

Ornamental structures in the medieval gardens of Scotland

Scott Cooper*

ABSTRACT

This article examines evidence for the existence of ornamental structures within gardens belonging to the aristocracy of medieval Scotland. To complement this study it also evaluates evidence for closely related structures, such as those set within castle courtyards and hunting parks. Like garden buildings, these were relatively small in scale and apparently designed with as much, if not more, concern for their aesthetic as their practical value. In this connection, the form, sources and iconography of the surviving fountain at Linlithgow Palace are closely assessed, and it is suggested that this sophisticated work of architecture must have consolidated and further inspired a tradition for creating ornamental buildings within the garden (and indeed the parks and courtyards) of Scotland's finest homes.

LITERARY GARDENS

The study of gardens and their architecture during the medieval and Early Modern periods in Scotland suffers, as do so many other areas of the country's cultural history, from the scarceness of primary source material.¹ From the evidence of contemporary poetry, however, there can be little doubt that ornamental gardens played a significant role in the lives of Scotland's courtiers and kings. The events of William Dunbar's early 16th-century allegorical poem, *The Golden Targe*, take place within a 'park of most plesere' that is replete with 'flouris faire';² in the *Thrissil and the Rois*, Dunbar's narrator 'enterit in a lusty gairding gent [beautiful] . . . most dulce and redolent / Off herb and flour and tendir plantis sueit, / And grene levis doing of dew doun fleit',³ and in *The Tretis of the Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo*, the poet recounts a visit to 'ane gudlie grein garth, full of gay flouris, / Hegeit, of ane huge hicht, with hawthorne treis' where he happens upon 'thre gay ladeis sit in ane grene arbeir, / All grathit in to garlandis of fresche gudlie flouris.'⁴ Equally vivid are the descriptions penned by Dunbar's contemporary, Gavin Douglas, whose *Palice of Honour* begins with the poet walking at dawn through a garden in which

The fragrant flouris blomand in thar seis
Ouirspred the leuis of natures Tapestreis;
Abone the quhilk with heuinly Harmoneis
The birdis sat on twystis and on greis,
Melodiously makand thair kyndlie gleis,
Quhais schill noitis fordynned all the skyis.⁵

* Garden History Society, Glasite Meeting House, 33 Barony Street, Edinburgh EH3 6NX

While these gardens may have been imaginary, they surely drew on actual examples: certainly that described in *Tayis Bank* — a poem generally attributed to Dunbar and Douglas's patron, James IV — seems to relate to Stobhall in Perthshire, where the young king courted his 'dyament of delyt', Margaret Drummond, in a 'bour / with blosumes broun and blew, / Ofret with mony fair fresch flour, Helsum of hevinly hew'.⁶ Evocative though all these lines are, beyond the single reference to the 'grene arbeir' (an 'arbour' was a feature composed of vines trained around a wooden substructure, generally forming a tunnel or simple shelter) they offer no real indication of the actual layout and content of Scotland's medieval gardens. Sadly, there are no plans, topographical surveys, nor detailed written descriptions of such gardens prior to the 17th century; rather it is from the dry bones of the royal accounts and monastic chartularies that evidence must be gleaned. As a result, any suggestion as to their appearance must be conjectural. However, if it is accepted that immigration, foreign trading and the prevalence of monastic houses provided the country with a cultural background typical of northern European nations, and that the climate was, at least for much of the 14th and 15th centuries, warmer than that of today, then the altogether more abundant documentation regarding the layout and content of demesnes elsewhere in Europe might generally apply to those in Scotland too.⁷

SCOTLAND AND EUROPE

The appearance of European gardens may be used, then, as the backdrop against which the particulars of those in Scotland might be projected, and for this purpose the painted miniatures that illuminate contemporary French and Flemish manuscripts cannot be bettered. These indicate that the finest Scottish medieval gardens would have adorned the homes of aristocrats or clergy and would very probably have featured a lawn interspersed with flowers, shrubs, low trellis covered with vines or roses, turf benches and perhaps a pool and orchard.⁸ Regarding ornamental structures they would have most commonly contained either a fountain⁹ or an arbour. However, other types of garden buildings are known to have existed across Europe. Summer-houses were constructed amid the gardens created at Palermo by Roger II (r.1129–54), the Norman king of Sicily; at the Iberian garden of Tafalla (begun 1405); at the Royal Mews, Charing Cross (erected 1440–1); and upon an island in the River Thames near Richmond Palace (erected in the 1380s).¹⁰ Aviaries were constructed at Winchester Castle during the 12th century, at Westminster Palace in the 13th century¹¹ and at the Spanish estate of Olite around the turn of the 15th century.¹² At the French palace of Hesdin, on the other hand, Count Robert II of Artois enclosed a park in 1295, within which he constructed not only an aviary but also a pavilion amongst marshland, a revolving summer-house, a chapel of glass and a stone tower.¹³

It seems reasonable to assume that at least the more basic of these sorts of building would have ornamented Scotland's gardens. A little evidence can indeed be found for the possible existence of three such structures: these are a fountain or well-head at Edinburgh, an aviary at Dumbarton and a summer-house at Perth.

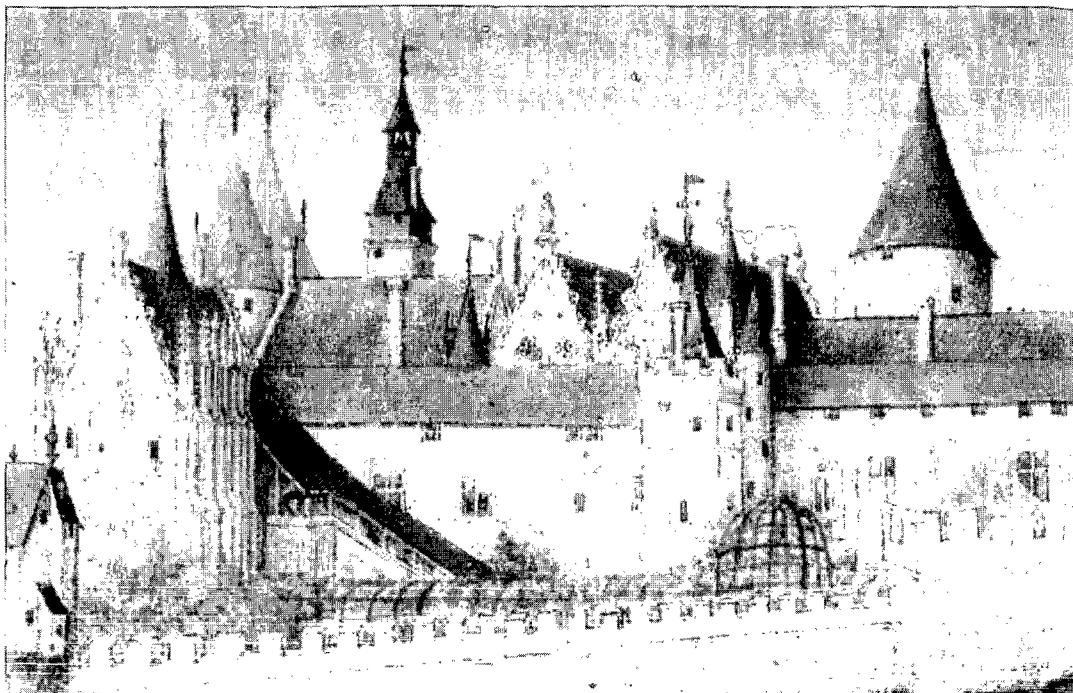
Founded by David I and endowed for the Canons Regular of the rule of Saint Augustine, Holyrood Abbey was constructed in its present position from 1128. Around this time it was bestowed with the church of St Cuthbert (which was located below the walls of Edinburgh Castle) and all its dependencies, amongst which was a plot of land bounded by a *fonte* — a fountain or well-head — that rose 'near the corner of the king's garden on the road leading to Saint Cuthbert's church'.¹⁴ Whatever the nature of the structure, given its association with a royal garden, it seems likely to have been in some way ornamental.¹⁵

In 1326, the manor of Cardross on the River Clyde was acquired by Robert the Bruce. It is recorded as having possessed both a garden and a park. By 1329 a house for the royal falcons was repaired and re-roofed at a cost of two shillings. Whether this aviary was ornamental can not be determined, however, the fact that it was surrounded by a hedge suggests that it may not only have been set within a garden but also constructed with some regard to its aesthetic value.¹⁶

Finally, Perth tradition relates a reference to a 'Gilten Arbour' at the town's former Dominican Priory, an occasional residence for the nation's monarchs. Reputedly attached to the Priory and overlooking the North Inch, the structure is said to have been enriched with gilded (hence 'gilten') detailing, and to have contained an elaborate ceiling decorated with allegorical and astronomical figures, while its roof is claimed to have provided the platform from which Robert III viewed the notorious 'Battle of the Clans' in 1396.¹⁷ This anecdotal account of an arbour with a stout roof and painted ceiling¹⁸ sets it quite apart from typical, vine-clad, trellis-work examples; rather it describes a highly elaborate building more closely related to the open loggia — a form that may well have been known to Scotland's nobility.¹⁹

The predominance of arbours and fountains within Europe's gardens continued into the Early Modern period, though by the mid 16th century a new type of structure — the banqueting house — was also finding favour. Between 1414 and 1417, Henry V of England had an enclosed quadrangular pleasance of four acres created within a marsh adjoining the 'Great Pool' at Kenilworth. Enclosed by two moats it contained towers at each of its corners with a banqueting house at its heart, and outside a dock for boats to bring parties of courtiers on summer outings from the castle.²⁰ A year after its completion James I, then aged 24, was incarcerated at the castle as part of his 18-year internment amongst the royal and Lancastrian residences of England.²¹ This remarkable creation must have intrigued the captured king;²² certainly he was engaged by the vista from his cell in the 'Marshal's Tower' at Windsor, describing the castle's gardens in his autobiographical love poem *The Kingis Quhair*.²³ Between 1420–2, James accompanied his captor on a trip to France, and there too he must have seen a good many of Europe's most splendid estates.²⁴ Therefore, given James's experience of, and evident sensitivity for, fine gardens, it seems likely that when he came to lay out his own at Edinburgh Castle in 1435, its appearance would have recalled those he had seen in his youth, and, as such, might well have included aviaries, loggias, banqueting houses, fountains and arbours — at least the latter of these are likely to have been created subsequently at the royal hunting lodge of Falkland.²⁵

During the regency which followed James I's death in 1437, the long-established policy of raising the influence of Scottish royalty abroad through propitious marriage was continued. The hand of a Burgundian princess was negotiated for the heir and in 1449, at the age of 19, James II was married to Marie of Gueldres.²⁶ As the daughter of the Duke of Gueldres and niece of the Duke of Burgundy, the credentials of the king's new wife were impeccable. However, the improved status of his court in Europe appears not to have been celebrated in architecture with any significant patronage. The comparative sparsity of major commissions during James II's reign is perhaps symptomatic of the low priority he gave the arts. As such it is remarkable to find the regular recording of royal garden-work beginning during his reign, with a gardener at Falkland first noted as being employed from 1451 onwards and improvement work being undertaken at a garden within Stirling Castle two years later.²⁷ Now, if the garden at this time 'was the especial province of women',²⁸ it might be suggested that this modest surge in royal gardening was achieved through the efforts of the new queen. Certainly it seems reasonable to assume that Marie would have been familiar with the aesthetic and allegorical value of a garden. Contemporary miniatures contained within illuminated manuscripts depict the palaces of Marie's blood-relatives enveloped by enclosed gardens of arbours and covered walks.²⁹ The garden and



ILLUS 1 Extract from the Month of June, in the Duc de Berry's *Très Riches Heures*, illuminated by Pol de Limbourg in 1409–16. (Musée Condé, Chantilly, France)

its architecture were essential to the mechanics of the Burgundian ducal court and quickly assumed not only a practical, but a symbolic significance.³⁰ Amongst these, the *hortus conclusus* (that is, the 'enclosed garden') represented the qualities of the Virgin and was assumed by Duchess Isabella — Marie's aunt — as her own device. It is therefore not surprising to find the queen undertaking gardening works at her personal residence of Falkland within a year of her husband's death.³¹ In 1461 the Exchequer Rolls reveal the creation of two rooms within an existing gallery at the Palace.³² By implication, the gallery was both within the main building and acting as more than a simple corridor. Such a gallery was without precedent in Scotland or England and was perhaps an early example of Marie's influence, inspired by examples from the European mainland.³³ The alteration of the gallery coincided with payments for the creation of a new chamber for the queen with a door leading to a new pleasure garden below.³⁴ It is intriguing to consider a relationship between these various features, since if, as is likely, stairs led from the queen's chamber (presumably at or above the first floor), to gardens below, the arrangement may have been similar to the demesnes of Marie's uncle, the Duc de Berry (illus 1).³⁵

James III inherited something of his mother's evident finesse becoming the greatest patron of Scottish arts up to that date.³⁶ Expanding his grandfather's palace at Linlithgow along Italianate lines³⁷ he had established a garden there by his death in 1488.³⁸ If this is reflective of a fancy for the art of gardening amongst the King's myriad interests, then the employment of two keepers of the grounds at Stirling Castle between 1479 and 1480, rather than the customary one, might serve to confirm this.³⁹ The location of this garden is unknown, though it seems very likely that it was set within the walls of the castle, and that it may have been used to receive two Spanish

ambassadors in the winter of 1495.⁴⁰ Indeed, if this was the case, it may have contained some form of garden-room to shelter the proceedings from the seasonal weather.

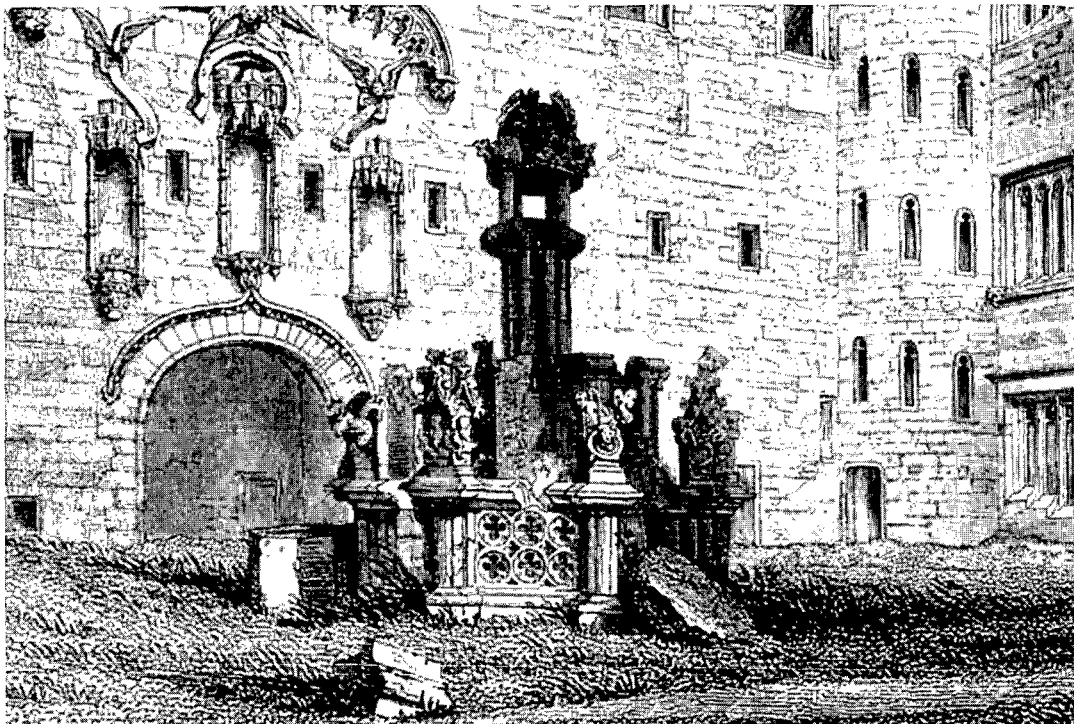
The patronage of James IV was at least as progressive as that of his father; his tastes as cosmopolitan as they were educated.⁴¹ Amongst his artistic achievements — and they were many — the gardens he created at Stirling are of particular interest. Their development at this time can be divided into two phases. The first involved the creation of new gardens within the castle ward in 1493;⁴² the second the laying-out of ‘new gardens below the walls of the castle’ between 1501–3.⁴³ That this *nove gardine* was in some measure ornamental is suggested by its contents: hedges, fruit trees and vines, any one of which could have been trained to form arbours.⁴⁴ The creation of the garden spans precisely the period between the year of the restart of James’s negotiations for the hand of Margaret Tudor of England and that of the ensuing marriage.⁴⁵ James would have learnt of Henry VII’s impressive new garden at Richmond Palace from his ambassadors dispatched to London to negotiate the terms of the contract of marriage.⁴⁶ The creation of a Stewart equivalent could at once answer the work of his rival and prospective father-in-law and gild the prospect of his queen’s new home. Its appearance is unknown though the presence of French gardeners hints at the continuing influence of a country increasingly dominant in the art of gardening.⁴⁷ If it did defer in content and appearance to the pleasure grounds of the French royal family then it may be speculated that the king’s *magno giardino* at Stirling would have done much to consolidate and promote a tradition not only for arbours but perhaps garden architecture of all forms across Scotland.⁴⁸

LINLITHGOW PALACE FOUNTAIN

In September 1536, James V left Kirkcaldy for Dieppe at the age of 24 in pursuit of a fitting wife. While securing the hand of Madeleine de Valois, James fell under the spell of the royal court of her father, François I, and became imbued with the French king’s taste for architectural patronage. On his return to Scotland James immediately initiated large-scale remodelling and extension work to each of the royal residences of Stirling, Falkland and Linlithgow. Moreover, for each of the latter two he commissioned a fountain.⁴⁹ That at Falkland has long since disappeared and nothing is known of its appearance;⁵⁰ the fountain at Linlithgow, however, survives in a restored state at the centre of the Palace courtyard⁵¹ (illus 2 & 3) Though it is not strictly a garden building, the fountain is so closely related to — and would surely have been so profoundly influential upon — the genre that it merits some analysis.⁵²

Rising like a vast, Gothic wedding cake all iced in ashlar, the fountain is an exquisite confection of pinnacles, statuary, crockets and quatrefoils. As resolute as it is ostentatious, it is easy to understand how so remarkable a structure could once have been earnestly considered ‘the beautifullest Fountain in the World’.⁵³ A large, octagonal basin with pinnacled angle colonnettes forms its base, from which cusped buttresses fly to a second similar though smaller cistern. Upon this, individual statues rest at each corner and effect to hide the column that supports a third bowl lined with retching gargoyles. From here, four slender clustered-columns rise to support a robust, enclosed crown — finely wrought, superbly crafted and unquestionably intended to form the focal point of the entire agglomeration.

Although the quality of the fountain can hardly be questioned, it might be suggested that the choice of a Gothic idiom was, at this time and for this type of building, a little surprising. James was contemporaneously making use of European craftsmen to create a classical courtyard at Falkland inspired directly by the French châteaux in which he had stayed.⁵⁴ He was, then, at ease with the architectural avant-garde. Indeed, given that James would have seen any number of



ILLUS 2 Nineteenth-century view of the Linlithgow Palace fountain prior to its restoration (*reproduced from Billings 1845, fig 58*)

new, classical fountains while in France,⁵⁵ it seems reasonable to assume that the temptation to create a similar one would have been a strong one, especially for a structure that was comparatively cheap to erect and in itself well suited to architectural experimentation. Moreover, the builders of the Linlithgow fountain were well aware of classical detailing having ornamented its base with small circular portrait busts similar to those used at Falkland. Yet a very traditional Gothic form was adopted for the overall design of the fountain. The reason for this may lie in the intended role of the building, for it is likely to have been as much a piece of political allegory as it was an ornament or even a source of water. This idea requires a little explanation.

It has been observed that 'to scrutinize the Renaissance in a national context it is necessary to examine the different ways in which [the Scots] also related themselves [not just to Rome but] to ancestors and authorities even further back in time.'⁵⁶ Certainly by the mid 16th century, Scotland could boast a rich tradition of historiography. John of Fordun in the 1380s, Andrew of Wyntoun around 1420 and Walter Bower in the 1440s, all compiled Scottish histories based on long-established origin myths. Each of these asserted that the Scottish kingdom had never been conquered and that Scots genealogy stemmed from the Egyptians and Greeks. Such an august, if apocryphal, lineage was contrived to refute the claim of English suzerainty over the country, a claim whose spurious validity was based on a reputed common ancestry and English overlordship that was alleged to date from the founding of the single country of 'Britain' created under Roman rule. The popularity and usefulness of the various Scottish origin myths remained current throughout the Renaissance during which time they were lent humanist credentials by Hector Boece in his *Scotorum Historiae* — a Latin work published 12 years before the fountain was built

and reissued in translation just one year after. This establishment of a so-called ‘national epos’ was ‘in its own way the most profound of all acts of emancipation’,⁵⁷ and much of it crystallized around the Stewart dynasty’s claim to the justification and dignity embodied in the enclosed, that is the imperial, crown.⁵⁸ It can hardly be an accident that such a diadem is celebrated above the fountain — as if sanctified in water and, literally, set in stone.

Indeed, the fountain bears other symbols of Scotland’s links with, and independence within, Europe: principally the pedestals at the angles of the lower tank are elaborated by carvings of a thistle, lily and rose, in turn representative of the king, his French wife and his English, Tudor mother; and a heraldic lion squatting upon one of the pedestals bears the Royal Arms of Scotland impaled with those of France. Moreover, certain of the architectural details of the fountain are peculiarly and identifiably Scottish: the buttresses, for example, must surely relate to the tradition of the crown-spire, while the blind-quatrefoiled parapets are close to those on the tower of St Giles’ Cathedral in Edinburgh. It may be suggested, therefore, that although a few classical details were incorporated within the fountain, presumably for their potent imperial connotations, for the most part such Renaissance imagery was eschewed in favour of traditional, native Gothic — a style resonant with historical associations and singularly appropriate to what was surely a monument to nationalism.⁵⁹

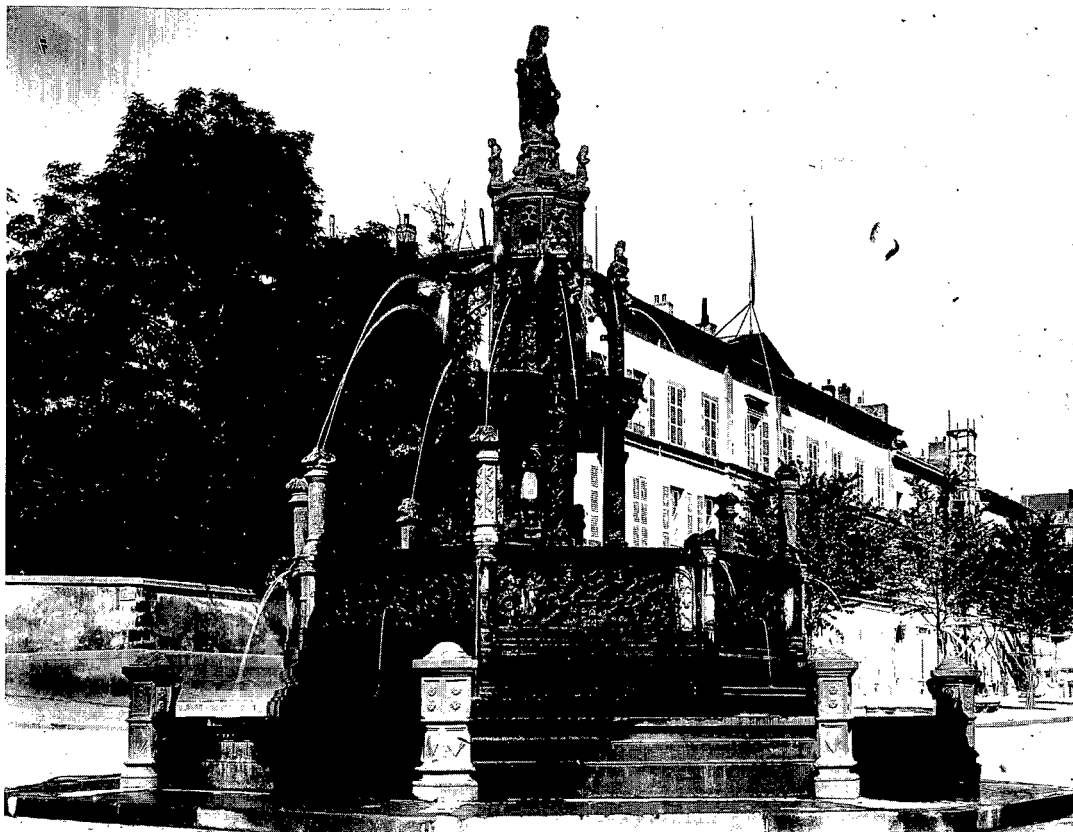
However, despite this apparently advised use of Scottish detailing, the broad lines of the Linlithgow fountain may nonetheless derive from French precedent; specifically the *Fontaine Jaques d’Amboise* which was constructed in 1515 within the town square of Clermont-Ferrand, in the Puy-de-Dôme region of central France⁶⁰ (illus 4). Both comprise a principal octagonal basin with pinnacled angle-colonnettes and two further basins all clad in statuary and bearing gargoyles from which water issues to create similar hydraulic effects. Furthermore, while each is broadly Gothic in appearance and details, they both bear a small number of Renaissance motifs: grotesques, water nymphs and sprites at Clermont-Ferrand; carved masks, mermaids, nudes and busts at Linlithgow.

James V seems never to have visited Clermont-Ferrand, restricting his trip to the lower reaches of the Loire valley, and as such the influence of the *Fontaine Jaques d’Amboise* might be questioned. However, given that the fountain seems to have been much the finest and most innovative to have been constructed within early 16th-century France, it may well have inspired imitations within town squares and noblemen’s gardens elsewhere. A more direct connection may exist between the fountains at Linlithgow and Clermont-Ferrand in the person of Sir James Hamilton of Finnart (c 1500–40). Appointed captain and keeper of Linlithgow in November 1526, he assumed responsibility nine years later for its remodelling and repair, and in 1539 was appointed to accompany John Scrymgeour in the post of ‘maister of werk principale to our soverane lord’ with the sole responsibility for the palaces of Linlithgow and Stirling.⁶¹ Having spent much of his youth in the court of François I,⁶² a knowledge of the then newly built (and surely renowned) fountain at Clermont-Ferrand is not implausible — the ‘style Louis XII’ (1495–1515) had an impact on the young Finnart, reflected, as some have suggested, in the elevations of the Palace Block at Stirling.⁶³

Further connections may be provided by the coterie of European artisans working for the court around this time. Notable amongst it was the Frenchman, Mogin Martin. Master mason to the crown from at least 1536, Martin accompanied James to France, apparently to collect ideas for new work at royal palaces and probably assisted in the remodelling of the East Range at Falkland (started 1537). Following his death in 1538 he was replaced by Nicholas Roy (appointed April 1539), another Frenchman, who is credited with Falkland’s completion.⁶⁴ The influence of either of these men might explain the use of portrait busts at both Linlithgow and Falkland.



ILLUS 3 The Linlithgow fountain in its restored condition. (*Historic Scotland* © Crown copyright)



ILLUS 4 Early 20th-century photograph by Camille Enlart of the fountain in the town square of Clermont-Ferrand, Puy-de-Dôme region, France. (*Caisse Nationale des Monuments Historiques et des Sites*)

Similarly, Thomas Frenche (a Scot but of probable French descent), was the king's master mason at Linlithgow in 1535 and Falkland, 1537–8, and was involved in the creation of the 'crown-spires' at St Giles', Edinburgh, St Michael's, Linlithgow, and King's College, Aberdeen.⁶⁵ His influence might explain the robust form of the flying buttresses.

Overall, though clearly a vexatious issue, it seems reasonable to suggest that the experience of one or more of Finnart, Martin, Roy and Frenche would have been brought to bear on the Linlithgow fountain and that perhaps one of them would have been able to draw generally on the rich tradition for such structures in France, and perhaps recall that at Clermont-Ferrand as a particular source of ideas.

ATHOLL'S ROYAL HUNTING LODGE

Another remarkable structure of James's reign was not built by him, but for him, by John Stewart, 3rd Earl of Atholl. In 1531 the 19-year-old king visited the Highlands about Atholl on a hunting expedition, accompanied by his mother, Queen Margaret, and an ambassador of the Pope. To greet him Atholl 'maid ane great provisioun ffor him in all thingis necessar pertening to his estaitt as he had been in his awin palice in Edinburgh',⁶⁶ and had a sumptuous temporary hunting lodge-cum-banqueting house constructed for their convenience. Like the Linlithgow

fountain, the lodge was not set within a garden; however, as a notable and early example of ornamental estate architecture, it demands consideration.

Sir Robert Lindesay's 1575 account of Atholl's 'curieous palice' merits quotation at length for its detailed description of so rare and impressive a work. Lindesay (a close confidant of James V) recounts a substantial building where the king, his mother and a guest

ludgit as they had been in Ingland, France, Italie and Spaine for thair hunting pastyme quhilk was buidit in the midis of ane fair medow ane faire palice of greine tymmer wond with birkis that war grein batht wnder and abone quhilk was fesnitt in foure quarteis and everie quarter an nuike thairof ane greit round as it had been ane blokhous quhilk was loftit and lestit the space of thrie house hight; the fluir laid witht greine cherittis witht sprattis medwartis and flouris. Then no man knew quhairon he zeid bot as he had bene in ane gardin. Farder thair was tua great roundis in ilk syde of the zeit and ane greit portcullis of trie falland doune the maner of ane barrace witht ane greit draw brege, and ane greit fowsie and strak of watter of sextene foot deipe and XXX [sic] futte braid of watter and also this palice within was weill syllit and hung witht fyne glassin windowis in all airttis that this pallice was allis pleisantlie decorit witht all necessaris pertenant to ane prince as it had bene his awin palice royall at hame.⁶⁷

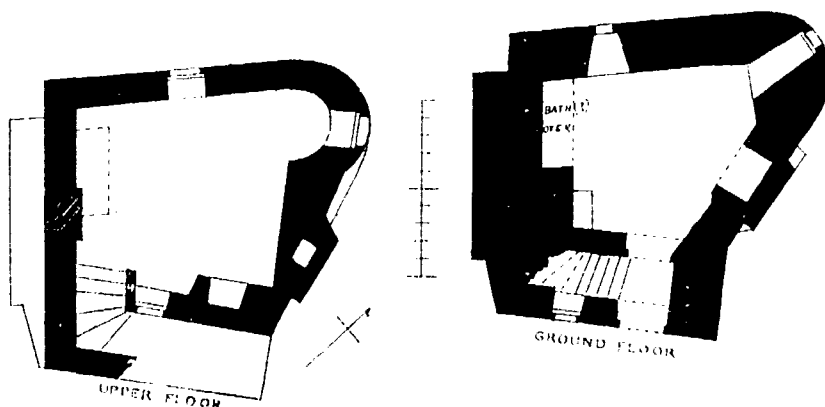
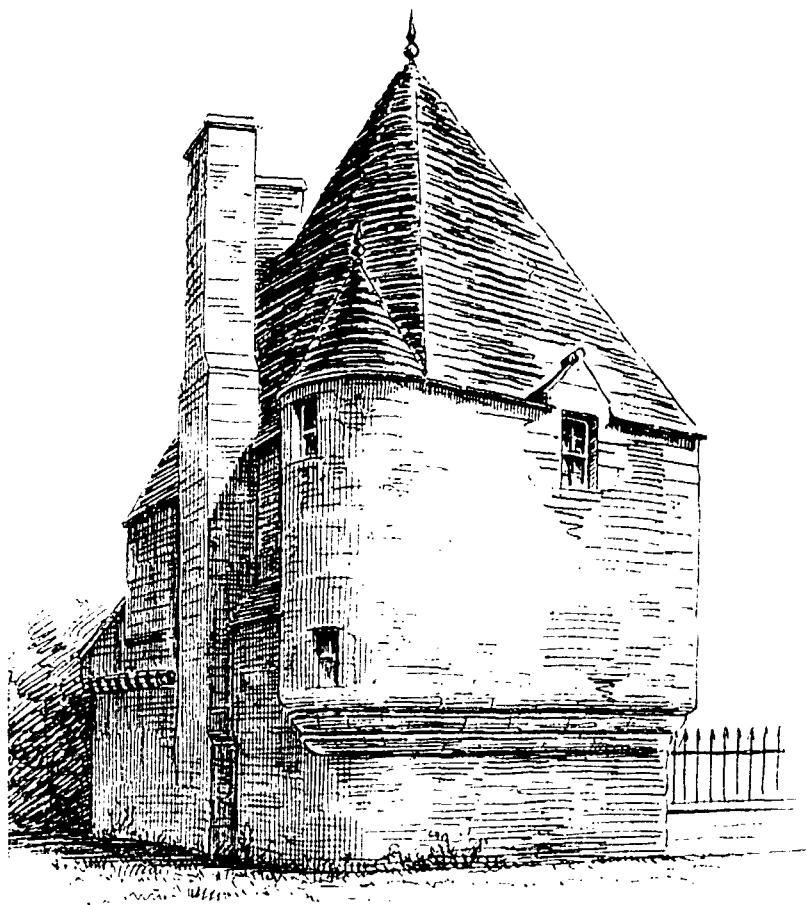
An extravagant structure with wooden walls, a drawbridge and portcullis, encircled by a broad moat, it was sufficient to impress the papal ambassador who until then had considered Scotland 'the erse of the world'.⁶⁸

As a hunting lodge, the 'palice' was related directly to those wrought in stone amongst the deer parks of Tudor England.⁶⁹ Being temporary, it may also have been built in imitation of similar fleeting structures inspired by popular chivalric writing which at that time formed the centre-pieces of ostentatious royal festivities across Europe.⁷⁰ Its destruction could be interpreted as a romantic gesture couched in the rigorous codes of chivalric behaviour then being revived,⁷¹ for the wildly ostentatious building was wilfully burnt to the ground as its guests finally left, it being 'the use of hielandmen thocht they be newer so weill ludgit to burne thair ludging quhene they depart.'

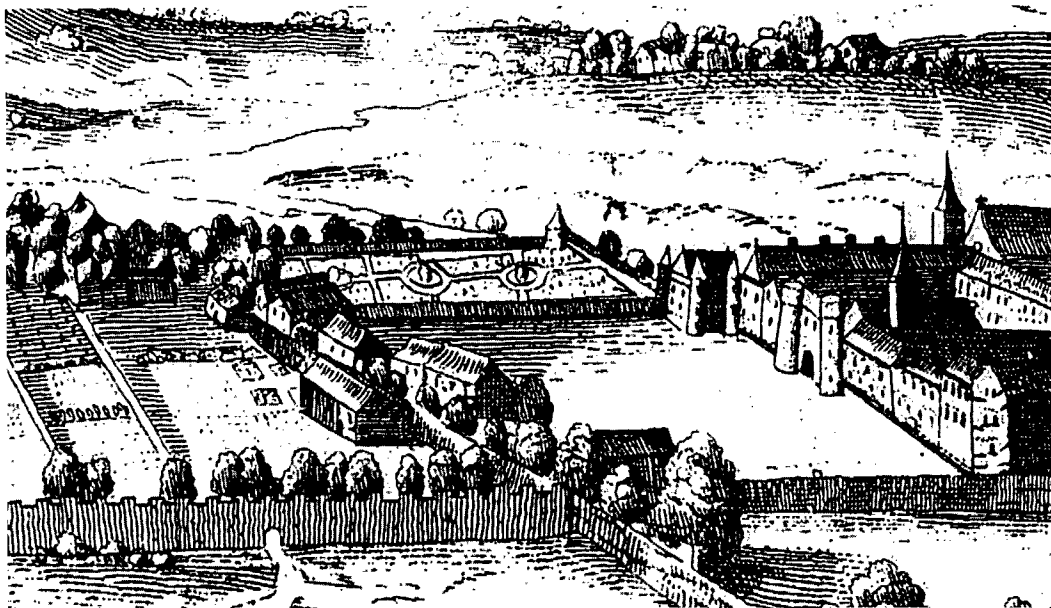
QUEEN MARY'S BATH-HOUSE

During the regency of Marie of Guise (1542–60) and the reign of her daughter, Mary (1561–7), gardening continued to enjoy royal patronage where major architecture failed to do so. It is during this period that is found what may be Scotland's earliest surviving garden building — 'Queen Mary's Bath-house' (illus 5). The building once adjoined the Privy Garden of the royal residence at Holyroodhouse but now stands unhappily isolated on the wrong side of a carriage drive that was driven through the gardens as part of crude re-landscaping undertaken in the mid 19th century.⁷² The two-storey structure has been considerably altered and extended since its construction, adaptations which give the diminutive building an engaging if somewhat clumpy appearance. It is built of random rubble (presumably once harled) with raised dressings and margins and is topped by a pyramidal slate roof apsed over a bartisan at the north angle. Of the building's few discernibly original features, the waist-high corbel course to the north-west elevation remains the most obvious and intact.

The date of the building is unknown. Its traditional name may refer either to the queens Marie de Guise or Mary Stuart. Its design and the condition of its fabric suggest a later 16th-century construction date with subsequent 19th-century additions and alterations (of which some,



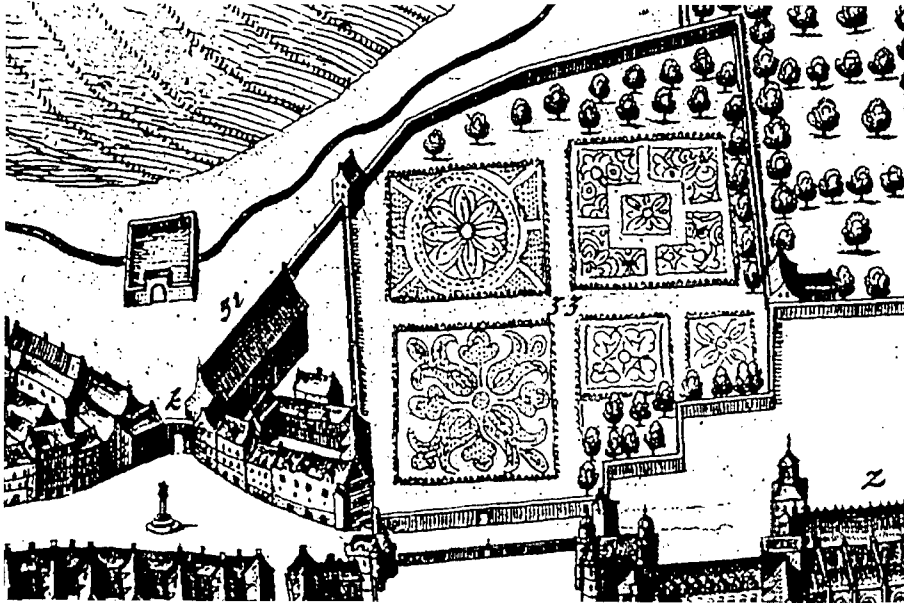
ILLUS 5 Late 19th-century view of Queen Mary's Bath-house from north-west (reproduced from MacGibbon & Ross 1892, vol 4).



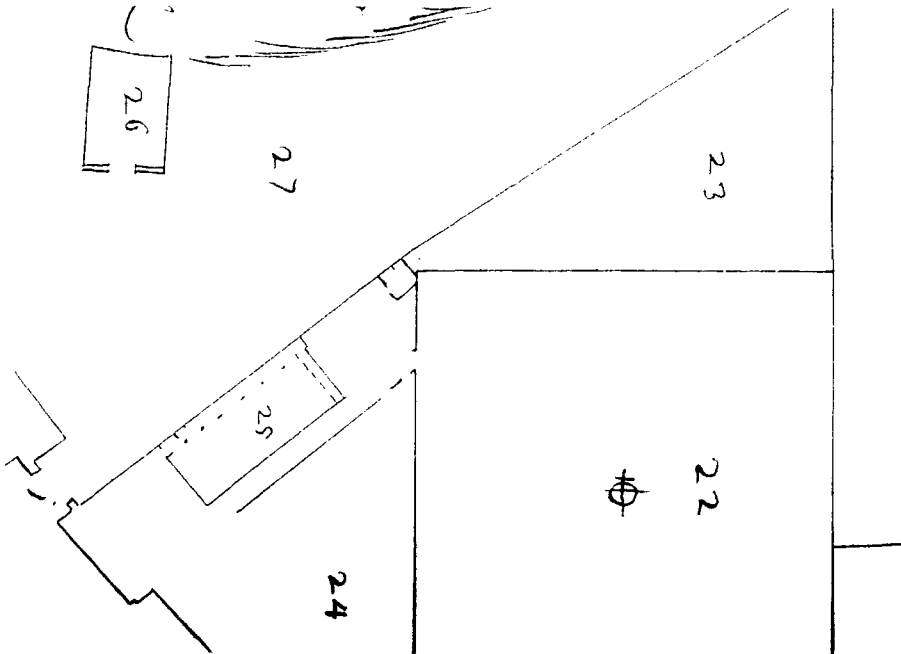
ILLUS 6 Extract from Rombout van den Hoyen's *Edinburgum Civitas Scotiae Celeberrima* showing the King's Privy Garden in the early 17th century. (Trustees of the National Library of Scotland)

if not all, may date from 1852 when it is known to have been reconditioned).⁷³ Royal accounts shed little light on its origins. Mention is made of payments in 1535–6 for work to a 'littil garding chalmer', though being 'abone the peind' suggests it was either part of the palace (perhaps overlooking a garden), another garden structure altogether, or even a 'guarding chamber' — that is a guard's room. The accounts also record work to an 'averyhous', a 'dancing hous', and a 'cophous' although it is unclear whether these were discrete ornamental structures.⁷⁴ The evidence of contemporary maps is unrewarding. The earliest detailed depiction of the grounds about Holyrood is Rombout van den Hoyen's earlier 17th-century map (illus 6).⁷⁵ This shows knot gardens enclosed by walls around Holyroodhouse, with the walled parterre to the north containing a square or circular-plan building at its north-east corner. The north-west corner, which approximates more closely to the position of the present structure is, unfortunately, eclipsed by a tree, though the presence of a twin structure is easy to imagine.⁷⁶ A survey of Edinburgh produced by John Gordon of Rothiemay in 1647⁷⁷ (illus 7) depicts a simple, square-plan, two-storey, gabled building to the north-west corner of the north garden at the termination of a wall. This arrangement is confirmed firstly by a 'small mapp of his majest[ies] palace of Hallyrudhouse' prepared by the Master of Works, John Mylne, some 16 years later⁷⁸ (illus 8), and secondly by evidence on the ground, where an excavated stump of a wall still connects with the bath-house. A *terminus post quem* date for the structure may be 1558, as this was the year that the land to the north-west of the Holyroodhouse estate was purchased from Dean Abercromby, canon of Holyrood and 'maid in ane garding to her grace',⁷⁹ Marie de Guise; though it is equally possible that the building was in place beforehand.

Alterations to the fabric of the building and the ambiguity of its date make its original purpose difficult to determine.⁸⁰ There would seem to be four possible uses. The first and, at least to judge by its epithet, the most obvious, would have been as a bath-house. The tradition of



ILLUS 7 Extract from John Gordon of Rothiemay's plan of Edinburgh (1647), showing the King's Privy Garden, with Queen Mary's Bath-house at top left. (*Trustees of the National Library of Scotland*)



ILLUS 8 Extract from John Mylne's plan (1663) of the ground lying about the Palace of Holyroodhouse (*reproduced from R Mylne 1893, f p 169*). Note the location of the entrance to Queen Mary's bath-house, facing towards the 'Tennis Court' (25), and access to this area from the 'King's privy garden' (22). Other features include 'ground belonging to his Majesty' (23), 'ground not belonging to his Majesty whereupon there are some houses' (24), a 'horse pond' (26) and the 'high street towards Leith and Haddingtoun' (27).

Mary, Queen of Scots' affection for bathing dates back at least to 1776 and the publication of John Pinkerton's *Craigmillar*, which recalls that at the castle of that name there was a

chamber, where the Queen, whose charms divine
Made wond'ring actions own the pow'r of love,
Oft bath'd her snowy limbs in sparkling wine,
Now proves a lonely refuge for the dove.⁸¹

However, aspects of the 'bath-house' seem to mitigate against such a role: the placing of a substantial bath on a wooden upper floor seems impractical, while the location of the structure next to open land (and later a highway) could hardly have been considered satisfactory for so private a function.⁸²

A second use might have been as a small banqueting house. Such building types were increasingly popular at this time, particularly in England where a very early example was recorded in 1535.⁸³ The use of the banqueting house is rooted in two late medieval traditions. The first was the ending of a grand meal with sweet-meats (thought to be beneficial to digestion), hippocras (a type of wine) and wafers. The second was the imported French fashion called *voidée* — that is the tradition of leaving the dining area (initially to another room and later to the garden where the outdoor environment was considered beneficial to health) in order to consume wines and spices as a pragmatic response to the limitations of the master, his family, guests and servants, all eating in a single hall.⁸⁴ For this purpose banqueting houses needed to be of sufficient size to contain a dining party, and it is perhaps for this reason that the structure might be discounted for such a use.

A third possible role for the building may have been as a gazebo or a *maison de plaisance*. Unlike England, there seems never to have been a Scottish tradition of constructing galleries around the perimeter of enclosed gardens.⁸⁵ As such, raised structures — or 'gazebos' — would have been required to view knots and parterres to good effect (especially when they were removed from the main house, as at Holyrood). Yet Mylne's survey indicates that the building was connected with the adjoining garden only at its east corner, and that no passage was provided between the two⁸⁶ — hardly an ideal arrangement for a gazebo, a banqueting or bath-house. It may be postulated, therefore, that either the structure predates the adjoining garden, it was remodelled prior to Mylne's survey, or its function related to something else entirely. In the latter respect, the building may have been an angle tower of the precinct wall that once enclosed the Abbey grounds, though its size hardly appears sufficient for a defensive use.⁸⁷

More likely, however, is that it was associated with the 'Tennis Court' (now demolished) which once faced it to the west. *Réal* (or royal) tennis was a popular leisure activity of the aristocracy during the 16th century.⁸⁸ One example of a court in Scotland exists at Falkland while others are known to have been in place at St Andrews and Linlithgow. The date of the tennis court at Holyroodhouse is unknown but it could be contemporary with that at Falkland which was built in 1539. Given that Mylne's survey indicates that the main door of the 'bath-house' was at that time angled towards the former tennis court, the two buildings may have been related. This suggests an altogether more prosaic origin for Queen Mary's Bath-house — that of a mere changing room or store.

CONCLUSION

In summary, therefore, not only can there be little doubt that ornamental buildings were a feature of the gardens, parks and courtyards associated with the royal and noble residences of medieval

Scotland, but it seems reasonable to suggest also that their considerable emblematic potential was well understood and, at Linlithgow, was fully realized.

NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS

DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
ER	<i>Exchequer Rolls of Scotland</i>
MW	<i>Accounts of the Masters of Works</i>
TA	<i>Accounts of the Treasurer of Scotland</i>

- 1 For an overview of the medieval garden in Scotland see Cox (1935, 1–27), though it should be noted that this account is now over 60 years old and in need of some revision. For specific references see Chalmers (1887–94, vol 2, 301; vol 3, 144, 488–9; vol 4, 720, 727, 870; vol 5, 421; vol 6, 599, 798, 893; vol 7, 51, 56–60, 69–70, 199). For a detailed overview of medieval gardens in Europe see Harvey (1981) and MacDougall (1986).
- 2 Mackenzie (1932, 115, ll.92, 117).
- 3 Mackenzie (1932, 109, ll.44, 47–9).
- 4 Mackenzie (1932, 85, ll.3–4, 17–18).
- 5 Bawcutt (976, 53, quoting ll. 19–24).
- 6 Anon, ‘Tayis Bank’, ll.20–4, in Ford (1893, 14).
- 7 For Scottish connections with mainland Europe see Lythe & Butt (1975), Brown (1977), Ewan (1990), Grant (1984), Nicholson (1974), and Simpson (1990). The notion of conformity of appearance amongst the medieval gardens of northern Europe is discussed in Harvey (1981, xiv).
- 8 By 1520 a typical feu farm required ‘an adequate house of stone and lime, with hall, chamber, granary, byre, stable, dovecote, orchards, gardens and beehives with hedges and a plantation of oaks’ (Stell 1990, 68).
- 9 Miller 1986.
- 10 The summer-house at Richmond was a timber-framed building with benches and trestle tables; that at Charing Cross was a ‘spy-house’ (presumably a gazebo) with plastered walls painted green; those at Palermo were set alongside pools (Colvin 1986, 16–17).
- 11 Colvin (1986, 16).
- 12 Harvey (1981, 45).
- 13 Hagopian van Buren (1986, 115–34).
- 14 *Charters of Holyrood*, Bannatyne Club, 4. It seems unlikely that a garden would have been created beneath Edinburgh’s castle walls during the turbulent years of David’s reign and as such it may be the work of King Malcolm or more probably his much-loved wife Margaret, a devout Christian, canonized after her death. Certainly, in later years, the structure was referred to as ‘St Margaret’s Well’. For a history of the gardens associated with Edinburgh Castle see Malcolm (1925, 101–20).
- 15 Well-heads were as much capable of decoration as fountains. An excellent example was constructed during the late 15th century at St Triduana’s, Restalrig, near Edinburgh. A small, hexagonal-plan basin was enclosed beneath six rib vaults and designed as a simplified imitation in miniature of the lower chamber of St Triduana’s Aisle. It seems to have stood in the grounds of the church, though it was not apparently associated with any gardens. The well-head was removed in 1859 to its present position in Holyrood Park and is now known also as ‘St Margaret’s Well’ (MacIvor 1963; Grant 1882, vol 3, 129–30).
- 16 *ER*, vol 1, 127.
- 17 Fittis (1885, 157–8). Local tradition also recounts that this ceiling was later replicated within a gazebo constructed during the early 17th century within the gardens of Gowrie House, also in Perth (*ibid*).

- 18 The account should be treated guardedly. The term 'arbour' may here be a corruption of 'herbar', meaning a garden. In 1535 Perth Town Council took possession of the lands of the Dominican Priory for the general recreation of the townspeople. In response to the remonstrations of the friars, James V adjudicated against the Council's appropriation of 'a part of their crofts called the Gilded Herbar'. The dispute continued, however, and as late as c 1600 the friars were still asserting their claim to the 'lea-land at the foot or east part of their croft, beside the North Inch, which piece of land is now called the Gylt Herbar, and was called before the King's Garden' (Fittis 1885, 158). However, the term herbar can also refer to an arbour. For example, in 1577 Thomas Hill noted that 'the herber in a Garden may bee framed with juniper poles, or the willowe, eyther to stretch, or be bound together with oysers, after a square forme, or an arche manner' (Hill 1577, ch 12, 22).
- 19 An illustrated frontispiece of a 15th-century manuscript depicts the reception of Aeneas by Dido at the city gate of Carthage. A small hunting park dominates the foreground while at the top right of the picture, behind the city gate, stands a rectangular-plan loggia with fluted columns, round-arched openings to the side and front and, apparently, a highly decorated interior. The manuscript is of French origin but bears the arms of Scotland just below the vignette and seems to have been prepared for a Scottish patron. While the manuscript could hardly have informed a widespread taste for such buildings, it serves at least to illustrate one way in which Scottish nobles might have kept abreast of developments in garden architecture elsewhere in Europe. For details of the manuscript see Borland (1916, 281–3).
- 20 Harvey (1946); Colvin (1963–73, vol 2, 685).
- 21 Brown (1994, 20). James is known to have been held at Kenilworth in 1418 and may have returned in the spring of 1421 (Balfour Melville 1936, 77, 84).
- 22 Henry's relationship with James seems to have turned from one of jailer to patron, allowing him ever-increasing freedom towards the end of his captivity. It is not known for sure whether James saw the English king's impressive new garden at Kenilworth, but it would seem likely, particularly if James returned to live there towards the end of his captivity.
- 23 McDiarmid (1973). For details of James's incarceration at Windsor see Balfour Melville (1928, 226–8).
- 24 James accompanied Henry V on his French embassies of 1420–2. Certainly James visited Poix, Amiens, St Pôl, Théroutanne and Calais. It is probable that he also accompanied the entourage to Paris (Balfour Melville 1928, 83). There he would have stayed at the private royal residence of the Hôtel St Pôl which was surrounded by an impressive, maturing pleasure garden of 20 acres laid out by Charles V (r. 1364–80) and replanted by Charles VI in 1398. The garden contained trellising, a labyrinth, tunnels, arbours, ponds, orchards and ornamental plants (Bournon 1878).
- 25 *ER*, vol 4, 623 records a payment in 1435 to 'Waltero Massoun' and 'Nicolao Plummar' for '*complecione herbarii regis infra castrum de Edinburgh*'. Massoun (the master of works) was presumably a stonemason and Plummar a lead-worker. If so, then it seems possible that they were employed to construct water-works within the garden.
- 26 Baxter (1928, 69–72).
- 27 At Falkland the recording of an annuity to an '*ortulano*' began in 1451 (*ER*, vol 5, 472 *et seq.*). At Stirling, the Exchequer Rolls record a payment of 18 shillings made in 1453 '*pro emendacione gardine de Strivelyn et nundacione clausure*' — that is, for the garden to be 'put in order'. This is the earliest record of a garden at the castle (*ER*, vol 5, 597). The poverty of the Crown accounts in part for the lack of significant architectural patronage. This was partly mitigated by the seizure of the Black Douglas's lands in 1455. For details of Marie's considerable personal wealth see Macdougall (1982, 61) and *ER* (vol 7, xlv–xlix).
- 28 Colvin (1986, 9).
- 29 Numerous illustrations of these are reproduced in Harvey (1981, 114–15).
- 30 Armstrong (1977, 74).
- 31 An avenue of trees at Falkland is still called 'Gilderland'.
- 32 *ER* (vol 7, 106) records expenses '*causura duarum camerarum in le galry*'. The date of construction of the gallery is unknown. It may have formed part of the extensions to Falkland executed during the mid century. Certainly Marie brought the influences of her homeland to bear in other spheres of her artistic

- patronage: for example, the particular appearance of the Dowager's first commission, the Trinity College Church in Edinburgh (demolished, except apse), has led some scholars to suggest the probable influence of Burgundian masons in its design. Moreover, the use of the French term '*le gabry*' may be telling (see also Fawcett 1994, 175–7).
- 33 See Coope (1986), though note Coope makes no mention of the Falkland gallery. A gallery formed part of the French royal residence of the Hôtel St Pôl (Bournon 1878, 100). Notably, construction of a gallery was proposed as part of improvements to the Palace at Stirling over a century later when 'ane fair gallery' and 'ane terras' were recommended in order to capitalize on views of the 'perk and gairdin' (*MW*, vol 1, 7 May 1583, 310–11).
- 34 *ER* (vol 7, 75) records payments of 24 shillings '*pro factura viridarii prope camera regine descendantis ad viridarium in Faucland*'.
- 35 An example of a privy stair leading to a garden is illustrated clearly in a late 15th-century painting presented to Isabella of Spain (Harvey 1981, fig VII). Certainly it seems that this feature predates English examples, the earliest of which would appear to have been constructed at Eltham by 1520 (Thurley 1998, 21). A payment made in 1513 for the removal of 'roots and trunks' might relate to the destruction of arbours (*ER*, vol 13, 508).
- 36 Macmillan (1990, 15–36); Macdougall (1982, 61).
- 37 Campbell (1995a; 1995b).
- 38 *TA* (vol 1, 92) records a payment in 1488 of 28 shillings to 'the gardynar of Lythgow'. Identical payments were made in 1496 and 1497 and a payment of 10 shillings to the 'gardinare of Lythgow to by seydis to the gairdin' was made in 1490.
- 39 In 1461 an annuity of 10 shillings was begun to 'Jacobo Wilsoune' the '*ortulano de Strivelyn*'. This was doubled two years later (*ER*, vol 7, 59). In 1479 payments were made to '*Gilleso Makgilhoise*' and '*Malcolmo Maklery*' for '*custodia gardini et prati de Strivelyng*' — that is, the maintenance of the gardens and lawns of Stirling (*ER*, vol 8, 563).
- 40 Following complaints by the ambassadors of the Spanish king and queen regarding their treatment by James, Ferdinand and Isabella wrote that 'they were sorry for what the King of Scotland had done in the garden of the Castle' (Macdougall 1989, 122).
- 41 See generally Macdougall (1989).
- 42 *ER* (vol 11, 144; vol 10, 404) records payments made in 1499 and in 1500 to 'Friar Archibald Hamilton' for repair work to the '*gardine infra castrum de Strivelyn*'. See also *ER* (vol 11, 18) for a payment of 20 shillings made in 1497 to 'Friar Robert Cauldwell for work in the '*gardino castri Strivelin*', and *ER* (vol 11, 142) for victual presented in 1499 to the '*ortulano nfra castrum de Strivelin. . . pro reparacione gardini infra dictum castrum*'. With the rebellions of 1488 and the following year, along with the unsettled climate that followed, the king was unable to assert himself as an effective ruler until around 1494. Perhaps the creation of the garden can be interpreted as a sign of the king's growing confidence and as a preface to the numerous artistic works commissioned by him during the long period of ensuing peace. The Treasurer's Accounts indicate that considerable planting was undertaken towards the close of the century within the Castle or possibly in orchards in the park below. Payments were also made in 1497 to 'Dean Matho of Culros for the yard bigging' (*TA*, vol 1, 367, 370, 377, 378, 388).
- 43 The first reference to a garden 'beneath the castle walls' was made in 1501 when it was described as 'new' and a payment was made to the '*ortulano nove gardine sub muro castri de Strivelin*' (*ER* vol 11, 314).
- 44 Colvin (1986, 15).
- 45 The 'marriage of the thistle and the rose' was held at Holyrood Abbey on 8 August 1503 and was celebrated with an Anglo-Scots peace agreement.
- 46 The Palace of Richmond was improved for the arrival of Catherine of Aragon in 1501. At this time it possessed 'most fair pleasant gardens with royal knots alleyed and herbed: many marvellous beasts, as lions, dragons, and such other of divers kind, properly fashioned and carved in the ground, right well sanded, and compassed with lead, with many vines, seeds and strange fruit' (Harvey 1981, 135).
- 47 Two payments are recorded to the '*Franch gardiner*' in 1501 (*TA*, vol 2, 352, 445).

- 48 A late 19th-century sketch depicts an overgrown arbour (now lost) within the grounds of Moray House in Edinburgh (Grant 1882, vol 2, 32).
- 49 For Falkland see *MW* (vol 1, 261) which records payments in 1538–9 to ‘Robert Murray, plumber’ for ‘werkmanship of certane of the leid . . . for casting of the ground of the fontane’, and for ‘certane cruikis and bottis . . . to the fontane’. The construction of the Linlithgow Palace fountain is not recorded amongst the royal accounts; however, its date must be very close to that of 1538 etched on the fountain’s lead feeding-pipes which were excavated in the Kirkgait in 1894 (McWilliam 1978, 298).
- 50 It is possible, however, that the footings of a structure set within the Palace courtyard and identified by the Royal Commission as a ‘monument’ may in fact relate to the fountain (RCAHMS 1933, 136).
- 51 The extent of the restoration is not easy to determine. Probably the most reliable source is a mid 19th-century engraving of the fountain by Billings (1848) which depicts only the base and central structure intact (illus 2).
- 52 At least one nobleman constructed a fountain within his castle some short time after the completion of the Linlithgow Palace fountain. In a ‘Petition to the Lord of the Council by John Roytell, mason against John, Lord Borthwick, as factour to Patrick, Earl of Borthwick’, Roytell, a French mason, claimed for an unpaid sum that was ‘contained in the said earl’s precept to the late Thomas Franche and the said John for making ane fountain in the place of Halis, At Edinburgh, 1551’ (Mylne 1893, 44). This may refer to Hailes Castle at Prestonkirk, near Haddington, which was described by Lord Grey of Wilton in 1548 as being ‘for bignes, of such excellent bewtie within, as I have seldom sene any in Englande except the Kinges Majesties and of verie good strengthe’ (RCAHMS 1924, 94).
- 53 Macky (1723, 200) travelled through Scotland in 1723 and describes the fountain as being ‘after the shape of an Imperial Crown, adorned with Statues, and other fine Carved Work; each Statue pouring forth Water into a Cistern below them’. Around half a century earlier, Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall described the fountain as ‘a most artificial font of most excellent water’ (Crawford 1900, 182). The fountain was apparently ‘destroyed by the royal army in 1746’ (Black & Black 1851, 164). Sir Robert Sibbald (1710, 15) described the fountain as being ‘well adorned with several statues and waterworks, curiously wrought, which when they go, raise the water to a considerable hight [*sic*].’
- 54 Dunbar (1991, 3–8); Cranch (1986, 85–95). For the use of foreign craftsmen at royal residences see *MW* (vol 1, 254, 256, 277, 278). For cultural links between France and Scotland at this time see Royal Scottish Museum (1985). For architectural connections see MacKechnie (1992).
- 55 A classical fountain was constructed at Amboise in 1496–1500; two at Blois, both built in 1503; and three at Gaillon, all built in 1506–8; also a non-classical fountain was constructed at Villers-Cotterêts in 1528 (Miller 1977). During James’s visit to France he is known to have visited Amboise, Blois, Fontainebleau (which also had an impressive fountain) and Compeigne. Staying with the French court he would also have lodged at Villers-Cotterêts, St Germain and Chantilly (Dunbar 1991, 5). For Renaissance fountains generally see MacDougall (1978).
- 56 Teich & Porter (1992, 3). For further details of the ancestral mythology of Scotland see also Mason (1992, 50–73), Mason (1987) and Ferguson (1998).
- 57 Mason (1992, 51).
- 58 In line with other European independent kingdoms, James III had the royal diadem adapted to an enclosed ‘imperial’ type by adding two crossing arches on to its top with a surmounting orb and cross. It was depicted on a coin struck in 1484. The crown was remodelled once again in 1539 (Burnett & Tabraham 1993, 23).
- 59 For the use of classical architecture to invoke imperial connections see Yates (1975, 2–22) and Burke (1992, 6–20). Significantly, recent research at Falkland by the Royal Commission has revealed that the broadly Gothic façade of the main entrance block at Falkland and the classical courtyard elevation were, in fact, constructed contemporaneously and not, as previously thought, a generation apart. It has been argued that ‘a courtly, “foreign” [classical] style was considered appropriate for the enjoyment of the socially and culturally privileged and an “ecclesiastical” style connoting divine authority for external, general consumption’ (Cameron 1999).
- 60 For details see Baudoin (1998, 346–7) and Mitton (n.d., 248–57).

- 61 McKean (1991, 3–17; 1993, 42–7).
- 62 *DNB*, vol 8, 1051.
- 63 McKean (1993, 10). In this respect it is worth noting that the cusping beneath the buttresses of the Linlithgow fountain and that within the niches of the Palace Block at Stirling is very similar.
- 64 *MW*, vol 1, 254.
- 65 Kelly (1949, 34–48). McWilliam (1878, 298) remarks on the similarity between the crown of the fountain and that at King's College, Aberdeen, apparently implying the influence of the former upon the latter. This may be misleading since this part of the spire was substantially remodelled after its collapse in the early 1600s, a century after it was first built. It is perhaps beyond coincidence, however, that crown steeples were considered to be representations of imperial diadems. For example, Boece remarked that 'the church [of King's College, Aberdeen] has a bell-tower of immense height, with a stone arch in the shape of an imperial crown, built with wonderful art and raised above the leaden roof' (Moir 1894).
- 66 Mackay (1899, 355).
- 67 Mackay (1899, 338).
- 68 *Ibid.* Scotland's perceived remoteness, at least from Italy, was remarked by the Milanese ambassador who considered the country to be '*in finis orbis*' (Macdougall 1982, 115).
- 69 Some sources for the particular form of the lodge may be suggested here. Lindesay's choice of the term 'blokhous' hints that the building may have been circular in plan: Dwelly's (1988, 84) *Dictionary* gives '*bloc*' as Gaelic for 'round'. Thus, the building might have been inspired by the circular-plan royal castle residence at Rothesay — the gate-house of this was later reproduced at Stalker and Craigmillar Castles (MacKechnie 1995, 365) — or perhaps the circular tower at St Andrews, both of which were then newly built. The particulars of his description, however, indicate a plan resembling James's 'Great Tower' which was then nearing completion at Holyroodhouse (Dunbar 1963, 242; McKean 1993). McKean (*ibid*) also relates the plan to those of the Château de Berry and the Palace of Boyne. For Tudor hunting lodges see Girouard (1980, 76–8; 1963) and Henderson (1992, 229–34).
- 70 An example is depicted by Holbein in his painting of Henry VIII's extravagant *fête* at the 'Field of the Cloth of Gold'.
- 71 For the 16th-century revival of interest in chivalry in Scotland see Nicholson (1974, 574–9) and Cline (1945). It is perhaps also significant that popular contemporary novels such as Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia* and Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (published in Italian in 1504 and 1532 respectively) vividly described chivalric incidents set within pastoral settings.
- 72 For a thorough analysis of the development of the gardens of Holyroodhouse at this time see Jamieson (1994).
- 73 *RCAHMS* (1951, 151–2).
- 74 *MW* (vol 1, 73, 96, 97, 187, 188, 190, 302). It seems likely that the term 'cophouse' relates to the modern term 'caphouse' and as such refers to the palace rather than its outbuildings (J Dunbar, pers comm).
- 75 Entitled '*Edinburgum Civitas Scotiae Celeberrima*', the map is reproduced in Simpson (1962, Map No 3).
- 76 A small garden building in the east corner of the garden is also illustrated by W Hollar's 'South Prospect of the City of Edinburgh' (c 1670) and Samuel Buck's engraving of the city made before 1764 (photographic copies held by National Monuments Record of Scotland: Hollar uncatalogued; Buck EDD/1/116/1–3).
- 77 Based on a survey of 1647 by Revd James Gordon of Rothiemay, the map was published by de Witt in *Theatrum Praeciparium Totius Europae Urbium* around 40 years later and is reproduced in Simpson (1962, Map No 4).
- 78 John Mylne undertook a survey of the buildings of the estate of Holyroodhouse in 1663. The survey is reproduced in R Mylne (1893, f p 169).
- 79 Jamieson (1994, 27).
- 80 In 1789, Lord Adam Gordon, commander of the forces in Scotland, took up residence at Holyrood and immediately granted permission to certain of his officers to erect small cottages along the wall of the

palace garden. In order for one of these houses to be constructed, a stair turret that led to the roof of the bath-house was demolished. While so doing a 'richly inlaid dagger of antique form, greatly corroded with rust' and with 'the King's arms on it, done in gold' was found hidden within the turret's roof. This was promptly acclaimed to be that used to murder Rizzio. The adjoining house was removed in 1852 and the bath-house partly restored (Grant 1882, vol 2, 40–1; Stewart-Smith 1924, 268; RCAHMS 1951, 152). For contrasting illustrations of the bath-house before and after restoration see *Queen Mary's Bath, Holyrood* by James Drummond (drawn 1848) and Sir George Reid (drawn c 1890), respectively, both of which are in the collection of the National Gallery of Scotland. For other illustrations of the bath-house see those by G Aikman (nd), James Skene (1819), J Stewart-Smith (1868), A McArthur (1905), and J Harris (1934), all in the collection of the Central Public Library in Edinburgh. See also Campbell's (1990) *Drawings and Watercolours of Edinburgh in the National Gallery of Scotland*.

81 Pinkerton (1776, 8).

82 From at least the 17th century the structure was adjacent to the Watergate, which led eastwards from the Canongate; it seems likely, therefore, that there would have been easy access to water from the structure. However, the use of the building as a bath-house is also questioned in MacGibbon & Ross (1892, vol 4, 475–6). For details of bathing during the 16th century see Thornton (1991, 315–19).

83 The earliest example in England seems to be the banqueting house built into the garden walls at Lyddington Bede House during the late 15th century (Henderson 1992, 203). For the use of banqueting houses in 16th-century England, where they seem to have been rather more profuse, or at least more durable, see Girouard (1980, 104–8), Henderson (1992, 203–4) and Hughes (1955).

84 For a detailed account of late medieval and Renaissance banqueting see Wilson (1991, 115–17).

85 For details of English Tudor galleries around gardens see Colvin (1986, 12) and Coope (1986, 45–6).

86 At first sight, one of the corbels to the north-west elevation which displays the worn remains of nail-head carving would seem to lend support to a mid 16th-century date for the structure. The carved stone would have been an unusual and expensive inclusion to a corbel course which, facing out of the garden and being very low-set, would rarely have been seen. As such, it could have been a reused stone from the nearby Abbey, which was severely damaged during attacks by English troops in 1544 and 1547. This clue should be treated guardedly, however. For a short period sometime between 1900 and 1930 a window and door were punched through the road-side elevation leading to the removal of some of the corbels. The window position accords exactly with that of the stone. The window and door have subsequently been infilled and while the corbels used in the restoration are close in profile and condition to the originals, they are unlikely to be those that were removed.

87 Malcolm (1937, 84, 94, 133) notes that 'immediately north of the Guard House stood that fragment of Abbot Bellenden's Abbey or "Foir Yett", known as the Abbey Sanctuary', and that the 'older survivor of the original Abbey Wall' is the 'turret on the north-west angle . . . the so-called Queen Mary's Bath'. He questions why 'the old turret' should be 'known as "Queen Mary's Bath" instead of the "Postern Gate", or side entrance, for that is what it was', and presents a conjectural elevation of the 'Foir Yett, Queen Mary's Bath and its companion turret linking up the Abbey Wall'. However, Malcolm offers no evidence for these assertions and his ideas are not supported by modern research (Jamieson 1994, 36, n 49). As such, his conclusions must be viewed with caution. Indeed, the somewhat nonfunctional nature of the architecture itself suggests that the original purpose of the 'bath-house' was more ornamental than defensive.

88 Howard (1995, 99). The tennis court was also used as a venue for stage productions (Grant 1882, vol 2, 39–40).

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