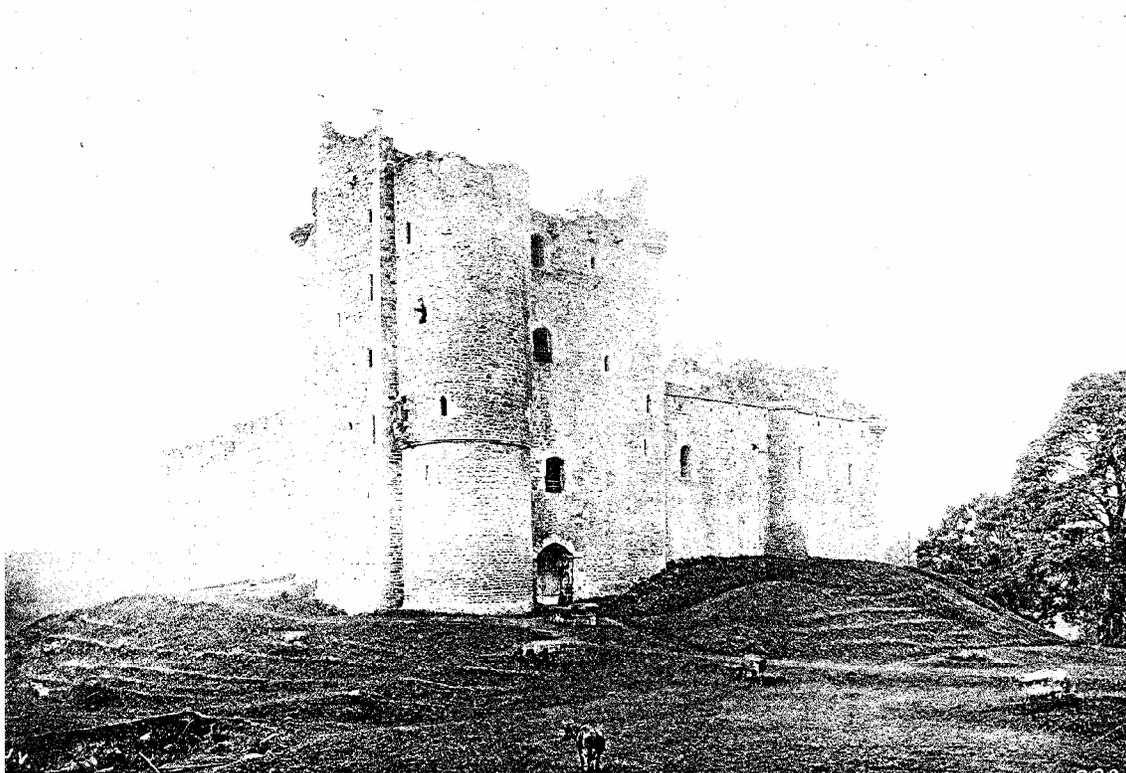


Doune Castle
Doune, Stirlingshire

An assessment of the evidence for pre-existing structures

March 2010

for Historic Scotland



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Tom Addyman and Richard Oram

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Acknowledgements

Addyman Archaeology greatly appreciates the support of Historic Scotland, without which the project the project would not have been able to proceed; thanks particularly to Richard Strachan, also to Peter Yeoman and Michael Burgoyne.

Assistance provided throughout by Historic Scotland's staff both at Longmore House and at Doune. At Doune we are particularly grateful to Catherine Mason, Custodian, for her unfailing willingness to help and the great interest she expressed in the project works.

The survey team comprised Tom Addyman, Kenneth Macfadyen, Tanja Romankiewicz, Amanda Gow and Ross Cameron – all of Addyman Archaeology. Assessment of the analytical evidence was also undertaken with Derek Alexander and Richard Oram.

Doune Castle

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1. Introduction

i. General

The present project, which was funded by and carried out for Historic Scotland (contact Richard Strachan), represents a joint initiative by Addyman Archaeology (contact Tom Addyman, Director), Richard Oram (Professor of History, Stirling University), and Derek Alexander, West Regional Archaeologist, The National Trust for Scotland.

The focus of this study is very specific - to understand and define the extent of early masonry remains incorporated within the existing superstructure of Doune Castle, a building that is primarily the outcome of a major rebuilding from the latter part of the 14th century, for Robert Stewart Duke of Albany. Through review of early documentary sources the project also sought to examine the wider historical context that might explain the presence of an earlier castle at the site, and its ownership.

ii. Background to the present project

The impetus for the present project was twofold. The first was a major historic building recording project developed by The National Trust for Scotland (contact Derek Alexander) and carried out by Addyman Archaeology in 2006-8 at Brodick Castle on the Isle of Arran. Assessment of associated earlier historical records was undertaken by Professor Richard Oram and Dr Alistair Ross of Stirling University. The project permitted detailed consideration of the remains of the 13th century fortress that lies at the core of the present building. Comparison was made with other castles of similar period, architectural detail and ownership – particularly Skipness in Kintyre, Rothesay on Bute, and Dundonald in Ayrshire.

The initial results of the Brodick survey were presented at the August/September 2008 *Chateau Gaillard* conference, held at Stirling University. A field visit was made to Doune Castle during the conference and it was at that point that a number of anomalous features were noted on site at Doune by Derek Alexander and Tom Addyman. These appeared to bear particular comparison to similar features noted in the abovementioned group associated with Brodick, and in particular the presence of very distinctive fish-tailed arrow-slits of crosslet form suggestive of a later 13th century dating. This apparent evidence was further confirmed by subsequent site visits in the company of Richard Oram. Clearly the present castle of Doune incorporated major elements of a predecessor castle. The potential significance of the find increased with the understanding that the ‘group’ of five castles shared a common ownership history in the later 13th and early 14th centuries, that of the Stewart family – the High Stewards of Scotland and Earls of Menteith. As will be seen in the historical section, Doune formed, and still remains, the *caput* of the Menteith earldom.

iii. Methodology

Fieldwork required both the detailed site recording of surviving remains and an attempt to understand the extent this evidence may have been obscured by more recent works, particularly the restoration that occurred from the 1880s onwards. Excluding preparatory visits site survey was undertaken between 23 February and 29 March 2010.

The survey work was necessarily and deliberately ‘low-tech’ in its approach. Extensive general dimensional survey work had already been completed of the standing architecture of Doune in 1990 by Plowman Craven & Associates, commissioned by Historic Scotland’s predecessor (Works and Professional Services Division, Historic Buildings and Monuments, Scottish Development Department) in 1990. Based upon rectified photography and controlled by total station this work generated a series of floor plans, elevations and sections of the castle, produced digitally at a scale of 1:50. On the elevation drawings in most areas both major features and individual dressings were outlined. For most areas this drawing set provided a reliable dimensional framework for the further marking up of more complex analytical data and observations. Relatively little general recording work was required, the exceptions being some of the interiors of the entrance tower (vaulted lower level rooms to the E and within the entrance passage).

Field survey therefore mostly involved the marking up of paper copies of the existing drawing set, as supplied by Historic Scotland; the new work was entirely conducted by hand measurement. Sometimes this was necessary by means of off-set measurements taken from a level line that was itself positioned using a laser level. The drawing set was further worked up with annotated analytical observations and hatching to define period breaks. Hatching was employed to denote areas of secondary construction. The latter generally related to the later 14th and early 15th century major rebuilding; however in some areas surveyed, such as the entrance passage walls, the complexity of the fabric and multiple phasing necessitated the use of further hatching conventions. In all cases only the probable original fabric remained un-hatched, the purpose of the survey being to define those areas.

The nature of the evidence

The emphasis of the present survey project was upon the recording of analytically significant details that might contribute to the identification and understanding of earlier structural remains incorporated within the existing late 14th – early 15th century castle superstructure. Though the existence of some of the earlier remains was self-evident, much of this evidence is very subtle in nature, requiring repeated inspections of each area in different lighting conditions.

It was also necessary to attempt to define as far as possible how extensive previous restoration works had been in these areas – the castle has seen much historic localised patching and modification, and later conservation works. The latter extend from the time of Andrew Kerr’s restoration for the 14th Earl of Moray in the 1880s through to the more recent long-term programme of works since acquisition of the site by the State in 1984, and still on-going under Historic Scotland’s auspices.

Some of the ‘evidence’ discussed in the following report is of more conjectural nature. Sometimes this is negative evidence, or based on inference. It is also clear that the presence of the early castle had a considerable influence on many aspects of the planning of the later building – thus inferences about the earlier castle can also be made on the basis of some of the peculiarities of the later work.

iv. This report

The following section of this report presents an overview of the historiography of the castle that outlines the evolving architectural interpretation of the castle. In conjunction with the drawn survey, the accompanying *Drawings Nos. 1-14*, to which the reader is referred (also see *Appendix B*), *section 3* presents a detailed written assessment of the recorded evidence for early masonry fabric. Thereafter *section 4* presents a review of historical evidence that relates to the earlier medieval history of the site, before the time of the Duke of Albany.

As will be seen from the survey record drawings and by comparison with the revised phase plan it has been possible to considerably refine the initial interpretation and, indeed, to develop it further in a number of key respects.

2. Historiography

The first detailed description of Doune was provided in 1798 by Alexander MacGibbon in his submission to Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster's *Statistical Account*.¹ MacGibbon conjectured that the castle had been built by one of the Menteith earls before the time of Robert II, and suggested that it could have been the work of the (fictitious) first earl, Walter Comyn, who was supposedly a grandson of Banquo and a kinsman of the founder of the Stewart family in Scotland in the 11th century.² MacGibbon went on, however, to note a local tradition that Doune was the work of Duke Murdac of Albany, but questioned whether it would have been possible for him to have had the castle built in the short time which he had available to him between his accession as duke in 1420 and his execution in 1425, proposing instead that his father, Duke Robert, may have been responsible.³ His comments on plan and architectural details are coloured by the romantic visions of contemporary Gothic novels and the only significant piece of information offered is that the door linking the great hall with the first-floor hall in the north-east tower was not obviously a recent insertion.⁴

By the time of the publication of the Rev Gordon Mitchell's description of the parish of Kilmadock produced for the *New Statistical Account* in 1844, the construction of at least part of the castle was firmly attributed to Duke Murdac.⁵ This antiquarian attribution of the building of Doune to Murdac was affirmed in most descriptions of the castle made down to the mid 19th century. Robert Billings, for example, noted that tradition dated the origins of the castle to the mid-11th century but dismissed this on architectural and historical grounds which he saw as pointing firmly to its likely construction by Duke Murdac.⁶ Such a vision of Doune as the work largely of a single build was challenged in 1880, when Sir William Fraser reported the opinion that the castle evolved from a tower on the highest point of the site overlooking the Teith and that the work had probably been undertaken for Walter Comyn or Walter Stewart in the mid-13th century.⁷ He referred to demonstrably older portions of masonry visible in that part of the existing building, suggesting that the diagnostically 13th-century features visible in the Kitchen Tower had been identified in the 19th century.

Fraser's reference to earlier work visible at Doune did not enter into the first detailed architectural analysis of the castle published in 1887 by David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross.⁸ They saw the courtyard arrangement at Doune as an incomplete exercise in which planned ranges round the east, south and west sides of the quadrangle were left unbuilt by the overthrow of the castle's owners and its annexation by the crown, and dated the construction to the tail end of the 13th-century courtyard-style planning tradition in the later 14th century. Their study was to influence nearly every subsequent discussion of the castle, particularly their view of the north-east tower as a self-contained private suite for the castle's lord, family and personal retainers.⁹ All the main strands had been set in place which were to shape the interpretation of the castle through the 20th century.

Doune's image as an incomplete work of one episode and representative of a particular vision of a militarised aristocratic society in which nobles employed large forces of mercenary retainers was fixed in the earlier 20th century through the work of one man. W. Douglas Simpson's 1938 study of Doune

¹ A.Macgibbon, 'Parish of Kilmadock or Doune', in Sir John Sinclair (ed.), *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, xx (1799), 40-96.

² *OSA*, xx, 58-9.

³ *Ibid.*, 59-60.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁵ G.Mitchell, 'The Parish of Kilmadock', in *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*, x (1845), 1227, 1228.

⁶ R.W.Billings, *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, ed. A.W.Wiston-Glynn, vol.ii (Edinburgh, 1909), 130.

⁷ Sir William Fraser (ed.), *The Red Book of Menteith* (Edinburgh, 1880), vol 1, 474.

⁸ D.MacGibbon and T.Ross, *The Castellated and Domesticated Architecture of Scotland*, vol 1 (Edinburgh, 1887), 418-29.

⁹ MacGibbon and Ross, *Castellated and Domestic Architecture*, vol 1, 423 and restated in the introduction to vol 3 (Edinburgh, 1889), 23.

Castle cemented into place a series of assumptions that continued to shape interpretation of the building into the early 21st century. It was, he asserted, ‘in all save minor alterations and additions a work of one uniform building effort’.¹⁰ Simpson’s interpretation of the building was shaped entirely by firm belief in ‘bastard feudalism’ and the trend towards lay magnates employing cohorts of mercenaries whom they feared as much as the external enemies against whom they were supposedly deployed.¹¹ Such a vision required mercenary-employing lords to be able to secure themselves as effectively against enemies within their own castles as those without. At Doone, Simpson saw this finding its Scottish archetype in a fortress built for a man whose political behaviour had won him many enemies, in which its builder – Duke Robert – could secure himself in a self-contained keep-like tower from which he controlled the main gate to the castle and which was completely isolated from direct contact with the courtyard other than through its single first-floor entrance. To support this view of paranoid nobility, he argued that the doorway which linked the great hall with the north-east tower was a modern insertion, ignoring MacGibbon’s description of that same communicating doorway as being in existence in the 1790s.¹²

Simpson’s interpretation of the castle became more firmly entrenched in subsequent work. His 1946 essay on ‘Bastard Feudalism and the Later Castles’ represents his fully articulated vision of the keep-gatehouse as a development designed to protect mercenary-employing lords from the treachery of their own henchmen.¹³ This idea was expressed at its fullest in his 1962 guidebook to Doone Castle, a text whose influence lingers in all subsequent discussions.¹⁴ Any possible suggestion of an earlier stone castle on the site has disappeared, with only the possibility that the surrounding earthworks represent the remains of a prehistoric settlement admitting the likelihood of occupation on the site before Duke Robert chose it for the location for his new castle in the later 14th century.¹⁵ In his description of the building, the only suggestions of more than one phase of work in the surviving structure relate to work later than the 1400s.

By the 1960s, Stewart Cruden was able to assert that vision of Doone as a late 14th-century, single-period construction stridently. For him, Doone’s plan harked back to the quadrangular enclosures of the later 13th century, ‘the last of the old and obsolete castles of enceinte, not the first of a new courtyard type’: ‘from the outset [it] was conceived as a courtyard castle’ but, despite the lancets in the south curtain wall and the tuskers projecting from the south-east angle of the Kitchen Tower, ‘in view of the unusual completeness of what has survived ... it is perfectly reasonable to conclude that the courtyard ranges were never built.’¹⁶ The whole work was confidently attributed to Duke Robert and, following Simpson, presented as the epitome of the ‘keep-gatehouse’ form which it was argued represented the climax of the earlier castle-building tradition. In Cruden’s description, Doone lacked both the ‘rearward donjon’ of the earlier period and also the ‘orthodox twin-towered gatehouse’, the function of both instead being combined in ‘a powerful frontal mass behind which the curtain seems to trail, an unprotected appendage to confine lesser buildings whose loss to an enemy would not gravely inconvenience the occupants of the forework’.¹⁷ The key to the complex was, in Cruden’s opinion, the keep-gatehouse, which was a self-contained unit accessible only via one doorway at first-floor level from the courtyard – the doorway linking the tower’s first-floor hall to the adjoining great hall being dismissed as a modern insertion – with the main entrance to the castle being controlled by a portcullis operated from the window recess of the duke’s private hall.¹⁸ The conviction that all was conceived in a single operation extends to a blurring of the evidence for later alterations to the scheme; the later

¹⁰ W.D.Simpson, ‘Doone Castle’, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, lxxii (1938), 73.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 77-83.

¹² *Ibid.*, 74.

¹³ W.D.Simpson, ‘Bastard Feudalism and the Later Castles’, *The Antiquaries Journal*, xxvi (1946), 145-71.

¹⁴ W.D.Simpson, *Doone Castle* (1962) [2nd edition 1966, 3rd edition 1968].

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁶ S.Cruden, *The Scottish Castle*, 3rd edition (Edinburgh, 1981), 55, 86, 127.

¹⁷ Cruden, *Scottish Castle*, 84.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 87.

16th-century stair-turret, complete with shot-holes for pistols, which springs at first-floor level from the east wall of the Kitchen Tower, is implied to be a product of the pre-1400 period.¹⁹

The Simpson/Crudon structural analysis and dating holds the ring effectively to the present, although the most recent Historic Scotland guidebook to the castle makes reference to older work in the base of the Kitchen Tower. Most published accounts, however, including material produced for Historic Scotland, maintain the tradition which evolved from the time of MacGibbon and Ross. In 1997 (and in the 2005 edition), Chris Tabraham could claim confidently that ‘what we see there today was planned and executed in a single building programme, though the original scheme was never fully completed,’²⁰ and in 1999 John Dunbar considered the building to be an uncompleted enigma ‘built on a clear site’.²¹ By then, however, the notion of the self-contained and wholly isolated keep-gatehouse where the castle’s owner could shelter from the potential treachery of his paid henchmen had been discarded and the linking doorway between the great hall and north-east tower accepted as part of the original scheme. Still more recently, it has been suggested that the apparently unfinished aspect of the castle which is seen in the incomplete arrangement of ranges around the courtyard was the consequence of Robert Stewart receiving the hereditary keepership of Stirling Castle in 1372, whereupon Doune was ‘relegated to the status of a secondary residence’.²² Although the Albany Stewarts and their principal supporters were to be regularly resident at the castle into the 1420s, it was assumed that the building had been left largely in the form that is now visible in the 1370s and that what is nowadays visible represents sufficient accommodation for the greatest magnate in the realm, his family and retainers. This present study will question that assumption.

3. Analytical observations

i. General

The existing great entrance tower of Doune Castle – the Lord’s Tower - contains much surviving masonry fabric relating to a predecessor structure, evidently an earlier gatehouse structure and parts of an associated range. The survival of this earlier fabric extends to most of the ground floor level of the tower and, less extensively, to parts of the structure at first floor level. The lower half of the kitchen tower also incorporates extensive sections of pre-existing masonry, and there are further though less substantial remnants at the western end of the hall range.

ii. Building materials and diagnostic features

There are relatively few diagnostic features by which the earlier fabric can be clearly identified

a. General walling

With the exception of Sir William Fraser in 1880 with regard to the kitchen tower, the extensive survival of pre-existing masonry had not been previously noted. This is certainly in part because of the close similarity of the earlier masonry to the later – both use the same local source of brown sandstone for the general rubble construction. The later construction would have also recycled available material from the earlier build, this quite obvious in a number of areas. In many areas there is relatively little variation in rubblework character of the different periods, though in parts of the earlier fabric there is often a tendency to use both smaller and slab-like pieces. In a number of areas of the later work there is a contrasting use of larger, more angular pieces – this is seen in the upper part of the Kitchen Tower on its W side for example.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 195.

²⁰ C.Tabraham, *Scotland’s Castles* (London, 1997), 71 and 2nd edition (London, 2005), 61.

²¹ J.Dunbar, *Scottish Royal Palaces* (East Linton, 1999), 83, 86-7.

²² M.Brown, *Scottish Baronial Castles 1250-1450* (Oxford, 2009), 41.

b. Dressings

The earlier work seems to use two principal types of stone for dressings - employed for quoining, entrance surrounds and for the formation of arrow-slits. The first is of the same brown sandstone as that is employed for the general rubble construction; this often preserves neat diagonal tooling at the surface. Also seen around principal openings is a harder grey-brown sandstone that grades to a darker grey, crystalline stone that is not dissimilar in character to the dressings of the later castle but notably greyer.



Plate 3.1 Detail – diagonally dressed quoins of brown sandstone

Some of the arrow-slits and areas of quoining employ only the brown stone, in the drum tower and the lower E side of the Lord's Tower. The jambs of the principal entrance and the early entrance on the W side of the pend (shop entrance) only employ the hard greyish stone. At one point, the jambs of an early entrance at the W end of the hall range, a medium brown sandstone is employed for dressings – again this stone is not seen in the fabric of the later castle. In other areas, such as the Kitchen Tower; a mix of stones is seen, such as in the arrow-slit on N side where brown and pale yellow dressings are both present. The use of a variety of stones for dressings at least admits the possibility of more than one episode of early work – or perhaps this simply reflects problems of procurement of high quality free-stone. Though undoubtedly durable the locally derived brown sandstone is certainly softer than the harder crystalline grey sandstone. The latter seems to have been used quite sparingly, for the principal features of the entrance area.

Within the later 14th century re-build there is extensive re-use of dressings from the earlier castle in the earlier stages of the work; these are generally apparent at the lower levels – eg brown sandstone quoining at the NW angle of the Lord's Tower; brown and dark grey dressings at the projecting 'tower' at the S end of the entrance pend, and so on. However for the upper wall areas (and many of the lower areas) dressings are almost exclusively of the hard, crystalline pale greyish-cream sandstone that is such a well-known characteristic of the site. This stone is known as *Ballengeich* stone²³, from an unidentified quarry that seems to have been located below the NW side of Castle Rock at Stirling, close to where the later Raploch quarry existed.

c. Arrow-slits

²³ Gifford and Walker, 379; on p7 they note the same stone was used at Stirling Castle, the parish church and the old Forth bridge.

Both main areas of surviving early fabric are characterised by the presence of fish-tailed arrow slits, and there are also two highly diagnostic crosslet slits, also fish-tailed, within the round tower flanking the E side of the main entrance. There is no use of such features within the build of the later castle where the provision is generally of windows with chamfered surrounds and where the defensive capability seems to have had a different emphasis – the sheer height and mass of the later castle, defensive features primarily at the wall-head, and, seemingly, an outer enclosure wall.

The early arrow slits are characteristically sharply and simply defined; where they can be seen the internal splays angle cleanly back without rebate and culminate at well-formed internal angles composed of neatly dressed and tightly-jointed quoining. These features will be discussed in greater detail by individual area in the following sections, and in wider architectural terms in *section x*.

iii. Entrance tower / Lord's Tower

a. Principal entrance

The existing principal entrance within the lofty 4-storeyed tower-gatehouse incorporates much of its predecessor – the entrance arch itself and the side walls of the pend or *trance* beyond; enough to demonstrate this had been the pre-existing arrangement. The jambs of the arched entrance surround were retained from the earlier arrangement, these of tightly-jointed hard dark grey ashlar blocks. The uppermost courses below the arch springing on either side appear to be rebuilt; the arched head sits uncomfortably above, its alignment corresponding to the general plane of the front of the later tower rather than that of the earlier entrance; the consequence of this is a stepping-back at the E jamb and a stepping out over the W jamb, *plate 3.2*.



Plate 3.2 Principal entrance and the area on its W side showing evidence for the truncation of earlier masonry at the wall foot, and earlier footings visible at the ground surface beneath; looking WSW

The walling flanking the entrance on either side continues as ashlar within and is contiguous with the masonry of the inner arch and, indeed, ashlar tails extend into the walling of the passage sides beyond – all of one build. However the arched head of the passage is secondary. The springing stones of the inner arch appear to mark the point of insertion – the joint here packed with oyster shell. The dressings of the head of the arch seem likely to reuse at least some of the stone of its predecessor. There is also a clear break internally to the W where the secondary work has been cut into the pre-existing rubblework of the passage wall.

The vault of the passage appears to be a secondary insertion – it is possible that the original passage ceiling, if vaulted, had been at a higher level. Certainly the steeply inclined entrance passage has been substantially lowered throughout much of its length – by between 0.40m and 0.50m, except where it approaches the exterior to the N, where there is a notable levelling up of the pend surface. The lowering of the pend vault relates to the formation of the upper parts of the entrance tower; the lowering of the passage floor must simply have been to facilitate access.

The inner arch is detailed with a broad chamfer. Behind its rebate on the E side there is a substantial draw-bar socket. Remarkably the draw-bar remains *in situ* – its length is such that it is difficult to see how this could be a later insertion. If this is an original feature then the possibilities for dating may be very significant; at the very least it is an extremely rare survival. The E end of the socket and bar is visible where the secondary entrance was broken through into the lower chamber of the drum tower, *plate 3.3*.



Plate 3.3 Eastern end of the draw-bar socket and bar as visible where broken through within the entrance to drum tower lower chamber

b. Early drum tower

Exterior

The lower parts of the drum tower that flanks the E side of the principal entrance is of the early work, this of 7.0m in diameter and rising up some 8.5m in height, to just below the projecting moulded course at upper first floor level, *plate 3.4*. The junction between the two is marked by a 0.2m – 0.4m band of smaller slab-like stones immediately below the dressings of the projecting course, indicating

the point where the earlier masonry was neatly levelled off. The curvature of the tower above this point lies on a slightly different alignment.

Overall the early tower is built of neatly constructed brown sandstone rubble that is generally formed of smaller and slab-like blocks; overall the masonry is notably homogenous. Externally the tower has a battered base; however this seems to have been extensively patched, perhaps following the robbing of dressed stone (a plinth course?).



Plate 3.4 The lower stage of the drum tower flanking the E side of the principal entrance, and itself flanked by the latrine tower to its SE

Crosslet arrow-slits

The upper parts of the round tower retain two well preserved arrow-slits that display the added sophistication of small crosslet arms that permitted the defender an increased field of vision. These features are neatly formed with brown sandstone dressings and, though weathered, the sills of each display the remains of a fish-tailed terminus. The western slit commands the entrance area and its eastern companion the flank of the tower to the E and NE.

There is some structural suggestion that the arrow-slits may themselves be inserted. Below and to the S of the western slit there is a discontinuity of the rubble masonry and there are small packing stones at the tails of the dressings of the eastern slit. However this ‘evidence’ may be more apparent than real.



Plates 3.5 and 3.6 Crosslet arrow-slit on the W side of the drum tower, above the principal entrance, partly blocked below



Plates 3.7 and 3.8 Crosslet arrow-slit on the E side of the drum tower, its lower parts subsequently blocked; detail

Lower chamber

At lower level the drum tower contains a sub-round chamber with a corbelled rubble-built vault formed of smaller slab-like pieces of sandstone. At the apex of the vault there is a square hatch formed by grey sandstone blocks. The existing entrance into the chamber to the S is demonstrably a secondary insertion; either there was a smaller entrance at that point or the apex hatch was the original arrangement. Traditionally the chamber was thought to have contained a well, however this was discounted following archaeological excavation in 1986.²⁴ If there had been no earlier lower-level entry then perhaps the chamber had more likely functioned as a pit-prison.



Plates 3.9 and 3.10 The domed ceiling of the lower drum tower chamber; inserted entrance to the S

First floor chamber

The present first floor chamber within the drum tower is now somewhat awkwardly accessed, by means of steps down from the Lord's Hall towards its NE corner. Here the embrasures of the two early crosslet arrow-slits can clearly be seen to E and W. The southern jamb of the eastern embrasure retains neatly cut quoining at an inner angle. The blockings within their lower parts are self-evident; unfortunately these obscure the splays of the cross-arms. The vault of the chamber, and perhaps much of its N side, appear to form part of the later rebuild; the arched heads of the arrow slit embrasures also appear to be part of this later work.

²⁴ By John Cannell for SDD-HBM. CANMORE entry : *Excavations inside the vault exposed the massive stone foundations of the tower. A central pit filled with dumped burnt material measured 1.65m diameter at the surface, narrowed sharply. Undoubtedly not a well, the pit may have held a large post used in the construction of the tower.*



Plates 3.11 and 3.12 Drum tower – first floor chamber; arrow-slit embrasures to E and W

c. Evidence for a second drum tower?

Physical evidence suggests the possibility of the former presence of a second drum tower flanking the W side of the principal entrance, see *plate 3.2* above, and *drawings Nos.1* and *2*. There exist the stumps of two clawed-back stones projecting a little to the W side of the jamb of the arched entrance that clearly suggest a northern masonry return. This corresponds precisely to that of the surviving eastern drum tower. Immediately below these stones is a projecting footing stub. The lower walling of the N foot of the entrance tower to the west of the entrance protrudes slightly and is heavily patched; in places what appears to be rubble wall core can be seen. While this might relate to repair of a battered wall foot following robbing, the presence of rubble masonry at the ground surface a little further W certainly suggests a more substantial projecting masonry footing; the stones visible at the surface almost appear to be radially arranged.

The projected diameter of a second round tower, if matching that of the first at 7.0m, would take its western extent a little beyond the line of the existing NW angle of the entrance tower (by 0.6m – 0.7m). It may be little coincidence that an apparent construction break exists on this line within the returning masonry of the hall range N wall (at 0.7m – 0.9m). The break can also be seen internally, within the vaulted cellar behind, where rather than a break in construction it appears to be a crack relating to structural settlement of the masonry further to the W.

Whether a drum tower had existed at this point could likely easily be determined by archaeological evaluation externally and, perhaps, internally.

d. Walling on E side of the entrance pend

The lower parts of the first section of walling within the entrance on the E side of the pend appears to be of early fabric, this of larger brown sandstone slabs that are inclined with the general slope of the pend. This walling now preserves evidence for only one early feature, an apparent arrow-slit into the pend interior. Of this only the sill stone remains *in situ*, a brown sandstone block that is detailed with

a damaged fish-tailed terminus and evidence for the splay within. Internally the lower quoins at the angles of its splay are early dressings, of diagonally tooled brown ashlar. However these have been slightly re-set to align with the jambs of the later window that was inserted above the original sill stone. The later window has pale sandstone dressings.



Plates 3.13 and 3.14 Remains of an early arrow-slit in the E wall of the pend – subsequently enlarged

Early walling on the E side of the pend clearly exists at least to the area of the present entrance into the vaulted cellars, and apparently for some distance beyond. A little further up-slope at the wall foot there exists a projecting stump of masonry that appears to be early, and relates to early walling seen within the cellar to the E - this discussed in *section 3.iii.f*, below.

e. Chamber on W side of pend

The W side of the passage retains features that appear to belong to the early build. This includes a narrow entrance – the existing entrance to the shop - whose chamfered dressings are formed of the darker grey sandstone seen at the principal entrance, *plate 3.15*. Of this only the jambs remain; the sill of the feature was subsequently broken down, its upper stones broken out, and the head of the entrance crudely raised. However the patched voids of the missing upper stones can still be made out – enough to indicate it had been arched, the head likely formed of opposed single stones. The entrance, which was notably narrow and low, had evidently given direct access to a guard chamber; such entrances off the pend are not uncommon within this type of gatehouse.

The entrance now leads to a vaulted chamber (the shop) that is somewhat trapezoidal in plan and is sub-divided by an E/W aligned cross-wall. That the cross-wall is only perpendicular to the pend wall suggests they may be coeval. The cross wall contains an entrance that seems to have been of near identical character to the pend entrance described above, *plate 3.16*. The feature is narrow and low with an arched head formed of a pair of opposed stones; the western jamb survives for its full height; the lower stones of the E jamb have since been removed – likely when the sill was lowered to its present level. Though painted over the dressings of the entrance display well-defined diagonal surface tooling and a sharp chamfer.

The cross-wall seems to be a fragment of the pre-existing interior arrangement that was retained in the later build. However the vault of the chamber seems to be part of the later build. There is a somewhat uncomfortable junction where the upper part of the cross-wall meets the vault and the later W wall of the chamber. However the interior of the chamber is plastered throughout, which inevitably obscures much analytical detail.



Plates 3.15 - 3.17 Remains of early entrance off the pend (left); entrance within the shop (centre and right)

The southern parts of the W wall of the pend, to the S of the chamber entrance, seem to be of the earlier build. This walling retains a well-preserved early arrow-slit that is formed of neatly tooled and tightly jointed grey ashlar blocks, and with a fish-tailed lower terminus. A somewhat coarser tooled lintel stone suggests the feature may have been cut down during the subsequent rebuild. Internally the sharp-angled splay is well preserved.



Plates 3.18 and 3.19 Early arrow-slit on the W side of the pend – exterior and interior

f. E side of the entrance tower

Interior of cellars

The two vaulted chambers on the on the E side of the entrance passage seem formerly to have comprised a single chamber - the vaults and the E/W aligned cross-wall are demonstrably secondary, the former springing off areas of early masonry and the latter abutting earlier walling to the E and W.

The vault-supporting cross-wall and masonry relating to the vaulting partly obscure/infill a broad 2.3m wide embrasure within the E wall. The neatly cut, diagonally tooled quoins at the angles, of brown sandstone, run into the E wall on the perpendicular (N jamb partly overlain by the masonry of the later cross-wall) – see *drawings No.1* and *No.12*. This feature may have provided access to an arrow slit at the external S re-entrant of the latrine tower, see below, and/or an opening into the latrine shaft that lies to the E. It is notable that the base of the embrasure now lies some 1.25m above present floor level, which suggests levels may have been reduced to form the present cellars.²⁵



Plate 3.20 E side of vaulted cellarage to the E of the entrance passage;

composite image showing the broad blocked opening at the centre-right of the wall, looking E

The S side of the inserted cellar vaulting springs off a thickening of the walling built against what appears to be a pre-existing E/W aligned cross-wall whose remains now lie embedded. On its S side there is a further wall thickening that relates to the later formation of the S side great entrance tower above. The remains of the earlier cross-wall can be seen within the walls of the cellar entrance passage that leads from the castle courtyard to the S, *plate 3.21*. Within the passage exists the projecting chamfered surround of an entrance, the lower jambs of which are of brown sandstone and are apparently early (the 3-centred arched head is secondary, of pale sandstone, a feature similar to those of the cellar entrances below the hall range further W). The entrance corresponds to a width of E/W aligned walling that can be seen below and to each side lower down – running off within the later masonry to the E and forming a quoin-defined jamb to the W, see *drawings No.1* and *13*. The wall

²⁵ Alternatively but perhaps less likely, there may have existed a further lower level of accommodation in this area whose floor lay at a similar level to that of the lower drum tower chamber

line is also evident within the entrance passage in the form of a projecting footing just above the (reduced) passage paving, *plate 3.22*.



Plate 3.21 Courtyard entrance to eastern cellars showing embedded earlier cross wall and entrance
Plate 3.22 Entrance passage – projecting wall footing

Latrine tower

The lower parts of the existing latrine tower on the E side of the existing entrance tower appears to incorporate early fabric. This is suggested by the presence of brown sandstone quoining rising to 13 or 14 courses at the SE angle, and discontinuities in the rubble masonry on the lower E and S sides of the tower – see *drawings Nos.3 and 8*. On the E face these suggest that the tower was widened considerably on its N side following the removal of quoining at the pre-existing NE angle of the tower, *plate 3.4*, above. The extended work to the N was finished with pale sandstone quoins and is certainly secondary. The northwards expansion of the tower may have been intended to permit new garbroses to be broken through into the original latrine shaft on its N side, including the garbrose that is accessed from the first floor chamber within the drum tower.

Stonework just above the largely rebuilt battered base of the tower may suggest the position of the latrine outflow arch. At the southern re-entrant of the latrine tower there survive a series of vertically aligned blocks of dressed brown sandstone between 3m and 5m above ground – these may represent the remnant of a former arrow-slit at the angle, *plate 3.23*. It has already been suggested that this may have been accessed from within the broad embrasure seen within the E wall of the cellars – however the levels do not precisely correspond.



Plate 3.23 The lower S side of the latrine tower, the SE angle of the entrance tower, and, to left its junction with the curtain wall; the base of an early arrow-slit can be seen 2 courses below the sill of the later window

SE angle of the entrance tower

The SE angle of the entrance tower appears to incorporate early fabric although the pale sandstone quoining at the angle is a secondary insertion, *plate 3.23*. Much of the E wall face adjacent to the angle may be of early date, up to as high as 7m. There is a notable area of patching towards the re-entrant with the latrine tower – perhaps suggesting pre-existing features (an opening?) may have been removed.

On the S wall adjacent to the SE angle the short section of walling before the re-entrant with the E curtain wall contains early fabric and the fragmentary remains of an early arrow slit as represented by its sill stone that is detailed with a well-preserved fish-tailed lower terminus. If *in situ* this stone suggests that the arrow-slit above may have been widened to permit the insertion of the existing window (this is at the SE corner of the 1st floor ‘Lord’s Hall’). This slit sits neatly at the re-entrant with the E curtain wall - suggesting that the position of the curtain wall in this area may be early.

However the possibility that the SE angle has seen more extensive rebuilding was considered, along with the possibility that an original E curtain wall had extended southwards from this point – i.e. set a little to the E of the existing wall. The existing curtain appears to be integral with the rebuilt fabric of the S side of the entrance tower - the curtain is well tied in and the dressings of existing windows on either side extend into the fabric of the curtain. However the evidence in this area is somewhat ambiguous and it is probably only excavation that would provide more definite information.

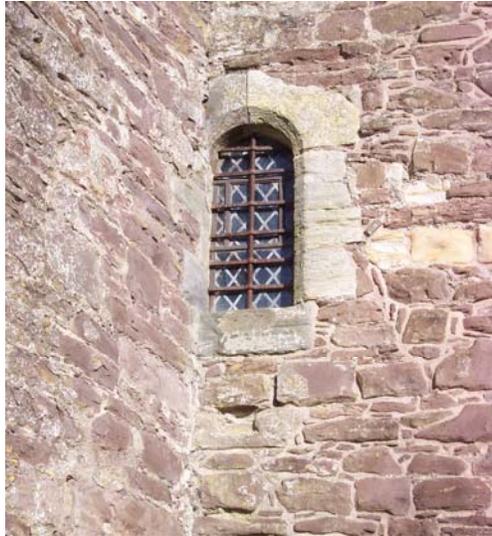


Plate 3.24 Detail - sill of the early arrow-slit below an inserted window at the re-entrant of the entrance tower and the E curtain wall, looking NNW

g. Early courtyard range to the E and relationship to the E curtain

At 0.90m in width the remains of the early E/W aligned wall already described within the entrance passage to the eastern cellars seems to be too insubstantial to represent a major external wall – such as the rear wall of an early gatehouse. The possibility that this had been an internal cross wall or a wall of a less substantial building was therefore considered.

There seems to be an associated continuation of early walling within the cellar passage on its W side, this running southwards from the embedded entrance and wall just discussed, see *drawing Nos.1 and 13*. This section of wall, and part of a footing continuing beyond to the S, clearly pre-date the masonry of the rear of the entrance tower and the central projection where the entrance passage emerges. The earlier walling is also very much in a different N/S alignment. However the alignment does correspond in orientation and alignment to that of a substantial wall footing lying within the courtyard further S. The latter forms part of the remains of a range built along the E side of the court interior, now laid out as footings.

These enigmatic remains within the courtyard are little understood, in spite of localised archaeological evaluation undertaken in 2002.²⁶ The transverse wall at the N end of these remains *appears* to run in to, and would thus apparently pre-date, the fabric of the existing E curtain wall. This raises the possibility that these footings and the upstanding remains just described within the entrance tower together formed part of a single early range bounding the E side of the castle court – perhaps a range integral with the early gatehouse and extending from its rear wide. As discussed in the previous section it is unclear whether the existing E curtain wall incorporates a predecessor or was rebuilt anew in the later 14th century, possibly on a new alignment. It is also possible that the curtain wall itself has seen considerable re-facing and repair that may have obliterated evidence for an abutting range – there is absolutely no hint upon the existing wall face.

Targeted archaeological evaluation of the remains visible in the courtyard would likely help considerably in answering some of these outstanding questions.

²⁶ *Doune Castle : Minor excavations : September 2002*, Kirkdale Archaeology, report to Historic Scotland, March 2003

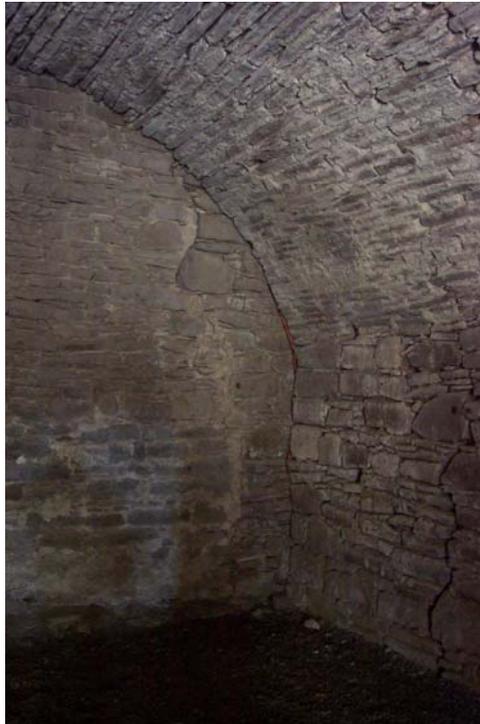
h. The entrance tower to the W and SW – outer walls

The western part of the courtyard-facing S wall of the entrance tower appears to incorporate early masonry fabric to a considerable height, this running from the W side of the projection above the entrance passage westwards to a major vertical construction break that extends in a line down from the upper level quoining at the SW angle of the tower, see *drawing Nos.1 and 11*. While this may be more apparent than real there are other indications that this may represent a fragment of a pre-existing structure.

Within the E wall of the well of the stair that rises within the eastern cellar of the hall range can be seen an extensive area of wall-core – this in alignment with the crack that is visible externally. The S wall of the hall range clearly butts up against this.

Externally the window that lights the S end of the vaulted ground floor chamber on the W side of the entrance passage (the existing shop) appears to be of two periods. The earlier includes the dressings of its W jamb and the western stone of its arched head – these all of the darker grey sandstone seen elsewhere at the early period in the entrance area. The window opening has clearly been broadened to the E – the original dressings removed and crudely built back in a little further to the E (including the E stone of the arched head).

A major outstanding question is whether the W wall of the entrance tower incorporates early fabric. There was no point where this was readily apparent at the lower level, and it is possible that the entire walling was erected at the secondary period – i.e. the later 14th century. That this may have been the case is suggested by the junction at the N end of the E wall of the eastern vaulted cellar of the hall range (i.e. the same as the W wall of the entrance tower), *plate 3.25*. Here there is a construction joint where the wall runs up to and abuts the interior face of N wall of the hall range – but the break continues eastwards for some 1.5m, i.e. most of the wall thickness of the W wall of the entrance tower. This suggests episodes of construction during the later 14th century works rather than evidence for surviving earlier fabric.



3.25 NE corner of the eastern cellar within the hall range – structural breaks are visible in the N wall, a butt joint at the angle that extends 1.5m to the E, and a further structural crack in the E wall

This discussion also leads on to the location of the former N perimeter of the early castle. If a western drum tower had existed and mirrored its eastern partner in plan then its return would likely converge with the earlier perimeter wall considerably to the S of the line of the existing N wall of the hall range. If this were the case then the earlier alignment might be confirmed by excavation within the hall range cellarge. A structural crack present in the E wall of the eastern hall range cellar may have some significance in this respect, see *plate 3.25*.

With the exception of some fragments at its western end the existing hall range seems to be a complete rebuild - vaults and all – of the later 14th century period. The earlier remains to the W are described below in *section v*.

iv. Kitchen tower

a. General

The Kitchen Tower is a structure located above the steep river-side scarp on the western perimeter of the castle complex. It is of four stories, including a vaulted basement, a high vaulted kitchen interior, chambers above and garret above that. The structure is rectangular in plan, oriented approximately E/W and measures 14.25m by 9.5m, rising to a maximum height of 20.5m from base to parapet (SW angle). For analytical survey see *drawings 1* (plan), *4, 6, 7, 9 and 10*.



Plate 3.26 General view of the kitchen tower as seen within the courtyard, looking NW

b. Courtyard-facing elevations

The S and E elevations of the Kitchen Tower face into the castle courtyard, *plate 3.26*. These each display extensive areas of walling that appears to be of early character. Unfortunately neither of these

elevations preserved overtly diagnostic features that can certainly demonstrate the association with the earlier period and, as just noted, there is little remaining internal evidence in these areas. One important exception is the survival within the NE angle of the lower vaulted interior of what appears to be the pre-existing internal wall angle – while only a small fragment it is difficult to see what else this might signify.

It is suggested that much of the walling of both sides is early; the likely areas are mapped on drawings *Nos. 9 and 10*. Overall these areas of masonry are notable for their homogeneity and the use of regularly laid slab-like pieces of rubble. The lower part of the SE angle on the S side is notable for the tussing that survives. The lower part of this is coarser at the wall-face and is suggestive of wall-core that has seen some subsequent patching. The tussing in this area is coarser and suggestive of residual tie-stones remaining after walling has been dismantled. By contrast the upper 5 courses of tussing project from a well-finished wall face; the tusks are regularly arranged and clearly intended to accommodate new masonry from a subsequent episode of building work. The suspicion would be that these may have been an antiquarian improvement did they not appear in early views (such as Billings' of the 1840s). Much has been written in relation to this tussing (... **to add** ... is it possible that the tusked SE corner of the kitchen tower indicates the line of an earlier W curtain wall rather than an unfinished building project)

Above the tussing there is a well-preserved sequence of brown sandstone quoining at the angle, rising up a further 4.75m – this one strong indication of the presence of early fabric; thereafter the quoining is of the light grey variety. The upper extent of 'early' quoining corresponds to the presence on the E side of a band of long horizontally-lain slabs. A possible localised area of early exists above the slab line. A possibility is that these features represent the remains of a parapet – the slabs running-through to form the walk.

There is a clear vertical construction break where the kitchen tower was linked across to the hall range, this associated with a marked change in angle (this later masonry was itself subsequently impacted by the insertion of an intramural turnpike stair that is present as a notable bulge at the wall face). The three existing windows within the area of early walling to the E all appear likely to be inserted – notable by their pale sandstone dressings. It is possible that one or more of these occupy the site of predecessors (this may be particularly the case at ground floor level).

The S side of the tower within the courtyard is even more difficult to interpret. Drawing 9 suggests the extent of surviving early fabric, and it certainly seems possible that much of the western part of this wall area was dismantled and remodelled when the present kitchen and other apartments were formed in the later 14th century – entrances were inserted at two levels, garbages installed immediately to the W and a number of new windows opened.

In some lights it is just possible to perceive a diagonal discontinuity at the wall face that might relate to a lean-to roof extending down from the W curtain – though this is far from certain.

Internally it seems that very little early fabric survives within the existing N wall of the tower; this seems to have been substantially or wholly rebuilt when the vault was inserted; at first floor level this length of wall is entirely occupied by secondary entrances and service hatches – all walling appears to be of the later period.

c. Exterior side of the tower to the W

The kitchen tower certainly incorporates a high proportion of early masonry fabric. This is most apparent to the W exterior where brown sandstone quoining rises at both the NW and SW angles to about 12m at each, thus to a little above first floor level. In spite of much subsequent patching and modification it is still possible to make out a number of individual features, particularly to the exterior. Internally the construction of the vaulted lower level, the vaulted kitchen interior, and the great kitchen fireplace and chimney above effectively eradicated most evidence for earlier features.

Base to W

The tower had had a substantial basal batter of which a single original plinth stone remains at the NW angle. A section of lower facing stones also survives to the lower S part of the W side and parts of the batter wall-core where the facings had been removed are also visible; isolated projecting blocks suggest there may have been a continuation on the S side of the tower. Evidently having suffered extensive robbing, likely targeted at dressings, the base saw much subsequent re-facing and patching, coarsely executed, *plates 3.27 and 3.28.*



Plate 3.27 Base of Kitchen Tower to W showing surviving plinth stone at the near angle

At the SW angle a further band of masonry, apparently a footing, is visible at the surface extending westwards from the present wall foot. Whether this represents a buttress, a first section of a wall running down-slope to the river, or a wall returning to enclose the terrace to the S, or some other feature must remain unclear without further investigation.



Plate 3.28 Base of Kitchen tower to W showing remains of basal facings and projecting wall-stump running westwards from the SW angle, looking NE

Arrow slit at ground floor level to W

In the lower part of the tower at the centre of the W side can be seen the lintel and upper jamb stones of an arrow slit, the slit itself cutting up into the lintel; the area of wall-face below has been heavily patched and the feature itself fully blocked. Though the surviving dressings, of brown sandstone, are of limited extent, the feature is confirmed as an arrow-slit by the internal evidence of an existing angled splay that, though itself remodelled, still survives as a recess within the vaulted lower storey of the tower, and still retains a number of *in situ* dressings on its S jamb, some diagonally tooled. The lower part of the feature has been pearly in-filled – this overlies an early dressing at the lower S angle.

That an arrow-slit existed only in the W wall at this level, and not also to the S or N, is readily explained – it provided coverage of the flank of the castle directly down-slope to the river.

Arrow slits at first floor level

There survive certain remains of two early arrow-slits and part of a probable third can be seen on the exterior of the kitchen tower at first floor level. The better preserved lie, one each, towards the W ends of the N and S walls; the third, whose existence is more a matter of deduction, is located at the centre of the W side. The slit to the N is relatively well preserved, its lower parts located directly below a later kitchen window that occupies the same embrasure. The feature is formed of mixed sandstones – brown, light grey and one yellow stone; the surviving sill retains a well-formed fish-tailed lower terminus. Internally the lower jambs of the embrasure are still traceable within the N side of the great kitchen fireplace interior.



Plates 3.29 and 3.30 Remains of fish-tailed arrow-slits in the respective N and S returns at the W side of the Kitchen Tower (the latter is above and to the left of the spout – 3 stones on left side)

On the S wall, at precisely the same level, survive the lower two western jamb stones and the western half of the sill stone of a further arrow-slit; though the remains are slight the sill appears to preserve part of a fish-tailed lower terminus, and the much-eroded upper jamb stone reveals part of the secondary mortar blocking behind, this running back at the sharp angle of the internal splay. Evidently the upper and eastern parts of this slit were removed when the kitchen was remodelled and a large slop-sink and external spout were inserted. Nothing of this slit can now be traced internally.

In the centre of the W wall, directly above the remains of the ground floor arrow slit and at precisely the same height as the first floor slits to N and S, there survives a small group of light grey pieces of sandstone that are likely the remains of a third first floor slit.

v. Perimeter to the N of the Kitchen Tower

The angled section of walling that now links the N side of the Kitchen Tower to the W end of the hall range appears to contain a substantial area of early fabric for the 3 or 4m above the notable battered base. However this is now much patched and impacted by the insertion of later windows and drains. The battered base itself seems certainly to have been heavily re-faced. At its lower N side some early masonry may still remain at the surface. It is likely that this is an early feature – a substantial battering of the wall-base – that had been substantially robbed of facings and then repaired.

At the S end of the W gable wall of the hall range survives the lower jambs of an early entrance, these of medium brown sandstone detailed with a chamfer – possibly a small postern gate. This is certainly an earlier feature that was subsequently part-dismantled and then blocked. An area of heavy patching at the wall face adjacent on the N side of the entrance, rising to first floor level, had the appearance of truncated wall core made good. A localised area of masonry projects from the wall-foot at this point. It is possible this represents a former structural feature running out – ?? a tower at the original NW angle of the castle. It is not certain to whether the walling of the hall range further N contains early fabric or not – there is a notable unevenness to the wall face in this area.



3.31 The NW-facing section of perimeter wall that links the kitchen tower to the W end of the hall range



Plate 3.32 Blocked entrance at the S end of the W wall of the hall range, and associated features

vi. Curtain walls - notes

After much close scrutiny it could not be said with certainty that either the S or W sides of the curtain wall contained early fabric – above the battered base, which has seen much rebuilding in all areas, the masonry appears homogenous. The E side of the curtain has some apparent complexity to the exterior where what appear to be major construction breaks exist towards the S end. It is possible however that this is simply a large area of major repair to the wall face. There are further possible complexities of the exterior wall face masonry further N on the E side though little of certainty could be deduced. The foundations of the range built against the interior face of this wall are visible within the castle courtyard. At least one of its cross walls appears to run in to the fabric of the curtain, which seems to have been built around it. On this evidence it seems possible that the E curtain may incorporate pre-existing fabric – perhaps early walling on the same alignment had been thickened or refaced internally following the removal of the courtyard range whose footings are now laid out.

What does the vertical construction break signify - the point where the early enclosure wall had returned westwards? or the point where there had been a corner tower ?? Is it possible that the S and W sides of the original curtain had been rebuilt further to the S and W respectively, to create a commodious court more appropriate to a semi-royal occupant at the end of the 14th century (... and that, yes, his building project remained incomplete in these areas)?

5. Review of the historical evidence (interim)

i. The Earldom of Menteith

The early history of the earldom of Menteith is very obscure and, despite the assertions of Sir William Fraser to the probability of its having been established by at least the reign of David I, there is no hard evidence for the existence of an earl or earldom until 1164.²⁷ The first surviving historical reference, to Earl Gilchrist or Gille Chrìosd of Menteith, dates from late in the reign of Malcolm IV, when he was present at Stirling for a great assembly of the royal court at which he witnessed the king's confirmation of all the lands and privileges of Scone Abbey.²⁸ There is no hard evidence for the extent of the earldom over which he exerted authority, but it is likely that it corresponded with the western portion of the diocese of Dunblane occupying the valleys of the Forth and Teith stretching west towards the Trossachs. This block comprised of the parishes of Aberfoyle, Balquhidder, Callendar, Kilmadock, Kilmahog, Kincardine, Leny, and Port of Menteith, north of the Forth, and Kippen on its south side.²⁹

What is the evidence for this block of land forming the core of the earldom? Indications of the distribution of some of the estates of the earls are provided by a writ of King William dated 6 December 1213, recorded in an inspection of the agreement which it recorded undertaken by King Henry III of England in September 1261.³⁰ This document dealt with the settlement of the succession to the earldom where Earl Muiredach (Maurice in the latinised version) the Elder surrendered the earldom to his younger brother, who was also named Muiredach, and the assignment of certain properties in liferent for the support of the elder Muiredach. These included the lands of Rednock (Rednoche) and Malling (Muyline) in Port parish and the lands of 'Tum (south of Lanrick in Kilmadock parish), Cattlyne, Brathuli and Cambuswelhe (Cambuswallace at Buchany in Kilmadock parish west of Doune)'. The oldest surviving evidence for property falling under the jurisdiction of an earl of Menteith, however, dates only from 1238, when Earl Walter Comyn consented to a settlement of his disputes with Bishop Clement of Dunblane over ecclesiastical rights in various churches in his earldom.³¹ By this settlement, he agreed to found an Augustinian priory at Inchmahome and to assign to it the churches of Leny, Port of Menteith and Kippen. While the two former are unsurprising as components of the earldom, the latter lying on the south of the Forth and separated from the lands north of the river by the broad expanse of raised bog known collectively as Flanders Moss, might seem an unlikely portion of earldom land. A charter of 1399, however, indicates that Kippen was certainly part of the earldom at that date, while in the late 1470s the lands of Frew in which lay one of the few fording-places of the Forth west of Stirling, and which lay on the old route from Doune and Dunblane through the moss to Kippen and on to Fintry, formed a portion of the properties whose rents were assigned by the king for the maintenance of the castle.³² Kippen, then, was linked to the main block of the earldom by a well-established routeway and ford. A third document, issued in c.1260 as part of an attempted settlement of the political crisis triggered by the marriage of Countess Isabella, widow of Walter Comyn, to her second husband Sir John Russell, granted Sir Hugh Abernethy a very extensive feu in western Menteith comprising twenty poundlands at Aberfoyle and the western part of 'Fort' (possibly a scribal error for Port).³³ Together, this group of 13th-century documents points strongly

²⁷ Fraser, *Menteith*, i, 2.

²⁸ G.W.S.Barrow (ed.), *Regesta Regum Scotorum*, i, *The Acts of Malcolm IV* (Edinburgh, 1960), no.243.

²⁹ These parishes lay outwith the greater part of the see which fell under the lay jurisdiction of the earls of Strathearn. For discussion, see under the respective parishes in <http://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/corpusofscottishchurches/sites.php>

³⁰ Fraser (ed.), *Menteith*, ii, Menteith Charters no.7.

³¹ Fraser (ed.), *Menteith*, ii, Inchmahome Charters no.74.

³² Fraser (ed.), *Menteith*, ii, Menteith Charters no.44; H.M.Paton (ed.), *Accounts of the Masters of Works*, i, 1529-1615 (Edinburgh, 1957), 308.

³³ Fraser (ed.), *Menteith*, ii, Menteith Charters no.6. This property was still apparently in Abernethy hands at the end of the 13th century. In 1296, it was named as security in a debt settlement between Alexander earl of Menteith and Alexander Abernethy for moneys due to Henry Percy (J.Bain (ed.), *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, ii (Edinburgh, 1884), no.825).

towards an original concentration of earldom estates as lying in the area around the Lake of Menteith – there the island castle of Inchtalla has been identified as constituting an early centre of lay authority in the region – but with a significant block lying at its eastern end in the parish of Kilmadock, *i.e.* around Doune.

As provided for under the 1213 settlement, the lands assigned for the maintenance of the elder Earl Muiredach reverted to the ruling line. Thom remained in the possession of the earls until the time of Earl Murdac Stewart, who between 1317 and 1332 (but probably nearer to 1320) granted them together with Lanrick and part of ‘Conulathe’ to his kinsman Sir Walter Menteith.³⁴ This was a substantial property which extended in a broad swathe from the River Teith in the north down towards the Forth east of the lands of Frew. This property remained with the descendants of Sir Walter, who also acquired the lands of Ruskie to their west, where they occupied an island residence in Loch Rusky and from where they subsequently acquired their territorial designation.³⁵ A second significant property which formed part of the comital demesne into the 14th century also lay in this district. ‘Brathuli’ had also reverted to the earls following Muiredach’s death, but it had apparently no been retained in demesne by his successors and at least part was in the hands of tenants by the early 1300s at the latest; in *c.*1330 Earl Murdac confirmed Robert Logie, son of Malise Logie, in possession of Easter ‘Broculli’.³⁶ In *c.*1330, Earl Murdac granted the western half of the town of Boquhapple (described as closest adjacent to the land of Busby), to Gilbert Drummond.³⁷

While the above records point to property returning to the possession of the earls of Menteith in the course of the 13th century, this must be set alongside a major partition of the earldom which occurred in the years after 1259. Following the death of her husband Walter Comyn in 1258, the childless Countess Isabella quickly remarried to a relatively obscure English knight, Sir John Russell, a move which angered the political community in Scotland who saw the countess’s marriage as a route to securing significant territorial influence in central Scotland and in the Firth of Clyde region (where the Menteiths had extensive landed possessions and jurisdictional rights).³⁸ The mid-13th-century chronicle probably composed by Richard Vairement which is preserved in the so-called *Gesta Annalia I* and attributed usually to John of Fordun, records that a rumour was put around that Earl Walter had been poisoned by Countess Isabella and that the Scottish nobles accused both her and her new husband of murder and arrested them both.³⁹ At that point, Fordun’s source becomes slightly confused, stating that at that time Walter Stewart, younger brother of the Steward of Scotland, claimed the earldom of Menteith by right of his wife, Mary, who was apparently the cousin of the countess. Unable to maintain her position despite various grants of property to those threatening her, such as that to Hugh Abernethy of land at Aberfoyle, she accepted a financial settlement and withdrew to England with her husband. From there, however, she made an appeal to Pope Urban IV in 1261, seeking redress for the violence done to her and the despoliation of her inheritance. The pope sent an envoy to England to hear the case, summoning Walter Stewart, who by then had been placed in possession of the earldom, to answer in his court. A summary of the papal nuncio’s proceedings made in 1264 when Urban IV appointed new judges delegate, records that the action against Isabella had been raised by Walter Comyn’s nephew, Sir John Comyn I of Badenoch, who sought the earldom as Walter’s heir. In 1261, however, John Comyn’s claim was rejected in the court of King Alexander III, with possession instead being given to Walter Stewart by right of his wife, Mary of Menteith.⁴⁰ The inept – and possibly unauthorised – handling of that case by the papal nuncio, Pontius Nicholas, who had ordered the

³⁴ NAS GD198/38 Papers of the Haldane Family of Gleneagles, Perthshire, charter dated 1317-1332.

³⁵ See, for example, NAS GD198/42 (declaration dated 24 April 1446), GD198/43 (retour dated 28 April 1456), GD198/44 (sasine dated 5 May 1456) Papers of the Haldane Family of Gleneagles, Perthshire.

³⁶ Fraser (ed.), *Menteith*, ii, Menteith Charters no.22.

³⁷ Fraser (ed.), *Menteith*, ii, Menteith Charters no.21.

³⁸ For a discussion of these events, see A.A.M.Duncan, *Scotland: the Making of the Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1975), 583-4.

³⁹ W.F.Skene (ed.), *John of Fordun’s Chronicle of the Scottish Nation*, ii (Edinburgh, 1872), 293-4.

⁴⁰ P.C.Ferguson, *Medieval Papal Representatives in Scotland: Legates, Nuncios and Judges-Delegate 1125-1286* (Stair Society: Edinburgh, 1997), 104-7.

restoration of Isabella and John, was quashed by Urban in 1264 and a new hearing ordered. The result appears to have been that Walter and Mary were awarded possession. Their tenure of the earldom was challenged in 1273 by William Comyn of Kirkintilloch, son of John Comyn I of Badenoch, and his wife, who was the daughter of Countess Isabella and John Russell.⁴¹ The result was a further twelve years of litigation, which ended in 1285 with the partition of the earldom between William Comyn and Walter Stewart, but with Stewart retaining the title of earl.⁴² Menteith was split in two but the actual distribution of the partitioned properties remains obscure. The one clear statement on the division which survives is in the early 15th-century verse chronicle of Andrew Wyntoun, which states that ‘the chemys’ (i.e. the capital messuage) of the earldom was to be retained by Earl Walter;⁴³ sadly, the identity of that ‘chemys’ is not given.

Some indication of the relative division of the earldom may be found in a style used by the successor to William Comyn in Menteith. Following the death of William Comyn in 1291, the marriage of his widow, Isabella, was arranged to the English knight Sir Edmund Hastings.⁴⁴ In January 1293, Edward I of England ordered King John Balliol to release Isabella from her oath not to marry without Balliol’s consent, as he had promised her marriage to Hastings the previous year when he had been functioning as effective ruler of Scotland before the settlement of the throne on Balliol.⁴⁵ Their marriage followed soon after and Hastings took possession of the half of the earldom previously held by William Comyn. Again, we lack clear documentary evidence for the properties held by Edmund but, interestingly, in January 1301 his seal was attached to a document sent by the English barons to Pope Bonifae VIII. In that document he was described as ‘Dominus de Enchinchelmok’ i.e. ‘Lord of Inchmahome’ and his seal labelled him ‘of the earldom of Menteith’.⁴⁶ From this, we can assume that his lordship in Menteith was centred on the west of the earldom in the area that, from 1427, formed the earldom of Malise Graham (see below). Given that the ‘chemys’ of the earldom was not granted to either William Comyn or Edmund Hastings and the latter was ‘lord of Inchmahome’, it is evident that Inchtalla, the island castle in the Lake of Menteith adjacent to Inchmahome, was not the capital messuage of Menteith.⁴⁷ The logical conclusion from this is that the centre of the earldom in the 13th and 14th centuries was Doone.

In 1306, Alan Stewart, earl of Menteith, rose in support of Robert Bruce’s bid for the Scottish throne and, following the defeat of the Bruce party at Methven near Perth, suffered forfeiture for his rebellion. Edward I then bestowed the forfeited Stewart lands in Menteith to Edmund Hastings’s elder brother, John, explicitly reserving the lands held by Edmund from the award.⁴⁸ On 28 September 1306, the sheriff of Perth was commanded to deliver to John all of the lands of the earldom in his sheriffdom, with similar mandates to the sheriffs of Stirling, Ayr and Dumbarton for the Menteith lands in those districts.⁴⁹ The title of earl, however, was held in suspension. Hastings appears to have died in c.1314, probably predeceased by his wife. There is no evidence for their having had any children and with them the Comyn claim to Menteith ended. The interest of John Hastings in Menteith had also been extinguished by the Scottish recovery of the lands of the earldom by c.1312 and their restoration to Earl Alan. With the extinction of the Comyn/Hastings line, it is probable that Robert I granted the lands of western Menteith to Murdac, younger brother of Earl Alan, who eventually succeed his elder brother in the earldom in 1318 after it had lain in the guardianship of their uncle, Sir John Menteith, for several years.⁵⁰

⁴¹ Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon*, ed. D.E.R.Watt, v (Aberdeen, 1990), 397. Fraser (ed.), *Menteith*, i, 46, is wrong in identifying William’s wife as the daughter of Walter Comyn.

⁴² Ferguson, *Papal Representatives*, 107.

⁴³ Wyntoun@@

⁴⁴ Fraser (ed.), *Menteith*, i, 52.

⁴⁵ Fraser (ed.), *Menteith*, ii, no.15.

⁴⁶ Fraser (ed.), *Menteith*, i, 57.

⁴⁷ For discussion of Inchtalla, see below p@@@.

⁴⁸ *CDS*, ii, no.1771.

⁴⁹ *CDS*, ii, no.1836.

⁵⁰ Fraser (ed.), *Menteith*, i, 59, 94-101.

On 6 September 1427, James I issued a charter under the Great Seal bringing together a series of properties shorn from the western portion of the forfeited Albany earldom as a new, shrunken earldom of Menteith for Malise Graham.⁵¹ These comprised a series of blocks. The first was Easter and Wester ‘Craynis’, Easter and Wester ‘Craguthy’, the Glassert, Drumlean, Ledard, ‘Blareboyane’, Gartnerichnich, the Blairuskines, the forest of ‘Baith’, and ‘the sides of Loch Chon’, representing a string of land along the north side of Loch Ard west of Aberfoyle and extending up to the head of Loch Chon. The second group comprised of properties lying in Strathgartney, including ‘Blaretuchane’, ‘Marduffy’, Culligart (on the south side of Loch Katrine), ‘Frisefleware’, ‘Rose with the Cragmuk’, ‘Inchere’, ‘Gartinhagil Bobfresle’, ‘Bouento’, ‘Downans’, ‘Baeth’, ‘Tereochane’, ‘Drumboy’, ‘Crancasy’, Achray (between Loch Venachar and Loch Katrine), ‘Glassel’, ‘Cravaneculy’, ‘Savnach’, Bridgend (Brig o’ Turk?), ‘Lonanys’, ‘Garquhat’, and ‘Drumanust’. A final group lay east of Aberfoyle from Shannochill, and extending east through ‘Ernetly’, ‘Monybrachys’, ‘Gartmulne’, ‘Ernomul’, Arntamie, ‘Achmore’, to the Port (of Menteith) and the Inch (Isle of Menteith). Perhaps significantly, no explicit reference is made to any castle within this territory which would function as an obvious caput for the new earldom, although it is possible that the simple inclusion of ‘the Inch’ The whole of the eastern portion of the Albany earldom centred on Doune but including the southern extension down to Kippen and the prized hunting forest of Glenfinglas, was retained in the king’s hands. Earl Malise was not to enjoy his somewhat diminished heritage for many years, for just two months after he had been granted his new earldom he was sent to England to serve as one of the hostages for security of payment of the king’s ransom moneys due to the English crown; he did not return to Scotland until June 1453.

The Stewart earls of Menteith maintained the local power network of Comyn predecessor but also built up their own extensive network of kinsmen in their earldom. In the early 14th century, Earl Murdac’s charters were witnessed by an impressive group headed by his brother Alexander of Menteith, his kinsmen, Sir John Menteith and his son Sir Walter Menteith, Sir Malise of Strathearn (son of the earl of Strathearn), and Sir John Muschet (holder of a substantial feu south of Doune around Kincardine), Bishop Maurice of Dunblane, Christian, prior of Inchmahome, and the squires Alexander Menteith and Gilbert and Malcolm Drummond, but with native Gaelic families also represented in men such as Gille-Chriosd son of Donald and Anacol son of Simon.⁵²

ii. *The Caput of the Earldom?*

It has been suggested that there was an ancient seat of the earls of Menteith at Inchtalla, the smaller of the two main islands in the Lake of Menteith.⁵³ The description of Sir Edmund Hastings in 1301 as lord of ‘Enchimchelmok’ or Inchmahome suggests that the island in the Lake of Menteith was an important early centre of the earldom, perhaps the administrative centre for its western part, but since the capital message of Menteith was granted explicitly to the Stewart earl in 1285 and remained in their hands in 1301, it is clear that Inchmahome/Inchtalla was not that capital message.⁵⁴ References to this place, however, are even rarer than those to Doune and it was suggested by Sir William Fraser that while there may have been an early castle on the island before the foundation of Inchmahome Priory on the adjoining, larger island, that Inchtalla’s development as the caput of the Menteith earldom dated to the years after the creation of the new earldom for Malise Graham in 1427. Given that Malise was a hostage in England from November 1427 until June 1453, it is unlikely that the castle was developed significantly until after his return to Scotland, but it seems to have become his principal base for the remaining 37 years of his life. The earliest references to the earl being resident at Inchtalla date from 6 and 8 December 1485, when he granted Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy the lands of Drumlean and ‘Blarbeyock’ near Aberfoyle, and his sons, John and Walter Graham, the bulk of the remaining earldom lands around Aberfoyle and the Lake of Menteith, together with the loch and

⁵¹ Fraser (ed.), *Menteith*, i, 292-3; *ibid.*, ii, Menteith Charters no.57.

⁵² NAS GD198/38 Papers of the Haldane Family of Gleneagles, Perthshire, charter dated 1317-1332; Fraser (ed.), *Menteith*, ii, Menteith Charters nos 21, 22.

⁵³ Fraser (ed.), *Menteith*, i, 117, 497.

⁵⁴ See above p.@@.

its islands, in charters issued at ‘Inchtolloch’.⁵⁵ The island occurs regularly as the main residence of the earls through the 16th century and the place where they undertook major business;⁵⁶ it was clearly their administrative centre as well as their principal home in the earldom until the extinction of the line in 1694. Architectural recording of the existing buildings on the island identified nothing that can be dated with confidence earlier than the 17th century,⁵⁷ which accords well with the record evidence for the main period of activity at the site. In 1668, as ‘the Isle of Monteith’, it was designated as the principal residence of Agnes Gray, countess of Airth, although she apparently detested the frog-infested island.⁵⁸ The Isle of Monteith appears to have been the main residence of William, earl of Airth and Menteith, in the late 1680s and 1690s,⁵⁹ but it seems to have been abandoned shortly thereafter when the Menteith estates passed into the hands of the Graham earls of Montrose. There are two detailed inventories for the house in the 17th century, dated 1692 and 1694, which provide a record of the scale of the building, its apartments and their functions, and the furnishings of the household at the end of the castle’s main period of use as a high-status residence.⁶⁰

iii. Doone Castle in Historical Records

It is perhaps significant that there is no reference to the castle in a charter of Murdac Stewart, earl of Menteith, by which he granted the lands of Thom to his kinsman, Sir Walter, son of Sir John Menteith.⁶¹ Issued at some date between 1317 and 1332, the property bounds given in the document refer simply to the ‘town of Doune’. The castle, however, seems to have been in occupation by 1381, when letters were issued at ‘Dwne in Meneteth’,⁶² and it is assumed that from around this time the building was intended to serve as the administrative centre of the earldom of Menteith.⁶³

Albany, despite his possession of Stirling Castle as Governor, was regularly resident at Doune and, from the company present at the castle with him revealed in the witness lists of documents issued during his periods of residence, it is clear that the building was not only habitable but capable of accommodating a substantial retinue. Charters issued by him in his capacity as Governor of Scotland for the imprisoned King James I and enrolled in the *Register of the Great Seal* show him to have been resident there from February 1407 and to have been holding courts at which significant numbers of men of high status were present. On 10 February 1407, for example, he was attended at Doune by the Chancellor of Scotland, Gilbert Greenlaw, bishop of Aberdeen, his son, John Stewart, lord of Buchan, Sir William Graham, Sir John Stewart of Lorne, Sir William Airth, Archibald Cunningham, Michael Airth and his secretary, Andrew Hawick.⁶⁴ In November 1416, a charter issued there was witnessed by the chancellor Bishop Gilbert Greenlaw of Aberdeen, the Duke’s two grandsons David Edmondston and Patrick Abernethy, his secretary Andrew Hawick, rector of Liston, and his squires Walter Curry, James Arnot and William Barclay.⁶⁵ He was certainly regularly resident at Doune through the last decade and a half of his life and conducted business there of a kind which indicates that his visits were extended and included significant numbers of household personnel, kinsmen and officers of state. Such gatherings could not have been accommodated comfortably and with the dignity expected of men of their status in the limited space which the visible remains represent.

Letters patent were issued on 22 January 1450, confirming the settlement on the queen of the earldoms of Atholl and Strathearn, the lordship, palace and great customs of Linlithgow, the lordship of Menteith with the castle of Doune, and various other properties and rents, valued at 10,000 crowns per

⁵⁵ NAS GD112/1/20, GD112/3/7; *RMS*, ii, nos 1861 and 1862.

⁵⁶ See, for example, Fraser (ed.), *Menteith*, i, 324-5, 333, 390, 391, 498.

⁵⁷ <http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk/en/site/24064/details/lake+of+menteith+inch+talla+talla+castle/>

⁵⁸ NAS GD22/3/668; Fraser (ed.), *Menteith*, i, 501.

⁵⁹ NAS GD22/3/708, GD22/3/718, GD22/3/729.

⁶⁰ NAS GD22/3/718 and GD22/3/729.

⁶¹ NAS GD198/38 Papers of the Haldane Family of Gleneagles, Perthshire, charter dated 1317-1332.

⁶² A. Fraser (ed.), *Frasers of Philorth* (Edinburgh, 1879), 237.

⁶³ Dunbar, *Scottish Royal Palaces*, 85.

⁶⁴ *RMS*, i, no. 890.

⁶⁵ NAS GD68/1/1 Murray of Lintrose Papers, charter of Robert, duke of Albany, dated 7 November 1416.

annum.⁶⁶ Following Mary of Gueldres' death in 1463, Doune and the Menteith lands reverted to the king with the rest of her personal property. The castle, however, appears to have continued to function as the main base for her younger children and was described in 1469 as the residence of James III's youngest brother, John, earl of Mar.⁶⁷ James III, however, appears to have used it as a residence associated with his hunting interests in Glen Finglas and Glen Artney, it possibly being for that purpose that he was at Doune in December/January 1465-6 when he received the personal resignation of property in Carrick from Marjory Airth.⁶⁸

James IV was occasionally resident at Doune, which he used in connection with hunting trips into his forests in Menteith. It was whilst at the castle in winter 1490-1, for example, that he received Archibald Edmondston's resignation of the lands of Cambuswallace in advance of their re-grant in conjunct infetment to Archibald and his wife.⁶⁹

In May 1503, the lordship of Menteith, including the castle of Doune, was reported as delivering income of £879 20d yearly to Queen Margaret Tudor.⁷⁰ Margaret made considerable use of the castle in her widowhood and continued the association of the keepership of Doune with the Edmondstons of Duntreath. In September 1520, she received an obligation from William Edmondston of Duntreath, Sir John Stirling of Keir, George Schaw of Knockhill and Richard Leckie of that ilk for the 'sikker and sure keping of the Castell and place of Doune in Menteth'.⁷¹ The significance of the building as a place of strength is evident in the promise that they would not place any 'man of grete autorite' or powerful clan in possession of the castle. William Edmondston's relationship with the Queen-Dowager, however, broke down in July 1525 when she wrote to him to instruct him to prepare the castle for the arrival of her with her household. Edmondston agreed to accept Margaret and her gentlewomen attendants but refused to admit her servants.⁷² The dispute continued for the next two years, with Margaret seeking to eject Edmondston from her property, securing both a decree against him from the Lords of Council in July 1527 and a letter from her son, James V, in August. Edmondston, however, continued to resist and was eventually put to the horn in October 1527.⁷³ To replace him, Margaret issued a commission to James Stewart, younger brother of Andrew, Lord Avondale, appointing him Captain of Doune and Steward of Menteith, to commence from Whitsunday 1528.⁷⁴ This arrangement started a relationship with the Stewart family which continues to the present. Despite William's obstinacy, the transition of possession into Stewart's hands appears to have been intended to be relatively smooth, an agreement between the two men reached at Doune on 23 September 1528 transferring into Stewart's possession all of the tacks and sets which William had formerly held in association with his tenure of the Captaincy.⁷⁵ In reality, Stewart moved with the Queen-Dowager's assistance to eject Edmondston and his tenants from the various properties and seized quantities of their goods in the process, triggering a protracted round of litigation which lasted into 1532.⁷⁶

Although the castle was part of her tocher lands, there are few references to Mary of Guise being resident at Doune. In July 1545, however, the Queen-Dowager was at the castle where, as liferenter of

⁶⁶ NAS RH1/2/983/1/1 Photographs of documents relating to the marriage settlement of James II and Mary of Gueldres, from the Archives Departementales du Nord, Lille, France, letter patent of James II dated 22 January 1450; RPS, 1450/1/32.

⁶⁷ NAS GD42/8 Viscount Cowdray (Dunecht Papers) dated 25 April 1469.

⁶⁸ RMS, ii, no.862.

⁶⁹ RMS, ii, no.2008.

⁷⁰ CDS, v, no.5053.

⁷¹ Fraser, *Menteith*, ii, no.90.

⁷² *Ibid.*, no.91.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, nos 92, 93, 94, 95.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, no.96.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, no.101.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, nos 102, 103, 104, 105, 106.

the lordship of Strathearn, she issued orders to her steward to raise the men of the lordship and assemble them for military service at Stirling.⁷⁷

In April 1567, issued a discharge to Sir James Stewart of Doone, Steward of Menteith, of the rents of certain lands in Menteith on account of his expenses in repairs to the castle.⁷⁸ These comprised of the lands of Coldoch, 'Kep' and 'Ardfinlay', the mill and mill lands of Cessintully (described as pertaining to Paul Doig), the feu maills of Duchrae, the six-merkland of McOrriston, the six-merkland of Boghall, the two-merkland of Mackrieston (all in the south of Kilmadock and Kincardine parishes), the two-merkland of Wester Bridgend, the six-merkland of 'Achinhard', the four-merkland of Portnellan, Dullater and 'Terndown' (all on Loch Venachar-side and west of the River Leny). Again, these clearly represent portions of the earldom demesne that had been retained by the crown in 1427.

iv. The Wider Landscape of Lordship

The rents of Newton of Doone, the Brewland and the Park of Doone were amongst the properties in the Stewartry of Menteith which Queen Mary confirmed to Thomas, Master of Erskine, in 1561 to pay for his expenses as keeper of Stirling Castle and the royal parks there.⁷⁹ These were confirmed in February 1566 in the possession of John, earl of Mar.⁸⁰ A clear separation was being made between the lands which supported the castle directly, which were in the hands of the Stewarts of Doone, and other properties which had been feued to tenants but which had formed part of the demesne lands in the immediate vicinity of the estate centre.

In May 1584, James VI wrote from Holyroodhouse to instruct Lord Doone to undertake urgent repairs to park dyke of Doone.⁸¹ Described as 'rwynous and fallin down to the ground', the king expressed fear for the likely damage to the 'zoung growth within the samin', which suggests that the park was by that date being used to grow trees rather than as an enclosure for deer or livestock.

v. The Castle as Place of Warding and Occasional Residence

The castle continued to be used as a place of warding. On 2 September 1567, Oliver Sinclair of Whitekirk and William Newton of that ilk were required to enter their persons in ward at Doone.⁸² During the civil war in the early 1570s, Sir Walter Scott of Branxholm was ordered to confine himself at his own expense at Doone in February 1572, where he was apparently in the company of another warded prisoner, James Kincaid of that ilk.⁸³ On 23 December 1577, John Livingston of Dunipace was instructed to enter ward there.⁸⁴

In August 1571, the Regent, Matthew Stewart, earl of Lennox was apparently resident at Doone, from where he sent 'ane boy' with 'clois wittingis' to the bailies of Stirling and Dunblane.⁸⁵

James VI certainly planned to make personal use of the castle. In 1580, the king commented that on his last visit to the castle that he had found it and the fields around it 'maist pleasant for our pastyme and verray commodious for our dwelling in the symmer season'.⁸⁶

⁷⁷ NAS GD160/528/23 Papers of the Drummond Family, Earls of Perth (Drummond Castle Papers), letter dated 16 July 1545.

⁷⁸ Fraser (ed.), *Menteith*, ii, no.108.

⁷⁹ *RPS*, v, no.900.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, no.2597.

⁸¹ Fraser (ed.), *Menteith*, ii, no.128.

⁸² *TA*, xii, 76.

⁸³ Fraser (ed.), *Menteith*, ii, nos 110, 111, 112, 113.

⁸⁴ *TA*, xiii, 188; Fraser (ed.), *Menteith*, ii, no. 116.

⁸⁵ *TA*, xii, 214 (23 August 1571).

⁸⁶ *Masters of Works Accts*, i, 307.

vi. *Building- and repair-work at Doune*

A memorandum entered in the Accounts of the Masters of Works sets out the provision made by kings James II, James III and James IV and Mary of Gueldres for maintenance of the fabric of the castle.⁸⁷ Under James II, the keeper of the castle was assigned the revenues of Newton of Doune and its mill, Drumcampsie, Carse of ‘Cammis’ and ‘Kelyboquhylye’, which yielded £25 16s 8d annually. From 1460 until her death in 1463, Mary of Guldres retained possession of the castle as part of her dower lands but made no specific allocation for its maintenance, making one-off payments as necessary on an annual basis ‘quhillis less quhillis mair ... as scho thocht guid’. Under James III in 1478, such *ad hoc* provision was again replaced by specific revenue from assigned lands in the vicinity of Doune itself. William Edmondston of Duntreath, keeper of the castle, was assigned the lands of Gartincaber, Argaty Wester, the mill of Doune and its fishing on the River Teith, Drumcampsie, Carse of Cambus and the lands of Frew, amounting to £26 13s 4d, 3 chalders 4 bolls of oatmeal, and 260 salmon, with additional land that was assigned as ‘waste for the forest’ from which he was to receive the revenues from the Chamberlain. These lay in western Menteith and were apparently associated with the royal hunting forest around Glen Finglas and Loch Ard. Similar arrangements continued under James IV, but the compiler of the memorandum had no evidence for the nature of any financial provision for repair of the castle after 1513. Amongst the charges laid against William Edmondston of Duntreath, when he was removed from the keepership of Doune in 1527-8, was that he had failed to account for revenues from a number of properties including several of those formerly assigned for the repair of the castle.⁸⁸

Under the regency of James Douglas, 4th earl of Morton (1572-80), little appears to have been done to maintain the building in good repair. Although the Regent instructed the Steward of Menteith in July 1574 to compel the crown’s tenants in the lordship to carry slates from the slate-heugh in Menteith to repair the roof at Stirling Castle, no similar mandate exists in respect of Doune.⁸⁹ The *Accounts of the Masters of Works* record repairs at Doune undertaken in 1580 on the instruction of King James VI. On 10 August 1580, James, then resident at Castle Campbell, wrote to the Treasurer to order payment of £200 Scots to Sir James Stewart of Doune, captain and keeper of Doune, which he was to spend on urgent repairs to the ‘battelling’ of the castle, which was described as ‘becum sa ruynous that the same is abill alluterlie to decay sa that na persoun salbe abill to duell therintill this wintir seasoun without it be haistilie repairit’.⁹⁰ The repair work was undertaken on inspection of Sir Robert Drummond of Carnock, the king’s Master of Work, and settled on 13 August 1581. The accounts of this programme are very detailed, setting out materials used, quantities obtained and places within the castle which received attention.⁹¹ That the main focus was the roof and battlement of the castle, as indicated by the king’s letter, is confirmed, with the first item being payment of £26 13s 4d to William Gibb, quarrier in Stirling, for 160 pieces of ‘allering’ (the stone pavement placed behind a battlement) which was cut at Knockhill and Burnbank. Added to this were 8 chalders of lime, 300 loads of sand for mortar, 1000 slates won from heughs ‘out of the Hiland xiiij mylis’, 700 nails and 4 puncheons to hold the nails. The wood for the roofs seems to have been obtained from the Wood of Doune, for the account also records the costs of felling and transporting 120 of ‘the best tymmer of the wod of Down’ to the castle. The actual mason work was undertaken by the master-mason Michael Ewing, who was paid £100 for making the ‘grait tour of Downe’ watertight and for other work at the castle. Wrights were employed to cut and erect scaffolding and to saw lath and other timber-work for the roof structure of the tower, while the actual slating was undertaken by ‘Makquarren, sklaitter’. The total cost of the repair of the tower-head was £276 6s. At the same time as work was being undertaken on the castle, the dyke around the Wood of Doune was also repaired, the account detailing the building of 460 roods of dyke (c.3000 yards), 5 ells wide at the base (c.12ft), roughly 30 inches wide at the top and over 9 feet high.

⁸⁷ *Masters of Works Accts*, i, 308.

⁸⁸ Fraser (ed.), *Menteith*, ii, no.97.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, no.114.

⁹⁰ *Masters of Works Accts*, i, 307.

⁹¹ Fraser (ed.), *Menteith*, ii, no.125.

It is unclear if this enclosure for the wood was the same as the park dyke which James ordered to be repaired in 1584.⁹²

Patronage of the chapel of St Fillan of Doune lay with the crown despite the assignation of the lands of Doune as part of the marriage portion of the queen. In 1518, when the chaplain, Walter Stewart, resigned the chaplainry, it was into the king's hands.⁹³ A crown charter of 28 November 1635 referred to other lands associated with the chapel of St Fillan outside the castle. Hermitscroft, described as belonging to the chapel of the chaplainry of 'St Phillane', situated near the castle of Doune, suggests the former assignment of this property for the maintenance of an anchorite associated with the chapel.⁹⁴

vii. Appendix : Robert, duke of Albany, at Doune

<i>Source</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Company</i>
<i>RMS</i> , i, no.890	10 February 1407	Gilbert, bishop of Aberdeen (Chancellor) John Stewart, lord of Buchan Sir William Graham Sir John Stewart of Lorne Sir William Airth Archibald Cunningham Michael Nairn Andrew Hawick (Secretary)
<i>RMS</i> , i, no.914	29 November 1407	Gilbert, bishop of Aberdeen (Chancellor) Sir Richard Cumming Sir Alan Scot, canon of Cambuskenneth Andrew Hawick, canon of Dunkeld (Secretary)
<i>RMS</i> , i, no.929	28 July 1410	Sir John Stewart of Lorne Sir George Leslie Sir William Mowat of Fearn Robert Stewart of Lorne (squire/son-in-law) Thomas Blair (squire)
<i>RMS</i> , ii, no.150	10 August 1412	John Stewart, earl of Buchan (son) Andrew Stewart (son) Robert Stewart of Lorne (son-in-law) John Colquhoun of Luss Andrew Hawick, rector of Liston Secretary)
<i>CDS</i> , v, no.942	9 August 1413	No details
<i>RMS</i> , i, no.946	24 November 1413	Gilbert, bishop of Aberdeen (Chancellor) Robert Stewart of Fife (grandson) David Edmonston (nepos)

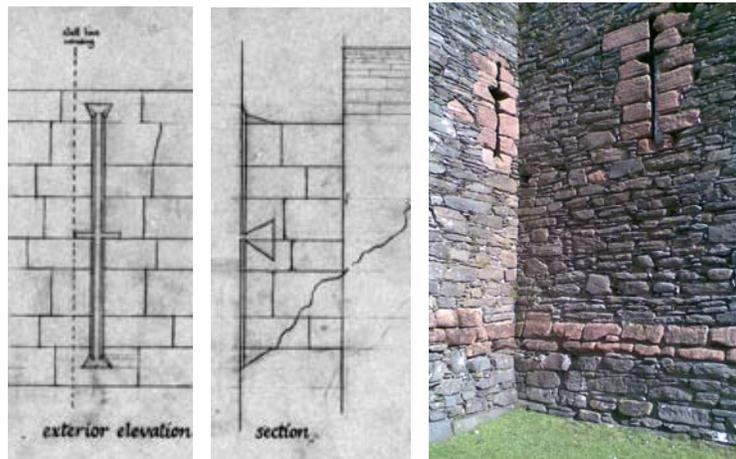
⁹² Fraser (ed.), *Menteith*, ii, no.128.

⁹³ NAS GD224/906/1 (1) Papers of the Montague-Douglas-Scott Family, Dukes of Buccleuch, writ dated 14 December 1518.

⁹⁴ NAS GD22/3 Papers of the Cunninghame Graham Family of Ardoch, Dunbartonshire, extract decret of transumpt dated 19 October 1686.

		John Swinton (nepos) Patrick Abernethy (nepos) Andrew Hawick, rector of Liston (Secretary)
<i>RMS</i> , i, no.944	11 December 1413	Gilbert, bishop of Aberdeen (Chancellor) Walter, bishop of Brechin Robert Stewart of Fife (grandson) Sir Robert Maxwell of Calderwood Andrew Hawick (Secretary) Walter Curry (squire) James Arnott (squire) John Chalmers of Glasly (squire) David Allardyce (squire)
NAS GD68/1/1	7 November 1416	Gilbert, bishop of Aberdeen (Chancellor) David Edmondston Patrick Abernethy Andrew Hawick, rector of Liston (Secretary) Walter Curry (squire) James Arnott (squire) William Barclay (squire)
<i>RMS</i> , ii, no.20	18 October 1418	Gilbert, bishop of Aberdeen (Chancellor) John Stewart, earl of Buchan ? Andrew Hawick (Secretary)

4. *Overview and Discussion*



Rare survivals – crosslet arrow-slits at Doone, Brodick (as recorded by the RCAHMS, © Crown Copyright), and Skipness Castles.

x. *Adapting the early castle*

Whether the earlier castle of Doone had fallen casualty to assault or a 14th century slighting, as was the fate of many of Scotland's earlier great castles in the wake of the Wars of Independence, is not documented. However this may be a possibility given the extensive nature of the subsequent

rebuilding in the latter part of that century and thereafter, and that only fragments of the earlier complex were retained.

The earlier fragments seem to have been retained for a variety of reasons. Within the entrance tower the base of the eastern drum tower was neatly truncated at upper first floor level and the new upper tower chambers added. The imposing entrance tower was clearly intended to impress by its sheer mass, the retained flanking drum tower seems intended as much to augment this composition rather than for any overtly defensive purpose. The entrance and passage remained in its original position. The latrine tower was adapted but still performed its intended function – with newly-constructed latrines fed in. It seems that the earlier entrance tower was simply reduced to the level necessary for the construction of the Lord's Hall at first floor level. Where the earlier gatehouse walling could not be retained new walls were built up from the ground – as to the W and NW. Vaulting was inserted throughout the former gatehouse area, this often springing off the early wall remains – effectively a platform was created upon which the Lord's Hall and the tower above were erected. The level of the hall floor did not correspond to the pre-existing levels; the new work evidently necessitated the reduction of the height of the entrance passage wall heads and the insertion of a new vault at lower level.

The shell of the kitchen tower was retained, its exterior side to the W seemingly simply as a solid base and, with an inserted vault, a platform upon which the new upper levels including the massive kitchen flue arrangement were built.

5. *Recommendations*

i. General

ii.

Bibliography and references

Gifford, John and Walker, Arneil Frank (2002)
Buildings of Scotland : Stirling and Central Scotland, 378-382

Appendix A Project Documentation

i. Analytical Notes on Doone Castle (Draft of 27 September 2008)

Visits

Monday 1 September 2008	TA / DA	(Chateau Gaillard conference)
Friday 12 September	TA site visit pm	
Friday 19 September	TA / DA visit am	

The entrance tower contains much earlier fabric - most of ground floor level and a little of the lower 1st floor is of the earlier period. The lower parts of the kitchen tower too. Both areas of survival are characterised by the use of fish-tailed arrow slits; there are 2 crosslet slits within the round tower flanking the E side of the main entrance. The masonry employed in the earlier work is notably different - general rubble stone is the same brown, but the earlier work seems to use consistently smaller and slab-like pieces. The earlier work employs two types of dressing - of the same brown sandstone as the rubble (used for quoining, arrow slits, etc) and a harder grey-brown sandstone, used for entrances, etc. The dressings employed for the later 14th century re-build seem almost exclusively to be of the pale greyish-cream sandstone (in some areas there is a little reuse of earlier material).

Entrance tower.

The lower storey and 1/2 of the round tower flanking the entrance is of early work - at lower level this contains a sub-round chamber with corbelled rubble vault; the entrance to the S is secondary - either there was a smaller entrance at that point or the hatch at the apex of the vault is the original arrangement (a prison?). The entrance arch appears to be partly early - lower E jamb - but otherwise rebuilt (somewhat awkwardly). It looks rather like the entrance arch may be early - there is an early slit on the W side and part of an early opening (incorporated into the shop entrance) - possible that the stones forming these openings are reused, but my gut feeling is that they are in situ. The E side of the passage seems more complex - there is the base of a fish-tailed slit below a later window, but it is possible that this is simply a reused stone. The entrances in the E wall to the chambers beyond are both secondary insertions. The 2 vaulted chambers beyond (on the E side of the entrance passage) seem formerly to have been a single chamber - the vaults and E/W aligned partition wall are secondary. The partition wall and masonry relating to the vaulting partly obscure/infill a broad embrasure within the E exterior wall - this may have led to both an arrow slit at one of the external re-entrants and/or a latrine. It was noted externally on the E wall that the small projecting tower was in part early - its SE angle is in situ, but its NE angle was rebuilt - the tower seems to have been widened to the N. The tower proves to have been a latrine tower - a latrine at first floor level allows one to see into the shaft (the addition of this first floor latrine was probably the reason for the widening of the tower - to add a new WC and to connect it into the pre-existing chute).

Derek spotted the base of an additional fish-tail slit for an opening at the SE corner of what is now the 1st floor chamber ('Duke's Hall') - though the base of the slit is just below floor level - clearly the floor level was raised in the late 14th century. This slit sits neatly at the re-entrant with the E curtain wall - suggesting that the position of the curtain wall in this area is early. The upper parts of this slit were impacted by the insertion of the window at the SE corner of the chamber.

An oddity is that the rear wall of the existing gatehouse / entrance tower seems to have been heavily remodelled - at cellar level on the E side of the entrance passage it was thickened both internally (in part to support the inserted vault) and externally. Encased between these widenings is a pre-existing wall that contains the jambs of an early entrance. This early 'rear wall' is not very thick at all, which is odd if this structure had been a large free-standing gatehouse block. However there survive footings of a building running along the inside of the E curtain wall - these footings appear to pre-date the existing internal face of the curtain wall. It is possible that this range had run northwards to join the rear of the early 'gatehouse' building. The not very thick 'rear wall' of the latter may actually have been an internal cross wall within a range running along the E curtain. Within the entrance passage / tranche there appears what seems to be the stump of a westwards continuation of this 'rear wall' (this at wall foot on the E side of the passage).

The external N wall of the entrance tower on the W side of the entrance seems to be of early masonry (though there was some discussion of the possibility of a further round tower flanking the other side of the entrance -

some masonry poking out of the ground in this area - though on reflection probably not - the arrow slit flanking the entrance on its E side would have been less effective). The NW corner of the existing entrance tower has early quioning that appears in situ. Just behind this corner the wall steps-back before continuing westwards where it forms the side of the present great hall. There is a masonry stump at this re-entrant that indicates there had been a westwards-running wall on the line of the present great hall exterior wall; however the existing great hall seems to be a complete rebuild - vaults and all. One exception is a fragment of earlier masonry incorporated into the base of the W end wall of the great hall block. This fragment contains parts of an entrance - perhaps a postern. This evidence seem to confirm that the exterior N and W walls of the existing hall block run along the line of pre-existing walls - but had there perhaps been a tower at the NW angle (perhaps not)???

Kitchen tower

Much brutalised. The exterior W end of the tower seems relatively well-preserved, with brown sandstone quoining to a bit above existing first floor (kitchen) floor level. In the N wall there is the base of a fish-tailed slit - the outline of the early opening can be readily identified internally (within the kitchen fireplace, N side). Though few diagnostic features remain much of the rubble walling of the N, E and S walls of the kitchen tower may also be early at ground and even first floor level (is it possible that the tusked SE corner of the kitchen tower indicates the line of an earlier W curtain wall rather than an unfinished building project - he says rather controversially!?). Looking at the courtyard-facing elevation of the tower (its E side) it is easy to see that the northern side of the tower was remodelled / when the Servery area was inserted in the late 14th century (and associated chambers above and below) – the exterior elevation angles were the new masonry was added.

A possibility that was considered was whether the kitchen tower had originally contained a chapel on the upper level. Though on a reasonable alignment for this (?with an E window overlooking the court) there is little very obvious evidence to support it ... little more than speculation at this point.

Curtain walls

After much staring neither Derek or I could say with certainty that either the S or W sides of the curtain contained early fabric. However the E side has some complexity - there appears to be a major construction break towards the S end. Could the walling to the N of this be of the early period - at least externally? Could the wall have been thickened/refaced internally - following the removal of the range whose footings are now laid out (as mentioned above). What does the vertical construction break signify - the point where the early enclosure wall had returned westwards? or the point where there had been a corner tower ?? Is it possible that the S and W sides of the original curtain had been rebuilt further to the S and W respectively, to create a commodious court more appropriate to a semi-royal occupant at the end of the 14th century (... and that, yes, his building project remained incomplete in these areas)?

- ii. *Article for Historic Scotland's Members Magazine – text as submitted, July 2009
(published in Autumn 2009 issue)*

Doone Castle –an evolving understanding

by Tom Addyman

Doone Castle, beautifully situated straddling a narrow neck of land above the confluence of the River Teith and Ardoch Water in Stirlingshire, is one of Scotland's great and iconic sites. In its present form it is widely understood to have been built as the quasi-royal personal stronghold of Robert Stewart, Duke of Albany, the natural son of King Robert II and Regent of Scotland from 1388 until his death in 1420. However its more recent fame rests upon its prominent appearance in the 1975 film *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* (French soldier on its battlements to Arthur and his knights : 'Your mother was a hamster and your father smelt of elderberries ...' etc.), an association reinforced by the recent production of a new audio guide to the castle narrated by Terry Jones.

Cinematic immortality apart, for over 100 years the Doone has been lauded as one of the most perfect expressions of late medieval baronial castle-building and a classic of its type – that of a great courtyard castle with a gate-house-keep forming the principal residence and dominating the approach, with exceptionally fine great hall range and kitchen tower adjacent. Certainly this is what the visitor appreciates: a dramatic and complete illustration of a major lordly household and all of its chambers, workings and suites of spaces (albeit considerably restored by the architect Andrew Kerr for the Earl of Moray in 1883-6). This is a key aspect of the site's importance – its ability to effectively communicate an idea of the past - indeed this is one of the only Scottish castles for which David MacGibbon and Dr Thomas Ross attempted a conjectural restoration in their great work, *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland* produced in 5 volumes between 1887 and 1891.

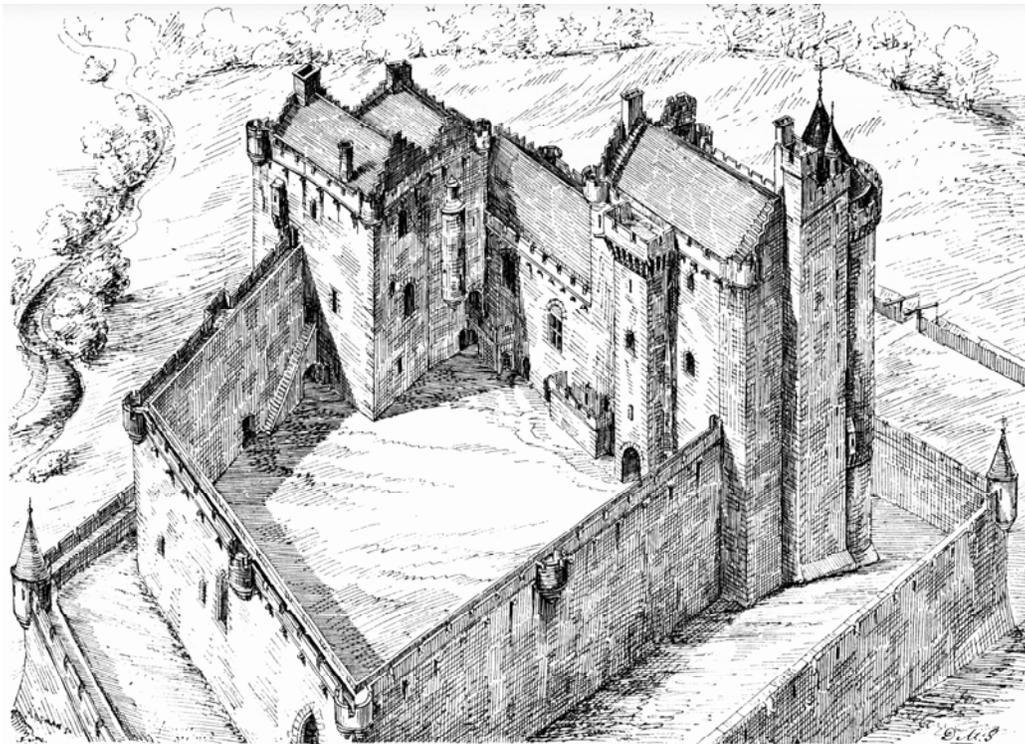


FIG. 362.—Doone Castle. View from the South-West, with some suggested Restorations.

MacGibbon and Ross' view from the SW, 'with some Restorations' – at the time of writing in 1887 the building had just undergone restoration (1883-6).

As well as the sense of wonder that such sites inspire, evoking thoughts of a lost age and society, there is also the intense fascination of exploring every vaulted chamber, nook, passage and gloomy crevice. This fascination captivates child and adult, lay-person and academic alike.

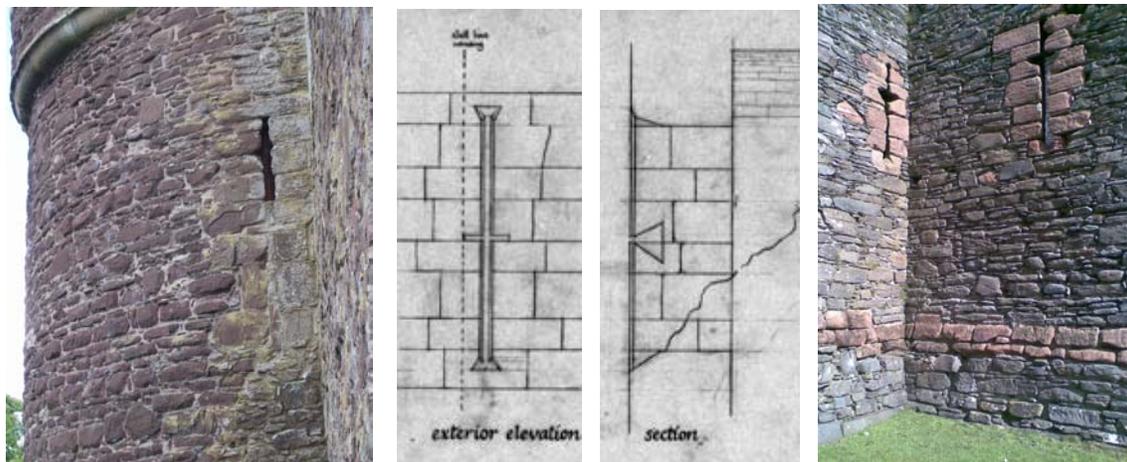
However the architecture of Doune has also long been the focus of serious study and scholarly debate. Its planning has been compared to some of the great castles of Europe, notably the Chateau de Pierrefonds, to the north of Paris. W Douglas Simpson, the great scholar of Scottish castles, argued that Doune should be understood as an architectural response to *bastard feudalism*, a system by which late medieval magnates were thought to have been supported their military activities with paid mercenaries. In an age of feudal anarchy it may have been necessary for the lord to have independent defence of his own lodgings and direct control of the principal entrance – hence the construction of the gatehouse-keep, with retainers' accommodation carefully isolated. More recently such views have been challenged, it being argued that the separation of accommodation at Doune is more apparent than real.

Whatever the current state of scholarly debate, buildings such as Doune Castle invariably reward study and many of the best-known sites can still produce surprises.

Recent discoveries were made on a field-excursion to Doune during the international *Chateau Gaillard* medieval castle-studies conference held at the University of Stirling in September 2008, an event partly sponsored and hosted by Historic Scotland. Under the intense scrutiny of 100 castellologists the building could not fail to concede some of its secrets...and this has led to a reconsideration of the architectural origins of the site.

As its name, *The Doune of Menteyth* (gaelic *dun* = fortified place) suggests, the site is both very ancient and of considerable significance. As early as 1880, Sir William Fraser in his *Red Book of Menteith* suggested the existing structure was not erected all at once, but at different periods. He suggested that the oldest portion of masonry was the remains of a peel tower or keep – apparently parts of the existing gate house. However later writers did not consider this suggestion, and little attempt at systematic analysis of the masonry fabric – as opposed to the architectural form – of the castle has ever been undertaken. Only very recently have there been suggestions once again that Doune Castle may be more complicated than has been long supposed.

While on the conference visit National Trust for Scotland archaeologist Derek Alexander spotted a rather innocuous-looking and much patched-over arrow-slit. With 'fish-tailed' ends and 'crosslet' shape – detailed with an horizontal viewing slit - such features are both rare in Scotland and generally seen in castles of the later 13th or early 14th centuries – a century before the traditional construction date of Doune.



Rare survivals – crosslet arrow-slits at Doune, Brodick (as recorded by the RCAHMS, © Crown Copyright) and Skipness Castles.

With a general look-over further such arrow-slits were identified – another of crosslet form and, in addition to this, parts of at least three further slits with fish-tailed ends. These were found within the lower parts of the great entrance tower and within the kitchen tower. Close study of these areas began to reveal interesting anomalies – changes in construction, relict features, different stonework, and other unexplained complexities. Most telling was that in these areas the dressed stone used at the wall angles and for other carved features was not of the pale grey *Ballengeich* sandstone that is such a well known feature of the castle generally, but of the much browner soft sandstone used in the general construction – the light grey dressings are absent from the earlier construction.



The lower part of the gatehouse-keep at Doone Castle, where one of the part-blocked early crosslet arrow-slits can clearly be seen within the drum tower

Eventually it was possible to gain an idea of the areas where the earlier masonry survived. Surprisingly, this extended to much of the footprint of the present castle, and includes the lower story and more of both the entrance tower and the kitchen tower, apparently large parts of the eastern curtain wall, and fragments at the western end and SE corner of the present great hall range. Wall footings of a building running back from the entrance tower against the east curtain may also date from this period. In fact enough survives to demonstrate that the form of the present castle was largely governed by that of its predecessor. However the significance of the find may go considerably further. (NP)

Who was responsible for the construction of this earlier castle and what can it be compared to?

Doone had long formed part of the lands of the Earldom of Menteith. Although members of two families, Comyn and Stewart, had married Menteith heiresses in the mid 13th century in 1261 it was Walter Stewart who was confirmed as Earl of Menteith by right of his wife. Walter Bailloch 'the Freckled', was son of the High Steward of Scotland. A famous warrior, he had joined the disastrous expedition under St. Louis of France, called the Third Crusade, for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, and fought with great distinction at the battle of Largs in 1263, at which his elder brother, Alexander, the 4th High Steward, defeated the Norwegians under King Haco. It may have been he who was responsible for the erection of the early stone castle.

This suggestion is supported by recent comparison to a group of west-coast sites with which this Earl of Menteith and his brother were associated. The earldom also encompassed Knapdale, with its castle of Skipness, and possibly Arran, with its castle of Brodick, newly erected at that time. Walter's brother Alexander controlled Bute, with its castle of Rothesay, and Kyle Stewart on the Ayrshire coast, whose principal fortress was Dundonald. A number of features seen at Doone are common to other members of this 'family group' – including the notable sophistication of the crosslet arrow-slit. This feature is seen very rarely in Scotland. - the great donjon of Bothwell Castle being one other example.

Doune may in due course be more comprehensively unveiled as an important survival of a baronial castle of the later 13th century, perhaps the greatest century of European castle building, marking a high-point of achievement in design before the onslaught of the gun-powder age. Scotland has a vast resource of later castles, Renaissance towers and artillery fortifications, but precious few major castle sites from before the time of the Wars of Independence of the later 13th and early 14th centuries. Many earlier castles were demolished, ruined or dramatically reduced in the 14th century scorched-earth policy that was intended to deny the English invader strongholds on Scottish soil. The best sites from before this period are either very remote – Tioram, Dunstaffnage, Skipness and Sween on the western seaboard, and Inverlochy and Kildrummy in the Highlands, or fragmentary – Dirleton in East Lothian, Bothwell in Lanarkshire. Caerlaverock, in the Dumfriesshire borderland is a rare and particularly fine exception.

Early Doune is therefore fascinating both as a rare survivor, a major baronial (rather than a royal) castle and because of what it may be able to add to the understanding of Scottish castles of the period.

The remains of the earlier castle have yet to be properly mapped – and it is hoped that this will soon be possible. Much may also be discovered by ground-sensing or even by archaeological testing in the future. This may determine for example whether the early curtain wall to the N and W lay on a different alignment, whether there were further projecting wall towers ... and a host of other questions.

What is certain is that Doune, in common with a great number of Scottish castles, still preserves many of its secrets ... and still has the capacity to challenge our ideas of the past...

Acknowledgements

This article benefits from recent research at Brodick Castle, including a major survey, analytical and comparative exercise by Addyman Archaeology, undertaken for The National Trust for Scotland, a project developed by Derek Alexander. Review of historical sources for this project was undertaken by Prof Richard Oram and Dr Alasdair Ross. Richard Oram's observations on the earlier Stewart family associations with the Doune and the Clyde Basin sites that have fed into this article are gratefully acknowledged.

Fawcett, Richard (1994)

The Architectural History of Scotland : Scottish Architecture from the Accession of the Stewarts to the Reformation 1371-1560

Grove, Doreen (2003, 2007)

Doune Castle, historic Scotland guidebook; this mentions the possibility of earlier fabric within the kitchen tower

Simpson, W Douglas (1938)

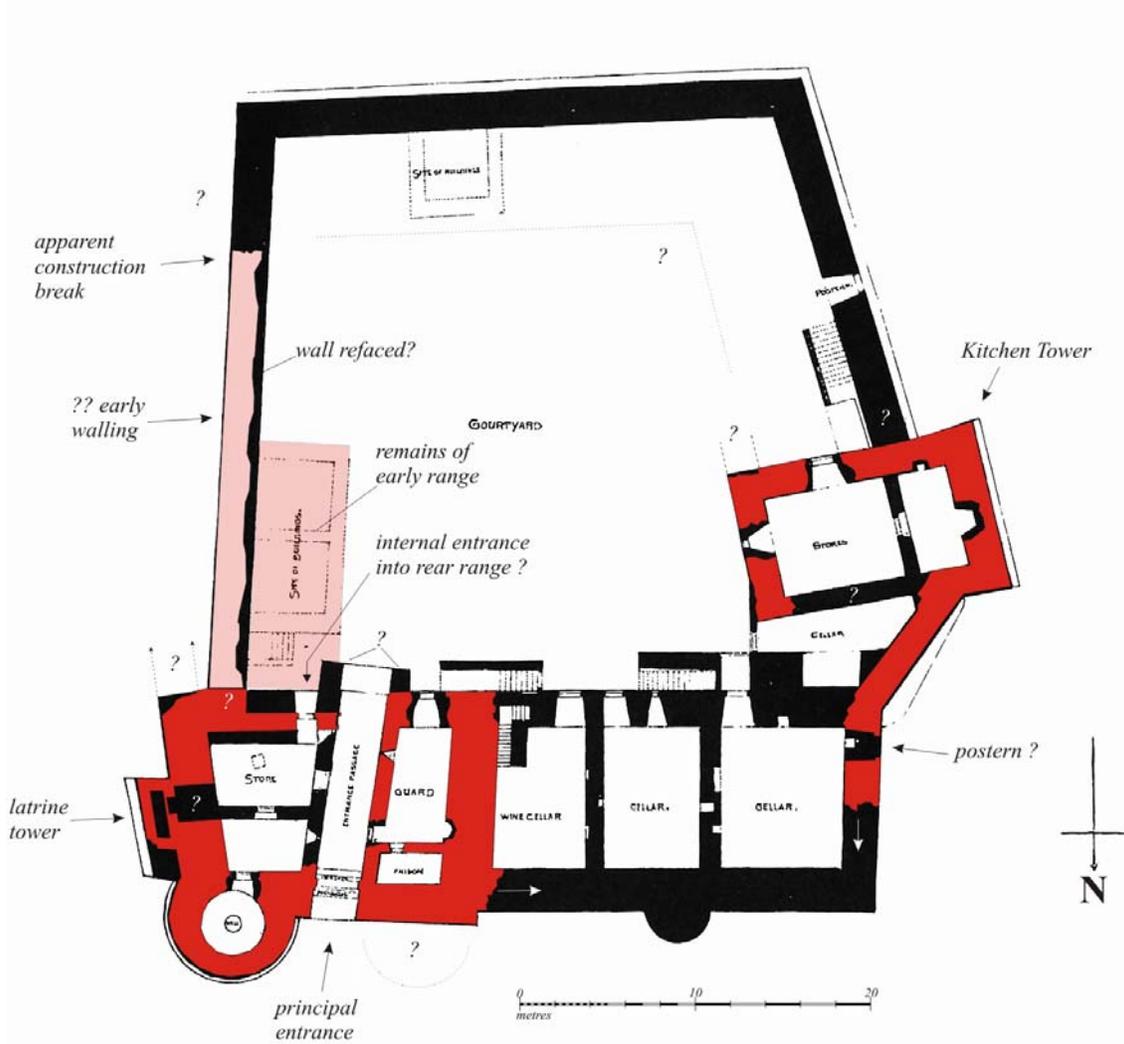
'Doune Castle' in *PSAS*, vol. 72 (1937-8), 73-83

Simpson, W Douglas (1946)

'Bastard Feudalism' and the Later Castles', in *Antiquaries Journal*, vol. 26 (1946)

Simpson, W Douglas (1962)

Doune Castle, guide, Doune Estate; various subsequent editions



Doune Castle : schematic plan suggesting possible extent of surviving later 13th century fabric at entrance level; overlain upon the survey by MacGibbon and Ross (1887)

iii. *Historic Scotland - Project Bid Form (September 2008)*

PROJECT BID FORM

Project Name:- *Doune Castle*

Council Area: *Stirling* **NGR:** NN 7284 0107 **NMRS No:**
 NN70SW 1

Enter 'Scotland' if the project is not area-specific

Sponsoring Inspector: *Richard Strachan*

Date sent to HS: *27 September 2008*

Proposer: *Tom Addyman, Derek Alexander
 and Prof. Richard Oram*

Proposer Unit *Addyman Archaeology*

Legal Status: *In Care*

Nature of Bid: *Bid for HS funding*

Have we paid a grant for this project in previous years? *No*

Nature of Project: *Field project and post-excavation – analytical survey of Doune Castle marking up evidence for phasing, in particular the extent of evidence for newly-identified remains of 13th century castle*

Brief description of project (255 characters (about 30 words) only; see note overleaf):
This will be included in a list of bids to be considered by Inspectors at estimates meetings. The list will otherwise contain mostly money information; so use this field wisely. Read the grant booklet.

- *record evidence for earlier castle on existing survey drawings*
- *review the earlier analytical history of the building*
- *reassess earlier history of the site, and records for previous works at the site*

Environmental impact (Advice on how to fill out this table is provided at the end of this form. It will probably only apply where there is fieldwork and for other projects you may be able to put none in all cells)

Criterion	Impact of this project	Mitigation proposed
biodiversity, fauna and flora	None	
Population	None	
human health	None	
Soil	None	
Water	None	
Air	None	
climatic factors	None	
material assets	None	
cultural heritage, including architectural and archaeological heritage	None	
Landscape	None	
the inter-relationship between these issues	None	

In what follows, all money values must be expressed as net, excluding VAT. If VAT is chargeable, this should be stated.

Who will contribute what other resources each year? (give cash values of resources such as staff time, overheads, grants from others - see the draft Grants booklet sent to you by email, or ask HS for a copy).

Year	Source	Description of what the source is providing	Net Cash Value	%
TOTAL				

What are the total costs by year and what are you asking HS to give as grants?

Year	Any comments	Total Net Cost	Net HS grant	%
2009/10	historical			100
2009/10	drawn analytical survey			100
2009/10	written analysis			100
2009/10	review of existing site records			100
TOTALS	TOTALS			

What are the proposed final products of the project and in what Year do you plan to produce them? (e.g. Published main report, archive, database, spin-off or stand-alone specialist reports, web site,)

Year	Description
2009/10	Data Structure Report
2009/10	Published journal report and articles

Description of project (300 words maximum):

1. This description should be designed to present the bid economically to Inspectors are not familiar with the project.
2. The text should include a description of the subjects and nature of the project, its value to Scottish archaeology and its expected contribution to our knowledge, understanding and management of Scotland's archaeological heritage.
3. It should make clear why this project is being put forward, and why now. Areas of uncertainty in project aims or organisation must be mentioned.
4. It may often be best to submit a formal full Project Design (PD) only once your bid succeeds, because if your bid fails, work on the PD may be wasted. Also, HS may want to take forward something based on similar ideas originating elsewhere. However, you should discuss this with the Inspector whom you hope will sponsor your bid because sometimes a PD will be required for us to consider the bid at al

During the recent Chateau Gaillard Conference visit to Doune Castle near Stirling a number of features were noted which confirm the statement in the most recent Historic Scotland guidebook that part of the castle appears to pre-date Albany's work of the late 14th century. The evidence comes from the identification of two partially blocked-up, fish-tailed, crosslet arrow loops within the lower part of the round tower that flanks the entrance. The slits are of a similar type to one at Brodick Castle, Arran, and at Skipness, Argyll. These types of loops are thought to date to the 13th century and suggest, along with other indications, that there may be the remains of an earlier enclosure castle at Doune. A further visit to check these features in late September identified more evidence of early work, including the remains of another two possible fish-tailed crosslets. The sequence of construction at Doune is complex but a historic building survey of these elements may be able to disentangle the 13th century remains. Could the castle have been destroyed by the Bruce party during the Wars of Independence before being heavily re-modelled at the end of the 14th century? This project aims to record by drawing and photography the architectural evidence for the possible earlier structure. It would include marking up any existing elevation drawings and plans that may be in Historic Scotland's possession and preparing a written analyses of the features. As part of this project it is also proposed to undertake a detailed review of the historical records relating to Doune in an attempt to identify where it fits into the power structures of pre-14th century Menteith.

Blocks of work and Stage payments See below, and the Grant booklet, for advice on how to complete this table.

All money values must be expressed as net, excluding VAT. If VAT is chargeable, this should be stated. VAT will be chargeable

Year	Blocks of work	Summary description	Date (e.g. 1 Apr 2009)	HS Stage payment
2009/10	Block 1	Fieldwork (drawn survey)	Start 1 April 2009	
			Finish 30 July 2009	
2009/10	Block 2	Historical research	Start 1 April 2009	
			Finish 30 July 2009	
2009/10	Block 3	Review of existing site records	Start 1 April 2009	
			Finish 30 July 2009	
2009/10	Block 4	Written account of earlier history of building	Start 1 April 2009	
			Finish 30 July 2009	
2009/10	Block 5	Publication	Start August 2009	£
			November 2009	
	Block 6		Start	£
			Finish	
	Block 7		Start	£
			Finish	
	Block 8		Start	£
			Finish	
	Block 9		Start	£
			Finish	
	Block 10		Start	£
			Finish	
	Block 11		Start	£
			Finish	
	Block 12		Start	£
			Finish	

1. *The blocks of work table allows HS to plan its spending, and must be for the whole project, excluding only publisher's costs.*
2. *For a pilot project, do not include blocks for any envisaged subsequent project.*
3. *Stage payments will normally be paid only when you certify that, (or if so required by HS produce evidence that), the work has been done.*
4. *Each block of work can group together several tasks. The **Summary description of a block of work** must be no longer than needed to characterise it, e.g. 'Fieldwork and Data Structure Report', or 'Final editing'.*
5. *If in doubt the block's **Start** Date should be the start of a month and its **End** date the end of a month.*
6. *You may group blocks of work together for a **Stage payment**. Put each stage payment amount in the row describing the block of work that is the last to be completed before a stage payment is needed. Stage payments will not be made more frequently than once a month. Payments will normally be in arrears.*
7. ***All the blocks of work under one stage payment must fall entirely within one of our financial years (which change at 31 March/1 April).***

PRODUCTS IN THE FORTHCOMING YEAR

Please put a working title and a completion date beside each product which you plan to submit.

Planned Completion Date	Product type	Working Title
August 2009	Data Structure Report	Doune Castle – A reassessment of the architectural and historical evidence for the earlier history of the site : Data Structure Report
1 November 2009	Published article	Doune Castle – a reassessment of the architectural and historical evidence for the earlier history of the site
Spring 2010	DES	Entry – ‘Doune Castle : analytical assessment and historical review’
Summer 2009	History Scotland	Synopsis article
2010	Chateau Gaillard (poster presentation followed by short article – 5000 word)	

- *Project Design / Costed Assessment / Data Structure Report / D&ES report / Interim report for publication / Stage report for HS / First Full Draft of main report / Final draft of main report / Archive / Training materials / Public information*
- *Lecture text / Spin-off report / Synthesis /*
- *Other product*

Appendix B Drawings register

No.	drawing	scale	HS ref.	by	date
1	General site plan - annotated	1:50	323/335/317	TA	02-03/10
2	Exterior N elevation - annotated	1:50	323/335/289	KM	03/03/10
				TA	29/03/10
3	Exterior E elevation - annotated	1:50	323/335/290	AG	23/02/10
				TA	27-29/03/10
4	Exterior W elevation – annotated	1:50	323/335/292	KM	23/02 – 03/03
				TA	23-29/03/10
5	W side of drum tower – annotated	1:50	323/335/293	TA	27/03/10
6	N side of kitchen tower, to W – annotated	1:50	323/335/293	KM	23/02/10
				TA	23/03/10
7	S side of kitchen tower, to W – annotated	1:50	323/335/293	KM	23/02 /10
				TA	23/03/10
8	S side of latrine tower – annotated	1:50	323/335/293	-	-
9	Courtyard, Kitchen Tower, S elevation – annotated	1:50	323/335/302	TR	03/03/10
10	Courtyard, Kitchen Tower, E elevation – annotated	1:50	323/335/302	TR	03/03/10
11	Courtyard, Hall range / Lord's Tower S elevation – annotated	1:50	323/335/303	KM	23/02/10
				TA	27/03/10
12	Lord's Tower, cellars to E, E wall – annotated	1:50	-	AG	23/02/10
		1:20	-	TA	27/03/10
13	Lord's Tower, cellars to E, W wall – annotated	1:50	-	TR	03/03/10
		1:20	-	TA	27/03/10
14	Lord's Tower, pend, E wall - annotated	1:20	-	RC	23-27/03/10
				TA	-

Note - survey visits:

Tuesday	23 February 2010	survey visit (TA, KM, AG)
Wednesday	3 March	survey visit (TA, KM, TR, AG)
Wednesday	17 March	survey visit (TA, DA)
Tuesday	23 March	survey visit (TA, RC)
Saturday	27 March	survey visit (TA, RC)
Monday	29 March	survey visit (TA)