

THE PALACE OF HOLYROODHOUSE DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

By J. G. DUNBAR

Since so much has been written about the history and architectural development of the Palace of Holyroodhouse, some excuse is needed for attempting to say more. With the recent publication¹ of the first volume of the *Accounts of the Masters of Works for Building and Repairing Royal Palaces and Castles*, however, the principal documentary source-material has been made more readily accessible, thus facilitating its re-assessment. It is the purpose of this paper to reconsider briefly both the documentary and the architectural evidence relating to the evolution of the Palace during the reigns of James IV and James V, and in so doing to suggest that most of the existing accounts of this period of the building's history, including those commonly regarded as authoritative, now stand in need of revision.

The Great Tower

The main point at issue concerns the date of erection of the great tower that now stands at the northern extremity of the principal, or west, façade of the Palace. Most modern scholars have attributed this structure, in whole or in part, to the early years of the reign of James IV. Mylne, writing in 1893, suggests that the Great Tower was begun by James IV, and that the upper portion was completed during the following reign,² and a rather similar theory was put forward by Sinclair a few years later.³ Other scholars, however, including Robertson,⁴ Ross,⁵ and Malcolm,⁶ ascribe the entire structure to the reign of James IV, and in this they have been followed in the official guide-books published by the Ministry of Works,⁷ in the Inventory of the Royal Commission on the Ancient Monuments of Scotland,⁸ and more recently by S. H. Cruden.⁹ Only Harrison,¹⁰ basing his conclusions upon a careful study of the public records, ventured to suggest that the Great Tower was erected during the reign of James V, between the years 1529 and 1532.

Despite their unpopularity with historians of the past two generations, however, Harrison's views have the support of earlier writers. Pitscottie, who comes nearest to being a contemporary authority for the events that he is describing, states that when James V visited Edinburgh in the spring of 1529

¹ H. M. Paton, ed., *Accounts of the Masters of Works for Building and Repairing Royal Palaces and Castles*, Vol. I: 1529-1615 (H.M.S.O., 1957).

² R. S. Mylne, *The Master Masons to the Crown of Scotland* (1893), 10.

³ John Sinclair, 'Notes on James Fifth's Towers, Holyrood Palace', *Proc. S. A. Scot.*, xxxiv (1899-1900), 227.

⁴ W. W. Robertson, 'Holyrood Abbey and Palace', *Trans. Edin. Arch. Assn.*, II (1892), 183.

⁵ As quoted in W. M. Bryce, *Holyrood, Its Palace and Its Abbey* (c. 1914), xvi. But cf. D. MacGibbon and T. Ross, *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland* (1887-92), vol. IV, 130 ff. where an attribution to James V seems to be accepted.

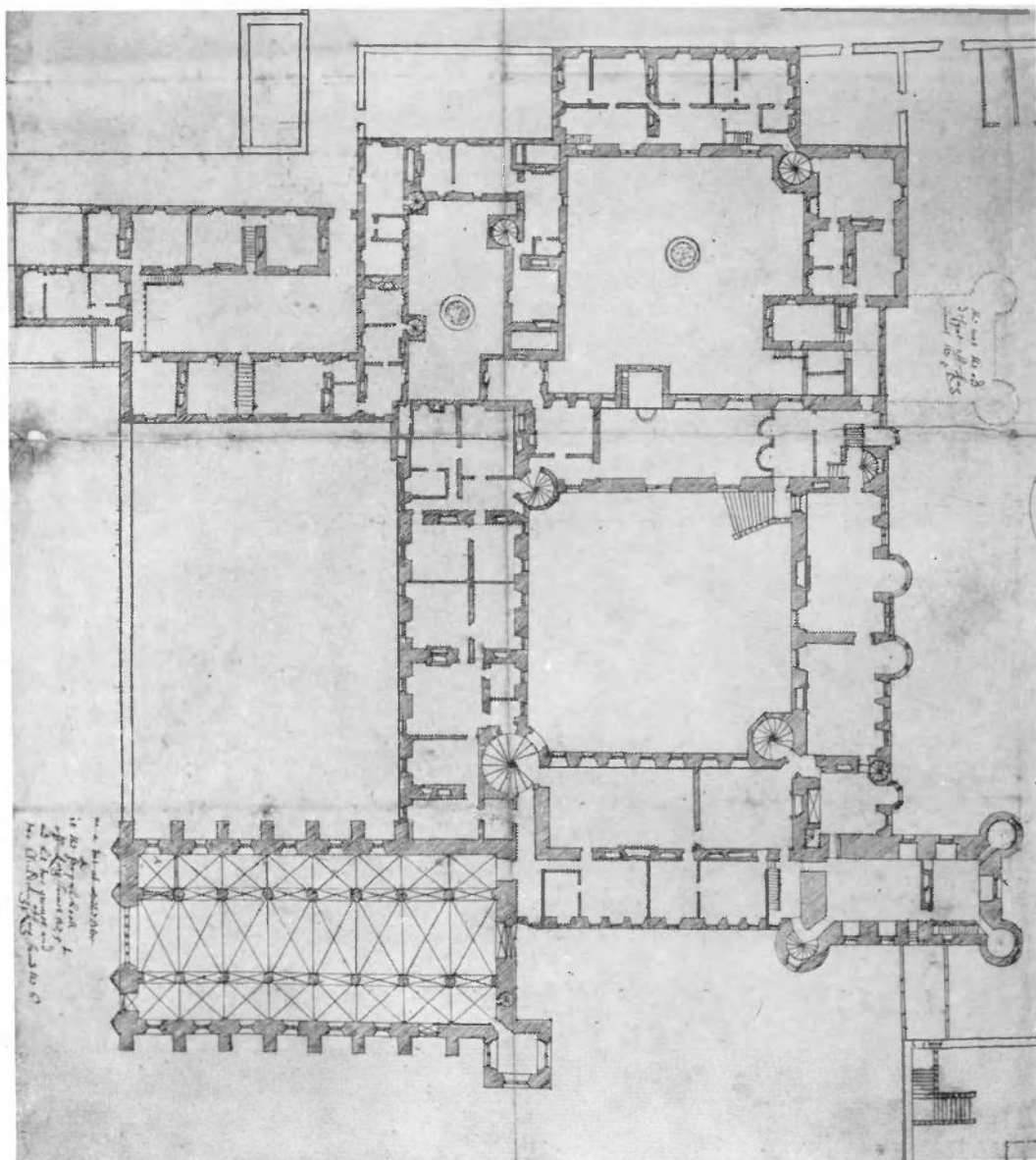
⁶ C. A. Malcolm, *Holyrood* (1937), 77 f.

⁷ e.g., H. Maxwell, *Official Guide* . . . (1937), 7; J. S. Richardson, *The Abbey and Palace of Holyroodhouse, Edinburgh* (1950), 5.

⁸ R.C.A. & H.M. (Scot.), *An Inventory of the City of Edinburgh* (1951), 144.

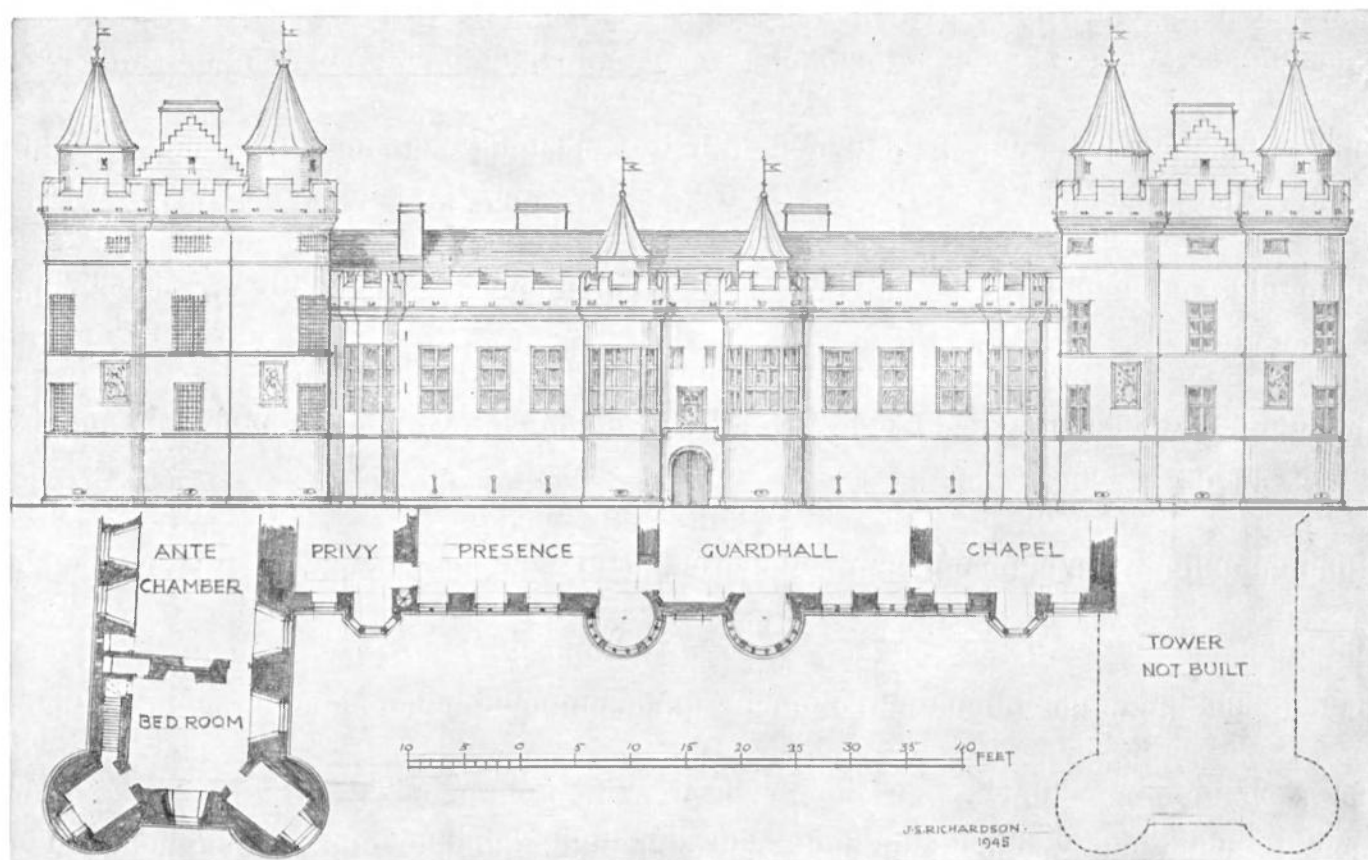
⁹ S. H. Cruden, *The Scottish Castle* (1960), 149.

¹⁰ J. Harrison, *The History of the Monastery of the Holy-Rood and of the Palace of Holyrood House* (1919), 35 ff.



Plan of Holyroodhouse by John Mylne, 1663

(Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford)



Reconstruction of the west front of Holyroodhouse

(Crown Copyright: Reproduced by permission from J. S. Richardson, The Abbey and Palace of Holyroodhouse, Edinburgh)

he 'foundit ane fair palice in the Abbay of Hallierudhous and ane greit towre to him self to rest into'.¹ Maitland, too, writing in 1753, states that James V 'erected a House (to reside in at his coming to *Edinburgh*) near the Southwestern Corner of the Church, with a circular Turret at each angle; which is the present Tower at the Northwestern Corner of the Palace'.² Nor is archaeological evidence lacking to confirm Harrison's views, for until as recently as the second quarter of the 19th century a stone panel bearing the inscription: JAC. REX V. SCOTORUM. was incorporated in one of the existing frames on the W. front of the tower;³ this panel has since been replaced by a modern replica and the original is now preserved in the nave of the abbey church.

Turning now to the evidence of the public records it is worth emphasizing that the available series of detailed accounts for the erection and maintenance of the royal castles and palaces known as the 'Masters of Works Accounts' begins only in 1529, and that for the earlier years of the century reliance has to be placed on certain less detailed entries relating to the Royal Works which occur in the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer. These entries have already been adequately summarized by Robertson⁴ and Sinclair,⁵ and need not be considered at length here, but it is clear that between about 1501 and 1505 James IV carried out extensive building operations at Holyrood, one of his principal aims being the provision of a suitable residence for his English bride, Margaret Tudor, whom he married in the abbey church in 1503. Previous Scottish kings seem to have been content with the accommodation provided for them within the adjacent monastery; James, evidently deciding that a separate royal residence had become necessary, erected a group of buildings described in a contemporary record as 'the Palace beside the Abbay of the Holy Croce'.⁶ The accounts show that work was carried out on a considerable scale, nearly £2,500 being expended, for example, between September, 1502 and May, 1504.⁷ The names of some of the apartments are on record; we hear of a new hall, a chapel, a foreyet and forework (perhaps alternative names for a single building), a gallery, and the royal apartments,⁸ while in 1505 payment is made to Walter Merlioun, master-mason, 'for the completing of the tour in Halyrudhous'.⁹ Merlioun appears to have been the principal master-mason employed, but Walter Turnbull, mason, is also mentioned by name;¹⁰ the general oversight of the building operations was exercised by Leonard Logy, who seems to have acted in the capacity of Master of Works, and who was awarded a grant of £40 for his good service in 1504.¹¹

¹ Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie, *The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland*, Scottish Text Society (1899-1911), Vol. I, 339.

² W. Maitland, *The History of Edinburgh* (1753), 153.

³ C. Mackie, *Original Historical Description of the . . . Palace of Holyroodhouse* (1832), 111.

⁴ *Trans. Edin. Arch. Assn.*, II (1892), 182 f.

⁵ *Proc. S. A. Scot.*, XXXIV (1899-1900), 226.

⁶ *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, II (1500-4), lxxxii f., quoting Privy Seal Register.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II (1500-4), 269.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II (1500-4), 269 f., 273 f., 280, 344, 383, 419; cf. also Somerset Herald's description of the Palace in 1503 in J. Leland's *De rebus Britannicis collectanea . . .* (1770), vol. iv, 258 ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, III (1506-7), 86.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II (1500-4), 269.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, II (1500-4), lxxxii ff., quoting Privy Seal Register.

Most recent accounts of the Palace have identified the 'tour in Halyrudhous' that was completed in 1505 with the existing Great Tower, but the entries in the *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer* are not sufficiently detailed to allow the architectural and the documentary evidence to be properly correlated. In fact the written record tells us almost nothing about the tower of 1505, except that it cost 200 merks,¹ a sum quite inadequate at that period for the erection of the building that is visible today. Indeed, we know very little about James IV's palace as a whole apart from the names and approximate positions of some of its principal buildings. The earliest views of Holyroodhouse² suggest that the Palace from the first occupied an area immediately to the W. of the abbey church and its associated conventual buildings, and passing references in the *Accounts of the Masters of Works* confirm that some at least of James IV's buildings stood upon the site of the present Palace. Thus, the chapel of 1501-5 probably occupied part of the site of the N. range of the Great Quadrangle,³ and the Queen's apartments part of the site of the S. range of the Quadrangle.⁴ The tower of 1505 can perhaps be identified with the 'southt tour' in which James V was sleeping in 1530, in which case it may have stood close to the site of the present tower at the S. end of the W. front of the Palace.⁵ None of these buildings stand today, but it is possible that the surviving fragment of the outer gatehouse of the Palace, otherwise demolished in 1753, represents the turreted 'foryet' mentioned in an entry for the year 1503;⁶ certainly the ogival-headed doorway and the inverted key-hole gunport in the surviving S.E. turret are of about this period.

The *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer* for the period 1505-29 contain some further references to the Palace, but most of the entries relate to repairs and maintenance and there is no evidence for any important building operations during this period.⁷ Indeed for much of the time political circumstances were distinctly unfavourable for such work, James IV's death at Flodden being followed by the long and disturbed minority of his successor.

In 1528 James V, then aged sixteen, escaped from his virtual imprisonment by the Earl of Angus, and began his effective rule. Pitscottie, as already noted, places the foundation of the Great Tower of Holyroodhouse in the spring of the following year, and although the historian's chronology for this period is not always accurate to within a year, the earliest surviving volumes of the *Accounts of the Masters of Works* fully confirm that large-scale building operations were begun at the Palace in 1528 or 1529. Moreover, these accounts, unlike those of the Lord High Treasurer, are sufficiently detailed to allow a

¹ *Treasurer Accts.*, III (1506-7), 86.

² i.e. the 'English Spy' drawing of c. 1544, the recently discovered Petworth map of 1560, and Gordon of Rothiemay's 'bird's eye' view of 1647. The Petworth map appears to show more of the abbey than of the palace, and may include a representation of the W. front of the abbey nave as seen in elevation.

³ *Accounts of the Masters of Works*, I (1529-1615), 188.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I (1529-1615), 191 and *infra*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I (1529-1615), 27. Gordon's 'bird's eye' view shows a rectangular tower a little to the S. of this point (cf. Fig. 3).

⁶ *Treasurer Accts.*, II (1500-4), 273 f.; cf. also *Proc. S. A. Scot.*, xxxix (1904-5), 352 ff.

⁷ The reference by a late 16th-century annalist to the founding of the 'auld tower of Halyrudhous' by the Duke of Albany in 1515 can perhaps be disregarded. (G. Marioreybanks, *Annals of Scotland* (1814), 1 f.; cf. also Sinclair, *Proc. S. A. Scot.*, xxxiv (1899-1900), 227.)

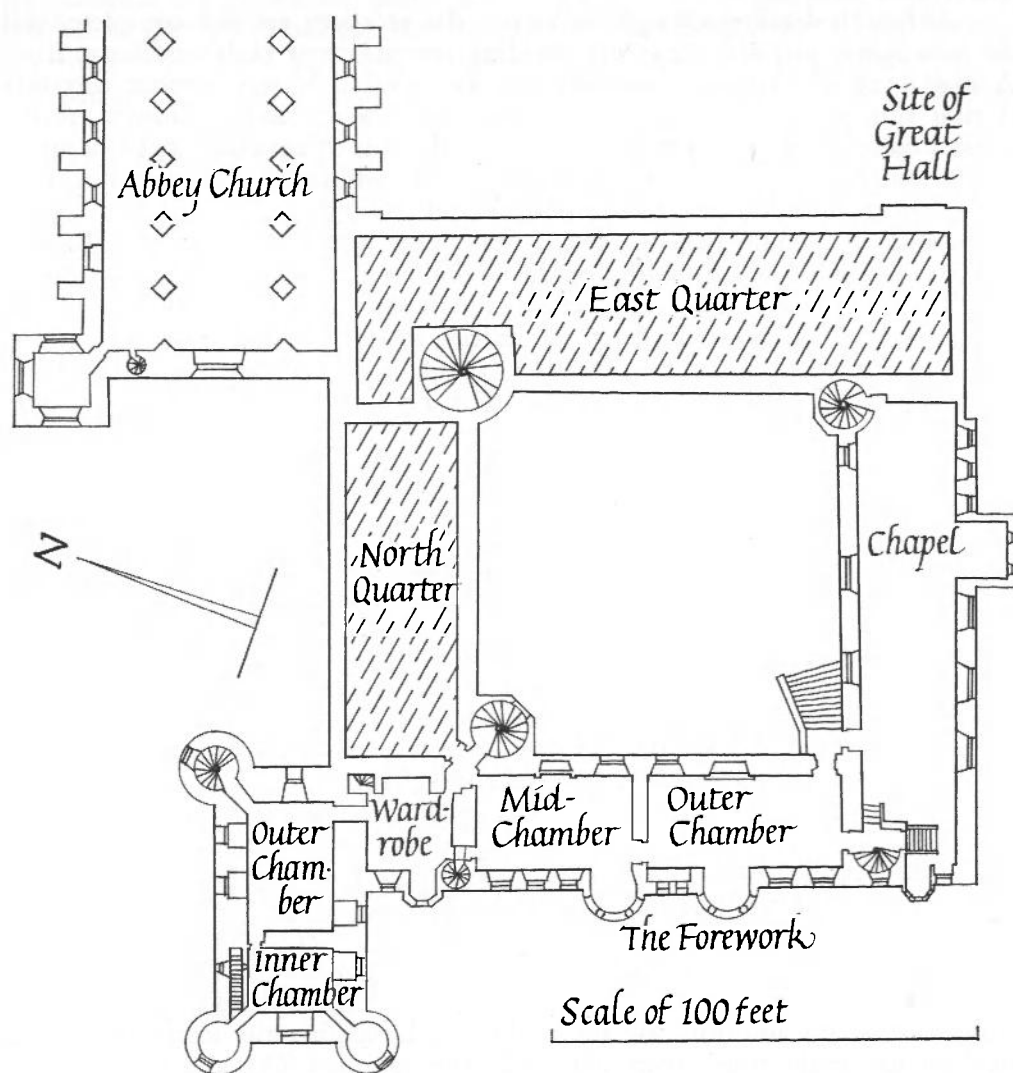


Fig. 1. Sketch plan of part of the Palace of Holyroodhouse
in the mid 16th century

correlation to be made with the available architectural evidence as seen in the existing buildings of the Palace. Such a correlation makes it abundantly clear that the Accounts of the Masters of Works relate to the erection of the existing Great Tower.

Although detailed enough, however, the accounts are not complete, and the first book, probably covering building operations at Holyroodhouse from August 1528 to August 1529, has not survived.¹ It was almost certainly during this period that the Great Tower was begun and its lowest storey substantially completed, for when the second book of expenses incurred upon the erection of the 'tour and new werk of Halrudhous' (1)² opens in August 1529 the ground-floor vaults were already in position, and work was going on 'aboun the woltis' (3), *i.e.* on the first floor, where the master-mason was preparing moulds 'for founding of durris and eismentis' (4). The progress of work during the next twelve months is illustrated by the accounts relating to the provision of ironwork, for these entries distinguish between the various first-floor apartments, making reference both to the two principal rooms (now known as Lord Darnley's apartments) and to the adjacent 'rounds' or turrets (Fig. 1) (3, 7, 9 f., 18, 24, 26 f., 33, 41). By May 1530 the first-floor ceiling joists for the 'body of the hous' (35) were arriving at Holyroodhouse, and work soon began upon the floor above, stone for the fireplace surrounds and door lintels being transported from Ravelston quarries in July (49), by which time the ironwork for these apartments was already in preparation (40). By the end of August 1530, when the account book was closed, the main fabric of the two lower floors of the Great Tower appears to have been completed, and work was being concentrated on the second floor.

The accounts for the next twelve months have not survived, but it may be inferred that the two upper floors of the tower were completed during this period, for by the time that the fourth book of accounts opens in September 1531 preparations were being made for roofing the building (58). The 'grete plaitform ruyf' (64) of the tower was raised into position in the middle of November (apparently after preliminary assembly elsewhere on the site), and work continued on the masonry of the angle turrets, which rose a storey higher than the main building (59 f., 64, 66). When completed, the conical roofs of the two W. rounds were surmounted by ornamental finials in the form of lions and miniature turrets, all brightly painted and gilded (79).³ With the main fabric approaching completion, attention could be given to the fitting out of the interior. By the middle of December the ironwork of the 'haill lychtis in the tour except ane' had been supplied (68), and the floors of the main block were being laid during the following month (69, 89). Wrights and carvers busied themselves upon the panelling of the principal apartments, some of which were to form the royal suite (76, 80); painters gave the ironwork

¹ *Works Accts.*, I (1529-1615), ix.

² To avoid unnecessary footnotes, page references to *Works Accts.*, I (1529-1615), have been included in the text and placed in parentheses.

³ Gordon's view of the W. front of the Palace shows that the original finials were later replaced by large, open crowns. (Cf. Fig. 2.)

of the doors and windows a protective covering of 'reid leid and wermelone and uley' (86), while among the tasks of the plasterers was the 'pergyn of the tua eist roundis and transsis' (93). Finally, Thomas Peebles, glazier, presented his accounts for glasswork, and these entries not only mark the virtual completion of the new building, but, by their detailed description of the various apartments to which they refer, also serve to confirm that the structure in question is none other than the existing Great Tower of Holyroodhouse (93 f.).¹

The accounts for work at Holyroodhouse in 1529-30 and in 1531-2 record payments of about £1,500 and £1,800 respectively (55, 114), of which all but a small proportion went towards the erection of the Great Tower. The exact cost of the work cannot be ascertained, but when due allowance is made for the missing accounts of 1528-9 and 1530-1 it may be suggested that the total outlay is unlikely to have been less than about £6,000.

While the identification of the Great Tower can be made with some confidence, however, it gives rise to two minor problems to which attention must now be drawn. The first concerns the principal entrance to the tower, which appears from the evidence of the accounts to have incorporated a drawbridge giving access to an iron yett at first-floor level (18, 27). The exact position of this doorway is nowhere stated, but it evidently led into the eastern or outermost of the two first-floor apartments, that is to say into Lord Darnley's Audience Chamber, and a close examination of the available documentary and architectural evidence suggests that it stood on or near the site of the existing doorway giving access to the tower from the Duchess of Hamilton's Drawing-room. The provision of a defended entrance at first-floor level serves to confirm what is already suggested by the design of the tower as a whole, namely that the building was designed as a free-standing, fortified residence, a tower-house on the grand scale.² Yet within five years this feature of the design had been abandoned and, as will be shown below, an extensive range of buildings was erected against the S. wall of the tower, causing the original entrance to be blocked up, or, more probably, converted into an internal doorway. No convincing explanation can be advanced for this abrupt change of plan, and it can only be supposed that James V had no comprehensive scheme in mind for rebuilding his father's palace when he commenced operations in 1528, and that his ambitions were enlarged, and his plans reformulated, only after this initial project had been realised.

The second, and related, problem concerns the S.E. turret or round of the

¹ In Peebles's accounts the various apartments of the tower appear to be described in the following order: Lord Darnley's Bedroom ('the inner chalmer nixt the woltis'); a straight stair in the N. wall, between first and second-floor levels, now replaced by a turnpike but indicated on Mylne's plan of 1663 (Pl. VI) ('the laich trans betuex the nethir chalmeris and myd chalmeris'); Lord Darnley's Audience Chamber ('the uter chalmer nixt the woltis'); the N.E. turnpike stair ('the turngreis'); Queen Mary's Audience Chamber ('the uter myd chalmer'); Queen Mary's Bedroom ('the inner myd chalmer'); a straight stair in the N. wall between second and third-floor levels, now replaced by a turnpike ('the trans betuex the myd inner chalmeris and the wardrop'); the second-floor garderobe in the N.E. turret ('the trans that passis furth of the uter myd chalmer to the north round'). The remaining apartments of the tower, principally comprising those on the third floor, were presumably the subject of another glazing account, which does not survive.

² But cf. W. Douglas Simpson's view in *J.B.A.A.*, n.s. XL (1933), 187.

Great Tower to which specific reference is made in the accounts (42),¹ but which does not appear in the earliest surviving plan of Holyroodhouse, John Mylne's survey of 1663 (Pl. VI),² and of which there are no traces today. This turret may have been removed or remodelled in 1535 when the new range of buildings came to be erected against the S. wall of the tower (see below), or it may have survived until later in the 16th century.³ The 'English Spy' drawing of 1544, for what it is worth, implies that the round had been removed by that date, but a small shred of architectural evidence, on the other hand, suggests that the round may have survived at least until the reign of Mary, Queen of Scots.⁴

The Forework and Chapel

A further inadequacy of most existing accounts of the history of Holyroodhouse during the reign of James V arises from the fact that they in large measure ignore the very considerable body of documentary evidence relating to building operations at the Palace in 1535-6. A good deal of information is in fact available about the buildings that were erected at this time, and because these survived until the great reconstruction of 1671-9 their visual appearance has been preserved in the well known 17th-century plans and views of the Palace.

The volume of Masters of Works Accounts for the period June 1535 to December 1536 is compiled on rather different lines from the two earlier volumes already mentioned, and is, in consequence, less informative about the exact nature and progress of the building operations. It is clear, nevertheless, that the main effort was concentrated upon the completion of two ranges of buildings, namely the W. and S. quarters of the principal quadrangle of the Palace as delineated in Mylne's plan of 1663 (Pl. VI, cf. Fig. 1). To judge from the numbers of craftsmen employed, operations were carried on more intensively than in 1528-32; masons, for example, were recruited from the Borders and Eastern Scotland (1533), and in October and November 1535 the labour force of masons alone included more than eighty names (159 f.). The foundation trenches of the W. quarter, referred to in the accounts as the 'new foir werk' (132) or 'foir entre' (190), were being dug in June and July 1535 (167), by which time substantial quantities of freestone were already arriving from a wide variety of local quarries including Preston, Ravelston and Craigmillar (136 ff.). Building probably began in earnest shortly afterwards, and was completed within the term of the accounts.

Once again Thomas Peebles's glazing accounts (189 f.) provide the most useful description of the various apartments, and when these entries are closely

¹ All four angle turrets are specifically mentioned in the accounts, pp. 42, 65, 68.

² Bodleian Library, Oxford: Gough Maps 39, fol. I v.

³ Although clearly delineated in Hollar's view of c. 1650, the S.E. round cannot in fact have been standing at that time; it is indicated neither in Gordon's view of 1647, nor on Mylne's plan of 1663, these two drawings together providing the most accurate and consistent information about the appearance of the Palace at this period. There appears to be no reference to the S.E. round in the fairly comprehensive series of Masters of Works accounts for the first half of the 17th century.

⁴ In the S.E. corner of Queen Mary's Audience Chamber the design of the moulded panel-frame of the ceiling of 1558-9 appears to make allowance for a curved, internal projection, similar to the ones associated with the other three turrets of the Great Tower.



A. Holyroodhouse: James V's tower



B. Falkland Palace: the Gatehouse

(Crown Copyright, Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland)

analysed they prove beyond all doubt that the building referred to is the two-storeyed range, with central gatehouse, shown extending southwards from the Great Tower on Gordon's drawing of c. 1649 (Fig. 2). The first-floor plan of this range is supplied by Mylne's plan (Pl. VI). Gordon's drawing shows a coat of arms placed immediately above the entrance doorway, and this is probably the 'gret armis' for which a design was prepared by Sir John Gilgour, painter (170), and upon which the masons worked by candlelight during the short winter days (162).¹



Fig. 2. West front of Holyroodhouse, by J. Gordon, c. 1649
(From P.S.A.S., xxxiv; block kindly lent by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland)

The completion of the S. range, which comprised a chapel, followed a similar pattern, but here some use was made of an earlier building on the site, certain portions of which were incorporated in the new work (191). Imported timber for the 'fore entre chapel rumys' was being supplied in August 1535 (179), and the chapel roof had been erected before the end of the year

¹ There were coats of arms on some of the other buildings of the Palace (191, 224), but the carved stone panels for the two W. turrets of the Great Tower were evidently not completed until after 1535-6, for at that time the 'gret howsingis' were occupied by coats of arms and a figure of St. Andrew, all cast in lead (194).

(168). Particular mention is made in the accounts of the hewing of the stonework of the great stair to the chapel (166), seen in Mylne's plan at the S.W. corner of the courtyard (Pl. VI), but once again the clearest proof of the identity of the building is provided by the glazing accounts (189 f.), particularly those for the windows of the W. gable, 'the gret squair lycht and boise wyndo lychtis of the samyn' being clearly visible in Gordon's view (Fig. 2).

Altogether £5,766 7s. was spent at Holyroodhouse during the eighteen months covered by the account (195), by far the greater part of this sum being devoted to the completion of the new buildings. This figure may be compared with the estimated expenditure of about £6,000 on the Great Tower.

The completion of the W. and S. quarters of the Palace was the principal achievement of the building operations of 1535-6, but the accounts for this period, together with those that survive from the remaining years of James V's reign, also provide a certain amount of information about other buildings at Holyroodhouse. Clearly the principal quadrangle of the Palace had taken shape by this time, for as well as the W. and S. quarters, reference is made both to the N. quarter, which contained the old chapel of 1501-5 (mentioned above), as well as other rooms (188), and to the E. quarter (224), though these buildings are not necessarily the ones indicated on Mylne's plan of 1663 (Pl. VI). There was also a great hall, which was aligned E.-W. and stood to the E. of the new chapel (193), a position which strongly suggests that it may have been the old monastic refectory, forming the S. range of the former abbey cloister; one of the hall doorways is said to have opened into the cloister (103).¹ The south tower mentioned in 1530, and perhaps to be identified with the one completed in 1505 (see above), was still standing (188), and may sometimes have been referred to as the 'ald tour' (225, 242) to distinguish it from the Great Tower of 1528-32. There were also a number of galleries, one of which connected the great hall and the new chapel (193), while another was associated with the great stair to the chapel (166); one of these may have been the 'long gallery' completed in 1535-6 (140, 166, 170, 180, 223). Many other buildings, including the dwellings of household officials and officers of state, as well as extensive service quarters, also existed at this time, most of them probably occupying sites to the south and south-east of the principal quadrangle; these structures, or their successors, are indicated on Mylne's plan² and in Gordon's 'bird's eye' view of 1647 (Fig. 3).

The Architectural Background

In conclusion some attempt must be made to relate developments at Holyroodhouse to the policies and achievements of the Scottish Royal Works as a whole. The first point to emerge is that the fourteen years of James V's effective reign witnessed a sustained programme of royal building activity on a scale probably unparalleled in Scottish architectural history. During this brief period the young king reconstructed or substantially improved no less than four of the principal royal residences before his untimely death at the age of thirty.

¹ The cloister and 'fratar' are referred to as late as 1579 (306).

² Reproduced in full in R. S. Mylne, *The Master Masons to the Crown of Scotland* (1893), opp. 148.

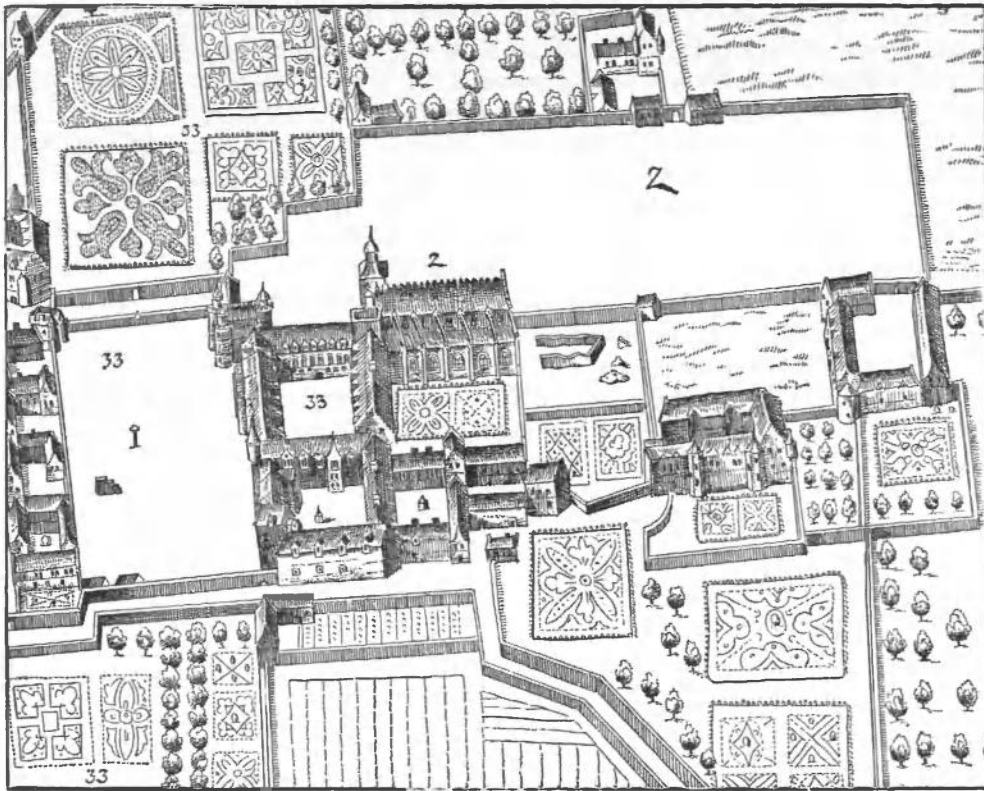


Fig. 3. 'Bird's Eye' view of Holyroodhouse, by J. Gordon, 1647

(From P.S.A.S., xxxiv; block kindly lent by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland)

As already described, the Great Tower of Holyroodhouse was completed between 1528 and 1532 at a cost of perhaps £6,000, while in 1535-6 a similar sum was expended upon the reconstruction of the south and west quarters of the Palace. Less is known about work at the Palace of Linlithgow and only one account survives; this records the expenditure of just under £2,000 in 1535-6, but there are also references to an earlier account, evidently for the preceding year (122, 130). The architectural evidence suggests that operations at Linlithgow were less extensive than at Holyroodhouse, but certain parts of the building, notably the outer and inner entries, probably belong to this period,¹ and the work was considered to be of sufficient importance to justify the payment of a special bounty to the master-mason, who had worked continuously at the Palace since March 1534 (122). During the winter of 1537-8 building began at Falkland and continued without interruption until 1541, by which time the south and east quarters of the Palace had been virtually reconstructed, a new gatehouse erected, and the remaining buildings improved or remodelled,

¹ R.C.A. & H.M. (Scot.), *Inventory of Midlothian and West Lothian* (1929), 219 ff.

at a total cost of some £12,500 (196 ff., 235 ff., 264 ff.).¹ Finally the craftsmen of the Royal Works moved to Stirling, where between 1540 and 1542 they erected within the precincts of the royal castle a new palace block comprising four ranges of buildings grouped round a central courtyard.² The accounts for this operation do not survive, but in view of the substantial nature of the buildings, and the richness of the internal fittings, the total expenditure is likely to have equalled or exceeded that at Falkland.

A second point that needs emphasis is the remarkable revolution in architectural style that took place in the Royal Works during the period under review, a revolution resulting directly from the renewal of the 'auld alliance' through the king's marriage policies.

Commencing his improvements at Holyroodhouse with the erection of an unusually splendid tower-house, James V went on to construct the imposing forefront shown in Gordon's view (Fig. 2). If we are to believe a note scribbled on John Mylne's plan of 1663,³ the king intended to complete this design by the erection of a second great tower at the S. end of the forefront, a scheme which was not, in fact, carried out until 1671-9. Such a composition (Pl. VII),⁴ with its central gatehouse and massive, flanking towers, probably owed a good deal to the forework at Stirling Castle, completed by James IV between about 1500 and 1510, but it also incorporated some new and interesting features including the horizontal division of the façade by stringcourses, and the provision of large, regularly disposed windows, which emphasized the essentially domestic nature of the design.

The designer whose name may most probably be associated with the Great Tower is John Ayton, master-mason to the Crown, who is known to have superintended building operations at Holyroodhouse in 1529-30, but who died in or before January 1532, when the building was still unfinished (xxxii, 70, 89). Ayton's successor in office, John Brownhill, seems to have been responsible for the erection of the west forefront in 1535-6 (xxxiii), but two other master-masons of note, James Black and Thomas French, were also associated with the work (xxxiii, 154 ff.). French had been in charge of work at Linlithgow from March 1534 to May 1535 (122) and had been appointed a master-mason to the Crown in April 1535.⁵ To judge from the little that is known of the background and careers of these men, all were Scots, although French's name suggests that his ultimate family origins lay elsewhere,⁶ and their work represents a development within the existing Scottish architectural tradition.

In January 1537 James V married Madeleine de Valois, and following her death a few months later a second French marriage was arranged with

¹ R.C.A. & H.M. (Scot.), *Inventory of Fife*, 135 ff.

² R.C.A. & H.M. (Scot.), *Inventory of Stirlingshire*, vol. 1, 183 ff.

³ The plan shows a second tower in outline, containing the legend 'this was the old desyne off King James the 5'. (R.S. Mylne, *The Master Masons of the Crown of Scotland* (1893), opp. 148.)

⁴ This drawing is reproduced by kind permission of Dr. J. S. Richardson.

⁵ The office of master-mason to the Crown appears normally to have been an exclusive appointment, tenable for life, and the multiplication of appointments that took place in the latter part of James V's reign was probably due to the unusual scale of building activity.

⁶ Cf. also R. S. Mylne, *The Master Masons of the Crown of Scotland* (1893), 36 ff.

Marie de Lorraine. The renewal of the Franco-Scottish alliance had an immediate and marked effect upon the policies of the Royal Works, and when Bishop Lesley, commenting on the results of the first French marriage, includes the 'bigging of paleicis' in his list of items 'first begun and used in Scotland at this tyme, eftir the fassione quhilk thay had sene in France',¹ it is probably the royal palaces of Falkland, Linlithgow and Stirling to which he is referring. Even before his marriage to Madeleine de Valois, James V, while at Orleans in December 1536, granted letters under the privy seal appointing Moses Martin, Frenchman, sometime master-mason at Dunbar Castle, a master-mason to the Crown (xxxiii f.), and the king's endeavours to persuade skilled French craftsmen to enter the employment of the Royal Works did not cease with his return to Scotland. In March 1539 the Duchess of Guise, mother of Marie de Lorraine, informed her daughter that she had found 'ung masson que l'on estyme des biens bons', who, accompanied by another mason, would be ready to leave for Scotland before Easter.² The reference must be to Nicholas Roy, who was appointed a master-mason to the Crown two days after his arrival in Scotland in April 1539 (xxxiv);³ nothing is known of his companion, or of the six French masons who reached Scotland three months later.⁴

Thus encouraged by royal patronage the new arrivals were not slow in making their influence felt. The courtyard façades of the south and east quarters at Falkland, in which the bays incorporate medallion busts and are defined by buttresses modelled as Classical columns, are clearly of French inspiration, and can probably be ascribed to Moses Martin and Nicholas Roy, whose names appear in the building accounts (196 ff., 235 ff., 264 ff.). The design of the gatehouse, however, owes a good deal to the Great Tower at Holyroodhouse (Pl. VIII), and it is not surprising to learn that it was completed by John Brownhill (279); the names of two other master-masons who had previously worked at Holyroodhouse, Thomas French and James Black, also appear in the Falkland accounts.

At Linlithgow, too, the fountain in the inner court, which is probably to be ascribed to the latter part of James V's reign, appears to show traces of French influence. Although basically of late Gothic design, the structure incorporates certain characteristic Renaissance details, such as medallion heads; it is also said to have borne the royal arms of Scotland and France.⁵

In the absence of any surviving building accounts the identity of the designers of the Palace of Stirling is uncertain, but there is no reason to doubt that some at least of the craftsmen who had been employed at Falkland were subsequently transferred to Stirling.⁶ In contrast to the arrangements at Falkland, the inner or courtyard elevations of the Palace are treated very simply, and the external elevations with considerable elaboration. But the symmetrical division of the latter into a series of boldly recessed bays, each containing a

¹ J. Lesley, *The History of Scotland* . . . (Bannatyne Club 1830), 154.

² *Foreign Correspondence* . . . in the *Balcarras Papers*, Scottish History Society, I, 20.

³ *Treasurer Accts.*, VII (1538-41), 330; *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, II (1529-42), No. 3002.

⁴ *Treasurer Accts.*, VII (1538-41), 184.

⁵ J. S. Richardson and J. Beveridge, *The Palace of Linlithgow* (1938), 12 ff.

⁶ R.C.A. & H.M. (Scot.), *Inventory of Stirlingshire*, I, 184.

sculptured figure set upon an ornamental baluster-shaft, is no less French in inspiration, even though some of the sculptures themselves are derived from German engravings.

The Palace of Stirling must have been completed only a short time before the King's sudden death at Falkland in December 1542, this last great building achievement being a fitting climax to a remarkably fruitful period of royal patronage, during which the designers of the Royal Works had completed an unusually intensive programme of building activity and Scottish architecture had been permitted to respond at least in some measure to the influences of the French Renaissance.