

# Linlithgow Palace: an excavation in the west range and a note on finds from the palace

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## ABSTRACT

*This report outlines the results of an archaeological excavation within one of the cellars of the west range of Linlithgow Palace in 1987, and lists finds from this and other excavations and clearance work carried out in and around the palace over a number of years. The catalogue also reviews some material published elsewhere. Some of the finds shed new light on the palace and its occupants. The excavation and publication were funded by Historic Scotland.*

## THE 1987 EXCAVATION—INTRODUCTION

Linlithgow Palace (NGR: NT 003 774) is situated on a low promontory on the south shore of Linlithgow Loch, some 200 m north of the town's High Street (illus 1 & 2). The site is ideal for a fortification and appears to have been used as such since Roman times. In the 12th century King David I built a stone church and a manor house, presumably of timber, surrounded by some form of defensive earthwork. In 1301–2 King Edward I of England refortified the site with a wooden palisade, towers and a ditch. The manor house was rebuilt during the reign of David II (1329–71); and perhaps on at least one other occasion. Ultimately, however, it was destroyed by fire. In the following year (1425) James I began the construction of a new stone palace: the east range was completed before his death. Further ranges were added by his successors. The quadrangle was finished during the reign of James V; the present north range was rebuilt by James VI in the 1620s (illus 3). Fuller accounts of the history and architecture of the palace can be found elsewhere, particularly in MacGibbon & Ross (1887, 479–501), RCAHMS (1929, 219–310) and Pringle (1995).

The west range, begun by James III some time after 1460 and completed by his son, James IV, towards the end of the century, developed room by room from the south-west corner of the palace; divisions in the stonework marking those stages are visible on the outside face of the building. At ground-floor level this range comprised two large, rectangular cellars looking onto the courtyard, each flanked by a smaller cellar; all of which were vaulted.

## THE EXCAVATION

John Lewis

The palace is in the care of the Secretary of State for Scotland and is now managed by Historic Scotland. As part of a programme designed to improve visitor facilities, it was proposed that the

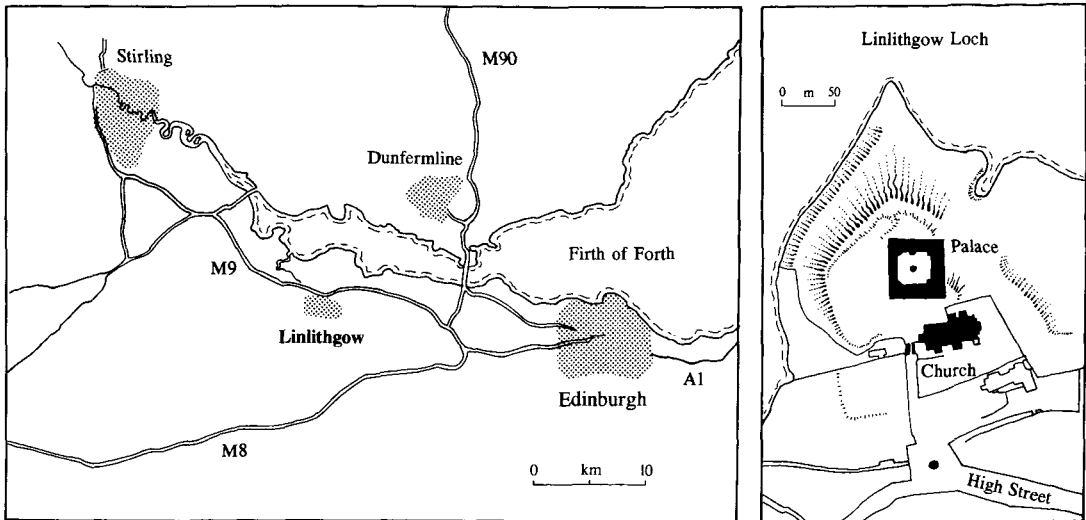
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ILLUS 1 Linlithgow Palace and Loch from the east (© RCAHMS)





ILLUS 2 Location maps of Linlithgow Palace. (Based on the Ordnance Survey map © Crown Copyright)

southernmost of the two largest cellars in the west range, situated directly below the 'King's Hall', would be upgraded to facilitate its use as a function suite. To allow a new timber floor to be laid, the whole of the interior of the chamber was excavated over a period of seven weeks during January and February 1987. This work was directed by John Cannel.

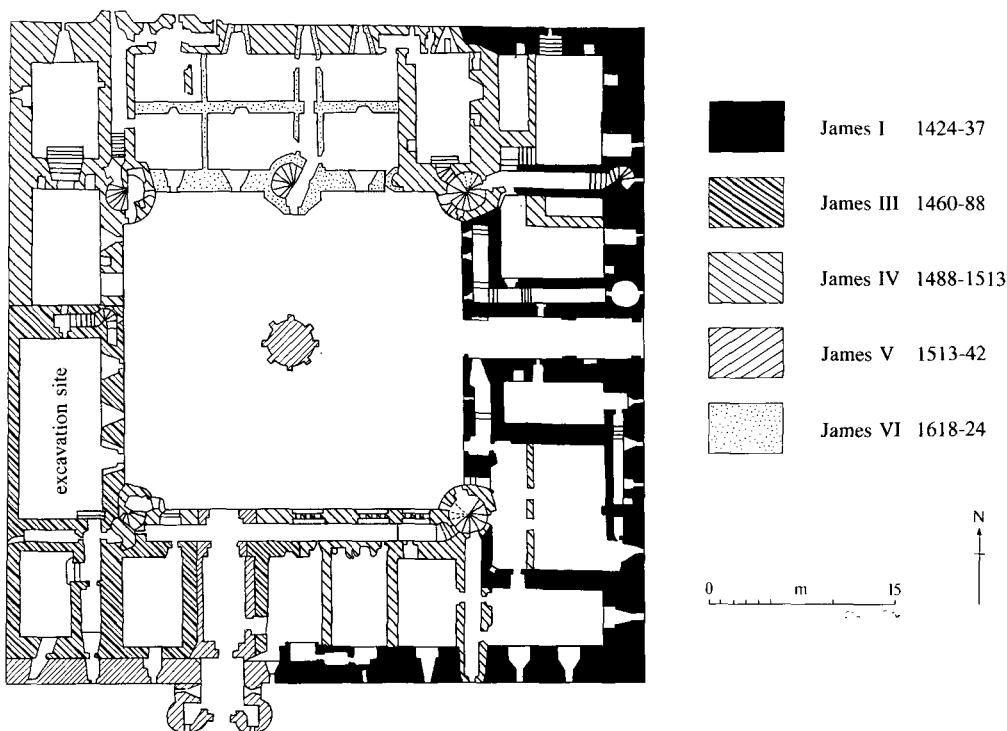
The chamber measures 14.5 m north/south by 6.9 m wide and is now entered from the palace courtyard through its east wall via a doorway 1.2 m wide. This doorway had been converted from a window in c 1500 when the original entrance was blocked following the construction of the King's Turnpike in the south-west angle of the courtyard. There are also doorways through the north and south walls of the cellar, connecting adjacent chambers and, in the case of the north entrance, to a stair that leads to the first floor of the building.

There appeared to be two distinct periods of activity evident within this cellar: the late 15th-century construction of the building and the original layout of its interior; and the insertion of a stone floor or platform and other possibly associated features, probably during the 17th century.

#### PERIOD 1 (ILLUS 4)

Undisturbed subsoil, comprising mixed bands of coarse sand and stony gravel, was uncovered over much of the central and southern parts of the room. Some of the stones were up to 0.30 m across although most were considerably smaller than this. About 0.25 m below its upper surface, this material became much more silty. The subsoil forms part of the Linlithgow Gravels, an area of moundy sands and gravels with kettle topography, deposited along the south edge of the retreating Forth glacier (Mitchell & Mykura 1962).

The subsoil sloped slightly downwards towards the north end of the room which had been levelled with light brown, sandy loam containing some small stones, as well as a dump of substantial rubble. This levelling material, which was up to 0.70 m deep adjacent to the north wall, had been deposited prior to the construction of the west range although it was not clear whether this was associated solely with the erection of this building or if it dated to an earlier phase of construction. Because the west range may have been built in stages starting at its south end, it is quite likely that the south wall of the excavated chamber predated the rest of the room. It was not possible to examine the junctions between this wall and the side walls of the cellar because they were



ILLUS 3 Phased plan of Linlithgow Palace

masked by later features, particularly the steps leading to the doorway in the south-east corner and a low, stone plinth built against the west wall (see below).

The south wall lay directly on subsoil whereas the foundations of the north wall were set into a bedding trench which extended 1.6 m out from the wall face, narrowing to 0.44 m at a depth of 1.3 m. On the evidence of redeposited sands and loams which had washed into the base of the cut, the foundation trench may have lain open for some time before the wall was built. The bottom two courses of foundations were stepped out 0.80 m from the main line of the wall; the wall itself was 2.44 m wide. This foundation trench had been backfilled with a series of sandy loams, presumably redeposited subsoil and disturbed levelling materials. These materials had been cut by the foundation cut for the east wall (investigated in three small trenches) which extended only 0.4 m out from the wall face and which was 0.5 m deep and infilled with a mixture of rubble and loam with lenses of mortar. The east wall was built on a thin spread of mortar and was 1.22 m wide, exactly half that of the north wall. A few sherds of light gritty ware pottery (the only examples of this ware to be found during the excavation) were recovered from both foundation trenches. These sherds are thought to be considerably earlier than the construction of the west range and, being very abraded, were obviously residual.

Shortly after the foundation trench for the east wall had been backfilled, a small fire was lit against the wall, resulting in a patch of burnt soil and an adjacent area of fire-blackened masonry. However, there was no hearth associated with this fire, and none was found anywhere else in the room. It was probably caused by the builders themselves.

Most of the numerous post-holes ranged along the east and west sides of the chamber are thought to have supported scaffolding when the walls were being built, and the few within its centre for shuttering (and perhaps further scaffolding) during the construction of the room's vaulted ceiling. These posts may not all have been contemporary. Most predated the substantial deposits of mortar which lay around the edges of the room; some

of the posts appeared to have cut into some of this material although in all probability this was simply the result of mortar building up around the posts. The fills of the holes varied considerably and included topsoil, midden material, rubble and mortar, depending on what had overlain them when the posts were removed. Some of the holes had packing stones within them although most did not.

The mortar, much of which was interleaved with thin layers of trampled soil, was presumably the result of mixing and spillage during construction work; and any posts that cut it were perhaps put up during subsequent repair work and/or lime-washing of the cellar walls. These secondary operations, in turn, could have contributed to the build-up of further mortar-like deposits on the floor of the chamber. Most of the posts appear to have been circular (or nearly so) with typical diameters of 0.30–0.40 m; and set about 0.20 m into the subsoil or the levelling material. However, some of the post-holes were larger than this and a few were square in section. Fragments of timber posts survived at the bases of three of the holes.

Towards the south-east corner of the room the mortar deposits had been disturbed by what may have been an animal burrow and, adjacent to the east wall, by a trench for an electricity supply cable.

Following the completion of structural work and the removal of scaffolding, the uneven surface of the room was levelled with a dark brown, silty loam and some rubble, containing several sherds of pottery, 1700 fragments of animal bone and numerous oyster shells. Cattle and, particularly, sheep were well represented in this assemblage although, as is usual on non-urban medieval sites, pig bones were few in number. Almost half the identified bones were from birds, mostly from domestic fowl. There were variations within this deposit: disproportionate amounts of bone and shell were recovered from the area immediately north of the doorway in the east wall; whilst on the other side of the room there were high concentrations of coal, ash and other burnt materials. This redeposited midden material appeared to have functioned as the earth floor of the room, over most of its area. Pottery sherds retrieved from this deposit conjoined with some recovered from a post hole associated with the construction of the building. These sherds formed the uppermost part of a face-mask jug. On the evidence of a clay tobacco pipe bowl (c 1660–80) pressed into the surface of the midden material, this deposit continued to function as a floor for some time after it had been laid.

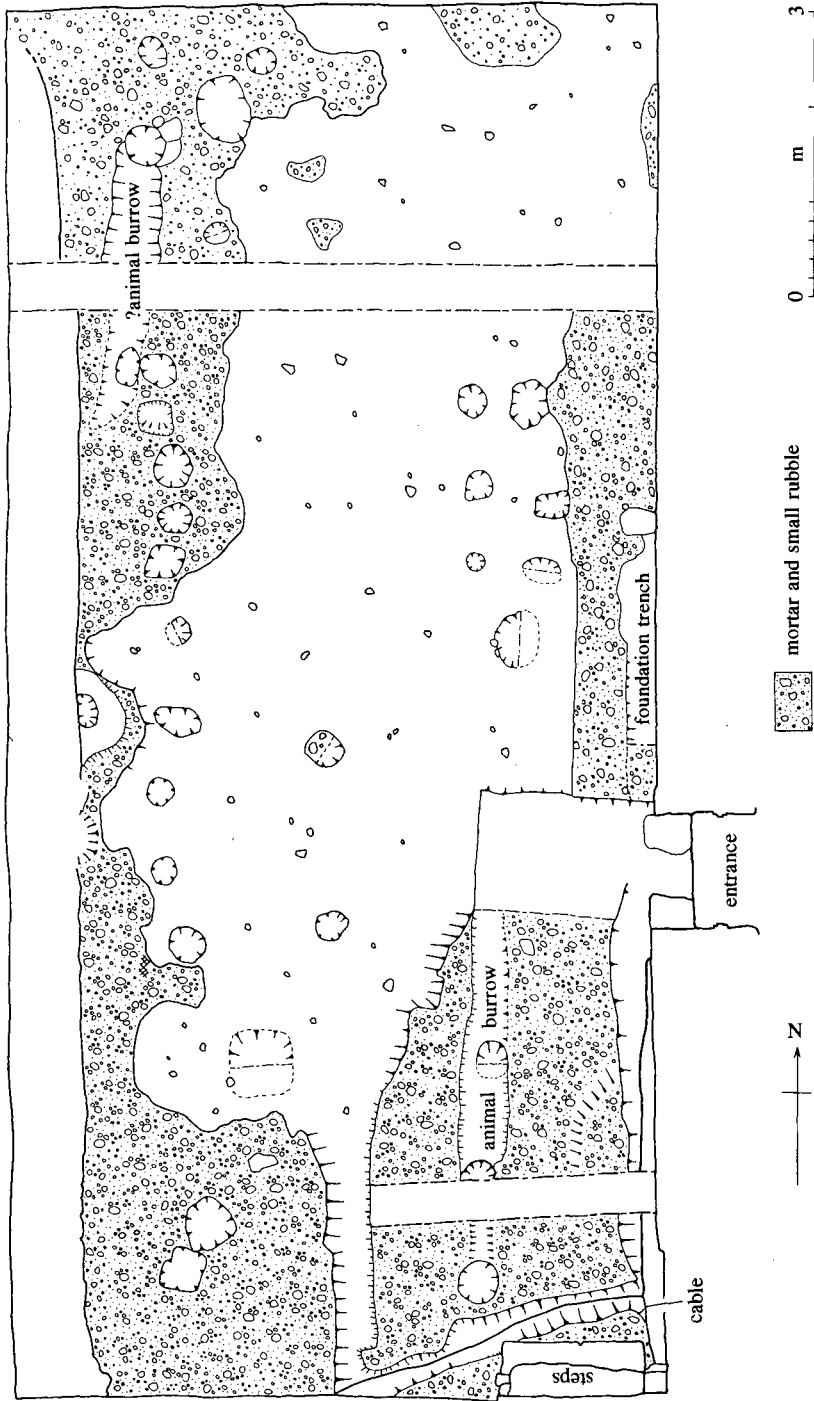
#### PERIOD 2 (ILLUS 5, 6 & 7)

At some stage a stone shelf was built alongside the west wall, extending about 2.5 m along the north side of the room as far as the doorway where it terminated in a dressed, rectangular block of sandstone. The shelf was 0.75 m wide, 0.5 m high and built mainly of large, rounded boulders bonded with a fine, clay silt; it had a fairly flat face. It survived intact over most of its length although it had been disturbed somewhat towards the north end of the west wall. A spread of rubble pressed into the earth floor nearby may have been the remains of this collapsed masonry.

There were four narrow slots cut into the surface of the shelf at distances of 2.1 m, 3.5 m, 5.0 m and 5.6 m from the south wall. The southernmost slot, which was V-shaped, 0.40 m wide and 0.25 m deep, was the best preserved of these. These slots may have accommodated supporting struts for timbers set onto the ledge; alternatively, they might have held small, horizontal beams that extended into the interior of the room.

The south-west corner of the room was covered with flagstones and cobbles (F03), the latter tightly packed and laid edgewise, measuring overall 7.5 m north/south and extending 3.0 m from the stone shelf. There was a gap in this stonework, towards its north end, perhaps where it had been robbed out or possibly where some (unknown) structure had been set. This gap was partly filled with broken flagstones and a few glazed tiles, suggesting that a rather clumsy attempt had been made to repair the floor. The flagstones and cobbles were set into sand from which was retrieved a bone mount from a gun stock, dated to c 1580–1600. The sand petered out towards the north where the flags lay directly on the redeposited midden material.

Within the stone floor there appeared to be two kerbs, both aligned north/south and one of them defining the east side of the stone shelf. The westernmost 'kerb' included three moulded stones, perhaps reused window jambs, and other material that could have come from that part of the north range which collapsed in 1607 (Pringle 1995, 19). While the layout of the flags might be fortuitous, they might also signify some unknown function, perhaps associated with the slots cut into the shelf against the west wall. They may also have had some connection with wall F55 which abutted the west wall of the room and which overlay the stone shelf.



ILLUS 4 The excavated cellar, showing distribution of post settings and spreads of mortar



ILLUS 5 The south end of the Period 2 stone shelf, viewed from the north

Wall F55 survived only as a single course of drystone rubble masonry, 0.7 m wide and extending 1.6 m into the room. Because it would have cut across the stone shelf and probably the floor, it is thought unlikely that this flimsy wall had been a partition.

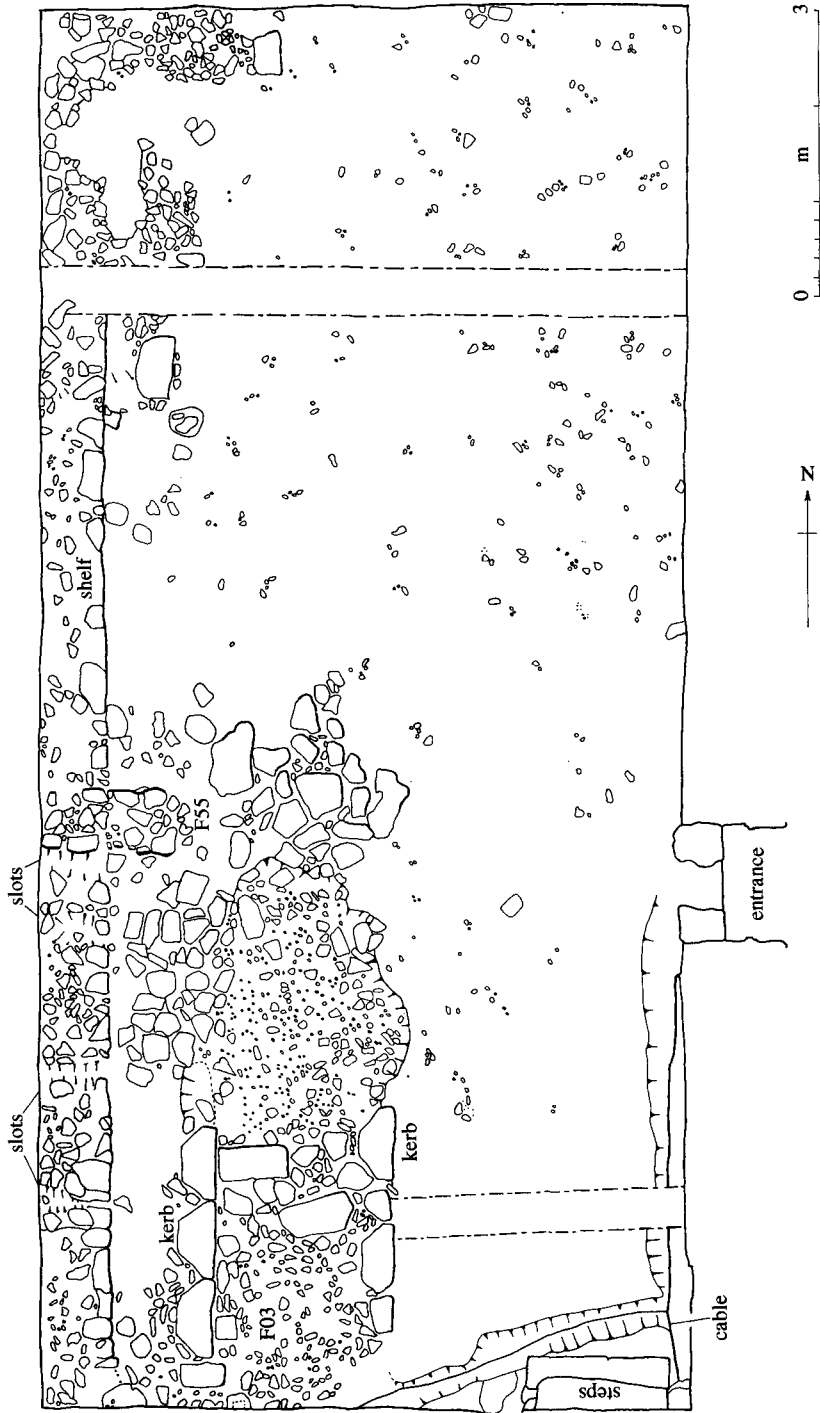
Some of the substantial mortar deposits (up to 0.25 m thick) on the west side of the room lapped over the edge of the stone floor, an indication that repairs had been carried out within the cellar or, perhaps more likely, that mortar had been mixed within it for use elsewhere in the palace.

There was no further evidence of structural activity within this chamber. The only other traces of occupation consisted of water and electricity service trenches at the south end of the room; and three modern pits, infilled with rubble, at its opposite end.

## DISCUSSION

### PERIOD 1

The excavation, albeit very limited in scope, uncovered no trace of the various 12th- to 14th-century manor houses that are believed to have stood on what was to become the site of the palace. Clearly, timber buildings would have been removed (or have burnt down) and their associated earthworks levelled before the foundations of the palace were laid; although it is possible that a defensive ditch, contemporary with at least some of those timber structures, may still await discovery. The earliest artefacts recovered from the excavation comprised several sherds of pottery, thought to be of late 14th-century date but retrieved from late 15th-century contexts and obviously residual in nature.



ILLUS 6 Period 2 features within the cellar





ILLUS 7 The south-west corner of the cellar, viewed from the north, showing the flags and cobbles (F03) set against the stone shelf

Most, if not all, of the post-holes uncovered within the cellar are thought to be contemporary with the construction of the west range, rather than with earlier timber buildings. They present patterns consistent with those expected of scaffolding and are likely to be associated with the construction of the walls and the vaulted ceiling of the cellar. Some of the post-holes appeared to cut through the substantial mortar deposits; but it is more likely that the mortar simply built up around them during construction work. A few of these holes may have been associated with animal activities, as was a burrow in the south-east corner of the room.

#### PERIOD 2

The cellar seems to have had an earth floor for some time until the flags and cobbles were laid down in its south-west corner, perhaps during the 17th century. Even then, most of the floor remained unpaved. There is no obvious reason why such stonework had been laid. It may have simply provided a platform, perhaps in association with some timber feature set onto the shelf against the west wall to enable goods to be stored in an otherwise damp cellar. This would not, however, explain the two apparent kerbs within that stonework. This arrangement of the masonry may be simply accidental. Alternatively, it may have been associated with some feature or structure set into the space defined by the disturbed paving and since removed.

It is thought unlikely that the cellar was used as anything other than a store by the occupants of the palace (it is still known as a wine cellar); and, in all probability, the paved area and the adjacent stone shelf were constructed to keep the goods therein in good condition.

## A NOTE ON FINDS FROM THE PALACE

David Caldwell

A considerable collection of artefacts has been found over the years in clearance work and excavations in and around Linlithgow Palace. Much of it has already been published, particularly by Laing (1967 & 1969), and in papers on the palace tiles by Kerr (1881) and Norton (1994). This note draws attention to further pieces of interest and, where appropriate, attempts to amplify or improve the information on previously published items.

There has been no attempt here to list all the furnishings said by local people to have been removed from the palace when it was set on fire in 1746. Some of these pieces, such as two hangings traditionally said to be the work of Mary Queen of Scots, are well known (Swain 1973, pl 17 – but wrongly labelled as from Lochleven Castle (Ren Dec Arts, no 73)). Several other pieces passed through the collection of C K Sharpe (Sharpe Catalogue 1851).

The finds reflect life in the palace from the 14th century to its destruction by the Duke of Cumberland's troops in 1746. There may be little here to suggest the splendour of life at the Scottish Court in medieval times but some of the ceramics and glass give an interesting insight into the habits of its keepers, the Earls of Linlithgow, from 1599 to 1715. They are less likely to commemorate the royal visits by James VI in 1617 and Charles I in 1633, or the stay by the Duke of York in the years immediately before his accession to the throne as James VII in 1685.

The seal matrix (no 120) of William de Weston has an interesting provenance. Although we would expect the matrix to have been lost during the lifetime of its owner in the 14th century, it was found in the King's Presence Chamber on the first floor of the west wing which is generally dated to the reign of James IV (1488–1513) (RCAHMS 1929, 219–31; Pringle 1995). If, however, there were significant remains of 14th-century work incorporated in the west wing, this might not only explain the discovery of the seal matrix but also the unhappy juxtaposition of three different phases of work at the south-west angle of the palace.

It was noted by RCAHMS (1929, 225) that the south wing of the palace as built by James I (1424–37) had returned northwards at the east side of the present entrance gateway; that is, well short of the west wing. The original front of the remaining portion of the south wing is set well back from the line of James I's work: it is the thick screen wall added in James V's time (1513–42) which gives that side of the palace its present unified appearance. This surely results from a decision to incorporate earlier work on the west and south into what was already planned as a quadrangular building.

Furthermore, the only evidence that the King's Presence Chamber dates to the reign of James IV is the discovery of floor tiles with a combined I and M, thought to represent James IV and his queen, Margaret Tudor. However, they may just as likely have been for James V and Mary of Guise. The fact that the fireplace in this chamber compares to others built for James V in the royal lodgings in Stirling Castle (Wilson 1980, 300) might indicate that this room was assigned its known function only in James V's time.

In the following catalogue, the initials NMS followed by a registration number refer to an item housed in the National Museums of Scotland. Unless otherwise stated, the rest of the material is in the care of Historic Scotland, some in store, some on display in the palace. Numbers prefixed by LP

are contexts from the excavations undertaken by Lloyd Laing. Numbers in square brackets [ ] are Historic Scotland inventory numbers.

#### POTTERY

A review of the medieval ceramics suggests that the Scottish medieval and post-medieval earthenwares can be divided into four main traditions and that most of the vessels represented presumably came from local kilns. Indeed, there is documentary evidence that a potter in Linlithgow was supplying lame (earthenware) vessels for the royal use in 1502 (Balfour-Paul 1900, 135, 158). It is interesting to note that 'lam plaitis' were included in the cargo of a 'Hollander' unloaded in 1619/20 at Carriden on the Firth of Forth, within easy reach of Linlithgow (Innes 1867, xcvi). These were presumably tin-glazed wares, similar to some of the pieces listed below.

#### *Light gritty wares (illus 8: 1)*

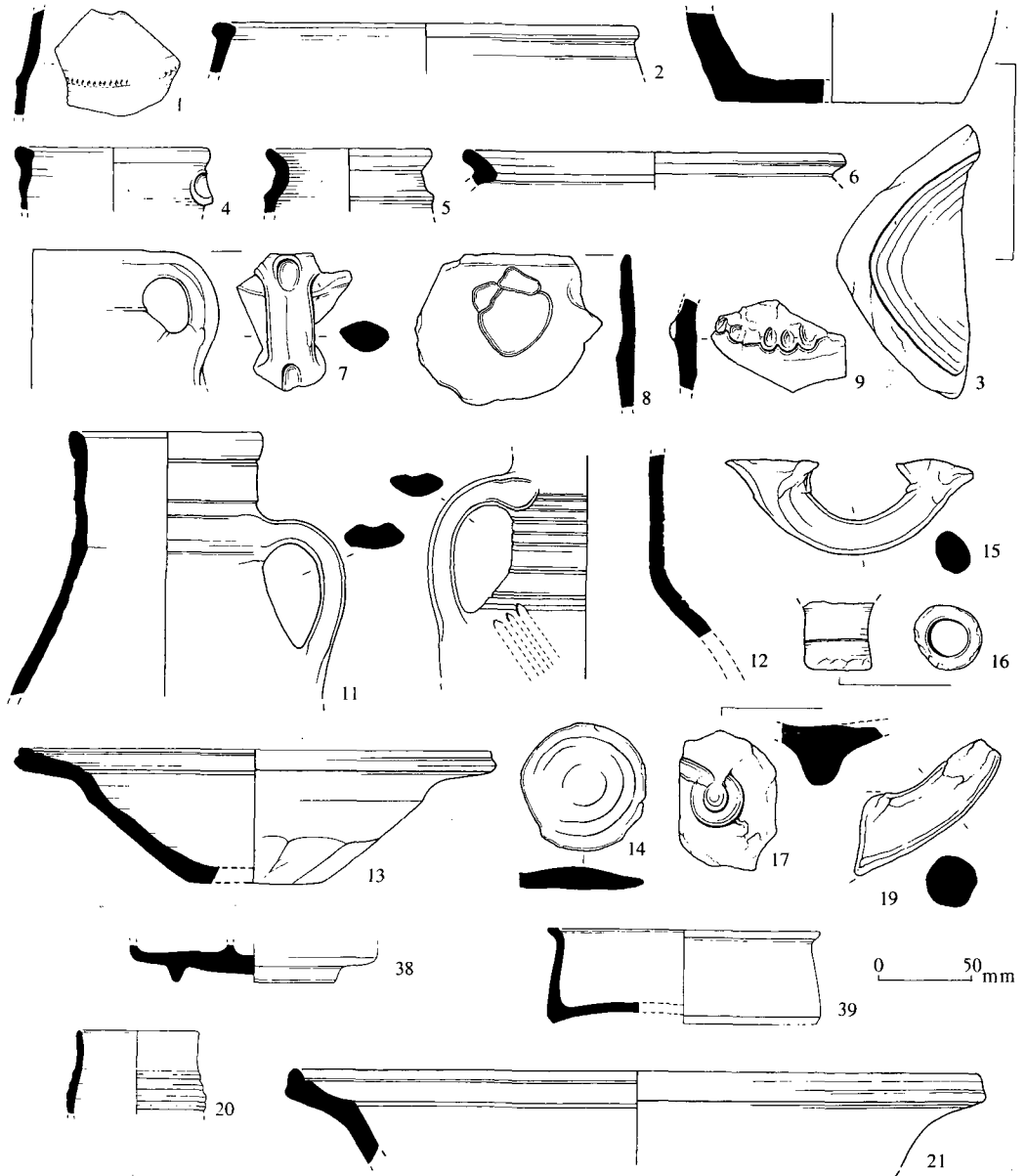
Light gritty wares are hard, quartz-gritted fabrics, normally finely potted. They vary in colour from pale buff to pink and light grey to cream; and, as defined here, often have a reduced core. Light gritty (often termed 'white gritty') fabrics have a wide distribution throughout Scotland on sites dating from the late 12th to the 14th century. They were probably manufactured at production centres in the Borders, in East Lothian, in Fife and elsewhere. It may have been for technical reasons that the professional potters who made them sought out clays which were not iron rich and which were naturally gritty. For descriptions of broadly similar material from Colstoun, Kelso Abbey and St Andrews, see Brooks (1980), Cox (1984) and Haggarty & Will (in Lewis, this volume).

Most of the pots are jugs and vessels labelled by researchers as cooking pots, although they undoubtedly served a wider range of functions than the name suggests. The jugs were all glazed on the exterior; since coverage was at best patchy this was evidently for decorative effect rather than attempts to improve their performance in any way. Some of the cooking pots have splashes of glaze but this may have occurred only because they were fired in the same loads as jugs. Cooking pots typically have chunky rims, often rectangular in section. Presumably such a design allowed a pot to be gripped securely by a string when tying on a cover or suspending it over a fire. From the evidence of other assemblages of light gritty wares from Scotland, cooking pots with handles were not as common as handleless forms. From this sample there is no evidence to deduce the height of these vessels or whether they were globular or cylindrical in shape.

Several of these pieces belong to Laing's group 1, excavated from layer 6 in Area II of his excavations. He dated this deposit to the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century. Certainly none of this pottery appears to be any later than this. Laing's excavation yielded seven small, abraded sherds of this fabric: all are body sherds and appear to be from jugs with either green glaze or patches of yellow glaze on their exterior surfaces. There are two decorated sherds: one has an applied strip with roller-stamped decoration; the other is the base of a handle joint with the same roller-stamped decoration along the handle.

1 Sherd of a glazed jug with a raised band decorated with stab marks. (NMS: HX 1152)

Other light gritty pottery includes Laing (1967), nos 1–6, 8–12, 16, 20, 28, 30, 34–6, 38, 41–3, 47–9, 81, 84, 85; and Laing (1969), nos 8, 9, 13, 21.



ILLUS 8 Pottery scale 1:4

*Late medieval gritty wares (illus 8: 2-3)*

Grouped under this heading is a large range of sherds with gritty fabrics. A characteristic of most of them is a tendency to have a clearly defined grey or black core with lighter grey or reddish-yellow surface layers, rather like a liquorice allsort. This effect was apparently caused by the vessels not being fired at a high enough temperature or for long enough to burn out all the carbon in the clay.

Some, however, are totally reduced as a result of a lack of oxygen in the kiln. The fabric is smooth and hard with a fine texture. It contains up to 5% small (up to 0.2 mm diameter), sub-rounded grains of quartz and a few larger pieces of rock. In general, the standard of potting often seems inferior to the light gritty vessels. Late medieval gritty wares are thought to date to the 14th and 15th centuries. Compare local fabric 4 at Linlithgow Carmelite Friary (Stones 1989, fiche 8.5, 12:A3).

The assemblage comprises a wider range of vessel types than in the light gritty group, although the form of the rims, handles and decoration are not markedly different. Broad-based vessels are more typical, as are jugs with multiple handles (Laing 1967, nos 6, 17–19, 23, 67, 231–4). The cooking pots tend to have globular bodies, everted rims and strap handles connecting the rim with the upper portion of the body. They are normally glazed on the exterior. The larger ones could well have served as chamber-pots (Laing 1967, nos 27, 40, 58, 79). Another form of cooking vessel, either a skillet or cauldron, is represented by a leg (Laing 1967, no 77). Rim sherd no 2 is more likely to have been from a storage jar. Two curious vessels which had a distinctively oval girth are represented by a base (no 3) and a lid (Laing 1969, no 21). The base, which may be in a Stenhouse-type fabric (see below) from the Forth Valley (Caldwell forthcoming), can be matched to another from Dundonald Castle in Ayrshire.

The earliest levels uncovered during the 1987 excavation yielded sherds in this fabric, including seven small body sherds from green glazed jugs and conjoining sherds from the uppermost part of a yellow/green face mask jug. Unfortunately, this jug has been misplaced although it has been described as being in the dominant fabric from the site, a finely textured clay (E Cox, pers comm).

2 Rim sherd of a jar, glazed on the exterior. (NMS: HX 1144)

Another such jar is illustrated by Laing (1969, no 22).

3 Part of the base of an oval, thick-walled vessel. It has been turned on a wheel before being pushed into its present shape. (NMS: HX 1149)

Other pieces of late medieval gritty are Laing (1967, nos 15, 24, 31, 37, 54, 55, 60, 82); and Laing (1969, nos 11, 12, 19).

### *Medieval red wares (illus 8: 4–9)*

This is quite a large group of pottery, its fabric typically reddish-yellow, sometimes partly reduced in the interior. It is normally less gritty than light gritty ware, but grittier than post-medieval Throsk-type pottery (see below). The grits include quartz and iron. It can be sub-divided into two groups on the basis of its grittiness: sandy red ware and Stenhouse-type ware.

**Sandy red ware** A soft fabric, slightly rough to the touch, with an irregular fracture. It contains up to 10% inclusions, mostly small (up to 0.2 mm across) pieces of quartz. A comparison can be made with local fabric 1 in Lindsay's classification of pottery from the nearby Carmelite Friary (Stones 1989, fiche 8.5, 12:A3).

One small rim sherd in this fabric was recovered from the 1987 excavation; from the redeposited midden material used as a floor surface within the cellar. It has a green glaze on the interior surface and probably comes from a bowl with a diameter of about 220 mm.

4 Rim sherd of a jug glazed on the exterior. Another similar one is in the NMS collection. (NMS: HX 1226) (LP 66 VIII 6)



Other sandy red ware includes Laing (1967), no 57, and (1969) no 25. The latter is a small cooking pot with a baggy body, glazed on the exterior and inside the rim. It has a small pulled spout and probably had one or two handles. There are at least six other similar vessels in the collection. This red gritty pottery may date from the 13th to the 15th century. It occurred in Phase 1 deposits of the 13th and 14th centuries at the Linlithgow Carmelite Friary (Stones 1989, fiche 8.5, 12:A4).

**Stenhouse-type ware** Kilns at Stenhouse, just nine miles from Linlithgow, were excavated a number of years ago by Doreen Hunter and the pottery is in Falkirk Museum and the National Museums of Scotland. This pottery typically has fewer grits than sandy red ware, and is normally softer and easier to scratch. It can be compared to local fabric 2 at the nearby Carmelite Friary (Stones 1989, fiche 8.5, 12:A3). Stenhouse-type ware may date from the 15th and 16th centuries.

The form of the vessels is not markedly different from that of late medieval gritty and sandy red wares. A jug with frilled base (Laing 1969), no 16, may be an imitation of German stoneware imports. Pot types hitherto unrepresented are a drug pot (Laing 1969), no 18; and a vessel with a large clumsy bridge spout (Laing 1969), no 14. The drug pot has grooving on its base caused by cutting it off the wheel with a wire, and such markings are to be found on at least three other pot bases in this Stenhouse-type ware, including Laing (1969), no 17. The bridge spout can be compared with two similar ones from Dundonald Castle in Ayrshire, a royal castle frequented by King Robert II. One is a sandy red ware of the 13th–14th century, the other a late medieval, smooth red ware.

The 1987 excavation at Linlithgow produced only three sherds in this fabric, all from the redeposited midden material used as a floor surface: one rim sherd with a handle from a small jug with a patchy brown glaze; and two body sherds from a bowl with a yellow glaze on the interior surface.

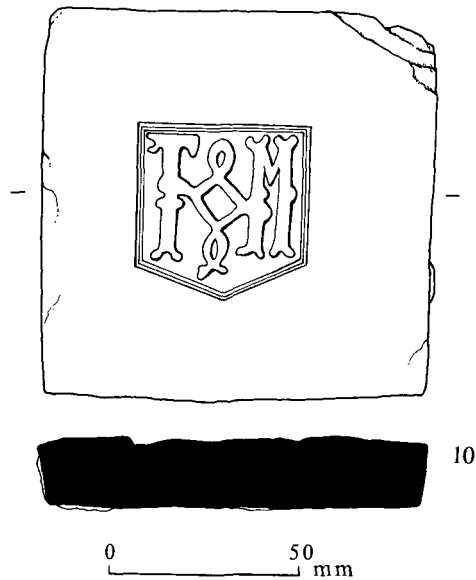
- 5 Rim sherd of a jug, glazed on the rim. (NMS: HX 1238; LP 66 XIII 2)
- 6 Rim sherd of a cooking pot. (LP 66 II 3)
- 7 Rim sherd of a small cooking pot with glazed interior and a ridged handle with a thumb-hold.
- 8 Sherd of a vessel glazed on the exterior. It has a paw mark impressed while still wet.
- 9 Glazed sherd with decorative cordon. (NMS: HX 1144)

Other Stenhouse-type ware includes Laing (1967), nos 32, 39, 61, 63, 80, and Laing (1969), nos 6, 10.

#### *Floor tiles (illus 9)*

It may also be noted here that the palace has a collection of some 500 pieces of floor tiles, including many which are almost complete. They have bevelled sides and vary in thickness from 24 mm to 34 mm (with one fragment 40 mm thick), and are sized from 190 mm square to 205 mm by 207 mm. The fabric has numerous small, elongated voids and contains small pieces of rock and iron, small rounded pieces of quartz, and occasional plates of mica. Colour varies from red to grey, with a tendency for the upper surface to be reduced, the resultant glaze having a green rather than a brown hue. A few retain traces of a thin buff to white slip under the glaze, applied to enhance its colour. Many are noticeably humped or arched. They include:

- 10 Floor tile impressed with a shield containing an interlinked I & M, originally covered with green glaze. The sides slope inwards to the bottom which is covered with considerable traces of mortar. There are



ILLUS 9 Floor tile scale 1:2

pieces of two other similar tiles in the collection at the palace and another piece in the National Museums of Scotland (NMS HX 1150).

The floor tiles are all obviously of local manufacture, the range of inclusions being consistent with those in the local medieval red wares.

During the 1987 excavation, 14 fragments of floor tile were retrieved from deposits pre-dating the paving in the south-west corner of the cellar. The red sandy fabric contains inclusions of calcium carbonate. The tiles vary in thickness between 23 mm and 32 mm and have either green or yellow glazed surfaces. The fabric type plus the presence of nail holes in some of the corners of the tiles suggests that these may be 16th-century Flemish imports.

There is a fuller discussion of the tiles from Linlithgow Palace (including two Dutch tiles) in Norton (1994). Norton follows Kerr (1881, 196) in assigning the I M tiles to the floor of the Presence Chamber on the first floor of the west wing of the palace. There is, however, a manuscript list of finds from the palace (SRO MW1/1188) which notes the finding of such a tile in excavations in the 'Parliament Hall' on 16 August 1920. The Parliament Hall is an earlier name for the Great Hall or 'Lion Chalmer' (Ferguson 1910, 83, 85).

### *Earthenware drain pipes*

The earthenware drain pipes, published by Laing (1969, 137) and said to have belonged to the palace's original water system, are also part of the local medieval red ware tradition.

### *Post-medieval earthenware (illus 8: 11–17)*

Most or all of the pottery in this group probably comes from the kilns at Throsk or others in the Forth Valley. On the basis of documentary evidence, pottery was manufactured at Throsk from the

early 17th century into the 18th century (Caldwell & Dean 1992). Many of the vessel forms are similar to those of the late medieval red wares and, indeed, they are sometimes difficult to tell apart. Jugs and cooking pots remain the two commonest forms. The latter have often been identified as chamber pots and some at least may have served that purpose, especially those glazed internally. Cooking pots/chamber pots often have a distinct ridge at the base of the neck.

The fabric of post-medieval earthenware is sometimes red but more often reduced grey. The surface finish of the pots, however, was never grey, either having a green or brown glaze or else a red surface bloom, probably caused by fly-ash in the kiln. The fabric is hard, breaks cleanly, and is practically free of inclusions (apparently because the potters went to some trouble to sieve out most of the grits naturally occurring in the clay). The pottery is often not of a particularly high standard, the vessels varying from very thick to very thin in places, and often showing evidence of drastic trimming with a knife.

The 1987 excavation produced several sherds of this fabric. Some of the body sherds have horizontal incised lines along the shoulder of the pot, typical of the large jug form (type 'a') at Throsk. There were also several conjoining rim sherds from a small jug with patchy brown glaze similar in dimension and profile to type 'f' at Throsk (Caldwell & Dean 1986, 108, fig 4).

The pieces illustrated here are types not listed or adequately represented in the report on Throsk pottery, except the dish, no 13, selected because of its textile impression. A bridge spout illustrated by Laing (1967), no 78, is another hitherto unknown Throsk type. A piece of slipware is included here though no such ware has as yet been recovered from Throsk itself. Sherds from a slipware dish found in excavations at the Spur Battery in Stirling Castle have also been suggested to be from Throsk (Ewart 1980, 39; Caldwell & Dean 1992, 26). Other Throsk-type pieces include:

- jugs: Laing (1967), no 73; Laing (1969), nos 15, 23, 30–2
  - chamber pots: Laing (1967), no 62; Laing (1969), no 33
  - cooking pot: Laing (1967), no 66
  - dish: Laing (1967), no 68
  - bowl: Laing (1967), no 64
  - dripping pan: Laing (1967), no 29
  - handle: Laing (1969), no 20
- 11 Upper portion of a glazed jug.
  - 12 Neck and shoulder of a medium-sized jug with strap handle, glazed exterior and band of diagonal stab marks around its shoulders.
  - 13 Dish, glazed inside, knife trimmed on the exterior, less than half complete. It has textile impressions on its base. The following description of these is by Thea Gabra-Sanders: there are two areas (10 mm by 7 mm and 5 mm by 7 mm) of impressions made by contact with textile. The first impression is clear whereas the smaller is faint. Both are of the same textile although the weaving direction is not the same, implying that the cloth may not have been lying flat. The textile is a tabby (plain) weave with a thread count of 6 × 6 threads per centimetre in both systems. The spinning direction is Z in system 1 and ? in system 2 (S × ? in the impression). When allowance is made for shrinkage in the drying and firing of the dish (estimated as 5%) the impressions would have been from a medium coarse cloth, possibly a rag used for wiping the potter's hands.
  - 14 Lid (?) in the form of a turned, glazed disc. (NMS: HX 1139)
  - 15 Glazed horizontal handle, perhaps from a dripping pan.
  - 16 Turned, glazed handle, probably from a skillet.
  - 17 Leg, glazed and fire blackened. (NMS: HX 1144)
  - 18 Body sherd of a slipware vessel with three yellow bands (not illustrated). (NMS: HX 1232)

*Imported earthenware (illus 8: 19–20)*

Only a very small proportion of the Linlithgow Palace collection appears to be imported earthenware. A Brandsby ware (Yorkshire) vessel is represented by a base sherd (Laing 1967), no 13; and one other sherd with an applied thumbled strip and green with patches of cream-coloured glaze is an example of York glazed ware, probably of the early 13th century. Pottery from the north of France is represented by two sherds in a soft pink fabric, one of which was illustrated by Laing (1967), no 14.

Other identifiable imported earthenwares are Dutch. Apart from the rod handle illustrated here as no 19, and a few sherds of red ware, all have been illustrated previously: a Dutch grey ware bowl (Laing 1967), no 86; red ware pieces (Laing 1967), nos 45, 66 & 69; Laing 1969, nos 26 & 34. The latter two date to the 16th or 17th century.

Also included here are two sherds of Midlands black ware and yellow ware. Although common English types, as yet these have been little seen or published from Scottish contexts. Both wares are included in the finds from Glenluce Abbey, Wigtonshire, held by the National Museums of Scotland, and from recent excavations in Stirling Castle, held by Kirkdale Archaeology.

19 Rod handle, probably from a large pitcher. Dutch grey ware. (NMS: HX 1145)

The Dutch grey wares, either cooking pots or large, broad-shouldered pitchers which were recovered from the Perth High Street excavations, have mostly been dated to the period from c 1250 to 1350/75 (Verhaeghe 1983, 6).

20 Rim sherd of a cup, decoratively rilled, red fabric with black glaze inside and out. Midlands black ware, c 1670–1710. (NMS: HX 1137)

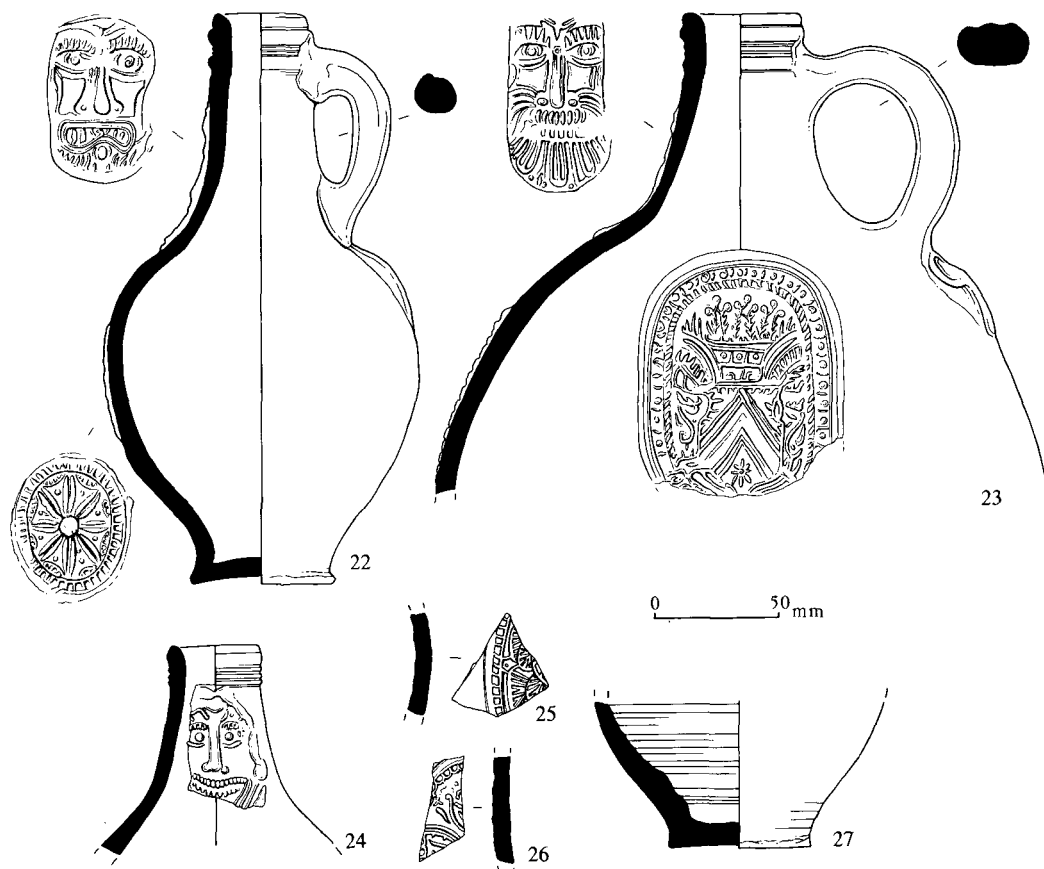
21 Rim sherd of a dish, creamy buff fabric with yellow glaze inside. Midlands Yellow Ware, c 1650–80. (NMS: HX 1135)

*Stoneware (illus 10: 22–7)*

Listed here are some pieces of 17th-century stoneware jugs from Cologne or Frechen. Other German stoneware has already been published by Laing: a 16th-century jug from Raeren (1968), no 72; and a large storage jar and a sherd of a vessel decorated with blue, both 17th- or 18th-century products of Westerwald (Laing 1967), nos 74 & 75). There is a sherd with green lead glaze in the NMS collection (HX 1240). It, like the base of a cup (Laing 1967), no 70, is probably from Siegburg, the latter dating to c 1450–1550. Such cups (or lids?) are not common in Britain, but some have been uncovered in Edinburgh (Clark 1976, 207, fig 20, 4–5), and Newcastle upon Tyne (Ellison 1981, 148–9, fig 28, 275). In the NMS collection there is also a sherd from the neck of a flask in an unglazed, cream fabric. Such flasks were made in the north of France in the 16th century and are normally known as Martincamp ware (Ickowicz 1993).

22 Bartmann jug (restored) with medallion containing a rosette design. The fabric is dark grey with a mottled brown 'tiger' salt glaze. The base has marks consistent with it having been cut from a moving wheel with a piece of wire. Frechen, late 17th century.

23 Bartmann jug (lacking its base) with three similar heraldic medallions (a crowned shield charged with a chevron and a flower head in base). It is covered with a speckled brown glaze. Frechen, late 16th/early 17th century.



ILLUS 10 Stoneware scale 1:3

- 24 Rim sherd of a Bartmann jug of light grey fabric with a brown speckled salt glaze. Cologne/Frechen, 17th century.
- 25 Part of a medallion with a floral pattern from a vessel of grey-coloured fabric with light brown glaze. Cologne/Frechen.
- 26 Part of a medallion from a vessel of light grey fabric with a brown glaze.
- 27 Base of a jug of grey fabric with a speckled brown salt glaze, cut from a revolving wheel. Frechen.

*Tin glazed wares (illus 11: 28–9; 35, 37; illus 12: 30–3, 36; illus 13: 34)*

Apart from a few small sherds in the NMS and two items already published (Laing 1967, no 76; 1971, no 38, pl 12b), all pieces of tin glazed wares from the palace are listed here. The published examples are an early 17th-century Dutch lug handle and an Anglo-Dutch drug jar, much restored, of the second quarter of the 17th century.

- 28 Sherd of drug jar in hard buff fabric with pale blue decoration. Anglo-Dutch, 17th century.
- 29 Sherds (a–f) of dishes or plates with blue decoration. Anglo-Dutch, c 1620–40.



- 30 Three sherds of a dish with polychrome decoration in blue and orange with embossed green medallions on the rim. Dutch, first half of 17th century.
- 31 Sherd with polychrome decoration, dark blue, orange and green. Dutch, first half of 17th century.
- 32 Sherds from a large dish with decoration in blue, yellow and orange over a moulded surface. Dutch, first half of 17th century.
- 33 Sherd with flower, blue and orange. Dutch, first half of 17th century.
- 34 Plate (incomplete) with blue painted Chinese scene. Dutch, first half of 17th century.
- 35 Sherd from a plate with floral decoration in pale and dark blue. The pedestal foot has a hole for suspension and the underside is covered with lead glaze. Anglo-Dutch, second quarter of 17th century.
- 36 Two sherds from a large bowl decorated in the interior with blue, purple and yellow. The exterior below the rim has tin glaze applied directly to the pink-coloured fabric. Anglo-Dutch, late 17th century.
- 37 Sherd of a dish with pedestal foot and alternate floral and landscape patterns in Late Ming style. English(?), c 1680–1700.
- 38 Base sherd of a candlestick. Late 17th – early 18th century.
- 39 Bowl or container (incomplete), cream fabric with white glaze inside and out. Compare one from Lambeth, dated c 1680–1737 (Bloice 1971, fig 55, no 91).

*Porcelain (illus 14: 40; illus 11: 42)*

- 40 Shallow, octagonal bowl with slightly everted rim, decorated in underglaze blue in the interior with a bird in the branches of a tree surrounded by smaller decorative panels. Chinese kraak ware, mid-17th century. This is presumably the 'part of Chinese saucer' found in 1922 in the garderobe shaft on the east side of the palace (SRO MW1/1188).
- 41 Sherd of a tea bowl decorated in underglaze blue with a plant motif and bands of geometric decoration. Chinese (not illustrated). (NMS: HX 1142)
- 42 Incomplete tea bowl with a blue band of decoration on the exterior and an illegible seal on its base. Chinese export ware, 18th century.

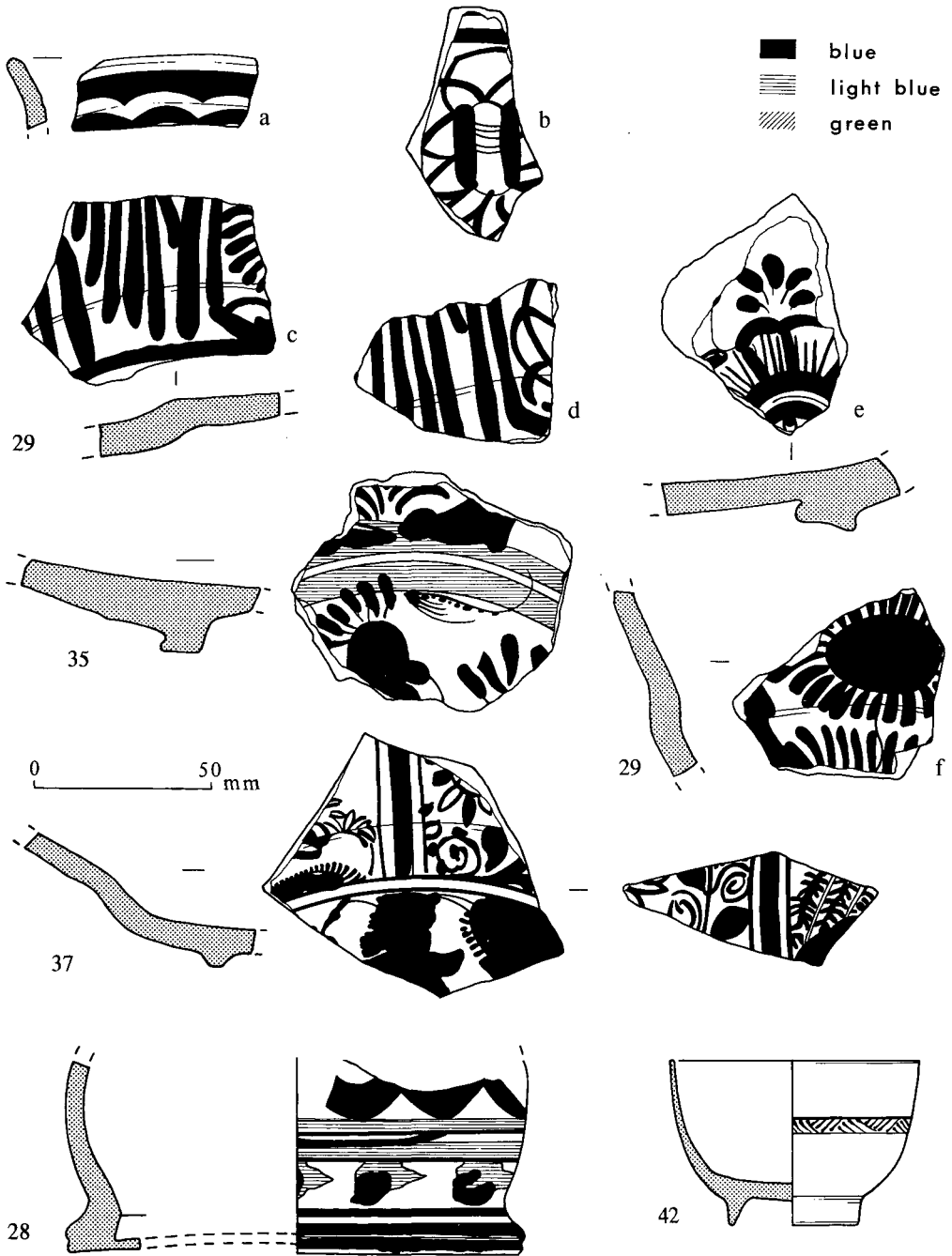
*Miscellaneous pieces of ceramic (illus 15: 43–4; illus 22: 45)*

- 43 Counter cut from a piece of slipware. 18th century. (70408)
- 44 Counter cut from a piece of post-medieval earthenware with pale yellow glaze. (70409)
- 45 Bung, or stopper for a bottle, of not very highly fired clay, reduced grey.
- 46 Bung, similar to last, but buff coloured (not illustrated).

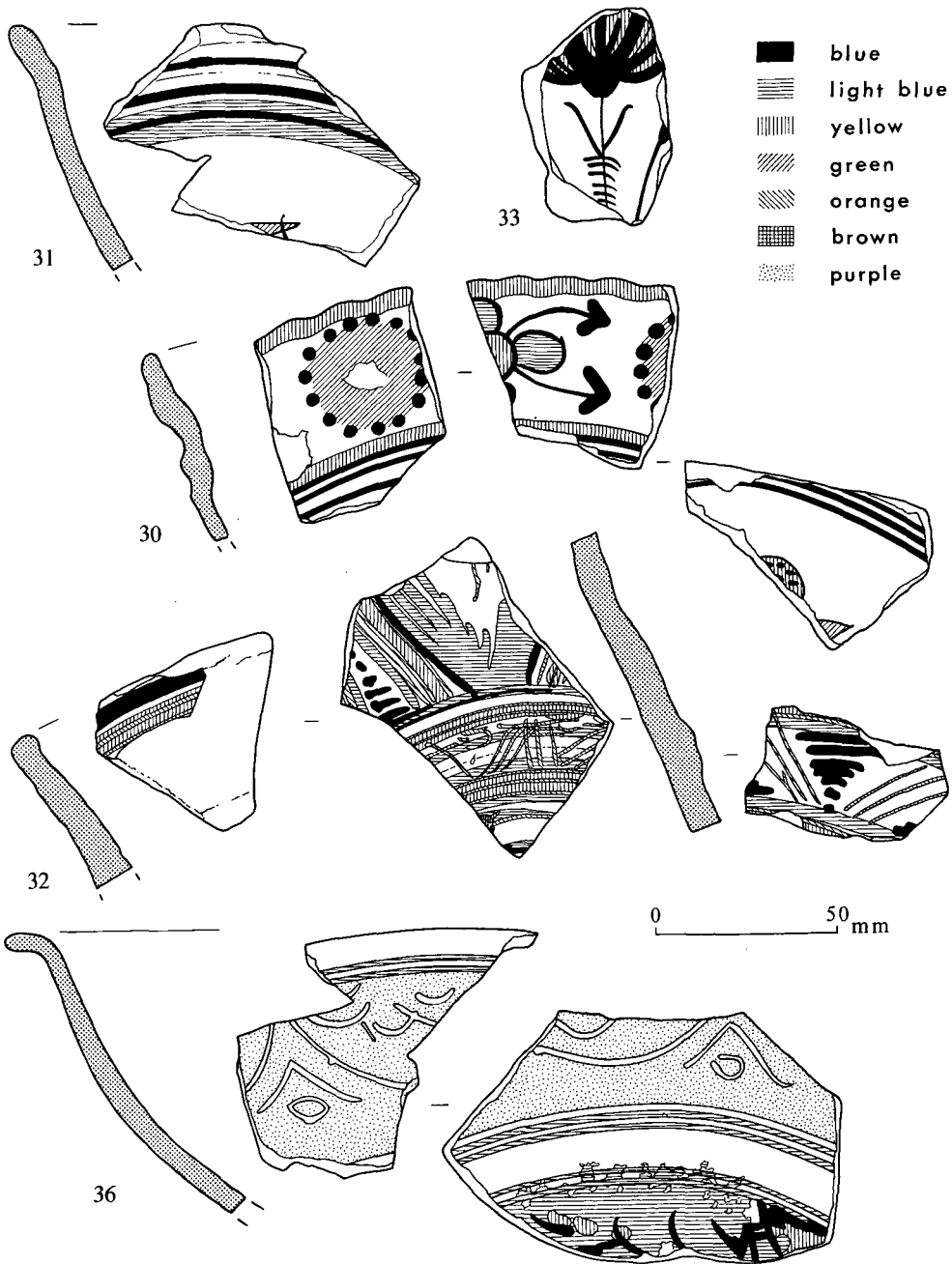
CLAY TOBACCO PIPES

All the tobacco pipes listed here are of 17th- or early 18th-century date. The majority are of Scottish manufacture: some by Edinburgh makers, but a surprising quantity by James Colquhoun of Glasgow. There were no Glasgow pipes in the group from Stirling Castle or from other localities in the north and east (Gallagher 1987d). The pipes with a star or mullet stamp on their base may originate from Stirling. There are several from Stirling itself and its environs. One in the group from Stirling Castle also has the initials I F, thought to represent John Ferguson, recorded in Stirling in 1664 (Gallagher 1987d, 331, no 37). There are two pipes in this group which are decorated with thistle stamps; another two exhibit a three-towered building or castle, distinctly different from the castle mark on pipes attributed to Edinburgh. None can be accredited to sites elsewhere: they may be the work of local makers.

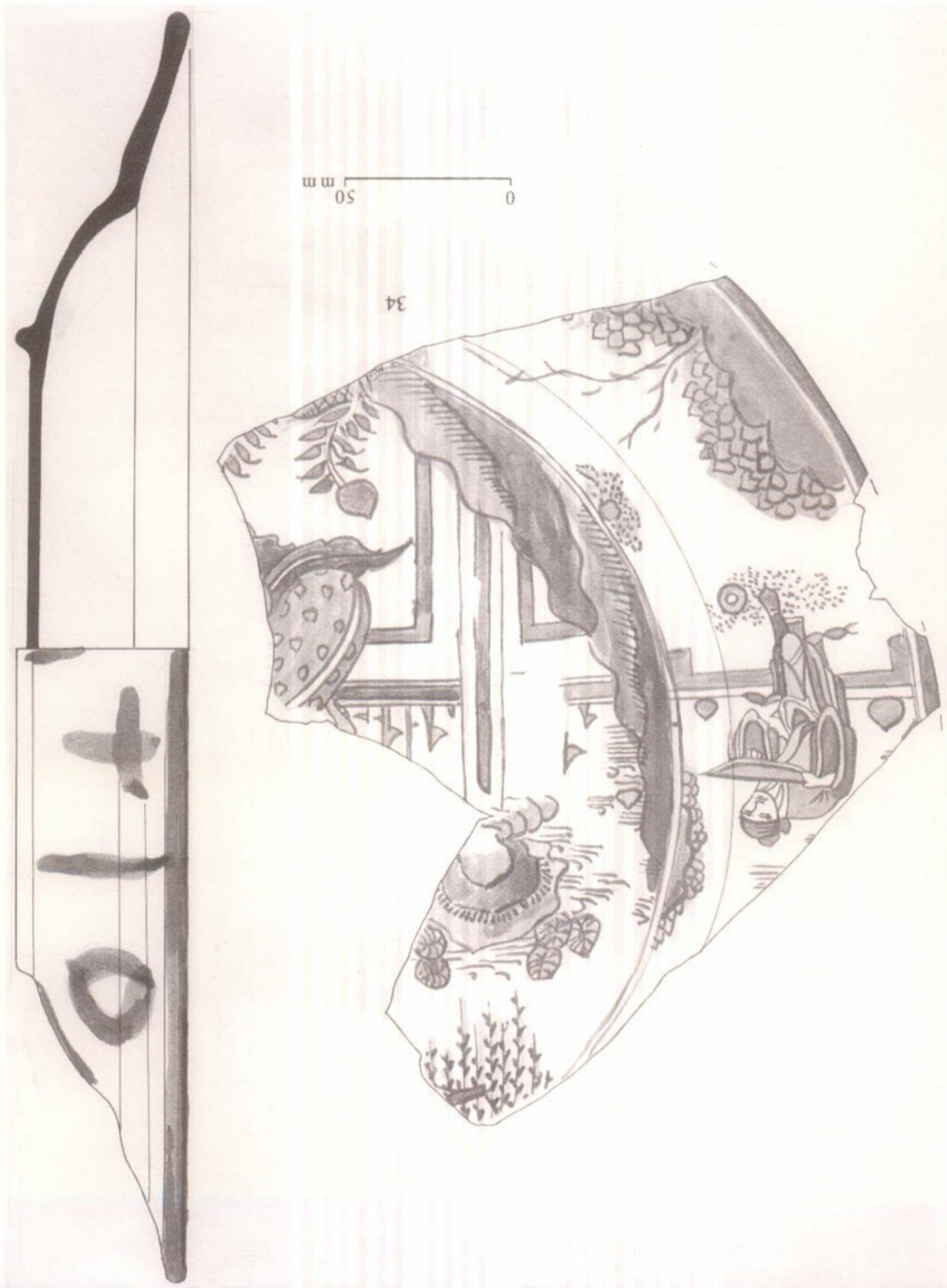
A castle is the device on the arms of the burgh of Edinburgh; and goldsmiths and pewterers who were burgesses or indwellers of that city used castle stamps to indicate not just the origin of

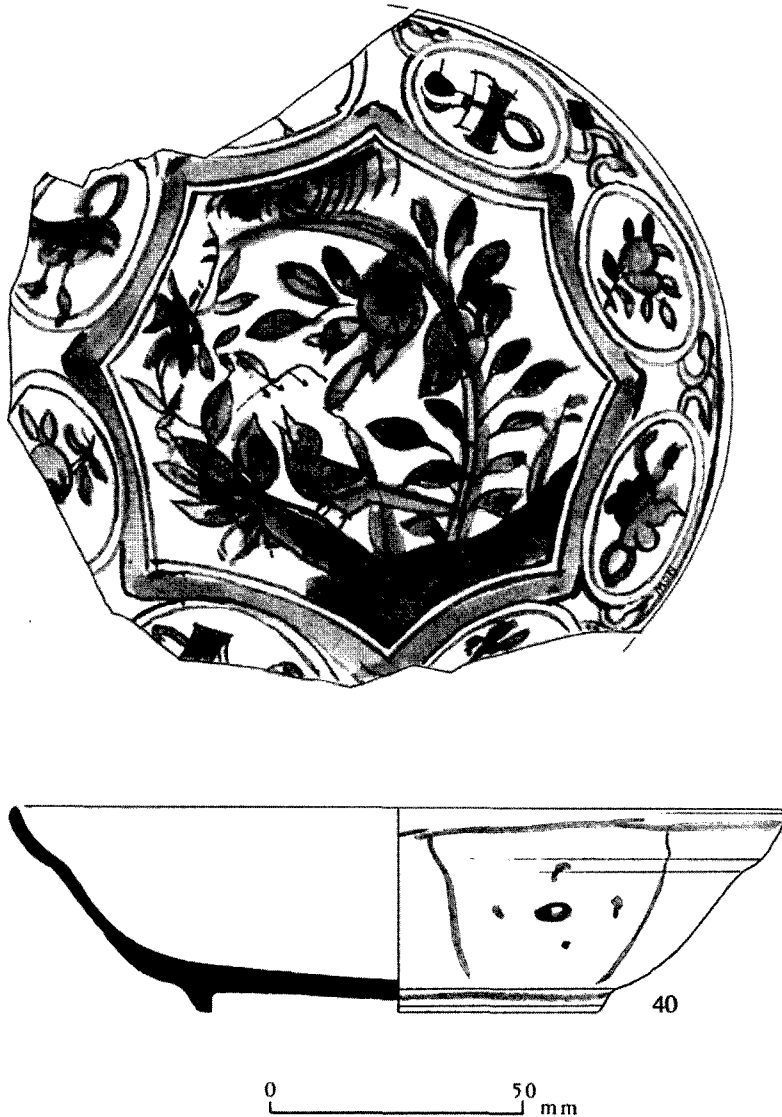


ILLUS 11 Tin glazed wares & porcelain scale 1:2



ILLUS 12 Tin glazed wares scale 1:2



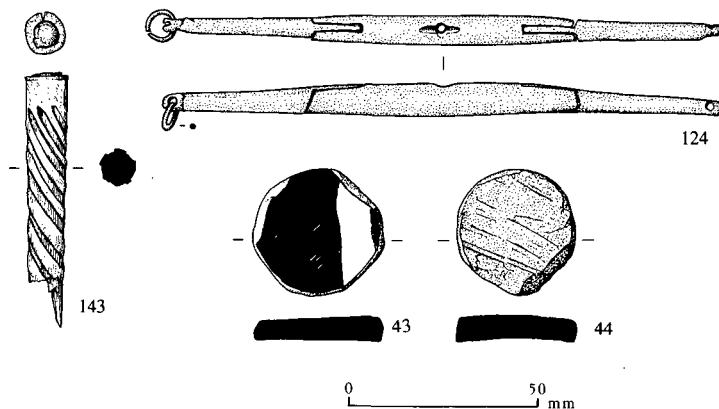


ILLUS 14 Porcelain scale 2:3

their work but that it conformed with the quality regulations laid down by the government and their craft incorporations, the Goldsmiths and Hammermen.

It is apparent that the castle stamps on Scottish clay pipes do not have a comparable status or function. Indeed, castle stamps appear on pipes by makers who were neither burgesses nor resident in the town, such as William Banks who lived in Canongate and later Leith, his son James, and William Young of Canongate (Gallagher 1987a, 5–10). It was certainly not used invariably by those makers who did apply it to their products; which suggests that it may have distinguished pipes of a particular type or quality. The same applies to the so-called portcullis stamp which is often confused





ILLUS 15 Miscellaneous pieces of ceramic, weighing beam and bone handle  
scale 1:2

with the castle motif. This portcullis emblem was certainly used by Edinburgh and Canongate makers, as well as Glasgow ones (Gallagher 1987b, 45, no 12; 51, nos 1, 2, 4).

The Dutch pipes in the group are not unexpected. Others dating to the mid 17th century, similarly not of the best quality, have turned up in quantity elsewhere in Scotland (Scalloway, Kirkwall, Pittenweem and Stirling Castle). Many of these are published in Davey (1987).

The handful of English pipes are possibly associated with the stay of Cromwell and his army at the palace in the winter of 1650–1. Other mid-17th-century pipes from the north-east of England have been recorded from Stirling Castle and Tantallon Castle (Gallagher 1987d, 331, no 32; Caldwell 1991, nos 177–9), both of which housed Cromwellian garrisons.

The pipes have been separated into Scottish and non-Scottish forms, and the former sub-divided into seven groups. In general the pieces tend to be off-white in colour, unburnished and not well finished.

### *Scottish pipes*

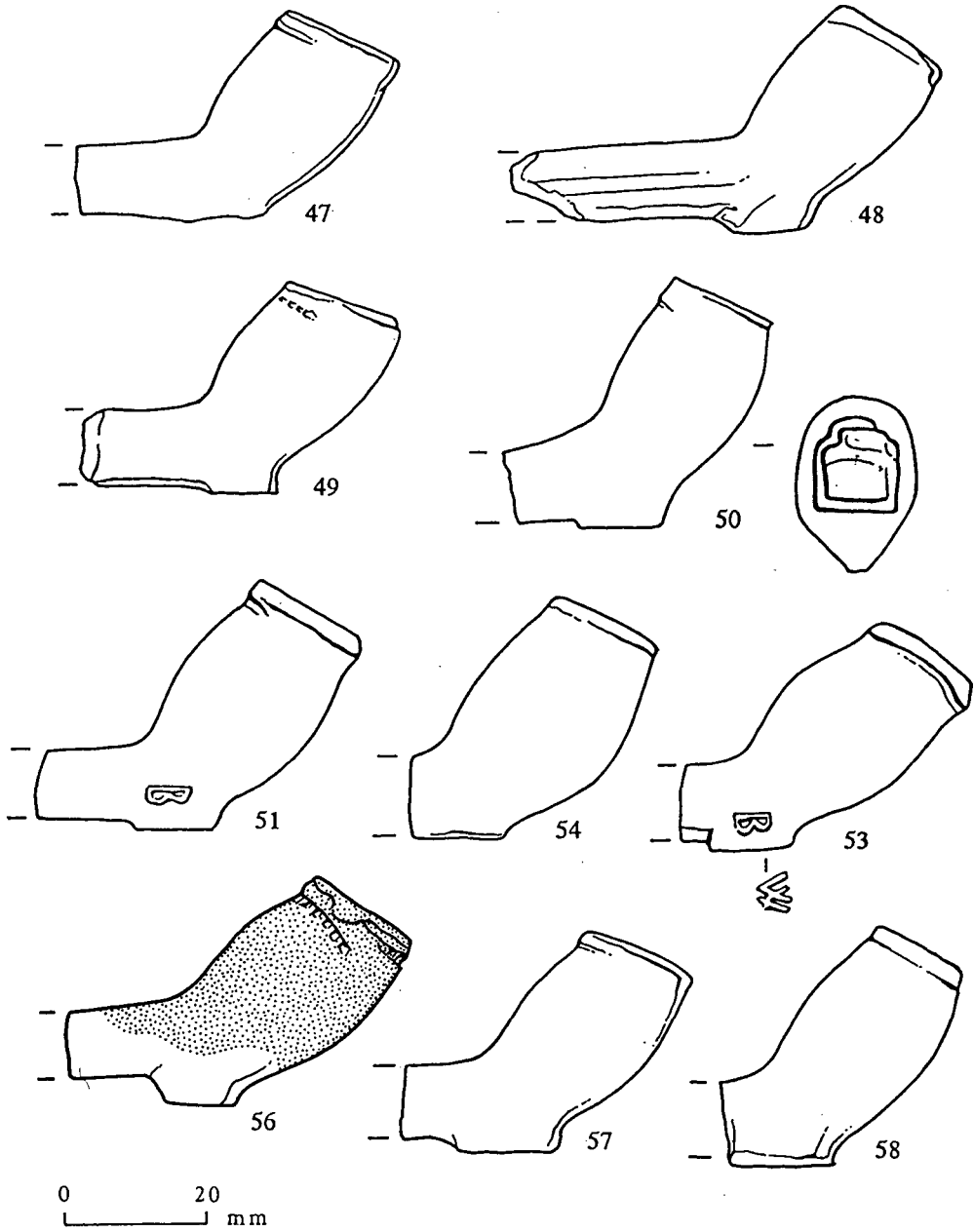
#### **Group 1** (early Scottish pipes) (illus 16)

- 47 Pipe bowl in gritty fabric with a yellowish tinge. It is squat and unchinned, and badly flawed. Bore 3/32. c 1630. Compare the pipes from excavations below the Tron Kirk, Edinburgh, identified as being the earliest Scottish types (Gallagher 1987c).
- 48 Pipe bowl. Bore 7/64. c 1640–60.
- 49 Pipe bowl, patchy brown fabric, with milling. Bore 3/32. c 1640–60.
- 50 Pipe bowl with basal mark – a castle. Bore 3/32. c 1640–60.

#### **Group 2** (illus 16)

These are characterized by thick rims, out-turned all round, and their generally clumsy appearance. c 1640–60.

- 51 Pipe bowl with mould imparted W/B, for William Banks, Canongate/Leith. Bore 3/32.
- 52 Pipe bowl, similar to 51, with mould imparted W/B. Bore 3/32 (not illustrated).
- 53 Pipe bowl with mould imparted W/B. Bore 3/32.



ILLUS 16 Clay tobacco pipes scale 1:1

- 54 Pipe bowl. Bore 3/32.
- 55 Pipe bowl, incomplete, marked W/Y and with a portcullis stamp on its base. Bore 7/64. Probably by William Young, Canongate. (NMS: NQ 543). This has been illustrated by Laing (1967), no 7, where the mark is given as M/Y.
- 56 Pipe bowl, fire blackened, with milling. Bore 7/64

### Group 3 (illus 16 & 17)

This group is characterized by long, bulbous, barrel shaped bowls. c 1640–60.

- 57 Pipe bowl. Bore 7/64.
- 58 Pipe bowl. Bore 1/8.
- 59 Pipe bowl, gritty, burnished fabric, with milling. Bore 7/64.
- 60 Pipe bowl. Bore 1/8.
- 61 Pipe bowl, fire blackened, with portcullis(?) stamp on its base. Bore 3/32.
- 62 Pipe bowl with milling and basal stamp of a three-towered building. Bore 1/8.
- 63 Pipe bowl with yellow fabric, milling and basal stamp of a three-towered building. There is a noticeable chin on the front of this bowl. It is holed and cracked as a result of careless manufacture. Bore 7/64 (not illustrated).

### Group 4 (illus 17)

These have medium-sized, slightly chinned bowls and slightly splayed bases. c 1640–70.

- 64 Pipe bowl, yellowish with patches of fire blackening and milling; marked I/C, probably for James Colquhoun I of Glasgow. Bore 7/64. (NMS: NQ 550)
- 65 Almost complete pipe bowl with prominent seam ridges, marked I/C, probably for James Colquhoun I of Glasgow. Bore 7/64. (NMS: NQ 555)
- 66 Pipe bowl with very micaceous, soft fabric, fine milling and small round heel. Bore 7/64. (NMS: NQ 556; LP 66 I 14)

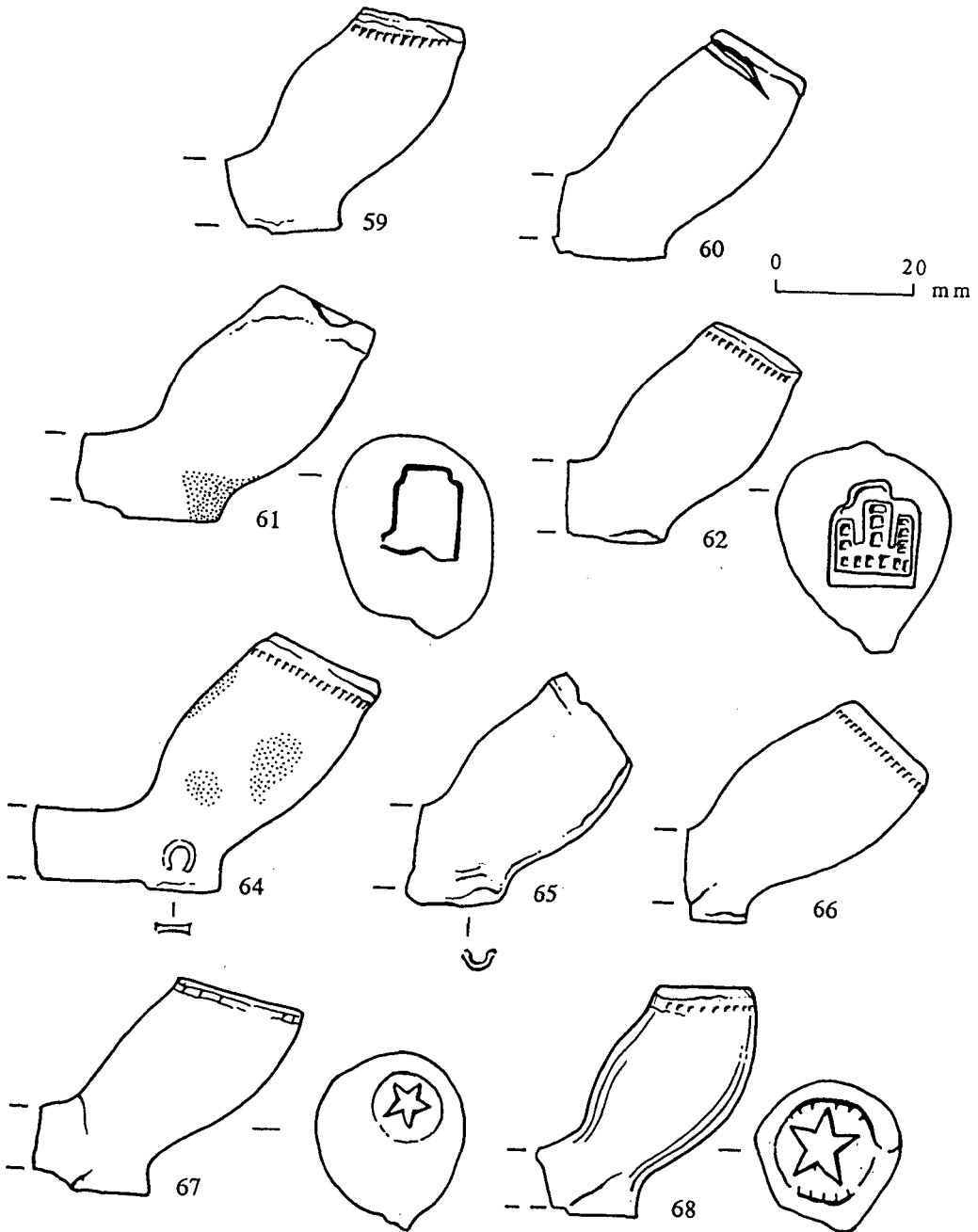
### Group 5 (illus 17)

These have medium-sized, narrow, bulbous bowls with pronounced chinned and splayed heels, and mouths parallel to heels. c 1660–90. Several pipes of this type have already been published by Laing (1967), nos 1–4, 6, 13. Two of those (nos 2 & 3) have a basal mark of a mullet in a scalloped border; one has a very faint basal mark, probably a thistle (no 13); and two are the work of James Colquhoun I of Glasgow (nos 1 & 4).

- 67 Pipe bowl with small basal mark of a mullet. Bore 7/64.
- 68 Pipe bowl in dirty white fabric with a reduced core, and basal mark of a mullet, with petal shaped rays within a scalloped border. Bore 3/32.
- 69 Pipe bowl, milled, marked IC/G on its base. Bore 3/32 (not illustrated). (NMS: NQ 552)
- 70 Incomplete pipe bowl, similar to no 69, marked IC/G on its base (not illustrated). (NMS: NQ 551)
- 71 Pipe bowl in yellowish brown fabric, marked IC/G on its base. Bore 7/64 (not illustrated). (NMS: NQ 534)

### Group 6 (illus 18)

The bowls within this group have relatively wide mouths. c 1680–1730. A pipe marked E/R (Laing 1967), no 9, is from the same period. Its maker has not been identified but there are three others of



ILLUS 17 Clay tobacco pipes scale 1:1

similar date in the NMS, including one from Covington in Lanarkshire (NQ 525 (16–17), NQ 122). The fragment of another has been recovered from Hillis Tower, Lochrutton, near Dumfries (Williams 1980, fig 1, 6).

72 Pipe bowl, fire blackened and burnished with basal mark of a mullet in a scalloped border. Bore 7/64.

### Group 7 (illus 18)

These bowls are similar to those in Group 6 but are larger.

73 Pipe bowl, milled and fire blackened at rim, marked I/C, for James Colquhoun, I or II, of Glasgow. Bore 7/64. (NMS: NQ 546)

74 Incomplete pipe bowl; fire blackened, marked I/C. Bore 7/64 (not illustrated). (NMS: NQ 554)

75 Fragment of pipe bowl, marked with a west (?) on one side, and a portcullis stamp on its base (not illustrated). (NMS: NQ 559)

76 Pipe bowl. Bore 7/64. (NMS: NQ 545)

77 Fragment of pipe bowl. Bore 3/32 (not illustrated). (NMS: NQ 565; LP 66 I 1)

### Decorated pipe stems

There are seven pieces with moulded designs used by Glasgow makers in the late 17th and early 18th century. Two of them include the name COLHOWN (Colquhoun) (not illustrated). Bores 7/64, 3/32. (NMS: HX 1179, 1189); Laing (1967), nos 16–18.

### *Dutch pipes (illus 18 & 19)*

All of the 17th century. They include the bowl published by Laing (1967), no 10, which has a basal mark of a fleur-de-lis and was made in Leiden, c 1640–60. Compare Duco (1981), no 262.

78 Pipe bowl with hard, gritty, grey fabric, poorly finished. Bore 7/64. c 1620–50. (NMS: NQ 562; LP 66 XVII 5)

79 Pipe bowl with milling. Bore 1/8.

80 Pipe bowl with milling. Bore 7/64.

81 Pipe bowl with milling. Bore 7/64.

82 Fragment of pipe bowl (not illustrated). (NMS: NQ 558)

83 Incomplete pipe bowl with soft white fabric. Bore 3/32. (NMS: NQ 561; LP 66 II, 1)

84 Incomplete pipe bowl with hard white fabric and fine milling. (NMS: NQ 567)

85 Pipe bowl with soft white fabric and fine milling. Bore 3/32. (NMS: NQ 560; LP 66 XVII, 5)

86 Fragment of pipe bowl with soft white fabric and milling (not illustrated). (NMS: NQ 566; LP 66 VI, 2)

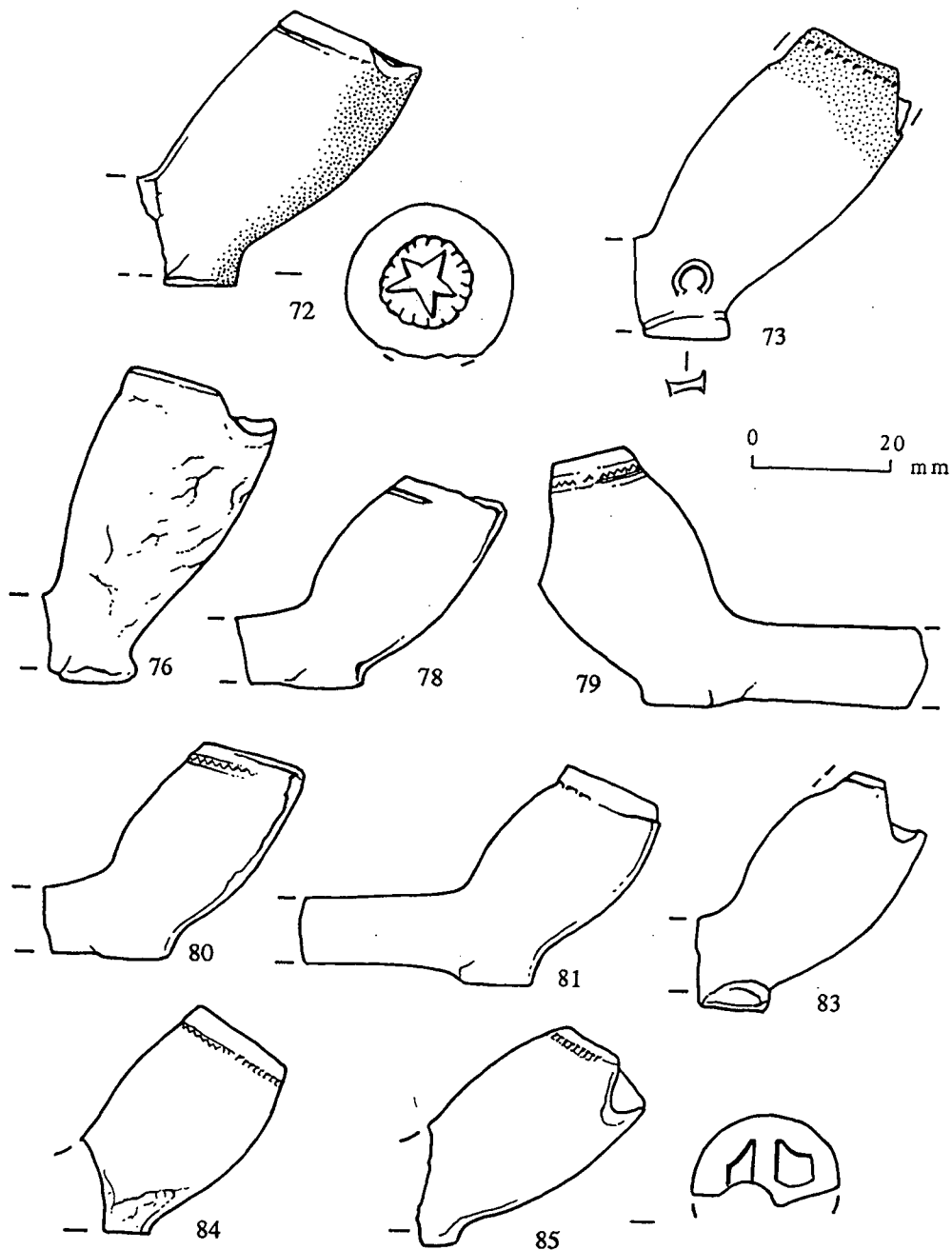
87 Incomplete pipe bowl with soft white fabric; partially fire blackened. Bore 7/64. (NMS: NQ 548)

88 Pipe bowl with milling. Bore 1/8. (NMS: NQ 564)

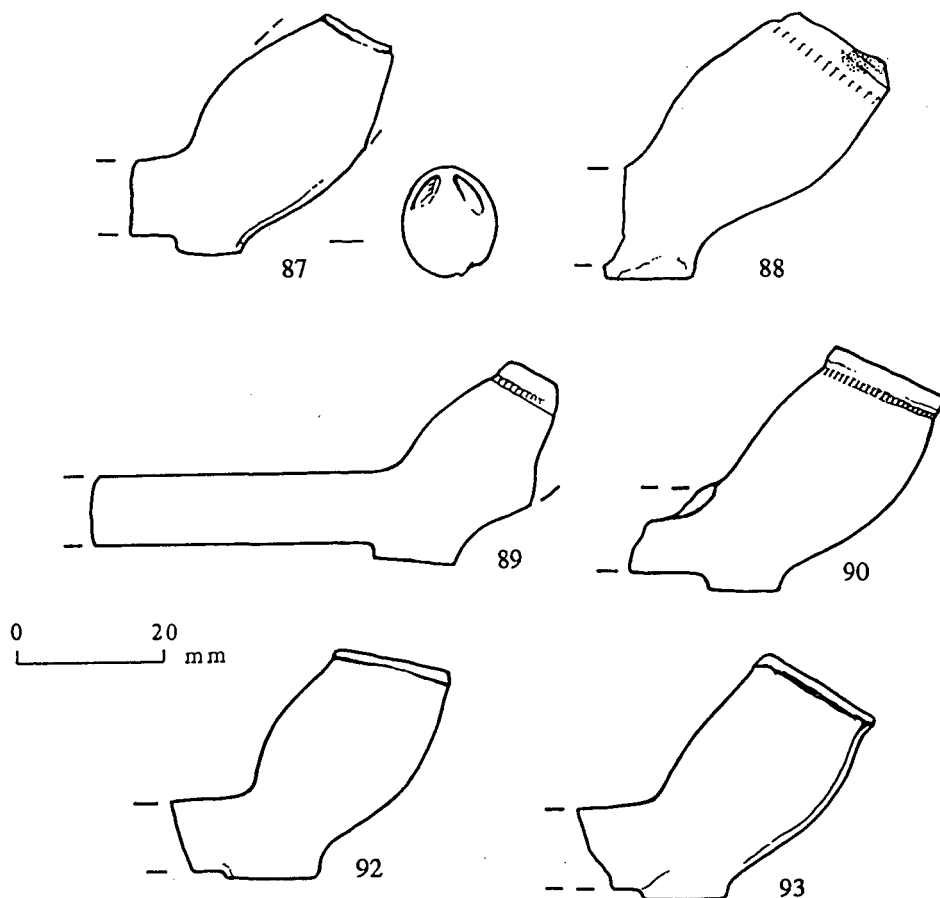
### *English pipes (illus 19)*

All are of 17th-century date. The bowl published by Laing (1967), no 14, has a basal mark E W, possibly for Edward Wolfe of Newcastle upon Tyne who died in 1655 (Edwards 1988, 74). The bowl with a spur (Laing 1967), no 8, is also English.

89 Pipe bowl, incomplete, with milling. Bore 7/64.



ILLUS 18 Clay tobacco pipes scale 1:1

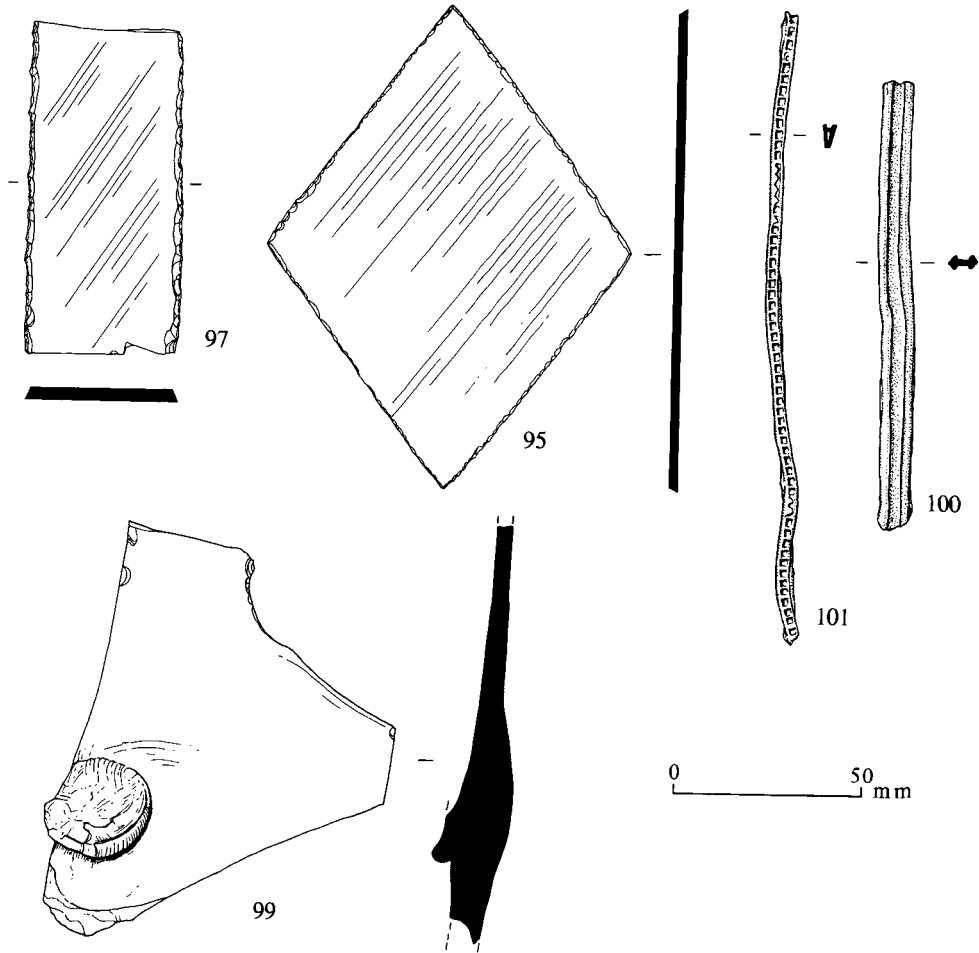


ILLUS 19 Clay tobacco pipes scale 1:1

- 90 Pipe bowl, yellowish fabric, milling. Bore 7/64. Gateshead, c 1635–75.
- 91 Pipe bowl with brownish fabric and milling; fire blackened. Bore 7/64. Gateshead, c 1635–75 (not illustrated).
- 92 Pipe bowl with hard white fabric. Bore 7/64. (NMS: NQ 549; LP 66 X 3)
- 93 Pipe bowl. Bore 7/64. (NMS: NQ 541; LP 66 X 3)

#### WINDOW GLASS AND CAMES (ILLUS 20)

- 94 Two lozenge-shaped quarries (plus one broken one) of pale green glass, grozed on three sides.  $95 \times 81 \times 3$  mm (not illustrated).
- 95 Two lozenge-shaped quarries of pale yellow/green glass with grozed edges.  $98 \times 119 \times 2$  mm;  $98 \times 126 \times 2$  mm (one example illustrated).
- 96 Rectangular quarry of pale green glass, grozed on its long edges.  $25 \times 67 \times 3$  mm (not illustrated).
- 97 Two rectangular quarries of pale green glass (one broken), grozed on their long edges.  $40 \times 92 \times 2.5$  mm,  $40 \times 87 \times 3$  mm (one example illustrated).



ILLUS 20 Window glass and comes scale 1:2

- 98 Two (broken) quadrilateral quarries of pale green glass with grozed edges.  $62 \times (103) \times 2$  mm;  $61 \times (130) \times 2$  mm (not illustrated).
- 99 Two fragments of crown glass.  $112 \times 92$  mm;  $111 \times 64$  mm. They vary in thickness from 3 mm to 10 mm (one example illustrated).
- 100 Four lengths (190 mm at longest) of H-sectioned lead window comes. 8 mm wide.
- 101 Length of milled window lead. 165 mm. 17th–19th century.

GLASS BOTTLES (ILLUS 21 & 22)

- 102 Neck and shoulder of a pale green, pharmaceutical bottle. Rim dia 29 mm. 17th century.
- 103 Small green pharmaceutical bottle, almost complete. 17th century.
- 104 Neck and shoulder of pale green glass bottle, fitted with a pewter mount for a screw-on lid.
- 105 Neck and shoulder of a bottle with a pewter mounting, similar to no 104 (not illustrated).



- 106 Wine bottle, dark green glass, lacking its neck. Late 17th century.
- 107 Wine bottle, dark green glass, complete with cork. c 1700.
- 108 Wine bottle, dark green glass, lacking its neck. Early 18th century.
- 109 Wine bottle, dark green glass. Early 18th century.
- 110 Wine bottle, dark green glass, complete with cork. Early 18th century.
- 111 Wine bottle, dark green glass, complete with cork. Early 18th century.

## WINE GLASSES (ILLUS 21)

- 112 Piece of rim of a wine glass, or vase, of *vetro a fili*, composed of four white threads alternating with blue and red ones. Venice, or *Façon de Venise*, 18th century.
- 113 Stem of wine glass, in clear glass, composed of three bulbs, the bottom one with a tear drop. Early 18th century.
- 114 Part of stem of wine glass, in clear glass. Late 17th- early 18th century.
- 115 Stem of wine glass, in clear glass, with writhened bulb. Mid-18th century.
- 116 Stem, plain and straight, of a wine glass with a trumpet bowl. It is of clear glass and has a tear drop. Mid-18th century.
- 117 Knob in clear glass from the foot of the stem of a wine glass. 16th-17th century.
- 118 Piece of base of wine glass in clear glass, with folded rim. 17th century.

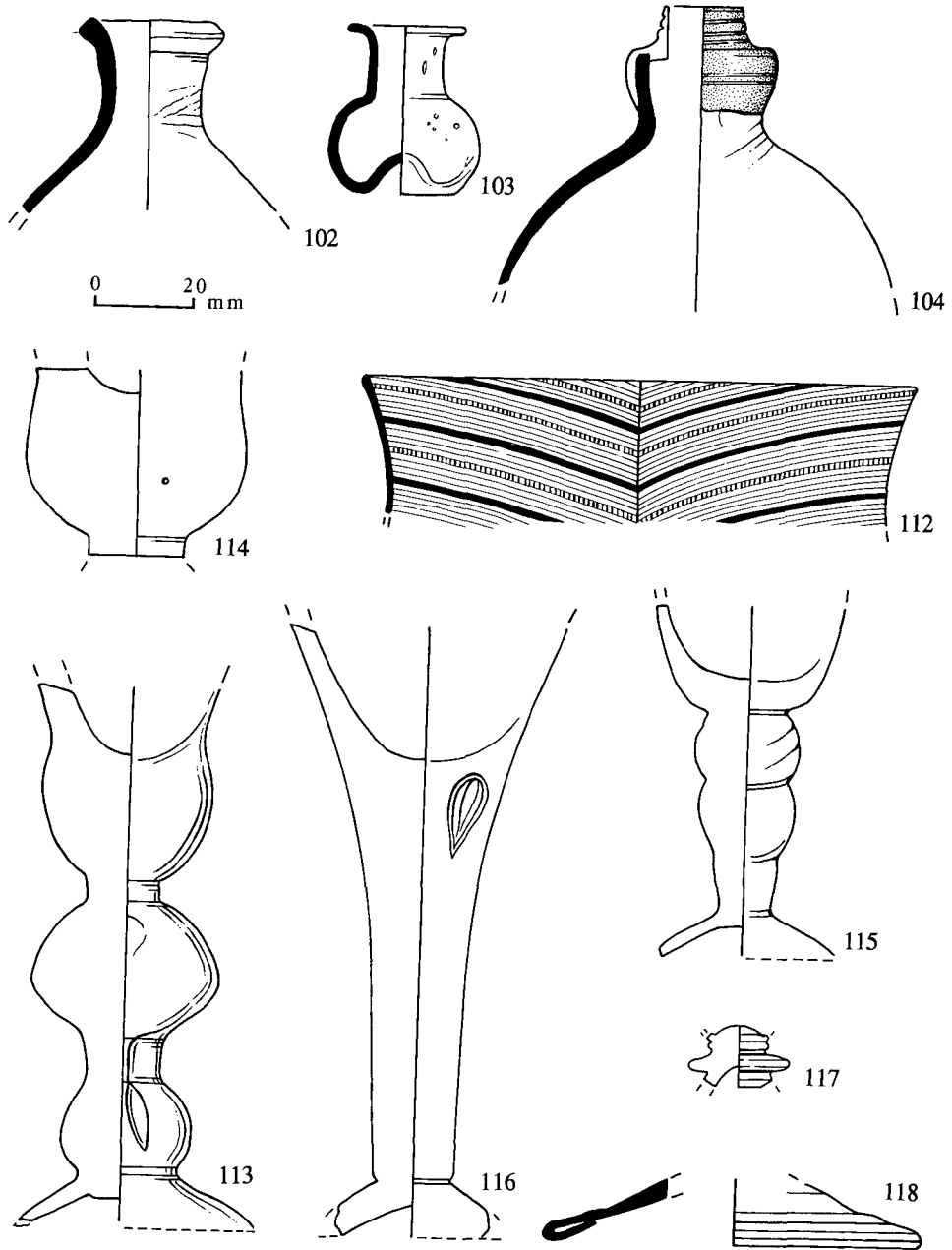
## METALWORK

*Copper alloy (illus 23: 121-3; 24; illus 15: 124)*

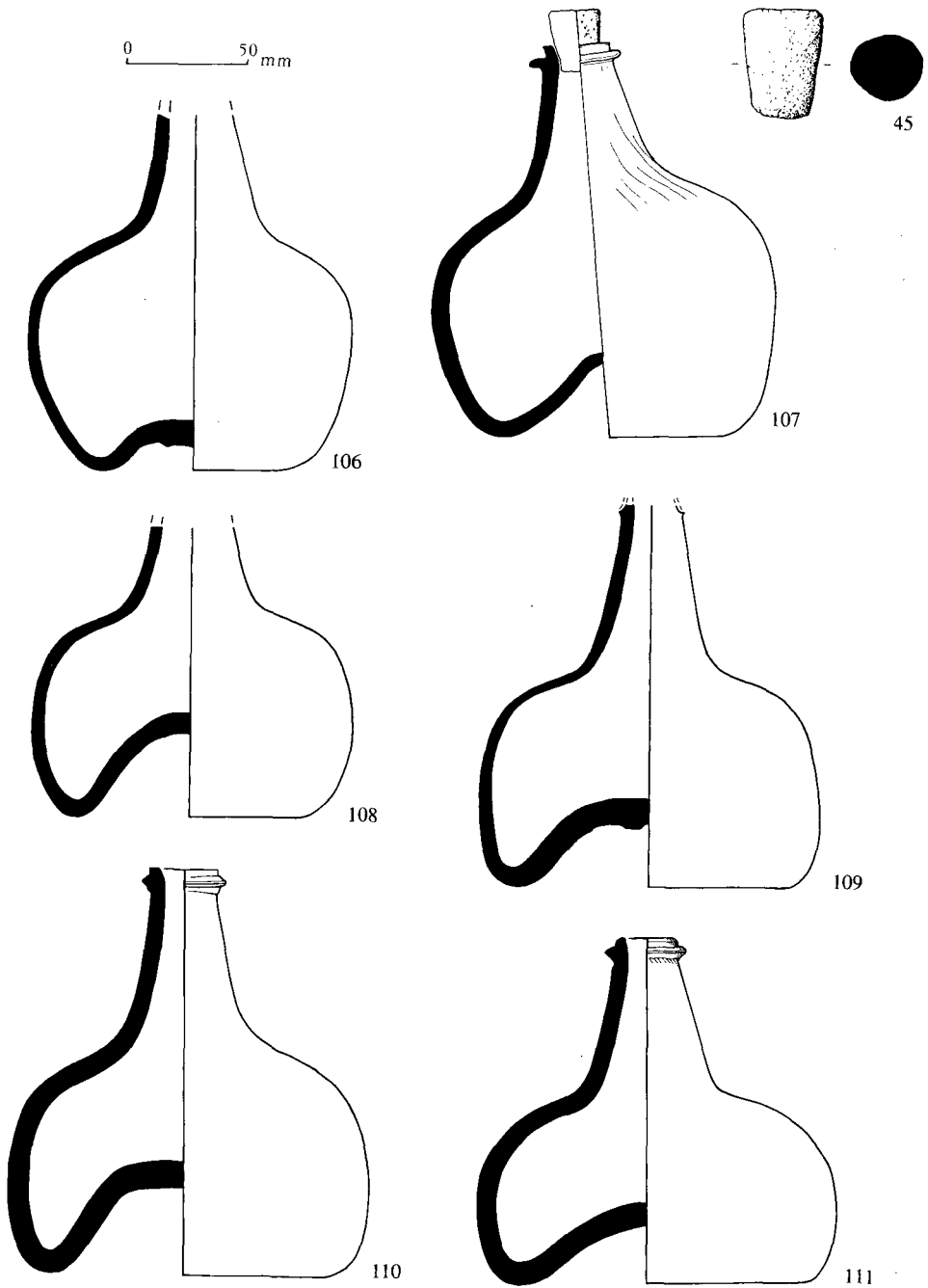
- 119 Small bell of cast metal with rectangular, pierced lug on its crown and the remains of an iron clapper. Found near the palace and claimed as Treasure Trove. (NMS: KA 12) (not illustrated). A handful of small, cast bronze bells have been recovered from various locations in Scotland. They might either have had a liturgical function or been used in cattle herding. On the basis of its shape, this particular example is not likely to be earlier than the 15th century.
- 120 Seal matrix with oval face, hexagonal stalk and quatrefoil suspension loop. It bears arms: on a fess three sexfoils between, in chief, a lion passant, and in base three crosses fitchées. The legend is in Lombardic capitals and reads: WILLIDEWESTONDEB. It is said to have been found in the King's Presence Chamber. [70412] (not illustrated)

This seal was published by Laing (1967), no 1, who dated it to the 15th century, perhaps influenced by its discovery in a part of the palace which is said to date to the reign of James IV. On stylistic grounds, a date in the 14th century is much more probable. Its owner, William (de) Weston of B——, may be identified as one of the Scottish esquires and valets who were serving in France in 1369 in the pay of the English (CDS, iv, no 165). Coincidentally, another William de Weston was one of the English garrison of Linlithgow Peel in 1312. It is probably his seal, with two squirrels facing each other, a small dog below, and the legend S'W. . .DE WESYTONAM, which is preserved in the Public Record Office (CDS, iii, 4111; ii, App 1.4 (8)).

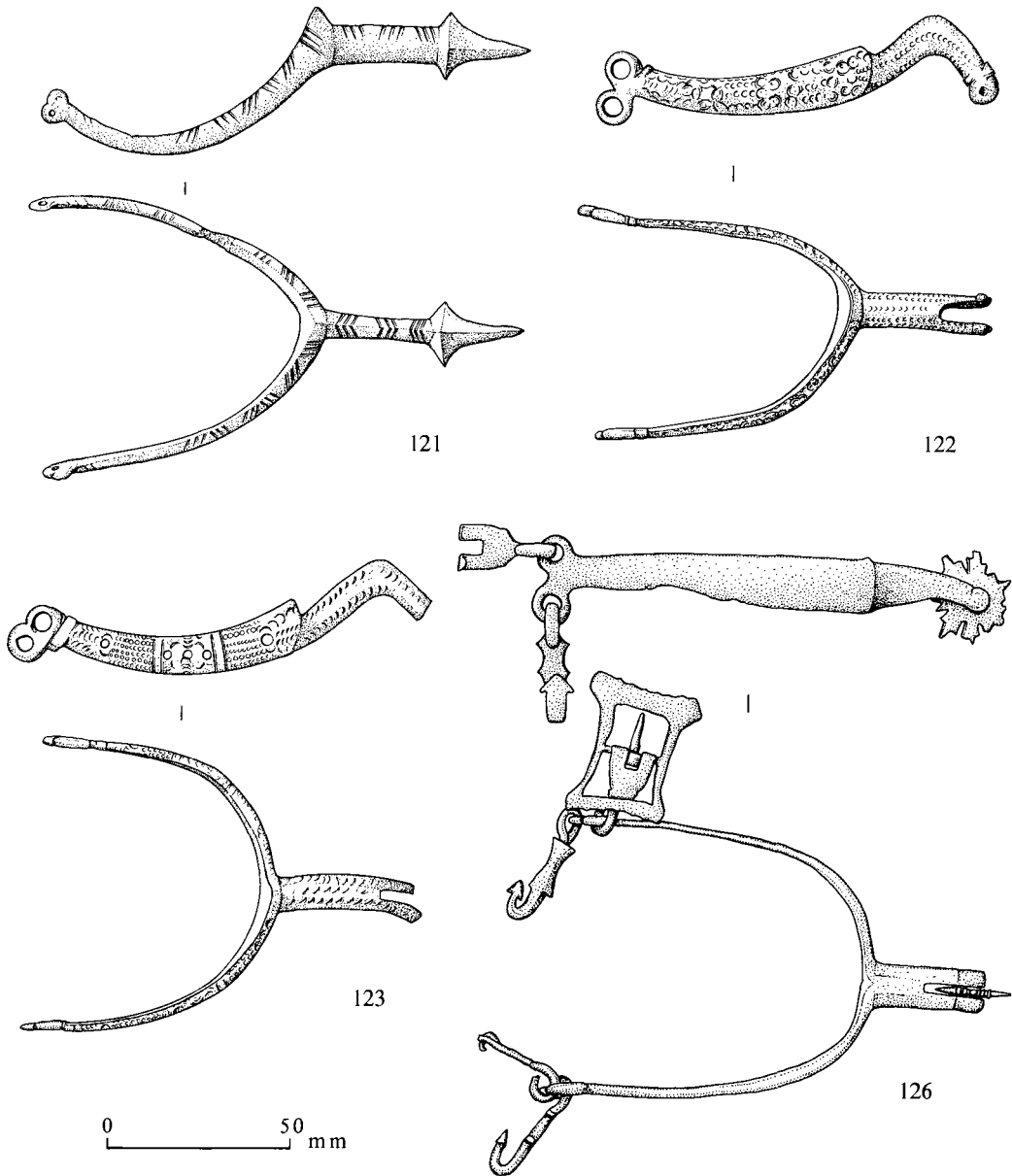
- 121 Prick spur with geometric engraved decoration, found in clearing the ruins of the palace. Early 14th century. (NMS: ML 1; Treasure Trove, 1862)
- 122 Rowel spur with decoration of stamped annulets. The rowel is missing. Found in clearing the ruins of the palace and presented to the National Museum by Prof D Wilson in 1862. Mid 17th century. (NMS: ML 2)



ILLUS 21 Glass bottles and wine glasses scale 2:3



ILLUS 22 Glass bottles scale 1:3



ILLUS 23 Spurs scale 1:2

- 123 Rowel spur with neatly arranged decoration of stamped annulets. The rowel is missing. Found in clearing the ruins of the palace and presented to the National Museum in 1862 by Professor D Wilson. Mid 17th century. (NMS: ML 3)
- 124 Beam from a balance with folding arms.
- 125 Hair pin, with flat hexagonal-section shaft terminating in an openwork head with a double-headed eagle.

It has been coated in tin to give the semblance of silver. Length 148 mm. Early 17th century. (NMS: HX 78) (illus 24)

Such hair pins were fashionable for women in Amsterdam from about 1610 to 1625 but the fashion probably survived longer elsewhere. They were used with hair caps, and sometimes with a jewel or pearl pendant from the openwork head (Baart *et al* 1977, 217–19).

*Iron (illus 23: 126; illus 25 & 26)*

- 126 Rowel spur with ornate, seven pointed rowel and with buckle and strap attachments. There are traces of tinning on the interior surfaces. Found in Linlithgow Loch and presented to the National Museum by Dr B Seton in 1802. Mid-17th century. (NMS: ML 9)
- 127 Key. (NMS: HX 1119)
- 128 Key with kidney shaped bow and rectangular ward. 18th century. [70400]
- 129–31 Three iron furniture handles. 16th–17th century. (70397–9). One of these handles (no 130) is illustrated on pl 25 of the first volume of the *Edinburgh Architectural Association Sketch Book* (1876) where it is described as a shutter-board handle.
- 132 Hinge strap. (NMS: HX 1199)
- 133 Slater's hammer head with upper portion of its wooden shaft. (NMS: RY 1)
- 134–6 Three masons' chisels. (NMS: HX 1162, QU 5, QU 4)
- 137 Head of a five-pronged spear for catching eels. (70356)

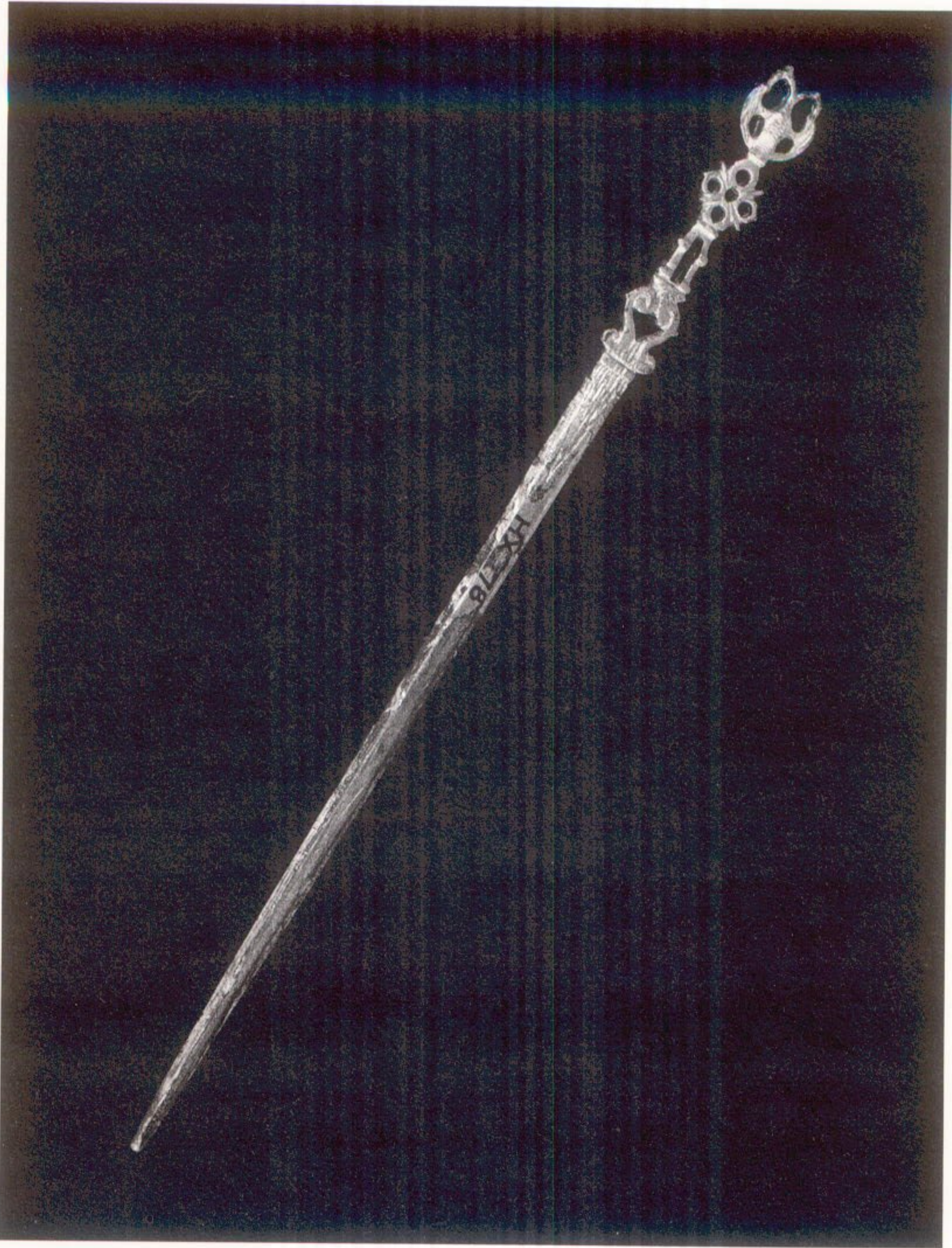
Eel spears are distinguishable from salmon spears by their broad blunt prongs with toothed edges (Blackmore 1972, 104–9). Eel fishing has long been of importance at Linlithgow Loch. In 1827 it was the cause of a dispute between the tenant of the palace and loch, Miss Christian Bowie, and the owners of the mill on the Loch Burn. A full description of how the fishing was done is given by Miss Bowie in the papers on the dispute (SRO MW3/130/1) and is worth repeating here:

At the west end of the loch is the only outlet commonly called the Loch burn. By this burn the water flows out of the loch and at a water fall a considerable way down the burn there is placed a trap in the form of a small wooden house perforated with holes commonly called the Ark into which the burn is made to run and the eels falling into it are detained while the water escapes through the perforations already mentioned. On the said burn and nearer to the loch is placed a sluice for the purpose of securing and keeping up the water in the tack excepting when it is wanted and can be beneficially run off.

This method of fishing for eels was well known in Scotland. *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* (Craigie & Aitken 1937–) and *The Scottish National Dictionary* (Grant 1929–76) cite several examples of the use of eel arks (Craigie & Aitken; Grant). In the case of Linlithgow Loch, an eel ark is mentioned as early as 1409 when it was looked after by the Keeper of the Manor (i.e. the palace) (ER, iv, 74). Payments are recorded in 1459 for making another in the Loch Burn (ER, vi, 563), and there are several records of eels coming from Linlithgow Loch for the court's consumption throughout the medieval period, as early as 1263 (ER, i, 25). The eel spear would have been used to scoop up the eels from the ark.

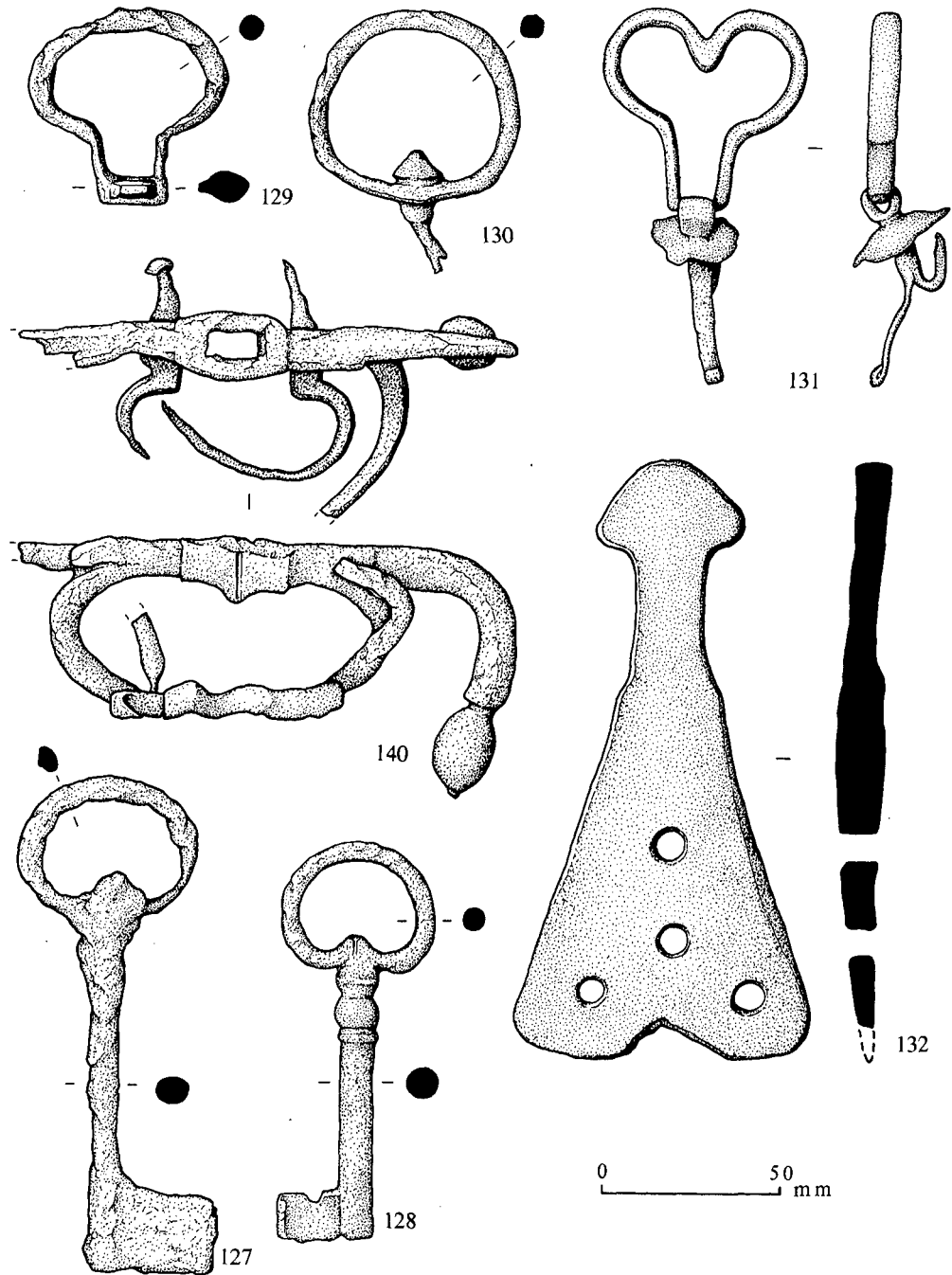
- 138 Cast-iron gun shot. Diam 70 mm (2.75 in.) (not illustrated). (NMS: HX 1116). Shot of this size is likely to have been for small pieces of 16th– and 17th-century muzzle-loading ordnance known as culverin moyens.



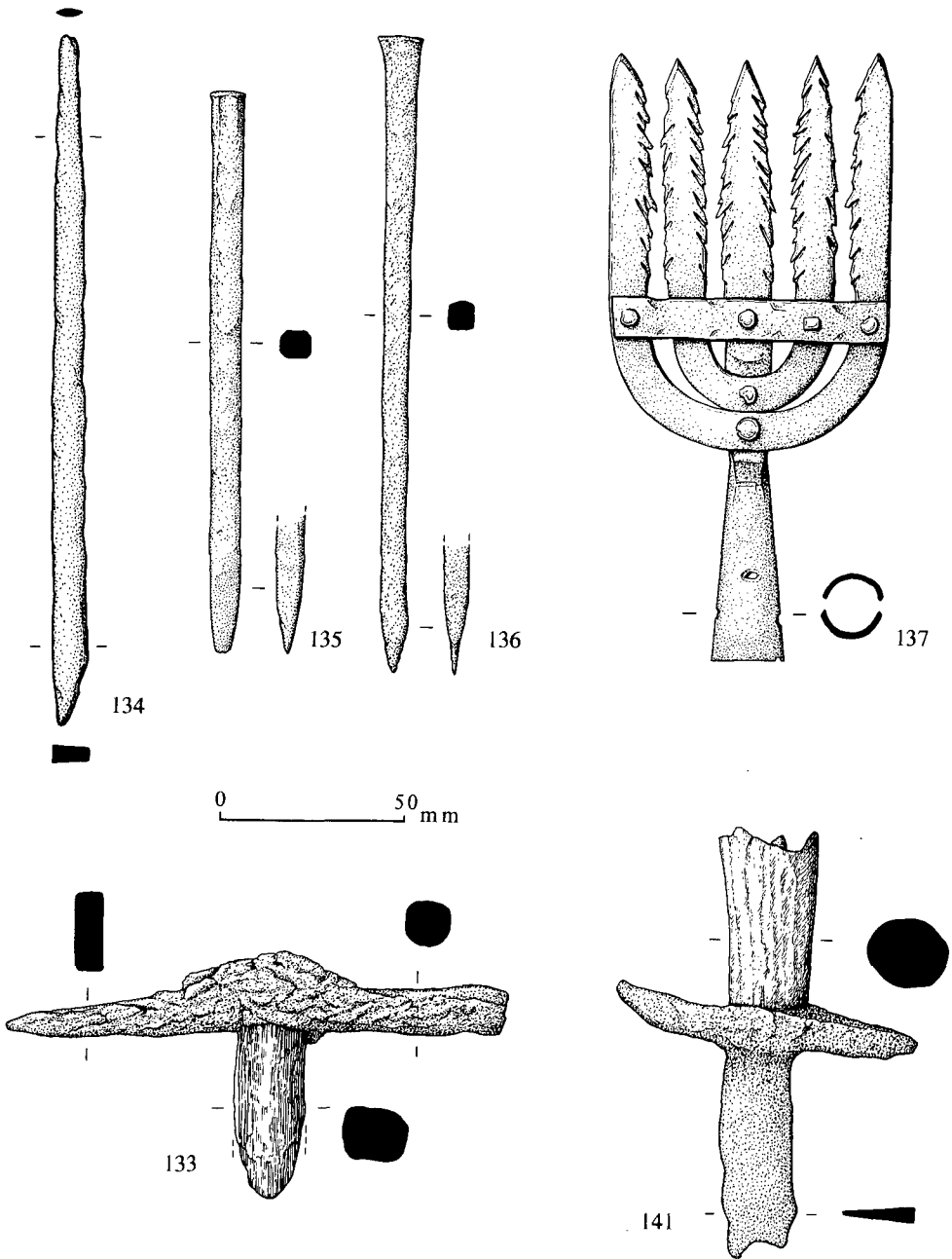


ILLUS 24 'Silver' hair pin (SF125)





ILLUS 25 Iron artefacts scale 1:2



ILLUS 26 Iron artefacts scale 1:2



- 139 Cast-iron gun shot. Diam 108 mm (4.75 in.) (not illustrated). Probably for a 16th- or 17th-century piece of ordnance known as a grose culverin.
- 140 Incomplete iron guard of a rapier with (rear) quillon, arms, double ring-guards, loop-guard and probably a knuckle-guard. Late 16th – early 17th century. [70403]
- 141 Part of backed blade, iron guard and antler grip, probably of a hanger or hunting sword of the late 17th or early 18th century. [70402]

*Bone (illus 27)*

- 142 Bone mount from the stock of a long gun, rectangular with one end curved, 72 × 32 × 5 mm, c 1580–1600. Recovered during the 1987 excavation in the cellar below the ‘King’s Hall’ (see above). [870086]

The upper surface of the mount is engraved with a musketeer, striding to the right, head turned back over his right shoulder. He is dressed in a doublet with a frilly collar and breeches, and wears a large broad-brimmed hat with a feather. On his left shoulder he bears a musket with a lighted match in his left hand. He grasps a forked gun-rest in his right hand and wears a bandoleer across his chest. There are two patches of damage where the surface has been gouged with a sharp instrument. On the underside, at the bottom, there is a small hollow, perhaps to help ease it in and out of its resting place when first manufactured.

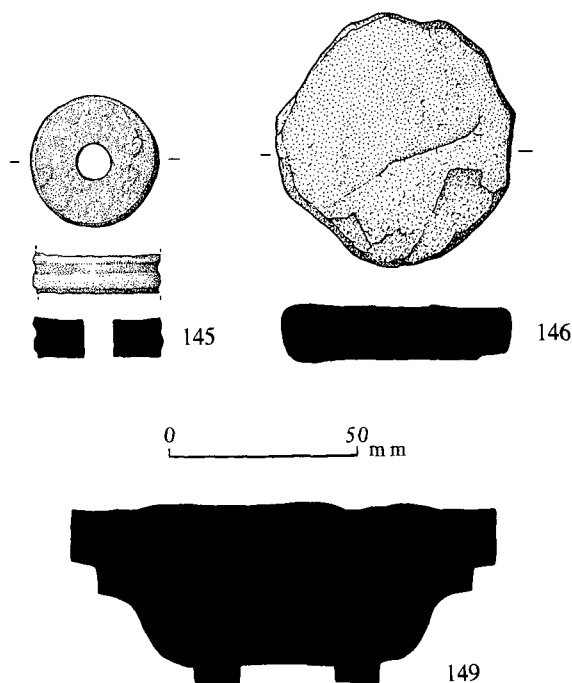
It is clear from its shape that this mount is an inlay from the stock of a long gun. The musket on the man’s shoulder gives some indication of the mount’s date. Its curved or ‘French’ stock was meant to be handled with the butt-plate against the chest, but this was found only to be really comfortable with the smaller lighter pieces, called petronels (Blackmore 1965, 13). Muskets, heavy guns requiring a gun-rest to support them when being fired, came to be fitted with triangular butts which were held to the shoulder. A musket with a curved stock, as represented on this mount, is likely to date to c 1580–90, a date range consistent with the man’s clothing and the shape of the mount itself. It is likely that the source for the design would be an engraving like the well-known series of engravings published by the Dutch artist Jacob de Gheyn in 1607 to act as a drill manual for different types of soldiers.

The mount itself would not necessarily be affixed to anything like the gun depicted within it and was perhaps more likely to have had a stock with a triangular butt. A gun decorated with engraved plaques like this would have been a firearm kept by a noble or a laird for shooting game.

Several guns of the 16th and 17th century are decorated with martial images similar to this musketeer. In particular, however, it may belong with a small group of late 16th-century English guns, all with snaphance locks and engraved bone or staghorn mounts. One dated 1588 from Belchamp Hall, Essex, is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Blackmore 1964, 64). Another, in the Royal Armoury, Tower of London, and dated to 1590 has had four similarly shaped mounts in its butt, three of which survive, showing soldiers with guns with curved stocks over their shoulders. None has a gun-rest. Although this gun is richly decorated and inlaid, the quality of the engraving is not so fine as on the piece from Linlithgow. There are two other guns in the Livrustkammur (Royal Armoury Museum, Stockholm), both of late 16th-century date: one has a plaque with an engraving of a man on its butt, the same shape as the Linlithgow mount; the other has an oval mount with the bust of a soldier and other inlay of mother-of-pearl (Blackmore 1965, figs 153 & 154). The workmanship on these two is less accomplished than on any other of the pieces. Now they are considered to be English, but in early inventories of the Swedish royal collection they are both described as Scottish, the first in 1654, the second in 1683 (Cederström & Malmberg 1930, 59; and information



ILLUS 27 Bone mount from a gun



ILLUS 28 Stone and plaster scale 1:2

from the Livrustkammur). The latter, in any case, has the arms and initials of Colonel Jacob Spens, a son of Sir William Spens of Wormiston.

In conclusion, the mount is from a long gun and dates to c 1580–1600. It may be from the butt of an English sporting gun, one of considerable quality.

143 Bone handle of a piece of cutlery, decoratively writhened. 16th–17th century (illus 15).

#### Wood

144 Fragments of a lathe-turned, wooden cup with a plain unthickened rectangular rim, about 160 mm in diameter. (not illustrated) (NMS: HX 1125)

#### Stone (illus 28)

145 Spindle whorl of sandstone, grooved around its girth. (NMS: HX 1118)

146 Disc, crudely shaped, perhaps either a counter or a lid. (NMS: HX 1195; LP 66 XI, 1)

147 Piece of gun stone (?), sandstone, about a quarter complete. Diam c 280 mm. (not illustrated).

148 Piece of gun stone (?), sandstone, about a quarter complete. Diam c 380 mm. (not illustrated).

#### Plasterwork (illus 28)

149 Fragments of decorative plasterwork, including pieces of moulded cornice and heraldic emblems from the royal arms.



These come from at least one ceiling in the early 17th-century, rebuilt north wing and are likely to date to about 1621 (Imrie & Dunbar 1982, xcix). Nothing can be gleaned about them from the surviving building accounts and not enough survives to be able to reconstruct the ceiling's design with any confidence; but the rib mouldings are identical to those employed about 1630 by Alexander White to divide the ceiling of the high hall in the nearby House of the Binns into panels with heraldic and other devices. The cornice fragments can be matched in the King's Room in the same house (illustrated by Beard 1975, pl 122). Large plasterwork panels with the royal arms are prominently displayed above the fireplaces in both rooms.

*Carved woodwork (illus 29 & 30)*

- 150 Carved oak panel with two versions of the royal arms, one above the other, framed by Gothic pillars and Renaissance busts of warriors. Both shields have unicorn supporters. The upper one has a facing helm, the lower, a helm in profile. The centre of the bottom shield has been chiselled out at a later date, leaving only the tressure. The inscription band below this shield has also been removed, and the branch of oak leaves, in place of the more normal mantling round the helm, is shown broken. 0.74 m by 0.76 m. Mid-16th century. (NMS: KL 61) (illus 29)

This piece was formerly in C K Sharpe's collection (lot 145). It is probably from a piece of furniture rather than wall panelling. The two sets of arms, one above the other, imply a father and child – James V and Mary Queen of Scots (?). The treatment of the bottom shield has the character of 'ritual' defacement, to wipe out the memory of Mary.

- 151 Wooden ceiling boss, circular, with a pierced border of scrolled leaves and flowers, and a unicorn carved in high relief, chained and gorged with a royal crown, bearing a flag. It retains considerable remains of paint, red and blue on the foliage and background, white on the unicorn. The flag has a blue saltire superimposed on a red cross. Much of the decorative border is missing, as also the unicorn's head. Diam 0.635 m. (NMS: KL 177) (illus 30)

This piece belonged to the artist, Noel Paton, and in the catalogue of his collection (Paton 1879, no 290) it is said to have come from over the door of the chamber in the palace where Mary Queen of Scots was born, and to have been presented to Paton's father in 1835. Ferguson (1910, 129) illustrates the King's Hall on the first floor of the west wing as the 'room in which Queen Mary was born' and this is presumably what was meant by Paton. The actual room where Mary was born was probably in the north wing, prior to its rebuilding in the early 17th century. The so-called King's Oratory and the adjacent Queen's Oratory, on the first floor, were probably positioned between their bedrooms. The stone roof bosses in both oratories, produced during the reign of James IV, are notable for their representations of unicorns.

The design of a unicorn with its flag obviously derives from the supporters of the royal arms. Unicorns are first shown with a flag in 1540 in a woodcut prefacing 'The new actis and constitutionis of Parliament maid be the Richt Excellent Prince James the Fift Kyng of Scottis', printed by Thomas Davidson of Edinburgh. The fact that the beast's tail is shown between its legs suggests a date no later than the early 17th century (Burnett 1978, 19). It is perhaps most likely that the boss dates to the reign of James VI & I after he succeeded to the throne of England. This is implied by the design of the flag, assuming that the original colour scheme survives. It can only be seen to be an early experiment in producing a Union Jack, one with a Scottish bias. In 1606 there was much unhappiness amongst Scottish seafarers because they were required to hoist a flag which had a St George's Cross superimposed on, and obscuring, a St Andrew's Cross (RPC, ix, 498–9). It follows that this alternat-





ILLUS 29 Carved oak panel

ive version should have been done by a Scottish painter for the north wing of the palace in 1618–21.

*Leather (illus 31)*

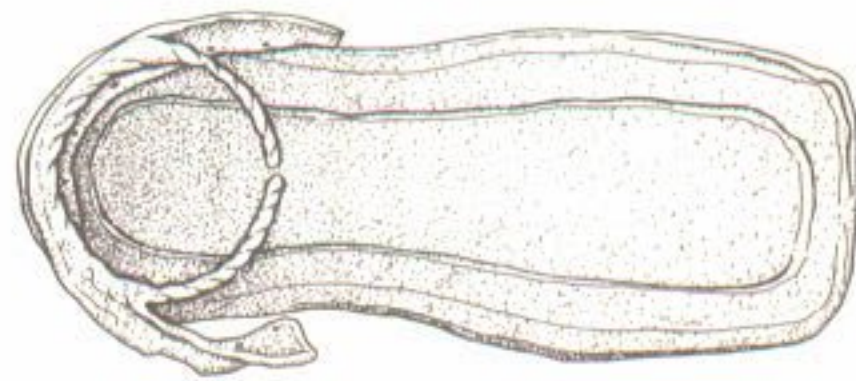
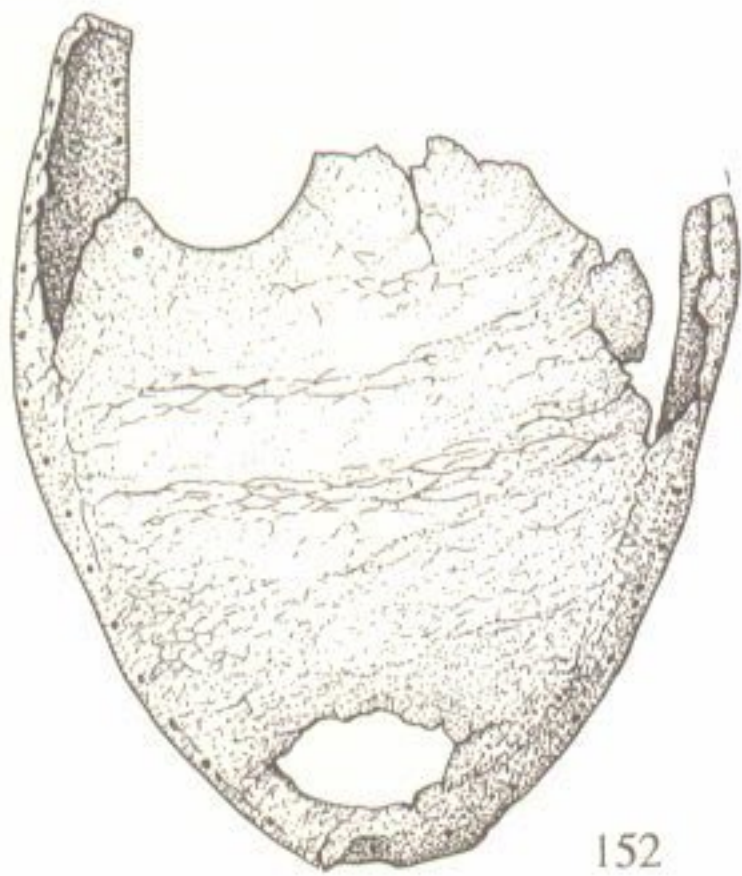
152 Part of the sole of a shoe.

153 Sole and heel of a child's shoe. This is presumably the small leather shoe found in the garderobe shaft on the east side of the palace (SRO MW1/1188).





ILLUS 30 Ceiling boss



0 50 mm

ILLUS 31 Shoes scale 1:2

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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