

III.

THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF BOTHWELL CASTLE.

By W. DOUGLAS SIMPSON, M.A., D.LITT., F.S.A.Scot.

I. INTRODUCTION.

The great Castle of Bothwell, on the Clyde, takes rank among the foremost secular structures of the Middle Ages in Scotland. As originally designed, it dates from the period which saw the climax of defensive construction, and in the perfection of its scientific defences it presents a subject of the highest interest to the student of mediæval warfare. Moreover, it has played a great part in the critical and cardinal epoch of Scottish history, and for generations thereafter it was held by the most powerful baronial house in the kingdom. And lastly, in its ruined state it is itself a thing of charm, set amid quiet sylvan surroundings that contrast painfully with the pandemonium of industrial hubbub and soot which holds sway across the river. The aspect of the great pile, with its venerable red freestone walls and towers gleaming warmly amid the green park around, is romantically beautiful: its south front in particular—terminated at one end by the grand donjon, and at the other by the tall machicolated Douglas Tower, and the whole overhanging the glorious wooded sweep of the Clyde—has engaged the brush and pencil of distinguished artists.

Even to the casual observer, the architectural history of the castle is clearly one of high complexity; nor is the difficulty attending any

effort to unravel it diminished by the extreme scantiness of definite documentary evidence bearing upon the structure. It is no part of my purpose in this paper to attempt a complete technical description of the castle. That task will fall in due course to be performed by the Royal Commission on the Ancient Monuments of Scotland. My purpose here is rather to make what I trust will be judged with charity as the first *systematic* effort to read aright the structural history of this mighty fortress. Such an attempt must proceed along scientific lines by collating the meagre historical material to hand with the evidence discoverable in the ruins themselves, tested by a general comparative consideration of the development of mediæval military engineering during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, from which Bothwell Castle mainly or entirely dates.

Elsewhere¹ I have already drawn attention to the remarkable resemblance in plan that exists between Bothwell Castle and the great Castle of Kildrummy in Aberdeenshire. This architectural connection is confirmed by the historical fact that Gilbert de Moravia, Bishop of Caithness from 1223 to 1245, who founded Kildrummy Castle, belonged to the same distinguished family that owned the Castle of Bothwell. Alike in their great size and in their architectural development, these two sister castles stand entirely apart from the native military structures of their time in Scotland. Light is cast upon the question of their *provenance* by a consideration of the arrangements of the donjons at the two castles. At Kildrummy the donjon was vaulted on each floor; in the centre of each vault was an "eye" for hoisting water from a well in the basement, and round the upper floor was a mural gallery open to the interior. All these arrangements are purely French in character. At Bothwell the donjon has its circular outline broken by a projecting beak or spur, and the whole tower stands within its own proper moat, isolated from the rest of the castle of which it forms a part. These characteristics also are entirely French. Both sets of peculiarities were combined in the great donjon of the Château de Coucy,² near Laon in France, destroyed by the Germans in the late war (fig. 1). Like the donjon at Bothwell, the tower at Coucy stood within its own moat; like the donjon at Kildrummy, it was vaulted on all floors, had an "eye" in the centre of each vault, and a mural gallery, open to the interior, in the upper part of the wall. The remarkable similarity between these three widely separated castles is explained by the fact that Alexander II. of Scotland married, in 1239, Marie de

¹ See my *The Castle of Kildrummy: Its Place in Scottish History and Architecture*.

² The best work of reference is *Le Château de Coucy, par Eugène Lefèvre-Pontalis: Introduction historique de Philippe Lauer*. In important details this book supersedes the well-known account of Viollet-le-Duc.

Coucy, daughter of Sieur Enguerrand, the builder of Coucy Castle. Abundant documentary evidence survives to illustrate the close and enduring political and friendly alliance between the Scottish royal family and the scarcely less regal¹ house of Coucy which followed upon this marriage. There seems little room for doubt that the engineers of Bothwell and Kildrummy Castles drew inspiration from the great French prototype. These three buildings are accordingly an interest-

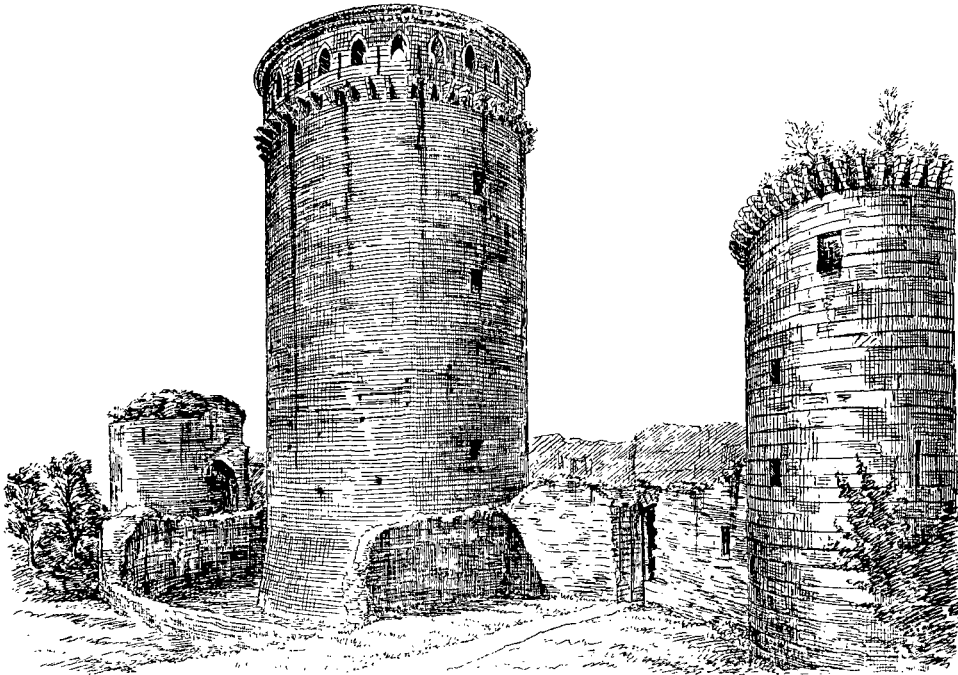


Fig. 1. Château de Coucy: view of Donjon from east.

ing memorial of the earliest days of that "Auld Alliance" which was so deeply to influence Scotland throughout the later Middle Ages.

II. HISTORICAL DATA.

In the first half of the thirteenth century the fief of Bothwell was held by the de Olifards. On the death of Walter de Olifard, Justiciar

¹ "Roi ne suis,
Ne prince, ne duc, ne comte aussi:
Je suis le sire de Coucy."

of Lothian, in 1242,¹ it passed, doubtless through marriage, to Walter de Moravia, a member of the powerful northern family which at this period, and throughout the War of Independence, bulked so largely in Scottish affairs. Walter de Moravia was undoubtedly the founder of the castle, the architectural detail of whose earliest parts clearly indicates a date soon after the middle of the thirteenth century. It seems certainly to have been inhabited in 1278, as in that year Walter de Moravia dates a charter from Botheuyle.²

As might be expected from its great size and strength and central position, the castle figures prominently in the struggle for independence. After Balliol's downfall, it was held by Stephen de Brampton for Edward I., and in 1298-9 was besieged by the Scots, who stormed it after a tedious blockade of more than fourteen months. In his report to the English king, de Brampton tells how he defended the castle "against the power of Scotland for a year and nine weeks, to his great loss and misfortune, as all his companions died in the castle except himself and those with him who were taken by famine and by assault."³ In September 1301, however, Edward recaptured the castle in less than a month. Particulars of his siege preserved in the English public records show that it must have been one of the outstanding episodes of the whole war. The army which Edward employed consisted of 6800 men, including 20 masons and 20 miners.⁴ Of course this was a field army, the siege being an incident in the campaign. Edward was before the castle by 29th August,⁵ and received its surrender before 24th September.⁶ In the royal Wardrobe Accounts we may still read with interest the expenses incurred in building a bridge

¹ *Chronica de Mailros*, ed. J. Stevenson (Bannatyne Club), p. 155; cf. *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, ed. C. Innes (Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs), vol. i. p. 162.

² *Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh*, ed. W. Fraser (Bannatyne Club), p. 110.

³ J. Bain, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, vol. ii., No. 1867.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., No. 1229.

⁵ On 18th August the English army had reached Cambusnethan (*Ibid.*, vol. ii., No. 1229). Payments for the construction of the great siege engine at Glasgow commence on the 23rd (*Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 451). On the 29th it began its journey to Bothwell (*Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 452). We may assume that by this time the investment of the castle had been formally begun. On 6th September the army before Bothwell received an instalment of pay (*Ibid.*, vol. ii., No. 1229). On the 8th, Edward gave an oblation of 7s. in honour of the Virgin in his field-chapel before the castle (*Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 448).

⁶ On the 21st, Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, writing to the king from near Lochmaben, has not heard of Bothwell Castle's surrender (*Ibid.*, vol. ii., No. 1224). Next day Edward was still at Bothwell, as he gave an oblation to St Maurice in his field-chapel there (*Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 449). On the 24th, a siege engine began to be transported from Bothwell to Stirling (*Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 449). On the 29th the army had moved on to Dunipace (*Ibid.*, vol. ii., No. 1229). According to *Rotuli Scotiae*, vol. i. p. 53, Edward had reached that place by the 27th. On 2nd October, de Lacy, in Galloway, writing again to the king, "congratulates him on the good news, learned from his letters to his son the Prince, of the surrender of Bothwell Castle" (*Ibid.*, vol. ii., No. 1235).

across the Clyde for the passage of the army, and in constructing a corduroy road up to the castle, so that the mighty engine called "le Berefrey"¹ could be wheeled against its walls. This engine was built at Glasgow, and detailed payments are recorded to the plumbers, carpenters, and other workmen, and for buying the lead, wheels, cables, wax, and other materials used in its construction and working. No less than thirty wains were required to transport the cumbersome engine to Bothwell, the journey taking two days. The "wood of Glasgu" was plundered to provide material for the hurdles used in the bridge. Master Stephen "le plumer" was the king's chief engineer, and his clerk of works was Roger de Barneby.²

After its capture the castle became the headquarters of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, Warden of Scotland, whose memory still lives in the name "Valence Tower," applied to the mighty donjon.³ References to the castle and its garrison now become frequent in the English records; and in a wages-sheet of the year 1311-2 we have actually a nominal roll of its garrison, which consisted of Walter Fitzgilbert, the governor, who was paid 1s. a day, 28 squires at 1s., and 29 archers at 2d.⁴ The last entry in the records is dated 8th February 1312, when Edward II. strictly enjoins Fitzgilbert to see that the castle "is safely and securely kept, and delivered to no other person whatsoever without the king's letters patent under the Great Seal of England directed to himself."⁵ Herein is revealed the nervousness that Bruce's rapid progress was inspiring at English headquarters. After Bannockburn, the Earl of Hereford and other high English officers sought shelter within the castle, but on the arrival of Edward Bruce, the governor Fitzgilbert threw open its gates.⁶ In accordance with King Robert's usual policy, the castle would then be dismantled; and that this is what happened we gather from a statement of the Laner-

¹ The "berefrey" or "belfry" was a wooden tower on wheels, several stages high, with a drawbridge at the summit which was dropped upon the wall-head. Probably the word is akin to the German *Bergfried*, *Belfried*, the donjon of a castle. See J. Näher, *Die Burgen in Elsass-Lothringen*, vol. i. p. 6.

² For these particulars see Bain's *Calendar*, vol. iv. pp. 448-55. One of the engines employed by Edward in his great siege of Stirling Castle in 1303-4 was called the "Bothwell" (*Ibid.*, vol. ii., No. 1599). This may have been the famous berefrey used at the attack on the Clydeside stronghold two years previously.

³ Grant of the Castle and Barony of Bothwell to Aymer de Valence, 10th August 1301 (*Ibid.*, vol. ii., No. 1214). Aymer received his grant before the castle was in English hands. His interest in Bothwell dated back to 30th October 1300, when he had been ordered by Edward to provide for it and the Castle of Selkirk (*Ibid.*, vol. ii., No. 1164).

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 408.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. iii., No. 243.

⁶ *Chronicon de Lanercost*, ed. J. Stevenson (Maitland Club), p. 228; *Scalacronica of Sir Thomas Gray*, ed. J. Stevenson (Maitland Club), p. 140; J. Stevenson, *Illustrations of Scottish History* (Maitland Club), p. 2; Barbour, *Bruce*, ed. W. M. Mackenzie, pp. 237, 245.

cost chronicler, who, in describing Edward III.'s later occupation of the castle, says that he found it waste, "having been formerly destroyed by the Scots." This second English occupation, and restoration of the castle, took place in October 1336.¹ The master mason engaged to repair the damaged fabric was an Englishman, John de Kilburne, who was also employed in rebuilding Edinburgh Castle. He was a man of high standing in his craft, who at Edinburgh had under him 18 English masons, with 8 other masons and 4 quarrymen, all Scots. His wages were 1s. a day,² equal to those of the governor of Bothwell Castle in the earlier occupation. His services were rewarded with a grant of the lands of Straton, in the constabulary of Edinburgh, dated 29th November 1336.³ The presumption is that a master mason of such importance would not be sent to Bothwell save in connection with extensive works; and, from all we know of Bruce's treatment of captured strongholds elsewhere,⁴ we may infer that the destruction of 1314 had been on a very thorough scale. It will be shown hereafter that this is precisely the conclusion deducible from the fabric itself.

Edward III. made Bothwell his headquarters from 18th November to 16th December 1336, and during his sojourn he issued a number of important writs from the castle, including orders for naval protection of the English coast, and a summons to Parliament to meet at London to concert means for carrying on the war against the Scots and French.⁵ Walter de Selby was appointed Governor of the Castle.⁶ The second English occupation, however, was very brief, for in March 1337 the Regent, Sir Andrew de Moray, to whom Bothwell Castle of course by rights belonged, captured it after a short siege, and was under the

¹ *Chronicon de Lanercost*, pp. 287-8: "*dictum castrum, quod olim per Scottos destructum fuerat, reparavit.*" Cf. *Chronicon Walteri de Hemingburgh*, ed. H. C. Hamilton, vol. ii. p. 312: "*castra de Strivilyn et Botheville denuo reparavit et munivit*"; also *Scalacronica*, p. 166.

² The same wage was received by Walter de Hereford, the master mason in charge of building operations at the great Edwardian Castle of Carnarvon. But Henry de Elreton, who succeeded him in the later work, got double this sum. See C. R. Peers in *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1915-6, pp. 7, 15.

³ Bain's *Calendar*, vol. iii., No. 1215 (see pp. 347-57, 361, and 381). Kilburn is a northern suburb of London. It had a Benedictine nunnery, and therefore would be the centre for a school of mason-craft. There is another Kilburn in Yorkshire, which had an Augustinian priory.

⁴ See upon this subject my paper on "The Excavation of Coull Castle" in *Proceedings*, vol. lviii. pp. 94-6.

⁵ Rhymer, *Fœdera*, vol. ii. pp. 951-5; *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. pp. 470-4; Bain's *Calendar*, vol. iii., Nos. 1217-9.

⁶ *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. p. 488. According to the *Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 288, the castle was granted to Sir Robert de Ufford, Earl of Suffolk, who at the time of the Scottish attack upon it was absent in attendance on the king in Parliament, Walter de Selby being governor on his behalf. For de Selby's career, see Bain's *Calendar*, vol. iii., ref. in index.

patriotic necessity, in pursuit of Bruce's *Testament*,¹ to sacrifice his own property and dismantle the castle a second time.² Thereafter it seems to have again lain waste until about 1362, when the barony was acquired by "Black" Archibald "the Grim," third Earl of Douglas and Lord of Galloway.³ Earl Archibald made Bothwell Castle his favourite seat.⁴ A second restoration of the twice dismantled fabric is thus implied, and that this actually took place is shown by the extensive buildings in the style of the later fourteenth century, displaying in various places the arms of Douglas and of Galloway. Thereafter the history of the castle is uneventful. On the forfeiture of the Black Douglasses in 1455 it reverted to the Crown, and after sundry vicissitudes passed ultimately to the Red Douglasses, the powerful Earls of Angus.⁵ In 1669 it was acquired by Archibald Douglas, first Earl of Forfar,⁶ who towards the end of the century commenced the erection, eastward from the old castle, of the fine classical mansion of Bothwell House.⁷ The splendid ruins now belong to the Earl of Home, and have been maintained in good repair, though now their safety is gravely menaced by coal mining underneath the site.

III. ARCHITECTURAL SURVEY.

Bothwell Castle stands on the lip of a deep ravine, formed by the beautifully wooded valley of the Clyde, which bounds it on two sides,

1

"On fut suld be all Scottis weire
Be hill and moss thaimself to weire
Lat wood for wallis be; bow and spier
And battle-axe, their fechtung gear."

See P. Fraser Tytler, *History of Scotland*, ed. 1864, vol. i. p. 367, Note BB.

² *Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 288; *Chronicon Walteri de Hemingburgh*, vol. ii. p. 313; Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, ed. W. F. Skene, vol. i. p. 362; also ed. W. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 324; *Joannis Majoris De Gestis Scotorum*, ed. 1740, p. 232. Fordun's continuator says that Bothwell and other castles were taken with the aid of a siege engine called "Boustour." A battering apparatus of some kind is indicated. See also *The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun*, ed. F. J. Amours, vol. vi. pp. 92-3, and note thereon. Wyntoun specially comments on Andrew de Moray's destruction of fortresses: "al the castellis he kest downe."

³ Date as given by Sir W. Fraser, *The Douglas Book*, vol. ii. p. 92, note 4. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 613; also *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, ed. J. Robertson (Bannatyne Club), vol. i. p. 55; and G. Chalmers, *Caledonia*, new ed., vol. vi. p. 701.

⁴ *Douglas Book*, vol. ii. p. 614. Several charters of the Earl are dated from the castle. He died at Threave Castle in 1400, and was buried in his own foundation (1398) of Bothwell Collegiate Church.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 92-3.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 443.

⁷ The exact date of its commencement seems nowhere recorded. T. Pennant (*Tour in Scotland*, 1772, published in 1790, vol. ii. p. 144) says it was built "between ninety and a hundred years ago"—*i.e.* (reckoning from the date of the tour) between 1672 and 1682. But he also says the builder was the *second* Earl (1712-5), who was killed at Sheriffmuir. So also Macfarlane's topographer in 1725 speaks of the new house as "never finished, being stoped by the death of both Earles the father and son" (see *infra*, p. 192, note 3). The oldest wing of the house is a fine example of the Queen Anne style.

south and west, while elsewhere it was embraced by a mighty ditch extending right round the open faces to meet the valley on either side. As usual, the ditch is not drawn close to the walls, but leaves space for *les lices*, the defences of which were unusually substantial—traces of mason work have been found.¹ In its original design the castle (fig. 2) was a huge pentagonal structure, with massive round towers at four of the angles, and a gatehouse, with portal and trance recessed between two similar towers, at the fifth angle. The plan thus closely corresponds with that of Kildrummy Castle.² As at Kildrummy, one tower forms the donjon, and far surpasses in magnitude any of its fellows, being no less than 65 feet in diameter, and still rising to 82 feet in height. It should be noted that Bothwell and Kildrummy are the only two thirteenth-century castles in Scotland which show this enormous preponderance of the donjon. At Kildrummy the donjon is 53 feet in diameter, and the next largest tower reaches a diameter of 40 feet. In other Scottish castles of this period the donjon is at best only slightly larger than the remaining towers. At Inverlochy it measures a little over 40 feet in diameter, the other towers having each a diameter of 34 feet. At Kirkcudbright the donjon is 45 feet in diameter, and three of the other towers reach a diameter of nearly 36 feet. At Dirleton the donjon is 41 feet in diameter, and two of the other towers were little inferior to it in dimensions.³ At Lochindorb, Auchincass, Tibbers, Rothesay, and Black Castle of Moulin there is no appreciable difference in size between any of the towers; and at Dunstaffnage the donjon is actually smaller than one of the mural towers—a feature paralleled in the Welsh border Castle of Morlais. Similarly the donjon at Coull Castle as originally built had been about 29 feet in diameter, while the surviving gatehouse tower must have attained a diameter of about 30 feet.⁴ The immense size of the donjon at Bothwell and Kildrummy, as compared with the other towers, is neither a Scottish nor an English characteristic; it has a distinctly French flavour, and at once recalls Coucy. The way in which the curtains at Bothwell come together towards the gateway, and the position of the latter opposite the longest side on the crest of the valley, are exactly similar to the arrangement of plan at Kildrummy. On either curtain adjoining the gatehouse are projecting latrine-shoots, and these also occupy a position

¹ See D. MacGibbon and T. Ross, *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, vol. v. pp. 236-7.

² See plan of Kildrummy Castle in *Proceedings*, vol. liv. p. 135.

³ See the plan of this castle, incorporating the results of recent excavations, in the *Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments (Scotland)*, Report on East Lothian, p. 16.

⁴ All the foregoing are true basal measurements, taken below the battered plinths where such exist.

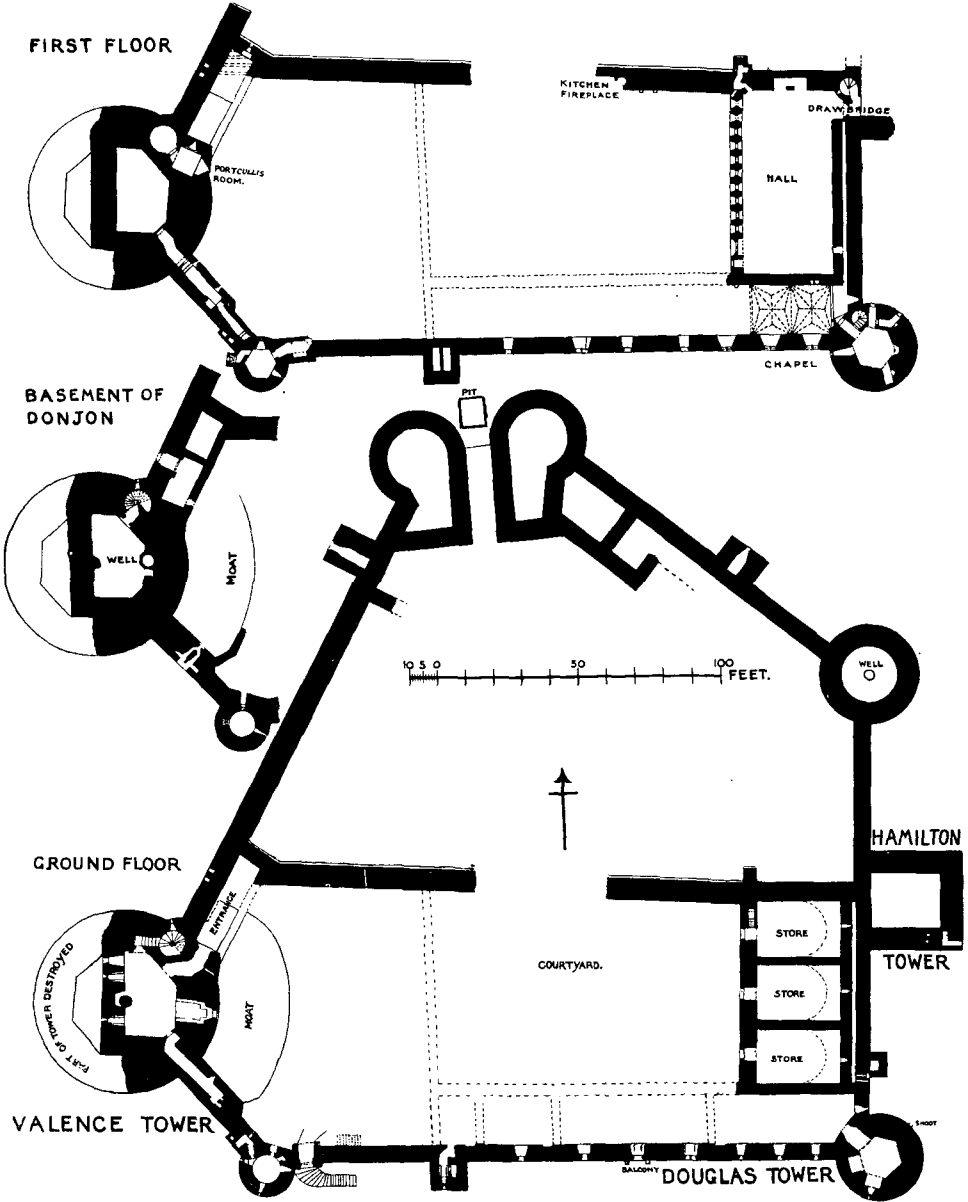


Fig. 2. Bothwell Castle : Plans.

identical with that of the same contrivances at Kildrummy. There is a postern with a stair leading down to the slope of the valley, just as at the Aberdeenshire castle.

The great curtains vary from 5 to 11 feet thick, and the walls of the donjon attain a thickness of 15 feet; the total internal area of the original *enceinte* is about 224 feet¹ by 211 feet.² Besides the round angle towers there are two square ones, in the middle of the south and east fronts respectively. The former tower is still tolerably perfect, but of the latter only the excavated foundations and two of the sides remain. At an early period the castle has suffered partial destruction, all the northern half being cast down; and when thereafter it was restored, the later builders, just as at Dirleton Castle,³ did not attempt to work out anew the grand lines of the original plan, but contented themselves with drawing a transverse screen wall right across between the broken ends of the east and west curtains. The square tower in the middle of the older east front thus became an angle tower to the new *enceinte*, which is oblong, lies east and west, and measures about 224 feet in length by 93 feet in greatest breadth.⁴ The castle was thus reduced to half its original size, and its thirteenth-century proportions remained unsuspected until revealed by the excavator's spade in 1888. The new north curtain is built chiefly of good well-coursed rubble, but a great deal of ashlar from the destroyed portions has been re-used in the later wall, particularly in its upper part. In the middle was the new main gate, which seems—as at Craigmillar—to have been undefended by towers. It has now disappeared, leaving only a ragged gap in the wall.

Only the inner half of the mighty donjon, the Valence Tower, remains (fig. 3). Its outer face has been destroyed, and the breached segment closed by a later square consolidation. Even ruined as it is, however, this splendid donjon is in every respect the most imposing tower in Scotland. It stands at the west corner of the courtyard, from which, like the donjon at Coucy, it is cut off by its own moat—a ditch 23 feet in breadth and still about 15 feet in depth, which has been defended, like its French archetype, by a thin *chemise* on the counter-scarp. Although there has been nothing like the elaboration of detail found at Coucy, the resemblance in principle between the two donjons is here most striking, and indeed identical. It is quite evident that the Bothwell defences, which are unique in Britain, were directly imitated

¹ Reckoned from the centre face of the donjon to the east curtain.

² Reckoned from the south curtain to the rear of the gatehouse.

³ See my paper in *Scottish Notes and Queries*, 3rd ser., vol. ii. pp. 70-4.

⁴ Measured from the angle between the postern gate and the gorge wall of the Prison Tower, to the point at the north curtain opposite.

from the great French fortress.¹ All the rooms in the interior of the donjon have been octagonal. The basement is partly sunk, its floor ranging with the bottom level of the ditch. It contains a very deep

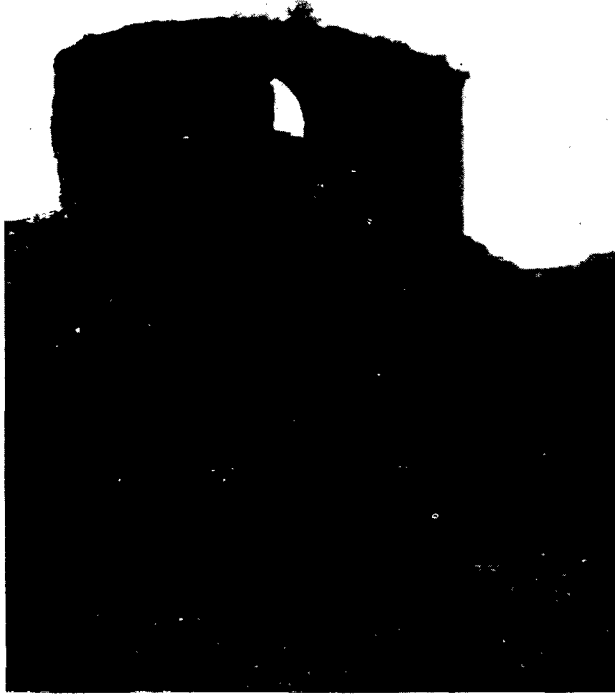


Fig. 3. Bothwell Castle : view of Donjon.

and carefully constructed draw-well, cradled in ashlar, and opening beneath a round arch in the wall. Adjoining it is a pointed aumbry

¹ Mr A. Hamilton Thomson (*Military Architecture in England during the Middle Ages*, p. 181) writes of the Coucy donjon: "Its isolation upon the outer face of the inner ward, protected by its own inner ditch, and covered by a strong curtain of its own, are signs of a perfection of engineering skill to which our builders did not attain." Yet here in Scotland all the essential features of this perfection of engineering skill are repeated at Bothwell.

It will be observed that at Bothwell the moat is carried round the inner or courtyard face only of the donjon, whereas at Coucy (see fig. 1) the donjon is completely encircled by its moat and *chemise*. This was necessary because the Coucy donjon is placed in the forefront of the castle, facing the level base-court and the approach from the town. At Bothwell, where the donjon stands in rear of the castle, with its back to the Clyde and accessible only from the courtyard, it was necessary to provide the moat on this side only: nor indeed would it have been practicable to carry the moat round the other side, on the steeply sloping bank of the river.

for a bucket. This well-room in the basement enters by a newel stair down from the hall, which forms the true ground floor, being a little above the *terreplein*. The hall had a wooden floor, resting upon a central octagonal pier carried up from the basement, and also apparently on two segmental and raked bearing ribs crossing the tower from east to west, and supported on the central pier.¹ The springer of the bearing rib remains on the east side of the tower. The hall and the two storeys over it were covered in by strongly strutted floors, for which the joist-holes, corbels, and sunk rests to receive the verticals and struts may still be seen in the walls. The mode of construction resembles that which was employed in the great tower of Threave Castle. Having regard to the wide span of these floors (39 feet in the angles of the octagon), it is probable that the central pier was carried up in stone or wood to receive similar struts for strengthening the cross-beams. On the hall floor is the main entrance to the donjon, by a zigzag ribbed passage opening from a fine pointed doorway of two recessed and splayed orders in the great beak or angular construction which springs out from the round face of the tower. This beak is an extremely interesting and important feature. It is quite unmistakably French in character, and is unknown in the English castles, where the nearest parallels are certain basal spurs, as at Goodrich: French instances may be seen in La Tour Blanche at Issoudun, the towers of *enceinte* at Loches, one of the towers at Arques, the donjon of La Roche-Guyon, some of the towers at Carcassonne, and the great donjon of Château Gaillard. Here at Bothwell the special purpose of the beak is to strengthen the tower where its wall is traversed by the entrance passage, and also to turn the portal away from the open courtyard, so that its door could not easily be battered in.² As at Coucy, the entrance had its own portcullis, worked from a neat ribbed mural chamber overhead. A drawbridge spanning the moat was also manipulated from this chamber. Within the portcullis a wooden door was secured by a draw-bar. The newel stair continuing up from the basement served all floors of the tower. It has no communication with the entrance passage, so that anyone from outside wishing to use the stair had to pass through the hall. In the hall is a fine pointed mural arcading of moulded wall-ribs showing a good mid-thirteenth-century profile; and a splendid pointed and traceried window of two flush orders, having stone seats and filleted nook-shafts with enriched First Pointed bases and caps, overlooks the courtyard. A mural passage opening beside

¹ A similar contrivance for supporting a floor was inserted in 1393 in the Queen's Tower at Carnarvon Castle. See C. R. Peers, *Trans. Cymmrodorion Soc.*, 1915-6, pp. 21, 51.

² At Coucy there is no beak, and the entrance directly fronts the courtyard.

the window leads to a garderobe in the south curtain. The room above the hall seems to have been garrison quarters, and was plainly fitted up. At Coucy the corresponding storey was appointed for the same purpose. From this room access was obtained by a passage in the curtain to the mural garderobes adjoining the Prison Tower. The top storey was evidently the lord's apartment. It has a window of two trifoliated lights with unpierced tympanum beneath a pointed general arch of two flush orders. Like that in the hall, the bay of this window is furnished with stone seats. The roof of the donjon has been wooden and flat, of the construction already described. In the late western consolidation are a fireplace and loops beneath segmental rear-arches. As thus truncated, the tower was closed in by a pentice roof at the second floor level, above which emerged the three remaining sides of the topmost storey, which was then abandoned.

This superb tower is entirely cased with the most beautiful dressed ashlar work, low in the course and closely jointed. A number of the putlog holes may still be seen which were left for the scaffoldings used in its construction. At the wall-head level of the south curtain a pointed door led out from the donjon to the roundway, which was protected both by a battlement and a rear-wall, with a pentice roof overhead. The parapet of the donjon is now gone, but had a wooden hoarding carried by heavy moulded corbels, several of which, of an enormous size, remain just over the intaking of the beak into the tower. These huge corbels were evidently meant to carry the hoarding out clear of the beak, so as to defend the portal from above. A small postern, strongly defended by an iron *grille*, a wooden door, and an inner portcullis, opens in the curtain north of the donjon. It would be useful during a siege for effecting a sally against assailants mining the base of the donjon, and also as an emergency mode of escape. A similar postern exists at Coucy, and there are Scottish examples at Dirleton, Tibbers, and Coull.

The Prison Tower adjoining the donjon eastward is the smallest in the castle, being only 20 feet in diameter. It is three storeys high. The basement contains a prison, reached by steps down from a low door opening on the slope above the counterscarp of the donjon moat. The prison is lit by a single high loop, and has a garderobe. The ground floor enters from the *terreplein* by a door with corbelled lintel, and the first floor was reached by a mural passage from the portcullis room of the postern adjoining, the portcullis room itself being served by an outside stair carried on an arch against the curtain wall. The upper two floors of the tower contained living-rooms, and their garderobes have flues corbelled out in the west re-entrant. This tower with the prison in its basement was clearly meant to be a secure post, as

its doors towards the courtyard were protected overhead by a timber hoarding carried on large stone corbels. The postern is set in a projecting part of the curtain, and has a shouldered lintel beneath a segmental outer arch, in the soffit of which is the portcullis slot. Over the postern has been inserted a sunk quatrefoil panel with a shield bearing the Douglas arms:—*goutté*, a heart, on a chief three mullets. Throughout the Prison Tower and the curtain westward the same finished masonry is employed as in the donjon. In addition to the garderobes serving the Prison Tower, which are also reached along the mural passage from the first floor of the donjon, there is another garderobe midway in the wall at this level, the flue of which combines with that of the garderobe from the hall below and discharges by a single vent at the base of the curtain. This vent is carried right through the wall, so that it could be used to drain off water from the donjon moat,¹ by which means also the soil from the garderobes would be effectively flushed out. But in order to avoid giving access to a foe, the flue is divided by a central post. A method essentially similar though less elaborate in construction is employed in the garderobes at Kildrummy.

It seems quite clear that the donjon, the Prison Tower with postern adjoining, and the length of curtain between these towers must all be read together as of one date and design, and that in the thirteenth century. The style of masonry, and the arrangement of the garderobes and mural passages connecting all these works together, seem both decisive on this point.

Eastward from the postern the south curtain (fig. 4) has been rebuilt in somewhat inferior masonry upon the original splayed footing, which remains *in situ* throughout its length. Its course is interrupted by a small square garderobe tower of three stages, crowned by a heavy machicolated parapet of late fourteenth-century type. A similar parapet is carried westward along the curtain at two levels—the higher, which adjoins the tower, being reached by a newel stair in the thickness of the wall, partly supported on internal corbelling. This part of the curtain has also had a corbelled parapet along the inner side. The Garderobe Tower served a range of buildings backing upon this curtain, the tusks of whose gable remain on the curtain just westward of the tower. These buildings were two storeys high, lit by a series of fine mullioned and transomed windows of late fourteenth-century fashion,² one of which was provided with a timber balcony overlooking the Clyde.

¹ The existence of a postern gate at its north end shows that the moat was never designed to be wet, although a certain amount of rain-water would collect in it.

² There were windows of very similar design in Archibald the Grim's other Castle of Threave.

The Douglas Tower at the south-east corner doubtless occupies the site of a thirteenth-century predecessor, but in its present condition it is a magnificent example of late fourteenth-century construction.¹ It is beautifully built of smooth ashlar,² measures 31 feet in diameter, and contains four storeys of unvaulted hexagonal chambers. Its distinguishing feature is its splendid bold machicolated parapet of great oversailing moulded corbels.³ These corbels resemble those found in other

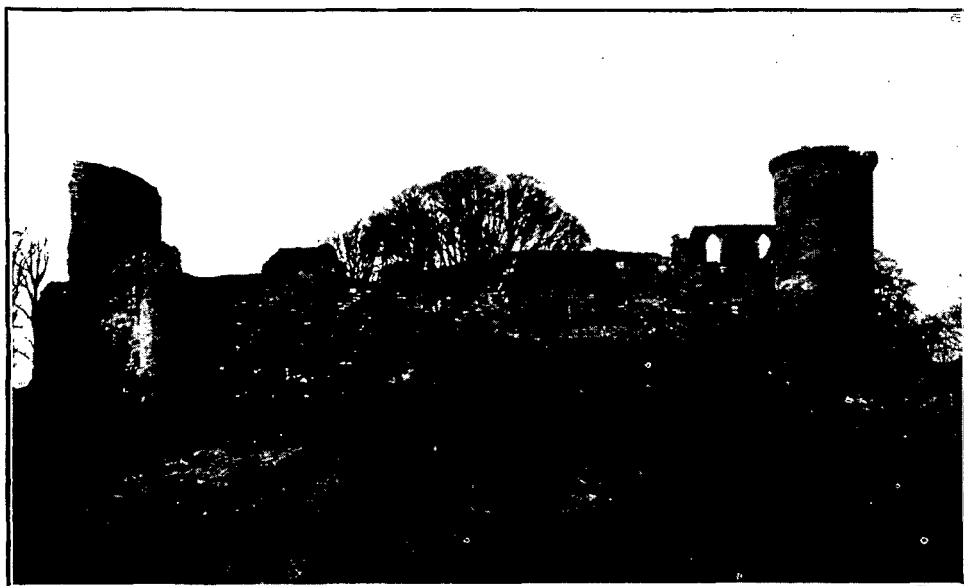


Fig. 4. Bothwell Castle: general view from south.

Scottish buildings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, such as Caerlaverock, Borthwick, and Crichton Castles, and the west towers of

¹ Alike in design and detail, it far surpasses the contemporary and similar towers at Caerlaverock.

² The fourteenth-century ashlar shows greater variation in the length and height of the courses, and the jointing is much less regular, than in the work of the preceding century; also joggled joints are very frequent. But otherwise the ashlar work of both periods is closely similar. Of course in an ashlar facing it is difficult to say how far old stones may have been used again in the later work. This has certainly happened in the rubble walling on the north front. Ashlar masonry of similarly irregular character, and showing frequent joggled jointing, occurs also at Bothwell Church.

³ The corbels consist of five courses, of which the upper forms the arch of the *mâchicoulis*, while the lowermost is a small member, turned off below in a hollow chamfer. The other courses are filleted along the upper edge. This type of corbelling is different from the earlier corbels of the transverse north wall (outside the hall), which lack the lowermost member, and different again from the still older corbels of the donjon, which do not form machicolations but were meant to carry a timber brattice or hoarding.

Aberdeen Cathedral. Even in France permanent stone-built *mâchicoulis* did not supersede the earlier timber hoardings, supported either on putlogs or by stone corbels (as on the donjon at Bothwell), until the very end of the thirteenth century. The height of the tower, to the summit of the corbels as now remaining, and measured in the middle of the south face, is 59 feet. Its basement contained a store, unconnected with the upper rooms. The first floor was entered from the chapel adjoining it against the south curtain, and hence a newel stair leads upward to the parapet. The three upper storeys contain living-rooms, well fitted up with garderobes, good windows, and handsome hooded fireplaces each of a different pattern, but all showing the carved caps, high angular bases, and other moulded detail of the period. The bases closely resemble those found at Bothwell Church and Lincluden College, both foundations of Archibald the Grim. The topmost storey is handsomely arcaded with a semi-circular arch on each face of the hexagon. From this level there is access to the allure walk of the east curtain, in the re-entrant of which is placed a picturesque corbelled garderobe turret. With one exception, the openings in this tower are either large plain windows or small rectangular loops, instead of the pointed and traceried windows and long fan-tailed slits found in the thirteenth-century Valence and Prison Towers.¹

The east curtain is built of good coursed rubble, inferior in appearance to the ashlar of the Douglas Tower and the south curtain. Structurally, however, it seems to form a unit with the tower, and its inferior finish may be due to the fact that this curtain is not so easily seen as the great south front, which, with its noble row of moulded windows overlooking the Clyde, was clearly intended to be a spectacular feature of the castle. Throughout its length the east curtain stands on the foundations of the older wall, which are visible at various points. North of the Douglas Tower is a small projecting work, apparently a garderobe flue dating with the older curtain.² Beyond this again are the remnants of the great square Hamilton Tower,³ which capped the north-east angle of the curtailed enclosure. The lower part of this tower is built of fine ashlar, with a splayed base course, and evidently belongs to the original castle; the upper part

¹ In addition to the Valence, Hamilton, and Douglas Towers, a Cuming Tower is mentioned about 1710. See *Descriptions of the Sheriffdoms of Lanark and Renfrew*, by W. Hamilton of Wishaw (Maitland Club), p. 39. Perhaps this may have been the Prison Tower.

² This flue indicates that the garderobes serving the original south-east tower were not corbelled out in the angle like those of the present Douglas Tower, but were situated on the east curtain adjoining, and reached doubtless by mural passages, like the garderobes of the Valence Tower.

³ Owing to its ruined state the dimensions of this tower are a little uncertain, but it had been about 32 feet by 35 feet.

has been rebuilt in rough rubble. There were garderobes in the south-east angle, draining into a built gutter along the base of the eastern wall. The inner face of this tower, towards the courtyard, has a round-arched portal at the first-floor level (fig. 5). In connection with this portal there has been a drawbridge worked on the counterpoise

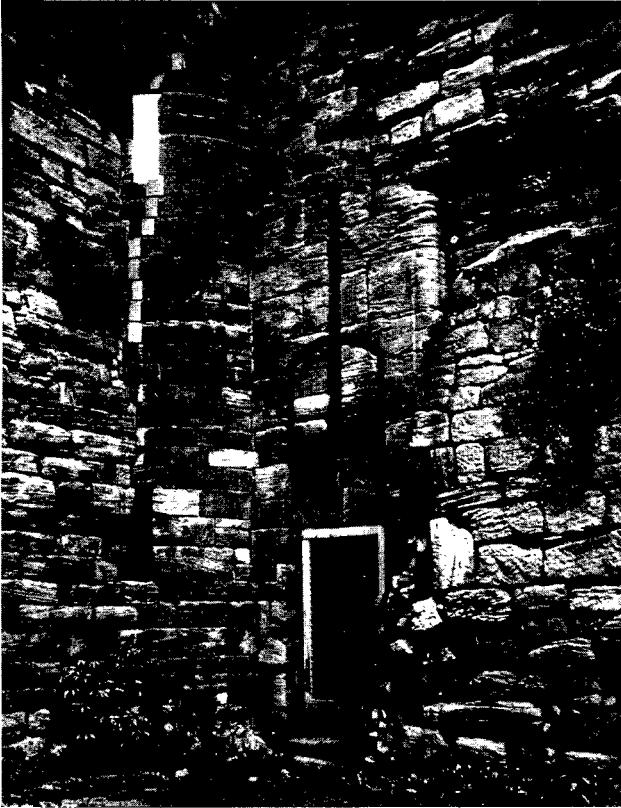


Fig. 5. Bothwell Castle: door in Hamilton Tower.

principle, the wall above being carefully recessed to receive the counterpoising mechanism, so that the bridge when up would lie flush with the wall-plane and mask the portal. The counterpoise was a single one, placed centrally. This bridge was designed to cut off access into the tower from the courtyard, and must have been removed when the present hall was built across the tower. The type of drawbridge with counterpoising mechanism is later than the simpler form raised by a windlass, which is exemplified in the Valence Tower. The counterpoised

bridge does not appear in England until the fourteenth century, and in Scotland is not found, elsewhere than at Bothwell, until about a century later.¹ Inside this portal subsequently a newel stair was inserted, giving access to the various floors of the tower.² Previously these were no doubt reached by ladders and hatches. The Hamilton Tower has clearly been built before the north transverse curtain, which lacks bond with the tower, although tusks were provided in the upper part of the tower wall to engage the curtain.

The great round tower at the north-east angle of the original *enceinte* was 35 feet in diameter, and contained an ashlar-lined central well. As already indicated, the main gate on the north was deeply recessed between two bold flanking towers, each 34 feet 10 inches in diameter, whose inward faces pass back into the straight sides of a long narrow trance, 9 feet 7 inches wide, as at the contemporary gate-houses of Kildrummy, Kirkcudbright, and Coull. As at Coull also, in front of the portal is a pit, 10 feet 8 inches by 8 feet 5 inches, well built of very fine ashlar.³ Evidently the drawbridge here pivoted by the middle on trunnions turning at the inner end of the pit: so that, when the bridge was down, part would lie along the passage within, and part would span the pit; and when raised one-half would be sunk in the pit and the other half would form an additional barrier to the entrance. A similar mode of construction was used in the drawbridge of the donjon at Coucy.⁴ In rear of the gatehouse were porters' lodges, and on the adjoining curtains are the latrine-shoots already referred to. They are large enough to be called garderobe towers, and in each the vent is gible-checked for an external grating, opening outwards.

The buildings within the later enclosure (fig. 6) all belong to the end of the fourteenth century. Against the east curtain is a fine hall

¹ As at Tullyallan Castle.

² That this newel stair is an insertion seems clear from four facts:—(1) It is formed partly in the thickness of the north curtain and partly in that of the tower wall, which were built as separate units and do not bond, the open joint between them appearing in the well of the stair. Had the stair been coeval with the tower it would have been either wholly within the tower, or else a special buttress construction would have been built to accommodate it. (2) The stair is lit only by loops opening upon the hall, whereas had it been contemplated originally the loops would more naturally have been provided in the north wall, looking out to the field. (3) The staircase does not bond either with the tower or with the north curtain, but tusks were worked into these walls to give it stability. (4) Its masonry resembles that of the Douglas Tower, and differs from that of the walling on either side. At the same time, while the stair seems an insertion, it is certainly earlier than the hall, as it rests upon a moulded corbelling which the hall conceals.

³ Within this pit were found three transverse beams, one of which is still *in situ*, having three sockets for uprights.

⁴ For this type of drawbridge see my paper on "The Excavation of Coull Castle" in *Proceedings*, vol. lviii, pp. 72-3. The drawbridge of the Queen's gate at Carnarvon Castle is an English example.

over three plain barrel-vaulted cellars. Though built against the curtain, it is not in contact with it, a narrow space being left for an eaves-gutter, the wall-head of the hall being of course much lower than the curtain. Also the side walls lack bond both with the north curtain and with the wall of the chapel, against which the hall abuts on the south. The hall measures 65 feet by 32 feet. At either end are pointed doorways, which must have been reached by external wooden stairs against the north curtain and the chapel wall respectively. Some indication of the abutment of the southern stair still

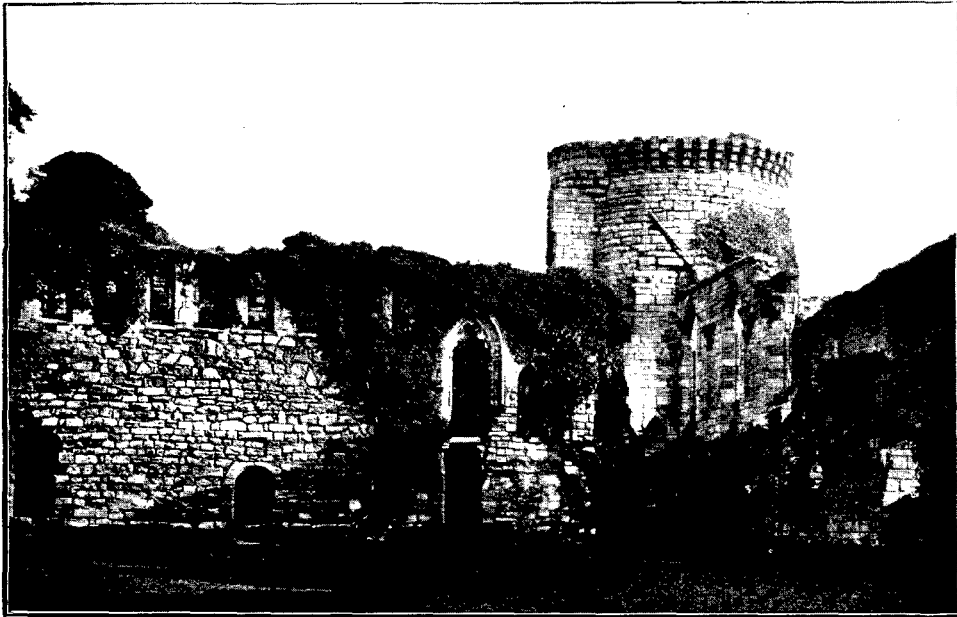


Fig. 6. Bothwell Castle: view of Hall, Chapel, and Douglas Tower.

remains. At the north end were the screens, with a minstrels' gallery above, of which the joist-holes remain. The dais was at the south end, and was lit by an extremely beautiful window of two trifoliated lights with a quatrefoil set in the pointed general arch.¹ In addition there is a fine row of ten high windows, like the clerestory lights of a church, each with an obtuse pointed and trifoliated arch, set deeply within a splayed external reveal, like the windows at Bothwell Church. The

¹ This finely proportioned dais window, with its geometrical tracery, small capitals, and wide casement-moulding, has been a striking piece of fourteenth-century Scottish Gothic, but is now much wasted and destroyed. The sacristy door at Bothwell Church has somewhat similar mouldings.

height of these windows (about 20 feet above the present *terreplein*) and the unfinished aspect of the masonry below, as if this part of the wall was not meant to be seen, suggest that an external timber gallery was built or contemplated along the hall, though no corbels, water-table, or joist-holes remain. Within the hall in the north curtain may be seen an older hall fireplace at a lower level than the floor of the present hall. The fireplace has a central post between two voids with shouldered lintels, and above is a recess with a moulded corbel below, probably to carry a lamp. This older hall must have had an east-to-west axis along the north curtain, since otherwise it would have masked the drawbridge-portal of the Hamilton Tower, as the present hall does.¹ The present hall has no fireplace, and doubtless there was an open hearth in the middle of the floor, with a *louvre* in the roof.² West of the hall, in the north curtain not far from the entrance, may be traced part of the kitchen fireplace, with an oven, and two corbels survive in the wall. These indications remain to afford us some idea of the disposition of the domestic apartments that preceded the present fine buildings of the late fourteenth century.³ At the north-west corner of the hall a narrow straight stair, now built up, led down to the cellar below, and a small passage gives access to a garderobe in a buttress projecting from the outside of the curtain, and crowned by a great roundel or open bartisan resting on continuous corbels (fig. 7).⁴ A similar roundel was employed to finish off the

¹ Mr G. S. Aitken (see his paper on "Bothwell Castle" in *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, vol. xi. pp. 422, 425) formed the opinion that the cellars under the hall were an insertion of the seventeenth century, and that in its original state the hall was the full height of the building, the low fireplace in its north wall being a relic of this older arrangement, and not a remnant of an earlier hall. But there is no clear evidence that the cellars were so late an after-thought, although in order of construction they are doubtless posterior to the side walls between which they are set. Nor have their outer doors any appearance of being slapped. Two of the doors have shouldered lintels of an early fashion, which could not possibly belong to work of the seventeenth century. Also the position of the fireplace, at the screens' end of the hall, would be an impossible one. To explain the great height of the windows and two doors, Mr Aitken fell back on the theory of an internal lateral gallery, but this is highly improbable in a baronial hall of the fourteenth century. I do not think there can be any doubt that the hall was designed from the outset on the first-floor level, ranging with the chapel adjoining, and over a basement for storage, and that the low fireplace in the north wall is a relic of an earlier hall backing against this curtain.

² So also the great hall at Doune Castle is unprovided with a fireplace. Even in England, at a castle of the first rank like Carnarvon, the hall had merely an open hearth.

³ It may be mentioned also that in the western section of the north curtain there has been an external stone rain-water basin with supply drain through the wall, conducting doubtless into a barrel or tank. There is a similar arrangement at Craigmillar.

⁴ This garderobe in its buttress is older than the hall, being an integral part of the north curtain against which the hall has subsequently been built. Probably the garderobe was designed in connection with the older hall, off whose dais it would have opened very conveniently—as in the halls at Doune Castle and Linlithgow Palace, and in the extended buildings at the Dean Castle. When the present hall was erected it was evidently found necessary to make a new (and

projecting end of the broken west curtain, outside the new enclosure (fig. 8).¹ Within it a recess is here formed in the angle between the two walls, the masonry overhead being carried on great obtusely pointed and splayed ribs. From this recess the field is swept by a loop of crosslet form, fan-tailed at the four extremities. The defensive platform on the roundel above is reached by the wall-walk of the



Fig. 7. Bothwell Castle: view of Transverse Wall, east section; foundation of north-east Tower in foreground.

rebuilt west curtain. Access to this wall-walk is obtained by a door slapped out from the donjon stair, and masked by a pentice roof for

rather awkward) access from it to this garderobe; and to effect this alteration part of the inner facing of the north curtain had to be taken down, and was rebuilt with coarse irregular masonry, similar to that used in the hall, and very different from the rest of the north curtain—the junction between the two kinds of work being very distinct.

¹ On the inside the breach in the west curtain takes the form of an almost vertical joint about 10 feet out from the portal of the donjon. The contrast between the masonry on either side of this joint—the polished ashlar of the thirteenth century and the later rugged coursed rubble—is extremely striking (see fig. 3). As the breach is an oblique one (see key plan, fig. 9), the joint externally appears close up against the segmental staircase of the donjon. But the lower part of the curtain right along to its buttressed termination is thirteenth-century work, the foundation having been left undisturbed, although the upper part was overthrown. Thus the jambs of the postern are original, but its segmental head was restored when the curtain was rebuilt.

which a chase was ragged in the ashlar of the donjon.¹ The thirteenth-century wall-walk had a parapet with ridged coping, the end stones of which still remain, bonded into and now cut flush with the tower wall, and traversed by the raggle of the later pentice roof. The original wall-walk had been open, and was commanded from the hoarding on the donjon above. Under the subsequent arrangements this hoarding must have been disused. Owing to its ruinous condition



Fig. 8. Bothwell Castle: view of Transverse Wall, west section.

it is impossible to say how the later north curtain was finished off, except in the portion outside the hall, where the great corbels of a machicolated parapet remain. The rear-wall here was carried on heavy continuous corbelling. On the outside the stubs of broken corbels indicate that the machicolated parapet here was carried at least as far west as the breach in the curtain.

Adjoining the hall against the south curtain, and like it on the first

¹ Contrast the wall-walk on the other side of the donjon, where the thirteenth-century arrangements survive, with the weather table for a pentice carefully wrought on the tower face.

floor, was the chapel, in the same rich architecture. It has measured about 43 feet in length and 17 feet in breadth, consisting of three bays, of which the two eastern formed the choir, and were covered with quadripartite vaulting resting on clustered corbel-shafts with enriched caps. Some of the foliated bosses that remain¹ are of extreme beauty. In the chapel are a piscina (with nook-shaftlets, pointed arch, and two small trifoliated niches for the cruets of wine and water²), also a double aumbry and a stoup. It has further been fitted for a rood-beam, and there was a gallery at the west end. Along the south wall, at a height of 4 feet above the floor corbels, runs a bench, raised at the east end to form *sedilia*.

The chapel was entered at the west end by a door, of which a moulded jamb remains, reached evidently from the landing of the dais-stair to the hall. Like the hall, the chapel has not been built in structural contact with the east curtain and Douglas Tower, but had its own proper east gable, behind which was a passage of communication between the tower and the hall. Yet the chapel was clearly contemplated from the outset in the late fourteenth-century reconstruction, as its southern pointed windows,³ corbel-shafts, wall-ribs, and bench form an integral part of the curtain belonging to that period.⁴ Indeed the hall, chapel, and Douglas Tower, although the tower and adjoining curtains were naturally built first of all, must be taken together as one scheme, the rooms in the Douglas Tower forming the solar or lord's private apartments, with convenient access both to the hall and chapel, and the kitchen being situated in the usual manner at the lower end of the hall, against the north curtain, in which its fireplace still remains.⁵ All this work—hall, chapel, and Douglas Tower—is clearly of the same date, towards the end of the fourteenth century, as their very rich architectural and heraldic detail quite unequivocally proves.⁶ They evidently form part of the reconstruction carried out by Archibald the

¹ Now preserved in the portcullis room of the donjon.

² As in the piscina at Bothwell Church.

³ As often in work of this period, the numerous delicate arch-moulds of these windows die out on the plain splayed jambs.

⁴ So also in the south curtain at Doune Castle windows were left for a chapel, which in this case was apparently never completed.

⁵ The arrangement of all these apartments—the hall along one curtain, having the kitchen at its lower end, and at its upper end the chapel at right angles against another curtain, with private rooms in an angle tower between them—resembles generally the lay-out of similar buildings at the great Edwardian Castle of Harlech. Here the communication between the hall and the angle tower, passing behind the chapel, takes the form not of a narrow passage as at Bothwell, but of an open court.

⁶ One shield bears the Douglas arms alone; another shows them impaled with the lion of Galloway, which appears alone on a third shield. A fourth shield is carved with the three mullets of the original lords, the de Moravias. These moulded and heraldic details are now assembled in the portcullis room of the donjon.

Grim, and closely resemble in style his work at Bothwell Church and Lincluden.¹

If, therefore, we accept our lower date of building operations as a fixed one, if we agree that the present hall, chapel, Douglas Tower, and south curtain are all the work of Archibald the Grim, it becomes possible, by reasoning backwards from this fixed point, to make some approach towards a disentanglement of the architectural history of the castle during the stormy years of the fourteenth century. In the first place, the radical nature of Grim Archibald's reconstruction justifies our connecting it with a previous dismantlement. A hall inside the curtains might be taken down and refashioned at any time, but the total rebuilding of the south curtain and Douglas Tower could have been necessitated by nothing else than the military demolition of their predecessors. Now the demolition that gave rise to the latest reconstruction must clearly be the latest demolition, *i.e.* that of 1337. But the Hamilton Tower and the transverse north curtain, with the fireplace of an older hall at a lower level, are certainly (as we have seen) earlier than Archibald the Grim's buildings set against them. Therefore, presumably, they are earlier also than the destruction of 1337 which they have survived. At the same time they are in their turn secondary work, erected obviously after the northern towers and walls of the original (thirteenth century) *enceinte* had been cast down. The destruction of the latter portions would thus be assignable to the dismantling of the castle after Bannockburn, and the building of the transverse wall and Hamilton Tower would come in as the work of John de Kilburne (1336-7). To judge by its masonry, the closing of the breached donjon also belongs to this period. There is thus clear building evidence of two successive reconstructions, the last being assignable to Archibald the Grim. The same tale of a double reconstruction in the fourteenth century is revealed by the Hamilton Tower. Its lower, ashlar-built portion belongs to the original castle of the de Moravias. The upper, rubble-built part, with the drawbridge working against the court, was rebuilt in the first reconstruction; and, lastly, the drawbridge was taken out when Archibald the Grim's hall was built against the inner face of the tower. These two reconstructions are doubtless to be correlated with the two known "slightings" of the castle, in 1314 and in 1337. The congruity between the historical and the structural evidence seems complete.

¹ The work at Lincluden, however, is of slightly later character, much of the tracery being flamboyant, whereas at Bothwell Castle it is geometrical. There is heraldic evidence that the choir at Lincluden was not commenced until after 1409; the Princess Margaret tomb in the north wall, an integral part of the design, exhibits the arms of the lordship of Annandale, which was granted to the Douglasses in that year.

IV. CONCLUSIONS.

Having thus completed our brief survey of the castle, we are now in a position to gather up the results, and to correlate the structural evidence as far as possible with the documentary data previously examined. From this procedure we arrive at an architectural history somewhat as follows (fig. 9).

1. The first demolition took place when the castle was captured after Bannockburn (1314). The damage then wrought consisted of (a) razing the whole northern portion, with the gatehouse, garderobe towers, and great north-eastern round tower; (b) throwing down the Hamilton Tower; (c) removing one-half of the donjon. From the fact

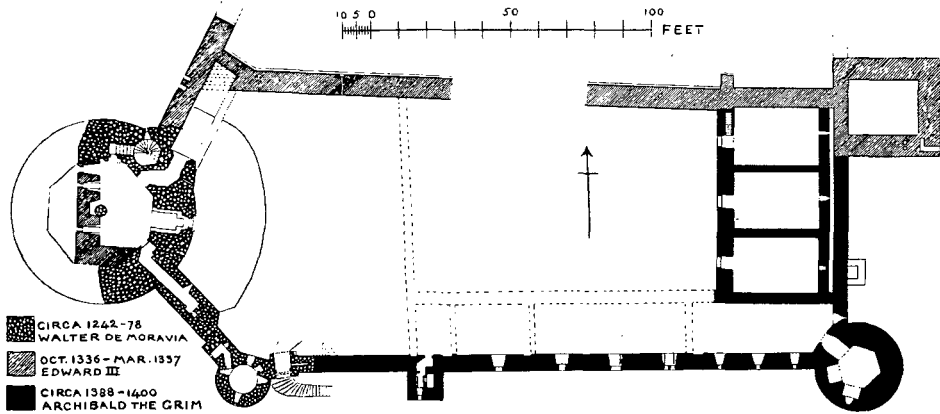


Fig. 9. Bothwell Castle: Key Plan.

that the original foundations remain everywhere undisturbed—both beneath the later rebuilding and also in the northern portions which were never restored—it is clear that the work of demolition was carried out from the wall-heads downwards. No attempt seems to have been made at undermining, as was done in the donjon of Coull Castle.¹

2. In October 1336 the destroyed castle was occupied, repaired, and garrisoned by Edward III. The restorative works then carried out under John de Kilburne comprised (a) the closing of the breached donjon by a square consolidation; (b) drawing a transverse screen across the courtyard to connect up the broken ends of the east and west curtains, thus sacrificing the destroyed northern portion of the thirteenth-century *enceinte*; (c) rebuilding the square Hamilton Tower upon its old basement, and converting it into a keep to replace the

¹ See *Proceedings*, vol. lviii. pp. 65-6.

old thirteenth-century donjon, which in its truncated state was no longer of use for such a purpose.¹ The conversion of the Hamilton Tower into a keep was achieved by building its inner face with a portal on the first floor, reached by a drawbridge, so that it was capable of isolation from the courtyard as the old donjon had been. This drawbridge was of the new type, with counterpoising apparatus, in contrast to the older and simpler windlass type used in the thirteenth-century donjon. Under these new arrangements the donjon seems to have been degraded into a prison, as the windows were all bored for iron stanchions.² The bold roundels on continuous corbelling, which were used to finish off the projecting end of the broken west curtain, and also to crown the garderobe buttress to the eastward, are usual in English work of the Edwardian period: for example, in the spur-work at Beaumaris Castle, the barbican turrets at Harlech Castle, the Bars at York, the bartisans at Belsay Castle, and elsewhere.³ Similarly the crosslet loop at the west end of the transverse wall also belongs to a more developed type than the long, simple, or fan-tailed slits which occur in the thirteenth-century parts of the castle. The plain loop, fan-tailed or otherwise, is the usual one in Scottish castles of the thirteenth century, as at Kildrummy, Dirleton, Coull, Dunstaffnage, Rothesay, and Inverlochy.⁴ Crosslet loops are very frequent in English work of the fourteenth century, but do not appear normally in Scotland until the succeeding century. The rebuilding of the Hamilton Tower was completed before the new north curtain was begun; indeed we may conjecture that the reconstruction of this tower, to form a strong and in itself defensible post, was the first task undertaken by John de Kilburne in his scheme of

¹ The persistence of the keep idea in the 1336 reconstruction is paralleled in certain English castles of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, such as Flint, Kidwelly, Carnarvon, and possibly Harlech. Slezer's view (see *infra*, p. 191, note 2) shows how in the reconstructed castle the Hamilton Tower dominated the whole.

² J. Jeffrey Waddell in *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society*, vol. iii. part i. (1909-10) p. 125.

³ These great buttresses at Bothwell, with their open corbelled roundels, are unlike almost anything elsewhere in Scotland. The only feature at all resembling them is found at Struthers Castle in Fifeshire, where there are two buttresses with corbelled roundels above. But here the roundels are of small dimensions, being in fact merely the open bartisan or turret so usual in late Scottish work, while the buttresses have the stepped intakes of the sixteenth century. There is something not dissimilar also at the gatehouse of Spynie Castle, dating from the fifteenth century, and showing strong French influence.

⁴ This is of course not to imply that fan-tailed loops may not be found in work of later periods. In point of fact this type of loop is not infrequently found in buildings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, for example at David's Tower in Edinburgh Castle, erected in 1367-79 (see *Proceedings*, vol. xlviii. p. 235). There is an example in work of the same period in the east curtain at Bothwell Castle, just north of the Douglas Tower. The crosslet loophole is not found in France until the end of the thirteenth century, and does not become common until the fourteenth century. See Camille Enlart, *Manuel d'Archéologie Française*, vol. ii. pp. 468-9.

restoration. Thereafter the new north curtain was run across the open courtyard, starting from the broken west curtain (which was restored as an external buttress, affording with its bartisan and crosslet loop some flanking defence to the new curtain on this side), and carried over to abut without bond against the new keep-tower, in which tusks were left to engage the curtain. In this Edwardian reconstruction a hall was built, or at all events projected,¹ along the new north curtain, having at its lower or western end the kitchen (whose fireplace still remains), and communicating at its upper or dais end by the drawbridge with the new keep, in which would be the solar or lord's private rooms.

3. In March 1337 the castle was besieged, captured, and again dismantled by Sir Andrew de Moray. This time the destructive forces were exerted against the south rather than the north front. The whole of the south curtain east of the postern, with the original south-eastern tower, and the east curtain northward to the Hamilton Tower, were cast down. The upper portion of the Hamilton Tower itself was probably overthrown, as Slezer's drawing² shows it with an embattled parapet of later type.

4. Thereafter the castle seems to have lain waste, until towards the end of the fourteenth century³ it was restored for the last time by Archibald the Grim. His work is clearly recognisable by its rich and very pronounced architectural characteristics. It comprised (*a*) the rebuilding of the destroyed south curtain, east of the postern (over which he set his coat of arms), and including the Garderobe and Douglas Towers; (*b*) the rebuilding of the east curtain between the Douglas Tower and the Hamilton Tower, and also, apparently, the upper part of the latter tower; and (*c*) the erection of new domestic buildings, comprising a hall against the east curtain, with chapel

¹ Bearing in mind the shortness of the second English occupation, we may believe that this hall was never completed, but at all events provision would be made for it in the wall against which it was to stand. So also at Carnarvon Castle, fireplaces, etc., are provided in the curtains to serve interior buildings which were never actually built.

² J. Slezer, *Theatrum Scotiae*, 1693, ed. J. Jamieson, 1814, pl. 57. The plate is rather crude, and the engraver does not appear always to have understood the draughtsman. The drawing shows three gables belonging to the partition walls still traceable in the range of buildings against the south curtain, also the gables of another building, set at right angles between the postern and the garderobe tower. Some foundations of this building were visible in the last century. The drawing also indicates how the north curtain was raised over the entrance and crowned with bartisans, forming a kind of gatehouse, as at Earl Archibald's other Castle of Threave. Although published in 1693, the drawing may have been made a good many years earlier, since Slezer was working on his book at least as early as 1678. See article in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

³ The style of Earl Archibald's work indicates a date well on towards the end of the century. The earliest charter granted by him from Bothwell Castle seems to be dated 8th November 1388 (Fraser, *Douglas Book*, vol. iii. p. 400). This would indicate that the castle had at least been made habitable by that date.

adjoining it to the southward. The curtain walls and Douglas Tower were first built, windows and other provision being made in the former for the chapel, which was the next portion to be erected; and, lastly, the hall was built with its dais end butting against the back wall of the chapel. A garderobe in the buttress of the north curtain, surviving from the Edwardian hall, was made available for the new one, a new access being provided to it, and the adjoining face of the curtain being rebuilt. By this time the idea of a keep had been abandoned in military construction—as shown at the contemporary Castles of Doune, Tantallon, and Caerlaverock¹—and so here also at Bothwell the keep-like character of the Hamilton Tower was obliterated, its drawbridge was taken out and the new hall was built across its portal.

The latest record of building operations at the castle seems to be found in an entry in the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland under the year 1544, wherein a sum of £40 is noted of expenses upon the Castles of Bothwell and Letham.² It does not seem possible now to trace any work of this late period among the ruins.

A final question is suggested by a passage in a "Description of the Paroch of Bothwell," written about 1725, wherein it is remarked that "the castle was once a very great and stately structure of a very fine and curious workmanship, but is now altogether ruinous, much defac'd by length of time and some considerable part of it thrown down by the late Earl of Forfar, who from the ruins thereof built a very handsome new house."³ Mr G. S. Aitken evolved the strange idea that the "considerable part" thus thrown down was the northern portion of the *enceinte*. But this idea will not hold water for a moment. That the northern walls and towers were destroyed before the building of the later transverse screen is clear both from the logic of the screen itself and also decisively from the way in which the projecting part of the old west curtain, outside the transverse screen, has been finished off and crowned with a bartisan. This work could only have been done after the curtain of which the projection is a remnant had been destroyed, and the salient stump left as a buttress-like structure outside the later enclosing wall. By pulling down the Hamilton Tower, the gatehouse in the transverse curtain, and the interior buildings against the south curtain, all of which were standing when Slezer made his

¹ For these keepless castles of *enceinte* in the later fourteenth century, see my paper on "The Scottish Castle" in *Scottish Historical Association Publications*, new series, No. 1, p. 5. In England apparently the latest instance of the survival of the donjon or keep is the Eagle Tower at Carnarvon Castle, built in 1285-91.

² *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, vol. viii. p. 299.

³ Macfarlane's *Geographical Collections*, ed. Sir A. Mitchell (Scottish History Society), vol. i. p. 417.

drawing, Lord Forfar would obtain amply sufficient material for his new house.¹

One word of a personal nature may perhaps be pardoned in conclusion. Before I had worked up the documentary side of this inquiry, I was already convinced, from my study of the building, that there had been two reconstructions before the end of the fourteenth century. This view afterwards received satisfactory confirmation in the twice-chronicled dismantling of the castle, first in 1314 and again in 1337. When we begin with the evidence of record it is often seductively easy to fit in the architectural phenomena. But when we start at the opposite end, when we find that conclusions drawn from an unbiassed inspection of the structure are borne out by subsequent historical research, there is all the stronger presumption that we have reasoned along sound lines.

For permission to reproduce the photographs at figs. 3, 5, 7, and 8 I am indebted to H.M. Office of Works, through Mr James S. Richardson, F.S.A.Scot., Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Scotland. Fig. 4 is reproduced from a photograph by the late Mr John Fleming, F.S.A.Scot., and fig. 6 is taken from an old photograph in my own possession. To Mr Thomas Ross, LL.D., H.R.S.A., F.S.A.Scot., I am indebted for his kind permission to base my measured drawings on those prepared by himself and his colleague, Dr David MacGibbon, for their great work on *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*. I am also obliged to Dr Ross for permission to reproduce the illustration at fig. 1 from a drawing by Dr MacGibbon. I have to record my grateful thanks to Mr William Norrie, F.S.A.Scot., and Mr Thornton L. Taylor, who kindly gave me assistance in making my survey.

¹ The plate of the courtyard given in J. Hall's *Travels in Scotland*, 1807, vol. i. p. 570, shows it in the same condition as at present.

In Hall's account occurs the following statement:—"In one part this enormous mass, crushing its foundations, though of rock, fell, walls and rock together, into the Clyde. The breach in the foundations was repaired and the wall rebuilt." Anyone unacquainted with the reverend traveller's literary style would expect from this tremendous language to find in the castle evidences of an extensive catastrophe and subsequent repair. As a matter of fact, there seems to be no trace of modern rebuilding anywhere in the south curtain. Possibly the part that fell may have been in the western consolidation of the donjon, large portions of which have clearly disappeared. There is evidence of extensive patching, not of very recent date, on the cross-section of the breached south wall of the donjon.