



Lordship and Architecture

IN MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE SCOTLAND

Edited by Richard Oram and Geoffrey Stell

LORDSHIP AND ARCHITECTURE

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<i>Aberdeen-Banff</i> <i>Ill.</i>	<i>Illustrations of the Topography and Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff</i> (Spalding Club, 1847-69).
<i>Aberdeen</i> <i>Registrum</i>	<i>Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis</i> (Spalding and Maitland Clubs, 1845).
<i>Acts of the</i> <i>Lords of the</i> <i>Isles</i>	<i>The Acts of the Lords of the Isles 1336-1493</i> , eds. J. Munro and R. W. Munro (Scottish History Society, 1986).
<i>ADC</i>	<i>The Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes</i> , eds. T. Thomson and others (Edinburgh, 1839 and 1918-).
<i>ADCP</i>	<i>Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs 1501-1554: Selections from Acta Dominorum Concilii</i> , ed. R. K. Hannay (Edinburgh, 1932).
<i>APS</i>	<i>The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland</i> , eds. T. Thomson and C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1814-75).
Anderson, <i>Scottish Annals</i>	<i>Scottish Annals from English Chronicles AD 500 to 1286</i> , ed. A. O. Anderson (London, 1908).
Anderson, <i>Early</i> <i>Sources</i>	<i>Early Sources of Scottish History AD 500 to 1286</i> , ed. A. O. Anderson (Edinburgh, 1922).
<i>Arbroath Liber</i>	<i>Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc</i> (Bannatyne Club, 1848-56).
<i>AT</i>	<i>Argyll Transcripts, made by 10th Duke of Argyll</i> (Argyll MSS, Inveraray; photostat

	copies of entries to 1600 in Department of Scottish History, University of Glasgow).
Barbour, <i>Bruce</i>	John Barbour, <i>The Bruce</i> , ed. A.A. M.Duncan (Edinburgh, 1997).
Boece, <i>Vitae</i>	<i>Hectoris Boetii Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitae</i> (New Spalding Club, 1894).
Buchanan, <i>History</i>	G. Buchanan, <i>The History of Scotland</i> , trans. J. Aikman (Glasgow and Edinburgh, 1827-9).
<i>Cal. Border Papers</i>	Calendar of Papers and Letters relating to the affairs of the Borders of England and Scotland, ed. J. Bain (Edinburgh, 1894-6).
<i>Cambuskenneth Registrum</i>	<i>Registrum Monasterii Sancte Marie de Cambuskenneth</i> (Grampian Club, 1872).
<i>Cawdor Bk.</i>	<i>The Book of the Thanes of Cawdor</i> (Spalding Club, 1859)
<i>CDS</i>	<i>Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland</i> , eds. J. Bain and others (Edinburgh, 1881-1985).
<i>Chron. Auchinleck</i>	The Auchinleck Chronicle, in C. A. McGladdery, <i>James II</i> (Edinburgh, 1990), Appendix 2.
<i>Chron. Bower</i> (Watt)	Walter Bower, <i>Scotichronicon</i> , eds. D. E. R. Watt and others (Aberdeen, 1987-97).
<i>Chron. Fordun</i>	<i>Johannis de Fordun, Chronica Gentis Scotorum</i> , ed. W.F. Skene (Edinburgh, 1871-2).
<i>Chron. Melrose</i>	<i>Chronica de Mailros</i> (Bannatyne Club, 1835).
<i>Chron. Pluscarden</i>	<i>Liber Pluscardensis</i> , ed. F.J. H.Skene (Edinburgh, 1870-80).
<i>Chron. Wyntoun</i> (Laing)	<i>Androw of Wyntoun, The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland</i> , ed. D. Laing

	(Edinburgh, 1872–9).
<i>Coldstream Chartulary</i>	<i>Chartulary of the Cistercian Priory of Coldstream</i> (Grampian Club, 1879).
<i>Coupar Angus Chrs.</i>	<i>Charters of the Abbey of Coupar Angus</i> , ed. D. E. Easson (Scottish History Society, 1947).
<i>Cowan, Parishes</i>	I. B. Cowan, <i>The Parishes of Medieval Scotland</i> (Scottish Record Society, xciii, 1967).
<i>Cowan and Easson, Religious Houses</i>	I. B. Cowan and D. E. Easson, <i>Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland</i> (London, 1976).
<i>CPL</i>	<i>Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters</i> , eds. W. H. Bliss and others (London, 1893); 1378—94, ed. C. Burns (Scottish History Society, 1976); 1394–1419, ed. F. McGurk (Scottish History Society, 1976).
<i>CPP</i>	<i>Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Petitions to the Pope</i> , ed. W. H. Bliss (London, 1896).
<i>Crossraguel Chrs.</i>	<i>Charters of the Abbey of Crossraguel</i> (Archaeological and Historical Collections relating to Ayrshire and Galloway, 1886).
<i>CSP Scot.</i>	<i>Calendar of the State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots 1547– 1603</i> , eds. J. Bain and others (Edinburgh, 1898–).
<i>CSSR</i>	<i>Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome:</i> i, 1418–22, eds. E. R. Lindsay and A. I. Cameron (Scottish History Society, 1934); ii, 1423–28, ed. A. I. Dunlop (Scottish History Society, 1956); iii, 1428–32, eds. A.

	I. Dunlop and I. B. Cowan (Scottish History Society, 1970); iv, 1433–47, eds. A. I. Dunlop and D. MacLauchlan (Glasgow, 1983).
<i>DES</i>	<i>Discovery and Excavation, Scotland.</i>
<i>Diplom. Norv.</i>	<i>Diplomatarium Norvegicum</i> (Kristiania, 1849–1919).
<i>Dryburgh Liber</i>	<i>Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh</i> (Bannatyne Club, 1847).
<i>Dunfermline Registrum</i>	<i>Registrum de Dunfermelyn</i> (Bannatyne Club, 1842).
<i>ER</i>	<i>The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland</i> , eds. J. Stuart and others (Edinburgh, 1878–1908).
Fraser, <i>Annandale</i>	W. Fraser, <i>The Annandale Family Book</i> (Edinburgh, 1894).
Fraser, <i>Buccleuch</i>	W. Fraser, <i>The Scotts of Buccleuch</i> (Edinburgh, 1878).
Fraser, <i>Caerlaverock</i>	W. Fraser, <i>The Book of Caerlaverock</i> (Edinburgh, 1873).
Fraser, <i>Cromarde</i>	W. Fraser, <i>The Earls of Cromartie</i> (Edinburgh, 1876).
Fraser, <i>Douglas</i>	W. Fraser, <i>The Douglas Book</i> (Edinburgh, 1885).
Fraser, <i>Elphinstone</i>	W. Fraser, <i>The Elphinstone Family Book</i> (Edinburgh, 1897).
Fraser, <i>Grant</i>	W. Fraser, <i>The Chiefs of Grant</i> (Edinburgh, 1883).
Fraser, <i>Lennox</i>	W. Fraser, <i>The Lennox</i> (Edinburgh, 1874).
Fraser, <i>Melville</i>	W. Fraser, <i>The Melvilles Earls of Melville and the Leslies Earls of Leven</i> (Edinburgh, 1890).
Fraser, <i>Menteith</i>	W. Fraser, <i>The Red Book of Menteith</i> (Edinburgh, 1880).
<i>GAJ</i>	<i>Glasgow Archaeological Journal.</i>

<i>Glasgow Friars Munimenta</i>	<i>Munimenta Fratrum Predicatorum de Glasgu</i> (Maitland Club, 1846).
<i>Glasgow Registrum</i>	<i>Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis</i> (Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, 1843).
<i>Hamilton Papers</i>	<i>The Hamilton Papers</i> , ed. J. Bain (Edinburgh, 1890–92).
<i>Hary's Wallace</i>	<i>Vita Nobilissimi Defensoris Scotie Wilelmi Wallace Militis</i> , ed. M. P. McDiarmid (Scottish Text Society, 1968).
<i>Hay, Sainteclaires</i>	<i>Genealogie of the Sainteclaires of Rosslyn</i> , ed. R. A. Hay (Edinburgh, 1835).
<i>HBNC</i>	<i>History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club</i> .
<i>Highland Papers</i>	<i>Highland Papers</i> , ed. J. R. N. McPhail (Scottish History Society, 1914–34).
<i>HMC</i>	<i>Reports of the Royal Commission on Historic Manuscripts</i> (London, 1870–).
<i>Holyrood Liber</i>	<i>Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis</i> (Bannatyne Club, 1840).
<i>Inchaffray Chrs.</i>	<i>Charters, Bulls and other Documents relating to the Abbey of Inchaffray</i> (Scottish History Society, 1908).
<i>Inchaffray Liber</i>	<i>Liber Inside Missarum</i> (Bannatyne Club, 1847).
<i>Inchcolm Chrs.</i>	<i>Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm</i> , eds. D. E. Easson and A. Macdonald (Scottish History Society, 1938).
<i>James IV Letters</i>	<i>The Letters of James the Fourth 1505–13</i> , eds. R. K. Hannay and R. L. Mackie (Scottish History Society, 1953).
<i>James V Letters</i>	<i>The Letters of James V</i> , eds. R. K. Hannay and D. Hay (Edinburgh, 1954).
<i>Kelso Liber</i>	<i>Liber S. Marie de Calchou</i> (Bannatyne Club, 1816).

- L. & P., Hen. VIII Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of Henry VIII*, eds. J. S. Brewer and others (London, 1864–1932).
- Laing, *Seals* H. Laing, *Descriptive Catalogue of Impressions from Ancient Scottish Seals* (Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, 1850).
- Lamont Papers* *An Inventory of Lamont Papers* (Scottish Records Society, 1914).
- Lawrie, *ESC* *Early Scottish Charters prior to 1153*, ed. A. C. Lawrie (Glasgow, 1905).
- Lennox Cartularium* *Cartularium Comitatus de Levenax* (Maitland Club, 1833).
- Lindores Chartulary* *Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores* (Scottish History Society, 1903).
- Macfarlane, *Genealogical Coll.* *Genealogical Collections concerning Families in Scotland made by Walter Macfarlane* (Scottish History Society, 1900).
- Macfarlane, *Geographical Coll.* *Geographical Collections relating to Scotland made by Walter Macfarlane* (Scottish History Society, 1906–8).
- MacGibbon and Ross, *Castellated and Domestic Architecture* D. MacGibbon and T. Ross, *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1887–92).
- MacGibbon and Ross, *Ecclesiastical Architecture* D. MacGibbon and T. Ross, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1896–7).
- Melrose Liber* *Liber Sancte Marie de Melros* (Bannatyne Club, 1837).
- Moray Registrum* *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis* (Bannatyne Club, 1837)
- Morton* *Registrum Honoris de Morton* (Bannatyne

<i>Registrum</i>	Club, 1853).
Myln, <i>Vitae</i>	A. Myln, <i>Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum</i> (Bannatyne Club, 1831).
NAS	National Archives of Scotland.
<i>Newbattle Registrum</i>	<i>Registrum S. Marie de Neubotle</i> (Bannatyne Club, 1849).
NLS	National Library of Scotland.
NRAS	National Register of Archives for Scotland.
<i>NSA</i>	<i>The New Statistical Account of Scotland</i> (Edinburgh, 1845)
<i>OPS</i>	<i>Origines Parochiales Scotiae</i> (Bannatyne Club, 1851–55).
<i>Orkney Recs.</i>	<i>Records of the Earldom of Orkney</i> (Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1914).
<i>OSA</i>	<i>The Statistical Account of Scotland</i> (Edinburgh, 1791–9).
<i>Paisley Registrum</i>	<i>Registrum Monasterii de Passelet</i> (Maitland Club, 1832).
Palgrave, <i>Docs. Hist. Scot.</i>	<i>Documents and Records Illustrative of the History of Scotland</i> , ed. F. Palgrave (London, 1837).
<i>Panmure Registrum</i>	<i>Registrum de Panmure</i> , ed. J. Stuart (Edinburgh, 1874).
Pinkerton, <i>History</i>	J. Pinkerton, <i>The History of Scotland from the Accession of the House of Stuart to that of Mary, with Appendixes of Original Papers</i> (London, 1797).
Pitscottie, <i>Historie</i>	R. Lindesay of Pitscottie, <i>The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland</i> (Scottish Text Society, 1899–1911).
<i>PSAS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland</i> .
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.

- RCAHMS, *Argyll Argyll, An Inventory of the Monuments i, Kintyre* (Edinburgh, 1971); ii, *Lorn* (Edinburgh, 1975); iii, *Mull, Tiree, Coll and Northern Argyll* (Edinburgh, 1980); iv, *Iona* (Edinburgh, 1982); v, *Islay, Jura, Colonsay and Oronsay* (Edinburgh, 1984); vii, *Medieval and Later Monuments of Mid Argyll and Cowai* (Edinburgh, 1992).
- RCAHMS, *Berwickshire Inventory of Ancient Monuments and Historical Constructions of the County of Berwick* (Edinburgh, 1915).
- RCAHMS, *Dumfriesshire Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in the County of Dumfries* (Edinburgh, 1920).
- RCAHMS, *Eastern Dumfries Eastern Dumfriesshire: An Archaeological Landscape* (Edinburgh, 1997).
- RCAHMS, *Fife Inventory of Ancient Monuments and Constructions in the Counties of Fife, Kinross and Clackmannan* (Edinburgh, 1933).
- RCAHMS, *Lanarkshire Inventory of Prehistoric and Roman Monuments of Lanarkshire* (Edinburgh, 1982).
- RCAHMS, *Midlothian Inventory of Monuments in Midlothian and West Lothian* (Edinburgh, 1929).
- RCAHMS, *Peeblesshire Inventory of Monuments of Peeblesshire* (Edinburgh, 1967).
- RCAHMS, *Roxburghshire Inventory of the Ancient Monuments and Historical Constructions of Roxburghshire* (Edinburgh, 1956).
- Retours* *Retours Inquisitionum ad Capellam Domini Regis Retornatarium quae in Publicis Archivis Scotiae adhuc servantur, Abbreviatio* (Record Commission, 1811-16).

<i>RMS</i>	<i>Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum</i> , eds. J.M. Thomson and others (Edinburgh, 1882–1914).
<i>RPC</i>	<i>The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland</i> , eds. J. H. Burton and others (Edinburgh, 1877–).
<i>RRS</i>	<i>Regesta Regum Scotorum</i> : i, <i>The Acts of Malcolm IV</i> , ed. G. W. S. Barrow (Edinburgh, 1960); ii, <i>The Acts of William I</i> , eds. G. W. S. Barrow and W. W. Scott (Edinburgh, 1971); v, <i>The Acts of Robert I</i> , ed. A. A. M. Duncan (Edinburgh, 1988); vi, <i>The Acts of David II</i> , ed. B. Webster (Edinburgh, 1982).
<i>RSCHS RSS</i>	<i>Records of the Scottish Church History Society</i> .
<i>Rotuli Scotiae</i>	<i>Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum</i> , eds. M. Livingstone and others (Edinburgh, 1908–).
<i>Rotuli Scotiae</i>	<i>Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londiniensi et in Domo Capitular Westmonasteriensi Asservati</i> , eds. D. Macpherson and others (1814–19).
<i>St Andrews Liber</i>	<i>Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia</i> (Bannatyne Club, 1841).
<i>Scone Liber</i>	<i>Liber Ecclesie de Scon</i> (Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, 1843).
<i>Scots Peerage</i>	<i>The Scots Peerage</i> , ed. Sir J. Balfour Paul (Edinburgh, 1904–14).
<i>SHR</i>	<i>Scottish Historical Review</i> .
<i>SRS</i>	Scottish Record Society.
<i>Stevenson, Documents</i>	<i>Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland 1286–1306</i> , ed. J. Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1870).
<i>STS</i>	Scottish Text Society.

TA	<i>Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland</i> , eds. T. Dickson and Sir J. Balfour Paul (Edinburgh, 1877–1916).
Taymouth Bk.	<i>The Black Book of Taymouth</i> (Bannatyne Club, 1855).
TDGNHAS	<i>Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society</i> .
TGAS	<i>Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society</i> .
TGSI	<i>Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness</i> .
Theiner, Monumenta	<i>Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustrantia</i> , ed. A. Theiner (Rome, 1864).
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i> .
TSES	<i>Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society</i> .
Watt, Fasti	<i>Fasti Ecclesie Scoticanæ Medii Aevi ad annum 1638</i> , ed. D. E. R. Watt, 2nd draft (Scottish Record Society, 1969).

Foreword

Richard D. Oram and Geoffrey P. Stell

Castle studies in Scotland have had a long and distinguished history as a field of academic and antiquarian endeavour. From the monumental achievement of the Edinburgh-based architects David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross in their *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland* (5 vols., 1887–92), through W. Mackay Mackenzie's *The Medieval Castle in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1927) and Stewart Cruden's *The Scottish Castle* (3rd edition, Edinburgh, 1981), to Joachim Zeune's exposition of the evolution and development of the tower-house tradition, Scotland's castles have been subjected to detailed architectural analysis and classification. The chief focus within this tradition has been largely on form and plan, with chronologically-based schemes of stylistic evolution hammering the structures into a rigid framework which charted a progression from early – and, therefore, by definition unsophisticated – fortifications of earth and timber, through stone castles of enclosure to the complex tower-houses of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In effect, castles have been viewed as architectural artefacts, to be typologised and categorised as part of a morphological sequence. Defensive developments as chronological indicators have weighed heavily in these studies, with the consequence that castles have been projected primarily as fortifications, a projection aided by the stark and evidently uncompromisingly military character of many of the surviving structures.

More recently there has been a growing trend towards emphasis on the domestic aspects of Scotland's castles, partly as a consequence of the increasing amount of archaeological investigation of sites. Excavation in particular has served to demolish the notion of a supposed paranoid introversion and an anxiety for defence allegedly symptomatic of the prolonged traumas of the Wars of Independence and responsible for the stark towers which so characterise Scotland's late medieval castle-building tradition. Rather than isolated defence-driven monoliths, the towers have been revealed as the centrepieces of lightly-defended complexes of halls, accommodation blocks and domestic buildings. The fruits of this trend can be seen in Christopher Tabraham's *Scottish Castles and Fortifications* (HMSO, 1986) or *Scotland's Castles* (London, 1997), or in Peter Yeoman's *Medieval Scotland* (London, 1995), where, although the chronological development of fortification still provides the central interpretative strand, great stress has been laid on their non-military, primarily residential, functions and the material aspects of the daily routines of castle life.

Alongside this approach stands a quite different tradition, where the focus is primarily on the social, economic and political function of the castle as a centre of lordship, on its structural symbolism and psychology. This can be traced in part from W. Mackay Mackenzie's family-based approach to castle research, where study of the families of patrons and builders was given equal weighting with structural analysis. It found an enthusiastic follower in W. Douglas Simpson. His considerable output of research into individual castles was founded on a synthetic approach which placed the buildings in a broad context: the economic, social and jurisdictional hub of a complex of landed properties and seigniorial rights; the residence and projection of the social and political aspirations of a family; and the physical manifestation of their lordship. His style

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