

LINLITHGOW PALACE

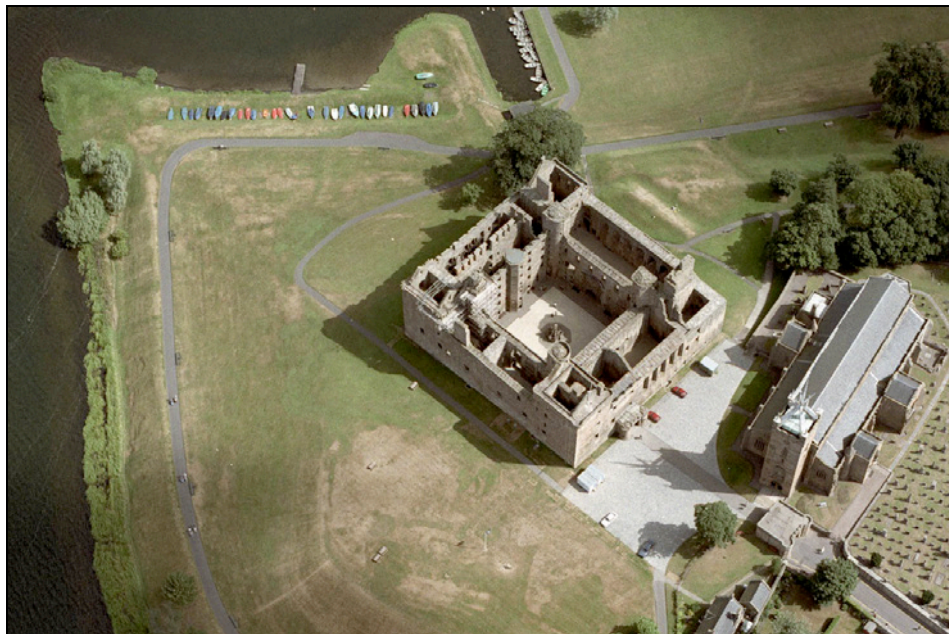
ARCHAEOLOGICAL/HISTORICAL RESEARCH & RECORDING

For

Historic Scotland

By

Kirkdale Archaeology



Volume 1 of 2



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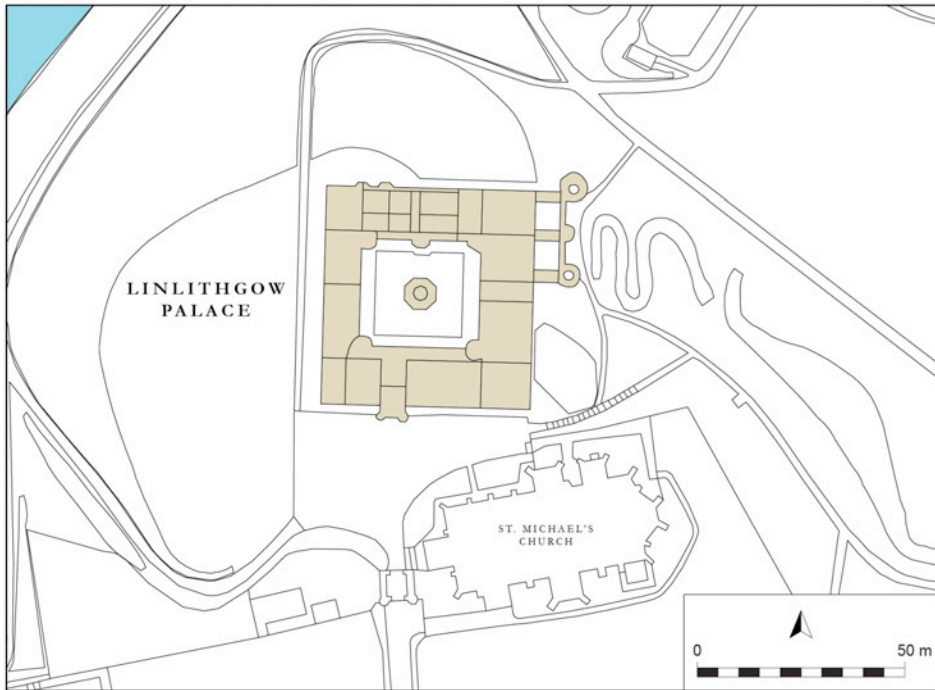
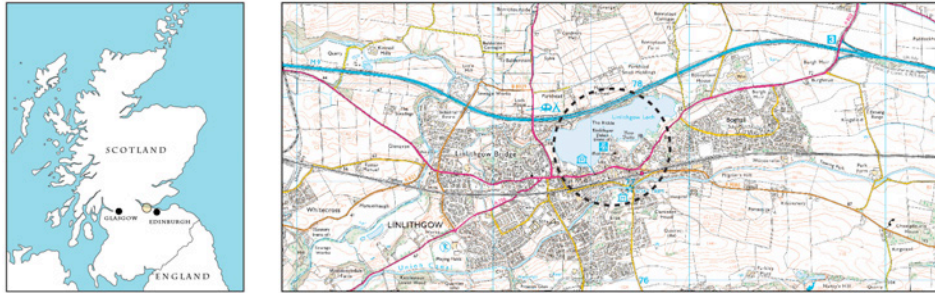
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INTRODUCTION

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Location plan of Linlithgow Palace

At the request of Historic Scotland, Kirkdale Archaeology undertook an intensive programme of archaeological and historical research at Linlithgow Palace, Linlithgow, West Lothian.

This work involved documentary research, the development of an historical overview of the gardens, and detailed recording of the principal spaces ('components') of the palace, including a focussed analysis of the evidence of timberwork within a number of the significant components of the upstanding remains.

The results of this work were presented as a series of technical papers, which are combined and presented below in this two volume report.

THE DOCUMENTATION

The documentation for Linlithgow Palace is given below, in chronological order, quoting from original sources. It is subdivided into ten sections reflecting the main periods of building/restoration.

MAIN BUILDING PERIODS

1. Edward I 1301-
2. James I 1394-1437
3. James III 1451-88
4. James IV 1488-1513
5. James V 1513-42
6. James VI 1566-
7. Cromwellian occupation 1650-59
8. The Earl of Livingstone 1659-1746
9. Fire and after 1746-1855
10. The Board of Works 1855-

1. EDWARD I

Linlithgow was fortified for use as a military base with royal accommodation for Edward I, especially during the 1304 siege of Stirling. Its construction was directed by the architect Master James of St George.

20 October 1301 (Cal Doc Scot II, 319, no 1250)

Edward I, wishing to strengthen the town of Linlithgow, orders crossbows and a 'tour' with appendages to be sent there, either from York or London.

11 June 1302 (Cal Doc Scot II, 331, no 1306)

Indenture between Robert de Wynepol, King's clerk, and Adam de Ethelyngthorp, clerk, written at Linlithgow, witnessing receipt of money for wages of workmen at Linlithgow castle

September 1302 (MW I, lxiv-lxviii)

Works at the Peel

12-28 November 1301 (Cal Doc Scot II, 322, no 1262)

Accounts of expenditure on the King's house and other works at Linlithgow

20 November 1301 - 19 November 1302 (NA E 101/482/21)

Accounts and other documents relating to works at Linlithgow

20 November 1302 - 19 November 1303 (NA E 213/355)

Receipt by Archibald de Levingeston, sheriff, to Robert de Wynepol, clerk, for 102s. 2d. balance of an imprest of £30 made by John de Segrave for the works of the castle at Linlithgow.

20 November 1300 - 19 November 1304 (NA E 101/482/20)

Account of Robert de Wynepol of workmen's wages at Linlithgow

11 June 1302 (*Cal Doc Scot II*, 331, no 1306)

Payment for the workmen in the castle of Linlithgow.

30 June 1302 (*Cal Doc Scot II*, 332, no 1308)

The King commands the sheriff of Northumberland, as Master James de George, master of works at Linlithgow, requires more assistance; to send him 30 of the best carpenters he can find without delay, providing their sustenance by the way.

1302 (*Cal Doc Scot II*, 338, no 1321)

An indenture, dated 12 February 1302, at Roxburgh, appointing Sir John Kyngeston and Sir Archibald de Livingstone 'surveours' and 'ordenours' of the works on the King's fortress at Linlithgow.

15 August 1302 (*Cal Doc Scot II*, 336, no 1321)

On the Assumption of Our Lady, year foresaid, at Lochmaben, Sir Archibald de Levingston undertakes the office of sheriff of Linlithgow, with 10 men-at-arms, and to superintend the King's works at Linlithgow, till Christmas, receiving £30, one half in advance, and the remainder at All Saints.

At 1st September, year foresaid, at Roxburgh, Sir William de Felton undertakes the keeping of the castle and town of Linlithgow, till Christmas, with 83 men-at-arms (11 giving service for the lands held of the King in Scotland) and 100 foot, now working at the castle, who shall be paid for their labour till these works are finished, after which they shall receive ordinary pay.

September 1302 (*Cal Doc Scot II*, 339, no 1324)

Richard de Bremmesgrave to send to Linlithgow 200 qrs wheat, 60 casks wine, 300 qrs malt, 60 qrs beans, 400 qrs oats, 30 qrs salt, 200 qrs sea coal. To be sent to Blackness by water, the sheriff of Linlithgow finding carriage when he can, at the King's cost; but without hindrance to the works at Linlithgow. The victuals to be stored within the great church there.

14 September 1302 (*Cal Doc Scot II*, 340, no 1324)

Linlithgow: there is nothing to do here except 14 perches of peel and 6 bretasches.

William de Felton, warden of the castle, has in his force, with Archibald de livingstone, 84 men-at-arms and 100 foot who are workmen.

October 1303 (*Cal Doc Scot II*, 358, no 1398)

Expenses of 19 carpenters sent to Linlithgow in July 1302 for the work there and the hire of horses carrying two principal carpenters and all their tools, and the men escorting them.

1303-4 (*Cal Doc Scot IV*, 459) Repairs to the pele and ditches after gale damage

Emendacio peli de Linlithqeu- Johanni de Wrocardyn clerico, pro denariis per ipsum solutis pro vadiis Henrici de Berewik carpentarii, percipientis per diem vj d., et duorum aliorum carpentariorum, quolibet percipiente per diem iij d., existencium apud Linlithqeu pro quadam parte peli et fossati fracta pre tempestate venti ibidem, emendanda, a xv die Januarii usque ad xv diem Februarii utroque computato, per xxxii dies, xxxviii s. iij d. Eidem pro tribulis, claiis et una covera emptis per eundem ad opus predictum, iii d.

Eidem pro vadiis sex hominum portancium arenam ad dictum fossatum emendandum per sex dies, xxvi die Januarii pro primo computato, quolibet percipiente per diem ij d., vi s.

Eidem pro vadiis septem hominum portancium eodem modo per sex dies, tercio die Februarii pro primo computato, quolibet percipiente per diem ut prius, vii s.

Eidem pro vadiis ix hominum portancium lapides, et iuvancium carpentarios predictos per unum diem, videlicet x diem Februarii, cuilibet per diem ut prius, xviii d.

Eidem pro vadiis xiii hominum portancium et iuvancium modo predicto per duos dies, videlicet xi et xii dies Februarii, cuilibet per diem ut supra, iiii s.

Eidem pro vadiis sex hominum consimili modo portancium et iuvancium per unum diem, videlicet xiii diem Februarii, cuilibet ut prius xii d.

Eidem pro vadiis suis propriis morando apud Linlithqeu pro vadiis ditorum operariorum solvendis, et pro factis eorundem operariorum supervidendis, ac eciam pro dicto opere festinando, per predictos xxxii dies, percipiente per diem xii d., xxxii s., per compotum factum cum predicto Johanne apud Dunfermelyn xix die Februarii.

Repair of Linlithgow Pele- John Wrocardyn clerk for the money he paid for the wages of Henry Berwick carpenter, receiving a day, six pence, and the other two carpenters, every day receiving 4d., Being a part of the ditch of the Pele in Linlithgow, broken before the storm winds there, amended, of the fifteen day of January until the fifteenth day of February each count by thirty days, thirty shillings. three pence .

Over the picks, clais and one covers bought the work at the Mal d.

For the wages of the six days of the six men carrying the sand to the said ditch, from the 16 January, 2 pence per day

For the wages of the seven men carrying the same way for 6 days.

Same for the wages of nine men portancium stones and iuvancium carpenters said the last day of the tenth day of February , every day as Matt d.

The Congregation is for the wages of the thirteenth of men portancium and iuvancium as earlier described, for two days, that is to say the eleventh and twelfth days of February to any by day, to above, the fourth Sts.

Same for the wages of two men in a similar fashion portancium and iuvancium by one day, the thirteenth day of February , each as John d.

Over the wages paid to their staying in Linlithqeu for the wages of the workers and the workers supervising their actions , as well as the speed of the work, through the thirty days of receiving the twelve d. Isa s .

1305 (NA SC 8/326/E750)

The garrison request that the king will, if it please him, order that they be paid the arrears of their wages as they have been paid nothing

Edward III: 29 September 1337 (*Cal Doc Scot* III, 228, no 1247)

From the town of Lithcu for it is uninhabited on account of the destruction of the war, and totally waste.

2. JAMES I (1394-1437)

Various works carried out at what is referred to as the king's house or manor, restoring the palace after a disastrous fire in 1424.

1399 (ER III, 463) Lead

Et pro plumbo, empto pro edificio domorum regis apud Lithqw constructorum, xliii s.

1404 (ER III, 614)

Et allocate eidem per solucionem factam ad fabricam manerii regis apud Lithcu, ut patet per literam dicti domini regis sub sigillo secreto ostensam super computum v li.

1409 (ER IV, 74)

Et per solucionem factam Angusio de Camera, servienti regis, pro custodia manerii regis apud Lithcu et arche anguillarum... vi li. xliii s. iiii d.

James I returns to Scotland 1424

1425 (Bower 8, 242-3) Palace destroyed by fire

Eodem anno die combusta est villa regia de Lynlithqw, navis eciam ecclesie eiusdem et palacium regis de nocte.

In the same year the royal town of Linlithgow was burned one night, along with the nave of the church and the king's palace.

1425 (ER IV, 391) Stone

Et pro lucracione lapidum pro manerio Regis apud Linqw per tempus computi, sub periculo computancium, x li.

1426 (ER IV, 415) stone, fish ponds

Et allocate Johanni de Waltoun, alteri computancium magistro fabrice manerii regis apud Lithcu, pro lucracione lapidum, calce, clausura manerii et factura vivariorum, et aliis minutis expensis circa reparacionem dicti manerii particulariter examinatis super computum, lxxvi li. vi s. vi d.

1428 (ER IV, 434)

De qua summa, solute Johanni de Waltoun, burgensi de Lynlithcu, magistro fabrice domini nostril regis apud Lythcu, ad emendum tegulas pro dicta fabrica... vi li.

1427-8 (ER IV, 450) Purchase of land on east side

1431 (ER IV, 529-30) Sculptors (lapicide)

Et per solucionem factam diversis lathomis conductis ad fabricum palacii domini nostril regis apud Linqw... ixlx li. xxii d.

Et per solucionem factam diversis carpentariis, conductis et operantibus circa fabricam dicti palacii per tempus supradictum, iiii^o iiii li. xvi s. iiii d.

Et per solucionem factam tam pro calce empto ad dictam fabricam quam factura calcis, factam per computantem per tempus compti lxi li. vi s. viii d.

Et per solucionem factam diversis operariis et lapiscidis operantibus per tempus suprascriptum circa fabricam dicti palacii, ut patet per librum computantis particulariter per auditores examinatum super computum, ixxxviii li. iii s.

Et pro diversis cariaqis lapidum et lignorum, et lapidibus, lignis, tabulis, ferro, et diversis aliis minutis per tempus computi, ad dictam fabricam necessaries, nonnullisque expensis factis per Johannem de Waltoun, unum

computancium, magistrumque fabrice supradicte, ut patet in libro ejusdem fabrice, particulariter per auditores examinato super computum, iiii^{xxvii} li. vii s. id

1434 (ER IV, 555)

£127 12s 8d

1434 (ER IV, 579) Colours for painter

Et pro diversis materialibus colorum liberatus per computantem Matheo pictori regis apud Lithcu xxxvii li. xvi s.

1435 (ER IV, 613) Boards of fir

Et eisdem pro centum tabulis abietum, videlicet fyr, liberates per dictum computantem ad fabricam Regis de Linlithqw, sub periculo computancium, iiii li.

3. JAMES III (1451-88)

1451 Linlithgow forms part of dowry of Mary of Gueldres (RMS II, 150, no 462)

The great customs and burgh fermes of Linlithgow, with the office of sheriff of Linlithgow; the following lands: Kincavil, Drumcours'; all our acres on the east and west sides of the said Linlithgow with the sanctuary, crofts, Bonnytoun, the Lochside, Kingsfield, with an annual rent from the orchard croft [orchardcroft] and the Fethelcroft

1455 (ER VI, 92) Repair of stables

Et pro reparacione stabuli domini regis in palacio de Linlithqw... ix s.

1458 (ER VI, 441) Ditches repaired

Et eidem, pro clausura et reparacione fovearum circa palacium regis

1459 (ER VI, 563) Ditches repaired

Et eidem, pro emendacione foviatarum circa palacium regis in Lithqw

1456 (ER VI, 200) Bombards return from Threave

1456 (ER VI, 204) Bombards return from Threave

1457 July (ER VI, 293)

Payment for repair of the gate broken by the great bombard, 'refeccione porte confracte per medium introitus magni bumbardi'

1457 (ER VI, 323) Gunstones and gun powder bought from Edinburgh to

1458 (ER VI, 385) Repair of great bombard

1459 (ER VI, 563) Two bombards brought from Edinburgh

...molendino de novo constructo ad finem orientalem ville de Linlithqw

Et eidem, pro asseribus dictis Estland burdis, ferro pro clavis, et feodo carpentarii ad emendacione batelle dicti lacus, et diversis aliis minutis circa eandem emendacionem, ut patet in scedula comptanis ostensa comptum circa eandem emendacionem, xxxvi s.

Et eidem, pro fabrica arche anguillarum in exitu dictum lacus, xvi s. xi d.

1458 (ER VI, 440) Carriage of pike, perch and eels from Linlithgow to Edinburgh

1459 (ER VI, 563) Carriage of pike, perch and eels from Linlithgow to Edinburgh

1460 (ER VI, 588) Carriage of pike, perch and eels from Linlithgow to Edinburgh

Preparations for the arrival of Henry VI after his defeat at Towton

1461 (ER VII, 49)

Et eidem, de firmis duarum acrarum terre assignatarum molendino de novo constructo ad finem orientalem ville de Linlithqw, de anno compti, iiii s.

Et eidem, per solutionem factam Johanni de Kincade, custody palatii de Linlithqw, pro reparacione dicti palatii erga adventum Regis Anglie de mandato regine, custode privati sigilli testante mandatum super compotum xxxxi s. viii d.

1462 (ER VII, 154) Supply of slates

Et eidem, pro certis tegulis emptis et deliberates ad palacium de Linlithqw, x s.

1465 (ER VII, 320) Repairs

Et eidem, pro reparacione et tectura coquina nove in palacio de Linlithqw, de mandato computorum rotulitoris, ipso fatente receptum super computum xlvii s.

Et eidem, pro cariagio viginti celdrarum carbonum ad palacium de Linlithqw, xl s.

1466 (ER VII, 404) Repairs

Et eidem, pro triginta sex tabulis de Estland, quatuor celdris calcis, lignis, clavis, tegulis, et aliis tabulis, necnon stipendio carpentariorum et aliorum laborancium in palacio de Linlithqw circa reparacionem ejusdem, de mandato domini regis literatorio sub signeto de precepto, ut patet eciam per cedula[m] dicti Johannis de dicti expensis particulariter examinatum super computum, xi li. xv s. ix d.

July 1469 Marriage of James III and Margaret of Denmark

1469 (ER VII, 617) Provision of timber

Et eidem, per liberationem factam Willelmo Couper as cecandum ligna et tabulas as fabricam palatii de Linlithqw de mandato domini Regis, ut patet per binas literas domini Regis sub signeto Colino Cambel, militia, et Johanni Stewart de Forthbirgill directas, ostensas super computum, et sub periculo computantis, xii li, pro quibus idem Willelmus respondebit.

July 1467 – June 1469 (ER VII, 656-7) Account of Henry Livinston)

...Willelmi Couper, pro lignis ad dictam fabricam. Et xvii li. receptis ab eodem thesaurario in naulo unius navis portantis ligna a Perth usque Blacnes.

1503 (ER XII, 174) works

Et eidem, per solutionem factam quondam Roberto Lundy per Thomas Forest ad fabricam palatii de Linlithqw

1503 (ER XII, 81) brewing vessels

Et eidem per liberationem factam brasiatoribus regis pro reparacione vasorum brasine apud Respondebit Liulithqw de mandato rotulitoris, videlicet lez girthstingis, xv s.

1503 (ER XII, 121)

Et eidem de firmis terrarum de Louchsid deputataruni pro parca doniini regis de dictis terniinis, viij H.

Et de herbagio palatii de Linlithqw occupato cum equis regis de dictis terniinis, x li.

Et eidem de firmis acrarum de Lithqw extendentium ad quatuordecim libras novem solidos et octo denarios de terniinis Pentbecostez et Sancti Martini anni quingentesimisecondi remissis per doniinum regem Thome Poorest, burgensi de Linlith(W, ut patet per literas suas sub sua subscriptione manuali ostensas super compotum, xvij It. ix s. viij d.

Et eidem per solutionem factam Henrico Forest in quindecim libris pro custodia palatii de Linlithqw de terminis Pentbecostez et Sancti Martini anni quingentesimi secundi et Pentbecostes anni quingentesimi tertii de mandato domini regis, ut patet per literas suas sub signeto et subscriptione ostensas super compotum, xv ti. Et Thome Schan, coco principali, percipienti annuatim decem libras octo solidos de firmis de Drumcours in feodo suo, de tribus

terminis predictis, xv H. xij s. Summa expensarum, j^lxxx It. ij s. vj d. Et sic restant Ixxxvij It. x s. viij d. j libra piperis j libra cimini. Et carbones liberantur ad expensas domini regis in palatio de Lithqw.

1503 (ER XII, 156)

Repair of the great furnace and building of a 'brasine' and great cauldron

Et eidem per solutionem factam Thome Forest pro expensis per ipsum factis circa reparationem magna lebetis fornacis et edificationem brasine palatii de Lithqw, extendentibus ad quatuor libras quatuor solidos duos denarios et stipendio cuparii et artificum pro factura dicte lebetis et magnorum vasorum brasine in novis vasis, extendentibus ad novem libras novem solidos, non intratis in libris domicili, xiiij li. xiiij s. ij d.

4. JAMES IV 1488-1513

1504 (TA II, 440)

Payment 'for the bigging of the battaling of the west side of the Place of Linlithqw'

March 1505 (TA III, 130)

Item, be the Kingis command, to Schir Alexander Makculloch, that he laid down for certane reparatioun in the Place of Linlithqw liiii s. viiii d.

April 1505 (TA III, 82)

Item, the viii day of Aprile, to Thomas Forest of Linlithqw, for bigging of the dike about the Pallis, x li.

April 1505 (TA III, 129)

Item, for seidis to the gardin of Linlithqw, ane pund of ingyoun seid, ane pund leik seid, and other divers small seidis of sundrie prices xiii s. x d.

20 May 1505 (TA III, 140)

Item, for ane lok for the wardrobe dur in Linlithqw xvi d.

Item, the xviii of Maii, to the gardinar of Linlithqw xiiii s.

Item, to Schir William Malvile to pas fra Strivelin to Linlithqu to ger mend the Place agane the Quenes cummyng lvi s.

June 1505 (TA III, 143)

Item, to Schir William Malvile, to the mending of the Place of Linlithqw, at the Kingis command xlv s.

July 1505 (TA III, 148)

Item to Schir William Malvile, the expens maid on the reparatioun of the Place of Linlithqw, by viii li. xii d., enterit in this buke of befor the xviii and xxvii dayis of Maii and the xix day of Junii bipast xx li. xix d.

July 1505 (TA III, 149)

Item, the ix day of Julii, to the Italien menstres for thair hors hire fra Edinburgh to Linlithqw and syne fra Linlithqw to Strivelin, be the Kingis command, xxviii s.

Item, to the Quenes lutair, be the Kingis command, xxviii s.

Item, to the trumpetis, be the Kingis command xiiii s.

Item, the x day of Julii, in Linlithqw, for the hous mail quhair the Quenes gere lay of hir stabill iii s.

Item, payit to Johne Wallas for ane hors hire for the silvir weschale fra Edinburgh to Linlithqw and syne to Strivelin iiiii s.

Item, to Johne Forman that he laid down for the hyre of tua beddis in the Kingis chamir in Linlithqw; ilk nicht xvi d., summa xii s.

July 1505 (TA III, 84)

Item [the ix day of Julij], to Thomas Forest to bigging of the peil dikis of Linlithqw, vj li.

August 1505 (TA III, 153)

Item, the second day of August, payit to the Comptrollar that he gaif to xxiiii cartis with the Quenis carriage fra Edinburgh to Linlithqw, xxiiii unicornis, and syn fra Edinburgh to Linlithqw, and syn to Strivelin thareftir; ilk cartis of xxiiii cartis 11 unicornis, quilkis is xlviii unicornis; summa lxiiii li. xvi s.

September 1505 (TA III, 159)

Item, to the gardinar of Linlithqw to by viiii stales of beis, viii Franch crounis, summa v li. xii s.

September 1505 (TA III, 162)

Item, the xxi day of September, payit to Thomas Peblis for xvii feet of new glas in Linlithqw xx s.

Item to four men helpit to tak doun the arres werk in Linlithqw xvi d.

February 1506 (TA III, 181)

Item, to him that gaif to tua cariage hors fra Edinburgh to Linlithqw with the clathes of Ercules iiiii s.

June 1506 (TA III, 201)

Item, in Linlithqw, for mending of closetis and the hede of the Place, be the kingis command xlii s.

8 July 1506 (TA III, 89)

Item, the xii day of August, payit to John Davidson, cordonar, for iiiii gret barkit hides, ilk ane of iiiii gret barkit hides, to cover the Quenes cartes quhen scho passit to Linlithqw; ilk pece v li., summa xx li.

October 1506 (TA III, 347)

Item, to the foure Italien menstrales to fee thaim hors fra Linlithqw to Edinburgh viii s.

Item, in Linlithqu, for the hous mail qhair the Quenes chariot, pilganes and sadillis lay xx s.

February 1507 (TA III, 367)

Item, for seidis for the yardis in Strivelin and Linlithqw xiiii s.

February 1507 (TA III, 297)

Item, the v day of Februar, to the masons of Linlithqw in part payment of the paythment of the chapel in Linlithqw iii li.

April 1507 (TA III, 298)

Item, [the xxv day of Aprile], to the masonis of Linlithqw, in compleit payment of the paithment of the chapel in Linlithqw iiiii li.

June 1507 (TA III, 392)

Item, in Linlithqw, to the King quhilk he tynt at the rowbiles [bowls] with Johne Dunlop and Alexander Makcullo, xxviiij s.

Item, the xvij day of Junij, to the gardinar of Linlithqw, xiiij s.

Item, the xviiij day of Junij, for ij lokkis, ij keyis to the werkhous in Linlithqw, x s.

July 1507 (TA III, 407)

Item, for tua hors fra Edinburgh to Linlithqw and syne agane to Edinburgh with paraling [hangings?] of the Quenes chamir viii s.

December 1507 (TA IV, 89)

Item, to the maister masoun in Linlithqu for rigging up the chapel in the Place with stane xlii s

March 1507 (TA IV, 106)

Item, to the gardener of Linlithqw to by seidis to saw thair viii s. iii d.

July 1508 (TA IV 134)

Item, to the gardinar of Linlithqw that brocht straberyis and cheryis to the King v s.

August 1508 (TA IV, 139)

Item, to the gardinar of Linlithqw for strayberyis and cheryis viiii s.

September 1511 (TA IV, 175)

Item, the xxvii day of Sepotember, in Linlithqw, for three trigentale missis iii li.

1511-2 (TA IV, 279-80)

Item, to Stewin Bawtee, maissone, with his prenteis and tua maissonis with thaim, takande for him self and his prenteis ouklie xiiij s., and for the said tua maissonis siklik wolkie xiiij §., for waxis, expens, and feis wirkand one the Palace of Linlithgow fra the ix day of August last bipast exclusive to the ix day of August within the tym of this compt, makand lij wolkis; deliverit to thaim in haill payment tharof, lxxii li. xvi s.

Item, to the said Stewin Bawte, for expensis maid be him one the werk of the said Palace in lyme, sand, leding of stanis and utheris necessaris, as his bulk of compt beris fra the sext day of September to the ix day of Julij within the tyme of this compt, xlvijli. xix s. vi d.

Item, the v day of Aprile, deliverit to Thome of Pebles to stent the wyndois of the Palace of Linlithgow agane Pasche, xxxvj elnis Bertane claith; price elne ii s. vj -d.; summa iiiii li. x s.

Item, to the said Thomas, for diverse irne werk in glasbandis, claspis, and utheris necessaris for the wyndois of the said Palace, fra the x day of Marche to the xx day of Aprile; price of the stane in maid werk vi s. viij d.; summa xiii li. xv s. ix d.

Item, to the said Thomas, for the glassinnyng of all the wyndois of the gret hall of the Palace of Linlithqw, in all necessaris completlie by ime werk, eftir the conditioun maid with him the xx day of Aprile be my Lord Thesaurar, x li

Item, to Schir Alexander Makellocht, for expens maid be him one neidfull thingis at the said Palace fra the xxv day of Maij inclusive to the xxvi day of Julij inclusive, within the tyme of this compt, efter his billis of compt gewin tharone, viijli. xvi s.

Item, to Robert Calendar, for ane cobill boght be him and send too the loch of Linlithgow the vij day of Junij last bipast xlii s.

August 1512 (TA IV, 373)

Item, to Maister David Traile, for carriage of the chapell grath and organis of Edinburgh to Linlithqw, xxi s.

September 1512 (TA IV, 374)

Item, to Steven Bawte in complete payment of feys and expensis maid be him on the Palace of Linlithqw fra the ix of August bipast to the ferd day of September thaireftir inclusive, makand four wolkis, as the said Stevennis compt buke bure in it particularly x li. ii s.

October 1512 (TA IV, 379)

Item, to Steven Bawte, takand for himself and his prentice wolkly, xiiii s., and for twa servitouris waxis, xiiii s., and for lyme, sand, caberis, werkmenis waxis, lath, nailis, haddir, wekir, tempill, wattillis, crukis, bandis, and utheris necessary spendit on biggyng of the brewhous and fornace of the Palace of Linlithqw, as his compt buir, fra the fird day of September last exclusive to the second day of October inclusive, makand four wolkis xvii li. vi s.

1513 (TA IV, 523-5)

The werkis of linlithqw.

Item, to James Carvour, fra Pasohe evin the xxvj day of Marche exclusive to the Setterday the last day of Aprile inclusive, it beand in the haile v wolkis, he takand in the wolk for himself xij s, and for his seruand ix s, makand in the v wolkis the soume of v lib. v s.

Item, to Gilyem, Franchman, that maid the organis, for his laubouris tharon, at the kingis command, in ten licht Franche crounis, vii li.

Item, to the sclatter tyrvand, thekand and correckand the chapell in Lithqw, for ilk rude, feit be Stevin Baity, xxviii s, quhilk met and mesurit oontenis vj rudis i ½ ell ; summa viii li. xiiij s. viii d.

Item, for vj punctionis to be pinnis to the said sclatter for the chapell, xii s.

Item, for fog brocht fra the hanyng to the chapell, x s.

Item, for ix^c iii^{ce} lath broid, price of the i^c xii d.; summa ix s. vi d.

Item, for viij greit glaspes deliverit to Gibyem for the binding of the organis to the wall quhilk was iij quarteris of lenth weyand ii½ stane, price of the stane v s. x d.; summa xiiii s. viij d.

Item, to Gilyem, ij^c planceour nailis, iiiij d.

Item, to him, ii^c window nailis, xii d.

Item, to him, iiiij laid of colis, ij s.

Item, for iii^c scailze, price of the hunder x s.; summa xxx s.

Item, for cariage of thaim to Lithqw, vi s.

Item, for the furnissing of ane dure to David Lindesay in the north tour, quhilk had ii new crukis, ii newbandis and nailis to thaim, ane lok with keye and leid to the crukis, vi s.

Item, to the chapell and lairdner durris for nalis to thaim, viii d.

Item, to ij workmen for the dichting of the lardner, iiiij s.

Item, to red the uvir lardner and setting of burdis in it to be ane chalmer, iiiij s.

Item, to cast ane scyoure on the est syd of the place, vs.

Item to ane grete lok of the foryett, ij greit glaspis, and mending of the sloit , ii s.

Item, for the sawing of ij smale gestes and ane spar, xvi s.

Item, for the sawing of vj Estland burdis, iiiij s.

Item, for ix draucht in iij burdis, ii s. iii d.

Item, for the caryng up fra the Blaknee to Lithqw of xxxvi Estland burdis, vi s.

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- Item, to Thome Peblis, glasyn wryht, for viiji fute glas new maid in the Quenys oratour, met be James Dog, price of the fute xliij d.; summa ix s. xi d.
- Item, for vij stane of glas bandis to the paleis, price of the stane vi s. viij d.; summa xlvi s. viii d.
- Item, to Stevin Balty, masoun, and his seruand, fra the xv day of Maij inclusive to the xxv day of Junij exclusive, it beand vj wolkis, he talkand in the wolk for himself and his seruand xx s.; summa vi li.
- Item, to xj werkmin that maid thair service this vj oulkis, xxxvj s.
- Item, for ij chalder of lyme, xvi s.
- Item, for sande to mix the lyme with, iiii s.
- Item, to red ane port of uthir half rude in the quarell, xl s.
- Item, to the quareour that brak the quarell iij dais, v s. iiii d.
- Item, for iij dusone cairtfullof stanis, xxxii s.
- Item, for half a chalder of lyme, iiii s.
- Item, for seye sand to it, ii s.
- Item, to the sklatter that thekit the ester tour nixt the kirk with this lyme and sand, xxxvj s.
- Item, to James Carvour, ij^e sylour naile, xii d.
- Item, to Gilyem, ij drauchtis of irne to the organis of vij quarteris of lenth with ij irne pinnis weyand ij stane, price, xii s.
- Item, for the sawing of Estland burdis, vs.
- Item, to Stevin Balty and his seruand, fra the xxv day of Junij inclusive to the vj day of August exclusive, it beand vj wolkis, he takand in the wolk for him and his seruandis xx s.; summa vi li.
- Item, comptit with Stevin Balty and pait him, fra the xij of Jullij inclusive to the xij of December exclusive, for all bocht geir and necessaris in Lithqw, as follows: —
- Item, inprimis to the park yett iij grete bandis, iij crukis, a staple and grete nalis for the bandis weyand ij stane, price of the stane v s. iij d.; summa x s. viii d.
- Item, iij bandis and iij crukis with nalis to the princis sellar dure; price vi s. viii d.
- Item, for ane lok to the said dure, ii s.
- Item, for ane lok to the spycehous dure, iij s.
- Item, for ane loke to the park dure, xvi d.
- Item, for ane loke to the particular hous dure quhar the tymer lay, ii s,
- Item, for ii crukis to the chapell dure weyand i a stane; price iii s.. iiii d.
- Item, for a loke to the wardrop dure, ii s.
- Item, for the cariage of j^e rauchteris fra the Blaknes to Lithqw, vi s.
- Item, deliverit to the wrichtis vj^e dure naile, ilk hunder xii d.; summa vi s.
- Item, half a hunder planceour naile, x d.
- Item, to the smyth, Alexander Riddoch, for iij stane of irne in bandis and crukis to the masone luge and uthir office hous, price of the stane vj s. vj d. ; summa xix s, vj d.
- Item, for ane lok to the quenys pantre dure, ii s.

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- Item, to bere the tymer furth of the slyke that came up fra the Margret, xvi s.
- Item, for the cariage of ix pece tymer, ane dusone of dalis, iiii cartis, ilk cart ii s.; summa viii s.
- Item, for the cariage of ix pece tymer fra the Blaknes to Lithqw in xii cartis, ilk cart ii s.; summa xxiiii s.
- Item, for the housyne of the said tymer, ii s.
- Item, to the sawaris sawand tymer to Maister Johne and to the luge, and for the sawing of vii dailis, xiiii s.
- Item, for ii^m sklaitis, price of the thousand iii li. x s.; summa vii li.

Item, for the cariage of thaim till Lithgw in xiiii cartis, xxviii s.
Item, for the sawing of ane rude of lath to the luge, ix s.
Item, for i^m laith brode, viii s.
Item, for 1/2 a hunder thak naile, xii d.
Item, to the sclatter for the theking of ane rude, xxviii s.
Item, to ii cartis that past to the Torwod and brocht hame iiij grot treis, ilk cart on the day vii s.; summa xiiii s.
Item, to ii werkmen that clenzet ii cloettis, vi s.
Item, for iii dusone cairtfull of stanis to Stevin Baity, ilk dusone viii s., summa xxiiii s.
Item, to ij werkmen for the clenging of closettis, viii s.
Item, for vi cairtfull of stanis, iii s.
Item, deliverit to the wrychtis, betuix the xij day of September and the secund day of October, vjc dure naile, price of the hunder xv d.; summa vii s. vi d.
Item, half a hunder placeour nalis, xv d.
Item, tane fra the smyth iiij crukis to the luge dure, xii to the windois, ii to the fumes, ii to the kechyne windo, with x pair of bandis efferand tharto and nalis to the bandis weyand iii stane maid werk; summa xvj s. vj d.
Item, for ane lok to James Cartar, ii s.
Item, comptit with Stevin Baity, masone, fra the last day of October to the xix day of December, it beand vii wolkis, he takand in the wolk for himself and his prenteis xiiii s., and for his seruand vii s.; quhilk is wolkly xxi s.; summa vii li. vii s.
Item, to ane bote to pas up the watter with iii dusone of Estland burdis to Lithqw, viii s.
Item, to the said bote for hydis to Leith, vii s.
Item, to Stevin Baity for stuf bocht be him to the wrychtis, masonis, furnesing, and all uther necessaris in Lithgw the said tyme of vii wolkis, eftir his compt maid tharapone, be the kingis command, xv li. xv s.
Item, to James Carvour for xii wolkis immediate eftir Witsonday, he werkand in Lithgw, at the kingis command, xii li. xvi s. iii d.

Summa of the werkis of Lithgw i^c: ix li. ii s.

1513 (TA IV, 446)

Item, the xiiij day of Aprile, to Schir Walter Bamsay to the werk in Lynlithtqw and deliverit to Stevin Bawte, masoun, in his name, xvij li. xvij s vj d.
Item, the xxij day of Aprile, deliverit to Schir Walter Bamsay in Linlithtqw to the organe werk thare, x li.

1526

Douglas-Hamilton papers (NRAS 2177 bundle 2103)

Judicial ratification by Margaret Tudor, with consent of Archibald, earl of Angus, lord Douglas, her spouse, of feu charter made by her son, the king, under his great seal, to James Hammyltoun of Fynnart, of lands of Houstone and others in lordship of Linlithgow, with gift of captaincy of palace thereof, for days of granter's life, 21 October 1526.

5. JAMES V 1513-42

A major building campaign took place at Linlithgow between early 1534 and August 1536. This included creating the new entrance on the south side of the palace with the road leading to it, the fountain in the courtyard, and major alterations to the chapel and the kitchens.

1534-5

April 1534 (MW I, 123) Roadway

The compt of the causa stanis leding betwex the uttir yett and the innyr yett with the rudis of causay within and without the said palice

Item to Johne Caling the causay stanis leding be task betwex the uttir yett of the palice of Linlithqw and the innyr yett, xii lib.

Item the said Johne caling for the rud makkyn within the clois and without the said palice and for haveand away the same, xviii lib.

Item to the causay maker for xlii rud and ane half rud of causay makkin within the palice and without the price of the rud makkin xi s, summa xxiii lib. vii s. vi d.

Timber

Febuary 1534-January 1535

Item fra Robert Jamesoun of the ferry v xii gestis of xxiiii futtis of lentht the price of the pece vii s., summa xxxix lib. iii s.

Item fra the persoun of caddir and utheris in the Quenis Ferre ane hundir v^{xx} xii wainscot the price of the pece v s., summa lviii lib.

Item for fraucht and pynor fe the ferry to the Blacknes, xxvi s.

Item for carrying of thame fra the Blaknes to Linlithqw, v lib. vii s.

The xiii day of Maii

Item for xix gestis in Dunde to the chapel of xxxvi futtis of lentht the price of the pece xxii s., summa xx lib. xviii s.

Item for pynour [porters] fee. vii s. viii d.

Item for fraucht fra Dunde to the Blaknes, iii lib. v s.

Item for cariage of thame fra Blaknes to Linlithqw, ii lib. ii s.

1 June 1534 (MW I, 124) Birch from Callendar wood for scaffolding for the chapel ceiling

Item for sax dosone of gret birkin treis in the Callenter vod to be schaffaldin and trestis to the chapel syloring, v lib

For the carriage of thame to Linlithqw, xxxiiii s.

Others timber during June to September (MW I, 124)

20 June 1534

Item for aucht knarrattis [clapboard] in Leiitht, v lib. iiiii s.

For the pynour fe and fraucht to the Blaknes, iiiii s. ii d.

Item for the carage of thame to linlithqw, ii s. viii d.

(MW I, 127)

Door furniture for the two pantry doors 'within the kyngis grace gret hall.

Case windows for the 'Lyon chalmer'.

Bolts for the trestle feet in the great hall and for the back of the 'syloring' (canopy) of the altar in the chapel.

February 1535-January 1535

Nails for the 'heid of the wtter gret bukwerk' (bulwark) (*MW I*, 127).

'Gret nalis to nale the sioring and angularis of the kyngis grace kechin' (*MW I*, 128).

Painters account Feb 1534 – January 1535 (*MW I*, 128)

Item to Johne Ros payntour for the paynttyne of ane Lyon thua unicornis that suls stand upone the foirentres and the salutatioun of our lade with the wle pege and pape the knycht and the laborius man with thre billis abowne the pape knycht and laborius mannis hedis with all the new irne wyndoys that is put wp. In the first with red led and syne with wermione with all the prekkettis that the thanis standis on and sall gyly the crossis and ballis so mony as wanttis xlvii lib.

To the said Johne Ros payntour for payntting of the linyng of the chapell syloring with fyne asur and xii ballis under the chapell loffit v99 lib. vi s. viii d.

Glazier's account for the five chapel windows and the Lyon chamber, Feb 1534 – January 1535 (*MW I*, 128)

Item to Thomas Peblis for glasing of the fyve chapell wyndoys. The quhilk extendis to of quhit glas xiii^{xx} viii futtis and a half a futt of maid werk the price of the futt xiiii d. summa, xv lib. xiii s. iii d.

Item to the fyve ymagis of the said paynttis werk extendis to xxix futtis the price of the futt of mad werk vi s. viii d., summa ix lib. xiii s. iii d.

Item to Thomas Peblis for the glasing of the fyve wyndoys of the west syd of the Lyon chalmer. The quhilk extendis to of quhit glas iii^{xx} ii futtis and thre quartis of ane futt the price of the futt xiiii d., suuma iii lib. xiii s. ii d.

Item the haile paynttit werk of the said fyve wyndoys of the said Lyon chalmer extendis to xxi futtis and ane quarter of ane futt the price of the futt vi s. viii d. summa, vii lib. xx d.

Payments to Sir James Hamilton of Finnart 'maister of werk' and to Sir Thomas Johnson chaplain and 'oursear to this wek' for Feb 1534 to January 1535 (*MW I*, 130-1)

1538 (*TAVI*, 448)

Item, to the wricht of Linlithqw for uphalding of the tymmer werk in the palice of Linlithqw, the stuff beand fund till him, eftir the forme of the contract maid betuix him and Schir James hammiltoune of Fynnert, knycht, for Whitsunday terme bipast v lib

The court moved to Linlithgow in the beginning of August 1538 and remained there until the end of September

1538 (*TA VII*, 88)

Item, for ane hors vage feit be the tapisare to turs twa welvot charis fra Linlithgow to Striveling, iiiii s..

Item, to the pynnouris for tursing of the tapessery betwix sindry chalmeris, and for the doun taking of thame quhen the Kingis grace departit furtht of Linlithgow to Striveling, and dighting thairof, vi s.

Item, for foure hors vage feit to turs the said tapessery fra Linlithgow to Striveling that samyn tyme, price of ilk hors iiii s.; summa xvi s..

Item, for ane hors vage to bring the tapisserie that lyes under the Kingis and Quenis seit fra Linlithgow to Striveling, iiii s.

Item, for x hors cariage fra Linlithgow to Striveling with the Quenis cofferis, hir ladyis and servandis, ilk hors havand iii s; summa xxx s.

October 1538 (TA VII, 94)

Item, for foure hors carriage to turs certane cofferis with tapischery fra Linlithgow to Striveling, xvi s.

Item, for viii hors carriage with xi beddis and twa malis for the quenys grace and hir ladyis fra Linlithgow to Striveling, price of the hors iii s., summa xxiiii s.

Item, for x hors carriage with the quenys cofferis, Lady Jane, uthir ladyis and servandis of the quenys grace as David Sibbaldis bill of compt beris particularie furth of Linlithgow to Striveling, price of ilk hors iii s., summa xxx s.

1539 (TA VII, 60)

Item, gevin to Schir James Hammiltoun at the Eingis grace command for reparatioun of the Palice of Linlithqu, iiii^o cronis.

1538 (TA VII, 91)

Item, deliverit to Schir James Hammiltoun in part of payment of sowmes of money awand to him be the Kingis grace for expensis maid be him one the palice of Linlithgow and the castell of Blaknes, j^clxxx li. [£180]

After celebrating Christmas at Holyrood, the court returned to Linlithgow in January 1539 and stayed until the end of March.

January 1539 (TA VII, 128-9)

The Expensis debursit upoun carriage of the Kingis and Quenys geir furtht of Edinburgh to Linlithgow the said moneth

Item, deliverit to Thomas Myllar and Robert Steward for iiii drauchtis of tapeschery fra Halyrudehous to Linlithgow, the ix and xi dais of January, price of ilk draucht xviii s., summa iii li, xii s.

Item, deliverit to the tapischer for the mending of twa lokis, and for nalis to have to Linlithgow to hynge up the tapischery, and for servandis wagis in dighting of the samin or the departing furtht of the abbay, viij s.

1539 (TA VII, 195)

Item, gevin to Schir James Hammiltoun at the Kingis command for reparatioun of the Palice of Linlithqu, iiii^c crouns [400 crowns]

1539 (TA VII, 195)

Item, gevin to Schir James Hammiltoun for the biging and upputting of the grete brais [breast or arch of a chimney] of the Kingis grace kiching in Linlithgow with the une of the samin, with ane silver weschellhous, ane cole hous, and ane grete librall [library] within the palice of Linlithgow, as his compt maid and resavit thairupoun beris, j^ciiij li. xiiij s. viij d. [£104.13s.8d].

1539 (TA VII, 199)

Item, to Robert Murray, plumber, for his yearlie pensioun for the upholding of the places of Holyruhous and Linlithqu in theking of leid, xx li.

June 1540 (TA VII, 315)

Item, gevin to Schir Thomas Johnnesoun, kepar of the palice of Linlythqw, xx li.

1540 (TA VII, 335)

Item, to Robert Murray, plumber, for his pension of the termes foresaidis for the upholding of the places of Holyruhous and Linlithqw in theking of leid, xx li.

1540 (TA VII, 339)

Item, to Schir Thomas Jhonstoun, chaplane, for uphalding of the palice of Linlithqw watter tycht, cleinging of the alliring, and for utheris laubouris to be done be him thairin, as is contenit in the comptrollaris compt, xx li.

1540 (TA VII, 401)

Item, to Schir Thomas Jhonstoun, for the rest of ane compt of the warkis of Linlythqw as the said compt and precept directed thairupoun beris, xxiii li. iiii s. ii d.

April 1541 (TA VII, 444)

Item, the xv day of Aprile, gevin to Williame Danielstoun in complete payment of his comptis, for cariage of certane tymmer, and utheris expens debursit be him upoun proping of the northt quarter of the palice of Linlythgow, as his compt beris, xxj li. xij s. iiii d. [£21.8s.4d].

June 1541 (TA VII, 456)

Item, to Williame Danielstoun to mak expensis upoan the hedding of the chymnayis and uther wark in Linlythqw to compt and rekkenyng, xxx li.

Next entry, for comparison: August 1541 (TA VII, 472)

Item, to Williame Forrest, for thre pair of gret dog irnys for deir doggis ourgilt witht gold, witht thair colleris of puppur velvet studhit witht gilting stuthis, and for arowhedis furnesit be him to the Kingis grace, and deliverit to Johne Tenent, as his compt subscrivit with the said Johnnes hand beris, iiii li, vii s.

August 1541 (TA VII, 472) 'theking of the chapell'

Item, to Williame Danielstoun, in complete payment of his comptis for theking of the chapel in the palice of Linythqw, and utheris wark done be him, as his comptis gevin thairupoun beris, xvi li. xii s. i d.

1541 (TA VII, 478)

Item, to Robert Murray, plumber, for his pensioun for the upholding of the laid of the palices of Halyrudhous and Linlithqw, xx li.

1541 (TA VII, 480)

Item, to Williame Danielstoun, keeper of the palice of Linlithqw in Schir Thomas Johnnestonis place, xx li.

November 1541 (TA VIII, 39) Lead

Item, gevin to James Atkynsone for twa fiddir of laid furnesit be him to the warkis of Linlythqw and Striveling and deliverit to Robert Murray, plumber, price of ilk fydder xxii li, summa xliiii li.

April 1542 TA VIII, 72, Fountain

Item, gevin to William Danielstoune for expensis debursit be him upoune the fontane of Linlythqu, as his compt gevin thairupone beris, iii li. ii s.

August 1542 TA VIII, 111 Office houses

Item, on the viii day of August, gevin to Williame Danielstoun in parte payment of xx li. for biging of certane office housis in Linlithqu x li.

March 1542 (TA VIII, 177) Spanish iron for windows

Item, the xxvii day of Marche, deliverit to William Hill, smyth, to be certane irne windois to the palice of Linlithqu, lxxxxi stanis xi pund Spanze irne, price of the stane vi s. vi d., summa xxix li. xvi s.

Item, deliverit to him hereaster lxvi stanis xii pund Spanze irne, price of the stane vi s viii d., summa xxii li v s.

June 1543 (TA VIII, 193) iron for windows

Item, deliverit to Williame Hill, smyth, the xxii day of Junii, to compleit the irne windois in the palice of Linlyqw, xxiiii stane Spanye irne, price of the stane vi s. vi d., summa vii li. xvi s.

2 July 1543 Sadler to the Council (LP Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, 18.1, 459, no 810)

The Governor says he will lay sure guard about the house of Linlithgow where the Queens are, and will lie there, with Angus and other noblemen, until the whole purpose of the French navy is discovered; for the young Queen cannot conveniently be removed, being "a little troubled with the breeding of teeth."

August 1543 (TA VIII, 224)

Item, to the lord Levinstoun for keeping of the princes in Linlythqw quilk was awin him, the soume of vii^{xx}xiii li vi s. viii d [*£*713.6s.8d]

22 August 1543 (Spottiswoode Misc 357)

Ane lettre maid to Robert Hammyltoun in Briggis, makand him Capitane and Kepar of the Place and Palace of Linlithgow, park, loch, eil-ark, petis, caird petis, and gardings thairof, for all the dais of his lyve; and gevand to him zeirle in his fee the soome of fyfty pundis.

October 1543 (TA VIII, 230) Tapestry

Item to the tapizar [person responsible for maintaining fabrics] quha was direct to Linlithqw to handill the tapizare thair, and to him for his expense, x s.

June 1544 (TA VIII, 298) Gunners

Item, to Jhonne Byris, gunnar in the palace of Linlithqw, xi s.

June 1544 (TA VIII, 299) Iron gates

Item, for doun taking of tua irne yettis in the abbay of halyrudhous, carting and tursing thairof to Linlithqu, xxvi s. vi d.

January 1545 (TA VIII, 433) chandeliers

Item, to Thomas Milne, wrycht in Linlithqw, for thre hingeing chandelaris, witht thair flouris, cordis and other necessaries, to hing in the palice of Linlithqw, xxii s.

February 1545 (TA VIII, 439) Tapestry

Item, hyrit ane hors in Edinburght and send to Linlithqw for certane tapiyare, and his wage, viii s.
Item, to the said Malcom Goulaw for haikkis and nails to hing the said tapiyare, stray to bedding, and for ane kee to the gardrap dur, iii s. iiiii d.

July 1545 (TA VIII, 386) Fountain

Robert Ros, plumber, paid for 'uphalding and grathing' of the fountain.

Item, to Robert Ros, plumber, in part payment for his fies for upholding and grathing of the fontane of the palice of Linlithqw for the termes of Martymes and Witsounday last bipast, vi li. xii s. iiiii d.

December 1545 (TA VIII, 427) Fountain

Item, to Robert Ros, plumber, for uphald the leiddis of the fontane of Linlithqw, and for his fee of the Martymes terme last bypast, iii li. vi s. viii d.

July 1546 Fountain (TA VIII, 467)

Item, to Robert Ros, plumber, for the uphald of the fontane of Linlythqw and ledis thair of for his feis of Witsounday and Mertymes last bipast, vi li. xiiii s. iiiii d.

1550 (TA IX, 417)

Item, for carage of ane stane cairt furth of the castell of Edinburght to Linlithqw with cetane querrell mellis upoun hir for my lorde goveroures wark thair xxiii s.

1550 (TA IX, 418)

Item for carage of ane other stane cairt furth of Edinburght to Linlithqw, the first send agane because it was too large xxiii s.

1550 (TA IX, 434)

Item, for carage of ane other stane cairt furth of the castell of Edinburght to my lord governouris wark in Linlithqw xxx s.

1550 (TA IX, 464)

Item, to ane boy that come fra Schir Johnne Polwart, maister of werk in Linlithqw iii s.

1551 (TA IX, 470)

Item, ix Februarii, coft and send to Linlithqw to my lord governouris werk, foure stanis leid, the price of the stane v s. vi d. summa xxii s.

1551 (TA X, 61)

Item, coft and deliverit to William Hill, xl stanis Spanse irne to be maid in wyndois to my lord governours new werk of Hammyltoun and Lynlythqw, price the stane viii s. summa xvi lib.

Item, to Thomas Pettigrew, smytht, to be his expensis passand furth of Edinburgh to Lynlythqw to tak the mesouris of the wyndois thair xiiii s.

1552 (TA X, 78)

Item, gevin to ane boy for caryng of ane creill full of flowris furtht Hammyltoun to Lynlythqw to my lord goverouris yard iiii s.

1552 (TA X, 83)

Item, coft and send to Lynlythqw to my lord goverouris garnar thir sedis following, ane pund of uneoun seid, price viii s., half ane pund of leik seid, price xiii s. iiii d., foure unce Frenche lettous seid, price xii s., ten unce of bastard caile, price vi s. viii d., half ane pund of percell seid, price ii s., summa xlii s.

Item, for ane leddrin poik to turs thir saidis in to Lynlythqw xvi d.

Item, to ane boy to beir thame thair iii s.

1552 (TA X, 97)

Item, ultimo Julii, coft and send to Lynlythqw to the painttaris of my lord governouris lugeing, ane stane of glew, price thairof xii s.

1552 (TA X, 109)

Item, to ane Frenche man callit Mychael, layand my lord governouris close in Lynlythqw, in drinksilver, v s.

1552 (TA X, 115)

Item, x Octobris, deliverit to Watte Bynnyng, paintour, to by cullouris with for paynting of his graces lugeing in Lynlythqw v lib.

Item, xi Octobris, coft and send to Lynlythqw to my lord goverouris lugeing tway chymnays weyand xv stane and tway pund, price of the stane x s.; summa vii lib xi s. iii d.

1552 (TA X, 125)

Item, xix Novembris, to Walteir Bynnyng, paintar, for paynting of my governouris lugeing in Lynlythqw x lib. Xvi s. viii d.

ER XVIII, 272 (1554) and 239 (1564)

Payments to Robert Hamilton of Briggis, principal captain and keeper of the palace, place, park, lake, eel-arc, peel and grazing of Linlithgow

6. JAMES VI 1566

28 January 1567 (Spottiswood Misc 358): Commission of Andro Ferrier as Keeper

Ane lettre maid to Andre Ferrier for his gude, treu, and thankfull service maid, and to be maid to thair Majesties, makand him keiper of thair Graces' Palice of Linlithgw, with the parkis, peitis, loch, medois, gardene, yaird, orcheartis of the samin, and thair pertinentis; straitlie commandand and chargeand him to occupy, labour, and manure certain fauldis of brume within the saidis parkis, for holding and pasturing of our Souveranis meiris thairintill, and to plant and sett treis neidfuU within the saidis peillis, for decoiring thairof, pastyme and pleasour to be had to our Soyeranis thair throw in tyme cuming, during all the tyme and space of nyntene yeiris, with the proffittis thairof. Ordaining, commanding, and chargeing na utheris to be keiparis thairof in the roenetye nochtwithstanding abone the proclamation that was maid of befoir, and cryit opinlie at the mercat croce of the burgh of Linlithgw, discharging everie man within vj mylis round about the samyn burgh to schut with their culveringis, and hunt with thair dogs. Our Souveranis, be thir present lettres, straitlie commandis and chairges the Schiiref of Linlithgw and his Deputis, Provestis and Baillieis of the said burgh of Linlithgw, present and to cum, for their pairtis, at all tymes neidfull, to serche, seik, tak, apprehend, and put all sic personis schuttaris with culverings, and huntaris, and hald thame in firmance, and keep thame thairintill, quhill thai be fred and deliverit be our Soyeraneis command thairfra. Ordinand the said Andro Ferrier, keipar of the said palice and loch, be ressoun of his keiping and intromission thairwith, to take cognitioun of all thame that scliuitis in manner foresaid, within the said loch, or huntis in the saidis parkis, gif thai be induellaris of the said burgh of Linlithgw or not, and as beis fundin be him or be utheris, that he schaw the samin to the said Schairref, and his Deputis, Proveistis and Baillieis foirsaidis, or any of thame havand jurisdiction of sic schuttaris, and that they incontinent thairefter pass into the saidis schuttaris houses, and utheris places needfull, quhair yair culyeringis beis, tak the samin fra thame, and deliver thame within our said palice to the

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keiper thairof, as he and the said Schirriff, Provestis, and Ballieis foirsaidis will answer to our Souveranis thairupon, and under the pain of inobedience, &c.

1563 (ER XIX, 236) Gardener

Et Roberto Aikinheid, ortulano jardini palatii de Linlythgow... £13 6s 8d.

1566 (ER XIX, 236)

Robert Aikenhead, gardener £13 6s 8d.

1567 (ER XIX, 281)

Robert Aikenhead, gardener £13 6s 8d.

1571 (TA XII, 303)

Item the penult day of Februar to Johnne Inglis, messenger, passand of Leith with letters to charge Alexander Stewart, capitane of Blaknes, to carie and transporte to the palace of Lynlythgow ane irne yett xl s.

1573 (ER XX, 121) Payment to gardener

Et Jacobo Eldar, ortulano jardini domini regis de Linlithqw... 6s. 8d.

Et pro una celdra farrine avenatice empta dicto hortulano in feodo suo predicto, bolla stante ad viginti quinque solidos, ut patet per prefatam suam acquittantiam, £20

1574 (TA XII, 383)

Item the xxiiii day of Aprile be my lorde regentis grace precept to Thomas Kellis in Linlythqw for certane ballis spendit in the catchepule of Lynlythqw be the Kingis majestis umquhile darrest fader.. xii lib.

May 1576 (TA XIII, 123)

Item be my lord regentis grace precept and speciall command to David Hay, sklater in Dundie, for beting and making watterticht of the haill palacce of Lynlythgow... i^c lib.

March 1577 (TA XIII, 157)

Item be my lord regentis grace speciall command for beting and mending of the futis of cetane cuppillis within the palace of Linlythgow and mending of the heid of the kitcheing chymnay of the same xx lib.

December 1580 Keepership passes to Lord Robert Stewart

1582 New gate to park (Juhala 2000, 143)

1589 Marriage of James VI and Ann of Denmark

Linlithgow palace, along with the palaces of Dunfermline and Falkland, was part of the jointure of Ann.

1590 Andrew Brown apponted gardener of the gardens, orchards and yards for life (Juhala 2000, 143 citing PS. 1/59, fo. 103r)

1590-1 (ER XXII, 152)

Item aseignit to the keiping, mending, and repairing of the palace of Linlithquew the fewmaillis of the park and peil thairof, set in fewferm to umquiliile Schir Lewis Belleiiden of Auchiiol, knycht, justice clerk.

1595 (ER XXIII, 45)

Item assignit yeirlie to the beting, mending, repairing, and uphald of the palace of Lynlythgow, as the comptis of the yris preceding beris, extending in the yeir comptit to £66 13s 4d.

1596 Princess Elizabeth at Linlithgow under the care of Livingstones (Juhala 2000, 83)

1599 Princess Margaret under care of Livingstone (Juhala 2000, 84)

Estimate for repairs to be made at Falkland Palace, Stirling Castle, Linlithgow Palace, Edinburgh Castle and Holyroodhouse, produced by Robert Drummond of Carnock.

NAS E37/3; MW I, 310-4

1599 Royal complaint concerning the infringement of royal property (Waldie 1858, 75-6).
Rex. Provost and baillies of our burgh of Linlythgow we grete you weill Fforesamekill as we and our predecessors hes bein accustomat to have our horses watterit besyde our Paleice be the watter yett in the Kirkgait be ane ampill passage swa that they mycht pace and repace utheris

without impediment, Nochtwtstanding being informit That sum inhabitantis in that our burgh pretendand richt to the tenementis and ruids adjacent to our said loch his not onlie stoppit the passage of our saids horses be including the samyn be dykis Bot also in the late drouths of somer extendit the bounds and limitis of thair tenementis far within owr said loch to the grait prejudice of our orchardis and yeardis adjacent to our said Paleice be staying the samin to flow owr the auld bounds theirow and causing the samyn in respect of your restreayning to owrflow our Peill and orchardis of our said Paleice Geving us thairby to mervell of you, your slothness thairin and owrsicht in staying thame, Quha altogidar sould have Respectit us In that behalf It is thairfor our will and we expresslie command you That upone the sicht heirof ye stay all fardir building of the samyn dyikis and destroy and cast downe all that ar allreddie biggit within the bounds of the flowing of our said Loch except that dyik biggit be Nicholl Bell ffor restreayning of the passage frome our said Peill, as ye and ilk ane of you will answer to us upon your officeis and obedience and will discharge yourself theirow Whairanent this presentis sall be tour warrand Subscribit with our hand at our Castell of Sterling the xvii day of August James R.

6 September 1607 Report on state of the palace: Earl of Linlithgow to James VI (Spottiswood Misc, 369).

Please your most sacred majeste — This sext of September, betuixt thre and four in the morning, the north quarter of your Majesties Palice of Linlythgw is fallin, rufe and all, within the wallis, to the ground; but the wallis ar standing yit, bot lukis euerie moment when the inner wall sail fall, and brek your Majestie's fontan. I had bene to blame if I had nocht maid your Maiestie forsein tua zeiris sence with the estait of it, bot saw na furtherance in thes your Maiestie's officers quhomto your Maiestie gaue directioun at that tyme for repairation of your Maiesties said Palice. Heirfore it will pleas your Majestie tak sik ordour thairanent as your Hines thinks gude; and seing the taxatioun is granted for repairing your Maiesties housis according to your Hines directioun, I sail endeour myselfe to sie your Maiesties wille performit thairanent. So praying God to grant your Maiostie many happy and properoiss day, and long to ring ouer us,

Your Maiesties humble subiect and seruant,
Linlithgow

From your M. Palice of Linlithgow,
the 6th of September 1607.

1618-19 Rebuilding of the North Quarter (MW II, 122-36).

Week beginning 29 June 1618

‘a pair of creukis and bandis to the bak dore that gois to the peill’

Week beginning 6 July 1618

‘A key to the doore of the kingis Majesties dyning roume’

Week beginning 20 July 1618

Ale and bread given ‘to the hail warkmen at the founding of the wark’

Week beginning 21 September 1618

Payment for repair of ‘the lok of the forgait’

Week beginning 5 October 1618

Payment for mending ‘the band of the foiryet’

Week beginning 2 November 1618

Repairs to 'the conduit pype that caryes the water to the fontane at syndrie tymes and furnesing leid canvas and talloun therto'. Also 'tua great stok lockis ane therof to the new turnpyk yett and another to the great hall dore.

Week beginning 7 December 1618

'Two bandis for the turnpyk yett', 'a key to the little trans dore in the northwest turnpyk futt and for mending the peill yett lock, 'for mending and onputting the lock of the great hall quher the tymber lyis'

GD124/10/194 (Mar & Kellie HMC, 95)

Royal letter to the Earl of Mar, Treasurer, about indisposition of Sir Gideon Murray and need to finish work on Palace of Linlithgow, 5 Jul 1621.

5 July 1621 Copy letter to King James VI, from the Earl of Mar, concerning building work at the palace of Lynlythgw [Linlithgow], the preservation of game and preparations for the next Parliament. (NAS GD124/10/200; Mar & Kellie, 65)

And cheefelie wee recommende unto yow the care of our workes, and in speciall the speedie finishing of our Pallace of Linlithgow, that (seeing wee intende God willing in person to be in that our kingdome this next sommer) it may at our coming thether be fitte for our receipte.

12 August 1622 (M~~W~~ II, 145)

Item upon the xxiiii of August to Thomas Maistertoune for making of tua new glas windowis in Linlithgow at the eist end of the chappell with tua uther glas windowis in the kitching toure with ane in the princes heich chalmer.

1623 The King's picture falleth and breaketh

Upon Fryday, the 20th of June, the king's picture in the hall of the Palace of Linlithgow fell down upon a Germane's picture and brake in peeces. The like befell the King of France his picture in that same place, sixe weeks before his death. (Calderwood 1845, VII, 576)

1625 Order for repairs on the great hall and the towers, 9 March 1625 (RPC XIII, 706)

And. Foder, the saidis Lordis ordains and commandis the said maister of worke to tak notice of the decayis and defects within the Palace of Linlithgow, and to privyde materials for the tymous repairing of the same; and in speciall that he caus theake and sark of new the whole grite hall of the said palace, and to use his best indeavouris towards the mending and upholding of ther roof of the said hall, at the least of so meekle thair of as probablie can be thought able to stand; and quhair it is altogether failed that he caus mak it up new with all things belonging thairunto; and to help, beitt, and mend all the defects and decayit pairts of the stone work of the said grite hall, and to mak rinrooffes quhair it is requisite and to help the airings. And forder, that the said master [of] work caus tirr and tak doune the roofes and thaikis of the towers called the Kings Towre and the Queens Towre, the southeast towre, and to help and beitt the roofes of the saidis towers where they may be convenientlie helpit and ar able to satnd, and where neid beis to theake and sark the same of new, and to mak the rooffe new, and likewise to build up of new the esler work and chimlay heids of the towers called the King and Queens Towres, quhilks are decayit and fallin doune

7 October 1626 (MW II, 204)

Item to William Huntar for his attendance in Lithgow and receiveing xi^m sklaittis from the Nes and for carrying thame in from the horse to the great caitchepule at the palace and for setting thame in ordour thair and for sindrie tymes cuming to the Nes in the space of eight weikis
Item to him for making of a kais to the conduite at the croce for dichting of the foutane pypes
Item mair to him for carrying of aucht scoir fittis of the conduite pypes from the caitchpill to the womanhous in the pallace

1628-9 Work in advance of an anticipated visit by Charles I

Week beginning 31 January 1629

Mason paid for 'mending the wallis of his Majesties chalmer of presence for ther painteris'.

Week beginning 21 February 1629

'Doun taking of the skaffauld of his Majesties chalmer of presence and scaffaulding of his Majesties bed chalmer'

1633 Renovation work in advance of the visit of Charles I (MW II, 338-51).

March 1633

Work started with the establishment of a masons' lodge, 'ane yet' for thje west gate, 'working and dressing the slittes of the new wark' to keep out jackdaws, and a new floor in 'the great chalmer abone the presence' (MW II, 338).

March 1633 (MW II, 338)

Item giffin to ane wricht for making ane yet to the wester yet x s.

Item to ane wricht for working and dressing the slittes of the new wark to hald out the kaaes xii s.

Item for aucht hunderethe fluring nail for laying of five scoir dailles in the great chalmer abone the presence viii lib.

14 March (MW II, 38-9)

Payment for the quarrier 'for wining of ane hunderethe aisler for the kingis chimlay heides and ane hunderethe for the bartasing'.

25 March (MW II, 340)

Rebuilding the chimney heads and caphouse: scaffolding erected.

15 April (MW II, 341)

Nails for the 'partitioune of the chalmer at the eist end of the galerie'.

Nails for a scaffold 'for upsetting of the partioune in my Lordes hall'.

Mending the lock of the fountaine.

Eight 'battis [supports] of irone' for the 'kingis chimneyheid'.

Door furniture for 'portell dores'.

Item for ane wadge of irone to ding oput the window in the heiche rowme'.

'Item for ane band to the dore of the pantrie on the west side of the great hall

Item for .. nails for closeing up the eist end of the stovehous chalmer'.

Door furniture for the two doors of the 'laich kitching'.

22 April (MW II, 342)

Nails for the 'partioune of my Lordes hall'
Timber for mending the roof above the 'kingis roumes'

29 April (MW II, 342)

Flooring of the 'chalmer at south end of the great hall',
the 'inner chalmer thair',
the transe at the eist end of the chappill',
the chalmer of dease, the chalmer abone the chalmer of dease'
and the 'sowth chalmer at the eist end of the new wark'.
Flooring nails for the 'great hall buirdes'.
'Item for skeinyie [cord] to be ane lyne to the barteisine'

6 May (MW II, 343)

Nails for:
'the partioune abone the kingis roumes'
'the inner roume at the west end of the new wark'
'the heid of the turnepyck that gois fra the court kitchen to the laiche'
'the buirdes of the great hall'
'the twa footganges in the chalmeris at the end of the great hall'
'the ravill that gois to the laiche kitchin'
'theiking of two napehousis (dormers)'

13 May (MW II, 343)

Two 'irone cruikes to the water yet'

20 May (MW II, 344).

'...twentie long staines quhair of twa ten futtes of lenth and the rest five futes and ane half for
stepis to his Majesties entrie to the churche and hearh staines'
Door furniture for the 'mid dore of the twa chalmeris at the end of the great hall'

27 May (MW II, 344-5)

Glue and door furniture for the 'wiket of the old entrie'
'twa pair of bandes to the windowes of the long loft abone the chappell'
'ane pair of bandes to the window at the end of the transe abone the princes chalmer' and 'the
twa windowes in the same pairt luiking to the west'
locks for the 'laiche kitchen dores'
'laying the owen soillis [floor].

10 June (MW II, 345-6)

Item for casting of sevin thowsand fail and devett for his Majesties utter clois'
'matting to the Thesauris rowmes',
'matting for the Chalmerland of Inlandis rowmes'

October 1641 A visit by Lord Willoughby and other courtiers, in Scotland as attendants to Charles I

Firth, C H (ed) 'A Scottish Journie, being an account in verse of a Tour from Edinburgh to Glasgow in 1641', *Scottish History Society Miscellany* 2 (1908), 271-90

And first to view the Pallace wee begin.
The gates were open, we went boldly in,
I th' midst of th' Court there stood a fountaine weeping,
And cryd, the Master of our workes is sleepeing.
Had we but here your watchfull Inigo,
Hee 'd n'ere indure to see us perish soe
My pipes a[re] stopt, the Pleasants mouth is broken
For haveing once of reparations spoken.
Nay, see, these harmelesse angells are disgrac'd.
And by rude hands their visages defac'd.
For holding a premeditated thing
Betwixt their hands, which sayes God save the King,
For this sett prayer the rigid sect have found
Comes from a popish superstitious grownd.
But now appeares my good Lord Lithgoh's lad.
Who told us that the fountaine was runne mad,
He shewes us all the very chamber where
The King was lodg'd the last time he was there.
But Mr. May with that unsatisfied,
Assur'd us that the deputy keeper lyed.
For then he waited, and might boldly say.
They onely saw the house and went away.
But the undaunted groome gives it not over,
He seekes a way that might the truth discover.
And to conclude and make his reason shorter.
Bids him but aske the fat one, Damion Porter,
Who answered then, he could not hold his tongue,
To doe him service he had beene soe long,

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And that undoubtedly he was i' th' rights
For sure his Majesty lay there all night.
And thus agreed we went to see the hall.
Which had no tiles to cover it at all.
And stately buildings when they want repayre
Become poore sicophants to the foules o' th' ayre,
For times great harbinger as roofes consume
Billets the prateing dawes i' th' private roome,
Just as you see where Monarchies decay
The baser sorte creepe up and beare the sway.
Next the Chappell we visitt, where there stood
And Altar yet with stories carvd in wood.
And curiosity could not serve turne
To bayle it now, for 'tis condemnd to burne.
Saint George would faine have spoken for the saints.

But we no order had to heare complaints.

26 November 1648 Inventory of James 1st earl of Callendar (Spottiswoode Misc, 370-2)

Ane Inventar of the wholl guidis and geir, and uther inspright plenishing, within the two north eist chalmeris, in the third transe of the New Work of the Palace of Linlithgow, now inhabitat be the Earle of Linlithgow, taken up upon the 26 November 1648, belonging to the Earl of Callender

In the first, There is within the eistmost of the saidis chalmeris ane standing bed furnished, with ane fedder bed, ane bowster, two coads with coadwairis, ane pair of lining sheits, two pair of blanketts, and ane covering, ane stand of courtingis, with two piece of pand.

Item, Ane canabie bed furnished, with ane fedder bed and bowster, ane pair of sheitts, ane pair of blanketts, and ane yellow mate. Item, two wrought chains and ane stwill, ane buird, ane buird cloath, and ane forme; ane ffyne piece of hangingis, with ane brace peice, and ane red hinging befor the window; and ane chalmer pott, and ane dry seatt.

Item, There is in uther of the said chalmers ane stand bed furnished, with ane fedder bed and bowster, two coads, two pair of blanketts, quhereof ane walkeit and ane uther plaid, with ane singill fustiane blanket, ane singill grein covering,

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Ane pair of greine courteans and two peice of pand, sax peice of hingingis, and ane brace peice, ane chaire covered with grein, ane tabill, and ane tabll-cloath of grein, and ane old chalmer pott wanting ane hand.

Item, There is in the high foir chalmer four pieces of hingingis and ane brace peice, ane stand bed and three peice of red damase courteans, and thre peice of pand browdered; ane fedder bed, ane pair of small blanketts, and ane pair of walkeit blankitts, with ane red ruge, ane tabill, and ane red tabill death.

Item, Ane wand bed, ane nappe bed, ane bowster, and ane pair blankitts, and ane red covering, with ane uther buird, and ane forme in the uther chalmer.

Item there is in the mid foir chalmer sax peice of hingingis, ane stand bed, ane fedder bed, ane bowster, ane coad, and red rwge, two pair blankitts, the ane paire thick and the uther thin, ane pair sheitts, three peice of courteans, three peice of browdered pand, ane buird, ane forme, ane chalmer pott, ane dry stwill.

Item There is, in the Lord Linlythgow his owne chalmer, quher he layis, sevane peice of hingingis, with ane brace peice, ane stand bed, ane fedder bed, ane bowster, two coads with coad wairis, with two pair of blankitts, ane pair thike and ane uther thin, and ane singill fustiane blankit, ane rid rwge, four peice of rid stuff courteanis, ane pand, and ane rwiff, ane greine stwill, and ane shewed stwill, ane tabill, ane forme, and ane browne velvet tabill cloath, ane dry stwill, and ane chalmer pott.

Item, In the by bed ane wand bed, ane fedder bed, ane bowster, two pair blanketts, ane pair shitts, and ane singill red covering.

Followiss the Inventar of the Plenishing within the Pantrie Brew-Hous and Kitchine of the Palace of Linlytgu,

First, Ther is in the pantrie ane great silver bassine, ane lawer, ane silver salt foot, and sax silver spons, ane tine bassine, ffour tabill cloaths, three of domick and ane of damase, quhereof there is one of the domicks new. Three dossoun of servits, whereof two dossoun of domick and ane damase,

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quhereof ther is ane dossoun of the domick new. Three towels, quhereof ane of tfaame new. Three tine chanleiris, and two broken. Ane kaise with seven kniffis and ane fork, ane littell table, and ane kist.

Item There is in the kitchen ane dossoun of great charger plaitts, two dossoun of ordinarie plaitts, two saceris, three speitts, five potts and two panns, ane pistow and ane mortar, ane laddell, ane skomer, ane brander, ane iring-pann and pott brod, ane goose pann, and ane pair of standing raxis.

Item, Ther is in the brewhous four wort standis, two guyll fatts, ane lead, ane maskeine fatt, ane taptrie and ane maskine rudder, ane old grein rwge, and ane pair of walkit blanketts for covering the fatt.

Item, Ther is in the sellar ane kist with locks and key, ane wyd seiffe and ane firlott, two puntionis, and four barrells.

Item, Ther is in the lardner aught beiffe standis, four herring stands, sevin littill barrells for fishes.

Item, In the wardrope ane coffer with hobs, ane cabinet, wryts, two old cofferis, ane quhereof having lock and key, ane burd, and two formis, ane cofer for chese.

Whilkis plenishing, guds, geir, and other furnishing oontenit in the Inventar aboue written, I, Alexander Levingstoun, son to Robert Levingstoun, Constable of Blakness, grant me be thir presentis to haue inventerit in name of ane Noble Earle, James Earle of Callander, &c.; and to be maid furthcoming to his Lordship, or any havend his warrand at demand, be thir presentes, subscrivit with my hand at Linlythgw, the second day of December 1648, befoir Mr Andrew Keir, expectant, Mr Andro Ker, clerk of Linlythgw, and Robert Moyse, his servitor, wryter hereof.

A. Livingstoune.

A. Kier, Witnesse.

7. CROMWELLIAN OCCUPATION 1650

A defensive wall built east and west from the church or churchyard, obtaining stone by demolishing houses in the Kirkgate (Fergusson 1910, 209).

1 October 1650 *Mercurius Politicus Comprising the Summ of All Intelligence*, 17, 289.

‘In Marche they resolved to fortifie Linlithgow, a good Towne, with a House of the King’s in it, a styrong and useful frontier garrison’

27 December 1651 (Burgh Records, quoted in Mylne 1893, 241)

The quilk day the Provost producit aner ansyr from his hichness Councill in Edinburgh to the supplication given in be us to thame for re-edifying our Tolbuith - being razed - and the stoness and timer bing applied towards the workis and fortifications around the Castile of Lythgow.

November 1659 Garrison withdraw from the Palace

... the town being offered the keeping of it if they would give a bond of £1000 to keep it for the Parliament, an offer, however, which was declined; but the use of a room or two “upon the west quarter whair the souldiers lay” was conceded for town and county business. (Waldie 1858, 85)

8. THE EARL OF LIVINGSTONE

The earl of Livingstone re-occupied the palace after the departure of the Cromwellian garrison, occupation being concentrated on the North Quarter. The remainder of the building appears to have been allowed to fall into disrepair. Sir John Lauder, Lord Fountainhall, commented in 1668 that 'the Palace, which has been verie magnificent, is now for the most part ruinous' (Crawford 1900, 182).

24 November 1663 (RPC I, 325; Fergusson 1910, 212) Cromwellian defences demolished

The Earl of Linlithgow empowered 'to require the magistrates, heritors and inhabitants of the town and parish to convene and appoint a sufficient number of persons to go about the work of their removal from time to time as the earl shall give order'.

1663 Dispute over a cannon of James V (Burnett papers, Aberdeen University Library (NRAS 2847/2/Bundle 56))

Order signed by J Hamilton, Annandale, Torphichen, Dundonald etc., charging Mr William Douglas, advocate, to deliver to George, earl of Linlithgow, the cannon which was in controversy between the Marquis of Douglas and him, marked with arms of King James V, as they are informed that it pertained to palace of Linlithgow and was taken thence, 3 March 1663. Containing receipt by Linlithgow, 3 March 1663

16 Februaury 1667 Charter appointing Robert Melville of Murdocamy keeper (Spottiswood Misc, 360-1)

Tenendum et habendum dictum officium, et custodiam Palatii de Linlithgow, cum parcis, lie peilis, lacu, pratis, hortulo, horto, ac pomariis eiusdem, et omnibus suis pertinentibus

February 1681 Visit of James, Duke of York

About eleven a clock the Duke came to Linlithgow, and was received at the Cross of that Town; by the Lord Provost, and other Magistrates, at the head of the whole citizens of that Incorporation; the Fountain in the Market place, running with Clarret wine: in the Dukes way to the Palace, the Master and Scholars of Linlithgow School met him, wher Thomas Maitland, a younger son of the Lord Treasurer Deput, one of the |Scholars of that School, made a short latine Speech to His Royal Highness: From this, the Duke went to the Palace, where he was Intertained at a Noble Dinner, by the Earl of Lonlithgow, Heretable Keeper of that Palace. After Dinner, the Duke went on Horseback towards Strivling...

(Anon 1681 *A True and Exact Relation of His Royal Highness James Duke of Albaby and York, His Progress from Edinburgh to Linlithgow...*

<http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=CCVcAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA5&dq=linlithgow+palace+hal&hl=en&sa=X&ei=VDzMUrsC9He7AbuoICYCg&ved=0CFMQ6AEwBjg8> accessed 7/1/2014).

1695 Inventory of George, the earl of Linlithgow (Bridgland 1996, 73-9; NAS CC8/8/80, ff.133-7)

1718

James Graham, 1st Duke of Montrose became Keeper following the forfeiture of the 5th Earl of Linlithgow. Various repairs were carried out at the direction of the Duke.

1720 Repair of the Palace (GD220/6/30 Cash Book 1721-7, page 564)

By the rents of Linlithgow paid or allowed to sundry persons as follows:

| | |
|---|--------------|
| For repairing the palace | 43 – 11 - 4 |
| For repairing the palace | 224 – 14 - 4 |
| To Mr Scot plumber for repairing the roof of the palace | 369 - - |
| And another to a wright for do | 36 - - |
| And for making and repairing the eel ark and boat | 20 - 7 – |

1721 Linlithgow. Reparation of the Palace of Linlithgow.

GD220/6/1333/16 23 August 1721

His work included: taking the rigging stone and slates of the gardener's house in the Peill.
Casting the whole scarcements of the north work of the palace with pan cratch and oyster shells.
Pointing the North East Tower.

Account resting to Thomas Millar Sclater for sclater work wrought at the Palace of Linlithgow
Novr[ber] 1720 Imprimis for taking the rigging stone and slates off the Gardner's house in the
Peill £6

March 1721 Item for casting the whole scarcements of the north work of the Palace with pan
scratch and oyster shells £6

Item for pointing of six rood of work upon the north east tower at £2.88s per rood £14.8

Item for tiring and slateing of one rood of work £12

Item for 400 nails at 8s per 100 £1 12s

Item for putting the broken sclaits in the Isle £1 10s

GD220/6/1333/17 28 July 1721

Received account from Robert Levin, wright for £12.7.0.

His work included taking the roof off the Gardener's house in the Peill and taking out the old
timber supporting the roof above the stables, closing up of windows 'in the old work' and
mending three windows 'in the new work', and closing up of doors to fence the towers and leads.

Account of Wright work wrought by Robert Levin at the Palace of Linlithgow

Novr 1720 Imp: for taking of the roof of the Gardiners house 03 – 00 – 0

Item for mending of some couples and supporting the roof above the stables 02 – 10 – 00

Item for closing up windows in the old Work.. and mending thrie windows in the new Work &
closing up doors to staires and towers and mending of the outer yett 06 – 00 – 00

Item for big naills for the yett

Item for naills for the windows and doors

12 – 07 - 00

GD220/6/1333/19

21 May 1725

Account of lead work done to the palles of Linlathge for Mr James Gawim by John Scott
Plumber

Item to the cutting and laying 190 stone and 14 pound and a half of sheet lead for a Travat at 12
pence per stone 09 – 10 – 11

Item 58 stone casting and laying for the platform at 6 pence per stone 04 -09 -0

GD220/6/1333/21 1724 Account for repairing the ark £20.7s

GD220/6/1333/20 20 May 1725 Account of work by Thomas Moir, wright being employed by James Graham of Airth, advocate.

| | |
|--|-------------|
| May 20 Imprimis for nails to his work at the said palace | 6 – 00 – 0 |
| Item for fourty five days work at 13s 4d per day | 30 – 00 – 0 |
| Summa | 36 – 00 – 0 |

1726 Reparations of the Palace of Linlithgow.

1726 GD220/6/1334/6

Item By ane account of Smith and Plumber wrought about the pallace and the walls
Item payed by order of Mr Graham for Dealls furnished for closeing up the windows of the Pallace and other uses £59.3.10

GD220/6/1334/22

Account of slate work .. 1729 by Alexander Colquhoun..
Imprimis four roods and sixteen yards of ponting at four shillings and six pence per rood

GD220/6/1334/8

1726

Connt of wright work wrought in the palles of Linlithgow by the orders of Mr Jams Grom by me Anrew Ker in the yer 1726

Item for closing of the windows in the first story being six windows 06 – 00 – 00

Item for nells to the sem 01 – 08 - 06

1732 Mason work at the Palace of Linlithgow.

GD220/6/1335/12 Repairs 1732

Imp[rimis] payed to Alexander Wood Wright for scaffolding from place to place when eight chimney heads of the palace were mending as by Woods receipt to the factor £6

Item payed for Lime and Sand to Thomas Taylor furnished to the eight Chimney heads as by receipt £5.17s

Item payed to John Brown Smith for 39 Batts of iron for te Chimneys consisting of Seven Stone made work of each Batt at 4s 6d the piece £7 4s

Item payed to Robert Edgar for one Stone of Lead for the Batts by receipt £1. 12s

GD220/6/1335/13 November 1731

Ane accmpt of work wrought to his Grace James Douk of Mintoas for the Pallis of Linlithgow

Item for scaffolding for the chimneys from place to place for eight chimney heads according to agrement 06 – 00 – 00

GD220/6/1335/14

Accmpt of worke wrought to the Place of Linlithgow be Alex[ander] Wood wright April the 20th 1734

Imprimis seven deals at fourteen pence per deall

For making ane new yett to the eister piell nails and workmanship and mending the wester yett
£8. 8s

Accompt of the work wrought to the Palace of Linlithgow to William Brown Smith April the 20th 1734

For mending the nandes for the wicket of the eister yett and a batt for the locke holl and mending the two locks and big nails for nailling on the bands £1.04.00

GD220/6/1335/19

November 1731 Ane accompt of work wrought to his Grace James Douk of Mintroas to the Pallice of Linlithgow be John Brown Smith their

Item for thertie tue batts for the chimneys consisting of seven sto of made work for the workmanship of each batt at four pence half pennie a piece amounts to £7. 04. 00

1742

James Glen of Longcroft appointed Keeper following the death of James Graham, 1st Duke of Montrose. Glen, son of a former provost of Linlithgow, governor of South Carolina 1738-56 (Robinson 1996). Glen's brother-in-law, James Gordon of Ellon acted as factor. The latter from 1729 held the position of Deputy Governor of the Bank of Scotland. Both he and his wife, Mrs Glen Gordon, were a prominent Jacobites. She, in 1745, welcomed Prince Charles to Linlithgow in a manner befitting royalty (Waldie 1858, 91).

9. 1st FEBRUARY 1746 BURNING OF THE PALACE

***Scots Magazine* (January 1746)**

P.S. – The ancient palace of Linlithgow was accidentally burned to the ground on the 1st of February. Soldiers were quartered in it the night before, and it was found that they had been careful of their fires.

***Caledonian Mercury* 3 Feb, 1746**

On Saturday, by some unlucky accident, the fine palace of Linlithgow was burnt to the ground; and we hear the magistrates of Linlithgow have examined several witnesses, in order to get knowledge of the true cause how that misfortune happened.

18th-CENTURY TRAVELLERS ACCOUNTS

1682 A visit to Linlithgow by Thomas Morer in c 1682

Morer, T 1706 *A short account of Scotland*, London. Page 106.

A Royal Borough with a large building called the castle, and was formerly the Residence of several Princes. It is still own'd for the King's House, but used by my Lord Leviston, and consists of a stately Quadrangle, in the midst of which there is a fine fountain. About the Quadrangle are divers Niches or places for Images to stand in, but not one Figure left beside the Popes, which affords matter of Reflection.

1693 Robert Sibbald

Robert Sibbald, the Geographer Royal, wrote a description of Linlithgow in *Theatrum Scotiae* which was published in 1693, John Slezer providing the plates:

Linlithgow is the same which Ptolomy calls Lindum, so named for its being situated on the side of a Lake. The King's Palace stands on a little Hill, towards the middle of the said Lake, in which there lies an Island which ascends with several Stairs in the Form of an Amphitheater. This Palace is Magnificently built of hewen Stone, begun by the former Kings and perfected by King James the VI.

It consists of Four Towers, between which the Court, the Chapel, and the rest of the Buildings are extended. The Porch bears the Name and Arms of King James the V. In the Inner Court there is a very artificial Fountain, adorned with several Statues and Water-Works, which when they go, raise the water to a considerable height.

Sibbald elaborated his description in his *History Ancient and Modern of the Sherrifdoms of Linlithgow and Stirling*, published in 1739. This reflected his passion for Roman antiquities and he claimed that the palace stood on the site of a Roman 'station' (Sibbald 1739).

1718

Chamberlayne, J 1718 *Magna Britanniae notitia, or, The present state of Great-Britain*, London.

Part II, 324

But its greatest Ornament is the King's House, which stands upon rising Ground, that runs almost in the middle of the Lough, and looks like an Amphitheatre, with something like Terrace-Walks, and a Descent from them, but upon the Top, it's a Plain. The Court has Apartments like

Towers at the four Corners, and in the midst of the Court is a stately Fountain, adorned with several curious Statues, the water whereof rises to a good Height.

(This 1718 edition was the 4th edition to include Scotland. The first edition with Scotland was published in 1710)

1729

Macky, J 1729 *A Journey through Scotland*, Pemberton, London. (2nd edition), 196-7

This palace consists of two Courts; on the gate of the outer Court are the Arms of Scotland, incircled with the four Orders of the Garter, St. Andrew, St Michael, and the Golden-Fleece; all of which Orders James the Fifth was Companion. On the Left of this Court were the Offices, and on the right the Chapel or Church of St Michael; the inner court is a spacious Square, larger than the inner Court at Hampton-Court, with a fine Tower at each of the four Corners, and in the Middle the beautifulest Fountain in the World; it's after the Shape of the Imperial Crown, adorn'd with Statues and other carved Work; each Statue pouring forth Water into a Cistern below them. This seems to have been the Work of King James the Fifth; for the Arms of Scotland and France, in one Escutcheon, are upon the Fountain.

The Apartment to the South of this Square, is a large Guard-Chamber, and Hall of Audience, which joins to the parliament-Hall, which makes the whole Front to the East; and on the North and West were the Royal Apartments. These were rebuilt by King James the Sixth, and the First of England; and there are still a Dozen Rooms to the North in good Repair; where the Earl of Lithgow, as Hereditary Keeper, used to reside. Behind these Apartments are fine green Walks, which reach down to the Lake, which gives a noble Beauty to the Palace, and runs the whole Length of the Town

1747

Anon 1747 *A Journey through part of England and Scotland along with the army under the command of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland*, T Osborne, London

P 101

The King's House before mentioned, stands upon a rising Ground, which runs almost in the middle of the Loch, and looks like an Amphitheatre; having Terras walks, (as it were,) and a descent from them, but upon the Top, where the castle stands, it is plain. This Palace has Apartments like Towers at the four Corners; and in the midst of the Court is a stately Fountain, adorned with several curious Statues, the water whereof rises to a good Height.

1753

Defoe, D 1746 *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain*, IV, 141. George Faulkner, Dublin.

This Palace stands on rising Ground, which runs into the Lake, in the form of an Amphitheatre, and has a descent resembling Terrace-walks. There are two Towers at each corner of the Court, with Apartments, and a curious Fountain in the Middle, adorned with severel fine Statues, from whence the Water rises to a good Height. A noble park also belongs to it.

1772

Pennant *A Tour of Scotland II, 232.*

It is at present, 1790, a magnificent edifice, of square form, finely seated above the lake. James V and VI ornamented it greatly. The inside is much embellished with sculpture: over an inner gate are niches, in former times holding the statues of a pope and a cardinal; erected, as tradition says,

by James V, in compliment to his holiness for a present of a consecrated sword and helmet. On an outward gate, detached from this building, are four orders of knighthood, which his majesty bore, the garter, thistle, holy-ghost, and golden-fleece.

Within the palace is a handsome square: one side is more modern than the others, having been built by James VI and is kept in good repair, till 1746, when it was accidentally burnt by the king's forces. The pediments over the windows are neatly carved, and dated 1619.

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The other sides are more ancient: in one is a room ninety-five feet long, thirty feet six inches wide, and thirty-three feet high. At one end is a gallery, with three arches, perhaps for music. Narrow galleries run quite round the old part, to preserve communications with the rooms...

The chapel was built by James V, And takes up one side of the square. The kitchen for the use of the kings and queens is below ground.

1779 *London Chronicle* (London), August 3, 1779 - August 5, 1779; Issue 3540

***Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* (London), Thursday, August 5, 1779; Issue 2124**

'We are informed it is in agitation to up fit the palace at Linlithgow, in Scotland, for the reception of French prisoners, and that an inspection has been made and estimates given in, by tradesmen, of the necessary repairs for that purpose.'

1790 Grose 1791 *The Antiquities of Scotland II*, 231-2

It is at present, 1790, a magnificent edifice, of square form, the greater part of it five stories high; the Kings, James V and VI, ornamented it greatly. The inside is embellished with good sculpture, considering the time at which it was executed. Over an inner gate are niches, in which were, according to Lesley, in his History of Scotland, the statue of the Pope, who sent the famous consecrated sword and helmet to James V, and that of one of his Cardinals.

On an outward gate, detached from the building, are the four orders of knighthood borne by the King, viz., the Garter, Thistle, Holy Ghost, and Golden Fleece. Within the palace is a handsome square, one side is more modern than the other, having been built by James VI. The building was kept in good repair until the year 1746, when it was used as a barrack, it was accidentally set on fire by the King's troops. The pediments over the windows are dated 1619.

In one of the other sides is a room ninety-five feet long, thirty feet six inches wide, and thirty-three high; at one end is a gallery of three arches, perhaps intended for a band of music: narrow galleries run quite round the old part, to preserve the communication with the apartments. The parliament chamber is a handsome room.

1791-9 OSA, XIV, 565 (Rev James Dobie)

The palace is well known to all who have visited Linlithgow, and appears majestic even in ruins. As the eminence on which it stands advances almost to the middle of the loch, it has, when viewed from the N., the appearance of an amphitheatre, with a descent on the three sides, and terrace walks on the W. This was formerly mentioned as a Roman station... James IV was more attracted to it than any of his other seats. The E. part of the palace, which has been peculiarly magnificent, was built by him. The remains of the grand gate are still to be seen, though the entrance is filled up, and many of the surrounding ornaments defaced. On the inside of the gate was the famous statue of Pope Julius II, with the triple crown, which, after it had long escaped,

was, in the course of this century, demolished by a smith of the town, in the ardour of his zeal. The palace is all of plished stone, and covers about an acre of ground. James V added the chapel and parliament hall. James VI completed the grand square, by erecting the magnificent apartments on the N. Many of the windows, and some of the doors, have the initials of his name, with corresponding ornaments. In the centre of the arera, was a fine well, adorned with several staues, and so constructed as to raise water occasionally to a great height. This is now in the same ruinous state with the buildings which surround it. The chief entry to the palace was to from the E. The gardens lay on the same side. It also had a grand porch on the S, built by James V. This still remains, and on it may be traced, though indistinct, the royal arms, with the collars of the orders of St. Andrew, the garter, and St Michael.

1799 Heron, R 1799 *Scotland describ'd: or, a topographical description of all the counties of Scotland*, 104.

The palace still exists, but in a ruinous state... Starngers are here entertained with the sight in which Mary Queen of Scots was born, and the window from whiuch the Earl of Murray, regent of Scotland, was shot.

1803 Hall, Rev J 1807 *Travels in Scotland*, J Johnson, London, I, 3. Account of travels in 1803.

I went next to view the Palace at Linlithgow, where Mary Queen of Scots was born... It is not difficult to account for some of the notions of out forefathers: but what could induce them to make the water, which is excellent here, to appear at the wells as appearing to spout from the mouths of angels, is more than I can comprehend. To paint angels with wings is not unnatural, because they are the messengers of heaven, in obedience to the command of the Great Governor of all. But to represent them at the wells as spouting water from their mouths, certainly appears unnatural, I had almost said disgusting; as it seems to suggest the idea of them being drunkards, with the liquor running from their over-charged stomachs.

March 1794 NA HO 42/33/38

Copy of a letter of 1 March 1794 to General Lord Adam Gordon from the Provost of Linlithgow setting out the benefits of building barracks on the foundations of the ruined Royal Palace

THE 19th-CENTRY: RESTORATION OR RUIN

1811 Proposal to house French prisoners of war

NLS Melville Papers (Ms. 353, iv)

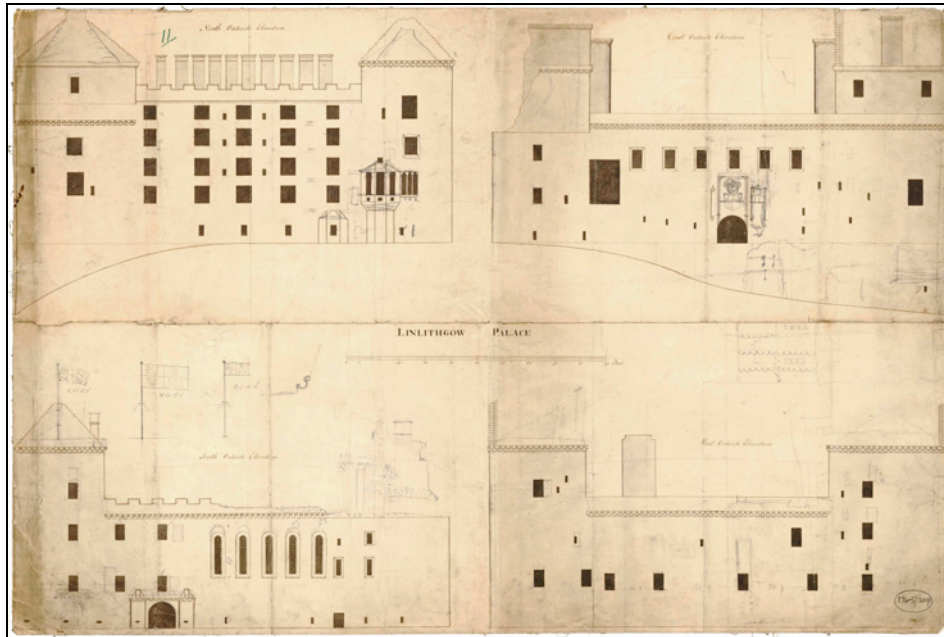
Letter of Henry Dundas criticizing proposal to make Linlithgow Palace a prison for French Prisoners of War, 1811

King's Remembrancer's Office: Buildings and Works

NAS E342/35 Buildings and Works 1820-32

Letters and report relating to state of building, including

1. Letter from James Rae, sheriff clerk, Linlithgow, describing nuisances in courtyard, 18 Nov. 1820.
2. Letter from Donald Mackenzie, tenant of park, complaining of vandalism, 18 May 1825.
3. Letter from John Cay, sheriff of Linlithgowshire, reporting that a 'flying buttress' on east side is giving way, 19 June 1832.
4. Letter from Robert Reid on remedial work required, 25 June 1832.



Undated elevations of the palace, possibly by Robert Reid (HS 174-5-2001-001)

1818 *Morning Post* 29 Sept 1818.

Report of restoration work and find of wooden lion rampant

..a number of workmen have of late been employed to make repairs on the most decayed parts of the Royal Palace.. While the workmen were removing some rubbish out of one of the rooms in the Palace, they discovered a lion rampant, made of wood, about two feet in length. It has been of exquisite workmanship, and still retains much of its pristine appearance, and is in a high state of preservation considering the very great number of years it must have lain buried. Its mane, which is profuse in bundles of curls, has been richly gilt, and its lower parts are painted of a bright vermilion. In its dexter fore paw it holds the edge of a crown (said to be an exact representation of the Scots crown, as it were in the act of placing it on its head. The hinder legs have been unfortunately broken off, and a long iron spike is fixed in its right side, by which it has most probably been fastened to the wall

1828

The entry to the internal court has a plain appearance, though the archway is ingeniously groined, and the old oaken gate, besides its sturdy nails, still retains a fragment of the iron Scottish thistle which formed the original ornament of the knocker (Chambers 1828, II, 22).

Queen Margaret's Bower.. is described in the exhibitrix of the Palace as seated all round with stone, and having once had a small round table of the same material in the centre (Chambers 1828, II, 26).

The outside of this obsolete, but by far the most splendid entry, is flanked with niches, now occupied with wall-flowers and shrubs instead of statues...The remains of an avenue of trees, which formed the approach to the palace, are yet observed sweeping round the east end of the church towards the town (Chambers 1828, II, 28).

1832 NAS E342/35/3

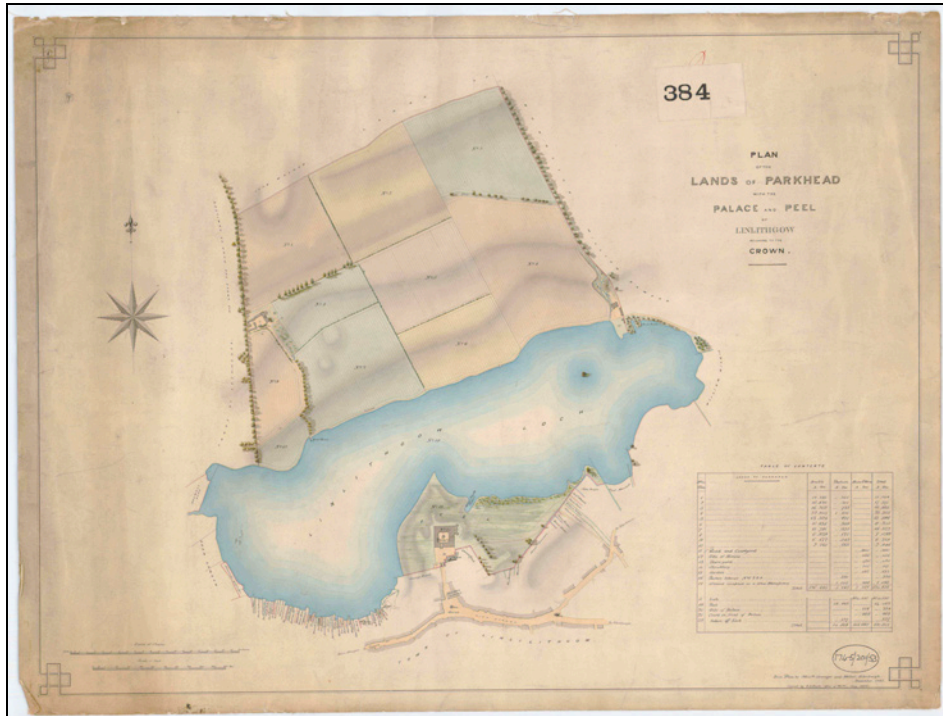
Letter from John Cay, sheriff of Linlithgowshire, reporting that a 'flying buttress' on east side is giving way, 19 June 1832

NAS E342/35/4

Letter from Robert Reid recommending the rebuilding of two buttresses, 25 June 1832

1837 GD1/1156/1

Copy report of Thomas Grainger and John Miller, surveyors and engineers, Edinburgh, on direction of Commissioners of Her Majesty's Woods and Forests, concerning lands adjacent to Linlithgow Palace and Blackness Castle 8 December 1837 GD1/1156/1



Plan of 1837 by Grainger and Miller, copied for the Office of Works, 1854 (HS 174-5/201/53)

1 The lands of Parkhead

1-10 Arable field

11 Road and courtyard

12 Site of houses

13 barnyard

14 shrubbery

15 garden

16 pasture between no374

17 Houses and ground occupied now as a glue work formerly as a meal mill and subject to John Bunckle

2

18 Linlithgow Loch

19 The peel in old pasture

20 Site of palace

21 Court in front of do

22 Pasture taken off the loch

6

Third: Houses buildings and fences on the premises.

1st Parkhead – The farm and offices are of sufficient extent for the farm. To endure a lease of 21 years the dwelling house would require some repair – the Barn a new roof and the walls repaired – the Cow byre and Servants house to be rebuilt – the stable a new roof and other repairs and the Cattle Courts would require to be repaired – To do all this in a substantial manner could cost £300.

The lands are all enclosed, partly with stone dykes and partly with hedge fences – the fences are in several places in bad repair and there are almost no gates on the lands – A sum of £80 would be required to put the fences and gates into proper repair.

2nd Palace and Peel – The Palace is in ruins. There are no houses on the Peel for its occupation. The Peel is enclosed and the fences are indifferent.

Page 8

Timber on the lands – on the lands of Parkhead there are a few trees in the fences from 30 to 40 years old and if cut down might be worth about £30, but they have not yet come to maturity.

At the Palace there are a few old Trees – viz 9 healthy and 4 decaying Ash Trees and 14 planes or sycamore – the whole may be worth about £100 – they are of great age and are fully ripe for being cut down but they are the only ornamental wood at the Palace.

Seventh – The fishing on Linlithgow Loch belongs to the premises and as formerly stated is possessed by Miss Bowie free.

16

We have further to report that it appears to us that encroachments have been made on the Loch of Linlithgow and which would fall to be enquired into by the Commissioners Law Agent.

A plan of the lands of the Crown lands of Linlithgow, ie the Peel of Linlithgow and the lands of Parkhead, was drawn by Grainger and Miller in 1837. A copy of this was made for the Office of Works in 1854 (HS plans 174-5/201/53).

Treasure Trove Papers

NAS E872/40 Letter from Robert Matheson, H.M. Office of Works, Edinburgh to Q. & L.T.R. Office, Edinburgh concerning the transfer of finds made at Linlithgow Palace, 15 Aug 1859.

1846 Visitor

Carus C G 1846 *The King of Saxony's Journey through England and Scotland in 1843*, Chapman and Hall, London.

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The walls are still standing, unroofed however, and covered with blue mould from the dampness of the climate; and the wind whistles through the unglazed windows. There was once a splendid fountain in the courtyard, the ruins of which, with the background of massive walls, ornamented with the escutcheons carved over the doors, presented a pretty picture. In the same way some pretty views were obtained through the windows, of a little lake behind the castle. A quiet-looking woman, dressed in black, conducted us through the corridors and rooms, over the stairs and turrets of this old castle, and I could almost fancy at times, that we were preceded by a ghostly housekeeper of the time of Queen Mary.

During the first half of the 19th century there was strong pressure to use part of the palace for local government purposes. In 1818 it was proposed to convert a portion of the building into a County Hall (Fergusson 1910, 250-1).

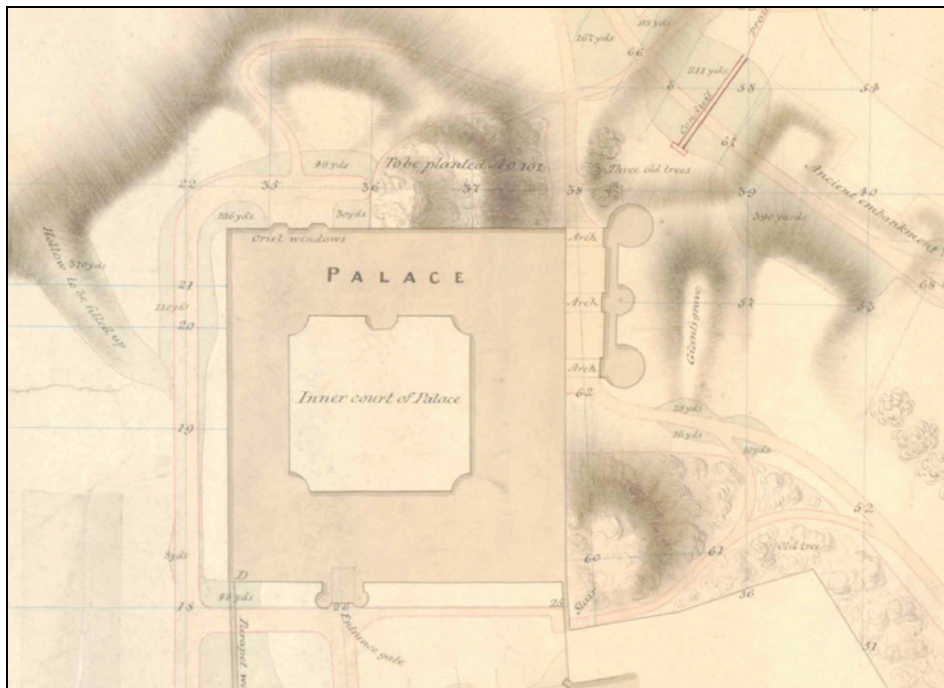
1845 Photograph by D O Hill and R Adamson of 'niches over grand entrance', courtyard E side (University of St Andrerws ref ALB-6-89).

10. THE BOARD OF WORKS

1853-55 NAS MW3/129

Linlithgow Peel and Loch, Transfer of responsibility to Board of Works on death of Keeper, Sir Thomas Livingston and subsequent works of improvement.

A plan of the area of the Peel was drawn in 1853 to accompany a report on the landscaping of the palace grounds by William McNab, curator of the Royal Botanic Garden, Edinburgh who recommended the creation of walkways around the palace and plantations to screen the view of back properties in the town. (HS plans 174-5/201/317). This plan is particularly informative as it marks proposed alterations to the immediate surroundings of the palace.

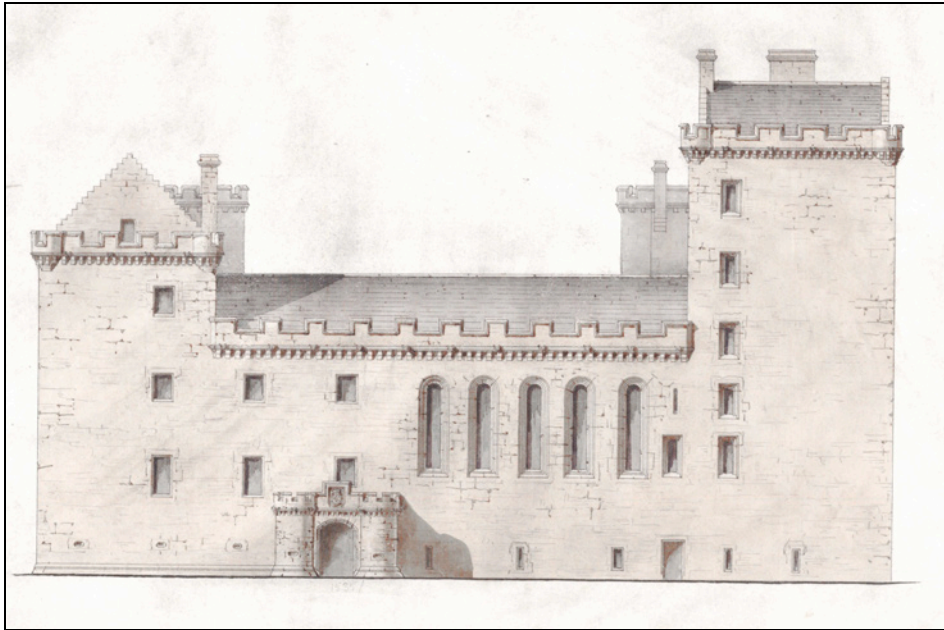


Plan of the lands of Parkhead, with the palace and peel of Linlithgow, belonging to the Crown'.
By Grainger and Miller, 1856 (copy in NAS – NAS RHP1704)

1855 *Morning Post* 22 May 1855, quoting the *Edinburgh Courant*

Linlithgow palace – The Commissioners of Woods and Forests are at the present moment carrying out the plans submitted by the late Mr. McNab, of the Edinburgh Botanic Gardens, for improving the grounds in the neighbourhood of the palace of Linlithgow. Walks have been formed, unsightly hollows have been filled up and a portion of the loch has been cleared of weeds. The margin of the loch has been smoothed down, and a broad walk is being formed around the palace, and a portion of the basement of the most recent wing of the building has been unearthed. A considerable breadth of ground in the south-west corner of the palace park has been trenched, and is to be planted, and a broad belt of planting is to be formed round the south-east side of the palace, with a view of ultimately shutting out unsightly back-lying portions of the town. Several relics, although none of great importance, have been discovered in the course of trenching and excavations which have been made.

In c1860 it was proposed that it should house the Sheriff Court, plans and elevations being drawn up for this purpose by the architect Robert Matheson as Clerk of Works for the Office of Works (HS 174-5/201/055-60).



1861 Detailed description of the palace together with detailed architectural drawings published by Dollman and Jobbins 1861, II (no page nos).

Description of the Palace

The massive pile of building, of which the foregoing is a brief historical summary, stands on a gentle eminence to the north of the one line of street of which the town of Linlithgow principally consists, and forms a conspicuous object in the vicinity of the Linlithgow Station on the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway. It occupies about one acre of ground, and stands on the south bank of the very picturesque sheet of water, known as Linlithgow Loch, the superficial area of which is about 154 acres. The original entrance to the palace, erected by James the Fourth, was as before stated, on the east side, and the approach thereto was by an avenue of noble trees, but as altered by James the Fifth, the present entrance is on the south side of the building, through a narrow avenue leading from the main street of the town, an alteration, which as it at present exists is by no means an improvement. The first building that attracts attention is the entrance gatehouse, a detached building erected in the time of James the Fifth, (details of the whole of which are given in the accompanying illustrations,) the form of which is a parallelogram, with octagonal turrets at two of the angles, which are loop-holed for purposes of defence. Over the entrance-archway, which is segmental pointed and has a bold and effective bead and chamfer for the jamb and arch mould, is a String-course with a twisted cable ornament in the upper member of the mouldings, and over this a series of four panels, of good arrangement and design, which are filled with the insignia and mottoes of the orders of the Garter, the Thistle, St. Michael, and the Golden Fleece, as emblems of the Sovereigns, Henry the Eighth of England, Francis the First of France, and Charles the Fifth of Germany, who conferred the several orders on the Scottish sovereign. Until the last few years these were much decayed, and scarcely decipherable, but the restoration they have undergone possesses considerable merit, and the execution of the sculpture is full of character and vigour. The roof of the gateway is barrel-shaped, with a longitudinal centre rib, into which seven transverse ribs resting on a molded string course, the whole length of

the gateway, are mitred. The interior elevation is quite plain, consisting merely of a segmental-pointed archway, similar in width and height to that in the front : the octagonal turrets at the angles are omitted in the back elevation.

After passing this archway, the south front of the palace is the first that presents itself. The character of this elevation (see Plate 1) is plain, but massive and dignified is the principal architectural features being the entrance porch, and a range of five lofty and boldly-designed windows belonging to the chapel of the palace (see Plate 2, where these windows are shewn in detail). The south-west angle, which, as before stated, is conjectured to be the oldest portion of the palace, rises above the roof of the central part of this front, and on its eastern face the weather-mold still exists, indicating the original pitch of the roof. The parapet of this south-west tower is corbelled, and at the angles are the usual Scottish circular turrets. The central portion of the front has been battlemented, (a part of which still remains) with double corbelling underneath. The upper part of the south-east angle of the front has been entirely destroyed. The entrance porch has a segmental-pointed archway, and circular turrets at the angles, originally surmounted in all probability by conical cappings or pinnacles, of which nearly all traces have now disappeared. In the centre are the remains of a large sunk panel or niche, in which the royal arms of Scotland have probably been originally inserted. The roof of the porch is barrel-shaped, but, as in many Scottish examples, the ribs are arranged in imitation of groining, the effect being very much the reverse of satisfactory: they spring from moulded corbels, and at their intersection at the apex is a boss sculptured with the Scottish crown and lion rampant.

Before proceeding to the interior of the palace, the rest of the exterior may here be briefly described. On the east front, the most striking feature is the original entrance in the centre of the facade, where, over a semicircular-headed archway, is a moulded panel, with buttresses in the jambs, in which panel are sculptured the royal arms and crown of Scotland, flanked on either side by angels bearing Shields, and the whole surmounted by an angel with outspread wings. At each side of the panel are the grooves for working the portcullis, and, beyond these, two large niches with canopies. Above is a range of square-headed windows, lighting the upper part of the hall, and at the south-east angle of this front is a large window of two lights, the character of the tracery of which is very peculiar (full details of this window are exhibited in Plate 3). At the north-east angle, detached from the building, are the remains of three low circular towers, forming a kind of outwork to the palace, and of earlier date than the rest of the building: they are probably fragments of the fortifications erected here by Edward the First during the period of his stay at Linlithgow. The north front, which faces the loch, differs materially from the others, in the multiplicity of windows introduced in each story. At the north-west angle is an oriel belonging to the apartment known as James the Third's dressing closet (quere oratory). Externally it is plain in character, but internally is well groined, as is also the small closet adjoining. The west front is entirely plain and unadorned, and the window openings are small and without ornament. The most picturesque general view of the palace is that from the loch, comprising the north and east fronts.

Returning to the south front and proceeding onwards from the porch through a passage, the roof of which is barrel-shaped with transverse ribs, and a longitudinal centre rib, we now reach the inner quadrangle, the effect of which is exceedingly stately and impressive; and, the northern side in particular, is said to suggest recollections, although on a reduced scale, of the ruins of Heidelberg. The principal feature of this quadrangle, on its eastern side, is the inner facade of the original entrance, which, as already mentioned, was on the eastern front of the palace (for details of this very curious and interesting portion of the building see Plate 5). The archway, which is semi-circular, is surmounted by an enriched hood-mould, which is ogee-shaped at its apex, and carries the pedestal of the centre niche over, on each side of which is a smaller

niche the canopies of all three are much mutilated, but the pedestals are tolerably perfect, and on one of them is a representation of a figure playing on an instrument somewhat akin to the modern Scottish bagpipe. The centre niche, it is said, was filled with a figure of Pope Julius the Second, and the side niches with figures of cardinals; by some, however, it is supposed that the sculptured occupants of the three niches were typical of the three estates of the realm the Church in the centre, flanked by the Nobility and Commonalty. Over each niche is the figure of an angel, the centre one with outspread wings, and of larger proportions and greater dignity than the two other figures, both of which hold a scroll, in which in all probability were some few words or legend, but which is now entirely obliterated. It is also supposed that the effect of these figures was originally heightened by colour and gilding. The figure of Pope Julius the Second was destroyed at about the beginning of the last century, when the superabundant zeal or fanaticism of an ardent

Protestant blacksmith, excited by pulpit-anathemas hurled at the Pope and Popery, induced him forthwith to wreak his vengeance on the unconscious statue.

The south side of the quadrangle, which as well as the north side, is faced with ashlar, and therein differs from the east and west sides, both of which are merely rubble-fronted, has three stories or ranges of square-headed and traceried windows, of three and four lights, details of which are {shown on Plate 7; and over the entrance archway into the quadrangle, on this side, are the remains of the pedestal and canopy of a tenantless niche, above which again were three niches, in one of which a figure still remains. In the centre upper niche there still exist the remains of the lily and flower-vase, emblems of the Blessed Virgin. The west side of the quadrangle is comparatively plain and unornamented. The north side was rebuilt by King James the Sixth, and exhibits in its classicality of character a marked difference from the rest of the quadrangle. It is said to have been the work of Inigo Jones. It is five stories in height, and in the centre has an octagonal stair-turret. Most of the windows have pediments on the apex, of which the rose, thistle, and fleur-de-lys are alternated, and in the tympana, the king's initials, and occasionally the date of the erection 1619 and 1620.

In the centre of the quadrangle are the mutilated remains of a large fountain, octagonal in plan, and the detail of which, rococo as it is, displays much vigour and boldness in the execution. At the four internal angles of the court-yard are circular stair-turrets leading to the upper apartments, lighted by narrow windows, which follow the raking lines of the steps. The newel of the staircase, in the north-west corner, is terminated at the top by a moulded capital, from which spring the groin-ribs which form the roof of the staircase. These ribs rest against the wall, on corbels, on which the monogram "J" and "M" (James the Fourth and Margaret of England, his queen) are ingeniously interwoven. Above this tower is a groined octagonal chamber, accessible only from the battlements (details of which are among the illustrations of the palace), and which is traditionally known as "Queen Margaret's bower," whence she is said to have retreated to bewail the departure of her husband on the ill-fated Flodden expedition. May not the circumstance of its having been a small oratory have given rise to this tradition? It has also been sometimes termed the Tyler or watchman's tower, and although the apartment may be considered as of rather too ornate a character for such a purpose, it may have been intended to be used as a warder's guard-room.

The general aspect and architectural features of the several elevations having been described, the plan of the palace will next merit consideration. It may be characterized generally as a vast quadrangular mass of building with a central open court; and the dimensions of the entire pile are 175 feet from north to south, and 166 feet from east to west. Entering from the south porch, and adjoining it, is an apartment, used in all probability as a guard-room, in which are loopholes commanding a view of the porch. The rest of the south side is occupied with vaulted chambers; those at the south-west corner bearing the appearance of places of

confinement, the remainder very probably ordinary domestic apartments. Towards the inner court, a corridor extends nearly the whole of the south side, communicating at the end with the circular stair-turrets; and at the south-east angle there is a passage to the south front of the palace, and thence opposite to a door into the church.

There is a considerable fall in the ground from west to east, of which advantage has been taken to construct a sunk story on the east side of the palace, where, adjacent to the original entrance, is a guard-room, a most dreary apartment, and so dark and gloomy that it is impossible to discover its actual dimensions on first entering. In one corner of this uninviting room is a small trap or funnel, from which there is a nearly perpendicular descent to a lower depth, an oubliette or dungeon, compared with which the guard-room might almost seem a paradise. Through this "shoot" the wretched prisoner was probably precipitated from above; and the terrors of such a place of confinement would be in no small degree augmented by this being the only mode of entry no other approach existing, and the dungeon itself, with the exception of one very small aperture for ventilation, being totally dark. The rest of the ground floor apartments on the east side, which are half-sunk below the level of the quadrangle, were used as the kitchens and domestic offices of the palace, and though at the present time dreary almost beyond description, had evidently been originally provided with suitable conveniences, such as for the removal of dirty water, &c.; and in the centre of the principal kitchen there was a well. The apartments on the north side were probably for the use of the domestics. The west side has a series of vaulted chambers; that at the north-west angle being of somewhat more ornamental character than the rest, (sometimes conjecturally termed a chapel) and having the same kind of false groining as that already described as existing in the south porch. Near the gateway on the east side of the quadrangle, an elliptical hollow on the surface of the ground has sometimes suggested, as probable, the existence of cellars or vaults underneath, the roof of which may have given way, but as there is no appearance of any mode of access to any such chambers, it has been surmised that the subsidence of the ground may mark the site of a fish-pond in the quadrangle, made after the eastern entrance to the palace was disused.

The first floor contains the principal apartments of the palace. On the south side of the quadrangle is the hall; eastward of which, and leading directly from it, is the chapel, 50 feet by 26, occupying the whole height of the building. On its south side are the five large single-light windows, shewn on the general elevation, Plate I, and more fully in detail on Plate 2. On the north side of the chapel is a corridor, which extends the whole length of that side of the quadrangle. This corridor is two stories in height, the two together comprising the entire height of the chapel; and in the upper passage are openings in the wall, possibly to afford the opportunity of witnessing the elevation of the Host at the altar. At the west end of the chapel there was probably a wooden gallery, the corbels to support which still remain. In the east wall of the chapel, on each side of the spot where the altar stood, are two semi-circular arched and moulded openings leading into a narrow passage, beyond which was the sacristy.

A small lobby leads thence into the great Parliament Hall or banquetting room, 98 feet by 30, which occupies the entire eastern side of the quadrangle. This must have been a most stately apartment: it is lighted on the east and west sides by a range of windows, placed high up in the wall, in the piers between which are sculptured and moulded corbels, originally supporting the principals of the roof. On the west side, at the level of the windows, was a gallery in the thickness of the wall, extending the whole length of the room, and most likely intended for the accommodation of spectators. Beneath this gallery, also in the thickness of the wall, was a narrow passage, in one part of which the portcullis for the gateway underneath was raised and lowered. The dais was at the south end, where, occupying nearly the entire width of the room, is a magnificent hooded fireplace with three openings, (full

details of which are shewn on Plate 4,) and at the south-east corner of the hall is the large two-light window already referred to, the tracery in the head of which exhibits some remarkable peculiarities of design, (see Plate 3). At the north-west angle of the hall was the original entrance by a flight of steps from the court-yard below; this is now entirely blocked up, but traces of the archway are still

discernible in the quadrangle and on the inside of the wall. A gallery or orchestra existed at this end of the hall, and beyond, to the northward, is the upper part of the kitchen. On the north side of the quadrangle, above the ground floor, were the royal private apartments occupying five stories in height, on the principal floor of which is the state dining room, the windows of which are towards the north and overlook the loch ; this portion of the palace, as before mentioned, was rebuilt by James the Sixth. At the north-west angle are the rooms known as King James the Third's bed room and dressing room. The roof of the oriel, previously described, is ribbed in imitation of groining, with a large boss at the intersedtion of the ribs, the device in which consists of an unicorn under a tree, with the motto *belle a boUC'seule*. At the south-west corner of this apartment is a trap door in the floor, leading to a small chamber underneath, in which James the Third is said to have concealed himself when threatened with assassination.

On the west side of the quadrangle, the principal apartment is that in which the ill-fated Mary Queen of Scots was born on the 7th of December, 1542 ; a small staircase in the thickness of the wall connects this room with a vaulted chamber below. It may be here remarked, that the plan of the palace generally is rendered the more complex by the number of concealed closets and small staircases in the thickness of the walls, and on the top of the building there has evidently existed a continuous means of communication from one part to another, behind the parapet.

To the foregoing account, a brief summary of the illustrations may now be added: Plate i. South elevation and outline block plan of the Palace: the dotted lines on the elevation indicate the battlements and the line of the ridge of the roof.

Plate 2 contains Plan, Elevation, Section, and Details of the windows on the south side of the Chapel, the jamb mouldings of which are good and effective: in the piers between the windows inside are the pedestals and canopies of niches, and on one of the piers are two incised crosses pates.

Plate 3 gives the S. E. Window of the Parliament Hall: the character of the tracery is very singular, and entirely unlike that of any known example in England.

Plate 4. Plan, Elevation, and Details of Fireplace at the South end of the Parliament Hall. This example is full of character and beauty throughout: it was in a very dilapidated condition, but has been partially restored under the superintendence of H.M. Office of Works, Edinburgh.

Plate 5. Gateway, &c., on the east side of quadrangle. The foliated canopy above the three niches is peculiar and of somewhat foreign character: the upper windows are those of the Parliament Hall, and the square-headed openings between the niches light the passage wherein the portcullis was raised and lowered.

Plate 6 contains Plan, Elevation, Section, and Details of the Entrance Gateway.

Plate 7. Plan, elevation, and details of the oriel window in the Parvise over the south Porch of the Church, which is immediately contiguous to the palace. These oriels form a remarkable feature in Scottish churches, although scarcely known to exist in England. The example here illustrated is so domestic in character, that it has been, without inconsistency, introduced in the present work, although belonging to an ecclesiastical structure. It does not appear to have been glazed : the head at the top is well carved, and the ornamental foliage in the string-courses also possesses much merit in its freedom and vigour of execution.

Plate 9 contains Plans, Elevation, Section, and Details of the top of the N. W. Turret, known as "Queen Margaret's Bower." Among the details, one of the corbels supporting the groining at the top of the staircase, with the regal monogram interwoven, is given. Plate 10. Plan, Elevation, Section, and Details of the Entrance Porch on the South front of the Palace. The base-mould of the arch-jamb, indicated by dotted lines, is concealed from view by the present level of the ground: the porch is roofed externally with the over-lapping slabs of stone so constantly met with in ancient Scottish examples.

18 September 1869

Fatal Fall from Linlithgow Palace Ruins.- On Saturday forenoon, a mason named John White was killed by falling from the ruins of Linlithgow Palace. For some years back the Crown authorities have each season done a little in the way of cementing and "pointing" the masonry, in order to keep the walls of the old palace from going entirely to decay. On Saturday last White was employed on a scaffold at the top of the south-east corner of the palace, doing a little rough building to support a large chimney stalk. The scaffold was formed of ordinary mason's trestles overlaid with strong planks, and firmly fixed and resting on the top of the broad wall. It is conjectured that while stepping back to get a better look at his work, White had fallen over, for a was found in an insensible state at the bottom of the wall.

NAS MW1/323

28 February 1868 Letter from Robert Mathieson

.. owing to the recent high winds a portion of the South Side of the Boundry Wall of Linlithgow Palace Grounds, extending to 62 feet, has fallen down ..

6 April 1887

Visit of William Morris

NAS MW1/323

6 October 1891 Memoranda on condition of the palace, by W Robertson

The whole of the buildings are roofless. The walls at each corner of the palace are raised one end two stories above the rest forming towers but the upper part and gables of these towers are now much delapidated, and the walls of the south east tower have fallen away so much that the great part of it is reduced to the height of the adjoining wings.

The rest of the walls of the palace are generally in good preservation except in the parapets and other upper portions.

The floors of the Hall and principal rooms are now mostly earth with remains of flagging and floor tiling and they allow rain to percolate through the masonry and vaulting below. The greater part of the vaulting is of good masonry and except in certain parts has not as yet been seriously damaged, but for effectual preservation it should have a covering of cement with proper outlets for water. Special precaution should be taken with perts that are becoming dangerous and the few remains of old floor tiles left above the vaulting could be preserved by being embedded in the surface of the cement.

A number of chimney shafts along the north wing are out of perpendicular and should receive early attention. They form as a group an important feature of the building and I would recommend that they be carefully taken down and rebuilt. One of the group was blown down some years ago.

A small gable which is much exposed and leans inwards should be supported by shoring.

The tops of the walls should be cemented over in several places, and flagged in others, and certain defective masonry and pointing should be made good.

Repairs have hitherto been restricted to such as were needed for the immediate preservation of the more ruinous parts...

Ross, T c 1891 'Linlithgow Palace', *Transactions of the Edinburgh Architectural Association*. Reprinted in *The Architect* Feb 19 1892, 127-9.

1892 *The Condition of Linlithgow Palace (Glasgow Herald, Monday 23 May 1892)*

The estimates are about to be submitted to Parliament for Scottish parks and pleasure grounds, and it is understood that the case for Linlithgow Palace will be brought up by Mr W P Sinclair, MP. In view of this circumstance, the Edinburgh Architectural Association have issued and circulated among Scottish members the following report of the condition of the palace, which has been prepared by a committee of the council of the association:

1. The masonry of the building is practically still complete, and the walls, which are of unusual strength, stand almost ready for the roofs. Certain of the chimneys are, however, in a dangerous state, and should be taken down and rebuilt with the present stones. Some portion of the tops of the walls also requires to be renewed, and a portion of the building in the upper part of the south-east tower should be rebuilt.
2. The ground floor rests entirely on stone vaulting (except the north block). This arching is all good, and only requires thorough pointing. There is thus the support of the principal floor remaining entire. It, however, requires to be laid with suitable floors. Specimens of the original stone and tile flooring are still to be seen in various parts of the building.
3. The upper floors, which were of wood, are entirely gone. They should be renewed as nearly as possible as originally constructed.
4. The five fine stone staircases, and the doorways, passages, and window openings, are practically intact, and only require some repairs.
5. Though the palace is roofless, the height and lines of the old roofs can be determined by the raglet marks on the existing gables. These roofs were all constructed of timber, and they should be reinstated in the same material and covered with slates and lead.
6. As the whole woodwork and glasswork of the palace are destroyed, the windows and doors are entirely open. The general woodwork should be renewed chiefly with oak, and all the windows glazed. The interior wall should be plastered or panelled with oak.
7. The mould and rubbish which has accumulated in the basement should be cleared out, and the floor laid with pavement. Proper provision should be made for carrying off surface and roof water.
8. No alteration or interference with the present architectural aspect or details to the palace should be made; where any details are missing or require to be renewed, there is sufficient guidance existing. For the restoration of the fountain in the centre of the quadrangle, which is believed to be the most unique thing of its kind in Great Britain, There is ample material for guidance, and the names of the figures that filled the few vacant niches on the exterior of the building are known.
9. Looking at the extent of the buildings, the sum of £500, which the committee understand is to be proposed for repairs, in two instalments in the estimates of this year and the next, is quite insufficient to ensure the safety of the buildings. While, as above noted, the walls are still in a wonderful state of preservation, there is a serious risk, so long as the buildings remains unroofed, that a heavy fall of rain, followed by a sharp frost, or even the occurrence of a heavy gale of wind, might cause irreparable damage.

10. The work could with great propriety be executed in sections, and the committee suggests that the first section to be dealt with should be the north block, where, as already noted, there are chimneys in a dangerous state.

9 February 1893 (*Glasgow Herald*)

Letter from Mr Shaw-Lefevre, First Commissioner of Works, 7 February 1893::

Linlithgow Palace is a ruin. We have agreed this year to spend £250 in maintaining it as “a ruin” not restoring it. The restoration would be a costly work, and it is a grave question whether, from an antiquarian and architectural point of view, it would be right to restore a ruin of this kind.

1893 *The British Architect* 38, 146

The works of repair at Linlithgow are being rapidly pushed on with and will, it is expected be shortly completed.

15 June 1895 (*Glasgow Herald*)

The discussion on Linlithgow Palace was taken on the next vote for royal parks and pleasure gardens... Captain Hope complained of the red cement with which the floor had been covered and which did not harmonise with the walls, but Mr Gladstone pointed out that that could easily be removed if necessary. To adequately restore the Palace would cost between £50,000 and £70,000; that that could not be done without mature consideration and something like general agreement among the Scottish members. He invited the opinion of Scotland on the subject and promised that it should be fully considered.

1901 Proposal by Lord Roseberry to restore the palace as a memorial to Queen Victoria (*Times* 8 February 1901).

NAS MW1/323

3 September 1906 Memoranda from William Oldrieve – buttress, ‘built about 40 years ago, has been removed from fireplace in Great Hall (NAS MW1/323)

MW1/323

Summary of works executed in 1912, G Wilson Paterson, Assistant Architect, A M Scotland.

Entrance Porch

The exterior and interior walls of the Entrance Porch have been pointed and broken and loose ribs of vault dowelled and made secure, and the whole cleaned and pointed. A gunmetal bar was inserted under broken lintol.

King's Kitchen

In this apartment the chief work was the repairing of the large rent (averaging 5” wide) between the side walls supporting the chimney hood and the back wall of the fireplace. The chimney has been a later addition and these walls had never been adequately bonded to the back. This has now been done by the insertion of 5 large Red Hailes angle bond stones... and the voids behind the same filled with Portland Cement concrete and grout. The internal walls of the chimney were thoroughly raked out and pointed in Arden Lime mortar to a height of 40 ft up the chimney.

The small semi-spherical oven was in a very loose and dangerous condition. The rubbish was cleared from haunches from above and the extrados pointed and grouted in cement and the cover stones replaced. The joints on the internal face were raked out and pointed in Arden Lime mortar, and the floor of the oven treated in similar manner. The small recess entering from

fireplace was also carefully pointed and the cracks grouted and the vault over made secure with grouting.

A gunmetal bar was inserted under cracked lintol in this room.

Anteroom behind the King's Kitchen

In this room the North and East walls have been pointed in Arden Lime mortar and a decayed wood lintol renewed, and the infilling to an opening was set back to expose the reveals. In this room much of the rough wall (above old vaults now destroyed) had been faced up with cement and rubble. This was loose and falling to pieces and has been removed and the wall behind carefully pointed.

Joist holes were thereby exposed and cleaned out, and in one the stump of the wood joist was found and left in situ. At the North end of the East wall a large crack extended about half way up the wall; this was grouted and old faced bond stones (found in well) and a few stones coloured down were inserted across the rent, and the whole pointed in Arden Lime mortar. The same treatment was applied to seimilar rents in the passage, in said wall between Kitchen and Ante-room (3 cracks in all). The grout in these cracks found its way right down to the basement storeys where it appeared in the chimney in lower Kitchen. So well has this work been executed that unless one specially looks for them the new bond stones cannot be detected.

Old Well

The Old Well has been excated to a depth of 35 feet, the steining is well buyilt in masonry and appears to continue still further down. Excavaions have been stopped, as water has found its way in and now lies at a depth of about 2 ft. Two fragments of sculptured finials were discovered in the well.

Iron Bars

All modern iron bars to upper windows have bee cut out without damaging the stone work. The holes have been filled up with Arden lime and sand, coloured to match the stone sills.

Gargoyles

Thye run of the gargoyles on South side of the Courtyard was altered to prevent rain running down face of walls. All vegetaion was removed from top of buttresses on East side, and tops of same made good.

13 January 1925 Memoranda (NAS MW1/951)

A clearance has been made in the courtyard and the cobbled walk which I noticed on the occasion of my former visit has been laid bare. (attached plan showing cobbling, 9 feet wide, extending around all sides of the courtyard and respecting the central stair in the north wing.

28 December 1929 Note from Mr Paterson (NAS MW1/951)

1 The earthwork on the East side of the "Bulwark" should not be interferred with. This feature is indicated on a drawing dated 1784.

2 Debris might be removed from between the "Bulwark" and the main wall of the Palace, and possibly this excavation should be carried further south to a point beyond the position in the East wall of the old entrance.

An examination pit is being dug on the inside of the Bulwark...

3 The ground on the west side of the Palace might be made more level. To produced an effective treatment, however, a line of small trees would have to be sacrificed.

Examination pits are being dug at points indicated by me.

15 May 1939 (NAS MW1/951)

The King's presence Chamber

1 I inspected the sample of the fireplace base and kerb and gave the foreman instructions as to how the finished work was to be completed.

2 I told the foreman to select 13 floor tiles from those in the Museum corridor and indent them diamond wise in the square panels of the floor.

DD27/333 Restoration work 1946-56

29 March 1946

In the vaulted chamber off the entry in the Palace of Linlithgow there is a 15th century fireplace. I have to report that a most unfortunate thing has happened to it – owing to some defect water has saturated the masonry and has reduced the interesting carved group of two figures on the west jamb to the state of mud-like substance

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| NAS MW1/1188 | Finds, 1920-38 |
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| DD27/333 | Proposed restoration work, 1946-56 |
| DD27/1021 | Museum contents, 1951-72 |
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RHP686 Plan of the roads in dispute in the process depending before the justices of the peace of the county of Linlithgow, Sir William Hamilton against Mr James Andrew'. Plan of roads from Linlithgow Bridge to Pardovan including line of old march road at the back of Parkhead. Field boundaries of Parkhead and plantations of Loch House noted. 1781.

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THE GARDENS OF LINLITHGOW PALACE

Of the gardens belonging to the four major palaces of the Stewart monarchs Linlithgow is the one where least survives in the way of documentary evidence. Linlithgow features prominently in the properties assigned to queens of Scotland as an element of their income in widowhood. It does, however, present an excellent opportunity for archaeological investigation because of the relative absence of later intensive cultivation in the area around the palace. Aerial survey, particularly that undertaken in 1989 reveals the effects of multiple excavations and constructions on the promontory on which the palace stands. Geophysical survey presents a similar picture. The sheer quantity of information and the long timespan during which activity on the area around the palace has occurred makes interpretation difficult, but suggests areas which might be explored by excavation, although the small trenches opened in 1966 south-west of the outer gateway revealed a considerable degree of nineteenth century disturbance. These excavations also revealed the dangers of undertaking such work with an overly fixed agenda, the uncovering of the ditch of Edward I's Peel of Linlithgow, particularly when aligned to a lack of interest in the gardens that occupied the area (Laing 1967, 111–147).



Aerial view of Linlithgow Palace under conditions of drought (© RCAHMS)

Linlithgow before 1425

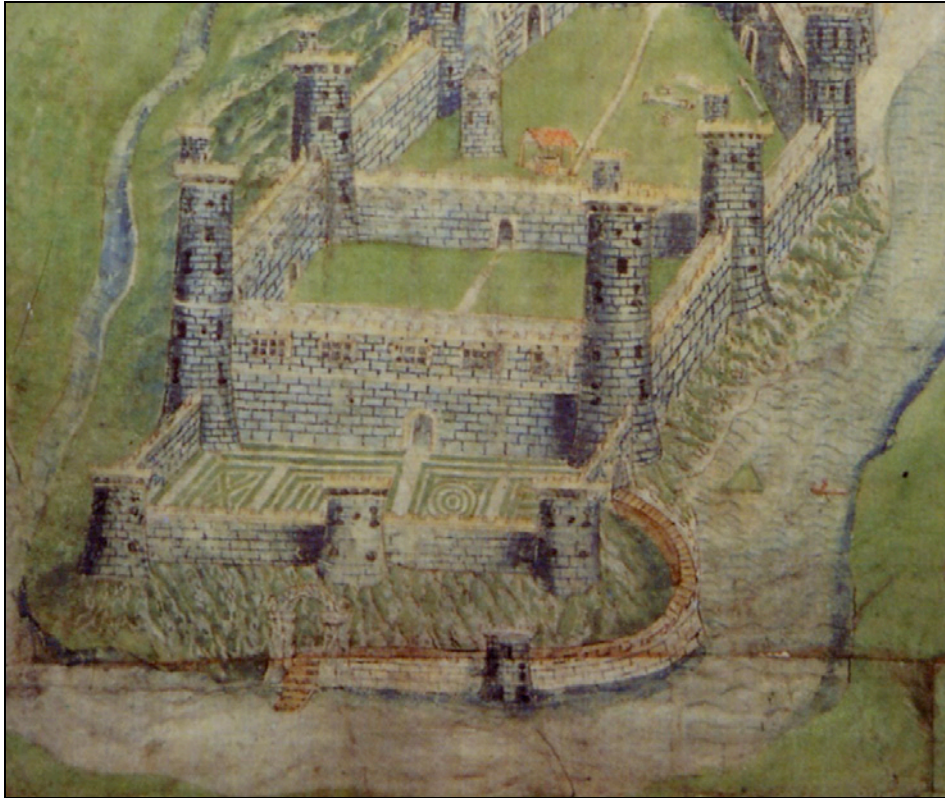
The situation of Linlithgow, about half way between the royal castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, made it an obvious place for a halt for kings and their servants. David I (1124–53) had a dwelling there in 1143 when he granted all the skins from the rams, ewes and lambs which die at Linlithgow to the abbey of Holyrood as part of his ‘great charter’ to that house (*Regesta* II, 146). Malcolm IV (1153–65) and William I (1165–1214) both issued charters there, but the site is nowhere described as a castle or by a term suggesting a fortified site, although the same could be said of some other places which were undoubtedly castles (*Regesta*, I, 50, 80, 211, 255: II, 28, 81, 160, 204, 205, 247, 292, 330, 391, 411).

Linlithgow was referred to as a manor in a document in French of May 1286 of which three copies survive. It records the transfer of her dower rights to her father, Guy, Count of Flanders, by Margaret who was the widow of Prince Alexander, eldest son of King Alexander, who had died in 1284. The document was issued following the death of the king himself in March 1286

and may reflect financial concerns after the accession of Queen Margaret, the Maid of Norway, and the rule of the Guardians of Scotland. Margaret had been remarried to Renaud, Count of Gueldres. The document refers to '*le manoir de Linliscu seant en Escosche, au tieroir de Lauenois, en le eveschiet de Saint Andriu, auquel manoir apertienent deus cens mars destrelins de rente cascun an devant dit nombre*' (the manor of Linlithgow, situated in Scotland in the territory of Lothian, in the bishopric of St Andrews. To which manor belong two hundred marks sterling of rent each year, at the aforesaid rate) (Stevenson 1870, 12–17). This letter was set out in legal form by John, Bishop of Liege. A confirmation of what was due to her was made in 1293, in the reign of John Balliol, and also refers to '*le manoir de Linescu*' (Stevenson 1870, 403–406). The term *manoir* or *manerium* in Scotland implies a manor house rather than a set of financial and legal rights at this date (Barrow 1976, 439), but the absence of any mention of a castle or other form of dwelling might imply the existence of a building at Linlithgow not designed primarily for defence.

The first reference to fortification at Linlithgow relates to Edward I's occupation of Scotland. In November 1301 there is a reference to the 'King's Chamber' (*Cal Doc Scot* II, 322, no 1262; Stevenson 1870, 2, 441–3) and this is preceded by the sending of weapons to Linlithgow from York or London (*Cal Doc Scot* II, 319, no 1250) followed by further references to the fortification of the site in 1302. Edward I spent the winter of 1301–2 at Linlithgow. The king's most prominent military engineer, Master James of St George, who had been responsible for the major Edwardian castles in Wales, was acting as Master of Works for the construction of the fortification there in 1302–3. The site was frequently referred to as 'The Peel', a name which survived in use until the nineteenth century. It took in the church, 'the great church', which was used as a store (*Cal Doc Scot* II, 339, no 1324) and presumably the buildings formerly used by the Scottish kings. The number of soldiers and workmen involved in the creation of timber enclosure with a ditch with wooden towers (bretasches) implies a large fortification (*Cal Doc Scot* II, *passim*) and there was some use of masonry (Brown, Colvin and Taylor 1963, 413). The number of carpenters recalls the early works at Flint Castle, but was not on the same scale.

While at least thirty carpenters were ordered to Linlithgow, there were 330 at Flint, although some of these may have been sent on to work on other of Edward's castles in North Wales and there may already have been carpenters at Linlithgow (*Cal Doc Scot* II, 332, no 1308; 358, no 1398; Taylor 1974, 309). The promontory on which the palace stands was isolated by a ditch with a 'pele' or stockade made of timber. It had a fortified gatehouse and wooden towers in the loch at each end. Another ditch and a slighter palisade were erected around the promontory to protect against attack from the north across Linlithgow Loch. Edward used Linlithgow as a base for his siege of Stirling Castle in 1304, sending material including, on one occasion, twenty-one waggon loads of timber, lead counterweights and stone ammunition for mangonels to the English camp at Stirling (Pringle 1989, 5). One of his siege engines was named Linlithgow (*Cal Doc Scot* II, 420, no 1599). It should be remembered that Edward would see his occupation of Linlithgow as long lasting and that the peel there would be provided with the amenities which he considered appropriate in his Welsh castles. At Rhuddlan, Conway and Carnarvon these included a garden.



Conway Castle about 1600 showing the garden in the east barbican (© Marquis of Salisbury)

The development of Conway Castle may provide some parallels for Linlithgow, but the absence of his queen, Margaret, may have made differences in the accommodation provided at Linlithgow. Edward reached Conway in the middle of March 1283 and there also he occupied the buildings of the previous rulers, in this case the hall of Llywelyn, which, like Linlithgow, offered immediate facilities to the invaders. He also took over a stone ecclesiastical building, the Cistercian abbey, which provided a secure store for supplies and munitions. Very early in the occupation of Conway timber and clay were provided for a palisade to enclose the site of the proposed new town (*ad Brittach' circa claustrum ville de Coneway*). By June, when the lodging of his first wife, Eleanor of Castile, was nearly ready, a garden was created beside it with a lawn laid with turf shipped in from up the River Conway and fenced with barrel staves. One of her squires was charged with watering it (Taylor 1974, 337–8). The site of the garden at Conway Castle survives in the East Barbican and its position is reminiscent of that of the garden within the castle at Stirling which is recorded from the late fifteenth century. Edward II seems to have stayed at Linlithgow in 1310, possibly with his queen, Isabella, but after Bannockburn the palace returned to Scottish hands (*Cal Doc Scot* III, 32, no 176).



The garden within Stirling Castle (© RCAHMS)

Robert Bruce caused every castle in Scotland to be cast down with the exception of Berwick and Dumbarton, a decree that presumably included the fortification at Linlithgow (Barrow 1976, 439). In 1337 his son, David II arranged for the site to come back into royal use, granting the 'peill' to John Cairns with orders to prepare it for him (RMS 1, 605). David held his court there in 1343 and later (Pringle 1989, 5) when it is again referred to as a manor. David II, who was born in 1324 spent much of his infancy and childhood at the *manerium* or manor house which his father had built at Cardross. Cardross lies on the north side of the Firth of Clyde near Dumbarton Castle and the confluence of the River Leven. It was acquired by Robert Bruce in about 1326, in exchange for Old Montrose in Angus and lands at Leckie near Stirling, and it was there he died in 1329. It would seem to have been intended as a place for domestic life and relaxation, although its closeness to Dumbarton Castle, one of only two castles in Scotland which the king had not ordered to be destroyed following the wars with the English, would provide some security. It had a hall, chambers for the king and queen, a chapel, kitchen and larder. In the interior were plastered and painted walls and windows with window glass. A garden and a park were part of the complex, as well as a mews for hawking surrounded by a hedge (ER 1, cxx; Barrow 1976, 439-41). In 1329 the gardener at Cardross was called Gilbert, and in the same year various seeds (*diversis seminibus*) costing eighteen pence were purchased for the orchard, suggesting that the area around the fruit trees was cultivated, not with one crop (ER 1, 125-6), but with a variety, possibly for an ornamental effect. A similar complex might have been created at Linlithgow ten years later.

There were contemporary literary sources for such creations. The Bolognese writer, Pietro de' Crescenti, wrote a book *Liber ruralium commodorum*, or the 'Book of country profits', in the late thirteenth century, much of it drawing on earlier writers, including Albertus Magnus (Whiteley 1999, 92-3; Calkins 1986, 157-73). This work was known in Scotland; a surviving copy, printed in Louvain, which belonged, in 1492, to Robert Kinman of Megginch, a follower of Archbishop Schevez, is now in the Radcliffe Library in Oxford (Durkan 1961, 121). It was translated into French in 1373 at the command of the French king, Charles V, as *Le Rustican*. While much of it was devoted to horticulture, there was a chapter on *Vergiers royaux et des autres nobles puissans et riches*. Small private gardens, often situated beneath chamber windows, were a recognised amenity

of princely houses, and were designed 'to give pleasure to people, and therefore preserve the health of the body as the state of the body affects the mind'. Repairs to the manor house were recorded during the reign of David II's successor, Robert II, requiring the purchase of lead in 1399 (ER 3, 463, 614).

The return of James I (1394–1437)

Robert's son, James I, returned to Scotland in 1424 after an imprisonment of some eighteen years having been captured by English sailors on his way to France, where he had been sent by his father, Robert II, for a safer upbringing than seemed to be available in Scotland. During the reign of Henry IV James was moved from the Tower of London to Nottingham Castle, Stratford Abbey, Evesham and Croydon gaining knowledge of various English royal residences and their gardens. Henry V removed him back to the Tower and on to Windsor Castle; Pevensey and Pontefract; Raby Castle and London followed (Balfour-Melville 1936, 38). In 1418 he was at Kenilworth Castle, where Henry V had recently completed an enclosed pleasance across the lake from and just out of sight of the castle itself. The earthworks of a double-moated quadrilateral enclosure still survive. In the central area was a timber-framed banqueting house and gardens, which could be approached by boat (Thomson 1964, 222-3).

James I subsequently accompanied Henry to France in 1420 in an unsuccessful attempt by the English king to disengage Scottish troops from supporting the French king. When in Paris James was probably lodged at the Hotel de St Pol, which was surrounded by a pleasure garden, which had been laid out by Charles V of France and replanted by Charles VI in 1398. The garden contained a labyrinth, trellises, tunnels, arbours, ponds, orchards and ornamental plants (Cooper 1999, 832). It had a great circular pool with an encircling balustrade, and a lion spouting water in the middle (Colvin 1999, 8). James attended Henry's wedding to Katherine, the daughter of the King of France, and travelled back to London for her coronation with the royal party. He was in France again in 1421, returning to England after Henry's death in 1422, as a member of his funeral cortege, when, if not earlier, he would visit Hesdin.

The renowned garden at Hesdin, which belonged to the dukes of Burgundy in Northern France was a place to which important visitors were taken so that they might be impressed by the park with its hills, pastures and woods, hamlets, lodges, fish ponds, orchards, paddocks, mews, aviaries and a menagerie. There were orchards of apple, cherry and plum trees and gardens of osiers, grapevines, roses and lilies, including one called *le petit Paradis* (Hagopian van Buren 1986 120). Hesdin lay near the site of the Battle of Agincourt in the province of Artois, not far from Calais, and it was on the route of the funeral procession of Henry V which took over six weeks to move from Bois de Vincennes near Paris via St Denis, Rouen, Boulogne and Calais to the burial at Westminster Abbey. The park was also renowned as the setting of the poem *Remède de Fortune* by the fourteenth century composer and poet Guillaume de Machaut, although the mechanical devices and moving statues in the park may have had a more immediate impact on the distinguished visitors. James was acquainted with the major gardens of Northern Europe.



The Burgundian court at the garden of Hesdin in 1432 (© Scala)

In 1424 shortly after James' return to Scotland a fire destroyed the royal manor house at Linlithgow, as well as the church and most of the town (Watt, 8, 242–3). For the remainder of his reign until 1337 when, on his death, expenditure suddenly ceased, James was engaged in the construction of the palace which was still in 1426 referred to as a manor house (*ER* 4, 415) but in 1429 was first called a palace (*ER* 4, 512). Much of the work seems to have been concentrated on the east range and the adjacent parts of the north and south ranges, possibly giving the palace the form of a square open to the west. Among the building records for this year is a mention of the construction of fish ponds, a common adjunct to a garden (*ER* 4, 415). With Linlithgow Loch close by, there might be some doubt as to the necessity for fish ponds but these may have been used for fish breeding or as an immediate source for the kitchen. In 1427 additional land on the east side of the palace was purchased from various unnamed individuals at a cost of £19-16-8 (*ER* 4, 450). This was the side on which the entrance front lay and from which it would be approached. The east façade with its display of heraldry and sculpture, is extremely impressive

and would be best viewed from a little distance. The amount of land purchased, *triginta quinque perticatis*, thirty-five perches, a small area that would suggest an improvement to the access rather than a notable increase in courts or gardens around the palace. However, John Dunbar translates this as thirty-five roods or nine Scots acres, an area which would encompass the present day public park to the east of the palace. In 1434 there is a mention of a *parca* at Linlithgow but the condition of the manuscript is poor; it seems to be linked with tapestry and its meaning is unclear (ER 4, 556), but it may point towards some form of hunting reserve.

Gardens had an important role in the literary and cultural life of the later Middle Ages. They had connotations which were both sacred and profane. The association with Virgin Mary reflected an image of the garden as a place of purity and innocence, separate from the evils of the world. The garden was also a place for earthly and sensual love, in its own way also apart from the wider world. One of the most famous poems of the medieval period was the *Roman de la Rose*, an allegorical dream vision, which explored the nature of *fin amour* or courtly love. Many manuscripts of the work survive, and it was extremely influential on the form of later poems; it appeared in English as *The Romaunt of the Rose* and the translation has been ascribed to Geoffrey Chaucer. The setting of the poem is a walled garden, where the poet learns how to woo his beloved. The *Kings Quair* of James I was in the mainstream of this cultural phenomenon. The pattern of the medieval garden is one of enclosure, often by walls, sometimes by hedges and sometimes by a ditch. This might be a part of a wider garden landscape, linked to orchards and fishponds, and, at the highest levels of medieval society, a park for deer (Woodbridge 1986, 17). James I has been convincingly credited with the writing of the poem, *The Kingis Quair* (Mackenzie 1939, 13-26; McDiarmid 1973, 28-60), which records the poet's courtship, beginning with the lamenting of his imprisonment and his study of philosophy, before turning to his window and contemplating the garden outside, supposed to be based on that at Windsor Castle (Cooper 1999, 819). As in a dream vision in the poetic tradition of Chaucer and Gower, the scene is set in May and accompanied by the song of the nightingale:

Now was there maid fast by the touris wall
A gardyn faire, and in the cornere set
Ane herbere grene, with wandis long and small
Railit about; and so with treis set
Was all the place, and hawthorn hegis knet,

And in the garden he saw:

The fairest or the freschest yong floure
That euer I sawe, me thought, before that houre;
For quich sodayne abate anone astert
The blude of all my body to my hert. (McDiarmid 1973, 84-6)

Gardens had an important role in courtly culture throughout Europe, and an association with love and marriage as well as sensual and adulterous pleasures (McDiarmid 1973, 57). James was married to Joan Beaufort in 1424 at Southwark Cathedral and eventually returned to Scotland, arriving at Melrose Abbey in April of that year. This account of James' courtship is believed to have been composed about 1435, many years after his return to Scotland. John Dunbar sees James' palace of Linlithgow as comparable to Bodiam, designed to be viewed rising above the waters of Linlithgow Loch (Dunbar 1999, 8; Everson 1996, 71-84). Kenilworth, where James is

known to have stayed, and Caerlaverock in Dumfriesshire are other residences which utilise the landscape and waterscape in their presentation. (Brown 2012, 85–6).

James II (1437–1460) and Mary of Gueldres

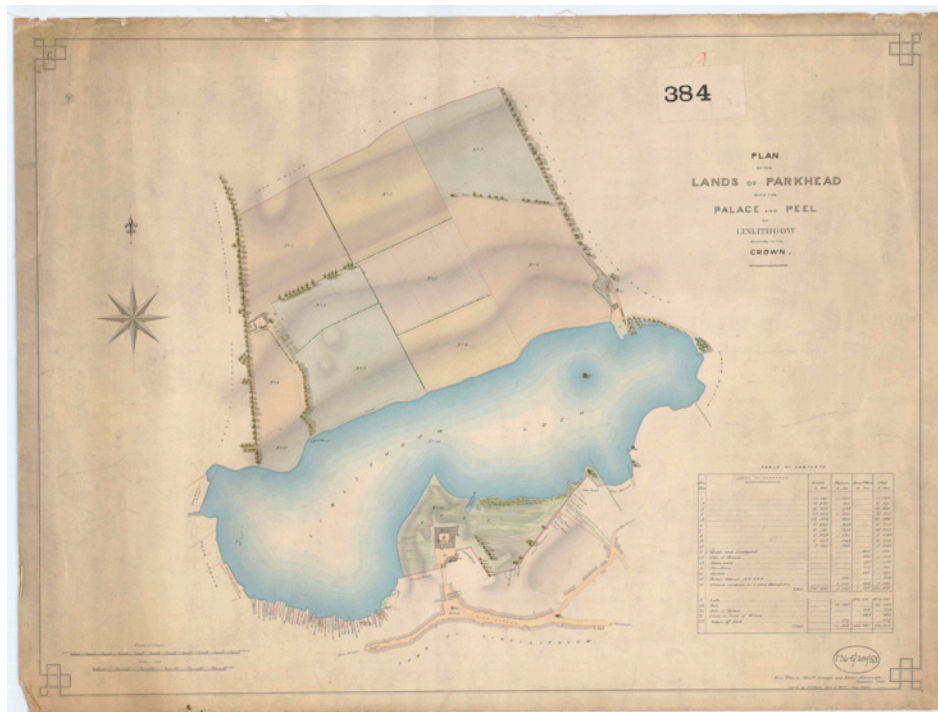
In 1449 James married Mary of Gueldres, niece of Philip the Good of Burgundy and the duke's closest legitimate female relative. The Duke of Burgundy, was the owner of the garden of Hesdin; the wedding of his chamberlain there in 1432 was the subject of a painting, possibly by Jan van Eyck, which shows the court of Burgundy, the most brilliant in Europe, enjoying itself outdoors in the setting of a garden with lake and water fowl, as well as garden buildings and fruit trees. In 1451 John Weir, the master of works at the place of Linlithgow was paid for nets for the fishing of the lake, for locks, for the repair of the prison, for the enclosure and guarding of the palace, which at this time is thought to have been open to the west. (ER 5, 428). In 1453 he was paid for the enclosure of the ward and for the guarding (custodia) of the gardens (herbarum) and meadows of the Peel of Linlithgow (ER 5, 588). This is the first mention of gardens and meadows, which would also be places of recreation, at the palace. Fishing was a leisure activity as well as a means of supplying an important foodstuff. The linking of the lake, the meadows and the gardens would suggest that all three were seen as part of the amenities of the palace, as well as having economic benefits. During the reign of James II little more is recorded of events at Linlithgow, but shortly after his death in 1460, the palace was used to accommodate the exiled Henry VI of England, his queen, Margaret of Anjou, and his son Edward Prince of Wales. Repairs were carried out there prior to their arrival after the defeat at Towton (ER 7, 49) and it was the scene of diplomatic activity under the aegis of Mary of Gueldres, James II's widow. Linlithgow was part of her dower lands (RMS 2, 103, no 467); there are records of work on a garden for her at Falkland, also part of her dower, during her short widowhood (ER 7, 75).



A fragment of a tapestry of the type known as *millefleurs*. The kings of Scotland owned tapestries of this kind depicting flowers and plants (© V&A)

James III (1460–1488)

James III married Margaret of Denmark in 1469; the Palace of Linlithgow and its revenues, as was customary, formed part of her marriage portion (*RMS* 2, 210, no 1020), and various works on the palace were undertaken at this time. Although there is no mention of the gardens, in later reigns gardens seem to have been redesigned or set in order in advance of the reception of royal brides. What there is evidence for in James' reign was the creation of the park on the far side of Linlithgow Loch. A park at this period was an enclosed game reserve surrounded by a ditch and bank on top of which was a palisade. In 1481 yields from the 'fermes of Lochsyde were lost because they were assigned to the park of the palace (*ER* 9, 105). The park, along with the loch and the gardens would provide a very important enhancement of the amenities of the palace. The park was small relative to the hunting grounds such as Glenfinglas and Ettrick favoured by the Stewart kings (Gilbert 1979, 40, 41), but, as at Stirling and Falkland, it would provide entertainment at an easy distance from the royal residence, a short journey across Linlithgow Loch. Hunting was an important activity of medieval kings across Europe.



Plan of 1853 showing the area of the Crown lands which is probably that belonging to the late 15th-century park (HS plan 174-5-201-053)

James IV (1488–1513)

With the beginning of the reign of James IV in 1488 and the survival of the Treasurers' accounts more detailed information becomes available about the gardens of Linlithgow and those who looked after them. It was a favoured residence of the king. Even though the references are still few, the mention of 'the gardener of Linlithgow' gives the garden a greater solidity. In 1488 James IV is recorded as giving the gardener there 18 shillings (*TA* 1, 92). On the ninth of April 1491 10 shillings was given to the gardener of Lithgow to buy seeds for the garden (*TA* 1, 176). In 1490 and 1499 the gardener was known as 'John Gardner, possibly a name derived from his post,' and was paid a chalder (or 1.07 gallons as a volume measure) of oat flour (*ER* 11, 145, 146). However, there are a number of payments in money in 1496 and 1497 (*TA* 1 286, 329) to 'the gardener of Linlithgow at the command of the king'. Their random nature would imply that they

were given when the king was visiting Linlithgow Palace and more particularly the gardens. In 1496 the palace was the residence of James' mistress, Margaret Drummond (*TA* 1cxxxiv). In 1495 there is again a reference to the loss of income from the 'fermes of Lochsyde' which were waste because they had been converted to the park of the palace (*ER* 10, 493; 13, 538). By the late fifteenth century the park dyke of Linlithgow was probably made of stone rather than wood (Gilbert 1979, 219). Among other works for the palace in 1513 was the strengthening of park gate with four 'grete bandis and iiij crukis', a staple and grete nalis for the bandis weyand ij stane, price of the stane vs.iiijd' and a lock for the park door (*TA* 4, 524). The grazing lands of the palace of Linlithgow were cropped by the king's horses (*ER* 10, 494).

The Abbot of Lindores, Andrew Cavers, was made keeper of Linlithgow Palace for five years with 'the park, loch and gardyng of the samyn' with power to appoint deputies (*RSS* 1, 88) in 1498. Lindores was one of the abbeys mentioned in connection with the supply of fruit trees to the kings of Scotland (*TA* 2, 425) and references to horticulture there go back to the thirteenth century (Harvey 1990, 78). Linlithgow was a place with provision for recreation often among his officials and servants as well as family members and magnates. In June 1507 it is recorded that the king lost 28 shillings at a game of bowls with Johne Dunlop and Alexander Makcullo, Keeper of the Palace (*TA* 3, 392). He also is recorded as having lost money in 1512 shooting at the archery butts against Luke of the Wardrobe (*TA* 4, 341) and six French crowns to the lords of St Andrews (his illegitimate son) and Argyll (*TA* 4, 347). Archery, like bowls, was a sport associated with palace gardens and the earthwork known as Bowbutts still survives near the edge of the loch to the north of the palace (OS 1:2500 Linlithgowshire Sheet v.3 (1856).

Regular and irregular payments in kind were made to the gardener working in the garden at Linlithgow, sometimes converted into money (*ER* 12, 198, 333, 389). The gardener in 1504 was called John Morrisone and he was paid 50 shillings for the repair of the garden and orchard as well as his payment in kind of oatmeal (*ER* 12, 333). In 1507 he was joined by a new gardener (*ER* 12, 573). Two dozen apple trees for Linlithgow were purchased at a cost 42 shillings and seeds were to be sent to the gardener of Linlithgow in 1504 (*TA* 2, 422). In 1505 13 shillings and 10 pence were paid for a pound of onion seed, a pound of leek seed and other small seeds for the garden (*TA* 3, 129, 367). In February 1508 8 shillings and 3 pence was paid to the gardener for seeds to sow in the garden there (*TA* 4, 106). When the king was at Linlithgow in June 1505 the gardener received 14 shillings and the same in June 1507 and August 1508 with 28 shillings in January 1508 (*TA* 3, 140; 4, 139). Eight beehives were bought by the gardener in September of that year (*TA* 3, 159). The gardener brought strawberries and cherries to the king in July 1508, some of which were sent on to the queen in Edinburgh (*TA* 4,131, 132, 133, 134) about the time she gave birth to a stillborn daughter. In September 1511 the master cook paid the gardener of Linlithgow for fruit and honeycombs (*TA* 4, 310).

In 1512 and 1513 the gardener at Linlithgow, Gilbert, had to supply onions and mustard (*ER* 13, 409, 539) and was given each year 14 shillings (*TA* 4, 350, 406). In July 1514, the year after Flodden, there is a record of a payment to the gardener for repair of the garden (*ER* 14, 2-3) showing some continuity of maintenance and probably of personnel after the property became the financial responsibility of James IV's widow, Margaret Tudor and would seem, for the most part to have been unoccupied by the rulers of Scotland until James V assumed control of the government of Scotland.

Expenditure on gardens was a minor part of the provision designed to maintain the role of the monarchy in Scotland as in Europe. Major expenditure was on the most prestigious projects of military provision, such as ship building and the acquisition of ordnance, with tournaments providing a form of decorative display. The construction of palaces at Stirling, Falkland, Linlithgow and Edinburgh, along with their gardens by the Stewarts was a claim to a cultural status on the European scale and a means of fulfilling their political aims through the creation of a court culture (Wormald 1988, 35-6). Although there is ample evidence for spending on the royal gardens, this is put into proportion by the expenditure of James IV on buildings, ships, alchemy, horses, hunting, hawking, cards, apothecaries, tournaments, armour, music, dancers, golf, bowls and books. Whether Margaret Tudor made any contribution to the design of the gardens of the royal palaces is unknown. The garden of Richmond Palace, near London, which belonged to her father, Henry VII, is mentioned in 1501 on the occasion of the marriage of Margaret's brother Arthur, Prince of Wales to Catherine of Aragon (Strong 1998, 23). Richmond was also the setting for Margaret's marriage by proxy to James, suggesting that this was the property selected for displaying the cultured nature of his court to important foreign visitors. Given Henry VII's reputation for careful attention to economy, expenditure on elaborate gardens seems unlikely, and Richmond may have been the most prominent example of an elaborate garden in the English royal palaces. Margaret's dowry was thirty thousand gold nobles, and with this additional income James was able to spend more on his court and his palaces.

A major poem dedicated to James IV was *The Palace of Honour* by Gavin Douglas, later translator of the *Aeneid*, and Bishop of Dunkeld. Written in the early years of the sixteenth century, it opens in May with the poet dreaming, *in a Gardyne of plesance with fragrant flouris blomand in their seis ... And on the Laurers siluer droppis byis* (Douglas 1827). The poem is a moral tale designed to draw a ruler to the right ways of ruling through the depiction of a royal progress and a description of a palace, peopled with legendary figures, Greek and Roman worthies and Old Testament heroes. It has the familiar form of the dream vision, as employed by James I in the *Kingis Quair*. This poem begins in the early morning with the poet rising to pay his due religious observance. The garden is described in terms of precious stones, ruby, topaz, pearl and emerald, and referred to as Nature's tapestry, a comparison of the natural with the unnatural which illustrates the way in which James' poetic contemporaries would view a garden. The flowers selected for particular mention are the daisy and the marigold. The poet awakes in a forest by a hideous flood and proceeds through a wilderness, in which Nature provided no comfort, towards the Palace of Honour. When the poet awoke again in the 'fair arbour' he thought it, by comparison to the landscape of the Palace of Honour, most like to hell, and took his solace from contemplation of the heavenly kingdom. By comparison with heaven the earthly garden, however rich, is a place of wickedness.

Despite all the pieces of information about the gardens provided by official documents, no precise indication is given about the location of the gardens. The site of the park across Linlithgow Loch can be established on the ground, but the extensive alterations to the area immediately around the palace from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries have left an open, grassy public park, wholly unlike the gardens around the medieval palace. These would have been walled or hedged. The classic form of a medieval garden was the 'hortus conclusus', drawing on the symbolism of the Song of Songs and its foretelling of the Virgin Mary. It provided an image of the Garden of Eden, but such an enclosed area would form only part of a wider garden. It is known that there was an orchard and a vegetable garden, which included an area for strawberries at Linlithgow, and it would be necessary to secure the gardens against theft and vandalism.

It is difficult to gain an impression of the gardens at Linlithgow. Unlike Stirling, there is no indication of major changes at any one period. Nineteenth century Ordnance Survey maps label the area to the south-east of the building as 'Palace Gardens' (OS 1:2500 Linlithgowshire Sheet v.3 (1856), but this is likely to be only one part of the earlier complex, possibly the orchard and vegetable gardens. A line marked 'Remains of old wall' appears on an 1853 plan of the palace and its environs by the Board of Woods, Forests and Land Revenue (HS 174/5/201/317). It runs approximately parallel and to the south-west of the small harbour by the palace. Other gardens may have lain to the west and north of the castle, from where they could be contemplated from the apartments of the king and queen (Dunbar 1999, 20-1) and where a doorway leads out from western end of the North Quarter. The relationship between the palace, the gardens, the loch and the park is close, and they should be seen not as separate features, but as part of the overall concept of a palatial landscape, the appropriate setting for the Stewart monarch. This may be summed up by the room at the top of the north-west tower, known as Queen Margaret's Bower, which provides extensive views in all directions and across the loch to the park beyond. It is recorded 'seated all around with stone and having once had a small round table of the same material in the centre' (Chambers 1828, 2, 26). This early example of a belvedere would allow the pleasure of fruit and wine while enjoying of the landscape of gardens, lake and hunting park.

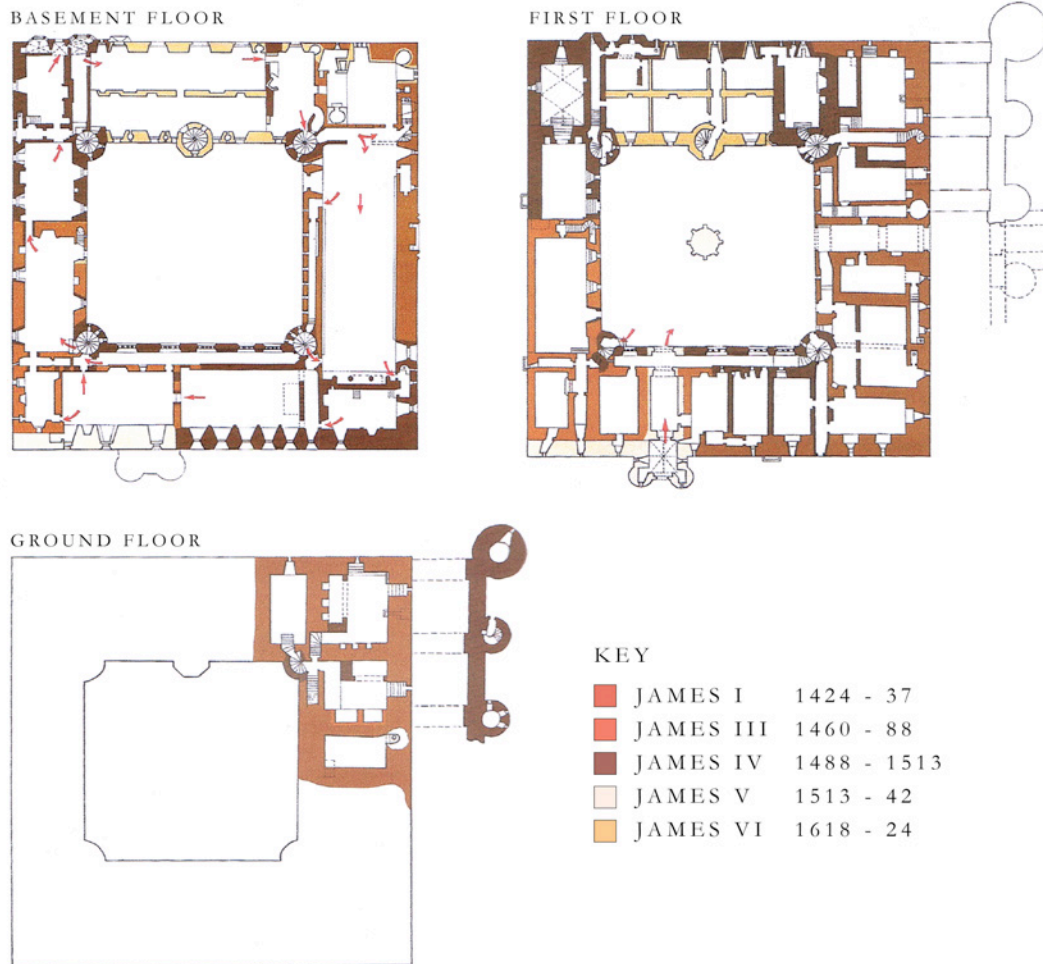


Timothy Pont's depiction of Linlithgow c 1590, showing the position of the park on the north side of the loch (© National Library of Scotland)

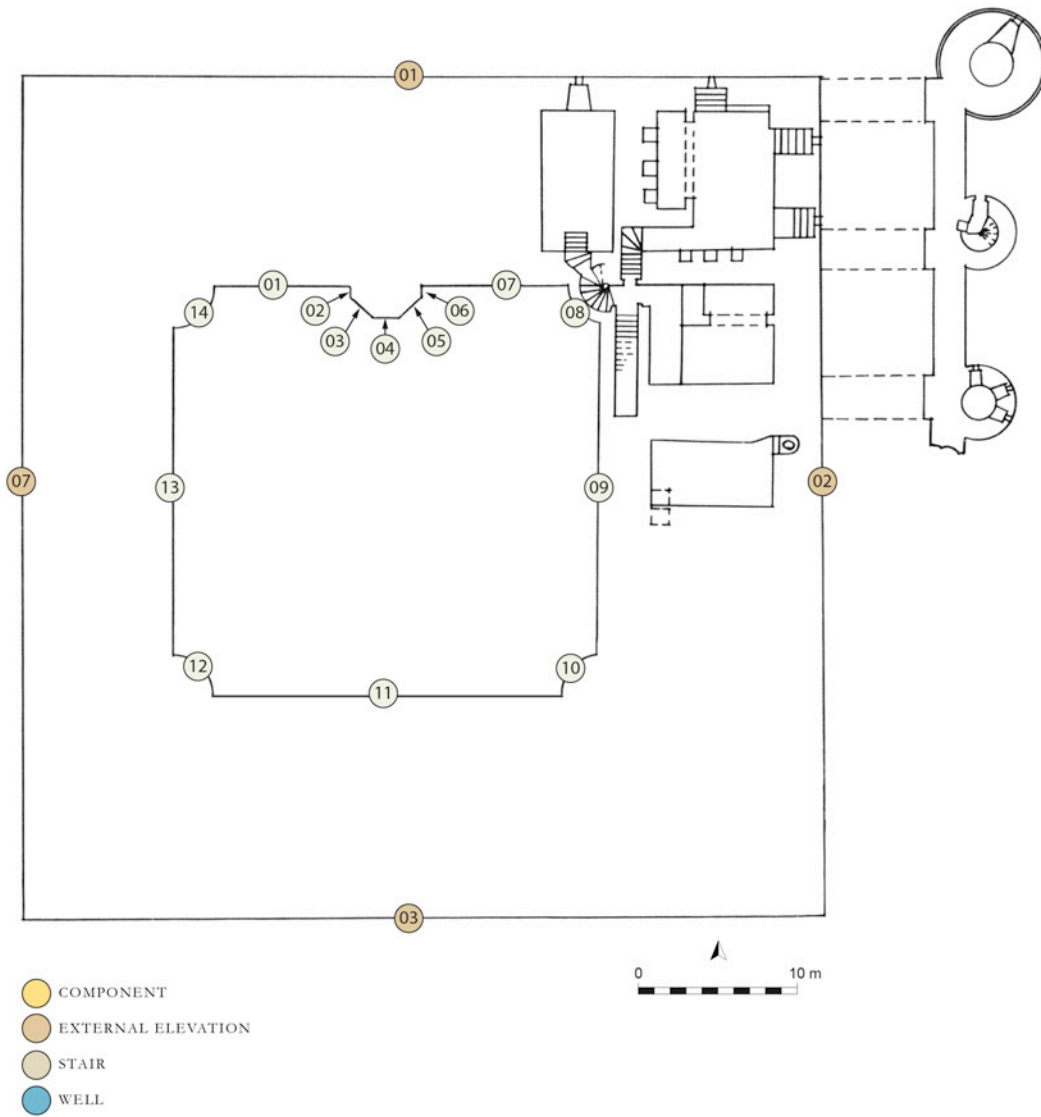
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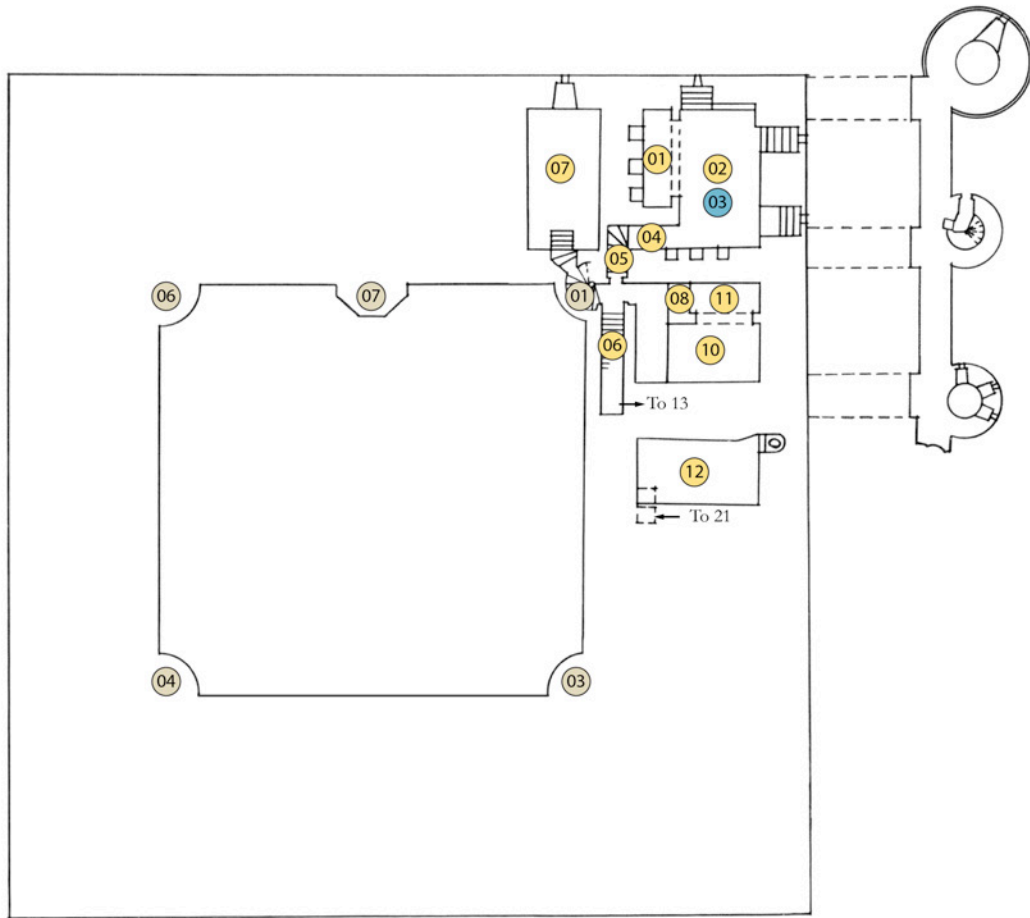
APPENDIX I: PHASED FLOOR PLANS



APPENDIX II: COMPONENT FLOOR PLANS



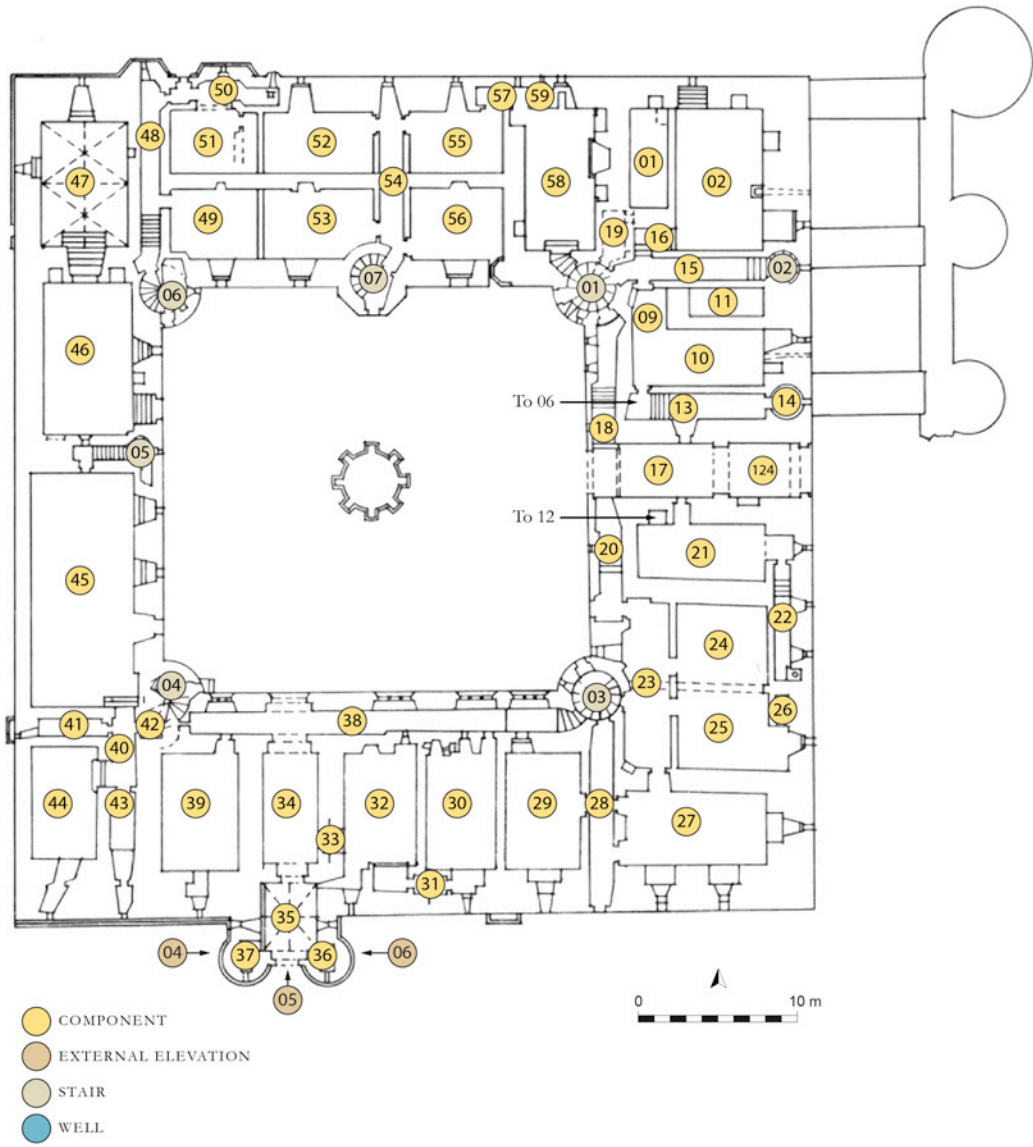
Basement Floor Plan 1



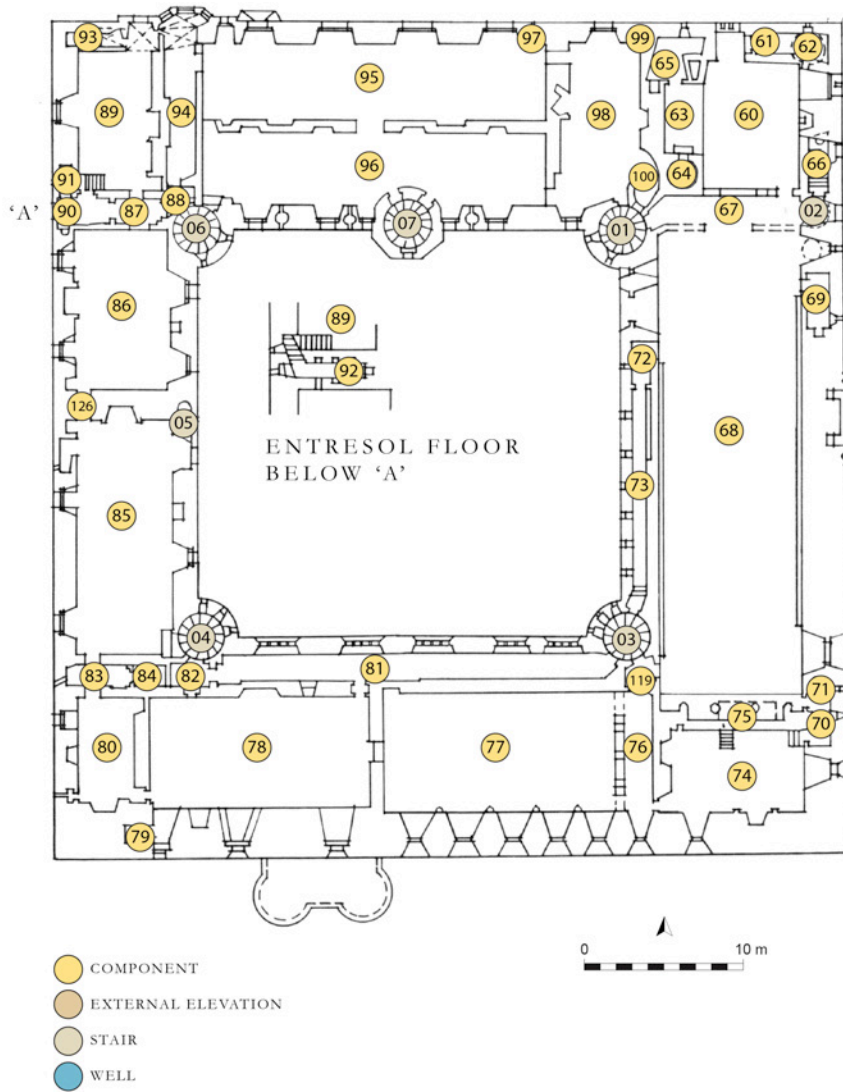
- COMPONENT
- EXTERNAL ELEVATION
- STAIR
- WELL



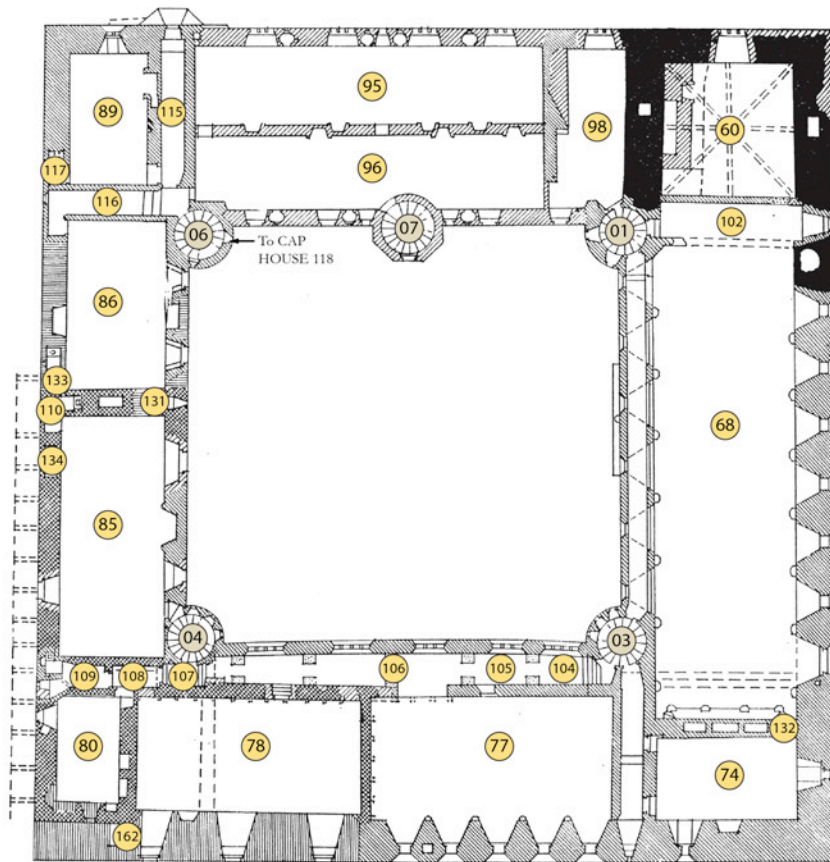
Basement Floor Plan 2



Ground Floor

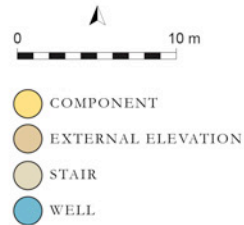


First Floor

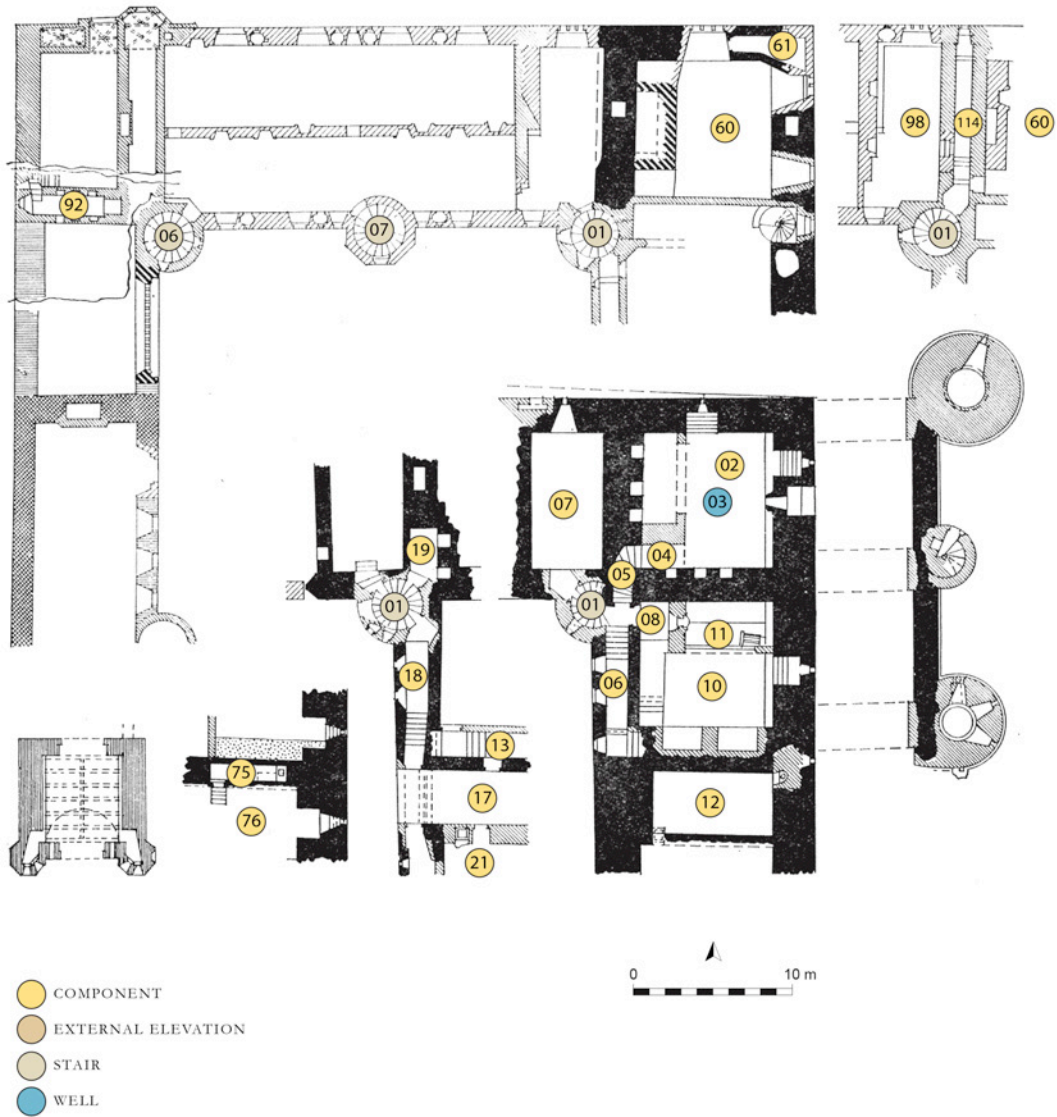


COMPONENTS NOT ANNOTATED:

- 111 is above 115
- 112 is above 116
- 113 is above 117
- 120 is above 102
- 122 is above 108 and 109
- 123 is above 122
- 125 is above 121
- 127 and 128 are above 103
- 133 - 146 are the garderobes in the N wall of 95
- 147 is the garderobe in the N wall of 60
- 148 and 149 are the garderobes in the N wall of 98



Second and Third Floor Plan (North Side)



Various Floor Plans

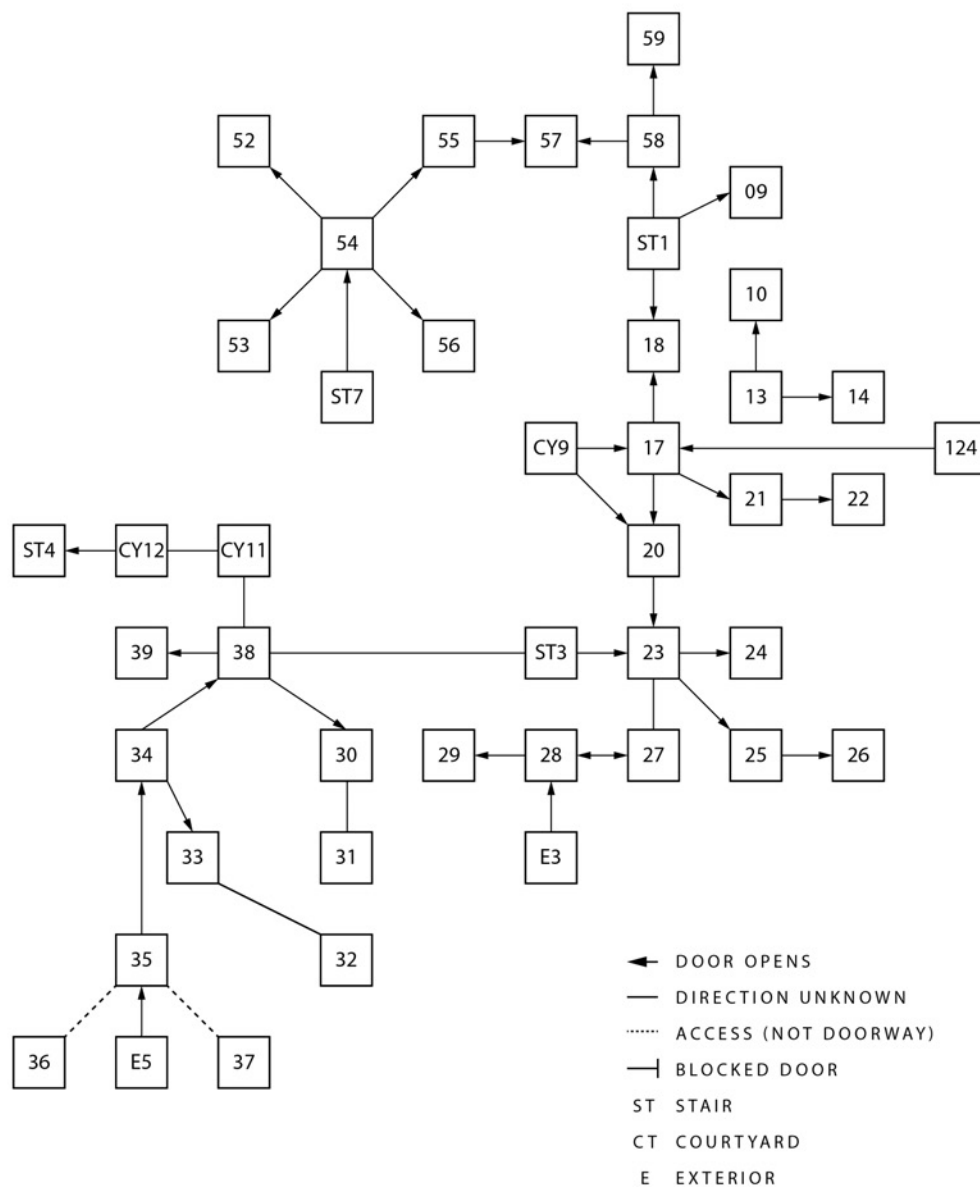
APPENDIX III: ACCESS ANALYSIS AND STAIRWAY DIAGRAMS

Access Analysis

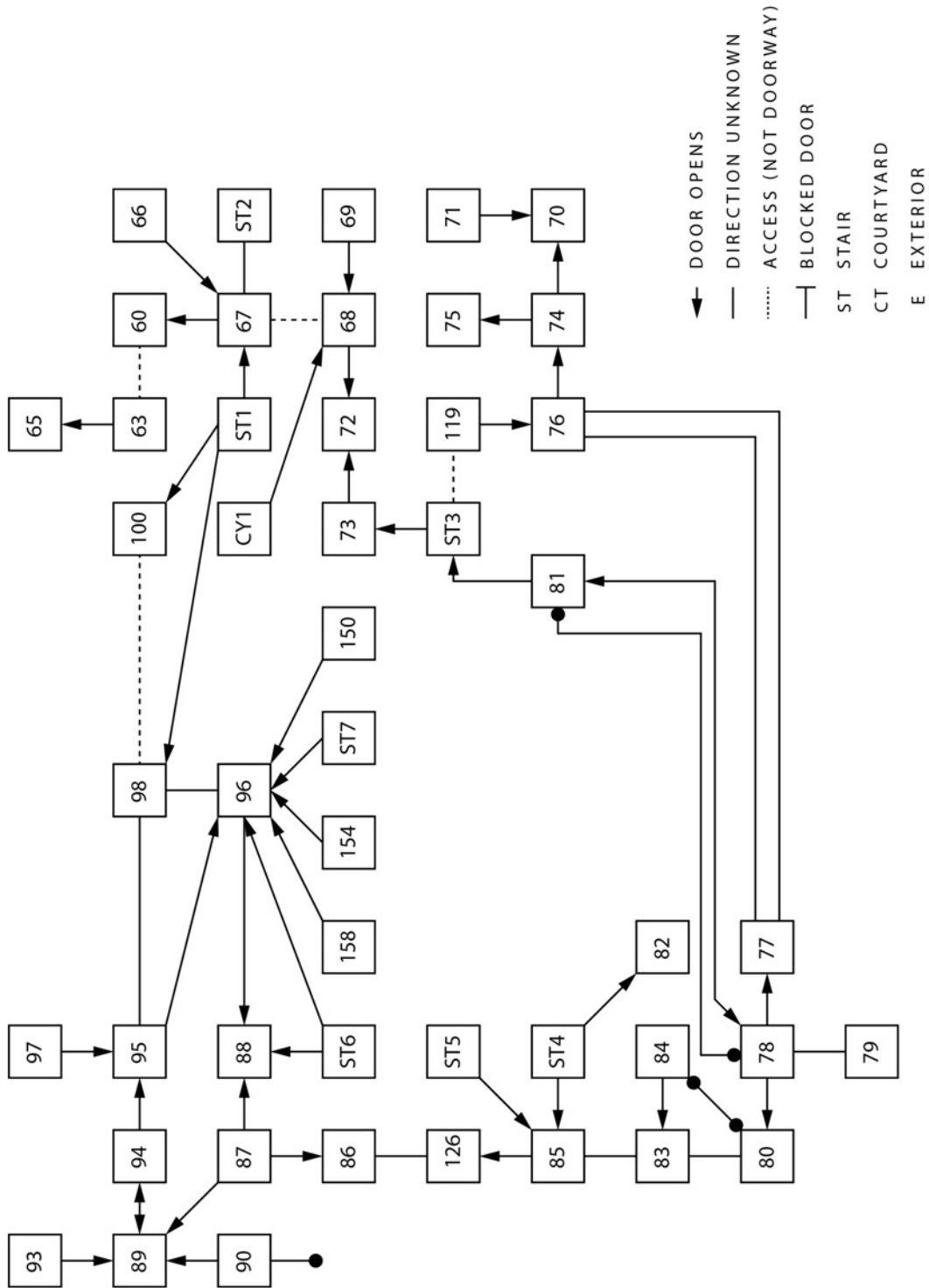
The diagrams show the direction of doorways on both the ground level and first floor of the palace to begin to look at ease of access to rooms and possible general flows of traffic.

The diagrams do not show the components in accurate space or size and the length of the symbols of the doorways are not representative.

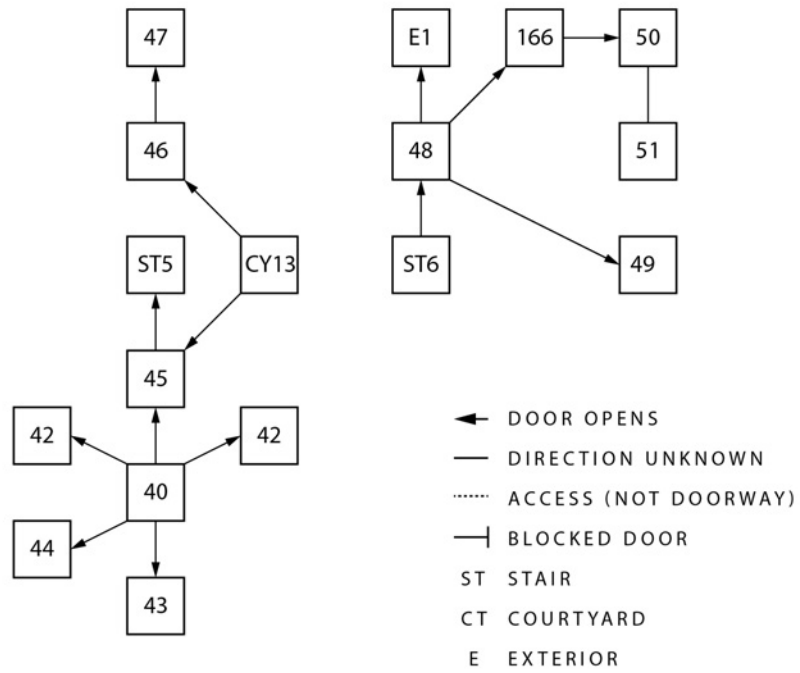
The symbols show when a door opens in a particular direction (→), if the doorway connects two components, but the direction is unknown (—), if the components have access between them, but not actual doorway (- -) or if there was once a doorway that is now blocked (—|).



Access Analysis Diagram 1



Access Analysis Diagram 2



Access Analysis Diagram 3

Stairways

The stairway diagrams show the main courtyard stairways and the doorways/landings that branch off of them to access various areas of the palace. The order of the doors from the lowest level to the highest have been numbered 1,2,3... for each stairwell and context numbers for the doorways, as well as the components they access have been provided, both on the diagram, and the corresponding recording sheet present in the accompanying Microsoft™ Excel™ spreadsheet.

ST1, ST3, ST4, and ST6 are all on corners where two wings meet. Due to their locations, they provide a good indication of how access between separate wings was dealt with during different building periods.

ST1 and ST7 both serve the N wing. Both these stairwells contain blocked doors that do not appear on the far side of the wall, which may help indicate the later placement of these stairwells in relation to the building of the N Range. It may also suggest there used to be a lower wall that had roof access prior to the building of the full N Range. ST1 is placed where the newest N Range meets the oldest E Range, and the complexity of the stairwell shows the difficulties in getting access to these separate ranges to 'match'.

In all four of the corner stairwells, the uneven nature of the separate ranges can be clearly seen. It is rare that these ranges meet on the same level and extra stairs must be provided to create an easier access between the different levels. This is especially visible on the First Floor.

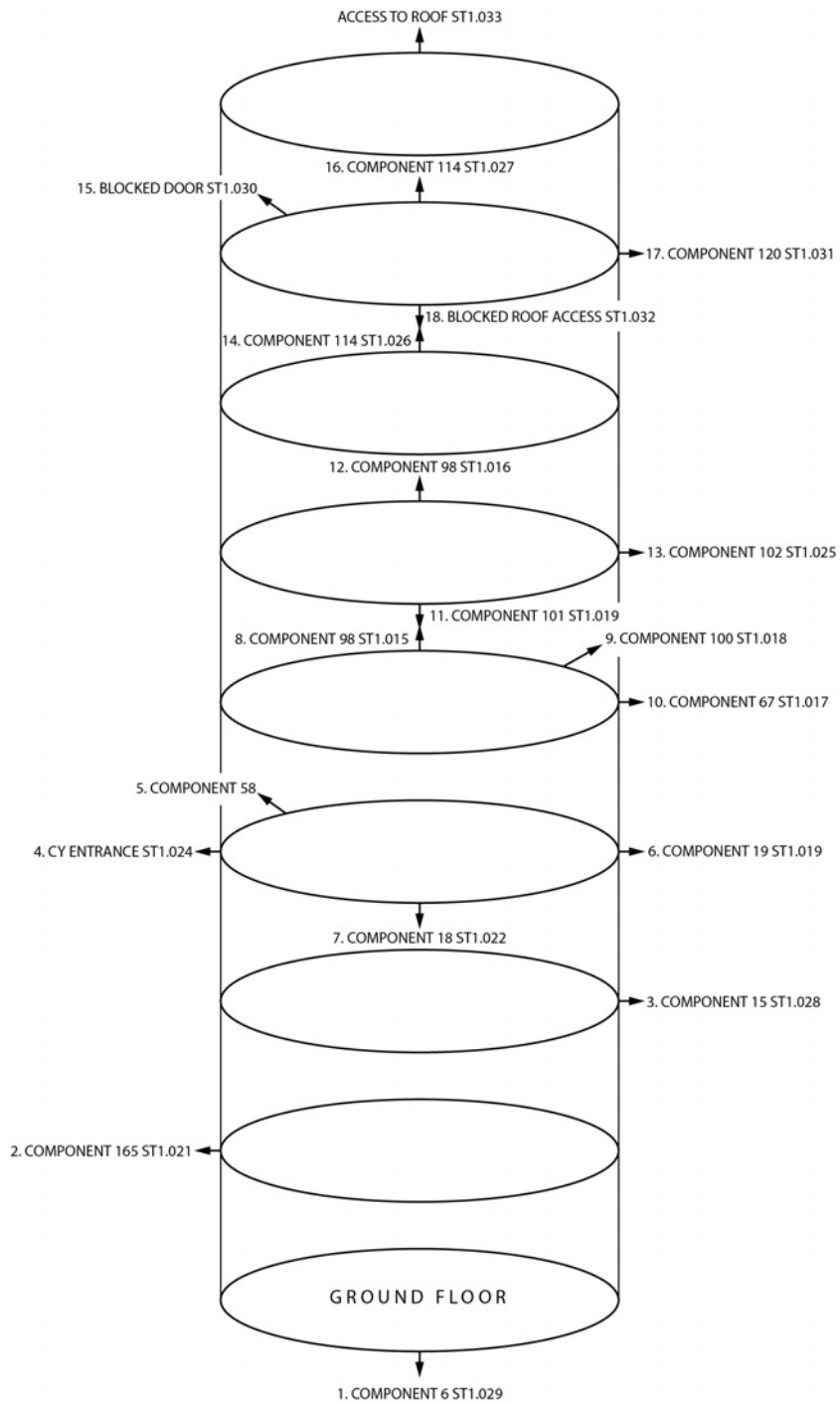
In some cases the extra stairs are simply added to allow for multiple doors to access the same level in different directions, because the spiral continues up and more stairs are required to get back to the initial level. This is clear on the Ground Floor of ST 3, where there are doors in all four directions (N, S, E, W) to the same floor, and extra stairs are added to allow for this.

It seems that the corner stairwells were placed as best they could so the spiral accessed the rooms at the correct points where needed. Despite this, the complexity of the separate ranges within the palace means that in most places this is not a smooth transition between stairs and landings. Furthermore, some areas seem to have doorways placed in the only location they could be and extra stairs added to compensate. There does not yet seem to be a clear correlation between easier, more neatly placed stairs, and landings with 'royal spaces'.

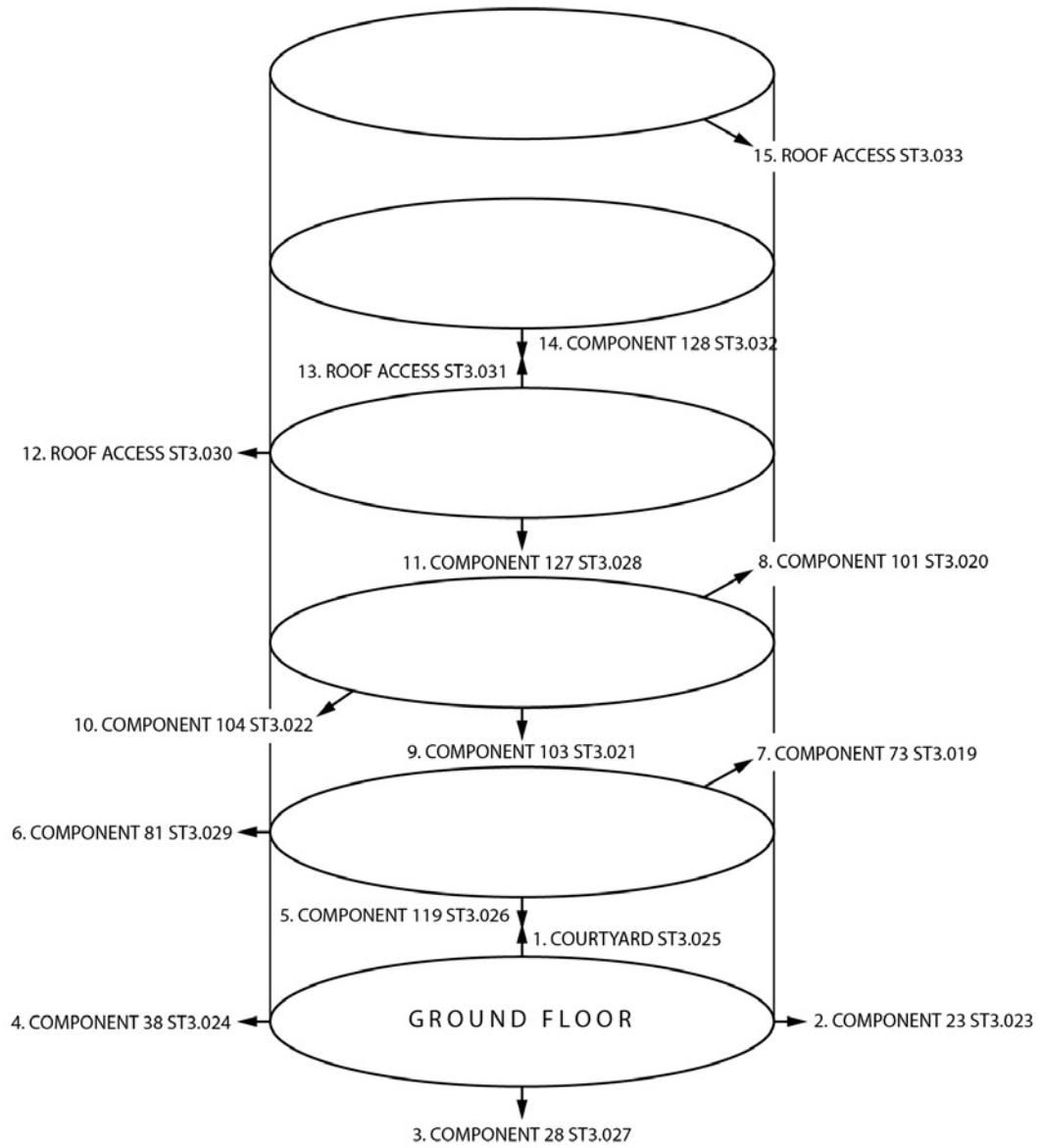
The exception to the complex staircases is ST 7, which accesses the centre of the N Range within the palace. It is the simplest stair because it only serves a single wing. After the First Floor, doorways are placed almost exactly the same number of steps apart, creating an even and predictable stair access. This gives the stairway a very familiar feeling of a tenement flat stairwell.

The N Range also appears to be a private housing area, which further solidifies the analogy of this stairwell being much like a modern stair of a block of flats.

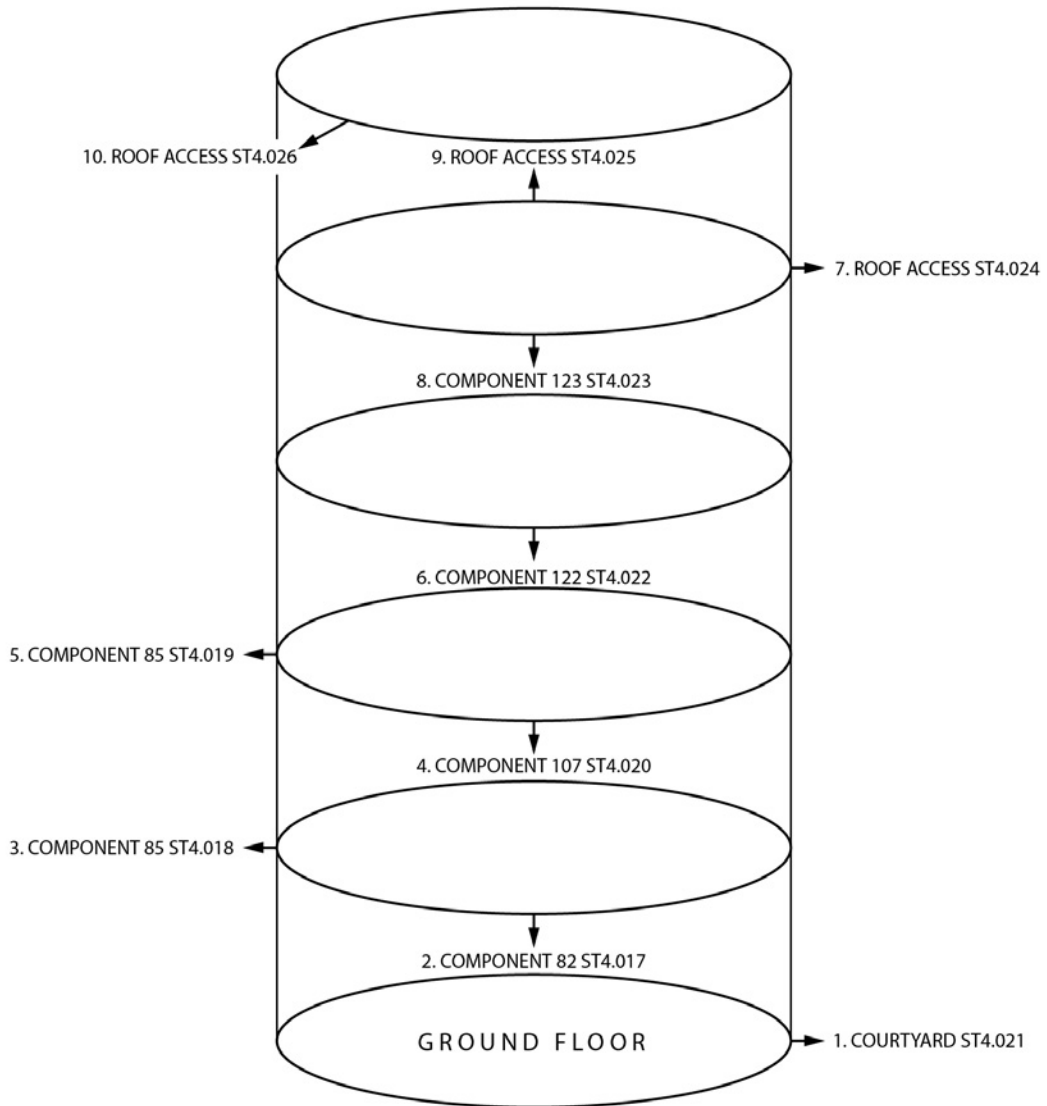
Further investigation into the phasing of the various doorways into these main stairwells could greatly aid in an understanding of the changing function of areas of the palace over time.



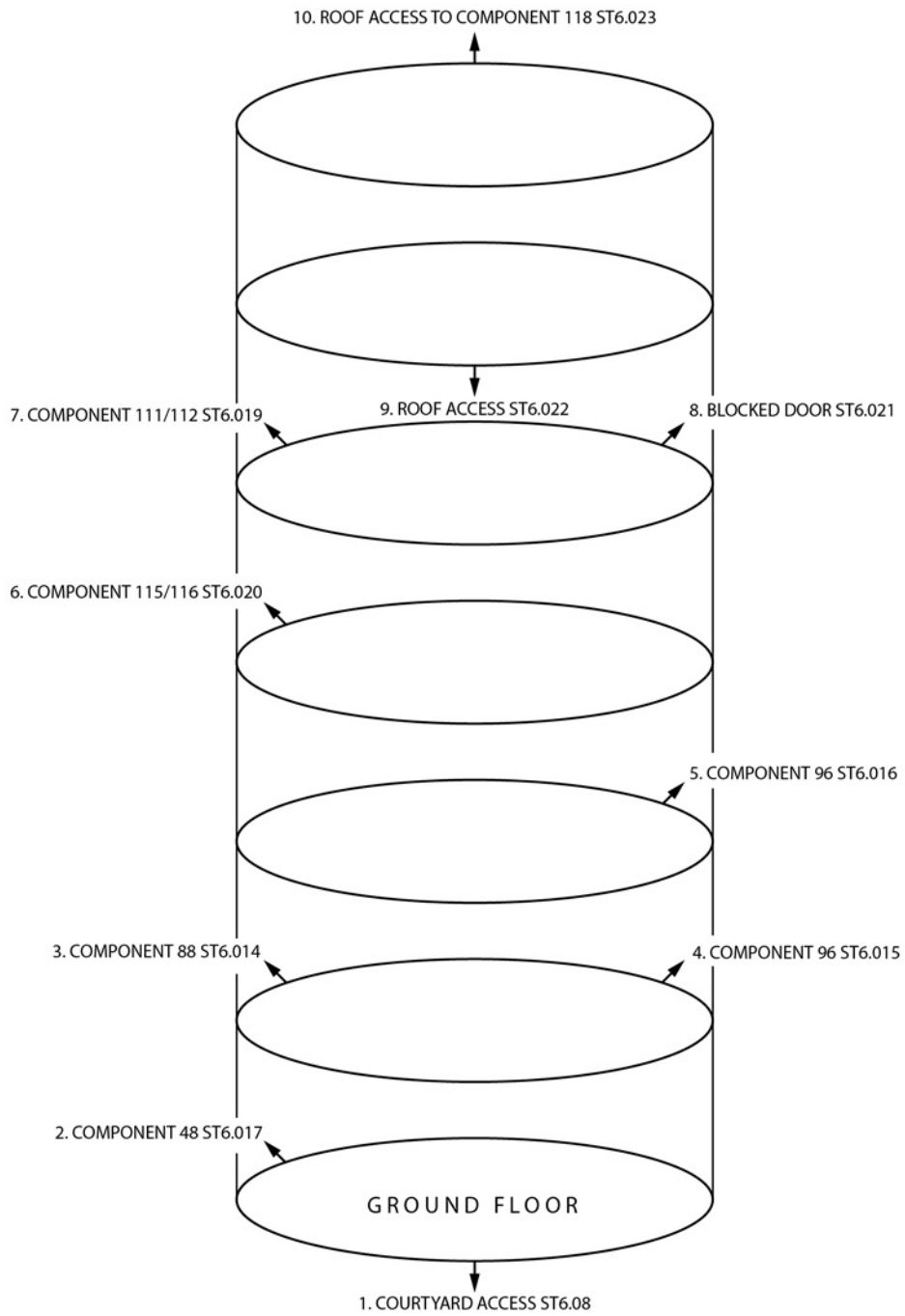
Stair 1 Access Analysis



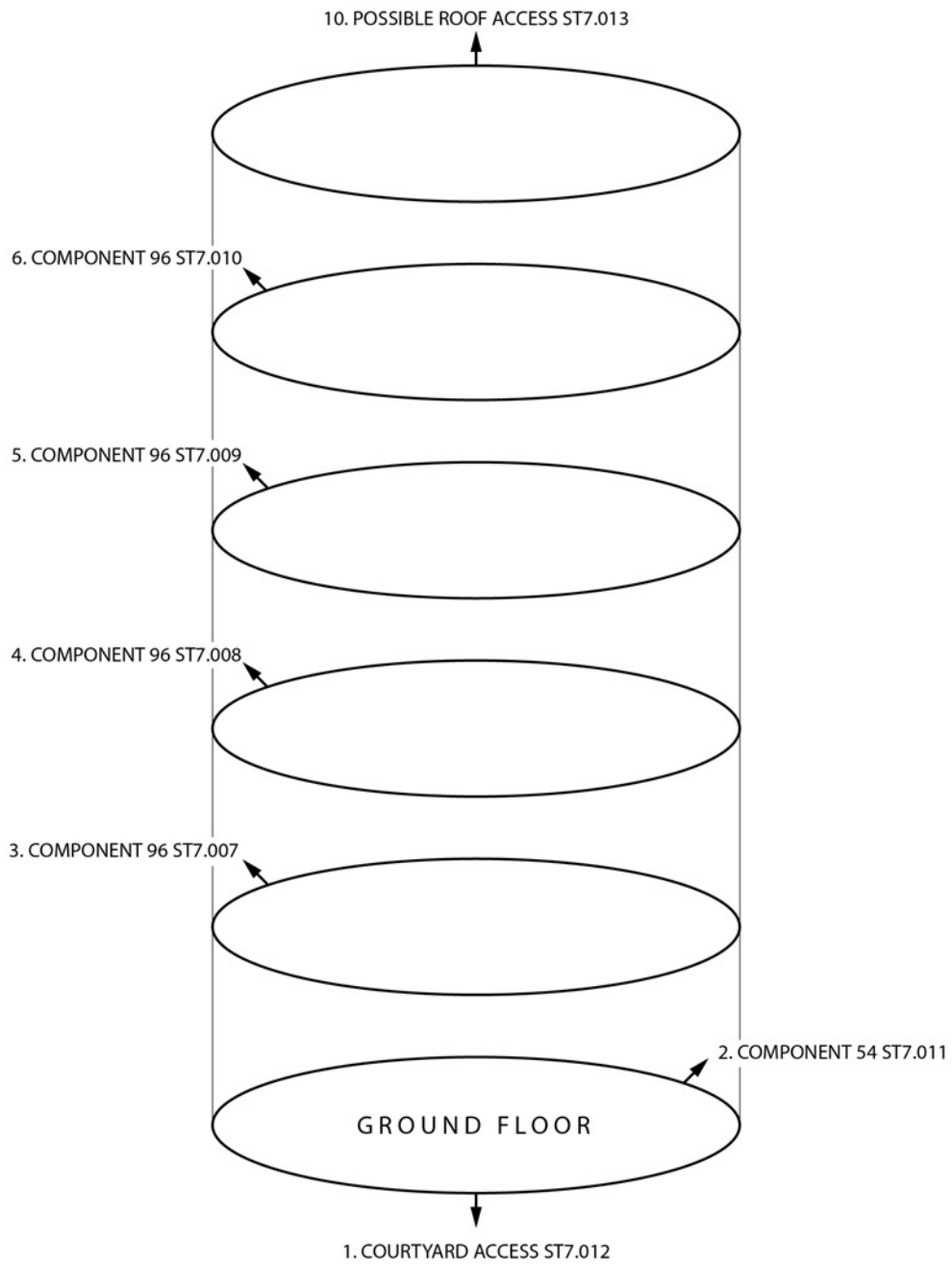
Stair 3 Access Analysis



Stair 4 Access Analysis



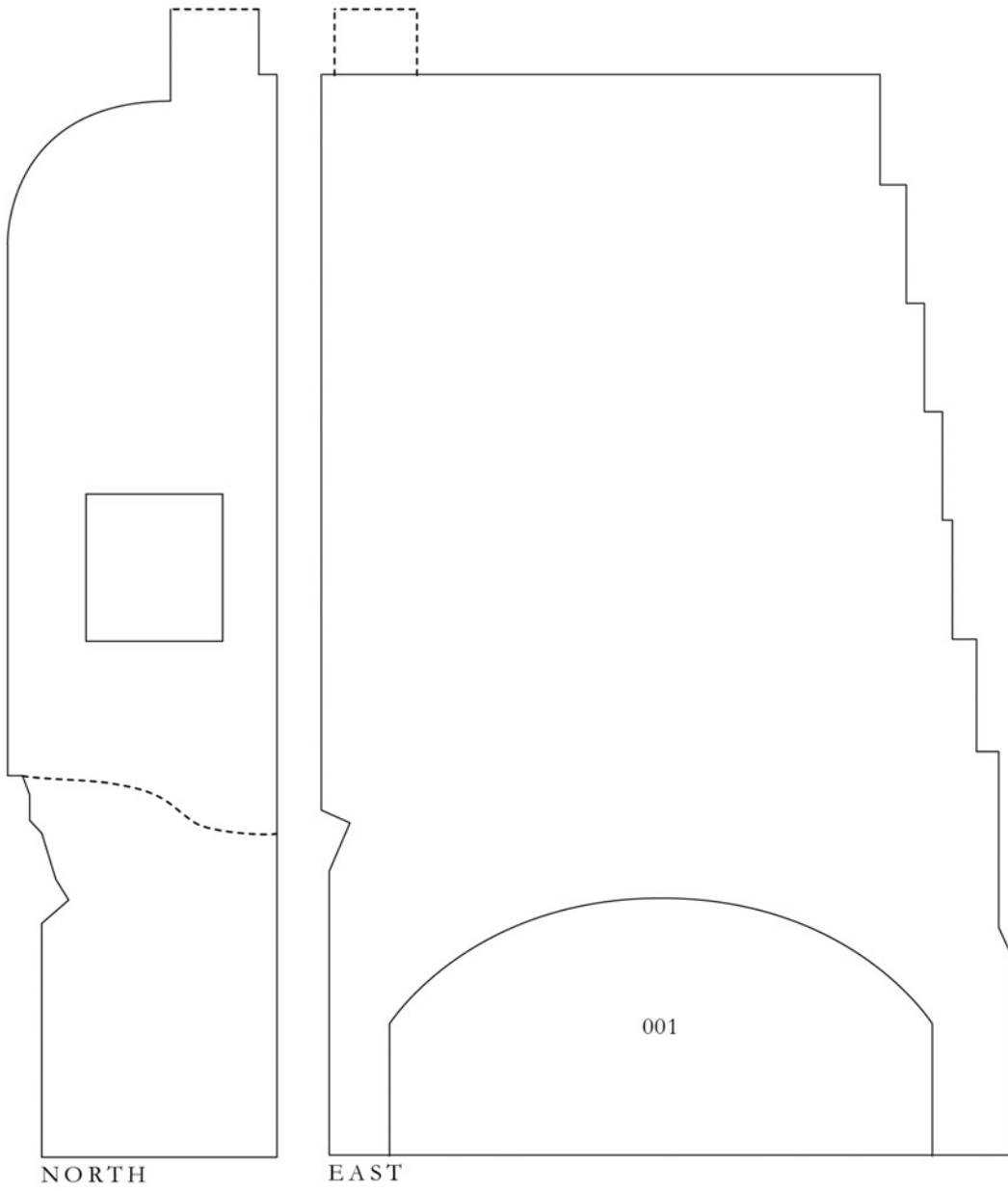
Stair 6 Access Analysis



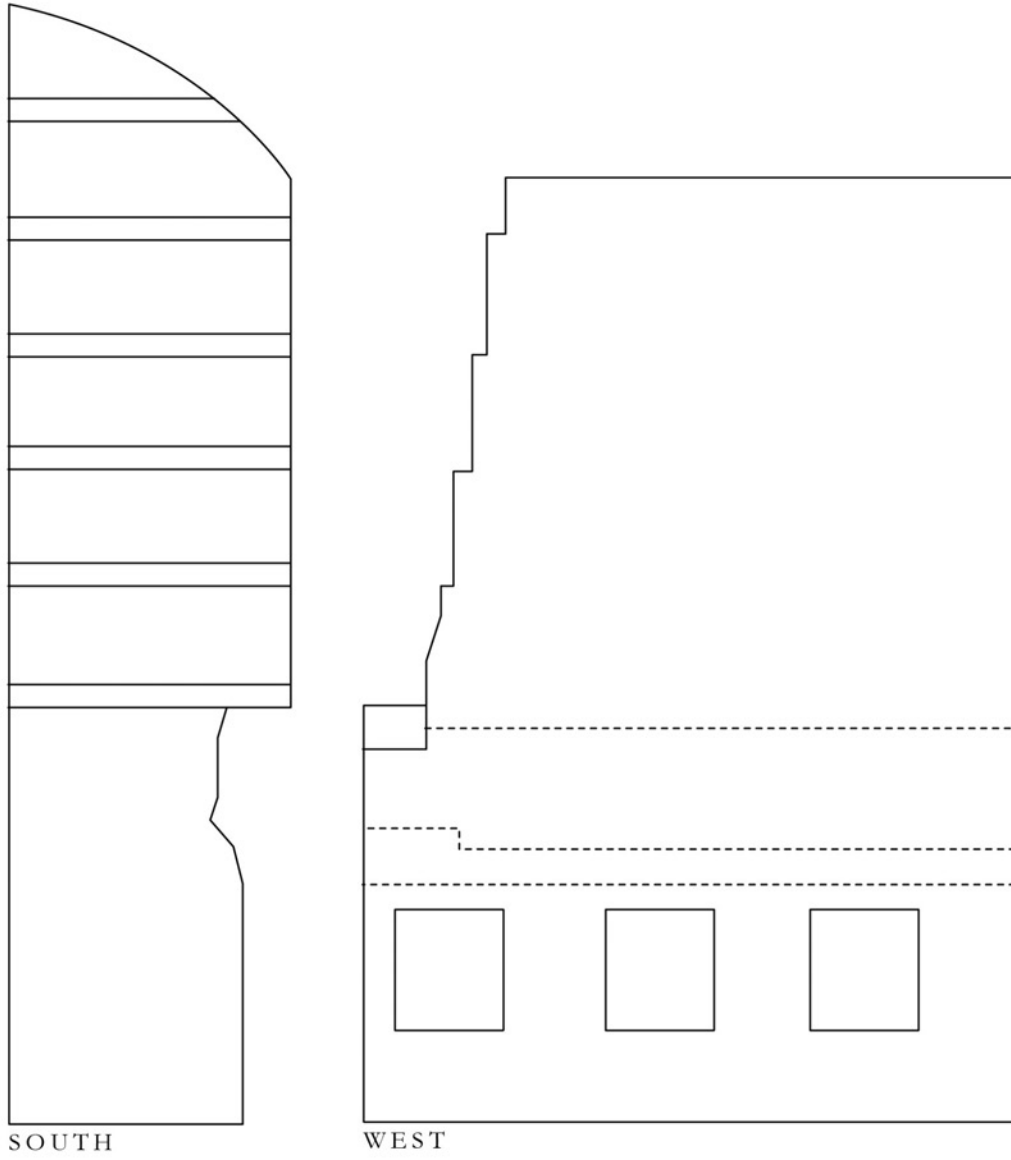
Stair 7 Access Analysis

APPENDIX IV: COMPONENT ELEVATIONS

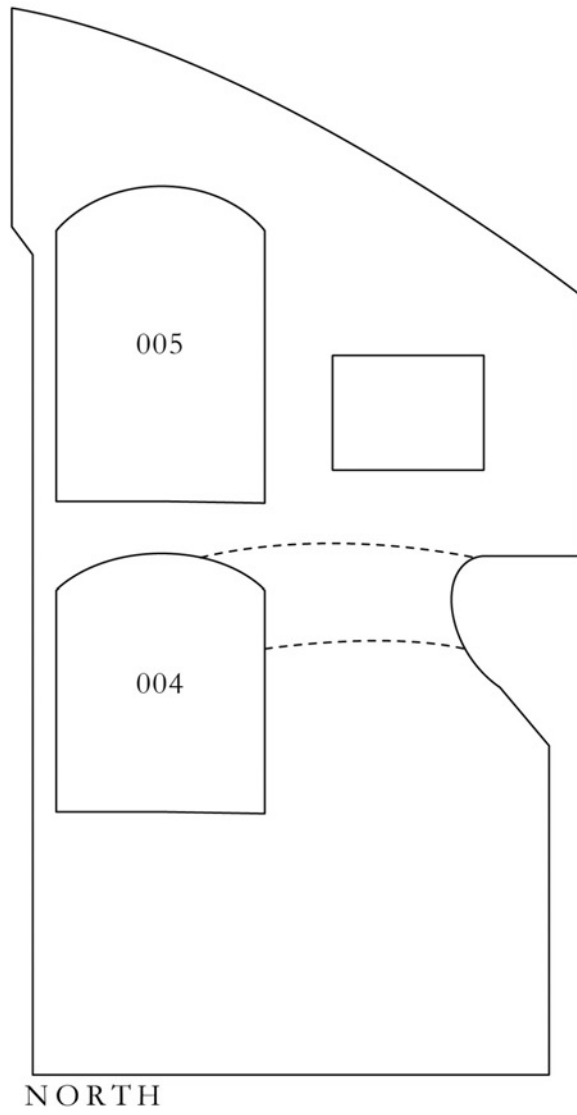
These are a series of (not to scale) 'sketch' elevations of the majority of the accessible components that were subject to a regime of archaeological recording, intended to show the location and feature number of principal elements within a room, notably doors and windows.



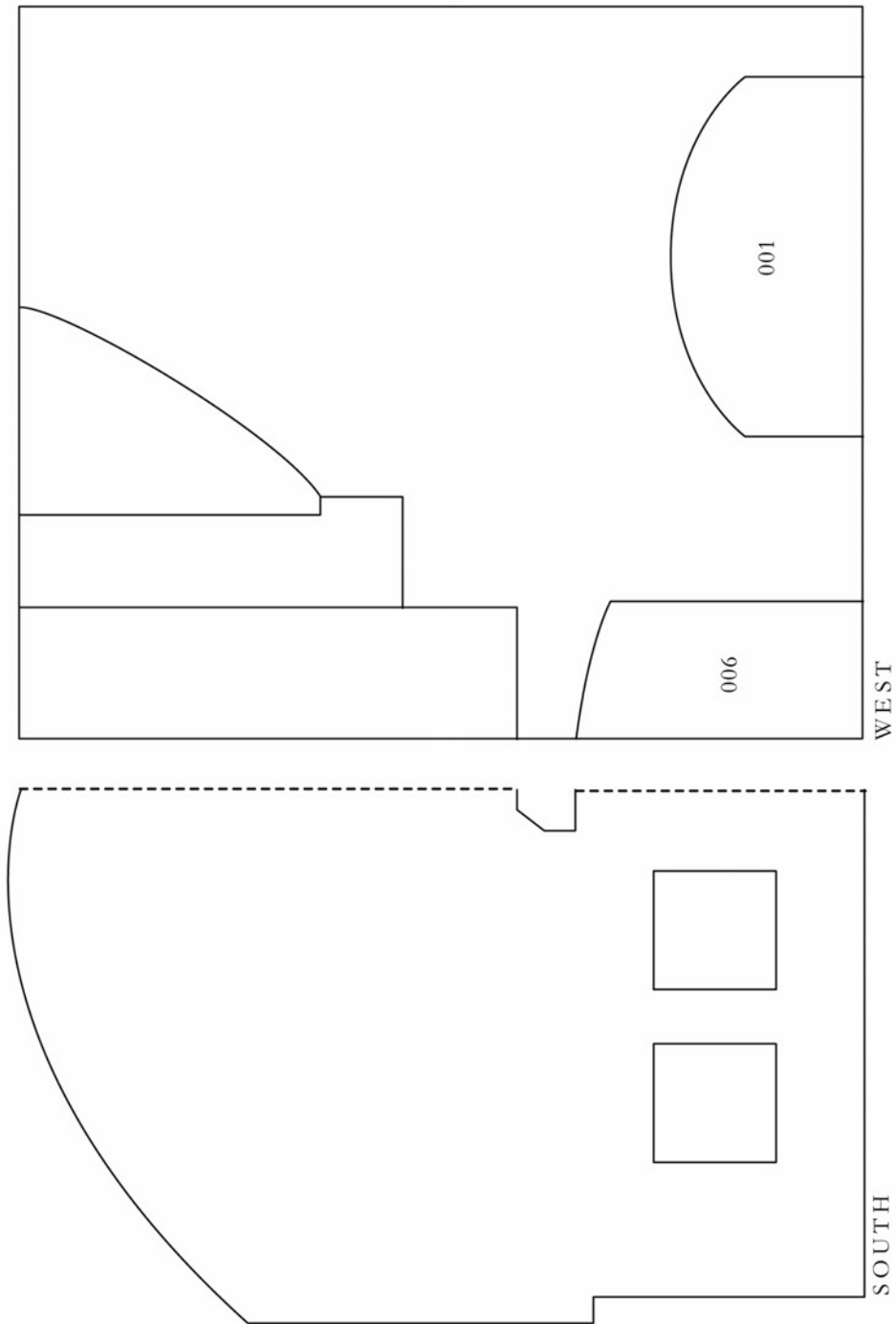
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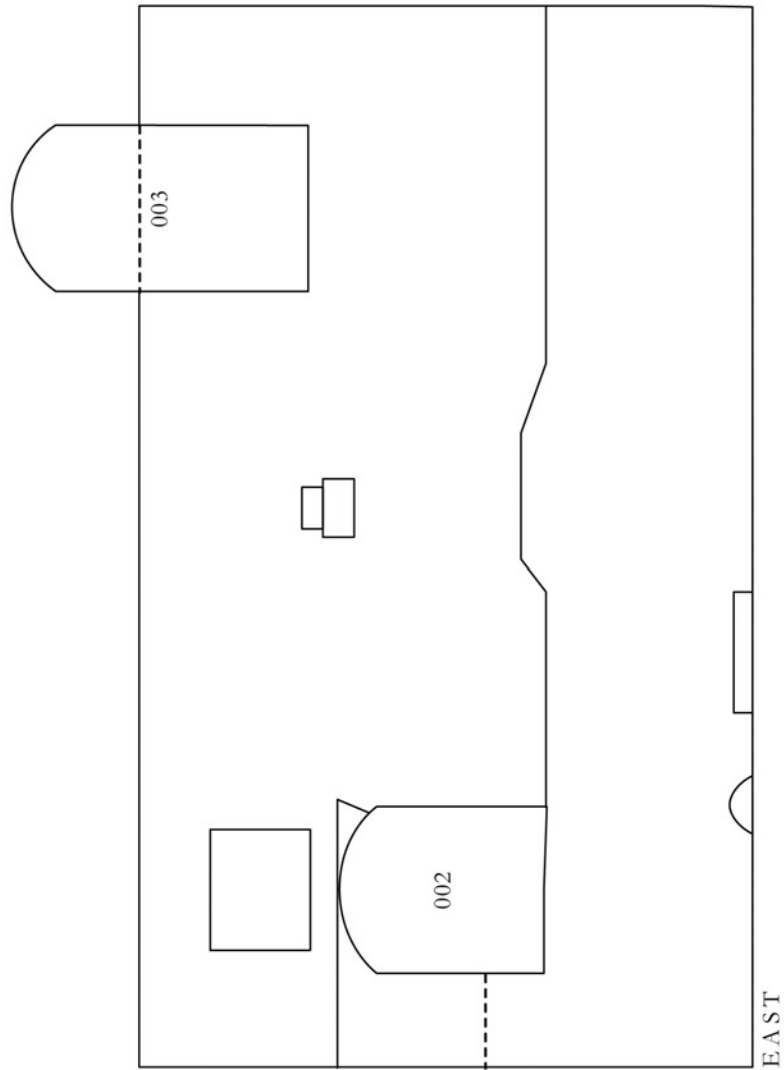
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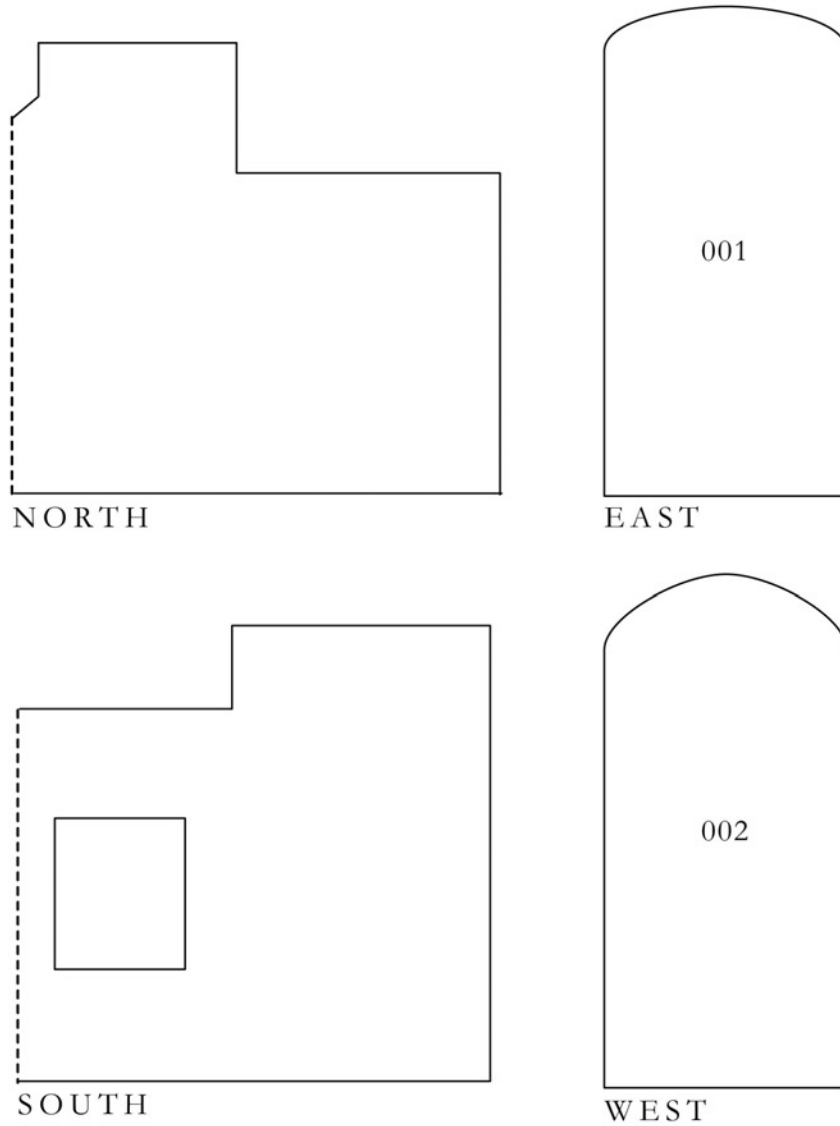
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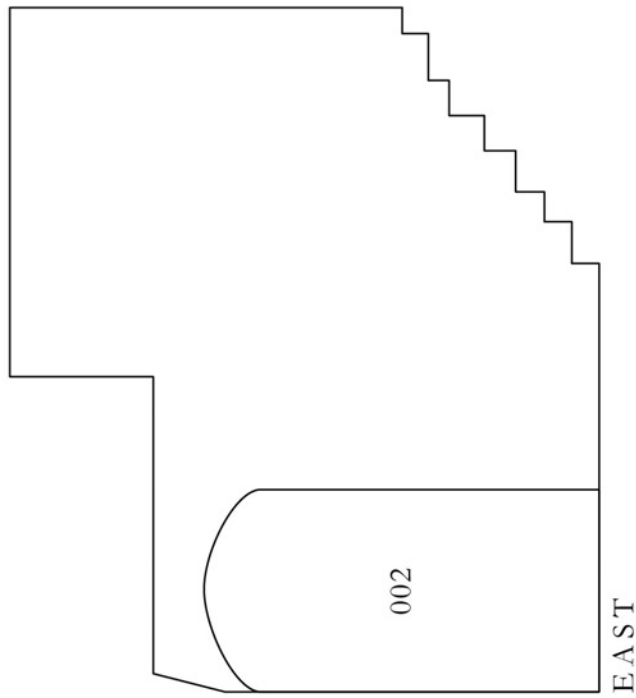
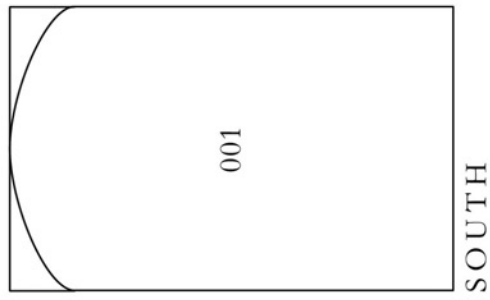
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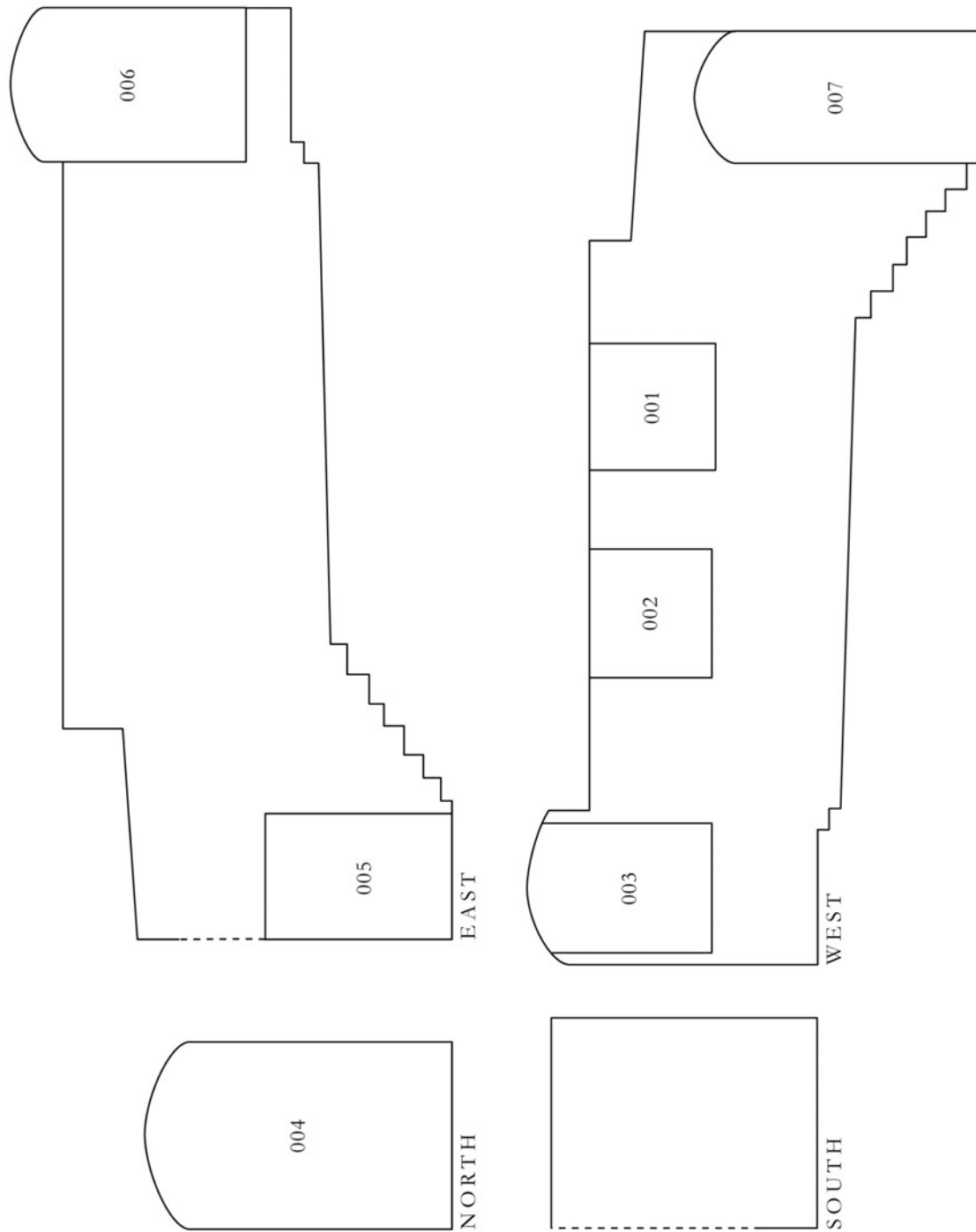
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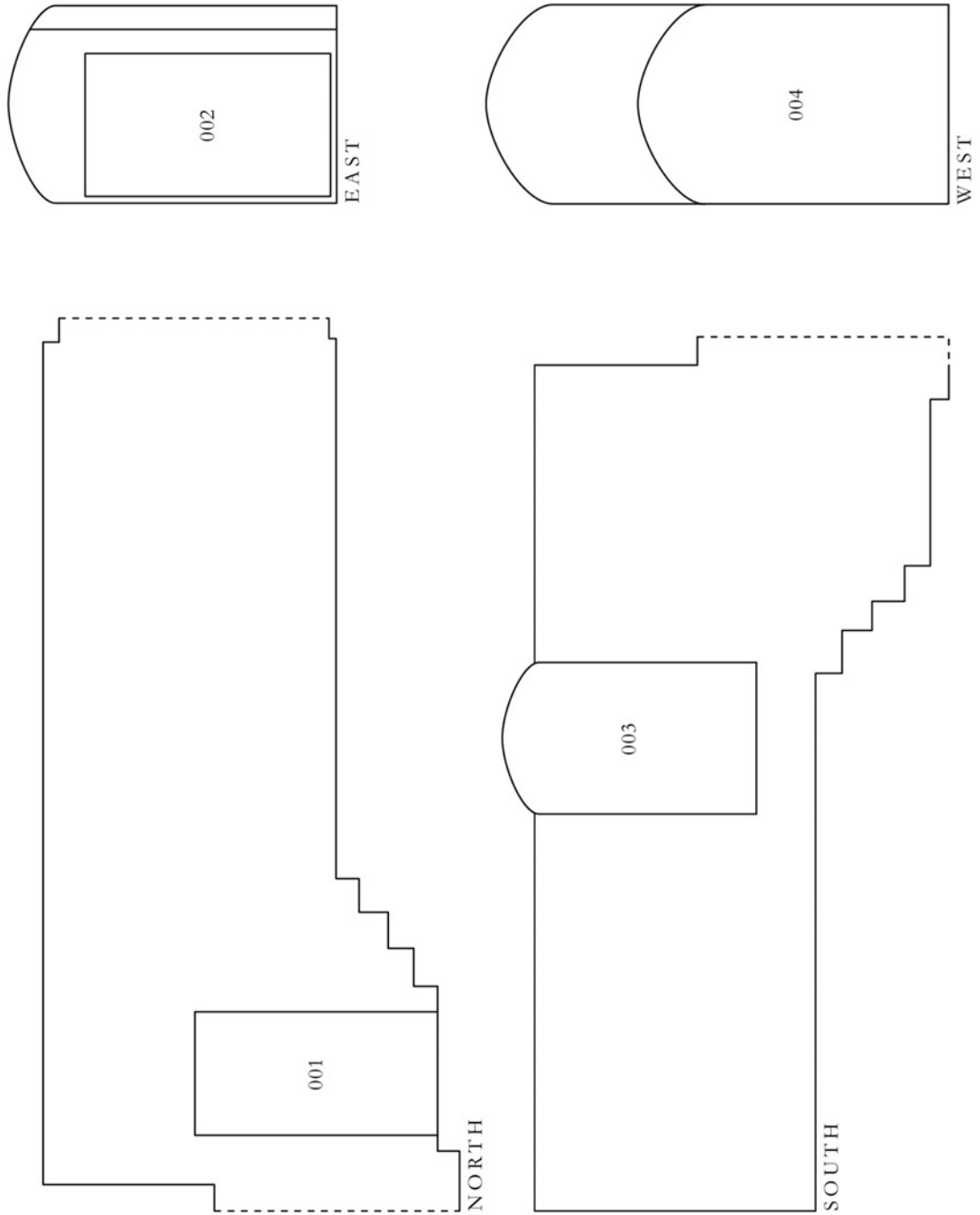
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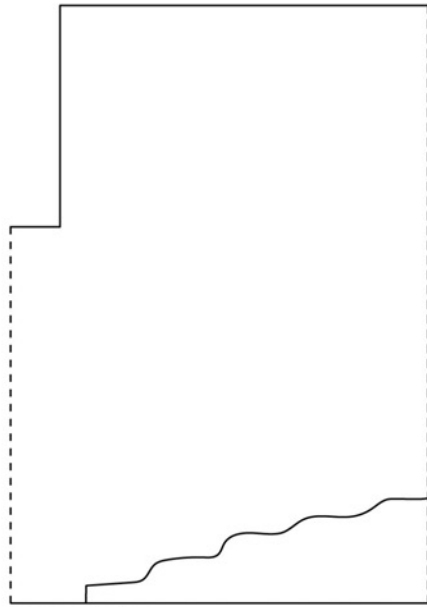
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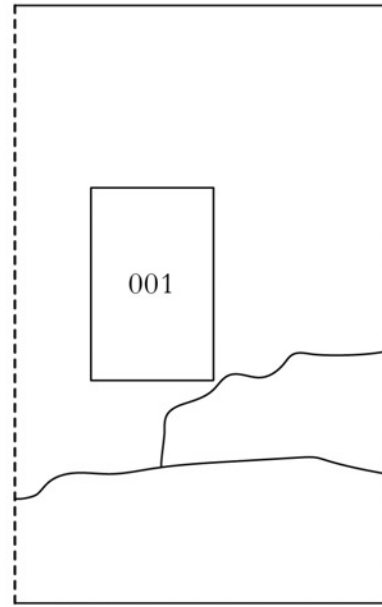
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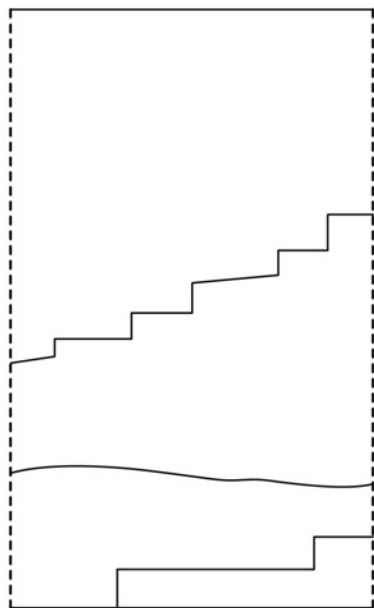
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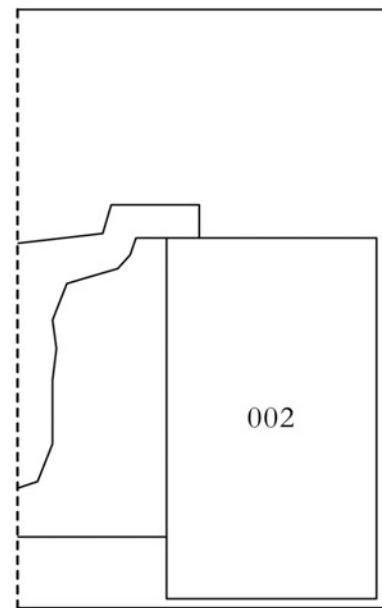
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EAST

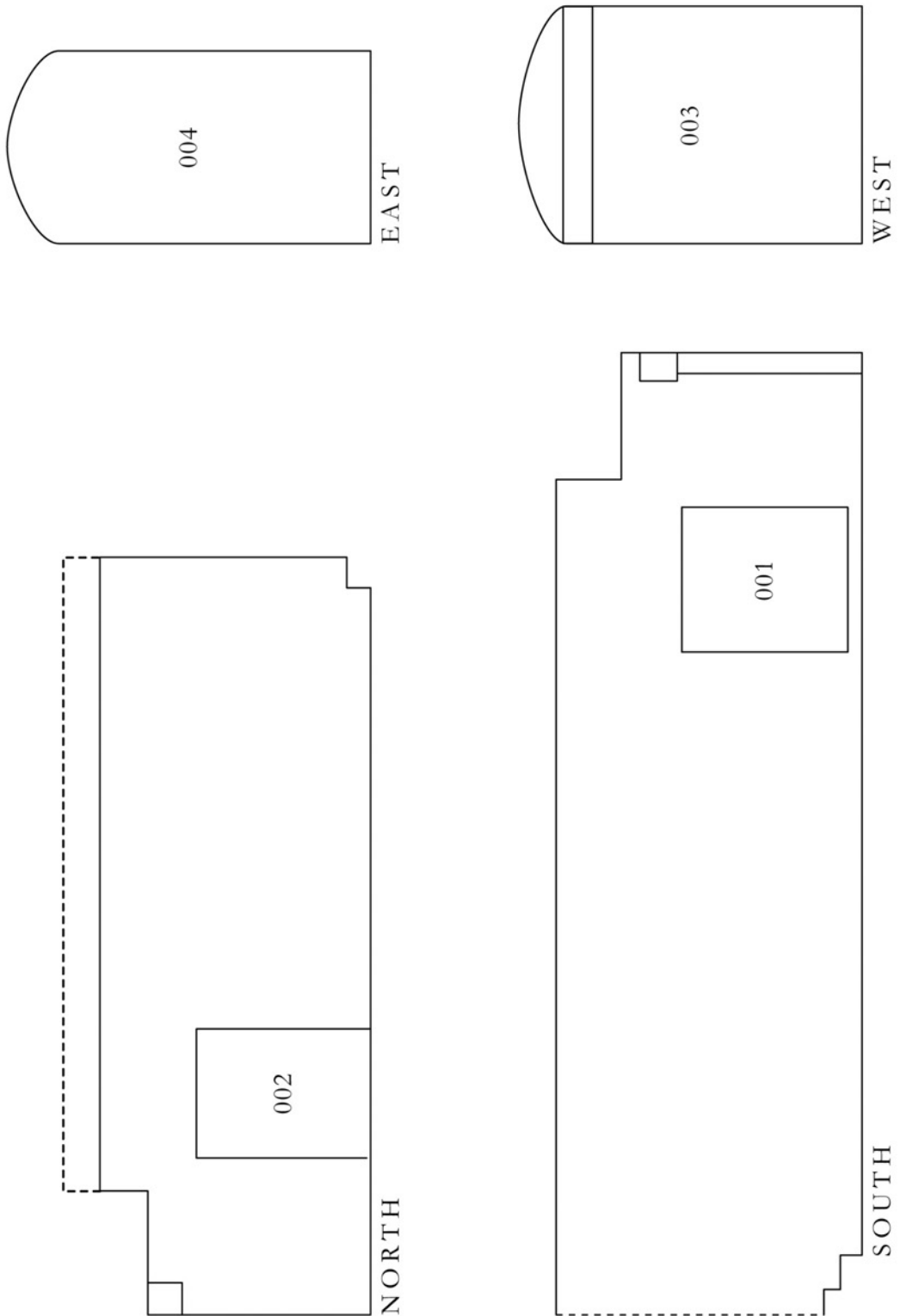


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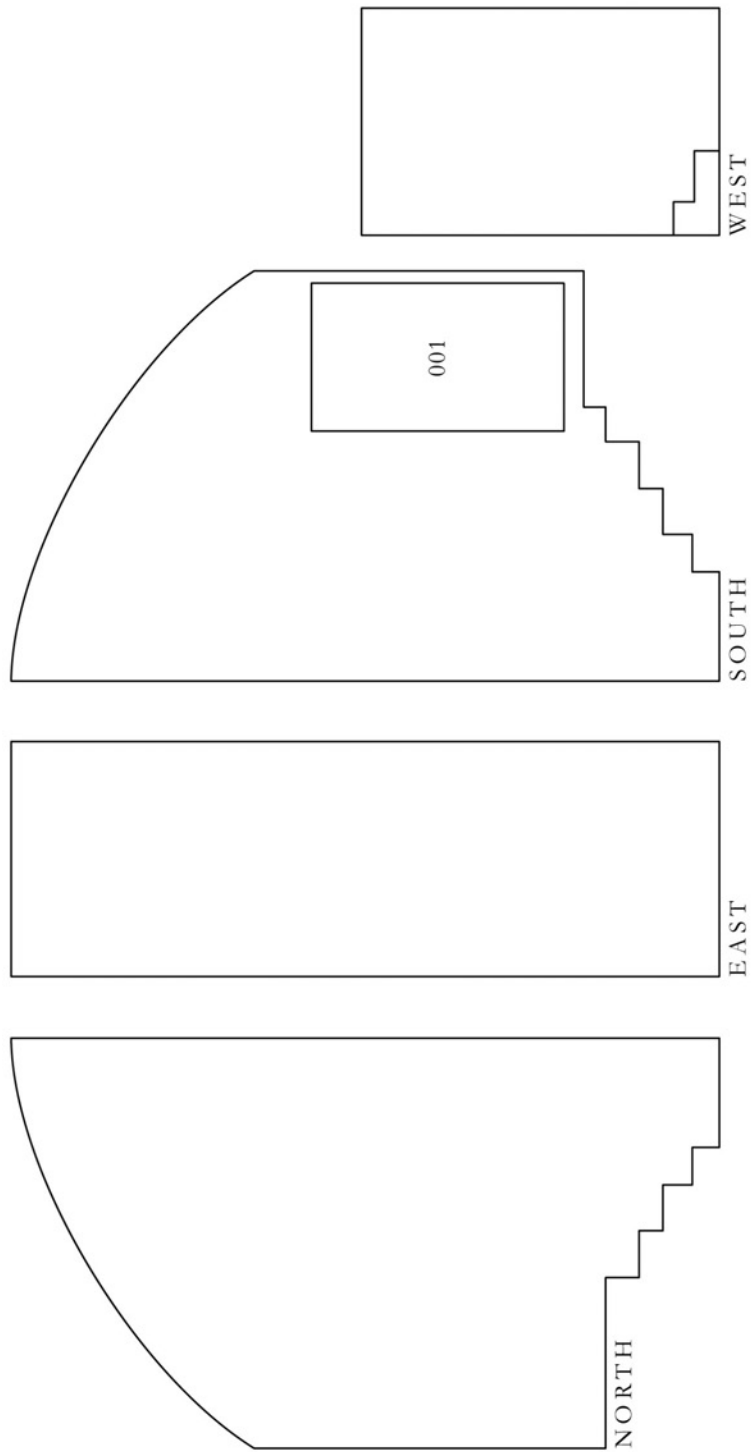


WEST

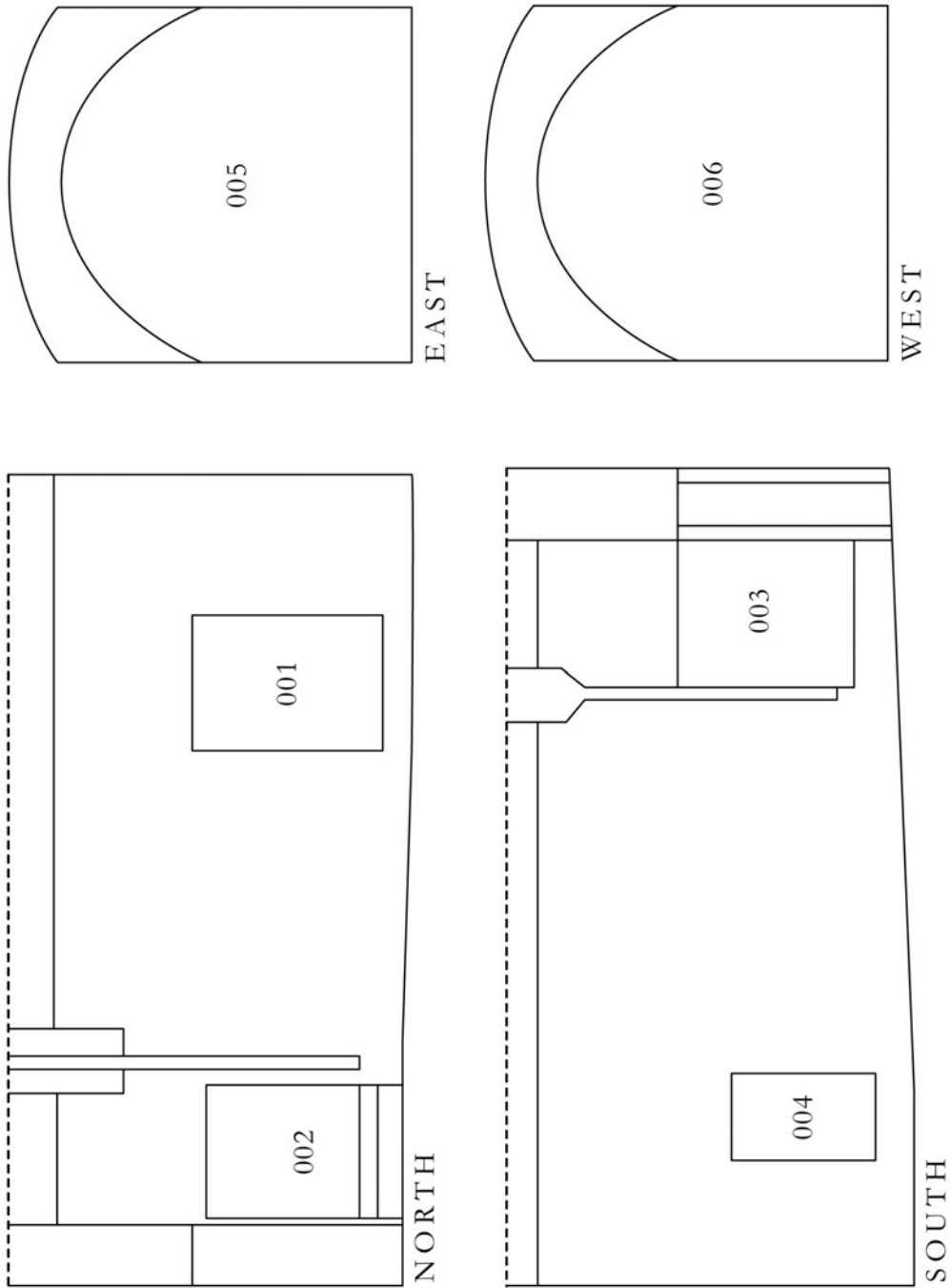
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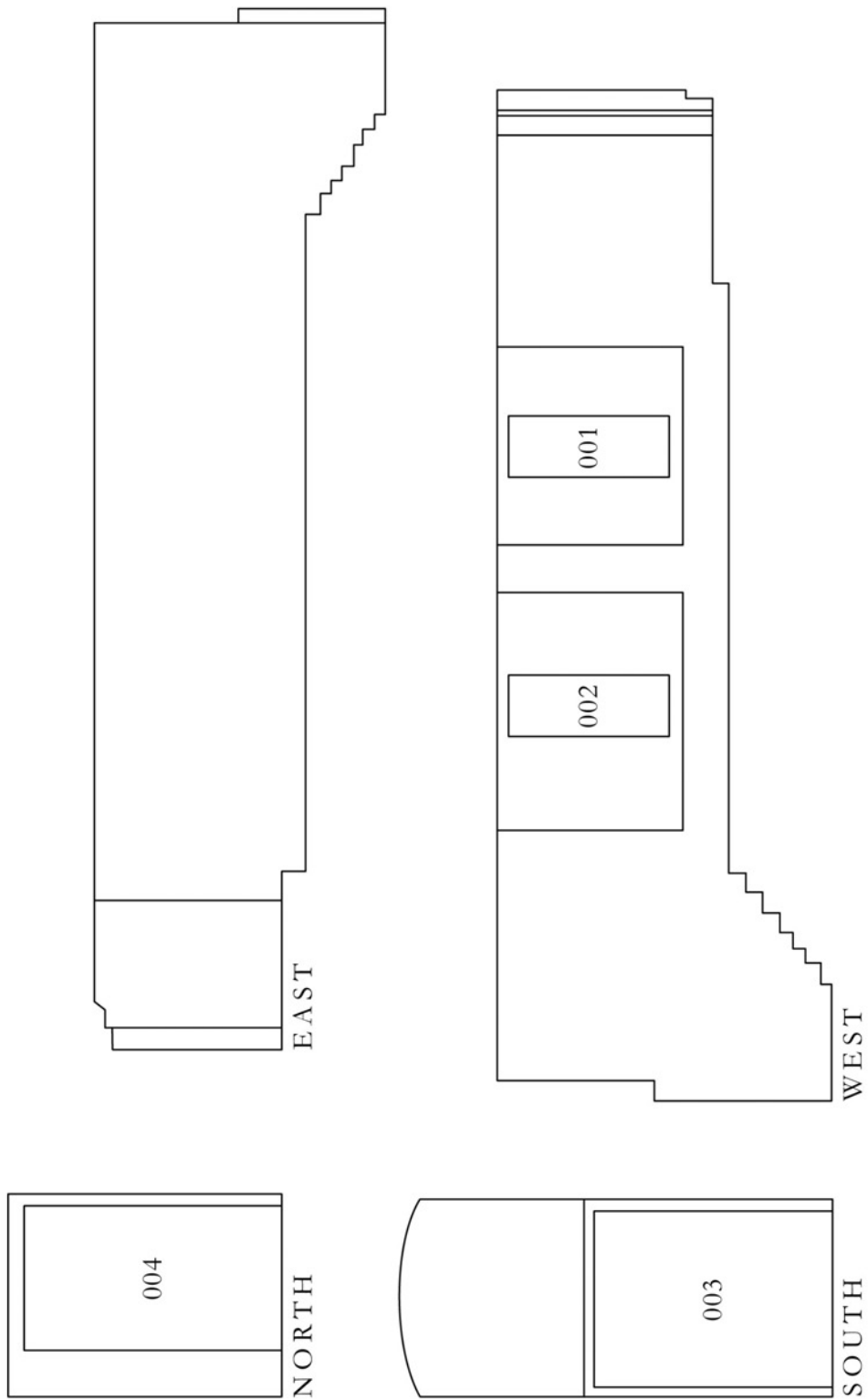
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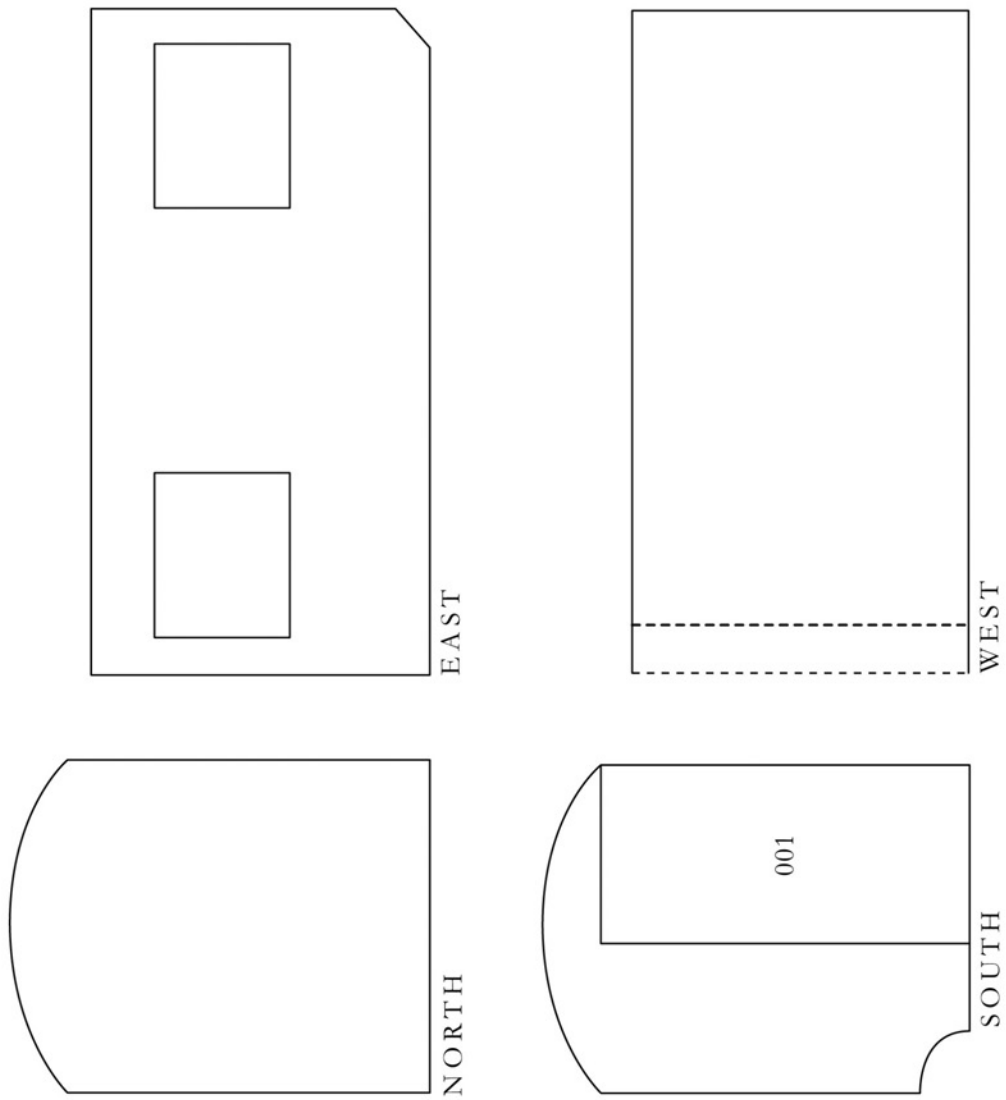
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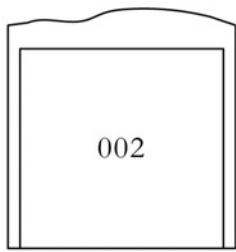
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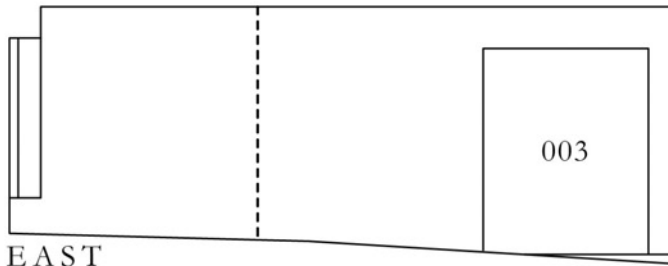
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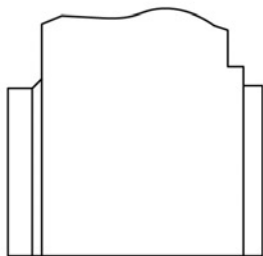
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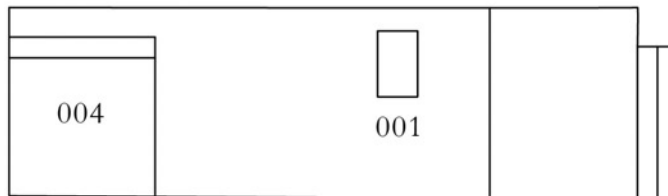
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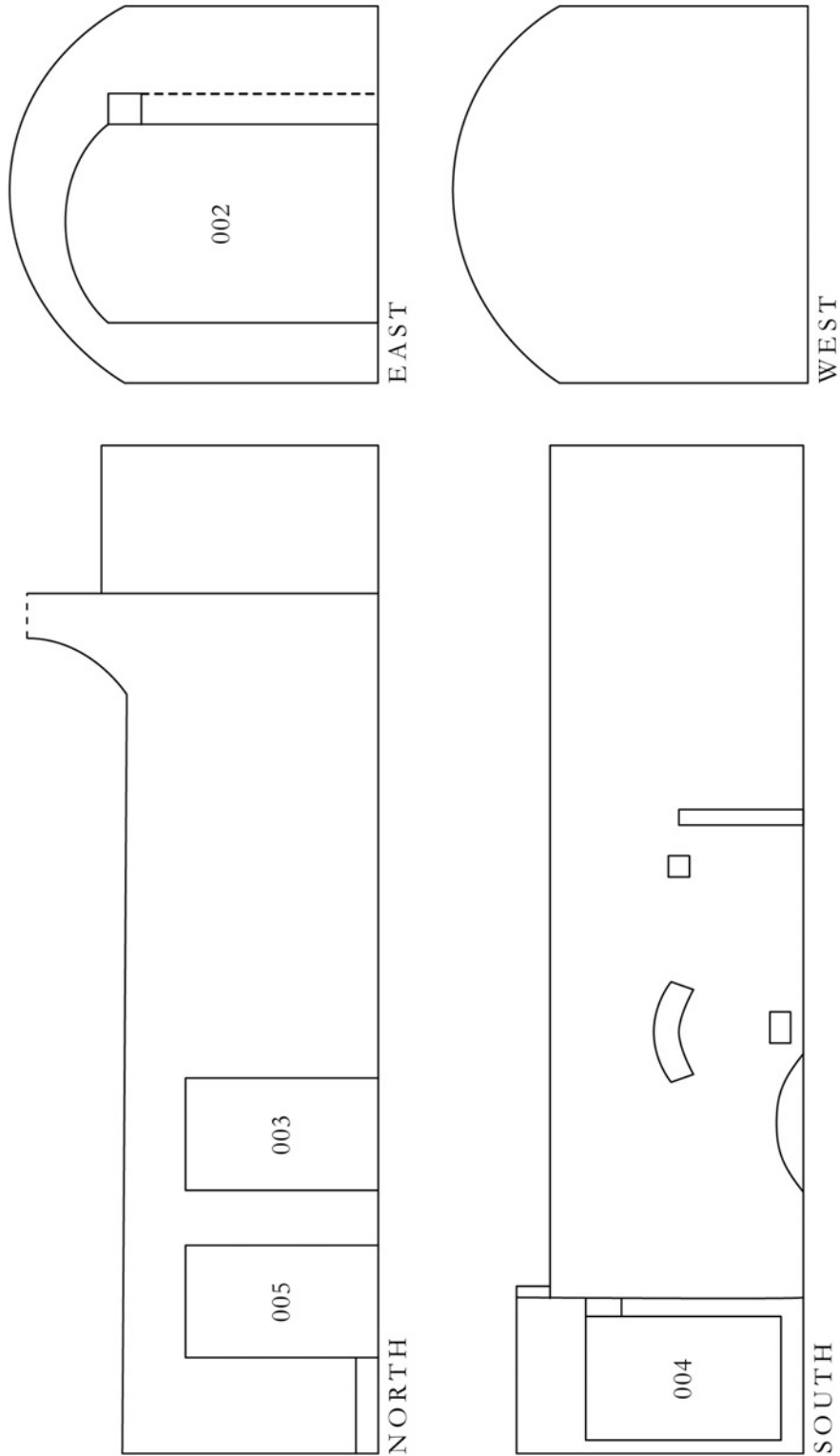


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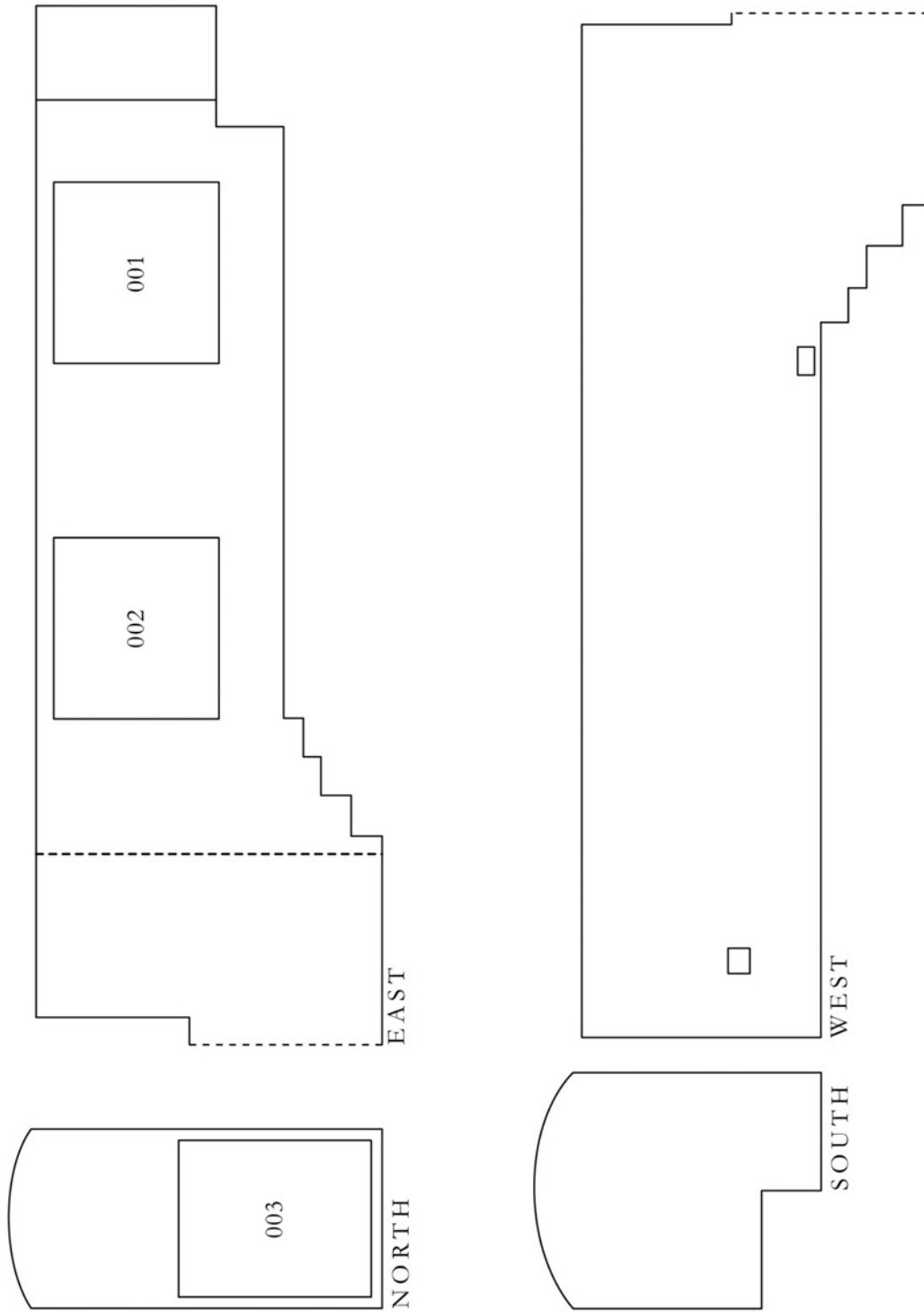


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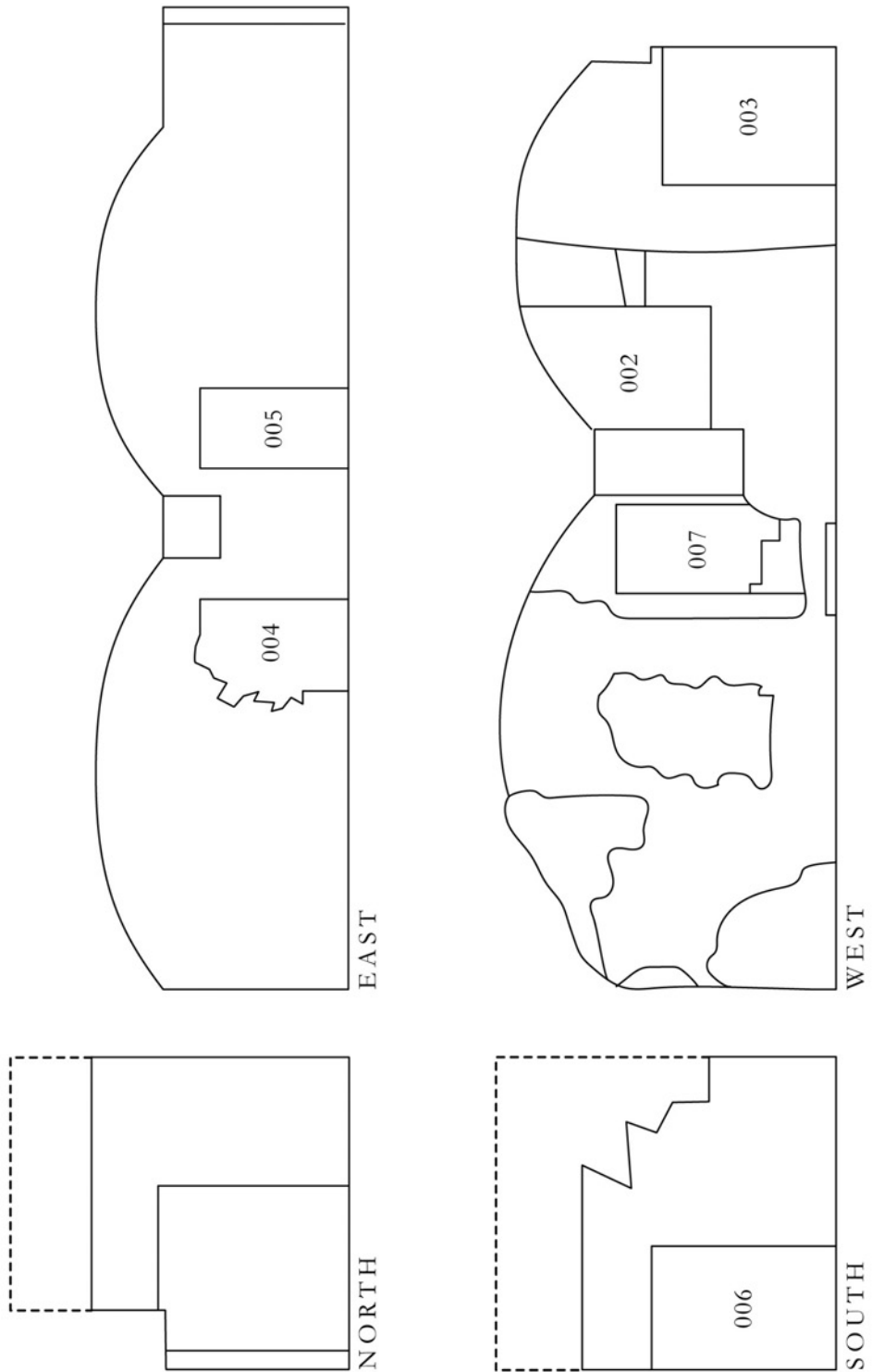
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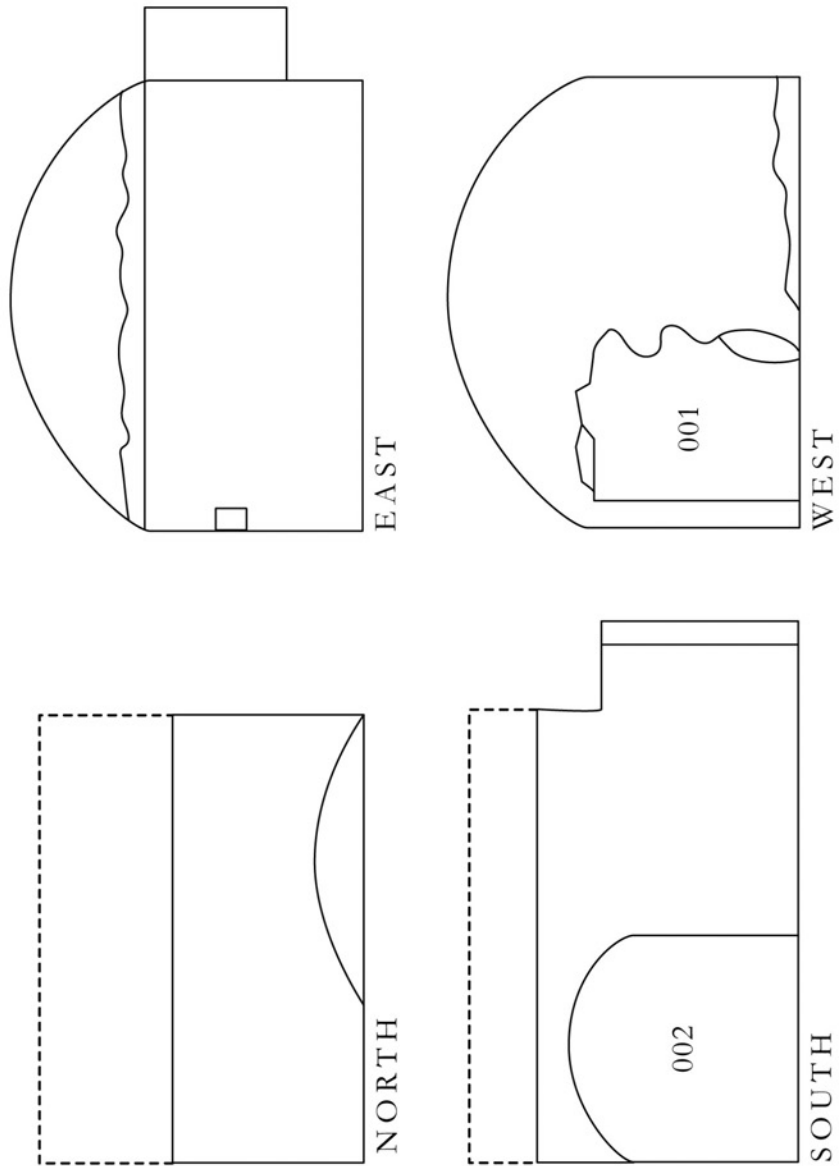
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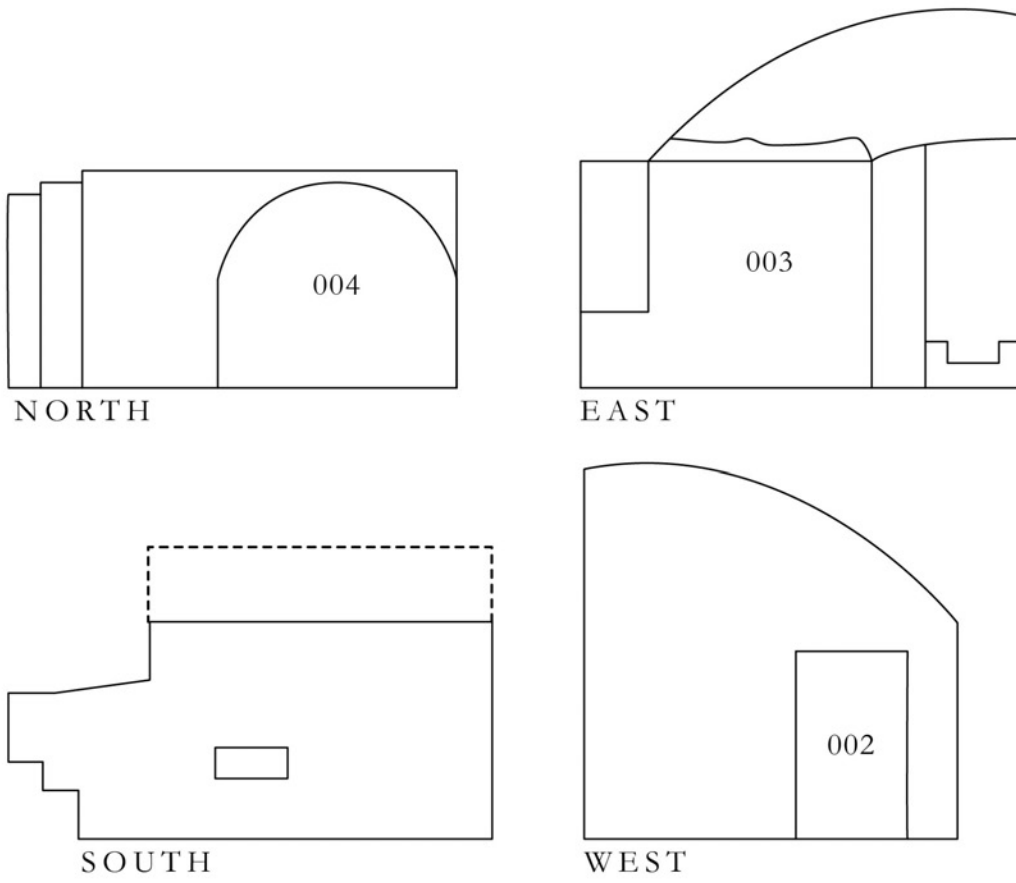
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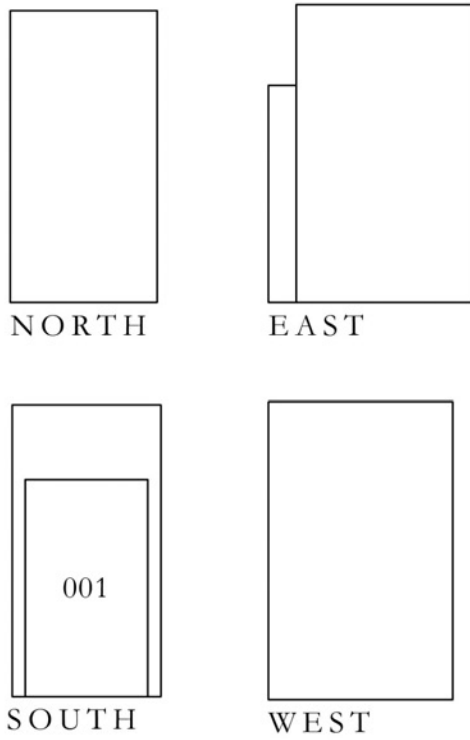
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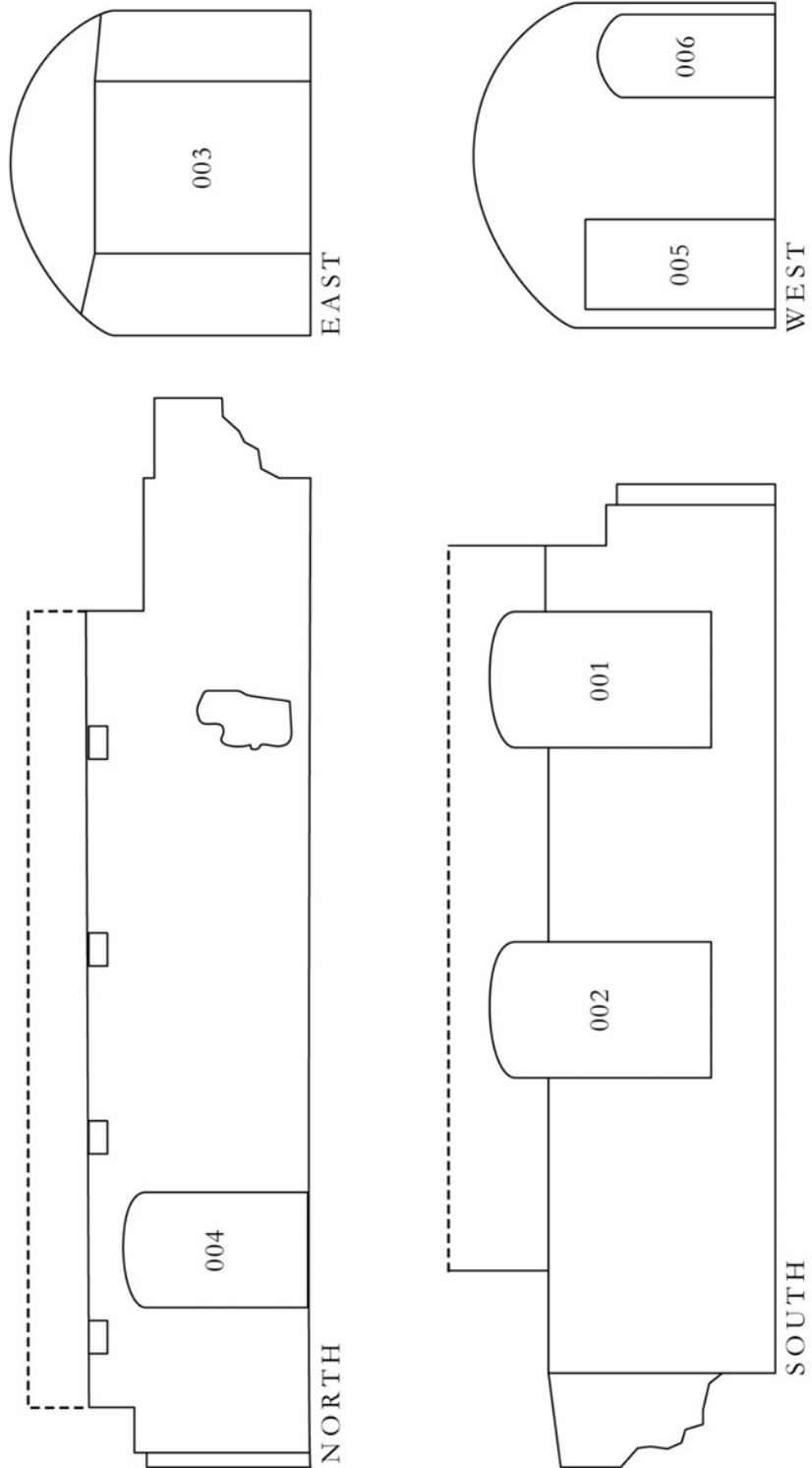
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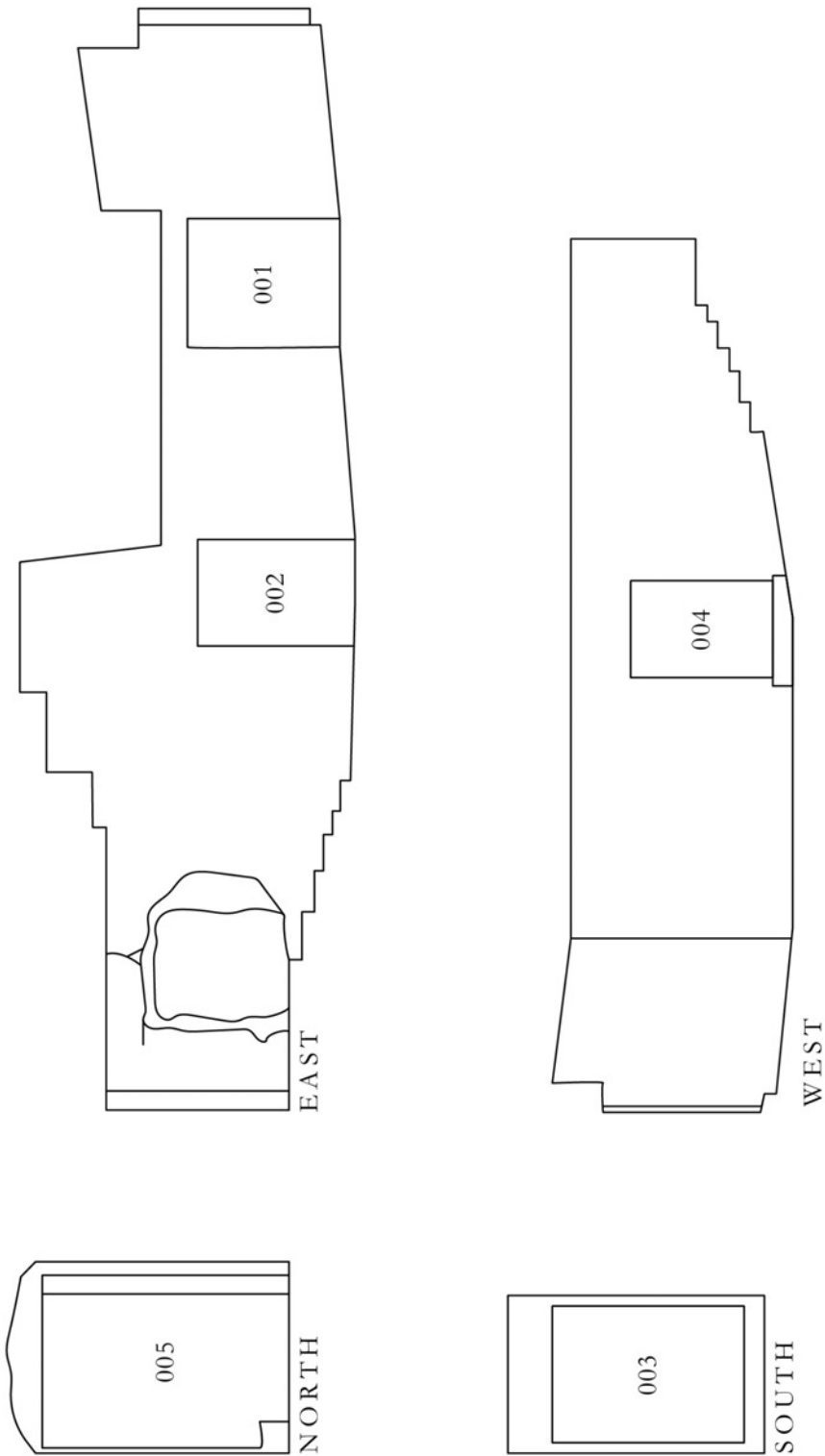
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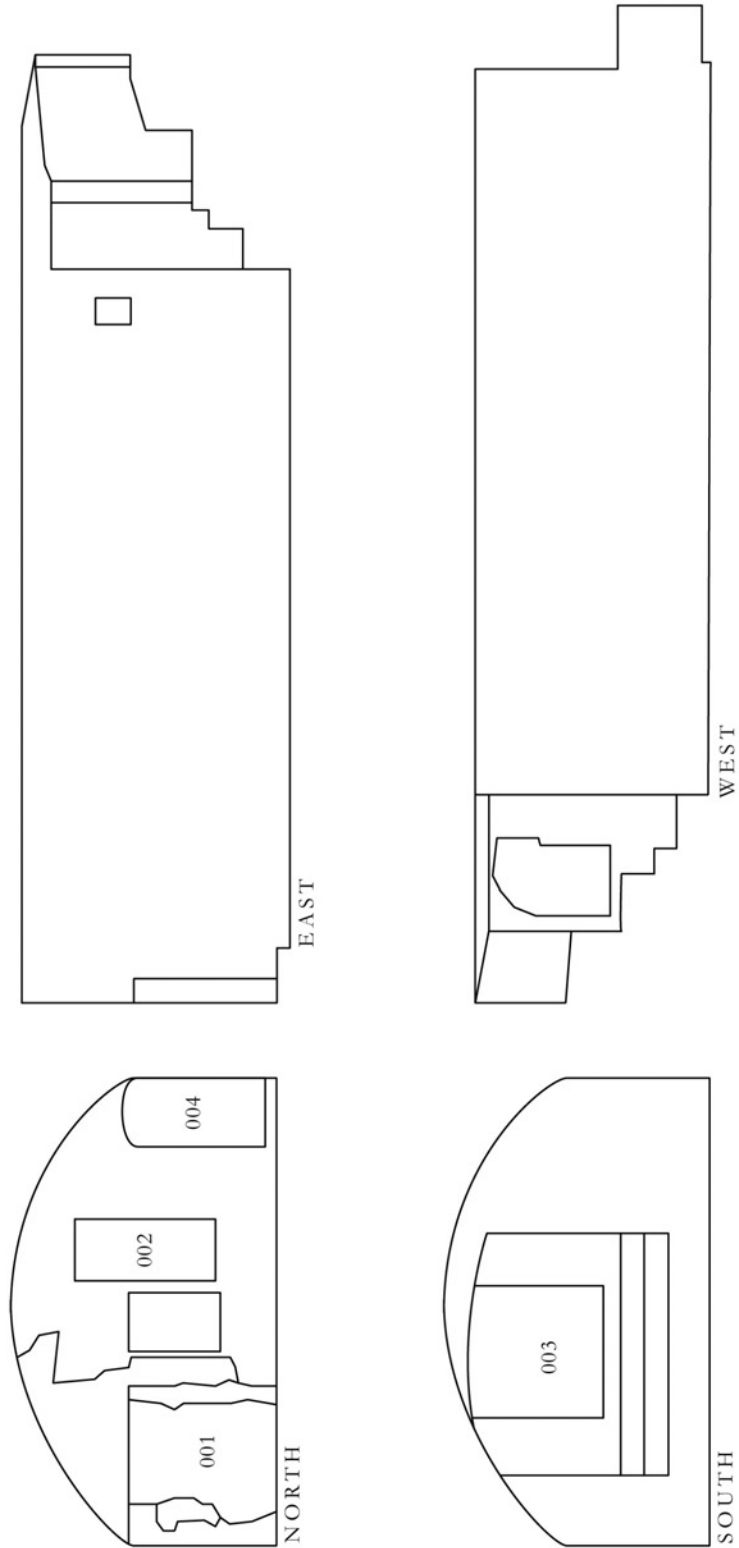
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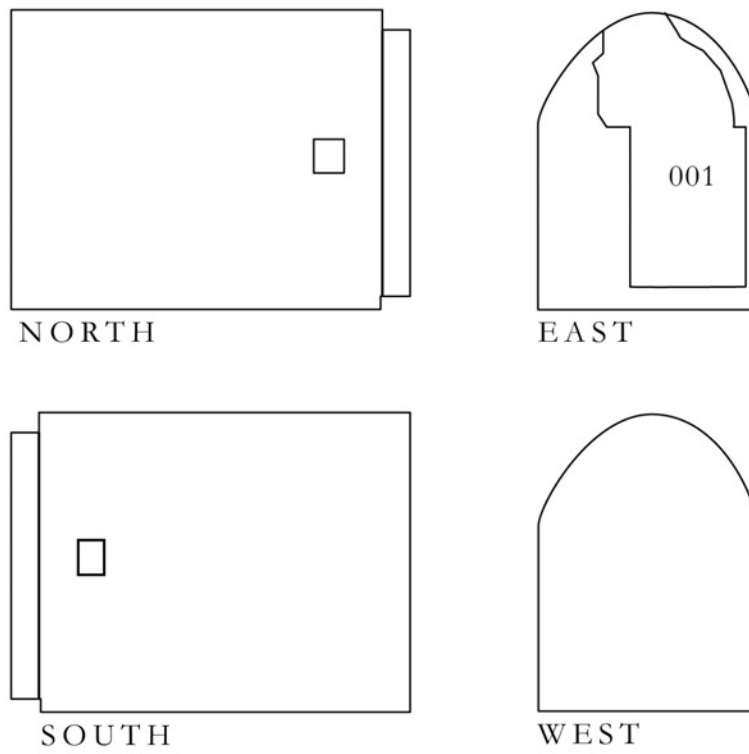
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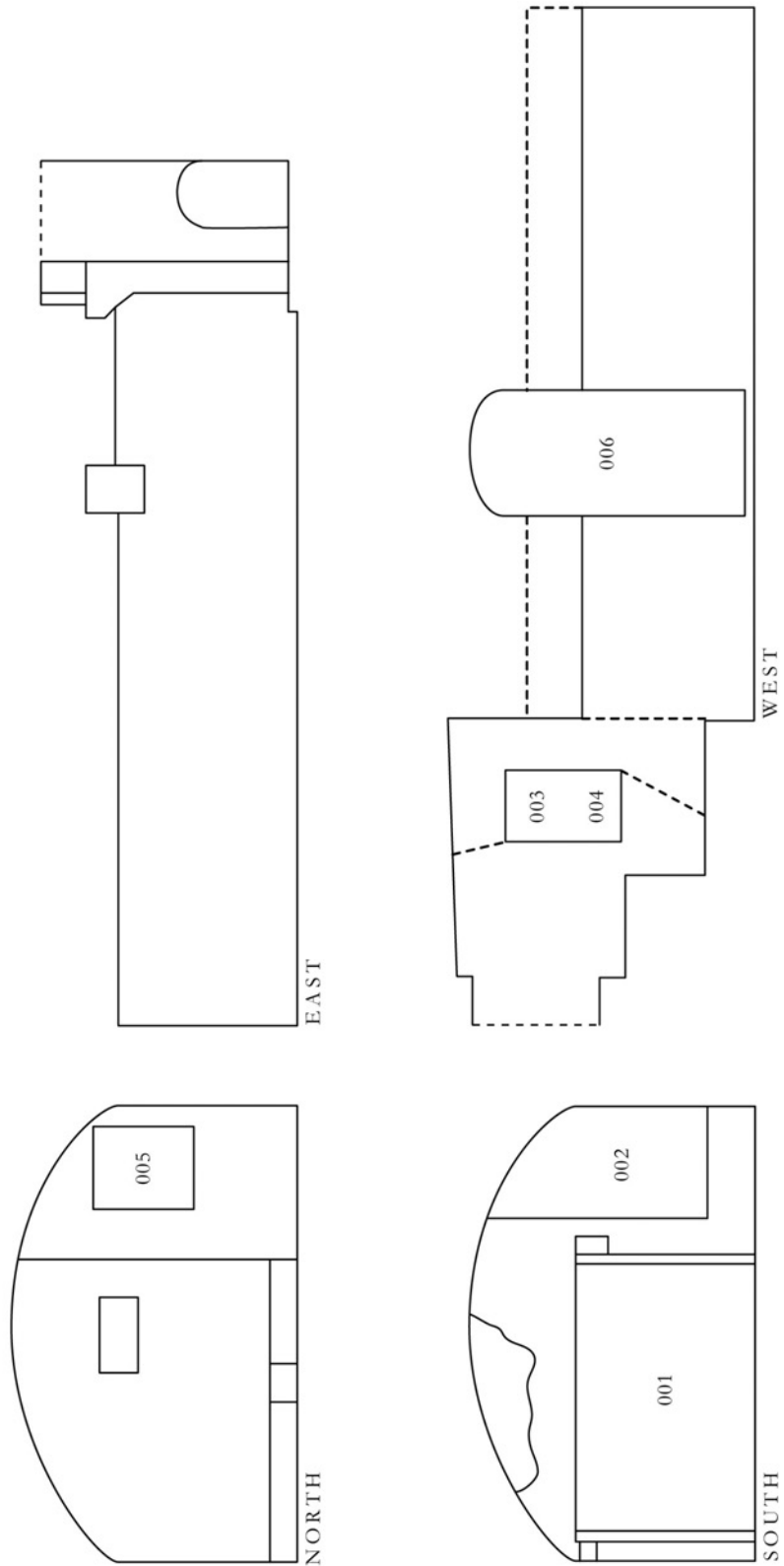
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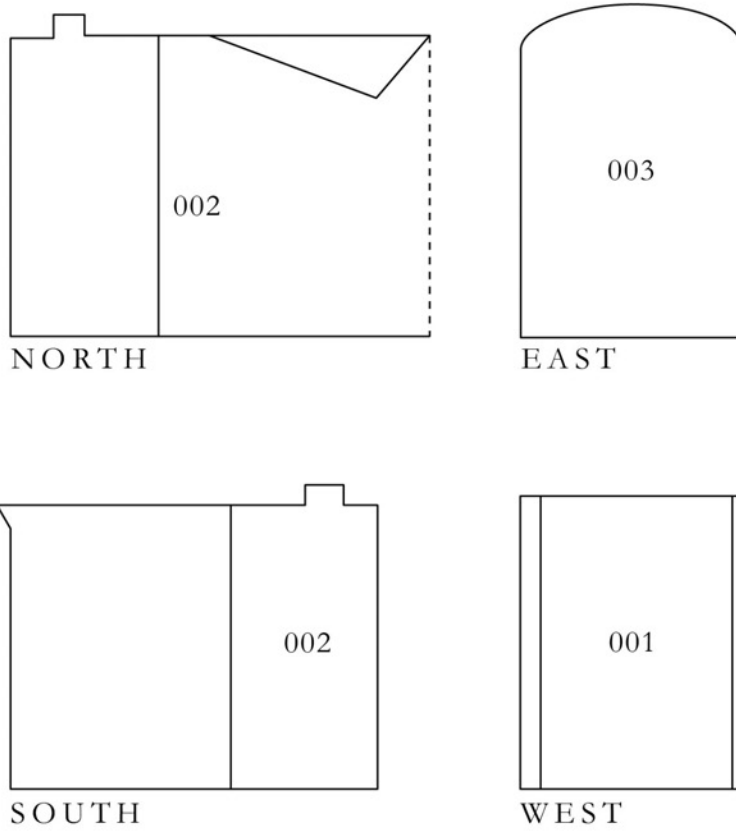
COMPONENT 30



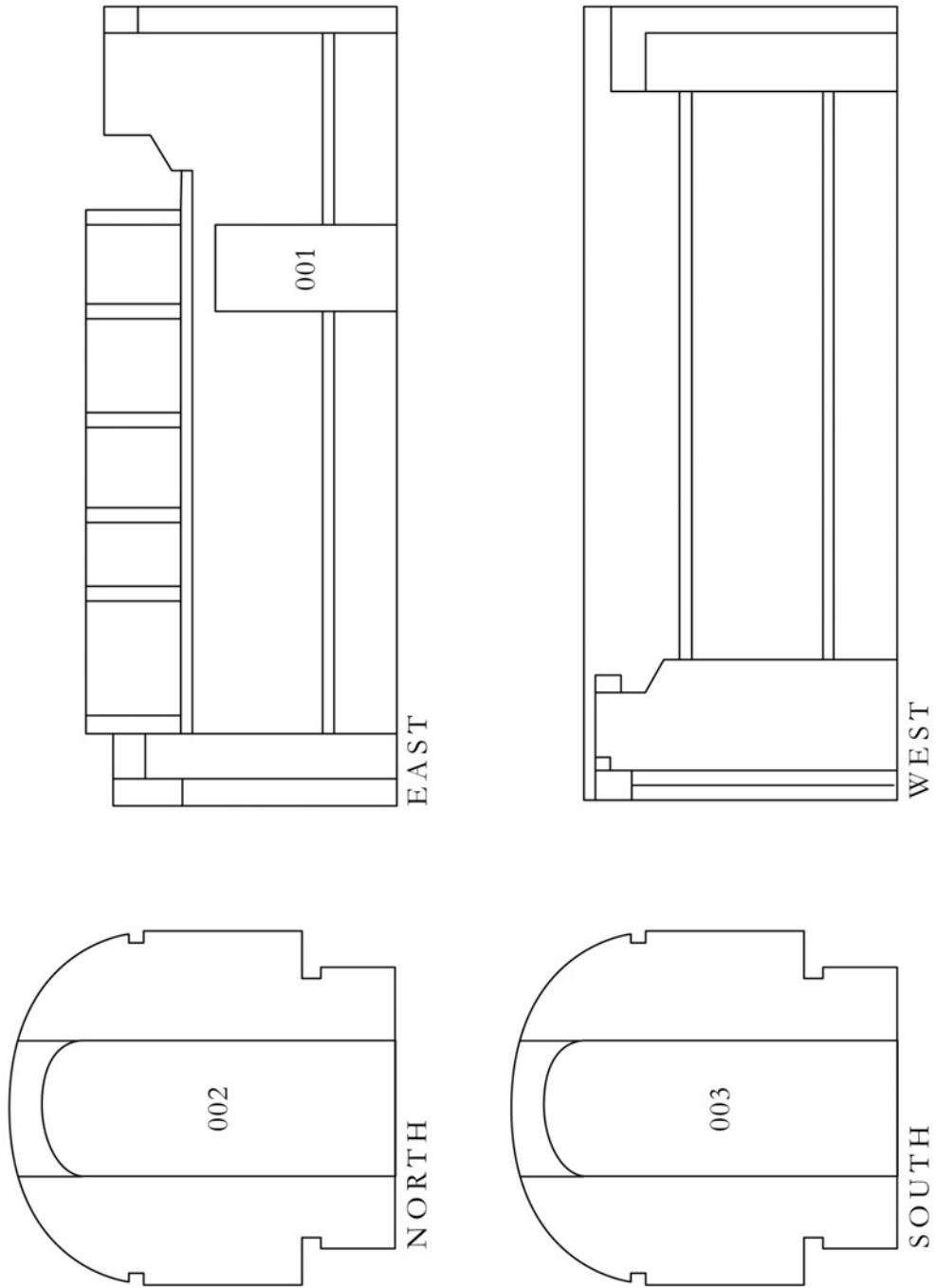
COMPONENT 31



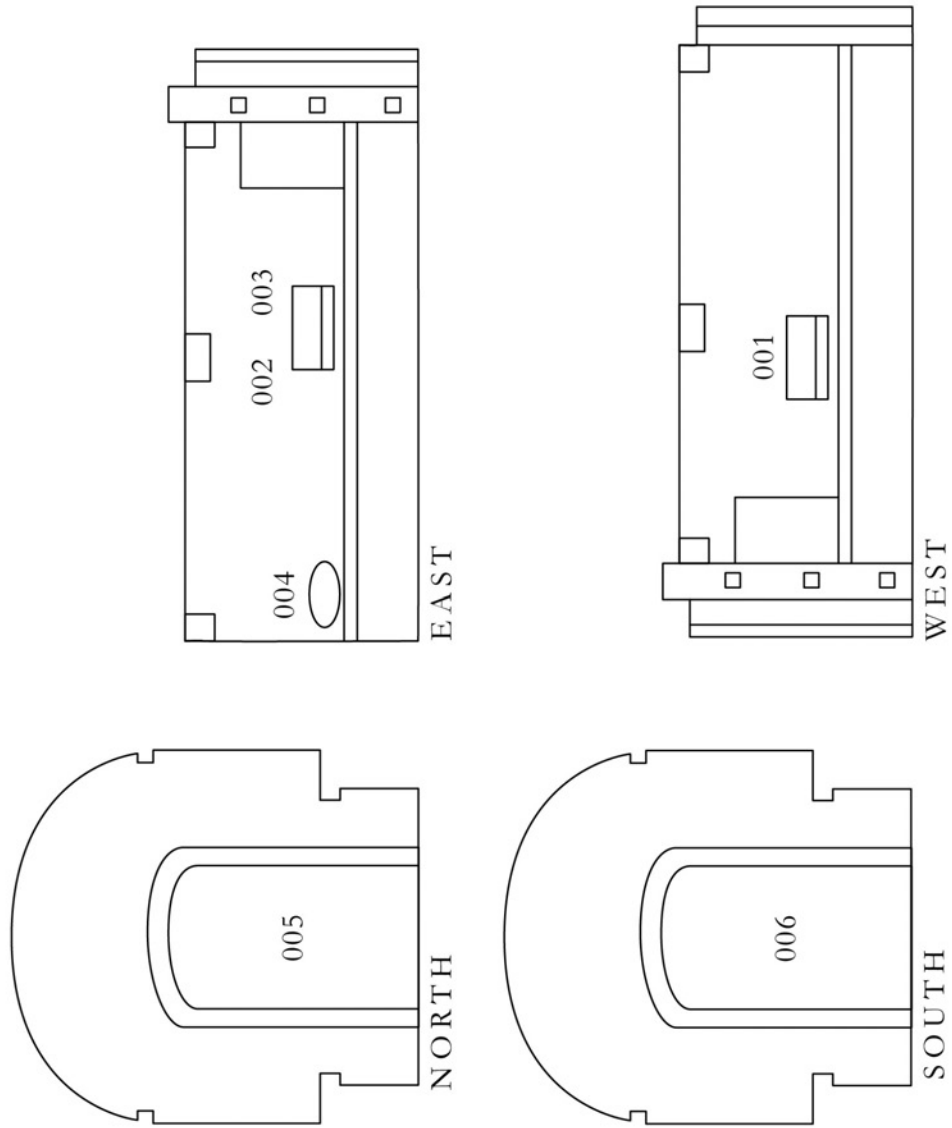
COMPONENT 32



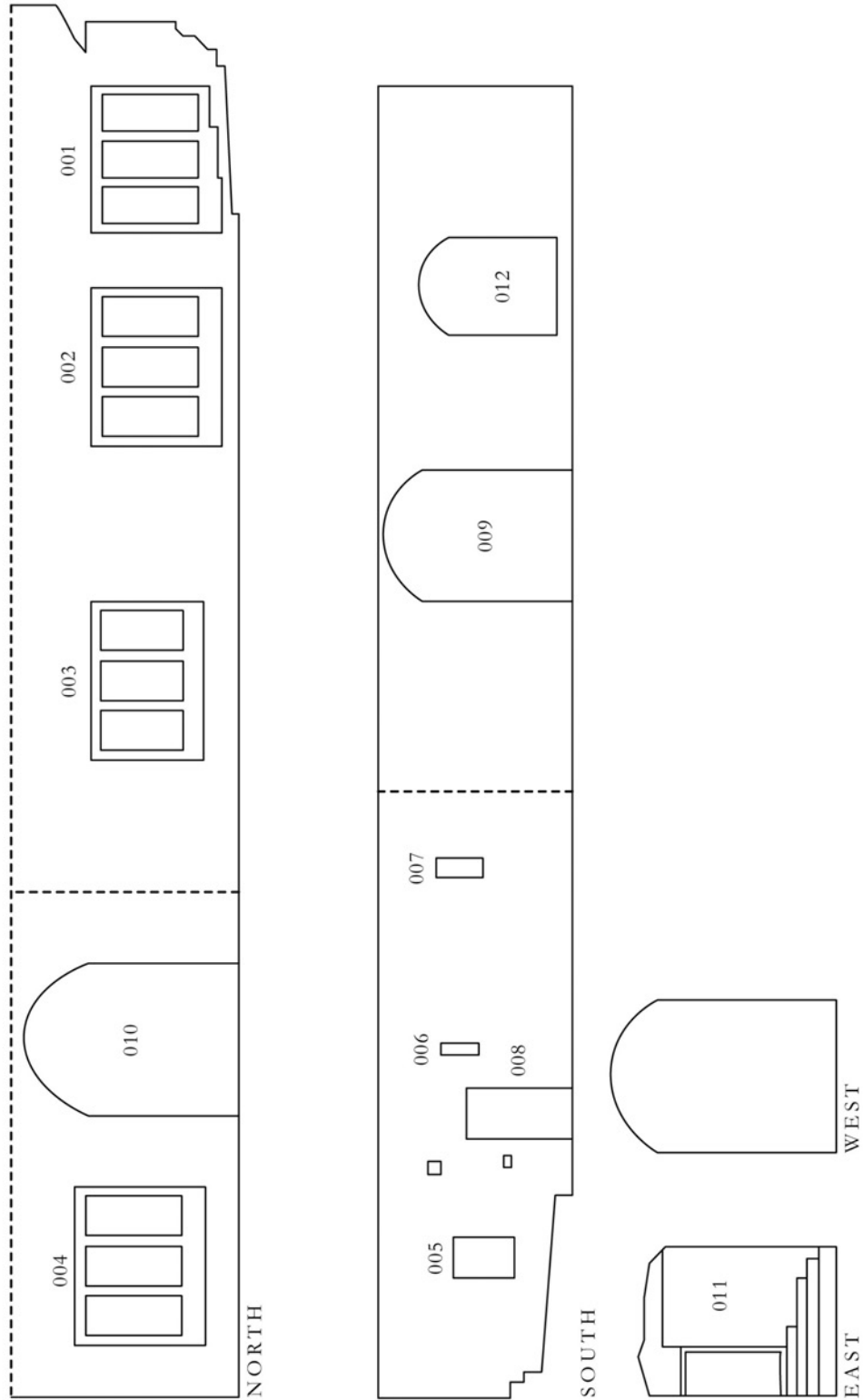
COMPONENT 33



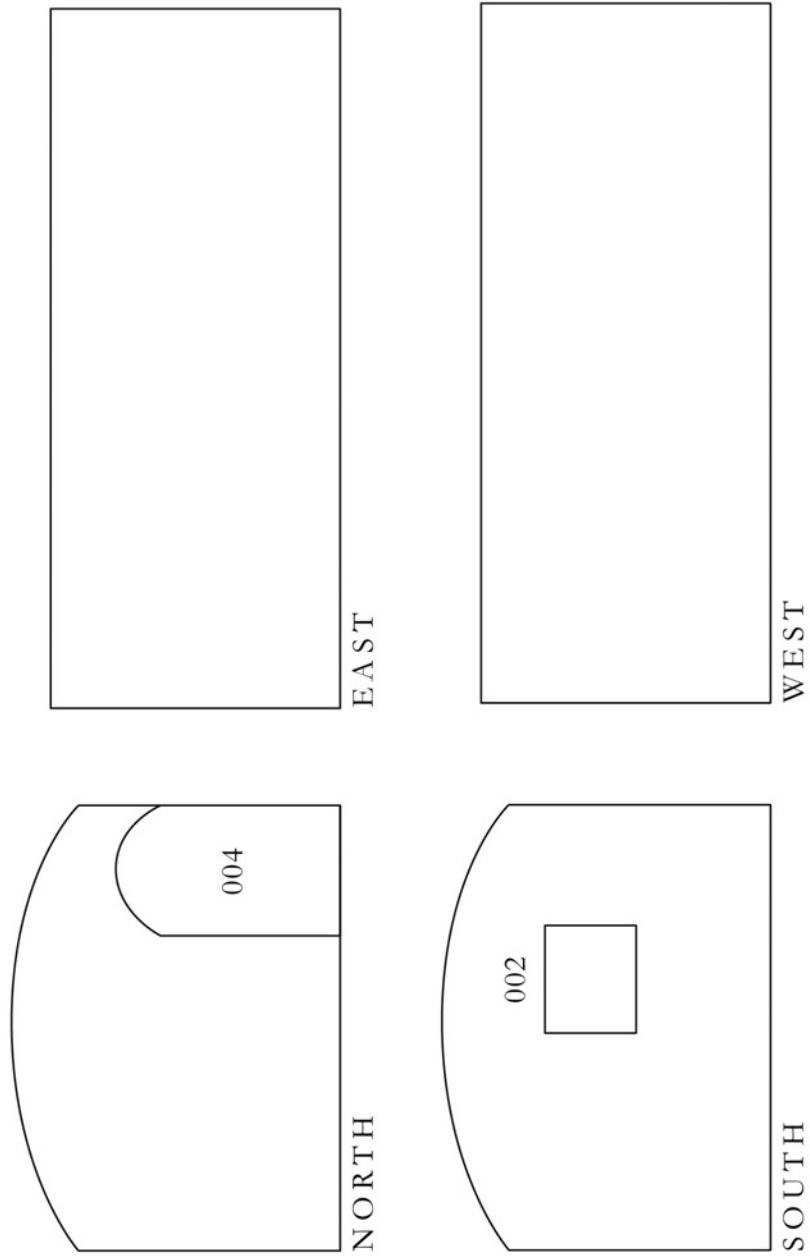
COMPONENT 34



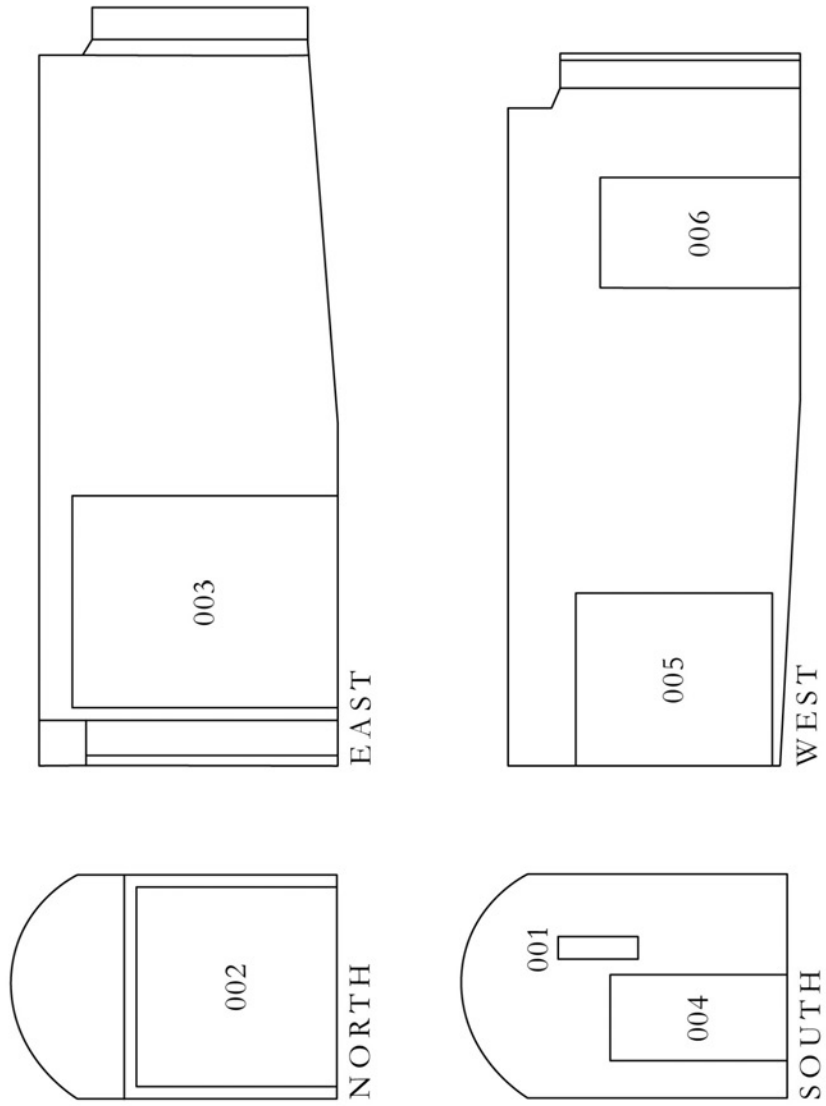
COMPONENT 35



COMPONENT 38



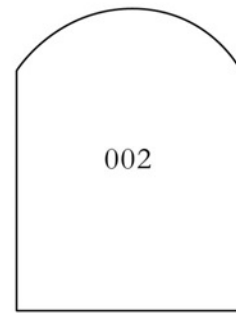
COMPONENT 39



COMPONENT 40



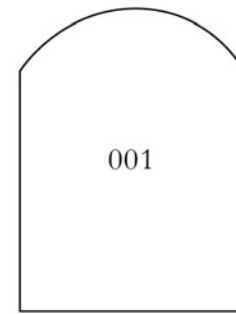
NORTH



EAST

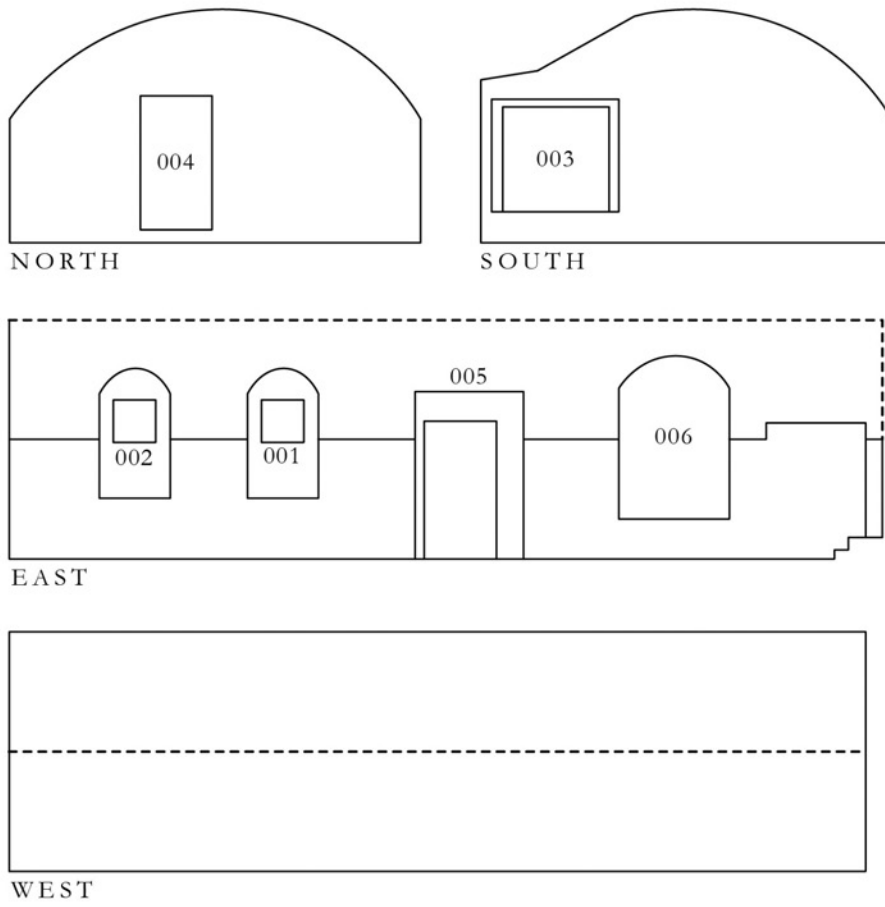


SOUTH

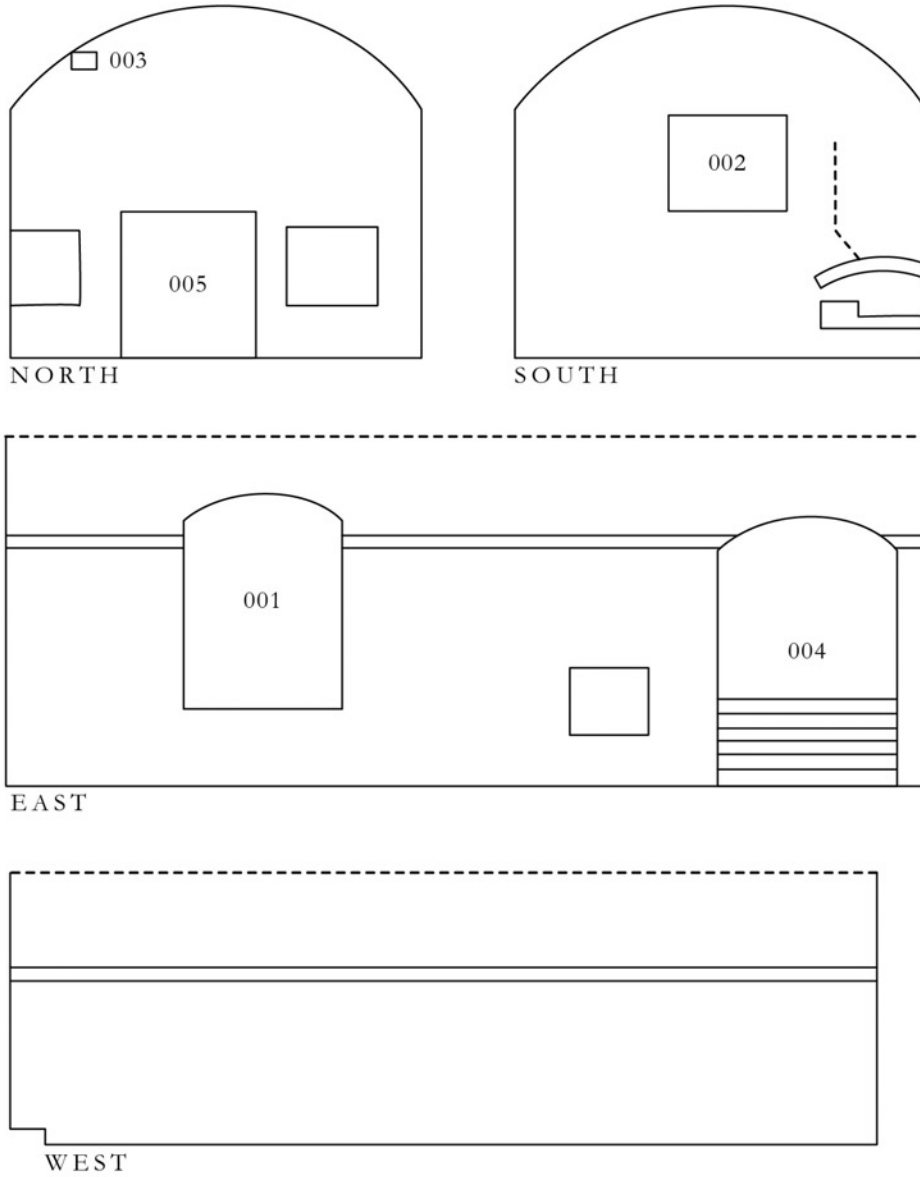


WEST

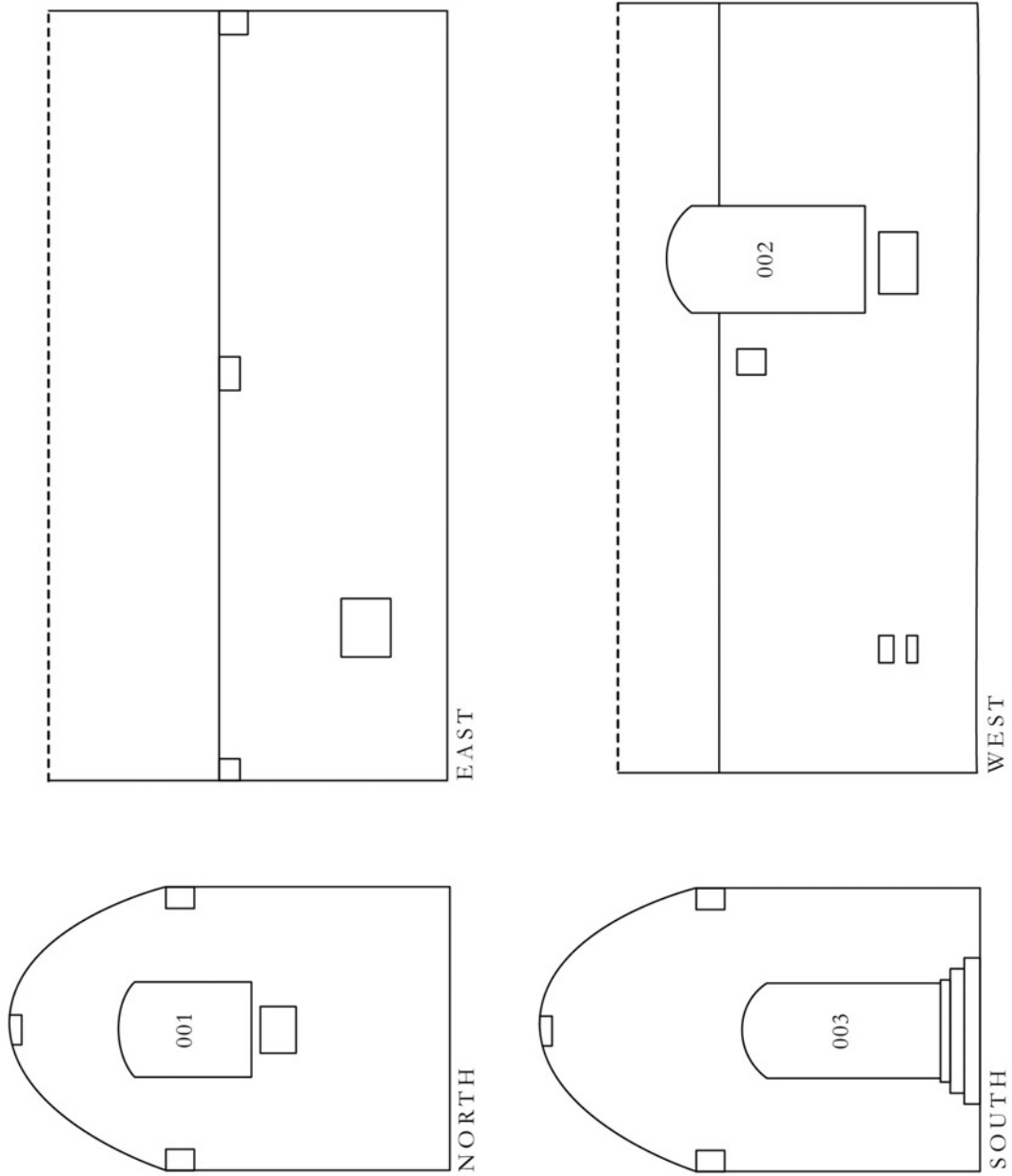
COMPONENT 41



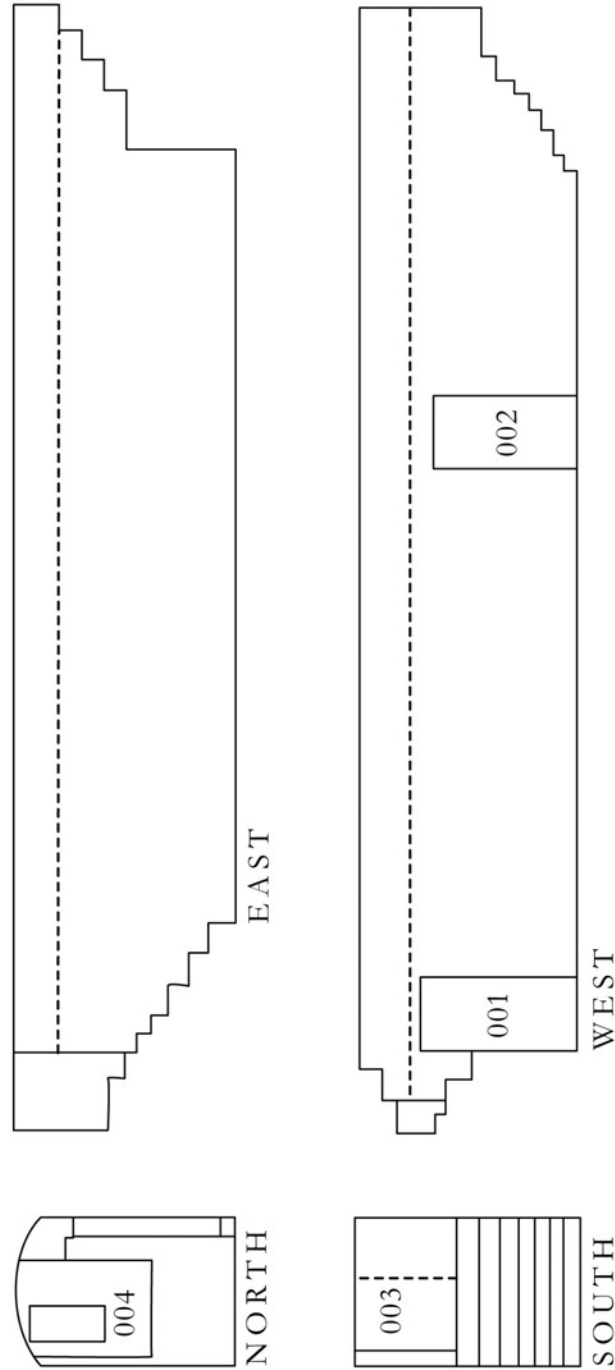
COMPONENT 45



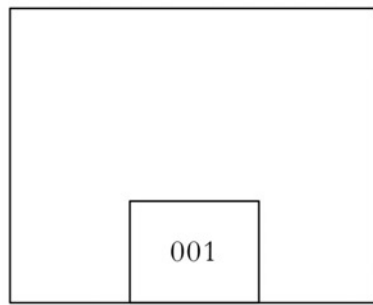
COMPONENT 46



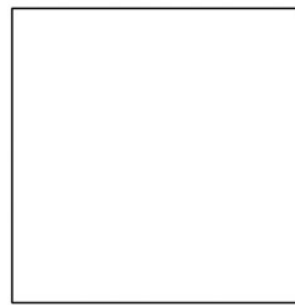
COMPONENT 47



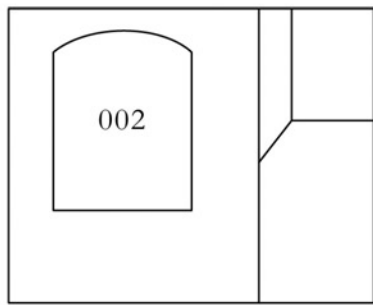
COMPONENT 48



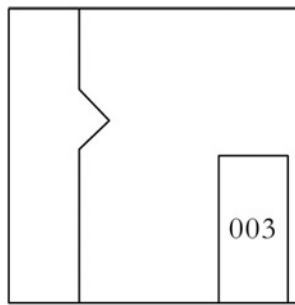
NORTH



EAST

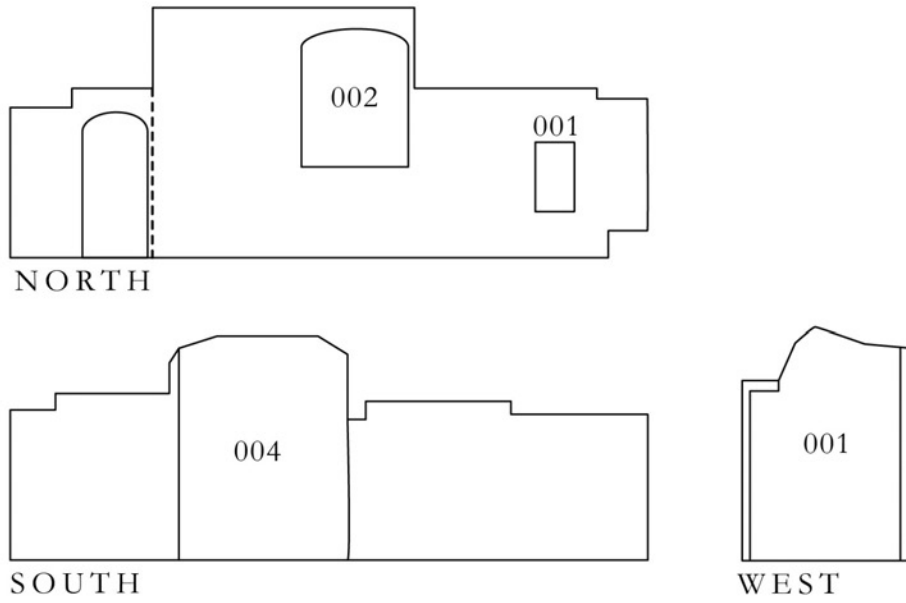


SOUTH

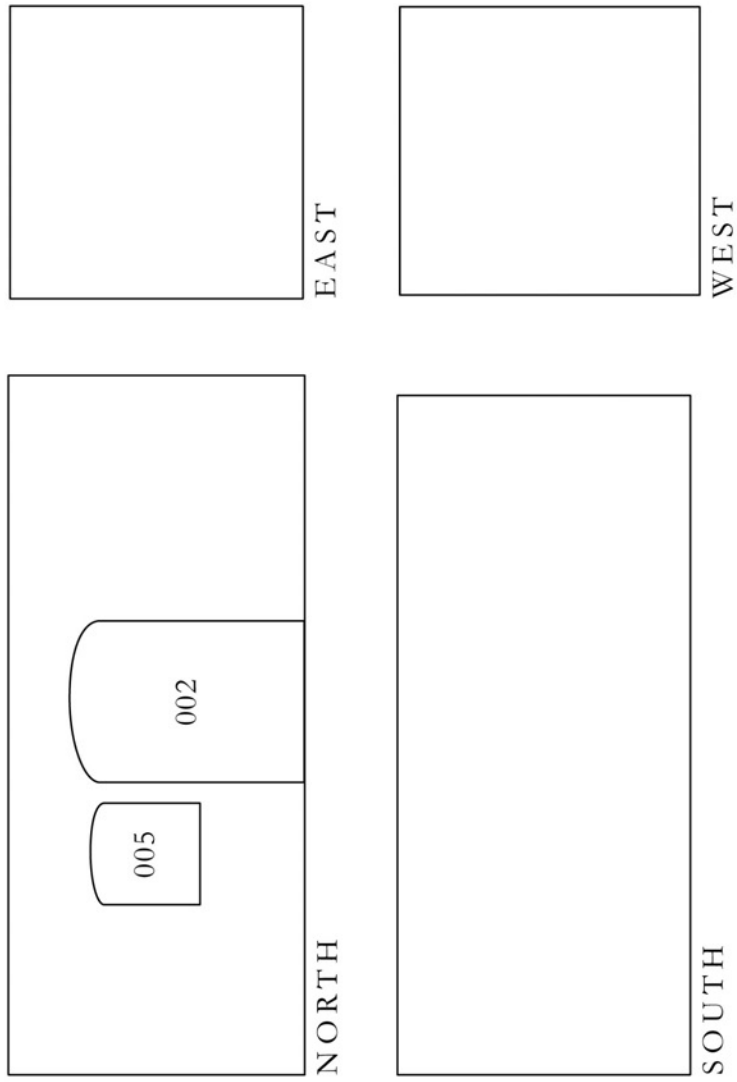


WEST

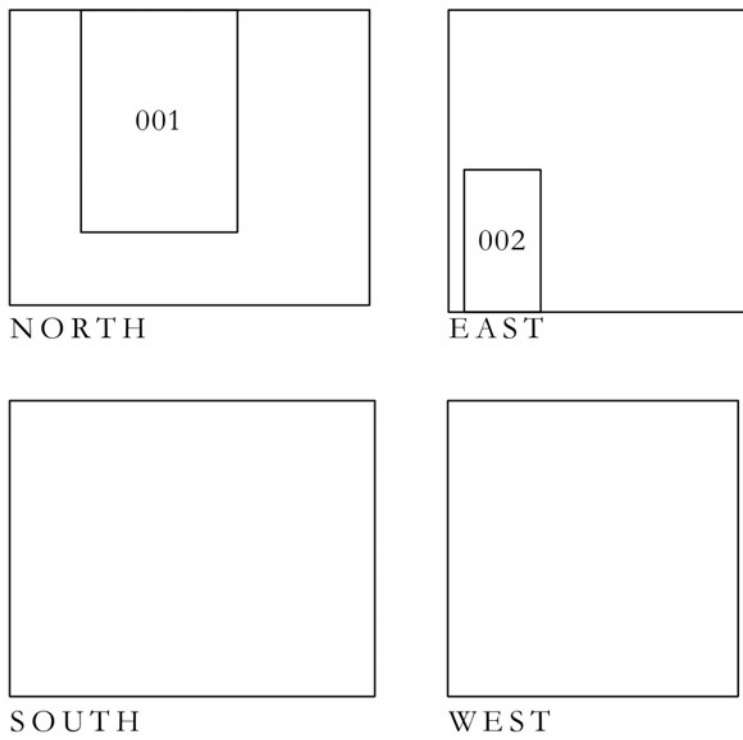
COMPONENT 49



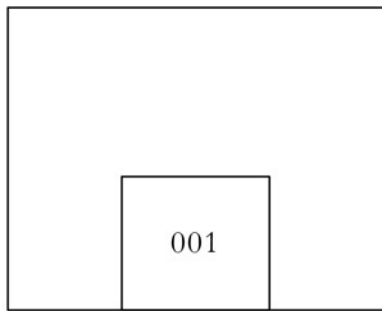
COMPONENT 50



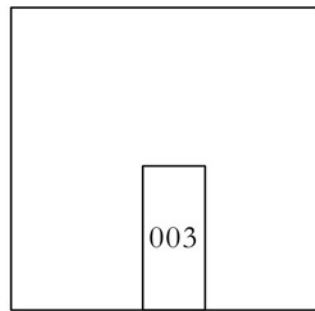
COMPONENT 51



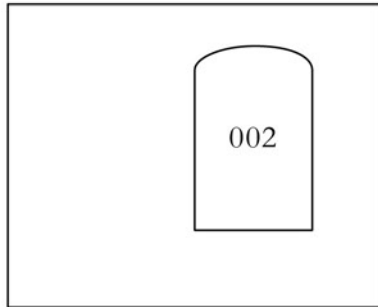
COMPONENT 52



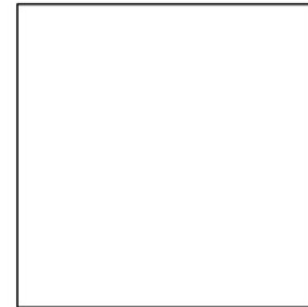
NORTH



EAST

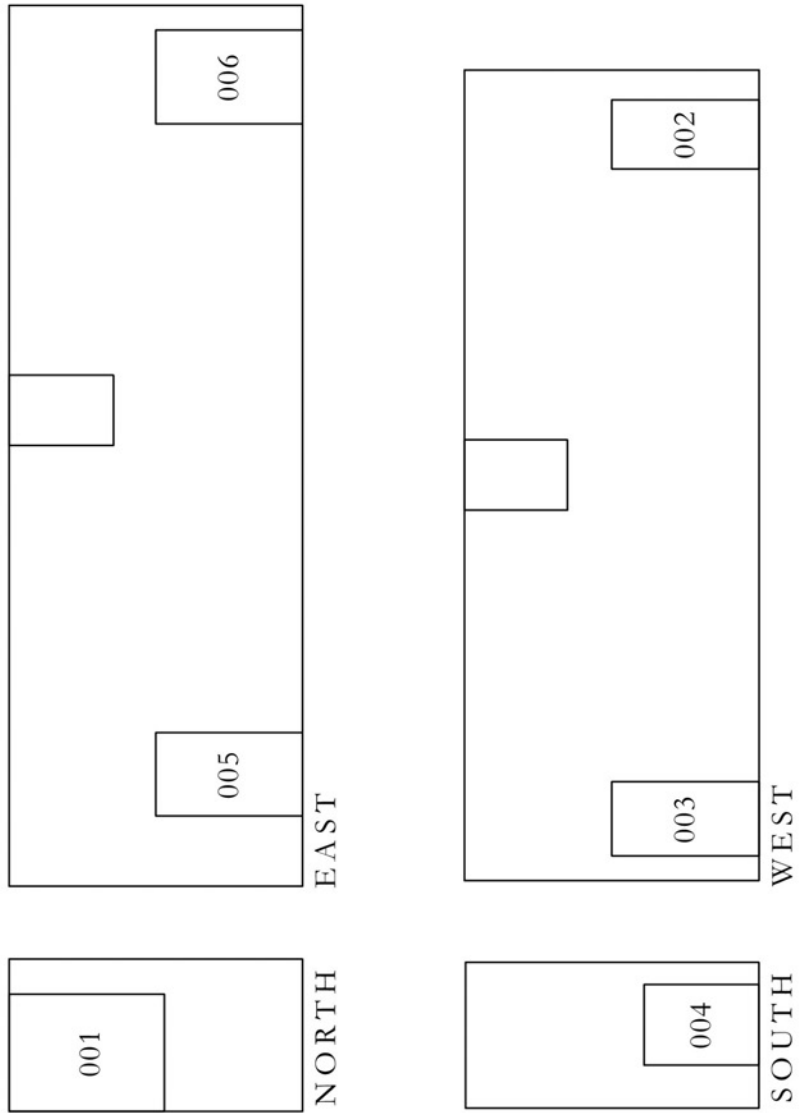


SOUTH

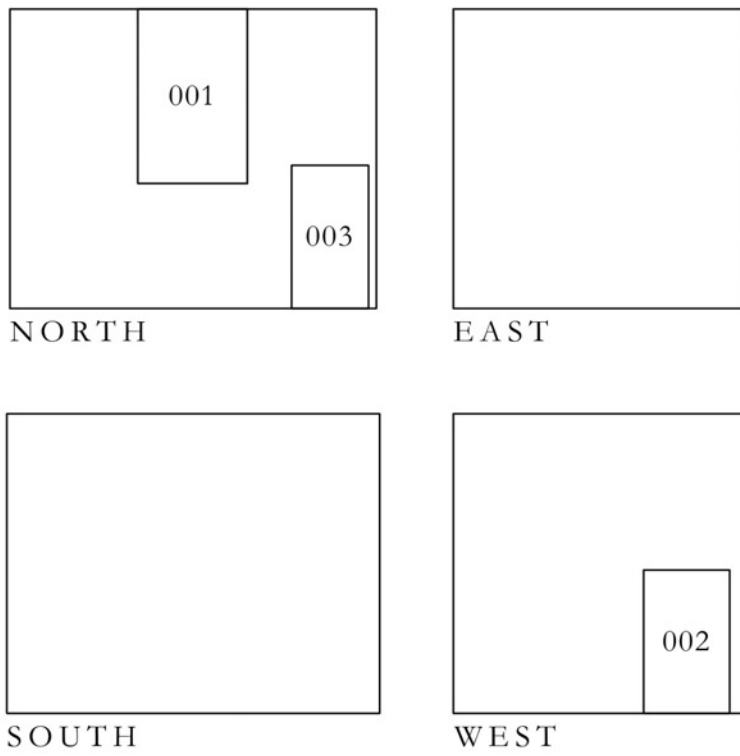


WEST

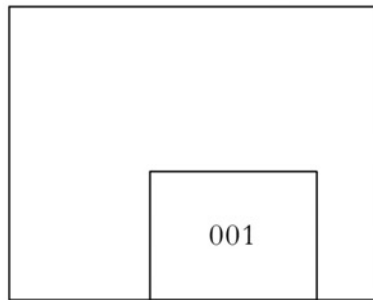
COMPONENT 53



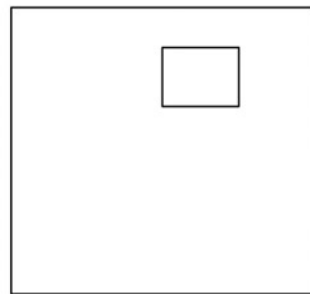
COMPONENT 54



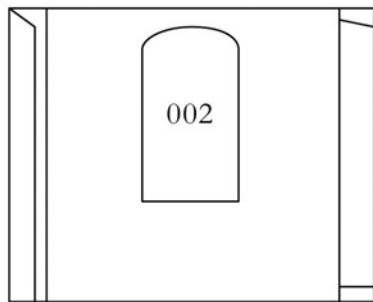
COMPONENT 55



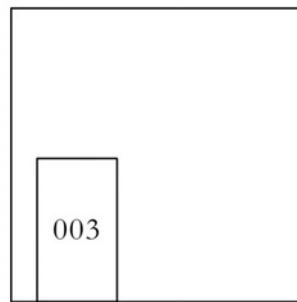
NORTH



EAST

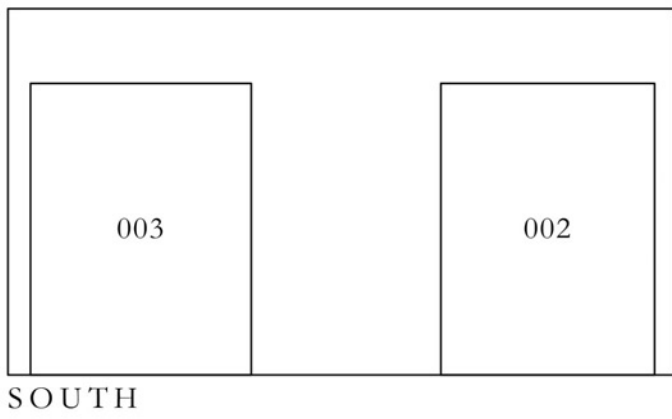
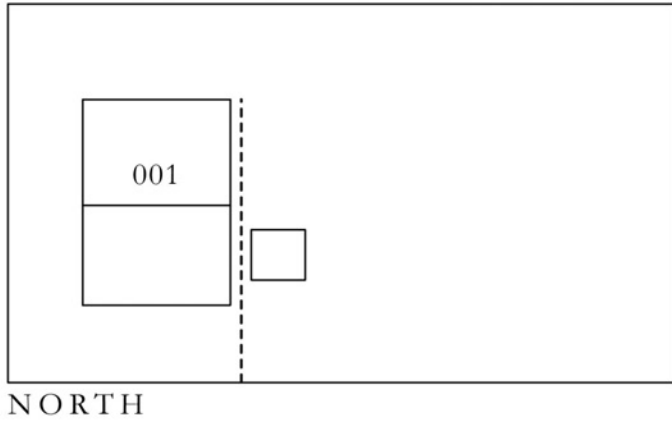


SOUTH

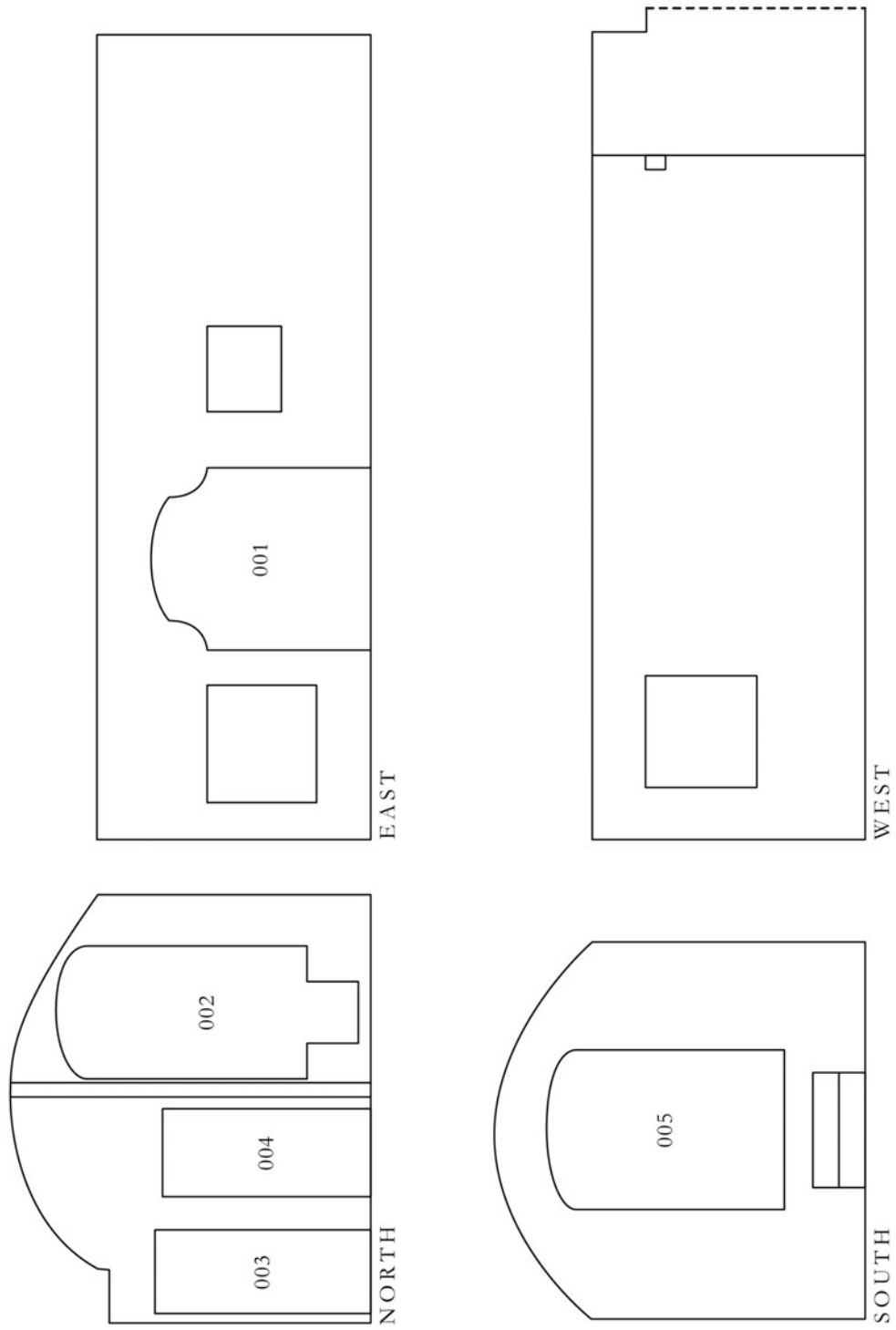


WEST

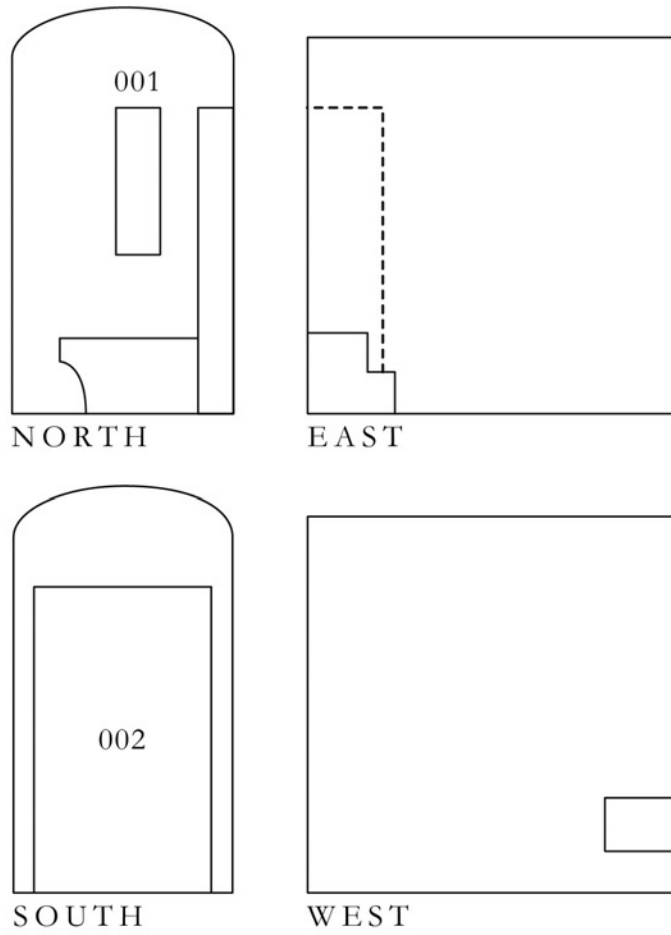
COMPONENT 56



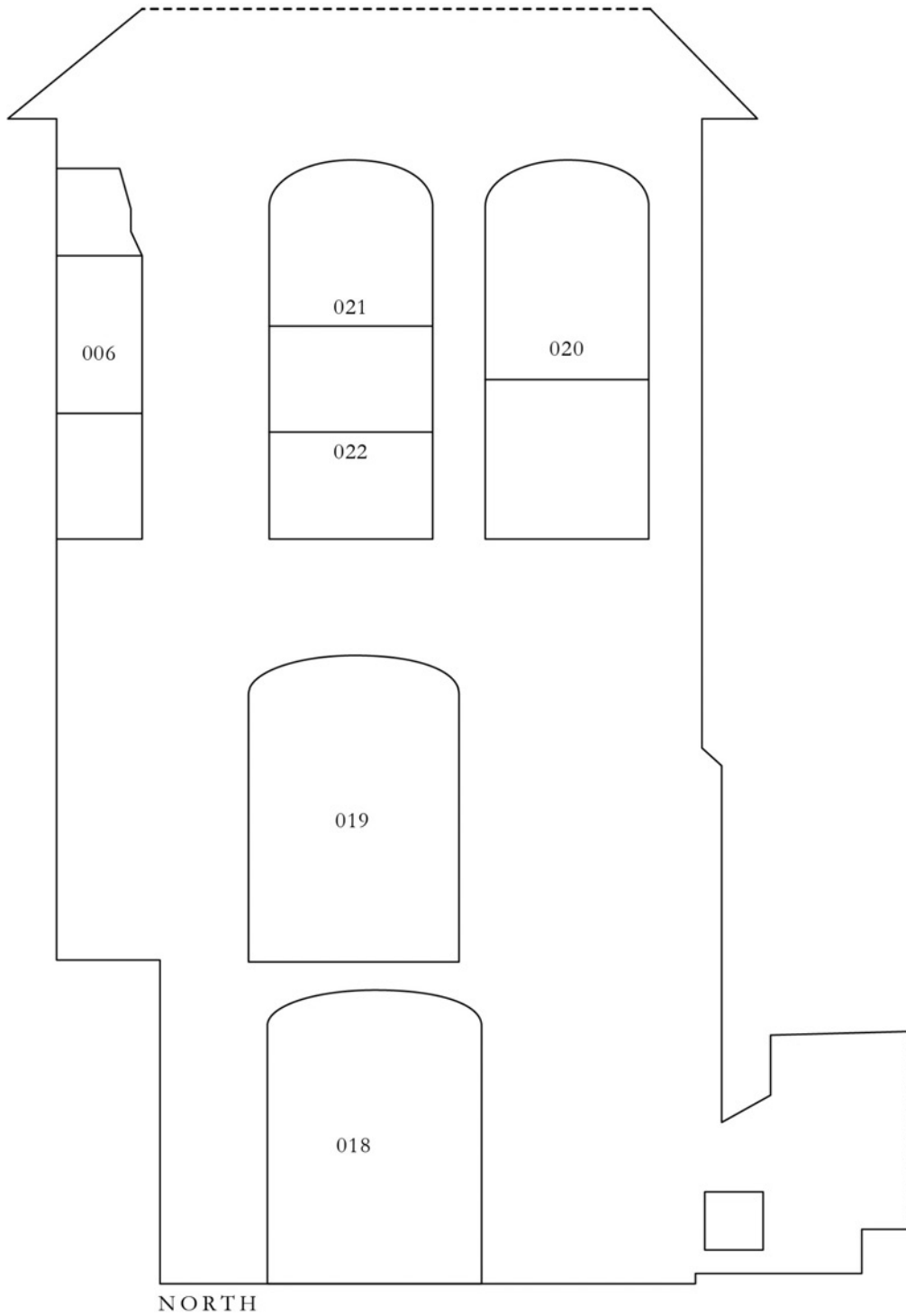
COMPONENT 57



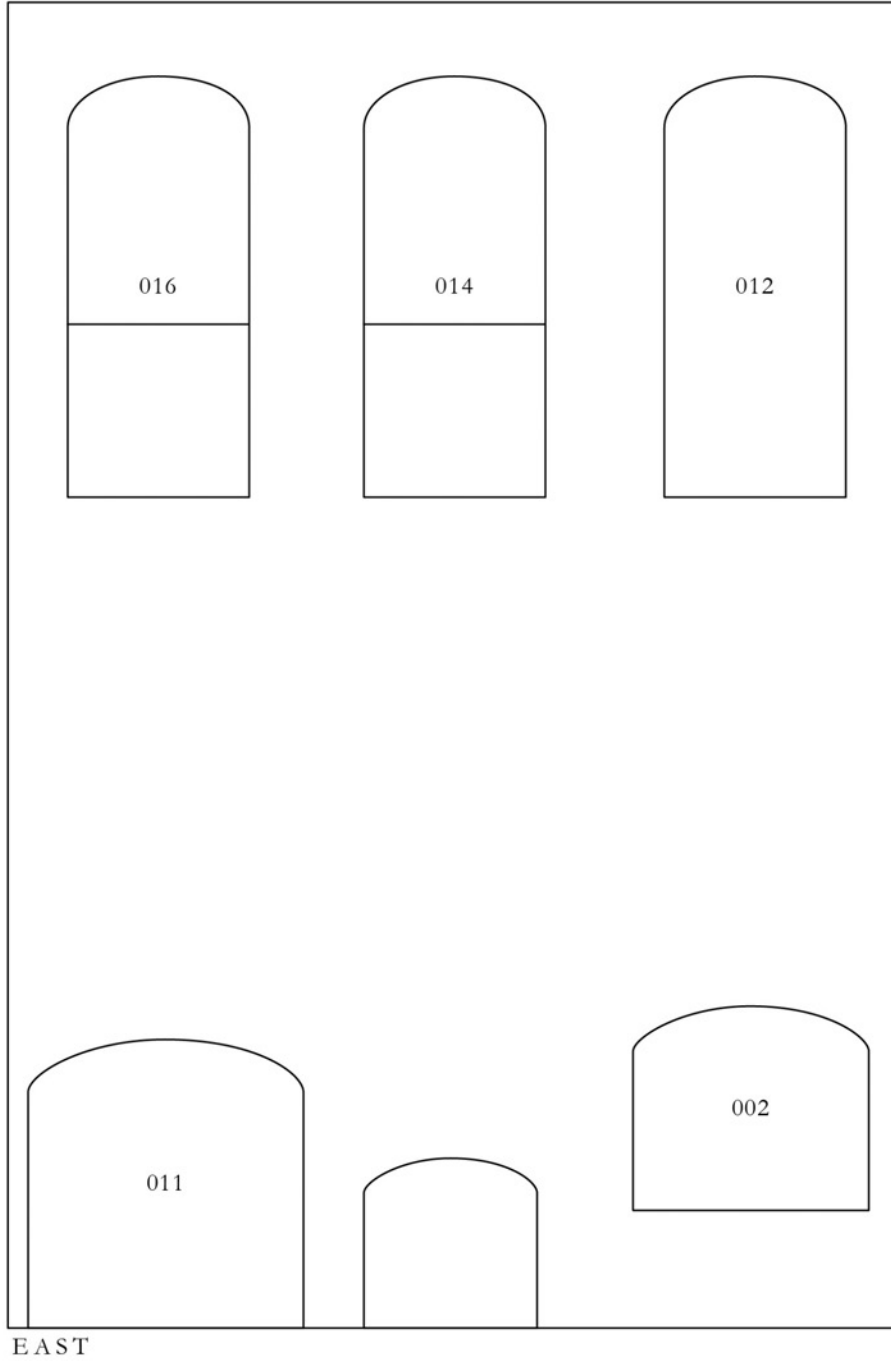
COMPONENT 58



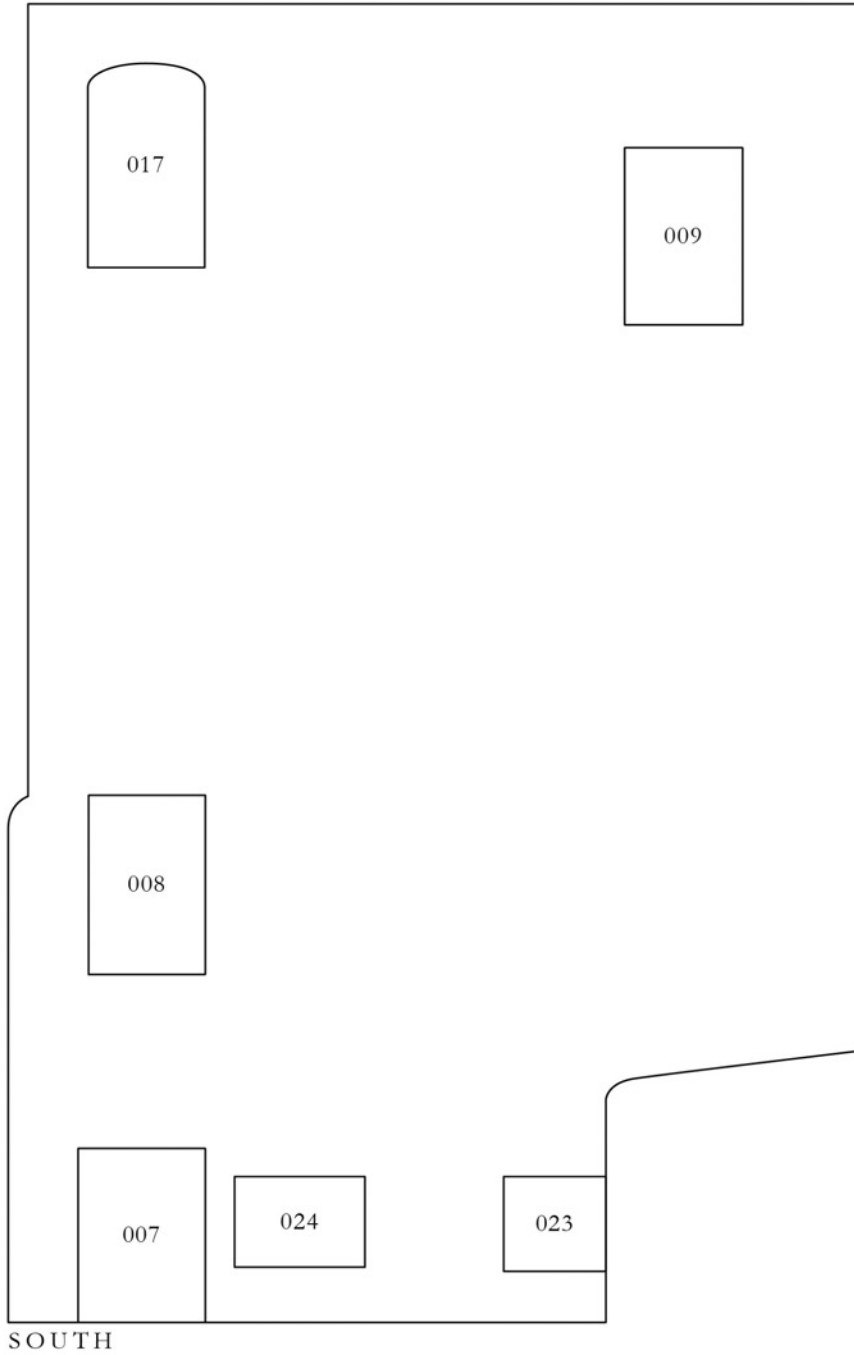
COMPONENT 59



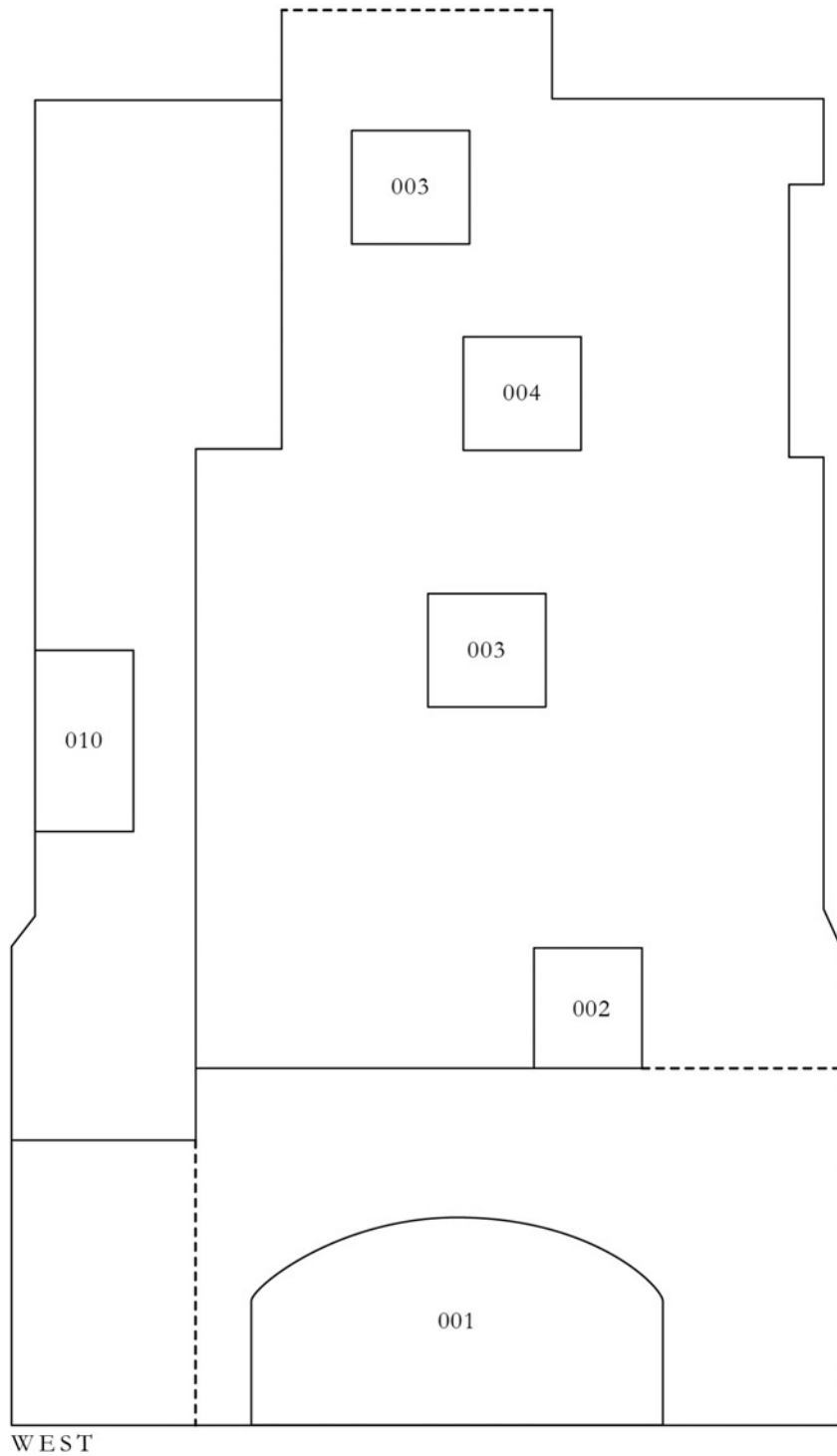
COMPONENT 60.1



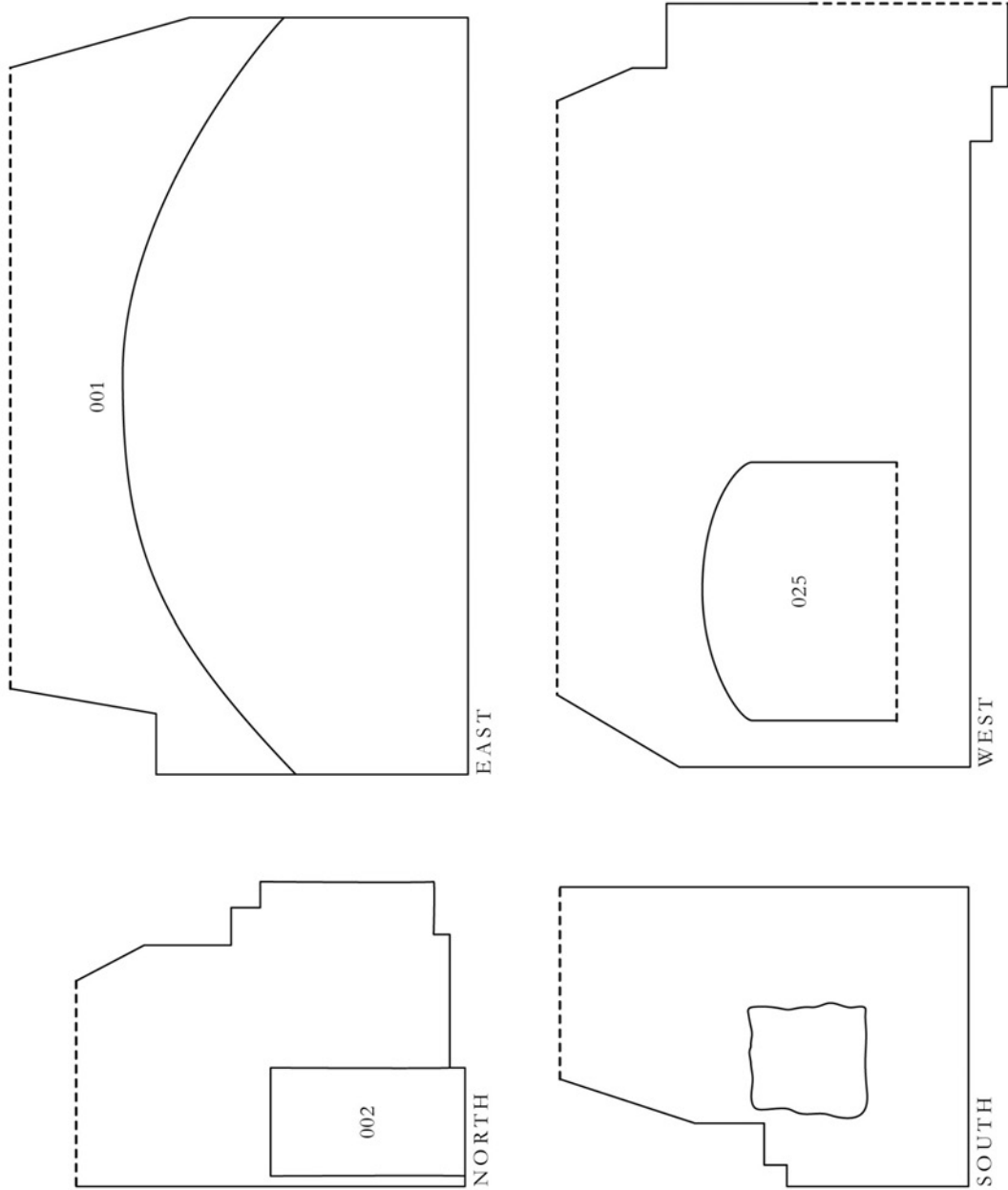
COMPONENT 60.2



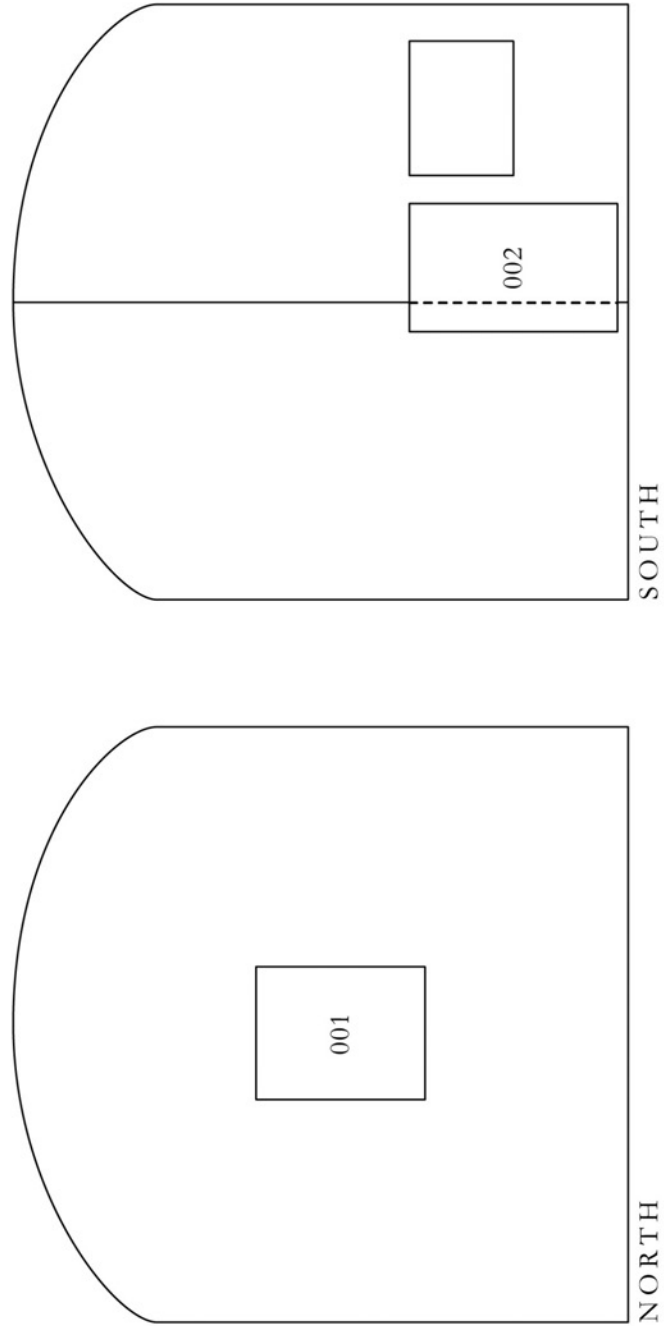
COMPONENT 60.3



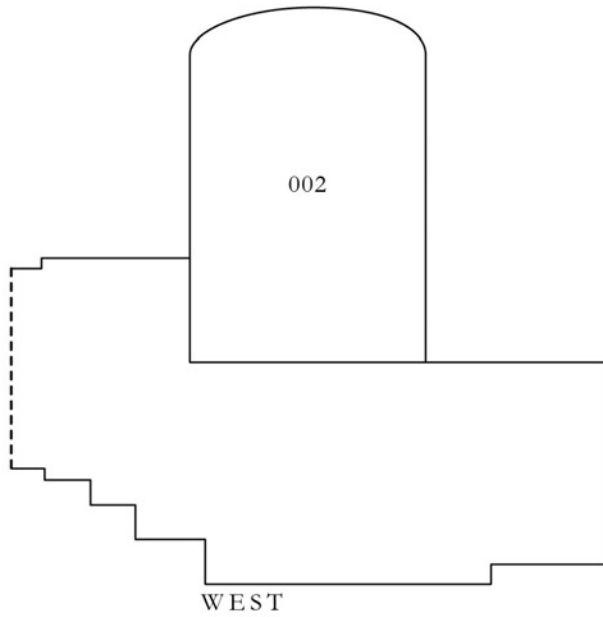
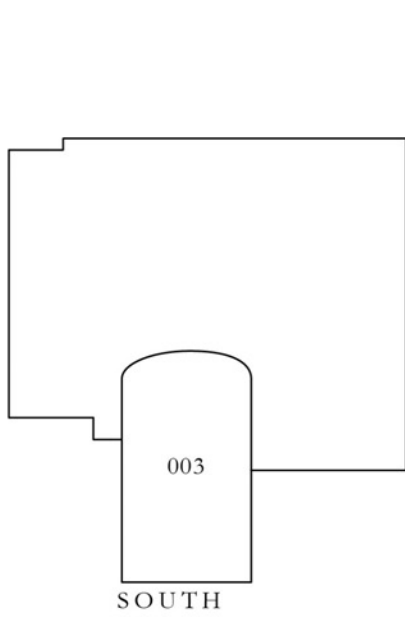
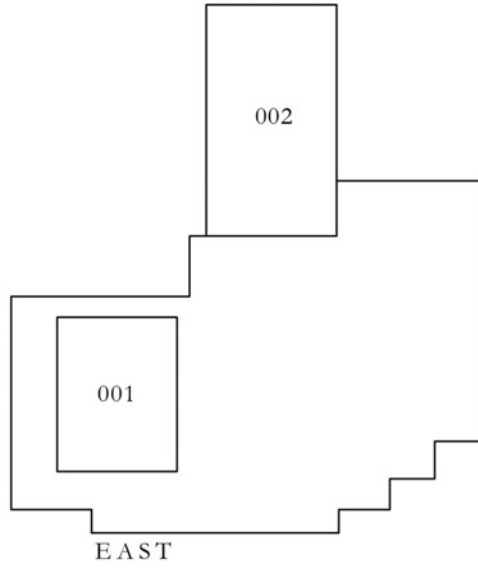
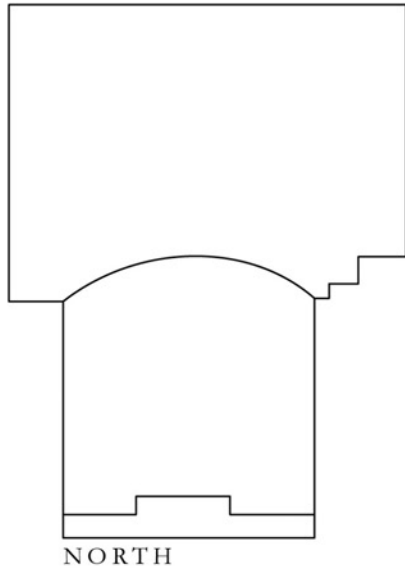
COMPONENT 60.4



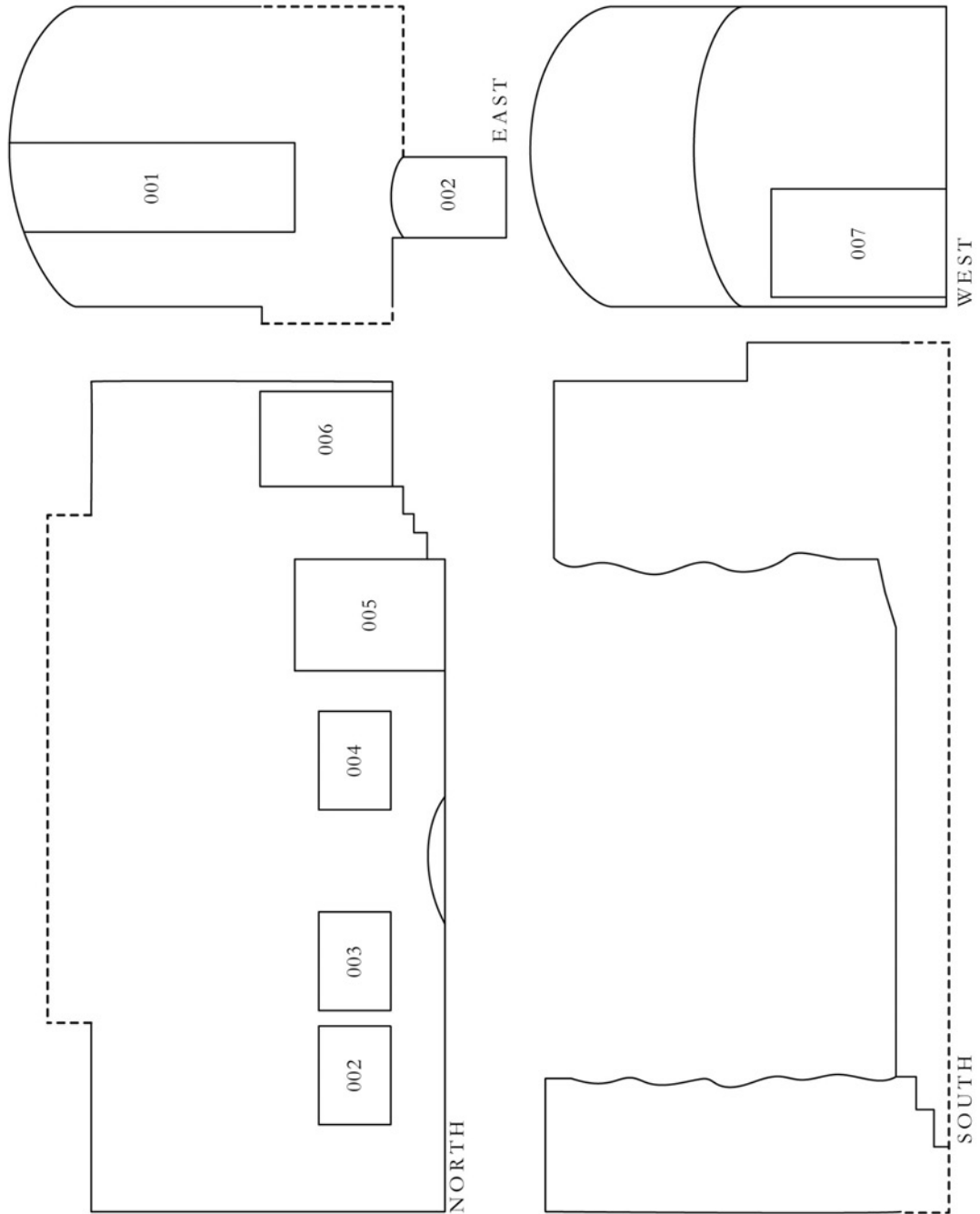
COMPONENT 63



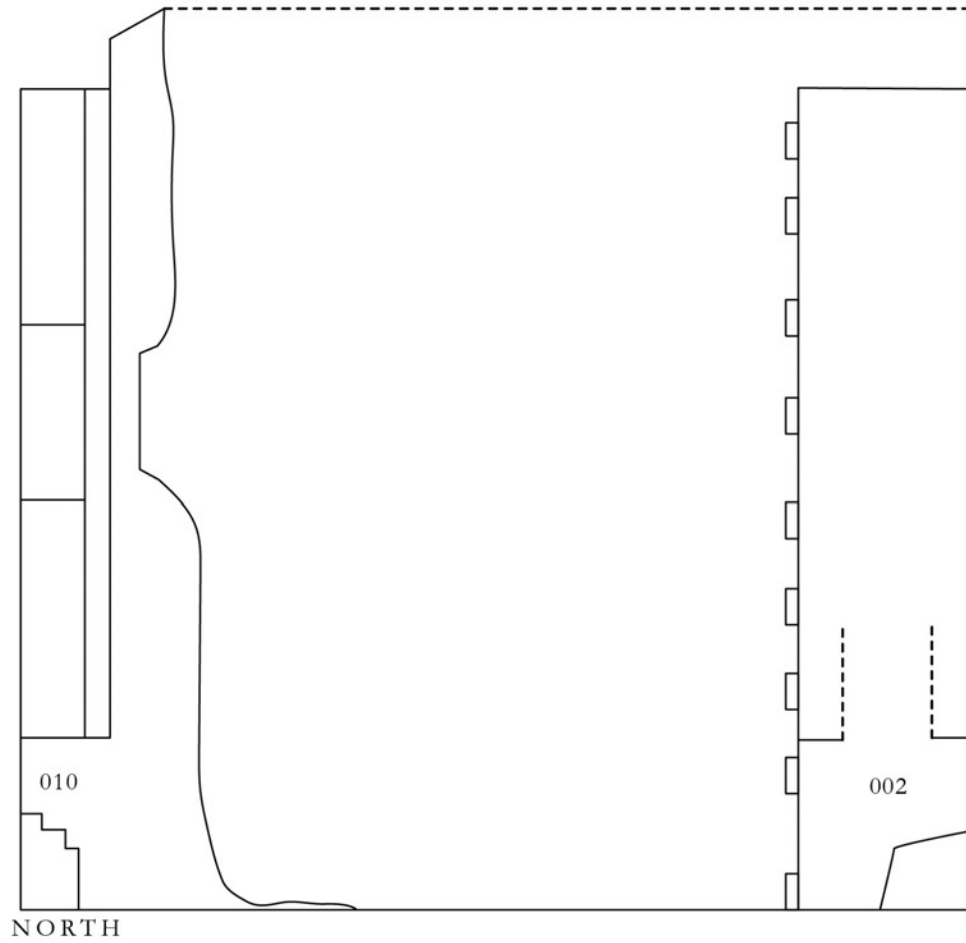
COMPONENT 65



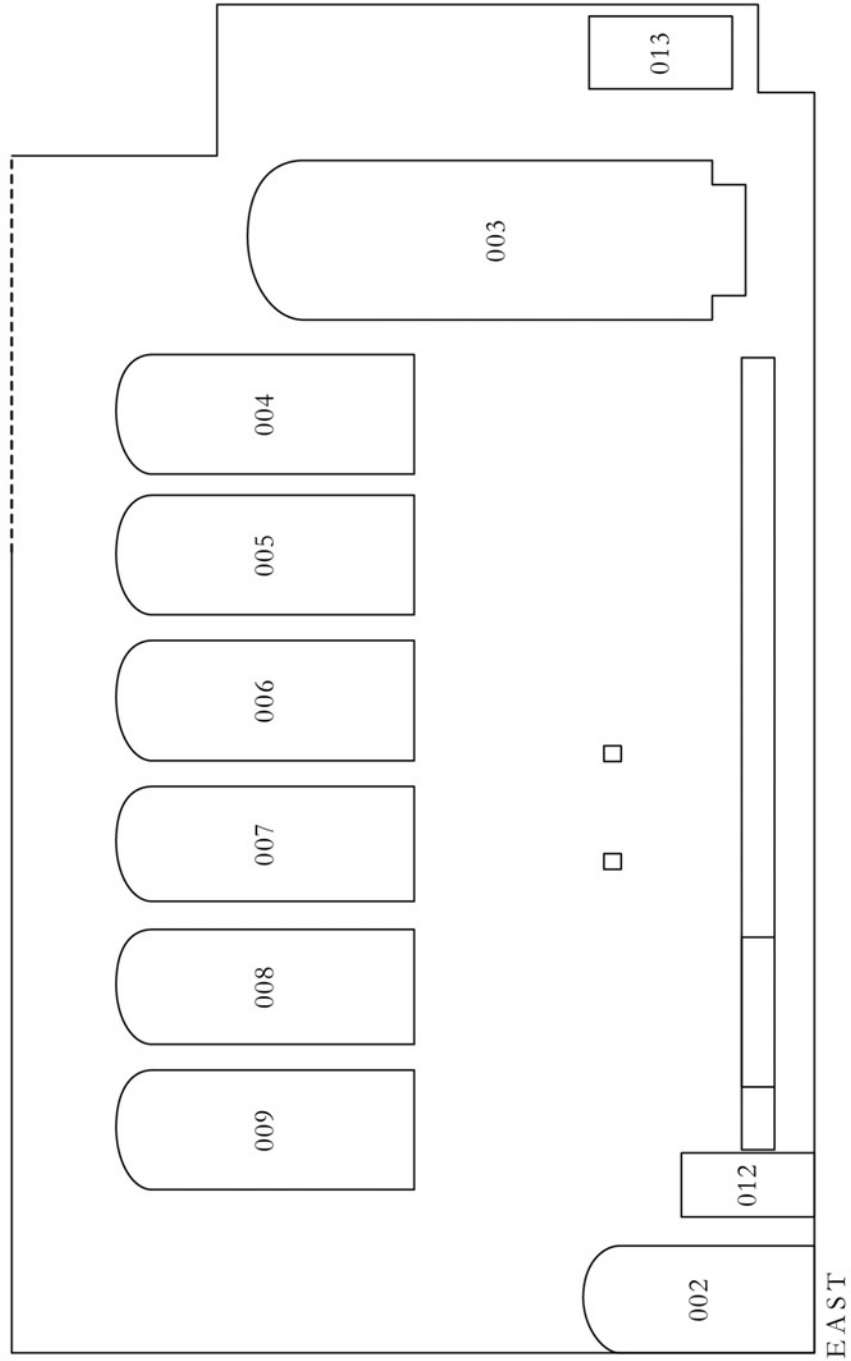
COMPONENT 66



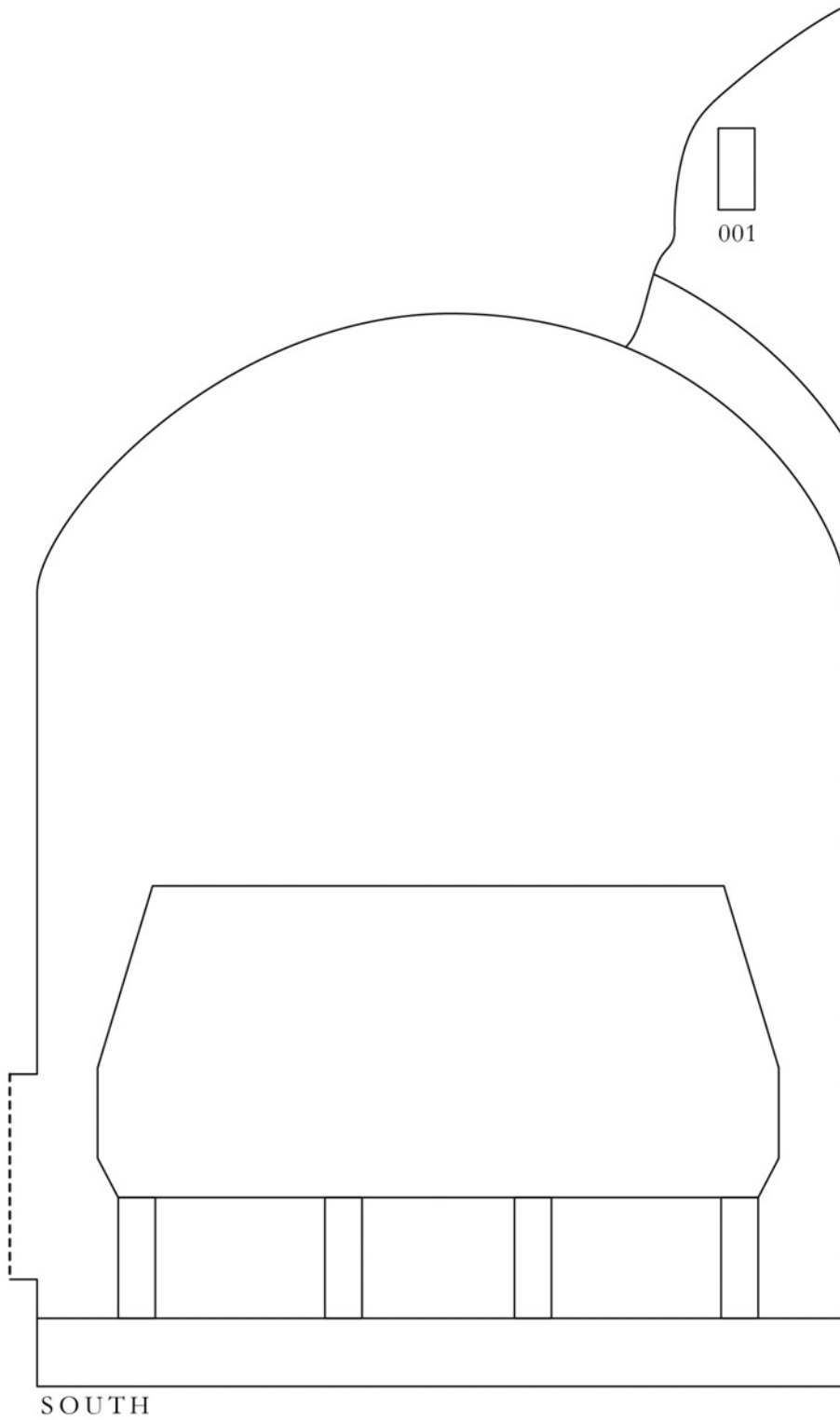
COMPONENT 67



COMPONENT 68.1

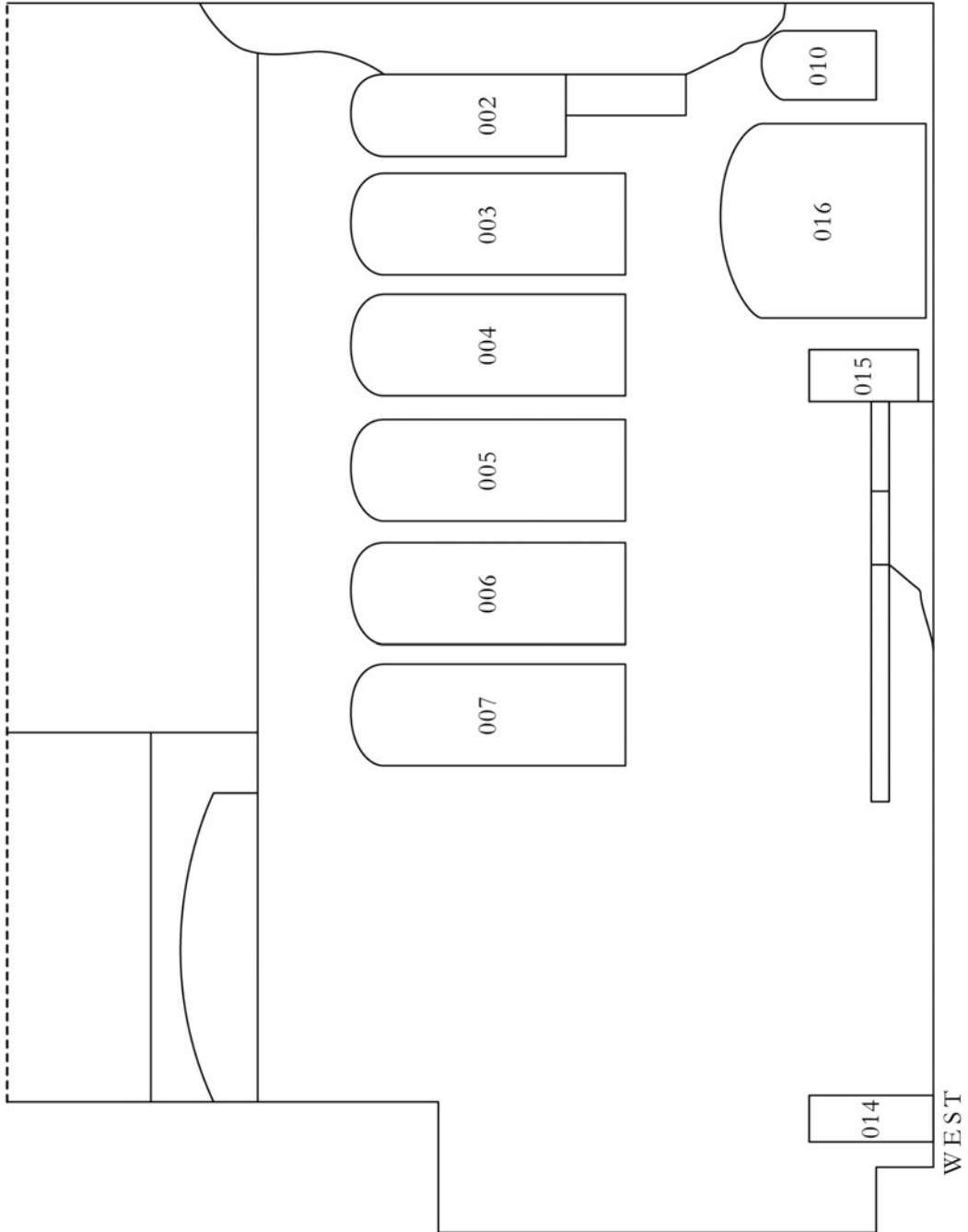


COMPONENT 68.2

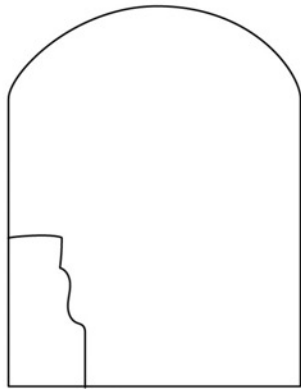


SOUTH

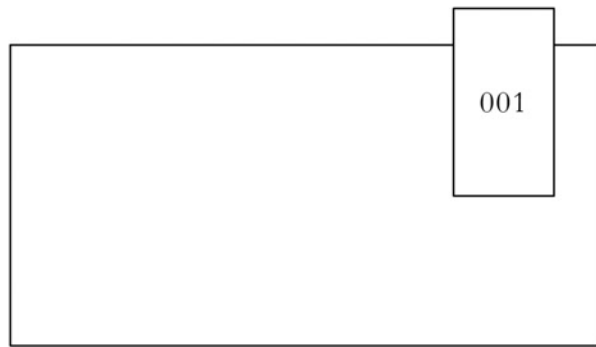
COMPONENT 68.3



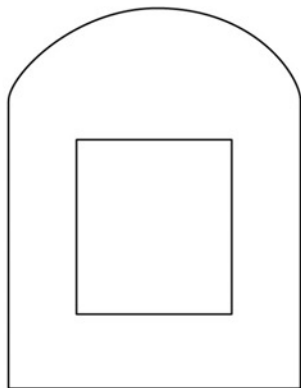
COMPONENT 68.4



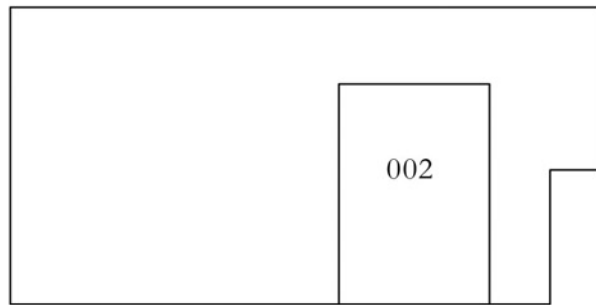
NORTH



EAST

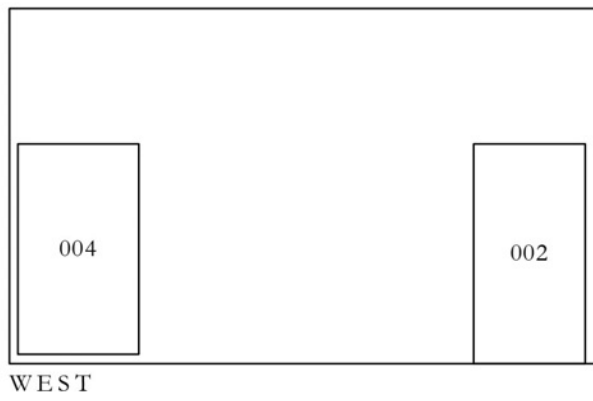
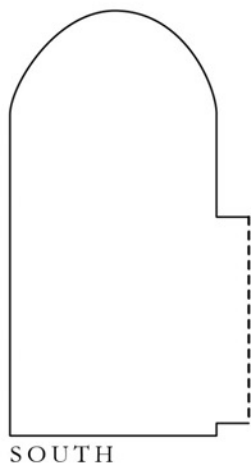
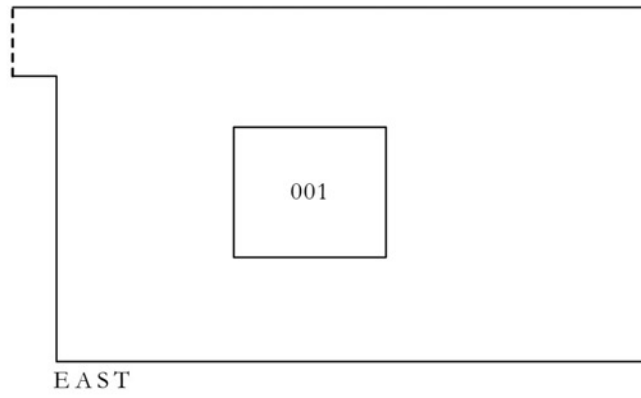
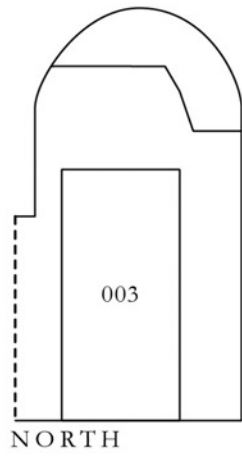


SOUTH

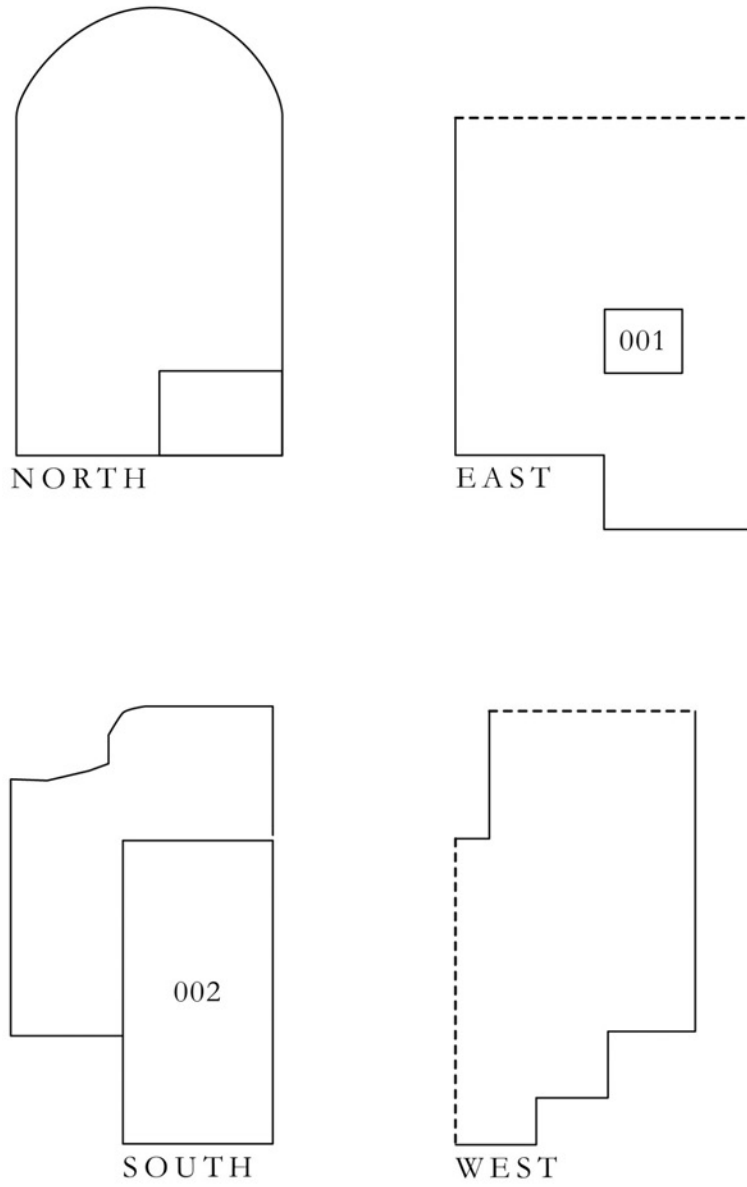


WEST

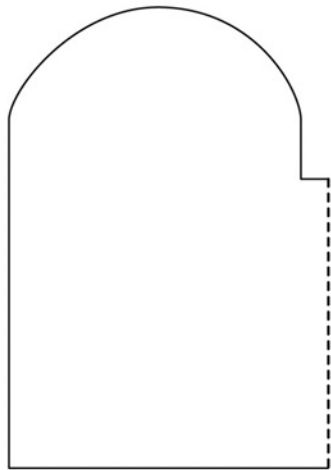
COMPONENT 69



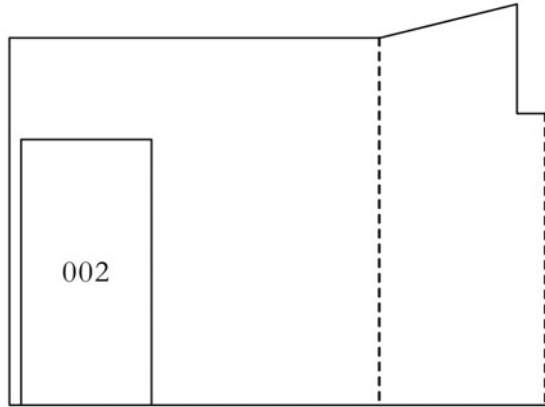
COMPONENT 70



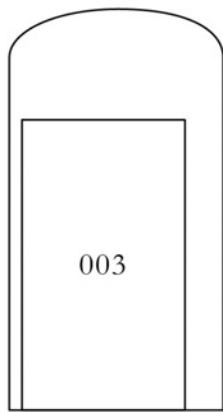
COMPONENT 71



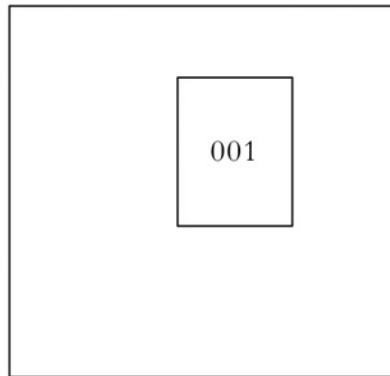
NORTH



EAST

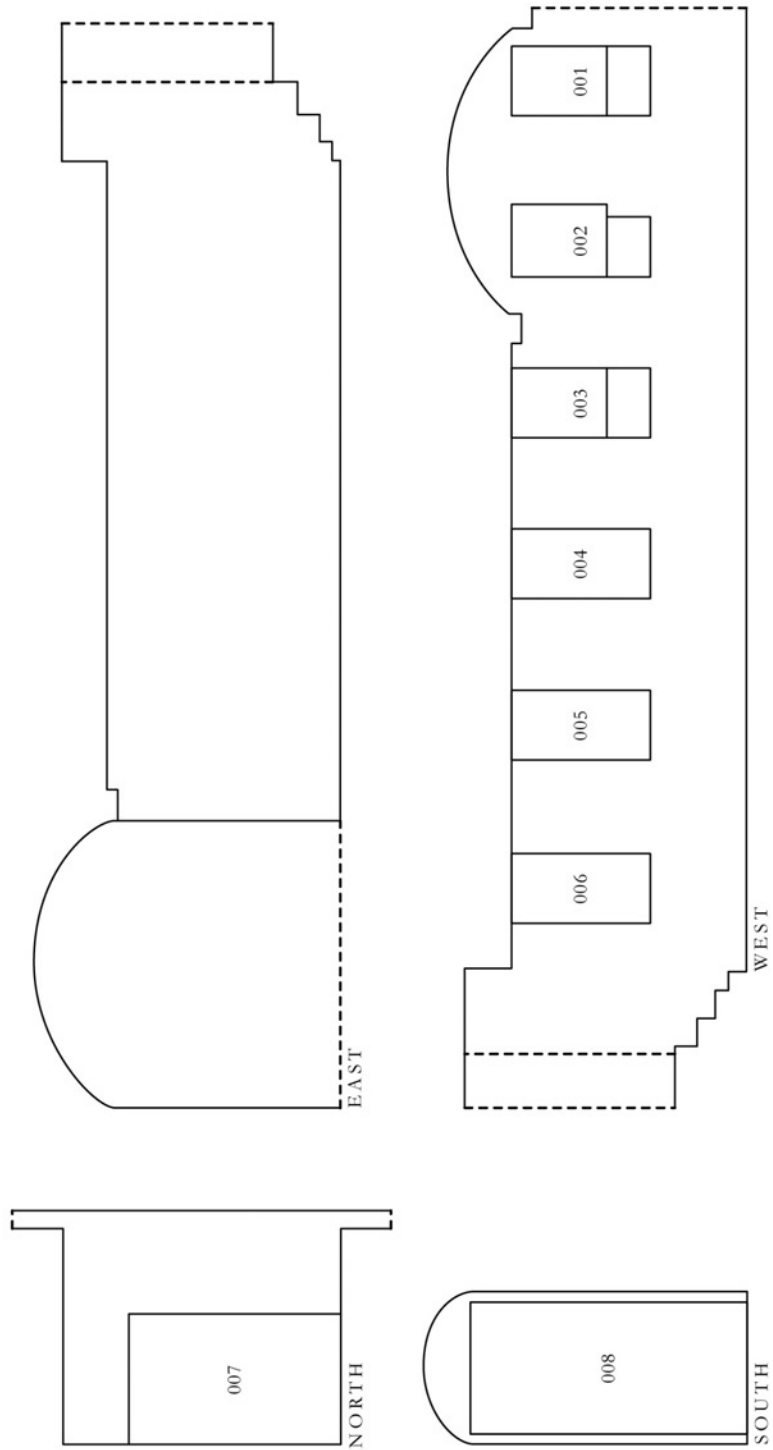


SOUTH

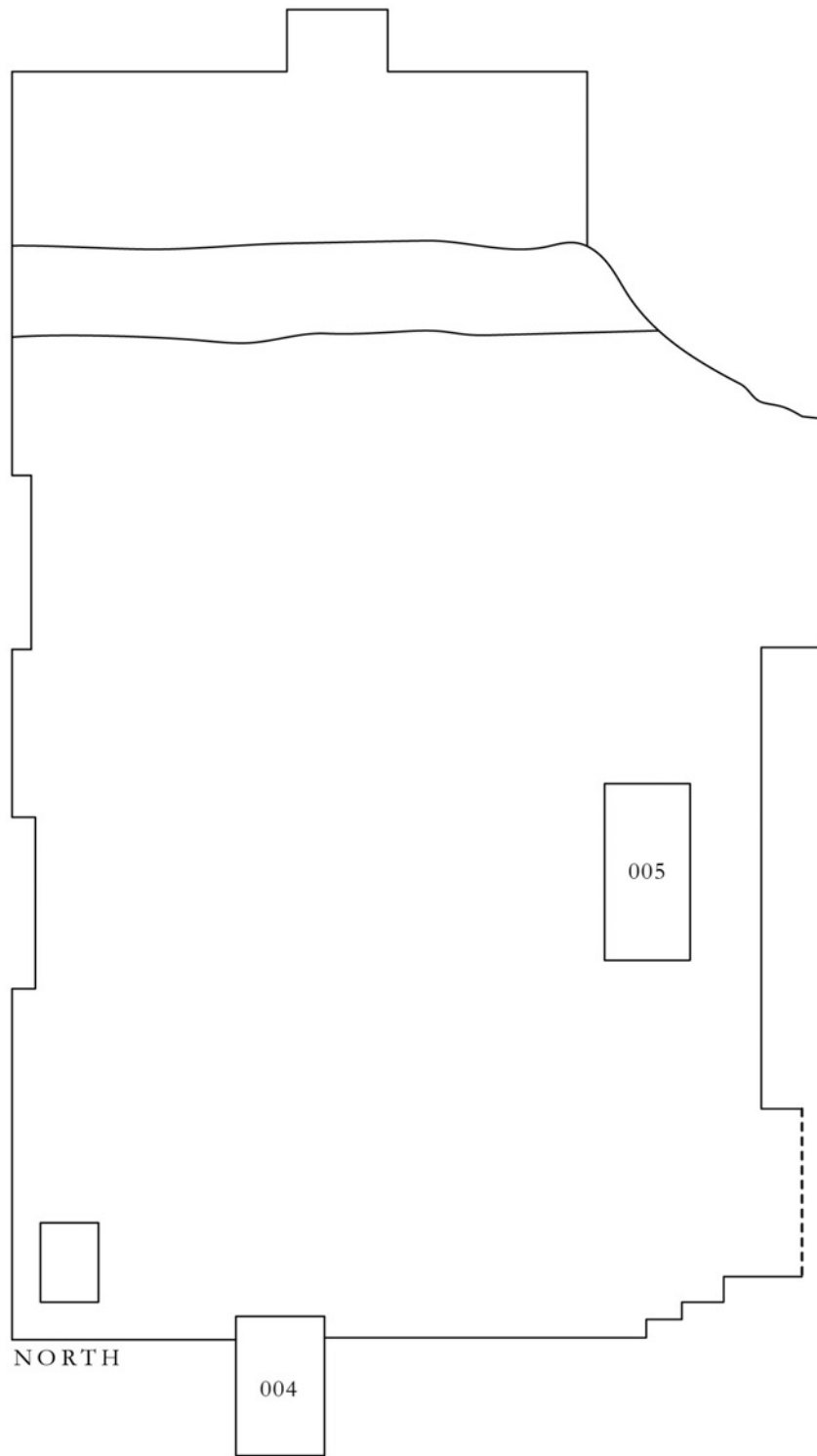


WEST

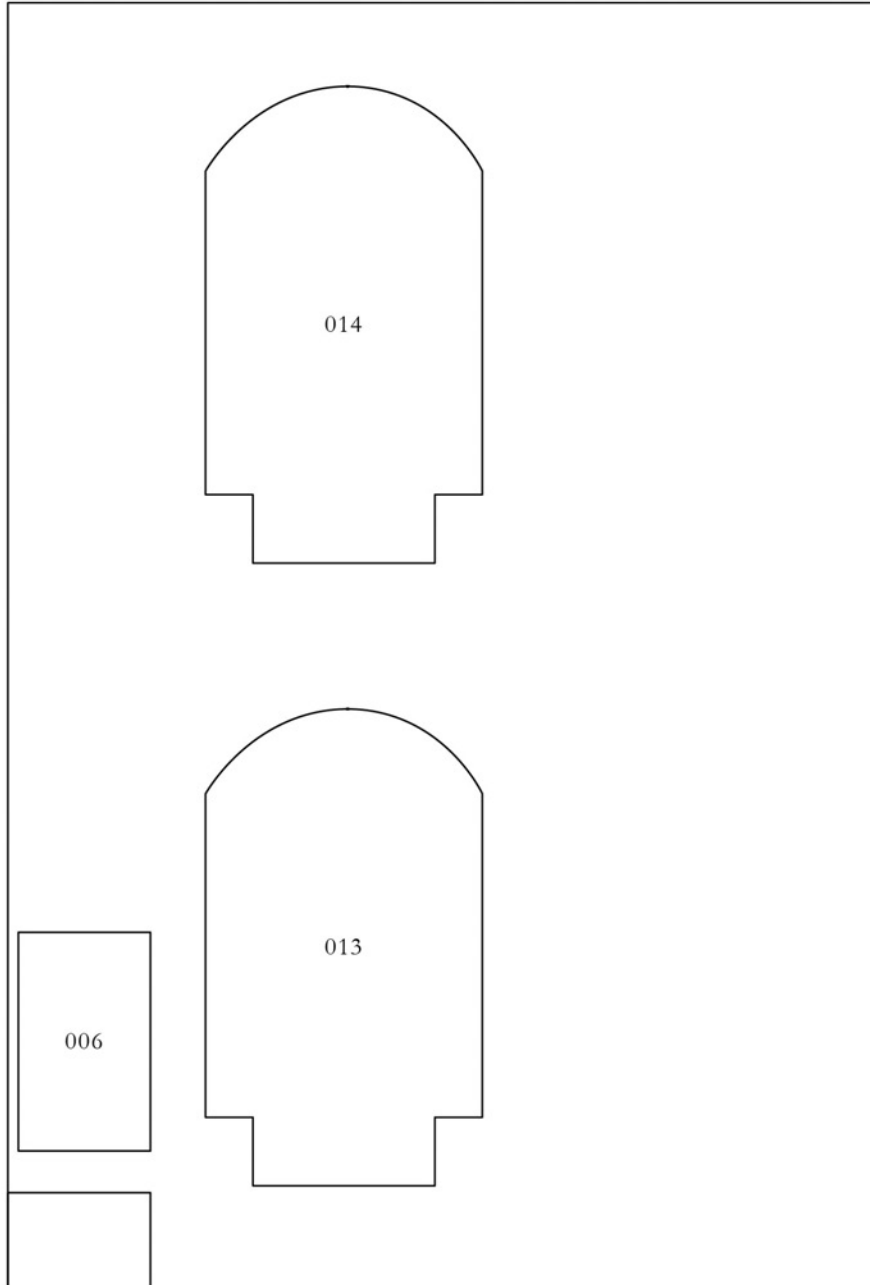
COMPONENT 72



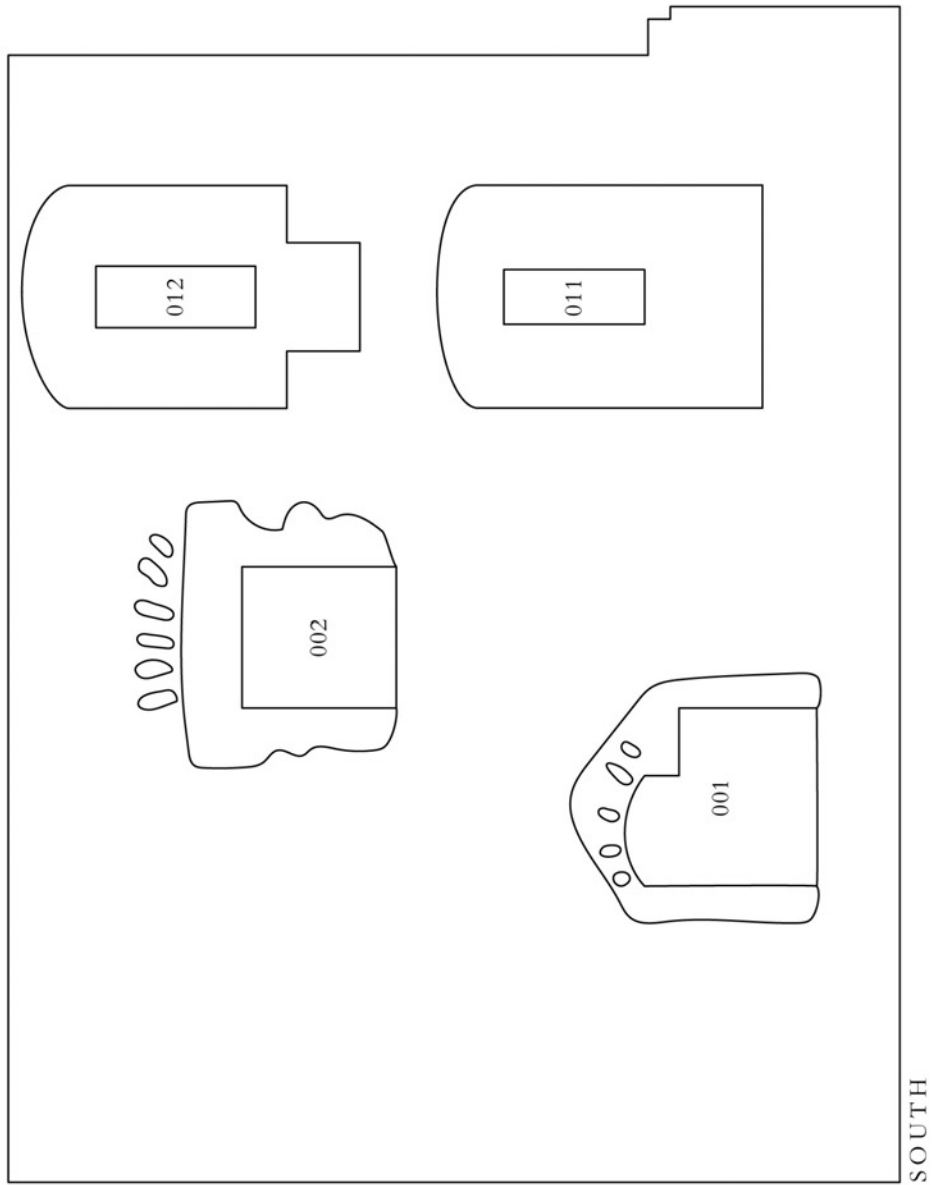
COMPONENT 73



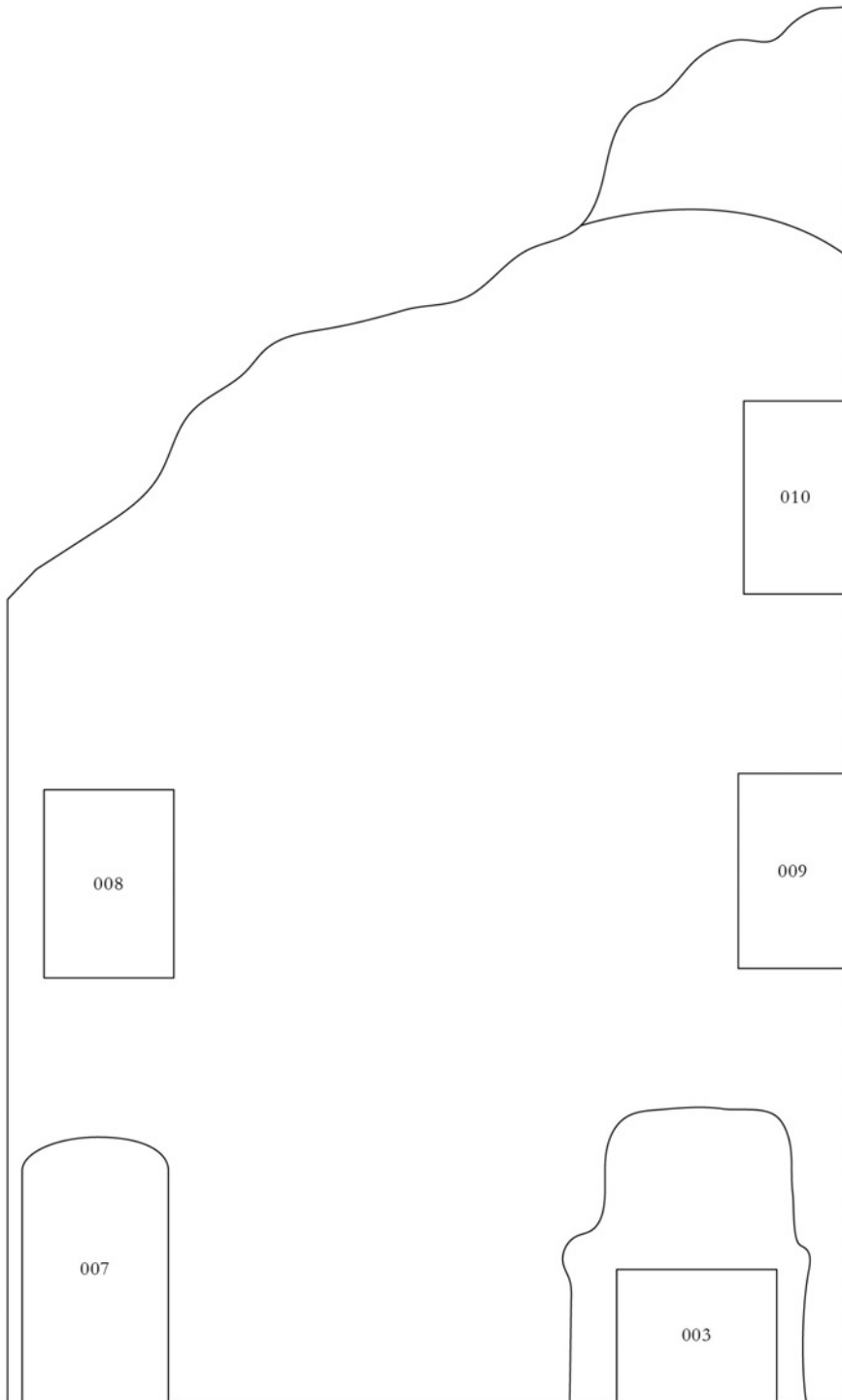
COMPONENT 74.1



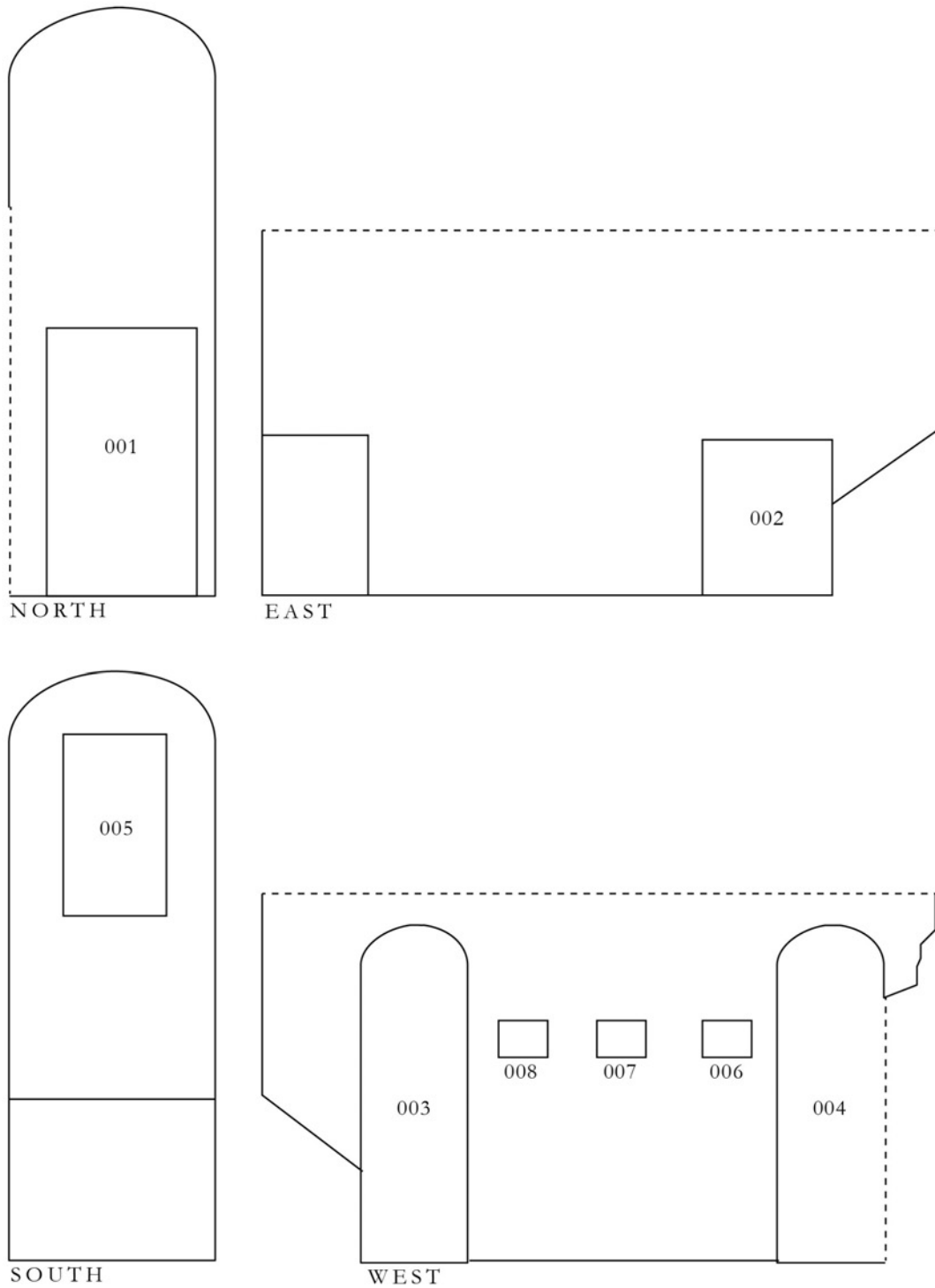
COMPONENT 74.2



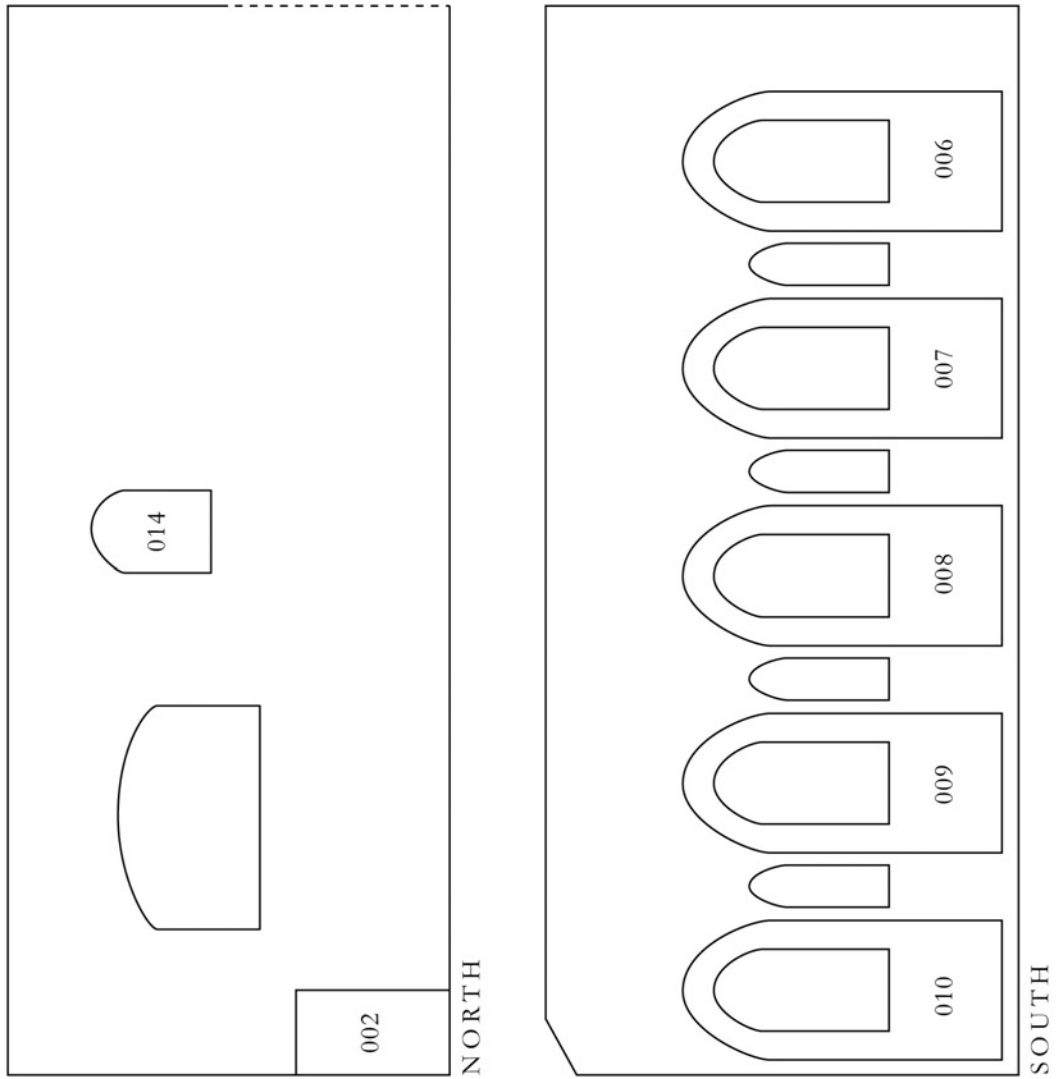
COMPONENT 74.3



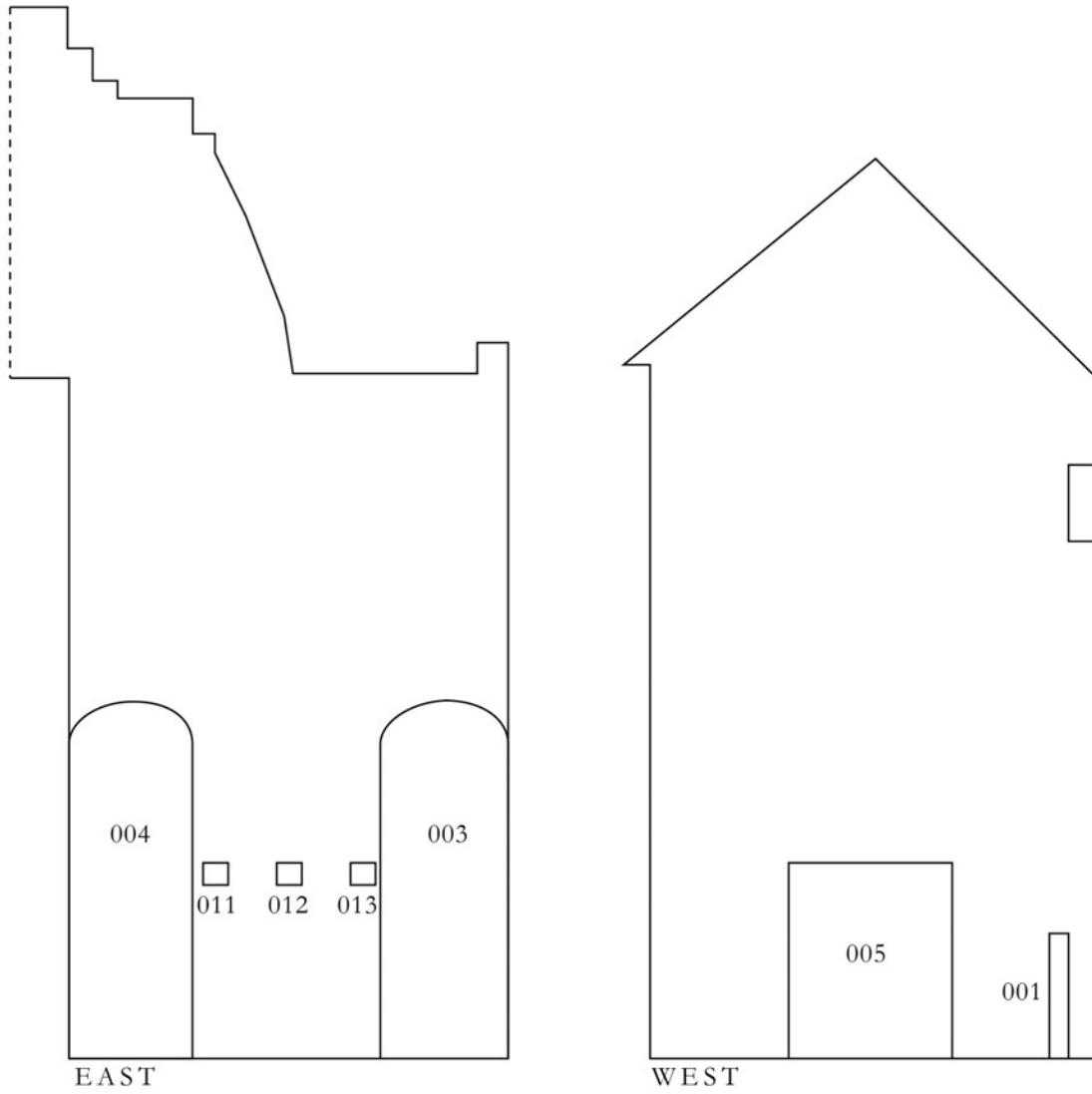
COMPONENT 74.4



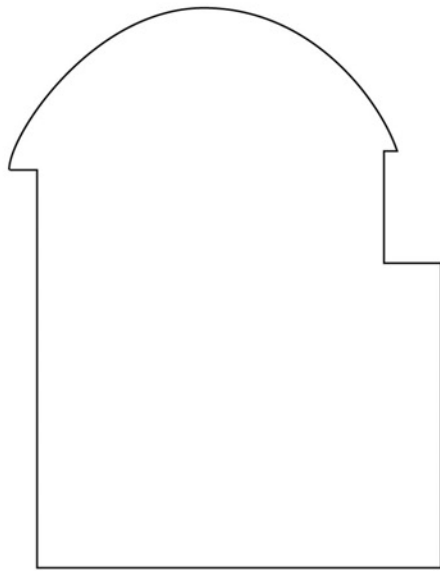
COMPONENT 76



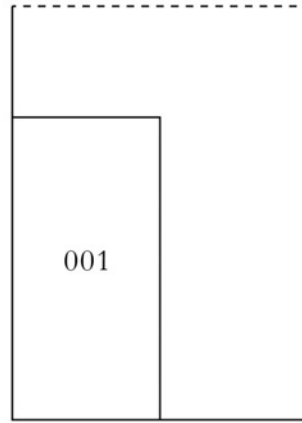
COMPONENT 77.1/3



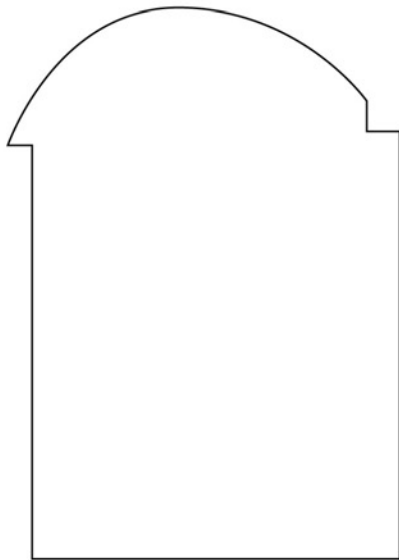
COMPONENT 77.2/4



NORTH



EAST

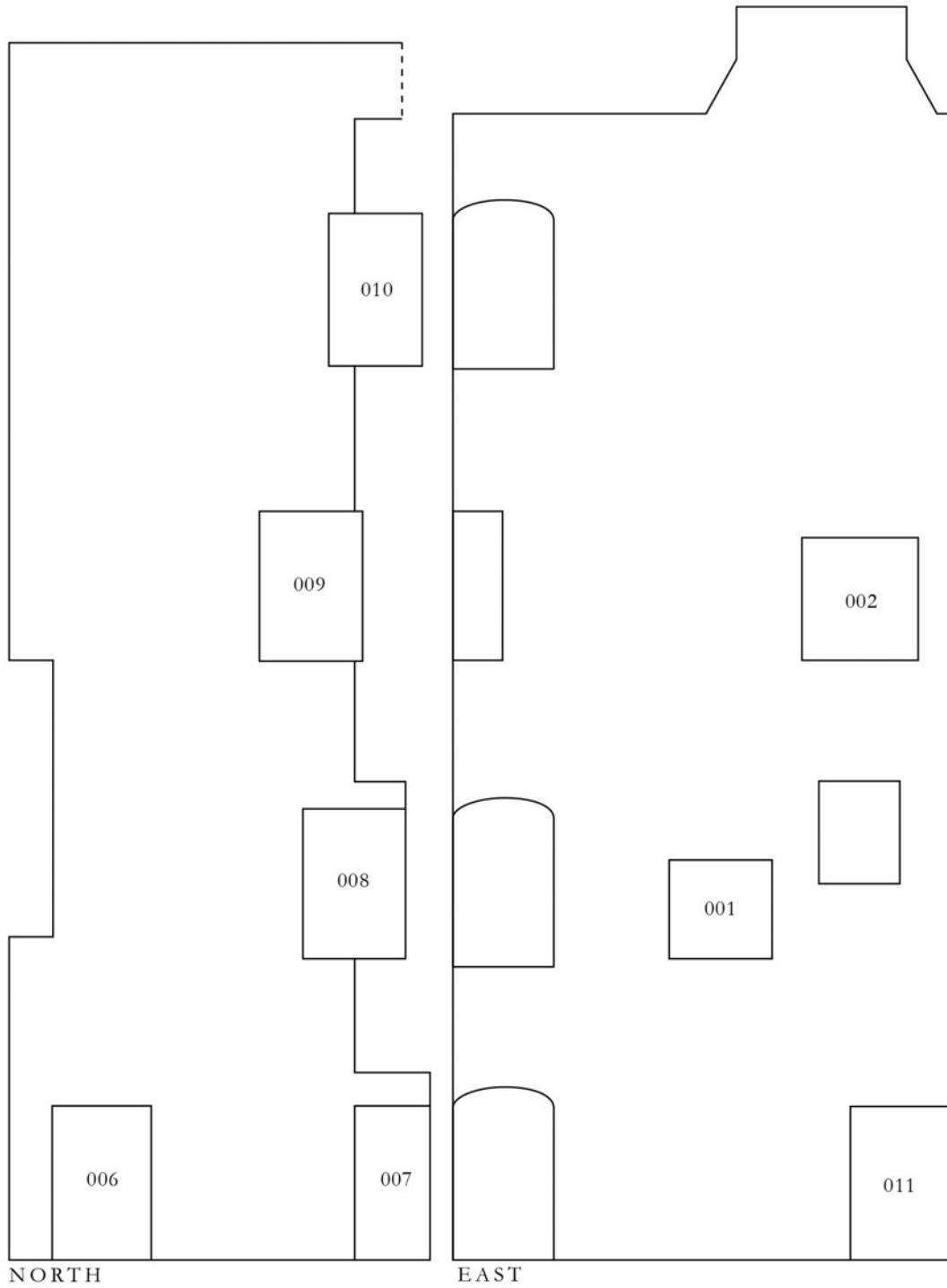


SOUTH

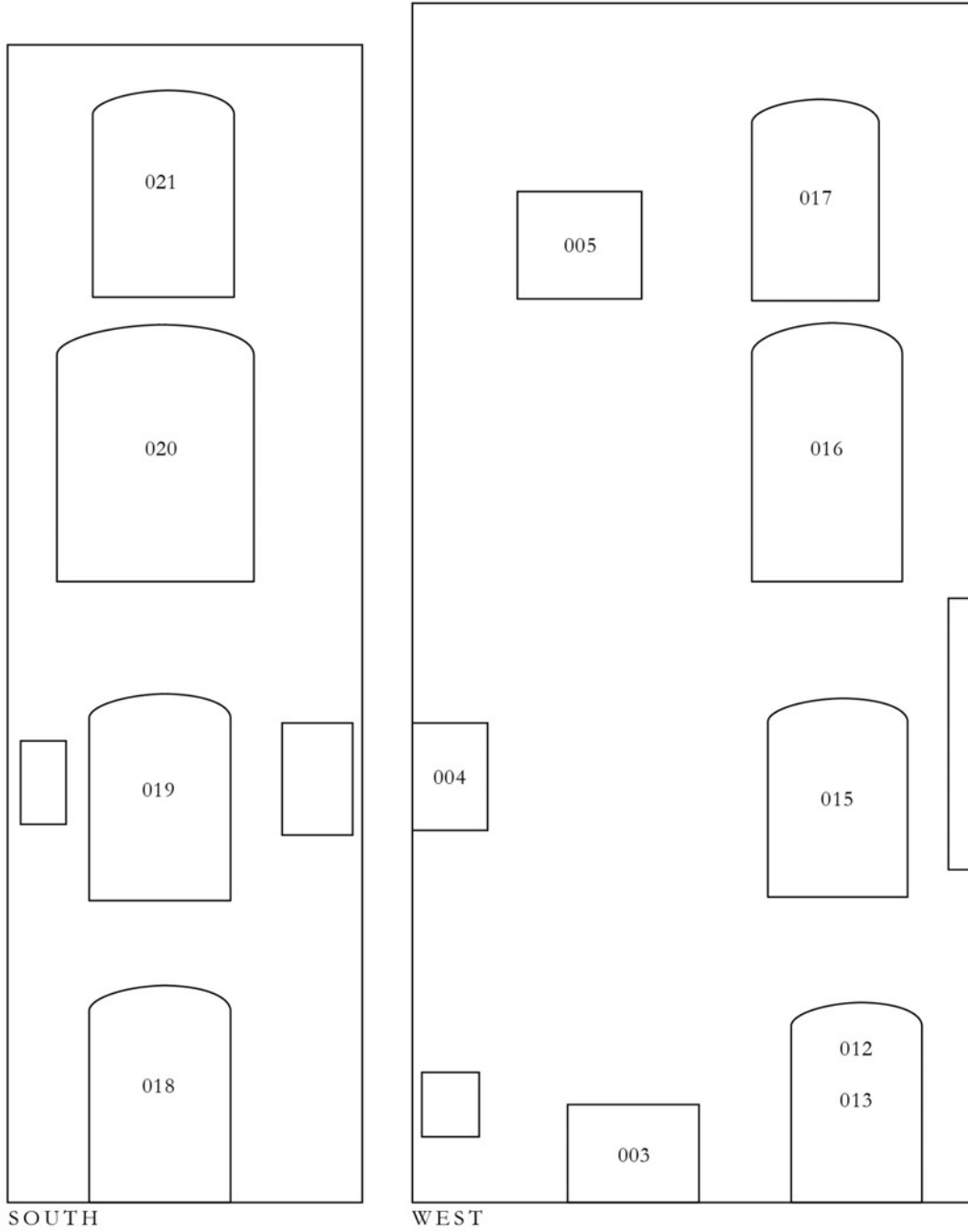


WEST

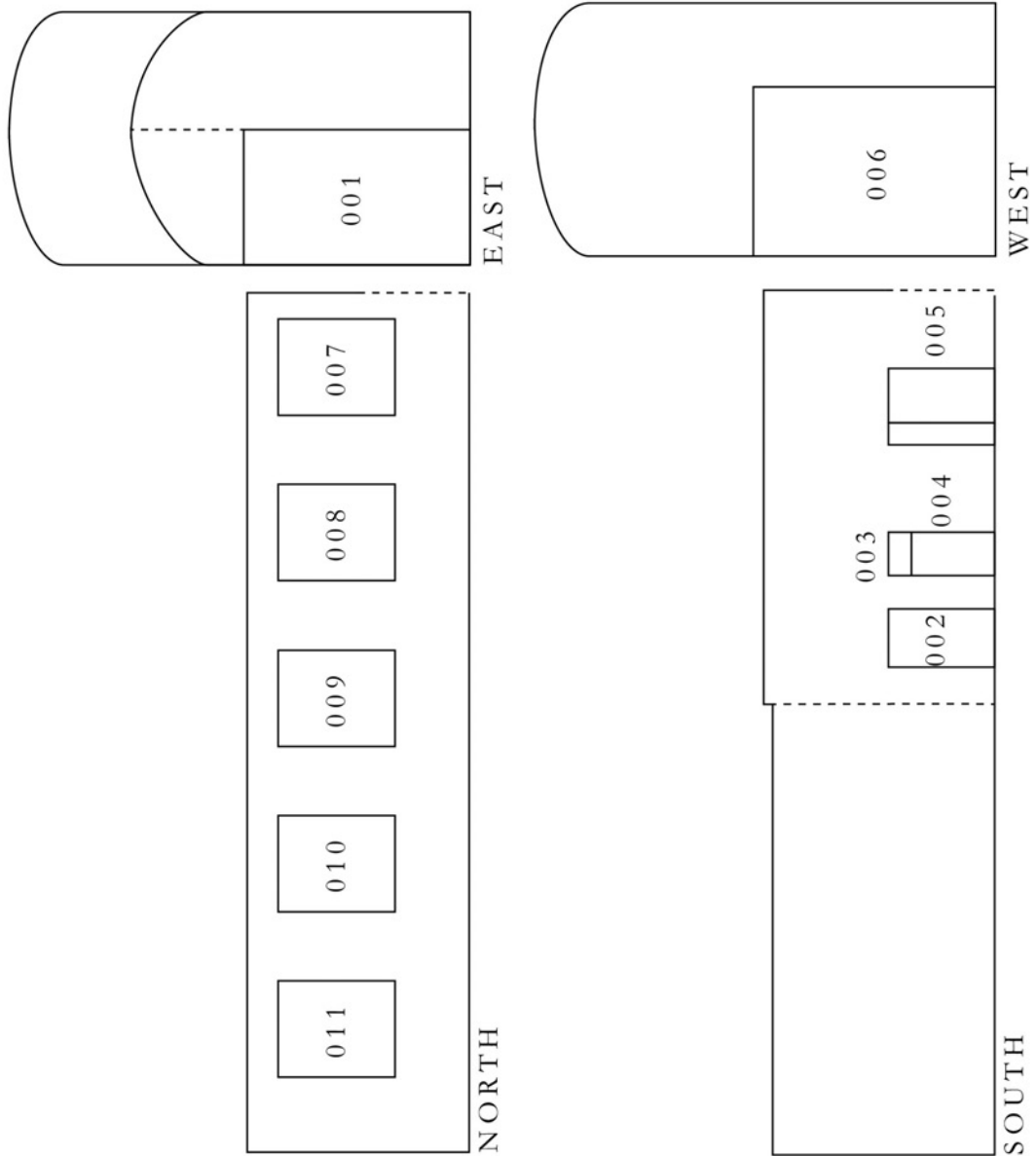
COMPONENT 79



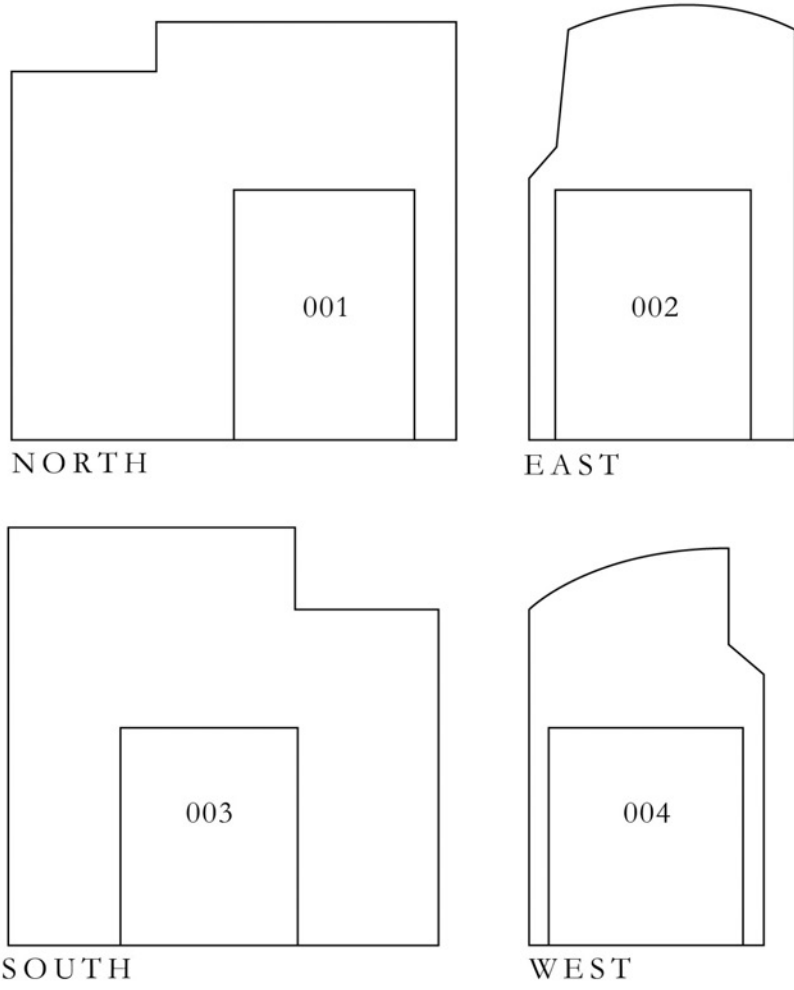
COMPONENT 80.1/2



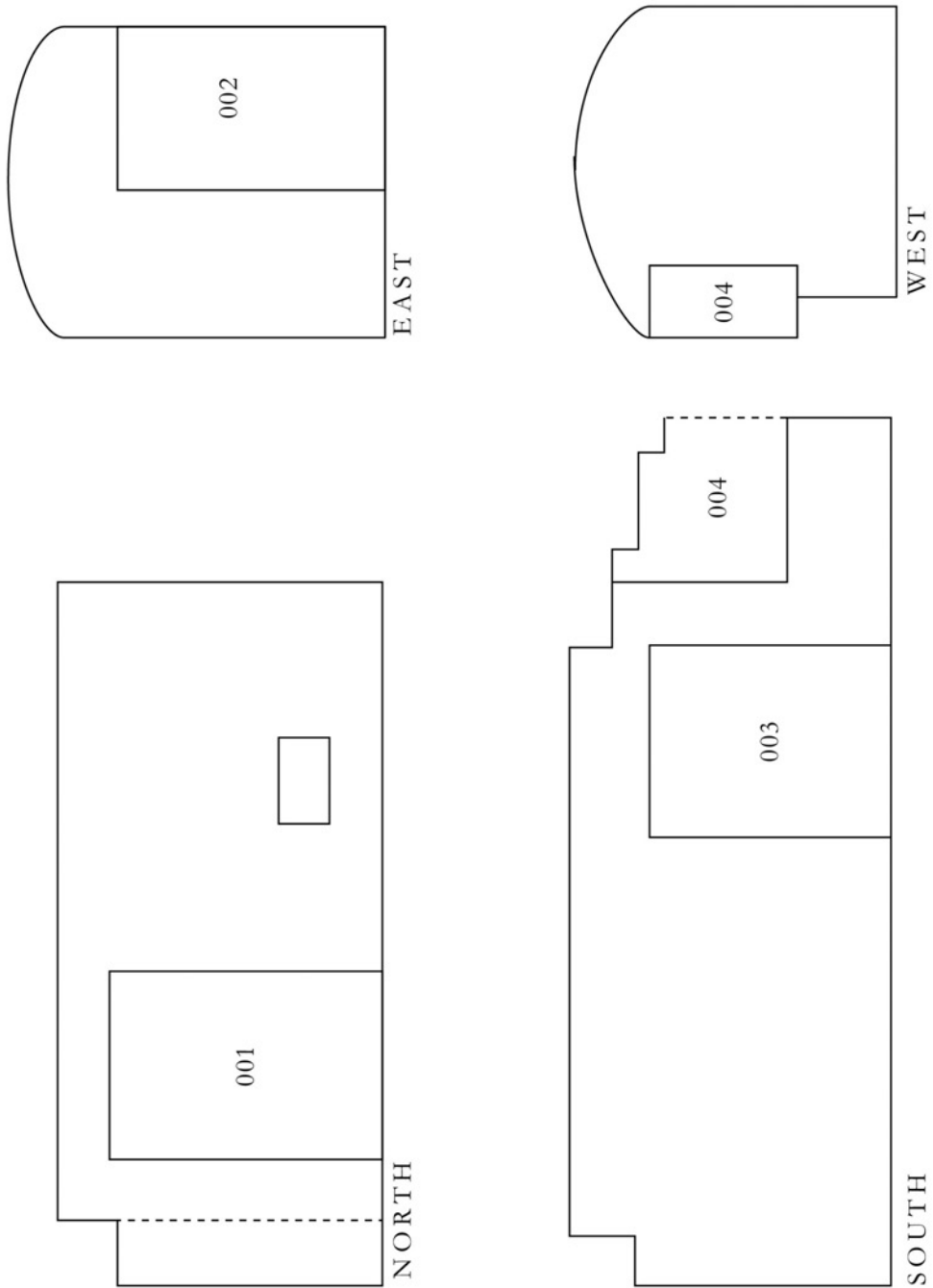
COMPONENT 80.3/4



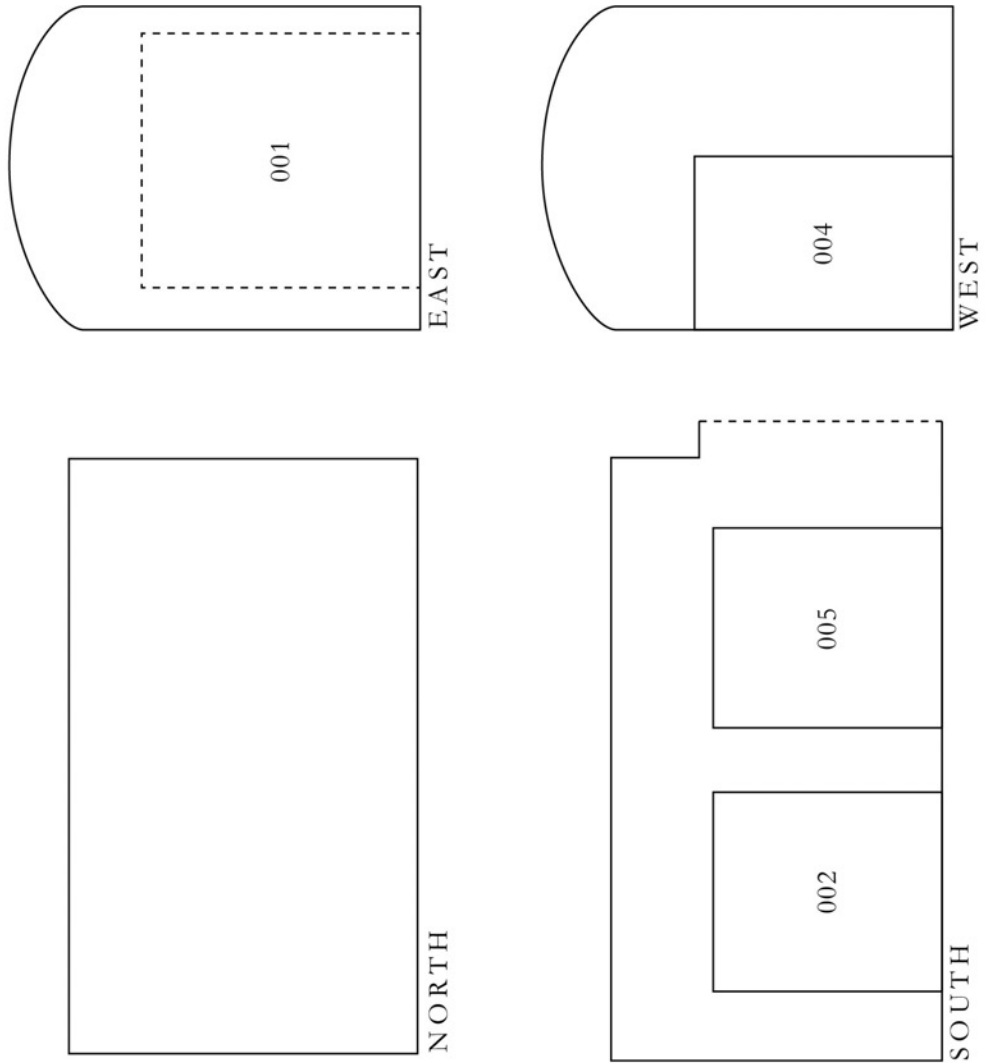
COMPONENT 81



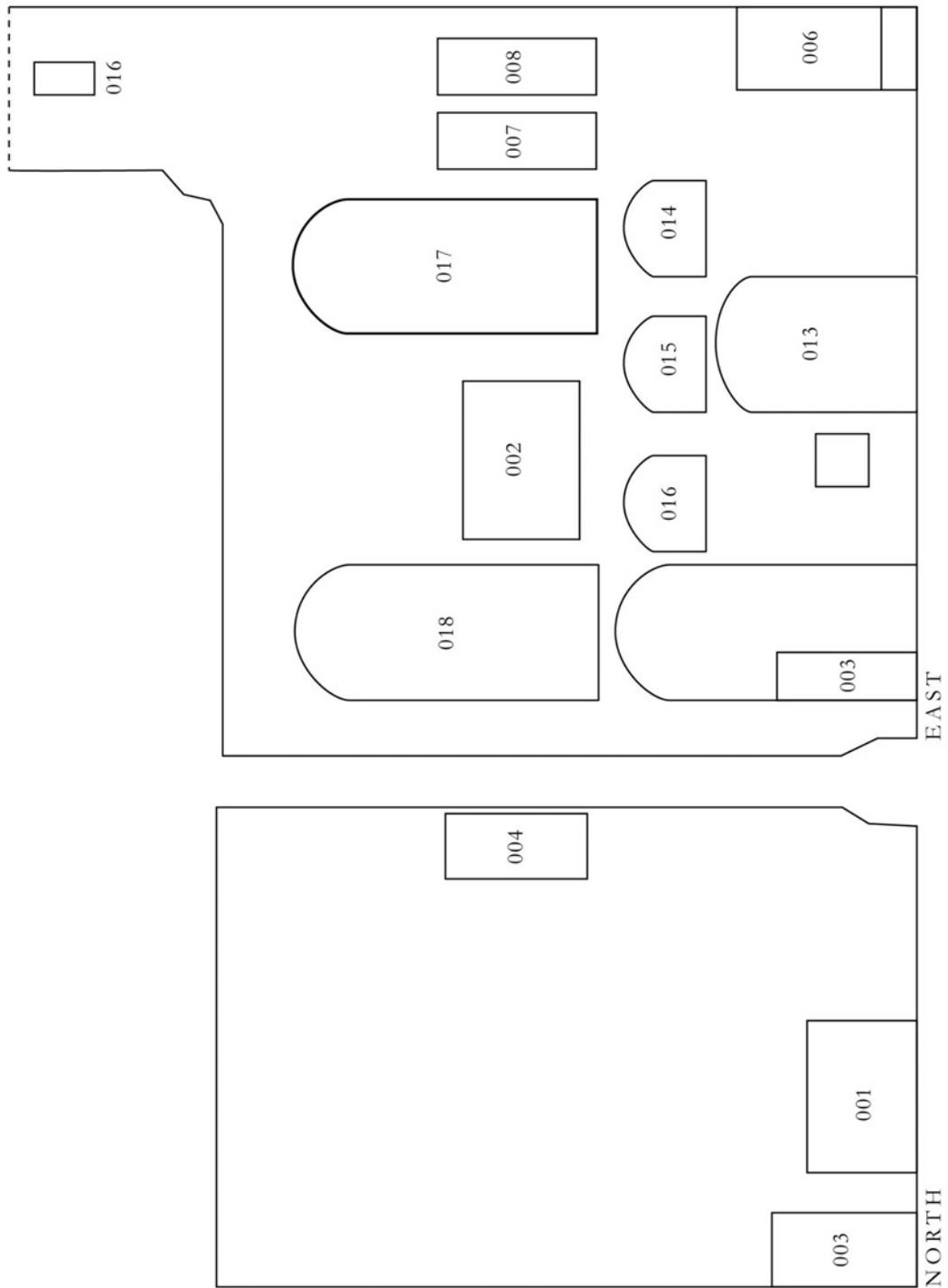
COMPONENT 82



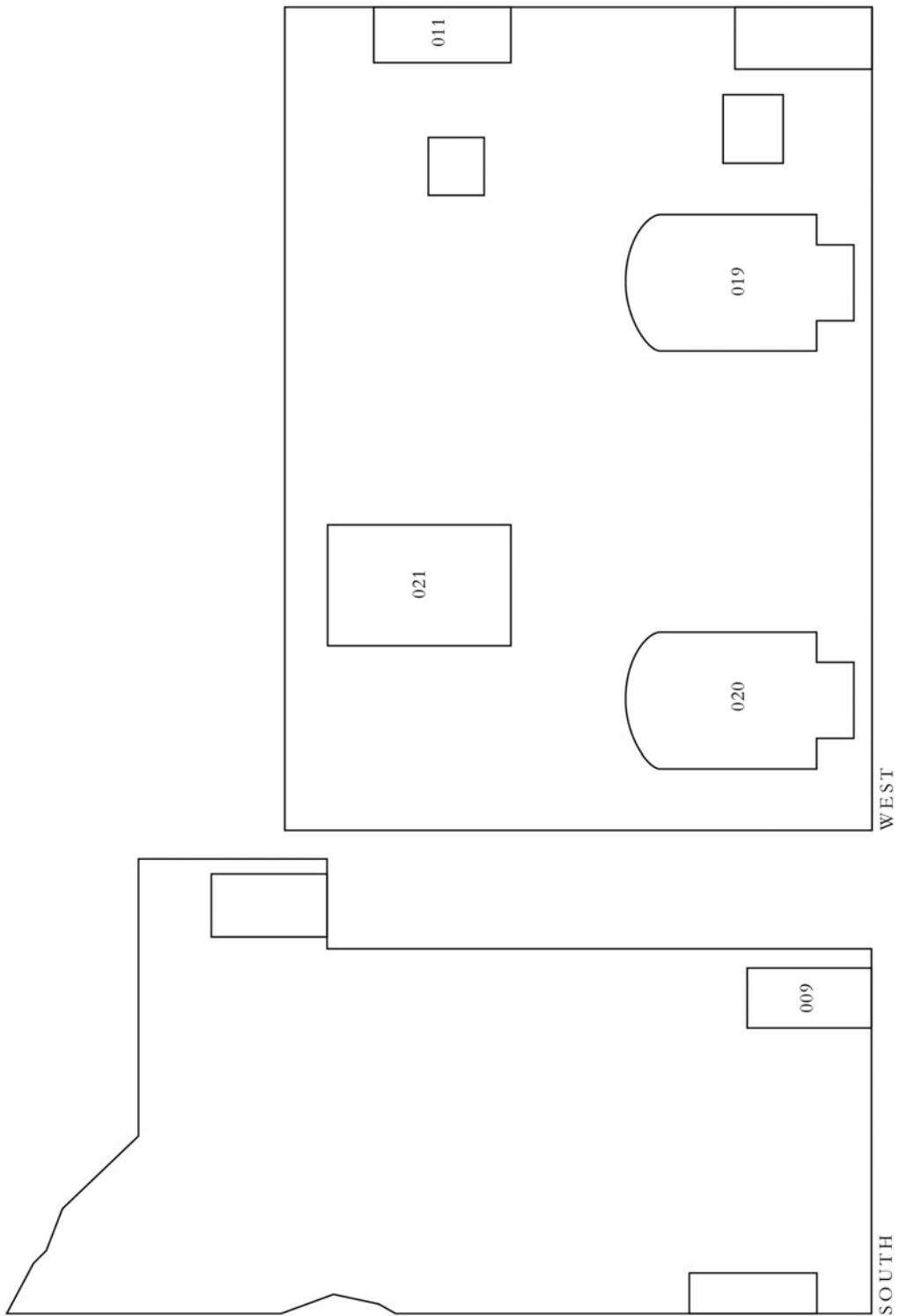
COMPONENT 83



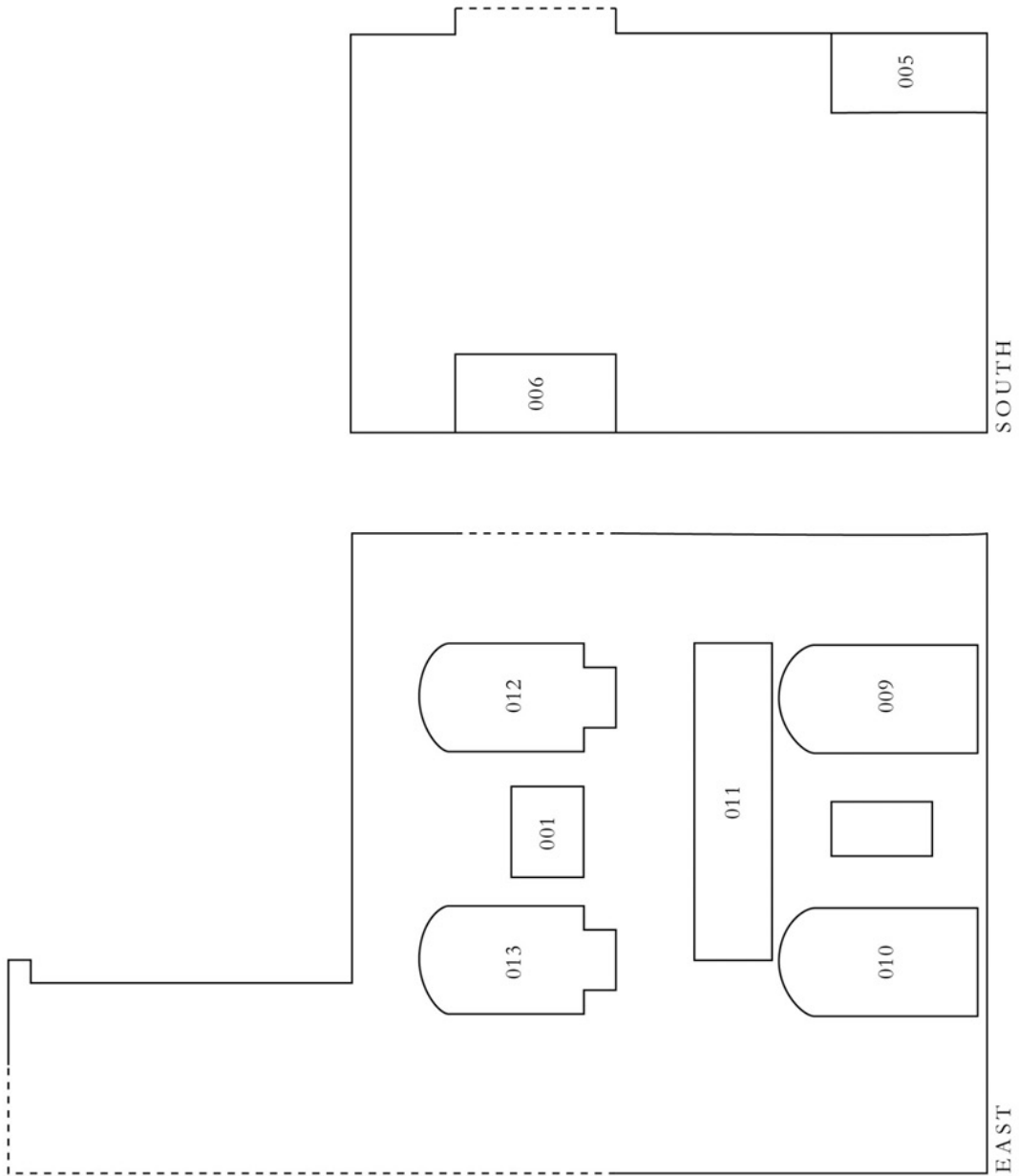
COMPONENT 84



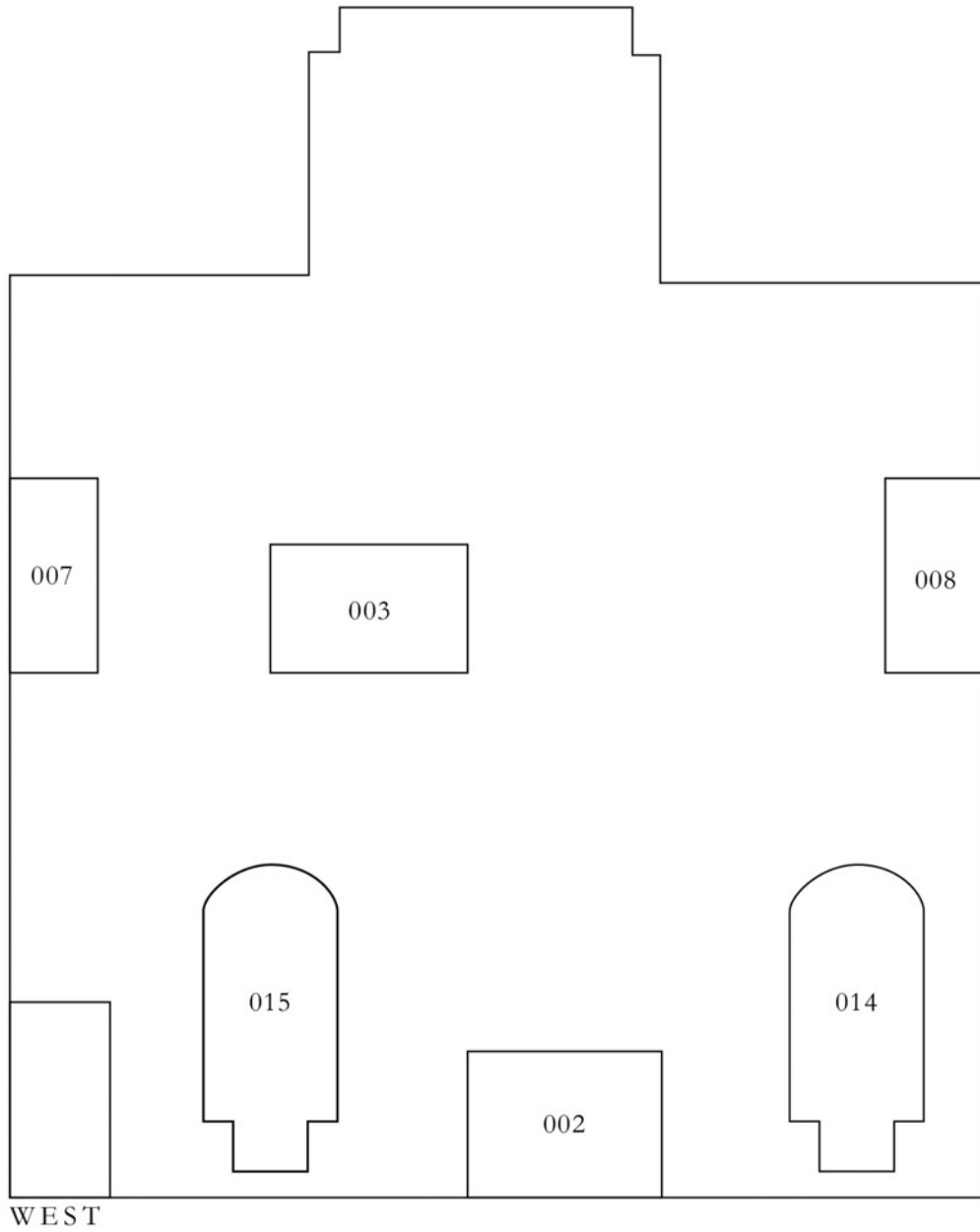
COMPONENT 85.1/2



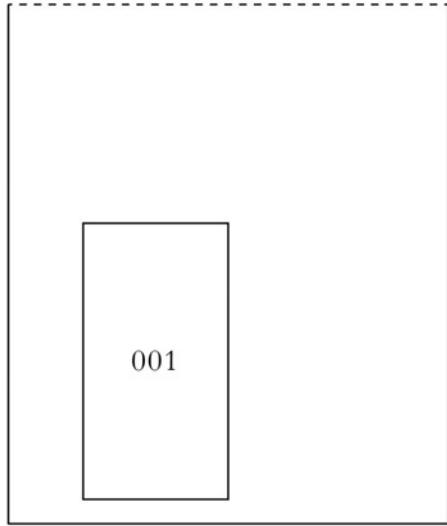
COMPONENT 85.3/4



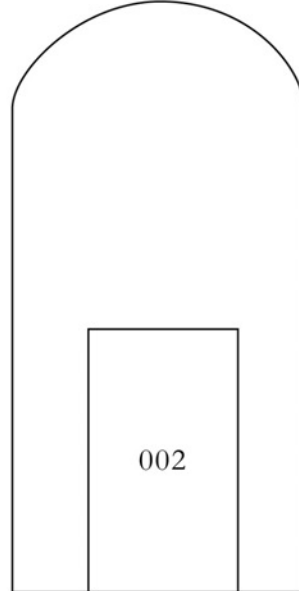
COMPONENT 86.2/3



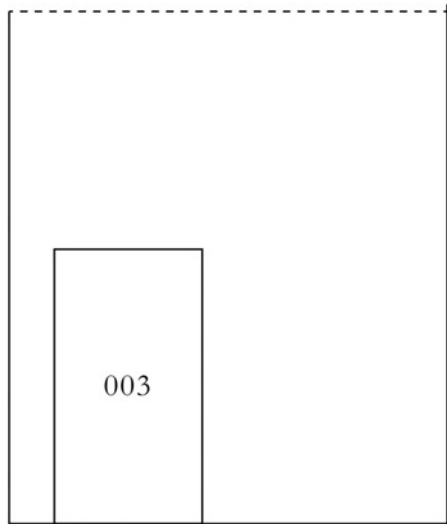
COMPONENT 86.4



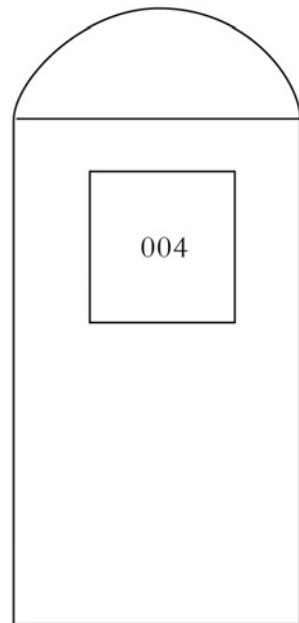
NORTH



EAST

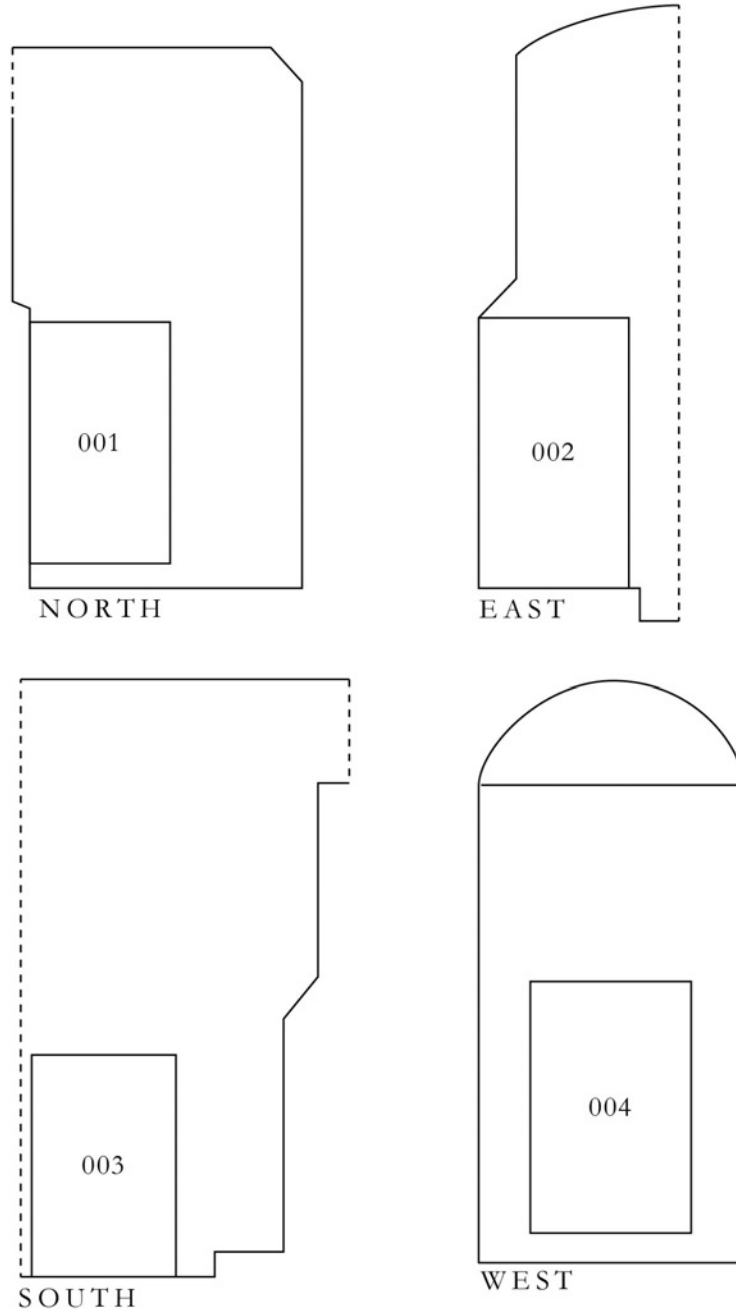


SOUTH

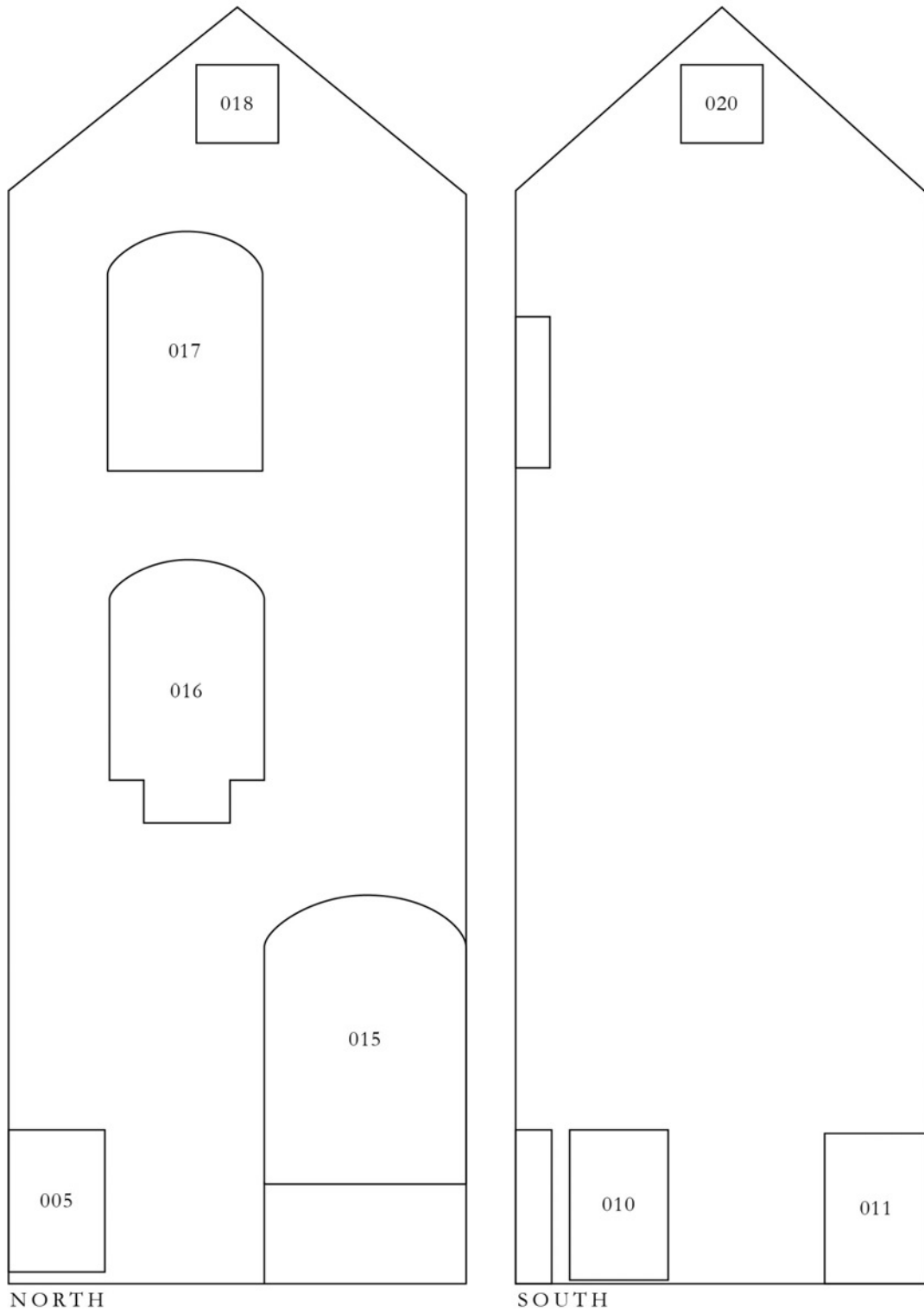


WEST

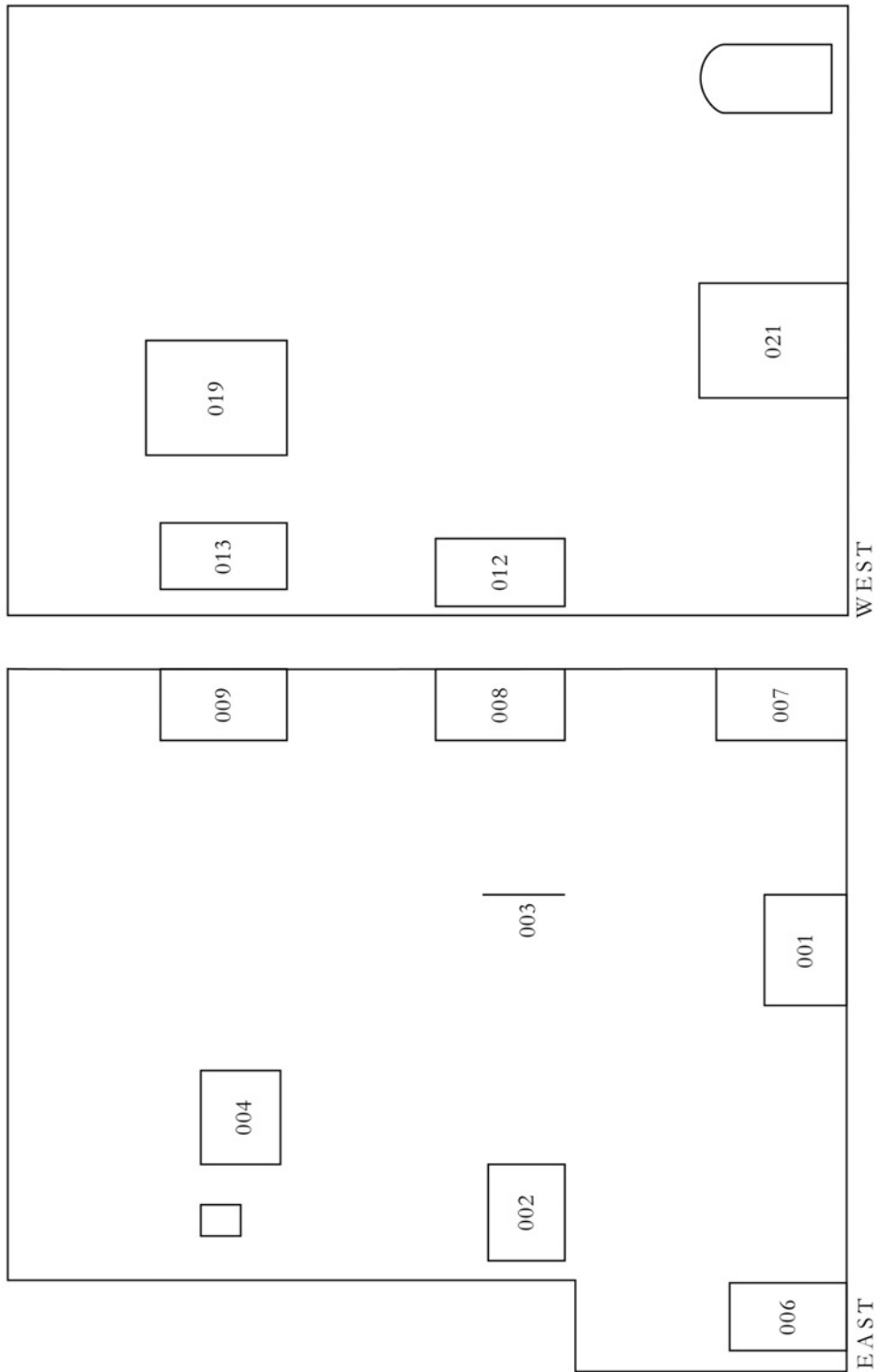
COMPONENT 87



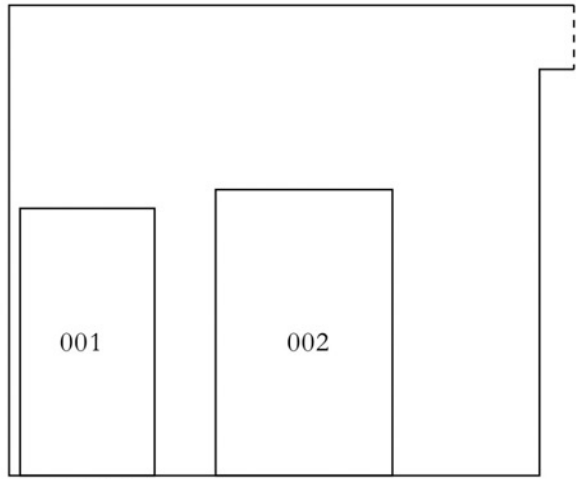
COMPONENT 88



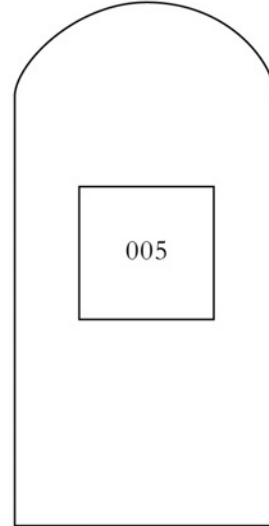
COMPONENT 89.1/3



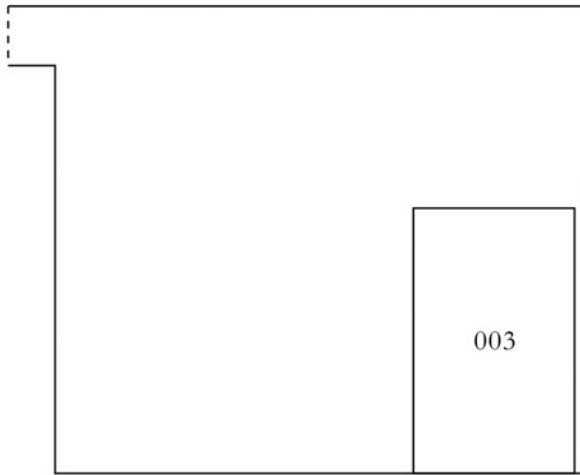
COMPONENT 89.2/4



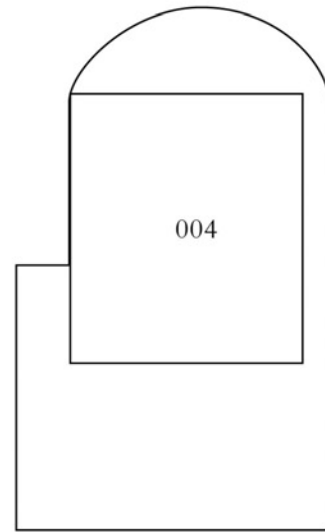
NORTH



EAST

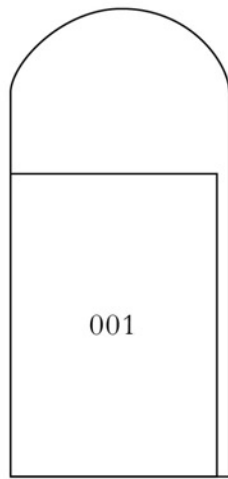


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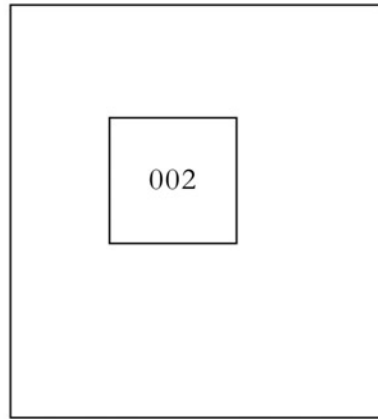


WEST

COMPONENT 90

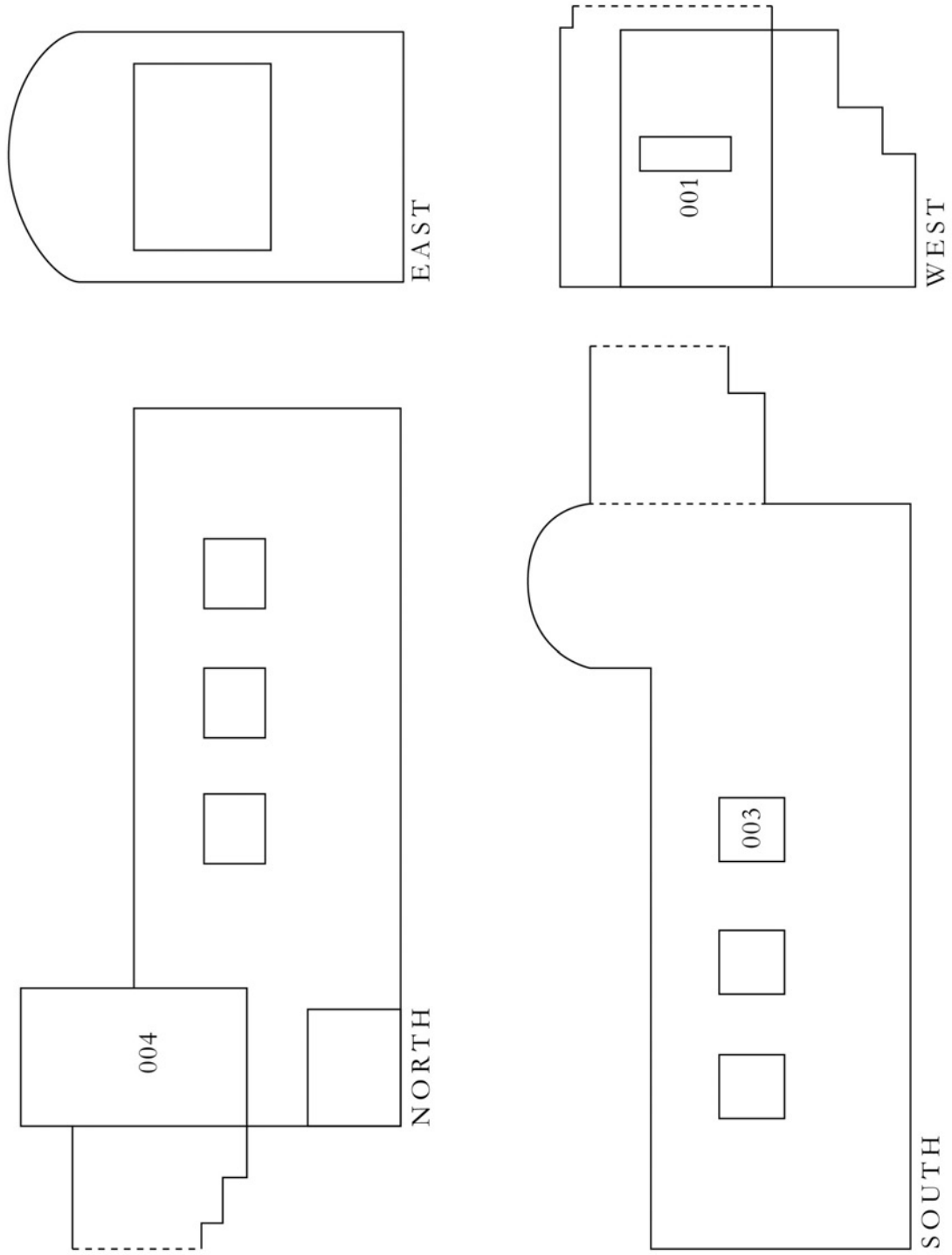


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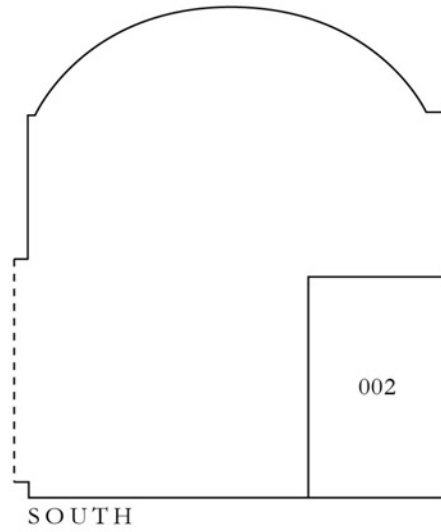
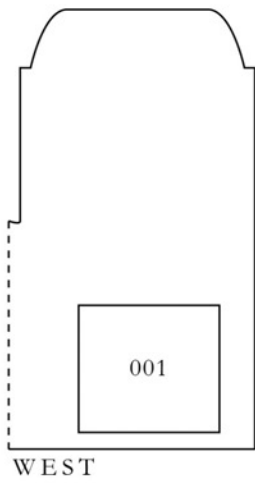
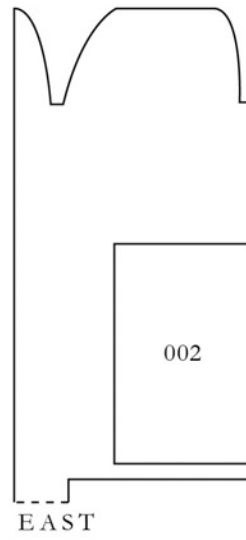
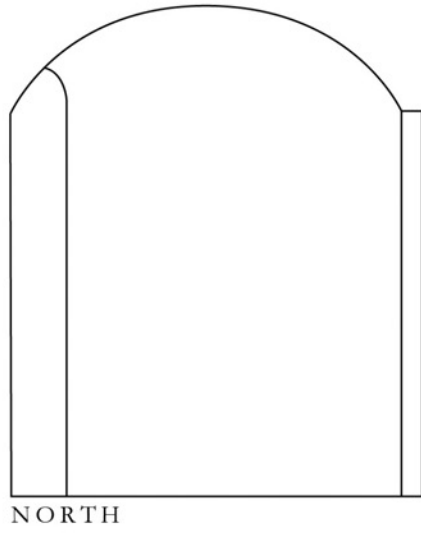


WEST

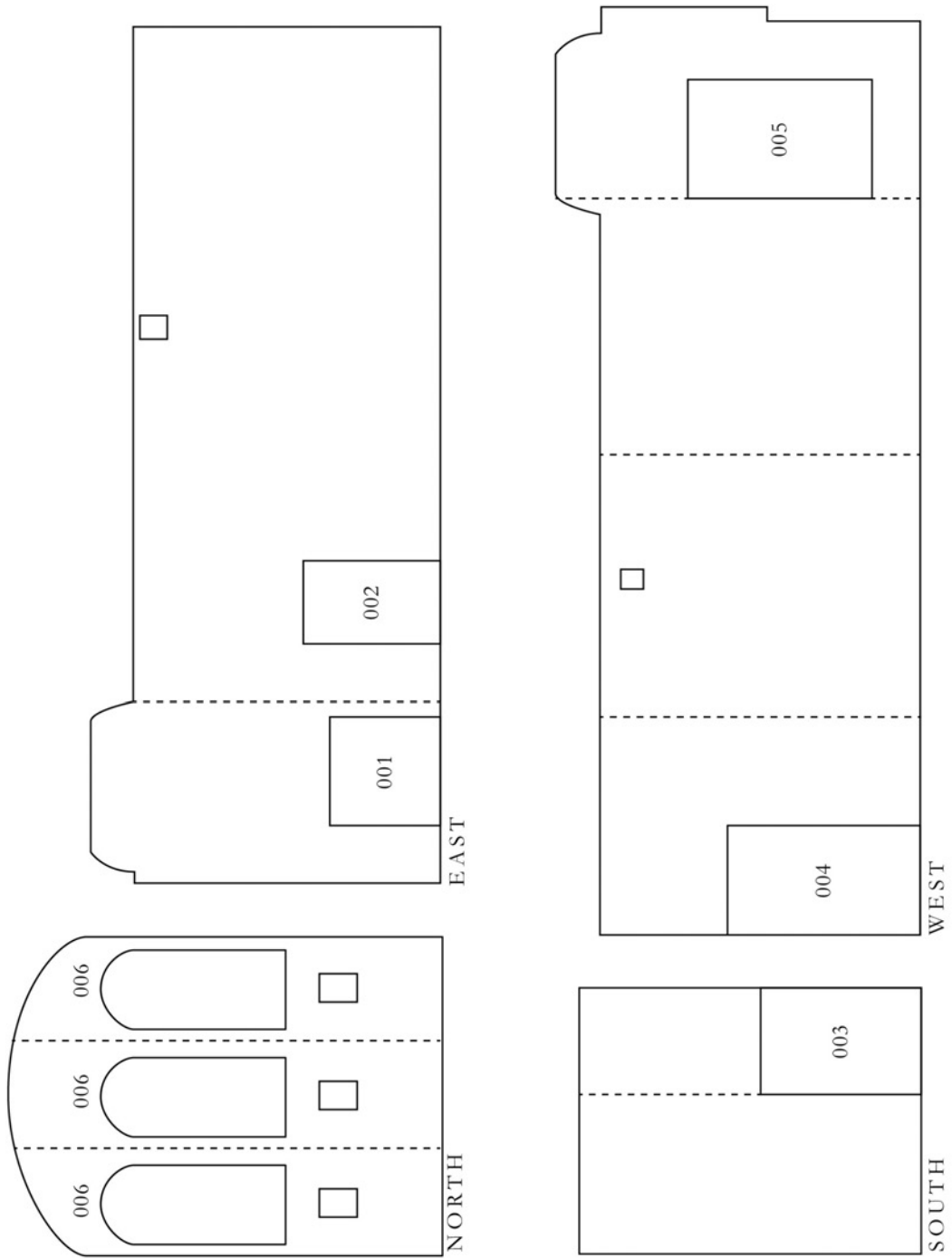
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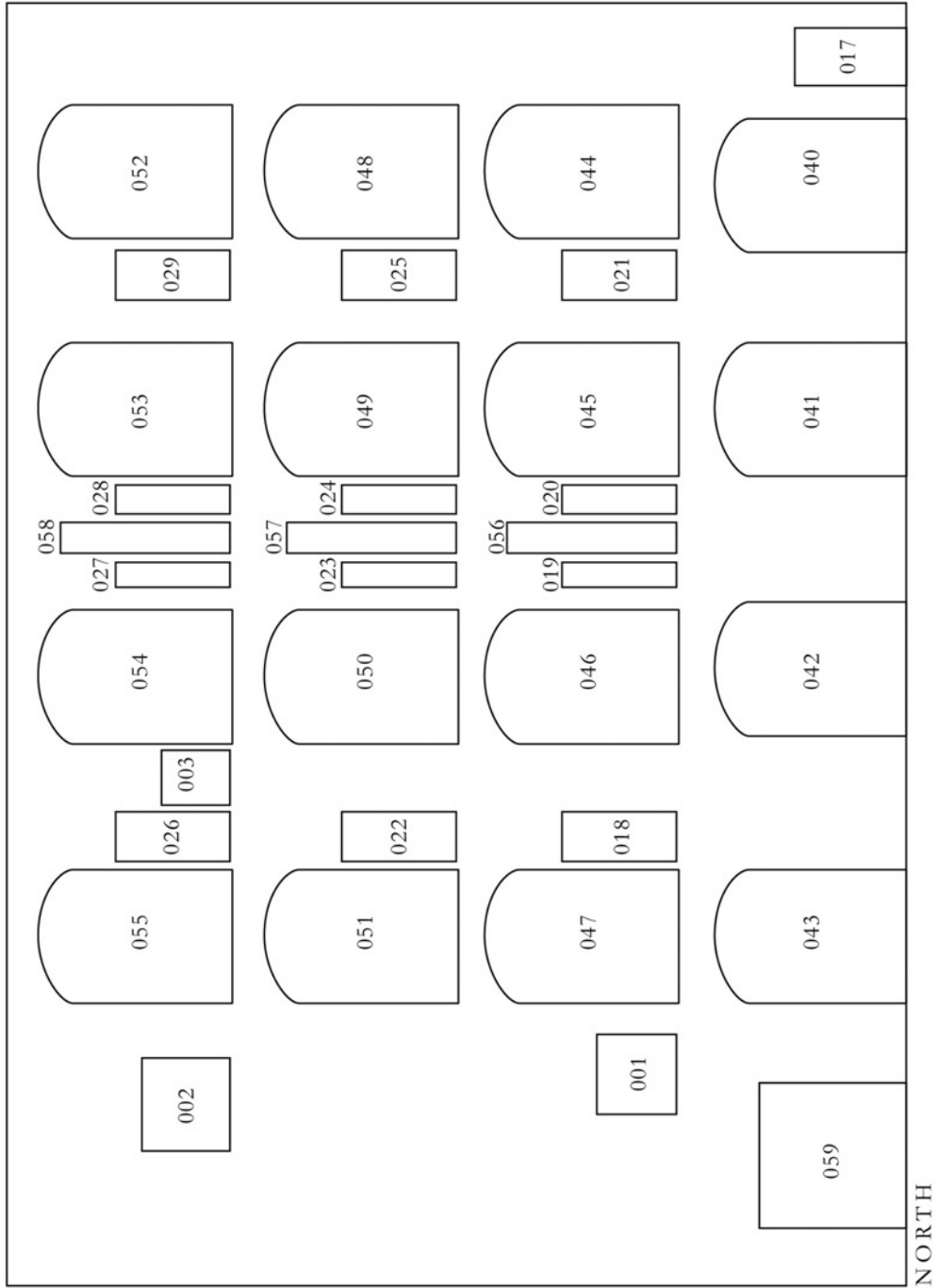
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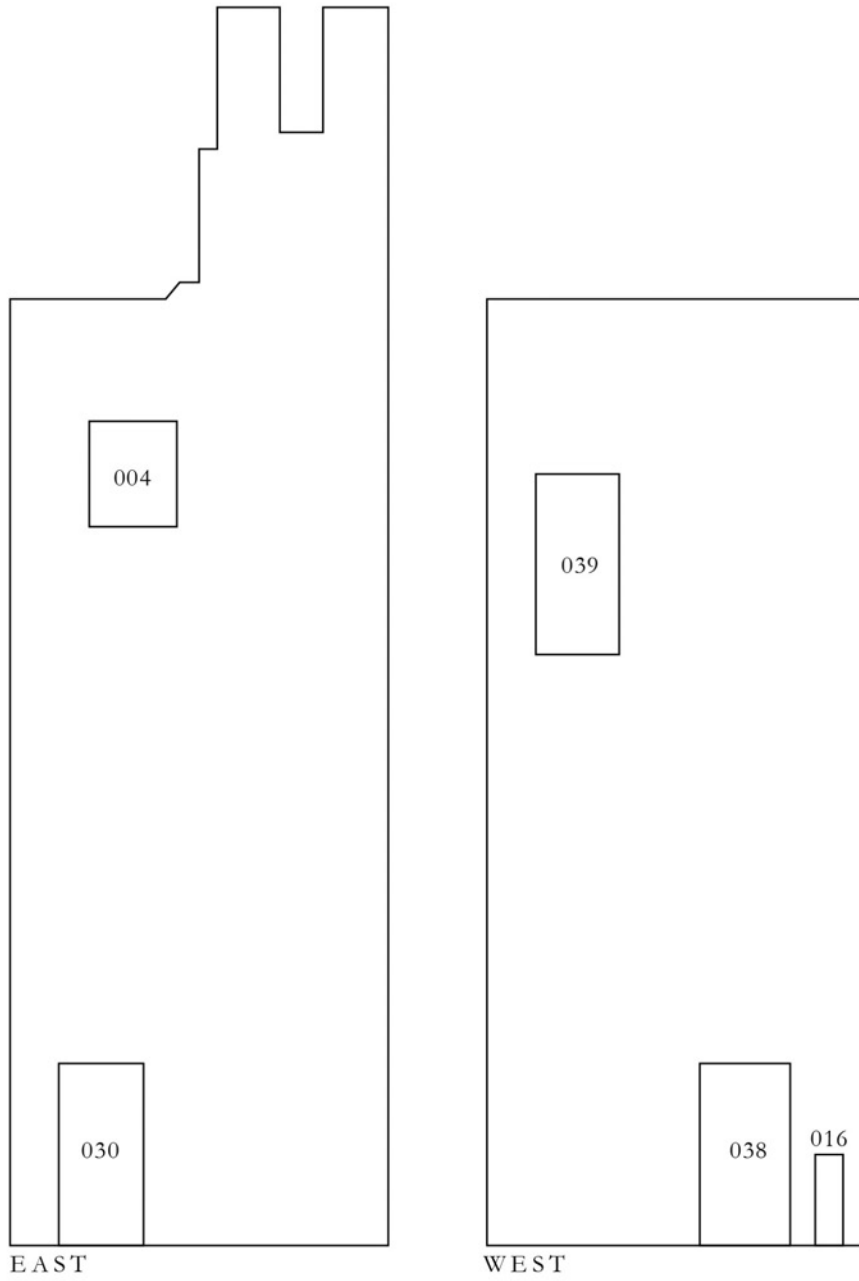
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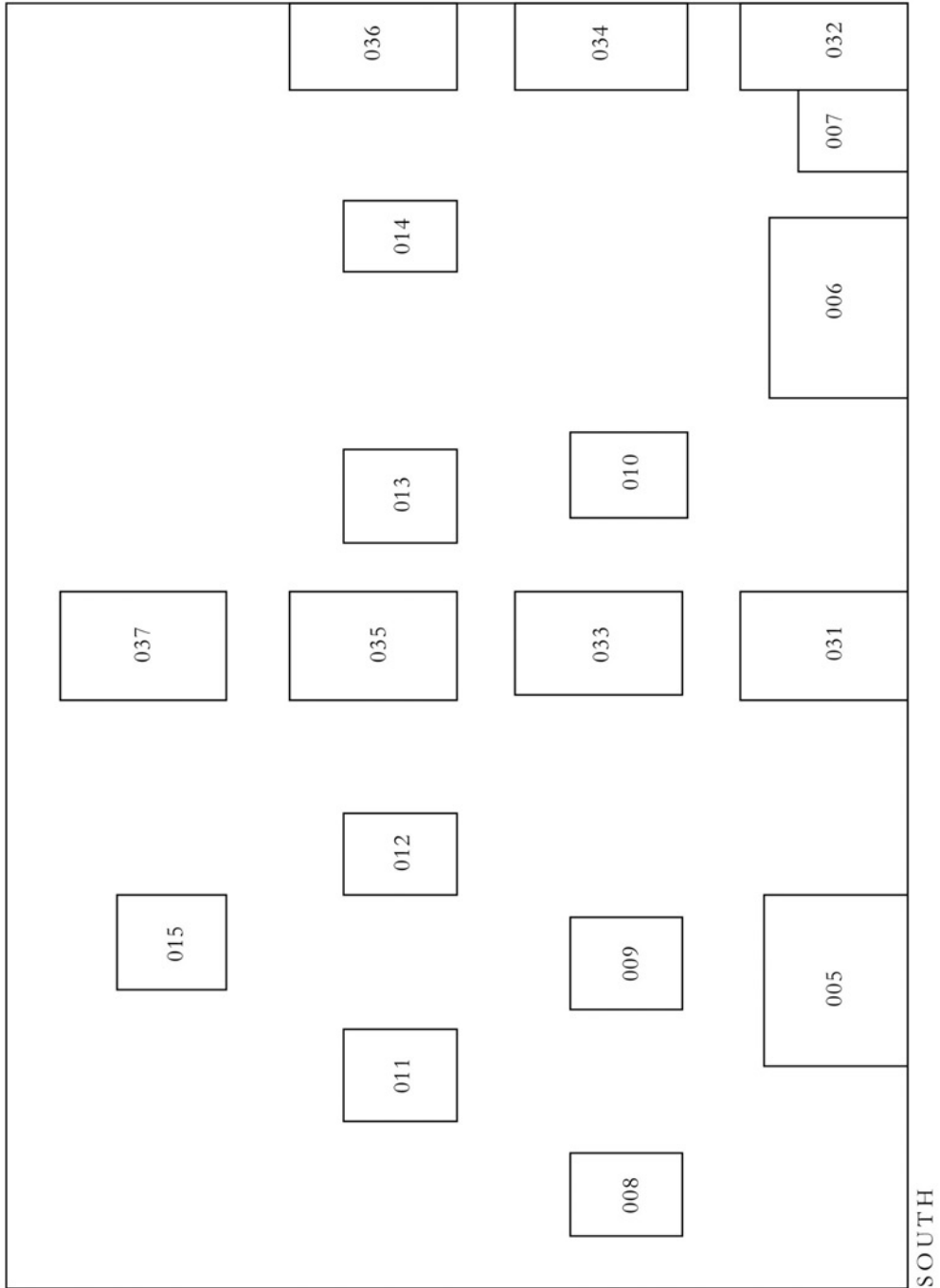
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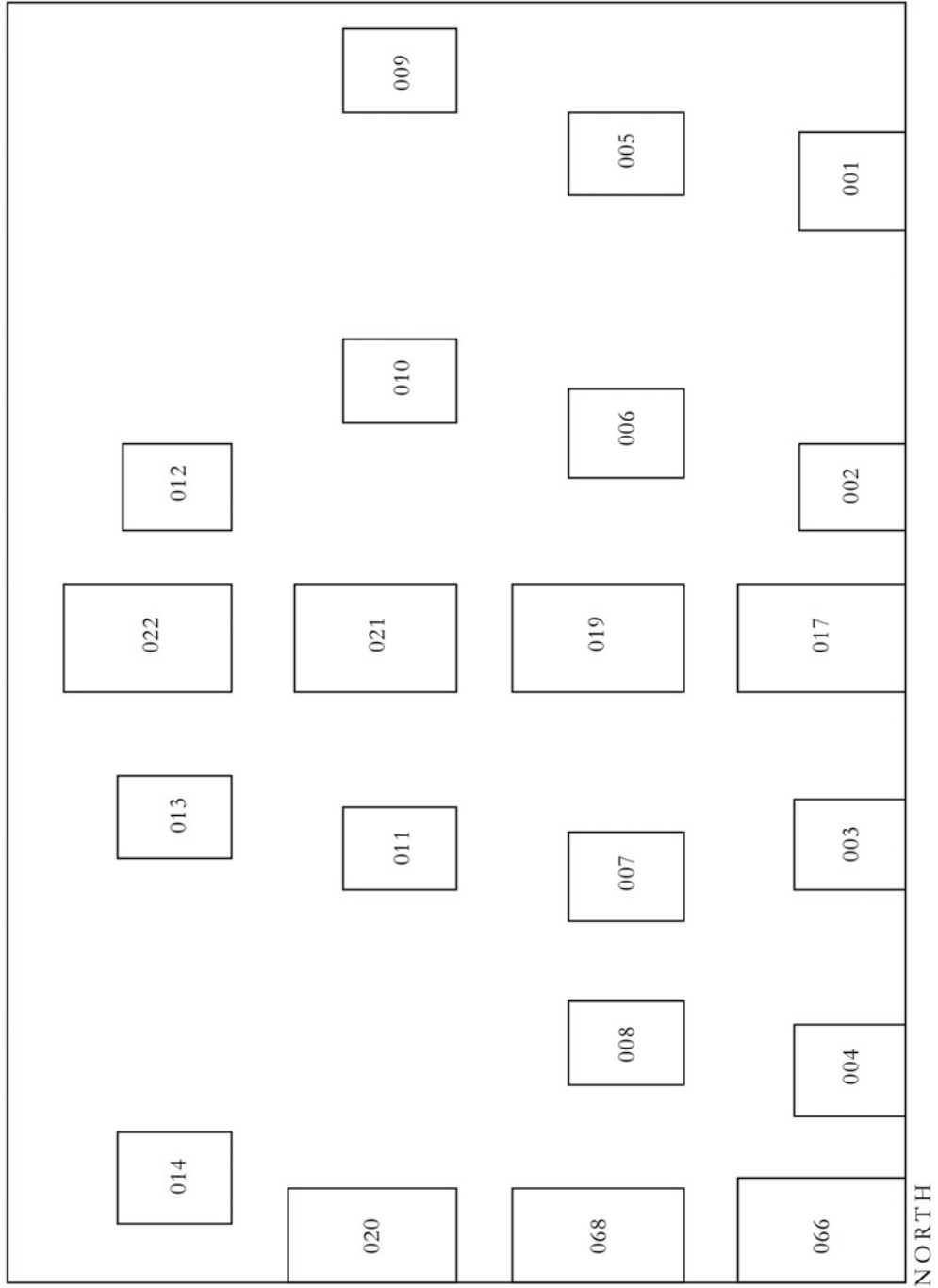
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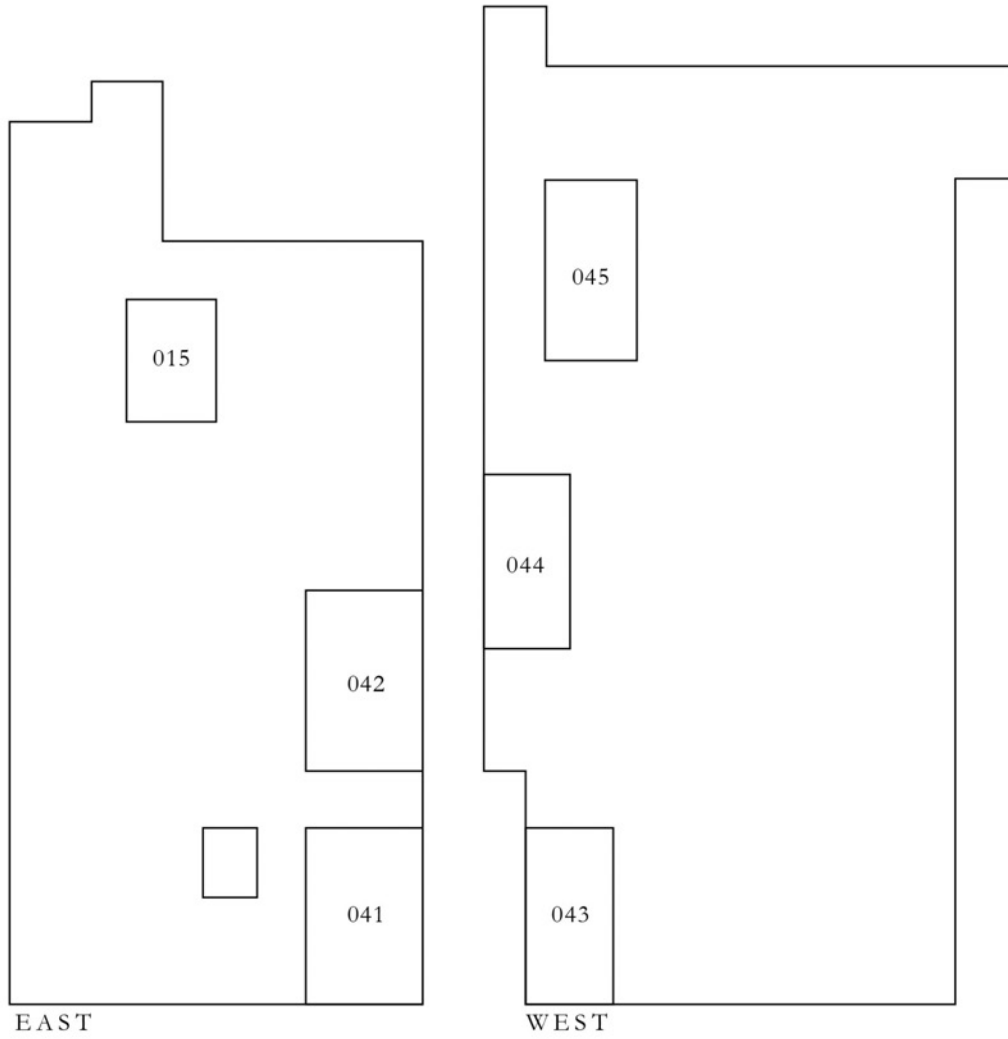
COMPONENT 95.2/4



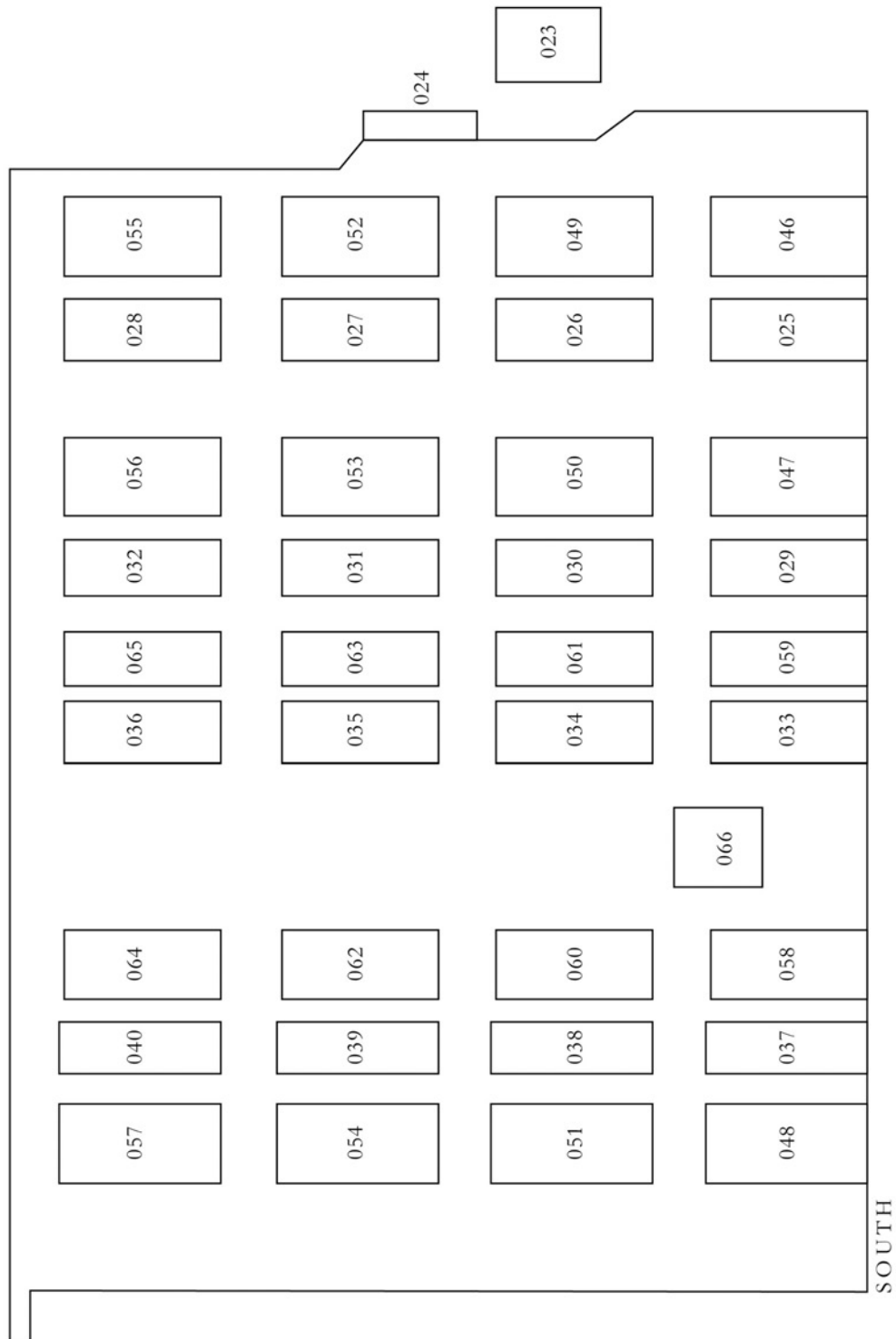
COMPONENT 95.3



COMPONENT 96.1



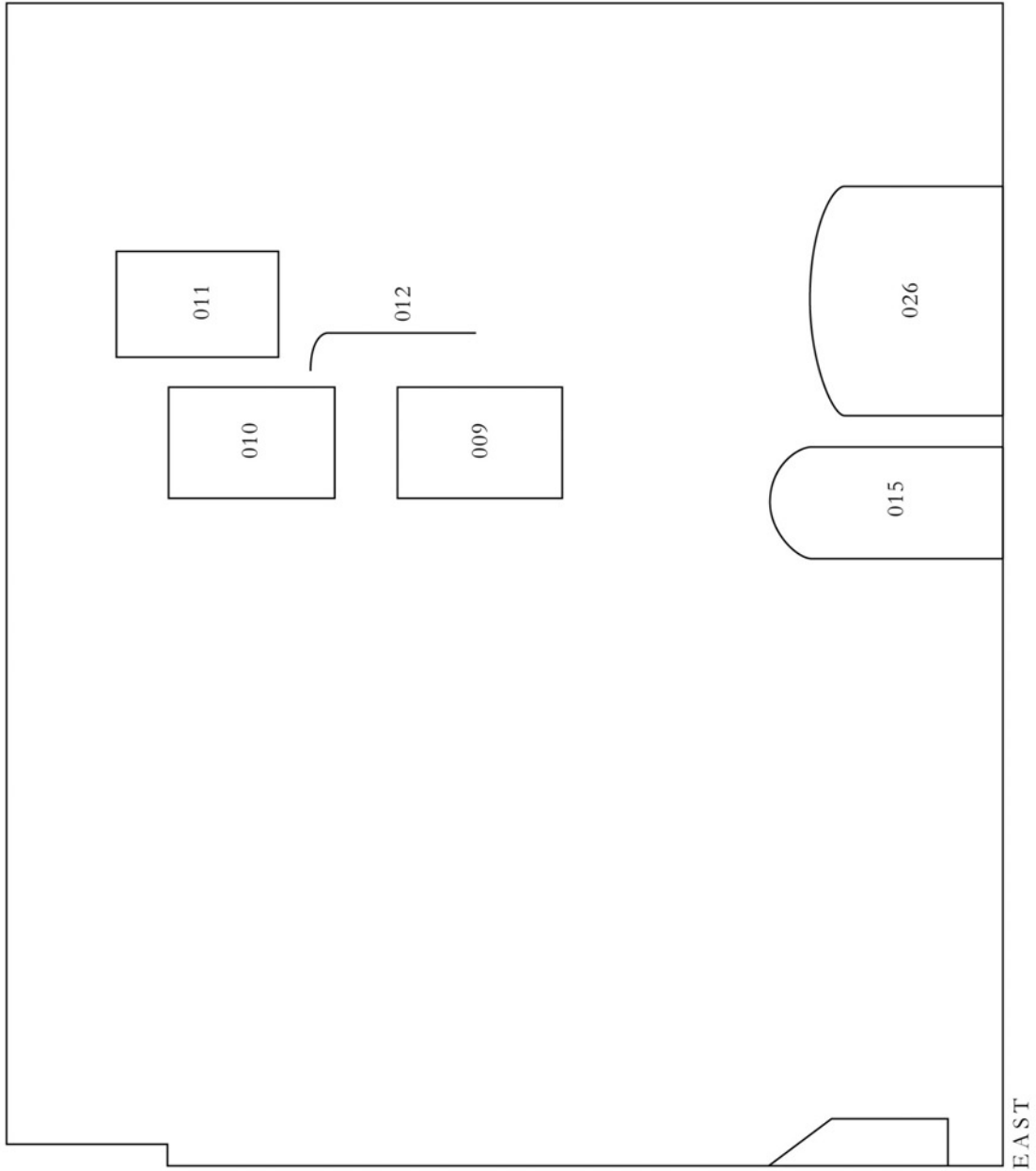
COMPONENT 96.2/4



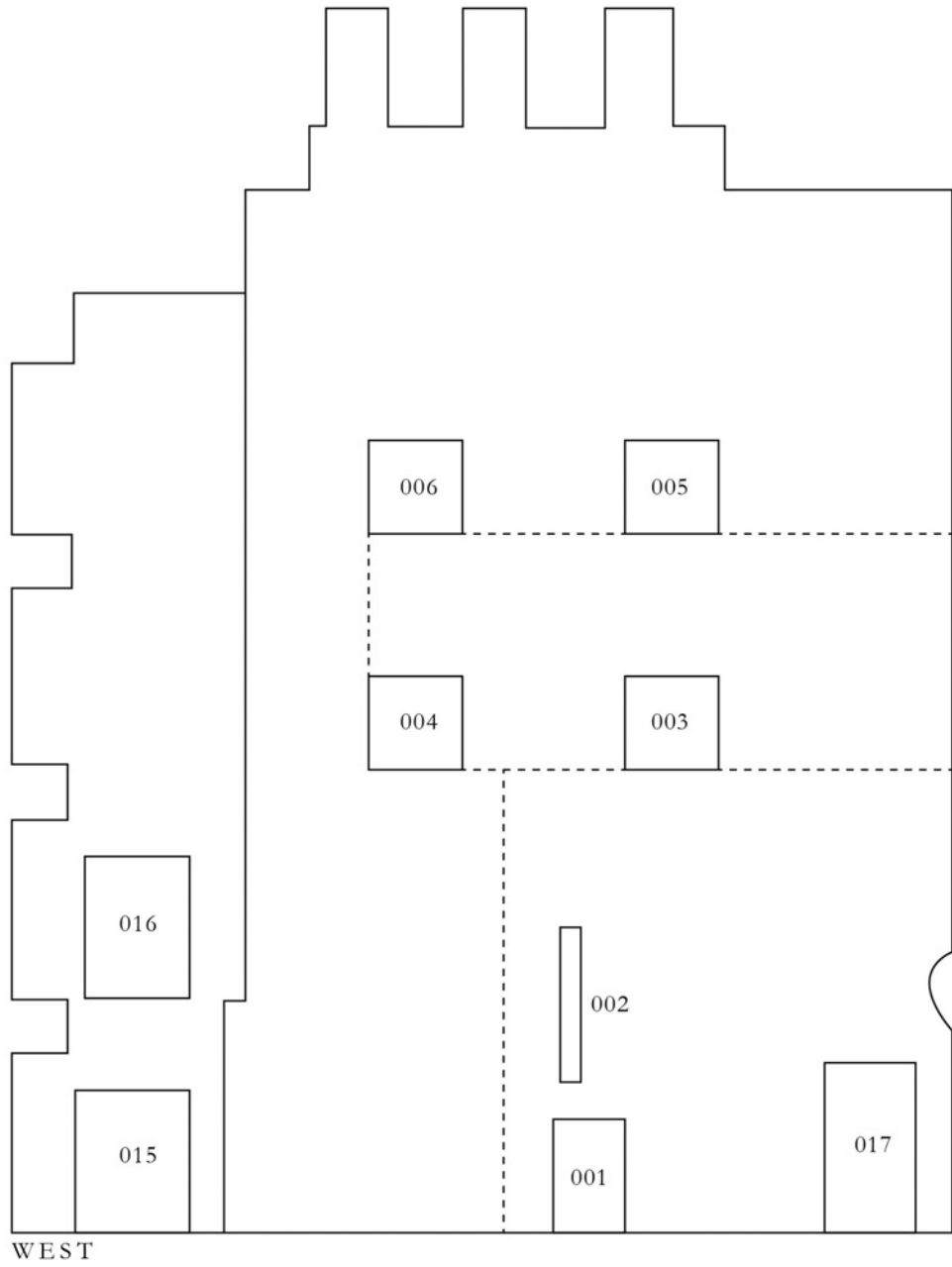
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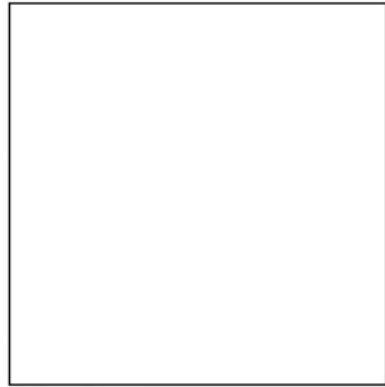
COMPONENT 98.1/3



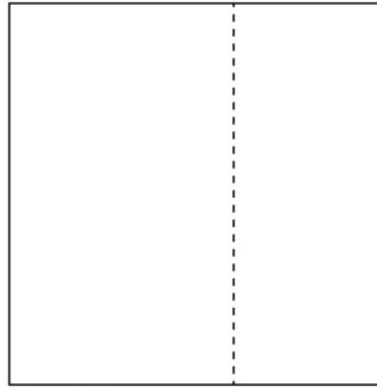
COMPONENT 98.2



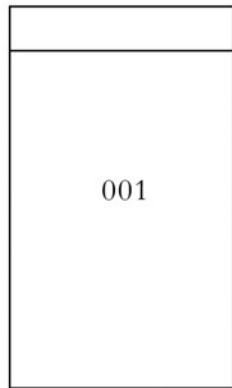
COMPONENT 98.4



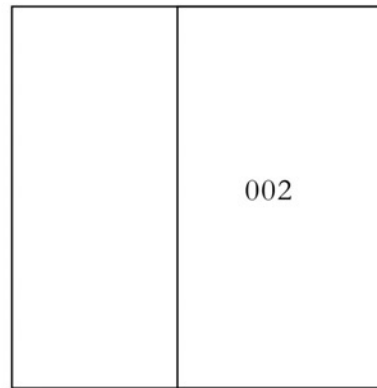
NORTH



EAST

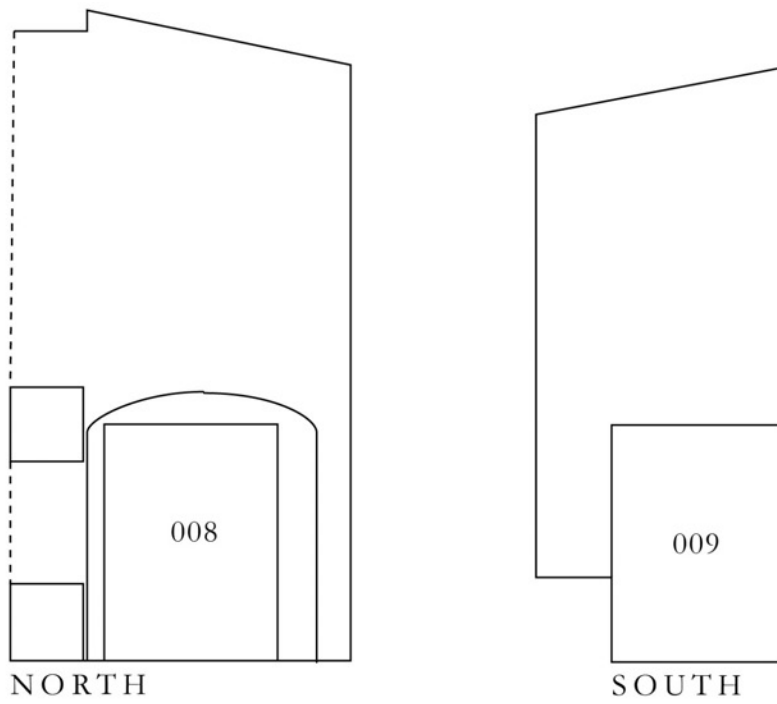


SOUTH

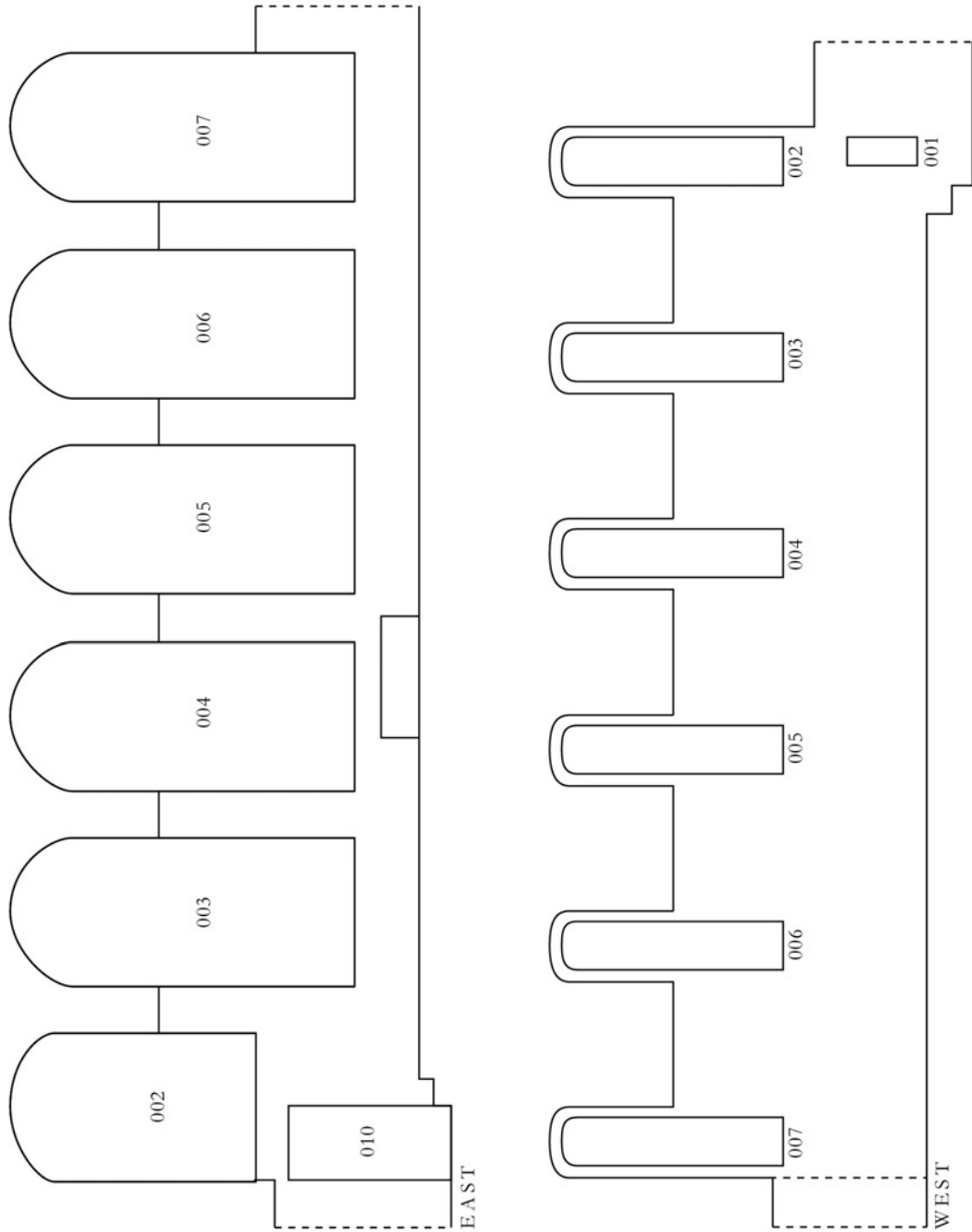


WEST

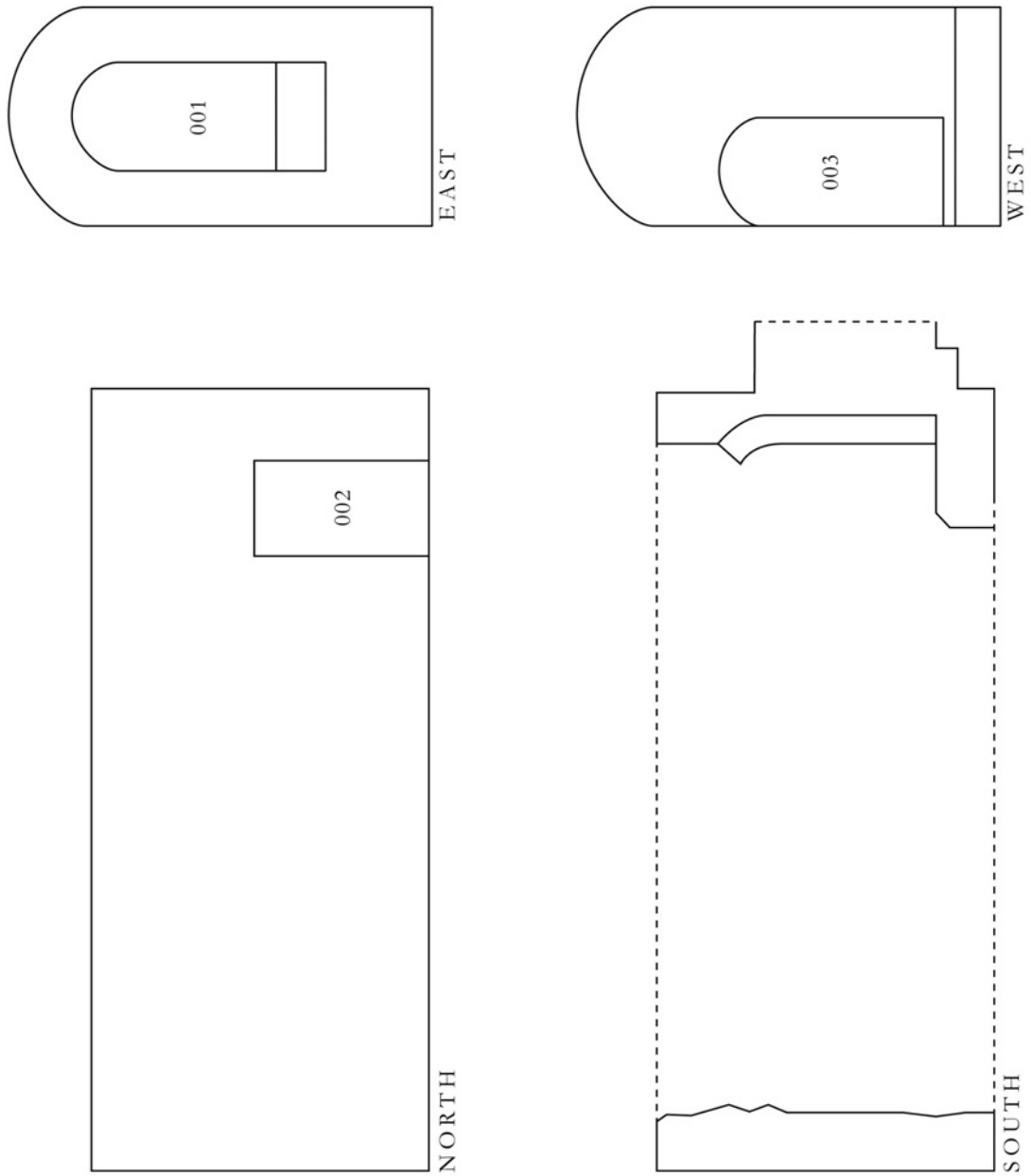
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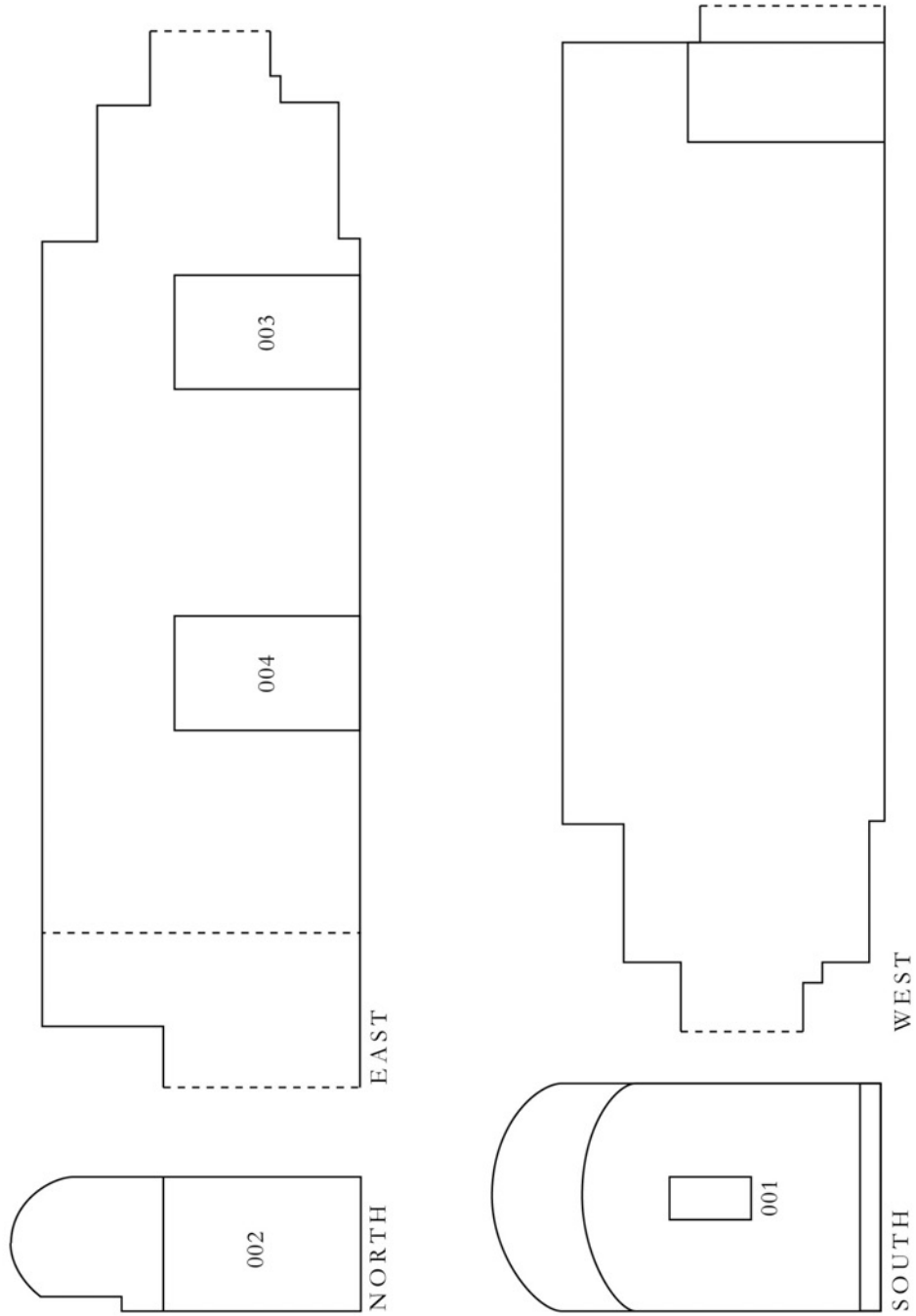
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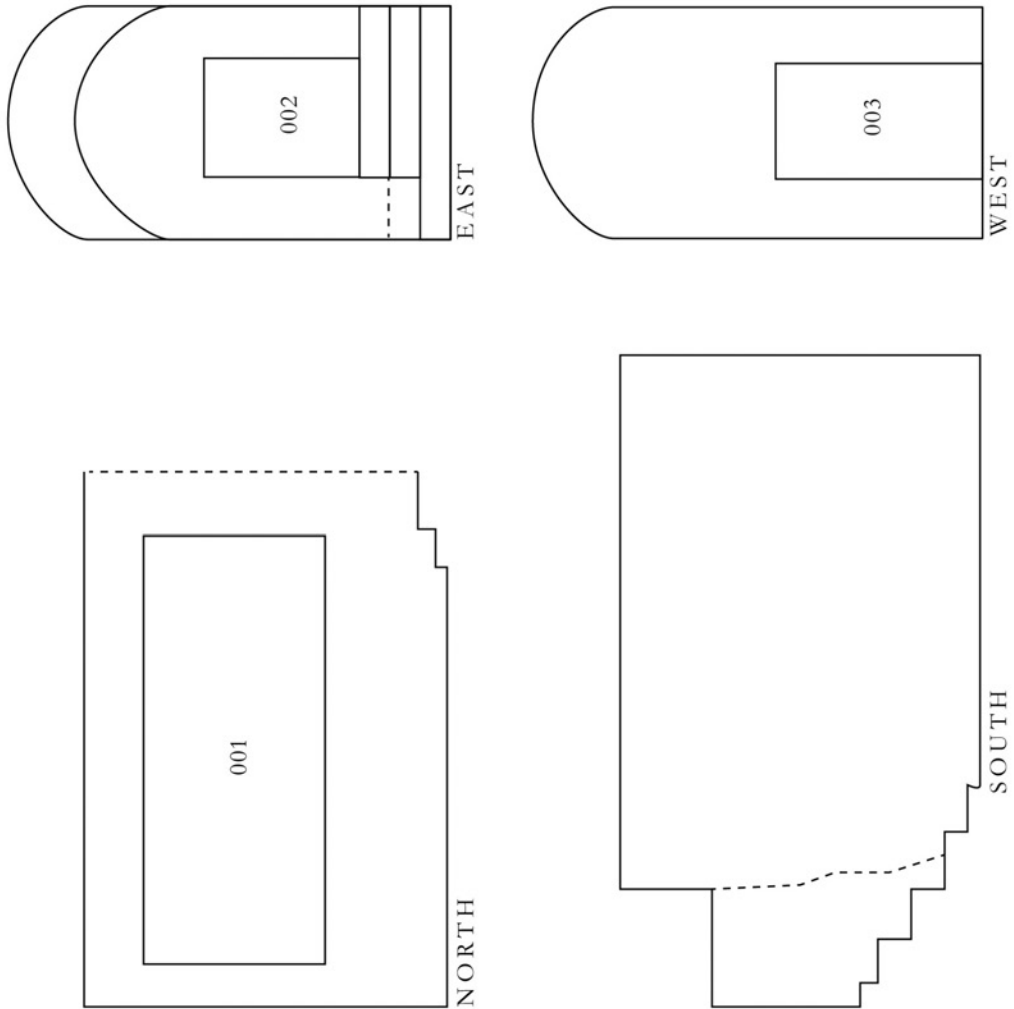
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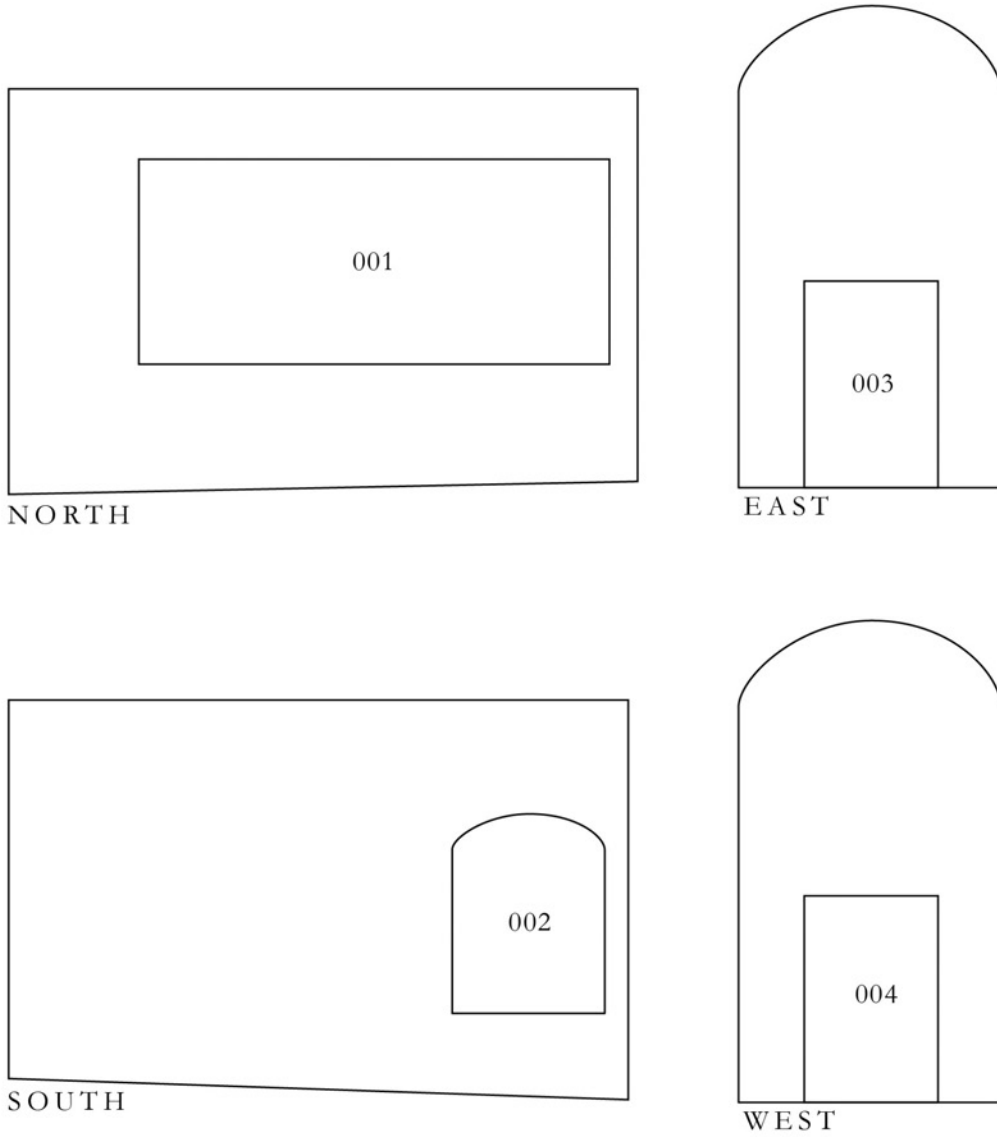
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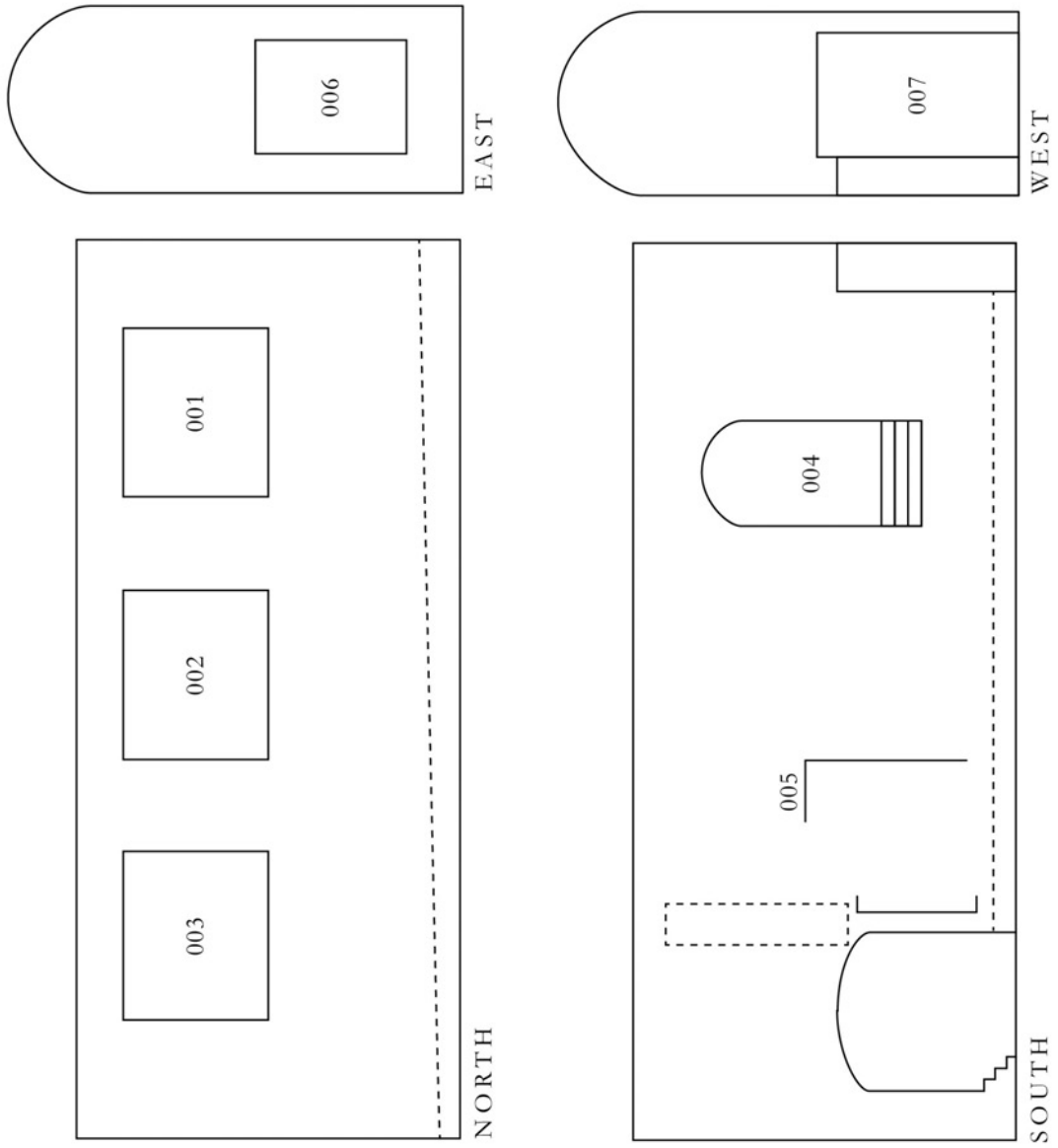
COMPONENT 103



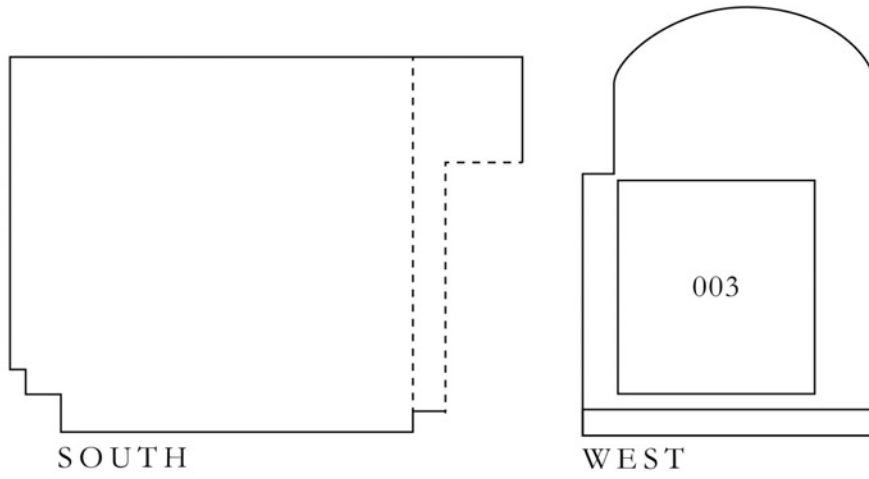
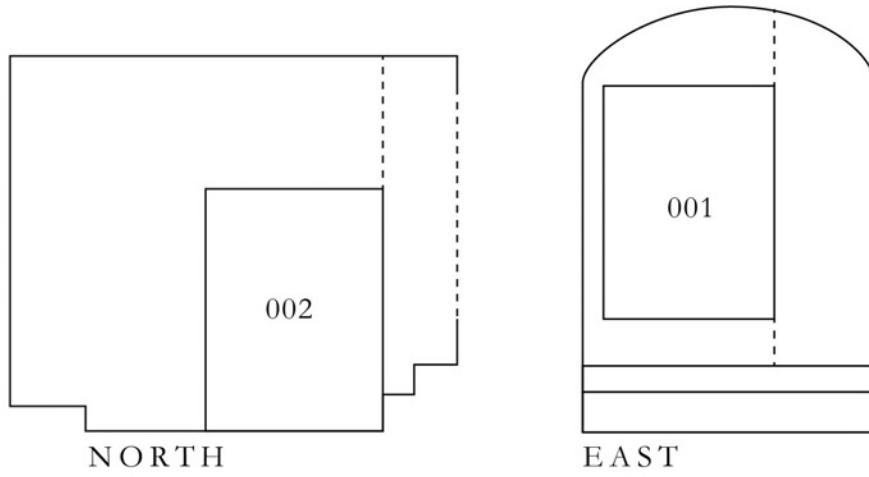
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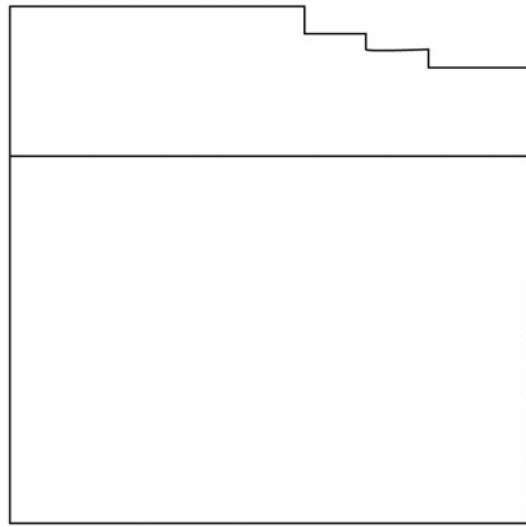
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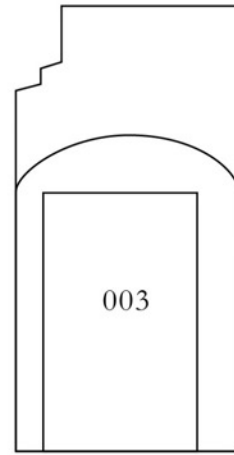
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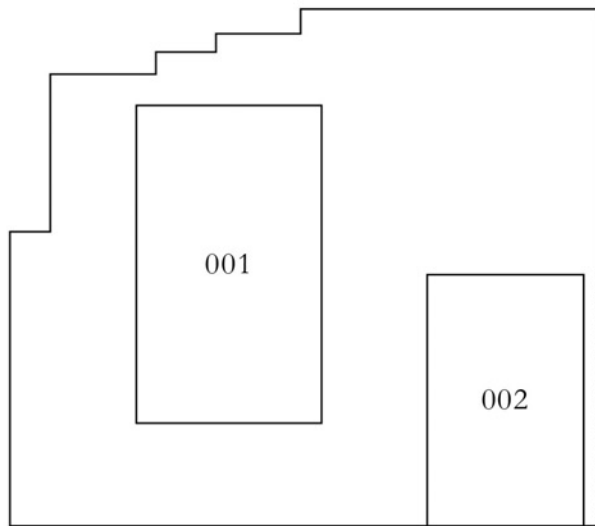
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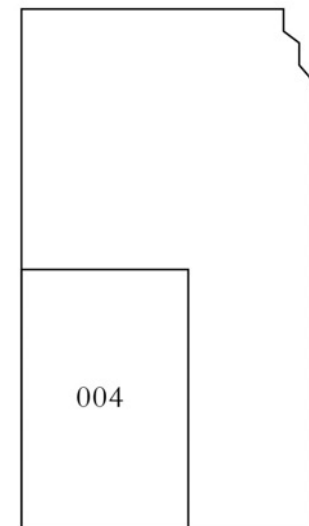
NORTH



EAST

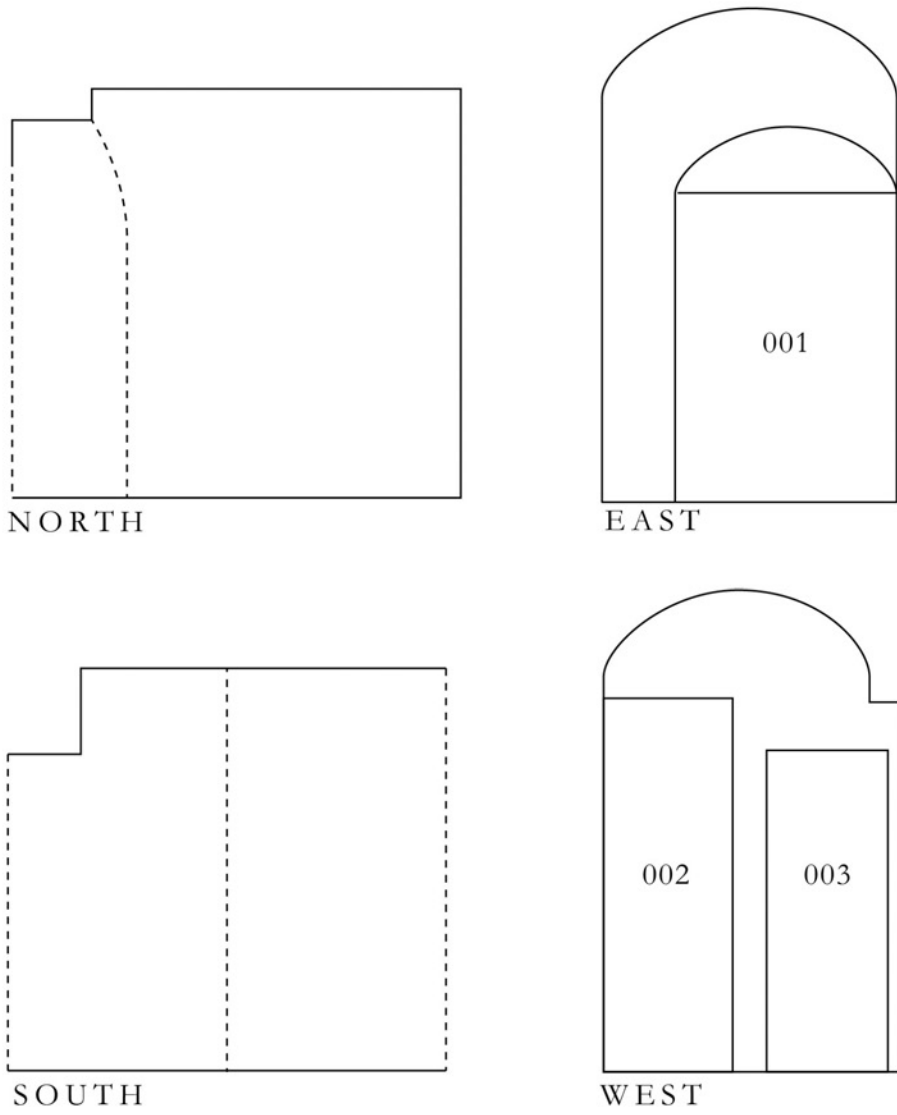


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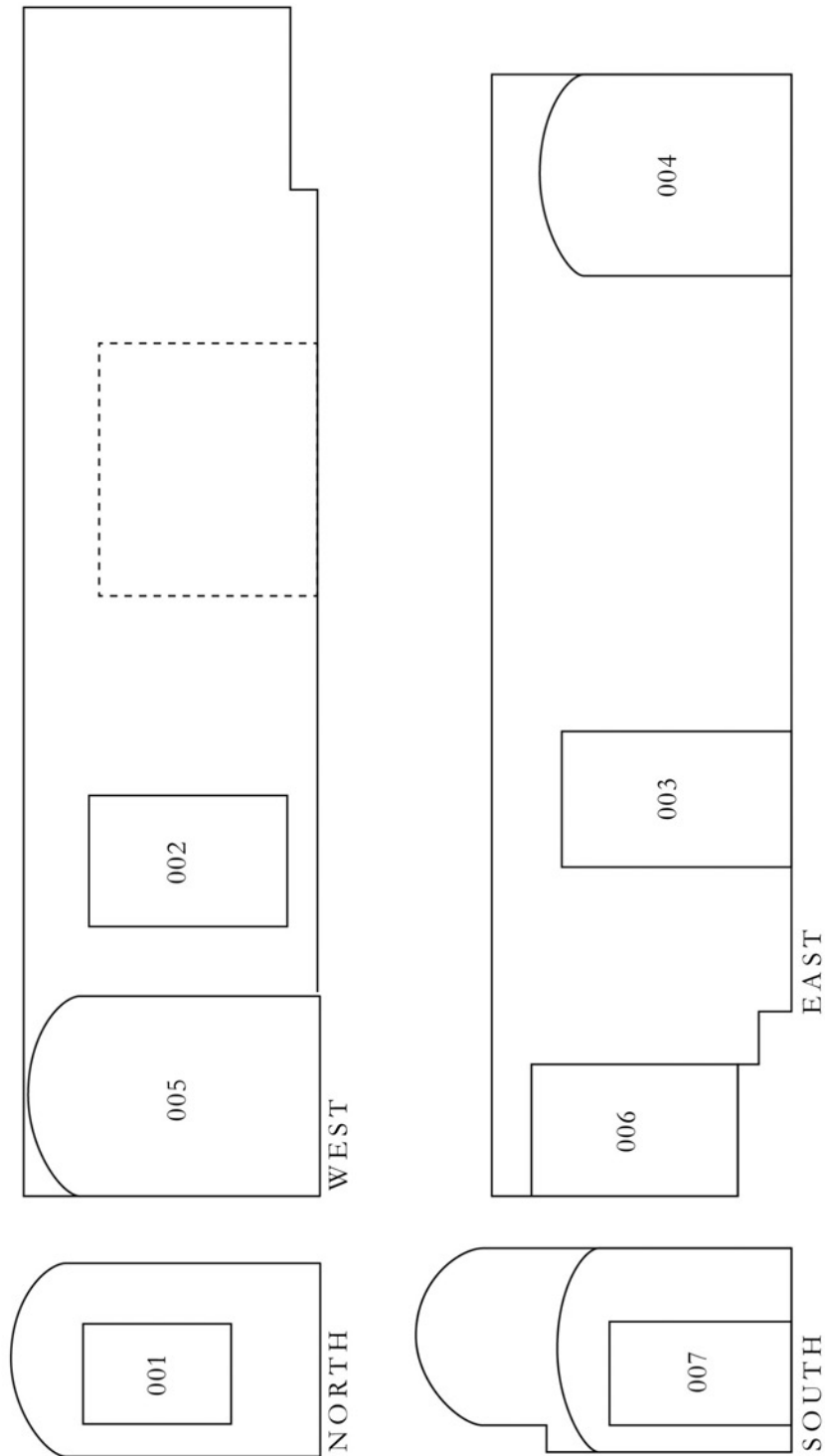


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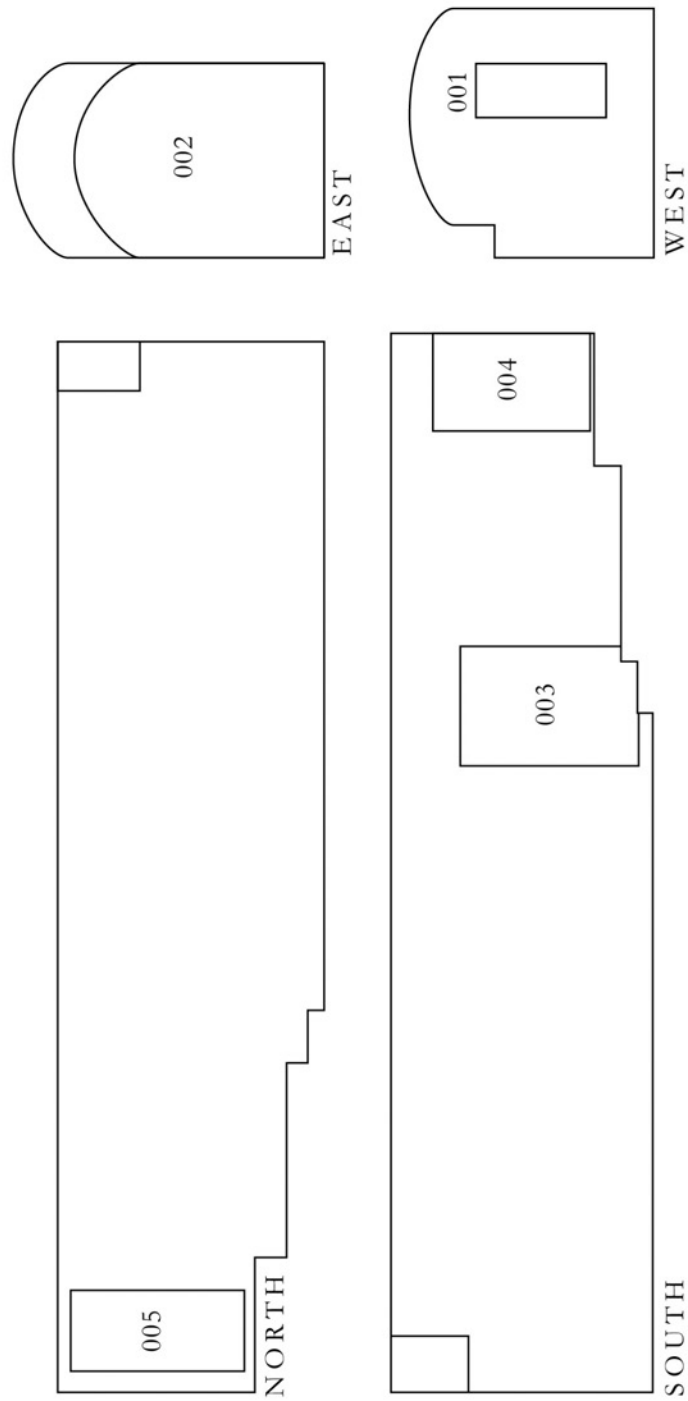
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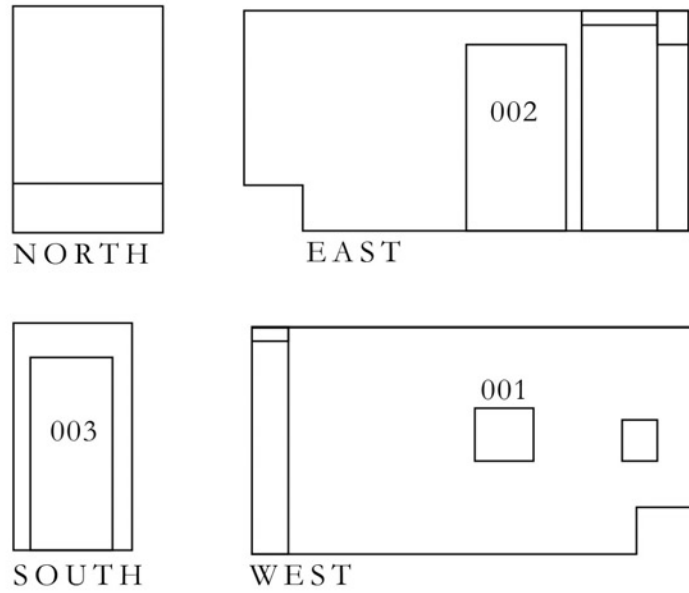
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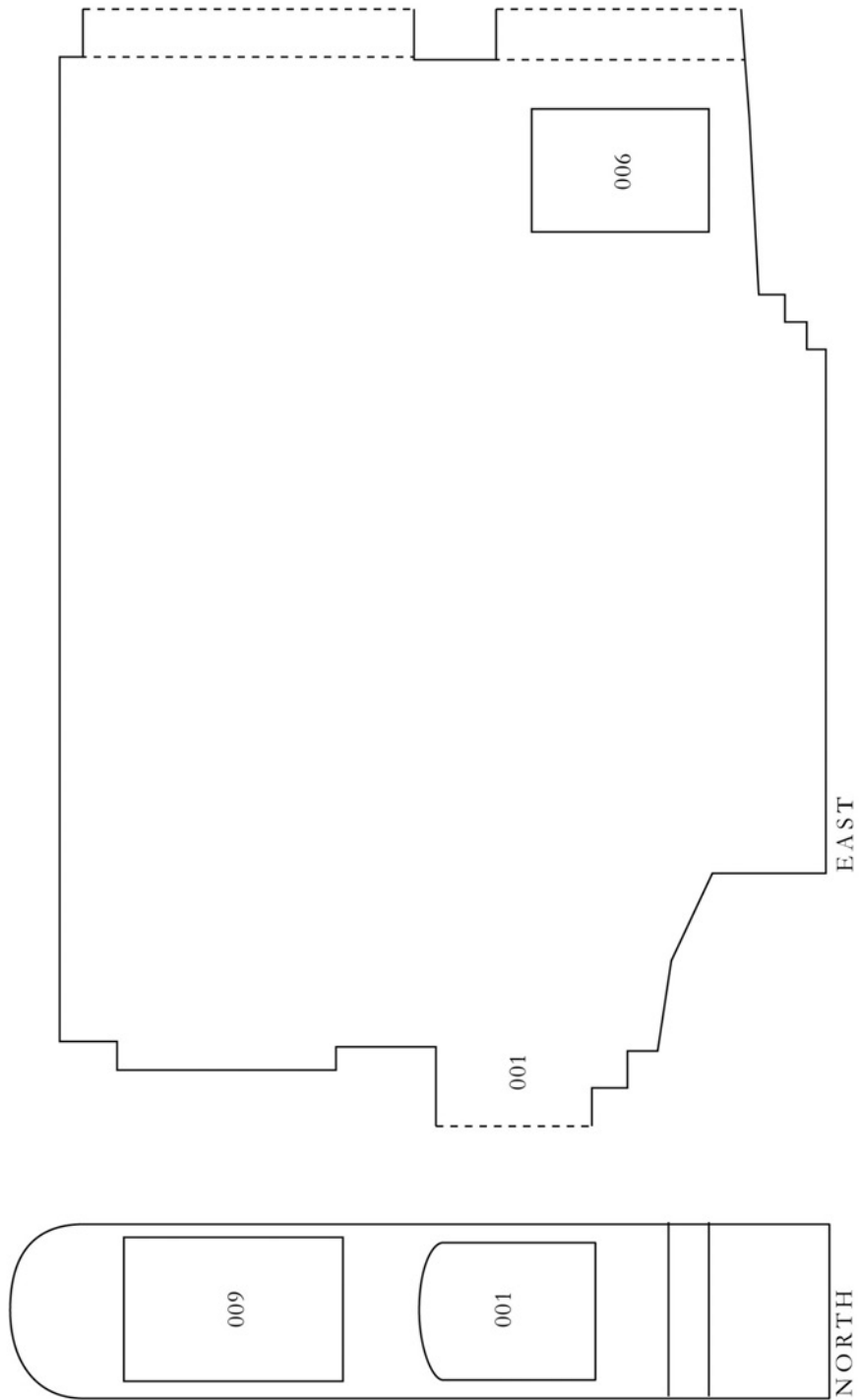
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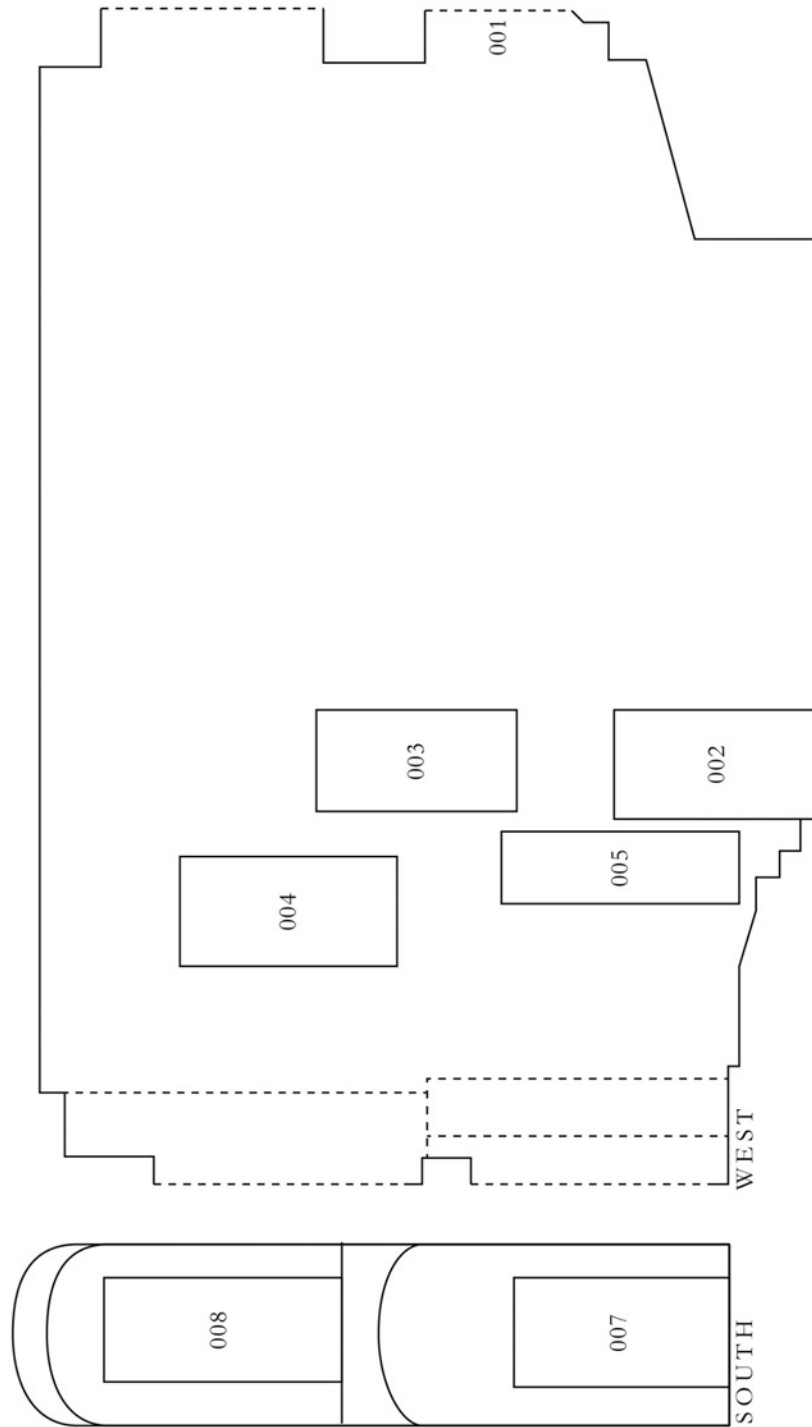
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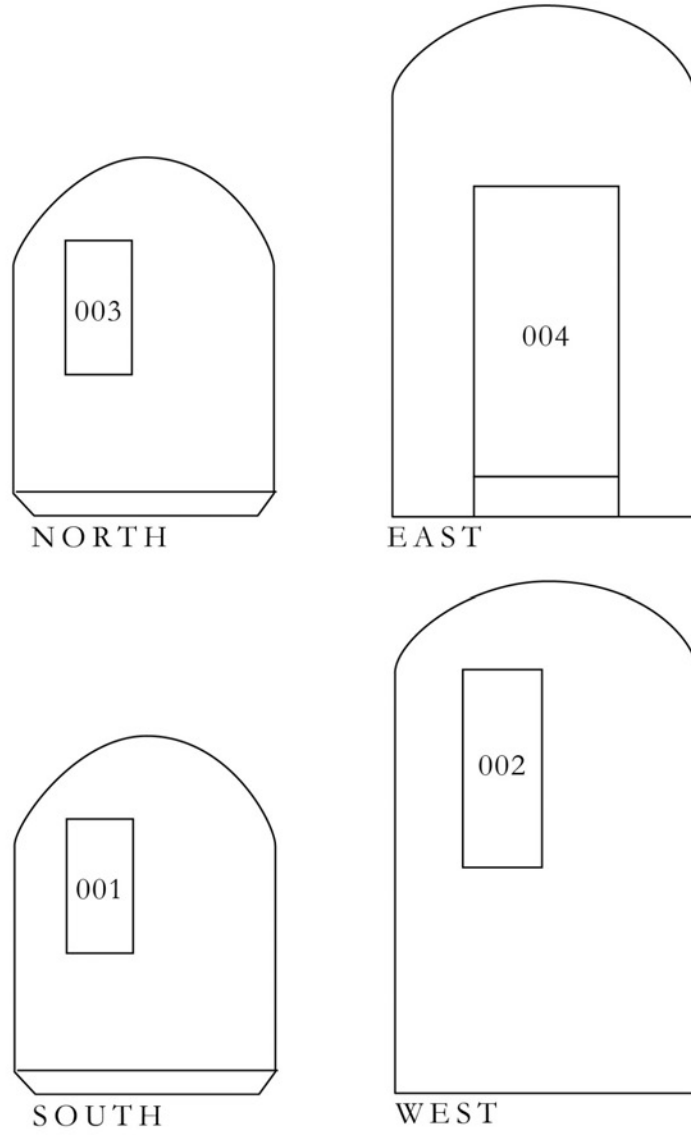
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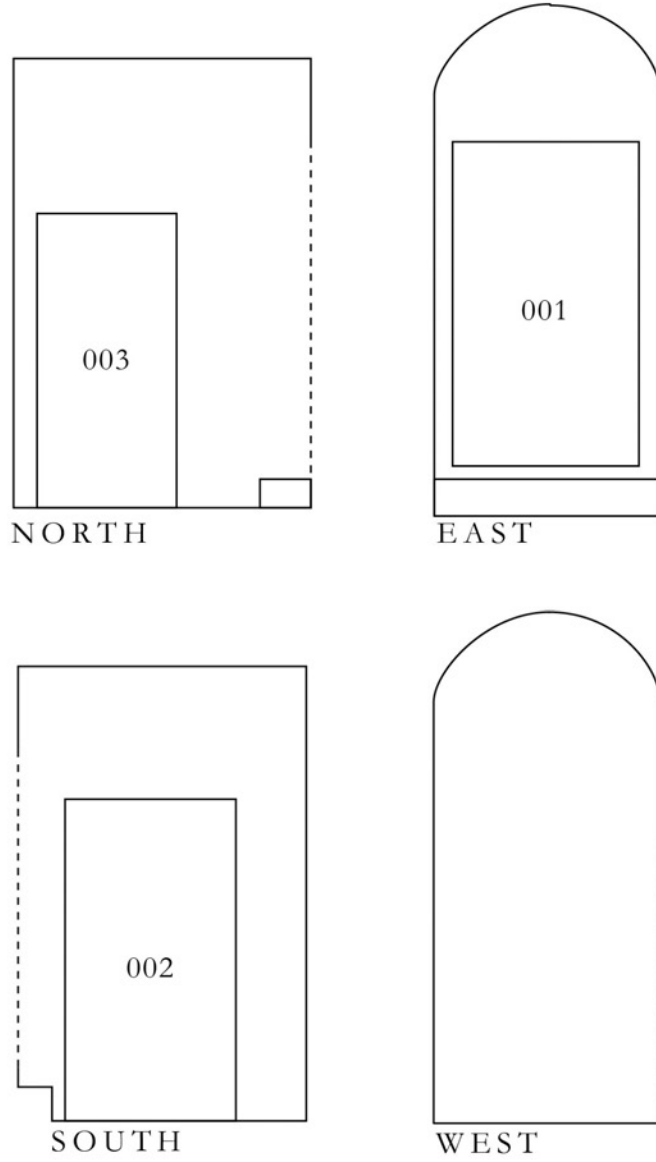
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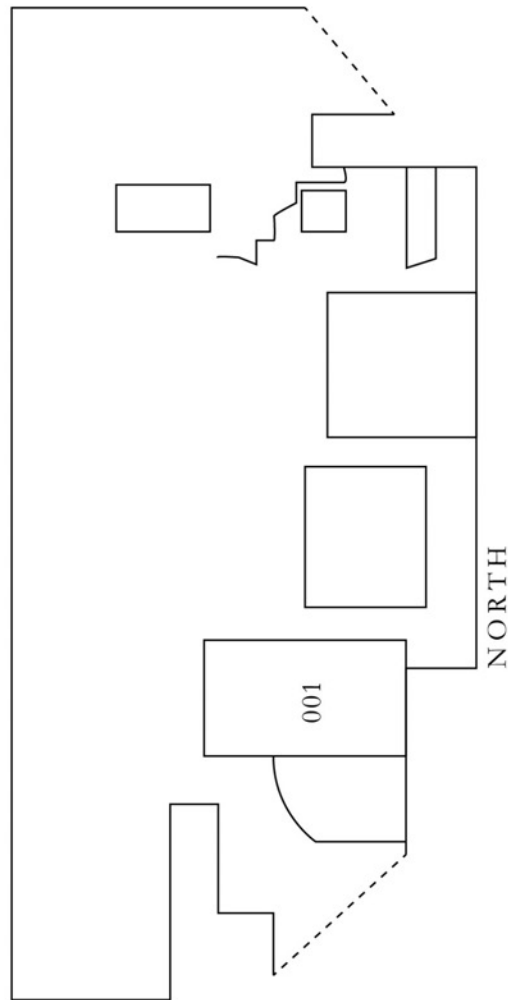
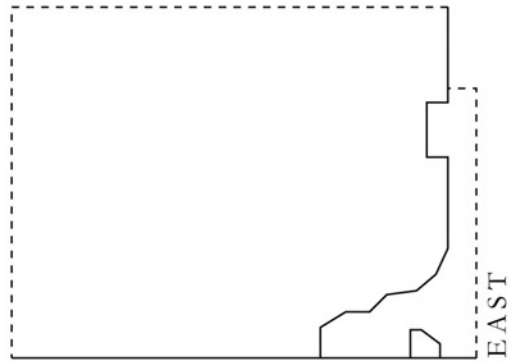
COMPONENT 114.3/4



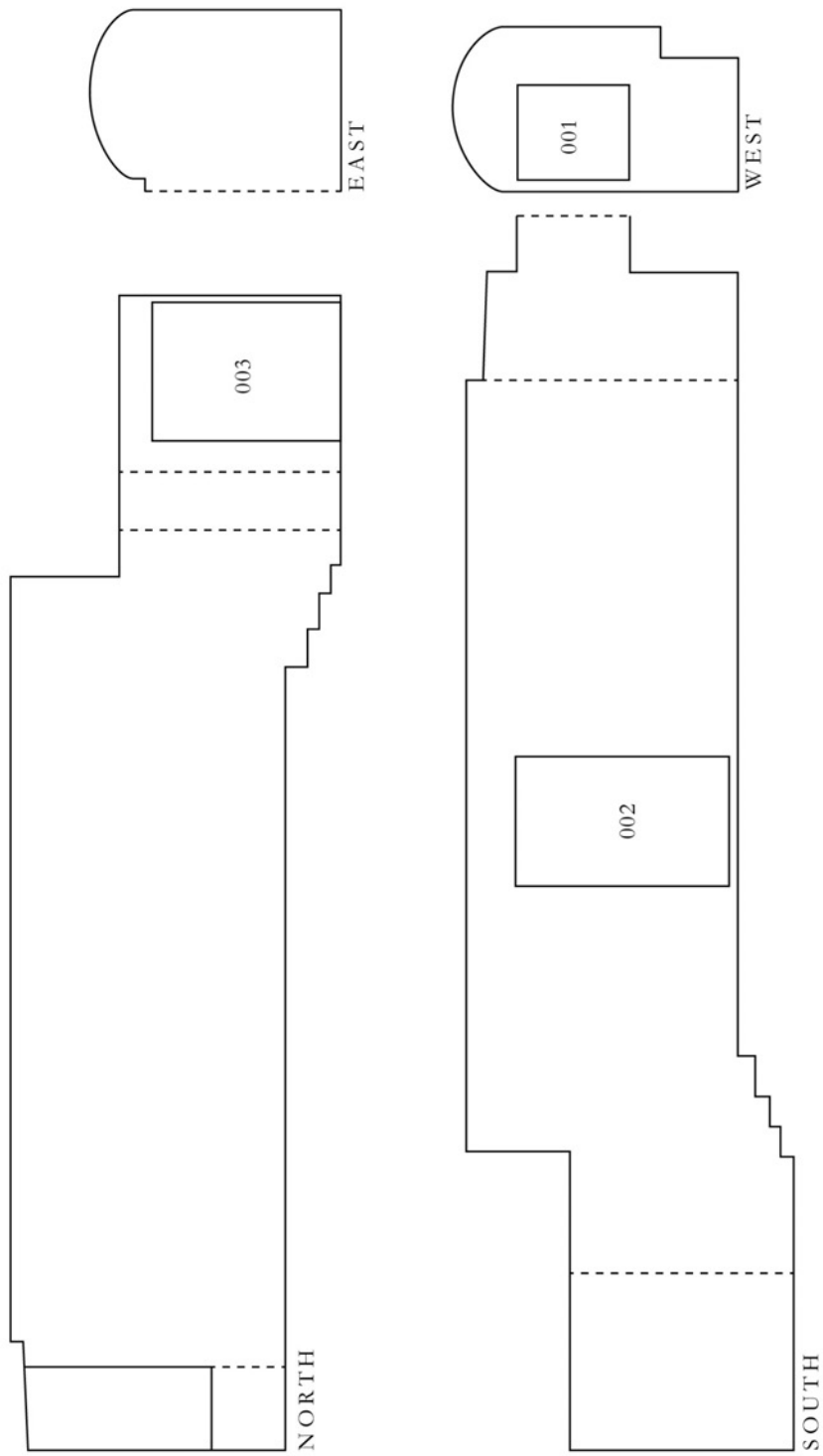
COMPONENT 118



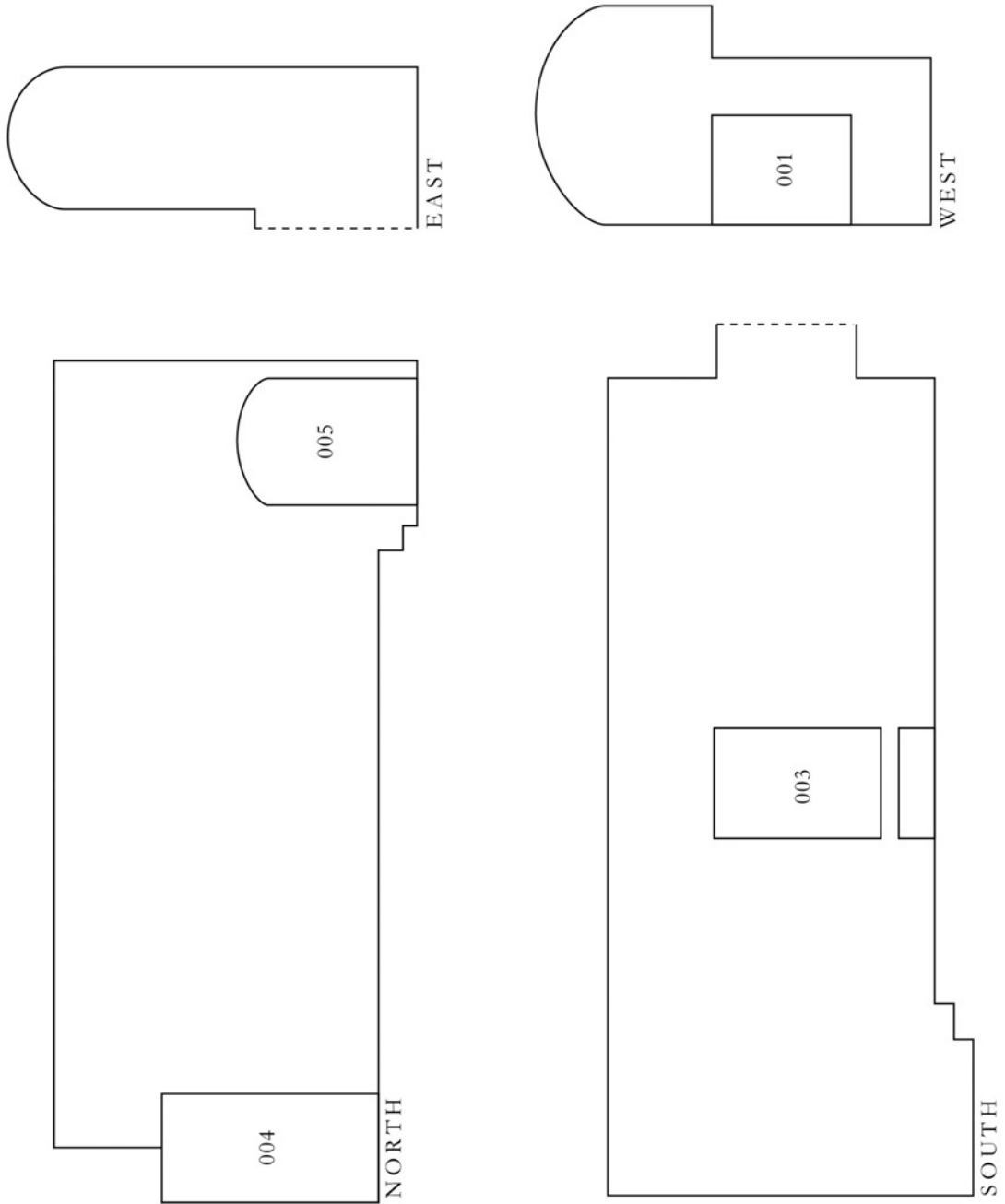
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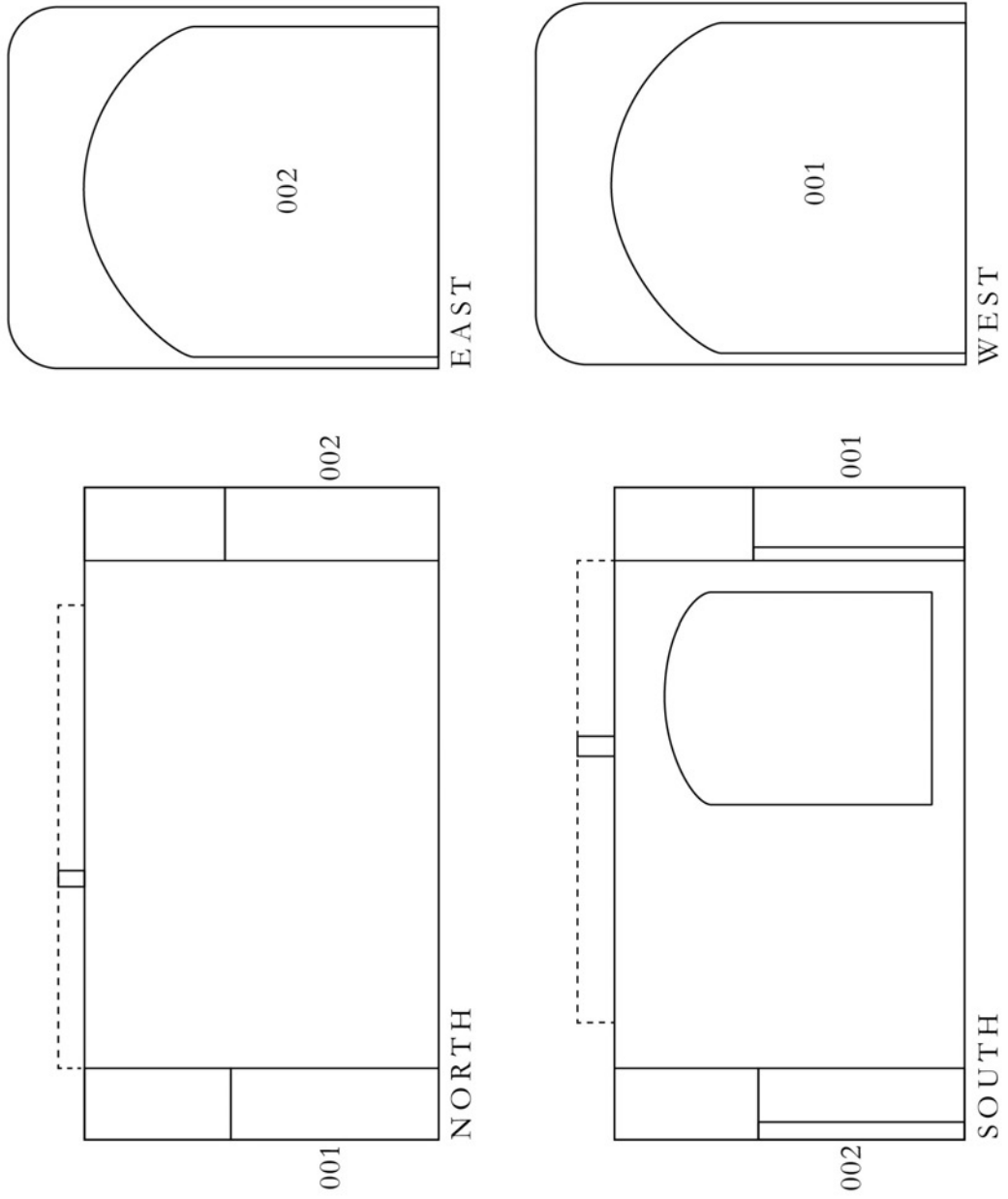
COMPONENT 120



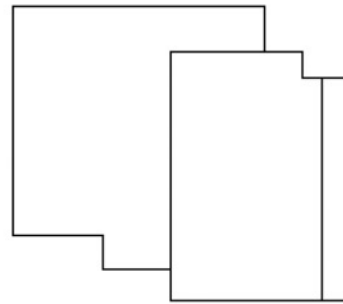
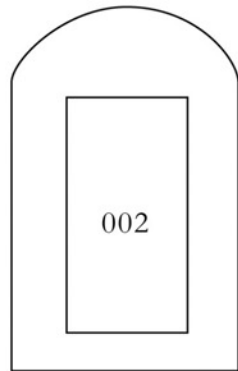
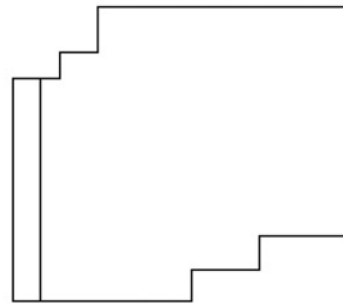
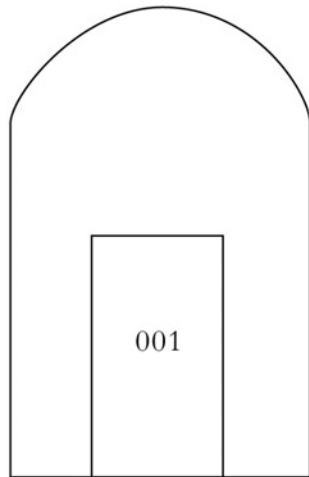
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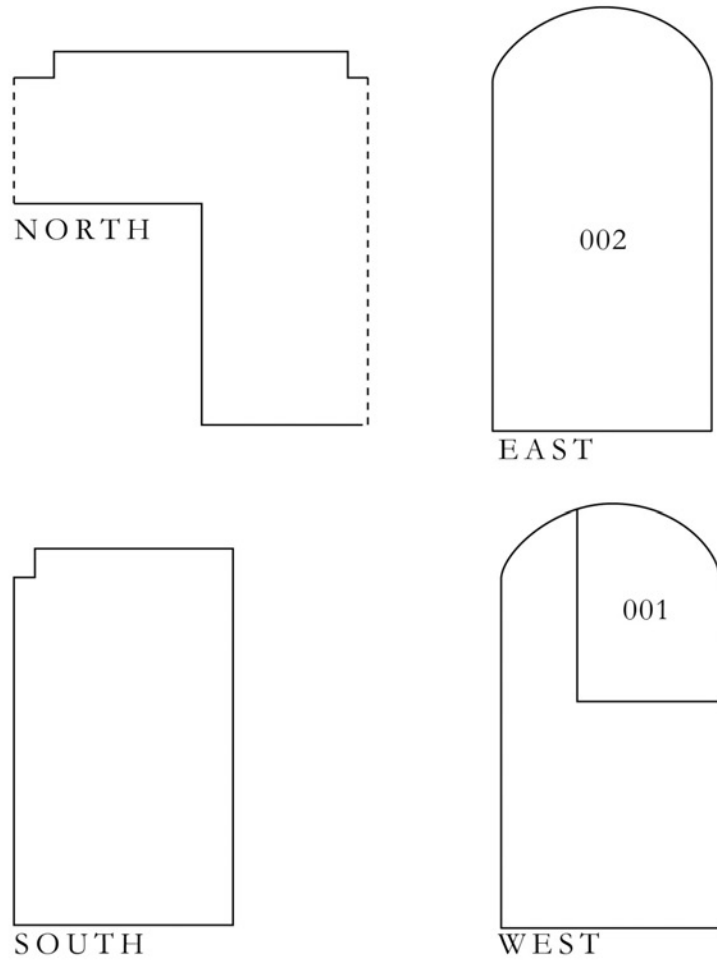
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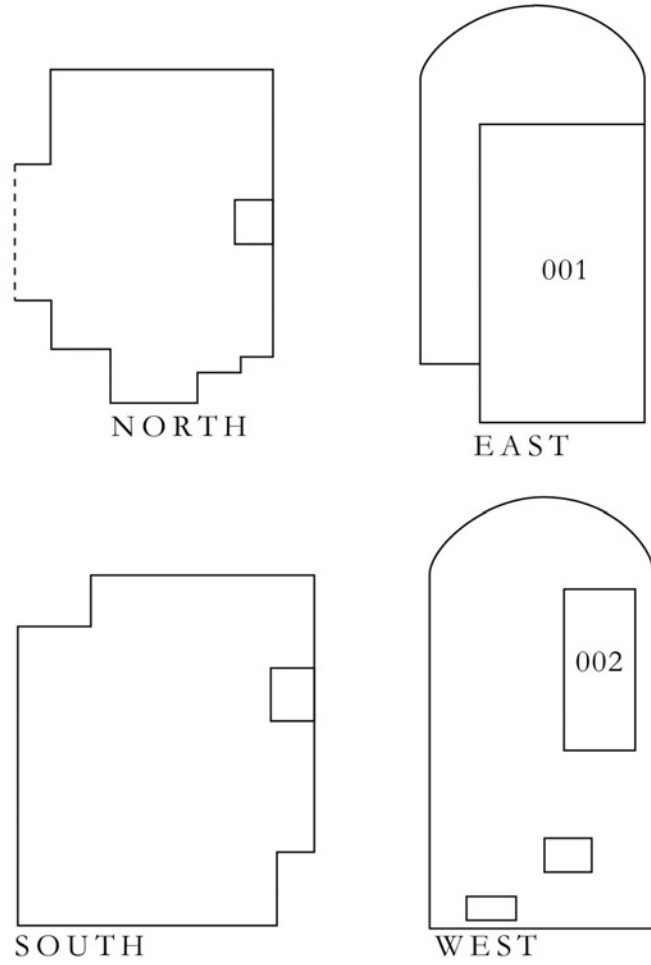
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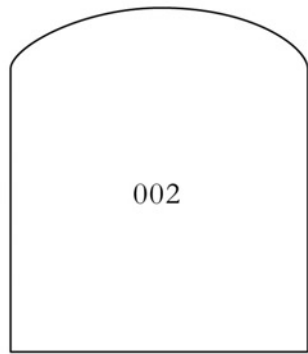
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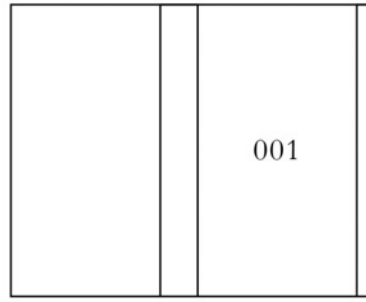
COMPONENT 163



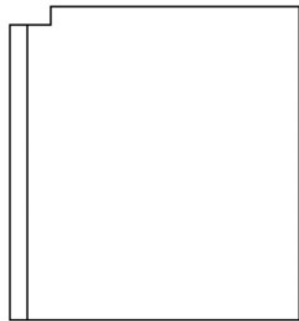
COMPONENT 164



NORTH



EAST



SOUTH



WEST

COMPONENT 165

APPENDIX V: COMPONENT 78 PHASING

INTRODUCTION

Component 78 is located at First Floor level towards the W end of the S range of Linlithgow Palace. It is a rectangular room orientated E/W, with access today from N, E and W, while the S wall is pierced by seven windows.

In the conventional accounts of the Palace, Component 78 was originally built by James III, probably as lodgings. To its W is the contemporary SW tower, while a stair tower existed to its immediate N. This stair was rebuilt slightly further to the N by James IV, who also created the Chapel to the E, probably remodelling further lodgings in order to do so. James the V then inserted a new ceremonial entrance into the S side of the Palace below the E end of Component 78, probably reworking an existing entrance here. In doing so he rebuilt almost the entire S wall of Component 78, and raised its roof line slightly at its E end. A massive N/S arch was put in at this time crossing the room towards its W end.

Today the room has a concrete floor and is open to the elements, with obvious evidence (such as doors and windows) for at least one missing floor level.

METHODOLOGY

A series of 85 context numbers were assigned to the features noted in the fabric of the walls of Component 78. These context were then all assigned to one of six phases. Phase 1 corresponds to the initial construction of the space, conventionally assigned to James III, while Phase 3 relates to the major alterations ascribed to James V.

A series of 8 discrete 'timber systems' have been identified (and marked on the sketches where possible). These are labelled A-H.

Timber System A

A series of 14 squared joist sockets in the N wall only, with a thin horizontal floor scar just above them, this scar is carried on the E and W walls also.

Timber System B

A series of 13 stone corbels with square sockets immediately above them inserted into the N wall and integral to the S wall. The tops of these sockets are 1.2m above the tops of the sockets of Timber System A, and 5.2m above the current floor level. Each socket has a smaller sloping scar below; these may have carried a coombed ceiling.

Timber System C

Hypothetical roof above A; beams resting on wall head of N and S walls, which have later been raised -obscuring the evidence. Base of pitched roof scar of D indicates height of the original wall. Also forms floor for hypothetical attic space below D.

Timber System D

Pitched roof to go with A and C. Projecting pitched moulding on W wall (which has been clawed back later); sits on wall head of E wall, rebated wall face at W end of N wall indicates where base of timbers rested, rebuilt later to E.

Timber System E

Ceiling for the E end of B; rebate on wall head of E ends of N and S walls; beams rested on these. Also forms floor for theoretical attic space.

Timber System F

Pitched roof above E; projecting moulding on E face of the arch that crosses the room, rested on raised wall head of E wall. Shallower angle of pitch than earlier system represented by D. Only covers E end of room.

Timber System G

E/W pitched roof (all others N/S) over W end of Timber System B, other (W) side of roof is other Component 80.

Timber System H

Series of 6 large squared sockets on the W face of the arch that crosses Component 78; W end carried on wall head of W wall. Not sketched.

PHASE 1 - FIRST FLOOR

- Defined by: N wall **022** and **026**; E wall **023** and **027**; S wall **024** and **028**; W wall **025** and **029**.
- Doors: **004** (N) and **007** (N). Possible doors: **005** (N); **011** (E); **013** (W).
- Windows: None. S wall unknown.
- Fireplaces: **001** (N).
- Other: Recess **042** (in W wall build **025**) for door from **004**.
- Floor: Unknown, but at same height as modern concrete floor, carried on stone vaults, so probably paved or tiled, although vaults under the E end rebuilt in Phase 3.
- Ceiling: Timber System A. 14 large squared sockets built into the N wall 4.7 m above the current floor level, S wall rebuilt in Phase 3. Thin horizontal scar above the sockets also runs round the E and W walls, carried floor of room above. First Floor ceiling presumably attached to the underside of the beams.

Discussion

A large rectangular room with a large ornate fireplace in the N wall. Two doors accessed this from the N side, one either side of the earlier stair tower; access may have been possible from E and W (doors here rebuilt or inserted later). Doors work in opposite directions - elaborate face of **004** is on its N side, while this is on the S side of **007**.

Evidence for two wall builds in all 4 walls, with a lower build of random rubble, and an upper build of more regular rectangular blocks laid in rough courses. These two wall fabrics are interpreted as being of single phase. Only a fragment of the S wall survives at its E end, but this seems to reflect the same two builds. The N wall is heavily altered, but the E and W walls seem to have a level break between upper and lower masonry, and the E wall has a prominent very level string course just below the scar of the Timber System A. The S (external) wall runs behind the E wall, all others seem bonded together. The loss of the S wall means the window arrangements are unknown, but its fragmentary survival at least shows the room was the same basic size as is seen today. Probably high status apartments, possibly lodgings, possibly royal.

PHASE 1 - SECOND FLOOR

Defined by: N wall **026** continues up; E wall **027** continues up; S wall **028** continues up; W wall **029** continues up. Patch of ashlar masonry **078** in the N wall part of **026**?

Doors: **008** (N) and **010** (N). None in E and W walls; S wall unknown.

Windows: None. The S wall is unknown.

Fireplaces: **044** (N).

Other: Recess **041** built into **027** (E wall) for door **010** (although **041** is considerably taller than **010**, but their masonry is bonded together).

Floor: Floorboards resting in scar of Timber System A on N, E and W walls.

Ceiling: Unknown, probably beams resting on N and S wall heads, but the walls are raised up in Phase 3 obscuring the evidence. At W end of N wall, upper wall build **034** is recessed to the N from masonry below, this is probably the ledge the ceiling was carried on. The height of the wall head in this phase is marked at the E and W ends by the position of the base of the pitched roof of Timber System D.

Discussion

This floor is the same size as the floor below, and has similar access arrangements (although definitely no access from E or W) and a fireplace in its N wall. It is suggested that it is of lower status however, as the fireplace **044** is smaller than **001** on the floor below. Fireplace **044** has been badly damaged by Phase 3 work, but it seems to carry the same mouldings as **001**. Additionally, the two doors in the N wall, while matching the spacing of those on the First Floor, are plainer. As with the First Floor the window arrangements are unknown.

PHASE 1 - THIRD FLOOR

Defined by: E wall **030**; W wall **031** and **032**. The upper part of the N and S walls are rebuilt in Phase 3, but didn't continue up.

Doors: None known.

Windows: None known.

Fireplaces: None known.

Other: None known.

Floor: Potential to carry a floor on top of Timber System C, itself a hypothetical series of beams resting on the N and S walls.

Ceiling: Timber System D. E wall **030** upper masonry ends with a triangular build that presumably carried a pitched roof. W wall incorporates a series of 'Crow Steps' **032**, which carry the remains of a pitched projecting moulding, clawed back in Phase 3. Roof carried along the length of Component 78, at a steeper pitch to the Phase 3 roof.

Discussion

Theoretical attic space. No known access, so this may be via a hatch in the floor, which would suggest limited use. 'Crow Steps' in the W wall are thought to have been used simply to carry the moulding for the roof; the wall continued up above this as the external E wall of the SW tower.

PHASE 1 - OPEN AIR

Defined by: N wall W end **034**, this turns N at its E end away from component 78; W wall **033**.

Doors: Enigmatic aperture **043** in N wall may be a hatch to access the roof for maintenance purposes.

Windows: None known.

Fireplaces: None known.

Other: None known.

Discussion

W wall continues up as the E face of the SW tower. N wall continues up at its W end, and preserves a corner at its E end where it turns N. This is thought to be the build of the stair tower, rebuilt slightly to the N by James IV. This shows its external masonry was square (at least at this height), although containing a spiral stair. Aperture **043** is a small rectangular opening with a relieving arch built into it which seems integral to wall build **034**. A rebate runs around all four of its sides, and it is blocked (in Phase 3). Small size indicates an aumbry or window, but both seem likely in this location. A small door or hatch accessed from the (now missing) Phase 1 stair tower, for the purposes of roof maintenance, seems most likely.

PHASE 2 - FIRST FLOOR

Defined by: Fireplace **001** in the N wall is altered by the insertion of **049** into its lintel. This is done via cut **048** in filled by **050**.

Discussion

The repair to the lintel of fireplace **001** is the only feature assigned to this phase. Since **001** was built in Phase 1 and goes out of use in Phase 3, alterations during its lifespan become part of Phase 2. In theory the stair tower is rebuilt in this phase slightly to the N of its Phase 1 position, and door **005** provides more direct access to this than the Phase 1 door **004**. Stylistically however **005** matches the definitely Phase 3 door **009** at Second Floor level, so **005** is also assigned to Phase 3.

PHASE 3 - FIRST FLOOR

Defined by: S wall **039**.

Doors: **005** (N) inserted into wall **022**; **011** (E) inserted into wall **023/ 027**.
Possible doors: **012** (W); **013** (W). **004** (N) blocked by **045**.

Windows: **015** (S); **016** (S); **017** (S).

Fireplaces: **002** (S). **001** (N) blocked up by **085**.

Other: Arch **065** built into the base of S wall fabric **039**, below window **017**.

Floor: Unknown, but at the same height as modern concrete floor, carried on stone vaults, so probably paved or tiled, the vaults under the E end are rebuilt in this phase.

Ceiling: Timber System B. Thirteen corbels in the N and S walls, each with a squared socket above them, suggesting the corbels also carried N/S beams individually, not an E/W beam collectively. These features are integral to the S wall build **039**, but are inserted into the N wall build **026** (and cross blocking **058**, **060** and **061** of Phase 1 apertures; see Phase 3, Second Floor, below). The top of these sockets are 1.2 m above the top of the Phase 1 sockets of Timber System A. A smaller angled hole below each socket cut into N and S walls suggests a coombed ceiling. These smaller sockets seem cut into the S wall, so could be a Phase 4 alteration, but such small holes may have not been considered worthy of purpose built sockets, so are attributed to Phase 3 here.

Discussion

During this phase the entire S wall is rebuilt, while the N, E and W walls are retained. This is thought to be principally due to the creation of the new S approach below Component 78, for which **065**, built into the base of the S wall is a relieving arch. No details of windows are known prior to this phase, but the three now built into this wall all have wide bays framed internally by narrow, and externally by broad, three-quarters roll moulding, while the inside of the bays are lined with ashlar masonry. The W window bay is smaller to accommodate the new entrance fore work below it, while the W wall of the W window bay is straight to allow the creation of a small chamber (Component 79), which is accessed from this bay.

A new door in the N wall is created to provide easier access to the repositioned stair tower, with the door to its W blocked-up. The moulding around this door matches that in the N wall at Second Floor level. The Phase 1 door at the E end of the N wall continues in use. A door is inserted into the E wall, which is unusually wide, presumably to provide a suitably impressive entrance to the Chapel to the E, so this may well have

removed evidence for an earlier door. The broad roll moulding around this door matches that on the outside of the windows.

Two doors in the W wall are assigned to Phase 4, but the southern example is almost certainly a remodelling of a Phase 3 door. This door leads to a small chamber (Component 79) accessed from the W wall of the W window; this chamber was created when the S wall of Component 79 was built, so must have been accessible then. The door to its N is a plain door cut through the W wall into the SW tower (Component 80). This seems more likely to be entirely a Phase 4 creation.

The fireplace is moved to the S wall (an exercise repeated on the Second Floor), with the N wall Phase 1 example blocked-up.

The entire ceiling is raised, with the tops of the new beams 1.2m above those of the Phase 1 ceiling. The coombed ceiling would start significantly below this however, and might be designed to hide the projecting corbels from view.

As for Phase 1, this seems to be a high status apartment. Its position next to the Chapel might suggest that it was not designed as accommodation; however the provision of a small closet (Component 79) in the W window bay would be an appropriate feature for sleeping chambers.

The single large fireplace and three large windows, perhaps along with the coombed ceiling, reinforce this impression of prestige. If not accommodation, a function as a grand reception area for assembly before attending the Chapel might be suggested.

PHASE 3 - SECOND FLOOR

- Defined by: N wall build **035** added to top of Phase 1 **026**; E wall **038** added to top of Phase 1 **030**; S wall new build **039** continues up.
- Doors: **009** (N) inserted into wall **026**; door **014** (W) built into the masonry of the W side of the bay of window **018**. Door **008** (N) blocked by **058**; door **010** (N) blocked by **061**.
- Windows: **018** (S); **019** (S); **020** (S); **021** (S). Note **021** is at a higher level than the other three windows, in the position of a Third Floor. However as there is no evidence for anything to support such a Third Floor this is interpreted as a high level Second Floor window.
- Fireplaces: **003** (S). **044** (N) destroyed by cut **059** for the insertion of door **009**.
- Other: Substantial arch **037** is built crossing the room N/S closer to the W than the E end of the component. Vertical slot **083** adjacent to the base of **037**'s N end may have been for timber centring for the construction of the arch, with support at the S end provided by the W side of window bay **019**. **037** is supported by a corbel course to both N and S, **036** to the N runs up to the W wall along the top of the Phase 1 wall head, while **040** in the S wall is restricted to the base of the arch. Phase 1 aperture **043** runs behind the N end of arch **037** and is blocked by **062**. The projecting moulding carried on **032** (part of Phase 1 (Timber System D) is clawed back by cut **077**.
- Floor: Presumed plank floor carried on top of beams of Timber System B.
- Ceiling: To E of arch **037** Timber System E comprises a rebate running along the inside top of the N wall (**035**) and S wall (**039**). These presumably supported N/S beams. To the W of **037** the ceiling seems to have been significantly higher, carried by Timber System H. This comprises six large squared sockets in the W face of **037**, with the W end of the beams these supported carried on the top of W wall **033**.

Discussion

The raising of the floor level by 1.2m from that of Phase 1 is a major modification in this phase, an act which had significant consequences. The two earlier N wall doors were now redundant, and replaced by a single door at the new floor level, the only entrance into this Second Floor room. This door removed much of the Phase 1 fireplace, to be replaced by one in the S wall. The N side of the new door (in Component 106) requires steps down to reach the floor level on this side.

The most likely explanation for the altered floor level is to provide external symmetry for the windows. As in the First Floor there are three of these at the same height, with a further example higher up at the W end of the S wall. Externally these carry the same broad 3/4 roll moulding as the First Floor examples, but they are smaller. Internally the Second Floor examples are plainer, missing the surrounding roll moulding, and the ashlar lining to the bays of those below.

The western window at Second Floor level has a door built into the W side of its bay. This leads into a small chamber (Component 135) mirroring the arrangements on the First Floor. This small room is inaccessible today.

Perhaps the most unusual feature of this floor is the massive arch crossing the room N/S. The ceiling to this Second Floor room seems to be at a totally different height either side of this arch. The effect is so extreme that a further window exists at Third Floor level at the W end, with no obvious sign of a floor to go with it. The lack of a door in the W side of this top window, unlike the matching first and Second Floor westernmost window bays below, also indicates that this window bay was not accessible.

Therefore it appears that at the W end of this room the ceiling would have suddenly risen and encompassed an extra window. The explanation for this seems to be that James V wished to create a symmetrical pair of towers along the S side of the Palace, to create a visual spectacle for his reworked grand S entrance. The SW tower built by James III was significantly smaller than the SE tower, so a fake addition was added to the E side of the tower, supported by the arch, and complete with an inaccessible window. The S face of this SW tower is entirely refaced at the same time, blocking all its existing S facing windows.

As for Phase 1, this floor could be thought to be of lower status than the First Floor, suggested by the smaller fireplace and simpler window bays. A prestigious space, large and well lit is still evident. A function as a sleeping apartment is more likely here than the First Floor, as the only entrance is to the N, with no direct access to the Chapel to the E. The remarkable raised ceiling at the W end seems to be entirely related to a desire to create a symmetrical exterior façade.

PHASE 3 - THIRD FLOOR

Defined by: E wall **038** added to Phase 1 **030**. W wall provided by the E face of arch **037**.

Floor: Carried on top of Timber System E, the ceiling of the Second Floor. Note this floor only extends over the eastern 2/3 of Component 78. A separate Third Floor space is theoretically possible to the W of **037**, with its floor resting on the top of the beams of Timber System H.

Ceiling: To E of arch **037** is Timber System F. A pitched roof carried on projecting moulding on the E face of **037** and resting on the top of E wall **038**. Pitch of roof line is shallower than Phase 1 roof, represented by Timber System D. To W of **037** is Timber System G. Pitched roof orientated E/W rather than N/S, with the W side of the roof covering Component 80, the SW tower.

Discussion

The Third Floor is a theoretical attic space - actually two different attics on either side of the arch across the room. These spaces were not directly accessible to each other; indeed no form of access was noted. They may therefore have never seen significant use, indeed their only function may have been to allow repairs to the roof to be carried out. Access through a hatch in their floors is always possible, even if it cannot be demonstrated.

The eastern space has its W wall formed by the N/S arch mentioned above. As this arch rises in its centre it would appear to be higher than the floor level for any hypothetical attic. This would mean that a gap was left in the W wall in which it would be possible to look down into the W end of the Second Floor room. This gap may have been sealed off by a timber partition, but no evidence for this was seen.

PHASE 4 - FIRST FLOOR

Defined by: Alterations outlined below.

Doors: Insertion / alteration of door **012** (W) into W side of window bay **015**;
Insertion / alteration of door **013** (W) into wall **025**; Insertion / alteration of door **006** (N) into wall **022**. The lintel of door **007** (N) is lowered, lintel **056** inserted by cut **055** and in filled by **057**.

Windows: Alteration to window **017** (S) and arch **065** (S) by cut **066** in filled by **067**.

Fireplaces: Alteration to fireplace **002** (S), new hood moulding **069** and relieving arch **070** added by cut **068**.

Discussion

The door in the western window bay is likely to be an alteration to a Phase 3 door, as it leads to Component 79, a space created in Phase 3 when the S wall of Component 78 was built. That to its N is inserted into the Phase 1 W wall, but its simple chamfer surround differs from earlier doors, so it is suggested that this is later. It is unknown if access through the W wall was possible earlier.

A new door is inserted into the Phase 1 N wall, again its simple mouldings suggest a later date than the uniform designs of Phase 3. The Phase 1 door at the E end of the wall has its lintel lowered. It is unknown when exactly or why this was done, but as the ceiling of the First Floor was raised in Phase 3 it seems unlikely to belong to this phase.

The alteration to the Phase 3 S window is of unknown function. The alteration to the fireplace appears to be entirely cosmetic, designed to allow the insertion of a hood moulding. The same operation was carried out on the floor above.

PHASE 4 - SECOND FLOOR

Defined by: Alterations outlined below.

Fireplaces: Alteration to fireplace **003** (S), new hood moulding **072** added by cut **071**.

Discussion

The fireplace has a new hood moulding inserted; a similar operation was carried out on the First Floor fireplace.

PHASE 5 - FIRST FLOOR

Defined by: Alterations outlined below.

Doors: Phase 4 door **006** (N) has two alterations carried out: a cut **053** in its E margin is in filled by **054**; and its W margin is replaced by **079**, a crudely built margin of random rubble.

Discussion

Two alterations are carried out to a door in the N wall. These may relate to work on its N side, within component 81, where the remains of a wall run N from the E side of the door.

PHASE 6 - FIRST FLOOR

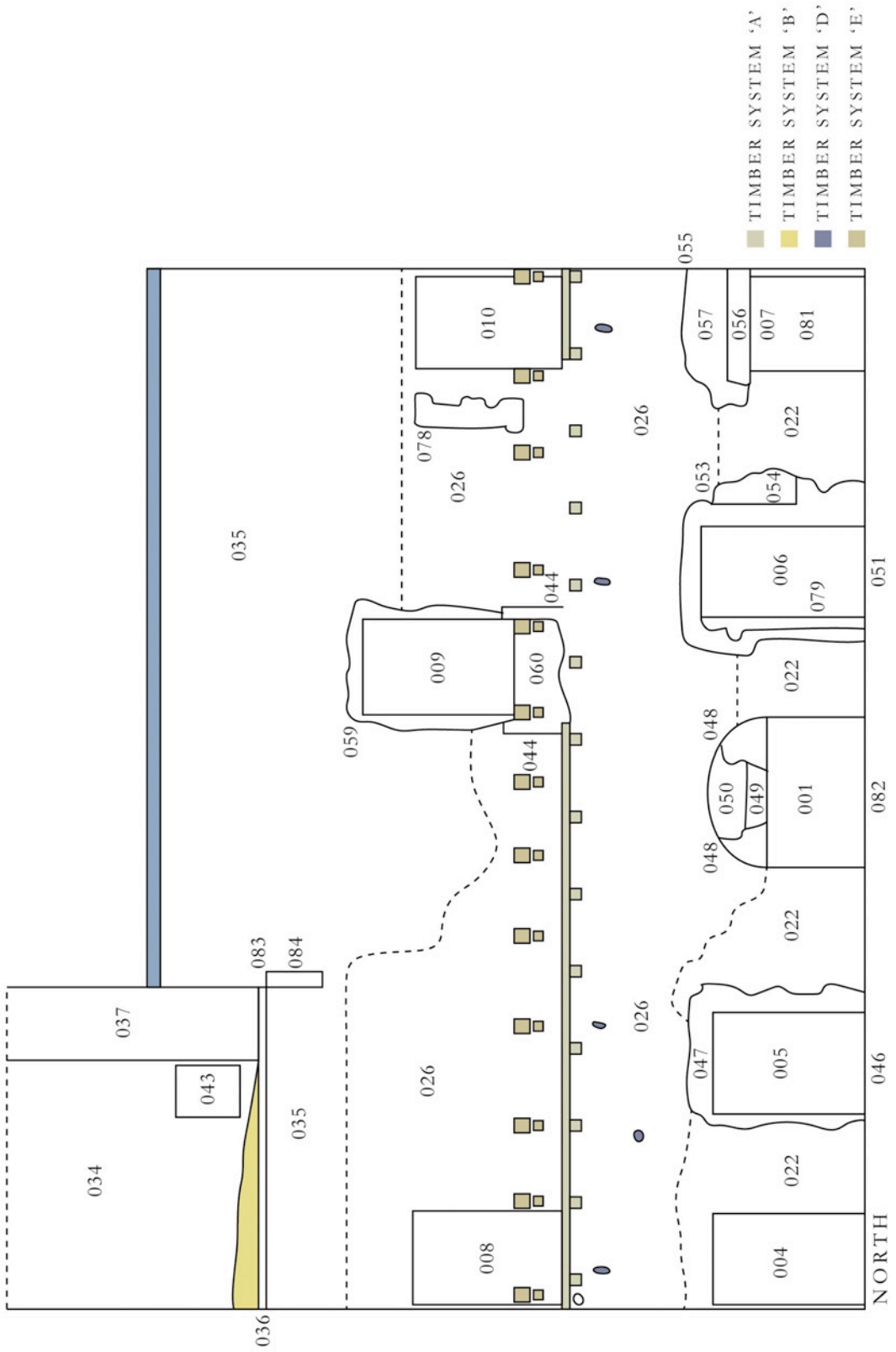
Defined by: Alterations outlined below.

Doors: Door **006** (N) is blocked by **080**. Door aperture **007** (N) has a wooden door **081** inserted into it.

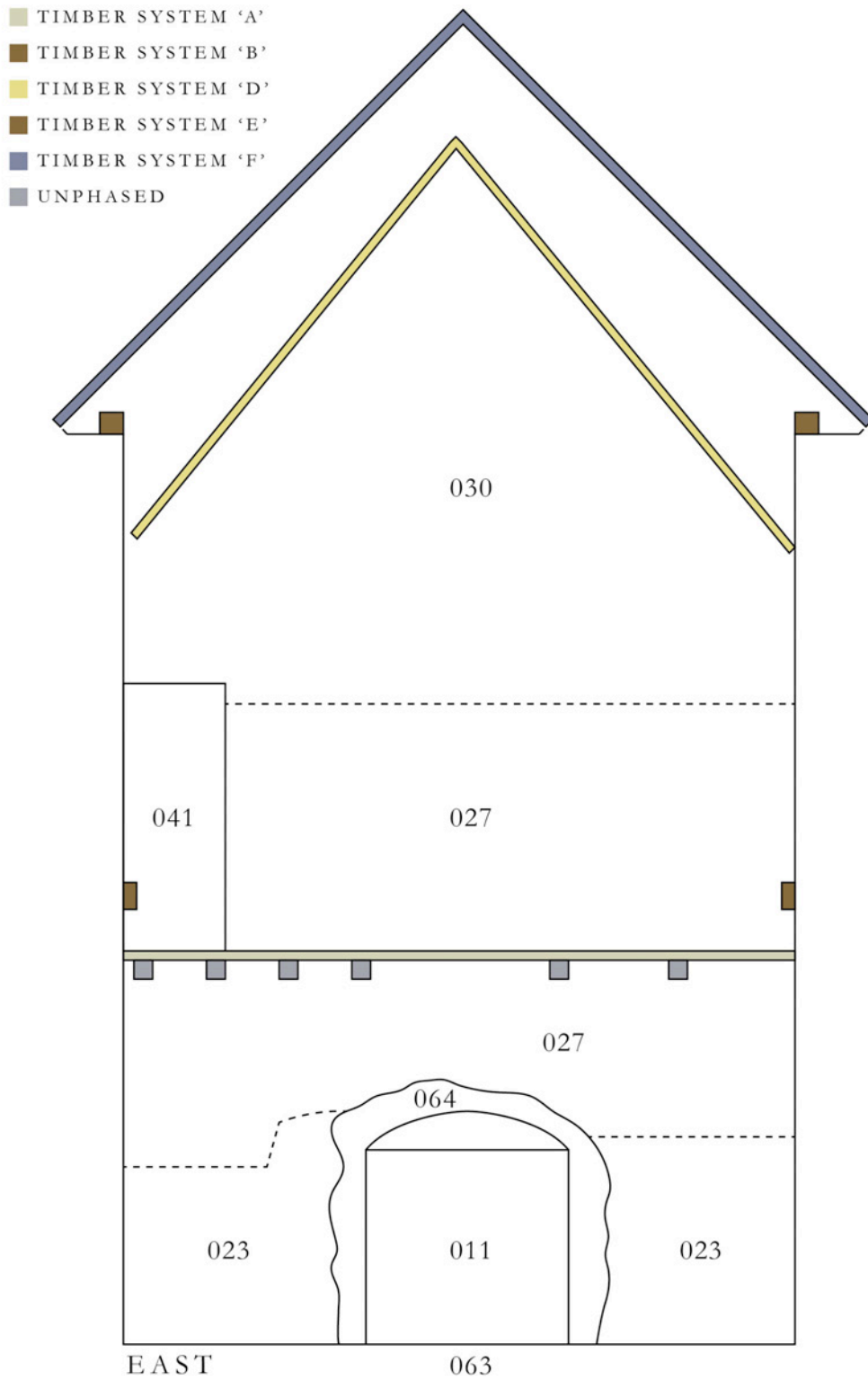
Floor: Concrete floor **082** is laid.

Discussion

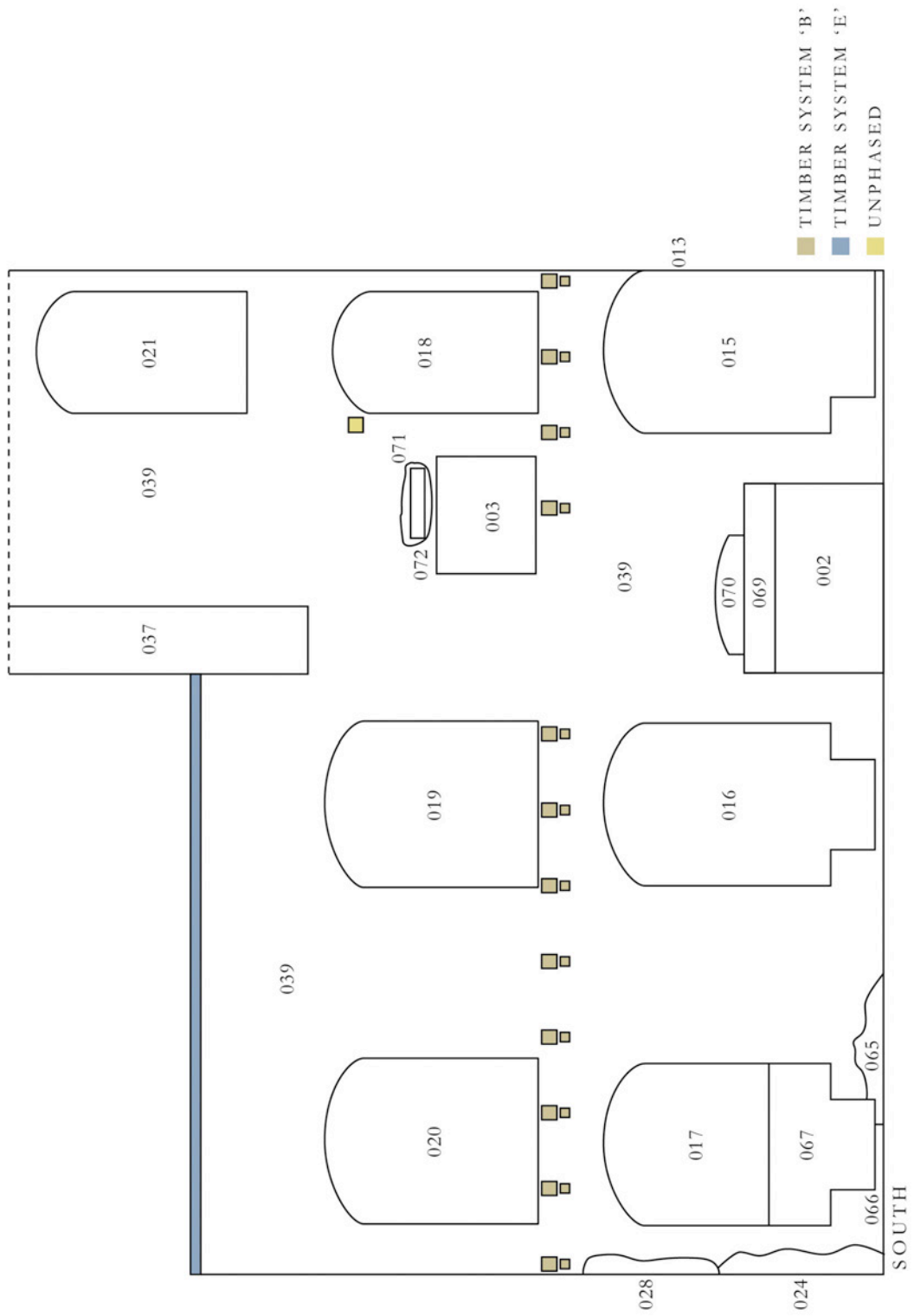
Door **006** is altered in Phase 5, so must be blocked in Phase 6. The concrete floor and wooden doorway are likely to be more recent operations.



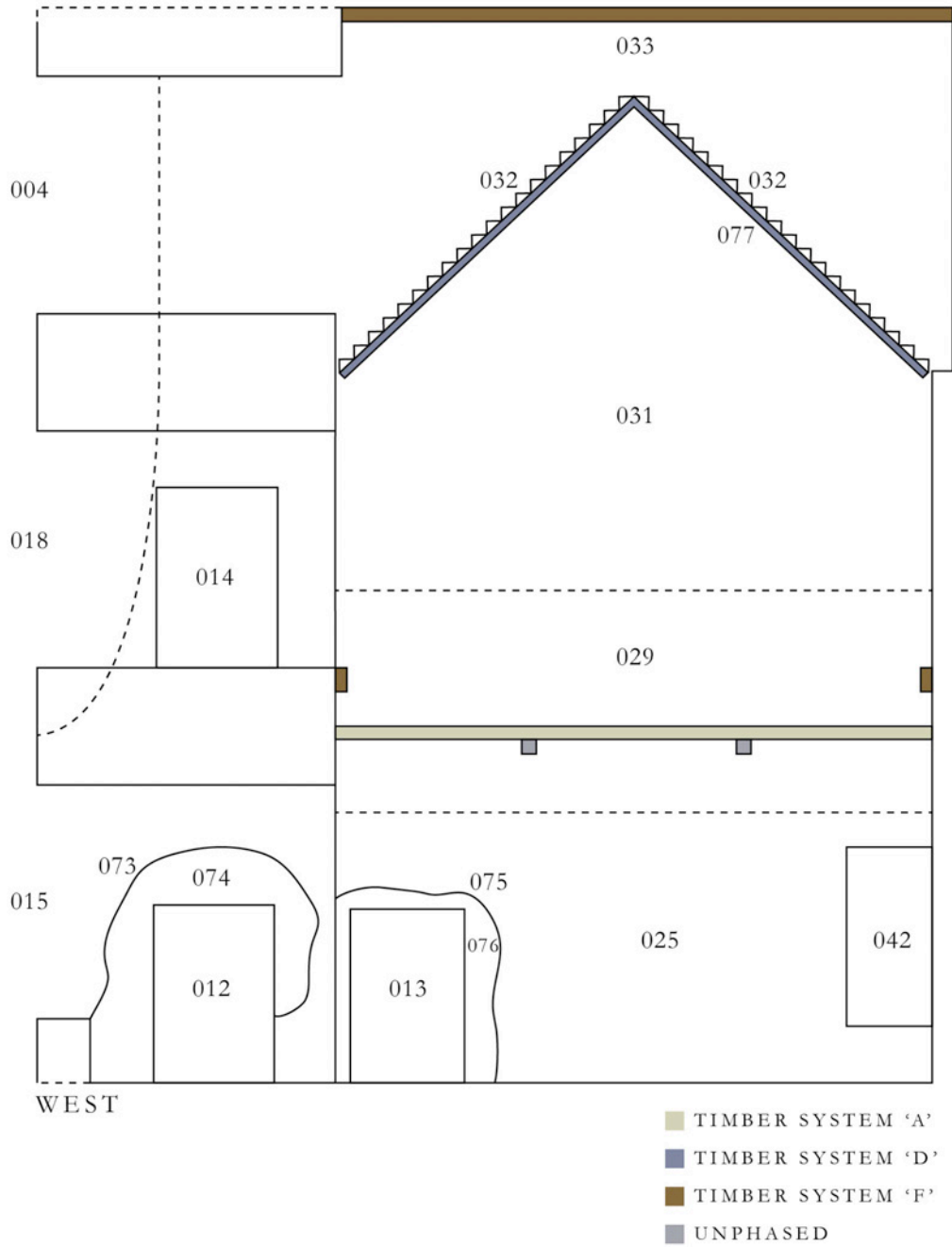
COMPONENT 78.1



COMPONENT 78.2



COMPONENT 78.3



COMPONENT 78.4