

# EXCAVATION AT KILDRUMMY CASTLE, ABERDEENSHIRE, 1952-62

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## SUMMARY

MRS YATES placed Kildrummy Castle under the guardianship of the then Ministry of Works in 1951. This paper records excavation and survey since that date with notes on the history of the castle and on unpublished small finds from previous excavation.

Sections across the defences have confirmed the existence of a ditch S. of the castle corresponding to that on the E. and of a wide upcast bank and other features in front of the gatehouse. Excavation prior to consolidation has solved a number of problems in connection with the curtain walls and associated structures. New discoveries include the foundations of a 7 ft. wall extending across the S. front of the castle and of an unbuilt tower butting against the chapel gable.

Recent historical research suggests that Edward I's master mason, James of St George, may have been at Kildrummy and have been paid for work undertaken on King Edward's behalf there.

## HISTORICAL NOTE<sup>1</sup>

The earliest known reference to Kildrummy Castle occurs in 1296 at which date it belonged to the Earl of Mar. The occasion recorded was the passage of Edward I on his way S. from Elgin, arriving on 31st July and leaving on 2nd August<sup>2</sup>. Edward was there again from 4th-9th October 1303<sup>3</sup> and a payment to James of St George on 14th October suggests that the master mason may also have been at Kildrummy and have been paid for work undertaken by him there.<sup>4</sup> No other evidence has been found to suggest that Edward paid for works at Kildrummy although accounts for building expenditure by the king elsewhere are comparatively detailed.<sup>5</sup>

In September 1305 Edward directed that Bruce as guardian of his nephew, the young Earl of Mar, should place Kildrummy in the care of someone for whom he could answer,<sup>6</sup> and a year later sent an English force under Prince Edward

<sup>1</sup> For a full-length account see Simpson, W. D., *Castle of Kildrummy*.

<sup>2</sup> 'Le Mardy a Kyndrokirn chastel le conte de Mar, et y demorra le Mescredy, jour de Seint Pier entrant en Oust. Le Joefdy al hospital de Kyncardyn en Mernes.' Stevenson, J., *Documents illustrative of the history of Scotland II (1286-1306)*, 30. For Edward's activities at Kildrummy see *Instrumenta Publica 1291-6* (Ragman Rolls) Bannatyne Club (1834), 110-11; Bain, J., *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland II (1272-1307)* Nos. 800, 822-3.

<sup>3</sup> Bain, J., op. cit., Nos. 1397, 1399, 1400; *Rotuli Scotiae*, 1, 53; *Calendar of Patent Rolls (1301-7)*, 161.

<sup>4</sup> P.R.O. E 101/361/12/25. See Appendix A.

<sup>5</sup> *The King's Works*, ed. H. M. Colvin. Chapter VII, especially p. 419, note 9.

<sup>6</sup> 'Itm acorde est, q comande soit au Counte de Carrik, q'il mette le Chastel de Kyndromyn en la garde de tiel home pur qui il meismes voudra respoudre.' *Ordinacio facta per Dominum Regem supra Stabilitate Terre Scocie, Rotuli Parliamentorum I (1278-1327)* 268. Listed Bain, J., op. cit., 1691. This was because

against the castle. The garrison surrendered before 13th September 1306,<sup>1</sup> after a siege which is described in some detail in Barbour's *Bruce*.<sup>2</sup> Barbour, an archdeacon of Aberdeen, lived within a generation of the events described and may well have met men who took part in the siege.<sup>3</sup> He mentions the barras hald, the muckle hall, the wall (which he says was embattled both within and without) and the yett. He records that the garrison capitulated as the result of a fire which was started by treachery in the hall and ultimately spread to the gatehouse, and that the attacking force withdrew after overthrowing 'all of a quarter of Snawdoune'. This statement has been variously interpreted as meaning the destruction of part of the Snow Tower and the down-throwing of a length of the curtain wall.

The castle was subsequently attacked or seized on a number of occasions – in November 1335 by the Earl of Atholl,<sup>4</sup> in 1361 by King David II,<sup>5</sup> in 1404 by Sir Alexander Stewart,<sup>6</sup> in 1442 by Sir Robert Erskine,<sup>7</sup> in 1531 by John Strachan of Lenturk<sup>8</sup> and in 1654 by Cromwell's forces under Colonel Morgan.<sup>9</sup> The events of 1335 are described as a siege and the assault of 1531 as the 'tresonable burning of the Place of Kyldrimmy'. The castle was burnt again by the Highlanders in 1689/90 and following that occasion the Earl of Mar claimed that the castle being 'sorrrounded with great walls, wherein their was much building, and being from the most part totaly burnt and destroyed, the reparatione of it cannot be under nyn hundred pound sterline'.<sup>10</sup>

From 1435 until 1508 the castle was annexed to the Crown<sup>11</sup> and during this period there are records of expenditure on the buildings in the Exchequer Rolls. The only extensive item is the first, dated 1438, which includes the following:

To the repair of a stone fireplace in Kildrummy castle	12s. od.
And to the carriage of stone from Kildrummy quarry	8s. od.
And to Thomas Black, mason, for cutting 1164 ft. of stone at 1d. per ft.	£5 17s. od.
And to Kemlock, mason, for 40 ft. likewise	£2 os. od.
And to Gilbert the quarryman for his fee from the festival of Pentecost until Shrove Tuesday	£5 6s. 8d.

Bruce held the wardship and marriage of the Earldom of Mar. See document published in *S. Hist. Rev.* Vol. 34 (1955), p. 132, 'E le r(oi grante) a meisme celi Robert le garde e le mariage du filz e heir le conte de Mar.'

<sup>1</sup> Bain, J., *op. cit.*, No. 1829.

<sup>2</sup> *The Bruce*, ed. W. M. Mackenzie, Book III, lines 331–367, and iv, 39–188.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, Book iv, 112–13, where Barbour says of the traitor Osborn

'Bot as thai said, that war thar-in  
He tuk a culter hat glowand etc.'

<sup>4</sup> Wyntoun, *Original Chronicle*, ed. F. J. Armour, vi, 58–71. *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, I (1264–1359), cliii and 437–8.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.* (1359–79), xviii–ix, 166.

<sup>6</sup> Sir Alexander Stewart is believed to have murdered the husband of the Countess of Mar and subsequently seized the castle. He then married the Countess, and became Earl of Mar by right of marriage. For his charters see *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1306–1424), App. 2, 1908 and *Ant. Abdn. and Banff*, iv, 167–70.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*, 196 (note), 199–200; *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, II (1424–1567), 60–61.

<sup>8</sup> *Ant. Abdn. and Banff*, iv, 758–9; Pitcairn, R., *Criminal Trials*, I, pt. 1, 246. The latter refers to 'the Besieging of the Castle of Kildrummy, "Hereschip" and "Spuilzie" of goods and Slaughter committed at the time of the said Siege.'

<sup>9</sup> Gwynne, John, *Military Memoirs of the Great Civil War*, ed. Sir Walter Scott, 240–6; Firth, C. H., *Scotland and the Protectorate*, xvii, 43, 46, 47. See also correspondence between Colonel Morgan and garrison commander given in Simpson, *Castle of Kildrummy*, 239–44.

<sup>10</sup> Fraser, Sir W., *The Melvilles, Earls of Melville, and the Leslies Earls of Leven*, II, 168.

<sup>11</sup> James I annexed the Earldom of Mar to the Crown on the death of Sir Alexander Stewart. The castle was bestowed on Alexander Elphinstone of Elphinstone by James IV in 1513, *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1424–1513), 3875.

And for wages of 2 servants called <i>foremen</i> at Kildrummy, working in the orchard and the quarry, for their fees	£1 os. od.
And for 4 stone of iron bought in the burgh of Aberdeen for making iron tools for the fabric of Kildrummy castle	14s. od.
And for making 7 <i>wethyis</i> of iron into nails for the chapel roof at Kildrummy	12s. od.
And given to 2 men working for 6 weeks in the quarry at Kildrummy for their wage	13s. 4d.
And for 4 great bars called <i>inlokkis</i> for the gates of Kildrummy castle	8s. od.
And to Ingram the carpenter for the preparation of tiles for the chapel roof at Kildrummy	10s od. <sup>1</sup>

Apart from this, £13 6s. 8d. was spent in 1451 on the fabric of the castle,<sup>2</sup> a further sum in 1464 on the roofs of the two towers 'known as the burges tour and the maldis tour',<sup>3</sup> £100 a year in 1468 and 1469 on the construction and repair of the castle<sup>4</sup> and a final £80 on the fabric and repair in 1471.<sup>5</sup> No details are given.

The Countess of Mar and her servants are listed under the parish of Kildrummy and presumably still occupied the castle in 1696,<sup>6</sup> and habitation may have continued in some degree until about 1750.<sup>7</sup> Accounts of topographers and others from the eighteenth century onwards describe a castle already in ruin. Of these the most informative contains a detailed description of the Snow Tower as it was in 1724. It is said to consist of seven storeys of vaults one on top of the other; near the base there was a continuous corbel course about 1½ ft. across with several doors opening into the wall above it; the wall is said to be 18 ft. thick (actually 12 ft.). and to contain spacious mural chambers and a loop-holed mural gallery; at the bottom of the tower was a draw-well from which water was raised to the top through holes formed for the purpose in the middle of the vaults. The top storey was ruinous and grass-grown with a breach to the NE.<sup>8</sup> The description is to some extent

<sup>1</sup> 'Et allocati pro reparacione camini lapidei in castro de Kyndromy	xij s.
Et pro cariagio lapidum de lapidario de Kyndromy	vij s.
Et Thome Blak, latamo, pro incisione mille centum et sexaginta quatuor pedum lapidum, precium pedis unus denarius summa	v lib. xvij s.
Et Kemlock, latamo, pro quadringentis pedibus lapidum hujusmodo	xl s.
Et Gilberto lapidario, pro feodo suo, a festo Penthecostes usque festum Carniprivii	v lib. vjs. viij d.
Et pro feodis duorum serviencium vocatorum formen, apud Kyndromy, operancium in pomerio et lapidario, pro feodis suis	xx s.
Et pro quatuor petris ferri emptis in burgo de Aberdeen, pro instrumentis ferreis ad fabricam castri de Kyndromy faciendis	xiiij s.
Et pro fabrica septem wethyis ferri in clavos pro tectura capelle de Kyndromy	xij s.
Et dati duobus hominibus operantibus per sex ebdomas in lapidario de Kyndromy pro mercede sua	xiiij s. iiij d.
Et pro quatuor magnis seris dictis inlokkis pro hostiis castri de Kyndromy	vij s.
Et Ingerame carpentario pro aptura tegularum pro tectura capelle de Kyndromy	x s.'

*Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, v (1437-54), 57-59.

<sup>2</sup> 'ad fabricam dicti castri', *ibid.*, 463.

<sup>3</sup> 'et pro tectura duarum turrium in Kyndromy, dictarum the burges tour and the maldis tour', *ibid.*, vii (1460-9), 277.

<sup>4</sup> 'ad construcionem et reparacionem castri de Kindromy', *ibid.*, 559; 'ad reparacionem et construcionem castri de Kildrumy', *ibid.*, 650.

<sup>5</sup> 'ad fabricam et reparacionem castri de Kyndromy', *ibid.*, viii (1470-9), 79.

<sup>6</sup> *List of Pollable Persons within the Shire of Aberdeen 1696*, Spalding Club, 1, 497.

<sup>7</sup> For a discussion of the evidence see Simpson, *Kildrummy Castle*, 255-6.

<sup>8</sup> [Kildrummy Castle] 'is said to have consisted of 7 Towers the lowest of which on the W. side called

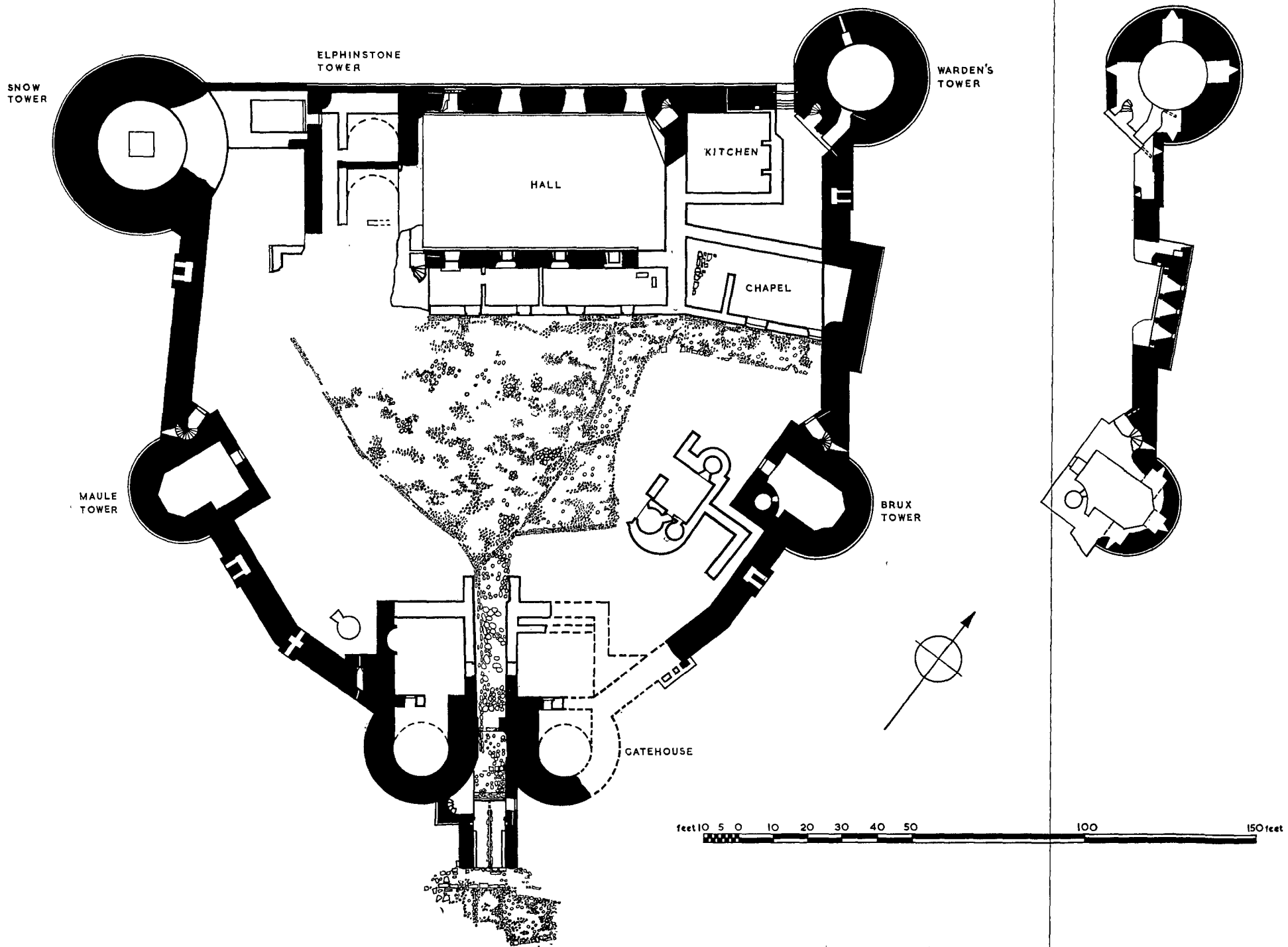


FIG. 1. Plan of castle

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illustrated by Cordiner's engraving of 1780<sup>1</sup> and by the undated water colour found at Clova House.<sup>2</sup>

The dilapidation of the castle was arrested in 1809 and limited repair undertaken during the nineteenth century. The estate was bought in 1898 by Colonel Ogston who systematically consolidated the ruined fabric, beginning with the Elphinstone and Warden's Towers. The castle now belongs to Mr J. P. Smith, and is under the guardianship of the Ministry of Public Building and Works.

## EXCAVATION REPORT

### *External Defences*

The site of Kildrummy Castle is an inclined platform which depends for its defence as much on skilful military engineering as on its natural advantages. The ground drops steeply from the N. curtain, but elsewhere falls away in a comparatively gentle slope from the castle walls, which are protected by a great earthwork sweeping round to E., S. and W. of the castle; this is visible to the E. as a well-defined ditch and to the SW. as a depression in the ground but cannot now be identified in front of the gatehouse.<sup>3</sup>

A section across the earthwork E. of the castle revealed that on this side the original profile of the ditch is almost unchanged. The ditch is about 85 ft. across from crest to crest and 16 ft. deep, the outer face steep and the inner almost vertical, the bottom flat and some 20 ft. across. Traces of an upcast bank survive on both scarp and counter-scarp; no timber palisade was identified and no stone wall revealed.<sup>4</sup> To the S. of the castle the ditch was found to be almost as well-preserved though infilled, but surface evidence has been distorted by nineteenth-century landscaping. The ditch was of similar profile to that on the E. but somewhat wider and shallower, i.e. about 95 ft. across from crest to crest, 15 ft. deep and 25 ft. across at the bottom. Upcast banks, if they existed, have been removed.

the Snow Tower is yet standing, and is made up of 7 stories of Vaults one about another, about 30 Foot high each. The top Vault which is covered with Grass has a breach towards the N.E. commonly called the Devil's Gap concerning which there are sundry fabulous Traditions, needless to mention. There is at the height of about 2 ordinary Chairs a Bench of single stones built 1½ foot out round the whole Wall, with several Doors opening to it from the Wall. This is said to have been the Court House or Place where Councils of War were held. The walls are in most places 18 foot thick, with spacious Rooms within them and a Passage with several small slits or Holes for watching through the middle of them, going round the whole House. The stones are all hewn without and within. In the bottom of the Tower there was a Draw well, whence they drew water to the Top through a round Hole for that purpose in the middle of every Vault. There is another Draw well in the close about 200 feet deep. There is a Passage under Ground, vaulted above, and Causwayed below, for some hundreds of Paces opening to a Rivulet upon the N. side so high that 2 men on horseback could ride abreast for watering in case of a Seige. This is now fallen and stops going far in . . .

It [the castle] has been in form of a square, opening towards the S. where there [sic] 3 or 4 gates, some Iron ones yet extant e're you can enter the Inner Close. The Circumference of the Ruins will be very near an English Mile. . . . Several Vaults have been discovered under ground one of which well provided with Beef Fats.' Macfarlane, W., *Geographical Collections*, ed. Sir Arthur Mitchell, 1, 28-30.

<sup>1</sup> Cordiner, Rev. C., *Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Scotland*, London (1780), 13.

<sup>2</sup> Reproduced *Castle of Kildrummy*, fig. 50 and *P.S.A.S.*, LXII (1927-8), fig. 27.

<sup>3</sup> It has been suggested that this earthwork is prehistoric. This is not accepted, but a worked flint (fig. 7) was found above the medieval occupation level immediately east of the gatehouse.

<sup>4</sup> Such a wall is shown in Cordiner's engraving of 1780 and in Skene of Rubislaw's engraving of 1829. It is not shown in the Bee engraving of ante 1791 (*The Bee or Literary Weekly Intelligence*, vi (30th November 1791), 121-5. A larger version of the same view is preserved in an album of cuttings presented by Dr James Mitchell to the University of Aberdeen in 1845). Masonry was noted by W. D. S. immediately E. of the Warden's Tower.

Search S. of the gatehouse revealed the foundation and base of a stone wall extending in a straight line some 80 ft. across the S. front of the castle and terminating at the E. end SE. of the existing entry. The foundation is some 8 ft. across, the superimposed wall about a foot narrower; enough of the main structure survives to suggest that it was clay-built throughout and not mortar-built above a clay-bound foundation. No features of any kind were found in association with this wall which runs out above ground level at the E. end while the W. has been destroyed by the over-building and subsequent demolition of a cottage of which the foundations still remain.

A cross-section of the defences in front of the gatehouse revealed the following sequence of structures from N. to S.: a roughly rectangular pit, immediately S. of, but not in alignment with, the barbican pit; two stone-built drains, one from the front of the barbican pit overlying one from the E. side and both cutting through the ruins of the clay-built wall; a ditch 20 ft. wide excavated 2 ft. 6 in. into the subsoil and subsequently infilled with rubble; a terrace 55 ft. wide terminating in an upcast bank 37 ft. wide at the base consisting of gravel thrown up on a foundation of stones and overlying a narrow ditch cut in the subsoil.

The sequence of events in this area is interpreted as follows. A marking-out trench (possibly a palisade trench) was cut round the SE. front of the castle on an arc joining the counter scarps of the ditches on either side. A wide bank was then thrown up along this line corresponding to the counter scarp of the ditches and consisting of spoil from the ditches on either side dumped on a foundation of field stones. It may have been the intention to excavate the area between this bank and the castle but if so this was never done, although the ditch close to the castle could represent the first stage of such excavation. Alternatively the ditch could represent the remains of an earlier earthwork or of a secondary defence intended to strengthen or replace it.

Excavation of the platform immediately in front of the gatehouse revealed that the lowest stratum of occupation debris was a spread of lime upon which was superimposed a considerable quantity of burnt material. The lime-spread preceded the cutting of the ditch, while the burnt material followed the contour of the scarp. The foundations of the clay-built wall were cut through the burning. The construction of the successive drains from the barbican pit took place after the destruction or decay of the clay-built wall since both cut through it without rebuilding. Both drains were well built, the lower extending some 38 ft. from the E. side of the barbican pit, the upper some 50 ft. from the S. Both discharge over the infill of the ditch which contains a high proportion of rubble at this point and which served, deliberately or by accident, as a sump. The southern drain runs through a rectangular, subterranean structure with clay-built walls lying between the barbican pit and the ruined wall to the S. of it. On plan it reads with the latter, but in fact was certainly built after its destruction. Above these remains and covering the whole of the platform was a spread of rubble and above this again a well-defined, cobbled approach to the gatehouse.

This evidence, so far as it goes, supports the suggestion that the existing gatehouse

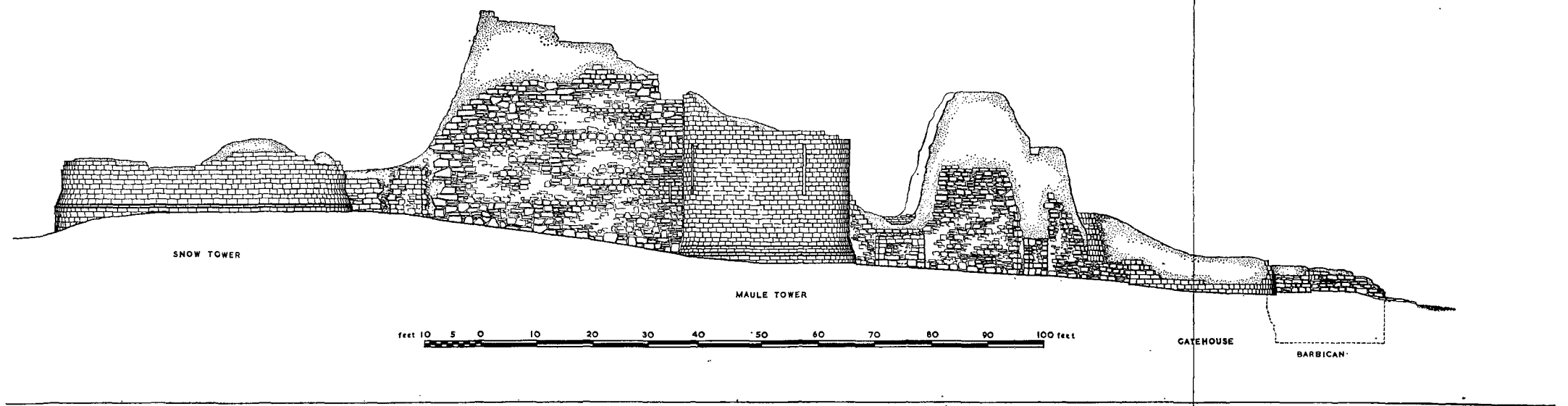
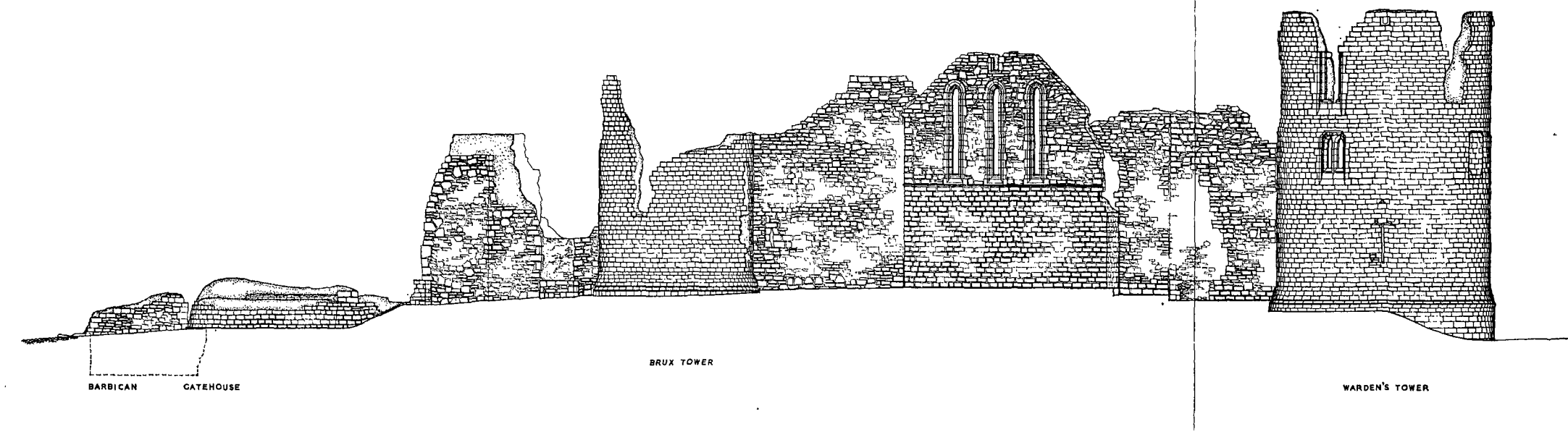


FIG 2. Elevations: (a) NE. (b) SW.

was the first to be built on the site. If the burnt material can be equated with the fire of 1306, then the clay-built wall may represent temporary defences erected to cover the southern flank of the castle damaged during or at the end of the siege. It is tempting to read the subterranean structure as a pit associated with this wall but it is not well-enough constructed for such a purpose even if it were contemporary and is more probably connected with the drainage of the castle. The first stone-built drain is contemporary with the construction of the barbican pit. It proved unsatisfactory in spite of the grill fitted over the entry to prevent blocking and was replaced by a new drain following a more direct route. Ultimately the whole area in front of the gatehouse was cobbled, probably at the same time as the filled-in barbican pit<sup>1</sup> and the courtyard.

#### *Gatehouse and Towers*

The greater part of the gatehouse was excavated before 1927 and it was then found that the E. side of the structure had been removed down to the foundation.<sup>2</sup> Further excavation has now revealed that the N. corner of the gatehouse, of good quality ashlar, still survives; no trace of a circular stone-built stair foundation was found either at this angle or elsewhere. The gatehouse trance contained no evidence of an earlier bridge pit N. of the existing one. A wall foundation or threshold 8 ft. thick was revealed built across the trance with its inner and outer faces corresponding to the secondary restriction of the entry. A well-built drain was uncovered running down the E. side of the trance which is now blocked by the threshold although it may originally have run underneath it; a second drain linking up with the existing drainage of the courtyard runs down the W. side and over the threshold.

The two towers flanking the gatehouse are almost identical but not precisely symmetrical. In both cases the ground floor opened to the court with access to the upper storeys by means of a newel stair in the re-entrant angle between tower and curtain. The wooden floors of the first storey were supported on scarcements<sup>3</sup> and the flat lintels of the windows on continuous stone corbelling. In both cases there were associated mural garderobes. Excavation of the ground under the towers revealed evidence of burning in both instances but no paving, although in the case of the E. tower the W. foundation projects 10 in. into the floor space.

Externally the bases of all the towers except the gatehouse are carefully moulded and correspond to the plinths of the N. curtain and S. wall of the hall. The profile can best be seen on the E. side of the Warden's Tower which has been recently exposed but can be traced even on the face of the Snow Tower in the few places where the original masonry has been preserved.<sup>4</sup> Excavation of the interior of the Warden's Tower exposed the original ground plan, but no paving was found within the chamber at ground level and no evidence of a prison cellar underneath it. This

<sup>1</sup> The barbican pit was cobbled over when first uncovered by W. D. S.

<sup>2</sup> Information provided by W. D. S. The existing masonry of the gatehouse and curtain on this side is modern.

<sup>3</sup> The scarcement in the S. tower was built up by Colonel Ogston's mason. Information provided by W. D. S.

<sup>4</sup> The stump of the Snow Tower was largely refaced by Colonel Ogston for aesthetic reasons, the new work being distinguished by stugged tooling.



confirms that it was the ground floor chamber with bolts and garderobe and without windows which was the prison even though the ceiling above was of wood supported on the continuous projecting corbel course which still survives. Excavation in the well of the Snow Tower was carried down to a depth of 24 ft. without revealing evidence of a masonry lining; at that depth the shaft was still square on plan and cut through the natural rock. The interior of the rectangular chamber immediately E. of the Snow Tower was also excavated revealing that the curtain wall is thinner at this point providing a space some 9 ft. across between the curtain on one side and a well-built ashlar-faced wall 5 ft. thick on the other which may have provided a defended access from the domestic accommodation to the Snow Tower.

### *The Chapel*

The E. gable of the chapel of good quality ashlar is built onto the outside face of a rubble curtain wall. The projection is oblique to obtain correct orientation and it has been suggested that this is an alteration, the original intention being to project the chapel through the curtain rather further to the N., where the face of the wall is set forward 8 in. in a vertical line from base to parapet. Excavation at the foot of this feature revealed it to have been the S. angle of a garderobe shaft; five courses of excellent masonry survive on the S. side of the shaft, two on the N.; central pillar and lintols are missing, but the overall width of the vents is 6 ft. which corresponds closely with the garderobes elsewhere in the castle. A doorway was forced through the curtain at this point, probably late in the history of the castle,<sup>1</sup> and the masonry above subsequently fell, leaving an irregular rent which was built up about 1882.<sup>2</sup> Above this rent, which can still be distinguished, the quoins of the angle are preserved and the parapet carried across above on a course of continuous corbelling.

Excavation at the foot of the chapel gable revealed the foundation of the chapel (which is not quite square to the building erected on it) and of a semicircular structure butting against it. The latter is somewhat irregular on plan, with a wall about 10 ft. across thickening to nearly 11 ft. near the chapel foundation. It survives to a maximum height of 1 ft. 9 in. near the chapel and is clay-built with a spread of mortar on the top and appears to be the foundation of a tower. A tower in this position would have strengthened the enceinte at its weakest point, the chapel windows, but it can never have been built since it would have been bounded into the chapel gable which would ultimately have been breached to permit access to the tower from inside the castle.

Internally partial excavation of the chapel site revealed no evidence of burials within the building. The N. wall is medieval and contemporary with the curtain; the foundations of the medieval S. wall and of at least one buttress also survive but to the S. of the existing wall and concealed by cobbling. Further evidence of late rebuilding was formerly visible on the face of the gable in the shape of a row of joist holes at first floor level and of the raggle of a pointed roof cutting across the medieval windows.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> cf. the Bee engraving.

<sup>2</sup> Local information given to W. D. S.

<sup>3</sup> See MacGibbon and Ross, *op. cit.* (Bibl.), fig. 88a.

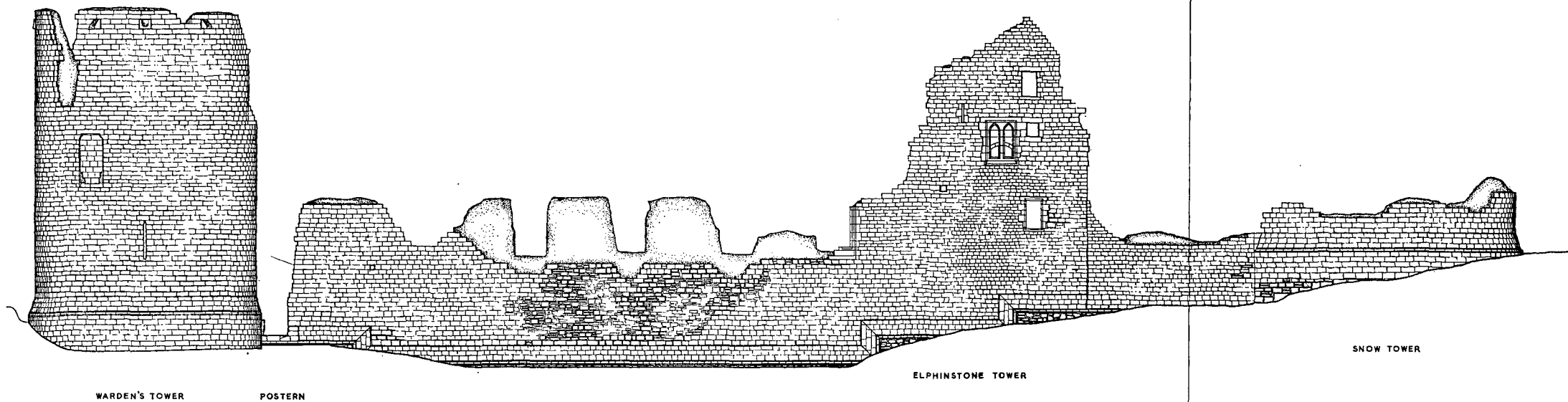
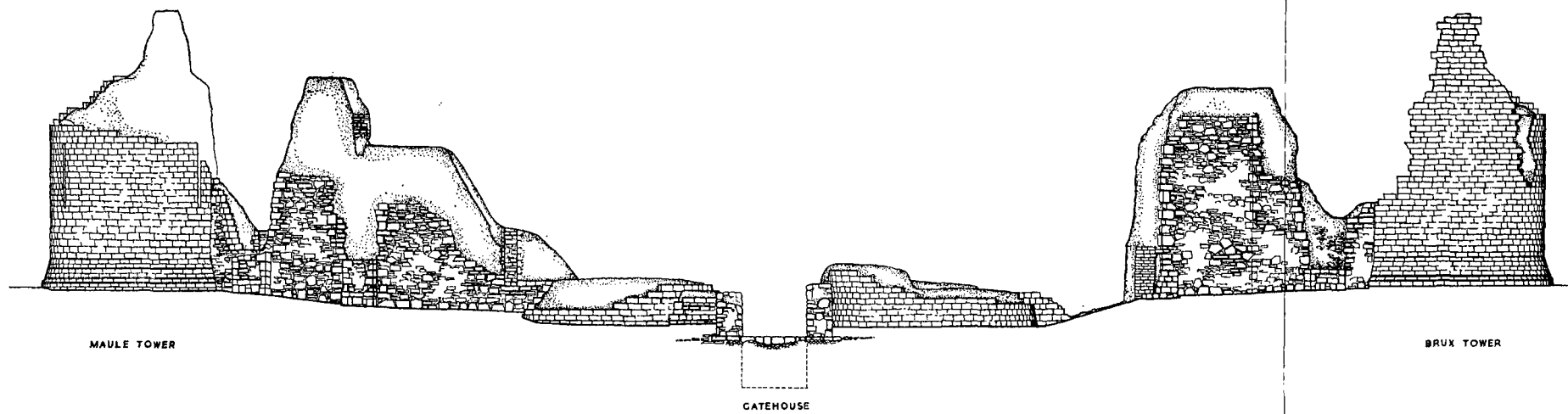


FIG. 3. Elevations: (a) SE. (b) NW.

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*Domestic Accommodation*

Throughout the occupation of the castle the principal domestic accommodation was ranged against the N. curtain which was drawn across a natural re-entrant depression between the two rocky platforms occupied by the principal towers and served as a retaining wall or revetment to the interior of the castle. There is a sheer drop of 20 ft. from the sills of the hall windows to the ground level outside.

The hall is built in one piece with the N. curtain, the projecting plinth at the base being repeated on a smaller scale on the courtyard façade although the face of the latter has been almost entirely cloured away. The floor was supported on the N. wall by a continuous benching and on the S. by a scarcement, the difference being due to the fact that the former was built into the revetting curtain while the latter stands on the gravel platform of the courtyard. Thus though part of the floor of the hall was made up of forced earth there can never have been a cellar beneath it. A section across the hall revealed no evidence of support for either floor or roof. It is impossible to deduce either the height or the pitch of the roof since the E. gable has been demolished and almost all the facework removed from the W.

The entrance to the hall from the court was at the E. end of the S. wall and newel stairs are preserved at the N. and S. angles leading to wall-walk and solar. The dais was at the W. end close to the S. stair. Of the windows in the N. wall that nearest to the Elphinstone Tower has been found to be best preserved; it was a two-light window with a central mullion, the jambs being drilled on either side for glazing bars and the daylight checked for a shutter. The window was at least 6 ft. high and provision was made for a sliding bolt to secure the shutters which were mounted on hinges behind the jambs. The embrasure is benched on either side and paved underfoot, with a splay towards the hall. The embrasures S. of the hall, with the exception of the dais window, seem to have been similar.

W. of the hall are the remains of the solar which was substantially rebuilt in the form of a tower-house, probably in the sixteenth century, and extensively patched in the nineteenth. The thirteenth-century masonry is clearly distinguishable from the later work and is bonded into the curtain below ground level on the W. side of the tower. The plan of the tower-house, with inserted barrel vaults at ground level, can be made out, but most of the walls to S. and W., including the foundations, have been removed.

E. of the hall is the foundation of a rectangular chamber identified as a kitchen from its position and from the fact that a sink is built in the N. wall venting through the curtain. Although the structure appears contemporary with the hall the S. and E. walls are of inferior build to the party wall. The existence of an entrance in the N. angle was not confirmed although there was a breach where the E. wall of the kitchen butted against the return of the N. curtain.<sup>1</sup> Two short lengths of wall projecting into the chamber from the E. wall and illustrated in Gibb's plan were identified, but nothing found to indicate that they originally extended more than some 2 ft. 6 in. into the floor area, or that they were capable of supporting anything

<sup>1</sup> See plan prepared by A. Gibb in 1855. (M.O.W. Photographic Library Print No. A 429/15.) The breach has been built up.

substantial. The subsoil under the chamber slopes to the N. and no evidence was found to suggest that there had been a cellar under the principal floor level. No evidence of a connecting door between hall and kitchen has survived.

S. of the hall there is evidence of a range of buildings erected against the S. façade. The foundation of the S. wall is well built and the recess in the most westerly room, formed from the dais window, has moulded jambs and traces of a curb, apparently having been used as a fireplace. This range was more than a row of cattle pens and its existence implies the abandonment of the hall, since the lean-to roof must necessarily have overridden the hall windows.

The triangular area S. of the hall, Elphinstone Tower and chapel is cobbled with drainage following the natural slope of the ground to the gatehouse and with space left on either side for lean-to timber buildings against the curtain walls. This cobbling occupies a substantially higher horizon than the entrance to the flanking towers and provides a plan of the castle lay-out at the time that it was abandoned. Excavation in the S. angle of the courtyard outwith this area revealed the existence of a small subterranean kiln, keyhole shaped on plan, filled with masonry and animal bones.

#### *Small Finds*

One worked flint was found in a post-medieval horizon near the gatehouse. Other possible early finds include a steatite bead, a small crucible with traces of copper, a stone disc and a fragment of bone with Viking-type circle decoration.

Medieval finds include one unstratified thirteenth century coin, a bent-over arrow point and a small collection of pottery fragments corresponding to wares already recorded at other Scottish monastic and domestic sites. The pottery is well made, wheel turned and generally glazed. A number of different types of pot have been identified including large pitchers, a jug, a flat pan, a urinal and a strainer together with three examples of high-quality imported wares.

A few fragments of glass were found, mostly seventeenth-eighteenth century with a small quantity of late medieval window glass.

Objects collected previously by Colonel Ogston include pottery fragments and a number of interesting metal objects (two spurs, two arrow heads, a brooch and a boss) all, with the exception of one spur, said to have been found in the well.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The foundation of Kildrummy Castle is unrecorded. It may have been, as has been suggested, a royal castle built in connection with the subjugation of Moray.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The case for royal foundation rests on a statement by Sir Robert Gordon c. 1630: 'This Sanct Gilbert [Gilbert of Moravia, Bishop of Caithness 1223-45] was appointed by King Alexander the Second to be thesaurer for his majestie in the north of Scotland; and dureing the space he had this office, he built the castle and fortresse of Kildrume in Marr, with seaven tours within the precinct of the said castle.' (Gordon, Sir R., *Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland*, ed. 1813, 32). His statement is supported to some extent by an entry in the *Aberdeen Breviary* 1509 - the bishop was employed by the king 'in garrisoning and building castles and in repairing other edifices for the benefit of the monarch and the state' ('in temporalibus et spiritualibus ipsum pro singulis regum in boreali Scocie parte agendis et castrorum custodiendis edificandis et aliis edificiis pro utilitate regis et reipublice reparandis prefecerunt.') Forbes, Bishop A. P., *Kalendars of Scottish*

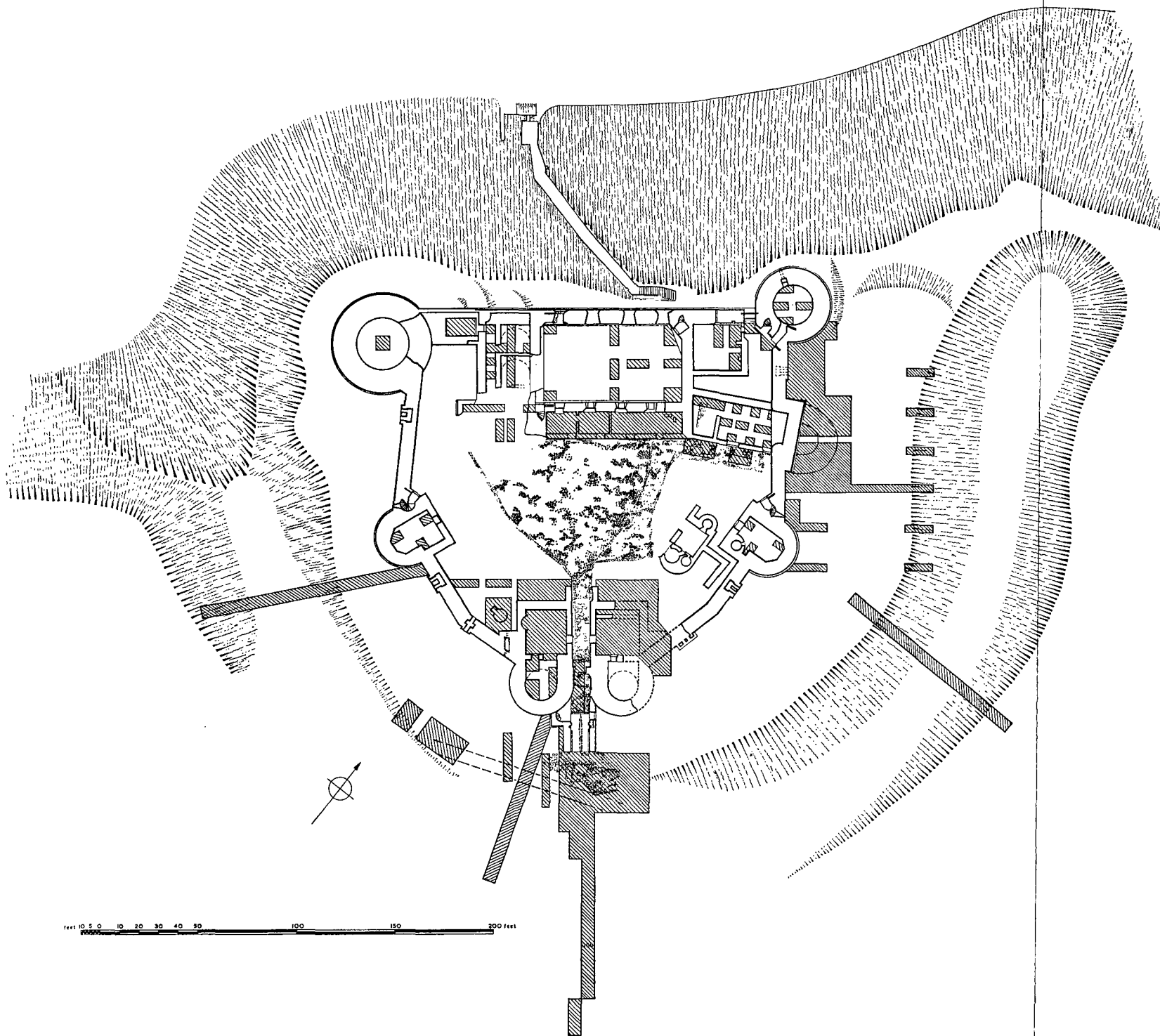


FIG. 4. General plan of excavations

[to face p. 216

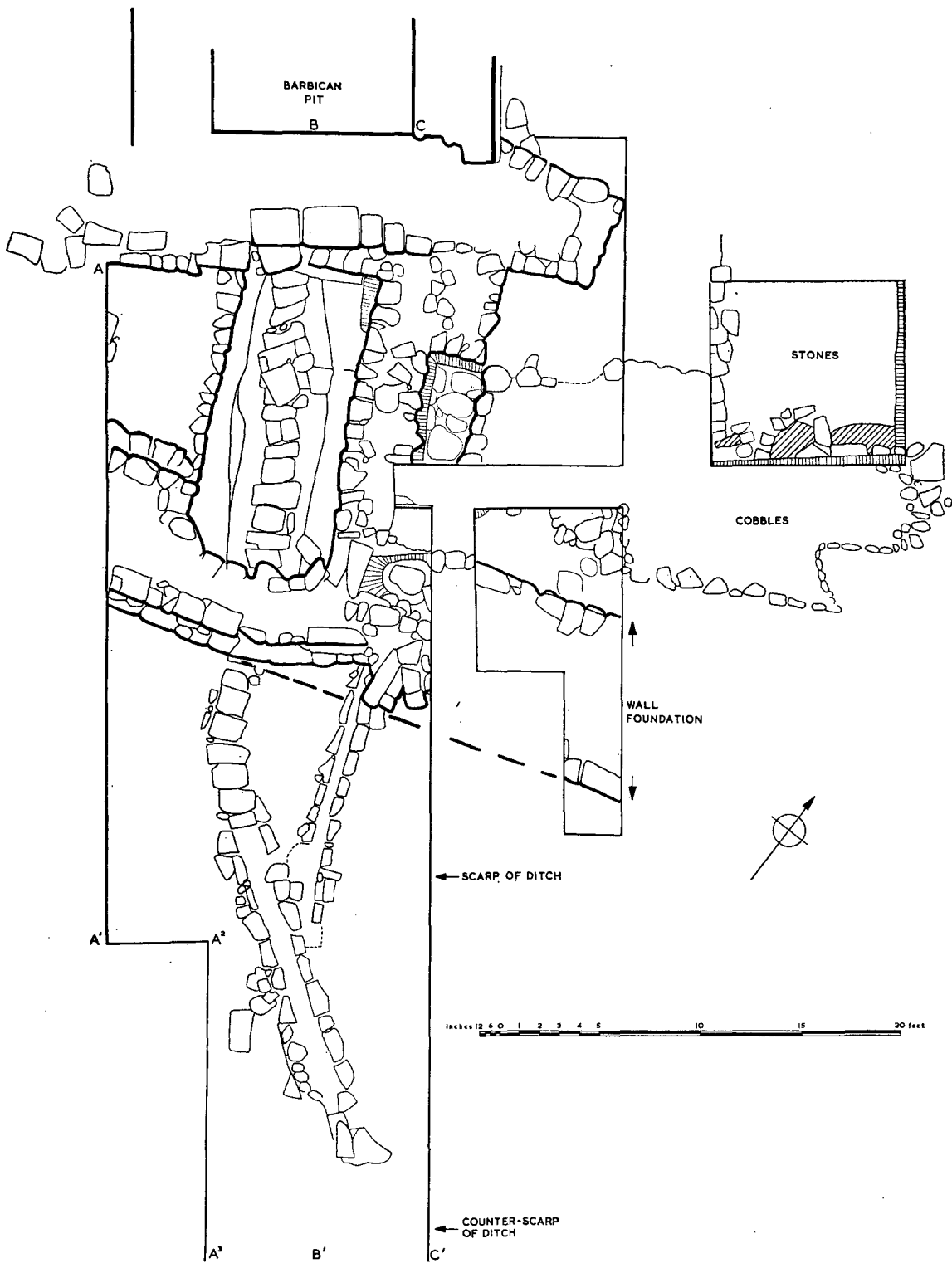


FIG. 5. Excavations in front of gatehouse

It could equally well have been the castellated home of a great Scottish family which is what it is when it appears in contemporary record at the end of the thirteenth century.

Certain facts about site and structure are self-evident. It is not a motte site like the rest of the castles in the area except Coull. The area enclosed is large, the quality of much of the masonry exceptional. As fully developed it was one of the finest castles in Scotland. Yet this results from the fusion of disparate elements – the irregular enclosure formed by high, rubble-built walls, the ashlar chapel gable applied obliquely and irregularly to the east curtain, the four towers, hall and solar distinguished by excellent masonry and similarity of external profile, the gatehouse with its battered base and Welsh inspiration, the whole enclosed within a substantial earthwork awkwardly related to the structure within it. All this suggests prolonged development for which the only historical evidence is that there was a castle on the site in 1296 and that the gatehouse may have been built by James of St George for Edward I of England.















The current excavations have added something to knowledge of the early castle. The relationship between defences and castle has been established stratigraphically in front of the gatehouse where a chronological sequence of minor development has been exposed. Excavation at the foot of the walls has shown that there was a garderobe in the curtain beside the Warden's Tower corresponding to that provided for the other towers and that the apparent break in the E. curtain is the angle of this garderobe and not a gap in the curtain provided for the N. wall of the chapel. The base of the Warden's Tower can now be seen to resemble those of the other towers and the plinths at the foot of the N. curtain and the S. wall of the hall. Tower foundations at the foot of the chapel gable illustrate the process of improvement, but cannot be dated absolutely although later than the chapel foundations against which they abut. An attempt to establish relationship between buildings by mortar analysis is published in Appendix II. Results are not sufficiently consistent to support an argument without other evidence – samples from Snow Tower and Warden's Tower are similar, which one would expect, but those from E. and S. towers (structurally almost identical) are not.

The most valuable outcome of the excavation has been the exposure for record of the sixteenth-century layout, when the old hall and solar had been replaced by a tower-house on the same site. Forecourt, entry and the centre of the courtyard were cobbled and drained, with lean-to buildings against the curtain on either side. The ubiquitous bones of domestic animals and the paucity of other small finds illustrate both the daily life of the occupants of the castle towards the end of the middle ages

*Saints*, 355-6. Gordon certainly visited Kildrummy (*Genealogical Survey*, 296) and may have been familiar with Kildrummy charters since on that occasion he was called in to act as mediator between the Earl of Sutherland and his nephews in a boundary dispute.

On the other hand when Kildrummy appears in history it is as a castle of the Earl of Mar although other lands and castles are documented as royal. The traditional role of Gilbert is also doubtful. The office of Treasurer did not exist in Scotland, with one brief exception, in the thirteenth century and there is no evidence that he was ever High Chamberlain.

The pacification of Moray is a separate issue and since the last recorded trouble was in 1229 appears to have been completed too early to be relevant in the present context.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
|  TOP SOIL            |  GREY-BLACK FILL                                     |
|  YELLOW GRAVEL       |  GREY-BLACK FILL WITH LIME                           |
|  RED GRAVEL          |  LIME SPREAD   |
|  MIXED GRAVEL        |  BLACK FILL  |
|  MIXED GRAVEL & SOIL |  DIRTY REDDISH MATERIAL WITH RED CLAY                |
|  RED STONES & SOIL   |  GREY-BROWN SOIL WITH BURNT MATERIAL                 |
|  BROWN FILL          |  SOIL CONTAINING BLACK MATERIAL & ORANGE-BUFF FLECKS |

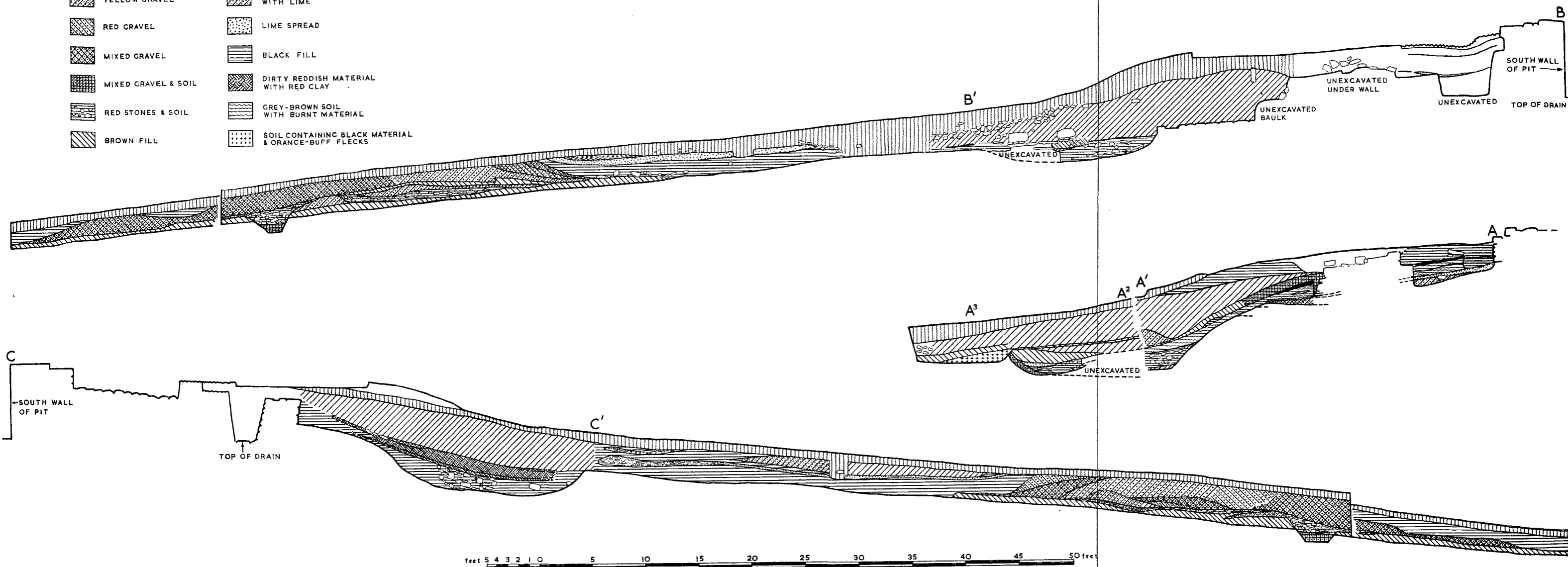


FIG. 6. Sections across earthworks in front of gatehouse

[to face p. 218]



and the slow process of decay, accelerated by occasional disaster, which converted the castle from a place of pride to the ruin that it is today.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thanks are due to Colonel and Mrs Yates and to Mr and Mrs Showers for information about Kildrummy Castle and for access to photographs and material formerly belonging to Colonel Ogston; also to Dr Simpson who kindly placed at the disposal of the Ministry all the records and information accumulated by him during the many years of his association with the castle. Kildrummy material in the Marischall College Museum, Aberdeen, was examined by permission of Professor R. D. Lockhart and the photograph of the candle snuffer from Kildrummy supplied by the National Museum of Antiquities.

The contributions of Messrs A. J. Taylor, L. Biek, C. S. Dunning and Dr R. M. Neill, published as appendices, are gratefully acknowledged as is the technical information and help provided by Professor R. J. C. Atkinson, Professor G. W. S. Barrow, Mr Ian Finlay, Dr D. B. Harden and Messrs Maxwell, Norman, Thorburn and Stevenson.

Excavation S. of the gatehouse was supervised by Mr I. MacIvor. The report was prepared with the assistance of Mr Norman Robertson (small finds), Mr A. Fraser (survey), Mr J. Pugh (photography), Mr T. Borthwick (line drawings) and Miss T. McDonald (plans and sections). Work on the site was carried out by Ministry employees of whom Mr W. Taylor of Lumsden was present throughout the period of excavation.

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## APPENDIX I

*Master James of St George and the Works of Kildrummy*

by A. J. TAYLOR, M.A., F.S.A.

It is over thirty-five years since Dr Douglas Simpson drew attention, in a paper of remarkable insight,<sup>1</sup> to the close resemblance, not only in overall plan but even more strikingly in numerous individual dimensions, between the surviving foundations of the gatehouse of Kildrummy Castle and the great standing gatehouse of Harlech Castle in N. Wales. He rightly noted that Edward I employed the same building and administrative staffs upon his military works in Wales and in Scotland, and that prominent amongst these was Master James of St George who had been in charge at Harlech Castle and was employed at Linlithgow in 1302. Though not then realising that Master James was by calling an *Ingeniator* and *Cementarius*,<sup>2</sup> and therefore primarily a mason-architect rather than an administrative clerk of works, nevertheless he suggested the inference that it was most likely to Master James's presence in Scotland that the Harlech-Kildrummy design relationship was due.

Documentary support for Dr Simpson's suggestion has hitherto been lacking. The purpose of the present note is accordingly to examine the single record which has since come to light that may have a direct bearing on the matter. It occurs in a fragment of a roll of payments made by the keeper of the king's wardrobe during the year 1302-3, and was found in the course of a fairly thorough search of the surviving wardrobe records of the later years of Edward I now mainly incorporated in the 'Exchequer Accounts, Various' and 'Chancery Miscellanea' series in the Public Record Office. The roll in question<sup>3</sup> is defective, the end words of all the full lines being torn away. The entry which concerns us here is under the date 14th October 1303 and reads as follows:

*Memorandum, compotus De Sancto Georgio*

Eidem eodem die - C.li. lib' Magistro Jacobo de sancto Geo [... ..] debentur in garderoba Regis, in una tallia facta fratri Willelmo le [... ..] sua per preceptum thes', nunc' W. de Brichull'.

The 'account' (*compotus*), to which the marginal heading directs attention, could in the case of Master James of St George only be an account of expenditure on building works, and accordingly the whole passage may be tentatively restored to read:

Eidem eodem die - C.li. liberate Magistro Jacobo de sancto Georgio pro operacionibus domini Regis que eidem debentur in garderoba Regis, in una tallia facta fratri Willelmo le Archdeacon', in propria persona sua per preceptum thesaurarii, nunciante Willelmo de Brichull'.<sup>4</sup>

The sum of £100, amounting to something of the order of perhaps £10,000 in modern values, would clearly be related to works of some magnitude. To put such a payment in perspective it may be recalled that in 1285-6 £125 was the cost of building the Mill Gate at Conway, £126 that of five of the wall towers adjacent to it,<sup>5</sup> and £122 and £128 respectively that of building the NW. and SW. towers of Harlech Castle with their surmounting turrets in 1289.<sup>6</sup> Again, £100 was the amount the king granted to Sir Richard Siward in 1298 for the rebuilding of Tibbers.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'James de Sancto Georgio, Master of Works to King Edward I in Wales and Scotland', *Trans. Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club* (1928), 31-41; reprinted in *Scottish Archaeological Studies*, 2nd series, (1936) 159-69.

<sup>2</sup> The evidence for Master James's status is discussed in the present writer's paper, 'Master James of St George', *English Historical Review* (1950), 433-5.

<sup>3</sup> Exchequer Accounts, 361/12/25 (part).

<sup>4</sup> Translated, the meaning is: '[Allow] to the same (i.e. to the keeper of the wardrobe), on the same day, £100 delivered to Master James of St George in his own person for the works of the lord king which are debited to him in the king's wardrobe in one tally made to Brother William the [Archdeacon of Lothian], by precept of the treasurer, through William of Brickhill.' The identification of 'Brother William the ...' may be inferred from Bain, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, II, Nos. 1455, 1574 and 1709; William of Brickhill was a wardrobe clerk from Chester, who held benefices at Mold and Aber in North Wales (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292-1301*, 286, 519; *Cal. of Ancient Correspondence concerning Wales*, ed. Edwards, 80).

<sup>5</sup> *The History of the King's Works* (London, 1963), 346.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*, 361.

<sup>7</sup> Bain, *op. cit.*, 257, 331-2.

On 14th October 1303, the day the keeper of the wardrobe's payment to Master James was entered as being allowed him by the treasurer, the king and the court were at Fettercairn in Kincardineshire, moving southwards again on the great progress that had carried Edward up to Banff and along the coast of Moray to Elgin and Kinloss. The payment itself, however, could very well have been made a few days earlier when the king was actually at Kildrummy for about a week,<sup>1</sup> a period during which works already begun could have been inspected or new works initiated. The time of year, towards the end of the building season, suggests the former as being the more likely; there are ample precedents in Wales for Edward's personal interest in the progress of his new castle works,<sup>2</sup> while only in the previous year we have the evidence of his direct intervention to modify the plans for the works at Linlithgow.<sup>3</sup>

Can it then be said, with any kind of assurance, that the payment to Master James recorded in October 1303 was specifically in respect of works at Kildrummy? This can at most be a tempting assumption, based (a) on the king's presence at Kildrummy for several days at about the time the payment was made, (b) on Master James's presence,<sup>4</sup> and (c) on the affinities of the Kildrummy gatehouse plan to that of Master James's earlier work at Harlech. On the other hand it is important to bear in mind that payments for the Linlithgow works were still seriously in arrear in November 1303,<sup>5</sup> and that it might equally have been for these that the £100 'on account' was issued to Master James in October.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless the year 1303 is the likeliest time for the Kildrummy gatehouse, with its evident English provenance, to have been begun, and at least there is no improbability in suggesting that this particular payment may have been directly related to it. If 1303 is indeed its date, it may be that its foundations preserve for us the re-used plan of the stone twin-towered gateway proposed for Linlithgow in the previous year and abandoned in favour of a work in timber.<sup>7</sup>

## APPENDIX II

### *The Mortars*

by L. BIEK

*Ancient Monuments Laboratory*

Fourteen samples taken by the excavator from locations he considered significant were analysed by Mr W. E. Lee at the Ancient Monuments Laboratory in the usual manner by determining the 'grading' of the 'aggregate' insoluble in cold, dilute hydrochloric acid (Table I).

Dr F. W. Anderson, Geological Survey and Museum, kindly examined this aggregate and found it to be essentially similar in all cases, mainly glacial material of sand grade derived from igneous rocks, and most probably of local origin, with a high proportion of associated boulder clay in one instance (630012). This sample is thus distinguished from all the others, but the significance of this distinction is perhaps more complex than it would appear and is dealt with below.

In evaluating the evidence as a whole, the greatest weight has been attached to the grading, but the superficial dry colour, before and after acid treatment, and other minor features have also been taken into account. As a result, several 'levels of correspondence' between the various facets of the evidence are apparent:

<sup>1</sup> Letters dated from Kildrummy on 4th and 9th October are calendared *ibid.*, 358-9.

<sup>2</sup> cf., e.g., his visits to Builth (November 1277); to Harlech (August 1283); and to Beaumaris (July 1295), *Hist. King's Works*, 295, 358, 398.

<sup>3</sup> *Eng. Hist. Rev.* (1950), 450-1.

<sup>4</sup> This turns on (i) the correctness of the restoration 'in propria persona sua' and (ii) on reading it as applying, when thus restored, to Master James and not to William the Archdeacon. It is reasonable to do so, as payments are commonly recorded as being received by the payee either personally (*in propria persona sua*) or by deputy (*per manus A.B.*).

<sup>5</sup> Bain, II, No. 1412.

<sup>6</sup> Wardrobe payments for the works at Linlithgow and Selkirk were issued in similar instalments in 1302 as follows: 10th July, £200 for Linlithgow; 10th August, £100 for Linlithgow; 8th September, £500 for Linlithgow and Selkirk; 9th September, £100 for Selkirk; 22nd October, £200 for Selkirk (Exchequer Accounts, 360/23).

<sup>7</sup> *Eng. Hist. Rev.* (1950), 450.

TABLE I

Location	A.M. Number	% Insoluble	Percentage of Insolubles				
			retained on sieve of mesh (per in.)				passed by mesh
			10	20	40	80	80
Curtain Wall between Warden's Tower and Chapel	630001	80.56	9.4	13.0	34.3	37.0	6.4
Curtain Wall between Snow Tower and SW. Tower	630002	78.02	18.6	8.2	27.3	31.4	14.4
Chapel gable	630003	85.10	16.8	15.7	25.5	33.9	8.0
Warden's Tower	630004	61.61	12.3	12.5	32.1	35.0	8.0
SE. Tower	630005	94.69	5.9	6.6	25.9	38.6	22.9
SW. Tower	630006	81.98	7.5	5.8	16.9	56.5	13.5
Snow Tower	630007	76.79	3.8	11.2	34.3	37.4	13.3
Elphinstone Tower (old work)	630008	76.11	12.9	9.6	20.2	42.9	14.4
N. Curtain Wall	630009	74.42	45.1	12.4	16.6	20.6	5.4
S. Wall of Hall	630010	71.95	11.7	14.6	24.4	35.9	13.4
Gatehouse	630011	78.18	18.5	10.2	27.0	30.6	13.8
Foundation outside Chapel gable: clay mortar at base	630012	91.43	12.2	7.4	13.7	31.4	35.3
Lime mortar from superstructure	630013	80.03	28.4	9.0	28.1	25.7	8.9
Elphinstone Tower (new work)	630014	77.95	16.3	17.3	19.4	33.0	14.1

## (A) Very similar, or virtually identical:

- (a) 630001, 630004, 630007  
 (b) 630002, 630011  
 (c) 630010, 630014

## (B) Similar:

- (d) groups (a) and (b)<sup>1</sup>  
 (e) 630003, 630005<sup>1</sup>  
 (f) 630008, 630012<sup>2</sup>  
 (g) 630012 and group (d)

## (C) Possibly similar, or related:

- (h) groups (e) and (f)  
 (j) 630009 and group (c)<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Denotes similarity filtered out by ignoring the coarsest fraction which can introduce fortuitous differences due to inadequate sampling of a very heterogeneous mix.

<sup>2</sup> Denotes similarity filtered out by ignoring the finest fraction; this reveals similar gradings which may have been masked by 'contamination' with 'silt' grade material either through deliberate addition of 'clay' or omission to wash or as a result of burial or flooding, etc.

630006 has evidently been specially prepared (by washing and sieving) to give a fine, clean sand suitable for plasterwork or smooth rendering.

Attempts have been made to improve matches, or search for possible hidden relationships, in some cases (see <sup>1</sup> and <sup>2</sup> on p. 222). Whilst these have possibly clarified the picture in some respects, it is not possible to be more definite, and no significant pattern emerges either when the different types of construction (viz. wall, tower, etc.) are considered separately.

Basically, it must be remembered that all the material is of the same general type and could locally be present in an almost continuous range. In such a case, factors of local disturbance and random choice must inevitably assume a greater importance than usual and less reliance should be placed on the results of analysis than is normally justified.

While it is thus possible that the only significant groupings are those given under (A) and perhaps (e) and (f) – a distinction being made even between (a) and (b) on account of their difference in coarse aggregate – it is also possible, though less likely, that only two major groups are present within each of which smaller variations might be accommodated, viz.: 630001, -02, -04, -07, -09, -11 and perhaps -13?; and 630005, -08, -10, -12 and -14; with -03 occupying an intermediate position and -06 specially prepared. The groupings given under (A) to (C) represent what on balance appears to be the most likely situation.

### APPENDIX III

#### *Animal Remains*

by DR R. M. NEILL

Animal remains were found at a number of sites in the castle area during excavations carried on from 1953–60. Almost the whole of these are remains of animals used – or usable – as food. All are in a much broken condition. Apart from occasional whole small bones, such as those forming part of a foot, and sundry teeth, the material recovered consists of pieces of bones, which rarely exceed a few inches in any dimension. In all six hundred and thirty such items were found.

Examination of these shows that, with the exception of a very few bird bones and several oyster shell valves, the whole of the material is mammalian. Animals represented are red deer, ox, horse, pig, roe deer, sheep, dog and cat. The general character of the various deposits is similar over the whole area, i.e. irrespective of the site of recovery. This and their miscellaneous nature is shown by the following summaries of the findings at certain particular sites.

#### *Warden's Tower*

Thirteen much broken fragments ox bones; one fragment ox skull; two bird bones, one broken – possibly duck; skull of dog. *17 items in all.*

#### *External Angle between Warden's Tower and Curtain*

One hundred and eighty-two broken fragments of bones of pigs and oxen, including bits of skull and scapula, but mainly limb bones: most of the latter broken (? chopped) across the middle. Part of an ox neck vertebra sheared (as with an axe). Ox jaw fragment with teeth. Two pieces pig lower jaw with teeth. Broken boar tusk. Young sheep scapula. Part of dog lower jaw with two teeth. Saw cut and saw marked piece (2½ in. in length) from the beam of a red deer antler – (fairly recent). *190 items in all.*

#### *Elphinstone Tower*

Horse molar tooth: much broken fragments of ribs and leg bones of pig and sheep. Two foot bones, part of a shoulder blade and pieces of leg bones of ox. Part of lower jaw and rib of a bird – probably wildfowl. *28 items in all.*

#### *Well*

Part of an ox jaw and two teeth: pieces of rib and leg bones of probably two oxen. Part of hind

leg bone of a horse. Broken bird breast bone (? grouse). Three much damaged shoulder bones of roe deer. Part of a red deer jaw, with teeth and two toe bones of same. *31 items in all.*

*Ditch, S. of castle*

Broken fragments of pelvis, rib and leg bones, lower jaw and several teeth of a smallish ox. *14 items in all.*

*'Unstratified'*

Fragments of leg bones of ox and roe deer, and of sheep rib and foreleg. Two ox teeth. Skull of a large dog, part of lower jaw of a small dog. Base of a cast red deer antler with saw cuts, from which the brow point and main beam have been sawn off. Three oyster shell valves. *29 items in all.*

In the material recovered bones of oxen (chiefly animals of medium size) and of pigs greatly predominate, and relate mainly to the more edible parts of the animal - haunch, leg, shoulder, etc. Nearly all the longer leg bones are broken across the middle. It seems possible that in some measure this may be due to the limb being chopped into manageable pieces for cooking. A few axe marks were noticed. In contrast, there is hardly any evidence of the practice of splitting leg bones lengthwise (as in attempts to obtain the marrow).

There is no indication that any of these bones are of great age. In the collection as a whole some variation in the state of preservation is evident, consistent with deposition at different times; though possibly attributable in particular items to the effects of local conditions (soil, water, etc.) since they were deposited.

Two points of interest, however, emerge from examination of these remains.

(i) By far the greater part of the bones are those of animals used for food. In this context it is unusual to find in such an assortment so few relics of wild fauna, particularly red deer and roe deer. The castle is situated in, or within easy reach of, good country for hunting both species. Evidently the bones found relate to a period in the history of the castle when local agriculture and stock keeping had developed sufficiently to be a staple source of meat in the quantities required by its inhabitants. That this may have been so at the beginning of the sixteenth century is suggested by the recorded purchase of seed and oxen for working the land of the farm of Gardenarhill in 1506-7.<sup>1</sup>

(ii) A second feature of interest in the light of the castle's history is the almost complete absence of bones or pieces of bone showing the effects of fire. The only direct evidence of fire is the presence of eleven fragments of charred leg bones (probably pig bones) and five small bits of charred wood among the material obtained in the 1953 excavations. The exact site of these does not seem to have been recorded.

Bearing in mind the generally fair state of preservation it seems probable that at least the great bulk of the animal remains do not relate to the 'heroic period' of the castle, but are relics of subsequent occupancy probably during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Beyond this they appear to be of little interest, either archaeologically or otherwise.

#### APPENDIX IV

##### *Small Finds from Kildrummy Castle (Figs. 7-14)*

(\* Colonel Ogston's Collection)

##### *Flint*

1. Arrow head.

##### *Pottery*

2. Lower part of broad, fluted handle, thumb impressed at base; red-baked ware with dark core; dark green glaze.

<sup>1</sup> W. D. Simpson, 1923, 226.

3. Lower part of broad, deeply fluted handle; red-baked ware with dark core; traces of glaze.
4. Lower part of fluted strap handle, thumb impressed at base; red-baked ware with darker core; no glaze; blackened by fire.
5. Upper part of round, fluted handle, thumb and finger pinched at top; fragment of rim; red-baked ware with dark core; traces of green glaze.
6. Round handle, sharply angled; red-baked ware with dark core; slight traces of glaze.
7. Upper part of broad, fluted handle, thumb pinched at top; red-baked ware with dark core; slight traces of glaze.
8. Fluted urinal (?) handle; red-baked ware with dark core; traces of green glaze.
9. Flat handle, lightly fluted externally; red-baked ware with dark core; well-preserved green glaze.
10. Rounded rim turning out for spout; well-defined external ridge; red-baked ware with grey core; traces of glaze; fire blackened.
11. Flat skillet with almost vertical sides; everted rim with regular thumbing on top and pinch for spout; lightly red-baked ware with dark core; thickly glazed within, traces of glaze without.

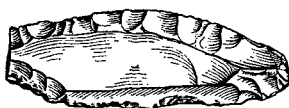


FIG. 7. Worked flint

12. Fluted strap handle springing from everted rim; shoulder rilled externally; deeply red-baked on dark core; glaze on rim.
- 13, 15 and 16. Flat bases; red-baked on dark core; 13 glazed internally, 15 no glaze, 16 glazed externally.
14. Fragment of rim, slightly inturned; well-baked ware; no glaze.
17. Double cordon in relief; well-baked red ware with darker core; no glaze.
18. Single cordon in relief; red-baked externally, black core, grey internally; traces of green glaze externally.
19. Single cordon in relief; rilled externally; red-baked ware; external glaze.
20. Double cordon, incised; black fabric; dark green external glaze.
21. Single cordon in relief; red-baked with dark core; traces of green glaze externally.
22. Single cordon in relief; red-baked with dark core; external glaze.
23. Combed lattice pattern; light ware baked through; traces of external green glaze.
24. Multiple horizontal ridges; red fabric baked through; no glaze.
25. Stamped ware; baked through; traces of external glaze.
26. Multiple horizontal incised lines; pink-baked with grey core; green glazed externally.
27. Finger print pattern; light grey fabric baked through; well-preserved speckled green glaze.
28. Fragment of strainer with stamped, human mask on lug; red fabric baked through; well-preserved, light green glaze on both sides.
29. Vertical zigzag pattern; grey fabric baked through; well-preserved, external green glaze.
30. Horizontal combed zigzag; red fabric baked through; dark external glaze.
- 31.\* Fluted handle; pinkish fabric; dark green glaze.
- 32.\* Fragment of rim and neck; incised bank on neck and rim; no glaze.
- 33.\* Fluted jug handle with lattice pattern on shoulder; golden glaze.
- 34.\* Fragment of ware with vertical lines in relief; pinkish fabric; dark green glaze; may be same as 31.
- 35.\* Flat base.
- 36.\* Pie-crust base.
- 37.\* Perforated stone disc.
38. Good quality pitcher; vertical lines on shoulder; well-preserved dark green glaze.

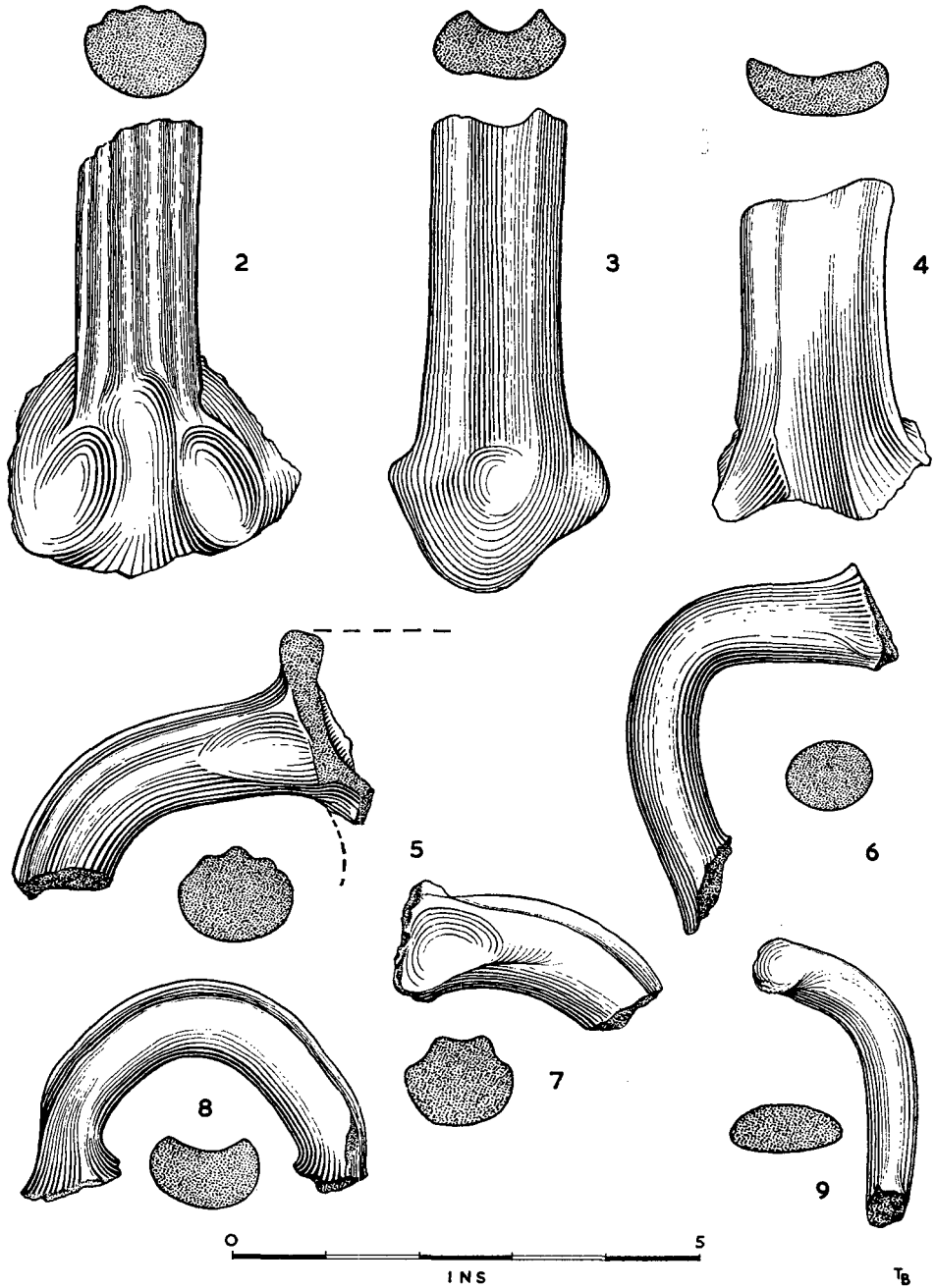


FIG. 8. Pottery - handles



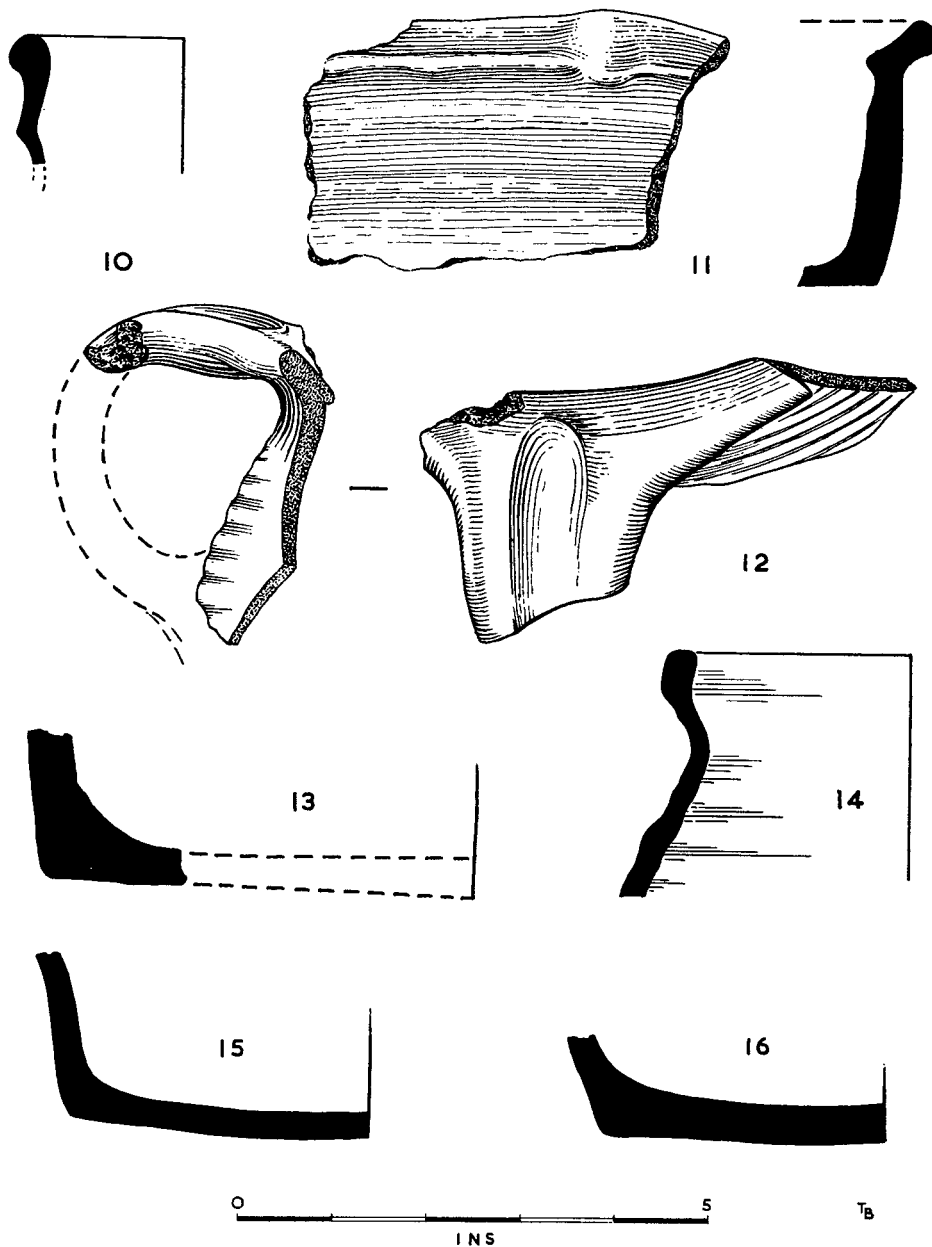


FIG. 9. Pottery - rims and bases

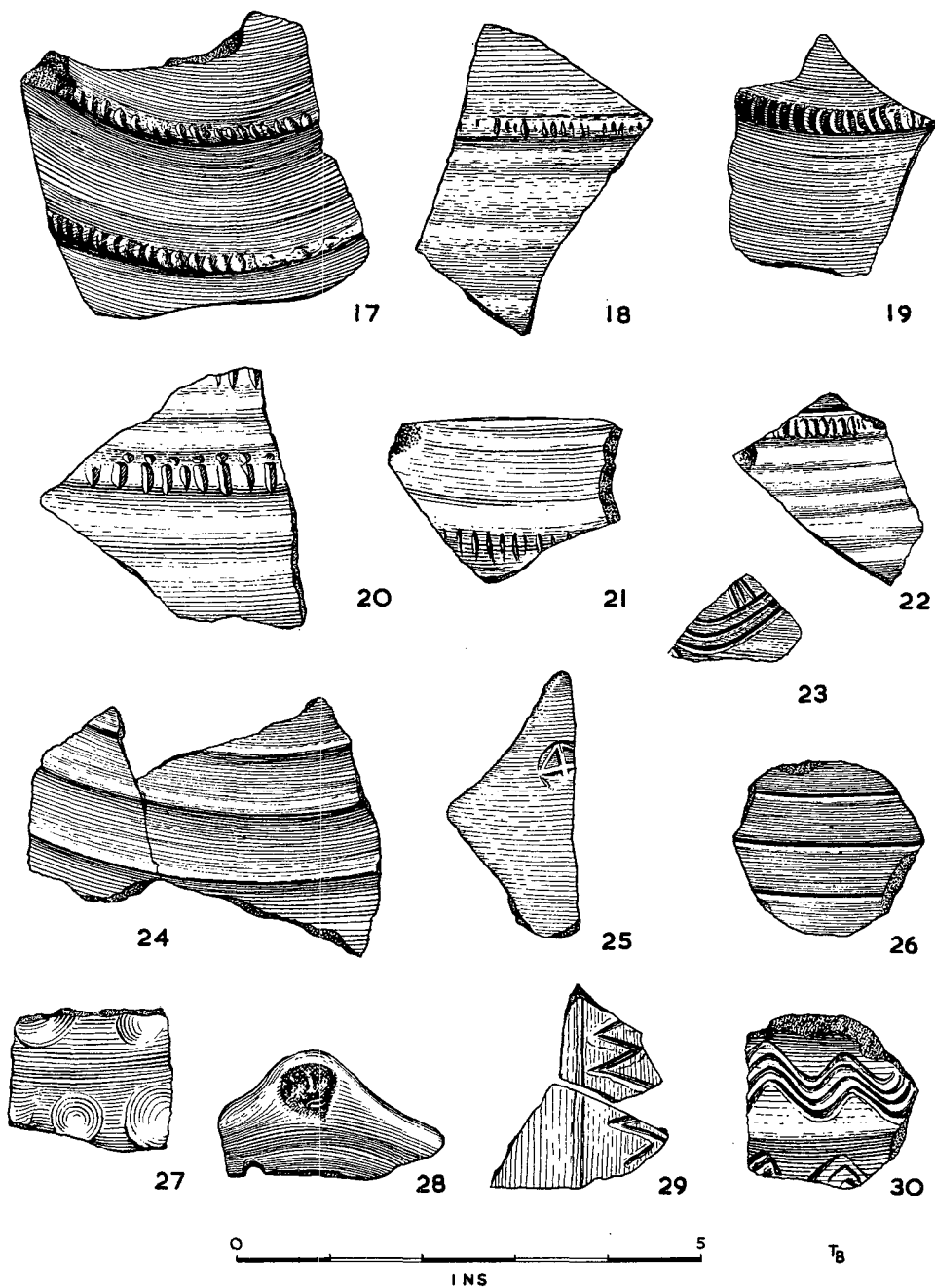


FIG. 10. Pottery - decorated wares

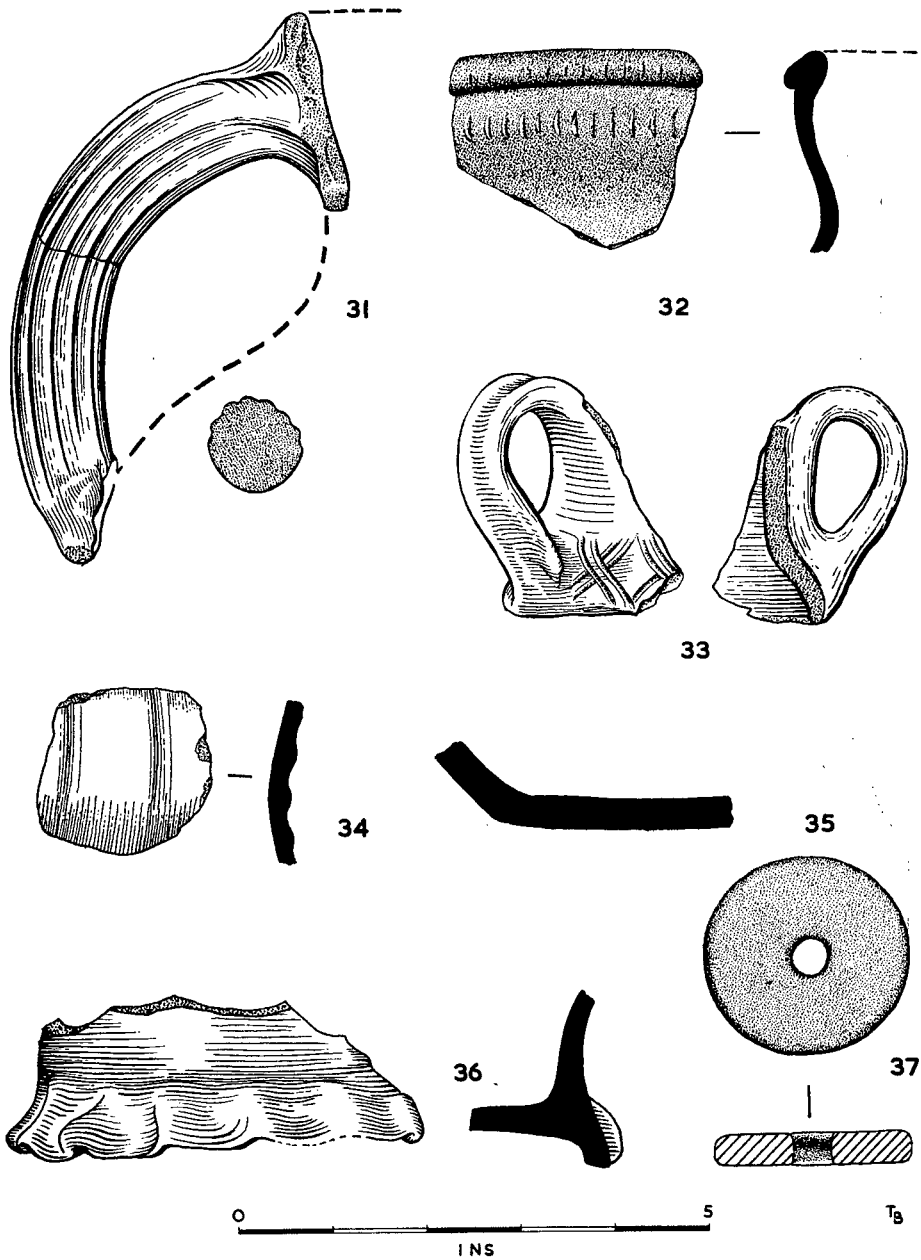


FIG. 11. Pottery - Ogston collection

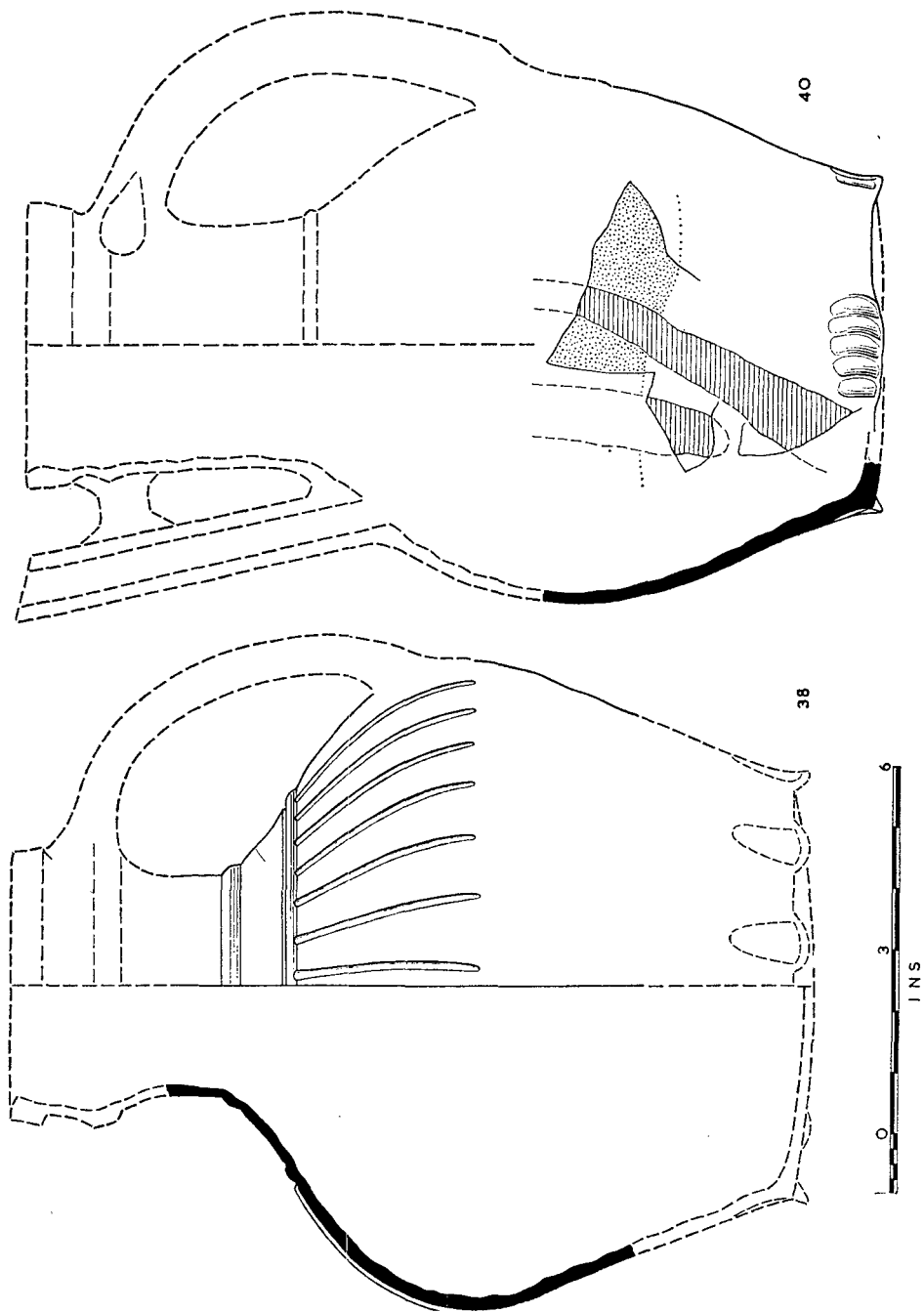


FIG. 12. Pottery - imported wares

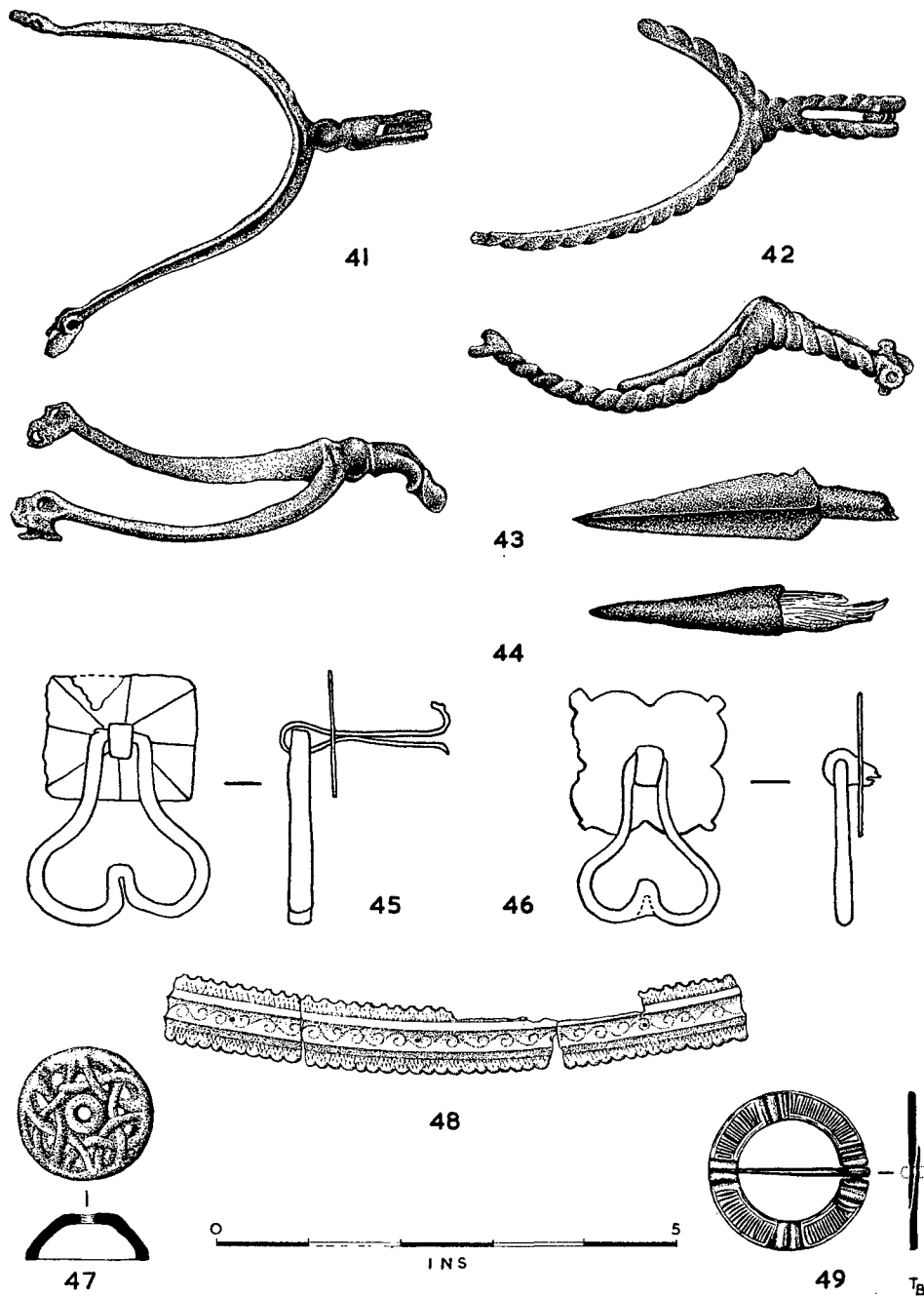


FIG. 13. Metal objects - Ogston collection

39. High quality stoneware; fine textured fawn-coloured fabric; well-preserved bright green external glaze.  
 40. High quality ware; reddish fabric throughout; some thumb-pinched decoration at base; green and orange external glaze.

*Metal Objects*

- 41.\* Small iron spur; *c.* 1600-30.  
 42.\* Brass spur with roped arms and neck; second half of fourteenth century. Said to have been found at castle in 1868. (cf. effigy of Lord John de Montacute in Salisbury Cathedral.)  
 43-44.\* Arrow heads.  
 45-46.\* Cupboard handles.  
 47.\* Boss (harness mount?).  
 48.\* Decorated mount with arabesque pattern and scalloped edges.  
 49.\* Brooch; brass with incised pattern showing traces of red.

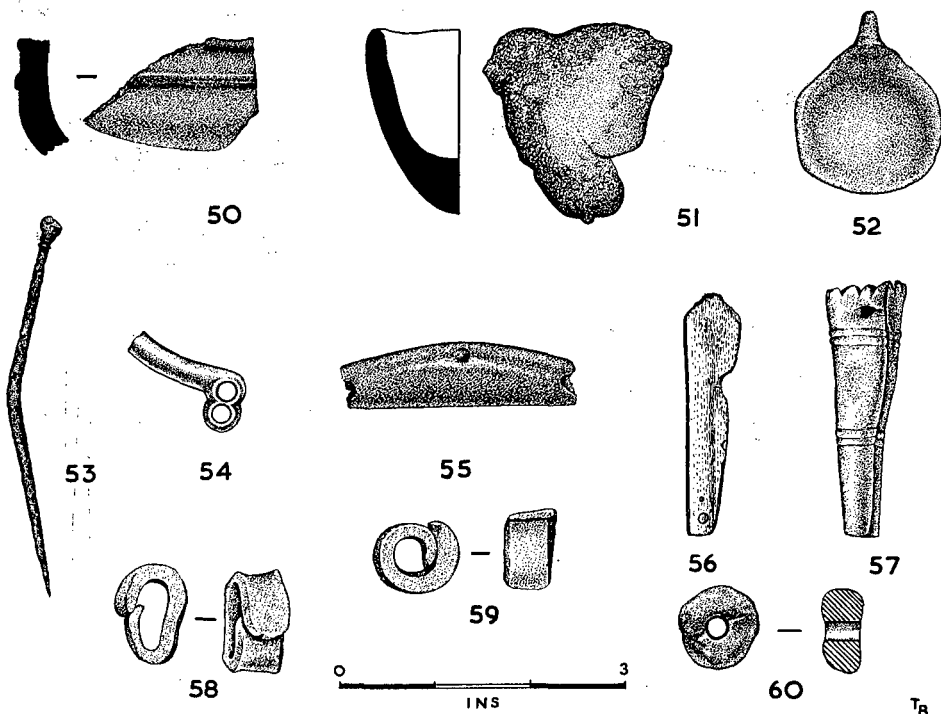


FIG. 14. Miscellaneous objects

*Miscellaneous*

50. Fragment of bronze basin.  
 51. Part of crucible with traces of copper oxide.  
 52. Bone spoon (?).  
 53. Bronze pin.  
 54. Spur fragment.  
 55. Bone toggle.  
 56. Bone knife handle (?) with circle and point decoration.

57. Gilded ferrule or socket.  
58-59. Lead clippings.  
60. Steatite bead.

<i>Coins</i>		
61. Long cross penny of Henry III	1251	Mint signature of Ion or John, Moneyer at Bury St Edmunds.
62. Francis and Mary Hardhead	1559	
63. Charles I Turner	1632	2nd issue.
64. Charles I Turner	1642	3rd issue.
65. Turner (Charles I or II)	?	
66. Charles II Turner	1677	
67.* Charles II Turner	1677	
68. Charles II Bawbee	1677	
69. Charles II Turner	Post 1677	
70. Charles II Turner	?	
71. William III Bodle	1697	

<i>Tokens etc.</i>		
72. Jetton	17th century	Signed Wolf Lavf. (Wolf Lauffer, Nürnberg 1618-1660).
73.* Jetton	17th century	Obverse, crowned rose with fleur-de-lys. Reverse, orb surmounted by cross.
74. Linnaeus medallion	19th century	Struck before 1835 under direction of Swedish consul in Birmingham.

The above list includes all small finds recovered during the current excavations or collected by Colonel Ogston, with the exception of a small group of objects found during the 1919 excavation of the gatehouse and deposited in the Marischall College Museum, Aberdeen. The latter includes two fragments of roof tile, three small pieces of glass, two sherds of glazed but undecorated pottery, two nails, a ring and two discs.

A candle snuffer, now in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, is also said to have been found at Kildrummy (Pl. XXXV).

## APPENDIX V

### *Report on Scarborough Ware found at Kildrummy Castle*

by G. C. DUNNING, F.S.A.

The pottery from Kildrummy Castle includes a few pieces easily distinguished from the bulk of the material, which evidently are from a different source. The fabric is a fine, hard orange-coloured or buff sandy ware with a smooth surface. The glaze is thick, even and lustrous, dark green, and glossy in appearance. The Kildrummy sherds with these characteristics are as follows:

- (1) Fig. 11, No. 34. Sherd from body of jug, with narrow strips running vertically.
- (2) Fig. 11, No. 31. Rim and complete handle. The handle is round in section, and is decorated with narrow grooves running longitudinally.
- (3) Fig. 12, No. 38. Seventeen joined sherds, giving profile of neck and most of body of jug. The glaze covers the neck and body to just below the bulge. An angular cordon marks the junction of neck and body. The decoration on the body is in a zone above the bulge. At the upper level is a groove with a rounded cordon below it. Narrow applied strips (as on sherd (1)) depend from the cordon down to the bulge.
- (4) Fig. 12, No. 40. Eight sherds, mostly joined in two large pieces, giving profile of lower part of jug from bulge to base. In one place the sagging base has its edge pressed down as a

ledge by five thumb-marks above it; probably there were four such ledges spaced equally round the base. The glaze is in two colours; dark green (stippled) on the bulge but not lower down, which is crossed by wide yellow bands (lined) running down to the base.

The source of these jugs can now be identified with confidence as Scarborough, thanks to the full and timely publication by Mr J. G. Rutter of the pottery made in the Castle Road kilns there and also found in quantity at various sites in Scarborough and district.<sup>1</sup> The Scarborough kilns produced jugs in several styles of shape, decoration, etc., and it will suffice to quote here the parallels at Scarborough for the features of the sherds found at Kildrummy Castle.

There is sufficient of two Kildrummy jugs (Nos. 38 and 40) for the shapes to be identified among the leading types at Scarborough and the drawings restored in detail. No. 38 is type 2 at Scarborough,<sup>2</sup>

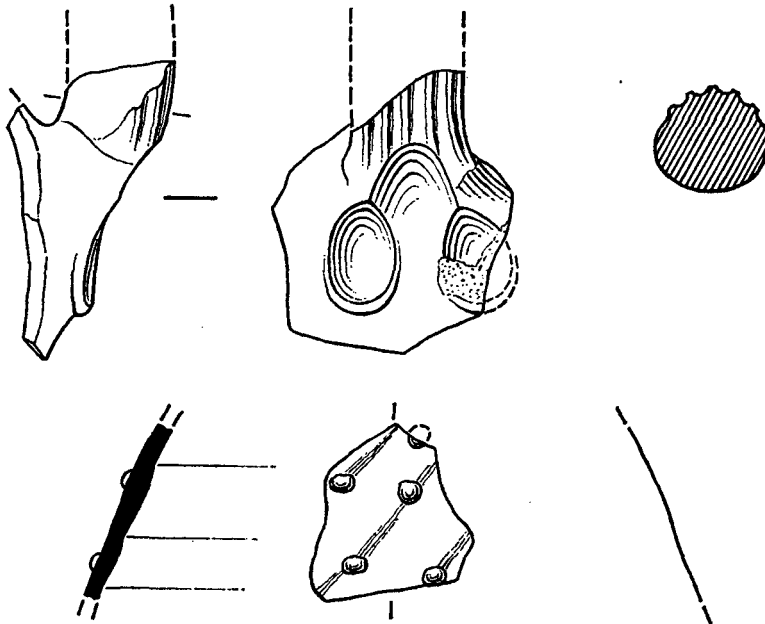


FIG. 15. Scarborough ware from other Scottish sites (½). Upper: Perth (No. 61). Lower: Dundee (No. 62).

a capacious jug with pinched-out lip and thumbed sagging base. No. 40 is almost certainly type 7 at Scarborough,<sup>3</sup> a tall jug with long tubular spout rising from the upper part of the body and held to the neck by a strut near its upper end, and round-sectioned handle. Some jugs of this type in Scarborough ware have the decoration picked out in different colours. For example, the upper part of a jug found at Whitby Abbey<sup>4</sup> with alternate strips and rows of scales coloured green and reddish-brown respectively, as on sherds of type 18<sup>5</sup>; and the fine yellow-glazed jug, 15½ in. high, from Chesterton near Cambridge,<sup>6</sup> which has strips on the body coloured yellow and dark green alternately. The two colours, dark green body glaze and yellow bands below the bulge of the Kildrummy jug (No. 40) suggest that its upper part was green-glazed and the decoration was in vertical lines alternately green and yellow,—as on sherds of types 14 and 18 at Scarborough.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rutter, J. G., *Medieval Pottery in the Scarborough Museum: 13th and 14th Centuries*. Scarborough and District Archaeological Society, Research Report No. 3 (1961). <sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, 10, fig. 1. <sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, 14, fig. 2.

<sup>4</sup> In the British Museum. The collection housed on the site includes examples of Scarborough types 4, 5, 7, 14, 20 and 22. <sup>5</sup> *op. cit.*, 22, fig. 3.

<sup>6</sup> In the University Museum of Archaeology, Cambridge.

<sup>7</sup> *op. cit.*, 21-22.



The decoration and structural features of the Kildrummy pottery are also familiar at Scarborough. The plain narrow strips or ribs which occur twice at Kildrummy (Nos. 34 and 38) are common at Scarborough (type 14), either covering the body of the vessel or only part of it, as at Kildrummy (No. 38). Handles of round section are the predominant type at Scarborough,<sup>1</sup> and three-quarters of them are decorated with longitudinal grooves, exactly like Kildrummy No. 31. Lastly, the thumbing of the base into spaced ledges on Kildrummy No. 40 is frequent at Scarborough,<sup>2</sup> though this feature does occur widely on English medieval pottery.

The finding of fine quality pottery exported from NE. England as far as Aberdeenshire, probably late in the thirteenth century, is by no means isolated, and pottery of the same distinctive class is known from three other sites on the E. coast of Scotland. The finds were formerly in the National Museum of Antiquities at Edinburgh, and thanks are due to Mr R. B. K. Stevenson for kind permission to record them briefly here.

The first site is at Perth, where medieval sherds were found at a depth of about 12 ft. while sinking tanks at Frew's Garage, adjacent to Canal Street. Among the sherds is the lower end of a handle attached to the bulge of a jug (No. 61). It is made of the typical fine orange-coloured ware with darker, purple-toned surface, and the glaze is dark green, thick and highly lustrous. The handle is round in section with longitudinal grooves, and its attachment is marked by large thumb-impressions. In character the handle agrees precisely with No. 31 from Kildrummy Castle.

The second site is at Overgate, Dundee, and the finds include at least one sherd of Scarborough ware (No. 62). Again this is of orange ware, slightly more sandy, with thick yellow glaze, lustrous and finely crackled. The surface is studded with applied pellets coloured very dark brown, almost black, and the glaze between them has dark brown streaks where the colour ran in firing. The Dundee sherd is from the upper half of a pear-shaped jug, and its shape and decoration exactly match type 20 at Scarborough.<sup>3</sup>

The last site is Abbey St Bathans, 5½ miles NW. of Duns, Berwickshire. In a small collection of miscellaneous sherds is one of green-glazed Scarborough ware. It is decorated with small pressed-out bosses stamped with a 'raspberry' of one central pellet surrounded by seven others. The stamp is closely matched by two sherds of type 24 at Scarborough.<sup>4</sup> These have an almost identical stamp, the only difference being that the central pellet is surrounded by six others and not seven.

In conclusion, it remains to place these examples of Scarborough ware found in Scotland in the general context of medieval trade, as demonstrated by the evidence of archaeology. The close connections between the medieval pottery industry of southern Scotland and that of northern England have often been commented on,<sup>5</sup> and the English inspiration of much of the pottery need not be insisted on here. In addition, evidence is accumulating to show that coastal and sea trade carried English pottery long distances during this period, particularly in the second half of the thirteenth century. For instance, the excavation of the medieval wharf at Bergen<sup>6</sup> has produced a considerable amount of pottery exported from various sources in England, including Scarborough, and sherds of Scarborough type 5 have also been found at the early medieval town of Tønsberg, on the western side of Oslo fiord. On the mainland of Europe the ware is as yet represented only by a jug of Scarborough type 9 found at Grönningen. Considered as a whole these finds point to an active trade in pottery across the North Sea.

The distribution of Scarborough ware as known at present extends nearly the whole of the eastern seaboard of Great Britain (fig. 16). Coastal trade northwards from Yorkshire to ports on the Firth of Tay brought this ware to Dundee and Perth and, via Aberdeen as the port of entry, to Kildrummy Castle, a distance of some 240 miles from the source. Intermediate ports along this route are Whitby (p. 234) and Hartlepool, where this ware is well represented.<sup>6</sup>

Scarborough ware also travelled S., presumably by sea rather than overland. It reached East Anglia (p. 234), probably entering at King's Lynn, where Scarborough ware is represented in the current excavations directed by Miss Helen Parker. The most southerly major site for it in this

<sup>1</sup> *ibid.*, 8, fig. 2, types 6 and 8.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, 9, fig. 1, type 2 and fig. 2, type 8.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, 23, fig. 4.

<sup>4</sup> For discussion and references see *P.S.A.S.*, xci (1957-8), 120 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Medieval Archaeology*, III (1959), 182.

<sup>6</sup> *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th ser., XL (1962), 241.

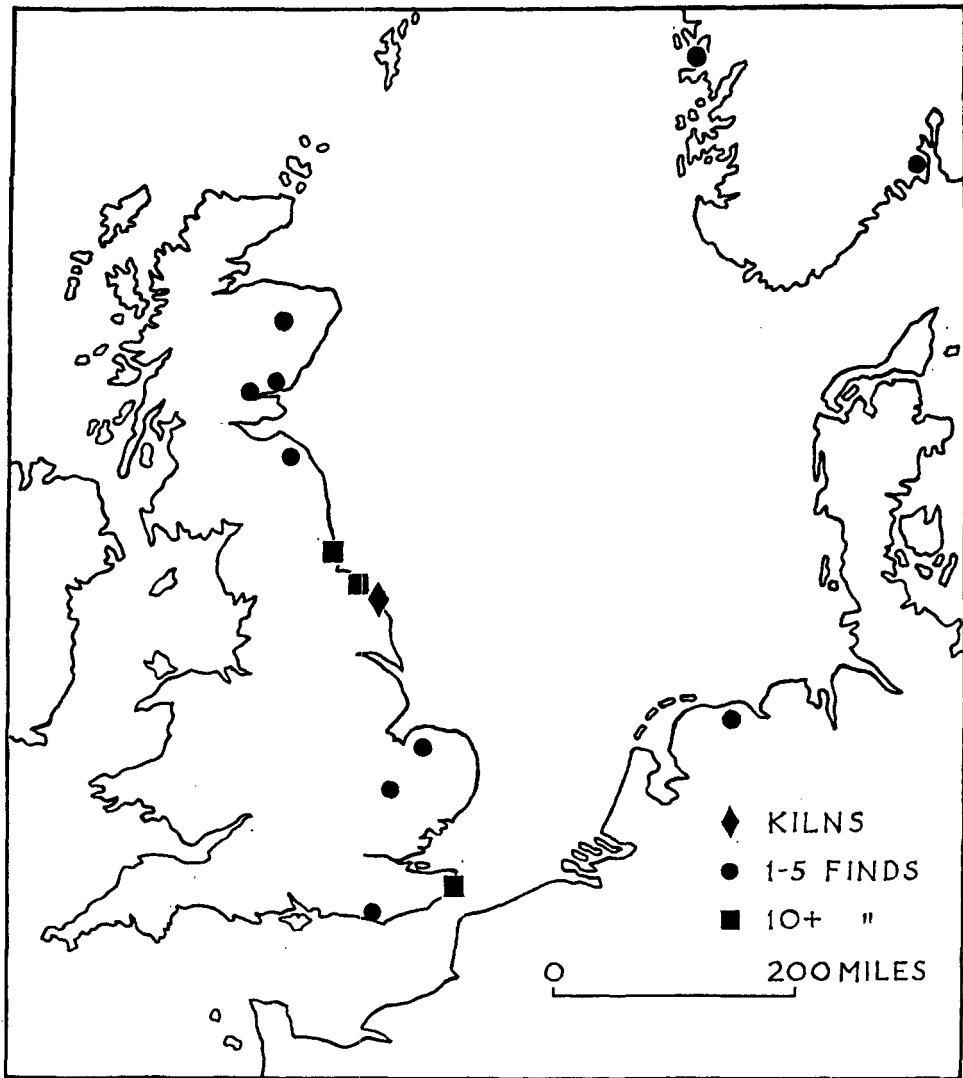
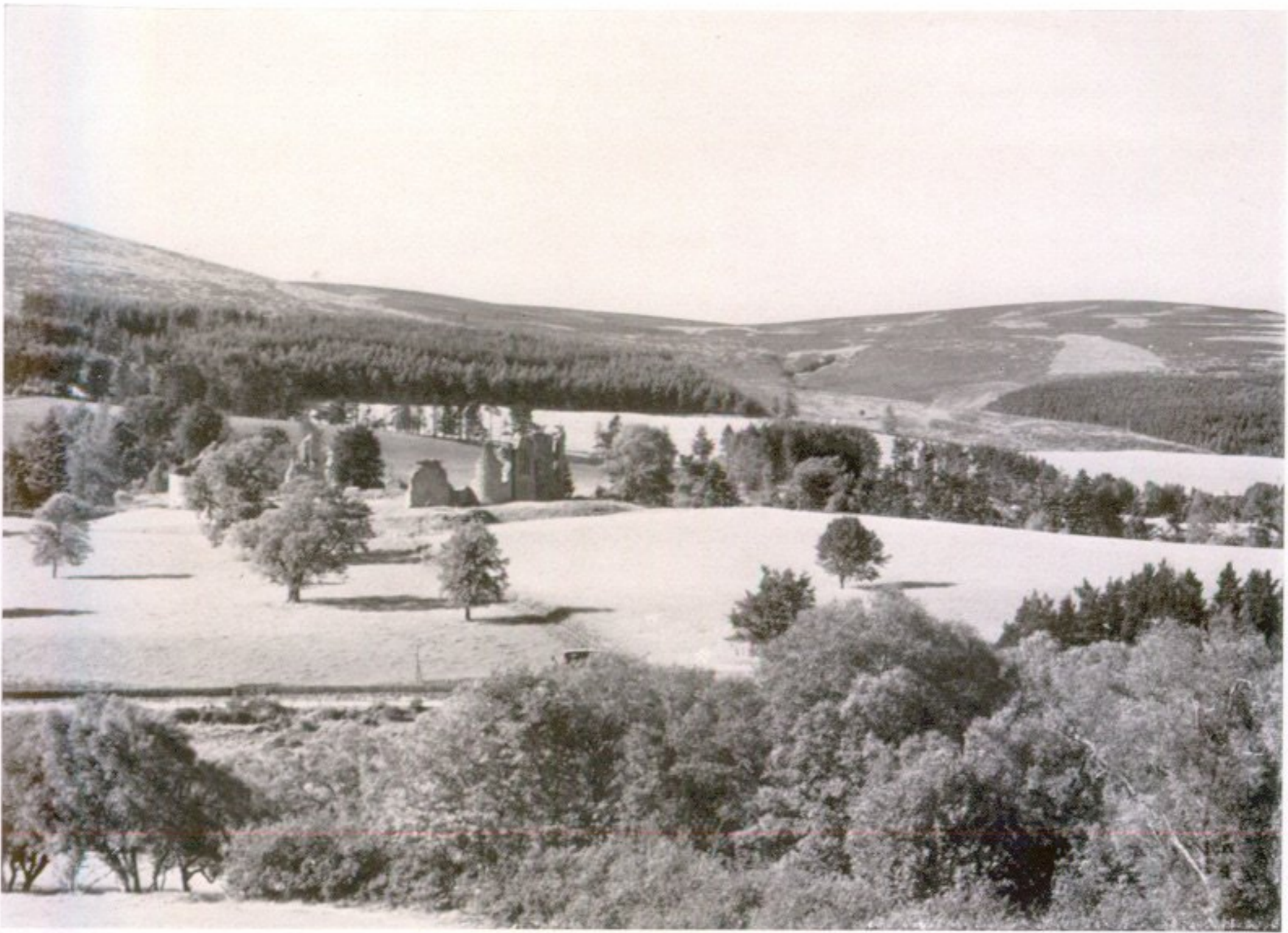


FIG. 16. Distribution map of Scarborough ware

direction is the port of Stonar,<sup>1</sup> near Sandwich, Kent, likewise a distance of about 240 miles from Scarborough. Recently a sherd of Scarborough type 20, found in Steine Road, Seaford, Sussex in 1912, has been identified in the British Museum. This find extends the distribution of the ware well along the S. coast, a distance of 320 miles by sea from the source.

<sup>1</sup> In Deal Castle Museum. The assemblage from Stonar includes numerous sherds of Scarborough types 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 18, 19, 20 and 22.

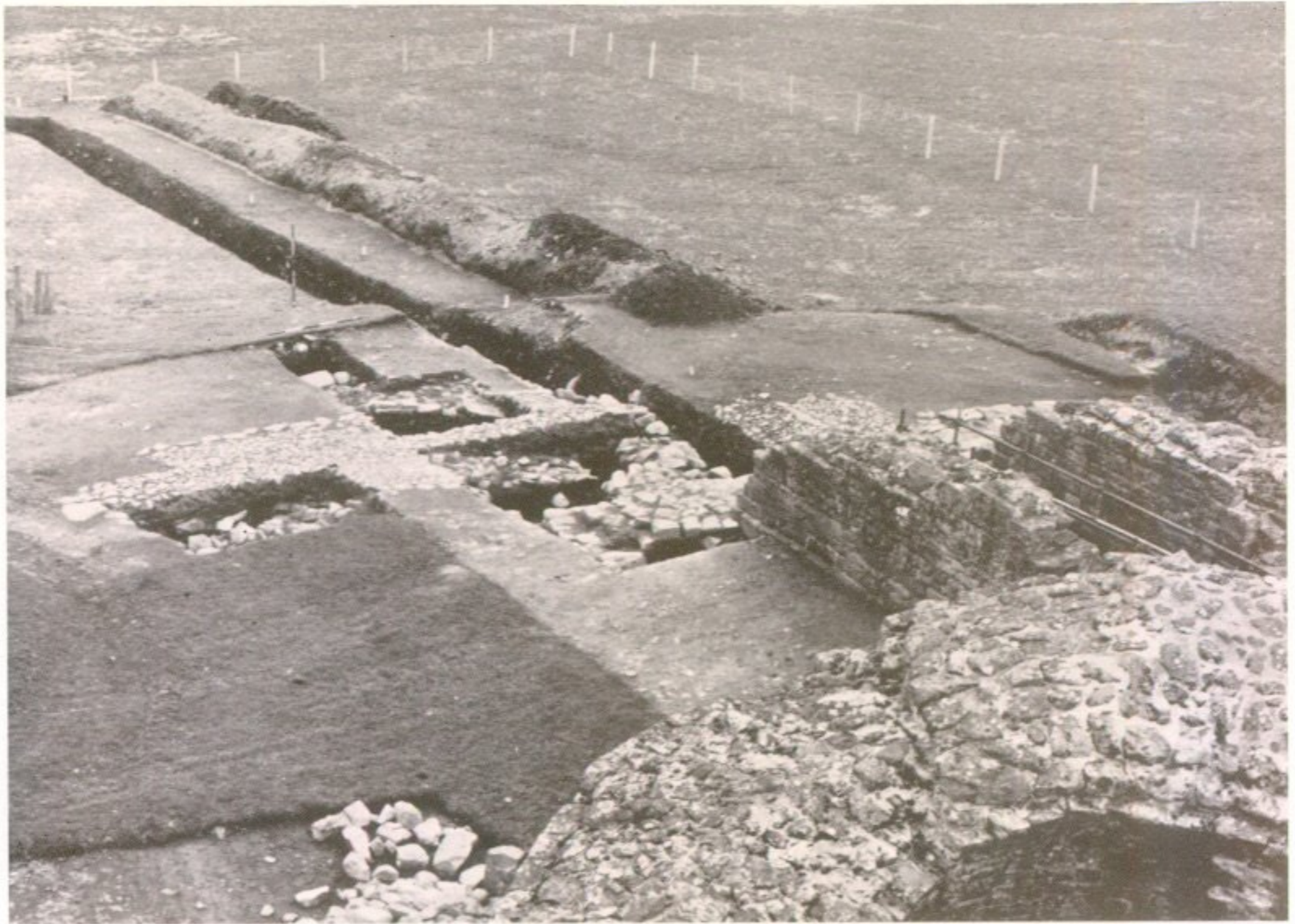


1. Kildrummy Castle across the glen



2. The same from the air

*Photo. Skyviews and General Ltd*



1. Excavation in front of the gatehouse, 1959



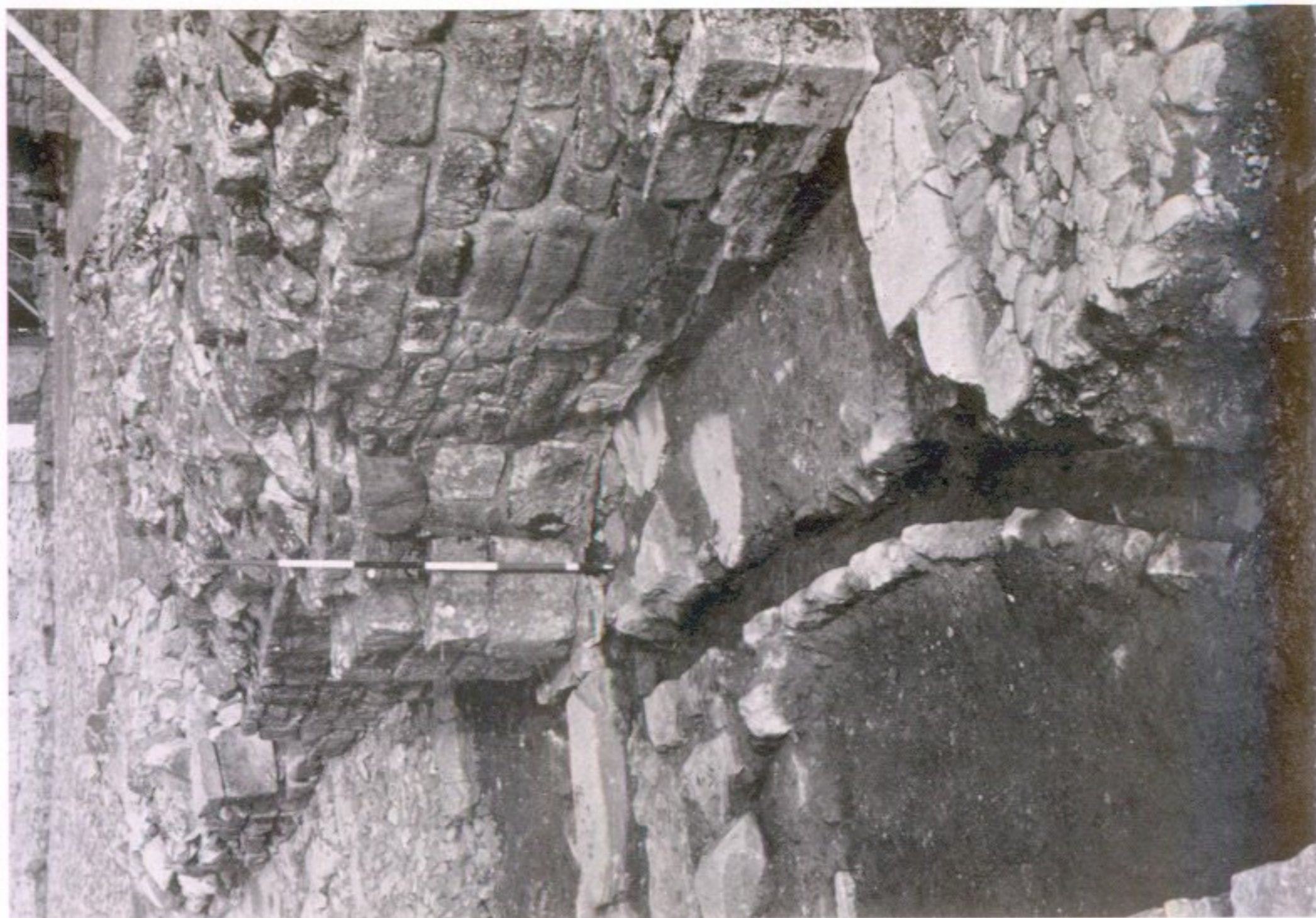
2. The same, 1960



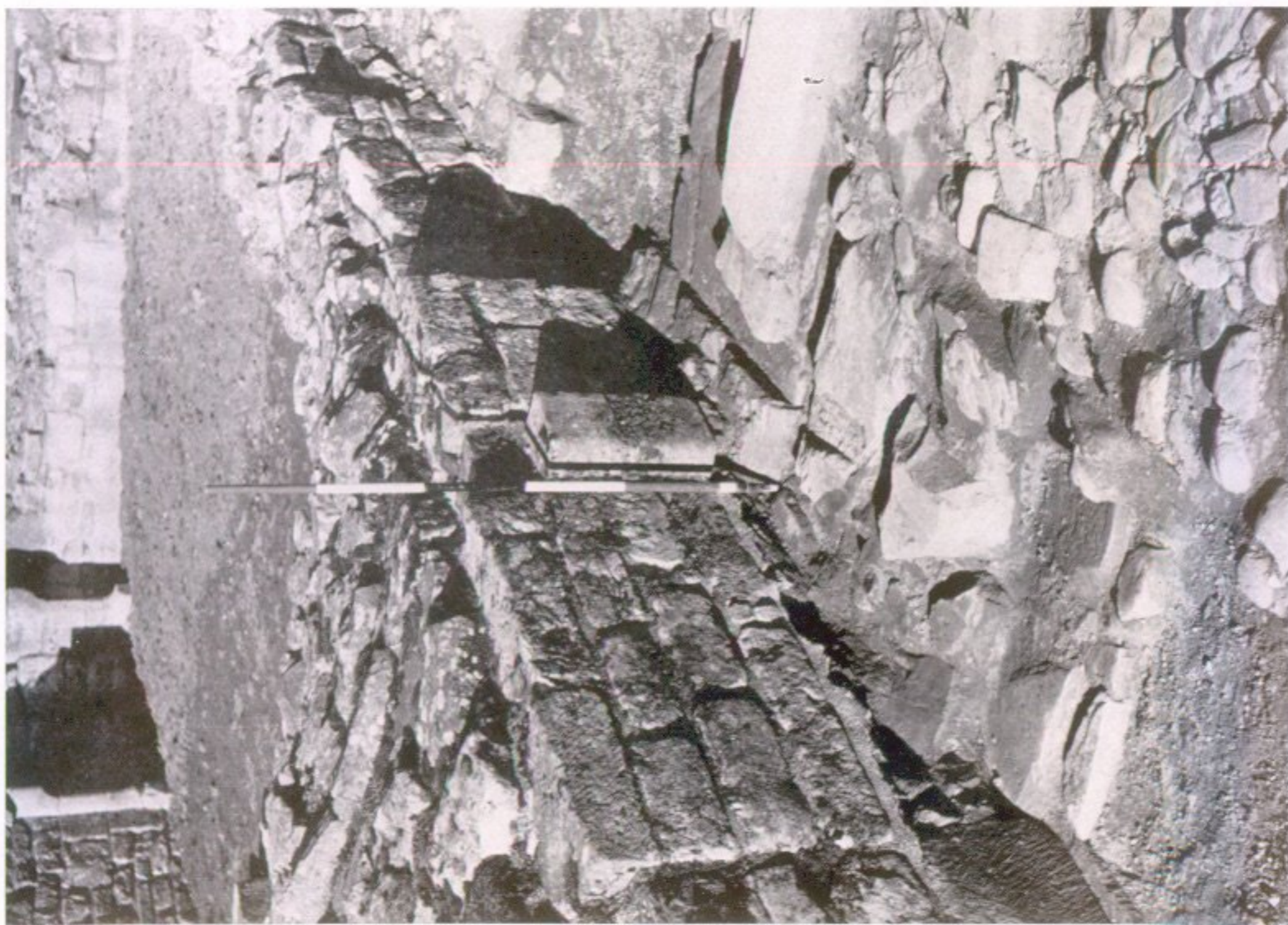
1. The gatehouse from the S.



2. The same from the N.



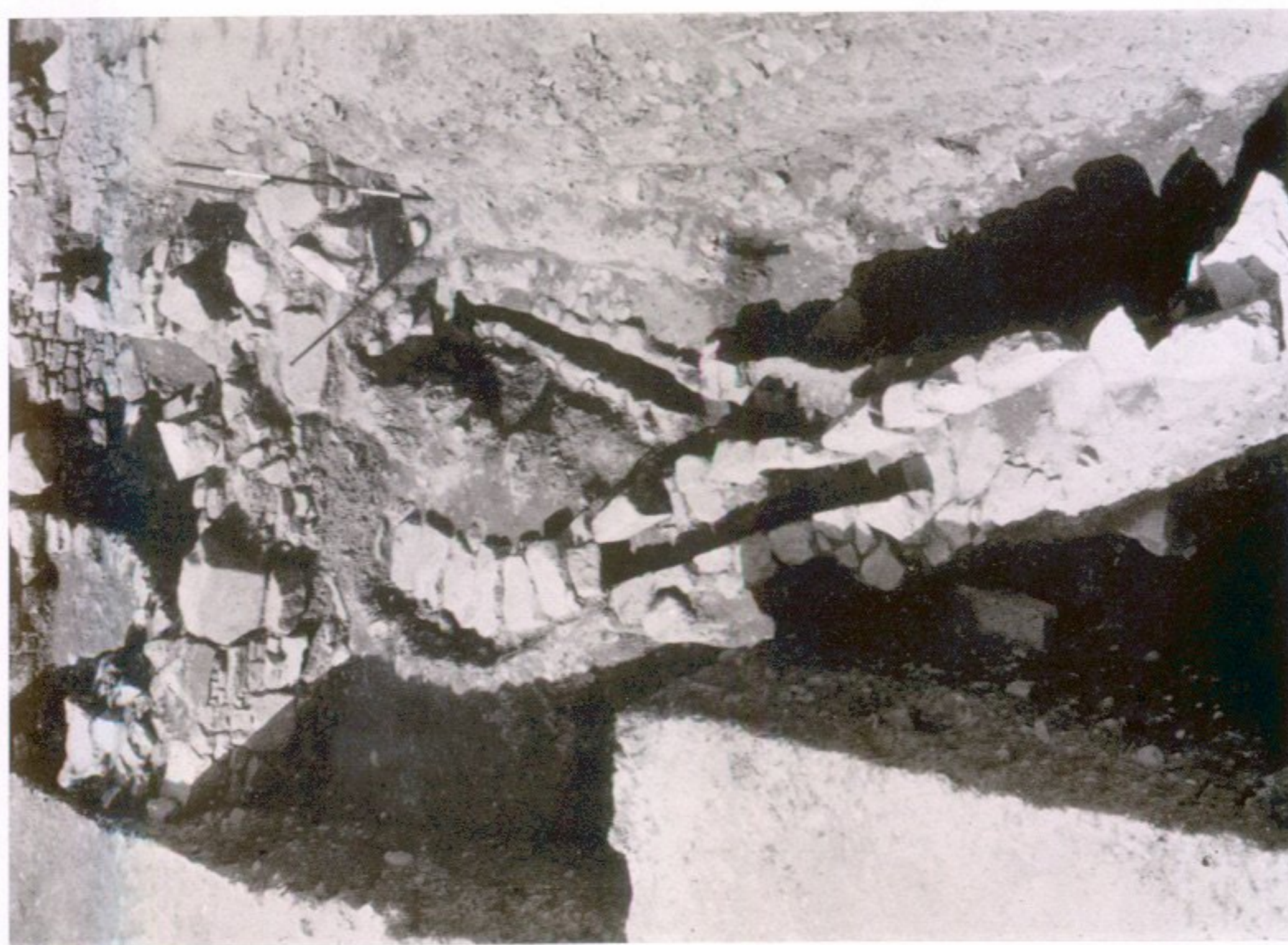
2. The same: E. drain



1. The gatehouse entry: W. drain



2. The same from the N.



1. Pit and drains in front of gatehouse from the S.



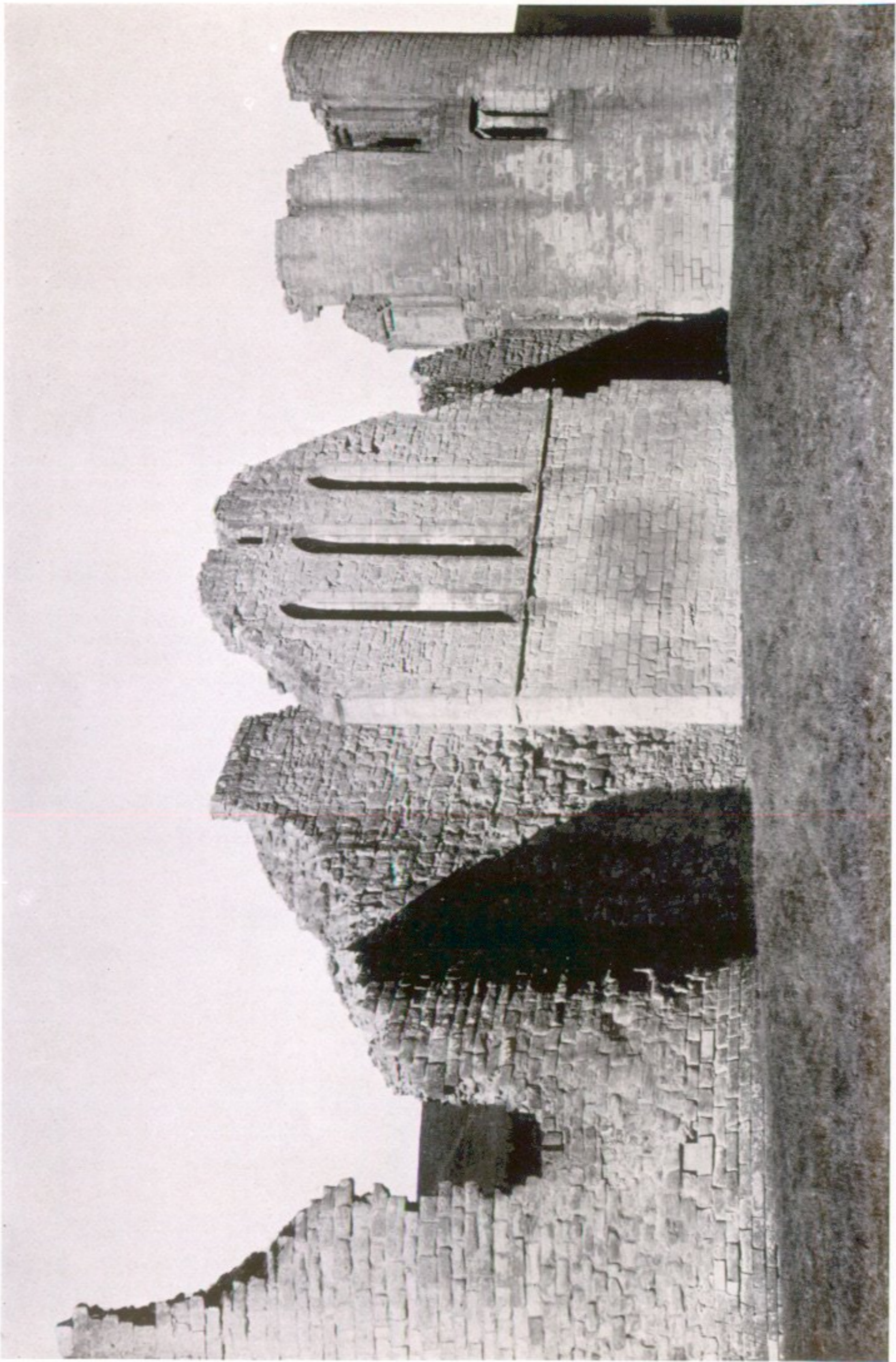
Ditch and outer wall S. of castle





Chapel gable and abutting foundation

APTED: KILDRUMMY



The E. façade

APTED: KILDRUMMY



2. The same: scarp



1. F. ditch: counter-scarp



Curtain wall showing garderobe between chapel and Warden's Tower

APTED: KILDRUMMY



2. Base of Warden's Tower  
*Photo. Nat. Mus. of Antiquities*



1. Base of N. Curtain



Candle snuffer from Kildrummy

APTED: KILDRUMMY