed through common usage and enculturation. However, we have no texts which describe in any great detail the activities within the hall, certainly not the actual movements of the lord or laird when entering or leaving the hall.
 - Secondly, there is the nature of the material evidence itself and our relationship to it. The church is also a space in which the scope of activities was fairly limited, while the function of the spaces within the church remains partially understandable today. The castle or tower is very different. The activities within the castle were not so limited, but ranged over the whole gamut of human relations. Very few of the myriad of spaces in the castle are understandable today. The form of Christianity may have been different in the medieval period but it provides something of a shared experience which informs our understanding of the
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architecture and division of space in a church. There are few such details which can inform our understanding of a castle.

- Thirdly, there is the different nature of relationships within the church and within the castle, and the different nature of ownership of the spaces allowing the actors differing opportunities to alter the material culture of the buildings. The parish churches which Graves investigates were public arenas of competing interests, where ownership of the spaces within the church were not fixed, but were battled over in attempts to demonstrate status and control. These conflicting interests could not be simply divided into laity and clergy but incorporated different individuals, families or classes. The church was a public space, a focal point of the community where displays of authority and status could be viewed by the locality. Such displays could take the form of relative position within the congregation, either through physical position or more permanently through the provision and position of a pew or seat. The position of such seats could cause conflict as at Largo kirk in Fife, where two local lairds fought over the right to have the most pre-eminent position in church, disrupting both religious practice and resulting in the destruction of each others pews (Brown 1986, 71). More subtle demonstrations of influence and status were achieved through patronage of the church, enabling families to proclaim their interest through family or guild chapels, tombs, and heraldry or in constructing the whole church.

The castle may have been a locus within the community but its ownership was not open to challenge. The castle or tower was itself a symbol of ownership, a visual representation of the lord and of his power and authority over the barony and its inhabitants and proclaimed through the obvious placement of the castle or tower in the landscape. Whereas several interest groups may have used a church to compete for status, the fact that a tower was owned by an individual restricted its use to its owners purpose. The castle or tower always told the lord's story and no-one else's. Conflict may have arisen when new owners took over an existing structure and stamped their own identity upon it — through building new structures, altering old ones and setting up their own armorial devices and deleting others that came before.

Within the household or the more extensive following of the lord, there were bound to have been competing interests trying to find favour with the lord. These conflicts may have been played out through the spatial arrangements of the castle and, specifically, in the relative bodily positioning of lord and retainers, perhaps through nearness to the dais or access to his chamber. Partly this would have given one status, but if one had the ear of the lord it could also lead to

influence, power and perhaps advancement. The royal court was of course the extreme example of this, but surrounding any lord there may have been individuals seeking social advancement. The consequences of such competition, even conflict over access to the lord's personage is reflected in the spatial arrangements which increasingly isolated the lord in his bedchamber. Of course as segregation became more and more complete, the growing clamour for access to the lord, emphasised his importance. However, apart from the lord, no-one within the household or following was able to alter the spatial arrangements or even the decoration of the tower in any meaningful manner. In contrast, in the single space of the parish church, competing claims could be expressed through patronage. The materiality of the castle or tower spoke with one voice, leaving the archaeologist with less scope to reach those other occupants of the castle.

Thus, the limitations of the evidence have constrained how far one is able to go in recreating the everyday life of the occupants of the castle. Instead, it has been possible to illustrate how the structure of the castle recursively demonstrated the lord's position, both supporting and reproducing his isolation. The other occupants have been seen in relation to the lord and his accommodation, although a few figures such as the porter and chaplain stand out in their own right because of their accommodation and work spaces. Even the wife of the lord does not figure strongly. One person or group is prominent: the imagined outsider or the stranger is at the forefront of the discussion. The castle would have been a very theatrical space, designed to overwhelm and impress — particularly those entering the castle or tower for the first time.

8.2.1 Conclusion.

The theoretical basis of this study has informed the discussion of each castle. At the most basic level, throughout the case-studies, the spatial nature of everyday life has been recognised and emphasised. It has also been recognised that the mechanisms which make spatial layouts and architecture important in human existence are not simple. The form and layout of the castle had an effect on how people would have behaved and how they perceived their relationship with that place and with other people. Where the case-studies depart from the concepts expressed in chapter four is the use of devices such as 'virtual biographies'. The 'virtual biographies' produced were not of the households, of individuals within the castles, as first hoped, but of the buildings themselves. The greatest difficulty in producing the case-studies was the attempt to go beyond detailed interpretations of castles' layout to identify with the inhabitants. Where this has been achieved it has touched only on the lord and on the household in general terms; it has not

been possible to see the household as a collection of identifiable individuals linked together through many interconnected relationships.

8.3 METHODOLOGICAL MADNESS ?

The second departure from mainstream castles studies was the use of formal methods of spatial analysis, specifically access analysis and planning diagrams. In addition an experiential approach stressing both sight and movement. Again, the success of these methods and the benefits or disadvantages of using such techniques must be addressed.

The formal methods were used for three reasons:

- To establish a systematic approach to the interpretation of an often complex structure.
- To aid interpretation by emphasising various aspects of spatial layouts, form and access, which have been deemed important to our understanding of these spaces.
- To assist the reader in following the discussion of the buildings by providing simplified and easily understood diagrams which give some idea of movement through the building.

The final question cannot really be addressed by the author. Only the reader can decide if a plan would have been as helpful as the access graphs or particularly the planning diagrams. It would be very difficult to follow the discussion without the diagrams. Moreover the objective of using such formal methods of analysis was secondary to the structure provided by the diagrams and the interpretative qualities they brought to the study. The manner in which the spaces within the diagrams were linked together constantly reminds one that the castle, even a great curtain wall castle with many individual towers, is a single structure. To interpret an individual space necessitates considering its relation to the other spaces in the castle. Both access analysis and planning analysis force one, not just to emphasise individual spaces or to treat the castle or tower as a collection of individual spaces but to see it as an integrated whole. The use of formal analyses also helps standardise the approach one takes to separate structures, even though they may initially appear very distinct from each other.

It could be suggested that such an understanding can be achieved through a plan or actual first hand knowledge of the building. However, the vertical divisions of a plan suggests and even compels the discussion to have a particular structure, derived from the plan, floor by floor starting on the ground floor and going upwards. Such a structure seems especially suited to the tower house. However, as we have seen at Elphinstone Tower and Tulliallan Castle, spaces on

two different floors (linked by staircases) could function together. With a plan there is a danger that different floors will be treated almost as unrelated spaces. If the reality of the castle is experienced in person, it is difficult to become so familiar with the spaces as to gain a true working knowledge of the building, thus allowing the interconnectedness of all the spaces to be seen. Even an original inhabitant may not have had such comprehensive knowledge of a building, being restricted to certain spaces by social convention. In ruined buildings, it is generally impossible to experience all of the structure, as areas, especially the upper floors, tend to be inaccessible or ruined. Even if complete access is possible, one often moves around a building in an unstructured way, initially gaining little from such experiences, missing many of the features that a systematic approach would uncover. Where there are ruined areas, they have often been ignored. Unable to provide an in-depth description of the ruined sections of a castle, there is often little attempt to reconstruct these areas. A case in point is the southern range at Bothwell castle, which appears to have functioned as the main sixteenth century accommodation, including guard hall or hall, presence chamber or outer chamber and bedchamber or inner chamber with attached latrine. However, both Simpson's description and the Historic Scotland guide book are superficial in their treatment of this range (Simpson 1925, Tabraham 1996, 23-24).

The recognition of the interconnectedness of a structure which comes from a systematic approach to the study of the castle, is one area in which formal analysis may help in interpreting it. Access analysis of course emphasises movement through the structure and, as we have seen, the stress on depth and control within castles and towers is particularly appropriate considering what is known of the concepts of privacy and the make-up of the castle household. The planning diagrams, and, to a lesser extent, access analysis make clear various groupings of rooms such as the hall, outer chamber and inner chamber (e.g. Bothwell), or groupings of individual lodgings or divisions within structures (e.g. Elphinstone and Tulliallan). Again, although the links between rooms can be identified from the plan or by walking around a structure, they are immediately recognisable if one studies the spatial diagrams. The overall effect the use of these techniques has on the way one thinks of the buildings should also be appraised. Formal analysis does create a different way of thinking about the built structures, even if one is looking at a plan or walking around a castle. One is informed by the analysis and experiencing the castle becomes a process of identifying groupings of spaces and attempts to comprehend access arrangements.

The experiential method, or at least the experiencing of a building, is something of an antidote for the more rigid and abstract diagrammatical methods. This more informal method was specifically used:

- as a reminder that the small dots, squares and rectangles in the diagrams were real spaces, once inhabited by real people.
- as a necessary adjunct to the process of creating the diagrams. It is essential to experience the building (Elphinstone is an exception but even in this case there is a comprehensive photographic record) as the plans drawn by the Royal Commission and MacGibbon and Ross often lack detail, are often not complete, can be confusing, and on occasion have inaccuracies.
- to gain a feel for the size of a space, how dark it is, how it is lit, and the degree to which the body is constrained by a passageway. Details such as the positioning of window, the view from them, the form of doorways and how they are secured and the size and shape of rooms only become apparent once their physicality has been experienced. Diagrams and plans reduce these forms and relationships to abstractions.
- to stop one from getting carried away by apparently significant results in the analyses which on the ground turn out to be minor and misleading.

The most important of these reasons is undoubtedly the giving of these abstract problems, when represented as diagrams, a human scale: further these encounters help to excite the imagination when writing the description and analysis of the structure.

8.3.1 Conclusions.

Overall, I believe the methodological framework employed here was a success. By using access analysis and planning diagrams, our knowledge of the castles and tower has been dramatically increased. The manner in which the analyses have been used, along with an experiential approach, a more aesthetic consideration of the architecture and a knowledge of the social and historical context of the buildings, has meant that the interpretations put forward do not rely upon the rigid and impersonal use of the methodologies. The formal analyses probably has had a subtle effect upon the interpretation of the spaces, as well as the concepts achieved through an explicit use of the methods. To gauge whether the analyses produced a 'correct' interpretation is extremely difficult. All of the factors were used to create plausible possible explanations for the use of spaces and the significance of spatial layouts.

8.4 GENERAL CONCLUSIONS — THE SPATIAL NATURE OF LIFE IN SCOTTISH CASTLES.

8.4.1 Introduction.

This study of the castle in Scotland has been in part an evaluation of certain methodologies and a particular theoretical stance. A different historic or even pre-historic built environment could have been chosen for such an evaluation. However, this was not the main purpose or the inspiration for this work. The primary inspiration was indeed a fascination with the castle as a social construct and a desire to provide a different, more thoughtful and more imaginative response to these buildings than had been achieved before. Thus, the study has exploited documentary, architectural and archaeological evidence, to complement the particular theoretical and methodological approach taken to the castle.

The overarching concept behind the thesis was the desire to demonstrate that the castles and towers of Scotland were far more concerned with social status than military issues. Thus, the approach to the subject taken here, rather than being rooted in the concerns of military architecture, has emphasised the expression of lordship and the domestic apparatus of castle life. It suggests that even where the documentation — in the form of licences to crenellate — exist, there are far more complex reasons lying behind the intention to build a castle. There are military situations which necessitate castles or towers, but if this to be the only response to such a need one has to accept that individuals in Scottish society were enculturated into perceiving a need for castellated architecture. The Wars of Independence were a focal moment in the creation of an overtly militarised elite who demonstrated lordship through such symbolism. Although, after the Wars were over, Scottish society stabilised — for as many commentators have stated it requires peace and prosperity to build a masonry castle or tower — the threat of violence remained, as much from ones neighbours as a foreign invasion. It was the willingness to demonstrate that one was prepared to meet violence with violence in the protection of rights and honour, and the rights of dependants and tenants, that was central to lordship. As a demonstration of this willingness, the castle or tower was second to none. The very existence of such structures promoted the continuation of a militarised society.

The sections below will discuss set out to support a social interpretation of the castle, illustrating this through the castles used in the case studies and through knowledge of other castles and towers in Scotland.

8.4.2 The location of the castle.

Anyone who has studied Scottish castles, or castles anywhere, for any length of time will soon be struck by the naiveté of presuming that the site of a castle was chosen for simply strategic or tactical reasons. Certainly some castles were built on easily defensible sites which could have strategic value: the most obvious examples are Edinburgh and Stirling. Yet even in these cases defence may not have been the only motivation for choosing these sites. It is very difficult to ascribe a single motivation to the choice of site. In every case there would have been many reasons such as defence, display, aesthetics and the appropriation of existing sites of authority. Of all these, it is striking that the majority of the castles are in prominent places in the landscape.

Even the five case-studies demonstrate the varied nature of the sites chosen for the construction of a castle. Of the five only two, Dirleton and Morton, appear to have been located with the needs of defence paramount in the minds of the mason and patron. The sites chosen constrained the size and form of the castles, at Dirleton created probleming for future builders. At Morton there were no such problems but only because the structure was never extended. Even in these two cases additional explanations have been suggested. At Dirleton, the rock crag may have been the site of an earlier castle belonging to the De Vaux family. The crag also elevated the castle, giving it visual prominence on the flat coastal plain. At Morton, the castle is almost hidden from sight — until the visitor is almost upon it — unless it is viewed from the surrounding hills which overlook the castle. This 'lurking' position, is most unusual for the location of a castle but creates an impressive aesthetic resulting in a brooding malfeasance with the cold waters of the artificial loch and the bleak hills in the background. The site of Tulliallan castle is lacking in obvious natural advantages, although the subsequent drainage of the area may have denuded the site of its 'water' defences. Bothwell and Elphinstone are less easy to categorise. Elphinstone is situated on high ground giving it both prominence and a good field of view. However, as the tower is honeycombed with mural chambers and has no offensive capability, prominence in the landscape and visual domination of the settlement of Elphinstone seems more important than defence. At Bothwell, the river Clyde and its steeply sloping southern bank protect the southern and western approaches of the castle from attack. However, more importantly for the mason and his patron, was the large, flat area on which an extensive castle could be built. The river also provided a very striking back drop to the castle. Other castles such as Crichton, Craignethan and Castle Campbell demonstrate similarly confused

motivations; all are extremely visible sites with spectacular approaches but defensively weakened by being overlooked by higher ground. At Craignethan, despite an impressive rampart, the castle was still dismissed by Sir William Drury, Governor of Berwick as '*a strong house ... but situated in a hole, so it is commanded on every part*' (Calendar of State Papers 1898, III, No. 250, 182, quoted in McIvor 1977, 243). At Craignethan and Castle Campbell, as well as other cases such as Crookston and Borthwick, the choice of site was informed by the existence of an earlier castle more than by defensive factors.

The location of the castle was only one element of the landscape of the barony and of lordship. Indeed we have a very limited conception of the network of social relations which surrounded the castle, not just in the immediate locality but in the wider landscape of aristocratic Scotland, with its nodes of castles, parks and courts. Again, the case studies illustrate different settlement patterns. Of the five, Bothwell, Morton, Tulliallan and Elphinstone appear to have been isolated from the main centres of population within the barony, although at Elphinstone, the tower was visible from the settlement of Elphinstone and was situated near to a chapel and burial ground. At Morton and Elphinstone, the home farm was situated close to the castle. At Dirleton, in contrast settlement grew up around the castle, almost taking the form of a planned village around a green. This nucleated settlement pattern is not the norm around the vast number of Scottish castles and towers.

Such nucleation is often associated with early royal castles and those established, along with a burgh, by Anglo-Norman magnates. At Peebles, the royal castle was situated at the junction of the Peebles Water and the River Tweed. The burgh developed at the foot of the castle with the High Street acting as both the main approach to the castle and the main focus of settlement (Tabraham 1997, 17). Baronial examples include the Bruce estate centre at Lochmaben, which included a castle and burgh, and Earl David of Huntingdon's burghs at Inverurie (Aberdeenshire) and Dundee (RCAHMS 1997, 197; Stringer 1985, 70). These latter burghs were very different from one another: Dundee was probably in existence as a trading centre before its formalisation as a burgh by Earl David. Inverurie, although Earl David's favourite Scottish residence, was a rural burgh providing the services which the residence of a great lord required. Thus, even within the nucleated settlement pattern, the nature of the relationship between castle and burgh varied. At Lochmaben, the original motte was within the burgh, probably encouraging settlement. However, when the Bruce's rebuilt in stone during the fourteenth century, they moved the site of the castle more than a mile from the burgh, to the shores of Castle Loch (Simpson & Stevenson 1980, 4-10).

The alternative settlement patterns — nucleated versus non-nucleated — suggest the varied needs of the castles' patrons in their concern to express lordship. The artificial conglomeration of castle, burgh and church, was an effective method of augmenting control over the locality. It was also a very visual method of achieving this. When the burgh was settled by immigrants it was also a powerful force in segregating the settlers from the indigenous population creating a sense that the men of the burgh were the lord's men (Duncan 1977, 106). In a more dispersed pattern, if the castle was isolated from the majority of settlement, it could still remain an important centre of authority; here, however authority was demonstrated through the lord's very isolation.

The network of social relationships of which the castle was the focus stretched further than the barony or burgh. Often an individual castle was one among several in the hands of a single lord. In cases where the lord was only an occasional resident the castle came to stand for the lord himself, conferring the lord's authority on those officials resident in the castle. For instance, Castle Campbell was distant from the Argyll powerbase of the Campbell's. It was ostensibly used as a secure residence when the Campbell earls of Argyll attended court either at Edinburgh or Stirling. However, it was also an attempt to re-create the Campbells as members of the lowland aristocracy. Thus, for the Campbells, their castle had a wider significance than its immediate locality; in a sense it was the public face of the Campbells amongst their peers, even going as far as to rename it Castle Campbell.

8.4.3 The outward face of the castle.

To continue this theme of the castle as presenting a public face this section will turn to the exterior of the castle. The exterior would have impinged most upon the lives of those who lived in sight of it. This was not just a martial face but a lordly face, a daily reminder of the power of the lord and his role in everyday life; a reminder of his power of imprisonment, of the dues owed to him both in money, kind and services, and a reminder that to praise God, you had to enter what was effectively his church. But the castle would also be a reminder of the lord's responsibilities to his followers and dependants, the magnificence of his building reinforcing the lord's ability to protect his tenants. Occupancy of a castle helped to legitimise power. New castles were often built on the sites of earlier castles and castles often retained earlier structures even if they were uninhabitable: at Crichton the original tower house is believed to have been partially ruined by the sixteenth century when the castle underwent major reconstruction;

nonetheless the tower house was left untouched (Tabraham 1990, 13-14). Bothwell and Dirleton are other instances where earlier, ruined structures were retained with only half hearted attempts to repair them.

Construction itself seems to have been a powerful demonstration of identity and ownership: time after time, when a new family took possession of a castle, a major building scheme was initiated. This is clearly visible at Bothwell, Dirleton and Tulliallan, and can be seen at many other castles, even small towers such as Carsluith. This tower was built when the lands on which it stood passed to Lindsay of Fairgirth as part of a dowry. When the lands passed to the Broun's of Lands Farm, again because of marriage, a wing was added to the original simple oblong tower house (Grove 1996, 20). These building programmes may have been motivated by the desire to improve accommodation and facilities. Yet it must be recognised that a degree of symbolic intent lay behind such home improvements. The primary concern here was to demonstrate ownership (more so if there were questions over its legitimacy). Changes in social or financial positions also often created a mini-building boom. The very act of building may itself have been an important demonstration of lordship; in effect an act of theatre through which the lord could express his wealth in a conspicuous manner, and as importantly his abilities and knowledge of the theory and practice of fortification. At some castles, such as Dirleton and Bothwell, the process of change seems to have been almost continuous.

Less extensive and expensive demonstrations of identity could be achieved through the fabric of the castle. Heraldry provided an immediate and visible way of proclaiming the occupants' identity and of linking that identity with the tower. The identification of the lord with his castle was intensified or reinforced through the use of documents such as Licenses to Crenellate and the naming or renaming of castles whereby the individual, the castle and the barony all melted into one.

As well as carefully choosing the site to accentuate the visibility of the castle, Scottish castle design intensified the visual impact of the structures through its particular emphasis upon height. This explains the popularity of the tower whether in the form of a donjon, corner tower or gatehouse and, later, as the tower house itself. The exterior treatment of the tower house further emphasised the height of the building. The facade was usually of either dressed ashlar or rubble masonry, often harled and pierced by relatively few simple openings. The area of the castle that was accentuated was the wall head, originally by wooden hoarding but increasingly with impressive stone machicolated parapets (e.g. Drum in the late thirteenth century, Dundas

in the early fifteenth century, Edzell in the early sixteenth century). The contrast between the treatment of the walls and the wall head draws the eye of the viewer skywards, thus heightening the building (Samson 1990, 210). The impact of the wall head can be seen through a comparison between a tower with an intact wall head (for example Borthwick) with a tower denuded of its wall head defences (such as Cardoness).

As wall head defences fell out of use, replaced by firearms as the main dynamic method of defence, the structural features required for ordnance came in for elaboration. Patrons' desired to express their knowledge of the most up-to-date architectural features and their willingness to defend their residences with such up-to-date weapons. In spite of the loss of the parapet, the coming of the gun and the concomitant gun-loop (the latter adding extra interest to the lower reaches of the walls), height was still created by the treatment of the upper works of the tower. Thus, at Claypotts built in the late sixteenth century, the upper floors of each of the large round corner towers, are square internally and externally and are corbelled out over the lower round floors. The result is a most peculiar and contrasting elevation, which again draws the eye upwards (Cruden 1960, 157). At Amisfield Tower (Dumfriesshire) (c.1600), the upper works of the tower are a mass of corner rounds, rectangular turrets and cap houses, of various sizes, all corbelled out from the main elevations of the tower (Cruden 1960, 163). At Crathes (Aberdeenshire) built in the late sixteenth century, and Craigievar (Aberdeenshire) built in the early seventeenth century, corbelled out enclosed corner rounds of several storeys and corbelled string-courses project the whole structure skywards (Cruden 1960, 165). Even at the palace block at Huntly, the orial and dormer windows, with a frieze of giant letters commemorating the first marquis of Huntly and his wife, at the upper works of the building accentuates the height of the rather elongated structure.

Height was related to status in Scotland; this may be an obvious statement, almost self-evident and possibly simplistic and naive. Nevertheless, an incredible amount of effort was put into the building of lofty towers even into the early seventeenth century. This association was of long standing in Scottish society. The height of the castle or tower not only ensured the visibility of the castle but set it apart, as something important, as something lordly, as did the general scale of the castle and the construction material used.

The importance of height was not only of relevance to the exterior of the castle or tower, but was significant throughout the castle, with halls, both free-standing and within towers, invariably situated on the first floor and often a considerable height off the ground. The

hierarchy of height continued with the lord's chamber/s on the subsequent floors. The chambers above were often of less significance and often partially attic chambers. When the chambers of the lady of the house were superimposed on the lord's, the hierarchy becomes more subtle. The lord's chambers were still pre-eminent, while his wife's chambers were more secluded and difficult to reach.

Defence may be one reason for the emphasis upon height but displays of status and social segregation seem at least as important. Thus, at Castle Campbell, the tower house originally had an exterior first floor entrance (leading straight into the hall) and a separate ground floor entrance. This was probably not a defensive feature, as a service stair rises from the ground floor entrance lobby, linking the cellarge with the hall. Thus, the ground floor entrance gave access to the whole tower. However, the different entrances and separate access arrangements reinforced the distinction between servants and those attending the hall. This distinction may have been even finer, with servants and those placed at the lower end of the hall, entering via the lower entrance and those placed at the upper end of the hall entering via the first floor entrance.

The plain exterior elevations of tower houses, while also serving to heighten the structure, created a sense that the interior was closed off from the outside world. The plain exterior, simply pierced by windows and gun-loops could contrast dramatically with the interior of the castle. The most extreme example is Crichton Castle where the very stark and plain exterior, dotted with gun loops and pistol holes and still very much in the milieu of Scottish aristocratic residences, violently with the splendid interior with its brash Italianate facade. Similar interior/exterior oppositions can be clearly seen in many castellated buildings, a fact recognised by the earl of Mar in his inscriptions on his new town house at Stirling. Crichton is an extreme but the division between plain exterior and vibrant interior is also visible at royal palaces such as Falkland and Stirling, where an exterior military air gives way to placid domesticity in the interior.

Crichton demonstrates that within the enculturated grammar of Scottish castellated architecture, the patron and his mason had the ability to move beyond what was common-place, yet the structure had to remain recognisably a castellated form. The owner of Crichton, Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell, needed to express his lordship in every day dealings with the locality. The exterior of the castle had to establish his status and position in the locality. The interior of the building was different. This was the home ground of Francis and while people could gaze

upon the exterior of his home unimpeded, able to form their own impressions, once inside such freedom was denied. Internally, architecture could be used to shape encounters and channel the visitor so their impressions were controlled. Thus, Francis Stewart innovated in the interior of his castle and when George Gordon, marquis of Huntly restored his family residence after it was fired in 1594, he restricted his alterations to the fenestration and heraldic elaboration of the upper works of the castle while retaining the overall plan and spatial arrangements established in the fifteenth century. At Drochil Castle the innovations came in the internal spatial arrangements, clad in the walls of a Z-planned tower house.

8.4.4 Entry into the castle

If the experience of the castle is seen as a theatrical one, the entrance is where the initial acts of the drama take place. Of the five castles examined, four have or would have had, entrances of some prominence, emphasised by drawbridges, portcullises, doors and towers. At Dirleton, Bothwell and Morton, entry into the castle becomes a drawn out process because of the presence of a long entrance pend, made even longer by flanking towers. These heighten expectation and create the definite impression of crossing a threshold, emphasising the change from exterior to interior and ensuring that it was made clear that you had entered someone else's domain and space. The projecting gateways give a sense of overwhelming power and confidence. At Tulliallan, the impact of the entrance is all externally oriented since beyond the drawbridge, portcullis and doors the whole of the interior of the structure opened out. In contrast, the entrance of Elphinstone could not have been any simpler: a small round headed doorway protected by a timber outer door and inner iron yett. It may have been as effective as a bar to movement as the arrangements at Tulliallan, but it certainly was not as impressive.

Although it is difficult to generalise, throughout the medieval period the entrances to tower houses are often very plain and unobtrusive. Early towers often had first floor entrances — for example Drum, Hallforest, Lochleven, Crichton and Threave — but by the late fourteenth century ground floor entrances were becoming more common. At Neidpath, the original ground floor entrance is so unobtrusive, hidden away on the most precipitous slopes above the river and hidden from the natural approach to the castle, as to be almost invisible. In L-planned towers, the doorway is often in the re-entrant angle, also making it less obvious to the on-looker. In some towers, the overall form of the structure deceives the onlooker into expecting the entrance to be where it is not. Thus, at Borthwick one expects the entrance to be situated between the two

projecting wings which face the main approach to the castle, but the visitor has to travel round to the southern elevation where there is an elevated first floor entrance.

Where a tower expanded into a larger courtyard structure and the courtyard gateway survives, the picture becomes less clear cut. At a number of castles, access was via simple arched gateways, either through a curtain wall or through a range of buildings. An interesting example is Crichton which developed from a tower and hall to a fully formed courtyard castle with the construction of two ranges in the fifteenth century. Entry to the tower house was through two simple round headed doorways with roughly dressed voussiors, one giving access to the cellarage and prison and the other to the hall. These doorways face the main approach to the tower. The entry into the claustrophobic fifteenth century courtyard was a much larger round headed gateway, leading into a long dark pend above which was the great hall. The gateway was subsequently blocked but there is no evidence of sophisticated defences such as a drawbridge or portcullis nor was it flanked by any guard chambers. It is possible that there was just a single or a double two leafed wooden gate. The gate was approached up a steep slope, on the opposite side to the main approach to the castle. In the late sixteenth century the gate was again moved, this time to the east wall. This entrance was situated hard against the south wall of the tower house; since this projects beyond the curtain wall. Thus, the entrance is not visible from the main approach to the castle until one is almost upon it. This entrance was smaller than the fifteenth century doorway although it was topped by a stone pediment and was flanked by a hanging turret. The gateway seems to be secured by an inner and outer two leafed door, the inner one may have been an iron yett. Considering the general tenor of the late sixteenth century alterations to the castle, this gateway appears out of place, as does the re-orientation of the gateways. If the southern gate had been retained, the Italianate facade would have greeted each visitor immediately on their entry into the courtyard. Entering via the eastern gateway the facade not at first visible, and its the impact is lessened

The contrast between the interior and exterior at Crichton reflects with the nature of the tower house and more importantly the personality of the occupant. In the case of Crichton, Francis Stewart appears almost to have wanted to have kept the Renaissance delights of his personal lodging to himself and his close associates. The bleak exterior and the unassuming gateway almost shouts 'keep away', it is a private space where only the invited may enter. When they did enter, the very bleakness of the exterior would have made the glories of the interior seem even more vivid. The gatehouse at Morton functions visually in a different way.

Its monumentality, while not disguising its function as an entrance, is designed to overwhelm and intimidate those entering.

Craignethan also demonstrates interaction between the exterior view of the castle and its internal arrangements, in order to create a sense of theatre. The approach to the castle is both surprising but expected; the castle can be seen from a distance but to reach it you must follow a circuitous route with the castle hidden from sight, the castle only becoming visible again when you are almost on top of it. It appears to be both secluded and prominent. The contradictions continue in the castle itself. From the exterior the castle appears to be a grim and forbidding fortress, yet the lodging is light and domestic in feel. The artillery fortification is superficially extremely daunting and impressive yet some shot holes are useless. To enter the castle one must pass through an outer wall and courtyard and then an inner gatehouse and courtyard, taking you past and showing off the various defensive features of the castle. On entering the lodging more liminal spaces are encountered: to reach the hall necessitates progressing through two separate but connected lobbies. The hall is light and airy towards its upper end, with huge windows surrounding the dais, lighting Sir James Hamilton of Finnart's seat — the owner and builder of the castle — the fireplace off to one side. The stone benches around the hall demonstrate its central position in the everyday life of the castle's inhabitants. It also suggests the more extraordinary life of the castle, when those in the locality came to the castle, to give and receive advice and justice. Progress around the castle does not end here but continues, through the hall under the gaze of all who sat and lounged there, into a room beside the dais of the hall where an alcove suggests a bed or perhaps a chair of state. From the inner chamber of Finnart himself, a narrow stair leads to a mezzanine chamber above, which like the chamber below has a wardrobe. It is possible that these rooms made up the suite of Finnart. The progression through all of these different obstacles and spaces, interestingly not interrupted by any staircase, could be interpreted as attempts not only at defence but to heighten the drama of the occasion while the hall with its large windows with large ingoings and the stone benches created a suitable setting for Finnart's petty court.

8.4.5 The Great Hall

The hall was the most essential component of any castle; the appropriate physical setting for the functions and responsibilities of lordship. In all of the case-studies, spatial analysis has shown that this was the most easily accessible living space. It was also often a hub of communications with easy access to the exterior, the kitchen and service accommodation and

furthermore controlled access to the deeper areas of the castle: the chambers and bedchambers. The constant activity within the hall would have helped prevent unwanted intrusion by guests or servants into the deeper, private spaces. The hall was a carefully contrived space which clearly emphasised the person of the lord through its form: the positioning of the fireplace and windows and the raising up of the lord on the dais at one end. At a time when the use of artificial light was limited and when the activities of the day were often restricted to the daylight hours, the placement of windows was the main method by which one could manipulate the lighting of a room. One could suggest that areas of the hall were kept darker than they need have been to create a greater contrast between the body of the hall, the dais end and often the entrance to the hall. This is clearly seen at Elphinstone, Morton and Dirleton, and amongst many more also at Borthwick, Craigmillar and Craignethan. In other examples, the hall would have been lighter as there were more windows, but the contrast between light and dark was retained at Bothwell, Tantallon and Stirling by using small clearstorey windows along with very large windows at the dais end. Not only did the position of the windows control the lighting of the hall but it also restricted the views from and into the hall.

One trend identified in the case studies is the reduction in status of the great hall during the sixteenth century. This is most clearly visible at Tulliallan where the hall was reduced in length and height to make way for more extensive lordly accommodation, while the possible lower hall became cellarage. The late sixteenth century Ruthven block with its private dining room at Dirleton and the south range at Bothwell both support the findings at Tulliallan, although in a less obvious manner. The great hall remained, perhaps continuing as the site of the barony court, a hall for the household and occasionally for great feasts. Among non-case-study castles, one of the most remarkable is Crichton, where the fifteenth century great hall was drastically subdivided. The space, originally open to the roof, had an upper floor inserted, creating a gallery space, while the first floor was divided into two chambers and a corridor. The hall was superseded by a more integrated accommodation scheme in the late sixteenth century range. This included a much smaller dining room and a withdrawing room of similar size. At Castle Campbell the late fifteenth century hall block, consisting of a chamber, hall and kitchen arrangement, was altered sometime in the sixteenth century, with the hall space considerably shortened allowing for an additional chamber. This may have enabled the creation of a hall, outer chamber and inner chamber arrangement, all of which are mentioned in a late sixteenth century inventory. Extra accommodation may have been created by using part of the roof space of the original hall, as there is mention of '*ye commoune chalmer abone my lordis uttir chalmer*' (Campbell 1913, 10). At Tantallon, the hall was originally a double hall but in the

mid-sixteenth century it underwent drastic change. The lower hall became cellarage and the upper hall was divided into two floors. The lower floor remained as a hall and the upper, roof space, lit by the clearstorey windows, became a storage loft. The hall is described as the '*lang hall*' in an inventory drawn up in 1670 and there is also mention of a '*lang loft*' (Maxwell 1885 vol. III, 343). This inventory also mentions a '*dyneing roume*' and a '*chamber caled my ladies chamber*', which probably refers to chambers within the sixteenth block built against the hall. Thus, once against the hall was superseded by an integrated suite of accommodation with a smaller and more private dining area. In tower houses, such major structural changes to the hall are less common, mainly because halls within towers were of a more convenient size. However, the great hall at Neidpath was subdivided in the mid-seventeenth century, as was the hall at Druminnor. In the latter example it is interesting to note that with the subdivision of the hall, the barony court ceased to be held there (Slade 1967, 155). The lessening significance of the hall is also seen in the existence of free standing towers without adjacent great halls. It is also seen in the elongated towerhouse form of the sixteenth century, as at Huntly or Melgund, where the hall was just one part of a wider accommodation scheme: the hall no longer took up the whole of the first floor.

What significance does this development have for the wider social structure of the household and of society? It is easy to say that this reflects a greater desire for privacy, but it also demonstrates a change in the manner in which lordship was projected. In the thirteenth century great hall, lordship was expressed through the physical presence of the lord and was made more obvious and prominent by the architecture of the hall. By the late sixteenth century lordship was partly shown by the lord's non-presence, by his ability to isolate himself from the general population, even from large sections of the household. The communal nature of the castle was lessening with greater segregation of the different sections of its population.

8.4.6 Accommodation.

The development of accommodation within the castle seems to confirm the conclusion reached above. In the sixteenth century, the accommodation within many castles dramatically increased. Thus, at Dirleton the Ruthven block provided new accommodation for the lord and his family. Furthermore, the fifteenth century gatehouse was converted from housing the drawbridge and portcullis mechanisms to providing domestic accommodation. At Tulliallan we have seen that the hall house was transformed in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century and the late sixteenth century with the addition of large amounts of new accommodation. At

Bothwell, such a development may have taken place with the building of the south range, increasing the accommodation of the lord and his wife, while freeing up other accommodation spaces within the castle. At Elphinstone, the growth in accommodation came in the mid-sixteenth century with the building of extensions to the tower, even though the tower already had considerable accommodation space within its walls. Only at Morton does no apparent building take place. Partly this may have been due to the large amounts of accommodation available in the gatehouse, the round tower and wings (if they still remained) or perhaps more likely reflects the reduced nature and status of the castle and its household.

Again, one finds similar developments at other castles. At Crichton, accommodation increased dramatically in the fifteenth century with the building of a slender tower, the four upper floors of which functioned as almost identical individual lodgings; this resembles very closely the accommodation tower at Tulliallan. The tower at Crichton was built in conjunction with the great hall and extensive service accommodation, turning the tower house and hall into a fully enclosed quadrangle. Further accommodation was created with the addition of the late sixteenth century block and the subdivision of the great hall. Interestingly, this created a further three suites of lodgings, two in the space of the hall and one above the entrance pend, all linked by a corridor and a staircase to the gallery above, as were the chambers in the accommodation tower. At Castle Campbell, space within hall was also given over to accommodation and the roof space of the great hall was used to accommodate a number of retainers in the '*commoune chalmer*' (Campbell 1913, 302).

One also finds increasing space given over to private accommodation at Craigmillar, at Falkland, where a series of five lodgings on the first floor of the south range were built c. 1516, and at St Andrews Castle where there is a reference to the '*gentlemen's chalmeris*' (Pringle 1996, 19; RCAHMS 1933, 139; Cruden 1960, 185). Cruden has stated that, in Scotland, lodgings are extremely rare, Dunnottar providing the only real example. This castle has a series of seven individual lodgings, each with a fireplace and window looking into the courtyard, disposed in a range below a gallery (Cruden 1960, 185-186). Caerlaverock has a more limited range of three ground chambers below a hall, again looking into the courtyard (Cruden 1960, 186). One could also suggest that the north range at Linlithgow, which provided extensive and flexible accommodation, could be seen as a lodging. Where Linlithgow, and indeed the towers at Crichton and Tulliallan differ from the lodgings at Dunnottar, is that they are built upwards and instead of accessing the courtyard directly they communicate with a vertical corridor: a turnpike staircase. The towers are lodgings, but built vertically rather the horizontally, therefore

conforming to Scottish building grammar and one can accuse Cruden of defining the term 'lodging' too strictly.

In tower houses, increased accommodation usually took the form of additional ranges tacked on to the tower house (e.g. Lochwood tower) and sometimes creating an enclosed quadrangle as at Rosyth and Balgonie, where fifteenth century tower houses were surrounded by ranges of buildings dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth century (RCAHMS 1933, 155, 202). In a few towers the Scottish propensity for vertical building won out over the convenience of building low ranges against the tower. At Preston Tower, the unusual step was taken in the early seventeenth century of adding another two floors to the original fifteenth century tower, increasing the accommodation space and providing an appropriate amount of renaissance dash to the lord's residence (RCAHMS 1924, 100-101).

The nature of the secondary buildings is often difficult to assess, but in some castles such as Aberdour, it is clear that the main aim was the provision of more extensive accommodation through superimposed suires for the lord and his wife (Apted 1996, 18). This would have allowed existing accommodation to be given over to other household members. Again this demonstrates a growing desire for privacy by the lord for himself and his family, with this expressed through the hierarchical arrangement of rooms; greater privacy being reflected in greater depth. However, the situation is far more complex than one of mere privacy. The method by which a sense of privacy was created, through the linear arrangement of rooms — either a bipartite or tripartite arrangement — was so widespread by the end of the sixteenth century that it must have become a necessary demonstration of lordship. However, as the discussions of Bothwell and Dirleton have shown, the thirteenth century also saw sophisticated and complex planning arrangements motivated by a similar desire for privacy. At both castles, the upper rooms of the donjons were reached by travelling through the lord's hall, although the upper rooms did not communicate directly with each other, as in the classic hall – outer chamber – inner chamber arrangement and may have functioned independently of each other.

Privacy could be achieved by simply closing a door and, although the multitude of rooms creates distance between the lord's living chamber and the communal spaces of the castle, the development of the tripartite system has additional implications for status. The appearance of the hall – outer chamber – inner chamber arrangement created a flexible environment which could be exploited by the lord in his relationships with others. Thus, he had three different chambers where he could carry out his business and three different chambers where he could

dine, either with a large proportion of the household in the hall, with a more limited group in the outer chamber or an even more intimate group in the inner chamber. The separate rooms also allowed greater segregation amongst the household, demonstrating and reinforcing the social position of individuals within and without the household. Of course such displays of status could be circumvented, as is visible in the chamber politics of James VI; James refused to be cut off within his chamber from petitioners and his household by the Privy Council, and throughout his reign access to his person remained free and easy (Brown 1986, 121).

8.4.7 Gender.

Castles are believed to be predominately male structures, the result of the military nature of lordship. However, women were of course present in the castle, although it would vary from household to household, altering with time and with the composition of the household. Documentary sources on occasion define spaces by gender: at Stirling there is mention of the Queens Presence Chamber, and at Tantallon and Caerlaverock there are references to the 'ladies' chamber, in both cases in relation to dining rooms. However, there are several inventories which list rooms but fail to mention a 'ladies chamber': an inventory drawn up in 1595 for Castle Campbell mentions '*the Lords Inner cabnatt, Lordis inner chalmer, and Lordis uttir chalmer*' but there is no mention of a specific lady's chamber (Campbell 1913, 10). The wife of the lord may have been accommodated with him, or in one of the many other chambers. At Aberdour an inventory drawn up in 1647 mentions 'My Lords Chamber' 'Mr Wm. Douglas chamber' and 'Ard. Douglas chamber', probably family members, but there is no mention of his wife's chambers, although the planning arrangements do suggest superimposed suites of rooms for the lord and his lady (Apted 1996, 10). Lower down the social scale there are frequent references to 'women's houses' and an inventory for the House of Binns drawn up in 1685 refers to a '*women's house*' and '*the men's chambers*' and the '*south chamber where the men lyes*' suggesting that the male and female servants were segregated (Dalyell & Beveridge 1924, 363-364). Thus, the documentary evidence suggests extensive segregation of the sexes within the castle, although the lady of the castle does not appear as prominent as one would expect.

In the case studies it was proposed that female spaces could be identified but these suggestions have been tentative, relying on evidence such as degrees of privacy and control, distance from public areas and positions overlooking gardens and within domestic areas of the castle. One could suggest that a rather circular argument was used in the identification of such spaces: the possible female spaces identified are all deep within the castles, therefore women

must have been segregated from the households; these spaces have been identified as female spaces, because they are deep spaces. What is more this argument depends upon gender stereotypes which define the role of women as domestic and therefore likely to be segregated. However, documentary sources do in part confirm that female accommodation space was segregated and more isolated within palaces and castles.

In the royal palaces, the accommodation of the queen was either situated above the king's chambers as at Holyrood and Linlithgow, or merely in a more secluded area of the palace as at Stirling. At other castles such as Huntly where the lord's accommodation is documented, it seems reasonable to suggest that the almost identical accommodation above was used by the lady of the castle. Other sources such as the description by Patrick, earl of Strathmore, of his wife's accommodation, do suggest that particular areas of the castle were considered as female and domestic spaces and that in these spaces certain women servants were to be found under the supervision of the lady of the castle. The fact that there was a space within the castle known as the '*women's house*' confirms that female servants were segregated and perhaps segregated from the wider household. The contents of these spaces, as described in the inventories, imply that they were often work spaces, places where domestic tasks were carried out, as well as providing sleeping accommodation: at the women's houses at Finlarg and Balloch, most of the items mentioned are to concern with the treatment of wool and there is no mention of beds (Bannatyne Club 1828, 335). The women's house at Aberdour, divided into the inner and outer women's house, was partially a laundry, while the women's house at Holyrood was described as '*quhir the barnes lyes*' suggesting that it was a nursery (Pringle 1996, 10; Paton 1957, 340).

One would expect such spatial segregation to have created, reflected and reproduced gender relations where the woman was subservient to her male relations and where women continued to be a minority within the household. However, the social structures reflected and reproduced by such spatial layouts could be subverted by the actions of individuals. Women did play an active role in the life of the castle, even in its defence. For examples, Agnes Randolph, countess of Dunbar, successfully defended Dunbar Castle from Edward III in 1338, while Lady Maxwell was rather less successful at the siege of Caerlaverock in 1300 (Tabraham 1997, 57, 60). At a more prosaic level was the verbal defence of her rights by Janet, Lady of Morton, mother of Sir William Douglas of Dalkieth, at the outer gates of Morton Castle. The lady of the castle would have had a considerable role in the domestic economy of the castle — an inventory of the '*plenishings*' of Balloch and Finlarg was made '*be the Ladie with Magie Petir*' (Bannatyne Club 1828, 319) — although in some of the larger households much of the day to day work

would have been carried out by a steward or a master of the household. The most extreme example of a female role in a castle is found at Hags where an inscription states '1585 NI DOMINE AEDES STRVXE RIT STRVIS SR JOHN MAXWELL OF POLLOK KNYCHT AND DAME MERGERTET CONYGHAM HIS WFY BIGGET THIS HOWS' (MacGibbon & Ross 1887-92 vol. III, 483).

8.4.8 The prison in the castle.

The case-studies appear to suggest that the prison was as much an essential space within a castle as was the great hall or the wallhead. Of the five case-studies investigated, four definitely had a prison (Bothwell, Dirleton, Morton and Tulliallan) while the existence of one at Elphinstone is probable. The prisons date from various periods: Bothwell and Morton from the thirteenth century, something which may also be true at Tulliallan although it may have been extended in the late fifteenth century. At Dirleton and Elphinstone, the prisons were constructed in the fifteenth century. In all these examples, considerable effort has been expended upon the building of a prison, of which three — Bothwell, Dirleton and Morton — took the form of pits. The other two prisons — in Tulliallan and Elphinstone — were secure rooms, with more normal access.

Very few major castles in Scotland were without prisons. Although prisons are found throughout the time period, their popularity does seem to have fluctuated. In some early, simple curtain wall castles, such as Inverlochy, Castle Roy, Lochleven and Kinclaven, the prison is not obvious, although the basement of towers may have been used or the prison could have been constructed in timber. Many early tower houses, for example Drum, Dundonald, Hallforest and Threave originally did not have prisons although at Threave a pit was subsequently built. The late fourteenth and the fifteenth century appears to have been the apogee of prisons within castles, with even some smaller towers such as Mains having a prison. In the later sixteenth century many smaller towers were built without prisons, perhaps because they were not centres of a barony and thus did not have barony courts. In addition, many patrons may not have seen the need to build purpose built prisons when cellars or outbuildings could be utilised.

It is quite remarkable that so much effort was expended on specially built prisons, when cellarage could, and did, serve as an ad hoc prison. In addition, wooden structures or outbuildings which have not survived in the archaeological record could have been used as prisons. In the confines of the tower house it is surprising that a room would have been made to

secure a prisoner, when it could have been done elsewhere within the castle complex. This may not have been a pragmatic need to secure wrongdoers in the most secure structure possible, but may have been a physical representation of the lord as a giver of justice, another symbol of his authority. Purpose built prisons in castles and towers appear far more common in Scotland than in England or Ireland and are found in castles of widely varying status. This may reflect the more powerful judicial role of the baron in Scotland, combined with less assertive royal courts. If a lord held the barony as a regality, he had almost royal powers over criminal cases and could —and did — hold his own justicers court (Sanderson 1982, 12).

Also of interest is the incredible effort that went into building prisons in the various towers and castles. In some castles the pit was actually underground, but in many towers a masonry pit was constructed — a room to which the only access was via a hatch in the ceiling — so doing away with the need to excavate a subterranean pit. Such access arrangements were probably more secure than a chamber with a simple doorway, but this is perhaps to reduce the symbolism of throwing or forcing someone to descend into a dark pit, and the pit itself. It fits in with the concept of height reflecting status which appears to inform the Scottish inclination for vertical building; thus the prisoner, the lowliest of inhabitants, was in the lowest chamber in the castle, metaphorically and often literally.

The amenities of the prisons differed considerably between castles. The large curtain wall castles, Bothwell and Dirleton, both had double prisons with an upper prison and a lower pit prison, each with a latrine, although they were built more than a century apart. The upper prison at Dirleton also had a fireplace, an unusual feature for a prison and perhaps suggesting that it may have served as a guard room or that the distinction between the occupants of the two prisons was particularly great (perhaps according to the social status or the crime committed). The prison at Tulliallan had a garderobe and, unusually, is well lit. The prisons at Morton and Elphinstone were rather more unpleasant, without either windows or garderobe. At other castles, prisons conditions were even worse. The worst examples include the bottle prison at St Andrews, the extremely small and dark pit at Hermitage and the inhuman pit at Blackness which partially flooded with sea water at high tide. In these prisons, it may truly be said to be a living hell, and one wonders if some of these prisons were used as a punishment rather than just as places of confinement until trial. This suggests another possibility for the double prison, with those yet to be tried, imprisoned in the more humane upper prison, while those convicted were thrown into the pit. On occasion the prison was used for extra-judicial purposes such as when the occupant of the pit at Tulliallan starved to death. This occurred at various other castles: at

Hermitage, Sir William Douglas imprisoned Sir Alexander Ramsey, sheriff of Teviotdale, and starved him to death in an attempt to force the king to make him sheriff, while the earl of Caithness starved his eldest son to death in the prison at Grinigo¹ (Bridgland 1996, 5; Brown 1986, 77). Other examples were not as extreme, the earl of Cassillis imprisoned his own brother in the prison at Dunure Castle when he uncovered an assassination plot against him. This confirms that prisons were not only used for criminals and that those imprisoned were not always of low rank.

The position of the prison within the castle was rather fluid, although in most of the case-studies they were relatively shallow spaces, even though isolated from the rest of the castle. At Elphinstone, the prison was situated in the cellar, a very common position for prisons within many tower houses. Thus, the prisoner was kept well away from the living spaces within the tower. In towers such as Crichton, Huntly, and Borthwick, where the basement was accessed separately from the upper living spaces, prisoners could be brought in and out of the castle without interference to the smooth running of the living accommodation above. The prison at Dirleton is in a similar situation, positioned deep within the castle complex. The oddity in this example is that the prison and the chapel are entered from the same lobby. The other common position for a prison was in association with the gateway and the guard room or porters lodge. In the case-studies, this is seen at Morton and at Bothwell where it was associated with a secondary entrance. However, the association of prison and gatehouse was found at many other castles of widely differing dates and widely differing forms. Thus, prisons are associated with gateways and guard chambers at Linlithgow Palace (fifteenth century), Doune (late fourteenth century), Caerlaverock (thirteenth century), Balgonie (late fifteenth century), Falkland Palace (sixteenth century) and Urquhart (sixteenth century). Even in tower houses one finds the association between gateways or entrances with prisons: at Elphinstone the prison is situated beneath the porters lodge and at Castle Campbell the pit prison is accessed from a small mural lobby entered from the main first floor entrance of the tower. There are a number of castles — Comlongon, Cardoness, Preston, Cessford, Mains and Falside — mostly dating from the fifteenth century, where the prison is accessed from the main stair prior to entry into the living accommodation.

¹ It is interesting to note the Grinigo Castle does not have a chamber which one would describe as a purpose built prison, although it has a number of cellars and guard chambers which would have served such a purpose.

The link between the gate and the prison may merely reflect security considerations: the prisoner, an unwanted and perhaps dangerous stranger, was kept well away from the living spaces of the tower or castle, in an area where there was always security and surveillance from porters or guards. However, the association of the prison with the gate may have had wider and more symbolic resonance involving the quasi-judicial symbolism of the gate and the roles of the porter, gatekeeper or the constable and keeper. The gate or threshold and its keeper possessed powerful symbolism; as a place of judgement in the medieval world it derived its significance from classical times and Cerberus, the many headed beast guarding the gates to Hades. In the Christian world, St Peter loomed large as the gatekeeper of Paradise, as did the corresponding parody of the *'porter of hellgate'* (Simpson 1992, 320). The gate may have been deemed appropriate as the site of the prison as it was a liminal area, a space neither inside nor outside, reflecting the prisoners position as someone accused but not yet found guilty. Thus, it is not surprising that the constable of a royal castle should hold his court at the gate, an area under his jurisdiction and a powerful and widely understood symbol of justice. It is perhaps more surprising that the porter, a relatively minor castle official should make up part of this court; it perhaps reflect his role as keeper of the gate and jailer to the accused (Bateson 1904, 36, 40). The quasi-judicial role of the porter is hinted at in an inventory of the contents of the tower of Balloch, where *'at the Yet'* which gave access to *'the presoun dor'* there was a *'a pair of iron fetteris'* and a *'heading axe'* (Bannatyne Club 1828, 344). Again, the porter, living at the gate of the castle, may have been a very appropriate figure to carry out executions. He had a position that was neither in the household nor outside and, as a liminal figure, he may have been an ideal figure to be involved in the liminal experience of death, or even imprisonment, which could be seen as being between guilt and innocence, life and death.

8.4.9 Services.

The services, the domestic element of the castle, are important as they were the working space of a large section of the castle's population and in some cases may have also functioned as living spaces for these same people. The services are often the only spaces that one can identify as being connected with servants. The services were also vital to the smooth running of the household and the castle's function as a residence for the lord. In all the case studies, certain elements are always present, for instance cellarage. However, the most important service, the focus of the domestic life of the castle, the kitchen, could only be studied in detail in two of the case studies: Elphinstone and Dirleton. At Morton and Tulliallan, the kitchen was not identified, although at Morton the basement space served as a kitchen in a later phase of occupation. At

Bothwell, the site of the kitchen is identifiable, but is almost totally ruinous. Only the ambiguous kitchen at Morton may date to the late thirteenth century, while the others all date to the early to mid fifteenth century.

In many early curtain wall castles the kitchens would have been free-standing, often constructed of timber, along with the most of the other auxiliary buildings. Excavations at Spynie have revealed the gradual transformation of the castle from earthworks and timber buildings into a masonry complex; one of the first stone buildings constructed on the site was a free standing kitchen (Yeoman 1995, 101). The kitchen subsequently moved to the north west corner and served a great hall along the north curtain wall (Pringle 1996, 18). The probable arrangement of kitchen and hall was fossilised in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century in both great curtain wall castles and the gatehouse castles, although at Kildrummy a similar arrangement existed in masonry form from the thirteenth century. The best examples are found at Dirleton and Doune, where the kitchens are truly monumental, clearly demonstrating the lords ability to control the resources, or at least the surplus, of the locality and to redistribute those resources to his best advantage on occasions of great splendour. In both cases they work alongside the architecture of the hall. These kitchens were part of an overall integrated plan of services, kitchen, hall and accommodation, which meant that all the different chambers were built on a similar and appropriate scale. Therefore, the kitchens did not have to respect existing structures or be crammed into particular spaces. As a result a large and lofty structure could be built with extensive and well thought out facilities — the high ceilings dissipated the heat, while, at Doune, flues in the window embrasures had the same function. In both cases, the access arrangements of the hall require those entering the hall to pass through the servery, allowing them to catch glimpses of the frantic activity of the kitchen. Again, this was an essential part of the theatre of the castle and a display of the lords ability to assemble resources whether in terms of goods or manpower.

The earliest tower houses, Drum, Lochleven and Hallforest, did not have purpose built-internal kitchens and towers continued to be built without such an amenity, even great towers such as Spynie and Castle Campbell. However, excavations at Smailholm demonstrate that even small and simple towers could have a complex of auxiliary offices surrounding them, which included a kitchen (Good & Tabraham 1988, 262, 263). At Kinnaird, built in the fifteenth century without an internal kitchen, a free standing kitchen was built with accommodation on the floor above (perhaps to house a caretaker) in the early seventeenth century. A small service window facing the entrance to the tower confirms its use in conjunction with it. Thus, even by

the early seventeenth century such arrangements were not unknown, and provides a further analogy for castles such as Morton and Tulliallan, which do not have internal kitchens.

A certain amount of cooking may have been carried out at the hall fireplace, as suggested by Tabraham (1996, 82), and the presence of salt boxes in both kitchen and hall fireplaces. As mentioned earlier this may have been a fossil feature attesting to the former role of the hall as the centre of the life of the castle, the place in which food was prepared and cooked, where everyone ate and most slept. However, at Castle Campbell, it is the chamber above the hall, the second floor private chamber, that has a salt box in the fireplace. Thus, the lord may have had his meals prepared in his own private chamber in front of the fire.

Large towers developed integrated kitchens in the fourteenth century towers, such as Threave, Neidpath, Crichton and perhaps Craigmillar and Portincross, and in the fifteenth century towers of Cessford, Newark (Selkirkshire), Borthwick, Elphinstone and Hermitage. In some of these examples the kitchens were extremely small and cramped, most notably at Crichton, where the kitchen (supported by the pit prison directly below) was a tiny chamber built into the hunch of the basement vault. However, in other towers, kitchens were more extensive, especially in those towers that had one or more jambs or wings. Kitchens, and indeed many other auxiliary chambers and staircases, were often restricted to the jambs. At Neidpath, Borthwick and Cessford the jamb consists of a prison in the basement and a kitchen at hall level, with lesser chambers above, almost isolating these activities from the rest of the main body of the castle. The provision of extra accommodation and the visual segregation a jamb created appears a more reasonable explanation for their popularity, rather than any defensive benefit they might provide.

The growing popularity of an integrated kitchen within the tower house may not have been such a radical development. Rather, if cooking had taken place in the hall, at the fireplace, it may have regularised or formalised existing situations. However, the change from cooking in the hall, to cooking in a purpose built kitchen was significant. By no longer cooking in the hall, this space lost a degree of multi-functionalism and became a more formal space. Although, the hall within the tower house may have been supplemented by a free standing great hall, the presence of a kitchen suggests that the tower hall was becoming more important as a public space, or probably more likely, that the lord and his family were increasingly living in the tower. The purpose-built kitchen may be seen as a domestic advance, an evolution of the service arrangements of the tower. However, by restricting cooking and food preparation to particular

areas in the tower, the people involved in those tasks were also restricted to certain areas. The kitchen was often at the lower end of the hall, in opposition to the dais; again a sharp contrast from cooking in front of the fireplace of the hall, which would have been at the dais end or within the body of the hall. Thus, the act of cooking and those involved in this activity may have been reduced in status through their isolation; alternatively a certain sense of professionalism may have been established through such spatial segregation.

In the sixteenth century, towers continued to be built with kitchens. Along the west coast, specifically Ayrshire and Argyll, a group of towers dating to the early sixteenth century — Little Cumbræ, Fairlie, Law, Skelmorlie and Saddel — had in common a kitchen situated at the lower end of the hall (a feature which they shared with Elphinstone and Comlongon). After the reformation, kitchens within towers were often relegated to the ground floor — although Balvaird Castle, dating from the fifteenth century, has a ground floor kitchen — where alongside the cellarage and access corridors, the kitchen formed a coherent service floor. These developments can be seen as an evolution of the tower into a more domestic structure where more space could be given over to improved service arrangements. However, the movement of the kitchen — from the same floor as the hall — to the ground floor may have represented the growing isolation of the domestic aspects of castle life from the ceremonial space of the hall: no longer did the guests walk past or even near to the kitchen. It also may represent the decline in status of those working in the kitchen, perhaps associated with a growing number of women involved in these activities. Not only was the kitchen to be hidden, but so were those who worked there. Thus, the appearance of ground floor kitchens coincides with a growing popularity in service staircases from the cellars to the hall, and in some cases — Killochan, MacLellan's House, Notland, Harthill and Newark (Renfrewshire) — from the kitchen to the hall. The existence of specific routes of communication for elements of the population would have created further segregation and would have kept them hidden from the rest of the castle's population.

The influence which servants and retainers had upon accommodation is rather more difficult to gauge than the mere identification of their workspaces and in many castles even the latter is impossible. The attic space may have fulfilled this function as is suggested by the inventory for Castle Campbell which mentions '*ye commoune chalmer abone my lordis uttir chalmer*' which contained a number of beds (Campbell 1913, 10). Other retainers were accommodated in the chambers of those they served. At Balvaird, servants accommodation was created in the cellar by constructing a sleeping loft (MacGibbon & Ross 1887-92 vol. I, 336).

Although much of the retainers accommodation may have been adhoc, at some castles, special provisions can be identified. At Elphinstone, the arrangements of the entresol floors and the association these have with the kitchen does suggest that a limited amount of space was given over to accommodate servants, perhaps kitchen servants, within the tower. At Dirleton, similar provision may have been made above the vaulted service passage and above areas of the kitchen. At Borthwick the two jambs of the tower not only provided numerous small chambers ideally suited for bedchambers, but their exact disposition suggests a complex internal hierarchy of accommodation. The northern jamb is situated off the lower area of the hall and contains the prison in the two lowest levels, the kitchen at the level of the hall and four floors of accommodation above this. The two chambers above the kitchen are constrained in size by the very large kitchen fireplace and have extremely convoluted access arrangements. The small size of the chambers and their association with the kitchen suggest that these chambers may have accommodated senior retainers, perhaps the cook or the clerk of the kitchen. In the chamber above these spaces, the flue no longer encroaches into the space and it can be accessed from the upper hall. As a consequence of these differences in access and form, this room is far more suitable for a principal bedchamber, perhaps for a guest, and this is confirmed by the very large hooded fireplace which dominates the space. If the northern jamb was set aside for senior servants and guests, the southern one was used to accommodate family members; the chamber at hall level functioning as the withdrawing chamber of the lord and with a turnpike serving the upper floors of the jamb was also accessible from this end of the hall. Beneath the withdrawing room and at the same level as the upper cellars is a living chamber complete with fireplace and garderobe. It is accessed from a turnpike which rises from the lower cellars and ends in a chamber lying next to the withdrawing room. Its position within the structure is anomalous; it is the only living chamber below hall level. However, its association with the cellarage suggests a functional link and it may have accommodated the master of the household or other officer with domestic responsibilities (Tabraham 1996, 87 fig. 52). The withdrawing room has two entrances from the hall, one so contrived that the occupant of the lower chamber could access the hall without having to enter the withdrawing room proper, while also allowing access to the withdrawing room. This chamber has parallels with the ground floor chamber at the palace block at Huntly as it is positioned directly beneath the lord's chamber. This chamber is again associated with a kitchen and other service chambers and was in direct communication with the lord's chamber, via a private stair. One could also suggest that the ground floor chamber at Tulliallan fulfilled a similar role. A slightly more tenuous parallel is with the priests chamber at Dirleton Castle. This too has access to cellarage and to the lord's withdrawing chamber, perhaps

suggesting that the priest had responsibilities outside his religious duties. Thus, senior officials were accommodated within the castle, and in some case their accommodation can be identified. In most instances, the accommodation is close to their place of work, confirming the overall view that they were identified through their work and their places of work.

8.4.10 The Privatisation of Space.

One feature brought out by this study of the castle in Scotland is the increasing sub-division of space over time. By the late sixteenth century, life within the aristocratic and lairdly household was no-longer lived in the communal fashion that it had been in the previous century. The cessation of the barony court at Druminnor with the subdivision of the hall, demonstrates the importance of a suitable physical backdrop to lordship but also that, by the mid-seventeenth century, such expressions of lordship were changing. The castle was no-longer a public space, it was no-longer the focus of the barony.

The social circumstances which led to these changes could perhaps be termed the privatisation of space. This was not a sudden change, nor one that can be explained easily, although it reflects the growth of individualism and less emphasis on kinship and artificial kinship structures: Wormald has noted that few bonds of manrent were issued after 1600 (1985, 165). This development may have been encouraged by the new theology of the Reformation and Calvinistic Protestantism. The new radical and reforming ministers now stressed a personal relationship with a wrathful God and preparation for judgement day where no amount of worldly riches and honour would effect the outcome. This contrasts with the old world which was full of intercessional figures, both corporeal and spiritual; a kinship which could work on your behalf for your salvation. As Brown has stated in relation to blood feud:

'the world of bloodfeud was being turned upside down as the corporate society of kinsmen, friends, dependants, and ancestors was replaced with the awful isolation of the individual sinner standing before the judgement standing before God' (1986, 207)

The conceptions of the nature of kingship, and thus lordship and honour which were developing from the Renaissance again emphasised the individual and attacked many of the existing symbols of lordship. Thus, amongst Scottish theologians and intellectuals there were constant attacks on the cronyism and corruption of the Court. James Melville of Halhill stated that royal service should not be at the mercy of *'favour of surname, kin, friend or allia, bot for sufficiency, vertue, and loyalte'* (Melville 1827, 304, quoted in Brown 1986, 195). Titles and position were

still vital but the individual was to be thrown back on their own resources; above all they had to be suitable for the job to which they were appointed.

The concept of honour was also undergoing change, although extremely gradually. James VI, some of his courtiers and other contemporary commentators identified honour through '*gentlemanly conduct and service of the state*' rather than through the pursuit of personal and family feuds, and was no longer to be demonstrated through the material trappings of military symbolism (Brown 1986, 204). Thus, James VI attacked feuding, duelling, the wearing of armour, especially when hidden under clothes, and the carrying and use of firearms (*ibid.*, 205). These intellectual trends were turned into royal policy, most clearly identified in the Crown's action against Highland clans. After the rebellion of Sir James Macdonald in 1615 the privy council prescribed a series of measures, similar to the '*Statutes of Iona*' (1609), which were intended to control the clans. The size of the chief's households were restricted, limiting the numbers of retainers allowed. Only these retainers could wear arms; their kin, tenants and '*cuntrey people*' were prohibited from wearing swords, weapons or armour. The chiefs also had to specify a place of residence. If the families did not have accommodation on the sites specified, they were to build '*civile and comelie housis for thair duellingis*' or repair those that were decayed. The Council also wished the chiefs to turn to agriculture; they were to make '*policie and planting*' about their houses and were to take over the management and cultivation of their mains or home farm, '*to the effect they might be therby exercised and eschew idleness*'. Other measures imposed by the Council forced the chiefs to rent their land at a fixed rate without any other obligations, to send their children to lowland schools, to free their lands of travelling men and to restrict the amount of wine each chief kept in his house (Register of the Privy Council of Scotland vol. X, 773-775).

All these measures attacked the very roots of lordship. The Privy Council was planning or attempting to turn the Highland chiefs, or their sons, into polite, Lowland gentlemen farmers. They were eroding the connections between the chiefs and their followers by removing their symbols of power — large household followings, the wearing of weapons by their kin, the patronising of bards, the conspicuous consumption of food and drink — by freeing their tenantry from military and other obligations and by restricting their movements by allowing them only one castle and one ship.

Thus, during the late sixteenth century a number of powerful intellectual and religious movements began to erode and challenge existing social structures such as feud and the

household. These changes also had an effect on the material culture of early modern Scotland and, of course, the changes to the material culture would have fed into these changes. Thus, one sees attacks upon the wearing of weapons, and upon castles, as in the 1615 rebellion settlement which required '*civil and comelie*' houses and in an act of the Privy Council entitled '*Irone yettis in the Bordouris to be removit and turnit in plew irinis*' (Christison 1883, 99). This required the removal of iron yetts at the doors of towers, ostensibly as they were a threat to royal authority. However, the act only applied to '*houses and strenthis to any personis of broken and disordourit clannis, and to common people not being answerable baronis*' (ibid., 100). Thus, the attack was only partial, and merely ensured that the yett became a status symbol. Actual attacks on the material culture of lordship played a minor part in the transformation of society and its material manifestations. Material culture was already being modified, through individual inspiration; for example the truly revolutionary and renaissance Abbey House in Culross owed little to the traditions of Scottish castellated architecture and displayed none of the military symbols of lordship.

One way the change from the communal to the individual can be identified is through the privatisation of space and some of the subtle changes to the spatial arrangements of the household. Thus, within the castle and tower there was greater segregation and subdivision of space; large communal spaces such as the hall fell out of use or were partitioned into smaller rooms, suitable for the individual and his family. The concept of the tripartite arrangement of rooms also resulted in segregation and an emphasis on the individual: it was intended to create a sense of mounting anticipation as one got nearer the lord's chamber. The changes not only affected the lord but also the wider household. With the emphasis on the individual rather than on kinship and retainers, the position of such followers changed. There was a growing sense of individualism amongst the lord's senior officials, important men themselves, perhaps reflected by the increasing amount of accommodation found in castles such as Crichton. However, with the decline of feud and the lessening influence of the lord's following, the status of servants gradually declined, with the employment of far more women in the household. Not only were spaces divided according to function, with cooking rarely taking place in the hall, but the position of the services correspondingly changed, with the kitchen relegated to the ground floor of the tower house.

The diary of Patrick, earl of Strathmore, which recounts the alterations to Glamis Castle, is helpful in demonstrating changing attitudes to the castle in the mid seventeenth century. Patrick makes very clear the association between tower houses and feud:

'Such houses truly are worn quyt out of fashione as feuds are, which is a great happiness, the cuntrie being generally more civillized than it was of ancient times ... and I wish that every man who has such houses would reforme them, for who can delight to dwell in his house as in a prisone.' (Strathmore 1890, 36-38).

The great hall of the castle was one of the areas 'reformed' by Patrick:

'no access there was to the upper part of the house without goeing thorrow the hall, even upon the most undecent occasions of drudgerie unaviodable to be seen by all who should happnt to be in that roume, nor was there any other to reterr to' (ibid)

The hall was subsequently subdivided to create more usable space and 'back stairs' were built within the thickness of the walls so that *'the most indecent occasions of drudgerie'* no doubt carried out by servants, were hidden from view.

The structure of Neidpath Tower demonstrates some of the tendencies expressed by Patrick, earl of Strathmore. This large L-shaped tower was built in the second half of the fourteenth century and was extensively modified in the early and mid seventeenth century, although unusually the changes were restricted to the tower and no substantial additions were made. Each of the three large vaulted chambers, which originally made up the main block of the tower, were divided into two horizontally. In addition, the top four floors were themselves subdivided and the main entrance to the tower was moved. This final change created a more impressive entrance and a processional approach to the castle, along a yew lined avenue straight to the door of the castle. Entering the tower by the seventeenth century entrance, one immediately accessed a hall, constructed out of upper vault of the original basement. This hall may have served as a guard hall and provided an outer dining area for the household or less important guests. The original first floor was reached from the lower hall via a large and easy scale and platt staircase, again producing an impressive progressional route to the upper floor. The narrow turnpike which originally served as the main staircase became a service or back stair, rising from the cellarage to the wall head, and passing by the kitchen. The kitchen fireplace was reduced in size, perhaps reflecting the less extensive hospitality of the time. The whole of the first floor was originally taken up by the great hall, but in the mid-seventeenth century it was divided into two with a large outer chamber and a smaller inner chamber. The upper floors were also divided into two, creating numerous living chambers each served by separate staircases. In one chamber, several box beds existed, again subdividing up the space even more. The transformation of space did not just occur within the building; the creation of a terraced garden in the late sixteenth century and a yew-lined avenue in the seventeenth century also transformed the exterior space.

The increasing subdivision of space, often according to function, not only occurred within the castle or tower. From inventories it is clear that the castle was surrounded by a series of yards, courtyards, orchards and gardens, creating a number of boundaries before one reaches the tower itself. Thus, the land immediately around the castle was enclosed, set apart as belonging to an individual. The yards and courtyards also further isolated the individual within the tower. The process of enclosure also took place in the public arena of the local kirk. With the Reformation, pews became a feature of kirks. These fixed the position of individuals within the church, and as previously discussed, there could be competition for prominence. Another feature of immediate post-Reformation churches was the occurrence of family aisles and lairds lofts (Hay 1957, 20, 23). At around the same time as earl Patrick reformed Glamis, he restored his family loft and seat in the local kirk and built a withdrawing room for the use of himself and his family between sermons (Strathmore 1890, 36-38). Thus, what had been a communal experience, although not an egalitarian one, become an individual experience in line with the theology and spirit of the times.

The castle and tower were potent symbols of lordship, identity and authority throughout the medieval period. As the residence of a lord, the spatial configuration and the form of the spaces within a castle or tower was an important feature in creating and reproducing relations amongst the household and relations between the household and outsiders. Thus, changes in the prevalent social structures, which occurred in the late sixteenth century would have had effected the form of the prevalent architectural expression of power. It would be naive to simply identify a cause and effect relationship between the religious, political and social developments in the post-reformation period, with the architectural developments of the same time. The trend for an increasing sense of the individualism did not occur overnight in 1560, but itself was one factor, among many, in fuelling the Reformation, and its antecedents were rooted in the social and economic rise of the lairds. Even once change in society did occur, the material symbolism of the tower was slow to fade. The construction of Abbey House did not result in the whole scale rejection of the tower house form. On the contrary, structures now regarded in the popular imagination as the epitome of tower house architecture — such as Craigievar (c. 1626) and Coxtan (c. 1644) — continued to be built well into the seventeenth century. Even as late as 1632, Sir Robert Kerr told his modernising son

'by any meanes do not take away thr battlement ...as Dalhoussy your nyghtbour did, for that is the grace of the house, and makes it look lyk a castle, and henc so nobleste, as the

other would make it look lyke a peelee' (Bannaytne Club, 1875 65, cited in RCAHMS 1956 vol II, 485).

The tower house form was a powerful material element in Scottish life, and would continue to dominate the Scottish landscape (both urban and rural), even though it was gradually transformed through decay, accretion and subdivision.

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 Arch.J: Archaeological Journal (edited by the Royal Archaeological, London).
 BAR: British Archaeological Reports (Oxford).
 CBA: Council for British Archaeology.
 CUP: Cambridge University Press.
 HMSO: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
 GAJ: Glasgow Archaeological Journal.
 JBAA: Journal of the British Archaeological Association.
 Jr of Med.Hist: Journal of Medieval History.
 Med.Arch: Journal of the Society for Medieval Archaeology.
 PSAS: Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
 RCAHMS: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.
 SAR: Scottish Archaeological Review.
 SHR: Scottish Historical Review.
 TDGNHAS: Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Archaeological Society (Dumfries).

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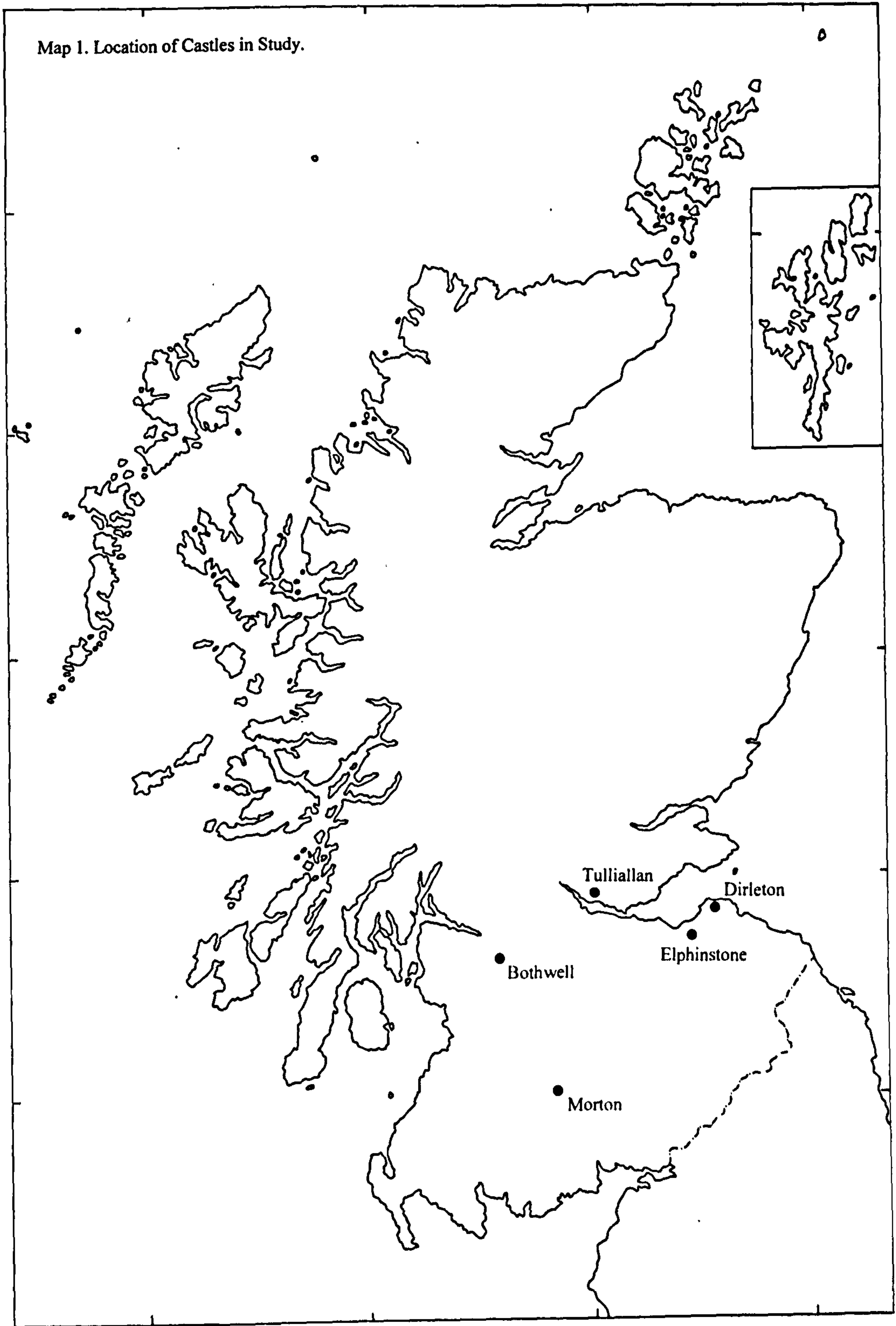
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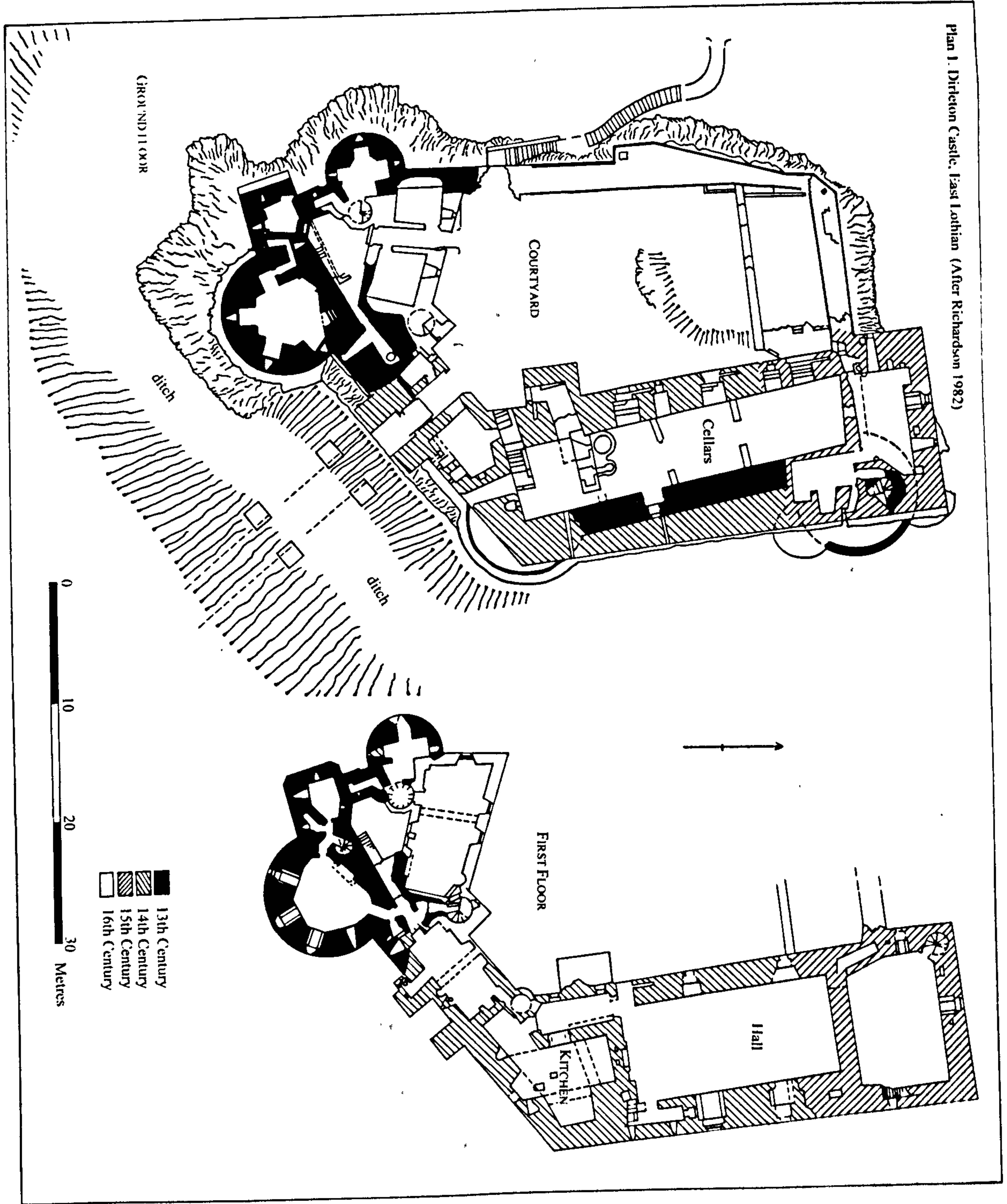
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Map 1. Location of Castles in Study.

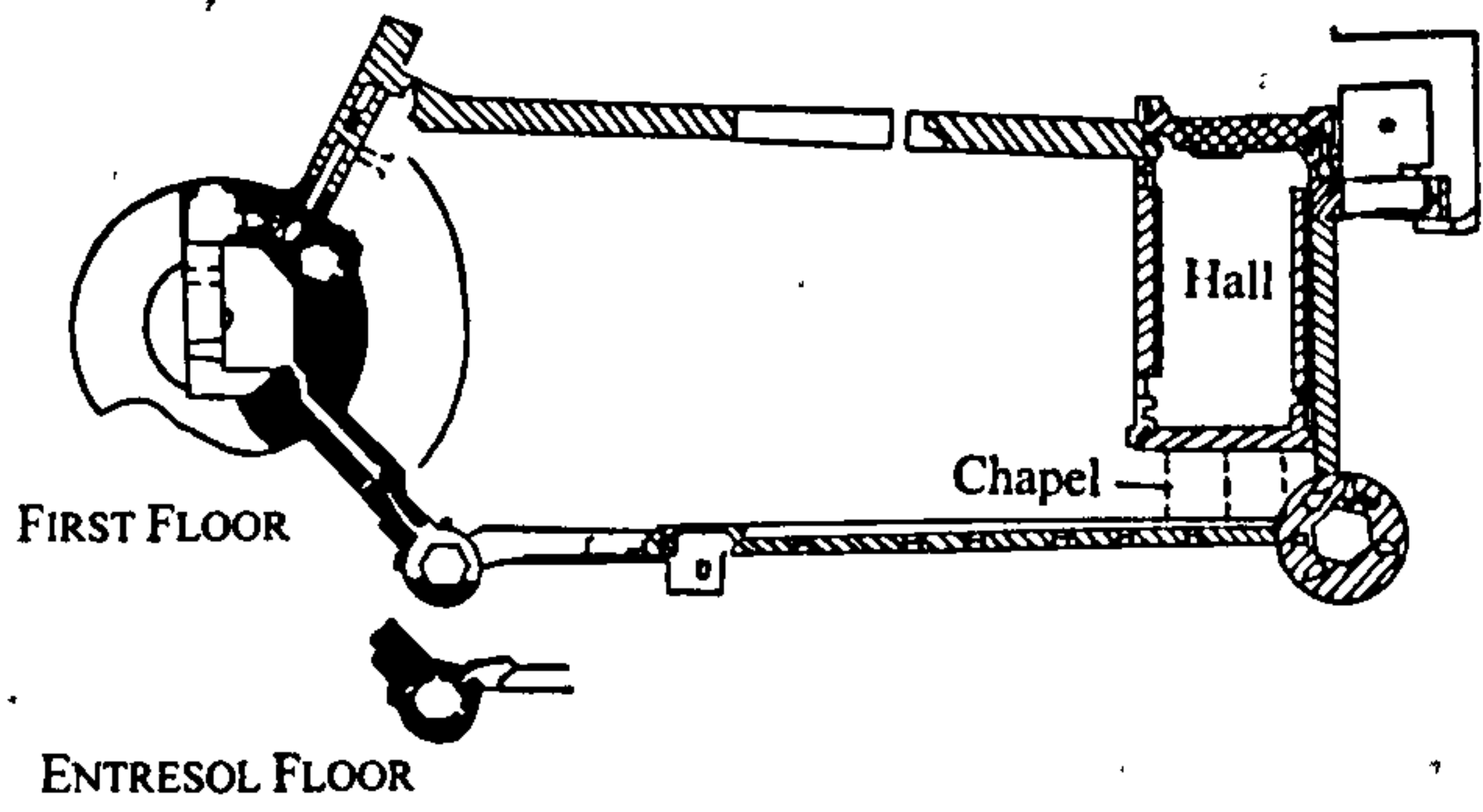
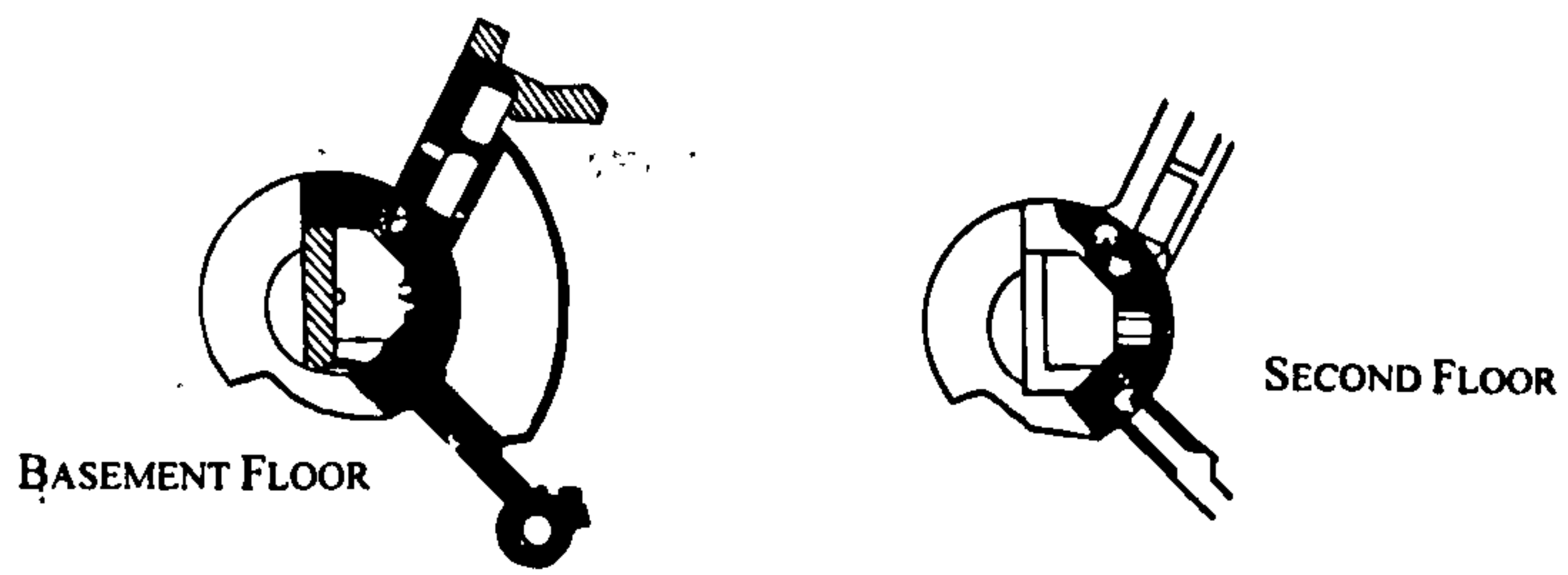


Plan 1. Dirleton Castle, East Lothian (After Richardson 1982)

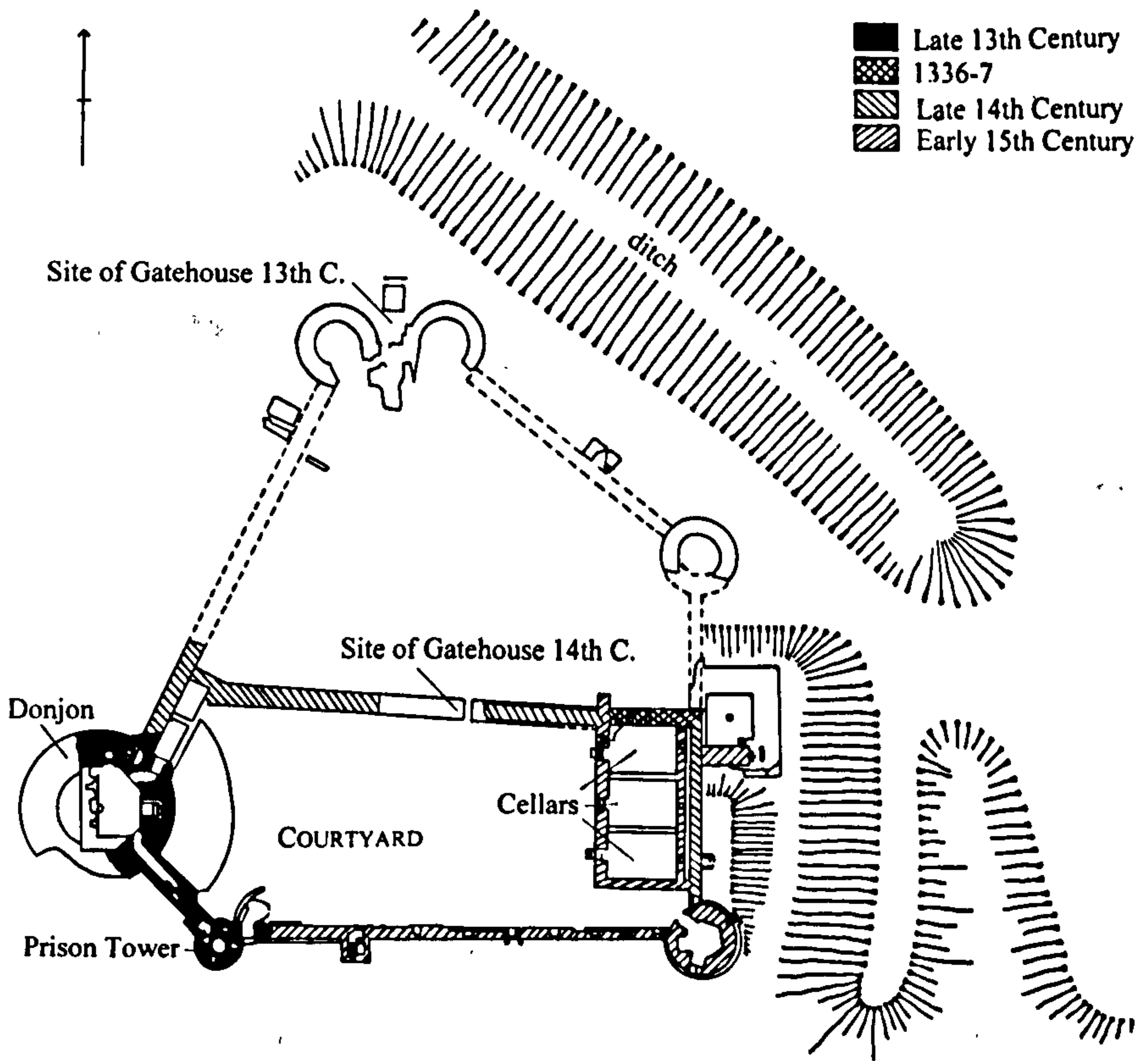


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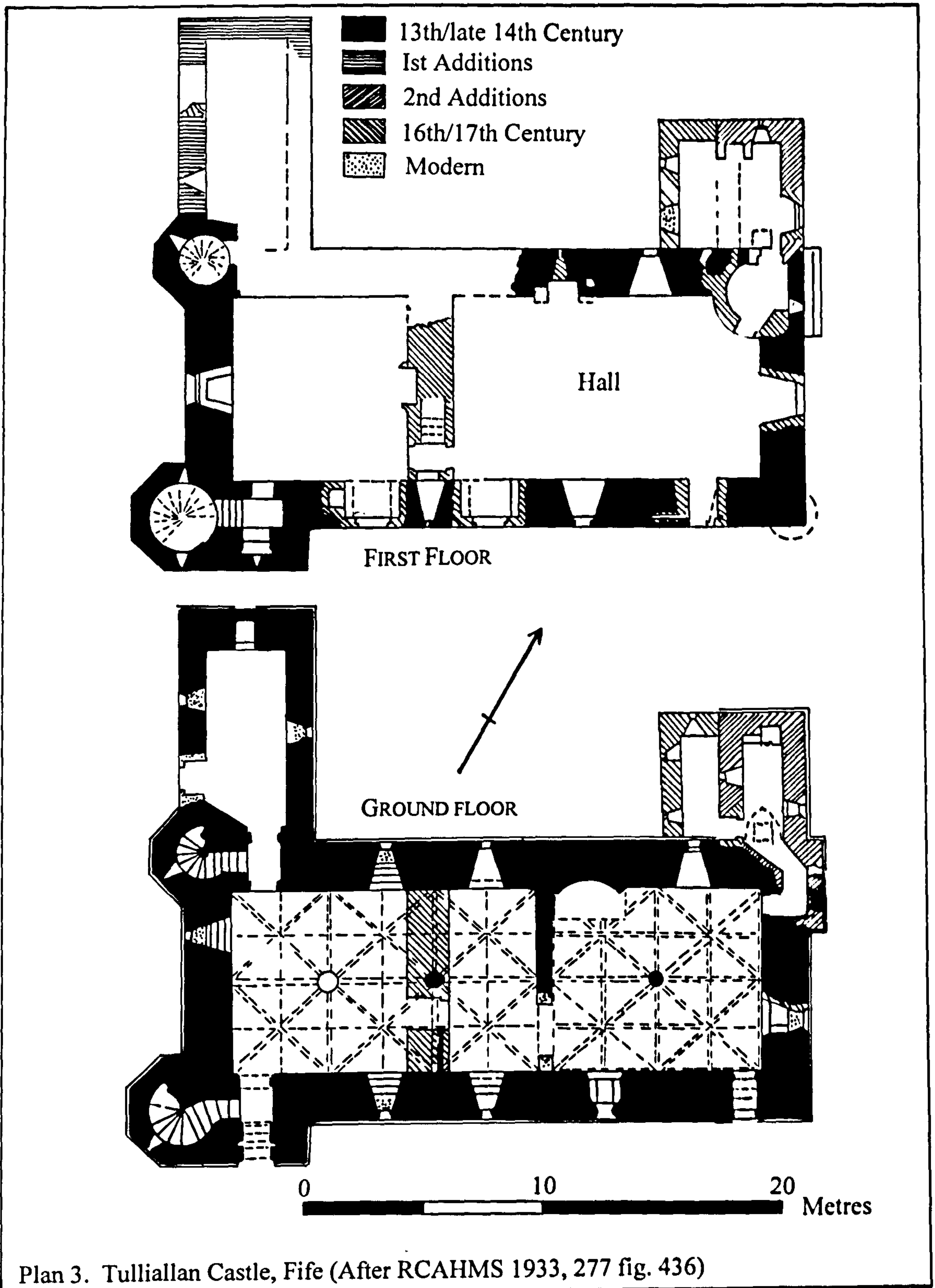
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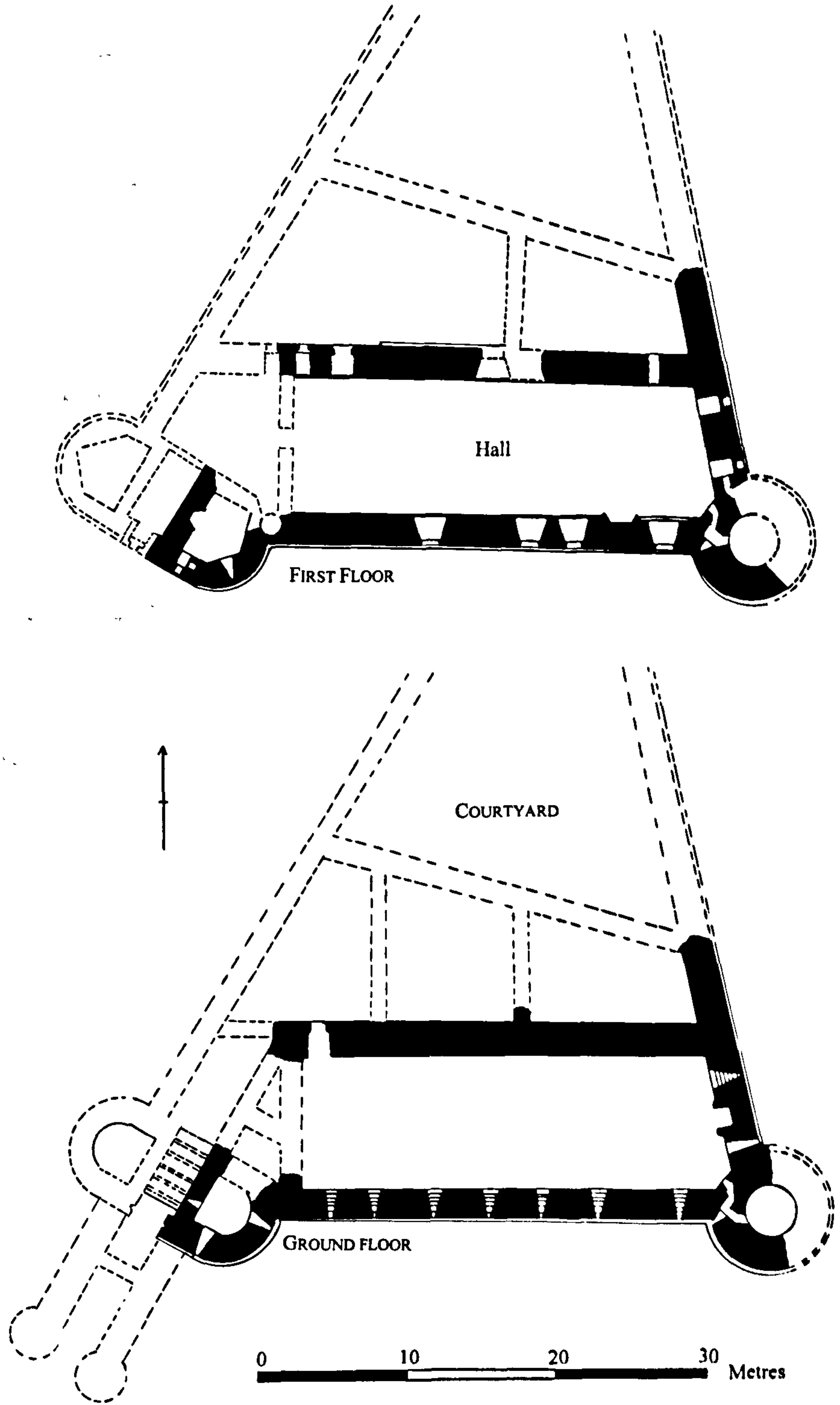
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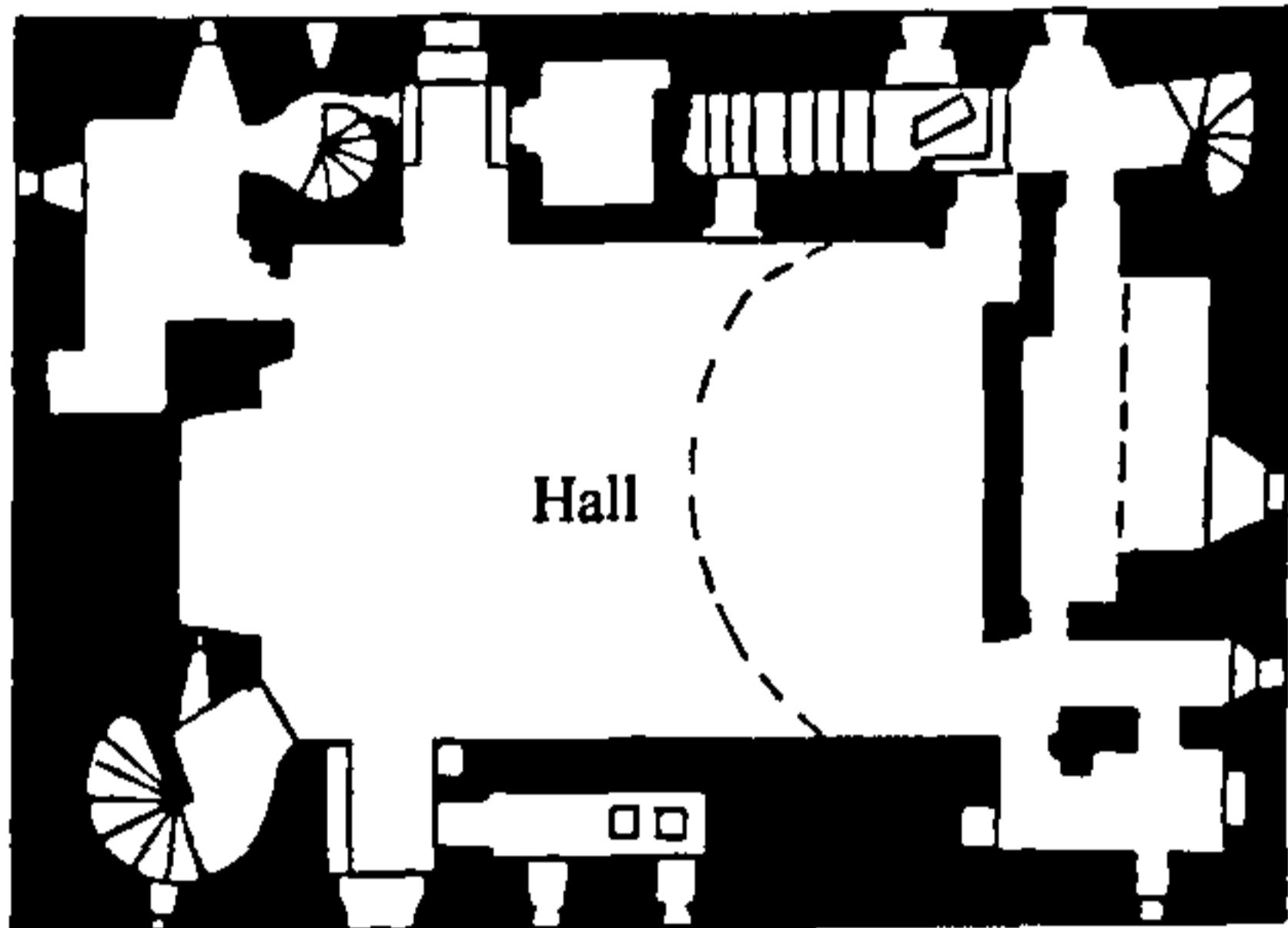
Plan 2. Bothwell Castle, Lanarkshire (Tabraham 1994).



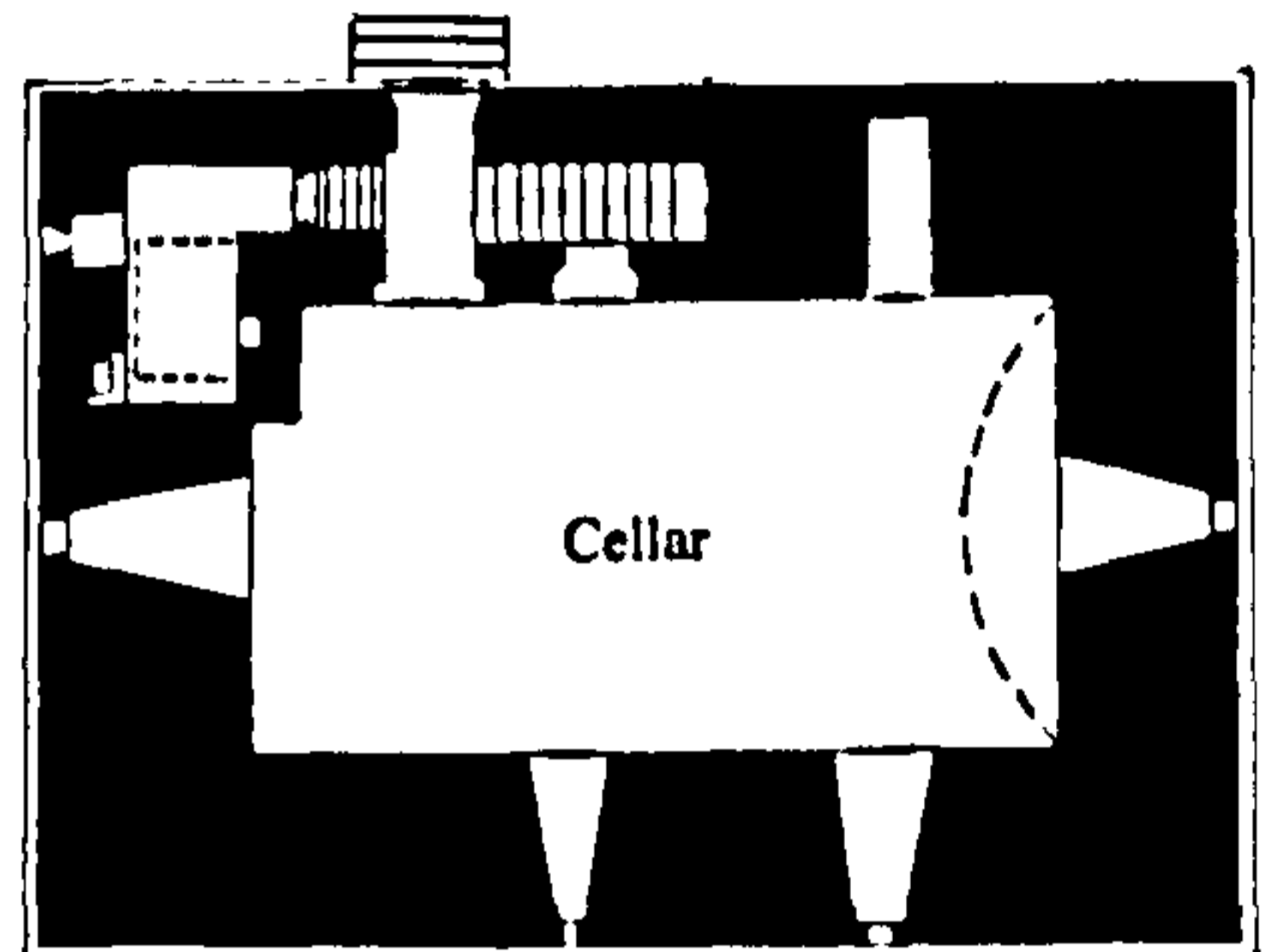
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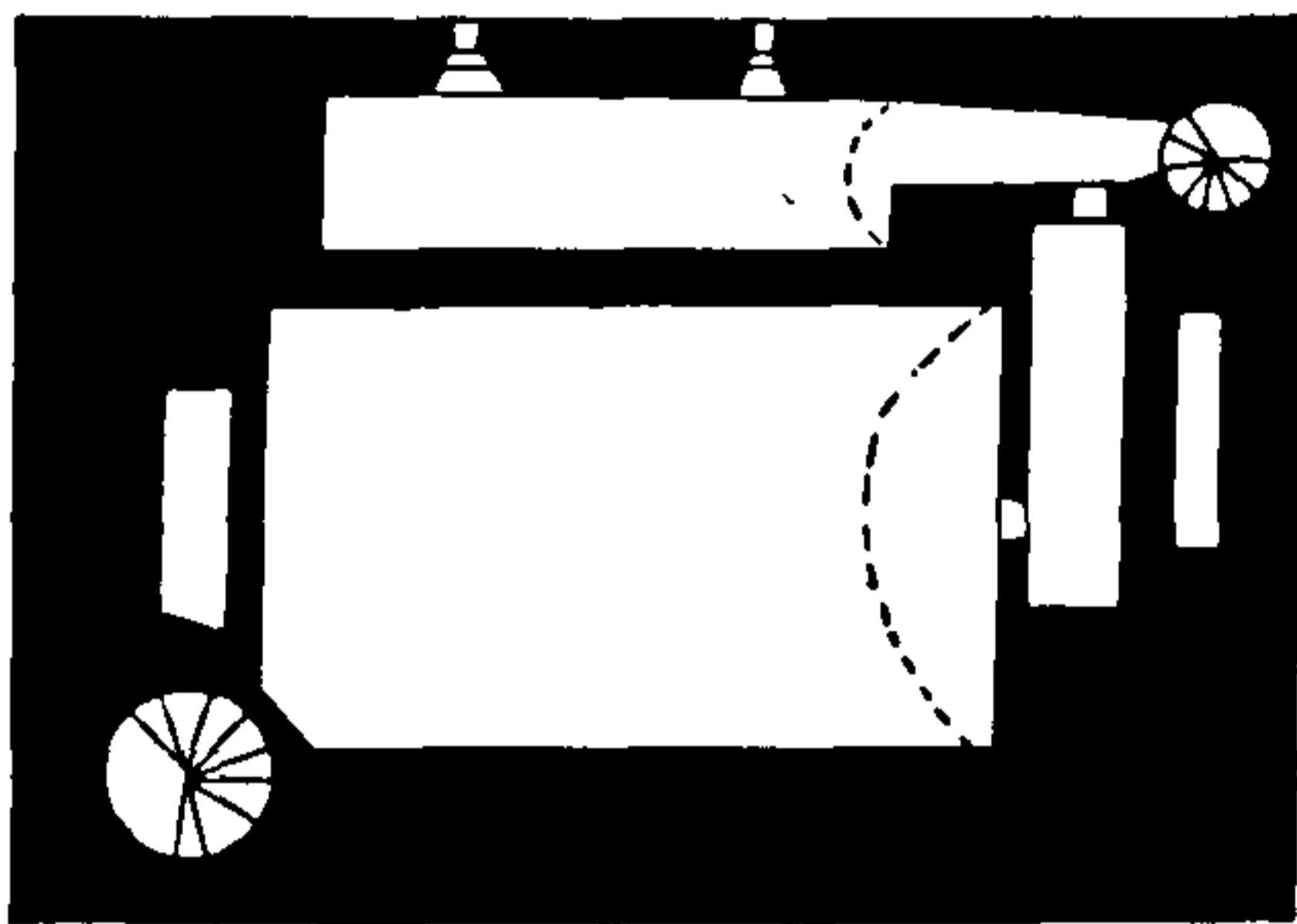
Plan 5. Elphinstone Castle, East Lothian (After RCAHMS 1924, 120, fig. 164).



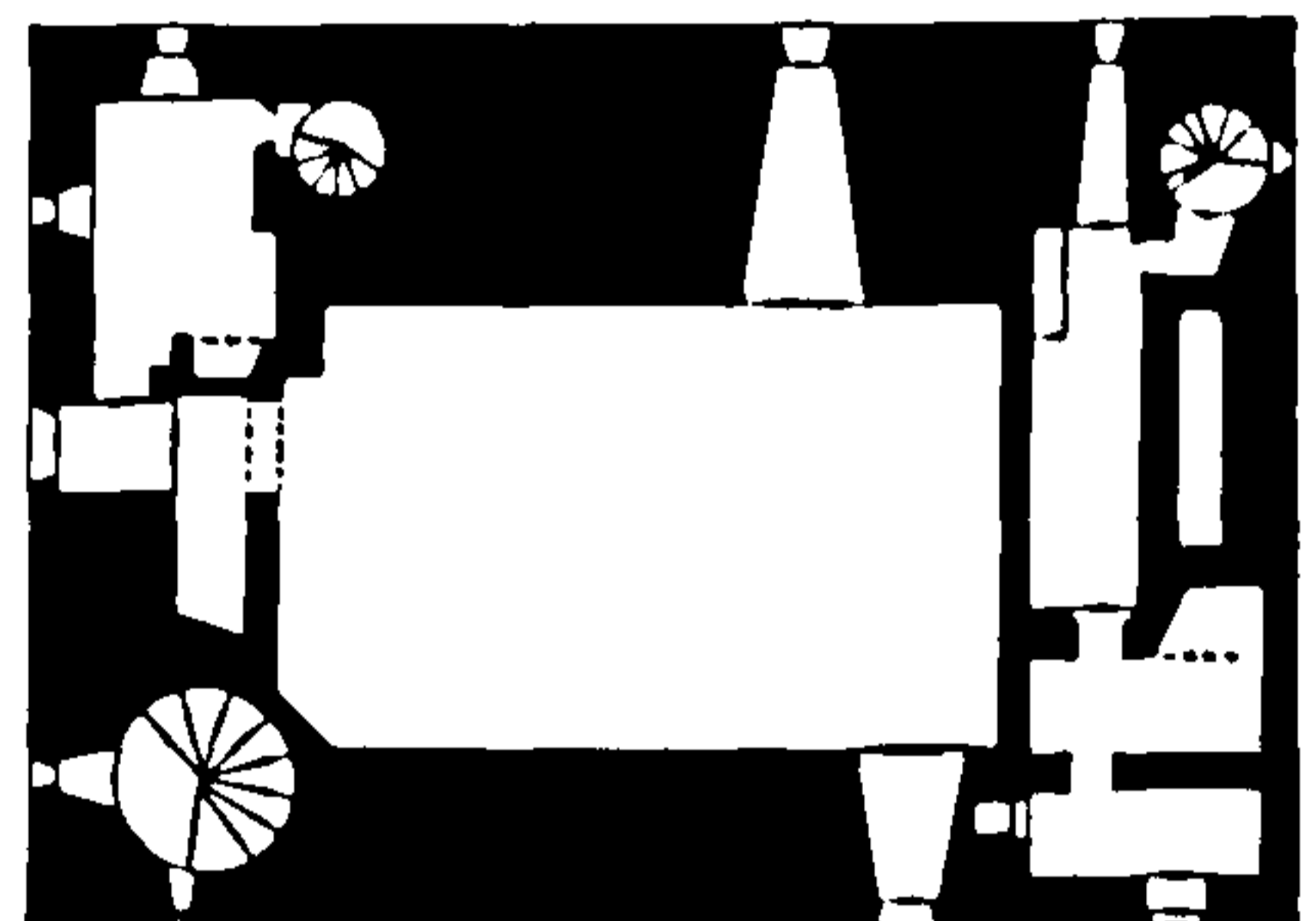
FIRST FLOOR



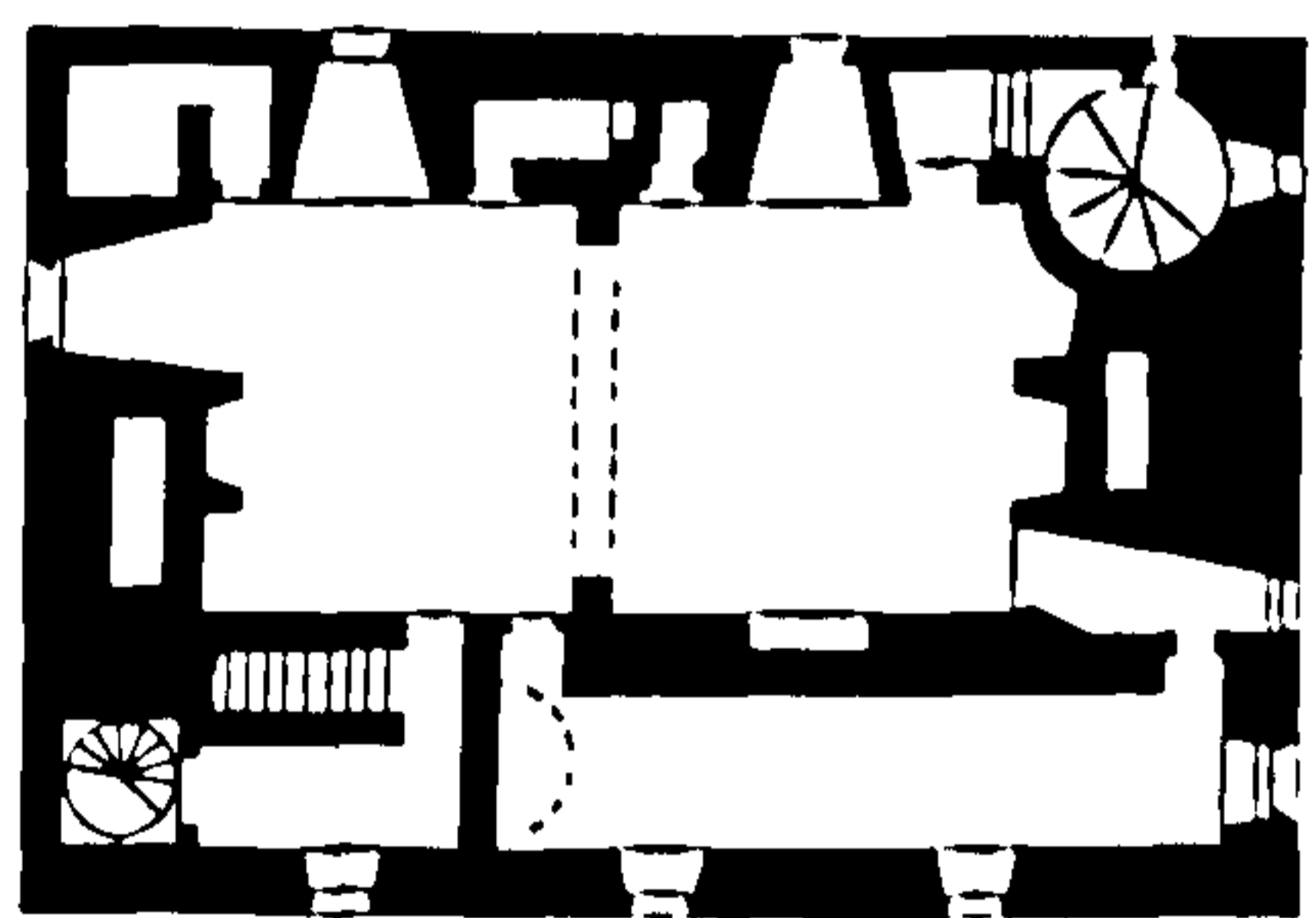
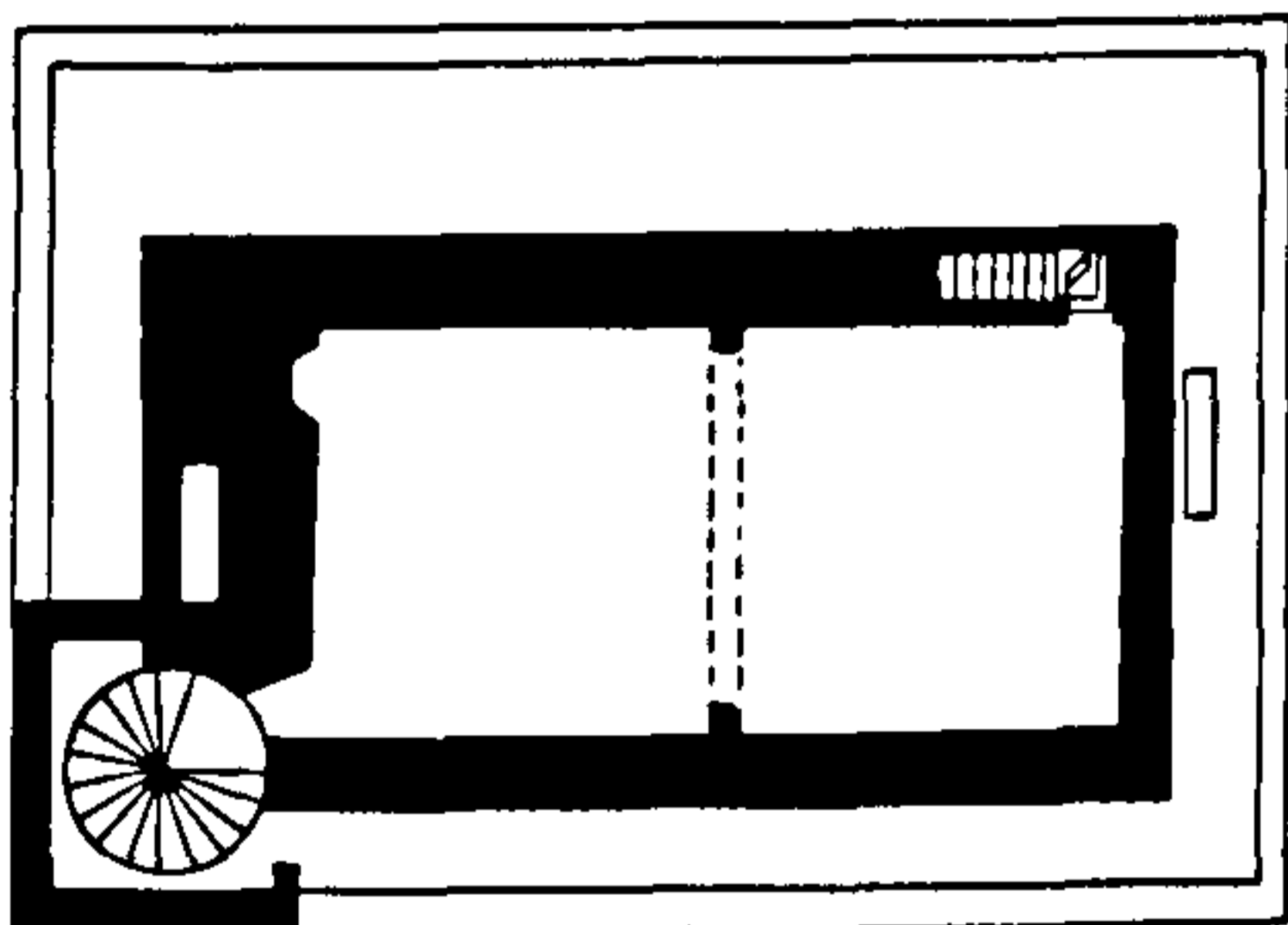
BASEMENT FLOOR



ENTRESOL FLOOR



ENTRESOL FLOOR



SECOND FLOOR

0 10 20 Metres



Plate 1. 13th century Drum Tower and 15th century gatehouse.
Dirleton, from the west.



Plate 2. 13th century postern and 15th century gatehouse. Dirleton, from the
west.



Plate 3. Interior of 15th century cellars, showing window into chapel. Dirleton.



Plate 4. 13th century entrance, blocked in the 15th century. The cellars, Dirleton.



Plate 5. Late 16th century Ruthven block, from the garden (east).

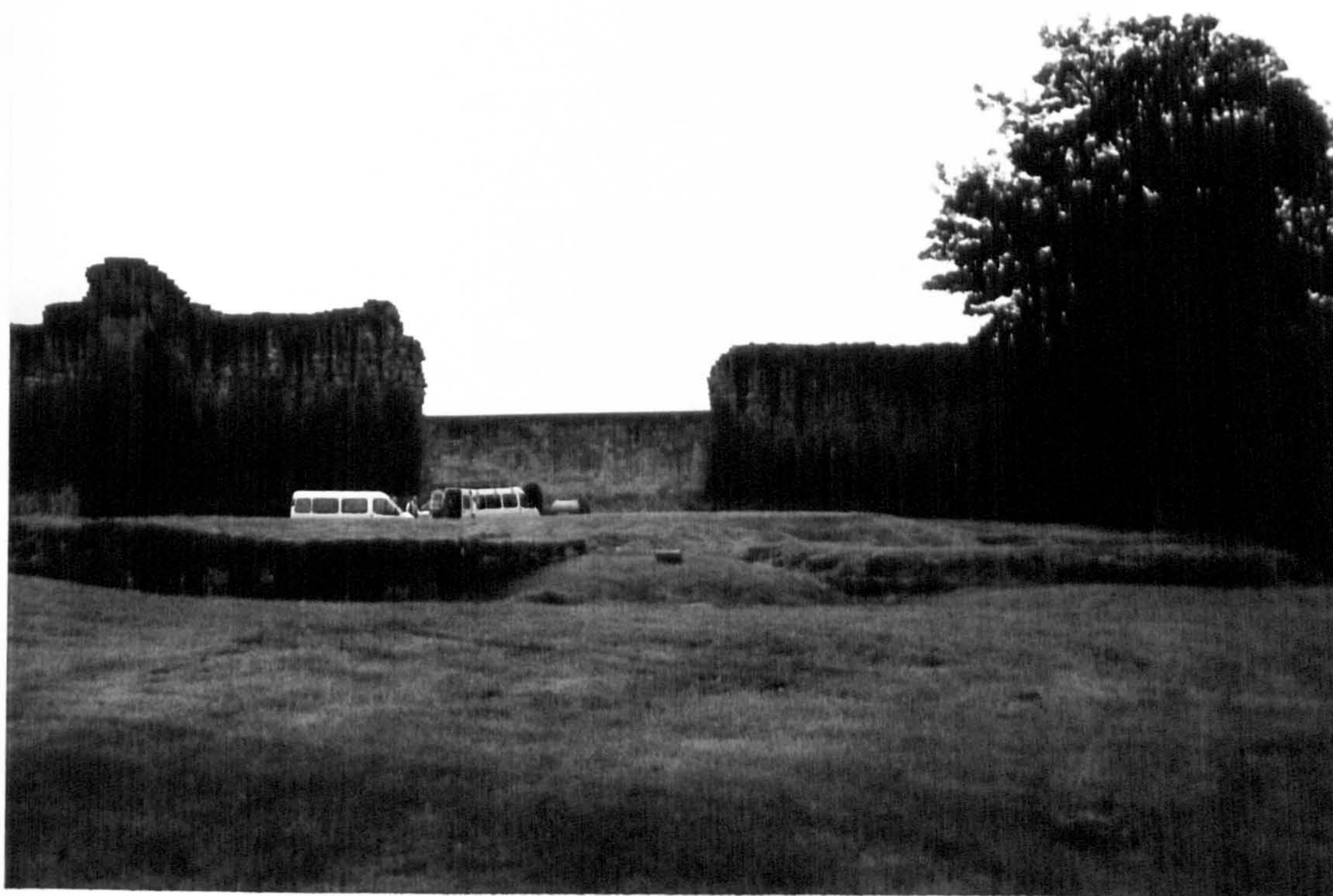


Plate 6. Approach to Bothwell castle, showing foundations of 13th century gatehouse, from the north.



Plate 7. 13th century secondary gate, Bothwell, from the south.



Plate 8. 13th century donjon, Bothwell, from the east.

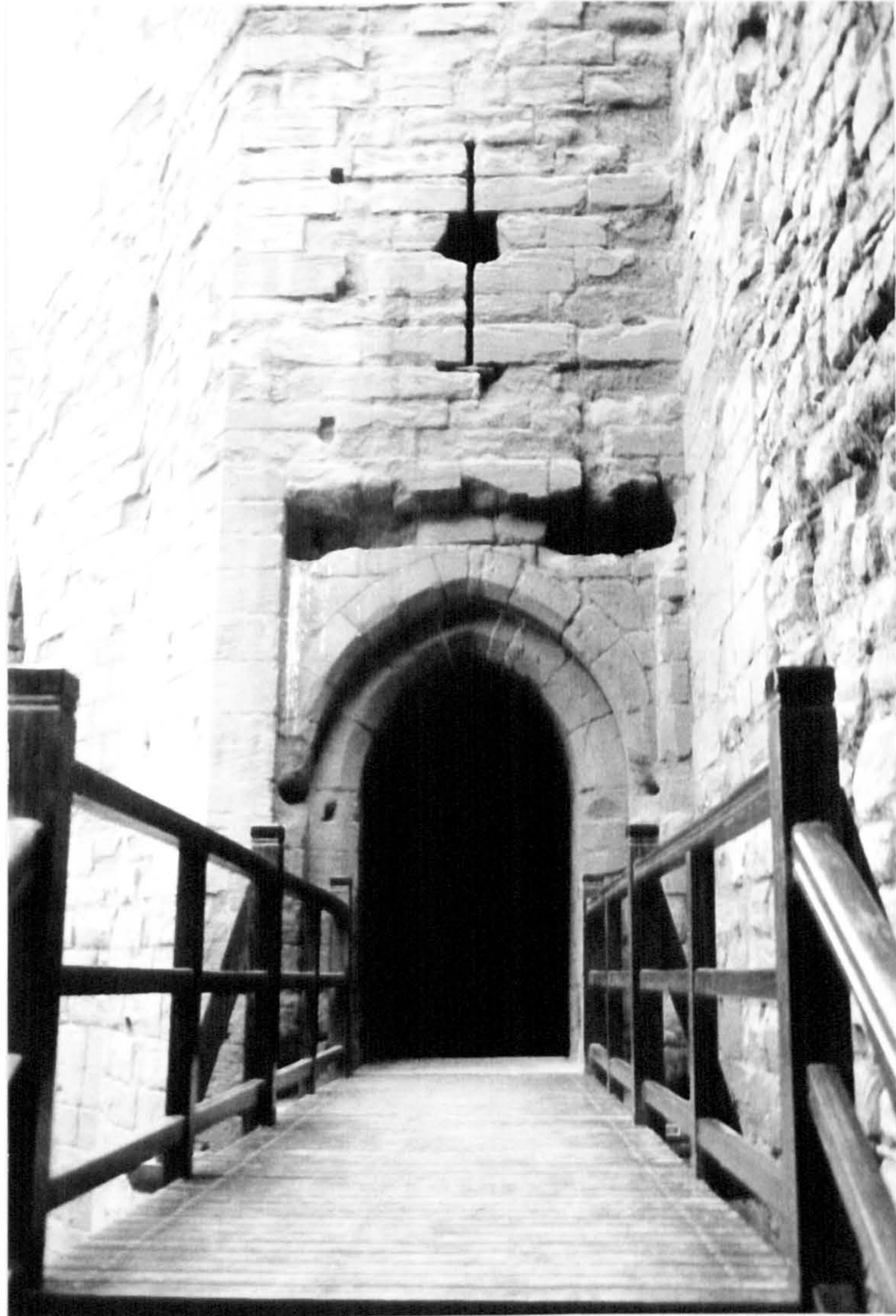


Plate 9. Entrance to 13th century donjon.



Plate 10. Courtyard showing great hall, south east tower and south range,
from the west.



Plate 11. Great hall, Bothwell, from the west.



Plate 12. 13th century donjon from the dais window of the great hall,
Bothwell.



Plate 13. Exterior of south east tower and south range, Bothwell,
from the south west.



Plate14. Interior of north east tower, Bothwell, from the west.



Plate 15. Aerial photograph of Tulliallan, from the north east.
(Crown copyright)



Plate 16. Tulliallan castle, from the north.

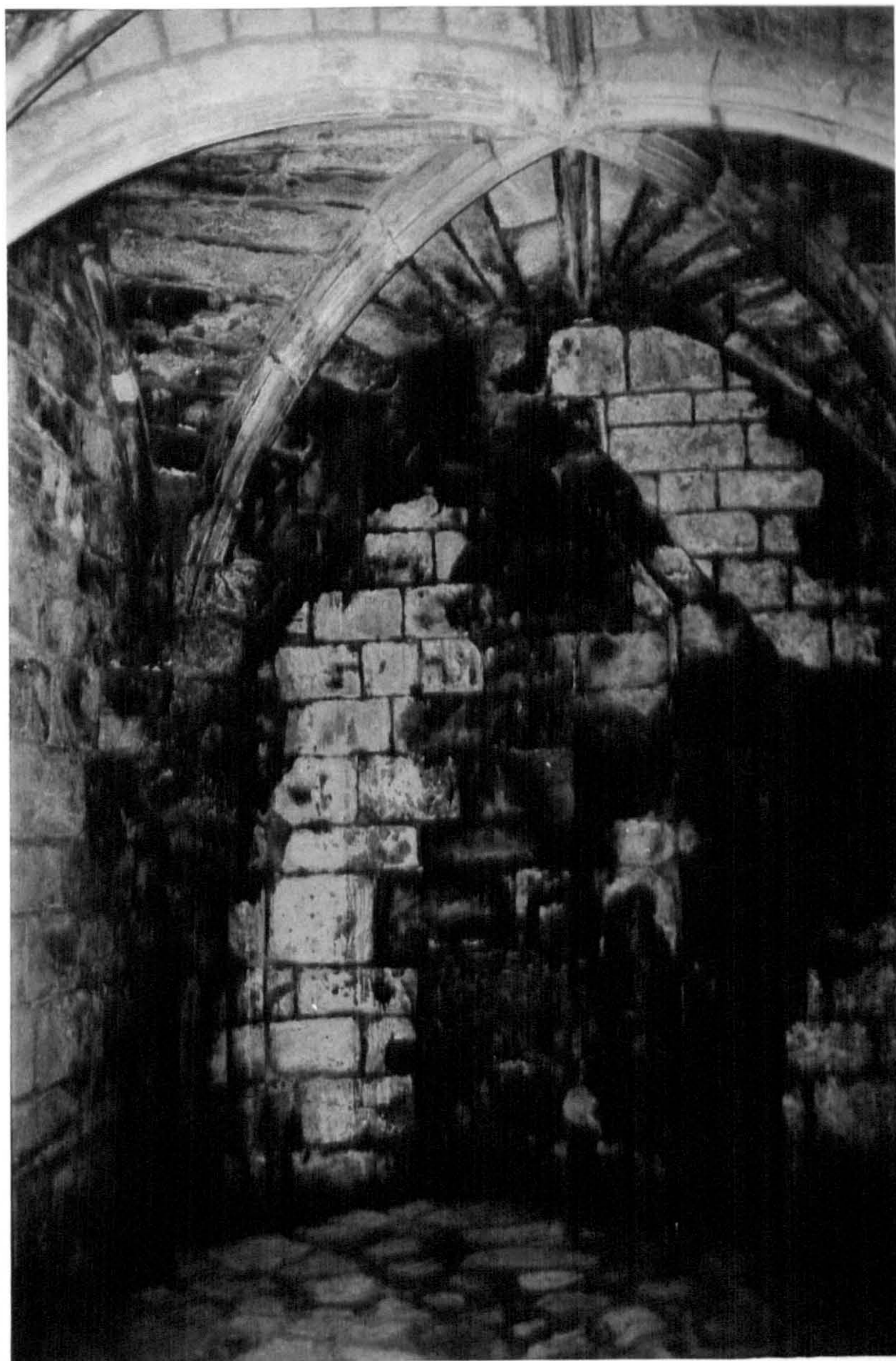


Plate 17. Interior of eastern ground floor living chamber,
showing fireplace and vaulting.



Plate 18. Aerial Photograph of Morton, from the south.

(Crown copyright).



Plate 19. Approach to Morton from the north.



Plate 20. Approach to Morton from the north.



Plate 21. Approach to Morton from the north.

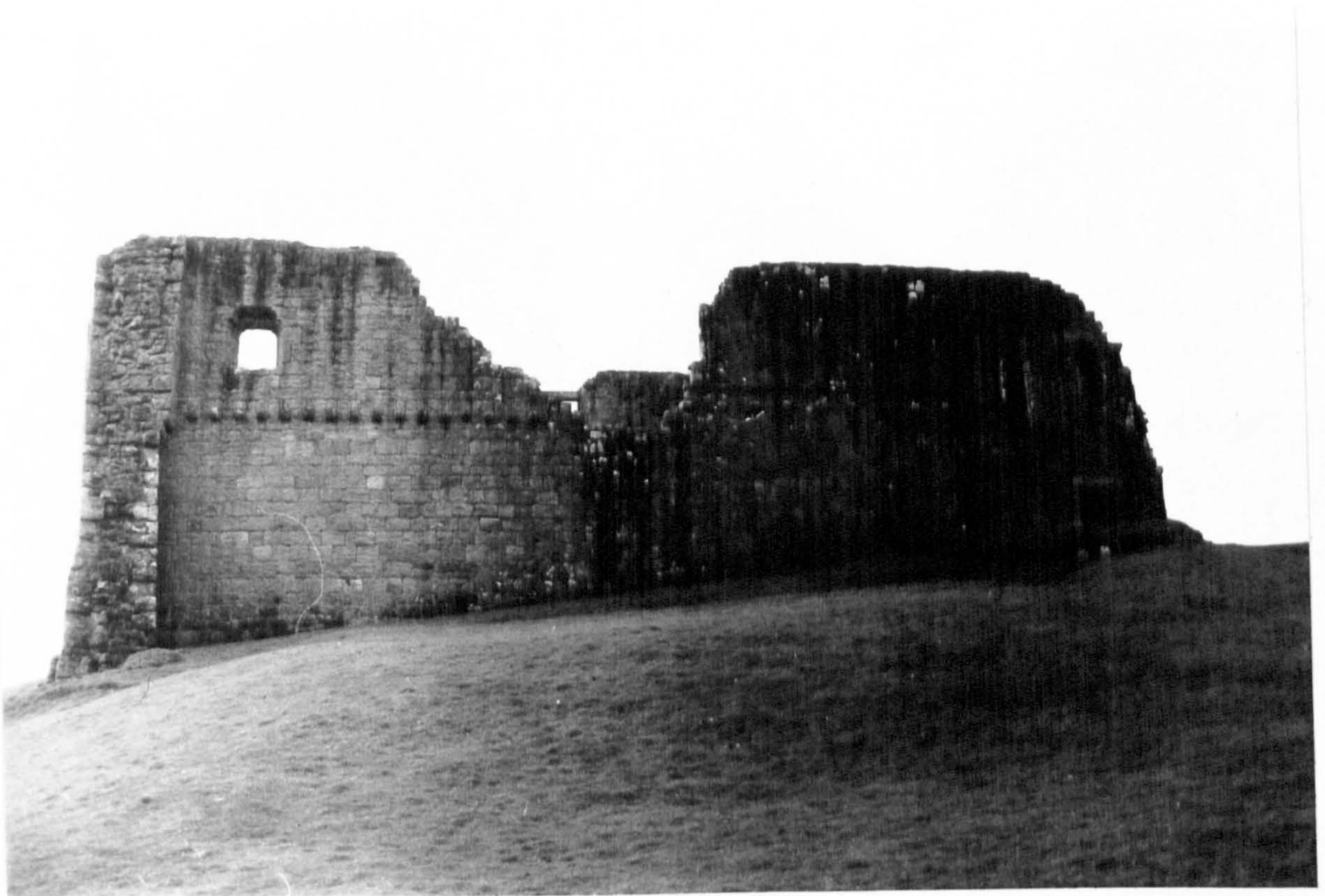


Plate 22. Morton castle from the courtyard (south).



Plate 23. First floor entrance to hall, Morton, from the south.



Plate 24. Interior of Morton.

Diagram 4. Phased planning diagram of Bothwell Castle, 17th century

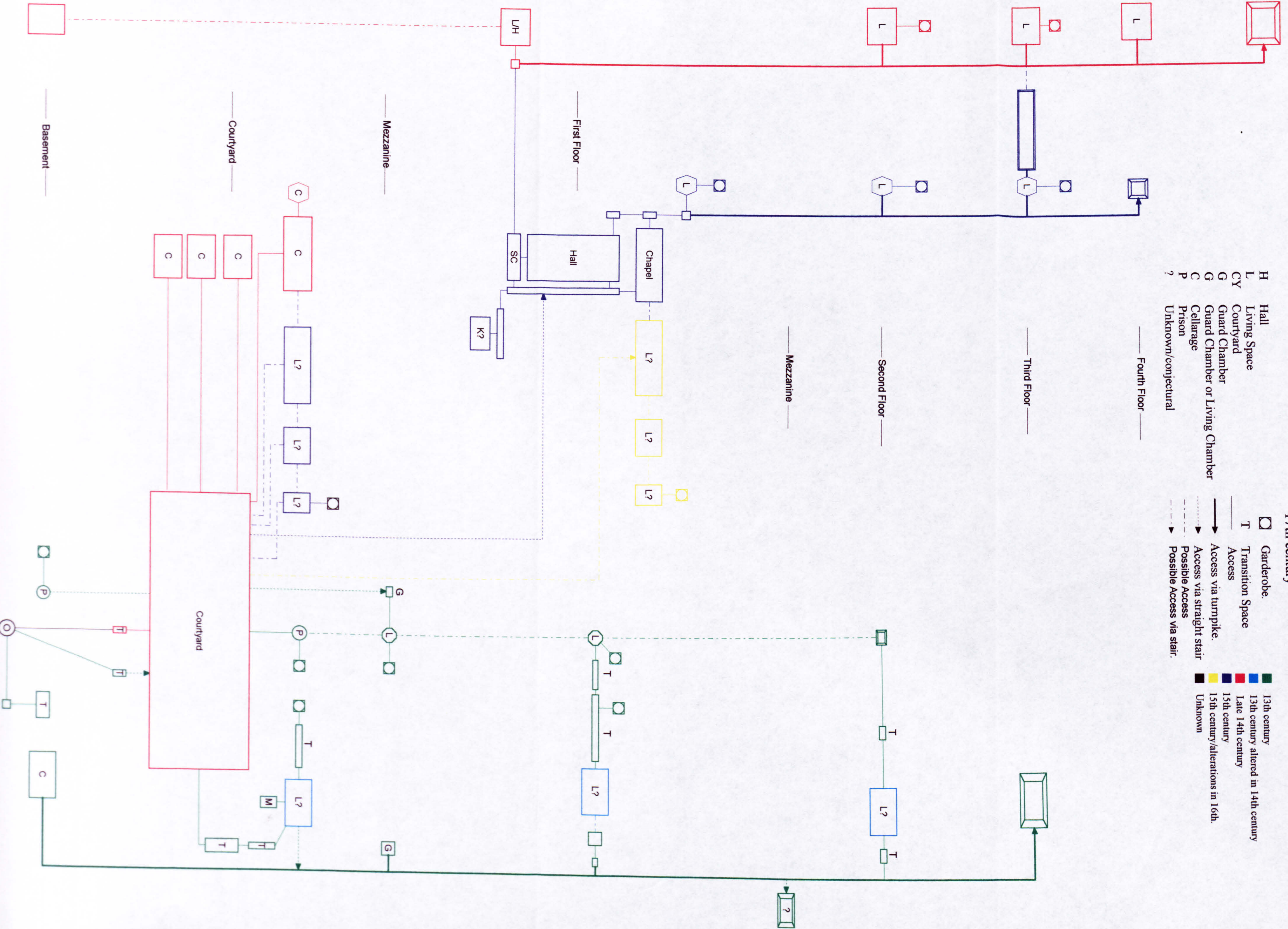


Diagram 3. Phased Access diagram of Bothwell Castle, late 16th century.

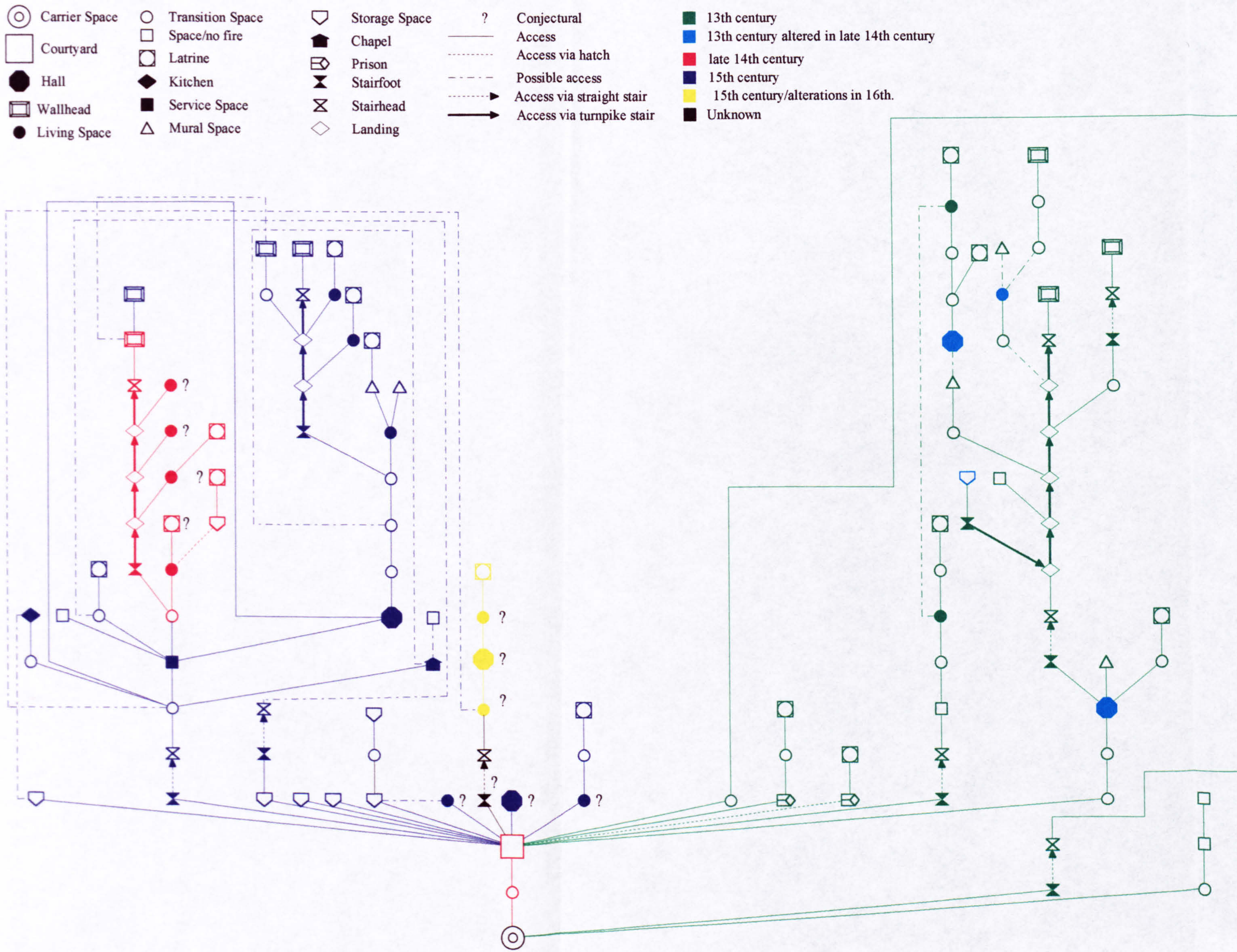


Figure 2. Planning Diagram of Dirleton Castle (East Lothian)

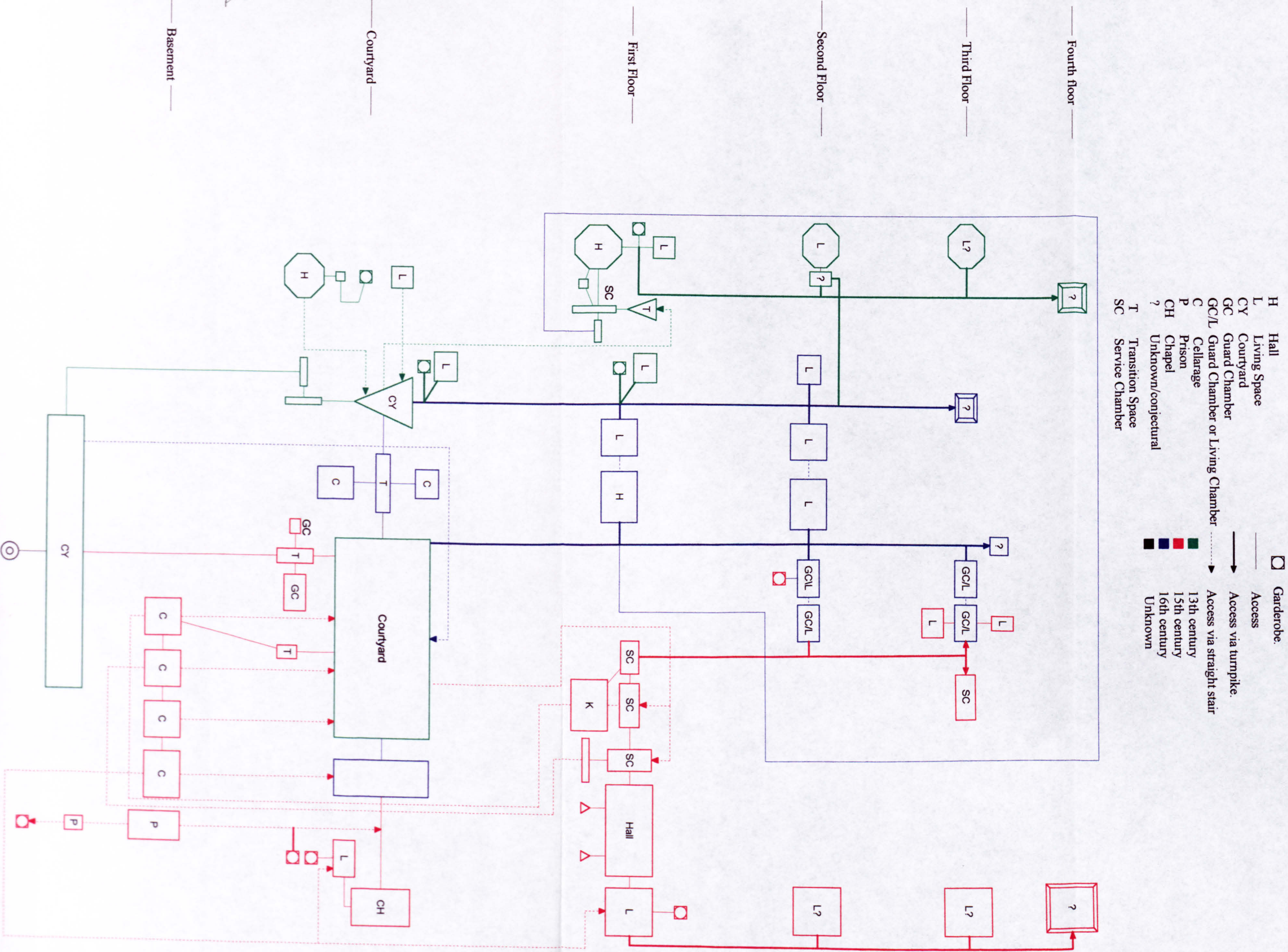
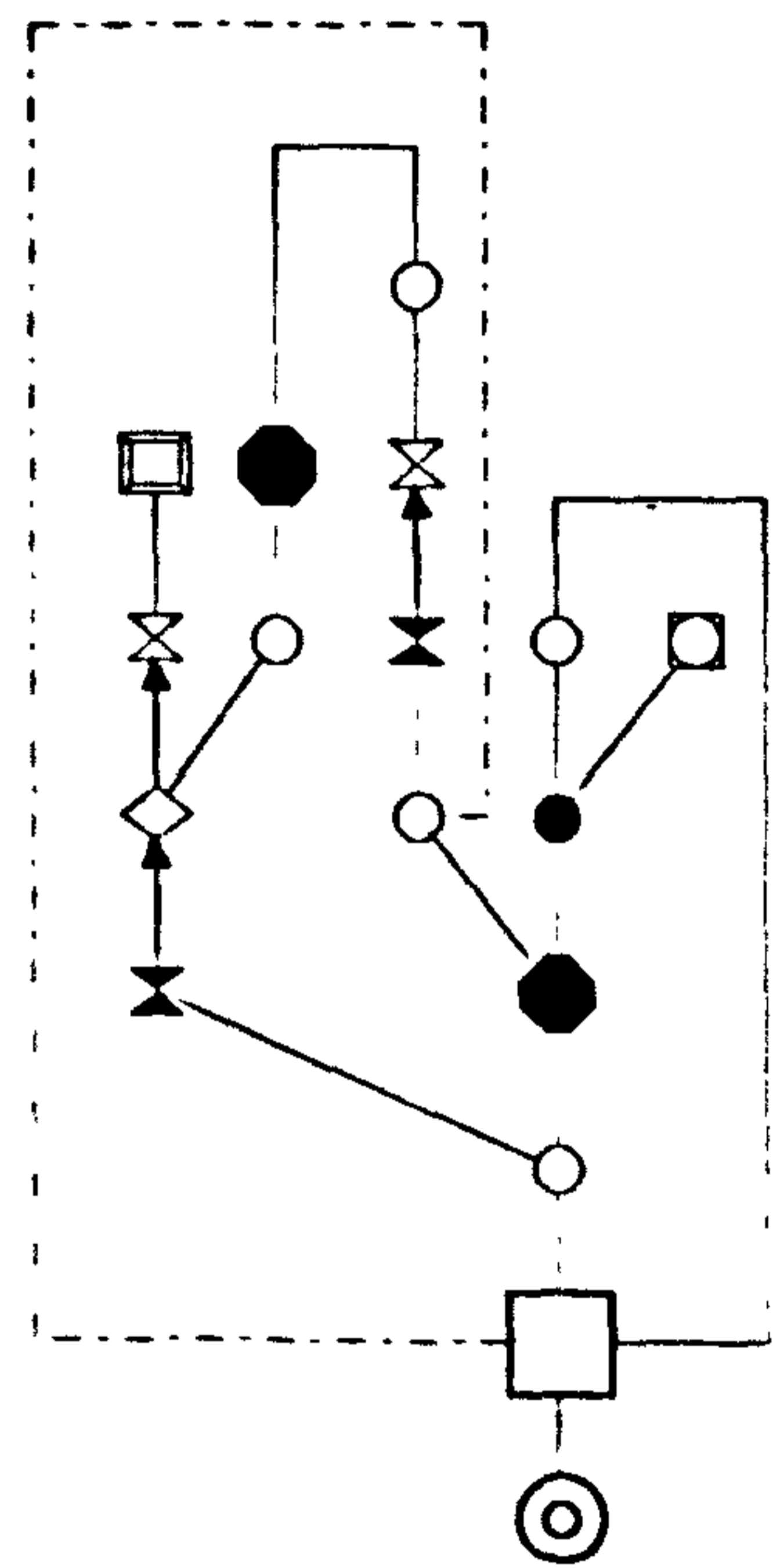


Figure 1. Access diagram of Dirleton Castle (East Lothian), in late sixteenth century.

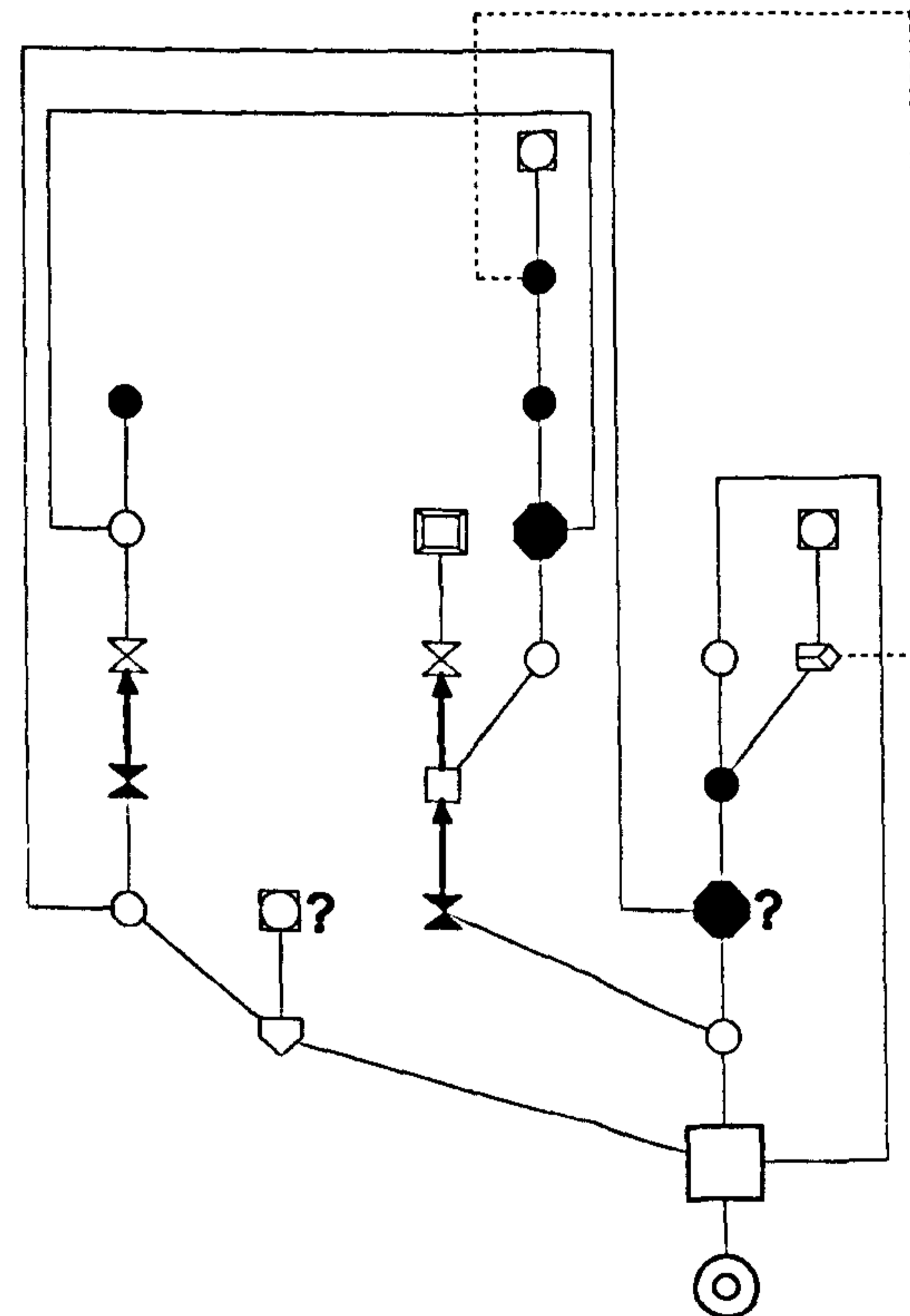


Diagram 5. Access graph, showing chronological development of Tulliallan Castle.

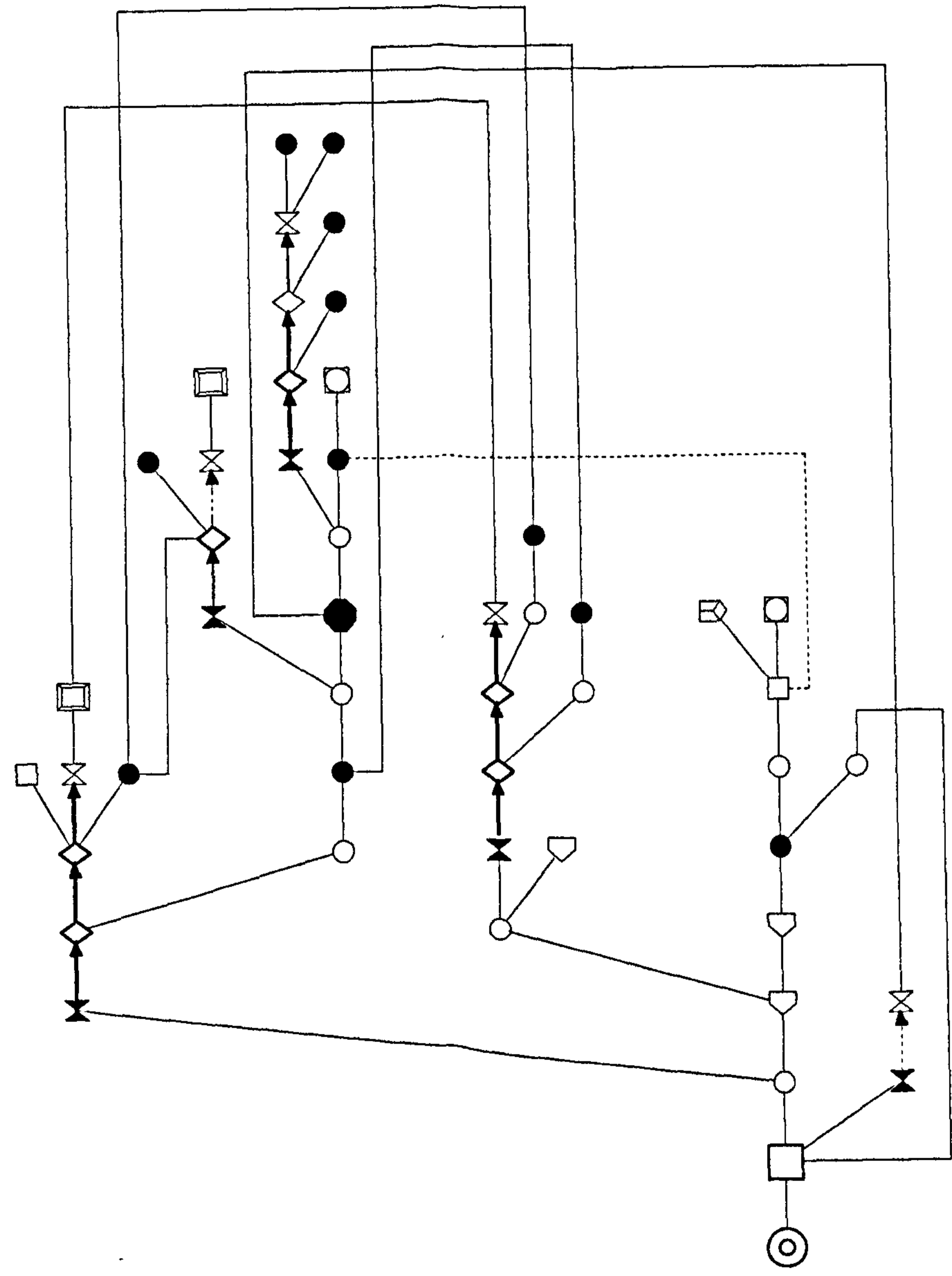
- | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| ⊙ CARRIER SPACE | ▽ STORAGE SPACE |
| □ COURTYARD | ⬛ CHAPEL |
| ● HALL | ⊞ PRISON |
| ▣ WALLHEAD | ⌵ STAIRFOOT |
| ● LIVING SPACE | ⌵ STAIRHEAD |
| ○ TRANSITION SPACE | ◇ LANDING |
| □ SPACE - NO FIRE | ? CONJECTURAL |
| □ LATRINE | — ACCESS |
| ◆ KITCHEN | - - - ACCESS VIA HATCH |
| ■ SERVICE SPACE | - · - POSSIBLE ACCESS |
| △ MURAL SPACE | - · - > ACCESS VIA STRAIGHT STAIR |
| | — > ACCESS VIA TURNPKE STAIR |



Phase One, Hall house without wings, late 13th/early 14th century.



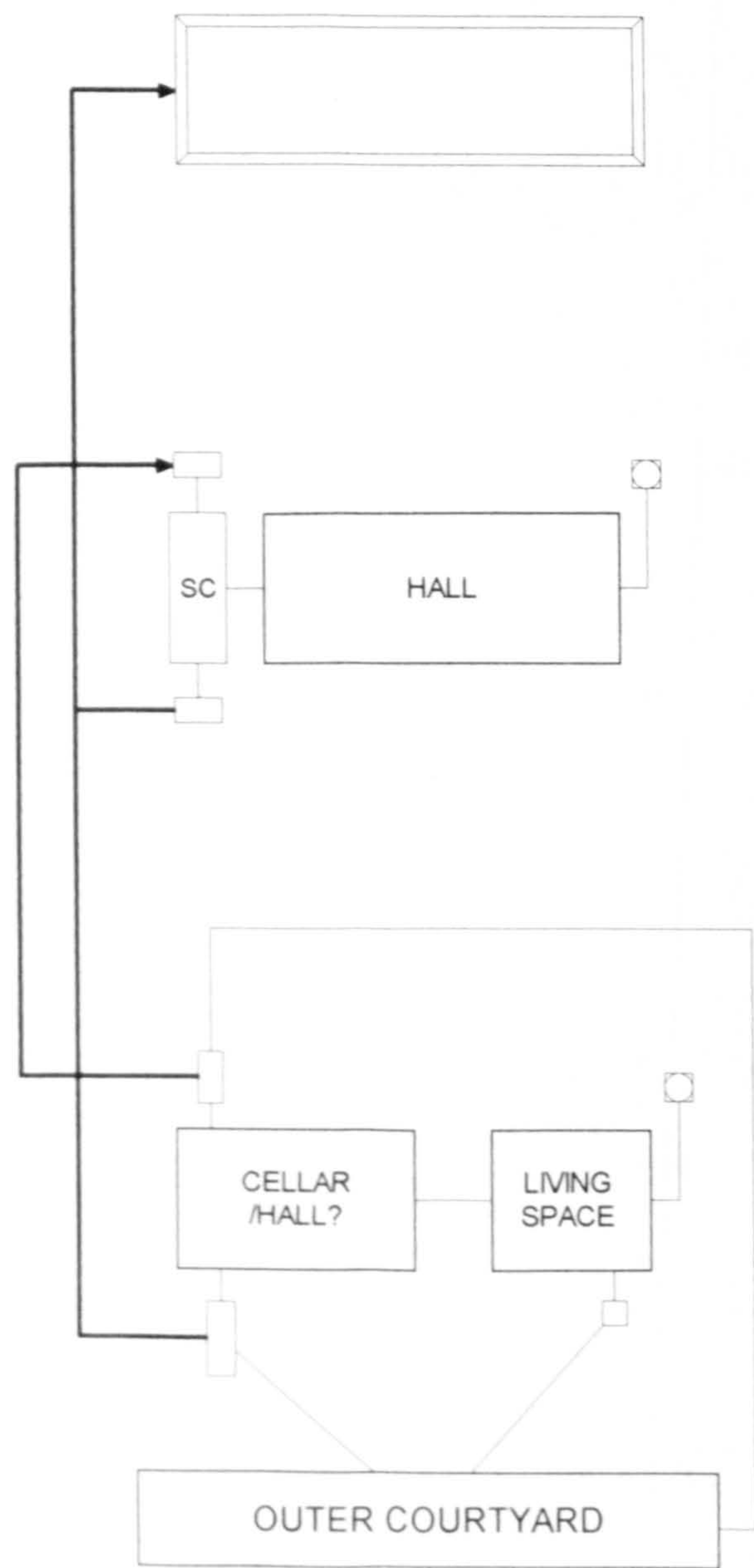
Phase two, Hall house with wings, early 14th century.



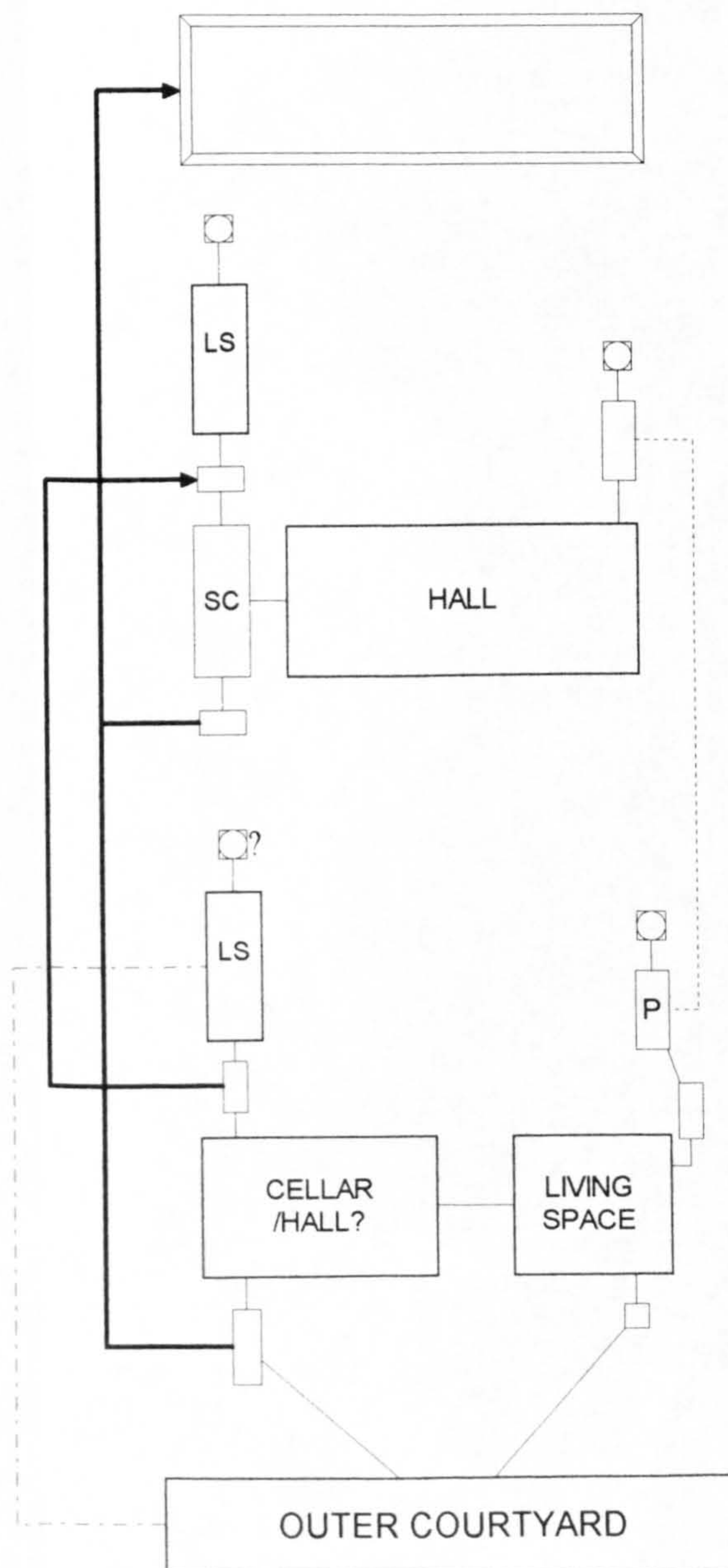
Phase Three, hall house, fully extended into tower like structure, early 17th century.

Diagram 6. Access graph, showing chronological development of Tulliallan Castle.

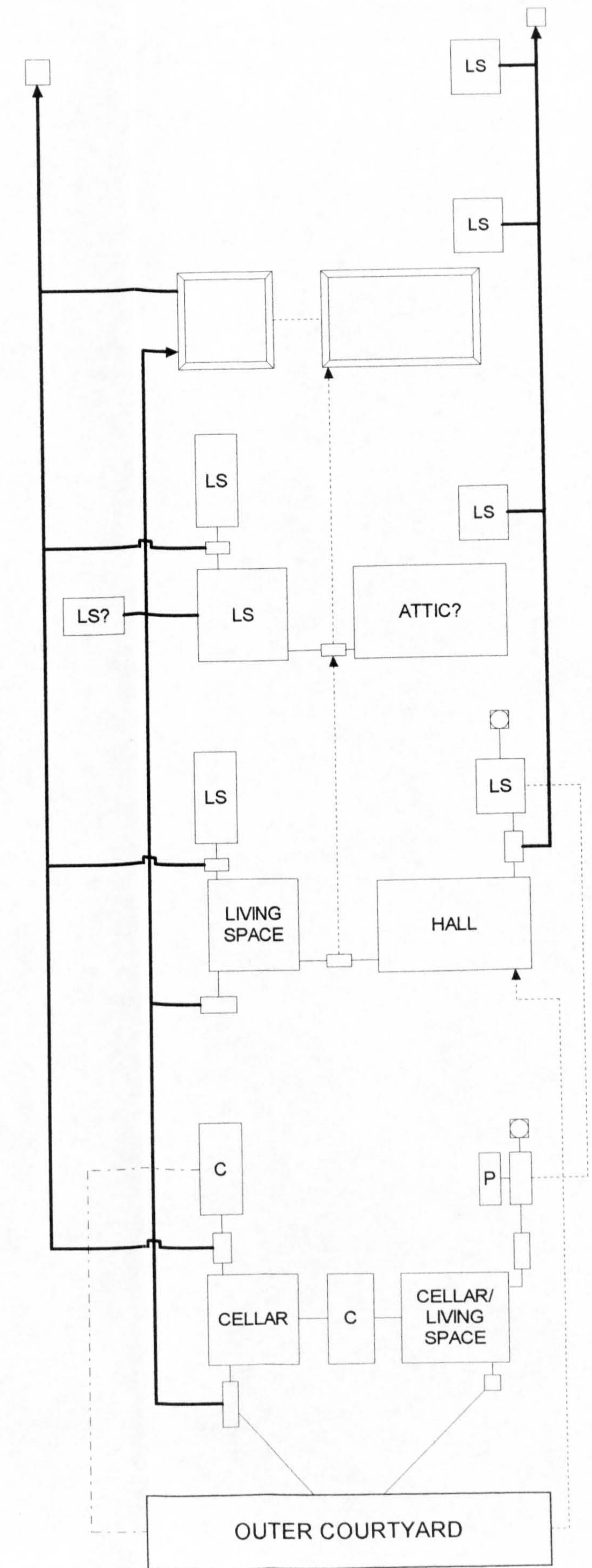
- H - HALL
 - CY - COURTYARD
 - LC - LIVING CHAMBER
 - P - PRISON
 - PC - PORTCULLIS CHAMBER
 - T - TRANSITION SPACE
 - SC - SERVICE CHAMBER
 - ? - CONJECTURAL
 - GC - GUARD CHAMBER
- C - CELLAR
 - K - KITCHEN
 - ☐ - LATRINE
 - ☐ - WALL HEAD
 - - TURNPIKE STAIR
 - - STRAIGHT STAIR
 - ⋯ - ACCESS VIA HATCH
 - ⋯ - POSSIBLE ACCESS



Phase One, Hall house without wings, late 13th/early 14th century.



Phase two, Hall house with wings, early 14th century.



Phase Three, hall house, fully extended into tower like structure, early 17th century.

Diagram 8. Planning diagram of Morton castle, early 13th/late 14th century

- H - HALL
- CY - COURTYARD
- LC - LIVING CHAMBER
- P - PRISON
- PC - PORTCULLIS CHAMBER
- T - TRANSITION SPACE
- SC - SERVICE CHAMBER
- ? - CONJECTURAL
- GC - GUARD CHAMBER
- K - KITCHEN
- C - CELLAR
- ☐ - LATRINE
- ☐ - WALL HEAD
- - TURNPIKE STAIR
- - STRAIGHT STAIR
- - - ACCESS VIA HATCH
- - - POSSIBLE ACCESS

THIRD FLOOR LEVEL

SECOND FLOOR LEVEL

FIRST FLOOR LEVEL

COURTYARD LEVEL

BASEMENT LEVEL

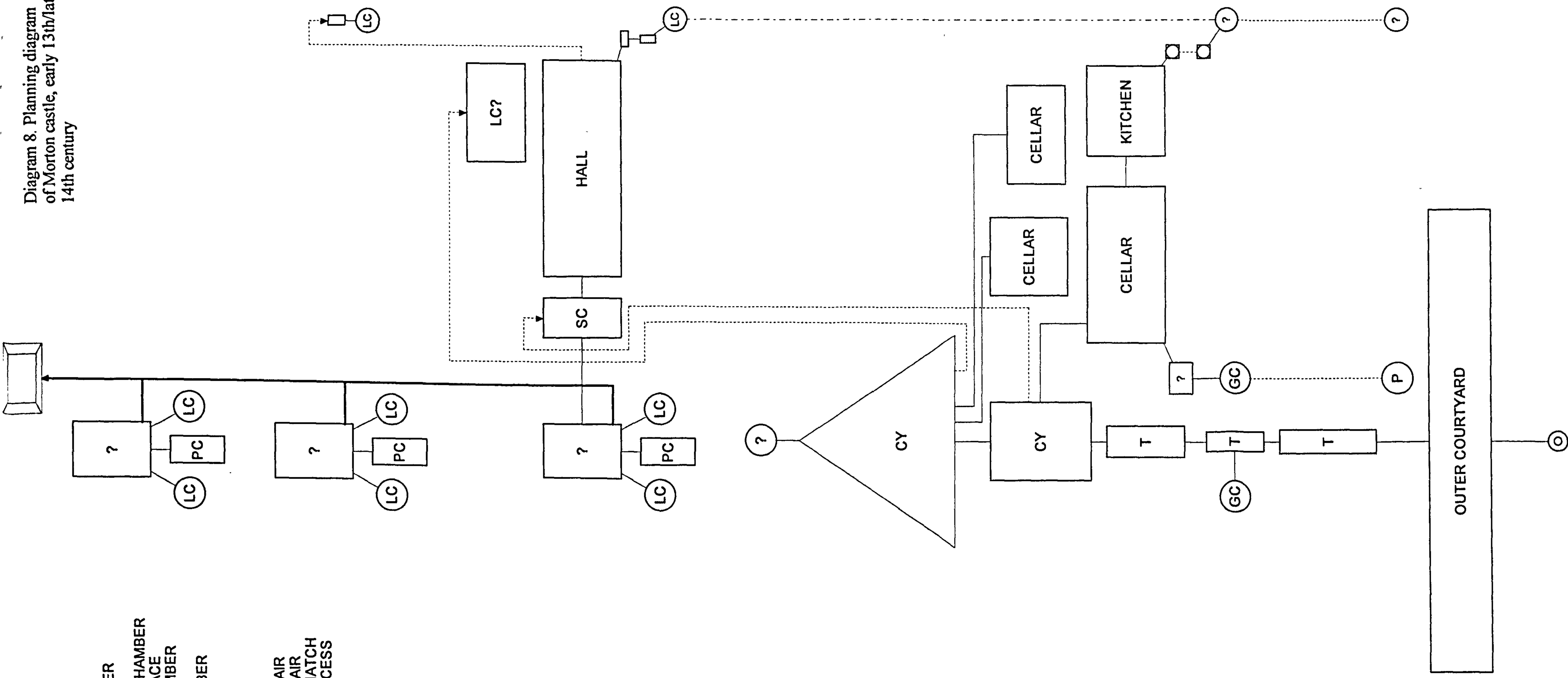


Diagram 9. Access diagram of Elphinstone Tower, mid 15th century, showing the bipartite division, with the rooms accessed from the kitchen staircase in red, and the rooms served from the hall staircase in blue.

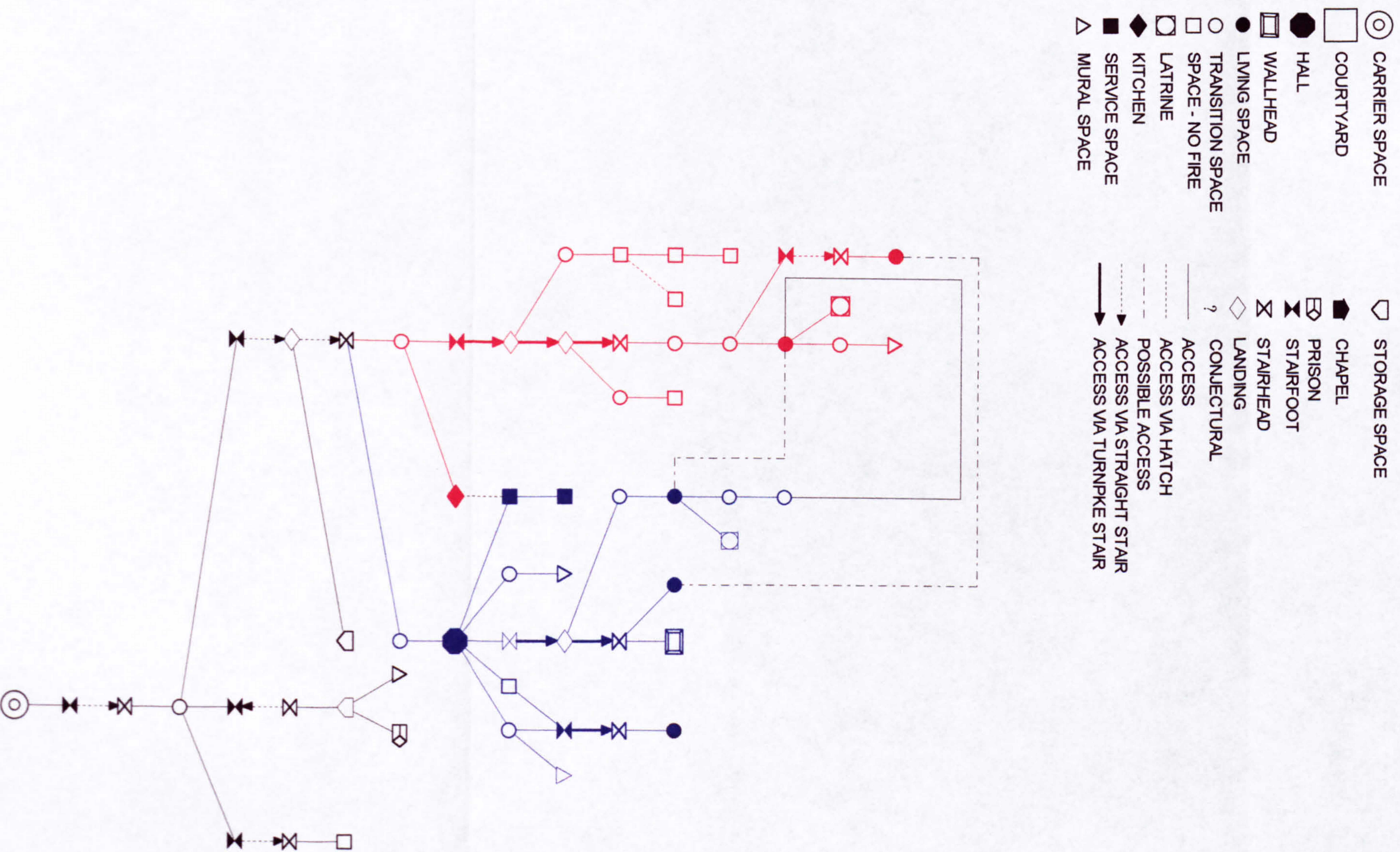


Diagram 10. Access diagram of Elphinstone Tower, mid 15th century, showing the bipartite division, with the rooms accessed from the kitchen staircase in red, and the rooms served, from the hall staircase in blue.

- H - HALL
- CY - COURTYARD
- LC - LIVING CHAMBER
- P - PRISON
- PC - PORTCULLIS CHAMBER
- T - TRANSITION SPACE
- SC - SERVICE CHAMBER
- ? - CONJECTURAL
- GC - GUARD CHAMBER
- K - KITCHEN
- C - CELLAR
- - LATRINE
- ◻ - WALL HEAD
- ↘ - TURNPIKE STAIR
- - STRAIGHT STAIR
- - ACCESS VIA HATCH
- - POSSIBLE ACCESS

